

# HISTORY OF NORTHERN AREAS OF PAKISTAN



Dr. A. H. Dani

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# MAP NO. 1

## KARAKORUM REGION





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# **HISTORY OF NORTHERN AREAS OF PAKISTAN**

By

**Professor Emeritus Dr. Ahmad Hasan Dani**



**NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF  
HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RESEARCH  
ISLAMABAD**

1991

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**To**  
**The Freedom Fighters**  
**of**  
**Gilgit and Skardu**





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## **Note to the Second Edition**

The people of Northern Areas can rightfully boast of a rich cultural tradition going back to pre-historic times. The region remained somewhat apart from the mainstream of South Asian history with its mighty mediaeval empires, but it could not remain impervious to the expanding influence of Islam which began penetrating the land as it spread to the Central Asian principalities early in the 8th Century A.C. The political consequences of the decisive Arab victory over the Chinese at the battle of Talash in 751 A.C. may remain uncertain, but the fall out of this significant event, in terms of its religio-cultural impact on the people of this area is not difficult to imagine. At any rate, the region came under the flag of Islam early in the 9th Century (A.C.) and the mediaeval age saw the region emerge with an unmistakable Islamic identity, which it has jealously guarded and preserved through various political vicissitudes in a characteristically valiant manner. Prof. Dani deserves all the credit for piecing together the sparsely-documented history of this important region, from a variety of sources, patiently and painstakingly gleaning authentic information from oral traditions and folklore as indeed from rare manuscripts in private collections, as well as historical inscriptions. The story is continued to the modern times culminating in the heroic struggle for freedom waged by these brave people in 1947-48.

The Northern Areas, the name applied to this geographic region after independence, have been attracting considerable attention in recent times. That this first comprehensive account of this region by an eminent historian fulfils an important need is borne out by the fact that the first edition of this book was exhausted quite soon after its

publication. This second edition is being presented in response to frequent enquiries from various directions, in the hope that this pioneering work will inspire greater interest in the people of this region and their welfare.

Dr S.M. Zaman  
Director  
N.I.H.C.R. Islamabad

7th October 1991

## **Preface to the Second Edition**

It gives me great pleasure to learn that copies of the first edition have been exhausted. In this fresh reprint no change has been made except for replacing the photograph of the title cover. I have received encouraging letters from the reviewers and general readers. I am thankful to all of them. The people of the region have shown great enthusiasm for this book which is the first connected history of the people living there. I am also thankful to Brigadier (Retired) Aslam and Lt. Col. Sikandar Khan Baloch who fully endorsed the narrative of the 1947-48 war, as given in this book. I am again thankful to Dr S. M. Zaman, Director of the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research for reprinting this book.

Islamabad.  
October 5, 1991

Prof. Em. Dr A.H. DANI



## Foreword to the First Edition

The long-awaited book on *The History of Northern Areas of Pakistan* is hereby presented. There was a great need of such a book as very little was known about the history and culture of the people of this vast region that occupies Trans-Himalayan belt of Pakistan. The account will make it clear how distinctive has been the ecological features of this region and how brave and hardy have been the people who devotedly worked to benefit from the natural resources of the land and not only build a cultural pattern of their own but also to fight against all odds to maintain it, and even go ahead to challenge the might of great powers to win the freedom of the land. It is this will of the people that stood the test of time and their determination alone crowned them with ultimate victory in the freedom struggle of 1947-48. With that victory in hand the people of Northern Areas declared themselves voluntarily to be a part of Pakistan. To these brave fighters of freedom we salute and as a token of humble homage to the valiant martyrs this present history of their land is dedicated so as to inspire the new generation for reconstruction on modern lines.

Dr (Miss) K.F. Yusuf

Director,  
National Institute of Historical  
and Cultural Research,  
Islamabad.

## **Preface to the First Edition**

This is the first time that a complete history of Northern Areas of Pakistan, from the earliest time to December 1985, has been reconstructed. The new official name of Northern Areas (used by Government of Pakistan) applies to a geographic region, mostly trans-Himalayan in character, which has been for long known as Gilgit and Baltistan. With this region Chitral has been historically associated until its separation by the British in 1895 for administrative convenience. It is usually believed that the region has been an appendix to Kashmir throughout history. The account presented here would clarify this point abundantly and show in clear terms how the region has had its own independent historical development — political, cultural, linguistic, social, economic, ethnographic, as well as artistic and architectural. The book tries to give mainly political history in a continuous historical sequence. A chapter on languages and another on ethnography by two eminent specialists in the field give the barest summary of the topics. Some other details of religion, culture, society, trade and commerce have been briefly referred to in different chapters. In order to keep the book within readable limits of a general reader the details of the cultural history have been avoided. That aspect of history needs a separate volume by itself.

From 1979 to 1985 I had been working in the region and collecting my data from my field studies. My research project was sponsored by Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, as a part of the programme of Pak-German Team of Ethnological Research. While other materials have been published separately, the present book on history was entrusted to me in 1984 by the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research. The Institute granted a lump sum of Rs. one lakh to employ two research assistants and collect further data in the field, in the library and by personal interviews. In this work the late Mr. Abdul Hamid Khawar, retired A.I.G. (Police), Gilgit, with his profound knowledge of the region, people and history, proved to be of great help. Unfortunately he died while the work was in progress. After his death I

got the assistance of Mr. Syed Akbar Husain Akbar of Nagir. For Persian sources I got the assistance of Prof. Atiqur Rahman, who was associated for one full year in 1985. Through the courtesy of Raja Mumtaz of Gilgit, I was able to get from Raja Nasir his father's (Raja Shah Rais Khan's) *Tarikh-i-Gilgit*, which helped me a great deal in reconstructing the mediaeval history. For the British period I consulted the records of the India Office Library. I am indebted to British Council for a grant to support my brief stay in London. For the chapter on Struggle for Freedom I had the good fortune of having personal interviews with several persons in Gilgit, some of whose names I have mentioned in the text but many others will remain unnamed. I am most obliged to all of them for the information that they conveyed to me. Lt. Col. (Rtd.) Ghulam Haidar placed at my disposal his private diary which I have used with great advantage. Similarly unpublished MSS. of Late Col. Hasan Khan and of Gr. Capt. (Rtd.) Shah Khan were of great value. For this period Mr. Hashmatullah Khan, D.S.P. Gilgit, provided me with some original material. Above all the Commissioners and the Deputy Commissioners of Gilgit, Chilas and Baltistan placed at my disposal all the relevant records available in their offices. I would particularly like to mention the name of Mir Ghazanfar Ali Khan of Hunza, whose hospitality and source of information through personal talks enlightened me on many issues. The Raja of Nagir was good enough to welcome me in his palace and show me all the material that he possessed. The late Mr. Fateh Ali Khan, the Raja of Khaplu, welcomed me in his palace and had a long discussion on the history of his jagir. The various *Sajjada-nashins*, *mutawallis* and keepers of *ziarats* and mosques opened their doors freely to me and supplied to me the information that they possessed.

I am indebted to Prof. G. Fussman and Prof. Karl Jettmar for contributing a chapter each for this book. I have tried my level best to collect all relevant data from original sources and reconstruct the history of the region as dispassionately as is humanly possible. The reconstruction is my own. While presenting this book, I would like to thank all the people of Northern Areas who helped me in all respects without any obligation when I was in the region for collecting data. It is they also who made my work simple. No words of obligation can repay the debt. I believe the best payment is in the form of the present book that I could offer to them.

No. 17; St. 10; F-8/3  
Islamabad

Prof. Em. Dr. AHMAD HASAN DANI

October 1, 1989

## HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

### Introduction

Sandwiched between the high peaks of Hindukush and Karakorum on the north and those of Western Himalaya on the south is the mysterious far-off land, now called Northern Areas of Pakistan<sup>1</sup> (Map No. 1), preserving the hoary human traditions in association with mountain fairies. Fairy tales,<sup>2</sup> and not folk tales, linger on in human mind, as men and animals disappear with sudden glacial movements, icy breezes and rapid snow and mud flows that devour everything that come on way. The natural phenomena remained a secret until geologists and geographers penetrated into this region to unlock the story of mountain, river and lake formations, and very recently the construction of the Karakorum Highway<sup>3</sup> opened facilities for communication and human contact. In the back-drop of Himalaya, Karakorum and Hindukush humanity lived on in isolated valleys, cut off from the rest of the world, seeking a livelihood out of mountain hazards and only daring an occasional breakthrough across high passes during summer interlude in the year to catch a glimpse of the world beyond and snatch frugalities of life to ease their sordid living. Such has been the grim picture of this little world that lay hidden between Kashmir on the south and historical Turkestan on the north, Turkestan now divided into Chinese Xinjiang and Soviet Khirgizia, the latter again removed by a narrow wedge of Wakhan that clings to the southern slope of Pamir and formally belongs to Afghanistan. The story of this little world is less known but the story is no less interesting as it relates to a land of utmost importance to the history of man. In the words of E.F. Knight, here it is "Where Three Empires Meet"<sup>4</sup> Now there are five states that converge on to this land — Afghanistan, China, India, Pakistan and U.S.S.R. Throughout history the surrounding world of man has impinged on to this mysterious land and left indelible impress of its contacts on the people and their inaccessible habitat. What we have got here is the survival of many languages, cultures and civilizations that have been lost to world

elsewhere. It is to the rediscovery of these lost human links that Northern Areas of Pakistan have now opened new approaches to history. That is a world, no doubt, less known but full of information for man.

This is the region, which, in the opinion of geologists, is the meeting ground of "continents in collision"<sup>5</sup> — the Indo-Pakistan subcontinental mass emerging to integrate into Eurasian continent of the north, resulting in the formation of the "Kohistan island arc"<sup>6</sup> between Hindukush and Karakorum ranges on the north and Himalaya on the south. Consequently this led to the creation of the high peaks of the world and closure of the Tethys sea, leaving behind two main "faults" along the meeting line, which allow the flow of the rivers — the mighty Indus along with its affluents, that gurgles through numerous gorges between the Himalaya and Hindukush-Karakorum and Sayok between Karakorum and Himalaya. The region presents an interplay of high mountains and deep river beds — a mountainous terrain so well described by Dr. R.A. Khan Tahrekheli in the following words:

### **Geological History**

"Here the three important mountain ranges of Central Asia, namely the north-western Himalaya, the Karakorum and the Hindukush rendezvous with each other. Out of these three, major part of the Karakorum Range lies within Pakistan and forms a link between the N.W. Himalaya in the east and the Hindukush and Pamir in the west and north-west respectively. The Pamir knot occupies a spectacular position with respect to the Central Asian mountain system. In the regional geographical set-up, the Karakorum, the Hindukush and the N.W. Himalaya emanate from the Pamir mass lying on the north, from where the majority of the mountain ranges of Central Asia branch off to east and west. Among others the important ones are the Kun Lun, Alai and Tien Shan which bifurcate into numerous subranges in the southern and central parts of China in the east and northern and central parts of Afghanistan and Iran in the west. N.W. Himalaya, like the Tibetan plateau, has no direct link with the Pamir but the Mustagh Ata, Kun Lun and the Karakorum, after emanating from the Pamir mass, follow a south-eastern orographic trend and merge with the Himalaya and the Tibetan Plateau in the east. In Pakistan the northern boundary of the Himalaya is demarcated tectonically by the Main Mantle Thrust and geographically by the Kohistan mass, — which has been recognised to form an independent geographical and geological entity in northern Pakistan. This part of the Himalaya constitutes the hill ranges of Kashmir, Hazara and across the Indus river includes those

hills occurring on the eastern stretches of the Swat and Peshawar valleys. The outer Himalayan domain lies south of this belt and in Pakistan its major part is underlain by the Potohar Plateau and the Murree Hill tract. . . . The Nanga Parbat — Harmosh loop, verging towards south and terminated by the great Indus bend on the west upstream of Chilas, constitutes the north-western extension of the great Himalaya in Pakistan. Its southern contact is with the Lesser Himalaya of Kashmir and Hazara, and on the north and north-west it is bounded by the Ladakh Range, a sub-range of the Karakorum forming a buffer between the great Himalaya and the main Karakorum. The third highest peak of the world, Nanga Parbat, with an elevation of 8190m increases the eminence of this part of the great Himalaya".<sup>7</sup> In the opinion of Dr. Tahir Kheli Sor Lasapur — Mastuj — Borogil profile demarcates the western extent of the Karakorum Range. In his support he cites the water — divide between the Ghizar river (Karakorum) and the Yarkun/Mastuj river (Hindu Kush). Karakorum, besides K2, the second highest peak in the world, also holds twelve out of thirty top peaks with elevations over 7500 meters. Among them Gasherbrum, Masherbrum, Baltoro and Rakaposhi groups are famous. Karakorum also contains some of the largest glaciers outside the Polar region. These are Biafo — 62km long, Hispar — 61km, Baltoro — 58km, Gasherbrum — 38km, Chogo Lungma — 38km, Siachen — 72km and Batura — 58km long. If one compares the proportion of ice covering some of these mountain ranges, the Karakorum is 23-25 per cent under ice, Himalaya is 8-10 per cent and the Alps is only 2.2 per cent under ice. The Hindu Kush mountain system emanates from the western flank of the Pamir syntaxis and extends south-westward through Chitral and Dir. The Transalai range delimits the western extension of the Hindukush and the hill ranges of Malakand, Swabi and the Attock — Chirat, all located west of the Indus river demarcate a tentative division between the Lesser Himalaya and the Hindu-Kush. Tirich Mir located in Chitral with an elevation of 8736 meters is the highest peak in the Hindu Kush system<sup>8</sup> (See map 2).

The geological history has been well outlined in a new theory 'providing a new tectonic model of Kohistan and the associated suture zone in the context of global tectonics. According to this model, there exist two suture zones indicated by two megashears: one extends along the northern boundary of Kohistan island arc (Machelu — Kashupa — Hini — Chalt — Yasin — Drosh) and the other, recently deciphered, is the Main Mantle Thrust girdling the southern periphery of Kohistan and bordering the Indian platform . . . . After the evolution of the Kohistan Island arc between the Indo-Pakistan and Eurasian platforms, the first major tectonic event was the Indo-Pakistan Continent subduction under the

Kohistan arc about 60-70 million years ago. A subsequent evolution completely closed the Tethys ocean in this region, sandwiching the Kohistan island arc beneath Eurasia too. The collision resulted in suturing, which produced two prominent tectonic sears on the north and south, representing the zones where Kohistan was welded into both continents. Subsequent stresses, after the merging of India into Eurasia, according to Molnar and Tapponnier, under thrusting pushed from 600 to 700km of the Indo-Pakistan slab beneath Eurasia, resulting in thousands of meters of vertical thickness of rocks in Himalaya, Tibet and the southern region of China. This deformation is still continuing at the rate of 4 cm per year.<sup>9</sup> In terms of geography "Kohistan is located between Long. 71°W, 76°E and Lat. 34° 30's, 36° 30'N. and is bended by the geological provinces of Hazara, Diamar, Gilgit and Chitral lying respectively to the south, east, north and west.<sup>10</sup> Geologically speaking, Kohistan is a distinct domain with respect to the adjoining rock sequences of the Himalaya and Karakorum — Hindukush. Thick calc — alkaline suite, tectonically displaced metasedimentary sequences, wide-spread acid and intermediate magmatism and bounded on the north and south by the two sutures, delineate this terrain as a separate geological province.<sup>11</sup>

### **Geographical Build**

Geographically, climatically and biologically Northern Areas present primarily a land of trans-Himalayan Character, where cis-Himalayan features, monsoon rain and seasons of the plain are almost totally absent. Its major parts lie within the watershed of Himalaya, Hindukush and Karakorum. Only its southern slopes, nearer Kashmir lie within Himalayan mountain system. The land lies amidst towering mountains, snow-clad peaks and narrow valleys with heights varying between 300 feet and 28750 feet above sea level. Within sixty miles radius of Gilgit, the main city of the land, there are more than two dozen peaks ranging from 18000 to 26000 feet. The climate is extremely cold in winter and temperate in summer. Northern Areas also differ from other parts of the Himalayan states in so far as it lies within an easy approach from China, India, Central Asia and the countries of the West, thus giving to it a great geo-political importance. And yet the land is cut away from the rest of the world and itself subdivided into numerous smaller units, located in different valleys, uplands, plateaus and mountain tops. Technically it is a land of isolation without those geographic features that give unity to a region. Although the river Indus should have been the great artery for communication and unification, yet the mountain barriers have stood in the way of common dwelling

along the Indus. Except for rare places, such as Skardu and Chilas, living along the Indus banks has so far been difficult. People have stuck to smaller valleys and mountain slopes where glacial water is easy at hand for drinking and irrigation. Habitable and cultivable land being scarce, dependence is more on forest pasturage, fruit cultivation, hunting and marauding habits and hence human living here has been a game of hazards, in which survival of the fittest is a normal rule. The people are tough and hilly, prone to bearing harsh climate yet harbouring a character of independence and developing self-sufficient mountain settlements protected by hill forts. The communities are closed and they bear open rivalry, one to another, for the sake of survival. And yet close proximity of neighbouring states has left deep impressions on the political geography of the land. State formation is normally an affair of community management by common consent. Although this feature survived for a long time in the western valleys, yet the surrounding political forces introduced centralised state apparatus to be controlled by intruding ruling dynasties from outside, who competed to establish wider authority of their own by mutual wars and by manipulating the powers of bigger states in the neighbourhood. It is this particular role of Northern Areas of Pakistan that has given to the land a great significance in the international game of Asian politics. Hence its historical geography extends beyond the limits of a mere trans-Himalayan region.

### Location

*Location:* Northern Areas cover an expanse of about 27,188 square miles, and according to the census of 1981 the population is estimated at 5,73,724. The density of the population is calculated to be 21 persons per square mile. The region lies between  $71^{\circ}$  and  $75^{\circ}$  E. longitude and  $32^{\circ}$  and  $37^{\circ}$  N. latitude. At present the whole region is administered by a Commissioner, posted at Gilgit, who is directly under the control of Ministry of Kashmir Affairs and Northern Areas, Government of Pakistan. For administrative purposes the entire region is subdivided into three districts of Gilgit, Baltistan and Diamar, each under a Deputy Commissioner. In 1972 all the older autonomous states and political districts were merged into these three newly-established districts, having their headquarters at Gilgit, Skardu and Chilas. Before this merger there were two agencies of Gilgit and Baltistan. Gilgit agency included the autonomous states of Hunza and Nagir, political districts of Ishkoman, Yasin, Punial and Koh-i-Ghizar, and also the subdivision of Chilas and tribal areas of Darel and Tangir. Chilas subdivision extended from the confluence of the Astor river with the Indus to Seo on



the right bank and Jalkot on the left bank of the Indus river. Today the western boundary of Chilas district is limited to Shatial bridge on the Indus. Territory beyond is incorporated in the Kohistan district of N.W. Frontier Province. This Kohistan is really the *Yaghistan* of the British time, where British authority was hardly felt. Gilgit district on the west, touches the boundary of Chitral, which is now a district in N.W. Frontier Province, on the east it touches China Border at Shimsal pass and Khunjerab pass, and on the north borders Wakhan Province of Afghanistan and culminates at Mintaka Pass (4715 m.), where meet Afghanistan, U.S.S.R., China and Pakistan. Baltistan has been known, in Muslim accounts, as *Tibet-i-Khurd* (See below). Originally it consisted of seven circles, viz. Rondu, Skardu, Shigar, Kiris, Khaplu, Tolti and Kharmong, each having its own semi-independent *Raja* or autonomous ruler. In 1947 two tehsils of Kargil and Ladakh also belonged to Baltistan but they fell outside the control of the administration of Baltistan as a result of ceasefire agreement with India in 1948. The Baltistan Agency, as constituted, was made up of Skardu Tehsil of original Ladakh district and thirty-four villages of Kargil tehsil and Gurez sub-tehsil. The administration of Baltistan was taken over by the Government of Pakistan in November 1948 and an Additional Political Agent appointed at Skardu under the overall control of the political agent, Gilgit. From 1961 onwards, however, the Additional Political Agent, Skardu, was made directly responsible to the Resident and in January, 1964, the Additional Agency of Baltistan was formally upgraded to a full-fledged Agency headed by a political Agent. This position continued until 1972 when Baltistan became a district under a Deputy Commissioner.<sup>12</sup>

### Evolution of the Present Boundary

Historically and culturally greater part of the Kohistan district is a part of Northern Areas. It was considered so until late in the beginning of the present century, when the ruler of Swat, probably with the connivance of the British Master, raided right up to the western bank of the Indus and advanced even to Kandia valley in order to establish his administrative control over the region. Even then the part, east of the Indus remained *Yaghistan* (Unadministered area). This is confirmed by the following letter No. 381 of 1913 from S.M. Fraser, Resident in Kashmir to Lt. Col. Sir George Roose-Keppel, Chief Commissioner of Peshawar, dated 24th February, 1913

. . . . The Jalkotis, as you are aware, are a Kohistan tribe occupying a valley on the Indus of the south-west of Chilas and west of Kaghan in the Hazara district. Their country is independent territory but their political rela-

tions, so far as such relations exist, have been mainly with Gilgit Agency . . . . Further I think it will be agreed that since Jalkot falls naturally within the sphere of the Gilgit Agency, by reasons of geographical position, race, language and inter-communication, it is politically expedient for the initiative to lie with Chilas authorities.

This position is further confirmed in a letter,<sup>14</sup> no. Y 103/27, dated 12th January, 1928 from the Resident in Kashmir to Col. C.P. Gunter, Director of Frontier Circle, Survey of India, wherein he writes

The territory comprised within the Gilgit Agency falls into three categories — viz.

- (1) Kashmir State territory, i.e. Gilgit Wazarat, comprising Gilgit Tehsil (including Bunji) with its Niabat of Astor.
- (2) The political districts, i.e. Hunza, Nagir, Punial, Yasin, Kuh-Gizar, Ishakoman and the republic of Chilas.
- (3) Un-administered area, i.e. Darel, Tangir, Kandia (Killi), Jalkot, Sazin, Shatial and Harban.

This position remained until 1947 and even later in 1950, when with the constitution of Kohistan district the area was separated from Gilgit Agency. Even today Thakot bridge on the Indus, built by the Chinese, marks a gateway to Korakorum Highway.

As far as the boundary along the Ghizar river, right upto Chitral is concerned, there has been historical and cultural link in these sub-Hindukush areas all the time. On the other hand, as noted by H.C. Thomsen,<sup>15</sup> "There is no community between the people of Bajaur and the tribes subject to the Mehtar of Chitral, who are different in race, in sentiment, and in character" History has linked the story of Chitral with that of Gilgit region. The position in the last century is well summed up by G. Robertson, "When he (Amanul Mulk, the great Mehtar of Chitral) died in 1892, from being merely a younger son of the Mehtar of lower Chitral, he had gained possession of the whole of the hill country bordering the south of the Hindukush from the limits of Gilgit Kafiristan, the Kunar valley as far as the Asmar frontier, and he also held real, if somewhat undefined, authority in Darel, Tangir and eastern Kafiristan."<sup>16</sup> In a subsequent chapter<sup>17</sup> the complete story of relationship between the Kator family of Chitral and the Khushavakt family of Yasin and how the Kashmir Maharaja came into intrude in their affairs is told. Later as a result of the British Frontier policy and their motivation to demarcate the boundary line made the British to intervene in the local politics of Chitral.<sup>18</sup> This intention is clearly stated in a letter<sup>19</sup> of the Foreign Department, Government of India dated 19th Oct. 1892 to Secretary of State for India. In another letter no. 161 it is recommended. "The charge of Chitral up to the Shandur and Darkot Passes may now be conveniently separated from the Gilgit Agency" This recommendation was fulfilled with the establishment of the Malakand Agency, when the

affairs of Chitral were finally transferred to this Agency. Since that time Chitral has been linked to Frontier and Kohi-i-Gizar up to Shandur Pass became the boundary of Gilgit Agency on this side.

The northern boundary was the result of the Anglo-Russian rivalry in the nineteenth century for clearly defining sphere of influence in the Hindukush region south of Pamir. The way to its achieving lay in the general policy, as is well said by Robertson, "The love of buffer states is deeply rooted in the heart of British Foreign Offices, London or Indian; but Indian Frontier Authorities have an inveterate tendency to improve on that cherished system, by erecting subordinate buffer-states against the larger varieties".<sup>20</sup> The position became all the more important because of the advancing interests of Russia and Britain and dwindling powers of China and Afghanistan. Both the big powers had essayed to have direct dealings with Afghanistan. This Anglo-Russian rivalry over the control of the court of Amir of Kabul resulted in the first Anglo-Afghan War (1838-1842). The war ended with the first military setback for the British in the area. But John Wood of the East India Company, as a member of Sir Alexander Burnes' mission, had gone ahead to explore the Pamir area in 1836-1838 with the intention of discovering the source of the Oxus. It was this trip which brought first real information about the geographical and political situation of the region.<sup>21</sup> It led to the discovery of the old Silk Road that connected China with Afghanistan south of Pamir and north of Chitral over a small corridor that has come to be known as Wakhan — a narrow area of nomad Khirghiz population. Later exploration showed close relationship between the Mirs of Badakhshan and those of Hunza and Chitral, who were said to pay tribute to the ruler of Badakhshan.<sup>22</sup> The hereditary chief of Wakhan, Mir Fattah Ali Shah also showed allegiance to the ruler of Badakhshan. Later Amir Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan conquered Badakhshan and its Amu Darya dependencies of Shignan and Darwaz and, also took control of Wakhan, whose ruler Ali Mardan Shah fled to Chitral. The Amir advanced right up to Pamirs as far as Yashik Kul.<sup>23</sup> As a result of the Anglo-Russian Commission the demarcation of the boundaries between Russia, Afghanistan, the British Indian Empire and China was completed. The Wakhan corridor and the Afghan Pamirs were established as a "neutral ground", or buffer zone between three of the world's strongest powers. It gave the narrow district of Wakhan to the Amir of Afghanistan.<sup>24</sup> The district included the strip south of the Pamir and Oxus rivers, wherein lay the villages of Khandud, Qila-i-Panja and Buza-i-Gumbaz — all within Great Pamir and Little Pamir and connected by Sarhad river and Wakhjir river. Borogil Pass was the main historical *dar* opening a route to Yasin and further south. At the eastern tip lies Mintaka Pass.

This demarcation, however, did not settle the rights of the Mir of Hunza, who continued to have a claim beyond Mintaka in the region of Tashkurgan. The actual boundary of this claim is described by A.H. MacMahon:<sup>25</sup>

“The northern watershed of the Tagdumbas to Pamir from the Wakhijir Pass through the Payik peak to Ilijilga, about a mile above Dafdar, thence across the river to the Zankan nullah; thence through Mazar and over the range to Urok, a point on the Yarkand river between Sibjaida and Itakturuk. Thence it runs along the northern watershed of the Raskam valley to the junction of the Bazar Dara river and the Yarkand river. From thence southwards over the mountains to the Mustagh river leaving Aghil Dewan and Aghil pass within Hunza limits”. The same authority gives the Hunza version of the origin of these rights: . . . Their first dealings with China date from the time of the Hunza Chief, Shah Salim Khan I, son of Ayesho (the eighth ancestor of the present Chief), who defeated the Khirgiz of the Tagumbash and pursued them as far as Tashkurgan. To celebrate this victory Shah Salim Khan erected a stone cairn at Dafdar and sent a trophy of Khirgiz head to the Chinese with a message that Hunza territory henceforth extended to Dafdar. The Chinese in return also sent presents which Hunza acknowledged by a small gift of Gold-dust, and from this originated the custom of an annual inter-change of presents which continues upto the present time. From that time onwards the Kanjuts have levied revenue in kind annually from the Khirgiz of the Taghdumbash Pamir and Raskam, with the exception of the period between 1865 and 1878 when Yakub Beg ruled in Turkestan. Some years ago, in the time of Mir Ghazan Khan, the present Mir's father, (I understood about 1885) the Sarikulis of Tashkurgan declined to pay revenue to Hunza, contending that Tashkurgan was outside Kanjut limits. Khan Dotai, the then Taotai of Kashgar and who is now the present Taotai of Kashgar, settled this dispute in person at Tashkurgan and laid down that Hunza rights extended over the Taghdumbash and the Khunjerab Pamir to Dafdar, and an agreement to that effect was drawn up and signed by him and the Sarikuli headmen. In this document the northern limits of Hunza territory is said to have been recorded as Sirightash, a nullah close by Ilijilga, and this and other boundaries were duly recorded.

In another letter<sup>26</sup> no. 1025 of 1914, dated 10th April, 1914, from Major A.D. Macpherson, P.A. Gilgit to Resident in Kashmir, it is stated; “The Chinese, i.e. the Taotai of Kashgar and the Amban of Yarkand had, after several years negotiation with the Mir, eventually recognized Hunza occupancy rights in Raskam. A formal agreement was drawn up by the Amban of Yarkand leaving to the

Mir certain specified places in Raskam on conditions which were stated in the agreement, the most important of which were the payment of an annual tribute in silver to the Chinese by the Mir, and the latter's recognition of Chinese jurisdiction over his subjects in Raskam. The Kanjuts were also forbidden to construct fortifications or defensive positions of any kind. The places leased to the Mir were specified in the agreement as follows:

“On the west bank of the Raskam River, Oitughrak, Kuktash, Ophrang, Uruklok, Iliksue, and on the east bank Azghar and Ursur. “(See map no. 3)

This position continued to hold even after British forcefully assailed Hunza in 1891. The British resented the exchange of presents between Hunza and China. They offered to give land in substitute to the people of Hunza. In response Sir Muhammad Nazim Khan, Mir of Hunza, in his letter<sup>27</sup> dated 5th April 1937 wrote to P.A in Gilgit:

I have great pleasure in promising that I will stop exchanging the annual presents with the Chinese, will give up all rights such as the right to graze cattle beyond Kilak and Mintika, the right to collect grazing dues in Taghdumbash and the right to cultivate lands in Raskam. . . .

I am very grateful for the increase of Rs. 3000/- per annum in my subsidy as Mir of Hunza, and for the grant of a jagir in the Bugrot Nullah so long as the agreement in respect of the Gilgit sub-division between the Government of India and His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir remains in force.

This whole relationship between Hunza and China has been thoroughly investigated by Dr. I Muller Stellrecht.<sup>28</sup> She calls the relationship as “tribute relationship” which continued all along. She concludes: “Things went on in this way till 1946, interrupted only during times of political trouble in Eastern Turkestan. Chinese suzerainty claims on Hunza were finally renounced only in 1963 with the treaty between Pakistan and the Peoples Republic of China. China gave up all claims on Pakistani territory and Pakistan did the same with respect to territorial demands to Chinese border areas, which it had inherited from the British.

The agreement between China and Pakistan made on 2 March 1963 makes the following provision:

“The two Parties have fixed, as follows, the alignment of the entire boundary line between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan:

“(1) Commencing from its northwestern extremity at Height 5630 metres (a peak, the reference co-ordinates of which are approximately longitude 74 degrees 34 minutes E and latitude 37 degrees 03 minutes N), the boundary line runs generally eastward and then southeastward strictly along the main watershed between

the tributaries of the Tashkurgan River of the Tarim River system on the one hand and the tributaries of the Hunza River of the Indus River system on the other hand, passing through the Kilik Daban (Dawan), the Mintaka Daban (Pass), the Kharchanai Daban (named on the Chinese map only), the Mutsjilga Daban (named on the Chinese map only), and the Parpiik Pass (named on the Pakistan map only), and reaches the Khunjerab (Yutr) Daban (Pass)

“(2) After passing through the Khunjerab (Yutr) Daban (Pass) the boundary line runs generally southward along the above-mentioned main watershed upto a mountain-top south of this daban (Pass,) where it leaves the main watershed to follow the crest of a spur lying generally in a southeasterly direction, which is the watershed between the Akjilga River (a nameless corresponding river on the Pakistan map) on the one hand, and the Taghdumbash (Oprang) River and the Keliman Su (Oprang Jilga) on the other hand. According to the map of the Chinese side, the boundary line, after leaving the southeastern extremity of this spur, runs along a small section of the middle line of the bed of the Keliman Su to reach its confluence with the Kelechin River. According to the map of the Pakistan side, the boundary line after leaving the southeastern extremity of this spur, reaches the sharp bend of the Shaksgam or Muztagh River.

“(3) From the aforesaid point, the boundary line runs up the Kelechin River (Shaksgam or Muztagh River) along the middle line of its bed to its confluence (reference co-ordinates approximately longitude 76 degrees 02 minutes E and latitude 36 degrees 26 minutes N) with the Shorbulak Daria (Shimshal River or Braldu River):”

“(4) From the confluence of the aforesaid two rivers, the boundary line, according to the map of the Chinese side, ascends the crest of a spur and runs along it to join the Karakoram Range main watershed at a mountain-top (reference co-ordinates approximately longitude 75 degrees 54 minutes E and latitude 36 degrees 15 minutes N), which on this map is shown as belonging to the Shorbulak Mountain. According to the map of the Pakistan side, the boundary line from the confluence of the above mentioned two rivers ascends the crest of a corresponding spur and runs along it, passing through Height 6520 metres (21, 390 feet) till it joins the Karakoram Range main watershed at a peak (reference co-ordinates approximately longitude 75 degrees 57 minutes E and latitude 36 degrees 03 minutes N).

“(5) Thence, the boundary line, running generally southward and then eastward, strictly follows Karakoram Range main watershed which separates the Tarim River drainage system from the Indus River drainage system, passing through the east Mustagh Pass

(Muztagh Pass), the top of the Chogri Peak (K2), the top of the Broad Peak, the top of the Casherbrum Mountain (8968), the Indirakoli Pass (named on the Chinese map only) and the top of the Teram Kangri Peak, and reaches its southeastern extremity at the Karakoram Pass”.

## GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES

From outer boundary to its internal make-up, the land presents certain specific features that have remained constant in recent geological history. It is the internal peculiarities that have dominated human cultural build. The human history is a reflex of the internal physical conditions. It is these conditions which determine the interplay of historical events. Man, in his endeavour to surmount these difficulties, has built up the story of his struggle. An understanding of these local physical conditions will pave the way for the understanding of the history of man.

## SOUTHERN ROUTES AND PASSES

The physical conditions can be understood from two different angles: the first related to the passes and the routes that lead from outside into this mysterious land and open the land for outside interference; and the second is the internal break-up into smaller valleys, plateaus and hill girt sub-zones that have helped in the sustenance of smaller communities, tribes and states and in the growth of a behaviour pattern among them in order to evolve a higher sense of human communication and cooperation. This last phase has never been an easy response to local insurmountable physical aspect of the land. On the other hand whenever such a higher institutionalised relationship was established, it was the result of concerted human organization to break the physical barriers and force open a way to human cooperation by unprecedented activity, such as the building of the Karakorum Highway in recent years, that has opened bright prospects for the future. Similarly when in future Indus water power is galvanised to the good of local man, the prosperity of the land could be unprecedented.

It is not only the Indus river and its tributaries that dominate the landscape of Northern Areas of Pakistan but also a chain of mountains that present varied sky-line to the land. The whole region is primarily trans-Kashmir land, the mountain chain and deep valleys separating one from the other, with the exception of the control line established after the cease-fire of December 1948. There have been two traditional passes opening routes from Kashmir to Northern Areas; the first is the Tragbal pass on the north-

west through which passed the Gilgit Transport Road via Astor to Gilgit, and the second is the Dras pass, or better known by its Ladakhi name Zoji-La pass, which opened the route to Kargil and Skardu. The Gilgit Transport Road ran from Gurez, which is now in Indian-occupied Kashmir, to Kamri pass, now in Pakistan hands, to Rattu and beyond to Astor. From Rattu one can also go directly via Shuntar Pass to Kel and Shardi in Azad Kashmir. On the north-eastern side both Dras and Kargil are in Indian occupied territory. The control line on Pakistan side extends beyond Gultari and Olding. The important bridge of Marol on the junction of Suru and Indus rivers is in Pakistani hands.

Between the two routes lies the main chain that runs from Nanga Parbat to Nunkun in Ladakh. Frederic Drew<sup>29</sup> has given a good description of this Chain:

“Commencing with the great mass of which a part is called Nanga Parbat or Diyamir, we there find ridges and spurs, many points of which are over 20,000 feet high; the highest point of the whole mass (the one which bears the name) is 26, 629 feet above the sea; this is not quite on the watershed between the Indus and the Jhelum, but is part of a branch that divides the Astor and Chilas rivers, both of which flow into the Indus at no great distance from one another. This particular summit is a peak which rises from a lofty ridge that for 10 miles is over 22,000 feet in height; the faces of this ridge, on the east and the south, make an enormous cliff, or steep fall, of from 6000 to 10,000 feet, on the greater part of which snow remains clinging, but it is in part of rocky precipices; from the highest point great buttresses radiate. Large glaciers take their origin from the mountain . . . . The southern part of Nanga Parbat Ridge becomes the watershed between the Indus and Jhelum basins, dividing the water that flows into the Astor stream from that which finds its way into the Kishanganga. At this part it is 20,000 feet high, and it originates glaciers on both sides. From here, for 120 miles reckoned on a straight line . . . . takes a general south-easterly direction . . . . There are several gaps in the ridge that are passable. Two much-traversed roads, which join the Kishanganga and Astor rivers, go over passes of 13,200 and 13,500 feet while further east passes lead from the former river valley into the basin of the Dras river . . . . (Again) the ridge is broken, and a not difficult Pass occurs which directly connects the Tilel branch of the Kishanganga Valley with Dras. A few miles south of this gap occurs the branching of the mountain mass that goes to make the north boundary of Kashmir. . . . Again, a few miles further on, still the south-east, and we come to where there is a gap in the mountains, which is the lowest passage, between the Indus on the one side and the Chenab and Jhelum basins on the other, along



the whole lengths of 300 miles from the eastern sources of the Chenab to the head of the Khaghan tributary of the Jhelum. This Pass is called Zoji-La by the Tibetans, the Ludakhis, by others it is commonly called the Dras Pass.”

### **Deosai Plateau**

Between the two routes, mentioned above, that lead from Kashmir to Northern Areas, there is a tract of land, almost uninhabited, called Deosai plateau, which is “a mass of high land, surrounded by yet higher mountains. The centre of it lies 25 miles south — North-west from Skardu, while the nearer edge is only 10 miles from that place. There is a river of mountains, irregular, but still of a general circular form, the diameter of which, from crest to crest of the ridge is about 25 miles. These mountains make a rugged serrated barrier of a height of from 16,000 to 17,000 feet. Within this ring is flat, though not completely flat, country, made up of plateaus more or less separated by flat valleys a few hundred feet below them in level”. The drainage of the area converges to the Centre, then the streams being united, the water flows away through an opening in the hills at the south-east corner by a stream called the Shigar River, which flows into the Dras River and finally to the Indus. The Deosai plateau is of glacial origin when the water flowing from the mountains filled the hollows with their deposits and later with a change of the climate denudation started and the valleys were cut-out as continuations of the hollows of the mountains and the intermediate spreads of stony table — land were left.<sup>30</sup> The most frequented route between Kashmir and Skardu lay over this plateau. It was crossed by Durand in 1889. He writes: “The Deosai plain is a great basin about forty miles across, averaging twelve thousand feet in height, and surrounded by a circle of snows rising three to four thousand feet higher. It is cut up by rolling spurs projecting from the main ranges into numerous broad shallow valleys, through which run rapid streams. We were too early in crossing it, and the grass had not properly grown, though there were patches here and there and some flowers. It was a most desolate scene. The bare plains stretch away for miles without the vestige of a tree and with only here and there a few patches of stunted dwarfed juniper. Later on, when grass springs up, they become favourite grazing grounds. . . . The only animal life is furnished by the marmots.”<sup>31</sup> The present road to Skardu over Deosai from Astor passes through Gudai, Chilim, Chacnok pass, Barapani, Al Malik pass and reaches Satpara lake near Skardu. Alternatively there are two other routes from Astor for Skardu. Opposite Astor is

Los and then Parishin. From Parishin two routes — one via Shegar — tham and another via Theraro — lead to Skardu.

### Astor

Astor is the headquarter of a tehsil in the district of Chilas. It has a big bazar by the side of the old dilapidated fort of the old Raja, later occupied by the Sikhs. In the Bazar there is a Jami Masjid, newly enlarged, near the mosque, to its north-west, is a *Mazar* of an old *Pir*, by name Sultan Baba. It is now in a very dilapidated condition. Astor is famous for *Zira*, almonds, walnut, apples, chilgoza and medicinal herbs. A road from Astor leads to Gorkot, 6 miles to the south and across the river is the hamlet of Pakuridas, where two rivers meet, one, Darya Burzil coming from the important Burzil Pass and another, Darya Rattu coming from Rattu. It is after their meeting that the name of Astor river is given to the combined flow. Drew<sup>32</sup> has given a description.

The village of Astor is situated on the western side of the valley, as the junction of one of these tributary valleys which come down from the Nanga Parbat Ridge. It is on the remnant of an alluvial plateau, at a height of some 500 feet above the main river. This place, which used to be the seat of a Dard Raja, is now a cantonment of the Maharaja's troops, the chief station for the Gilgit Brigade . . . . At Astor and for many miles on there is one general character of the valley; at the bottom it is very narrow; the river is quite confined between the ends of great spurs from the lofty mountain ridges on both sides. The cultivation is on very small spaces, usually some hundreds of feet above the valley — bottom. The hill sides are partly broken into cliffs and partly of a smooth surface, grown over with grass in tufts, and with bushes of pencil cedar scattered over, while in parts, sheltered from the sun, *Pinus excelsa* grows of small size and makes a thin forest; above, the mountain often rise to lofty rocky and snowy peaks”.

Not far from Astor is the beautiful Rama lake, wherefrom one can have a beautiful view of Nanga Parbat. When Durand<sup>33</sup> crossed Astor valley, on his way to Gilgit, the road led over precipitous hill higher up. Today the whole communication line is changed. From Astor to Harcho the road has already been widened at a lower level. Further ahead the work is to be shortly taken in hand. Next place is Chikdas, on the top of which is located the old village of Dashkin, reputed to have archaeological remains. At Chikdas Astor river can be crossed by a bridge and one can go to Rondu by foot. From Chikdas the road goes to Mushkin and then to Doian. At Mushkin there is a large forested area on the top. From Doian a descent into the Indus valley starts. Durand gives a good descrip-

tion hereafter:

“We moved up to a camp about eleven thousand feet high, from which we had the most superb views. We were on a spur of Nanga Parbat, the watershed between the Indus and Astor rivers, and surrounded by a complete ring of snow-peaks, the average height of which is about twenty thousand feet. The view from the crest, a couple of thousand feet above our camp is one of the finest, I should think in the world, certainly one of the finest in the Hindukush. In a gorge nine thousand feet below, at your very feet, runs the Indus, giving that depth and proportion which is so often lacking in a mountain view; to the south solitary, sublime, rises in one sweep from the spot on which you stand the mighty mass of Nanga Parbat, thirteen thousand feet of snow-field and glacier, to the east, magnificent peaks succeed each other till they join the main chain of the Hindukush, which stretches in an unbroken line before you; while to the west the Hindu Raj towers over the Indus, backed by the snows of Chitral and Pathan Kohistan”.

Further ahead the road dropped down to Hattu Pir six thousand feet in about five miles to Ramghat bridge or *Shaitan Nala*. At that time Ramghat was a place of great importance as the early line of communication between Gilgit and Astor but now the road follows the right bank of Astor river and onto Bunji. Some years ago Pratap *pul* connected Bunji to Gilgit but now a new bridge has been built that connects Bunji to Jaglot and on to Gilgit.

## Bunji

Bunji plain today is a wide open, deserted stretch of land that slopes down from the southern hill towards the Indus river. Durand<sup>34</sup> describes the catastrophe that overtook the plain;

“This plain extends north for another ten miles, and is reported to have been richly cultivated, to have been partially ruined during the numerous wars at the beginning of the 19th century and to have had its devastation completed by the great flood in 1841. This was caused by a gigantic landslip, probably following an earthquake. This whole hill side facing the Indus, just above Lechur *nullah*, from a height of about four thousand feet above the river, was precipitated into the valley below, impinging on the opposite bank, and bringing down on that side a secondary hill-fall. The course of the river was completely arrested by a huge dam thousands of feet thick and some hundreds high; the water must have risen at the dam to fully a thousand feet above its present level. Whatever may have been the ordinary level then, the Bunji plain was converted into a lake, and the Gilgit river, which runs into the Indus six miles above Bunji was dammed up for thirty miles to

just below the present fort of Gilgit. The tradition is that the dam held for months, and that, when it began to cut, the river completed its work in one day, and swept down in a solid wall of water carrying all before it. . . . All down the Indus valley ruined village lands covered with sand still attest the violence of the flood. You pass through a mile or more of the great dam, a mass of crumpled and distorted hill rocks, on the road by the left bank of the Indus to Chilas; and the remains of a great pile of drift-wood left by the flood, which had for fifty years formed an inexhaustible supply of fire-wood for every traveller, shepherd, shikari, or raider who had passed that way, was still to be seen a year or two ago."

### Baltistan

Now, following the second route from Dras, we can reach Skardu in Baltistan. Skardu can also be reached directly from Ladakh along the Indus river, on the banks of which are Parkuta, Tolti, Kharmong and Olding. Drew<sup>34</sup> explains: "The country itself is by the Ladakhis called *Balti*, and a native of it is called *Balti-pa*; but the Kashmiris and other neighbours use the word *Balti* as an adjective, and call the country, according to the Persian form, *Baltistan*, or the place of the *Baltis*."

Regarding the geographic feature, Drew writes: "Baltistan is composed of enormous mountain — chains or masses of mountain. Of these only a study of the map will make clear the direction. As to height while 18000 to 20,000 feet is common, there are in the north-easterly parts, peaks of 25,000 and 26,000 and one above 28,000 feet. These give rise to the largest known glaciers out of the Arctic regions. Of the valleys, the most important are the Indus valley, and the valley of the Shayok that joins it, and that of Shigar, which combines with the united valley at Skardu. At this meeting of the waters, the valley is widened. There is left between the mountains curving, crescent shaped plain, in length 20 miles, in width varying from one mile to five. In the widest part are two isolated hills, about 1000 feet in height; between these flows the Indus . . . Skardu itself is out in the plain, 7440 feet above the sea, just at the foot of the two isolated rocks; this, rising to 1000 feet above, overhangs it."<sup>35</sup>

### Skardu Valley

The Skardu valley itself was the bed of a glacial lake at some remote period, having been blocked by the great morains at the point where the Gilgit road branched off. The remnants of this lake are even today seen at Satpara and Kachura. When one passes from

Kachura towards Skardu, the road that skirts the valley below gives a panoramic view of the wide expanses of the valley that once formed the bed of the lake. In the last century Skardu was just a village but today it is a growing city, extending up from the ruined mound of a Buddhist monastery at the south-east towards the Kharpochu fort with a long bazar along the main highway right up to Deputy Commissioner's bungalow and even going beyond along the Khaplu road. Another road branches eastward to Satpara lake and a by-road takes one to the old place where the newly-built palace of the Raja of the Skardu stands. In the heart of the city is the Jami Masjid and close by an old graveyard, where old *Mujtahids* are buried. Far to the south-west is the site of Gambas Skardu, where an old Jamat Khana still stands in a dilapidated condition. The crown of the city is the Kharpochu fort that towers high at the edge of a hillock, to which water was brought by a water channel, built of blocks of stone, from Satpara lake. As Durand<sup>36</sup> saw the place, "Skardu, the capital of Baltistan, or Little Tibet, is picturesque; it is a village set in cultivation, above which stands an old fort perched on a great rock, by the waters of the Indus. The valley is several miles wide, mostly an expanse of sand-hill and rocky mounds, with scattered stretches of cultivation in between. It is shut in by huge bare mountains, with tremendous cliffs and almost perpendicular shingle slopes, which close in at each end of the valley so much that you seem to stand in a basin with absolutely no outlet. We found Skardu possessed of an odious climate, consisting of considerable heat in the day time, and of a gale of wind at night which carried clouds of fine sand down the valley. It is said to be always windy here, and consequently very cold in winter.

Skardu holds a very strategic position towards Ladakh, which is in Indian hands, on one side, and on the other, beyond Karakorum pass, is the Yarkand valley, which is in China. If one goes up along the Indus river, right at the border, between Pakistan and India, beyond Olding and Gangani, are huge sandy mounds, said to have been exploited by gold diggers in ancient time.<sup>37</sup> Two more valleys dominate the landscape of Baltistan: one is the famous historic Shigar valley along the Shigar river, which opens two routes — one across Hispar glacier to Nagir and another across Braldu towards Yarkand; the second is the Shayok valley along the Shayok river, which joins the Indus river not far from Kiris. If we follow the right bank of the river, we can go to Karak, Dogani and then turn to Saling, Machelo and Hospai or towards Thalich, Balagund, Haldi, Thagas and over to Salture/Saltoro on way to Yarkand. If we follow the left bank of Shayok river we can reach the important

centre of Khaplu, beyond which lie Siksha, Frano and Simari, the last post on the Pakistan side. The upper reaches of Shayok valley is incorporated in the Nobra district of Ladakh in Indian hands. The dividing line between India and Pakistan is the Siachen Glacier on this side, the famous glacier, the top of which has been climbed by mountaineers from Pakistan side but today it is being disputed by the firing squads of Pakistan and India.

### Shigar Valley

Shigar river, which is formed by the union of Basha and Braldo streams, come from north-west and joins the Indus river at Skardu. The approach is over a sandy desert and across a low hill, which gives a beautiful view of the Shigar valley. Drew<sup>38</sup> describes the valley: "The valley of Shigar, from the village of that name upwards for 24 miles, is some three miles in width. Along both sides rise steep rocky mountains; the immediate peaks are 7000 feet or so above the valley; more lofty ones stand behind. The valley itself, at a general level of 8000 feet, is occupied partly by the sandy and stony bed in which the river channels are made, and partly by side alluvial deposits sloping down to that flat. On both sides cultivation occurs opposite each ravine mouth, for there the waters of the side stream can be brought to irrigate the ground. The village of Shigar is a long tract of cultivated land on the left bank of the river, where the ground slopes up gently to the base of the mountains. Here grow rich crops of wheat, barley, millet, and other grains, while all around each corn-field, their roots watered by the same channels that are provided for the irrigation, is a most luxuriant growth of apricot trees, which bear fruit of greater perfection than is met with in any other part of Baltistan or of the neighbouring countries. This, to my mind, is the most delightful place in all Baltistan".

Following up the Basha valley the villages become rarer. At the end is the village of Arandu, close to the end of a huge glacier that fills up the valley. The road to Nagir goes up a ravine due north from Arandu and not in the valley of this large glacier. At the head of Braldo valley is the Baltoro glacier, 35 miles long. Its northern ridge rises to the height of 28,265 feet, the peak called K2. The road to Yarkand led some distance up the Baltoro glacier and then across the range, called Mustagh. New ice changes have now opened the wellknown Mustagh Pass.

### Khaplu

Khaplu is the sub-divisional headquarter of the long Shayok

Valley. Not far from this place is the confluence of the Hoshay and Shayok streams. The confluence makes a wide expanse of water. On the opposite side is Saling and Machelu. Khaplu has a long line of Bazar that leads to the palace of the old Yabgu Raja of this place. There are many old Khanqahs and mosques. The settlement area is limited. It occupies the slope of a hill but the spot is important historically. On way to Khaplu from Skardu one comes to Gol, where we have rock carvings and inscriptions, then we go to Yugo, again a place of Buddhist carvings.

### Ronuu

At Kachura, about twenty five miles away from Skardu there are two natural lakes, a small one and a big one. The lakes present a marvellous view of the surrounding. If we follow the right bank of the river upward, we can go to Kuwardo. Down the river the valley gets narrower and narrower. The lowest part of the lower gorge is called Rondu, which is a seat of an old Raja dependent on the Raja of Skardu. Drew<sup>38a</sup> describes: "Rondu village, which has an elevation of 6700 feet is a strangely situated place; it occupies little shelves, as it were, on the rock. A ravine that comes down from the southern mountains is here narrowed up to a deep gully of 30 feet in width, with vertical rocky sides, along these cliffs the water, taken from higher up the stream, is led in wooden troughs supported in one way or another as the people have been able to manage: on coming clear of the gully it is distributed in little channels throughout the village, of which the whole area is but small".

### Nagar (or Nager or Nagir)

As noted before, from Shighar one can pass to Nagar via Hispar glacier. Biddulph<sup>39</sup> writes: "The rulers of Nagar, who are descended from the first-named of the two brothers, are called Maghlote, the present *Thum* being Jaffer Zahid Khan. Though the smaller of the *two states*, Nagar has the larger population, owing to the greater amount of cultivable ground which it contains. The population is about 10,000 souls. The land, where cultivation, is extremely fertile and bears exceptionally heavy crops, and the Nagar streams are rich in gold. The country is especially famous for its apricots, which are dried and exported to the Punjab in considerable quantities. Nearby, opposite Hunza, the Myetsil river, a considerable stream, joins the main river from the south-west. The fort of Nagar and the Thum's house are on the southern side of this stream, about 3 miles from the junction, at an elevation of 8000

feet above the sea. Both sides of this valley belong to Nagar and it forms the eastern boundary of the state. At the head of it is the difficult and dangerous road over the Hispar pass into the Shigar valley”.

Durand shares the same opinion about Nagar, or better spelt as Nagir.<sup>40</sup> He further adds: “Nagar has practically no outlet except down the river to Gilgit. Shut into the east by impossible mountains, and to the south by the great Rakaposhi range, there is only one bare possibility of reaching Baltistan by the Hispar pass; there is a tradition that the road was once used”. The present territory of Nagir, which is a sub-division, spreads across Nagir river on the left side of the Hunza river right upto Sikandarabad, a newly-built sub-divisional headquarter and then it spills over the right side of Hunza river at Chalt.

## Hunza

This is also now a subdivision in Gilgit district with its present chief places being Karimabad and Aliabad. The old forts of Baltit and Altit are now in disuse. The old village of Ganesh still stands at the bottom of Karimabad Durand<sup>41</sup> gives a concise historico-geographical description: “The state of Hunza was the most important of the two, from the fact that its possession of the passes leading to the Pamirs, and to the valley of the Yarkand river, gave it the opportunity, in the picturesque Persian phrase, of ‘striking the road’ and looting the caravans on their way between Turkestan and India. The rulers of Hunza availed themselves of this commanding position freely; their name was a terror to the merchant and to the gentle Kirghiz, and their success was such that certain roads were entirely abandoned by traders; tracts of country north of the passes were completely depopulated, and Hunza was the centre of the slave trade, the place to which the merchants of Badakhshan regularly came to replenish their stocks. The rulers of Hunza were rich compared to those of Nagir, and secure in the fastnesses of their mountains; they snapped their finger at China and Kashmir, and with fine impartiality plundered caravans to the north and kidnapped slaves to the south. But brigands by profession as the people were, they appear to have admirable cultivation of their ground, the immense and persistent labour spent on their irrigation channels, and on the retaining walls of their terraced fields, showed that they were worthy of better things. The country itself is some hundred miles in length: from Chalt to Hunza, a distance of about twenty-five miles it lies entirely on the right bank of the Hunza river: above Hunza, as far as the passes of the Hindu-Kush it embraces both banks. It is bounded on the north and east by the Hindukush.



which separated it from the Pamirs and the valley of the Yarkand river; to the west, by a range which separated it from the Karumbar or Ishkoman valley; and to the south by the Hunza river which divides it from Nagir. The total population probably amounts to some ten thousand souls. The country is racially separated into two divisions, *Gujhal* and *Kanjut*. *Gujhal* begins at a village called Gulmit, eighteen miles above Hunza, stretches to the passes, and is inhabited by emigrants from Wakhan, who still speak the dialect of their original home. *Kanjut* or Hunza proper comprises the rest of the country, and is inhabited by a Dard race of the Yashkun caste, speaking Burishki.

The northern Wakhi speaking area is quite distinctive. Bidulph adds: "North of the great range of peaks which bisects the principality from south-east to north-west, the country opens out into rolling grass steppes, supporting a scattered pastoral population. Here the great wild sheep roams in large herds. This tract is known as little Goojhal, to distinguish it from Wakhan, which, south of the Hindoo Koosh, is known as Goojhal proper."<sup>42</sup>

**On Hunza proper, A.H. Dani. Writes:**

"Hunza is the name of a region, and not a city. It was wrongly identified by Dr. N.P. Chakravarti with *Hanosara* (or *Hanesara*) *vishaya* (district). Hunza has also nothing to do with the Huns. Hunza, which was formerly a state ruled by an old ruling dynasty of Mirs, is now a tehsil, within the district of Gilgit. It spreads along the Hunza river right upto its source at Khunjrab pass. The Korakorum Highway comes from this pass and follows the bank of the river to Dangor, where Hunza river joins the Gilgit river. The former rulers had two old forts, Altit and Baltit, both of which are skirted by Ultur nala that flows from Ultur peak of Passu glacier and joins the Hunza river at Altit. Both the old forts are situated at some height, the Altit near the Hunza river on its right bank and Baltit at the foot of Ultur glacier to the west of the nala. In between the forts is the barren spot, anciently called Suryas (i.e. the Sun), but now is used as a graveyard for the Mir's family members. The name of the spot is very significant, as according to the author of *Hududul Alam*, the ruling dynasty of Bolor (see below) traced its descent from *Aftab* i.e. the Sun). The present place of the Mir occupies one corner of the height close to the barren spot. Today this whole settlement site is known as Karimabad. From this height the enlarged settlement and wide-spread fields of Karimabad present a marvellous view in spring and summer — the whole looking like a semi-circular amphitheatre with green

fields, fruit trees and poplars, ranging in terraces from the river bank upto some height of the hill behind. The perpetual glacier of Rakaposhi on the opposite side gives a majestic appearance and adds a thrill of delight that belongs to Hunza. At the bottom is the old village, significantly called *Ganesh*, some five miles from Aliabad. The name recalls the last days of the popularity of the religion of Siva, as known from the inscriptions. This village of Ganesh, which was swept away several times by the river flood lies not far from the junction of two rivers, Hunza and Nagar, that actually meet at Shamez".<sup>43</sup>

## Gilgit

Gilgit today is the divisional headquarter and a growing city having three distinct parts — the cantonment, west of the airport, the civil area around the Commissioner's house, and the main city with bazars and private houses. Not far from the airport are a number of hotels and restaurants. On the river side is the Chinarbagh, in which stands the *Independence Memorial*. The polo ground is in the heart of the city. Nearby stood the *old fort*, the only remnant of which is a lone square tower. Now the city has spilt over the left bank of the Gilgit river. The degree college is on the left side. Not far from the college is the confluence of Hunza and Gilgit rivers. This confluence place is called *Kunodas*. It is actually an old graveyard going back to the early centuries of the Christian era, where one can still see carvings on big boulders. Right opposite the river is the suburb of Danyor, where towers the tall spire of the *dargah of Hazrat Shah Sultan Arif Shah*, one of the five well-known saints of the area. About seven miles away to the north is the Kar-gah Valley, which is now tapped for water and hiedal power. Closeby is the tall standing statue of *Buddha* sculpted on the rock. The Buddha overlooks a high ground, called Naupura, where there were Buddhist stupas, but later used as fortified site of the ancient rulers. The Karakorum Highway turns away at Danyor towards Hunza, after crossing the Gilgit river, thus the Highway does not touch the Gilgit city proper. The city is eight Km. away from the crossing. Skardu road also goes over a new bridge, called Alam bridge after the name of Sardar Mohammad Alam Khan, the first Pakistani Political Agent. It is twenty miles away from Gilgit. Closeby are the famous inscriptions of Alam Bridge on Skardu road. On the main Karakorum highway, on the other side, are other boulders having carvings. Jaglot is still five miles away, opposite which is Bunji'. The old Pratap pul has now been given up. A new bridge now joins Jaglot with Bunji.

In between Jaglot and Gilgit is Pari Bangla, built by the Maharaja of Kashmir and right at the bend of the river, overlooked by a mass of hill, is the historic Bhoop-singh-ki-Pari. From Jaglot side, just before reaching the Sai nala bridge one can have a beautiful view of the Nanga Parbat (Diamar). By following the fertile Sai Valley one can also descend into the valley of Gilgit direct.

In the last century Gilgit had a different appearance. Drew<sup>44</sup> describes:

“The district of Gilgit consists of the lower part of the valley of a river tributary to the Indus, which, rising in the mountains that bound Badakhshan and Chitral, flows south-eastward until it falls into the great river, a little above Bawanji (Bunji). The length of the course of this Gilgit river is 120 miles, which are thus divided — Yasin includes a length 60 miles, Punial of 25 miles, and Gilgit of 35 miles. Yasin is beyond the Maharaja of Kashmir’s boundary; Punial is within, it being governed by a Raja dependent on and aided by the Maharaja’s power, Gilgit is administered directly by the Maharaja’s officers. The lower part of the valley is from one to three miles wide, and is bounded on each side by steep rocky mountains; the valley itself contains stony alluvial plateaus, the greater part of whose area is arid and barren, but in front of each side ravine is a cultivated space, watered by the side stream, on which is a collection of houses. The line of mountains on the south-west side of the valley is divided most regularly by these ravines. On the north-east side the mountains are of an enormous size, they are well seen from the ridge separating the Se (Sai) and Gilgit valleys. The rocky spurs lead back to lofty snowy peaks, one of which is over 25000 feet in height.

“The village of Gilgit is on one of the watered tracts on the right bank of the river; here the cultivated ground is not part of the fan of a side stream, but is on the flat plain of the river alluvium, which makes a terrace thirty or forty feet above the water. The cultivation occupies the space of a square mile or so, extending from the river bank to the mountains, the irrigating water coming from the nearest side stream. The houses here are flat topped, they are scattered over the plain in twos and threes among groups of fruit trees, having been rebuilt in this way after the destruction that occurred in the various wars to which Gilgit has been subject; it will take long for the village to recover the abundance of fruit-trees which used to prevail in it.

“*The fort of Gilgit* (Pl 18) is the Maharaja’s chief strong hold in Dardistan. It has been at different times taken, destroyed, rebuilt, added to and altered. In 1870, when I was there, the appearance of it from the south-west was as represented on the next page. The central part with the high towers (one of them loftier than the

rest) was built by the ruler Gaur Rahman (correctly Gauhar Aman) during his second reign in Gilgit, when the Maharaja Gulab Singh's troops had been for a time dispossessed of it; this is built in the Dard style, of a wooden framework for the wall, filled in with stones; it was really a strong work for the country. But since this sketch was made since I saw the place, changes have occurred. In the spring of 1871 a severe earthquake threw down a considerable portion of the fort, and it has now, I believe, been rebuilt on a better plan".

North of Gilgit, along the Gilgit river, is the valley of Punial, famous for fruit cultivation. Sher Qila is the old fortified headquarter of the local Raja. The present subdivisional headquarter is Singol which is 40 miles away from Gilgit. About 13 miles away from Gilgit is Hanzel, where a Buddhist Stupa still stands. Probably this is the place which should be identified with *Hanosara*; mentioned in the Hatun Rock inscription. (see ante p. 3.5). If this identification is correct, then the old name of the Punial valley may be *Hanesara Vishaya*. On way to Singol the road is very rough. At places there is very little space between the road and the river. Six miles away from singol is Gakuch. It is thus described by Drew:<sup>45</sup>

"The highest point in the valley that I went to was Gakuji. This is the last village in Punial ..... Gakuji is, by my observations, 6940 feet above the sea; it is on a knob of rock behind which is a sloping plain, all this being 700 feet above the river. It is a cold windy place; snow falls there in winter to a depth varying from 6 inches to 1 foot 6 inches, and it stays for three months, here only one crop is grown, while near the level of the river, 600 feet down, two crops are got from the land. There is a strong fort at Gakuji; containing within it a spring of water". At the foot of Gakuji is a wide expanse of water where several streams join to expand the water. From Ishkoman valley comes the Ishkoman river. From Hatun comes the Hatun river. From Yasin comes the Yasin river. And from Gizar comes the Gizar river, that is henceforward called Gilgit river. This river comes from Gupis. If we follow the Ishkoman river we can reach Chatarkand, an important place of Muslim *Ziarat*. Not far from the Ziarat is an old place of fortification. Beyond Chatarkand is Emit on route to Wakhan. From Gupis, where Yasin river meets Gizar river, one can follow the Yasin river and go to Yasin — an important seat of old kings. Yasin is a wide open country. Beyond Yasin is the Darkot pass that leads to Borogil pass — the door to Wakhan. From Gupis one can follow the Gizar river and go towards Fundar lake and Shandur Pass. About a mile ahead of Jingrut the Gizar river is blocked by mud flow from:

south, turning the river into a big lake, about two and half miles long. On way the road is very bad and narrow until we reach Chashi, where the area is widened and hence a number of archaeological remains are to be found At Funder there is a water divide. Durand<sup>46</sup> notes:

“At Chashi the valley opens out, three streams meeting here — one from Yasin to the north, and one from the mountains above Tangir to the south, joining the main valley. Riding up you seemed to be coming to a *Cul-de-sac*, a broad low hill. The terminal moraine of a glacier, which must have filled the valley to the west, completely barring it from side to side. Above this lay the Pandur lake. Below this hill the valley stretches away well cultivated, the foregrounds filled with low masses of rock and small hills, whose rounded tops and smooth and polished rocks tell of a glacier action. From this Gizar river side one can go directly to Tangir valley and Darel valley by narrow passes. There were the traditional routes through which marched the armies from Chitral as well as invaders coming from Borogil pass.

### Chilas<sup>47</sup>

Chilas lies to the south of Gilgit but the present road takes a full semi-circle and hence the distance between the two cities is ninety miles. This semi-circle is due to the intrusion of Hindu Raj on the right side of the Indus river and the rise of the Nanga Parbat (Diamar) that towers high above Bunji plain. One has to take a detour around Nanga Parbat in order to reach Chilas. The place where detour begins is called Malichi (Khalichi) and the point where the Indus river is crossed is known as Raikot, near which are hot springs that come from the sulphur deposit on the southern clayish cliff. From Rai kot one can go to the beautiful spot called “*Fair Meadows*” in the lap of Nanga Parbat. On the Raikot side Nanga Parbat has three peaks, Jalipur, Ganello and Burchul, and the actual *Parbat* (hill) extends forty miles from Tak to Bonar village. The first open plain on the bank of the Indus is called the *Das* of Darang, the first village on the right side. Then we come to Gor or Gauharabad extending on both sides of the river Indus.

Once Darang Das is crossed, we come to Bargin valley, which is famous for fruits. After crossing the *Shing Nala* we reach Gas Bala on a wide *das*, beyond which lies Gas Payin. A wooden bridge on the Indus gives access to both the villages. Then starts a series of parallel ranges which strike on to the Thalpan village on the right bank of Indus and left bank of Khinnar *Nala*. Darang *Das* on the left side of the Indus extends upto Jalipur *nala*, which leads upward

to the forested zone called Janglo. Beyond Jalipur is Kinudas, an extensive dry plain going upto Gandlo *nala*, so called from the sulphur deposit on a higher level. Then we come to Gonar *nala*, the village of Gonar being situated on the top of the *Das* of that name. Next spreads out Bonardas, Bonar village being situated on the top. It is through Bonar valley route that people from Chilas used to strike at the Gilgit – Astor road to intercept the communication line coming from Kashmir. The route by-passed the Nanga Parbat (Dyamar). Then comes Yashukhal, followed by Gini *nala* and Dorong *nala*. Here the Thak ridge strikes right upto the Indus river. The Thak, which passes by it is a considerable rivulet which comes down from Babusar pass and is joined by Niat *nala* at Jal.

The heights of Niat and Thak are thickly forested today. The Thak river opens the route to Babusar top, where is the junction of Hazara, Kashmir and Chilas territorial limits. Before the building of Karakorum Highway this Babusar pass was used as a land communication from Mansehra to Chilas and Gilgit. Beyond Niat is Fasat pass that leads to Barai pass and onward to Kel and to Azad Kashmir. From Babusar one can go either to Kaghan valley or to Gamot and *Shardi* in Azad Kashmir. Coming down towards the mouth of Thak rivulet we find a wide open *Das*, that may be named as Thak *Das*. The old foot-path traversed through this *Das*. The old route led towards Gini village up on the hill. This *Das* extends right upto Butogah, the old village, now a suburb of Chilas town. On the Indus river side there stands the stony ridge of Jaya-chand, which has been cut through for building the Karakorum Highway.

The Thak *Das* presents a beautiful view of Thalpan Village on the other side of the Indus river. The Khinnar valley was the old route that gave way to a pass leading towards Gilgit. On the right side of the Khinnar river lies an open sandy plain, the site of the old village, but later in 1841 destroyed by flood. From this sandy plain an old pilgrim path leads along the right bank of the Indus river and goes right up to Hodur village. The town of Chilas spreads on the western bank of Butogah rivulet, occupying a portion of Harpan *Das* which slopes towards the Indus river. The town grades up higher and higher on these terraces and its green fields rise stage by stage right upto the very outskirts of the habitation. Chilas is shaded by the heights of Harpan hill. The older city was on a lower level but as the water is available more and more, the city is shifting up and up. Right in front is the old fort, rebuilt in the beginning of this century.

Beyond Harpan *Das* is Gichi *nala*, leading upto a forested hilly zone. On the right side of the Indus river is the Hodur valley, dominated by an old dilapidated fort. This valley also leads to a

pass on way to Gilgit. Following the right bank of the river we can reach the open site of Thor. The Thor nala also comes from Babusar pass. From Babusar pass one can also descend to Sapat *maidan* on way to Jalkot near modern Dasso. This was the old route, followed by the Dard people in their communication from Kohistan to Chilas. From Thor one can go to Shatial and Sazin and on way can see the narrow gorge at Basha just before Khanberi Nala. It is at Basha that a new project of building a dam on the Indus has been mooted. Next we come to Harban *nala*, again leading to Harban valley and onward to Babusar. From Khanberi valley one can cross over to the fertile Darel valley, also reached from Shatial bridge. Next is the Tangir Valley. Both these valleys open routes towards Chitral. Still to the west in the Kandia valley that gives way to a route over Kalam on way to Swat. It is these last three valleys, Darel, Tangir and Kandia that have had their own traditional historical culture and are directly linked with Kohistan. There was hardly any route leading directly from Sazin to Dasso along the Indus river because of difficult mountain terrain. Today the rocky hill has been cut through for the Karakorum Highway. The old route was through the interior valleys to Jalkot, Palus and Kolu and on to Pattan, the main habitation in the Kohistan region. People going to Swat followed the — valleys of Darel, Tangir and Kandia. The whole geographical complex is now changed because of the building of Karakorum Highway. The construction of several bridges on the Indus has now opened these smaller valleys, thus opening new prospects of socio-economic development.

### Geographical Names in History

There is no one common name available for the entire region of Northern Areas from history simply because the whole region was hardly united in history politically. Hence scholars have taken recourse to some geographic features, like "Hindoo Koosh", "Karakorum", or "Trans-Himalayan" Not one of these geographic names covers the entire land. It is primarily the Karakorum — Highway that has given unity to the Northern Areas of Pakistan and added new prospects of socio-economic development and also political cohesion for the whole land.

### Dardistan and Daraddes'a

It was Dr. Leitner<sup>48</sup> who coined the term Dardistan for the entire region so as to apply it to the land where the Dardic speaking people lived. Dr. Biddulph rightly observes: "His scanty opportunities, have caused him to fall into the error of believing that the

tribes which he has classed under the name of Dard are all of the same race, and he has applied the term of Dardistan, a name founded on a misconception, to a tract of country inhabited by several races, speaking distinct languages, who differ considerably amongst themselves".<sup>49</sup>

The term *Daraddes'a* is for the first time found in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*.<sup>50</sup> Sir Aurel Stein adds: "Immediately above *Sardi* the valley of *Kishanganga* turns, as we have seen, into a narrow uninhabited gorge. At the other end of this gorge we reach the territory of the Dards. Their settlements on the upper *Kishanganga* and its tributaries seem to have formed a separate little kingdom, called by a general name *Daraddes'a* in the *Chronicle*. Its rulers who bore Hindu names, more than once attempted invasions of Kashmir. *Darat-puri*, 'the town of the Dards', which was their residence, may have occupied the position of the modern Gurez. The latter is the chief place of the valley."<sup>51</sup> Professor Gerard Fussman<sup>52</sup> discovered a Kharoshthi inscription of a *Daraddraya* ("king of the Daradas") at Alam Bridge, which he has dated to the end of the 4th century A.D. (See below pp. 128 — 29 for another version and also p. 33). and he also quotes *Darada-lipi* ("Darada script") from the Buddhist work *Mahavastu* and *Lalitavistara*.

### Bolor or Bolur or Boluristan

It is from the Chinese accounts that we, for the first time, learn about the country of *Po-lu-lo*, which is restored as Bolor.<sup>53</sup> Hiuen Tsang writes: "The country of *Po-lu-lo* is about 4000 li in circuit; it stands in the midst of the great Snowy Mountains. It is long from east to west, and narrow from north to south. It produces wheat and pulse, gold and silver. Thanks to the quantity of gold, the country is rich in supplies. The climate is continually cold. The people are rough and rude in character; there is little humanity or justice with them; and as for politeness, such a thing has not been heard of. They are coarse and despicable in appearance, and wear clothes made of wool. Their letters are nearly like those of India, their language somewhat different".<sup>54</sup> Chavennes adds later passages from Chinese sources to give more detail about this country.<sup>55</sup> Another Korean pilgrim Huei-Cha'o speaks of Great Bolor, generally identified with Baltistan and Little Bolor, identified with Gilgit valley.<sup>56</sup>

Talking about the Bhutta territory i.e. Tibet, Sir Aurel Stein notes: "It may, however, be noted that *Srivara* knows the terms 'Little and Great Bhutta land' (*Suksma-Brihad-bhuttadesa*). They refer to Baltistan (Skardu) and Ladakh which have continued to be



known to the present day as "Little and Great Tibet" or among Kashmiris as *Lukh Butun* and *Bud Butun*. These terms are in fact of a far older date, as they are found already in the Chinese annals as *Little and Great Poliu*.<sup>57</sup>

There appears to be little confusion among scholars on the interpretation of later Chinese evidence with which Sir Aurel Stein has added the evidence from Sanskrit sources. As we will see below, Muslim sources clearly speak of Baltistan as *Tibet-i-Khurd*, i.e. "Little Tibet". But Professor Jettmar has argued on the same Chinese evidence that Great Bolor is equivalent to Baltistan, and Little Tibet and "Little Bolor" is identical with Gilgit valley.

However, the Muslim sources are quite clear on this issue. The earliest reference is found in the time of the Abbasid Khalifa al-Mamun (A.D. 813–833). In one of the two inscriptions<sup>58</sup> on the throne of the Kabul Shah, who was conquered in A.D. 814–15 the following is recorded.

وسير الامام اكرمه الله الرايات الخضراء على يدي ذى الرياستين الى  
الشمير وفي ناصية التبت ما سيرها لنا ظهره الله سبحانه على الوجودان  
ولاور بلاد بلور صاحب جبل خاتان وجبل التبت وبعث به الى الفراق  
مع نرسان تبت -

i.e. The Imam (may Allah increase his honour) caused the green flag travel on the hand of Dhu al-Riyasatain in Kashmir and in the areas of Tibet. Allah has made him victorious in Bukhan and Bolor and over the rulers of Jabal Khaqan and Jabal Tibet and he was sent with the cavalry of Tibet". Here *balad-i-Bolor* is clearly mentioned.

The author of *Hudud al Alam*<sup>59</sup> includes, among the regions of the world, Bolor (or Bulur), which, according to him "is a vast country (*nahiyatist azim*) with a king who declares that he is the son of the sun *ma farzand-i-aftab-im*— And he does not rise from his sleep until the sun has risen saying that a son must not rise before his father. He is called *Bulurin — Shah*. In this country there is no salt but that imported from Kashmir."

Alberuni gives some more detail: "The river Sindh rises in the mountains Unang in the territory of the Turks, which you can reach in the following way: Leaving the ravine by which you enter Kashmir and entering the plateau; then you have for a march of two more days on your left the mountains of Bolor and Shamilan, Turkish tribes who are called *Bhattavaryan*. Their king has the title *Bhatta-Shah*. Their towns are Gilgit, Aswira, and Shiltas, and their language is Turkish. Kashmir suffers much from their inroads. Marching on the left side of the river, you always pass through cultivated ground and reach the capital, marching on the right side,

you pass through villages, one close to the other, south of the capital, and thence you reach the mountain Kularjak which is like a cupola, similar to the mountain Dunbawand. The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of Takeshar and Lauhawar. The distance between this peak and the plateau of Kashmir is two farsakh. The fortress Rajagiri lies south of it, and the fortress Lahur west of it, the two strongest places I have ever seen. The town Rajawari is three farsakh distant from the peak. This is the farthest place to which our merchants trade, and beyond which they never pass. This is the frontier of India from the north."<sup>60</sup> The mountain Kularjak appears to be present Nanga Parbat.

In A.D. 1528 Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat<sup>61</sup> invaded (Bolor or Balur) in the company of Rashid Sultan. Here we find a good description: "Balur is an infidel country (*Kafiristan*), and most of its inhabitants are mountaineers. Not one of them has a religion or a creed. Nor is there anything which they (consider it right to) abstain from or to avoid (as impure) but they do whatever they list and follow their desires without check or compunction. Baluristan is bounded on the east by the provinces of Kashghar and Yarkand; on the north by Badakhshan; on the west by Kabul and Lumghan; and on the south by the dependencies of Kashmir. It is four month's journey in circumference. Its whole extent consists of mountains, valleys, and defiles, in so much that one might almost say that in the whole of Baluristan, not one farsakh of level ground is to be met with. The population is numerous. No village is at peace with another, but there is constant hostility, and fights are continually occurring among them. Most of their battles are conducted in the following manner. Their women are employed in the management of the house and the labour of the fields; the men in war. While their wives are in their houses preparing the food (the men will be engaged in fighting). Then the wives will come out to them and make them desist, saying that it is time of a meal, and they must leave off fighting. So they separate and go back to their houses to eat their food, after which they return to the fight until afternoon prayer-time, when the women will again come on the scene and make peace, which endures till sunrise, every one having returned to his own house. Sometimes it happens that no pacification is brought about in which case they fortify and watch their houses all through the night with the utmost vigilance. In this way do they spend the whole of their lives.

"As plains and pasture grounds are scarce, the people can keep but few cattle. They own a small number of sheep and goats from whose wool they make clothes, and cows which furnish them with milk and butter; beyond these they have nothing (in the way of

flocks). The tribe of each separate valley speaks a different language (to that of its neighbours), and no one tribe knows the language of another. On account of being continually at war, a few of them have seen any other village than their own. In Balur there are beautiful gardens and an abundance of fruits, especially of pomegranates which are excellent and most plentiful. There is one kind of pomegranate, which is peculiar to Baluristan. Its seeds are white and very transparent; it is also sweet, pure and full-flavoured. Honey is also abundant.”

Here boundary of Balur or Baluristan is clearly defined. Sir Denison Ross, in his footnote, rightly points out that at this time Balur did not include Baltistan as it is separately mentioned by the author. Professor Karl Jettmar has discussed the whole issue of the changing geography of Bolor (Bolur).

Alberuni's evidence appears to have combined two sources of information: one from India and hence he speaks of *Bhattavaryan* as Turkish tribes and Bhatta Shah as the title of the rulers; the second is the source, probably Chinese, which talks of Bolor. The first information is here in favour of the ruler of Tibet (or correctly Little Tibet) while the second information correctly depicts the contemporary scene when the Turkish tribes had already gained mastery over the region. It is these Turkish tribes who seem to have been in contact with the Arabs and hence the reference to Bakhan (correctly Wakhan) and Bolor. From the Arab sources it is apparent that they were more concerned with Kabul Shah and the neighbouring hilly states on the east right upto Tibet. The names of the local rulers of Bolor are not given at all in these sources. On the other hand we hardly learn any thing about the meaning of the word Bolor. Professor Jettmar rightly points out that the word Bolor has not been used by local persons. From Mr. Abdul Hamid Khawar of Damot (Gilgit) I learn that Bolor is generally understood by the local people to mean Baltistan.

It is significant that the Chinese use the word *Po-lu-lu* for Bolor and this reference to Bolor is from 7th century A.D. mainly in connection with a ruling dynasty in Gilgit, which bears the title of *Patola-Shahi*<sup>62</sup> in the Brahmi inscriptions of these rulers found in the region. Obviously the word *Po-lu-lu* is connected with *Patola-Shahi*. It is not unreasonable to think that the name of the country *Po-lu-lo* is derived from the name of the ruling dynasty *Patola-Shahi*, i.e. the origin of *Po-lu-lo* is based on the term *Patola*. It is probably for this reason that Professor Hinuber discovered a linguistic variant in the spelling of the word in an inscription from Hodur, which actually reads *Palola*. Hence the origin of the Chinese word *Po-lu-lo* is political, rather than geographic. In other words the name of the country is derived from the name of the ruling

dynasty. It is also possible that the Arabs also first came into contact with this ruling dynasty and hence they started the practice of using the word *Bolor* for this region. Later both in the Muslim sources as well as in the Chinese sources the name *Bolor* became a general geographic term for this region, although to the local people, who forgot the history of the *Patola-Shahi*, the name *Bolor* has left no memory.

Yet the name *Bolor* or *Patola* or *Palola* sounds very strange. Does this word have any other precedence? Professor Fussman, in the reading of the Brahmi inscriptions from Alam Bridge (Gilgit) gets the following names at four places.

- (i) *Sri Palalo (jo) Hastibhro*  
i.e. "The descendant of Sri Palalo, Hastibhra."
- (ii) *Palolajai Bhiksu ihagato*  
i.e. "The monk Palolajai came here."
- (iii) *(Sr)ji Palala (bh)ji (Ksu)*  
i.e. "Sri Palala, Monk."
- (iv) *Palolajo Bhiksu igada*  
i.e. "The monk Palolajo came here."

Professor Fussman takes *Palalo* or *Palala* or *Palola* as proper name. But this name comes very close to the word *Palola*, which we get from Hodur inscription. All these inscriptions are dated to 4th-5th Century A.D. but they could as well be placed slightly later on palaeographical grounds. If all these names are connected, it is possible to see an earlier beginning of the name *Palola* or *Patola* which later became *Bolor* in Arabic sources because there is no *Pa* in the Arabic script. Thus the word *Bolor*, or *Baluristan* as mentioned in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, can be traced to this time and may be taken to imply the formation of a big political state in the Northern Areas of Pakistan, with which the Chinese and the Arabs had direct link. On the other hand the word, as pointed out by professor Jettmar, does not occur in the Tibetan sources most probably because the Tibetans put an end to this ruling dynasty by their conquest and established their own rule for some years and hence they used different geographic term for this region (see below).

### **Bruza or Bru-shal**

Professor Jettmar<sup>64</sup> sums up the evidence as follows.

"The most important argument for a direct Burusho-Tibetan contact is the fact that Little Bolor was known to the Tibetans exclusively by the name of "Bru-za". In fact, Laufer thought that expressions like "Bru-za" as well as Bruza, Gru-za, Gru-sa, or Bru-sal, S Bru-sal, which occur many times in ancient Tibetan texts as

designation for a language or a country, must have something to do with Burushaski and the land of the Burushaski-speakers. According to Hoffman, this country is already mentioned in the 7th century when the king Man-Slon-man-brtsan married a prince of Bruza. Under later kings, the connection was less peaceful. Under the rule of K'ri-lde gtsug-brtsan the Lord of Bru-za was forced to render homage in 737. Three years later he received a Tibetan Princess for a wife. Nevertheless K'ri-sron-Ide-brstan (755-797) had to subject the countries of the west, S Bal-ti and S Bru-sal, once again. Even K'ri-gtsug-Ide-brtsan (815-838) had to reconquer this unruly region. Again and again we are informed that this area was of considerable importance in religious and cultural affairs. Buddhists and Bon-po looked there for spiritual enlightenment. The language of Bru-za had a considerable role in the legends about Padmasambhava. In fact the Tibetan literature has no other name for the area of Gilgit in spite of contacts over many centuries. Evidently S Balti means Baltistan, the former Great Bolor. Bru-za must be identical to Little Bolor, as is generally assumed. It seems that the Tibetans changed the official name of the state to the name of the local population . . . . The name of that population was already known to Ptolemy (Byltai). Thomas believed that the same ethnic element lived in the "Kingdom of Women" (*Stri-rayya*), also called the "Gold Country" (*Suvarna-gotra*). According to Hoffmann even the famous country Zan-zun belonged to the same group of Proto-Tibetan formations. There are indeed hints that such a stratum of Proto-Tibetan settlers existed along the western marches of the plateau long before the impact of the Tibetan empire. Perhaps the name Bru-za is rooted in this complex and was only transferred to a subjugated tribe in the Gilgit valley at a later stage . . . . If we assume that in fact during the Tibetan period (7th to 9th centuries A.D.) the Gilgit valley was in the hands of the Burushos, we must concede that they were subjugated, overwhelmed, assimilated or displaced by the Dards, i.e. the bearers of the Shina language who formed the dominant ethnoses."

The name Bru-shal is also learnt from Bonona festival songs<sup>65</sup> of the "Dards" who migrated into Ladakh region:

Then at Brushal and Gilgit,  
 One hundred youths appear,  
 In the fertile village of Sathsill  
 One hundred maids appear.  
 They form a great assembly at Gilgit.  
 The Lion king of Gilgit appears at the head of the dancers,  
 When all you girls twirl your hands for love.  
 All you clap your hands for love.  
 Hurra for love well done, hallo.  
 On the Ambir Pass it makes targhey uncle,

(Take) the arrow, then the bow, then the arrow shafts and the blades.  
 O uncle that art clever at hiding.  
 Now let us carry the horns of the ibex,  
 Let us carry in our left (hand) the arrows, bows and other (hunting utensils,  
 Let us carry the skin of the ibex, O Uncle,  
 Step to the head of the dancers, O Uncle,  
 After finishing the dance, let us go towards east, O Uncle,  
 Then they went (and) arrived at Rong-churgyud, O uncle  
 At Rong churgyud; love (to you) O gods,  
 Is that not, then, a pleasure ground, O gods.  
 (There are) currants at Gusur.  
 (And also) at Goarto Kumar love (to you) o gods,  
 Is that not, then, a pleasure ground, O gods,  
 Skardogod is near the willows; love (to you), O gods,  
 Is that not, then, a pleasure ground, O gods,  
 Kyeris near Chumghog, O gods,  
 (And) Ghashing manthro-Khar is near the gravel; love to you, O gods,  
 Pakudda is underneath the midst of the sky, love to you, O gods,  
 Gabis is near the forest of pencil cedar, love to you, O gods,  
 Ganogse is near the holy willow trees, love to you O gods,  
 Kyshur is near the oasis of gods, love to you, O gods,  
 Hanu is near the Handrangmir, love to you, O gods,  
 With Sanid is the beginning,  
 The youth of the two oases, Kyshur and Handrangmir are happy.  
 O we honour the Mandede mande mandeshin (gods)  
 O mandede mandeshin  
 Let us dance (on this) place.

This long quotation gives the story of the Shina-speaking people from Bru-shal and Gilgit into different places, named in the song. Professor Jettmar comments on these songs:

“The text seems to indicate that the distance between these areas is not considerable. I doubt that the lower part of the Hunza valley was able to support a dense population. This would mean that *Bru-shal* was the name of a section of the Gilgit valley still occupied by Burushos.”<sup>66</sup>

J. Biddulph observes, “The people of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yaskun by Shins, but amongst themselves known as Boorish.”<sup>67</sup>

A. Durand<sup>68</sup> has traced the spread of these people in the Northern Areas and observed. “It would seem from a study of the map, and of the proportions in which the main castes occupy the country, that the later waves of Dard invasion rolled in succession up the Indus valley from the plains of the Punjab, penetrating into the side valleys as the tide rose, and either completely submerging the aborigines or else driving them and the wrecks of previous waves into the inmost recesses of the hills. The first of these waves must have been Yashkun, the second Shin. There are no less than eleven different languages and dialects spoken in Dardistan, and

their distribution confirms the above view. Putting aside eight of the dialects, and taking the northern half of the country under discussion, you find Khowar generally spoken in Chitral; Burishki, the language of the Yashkuns, spoken in the inaccessible Hunza, Nager and Yasin valleys, Shina, the language of the Shins, in the Gilgit, Astor, Punyal; and Ghizr valleys. Roughly speaking, the proportion of Shins to the whole population falls from ninety-five per cent at Koli, in the lower Indus valley, to thirty-five per cent in Gilgit. In Nager, the Shins are about twenty per cent; in Hunza, five per cent of the population. The Yashkuns are in reverse ratio. In Yasin, almost the entire population; in Hunza, eighty per cent, in Nager, sixty per cent; in the side valley of Astor and Sai seventy-eight and sixty-five per cent of the people are Yashkuns, driven up the valleys by the advancing Shins. The numbers generally go falling as the Indus valley is descended, until at Koli you find perhaps only four per cent of the inhabitants are Yashkun. In Chitral you find neither Shin nor Yashkun; the waves had spent themselves at Chamarkand and Shandur passes”.

This assessment by Durand of the distribution of different people in the region shows the wider area of Boru-Shal in the past. It is therefore not difficult to understand why the Shina speaking migrants into Ladakh speak of Brushal and Gilgit as the place of their origin.

### Kanjut

The origin of the word Hunza is not known unless it is supposed that it has some connection with Bruza or Bru-shal and thus refers to the land of the Burushaski speaking people. But Hunza is today a limited area. In the last century the British used the term *Kanjut* for the people of Hunza. The origin of this word is not known. (See also below p 143). However, in the Hatun<sup>69</sup> Rock inscription the following lines occur—

*Śrī-Shāhideva-pada-bhakta-Kāñchudiya-mahāgajapati-mahāmāt tyavara-Mahāsāmantādhipati-Giligitta-Saramgha-Makara Simghena.*  
i.e. “By Makarasimha, the great lord of the elephants, the chief minister, the great Lord of the Feudatories and the Chief of the army at Giligitta, who belongs to the Kanchudi clan and is constantly devoted to the feet of the great Shahi Lord.”

As Dr. Chakravarti notes, “the term *Kanjudi*, as was pointed out to me by Sir Aurel Stein, must be connected with the racial designation of Kanjuti applied to the people of Hunza and known as Kanjut to its neighbours.”

If this suggestion is acceptable *Kanjudi* may be one of the

tribal designation of the people. However, Biddulph notes: "In Wakhan, Sirikol, and Yarkund, the name Kunjoot is given to Hunza, though this name is not in use among the inhabitants themselves, nor among any of the people dwelling south of the Hindookoosh. The name is more properly Hunzoo. In ancient times it was called Challaj Bultum, a name which has now fallen into disuse."<sup>70</sup>

## Gilgit

J. Biddulph<sup>71</sup> writes: "The ancient name of the place was Sargin. Later, the name *Gilit* was given to it, and this has been changed to Gilgit by the Sikh and Dogra conquerors, but among the inhabitants it is still known as Gilit or Sargin-Gilit." If this tradition given by Biddulph is correct, then the phrase *Giligitta-Saramgha*, given in the Hatun Rock Inscription, quoted above, may have to be interpreted differently. However, Dr. Chakrvarti notes "First of all the occurrence of the name Giligitta for Gilgit. The origin of this name is still uncertain; obviously the name is not Sanskritic. But it is interesting to note that the name was known in the same phonetic form over twelve hundred years ago. This proves as untenable the opinion of some scholars that the name is of recent origin." Earlier we have also seen the same form Gilgit given by Alberuni, which is really spelt as *Klkt*. In an old Khotanese text<sup>72</sup> of the tenth century A.D. the name of the city is spelt as *Gidagitti*. Regarding *Saramgha* Dr. Chakravarti writes: "This is also of non-Sanskritic origin and is obviously connected with the Middle and New Persian *Sar-hang* meaning 'head of the army of gathering. Its origin has to be sought in the Iranian *Sar*, "head" (Indo-Aryan *Siras*) and the Persian *hang* (Skt. *Samgha*), "company". Even now the Indianised form of the word can be traced in the term *Sareng*. "head of the crew of a steamer." Whether the two words *Sargin* and *Saramgha* are connected, is difficult to say. If they are connected, then the officer may have been posted at Gilgit-Saramgha.

## Chilas

Chilas on the Indus has given considerable trouble to the Sikhs, Dogras and the British and hence it has been referred to in several accounts. The people, who in the last century formed independent community, are referred to as "Chilasis." Alberuni refers to the place as Shiltas. In the itinerary of the Khotanese Saka<sup>72</sup> the city is mentioned as follows:

"Thence southward is the way to the Indian country along the Golden River. Thereupon the river's bank is a great city called *Silathasa*. There by the . . . river is a quarter. On the river's bank



are pomegranate trees. Afterwards they cross by a bridge. From Silathasa to the Bridge is eight days land journey. Southward along the river are found . . . (tharkye?), banave trees, likewise deodars. There monkeys live. The Bridge is called Mangala Cakra. . . . That is the first Indian city towards Kashmir, on a mountain". Professor Dani<sup>73</sup> summarises the epigraphic evidence: "In ancient time it was the name of the *Vishaya* (district). Alberuni calls it *Shiltas*, and in a rock inscription of sixth century A.D. at Chilas itself it is spelt as *Silavata*. In the Sanskrit language *Sila* means "rock" or "stone" while in the local Shina language "*Vata*" also means "stone". In the same inscription the name of the city is given as *Somonagara*, i.e. "The city of Moon." This name is also found in a second inscription of the fifth century A.D. at Thalpan bridge".

### Astor

In the quotation given above from Alberuni the name of the city is given as Aswir. In the Persian accounts it is also called Hasora. The city has been of great historical importance for being on the main route from Gilgit to Kashmir. Astor and Chilas are the two cities, lying on the east and west of Nanga Parbat (Dyamar).

### Darel

Darel has been identified with Ta-li-lo of Hiuen Tsang<sup>74</sup> and To-li of Fahien.<sup>75</sup> This identification is due to Cunningham.<sup>76</sup> According to Hiuen Tsang here stood the capital of U-Chang-na, i.e. Udyan, (modern Swat). Both the Chinese pilgrims speak of the figure of Maitreya of about 100 feet high — the work of the Arhat Madhyantika — having been erected here. Darel valley has several archaeological remains as it is one of the routes leading towards Gizar valley and onward to China.

### Shigar

In a newly discovered Brahmi inscription (not yet published) there is a mention of *Sundi Vishaya* (District), where Buddhist figures were made. This *Sundi Vishayā* is probably to be identified with Shigar Valley.

### Kargil

According to Hashmatullah<sup>77</sup> the present Kargil tehsil has been long known in history as *Poryag*. This name of the tehsil was changed to Kargil when this place became tehsil headquarter.

**Tibat-i-Khurd**

This is also spelt as *Tibat-i-Khurd*.<sup>78</sup> "Little Tibet" is mentioned as Balti in *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.<sup>79</sup> In the Mughal accounts,<sup>80</sup> from the time of Akbar "Little Tibet", i.e. Baltistan, is distinguished from 'Great Tibet'. In 1589 separate envoys were sent to "Little Tibet" and "Great Tibet". The relations with this country was generally done through the Governor of Kashmir.

## NOTES

1. In 1947 the entire area, including Baltistan, was known as Gilgit Agency. In June 1950 a whole time Political Resident for Gilgit and Baltistan was appointed. He functioned as the Chief Adviser for Azad Kashmir. In 1952 Joint Secretary, Kashmir Affairs Division, held the additional charge of the post of Northern Areas and Chief Adviser for Azad Kashmir. In 1967 a separate post of Resident for Northern Areas was created with headquarters at Gilgit. Finally in 1972 the post was redesignated as Commissioner of Northern Areas. See *Report of the Northern Areas Committee*, December, 1971, PP. 4–5. See also Chapter IX
2. I. Muller-Stellrecht (ed. by) — *Materialien Zur Ethnographie Von Dardistan (Pakistan) by D.L.R. Lorimer Gilgit, Chitral and Yasin*, Graz, 1980, P. 191.
3. The Highway was built by Pakistani and Chinese engineers and opened to public in 1978.
4. This is actually the title of a book, Karachi reprint, 1980.
5. Keith Miller — *Continents in Collision*, 1982.
6. R.A. Khan Tahir Kheli — *Geology of the Himalaya, Karakorum and Hindukush in Pakistan*, 1982, p. 1 and p. 23.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
9. R.A. Khan Tahir Kheli — “Geotectonic Evolution of Kohistan”, in *Geology of Kohistan* ed. by R.A. Khan Tahir Kheli and M. Qasim Jan, Peshawar, 1979, p. 126.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
11. R.A. Khan Tahir Kheli — *Geology of the Himalaya, Karakorum and Hindukush in Pakistan*, p. 23.
12. *Report of the Northern Areas Committee*, December 1971.
13. *IoR. R/2* (1080/262).
14. *IoR R/2* (1067/93).
15. H C. Thomson, *A Narrative of Events in Chitral, Swat and bajour*, Lahore, reprint, 1981, P. 26.
16. G Robertson, *Chitral, The Story of a Minor Siege*, Oxford Reprint, Karachi, 1977, P. 22.
17. See chapter VI.
18. The story is well told by Robertson, *of.Cit.*
19. *I.o.R. R/2/1079/247*.
20. Robertson, *op.Cit.* PP 16–17.
21. M. Nazif Mohib Shahrani, *The Kirghiz and Wakhi of Afghanistan*, Seattle, 1979, PP. 28–30.
22. *Ibid*, PP. 31–32.
23. *Ibid*, P. 36.
24. *Ibid*. P. 37.
25. Letter no. 933 dated Gilgit, The 10th May 1898 from Captain A.H Mac Mahon, Political Agent in Gilgit for Resident in Kashmir. *India office Library and Records*, reference *IoR R/2*(1079/253). file no. 42—C of 1880–1898.

26. *IoR* R2(1080/265). The whole story was conveyed by Mr. S M Fraser, Resident in Kashmir to Mr. A.H. Grant, Foreign Secretary, Govt of India, in his letter no. 72, dated 24th Feb. 1914 R/2(1081/263).
27. *IoR* R/2/1085/296.
28. *J.C.A.* Vol. VII. No. 1. July 1984, PP. 125—132.
29. *The Jummo and Kashmir Territories*, Karachi reprint, 1980. PP. 194—202.
30. *Ibid.* PP. 376—379.
31. Col. A. Durand, *The Making of a Frontier*, Karachi Reprint, 1977, P 126.
32. *op.Cit.* PP. 402—404.
33. Durand. *op.Cit.* PP 28—26.
34. *Ibid.* PP. 27—28. Draw, *op.Cit.* P 356.
35. *Ibid*, PP. 360—62.
36. Durand, *op.Cit.* P 127.
37. Major Arthur Neve — *The Tourist's Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh Skardo*, 18th ed. Lahore, P. 113.
38. Drew, *op.Cit.* PP. 365—66.
- 38a. Drew, *op.Cit.*, P. 375.
39. John Bidduph; *Tribes of the Hindookoosh*, Karachi Reprint, 1977 P 20.
40. Durand, *op.Cit.* PP. 142—145. The spelling variantly given — Nagar, Nager or Nagir. But they all derive from Indo-Aryan Nagar meaning 'City.'
41. *Ibid.* P 139—140.
42. John Biddulph, *op.Cit.* P 25. See also G Buddruss "linguistic Research in Gilgit and Hunza" in *J.C.A* July 1985, P. 28.
43. Prof. A.H. Dani "The Sacred Rook of Hunza" in *J.C.A.* December 1985, PP. 1—2.
44. Frederic Drew — *The Northern Barrier of India*, London, 1877, PP. 156—159.
45. F. Drew: *The Jummo and Kashmir Territories*, Karachi Reprint, 1980, PP. 412—12.
46. Durand, *op.Cit.* PP. 54—55.
47. See A.H. Dani, *Chilas the City of Nanga Parvet (Dyamr)*, Islamabad, 1983, chapter 5.
48. Dr. G.W. Leitner, *Dardistan*, 1866, 1886 and 1893, Working, New Delhi Reprint, 1978.
49. John Biddulph, *op.Cit.* PP 8—9.
50. Sir Aurel Stein, *Kalhana's Raja-tarangini*, Delhi Reprint, 1979, Verse VII. 911.
51. *Ibid*, Vol. II P. 435; Stein *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, Calcutta Reprint, 1977, P. 131.
52. G Fussman, "Inscriptions de Gilgit", *B E F.E.O.*, Tome LXV, Paris, 1978, PP. 18—19.
53. For a detailed reference see Prof. K. Jettmar — "Bolor — A contribution to the political and ethnic geography of Northern Pakistan", *J.C.A.* Vol. II, No. 1, July, 1979 PP. 39—70.
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55. E. Chavennes, *Documents sur les Tou — Kine (Turcs) Oceidentaux*, St. Petersburg, 1903, PP. 152—53.
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## II

## LANGUAGES AS A SOURCE FOR HISTORY

By Professor GERARD FUSSMAN

The Northern Areas of Pakistan<sup>1</sup> show the most intricate pattern of languages in the whole country. In every valley can be found people speaking the main languages of Pakistan, Urdu, Panjabi or Pashto; they are mainly new-comers (officials, soldiers, traders) or local people who had to learn one of these languages in addition to their mother-tongue to earn a living (shop-keepers, school teachers, policemen and so on). There are also Gujar herdsmen who speak their own Gujar language; they are also outsiders. The indigenous inhabitants of the Northern Areas speak other idioms: in Chitral mainly Khowar or Kalasha, and also an offshoot of Shina, Phalura; in Yasin and Ishkoman, Shina, Khowar, Burushaski and Wakhi; in Gilgit mainly Shina and in some places Burushaski; in Hunza mainly Burushaski, but also Domaaki and in the upper part of the valley, Wakhi; in Baltistan, Balti; in Chilas, Shina; in the Indus valley below Chilas, Shina and the so-called Kohistanis (Maiyan, Chiliss, Gauro, etc.).

For a linguist trained in historical linguistics these are languages with very different origins. Wakhi is an Iranian language, Balti a Tibetan one; Burushaski is quite isolated; Khowar, Kalasha, Shina, the Kohistanis together with Kashmiri and some languages of the neighbouring Afghanistan form the Dardic branch of languages. Domaaki is an Indo-Aryan language heavily overlaid with Dardic and Burushaski elements. The use of this terminology is strictly restricted to linguistics. Iranian, Tibetan, Indo-Aryan, Dardic are words used only with reference to languages, not to countries or peoples. For instance, Wakhi is an Iranian language but Wakhis are inhabiting for a long time in the Pamir valleys (Wakhan), they are not Iranians and do not stem from present-day Iran. "Iranian" only means that 4000 years ago some groups were speaking a language related to that of Zoroaster very different from Wakhi as we know it, but which evolved in course of centuries and is now

Wakhi. For languages are continually changing and evolving so that it is quite impossible for a present day native speaker of Persian, let us say a Shirazi, to understand Darius' Old Persian inscriptions, written in a language which was to evolve into modern Persian, or Wakhi or other Iranian languages like Pashto or Baluch.

we do know which languages were spoken in the North-Western part of the South Asian subcontinent 4000 years ago. Not one of the modern Pakistani language can be demonstrated as related to the idiom or idioms spoken by the Harappans in the 3rd and 2nd millennium B.C. Indeed Prof. Elfenbein has adduced much evidence to show that Brahui, today spoken in Baluchistan, is not a remnant of the disappeared Harappan language as often said but a late newcomer possibly brought in from Central India after the Muslim conquest of Northern India. Most of present day Pakistani languages are derived — i.e. evolved — from form(s) of speech introduced in this country by invaders around 1500 B.C. These invaders were coming from the North-West, through the many passes of the Hindukush mountains. They were speaking idioms remotely related to the later attested old Greek, old Latin (later evolved into modern Italian, French, Spanish, etc.), old German (later evolved into present day German, English, etc.), old Slavic, old Baltic and so on. That is why, since the beginning of the XIXth century, linguists, have used to call all these languages "Indo-European" languages, which only means that these languages were and are still spoken from Europe to India and even, as was later discovered, farther East. That does not tell us anything about the races to which belonged the speakers of these different but related languages, no more than you can say by reading a book written in English whether its writer was a British citizen, a Chicano American, a German-born Jew brought up in the States, a Pakistani national or the black mayor of some big U.S. town.

The Indo-European speaking invaders who settled in Panjab around 1500 B.C. called themselves *Arya*, "nobles", whence the modern scholarly name for their language(s): *Aryan*. One part of the Aryas stayed behind, in Iran and Central Asia; many tribes went through the Hinduskush and eventually settled in the Indus and Ganges plains, driving before them or absorbing the former inhabitants. From this twin location, in Iran and in India, was coined the word "Indo-Iranian" which is a synonym of "Aryan". The earliest documents written in Indo-Iranian languages (*Rig-Veda*, *Avesta*, Old Persian Achaemenin inscriptions) show that although circa 1000 BC the Aryan invaders of India and the Aryan colonists of Iran and Central Asia could still understand each other, their respective languages were evolving along different lines. Thus "seven" was Iranian (Avestic) *hapta*, Indian *sapta*; "river" was

Iranian (Avestic) *Hindu*—, Indian *Sindhu* whence to-day *Hind*, *Indus* and *Sindh*. That is why we distinguish between the Aryan languages of Iran, or Irano-Aryan, and the Aryan languages of India, or Indo-Aryan. For the sake of brevity, Iranian is commonly used instead of Irano-Aryan for before the advent of Arabs and Turks, every language in Iran was Irano-Aryan. But we have to stick to the longer "Indo-Aryan" for many Indian languages are un-Aryan (Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, etc.).

The Iranian languages spoken in Pakistan, Baluch, Pashto and Wakhi, are new-comers brought in by later invasions or migrations. Most Wakhi speakers are still nationals of Afghanistan and USSR. The other living Indo-European languages of Pakistan (i.e. all its languages but Burushaski, Balti and the already referred to Iranian languages), Urdu, Panjabi, Sindhi, Hindko, etc. belong to the Indo-Aryan family of languages like Hindi, Marathi, Bengali and so on: everybody knows that the present border cuts across Panjabi-speaking territories and that a Lahori has no problem in conversing with a Hindi speaker of Delhi or Allahabad. The oldest remnant of Indo-Aryan is (*Rig-vedic*) Sanskrit. All the modern Indo-Aryan languages are closely related to it. As a consequence of natural changes within the languages, these Indo-Aryan idioms diverged so much that sometimes only trained linguists can point to their relationships. For instance Kashmiri *sihaith*, Sindhi *chahathi*, Panjabi *Cheath*, Nepali *chiyasath*, Hindi *chiyasath*, Marathi *sasat* all stem from Sanskrit *sat-sasti*, "sixty-six" The Dardic languages, insulated in far off valleys, evolved less quickly than the main Indo-Aryan languages: they look more archaic in their phonology and their vocabulary. Here is an example. the old Indo-Aryan word for "dog", i.e. Sanskrit *svan*—, *suna*—, is still to be found in many Dardic languages (Kashmiri *hunu*, Kalash *sura*) but disappeared from many Indo-Aryan idioms: Panjabi, Hindi *Kutta*.

By studying the way languages evolved linguists are sometimes able to point to connections. These are to be explained in different ways. Two languages (let us say A and B) formerly either were one and the same idiom (X>A and B) or were spoken in contiguous areas. If A and B linguistic areas are to-day separated by intervening ones (let us say M, N, O) we can deduce either that M, N and O are later intruders in this specific area or that a group of X-speaking people (or later, of A/V speaking people) migrated from its former location to the present one. Words borrowed from a neighbouring or far-off language can also tell many a story. Loan-words can be brought in with a new religion (like so many Arabic words in Muslim countries), a superior culture (like Persian and Turkish words in Urdu). They can point to the coming of immigrants: bearers of an alien culture and very often politically or economi-



cally dominant (Persian and English words in the Indian languages for instance). Trade is also bringing in many foreign words along with foreign products so that you can now find English or French words in countries where no Englishman or Frenchman ever went. Sometimes it is not so easy to understand how a word was borrowed. For instance, of the many Arabic words in Dardic languages, some (very few) may have come directly, through *mullahs* reading the *Quran*; others came through the Persian poetry and the Persian administrative language, taught in Hunza and Chitral up to 1950; some came at the end of the 19th century through Kashmiri, which had borrowed them through Persian; some are still coming through Urdu, which borrowed them through Persian and is now borrowing them directly from Arabic.

It must repeatedly be stated that linguistics can tell us much about the cultural history of an area; as a source for ethnic history, it leaves much to be desired. Let us illustrate this statement by three Indian instances, among the many which could be adduced from every part in the world. The bigger part of the British in India were Scots or Irishmen whose own language left no impact on Anglo-Indian nor on the Indian languages. If linguistics is able to relate to-day Panjabi to the language(s) of the early Vedic settlers, and also to point to some early or late loan-words from Hindi and Persian, it cannot help us to ascertain the percentage of Harappan, Aryan, Iranian, Saka, Kushan, etc.), Hun, Arab, Persian, Afghan, Turk and even British or French blood in a 1985 Panjabi peasant. The main language of many Pakistanis is now Urdu: how many came from the Delhi-Aligarh area which is the cradle of Urdu? We have always to remember that individuals and whole people can be adduced, by force or from their own will, to speak another language so that the former one, after a few generations can be entirely lost without leaving any trace if it was not written. Linguistic denominations thus are never ethnic denominations. As far as we are concerned in this chapter, that means that we cannot accept for sure that to-day Dardic languages are the offshoots of the languages formerly spoken by the Dards who, as we know from a lot of early evidence ranging from Herodotus to the Kashmir chronicles, inhabited the Upper Indus valley and the mountainous country, north of the Kashmir valley. Dardic is only a linguistic term; it has no ethnic, racial or historical meaning nor implication.

#### **A. A list of the Dardic languages spoken in the Northern Areas of Pakistan**

1. **KHOWAR** is the main language of Chitral where it is spoken by about 100,000 people. Khowar-speakers may also be

found in Yasin and marriage ties make Khowar understood as far as Gilgit in many families. The prevalent custom of fosterage, which made sons of Chitrali nobles being brought up by foster parents, probably explains why there is no important dialectical differentiation. Since 1917 and chiefly since the seventies, a few texts in Khowar language are being written and printed in Arabic script.

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2. KALASHA is still spoken in some valleys of Lower Chitral by about 3000 people, a part of whom are still pagan. There are many dialects, but the main division is between the Urtsun dialect of Kalasha and those spoken further north in the valleys of Rumbur, Bumboret and Birir.

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3. SHINA is the main language in the Gilgit Agency. It is spoken in the Gilgit valley proper and along the upper course of the Indus, from Palas up to the junction of the Indus and the Gilgit rivers. Shina speakers are to be found further north in the Ishkoman valley and in Hunza, further east in Baltistan (Dras, Dah Hanu). The whole Astor valley belongs to the Shina linguistic area. Shina immigrants brought (two centuries ago?) their language in south-

eastern Chitral (Phalura) and in the Kunar valley in present day eastern Afghanistan (Savi). The best report about the extent of the Shina speaking area is K. Jettmar, *Religionen des Hindukusch*, Stuttgart, 1975, 187-189. The Shina-speaking Kohistani tribes were living in tiny valleys separated by mountain ranges and were constantly at war with each other. So it is no wonder that the Shina linguistic area is split into many dialects so divergent that it happens that Shina speakers from one area cannot any more understand Shina speakers from a far-off district. In some cases the difference is so great that these dialects can be termed languages of their own (Phalura, Savi). The best known of the Shina dialects is the one spoken in Gilgit. Phalura, Savi. The Shina dialects of Tangir and Palas were also studied by eminent scholars. Much remains to be done and the German scholar G. Buddruss is now working on a major project concerning the Gilgit Shina. Since 1974 Shina literary works (novels and poetry) are being written in Arabic script.

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e) Savi.

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f) Relationship between Kashmiri and Shina.

Omkar N. Koul and R. Laila Schmidt. "Dardistan revisited, an examination of the relationship between Kashmiri and Shina" in Omkar N. Koul and Peter E. Hook, *Aspects of Kashmiri Linguistics*, Delhi, 1983.

4. MAIYAN is the least known of all the Dardic languages. It is also called Kohistani for it is one of the many languages spoken in the Indus Kohistan area. The main Maiyan linguistic areas are the valleys of Duber and Kandia on the right bank of the Indus river. The relationship between Maiyan and its supposed — and even less known — dialects of Chiliss and Gowro, spoken on the left bank of the Indus river and wholly surrounded by Shina speaking communities, is not clear. Maiyan is divided into two main dialects, Mani (spoken in Seo/Patan and Bankar) and Manzari (spoken in Kandia and Duber). Only Mani has been researched in recent times, at any rate if the samples published by G. Buddruss of a Maiyan dialect spoken in a tiny village quite isolated in the Shina-speaking valley Tangir belong to a Mani sub-dialect. On the left bank of the Indus river, around Batera, people speak a newly discovered dialect, Batervi, samples of which are not yet published. One wonders whether it is related to Maiyan for it does not seem to be related to Shina.

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#### B. Non-Dardic languages spoken in the Northern areas of Pakistan

In the main bazars of the area (Aliabad, Gilgit, Chilas, Skardu) and where officials and soldiers are stationed on duty, Urdu,

Panjabi and a little Pashto can be heard. Persian is also understood by a few individuals. Only new-comers speak one of these languages as their mothertongue. People settled there for many generations know them imperfectly, having learnt them as a second or third language. The only non-Dardic idioms used as mothertongue by local people are Burushaski, Domaaki, Wakhi and Balti.

5. BURUSHASKI is the main language of the Hunza valley. It is spoken by more than 20,000 people settled on either side of the middle course of the Hunza river, on its right bank (Hunza proper) as well on its left bank (Nagar). There are also Hunza speaking settlements in Yasin and in the Gilgit valley. The main dialectal differences are to be found between the more archaic dialect of Yasin (called Werchikwar) and Hunza-Burushaski. The Nagar dialect does not differ much from the Hunza one. Burushaski is still an unwritten language but for stories recorded in Roman phonetic script by European scholars. A well known Sufi poet, Nazir Uddin Hunzayi, is using a strongly Persianized idiom which he believes best suited for poetry; his works are not (yet?) printed in Pakistan as far as I know.

Although as a very archaic and quite unrelated language Burushaski was studied since the middle of the 19th century by a number of good scholars, much remains to be done. Prof. H. Berger, from Heidelberg in Germany, is now preparing a new grammar and dictionary of the Hunza and Nagar dialects which will be a major scientific event.

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6. DOMAAKI is the language of the Domas or Berichos, a community which numbers about 500 people settled in Hunza. A few families are also to be found in Gilgit and in some Shina speaking villages of the lower Hunza valley. The Domas are what

Europeans would call Gypsies and ethnologists working in India a menial caste. They are mainly musicians and smiths. Living among Burushaski and Shina speaking communities and having to know and use the language of their patrons, they are bilingual and even trilingual so that their own Domaaki speech is heavily influenced by the phonology and vocabulary of Burushaski and, in a lesser extent, of Shina. Nevertheless the core of Domaaki is clearly Indo-Aryan.

Domaaki is a dying language. The pioneer work of D.L.R. Lorimer, published 50 years ago, is now being corrected and supplemented by Prof. G. Buddruss, from Mainz University in Germany. Up to now he published only a few preliminary notes so important that Lorimer's book cannot any more be used without previously reading them.

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7. WAKHI is spoken in Chitral (Upper Yarkhun valley), in the Upper Ishkoman valley and in the Upper Hunza valley (above Gulmit) by more than 3000 people. It belongs to the Pamirian branch of the Iranian languages. Most Wakhi speakers are in fact living in the Upper Oxus valley, in territories now part of Afghanistan (Wakhan) and USSR. The Wakhi speaking communities settled in the Northern Areas of Pakistan came there (more than one hundred years ago?) from their Upper Oxus previous location through the Irshad Pass which connects the Wakhan, Yarkun, Ishkoman and Chapursan valleys. Hunza Wakhi does not differ widely from Afghan and Soviet Wakhi. It is a bit more archaic, specially in its vocabulary.

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8. The inhabitants of western Baltistan, around Skardu, speak Balti, a Tibetan idiom close to Ladakhi. Baltis and Ladakhis understand each other's talk.

**Sketching the linguistic Changes in the Northern Areas.**

History never repeats itself. The same developments never occur twice and we must be cautious in using evidence of modern time to reconstruct the past. But history may also serve as a warning against hasty conclusions. The political history of Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza and the Indus Kohistan in the last two centuries is worth study by scholars wanting to reconstruct the former linguistic map of the area, i.e. to track linguistic changes and shifts which may have been caused by ethnic processes (migrations, conquests, assimilations, splits and so on). We must keep in mind that up to the end of the 19th century and, for some parts of Indus Kohistan, up to the sixties, the Northern Areas did not experience many changes in their physical and political setting: there were no roads, no modern bridges, no modern machinery of state, no policemen nor customs, no automatic guns, no cars, no helicopters; swordsmen could still wage deadly wars, vendettas went on; villages had to be economically self-sufficient for no big amount of grain could be brought in; trade was limited to pedlars; tracks and passes were closed in winter time due to snow and ice and often in summer time due to raging warfare, vendettas and robbers. We must surmise that the conditions were not different in the previous centuries, at any rate whenever there was no strong political power to keep law and order in the country. And we may doubt whether such a paramount power ever existed; at best it could only keep the main roads open and ensure a relative safety to traders and envoys.

Now we learn from this recent history a number of important warnings.

Whole languages can disappear without leaving any trace (see Chiliss, Gauro), up to now some are not yet recorded (Batervi). That means that much evidence is lost for ever. In the years to come, the Doms of Hunza will have forgotten their own present language; in a few generations the memory of their foreign origin will be lost. Similar processes may have occurred in the Shina area where some Shina speaking "castes" could be of foreign extract although we will never be able to prove it.

Whole valleys can be depopulated by epidemics, warfare or famines. Whole groups did move out of their previous location either to escape some danger or to settle in better suited places. Sometimes the new area to be settled was empty of inhabitants; sometimes there was room for a few newcomers; sometimes the previous population had first to be subdued either to be expelled, exterminated or assimilated. All these processes are attested in modern Indus Kohistan.

The pattern of settlements which results from this kind of evolution is very intricate. You may find a group quite isolated among foreign speaking villages and cut from its linguistic roots (for instance the Maiyan speaking hamlet in the Shina area of Tangir and a couple of Burushaski speaking settlements in the Gilgit valley) and even families scattered in different villages whose population is of another extract (Doms in Burushaski-speaking villages) South of the Karakorum, linguistic areas are an intertwined collection of spots much more than a continuous and homogeneous strip of land.

We know at least four ethnic groups speaking languages previously unknown in this area which came through and settled in recent times in the Gilgit valley. Two were coming, through Kashmir or Baltistan, from the Indian plains (Doms, Gujars); two came from the Afghan Pamirs (Wakhis, Kirghizs). The last one appeared quite recently: in 1981 some hundred Kirghizs led by Rahman Gul left their grazing grounds in the Afghan Pamir (where they were also recent newcomers) and settled part in the Ishkoman valley, part in Gilgit proper. After a few months they were flown to Turkey and resettled in the Vicinity of the Van lake, on lands vacated by their previous Armenian inhabitants. Had this event occurred 30 years ago, we would have to add to the linguistic mosaic of the Northern Areas still another linguistic group; a Turk speaking tribe departed some years ago from what is now Soviet Kirghizia, settled a number of years in the Afghan Pamir and then migrating to Gilgit and the Indus valley. Now it is precisely this happened in the first century BC when Saka tribes left their previous grazing grounds in the Pamirs, crossed into the Ishkoman valley and from there went down to Chilas and Gandhara. This migration, which probably lasted whole decennies, is only known by indirect evidence (Chinese Imperial Historians, archaeological chance finds in Pakistan, graves digging in Soviet Pamirs, the dubious evidence of proper names engraved on rocks along the Gilgit and Indus rivers). It did not affect in any degree the linguistic map of the area and cannot be traced in any known language of the Northern Areas.

If it were not recorded by ethnographers and geographers the coming of Gujar herdsmen in the Northern areas would remain



unknown: it cannot be detected by analyzing the main languages of the district. As expected for the language of a nomad community of lower status whose members do not mingle with local people, no word of Gujri origin can be traced in any Dardic language or in Burushaski. Gujars left and leave no impact on the Northern Areas society. The same can be told of the higher status languages of traders, specialized artisans, monks and pilgrims who came there in pursuit of some occupation, stayed some months or years and went back home or further. That is true of Sogdian, spoken by traders who left their names on the Hunza and Shatial rocks; of Chinese, spoken by many a Buddhist pilgrim; and probably of the Middle-Indian and Khotanese Saka dialects of foreign monks staying in the Gilgit Buddhist monasteries.

Domaaki tells us another story, quite parallel to the history of European Gypsy (or Romani) languages. We see how, up to the 17th or 18th century AD, a small occupational group could migrate from the Indian plains (with how many intermediate stops?) and settle in a far off valley which Europeans deemed entirely closed to incoming foreigners. They were given a place in the society and as long as they had to stay there and were prohibited to marry outside their own group, they kept to their own language. Being perforce multilinguals, they came to borrow heavily from the language(s) of their patrons and protectors. Even the phonological system of Domaaki was modified in this process. But the core of the language remained Indo-Aryan, which enabled linguists to trace its former location. As soon as roads were opened, that social prohibitions became less severe, that Doms could enter in government service and suffer less discriminations, the lower status language was being discarded; younger people tend to speak only the higher status language of their patrons. After a few generations, the proper Domaaki language will have entirely disappeared without leaving any detectable trace on the neighbouring Burushaski and Shina; later the foreign origin of Doms will also be forgotten.

Wakhi does not seem to be threatened by the same extinction for the time being. The sociological setting is quite different: although Wakhi speaking communities seem isolated on the map, they belong to a connected linguistic area which spreads on both sides of the border and Wakhi speakers are not forced to use in everyday life a foreign language. Their present location being less subject to historical and economic changes than the previous one (in present day USSR and in Afghanistan), their language is bound to keep a number of archaic words which disappeared altogether from Soviet Wakhi, submitted to the pressure of a kindred language, i.e. Tajik Persian.

Maiyan is too imperfectly known for its history being recons-

tructed in any degree. We are thus left with three Dardic languages (Kalasha, Khowar and Shina) and Burushaski. As an archaic language without any linguistic connection, Brusushaski seems at home for centuries. But we do not know where the first Burushaski speakers came from as the example of Rahman Gul's Kirghiz or the Doms warns us, they can have come from very distant countries, either from Inner Asia or from India, probably at a very remote time for no Turkish and not many Indo-Aryan loan-words were ever detected in present day Burushaski. Moreover there are in Alam Bridge and in the Upper Indus valley inscriptions in an unknown language and in a Middle-Indic dialect interspersed with words of unknown origin and meaning (6th—7th centuries AD). This unknown and clearly un-Aryan language could be a kind of proto-Burushaski. As one of these texts mentions a *Daradaraja*, it is quite possible that among the historic Dards which threatened the Kashmir valley in the first millennium AD and later there were some Burushaski speaking groups. That would mean that Burushaski was spoken lower south than what it is to-day; indeed the present linguistic map is best explained if Burushaski was previously spoken also in the Gilgit valley and in Western Baltistan. This hypothesis, which sounds convincing, nevertheless cannot be proved for the time being. In any case the reader must be reminded that, although the Burushaski speaking area is very coherent and homogeneous, with very few dialectical differentiations, the Hunzakuts have absorbed and assimilated many immigrants, not only the wretched Doms but also the royal family, the nobles and the mullahs who came from Badakhshan centuries ago and do not speak anymore their maternal Persian language.

All the Dardic languages are at home for centuries. Here is the definite proof: Asokan (3rd century BC) and later inscriptions point to the existence of a North-Western group of dialects which linguists and historians call now Gandhari, i.e. the former language of Gandhara (now a Pashto-speaking area). On the whole these dialects were more archaic than the contemporary Middle Indic ones, or Prakrits. Some of these archaisms are still to be found in the present Dardic languages. But archaisms are no decisive evidence: they could be traced back to the common origin of all Indo-Aryan dialects and do not prove that the modern Dardic languages passed through a Gandharian stage. Much more convincing are special innovations shared in common: if it can be proved that Gandhari and the Dardic languages both show some changes not to be seen in any other Indo-Aryan language, there is a fairly strong chance that the Dardic idioms are continuing the previous Gandhari or one of its sub-dialects. Now there is at least one such characteristic change: old Indo-Aryan *kṣ* > middle Indo-Aryan *KKh*

but Gandhari *çh* written *ks*. Thus we have Sanskrit *akṣi-*, "eye", Bashkarik *ēç*, Chiliss *açē*, Gauro *aç* (to be read *ace*, *aç?*), Kashmiri *açhi*, Kalasha *ēç*, Maiyan *açhē*, *ūçhī*, Shina and Phalura *açhī* opposed to Lahnda and Panjabi *akkh*, Hindi *ākh*, etc. Sanskrit *kṣetra-* "field", Kalasha *çhetr*, Kohwar *çhetur*, Phalura *çhitru*, Shina *çeç*, but Lahnda *khetru*, Panjabi and Hindi *khet*, etc. This and other evidence can be adduced to establish that the present Dardic dialects are linked with Gandhari. In the Peshawar district, there does not remain any Indian dialect continuing this old Gandhari. The last to disappear was Tirahi, still spoken some years ago in Afghanistan, in the vicinity of Jalalabad, by descendants of migrants expelled from Tirah by the Afridis in the 19th century. Nowadays, it must be entirely extinct and in the NWFP are only to be found modern Iranian languages brought in by later immigrants (Baluch, Pashto) or Indian languages brought in by the paramount political power (Urdu, Panjabi) or by Hindu traders (Hindko).

Now it can be demonstrated that Shina has some relationship to Tirahi, which means that proto-Tirahi and proto-Shina were one time in close contact (either  $X \supset A+B$  or A and B are spoken in contiguous areas, see *supra* p. 45) so that we have to suppose that proto-Shina was once spoken much lower south in the Indus valley, may be as far as Tarbela. Tirahi and Shina came to be separated when they had to retreat before Pashto forced in by the Pathan tribes who conquered these areas and assimilated its people. During this process, the Southern Dardic area was split: groups migrated and settled in different valleys, wherever they could establish themselves. The result is the motley linguistic map we see now in Indus Kohistan. In the course of this process it is quite possible that Shina pushed Burushaski further north and replaced it in many parts of the Gilgit area. But it must be pointed out that the Gilgit valley was never a one-language area: we have now evidence for at least three languages in the first millennium AD, Saka, Indo-Aryan and (proto-Burushaski?) to which we must add Tibetan, of which no trace survives, but whose existence can be deduced from the known historical fact that Gilgit was subject to Tibet for a couple of centuries.

Recent studies by G. Buddruss point to the extreme similarity of the phonological systems of Gilgiti Shina and of Burushaski, to the existence of common syntactic constructions, and to mutual borrowing of a great number of words. It is thus quite sure that these two languages, otherwise quite unrelated, are in contact for a great number of years, probably centuries, not necessarily millennia: for Domaaki, a quite recent intruder, shares the same peculiarities with Shina and Burushaski. It would be specially rewarding to check whether old offshoots of Shina like Phalura and Savi;

or far off dialects like Palasi or Gurezi, are close to Gilgiti in this respect. That does not seem to be the case, at least for Phalura and Savi, which could point to the fact that the intensive exchanges between Gilgiti Shina and Burushaski are a localised and relatively late phenomenon.

Khowar and Kalasha are among the most archaic Indo-Aryan languages. Both are related to Gandhari and share some very characteristic archaisms (for instance old Indo-Aryan *-t-*, disappeared from other Indo-Aryan languages, *-l/r-* in Kalasha and Khowar). But, although having much in common, they have quite an opposite geographical origin. Kalasha came from the south, from present day Afghanistan where the Waigal valley is still called Kalashum. It seems that the Kalasha speaking people were expelled from this territory by Nuristani tribes some centuries ago; they left it and pushed up to settle in lower Chitral, which they occupied entirely to be later pushed back in their present location by the Khowar speaking Chitralis or Khos, whose original abode is clearly Northern Chitral.

Khowar shares a great number of morphological characteristics with the neighbouring Iranian languages; it borrowed a great many words from Iranian. We know that Chitral was always open to the influence of Iranian Badakhshan and it can be demonstrated that many loan-words came through Islam and literary Persian. But some facts seem better explained if we suppose that proto-Munji, proto-Yidgha, proto-Wakhi, etc. on one side, proto-Khowar on the other side are in contact since very ancient times. That points to a very early location of proto-Khowar in its original abode of Northern Chitral although, from its links with Gandhari, we know that it had to come from further south, may be in the first millennium BC. perhaps through Swat and Dir.

Everything demonstrates thus that the present linguistic map of the Northern Areas is somewhat recent. Many idioms disappeared of which no trace is now to be found; many groups moved; many had to adopt the language of their victors or patrons. The Dardic languages are thus remnants of a much larger linguistic area which is continuously encroached upon by Pashto and Panjabi (and now Urdu). This process is still going on: Pashto and Urdu are clearly gaining more and more ground. In earlier times these changes were often forced on the populations of these districts. Now it is a more peaceful trend but governments have always to be reminded that it is harmful and useless to force any language on a minority group: they learn it spontaneously and without resenting it if they know they are not obliged and if they deem it useful.

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1. Here we do not deal with the Swat valley languages. From the XVth century A.D. on Swatis are Pashto-speakers although in the upper part of the valley, nearby Kalam, are still to be found people whose mother-tongue is Bashkarik (also called Garwi) or Torwali. Bashkarik and Torwali are both Dardic languages.

## III

## NORTHERN AREAS OF PAKISTAN

## — An Ethnographic Sketch —

By Professor Karl Jettmar

The “Northern Areas” might also be called the “Trans-Himalayan Districts of Pakistan”. Their southern boundary is formed by the western most part of the main range of the great Himalaya. Their Northern boundary corresponds to the (easternmost) Hindu-kush and to the western Karakorum. From Chitral they are separated by mountains recently called Hinduraj.<sup>1</sup> The eastern limit is the divide between Baltistan and Purig, corresponding roughly to the ceasefire-line between Pakistan and Indian-held territory. The ceasefire-line crosses the valleys of Indus and Shayok and follows the ranges bordering the Deosai plateau in the east.

The main division inside the Northern Areas are mountains called the “Nanga Parbat-Haramosh spur” by geologists. This barrier is intersected in the north by the Indus river breaking through the Rondu gorge, and in the south by the Astor river draining a fan of valleys east of the Nanga Parbat.

The present political and administrative organization of the Northern Areas corresponds by and large to its geographical situation. East of the Rondu gorge there is the district of Baltistan with two subdivisions. In 1972 Skardu subdivision had a reported population of 89,000, Khaplu 78,000.

The western region contains two districts, north and south of the Gilgit range. The northern one — Gilgit proper — includes the valleys drained by the Gilgit river and the land along the Indus between the Shengus pass formerly intersecting the paths through the Rondu gorge and the basin of Bunji. The southern district — Diamar — with its centre at Chilas, starts from Tangir/Darel (the opposite

bank of the Indus belongs to Indus-Kohistan as far as the mouth of the Basha valley) and extends eastwards even to Astor, i.e., east of the Nanga Parbat-Haramosh spur. The population numbers for the Gilgit District were, according to the 1972 census: 158,000 (Gilgit Subdivision 51,000, Hunza/Nagar 52,000, "Political Districts" 55,000), and 90,000 for the Diamar District: Chilas 29,000 Darel/Tangir 25,000, Astor 36,000.

This implies that the Northern Areas had a total population of some 415,000 people in 1972. In many subdivisions the increase had been about 30% since 1962. The effects of this excessive growth will be discussed shortly.

That such a patchwork of valleys nevertheless forms an integrated whole in many respects is due to several recent innovations in this region, especially the establishment of government schools favouring Urdu as a *Lingua franca*. The main factor however is the construction of roads. Not only the Karakorum Highway is of extreme importance, but also the link-road through the Rondu gorge between Gilgit and Skardu. Many bridges were built over previously impassable stretches of river, while jeep-roads are now creeping into remote side-valleys, some still under construction. Air traffic connecting Gilgit and Skardu with Islamabad is still important. The traditional suspension bridges formed of ropes of twisted birch (or willow) twigs have almost entirely disappeared, as have the famous "skinrafts" of inflated cow or goat hides.

The linguistic situation is described in Fussman's contribution (see chapter II). He includes Chitral and Indus-Kohistan within his survey but falls short with respect to Balti. However not less than 150,000 of the inhabitants of Baltistan still speak this archaic Tibetan language. Burushaski is the mothertongue of a population of about 40,000 in Hunza and Yasin. I am not in a position to quote reliable numbers for the speakers of Khowar, Gujari, Wakhi and Domaaki, nor for the languages of the plains spoken by those who came to this region in service or as merchants, etc. Kohistani is spoken by many gold-washers and others who originally entered as craftsmen or bondsmen.

Almost one half of the population speaks Shina. There are many dialects of Shina, some of them preserving a substratum of what appears to be another, unrecorded Dardic language. Shina was certainly brought in by a late wave of southern immigrants, may be entering in the service of a central political power. Later it was spread far to the east by settlers living in many colonies up to Ladakh.

## Environment and Economy: Common Features

Some general statements can be made on the area as a whole.

In the Northern Areas we are behind the Great Himalaya range, so there is significantly less rainfall than further south, e.g., in Indus-Kohistan. But the main peculiarity is that rainfall scarcely occurs in the valleys but almost exclusively in high altitudes feeding snowfields and glaciers. So practically nowhere in this region may agriculture rely upon direct precipitation (i.e., *lalmi* cultivation). At the bottom of the valleys, such as along the Indus, the air is extremely dry and the heat continues to be reflected from the barren rocks long after sunset. Therefore irrigation is necessary everywhere, but on the other hand, double cropping becomes possible, sometimes giving higher annual yields per acre than one finds in lowland districts.

The rivers have cut their beds deep into rocks and sediments. The water volume changes enormously between its maximum in summer and its minimum between October and April, a respective ratio of 20:1 being quite normal. That means that it is impossible to build canals branching off the main rivers themselves, or to till the soil near their banks. Only the water of streams and rivulets coming forth from side-valleys may be used.

However at the mouths of the side-valleys there are alluvial fans with much gravel and boulders, as sometimes sudden rainfall may result in a terrible flood. So it is preferred to bring the water by canals to better protected tracts at the fringe of the fan and to build settlements there.

This is only one of the constraints imposed by nature. Another is the scarcity of manure as fertilizer. The best source is from cattle, but since all suitable land in the lower tracts (and of the side-valleys and near their mouths) is used for fields, high meadows became a necessary extension of the pastures. If they are of poor quality, or little far away, human excrement must be collected together with the silt deposited in the canals by water coming from glaciers. This can be seen in Hunza and in Baltistan; but it is no full substitute for cattle-dung as fertilizer.

To collect winter-fodder for cattle was very laborious, but it was possible to keep goats in large numbers in the zone of the evergreen holm-oak (*Quercus ilex*) south of the Gilgit range.

The result is that no agriculture was feasible without herding before the import of artificial fertilizer. An integrated and well balanced combination of agro-pastoral resources was necessary.

So even immigrating groups of herdsmen or other specialists tried their best to get their own land. Otherwise they were extorted



and even blackmailed by the farmers in springtime. Before the first harvest, there was always a scarcity of grain, and no distributary market to cover their needs. Specialists — Gujars, Doms, Maruts (i.e., gold-washers)—were considered as socially inferior to the farmers. They needed a direct link to the political centre, or a sort of *jajmani* system of personal contract with farmers for a stable existence (but without the religious implications of inter-caste relations found in Hindu regions).

Wheat, barley, millet, buckwheat and legumes were the principal crops, today supplemented and partly replaced by maize and potatoes. Equally important were fruits: apricots and grapes occurring even at relatively high altitudes, while in lower places there are mulberries. They could be preserved, mostly dried, and formed an important part of the consumption in winter. Walnuts were also plentiful in many areas.

We find therefore a considerable surplus in some places, but very few items for export: e.g., *ghi*, dried apricots, or animals. This may explain the formerly widespread practice of selling slaves in return for luxury imports. Gold-dust was used for the same purpose, and was provided by a sort of villeinage in some areas.

### The Many Forms of Islam

Since the Hindus, namely soldiers, clerks, and shopkeepers who came with the Dogras left the country after Partition, the population is now entirely Muslim. But Islam had been introduced in gradual phases from different sides (see chapter VI) therefore three or, more exactly, four separate denominations are represented here.

In the History of Chitral a prince is mentioned called Taj Moghal who came from the West, from Badakhshan, and conquered the whole area up to Punial, Yasin, and Hunza. Even the ruler of Gilgit had to bow his neck under the superior force of the intruder. The sole intention of this campaign was to spread the Ismaili faith over all the mountain valleys. A second attack with the same aim was less successful.

It is not possible so far to identify this invader with any historically documented individual, but the story is in accordance with what we know from other sources. Badakhshan was an area where Mongols were in good terms with the indigenous population. So the situation was quite different from that in Western Iran. In the time of Qublai Khan (1260—1294 A.D.) the malik of Badakhshan, Pahlvan, certainly one of the local Iranians, held an influential position, Maybe "Taj" is the corruption of the Chinese title "taishi" used for powerful feudal lords in the Mongol hierarchy.

*Ethnographic Survey*

This is consistent with the information contained in the "History of Jammu and Kashmir" written by Hashmatullah Khan. He says that under the rule of Tor Khan (1290—1335 A.D.) Gilgit was attacked by "Taj Moghal" to enforce conversion to the Ismailia faith. Tor Khan embraced this creed and made efforts towards its diffusion. So the believers were called Mughli, later Maulai — surely a popular etymology.

It is said that most of the areas west of Gilgit (not only North Chitral but also Kuh and Ghizar, Yasin, Punial, and even Hunza) remained faithful to this sect, their pirs and Khalifas being found in these regions up to the present day. But on the other hand, the introduction of the Maulai faith to Hunza was attributed to the Tham (ruler) Silum (Salim) Khan III, who himself lived in Badakhshan for a while as a political refugee and met there the important religious leader Shah Ardabil. That would mean an introduction, or re-introduction, of the Ismailia as late as the beginning of the last century, since Silum III died between 1824—1826.

Even in other areas, the continuity is somewhat controversial as we shall see later.

Maybe Taj Moghal was less successful in Gilgit, because there had been earlier Islamic preachings before. According to local tradition, the propagation of Islam was effected by six venerable men in the time of Azar or Shamsheer in the first half of the 12th century A.D., implying the end of Buddhism.

The local historians are convinced that the dynasty became Sunni in faith through this wave of conversion. Their spiritual and political advisors (and judges) also came from the great Sunni centres in Central Asia.

Only under the dominant influence of Baltistan (where the Maqpon rulers reached the height of their power under Ali Sher Khan Anchan) did one of the Rajas of Gilgit, Mirza Khan, adopt the Shia faith. This was the beginning of a religious division between the local population, causing troubles to the present day. For an understanding of this situation we must shift our attention to Baltistan.

The eminent men of religion who promoted Islam there all came from Kashmir or via Kashmir from Iran.

It is doubtful whether Amir Kabir Syed Ali Hamadani, the supposed founder of Islam in Balti tradition, actually lived in Baltistan — or whether we have to do with a pious legend, created by his disciples and delegates. (See Chapter VI for another view).

The vicegerent and representative of his son was Hazrat Syed Mohammad Nur Bakhsh, who died in 1464 A.D. He was successful in propagating the faith not so much in Skardu but in Shigar and in Kiris/Khaplu.

According to Hashmatullah Khan, Hazrat Nur Bakhsh was himself quite in accord with the main tenets of the Shia, but later on his name and reputation were used by other religious teachers, e.g., Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi, to spread their own somewhat different beliefs and practices.

So in the northern and northeastern regions of Baltistan (and Purig i.e. Poryag or Kargil) there exists a religious community called Nur Bakhshi, slightly diverging from the Shia prevalent in the central, southern and western parts of Baltistan.

Due to the events reported above, this Shia territory also includes areas west of the Rondu gorge, namely. Haramosh, Bagrot, some quarters of Gilgit, and Nagar. Apparently Hunza was under Shia influence for a while, but today only the villages Ganesh remains a Shia enclave. The difference in the prevalent religious beliefs bolsters the natural antagonism between the brother-states Hunza and Nagar.

As mentioned above, already many centuries before there were Sunni pockets in the area, not only in Gilgit but also in Tangir and Darel. There the valleys were influenced from south Chitral.

The emergence of a political system based on the Pashtun interpretation of Sunni Islam.

The main thrust came from the south. When the Yusufzai and other Pakhtun tribes advanced to Buner, lower Swat and in the Panjkora valley, they were under the leadership of saintly but intrepid personalities, strictly Sunni in their religion, but adding to the normal preaching what we might call a social and political component. In the conquered areas they introduced a system of allotment of the land called Wesh, still partially preserved in some remote places up to the present day.

A description of Wesh distribution given by the Norwegian ethnographer Fredrik Barth may be quoted here:<sup>2</sup>

“The descent group owns the rights to land in common, and the problem is to achieve an equitable distribution between its component members. Since no two plots of land are really identical, a semipermanent division can never be fully satisfactory. Instead, the land is subdivided into blocks corresponding to the segments of the descent group, and each segment occupies each in alternate or rotating fashion. Thus each segment will, by the completion of the cycle, have occupied all the different areas an equal length of time, and full equality is ensured. Within each segment, land may be subdivided into lots according to the size of the household, or, as among the Pathans, according to the adult males traditional share of the total. Thus, a person does not own particular fields, but a specified fraction of the common land of his lineage segment. and at the end of each standard period, he moves

*Ethnographic Survey*

with his segment to a new locality allotted to it, where he again is allotted fields corresponding to his share of the total, to be utilized in the next period. In the same way, not land but a specified share of the common lands is passed on as inheritance from father to son."

Observing this system in its practical use, we see that local adaptations were made according to the specific conditions of the environment and also to less easily modifiable traits of the social order.

Areas like Swat have large and coherent tracts of arable land, while the Kinship System of the Pakhtuns is highly flexible and offers many opportunities for strategic manipulation. The main problem was to stabilize the demarcation between the blocks of re-allotment. It was solved by handling the buffer-zones over to saintly families.

In the mountains settled by Dardic 'tribals', valleys recently conquered by their neighbours are very rare: we find early settlers and intruders living side by side. The patches of arable land here do not necessarily correspond to that needed for the subsistence of one kinship group. So the population as a whole was divided into large sections called *dala*, and smaller units called *tal*. The core of each *tal* is normally a descent group, *zat*, but frequently combined with others so as to amount totals of equal strength. Every adult man received his share, and even girls got a *tago* portion and were allowed when married to add it to the land of their new families. There was no exchange of land and no resettling in another area. The basic settlements (with additional houses in higher levels of the valley) remained stable. So considerable variations from the Pakhtun model exemplified in Swat are evident here.

The basic settlements were concentrated in fortified villages with an open ground, a *biyak*, for meetings where political decisions were discussed and finally accepted. In smaller valleys there was only one nucleated centre of this kind, comprising a township.

Such a system neither needs, nor indeed allows, a permanent ruler, but requires only a group of elected representatives and officials for its administration. The communities remained democratic, and we might reasonably call them republics. Indus-Kohistan certainly belonged to this kind of polity — quite in opposition to the northern belt stretching from Chitral to Baltistan and even beyond, where there were centralized monarchies as a rule, and almost without exception.

The areas now included in the Diamar District may be considered as a zone of transition or oscillation. Monarchical systems also existed there, when foreign rulers gained limited control, but such centralized states could only be maintained for some time, followed

by frequent relapses into republican freedom.

### Political and Social Systems

We know that in the north there were monarchies, but they represent different types; and the social organization at village level and below was clearly inter-woven with the overall administrative framework.

#### In the Belt of the Centralized States. Gilgit

In *Gilgit* the Trakhan dynasty ruled over several centuries; guesses as to the time of their first ascent differ considerably: between the 12th<sup>3</sup> to the 14th<sup>4</sup> century A.D. But certainly there existed a state here with the same geographical centre since the 10th, or even 9th century A.D., as mentioned in the Saka Itinerary, in the Persian geographical work *Hudud al-'Alam* and Biruni's well-informed writings. The kings of the precedent dynasty can almost certainly be identified with the 'Darada-Shahis' mentioned in books of the *Rajatarangini*.

The population was organized into four castes — Shins, Yashkuns, Kamins, and Doms — since a very early time, maybe according to a model taken from a neighbouring area where Hinduism was still prevalent.

But the system of values and symbols associated with these classes remained somewhat different from the caste stratification of Hinduism. The Shins considered themselves as ritually cleaner than all others, and treated the goat as their proper and sacred animal while the cow was abhorred. We learn in Fussman's contribution that Shina, the language prevalent in almost all areas under the sway of the Gilgit princes, has "some relationship" to Tirahi, so it can be almost certainly located as an offshoot of one of the Southern Dardic languages. This fact supports local traditions as well as conclusions drawn from the actual spread of the Shin caste over the valleys, indicating that the Shins came from the south — say Pakhli or Ursa (Hazara). There, at the fringe of the mountains, domestic goats are plentiful and can be sustained in winter by forage from the leaves of the evergreen holm-oak. In this way the partiality of the Shins for this animal becomes intelligible. Maybe the Shins migrated northwards like the Gujars, but became powerful when they were needed as military guards, possibly by the Trakhans who were foreigners themselves (but had arrived from the east, from Baltistan).

The Doms, mostly acting as minstrels for the rulers or village-communities, are certainly late comers from the south. In a mar-

ginal area they have preserved a language of their own.

So the Yashkuns (landowners) and the Kamins (formerly craftsmen but now mostly somewhat poorer farmers) remain as probable descendants of an aboriginal population. Since occupational groups with similar names occur in the Panjab, the *Kamins* or *Krammins* ("potters") perhaps include also a foreign element.

Within the higher castes there existed patrilineal exogamous lineages with the tendency to accept women of lower social standing as wives, but hardly from the despised Doms. In the village council the lineages were represented by '*jushteros*' or elders. For coordination and regulation of the agricultural work, and as a sort of village police, a group of supervisors was appointed; and in Indus-Kohistan the name of this group — *zeitu* — was used as the official term for village magistrates.

The subsistence unit was the extended family, whereby brothers divided their separate tasks among themselves (tilling the soil, for example, being the responsibility of the strongest men). Polyandry was practised at least in some areas. In families without male offspring, one of the daughters could inherit house and land, her husband being included into her natal lineage.

Beyond and beside this block of regular castes, other caste-like groups of families were added: *Ronos* (families of foreign origin who produced the wazirs) and Saiyids in high positions; Gujars, Kohistanis or Kashmiris in rather depressed ones.

An intimate link between families of different rank was created by milk — fostership. A child of superior rank thereby grew up within a family of his future subjects. This arrangement was useful for both parties, but especially so for dignitaries of high standing who thus acquired fictitious relatives of absolute loyalty.

The king was interrelated with his people in two ways.

On the one hand there existed a regular administration. From Biddulph's report we inevitably get the impression that its main scope was to provide the ruler, called *Ra*, and his courtiers with provision and manual service in an archaic, irregular, and not too effective system. No taxes in cash were collected since there was no coined money. Gold dust in fixed quantities was mainly used for transactions with foreigners.

The officials had the right to retain a part of the products they collected in the name of the *Ra* — and to release some men from public or military service in order to use them for their private interests.

The titles used for the different ranks of the administrators and their helpers indicate borrowings during different periods from

several different regions (including Iranian, Turkish and Indian administrative titles); but so far no systematic analysis is available.

From other sources we know that the provinces administered by wazirs had in turn to send a labour force to the capital, well furnished with rations. There may still be found families remembering that they had hereditary rights and tasks for the court — sometimes going back to the time of the previous pagan dynasty!

Other villagers were needed as agricultural labourers for the state tilling the fields which belonged to the ruler spread over the entire country.

There was no standing army, but every free man had to join the ranks in war-time — if not of an exempted category. The villages were fortified and defended by their inhabitants.

In this system the *Ra* was not considered as commander-in-chief. The *raison d'être* of his office becomes clear when we refer to his role during the “semi-religious festivals” surviving “in spite of Mohammedanism”, “mostly connected with agriculture” — as aptly described by Biddulph. But in his days such traditions were already broken after the pernicious wars preceding the setting up of British rule in Gilgit (and the physical extermination of a large part of the local population).

Biddulph's notes cannot be conveniently reproduced here, but the *Ra* was in fact the spiritual guarantor of fertility: for crops, the fruit-trees, the cattle and the humans as well. He had a close connection with a female deity embodied in the great war drum. One of the primordial kings, Shiri Bager Tham, was subsequently taken as a supernatural being, identified with the holy Chili-tree *Juniperus excelsa*. The altar for these ceremonies was a stone near the entrance of the villages. According to Shin practice, offerings of goats played an important role in the cult performances.

The charisma connected with such activities allowed the ruler to act as mediator and judge in serious cases like murder or treason.

There is no doubt that the somewhat strained relation between the rulers and official Islam allowed some encouragement for the preservation of other, not strictly orthodox, customs and habits. Shamans of an almost Siberian type, often acting as the ‘voice of public opinion’ inhaled the smoke of burning juniper branches in order to induce trance. Witches were riding wooden boxes instead of the brooms used by their European sisters. They were believed to devour the souls of their neighbours and even their own sons during black masses. In such secret meetings they are assisted by a henchman, feigning reluctance, who had to slaughter the alter ego of the victim — in the shape of a goat. On the other hand, the witches themselves were haunted by another type of spiritual specialist who

might occasionally succeed in saving the endangered person otherwise destined to die after a few days.

Other customs simply survived because they took place in a region not regularly visited by members of the Islamic clergy. They were therefore less early regulated by foreign concepts.

Hunting lore was most important in this respect. The ibex living in high altitudes and taking refuge in rocky slopes of extreme difficulty was hard to hunt for men equipped with bows or primitive guns. The markhor was standing somewhat lower. Both animals were considered to be clean and sacred like their habitat with its fragrant trees and flowers, its shining glaciers and clean waters. They were protected and tended by fairy-like supernatural beings called *rachi* or *peri*. Ibex and markhor, forming the most noble game, were known collectively as *mayaro*.

Before going to hunt the experienced man had to purify himself and to sleep alone. Then his protective *rachi* would appear to him in dream with a gift indicating sure success. A man of noble origin and an excellent officer, climber and pilot, was proud to be a good Muslim; but without such a nightly visit of his *rachi* guardian he would miss in shooting — so he told me!

After the kill, the carcass of a hunted animal had to be treated with great reverence. Pieces of the liver were thrown away as an offering to the *peri*.

*Mayaro* may only be killed, according to local belief, when they have been slaughtered previously by their supernatural owners — the *peris*. After a common meal, the bones are said to be collected by the fairies and reassembled — resulting in a sort of re-incarnation — but without the spiritual essence. Only such 'secondary animals' are disposable for humans.

The customs and beliefs presented here in a short anthology<sup>5</sup> have many roots in the spiritual traditions of Asia. Some certainly were transmitted rather late, during Islamic times; and historical linguistics may tell us the likely origin of some of these ideas by etymological investigation.

It is indeed fascinating to see how human imagination has been shaped by the natural environment of their region, by the grandiose theatre of the mountains. So the experiences of hunters and shepherds, their feelings and speculations, brought widely divergent ideas into a coherent and structured world-view. The highest mountain summits inaccessible to men were considered as the abode of clean spirits, mostly females. On the peaks of Diamar (Nanga Parbat), Haramosh, Dubani and Rakaposhi they have their castles.

Europeans are said to have some relations with them and are therefore eager to reach such heights — but they are often punished for their audacious efforts by avalanches and storm-clouds.



Below the mountain tops girded by glaciers is the zone of crags and rocky slopes inhabited by the *mayaro* and visited by hunters, sometimes meeting their *rachis* there. Just a little below are meadows where the herdsmen tend their flocks. The agricultural zone is more or less neutral. Still further down lies the demoniac sphere with dangerous invisible beings, male and female, near the mouths of the rivers. The dirty cows are confined to the middle and lower strata, as indeed are women.

But the resulting model of altitudinal zones of spirituality does not cover the full spectrum of conflicting concepts. The material collected by the Chief Clerk in the Political Office in Gilgit, Ghulam Muhammad, on the 'Seat of Chastity' and the 'Settling of Disputes' cannot be reconciled entirely with this ritual framework. But it is certainly accurate and has been supported by later inquiries. The same is true in regard to his chapters 'Marriage', 'Omens', 'Eclipses', and 'The Creation of the World'. Much remains enigmatic, and only recently we learnt how important ceremonial axes of a special type were used as emblems of the bridgeroom.

It must be assumed that in former times there was a considerable sexual liberty, a tendency to decide conflicts by a show of competitive prodigality (i.e., 'Feast of Merit'). Intra-village killing was banned, blood-feuds being strictly prohibited in the regularly administrated areas as well.

That the burial customs were quite un-Islamic is well-known. Cremation was practised in some areas, the ashes being buried in wooden boxes or earthen jars.

### Particular Traditions in the Former Dependencies of the Trakhane Dynasty

The *Haramosh valley* hidden between the Indus and a mountain range to be crossed by a very difficult pass west of the mighty massif with the same name was visited by anthropologists in 1955<sup>6</sup> and 1958<sup>7</sup>. Here the spiritual background of the practice attributed to the witches became evident: The human soul may be incarnated as an ibex roaming in the lofty heights and in this shape chased by demoniac beings. Their successful killing of the animal could imply an impending death within the community. Conversely, the real ibex is conceived to have a spiritual counterpart or 'alter ego' in a living human.

Besides this, I heard that the women of the village once had meetings in honour of a female deity where a goat was slaughtered by a male priest, the "buck of the women flock". The deity protected also shamans and hunters appearing as a kind of Central Asian

Artemis. It became clear, moreover, that in former times the branching off of a lineage needed a special feat of merit. A monumental stone was erected on this occasion, and remained as a symbol indicating the place for offerings.

Haramosh belonged to Baltistan for a long period, but lying beyond the Shengus pass lay beyond fully centralized control. This may explain the preservation of archaic beliefs.

For *Bagrot* we have an excellent description of buildings, monuments, customs and beliefs by Snoy<sup>8</sup> confirming the earlier notes of Ghulam Muhammad. It should be noted that the population of Bagrot was Shiite and that the troops enrolled in this valley formed the backbone of the army which could be raised by the rulers of Gilgit. Therefore Gohar Aman decimated its population in the last century when so many Bagrotis were killed, others sold into slavery. There are still many ruins, dating from this period of devastation, major reorganization of the ancient social and religious system must have taken place.

Bagrot however became a centre for shamans again. Sometimes we get the impression that the memory of the tragic past has been systematically suppressed in Bagrot tradition. The present situation, where extensive social change is occurring, has been studied by Grotzbach<sup>9</sup>. In the meantime the repopulation of Bagrot has found natural limits, so the general process of emigration to the lowlands has become more and more important.

The valley of the Hunza river was used as a short but difficult thoroughfare leading to passes crossing the watershed to Eastern Turkestan during many centuries. On both banks and in side valleys there are oases settled by speakers of three different languages.

The north called Gujhal is the homeland of the Wakhis. They are relatively recent immigrants from the Wakhan corridor of N.E. Afghanistan, but as they settled in the main valley together with people from the south, a sort of mutual acculturation took place. They were under the sway of the ruler of Hunza and heavily taxed. Even more cumbersome were the yearly visits of the ruler and his staff, as all of them had to be fed and entertained - somewhat similar to the traditional system in Chitral.

The next zone belongs to Burushaski speakers. It was divided into two rival states, Hunza with more open access to the north, and Nagar with an important route to the Shigar valley in Baltistan. Since the people of Nagar were ardent followers of the Shia, the survivals of their pagan past were not as well preserved as in Hunza. But this is no excuse that the folklore of Nagar has been neglected by ethnographically interested visitors for a long time. Only recently has an intense study been made by J. Frembgen. Already

his first printed report<sup>10</sup> reveals so far unknown facts. We learn that important kinship groups immigrated together with the ancestor of the dynasty, who was a scion of the Trakhane. Apparently they gave up their Shina language for the local Burushaski but kept a great number of loanwords indicating borrowings in the spiritual and socio-political sphere. Even earlier settlers claim that they came from the south, e.g., from Gor, possibly in the time when Burushaski was still spoken south of the Gilgit Range.

In the period when Hunza remained a closeknit and extremely aggressive community, the rulers of Nagar introduced a systematic programme to expand their arable ground. But this extensive colonisation also implied their considerable exposure to attacks from Hunza. In the 18th century therefore the population was ordered to stay in the fortified capital in wintertime when the river might be crossed.

Habitual conflict with Hunza, however, never prevented intermarriages between the ruling families of these sibling states. Their epical ancestors were actually considered twins already fighting in the womb.

Hunza succeeded in inspiring interest and admiration from European visitors from the beginning. So there are more and better descriptions of this region than anywhere else. Many books present an exaggerated and embellished picture of the "extremely healthy" inhabitants, looking and behaving like Europeans, their habits and their longevity.

In fact, not so long ago the Hunza people were concentrated in three fortified villages in a healthy climate, but there was deficiency of irrigated land, so the women were trained to dispose their provisions extremely frugally. In order to endure hardships in predatory raids which were extended as far as Sarikol and the Yarkand river, the youths were trained to cross frozen rivers, sometimes swimming below the ice, to sleep in the open, even in winter, and to carry heavy loads (namely plundered goods) back home on most difficult paths.

The tasks and privileges of the ruler correspond to those reported from Gilgit. He personifies a solar deity and has to behave accordingly. The queen has ceremonial tasks too. But such ideas were already connected with the rulers of Bolor, one thousand years earlier. The question is only, when they were brought to Hunzaland. The administration also betrays several features of the Gilgit system, with more personal political relations replacing an earlier emphasis upon ritual kingship.

The intensive studies of I. Stellrecht have made clear that the Hunza people had no system of castes; but the attribution of ritual

purity according to altitude, from the mountain tops down to the gloomy gorges of the river, appears to have been stressed more than by the Shins proper. Concepts like shamanism and witchcraft are encompassed within this ritual schema.

This world-view was hardly adapted to the basic needs of a population living on agriculture — it is used by an emergent nobility — a closely interwoven body of office holders, heroes, royal confidants, in order to legitimise a distinction not only from the despised Berichos — corresponding to the Doms — but also from those freeholders who had to carry loads. The hierarchy cuts across a segmentary system of clans of different origin, most of them exogamous, i.e. with a formal obligation to marry outside the group. Some of them were possibly arranged according to positive marriage rules, intermarrying clans lived together in the same village, but in different quarters.

Together with traditional training and thrift, the cult of purity has offered an easy approach to the modern world for the Hunzas. A fragrant smell was held as best proof of ritual purity, therefore regular baths, clean clothing and houses were considered as necessary — just what tourists desire, who are happy to find so many well-run hotels in the region owned or managed by Hunzas.

But finally we must admit that not all elements in the spiritual heritage of Hunza can be grasped within this system. The forces of nature were understood as divine beings, male and female. In a thunderstorm people heard the clash of the horns of bulls belonging to *Khuda-mo*, i.e., a female deity with an Iranian name (and a Tibetan suffix) used since a Millennium of monotheistic religion — but not only by them

Much less is known about the Shina-speaking inhabitants of the lower Hunza valley. The area of *Chalt-Chaprot* is famous for its exuberance of gifted shamans. Sometimes they are invited to Hunza where the tradition prevails that this profession is not a local one. Sometimes Shina is spoken during the trance, even by men not fluent in this language. But there is also an indigenous term: *bitan*. Chalt-Chaprot was an enclave of Nagar on the right (Hunza) side of the river.

In Hindi (=Hini), the village just south of Hunza's kernel of Burushaski speakers, it is said that in spring, when the *vats* full of new, recently fermented wine were opened, a sort of mock-fighting took place between the men of the different fortified settlements. It was restricted to fixed hours of the day, so that the not too badly injured participants could have their meals afterwards — and — after refreshing and impassionating gulp from the wine-vat — could sleep with their wives.

This information must have a realistic background, since Mirza

Haidar on his holy war against the infidels of "Balur Kafiristan" in 1526/27, not too distant from the scene of this information, reports a similar story of 'mock' warfare among its inhabitants.

Proceeding further to the west we find the *Karumbar valley* full of settlers of different origin: Wakhis, Khowar— and Shina-speakers, descendants of noble but somewhat destitute families. An energetic and intelligent Saiyid took over the task of re-settling land which formerly lay waste. So his descendants became great land-owners giving their daughters to princely families. Many old and seemingly un-Islamic graves were destroyed during re-culturation; and there are also ruins of an old fort here.

Only a large side-valley, *Ishkoman*, had a Shina-speaking population concentrated in a big village fortress. But also here it is said to have been founded not so long ago by people coming from Chilas. Therefore it might be concluded that a foreign invader had exterminated the previous population, maybe Mirza Haidar or one of his predecessors (for not all Moghal generals described their deeds in such a lucid way). In times when the glaciers retreat, the approach from the north is dangerously inviting to outside adventurers.

South of Karumbar valley, — between a narrow defile just west of its mouth and Golapur in the east, — there lies the fertile tract of *Punial* along the middle course of the Gilgit river. Even here we have stories of cruel destruction and a re-population by settlers from Gilgit and from the south, especially from Darel. A Dareli, named Shoto ruled there for a while as a peasant monarch. For many centuries, this area was a bone of contention between the Shah Rais who had their basis in North Chitral and the Trakhane of Gilgit.

Maybe the Shah Rais propagated a strange mode of burial: in subterranean chambers. The dead bodies were left there till decomposition, then the bones were stored in niches of the room separated according to sex, the skulls deposited on a low frontal bench. There was a building on top of the *ossuary*, always belonging to one lineage. When a member of this lineage was near death, minstrel music could be heard from the grave: the ancestors were eagerly awaiting him for a feast of reception.

A collective tomb of this kind was seen near Bubur by A. Friedrich and myself. Another one was mentioned near Sher Qila — the present centre and even the seat of the resident of the Shah Rais<sup>11</sup> in olden days. Land was set apart for the keepers of this sanctuary. The Shah Rais were certainly Muslims but apparently they preserved this pre-Islamic Iranian tradition of exposure and of secondary inhumation all within a royal grave.

Collective tombs were also made by the locals together with

the founding of a village fortress. A certain number of federated clans was requested, so we might think of a system of regulated intermarriages, as in Hunza.

Later on the Shah Rais were followed by the Khushwaqt, and finally by a side-line of them, the Burushe, until under British rule the administration was reorganized with a local prince as governor. All rulers produced an astonishing number of offspring, so Punial became known as the land of petty aristocratic "Gushpurs" (royal sons from mothers of lower status). In 1972 a new reorganization transformed Punial plus Ishkoman into one subdivision with its centre at Singol.

But we should rather stress the rich harvests and the pleasant character of the landscape. The local Ismailis were great fanciers of wine, and not so much official reprimand as the orders of the Aga Khan finally stopped its age-old production. I was told that in former days it was even forbidden to drink water — when the wine had matured and the women were invited to join in the celebration; out this may be a somewhat fanciful exaggeration.

On the other hand, Punial was formerly haunted by witches, and one of the rajas was keen enough to learn their secrets inviting them to a tea-party.

*Yasin.* We have noted that for a while even Punial was administered by the Ra'is rulers of Upper Chitral. When they were replaced by a new dynasty, later on split into Katore and Khushwaqte sections, the areas east of the Shandur pass were controlled by these newcomers. The attempts of the Shah Ra'is to restore their kingdom did not influence this periphery. But in the course of a still harder struggle for power between the two lines, the Khushwaqte, who had dominated a very large area including the Indus valley between Tangir in the west and Bunji in the east, created a strong basis for their further ambitions in *Yasin*: a mountain chamber north of the Gilgit river. Here they were in an excellent strategic position. The official system of administration was similar to that of Chitral: the custom of sending the children of the ruler as to be fostered by important families was the same. The outcome, however, was different here in a restricted area which could be overlooked almost completely from a few chosen places: no open conflict would arise among the clans of the foster-parents then using the princes as their pawns — in contrast to Chitral, which was a much larger and intersected territory.

In *Yasin* the dynasty was based on a popular mandate. This was symbolized by the rule of performing important ceremonies not in the place but just in a spacious and solid peasant's house. The symbiosis between ruler and ruled was not hindered by the fact that the locals were Ismailis and spoke Burushaski, the rulers

being Sunnis speaking Khowar — who had brought their best fighters with them. In the context of this political accommodation based on mutual tolerance and common aversion against Gilgit (where the Shiites became dominant), it must be explained how archaic festivals and their songs — with many erotic allusions — were preserved. Maybe we find here traditions connected with the dynasties of Gilgit in earlier versions.

Since one of the rulers of Yasin, Gohar Aman, was especially antagonistic towards Shiites, and so successful against the Dogras, the population of the valley was decimated by the latter after their final victory. Only the low-caste Doms were spared; and so for a while they were almost the only group familiar with the past of this region.

*Kuh* and *Ghizr* are the names for the lands between the boundary of Punial and the Shandur (in fact not really a pass, rather a plateau with beautiful lakes), on both sides of the "Gilgit" river. Up to Chashi the major part of the population speak Shina, beyond Chashi Khowar prevails. In the upper parts there is much land for grazing used by a special breed of cattle adapted to the height through cross-breeding with yaks.

In this relatively open country no political centre could be maintained against the ever-present danger of invasion. Only British rule with its well-controlled governors brought some economic advantages which are now perpetuated by the building of better roads.

But much is still left to be done by the anthropologist. Near Gupis, the present capital, is a place considered to be that of a female spirit protecting mothers and newborn children. Near Roshan I heard of several places where holy men of the past were venerated, each of them specialised for particular misfortunes such as sickness, bad harvest etc.

### Republics: Zone of Transition to Indus-Kohistan

To the south, beyond the Gilgit Range, there are the important valleys of *Tangir* and *Darel*. As mentioned before, this is a zone of transition to an area of a different political system. However the rulers of Gilgit were powerful also there: the main canal of Gilgit is said to have been built by Darelis who were rewarded by a most precious gift, the Khanberi valley, by the famous queen Dadi Juvari.

Later on the valleys lay under the rather weak supremacy of the Khushwaqte dynasty. Tangiris and Darelis joined the ranks of victorious rulers hoping to get their share of the booty — and lost their lives when the army of Khairullah returning from Afghan

Kafiristan/Bashgal was trapped by snowfall and completely annihilated.

Following the tradition of his forefathers and using old links created by milk fostership, a Khushwaqte prince, Pakhtun Wali Khan built his own independent kingdom here by energy and clever diplomacy. Starting from Tangir he extended his rule to Darel and Sazin before he was murdered in 1917. More will be told in the chapter on History. (Chapters VI and VII)

It may be added that several further attempts were made, before and afterwards, to pacify and to exploit these two valleys which were well endowed with extensive forests (the woodcutters floated the timber directly down the Indus river). But all efforts ended always with the death of the pretenders — for the inhabitants had become passionate freedom fighter and the area was a part of *Yaghistan*, “Land of the Free” or ‘Land of the Rebels’.

Pakhtun Wali Khan had started his career in Tangir for very good reasons. There were foreign enclaves: Saiyids, Pakhtuns, and Kohistanis, all claiming descent from the original propagators of Islam. The large fortified villages once characteristic of this region, were already dissolved. In Darel the process of dissolution had just begun; but there remained some basic internal tensions with the community. Reforms brought by Islamic missionaries were scarcely compatible with its indigenous “caste” system of stratified groups.

When there was no opportunity for tyrannicide, nor chance for a raid against other valleys, the Yaghistanis alternatively indulged in romantic escapades with the wives of their neighbours — complicated by the everpresent need to guard their own spouses against similar temptations. The results were countless murder cases followed by blood feuds. Their monuments were towers erected by rival family groups inside their villages, sometimes in clusters giving the impression of a barbarian San Gimignano to bewildered visitors.

In this situation, hunting was not only a sport: it was a spiritual outlet, a way to enter the pure and (emotionally) cooler sphere of the high mountains. Therefore hunting customs and beliefs as described previously were preserved very well — practically as isolated remains of the pre-Islamic heritage.

The surplus in agriculture was enormously increased when other crops were replaced by maize. If the manure available was concentrated on it, only one harvest might be sufficient in areas where double-cropping had been possible. The herds were of considerable size, as meadows on the northern side of the Gilgit Range could be used according to a right acquired in former times. Khanberi had been used in the same way, but was later on rented



out to Gujars still paying taxes.

Since attempts to impress one's neighbours by personal luxuries were considered provocative, the surplus was used for buying excellent guns, and to take on people from Kohistan as *dehqans*, i.e. share croppers and tenants. So the landlords could pass long periods on the high meadows when the summer climate was most uncomfortable in the villages.

This state of affairs was already well established in 1952, when the valleys "acceded directly and voluntarily to Pakistan". A conciliation of all feuds shortly followed, but they grew up again: for the *dehqans* themselves adopted rather overhastily the political rhetoric that land should belong only to the man working on it. So the modern weapons earlier acquired by their masters turned out to have been a good investment after all; they decided the case in favour of the landlords.

Even in conflicts with the state, warlike virtues proved successful. At present the towers are being rebuilt: lower and more spacious, used as *hujras*, i.e. men's houses.

Remnants of the old *wesh* system (which was complicated enough since the large valleys were divided into quarters, and then into villages) became once more important when the sale of timber was reorganized by the state — offering new bridges and jeep roads for transport. Only old share-holders of the *wesh* system got their portion of the returns provided by these new contracts.

The next republic of considerable power was *Gor*. Here in a fan-shaped basin, three fortified villages were situated with their surrounding fields. Each was strictly regulated, with clearly separated quarters; towers at the periphery were delegated to the young warriors. The forests of holm-oaks, so important for goat-breeding, were divided into rotational plots to be used in turn.

One grove was dedicated to the old protecting fairy of the community, Taiban. In his name animals were slaughtered, while all trees around remained untouched. No unclean cattle could enter this sacred precinct, and only the dung of goats was used for adjacent fields. Between the two main villages there was the (Muslim) grave of a holy woman — may be replacing the sanctuary of a female deity.

There was a strict rule that all marriages should be concluded during one communal festivity every year.

*Gor* had good relations with the rulers of Gilgit. There was a house where Gilgitis encumbered by political problems could find a refuge. Relations with other republics were not as pleasant. There was a long struggle with Darel for supremacy over the many valleys lying in between their territories. Finally Chilas was asked to intervene for arbitration, and that, indeed, settled the case: for Chilas

itself occupied the disputed territory. This in turn explains why the people of Gor were on the side of the invaders when Sikhs, Dogras and British detachments entered this part of the Indus valley. Due to their collaboration new settlements were founded by people from Gor; and for a while they were still included in the annual system of collective marriage, so they had to contribute provisions to the feasts.

In the meantime the system of strictly regulated agricultural activities protecting essential environmental resources such as the holm-oak forests, has broken down: a consequence of liberal individualism in community politics that is increasingly regretted as its ecological effects are becoming apparent nowadays.

For a while *Chilas* formed a common unit with the neighbouring valleys: Thak on the eastern side, certainly Gichi, Thor and may be also Harban on the western flank were included in a political block with diplomatic connections to the shina-speaking valleys of Indus-Kohistan.

The fortified village of Chilas was especially strong, and it held two water tanks inside its walls. Moreover it was the only large centre in this part of the Indus valley proper. A British force had been lured by the Gor people to Thalpan, just opposite Chilas. A deciding battle was inevitable, and the British thus occupied the place in 1892. It was transformed into a military garrison and defended against a sudden attack of the confederates in Kohistan who had raised an army of about 2,000 — a force too sizeable to be maintained/provisioned over a longer siege. Even local fortresses in the neighbouring valleys were destroyed after this campaign; and their settlers were driven into the side-valleys and restricted to their lands.

So ended a fascinating period in the history of Chilas. It had been the organizing centre and the starting place for so many raids taking people from "Yaghistan" towards the east, up to Astor and further. A special ability for swimming through torrents had been traditionally instilled through rigorous training for this purpose.

The fields around the British fortress were re-occupied by immigrants, the bazaar being organized by Hindus — who escaped after partition. But the foreign farmers remained — and that is the problem now.

When the forests are exploited by timber contractors, the aboriginal settlers get their share according to the *wesh* system (which thereby acquires a new significance). The others, excluded from such benefits, tend to be more industrious. They are now reinforced by the (still despised) gold-washers, recently made aware of the proper price of their product. These disenfranchised classes have now also begun to acquire guns, certainly a threat of future

conflicts. The tensions may be expected to be carried on the political level too.

As in other areas of the southern belt, Shina was spoken in Astor. This valley was always significant as a link to Gurez which for a while was a main outpost of the rulers residing in Gilgit. Later on it was included in the large territories conquered by Ali Sher Anchan, and ruled by a branch of the Maqpon dynasty.

During British times it was safe from the formerly troubling attacks of the Chilas; and as the traffic along the Gilgit road increased, horse-breeding and the keeping of mules as pack-animals became especially rewarding in this area. Villages destroyed in previous wars were refounded, and many internal reforms took place.

Still in some remote corners old traditions were well preserved — as became clear from Ghulam Muhammad's notes. Further interesting material was also recently collected by A. Nayyar.

Goat-breeding has some highly archaic traits. Even more fascinating is the discovery that in the hierarchy of purity we find the snow-leopard: the male animal is considered too pure to have sexual contact. The female has to descend to the bank of the river in order to mate the other (*lutra lutra*).

In the meantime we know this story from other Shina-speaking areas: it illustrates the theme that purity needs a partner from the low and demoniacal sphere to become fully fertile.

Other elements of popular beliefs show influence from Baltistan. Information collected in the village Dashkin, near the Hatu-Pir where the Gilgit Road suddenly goes down into the Indus-valley, render some details about the calendar and deal with a female demon called Herati — certainly connected with Hariti, a deity of the early Buddhist pantheon. But it is not clear whether this is a local tradition or was brought by newcomers settling in the destroyed village.

### **Territories Outside the Trakhane State: Baltistan**

*Baltistan* differs from all other districts by the preponderance of a language closely related to Tibetan (often considered as an ancient dialect), and by the former coexistence of three dynasties with similar political and social systems.

In the Indus valley there were the Maqpons with their centre in the basin of Skardu, and side-lines in Rondu, Astor (as already mentioned), Tolti and Kartakhshah. Maqpon means "commander of a frontier district" in Tibetan, indicating that the influence from the east was much stronger and longer lasting than in Gilgit.

The second dynasty ruling over the large and fertile valley of Shigar is related to the chiefs of Nagar and was allegedly founded

by a refugee coming via the Hispar glacier. The third dynasty, with dominions in the Shayok valley, had pretensions to a northern origin: *yabgu* is a well-known title, certainly used by Turks. But the possible historical roots of this tradition fall outside the scope of this survey (see chapter on history).

There are many fertile tracts, but at very high altitudes, and the meadows are far away and under heavy snow in winter. Night-soil must therefore be used as manure. Only a part of the arable land can be tilled in the large basin of Skardu due to scarcity of water. In the centre we find a desert with sand dunes, reminiscent of the Tarim Basin in Chinese Central Asia. Rondu has high and flat valleys, but their access is easier from Astor, and therefore its settlers came from that side. The same is true of villages situated deep in the gorge. Taxes were never collected there because of the danger of reaching such places.

The regional peculiarities of the socio political system of Baltistan become clear if it is compared with that prevalent in Gilgit and its former dependencies:

In the west, in the Gilgit region, kinship groups were the operative units, lineages or clans being exogamous in former times. Their elders were often actively involved in competitive politics; but most collaborated with the ruler and his administration, its officials being selected according to their membership of hereditary status groups. So we may speak of "segmentary states" in this region, where kinship groups are effectively integrated within a centralized policy.

In Baltistan, however, the basic units of the Balti population were residential rather than kinship groups: i.e., neighbours, united by shared economic and ritual tasks during festivals and domestic rites of the life-cycle with a small mosque as their centre. Despite their Islamic foundation the similarity of these ritual communities to the phaspun-ships of Ladakh (with the mosque replacing the common Lho-tho sanctuary) is strikingly evident; and it may well derive from common institutions during the Buddhist period. The administrative system was more correspondingly hierarchic, particularly in its classification of hereditary offices. The late R.M. Emerson, who was lucky to have Yabgu Fateh Ali Khan, the last ruler of Khaplu, as his informant, presented an overall scheme to which I refer with minor corrections:<sup>1 2</sup>

Besides the heir (and his brothers) apparent born by a mother of royal blood, there was a large group of princes and descendants of princes born by mothers of lower status groups. They were trained as horsemen, fighters (and polo-players): the *kha-cho's* brothers of the rulers. They were in part a "standing army" and in part an officer corps, i.e., in war their ranks were filled up by

peasants. From each peasant household one man was mustered. Apparently the commanders of the forts called *kharpon* were taken from this noble but illiterate group. Their subsistence was guaranteed by jagir-like tracts of royal land called *cho-pi-tsa* worked by tenants or rather *share-croppers* with heavy conditions.

The next class were the hereditary cadres of officials, with the *wazirs pha-cho's* paramount. Drew heard that the "Wazir class intermarry among themselves", and that implies that they would have had relatives throughout the country — even in rival kingdoms.

On the other hand, their wives were the wet-nurses of the princes, so the *pha-cho's* could control succession to the throne, and it was already clear who would be chief minister of an incumbent ruler: his "milk-brother". They were thus the big managers of royal policy but not necessarily responsible if something went wrong.

Here the effects of milk-fostership were quite different from that in Chitral: There the princes were given to powerful and antagonistic clans which could provide the protege with an armed guard. They risked their land when their foster-son took up the struggle for succession and failed. When he won, however, they — and not the ruler — gained possession of the loser's lands.

The Hunza people effected a Solomonic solution to such struggles for succession. The princes were given as foster-children to different lineages. but the next king was elected by lineage chieftains in a joint meeting, and the not-so-able princes were then thrown into the river — if they could not escape in time.

So the *wazirs* in Baltistan had overall control in administration. They were assisted by officials of lower ranks, down to the headmen in the villages who formed a separate stratum.

Around the palace of the ruler there were also many groups with more menial hereditary tasks: people who brought firewood, worked in the kitchen, acted as grooms, doorkeepers, servants, guides and companions.

In Khaplu the ruler imported specialist craftsmen from Kashmir where the people were again and again suppressed and exploited by foreign lords. They provided those skilled artists whom we have to thank for the wonderful carvings in the mosques of this region. But several indigenous hamlets had to be evacuated in order to provide homesteads and land for these immigrant artisans.

Apart from such "administrative reshuffling" of local peoples, the burden of the centralized state on the rural population was hard. From land not attributed to privileged *pha-cho* families, the fifth part of all produce (agricultural or pastoral) was collected. Moreover, each household was annually obliged to send a man for forty

days of labour, when needed.

In the system of public defence, which was the rationale for such taxes, not fortified villages but the main castles of the rulers were the strategic points of defence. Each dynasty had its own palace in the valley, (sometimes with a megalithic foundation) together with a fort on a steep and high cliff nearby. The defenders of such forts had no access to running water; but they depended upon a large tank within the citadel — and on an unhappy group of villagers to carry water on their shoulders to keep it filled. Apparently this arrangement was not in good order when the Dogras attacked, and therefore the forts fell regularly after a short and thirsty siege.

From this successful campaigns, Ali Sher Khan Anchan (1580—1624) brought back many prisoners of war taken between Gilgit and Chitral, as well as in Astor.

Most of these captives came from the area around Chilas which had been the headquarters of repeated raids tormenting the normally peaceful Baltis. (They however, turned out to be disciplined and effective soldiers in the hands of a great general). The prisoners were originally used for forced labour, building dams and canals; but they were eventually settled on land in the uppermost parts of valley giving access to the Deosai plains — i.e., on those routes where invasions were imminent. So these *Brokpas* (= settlers on high places) were used as guards and watchmen against their own relatives in hostile regions. Life is hard at such high and virtually treeless altitudes where sustenance can be had only from the most resistant crops, e.g., barley and a bitter variety of buckwheat. But the *Brokpas* managed to maintain their own customs, they remained organized in their traditional kinship-groups. Their shamans were highly appreciated — since the Baltis have not this religious calling and these were frequently used by rulers as oracles for deciding foreign policy. One shaman was offered to the Maharaja of Kashmir, where he acted with great success, albeit in favour of his paternal country.

The *Brokpas* have preserved their language, Shina, up to the present day, but they accepted the Shia faith of their overlords. (Descendants of earlier Dardic immigrants now speak Balti, but their western origin is clearly written in their faces).

Maybe in reaction to the rigid framework of the public administration, private life appeared more easygoing and relaxed than elsewhere. Still in the recent past, *muta*, the legal marriage for a restricted period was allowed to Shia communities. In Baltistan it was practised not only for temporary visitors, e.g., merchants, but even in the villages between candidates for permanent marriage. They should be acquainted with their partner intimately before-

hand — but after such a test they had to decide on their choice, once and for ever.

Baltistan was liberal in accepting foreigners in high positions, and even a *Brokpa* could reach the position of wazir.

The country may be proud of its cultural heritage. Many old songs were preserved by the otherwise despised minstrels. Young princes were trained not only in polo — which was considered as the national game (and may indeed have originated here) — but also in poetry. The famous Kesar epic of Central Asia was enriched by a kind of chivalry unknown elsewhere, and it was learnt by heart by all who wanted to belong to the nobility.

### Modern Development

My overview started with reference to the ecology of the areas behind the Westernmost Himalaya and by stressing common traits in the economic activities of the local populations. I conclude by mentioning some of the most relevant ethnographic changes now occurring in a process of development, filling in as this region has become increasingly integrated within the Islamic State of Pakistan.

After Partition, the administration implemented by the British overlords was changed in a very careful and moderate way. Practically all taxes imposed on the products of the land were abolished. The traditional land-settlement reports (never covering the whole area), became obsolete. This was an enormous deliverance, especially for Baltistan where the villagers were still subjected to corvee labour demands.

Communications were greatly improved due to a felicitous circumstance: The pony tracks and suspension bridges built by the British were broad enough to allow the use of jeeps, able to take even the steepest ascent. So ponys and porters soon disappeared. Instead of the now obsolete Gilgit Road, a line of communication was opened via the Babusar pass, accessible between midmay until the end of September.

So there were routes providing means for a considerable motor traffic even before the construction of an all — weather road through the Indus valley, later on expanded to the Karakorum Highway. These new infrastructural conditions had, of course, a restrictive influence on horse-breeding in this region. Instead of a good horse, the pride of a man of influence was now to be a jeep-owner.

The building up of a modern administration with a host of new officials, was also effectively a generous subsidy to the local population. Touristic activities brought further impetus for the

opening of hotels, in many cases very well managed by enterprising local people. Developmental programmes have had a sizeable impact on the regional economy of the Northern Area: by the import of artificial fertilizer, more productive crops, and the use of water-power for small industries. At the moment many such efforts are systematically concentrated in the hands of the Agha Khan Foundation, working with a large and knowledgeable staff and able to offer huge subsidies for investment.

However one basic problem has arisen as the direct consequence of such well-meaning and otherwise positive measures, particularly through the improvement of medical care and control on the one hand, and the prevention of internecine wars on the other (which were especially devastating in the 19th century):

The density of population has grown beyond all anticipated limits.

From an ethnographic perspective, we have to take into account that many of the traditional regulative institutions on demographic growth have been abolished. In olden days, during the prolonged period of breast-feeding, pregnancy was considered dangerous for both mother and child. In many areas young married couples had to restrict their sexual congress to clandestine meetings in the early years of marriage. These traditions, which once served to adjust birth-rates according to the economic resources of household groups, now tend to be considered non-Islamic superstition.

Accordingly, the population would now starve without an external supply of grain. For a while rations were distributed among the locals and transport costs were substantially subsidised.

Most valleys can rely upon locally grown grain for some nine or ten months per year, the remaining subsistence needs being covered by imports. Since these subsidised imports were artificially cheap, a necessity to expand the area under cultivation was not felt as an especially urgent problem. This economic dependency has certainly been a motivating factor for further integration in the community of Pakistan. The necessary imports are now increasingly paid for with money earned outside. Leaving their families in the mountains, the men are taking up seasonal, migrant labour in lowland Pakistan or else remain for long periods working in the Gulf States, visiting their families only occasionally. So "colonies" of northerners have emerged in many commercial and industrial centres of lowland Pakistan, especially Karachi. Opportunities for migrant labour are not equally distributed in the population: people who had already to work very hard for their livelihood in the past are effectively privileged in being able to earn cash as labourers nowadays. The drain of these workers, in their prime of life, is badly felt in many areas, especially in Hunzaland. Elder men



and women must take up again the heavy task of maintaining agriculture and herding.

Besides, there are other problems less apparent in everyday life — but some prescient persons are well aware of them, and they should be mentioned by the ethnographer: in future not only food-shortage is imminent. Traditionally people burn wood in the household as their main source of fuel. With a rapidly increasing consumption of such fuel (with that of the army on top), wood has become so expensive in wintertime that in Baltistan even fruit-trees are commonly felled — a scarcely profitable action in the long run.

At present there is a boom in modern house construction, using mainly stone and concrete. Formerly the local style of domestic architecture (not well studied outside Chitral) had a fireplace in the centre of each building which were also well insulated. Now every farmer wants a modern “English home” with windows and doors leading to an open verandah and a nice chimney inside, and in this way much firewood is being wasted in heating.

In the south, the side-valleys of the large rivers had forests with splendid trees, undamaged for centuries. Pakhtun Wali Khan started their commercial exploitation. When Tangir and Darel joined Pakistan, the wood-cutters returned. But the floating of tree-trunks down the Indus has always entailed heavy losses. Now the Karakorum Highway provides easy access to lorries, while jeeps may enter the side-valleys. So export is much more rewarding — and Pakistan needs timber more than almost any other raw material.

A good share of the timber revenue is indeed paid to the local population — and divided according to the ancient rules of the *wesh*-system. Meadows and forests being traditionally considered common property, there are no individuals who held themselves responsible or competent for any particular region of the forest. So nobody will protest when the contractors not only select crippled trees, as is theoretically permitted, but devastate whole stands of prime forest. Rapid depletion of these forests is therefore happening with the same negative effects as in the Central Himalayas; and this is not even compensated by an equivalent expansion of agricultural land. For the slopes here are so steep that it is impossible to put them under cultivation, and hence the soil will be washed away for ever. In fact, agricultural efforts are thereby reduced — when a safe income in cash as ‘*wesh*-participant’ in the timber industry is thus guaranteed.

The admirable extension of local schools, with a large teaching staff (partly coming from outside), has carried through the spread of Urdu as Lingua franca. But at the same time, effecting some cultural compensation, there is a tendency to create new scripts adap-

ted to the local languages. Here and there we find men eager to create indigenous literature, with religious books and poetry as its first manifestation. That is no easy task, due to the linguistic situation. Khowar has already a small but established literary tradition, and now attempts are being made also for Burushaski, Shina and Balti. The Baltis once suppressed by the Dogra administration are now leading in this cultural renaissance.

These tendencies of ethnic cohesion should be esteemed and supported by the state. For a while, no political parties were allowed in the Northern Areas, and the rifts and tensions inside the population were therefore mainly delineated by religious groups, even in regions where no such partisan feelings existed in the past. It would be useful to bring new loyalties based upon ethnic identities into this game.

To find one's ethnic self means also to discover old bonds of friendship and alliance with one's neighbours, and to become aware that they share a glorious heritage in common. In times when the lowlands were under the sway of invaders, the mountain peoples could preserve their traditions and soon regained liberty after hostile inroads. Without modern weapons and the organization of a great empire, it would have been impossible to conquer them. Even the local rulers had to be very careful in imposing their dominions before they had the backing of the British power. So there is a very long tradition of freedom in the Northern Areas which equally demands the respect of modern government.

## NOTES

1. Carl Rathjens -- "Fragender horizontalen and vertikalen Landschaftsgliederung in Hohenbirgssystem des Hindukush", Wiesbaden.
2. Fredrik Barth -- *Indus and Swat Kohistan: An Ethnographic Survey*, Oslo, 1857-1957. Vol. II.
3. Hashmatullah Khan -- *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammun* (A Short History of Jammu and Kashmir and of the Area of Tibet), Pt. IV, Pt. VI: Lucknow, 1939, p. 758.
4. John Biddulph -- *Tribes of the Hindookoosh*, Graz, Reprint, 1971, p. 134.
5. For detail see Karl Jettmar: *Religions of the Hindukush* (Eng. Tr.) in Press.
6. Peter Snoy -- *Bagrot, Eine dardische Talschaft im Karakorum*. Graz, 1975.
7. Karl Jettmar. *Ethnological Research in Dardistan, 1958, Preliminary Report*. P.A. P.S., Philadelphia, 105/1/ 79-77. 1961.
8. See footnote 6.
9. Grotzbach, Erwin -- *Bagrot -- Beharrung and Wandel einer peripheren Talschaft im Karakorum*, Die Erde, 115, 305-321.
10. See *J.C.A.* Vol. VII. No. 2. Dec. 1984, pp. 29-38.
11. Rais was the title of a high official in the Seljuk administration, mostly held by a man of non-Turkish origin.
12. M. Richard Emerson -- 'Charismatic Kingship: A Study of State, Formation and Authority in Baltistan, *J.C.A.* Vol. VII/2, pp. 95-133.

## IV

## FROM PREHISTORY TO HISTORY

## Introduction

Archaeological evidence at present is not sufficient to give a complete account of the prehistoric culture of man in this region. Whatever little has been found relates to a late period and shows a stage of hunting and food collecting in a manner that smacks of primitive life but not necessarily of great antiquity. The entire material, for the time, is limited to rock art. This evidence can be studied in its local geographic environment but more than that it can be placed in a wider perspective of rock art as known from the surrounding areas in the trans-Pamir side, Xin-jiang, Ladakh, Kashmir and Swat. Two things are evident: the first is that the examples of rock art, spread all over the great length of this extensive zone, are inter-related; and the second is that there is a continuity in this rock art from early time right into the historic period in such a way that we can well speak in the language of cultural continuity from prehistory to history. As we come nearer historic time, the evidence multiplies, the social and animal life expands, the symbols increase in number, the religious meanings become clearer and more definitive, and at the same time new monumental remains in the form of grave stones, stone circles and monolithic rocks introduce new people, new taste, new contacts and new system of socio-economic behaviour pattern. Here, by now, we find a meeting ground of the primitive and the settled, the nomad and the cultivated groups, the hunter and the pastoralist, and above all we can dimly visualise the growth of a political order in which a given civilised tribe far outstrips the rest of the population and establishes its historic identity under the name of Dard, as we read in the western classical literature.<sup>1</sup>

## Rock Carvings

A detailed study on the rock carvings from trans-Pamir area, Soviet Central Asia and Siberia is published by Y.A. Sher<sup>2</sup>, in which

the author has detailed various styles of art and traced the chronological history from Stone Age through Bronze Age to historical times. Closest similarity with the Pamir<sup>3</sup> and Pamiro-Alai<sup>4</sup> regions take back the antiquity of the material to very early times. Such rock-carvings have also been reported from Xin-jiang, but they are attributed to nomadic hunters. Prof. Mu. Shunying<sup>5</sup> notes:

“One important aspect of early archaeological culture is rock engravings found in both north and south Tienshan Mountain and Algin Mountain area. This is the cultural relics left by ancient nomadic nationalities. They are mainly found on high mountain grazing ground, middle and lower mountainous area and routes nomads travelled to new grazing land. They were also discovered in some river valleys. These rock engravings are usually found on green or black rocks, such as hard black sandstone with smooth surface, granite and slate. The surfaces of these engravings mostly face east. The engravings are made of thick lines carved out of rock surface. The main themes of these rock engravings in Aletai area include first hunting (The usual one is a hunter holding his bow and arrow or aiming at a wild goat, deer, wild ox, horse, camel, wolf etc); secondly grazing livestock (one engraving in Haba river area shows two herdsmen herding a lot of sheep, deer and camels); and thirdly miscellaneous themes like fighting, dancing, portraits, deities. Rock engraving is a form of art of the ancient nomadic people. From what materials we have, this period lasted very long. Some engravings are made actually after 14th century. So we must thoroughly study and compare these engravings. However, it is certain that some definitely belong to primitive culture.”

This long quotation shows the main character of the rock art in this entire region. Many similarities will be seen from our region.

Ladakhi rock carvings have been described by A.H. Francke.<sup>6</sup> These are found at Alchi, Dongga and Khalatse. Francke writes:

“On the 6th October, we marched from Kargil to Shimsha Kharbu. On a rock between Kargil and Chanigund, in the Dard district are several rock carvings which reminded me of the pre-Buddhist religion of Western Tibet, viz. a *svastika* and a *yoni* and several ibex; a little later on, we also found a sun symbol among the carvings at Chanigund. On the road from Chanigund to Shimsha Kharbu, at a place called Dongga, there is a boulder which is covered with many carvings.”

At Khalatse there are more artistic rock carvings. They are all attributed to the Dardic speaking people by Francke. The engravings seen in Ladakhi sites are certainly later and they refer to a period when the late carvings are seen in our region.

From Kashmir in a late Neolithic level at Burzahom<sup>7</sup> two engraved stone slabs were found. On one of them the engraving depicts a hunting scene showing a stag being pierced from behind with a long spear and struck from the front by an arrow by two hunters. It also shows a dog and two sun-symbols. The other stone

shows an incomplete pattern of a tectiform. As these stones are out of context in this level, they were obviously brought here from an earlier period. Hence they may be placed at least in the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. the engraved scenes hardly bear any comparison with our region but the technique of stone engraving has a general resemblance to the engravings from Chilas area.

In Swat rock engravings have been found at Gogdara<sup>8</sup> and at Hathiano Kandao.<sup>9</sup> Both these sites have produced numerous carvings that bear similarity with some of the middle-aged carvings from our region although the animals are different in the two regions. From Gogdara a wheeled chariot has been found. This is placed in the second millennium B.C.

The rock engravings from the Northern Areas of Pakistan should be understood in the geographic context that has been described above. The same context also provides a rough chronological scheme. The latest in the series comes from Ladakh, which tell us of the style of art that is seen in the early historic period. Here horse and horse riders alongwith circle or solar symbols predominate. Still earlier comes the chariot scene from Swat and similar carvings from that area. Kashmir engravings certainly belong to the neolithic period. Here we see hunting scene and also the domesticated dog. The oldest engravings are known from the trans-Pamir, Siberian and Xin-jiang regions, where they go back to Palaeolithic time. The carvings from the Northern Areas also fall in these four chronological periods.

These engravings were earlier seen by some geologists, Durand<sup>10</sup> and Biddulph<sup>11</sup> but no one studied them properly and placed them in their true meaningful context. Prof. Karl Jettmar<sup>12</sup> also illustrated a few of them. For the first time Prof. A.H. Dani<sup>13</sup> gave a prehistoric frame of these figures and later described them in his chapter on "Prehistoric Chilas."<sup>14</sup> The engravings are largely concentrated along the Karakorum Highway from Shatial to Chilas on either side of the Indus river, then at the confluence of Gilgit and Indus river, at the confluence of Gilgit and Hunza river, on the Sacred Rock of Hunza, at Passu and Sust on Hunza River, all along from Yasin to Shandur Pass on Gilgit — Chitral pathway that passes through Ghizr valley and on boulders at Sangrila Hotel and at Manthal close to Satpara lake near Skardu in Baltistan.

The latest engravings are of the early historic period including stupas, temples, symbols of phallus, circle and squares and mounted horsemen. They belong to first millennium A.D. and continue right upto modern time. The second group includes the pre-Kushan engravings at the Sacred Rock of Hunza, the contemporary Scythian period engravings near Chilas, and the appearance of First Stupas and anthropomorphic figures in this region. The third group

includes figures of demi-gods, stock-raising and herd rearing communities, who appear to have been pastoral nomads. They may be placed in the second and first millennium BC. The earliest group includes purely hunters and food gatherers, using pebble tools and stone-tipped arrows, sometimes following individual hunting and sometimes group hunting. They are widely spread from Chilas to Yasin in the north and Skardu in the south. They may be dated prior to second millennium B.C. and may go back to sixth or fifth millennium B.C. These four groups of engravings are designated, here in chronological order, A,B,C and D, from the earliest to latest in date. The present chapter discusses in detail only the two earliest groups, i.e. those falling under A and B.

### **Yasin, Skardu and Ghizr**

In Yasin just by the side of Nazbarnala, as we go down on its eastern side, at the place of Fitidas there is a boulder jutting out from the side bank. It is embedded in the gravel. There may be more on this spot. This boulder has very faint engravings, which most probably fall in category A. The engravings represent only men and animals, having the interior of the body pecked. As the site is not far from Pamir, apparently there should be cultural link with trans-Pamir engravings. On the other hand within Sangrila hotel at Skardu, not far from Kachura lake, there are some tall standing boulders having prehistoric engravings of men and animals, all the figures being drawn in outline. Workmanship is primitive but there is nothing in the drawings to specify a definite date. However, stylistically they cannot be later than the time of category B. At Manthal near Satpara lake, not far from Skardu, there is a single boulder to the west of the tall boulder having Buddhist carvings. This small boulder has engravings of various periods. The earliest of them are underneath later horse riders. These early carvings have now been defaced. Other engravings seen on numerous boulders between Gupis and Funder lake on way to Shandur pass and Chitral are definitely later in date as they show mounted horsemen and circle or solar motifs or squares having dots within. We also get here impressions of palm. It may be pointed out that these designs are also seen in the Pamir region. There is therefore greater likelihood that this type of engravings also should have some links with the trans-Pamir drawings because there is geographic proximity between the two areas. The horse-riders use bows and arrows and they shoot at the animals, standing on horse-back. The ibexes show crossed body and bent horns some times the horses are dented. It is equally likely that the art illustrates the life of pastoral nomads

who may have moved here in the early centuries of the Christian era.

### Chilas Region

Chilas region is connected with Yasin and Ghizr through several routes e.g. Khinar valley, Hodur Valley, Khanberi, Darel valley and Tangir valley. It is along these routes that people moved from north to south and left their engravings on boulders and rocks. Along the Indus river they can be seen at Chilas, Hodur, Thor, Minargah and right upto Shatial, the last place being nearly forty miles west of Chilas. At Chilas the engravings begin from the mouth of the Thak *nala* on the east along the southern bank of the Indus river and continue, with breaks, right upto Gichi about seven Kilometers west of Chilas. On the northern bank the engravings are seen from the western village of Thalpan, standing on the eastern bank of Khinnar *nala* right upto Hodur and then there is a break until we come to Thor, where we find again a large concentration.

The prehistoric carvings are seen at Thakot plain near western Ziarats on the northern bank of the Indus river, about two miles west of Thalpan village. At Hodur and Thor they are again mixed up with the later carvings, some of which are engraved on their top. On the southern bank the prehistoric carvings are seen at "Deva" site, about three Kilometers west of Chilas. They are also seen at Minargah about twenty kilometers west of Chilas and then there are some at Shatial.

Three distinct styles of art can be distinguished. In the first style the entire body of men and animals is formed by the technique of pecking obviously with a pointed stone and the pecked marks fill the whole body. No attempt is made to draw the outline of the body by any regular line. It is in this type that bitriangularism in the animals is clearly marked. Such figures should be placed in category A. In the second stage the body is sharply drawn by a regularly drawn line with the interior left vacant. In this style we generally see hunting scenes. They should be placed early in category B. Some of them may go back to late in category A. In the third stage come many other figures, which are first shown by drawing a regular line and then their body is pecked inside. They certainly belong to category B and sometimes very late in this category.

At the "Deva" site not far from Chilas there is one big boulder, which has, besides late inscriptions, engravings of hunting scene on its two faces. On the eastern face below the later writings there is a hunting scene of ibex and markhor in which one man has a bow and the other has stones in his raised hands. One



dog in the middle joins the team. There are also two eagles with wide-spread wings probably in the act of coming down to the ground. Both the animals are shown in outline. On the other face the ibexes are plenty. Markhors are seen at the bottom. The animals have solid bitriangular body. A dog helps a man armed with arrows and bows. On the right hand corner there is another hunting scene in which a man is shooting with arrow and bow. He is also helped by dogs. The dating of these engravings can be done by two features, noted here: first is the stress on bitriangularism seen in the formation of the animal body; and second is the technique of pecking exclusively used for drawing the animals. On the other hand two other aspects associated with the site are worth noting. The first relates to the continuity of the site throughout right upto historical period, suggesting a special human attachment to the spot. The second is the use of the tall big boulders for engraving, the bottom of which shows some sitting platform with small pebbles stored underneath suggesting that such rocks were actually included in some sort of religious ritual. It is not unthinkable that rock worship was a part of popular religion of the people, as such practice has been noted even in later periods.

This same technical style has been followed at another place in Chilas, the site is named as Chilas IV b.<sup>16</sup> It is located at the mouth of a small dry *nala* that fell into the Indus river. Big boulders have been pushed down from the top. The force of the rivulet in the past was so great that it has broken through a small rocky surface, which was once an upper terrace of the Indus river. Beyond this old terrace the Indus now makes a steep fall. On this terrace there are many overlying boulders and several smoother surfaces that have been selected by prehistoric man to leave behind his engraved memorial. The total count of the engravings on this spot is nearly fifty. They all make a representative scene of prehistoric life of a small impoverished family, if this social word could be used for the group of people who managed to live here by hunting. On a steep rock of the *nala* at the bottom, we first meet with hunting scene, in which an ibex, made by the technique of solid filled-in body, running to right, is being chased by two humans, who have nothing in their hands but stones or pebbles. The humans are all males, with their male organ clearly indicated. It seems that such an ibex was spotted in the *nala* and the hunt was organised by the joint action of the two humans in a cooperative spirit. A little above, to the left, is another important scene where we see two humans, standing side by side, but the right one is in a running posture while the left is about to start probably for the chase. Their body has been formed by the same technique of pecking. To their left is a netted pattern, probably representing a fence, demarcating

a human habitation. In the next row a typical individual is engraved. His body makes an elongated solid rectangle with rounded head on top. The hands, which are hanging down, show five fingers. The legs, which are curved, end in feet turned sideways. The lengthened line in between the legs probably emphasizes male organ. On either side of his head a dot is marked, the meaning of which is not clear. To his left more humans in the same style are represented. Below the right man is a foot impression of the left foot in outline. This foot impression appears to have some ritual significance. Then comes a special conjugal scene of two humans, one of a bigger size and another of a smaller size, both apparently in half sitting posture. Although they are placed side by side, their organs appear to have been connected by a long curved line. To the left of this scene is another net pattern of the same style as noted before. Another nearby boulder shows two human individuals standing side by side. The left one is a tall figure and his body is bitriangular. The right one is smaller. The upper part makes a triangle. This second figure has two dots, one on either side of the body. In these two cases the organs are not indicated at all. But comparing the smaller figure on the right with the smaller figure of the earlier picture it appears that here attempt is made to show a female. If this is correct, the dots may represent breasts. The depiction of these humans appear to show groups of human couples in different domestic activities. Another boulder shows a pair of foot prints, the central line of which is common. A little further away, two humans, hand in hand, are freely moving in jolly mood. There is another typical scene of a man bitten by a snake at the foot, engraved on another boulder. Two more boulders show standing humans with their elongated rectangular body filled-in solid. The head is again rounded. Another boulder shows a sort of a ladder, the use of which is not clear. Further ahead we have two more footprints and one palm impression of the right hand with the palm filled-in solid.

This whole repertoire makes a graphic representation of the socio-economic life of the prehistoric people, who depended on animal hunt for their livelihood. The hunting was done by social cooperation and living had also achieved a stage that may be termed group life, in which male and female humans played cooperative role. Living in fenced areas appears to have been a common practice. Palm and foot impressions added to religious or ritual concepts. The art was primitive but concepts of man and woman, their unequal proportion and their individual roles were already defined. Technically the humans were still in the stage of using flaked stone tools. The animals are larger in size. The solidly filled-in body indicates the chronological time scale, in which the entire graphic art should be placed. The high terrace of the Indus river, on

which the whole scene takes place suggests that the dating of the engravings should be placed prior to the formation of the present deeper bed of the Indus. This present bed is of the recent age in geological terms. Hence the upper terrace living should be placed in pre-Holocene age, when the *nala* had running water.

As no domesticated animals are depicted except the dog, it seems that this group of humans lived in pre-pastoral stage. On the other hand the manner in which social life is depicted suggests that human living had become selective and depended more on joint cooperation rather than individual whims. Although male appears to have dominated the scene, yet the role of woman was not negligible. Concept of shelter had already gained ground and fenced areas appear to have provided better living comforts. On the whole this was the stage in between pure hunting stage of the palaeolithic hunters and the food producing stage of the early agriculturists. This could as well be a late survival of the primitive hunting group in the isolated region of Chilas.

The above scene of the hunting community could be viewed from a different angle, as evidenced from the material available on the right bank of the Indus river, near the site lying in between two Muslim *Ziarats* at the slope of the now-extinct village of Thakot. This village, that depended on a local water spring, still active, went out of existence in the last century after the great Indus flood, and more precisely after the Sikh invasion in the middle of the 19th Century. The two *Ziarats* are remnants of two martyrs who died on this occasion. Here we find several blackened boulders of different sizes, rolled down from high hill on the north and imbedded on the ground right up to the edge of the Indus river, which suddenly dips to its present steep bed. The ground gradually slopes to make a wide terrace right upto the foot of the hill. The terrace has been cut through by several *nalas*, which are now dry. The engraved boulders are all on the open plain and the engravings certainly date from long after the boulders had got into their present site. As no engraved boulders are seen in the *nalas*, it is reasonable to presume that they were formed before the rock artists made their drawings. The pre-historic art was a continuous process here and shows drawings of different periods.

The oldest pictures are seen near *Ziarat II*, where the subject matter is more varied and the techniques show both features, viz. the body formed by pecking as well as by line drawing. In some cases the two techniques are combined together. One big boulder has underneath the Buddhist carvings of later period several humans and foot prints drawn by the technique of pecking. On the extreme left we see one big man lifting up a child and warning another from the danger of snakes. In the middle are two persons hand in

hand To the right are more humans in the act of hunting. Below them can be seen a markhor. Still below is a fat man. To his right is a bowman intent on discharging an arrow. Two foot-prints are at the bottom. There are more indistinct symbols. On the whole the picture of prehistoric man is quite informative. The men in jolly mood with other humans, the men experiencing snake bite, the men with children, the hunting scenes involving big game like markhor and finally the symbolic foot prints and possibly palm impression complete the picture. A second hunting scene<sup>17</sup> at the left bottom is most interesting. Here a human, crowned with animal horns has come very close to the ibex and transfixed the arrow directly into the body of the animal that was put in position by dogs coming from another direction. The horned man shows another characteristic of the prehistoric man. A second big animal on the top of man is moving to left. To the left of this hunting scene is another remarkable depiction of a raft<sup>18</sup> of wooden logs being carried by seven persons. This device of crossing the river by a thick log of wood is even now in use in this part. It would be quite interesting to know how such a big log was prepared by primitive stone tools. On the same boulder there are two more hunting scenes<sup>19</sup> on the right. The lower one shows two hunters with their horns bent trying to tackle ibexes and three markhors but only one of them seems to have been hit. The other is a graphic scene of group hunting, in which the help of a horned emblem is sought (pl. 1). There are at least two ibexes, one of them is very fat with hardly any legs at all. Two persons are busy with arrows and bows but others are throwing stones at them. Probably they are holding some flaked tools. In between some dots perhaps represent stone tools again. This is a realistic representation of a social hunt. Again the horned emblem seen in the middle is very curious. It must have served some totemic concept. In any case the scene is very informative as far as prehistoric hunt is concerned.

This big boulder has introduced several types of hunting as practiced by prehistoric man and shown the social life of men with children and experience of snake bite. At the same time the use of wooden raft presents a different kind of technology for river crossing. And again the horned crown and horned deity add to our knowledge of religious concepts that were working in the mind of prehistoric people. The most interesting factor is the joint activity of men seen not only in carrying the logs but also in cooperative hunting. The humans had achieved far greater cohesion in their social living. This is particularly evident in the group hunting of ibexes, in which several humans are involved, all working in a concerted action.

This joint action is also seen on a rock engraving of another boulder that is removed far to the east. Here actually there are two boulders, both of them are now tinted blue. Hence it is difficult to photograph. One of them has several palm impressions (pl. 2). The other has humans surrounding a big circle probably representing a big pit, into which animals have been driven. The animals are not distinctly seen but the first circle is clearly marked. It seems to be an example of catching the animals by driving them into the pit. Still another boulder at Ziarat I<sup>20</sup> shows (pl. 3) men in twos or threes, hand in hand, as if in a dancing mood. Similar dancing men in groups are shown in other boulders as well at Ziarat II.<sup>21</sup> But the most remarkable picture is seen on the first boulder. Here the human is drawn in a style in which the body is formed by two triangles meeting at their apex, the base being at the opposite side. At this meeting point there are two dots, one on either side of the body. And finally a curved line is drawn, probably representing hands which join the two bases on either side. On the top is the semi-circular head. No legs are shown. This is a very complicated method of representing man by geometric lines. Such a geometric drawing for forming human body is also seen on another boulder at Ziarat II, where a realistic figure of man is shown with his legs and hands. The legs are apart with the feet set outward while the hands are half extended and then bent down from the elbow. The head is a semi-circle while the body is formed by double triangle. This same boulder has the impression of a palm and of a foot. It seems that this particular technique of representing humans was popular at a late period. At Chilas V, where more prehistoric engravings are seen, there is one boulder which shows below later Buddhist carving earlier human representation. Here we have five human individuals, all of them shown in different styles. On the extreme left two figures show geometric forms. The formation of the left figure is very interesting. In this example the body together with legs is formed by two isocles triangles meeting at the apex with their base lines vertical. The lower parts make the legs and apex upper, joined by a horizontal line, with hair standing upward. Four dots at the meeting of the triangles appear mysterious. The right hand figure is again formed by two triangles meeting at a point but the base lines are horizontally placed. The upper line shows a curve in the middle for the head and has simple line attachments for the hands. The third figure has solid body formed by a triangle with its base shoulder supporting a rounded head and throwing down hands at an incline. The legs are an extension but in a thickend way, of the other two sides of a triangle downward, having horizontal feet attached at the lower ends. The fourth figure is a very simple single line depiction of a human with hands,

legs and head. The last figure has rectangular solid body, angular head on a wide shoulder, hands stretched down at an incline and the legs with feet in a pose of walking. The purpose of depicting the five figures in five different ways is not clear. When these figures are seen in the context of palm impressions and foot-prints in the neighbouring rocks, their deeper meaning could be better imagined than described. In any case the sanctity of this pile of boulders at this spot, in the prehistoric period, is beyond any doubt.

Another notable characteristic of the prehistoric art is the depiction of palm and foot prints — a characteristic shared by prehistoric people in other parts of the world. The whole evidence is thus summarised:<sup>22</sup> Palm and foot impressions are very common at almost all the sites in Chilas on both sides of the Indus. One group is found at Thalpan III, a little higher up above the Altar Rock. The boulder, which is patinated blue, is broken into three parts. The carvings are seen in the left two parts. Six palm impressions are in the middle. On the top right of the middle part an animal, probably a dog, is seen behind a foot-print. One foot is solid and so are the palms, the fingers of which are clearly shown. The other foot is in outline. The little animal is also solid. As we proceed towards Ziarat I on way there is a boulder which has two foot-prints, filled in solid. Further ahead there is another boulder showing two footprints, one of big size and another of small size. On reaching Ziarat I we see a pile of boulders towards the river on its high bank. Here are two big boulders which have archaic carvings. One of them has two faces, eastern and western. On the eastern face of this rock we have, besides human figures, one foot-print in outline at the bottom left, and in the middle three foot-prints of the same type and three palm prints, one solid and two in outline, and on the right is a pair of foot-prints in outline. In Ziarat II we have a second concentration of archaic engravings. First we get a boulder with bull and other impression. Here we have two solid palm impressions, both of which have the wrist cut straight. The fingers of the left palm is spread out. We have also a foot-print in outline with five toes shown clearly. The depiction suggests a late engraving. Next we come to a boulder which shows three markhors in the middle chased by two dogs. On the top there is a broad palm impression in outline with small fingers. On the left there is a footprint in outline, having two horizontal lines probably to separate the toes and sole. Another boulder has its two faces engraved. On one face, showing a hunting scene of two hunters we have, on the top, a solid palm impression with rounded wrist and two footprints in outline, both having a horizontal line in the middle separating the sole. On the other face we have

five solid palm impressions, besides late signs, and one solid footprint. Another big boulder has several scenes. On the top there is pair of footprints in outline. It was later filled by horizontal lines and one of them has an additional vertical line. A boulder showing a big man<sup>23</sup> with outstretched hands has palm impressions in outline to the left of the figure. After crossing a *Das (nala)* we come to another big boulder showing a palm impression and to the left a footprint beside an animal. Further ahead a boulder has a palm impression besides circles. A nearby boulder has a footprint on one face. After crossing two more dry rivulets we come to a place, where we have a Sogdian inscription, a boulder shows later palm impressions and a foot-print. The same story is repeated on the left bank of the Indus river, where palm impressions and foot prints are seen in several boulders. Their use continued right into the historic period. They are hardly ever seen alone. Their association with hunting and other ritual scenes suggests that such impressions played their own role in the prehistoric life of the people. They, by themselves, are not known to have been worshipped. It is therefore, reasonable to assume that they played some ritual part, or at best they have some symbolic meaning.

Attempt was also made to achieve anthropomorphic representation of deities. In this representation again the face could not be shown in proper form. It is only the head which appears to have been conceived. The art develops from the geometric forms of primitive man already noted before at the site of Chilas V. At Ziarat I we have the simplest drawing, in rough outline of the human body in a rectangular shape with rounded head on top, hands extended sideways with fist closed, legs are straight down but with a depression for the knee and ankle and a curve for the calf, and feet closed but they are tied with a sinewy string and are separate and turned sideways. Between the legs a line probably represents the male organ. On the body of the figure a bird is drawn later, at which a man is shooting from the right side. A second example of such a figure is also known from the same site. More examples of this type have been recently discovered at a new site twenty kilometers west of Chilas on the left bank of the river Indus just below the Karakorum Highway. Of far greater importance is another anthropomorphic figure at Ziarat I site on a double-faced boulder. This figure (pl. 4) is of a unique formation. The main body is formed by a double triangle, meeting at the apex and enclosed within a square. At the meeting of the triangles there are four dots. The standing hair are shown by vertical lines on the top of the body. The face is not shown at all. Both the hands, which are pecked solid, and have five fingers each, are at an incline. From the left arm a snake emerges upward. Below the body two legs taper down

in outline and drawn in a fashion that shows joint legs of a type known in the terracotta of the Bronze Age. The feet, which are joined, are shown, sideways in a way that they give the appearance of a boat. The twin aspect of the deity is quite clear. He has association with snake and hence could be snake-god. At the same time the boat-like feet formation suggests river connection and hence he could be a river god. However, technical relationship with other anthropomorphic figures of the area shows the continuity of a concept that appears to be prehistoric in origin. The only other new feature is the standing hair over the body representing head portion. (See below for its explanation). The dating of the figure can be done from the joint-leg style as seen in the terracotta figurines of the Bronze Age, so well known from the Gandhara Grave culture "to early historic period from Charsada, where they have been termed as "baroque ladies". of still more developed form is the representation of a big man<sup>24</sup> — a giant man (*Deva*) indeed — again with a body squarish and filled-in solid, hair bristling over head, hands extended sideways, the legs properly shaped down with the feet, having all the toes, turned sideways and apart but tied by a string. He is putting on a loin cloth. This was originally a male, but to which breasts were applied later, a tail is added below and five or six dots were marked near about the knee. Such a giant human representation, with no attribute of a later Buddhist or Hindu iconography, evidently points to a conception of a divinity in the mind of prehistoric people. The noble formation of the legs and hands might point to a very late period but the body and the head are both non-descript. The nearest comparison comes from Tan-gali<sup>25</sup> in which the head consists of a rayed orb. Here we do not have orb but only bristling hair.

Professor Karl Jettmar makes a different comment although based on the same comparative material:

"However there is a conspicuous exception: The Okunoid tradition. It is evidently encompassing several cultures in Southern Siberia and in Mongolia. Some of these are only vaguely known by pertinent rock carvings and decorated menhirs, others — the Okunev culture — are documented by graves containing slabs with typical petroglyphs. Such cultures did not start later than the beginning of the second millennium B.C., and persisted for a long time. Horned cattle and sheep depicted in a realistic manner, played an important role on the slabs, but the main topic of Okunoid art is the rendering of human heads, or perhaps of marks with distorted human features. Ser called them "mascoids". Fantastic attributes of the mascoids are broad stripes (which might indicate tattooing or body painting), a "third eye" on the forehead, radiating hairs, a complicated headdress with large horns. Sometimes such mascoids are part of extremely stylized human figures, mostly females(?) . . . . So perhaps we have here another off-shoot of the



Okunoid tradition. It must be mentioned that the enigmatic Okunoid tribes certainly had relations to the civilizations in West and East. As herdsman they were moving over wide distances. Here a new dimension of the phenomenon of petroglyphs and inscriptions along the Indus River comes into focus. The tradition of executing rock-carvings was already in use when cattle-raising tribes who lived at the periphery of the complex agricultural societies pushed forward into that part of the Indus valley which is situated behind the western end of the Great Himalaya. Already before, they were experts in making petroglyphs. Here the roundish, polished rocks and boulders with their dark patina offered an excellent medium for artistic expression. This early tradition of rock-carving was continued by all who later on invaded or travelled through the area".<sup>26</sup>

The rock-carvings, so far described, tell a story of man that relates to prehistoric living of a type, the dating of which is difficult to give. However, there is another type of rock-carving at the site of Chilas III a, again on an upper terrace of the Indus river, the dating of which should certainly fall before first century B.C., when the lowest terrace of the Indus river was in use. Here on this higher terrace, besides late carvings of the historic period, we have animal drawings, mostly animals in herds. Here on two or three boulders<sup>27</sup> at different surfaces herds of sheep are shown, clearly attesting the domestication of these animals. Either they are being driven to new pastures or they are standing beside an enclosure. Sometimes male and female sheep are jostling with each other. At another place the baby sheep is strayed away. At still another place a cobra is standing face to face with a mother sheep. The whole story depicts graphically the life of pastoral people. At Still another place a group of birds are shown in the typical position of the mother bird feeding the baby bird. Here the birds are shown in the open sitting on branches of trees.

The only weapons represented in the engravings is a kind of simple bow. It is shown by a vertical line to which an arrow is fixed at right angle in the middle. At the shooting end the arrow appears to have a flaked quartz point. Another representation of bow shows a curved stick, to which sinew was tied as a string in order to pull the arrow. The presence of scrapers in Gichi Rock suggests the scraping of the skin.

These rock carvings continued the prehistoric tradition in this region. At the same time they also betray the adoption of new socio-economic trends. One of the most important was the evidence of sheep rearing from Chilas. The maintenance of sheep in herds suggests pastoral way of life. This new practice of domestication of animals must have led to several other social changes, which, for the time, must remain unknown for lack of evidence. However, it is fair to assume that this new way of socio-economic life, whenever it was introduced here, must have been accompanied with

many other elements that are associated with the process of food production. That process shall have to be reconstructed when actual excavation is undertaken in this region and more evidence produced to link up the historical development with the neighbouring areas.

In the meanwhile different types of archaeological data have been recovered from this region that speak of an entirely different people who, for the time, must remain unknown, although Professor G. Tucci<sup>28</sup> has referred to them as "Dards", and compiled a wealth of data about them from literary sources. In the neighbouring area of Chitral, Prof. G. Stacul<sup>29</sup> has excavated Proto-historic graves in the village of Bakamak, which are attributed to these people. Dr. Stacul describes the area:

"This hilly region, the most intensively cultivated in the valley is criss-crossed by a dense network of irrigation canals the land slopes gently down towards the gravel bank of the river, where erosion has created a high and extremely steep escarpment that is continually being chipped away. Comparable erosion has been created by a small rushing stream that joins the Chitral River about 6 Km. south of capital. This stream has created a veritable canyon dividing the localities of Noghorumri and Bakamak, lying on the north and south banks, respectively of this stream".

One excavated grave was formed by four stone slabs. On its clayey floor lay a skeleton in a precarious state of preservation. The body was placed on its right side. Near the chest was an iron arrow head and at the feet was a broken vase. Up the hill, in the locality of Bala Hisar, more graves were found. They contained big jars having burnt bones. In all the excavator found six vessels of earthenware, a large copper pin, an iron arrow-head and seven carnelian beads. From the excavation the author concludes that the grave materials produced from Chitral are closely related to those found in the cemeteries in Swat, Dir and other districts of North-West Frontier Province.

A second neighbouring region is the Gorband valley, where near the village of Kherai, about six miles outside of Karora, some tombs were excavated. These tombs, which are rectangular in shape and made of four slabs, placed vertically, one on each side, were covered with one or more thick slabs. Inside the tomb, by the side of skeleton, lay vases near the head and the feet. Earrings of gold wire in spiral form were also found in two tombs. Dr. Stacul<sup>30</sup> compares the earthen vases found here with those discovered in the graves near Leh in Ladakh<sup>31</sup>, and pin-points their attribution by A.H. Francke to the "Dardic Culture". As far as the chronology is concerned, he places them in the first period i.e. in the mid-second millennium B.C.

This type of graves has long been noted in Ghizr and Yasin

valleys, which are directly connected with Chitral by a northern route. Biddulph was the first to describe them. He writes:

“In the Woorshigoom and Kho valleys, a number of remarkable stone tables of great antiquity are found. They are about 3 feet in diameter, and are formed of huge boulders, arranged with great precision with a flat side outwards, so placed as to form a perfect circle about 3½ feet high. On these are placed a number of flattish boulders of nearly equal size, projecting a few inches beyond the edge of the circle all round. The centre is filled with small stones and rubbish, which may or may not have been as originally intended. The labour of transporting and placing in position such huge blocks must have been immense. The local tradition is that they were the work of giants in old days. At Chashi and Yassin there are collections of several of these tables between these points and the upper part of the Woorshigoom Valley there are single tables scattered about.... The circle in most perfect preservation is situated on the tongue of land formed by the junction of the river near Goopis. Vigne mentions having been told of these circles when at Astor. They are in all probability funeral mounds”.<sup>32</sup>

In Yasin the scattered boulders, cut into rectangular shape, are still seen standing in the fields. However in the *bagh* of a local villager, by name Ishaq, there is one big circle of stones (pl. 5.) having a diameter of 33 feet with upright stones numbering forty (40) on the margin and, in the middle, probably over the main grave, is a covering made of small stones arranged round some big stones. On the southern side three big stones mark the main entrance passage to the tomb. This tomb, which is of megalithic nature, appears to be the same as seen by Biddulph. Outside this garden enclosure the owner of the house discovered many other pit graves which contained human bones, iron knives, bangles, beads and pots. Apparently this second variety of the pit graves is similar to those excavated in Chitral. But the big megalithic circle tomb appears to be monumental in origin and this must belong to a Chief while other pit graves were possibly of common people. Only future excavation can determine the exact nature of these tombs.

In Darel valley exploration has revealed a number of fortified towns, called *KOS*, some having cyclopaean walls.<sup>33</sup> Here the Italian Archaeological Mission discovered some big storage jars. Preliminary investigation is summed up by Professor Dani:<sup>34</sup>

At several places grave sites were reported. Only at the site of Manikyal Payin, just by the side of the old city, on a hillock a probing was done. It was a cemetery area, where local people had earlier dug and removed some big jars for their daily use. One such grave, on examination, showed the burial of a big globular urn containing burnt bones and ashes and covered by a flat stone lid. It was an example of cremated burial in an urn which was finally buried inside an artificially excavated pit — a type of burial already known from Gandhara region of Swat, Dir, Bajaur and

Peshawar Valley.<sup>35</sup> This type of urn has not been found in Gandhara. The globular urn has a thick flat topped wide rim stamped with impressions of star and other motifs. Its base is disc-based but very small. A complete example of this type was recovered from a house. In the same burial pit some other smaller pots were also found. One of them was a broken stem of a bowl-on-stand — a type known from the grave pottery in Gandhara Grave Culture. All the pots are of red ware. Although ritually these graves show an affinity with Gandhara graves, yet it is difficult to assign an exact date unless proper excavation is conducted here. In any case these graves do speak of penetration of a people at least in the first millennium B.C. Similar pot sherds were also recovered from Gichi.<sup>36</sup>

These graves, which belong to Bronze and Iron Ages, establish links with those in Chitral and in Gorband valley and further connect them with similar graves in Gandhara and also with material found at the Hathial mound in Taxila. In the background of this wider cultural linkage should now be studied many stray finds<sup>37</sup> that have been reported from time to time from this region.

Professor Karl Jettmar<sup>38</sup> described some bronze/copper axes, spoons, forks and rods from the villages of Manikyāl and Ghumari in Darel valley — from the vicinity of the same sites where graves have been earlier located. Out of these, seven are heavily patinated shaft-hole axes, ranging in length between 6 and 16 cms with cutting edge between 9.7 and 11 cms. broad. These axes are different from those found in the Indus Civilization but they are similar to post-Harappan examples found in Chanhudaro. From the same valley one trunnion axe has also been found that may be compared with the one found at Shalozan in the Kurram valley. Dr. Mughal dates them to the last quarter of the second millennium B.C. He further remarks: "The trunnion axes are linked typologically with those known from the Mediterranean region, Europe, trans-Caucasia and northern Iran. Jettmar further observes that the occurrence of trunnion axes of western type in Northern Pakistan indicates penetration of Caucasian elements into the steppes and eastwards in the Pamir and then into the Hindukush and the Karakorum".

In 1940, a bronze rhyton was found from a habitation mound near Imīt in Ishkoman valley. Its lower part shows body and legs of a horse (forming a pedestal of vessel) and the head, breast and arms of an elderly man. This composite figure is intended to represent a centaur of Greek mythology. The centaur is holding an ibex with out-stretched hands held in balance by a cross pin. A cup-shaped extension on the back holds an inverted conical vessel. The rhyton is certainly of Hellenistic inspiration. Another find from the Ishkoman valley was reported by Sir Aurel Stein.<sup>39</sup> It was a bronze cauldron with two side handles and a projection forming a horse head. It has a general resemblance in form with those from Alicur II ne-cropolis in eastern Pamir.

These stray finds, when placed in the context of the large-scale graves found in the region present a picture of new movements of people from outside. These people were, no doubt, divided into

at least two classes — the common people who were buried in pit graves and the class of nobility led by chiefs who were buried in megalithic circles. They certainly introduced earthen ware vessels and also new tools to manipulate big stones. Along with them we find objects of bronze and iron and also beads made of different precious stones. The most remarkable is the extensive use of pottery in this region where until recent time the use of wooden and stone utensils has been very common. The introduction of these new cultural materials (pl. 6) speaks of a new wave of civilizing process in this region — a type of cultural life that is far different from that seen in the rock art. It seems that this introduction came here at least from two directions; one from across Pamir either directly or indirectly through Chitral and another from Swat and Indus Kohistan. It is probably the Pamirian type that is noted in Gizr and Yasin and it is the Swat type that is seen in Darel valley and Chilas. So far this type of graves has not been found in Gilgit, Hunza or Nagar.

It is possible to draw some inferences regarding the socio-religious practices of these people. They appear to have spread out quickly in the different valleys where facilities of agriculture by means of river water and open fields were available. In Gizr, Yasin and Darel valleys these facilities are available. The same is true in the case of Astor where such graves have been reported. However, it is not necessary that all these people came in one wave of invasion. It appears that they probably came in different tribal groups and each of them occupied different valleys. It is because of these tribal differences that we note cultural variation in the material found. However, the presence of a limited quantity of megalithic circles suggests that the society was structured and that it was led by ruling chiefs.

As far as their religion is concerned, the burial practice shows different types: inhumation, cremation and also fragmentary burials but the details could be given only after excavation. The fact that the dead were accompanied with grave goods, suggests a belief in life after death. Most of these cemeteries are lying by the side of a river, suggesting some sort of a ritual connected with river. At the same time we find them on the slopes of mountains. Prof. Tucci points out a special connection with mountain worship as we find among the Aryans a deep regard for Meru. Dr. G. Morgenstierne identifies Meru with Tirich Mir in Chitral, Another mountain is Kailash. According to Professor Tucci one Kailash range lies north-east of Gilgit, south of Hunza, east of Punial, the highest peak of which is said to be Dumani or Rakaposhi. The second material is the presence of horse as we have seen in the case of the handle in the bronze cauldron. Here the projection of the horse head is worth

noting. Finally one must not forget the star and sun symbols seen on the pots. From these symbols Professor Tucci derives the concept of solar worship.

To sum up the evidence so far available for the protohistoric phase, we note the sudden appearance of fresh tribes of people with their advanced culture of megalithic and pit burials, their technology of bronze and iron working, their use of earthen ware vessels, beads of precious stones and new kinds of utensils and weapons. It is also clear that they introduced horse and most important is the practice of food production, domestication of animals, and above all the structuring of a socio-economic order, in which the society appears to have at least two main classes, those of the chiefs and nobility and of the common people. Furthermore there is a definite evidence of this region having clear cultural link with the trans-Pamir region and also with the areas on the west and south across the Hindukush and the Himalaya.

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## V

## EARLY HISTORY

## THE EARLY INHABITANTS

Prehistory is the foundation on which man's history is truly based. With no written evidence to go by, prehistory does not preserve any names of individuals or human groups. It is the history of the people as a whole who lived in this early period, and as far as Northern Areas of Pakistan are concerned, they were the first to exploit the natural resources of the region and leave behind a historical tradition that had a great bearing on the subsequent periods of history. While the future discoveries may add to the details of these people and their working conditions, the present evidence persuades us to call them "People of Rock Art", as it is they who have left behind their works in the earliest rock carvings of the region, A.H. Francke, the author of *A History of Western Tibet* (London, 1907), proposed to identify these people, on his own evidence from Western Tibet, as *Dards*, but, as will be shown below, these people are certainly much older than *Dards* though the latter could have copied their art and carried that tradition to Tibet. The Rock Art People had their socio-economic base on hunting and food gathering. They joined hands in a spirit of collective cooperation and hunted animals in a joint action and probably developed social life in the same collective spirit. In the later stage they are certainly known to have a notion of family life, in which women and children played their own roles. Their settlement appears to have been limited to large rock shelters or to mountain defiles or to deep dried-up river gullies which could protect them from cold winds until they learnt the art of pastoral life which must have taken some people for open pasturage. They had no knowledge of boat making but they crossed the Indus river by means of rafts or logs of wood, as it is done even today. At the same time at least their headmen used animal skins for protecting their body from cold and sometimes they erected reed fences for family preservation. Beyond this reed fencing, there is no evidence of building. On the religious side they appear to have had an awesome fear of

mountains and hence some sort of mountain worship may be supposed to have formed part of their ritual. On the other hand the emergence of a demon chief with powers to subdue serpents, overcome the dangers of mighty Indus river and cross the high mountains, is evidenced by many giant human carvings on the rocks. It is difficult to draw any conclusion regarding their political organization. However, they had an intimate relation, trade or otherwise, with their immediate neighbours, suggesting that these people must have indulged in barter and procured some objects of convenience in exchange for some of the mineral resources that they exploited. It is these Rock Art People who should be regarded as the autochthons of this region. They are the original mountaineers of the Northern Areas of Pakistan.

### MEGALITH BUILDERS

These early mountaineers faced the migration of another group or groups of people who brought improved technology of megalith building and ritual practice of pit grave burial. It is these people who introduced the art of stone cutting and probably also erecting settlement dwellings on mountain slopes with defences having cyclopean walls. Their settlement pattern along mountain slopes and river sides suggests a new living system based on productive economy by developing terrace-fields and using glacial melt water or even river water through a process of cutting channels or by-channels for the purpose of irrigation. Spring water also played a decisive role for settlement. We have no knowledge of the crops that they produced but the extensive use of metallurgy, copper, bronze, iron, gold and silver and also of precious stones for making tools and other objects of daily use suggests a wide range of economic activity in which human labour must have been exploited not only for production but also for their transport and for the service of the privileged few. In this period it is possible to talk in terms of surplus and it is only on that basis that we could visualize the efforts that must have gone to the erection of big megalithic circles and defensive walls. It is very likely that domesticated horse and cattle were widely used at this time. However, their use must have been limited, probably restricted into the hands of those who were responsible for bringing this new pattern of life in this region. Among them we could easily distinguish at least two sub-groups: The first which had direct connection with Chitral and probably also with the Trans-Pamir region, and the second, that seems to have links with Swat and further down with Indus Kohistan. It is in the first sub-group that we find the existence of big megalithic circles while the second, as evidenced in Chilas and Darel, had only

pit graves but in course of time they built castles. In contrast to them there is a third region on the east, particularly in Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar, which still remains *terra incognita*, as far as this prehistoric period is concerned. This is probably due to lack of research. However, the way, in which the northern zone of the first sub-group is connected geographically with this part, suggests that it was the northern cultural influence that led to a new system of socio-economic life in this eastern sub-zone. In the first sub-group the presence of the megaliths suggests a political system based on chieftdom and it is here that later in history monarchical tradition found deep roots. On the other hand the common ritual of pit burials in the second sub-zone suggests a life pattern based on tribal egalitarian system. It is probably because of this older tradition that tribal republican system has had greater attraction for the people in this sub-zone, as is also known from their later history. But whatever may have been the system or systems, the migration of this new people must have led to the subjugation of the autochthons and exploitation of their labour resources for the benefit of the new migrants. However, the rock art did not come to an end nor even the ritual practice of the earlier people. Probably the two methods of living subsisted side by side with mutual influence one on the other. It is only this assumption that explains the representation of herds of domestic sheep in the rock and at the same time the continuity of this art tradition in the early historic period, though with changed themes — a fact which speaks highly of the influence of the autochthonous people on the cultural life of the later comers.

### Dardic People

It is these new-comers who have been identified by Professor G. Tucci with *Dards*<sup>1</sup> and he has tried to reconstruct their history from available archaeological and literary sources. But when Professor Tucci wrote his paper, the evidence from this region was not available to him and his remarks applied more on the archaeological data collected from the protohistoric graves in Swat<sup>2</sup> and Dir.<sup>3</sup> With the new evidence from this region we are confronted with an ethnic group that was not uniform all the way and when this evidence is examined in the background of the linguistic map<sup>4</sup> of the region, it becomes all the more understandable how we are faced here with multiple languages even of these later migrants, although all these languages have been brought under one family of Dardic group of languages, ultimately related to Indo-European family of languages. Professor Karl Jettmar, in Chapter III, has talked of two main social groups — Shin and Yashkun: terms which are difficult to be exactly defined. J. Biddulph writes: "The people

of Hunza and Nager belong to the caste called Yashkun by the Shins, but amongst themselves known as Boorish."<sup>5</sup> In other words, Biddulph would like to identify *Yashkuns* with Burushaski speaking people of Hunza and Nagar and Shins with Shina speaking people of Gilgit, Chilas and other areas. But as has been ably argued by Professor Fussman, in Chapter II, it is not possible to identify speakers of a language with any "racial" or social group. Yet there is no denying the fact that Shina language is far different from Burushaski and so are distinguished Shin social groups from Yashkuns. Should we see the beginning of these differences in this protohistoric period when we see the migration of the new people, called here *Dards*? The answer is difficult to give. How do we otherwise explain the dichotomy that we see among these people? At present there is no definite answer. Scholars, such as Professor Karl Jettmar, have tried to explain a wider geographic habitat of the Burushaski people in the earlier period and later forceful occupation of their area by the Shina speaking people. But when actually this happened, we do not know. The present evidence is not at all clear on this issue. In the absence of clear-cut material evidence we present a general picture of the people called *Dards*,<sup>6</sup> although this term is not applied today locally by the people of Northern Areas for themselves. It is only the foreigners who have forced this term on them. The first European who tried to go into this region is G.T. Vigne, who, in 1835, sought permission to go to Gilgit<sup>7</sup> but he was not allowed. About twenty years later Dr. G.W. Leitner<sup>8</sup> succeeded in reaching Gilgit, who, for the first time talked of "Dards" and coined the term *Dardistan*.

It is from Herodotus that we learn about the subjugation of Dards by the Achaemenians. This subjugation was a part of the expansion of the empire by Darius beyond Kabul. While talking about the rearrangement of the satrapies by Darius and the tributes paid by each Satrapy, Herodotus writes:

"The Sattagydiens, the Gandarians, the Dadicae and the Aparytae, who were all reckoned together, paid a tribute of a hundred and seventy talents. This was the seventh Satrapy."<sup>9</sup> Here we find four sections of people, living in four areas, brought under one and the same Satrapy. Later while enumerating the troops of Xerxes at Doriscus, a strip of coast in Thrace, Herodotus again includes them by pointing out: "the Gandarians and Dadicae under Artyphillis, son of Artabanus."<sup>10</sup>

Here the people, called "Dadicae" are closely associated with "Gandarians", even serving in the same regiment. They are identified with "Derdae" or "Dardae" mentioned in other sources. Professor Eggermont has collated all the sources and commented:

The very close relations appears in Plinius' information: 'Next come the

Andarae, a more powerful tribe, with a great many villages and 30 towns fortified with walls and towers; they furnish their king with 100,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry and 1000 elephants. The country of the Dardae produces gold in great quantity and that of the Satae silver also'. The "Andarae" and "Daradae" represent a pair of geographical names corresponding to Herodotus' "Gandarae" and "Dadicae". For the rest, the Peutinger Map shows the name of the "Andre Indi" in Segmentum 12.5, which represents the eastern edge of the world bordering on the eastern ocean. It is a late imitation of the map which Aristoteles, Alexander's teacher, had inherited from Anaximander (611—546 BC). The Dardae are linked in Ptolemaes' description: 'Below the sources of the Suastus lies Svastene, below those of the Indus, are the Daradae, and above them rise their mountains'. Therefore the Swat valley, the plain of Gandhara as well as the Dards should be regarded as a well-defined unit belonging to the Persian Empire in the days of their glory. 11 .

Herodotus<sup>12</sup> also speaks of the story how these people procured gold and talks about the mysterious ants:

Besides these, there are Indians of another tribe, who border on the city of Caspatyrus, and the country of Pactyica; these people dwell northward of all the rest of the Indians, and follow nearly the same mode of life as the Bactrians. They are more warlike than any of the other tribes and from them the men are sent forth who go to procure the gold. For it is in this part of India that the sandy desert lies. Here in this desert, there live amid the sand great ants, in size somewhat less than dogs, but bigger than foxes. The Persian king has a number of them, which have been caught by the hunters in the land whereof we are speaking. Those ants make their dwellings underground, and like the Greek ants, which they very much resemble in shape, throw up sand-heaps as they burrow. Now the sand which they throw up is full of gold. . . . When the Indians reach the place where the gold is, they fill their bags with the sand, and ride away at their best speed: the ants, however, scenting them, as the Persians say, rush forth in pursuit. Now these animals are, they declare, so swift, that there is nothing in the world like them; if it were not, therefore that the Indians get a start while the ants are mustering, not a single gold-gatherer could escape. . . . Such, accordingly to the Persians, is the manner in which the Indians got the greater part of their gold; some is dug out of the earth, but of this the supply is more scanty. .

Similar stories are told by Strabo<sup>13</sup>, Pliny<sup>14</sup> and others about Dardai or Dardai. In this story there is certainly some exaggeration but the Kernel of the story has some truth. The geographic region is certainly Northern Areas of Pakistan, where, even today gold-washing is done in the rivers by a tribe, called *Soniwals* (literally meaning "gold people"). It is also possible to limit the territory further to Baltistan, where we find an open plain desert land around Skardu, to be reached from Kashmir across Deosai plain, again a treeless table-land (See ante Chapter I for description). Beyond Skardu when one follows the Indus river and passes Khar Mong in Ganche, one can reach Tolti and Olding. The author was informed

here that near about the dividing line between Pakistan and India there are huge anthill deposits, which are cut through by the Indus river. It is quite possible that these anthills are referred to in an exaggerated fashion by the western classical writers. It is here that gold was procured in large quantities in the past.<sup>15</sup>

As far as the territory of the *Derdai* is concerned, Strabo quotes Megasthenes and writes: "Among the *Derdai*, a great nation of Indians living towards the east and among the mountains, there is a high table land of about 3000 stadia in circumference. Underneath this are mines of gold."<sup>16</sup> Even in Sanskrit literature the *Dardas* are mentioned in close relation to the Kashmiris, Gandharas, Urusa (i.e. modern Hazara district people) and Kuhu (or Kubhu i.e. Kabul river), as we get the following in the *Brahmānda*, *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purānas*:

**Daradāmscha Sa Kashmīran Gandhārān Aurasān Kuhūn.**<sup>17</sup>

However, we know nothing about their political organisation at this time. It may be surmised that some sort of state formation had already started among them. When the Achaemenian sources talk of bringing them within the jurisdiction of their seventh Satrapy, it is very likely that the political state or states of the *Derdai* accepted the overlordship of the Achaemenians. In consequence of this political process, we see two further changes in the region. The first is the recruitment of the *Derdai* in the Achaemenian army and their participation in the Persian Wars against the Greeks; second is the great economic boom in the working of the gold mines. It is not only the taxation that was paid in gold talents but gold was procured for other economic activity, as is so well propagated in the western classical sources. The custom of paying tributes in the form of gold dust survived in this region and, as we will see in a subsequent chapter, this method of payment was followed by the local people even in their relations with Kashmir right up to twentieth century.

As far as gold trade is concerned, two consequences are of primary importance. The first is its political aspect, affecting the system, management of procurement, and rules and regulations for circulating it. The whole process must have led to a great boost in increasing the power of the state and it is probably this interest that must have brought the Achaemenians to this far off region. Later we will see how the same attraction induced the mighty Kushana power to exercise their authority right into this gold mining areas that extend into Ladakh. The second is the boost given to the economic life of the local people. The region, which had just started with food production, was at once brought into limelight and lin-

ked with international market through circulation of gold with the result of quick circulation of goods on the basis of gold standard. How far this affected the life of the common man is difficult to say but very soon this led to the opening of the international route through this region that linked India and Pakistan with China and further to the west with Central Asia and Trans-Caspian regions. The material for reconstructing this history is still not available but it is the culmination of this new politico-economic activity that gathers its momentum in the subsequent period of history.

### **Alexander and His Successors**

In the genealogical account<sup>18</sup> of the ruling families of Hunza, Nagar and Gilgit, compiled in 1930 by Sir Muhammad Nazim Khan, K.C.I.E., Mir of Hunza, the following is recorded:

“Prior to this death at Babel, Alexander the Great had entrusted the rule over the countries he had conquered to his four generals, who after his death proclaimed their independence. One of these generals was named Bakhtaria, who was of Aryan race. This general married in Turkey and settled there. When his forces on their way back passed through Hunza five of the soldiers, becoming ill, lagged behind in Hunza and made this country their home. Their names were; Khwaja Arab, who settled at Galmit; Titam and Qhuro settled at Baltit; Ghaghu made Ganish his home; Shen settled at Hindi. The present clans living in Hunza are all descended from these five soldiers. The first four Aryan soldiers married among themselves, but the descendants of the last named went by the name of Dom, doing the work of blacksmiths and performing other menial duties. The rulers of Hunza are related to the ruling families of Nagar, Skardu, Gilgit, Yasin, Sarikol, Punial etc. from olden times. The Hunza ruling family is descended from Alexander the Great and members of their family are still found in Shignan, Darwaz and Badakhshan. 19

Such is the fictitious story current in the region, for which there is no historical confirmation. Yet Alexander's meeting with the “mountaineer Indians” somewhere in his several fights during his march towards the Indus is a question that is understandable. After all Alexander was advancing to subjugate the territories that were within the Achaemenian empire. This region of Gilgit was a territorial part of the Achaemenians. Why did Alexander not proceed to conquer this part, is a big question. But when we examine the sources on the scrappy material that they have on the moves of Abisares, the ruler of Hazara area, the story becomes somewhat clear as to why Alexander restricted himself to Taxila, and except his battle to take possession of Aornos, he did not challenge the might of Abisares nor did he disturb other “mountaineer Indians” who were close neighbours of Abisares on the north, if not directly

linked with him in some military and diplomatic relations.

Sir Aurel Stein<sup>20</sup> has identified Aornos with the rock at Pirsar about five miles away from Thakot on the other side of the Indus river, the latter place lying on the Karakorum Highway, the nearest place where the people of the Northern Areas might have faced Alexander. Professor Eggermont likes to identify Aornos with mount Elam in Buner and writes "that the Dards of Dyrta (modern Dagar) in the Barandu valley of Buner should be regarded as a sept of the Abisara Kingdom in the upper valleys of the Indus". He actually makes two divisions of Dards. He writes:

The Daradas of Kashmir were the proper gold-finders whereas the Daradas of Buner should be looked upon as gold traders. However, in view of the evidence I have collected in the present specialized paper. I should like to correct the expression 'Daradas of Kashmir' into 'Daradas of the upper Indus valley'. One may reserve Kashmir to the benefit of the Abhisara, tribe, because its strategic position will explain Abisares' predominance over the whole area of Naoshera, Punch and Hazara regions upto Buner on the Western bank of the Indus as well as his political influence in the upper Indus Valley.'<sup>21</sup>

This analysis of the original classical sources makes it now clear why it was not possible for Alexander to advance into Gilgit region and hence there is hardly any possibility of that region falling within his imperial territory. It was most probably Abisares who either directly controlled that region or had close political relations with those people.

In about 321 B.C. Chandragupta, the Maurya, was able to finish off with whatever little of Alexander's authority was left this side of the Indus and it seems that it was he who must have advanced into the Hazara region in the north because later at Mansehra we find his grandson As'oka engraving his famous fourteen rock edicts, still surviving just along the Karakorum Highway. How far to the north the Mauryan territory extended is difficult to say. H.C. Ray Chaudhuri<sup>22</sup> draws our attention to a passage in *Divyavadana*, where As'oka, as a prince, subjugated the *Svasa* (Kha'sa) Country. Sir Aurel Stein,<sup>23</sup> relying on Kashmir Chronicle, places Kha'sa tribe in and around Rajuri in Kashmir. Bongard Levin<sup>24</sup> talks of Kha'sa in a province adjacent to Taxila. In the *Mahabharata*<sup>25</sup> the ant-gold is said to have been presented by the Khas'as and other tribes living by the Sailoda river between the mountains Meru and Mandara. According to the Sanskrit drama *Mudrarakshasa* Chandragupta Maurya's recruits included the allied army of Malayaketu comprising men from Kha'sa, Magadha,



Gandhara etc.<sup>26</sup> which enabled him to lay the foundation of the Mauryan empire. If the evidence from *Mahabharata* about the association of the *Kha'sas* with ant-gold is correct, they should be located at this time in Chilas area. It is from the same area that we have discovered a large number of inscriptions<sup>27</sup> of the fifth century A.D., which refer to *Khasarajana* i.e. the tribal state of the *Kha'sa* rulers. The evidence therefore is clear that the *Kha'sas* were settled there and had a state of their own in the Chilas area at least from the time of the Mauryas to fifth Century A.D.

Another reference to northern region is provided by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. Writing about *Ku-sa-tanna* i.e. *Khoten*, he says:

When Asoka banished the officials who had blinded Kunala in Takshasila, these men with their families were settled in the wild land to the west of the Kustana district. About the time this occurred, an imperial prince of China, being sent into exile, settled in the country to the east of Kustana. The Takshasila exiles had raised one of their number to the position of king, and the Chinese prince also called himself king, and sought to gain pre-eminence over the Takshasila chief but could not succeed. 28

This reference to the *Taxila* exiles in the time of Asoka and their settlement in the vicinity of *Khotan* establishes one link between *Taxila* and that city in the Mauryan period and this link must have been arranged through the territory of the Northern Areas of Pakistan. Although we do not learn much about this region in the time of the Mauryas and even later when the Greeks, coming from *Bactria*, supplanted their rule in the *Indus Valley*, it is reasonable to hold that the region was in some way connected with these empires. It is very likely that Buddhism reached here at this time as a result of the missionary activity of Asoka.

### Scytho — Parthians

Herodotus, in Book Four, gives a detailed history of the Scythians who were spread out in the Eurasian Steppe-land in the first millennium B.C. The Achaemenian emperor Darius conquered them and incorporated their Central Asian territory within his empire. These Scythians developed their own culture and art,<sup>29</sup> now widely known from excavations. One branch of these Scythians settled in southern Afghanistan, which came to be known as *Sakastan* or *Seistan* and later they are known to have migrated to *Indus delta* country and hence it was known as *Indo-Scythia*<sup>30</sup> in the first Century B.C. and A.D. this movement of the *Sakas* into southern part of Pakistan and their advance up along the *Indus* into

Panjab is the view originally propounded by Cunningham. The other view, as put forward by Percy Gardner, maintained that the Scythians (i.e. Sakas) entered first into Kashmir and Panjab through the Karakorum Pass and then spread over the Indus valley region and other parts of Northern India. Dr. J.N. Banerji believed that this second route was impossible, as he wrote:

This hypothesis, however, is wholly untenable because the extreme difficulty of the terrain is quite ill-suited to the migration of an entire people. This route, in fact, is used chiefly by pilgrims and caravans. The *T'ien — Han-Shu*, however, writing about the southward march of the Saiwang into Ki-pin refers to their crossing of the *Hien-tu* (the hanging passage) also described in the *Wei-liao*, the history of the Wei dynasty (AD. 220-64). According to Chavanne's interpretation, this is the Bolor route through the Yasin Valley, used by travellers *en route* from Wakhan to the Indus and further to Kashmir and Udyana; Fahien entered India along this route. <sup>31</sup>

The Chinese evidence is thus very clear on the movement of the Saiwang (or Saka King) and the route followed by the Saka people. But so far no archaeological evidence was available to specify the definite events and the king who actually took this route.

The new archaeological evidence discovered in Chilas has settled this issue.<sup>32</sup> From Tashkurgan a route to Little Pamir and onward into Wakhan has been a traditional path along Wakhjir river. Here the Borogil pass has provided the main entrance southward towards Darakot pass that leads into the open green field of Yasin. A lot of archaeological remains are visible on the surface that remain to be surveyed. From Yasin one can go directly to Chilas bypassing Gilgit. At the site of Chilas II we have discovered several Kharoshthi inscriptions and rock carvings that belong to Scythian period.

On one rock there is a graphic surrender scene of a local *raja* named Gopadasa alongwith his two sons named Gopadasa Akshaputra and Gopadasa Balaputra, written in Kharoshthi character of first century B.C. The act of surrender is performed before a seated king who is named Moga i.e. Maues the Scythian ruler. The scene is very graphic, in which Scythian horses and horse riders are depicted in the first and third rows by the side of a Buddhist stupa. The middle shows the victorious king seated on a high legged seat in European style with high-booted soldiers to his front. The last soldier is pulling the defeated fat bellied ruler by means of a string tied at his right leg. The princes are depicted in the third row in a supplicating posture before a standing Scythian soldier having a

pointed cap on his head.<sup>33</sup> The king is explicitly called *Moga raja*. The evidence is clear that Moga came here along with his Scythian horsemen, defeated the local ruler and established his authority in this region.

The establishment of his complete authority and consolidation of his power are attested by another Kharoshthi inscription<sup>34</sup> from the same site. This record is in six lines but the writing is partly defaced by water mark and partly by later carving. The record speaks of a construction (most probably of a stupa) of Samudra or Samudrasena erected by Kaka who is said to be the son of Ghoshamitra and Kshatrapa, i.e. governor, of *Moga Mahataka* i.e. "Moga The Great". The assumption of the royal title *Mahataka* in this inscription confirms his regal status and the appointment by him of a governor in this region proves the consolidation of his authority. The three names Kaka, Ghoshamitra and Samudrasena are clearly local Indian names and they are comparable with the names of the defeated persons Gopadasa, Balaputra and Akshaputra. It seems that Moga changed one set of persons by another set of local persons. All of them appear to be followers of Buddhism. The name Samudra<sup>35</sup> appears second time in another place along with the name of the Buddhist monk Samana Goma. Similarly the name Ghoshamitra is repeated second time by the side of the figure of the Hindu deity Baladeva (Pl 7). The name Kaka<sup>36</sup> is also repeated second time on another face of this rock. On the same face we get a three-line Kharoshthi inscription<sup>37</sup> that speaks of a construction by Sidhalaka, Kshatrapa of Moga Mahataka and a date which reads five times twenty i.e. one hundred. Apparently this date refers to the reign of Moga. Here we get a second governor appointed by Moga the Great. Later we get the name of another Scythian ruler, *Mahata Lavika*, whose relationships with Moga is not known. Here we also get two more Scythian names — Onivastara and Pharaona — associated with some construction. Another long inscription by the side of a stupa (*thubu*) gives the name of the builder as Bahae and also speaks of another ruler called *Vataida Sao*, i.e. Shao (meaning "King"). But the palaeography of this last inscription suggests later period and the title *Shao* adopted by the ruler also shows that he belongs to the Kushana period (See below).

The abundance of epigraphic evidence from Chilas in Kharoshthi character of first century B.C. brings into prominence the King Moga, who is also known from Taxila copper plate inscription,<sup>38</sup> in which he is given the full royal titles of *Maharaya* and *Mahamita* (or *Mahata*). That is dated in the year 78. There his Kshatrapa of Chuksha by name Liaka Kusulaka, his son Patika, established the relic of the Lord Sakyamuni and a *Sangharama* in

Taxila. There is no doubt that *Moga Mahata*, mentioned in the inscriptions at Chilas and at Taxila is one and the same person. Apparently both the dates 78 and 100 found in the two places refer to his reign although we are not sure about the specific era to which the dates can be referred.

The coming of the Scythians in Northern Areas leads to a number of politico-economic developments. For the first time we are on a sure ground when this region was politically linked with Taxila and we also learn about the establishment of a separate Kshatrapa (governor) in this region. The linkage of Taxila with this region must have led to new trade relations. We find pilgrims and Buddhist monks (pl. 8) further developing closer relations between the two areas. At the same time the type of the Buddhist stupa that we find here engraved on the rocks shows borrowing of its form from Taxila but so far no actual structural stupa has been discovered here. On the other hand large number of horses (Pl. 9) and bullocks depicted in the rock carving suggests a new transport system and cattle wealth that must have increased the economic prosperity of the region. Above all the Buddhist monks, who came here, introduced Kharoshthi writing and propagated Buddhist faith in the Gandharan Prakrit that must have again fostered close cultural links with Taxila and other areas in Gandhara.

How long the Scythian rule lasted here is difficult to say. Two generations of kings and Kshatrapas at least in the first century B.C. and A.D. appear to be a reasonable assumption. These Scythians were succeeded by the Parthians belonging to Gondophares group, whose inscriptions and coins in Gandhara are well known. One Kharoshthi inscription of this ruler is found in the Gondophares Rock at Chilas just at the point where the rivulet Butoga joins the Indus river. The inscription reads *Vitaspa Priyati Gendavharasa Raja*. i.e. King Gondophares, beloved of Vitaspa (an Iranian deity). There is another inscription on the other side of the Indus at the site of Thalpan II. The inscription has only *Vicharati Dhamikasa*, meaning "Of Dhamika, i.e. Devout one (who) is wandering (freely) or probably ruling". *Dhamika* is a title usually adopted here by a ruler. Unfortunately there is no name of the ruler. But on the other side of this very Rock there are several carvings of this period that show animals, Chariots and other designs of an entirely new types that are certainly borrowed from the Iranian art of the time. The most remarkable is the carving of two Parthian soldiers in the typical Parthian dress and weapons. Such a fundamental change in the content of the art, in its style and presentation suggests an influx of new professional groups from the Iranian world. At this time we also find some western classical motifs copied in Rock Art, again pointing to their introduction by the Parthians. This

contact with the western world, it seems, was re-established by the Parthians after a lapse of few centuries. Earlier the Achaemenians had extracted taxes from this region in the form of gold but it does not seem that they produced any visible cultural influence here. But now in the time of the Parthians the old tradition of Rock Art received an entirely new dimension by incorporating many new features from Iranian art. Thus the Parthian period that followed the time of the Scythians was responsible in interlinking Northern Areas of Pakistan with the western world.

### **A Historic Catastrophe**

One remarkable fact that comes out after our survey of the rock inscriptions and carvings in this area is the great difference in date in the distribution of the material in the different regions. The present evidence may not give a final result but it is certainly suggestive. In the Chilas area the carvings are continuously seen from the prehistoric time right upto the end of the Scythian period in the beginning of first century A.D. They cover several millennia. In fact the Scythian period carvings are all on the river side of Chilas II at the lowest depth. On the other hand the Parthian period carvings are at Thalpan II at a higher level and on Gondophares Rock. Then comes a sudden break with the only exception of the inscription of Vajheshka (See below) at Chilas II but that also is carved on highest point of the Rock. The inscription of Vima Kadphises (See below) is eight miles away from this place at a very high level. Leaving aside these two Kushana inscriptions there is a complete absence of rock carvings and inscriptions in the whole of the Kushana period at Chilas. This total absence of records from this site at this time suggests some fundamental change either natural or human. On the human side we find a shift towards Gilgit and Hunza. The Kushana period Kharoshthi inscriptions are now concentrated at Alam Bridge<sup>39</sup> about twentyfive miles west of Gilgit, not far from the place where Gilgit river joins the Indus river. At Hunza also the Kushana inscriptions and carvings are found on the Sacred Rock.<sup>40</sup> In both these places the inscriptions are on the river side. In the first place they are on the left bank of the Gilgit river and in the second place also on the left bank of the Hunza river. It is strange that in this period Indus river bank is completely given up. This displacement appears to be connected with some cataclysmic change in the time of the Parthians. Sir John Marshall<sup>41</sup> noted a severe earthquake at Taxila about A.D. 30 in the time of the Parthians. It seems that similar calamity must have affected the region of Chilas and as a result the Indus river must have suddenly discharged floods of water to such a great extent that

the rocks facing the river could not be used at all. This rising of the Indus water level owing to floods came immediately after its level sank low in the Scythian period, thus opening the way for river side carving. Why did the water level go down in the Scythian period? It must be due to natural damming of the Indus river somewhere upstream as it happened in the last century because of a sudden mud flow alongwith glacial movement from the Nanga Parvat. And then occurred a sudden outburst of the natural dam and immediate release of the flood water in the Indus river, causing a rise in the Indus river. Such a calamity must have happened owing to some natural phenomenon. As this natural event took place in the mid-first century A.D., about the same time when we find severe earthquake taking place at Taxila, the two events must be interconnected. Hence it is understandable why the whole of Chilas area is practically given up in the Kushana period and the centre of activity shifted towards Gilgit and Hunza. It is only in the fourth century A.D. that life returned to normalcy in Chilas area but even at that time the carvings and inscriptions are seen at a higher level. The proof of this Indus flood and also of rock fall, probably due to earthquake, can be seen at Chilas II, where water marks are clearly visible over the carvings and right in front of the carvings big boulders, fallen from top, lie flat on the ground. It appears that originally these big boulders overhang on the top making some sort of a rock shelter, where the Buddhists chose to engrave and leave behind their memorials. This historic catastrophe must have led to many other economic changes in the life of the people that remain to be filled by future excavations.

### Age of the Great Kushanas (1st — 3rd Centuries A.D.)

The early history of Kushanas is known to us from the Chinese sources. The first information is obtained from Chang Chien, who was sent by the Han emperor, Wu-ti, on a mission to the Yueh-chih country in 140—134 B.C. More than ten years later the envoy reached the country of the Yueh-chih and then he went to Ta-hsia. According to the envoy Ta-hsia was under the Yueh-chih. It was divided into five hsi-hou (*Yabgus*), viz. Hsiu-mi, i.e. Wakhan, Shuang-mi, i.e. Chitral, Kuei-shuang somewhere between Badakhshan and Chitral, Hsi-tun, i.e. Badakhshan, and Kau-fu, i.e. Kabul valley. Other sources replace Kao-fu by Tu-mi and place it somewhere north of Kabul near about Kafiristan. Thus Ta-hsia included Wakhan, Badakhshan, Chitral, Kafiristan and the regions lying between them. Later when the Kuei-shuang became strong under the leadership of Kujula Kadphises, Bactria was conquered and the greatness of the Kushana empire was laid.<sup>42</sup> The Kushanas finished

off with the remnants of the Greek authority and also of the Parthians in Central Asia, Kabul valley and Indus Valley. Thus the Kushanas were on the north, west and south of the Gilgit region. It is therefore not difficult to understand their advance into this part as well.

The first emperor, who extended the Kushana power into this region, was Vima Kadphises, the successor of Kujula Kadphises. Two new inscriptions of this ruler have been found here. On a rock at Chilas<sup>43</sup> X, we find in Kharoshthi script of this period the name *Uvimadasakasa*. No royal Title is attached to this name. But the site, where this inscription is found, almost became an important camp site in the later period where names of several rulers have been engraved. This particular name is, no doubt, an attempt to transcribe the unfamiliar name *Vimakadaphasa* in Kharoshti. The second inscription is found on the Sacred Rock of Hunza.<sup>44</sup> It reads:

. . . *Maharaja Uvimma*  
*Kadhatphrisa*. . .

i.e. "The great King Uvimma Kadhatphrisa." The name Kadhatphrisa obviously stands for Kadphises. Below this inscription there is a standing figure of the king (pl. 10) in the typical Kushana dress. This is carved on the eastern face of the Rock within a small niche-like formation, where ibexes of different periods occupy the main lower space. To the left is definitely earlier carving of jumping ibexes, now very dim, before another ibex, which has beaded horns and is walking to right. It is immediately below this ibex that a later carving of a standing man to front in typical Kushana dress of long robe, peaked cap, left hand at the waist and the right extended slightly upward — a figure that exactly corresponds with the type of the imperial Kushana personage on the coins from the time of Vimakadphises. To his left and right are two ibexes with angular bent horns walking towards him. A very distinct elephant with up-turned trunk in salutation also appears on his left.<sup>45</sup> On Rock no. IV at Hunza<sup>46</sup> there is another Kushana portrait on the flat surface. Here four ibexes are seen looking right towards a man standing to front with a horseman before him. Both the highly important man and the horseman are drawn in different hands and are older than the nearby ibexes. They are drawn in deep incised lines. The man is putting the typical Kushana dress. His both hands are at the waist. His head is dim but seems to have an orb around the head. The horseman is standing before him as if to give a message. The high personage does not appear to be an emperor because his hand pose is entirely different from that we know of the Kushana emperors

on their coins.

Another inscription<sup>47</sup> of the same emperor together with emperor's figure is found from Khalatse, a village in Ladakh, 52 miles below Leh on the trade route, where several other inscriptions were reported by A.H. Francke. The inscription reads:

Sam 1 100 20 20 20 20 4 [1 1 1]  
*Maharajasa Uvima Kavthisasa*

“Anno 187 (or 184), (during the reign) of the Great King Uvima Kavthisa.”

In all these three inscriptions there are three spellings of the name of the same ruler. His portrait in the niche at Hunza and at Khalatse is very significant as it reminds us of his statue in the *Devakula* at Mathura. That the motivation of this far-flung conquest by Vima Kadphises in this difficult terrain is not just territorial expansion is quite obvious. The way in which he strikes at Khalatse from Chilas, Gilgit and Hunza is remarkable as Khalatse lies in the area where gold anthills are located. It is therefore reasonable to hold that Vima was bent on taking possession of the original source of gold. The conclusion gains in importance when we realise that Vima finally established the Kushana gold currency. From the numismatic evidence B. Chattopadhyay writes:

Kadphises II or Wema Kadphises, Yen-Kao-Chen of the Chinese Annals, who established Kushana rule over India issued a large number of gold, silver and copper coins of various types. During the two centuries previous to Kadphises II, only a few specimens of gold coins, two or three of Eucritides, one of Menander, perhaps one from Taxila and another coin of uncertain attribution are found. After the Kushanas the gold coinage was continued by the Guptas. It may be said that Kadphises II was actually the first introducer of gold coinage in Northern India. The main reasons behind the introduction of gold coinage by Kadphises II seems to be the demand of gold pieces for international trade going on between India, the Roman Empire and China. Through trade and commerce a fabulous amount of Roman gold flowed into India. Pliny refers to the flourishing commerce between India and the Roman Empire in the first century A.D. and deplors the heavy drain of gold specie from Rome to India to pay for luxuries imported for the use of Roman nobles. The gold coins of the Roman Emperors that poured into India appear to have been melted down and recoinced by Kadphises II and his successors. 48

This numismatic evidence has to be supplemented by a new source of gold from Northern Areas of Pakistan that enabled Vima Kadphises to lay the foundation of gold standard. The issue of this currency must have led to a new economic arrangement in this region. The way in which we find traffic increasing through this



region to China must be linked to this change. The route must have become very popular as we find along this same route that the Buddhist missionaries travelled and most probably carried the new form of Buddhism into China. How long Vima ruled here we do not know. According to the Chinese source, *Hou Han Shu*, we get a clear picture of his region:

Chiu-Chiu-Ch'ueh (i.e. Kadphises I) died at the age of more than eighty. Yen-Kao-Chen became king in succession. He also destroyed T'ien-Chu (India), where he stationed a general to supervise and govern. Since then the Yueh-chih are most rich and prosperous. (All the people of) many (other) countries call them Kuei-shuang-wang but in China they are called Ta-Yueh-chih according to their old designation. 49

B.N. Mukherjee<sup>50</sup> has traced the whole geneology of the Kushana rulers and shown that Vima was most probably succeeded by Kanishka I, who founded a new era, the beginning of which is much disputed.<sup>51</sup> A large number of dated Kushana inscriptions have been found from Hunza. One of the inscription<sup>52</sup> gives the name of Kanishka. It reads: *Gushana devasa maharayasa... Kanishkasa Samghe dana.*

i.e. "Gift in the monastery of the Lord of Kushana, the great king Kanishka."

A second inscription<sup>53</sup> gives the name of another Kushana ruler *Maharaja Devaputra Huvi (shka)*. A third inscription<sup>54</sup> records his name as *Gushana Maharaya Huv (ishka)*

These inscriptions clearly prove the continuation of the rule of the Kushana emperors here. From Chilas-II<sup>55</sup> we get a record of another Kushana ruler, which reads

*Vaeshkasa Kaisha (ra) sa  
rajatirajasa  
devadevasa*

i.e. Of Vajheshka, the Kaisara, the King of Kings, the god of gods."

This inscription of Vajheshka from Chilas with high sounding titles opens the issue of the successor of Kanishka-I. The present evidence does not add any new argument to the existing opinions except the fact that Vajheshka also held authority in this region and that he also bore the title of *Kaisara* like his son Kanishka II. There are other dated Kharoshthi inscriptions. From the Alam Bridge in Gilgit Fussman obtained inscriptions which are dated from 9 to 89, which he attributed to the Kanishka era beginning from A.D. 78 and hence they are placed between A.D. 87 and 167.<sup>56</sup> In Hunza the inscriptions are dated from 7 to 91 and if they are attributed to the same era, they fall between A.D. 85 to A.D. 169. Although we have not been able to read the name of Vasudeva

in the inscriptions as many of them are not readable, it is certain that he ruled here as we have the names of several Kushana *Kshatrapas* and *Mahakshatrapas*.

There are three dated inscriptions<sup>57</sup> of the *Kshatrapas*: no. 30 of *Kshatrapa* Buddhamitra is dated in the year 70; no. 34 of *Kshatrapa* Dharmarakshita is dated in the year 83; and no. 21 of *Kshatrapa* Bhuilakadala is dated in the year 91. The following is the list of the *Kshatrapas*, as known from the inscriptions:

Bhuilakadala, Budhamitra, Budhavarma (or Budhaveruma), Chuksha, Dharmarakshita, Enada, Kaiu, Khosilamitra and Nuusakha. Only three *mahakshatrapas* are mentioned. No. 20 records the name of *Mahakshatrapa* Dhoihola. He is the son of Nuusakha. The name of the second *Mahakshatrapa*, as given in inscription no. 48, begins with the letter *Kha*. He is the son of Budhaveruma. If he is the same as *Kshatrapa* Budhavarma of no. 46, then this *Kha* in no. 48 and Khudu in no. 46 may be one and the same person. In no. 52 we get the name of *Kshatrapa-putra* Kaiu, who, according to no. 5, is the son of Enada (or u). In the present inscription no. 52 he is apparently *Kshatrapa* and also a son of *Kshatrapa* although his father's name is not given. But in no. 55 Kaiu is said to be *Mahakshatrapa-putra*. Thus the simple Enada (or u) first became a *Kshatrapa* and later a *Mahakshatrapa*. Thus we get two to three generations of *Kshatrapas* and *Mahakshatrapas* in this part. All the *Mahakshatrapas* bear non-Sanskritic names, viz. Enadu (u), Dhoihola and Khudu, but among the *Kshatrapas* we get Buddhist names, such as Budhamitra, Budhavarma and Dharmarakshita.

The evidence clearly shows the administrative pattern of the region. From the time of the Scythians to the end of the rule of the Great Kushanas the *Kshatrapal* system of administration was maintained here. Most probably this system was a continuation of the Achaemenian practice when actually the *Satrap* (or *Kshatrapa*) form of local administration was introduced. As we have seen earlier, the Scythian ruler Moga (i.e. Maues) uprooted the local *raja* and appointed his own *Kshatrapas* here. Similarly the Kushanas appointed their own *Mahakshatrapas* and *Kshatrapas*.

With this background in mind, we can re-examine the readings of the Kharoshthi inscriptions, as given by Fussman. His readings give the name of one person in three inscriptions<sup>58</sup>:

N. 5.1 *Dhamanaputro Neiu (Sa . .) du.*

No. 5.4 . . . *Dhamputro Neiusa (tam) du sa*

*20 + 20 + 20 + 20 + 4 + 4 + 1*

The name appears to be the same as Nuusakha, as is given in Hunza inscription. There his father's name is not given but he is

shown as a *Kshatrapa* and also father of *Mahakshatrapa* Dhoihola. If the identification is correct, we can establish some connection between these inscriptions and those of Hunza. The way in which the present inscriptions use the same Kanishka era further adds an argument to the point. We also get here some common names of the Buddhist monks, e.g. Budhasena who is a *Bhikshu* (monk) in the Hunza inscription and both here as well as at Alam Bridge inscription (no. 6.9) near Gilgit he is said to be *Buddhavamsaputra* (i.e. a scion of the Buddha *Vamsa*). Similarly in both places we get the name of *Dhamasena putra* whose name is given as *Kshemasena* at Alam Bridge but at Hunza the father of *Dharmasena* is *Nathuvu* and his date is 7 (i.e.  $78 + 7 =$  A.D. 85). Thus we get here three generations of monks.

Fussman reads two royal titles attributed to two persons in his inscriptions. His no. 8 is restored by him as *Yuvarajana Vasudharivarmana Sabradi 4 + 4 + 1 bhavesi* and he translates: "Du Prince heritier Vasudharivarman (protecteur de la terre); anjour-d' hui, en l' 9, il etait (ici)" i.e. the prince, heir apparent, Vasudharivarman (Protector of the earth) today, in the year 9, he was (here).

This reading as well as meaning unfortunately do not tally with the original reading that he has himself given. His original reading is nearer the original record but it needs some correction. Originally he reads the first word as *Pujavajana* but his transcription and photograph clearly show it to be *Pusavasi*, which is the same as *Posavasa*, which we get in Hunza Kharoshthi inscription no. 6. The reading of the name is correct. Hence there is no royal title in this inscription.

The second, no. 5.7 of Fussman, is the most important inscription in which he reads the name of *Daradaraya*, i.e. Darada king and apparently proposes the name as *Merekhisu*. This is no doubt a unique discovery if the reading is correct because this is the only local inscription, known so far, which speaks of a Darada king in the Gilgit area, although we know that the word *Darada* is never applied by the local people for themselves. It is only in *Raja tarangini* of Kalhana and other Sanskrit sources that we get the name *Darada* but, as pointed out by Sir Aurel Stein, the word applies to the people in Gurez area, lying to the north-west frontier of Kashmir. This evidence raises great doubt on the reading. Fussman has himself pointed out the difficulty as there is confusion in the two lines of engraving. On reexamining the stone, I discovered that some letters in the beginning and in the end of the first line have been omitted by Fussman. I read the first line as follows:

Theudorena Roshami (Yena)

The second line reads —

Bhajrusara Chuksha putra (sa) . . . -ga- pi i oja

As much of the portion of the first line has disappeared, as can also be seen from Fussman's photograph, the first line does not appear to be connected with the second line. The two lines must be read separately and understood separately. I do not see any intermixture of the letters of the first line with those of the second line. Hence I read them separately. According to my reading there is no mention of the word *Darada* — *raya*. In fact we have got here a very good word *Theodor* (or *Theodoras*) — a name which also appears in Swat.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand we also get *Roshamiya* (or *Roshimiya*) in the Hunza Rock inscription no. 10. We also get the name *Chuksha* in the Hunza Rock inscription, where he is said to be a *Kshatrapa*. Although the reading of the present inscription from Alam Bridge is not clear, it appears to speak of the relic of *Chukshaputra*. Thus this inscription also does not speak of any king at this time in Gilgit. The ruling power in the region, including Gilgit, was in the hands of the Kushanas. It would be difficult to explain the presence of a *Darada* King at this time here.

From the evidence given above it is clear that the Kushanas not only conquered the whole of Northern Areas of Pakistan and extended their authority over Ladakh but they also established their administration on a firm footing. The seat of their administration does not appear to have been Chilas or at Gilgit. If the epigraphic evidence from Hunza has any significance, the seat must be located somewhere in Hunza. That appears to be a central place for controlling as far as Ladakh in the south-east and Kohistan in the west. It is on this background that we can understand the northern expansion of the Kushana power at the time of Kanishka into Tibet and Xin-jiang.<sup>60</sup> Kanishka is known to have organised a great expedition and advanced as far as the passes of Tsung-ling. Hiuen Tsang, while talking about Kapisa (modern Bagram near Charikar in Afghanistan, notes:

According to tradition, Kanishka Raja of Gandhara in old days having subdued all the neighbouring provinces and brought into obedience people of distant countries, he governed by his army a wide territory, even to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains. Then the tribes who occupy the territory to the west of the river, fearing the power of his arms, sent hostages to him. Kanishka-rajah having received the hostages, treated them with singular attention, and ordered for them separate establishment for the cold and hot weather; during the cold they resided in India and its different parts, in the summer they came back to Kapisa, in the autumn and spring they remained in the kingdom of Gandhara; and so he founded *Sangharamas* for the hostages according to the three seasons. This convent (of which we are now speaking) is the one they occupied during the summer, and it was built for that purpose. Hence the pictures of these hostages on the walls; their features and clothing and ornaments are like the people of Eastern Hia (China). Afterwards when

they were permitted to return to their own country, they were remembered in their old abode, and notwithstanding the intervening mountains and rivers, they were without cessation revered with offerings, so that down to the present time the congregation of priests on each rainy season (frequent this spot). 51

However, later Kanishka appears to have suffered some reverses at the hands of the Chinese general Pan-Chao and probably lost to him some territories in the western part of China.<sup>62</sup> However, it was during his reign that a direct communication was established with China and the famous Silk Road came into effective use. It seems very likely that one of the branches of the Silk Road ran through Northern Areas of Pakistan. It is along this branch of the Silk Road that Buddhism travelled from Gandhara to Khotan, Yarkand, Kashgar and other places in China. There were also ambassadorial exchanges<sup>63</sup> established between the Kushana empire and China. The Chinese source *San-kuo-chih* compiled by Ch'en Shou (AD 233-297), refers to an envoy of the king of the Great Yueh-chih, Po-t'iou who went to the court of the Wei on the day of Kuei-mao, i.e. January 26, A.D. 230. The king Po-t'iao is usually identified with Vasudeva, the Kushana emperor. A large number of Buddhist monasteries and stupas, as mentioned in the inscriptions, appear to have been erected at this time in this region. It is also equally possible that Gilgit became an important Buddhist seat at this time but this remains to be proved by future excavations.

The economic consequences of the time can only be inferred from the meagre evidence now available. The first is the establishment of a stable administrative system under the *Mahakshatrapas* and *Kshatrapas* who must have encouraged agricultural production and, as known from Chinese sources, introduced many new kinds of fruits and crops from that part of the world. The second is the tremendous increase of the gold currency of the Kushanas. Part of gold must have been supplied by this region and as a result the international trade that flowed along Silk Road must have produced its own benefit to the local people. It is only on this assumption that we can think of the great prosperity of the Buddhist monasteries here. Large number of inscriptions speak of the popularity of Kharoshthi and Gandharan Prakrit that were adopted here as a vehicle of communication. Several new centres, other than Chilas, flourished in this region and very likely they were connected by trade routes to Ladakh and Tibet on the one hand and to China on the other. With Gandhara on the west and trans-Pamir region, the relation must have been further strengthened. Above all the type of

Buddhism that is seen here shows a great link with Kashmir. We may therefore speak of the age of the Kushanas as a great boon for the international contact of the local people and the flourishing of a civilization, surcharged with Buddhist spirit and learning, that continued to bear fruit and spread its influence to the neighbouring regions on the north and east for centuries. The Kushanas put Northern Areas of Pakistan to a new road of progress and gave to the region a prosperity that lasted much longer than their rule.

### Post-Kushana Period

The end of the Kushana rule is thus traced by Mukherjee:

Vasudeva II seems to be the last known ruler of the house of Kanishka I before at least a part of the Kushana territory was occupied by the Sassanids. According to the statement of Al-Tabari, Ardashir (I) received the submission of the Kushan (Kushana) king sometime after his victory over king Ardwan (i.e. the Parthian King Artabanus (V)). The latter event took place, according to S.H. Taqizadeh's calculations, in A.D. 224. The inclusion of at least a substantial portion of the Kushana empire within the Sassanian dominions between A.D. 224 and 242, — the date of Shapur I's accession to the throne — is proved by a series of bronze coins issued by the latter ruler as a Kushanshah, evidently when ruling as his father Ardashir I's representative in the Kushana Country. <sup>64</sup>

In the time of Shapur the Sassanian empire included "Turan, Makuran, Paradan, India and the Kushanshahr right up to Pashkibur and up to Kash, Sogd and Shash". In the opinion of Richard N. Frye the boundaries of the Kushanshahr "included the mountainous area of part of the Pamirs and the present-day Tajikistan".<sup>65</sup> This extension of the Sassanian power in the east must have covered Northern Areas of Pakistan. The direction by which the Sassanians entered here appears to have been from the trans-Pamir region because it is along that direction that they are known to have advanced to Sogd (i.e. Samarkand), Shash (i.e. Tashkent) and Kash (Kashgar). This new contact appears to have introduced new cultural trends in this region from Central Asia and as a result we find here two new types of writing: The first is the engraving of large number of Sogdian inscriptions by men who came from Samarkand, and the second is the appearance of Bactrian cursive writing. Some of the inscriptions are by private individuals, businessmen, pilgrims or travellers who were going from one direction to another, thus proving the prevalence of brisk trade between China and Central Asia through this region.

Unfortunately we know nothing about the system of government of the Sassanians in this part. It is, however, known that a

Sassanian prince governor was appointed in the Kabul region who ruled all over the Kushana territory as a suzerain Lord. This is proved by the issue of coins as *Vuzurg, Kushana Shahan Shah* i.e. the Shah of the Great Kushana Shah. In other words the older Kushana rulers continued to hold authority as subordinate to the Sassanians. The same position appears to have obtained in this region as well. But unfortunately we know nothing about the names of the actual rulers at this time. In other parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan those subordinate rulers are known as Little Kushanas and at some time Kedar Kushanas<sup>66</sup> and they are known from coins. But from Gilgit region no coin has so far been found. Even then it will not be un-reasonable to assume that some local Kushana authority exercised power here and guaranteed the safety of the routes that passed from China to Central Asia.

The appearance of the Sogdian inscriptions and their tentative readings<sup>67</sup> gives us a lot of information about the new people who came here. There is one inscription from Hunza Rock<sup>68</sup> which has been provisionally read by D.N. Mackenzie and translated as —

*Wishta (sP), son of Athfiy (a) (of) Tashar (?)*

The place name *Tashar* or *Tushar* or *Tukhar* is the well-known geographic term that lies in the trans-Pamir region. The personal names of the son and of the father speaks of the new Persian element that had come into the region. There are two more Sogdian inscriptions from Chilas. But the largest concentration of these inscriptions are at the site of Shatial right at the mouth of Darel river, just on the left bank of the Indus river. Here by the side of a big stupa carving the inscriptions are engraved on this rock as well as on other rocks. Such a concentration of Sogdian inscriptions in this period here suggests developed relations between this region and Samarkand. At the same time it also shows a deflection of the route through the Darel valley. Anyone coming from Samarkand across the Pamir or from Chitral will certainly use the Darel Valley route. It seems that this route became popular in the Sassanian period. Hence inscriptions at Shatial began from early fourth century A.D. and continued upto sixth century A.D. This is the time when all the Sogdian inscriptions have been placed by Dr. Sims Williams. More or less the same date could be given to the Kharoshthi and Brahmi inscriptions found here.

The earliest engraving here appears to be a new type of stupa with two Kharoshthi inscriptions.<sup>69</sup> They can be placed in early fourth century A.D. The first inscription reads:

“The religiously devoted daughter of Jikhodarkha established this best stupa”.

The second inscription reads: “The gift of Chakshu, beloved of Sasa (or Saka).”

Both the names are Saka names but the new type of the stupa that is engraved here as well as the dress of the donors suggest that they came from outside. We also get three other Saka names in Kharoshthi inscriptions, viz. Sivajakhama, Dajaputra Rushuja and Kadhapaasa. But the Sogdian inscriptions contain a number of Western Iranian names, both Parthian and Middle Persian, including such well-known names as Sasan, Papak, Shapur, Kartir and the especially Parthian form Narisaf. Ethnic terms occurring as personal names include Hun, Indian and Kushan. Almost all the inscriptions are very short, generally consisting of a personal name, often with the addition of a patronymic. One long inscription has been translated by Sims Williams thus: “I, Nanevandak, the (son of) Narisaf, have come on (the) tenth day (?) and (have) begged (as) a boon from the spirit of the sacred place, K’rt, that . . . I may arrive (home) with joy”. According to Sims Williams k’rt may be a name of the sacred place, probably of the Shatial site. The inscription clearly proves the sacred nature of the Shatial site where it was found. A provisional analysis of the names used in the Sogdian inscriptions is also very interesting. According to Sims Williams the “heroic” style is one of the favourite type of name as we find in the use of such additions as *Xsro*, meaning “power, rule”, *Ox* and its synonym *mrtu*, meaning “man”, as well as compound names using elements such as *sp* (“horse”) *myw* (“tiger”), *rzm* (“line of battle”), *SP’O* (“army”) *wnwn* (“Victorious”) and *xns* (“strong”). The most frequently named divinities are *Nane* and *Wakhush (u)*, i.e. “The Oxus”. This last divinity clearly points to the region of Oxus, wherefrom the people must have come. We also get here Ahura Mazda referred in *Xwrmz to’t* and *mzt’kk*. According to him the god *Mithra* is not named but he should be recognised in the generic name *Baga*, i.e. “The god”. The introduction of the Iranian deities here in the wake of the coming of persons from Iran is quite understandable.

Two more directions from which people came should also be mentioned. The first is the beginning of the process of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who came along this route in their onward journey to Gandhara and India in search of Buddhist manuscripts. One famous pilgrim, who came here about A.D. 400, is Fa-Hian, whose



original name was Kung but who took the appellation of *Shih* or *Sakyaputra*. He was a native of Wu-Yang, of the district of Ping-Yang, in the province of Shan-si. He set out in the company of other priests from Chang'an in A.D. 399 and after an absence of fourteen years returned to Nanjing, where he translated several books with the help of Buddhahadra, an Indian monk. He followed the Tarim basin route, came to Khotan on his way to Yangishahr and then following the T'sung-ling he descended into the little country of To-li, which is identified with Darel Valley. He thus describes the valley.

Having crossed (T'sung)-ling, we arrive at North India. On entering the borders there is a little country called To-li, where there is again a society of priests all belonging to the Little Vehicle. There was formerly an Arhat in this country who by magic power took up to the Tushita heaven a skillful carver of wood to observe the length and breadth (size), the colour and look, of Maitreya Bodhisattra, that returning below he might carve wood and make this image (that is, carve a wooden image of him). First and last he made three ascents for observation, and at last finished the figure. Its length is 80 feet, and its upturned foot 8 feet; on fast days it ever shines brightly. The kings of the countries around vie with each other in their religious offerings to it. Now, as of yore, it is in this country.

"Keeping along (T'sung)-ling, they journeyed south-west for fifteen days. The road was difficult and broken with steep crags and precipices in the way. The mountain-side is simply a stone wall standing up 10,000 feet. Looking down, the sight is confused, and on going forward there is no sure foothold. Below is a river called Sint u-ho. In old days men bored through the rocks to make a way, and spread out side-ladders, of which there are seven hundred (steps) in all to pass. Having passed the ladders, we proceed by a hanging rope-bridge and cross the river. <sup>70</sup>

Fa-Hian presented above a graphic account of the route and the difficulties that one faced on way to the Indus river. At the same time he speaks of the Hinayana form of Buddhism that prevailed here and also of the tall wooden image of Maitreya that was fashioned here and which became an object of great attraction in succeeding centuries.

The other direction from which the influence reached here was Panjab. This is illustrated in the change-over from Kharoshthi script into Gupta Brahmi of fifth century A.D. and also from Prakrit into hybrid Sanskrit, as noted in the inscriptions of the fifth century A.D. This type of Brahmi writing is not seen in Gandhara but it is known from the Shorkot inscription,<sup>71</sup> now preserved in Lahore Museum, and dated in the (Gupta) year 83, i.e. A.D. 402. This type of Brahmi writing has "triangular head-mark" and is seen here in the writing of the name *Bhadila* within the steps of the big stupa at Shtial and also in other inscriptions at Chilas.<sup>72</sup> On the

right side of the river Indus at a higher level. In Chilas we get the names of Kulajaya, Bhadila, Adi Somoviprah and Sri Sudamachandra *raja*. The last is a royal name but we know nothing about this king. There are more such names available from the site of Thor about fifteen miles west of Chilas. It seems that in the early fifth century A.D., Indian influences reached here that materially changed the character of the local culture. From this time onward Brahmi remains the system of writing and Sanskrit became the medium of literary communication. But Buddhism retained its hold here. However, we now start getting direct artistic influence from the region of Gandhara and we find now several carvings of the Buddha at Chilas in the site of Thalpan, which are stylistically derived from the contemporary Gandhara art. (Pl. 11) Thus early fifth century A.D. marks a new resurgence of Buddhism with deep penetration of Gandhara art, an incursion of the Indian influences in writing and language and adoption of many artistic forms that show extraneous influences. This intermixture of Indian influences alongwith Gandhara trends reminds of the relations of the Imperial Guptas with Kedar Kushanas.<sup>73</sup> It is therefore very significant that towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the Sassanian influence probably waned in this region and a shift towards India introduced new elements that must have affected other socio-economic life as well. It is this change of diplomatic policy by the Kedar Kushanas that leads on to the next historical stage when the country was over-run by the Hunas.

### The Huna Supremacy 5th-6th Centuries A.D.

The ethnic identity of the Huna is very difficult to give. Their history has been discussed by several authors.<sup>74</sup> As they have been widely spread in history from China to Europe, it is difficult to speak of a united Huna tribe. It is generally believed that they were composed of several branches or groups. Or under their supremacy several Central Asian tribes joined hands to share the benefit of their conquests. Their warlike activities continued for centuries and affected the history of China, Central Asia, South Asia, the Sassanian Iran and the Roman empire. They are known by different names: The Hsiung-nu in Chinese history, the Hyon in the Avesta, the Hun in European history, the Ephthalite or Chionite in Persia, the Xun in Sogdian accounts, the Hwn in Khwariz, the Hon in Armenia, the *Huna* in Sanskrit sources and Heyatel, Hayatalah and

Heiathel in Arabic and Persian sources. They are first noted in the history even during the time of the first Chinese dynasty, the Hsia, when they were noted as northern barbarians under the generic name of Hsun-yu in the first millennium B.C. Under the Ch'in and Han dynasties these northern nomads were known as Hsiung-nu. It is to protect the Chinese empire from the raids of these northern "barbarians" that emperor Shih-huangti of the Ch'in dynasty (proclaimed emperor in 246 B.C.) built the Great Wall of China. Despite these checks, the Huns stood in great rivalry to the authority of the Han emperors in China. Their power grew stronger and their empire extended from the Japanese sea to the Volga region. The great Hun ruler Mo-tun prided himself in being "the leader of all those who shoot arrows from horse back".<sup>75</sup>

It is exactly this type of horse riders that we begin to get from the later half of the fifth century A.D. carved on the rocks throughout the entire Northern Areas of Pakistan from Kohistan to Karakorum and from Hindukush to Ladakh and Tibet. They ride on horseback, stand on running horses, shoot from running horses, play on horseback and make a rough stride against any monument or writing of old. They can be seen at Shatial, in Chilas, in Gilgit, in Hunza, in Skardu and on many rocks and by-roads, along which their horses must have bruised their backs. They made a rapid advance throughout this region and clashed not only with the earlier Kedarite Kushanas of this country but also extended their power right into the skirts of Tibet and China.

According to some authorities Kedarite Kushanas were a branch of the great Hun tribe.<sup>76</sup> In fact the Scythians, Kushanas and Huns are all brought under one ethnic group and related to the great Turkish tribe.<sup>77</sup> It is from the Kedarites that the Huns snatched power. The invaders are identified with the White Huns who had also fought with the Sassanian Kings of Persia. The exact date of their conquest is difficult to give but it is almost certain that by mid-fifth century A.D., they had struck right into mid-Ganges valley, where they suffered reverses at the hands of Skanda Gupta.<sup>78</sup> But in the Indus Valley they had established themselves for three generations. It is therefore clear that before mid-fifth century A.D. the Huns made themselves master of Kabul valley and Indus valley and fixed their capital at Peshawar.

In the western Classical literature we learn about them from Kosmos Indikopleustes, who writes about them in mid-6th century A.D.: "The river Phison (Indus) divides India from the country of the Huns. In Scripture the Indian country is called Euilat (Havillah), where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good; there is the carbuncle and the jasper stone."<sup>79</sup> This reference to the land of gold is very meaningful as it points to Northern Areas of Pakis-

tan, where earlier Herodotus and other Classical writers have talked of gold. Significantly the name of the country is called *Euilat*, which may have relation with the word *Hayatala* — a name by which the Huns were known. Speaking again of this country the same author writes:

The regions higher up, that is farther north than India, are occupied by White Huns, where King, called Gollas, when going to war is said to take with him no fewer than two thousand elephants and much cavalry. Within his empire is included India, from which he extracts tribute.<sup>80</sup>

This information directly proves that the Hun ruler conquered the country which was famous for gold and extracted tribute from that area and that the name of the Hun ruler was *Gollas*, who is universally identified with the third Hun ruler Mihirakula.<sup>81</sup> It is to this Hun ruler that another Chinese pilgrim and ambassador was sent in AD 518 by the Empress of the Northern Wei dynasty, in the company of Hwui Sang, a *Bhikshu* (monk) of the Sung-li temple of Lo-Yang. The pilgrim, by name Sung Yun, was a native of Tun-huang, and he took the southern route from Tun-huang to Khotan and then by the same route as Fa Hian across the T'sung-ling mountains. The pilgrim portrays a graphic description of the King:

During the middle decade of the 4th month of the first year of Ching-Kwong (520 A.D.) we entered the Kingdom of Gandhara. This country closely resembles the territory of U-chang (Udyan). It was formerly called the country of Ye-po-lo. This is the country which the Ye-thas destroyed, and afterwards set up Lae-lih to be king over the country; since which events two generations have passed. The disposition of this king (or dynasty) was cruel and vindictive, and he practised the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Buddha, but loved to worship demons. The people of the country belonged entirely to the Brahman caste; they had a great respect for the law of Buddha, and loved to read the sacred books . . . The king has 700 war-elephants, each of which carries ten men armed with sword and spear, while the elephants are armed with swords attached to their trunks, with which to fight when at close quarters. The king continually abode with his troops on the frontier, and never returned to his kingdom, in consequence of which the old men had to labour and the common people were oppressed. Sung-Yun repaired to the royal camp to deliver his credential. The king was very rough with him and failed to salute him. He sat still whilst receiving the letters.<sup>82</sup>

This description of the King Mihirkula shows him a cruel king and worshipper of other than Buddha — a fact which is borne out by his Gwalior Inscription,<sup>83</sup> in which he calls him-self a worshipper of Siva. On the other hand it is also clear that within his kingdom lived those who worshipped the Buddha. A reference to the destruction in Gandhara implies the overthrow of the earlier

rule of the Kedaras. It has got nothing to do with the destruction of the Buddhist monasteries. The first ruler Lae-Lih or Lae-lin is corrected by Chavennes and Pelliot by the word *Tigin*, which is a Turkish title meaning "governors". This title was applied by the Chinese as they regarded Gandhara, in the beginning, to be a subordinate province under the supremacy of the Ephthalites of the Oxus Valley. *Tigin* is further identified with Thujana or Thujina of coins and Tunjina of *Rajatarangini*. Collating all the evidence Atreyi Biswas<sup>84</sup> concludes:

Thujana (Tunjina or Tigin) was the father of Toramana and was the first Ye-tha chief or Tigin, who established the White Huns or Ephthalites permanently in Gandhara and probably extended his empire upto Kashmir. We can date him C.A.D. 465 for he was living two generations before Sung-Yun's visit (C. A.D. 520).

Sung-Yun further gives a long description of the country that belonged to the White Huns and makes a vivid portrayal of the king, queen and some of their customs:

In the first decade of the 10th month we arrived at the country of the Yetha (Ephthalites). The lands of this country are abundantly watered by the mountain streams, which fertilise them, and flow in front of all the dwellings. They have no walled towns, but they keep order by means of a standing army that constantly moves here and there. These people also use felt garments. The course of the rivers is marked by the verdant shrubs. In the summer the people seek the cool of the mountains; in the winter they disperse themselves through the villages. They have no written character. Their rules of politeness are very defective. They have no knowledge at all of the heavenly bodies; and, in measuring the year they have no intercalary month, or any long and short months; but they merely divide the year into twelve parts, and that is all. They receive tribute from all surrounding nations: on the south as far as Tieh-lo; on the north, the entire country of Lae-lih, eastward to Khotan, and west to Persia — more than forty countries in all. When they come to the court with their presents for the king, there is spread out a large carpet about forty paces square, which they surround with a short of rug hung up as a screen. The king puts on his robes of state and takes his seat upon a gilt couch, which is supported by four golden phoenix birds. When the ambassadors of the Great Wei dynasty were presented, (the king), after repeated prostrations, received their letters of instruction. On entering the assembly, one man announces your name and title; then each stranger advances and retires. After the several announcements are over they break up the assembly. This is the only rule they have; there are no instruments of music visible at all. The royal ladies of the Yetha country also wear state robes, which trail on the ground three feet and more; they have special train-bearers for carrying these lengthy robes. They also wear on their heads a horn, in length eight feet and more, three feet of its length being red coral. This they ornamented with all sorts of gay colours, and such is their head-dress. When the royal ladies go abroad, then they are carried; when, at home, then they seat themselves on a

gilded couch, which is made (from the ivory of?) a six-tusked white elephant, with four lions (for supporters). Except in this particular, the wives of the great ministers are like the royal ladies; they in like manner cover their heads, using horns, from which hang down veils all round, like precious canopies. Both the rich and poor have their distinctive modes of dress. These people are of all the four tribes of barbarians the most powerful. The majority of them do not believe in Buddha. Most of them worship false gods. They kill living creatures and eat their flesh. They use the seven precious substances, which all the neighbouring countries bring as tribute, and gems in great abundance. It is reckoned that the distance of the country of the Ye-tha from our capital is upwards of 20,000 li.<sup>85</sup>

This description not only presents a picture of the social life of the Huns but also of the vast territory, over which they ruled and exacted taxes from the neighbouring rulers. Practically the whole region between China and Persia was under them. There is, no doubt, that in this vast territory there was free movement of people, pilgrims, traders and merchants. But as the Huns were in war against the Sassanian Iran and also against the Roman power, it seems that the old Silk Road must have suffered adversely during their time. Similarly, as they were not patrons of Buddhism, the Buddhist monasteries must have lost much of their donations and contributions which they received from earlier rulers. Even then Buddhism continued to be followed by local people who extended their generosity to them as we will see below from the evidence of Northern Areas of Pakistan. Another significant change in this period is the interlinking of all the regions of the empire into a closer cultural bond. As a result we find influence of Kashmir art on the rock carvings of the Chilas region as well as the influence of Chilas carvings on the Buddhist art in China and the Far East.

Hereafter the description of Sung-Yun is rather confusing or rather the geographical location of the places mentioned by him has been made by later authors in a confusing manner. The central point in his description is the T'sun-ling mountain and this must be the same mountain that limits the Taklamakan desert on the south. This mountain extends on the west right upto Pamir which is the roof of the world. This high place is meant when Sung-Yun writes: "The kingdom of Han-pan-to stretches as far as the crest of these mountains. Men say this is the middle point of heaven and earth."<sup>86</sup> It is this high plateau from which Karakorum range shoots off to the south-east. Sung-Yun is still within these two mountains when he entered the kingdom of *Poh-ho* which should not be identified with Bolor. Then follows a description of Ye-Tha country and also of Po-sse. These two Kingdoms must have touched T'sung-ling mountain at some point. Hence their description is added here. Finally Sung-Yun crossed T'sung-ling mountain and

reached Shie-Mi. He says:

The aspect of the land is still rugged; and the people are very poor; the rugged narrow road is dangerous — a traveller and his horse can hardly pass along it one at a time. From the country of Po-lu-lai (Bolor) to the country of U-Chang (Udyana) they use iron chains for bridges. These are suspended in the air for the purpose of crossing (over the mountain chasms). On looking downwards no bottom can be perceived; there is nothing on the side to grasp at in case of a slip, but in a moment the body is hurled down 10,000 fathoms. On this account travellers will not cross over in case of high winds.<sup>87</sup>

This accounts gives the names of three places after T'sungling mountain, viz. Shie-Mi, Po-lu-lai and U-Chang, The last is most probably Udyan i.e. modern Swat. Shie-Mi should be immediately below the high mountain, i.e. from Hunza on the east to Chitral on the west. Po-lu-lai must be the country in between and could be taken for the upper Indus valley that includes Gilgit, Chilas and Darel. Unfortunately Sung-Yun does not say much about Northern Areas except the difficulty of travel in the region. He includes the region within the Ye-tha empire. Ye-tha<sup>88</sup> continued to rule here for the next hundred years even when another Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen T'sang travelled in this part between A.D. 629 and 645. The strong hold of the Huns (Ye-tha) at this time was Kashmir. Atreyi Biswas gives the boundary of the empire:

It seems that the Kashmir King had a vast empire which was divided into provinces. These were governed by kings who could act independently where internal matters were concerned. . . . the empire of Kashmir included the Kabul valley, the Swat valley and the mountain regions of Kashmir proper and in the south-east extended as far as Sakala on the Chenab river. If the king of Kashmir had hold over Swat, the Kabul valley and Bannu, it is possible that his empire extended even to Gardez. The Gardez inscription of Khingala was probably thus of the Kashmir king Khinkhila, who was also the overlord of Udyana.

This observation of Atreyi Biswas speaks of the vast empire but also pinpoints the system of government at the time. The presence of almost independent kings in the different regions implies that the old satrapal system of administration was now given up. The administration was practically decentralised and each region was practically under its own local king or kings, called *rajās*. This new arrangement under the Huns created an entirely new socio-economic pattern, in which the land and its produce were placed on a new distributory system. The major share remained in the hands of the *rajās* — a title applied to those who came to hold local authority. The title still continues in the hilly regions of Panjab. Its other variation *Rajput*, which is found in Panjab and also in Rajasthan, appears to be a derivative from the same title. And all of them have

been used in connection with land-ownership. The same practice appears to have arisen in Northern Areas of Pakistan where similar title of raja is seen at this time (see below) but the land system is understood within the local terminology of Shin and Yashkun. It is the Shin who became predominant from this time onward. Their rise to a prosperous socio-economic class appears to have developed under the favourable environment of the Hun empire. This new structuring of the society at this time in Northern Areas of Pakistan must be linked with two factors: first, the great development of the productive economy as a result of the rise of several states in the region, and secondly, movement of tribes from one region to another under the effective umbrella of the Hun emperors. From the angle of local linguistic history the containment of the Burushaski speaking people in the areas where they are seen today and the expansion of the Shina speaking people right into Ladakh should perhaps be traced to this time. From the literary point of view we begin to get Brahmi inscriptions in the style of the Late Gupta period all over the region.

Hiuen T'sang paid a visit to two of the regions of Northern Areas and he describes them under the names of "river Valley of Ta-li-lo", i.e. Darel valley, and "The country of Pol-lu-lo", which is restored as Bolor. In the first valley Hiuen T'sang locates the capital of U-Chang-na (i.e. Udyan) and talks about abundant produce of gold and scented turmeric. He also speaks of the tall wooden figure of Maitreya, as stated by the earlier Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian. About Bolor he writes:

The country of Po-lu-lo is about 4000 li in circuit; it stands in the midst of the great Snowy Mountains. It is long from east to west, and narrow from north to south. It produces wheat and pulse, gold and silver. Thanks to the quantity of gold, the country is rich in supplies. The climate is continually cold. The people are rough and rude in character; there is little humanity or justice with them, and as for politeness, such a thing has not been heard of. They are coarse and despicable in appearance and wear clothes made of wool. Their letters are nearly like those of India, their language somewhat different. There are about a hundred *Sangharamas* in the country, with something like a thousand priests, who show no great zeal for learning, and are careless in their moral conduct.<sup>89</sup>

Sung-Yun uses the geographic term Po-lu-lai and Hiuen Tsang spells it as Po-lu-lo. Its equation with Bolor has been accepted by all scholars. How old is this term, is difficult to say. At least from the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the term has been in use. While the Chinese and Arab authorities talk about Bolor, they do not use the word *Darad* (*Darada -desh*) at all. It is only in the Greek and Sanskrit sources that we get the word *Darad* (or Dardai).



It appears that both refer to the same region (or a part of it). Different terms originated probably because of differing relations that the neighbouring rulers had with the people of this region. Sanskrit sources depend upon Kashmir's relation with the northern people and hence they talk of the north Frontier pass, i.e. *Dara* or the people living in that pass. Probably it is from Sanskrit source that the Greeks derived their material. On the other hand the Chinese came from further north and they talk of a country and its state from fifth century A.D. onward. The state bore the name of Po-lu-lo. Probably from the same source the Arabs derived their own term.

In this period, ranging from fifth century A.D. to seventh century A.D., we get the names of several local *rajās* in the inscriptions, who appear to have exercised their local authority under the umbrella of the Hun emperors. (i) The first series of inscriptions<sup>90</sup> come from Shatial at the mouth of the Darel valley and from Chilas II. These inscriptions, which belong to fifth century A.D., speak of *Khasa-rajā-gana*, i.e. the tribal (state of) *Khasa-rajās*. We get the following names:

*Jivavarma* or *Jivavarma jaja*, *Isvaravarma Dhorika*, *Reukavarma Pedaka*, *Vishnumajna Nidaka*, *Yasanandivarma Dhorika*, *Khandavarma Vatuka* brother of Revati. At Chilas VIII we get the additional name of *Viravarma Jaja*. These names must be of the *rajās* (Chiefs) of the Khasa tribe that appears to have widely spread in the Chilas region, roughly Ta-li-lo of the Chinese accounts. The Chinese pilgrims do not name them at all but on palaeographical ground their inscriptions have been placed in this period. It is they who appear to have patronised Buddhism. Sir Aurel Stein<sup>91</sup> discovered two inscriptions from Pakhtordini and Mastuj in Chitral, which give the names of *Jivarmana* and *raja Jivarma*. Whether these persons are the same as Jivavarma from Shatial, is difficult to say. (ii) At Chilas itself, just by the side of the Thalpan bridge we got the city name *Vira Somonagara*, obviously referring to the old name of the city. At the site of Chilas IX we find the names of *Gaja* raja's son, Sridasa, Dharmapala Sura, Datta Srirama, Madashvara, Chandrapala, Jinaspala, Makharjuna, Mitharjuna, Sri Kumarasena, Tharangasena and Madhusena, besides many others. We get the names of two more kings Sailendraraja and Sri Sudama Chandraraja.<sup>92</sup> The names ending in Sena appear to have some relationship among them. They culminate in the ascendancy of a *Maharajadhiraja* (Great King of Kings) Vaisravana Sena,<sup>93</sup> who also bears the title of Indra Bhattaraka and Sakra Bhattaraka and calls himself *Satru-damana*, i.e. "Destroyer of enemy". He traces his genealogy from his great grand-father Harishena, grandfather Khadga viryasena and father Yuva Srisena. The next person Sambhogasena appears

to be his son. His royal minister is named as Naradevasena and his commander-in-chief is called Vispamitra. His teacher is called Rudra Sri who was established in *Silvata Vishaya*, most probably identical with Chilas district. As the inscription is written in a florid style of early seventh century AD, it seems that he asserted his power during the dwindling period of the Hun rule. From the style of writing he appears to be a contemporary of Harshavardhana of Kanauj as both of them follow the same style of writing and signing the epigraph. Slightly later in date we get another powerful ruler, named Amarasimha, who bears, in his Gichi inscription, the grand titles of *Simha-vira* (The Strength of Lion), Mahagajapati (great Lord of elephants), Bhattaraka Maharaja (The valorous great King) and *Maharajadhiraja*. As opposed to him we get the simple ruler, Raja Simhadeva (pl. 12), who engraved several Buddhist stupas and figures at Chilas.

(iii) In Hunza we get another set of rulers or rather chiefs,<sup>94</sup> some of whom bear the title of *raja* but some do not have this title. The earliest of them is Mayura who had a son named Harikala. This Mayura was overthrown by Balamitra. A cognate name is that of Simhamitra whose father Simhadeva was later defeated. But the most important person is Kasyapadeva, who bears the royal title of *Maharajna* and calls himself *Viranka* ("bearing the symbol of a hero"). He is also called *Rana Simha* ("lion of war"). All these chiefs could be dated to fifth and sixth centuries A.D. when the Huns apparently overlorded here. All of them appear to have been wiped out by Deva Sri Chandra Vikramaditya (see below).

(iv) From Shigar valley in Baltistan one Brahmi inscription of 5th century A.D. (not yet published) has been recovered. It speaks of a *Sundi narapati*, i.e. a king of Sundi alongwith one *Vishayapati* i.e. a district officer. From Gol, 20 miles north of Skardu on way to Khaplu, several Buddhist records in the Brahmi character of 5th Century AD (not yet published) alongwith Stupa drawings are known. Similar writings are also known from Yugo, lying further ahead. But no royal inscriptions are so far known.

(v) Finally we get a Chinese inscription (pl. 13) from Hunza. This inscription as read and translated by the late professor Ma Yong<sup>95</sup> reads: envoy "Gu Wei-Long, of Great Wei is dispatched to Mi-mi now." According to Professor Ma Yong, the geographic name Mi-mi was used only in the time (A.D. 386—556) of the North Wei dynasty. In the Chinese sources Mi-mi also sent envoy to the North Wei ruler. In response the Chinese envoy was sent probably between A.D. 444 and 453, almost 70 years before the time of Sung-Yun. Mi-mi is the same country which is called Maymurgh in classical Arabic traditions. It lay to the south-east of Samarkand. The name May-murgh also appears in the Sogdian inscriptions. It

covered the upper Zaratshan valley and its capital was probably Panji kent. Thus the Chinese envoy Gu Wei-Long left the Capital Dai (modern Da-tong) of North Wei for Panji kent or Mi-mi and passed through Hunza and left behind this inscription on the Rock. The envoy must have crossed into Pakistan area through Shimshal and followed the so-called "Jibin route", which in the Han period was a branch of the south route of the "Silk Road". It actually started from Pi-Shan country", which was 1340 li from the state of Wu-Cha. According to Professor Ma Yong "The word Hunza is very probably developed from the word Wu-cha".

### The Period of the Shahi and Dards

The end of the Hun empire and the beginning of the rule of the Karkotas in Kashmir are difficult to be fixed at a definite date.<sup>96</sup> The last ruler of the Huns was Yudhishtira who had succeeded Narendraditya Khinkhila, mentioned in a Kabul inscription. Yudhishtira ruled for either 24 years or 40 years: Hence the end of his rule is placed either in A.D. 670 or 657.<sup>97</sup> He was then replaced by Durlabha — Vardhana, the founder of the Karkota dynasty in Kashmir. What was the position of Northern Areas, is difficult to say. We have seen several local rajas in the different valleys and we will give below the actual situation in Gilgit proper. In the meanwhile four important developments in the neighbouring areas affected the history of this region. The first is the movement of the Turks called Turushkas (or Mlecchas in Sanskrit sources) from the north; the second is the rise of the T'ang power in China; the third is the penetration of the Arabs into Central Asia and the Pamir region; and the fourth is the advance of the Tibetans into north and west right through Ladakh, Baltistan, Gilgit, Yasin into Wakhan.<sup>98</sup> The Chinese were first interested in stopping the *Turkic* penetration into their country and later to stop the advance of the Arabs and the Tibetans. Hence They found natural allies in the rulers of Gilgit and those of Kashmir. It is in this connection that the diplomats were exchanged and military strategy was planned to keep the upper Indus Valley route free from trouble because that route was used by the Chinese to go to the Oxus valley. In this international game for mastery over trade route that the Chinese had to send their expeditionary force and seek material help and cooperation from the Kashmir ruler. The victory over the Tibetans is thus shared both by the Chinese and the Kashmir forces but the royal position in Gilgit does not appear to have been altered. The royal authority remained in the hands of a dynasty who call themselves *Patolashahis*.

The Chinese Annals of the T'ang period refer to a "King of

India" by name Tu-lo-pa, "who at a certain not defined date between the years AD 627—649 controlled the route from China to Ki-pin, i.e. the Kabul Valley." Sir Aurel Stein<sup>99</sup> identifies this ruler with Durlabha-Vardhana, the founder of the Karkota dynasty. This identification is not necessary as the date of this Kashmir King is not certain and also because he is less likely to have controlled the upper Indus valley route. On the other hand there seems to be some confusion in the treatment of the history of this region. Scholars have usually built up the history round the term *Darad* (or *Dard*), which we get in *Raja tarangini* and implied that they controlled the entire region from the frontier of Kashmir to Gilgit and Yasin.<sup>100</sup> But the text of *Rajatarangini* is quite clear on this issue. While the text<sup>101</sup> talks of *Daradas* and their city called *Darat puri*, it separately talks of the *mlecchas* and *Turushkas*.<sup>102</sup> Sir Aurel Stein identified *Daratpuri* with *Gurez*<sup>103</sup> and located the *Darada* kingdom in the Kishanganga valley. While talking about these *Daradas*, Prof. Tucci remarks: "Later, the *Daradas* are called by Kalhana *Mlecchas*, which means that in the meantime they or their rulers had been for the most part converted to Islam."<sup>104</sup> Such a remark is hardly justified. The *Mlecchas* and *Turushkas* were allies of the *Daradas* and both of them are mentioned separately in *Rajatarangini*. Hence in the following pages the rulers of the two regions are kept separate.

In the meanwhile it is important to collate the material from four different sources -- the inscriptions from Gilgit, the Chinese annals, the Arabic accounts and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*.

The inscriptional evidence has been collected by O.V. Hinuber.<sup>105</sup> Most of these records call this line of rulers *Patola-Shahi*. Only in one inscription at Hodur its variant spelling is given as *Palola-Shahi*. Hinuber has rightly argued that *Patola* and *Palola* are one and the same word but only pronounced differently. On the other hand Morgenstierne<sup>106</sup> points out that *Palola* is the name of a Dardic tribe. Fussman<sup>107</sup> records four Brahmi inscriptions of 5th-6th century A.D. from Alam Bridge (Gilgit) giving the word *Palola*. The first inscription speaks of *Sri Palalojo Hastibhro*, i.e. "Hastibhra, the descendant of Sri Palalo." The last three inscriptions speak of the coming of the Buddhist monk, variantly spelt as *Palolajai*, *Palolajo* or *Palala*. These inscriptions clearly speak of the presence of the *Palola* or *Patola* (tribe) in Gilgit region at least from fifth century A.D. onward. It is therefore quite understandable that a person belonging to this tribe became a *raja* in the time of the Huns. Earlier we have shown<sup>108</sup> that the geographic term *Bolor* is probably connected with *Palola* or *Patola*. It is quite likely that the advance<sup>109</sup> of this tribe into Baltistan alongwith the spread of Buddhism, Brahmi writing of the Post-Gupta period and Sanskrit

language, led to the application of the name Bolor to that part as well.

From a loose leaf of a Buddhist manuscript we get the name (i) Patoladeva Shahi Vajradityanandi. One of the royal Gilgit manuscript gives the name of the donor as Sri Deva Shahi Surendra Vikramaditya<sup>110</sup> Nanda, whose queens were Samidevi Trailokyadevi Bhattarika and Vihali. Another manuscript of *Mahamayuri* gives the name of Patola Shahi Shahanushai Sri Nava Surendraditya Nandi Deva.<sup>111</sup> The name of the queen is Anangadevi. The fourth ruler, mentioned at the pedestal of a bronze statue, is Maharajadhiraja Paramisvara Patola Shahi Sri Arya Nandi Vikramaditya Nandi Deva. This is dated in the year 90 of an unspecified era. A fifth ruler is known from Hodur inscription, whose name is Sri Palola Shahi Surendraditya Nandi.

The most important inscription<sup>112</sup> of these rulers has been found at Hatun in Ishkoman valley, which is dated in the year 47. The inscription refers to the prosperous reign of Paramabhattachara Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara. Patola deva Shahi Sri Nava Surendraditya Nandi Deva, who is said to have been born in the lineage of the epic hero Bhagadatta. place of P'o-t'o-mo. The Tukharistan the city of Makarapura, obviously the same site where the inscription has been installed on the bank of the Ishkoman river, by Makara-Simha, who bears the titles of *Mahagajapati* (the great lord of elephants), *Mahamatya* (The Chief Minister), *Mahasamantadhipati* (the great lord of feudatories) and *Giligitta-Saramgha*. (Chief of the army at Gilgitta). The minister belonged to *Kanchudi* clan, probably implying *Kanjut*, the name later applied to Hunza region. He built the city and named it after his own name. The city was founded in the forest called Revan Somala after putting a dam in the stream called Chat-shkamka, obviously Ishkoman river, extending upto the village Hatuna, where the inscription was found, within the district (*Vishaya*) of Hanesara, identical with *Hansora*, old name of Ishkoman valley. From economic point of view the inscription speaks about an urban centre developed after a dam was built on the river — a usual method of channelising river water in this region. From administrative point of view the inscription speaks of a revenue division *Vishaya*, a term we got earlier in Chilas and also in Shigar valley (Baltistan). At the same time the Chief Minister Makara Simha holds a number of other posts in his own hands. Apparently the name Nava Surendraditya Nandi Deva, mentioned in the manuscript and in the present inscription, is one and the same ruler.

Another inscription at Danyor (not yet published) which is

dated in the year 6, gives the name of *Paramesvara Sri Jayamangala Vikramaditya Nandi deva, Mahabhattacharaka* and talks about the *rajaputra* (Prince) or (great) grand son who probably bears the name of Chandra and also of *Sandhivigrahika* (minister of war and peace), who was actually the engraver of the inscription. The purpose of the inscription appears to be some conquest in the upper Indus valley. In this inscription the family name Patola Shahi is not used. The name of the last ruler is obtained from the Sacred Rock of Hunza,<sup>113</sup> where he is called Deva Sri Chandra Vikramaditya. He appears to have defeated Simhavarma in the year 143 of an unspecified era. Here again the family title *Patola Shahi* is not used.

Thus we get the names of seven (Patola Shahi) rulers from the manuscripts and inscriptions. As all of them bear the grand titles of Maharajadhiraja and Paramesvara, it appears that they became practically independent from the Hun emperors during their last days and hence their dates must fall in the seventh century A.D. There are four dates that we get in these inscriptions 6, 47, 90 and 143 but the era is not known. They can not be regnal years nor can they be referred to Laukika era. It is possible that they are using the Harsha era, which began in A.D. 606. If this is correct, the last known date is A.D. 749-750.

Sir Aurel Stein<sup>114</sup> summarises the Chinese evidence which is of great importance for the history of Gilgit region. For the Chinese it was of great value to keep open the main line of communication between the Upper Indus and the Oxus and keep away the Tibetan invaders from encroachment. To this end in view persistent efforts were made during the reign of Emperor Hsuan-tsung (A.D. 713-755). The ruler of Polu is named Mo-chin-mang, who is said to have gone to pay homage to the Chinese emperor in the early years of his reign. The Chinese emperor constituted his own country into a military territory, called *Sui-Yuan*. The Tibetans were mainly interested in getting a route through this territory to invade Chinese Turkestan, where the Chinese had established four garrisons at Khotan, Kucha, Kashgar and Kara Shahr. In AD 722, the Tibetans seized nine town-ships from Mo-Chin-mang. However, with Chinese military help he was able to recover them. Fifteen years later, i.e. in AD 737 the Tibetans made a fresh attack on Po-lu. Now the Chinese action took the form of a diversion from the centre of the empire, which resulted in the great defeat of the Tibetans west of

the Kuku-Nor and relieved Po-lu. Further history is thus narrated by Sir Aurel Stein:

After Mo-Chin-mang's death "Little P'o-lu' was ruled in succession by his sons Nan-ni and Ma-ho-lai (Ma-lai-hi). The imperial edict concerning the latter's investiture, in 741 AD., is still extant among the records extracted by M. Chavennes. He too seems to have died early, and his successor Su-shih-li-chih was won over by the Tibetans, who induced him to marry a Tibetan princess and thus secured a footing in his territory. In consequence more than twenty kingdoms (i.e. little hill states) to the north-west of Little P'o-lu are said by the Annalist to have become subject to the Tibetans. Their customary tribute no longer reached the Imperial Court.

Sir Aurel Stein then describes the four expeditions made by the Chinese commanders. It is the fourth expedition under the Command of Kao-Hsien-Chih that, in the year AD. 747 the Tibetans were finally defeated. He remarks:

According to the Annals the victorious general repaired to the Imperial court, taking with him in triumph the captured King Su-shih-li-chih and his consort. The Emperor pardoned the captive chief and enrolled him in the Imperial guards, i.e. kept him in honourable exile, safely away from his territory. This was turned into a Chinese military district under the designation of *Kuein-jen*, and a garrison of a thousand men established there. The deep impression which Kao Hsien-Chih's remarkable expedition must have produced in all neighbouring regions is duly reflected in the closing remarks of the *T'ang-shu*: 'Then the Fu-lin (Syria), the Ta-shih (i.e. the Taji or Arabs), and seventy-two kingdoms of diverse barbarian peoples were all seized with fear and made thier submission'.<sup>115</sup>

The Tibetans had advanced through Ladakh into Baltistan where a number of their inscriptions<sup>116</sup> and Buddhist carvings are found a Manthal near Skardu (pl. 14) and other places. These inscriptions do not name the king but they introduced here Tibetan form of writing and also Buddhist doctrines. Baltistan was finally occupied by them. Their influence is also felt in the rock sculpture of Buddha (pl. 15) in Gilgit. The Tibetans were lured for the second advance because the ruler of Chieh-shuai, identified with Chitral, by name P'o t'o-mo, had joined hands with them and coveted Gilgit. The Tibetans pushed into Yasin and passed beyond Darakot pass and Borogil Pass into Wakhan, where the *Yabgu* (i.e. Turkish) rulers of Tukharistan, probably Badakhshan, were threatened. The Turkish rulers were hemmed in between the Tibetan advance and Arab penetration into Central Asia. This advance probably linked Tibetans with the Arabs whose evidence of victory can be read in Arabic sources. The rulers of Tokharistan appealed, in A.D. 749, to the Chinese Imperial Court. The result was the expedition of Kao Hsien-chih, Chinese general of Korean origin, through Borogil pass and right through Yasin to Gilgit and defeat of

the Tibetans in A.D. 750. In Chieh-shih (Chitral) Su-chia was installed in place of P'o-t'o-mo. The Chinese General returned by way of Hunza to the Imperial Court. But in A.D. 751 Kao Hsien-chih was completely defeated by the Arabs at the battle of Talash. Consequently there was a rapid decline of the Chinese Imperial power in the "Western countries", leaving that area open for future aspirants.

It is in connection with this march of the Chinese general Kao Hsien-chih and to supply him with necessary material from Kashmir that we read of the help received from that quarter. The Kashmir ruler<sup>117</sup> is called Mu-to-pi, who is to be identified with Lalitaditya Muktapida. He sent an embassy to the Chinese court during the reign of the Emperor Hsuan-tsung. The common ground for both was the danger from the advance of the Tibetans and the Arabs. As we have seen, in all this venture, it was the Chinese forces who were playing the leading role. But later after AD. 751 Lalitaditya Muktapida appears to have undertaken a campaign for *digvijaya* (world-wide conquest), in which he claims to have defeated the Kambojas, the Tukharas the Bhauttas and "The wine drinking *Daradas*" in the northern region. Relying on the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim Ou-K'ong (AD. 759-763) Sir Aurel Stein takes Tokharistan to be Badakhshan and speaks of the Turkish tribes leading from their towards the Kabul valley and the Upper Indus. It is probably from Tukharistan that Lalitaditya's minister Cankuna came, the last name is taken for a Chinese title, *tsiang-Kiun*, meaning "general". This victory over the Turkish forces left a long tradition in Kashmir, where according to Alberuni, an annual festival was held to commemorate this event. While the history of these Turks and their movement into the Indus Valley are given below it will be worthwhile identifying the Chinese names of the Gilgit rulers with those obtained from the inscriptions.

O.H. Hinuber restores the Chinese name Su-fu-she-li-Chi-ni (perhaps the same as Su-shih-li-chih) as Surendraditya. But according to the evidence of the Chinese sources he was the last ruler of Gilgit of the Patola Shahis. On the evidence of Hunza Rock the last ruler was Sri Deva Chandra Vikramaditya, whose last date is AD-749-50. This date exactly fits in with what we know about the activities of the Chinese general Kao-Hsien-chih in Gilgit and Hunza. It is therefore almost certain that Deva Sri Chandra was the last ruler of the Patola Shahi dynasty in Gilgit and Hunza. According to the same Chinese sources, in A.D. 722 Mo-chin-mang, who



was the ruler of Gilgit, was defeated by the Tibetans and hence he appealed for help to the Chinese emperor. It is difficult to identify this ruler with any of those known from Sanskrit sources. However, one of his son and successor is called Nan-ni, who must be one of the *Nandi*, so common a name in the inscriptions. But his younger brother Ma-hao-lai is again difficult to identify. If we now collate the two evidences we get the following rulers:

- (i) Jayamangala-vikramaditya Nandi. year 6 + 606 = AD. 612
- (ii) Vajraditya Nandi
- (iii) Vikramaditya Nandi.
- (iv) Surendra Vikramaditya Nandi
- (v) Nava Surendraditya Nandi. . . . . Year 47 + 606  
= A. D. 653
- (vi) Nandi Vikramaditya Nandi . . . . . Year 90 + 606  
= A.D. 696
- (vii) Mo-Chin-Mang. . . . . A.D. 722
- (viii) Nan-Ni (son of no. vii).
- (ix) Su-shih-li-Chih defeated AD. 750  
Deva Sri Chandra Vikramaditya . . . . . year 143 + 606  
= A.D. 749

This is the first line of the Shahi rulers in Gilgit, during whose time Buddhism flourished here and a number of Buddhist works were composed. Earlier we have seen how two of them *Palolaja* were Buddhist monks.

From Chilas<sup>18</sup> we have recovered another line of Shahi rulers who do not seem to have any connection with those mentioned above. The rock inscription, which is engraved below a stupa but later in date than the stupa, can be dated to 9th-10th century A.D. on palaeographical ground. The inscription speaks of Shahi Sri Vajrasura and of two *rajaputras* (royal princes) by name Simghasura and Vyaghrasura. We also get the name of Gikisila, who is said to be Minister-in-Chief in the cabinet of ministers and lord of elephants. Such a well connected description suggests that this line of Shahis ruled in Chilas for sometime. Although the king's name and those of princes are Sanskritic, the name of the minister is non-Sanskritic, suggesting the arrival of a new ethnic stock.

In the post-Patola Shahi period we get another line of rulers<sup>19</sup> engraved on the Sacred Rock of Hunza in a style of Brahmi writing which shows an evolved Brahmi. The engravings show three human heads, most probably of kings belonging to an entirely different ethnic stock. The heads show some similarity with the heads seen in the Uigur paintings from Xinjiang. One of the heads. (pl. 16), which has a long pig-tail, bears the name Vigui Savra Sri

Rudradasa and has the titles of Sri *Saharanka* ("Symbolised with *Shah*) and *Yuddha-simha* ("lion of War"). The second head has the name *Kumara* (Prince) Rudra Sri Chdrapresupya. The third name has been doubtfully read as Chdra Yasa Sri Priya and the fourth name as Lambari Danda-rakshita Khadri. They appear to have overpowered the local rulers, named Ninya Vishnu Varma and Bhadra Vishnu. The new conquerors call themselves *Mahesvara Prarisya*, i.e. "Beloved of Mahesvara (god Siva)".

The last inscription<sup>120</sup> from Hunza again introduces a new king, by name Raja Ramudasa, who bears the title of *Trakha-guna-Simha*, i.e. "Lion of the Turk qualities" and boasts of his *Sabhya-deva-vamsa*, i.e. "family of noble gods" and finally speaks of his victory from one mountain peak to another. In consequence he appears to claim the two symbols of sovereignty, that is the royal umbrella and the fly-whisk. The inscription, which can be dated to 9th-10th century A.D. on palaeographic ground, definitely speaks of the conquest of the region by Turkish tribes. Probably a reference to this tribe of Turks is made in *Hudud al-Alam*,<sup>121</sup> where the Bolor Shah is said to have descended from *Aftab*, i.e. "The Sun".

This incursion of Turkish rulers after the fall of the Patola Shahis towards the second half of the eighth century A.D. is a new phenomenon in the history of this region. It is significant that in their inscriptions they do not all bear the title of Shahi. At the same time they do not appear to have been followers of Buddhism. How far they were connected with the Turki Shahis of Gandhara is difficult to say. But the Turkish occupation of the two regions at about the same time must be connected with a new historical phenomenon in Central Asia, when these pre-Muslim Turks were driven south of the Hindukush to seek a new assylum and build for themselves new kingdoms.

Now we come to another region which is called *Daradadesa* (Dard territory) in Sanskrit literature. About its location Sir Aurel Stein writes:

Immediately above Sardi the valley of the Kisanganga turns, as we have seen, into a narrow inhabited gorge. At the other end of this gorge we reach the territory of the Dards. Their settlements on the Upper Kisanganga and its tributaries seem to have formed a separate little kingdom, called by a general name of *Daraddesa* in the Chronicle. Its rulers who bore Hindu names, more than once, attempted invasions of Kashmir.

"Daratpuri, 'the town of the Dards, which was their residence, may i.e. occupied the position of the modern Gurez (map, Goorais). The latter is the chief place of the Valley where the Nawabs, governing it till the

Sikh conquest, resided. The 'Mleccha' chiefs who on two occasions figure as the Dard Rajas' allies from the north, were perhaps rulers of other Dard tribes further towards the Indus who had been early converted to Islam. <sup>122</sup>

Here Sir Aurel Stein has rightly distinguished two distinct geographic regions. The history of the northern region has been given above. Now we give below the history of the Upper Kishanganga valley, whose people have been described as Dards in the *Rajatarangini*. The first reference to them has been cited above, when Lalitaditya Muktapida claims:

“His dignity did not tolerate the continual wine (drinking) of the *Darads* (as little) as the rising morning sun (tolerates the light of the herbs in the (mountain) gorges”. <sup>123</sup>

Lalitaditya also claims that Sahi or Shahi and other princes were officers in high posts. <sup>124</sup> In the time of the Utpala ruler Sankara-Varman (AD. 883-902), the Hindu Shahi ruler Lalliya Shahi is said to be “placed between the rulers of the *Darads* and *Turushkas*”. <sup>125</sup> Later Sankaravarman died when he was on an expedition to the northern region (*Uttarapatha*). <sup>126</sup> Next we hear during the reign of the Lohara ruler Ananta (AD. 1028-63), when the Dard ruler, Acalamangala in alliance with certain Mleccha chiefs invaded Kashmir. The poet calls the Mleccha chiefs as Sakas. Sir Aurel Stein takes them to be Muslims. Most probably they were Turkish rulers of Gilgit. Dard ruler is said to have lost his head. <sup>127</sup> Next we hear of them <sup>128</sup> during the reign of Harsha (AD. 1089-1101) when the king made an attempt to capture the fort of Dugdhaghata which guarded the pass leading into the Dard territory of the Kishanganga valley. Kalhana writes:

There he was hospitably received by the illustrious Vidyadhara Sahi, the *Darad* (ruler), and was joined, as time went on, by some of his own followers”. Harsha spent the winter in Daratapura, Later Harsha attacked again. The Kashmirians fought with the *Darad* soldiers, who threw down big boulders and other (missiles) and who were difficult to defeat on account of the shelter which the fort gave them”. <sup>129</sup> The king had to retreat from Dugdhaghata. In the time of Uccala we read of “Jagaddala, King of *Darads*”. <sup>130</sup> Later King Sussala (AD. 1112-20), received “Manidhara, the ruler of *Darads*”. <sup>131</sup> In the time of Jayasimha (AD. 1128-1149), the King of *Darads*, <sup>132</sup> by name Yasodhara died. He was greatly attached to the Kashmirian king. After the death of Yasodhara his ministers tried to snatch power in their own hands. One of them, by name Viddasiha, “gained the love-favours of his widow, and, as his son was not yet of mature age, possessed himself cunningly of the regal power”. He was opposed by another minister by name Paryuka who espoused the cause of a second son of Yasodhara. Paryuka had the backing of the Kashmirian king. But the latter set aside his prime minister Sanjapala and followed the advice of Sajja's son, Sringara who proved to be un-

successful in pushing Kashmir's interest in the *Darad* country. The two ministers, Viddasiha and Paryuka, composed their differences and managed to save the kingdom and even Dugdaghata. Viddasiha then interfered in the internal affairs of Kashmir and encouraged Lathana to aspire for Kashmir throne. This led to a great rebellion. The ambitious *Darads* were waiting for the snow to melt on the mountains over which lay their way with their mounted troops in readiness. In this rebellion Bhoja, the son of Salhana, also joined hands. He decided to fight with the help of the *Darads* and took the route by the bank of Madhumati. But when Bhoja was in trouble, we read:

"Viddasiha, when he had got news of Bhoja, despatched messengers to the northern regions to call up many chiefs. The Chiefs of the *Mlecchas* issued forth from the valley adjoining Mount *Himalaya* — from those which had witnessed the hidden indiscretions of the wife of Kubera, and those where the cave-dwellings resound with the songs of the city of *Kinnaras*; from those too which knew of coolness on one side of the hot sand-ocean, and those which delight with their mountain-breezes the *Uttarakurus*. Filling all regions with their horses they joined the camp of the *Darad*-lord."<sup>133</sup> Again we are told: "The proud *Darads* army then descended from the mountain gorges to battle with their horses, which carried golden trappings. The people feared that the territory invaded by the *Turushkas* had fallen together into their power, and thought that the whole country was over-run by the *Mlecchas*".<sup>134</sup>

But we are informed by Kalhana, "He stopped that hostile army glittering with its golden trappings, just as a mountain with its torrent stops the forest fire with its shining lines of flames .

Kashmir was saved and Jayasimha continued to rule even in A.D. 1149-50. But Viddasiha met his death.

This long quotation from Kalhana brings the history of the *Darads* to the middle of the 12th century A.D. It shows clearly that the *Darad* Kingdom was then limited to the upper Kishanganga valley and the *Mlecchas* and *Turushkas* had taken possession of the land that lay beyond in the north, with which the Kashmirian king had no connection at all. Hence they are referred to under the general title of *Uttarakurus*, certainly a mythical term in this period of history. They were certainly *Turushkas*, i.e. Turks but why the term *Mleccha* is used for them is difficult to say. European scholars believe that the term may imply their Islamic faith but this is not necessary. Here *Mleccha* probably means followers of un-Indian religion. What was that religion and how the Turks happened to come here are questions that relate to the mediaeval history of Northern Areas (See Chapter VI).

## NOTES

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## VI

## MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

## Introduction

Gilgit remained the home of the Palola, *Patola* or Balol in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Their kings were known as *Patola-Shahis*. They patronised Buddhism, encouraged various branches of Buddhist art and maintained friendly diplomatic relations with the T'ang emperors of China and also with the rulers of Kashmir — first the Huns and later the Karkotas. Their country, probably after their own name, became known as Pa-lo-lai in Chinese accounts and Bolor in Muslim sources. When the Chinese talk of 'Great Bolor' and 'Little Bolor', they mean the areas of Baltistan and Gilgit respectively. Apparently the use of this common geographic term for both the areas by the Chinese suggests that they had to do with the same people in the two areas. But apart from the expansion of the so-called Dard population into Baltistan, we have so far no evidence to prove that the Patola-Shahis ever ruled there.

In about eighth century A.D. international politics around Gilgit took a new turn. With this change began the mediaeval history of Gilgit. The Arab advance into Central Asia and their conquest of Samarkand, Tashkent, Ferghana and right upto Kashgar created a great stir among the then non-Muslim Turkish population of the region. The Tibetans also made a bid to expand into this turbulent region through Baltistan and Gilgit. Lalitaditya Muktapida, the famous Karkota ruler of Kashmir, was not slow to take advantage of the situation. But he was cautious as he was friendly with the Chinese. The position of the Patola Shahis became perilous. When the Turks sought help from the T'ang emperors for protection, the Chinese moved quickly across the Little Pamir to save the Turks as well as the Patola Shahis. It is at this time that fugitive Turkish princes from Samarkand area are depicted on Chilas rocks.<sup>1</sup> At the same time T'ang horses<sup>2</sup> and Chinese inscriptions are

engraved in Chilas. The Tibetans were defeated in about A.D. 750 and the Chinese re-established the Patola Shahis in Gilgit. But in A.D. 751 the Arabs scored a signal victory at the battle of Talash over the Chinese general. It is difficult to trace full consequences of this victory.

The Chinese position in the western region certainly became weak. The Arab advance, however, could not be consolidated because of the change of power structure in the Islamic Khilafat. The Tibetans certainly managed to hold sway in Baltistan where a number of Tibetan inscriptions, alongwith Lamaic Buddhist figures, were engraved for a long time, e.g. at Manthal near Skardu.<sup>3</sup> Sri Deva Chandra Vikramaditya, apparently a Patola Shahi ruler, was the last in this line to engrave his inscription at the Sacred Rock of Hunza.<sup>4</sup> He was quickly followed by the inscriptions<sup>5</sup> of Trakha (Turkish) rulers on the same rock. Three heads<sup>6</sup> of Turkish rulers are also engraved on this rock. No inscription of any of the Kashmir ruler is found here although claim is made by Lalitaditya Muktapida about his victorious campaign in the northern Himalayan region. From these available sources it is evident that the non-Muslim Turks, who were dispossessed in the trans-Pamir region made a bid for power in the Gilgit region, did away with the rule of the Patola Shahis and started a new historical career which kept them strong throughout the mediaeval period. The mediaeval history of Gilgit concerns with these Turkish kings, how they expanded into different parts and how they became integrated into the local population of the region.

Unfortunately the mediaeval history is not well documented. Original sources are limited. It is only in the folklores that old memories are preserved. These lores have been partially collected, shifted and a reconstruction of the history made in modern time. The recollections of the earlier centuries are vague while narration of near contemporary events, although replete with details, suffers from exaggeration. Nowhere do we learn about the exact manner how the power was transferred from the earlier rulers into the hands of the mediaeval kings. We also do not know about the exact religion that was followed by the new conquerors. As the historical reconstructions, now available, began much later when these rulers had long accepted Islám, the treatment makes them Muslim right from the beginning. The folk memory recalls only two religions. Buddhism which was followed by earlier rulers, and Islam, to which the new kings adhered. Such a simplistic vision does not appear to be

true. As will be seen below, the origin of the mediaeval Gilgit rulers is linked to the fictitious story of the Sassanian Prince Azur Jamshed<sup>7</sup> who fled his country on the advance of the Arabs. If this story has any truth, the mediaeval rulers of Gilgit should be Zoroastrians at least in the beginning. Another evidence comes from the survival of many *Gumbad-i-Raisan*,<sup>8</sup> which is a collective burial of the bones after exposure. This old practice was followed by the rulers right upto nineteenth century even when they had accepted Islam. The exposure of the dead and later collection of the bones again point to Zoroastrian ritual. Still more important is the historical evidence about the advent<sup>9</sup> of Islam in this region, for which we have got no earlier record. The earliest that we can cite is the evidence from two Arabic inscriptions<sup>10</sup> which vaguely speak about the spread of Islam in the time of the 'Abbasid Khalifah, al-Mamun (AD 813-833), in Wakhan, Bolor and right upto Tibet. This reference has no historicity as we learn from the author of *Hudud-al-'Alam*<sup>11</sup> that the local rulers were the followers of sun (god). Al-Biruni<sup>12</sup> also calls them '*Bhattavaryan*', i.e. "the heroic warriors", a title usually adopted by non-Muslim kings. In view of such overwhelming evidences, it is difficult to accept the view of late folklores, in which these rulers are thought to be Muslims from the beginning. It will be examined below how and when they accepted Islam.

The second issue of these mediaeval rulers is the question of their ethnic affiliation. In the earlier chapter we have shown that the tradition of their descent from Alexander the Great or from other Greeks is a false myth. On the other hand the local traditions do not remember at all about their Turkish origin. The rulers of Gilgit call themselves as belonging to *Trakhan*<sup>13</sup> dynasty but the word "Trakh" is not taken to be Turkish. It is derived from the personal name of a Gilgit ruler, called Torra Khan. Similarly the rulers of Khaplu in Baltistan have been known as *Yabgu*, which is a Turkish title of a ruler but even then there is no memory of their being Turkish in origin, although one tradition<sup>14</sup> records some people coming from Yarkand. The rulers of Skardu called themselves *Makpon*, (or Maqpon) probably a Tibetan title, meaning "head of a tribe"<sup>15</sup> but their ancestry is traced from a Kashmiri young man, named Ibrahim. Similarly the rulers of Chitral, belonging to the house of Sangin 'Ali, trace their descent from one of the sons of the Mughal emperor Babar but are better known as Kator Shahs after the name of Mohtarim Shah Kator, grandson of Sangin Ali.<sup>15a</sup> These varying stories and others of the kind are later attempts to

seek higher ancestry for the new rulers, who, although keeping them apart from the general mass of the local population, yet gave the impression that they belonged to them and hence they adopted local languages and participated in all social ceremonies and festivals. In fact one important custom among them was to send the royal princes for their upbringing to one or the other local tribe in charge of the tribal chief, who brought them up alongwith his own children. Thus the future princes had the experience of local customs and also developed trust in the persons among whom they played.

### Ruling Families and Tribal Oligarchies

On the basis of the available folk traditions the main ruling families may be placed in two geographic regions: the first are those who are located in the Gilgit sub-region including the rulers of Gilgit, Nagar, Hunza, Punial, Yasin, Ghizr and even Chitral. This sub-zone also includes the tribal people of Gor (Gauharabad), Chilas, Darel, Tangir, Harban and down to Kohistan (including Jalkot, Pattan and Kolai). The second group of rulers are those who are located in Baltistan including the rulers of Skardu, Khaplu, Shigar, Rondu, Astor, Karatshe, Tolti and down to Kargil and Dras, the last two areas being now under the control of Indian occupied Kashmir. The history of the two sub-zones are somewhat distinct although we do hear of marriage relations and even wars among them. The history of Baltistan has been linked on the one hand with that of Ladakh and Tibet and hence in the Mughal accounts it is referred to as "Tibbat-i-Khurd" and on the other with that of Kashmir from the time of the Mughal emperor Akbar onward. The history of Gilgit sub-zone is linked with that of Badakhshan and Kashgar. It had only occasional relation with Kashmir. The Mughal history books hardly refer to this sub-zone. Only rare references are found about some fugitive rulers from this part (particularly from Nagar), who sought shelter in the Mughal court. The tribal areas, mentioned above, are of entirely different nature from those seen in the Pashto-speaking land. These are almost all Shina speaking people with Kohistani languages still spoken in some areas. How they came to adopt this tribal character is difficult to say because in the early historical period they are known to be under monarchies, with the exception of only one *gaṇa* (tribal government) among the *Khasas*. We have noted several wooden platforms near the mosques in these areas, which are used for *jirga* meetings. But other

than this arrangement, the tribal pattern appears to be different from that of the Pashtuns. The history of these tribes is little known. However, some of the tribes played significant roles in the history of the neighbouring rulers. These areas, therefore, did not become *Yaghistan* (terra incognita) as it came to be known during the British period.

The history of the ruling families is given here as we find them under different groups.

- A. (i) Trakhans of Gilgit.
- (ii) Maglot family of Nagar.
- (iii) Ayash family of Hunza.
- B. (i) Kator family of Chitral.
- (ii) Khushwaqt family of Yasin and Mastuj.
- (iii) Burushai of Punial.
- C. (i) Makpons of Skardu.
- (ii) Rajas of Rondu, Astor, Kartakhsha (or Karatshe) and Tolti.
- (iii) Amachas of Shigar.
- (iv) Yabgus of Khaplu.

In this chapter the history is traced right upto about the mid-nineteenth century, when, with the fall of the Mughal empire, the history of the sub-continent took an entirely new turn. The British, as colonial power, established their sovereignty and worked for demarcating a new boundary of their empire in this region vis-a-vis Tsarist and Chinese territorial claims.

#### A. (i) Trakhans of Gilgit.

This is the main dynasty of rulers in the Gilgit sub-zone during the mediaeval period. As we will see below, it is this main branch, from which the rulers of Nagar and Hunza derive their origin. Similarly the rulers of Yasin, Punial and Chitral had close connections with them. Even the tribal areas of Gor, Chilas, Darel, Tangir and Harban right upto Bashgal (i.e. Nuristan) on the west have their history inter-linked with that of this dynasty. It is only the history of Baltistan which had its separate role to play although that also had links with Gilgit on several occasions.

Throughout the period Gilgit has remained the capital. Hashmatullah Khan<sup>16</sup> is wrong in saying that the old name of the city was "Sarjan or Sargan" and later it was called "Gilit". As we have seen (Chapter I), Gilgit is the old name. Gilit may be a popular pronunciation by the local people. *Sargan* is an official title, as we

know from Hatun Rock inscription<sup>17</sup> as well as from other records.

Hashmatullah Khan's narration<sup>18</sup> of the history of Gilgit is very brief and faulty as this part of his book was written in Lucknow on his old incomplete notes. He had no further occasion to check them. Hence the dates given by him are all imaginary. His conclusion about the spread of Islam in this region is also not borne out by any other evidence. His material can therefore be used with extreme caution. We have another *History of Gilgit*,<sup>19</sup> written in Urdu, by Shah Rais Khan, a descendant of the rulers of Gilgit, who has collected all the details about his family history and narrated them to glorify his ancestry to the utter disparagement of the neighbouring rulers. This is the main source, on which the following account is based. Unfortunately, the picture given in this book is one-sided. It reads like an old *Prasasti* (glorified tale) of the Trakhan family. Wherever possible, attempt has been made to verify events from other historical collections made by European writers of the present day.

### Dynasty of Shah Rais

Local traditions agree about the name of the last Buddhist ruler of Gilgit. They all call him Sri Badad or Sri Badat. Lorimer<sup>20</sup> gives two versions of his history. Hashmatullah Khan connects him with the erection of the Buddha statue in the mouth of Kargah *nullah* near Gilgit and also with some Buddha figures in Punial (Pl. 17) possibly Bubur statue, which is now in the house of Ali Ahmad Jan, A.I.G. Police, Gilgit) these connections have got no foundation, as these statues are of Tibetan type and were most probably carved at the time of Tibetan occupation, as we find similar statues at Manthal near Skardu.

Hashmatullah Khan<sup>21</sup> talks of a local ruler of Gilgit by name Agartham. He is said to have been killed by Abudgamo, a resident of Lamkoi in Baltistan. He had invaded Gilgit alongwith his son Sri Bagartham. The son succeeded to the throne of Gilgit after the death of the father Abudgamo. After several generations Sri Badat came to occupy the throne. He was Buddhist. His palace is said to be on the southern hill near Gilgit. This king was very cruel and hence people wanted to get rid of him. The name of this dynasty of rulers is given as *Shah Rais*.

On the other hand Lorimer gives Kiser (or Giser) as the first ruler. His son was Bagartham, and the latter's son was Agur Tham. The son of the last king was Sri Badat. He further adds: "Agur Tham put his daughter in an iron fort which he built on a boulder

situated in the middle of the Gilgit river. They call the boulder at the present day Agur Tham's Boulder".

Lorimer's account is derived from Gilgit tradition. The same is noted by Shah Rais Khan in his history. He further adds that Kiser was the son of a Raja of Ladakh. He is said to have conquered Gilgit and appointed his son Bagartham as ruler. His son was Agartham and grandson was Siri Badad.

This traditional history sounds more romantic than real. However, it is possible to make sense out of it in the light of other historical evidence. The Sanskrit epigraphic material, as given in the last chapter, speaks of the Patola Shahi rulers of Gilgit. Among them the first is Vajradityanandi. All the succeeding rulers bear the title of Vikramaditya. In the traditional name Bagartham one could recognise Bagra or Vajra. The word "Tham" is certainly "Thum", which, in the local language, means "a ruler". Thus the two names Bagartham and Vajraditya appear to be one and the same. The second ruler Agartham could be recognised in the generic title *Vikrama*, i.e. *Vakram* or *Vakr* 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,<sup>22</sup> was Chandra Sri Deva Vikramaditya. He should be identified with Sri Badad. The last known date of this ruler, according to inscriptions, is AD. 749.

### Transfer of Power

Hashmatullah Khan speaks of Azur, a *Rais* of Trakhan family, who is said to have invaded Hunza and Nagar from Skardu in the company of his three sons, two of whom are named as Khusro Khan and Shamsheer. From there they invaded Gilgit. Sri Badad is said to have been shot dead by the arrows of Shamsheer. He became the ruler of Gilgit and married with Nur Bakht, daughter of Sri Badad. Tradition makes them Muslim right from the beginning but Hashmatullah does not believe this to be true. However, he notes a tradition that during the reign of Shamsheer, whose dates he gives as A.D. 1120-1160, six Muslim saints came. Their names are Sayyid Shah, Burya Wali, Sayyid Sultan Ali, Sayyid Shah Wali, Sayyid Shah Afzal, Sayyid Shah Akhtar and Sayyid Mir Ibrahim.

In the two versions of Lorimer Siri Badat (or Sri Badad) is said to be a *dev* by nature. He had one daughter by name Nur Bakht. He got the bad habit of eating human flesh and hence the people became very vexed with him. On Daiyor (Danyor) Koh there were others of *Dev* stock. Among them were Azur Jamshed and his

two brothers. In Daiyor also lived the foster-father of Nur Bakht. He took Azur Jamshed when he was left alone by his brothers. When Azur Jamshed was introduced to the Wazir and then to Nur Bakht, she became enamoured of him. Secretly they were married. Siri Badat was killed and Azur Jamshed became king. The death of Siri Badat was caused by fire.

Shah Rais Khan agrees with Lorimer's Gilgit version and makes Azur Jamshed a Kiyani Prince of Iran descended from Nausherwan. When the Arabs defeated the Iranian king, the present prince fled away and came here for shelter. In Danyor he met Jataidoto, the chief minister of Sri Badad. He, in league with four other ministers, Ardmin of Shin tribe, Sharokun of Yashkun tribe, Bodas of Shin tribe and Khachat of the royal tribe, got Azur Jamshed secretly married with Nur Bakht Khatun. She gave birth to a son but the son was placed in a wooden box and floated in the Gilgit river so that the king could not know about the birth of a son. In due course Sri Badad was killed and Azur Jamshed ascended the throne.<sup>23</sup>

This traditional story of Azur Jamshed is not corroborated in any known historical record. But the transfer of power from the hands of the Buddhist rulers into the hands of the Turkish rulers is attested in the inscriptions. According to tradition the right to succession is by blood relation and not by conquest. This political theory of succession is maintained in this region throughout the mediaeval period.

### Trakhan Dynasty and Its Early Rulers (First Period upto AD. 977)

According to Hashmatullah Khan the first ruler of the new dynasty was called Shamsher but according to Shah Rais Khan he bore the name of Shah Azur Jamshed, who belonged to *Khandan-i-Kiyani*. Shah Rais Khan speaks of 16 years of his prosperous rule from AD. 643 to AD. 659. His territory extended from Chitral, including Bashgal, to Pamir on the north, and from Badakhshan to Bandipur, including the tribal areas of Chilas, Darel, Harban, Tangir, Bashkar, Ushu and Kalam. At the end of sixteen years he desired to go away after entrusting the government into the hands of Nur Bakht Khatun in the presence of the five ministers.

Nur Bakht Khatun ruled for nine years from AD. 659 to 668. Fortunately the son that she had earlier given birth to, was discovered in the house of a Kashmiri jeweller by name Gudus. He had named the son *Kark*. Nur Bakht Khatun abdicated in his favour



and Raja Kark or Garg sat on the throne in AD 668. In this way Gilgit found its new ruler. Azur Jamshed went away, never to return. But his son occupied the Gilgit throne which he inherited through his mother. He had imbibed the physical features of his grand-father Sri Badad. He ruled for fifty-five years and died in AD. 723. He was succeeded by his son Raja Sau Malik at the age of forty. This Raja is famous for his justice and good rule. He ruled for seventy years and died in AD. 793. According to Shah Rais Khan it was during his reign that Islam was brought here by Sayyid Shah Afzal from Badakhshan. The date of his coming is given as AD. 725. It was only royal family which accepted Islam but the people remained non-Muslim. The king had a number of queens but no son. Later with the blessings of the Sayyid a son was born to the queen Shah Begam. The son was named Shah Malik. He was also known as Glit Kalika (Probably Kalika or Malik of Glit, i.e. Gilgit). All his education was done by the Sayyid. Glit Kalika (or Malik) had a foster brother by name Bari Khan who was made the *amil* of Yasin but the real Wali of Yasin was Shah Farmaish, Glit Kalika's brother-in-law. Thus the new state of Yasin was founded and a fort was built there.

The historical account, given above, does not tally at all with that given by Hashmatullah Khan. Shah Rais Khan talks of a Tatar invasion of Gilgit between AD. 700 and 800. Bari Khan entrenched himself in Yasin within his newly-built fort of Barikhun and sought help from Gilgit. Shah Malik came with his forces and advanced right upto Darkot pass chasing the Tatars. In the meanwhile his horse died of wounds and the prince himself became unconscious. The Tatars caught him and took him to Tashkent, where he was kept for eight years. Then he fled away from Tashkent and returned to Yasin and Gilgit to the great joy of his father and the people.

This Tatar invasion is not referred to in any other history book. But it may have a faint recollection of the Chinese invasion of A.D. 750 or of the later Arab conquest which took place in the time of Khalifah al-Mamun. Most probably the reference is to the latter event. The conquest took place in 199 H./AD 814-15. Actually it was the conquest of the Kabul Shah, with whom it seems the rulers of this region were allied. The Arabic inscription,<sup>24</sup> quoted in Chapter I, speaks victory in Bukhan (Wakhan) and Bilor (Bolor) and over the rulers of Jabal Khaqan and Jabal Tibet. It seems that this conquest in the time of Khalifa al-Mamun took place when the Turks were already ruling in Gilgit. Although the dates do not

exactly agree, yet it is possible that the event mentioned in the reign of Raja Sau Malik probably recalls this Arab invasion.<sup>25</sup> This invasion also brought Islam for the first time here.

According to Snah Rais Khan Raja Sau Malik's reign was a golden age. His territory extended from Chitral on the west to Kanjut (Hunza) on the east and on the south to Tragbal and Bandipur and on the north beyond Borogil to Badakhshan. It was during his time that people accepted Islam throughout his kingdom. The kings so far were fire worshippers and the people were Buddhists. Now they all became Muslims. The people of Bashgal (Kafiristan) regarded Raja Sau Malik as a spiritual leader ("god").

At the age of 110 Raja Sau Malik abdicated in favour of his son and himself passed the time in religious devotion for the next twelve years. Raja Shah Malik alias Glit Kalika (or Malik) sat on the throne at the age of 35 and ruled from AD. 793 to 878. The Tatars did not have the courage to invade again. There was absolute peace in the kingdom. He had a number of children but all died. At the age of seventy he got a son who was named Deng Malik. He was given education in all arts and religious learning. He succeeded his father at the age of seventy and ruled from AD. 878 to AD. 932. Absolute peace prevailed during his reign. He had a number of daughters but only one son, named Khusro Khan. He succeeded his father at the age of 37 and ruled from AD. 932 to 997. He was fond of Polo and hunting. He was married to a princess from Badakhshan. He was blessed with a son who was named Haidar Khan. He died at the age of 102.

These rulers of the Trakhan dynasty have not been mentioned by Hashmatullah Khan and hence he has missed close historical links that existed between Gilgit and Badakhshan. This link became firmly established on friendly terms after the marriage of Haidar Khan. The presence of Badakhshani princess in the harem at Gilgit must have led to some social changes. Unfortunately we do not get much information about this change. Whatever influence came through this source will be noted in the next period. It must, however, be noted that the ruling family did not come from Baltistan, as is generally supposed, but most probably they came from the north. Secondly, the first advent of Islam into this region also came from Badakhshan, and not from Baltistan. These northern contacts are quite in keeping with whatever we know of the historical connections of the Gilgit rulers with Badakhshan. So far we have not heard of any historical event either with Baltistan or with the

southern areas. The reference to Tragbal and Bandipur may be conventional.

### Second Period of Trakhan Dynasty.

(A.D. 997-A.D. 1241)

Raja Haidar Khan acceded to the throne at the age of thirty in AD. 997. His physical fitness is highly praised. He is also known for administrative capability. Yet the memories of Sri Badad and Raja Kark or Garg always moved the mind of the people. They stood as exemplary figures in the history of Gilgit. Hence historians always compare the rulers of their time with them. This was also the case with Haidar Khan, who is sometimes called Ali Haidar Khan. During his time there was a fight with the Wali of Kanjut (Hunza) by name Raja Shah Hatam (or Shah Tham). He was a cousin of Haidar Khan. He had been earlier sent by Raja Khusro Khan to administer Nagar and Hunza. In the 19th regnal year of Haidar Khan he (Hatam Khan) tried to assert his independence but Haidar Khan sent his forces to subdue him. Raja Hatam Khan (or Shah Tham) fled to Baltistan by way of Hispar glacier. (See below under the history of Shigar, pp. 229—232). Haidar Khan had only one son, by name Nur Khan, born of the queen Shah Bano. Haidar Khan ruled for sixty years and died at the age of ninety in AD. 1057.

Raja Nur Khan succeeded him at the age of 35 in AD. 1057. He was an extremely devout man. Much of his time was spent in religious devotion. He entrusted the affairs of his government to his ministers. This royal indifference to administration led to quarrel among the ministers for power and also fomented trouble in the kingdom. But the Raja had neither the will nor the strength to set right the administration. Hence in his old age, when he was 102, he abdicated in favour of his son Shahzada Shah Mirza who was then thirty-one. The son ruled on behalf of his father for three years. The king died at the age of 105 in AD. 1127. Shah Mirza, also known as Mirza I, was formally enthroned in AD. 1127 and ruled until AD. 1205. He dismissed the old *amils* and ministers and appointed new officers in their place with the object of rehauling the entire administration. He died at the age of 109. He was succeeded by his son Tartorra Khan at the age of 31. He had two queens — one of his own royal family and another hailed from Darel. The first queen Shah Begam gave birth to Shahzada Torra Khan and the second gave birth to Shah Rais. Shah Begam died early. Shahzada

Torra Khan was brought up in the valley of Hodur in accordance with the local custom under the care of a local chief, whose wife gave her own milk to the prince. Shah Rais had seven maternal uncles in Darel. They, alongwith the mother, wished Shah Rais to be the next ruler but the king preferred Torra Khan and appointed him as his successor. This issue of succession led to trouble. The Dareli queen and her brothers plotted to do away with the king and the prince. They invited the king to come to Darel for playing polo. The king won the game and hence got all the seven brothers killed. The Dareli queen became very sad but she plotted again and poisoned the king. The king died at the age of 109. He was succeeded by the Dareli queen Rani Tartorra Khan in AD. 1236 and ruled for five years. She was the second queen who sat on the throne of Gilgit. Now she decided to finish off with Torra Khan but his step-father, who was the chief of Hodur, sent him away in Khanberi and hid him in an unknown place. The queen could not get him and was made to believe that Torra Khan was dead. She then made all arrangements to pass on the throne to her own son Shah Rais. In the meanwhile she died, or probably was poisoned to death. This sudden death led to a war of succession between the two brothers. But ultimately Torra Khan was accepted as king by the people. This event brings to light the power of the people.

Hashmatullah Khan gives a different version of the history of Tartorra Khan and also assigns to him different dates. However, he notes the succession rightly from Tartorra Khan to his Dareli queen and then to Torra Khan. He does not know of another queen of Tartorra Khan nor does he know of the war of succession.

This second period of the Trakhan dynasty was very long. It brings into forefront the power of the local people and their chiefs. The chiefs hailed from different valleys and they participated in the administration of their own areas. At the same time some of them also took charge of the princes and brought them in their own homes. Thus the future kings of Gilgit became accustomed to local conditions and also got full support from their foster father and brothers. This stake in the local politics introduced new aspect to the political developments in Gilgit. In this period Hunza and Nagar received special importance and for the first time we hear of the ruler of Hunza fleeing to Baltistan via Hispar, thus opening new prospect of contact with Baltistan.

### Third Period of Trakhan Dynasty (A.D. 1241 — A.D. 1449)

According to Shah Rais Khan the name Trakhan (or correctly Torra Khan) was applied to this dynasty after Torra Khan's name. Before him the dynasty was called "Kisra" or "Kiyani". During his reign his cousin Raja Shah Rais Khan left Gilgit along with his followers and took shelter with the king of Badakhshan, whose name is given as Taj Moghal. In the history of this ruler of Badakhshan both Hashmatullah Khan and Shah Rais Khan agree but unfortunately there is no confirmation from any other historical record.

Shah Rais places an extensive territory under the rule of Taj Moghal: On the north greater part of Turkestan, on the west the whole area including the city of Herat and on the south-east right upto the border of Chitral. Taj Moghal is said to be a follower of Ismaili sect and very ardent in its propagation. He received Raja Shah Rais Khan with great pomp and show and made him stay in an elegant place. Shah Rais is said to have accepted Ismaili faith along with his followers. He also became a son-in-law of Badakhshan ruler. After some years Raja Shah Rais persuaded Taj Moghal to invade Gilgit. Preparations were made for one full year. First Chitral was conquered and annexed. Then the areas of Yasin, Koh Ghizr and Punial were occupied and then the Moghal forces advanced towards Gilgit. Torra Khan had no alternative but accepted Ismaili faith himself and agreed to the terms of Taj Moghal. Shah Rais was made the ruler of Chitral and thus the Raisia dynasty of Chitral was founded. It was at this time that Ismaili faith was also propagated in Nagar and Hunza. It is also said that at this time Taj Moghal built "Moghlai tower" at Jutial and another on way to Hunza near Thol.

The identification of Taj Moghal is very difficult because in the history of Badakhshan there is no such king bearing the name of Taj Moghal. On the other hand it is well known that Mongols conquered Central Asia at the time of Chingiz Khan. The territorial extent of Taj Moghal is very vast, almost the same as was under the possession of Chaghatai, one of the four sons of Chingiz Khan. The only mistake made in the text is that Taj Moghal is said to be an ardent follower of Ismailism when actually the Mongols at this time were Buddhists. The very fact that a reference is made to the so-called "minars" at Jutial and Thol shows the ardent love of this

monarch to these monuments. They are actually Buddhist stupas,<sup>26</sup> and not just "minars". It is therefore very likely that the invading monarch was a Mongol leader and that this invasion was a part of the territorial expansion of the Mongols. Hence the king's name should actually be corrected by some such title as *Tajdar-i-Moghal*. However, it is known from the works of Nasir-i-Khusrau that Ismailism had already spread in Badakhshan. But there is no evidence to show that at this time Ismaili faith was introduced in this part.

What follows this event has been differently related by Hashmatullah and Shah Rais Khan. According to Hashmatullah Khan a second invasion of Taj Moghal took place in the reign of Raja Sau Malik, the son of Torra Khan. He also speaks of Sau Malik's capture and his imprisonment in Badakhshan. Actually Hashmatullah Khan does not distinguish between Raja Sau Malik I and II and hence mixes up the events of the two monarchs during the reign of the later monarch. On the other hand Shah Rais Khan gives a different picture. On the return of Taj Moghal the Gilgit ruler Torra Khan reverted back to his Shia faith. Shah Rais Khan, the ruler of Chitral, became very unhappy with this changed attitude of the Gilgit ruler and he reported this change to Taj Moghal, who once again invaded Gilgit all by himself. Raja Torra Khan made all the preparation for defence but while making these arrangements, he died at the young age of fifty-six. He was succeeded by his son Raja Sau Malik II at the age of twenty four. He ruled for seventy long years from AD. 1275 to 1345. After the death of his father he commanded the forces of Gilgit and advanced to meet the attack of Taj Moghal by deploying his troops from the fort of Gilgit towards Golapur and on both banks of the Gilgit river right upto Yasin and Darkot Pass. Shah Rais Khan accompanied the invader with his Chitrali forces but did not actively participate in the battle. For eight days fighting went on and finally Taj Moghal's forces were routed. The Gilgiti forces got the upper hand and they penetrated right into Ghizr area and even to the border of Chitral. He also punished the local people for siding with the invader. This high-handedness of the Gilgit ruler created enmity between the people of Ghizr and those of Gilgit.

These two invasions of Taj Moghal may be compared with the two invasions of Kashmir first by Dulcha or Zulchu, probably a Buddhist, in the time of Sahadeva about AD. 1319, and second by Urdil or Urwan or Achal in the time of Udayaditya (AD. 1323-38).<sup>27</sup> The second invasion is said to be by an army of "Turks"

in AD. 1326.<sup>28</sup> According to *Tarikh-i-Hasan*<sup>29</sup> the first invasion took place in the time of the local ruler Sahadeva when the people of Kashmir took shelter even in Gilgit. This was actually a Mongol invasion undertaken from the side of Kabul. Shah Rais Khan says that Raja Sau Malik II was a contemporary of Sultan Jamshid of Kashmir and he helped him against the ruler of Afghanistan. Actually Raja Sau Malik II had a long rule and hence he was a contemporary of a number of Kashmiri rulers, including Sahadeva, his queen Kota Rani, Udayaditya, Shah Mir and Sultan Jamshid. If he helped at all it must be against the invasion of Zulchu when Kashmiri refugees are said to have gone to Gilgit. The invasions in these areas by the Mongols are a series of raids made by them for plunder and devastation.

The second invasion of AD. 1326 should be taken as a landmark in the history of Kashmir as it led to the rise of Shah Mir and the foundation of the independent Muslim Sultanat in Kashmir. In Gilgit the Trakhan rulers began to look southward for help and support. Fortunately both the regions saved themselves from Mongol raids. From this time began intimate relation between the rulers of Gilgit and those of Kashmir.

Raja Sau Malik II was succeeded by his son Raja Chilis Khan at the age of forty five in AD. 1345 and ruled until AD. 1359. His contemporary in Kashmir was the powerful ruler Sultan Shihabuddin (AD. 1354-73) who made extensive conquests right upto Badakhshan in the north. It seems that Gilgit also bowed down to him. But the conquest does not appear to be permanent. Gilgit sources say that Raja Chilis Khan continued good relation with the then ruler of Kashmir. Shah Rais wrongly gives the name Shah Mir. They corresponded with each other. In his time there was active commerce with the neighbouring countries of Turkestan, Badakhshan, Kashmir and right upto Afghanistan. He married with Malika Hashim Begam, daughter of Shah Rais Khan, the ruler of Chitral. Shah Rais Khan was succeeded by his son Shah Jan. According to one version the eldest daughter of Chilis Khan married with Shahzada Shah Khan, the son of Shah Jan, the ruler of Chitral. Raja Chilis Khan was succeeded by his son Raja Firdaus at the age of forty. He ruled from AD. 1359 to 1397. He was remembered as Second Nur Khan because of his religious devotion. During his reign large number of craftsmen and artisans were imported from Kashmir. With their help he laid the foundation of a big fort in Gilgit, which was known, after his own name, *Qila-i-Firdausia*. (pl. 18) Within this fort there was a small castle and a beautiful

garden. Within the castle were a residential palace, a mosque and a madrassah. The palace was known as *Painted Castle*. There was also a seven-storeyed tower in it, where the family treasure was deposited under the guard of men from Goharabad. A forty-columned hall of audience was also built, which had a throne, called *Nilo Takht*.

Chitral being separated as a separate state, Gilgit remained subdivided into seven administrative circles. Each of them was called *Maksu*. Hence the entire administrative territory was known as *Seven-Maksu-State*. The first *Maksu* included the area of Chesar, i.e. Shin Bala and Shin Payin from Minapen and Hindi (Hini) village to Nomal; the second was called Jigu *Maksu*, which extended from Village Shakyot to Manawar and included Shivdas; the capital Gilgit was located here; third *Maksu* included Bagrot and Harmaush; fourth *Maksu* had the valley of Sai and Bunji; fifth *Maksu* incorporated Gor (Gauharabad) and Chilas; sixth *Maksu* had Darel and Harban valleys; and seventh *Maksu* included Tangir. Each of these *Maksus* sent guards for manning the seven bastions of the fort in Gilgit. These bastions bore their names. Raja Firdaus was a contemporary of Tham Gori Tham and his son Sari Gori Tham, rulers of Skardu.

Raja Firdaus was succeeded by Raja Khusro Khan II at the age of thirty. He ruled from AD. 1397 to 1422. It is said that he secretly went round the city to learn about the high-handedness of his officers and redress the grievances of his people. He added two storeys to the five storey tower at the main entrance of *Qila-i-Firdausia* and deposited there several kinds of arms and weaponry imported from outside. Hence this tower came to be known as *Khusro Khani Shikar*. This was under the guard of men from Darel valley while the guards from Gor looked after the royal palace and treasury.

Raja Khusro Khan II had two sons, Raja Malik Shah alias Raja Shah II and Dula Shah. While the first became the ruler at the age of thirty five and ruled from AD. 1422 to 1449, the second, who was younger, became the commander-in-chief of the army and chief adviser to the king. The latter had a handsome son, by name Lili Gashpur. As he had a red-rosed face, he was known as Marjan or Luzum in Shina language. He married with the king's daughter, known as Shumul Gas. After Dula Shah's death he was appointed to his father's post. He had twin sons, whose backs were joined together at the time of birth. When they were separated and treated well



they grew up to be healthy persons. One was called Jamshed and another Sahib Khan. Both of them became enemical to each other. Prince Jamshed was very active and strong. But Sahib Khan was weak and hence always complained about his brother to his maternal grandfather. Sahib Khan got the second name of *Girkis*, which means 'mouse' in Burushaski language. The second prince was given the nick name of *Maglot*, which means "male mongose" in Shina language.

Prince Jamshed was entrusted to Mughal Beg, the chief of the village of Sharot. He became his foster-father. Sahib Khan was brought up in the village of the Golapur. Raja Shah Malik decided to give Hunza and Nagar to these two princes. However, both of them desired to take possession of Hunza as that part had a direct trade with eastern Turkestan. The decision for the award was entrusted to a neutral person by name Harcha Mamu Singh, who was a resident of Oskhandas in Bagrot valley. Sahib Khan alias *Girkis* is said to have won the favour of Harcha Mamu Singh and finally succeeded in getting Hunza. The other area of Nagar was given to Jamshed alias *Maglot*. *Girkis* took with him Harcha Mamu Singh, gave him the village of Ganesh and made him his minister. *Maglot* took with him his foster father Mughal Beg and made him his minister. This story presents the peculiar myth about the creation of the states of Hunza and Nagar and also of the eternal rivalry between these two states.

The history, outlined above, follows the account as given by Shah Rais Khan. The account of Hashmatullah Khan is slightly different. In this period the relation with the Sultans of Kashmir was firmly established. Although we hear of the coming of Amir Kabir Sayyid Ali Hamadani in Kashmir, yet we do not get any information about him in Gilgit. Kashmiri craftsmen are known to have come to Gilgit (pl. 19) but nothing is said about the spread of Islam at this time in the Gilgit region although Amir Kabir's influence in Baltistan is well known.

#### **Fourth Period of Trakhan Dynasty (A.D. 1449 — A.D. 1561)**

The period began with the installation to throne the king Raja Torra Khan II, the son of Raja Shah Malik II, at the age of thirty in A.D. 1449. He ruled until A.D. 1479. During his reign good relation with Kashmir was maintained. Shah Rais Khan notes that the Gilgit ruler even sent military help to the Kashmiri ruler. The

former was so fond of Kashmiri arts and crafts that he imported a group of Kashmiri craftsmen and made them settle in Gilgit in Mohalla Kishrot. The second point that the historian notes is the great interest in the name Torra Khan taken by the courtiers. According to him this continued use of the name led to the acceptance of the dynastic name *Trakhan*. It seems that by this acceptance the Turkish origin of the dynasty was given a special place in the local society. Raja Torra Khan II was succeeded by Raja Chilis Khan II at the age of fifty four in A.D. 1479. He ruled until A.D. 1497. His reign was peaceful. Trade and commerce flourished with the neighbouring countries. He was succeeded by his son Raja Sau Malik III in A.D. 1497 at the age of twenty eight. He ruled until A.D. 1522. He used to tour the whole country and redress the grievances of the people. Hence he became very popular among them.

The twenty second ruler of Gilgit was Raja Shah Rais Azam who sat on the throne at the age of forty in A.D. 1522, and ruled till A.D. 1561. He made an annual tour programme to go round his kingdom as follows:

1. For three months he stayed at the headquarter of Gilgit. During this period he went round the areas of Gurez, Astor, Gilgit and Punial. Twice he also made a tour of Nagar and Hunza.
2. For three months during winter he stayed in Chilas at Ranoi and toured round the tribal areas.
3. Then he went to Tangir via Bathret rivulet and visited Ushu, Kalam and Bashgal, and finally passed on to Chitral.
4. In Chitral he stayed for three months and toured all round Chakman serai and Borogil.

In Chitral the contemporary ruler was Shah Nasir who was the eleventh ruler of Chitral and descended from Shah Rais. Thus the two rulers were related to each other. From Chitral the king came to Yasin and toured round Koh Ghizr, and Ishkoman and then returned to Gilgit.

Shah Rais Azam's first queen was Zohra Khatun, who was the daughter of Shah Nasir, ruler of Chitral. Prince Sahebqiran was born of her. Many other children born of her died in Yasin and they are all buried in the Gumbad-i-Raisan at Yasin. Here in Yasin and the neighbouring areas this first queen and the prince were posted to rule. The second queen of the Gilgit ruler was Malika Shams Khatun, sister of Raja Balla Shah, ruler of Nagar and his own cousin. She gave birth to prince Sultan Mirza. He administered the areas of Punial, Astor, Gurez and tribal zones.

Raja Balla Shah had two brothers by name Saif Khan and Ji Khan. The latter successfully revolted and took possession of Nagar.

Balla Shah and Saif Khan first took shelter in Chalt and then fled to Kashmir via Astor. Shah Rais wrongly states that in Kashmir the Mughal prince Shah Jahan had come for a visit. Actually in Kashmir Gazi Khan, son of Kazi Chak was in power. He is said to have conquered Gilgit and Daradu.<sup>30</sup> These two territories, Gilgit and Daradu, are always separately mentioned by the Persian Chroniclers of Kashmir, and hence it seems that they were separate regions. Anyhow according to the author, Shah Rais, the two fugitives from Nagar are said to have received military help from Kashmir in reward for personal bravery that they showed there. With this help they returned to Nagar and got back the throne and threw away their brother Ji Khan. The Gilgit ruler Shah Rais Azam made him settle in Yasin alongwith his men and hence Burushaski became the common language in Yasin. On the other hand the descendant of the army brought from Kashmir were settled in Harmaush and it is their children who now bear the title of *Jarral*. These stories of settlements are not confirmed by any other source.

Raja Balla Shah died at the age of fifty three. The Vazir Falaku of the Gilgit ruler Shah Rais Azam went to Nagar and installed on the throne Raja Daud Shah alias Raja Dut, son of Raja Balla Shah. Raja Daud died at the ripe old age of one hundred and thirty five. He was succeeded by Raja Ali Dad Khan at the age of forty. In Hunza Raja Haritham succeeded his father Raja Shah Malik.

Raja Haritham of Hunza desired to take possession of Nagar but outwardly he showed his love for Raja Ali Dad Khan. When Raja Haritham attacked Nagar, the people of Hoper had taken away Raja Ali Dad Khan towards Hispar for hunting. It is during his absence that Raja Haritham occupied Nagar in league with two local vazirs. Raja Ali Dad Khan fled to Baltistan. He returned with military help from the ruler of Baltistan and was able to snatch Nagar from Haritham. In Hunza Raja Haritham was replaced by Raja Shahbaz Khan. In Nagar Raja Ali Dad Khan died and he was succeeded by Raja Kamal Khan.

During the closing years of the reign of Raja Shah Rais Azam one holy man by name Shah Burya Wali came to Nagar from Isfahan through Kashmir alongwith two servants (or devotees) Abul Hasan and Sange Ali (see below for another version). As a result of his influence people of Nagar accepted Islam. Raja Shah Kamal of Nagar also became devoted to the Sayyid. Abul Hasan was left behind in Nagar to continue preaching. Sayyid Burya Wali himself

left Nagar and came to Gilgit. The Shahzada Mirza became his disciple. From Gilgit Sayyid Saheb went to Chitral where the king Shah Rais Azam was then staying. The king welcomed the Sayyid and honoured him with great respect. The Sayyid died in Chitral where he was buried. It seems that it was due to him that Shiasm spread in this part of the world. After this event Sange Ali was enrolled in the service of the king. In the meanwhile Shah Nasir Rais, the ruler of Chitral also died. He had no male issue. Hence Shah Rais Azam appointed Sange Ali to administer Chitral. (For another version of Sange Ali see below p. 205). Later Shah Rais Azam died in Chitral at the age of eighty. He was buried in Chitral. After the death of Shah Rais Azam his younger son Raja Shah Mirza, who was in Gilgit, invited his elder brother Sahebqiran and having entrusted to him the Gilgit throne, himself went away to lead a religious life.

In this period Kashmir continued to exert influence on this region. We find the beginning of internal struggle in the region. The local rulers of Nagar sought military help from Kashmir and later from Baltistan. At the same time Shiasm spread in the region probably in consequence of the teachings of Sayyid Burya Wali, who is now lying buried in Chitral. The dynasty of Sange Ali now took root in Chitral.

#### **Fifth Period of the Trakhan Dynasty (A.D. 1561 to A.D. 1635)**

Raja Sahebqiran, who was also known by the name of Khusro Khan, ascended the throne in A.D. 1561 and ruled until 1567. In his time Raja Shah Beg of Hunza flouted the authority of Gilgit king. Raja Shah Kamal of Nagar, who was for the Gilgit king, volunteered to fight against the Hunza ruler. The latter was defeated and his forces were utterly routed (for another version see below pp. 198—99 in the history of Hunza). In the second regnal year Sange Ali revolted in Chitral and made plans to attack Gilgit. The Commander-in-chief and minister Shoman prepared himself to fight against Sange Ali. The latter was defeated but not fully crushed (for another version see below under the history of Chitral). After the death of Sahebqiran, his step-brother Raja Sultan Mirza II, who was grandson of Nagar ruler, succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1567. He ruled until A.D. 1600. He was of a peace loving nature and very friendly with Raja Ghazi (or Ghazi Mir), the ruler of Skardu. During his time Sange Ali, the ruler of Chitral once again invaded

Gilgit when the king had gone to Bagrot and Harmaush on tour. He had with him his two young sons Ali Sher Khan and Ali Haidar Khan. The Gilgit king went straight to Skardu to seek help from his friend Raja Ghazi. Unfortunately he had died one month before. However, his son Raja Ali Sher Khan agreed to help and advanced right upto Chitral and defeated the forces of Sange Ali. The latter again fled. Hashmatullah Khan agrees with the account of this ruler Raja Mirza Khan as given by Shah Rais Khan. Only in one respect he differs. According to him Raja Mirza Khan accepted Sh'ia faith when he fled to Skardu. It was only after this that Shiasm spread in Gilgit. Earlier we have traced Shia faith as a result of Burya Wali's influence. The twentyfifth ruler of Gilgit was Raja Ali Sher Khan, who sat on the throne at the age of thirty nine in AD. 1600 and ruled till AD. 1632.

Raja Ali Sher Khan married with Malika Nur Jamal, daughter of his uncle Raja Sahebqiran. All the children, born to them, died in childhood. He adopted a handsome baby from the village of Barmas. The following year the queen gave birth to a son who was named Khaqan Mirza, who later came to be known as Mirza III. He was brought up by Musammi Kharali Jashtero, a resident of Samigal in Darel valley. The birth of this prince led to jealousy. The queen preferred her own son but the king still had great fascination for the adopted child. Ultimately the queen managed to get this adopted child killed. The child was buried at Amchari in Gilgit. The king Ali Sher Khan punished the nobility and the ministers who were participants in this murder and decided to remove them from service. This fomented trouble in the kingdom. These dismissed officers raised a revolt against the king. They incited the neighbouring rulers to attack Gilgit.

First of all the Malik of Sopur and Bandipur invaded Gilgit. In this situation Gilgit ruler sought help from the Hunza ruler, Sultan Shah ibn Ayasho Khan II,<sup>30a</sup> and the Nagar ruler Shah Kamal. The latter came with full force to save Gilgit. First he suppressed the local rebels. Then he proceeded towards Bunji, where the enemy forces had encamped. The ruler of Bandipur was killed. His soldiers fled via Dashkin in Astor but they were completely routed by Shah Kamal. When he was back in Gilgit, he heard of another attack by Raja Burush, son of Shah Alam, the Wali of Punial. This Wali was the grandson on daughter's side of Shah Khushwaqt, ruler of Yasin. Taking advantage of the trouble in Gilgit, he had posted there his own grandson. Shah Kamal headed towards Punial. With him were

also the forces of Gilgit under the command of Musing and Tubu. The fort of Sher Qila was invested. Raja Burush was captured and later killed. His forces fled from Sher Qila. The two commanders of Gilgit were rewarded and they were appointed ministers. In the meanwhile news of an invasion of Raja Jahangir Badakhshi reached. He tried to invade through Ishkoman. Raja Shah Kamal proceeded towards Ishkoman and there defeated Raja Jahangir. The latter took shelter in the fort of Chaturkand. He was captured and killed. Shah Kamal destroyed the fort of Chaturkand and came back to Puniyal.

In the meanwhile the main enemy Raja Khushwaqt of Yasin, who was the grandson of Sange Ali I and younger brother of Mohtarim Shah got another army prepared under the command of his another grandson by name Malik Aman, son of Badishah. Shah Kamal now proceeded towards Yasin. After a severe struggle he was able to crush the forces of the Yasin ruler. Raja Khushwaqt and Malik Aman both fled, probably towards Chitral to seek help from Mohtarim Shah Kator I, the ruler of Chitral, who was himself determined to advance towards Gilgit. Mohtarim Shah was the grandson of Sange Ali I. Shah Kamal rushed towards Chitral and defeated Mohtarim Shah. After having received the submission of the people of Chitral he returned by way of Swat and Indus valley to Gilgit. In reward for these military services Raja Ali Sher Khan gave the territory of Chesar, also called Shinaki to Shah Kamal in Jagir. Shinaki begins from the village of Minapen and goes towards Hindi and Mayun and includes the desert of Haraspu. Musammi Daulat was made Vazir of Nagar. Chumar Singh, a commander of Shah Kamal, was appointed in the court of Gilgit. He was given land in the village of Jutal and Budas.

Raja Ali Sher Khan got his son, Khaqan Mirza, married with Shahzadi Mihr Parwar, the daughter of his brother Ali Haidar Khan. A daughter was born to this young couple. She was named Jawar Khatun. Unfortunately the mother died after the child birth. The daughter was brought up by Musammi Vazir Beg of village Sharot. When she was seven years old, she was betrothed to Shahzada Ahmad Khan, the third son of Ali Sher Khan Anchan, the ruler of Baltistan. She was married when she was sixteen and sent to Skardu. In 1632 the Gilgit ruler Ali Sher Khan died. At the time of his death there were five Vazirs in Gilgit: Musammi Abdullah of Jarral tribe was the chief minister and the second was Musammi Shudri. The names of other are not known.

Raja Ali Sher Khan was succeeded by his younger brother

Raja Ali Haidar Khan in AD. 1632 who was looking for a girl for Shahzada Khaqan Mirza. The ruler of Yasin, Raja Khushwaqt, was willing to give a daughter and hence he proposed to Raja Haidar to come to Yasin and see the girl. Raja Ali Haidar went to Yasin along with his two ministers, Abdullah and Shudri but the foster-father of Khaqan Mirza, by name Kharali Jashtero, took the prince away to Darel. In Yasin Raja Ali Haidar was trapped and he along with his two ministers, was put under custody. In the meanwhile another plot was hatched. Rasho, the younger brother of Abdullah, feigned to side with Raja Khushwaqt and begged leave of him to go back to Gilgit in order to win the people to his side. When he was allowed to go, the plot became known. Raja Khushwaqt put to death Raja Ali Haidar Khan and his two ministers and decided to attack Gilgit. This created great fear in Gilgit. Rasho apprised the people of the impending danger. Khaqan Mirza continued to stay in Darel. He appointed Rasho as the Chief Minister and Musammi Begu, the foster-father of Malika Jawar Khatun as another minister. Now Vazir Rasho ruled in Gilgit for six months in AD. 1632-33 as a *Naib-as-Saltanat* of Raja Khaqan Mirza.

The history, outlined above, is based on the account of Shah Rais Khan. The account of Hashmatullah Khan is not complete. His history traces only the story of Rasho and not the earlier events. There is also a slight variation in the detail of events.

According to Shah Rais Khan's account the Vazir Rasho invited Raja Khushwaqt, the ruler of Yasin, to Gilgit under the pretext that he would hand over Gilgit to him. But when Khushwaqt came, Vazir Rasho attacked him unawares with the full force of Gilgit and defeated him. Khushwaqt managed to run away and went straight to Sange Ali II, the ruler of Chitral, who was the son of Mohtarim Shah Kator I and nephew of Khushwaqt. The victorious Vazir Rasho returned to Gilgit amidst great rejoicings of the people, went to Darel, apprised Shahzada Khaqan Mirza of the victory, brought him back to Gilgit and installed him on the throne.

Raja Khaqan Mirza was the 28th ruler of Gilgit. He ascended the throne at the age of thirty one years and ruled from AD. 1632 to 1635. Rasho continued to be the chief minister. Musammi was another Vazir in charge of Punial. Besides them, there were five other Vazirs. In the third month of his reign Raja Khushwaqt and Sange Ali both made preparations to attack Gilgit. They advanced right upto Punial. On the advice of Vazir Rasho the defence was set up at the pass of Bayarchi. Even Raja Khaqan Mirza personally

came to take part in the fight. The enemy forces were utterly routed. Raja Khushwaqt fled to Yasin. This second invasion of Khushwaqt was in pursuance of the earlier attempt made by him to organise a big opposition against the Gilgit ruler Raja Ali Sher Khan. In this grand alliance, Raja Khushwaqt had managed to get the support of some of the rebellious people from Gilgit. The only ruler who had sided with Gilgit ruler was Shah Kamal of Nagar. Now the same rebellious people instigated Raja Khaqan Mirza against Raja Shah Kamal and urged him to take back the area of Chesar that had been ceded to him by his father. This led to quarrel between them. When Raja Khaqan Mirza went towards Nagar to take possession of the area, Raja Shah Kamal came to meet him but in the scuffle Raja Khaqan Mirza lost his head. Raja Shah Kamal is said to be very unhappy with this incident. But he was powerless. Now there was no male heir left to occupy the Gilgit throne. Raja Shah Kamal was the nearest relative. In Gilgit Vazir Rasho was the *Naib-i-Saltanat*. He offered the throne to Raja Shah Kamal and invited him to come to Gilgit but the latter refused. At the end the local situation was so tense that Vazir Rasho continued to rule as *Naib-i-Saltanat* in the name of Raja Shah Kamal who himself stayed in Nagar. His rule lasted from AD. 1635 to 1642 but it was not without any trouble. The people of Darel under the command of Khaqan Mirza's foster-father, Kharali Jashtero, were determined to take vengeance against Shah Kamal for the murder of Raja Khaqan Mirza. But this advance right upto Nilt could not lead to any fruitful result. The Darelis had to return and Vazir Rasho remained strong in Gilgit and ruled here in the name of Shah Kamal.

The history, narrated above on the basis of Shah Rais Khan's account, seems rather very naive. There appears to be some personal motivation on the part of the author when he labels charges against the Yasin and Chitral rulers and also against the ruler of Hunza but he is very soft hearted when he talks of Nagar ruler and even of Skardu ruler simply because these latter two get all the benefit by having marriage relations with the Gilgit ruler's family members and ultimately succeed in winning the throne by their own successors. The events show close alliance between Nagar ruler and Skardu ruler as the previous history also points to the same direction. However, the Gilgit throne was not so easy to occupy. The man who intervened was Vazir Rasho who built up his power in Gilgit as *Naib-i-Sultanat* and continued to rule for nearly ten years. On the other hand the Yasin ruler was not slow in manouvring. He had the support of his near relative in Chitral. At the same time it



seems that he must have managed to create interest in the ruler of Sopur and Bandipur. This latter region was probably the "Daradu" country as we learn from the Persian history books of Kashmir. It is quite likely that Kashmir rulers were behind "Daradu" rulers. Thus we find two big divisions among the rulers of Northern Areas of Pakistan in this period: the first led by Yasin ruler and his allies and the second led by Nagar ruler and his allies. In between was Gilgit, where again there were two parties, one led by a second group whose leaders are not named. In the first stance Vazir Rasho managed to snatch power in his hands and rule as *Naib-i-Saltanat*.

### Sixth Period of the Trakhan Dynasty

(A.D. 1635 – A.D. 1800)

The history of the period, as narrated by Hashmatullah Khan does not make the picture clear as many events remain unnoticed by him. But the history of Shah Rais Khan can be accepted with great caution as his account is very partial to the rulers of Nagar. As there is no choice, his account is followed here with a critical appraisal at the end.

The period began with the rule of Vazir Rasho as Naib-i-Sultanat of Raja Shah Kamal. It is not clear why Shah Kamal refused to come to Gilgit and occupy the throne. It seems that the affairs in Gilgit were not favourable to his coming here. But Raja Khushwaqt could not remain aloof from the sequence of events in Gilgit. He had his own supporters in Gilgit. Hence he, in alliance with Chitral ruler, continued to pounce on Gilgit. But Vazir Rasho proved stronger. When Raja Khushwaqt found that he could not throw away Vazir Rasho, he discovered another way and recognised Shah Kamal as the *de facto* ruler of Gilgit and devised plans to oust Vazir Rasho from Gilgit by joint action. But even this plan did not succeed.

In order to retain power in his own hands Vazir Rasho thought of another plan. Raja Khaqan Mirza's daughter Jawahir (Jawar) Khatun had been married in Skardu. He now decided to go to Skardu and bring back this princess. In Skardu Raja Adam Khan was ruling. But he had gone to Delhi. Vazir Rasho succeeded in bringing back Jawa(hi)r Khatun and made her ascend the throne in Gilgit and himself continued to rule as *Naib-i-Saltanat*. But very soon Jawahir Khatun discovered the inner intentions of Vazir Rasho. She herself went round the country, met the people and

learnt about the real grievances of the people. Once she went to Bagrot and when she was in the fort of Sanekar, she was all of a sudden besieged. But Malika Jawahir proved a match for him. When Vazir Rasho came to Sanekar and proposed to her for marriage with him, she bluntly refused and pounced upon him. In the scuffle Vazir Rasho was killed. Thus his dream of becoming the *dejure* ruler of Gilgit finally came to an end.

Malika Jawahir Khatun herself shouldered the responsibility of the government, put on male dress, rode on horse and issued instructions in her own name. She took great interest in ameliorating the lot of the people, undertook many welfare measures, built many roads in the country and re-established good relations with Nagar ruler. An old canal that came from Jutial *nala* to Qila-i-Firdausia, used to irrigate the land of village Gulchinote and the area of Nagral. This was further extended with the labour from Darel and water was given to a wider area. Kharali Jashtero of Darel received the pasture land of Khanberi in reward. Now the question of future successor of Gilgit came to forefront. The widowed Malika Jawahir Khatun was still young. Several proposals were put forward. Ultimately she agreed to marry with Raja Firdaus Khan, the elder son of Raja Shah Kamal of Nagar. Raja Firdaus left Nagar under the care of his younger brother Shah Rahim Khan and himself came to Gilgit to live with his wife. One son was born to them. He was named Ji Khan or Habib Khan. Raja Firdaus took over as *Naib-i-Saltanat*. But the people of Gilgit did not like his presence here. So he left Gilgit abandoning his wife and child here. Jawahir Khatun continued to administer until her son attained the age of 17-18. In AD. 1670 she abdicated in favour of her son Ji Khan.

Raja Ji Khan ruled from AD. 1670 to 1689. As he was young and unmarried, several proposals were sent to him for marriage. First of all Raja Khushwaqt of Yasin managed to arrange his marriage with a daughter of the late Raja Burush of Punial who was earlier killed in Sher Qila by Shah Kamal. Out of this marriage a son was born, who was named Shah Najam or Ajam. The old queen mother Jawahir Khatun did not like this marriage. She managed to get another girl, the daughter of the Skardu ruler, Raja Shah Morad and got her married to Raja Ji Khan. This second marriage also produced a son who was named Shah Mayur. The Nagar ruler was not slow in this move. A daughter of Shah Rahim Khan of Nagar was given in marriage to Ji Khan. Out of this third marriage again a son

was born who was named Goritham.

These tangled marriages led to further complications in the politics of Gilgit. Jawahir Khatun kept Shah Morad, the ruler of Skardu, informed of the developments in Gilgit. On the other hand Raja Khushwaqt took all steps to see that his own grandson Shah Najam succeeds to the throne of the Gilgit. Shah Morad sent his forces under the command of his nephew Raja Imam Quli, ruler of Shigar. Shah Najam met these combined forces. Ultimately Shah Najam was captured alongwith his supporters. He was taken to Skardu. He was spared but his followers were put to death. The foster-brother of Shah Najam poisoned Raja Ji Khan in Gilgit and thus he died. The same man also killed Shah Mayur. This turn of event brought back Shah Morad from Skardu with his forces and he was able to finish off the murderer of his own grandson, Shah Mayur. For the second time Jawahir Khatun ascended the throne of Gilgit in AD. 1689 and ruled until 1705. Under her care was her grandson Raja Goritham, born out of the Nagar princess. In the eleventh year of her reign Raja Khushwaqt died and he was succeeded by his son Raja Snah Alam. Later she also died at the age of fifty.

After her death Raja Shah Goritham ascended the throne in AD. 1705 and ruled for a long time till AD. 1800. He received his education from Sayyid Shah Sultan 'Arif, who is buried in the *Dargah* at Danyor (pl. 19). In the second year of his reign the Hunza ruler, Shah Khusro Khan, died. He was succeeded by his son Raja Salim III who was able to win his throne with the help of Gilgit Vazir Somiyu. After some years Raja Salim also died. He was succeeded by Raja Ghazanfar. This time the Gilgit Vazir Jigu Maksu went to Hunza for the crowning ceremony. In the tenth year of his reign Raja Rahim Shah of Nagar died. Vazir Begu went to Nagar and attended the crowning ceremony of Raja Karim Khan, the elder son of Raja Rahim Shah. Later Raja Karim Khan left Nagar and went to Baltistan, leaving Nagar to his younger brother Babar Khan, who had killed his other three brothers and became powerful. Raja Shah Goritham married with Malika Husn Ara, the daughter of Raja Yasar Khan of Nagar, at the age of forty five. Raja Goritham is praised for his good administration, generosity and patronage of learning and religious education. He was a firm believer in Shia faith. At the age of seventy five he was blessed with a daughter, who was named Nasib Begam. At the age of ninety five he was blessed with a son who was named Mohammad Khan, also known as

Raja Khan. A second son was also borne. He was named Shah Abbas. Both of them were educated by Sayyid Amir Shah. When the king's minister Somiyu died, Mulla Beg of Jarral tribe was appointed a Vazir. This Vazir gradually came closer to the king and ultimately managed to wield great power when the king became old. The king almost retired and appointed Mulla Beg as Naib-i-Saltanat of his son Mohammad Khan. Later the king agreed to send Mohammad Khan to Nagar under the care of Raja Azur Khan, his uncle. Thus Mulla Beg managed to gain control of the whole administration. He further managed to make Mohammad Khan estranged even in Nagar. He had to flee to Baltistan. In this way gradually Mulla Beg manouvred to gain power in Gilgit when the old king Goritham was too weak to assert himself. When he tried further to insinuate the Skardu ruler against Mohammad Khan, that ruler got enraged and wrote a strong letter to the aged king Raja Goritham. Mohammad Khan continued to stay in Skardu.

By this time Sulaiman Shah had succeeded to the throne of Mastuj and his brother Malik Aman was ruling in Yasin. Sulaiman Shah now desired to fish in the troubled water of Gilgit by the machinations of Mulla Beg who had his own ambitions to snatch power in his own hands. Sulaiman Shah 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 further plotted and got the aged ruler Shah Goritham killed. The elder son of the king, Shahzada Mohammad Khan who had been living in Skardu for the last five years and with whom Skardu ruler's daughter was betrothed, now decided to come back to Gilgit.

The above version of history is based on Shah Rais Khan whose account is certainly biased. What is clear is the continuation of rivalry among the royal houses for the possession of power in Gilgit. The period saw the rise of Mulla Beg, another minister in Gilgit and of Sulaiman Shah in Mastuj and Yasin. Mulla Beg managed to rise to power and send Raja Goritham to religious seclusion while Sulaiman Shah followed suit and came to serve Raja Goritham and ultimately put him to death. He also made a bid for gaining power in Gilgit. Now these two contestants faced each other while the real heir to the throne Raja Mohammad Khan was under the shelter of the Skardu ruler. It seems that the latter must have urged Raja Mohammad Khan to go forward and claim the throne. Hence we find him coming back to Gilgit.

### **Seventh Period of the Trakhan Dynasty (AD. 1800 – 1825)**

The period opens with Mulla Beg assuming full control of Gilgit after the murder of Raja Goritham while his younger son prince Shahzada Abbas was kept aloof. Mulla Beg remained in power for nearly three weeks. Then Sulaiman Shah invaded Gilgit and occupied it but the people sided neither with Mulla Beg nor with Sulaiman Shah. Mulla Beg was killed alongwith his supporters. Shahzada Abbas, who had married with the sister of Sulaiman Shah was weak and powerless. The entire administration came into the hands of Sulaiman Shah. Raja Mohammad Khan made full preparations to return and first sought assistance from several supporters. From Skardu he went to Gurez and from there he came to Astor. In the beginning he remained unknown and then on the advice of his followers, he decided to come to Gor (Gauharabad) in the first instance and win the support of the tribal people of Chilas, Darel and Tangir. He was also able to gain support in Sai valley against Sulaiman Shah who had been ruling in Gilgit now for nearly six months. With all these forces recruited from the tribal areas, Mohammad Khan prepared himself to gain the support of the people of Gilgit. On the other hand Sulaiman Shah strengthened his side by getting help from the Chitral ruler by name Shah Nawaz, the son of Shah Afzal. The people of Gilgit, who did not like Sulaiman Shah, were in favour of Mohammad Khan. The latter marched forward and came to Jutial with his men. Sulaiman Shah went ahead to meet him with his army. Sulaiman Shah, being defeated, fled to Yasin. Raja Mohammad Khan entered Gilgit jubilantly and occupied Qila-i-Firdausia. He was crowned as a ruler of Gilgit in AD. 1802 and ruled till 1822. Raja Mohammad Khan punished all the supporters of Mulla Beg and sent them to gallows. Mulla Beg's son Bar-i-Gosh was brought from Nagar and put to death. Now the minister was Vazir Somaiya Ghulam. Another minister was Vazir Utman, resident of village Khomar.

In the third regnal year the Vazir Utman was sent to Skardu ruler Ahmad Shah with presents and to express obligation for all the help that the ruler had given to Raja Mohammad Khan. Then the betrothed daughter of the Skardu ruler was sent with the Vazir to Gilgit for marriage with Raja Mohammad Khan. In the fourth year of his reign a son was born to them. He was named Shahzada Khusro. The prince was given religious education by Sayyid Amir

Shah of Gilgit and Sayyid Safdar Shah of Nagar. The Sayyid of Gilgit gave him another name of Asghar Ali. As usual Raja Mohammad Khan celebrated *Nauroz* festival every year in Gilgit. On this occasion folk songs were sung in praise of the Trakhan family. On the last day of *Nauroz* a *darbar* was held in the open lawn of *Rangin Hisar*, where all the neighbouring rulers came for felicitation and for paying tributes to the Gilgit ruler.

In the sixth year of his reign a new development took place. Raja Mohammad Khan desired to avenge for the bad reception that he received in Nagar from his mother's sister's husband, the ruler, when he went there for shelter. The Nagar ruler Raja Azur Khan did not treat him well and hence he had to flee to Skardu. Now that he was strong, he wrote to Nagar ruler that he was taking back the district of Chesar and appointing his younger brother Shahzada Abbas to administer it. He also snatched the areas of Mayun and Hindi from the Hunza ruler and joined it with the district of Chesar. Shahzada Abbas fixed his seat at Minapen and held it with the help of a Gilgiti force. This action led to enmity between the Gilgit ruler on the one hand and the rulers of Nagar and Hunza on the other. At this time Raja Izzat Khan (Azad Khan) was the Wali of Punial. He had been appointed by the late Raja Goritham. In Astor Raja Shah Sultan held his court. On the occasion of *Nauroz* all these rulers came to Gilgit and witnessed several sports, such as polo, archery, swordsmanship, wrestling, rope pulling competition, hill running, swimming in Gilgit river.

In AD. 1805 a daughter was born, who was named Shahzadi Sahebnuma. She was sent to Gor (Gauharabad) for upbringing under the care of Vazir Shagopa, who was in charge of Gor. The prince Khusro Khan fell seriously ill at the age of twelve. Various kinds of rituals were held for his speedy recovery. When he regained health, Sayyid Amir Shah gave him the second name of 'Abbas Ali.

By AD. 1822 Raja Sulaiman Shah had been able to prepare a strong force by recruiting able-bodied men from the tribal areas. In the first instance he decided to increase his military and material resources. He advanced on Chitral, where his own brother-in-law Mihtar Shah Nawaz was ruling, and managed to get possession of enough wealth. Shah Nawaz continued to rule there as a deputy of Sulaiman Shah. On this occasion he secured assurance from the local heads for full support to him in time of need. With this strengthened force he advanced towards Punial and occupied Sher Qila. Raja Izzat Khan and other members of the Burush family accepted

the loyalty of Sulaiman Shah. Sher Qila now became his headquarter. He deployed his forces on either side of the Gilgit river upto Golapur and Gakuch. With such a preparation he was now ready to invade Gilgit.

Raja Mohammad Khan also resolved to defend his territory. He advanced towards Sher Qila on both sides of Gilgit river from the point of Bargo and Shakyot. After severe fighting Golapur was captured. Then the next target was Sher Qila but the advance was difficult and the capture of this strong fort was almost impossible. Raja Mohammad Khan wished to take help from the rulers of Hunza and Nagar. But the Hunza ruler Raja Ghazanfar, who was the son-in-law of Sulaiman Shah refused to give help. The same refusal came from Raja Azur Khan, the Nagar ruler. But the actual cause of refusal must be something else, as can be guessed from the past history of Raja Mohammad Khan's relation with these two rulers. At such a difficult time, on Sulaiman Shah's order one wing of his force advanced from village Singol and pounced upon Gilgit force. But the leadership of Raja Mohammad Khan saved the situation and defeated the invading army. Now Sulaiman Shah thought of getting military support from Nagar and Hunza rulers. Raja Mohammad Khan also began to increase his strength by reconciling with Glito and Hashim, residents of Nomal. They were administering Shinbar on behalf of the Jagirdar Sayyid Jalali al-Husaini. They brought two thousand men from Shinbar and one thousand from Chesar and in the darkness of the night proceeded to the little stream of Sher Qila and later entered the fort and engaged with the men of Raja Sulaiman Shah. This sudden attack bewildered the forces of Raja Sulaiman Shah and they could not hold their own. Raja Sulaiman Shah retreated via Ishkoman and returned to Yasin. Raja Mohammad Khan advanced upto Gakuch but could not go to Yasin at this time. It was thought wiser to return to Gilgit and make full preparations before invading Yasin.

Raja Sulaiman Shah began to prepare himself and got the assurance of help from the rulers of Hunza and Nagar. In fact these two rulers decided to attack Gilgit although Sultan Alaf Khan, the son of Raja Azur Khan, the Nagar ruler, did not like this plan of invasion. He had interceded through the aged Vazir Hallo and tried to dissuade his father from any military action against Raja Mohammad Khan. But he did not agree. He went forward and met Shahzada Abbas and assured him that he would be crowned as king of Gilgit in place of Raja Mohammad Khan. With such a great plan

Raja Sulaiman Shah once again marched towards Gilgit on a fixed date when the Hunza and Nagar rulers also advanced.

Hunza ruler occupied Nomal and Nagar ruler entered the Firdausia Fort. He routed the Gilgit forces and occupied *Rangin Mahal*. Raja Mohammad Khan was taken captive and he was forced to abdicate in favour of his younger brother Raja Abbas. Raja Mohammad Khan was sent to Yasin and there he was put under guards. Raja Abbas was crowned as king. He ruled from AD. 1822 to 1825. As he was the brother-in-law of Raja Sulaiman Shah, he played into his hands and made Sulaiman Shah his *Naib-i-Saltanat*. Thus Raja Sulaiman Shah ultimately succeeded in gaining power and was able to rule from Gilgit to Chitral.

Raja Abbas had full faith in Sulaiman Shah as through his sister Rani Musallama Khatun, Sulaiman exercised full influence on her husband Raja Abbas. The latter did not listen to the advice of his Vazir Utman and entrusted all powers into Sulaiman Shah's hands. When the Vazir plotted to send Sulaiman away to Yasin on tour and get him killed there, the latter proved more than a match for him. He got an order from the king 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 his brother Raja Mohammad Khan. In Yasin both the brothers were put to death. They were buried in the *Gumbad-i-Raisan* in Chitral, in which Shah Rais Azam was earlier buried. Sulaiman Shah thus became the ruler of Gilgit in 1825.

Raja Mohammad Khan's two children Shahzada Khusro and Shahzadi Sahebnuma were living in the house of their foster-father ex-Vazir Utman at the village of Khomar. Utman succeeded in taking them out of the village in order to save them from the wrath of Sulaiman Shah and went straight to Nagar. But Sulaiman Shah sent a body of men to Nagar and got the Shahzada back from Nagar ruler, Raja Azur Khan. On way the Shahzada was beheaded and his head was taken to Raja Sulaiman Shah in Gilgit alongwith the ex-Vazir Utman. In this way all the male members of the House of Gilgit were finished. The sole surviving member of the house was Shahzadi Sahebnuma. She became almost mad and was under the custody of Raja Sulaiman Shah.

Raja Ji Khan, the brother of Raja Azur Khan, had fled from Nagar to save himself from the wrath of his brother. He took shelter with Raja Sulaiman Shah who was his father-in-law. He was given the charge of administration in the kingdom. In course of



time Raja Sulaiman established his authority all over the place from Gilgit to Chitral. Although Raja Azur Khan of Nagar was his friend and ally, yet his own son-in-law Raja Ji Khan was there under him with a desire to become the ruler of Nagar. A joint action was taken by Raja Sulaiman Shah and the Hunza ruler Raja Ghazanfar. Some of the men of Azur Khan joined with Raja Ji Khan. There was no way out for Azur Khan who had to abdicate in favour of his younger brother Raja Ji Khan. The Vazir Hallo was removed and in his place Vazir Doltu was appointed. Both Raja Azur Khan and his son Alaf Khan were presented before Sulaiman Shah who sent them to Raja Ghazanfar with a desire that they should be killed. But the Hunza ruler did not kill them and gave them shelter. On Raja Azur's request both father and son were taken to the village Shayar in Nagar but on way they were put to death. In the meanwhile Raja Ghazanfar Ali wished to finish off the power of Raja Ji Khan. He invaded Nagar. Raja Sulaiman Shah also went ahead to join hands with him. But Raja Ji Khan proved a big match. He succeeded in crushing the invading forces.

In this long game of diplomacy and military struggle the internecine wars of the earlier period continued. The position of the Raja of Gilgit was always a sinecure. While he tried to secure his own position with the help of the local people and his Vazirs, he was unable to win the support of the neighbouring rulers. It was again the Raja of Yasin, Sulaiman Shah who organised a big alliance with Hunza and Nagar rulers and with their support finished off with Raja Mohammad Khan and his younger brother Abbas Khan, both rulers of Gilgit. Raja Sulaiman Shah thus became the most powerful ruler all over the region. With the murder of Shahzada Khusro, the son of Raja Mohammad Khan, no male member of the House of Gilgit survived. Another development was in Nagar. Raja Sulaiman Shah's own son-in-law Raja Ji Khan had a long desire to snatch Nagar throne from his brother Raja Azur Khan. In this game Sulaiman Shah helped him. Raja Azur Khan and his son Alaf Khan were also set aside and put to death. Thus Raja Ji Khan came to power in Nagar and stood as a rival to his own father-in-law.

#### **Eighth Period of Trakhan Dynasty** (AD. 1825 — 1840)

The period opens with the installation to the throne of Gilgit Malika Sahebnuma, the sole surviving member of the house, in AD.

1825. Raja Azad Khan, the Wali of Punial, was appointed as her regent. He was able to control all the territory of Gilgit after the defeat of Sulaiman Shah by Raja Ji Khan of Nagar. Later Sulaiman Shah was captured and in Sher Qila he was put to death. His nephew Gohar Aman,<sup>31</sup> son of Raja Malik Aman, now became the ruler of Yasin and Mastuj. Sulaiman Shah was first buried in Gakuch but later his body was carried to Yasin and Gohar Aman made him bury in the family graveyard. Later Raja Azad Khan got his daughter (correctly his sister) married with a prince of Badakhshan. With her, he forcefully sent a number of male and female servants from Gilgit for her service. This action enraged the people of Gilgit.

At this time Raja Tahir Shah was ruling in Nagar. Some of the people of Gilgit appealed to him for help so that Raja Azad could be removed. Raja Tahir Shah sent his younger son, Raja Karim Khan, to Gilgit with a force and himself followed after entrusting the administration of Nagar to his elder son, Raja Sikandar. The fight started in front of Qila Firdausia. Raja Azad Khan volunteered for personal duel with Raja Tahir Shah. In this duel Raja Azad Khan was killed in 1828. Raja Shah Karim married with Malika Sahebnuma when she was twenty seven years old. Raja Tahir Shah became the regent in Gilgit in place of Raja Azad Khan. She herself chose to live in Gor alongwith her husband. In 1828 a son was born to them who was named (Raja) Mohammad Khan (II). In Punial Raja Najam Khan, son of Raja Khan Bahadur of Burush family was posted as Wali. He desired to invade Yasin but Tahir Shah advised not to do so and live in peace with Gohar Aman.

Raja Tahir Shah reappointed Vazir Hallo in Nagar. In Gilgit Vazir Gujar Shakur Ali was appointed. Vazir Beku was appointed in Punial with the desire of Raja Najam. Shagopa was appointed Vazir in Gor and Chilas. In Astor Raja Jabbar Khan was the Wali. In Darel, Tangir and Harban one person from Darel was appointed. For five years Raja Tahir Shah ruled peacefully. Then he fell ill. During his illness Raja Gohar Aman made an attack from Yasin but on way Raja Najam defeated him and repulsed his attack. Raja Ghazanfar of Hunza bribed the people of Nagar. Even Vazir Hallo came over to his side and peacefully revolted against Raja Sikandar, who was sent to Gilgit. He was replaced by Raja Rahim Khan, son of Raja Sultan Alaf Khan, and grandson of Raja Azur Khan. Raja Rahim Khan was the daughter's son of Raja Ghazanfar. Now, the way was clear to attack Gilgit. First Gohar Aman advanced but he

was again defeated by Raja Najam of Punial. In Nagar Raja Rahim Khan was killed. While Raja Sikandar was going back to Nagar to take charge of the state, on way at Nomal he heard of the death of Raja Tahir Shah in 1836. Therefore he came back to Gilgit.

In 1836 Raja Sikandar took charge of Gilgit as regent of Sahebnuma (i.e. as *Naib-i-Saltanat*). He continued to rule until AD. 1840. First the Malik of Gurez by name Dilawar Malik (wrongly named as Raja Malik by Shah Rais Khan) came forward to attack Gilgit on the instigation of Gohar Aman. The Gurez forces entered the fort of Firdausia. But at the end Raja Sikandar was able to defeat the invading forces with the help of men from Nagar. The Gurez Malik was killed alongwith his son. Some men from Gilgit also sided with the invader.

Now Gohar Aman began to increase his strength by invading the tribal areas and then by attacking Chitral where Shah Afzal II, son of Mihtar Mohtarim Shah Kator II was ruling. After possessing Chitral he joined hands with the tribal people. On the advice of Vazir Rahmat, Gohar Aman first decided to kill Raja Najam of Punial. For this purpose Mashkuli Khan was ordered to shoot Raja Najam. He was able to shoot him to death. In this way Gohar Aman was able to have control over Punial through Mashkuli Khan. Now Raja Sikandar Khan went ahead to win over Mashkuli Khan and do away with Gohar Aman. He won over Mashkuli Khan and sent him to Yasin to kill Gohar Aman. But there Mashkuli Khan was killed by Isa Bahadur. When Isa Bahadur desired to have Punial under him, Gohar Aman went ahead to throw him away. Isa Bahadur ran to Gilgit to get help from Raja Sikandar. At this time Vazir Hallo joined hands with Gohar Aman. He trapped Raja Sikandar when he was away in Bagrot. Raja Gohar Aman 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 Sikandar, the younger brother Raja Karim Khan, who was living in Gor alongwith his wife Sahebnuma and son Raja Mohammad Khan II, became very sad. He decided to recruit forces in the tribal areas of Chilas, Darel, Tangir and Harban in order to invade Gilgit but on the advice of Isa Bahadur of Punial, he went to Kashmir to seek military assistance from the Sikhs. Malika Sahebnuma stayed behind in Gor. This request opened a new chapter in the history of Gilgit.

The history of this period moves round the personality of Malika Sahebnuma who became almost mad after the murder of her

father. How the Nagar ruler was able to occupy and get his younger son married with Sahebnuma, is not properly documented. But there is no doubt that the royal House of Yasin was building pressure on Gilgit and in the towering personalities of Sulaiman Shah and Gohar Aman, Gilgit succumbed into their hands. The people of Gilgit were divided in their loyalty. But the influential nobility and Vazir Utman appear to have inclined towards Nagar. This support of the local people saved the situation and Nagar rulers became *Naib-i-Saltanat* and ruled in the name of Sahebnuma. When finally Gohar Aman restrengthened himself and occupied Gilgit, Raja Karim Khan, the husband of Sahebnuma, fled to Kashmir asking for military assistance from the Sikhs. Thus the internecine wars among the royal houses of the region introduced a third political force in Northern Areas. This political force was not expected as Raja Karim Khan sought only military assistance. He probably never realised that the Sikhs would continue to stay behind and establish their own authority here. There was no suspicion either because there was no precedence before. Why such a change took place, will be examined in the next chapter.

#### A(ii) Maglot Family of Nagar

The origin of this family as narrated by Shah Rais Khan, has been given above (ante p. 174) in the history of the Third Period of Trakhan Dynasty. There we learnt how Jamshed, one of the twin sons of Lili Gashpur, got the name of Maglot and was ultimately awarded the territory of Nagar. Basing his account on *Tarikh-i-Hunza* by Mir Nazim Khan, Lorimer has given a slightly different version of the same story.<sup>32</sup> The Urdu version of the manuscript is preserved in the Gilgit Public Library. Its Persian translation has been published by Haji Qudratullah Beg.<sup>33</sup> According to Shah Rais Khan the royal house of Maglot must have been established in the time of the Gilgit ruler Raja Malik Shah alias Raja Shah II, son of Raja Khusro Khan II, between AD. 1422 and 1449. Maglot is descended from Lili Gashpur, who is said to be the son of the younger brother of the Gilgit ruler. The name of this brother is given as Dula Shah, probably the same as Shah Daulat Shah of Lorimer. In the latter's version Daulat Shah is made the father of Malik Shah, who is said to have five sons, one of them being Lali Tham (probably the same as Lili Gashpur). According to Shah Rais Khan, Malik Shah had only one son who is named by him as Torra Khan (II),

probably the same as Trakhan of Lorimer. If these changes are reconciled, the genealogical picture becomes clear in the available traditions. The foundation of the Nagar House thus may be placed round about AD. 1440. A third source of the history is also available in a manuscript<sup>34</sup> written by Shah Rais Khan. A fourth source is the tradition collected by Mr. Jurgen Frembgen<sup>35</sup> who places Maglot about AD. 1500. All these sources have been used for the reconstruction of the history.

Frembgen has briefly recorded the earlier traditional account of Nagar and shown the possibility of contact between the people of Nagar and those of Baltistan. This contact was probably established through Hispar glacier pass. Later the area appears to have been conquered by the ancestors of Sri Badad, from whom the Trakhan rulers inherited the area. In the first period of Maglot rulers a big fortified village, called *Muko-Kot* or *Nagar Khan*, was built. The kings of Nagar lived here until 1894. Thereafter it was destroyed. Then they moved further upward. Maglot had Mughal Beg of Sharot as his Vazir. He had a second name of Azur Jahmshed. With his minister he hatched a plot to kill Girkis, the ruler of Hunza. On the other hand the Hunza ruler had a similar design against Nagar ruler. Ultimately his minister Mughal Beg succeeded in getting Hunza ruler killed. Now Maglot desired to be the ruler of both the areas, Nagar and Hunza, but he was not accepted by the people of Hunza. Maglot was succeeded by Raja Shah Malik in Nagar. He married with Malika Akhtar Begam, daughter of Gilgit ruler, Raja Chilis Khan. He had three sons, by name Raja Balla Shah, Shahzada Saif Khan and Shahzada Deng Malik, and one daughter named Shahzadi Shamsa Khatun. He had also a second queen who gave birth to Raja Ji Khan. Shamsa Khatun was married to Raja Shah Rais Azam, the Gilgit ruler. Raja Shah Malik was succeeded by Raja Balla Shah at the age of forty eight. When he had ruled for eight years, his step-brother Raja Ji Khan usurped the throne of Nagar with the help of Hunza ruler. Shahzada Deng Malik was killed in this war of succession. The remaining two brothers fled from Nagar. First they came to Chalt and then fled to Kashmir. This event has been noted earlier. During their absence Raja Ji Khan developed closer friendship with Hunza ruler as well as with the ruler of Shigar. He had earlier got success with the military help from the ruler of Baltistan. He also imported craftsmen from Baltistan and built a polo ground in front of *Muko Kot* and a beautiful residential palace. In the meanwhile Raja Balla Shah returned from Kash-

mir with military help and ousted Raja Ji Khan. Balla Shah died at the age of sixty two. He was succeeded by his son Raja Daud Shah alias Raja Dut. He ruled for nine years and died at the age of fifty one. He was succeeded by his son Raja Ali Dad Khan at the age of forty. His contemporary in Hunza was Shah Haritham who had a greedy eye on Nagar. He plotted with the people of Hoper. They lured Raja Ali Dad Khan of Nagar away in Hispar glacier for hunting unusual species of deer. In the meantime Raja Haritham occupied Nagar and sent some of his men to capture Ali Dad Khan. The latter fled to Baltistan with some of his men by way of Byafu (Braldo) glacier. He safely reached Shigar. Then with the military help from Baltistan Raja Ali Dad Khan returned to Nagar to the joy of the local people and threw away Raja Haritham. In the absence of Raja Haritham his younger brother Shah Sultan managed the affairs in Hunza. When he died after one month he was succeeded by his middle son Shahbaz Khan alias Shah Bos. He refused to give Hunza to Haritham. Later he was killed. In Nagar Raja Ali Dad Khan died after ruling for fourteen years. He was succeeded by Raja Shah Kamal in AD. 1559. It is during his time that Shah Burya Wali came to Nagar via Hispar and later went to Chitral. He was the follower of Shia faith. It is said that this Sayyid spread Islam in Nagar. The history of the great wars that he waged to save Gilgit has been given above. It was in reward for these services that he obtained the district of Chesar from the Gilgit ruler as a permanent *jagir*. This area is also called Shinaki and incorporates the land from Gokuhar in village Minapen to the villages of Hindi and Mayun i.e. the very end of the desert of Haraspu. The last two villages were taken away from Hunza. But at the end Shah Kamal could not continue his friendship with Gilgit ruler Khaqan Mirza, who was killed at his hands. Still later his son Raja Firdaus married with the widowed queen of Gilgit Jawahir Khatun. She was 29 years old and he was forty five. In AD. 1665 Raja Shah Kamal died at the ripe old age of one hundred and twenty three. His second son Raja Shah Rahim Khan, who was born in AD. 1601, succeeded to the throne of Nagar in 1665 and ruled until 1687. His relation with Gilgit has already been narrated. Raja Shah Rahim Khan had great love and respect for his brother Raja Firdaus, who unfortunately had to leave Gilgit and take shelter in Nagar. There he died in AD. 1675 at the age of seventy six. At this time Shah Rahim Khan helped Hunza ruler in winning Gujal from Raja Shah Beg. It is said that when Raja Shahbaz Khan was ruling in Hunza, an invasion from the side

of Xin-jiang took place and advanced right upto Baltit. Now this Turkish force decided to invade Nagar. Raja Shah Rahim Khan prepared himself to fight the invaders. He divided his army into four divisions: one under his own command, the second under the command of his brother Nur Khan, the third under Nur Khan's son Shahzada Hashim and the fourth under his another son. In the end Shah Rahim Khan defeated the Turkish army. His success was greatly praised by Jawahir Khatun. She sent her son Raja Ji Khan to Nagar to congratulate Shah Rahim Khan. He gave his daughter Gohar Khatun in marriage to Raja Ji Khan. Shah Rahim Khan had five children — Shah Karim Khan, Shah Babar Khan, Shah Kamal Khan, Shah Rais, Shah Sultan and one daughter, by name Gohar Khatun. After his death in AD. 1687, he was succeeded by Shah Karim Khan. His Naib was his younger brother Shah Babar. While Shah Karim was busy in religious devotion, Shah Babar actually managed the administration. He developed a new agricultural area and settled a village, called Fikr. A second village settled by him was Oshkardas. He also channelised the glacial water and irrigated the land in Minapen. But very soon jealousy grew between him and the other three brothers. Shah Babar immediately took steps and killed all of them. Shah Karim Khan, the Nagar ruler, fled from Nagar by way of Hispar and went to Shigar where Imam Quli was ruling, and then to Skardu, where Shah Morad entertained him as his guest. Then Shah Babar replaced Vazir Rajab Beg by Hosu of Shin tribe. Later Shah Karim Khan returned from Skardu and he was given the *Jagir* of Gulmit. Shah Babar then married with Zohra Jabin, daughter of Raja Firdaus and Jawahir Khatun, and sister of the Gilgit ruler Raja Ji Khan. Shah Karim also married with Durr-e-Jamal second sister of Raja Ji Khan. In the meanwhile Shah Beg, the ruler of Hunza had occupied the villages of Hindi and Mayun. Shah Babar prepared for defence and defeated the Hunza army and then he restrengthened the forts in Sumayar, Oshkardas, Shayar, Minapen, Pisin, Gulmit, Thol and Nilt. The history of Nagar hereafter is common with that of Gilgit, already told before. The history brings into lime light the position of the Nagar rulers who succeeded in making their own scion establish in Gilgit.

### A (iii) Ayash Family of Hunza

Earlier (ante p. 174) we have seen how Girkis became the ruler of Hunza while his brother Maglot ruled in Nagar. But both had an

evil eye on each other's estate. Maglot is said to have hatched a plot with his Vazir Mughal Beg. It is further related that in a game of hunting, Girkis was shot dead by Mughal Beg, and thus the throne of Hunza fell vacant. Girkis had two children, a son by name Mayur who was banished for his wanton act, and a daughter by name Nur Bibi. She ascended the throne. Her Vazir was her own foster-brother by name Boto, son of Chaosingh. The latter succeeded in killing Mughal Beg and was able to avenge the death of Girkis. There is a slight variation in the subsequent history of Hunza. According to Lorimer Vazir Boto went to Wakhan to search for the exiled prince Mayur. In Darwaza he learnt that the prince had died but his son by name Ayasho was with the Mir of the place. He was brought to Hunza and crowned as king in place of Nur Bibi. Qudratullah Beg records a tradition that when Nur Bibi was on the throne for a year or so Dalla Shah, son of Maglot, had an illicit relation with her and a son was born who became the ruler of Hunza. Hence the people of Hunza became dis-satisfied with her. The other story is that the husband of Nur Bibi was a descendant of Hasham Begam who had fled to Shignan. He was brought back to Hunza and his child became the ruler of Hunza. The name of the child is Ayasho Alias Shah Khan. Lorimer gives him a reign of thirty five years and makes him succeed by his son Silum Khan (Salim Khan), who is said to have ruled for thirty years. On the other hand Qudratullah Beg speaks of a son of Nur Bibi by name Mayuritham. This son is said to have been placed on the throne of Hunza in place of her mother. It is during his time that Dalla Shah, son of Maglot, invaded Hunza. Later when pressed by the Raja of Gilgit, Mayuritham fled to Wakhan. He gave his daughter in marriage to the Wali of Wakhan. A son was born who was named Ayasho II. He was placed on the throne of Hunza. He was married to Shah Khatun, daughter of Abdal Khan of Baltistan. He had seven sons including Salim and Haritham. The father-in-law Abdal Khan gave in dowry, among other things, a gun which bears a date of AH. 946/AD. 1539. The Skardu ruler also sent some artisans from Baltistan who built the palatial forts of Altit (Pls. 20-23) and Baltit (pls. 24-26).<sup>36</sup> When building the Altit fort a canal was also excavated, the water of which later irrigated the agricultural land around it. Inside the Altit fort a mosque was also built. It was named the Mosque of Bibi Ghoras (or Gohar). Near this mosque a square tower in the ancient Hunza style was built. On this tower its date of construction is written as AH. 955/AD. 1548. The fort had several halls and rooms



for men, women, servants and a *Salam Khana* for public audience.

According to Qudratullah Beg, after this marriage of Ayasho II, communication between Hunza and Baltistan increased. *Akhunds* and *Mullahs* also came for preaching the Shia faith. Till this time the people of Hunza were non-Muslims and worshipped idols. They also worshipped a god called Boyo in Burushaski. Milk and ghee were offered to this god. Now the people of Hunza accepted the Shia faith.

In the time of Ayasho II the people of Nagar invaded Hunza and killed many people in Hunza including Vazir Ghulam Ali, son of Kharoi, and looted the fort of Baltit. Ayasho II died after ruling for thirty five years and was succeeded by his eldest son Haidar Khan but he had to flee after some years and take refuge with the people of Sumayar in Nagar.

The story of another brother Salim Khan II, son of Ayasho I, is further given by Qudratullah Beg.<sup>37</sup> It is said that he lived in Yarkand for twenty four years before he became the ruler of Hunza. There he purchased land which remained in the possession of Hunza. He was later able to defend Hunza against a Turkish invasion and conquer Raskam. He marched further by way of Oprang, annexing Tagdumbash, Dafdar, Erijilga and Wakhijur and levied taxes on the people of those places. (See next chapter)

Fatricidal wars among the brothers for the throne led to many deaths. Only two brothers Haritham and Shah Sultan were left. While Shah Sultan became the ruler of Hunza, Haritham attacked Raja Ali Dad Khan of Nagar, as noted under the history of Nagar, who fled to Baltistan and returned with a military force. Haritham was defeated and he had to come back to Hunza but with renewed help of his brother he reattacked Nagar, where Kamal Khan had succeeded his father Raja Ali Dad Khan. Kamal Khan again fled to Baltistan and returned with a larger force and defeated Haritham. Qudratullah Beg records that in the time of Shah Sultan the little hill plateau, originally called Suryas, was resettled by bringing a water channel here and distributing the land. In the meantime Shah Sultan was succeeded by his son Shahbaz in Hunza, who would not entertain Haritham and give him the throne. Haritham went to Kashmir and later when he was back in Hindi Shahbaz Khan got him killed.

Shahbaz Khan was succeeded by his son Shah Beg. In the history of Gilgit it is related that in the reign of Raja Sahebqiran (AD. 1561-1567) it is this Shah Beg of Hunza who agrandised

against Gilgit. As a result the Nagar ruler Shah Kamal invaded Hunza and defeated Shah Beg. But according to Qudratullah Beg the Nagar forces were repulsed. On this occasion a man from Ganesh by name Ghallo showed great bravery and hence he was rewarded. A party led by Trangfa, son of Hasan Shah, took the cause of Shah Khan, son of Haidar Khan, and killed Shah Beg. The latter's son Khusro Khan fled to Tangir but after the death of Shah Khan he returned and occupied the throne. At that time there were three Vazirs: One Vazir for the capital Altit; another Vazir for Baltit, and the third for Ganesh. During his reign the Yasin ruler invaded Hunza but he was repulsed. On this occasion the Nagar ruler also attacked Shimsal and looted the animals and crops but the men from Hunza blocked the way of Nagar invaders and got back the looted goods from them.

Qudratullah Beg<sup>38</sup> records the beginning of friendship and ambassadorial exchanges between Hunza and the government of Khitta (Xin-jiang) from the reign of Khusro Khan. The Mir sent his second son Salim III to Yarkand for opening friendly relations between the two countries. He sent some tributes of gold and sought protection from him. From this time the yearly tribute was fixed at sixteen *tola* of gold dust. In return the Khaqan of China sent various things including cotton and silken clothes, porcelain ware, green tea and black tea. Trade relations were also developed. On Salim's success his brother Mirza Khan became jealous of him. He killed his father after he had ruled for thirty five years, ascended the throne and banished Salim Khan who fled to Wakhan. There he was well received by the Malik of Wakhan. For five years Salim remained in Wakhan and also visited Balkh, Bokhara and Mazar-i-Sharif. Then Salim returned by way of Ishkoman to Gilgit, where Goritham, nephew of Raja Rahim, the Nagar ruler, occupied the throne. Salim Khan was his mother's sister's son. He was welcomed and given a quarter in Bagrot. With the help of forces received from Goritham he defeated Mirza Khan and became the ruler of Hunza. He had five sons and three daughters. One of his sons by name Ghazanfar married with Bibi Ji, a daughter of Sher Shah, the brother of Mihtar Sulaiman Shah. His own daughter Badshah Begam was married to the son of Sulaiman Shah, the Yasin ruler. She gave birth to Khushwaqt II and Sherdil Aman. When she was widowed, she again married with Malik Aman, the father of Gohar Aman. On the death of Salim III, his second son Ghazanfar ascended the throne.

Mir Salim Khan also sent his son Ghazanfar to the Amban of Yarkand with annual tributes. During his reign Shah Wali came from Badakhshan and after his death he was buried in Gulmit. Qudratullah Beg<sup>39</sup> also records the arrival of the saint Shah Ardbil from Badakhshan and at his hand the conversion of Mir Salim Khan into Ismaili faith. Salim Khan died in AD. 1823. His death ceremony was performed by Shah Husain, son of Shah Ardbil.

Qudratullah Beg gives a list of the following items which were received from the Khaqan of China in lieu of the tributes during the reign of Ghazanfar Khan: (i) Twelve guns, (ii) Six caparisoned horses, (iii) twelve boxes of black tea, (iv) twelve boxes of green tea (v) five hundred green muslin (vi) five hundred white muslin and (vii) one royal dress of skin.

Qudratullah Beg<sup>40</sup> writes that in the fifteenth year of the reign of Mir Ghazanfar, Sayyid Husain, son of Shah Ardbil, was invited from Badakhshan to preach Ismaili faith among the people of Hunza. He entered through the pass of Borogil. Then came Sayyid Yaqut Shah, son of Sayyid Shah Abdur Rahim. From the latter Mir Ghazanfar accepted Ismaili faith.

Lorimer sums up the territorial possessions in this part:

At that time the country comprising Tagdumbash, Dafdar, Gojak and Erijilga was populated. There were three rulers, Gojak, . . . Muhammad Ghazi, in the above-mentioned territories, all of whom had been tributary to the *tham* of Hunza since the time of Silum III. In commemoration of their victory the Hunza people erected a building in Gojak, which goes by the name of Gojak Bai. The people of this region were called Kirgiz and they possessed 300 holdings. Their chief was a man called Bozai. He was killed in battle against the Hunzakuts, who erected a cupola on the spot where he fell and gave it the name of Bozai Gumbaz.<sup>41</sup>

Earlier in the history of Gilgit we have described how Sulaiman Shah was able to get military assistance from Mir Ghazanfar of Hunza and also from Raja Habib Khan of Nagar against Gilgit ruler. Later the two rulers combined their strength and slew Sulaiman Shah. Mir Ghazanfar took Bargo, Nomal and Chaprot but later in the war that took place between Nagar and Hunza, Tahir Shah, the Nagar ruler, captured Nomal and Bargo. Still later when Gohar Aman was able to defeat Raja Mohammad Khan and occupy Gilgit, Mir Ghazanfar got back Chaprot and Shin Bar Bala. He also sent his Vazir's son to Gohar Aman and made friendship with him. This mutual friendship between Mir Ghazanfar and Gohar Aman estranged Nagar and led to subsequent events which brought the Sikhs to Gilgit.

**B(i). Kator Family of Chitral**

Earlier (ante pp. 168-69) in the history of the Trakhans during their second period we have seen how Tartorra Khan had two sons from two queens. One of them, Raja Torra Khan became the king of Gilgit and ruled from AD. 1241 to 1275. His step-brother Shah Rais Khan became the ruler of Chitral and founded the Raisia dynasty. The way by which he became the ruler of Chitral is not very clear. It is very likely that he got the government of Chitral by close alliance with the then Mongol ruler of Badakhshan. This dynasty continued to rule in Chitral for nearly three hundred years. According to *Shahnama-i-Chitral*,<sup>42</sup> when this dynasty came to an end, it was succeeded by that of Sange-Ali (or Sangin Ali).

Biddulph<sup>43</sup> has his own story about how Raisia dynasty came to power after supplanting the earlier idolatrous ruler Bahman. Professor Karl Jettmar<sup>44</sup> links this change with the Arab invasion of this region under Amir Hamza, the uncle of the holy Prophet (peace be upon him), who is credited to have spread Islam here. But Munshi Mohammad Azizuddin<sup>45</sup> does not believe this tradition to be true. On the other hand he notes another tradition of the time of Khalifah Hazrat Usman, when the Arabs reached Badakhshan. Two Arab leaders by name Sanifnosh and Isnaftanosh are said to have gone to Shah Bahman, ruler of Chitral, and converted him to Islam.

Regarding Sange Ali (Sangin Ali, this spelling will be henceforward used), we have earlier (p. 160) noted the tradition as given by Shah Rais Khan. Mohammad Azizuddin gives a different tradition.<sup>46</sup> According to his information Sangin Ali was the great grandson of Baba Ayub, who is said to be a nephew of the Mughal emperor Humayun and son of probably Mirza Kamran. Baba Ayub is associated with Kamal Shah Shamsuddin Tabrezi, a saint different from Shamsuddin Tabrezi. He settled in the village Lon and Gokher. His son was Mah-i-Taq and the latter's son was Khushhal. He had a son called Sangin Ali who accepted service under the rulers of Raisan and soon became so favourite that he was appointed Ataliq. He died in A.D. 1570. He had four sons. The two elder ones, Mohammad Raza and Mohammad Beg were appointed to the father's post, one for civil duties and the other for military responsibilities. The ruler also died but the prince left all the work in the hands of Mohammad Raza. He appointed his sons for the administration of Drosh, Yarkun, Koreshan and Dras, where he lived himself. Quarrel started between him and his younger brother Mohammad Beg. The latter had six sons, two of whom Mohtarim Shah and

Khushwaqt were very brave. They succeeded in finishing off their uncle and two of their cousins. Mohtarim Shah came to Chitral in A.D. 1585 and usurped the power in his own hands from the ruler of Raisan, who had to flee to Badakhshan. Thus Mohtarim Shah, also known as Shah Kator I, founded the Kator dynasty in Chitral. In A.D. 1615 Mahmud bin Shah Nasir returned from Badakhshan with military assistance. Although he was able to capture Mohtarim Shah in the beginning yet later he was himself killed. Second time in AD. 1634 the successor of Raisan attacked with the help of Badakhshan ruler. In this struggle Khushwaqt was killed. Mohtarim Shah fled and later attacked Gilgit but there he was also killed. This struggle between the Kator Shahs and the Raisia rulers continued for long. The former rulers were helped by their own cousins who ruled in Mastuj and Yasin and the latter got the support from the rulers of Badakhshan.

Mohtarim Shah I had seven sons. One of them Sangin Ali II, as we will see below, made havoc in Gilgit and avenged his father's murder. But bereft of power he first went to Afghanistan and later in A.D. 1708 to Delhi and took service under the Mughal emperor Shah Alam. With the treasure that he managed to obtain in Delhi he came back, recruited soldiers in Swat and invaded first Mastuj and then Chitral. The ruler of the Raisia family fled to Badakhshan. It was because of his victory in Chitral that his brothers returned from Afghanistan and the sons of Khushwaqt also came back from Bashgal (i.e. Nuristan). It was after his re-installation in Chitral that Sangin Ali II invaded Gilgit in A.D. 1712 and devastated that region. This invasion is not mentioned by the author Shah Rais Khan at all, which must have taken place during the reign of Raja Goritham. One day Sangin Ali II went out for hunting and while he was there one of the supporters of the family of Raisia killed him in A.D. 1745. He was succeeded by his brother Mohammad Ghulam who had married with the widow of Raja Khushwaqt. The latter's son, Shah Alam, killed him within two years and himself occupied Chitral throne. He was also killed at the instigation of his uncle Shah Afzal. He was succeeded by the two sons of Sangin Ali II, one after the other. By AD. 1774 both of them died.

Now Chitral throne fell vacant. The supporters of Raisia family brought back Shah Abdul Qadir bin Mahmud from Badakhshan but in a year's time, in 1775, he was again driven back by Faramurz Shah, the son of Khushwaqt. He is credited with many conquests and is said to have extended the territory to the borders of Gilgit on one side and to Chaghat Serai on the other. He ruled for sixteen years. In AD. 1790 he was killed at the instigation of his uncles Shah Afzal and Shah Fazil. First Shah Afzal came to the throne and ruled peacefully and then he was succeeded by his

brother Shah Fazil. When the three sons of Shah Afzal attained youth, they waged war against their uncle Shah Fazil, who, in spite of help from Darab Shah, the son of Khairullah Shah of Khushwaqt family, was killed. In AD. 1778 Mohtarim Shah II Kator occupied the throne of Chitral. Henceforward the struggle started between the Kator family members and those of Khushwaqt.

After Shah Fazil's death Khairullah Shah married his one daughter with Sher Jang, son of Fazil, and entrusted him to rule at Beni. His another daughter was married with Khan Bahadur and he made him rule at Mastuj. Then he attacked Chitral but he was defeated and had to return to Mastuj. Second time he attacked and got success. Mohtarim Shah II and his brothers fled. Khairullah went to Drosh and married with the widow of Shah Afzal. Then he returned to Mastuj after appointing Shah Raza at Drosh, Sher Jang at Ain and Khan Bahadur in Chitral. Later Mohtarim Shah got help from Mohammad Ali, the ruler of Afghanistan and recovered Chitral from Khan Bahadur who was captured. In the fratricidal war that later followed, Sher Jang was killed and so was killed Khairullah. Finally in 1818 Shahnauroz Khan sat on the throne of Chitral. He appointed his brother Sar Buland Khan in Drosh and Mohtarim Shah in Mastuj. At this turn of events Badshah Khan, the son of Shah Alam of Khushwaqt family came to Punial and made himself its ruler. Then he made for Mastuj where his son-in-law Mohtarim Shah was ruling. Although in war he could not recover it, by peaceful diplomacy Mohtarim Shah agreed to hand over Mastuj to him and himself went to Trekhu. Even here he did not have rest. First he met in war Darab Shah, son of Khairullah and later a joint invasion of Badshah Khan and Malik Aman but at the end he could maintain his position. In the meanwhile Badshah Khan died and Aman, in concert with Mohtarim Shah tried to snatch Punial and Warshegum. In Punial Shah Burush was ruling. After settling the affairs in Punial, Mohtarim Shah and Malik Aman advanced towards Gilgit and wrote to Baritham (correctly Goritham) about their conquest of Punial. They came to Gilgit and got recognition of their occupation of Punial from Goritham and returned to their countries.

Thus Mohtarim Shah II Kator became supreme in Chitral and he ruled from AD. 1833 to 1837. But before he could occupy such a position he had to contend with his brother Shah Nawaz who unfortunately lost favour with his people, thus opening chance for Mohtarim's accession. During latter's kingship Malik Aman, who had been given Mastuj and Yasin, died in 1833. He had fourteen sons but only three of them deserved to have power in their hands. They had not yet attained the age of maturity and hence Mohtarim Shah II had full control over their areas as well. Malik Aman had

entrusted his brother Sulaiman Shah with the administration of Ghizr, and Warshequm to his another brother Quwwat Khan. Mastuj remained in the hands of Vremen, one of the sons of Malik Aman. But in a year's time Sulaiman Shah managed to get Mastuj. However, Mohtarim Shah did not like this change and he entrusted both Mastuj and Warshequm to Quwwat Khan. Punial was also under him but on his behalf it was ruled by Izzat Khan, son of Raja Burush. According to Munshi Azizuddin Raja Mohammad Khan of Gilgit, desiring to dislodge Izzat Khan, attacked Punial. When Quwwat Khan came down with his forces, he was killed. At this turn of events Sulaiman Shah rushed to Punial to avenge the death of his brother. There in a severe battle he was able to kill both Raja Mohammad Khan and his brother Abbas. Thereafter he advanced on Gilgit and ruled there for five years.<sup>47</sup> He is also said to have enforced his supremacy over Nagar.

It must, however, be pointed out that the dates given by Munshi Azizuddin are ten years later than the usual time known. According to him Sulaiman Shah occupied Gilgit in 1835 whereas Shah Rais Khan gives 1825 as the date of occupation of Gilgit by Sulaiman Shah.

Similarly Munshi Azizuddin speaks of a long war between Sulaiman Shah and Mohtarim Shah II Kator. In this war the Chitral ruler conspired with Azad Khan (or Izzat Khan), the ruler of Punial and also tried to get military assistance from the ruler of Badakhshan. But Sulaiman Shah was more astute. At first there was a truce between him and Mohtarim Shah II but later Sulaiman Shah sought military help from Afghanistan. He is also said to have won over fraudulantly the Mir of Badakhshan but the latter was killed. Ultimately Sulaiman Shah lost his head at the hands of Azad Khan (or Izzat Khan). Sulaiman Shah's death opened the way for the rise of Gohar Aman who became powerful in Yasin and Mastuj. But before his rise to power Raja Azad Khan (or Izzat Khan) of Punial played an important role in the politics of Gilgit.

In the meanwhile Mohtarim Shah II died in 1837 and he was succeeded by his fifth son Shah Afzal II, who maintained his own even against the revolt of his brother Tajammul Shah. But his brothers and also his two sons Mohtarim Shah III and Mir Afzal often gave him trouble and raised their rebellious heads with men recruited from Dir and sometimes from Afghanistan. After ruling for sixteen years he died in AD. 1853. He was succeeded by his son Mohtarim Shah III who was famous for his bravery and generosity. Amanul Mulk was the second son of Shah Afzal. In a year's time he returned from his *jagir* of Drasin and with the consent of the people he ascended the throne in Chitral while Mohtarim Shah retired to *Drosh*. It was during his time that war started with the Dogras.

**B(ii) and (iii) Khushwaqt Family of Yasin and Mastuj and Burushai of Punial**

The Ataliq Sangin Ali I of Chitral had four sons. One of them by name Mohammad Beg had six children. As we have seen before, younger brother Khushwaqt laid the foundation of the Khushwaqt dynasty. He managed to extend his control from Mastuj to Yasin and, as we have seen in the history of Gilgit, he played a leading role in the affairs of Gilgit. He ruled in Yasin from about 1640 to 1700. His grandson Shah Burush who was son of Shah Alam, second ruler of Yasin, founded the Burushai dynasty of Punial. It is his son by name Azad Khan (or Izzat Khan) who ruled Gilgit from 1828 to 1833 as Naib-i-Saltanat after the murder of Sulaiman Shah. This Burushai family continued to rule in Punial even after the death of Azad Khan (or Izzat Khan) who was killed by the Nagar ruler Raja Tahir Shah. His brother Bahadur Khan also played an important role in the history of Punial and Chitral. The latter's son Isa Bahadur continued his authority here till it was finally recognised by the Dogras in 1860. His son Akbar Khan was ruling here when the British tried to establish their first political agency in Gilgit with J. Biddulph as its head.

Between Chitral and Gilgit Raja Khushwaqt built a mighty state, with his grandson Shah Burush in Punial and his own brother Mohtarim Shah I Kator in Chitral. As Chitral was a close neighbour of Badakhshan, Wakhan and Afghanistan, its history is closely linked with these parts. The territorial possession of Khushwaqt touched on the border of Gilgit on one side and on the other on the tribal areas of Darel and Tangir through intermediate passes. On the north through Darkot pass as well as through Imit in Ishkoman he had an access to Wakhan and Badakhshan. He could either interfere in Chitral for power or he could advance ahead towards Gilgit and contend with Trakhan rulers of Gilgit, on which greedy eyes of Nagar rulers were set. Khushwaqt chose the latter direction for his future moves. He was a towering personality, a great fighter, an experienced diplomat and fully conversant with political manouvres. He made Punial his advance post, on which he placed his grandson Shah Burush with his headquarter at the strong fort of Sher Qila. Another of his descendent was posted at the fort of Gakuch situated on a high plateau. With this preparation we could understand the future history of Yasin in close association with that of Gakuch, Ishkoman and Punial. On the strength of these resources Khushwaqt rose to power. Unfortunately no history book has been



available to the present author, written from the angle of Yasin rulers. The genealogical history of Chitral speaks more of internecine family feuds rather than of political development in which Chitral and Yasin pushed as a daggerhead not only against Gilgit but also against all those forces, such as the Nagar rulers, the Skardu rulers and later the Sikhs and the Dogras who had an evil eye on the sovereignty of Gilgit. The other available historical accounts do not do full justice to this ruling family. However, it is clear that Khushwaqt laid the foundation of the greatness of Yasin and therefore the family deserved to be remembered after his own name. He initiated a new role for Yasin by keeping his aggressive hands right on the currents of the history of Gilgit and set a new direction of advance for his successors who could be checked only by the approach of an external power. His interference in the internal affairs of Gilgit led to its virtual occupation either through diplomatic marriage or by force. His main objective was to keep away the Nagar rulers from occupying Gilgit, for which there started the great game of diplomacy to divide the Gilgit nobility and people and win over as many of them as possible. Although his success is not so well painted in available sources, yet his successors continued his policy and made a successful bid for power in Gilgit. The seed, that he planted, fructified in the time of his great grandson Sulaiman Shah, who rose to become a strong ruler of a territory, extending from Gilgit to Chitral. This glory was still to shine more in the time of the latter's nephew Gohar Aman who was a mighty military commander that this region produced in the mediaeval period. He even disdained the invasion of the well-trained Sikh division on Gilgit over the pussillanimity of Raja Karim Khan and so arrayed his military strategy that the Sikhs and the Dogras had to flee away from Gilgit. Gohar Aman re-established the honour and prestige of the people of Northern Areas by unfurling his own flag over Gilgit. The fire of freedom spirit that he enkindled in the heart of the people, even at the sacrifice of his own family members later at the hands of the Dogras and the British, continued to smoulder until the people of Northern Areas fought bravely shoulder to shoulder to finally drive away the Dogras in the freedom struggle of 1947-48.

The south-eastward advance of the children of Sangin Ali I from Chitral enabled Khushwaqt to carve out a state in Mastuj and Yasin and owing to the weakness of the Gilgit ruler he placed his own grandson Raja Burush on the advance post of Sher Qila in Puniel. When towards the close of the Gilgit ruler Raja Ali Sher

Khan's reign (AD 1600 to 1632), there was a quarrel for succession to the Gilgit throne, the local people were divided. This gave an opportunity to Khushwaqt to move. The Nagar ruler, Shah Kamal, also had an eye on Gilgit. Khushwaqt's move is not fully known, except that Raja Burush is said to have made preparations for the invasion of Gilgit. But such preparations were not single-handed, is clear from the fact that the Gilgit ruler's supporter Shah Kamal had to fight with three more rulers, those of Bandipur, Badakhshan and Chitral. Khushwaqt is said to have sent forces under the command of Malik Aman, his second great grandson. Shah Kamal is given the credit of success in all these struggles and as a reward he got the territory of Chesar, also known as Shinaki. Gilgit throne remained intact in the house of the Trakhans. Raja Ali Sher Khan was succeeded by Raja Ali Haidar Khan. Now the second stage of struggle opened when Ali Haidar Khan was trapped by Khushwaqt and later killed in Yasin. His nephew Raja Khaqan Mirza was crowned king of Gilgit and the latter's daughter Jawar (or Jawahir) Khatun was married away in Skardu. The credit is given to Rasho for saving the situation in favour of the Trakhans but only after raising his own position to the status of *Naib-i-Saltanat*. Khushwaqt was not slow to move. His diplomacy even won the favour of Shah Kamal, at whose hands Raja Khaqan Mirza lost his head. It is at this time that Khushwaqt must have advanced right upto Gilgit. The history is not very clear. It seems that advance was a joint action in concert with Sangin Ali II, the ruler of Chitral. This joint action must have forced Vazir Rasho to go to Skardu and bring back Jawar (Jawahir) Khatun most probably with the support of the ruler of Baltistan. In this political tussel, Shah Kamal again managed to get his elder son Raja Shah Firdaus marry with the widowed Jawar (Jawahir) Khatun. A son born to them, who was named Raja Ji Khan. Khushwaqt again moved and lured Ji Khan to marry with a daughter of Raja Burush. Actually Ji Khan had two other wives, one from Skardu and another from Nagar. These tangled marriages again led to the issue of succession after Ji Khan, a game in which Khushwaqt played an important role. As a result Jawahir Khatun had to retain power in her own hands as a compromise solution. In the eleventh year of her second term Raja Khushwaqt died in AD. 1700 in full satisfaction that his diplomacy had not been in vain. He had been able to win a party of followers in Gilgit and at the same time kept the rulers of Nagar away from Gilgit.

In the long reign of Raja Shah Goritham who succeeded Jawa-

hir Khatun after her death in AD. 1705, the Yasin rulers were busy in internecine wars in Yasin and Chitral until Sulaiman Shah became strong in Mastuj and Yasin and Gilgit saw the rise of another Vazir by name Mulla Beg. But before Sulaiman Shah finally became strong, he took refuge for sometime at Gilgit in the court of Raja Goritham, having been pushed away by Shah Nawaz, the ruler of Chitral. Probably it is at this time that he got his sister married with Raja Goritham's younger son by name Raja Abbas. Thus he secured a strong foothold in Gilgit, where the party politics had divided the loyalty of the people, some coming to his side and others on the side of Vazir Mulla Beg. The history is not clear as to how Mohammad Khan, the elder son of Raja Goritham, was thrown out of Gilgit at this time. He first took shelter in Nagar but when not received well there fled to Skardu. Shah Rais Khan blames only Vazir Mulla Beg for the expulsion of Mohammad Khan and for his cold reception in Nagar. But Mohammad Khan's departure was also in the interest of Sulaiman Shah who was satisfied to see that the way was now clear for the accession of his own brother-in-law Raja Abbas. However, we learn that Mohammad Khan was well received in Skardu and the local ruler's daughter was betrothed to him. The actual political situation became clear when the old Raja Goritham was murdered by Sulaiman Shah and then the power struggle started between him and Vazir Mulla Beg. The latter could seize power only for six months in AD. 1800 but very soon Sulaiman Shah returned to Gilgit with renewed strength, finished off Vazir Mulla Beg and became master of Gilgit and thus achieved the object which was aimed at by Khushwaqt. From 1800 to 1802 Sulaiman Shah became supreme in a large territory extending from Gilgit to Chitral. This was the first achievement of Sulaiman Shah.

In Skardu Raja Mohammad Khan was not slow to move. He got military assistance from the ruler and decided to return. Shah Rais Khan writes that he first went to Gurez and stayed there for some time. The object of his stay is nowhere stated. The time spent there must have been utilized to win support against Sulaiman Shah. Now we find the rise of two Vazirs by name Musammi Utman of Gor and Musammi Somiya Ghulam. On their advice, or his childhood. Restrengthened by these combined forces Mohammad he was well received by the tribal people, among whom he had spent his childhood. Restrengthened by these combined forces Mohammad Khan attacked Gilgit, occupied the Firdausia fort and drove away Sulaiman Shah to Yasin. His long rule in Gilgit from 1802 to 1822 was not free from difficulty. While Sulaiman Shah made prepara-

tions in Yasin, Mohammad Khan got entangled with Nagar and Hunza rulers. At the end even these two rulers also were won over by Sulaiman Shah, who in a joint action dislodged Mohammad Khan from Gilgit throne, captured him and took him to Yasin as a prisoner. In Gilgit his brother-in-law Raja Abbas was crowned king in AD. 1823. Sulaiman Shah once again regained power in Gilgit. Later both Raja Abbas and Raja Mohammad Khan were killed in Yasin. Second time Sulaiman Shah became all powerful in Gilgit from 1825—26. This was the second glorious achievement of Sulaiman Shah whose authority was supreme from Chitral to Gilgit and from the borders of Badakhshan to the border of Gurez. The ruler of Hunza, Raja Ghazanfar 'Ali was his son-in-law and the Nagar ruler was his ally. In Punial Raja Azad Khan (or Izzat Khan) was placed by him.

Two children of Raja Mohammad Khan had survived him. They were Raja Khusro Khan and his sister Malika Sahebnuma. They became the bone of contention. Raja Khusro Khan took shelter with Raja Azur Khan, the Nagar ruler but very soon he was murdered. Sulaiman Shah's position became very envious. This led to struggle between him and the Nagar ruler. There was also a power tussel in Chitral and Yasin. It was difficult for Sulaiman Shah to face this new challenge. His downfall was near. He was ousted from Gilgit. Malika Sahebnuma was enthroned with Raja Azad Khan (or 'Izzat Khan) of Punial as her regent. It was he who got Sulaiman Shah killed. Sulaiman Shah's rise to power was a long struggle of wit and valour. His downfall was more due to lack of cohesion among the descendants of Kator Shah and Khushwaqt than due to military defeat. His death once again opened the field for mediation in Gilgit by the rulers of Nagar and his own successors in Yasin.

Hashmatullah Khan<sup>48</sup> paints a harrowing picture of Gilgit in the first half of nineteenth century and presents a summary account of the history under the title of "Short-lived Government of the dynasties of Yasin, Punial and Nagar and end of the autonomy (*Khud-mukhtari*) of Gilgit". Hashmatullah<sup>49</sup> sums up as follows:

'With 'Abbas Khan ended the rule of the Trakhan dynasty and Gilgit became a battle-ground of the invaders. First, it was occupied by Sulaiman Shah, the ruler of Yasin, then 'Izzat Khan, the ruler of Punial, established his authority here. It was then brought under the forcible occupation of Tahir Khan, the ruler of Nagar. After his death his son Shah Sikandar succeeded to this position. Now appeared Gohar Aman, Raja of Yasin. He killed Sikandar and established his own government here. Karim Khan (Sikandar's younger brother) got military assistance from the Sikhs, drove away Gohar Aman and established his rule under the supremacy of the Sikhs.

Munshi Azizuddin<sup>50</sup> paints a different picture.

Gohar Aman fought with other nations and defeated them. Hence his name is to be remembered with great respect in the history of Chitral. His most outstanding achievement is the conquest of Gilgit, where Kashmir's supremacy was then prevailing. This brave *Mihtar* invaded Gilgit four times. Before him the people of Worshegum occupied Gilgit in the time of Sulaiman Shah. But after his death there was war of succession for the throne of Yasin. As a result Gilgit was lost. When Gohar Aman came to occupy the throne, Sikandar Khan, son of Tahir Shah, the Nagar ruler, was ruling in Gilgit. In 1841 Gohar Aman attacked, defeated him and established his authority here. Sikandar's younger brother, Karim Khan, sought assistance from the ruler of Kashmir. Hence the Maharaja of Kashmir, with the permission from Lahore Darbar, sent one thousand soldiers under the command of Natthe Shah. When the troops were on way (to Gilgit), Sikandar Khan was killed. Natthe Shah despaired of success and asked for more military forces. When assistance came, he was able to drive away the deputy of Gohar Aman from Gilgit before the latter could send re-enforcement. Gohar Aman retired to Mastuj.

In 1848 Gohar Aman invaded Gilgit and conquered it after destroying the occupation force. When Darbar Kashmir got the news, re-enforcement of two thousand soldiers with four cannons was sent. Gohar Aman gave battle but when cannon fire became too heavy, he left Gilgit, which was recaptured by Maharaja's troops.

In 1852 the people of Gilgit, disliking the heavy hand of the Dogras, invited Gohar Aman. Although large Dogra force was present in Gilgit, yet Gohar Aman attacked with great bravery and drove them away from Gilgit valley. On this occasion he wiped out fifteen hundred Dogra soldiers along with its Commander Bhup Singh at a place, which hence-forth was called Bhup Singh Pari. In 1856 Maharaja of Kashmir sent a large force and re-occupied Gilgit and appointed Isa Bahadur as *Thanedar* of Punial. In 1857 Gohar Aman once again took possession of the fort (of Gilgit) when Maharaja Ghulab Singh's attention was diverted towards the great rebellion of Delhi. His son Maharaja Ranbir Singh sent another force (towards Gilgit). When this force was on way, Gohar Aman died in AD. 1860.

Munshi 'Azizuddin wrote from his own experience in 1897 when he served as a Munshi to British Agency in Chitral. Hashmatullah Khan depended on the account of Frederic Drew, who wrote in 1877 his book, "*The Northern Barrier of India: A popular Account of the Jummo and Kashmir Territories*. Drew talks about five dynastic changes between 1825 and 1842 from Sulaiman Shah to Karim Khan as has been given above. About Gohar Aman (he spells as "Gaur Rahman) he did not have a good opinion but relied mainly on hearsay accounts. The following quotation will be enough to understand his way of thinking.

He was a man of blood-thirsty nature as much so perhaps, though he had not the same opportunities of killing on a large scale, as Theodore of Abyssinia. There are many talks told of his ferocity and brutality; the Dards generally are rather careless of life, but with his deeds they were disgusted. I believe it to be a fact that on one occasion at least he killed a young child by throwing it up and cutting it in the air with his

sword . . . . They say that when he was ill he would have some men killed for *niyaz*, that is, a propitiatory sacrifice.<sup>51</sup>

Drew then narrates the story how Gaur Rahman (Correctly Gohar Aman) conquered Gilgit and how "a couple of Sikh regiments were sent under Colonel Nathu Shah. This was about the year 1842. Upto this time the Sikhs had not occupied the intermediate country of Astor, but they had made it tributary to them; now on advancing they established a post there to make their communications sure." Then he narrates the story of Mathura Das and his defeat at the hands of Gohar Aman "in the stony plain between Sharot and Gulpur (correctly Golapur)." However, Natthu Shah is said to have come forward "to engage Gaur Rahman." The result is stated as follows:

But before they came to blows negotiations were entered into, and the strange result was that it was agreed the Sikhs should hold Gilgit, the boundary being drawn where the two forces were confronting each other, that being, indeed, the usual boundary of Gilgit, and that Gaur Rahman should give his daughter in marriage to Natthu Shah, the Commander of the Sikhs. Not only was this done, but the Hunza Raja (Ghazan Khan) and the Nagar Raja, who were there as allies to Gaur Rahman, did the same thing; each gave a daughter to Natthu Shah, and peace was made all round.

Of course Nathu Shah did not give over Gilgit completely to Raja Karim Khan, who had called in his aid, there was a kind of joint government. Karim had certain dues from the people allotted to him; further imposts were, I think, made for the Sikh Government; a small Sikh force was fixed at Gilgit, and Nathu Shah himself returned to Kashmir, or rather (for reasons connected with the Sikh troubles which were then brewing) passed through Kashmir, avoiding Srinagar, to the Punjab.

Thus were things settled; and this was the state that Maharaja Gulab Singh succeeded to when he received Kashmir in accordance with two treaties by the British, with the Sikh Darbar in one case, and himself in the other. <sup>52</sup>

This account of Drew is rather vague about the actual position of Gilgit under the Sikhs. On the other hand Dr. Leitner, who was in Gilgit in 1866, in his "Chronological history of Dardistan (1841—1848)", is more definite in assessing the actual position. He writes:

1845 — Karim Khan succeeds his brother as ruler (called 'Raja', although a Muhammadan) of Gilgit and pays a small sum for the retention of some Kashmir troops in the Gilgit Fort under Nathe Shah. The Rajas of Hunza, Nagyr and Yasin (Gauhar Aman sending his brother Khalil Aman to Sheikh Iman-ud-din) now seek to be on good terms with Kashmir, especially as its representatives, the tyrannical Nathe Shah and his equally unpopular successor, Atar Singh, are removed by its Muhammadan Governor.

1846 — Karim Khan, Raja of Gor, another son of Tahir Shah, calls in Nathe Shah and defeats Gauhar Aman at Basin, close to Gilgit. A succession of officers of Gulab Singh then administer the country in connexion with the Raja of Gilgit (Wazir Singh, Ranjit Rai, Bakhshu, Ali Bakhsh and Ahmad Ali Shah, brother or cousin of Nathe Shah). By

Treaty (See next Chapter),:

Kashmir and its Dependencies eastward of the Indus, are made over by the British to the Hindu Gulab Singh. Gilgit which lies to the *westward* of the Indus, is thus excluded from the Dominions of the Maharaja. Gilgit was also, strictly speaking, not a dependency of Kashmir, nor was Chilas.<sup>53</sup>

Dr. Leitner was convinced of historical narration that he has given above. He further adds:

When I crossed then Kashmir frontier in 1866, in the guise of a Bokhara Maulavi, armed with a testimonial of Muhammadan theological learning, I found that the tribes of Hunza, Nagyr, Dareyl, Yasin, and Chitral had united under the leadership of the last named to expel the Kashmir invaders from the Gilgit fort . . . . My followers were frightened off by all sorts of wild stories, till our party was reduced from some fifty to three, including myself. The reason for all this was, that the Maharaja was afraid that I should find out and report his breach of the Treaty by which we sold Kashmir to him in 1846, and in which the Indus is laid down as his boundary on the west. In 1866, therefore, at any rate even the tenure of Gilgit, which is on the other side of the Indus, was contested and illegal whilst the still more distant Hunza and Nagyr had more than once inflicted serious punishment on the Kashmir troops that sought to invade districts that have preserved their autonomy during the last fourteen centuries as was admitted by *The Times* of the 2nd November, 1891.<sup>54</sup>

The factual position is thus given by Dr. Leitner:

“When I visited Gilgit, in 1866, it was practically without a ruler, the invading troops of Kashmir barely holding their own within a few yards of the Gilgit fort.”<sup>55</sup>

The events after 1846 are narrated both by Drew and Dr. Leitner in their own fashion. Drew further reports:

In 1852 Sant Singh was Thanadar, or Commander, at the Gilgit Fort; there was another fort at Naupura, a couple of miles off, held by a Gurkha regiment of the Maharaja's, under Ram Din, Commandant; and one Bhup Singh was in command of the reserves at Bawanji and Astor. I do not know what it was that made Gaur Rahman to perceive, and urged him to take advantage of this opportunity. He suddenly brought a force that surrounded and separated the two forts.<sup>56</sup>

Dr. Leitner is again more exact when he gives the chronological History:

1850 — The raids of the Chilas on Astor is made the occasion for invading the country of Chilas, which, *not* being a dependency of Kashmir, is *not* included in the Treaty of 1846. *The Maharaja gives out that he is acting under order of the British Government* (italics mine) Great consternation among petty chiefs about Muzaffarabad, regarding ulterior plans of the Maharaja. The Sikhs send a large army, which is defeated before the Fort of Chilas

1851 — Bakhshi Hari Singh and Dewan Hari Chand are sent with 10,000 men against Chilas and succeed in destroying the fort and scattering the hostile hill tribes which assisted the Chilas.

1852 — The Maharaja's head officers, Santu Singh and Ramdhan are murdered by the people of Gilgit whom they oppressed. People again

assist Gauhar Aman, who defeats and kills Bhup Singh and Ruknuddin and drives the Kashmir troops across the Indus to Astor.<sup>57</sup>

The result has been well summed up by Frederic Dew: "From the time when these events happened, the Maharaja's boundary, below Harmosh, remained at the Indus; above Harmosh, that is, in Baltistan, he possessed the country on both sides of the river. A considerable force was kept at Bawanji; and it seems to have been Gulab Singh's fixed policy to advance no farther."<sup>58</sup>

Gohar Aman thus came back to Gilgit at the invitation of the people of Gilgit, reconquered it from the Dogras and continued to rule here until his death in 1860. In the bravery and valorous fight that Gohar Aman put up, Ghulab Singh lost his hope of ruling over Gilgit. Gohar Aman re-established his rule here and once again allowed the free air to blow for the people of the region.

### C(i) Makpons of Skardu

Very little information is available so far on the early history of Baltistan. Two distinct periods of Buddhism have been noted in the previous chapter. The first of these must begin at least from the time of the Kushanas when Buddhism was introduced here either from Kashmir or from Gilgit. The second was the time of the Tibetan conquest in early eighth century A.D., as a result of which many Tibetan inscriptions have been left behind in this part of the world. The Tibetans were defeated in Gilgit in AD 751. As we have seen earlier, there was a change of dynasty in that sub-region soon after. The change is also seen in this sub-region by Richard M. Emerson<sup>59</sup> who traces the beginning of state formation in Baltistan from eighth century AD. and associates it with two factors; first the extension of irrigation for the development of agriculture and second, the imposition of Turkish (Tatar) rule in this part and its maintenance by military force. The acceptance of this proposal will be belying the historical evidence. State formation had already started at least from the time of the Kushanas, when the extraction of gold added significantly to the economy of the region. The continuity of this state has not yet been traced. But A.H. Francke<sup>60</sup> already talks of "the migration of the Dards" and "The time of the Tibeto-Dard kingdoms, about 500-1000 AD." On the other hand F.W. Thomas<sup>61</sup> speaks of "Huna origin" of the Baltistan dynasty and presumably takes Isvaravarman, king of Skardu, as known from Tibetan documents, to be one of the Huna kings. The involvement of the Tibetans in this region must have followed the consolidation of dynastic rule<sup>62</sup> in Tibet by its founder Songtsen-gampo (died AD 649 or 650). His successors continued for nearly two cen-



turies the expansion of the Tibetan State power at the expense of the Chinese authority in the north. It is against the expansion of this State power that the Kashmir ruler Lalitaditya Muktapida (AD. 699-736) took action and probably advanced into this region.<sup>63</sup> So far we have no evidence at all to show the actual occupation of Baltistan by Lalitaditya Muktapida except a vague surmise by Emerson that the water channel (pl. 27), now seen in the city of Skardu, might have been the work of Muktapida. As against this surmise, we have overwhelming evidence of Tibetan inscriptions and Tibetan form of Tantric Buddhism all over Baltistan that prove the continuation of Tibetan State control over this region as long as the dynasty of Songtsen-gampo was strong. Only towards the end of the 9th or beginning of the tenth century AD, after the dissolution of this dynastic power, there was possibility of the rise of new state power in Baltistan. The rise of the new state authority was a continuation of the older state formation, as is proved by all the oral traditions now available in Baltistan. Certainly the new state power was not of an indigenous origin. It is the transplantation of a new ethnic element into the earlier Buddhist population of the sub-region. This transplantation must be associated with two new developments — the expansion of the Uigur Turks<sup>64</sup> in Xin-jiang and probably their interest in controlling the trade that went across the Karakorum pass towards India, and second, the establishment of the Turkish authority in Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar, some members of whose family were often crossing the glacial pass and coming to Baltistan, as we have seen earlier (ante p. 168). However, the local traditions of Skardu also speaks of an immigrant from Kashmir, who, after marrying a local princess, started the line of Makpon rulers of Skardu. These scraps of evidence certainly point to one direction, i.e. the importance, of this sub-region as a link between Kashmir and other parts of India on the one hand and Xin-jiang and other parts of China on the other. When this trade prospect is combined with the source of gold as well as with the possibility of agricultural development, however limited it was, we can easily understand the economic base that must have led to state formation in Baltistan. It is the mobilisation of these resources and the execution of various measures for maintaining order among different ethnic groups that the state power continued to develop. This section will attempt to detail the expansion of the mediaeval state or states in Baltistan after the establishment of the new dynasties.

## Origin of the Dynasty

The earliest record of the origin is found in the work of G.T. Vigne,<sup>65</sup> who writes:

At one period, as they relate, the royal race was nearly extinct, the last Gylfo having left an only daughter, whose hand was sought in marriage by twelve Vuzirs, or great men of the country; and even a choice was made, a Fakir holding a rod of gold in one hand, and a purse containing the same metal in the other, was observed sitting on a large stone in the village of Shikari. He was always to be found there, and appeared to have made it at once his resting-place and his house; and he soon acquired a reputation for extra-ordinary sanctity, — and the more so, as no one could tell whence he came. The young Begum was given to him by the consent of all parties, and to this union the Rajahs not only of Iskardo, but of Katakchund, Parkuta, Tolti, Rondu, and Astor, trace the origin of their families.

This tradition of Vigne is accepted by Cunningham<sup>66</sup> who further identifies the Fakir with Makpon Bokha, the progenitor of the Parkuta family. Biddulph,<sup>67</sup> relying on Cunningham's chronology, on the other hand says that "a Mahomedan adventurer named Ibrahim Shah usurped the sovereignty of Baltistan, and founded the Makpon . . . tradition relates that Ibrahim Shah came originally from Egypt by way of Hindustan, and that Buddhism was at that time the religion of the country". Hashmatullah<sup>68</sup> draws upon this same tradition but makes young Ibrahim come from Kashmir and marry with the local princess. These authors place Ibrahim in the beginning of thirteenth century AD. but Cunningham and Biddulph make him contemporary with Azur Jamshed who founded the new dynasty in Gilgit.

The advent of this adventurer, Ibrahim Shah, in Skardu is as enigmatic as the coming of Azur Jamshed in Gilgit. Both married with local princesses and laid the foundation of a new dynasty. Hashmatullah gave no information at all about seven generations of rulers that followed Ibrahim Shah. But he provides the list in the genealogical table as follows:

Ibrahim — Istak Singe — Zik Singe — Brook Singe — Sik Singe — Tham Goritham — Shah Goritham. Biddulph agrees with this list except that he reverses Brook Singe and Zik Singe. Biddulph analysed the names of these rulers and grouped them under *Singe* and *Tham*. The first he equated with *Singh* and takes it to be derived from Shina and the second he derived from Burushaski. In other words he understood the names to be a mixture. What he probably meant was that in the Tibetan area, where the ruling

title was *Makpon* (meaning "Commander-in-Chief"), the Shina and Burushaski names suggested to him an intervention from outside and "a broken succession, rather than to a regular descent from father to son". Even then it is not clear how the Tibetan rule, which became weak in early tenth century AD. led on to the present change of dynasty, which is placed in early thirteenth century AD.

Earlier (ante p. 168), in the Second period of the Trakhan dynasty it has been mentioned that in the 19th year of Raja Haidar Khan in AD. 1016, Raja Shah Hatam (or Cha Tham) fled from Hunza and came to Baltistan via Hispar glacier, probably landing in Shigar. As we will see below in the history of Shigar, it was probably he who founded the Amacha dynasty in Shigar. If this identification is correct, we find Goritham as the tenth ruler of this dynasty in Shigar. It was during his reign that the well-known Muslim saint Amir-i-Kabir Sayyid Ali Hamadani is said to have come to Shigar<sup>69</sup> in about AD. 1379. His contemporary ruler in Skardu was Shah Goritham. It was during his reign that Amir-i-Kabir passed through this region (pls. 28 and 29). This common name of Goritham in the two royal houses at Skardu and Shigar suggest that they were probably one and the same king and, as suggested by Biddulph, Goritham of Shigar might have conquered Skardu. Normally the *tham* part of the name is seen only in Shigar and only two rulers bear this part of the name in Skardu. However, the Makpon rulers of Skardu soon asserted their independence and we find them using their own names and titles. According to the local tradition Goritham of Shigar accepted Islam but Shah Goritham of Skardu did not accept Islam. This tradition could be explained in another way. Amir-i-Kabir came to Shigar and Khaplu and at his hands the local rulers accepted Islam but he is not known to have come to Skardu and hence the ruler here did not accept Islam. It is possible that the local people continued their Buddhist faith. It is equally possible that Goritham was ousted from Skardu and the government was taken over by Khokhor Singe, as is claimed in the genealogy of Hashmatullah Khan.

Hashmatullah Khan gives the following line of succession in Skardu. Khokhor Singe — Ghotachoh Singe — Bahram Choh — Makpon Bokha. The date of this last ruler, according to Cunningham, is about AD. 1500. It was during his reign, that is, after nearly one hundred and fifty years of the visit of Amir-i-Kabir, that we find another great Muslim missionary Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi (died A.H. 932/AD. 1525) coming into this part for the purpose of preac-

hing Islam (pl. 30). As a result of the missionary work by him and his followers that Islam became widely current in this part and Buddhism finally became extinct. One fundamental change that we now get in the genealogical list of Skardu rulers is that hereafter all the names are Muslim. It is therefore probable that Bokha accepted Islam at the hands of Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi.

Hashmatullah Khan,<sup>70</sup> probably on the evidence of Mir Najmuddin Thaqib, also brings here in Baltistan Hazrat Sayyid Mohammad Nur Bakhsh, the founder of the *Nurbakhshi* order, between AH. 840/AD. 1438 — AH. 850/AD. 1448. But the late Mr. Abdul Hamid Khawar<sup>71</sup> has given sufficient proof to show that the Sayyid did not come to Baltistan. On the evidence of an unpublished manuscript *Tohfatul Ahabab*, he believes that Nurbakhshi order was propagated here by Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi. Today the followers of this order are found in large number in Khaplu subdivision of Baltistan district.

### Foundation of the Capital at Skardu

The time of the actual foundation of the city of Skardu is not known. What was the position of this city site during the period of the Tibetan rule can only be guessed. However, Buddhist remains (pl. 14) of this period are known at Manthal near Satpara lake. Probably at this time dam was built to form the lake and most probably irrigation channel was first taken out at this time. However, close to the city, not far from the modern Radio Station, there is another important site of Buddhist monastery, wherefrom inscribed sealings and seals of a period ranging from 6th-8th Century AD. have been recovered. The writing is in the post-Gupta Brahmi character and the reliefs in terracotta sealings show figures of Boddhisattvas and stupas of a type known in the Gilgit sub-region. Similar material in rock carvings have been noticed in the previous chapter near Gol about twenty miles north of Skardu. Apparently it seems that this type of Buddhism was introduced here by Buddhists migrating from Gilgit area.

With this background it is easy to understand why Hashmatullah Khan<sup>72</sup> talks of the migration of "Dard" people from Gilgit and colonising settlements here. He talks of five such settlements: (1) Gyaloshalpo who founded Gyor or Gol; (2) Shakar Gyalpo who established Shikri Kalan, Chaundah and Byamanqapu; (3) Koru Asun Choh settled Kharbu; (4) Barq Mayur Choh established Barq

Naq; and (5) Lon Chhe made settlements below Kachura lake right upto Indus valley. It is the Shakar Gyalpo family which left a daughter by name Musammatt Shikri, who was later married to Ibrahim Shah. Out of these five settled governments only three survived: the first and second integrating into one, and third and fourth into another.

Hashmatullah further records that in the time of Makpon Bahram Choh the Lonchhe ruler Adat Choh invaded Shikri. Bahram's Vazir Chandangiri played a strategem and lured Adat Choh into a deep ditch where he was later killed. Adat Choh's forces fled. It is at this time that Makpon Bahram's soldiers advanced upto Basho and occupied the whole area. When Bahram's son Bokha was still a child, Barq Mayur Choh occupied Shikri. The foster father, by name Malatam Zerpa, saved Bokha, reared him and ultimately raised him to the throne. He was able to defeat Barq Mayurpa. Thus finally all the five original governments integrated into one under the rule of Makpon Bokha, who, according to tradition, can be said to be the real founder of the state of Baltistan in about AD. 1500. Hashmatullah Khan gives his dates from AD. 1490 to 1515. According to him he established the city of Skardu, so named as it means in Balti language, low land between two high places of Shikri and Satpara. According to him the name Skardu<sup>73</sup> also recalls that of the eponymous family hero Askar-Gyalpo. It is further related that Bokha transferred his residence from Shikri to the most famous towering fort at Skardu, known today as *Kharpocha*, built by him (pls 31-34). The fort is washed by the Indus river on the east and north. It is during his time that Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi came to Skardu. All these traditions, when re-evaluated in the background of the available information, present Makpon Bokha as the real founder of the state of Baltistan with its headquarter at Skardu and residential seat at Kharpocha fort towering high above the surrounding plain and giving to it a new cultural base by allowing Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi to preach Islam. He is also known to have provided a new socio-economic base by importing people and craftsmen from Chilas and Kashmir. The Kashmiris who settled here were known as *Doghamipa* and Kanapa. Relations, both cultural and commercial, also started with Yarkand and Kashgar. Skardu rose to be an envy of political power in the region, over which the Makpons presided with the result that in the time of the succeeding rulers political refugees came from Hunza, Nagar, Gilgit and Kashmir while both Mongols from Kashgar and Mughals

from Kashmir extended their powerful hands towards it. How the Balti state managed to circumvent all these forces, is narrated below.

### Balti State Power in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

With the solid foundation of Balti state power Makpon Bokha, his son Sher Shah I could further fortify his strength. He ruled from AD. 1515 to 1540, and must have witnessed the invasion of the Central Asian Moghal ruler Sultan Abu Said Khan in AD 1532. But this invasion hardly touched his territory. While Sultan Said himself went to Shigar, Mirza Haidar Dughlat talks of Zanskar and Sut in the area of Kargil. In other words this Moghal army could hardly come to grips with the Chief Balti ruler Sher Shah who was strong in Skardu. According to Hashmatullah Khan Sher Shah became the ardent follower of Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi. Sher Shah was succeeded by his son Ali Khan, who ruled from AD. 1540 to 1565. He initiated a new role of aggrandisement for Skardu by extending the territorial limits towards Dras on one side and towards Shighar Shanghu on the other. As the latter area suffered from the attacks of people from Chilas and Astor, he annexed the area into his territory and established watch-posts on the passes towards Astor. Ali Khan was succeeded by his son Ghazi Mir, who ruled from AD. 1565 to 1595. He continued his father's policy of aggressive advance. He annexed the valley of Rondu by finally exterminating the Lonchhe dynasty and pushing his boundary upto Istak. His next eye fell on Parkuta and Kartakhsha, in which direction he sent an army under the command of his son, Ali Sher Khan, who later came to be known as *Anchan*, i.e. *A'zam* (great). As we have seen before, the latter area was under Ladakh. The Ladakhi troop posted here was defeated and both these places were annexed with Baltistan. Then Ali Sher Khan advanced further towards Sut and Budh Kharbu and captured Chagtan and Pashkam. After some years the Gyalpo of Ladakh invaded Sut and killed the *Kharpon* of Ali Sher Khan who was posted in Budh Kharbu. In reply Ali Sher Khan attacked Ladakh and forced his entry into its capital. Later an agreement was signed by which Ghotamat Choh (i.e. Nala Girgira) became the line of boundary between Baltistan and Ladakh and this *Nala* alongwith the village *Ganukh* came under the occupation of Skardu ruler. Jamyang Namgil (or Namgyal) gave his daughter Mandok Gyalmo in marriage to Ali Sher Khan, who entered Skardu with laurels of victory.

Mughal relations<sup>74</sup> with Balti State started in the time of this ruler Ghazi Mir. After Akbar conquered Kashmir in AD. 1586. In the *Akbarnama*<sup>75</sup> it is stated: "As they showed obedience by continually sending presents, M. Beg was sent to Ali Rai, the ruler of Little Tibet, and Mulla Talib Isfahani and Mihtar Yari to the ruler of Great Tibet. Soothing and encouraging words were written to them." In another place<sup>76</sup> it is again recorded:

One of the occurrences was that the ruler of Tibet sent his daughter to court. From the time that Kashmir had been included in the empire, the ruler of that country (Tibet) had continuously made supplications. It occurred to Ali Rai, the ruler of Little Tibet, that his daughter might enter with the gynaeceum of the Prince Royal. H.M. approved of this, and on 22nd Dai she was conveyed alongwith presents of the country.

These quotations clearly show the border relations of the Mughal emperor Akbar towards the rulers of Baltistan and Ladakh, both of which are referred to under the name of Tibet (*khurd*) and (*Buzurg*). The relations started after the conquest of Kashmir — a conquest which has to be judged in the background of Mirza Haidar Dughlat's transfer of his allegiance from Sultan Abu Said to Humayun Badshah. It seems that the Mughal emperors of Delhi desired to push their frontier northward in view of the advance of Sultan Abu Said into Tibet and Baltistan. Later when the relations of Baltistan and Tibet (actually Ladakh) were estranged, the Mughal emperor Akbar thought of sending troops against Ali Rai. From *Akbarnama*<sup>77</sup> we learn that when Ali Rai (wrongly spelt in the original as Ali Zad) took the ruler of Great Tibet as prisoner, an army was sent against him and he was restrained from taking any further action and agree to the rule of a descendant of the former ruler of Great Tibet. On this occasion an ambassador was also sent to Kashgar so as to get further information about the emperor of *Khata* (China). A further reference to Ali Rai is found in the year AD. 1603. It is recorded<sup>78</sup>.

One of the occurrences was the subsiding of the commotion of Ali Rai, the ruler of Tibet. Before this it had been reported to H.M. that by conquering the ruler of Great Tibet and getting possession of much gold had become presumptuous, and raised a great commotion in Kashmir. An order was given to Qulij Khan, the Subahdar of Lahore to send a force to assist Muhammad Quli, the governor of Kashmir, so that that gnat which was buzzing in the wine cup might meet with his deserts. At this time it was reported that Qulij Khan had sent 3000 horses and 500 bargan dozes (musketeers) under the command of his son Saifullah to assist Muhammad Quli Beg. When Ali Rai heard of the arrival of the troops, his heart failed him and he fled without fighting. The imperialists pursued him as far as the horses could go, and then he turned back.

These records clearly prove that the Mughal authority in the time of Akbar did not extend to Baltistan. There were happy relations in so far as the daughter of Ali Rai was sent to the Mughal

harem. But there is no proof, as Dr. Husain Khan, notes, on the basis of a Balti legend, that a Mughal princess by name Gul Khatoon was married to Ali Rai. In fact it was the Ladakhi princess who was given in marriage to him. However, Mughal influence hereafter is seen in Skardu in the construction of architectural monuments and also use of marble with Mughal design. (pls. 35 and 36) Marble lion statues, pillars and tomb stones can even now be seen in the present palace of the Raja. However, these marble pieces may not belong to the time of Akbar because the relations between the Balti State and the Mughals remained strained even in the time of Jahangir. Both Abdul Hamid Lahori<sup>79</sup> and Muhammad Saleh Kanboh<sup>80</sup> record the despatch, by Emperor Jahangir, of Hashim Khan, son of Qasim Khan, *Subahdar* of Kashmir for the conquest of Tibet but he met with total failure. This invasion must have taken place in the time of Ali Rai, and not in the time of his son.

According to Hashmatullah Khan, Ali Rai, or Ali Sher Khan Anchan, as his full name was, ruled from AD. 1595 to 1633. Hashmatullah gives a great detail about "Ali Sher Khan's invasion of Dardistan" and extending his territory right upto Harmaush. At the same time he is said to have brought back a number of prisoners from Brushal, Gilgit, Chilas and Astor and made them settle in Skardu, Parkuta, Tolti and Kartaksha. This invasion must have taken place in the time of Raja Sahebqiran (AD. 1561-1635) of Gilgit, as has been said before in the fifth period of the history of Trakhan dynasty. Actually the Gilgit ruler was in friendly terms with the Skardu ruler Ghazi Mir. At this time the Gilgit ruler faced the invasion of the Chitral ruler. As a result he went to Skardu for help. Ali Sher Khan Anchan came in his support and defeated the Chitral ruler and probably got the territory right upto Harmaush. Later we read that Jawahir Khatun of Gilgit was married to Ahmad Khan, third son of Ali Sher Khan Anchan.

Hashmatullah Khan also informs that the Mandok fort below Kharpocha fort at Skardu was built by Ali Sher's Ladakhi queen Mandok Gyalmo. This fort is entirely different in architectural style from that of Kharpocha and presents some elements derived from Mughal architecture. At the same time she is famous for constructing Mughal style garden here and bringing water channel from Satpara lake right upto her fort. The channel, built of cyclopean stones is still in existence. On the other hand credit is given to Ali Rai for the construction of Satpara lake. Thus Ali Sher Khan rose to fame even in the life time of his father and his extensive conquests earned him the title of *Anchan* i.e. *Azam*. His welfare activities in his kingdom, erection of new buildings and establishment of new settlements show his vision of building the



state. At the same time the matrimonial and friendly relations that he established with the great Mughals on the one hand and with Gilgit ruler on the other speak of his diplomatic acumen. During his time Balti State rose to great heights and extended to its farthest limit. His firm stand against the forces of the great Mughal emperor Jahangir deserves well-earned praise for the military strategy that he was capable of designing against heavy odds. In the history of Baltistan the name of Ali Sher Khan shines high as *Anchan*.

This strong position of Balti State could not be maintained in the time of Ali Sher Khan's successors who fought among themselves for the occupation of the throne. Ali Sher had three sons: Adam Khan, who was made *Wali Ahad* as he was the eldest, Abdal Khan, who was entrusted the revenue of Parkuta and Kartakhsha, and Ahmad Khan who was administering Rondou. Abdal, being more powerful, occupied the throne in AD. 1633. Adam Khan fled to Kashmir and finally to Delhi to seek asylum with the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. After strengthening his position in Skardu Abdal invaded Shigar and occupied it after killing eleven sons of Mohammad Khan. The twelfth son, Hasan Khan, also fled from Shigar and went to Delhi for asylum by joining with Adam Khan. With these two local princes in hand Shah Jahan was fully prepared to interfere into the affairs of Baltistan and avenge the defeat of the Mughal forces in the time of his father Jahangir. Banarsi Prasad Saksena<sup>81</sup> conjectures that another motivation was to capture Habib Chak and Ahmad Chak, ex-rulers of Kashmir, who had taken asylum in Baltistan. Hashmatullah Khan further notes that Abdal was using these Chak rulers to foment trouble in Kashmir. Zafar Khan, the governor of Kashmir, was ordered to advance towards Skardu. The detail of this advance, the capture of Shigar fort and later of the two forts in Skardu are given by Muhammad Saleh Kanboh.<sup>82</sup> Abdal Khan and his family members were captured. The Chak brothers were also forced to surrender. Zafar Khan quickly returned to Kashmir to quell any possible rebellion after entrusting Skardu to Muhammad Murad Khan, the *Vakil* of Abdal in AD. 1634. Later Adam Khan, in reward for his services, received Skardu from the Mughal emperor. Adam Khan personally remained in Delhi but appointed Mirza Khan as his *Naib*. He administered the country for the next ten years from 1635 to 1645. But when he tried to assert his independence, he was replaced by Morad Khan, to whom a daughter of Adam Khan was married. Right upto AD. 1660 he continued to rule here as *Naib* and thereafter he ruled in his own name from 1660 to 1680. Morad Khan's own daughter was married to Raja Ji Khan alias Habib Khan of Gilgit, as we have seen before.<sup>83</sup>

Here Adam Khan himself accepted service under Shah Jahan and he became a mansabdar but his territory does not appear to have become a part of Mughal empire. The same position continued in the time of Emperor Aurangzeb. Morad Khan continued to obey Aurangzeb and even gave all help when Mughal army overpowered Tibet Kalan. On the other hand we do not see any other Mughal officer posted here nor do we find any Mughal contingent permanently occupying any fort here.

Then there followed internecine wars between Skardu, Shigar and Khaplu. Morad Khan advanced towards Kartakhsha, occupied Parkuta, where Ali Khan, son of Mirza Khan, was posted. Then he pounced upon Tolti and finally he besieged Kharmong, where Mirza Khan himself defended the fort. After a long siege the fort was captured and Mirza Khan left the place. Kartakhsha was given to Sher Khan but Ali Khan fled to Khaplu. As a result this led to war against Khaplu. After a long drawn struggle the fort of Khaplu was also captured. Then Morad Khan pushed his move against Kharbu and Salangkar. In the meanwhile Adam Khan died and Morad Khan received the same mansab from the Mughal emperor. Trouble in Gilgit also started, in which his son-in-law Raja Ji Khan or Habib Khan was involved. Shah Morad, in concert with Imam Quli of Shigar, twice marched to Gilgit but he could hardly help and his son-in-law Raja Ji Khan was killed (see ante Sixth period of the history of the Trakhans). Later quarrel started between Morad Khan and Imam Quli of Shigar. When this was somehow settled, Morad Khan died. After his death there again followed a war of succession, in which Sher Shah, brother of Morad Khan came out successful and ruled from 1680 to 1710. After him Mohammad Rafi Khan came to the throne and ruled from AD. 1710 to 1745. His accession to throne finally put an end to the trouble caused by Sher Khan, the ruler of Kartakhsha.

### Decline and Downfall of the Balti State

The Mughal emperors did not interfere in the autonomy of the Balti State. Although Adam Khan and his son-in-law Morad Khan became Mughal *mansabdars* out of their own free will, the territorial integrity of the Balti State was maintained intact. However, the Balti rulers accepted the suzerainty of the Mughal emperors in the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The decline of the Balti State was more due to fratricidal wars among the princes for the occupation of the throne and to the internecine wars among the rulers in Baltistan than due to Mughal invasions. The Mughals desired to stabilize their northern frontier visavis the Uigur State in eastern

Turkestan and hence they advanced to Tibet Khurd (Baltistan) and Tibbet Kalan (Ladakh) to make the local rulers amenable to their suzerainty. The idea appears to maintain subsidiary local authority there rather than establish a neutral (or buffer) zone there. The control was so vague that the local authorities were free to wage wars, one against another. The Mughals hardly interfered unless some local power sought help from them. It is this state of affairs that led to constant wars among the local chiefs. In these wars Imam Quli of Shigar (See below for detail) came out to be the most successful warrior. His history is recorded in the unpublished Persian work, *Shigarnamah*. That was written probably during his rule.

According to Hashmatullah Khan,<sup>84</sup> after Ali Sher Khan Anchan, the most important ruler of Skardu was Muhammad Morad, or Morad Khan, also known as Shah Morad, who was remembered in Skardu folk songs when Hashmatullah was in Gilgit in 1894. It was during his time that the State was well governed. Economic condition improved. Stone cutters, jewellers and workers in hides and skins were imported from Kashmir and settled in Skardu (Pls. 37–40). It was in his time that marble was used in buildings. Watch towers were built on the heights of Kharpocha and fort was constructed at Koru. Contacts and free trade with Tibet and Kashgar on one side and Kashmir on the other led to great cultural development. In the words of Hashmatullah Khan he along with Ali Sher Khan Anchan were pride of the Balti people in Skardu as Imam Quli was in Shigar and Hatim Khan was in Khaplu.

Mohammad Rafi Khan was succeeded by his son Sultan Morad (II), who ruled from 1745 to 1780. During his time Haji Karim Dad Khan, Subahdar of Kashmir under the Afghan ruler Timur Shah, invaded Skardu in AD. 1779 with a large force under the command of Murtaza Khan. He was able to defeat the Skardu ruler and obtain great amount of booty. Soon after Sultan Morad's brother-in-law Azam Khan, the ruler of Shigar, got Morad killed and brought Skardu under his own rule from 1780 – 1785. He appointed Monepa Ali as his *Kharpon* (governor) in Skardu. Morad's minor son, Mohammad Zafar Khan, fled to Purig (Kargil). After some years Azam Khan's wife Fakhrunnisa managed to stir a revolt in Shigar. Her husband Azam Khan was killed. The way was now clear for the accession of Mohammad Zafar Khan, who ruled from 1785 to 1787. After him his son Ali Sher Khan II ruled from AD. 1787–1800. He took possession of Parkuta and appointed his younger brother Ghulam Shah to administer Kartakhsha. After Ali Sher Khan's death his eldest son Ahmad Shah ruled in Skardu from 1800 to 1840. In his time there was war between Skardu and Khaplu.

This war continued for a long time and it is said that Ahmad Shah sought help from the Sikh rulers of Kashmir between AD. 1832–34 in his fight against Khaplu. Mahdi, the ruler of Khaplu, was defeated and captured. According to Fauq's account<sup>85</sup>, the Skardu ruler came under the surveillance of the Sikhs. Hashmatullah Khan takes this Fauq's statement to be true but that does not appeal to reason because nobody would seek help from outside for aggrandisement against a neighbourly State. The real story is given below in the quotation from G.T. Vigne<sup>85a</sup> who actually visited the place soon after. The Sikhs did make advance to some point but then they had to withdraw. The Balti State appears to have increased its authority and exercised independent power when the central authority in Delhi became weak. It was for this reason that invasion was undertaken in the time of Timur Shah and again by the Sikh governor Sher Singh who sent troops against Skardu for imposing his authority but as Vigne informs this proved to be a failure.

It was in the time of Ahmad Shah that family feud started because of his second queen Daulat Khatun, sister of Haidar Khan of Shigar. She managed to set aside the claim of her step-son Mohammad Shah, who was the eldest, and got her own son Muhammad Ali appointed as *Wali Ahad*. This feud estranged Mohammad Shah, who fled to Kashmir to seek help from the Sikhs for obtaining his rights. It was this family feud which ultimately led to the occupation of Skardu by the Dogras.

The factual position of Baltistan in 1835 can be gathered from the account of G.T. Vigne<sup>86</sup> who paid a visit to this part at the invitation of Ahmad Shah. With permission obtained from Ranjit Singh he dared to cross the border of Maharaja's territory against the desire of the local Sikh governor of Kashmir. Actually the Raja of Skardu was afraid of the Sikhs and he was anxious to see an "English Sahib" in order to seek protection from the Sikhs. After "Gurys" (Correctly Gurez), which Vigne reached on 31st of August 1835, he writes: "I was now about to enter the territories of Little Tibet, and for some days to bid adieu to human habitations." He then talks of Tilyl, which "is another valley, somewhat resembling Gurys, and lying to the north-east of it, and parallel to the Kishengunga river." He expressly writes: "The inhabitants of Tilyl are few in number, and till lately were subjects of Ahmed Shah." Then he advanced to the first two villages of Little Tibet, called Das and Thung-Kurym. He was then led on to Godyh and he says:

When Sher Singh, the present Maharajah of the Panjab, was governor of Kashmir, he and his invading Sikhs advanced thus far in the month of August, expecting to reach Iskardo without much opposition, but they found a furious river in their front, and a matchlock behind every rock on the opposite bank. They attempted to gain their end by diplo-

macy, but Ahmed Shah was too cunning for them, and managed to keep them in play for long time, well knowing what would be the consequence of their delay. The cold weather suddenly commenced, the Sikhs, chilled to their very hearts, commenced a precipitate retreat, but a snow-storm overtook them, and hundreds of them were lost upon the plateau above Burzil.<sup>87</sup>

Still later Vigne records: "When I was at Iskardo, Ladak was in possession of the Sikhs, under Jamu Raja's Vuzir (Zorawar Singh). The territories of Ahmed Shah are extended from Chorbut to Husara (i.e. Astor) inclusive. Chitral, the country of Shah Kator, has long been independent of Little Tibet, and the Rajahs of Gilgit, Nagyr, and Hunzeh by no means owned him as their superior. But besides these already mentioned, Ahmed Shah was monarch of Khopalu, Shighur, Keris, Katakchund, Tolti, Parkuta, and Royal or Rondou. On his seal, as that of a Shia prince, are inscribed the following words:

*Ali Sher an dawur dadgur Kez-o-Yaft Ahmed Shah bur ada  
Zufur*

Ali. the lion of the just God, through whom Ahmed Shah obtained victory over his enemies.<sup>88</sup>

This long quotation correctly gives the political position of the Balti State visavis the Sikhs in 1835 when Vigne paid a visit to the country. So far Balti State had managed to keep itself independent of the Sikhs. This position was partly due to their power and partly to the natural barriers that helped them in maintaining their freedom.

### **C(ii) Rajas of Kartakhsha (Kharmong), Rondou and Astor**

The Rajas of these smaller valleys are related to Makpons of Skardu. In fact they have branched out from the main family. In the history of Skardu, given earlier, sufficient hints have been given as to how these areas were subjugated by the Makpon rulers. In the case of Kartakhsha history is little varied as it borders on Ladakh on one side and Kashmir on the other. Hashmatullah<sup>89</sup> Khan gives the traditional account of how the various settlements in this valley were made by migrants who came from Chilas, Skardu, Khaplu and other places. These settlers established their own village governments as chiefs of their respective villages and erected forts for their own defence. As the number of forts increased, the area came to be known as *Kharmong*, meaning "a country of many forts." This included the settlements of Kartakhsha, Tolti and Parkuta. Probably at a time when Islam spread in Skardu, Kartakhsha and Parkuta were conquered by the Buddhist Lama of Ladakh and they remained under him until the time of the Skardu

ruler Ghazi Mir. As we have seen before, he sent his eldest son Ali Sher Khan Anchan and after his conquest the boundary line was established at Ghotamat (i.e. Nala Girgira). It has been stated before that Ali Sher Khan appointed his second son, Abdal Khan at Kartakhsha and the youngest son at Rondu. But the *amil* (district officer) at Kartakhsha was Haidar and after his death his son Mirza Khan. When Abdal Khan conquered Skardu and became its ruler, he integrated Parkuta with Kartakhsha and entrusted both of them to Mirza Khan. Later Mirza Khan ruled Skardu as well on behalf of Adam Khan but on his assertion of independence he was removed by Shah Morad. He appointed his younger brother Sher Shah as ruler of Kartakhsha (Kharmong) in AD. 1685. It is his descendants who continued to rule here. Thus Sher Shah became the founder of the ruling family in Kharmong.

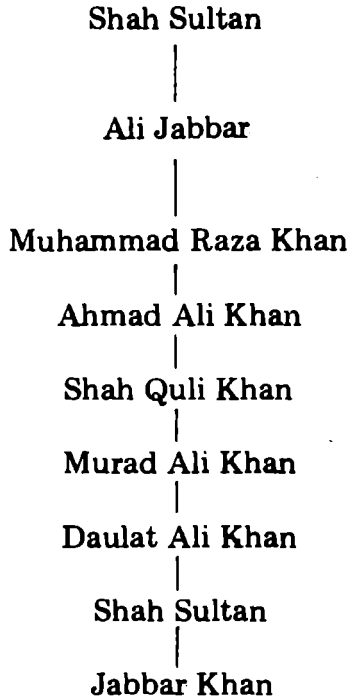
Sher Shah was followed by his son Aziz Khan and the latter was succeeded by Sadat Khan. In his time the Lama of Ladakh attacked Kharmong and killed Sadat Khan alongwith his sons. But two younger sons Azam Khan and Shah Nawaz managed to escape. The Lama was able to establish his authority over Kartakhsha and Parkuta. Later when the two sons grew up, they managed to re-establish their authority and put to death the Ladakhis who had come to settle here. Azam Khan Ghazi became the ruler. His younger brother Shah Nawaz was appointed to rule over Parkuta. Ali Dad Choh became the commander of the forces. After the death of Azam Khan, his eldest son Abdur Rahim Khan became the Raja. He was followed by his second son Mohammad Ali. After Mohammad Ali, his son Ali Sher Khan, born of his first queen who was daughter of the Skardu ruler, Ali Sher Khan II, occupied the throne. He married with a daughter of Ahmad Shah, the Raja of Skardu. Later Ahmad Shah became unhappy with Ali Sher Khan when he married second time and occupied Kharmong. Ali Sher Khan fled to Ladakh and took refuge there. Later when Zorawar Singh conquered Ladakh, Ali Sher Khan presented himself before him in 1835, and helped him in showing the route to Skardu through his territory and took part in the struggle against the Skardu ruler.

The Makpon rulers of Tolti are descended from Raja Azam Khan of Kartakhsha through his son Ali Shah. The latter's son Ahmad Khan was ruling here when the Dogra forces came.

In Rondu Ali Sher Khan Anchan's third son Ahmad Khan continued to rule. He was succeeded by his second son Ali Shah. When Morad Shah of Skardu died, he entrusted his children to Ali Shah to take care of them until they were able to control the state. But Ali Shah invited Sher Shah from Kartakhsha and helped him in seizing Skardu. Later he again helped Sher Shah in his fight

against Khaplu and Shigar rulers. Ali Shah continued to rule in Rondu when Muhammad Rafi Khan occupied Skardu in AD. 1710. He was succeeded by Daulat Shamsheer and then the succession went on to Asadullah Quli Khan, then to Mohammad Ali Khan, then to Mirza Khan and the latter's son Abbas Khan and finally to Ali Khan II, who was ruling at the time of Dogra invasion.

Astor was conquered by Ali Sher Khan Anchan and it was given to Shah Sultan, the son of Ahmad Khan. Shah Sultan was the founder of the line of Astor rulers. The succession was as follows:



About this last ruler G.T. Vigne writes:

In the evening we were met by Jubar Khan, the Rajah of Husara (i.e. Astor), and the next morning arrived at the castle, situated on the angle between the river Husara and a tributary stream, and constructed as usual of stones and wood, with some square towers, strong enough to keep off any native attack with small arms. The Rajah gave us a very friendly welcome, and answered all my questions with the greatest readiness. He seemed to be about thirtysix years of age, with a good countenance, fair complexion, and rather aquiline features, but was in no way remarkable for his appearance. His father, Shah Sultan, who married Ahmed Shah's sister, had three sons, and killed in a foray, the father of Dilawur Khan, Malek of Benakot, and of the Malek of Gund-i-Sur Singh, afterwards visited. Ahmed Shah, I was informed, became jealous of him.<sup>90</sup>

Frederic Drew writes:

Upto this time (i.e. 1842) the Sikhs had not occupied the intermediate country of Astor, but they had made it tributary to them; now on

advancing they established a post there to make their communication sure."<sup>91</sup> Dr. Leitner gives further detail: "A year later, the same Sikh General was despatched with 3,000 horse and foot to Astor and fixed a tribute of one-third of the produce, on all. He also established a Thanna at Sogar, a village close to Astor. At the Thanna he laid in ammunition etc."<sup>92</sup>

### C(iii) Amachas of Shigar

The history of the Amacha rulers of Shigar has been given in detail by Hashmatullah Khan<sup>93</sup> on the basis of *Shigarnamah*.<sup>94</sup> Cunningham gave a genealogical list in his History of Ladakh and Biddulph followed him. Another detailed history has been recently composed by a local Chairman of the Union Council by name Vazir Ahmad Ghazwapa.<sup>95</sup> This last book builds the history on the basis of the local tradition and has fully utilized the work of Hashmatullah Khan. Both of them agree in giving the same genealogical table. The Persian work *Shigarnamah* is in verse. Its another name is *Jangnamah Raja Imam Quli Khan Amacha Shigar*. As the second name rightly implies, the work is the hyperbolic praise of the hero Imam Quli, son of Hisam Quli Khan. According to Hashmatullah Khan it was composed in 1166 H/AD. 1752. According to a note in the present manuscript it was composed by Sayyid Tahsin, the same poet who composed *Diwan-i-Tahsin*.

The local traditions speak of several settled villages and rule of different families. Ultimately Cha Tham (or Shah Tham) came to Shigar from Hunza, as has been recorded before ((ante p. 168)). According to some the title *Amacha*<sup>96</sup> is of Chinese origin but it comes very close to the Sanskrit title *Amatya*, which means Vazir or minister. Earlier in Chapter V we have recorded the recent discovery of a Sanskrit inscription from Shigar. The title *Amatya* or *Amacha* therefore could continue here. As the traditions speak of him as if he was in service of the last ruler Mashido, it is quite possible that he was his minister, i.e. *Amacha*. In due course, with the help of the local people, he overthrew Mashido and usurped the power in his own hands. If this tradition is correct the Amacha ruling family of Shigar could be traced to Hunza, and ultimately to the Trakhan ruling dynasty of Gilgit.

Ten generations passed from Cha Tham to Gori Tham. All these rulers, except two, had their name ending with *Tham*, as we find also among the Hunza rulers. We have earlier said that Gori-tham probably conquered Skardu. It is in his time that Amir-i-Kabir Sayyid Ali Hamadani came to Shigar, converted the local



ruler, spread Islam here and built the Ambariq mosque (pls. 28 and 29), which is still standing in Shigar. Both Hashmatullah Khan and Vazir Ahmad bring Amir-i-Kabir to Shigar in the time of Ghazi Tham, the son of Gori Tham. However, his date is given as AD. 1440-1470, a time when Amir-i-Kabir was already dead. Ghazi Mir was succeeded by Ali Mir and the latter was followed by Ghazri, who ruled from AD. 1490 to 1520. He was contemporary of Makpon Bokha of Skardu. It was during his reign that Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi came to Shigar and he died here in AD. 1525. His work was carried on by Mir Mohammad Danyal. According to Hashmatullah Khan his son Abdullah Khan (AD. 1520-1535) became a disciple of Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi. It was in the time of Ghazri that the united force of Skardu, Khaplu and Shigar invaded Ladakh and owing to the intelligence of Ghazri, the ruler of Ladakh was made to surrender. It was in the time of Abdullah Khan that the Central Asian Moghal ruler Sultan Abu Said Khan invaded Shigar in AD. 1532. It is wrongly stated by Mirza Haidar Dughlat that Shigar was then the capital of whole of Baltistan. The campaign is thus described:

At the end of Libra the Khan (i.e. Sultan Abu Said) arrived in Balti. Bahram Chu, one of the headmen of Balti, submitted and waited on the Khan. All the other Chu began to practise sedition and revolt, the natural outcome of infidelity. In the first place, under the guidance of Bahram Chu, the Khan took the fort of Shigar (which is the Capital of all Balti) at the first assault. All the men of the place were mown down by the blood-stained swords of the assailants, while the women and children, together with much property, fell a prey to the victorious army. Further more, where-ever in that hill-country a land was stretched out, it never missed its object; and even the strongly fortified ravines and castles were trampled under foot by the horses of the Khan's army . . . . At the beginning of spring they withdrew from Balti.<sup>97</sup>

It is strange that the name of the Shigar ruler is not mentioned. However, it is stated that in the time of Haidar Khan, the successor of Abdullah Khan the Braldo pass was opened and ambassadorial exchanges with Yarkand were established. This contact with Yarkand continued right upto the time of Mohammad Khan (AD. 1632). A fort was built at Basha right at the mouth of Braldo for protection. The net gain of this contact was the import of several fruit trees from Yarkand and their plantation in Shigar. It was again around AD. 1600 that two brothers Sayyid Mahmud Shah Tusi and Sayyid Ali Tusi came here via Soltoro and spread Shiasm in this part. Sayyid Mahmud Tusi is buried in Skardu. Headstone at his grave gives the date H. 1080/AD. 1669, while Sayyid Ali Tusi is buried at Kuwardo (pl. 41). According to the

inscription he died in H. 1081/AD. 1670. They are known to have built a mosque at Thagas (pls. 43 and 44).

As stated earlier, Mohammad Khan had twelve children. Eleven of them were killed by Abdal Khan, the ruler of Skardu. The sole survivor Hasan Khan fled to Delhi and took refuge with the Mughal emperor. With the help of the Mughal forces Hasan Khan regained Shigar and ruled here in 1633-34. One Mughal *Thanadar* was posted at Shigar. In this way Shigar broke away from the control of Yarkand and came under the Mughals. Hasan Khan brought some craftsmen from Delhi and they introduced works in marble in Shigar. His son was Quli Khan, about whom nothing is known. The latter had two sons Imam Quli Khan and Majid Khan.

Imam Quli Khan succeeded his grandfather in AD. 1634 and had a long brilliant rule until AD. 1705. By his statesmanship and military strength he raised the name of Shigar to great heights. He had close links with Morad Khan, the ruler of Skardu and in close concert with him he advanced upon Khaplu and Ladakh on one side and on Gilgit on the other to meet the challenge of the Yasin ruler Khushwaqt and help Habib Khan against his enemy. But later when Habib Khan's son was killed, Imam Quli Khan did not accompany Morad Khan to Gilgit. When correspondence was held with the Mughal governor in Kashmir, the position became clear that Imam Quli Khan was not under Morad Khan but both were under the sovereignty of the Mughals. Imam Quli Khan was succeeded by his son Azam Khan who ruled from 1705 to 1784. During his rule Mughal power waned and the Afghans invaded Skardu and defeated Morad Khan. Taking advantage of this political change, Azam Khan conquered Skardu and brought it under his subjection. Another great event of his reign is the coming of two Syed brothers Mir Mukhtar and Mir Yahya but due to some misunderstanding Mir Mukhtar had to leave Shigar. He went to Kiris and there he is lying buried (pls. 46-50). Mir Yahya remained in Shigar. A grand mosque was built for him. His tomb also stands in Shigar (pl. 45). Later Azam Khan's wife Fakhrunnisa, who was sister of Morad Khan, got her husband killed and restored Skardu to the rightful claimant. When Azam Khan was killed, he was succeeded by his son Sulaiman Khan who ruled from AD. 1784 to 1787 but as he was still young, actual government was managed by his Vazir Wali. Later Sulaiman Khan was killed by the same Vazir and Azam Khan's younger brother Ali Khan was placed on the throne. He was succeeded by his son Hasin Khan in 1789-90. He had three sons

from different queens, who succeeded one after the other from 1790 to 1819. In 1891 Haidar Khan was recognised as the ruler of Shigar. His sister Daulat Khatun, the daughter of Azam Khan, was married to Ahmed Shah, the ruler of Skardu. Haidar Khan continued to rule until AD. 1842 when Zorawar Singh captured Skardu.

The history of Shigar clearly shows the contest between the Moghal rulers of Kashgar and Yarkand and the Mughal rulers of Delhi. It was probably the advance of the Yarkandi rulers into Ladakh, Baltistan and Kashmir, that appears to motivate Akbar to occupy Kashmir. When the Chak ruler of Kashmir fled from Kashmir and took refuge in Baltistan, the Mughal emperors thought of advancing in this direction. It was only in the time of Shah Jahan that Baltistan was brought under their suzerainty and only in the time of Aurangzeb that Ladakh completely succumbed to the Mughals. After the weakening of the Mughal authority, the Afghans under Timur Shah made a dash upon Skardu but it appears Baltistan went out of their hands. The Sikhs under Ranjit Singh tried in vain to capture Skardu but Baltistan remained free until the time of Gulab Singh. By this time the British interest in this part of the world had already developed.

#### C(iv) The Yabgu Rulers of Khaplu

*Yabgu* is a well-known Turkish title. It has been in use in our part of the world since at least early sixth century AD. In the Kura Stone Inscription<sup>98</sup> of the time (C. 500-515 AD) of the Hunza ruler Tormana Shahi he is given the title of *Shah-Javuvla*, i.e. The King-Javubla or Yavuga or Yabgu. The use of this title by the rulers of Khaplu apparently shows their Turkish origin. However, apart from the long genealogical list, given by Cunningham and Hashmatullah, there is no definite evidence for tracing the early history of the dynasty. The following, quotation from A.H. Francke<sup>99</sup> shows the vague idea that prevails among the historians:

Cunningham collected the pedigrees of six magson families of Baltistan and compared them with each other. None of them is of very great historical value, as the magsons, on their becoming Mohammedans, ignored their origin from Tibetan or Dard Buddhist ancestors and fabricated new pedigrees with as many Mussulman names in them as possible. The most important and probably most ancient magson family was that of Kapulu, and its fabricated pedigree of sixtyseven members (in 1830) starts with a Sultan Sikandar after whom the Sultans Ibrahim and Ishak are placed. The fact that Sikandar is placed at the head of the

pedigree makes Cunningham suspect that the introduction of Mohammedanism into Baltistan may have taken place about the time of Sikandar, the Iconoclast, who reigned in Kashmir about 1380-1400.

This vague list has been corrected by Hashmatullah Khan who begins with Beg Manthal (about AD. 850) and lists nineteen generations before Shah Azam Khan, who, according to him, accepted Islam sometime towards the end of 14th or beginning of fifteenth century AD. The late Mr. Abdul Hamid Khawar has convincingly shown that the spread of Islam here was due to the advent of Amir-i-Kabir Sayyid Ali Hamadani himself rather than to the Kashmiri Sultan Sikandar. Strong traditions survive in Khaplu about the coming of this saint in Khaplu, his meeting with a local Buddhist monk in debate, final victory over him and building the Chakchan mosque in Khaplu. The mosque is certainly a work of Kashmiri craftsmen (pls. 51-55).

It is therefore, clear that the local population continued to follow Buddhism right upto the time of Amir-i-Kabir. This is also proved by many Tibetan inscriptions of this period, which speaks of the Tibetan form of Buddhism that obtained here. However, as far as the foundation of the Khaplu State is concerned, Richard M. Emerson likes to connect it with the advance of the Chinese general in the mid-8th century AD. when the *Yabgu* of Tokharistan, i.e. the Turkish Buddhist ruler of Kundus, sought the aid of the Chinese, against the Tibetans. He writes: "The 'Tibetan partisans' could only have been Balti. Thus, there is some basis for the belief that Tibetan speaking people in Baltistan were brought under Turkistan control as early as 750 AD".<sup>100</sup>

Such a conclusion is hardly possible because the Chinese general Kao Hsien-Chih never came to Baltistan (see ante p. 149). According to Sir Aurel Stein he came to Gilgit and went back via Hunza. On the other hand if we keep in mind the history of Tibet, there does not arise any possibility of founding a state here before the disintegration of the ancient Tibetan kingdom in early tenth century AD. It is equally possible that Khaplu state came into existence simultaneously with the origin of state in Ladakh. As Ladakh is open to Tibet by the Indus valley route its northern part, i.e. Nobra Tehsil, which consists of the Upper Shayok valley, is connected with Yarkand valley through Karakorum pass. Similarly Khaplu state, which is separated from Nobra valley by Siachen glacier, is connected with Yarkand valley through Soltoro pass. This pass was in use during the mediaeval period. Amir-i-Kabir and other Muslim saints are known to have gone to Yarkand by this route. It seems

therefore reasonable to assume that some Turkish population moved into Khaplu from Yarkand at this time and founded the state. The movement must be connected with the advance of the Uigurs into Kasghar and Yarkand. Hashmatullah Khan records many local traditions about different settlements in the area by migration of people from various directions. He correctly notes three main subdivisions — Khaplu east of the Shayok river right upto Gol on the south and Chorbat on the east; Thagas, Hoshay, Haldi and Saling right at the foot of Soltoro, and Barghar; and Kiris on the western side of Shayok river. In the first area he brings people from Ladakh; in the second from Yarkand and in the third from Gilgit — Hunza. Beg Manthol is supposed to be the eponymous hero. Another important early ruler is said to be Goritham.

Some better recollections are available from the time of Shah Azam when he accepted Islam. But Khaplu is a subdivision where Nurbakhshis are found in large number. Their preponderance suggests the missionary work in this part later than Amir-i-Kabir. If late Mr. Abdul Hamid Khawar is to be believed, this missionary work was done by Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi and his followers after about AD. 1500.

Shah Azam was the twentieth Yabgu. The twentyfifth Yabgu was Salim Alde, whose reign is dated from AD. 1450-1470. During his reign there was great flood. Old settlements were drowned in the river. He made settlements in the present Khaplu town. The most important Yabgu thereafter was Bahram, who ruled from AD. 1494 to 1550. It is during his reign that Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi came here. It is also during his time that Sultan Abu Said invaded Baltistan. As has been noted before, Bahram (named here as Bahram Choh) submitted to the Sultan and accepted his suzerainty. It is again during his time, probably after the return of Sultan Abu Said, that the Skardu ruler attacked Khaplu and caused much destruction. But soon after it appears Bahram was able to reassert his authority. He married with a daughter of the Gyalpo of Ladakh. A son by name Yabgu Sikam was born. He succeeded his father and ruled from AD. 1550 to 1590. He divided his kingdom among his three sons who ruled from 1590 to 1605 His grandson Sher Ghazi ruled from AD. 1605 to 1620. It is during his time that Ali Sher Khan Anchan of Skardu, in concert with him and the ruler of Shigar, invaded Ladakh, whose ruler Jamyang Namgyal was captured and brought to Skardu. Later Sher Ghazi gave his daughter in marriage to Jamyang Namgyal and established cordial relations with him. She built

a mosque and a palace in Nobra. His own son Yabgu Rahim Khan (ruled from 1620 to 1650) married with a daughter of Ladakhi ruler. Their sons were Hatim Khan and Azam Khan. Hatim Khan married with Daulat Khatun, sister of the Skardu ruler Morad Khan and ruled after his father's death from AD. 1650 to 1715. He was the most powerful ruler of Khaplu. He made friendship with Ladakh ruler and captured his cousins Babar and Yaqub and sent them alongwith their mother to Ladakh where they were put under custody. Morad Khan was able to get them freed from Ladakh and reinstated them in their paternal place near Chorbat. But after Morad Khan's death, Hatim Khan once again defeated his cousin Yaqub who fled to Kargil. Hatim Khan again became very strong and attacked Skardu. He brought among other things a gate from Skardu, which is even now fixed in the Khaplu palace (pl. 56). Hatim Khan was succeeded by his son Dabla Khan who ruled from AD. 1715 to 1765. During his reign two Kashmiri brothers are recorded to have come here. One by name Sayyid Arif settled in Thagas and built the Jami Mosque there. His brother Abu Sayid settled in Kiris and built the Jami Mosque there.

Dabla Khan was succeeded by his son Yabgu Mohammad Ali Khan who ruled from AD. 1765 to 1800. He was an able administrator and great warrior. In his time some new settlements were made. He attacked Khar Mong but returned after contracting a favourable treaty. Later in the quarrel between two brothers, Quli Khan and Azam Khan of Shigar, he espoused the cause of Azam Khan and helped him in securing the throne of Shigar. But Quli Khan again became strong in the time of Yabgu Yahya Khan (1800-1815). The latter had to fight again for the cause of Azam Khan. When the Ladakhis invaded Khaplu, Yahya Khan defeated them and captured their commander. Yahya Khan had three sons, Daulat Khan, Mahmud Shah alias Mahdi Ali Khan and Mohammad Shah. Out of these three Mahdi Ali Khan proved to be more shrewd. He entered into an alliance with the ruler of Ladakh and got his help by redefining territorial boundary between Ladakh and Khaplu. On the left side of Shayok river, i.e. on the side of Khaplu the boundary was fixed at Pari Khanasha, and on the right side of the river at Pari Naulakha and Zilakha. All the area above this line towards Chorbat was to be given to Ladakh. With the help of Ladakh forces Mahdi Ali Khan was able to defeat his two brothers, captured them and sent them to Ladakh. They were detained in Nobra. Later Daulat Ali Khan's son Muhammad 'Ali sought help from the Skardu

ruler Ahmed Shah but in the beginning Mahdi Ali proved to be strong. Ultimately Ahmed Shah succeeded in defeating Yabgu Mahdi Ali and captured him. Khaplu was brought under subjugation of Skardu. A Kharpon (governor) was appointed there. This Kharpon Yulehing Karim ruled here from 1820-1840 on behalf of the Skardu ruler. However, the people were divided in their loyalty. Taking advantage of this division, Haidar Khan helped Zorawar Singh in leading his troops into Khaplu. Thus the family feud led to the downfall of the dynasty and its submission to the Dogras. The advance of the Dogras brought to close the mediaeval history of this region.

### Conclusion

The mediaeval history of Northern Areas began with the introduction of the new factor of Arab advance into Central Asia in eighth century AD. This advance affected our region from two directions: from trans-Pamir region which pushed Turkish population from Badakhshan, Wakhan and Xin-jiang into this part and from Afghanistan the Arab engagement with Kabul Shah also affected Wakhan, Bolor and Tibet. In consequence of these factors the T'ang China moved its forces into this region to counter the advance of the Tibetans who had by now built up a state and swept across Baltistan, Gilgit and right upto Wakhan. Kashmir played a secondary role at this stage. The situation favoured the rise of several states in this region under new Turkish dynasties. The Mongol advance affected both this part as well as Kashmir but that led to only temporary plunders and no actual occupation. The states in Northern Areas maintained their independence and established varying relations with the powers in the north, east and also with Kashmir. The situation changed with the formation of the new state in Kashgar and Yarkand. Sultan Abu Said sent raids into Gilgit and himself advanced into Ladakh and Baltistan while his commander Mirza Haidar Dughlat made a successful invasion of Kashmir. In Kashmir Muslim Sultanate had reshaped the country culturally, socially and economically but militarily could not face Mirza Haidar Dughlat's advance. Probably this Central Asian Power's interference into Kashmir affairs that persuaded the Mughal emperor Akbar to occupy Kashmir in AD. 1586 and to redefine the Mughal frontier in the north. When its Chak rulers fled to Baltistan for refuge, the Mughals got interested in pushing their

interest into this part. It was only in the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb that this region was brought under their subjection. However, the military and also economic interest in Ladakh made the Mughals advance into that part, called by them *Tibet-i-Buzurg*. Gilgit sub-division still remained outside Mughal sphere of influence. With the decline of the Mughal central power, Baltistan also regained its independent position. The Afghans under Timur Shah made a raid just for plunder and the Sikhs under their Kashmir governor Sher Singh tried to invade Baltistan in vain. The local situation did not alter until new factors of Russian advance across Central Asia and the establishment of British power in the subcontinent created new problems for defining new frontiers. In this task the Dogra ruler of Jammu proved to be a great helping hand to the cause of the British. While the British explorers were busy in getting all the information about Northern Areas, Ladakh and Tibet, the Dogra ruler, with the tacit approval of the British, moved his forces first into Ladakh, then into Baltistan and finally into Gilgit subdivision and by taking advantage of the local internecine wars and local feuds tried to extend his control over this region. The British, who were themselves interested in redefining the Northern frontier, gave all their blessings, moral and military support to bring the region under their imperial sovereignty. This is a new story of transformation that belongs to modern history, dealt with in the next chapter.



## FOOTNOTE

1. A.H. Dani, *Chilas*, pl. 10 and p. 136, where the prince bears the Buddhist name of Dharmasimha, son of Priyachandra.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 223, nos. 194 and 195.
3. Jane D. Duncan, *A Summer Ride Through Western Tibet*, London, 1906.
4. A.H. Dani, *The Sacred Rock of Hunza*, pp. 35-37.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
6. *Ibid.*, pl. 4, and pl. 44.
7. Shah Rais Khan, *History of Gilgit*, (Ms.)
8. One such multiple burial tomb can be seen at Bubur and the second at Yasin. See Chapter III for remarks of Professor Jettmar.
9. Hashmatullah Khan, in his *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, pp. 587-595 believes that Islam did not come here before the time of Sayyid Ali Hamadani.
10. See footnote no. 24.
11. V. Minorsky, *Hudud al-'Alam*, Karachi. Reprint, 1980, p. 121.
12. E.C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, London, 1910, vol. I, pp. 207-208.
13. Shah Rais Khan, *op.cit.*
14. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 559.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 449.
- 15.(a) Md. 'Azizuddin, *Tarikh-i-Chitral*, Agra, 1897, pp. 43-50.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 678-679.
17. See Chapter V for explanation, as given by Dr. N.P. Chakravarty.
18. See his part VI, Chapter I.
19. The manuscript is not yet published. It has therefore been referred to here by folio number.
20. I. Muller-stellrecht, *Materialien Zur Ethnographie Von Dardistan (Pakistan): Aus den Nachgelassenen Aufzeichnungen von D.L.R. Lorimer: Teil II: Gilgit; Teil III: Chitral and Yasin*, Graz, 1980, pp. 113-118. (hereafter referred to as Lorimer, *Gilgit*).
21. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 679.
22. A.H. Dani, *The Sacred Rock of Hunza*, pp. 35, 37.
23. Compare J. Biddulph: *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 20, where he spells the name as "Shiri Budutt" and calls the dynasty "Shahreis".
24. Dr. M.A. Ghafur — "Two Lost Inscriptions relating to the Arab conquest of Kabul and North-West region of West Pakistan", *A.D.*, Vol. II, 1965-66, p. 6.
25. For another reconstruction see Karl Jettmar: "Bolor—A contribution to the Political and Ethnic geography of North Pakistan", *J.C.A.*, vol. II, July 1979, pp. 48-49.
26. Sir Aurel Stein: *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, Vol. I, p. 19.
27. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 34-37. G.M.D. Sufi. *Kasir*, Lahore, 1949, Vol. I, pp. 117-118 and pp 128-29.
28. R.K. Parmu: *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 82-84.
29. Vol. II, pp. 167-168.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 273.
- 30.a. This ruler was long dead and hence he could not give help.
31. Sometimes the name is wrongly spelt as Gor Rahman.
32. I. Muller Stellrecht; *op.cit.*, Teil I. *Hunza*, p. 293.
33. *Tarikh-i-Ahd-i-Atiq Riassat-i-Hunza*, Rawalpindi, 1962, vol. I.
34. The manuscript is in the possession of Prof. A.H. Dani. It is entitled:  
 تواریخ ریاست ہائے نگر و ہنزہ۔ زبان دویان خاندان مغلوٹ ریاست نگر اور حکمران خاندان ایش  
 ریاست ہنزہ۔
35. "Ethnographical Fie
36. "Ethnographical Field—Research on the history and culture of Nager: Some Preliminary Remarks on the Process of Settlement", *J.C.A.*, vol. VIII, No. 2, Dec. 1984, pp. 29-38.
37. Qudratullah Beg: *op.cit.*, p. 68.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-178.
42. I. Muller Stellrecht, *op.cit.*, p. 299.
43. This is an unpublished manuscript in Persian poetry, written in the style of *Shahnama*, not dated, and portrays the history of the Kator family. It was composed by a local poet by name Mirza Ser. This has been extensively used by Mirza Ghulam Murtaza and Munshi Mohammad Azizuddin. According to Ghulam Murtaza, *Tarikh-i-Chitral*, Peshawar, 1962, p. 36, the founder of the Raisia dynasty was Nadir Rais and that he came from Badakhshan.
44. J. Biddulph, *op.cit.*, pp. 149-50. For another view see Mirza Ghulam Murtaza, *op.cit.*, p. 27.
45. *J.C.A.*, vol. II, No. 1, July 1979, p. 49.
46. *Tarikh-i-Chitral*, Agra, 1897, pp. 22-23.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-43, According to Mirza Ghulam Murtaza, *op.cit.*, p. 47, Sangin 'Ali was descended from Sultan Husain of the Jimurid dynasty of Herat through Baba Ayub.
48. This version of the history as given by Munsni Azizuddin, *op.cit.*, pp. 90-100 is different from what we learn from Shah Rais Khan and Hashmatullah Khan. Their version has been given earlier under the history of Gilgit.
49. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 687-690.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 691.
51. *Tarikh-i-Chitral*, pp. 115-116.
52. Frederic Drew, *op.cit.*, p. 181. The story of killing a human for *niaz* is a perfect lie. It is an animal which is killed by the Muslims for this purpose.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
54. G.W. Leitner: *Dardistan in 1866, 1886 and 1893*, New Delhi Reprint by Manjusri Publishing House, 1978, p. 71.
55. *Ibid.*, Appendix I, pp. 117-18.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
57. F. Drew, *op.cit.*, pp. 184-85.
58. Dr. Leitner, *op.cit.*, p. 72.
59. Frederic Drew, *op.cit.*, pp. 187-88.
60. Richard M. Emerson: "Charismatic Kingship: A study of state formation and authority in Baltistan, *J.C.A.*, Vol. VII, No. 2, December 1984, pp. 95-134.

60. A.H. Francke: *A History of Western Tibet*, London, 1907, chapter 3 and 5.
61. F.W. Thomas: *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, pl. 1, London, 1935.
62. For a brief history, see G. Tucci, *Tibet: Land of Snows*, London, 2nd ed. 1973, pp. 23-29.
63. Sir Aurel Stein, *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. 88-89.
64. For detail see Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, "The Oighours", pp. 96-100.
65. G.T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardo*, London, 1842, Vol. II, p. 251.
66. Alexander Cunningham: *Ladak*, New Delhi Reprint, 1977, p. 35.
67. J. Biddulph, *op.cit.*, p. 144.
68. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 449.
69. Abdul Hamid Khawar, 'Sumali Ilaqajat men Isha't-i-Islam', in *Karakorum — Hindukush*, edited by Manzoom Ali, Gilgit, 1985, p. 201.
70. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 449-450.
71. Abdul Hamid Khawar, *op.cit.*, pp. 207-210.
72. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, 448-449.
73. Mirza Haidar Dughlat talks of the pass of Askardu on the side of Kashmir between Yarkand and Kashmir and talks of Balti as "This (district) belongs to the province of Tibet". E. Denison Ross, *History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, London, 1972, p. 405 and p. 410. But later (pp. 461-62) when he invades Balti, he talks only of Zanskar and Sut, the area around Kargil. On the other hand the ruler Sultan Abu Sa'id goes only to Shigar and occupies that place. From the description it appears that Mirza Haidar Dughlat did not have a complete picture of Baltistan with him.
74. For detail see Dr. Husain Khan, 'Mughal Relations with Baltistan and the Northern Region, From Akbar to Aurangzeb' in *J.C.A.*, Vol. VII, No. 1, July 1984, pp. 179-190; Dr. Yar Mohammad Khan, 'The Political Relations of the Mughuls with the Rulers of Northern Pakistan', in *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, July 1985, pp. 161-69. In his article Dr. Husain Khan talks of Ali Sher Khan's orphanage and his taking shelter in the Mughal court probably on the basis of Banat Gul Khan Afridi's book *Baltistan in History*. There is no evidence for this story. Actually it was Makpon Bokha who became orphan, as has been narrated above.
75. H. Beveridge (trans. by): *The Akbarnama of Abu-i-fazl*, Lahore, Reprint Vol. III, p. 838.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 921.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 1091.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 1235.
79. Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshhnama*, Persian text, Calcutta, 1866.
80. 'Amal-i-Saleh (Shah Jahan Nama), Lahore, Vol. II, pp. 193-94.
81. *History of Shah Jahan of Delhi*, Allahabad, 1958, p. 1145. See also Dr. R.K. Parmu: *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, Delhi, 1967, pp. 315-317.
82. *Amal-i-Saleh*, pp. 193-200.
83. Dr. Yar Mohammad Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 165.
84. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 510.
85. Fauq, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*.
- 85a. G.T. Vigne: *op.cit.*, page 208.
86. *Ibid.*, chapters VII and VIII.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
88. *Ibid.*, pp. 354-55.
89. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 519-521.
90. G.T. Vigne, *op.cit.*, p. 297.
91. Frederic Drew, *op.cit.*, p. 182.
92. Dr. Leitner, *op.cit.*, p. 88.
93. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 537-551.
94. A Persian work of eighteenth century AD., not yet published, by Sayyid Tahsin. It is in the possession of the present author.
95. Wazir Ahmad: *Tarikh-i-Sar Zamin Vadi-i-Shigar*, unpublished urdu manuscript in the possession of the author.
96. For a discussion of the *Amacha* title see F.W. Thomas: *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, pl. 2., p. 191. London, 1935.
97. E. Denison Ross: *Op.cit.*, p. 422.
98. D.C. Sircar: *Select Inscriptions*, University of Calcutta, 1942, p. 399.
99. A.H. Francke: *History of Western Tibet*, p. 90.
100. Richard M. Emerson, *op.cit.*, p. 103.

## VII

## MODERN HISTORY

## Introduction

Modern age in South Asia began with the rise of the British power and transformation of the land and its people by the impact of European civilization, modern science, industry and technology. With the decay of the Mughal Power and consequent weakening of the central authority, there intervened a considerable gap — a stage of transition — between mediaeval and modern eras. That was a period of adjustment — a gradual adaptation of the new by the old — under the pressure of British masters, who themselves underwent a change from the commercial interests of the East India Company to British Imperial interests. Our acquaintance with the west has been through British tutelage, and whatever may have been the consequences of British surveillance, the subcontinent owes to Great Britain for starting the process of modernization. The start was not sudden and the process of change did not affect the entire land at the same time because the aged mediaeval Mughal crown took long to wind up its house. In the meanwhile the English maritime power, that was based in the coastal areas, took gradual but definitive steps to approach the centre in Delhi and later to move still cautiously westward to define its frontier against the advancing hand of another western power, the Tsarist Russia, who was netting the remnants of mediaeval states of Turkestan. In this long process, which actually transformed the Asian land trade — the old Silk Road trade — into maritime international trade, there were born many subsidiary states with the connivance or even with the support of the British so as to strengthen the hands of the new suzerain power. For this service the British certainly paid these erstwhile heroes their full dues. One such personality was Gulab Singh who was awarded with the territory of Kashmir by means of easy sale<sup>1</sup> for the services that he rendered during the Anglo-Sikh

wars in the forties of the last century.<sup>2</sup> Quite contrary to the Sikh advances into Northern Areas, Gulab Singh was more astute. His own northern ventures were with the tacit approval of the British because his action was to serve the interests of the British as well. The British permission that he sought was in line with what he knew about the direction of the new wind that was then blowing. His first venture into Ladakh from Jammu by way of Kishtwar was to capture the *pashm* wool trade that went to enrich the economy of Kashmir. It was aimed at the ultimate occupation of Kashmir territory, which, as we have seen before, the British were pleased to award to him. But Kashmir without Ladakh *pashm* trade would hardly be beneficial. Hence the first venture towards Ladakh, where arose the conflict of interests. Gulab Singh found the British already in occupation of Bushahir,<sup>3</sup> a place in direct approach to Ladakh, after the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-16 and one Englishman, Dr. Henderson,<sup>4</sup> actually present in Ladakh itself. It is no wonder that Gulab Singh should seek approval of the British for his initiative and this he managed through the good offices of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The British shrewdly denied the official capacity of Dr. Henderson and even willingly sacrificed their commercial interest in Ladakh for the political and military support that they expected from them in their policy towards Afghanistan — a direction of Russian advance which then loomed large in British mind.<sup>5</sup> But Ladakh, although not in the priority list, was not totally abandoned by the British. The position at that time will be clear from the account of William Moorcroft who wrote after his long stay in Ladakh in 1820-22:

The general relations of the commerce with Ladakh, and through it with Tibet and Turkistan, are sufficiently obvious. They have their flocks and herds in abundance, provided with wool of peculiar properties, and admirably adapted for the finest manufactures. They have also some natural products of value, salt, borax, natron, and gold. They have no manufactures, and rear an inadequate supply of food. The latter can be plentifully supplied from the British provinces of India. Whether they should be clothed with the broad cloth of Russia or of England — whether they shall be provided with domestic utensils of copper, iron, or of pewter, with implements of iron and steel, with hardware of every description, from Petersburg or Birmingham, — is entirely in the decision of the government of British India. At present there is little doubt to which the prize will be awarded, for enterprise and vigour mark the measures of Russia towards the nations of Central Asia, whilst ours are characterised by misplaced squeamishness and unnecessary timidity.<sup>6</sup>

## Afghanistan and Northern Areas During Sikh Period

In the first half of the nineteenth century and even later Afghanistan was the top priority in British mind, not for the sake of that country, but with an eye towards the Russian Bear, who was then thought to prowl in that direction following the easily accessible known historical path. The First Afghan War actually made them bog down in the quagmire of Afghanistan and in order to extricate themselves they were willing to give concessions to Sikhs and Dogras for any help that they could give for implementing their Afghan policy. The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, on June 27, 1839, led to fateful struggle among his successors, including the Sikh military junta, and consequent destabilization of power in Punjab and western front. In this new circumstance the saving grace was offered by the commanding personality of Gulab Singh, who, on his ambition being accommodated, could be a pillar of strength to the British in this part. And such was actually the case, as read by the British, who were not unwilling to pat his back and give even moral and material support for his northern ventures. Any advance by their subordinate ally in this direction was ultimately to be in their own favour but for the time they were unwilling to involve themselves directly there just for achieving their immediate objective in Afghanistan. However, exploratory work was encouraged in this part of the world both by the British as well as by the Russians. Travellers such as William Moorcroft, G.T. Vigne<sup>7</sup> and John Wood<sup>8</sup> were given all facilities by the British to penetrate into the unknown region of this part and collect all information just as the Russians sent the Kazakh Sultan Chokhan Valikhanov (1835-1865) to Bokhara and later to Kashgar for similar work. Volumes of literature published by them are mine of information about this part of the world. Their reprints even today are great source of knowledge. Equipped with this data both British and Russians were to make their next moves in the Asian game in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Meanwhile the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh, probably with his claim as a successor to the Mughals in Punjab and western part demanded loyalty and tributes both from Ladakh and Baltistan. We have seen in the last chapter how they failed in Baltistan and according to the narrative of G.T. Vigne the Skardu ruler Ahmed Shah treated them as his enemies and wished to contract friendship with the British. In the opinion of Moorcroft<sup>9</sup> same was the

desire even in Ladakh and he actually interceded on behalf of Ladakh for British protection but the British were not prepared to accept his view.<sup>10</sup> The position of Ladakh, however, was not so simple. The British official records, presented by M.L. Kapur, speak of the intercession of Ranjit Singh in favour of Gulab Singh. Probably on this basis Khushwant Singh<sup>11</sup> makes Zorawar Singh a general of Ranjit Singh and writes: "In the winter of 1836, Zorawar Singh presented the Maharajah with the *nazrana* he had brought from Ladakh and asked for permission to advance further westwards to Iskardu to make a common frontier with China. The Maharajah advised him to hold his hand for the time being." The actual position is given by Alexander Cunningham:<sup>12</sup>

. . . the Gyalpo lived in continued apprehension of an invasion of his territory by the Sikhs from Kashmir; but the governors of the district were too frequently changed, and too closely watched by the emissaries of the Jammu brothers, to be able to carry out such a design, even if they had formed it. For Raja Dhyani Singh, who was omnipotent in the Sikh durbar, was resolved that no one but his elder brother Raja Gulab Singh should obtain possession of Ladakh and Balti. The invasion of these countries was therefore postponed until Gulab Singh had consolidated his power in his newly-acquired territory of Kashtwar.<sup>13</sup>

Relying on Cunningham's material, A.H. Francke<sup>13</sup> has built up the history of Zorawar Singh's campaigns into Ladakh in 1834-35 and shown how Mihan Singh, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, was instigating the Ladakhis to revolt against Dogra conquest for the simple reason explained by Cunningham himself.

"Mihan Singh's intention was undoubtedly to force the whole trade through Kashmir, which otherwise, owing to the occupation of Ladakh by the Dogras, would have been turned into other channels leading through Kashtwar, and the Dogra territories dependent upon Jammu to India".<sup>14</sup>

It is this conflict of interests between the Sikh governors in Kashmir and the Dogras in Jammu that led to two different motivations. The Sikh governors were acting on their own while the Dogras sought permission from the British. When Sher Singh, the Sikh governor in Kashmir, invaded Baltistan, as we have seen in the last chapter (pp. 225-26) he did not consult the British at all but his invasion proved a failure, although Hashmatullah Khan<sup>15</sup> on doubtful grounds makes the Sikh Commander Pandit Ganesh successful and then takes the Pandit to Astor where he is said to have discovered a mine of *bilor* (precious stone). This event, however, is not usually referred to.

Such conflicting accounts veil the real diplomatic game that was then happening in Baltistan. G.T. Vigne states the actual posi-



tion as follows:

"He (Ahmed Shah) had five or six sons; the eldest, whose name was, I think, Shah Murad, died just before I visited Iskardo for the first time . . . . His own brother, Mohamed Shah, was by no means his equal in abilities, and having been intrusted with the government of Hasura, by way of trial, abused his authority in such a manner, and showed himself so incompetent as a ruler, that his father determined to disinherit him, in favour of Mohamed Ali Khan, a son by another wife, daughter of Shighur Rajah, whereas the mother of the deceased prince and Mohammed Shah was a daughter of the rajah of Katakchund, from which family it was used for the Gylfos of Iskardo to select a wife as the mother of the heir-apparent. In consequence of this determination Mohamed Shah quarrelled with his father, and ran off, accompanied by two or three adherents, and put himself under the protection of Gulab Singh's Sikh lieutenant, at the castle in Purik, near the frontier. This happened after my first visit to Iskardo, in 1835, and from that time he became a puppet in the hands of Gulab Singh, who amused him, and worried Ahmed Shah, by promising to make him governor of Iskardo, if ever he took the country".<sup>16</sup>

This simple story has been twisted by Hashmatullah Khan<sup>17</sup> who speaks of the stepmotherly treatment of Mohammad Shah and talks of his creating a party of supporters, including Ali Sher Khan of Kharmong. Mohammad Shah is then taken to Kashmir and finally to Lahore where he is presented to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who is said to have handed him over to Gulab Singh. In this reconstruction the role of the Sikh governor in Kashmir is belittled and all credit is given to Gulab Singh and his commander Zorawar Singh. Historians have been so much bewitched by Zorawar Singh's success in Ladakh and Baltistan that they write: "Emboldened by his success, Zorawar Singh claimed fealty from Gilgit also".<sup>18</sup>

The story of Gilgit is entirely different. Its conquest has nothing do with Zorawar Singh. The main source is Frederic Drew's account<sup>19</sup> which has been summarised by Hashmatullah Khan. When Gilgit affair started, Ranjit Singh was already dead. Kharak Singh was occupying the throne in Lahore and Ghulam Mohiyuddin was the Sikh governor in Kashmir. As we have seen before, the Kashmir governor must be feeling jealous and hence had probably advanced into Astor but not occupied it because in Baltistan Ahmed Shah was already subjugated by Zorawar Singh. Gilgit now faced three fronts — Gohar Aman from Yasin, the Sikh advance through Astor and Gulab Singh's contingent in Baltistan. The narrative is very confused in different accounts. If Dr. Leitner's history is read in the background of Frederic Drew's story, the picture becomes somewhat clear and shows the diplomatic game that

was then played in Gilgit, where Sikandar Khan, son of the Nagar ruler Tahir Shah, was ruling in 1840 and his younger brother Karim Khan was living in Gor (Gauharabad) alongwith his wife Sahebnuma. Nagar ruler's occupation of Gilgit throne was an eyesore to Gohar Aman who naturally advanced on Gilgit and occupied it. One of the two brothers, either Sikandar Khan or Karim Khan, sent an emissary to the Sikh governor in Kashmir. How this was arranged is not known. In 1842 the Sikh governor despatched about 1000 Kashmir troops under the command of colonel Natthu Shah, a Panjabi from Gujranwala, obviously with the approval of the Lahore *darbar*. Dr. Leitner gives year by year detail of the fights between Gohar Aman and Natthu Shah until Karim Khan succeeded his brother Sikandar Khan, who was killed in Gilgit. Actually Gohar Aman was not crushed. He only withdrew to Yasin to make better preparation to wage a series of attacks on Sikh garrison that had to be kept for the protection of Karim Khan. Leitner concludes that Karim Khan "pays a small sum for the retention of some Kashmir troops in the Gilgit fort under Nathe Shah". On the other hand Frederic Drew makes an exaggerated statement as follows:

Of course Nathu Shah did not give over Gilgit completely to Raja Karim Khan, who had called in his aid, but there was a kind of joint government established. Karim Khan had certain dues from the people allotted to him; further imposts were, I think, made for the Sikh government; a small force was fixed at Gilgit, and Nathu Shah himself returned to Kashmir.

The presence of Kashmir force in Gilgit is understandable in view of the recurrent fights that were then going on between Gohar Aman and his allies on one side and Karim Khan supported by the Sikh troops on the other. It is the presence of the Sikh troops that kept Karim Khan in Gilgit. It seems that Karim Khan needed them most and hence he was willing to bear their expenses by extra imposts on the people. But their presence does not amount to "joint government", as has been phrased by Frederic Drew. Under the protection of the Sikh contingent Karim Khan continued to administer Gilgit from 1841 until he was killed in 1844. He was succeeded by his son Mohammad Khan II,<sup>20</sup> during whose time also fights continued with Gohar Aman, who ultimately succeeded in driving him out of Gilgit. Mohammad Khan II took refuge in Kashmir. By this time Kashmir had already gone into the hands of Gulab Singh. It was because of this change that Col. Nathu Shah, who was in service of Lahore *darbar*, went back to Srinagar and Lahore and now transferred his service to Gulab Singh. According

to Hashmatullah Khan the Sikh soldiers, posted in Gilgit, also transferred their allegiance to Gulab Singh. This transfer of service clearly shows that the Gilgit action was undertaken by Kashmir governor with the backing of Lahore durbar probably in competition with the action of Gulab Singh in Ladakh and Baltistan. But unfortunately the Gilgit action proved to be a great headache. Kashmir governor had not been able to settle the affairs in Gilgit. It was this unsettled condition which was inherited by Gulab Singh when he accepted the loyalty of Col. Nathu Shah and other Sikh soldiers posted in Gilgit.

The position in Baltistan was entirely different. The conquest has to be reconstructed on the basis of G.T. Vigne, Alexander Cunningham, A.H. Francke and finally Hashmatullah Khan. From the first we learn how Mohammad Shah, the eldest son of Ahmed Shah, fled to Zorawar Singh to get his help. From Cunningham we know that "Ahmed Shah also prepared himself for the struggle, and was joined by a large party of discontented Ladakhis, who, after crossing the Indus, destroyed the bridge, to delay the advance of the Dogras".<sup>21</sup> A.H. Francke writes: "Then Zorawar had a new idea to keep the Ladakhis from intriguing against the rule of the Dogras. If they formed part of the Dogra army on a new expedition, it would give them something to do. Therefore Zorawar decided on an expedition against Baltistan".<sup>22</sup> Hashmatullah Khan traces the family feud in Khaplu and talks about Mohammad Ali and Daulat Ali taking shelter with Zorawar Singh while his brother Mahdi Ali Khan ruled in Khaplu. When the latter was defeated by Ahmad Shah of Skardu, Khaplu was placed under his Kharpon, as we have seen in the history of Khaplu, and the local army under Haidar Khan as *Sipahsalar*. But Haidar Khan, being on the side of Daulat Ali Khan, secretly went over to Zorawar Singh when he sent forces from Nobra via Chorbat and joined his forces with him at Siksha. Thus Khaplu fell into the hands of the Dogras without fighting. Cunningham continues the history thus:

Zorawar Sing then advanced to Skardo, and after some desultory firing, the fort was surrendered by Ahmed Shah for want of water. He was shortly afterwards deposed by Zorawar Sing, who installed his eldest son Muhammad Shah in his room, on the promised payment of an annual tribute of Rs 7,000. But the astute Comamnder, who had profited by his experience in Ladakh, would not leave his new conquest to the doubtful faith of a son of Ahmed Shah. A small garrison of trustworthy soldiers was placed in a new fort on the bank of the river, to confirm the faithfulness of the new king.

Hashmatullah Khan gives full detail of the consequences of this occupation:

"After the occupation of Baltistan the revenue continued to be realized by the (local) Rajas. Bhagwan Singh was appointed as *Thanadar*. For the maintenance of the Dogra troops it was agreed that the Rajas will supply one *Khal* out of every *Yol* corn, one *bur* of butter, one load of firewood and salt according to need. The *Rajas* will also pay six *Khal* corn out of their own revenue per *Yol* for the maintenance of the army. Besides, the *Zamindars* will each pay three rupees per *Yol* as revenue charge through the *Rajas*. This system continued until the time (1851–1863) of *Thanadar* Kedar.<sup>23</sup>

The detail shows that the actual government remained in the hands of the local Rajas even after conquest. Where the Sikhs earlier failed, Zorawar Singh on behalf of the Dogras was able to impose an annual tribute on the Rajas of Baltistan in the same manner as the Mughal emperors, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb imposed tribute on them. But both Gilgit and Baltistan remained a "frontier region".<sup>24</sup>

### Northern Areas Struggle Against Dogras and British

The struggle for freedom by the people of Northern Areas was not only directed against foreign aggressors but it was also connected with maintaining cultural identity with Islam since the time Islam became the formal religion and culture of the people as a whole. The late Mr. 'Abdul Hamid Khawar<sup>25</sup> informs that Raja Sulaiman Shah, the Yasin ruler, who became powerful and supreme from Gilgit to Chitral in the early part of the nineteenth century, was not only a great warrior but also extremely devoted to religion. He corresponded with Syed Ahmad Shahid who invited him to join in *Jihad* against the Sikhs. He is said to have given his response and sent a Sayyid girl to Peshawar for marriage with the "Syed".

This *Jihad* spirit of the Yasin rulers never abated. Their future struggle against the Dogras is detailed further ahead. In the meanwhile a brief account is given of the great uprising in Baltistan that followed the death of wazir Zorawar Singh on 12 December 1841 during his discomfiture against the Tibetans.<sup>26</sup> This uprising was not a lone affair. Hashmatullah Khan<sup>27</sup> gives full detail of this great event. The originator of this struggle was the old Raja Ahmed Shah of Skardu, then a prisoner of Zorawar Singh but got released after his death and thus was able to join hands with the Tibetans and made a plan to throw away the Dogra forces. He sent secretly his special messenger Yustrung Karim to Skardu and he managed to get the support of Haidar Khan of Shigar and Karim Beg of Skardu. In course of time they were able to build an alliance with Ali Khan, Raja of Skardu, Daulat Ali Khan, Raja of Khaplu, Khurram Khan, Raja of Kiris, and other nobility of Baltistan. They were able to

imprison Bhagwan Singh, the Dogra Thanadar of Skardu, and looted the treasury and armoury in the fort. The prisoners were sent to Niyali. Some persons, such as Sulaiman Khan, Raja of Shigar, and Muhammad Shah, Raja of Skardu, who did not join with them, were arrested. Haidar Khan now occupied both Shigar and Skardu and declared himself as ruler by completely demolishing the power of the Dogras. In order to quell this uprising Gulab Singh sent a well equipped army of 3000 men under Wazir Lakhpat of Kashtwar. At every step in his advance Lakhpat met the opposition of the people. Ultimately he reached Kargil. Then under the advice of Ali Sher Khan, Raja of Kartakhsha, he marched towards Baltistan. After crossing the Dras river, he arrived at Shanghu Shigar, where the Baltis had erected a tower of defence. After a brief skirmish, he proceeded to Skardu and besieged the fort of Kharpocha where Haidar Khan had locked himself up in safety. When military tactic failed to capture the fort, by strategem and fraud he managed to enter the fort from behind in the darkness of the night. Haidar Khan fled towards Soltoro but Daulat Ali Khan managed to capture him and handed him over to Lakhpat. He was taken to Jammu. The Kharpocha fort was burnt down and left desolate. Bhagwan Singh was brought back from Niyali and reappointed Thanadar with 300 men and placed at the newly-built fort. There was no change in other administrative measures. Mohammad Shah remained the Raja of Skardu, Daulat Ali Khan in Khaplu, Khurram Khan in Kiris, Ali Sher Khan in Kartakhsha. In Shigar Imam Quli Khan (II) became Raja as his father Sulaiman Khan was dead. Later Rondu was captured after a fight. Ali Khan continued as its ruler. His son was taken as hostage and a small force was posted at Istak. As the uprising had spread to Astor, Lakhpat had to go to Astor and besieged the fort, where Jabbar Khan had taken refuge. The fort was taken and Jabbar Khan continued to be Raja. Taking the prisoners with him, Lakhpat also captured all the rebellious Rajas of Purik, viz., Husain Khan, Raja of Pashkam, Salam Khan, Raja of Sut, Rahim Khan, Raja of Takcha, Sewang Namgyal, Kalon of Malba, Chaghdor Namgyal, Raja of Dambas and his brother Konga Namgyal, Wazir Quddus Beg, Wazir of Sut and others. Many noble men of Baltistan were hanged.<sup>28</sup>

This great uprising of Baltistan was eye-opener to Gulab Singh. He strengthened his military presence in several places but the actual administration remained in the hands of the Rajas. The last uprising was in 1846 in Zanskar, where action was taken by Basti Ram. Although the Commanders of Gulab Singh were able to impose tributes on the Rajas, their territories were not occupied as we know in the case of Astor, in which case both Frederic Drew and Leitner categorically say that so far it was outside the territorial

control of Kashmir.

While this sudden uprising in the whole of Baltistan was brought under control firstly by the military presence of the Dogras at Skardu and secondly by recognising those local Rajas who were friendly to them, there was no end to struggle in Gilgit front. The undaunted personality who organised a series of attacks was Gohar Aman, the ruler of Yasin, who, being backed by the freedom fighters of Chilas, Darel and other tribal areas of the north and supported by the Mihtar of Chitral and the ruler of Hunza and even abetted by the Nagar ruler, outstripped the generalship of many commanders first sent by the Sikh governor in Kashmir and later by Gulab Singh. Detailed history can be read in several narratives. One account, as given by Dr. Leitner will show the type of a united struggle organised by Gohar Aman in the spirit of *Jihad*:

A year later, the same Sikh General (Mathra Das) was despatched with 3000 horse and foot to Astor and fixed a tribute of one-third of the produce on all. He also established a Thanna at Sogar, a village close to Astor. At the Thanna he laid in ammunition, etc. Next year he went down with his troops along the river of Astor to the Indus and established a Thanna at Bunji, which is on this side of the Indus and opposite to Sai. Duru was at that time Governor of Bunji on behalf of Gohar Aman, the ruler of Yasin and Gilgit. He also crossed the Indus at Sai and arranged for a Thanna at Jalkot, but the Sai country was subject to Gohar Aman who was residing at Gilgit. When he heard of the encroachments of Kashmir he sent off men to Dareyal and Tangir, asking these tribes to come down on the Sikhs by the mountain paths near Bunji, whilst he would take the road along the Indus and attack Sai. He stated that as *he and they were Sunnis, a jihad (religious war) on the Sikhs became their command duty* (Italic mine). 5,000 young men from Dareyal and Tangir at once collected and came down to Bunji in 10 days. Gohar Aman with 3,000 Gilgit horse and 2,000 coolies, fell on Sai at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the day on which the mountaineers reached in the morning. The following Yaghistani Chiefs came. From Dareyl — Kalashmir, Lala Khan Izzetti, Bira Khan, Muhammad Khan, Shaithing, Jaldar; from Tangir — Khairullah, Mansur, Rustami, Nayun.

The only son of Gohar Aman who came was Mulk (correctly Malik) Aman-Gohar Aman himself being detained by illness. The following also came: From Nomal 200 men, from Bhagrot 2000 (!), from Sakwal 100, and from Minor 200. These men carried loads of provisions and ammunition. They reached the Niludar range on that day, one Kos from the Sai district. Thence preparations were made for an attack — the Sikhs having 8,000 men — the battle began at Chakarkot which is three Kos from the Indus. There is a field there under cultivation where the fight began. It was summer. The Sikhs had got into the Chakarkot Fort which was surrounded by the Gilgitis, Mulk Aman dashed into it with its horsemen. The Chakarkoti villagers facilitated their entry and opened the gates for him. The fight lasted all day and night within and without the Fort. The Sikhs were defeated; most were killed fighting and some jumped off the walls and were dashed to pieces. 100 only escaped crossing the river (Indus) back to Bunji. Gohar Aman only lost 60 horsemen and 40 Dareylis and Tangiris, also Sirdar Muhammad Khan, a Shin of

Darel. Mulk Aman did not cross over to Bunji and dismissed the mountaineers, telling them, however, to be in readiness for renewed fighting. He then returned to Gilgit.

The description is continued by Dr. Leitner under the title of "Wars with Gilgit" and he narrates the events of the following year, "when, in the spring, about 20,000 Kashmir troops with the former General came to Astor." What was the result? "All (10,000) were destroyed only one sepoy escaped to Bunji to tell the news to the other half of the army."<sup>29</sup>

It is most probably this war which is referred to by Hashmatullah Khan<sup>30</sup> who says that later Col. Natthu Shah went ahead to meet Gohar Aman, who made agreement with Natthu Shah by diplomatic channel and gave him his daughter in marriage. This is rather a strange conclusion. Further he adds that "Col. Nathu Shah had not taken the trouble just for the sake of Karim Khan. He occupied the country, usurped all powers and made Karim Khan titular head." There is no justification for such a conclusion. His further conclusion that Gilgit was handed over to Gulab Singh by the British by the treaty of 1846 (See below) is equally unjustified. This conclusion of Hashmatullah is based on the wrong statement of Fredric Drew. The story, as given by him, is continued in his own words:

On Kashmir, and with it Gilgit, being ceded to Gulab Singh, Nathu Shah left the Sikh and transferred his services to the new ruler, and went to take possession of Gilgit for him. In this there was no difficulty. The Dogra troops relieved the Sikh posts at Astor and Gilgit. Most of the Sikh soldiers took service under the new rulers; they were few in number, those at Gilgit being perhaps not more than one hundred.

The state of peace did not long continue. It was broken by the Hunza Raja making an attack on the Gilgit territory and plundering five villages. Nathu Shah had a force up the valley of the Hunza river to arrange this attack; but his force was destroyed, and he himself was killed, as also was Karim Khan, the titular Raja of Gilgit, who had accompanied him.<sup>31</sup>

This last event is described differently by Dr. Leitner in his note of the year 1848:

Isa Bahadur the half-brother of Gohar Aman by a concubine of Malik Aman Shah is expelled from Sher Kila, a Fort belonging to Punyal, a dependency of Yasin, and finds refuge with the Maharaja, who refuses to give him up. Gohar Aman accordingly sends troops under his brother Akbar Aman and captures the Bargu and Shukayot Forts in Gilgit territory. The Rajas of Hunza and Nagyr combine with Gohar Aman and assisted by the Gilgit people, with whom Karim Khan was unpopular because of his friendship for Kashmir, defeat and kill Nathe Shah and Karim Khan. Gohar Aman captures the Gilgit and Chaprot Forts.

This joint action of the local forces against the Dogras presents an entirely different picture from what has been given by Frederic Drew and Hashmatullah Khan. The cause of this action can be read

in Frederic Drew's another book, where the author speaks of a Commission sent in 1847 by the British Government. The purpose of this Commission needs re-examination. Unfortunately the original records are not available. But whatever may have been the report of the Commission, it has to be evaluated on the basis of the contemporary situation. Frederic Drew, who was a High official in Kashmir service, writes in connection with the treaty of 1846:

'It has been the subject of remark by some that that the words of the treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, namely "The hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravee", cannot be made to include Gilgit, which indeed is on the north of the Indus.

But the fact is these words will not bear any close geographical examination or application at all. Ladakh, which certainly was intended to be brought in is north-east and north of the Ravi, and north west of it; Kashmir itself, the chief object of the treaty cannot accurately be said to be west of it either, while it is both east and west of the Indus. The framers did not know very exactly nor care to express very closely how the countries lay; but afterwards, at leisure, a Commission was sent by the British Government, which laid down a portion of the boundary, and by that Commission both Ladakh and Gilgit were recognized as part of the countries handed over to Maharaja Gulab Singh. To Gilgit came Lieuts. Vans Agnew and (Ralph) Young, of the Bengal Engineers. I do not hear how far they went up the main valley; on the Hunza River they went to the frontier, then beyond Chaprot. Also they wrote to the Hunza Raja asking his leave to come there, but he refused it. At this time (which was, I think, in the year 1847), the actual boundary, as before said, was above Chaprot in one valley, and between Shakaiot and Gulpur in the other.<sup>32</sup>

The above is the version of the British public servant serving under Kashmir and hence likes to justify the possession of Ladakh and Gilgit by this treaty. He first confuses the readers that Kashmir proper (without defining it) lies "both east and west of the Indus" and does not say that immediately east of the Indus river is Hazara district outside Kashmir and Indus river itself runs through Ladakh and Baltistan and does not define any boundary line of Kashmir. Then he talks of the Commission, on which John Biddulph remarks: "The first to cross the Indus at Boonji and penetrate to beyond Gilgit were Young and Vans Agnew, two officers of the Bengal Army who were employed by Government in 1847 to report on the north-western frontier of Cashmere territory. Their report, unfortunately, was never made public." In a footnote he adds. "It is doubtful whether this report was ever presented to Government, and it is believed to have been lost at Mooltan when Vans Agnew was murdered, directly after his return."<sup>33</sup> The next Englishman to go into the region was Dr. Leitner, who notes, under the year 1847, "Vans Agnew arrives at Chalt on the Gilgit frontier towards Nagyr and makes friends with the people, who at first thought that he



came accompanied by troops.”<sup>34</sup>

This is what we learn about the so-called “Commission” and the fate of the “report”, on the basis of which Frederic Drew likes to handover Gilgit to Gulab Singh. How could the purpose of this mission be to fix the boundary beyond the river Indus? If at all they fixed “a portion of the boundary”, how could later on Kashmir incorporate the territories, such as Nager, Hunza, Yasin, Punial, Gizr, Chilas, Darel, Tangir and Kandia within its own orbit? On the other hand if these two military lieutenants were sent to report on the actual situation of the northern frontier, as is implied by Biddulph and Leitner, then the purpose is entirely different. Their report, if at all, would have been of great use to the British for their future action. Anyhow the purpose was not to fix the boundary as that was hardly possible under the then military situation. That would have been a one-sided affair and arbitrary, as the Hunza ruler refused even to meet them. As we have seen before, the Hunza ruler defeated the Dogras and threw them out of Chaprot. Actually Chaprot was the traditional boundary between Gilgit, Nagar and Hunza in the mediaeval period. We have seen in the last chapter several fights taking place for its possession. Therefore the two Englishmen might have gone to examine the traditional boundary and assess the position of the Dogra forces who could hardly maintain their position there.

The Dogras invaded again, wrested Gilgit from Gohar Aman and installed Karim Khan’s son Mohammad Khan II as the Raja of Gilgit with Aman Ali Shah as Thanadar. The following year the war spread in the tribal areas of Chilas, Darel, Tangir, Harban etc. Dr. Leitner gives a detailed account of a series of events in the words of a local *Mujahid* but treats the subject as a conflict between Sunni tribals of Chilas against the Shias of Astor. We need not view this as religious bigotries. Actually this was a continuation of earlier events with the result that Dogras took serious action by sending in 1851 Bakhshi Hari Singh and Dewan Hari Chand with 10,000 men. They destroyed the Chilas fort and scattered the hostile “hill tribes who assisted the Chilasis.” This action created commotion in Gilgit where the people killed two Dogra officers Santu Singh and Ram-dhan. The people of Gilgit urged on Gohar Aman to take immediate action, who sent his forces for its final capture. Then followed the great battle of 1852. This is described in great detail by Shah Rais Khan. Hashmatullah Khan is unable to link up the chain of events. But he describes the Dogra military position in full. At the time the Thanadar<sup>35</sup> Commandant of Gilgit was Sant Singh. At Naupura, about seven miles away from Gilgit, there was a fort, manned by Gurkha platoon, commanded by Bhup Singh. Gohar Aman made a sudden attack on Naupura and Gilgit and destroyed the communication between the two. When Bhup Singh heard of

this, he rushed with 1200 men and went by way of Chakrakot and Sai valley. He followed the Indus river and then passed on to Gilgit river. When he reached Safed Pari, he was caught in a narrow valley, overlooked by high ranges. Gohar Aman had placed his men on those ranges and also in front to stop the march of Bhup Singh towards Gilgit. At last Bhup Singh was compelled to return to Boonji but by this time his path of retreat was also blocked by enemy forces. From all directions the enemy showered bullets, arrows and stones on the besieged men of Bhup Singh in the narrow valley at the bottom. There was no way of escape. Bhup Singh and his men were utterly destroyed. A few, who surrendered, were sold in slavery. This place has been known as Bhup Singh Pari hereafter. Gohar Aman had his full revenge on the Dogras and re-established himself in Gilgit and until his death in 1860 he ruled here with free hand. Frederic Drew admits:

While the Maharaja's reserve was thus being disposed of, a somewhat similar tragedy was being done upon his troops at Gilgit and Naupura, who, we saw, had been separately surrounded... and were at last overpowered....

Thus as before said, the Dogras were expelled from all that part of Dardistan which is on the right bank of the Indus. Gour Rahman again ruled in Gilgit. From the time when these events happened, from the year 1852, onwards for eight years, the Maharaja's boundary, below Harmosh, remained at the Indus; above Harmosh, that is, in Baltistan, he possessed the country on both sides of the river. A considerable force was kept at Bawanji; and it seems to have been Gulab Singh's fixed policy to advance no further.<sup>36</sup>

The last conclusion of Frederic Drew is not accepted by Dr. Leitner although it is true that in the presence of the indomitable Gohar Aman no more military action was undertaken. Drew, Hashmatullah and Shah Rais all speak of peaceful time in Gilgit from 1852 to 1860. But Shah Rais Khan gives a hint of underhand means undertaken in the time of Ranbir Singh who succeeded Gulab Singh in 1857. It is only Dr. Leitner who traces the way how seeds of discord were laid and what could not be gained by military victory, was captured by fraudulent means. Dr. Leitner sums up the account year by year as follows:

1853 — The Maharaja now confines himself to the frontier, assigned to him by nature as well as the treaty, at Bunji, on the east of the Indus, but sends agents to sow discord in the family of Gohar Aman. In addition to Isa Bahadur he gained over two other brothers, Khalil Aman and Akbar Aman, but failed with Mihtar Sakhi, although an exile. He also attracted to his side Azmat Shah, Gohar Aman's uncle.

1854 — The Maharaja instigated Shah Afzal of Chitral to attack Gohar Aman, and accordingly in

1855 — Adam Khor, son of Shah Afzal of Chitral, drove Gohar Aman from the possession of Mistuch (Mastuj) and Yasin and restricted him to Punyal and Gilgit.

1856 — The Maharaja sends a force across the Indus under Wazir Zorawar and Atar Singh, assisted by Raja Zahid Jafar of Nagyr, and Gohar Aman thus attacked in front and flank, retreats from Gilgit and dispossesses Adam Khor from Yasin and Mistuch.

1857 — Gohar Aman again conquers Gilgit and drives out Isa Bahadur, officiating Thanadar of that place. Gohar Aman and the Maharaja intrigue against each other in Chitral, Nagyr, Hunza etc.

1858 — Shah Afzal of the Shah Kator branch, ruler of Chitral, dies. Intrigues in Gilgit against Gohar Aman, by Muhammad Khan (ii), son of Raja Karim Khan, assisted by Kashmir. Muhammad Khan is conciliated by marrying the daughter of Gohar Aman. The Sai district of Gilgit beyond the Niludar range is still held by the Sikhs.

1859 — Mir Shah of Badakhshan and Raja Ghazanfar of Hunza assist Gohar Aman in attacking Nagyr, which is under the friendly (to the Dogras) Raja Zahid Jafar, and in trying to turn out the Sikhs from Sai and Bunji. Azmat Shah, uncle of Gohar Aman, is expelled from Chitral-where he had sought refuge.

1860 — The Maharaja instigates Adam Khor and Azmat Shah, who were in the country of Dir with Ghazan Khan, a friendly chief to Kashmir, to fight Gohar Aman — Adam Khor was to have Yasin, Azmat Shah was to take Mistuch and Sher Qila (Punial) was to be given to Isa Bahadur, the Maharaja to have Gilgit. Intrigues of the Maharaja with the chiefs of Dir, Badakhshan etc. Gohar Aman dies, which is the signal for an attack by the Maharaja cooperating with the sons of Raja Karim Khan of Gilgit.

All these intrigues were possible because of the protracted illness of Gohar Aman. Unfortunately no detail is available from his side. In this detail that we get from Dr. Leitner, the story is not complete. However, whatever information is available, it shows how the intrigues or diplomatic game was extended and the whole surrounding areas, inclusive of Afghanistan, Dir, Swat, Chitral and Badakhshan, got involved — the entire region in which the British were intensely interested and hence news were published in the newspapers of the time, as are quoted by Dr. Leitner himself. What part the British played in these intrigues, remains to be worked out from the contemporary secret documents. In any case the British abetted in these secret intrigues of the Maharaja and, as is borne out in the detailed account of Dr. Leitner, they gave a green signal to future action by the Maharaja. But the advance was not simple. At every step there was opposition and peace could not be restored until British themselves established their political agency here on permanent basis. The military side of this picture is given below.

Dr. Leitner's account of "History of the Dard wars with Kashmir" is based on the statements of a Sazini Dard who took part in many of the engagements. Ranabir Singh appointed Col. Devi Singh Narainia, as the commander of the forces. Dr. Leitner gives the story behind the despatch of the Dogra forces. When the Sikhs

were defeated by Gohar Aman, Isa Bahadur of Punial and Azmat Shah of Yasin had fled to Swat and taken refuge there. A third person, by name Sultan, the ex-Vazir of Pohordu Shah, also fled the hills. When Gohar Aman died, all these fugitives came back and went together to Jammu and offered their services to the Maharaja. Then the Maharaja, after being satisfied with their loyalty sent 6,000 infantry and 4 guns with Isa, Sultan and Azmat. They were to take advantage of the presence of 5000 men at each of Astor and Bunji. Armed with these men and under the guidance of the Commander they made for Astor. Malik Aman, who had succeeded Gohar Aman, summoned the Darel and Tangir tribes, saying that unless they fought now they would lose their country. He also sent a messenger to Ghazanfar, Raja of Hunza and another to Shah Morad of Nagar to meet the common foe. Isa Bahadur and his allies started from Astor and besieged the Gilgit fort. Malik Aman also sought help from Amanul Mulk, ruler of Chitral, who sent Lakhtar Khan, his nephew, with 8000 men to Gilgit and assured further help. Thus the combined strength of Malik Aman, Amanul Mulk and Dareli and Tangir tribes advanced to the rescue of Gilgit. The siege went for nearly a month. On the 27th day after the siege, the Raja of Hunza reached with 12000 soldiers, but did not join the fight. 6000 soldiers, in addition to 8000 already sent, also came from Chitral, who at once assisted in the siege. But ultimately Gilgit was captured. Malik Aman retired to Yasin.

It is after this occupation of Gilgit in 1860 that for the first time new administrative arrangement was made. As Shah Rais Khan notes in his history, Col. Devi Singh took complete charge of military action and entrusted the civil administration to Lala Jawahar Singh who was for the first time appointed as Wazir Wizarat in Gilgit. Raja Ali Dad Khan, who had succeeded in Gilgit after the death of Mohammed Khan II, was divested of all powers. Wazir Sultano who was heading the civil government of Ali Dad Khan was removed and Lala Jawahar Singh was entrusted with all powers. However, Wazir Sultano remained a titular adviser of Raja Ali Dad Khan. Raja Isa Bahadur was reappointed as Wali and Jagidar of Punial by the Maharaja. Isa Bahadur then dreamt of getting power in Gilgit.

With this new arrangement Col. Devi Singh continued the war on Yasin. On the advice of Amanul Mulk of Chitral, Malik Aman fortified Gakuch and waited for the advance of the Sikhs. A *thana* of five men was established at Gakuch. Five months afterwards

Wazir Zoraweru of Kashmir sent Wazir Mukhtar with twenty young men to Gakuch to surprise the *thana* at night. More re-enforcements were sent. Mukhtar surrounded the *thana*, captured five men and established himself as *thanadar*. Three days afterwards Zoraweru, Isa Bahadur and others came with 9000 infantry and 3000 cavalry and advanced on Yasin quietly. They reached Chamugar. Malik Aman was taken by surprise and he escaped to Chitral. The Sikhs entered Yasin. What followed is told in the words of the informant:

That blood-thirsty Kafir, Isa Bahadur, ordered the houses to be entered and all the inhabitants, without regard to sex or age, to be killed . . . The slaughter lasted for five days and nights. The blood of the victims flowed in streams through the roads . . . Thus 2000 men, women and children above ten years of age and countless number of infants and babes became martyrs at the hands of the bloody Sikhs — 3000 persons (chiefly women) a very few children as also a few old men were kept as prisoners and brought in three days to Gilgit, Zoraweru being elated with excessive joy which he manifested in various ways en route. When he came to Gilgit, Isa Bahadur and Asmat Shah, selecting 1000 of the more beautiful women, took them to Jammu with 3000 soldiers.<sup>37</sup>

The Maharaja then gave Punial to Isa Bahadur and Yasin to Azmat Shah with a support of some troops. But this arrangement could not last long. No sooner the Sikh forces returned to Gilgit, Azmat Shah was driven away from Yasin. Malik Aman reoccupied Yasin. Thereafter followed a second invasion of Yasin and similarly Malik Aman, the Raja of Yasin, twice attacked Gilgit in 1867 and 1868 in order to dislodge the Dogras from Gilgit. These invasions were not isolated. They followed the wars against Hunza in 1866, which was started apparently with the support of the ruler of Nagar but the Dogras appear to have been deceived by the people of Nagar and they had to make a disgraceful retreat, as is noted by Frederic Drew.<sup>38</sup> It is in consequence of this Dogra defeat that Malik Aman was emboldened to attack Gilgit with a formidable combination of all the tribes. Wazir Rahmat, the Yasin Wazir, was the soul of this combination. Frederic Drew narrates the story:

In a month or two a considerable army invaded Gilgit. The Yasin ruler had now looked for aid across the mountains to Chitral, and from there came a force of horse and foot, led by Iman (Aman) ul-Mulk, the Raja of Chitral. These with the Yasinis and the Dardis (from Dard, of the valleys on the south-west of Gilgit), environed Gilgit Fort, while the Hunza and Nagar people, now in conjunction, occupied the left bank of the river, opposite the fort. The Raja of Chitral was the man of most importance of all the leaders.

It is to meet this attack that the Maharaja sent Wazir Zoraweru and Colonel Bijai Singh. But the story is differently told by Munshi 'Azizuddin.<sup>39</sup> His story highlights the role of the ruler of

Chitral and throws light on local political issues. Amanul Mulk, who was the second son of Shah Afzal II, established himself in Chitral in 1857. In the third year of his reign the Dogras had taken possession of Gilgit after the death of Gohar Aman and had advanced on Yasin. Amanul Mulk entrenched himself in Warshegum and placed Pahalwan, son of Gohar Aman, in Mastuj. First he gave Warshegum to his son Malik Aman II and then to Mir Wali. Malik Shah, son of Tajammul Shah, fled to Jammu and returned to Gilgit with Dogra forces. It is to meet the challenge of Malik Shah, that Amanul Mulk came to Gilgit with a mighty force. He conquered Punial and advanced on Gilgit, where a severe battle was fought. The Dogras locked themselves up within the fort. On the following day a cannon ball came from the fort and hit Shujaul Mulk Razakhel who immediately died. Then Malik Shah fled from the fort towards Yaghistan. As a result Amanul Mulk retired to Chitral.

Frederic Drew records the events of Chitral and talks about Mir Wali and Pahalwan. He concludes:

Thus Chitral, Mastuj and Yasin became bound up together. The relation of all these to the Maharaja's officers at Gilgit consisted in keeping and being kept at arm's length.

Still later when trouble in Badakhshan started and its ruler Mahmud Shah became involved with the affairs of Afghanistan as a result of the advance policy of Amir Abdur Rahman, the ruler of Chitral decided to formalise his relation with the Maharaja of Kashmir. Both Mirza Ghulam Murtaza<sup>40</sup> and Munshi Azizuddin<sup>41</sup> speak of this friendly treaty. According to the first author the treaty was arranged through Rahmatullah Khan, the Wali of Dir. Another letter was sent through Mian Muqassar Shah Kakakhel along with Dildar by way of Malakand. On this initiative of Ranbir Singh, Amanul Mulk sent a favourable reply through his servant Akhund Khan. Munshi 'Azizuddin adds that in 1876 the Mihtar of Chitral sent Wazir Enayat Khan to the Maharaja. Second year Bairam Khan Razakhel was sent. Both of them were well treated by the Maharaja who sent them back with numerous presents. The Maharaja sent an officer by name Muhammad Akbar Khan to draw up the terms of the treaty. On behalf of Chitral ruler two persons Prince Nizamul Mulk and Mihtar Pahalwan were nominated and on behalf of the Maharaja Ganga Singh was appointed to draft the treaty. The meeting was held at Thamshak in 1877 and the following terms were agreed.

1. Mihtar of Chitral will not interfere in Gilgit and Punial.
2. The Maharaja will not advance towards Gakuch and

Warshegum.

3. A sum of rupees thirty thousand will be paid to Mihtar of Chitral for his agreeing not to interfere in Gilgit and Puniial.

While such friendly relations were being established with Chitral in view of the growing menace of Russian advance, another policy of menacing attitude was adopted towards the tribal territories in the west. Earlier we have seen how Chilas fort was destroyed and the tribals who came to help the Chilasis were forcefully turned back. In 1866 Wazir Zoraweru decided to raid Dareyl and loot and plunder the villages and the people who lived in scattered settlements. Dr. Leitner gives a detailed account of "War with Dareyl (Yaghistan) 1866" and "atrocities in the war with Dareyl". The object of these raids was to instil fear in the heart of the tribals and loot and plunder as much as possible. There was no desire to establish a regular government there nor was any attempt made to incorporate these tribal areas into Kashmir territory.

This double attitude of the Maharaja of Kashmir was not entirely his own. Long negotiations<sup>42</sup> were going on between Ranbir Singh and the British Viceroy. Lord Lytton met Maharaja Ranbir Singh in two successive interviews on 17th and 18th November 1876 at Madhopur and

Expressing his anxiety in regard to Kashmir frontier, he observed that the country beyond the Maharaja's borders was inhabited by a rude and barbarous people who owed allegiance to various chiefs in no respect more advanced than the populations over whom they exercised suzerainty and stated that it was essential 'that such states as Chitral and Yasin should come under the control of a friend and ally of the British Government, like His Highness, rather than be absorbed in the course of events by power enemical to Cashmere; this became the more necessary from their being certain passes through the mountain range bounding these territories on the north, which passes, it is believed, are more or less practicable or can be made practicable, for the passage of troops'. The Governor-General then explained that the government had deputed Capt. Biddulph for a second time in 1876 to re-examine the Ishkuman Pass . . . other passes exist, close to, and in connection with it, the command of which for the sake of the safety and peace of Cashmere, should be in the Maharaja's hands or in those of the British Government. In order to attain this end, it was necessary to obtain full control over the countries lying between them and the Cashmere frontier .<sup>43</sup>

It was this "Madhopur Settlement" which emboldened the Maharaja. In consequence of this "Lord Lytton promised to furnish the Maharaja with the required authority 'in such form as might be most satisfactory to him' and, in order to convince the Maharaja of the sincere desire of the Government of India to see his

State problems and his frontier well protected, he further offered the Maharaja a gift of 5,000 stand of rifles, either Snider or Enfield, for his army".<sup>44</sup> Encouraged with this backing the Maharaja took the first step and made an agreement with the ruler of Chitral, as has been noted above. The British undertook the next initiative of appointing John Biddulph on special duty at Gilgit from 1877 to 1881. Earlier between 1873-74 he was a member of the Mission to Yarkand, the Pamir and Wakhan.

The drastic change in the British policy, which henceforth remained the driving force in this part, implied two alternatives: the first was the direct annexation by the British Government of the tribal territories, and the second was to bring these territories under the control of their feudatory, i.e. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. M.L. Kapur aptly remarks:

Its (i.e. second alternative) would, however, amount to complete reversal of the old British policy, towards Kashmir which required of its ruler to 'make no attempt to extend his authority beyond the limits which had been conferred on his father'. The Foreign Department of the Government of India, therefore, came to the conclusion that 'it was the general opinion that the main point to be aimed at was to secure control of the Ishkoman Pass, and that this could best be done by authorising the Maharaja of Kashmir to extend his boundary so as to include Yassin within his territory either by force or by negotiations'.<sup>45</sup>

M.L. Kapur further comments that as a result of the Anglo-Kashmir arrangement of 1876-77 the Maharaja tried to bring Chitral under his control by concluding a treaty with him. The treaty was signed, as has been mentioned above but there was no question of control. M.L. Kapur is wrong in saying that "the ruler of Chitral had been professing his allegiance to the Amir of Afghanistan" nor was there any clause included in the treaty for the ruler of Chitral "to show his allegiance only to his new suzerain".<sup>46</sup>

In Yasin and Warshegum after the brutal massacre of the people by the Dogras in 1862, Malik Aman left the place and went to Tangir. He was then succeeded by his brother, Mir Wali, who continued to keep an eye on the movements of the Dogra forces. Later on Mir Wali was replaced by Pahalwan who was nephew and son-in-law of Mihtar Amanul Mulk. Pahalwan actually belonged to Khushwaqtia family. He regarded Punial as his family heritage. Two years after the treaty between Chitral and Kashmir, he invaded Punial and Gilgit with a view "to expel the Dogras from Gilgit". Durand<sup>47</sup> continues the story: "The Mehtar encouraged him in every way, promised him assistance, and urged him to the enterprise. Pahalwan started and laid siege to Cher Killa (Sher Qila), the chief



fort of Punyal. The moment he was well committed to his adventure the Mehtar, who had secretly collected his forces, occupied Yasin". Durand observes "he (Mihtar) ruled a united Chitral, extending from the borders of Punial on one hand, to the borders of Kafiristan and Dir on the other, and that the watershed of the Hindu-Kush was his northern boundary".

The more and more interest that the British took in this part the local Rajas thought of contracting direct friendship with them. In fact this attitude of the Rajas has been seen even earlier. It was the same motivation that urged Mir Wali of Yasin to entertain the explorer Heyward but when his desire could not be met, Mr. Heyward was murdered in 1870. When things were being discussed to have direct British control over Chitral and Yasin from Jalalabad, there again erupted a serious trouble on the side of Hunza because of the claim over Chaprot, an important post near Chalt which commanded a strong strategic position over the surrounding area.

M.L. Kapur describes the vulnerable situation:

In 1875 the fort of Chaprot was conquered by Nagar from Hunza. But finding it difficult to retain it in face of the hostile intentions of the Hunza people, the Chief of Nagar invited the Maharaja's forces to garrison it. Capt. Biddulph strongly recommended the acceptance of this proposal with the result that the Maharaja's forces moved into the fort in 1877. But it enraged the Hunza people so much so that they not only firmly resolved to recapture Chaprot, but also planned next year a joint Yassin-Chilas-Dard attack on Gilgit. The actual hostilities commenced in 1880 and the situation became very critical. No doubt the Kashmir forces helped by the British were subsequently able to save their position.<sup>48</sup>

Hashmatullah Khan<sup>49</sup> speaks of this action of the Raja of Hunza and his continued forays right upto Gilgit. After taking possession of Chaprot, he invaded some villages Nomal in 1869 and captured two hundred men. Dogras in their helplessness could do nothing. According to Hashmatullah Khan this danger from Hunza was greater than the danger from Yasin.

When the trouble began to increase on every direction the British established the political agency second time in 1889 and Col. Durand was appointed as the political agent. Now the struggle took a different turn. It was a direct fight against the British suzerain power. Durand<sup>50</sup> is the main source of information for the action that he took to curb the new trouble that had spread all round. In his two chapters he makes a personal revelry of the great achievement made by him in not only reorganising the military set-up in this area but also in almost reconquering the area from the

hands of the rebels.

He boasts:

I was the representative of the British Government on the frontier, and the external relations with the neighbouring States were under my control. But the rule within the Gilgit border was in the hands of the Kashmir Governor while the command of the forces rested with the Kashmiri General, with the proviso that no important move of troops should be undertaken without my sanction. It was a difficult position . . . The difficulty was solved by the formation of an unrecognised Committee of Public Safety Composed of the Governor, the General and myself.

He speaks of a *darbar* being held in Gilgit during the Christmas of 1889 "informing all of the intention of Government that the British Agency should be permanent". But more important was the backing that he received from the Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, and the military support that he got from the British Government. After ensuring the communication line with Kashmir safe and arranging for the necessary supply of food and other materials, he thought of extending his control over the fort of Nomal, "which the tribesmen had besieged three years before". In 1890 this objective was fulfilled. In 1891 "from all directions came renewed rumours of trouble . . . it seemed to me that all tended to show that real mischief was brewing". In April of this year Durand moved with a couple of guns and some infantry to Gakuch in Punial, forty miles from Gilgit. The Governor of Gilgit and the Kashmiri General also dared to accompany the party. Gakuch was occupied. Then the storm of trouble broke in Nagar among the three sons of the ruler. Uzr Khan killed his two brothers. Then Uzr Khan prepared to attack both Chalt and Chaprot, the Chalt fort was held by Kashmir troops under an agreement with Nagar ruler. Chaprot was also occupied by these troops. But Uzr Khan was in correspondence with Hunza ruler for a joint action. He wanted war but a quick move by Durand saved the situation. The result is given in Durand's own words: "After ten days or so of *pourparlers* the Hunza — Nagar envoys came to my camp in a suitable frame of mind, and we discussed the situation. Both states were for the moment honestly anxious to avoid war . . . The fort of Chalt . . . was garrisoned by picked Kashmir troops amply provisioned, and last, but not least, we had driven a road through the Chaichar Parri". He claims that he "strengthened the hold of Kashmir on its frontier parts, and made it easy to reach them". But nothing is said about the important fort of Chaprot. However, Durand knew that the storm had just been abated but not finished. It blew again when

Raja Ram Singh, the Maharaja's brother, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmir army came to inspect Gilgit in the month of August. The situation was serious. Durand was summoned by the British Government as the Russians had annexed portions of Pamir. He writes: "On my arrival in Simla the whole question of the Gilgit frontier was exhaustively examined, and the Government of India decided to reinforce the Kashmir troops in the Gilgit Agency by a detachment of two hundred men belonging to the 5th Gurkha regiment, and by two guns of one of our native mountain batteries". He further adds: "In consideration of the fact that the Hunza ruler had broken all his engagements with us, that an attack on the Kashmir garrison of Chalt had only just been prevented, and that it was more than likely that a further attempt would be made in the autumn by the tribesmen, the Government of India decided to order me to move troops to Chalt in October, to build a small fort there, and to improve the road between that place and Gilgit". Durand's hands were further strengthened by a picked lot of fifteen British young officers. Hunza and Nagar States had also rearmed themselves, were bent on defeating Kashmir troops as they had done in the past, and they meditated seizing the Chaichar Parri and possibly besieging Nomal. Hunza ruler was Safdar Ali Khan. According to Durand he also counted on help from the north, and had sent an embassy to the Russians at Tashkent. The gravity of war could be imagined from the equipment that he had with him. In his own words,

I had a thousand rifles and two guns. There were a hundred and eighty of the 5th Gurkhas, the backbone of the force, four hundred Gurkhas and Dogras of the Kashmir Body Guard Regiment, two hundred and fifty Dogras of the Kashmir Ragu Pertab Regiment, a hundred and fifty Punyali levies, and a small detachment of twenty men of the 20th Punjab Infantry, my personal escort, half with a gatling gun and half attached to the Punyalis to stiffen them, and the seven-pounders of the Hazara mountain battery.

The opposing forces had "four or five thousand men indifferently armed". The fighting was heavy. A good description is given by E.F. Knight<sup>51</sup> who talks of close fight at every step for the occupation of Nilt and onward progress to Nagar and Hunza. Knight names the fifteen British officers who commanded the troops.<sup>52</sup> Durand himself was wounded. He writes:

I was put into a litter, and lay for a couple of hours listening to the firing in front of me, watching the wounded as they came dropping in, and longing for news.

Ultimately it is the British command and the British guns that

won the war. The final result is given in Durand's own words:

I may mention that no interference in the internal affairs of the states was attempted. Nazim, a half-brother of Safdar Ali Khan, was installed later as Chief of Hunza, with Humayun, as his Wazir, and the old king of Nagar continued to reign, with his son Sikundar Khan as heir-apparent. Uzr Khan came back, gave himself up, and was deported to Kashmir, where he now lives. Safdar Ali Khan fled to Yarkand, where he lives on a small property granted to his father by the Chinese, and his truculent Wazir Dadu died in exile.

This is the first time that the Hunza troops were defeated when some Kashmir soldiers under the command of the British officers fought together in severe battles and advanced right upto Misgar but they could not capture Safdar 'Ali Khan. Earlier several times the Hunza ruler had defeated the Kashmir troops. In 1848 Col. Nathu Shah's men were surrounded and he was himself killed. In 1866 again the Dogras were defeated. His men fled and with difficulty reached Gilgit. Still later they had occupied Chaprot. With these victories the Hunza people were much emboldened. In an earlier treaty with the British Government they had agreed to give safe passage to the British on their way to Yarkand in lieu of a huge subsidy. Durand says that this treaty was broken by the Hunza people and hence the present military solution. But the cause of the war was not so simple. The British advance was linked with their international game of keeping the Russians and the Chinese away from these areas. When Kashmir troops failed in this objective, the British took the initiative in their own hands. Thus Hunza and Nagar surrendered to the British, and not to the guns of the Maharaja. Captain Younghusband was appointed as Assistant Political Agent in Hunza.

This action in Hunza was not the end of the trouble. Things were shaping ominously lower down in the Indus valley and also in Yasin. The tribals in the Indus valley, although defeated by the Dogras, continued to be rebellious — particularly, the people of Chilas were under the influence of the Maulavis of Swat. When the crisis of succession developed in Chitral after the death of Amanul Mulk on 30th August 1892, the surrounding powers attempted to gain influence there. First the throne was occupied by Afzalul-Mulk, the second son of the Amir, and the British were preparing to get contact with him in Chitral and for this purpose Robertson was to move to Chitral. In the meanwhile Amanul-Mulk's younger brother Sher Afzal, who had taken refuge in Afghanistan and, because of many acts of his bravery there, got the support of Amir 'Abdur Rahman. He returned to Chitral, finished off with Afzalul-

### Mulk and captured the throne. Durand writes:

The day he (Robertson) was to leave Bunji came a messenger in frantic haste, bearing the news that Sher Afzul, a brother of the old Mehtar, who had been in exile for years in Afghanistan a prisoner of the Amir's, had crossed the frontier by the Dorah, surprised and killed Afzul-ul-Mulk in his fort of Chitral, and proclaimed himself Mehtar. This was bad, but *the most serious news was that he had proclaimed a religious war against us* (italics mine), that our native agent and doctor were in danger of their lives, and that troops were being collected and hurried towards Yasin, the tract of Chitral just beyond our borders.<sup>53</sup>

While Chitral issue will be discussed below, we further learn from Durand:

The second day after my arrival at Gakuch came news from the Indus valley, and it was my turn to receive a bolt from the blue. I heard that Robertson, instead of being as I hoped safe at Bunji, was forty miles below it at Thalpen, that he had been attacked, had retaliated by crossing the Indus with fifty men and burning Chilas, that the Indus valley was up, and he himself in urgent need.<sup>54</sup>

He further notes that when he was on way to Gilgit, he heard that the agent representing the Kashmir Government in Chilas had been turned out and that he had arrived in Gilgit alive, but with a bullet through his shoulder.<sup>55</sup> The crisis had become serious. As the Gurkhas manned a raft to cross the Indus river, they were fired upon, three men killed, and Captain Wallace wounded. After great difficulty Chilas was captured. However, this was not the end of the trouble. In the words of Durand:

"In February, I received certain information that a great rising of the Indus valley tribes was really preparing, that large detachments from the Indus valley Kohistan were mustering and that in conjunction with the forces of Dard, Tangir and Chilas, they meant to attack on Chilas and the post ten miles in rear of it.<sup>56</sup>

The invasion did come and the situation got worse. Major Daniell and Lieutenant Moberly commanded the forces of defence. Chilas was defended with two hundred and seventy rifles. Daniell started action with one hundred and fifty men but the Mujahideens held positions all round. Heavy fighting went on until about noon with number of casualties with Daniell himself killed. Durand records the result of day-long fighting: "As it was, fifty-one officers and men were down out of a hundred and fifty, and all their leaders but one were dead". The concerted action that the Mujahideen were making can be read in Durand's own words:

I remained myself long enough in Gilgit to inform Robertson, who was still in Chitral, of what had happened, and to discover what effect the action was likely to have on the frontier. There was rumour of difficulty in Chitral, and warnings from there of a great coalition of the Indus valley tribes to avenge their heavy losses. The second attack was to come

off after the forty days of mourning for the dead were passed. Robertson wanted troops pushed up in his support to Ghizr, seventy miles, to the west from Gilgit, I had the Hunza — Nagar valley to watch carefully fifty miles to the north, a reverse on our part might upset the latter state, and Chilas, seventy miles to the south, was none too strong.<sup>57</sup>

Durand himself reached Chilas with two hundred men and two guns and strengthened the British hold on Chilas. It is said that the impending attack never came and peace was restored in the tribal area although no detail is available as to the way how the Kohistanis went back. The net result of this was that Chilas was permanently occupied and an assistant political agent was appointed there. Durand notes the advantage of the occupation:

Its (Chilas) position on the flank of the Gilgit — Kashmir road made it of considerable military importance, and a force stationed there effectually barred the way to any incursion of the Indus valley tribes. Moreover, it gave us command of new and shorter road to British territory crossing only one pass, the Babusar, and leading through the uplands of Kaghan to Abbottabad in the Punjab.<sup>58</sup>

In Chitral the position was of international nature. Its occupation by Sher Afzal not only meant an extension of the hands of Amir Abdur Rahman but also implied an indirect Russian influence in this part. In order to counteract this growing menace, the British now espoused the cause of Nizamul-Mulk, the eldest son of Amanul-Mulk, who had fled from Chitral and taken refuge in Gilgit. He had still great influence in Chitral. On his own request he was now given full support. While he himself moved to Mastuj and on to Chitral to win the favour of the local people and drive away Sher Afzal, the British were not slow in moving their own troops. Ultimately they were satisfied in seeing Nizamul-Mulk on the throne of Chitral, stationed troops in Ghizr and appointed Captain Younghusband as political officer at Mastuj.

This installation of Nizamul-Mulk in 1892 with the backing of the British force could not be so easily accepted in this part of the world. Trouble was already brewing in the Frontier area, where the king of Afghanistan had direct interest. In the meanwhile in Jandul rose 'Umra Khan as a great powerful ruler in between Swat, Dir and Bajaur. Under his inspiration and support the younger brother of Nizamul-Mulk by name Amirul-Mulk came to Chitral and succeeded in killing Nizamul-Mulk and snatching the throne for himself. This sudden change upset the political balance in Chitral. Negotiations started now to bring Amirul-Mulk under the control of the British. On the other hand 'Umra Khan of Jandul moved his forces up to have his control over Chitral. The Amir of Afghanistan was

not slow on his part. The former ruler Sher Afzal, who had fled from Chitral, was living in Kabul. He also came down with an Afghan force to see that the British influence is reduced. All these international complications led to the famous Chitral campaign of 1895.

It has generally been propagated in the accounts of Chitral campaign<sup>59</sup> that the main objective of the British was to drive away 'Umra Khan from Chitral and give the throne to the legitimate heir. The issue was not so simple. If that was the real objective, the British should have left the war of succession to be fought among the princes themselves. But this was not the factual position. Earlier we have seen how the British had espoused the cause of Nizamul-Mulk and while placing him on the throne, increased their influence in Chitral and in the person of Sir George Robertson made themselves politically present in Chitral. Later they appointed a political officer at Mastuj and brought their troops in Ghizr, both of these territories then under Chitral. It is against this action that the people of Chitral rose and gave a supporting hand to Amirul-Mulk who got the support of Umra Khan. In the meanwhile Afghanistan intended to extend its influence over Chitral and hence Sher Afzal returned. Afraid of Sher Afzal, there was no choice left for Amirul-Mulk but to appeal to the British for recognition and help. The British position is summed up by M.E. Yapp in his introduction to the reprint of Sir George Robertson's book on Chitral. He writes:

The flurry of British activity in Dardistan during the early 1890's was linked with the Pamir crises which took place at the same time. The Pamir crises were themselves among the last manifestations of the prolonged diplomatic tension between Britain and Russia which accompanied the settlement of the Russo-Afghan border . . . With the eastern border undetermined it seemed possible that by extending into the Pamirs Russia might out-flank Afghanistan and insert a wedge of Russian territory between Afghan and Chinese lands. This wedge would touch the frontier of British India and a direct confrontation in Dardistan between the two European powers was conceivable. The British response to this threatening contingency took shape at two levels, at the diplomatic level to try to obtain an agreement which would leave Afghanistan with a strip of territory (Wakhan) linking her with the Chinese frontier and thereby insulating British India from direct contact with Russian controlled lands; and at the local level to pre-empt Russia in Dardistan by imposing effective British control over the area first.<sup>60</sup>

This international border was certainly solved in 1893 by agreeing to establish the Durand Line but the issue in Chitral remained complicated because of the question of succession. The British had earlier succeeded in 1892 by placing Nizamul-Mulk on

Chitral throne, who had driven away Sher Afzal to Afghanistan. Now once again Sher Afzal was back with the backing of Afghanistan and in cooperation with 'Umra Khan of Jandul. He managed to win the support of the people of Chitral who did not like the presence of the British troops and some of the Chitrali troops who were with Amirul-Mulk transferred their loyalty to Sher Afzal. Amirul-Mulk also threw his support to 'Umra Khan. The position had become really serious in a region which practically fell within the British suzerainty after the agreement of Durand line in 1893. The British moved with considerable force from two directions — from the side of Gilgit over the Ghizr, Mastuj and on to Chitral and from the side of Peshawar, Malakand across Dir and over Lohari pass to Chitral. At the same time the British now espoused the cause of Shujaul-Mulk, another son of Amanul-Mulk. Although no external help was received by these who were fighting against the British, yet they put up a strong pressure on the British. The interested parties had their own goals to fulfil. 'Umra Khan, the ambitious ruler of Jandul, who had married a daughter of Amanul-Mulk had his own aim to occupy Chitral throne but he could not be tolerated by the British because of his great power and prestige. Sher Afzal, the younger brother of Amanul-Mulk, had the backing of the Amir of Afghanistan and even won the support of the local people but as he was against the British and raised a voice against them by giving them an ultimatum to leave Chitral, he became the most hated man to the British. Amirul-Mulk had killed the British nominee Nizamul-Mulk and hence he was also out of favour. The only choice left for the British was to seek a military solution to the local rebellious problem and place on the throne of Chitral a weak person who could be handled at will. And this person they found in the fifteen-year young son of Amanul-Mulk by name Shujaul-Mulk. While he was placed on the throne of Chitral on 2nd September 1895, the areas of Yasin and Mastuj were temporarily taken away from his hands. Mastuj was restored to him only in 1914. This action was taken by the British Government after the suppression of the rising in 1895. Another big change that was made was the establishment of the Malakand Agency in 1895 and transfer of the management of Chitral from Gilgit to Malakand. It is this action of the British that left a deep scar on the mind of the Psthun people in this part of the world. Combined with it was the issue of demarcating the actual limits of Durand line. This led to further great rising of 1897 throughout the Frontier region. But by this time Northern Areas



had been calmed down and British control had been firmly established.

M.E. Yapp sums up the British intention as follows:

The most favoured mode of establishing British influence in Dardistan was to do it surreptitiously and cheaply through the agency of the state of Kashmir. The Dogra state of Jammu and Kashmir had been created in 1840, partly as a means of weakening Sikh power and partly to provide a convenient Hindu buffer on a largely Muslim frontier. Sikh power was finally destroyed in 1849 and no external threat presented itself on the frontier; accordingly Jammu and Kashmir was redundant in its contemplated role and was left largely to its own devices. The rulers of Kashmir continued their former system of gradually extending their power into Dardistan and by 1860 had gained permanent possession of the critical point of Gilgit. To British strategists, viewing these developments with new eyes in the 1870s, a ready-made foothold in the area and one which could be employed to hoist Britain into Dardistan.<sup>61</sup>

The Dogras continued the fight in Gilgit started earlier by the Sikhs. And later they turned their attention to Chilas. Dr. Leitner significantly observes in 1850. "The Maharaja gives that he is acting under orders of the British Government." Such an impression was not unwarranted as two British lieutenants Vans Agnew and Ralph Young did come here as early as 1847 to report on the frontier situation. Again Dr. Leitner significantly remarks: "Vans Agnew arrives at Chalt on the Gilgit frontier towards Nagyr and makes friends with the people, who at first thought that he came accompanied by troops." Even then the Dogras were driven out of Gilgit in 1852 by Gohar Aman with lock, stock and barrel and Leitner notes rightly Gulab Singh gave his last wish and chose to remain confined to Astor and Bunji, this side of the Indus river, as defined in 1846 treaty of Amritsar (See next section).

The British had to build on this foundation and whether they liked it or not, they had to work through the Kashmir territory in order to reach Northern Areas as there was no British territory contiguous with the Northern Areas. The nearest British occupied territory was Abbottabad district. As we have noted the evidence of Durand before, how glad he was to establish in Chilas in 1892 the office of Assistant Political Agent so as to be close to British hands. The same was done after 1895 when Chitral was looked after by the British political agent of Malakand. Although Gilgit was occupied in 1860 after the death of Gohar Aman, yet their position here as late as 1866 was very precarious as Dr. Leitner notes who was present in Gilgit fort at this time. It was only in 1860 that Wazir Wizarat was established in Gilgit and Skardu. The position in 1870s has been well noted by Frederic Drew who speaks of the contiguous independent territories of the Maharaja of Kashmir upto Punial and that of the ruler of Chitral upto Yasin. As there were several British

missions sent to Pamir and Wakhan in the seventies of the last century and John Biddulph was even sent to Chitral for political mission, it was necessary that some sort of relationship should be established with the Mihtar of Chitral. In Chitral was the strongest ruler of the century in the person of Amanul-Mulk, who ruled from 1857 to 1892. When he came to power, his younger brother Sher Afzal left Chitral and sought refuge in Afghanistan.

The relation of Chitral with Badakhshan during the mediaeval period has been traced in the last Chapter. It has been shown there that the ruler of the Raisia family depended on the ruler of Badakhshan but the rulers of the Kator family were strong and ruled in opposition to Badakhshan. It seems that this history was unknown to the British at that time. Hence Sir George Robertson casually wrote without any documentation as follows:

It is desirable to state briefly the political position of Chitral towards Afghanistan. There is a strong probability that in former days Chitral was in a subordinate position to the little state of Badakhshan, which lies to the north of the Hindu Kush, and is no longer independent, but in the hands of the Amir of Kabul. Amanul-Mulk, in the year 1874, felt dubious about the Afghans, his near neighbours on the north. He, therefore, experimentally suggested to the then Amir that Chitral should become nominally subject to Kabul, and that a betrothal should take place between the Afghan their apparent and Amanul Mulk's daughter. The marriage arrangement was accepted but was never completed. For the rest, the Mehtar quickly retraced his tentative offers, and when, in 1876, the Afghans threatened his country, he sought the protection of Kashmir. Thereupon, with the approval of the Government of India, an agreement was made between the two States, which served to protect Chitral, although Kashmir obtained no advantage, except the honour of being recognised as the Suzerain of the Mehtar.<sup>62</sup>

The first part of this statement is absolutely false. Chitral of the Kator rulers was not dependent on Badakhshan. The daughter of Amanul-Mulk was married to 'Umra Khan and not betrothed to Afghan heir-apparent. There was no threat to Amanul-Mulk from Afghanistan in 1874. As we have noted before on the evidence of Munshi 'Azizuddin, and also on the records of Mirza Ghulam Mur-taza, there was a long correspondence between Amanul-Mulk and the Maharaja of Kashmir on friendly terms. The pressing need was of the British at this time to have a friendly ruler in Chitral. Hence M.E. Yapp notes: "In 1878 the ruler of Kashmir was persuaded to accept an offer of allegiance tendered by a Chitrali." But was it "an offer of allegiance"? The actual mistake started with John Biddulph, who was accepted by Amanul-Mulk for opening good neighbourly relations. He writes: "Both rulers (i.e. Chitral and Yasin) pay a tribute of horses, hawks and hounds to the Maharaja of Cashmere, to whom they acknowledge allegiance."<sup>63</sup> Strangely enough he forgot to write what Kashmir Maharaja paid in return.

The same mistake is made by H.C. Thomson who writes: "In 1878 Aman-ul-Mulk, being afraid of aggression by the Amir of Afghanistan, placed Chitral under the nominal suzerainty of the Maharaja of Kashmir, whose province of Gilgit borders upon Yasin."<sup>64</sup> The real position is summed up by Captain H.L. Nevill:<sup>65</sup>

The first negotiations of the British Government with the State of Chitral took place in 1877, when Major Biddulph was sent thither to promote friendly relations with the Mehtar, and to establish British influence in this region with a view to the better protection of our frontier. No very definite arrangements were made and it was not till 1885, when war with Russia seemed probable, that attention was again drawn to this quarter, and political negotiations were resumed. At this time the Mehtar of Chitral was one Aman-ul-Mulk, a man of considerable force of character, who had succeeded in consolidating his power by amalgamating a number of small neighbouring states with his own, and ruling them with the firmness so essential for securing the obedience of these wild Eastern races. Colonel Lockhart was deputed by Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General at the time, to visit Chitral, to report upon the country, and to put relations with Aman-ul-Mulk on a satisfactory footing. This was duly done.

This statement of Nevill puts the issue straight. However, he does not talk of the agreement of 1877, which did take place and we have given the terms of the agreement as noted by Munshi 'Azizuddin, then in the service of the Assistant Political Agent at Mastuj. Mirza Ghulam Murtaza<sup>66</sup> also gives the detail and talks of Kashmir Maharaja's offer of the hand of friendship. After there was an agreement for a "treaty of friendship" ( دوستی معاہدہ ) a meeting was held at Thamshak. The Maharaja was represented by Sardar Ganga Singh and Chitral was represented by Prince Nizam-ul-Mulk and Mihtar Pahalwan, by which it was agreed that Mihtar of Chitral would not attack Gilgit and the Maharaja would not interfere in Warshegum. Hereafter both exchanged presents. Kashmir Maharaja sent cash, clothes etc. and Chitral sent horses and other animals. In this agreement there is no word of suzerainty, as is recorded by the historian of Chitral. On the face of it there is also no such necessity. It was in the interest of both that they should come to a friendly term. In fact greater need was on the part of the British. Hence they not only persuaded the Maharaja to come to such an agreement but they also sent several missions. It is only later after the death of Aman-ul-Mulk in 1892 that a new situation developed in Chitral and this time it was the British who had upperhand there, and not the Maharaja. Hence Chitral was transferred from the jurisdiction of Gilgit Agency to that of the newly-established Malakand Agency in 1895.

As regards Hunza and Nagar the military position should be clearly understood. Although the old Raja of Nagar was in friendly terms with the Maharaja, the Mir of Hunza had upperhand over the Maharaja's forces right upto the seventies of the last century. It was only in 1891–92 that Captain Durand, with several other British officers, was able to overpower the Mir of Hunza. As a result the old ruler Mir Safdar 'Ali Khan fled from Hunza and Mir Nazim was placed on the throne. This was again done by the British military command, and not by the Maharaja and hence all political dealings with these states remained in the hands of the political agent.

As regards the tribal areas of Gor, Chilas, Darel and Tangir, the position has to be understood on individual basis. As Gor was the stronghold of Raja Mohammad Khan II and Karim Khan, it is understandable why they should be on good terms with the Maharaja. But Chilas always created problem. Hence there was great fight and its fort was raised to the ground in 1852 but no administrative measures were taken. Only after the final recapture of the place in 1891–92 that Chilas was brought under a British Assistant Political Agent. Darel and Tangir tribals always sided with Chilas. It was in 1866 that the Dogra troops carried on loot and plunder in Darel valley and destroyed many villages but they could not bring it under their permanent occupation. In 1892 again the people of Darel and Tangir rose up and the British had to move forces once again. Tangir was controlled through the governor of Puniyal. But all these areas remained tribal under the management of the Assistant Political Agent at Chilas. *Indus valley Kohistan continued to stay as Yaghistan*, unadministered region, free to themselves. However, a token annual levy was imposed, as we will see below, on each of Chilas, Tangir and Darel, which is considered as a symbol of accepting the Maharaja as suzerain but its realisation depended on the military presence of the British. Hence the British always treated these tribal areas as political districts and they never formed a part of Kashmir territory. The system of government run by them continued to be based on *jirga* consisting of the elders of the tribes. The Assistant Political Agent managed to maintain cordial relations with them.

### Constitutional Status

Constitutional Status of Northern Areas in this period followed the actual military position as it developed from time to time. There was no permanent claim of any particular type of relationship between Kashmir and the whole of Northern Areas inherited from the mediaeval time. The only region which came in direct re-

relationship with Mughal Kashmir was Baltistan. The relationship of paying annual tribute to the Mughals was maintained only in the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. After the Afghan conquest of Kashmir, the tribute had to be realised by force. But in the time of Ranjit Singh tribute was refused and, as we have noted before, the Sikh forces suffered losses and had to return. It is only Zorawar Singh, the general of Gulab Singh, who, in 1840s, managed to meddle in the local war of succession and enter Skardu. He established a military post here in a newly-built fort, called *Thana* and appointed a *thanadar* to give military support to his nominee. The administration remained in the hands of the local Raja. He had to meet only the expenses of the local forces kept in Skardu. The author of *Gulabnama* writes:

The Raja of Iskardu now became alive to the real state of affairs and sent his eldest son, Muhammad Shah, some account of whom has been given above, to the presence of the *Wazir* and begged for quarter. The *Wazir*, therefore, abstained from occupying the said fort and bestowed on Muhammad Shah the office of *Wazarat*, and levied a sum of money by way of *Nazrana* on the Raja of Iskardu and other Chiefs of the country.<sup>67</sup>

The territory was not snatched from the Rajas. They still held them as rightful owners: Only later changes were made. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India: Kashmir and Jammu*,<sup>68</sup> in which the articles were written by Sir Walter Lawrence, records:

Baltistan has recently been placed under the charge of the *Wazir Wazarat* of Ladakh. His local deputies are the *tahsildars* of Skardu and Kargil. Both *tahsils* have recently been settled by a British officer, and it is probable that the long-suffering and patient *Balti* may look for better days. The *ex-Rajas*, or *Gialpos*, still exercise some authority over the people, and a definite sum out of the several collections has now been alienated in favour of each family.

The above record of the *Imperial Gazetteer* does not give the whole history of administration. Hashmatullah Khan notes the changes.

At the time of establishing State Council in Kashmir, i.e. in 1889, both Gilgit and Ladakh were brought under one *Wazarat*. After three years separate *Wazarats* were established in Gilgit and Ladakh. Baltistan was divided into two *tehsils*: Skardu and Kargil. Before this arrangement when Dogras forced their presence in Baltistan, there used to be a *Kardar*<sup>69</sup> at Skardu to look after the whole of Baltistan. Under him was a *thanadar* posted at Kargil. The following *Kardars* succeeded one after the other in Skardu — Bhagwandas, Gosaun, Karam Singh, and Jawahar Singh. During their time main administration remained in the hands of the Rajas. Kedaru was appointed *thanadar* from Samvat 1909/AD. 1851 to

Samvat 1920/AD. 1863. It was he who started meddling into the administration of the Rajas. It is not stated in what way he undertook to control revenues. He certainly increased the income and probably also the share of the Maharaja. He was succeeded by Wazir Lobaji Kishtawariya. From 1875 to 1885 Mahatta Mangal Kishtawariya was appointed here. He was followed successively by Ganga Singh, Rai Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishan Kaul, Lala Dhanpat Rai, Sayyid Ghulam Jilani Shah. After him the post of Kardar was abolished. Skardu became a tehsil and was placed under a tehsildar and it came under the combined Wazarat of Gilgit, as said before. And, finally when Wazarat of Ladakh was established, it came under its jurisdiction.

This gradual usurping of powers over Baltistan rested purely on the result of the military conquest that Dogras scored over the ruler of Skardu by the interference of Zorawar Singh. This has nothing to do with the sale of Kashmir as it was not a part of the Sikh possession of Kashmir. As we have seen before the Sikh forces, sent by Sher Singh, suffered a loss and they had to come back. Baltistan remained independent of their control. It was only Zorawar Singh who managed to help a local ruler and wrest the throne of Skardu for him. As a result he established a Thanadar at Skardu and the local Rajas continued the administration as usual.

In the Gilgit area situation was different. There the initiative was taken by the Sikhs themselves as a result of the request of Raja Karim Khan and the advance had been made only upto Gilgit but it remained a bone of contention with Gohar Aman, the ruler of Yasin and the tug-of-war went on until 1852 when Gohar Aman succeeded in driving out finally the occupation forces. Only after his death in 1860 the Dogras could reoccupy Gilgit and instal there a ruler of their own choice. However, on Hunza and Nagar side they suffered a heavy loss and they had to retreat. It is under this military position that we have to understand the purport of the constitutional claim.

The other side of the picture is the sale of Kashmir which arose out of the surrender of the Sikhs at Sobraon and British entry into Lahore on 20th Feb. 1846. As is correctly recorded by Teng, Bhatt and Kaul,<sup>70</sup> the Sikh representative "expressed the inability of the Durbar to pay the huge indemnity and instead offered the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir with the districts of Hazara and Chamba to the British". It is in fulfilment of this expression that the Treaty of Lahore was drawn up and signed on

March 9, 1846. In this treaty the following was included:

. . . . The Maharaja cedes to the Honorable Company in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees, all his forts, territories, rights and interest in the hill countries which are situated between the river Beas and Indus, including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara .

In consequence of this transfer a separate transaction was made with Gulab Singh. It was finalised at Amritsar on March 16, 1846. Article 1 of the Treaty of Amritsar provided:

The British Government transfers and makes over for ever in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh and heirs male of his body, all the hilly and mountainous country, with its dependencies situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahol, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State according to provisions of Article IV of the Treaty of Lahore dated March 9, 1846 A.D. .

Later adjustments made in Kulu, Mandi, Hazara district and districts of Suchetgrah and Gurdaspur do not concern us here. What is important is that the two treaties are inter-related and territories defined under them should be understood together. Nowhere in the two treaties any mention is made of Northern Areas or Gilgit region, which lie north of the Indus river.

There is an article II of the Second Treaty, which reads:

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for the purpose and shall be defined in a separate engagement after Survey.

Was it this article under which Vans Agnew and Ralph Young went to Northern Areas in 1847? Frederic Drew talks of a Commission of these two persons. Who was the representative of the Maharaja in this Commission? Were they able to make a survey and delimit the boundary? This question has been thoroughly discussed in the earlier section, where it has been shown that these persons did not compose the boundary commission nor were they able to fix the boundary. Their visit was related to some other military purpose. Even if we accept that they went for fixing the boundary, the above article referred to only eastern boundary, and not northern boundary. This is further proved by a confidential "note on the nature of the relationship between the Jammu and Kashmir State and the Chiefships and territories comprised in the Gilgit Political Agency" by R.C. Kak, Chief Secretary dated 10th March 1939, in which (paragraph 6) he states:

The Commission appears never to have been appointed and no demarcation of the boundary ever took place. Actually, from the wording of this Article of the Treaty, it is doubtful what particular boundary it was

intended to demarcate. Whether it was the boundary of the State eastward of the Indus River — which in effect would really be the western boundary of the State or whether it was the eastern boundary of the State, namely, the Kashmir-Tibet Frontier, is not clear. It would probably be safe to infer from the ambiguity of the terminology used here that the British Government were not themselves aware of the character and extent of the territories transferred. The only attempt which the British Government made at this time to obtain information as regards the northern frontier of the territories transferred was in 1847 when they sent Lieu. Vans Agnew to Gilgit, but it is worthy of note that not a single frontier chief even sent a suitable representative to meet him. Indeed Vans Agnew became quite plaintive at his failure to establish any satisfactory communication with the Rajas of Hunza and Nagar". (I.O.R. R/W (1086/299).

It is these considerations which led Dr. Leitner to state categorically that Gilgit was not given to the Maharaja as a result of this Treaty. As far as Chilas is concerned, the author of *Gulabnama* explicitly remarks:

"In the year 1907 of Bikrami (i.e. AD. 1850) when the glorious cavalcade of His Highness was staying in Kashmir valley, a band of Chilas belonging to Dard tribe, raised a strong fort known as Chilas Fort among lofty mountains and difficult fastnesses on *that side of the Kashmir boundary* (italics mine), and taking shelter in that strong castle, they started plundering Hasura (i.e. Astor), one of the territories under the protection of His Highness.

This record is a clear admission of the fact that Chilas was not within Kashmir territory on this date. In other words Chilas, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar and all other areas to the north of these were not given to the Maharaja by the terms of the Treaty of Amritsar. If we strictly interpret the language of *Gulabnama*, even Astor was only a territory "under protection", but not an actual territorial part of Kashmir. It may also be noted that Chilas town and much of the land belonging to Chilas lie south of the Indus river and the whole of Kohistan lies east of Indus river but that never formed a part of Kashmir. It was *Yaghistan*. It is strange that even Ladakh and Baltistan are not mentioned in the Treaty although the river Indus flows through them. This is understandable because these two areas never formed a part of the Sikh territory. Thus if the Treaty is correctly understood in the historical perspective of the time, its meaning has to be limited to the holdings of the Sikhs in Jammu and Kashmir. Any other territory acquired after 1846 should not be governed by the Articles of this Treaty or other territories, such as Ladakh and Baltistan, do not come within the purview of the Treaty, as their relations with the Dogras depended on other historical events, narrated before.



The first area, against which the Dogras took military action after 1846, was Chilas. *Gulabnama* records:

In the beginning of the year 1908 (i.e. 1851 AD.) of Bikrami, when His Highness arrived in the lovely valley of Kashmir, he deputed the brave and heroic Diwan Hari Chand with the cooperation of other celebrities like Wazir Zorawar, Colonel Vije Singh, Colonel Jawaher, Lochan Singh and Diwan Thakur Dass, with an army for the chastisement of the crooked insurgents.<sup>71</sup>

After narrating the earlier reverses, the author continues:

They burnt the said fort to ashes and razed it to the ground. Then the Diwan, returned triumphantly and won favours of his Highness. The chiefs of the place, such as Daur-i-Khan, Rahmat-ullah, Abdullah Khan and Akhon Lal Mohammad, and others, who had been brought by the troops presented *nazrana* in the form of silver, gold and sheep, and agreed to surrender their sons and nobles as hostages, and to pay tribute.<sup>72</sup>

This area was certainly conquered and tribute imposed on the victims but did it become a part of Kashmir territory? The events that took place in 1891-92 and so well described by Durand, already given before, clearly show that the British, after reconquering Chilas, turned it into a political district under an assistant political agent and it remained so until 1947.

The second area is Gilgit proper, which was reconquered in AD. 1860 after the death of Gohar Aman. Later the War extended to Punial and Yasin. In Punial was posted 'Isa Bahadur, the Maharaja's nominee, as governor, but in Yasin the Maharaja's nominee, Azmat Shah, as Raja, was soon driven away and it came under the authority of the ruler of Chitral, who first posted here Mir Wali and later on Pahalwan. In Gilgit the minor 'Ali Dad Khan, related to the dead ruler Mohammad Khan II, was installed. Hashmatullah Khan has a point in writing that although Punial earlier belonged to the ancestors of 'Isa Khan, it had been taken possession by Gohar Aman. Now Punial was re-established as a territorial division and given back to 'Isa Khan in order to make it as a buffer state between Gilgit and Chitral.<sup>73</sup> Even then the war did not cease. Hashmatullah Khan records several invasions on Gilgit by the Yasin ruler until AD. 1866 when a combined invasion of the Chitral ruler, Hunza ruler and Darqi tribes took place. It was with great difficulty that the crisis was averted, the enemy forces were driven off, the union was broken and three consequences followed: the attack on Yasin, the plundering raids in Darel and defeat and reversal of the Maharaja's forces from Hunza. Certainly Gilgit proper was permanently occupied but as Hashmatullah Khan notes, full-fledged

Wazarat was established here only after 1888 AD. On the other hand Shah Rais Khan gives a succession of Wazir Wazarat in Gilgit from 1860 onward. According to the latter Wazir Sultano, who was *Naib-Saltanat* of 'Ali Dad Khan was removed, and in his place Jawahar Singh was appointed as *Wazir-i-Wazarat* in 1860. He was succeeded by Bakhshi Radha Krishan in 1867. He continued till 1873 when Lala Ganga Singh became the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*. He was followed by Lala Ram Krishan from 1876-1880. Then came Lala Beli Ram from 1880 to 1882. Next was Bakhshi Mul Raj from 1882 to 1887. Then came Lala Din Pat and remained here from 1887 to 1889. In his time the British Agency was permanently established and an entirely new shape was given to Wazir-i-Wazarat of Gilgit and Ladakh. Until the establishment of the British Agency the military responsibility was completely in the hands of the Maharaja's forces and the civil functions were done by the local Rajas with very little interference by the Maharaja's officers. Now the military responsibility devolved on the Agency, which was under the control of the British Indian Government through the British Resident in Kashmir, while the Civil and Revenue functions were taken up by the newly established *Wazir-i-Wazarat*. This historical narration clearly shows that the claim over Gilgit by the Dogra came from their right of conquest, and not from the Treaty of Amritsar.

The second consequence of 1866 war was the action in Darel. The result is given in the words of Dr. Leitner.

The Sikhs lost in dead about 120 men. The fugitive villagers now returned to their homes and rebuilt the burnt down villages. Six months later, Kalashmir of Dudokot (Samegal) and Duran of Phugotsh and Surio of Karinokot (Manikial) and Burshu Sirdar of Biliokot (Manikial), and Sirdar of Gayal and Nur Muhammad of Shurot started for Gilgit and offered allegiance to Zorawaru. He replied: "Oh! Kalashmir, thou hast given me much trouble and inflicted much injury. Now I want a goat per annum from every two houses throughout Dareyl. He then dismissed them with Khilats and now the tribute is regularly paid from these villages that I have named as being represented on that occasion by their Sirdars.

However, this arrangement was not final. Again there was trouble in 1891-92 in the whole of the Indus valley tribal belt — a trouble described by Durand and noted earlier by us. Durand writes:

. . . . large detachments from the Indus valley Kohistan were mustering, and that in conjunction with the forces of Darel, Tangir, and Chilas, they meant to make a determined attack on Chilas and the post ten miles in rear of it.<sup>74</sup>

This trouble was again suppressed by the British officers in

Gilgit and the tribal areas brought under the political control of the British Agency. As far as Hunza and Nagar are concerned, they never suffered defeat from the Maharaja's forces. Only in 1891-92 Captain Durand undertook the famous expedition, described before, drove away Mir Safdar 'Ali Khan from Hunza, and placed on its throne the amenable Mir Nazim and allowed the old Raja Zafar to continue in Nagar. Here again it was the British initiative that succeeded in installing friendly Rajas on the thrones of Hunza and Nagar. It is because of this British action that Hunza and Nagar were considered as political areas under British influence. The issue of Chitral has been discussed in detail in the previous section, where it has been shown how the Treaty of Alliance was made with Kashmir but later in 1895 the new ruler installed, by name Shujaul-Mulk, came under the protection of the British, who transferred Chitral to the authority of Malakand Agency.

This history clearly shows that the Treaty of Amritsar, by which Kashmir was sold to Gulab Singh, has nothing to do with Northern Areas. Its relationship with Kashmir is based entirely on different historical base. Baltistan was the first conquered territory by Gulab Singh's Commander Zorawar and its Rajas at first paid annual tributes to the Maharaja and only later it was absorbed in the newly-established Wazarat of Gilgit and Ladakh. Astor paid annual tribute to the Sikhs and later to Gulab Singh. Still later it was absorbed in the Gilgit Wazarat. Gilgit was conquered by the Sikh forces but the war continued. It was finally conquered in 1860 and thereafter Wazir Wazarat was established here. But changes were again made when British political agency was established here in 1888-89. Chilas was conquered in 1852 and Darel in 1866 and annual tributes imposed on their people but the territories were finally brought under the political control of the British Agency in 1891-92. In this year Hunza and Nagar were also conquered by the British but they were given special political status because of their position independent of Maharaja's control. Punial's position was subordinate to the Maharaja as its ruler was a nominee. Chitral was on friendly ties with the Maharaja. He also had control over the Khushwaqtia territory of Mastuj and Ghizr and Yasin. Only in 1895 after the Chitral campaign by the British the Chitral ruler came under British protection. Khushwaqtia territory was first separated from Chitral but later in 1914 it was given back to Shujaul-Mulk, the ruler of Chitral, who, was looked after by the Political Agent, Malakand.

This reconstruction of the history is based on the actual events, about which information is now available. But such information was not available to the British in the 19th century and hence they assumed many things. One instance is given from letter no. 867/217, dated 22nd July 1891, written by A.G. Durand, the British Political Agent at Gilgit, to the Resident in Kashmir:

On page 29 of that (Major Biddulph's) book it is stated that Hunza gave a nominal allegiance to the Trakhane Ras of Gilgit, whose rule, page 20, lasted from the commencement of the 14th century to the Sikh conquest. From this period, I believe, Hunza has been tributary, first to the Sikhs from 1842, and to the Dogras from 1846 when Gilgit passed to the Maharaja.<sup>75</sup>

This statement belies the history of Hunza and Nagar, as we have given in the earlier chapter. Certainly Hunza and Nagar states were off-shoots of that of Gilgit but they never gave any tribute to Gilgit nor were they subject to Gilgit. In fact in the last days the princes of Nagar ruled over Gilgit. They never transferred their allegiance either to the Sikhs or to the Dogras. This is what Frederic Drew writes:

Hunza and Nagar are two independent rajaships, situated opposite one another on that branch of the Gilgit River which falls in a little below the fort, Nagar has generally shown a desire to be on friend's terms with the Dogras at Gilgit, while Hunza has been a thorn in their side.<sup>76</sup>

In another place he writes:

Nagar lies along the left bank of the Hunza-Nagar River, having Hunza opposite on the right bank. Since about 1867 it has paid a small tribute to the Maharaja, receiving in return a present of larger value; this cannot be considered more than a compliment, and a mark of desire for friendly relations.

"Hunza is a more warlike country than Nagar. As shown in the last chapter, it has often been actively at enmity with the Maharaja, and it has generally been in a state of unfriendliness to him. In 1870 the Hunza Raja sent an agent to Srinagar to open friendly relations, who was well received, I do not know what since has occurred, but there seemed to me to be likelihood of close friendship."<sup>77</sup>

The version of Frederic Drew is entirely different from what Durand has written. Durand's objective was to start a new relation with these states. His attitude will be clear from the following part of his previous letter that speaks of his imperial tone.

We are with Hunza and Nagar reaping the consequences of 50 years of imbecile misrule on the part of the Sikh and Dogra Governors of Gilgit, emphasized by an unvarying series of defeats and disasters undergone by them and their troops at the hands of Hunza and Nagar, and by a succession of ignoble agreements which bought peace at the price of disgrace to Kashmir in return for a nominal allegiance. The chiefs of Hunza and Nagar do not realise that Gilgit is now in other hands and that a new era in which they will be kept to their promises has come.

In his letter Durand was preparing a ground for an attack on Hunza and Nagar, which he undertook soon after. Hence he disregarded the earlier superior position of these two states in relation to that of the Dogras in Gilgit and hence he talks of their "nominal allegiance" while Frederic Drew describes it as "friendly relations" and talks of mutual "exchange of presents".

Colonel W.F. Prideaux, Resident in Kashmir, in his letter No. 2370 dated 12th August 1891, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, supported Durand and repeated the history as narrated by him and at the closing part of his letter added:

By article IX of the Treaty of Umritsar, the British Government is bound to give its aid in protecting the Maharaja's territories against external enemies. It may be argued that Hunza and Nagar are not external enemies but *feudatories of Kashmir*, (italics mine), but it appears to me that having regard to the provision of Article IV of the same Treaty, under which the limits of the Maharaja's territories cannot at any time be changed without the concurrence of the British Government, Hunza and Nagar which in a state of hostility must be regarded as external enemies unless the British Government has at any time concurred in their inclusion within Kashmir limits. They are tributaries of Kashmir, but no incident in their position appears to me to assimilate them with the Native States of India which are in subordinate alliance with the British Government, and which are usually known as feudatory states. In the time of Mr. Drew, the tribute and presents which were mutually exchanged were apparently not considered more than a compliment and a mark of desire for friendly relations. It appears to me that this describes very nearly the position in which Hunza stands in relation to China and should it be determined to enter on negotiations with the latter power, I cannot but think it would be wiser to base our action on the necessity of having our own political position in Central Asia clearly defined than on any shadowy claims to feudal allegiance which might be put forward on behalf of Kashmir. It would be well to obtain from China a recognition of our claim that the sphere of British influence in Central Asia should be founded by the Hindu Kush.

In this letter Prideaux is aware of what Frederic Drew wrote but introduces a new terminology of "feudatory". At the same time he does not accept the view that Hunza and Nagar were feudatories of Kashmir and now pleads for their being "external enemies". This concept of feudal relation must have been started by the Dogras, who, having been defeated in wars sought to establish friendly relations with these states, and when mutual presents were made they assumed that these States were subject to them on a wrong assumption that they were earlier subject to the Rajas of Gilgit. Such an idea of subjection, does not arise until the states of Hunza and Nagar were militarily defeated. That did not happen before

Durand's expedition in 1891-1892 after the establishment of the British Agency.

The change can be noted in D.O. letter no. 2348, dated 20/23 July 1894, from D.W. Barr, Resident in Kashmir to British Agent in Gilgit.<sup>78</sup> He writes:

Khilluts and entertainments are given by one Durbar to the representatives of another when both are on equal footing of independence. Formerly the Hunza and Nagar Vakils came to Srinagar on complimentary visits from their masters, and were received and treated as guests. They now come as the servants of States tributary to Kashmir. The gold they bring is tribute money, not a complimentary present, and I think it is necessary, under the altered relations that the Vakils should receive only that amount of recognition which is due to them as emissaries from tributary states . . . I see no reason to continue to them the reception granted before the states they represent were made tributary to Kashmir . . . Mr. Gurdon does not appear to understand the altered position and I shall be glad if you will explain it to him for it is I think very necessary that the Mirs of Hunza and Nagar should make no mistake as to the object of sending Vakils to Srinagar, viz. to pay tribute, not to receive Khilluts.

This letter, which was written in reply to a letter from Mr. B.E.M. Gurdon, Assistant Political Agent, Hunza, dated 13th June, 1894, clearly shows the change after the British victory in 1891-92. It was the British intention to treat Hunza and Nagar States as tributary to Kashmir and make them henceforward as feudatory states. What a great change from 1891 to 1894. It was the British intention and British interest that mattered. The Maharaja was just playing into their hands.

### Establishment of the British Political Agency in Gilgit

The establishment of the Agency in Gilgit is directly linked to the realization of "Russian menace" in Central Asia. During the twenty years following the Crimean War, Russia traversed 600 miles eastwards. Chimkent was occupied in 1864, Tashkent in 1865, Khojand in 1866, Yani Kurgan in 1867. The Khanate of Bukhara was brought within the Russian sphere of influence in 1868, Samarkand was occupied in 1868 and the Russians entered Khiva in 1873. Thus Russia reached a point within striking distance from India. This forced the Government of Great Britain to come to an understanding in 1873 with the Russian Government "about a neutral zone which would separate the Asiatic Empires of England and Russia". At the same time Government of India sent Douglas Forsythe second time in 1873 for gathering information on the

routes between Chitral and Yasin and the Valley of the Oxus. It was this mission which brought the correct information and as a result Forsythe recommended:

I would begin by establishing an Agent at Gilgit; he would be able to gain correct information of countries which at present are a sealed book to us, and he would be able to communicate with Wakhan.<sup>79</sup>

However, Government of India was not prepared for any direct annexation of the tribal territories (See ante p.261) through which the routes opened to Wakhan. A second alternative was to authorise the Maharaja of Kashmir to cross his frontier and establish his control over the rulers of these territories. This second way was accepted but this acceptance was conditional on "the location of a British officer or officers in Gilgit or elsewhere in his territory throughout the year; and the location of British troops therein, when deemed necessary, by the British Government."<sup>80</sup> In fulfilment of this condition Gilgit Agency was established in 1877 and Captain John Biddulph was posted as officer on special duty in Gilgit. Regarding his duties, the following instructions were issued:

The duty you have been specially deputed for is that you will, with the concurrence of His Highness and his officials, make all possible endeavours to collect and to enable the British Government to obtain early and authentic information of the course of events in the adjacent country — the frontier districts of Kashmir and submit an account of the places, the capacity of neighbouring localities, with connected particulars. In consultation with the officers of the State you will make every effort to establish friendly relations with the communities on the frontier, so that you will gradually bring them under the control and suzerainty of Kashmir Government. But you will in no case interfere in the government and administration of the territories in the jurisdiction of His Highness the Maharaja . . . . If in case of any hostility on the part of any community in the neighbourhood it is considered necessary and advisable to move the State force across the frontier you are authorised to march with that force and to help and guide The Commandant of the force with your advice and experience.<sup>81</sup>

We have discussed earlier how Captain Biddulph managed to handle the affairs of Chitral and bring about an agreement between the Mehtar of Chitral and the Maharaja of Kashmir. That was a big achievement. Apart from his achievement the administrative control of the Maharaja over these territories was resented by the local people. M.L. Kapur<sup>82</sup> gives a detailed account of the dissatisfaction on the part of the Chief of Yasin, the trouble created by the Mir of Hunza over the fort of Chaprot and the plan of a joint Yasin-Chilas-Darel attack on Gilgit — events which have already been described earlier. According to Kapur it is these events which belied "the hopes of the British to control the tribal territories through

Kashmir . . . . The Government of India had hoped to cultivate friendly relations with the tribal peoples, but they had only succeeded in alienating them".<sup>83</sup> This conclusion of Kapur is based on the following report of F. Henvey, the Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir at this time:

It appears . . . . to be unquestionable that, under the existing circumstances with a constantly recurring risk of disturbances, which in the remote and isolated situation of Gilgit may at an unfortunate moment assume formidable dimensions, even a moderate degree of security cannot be guaranteed to the British Officer in that region, and that excursions beyond the border can not be undertaken by them without immediate danger . . . . In short the British Agency at Gilgit can only be kept up at the expense of embarrassment and dangers quite disproportionate to the good which can now be expected to arise therefrom. And it is neither for the benefit of the Imperial Government, nor for the advantage of the Maharaja that the Agency should be maintained in such conditions".

Actually this does not appear to be the main reason for the so-called "failure" of the Gilgit Agency and Kapur unnecessarily calls Biddulph and Henvey "unfit" for the job assigned to them. Really speaking, the British scored their main interest in Chitral but discovered that the British officer, in his present capacity, was not in a position to establish Maharaja's authority in tribal areas. Hence it was decided to withdraw temporarily the British Officer and arrange for a different type of Agency later. Accordingly Captain Biddulph returned in 1881. This view is confirmed by the content of the letter, dated 18th June 1881, written by Lord Ripon to the Maharaja, in which he says:

"There are various questions connected with the political situation in that quarter which awaited settlement and the joint interests of the two Governments require than upon these questions your Highness should be in complete possession of my views. I have therefore directed Mr. Henvey, an officer, who possesses my full confidence, to avail himself of Your Highness' presence at Srinagar as an opportunity for submitting all these matters to you in person in order that by free discussion with Your Highness and Your Ministers *the necessary arrangements* (Italics mine) may be determined to our mutual satisfaction and advantage.

In this letter there is a clear hint of new arrangements that were discussed in person by Henvey, in whose capacity the Viceroy had full confidence. The new arrangements were related to the appointment of a British Resident in Kashmir. How this appointment was influenced by the affairs in the Northern Areas will be clear from the following observation of P.D. Henderson of the Foreign Department:

By refraining from appointing a British representative (political) at the



Maharaja's Court, we have in a manner invited him to maintain relations with trans-frontier State unbecoming his position. Had there been a Resident in Kashmir, the Maharaja's subordinate position would have been worked out clearly, and Foreign States would have considered it less worth their while to intrigue with him.<sup>84</sup>

Accordingly the steps were taken to have this appointment made soon after the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh on 12th September 1885. What further administrative changes followed in Kashmir, falls outside the scope of the present book but from our point of view the most important was the proposal to re-establish the Gilgit Agency in an entirely different manner.<sup>85</sup> The immediate reason is given as follows:

In 1885 the Government of India received the information that two years ago "Russians were at Chitral trying to persuade Aman-ul-Mulk (ruler of Chitral) to lease or sell the Ludkho Valley, that they had failed, but were now offering to lease the Darkot Valley for two lakhs a year with better prospect of success". How the situation was handled, is explained by Durand:

This risk Government could not afford to disregard. It was pointed out that Colonel Lockhart had submitted a scheme with the object of securing this portion of our strategical frontier in 1886, but that his proposals seemed to involve unnecessarily large expenditure, and that I had been sent up the year before with orders to work out a scheme on a more moderate scale, based on the utilisation of the newly-to-be created Kashmir Imperial Service Troops. The objects in view were declared by Government to be the watching and control of the country south of the Hindu-Kush, and the organisation of a force which would be able in time of trouble to prevent any *coup de main* by a small body of troops acting across the passes. The conditions seemed favourable. The Mehtar ruled over a united Chitral, and had received our officers with cordiality, his sons had been to India, and understood something of our power. We had a Native Agent established there for some time. The Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar, whose country had lately been visited by a Russian Officer, and who had shortly before been in revolt against Kashmir, had of their own accord asked for a visit from a British mission. Finally, the condition of Kashmir was vastly changed, its army was being reorganised, and it would soon have at its command a compact force of well-trained and disciplined troops. In short, though under Lord Lytton's viceroyalty, the attempt to establish an influential Agency at Gilgit had failed, there was now good reason to hope for success.<sup>86</sup>

A. Durand was appointed British Agent in April 1889. In earlier section we have described the military action taken by him to bring under his control the different parts of the region. As a representative of the British Government, Durand was responsible for external relations with the neighbouring states. The administrative control of the Maharaja was gradually eliminated and it was replaced by the control of the Agency responsible to the Resident

in Kashmir. By 1901 the Agency assumed complete charge of the administration of the political districts and Government of India "issued a ruling to the effect that Hunza and Nagar, though under the suzerainty of Jammu and Kashmir, formed no part of the territory of Maharaja." According to this ruling the Kashmir officials were not permitted to enter these territories without the permission of the Political Agent. In 1928 the position as it stood is described in a letter<sup>87</sup> from the Resident in Kashmir to the Director, Frontier Circle, Survey of India:

"The territory comprised within the Gilgit Agency falls into three categories:

- (i) Kashmir State Territory, i.e. Gilgit Wazarat, comprising Gilgit Tehsil (including Bunji) with its Niabat of Astor.
- (2) The political districts, i.e. Hunza, Nagir, Punial, Yasin, Kuh-Ghizar, Ishkoman and the republic of Chilas.
- (3) Unadministered area, i.e. Darel, Tangir, Kandia (Killi), Jalkot, Sazin, Shatial and Harban".

This position did not change later. In a note dated 29 December 1938, the concept was explained clearly in the following manner:

It will be observed that the Political Department are of opinion that Hunza, Nagar, Chilas, Koh Ghizar, Ishkuman and Yasin, though under Kashmir's suzerainty, were never recognised as part of Kashmir, Hunza and Nagar being themselves separate Indian States and Chilas, Koh Ghizar, Ishkuman and Yasin being (presumably) "Tribal areas" under the definition contained in Section 311(1) of the Government of India Act. Efforts have been made to verify this statement from the records of this Residency. It is regretted that no document having particular bearing on this point is forthcoming. From the old files it appears that the chaos resulting from the inability of the Kashmir Government to subdue this frontier, and to maintain peace and security was viewed as a grave menace to the Imperial frontier of India. The Imperial Government decided to intervene. An Agency was established, and after some disturbances, the peoples of this border abandoned their obstinate opposition, and *under what must be described as the guarantee of the British rule, accepted the suzerainty of Kashmir*, and settled down as subjects of the Empire.<sup>88</sup>

After the establishment of the Agency the administration was divided into two parts:

First, the Gilgit Wazarat under the Maharaja, which "stretches south to Astor and the northern slopes of the Burzil, follows the Astor river to its junction with the Indus, and then runs north along the Indus to Bunji . . . . The Wazarat now includes the tract known as Haramaush on the right bank of the Indus and numerous valleys leading down to the Gilgit river. To the north the boundary reaches Guch Pari on the Hunza road, and up to the Kargah nullah as far as the Bhaldi mountain to the south in the direction of Darel."<sup>89</sup>

Second, the same Gazetteer also records:

A British Political Agent resides at Gilgit. He exercises some degree of supervision over the Wazir of Kashmir State, and is directly responsible to the Government of India for the administration of the outlying districts or petty States of Hunza — Nagar, Ashkuman, Yasin and Ghizar, the little republic of Chilas, and also for relations with Tangir and Darel, over which valleys the Punial Ras and the Mehtarjaos of Yasin have partially acknowledged claims. These states acknowledge the suzerainty of Kashmir, but form no part of its territory. They pay an annual tribute to the Darbar — Hunza and Nagar in gold, Chilas in cash (Rs. 2,628), Ashkuman, Yasin and Ghizar in grain, goats and *ghi*.<sup>90</sup>

The third administrative area was Baltistan. The Gazetteer records:

Baltistan has recently been placed under the charge of the Wazir Wazarat of Ladakh. His local deputies are the tahsildars of Skardu and Kargil. Both *Tahsils* have recently (in 1887) been settled by a British officer . . . The ex-Rajas, or Gialpos, still exercise some authority over the people, and a definite sum out of the several collections has now been alienated in favour of each family.<sup>91</sup>

### Tributes from the Political Districts

It must be observed right from the beginning, as is maintained in the Government records,<sup>92</sup> that “the payment of tribute is never a proof of ownership, rather the reverse”. The tributes payable are —

1. From Hunza — 16 tolas and 5 Mashas of gold
2. From Nagar — 17 tolas and 1 Masha of gold
3. From Darel — 4 tolas and 2 mashas
4. From Gor 3/4th tola of gold and 14 goats
5. From Thor 12 goats.<sup>93</sup>

The value of Darel tribute is given as Rs. 87/2

*As far as Hunza is concerned*, records<sup>94</sup> speaks of “its dual vassalage to both China and Kashmir. Both States consider it to be their vassal state. China claims that Hunza has paid tribute to her since the time of the emperor Chien-lung (1736-1796), while the vassalage to Kashmir is first proved by a treaty made by Shah Ghanifar, Raja of Hunza, at some time prior to his death in 1864”. Hunza’s vassalage is purely nominal. According to the Chinese version, the Chinese authorities regarded Hunza as an outlying district of the New Dominion and talked of incorporating it finally in the province but that was never done. The Hunza version has been given in Chapter I (ante pp. 8-11). The annual tribute sent to China by Hunza in 1898 was 15 miskals of gold-dust = approximate Rs. 120. Before the time of Yakub Beg’s conquest of the New Dominion, the

tribute used to be 25 miskals. The annual present sent by China in return was as follows:

|  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| 2 pieces of superior silk cloth, worth approximately . | Rs. 300/-          |
| 4 pieces of inferior silk cloth, . . . . .             | Rs. 200/-          |
| Material for 10 silk Chogas' . . . . .                 | Rs. 80/-           |
| 8 China cups . . . . .                                 | Rs. 10/-           |
| 1 Yambo of silver . . . . .                            | Rs. 160/-          |
| 10 bricks of tea . . . . .                             | Rs. 120/-          |
| 200 pieces of cotton cloth. . . . .                    | Rs. 200/-          |
| <b>Total:</b>  | <b>Rs. 1,070/-</b> |

Besides the above, the presents were also given to the Hunza men who carried the tribute to Kashgar. As has been mentioned in Chapter I, the Hunza Mir owned a jagir of land in Yarkand, duly acknowledged to be his by the Chinese Government. The Chinese authorities collected annually, and sent to Hunza, the revenue due to Hunza from the Kirghiz and others residing in the Tagdumbash Pamir, including Khunjerab and Oprang, thereby continuing to recognize Hunza rights in those tracts. With regard to Raskam the Chinese have practically admitted Hunza right to it by giving them permission to reoccupy it.

In the case of Kashmir Hunza's vassalage was also purely nominal as the State was powerless to control or coerce their so-called vassal. Only after the war of 1891 Hunza's subordinate relation to Kashmir was effectively established by force of arms and this relation was formally recorded in the following *Sanad* given in the name of the Maharaja to the Mir Muhammad Nazim Khan of Hunza, when he was installed in September 1892. Regarding the installation it is reported:<sup>95</sup>

"Hunza, to reap whatever advantage she could out of the vassalage she had professed so long, on our advent in 1892, at once turned to China as her suzerain power and reported our invasions of their territory. This was thereupon made the subject of diplomatic discussion between the British and Chinese foreign offices. China formally claimed Hunza as a vassal state paying a yearly tribute of 1½ 03 oz of gold dust. The fugitive chief of Hunza, Safdar Ali, having fled to Yarkand, China practically demanded the right of nominating his successor. This difficulty was apparently obviated by both suzerains nominating the same man Mahmmad Nazim Khan. Also to avoid offending Chinese susceptibilities, Chinese, delegates were invited to attend at the installation of that Chief, which they did but it would appear that according to official instructions given to them by the Chinese Government, they were to preside at and not merely attend that ceremony, and they therefore strenuously and persistently objected to the role of mere spectators".

Extracts from the *Sanad in the name of the Maharaja* are given below:

“Now, therefore, I have with the approval and authority of the Governor General in Council selected you Mahammad Nazim Khan to be the ruler of the said State of Hunza . . . .

An annual tribute of the following amounts, i.e. 25 tilloos of gold, equal to 16 tolas and 5 mashas, will be paid by you and your successors to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Further you are informed that the permanence of the grant conveyed by this Sanad will depend upon the ready fulfilment by you and your successors of all orders given by the Jammu and Kashmir State with regard to the conduct of relations between the State of Hunza and the State and tribes adjoining it, the administration of your country, the prevention of raiding and man stealing etc. . . .

Be sure that so long as your house is loyal to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and to the British Government and faithful to the conditions of this Sanad, you and your successors will enjoy favour and protection.

### The Case of Nagar

The position of Nagar differed from that of Hunza in so far as it never professed allegiance to China. Its relation to the Trakhane rulers of Gilgit has been discussed in earlier chapter. It must however, be re-emphasized that Nagar never recognised the Rajas of Gilgit as their “feudal superiors”, as is maintained by R.C. Kak in his note.<sup>96</sup> In fact it was just the reverse in the 18th and 19th centuries when the princes of Nagar ruled over Gilgit. There is therefore no question of their transferring allegiance from Gilgit Raja to the Sikhs and from the Sikhs to the Dogras. Their relation with the Dogras became effective on the basis of a different treaty and it was only since 1870 they started paying an annual tribute to Kashmir consisting of 21 tolas of gold and two baskets of apricots in return for an annual subsidy.

Terms of the treaty entered into by Raja Zafar (son of Raja Jafar Khan) and others of Nagar about the Samvat year 1927 (1870 A.D.) are given below:

1. We undertake to confer with Ghazan Khan, Raja of Hunza, that his son as also the son of his Wazir, should remain in attendance on the Maharaja of Kashmir, and in case he does not agree, we shall send our forces against him.
2. If any Motabir of Hunza comes fraudulently we shall kill him.
3. We shall ask Ghazan Khan to hand over the forts of Chaprot, Nomal etc., if he agrees, well and good; if not, we shall march against him and take possession of them by force.
4. That one of us four — Shah Murad, Mohammed Shah, Mirza and Nadlu — will always remain in attendance at Gilgit turn by turn.
5. Intercourse between Gilgit and Nagar subjects of His Highness and

- others will continue; if any loss occurs, we shall be considered responsible.
6. One legitimate son (of the Raja) and one son of the Wazir will remain always in the service of His Highness.
  7. In case His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir will demand any force, the same will be supplied without any hesitation, well-equipped.
  8. Friends of His Highness will be considered friends and His Highness' enemies taken as enemies.
  9. That in return for the *Khillat* granted to Jafar Khan annually the following Nazrana will be presented:—  
Horses — 2  
Gold — 21 tilloos  
Apricots — 5 loads.

These things will be paid as *Nazar* and this custom will remain in force for ever.<sup>97</sup>

As regards Darel tribute, in 1866 the Maharaja sent an expedition into the country by way of punishment for raids. The people made no resistance, but fled to the hills and were not subdued. Since then Darel has paid a nominal tribute of gold dust to the Maharaja.<sup>98</sup> It is further noted in the same letter of the Political Agent: "The Darel tribute has always been paid to the Political Agent and deposited in the State Treasury, the fact being intimated to the Wazir . . . Its value is only Rs. 87/12 . . ."

Later in 1915 Raja Pakhtun Wali was the strong man in Tangir and Darel. His territory included Harban, Sazin and Shatial on the left bank of the Indus. In September 1914 the Raja endeavoured to levy certain taxes which the people of Harban declined to pay. Fearing reprisals from the Raja they successfully solicited assistance from Sazin, Shatial and Jalkot. Recent reports confirm that the Mullahs in all the mosques in the lower Indus had been preaching *Jehad* and trying to incite the people to attack.<sup>99</sup>

As regards Gor tribute, it is stated:

The origin of the tribute paid by the people of Gor cannot be traced but it appears that in 1892 the Gor headmen were granted a sanad in the name of the Maharaja duly signed by the state Governor of Gilgit and the British Agent, Gilgit, promising inter-alia that no revenue should ever be taken from them beyond the tribute then paid to the State. The tribute payable by Gor is 3/4th tola of gold and 14 goats, which was annually credited to the State treasury upto 1935. After the change of administration (See below) it has been credited to the Central Government.<sup>100</sup>

The sanad dated 13 December 1894 runs as follows<sup>101</sup>

In confirmation of the Sanad given to the people of Gor on the 3rd November 1892 in the name of H.H. the Maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir by Colonel Durand C.B. British Agent and the Wazir-i-Wizarat of Gilgit, and concerning which Sanad some doubts appear to have

arisen in the past, it is hereby reaffirmed that the people of the tributary state of Gor in consideration of their opening at all times to the officials and troops of H.H. the Maharajah and in consideration of their always giving assistance to British officers travelling in Gor and always obeying all orders sent to them from Gilgit, shall never be called upon to pay any revenue or *Kharid* grain or fodder nor any other tribute other than that at present imposed upon them. It is hereby also promised to the people of Gor that no *Karebegar* will ever to be taken from them. This promise will remain binding so long as the Gor people behave properly and loyally serve H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir.

*As far as Chilas is concerned*, the official note, dated 22nd March, 1904 records that Chilas land included Indus valley from Ramghat to Thor. It indicated land and people in the nullahs of Gichi, Butogah and Khinnargah. It is said:

The land in Chilas is the property of the Chilasis themselves. These proprietors own their fields separately and there is also a certain amount of *Shamilat*, or common land in each village. This common land is let out to tenants-at-will. These tenants are of two kinds: (a) Gujars and other aliens such as persons from the lower Indus; (b) Chilasis who possess land of their own other than that which they cultivate, as tenants. The alien tenants own no land, and their holdings are invariably grouped together so as to form a distinct village and community which are situated at the head of the nullahs. These villages are as follows:

Pahloi in Bunar; Dasi in Khinnargah; Galla in Butogah; Chakor in Butogah; Dangpari in Hodur; Kya Niat in Thak.<sup>102</sup>

In the following villages the *Shamilat*, or common lands, are cultivated by Chilasi tenants. Gini and Dang belong to Chilasis proper. Singol in Thak belong partly to Thak and partly to Chilasis. Basha, Daloi, Thih. Gushar and Niat belong partly to Thak and partly to cultivators. Babusar at the head of Thak nullah was included in the *Shamilat* village of Thak until Dew formed it into a separate community. Dew made the first rough census and fixed the amount for each nullah which he thought people could bear. Macpherson in working out his scheme relied on the same data as Dew.<sup>103</sup>

The political condition of Chilas is described in a letter by G.S. Robertson to Resident in Kashmir, as it stood in 1892.<sup>104</sup>

... An independent Shinaki state like Chilas, for all practical purposes has no Government at all and is without any central authority of any kind. The "*Jashtirs*" are treated with some show of respect and acknowledge as the headmen of the tribe: but they have no real authority or power .... The Chilasis at the present time are a people who have inhabited their present country from ancient times; but they are themselves outnumbered by immigrants settled amongst them. These consist of fugitives from other tribes of people who have been forced to seek new pastures for their flocks from the over-populated villages lower down the Indus, and finally of Gujars.

There is no central authority of any kind but little community of feeling amongst the heterogeneous inhabitants of the country. The one point on

which all are more or less agreed is a feeling of hostility towards the Gilgit authorities. There is also the bond amongst them of a common religion, fanatical in its tenets and aggressive . . . .

In a telegram dated 26 September 1892 it is recorded:

Two Sayyads with six followers have been sent by Ahmed Ali Shah, Jagirdar of Kagan, into Chilas. They are violently exciting the people against road building through Kagan and Chilas.

The final position of Chilas is given in a letter to the Secretary of State for India, no 142 of 1893 dated 11th July 1893:

. . . . Chilas, as well as Gor, is under the suzerainty of Kashmir. Since its invasion by Kashmir troops in 1851, it has paid a yearly tribute to the Darbar, and the people have always professed to be tributary to and dependent on Kashmir. but they have not been under effective control. . . . We have now ascertained that colonel Durand did not intend to propose the actual annexation of Chilas, but the establishment of effective control over the State, as in the case of Hunza and Nagar, with the internal administration of which Kashmiri officials are not permitted to interfere . . . Without altering the political status of Chilas, to authorise the British Agent at Gilgit to make conditions with the Chilas on behalf of the Darbar, whereby the autonomy of Chilas is preserved.

As far as Punial and Yasin are considered, there is a long precis<sup>105</sup> of historical events, as understood in 1914, but as the history has been given above, it need not be repeated here. This record recaptures the position as it stood in 1877:

. . . . the districts of Yasin, Kuh, Ghizr and Ashkuman were under the rule of Mehtar Pahlwan Bahadur (see ante p. 259), a member of the Khushwakt family of the Chitral Ruling family. Pahlwan Bahadur acknowledged the suzerainty of Kashmir, from whom he received a subsidy but he failed to act upto his engagements; and in 1880 he invaded Punial. Yasin was occupied in his absence by Amanul Mulk of Chitral, and Pahlwan, having failed in his attack on Punial, fled from the country. Amanul Mulk was permitted by the Kashmir Darbar to incorporate the whole tract in his own territory, and with their consent, he partitioned it".

Subsequent history is given in a letter<sup>106</sup> from S.M. Fraser, Resident in Kashmir to the Secretary, Government of India:

. . . . The Ishkuman District comprises some 12 villages on both banks of the Karumbar River from its source as far as and including the hamlet of Kuchdel on the left bank and the Shachoi nullah on the right. On the restoration of peace in Chitral in 1895 it was arranged that the Khushwakt District of Yasin, which included the sub-districts of Ghizr and Kush and, at that time, the Ishkuman valley also, should be severed from Chitral and in future be administered by Governors appointed and paid, on behalf of the Kashmir State by the Government of India through their representative at Gilgit. The tracts in question are not Kashmir territory though under the suzerainty of Maharaja. In January 1896 on the appointment of Mehtar Jao Shah Abdur Rahman Khan to be the first Khushwakt Governor of Yasin, the Ishkuman valley was separated from that district and placed under the charge of the present Governor Mir Ali Mardan Shah (ex-ruler of Wakhan and father-in-law of the Mehtar of Chitral).



In 1911 the Political Agent Gilgit issued the following order<sup>107</sup> for Punial administration:

1. Wazir Mohammad Nabi was to continue as Wazir to Governor Raja Sifat Bahadur. He would receive Rs. 30/-.
2. All questions relating to Gushpurs was to be put to Political Agent.
3. The Governor was to exercise the right of altering the rights of Zamindars.
4. The governor was to take cognizance of all petty crimes.
5. Cases of murder were to be reported to Political Agent.
6. Ownership of land was to be reported to Political Agent.
7. Darbar revenue of 250 maunds — 175 maunds of wheat and 75 maunds of barley — was to be met.
8. 600 maunds were to be set aside for the support of Mohammad Akbar Khan's family.
9. The Wazir of Punial was to receive 136 maunds and 30 sers.
10. Mir Baz Khan of Gushpur was to get revenue of Gakuch.
11. Wali Mohammad Khan of Gushpur is to get revenue of Damasi.
12. Raja Sifat Bahadur and his brothers were to get revenue of Hatun and Grunjar.
13. Balance of the revenue was for administration.
14. The *Kharid* revenue was to be 2/3rd of wheat and 1/3rd of barley.
15. Utuk Governor was to receive 2 sheeps or Rs. 4/- from each of the five villages of Gulapura, Sher Qila, Singol, Bubur and Grunjar.
16. Chaman Ali Governor was to receive 5 sers of *ghi* from each of Baro Darkhan and 2½ sers of *ghi* from each of Chumo Darkhan.

The above was issued in consequence of the position of Raja Sifat Bahadur in Punial since 1901. He was the second brother of Mohammad Akbar Khan. He was appointed Governor of Punial until his nephew, the minor son of Mohammad Akbar Khan, came of age. His salary was to be Rs. 160/- per mensem as Governor and an allowance of Rs. 40/- per mensem as levy leader. He was also allowed to return two villages given to him by Mohammad Akbar Khan. The order gives detail of the administration:<sup>108</sup>

“As regards Raja Sifat Bahadur's duties it has been proposed that it should be clearly understood by him that he should work as Governor under the general control of the Political Agent, Gilgit, the powers at present exercised by the Wazir Wazarat in Punial remaining unrestricted. In this connection it has however been suggested that the Darbar be asked to rule that any cases which under the Indian Penal code would be punishable with death or transportation for life should if the Political Agent thinks it advisable be referred for decision by a Jirga at which he would preside and that appeals against such decisions should be forwarded by the Political Agent with the record to the Resident in Kashmir who would forward them with such observations or advice as might seem necessary to the Darbar for final orders. It has been added that it should be clearly explained to Raja Sifat Bahadur that he should conform to the advice given to him by the Political Agent in all matters and that he must abstain from intrigues with the neighbouring tribes in independent territory (i.e. Darel and Tangir).”

## 1935 Lease of Gilgit Wazarat

The establishment of the Gilgit Agency in 1889 solved mainly the problems of external relations that the Government of India sought to settle with states and tribes in the northern borderland, who were, as we have seen before, autonomous and practically independent in the management of their internal administration. How the British entered into managerial side can be understood from the following experience of A. Durand:

My position presented some of the curious anomalies to which the Indian administrator on the frontier is accustomed. I was the representative of the British Government on the frontier, and the external relations with the neighbouring states were under my control. But the rule within the Gilgit border was in the hands of the Kashmir Governor, while the command of the forces rested with the Kashmiri General, with the proviso that no important move of troops should be undertaken without my sanction. It was a difficult position, for every one recognised that, in addition to my own responsibilities, I was really answerable for the proper government and progress of the Gilgit district, and for the discipline and control of the troops.<sup>109</sup>

This position continued to hold good in Gilgit until the British were able to restore peaceful conditions in the region. In due course a system evolved by which Agency remained under complete charge of the Political Agent who was answerable to Government of India through the British Resident in Kashmir while Gilgit Wazarat continued to be under the State officials. We have given above (ante p. 287) the limits of the Gilgit Wazarat which included some areas on the right bank of the Indus river extending to the south of Gilgit and Hunza rivers but also incorporating Gilgit tehsil, the Civil administration of which was run by State officials. This peculiar arrangement created "dual control", so often referred to in the official documents. Hence a long discussion was waged on the official plane to evolve a better scheme to remove dual control. Current view has been well put in the following letter no. F. 3/S. 1933, dated 18th April 1933 from Major G.V.B. Gillan, Political Agent, Gilgit:

A scheme which should, on the contrary, include Gilgit and the greater portion of the present Gilgit Wazarat in the Agency territories . . . has everything to recommend it from the political point of view, it would remove the disadvantages of dual control and occasional friction which has been animadverted against the successive Residents and Political Agents ever since the establishment of the Agency, and which are now also referred to by the Durbar; it would preclude the possibility of the Durbar's officials interfering in the affairs of the Mirs and the business of the unsettled Districts, a danger which we have always been careful to

guard against; it would give great satisfaction to the Mirs and Governors, on whose contentment and loyalty we depend for the maintenance of this frontier without great expense or display of force; it would be popular with vast majority of the inhabitants of the area thus transferred. . . . At present the cost of the administration of the Wazarat is borne by the Durbar and that of the unsettled Districts is shared between the Government of India and the Durbar in a complicated and sometimes somewhat illogical manner, i.e. the subsidies of the Mirs of Hunza and Nagar are paid in moiety shares by both Governments, while those of the Governors of Puniyal, Yasin, Ishkoman, and Koh-Gizar are paid wholly by the Durbars; expenditure on roads, bridges, and public buildings in the unsettled Districts is as a general rule borne by the Government of India, but the roads and bridges upto Hunza are paid by the Durbar; medical and educational charges in the unsettled Districts have been entirely borne by the Durbar, though the Government of India have now agreed to pay half the salary and allowances of the Agency Surgeon, whose work lies equally in the Wazarat and the unsettled district; the civil levies are paid by the Durbar and also Scouts but half the cost of the Commandant Scout's appointment and the whole cost of the Assistant Commandant Scout's appointment is borne by the Government of India.

This issue of "dual control" was certainly worrying the Political Agent and he certainly desired to get rid of the State governor but in view of the "Russian menace" the British had no desire to disturb the status quo but now the situation had changed, as is conveyed in a letter<sup>110</sup> from EJD Colvin, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir to L.E. Lang, Resident in Kashmir.

. . . . The imperial considerations relating to the safety of India as a whole which necessitated the establishment of the Agency in Gilgit in the latter half of the last century have materially changed and the danger of a foreign invasion of India from that direction has been considerably minimized, or, indeed, ceased to exist.

This opinion of Colvin is not shared by others who see a deeper implication in the appointment of Colvin as Prime Minister at a critical time in Kashmir when Raja Hari Singh, who had succeeded Pratap Singh in 1925, was facing a serious agitation by the Muslims in the State in early thirties and the British were intent on intervention<sup>111</sup> for introducing reforms in the State. Teng, Bhatt and Kaul<sup>112</sup> observe:

On the advice of the Government of India, the Maharaja had appointed Colonel E.J.D. Colvin, an officer of the Government of India, the Prime Minister of the State. Two more officials of the Indian Civil Service had been inducted into the State Ministry and put in charge of the home affairs and finance. Colvin was a committed Civil Service official. In fact, he had been sent to fulfil more than one Commission in the State. Besides being deputed to tighten the control over the administration of the Maharaja and stabilize the political situation in the State, he was entrusted with the arduous task of securing British control over Gilgit and the rest of the northern frontier of the State. The fast changing patterns of

relationships in Asia, particularly after the invasion of Manchuria by the Japanese, had given the northern frontier of the State, the importance it never had before. The Russian frontiers which sprawled menacingly close to the borders of the State, continued to pose a serious threat to the British Colonial interests in India. Gilgit and its adjoining territories remained undefended. Colvin succeeded in persuading the Maharaja to hand over Gilgit to the British.

Here the authors have introduced the new element of the Japanese invasion of Manchuria but that was a distant cry in the Far East. On the other hand the Russian threat had assumed new ideological implications in view of the Sovietisation of Central Asia and the creation of several Soviet Central Asian Republics, the most relevant to the northern border were the republics of Tajikistan and Kirgizia. The new political and administrative set-up in Central Asia demanded a different approach to the areas under the direct control of the British. The Gilgit Agency, was certainly under the control of the British but the Political Agent still suffered from many handicaps in the discharge of his responsibilities. It was to meet this difficulty that the British devised a new scheme for carving out a smooth territory in the northern frontier for better control. To be in line with the constitutional reform of the early thirties, the British intervened in the administration of Jammu and Kashmir State and to assuage the feelings of the Muslims they worked for some sort of representative government. In part fulfilment of this action some portion of the Gilgit Wazarat was leased out. This view is clearly brought out by Prithvinath Kaul Bamzai,<sup>113</sup> who writes:

In the meantime Col. Colvin and the Resident had succeeded in persuading the Maharaja to give the Gilgit Wazarat on "lease" for sixty years to the British Indian Government and hand over the administration and control of the leased territory to them. On March 29, 1935, the Maharaja and the Resident, Col. L.E. Lang, signed the "lease" document by which the Viceroy and Governor-General of India was authorised to assume the civil and military government of the Wazarat of Gilgit subject to the condition that the territory would continue to be included within the dominion of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and the rights pertaining to mining would also be reserved to the Kashmir government. There was no mention in the agreement of the districts under the Political Agency of Gilgit for the simple reason that their civil and military administration was already in the hands of the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Having attained their objective, the British at once relaxed the pressure on the Maharaja. He was given complete freedom to deal with the political agitators in any way he liked. The leaders of various communal and political parties in the State who had till then received support and inspiration from Col. Colvin's government were told to fend for themselves.

Here the author has linked the issue of the "lease" with political agitation in Kashmir and talks of the British official inspiration and support for the Muslim agitation and calls it communalistic in a typically Hindu style and thus showing his own communal approach to the problem. He does not analyse independently the political cause of the agitation in Kashmir. The Kashmir politics has nothing to do with the "lease". As has been rightly commented by Teng, Bhatt and Kaul, that is connected with the frontier problem but the British took advantage of the situation in Kashmir at this time to execute their new scheme. The same procedure was followed when Gilgit Agency was established in 1889 soon after the death of Ranbir Singh and at the accession of Pratap Singh. Closing years of the reign of Pratap Singh were not smooth. When Hari Singh, son of Amar Singh, succeeded Pratap Singh, he tried to snatch all administrative powers to himself. The political agitation in Kashmir was a consequence of this tussel between the ruler and the people who demanded representative government. No such political agitation was then known in the Northern Areas.

As has been rightly pointed out by Prithvinath Kaul Bamazai, the lease (see below for the text) explicitly relates to the northern portion of the Gilgit Wazarat which was given on sixty years lease to the British and added to the already occupied Gilgit Agency. The terms of the lease are thus exclusively restricted to the leased territory and do not apply to the Agency territory. The latter was already under British Control since 1889 and that was occupied by the British as a part of their sovereign power. The Maharaja was given only a suzerain status over the local rulers but that territory was never recognised as Maharaja's territory.<sup>114</sup> After the lease the Agency boundary was enlarged and the British administration, both Civil and military, was extended to all parts of the new territory of the Agency. In fact the Gilgit Agency now became a compact administrative unit with all local powers vested in the Political Agent. He became the local head of Civil, military and judicial powers, all vested in him and State interference remained only nominal in so far as Maharaja's formal consent was taken in case of succession of local rulers as will be seen below, in the same fashion as the British Government usually gave consent to the succession of rulers in the Indian States. As a result of this new administration all Maharaja's forces and civil officers were withdrawn from the Agency and they were placed within the reduced territory of Gilgit Wazarat, south of the Indus river. Even roads, bridges and government buildings of the

transferred territory were all given to the Agency authority and the future Public works activities were to be undertaken by the Engineers appointed by the British Government. These transfers were made with understanding that these assets of the leased territory would revert back to the Maharaja at the end of the lease.

The text of the lease agreements given below :

### Lease of Deed

Agreement between the British Government and Colonel His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh, Inder Mohinder Bahadur, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V. O., A.D.C., Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, his heirs and successors, executed on the one part by Lieutenant-Colonel Lionel Edward Lang, C.I.E., M.C. in virtue of full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Freeman-Thomas, Earl of Willingdon P.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., O.B.E., Viceroy and Governor-General of India, and on the other part by Colonel His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh aforesaid. It is hereby agreed as follows.

Article I — The Viceroy and Governor-General of India may at any time after the ratification of this agreement assume the civil and military administration of so much of the Wazarat of Gilgit Province (herein after referred to as the "said territory") of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as lies beyond the right bank of the river Indus, but not withstanding anything in this agreement the said territory shall continue to be included within the dominions of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Article II — In recognition of the fact that the said territory continues to be included within the dominion of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir salutes and customary honours shall be paid in the said territory by the administration on the occasion of the birthday of His Highness, on Baisakhi, Dussehra, Basant Panchami and on such other occasions of time as may be agreed upon by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. The flag of His Highness will be flown at the official Headquarters of the Agency throughout the year.

Article III — In normal circumstances no British Indian troops shall be despatched through that portion of the Wazarat of Gilgit Province which lies beyond the left bank of the river Indus.

Article IV — All rights pertaining to mining are reserved to His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The grant of prospecting licences and mining leases will be made during the period of the agreement mentioned below.

Article V — This agreement shall remain in force for sixty years from the date of its ratification and the lease will terminate at the end of that period.

Signed and exchanged at Jammu this 26th day of the month of March, 1935.<sup>115</sup>

The taking over of Gilgit Wazarat took effect on 1st April 1935.<sup>116</sup>

One of the consequence of this lease was the grant of a jagir in

Bugrot Nullah to the Mir of Hunza in the hope that the Mir would give up his rights over the territory beyond Klik-Mintaka. This is recognised in the following letter dated 5th April 1937 from Sir Muhammad Nazim Khan, Mir of Hunza to the Political Agent, Gilgit:

I have great pleasure in promising that I will stop exchanging the annual presents with the Chinese, will give up all rights, such as the right to graze cattle beyond Kilik and Mintika, the right to collect grazing dues in Taghdumbash and the right to cultivate lands in Raskam . . . . I am very grateful for the increase of Rs. 3000/- per annum in my subsidy as Mir of Hunza, and for the grant of a jagir in the Bugrot Nullah so long as the agreement in respect of the Gilgit subdivision between the Government of India and His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir remains in force.

This promise was never adhered to by the Mir of Hunza and we find the Mir writing again on 14th August 1937 to the Political Agent, Gilgit for permission to send his man to Yarkand for the collection of annual grain from the tenants of the "jagir situated in Khwaja Sabak Rabti ilaqa, Yarkand". A reply was also received by the Mir through the Resident in Kashmir from the External Affairs Department, in D.O. no. F. 12-x 37 dated 19th February 1938 stating: ". . . . Packman, however, whom we have consulted, states that he thinks the proposed visit of the Mir's Motabirs to Yarkand inadvisable at the moment owing to the present anti-British drive in Yarkand . . . .", However, according to official information<sup>117</sup> the Mir did not exchange present with the Chinese in 1935 nor did he collect any grazing fees in 1936. However this double relation of the Mir of Hunza continued until 1947.

Even then as far as succession was concerned the approval of the British Government as well as of the Maharaja was required. The approval was granted by a *Sanad*. However, after the death of Sir Mohammad Nazim Khan, there is no trace of the *Sanad* being issued. Only a *Kharita* was issued to his successor. The draft of the *Kharita*, as proposed by External Affairs Department, New Delhi, was as follows:

I have the pleasure to inform that consequent of the death of your father, the late Sir Mohammad Nazim Khan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. His Excellency the crown Representative, after consultation with His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, is pleased to recognise your succession to the Mirship of Hunza.<sup>118</sup>

This wording was slightly changed by the Resident in Kashmir in his letter<sup>119</sup> to the Secretary, Government of India as follows:

I have the pleasure to inform that, consequent on the death of your father, the late Sir Mohammad Nazim Khan, KCSI, KCIE, His Highness

the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, with the approval and authority of His Excellency the Crown Representative is pleased to recognise your succession to the Mirship of Hunza. A formal Sanad will be presented in due course.

The two drafts clearly show the two different approaches of the Government of India and of the State towards their relation with the Mir of Hunza — a subject which continued to be discussed in several other correspondences. The British Government regarded the Maharaja of Kashmir as a suzerain power but not a sovereign power. The suzerainty allowed the acceptance of tribute but the local Rajas considered the tribute to be exchange of gifts, presents and at best compliments but their territory was never accepted to be a part of the State territory.

### Membership of the Indian Federation

One of the main reasons for the lease of Gilgit Wazarat and consequent administrative consolidation of Gilgit Agency, as expanded now, appears to be the natural result of the Round Table Conferences of the early thirties, in which the issue of Indian States was also decided. When the Government of India Act of 1935 was passed, one of the provisions was the creation of the Indian Federation, in which both the British Indian provinces and the Indian States would lend their cooperation and participation for making it a success. However, there were many questions left undecided regarding the accession of Indian States to Federation. Our immediate concern here is with regard to the position of Hunza, Nagir, Yasin, Koh Ghizr, Ishkuman, Chilas and unadministered tribal areas of Darel, Tangir, Harban, Sazin and Jalkot in the event of Kashmir acceding to Federation in view of the fact that these States and political districts were not treated as an integral part of Kashmir.<sup>120</sup>

The legal issue, as far as it was then interpreted by Government of India in the External Affairs Department, is given in their demi-official letter no. F. 676-x/37, dated 30th August 1938 to the Resident in Kashmir:

. . . . Kindly see the interpretation of the term 'Indian State' as given in section 311(i) of the Government of India Act 1935, which means that — unless the position of these Districts is defined before hand — all these Districts which are under the suzerainty of the Ruler of Kashmir would be held to have automatically come into the Federation, when His Majesty the King signifies his acceptance of the Instrument of Accession of Kashmir State into the Federation. And the Kashmir Government



would enjoy legislative and executive authority in the matters accepted by Kashmir as federal under Section 24 or 125 of the Act. This would result that these Political Districts would be exempted from control by Paramountcy and Kashmir authority would dominate; which the Government of India desire should not happen.

In order to avoid such a thing happening the Government of India propose to declare these areas to be falling under the criterion of areas 'therefore administered by or on behalf of His Majesty'. And by a declaration under Section 294(1) of the Government of India Act 1935, these areas would be immune from the executive as well as the legislative power of the Federal Legislature. But this would permanently debar these areas from qualifying for memberships of the Federation as States separate from Kashmir.

As regards the case of Hunza and Nagar the question of declaration under Section 294(1) do not arise since they are not 'administered by or on behalf of His Majesty'. Their case is analogous to Chitral, which is under the suzerainty of the Ruler of Kashmir. This suzerainty is little more than nominal and Chitral is independent. Similarly Kashmir Government cannot interfere in the Hunza and Nagar administrations though the Maharaja of Kashmir is recognised by the two Mirs as their suzerain. To avert that Hunza, Nagar and Chitral should not automatically come into the Federation, H.E. the Gown Representative has suggested to the Secretary of State for India that an amending clause should be enacted to Sub-Section (1) of Section 311 to the effect that territory which is under the suzerainty of, but does not belong to, the Ruler of an Indian State shall, for the purposes of the Government of India Act, 1935, be declared not to form part of that State, if His Majesty is signifying his acceptance of the Instrument of Accession of that State shall so declare.

The Government of India propose to make a declaration under Section 294(1) in regard to the Gilgit Sub-Division which will keep it safe from the intrusion of Kashmir's authority in the event of Kashmir joining the Federation. Darel and Tangir being 'tribal areas' call for no action.

In a further note dated 28th November 1938 the Political Department reasserted their viewpoint and maintained that these areas "were never recognised as part of Kashmir". In the second paragraph of this note the position was made clear and the views of the Prime Minister of Kashmir were called for. They said:

The constitutional position of the various areas in the Gilgit Agency is discussed . . . . It will be seen from para 44 that the Kashmir Government were informed in 1905 that although the Government of India regarded these areas under the suzerainty of the Kashmir Government, they were not Kashmir territory and Kashmir officials were not allowed to interfere with their internal administration. It was also explained to the Durbar "that 'the general policy of the Government of India towards these petty states is to allow the people to govern themselves as far as possible, British Officers, interfering only when it is imperatively necessary that they should do so'. Nothing more was heard of this question, but the Kashmir Government are evidently not convinced that the position as stated above is correct. It has never been accepted by the Kashmir

Government in writing though they appear to have acquiesced in it *sub silentio*.

S. Williams, the Resident in Kashmir, in his reply,<sup>121</sup> gives a detailed account of the administrative practice as obtained after 1935. The following relevant portions would show the actual system:

The Kashmir Government have not interfered for many years in the administration of Chilas, Yasin, Koh Ghizar and Ishkuman. The Governors — the post is not hereditary — (with the exception of Chilas which now a days has no Governor) administer these areas subject to the approval of the Political Agent, Gilgit, who exercises criminal jurisdiction, under the Frontier Crimes Regulation. The Kashmir Government are consulted, and their approval obtained, only when a new Governor is to be appointed or when a change in Governors is considered necessary . . . . Punial is on a somewhat different footing as it is a jagir of the Kashmir State. The Kashmir government however do not interfere in the administrative arrangements of the Jagir and all ordinary cases are dealt with by the Governor. Cases of murder are referred for decision to a Jirgah under the orders of the Political Agent, Gilgit, appeals against such decisions being forwarded to the Resident in Kashmir.

Previously such appeals were passed on to the Kashmir Government for final orders but as a result of the transfer of administrative control of the Gilgit Wazarat to the Government of India this practice ceased in 1936 with the concurrence of the Kashmir Government and the Frontier Crimes Regulation was applied to Punial . . . .

I agree with the action . . . . as regards the Gilgit subdivision and Darel and Tangir, the two latter areas are purely independent and not in any way under the control of the Political Agent, Gilgit . . . . I am satisfied that the degree of authority exercised by the Political Agent is sufficient to classify Chilas, Yasin, Koh Ghizar, Ishkuman and Punial as areas 'therefore administered by or on behalf of His Majesty'. I would here note that the Corps of Gilgit Scouts paid for from Central Revenues includes men from these districts and can be used if wanted to maintain law and order in any part of the territory north of the Indus. With the change of administration in the Gilgit Wazarat in 1935 the Kashmir Government agreed to 'give up the control of the civil administration, leaving it to the Government of India to establish both military and civil control over this area, that is to say, the portion of the Gilgit Wazarat area lying north of the Indus plus the unsettled area, under the Frontier Chiefs and Governors'.

The view expressed by the Resident falls in line with that expressed by the Political Department.

The opinion of the Political Agent, Gilgit may also be cited here as it is relevant to the future decision. In his letter<sup>122</sup> to the Resident he wrote:

. . . . As regards the proposals contained in Savidge's letter I consider that it would be quite correct to hold that Chilas, the Gilgit sub-division, Yasin, Kuh-Ghizr and Ishkoman all fall within the definition of 'an area theretofore administered by or on behalf of His Majesty' and that to

make a declaration under Section 294(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935 would be the proper course to take in respect of them.

For the Gilgit Sub-Division there is the agreement dated the 26th March 1935 whereby the civil and military administration of this area was assumed by the Viceroy and Governor General of India by agreement between the British Government and His Highness the Maharajah of Kashmir.

Chilas never formed a part of the 'Wazarat of the Gilgit Province' but has always been administered by an Assistant Political Agent acting under the orders of the Political Agent Gilgit. Kashmir troops were stationed there but these were withdrawn on the execution of the agreement mentioned in paragraph 2 above.

The administrations of Yasin, Kuh-Ghizr and Ishkoman are carried on by Governors appointed by the Government of India. The Kashmir State is consulted about these appointments because the areas are under the suzerainty of the Ruler of Kashmir but even before the execution of the agreement mentioned in paragraph 2 His Highness the Maharaja had no concern with the administration of these areas which was supervised by the Political Agent. Although loosely defined the control exercised by the Political Agent in these areas is detailed. New lands brought under cultivation are assessed by one of his Assistants, files of all civil and criminal cases of any importance are sent to him for approval and he interferes freely both in important and unimportant cases. The Governorships are non-hereditary and an unsatisfactory Governor can be removed by the Government of India. The Governor's munshis and levies are paid by Government and Government receives one fourth of the land revenue collections. The Governor of Ishkoman receives his allowances from Government — the other two are paid by the Kashmir State.

The status of Punial is slightly higher than that of the other three Political Districts because the Governorship is hereditary in virtue of the fact that Punial is a jagir of the Kashmir State. In the Kashmir State proper it is understood that most jagirdars formerly of similar status have sunk to the status of mere land owners and exercise no jurisdiction (e.g. the Raja of Astor). But owing to the different policy of the Imperial Government the Raja of Punial has been allowed to retain civil and criminal jurisdiction except that from time to time certain types of cases (e.g. murder) have been ordered to be tried by the Political Agent or his Assistants . . . . Government also receives no share of the land revenue of Punial. But the Kashmir State pays allowances to the Governor, the pay of his munshi and the levies is met by Government . . . . Although therefore the administration of Punial is not directly carried on by the Political Agent it seems justifiable to say that broadly speaking, the area is administered on behalf of His Majesty . . . . The suggestion that Hunza and Nagar should be dealt with on the same line as Chitral by a declaration under Sub-section (1) of Section 311 of the Act seems entirely suitable. I agree that no action is required in respect of Darel and Tangir which are tribal independent areas.

In the final letter<sup>1 2 3</sup> the Political Agent concluded:

. . . . It seems therefore that in some way or another the whole Agency should be kept out of federation at present.

In the same letter he traces the actual position and presents

the current situation in the following manner:

. . . . It was largely because the Kashmir State troops were incapable of dealing with Hunza and Nager in 1890 that the Political Agency was established and the defeat of Hunza and Nagar in 1891 was with the aid of regular troops of the Indian Army under British Officers. The Gilgit Scouts are now paid entirely by the Imperial Government and are officered by British officers so that, presumably, to use any of them against Hunza and Nagar would constitute 'military assistance from the Crown'. On the other hand to bring Kashmir State troops into the Agency while it is directly under the Government of India would be most unsuitable and in view of the very difficult nature of the country I have grave doubts as to whether the State troops could deal with a determined resistance from Hunza and Nagar without assistance especially in view of the possibility that the Mir of Hunza might be able to obtain assistance from Sinkiang.

All the three views expressed above agree in maintaining that these areas were ruled on behalf of His Majesty and they were excluded from the purview of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The only confusion that remained was due to the definition of "Indian State". This was rectified in the following letter<sup>1 2 4</sup> sent from the Political Department to Resident in Kashmir:

. . . . the exact method by which it is proposed to meet the difficulty caused by the existing definition of Indian State in Section 311(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935, has recently been simplified . . . . It is now intended instead merely to replace the existing definition in Section 311(1) by a new definition on the following lines:

Indian State means any territory not being part, of British India and whether described as 'a State', 'an Estate', 'a Jagir' or otherwise which His Majesty recognizes as being such a 'State' . . . . What reply the Crown Representative would give in respect of the territories in issue in this correspondence if reference were made to him as to what His Majesty recognised as constituting Kashmir. The territories in respect of which all seem agreed are Chitral, Puniā, that part of the Gilgit Wazarat which we administer under the 1935 agreement and Darel and Tangir. The reply in their regard would be that Chitral was not recognised as a part of Kashmir but was a separate Indian State, that the northern part of the Gilgit Wazarat (and of course the southern part as well which is not an issue) and Puniā, a jagir of Kashmir State, were recognised as part of Kashmir, and that Darel and Tangir were not. Of the territories in issue there remain Hunza, Nagar, Chilas, Kohghizar, Ishkuman and Yasin. Here there is disagreement. We do not regard these territories as part of Kashmir, although, apparently by an oversight, their population (in all 58, 516 according to the last Census) has been included in the figure of 3,646,243 shown as Kashmir's population in the Table of sheets at the end of the First Schedule to the Act. On the basis of the records of the Political Department and of the Government of India, the reply that would now be given by the Crown Representative to a reference of the kind indicated above would be that, though all these areas were under Kashmir's suzerainty, none was recognised as part of Kashmir; Hunza and Nagar being themselves separate Indian States and Chilas, Kohghizar,

Ishkuman and Yasin being (presumably) 'Tribal areas' under the definition contained in Section 311(1).

In further clarifying the issue with respect to Hunza and Nagar the same letter maintains:

. . . . The payment of tribute is never a proof of ownership rather the reverse; the approval of the Kashmir Government to successions would not appear to constitute such proof (cf. recognition of successions in Indian States by the British Government); while the 1935 agreement has reference only to the northern portion of the Wazarat of the Gilgit Province and has no connection with the status or administration of Hunza and Nagar.

This was the final position adopted by Government of India with respect to the areas concerned. The opinion fully explains the legal position of the States concerned and by excluding them from the federation in case of the accession of Kashmir, the area was ensured as a special preserve of the Crown representative. It served two objectives: firstly, it remained as a special responsibility of the Viceroy as were other tribal areas, and secondly its entity was preserved separate from that of Kashmir. The above opinion was forwarded to N. Gopala Swami Ayyangar, the then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir Government. In the Prime Minister's Office a long note was prepared by R.C. Kak, the Chief Secretary, on 10th March 1939. In forwarding the note<sup>1 2 5</sup> to the Resident in Kashmir, Prime Minister's own concern related to the question of federation. On this issue he said: "As to the expediency of applying the provisions of Section 294(1) to all the territories of the State included in the Gilgit Agency and consequently of excluding them from accession now, His Highness' Government and His Majesty's Government are, I believe, agreed."

### Historical Interpretation and Rejoinder

1. (a) The long note of R.C. Kak begins with the deplorable state of records and infact destruction of many of them, creating difficulties in making a true picture of the case. Para 6 of the note refers to the vague nature of the territory made over to the Maharaja Gulabsingh under the Treaty of 1846. Nevertheless in para 7 it refers to

Gilgit, at the time of the treaty, was under the occupation of the Sikhs who maintained a military force there. In this connection an extract is given from State Administrative Report for the year 1874.

During the regime of the Sikhs, Gilgit, Nagar, Hunza and Nomal came under the control of the Governor of Kashmir — Sh. Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din in (Samvat) 1998 (1842 AD.) and at the time of the transfer of

Kashmir to Maharaja Gulab Singh (in 1846) these Ilakas came into his (Maharaja Gulab Singh's) possession along with Kashmir".

(b) Government of India did not accept the above contention and categorically replied:

The fact that the Sikh Military Governor of Gilgit Natche Shah after a brush with the forces of Hunza and Nagir defeated them and married the daughters of the Thams of Hunza and Nagir and so had some authority of a loose character does not warrant the statement in the Administration Report of 1874 (some 30 years later) that Hunza and Nagir came under the control of the Governor of Kashmir, nor is the fact that the report was acknowledged by the Punjab Government in a Kharita dated 29th July 1880 of any value whatsoever.

2. (a) The relationship with Hunza and Nagar is divided into three sub-periods: (i) 1846-1870; (ii) 1870-1885; (iii) 1885-1935. In the first period "the relationship was generally one of hostility". "Soon after Maharaja Ranbir Singh's accession (in 1857) the Raja of Nagar started to pay tribute to the State and received as a feudatory a subsidy therefrom". Only in 1870 the agreement was given for safety of trade and keeping of hostages at Gilgit and also to bring the hitherto recalcitrant Raja of Hunza "to a proper frame of mind". In 1870 the Raja of Hunza who also gave a similar undertaking", was granted a subsidy of Rs. 2000/- a year". The Raja agreed to give the revenue of Chaprot to the State.

(b) The reply of the Government of India was, "This is a very brief resume of a period during which conflict was unceasing and the minimum of authority secured with great difficulty, Hunza being always far more intractable than Nagir".

3. (a) The note refers to the relationship with Chilas after the punitive expedition of 1851-52. Chilasis agreed to pay a tribute to the Maharaja and also sent hostages.

(b) The Government of India reply observes: "The country has never been subject to Kashmir since the Kashmir Government have never exercised any authority over it".

4. (a) Paragraph 14 to 19 refers to the credit of the Maharaja for achieving relationship with Chitral.

(b) The Government of India reply is very curt: "The inner history of the relations between the Kashmir Government and Chitral is well known and it is not necessary to dilate on it".

5. (a) Regarding Yasin the note says: "There is no doubt that in the late seventies the State exercised more or less effective control over Yasin and the neighbouring tracts".

(b) The Government reply is, "Lord Mayo in 1870 held that Yasin was beyond the borders of Kashmir and that its conquest by

Kashmir would amount to annexation". The story is carried to the time of Lord Lytton, who, in 1879, observed:

Our object (of policy) is to acquire through the ruler of Kashmir the power of making such political and military arrangements as will effectively command the passes of the Hindukush. With this object we shall take every opportunity of strengthening our control over the country lying south of the mountain slopes . . . . and of attaching the chiefs through Kashmir to British interests .

The reply adds: "In furtherance of this policy the appointment of Captain Biddulph was made". From such long quotations the conclusion is drawn: "The above extracts are sufficient to show the contemporary opinion held as to the effectiveness of Kashmir's possession of these districts".

6. (a) The note refers to the separation of Yasin, Koh-Ghizar and Ishkoman from Chitral after 1895 and the Maharaja's partition and disposal of these districts among the Governors who were to pay Nazrana to the Maharaja.

(b) The Government reply says that these districts remained under the direct control of Chitral from 1881 to 1895. After 1895 Chitral proper of the Kator family was separated from the Khushwakt tracts of Mastuj, Yasin, Koh Ghizar and Ishkoman. As a policy of the British Government Chitral went to Malakand and the Khushwakt tracts remained in Gilgit Agency. It is said:

Yasin became a Governorship in the Gilgit Agency and was in later years divided up into the separate Governorship of Yasin, Koh-Ghizar and Ishkoman with the approval of the Kashmir Government. This re-adjustment was entirely dictated by the Government of India and was the outcome of the policy of the day.

7. (a) The Chief Secretary's note observes:

"A noteworthy feature of the extension of the State's sphere of influence in the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singhji was that while he uniformly abided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to Chitral, Dir, Bajour, Wakhan and Shignan, he never referred any matter pertaining to Chilas, Hunza, Nagar, Yasin etc. to the Government of India.

(b) The Government reply clearly says that the above statement "is patently and demonstrably incorrect".

8. (a) The note then traces the history of the time of Maharaja Pratap Singh and the events connected with the establishment of the Gilgit Agency. The British "Agency corresponded direct with His Highness and took orders from and submitted reports to him in regards to important matters . . . . connected with the rebellion of Hunza and Nagar". The note adds that the expeditionary force to quell the rebellion consisted mainly of the State troops Commanded by State Officers. Of the troops only 200 were British troops

and they were sent to augment the Agency Guard.

(b) The Government reply says that the note makes "light of the fact that both States were captured with the help of British troops and British Officers. Incidentally there were 400 British troops and 15 British Officers, nearly half of the force".

9. The final conclusion of the reply is in clear language:

Under the arrangements made by Government of India in 1877 the small States of Hunza, Nagir etc. are not in alliance with the Maharaja but under his suzerainty. The fact that in those days a ruler of Nagir could be expelled and another set up in his stead without reference to Kashmir and without the Kashmir Government attempting to intervene shows how weak was the thread of authority. Nevertheless, as a result of the 1891 expedition these two States were finally subdued and brought under the control of Kashmir.

It is true that the wording of the Sanads granted to the two Mirs after the 1891 war was very comprehensive and gave the State the right to supervise not only details of administration and the conduct of the relations of Hunza and Nagir with the States and tribes adjoining. Since then, however, State control was evaporated rapidly and steadily and for very many years these districts have been under the complete charge of the Political Agent.

In paragraph 33 it is stated that the total expenditure borne by the State excluding the settled portion of the Gilgit Wazarat from 1889, the year the Agency was established a second time, is about three crores. This expenditure includes the cost of the Agency in Gilgit, and the State troops and also the cost of making roads, schools and dispensaries in the two States. The State has not seen fit to give any details or to separate the major heads — cost of Agency and cost of State troops over this period of 46 years . . . it is obvious that the greater portion of this sum must have been spent on troops. A considerable proportion was spent on the 'unsettled' Districts, the expenditure on which was shared between the Government of India and the Kashmir Durbar. At the time of the transfer in 1935, the subsidies to the Mirs of Hunza and Nagir were paid in moiety while those of the governors of Districts were paid wholly by the Kashmir Government, expenditure on roads, bridges, public buildings in the 'unsettled' Districts was in general borne by the Government of India while the cost of roads and bridges upto Hunza and medical and educational charges in the 'unsettled' Districts were borne by the State.

The mainpoint which emerges with regards to the expenditure of money in the territories in question seems to be that the charges were shared by the Government of India and by the Kashmir Government. This fact must militate strongly against the claim of the State that these territories are 'an integral part' of the Kashmir State.

The above reply was forwarded by the Resident in Kashmir to the Political Department in his letter,<sup>126</sup> in which he gave his own view:

Many of the arguments adduced in support of the claim that Hunza and Nagir and these Districts are part and parcel and an integral portion of the Kashmir State, are very thin and weak. Taking historical facts and the



oft-repeated views of local Political Officers and the Government of India of the time into consideration coupled with the views expressed in the last paragraph 4 of your above quoted letter, would seem to rule out the claim that these territories are an integral part of Kashmir. Their character is that of dependencies under the suzerainty of Kashmir.

This long discussion confirmed the final view of the British Indian Government who were able to secure their firm hold in Gilgit Agency as expanded, had no intention of bringing it under the Control of federal legislature but kept it as a special privilege of the Crown Representative. This position continued to be held by the British until the time of the next constitutional change in 1947.

### Gilgit Scouts

From a wider angle of defence and diplomacy the British were interested in keeping Gilgit Agency in their own hands but their control over this region was gradually established through the intermediate backing up of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. This intermediate agency was primarily dictated by the situation in the trans-Pamir region where the Russians had moved in to hold their firm grasp over the local population. The question of military defence was uppermost in the mind of the British. This led to three important actions: (i) the building of the Gilgit road, connecting Srinagar via Gurez and Astor to Gilgit, (ii) establishing a buffer zone in Wakhan under the control of Afghanistan between Russian and British possessions and (iii) demarcating a boundary between the British territory on the one hand and Chinese and Russian territories on the other, with important military fort at Kalandarchi to guard Klik and Mintaka passes — the new over-land route to China just at the eastern limit of Wakhan. But another important problem was the control of the local chiefs, which the British originally entrusted to the Maharaja of Kashmir who was to carry out this part of the job by his Kashmir troops. But by 1890 the British realised that this was not possible to do only with the Kashmir troops. Hence Col. Durand had to bring British troops and British Officers in 1891 to fight against the rulers of Hunza and Nagar and to re-establish his authority over Chilas and the tribal territories. With the re-establishment of the Gilgit Agency in 1889 the British took over the responsibility of handling the affairs of this northern frontier from the hands of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

It is at about this time that the British established the Imperial Service Troops,<sup>127</sup> in consequence of which “the whole of the bur-

den of the maintenance of peace in India, and of the up-keep of the Indian army, falls on British India, and that the eighty millions of people who form the Native State pay but little to the Imperial Exchequer". The plan adopted involved the reduction of large numbers of the armed rabble in all Native States, and the substitution in their place of small compact bodies of well-trained, disciplined, and regularly paid troops, whose training was to be under the supervision of the British inspecting officers. The announcement of this plan by Lord Dufferin heralded a new era of defence policy. Col. Durand writes:

I had been sent up the year before with orders to work out a scheme on a more moderate scale based on the utilisation of the newly to be created Kashmir Imperial Service Troops. The objects in view were declared by Government to be the watching and control of the country south of the Hindukush, and the organisation of a *force* which could be able in time of trouble to prevent any *Coup de main* by a small body of troops acting across the passes .<sup>128</sup>

It was in fulfilment of these aims that the corps of the Gilgit Scouts was raised as a local force of levies in 1889 by Col. Durand.<sup>129</sup> The force was composed of fighting as well as unarmed levies. We are informed that the fighting levies were embodied during the Hunza — Nagar expedition of 1891 and were employed in the famous battle of Nilt and later in the relief of Chitral in 1895. Later in 1913 these fighting levies were abolished and Gilgit Scouts (as a reserve force) was raised. C.C. Trench<sup>130</sup> gives another background of the foundation of this force. He first talks of the British advance from Gilgit in 1891 to Hunza and Nagar — an advance in which the British Agent (Col. Durand) was wounded and there were many deeds of daring rewarded by three VCs and numerous other decorations. Then came the relief of Chitral in 1895 and finally a realisation that there were at least three routes to be defended — Klik Pass leading to Gilgit and Borogil and Dorah Passes to Chitral. Trench observes:

It was against such a contingency that the local Political Agent suggested in 1900 the formation of a part-time militia of 'trained cragsmen' from tough mountaineers of Chitral. It was a proposal after Lord Curzon's heart, a loyal militia defending their own country until regular troops could arrive, and it was the genesis of the Chitral Scouts, tribesmen armed with modern rifles, trained for one month a year and providing at a very small cost a tripwire which could at least delay an incursion. In 1913 the Gilgit Scouts were raised on similar lines with a similar role.

There was also another duty performed by the Scouts:

"In the absence of any Police force, they also had the general responsi-

bility for law and order and the arrest of blood-feud murderers, sheep-stealers and drug-smugglers. They garrisoned posts at Chilas, at Gupis in the west and Kalandarchi, at 11,500 feet the highest post in the British Empire, at the junction of the routes from Chinese Turkistan over the Killick and Mintaka passes. 131

In the beginning the Gilgit Scouts consisted of three and half companies: Hunza and Nagar each providing one company and the other four platoons were made up by Punial, Yasin, Gupis and Gilgit, each providing one platoon of 50 men. Shah Khan provides further information:

In 1935 the Gilgit Wazarat was transferred to British Government on lease. The State troops evacuated Gilgit and this reserve force was re-organised as Corps of Gilgit Scouts on the pattern of the other Scouts of Frontier Corps; and as a result the defence of the area was entrusted to the new Corps of Gilgit Scouts. Its peace time strength came to be 562 including HQ. platoon. This strength was further reorganised on company and platoon basis. These platoons and companies were commanded by close relations of the Mirs and Rajahs of the area, usually their sons and brothers. They were specially commissioned as VCO's (Viceroy's Commissioned Officers) for this purpose. The Corps was commanded by British Officers but *the actual power rested with the VCO's; in other words, with the ruling families*. The VCO's were given a preferential treatment by the British, which was considered to be the greatest honour for the local chieftains. The Corps directly came under the Political Agent and all promotions to the rank of VCO's were made by him on the basis of political considerations. A limited number of men could rise to this rank from amongst the ranks also.

It is important to note how the defence of Gilgit Agency depended on the loyalty of the local Mirs and Rajahs, whose share in the supply of men to the Scouts guaranteed their support. The recruitment policy satisfied the local people as it not only gave employment to the youth but also an honour to serve in some military rank. As Shah Khan pertinently remarks, it.

. . . was a political bait to the local Chieftains, Mirs and Rajas. They were intentionally kept away from education but were frequently reminded of the generosity and liberality of the British Government who had conferred on them such a great honour as the Viceroy's Commission. A VCO of the Corps was allowed to maintain a special tunic his own horses, private servants and many other formalities deemed essential for the royalty. After the British Officers, they were the most powerful people respected by the Government, public, Mirs and Rajas equally. As such they were highly rank-conscious, which in fact became the basis of the Freedom Movement.

C.C. Trench gives details of their equipment and training:

The Scouts were armed with .303 SMLE rifles and a few Vickers guns for post-defence. The summer uniform was the same as that of the South Waziristan Scouts — grey mazri shirt, Khaki shorts and hose-tops, bandoliers and Chaplis. But instead of the Safa, they wore the Koi, resembling

a rather baggy, rolled cap-comforter made of brown goat-wool, worn throughout the Pamirs and Hindu Kush, used also as a receptacle for cigarettes and money. On ceremonial parades the Koi was of white wool, real dandies wearing Kois made of the soft belly wool of the ibex. In winter they wore warm woollen plus-fours, grey woollen shirt and Khaki sweater. The ibex-head badge of the Gilgit Scouts was worn on the Koi, backed by a coloured cloth strip one and a half inches wide, green for the Hunza Platoons, red for Nagar, Yellow for Punial and so on. They used flag and helio signals. <sup>132</sup>

It may be noted again that the corps of Gilgit Scouts was raised by the British, paid by the British Indian Government and commanded by the British Officers. With the withdrawal of the Kashmir State forces from the Agency in 1935, the Scouts provided the main source of guarantee of the British authority there. Their scale of salary was higher than that of the State forces. The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir had nothing to do with this Corps. The Maharaja thus practically lost all control over this area, except the so-called suzerainty which was nominal. This Corps not only served as front rank defence line of the Agency but also served as police guards against any internal trouble. The most important was the prestige that the Corps carried and alongwith its own loyalty carried the loyalty of the local Mirs and Rajas. This support, which the British got for the minimum price that they paid in terms of meagre salary, stood as a great strength of the British. The Corps had come to represent the united might of the socio-political force of the region. The British officers mixed freely with VCO's of the Corps and participated in all their sports and games. It was a unique bond of equal relationship that brought the Scouts closer to the British and alongwith them the local chieftains felt, as if, a sense of pride and prestige in sharing the defence of their land.

### **The End of the British Raj**

The end of the Second World War led to events which rolled up great empires and created a new spirit of enthusiasm for the liberation of the colonies. It was no longer possible for the victorious imperial powers to continue to hold under their subjection vast colonial people who had been groaning to free themselves from their shackles. The War had aroused many hopes and aspirations. The time had now come for their fulfilment. Pressed by these circumstances, the British decided to pack up from South Asia as it was beyond their power to hold it any longer. But handing over power was an uphill task. The political aspirations of the hetero-

geneity of people had to be satisfied. Political power had to be passed on to new political aspirants. The transfer had to be on the basis of the existing historical conditions. Such conditions were not easy to interpret. The Labour Government of Great Britain were in a hurry to hand over power to the political representatives of the peoples in South Asia. The question of Gilgit Agency was a small item in this vast game of transfer of power. There were no political parties in that area. So far the British Government had kept that area as a special reserve of the Crown Representative. The general will of the people was represented by the chieftains and their loyalty was guaranteed by the Gilgit Scouts. Should the territory be handed over back to these Chieftains when the British quit? But formally the area was under the suzerainty of the State of Jammu and Kashmir although the territory fell outside the boundary of the State, except the leased area that was given by 1935 Agreement.

What went on behind the scene is not fully known. How was the question of Gilgit Agency to be solved completely was never considered from the angle of the local inhabitants. All importance was given to the Lease Agreement of 1935 and the Government opinion was:

"Passes to Gilgit are only open during the summer months and Political Department therefore propose that the agreement should be terminated during September 1947 thus enabling the Crown Representative's establishment which includes two Political officers to be removed before termination of paramountcy and giving Kashmir Government opportunity to make suitable alternative arrangements for administration of the area. 133

This suggestion gave no consideration to the interest of the local people. The officials were worried only for the safe return of the British officials and to fulfil their obligation to the Maharaja of Kashmir by complying to his interests before the Paramountcy lapses. Hence they were eager to abrogate the Agreement and see that Kashmir Government was in a position to make suitable administrative arrangements. The officials forgot that the Agreement was only for the Gilgit Wazarat and not for the other parts of the Agency. When they talked of the withdrawal of the British officials, they cared two-pence for the local people, their interests and all the past history, by which the British had maintained that the Agency, outside the Wazarat, fell out of the territory of Kashmir. This entire history of the past was forgotten and they talked only of the "Gilgit subdivision." It is recorded:

"*Gilgit Subdivision* is at present administered by H.E. the Crown Representative under 60 years agreement made with Kashmir Government in 1935."<sup>134</sup>

Here the use of the phrase "Gilgit Subdivision" is used in an

entirely different sense. In the earlier section "Gilgit subdivision" was used only for the part of the Gilgit Wazarat which was leased in 1935. But here the same phrase is being used for the entire territory of the Gilgit Agency including the leased Wazarat. This change of the meaning is deliberate on the part of the officials who were eager to pull out their own men. Under the trick of this change the officials transpired to give the whole Agency to the Maharaja, with whom the Agreement was only for Gilgit Wazarat — a very small portion of the Agency. This was the greatest treachery which the British played on the local people of the Agency.

The second consideration of the British was "All India interests in the sphere of foreign relations and defence." The third paragraph of the Memorandum records:

Department of External Affairs and Defence Departments confirm that premature termination of agreement as proposed will not prejudice All India interests in the sphere of foreign relations and defence. But Nehru has suggested that the question of terminating the agreement be reconsidered next Spring when the nature of Kashmir relationship to the Union of India will be much clearer.

Here again the consideration that weighed with Mountbatten was the "All India interests", an issue which he discussed with Jawahar Lal Nehru, who was anxious to see that Kashmir's relation with All India Union was strengthened. Mountbatten never seems to have consulted Quaid-i-Azam M.A. Jinnah or Liaquat Ali Khan on this question. As long as he was satisfied that the question was not to be a hurdle in the process of transfer of power he was of the opinion to abrogate the lease as soon as possible and hand over the entire area to the Maharaja. It is not clear whether this was his personal opinion or the opinion suggested by the Political Department of the Government of India. He only took approval of the British Prime Minister "to terminate the agreement."

This misinterpretation of the 1935 Lease Agreement and handing over of the entire Gilgit Agency to the Maharaja were not free from trouble. In view of June 3, 1947 announcement of the final lapse of British Paramountcy the whole of Gilgit Agency was handed over to the representative of the Maharaja, Brigadier Ghansara Singh, who assumed charge of the area as governor on 1st August 1947 — a fortnight before the independence of Pakistan and India. This appointment of the Dogra cousin of the Maharaja as governor of Gilgit was made after Colonel Baldev Singh Pathania had apparently declined the offer but as we learn from Brigadier Ghansara Singh's own account,<sup>135</sup> his appointment was fraught with difficulties as he had no support from the then Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Ram Chandra Kak. The greatest trouble was created by the British themselves, who had given option to the

local civil and military officers to give their choice either for Pakistan or for India. As Ghansara Singh informs, they had all opted for Pakistan. Even after knowing the views of the local officers the British India Government decided to hand over the entire Agency to the Maharaja. But the safe transfer depended upon the loyalty of the Gilgit Scouts who formed the main military support to any future political change in the area. Their loyalty to the Maharaja was above suspicion. Hence alongwith the Governor the Sixth Jammu and Kashmir Battalion of the State Force, commanded by Lt. Col. A. Majeed, was moved to Bunji in order to give support to the newly appointed Governor. Thus a new military force was inducted into the area. At the same time the Maharaja had invited the Mirs of Hunza and Nagar and Raja of Puniyal to Srinagar for consultation and probably to sound a new note of advice or warning for towing the line of the State. What transpired is not definitely known because on such occasions it is diplomacy that plays the game. Whatever answer was given by these chieftains had hardly any relevance to the prevailing political atmosphere in the area, where the civil and military officers had opted for Pakistan. The British themselves created a situation which was not free from trouble. Brigadier Ghansara Singh had heard of these difficulties even when he was in Srinagar. He candidly admits the difficulties, both civil and military, in taking over charge as Governor of the area but being a brave soldier he went ahead to shoulder the responsibility and do his best to fulfil his duty. He reached Gilgit on 31st July 1947 by air alongwith Major General Scott, the Commander-in-Chief of the State Forces. His assumption of power as Governor of Gilgit brought an end to the British Raj and now it was open to the people of Gilgit whether to accept the authority of the Maharaja or to adhere to the option of Pakistan, for which their own officers had already given their choice.

So long the British maintained their paramountcy over Gilgit on the local military support of the Gilgit Scouts and by assuming the fiction of the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir over a territory of the Gilgit Agency, which, as the British all along maintained, fell outside the territorial boundary of the State. When the time of the transfer of power came in 1947, the British were good enough to ask the option of the local officers, both civil and military, and despite their choice for Pakistan, the British handed over the entire Agency to the Maharaja without ascertaining the opinion of the local people and also of the Maharaja whether he was joining Pakistan or not. The British transfer of power in Gilgit thus created an impasse which was the result of their own duplicity — a historic game of flasehood and treachery, which

they earlier played against the Maharaja and now towards the end of their imperial rule they perpetuated animosity in the hearts of the local people. The end of the British Raj sowed the seeds of future trouble in Gilgit.



**APPENDIX I TO CHAPTER VII  
BRITISH OFFICERS POSTED AT GILGIT**

| S.No. | Name of Officers Who Have Held Political Charge of The Gilgit Agency | Rank                         | FROM             | TO               |
|-------|--|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1.    | Lt. Col. J. Biddulph   | Officer On Special Duty      | 1878             | 1881             |
| 2.    | Lt. Col. A.G.A. Durand, C.B., C.I.E.                                 | British Agent.               | July 17th 1889.  | Nov. 1st 1893.   |
| 3.    | Col. A.Mc. C. Bruce.   | Officiating British Agent.   | Nov. 2nd 1893.   | Jan. 26th 1894.  |
| 4.    | Sir George Scott Robertson, KCSI, I.M.S.                             | British Agent.               | Jan. 27th 1894.  | Sept. 28th 1896. |
| 5.    | Lt. Col. S.H. Godfrey, C.I.E.  | British Agent.               | Sept. 29th 1896. | Aug. 13th 1897.  |
| 6.    | Col. Sir Henry Mc. Mahon, GCM, GCVO, CIE, C.S.I.                     | Political Agent.             | Aug. 14th 1897.  | Sept. 30th 1898. |
| 7.    | Col. J. Manners Smith, V.C., C.V.O., C.I.E.                          | Political Agent.             | Oct. 1st 1898.   | Oct. 21st 1901.  |
| 8.    | Maj. W.H.M.S. Stewart.   | Political Agent.             | Oct. 22nd 1901.  | Oct. 18th 1903.  |
| 9.    | Lt. Col. B.E.M. Gordon, C.I.E., D.S.O.                               | Political Agent.             | Oct. 19th 1903.  | Oct. 4th 1906.   |
| 10.   | Maj. A.F. Bruce.   | Political Agent.             | Oct. 15th 1906.  | April 1908.      |
| 11.   | Lt. Col. A.D. Macpherson, C.I.E.                                     | Officiating Political Agent. | April 1908.      | Aug. 1908.       |
| 12.   | Lt. Col. Sir Arnie Dew, KCIE, C.S.I.                                 | Political Agent.             | Aug. 27th 1908.  | May 29th 1911.   |
| 13.   | Lt. Col. A.D. Macpherson, C.I.E.                                     | Political Agent.             | May 30th 1911.   | Oct. 12th 1916.  |
| 14.   | Lt. Col. E.H.S. James, C.I.E., C.B.E.                                | Political Agent.             | Oct. 13th 1916.  | May 20th 1917.   |
| 15.   | Lt. Col. C.A. Smith, C.I.E.  | Political Agent.             | May 21st 1917.   | Sept. 22nd 1920. |

| <b>S.No.</b> | <b>Name of Officers Who Have Held Political charge of The Gilgit Agency</b> | <b>Rank</b>   | <b>FROM</b>      | <b>TO</b>        |
|--------------|---|---|------------------|------------------|
| 16.          | Lt Col. D.L.R. Lorimer, C.I.E.  | Political Agent.  | Sept. 23rd 1920. | Sept. 20th 1924. |
| 17.          | Lt. Col. Gordon Loch., C.I.E.   | Political Agent.  | Sept. 21st 1924. | Oct. 10th 1927.  |
| 18.          | H.J. Todd Esquire.  | Political Agent.  | Oct. 11th 1927.  | Sept. 28th 1931. |
| 19.          | Maj. G.V.B. Gillan, C.I.E.  | Political Agent.  | Sept. 29th 1931. | Sept. 21st 1934. |
| 20.          | Maj. G. Kirkbride.  | Political Agent.  | Sept. 22nd 1934. | Oct. 4th 1937.   |
| 21.          | Maj. I.W. Galbraith M.C., I.A.  | Political Agent.  | Oct. 5th 1937.   | June 13th 1939.  |
| 22.          | Capt. R.K.M. Batty, I.A.  | Officiating Political Agent.                                  | June 14th 1939.  | Oct. 2nd 1939.   |
| 23.          | Maj. G.C.L. Crichton  | Political Agent.  | Oct. 3rd 1939.   | July 8th 1942.   |
| 24.          | Maj. E.H. Cobb. O.B.E., I.A.  | Political Agent.  | July 8th 1942.   | Sept. 5th 1945.  |
| 25.          | Lt. Col. R.N. Bacon., O.B.E.  | Political Agent.  | Sept. 5th 1945.  | July 31st 1947.  |
| 26.          | Brig. Ghansara Singh (Governor)   | Representative of the Maharaja of State of Jammu and Kashmir. | Aug. 1st 1947.   | Nov. 1st 1947.   |

**APPENDIX I****APPENDIX II to CHAPER VII****SKARDU ADMINISTRATION****UNDER A KARDAR**

**Purag (Kargil) was under a Thanadar and included in this Kardari (Subdivision)**

1. Bhagwan Singh
2. Gosaun (later accepted Islam)
3. Karam Singh
4. Jawahar Singh
5. Kedaro (1852—1864)
6. Wazir Lakh Ju (1864—1876)
7. Mahatta Mangal Singh (1876—1886)
8. Thakur Ganga Singh
9. Rai Bahadur Pandit Randha Kishan Kaul
10. Lala Dhanpat Rai
11. Sayyid Ghulam Jilani Shah

**Under Wazir-i-Wazarat.**

In 1899 Baltistan, Ladakh and Gilgit Wazarat were merged into one "frontier district", of which Khan Bahadur Sardar Mohammad Akbar Khan was appointed Deputy Commissioner or Wazir-i-Wazarat. This was only for two years.

In 1901 The district of Ladakh was established, which incorporated Skardu, Kargil and Layya tehsils. At this time the areas of Gultari and from Pari to Kharol were included in Kargil tehsil. From this time Skardu became the winter headquarter of the district of Ladakh.

The following Deputy Commissioners were appointed in Skardu.

12. Chaudhuri Khush Mohammad Nazir
13. Alhaj Maulvi Hashmatullah Khan
14. Lala Bansi Lal

15. Wazir Firoz Chand
16. Lala Sri Ram
17. Pandit Niranjali Lal
18. Kotwal Tejram
19. Rao Ratan Singh
20. Chaudhuri Faizullah Khan
21. Thakur Dhruv Singh
22. Lala Ramesh Chandra
23. Pandit Bishambar Nath Jyotshi (1947).
24. Wazir Wazarat Lala Amarnath 1947 — Feb. 1948.  
Killed by Sarfaraz Khan Spoy.

## FOOTNOTES

1. For full documentation see M.L. Kapur, *Kashmir Sold and Snatched*, Jammu, 1968, where he brings out the role of the British in the game of Kashmir.
2. For detail see M.L. Kapur, *History of Jammu and Kashmir State*, Jammu, 1980. Here the author builds the entire material to show how Gulab Singh was drawn towards the British for their own interests and the British encouraged him and ultimately supported him in his ambition. See chapter ten onwards.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 57—58. Dr. Kapur details the attempt made by the British to divert the shawl wool trade from Ladakh and Tibet into British India. Was this diversion the cause of Gulab Singh's attack on Ladakh with tacit approval of Ranjit Singh?
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 60—61.
5. Charles Marvin, *The Russians Advance Towards India*, Peshawar Reprint, 1984, Chapter XII.
6. H.H. Wilson, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and The Punjab from 1819 to 1825* by William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, first published, London 1841, Karachi Reprint, 1979, Vol. I, pp. 358—59 (henceforward referred to as *Travels of Moorcroft*).
7. G.T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo*, London, 1842.
8. John Wood, *A Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Source of the River Oxus, by the Route of the Indus, Kabul, and Badakhshan*, London, 1841.
9. Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 418—421.
10. M.L. Kapur, *History of Jammu and Kashmir State*, Jammu, 1980, p. 58.
11. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Oxford, 1977, Vol. I, pp. 279—280.
12. A. Cunningham, *Ladak*, New Delhi Reprint, 1977, p. 330.
13. A.H. Francke, *A History of Western Tibet*, London, 1842, pp. 147—148.
14. A. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 338, footnote.
15. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 513.
16. G.T. Vigne, *op.cit.*, pp. 255—56.
17. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 513—14.
18. M.L. Kapur, *History of Jammu and Kashmir State*, p. 77, relying on J.D. Cunningham, *History of The Sikhs*, Reprint, 1966, pp. 217—18.
19. Frederic Drew, *The Northern Barrier of India*, pp. 182—183.
20. Dr. Leitner speaks of Mohammad Khan II only in 1849. Until this time he talks of Karim Khan. Mohammad Khan II is said to have been ruling in 1858 while according to Shah Rais Khan he was long dead.
21. A. Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 345.
22. A.H. Francke, *op.cit.*, p. 155.
23. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 582—583 (translated).
24. This terminology has been rightly used by Mohan Krishen Teng, Ram Krishen Kaul Bhatt and Santosh Kaul in their book *Kashmir: Constitutional History and Documents*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 10.

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25. Mr. Abdul Hamid Khawar, *op.cit.*, pp. 219—20.
26. Alexander Cunningham, *op.cit.*, p. 350. Cunningham makes Zorawar Singh suffer defeat at the hands of the Chinese army. See also A.H. Francke, *op.cit.*, pp. 163—165.
27. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 361—379.
28. A.H. Francke, *op.cit.*, p. 168.
29. Dr. Leitner, *op.cit.*, p. 88.
30. See *op.cit.*, pp. 692—693.
31. Frederic Drew, *op.cit.*, p. 184.
32. Frederic Drew, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, Karachi, Reprint, 1980, pp. 439—440.
  
33. J. Biddulph, *op.cit.*, p. 8.
34. Dr. Leitner, *op.cit.*, p. 71.
35. A military post was then technically known as *Thana* and its commandant was called *Thanadar*.
36. *The Northern Barrier of India*, pp. 186—88.
37. Dr. Leitner, *op.cit.*, pp. 72—73.
38. *The Northern Barrier of India*, p. 191.
39. *Tarikh-i-Chitral*, pp. 123—126.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.
42. For these negotiations see M.L. Kapur, *Kashmir Sold and Snatched*, pp. 76—87.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 79—80.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 88. This way of description is actually based on what was then being written by British i.e. see Sir George S. Robertson, *Chitral: The Story of a Minor Siege*, first printed London 1898, Karachi Reprint, 1977, p. 26, where the author says: "an agreement was made between the two states, which served to protect Chitral, although Kashmir obtained no advantage, except that honour of being recognised as the Suzerain of the Mehtar." For this last assumption there is no proof. The same mistake is committed by Col. A. Durand, *The Making of a Frontier*, Karachi Reprint, 1977, p. 74.
47. A Durand, *op.cit.*, p. 75.
48. *Kashmir Sold and Snatched*, pp. 89—90.
49. Hashmatullah Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 708.
50. A. Durand, *op.cit.*, Chapters IX and X.
51. E.F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, Karachi Reprint, 1980 Chapters XVIII — XXIII:
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 126—27.
53. Durand, *op.cit.*, p. 274.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 277—78.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 269—70.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 283.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 286—287.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 290.
59. Captain H.L. Nevill, *Campaigns on the North-West Frontier*, Lahore Reprint, 1977 Chapter XII; H.C. Thompson, *A Narrative of Events in Chitral, Swat and Bajour, Chitral Campaign*, Lahore Reprint, 1981 Chapter I, pp. 3—5; Sir George S. Robertson, *Chitral; The Story of a Minor Siege*,

- Oxford Reprint, 1977. Chapter V.
60. *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. VIII—IX.
  61. *Ibid.*, p. viii.
  62. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
  63. John Biddulph, *Tribes of Hindoo Koosh*, p. 62.
  64. *A Narrative of Events in Chitral, Swat and Bajour: Chitral Campaign*, p. 2.
  65. *Campaign On the North-West Frontier*, p. 164.
  66. *Tarikh-i-Chitral*, p. 128.
  67. Sukhdeva Singh Cherak (tr. by), *Gulabnama* of Diwan Kirpa Ram, pp. 212—213.
  68. Lahore Reprint, 1978. p. 105.
  69. *Kardar* is the actual word used by Hashmatullah Khan. He also calls them *Hakim* but earlier he talks of *thanadar*. The most important man appointed here was Kedaru, who is called *thanadar*. It seems that Hashmatullah Khan has not been very careful in using the terms. Rightly speaking, the man-in-charge was called *thanadar* as he was to look after the *thana* (i.e. military post).
  70. *Kashmir, Constitutional History and Documents*, pp. 5—7. For complete treaty see *Gulabnama* of Diwan Kirpa Ram, translated by Sukhdev Singh Cherak, Delhi, 1977.
  71. *Ibid.*, p. 386.
  72. *Ibid.*, p. 388.
  73. Hashmatullah Khan, pp. 702—703.
  74. A. Durand, *op.cit.*, p. 283.
  75. I.O.R. R/2 (1079/249).
  76. *The Northern Barrier of India*, p. 165.
  77. *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 457—58.
  78. I.O.R. R/2 (1063/25).
  79. M.L. Kapur, *op.cit.*, pp. 73—74.
  80. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
  81. I.O.R. R/2 (1086/299), p. 12.
  82. *Op.cit.*, Pt. IV. Chapter 3.
  83. M.L. Kapur, *op.cit.*, pp. 89—90.
  84. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
  85. See *ibid.*, pt. VI, Chapter 2.
  86. A. Durand, *The Making of a Frontier*, pp. 119—120.
  87. Letter no. F. 103/27, dated 12th Jan. 1928. I.O.R. R/2 (1067/93).
  88. I.O.R. R/2 (1086/299), p. 12.
  89. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Kashmir and Jammu*, Lahore reprint, 1978, pp. 105—106. (originally printed in 1909).
  90. *Ibid.*, pp. 110—111.
  91. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
  92. D.O. No. D. 1324. Fed—I/38 from Political Department, New Delhi, 21 November, 1938, R/2 (1086/299).
  93. Letter no. 202—S of 1935 dated 22nd Nov. 1935 from P.A. Gilgit.
  94. Letter no. 933, dated Gilgit, the 10th May 1898. R/2 (1079/253).
  95. *Ibid.*, Paragraph 9.
  96. I.O.R. R/2 (1086/299).
  97. Appendix to R.C. Kak's note R/2 (1086/299).
  98. I.O.R. R/2 (1071/140). Letter no. 202—S of 1935 dated 22nd Nov. 1935.
  99. R/2 (1080/264). Letter no. 72—G dated 22nd June 1915 from Resident

in Kashmir to Foreign Secretary Simla.

100. I.O.R. R/2 (1071/160).
101. I.O.R. R/2 (1085/297).
102. I.O.R. R/2 (1066/72).
103. *Ibid.*
104. I.O.R. R/2 (1079/250), letter no. 1832/375 dated 30th August, 1892.
105. I.O.R. R/2/1081/260.
106. I.O.R. R/2 (1080/261), no. 649—G, dated 12th Aug. 1912.
107. I.O.R. R/2 (1080/259), dated 25 May, 1911.
108. I.O.R. R/2/1079/255.
109. A. Durand, *op.cit.*, p. 226.
110. Letter no. PB. 356—C/D.O. dated 7 September 1934.
111. See M.K. Teng, R.K. Kaul Bhatt and Santosh Kaul, *Kashmir: Constitutional History and Documents*, New Delhi, 1977, Chapter 2.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
113. *A History of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1962, pp. 662—668.
114. Compare letter no. D-523. C/40 dated 7th April 1940 from Sir Olaf Caroe, Secretary to the Government of India, External Affairs Department to Political Agent, Gilgit.
115. G.L. Kaul, *Kashmir through the Ages*, Srinagar, 1963, p. 210—11.
116. I.O.R. R/2/1084/290—291.
117. I.O.R. R/2/1085 letter no. 36 dated 2nd Feb. 1937 from Political Agent, Gilgit to Resident in Kashmir.
118. I.O.R. R/2 (1086/301) letter no. DOF 573-X/39 dated 7th March 1940 to Resident in Kashmir.
119. Letter no. F28—C/40 dated 20th September 1940.
120. I.O.R. File no. 25—C(2)138 of the year 1938 from Kashmir Residency office preserves all the relevant papers as cited here.
121. D.O. No. F.25-C/38, dated 30th September 1938.
122. D.O. no. D-192-C/38, dated 31st October 1938.
123. D.O. no. D.224-C/38, dated 14th November 1938.
124. D.O. no. D.1324-Fed-I/38, dated 21st November, 1938.
125. D.O. no. PB-319/39, dated 27th July, 1939.
126. F. 25-C(2)/38, dated 31st August, 1939.
127. Durand, *op.cit.*, p. 116.
128. *Ibid.*, p. 120.
129. I am grateful to Group Captain (retired) Shah Khan for lending to me his unpublished manuscript on *History of Liberation Struggle*. Much of the material on the Scouts is based on this manuscript.
130. C.C. Trench, *The Frontier Scouts*, London, 1985, p. 13.
131. *Ibid.*, p. 210.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 209.
133. Nicholas Mansergh (Chief Editor) and Penderel Moon (Editor), *The Transfer of Power, 1942—1947*, London, 1983, Vol. X, p. 485.
134. *Ibid.*, Paragraph 1, No. 254 paragraph 2.
135. Brigadier Ghansara Singh, *Gilgit before 1947*, (Urdu Trans. by Sher Baz Ali Khan Boroha, Rawalpindi, 1986, Chapter IV.



## VIII

**STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM  
(1947 – 1948)**

**THE SOURCES AND THEIR VARIANT  
INTERPRETATIONS**

Gilgit freedom struggle (pl. 57) was an independent affair, though influenced by the then political currents in South Asia but fought separately and almost independently by its own people and military men posted there. Although Kashmir State Force's men, then on duty in Gilgit-Bunji (mainly some Muslim officers), played the leadership role, yet the struggle was not a part of Kashmir Campaign, as is generally treated both by Pakistani<sup>1</sup> and Indian<sup>2</sup> narrators. The State army officers were certainly motivated by an over-all Muslim demand in the State of Jammu and Kashmir yet because of local geographic factors, their activity was limited to the Northern Areas. In this limited activity they had full support of Gilgit Scouts and of the local people, whatever little political emotion was then aroused by the general idea of the coming independence. The involvement of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir was also of a different kind. While in the valley he was well established, Gilgit was only a frontier district just handed over by the British. Hence the Maharaja had to re-establish his authority, both civil and military, in this part. How he could turn his age-old suzerainty into a real paramount power over the local Rajas and tribal people of the region after the lapse of the British Sovereignty, was a big issue. The transition can now be better understood in the account<sup>3</sup> of Brigadier Ghansara Singh, the last governor of the Maharaja in Gilgit. The account makes it clear that the governor did not get sufficient support from Kashmir authorities to consolidate his authority. His clear evidence<sup>4</sup> that the local Gilgit Scouts and Muslim Civil officers had all opted for Pakistan even before his arrival and non-cooperation of the Civil Officers after his arrival should discard the opinion that Pakistan motivation was imported from outside, encouraged only by "a group of Kashmiri State army officers" and fought out only by them.<sup>5</sup> Hence to regard this

struggle as *Baghawat* (rebellion), as is maintained by these army officers is a misnomer. It was also not an *inqilab* (revolution), as is sometimes referred to by these army officers,<sup>6</sup> who like to take the whole credit to themselves. There was certainly no peoples' movement in the region as no political party was allowed here. Hence there was no organised public expression but public sentiment and public morale for Pakistan were very intense, as is evidenced in the accounts of Lt. Col. Haidar<sup>7</sup> and Col. Hasan<sup>8</sup> although Col. Hasan had a dislike for peoples' participation in the struggle.

The Maharaja believed that the loyalty of the local Rajas to him would guarantee his authority here. Hence he invited the Mirs of Hunza and Nagar and the Raja of Punial to Srinagar and they apparently gave their diplomatic loyalty.<sup>9</sup> The same procedure was adopted by Brigadier Ghansara Singh, who in his letter,<sup>10</sup> wishfully said that the Rajas were for the Maharaja, except the Mihtar of Chitral who avowedly declared for Pakistan.<sup>11</sup> According to Col. Hasan<sup>12</sup> the Raja of Punial even came to defend Brigadier Ghansara Singh with his body-guards. According to this way of presentation the Rajas were all for accepting the will of the Maharaja whatever he decided i.e. either to join Pakistan or to go for India. This opinion hardly stands to reason when we remember that the men of the Gilgit Scouts who hailed from these States and their officers, who were close relatives of the Mirs and Rajas, had all opted for Pakistan. On the other hand none of these Rajas and Mirs, except perhaps Raja of Punial and that also half-heartedly, came to defend the Maharaja's authority when it was in peril. Hence the action of the Mirs was more politic than real. They were not against Pakistan even though they might not have dared to speak out openly for it. If they had all combined to defend the Maharaja, the Gilgit Scouts would not have gone against them nor even the combined strength of the State Forces' officers posted in Gilgit-Bunji, would have scored a victory. Even their indifference was a great boon of support for the freedom struggle. This attitude suggests how thin was the rope of suzerainty that the British tried to maintain for the Maharaja over the local Mirs and Rajas. When time was ripe, they all manouvred to assert their power. The same was also the case with the Mihtar of Chitral who wished to extend his control over Yasin and even Punial, if possible. This was not enough. As we learn from Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar,<sup>13</sup> Shah Rais Khan of Gilgit tried his level best to establish himself as the Raja of Gilgit. All these moves suggest that the Rajas and Mirs had their own game of reviving their older power struggle and to re-establish the status of their royal families. Unfortunately the only source for this point of view is what has been written from the side of Chitral ruler.<sup>14</sup>

Both Col. Hasan and Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar disparage

peoples' role in the struggle and do not like to give any recognition to their part. For them they were "rif-rafs." There was certainly no organisation of the people. At best they could raise slogans or express their mob-fury. Whatever sentimental attachment for Pakistan they had, was not a later concoction, as is held by some persons. Shah Rais Khan, whatever poor leadership he was as the first President of the Azad Government in Gilgit after the overthrow of the Maharaja's governor, proves the role of the people who had tacit belief in the prestige of the old royal families. In addition to this, the very fact that the people were taken into confidence and they were addressed by the ring leaders again proves the power of the people. Several articles are available from his angle.<sup>15</sup>

It is again very difficult to decide about the comparative parts played by the Kashmir State force placed in Bunji and the Gilgit Scouts holding power base in Gilgit, Chilas and Gupis. It is certain that if either of them had been loyal to the Maharaja the freedom struggle would have hardly led to so easy a success. It is the combined strength of both that conclusively decided the issue. As originally planned, the Gilgit Scouts were to topple the last governor of the Maharaja in Gilgit and later to succour help to Col. Hasan Khan in Bunji in his fight against the Hindu and Dogra Companies. As things turned, Col. Hasan Khan left Bunji with his company for Gilgit, left his men at Bhup Singh Ki Pari under the Command of Subedar Safiullah Beg, as Col. Hasan himself writes and he alone rode to Gilgit to see the result of the seige of the Governor's banglow by the Scouts. As we are told, the Chilas Scouts came to Jaglot, killed the Hindu platoon posted there, burned Ramghat Bridge and Pratap Bridge. Their burning was taken to be an attack by the tribals which caused terror in the heart of Dogra and Hindu forces in Bunji. As a result they fled for their lives. leaving all their ammunicions behind. The credit for spreading the terror psychology is taken by Major Mohammad Khan Jarral.<sup>16</sup> So far the Muslim Companies of the state forces had no chance to fight. Later when the Battalion Commander Lt. Col. Ahdul Majeed and Major Ehsan Ali were on their way to Gilgit, they were again captured by the section of the Gilgit Scouts who were sent to Bhup Singh Ki Pari under the Command of Subedar Safiullah Beg. Even Brigadier Ghansara Singh was brought out from the banglow by Subedar Shah Sultan of the Gilgit Scouts. Thus ended the first stage of the struggle when the Maharaja's government was toppled in Gilgit and the army posted by him in Bunji became confused and dispersed. On the actual execution of the task it is the Gilgit Scouts that carried out the entire show.

Who should be given the credit for achieving this success? The

group of four army officers of the Kashmir State forces, viz. Col. Hasan, Col. Sayid Durrani, Major Mohammad Khan JarraI and Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar Khan, claim the exclusive monopoly for themselves to bring about this success under the leadership of Col. Hasan Khan, who, on his part, claims to have planned the whole thing and issued commands from time to time for the execution of different tasks. Although the main plan changed even on the last day, with Col. Hasan arriving at Pari Bangla with his company in place of the Dogra Company under Captain Baldeo Singh and the Chilas Scouts burning the bridges without any order from above, the successful show is credited to one man.

The humble Gilgit Scouts had no historian to write their part of the account as none of them were as highly educated as the "group of State Army Officers". It is indirectly that we learn about the activities of Subedar Major Babar Khan, the local head of the Scouts and his participant colleagues, Subedar Safiullah Beg (Hunza), Jamadar Fida Ali (Hunza), Jamadar Sultan Firoz Sufi (Nagir) Jamadar Shah Sultan (Nagir), and Jamadar (later Gr. Capt.) Shah Khan (Hunza) who vouched to fight for the cause, the occasional meetings that Babar Khan held in the darkness of the night with his colleagues, the liason that he maintained with the people of Gilgit, the contact that he kept up with the Scouts in Chilas and Gupis. Whatever role the Scouts played, is downgraded by the State Army officers. On the other hand credit is given to the British head of the Gilgit Scouts. Mr Mahajan<sup>17</sup> writes: "Brigadier Ghansara Singh was appointed the Governor. But no body thought of retiring the British officers of Gilgit Scouts, the local militia. *At the Officer's behest*, the Gilgit Scouts arrested the Governor, a few Hindu and Sikh soldiers and raised Pak flag." About Major William Brown, C.C. Trench<sup>18</sup> observes:

The fate of Gilgit appears to rest with Major William Brown, ... all that could be ascertained was that Brown was aged twenty-four ... who had served briefly in the Chitral and Tochi Scouts and three years in the Gilgit Scouts. A very tall, lean, dark Scout, with a horseman's stoop Willie Brown accepted with alacrity because he liked the life in Gilgit, liked the people and felt that the influence of an experienced British officer would have a steadying effect during the transition.<sup>19</sup>

Brown continued to hold the Command of the Gilgit Scouts even though more experienced Kashmir State military officer Captian Sayid Durrani was sent alongwith the Maharaja's governor, Brigadier Ghansara Singh. The result was a tussel between Brown and Durrani and the latter posted out first in Chilas and then at Kalandarchi. It will be later seen how Brown used his shrewd skill in winning the favour of Ghansara Singh and after the Gilgit revolution even of the Pakistani Political Agent and at the same time not only managed his own release from arrest<sup>19a</sup> by Gilgit Scouts

but also became an adviser to the new Azad Government that was established in Gilgit on 1st November 1947. According to Col. Hasan there also developed bad feeling between Brown and Babar and Brown tried hard to transfer Babar but he did not succeed. As we are told, on the day of revolution, i.e. 31st October 1947, Brown was kept confined in a room but owing to Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar's pleading<sup>20</sup> he was released.

There was certainly no political party worth the name in this area before 1947 because that was not allowed but there is little doubt that people's sentiments were aroused for Pakistan as the day of independence was drawing near. The very fact that the civil and military officers of Gilgit Agency had opted for Pakistan reveals the first expression of the local feeling. However, there was no organised institution to achieve the desired goal except through the Gilgit Scouts or through the local Rajas but the Rajas played a deliberate diplomatic game except the Mehtar of Chitral who was out and out for Pakistan.<sup>21</sup> Chitral sources are plentiful that throw light on the role of the Chitral ruler and Chitral Scouts. On the other hand there are several names of the general public, besides Shah Rais Khan, who came out as playing one or the other role in pushing the cause of the revolution. Some are school teachers, some are businessmen, such as Mohammad Ali Barbari, and some others, such as Amir Jahandar Shah who volunteered to take message and communicate with either military officers or even with Pakistan. These individual volunteers must have been taken into confidence for such work although Col. Hasan in his account attaches no importance to them except the role played by Mohammad Ali Zāwar who on the day of revolution carried message from Babar to Col. Hasan and back to him.

In these variant interpretations the importance is given to one or the other person but the truth lies somewhere in between. All of them must have played some role to achieve the independence of Gilgit but the independence was not something which was offered on a plate to the local people. There was a general demand by the people to join with Pakistan but they had no means to achieve it except through Gilgit Scouts and the Muslim Company of the Kashmir State forces posted here, who all combined to throw off the Maharaja's government here, opt for an Azad Government and elect Shah Rais Khan as its President.

Many recent accounts of the struggle, some published and some unpublished, are today available. Almost all of them deal with the military campaigns of 1947—48, mostly written by ex-Pakistani military officers in their private capacity. Among these the most important is that by Col. Hasan Khan Rono, the main mover and one of the architects of the struggle. The account is a sort of his

own memoir with some historical notices. The second is the "Study of Liberation" by Group Captain Shah Khan, who was himself a participant in the struggle. His account also included his memoir. The articles appearing in the weekly magazine *Bebak* (now defunct) present three different roles of Col. Hasan, Subedar-Major Babar and Shah Rais Khan. Still more important is the diary maintained by Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar, the Chief Officer posted in Gilgit Scouts when the battle of freedom was fought there. His diary maintains the details relating to military affairs of the capture of Gilgit and of the provisional government set up in Gilgit soon after. The first major effort to write the military history of the period was undertaken by Major Sikandar Khan, who wrote under the title of *Liberation of Northern Areas (Gilgit and Baltistan)*.<sup>22</sup> He presented the account from a Pakistani Muslim angle. But the official military history is published under the title of "The Kashmir Campaign, 1947-1948."<sup>23</sup> In the meanwhile two comprehensive works have been published: (1) *Baltistan par Ek Nazr*<sup>24</sup> and (2) several articles in the book *Karakorum-Hindu Kush*.<sup>25</sup> While the first takes into account the role of the people, the second limits itself to narration of military events and hence largely depends upon the opinion of military officers. In this second work the article by Manzoom Ali himself draws together the materials around the personality of Col. Hasan who is brought out as the hero of the struggle. It seems that all these Pakistani sources are not available in India. The account of Brigadier Ghansara Singh makes a poor reading as far as history is concerned. His own memoir leaves much to be desired. The book by F.M. Hassnain<sup>26</sup> exclusively relies on Kashmir State papers and does not refer at all to British records preserved in the India Office. His account of the Gilgit struggle is based on hearsay. The book by S. Kumar Mahajan<sup>27</sup> makes a good corrective of the Pakistani military account but it concerns only with post-Gilgit struggle. Thus the story of Gilgit struggle, 1947-48, is not so easy to reconstruct as some of the actors are still alive and interviews with them present a hyperbolic account of their own personal part in the struggle.<sup>28</sup>

### Preparation and Defence by the Maharaja

F.M. Hassnain<sup>29</sup> gives detail of the administrative set-up in this region. Until 1901 there was a combined *Wazarat of the Frontier District* — the political term applied to this region in Kashmir. In this year this was split into the two *Wazarats* of Gilgit and Ladakh. The Gilgit *Wazarat* comprised the territory included in Gilgit and Astor *Tehsils* and the *Niabat* at Bunji, the latter also

included the tract of Harmaush. Ghizar was incorporated in the Governorship of Yasin and Kuh. The jurisdiction of these tracts was given to the Political Agent, Gilgit and his Assistants in Chilas, Ghizar, Kuh., Yasin and Ishkoman. Thus "the only portion of the Gilgit Agency, which was to remain under the direct control of the State were the Tehsils of Gilgit and Astor and the *Niabat* of Bunji."<sup>30</sup> The position as it stood in the Agency before 1935 Agreement is summed up below:

The Khushwaqt districts of Yasin, Kuh, Ghizr and Ishkoman, though under separate Governors were administered by the Political Agent, Gilgit. In 1896, Ishkoman had been separated from Yasin and placed under a separate Governor. Subsequently, Ghizr which had a separate Governor upto the year 1905 was included in the Governorship of Yasin and Kuh. But in 1912, the Governorship of these three States was again broken up into the Governorships of Yasin, Ghizr and Kuh. Later on, Chilas was also made a sub-division of the Political Agency and placed under the Assistant to the Political Agent. The States of Hunza and Nagar, which were governed by the Mirs were kept under the political control of the Agent in Gilgit. Puniyal, which was considered to be a part of the *Maharaja's* territory was included in the political district in 1908 and was also placed under the control of the Political Agent, Gilgit. The net result was that the Political districts, in the words of the *Wazir* of Gilgit, 'became a sort of forbidden territory, where no State official could ever go and the public forgot the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir.' As time passed on, the State Government ceased to exercise any control over the region. <sup>31</sup>

As regards Chitral was concerned, the Old Agreement of 2nd April 1914 still held good but with the accession of His Highness Mohammad Nasir-ul-Mulk as *Mehtar* of Chitral in 1936, was to be reconsidered. F.M. Hassnain sums up: "A new agreement was entered into with the Mehtar of Chitral embodying the provisions that the British Government in India will pay him an annual subsidy of Rs. 28,000/- and the Jammu and Kashmir State an annual subsidy of Rs. 8,000. The British Government of India thus made the *Mehtar* an important person among the ruling chiefs of India. He was also encouraged to pay royal visits to the Nizam of Hyderabad and other native States in India and many receptions were held in his honour. This treatment naturally went into his head and he began to think of having new treaty relations with the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and that too on equal grounds."<sup>32</sup> In 1939 when the Mehtar visited Kashmir, F.M. Hassnain notes:

He (*Mehtar*) referred to the fact that Maharaja Ranbir Singh had made over the districts of Yasin, Ishkoman and Ghizr to one of his predecessors as a gift, in consideration of the help, the late *Mehtar* and his troops had rendered in suppressing disorders in the Gilgit area. Of the districts made over to him, only part had been restored to him and the other were retained in the Gilgit Agency. He went on to suggest that for his understanding to help, in suppression of disorders and disturbances in the Gilgit area, the Maharaja should pay him annually the subsidy, which

they originally used to pay. He further pointed out that he would have to maintain troops for the purpose of discharging his obligations and as such, it would be necessary to enhance the amount of the subsidy. From the above, it is clear, that the *Mehtar* demanded remuneration for extending help to the *Maharaja* in the maintenance of law and order there. The *Mehtar* pointed out that in view of his enhanced status, as he had a salute of 11 guns and possessed that hereditary title of His Highness, the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir should treat him as his equal and future agreements should be made from that position. 33

However, as the Gilgit Wazarat had been given on lease to Government of India in 1935 and because of the outbreak of War in September 1939, new agreement could not be executed. The claim of the *Mehtar* of Chitral to a part of the territory leased out to the British still held good and that became the bone of contention in the Gilgit Struggle 1947–1948.

F.M. Hassnain fails to note the exact territory leased out to the British Government according to the Agreement of 1935. Article I speaks of

the Civil and Military administration of so much of the *Wazarat of Gilgit Province* (hereinafter referred to as the 'said territory') of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and lies beyond the right bank of the river Indus." Even then he writes: "With the termination of the 1935 lease and lapse of paramountcy, the entire territory whether forming part of the *Gilgit Wazarat* or of the *Gilgit Agency* was to come under the control of the *Maharaja*, the *Wazarat* portion completely as before and the *Agency* portion through the direct establishment of relationship with the *Mirs* and *Chiefs* concerned. 34

No reason has been given as to why the entire territory would revert to the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir. On the other hand it is stated:

The State Government started hastily, discussions on the issues involved in the transfer. It was argued that previous to the lease, the *Gilgit Wazarat* was practically of the same status as other *Wazarats* in the State, and it consisted of the *Gilgit Tehsil* and *Astor Niabat*. After the return of the trans-Indus territory of the State and the consequential effects of the lapse of paramountcy, this frontier could not be treated on its former footing. In view of its great importance and of the direct responsibility that the State Government will have in future, for its administration and for maintaining relationships with the *Mirs* and *Chiefs*, this part of the State territory required to be treated as a Governor's province and called the frontier province. It was felt that the State Government may adjust the present administrative machinery set-up by the British Government and make only such changes as may be necessary .... It was also agreed to take over the entire Scouts Force and to absorb all the employees serving in Gilgit, who may elect to come over under the State regulations 35

Such wishful thinking on the part of the State was presumptuous as we will soon see in view of the fact that all military and civil officers in Gilgit had opted for Pakistan.

The position of Baltistan was different,<sup>36</sup> In 1840 when the Dogras occupied Baltistan, they turned it into a subdivision (*Kar-*



*dari*) with a *Kardar* posted at Skardu. Purik was included in this subdivision with a *Thanadar* posted at Kargil. In 1899 Baltistan became a part of the frontier district. In 1901 a separate district of Ladakh was established. Baltistan was incorporated in it. Skardu became the winter capital of this district and placed under a Wazir-i-Wazarat. This district had three Tehsils-Laiyya, Kargil and Skardu. The Wazir-i-Wazarat stayed six months in Skardu, three months in Kargil and three months in Laiyya. He held the rank of Collector, district magistrate, district judge, Session judge and Superintendent of Police — all rolled into one. In fact he represented the Maharaja here and was given a salute of 7 guns. After Dogra occupation one hundred soldiers were posted here. After the freedom struggle of 1842 the number was increased to 300. Later from 1899 onward only one platoon with 50 men under a Major or Captain was posted here. In Kharpocha fort 11 men manned two guns.

In the second part of his book, Ghansara Singh<sup>37</sup> tells the story of his appointment as Governor of Gilgit by the Maharaja himself against the wishes of Ram Chandra Kak, the then Prime Minister of the State. Before this appointment he was Brigadier-General staff in the State. The Brigadier desired to get rid of the British officers posted in Command over the Gilgit Scouts but no decision was taken. It was left to Major-General Scott, the Commander-in-Chief of the State Forces, who was to accompany the Brigadier to Gilgit. He was to leave Gilgit on 21 July 1947 but there was no plane available. He could reach Gilgit only on 31 July 1947. Before leaving for Gilgit he learnt from the Political Department that all the officers serving under the British had opted for Pakistan. The State had nominated the civil officers of their own but they had yet to join. He was, however, informed that Shri Shah Deva Singh, being relieved from *Laiyya*, would join him as Tehsildar of Gilgit. Lala Hansa Raj was also sent as a medical officer. One important information that he obtained from Shyam Lal, the Political Secretary, was that the men of Gilgit Scouts and those serving in Civil officers had opted to go out of the State service and they had taken the travelling allowance in advance. However, the Brigadier himself had ordered Raja Nur Ali Khan, the revenue assistant posted in Astor, and Capt. Durga Singh, the Commander of the 5th Jammu and Kashmir Company, posted at Rattu, to report to him in Gilgit before 1st August 1947. In the evening of 30th July Subedar-Major Babar and other Junior Commissioned Officers of Gilgit Scouts came to see him and the Commander-in-Chief and explicitly told that they had all opted for Pakistan. However, they presented the following twelve demands (See below) to serve the State. Next day all the Civil Officers came to see him and said that they had decided to serve Pakistan. If their pay should be increased,

they should serve the State but in the meanwhile they stopped working in the offices with few exceptions of those who were non-locals. This information of Brigadier Ghansara Singh makes the whole issue straight and testifies to the feeling of the local people for Pakistan. It disposes of the idea propagated by the Kashmir State Army Muslim officer group that Pakistan idea was initiated by them in this part.

## PETITION OF GILGIT SCOUTS

TO

His Highness The Maharaja Bahadur of Jammu & Kashmir

Thro: Chief of the Military Staff  
Camp Gilgit.

May it please your Highness,

Most respectfully we the Corps of Gilgit Scouts beg leave to submit the following request of ours for your Highness kind consideration and sympathetic action. —

1. The Gilgit Scouts may be brought on the same level as the rest of the State army. We may be given the full training which is imparted to other forces and should enjoy all the privileges and facilities which are enjoyed by the regular forces of Kashmir Govt. We are willing to serve anywhere we are posted.
2. In case we are posted to serve in the Gilgit Province we may very kindly be granted reasonable Frontier allowance. When we are called upon to serve in snowy regions we may be provided with extra warm clothing.
3. We have started serving from the year 1935 and our past service may very magnanimously be taken into account towards our pension.
4. Our strength is very low now-a-days and it is very hard for the scouts to cope with the duties entrusted to them owing to low numbers. The strength may kindly be increased so that every soldier may get his due rest from duty. Moreover as the traffic arrangements are not absolutely satisfactory in Gilgit Illaqa, therefore, in case of trouble or disturbance in the illaqa it is very difficult to send

the forces in time there to put down the rebellion. To safeguard such a course and state of affairs there are season posts too besides the usual posts. It is therefore but essential that the strength of forces may be raised. A statement to this effect has already been tendered.

5. Great many difficulties are experienced in the transfer of Scouts from one post to another in the Ilaqa, therefore, it is requested that arrangements for military transport may be made under Gilgit Drivers.

6. All ranks in Gilgit Scouts are discharged without any definite charge. In case of any breach of rates due investigation under Court Martial or otherwise may kindly be conducted and punished under rules of the state forces through the Revenue Member.

7. In case any Indian Officer is discharged from his service before his pension falls due on the recommendation of the Commanding Officer, he may very kindly be granted full pension. Subedar Major may be granted Honorary rank after retirement.

8. Any Scout serving in lower rank may kindly be promoted to higher ranks if he shows capability for the same.

9. Any officer above the rank of Naik on retirement may be absolved from Kari Begar.

10. Proper arrangements for the education of their children may kindly be made.

11. All clerks serving the corps may be given ranks and no civil clerks should be taken. Civil clerks in forces prove very harmful. All appointments should be made strictly in accordance with Military rules and regulations.

12. Followers should not be Private ones. They should be public followers.

We strongly hope that your Highness will very magnanimously accede to our humble requests.

... We are your Highnesses Loyal subjects.

Subedar Major  
 Mohammad Babar Khan  
 For All Ranks In Gilgit Scouts.

1.8.47.

Captain Durga Singh, who belonged to fifth Kashmir, Infantry battalion, had moved to Bunji along with his company and occupied the upper quarters. This company was relieved by the Company of Capt. (later Col.) Hasan Khan, which left Srinagar on 1st September and reached Bunji on 10th September 1947. Soon after 'C' Company of 6th Kashmir Infantry, under the command of Capt. Nek Alam, reached Bunji. According to Col. Hasan Khan the officer was of "Congress-minded."<sup>38</sup> Nek Alam occupied lower quarters in Bunji. The other men of the 6th Kashmir Infantry reached Bunji in the fourth week of September. It was under the command of Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan Durrani. Col. Hasan Khan gives impression in his account that this battalion was sent in opposition to him. On the arrival of this whole battalion Captain Nek Alam with a platoon was transferred to Skardu but the other two platoons of this company under the Command of Subedar (later Lt.) Mohammad Ali remained in Bunji. This battalion consisted of five Companies: A and B Companies had Sikh and Dogra Sepoys under the command of capt. Baldeo Singh and Capt. Sukh Deo Singh respectively while C and D Companies had all Muslims under Capt. Nek Alam and Capt. Hasan Khan respectively. The headquarter company had mixed men with Capt. Parmut Singh in charge of administration. Later Major Ehsan Ali was posted in Command of the Headquarter Company. One Sikh company of this battalion was posted at Laiyya in Ladakh.

The other military force in Gilgit was of the Gilgit Scouts. The attitude of this force, as we learn from Ghansara Singh, has been given above. The Brigadier wanted to get rid of the British officers in command of the Gilgit Scouts but it seems that the opposition of the Kashmir State Prime Minister to him left no alternative but to retain their services. This has been construed by C.C. Trench thus:

The sequence of events which led to this remarkable situation began in the early summer of 1947 when the military authorities and the Kashmir Government were looking for a British officer to see the Gilgit Scouts through the difficult period of Independence and Partition. They might have preferred someone older, but it was not easy to find anyone at the time, so the job was offered to major W.A. Brown.<sup>39</sup>

However, the State authorities sent three officers — Captain (later Lt. Col.) Sayid Durrani, Lt. (Later Lt. Col.) Ghulam Haidar and Lt. (Later Major) Mohamad Khan (Jarral) — to be posted in the Gilgit Scouts. Captain Sayid Durrani reached Gilgit in the company of the new Governor<sup>40</sup> and then came other two officers. Lt. Mohammad Khan reached Gilgit on 8th August 1947. He was posted in the Scouts as Adjutant and Quarter Master. On 15th October he left the Scouts and was transferred to Bunji.<sup>41</sup> After his

transfer Lt. Ghulam Haidar became the Quarter Master.

In Baltistan<sup>42</sup> Amar Nath was the Wazir-i-Wazarat of Ladakh and Skardu. The Wazir selected sites for air strips at Kargil, Ladakh and Skardu. In July 1947 one platoon of the C Company of 6th Battalion of Kashmir State army, consisting of fifty men, was sent to Skardu under the Command of Major Mohammad Din. Second in Command was Captain Krishan Singh. However, Major Mohammad Din secretly worked in Skardu for Pakistan and when information leaked out, he was transferred on 15 October 1947. In his place came Captain Nek Alam from Bunji. From Laiyya Major (promoted to Lieutenant Colonel) Sher Jang Thapa was transferred to Skardu alongwith Captain Ganga Singh and 85 Sikh soldiers.<sup>43</sup> Thapa (later retired as Brigadier) became the garrison commander of Ladakh and Skardu. Thapa's plan was to withdraw to Kargil, alongwith the civil administration, and establish a firm base there. But the Wazir-i-Wazarat did not approve his scheme of withdrawal.<sup>44</sup>

### Initial Role of the Gilgit Scouts

Earlier history of the Gilgit Scouts has been given in the last chapter (ante pp. 310-313). Regarding the immediate events we are told about Maharaja Hari Singh's decision:

... it was necessary that the Gilgit Scouts, who were cent per cent Muslim, should gradually be disbanded so that any possible armed opposition from Muslims to the proposed accession was forestalled. Major Ehsan Ali, a Muslim Officer, now posted to his home district, Gilgit, was told in an unguarded moment by a high Dogra dignitary in Srinagar that Gilgit Scouts would soon be disbanded as their loyalty to the Maharaja was suspect.<sup>45</sup>

This news had leaked out to the Scouts through Raja Karim Khan, then posted in Srinagar. We are further informed:

It came to be known that 6th Jammu and Kashmir Infantry Battalion of the State Force, presently stationed at Bunji, was being moved to the Gilgit Cantonment in the barracks of the Gilgit Scouts. It was further confirmed that the Scouts would be relieved of their responsibilities at all posts. It led to only two conclusions: either the Corps would be disbanded or, if allowed to exist, would be degraded to a second rate irregular militia subservient to the State Force. It, in both cases, meant loss of personal respect of the VCOs who had hitherto enjoyed absolute power and preferential treatment. <sup>46</sup>

Such an intention of the Maharaja is nowhere attested in the Indian sources. If at all such an idea prevailed in the early stage, it must have been given up in view of the appointment of two British officers over the Gilgit Scouts. Col. Hasan, in his book,<sup>47</sup> himself, refutes the rumour of shifting the 6th battalion to Gilgit cantonment.

However, the feelings of the Gilgit Scouts were well-known. Their movement was not just for "salary increase," as is maintained by Manzoom Ali.<sup>48</sup> Their demands have been rightly summed up by Major Sikandar Khan as follows:

- (a) "What was to be the future role of the Gilgit Scouts in view of the presence of the State Force?
- (b) "What was to be the status of the VCO's Vis-a-Vis officers and JCOs of the State Force?
- (c) "Since barracks of the Gilgit Cantonment belonged to the Gilgit Scouts, why should these be handed over to the State Force?"<sup>49</sup>

This view of Major Sikandar Khan is confirmed by the records preserved in the office of the Commissioner, Gilgit,<sup>50</sup> in which both issues, political as well as those relating to service are raised. In the confidential note to Major General Scott, dated 11th August 1947, Major Brown deals only with the issues of service and concludes:

In conclusion I would say that the Gilgit Corps of Scouts is a militia which has been proved to be the ideal force to carry out the duties and responsibilities as laid down in the standing orders with the administration of the Province as it is. If even on the acceptance of my recommendations certain men were unwilling to continue in irregular service they may go and try their luck elsewhere. *Uhmedwars* for the present militia service are many and recruits to fill the vacancies so caused will readily come forward.

I am forwarding this DO through the Governor, as we agreed, so that he may add his comment now and save further correspondence. I would earnestly request that this matter be given immediate attention to prevent unrest through uncertainty among the Scouts.

These recommendations of Brown were in line with the responsibilities entrusted to Gilgit Scouts. C.C. Trench informs that it was in the time of Trotter that the Gilgit Scouts were converted from part-time to full-time duty and the State troops were moved out of Gilgit in 1935 to Bunji, when Gilgit Agency became completely British ruled as a result of the lease. The Scouts thus became professional.<sup>51</sup> After Trotter, Rosy Milanes got the command of the Gilgit Scouts. Under him was Subedar Major Babar Khan (pl. 58). C.C. Trench writes about him.

He was one of the brightest and most charming of the local officers. He was about five feet ten inches tall, broad, with fair hair and bright blue eyes and a gentle, aristocratic manner. He was a Nagari but his sister married to the Mir of Hunza, which made him *persona grata* in both states. Pre-eminently a man whose power depended on prestige, not his prestige on power, he was very influential.

C.C. Trench further adds:<sup>52</sup>

The second complication was the existence (disclosed to Brown by his servants not, as it should have been, by the Scout Subedars) of an underground Liberation Front, ostensibly for Pakistan but to some extent

aiming at complete independence with lucrative opportunities for chief conspirators. They proposed to depose the Mirs and Rajahs — the only forces, apart from the Scouts, for continuity and administration — whom one of the plotters swore to hang from Gilgit bridge. Among their leading lights was an able, influential but devious ex-Subedar of Scouts, Shah Rais Khan, a relative of the Raja of Gilgit. They had sympathisers among the more naive Scouts and in the Moslem Company of the Battalion at Bunji, but it was impossible to know how many. <sup>53</sup>

This information of Trench clearly shows that Brown was not the leader of the independence in Gilgit. It also reveals the possible underground movement in Gilgit with Shah Rais Khan as its leader. This information, obtained by Brown through his servants, is not the whole truth. There was a definite role of the Scouts in Gilgit. If we are to believe Group Captain Shah Khan, Gilgit Scouts were the primary actors in Gilgit. He writes.

Subedar Major Bahar Khan and I, being from the ruling families of Hunza and Nagar, wielded considerable influence. Six out of eight V.C.O's present at the Headquarters were either from Nagar or from Hunza, and as such they enjoyed the full confidence of one another. When strong rumours about the arrival of the State Force were in circulation, we held a conference, where it was decided that we should put forward our demand to Brig. Ghansara Singh.

Shah Khan describes the demands relating to service and status of the Scouts. According to him while Ghansara Singh accepted the demands, Major-General Scott did not recognise the status of the Scouts. The result may be read in the words of Shah Khan:

In the last week of September, another conference was held which was presided over by Subedar Major Mohammad Babar Khan. Bitter and annoyed as already we were on the decision of General Scott, the creation of Pakistan, the Muslim genocide and Muslim uprising in Kashmir made us rise against the Dogras. The situation was analysed and it was decided to overthrow the alien rule by force. It was also decided to join Pakistan as soon as it was possible. Therefore a planned struggle namely the Freedom Movement was to be launched. The decisions taken at this meeting included the following measures:—

1. The Movement for freedom to be kept secret from the locals, from the Mirs and Rajas even though they were our relations.
2. All VCOs of the Corps at outposts to be taken into confidence. Once they were won over, their men would automatically follow.
3. The Government of Pakistan to be approached as soon as possible and help to be sought.
4. The Muslim officers of the Corps as well as of the State Force at Bunji to be secretly contacted and persuaded to join the struggle.

It must be understood, without any doubt, that this was the first ever meeting in which the decision to liberate Gilgit was taken. The leading spirits of this movement were two figures: namely. Subedar Major Mohammad Babar Khan and myself. Had we two not been there or had either one of us backed out, the movement would have died there and then. <sup>54</sup>

Shah Khan gives the detail how men of the Scouts were won

over but two VCOs did not join in the beginning but later they also cooperated. According to him second Lt. (later Lt. Col.) Ghulam Haidar, then Adjutant of the Scouts, was contacted and still later captain (later Lt. Col.) Sayid Durrani and Capt. (later Col.) Hasan Khan were contacted. A special messenger, Sepoy Amir Jahandar Shah of Gilgit Scouts was sent on foot to Abbottabad to post letters to Pakistan for help but no help came.

Subedar Major Mohammad Babar Khan, in his article, speaks of thinking in terms of independence right in the beginning of 1947 and having consultation with the men of the Scouts. According to him the following three persons did not join in the beginning:

- 1) Subedar Azam (Ishkoman)
- 2) Subedar Sher Ali (Yasin)
- 3) Subedar Jamshed (Hunza)

The following agreed and swore allegiance to the movement.

- 1) Naib Subedar (later Gr. Cpt.) Shah Khan (Hunza)
- 2) Subedar Ghulam Murtaza (Hunza)
- 3) Naib Subedar Fida Ali (Hunza)
- 4) Naib Subedar Safiullah Beg. (Hunza)
- 5) Subedar Jan Alam (Nagar)
- 6) Subedar Sultan Firoz (Hunza)
- 7) Naib Subedar Shah Sultan (Nagar)
- 8) Naib Subedar Firdaus Ali (Gilgit)
- 9) Naib Subedar Shah Zaman (Punial)
- 10) Naib Subedar Akbar Husain (Gupis)
- 11) Naib Subedar Ismail. (Nagar)

Mohammad Babar Khan writes that he sent telegrams to the Muslim leaders in Pakistan after 14th of August 1947 through Bashir Ali, the telegraph office Superintendent, and asked for help but no reply was received. Later Amir Jahandar Shah was sent in person to Quaid-i-Azam seeking for help. The following reply was received:

“Our sympathies are with you. May God grant you success. Help yourself. I am myself perplexed. Fourteen lakhs of Muslims have been killed. We can not give any help.”

Mohammad Babar Khan then talks of his interview first with Lt. Col. Bacon (the British political agent) and later with Brigadier Ghansara Singh and presented to him fourteen demands but no suitable reply was received. He then talks of Oath taking parade, ordered by Brigadier Ghansara Singh but the men of the Scouts refused to take oath before their demands were duly accepted. Later he talks of contacting the Muslim officers of the Kashmir State Force and of forming a secret alliance with them.<sup>55</sup>



Secret meetings of the officers of the Scouts were held in the darkness of the night outside Gilgit at Thup-Chhar near Amchhari (Naupura nala and Jutial nala)<sup>56</sup> but no record of these meetings is kept. All decisions were taken unanimously.

### People's Participation

Earlier we have quoted Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar's account to testify people's enthusiasm for Pakistan which he witnessed on his march from Gurez to Gilgit. In an earlier section (ante p. 339.) we have also quoted C.C. Trench who talks of underground liberation movement led by Shah Rais Khan. It has also been cited above that Subedar Major Mohammad Babar Khan used Mohammad Ali Barbari to win support of the people and propagate for the struggle for Pakistan. Even then the Kashmir State Army officers posted in Gilgit do not attach any significance to such a public activity nor Gr. Capt. Shah Khan has any high opinion of this activity. Manzoom Ali, in his contribution, has made no reference to people's participation except a casual hint<sup>57</sup> that Babar Khan kept a regular liason with the people. Manzoom Ali's account is understandable in view of the fact that he has made all efforts to make Hasan Khan as the hero of the struggle and hence all initiatives are attributed to him. It is only Shah Rais Khan<sup>57a</sup> who talks of *Tanzim-i-Sarfaroshan* (*Organisation of Revolutionaries*) and claims himself to be the leader. He also talks of five hundred volunteers posted on different duties. The author's personal enquiry in Gilgit and interview with Mohammad Ali Barbari at Karachi yield conflicting informations. Whether a *tanzim* (organisation) came into existence or not, is difficult to say but some propaganda activities were made at the instance of Subedar Major Mohammad Babar Khan. According to the opinion of Maulavi Raziur Rahmat, a school master in Gilgit but now a book-shop owner in Gilgit, the *tanzim* consisted of the following members in addition to him:

Mohammad Ali Barbari, Mohammad Zilullah, Mohammad Nagin, Ali Madad, Jauhar Ali, Qadam Khan of Chilas, Master Taigun, Munshi Fida Ali and Master Daulat Shah.

According to Shah Rais Khan's contribution in *Bebak*, Jauhar Ali, who was a dispatcher, was won over by Ghansara Singh who offered to make him a Police Inspector. Maulvi Raziur Rahmat asserts that the meetings were sometimes held in his house also. It is very difficult to be definite about such a secret organisation until intelligence files are made available for scrutiny. However, it is clear that some sort of a political consciousness did prevail among the people. Some of them went ahead to organise themselves. Their

enthusiasm grew to such an extent that they thronged in large number in the Pologround on the final day of revolution. It is probably this popular voice that persuaded the military commanders to accept Shah Rais Khan as the President of the Azad Provisional Government.

### **Kashmir State Army Officer Group**

There are three groups of State Army Officers who arrived at different times in Gilgit region. The first group consists of three officers — Captain Sayid Durrani, Lt. Ghulam Haidar Khan and Lt. Mohammad Khan Jarral — who were all non-locals but seconded to Gilgit Scouts. Although they had major differences with the British Commandant of the Scouts, Major William Brown, yet they do not appear to have taken any initiative to start movement for Pakistan before they were inspired by Captain Hasan Khan and hence all these officers looked to him for guidance. The second group consists of two local officers, belonging to Gilgit, but serving in the State army and had done meritorious service in the Second World War. They are Captain Hasan Khan and Major Ehsan Ali but it was only Captain Hasan Khan who was enthusiastic for Pakistan right from the beginning and even raised slogans for Pakistan in the march from Srinagar to Bunji. Major Ehsan Ali, who joined much later in Gilgit, was probably unaware of the movement but later he rendered meritorious service in the war of independence in Baltistan. Out of the third non-local group of officers Captain Nek Alam is singled out as “Congress — minded” by Captain Hasan Khan. He was opposed to the cause of Pakistan in the beginning. He was later transferred to Skardu to replace Major Mohammad Din, who was working for Pakistan there. However, later Captain Nek Alam, when faced at the battle of Rondu, joined hands with freedom fighters and participated in all subsequent struggles. Captain Hasan Khan gives the names of some more officers who all sided with him. They are Lt. Nadir Ali, Bostan Khan, Mohammad Ali, Mohammad Amin Rathor and Dost Mohammad. Captain Hasan Khan traces his descent from Wazir Rasha (See ante pp: 180—183), and calls him his great-grandfather.

Captain Hasan Khan talks of the formation of a Revolutionary Council of Muslim State Army officers in order to free Kashmir, of which he was offered Chairmanship. This council was to work for military revolution in Kashmir and hence only junior officers joined in it but some seniors did not agree to participate. According to Captain Hasan Khan the objective of the Council was to topple the Maharaja as soon as the British quit the country and accede to Pakistan. The revolution could not take place in Kashmir

as the officers were transferred when the secret divulged. Captain Hasan Khan reached Bunji in the beginning of September, as recorded before and served under Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan Durrani. In Bunji there was Ghulab Din, who was Jamadar Head Clerk of the battalion Commander, Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed. He first gave the news to Captain Hasan Khan that the latter was invited to participate in the anniversary celebration in Gilgit sometime in mid-October (15 October 1947) alongwith the battalion Commander and Captain Baldeo Singh. The main purpose of this *Jalsa* was to make a show of the fire power of the Maharaja's forces and to cow down the spirit of the local people. Captain Hasan Khan writes that it was in this political *jalsa* (celebration) that he met with Captain Mohammad Sayid Durrani, Captain Mohammad Khan Jarral and Lt. Ghulam Haidar. Through them he also met Subedar Major Mohammad Babar Khan. All these persons formed a team. The following decision was taken on this occasion, as noted by Captain Hasan Khan:

1. Captain Hasan Khan would be the commander of the 6th Kashmir Infantry Battalion and of Gilgit Scouts and also of the entire movement.
2. Captain Sayid Durrani would be Deputy leader of the movement and would command the Scouts under the instruction of Captain Hasan Khan.
3. We will wait for the time till the Maharaja declared his intention of joining Pakistan or India.
4. If the Maharaja joined Pakistan, nothing will be done.
5. If the Maharaja joined India, that day would be a signal for starting the struggle in Gilgit and Bunji simultaneously.

The plan was to arrest the governor in Gilgit and then the Scouts would move to Bunji to assist Captain Hasan Khan in overpowering the Hindu Companies there. Next in command in Gilgit was to be Lt. Ghulam Haidar. In Bunji next in command was to be first Lt. Nadir Ali and later, on transfer, Captain Mohammad Khan. According to Captain Hasan Khan as his own headquarter was in Bunji, there arose some difficulty because the centre of revolution was Gilgit.

Captain Hasan Khan then notes a significant development in his account.<sup>58</sup> He talks of a secret organisation formed by Subedar Major Mohammad Babar Khan, called "Al-Mujahid," This organisation consisted of ten or twelve persons (See ante under *Tanzim-i-Sarfaroshan*), village people, businessmen and secret service clerks. This organisation was of no help according to him. On the other hand they divulged the secret of the revolution to the governor. As a result even Babar Khan was sent out on long touring duties by the British Commandant Major Brown.

## The Attitude of the Local Rulers

Col. Hasan Khan, quoting the newspaper *Martand* of August 1947, states that in this month the Mir of Hunza (Mir Jamal Khan) and Raja of Nagar were called to Srinagar,<sup>59</sup> and here they voiced their loyalty to the Maharaja and agreed to go along with him whether he joined Pakistan or India. Col. Hasan Khan also adds that this was done in spite of the repeated warnings given by him, Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan and Raja Abdul Hamid Khan. On the other hand Brigadier Ghansara Singh writes that while Mir of Hunza was in Gilgit, he showed Pakistani flag to some of his friends and then went to Hunza. This news was widely spread among the people but the Mir immediately denied this action, indicating that the action of Mir was more diplomatic than real. Brigadier Ghansara Singh also informs how these rulers were divided into two groups. One group was under the influence of the ruler of Hunza, and included, besides the rulers of Hunza and Nagar, the governor of Yasin (an uncle of the Raja). The second group was under the influence of Raja of Punial, who was loyal to the Maharaja. This Raja came to meet Brigadier Ghansara Singh but Subedar Major Babar Khan did not allow him to meet. Instead he drove him away.<sup>60</sup>

Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar<sup>61</sup> quotes a letter (only a rough draft) from Brigadier Ghansara Singh to the authorities in Kashmir, which was written just before the anniversary celebrations in the month of October 1947. According to this letter the Mehtar of Chitral sent as presents, on the occasion of the celebrations, twentythree horses to the Mir of Hunza under the pretext that he was going to get his son married with a daughter of the Mir of Hunza. Actually the Mehtar of Chitral wished to get support of the Mir for the cause of Pakistan. The Mir turned out to be very shrewd and he refused to accept the presents and told the whole story to the Brigadier. According to him the Mehtar was propagating against the Maharaja and was also in touch with Peshawar. He also adds that the Mehtar was responsible for the trouble in Yasin and Koh Ghizr (See below). The origin of the trouble was due to discrepant claim over the governorship of Yasin, Ishkoman and Koh Ghizr, which were not hereditary. The British selected the governors either from Khushwaqt family or from others. Ghulam Dastagir, who belonged to Khushwaqt family, made a claim on Yasin. But the Brigadier did not like to accept this claim at that time. He was in favour of keeping in good humours the Raja of Punial and the Mir of Hunza.

Even after quoting this letter, Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar gives no detail of the events in Yasin. In fact no Pakistani authors speak of the trouble that started in Yasin because of the interference of

Mehtar of Chitral. Only the Indian sources<sup>62</sup> inform that the actual revolution started in Yasin on 3rd or 4th of August 1947 i.e. soon after the arrival of the Brigadier in Gilgit. It is said that Lt. Col. Bacon the British Political Agent had imprisoned some of the leading men of Yasin, who had revolted against the local Raja. About 300 men from Yasin came to Gilgit demanding release of their fellow men. The local persons were supported by the Mehtar of Chitral in their demands as he was interested in the installation of one of his relatives as the Raja of Yasin in place of the one who was related to Raja of Nagar. The agitation grew stronger. The Raja of Punial supported the old Raja. The agitation was quelled "but the whole region was in a state of political turmoil".

Under this background it is easy to understand why the Raja of Punial sided with the Maharaja but the Mehtar of Chitral was bent on supporting the opposite group here. Later we will learn how the Mehtar of Chitral sent the men of his body guards to participate in the freedom struggle in Baltistan and also in the Tragbal area. Thus among the rulers the Mehtar of Chitral stood out foremost in espousing the cause of Pakistan much before the uprising of the Gilgit Scouts and their joint action with Kashmir State Army officers. Later the Rajas of Rondu and Skardu also joined in the freedom struggle<sup>63</sup> (See below).

### **Plan of Military Action for the Siege of Gilgit Governor**

Conflicting claims have been made over the plan and the actual execution of the plan. This conflict is due to three factors: Col. Hasan Khan who claims to direct the whole activity was in Bunji. His Communication Channel with Gilgit was through telephone in talks with Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar. Secondly, the latter being an adjutant and Quartermaster in Gilgit Scouts was under the British Commandant Major Brown, with whom he was in friendly terms and hence he consulted him very often according to his own records in his diary. Even then he did not divulge the whole secret to him; the third factor was the Gilgit Scouts who held their own meetings and made independent decisions. In fact Subedar Major Babar Khan also tried to foment the general public and send messages to Pakistan. It is from this source that information was obtained for the D-Day to overthrow the Governor on 6th November 1947,<sup>64</sup> after getting assurance for help from Pakistan. In order to get help Qadam Khan was selected to go to Peshawar via Chitral. In spite of some monetary help given to him, Qadam Khan went to Munshi Momin Shah for borrowing some more money. In the meanwhile secret was revealed to the Governor. Hence Qadam Khan could not proceed to Peshawar. As a result the date of the D-day was pushed

back to 31st October — 1st November 1947. The confirmation of this first plan is not available in any other source.

All the sources agree that the action was to be taken after the Maharaja would take decision to accede to Pakistan or India. The Maharaja announced his accession to India in the night of 26th-27th October 1947. The news reached Gilgit on 28th. 'D' day was to be decided by telephone. In the meanwhile some developments took place. Summing up the events before 1st November 1947, Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar, in his diary, talks of "since arrival here an underground movement to overthrow Dogra regime has started." He names four persons — himself, Sayid Durrani, Hassan Khan and S.M. Babar Khan — but gives no detail of the origin of the movement. On the other hand Col. Hasan Khan, in his book, clearly says that only on the day of the *Jalsa* (15 October 1947) they all met and decided to work together for the overthrow of the regime. Before this date Col. Hasan Khan had his own ideas and Gilgit Scouts had their own designs. In his diary Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar notes:

Our plan takes a rough shape. We at Gilgit will arrest (Ghansara Singh) and the (administration) with the help of Scouts. As no hostile armed group (is) here therefore that would be nearly the end. Hassan, who would be wired of the D-day, would have struck at the fixed hour at Bunji and wiped out the Sikhs, having a solid block of Pro-Pak Moslems left in the Bn. The arrest of G. here and Sikhs wiping out at Bunji would be end of 1st stage.

This military action was entirely limited to military officers. In this plan there was no hand of Major Brown. But being shrewd, Brown wanted to know from Lt. Haidar his reaction to tribal invasion over Gilgit. The latter was suspicious and silent. As far as Brown's role is concerned, Lt. Ghulam Haidar notes:

Brown drops in one morning. I am in front of stove as it is cloudly. He tells me 'I have suggested a referendum to Governor, (Pakistan Versus) (Hindustan) issue. He has agreed. He has asked Mirs and Rajahs for opinion'. Still may be a ruse — I say quite good. Meanwhile I feel the D-day nearby. I was (at) S.M. and JCO's '... Day' has approached and we should be ready. I have written to Hassan. He has delayed reply. I much remember then and there. A reply from him: 'he is ready but date should be fixed up on telephone'. I want to get starting on Friday 31.10.1947. But I have to inform him. What on Brown's front? (Ghansara Singh) tells him the Mir has assured loyalty to H.H. Brown is worried. Here I feel Brown is pro-(Pakistan) 29.10.1947 — Wednesday — After polo Brown gets on phone, first himself, then S(Subedar) M(Major Babar Khan) the Hunza Mir to talk in own dialect. The Hunza Mir assures S.M. in his own dialect that he has declared for Pakistan. Brown is satisfied. But one thing G. has overheard him. When Brown is on telephone, I am waiting in Scout lines for him to get away so that I meet Hassan. When he leaves, I get on telephone and kick out Sikhs from the telephone room. I don't know that G has his ear on the phone. I talk to

Hassan about referendum and our action if it fails. I leave it thinking that he has Hindu officers with him. But really he has heard on the telephone G. being called to listen to talk of Hassan and Hyder and Hassan also heard G. saying, 'I will listen to what they talk.' So our talk was cut short. . . . If referendum fails (for Pak), I am getting ready meanwhile.

Strike on Friday whatever happens.

30.10.47 — Thursday: By G.S. order no body can use telephone. I feel danger approaching. I reappraised the situation, make plan and issue orders.

31 October. I go to Scout lines as usual in the evening. JCO's and S.M. meet. S.M. Says that (Subedar) Shah Raes had been called by P.A. P.A. had told S. Raes that Brown, myself, S.M. and Hassan were enemies and would be finished soon. I half believed it. Then P.A. had told S. Raes that Governor heard what went on telephone between Brown and Hunza, and Hassan and Hyder. This for once made me decide in a second. Instinctively I feel myself in danger unless I acted. Instead of being kicked, I decided to kick first.

5.15 p.m. Friday — I left for Brown. I was pretty well in danger, just as I was or S.M. or Brown was. Still we had Pakistan as object. Why not work together. I issued orders to S.M. and JCO's that if Brown joins we strike — if he does not, we still strike. I told them that we will be clear about Brown in a short time. I left at 5.15 and reached his place at 5.30. He is away shooting Chikoor. . . He is back, has shot a chikoor, is damn worried when I tell the S. Raes story, he is decided. We have tea. When it is dark, we are running cross country towards Scout lines. S.M. meets on way. We take him back. Conference starts at S.M. bungalow in which every JCO comes. We take oaths. Then alarm is sounded and S.M. administers oath of Pakistan to Scouts.

This noting in the diary clearly proves two things: firstly the idea of referendum was Brown's idea and it was probably accepted by Brigadier Ghansara Singh to bide time. It is this referendum idea to which Col. Hasan Khan refers in his book<sup>64</sup> but being unaware of the whole plan says that Ghansara Singh wrote to the Maharaja for declaring this area to join Pakistan in four or five days. He makes a mockery of this idea and says that these officers had been duped by the Englishmen. Secondly Brown was not the leader of the freedom struggle. In fact later, on 1st November, 1947, Lt. Ghulam Haidar notes in his diary that some officers wanted to arrest Brown and so he was away until 4 p.m. It is probable that for this duration Brown was under arrest, as is maintained by Subedar Major Mohammad Babar Khan.

Fortunately rough draft of this original plan is available in the handwriting of Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar. The gist of the plan was —

1. To arrest Ghansara Singh and Hindu officers.
2. Alarm and occupy weapons and ammunition.
3. Take over all wireless. Cut (Kashmir) telephone. Occupy Post and telegraph offices.
4. Messages to be sent to N.W.F.P. Prime Minister, Abdur Rab

Nishtar and Karachi for instruction. Help in men and material and for orders to neighbouring chieftains not to interfere.

5. Civil administration would not be disturbed.
6. A platoon to block Pratap Bridge or Bunji — Gilgit route. Recall one platoon from Gupis; one platoon to be recalled from Chilas.
7. Public declaration and selection of Mullahs for cooperation.
8. Non-Muslims in State custody.
9. Send Mullahs on propaganda mission to neighbourhood.

### **Siege of Gilgit Governor and His Arrest**

Brigadier Ghansara Singh<sup>65</sup> writes that in the late afternoon he talked on phone with Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan at Bunji and ordered him to reach Gilgit immediately with as much force as he could muster. The Pakistan sources write that the Brigadier ordered Lt. Col. Majeed Khan to send Captain Baldeo Singh with a Sikh Company. It is to prevent this Company reaching Gilgit that a platoon of Scouts was sent to Bhup Singh Ki Pari. It seems that very soon telephonic connection between Col. Hasan Khan and Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar was broken and after they had decided to act, they went ahead on their own initiatives. Shah Khan is definite, in his account, that Gilgit siege was wholly the affair of Gilgit Scouts and Col. Hasan Khan had no hand in it. Col. Hasan Khan confirms the information of the Pakistani sources that he got the news from Ghulam Din about Captain Baldeo Singh going to Gilgit with non-Muslim Company. This news forced him to go to Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed and argue with him that he should be allowed to go to Gilgit with his Muslim Company in place of Baldeo Singh in order to avoid any possible political turmoil in Gilgit. To this the Colonel agreed. Captain Mohammad Khan and Lt. Nadir Ali were left behind in Bunji. Towards the evening he left Bunji with his company and by a rapid march reached Pari Bangla. There he met a messenger by name Zawar Mohammad Ali of Amchair. He brought the news that siege in Gilgit had started but there the people as well as the men of Scouts were overpowered with fear on hearing that a Sikh Company was heading towards Gilgit. To stop them a platoon under the command of Safiullah Beg had been sent to Bhup Singh Ki Pari. In the meanwhile it is said that Lt. Col. Haidar sent a message in the name of Brigadier Ghansara Singh to Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan and Major Ehsan Ali to proceed to Gilgit immediately for a meeting. Col. Hasan Khan<sup>66</sup> claims that he asked Ghulam Haidar to send this message because he desired to remove these two Muslim Officers from Bunji as their loyalty was doubted. Before



Hasan reached Bhup Singh Ki Pari, Zavar Mohammad Ali had already informed about his approach. At Pari one section of Safiullah Beg, consisting of eight men under the command of Havildar Jawar of Nagar, was just at the head of the road. Here they met and embraced one another. Hasan ordered Safiullah Beg to arrest Abdul Majeed and Ehsan Ali when they reach here and bring them to Gilgit before him. After this order he himself rode on horse to Gilgit alongwith Naib Farman Ali. The purpose of Hasan's going alone to Gilgit is nowhere stated unless, of course, he had an eye on the post-siege developments in Gilgit (See below). On the other hand if the two senior Muslim officers, named above, were so dangerous, he should have stayed at Pari and himself seen that they were arrested. Any how he did not attach more importance to this event than what was happening in Gilgit proper. We do not learn from Hasan any action being taken by him for the Hindu platoon posted in Jaglot nor even any instruction for the Chilas Scouts (See below) who were to come here.

For Gilgit action we start with what Brigadier Ghansara Singh writes himself. According to him about midnight one hundred<sup>67</sup> Scouts under the command of Brown, Babar Khan and Haidar Khan surrounded his banglow. He heard the noise of eight persons in his verandah but did not suspect that they were Scouts at all. He picked up his revolver and moved to a room. His servant was in another room. He was ordered to pick up a rifle. His chauffer also reached there with a gun. He then reached his office room. When he came back to his servant's room, he discovered that about half a dozen men were pushing the door of the bathroom and trying to break it. He shot fire in the air to stop them. There was fire in reply. Three of them then occupied a room reach. After about an hour a medium machine gun fire was burst upon the banglow. The glasses were broken. This fire was shot by Lt. Haidar. After some time this fire also stopped but rifle fire continued on both sides until four a.m. Early in the morning the Tehsildar Mani Ram came along with a Police Inspector. They said that the officer of the Scouts had given only fifteen minutes to surrender. If this was not accepted, all non-Muslims would be shot dead. He called in Raja Nur Ali Khan and Tehsildar Saha Deo Singh and they advised to accept the surrender instruction and move to Bunji as the Scouts desired to free only Gilgit. In fact the Brigadier was expecting Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan even at this last moment and thus turn the table to his own favour. This information, if true, suggests that the Brigadier deliberately asked Majeed to come to Gilgit and that Majeed's coming to Gilgit was not a trick played by Col. Hasan Khan.

This version could now be matched with what we learn from Pakistani sources. Subedar Major Babar Khan,<sup>68</sup> who reached at 9.00 p.m. to besiege Governor's house, had with him fourteen men and asked the guards posted there about the Governor. Subedar Safiullah Beg and Subedar Shah Sultan were also with him. The men were posted at the doors and windows. The Governor could not be found in some rooms which they searched. But one guard located the Governor. They all ran to the place. Fire was shot. One person, named Amir Hayat of Hunza, was shot and soon he died. Another man, named Shafa Ali of Nagar, was seriously wounded. No return fire was permitted. At 11.00 p.m. report came that all arrangements were complete and well in hand. Subedar Safiullah Beg was then ordered to go to Bhup Singh Ki Pari with one platoon and stop the Company sent by Lt. Col. Majeed from Bunji. He was also instructed to take position at *Bassein Burj* so that no enemy could enter from the direction of Punial and Ishkoman. The Brigadier continued to fire almost the whole night. Some suggested to set the Governor's house on fire but that was not allowed by Subedar Major. Then good news reached from Bhup Singh Ki Pari. About 350 non-Muslims in Gilgit were put inside the Cantonment. Then Naib Tehsildar Pandit Mani Ram was sent inside with a message to the Brigadier for surrender before the morning call to prayer. Within fifteen minutes Mani Ram came out and said that Subedar Major was wanted inside. However, the Subedar Major sent the Police Sub-Inspector Sultan Abdul Hamid of Punial inside to bring the Brigadier out. In the morning he came out. Then the Subedar Major met him and he asked: "How will you behave with me?" The Subedar Major replied: "as a war prisoner. Muslims do not kill the one who surrenders" The Brigadier went inside and changed his dress. It was more than seven and half in the morning. He was taken to the cantonment where he could be safely protected. Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar, in his diary, notes that Col. Hasan's arrival in Pari was learnt late in the night. He himself shot machine gun fire. At breakfast Col. Hasan reached his banglow. They both moved down to Governor's house, where they learnt that Brigadier Ghansara Singh had surrendered after being persuaded by his personal assistant and others. On the other hand Col. Hasan<sup>69</sup> adds that when the Brigadier did not surrender until morning and ideas of setting to fire were being discussed, he rejected all this scheme as he had already arrived in Gilgit. He sent a letter through Nur Ali and Saha Deo Singh with a white flag in their hands. When the Brigadier saw white flag, he waved his white handkerchief and flung his hands up. Subedar Shah Sultan caught him and brought him out and he was transferred to a small banglow. Some more information is obtained from the article<sup>70</sup> of Shah Rais Khan, who talks of

Babar Khan coming to his house on 31st October 1947 and informs him about the message sent by the Brigadier to Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan. Shah Rais told Babar Khan that the guardmen in Governor's house would not obstruct if he goes to besiege the banglow. There were 16 Scouts of Gilgit under Firdaus Ali. They would all join Babar Khan in the task. In the Polo ground there were five hundred volunteers. They occupied different routes that led to Governor's house. He met a Hindu Naib Tehsildar and talked with him. Later he saw the Brigadier being brought out by Subedar Major Babar Khan and Jamadar Shah Khan along the road in front of his house.

Thus came to an end the rule of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir in Gilgit with the surrender of his governor Brigadier Ghansara Singh in the morning of 1st November 1947. The Brigadier adds that on 3rd November 1947 he put his signature on a document surrendering the whole administration of Gilgit to the Provisional Government of Gilgit.<sup>71</sup> According to the Brigadier this document was presented to him by Subedar Major Babar Khan who had come with Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan. It was after this surrender document was signed that the flag hoisting ceremony was performed at Gilgit in the Scout lines where all the Civil Officers of the State were also called and made to salute the Pakistani flag.<sup>72</sup>

### Action of Chilas Scouts

This action is known mainly from the account of Shah Khan, which is quoted verbatim by Major Sikandar Khan. More details are given by Col. Hasan Khan, some of which have been confirmed by Raja Muzaffaruddin, the then Raja Orderly at Chilas, in a personal interview with the author. The first victim of the Scouts was Subedar Jan Alam of Chilas Scouts who was sent home at the order of the Brigadier, but later he was posted in Chilas on the support of Brown and Babar. According to Col. Hasan Khan, on the request of the local Hindus of Chilas for protection, men of 'B' Company were sent in that direction under Lt. Mohammad Ali and Subedar Dost Mohammad. These officers not only satisfied the Hindus but also consoled the Scouts after the removal of Jan Alam and later they won the support of the local Scouts for the freedom struggle.<sup>73</sup> On the other hand Shah Khan informs that a propaganda campaign was launched by spreading a rumour of the people of Darel and Tangir tribal areas coming for *Jihad* against Dogra forces. Raja Muzaffaruddin was the main agent for this action. He was related to Subedar Major Babar Khan. He hoisted the flag of Pakistan on Chilas fort, enrolled volunteers from Chilas and Gauharabad and

marched towards Jaglot. At this last place Subedar Sunit Singh was posted with a platoon to guard movements between Gilgit and Chilas. Shah Khan notes that a message was sent by Major Brown from the operation room of JCO's mess in Gilgit to Captain Matheison in Chilas to move at once with three platoons. According to Col. Hasan he (Matheison) moved with five platoons. He himself stopped at Raikot and sent Subedar Sher Ali with four platoons (about 160 men) to capture Jaglot and one platoon under Subedar Jan Alam towards Ramghat bridge. In the night of second November at about 10. p.m. Sher Ali's men suddenly pounced upon Sunit Singh's men and finished all of them except one who succeeded in swimming across the river and reach Bunji. One section of platoon no 7 of the Scouts under Naik Naseebullah went to Pratap bridge and set it on fire. Subedar Jan Alam crossed the Indus from Thalichi on skin rafts and captured Ramghat bridge in tact and sealed off the Dogra escape route. The ferry service between Jaglot and Bunji was also captured.<sup>74</sup> In fact the boats were destroyed. The aim was to cut off all connection with Bunji so that no re-enforcement could come to Gilgit from that direction. Who was responsible for this action in Chilas? Col. Hasan came to know of it only after he reached Jaglot on 3rd November alongwith Shah Khan with the aim of taking further action in Bunji. The orders were certainly sent from the Scouts Headquarter in Gilgit Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar does not record this order in his dairy, suggesting that this action was taken without his knowledge. If Brown was allowed to send this order he must have done in the night of 31st October 1947 after he agreed to join hands with the Scouts. According to Raja Muzaffaruddin he received instruction from Subedar Major Babar. Captain Matheison was with them but he was not responsible for the action. The whole credit of action therefore goes to the Scouts of Chilas and to Raja Muzaffaruddin who acted as the Chief agent in the affairs at Chilas. It is probable that when the news of the movement of the Hindu — Sikh Company from Bunji was known in the Scouts lines, two actions must have been taken simultaneously: One was the despatch of Subedar Safiullah Beg with a platoon to stop them at Bhup Singh Ki Pari; the second was an order to Chilas Scouts with three explicit instructions to capture Pratap bridge, Ramghat pul and ferry service with the sole purpose of stopping the advance of re-enforcement from Bunji. The order must have been simultaneous and originated from the same source. As Chilas is far away, the Scouts took longer time to reach Thalichi and Jaglot and other respective posts. By this time Col. Hasan Khan had passed on to Gilgit. He knew of it only later. The

whole exchange of cross fire in Bunji and Jaglot — infact the entire action was the result of the initiatives of the Chilas Scouts. It is their action that sent a terror in the heart of the Dogras in Bunji and they got confused so much so that they had no alternative but to run away for their life and shelter. Thus the action of the Chilas Scouts in the dead of night indirectly created such a great panic as to give impression that large number of tribals had invaded and were bent on burning and shooting. Their action on the one hand cut off all connection between Jaglot and Bunji but on the other gave a signal to the freight of the Hindu and Dogra Companies posted at Bunji. This work of Chilas men deserves to be properly appreciated.<sup>75</sup>

### Provisional Government of Gilgit

The most authentic but brief account of the formation of the Provisional Government is contained in the diary of Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar who notes the day-to-day developments. Col. Hasan Khan<sup>76</sup> makes his own impression while Shah Rais Khan talks of a Provisional *Inqilabi Council* in which a decision was taken to have a democratic government in Gilgit.<sup>77</sup> Hasan significantly calls it *عموری حکومت* (Provisional Government).<sup>78</sup>

Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar notes that after the surrender of Brigadier Ghansara Singh, their head was heavy with responsibility. He then talks of a general meeting. In this meeting were Brown, Hasan, Shah Rais, JCO's, Subedar Major Babar Khan and Ghulam Haidar. He significantly writes:

Nothing decided. Brown leaves foolishly to come back at 4 p.m. Some carry on in his absence. Want to expel him. Keep him under arrest. Majority agrees. Instruction for his arrest sent up. A little quarrel with some — if he is not in, I will go out. I do not want personal egotism to obstruct Pakistan. I know he had Pak flag dimension in file. He had message from A.Q. Khan (Abdul Qayyum Khan, the then Chief Minister of N.W.F.P.). If we throw him out, chaos sure. His influence with Mirs good. He can't but be Pakistani. He had gambled his life. Finally I say that if he is not in, I resign. At last agreement has it —

1. Shah Rais — President. (Pl. 59)
2. Brown — Adviser to President.
3. Hassan — War office head -
4. Myself Civil head.

Brown released on condition. Nobody told him what happened.

This diary record clearly shows that Major Brown was arrested for some time and it was only due to Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar's insistence that he was released and then accepted as an adviser to the new Government.

Col. Hasan talks of a big gathering of people at Shahi Polo ground where people had thronged to listen to the liberators and

get better news. All were given assurance of safety and protection, including the Hindu businessmen and officers. Then all the leaders moved to Scout Parade ground where an emergency meeting was held to establish a local government. It was also attended by two English officers according to Col. Hasan Khan. Those present also included JCO's of Hunza and Nagar and some civil officers from Gilgit. There was no representative of the State forces. The meeting was held in a closed room. Outside thousands of people from Gilgit had thronged. After heated discussions the following decisions were taken:

1. Shah Rais Khan was accepted as the President of the Provisional government.
2. Col. Hasan Khan became the head of the military affairs and leader of the revolutionary movement.
3. Captain Sayid Durrani was appointed Dy. leader of the movement.
4. Lt. Ghulam Haidar became Political Agent.
5. Subedar Major Babar was appointed Quarter Master.
6. Raja Sultan Hamid was appointed Chief of the Police force.
7. Major Brown and Captain Matheison were appointed as advisers of the provisional government.
8. A wireless message was sent to the Government of Pakistan with the request to send a Civil Administrator.<sup>79</sup>

Col. Hasan then speaks of Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan and Major Ehsan Ali, who were arrested at Bup Singh Ki Pari. On second November 1947, in the morning, they were presented before him in Gilgit. They were not willing to cooperate with him and hence they were locked in the Cantonment.

The details that we learn about the formation of the provisional government is somewhat different from what we read in the diary of Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar. The latter does not talk about the revolutionary movement at all. He also says nothing about Captain Sayid Durrani and Captain Matheison because both of them were not present in Gilgit at that time. There appears to have been a bitter quarrel in the meeting, as can be gathered from the following record in Haidar's diary.

2 November, 1947 — "Col. Majid put under arrest. Hassan wants ration (or rifles ?) . . . . He and other Guns, and Adj. guns, and A.Q.M. Guns. It is night. I am back. Meet Brown. S.M. is there. Tell him that Mullahs threatened his life, therefore wanted him safe in his banglow (This is in reference to earlier arrest of Brown) Sleep. This day a bitter fight with Hassan. His words, "Hyder you will get me hanged", My reply, either we two should agree or either of us should quit. S.M. helps to a compromise."

When one reads Col. Hasan's manuscript, he appears to praise Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan for permitting him to go to Gilgit with

his Company in place of the Dogra and Sikh Company. But then he doubts again and puts him under arrest. An interview with Major Ehsan Ali suggests that Col. Hasan Khan was afraid of Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan and he desired to get rid of him as soon as possible. As both Majeed and Ehsan were senior officers, they could have been a hurdle in the rise of Col. Hasan Khan as head of all military forces in Gilgit. It was therefore necessary that they should be kept under custody. If this interpretation is correct, it is understandable why in the morning of 1st November Col. Hasan Khan rode to Gilgit alone, leaving his Company behind at Pari Bangla. Although he claims for himself the direction of all activity concerning the arrest of the Governor, yet the events show that his primary aim was to acquire power in the provisional government at Gilgit. This is clear from the manner he himself describes the detail in his manuscript.

### **Working of the Provisional Government**

Very little information is available as to the actual working of the government. Shah Rais Khan writes that as head of the government he ordered all the five hundred Scouts to come to Gilgit and appointed Wazir Ghulam Abbas as Tehsildar. The latter wrote letters to different subdivisions and collected 25 thousand maunds of wheat. However, it is from the diary of Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar that we learn about the day-to-day administration.

*3rd November 1947* — Lt. Col. Hasan Khan left in the morning for Bhup Singh Ki Pari. A meeting of Shah Rais, Brown and Haidar was held and letters were drafted to the Governments of Pakistan and (*Azad*) Kashmir. There was check over details of provisions and general administration. People were found to be panicky. However, two objects were kept in view: (1) to get things going as before; (2) to contact Pakistan and get help. In the meanwhile all Hindus were shifted to Scout lines for safety.

*4th November 1947*. Again meeting of Shah Rais, Brown and Haidar. Wire was sent to Pakistan on Hunza, Nagar accession. Jealousy between the local officers and Panjabis noted. Got the news of Pratap pul on flame, Sikh outpost (at Jaglot) wiped out. Brown and Subedar Major Babar Khan left for Jaglot as Brown wanted to meet Matheison.

*5th November 1947* — Early morning wire was sent to Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan for Muslim administrator and staff. News reached that Bunji garrison was finished. Sikhs had escaped during night. Our chaps attacked Ramghat bridge. Last news came that the Sikhs had surrendered. Moslem element O.K., did not fight. News again — Sikhs were surrendering in batches. He checked treasury today. Shah Rais wanted to become Raja of Gilgit.

*6th November 1947* — Instructions were issued to Assistant Engineer to repair Pratap bridge. Again wire sent to Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan to fly to Gilgit with Lt. Col. Bacon to stop confusion due to local intrigues but President Shah Rais Khan was not consulted. He says Punial accession

to Pakistan should not be wired. Subedar Major Babar Khan, Brown and Matheison arrived from Bunji. Bunji operation ended. At Bunji arms captured. Police officer Hameed was reliable and Humayun Beg was most sensible men.

*7th November 1947* — while Haidar was in office, Brown and Matheison also came. Wire was received from Abdul Qayyum Khan that Gilgit was being considered. For the first time Pakistan or Yagistan<sup>80</sup> problem came up before the Council. Delegate to Pakistan question and also question of Scouts Corps came up. Nothing was decided.

*8th November 1947* — A wire was sent from Ghansara Singh to Kashmir Premier that every thing was safe and under protection. Pakistan and Yaghistan question again came before cabinet. Decided for Pakistan. Brown and Matheison wanted to go to Pakistan as delegation. Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan was to leave next day.

*9th November 1947* — Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan left. He was given 1200/- rupees on loan from treasury to be recovered from his 1200/- Rupees deposit in 6 K.J. treasury chest. Sayid Durrani and Haidar saw him off. Ehsan Ali and Wilayat Ali were taken in administration. Ehsan volunteered. Captured ammunition from Bunji, 3 mortars and .303 arrived.

*10th November 1947* — Matheison to work as Adjutant and Quarter Master of Scout Corps while Haidar worked as Commissioner. On his leaving for Chilas Haidar took over both responsibilities. Captured ammunition split in various banglows. Gift boxes were checked — cloth, 3 Cameras, 4 Watches — all moved to treasury. 1200 paid to Matheison. Brown was sick. Bunji Sikhs still not located or liquidated.

*11th November 1947* — It is noted that there had been no order in taking over captured arms and ammunitions. Weapons and ammunitions were being sold at Bunji. Nothing still was decided about this. Public tried to murder Hindus but the cabinet decided to suppress this move with strong hand. There was a cabinet meeting for taking decisions. Shah Rais Khan thinks in terms of independence and to be the Raja of Gilgit. When told about the finances, he was dumb and silent. Sunni — Shia questions raised to ugly head though not dangerously. Brown was asked to contact Col. Bacon privately as Pakistan seemed sleeping over our demand to take over Gilgit administration. In Bunji confusion due to many factors. Refugees, if retained, would incur heavy expenditure. If they let go, they might spread dangerous propaganda.

*12th November 1947* — Sayid Durrani and Subedar Major left Bunji, Haidar remained at the office. Matheison wanted money in Chilas treasury. Orders were issued to Assistant Engineer to proceed to Jaglot for bridge repairs. All time bridge to be made ready. Some Sikhs at Bunji still remain unknown. Brown and Matheison came to Haidar's banglow.

*13th November 1947* — There was stock taking in general stores with Abdul Jabbar. Theft in hospital store. Assistant Engineer had not yet left for Jaglot. Post Master was ordered to wire Pakistan authorities to wire back for loan to Post Office. Loan to Kashgar Consulate to be settled. Articles of American entertainment were issued from Toshakhana. A phone to governor Gupis to send Latif at once. Handicaps of money claims against previous administration came up daily. Rs. 100/- paid to a Kashgiri for transport from Gilgit to Bunji and back.

*14th November 1947* — Message from Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan that one Mohammad Alam would come to Gilgit as demanded. Haidar



thought that Brown and Matheson should be retired. He himself would go back home to fight for Kashmir. He also met an American Major Ranson and his wife. They had come from Kashgar side.

*15th November 1947* — Jail inspection in the morning. List of prisoners for considering suspension and remission. Sayid Durrani phoned that Col. Majeed had no money deposited in 6 K.J. treasury chest. Was he a liar? Subedar Murtaza was instructed to hold money 1180/- Rupees back from Col. Majeed. Good news from Peshawar that Mohammad Alam and probably Col. Bacon would arrive at Gilgit by air at 10 a.m. the following day. Plans for their reception were drawn. Assistant Engineer was put under arrest for insubordination.

*16th November 1947* — Bad weather but plane left Peshawar. At 9 a.m. all officers left on horse back to receive the Pakistani representative at the air field. A wild charge developed. One Scout fell from horse and broke his skull. Brown, Mahteson and Haidar first on air-field. Met Mohammad Alam. Rode back amidst wild reception. Americans took photograph. Mohammad Alam went to Political Agent's banglow after addressing.

*17th November 1947* — The office of the Political Agent was fixed. Flag was hoisted at his office. Guard of honour was given to him. keys were taken from ex-governor and were handed over to the Political Agent. All confidential files and important notes in office were placed before Political Agent for perusal. Haidar appraised the Political Agent with all affairs and also about Gilgit (Shah Rais) question and presented concerned files. Captain Baldeo Singh and a few Sikhs surrendered this day.

*18th November 1947* — Haidar desired to leave but Political Agent asked him to continue for some more days. Mirs arrived to pay respects to Pakistani Political Agent.

*19th November 1947* — Stormy discussion with Sayid took place. He said that Hasan and Company were not happy with Haidar. There was a quarrel. He left.

The diary continues and gives more details of Gilgit events as long as Haidar was there. He talked about the intrigues by Brown, Hasan and others. The cabinet continued. Some desired that it should remain as advisory council but Sardar Mohammad Alam, who was a strong man, said that he had no legal sanction to accept this proposal. The political agent was to remain as the supreme head of both army and Scouts. In the meanwhile on 21st November 1947 Col. Hasan Khan was to leave for Bunji as civil and military Commander but actually he left on 25th November 1947. Brown left for Peshawar on 26th November with the assurance, given by Political Agent, that Pakistan would recognize the claim of Kashmir State Army officers to Commission. On 28th November 1947 Hindu shops were plundered during the night. The Political Agent went to inspect the city and see for himself the cause of the trouble. He then ordered all non-Muslims to be moved to Scout lines. Patrols and pickets were arranged. Imposition of curfew and 144 in Gilgit on 28th November. On 30th November Brigadier Aslam came from General Headquarters with the object to raise an *Azad Fauj* for Gilgit. Aslam said that the Britishers were useless.

They could be removed. On 3rd December Aslam went back for consultation at the General Head-Quarters. Brown returned from Peshawar on 8th December 1947 with a letter for Sardar Mohammad Alam and a scheme for 500 more recruits in Scouts and Commission of Lieutenant for Subedar Major Mohammad Babar Khan. On 9th December 1947 at 3 p.m. the Political Agent held a ceremony and invested Subedar Major with Commission. Col. Sayid Durrani left Gilgit in the same plane. On 13th December 1947 Azad Khan arrived and took over as Tehsildar. On 23rd December news was received that Brigadier Aslam was coming to relieve Brown but he actually came in January 1948. The Political Agent was keen to give more promotions in the Scouts on political grounds. On 31st December 1947, Mir of Hunza was pressing the Political Agent for the promotion of Shah Khan. The political Agent was also thinking of making Raja Muzaffaruddin as Subedar Major of Scouts when Babar was promoted. On 3rd January 1948 Lt. Col. Haidar left Gilgit for Peshawar.

### **Bunji Action**

Earlier we have seen how Col. Hasan Khan left Bunji with his Company in the evening of 31st October 1947, reached Pari Bangla in the night — a place in between Jaglot and Gilgit, left his Company there and rode to Gilgit alone reaching there at the breakfast time on 1st November 1947. After him came from Bunji Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan and Major Ehsan Ali, crossed the river Indus but at Bhup Singh Ki Pari they were caught by Subedar Safiullah Beg on 1st November 1947 and later taken to Gilgit. Until this time both the bridges were intact and under the control of the Dogras — Ramghat bridge on Astor river on way to Bunji on the southern bank of the Indus river and to Jaglot on the northern bank of the river and Pratap bridge on the Indus river, a little below the confluence of Gilgit and Indus river much before Jaglot. A ferry of boats connected Bunji and Jaglot. Bhup Singh Ki Pari is a narrow gorge on the northern bank of the Gilgit river while Thalichi is a spot on the northern bank of the Indus after the confluence of Astor river with the Indus. Thus all these sites are strategically placed in relation to Bunji, Jaglot and Gilgit. Kashmir re-enforcement could come to Bunji from Astor side but must cross the river at Ramghat bridge. Bunji forces could go to relieve Gilgit but must cross the Indus river at Pratap bridge or pass on to Jaglot over ferry boats and then on their march to Gilgit had to force their entry through Bhup Singh Ki Pari. It was therefore an important decision to send a platoon of Scouts to this site in order to check any advance from Bunji. At the same time the Chilas Scouts were moved for action to

seize Ramghat bridge, Pratap bridge and finish off with ferry boats and Dogra platoon at Jaglot. Whoever planned this action (See ante p. 346-349) it was a master move. It was known neither to Col. Hasan Khan nor to Captain Mohammad Khan Jarral. Both these actions were a prelude to what happened later in Bunji and were mainly responsible for creating rout and confusion in the Dogra forces there.

In Bunji there were two Dogra Companies plus one H.Q. Company located at the lower camp at the Command of Captain Baldeo Singh. Three platoons were posted, one each at Pratap bridge, Ramghat bridge and Jaglot.<sup>81</sup> The importance of strategic site of Bunji is further stressed by Col. Hasan Khan<sup>82</sup> who rightly says that Bunji was to be the deciding factor in the whole game of Gilgit's freedom struggle because Maharaja's forces were stationed here and that re-enforcement could come here through Burzil and Zojila passes. Hence immediately after the establishment of the provisional government at Gilgit plans were made to attack Bunji. It seems that Col. Hasan Khan was not consulted when orders were issued to Chilas Scouts for movement for Bunji action. This he came to know later nor did he know the actual order sent. According to him he left Gilgit on 2nd November at 4.00 p.m. (but according to the diary of Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar he left on 3rd November in the morning) with four platoons of Scouts under Safiullah Beg, Shah Sultan, Shah Khan and Sultan Ayub. He took his rifle company from Bhup Singh Ki Pari alongwith Lt. Mohammad Ali, Subedar Mohammad Amin Rathor and Subedar Dost Mohammad. The local people helped whole-heartedly in giving ration. Two names stand out boldly in this work — Inspector Abdullah Khan and Thekedar Fazl Ahmad.<sup>83</sup> It is here that Col. Hasan Khan learnt about the burning of Pratap bridge which was the only way to cross over to Bunji. Then he decided to go to Jaglot and finish off with the Dogra platoon there but that work had also been done by Chilas Scouts in the night of 2nd November 1947. There were scatter of dead bodies including that of Subedar Sunit Singh. Even the ferry boats had been sunk. It was because of this action of Chilas Scouts that right upto twelve o'clock in the night there was continuous firing of mortars and machineguns from Bunji, obviously by Dogra forces.<sup>84</sup> According to Col. Hasan Khan it was in the night between 2nd and 3rd November that Ramghat bridge was burnt.<sup>85</sup> Col. Hasan blames Major Brown for the burning of these bridges so that there could be no possible approach left for reaching Bunji. He writes that the whole day of 4th November he spent in thinking over the problem as to how he could cross the river and reach Bunji.

Col. Hasan Khan then notes about the return of Captain Sayid

Durrani, where he had been earlier outposted by Major Brown. On way he stopped in Hunza and took written agreement from the Mir for his cooperation with the freedom fighters.<sup>86</sup> It was Captain Sayid Durrani who sent a message on behalf of the governor, Ghansara Singh, to Captain Baldeo Singh in Bunji to agree to a peaceful settlement with the rebels.<sup>87</sup> Col. Hasan Khan makes an adverse comment on the action in Bunji undertaken by Captain Mohammad Khan Jaral and takes the whole credit to himself for the successful rout of Dogra forces in Bunji. For the actual fight in Bunji we have the account of Captain Monammad Khan himself (See below). Col. Hasan Khan crossed the Indus river on 5th November in a raft with a body of ten men alongwith Shah Sultan and Shah Khan. Only later his company moved into Bunji.

The version of Gr. Capt. Shah Khan is entirely different. He writes:

Captain Hasan and myself with three platoons of Gilgit Scouts reached Jaglot at night of 3 November, and prepared to attack Bunji the next morning. But on the morning of 4 November, a white flag appeared on the far bank of the Indus. It was hoisted by Capt. Mohammad Khan and other Muslim soldiers. A messenger crossed the Indus to find out the situation. He came back with the news that the camp had been deserted by the Sikhs and Dogras on the night of 3rd November. Captain Hassan and myself crossed the Indus and found the camp completely vacant. Capt. Mohammad Khan and some other Muslim soldiers were there to greet us. Bunji was thus liberated without a single shot . . . One platoon of Scouts was sent towards Astore, and the Astore Cantt. was also captured intact with a lot of valuable stores.

Captain Mohammad Khan Jarral<sup>88</sup> himself gives the detail of Bunji action. After Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan left Bunji on 2nd November 1947, Captain Baldeo Singh was left incharge as the next senior officer. When the Chilas Scouts attacked Jaglot post without the knowledge of Captain Mohammad Khan Jarral, this action put him into great difficulty because Bunji forces consisted of mixed elements — Hindus, Dogras, Sikhs and Muslims. With the departure of Col. Hasan Khan's Company, the Dogras and Sikhs had an upper hand. In Captain Mohammad Khan's own Company Hindus and Sikhs were also present. He had come fresh to Bunji and hence it was necessary for him first to cultivate friendship with the local officers. His aim was to capture ammunicions. Subedar Mohammad Ali was firing at Jaglot but with no effective result and hence it was stopped. Captain Baldeo Singh sent Subedar Amrit Nath to upper camp for ammunition but he returned empty handed and gave the news that the Company of Nadir Ali had revolted. When Captain Mohammad Khan went up to Nadir Ali, he found the Muslim soldiers all sitting and planning. With them he joined and assured his total help. In the meanwhile Nadir Ali was instructed to

phone to Baldeo Singh, telling that Captain Mohammad Khan had not joined with the rebels. Even before Captain Baldeo Singh came to upper Camp, Jamadar Shafi had been sent to Ramghat bridge with a platoon with instruction that any Hindu approaching there should be arrested. Right at this time an American, Wilkinson came here on his way to Kasghar. He was persuaded to go back to Srinagar. Captain Baldeo Singh gave a letter to him with a full description of the situation here. This letter was to be handed over to Garrison headquarter, Srinagar. Captain Mohammad Khan managed to get this letter back through two young men deployed for this purpose. Then the Post Master of Bunji called me at 2.00 p.m. and told of the receipt of a telephonic message (See above.) from Ghansara Singh about the invasion of the tribals. Captain Baldeo Singh desired to get guarantee of his safety if he surrendered. Ultimately he got nervous and alongwith other Hindu, Sikh and Dogra soldiers scaled up the hills behind Bunji. Muslim soldiers were sent behind them but were instructed not to fire. As Captain Mohammad Khan was expecting invasion from Col. Hasan Khan from the other side of the river, he posted some men on this side and asked them to raise slogans of *takbir*. Next day Col. Hasan Khan reached Bunji alongwith Jamadar Shah Khan and Jamadar Safiullah Beg. In the Bunji action the people of Bunji extended full assistance. The villagers gave all information and whereabouts of the fleeing soldiers.

After Col. Hasan Khan reached Bunji, the next plan was made. The fleeing soldiers were to be captured. Captain Mohammad Khan proceeded towards Astor and captured the fleeing soldiers. Subedar Ghulam Murtaza pursued them and advanced right upto the valley of Manimarg.

Col. Hasan<sup>89</sup> gives the list of the following material that was captured after the fall of Bunji.

1. 303 military rifles . . . . . 1100.
2. 3 mortar . . . . . 6
3. 2 mortar . . . . . 29
4. Medium machinegun . . . . . 9
5. Bren Gun. . . . . 50
6. Sten Gun. . . . . 200
7. Ammunition of every type for the whole battalion for 6 months.
8. Ration for six months.
9. Donkey transport . . . . . one Company.
10. Military horses. . . . . 12
11. Tents for the camping of one battalion.
12. Treasury — In Gilgit 11 lakhs, in Bunji one lakh, and at Astor 62 thousand rupees.

Col. Hasan<sup>90</sup> Khan confirms that he sent on 7th November Captain Mohammad Khan Jarral with two rifle companies to capture Astor but he deplors that this was not so successful and hence himself left for Astor on 8th November. On way several enemy groups were captured. In Astor Raja Raja Khan and the people were celebrating independence day. In Astor some changes in the civilian administration was made. Raja Nur Ali was dismissed from his post of tehsildar. Here a group of fleeing soldiers, led by Lt. Sukhdeo Singh and followed by Capt. Baldeo Singh, was trying to cross the Astor river. They were surprised by Subedar Jan Alam, Subedar Mohammad Amin Rathor and Naib Subedar Mohammad Sardar of Hunza and forced to surrender. One platoon still fled towards Girikot but this was captured by Subedar Shah Sultan. Some other persons were also captured. News also reached that some goods, ordered by the businessmen in Chilas, were on way but they were being taken back to Gurez. Ghulam Murtaza was deputed for this job. He succeeded in capturing the whole of it. With the capture of these goods the Bunji action came to an end. Thereafter Col. Hasan Khan returned to Gilgit.

### **Bakhtawar Shah and Capture of a Fleeing Party**

Col. Hasan Khan informs that Bakhtawar Shah was a culprit and was declared an absconder. He was a resident of Harmaush. He presented himself before the Colonel in Bunji and asked for pardon of his crimes and for freedom. Col Hasan Khan entrusted him with a responsibility. That was to capture a fleeing party of the Sikhs that had gone towards Rondu along the Indus river. When this party was crossing a bridge at Mendi, in Rondu Valley, Bakhtawar Shah managed to overpower all of them after a brief firing. The party consisted of 21 men under one Jamadar and they were in possession of ammunitions but fleeing towards Skardu. Bakhtawar Shah surprised them, captured at gunpoint and brought them back to Bunji alongwith their ammunitions. This was an example of individual bravery for which act dare-devil man, Bakhtawar Shah, needs to be remembered in history.

With this final action in Rondu valley the stage of the freedom struggle of Gilgit came to an end. In this struggle the action in Gilgit was as important as the action in Bunji. In Gilgit the Scouts brought about the final capture of the Governor and in Bunji Muslim forces of the State Army under the guidance of Col. Hasan Khan disposed off the Dogra and Sikh forces. Both these simultaneous actions brought about the end of the Maharaja's rule in the former Gilgit Agency. The rule of the British and the suzerainty of the Maharaja were both finished simultaneously for ever.

With the establishment of the provisional government under the Presidentship of Raja Shah Rais Khan, a descendant of the old Rajas of Gilgit, the area so liberated by the freedom fighters of the region, breathed the fresh air of freedom. The local people had a full revenge on the Maharaja for his duplicity with the British in fraudulantly receiving back the area from them without the consent of the people. And much more than this, action taken in Bunji, Astor and Rondu valley, not only crushed finally whatever military power of the Maharaja still remained here but also extended the authority of the Gilgit provisional government in Bunji and Astor and along the Indus towards Rondu. The credit for this achievement rests entirely with those brave men of the region who fought, single-handed without any foreign support, for the freedom of their motherland. In less than hundred years Gilgit regained its well-deserved independence from foreign hands and finally joined with Pakistan voluntarily to share in the benefits of greater freedom of the Muslims of South Asia.

### **Colonel Pasha — The Victor (Pl. 60)**

The achievement of a country's freedom is as important as its further defence and consolidation of military strength. While freedom fighters are responsible for the first, for the second task we have to look to another soldierly personality who was inducted by force of circumstances into this area, perhaps aside his own choice by sheer luck, to liberate as much territory of the Northern Areas from the control of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and to defend that territory against any future invasion. Faced by the military position of the area, the motto evolved was "best defence lies in offensive action." It is strange that while the grandfather of the man, Sardar Samad Khan, helped in winning Yasin for the Maharaja, the grandson, born in the second generation, of Yasin grandmother, laboured for beaking away vast territory of the Maharaja and snatching it to integrate into Northern Areas of Pakistan. That undaunted man, throughout this brief period of struggle, remained widely known as Col. Pasha — stoutly built, short figure of indomitable courage and strength, inherited from his ancestral Afridi stock of Tirah in North-West Frontier Province but in whose vein also ran the blood of the land — a cast that smacks of mountain daring and wild hunting, a whimsical sport that instilled into him love of the hills and a geographic acquaintance with the region that is rarely combined with military command. It is this nature together with the military tradition inherited from the father, Brigadier Rahmatullah, again of the Kashmir State force, that qualified the Colonel to wield an authority over mountain-

dashing soldiers, still waiting to be organised and trained for hide-and-seek fight against veteran soldiers of the enemy — a series of dashing attacks to seize food, clothings and weapons from the enemy, with which to smash the opponents' strength. That dare devil Commandant bears the real name of Major Mohammad Aslam Khan<sup>91</sup> (retired as Brigadier in 1963), one of the nine brothers, born at Jammu on 27th August 1918, Commissioned in 1939,<sup>92</sup> posted at Rattu for nearly two years in 1941, one of the heroes of attack on Kennedy Peak against the Japanese in the Burma front during the Second World War, winning Military Cross, but later after the war resigned from Kashmir State army and posted as G-II in the Indian army 5th Division at Ranchi and finally opting for Pakistan saw adventurous service in Jehlum valley.<sup>93</sup>

With the liberation of Gilgit and its provisional government wishing to join with Pakistan and seeking protection, the choice for accepting this offer was not so simple as the responsibility was great. The meagre means of the Government of Pakistan and practically total absence of communication line with Gilgit weighed heavy on Pakistani leadership. After selecting a civilian representative to head the local government as Political Agent in the experienced and stout personality of Sardar Mohammad Alam,<sup>94</sup> the choice for a military commander was still more difficult. Col. Hasan Khan (then Captain of the late Kashmir State army), who was then holding the military command in the area on behalf of the provisional government could have been ordered to continue his command and make arrangements for defence. But that was not to be as he was little known to Pakistani High Command and he had so far no ranks in the Pakistani army.<sup>95</sup> The only other officer, who combined confidence in Pakistan High Command with rich experience of local geography and men, was Major Mohammad Aslam Khan who was then fighting in Uri Sector. He was flown away from that sector, stripped of the then position in Pakistan army with a promise that he would get back his position if he returned alive, and straight way thrown onto Gilgit with total military powers and no further assurance of men or weapon to expect from Pakistan.<sup>96</sup> His mission was to defend the country so-far acquired and liberate as much territory as possible on his own responsibility with whatever men and material available here. It was an order to achieve impossibility but only dare-devil person, such as Col. Pasha could accept just to wield a dictatorial command over men of unbreakable determination like the lofty mountains of the region. As an example of his unique position, he cited to the author an instance of extreme exasperation even on the point of arresting the Political Agent Sardar Mohammad Alam Khan when he opposed



his move to send the Gilgit Scouts outside his Agency to Skardu<sup>97</sup> and that could be averted only by the mediation of high Pakistani officials.<sup>98</sup> A second instance relates to the authority delegated to him to confer commissioned ranks to those brave officers of the Scouts who had rendered meritorious service during freedom struggle. Among them were Babar Khan, Shah Khan and Ghulam Murtaza who were made Lieutenants.

Colonel Pasha's first arrival in Gilgit on 30th November 1947<sup>99</sup> by plane was to assess the local situation<sup>100</sup> and to provide first of all a military base for the execution of authority by the Political Agent. In view of the tussel between the Commanders of the Jammu and Kashmir State Battalion here and the British Commandant of the Gilgit Scouts, Major William Brown, as we read in the different versions of Col. Hasan Khan and in the diary of Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar, the position was not easy to handle. This had become still more complicated because of the arrest of two senior officers of the State force — Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan and Major Ehsan Ali. The British Commandant had high aspirations. It is quite possible that to improve his position he had left for Peshawar by plane on 26 November 1947. When Col. Pasha arrived, he had the immediate object of raising an Azad force from Gilgit. With this end in view he met all the J.C.O's of the Scouts, Col. Hasan Khan, Major Ehsan Ali and Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan. Various reasons are given to explain why Majeed withheld his hand of cooperation but Major Ehsan quickly came forward to lend all his support.<sup>101</sup> Col. Pasha was determined to mobilise all available personnel in Gilgit, discuss plans with them and push forward his scheme of launching an offensive. One proposal was to send Major Ehsan to Ladakh. He then suggested to advance towards Gurez for raids on Bandipur.<sup>102</sup> But before any action of advance could be undertaken, firm preparation was necessary. With these ideas Col. Pasha returned to General Head Quarters in Rawalpindi on 3rd December 1947. But before returning two decisions were taken: first the two British officers (Major Brown and Capt. Matheison) would be sent back when Col. Pasha would resume his full responsibility, and second Col. Hasan Khan was sent to Chilas on military duty.<sup>103</sup> Major Brown returned on 8th December 1947 with no further promotion for himself but only orders for increase of 500 more recruits in Scouts and Commission for Subedar Major Mohammad Babar Khan.<sup>104</sup> Brown's dissatisfaction, in spite of his own advertising about the service for freedom struggle led to acrimony and fight between him and Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar Khan, as we read hereafter in the latter's diary, and the situation did not improve until the removal of the two British officers in January 1948,<sup>105</sup> when Col. Pasha returned and resumed command of the combined

force in Gilgit. As he recounts, he asked for material help at the General Headquarters. He could get only a sum of Rupees four thousand from Major General Sher Khan. Half of this sum he spent in purchasing blankets and old clothes at Raja Bazar, Rawalpindi, which were dropped by plane in Bunji. With him came his younger brother Major Anwar, who was made Brigadier Major here, and Captain Azmat Ali appointed as D.Q. for general administration. Another brother Wing Commander (later Air Marshal), Asghar Khan, then incharge of Risalpur Training School, started surveying Chilas and other areas as far back as 9th December 1947. It is this survey which led to droppings of material by using Dakota, Halifax and finally Howard planes.

Back in Gilgit, where Col. Pasha established his headquarter, he raised the strength of the combined force to about 2000 men, equipped them with whatever arms that were captured from the Kashmir State force and trained the rest with dummy wooden rifles. Four wings were organised as given below:—

- 'A' Wing of ex 6 J and K Infantry Battalion under Captain Mohammad Khan Jarral at Bunji.
- 'B' Wing of ex-Gilgit Scouts under Captain Hasan Khan at Chilas.
- 'C' Wing of ex-Gilgit Scouts under Lt. Babar at Gilgit.
- 'D' Wing of ex-Gilgit Scouts under Major Ehsan Ali at Gilgit.<sup>106</sup>

A quick survey of the area revealed a total military blank south of Astor and Burzil Pass right upto Gurez in one direction and across Deosai plain upto the vicinity of Zojila on the other. These were the two passes through which the enemy could re-enter Northern Areas as the Bandipur — Astor road and Kargil — Skardu road were the most frequented routes followed in the time of the Maharaja's rule. But close at hand at Skardu the enemy forces were still sitting strong and they could advance with some re-enforcements along the Indus river right into Gilgit. The plan that Col. Pasha made covered the immediate objective — to advance into the blank area and occupy as much territory as possible during the winter before the enemy had chance to re-enter; to hold the enemy at the two passes at the south-east and south-west and stop their passage with strong force so that in the next summer season there was no possibility of the enemy to retake possession of the ground so conquered; and finally to neutralise enemy's strength in Skardu and conquer the whole of Baltistan and integrate it into Northern Areas. The entire plan, as it appears, covered those "frontier" areas which

fell outside the main valley of Kashmir and Jammu. Col. Pasha could hardly hope to invade Kashmir from this northerly direction as he had no means to do so. If he could hold Zojila pass, the only other direction where he could advance was Ladakh and cut it away from Jammu and Kashmir. This aim of conquering Baltistan and pushing the border to the very gates of Kashmir was a scheme of no mean order and this perhaps was the mission for which he was sent to Gilgit. Col. Pasha was a man of steel frame to achieve his objective in the most unfavourable season of the year. To impute to him any personal jealousy for not helping his commander, Captain Hasan Khan, in the Gurez-Bandipur sector to advance towards Srinagar will be defeating the very purpose of the original plan which did not include the conquest of Kashmir.<sup>107</sup>

In accordance with the original scheme discussed in Gilgit, Col. Pasha gave a new shape to two forces, the first he significantly named Tiger Force to be commanded by Col. Hasan Khan, and the second was called Ibex Force to be commanded by Major Ehsan Ali. The task of the Tiger Force was to advance to Tragbal and Gurez and continue striking at Bandipur with a growling noise of a tiger to keep the Indian Force away from approaching the bounds of Northern Areas. The task of the Ibex Force was to hop, like an ibex of this area, over high ranges along the Indus river, first meet with the Indian detachment at Rondu, occupy Skardu and advance onward towards Kargil and Ladakh so as to stop Indian army advancing from the valley of Kashmir into this direction. The greatest hurdle was the most unfavourable winter season with deep snow obstructing the path of advance which could only be braved by the hardy soldiers of this region. But there was the hard task-master, the Commandant, who directed every step of the move and was ready to change plan in response to the changing circumstances. When the Ibex Force was stuck at Skardu and there was hardly any chance of that force advancing towards Kargil in winter, Col. Pasha moved his headquarter to Chilam and began to train another force there in the snow fields around Burzil. Even when the training was on, these snow-fed soldiers from Hunza and Yasin were asked to wrap their feet and legs with rags and ordered to march across the Deosai plain wading through fifteen feet thick snow and reach Kargil, Dras and Zojila in three days. Commanded by another icy cold-proof soldier, Lt. Shah Khan of Hunza, the force was literally and operationally called Eskimo Force as they had to challenge the ice-sheets of 12000 foot high plateau of Deosai, sit and sleep on

snow-capped high peaks and hammer surprise attacks on the enemy to snatch food, clothing and weapons from them. It is in this scheme of offensive action during the worst season of the year with weather-worn soldiers of steel physique and inexhaustible energy, driven by Col. Pasha, to achieve the objective without fail, that lay the real defence of the Northern Areas.

Within the scheme<sup>108</sup> outlined Col. Pasha gave enough freedom to his commanders to use their intelligence and initiative to go ahead with their force, create confusion in the enemy ranks by their surprise move and destroy the possibility of any advance by Maharaja's soldiers. The tactic that he adopted suited to the genius of the local soldiers who were proficient in holding their own on hill tops and ambushing the enemy in the valleys by a volley of concentrated fire that would surely lead to either utter destruction of the enemy or their confused escape for life. Such moves were possible because the Commandant knew the land inch by inch and he could issue instruction and send supplies of men and material and even divert platoons and companies from one sector to another. The best example of such a diversion was the despatch of a batch of 60 men to Thurgo Pari under the command of Subedar Mohammad Ali to ambush the advance of an Indian battalion along the Indus under Col. Kirpal Singh. The Subedar divided his platoon in two sections, one posted on the northerly hill and another on the southern but men were disposed in such a fashion that in groups of three they hid behind separate boulders. When the enemy was down in the valley shots were fired from north and south and it appeared as if all the boulders on the top were angrily falling on the heads of the enemy. There could hardly be any protection from the volley of fire. The whole battalion was routed. The scheme was well designed and the command was well executed to its successful end. Another example is of the delayed capture of Dras, where a platoon was led by Subedar Sher Ali of Yasin. In the right old Islamic tradition the Subedar did not like to kill the enemy by surprise. He gave a challenge to the resting enemy soldiers in the valley and did not open fire till the enemy was allowed to hold their weapons and meet the invaders face to face. This old tactic of fighting between swordsmen were all right when the two soldiers had similar equipments but in the present case disparity in equipment put the Subedar in the most disadvantageous position. The result was a considerable delay in the occupation of Dras. Here the Commandant came to the help and he sent re-enforcements of four platoons from

the Tiger Force in Gurez Sector, which finally helped in routing the enemy in this sector and occupying the strategic place of Dras and advancing towards Zojila for its capture. This military move of the Commandant has been criticised by some<sup>109</sup> out of their ignorance but Col. Pasha knew the significance of his strategy very well. He had deployed the Eskimo Force in this direction with the sole purpose of closing the Zojila route before summer set in and to achieve that end it was he who alone knew how best to use the soldiers fighting in different sectors.

After Col. Hasan Khan had achieved in winning control over Gurez—Astor route and was well placed on Tragbal pass, the other most important objective was to push ahead towards Kargil, Dras and Zojila because it was along this direction that the enemy had been trying to break through and send re-enforcements for the relief of the besieged men in Skardu. With that aim in view Col. Pasha had instructed Major Ehsan Ali to occupy Skardu as quickly as possible and advance ahead along the Indus valley route towards Parkuta, Khar Mong and Ladakh. When Major Ehsan was stuck up in Skardu, Col. Pasha despatched the reserve force under the name of Eskimo Force towards Kargil and Zojila to do the job earlier entrusted to Major Ehsan Ali. And for that objective he mobilized all the soldiers that he could lay hold on in any sector where fighting was going on. Even from Skardu some platoons were sent to this direction for finishing the job as quickly as possible. Later even Major Ehsan Ali was ordered to move even before the actual fall of Skardu, leaving this job to others, and command the forces in this most difficult sector, where the enemy was up with his re-enforcements. Some of the most important battles were fought later in this sector and it goes to the credit of Col. Pasha that he evolved a plan not only to close this route for the Indians but also to deploy his soldiers according to his policy of offensive action throughout the area of Ladakh. Although the main headquarter was not occupied because of Indian superiority of air supplies, yet his men surrounded the capital and they moved forward far ahead in the south upto Padam towards Jammu. In fact he was on the point of crossing the boundary of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and enter Indian territory in Himachal Pradesh when he sent a wireless message to the General Headquarters in Rawalpindi consisting of three words "Attacking Himachal Pradesh". This position of Col. Pasha, achieved in six months by the end of June 1948, was much more than what was expected of him. The General Headquarters, then

under a British C-in-C., was not interested in snatching any Indian territory. They were more than satisfied with the splendid work so far done by Col. Pasha. In early July 1948 Col. Pasha was recalled to Rawalpindi and posted as Private Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army Head. Col. Pasha had the satisfaction of extending the boundary of Gilgit to the very gates of Kashmir and for this achievement he was awarded Hilal-i-Jurrat by Government of Pakistan and later promoted to the rank of Brigadier. After retirement Brigadier Aslam Khan has chosen to remain in this area away from politics quietly remembering his older days of gallantry but at the same time adding to develop tourist industry in the form of Shangrila hotels in this isolated trans-Himalayan Zone.

### **Col. Hasan Khan: The Hero of Tiger Force (Pl. 61)**

Col. Hasan Khan was a man of multiple talents, who deserves a full biography to narrate the different roles that he played in his life and many laurels that he won as a military commander and as a political leader. There are numerous writings about him and by him, today available, on the basis of which the personality of the man can be really brought out but most of the writings, being in Urdu, suffer from lack of historical scholarship and do not present him in a manner that could do full justice to him. Essays about him are eulogistic and show less critical appreciation of the multiple activity in which he participated. One thing that comes out clearly is that everywhere he had deservedly outshone others and stood far above them as a great leader. Whether in the thick of battles, or in the great patriotic fervour for the freedom of his country, or for the cause of Islam, or for winning political rights for his people, he staked his life everywhere and did not hesitate to make utmost sacrifices for the cause of others. He was certainly a genius of unusual capacity, a born leader, the soul and inspirer of freedom fighters, built of a strong physique to bear all kinds of hardships and made up of an intense feeling for his people, for whose amelioration he dedicated his life — a life spent in constant struggle for justice to his people and towards the achievement of the aim for which he lived and died. If Gilgit produced a man in twentieth century to rise to great heights for initiating and winning freedom for his motherland, that man certainly is Col. Hasan Khan. After his death he deserved a well-earned honour to be buried near the freedom memorial in Gilgit.

Col. Hasan Khan was born in February 1919 at Gilgit, had his early education here and passed High School from J.V. High School, Poonch in 1934, standing first among the candidates in the whole district.<sup>110</sup> He was proud of being born in the Rono (See ante p. 344) family of Gilgit but his father Mirza Taj Mohammad Khan<sup>111</sup> was an uneducated man. His mother came from Nagar. His father was very keen to give him higher education and sent him to Srinagar but his father died when he was there and he was taken to Poonch by Wazir Mir Husain Shah. He was personally much impressed by the people, their heroic activity and the environment of Poonch area. The spirit of heroism was instilled into him here in this background. Having got scholarship for standing first, he entered College in Srinagar. While he was still studying in the fourth year, he decided to adopt soldierly profession, went to Jammu for recruitment as a Sepoy. But on the advice of Col. Mirza Faqirullah, he applied for King's Commission in the army. In 1937 he was admitted into the Indian Military Academy at Dehradun as a cadet. During World War II, he was posted in the 4th Kashmir Infantry Division and saw action in Burma. For his gallantry in this front he was awarded the medals of Burmese Star, M.D. and M.C. His own account gives details of the heroic action that he showed in the Burma front, which won him the above-mentioned awards.

His political ambition started after his return from Burma and when he was posted in 1947 in the 6th Kashmir Infantry at Bhimbar. On 18th June 1947 the Prime Minister Ram Chandra Kak of Kashmir came there and inadvertently opened his mind at a dinner that he was thinking of making Kashmir independent. He also revealed that the whole of Gilgit and Baltistan would be given back to the Maharaja. He also gave the news that the Maharaja was to pay a visit to Bhimbar soon. On 21st June 1947 Maharaja Hari Singh came here along with Lt. Col. Faqir Singh and looked at Col. Hasan Khan with suspicion as he was responsible for welcoming the Sikh refugees fleeing from Punjab. Col. Hasan Khan had given them shelter but taken away their weapons. This suspicion was well founded and fully understood by Col. Hasan Khan, who had earlier felt aggrieved with the cold behaviour of the Maharaja towards the Muslim soldiers after their return from the Burma front. Here at a meeting some Muslim military officers got together to discuss the future of Kashmir. Col. Hasan Khan and Major Mohammad Afzal Khan agreed that the Dogra regime should be toppled in Kashmir. Later they contacted Captain Mohammad Mansha Khan, Major

Mohammad Sher Kiyani, Major Sayyid Ghazanfar Ali Shah and Major Mohammad Din in Srinagar. They all agreed to support the proposal. Later Major Mohammad Aslam Khan was also contacted and was entrusted to work in Jammu. In 1946 a revolutionary council was set up, and Col. Hasan Khan was offered its chairmanship but the most difficult question was as to how to start the revolution. At last they decided to throw off the Dogra regime after the withdrawal of the British from India. Then a military council was set up and the members vowed to act simultaneously by attacking and occupying military cantonments on 14th August 1947. But this scheme could not materialise as the officers selected in different sectors were posted out to other places. It is this transfer which brought Col. Hasan Khan to Bunji.

While on his way to Bunji Col. Hasan Khan and his company are reported to have raised slogans in favour of Pakistan. This action was reported to Brigadier Ghansara Singh but when enquiry was made explanation was given in favour of Col. Hasan Khan by terming these slogans as of mere religious nature. In Bunji and Gilgit we have seen earlier the important part played by Col. Hasan Khan and how he inspired other soldiers to fight for the cause of freedom. When the provisional government was formed at the successful close of the revolution, Col. Hasan Khan snatched the position of the army command in his hands and was always opposed to the British officers, then incharge of the Gilgit Scouts. He doubted their loyalty and would have got rid of them but for Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar Khan who was very friendly with them earlier but later turned against them. As a military Commandant he even exercised civil powers when he brought about administrative changes in Astor. Later after the arrival of Sardar Mohammad Alam Khan as Political Agent from Pakistan, he pressed for keeping alive the cabinet of the Provisional Government as Advisory Council to the Political Agent. When this was not accepted, he moved to Bunji and Astor to shoulder the military responsibility of the area.

It is unfortunate that Government of Pakistan did not accept him as the Commandant of the combined forces in Gilgit after the administration of the area was taken over. Perhaps he had become too political<sup>112</sup> by this time and the Government wanted a purely military man to lead the forces, who could count official confidence. However, among the leading figures of the Kashmir State forces who participated actively in the revolution, Col. Hasan was alone selected to lead a major offensive in the Gurez-Tragbal



Sector. How this campaign was launched, is discussed below.<sup>113</sup>

Col. Hasan Khan was selected to command the Tiger Force. Under him served a number of officers drawn from Gilgit and Punial and also from the ex-Kashmir State army, whose long list is given by Col. Hasan Khan himself. One wing, consisting of men from Hunza, which was led by Shah Khan, was kept as a reserve force. In the beginning Tiger Force composed of only 500 recruits, who were ill-equipped and ill-fed. They were taken to Chilas where they were given training. After two months stay in Chilas, on 27th February 1948, the force left for Bunji. By this time the Pratap Bridge was repaired. In Bunji they got some old rugs and clothes dropped by plane from Pakistan. On 3rd March they left Bunji, crossed Astor river near the old destroyed Ramghat bridge by raft, passed through Mashkin and reached Astor on 6th March. From here the force marched to Gudai and Chilam and then on top of Burzil pass. Down below, 15 miles away, was Minimarg. Here for the first time they experienced bombardment from Indian fighter plane which destroyed Burzil rest house. At Minimarg, 11½ thousand feet above sea level, sector headquarter was established. The local people welcomed the force and gave them shelter and food. On 9th March they left Minimarg late in the afternoon in order to reach Gurez in the late night, a distance of about 25 miles, through narrow valleys and deep defiles. The passage went through Kamri, Dudhgahi and Dudhganga and then came the Gurez river. In Gurez the local people welcomed the force as Mujahids. Next the force marched to Kangalwan, 22 miles away. There also they were welcomed by the *nambardar*, Rahim Lone, and proceeded to a village near Tragbal river, but this *nambardar* proved to be an Indian agent. At last the force reached the top of Tragbal on 10th March 1948. Here a company under Shah Zaman was sent as an advance force to take possession of the bungalow on Tragbal, 13000 feet high. On 11th March 1948 in the early morning this was occupied. Down below upto nine miles was the valley of Sundarban where the Indians had built roads and at Bandipur one Indian brigade was camping. Other Indian forces were fighting against the local militia and tribal force in the valley. The main target of Tiger Force was to defend Tragbal Pass and save it from falling into the hands of the enemy. The first encounter with the enemy was here in this lower valley of Sundarban. Subedar Major Shah Zaman and Sultan Ayub began to pound the headquarter of the Indian forces. The attack was so sudden that the whole area north of the lake upto Shopur

was ravaged by these advanced parties. This was the offensive method adopted under the command of Col. Hasan. From Chilas right upto this front the Tiger Force had pushed ahead and was now sitting over the heads of the enemy. They pressed forward upto Shakardin mound, Vijaygali and Ghabandabal. Here from the other side the tribal force was led by Pakistani officers. In mid-May 1948 the Indians made counter-attacks and pushed back the tribals and sent a deep attack against Tragbal, forcing the Tiger Force to withdraw. The position then was that the whole area in the west, including Sharda, Kel, Dudhial, Taobat, and Bhagtor was in their hands. Besides this, the northern area of Wuller lake for nearly sixty miles on the south was under attack by Tiger Force. On 10th May 1948 one selected section under the command of Akbar Husain, Shah Jahan and Firdaus forced deep inside Kashmir. But then the enemy continued pressing with fresh forces and also made air attacks on Tragbal. By 14th May only 300 men of Tiger Force were left to face two Indian brigades. There was no re-enforcement at all from the Headquarter as the reserve force had to be sent in another direction (See below). In the night of 14/15 May one platoon of wounded soldiers evacuated Tragbal and reached Gurez. When the enemy advanced with full force, Col. Hasan Khan decided to withdraw its ill-fed and ill-equipped forces to Koragbal, 15 miles down but before withdrawal continuous fire was exchanged with the enemy, who did not occupy the Tragbal bungalow for three days. However, the enemy was on the top and Tiger Force was down on way to Vijaygali. As there was no possibility of further re-enforcement, the Tragbal pass was left in the hands of the enemy. Col. Hasan Khan was then called to Rawalpindi.

It may be noted with great credit to Col. Hasan Khan that he led a force in the most inclement weather, achieved his objective of occupying Gurez and closing the Tragbal pass to the enemy and even advanced further down in the Kashmir valley towards Bandipur. At the same time his force even spared some platoons for giving support in Kishanganga valley. When the Indians made renewed attack with well equipped brigade and air force, the ill-equipped men of Col. Hasan Khan, continued to fight back and when the casualties multiplied on his side, he decided to make an orderly withdrawal. But the impact of the counterfire was such that the enemy did not dare to occupy Tragbal heights for three days. This allowed time to Col. Hasan Khan to redeploy his force on the northern side of Gurez and make a defensive line at Chorban. It

was at this time when the fighting was still going on, when Col. Hasan Khan was called back. If he had been lucky enough to get some re-enforcements he could have held the well-equipped Indian army to its own position in Kashmir valley. As the winter snow was melting, the Indians were preparing to bring more and more re-enforcements. This needed an entirely different strategy of defence, which was done after Col. Hasan Khan left. (See below),. For the meritorious service Col. Hasan Khan rendered in this front he is generally known as Fakh-e-Kashmir. He was also awarded with Tamgha-i-Pakistan and later appointed as Secretary of Defence in the Azad Kashmir Government.<sup>114</sup>

### Major Ehsan Ali: Hero of Ibez Force (Pl. 62)

A tall, well-built, strong man from Gilgit, very unassuming and less prone to advertising, Major (later promoted to Lt. Col.) Ehsan Ali<sup>115</sup> is a man of practical wisdom and unstinted devotion to duty. It is under his leadership that Baltistan was conquered in 1948. Hence he deserves to be remembered in history as *the real Conqueror of Baltistan*. But the writers<sup>116</sup> have done little justice to him as the importance of the task entrusted to him has not been fully appreciated. It was he alone who not only overcame insurmountable natural difficulties but also met the enemy at every step and had to encounter the well-equipped and trained soldiers with his ill-equipped and half-trained men and force his way from Gilgit along the Indus river to Skardu and down to Kharpong, Parkuta and Ladakh. His slow but steady advance broke the supply line of the enemy, disrupted their advance, forced them to withdraw helter-skelter and wind-up their administrative machinery which they had established in Baltistan and Ladakh for nearly a century. Behind this conquering Ibez Force the real man who executed the whole plan and led his men to victory was Major Ehsan Ali, who was awarded Sitara-i-Jurrat by Government of Pakistan for the onerous role that he played in all this campaign.

Major Ehsan Ali is descended from the family of Wazir Khuda Aman Khan of Nagar. He was born on 28th August 1914 at Melu Kushal village in Nagar. After his early education in Gilgit, in 1927 he went to Srinagar for High School and successfully passed his matriculation in 1929. He was the first man from Gilgit area to get Commission in the Kashmir army on 19th November 1932. During the Second World War he fought in the Middle East. In 1943 he

attended jungle warfare course and subsequently was engaged for training others in this course. In 1947 he was rehabilitation officer in Kashmir and was acting as civil liaison officer in the capacity of Major in the army headquarter at Srinagar. He was transferred to replace Major Mohammad Din who was posted in Skardu. Major Ehsan Ali came to Bunji along with his family on 29th October 1947 and reported on duty on 30th October. Here he assumed charge as Headquarter Company Commander of the 6th Kashmir Infantry battalion. All these events show that Major Ehsan Ali was totally unaware of the freedom struggle in Gilgit and Bunji. It was only on 30th October 1947, after he had assumed charge, that he got information from Subedar Major Mohammad Ali, who was acting as Quarter Master Jamadar about the intention of the Sikhs and the Dogras to kill the Muslims. According to him, he was consulted by Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan, when the latter received a telegram from Brigadier Ghansara Singh to send a Company to Gilgit. It is on his advice that Captain Hasan Khan was sent with his Company in order to avoid bloodshed. Then he himself wanted to go to Gilgit with his family to leave them safely at home. He reached Pari Bangla where Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan was waiting for him. He was to go on leave for fifteen days, giving the charge of Bunji to Captain Baldeo Singh. On way to Gilgit he was stopped at Bhup Singh Ki Pari alongwith Lt. Col. Abdul Majeed Khan and later taken to Gilgit Scouts Cantonment. According to him he was all along sympathetic with the aspirations of Gilgit Scouts. In fact he had earlier (See ante p. 338) given to them information from Srinagar about Maharaja's intentions. Even then he was placed under watch and his services were not taken by the Provisional Government of Gilgit. Being a senior military officer of the region he could have been better utilized as we do not hear of his opposition to the revolutionary movement.<sup>117</sup> It was only when Col. Pasha reached Gilgit that his voluntary service was appreciated and he was posted as the Commander of the Ibex Force. This appointment put an end to all local feuds and jealousy and paved the way for a steady advance towards Baltistan.

The Maharaja's position in Baltistan, as it stood in October 1947, has been described earlier (ante p. 337). Here the local administrator, Lala Amar Nath called a conference of the local *Rajas* and also of the leading citizens to assess the political situation but Raja of Rondu, Raja Mohammad Ali Khan, did not attend.<sup>118</sup> It is reported that when Bakhtawar Shah (See ante p. 363) came to Ron-

du in hot pursuit of the fleeing platoon from Bunji, the Raja learnt from him the news about Gilgit revolution. Immediately he is reported to have sent forty volunteers to Dambodas and posted another party of men between Harpura and Mendi bridge. The fleeing platoons reached Mendi in two batches but both of them were captured and taken back to Bunji or Gilgit.<sup>119</sup> According to Mahajan<sup>120</sup> Captain Nek Alam went to Istak and rescued four wounded Sikh survivors of Bunji garrison left behind and handed them over to Lt. Col. Thapa on 4 December 1947. On 13th November 1947 two men from Dashkin in Astor tehsil brought letters from Captain Hasan Khan in the name of Captain Nek Alam and urged him to revolt against the local authority<sup>121</sup> but Nek Alam reported this to Lala Amar Nath. It was after this event that Thapa went to Rondu to lay defence pickets as best as he could because only Gilgit — Rondu — Skardu route afforded all the facilities for a speedy advance. He selected Tsari, about 20 miles north-west of Skardu, as the best place for fighting as the place had steep hills on either side and river Indus in between. He deputed two platoons to guard this bottleneck — one under Captain Nek Alam posted in the far bank and another under Captain Krishan Singh to protect the near bank. They entrenched themselves strongly there.

It is reported that Raja of Rondu raised a party of three hundred volunteers and posted these men at Wasola on the right bank of the Indus river and at Harkoya on the left bank. As a result of this action the whole of Rondu became free except Garbidas, Tongudas and Baghicha. Thereafter he sent a letter to Captain Hasan Khan and requested for military help. In reply to this letter Captain Hasan Khan gave full assurance to send help. Mahajan reports exchange of fire on 12th January 1948. This exchange must be with the Raja's men.<sup>122</sup> In the meanwhile the position in Skardu was tight. The people were being oppressed by the local Dogra administrator as many civilian officers refused to cooperate and local businessmen shut down their shops.<sup>123</sup> They all were waiting for the advance of force from Gilgit.<sup>124</sup> Mahajan reports following events in Skardu: "Enemy sabotage had begun in the later half of January. The brook which provided drinking water to our household and others in Rabindragarh was cut many a time. Telegraphic poles and wires were rendered out of action a few times".

In January 1948 the Ibez Force was given shape under the command of Major Ehsan Ali. It consisted of 'A' wing of one hundred men under Captain Mohammad Khan Jarral and 'D' wing of

one hundred and fifty men under Lt. Mohammad Babar Khan. On 29th January the Force gathered together at Harmaush. From this place 'A' wing went in advance 'D' wing followed. Wazir Wilayat Ali was appointed Assistant Political Agent of Baltistan. He kept contact with Raja of Rondu. On 4th February the Force reached Istak. On hearing the approach of the Ibex Force Thapa sent Captain Ganga Singh with two sections and they prepared themselves to advance to Rondu. But it is reported that the Muslim element of this force, who were on patrolling duty, sabotaged the whole action by mutual firing and made Captain Ganga Singh return to Skardu. These men planned to arrest Captain Nek Alam by a stratagem. When Major Ehsan Ali reached Tsari, Captain Nek Alam was presented to him and he agreed to join hands with them.<sup>125</sup> Thus the Dogra position became weak at Tsari and Major Ehsan Ali got all the intelligence information about the enemy position at Tsari and at Skardu. He decided to make a simultaneous attack on Tsari and on Skardu but before doing that he sent one Scout platoon under Subedar Jan Alam direct to Komara, midway between Tsari and Skardu, to prevent any re-inforcement from Skardu. The attack was planned on the night of February 11-12, 1948.

The action at Tsari was, however, precipitated by a mishap, although the Dogra platoon across the river was totally unaware of the arrival of the Ibex Column. One platoon of 'A' wing crossed the river on rafts and barred the enemy's retreat. Captain Nek Alam's men were posted at Katzarah to lay an ambush for any re-enforcement. A message was sent to Lt. Babar, Commander of 'D' Company to stop at Garbidas, some miles short of Tsari. But Babar did not get this message and he advanced right to Tsari on the early morning of February 11. This column was noticed by the Dogras and fire was exchanged. Major Ehsan Ali decided to engage the Dogras. When the enemy fire silenced, a section was posted above Tsari village to engage and stop the Dogras from retreating towards Skardu. Major Ehsan Ali left a platoon under Jamadar Biko to deal with the situation here and himself proceeded to Skardu. Here at Tsari Captain Krishan Singh, hid his men in a cave, but the brave hero Bakhtawar Shah traced him and they were all killed while trying to escape.<sup>126</sup> This action relieved Rondu from the hands of the Dogras. The Raja of Rondu gave a great support to the Ibex Force in this action. The Muslim elements of the Dogra Force at Tsari and also at Skardu were now slipping away from Dogra con-

trol and their timely information and support led to the final victory. This complete conquest of Rondu is the result of the advance of the Ibex Force which got full support from the Raja of Rondu and his people.

Now lay ahead the final goal to capture Skardu, where the Shigar river from the north and Satpara river from the south join the Indus. The town is surrounded by a ring of mountains — Marshakala and Shimsak in the north, Thurgo and Thalanka in the east and south. The Indus makes a wide lake here. In the middle stands, Gibraltar-like, the Kharpocha hill, at the foot of which the town is built. On the undulating hill stands prominently a fort overlooking the river and the town, and in the midway is another castle of the Mughal period. Major Ehsan Ali collected his Ibex Force at Komra on the right bank of the river. By February 12 Jamadar Biko had also joined from Tsari after finishing off with the Dogra platoon there. The Major divided his force into two:

Captain Nek Alam and Lieutenant Babar were to cross the Indus at Kachura and advance along the left bank to form a bridge-head for the main column which was to advance along the right bank. Havildar Sher Mohammad of Tsari was sent to Skardu to bring down all the boats to the crossing point about 9 miles below Skardu. He was also to contact the Muslims in Skardu asking them to evacuate the town and collect at Sondus, a village about 3 miles outside, on the night of the attack. After crossing the river, the whole force was to assemble at Sondus to launch the attack.

When this plan of attack was ready, the news of the first reinforcement from Kashmir to Skardu was received. Mahajan writes:

Then the first batch of re-inforcements numbering 90 arrived under Captain Parbhat Singh on February 10. There was great jubilation and excitement in Skardu on that night. At last their efforts bore fruit and the Skardu Hindu-Sikh Community were saved from massacre. Early next morning at 6.30, Skardu cantonment was encircled and attacked by 600 men. Our troops were about 130.<sup>127</sup>

Major Ehsan crossed the river and waited for Captain Nek Alam but being unable to locate him, he proceeded ahead to Sondus. It is said that Captain Nek Alam remained behind to ambush an enemy column believed to be coming over Burzil pass from Srinagar.<sup>128</sup> This delay on the part of Captain Nek Alam was certainly unnerving. While Major Ehsan Ali's force surrounded the Cantonment, a plot was hatched to take possession of Quarter Guard with the help of Naik Sher Ahmad Khan and his eight Balti men. Some other soldiers were to enter the Cantonment through windows, which were left open by Jamadar Rahim Dad Khan and his men. Other men were to shut the doors of other rooms where

the Dogra soldiers were sleeping. This plot unfortunately was detected by the sentries and the Dogras were awakened. According to another account when the work of shutting the door bolts were over, green light signal was to be given. Instead red signal was fired by mistake. Hence the Scouts could not take possession of the Quarter Guard. Soon exchange of fire began. According to Mahajan, the Deputy Commissioner Lala Amar Nath burnt all the secret files in the stove and rushed to treasury, which was built like a minor fort. He collected a Hindu police Sub-inspector and a Sikh Constable on the way. There Safaraz Khan of the 6th J and K Infantry shot him dead with a burst of Stengun fire from behind a treasury loophole. Mr. Mahajan<sup>129</sup> confirms: "There Muslim Comrades had deserted the previous night and joined the enemy. As an added treachery, the Jawans' rooms were bolted from outside so that they should not reach the armoury and fight back. Lt. Col. Thapa had wisely posted a heavy guard at the armoury and therefore, it escaped sabotage". By mid night of February 11, almost every civilian Hindu-Sikh in Skardu had taken shelter inside the Cantonment. The following message was sent by Thapa to Srinagar:

Skardu cantonment surrounded and attacked by enemy at 6.30 hrs. today. Enemy armed with 3" and 2" mortars, M.M.G's, L.M.G's and rifles. One M.M.G., 4 rifles, two boxes 303 ammunition captured. Enemy casualties ten dead bodies found, own casualties 15 wounded. All Muslim strength including wireless department deserted and joined enemy. Enemy included our Muslim deserters here. Muslim soldiers of Infantry six at Bunji and locals of Gilgit. Strength more than 200. Wazir, Sub-Inspector Police missing. Civil Engineer killed. Many Hindu and Sikh refugees brought in Cantonment. Treasury probably looted. <sup>130</sup>

Of the Muslim deserters Mahajan records: "Thirty-one Muslims including three wireless personnel deserted from here. One public and two private Muslim followers also deserted. Eight deserted with arms. Three Muslim soldiers were with Captain Krishan Singh". On the other hand it is recorded that on 13 February 1948 a second batch of 70 Jawans under Lt. Ajit Singh reached Skardu. The Dogra position at Skardu is thus summed up by Mahajan:

"Although the Skardu garrison strength now stood at about 280, it was too meagre for a strong defensive belt around Skardu. As all the local population had deserted, the Jawans did carry their rations and water to the pickets. Hindu-Sikh Youth, though untrained in the art of war, did their best to relieve the Jawans by working as riflemen, watchmen and even porters".<sup>131</sup>

Lt. Col. Thapa had established a picket at the Kharpocha fort and six pickets around the Cantonment as a ring and restricted the Jawans to intensive patrolling within a radius of five miles in all



directions to keep the enemy away from the perimeter. Still more favourable was the position that he occupied on this side of the Indus river, with the whole of the Skardu town, stretching upto Satpara lake on the north and Gambas Skardu on the south at his disposal. Along the Indus he had an easy communication with Kargil and Ladakh, from which direction he had been getting his re-inforcements. He was expecting more in future. In addition to this, he had a position on Kharpocha fort, which had a commanding view over the Indus right upto Komra on the other side of the Indus. If he had received the remainder of the re-inforcements, it is likely that he could have tried to launch an attack on Komra or possibly send his men towards Kachura.

The attacking column of the Muslims, which was led by Major Ehsan Ali, had crossed the Indus, landed at Sondus, encamped at the foot of Kharpocha fort and surrounded the cantonment. For their final attack they heavily depended on the Muslim soldiers who had deserted from the Dogra camp and had re-entered the camp in the stillness of the night. They knew all the positions in the enemy camp. Among them was Naik Sher Ahmad with eight men guarding the main gate. Sepoy Mohammad Hussain, with two men, entered inside to bolt the doors. While he succeeded in doing this work, one enemy military police man got the wind and he began to shout. The Scout who was to fire green light signal by mistake shot red light signal, thus preventing the entry of men from outside to capture the armoury. This signal woke up the Dogras and enabled them to take up arms and respective position of defence. Major Ehsan Ali's dependence on the signal was a great military blunder. He could have waited for his another column and then made a sudden attack in the dead of the night. Thus the chance of surprise attack by Major Ehsan Ali was lost. Continuous firing ensued between the two camps till mid-day. Probably when the firing was on or soon after, Naik Sher Ahmad Khan, who knew the Kharpocha hill very well, went up its highest point, called Khari Dong (in the Indian Survey map it is called Point 8853), alongwith eight men from the side of Sondus, where Major Ehsan Ali had earlier encamped and took up a position to continue pouring fire (see below). No headway could be made on either side. Major Ehsan Ali could not push into the cantonment as it was very well defended. At last a decision was made to withdraw for three reasons: (i) to regroup the forces, including the column of Captain Nek Alam and Lt. Babar Khan that had just arrived after hearing the noise of severe firing,

but this regrouping could be done only on the other side of the Indus, possibly at Komra or a place beyond, away from the reach of Dogra fire and easy to have communication with Gilgit; (ii) to mobilise all local support from the Rajas and people in order to increase fighting strength as no more re-inforcement was expected from Gilgit; and (iii) finally to stop Kashmir re-inforcements coming from Kargil along the Indus. This failure to capture Skardu by surprise and even by fire power showed the weakness of the attacking column in weaponry and manpower. Major Ehsan Ali desired to capture the Dogras by surprise with the help of the Muslim elements but their mistake led to miscalculation. As he did not have full force with him, he could not make an assault on the well-entrenched Dogras in the Cantonment. He had to withdraw to devise another strategy.

Much has been written on the batch of snipers who climbed on Khari Dong under the leadership of Naik Sher Ahmad Khan. Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi<sup>132</sup> says that the post is even now known after the name of Haji Mohammad Ali of Kuwardo as he alongwith others shouldered the responsibility here and they established this sniping post in order to prevent the Dogras from going out of the camp either towards the main city or towards Sondus. On the other hand, in a personal interview, Bakhtawar Shah claims that he was one among them and had taken up an advance position to snipe at the pickets down below at Kharpocha fort. The official account<sup>133</sup> is confused as the role of Naik Sher Ahmad Khan has been described twice, one during the action and second time after the withdrawal. In both the same role is described. After examining the evidence, it is clear that the post could not have been scaled after the withdrawal. It was possible to do so when the firing was on or soon after. This high position gave a better point to fire at the enemy in the cantonment. Mahajan<sup>134</sup> speaks of firing from this height and how Thapa was unable to capture it.

It is easy to blame the commanders for failure and take the credit of success to themselves if one is not in a position to understand the real military situation. The failure in the first attack on Skardu was due to loss of surprise move for no fault of the Commander. His action to withdraw was militarily sound as it was necessary for him to remobilise his strength and take measures to stop the increase of enemy's strength. Thapa had received re-inforcement just a day before the first attack. Major Ehsan Ali wanted to ambush the second re-inforcement that reached on 13th Feb-

ruary; but he got the information very late<sup>135</sup> and that could not be done. Later in March when he heard that Brigadier Faqir Singh was bringing strong re-inforcement of 350 Dogras, he arranged immediate action (see below). Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi<sup>136</sup> has painted a gloomy picture of the commander and his force and tried to impute how he was unwilling to attack again until he was encouraged by the Rajas and local people of Skardu and even by Lt. Mohammad Babar Khan. Any such misconstruction falls flat when one examines the geographic position and military strength of the two sides. Major Ehsan Ali could be blamed for losing the first chance by the mistake of others. But the second move could not be done in a hurry. Certainly the people in Skardu were suffering at the hands of the Dogras because they were strong on this side of the Indus and they had every reason to take action as the treasury had been looted. The people were no doubt in a hurry to save themselves and hence needed the "Azad force" to come to their help immediately. But the military commander had to weigh the whole situation from the other side of the Indus, make full preparation and devise another strategy before making a second attack. As we read in Mahajan's account, several skirmishes took place between the patrolling parties in the second half of February. It was on 25th February that news came of Brigadier Faqir Singh bringing re-inforcement of a Gurkha Company. Major Ehsan Ali, with his headquarter at Komra, on the right bank of the river could either cross the wide expanse of the river in between him and Skardu by boat or could make a detour via Kachura and modern airport site in one direction or could go towards Shigar and then cross the river and approach Gol in the other direction. He could have done both if he had sufficient military strength. He recruited Balti soldiers but he had no weapons to give to them as the author is informed by Col. Pasha in a personal interview. The other alternative was to tap local resources if military strength could be increased from the local Rajas. While Yusuf Husain Abadi speaks of political Jalsas and the Rajas of Shigar, Khaplu and Skardu sending deputations to persuade Major Ehsan Ali for second attack, he says nothing about adding to his military strength. They certainly gave him all moral and material support but as far as military potential is concerned, the total strength remained as it was at the time of the first attack. Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi speaks of the spirit of Jihad among the people and some volunteers made available to the Ibex Force. On the other hand he writes about the independence of

Shigar, where the Sikh shopkeepers were shut up. When the Hindu and Sikh refugees came from Skardu there was again panic among the Muslims. Major Ehsan Ali had to send one platoon under the command of Jamadar Ismail who hoisted the flag of Pakistan on February 12, 1948. It is after this action that Raja Mohamad Ali Shah of Shigar gave materials and raised some volunteers. In this background we read a letter from Lt. Babar Khan written to Rondu for raising five hundred volunteers and to send them with ration and local guns, swords and sticks. In the meanwhile Major Ehsan Ali received from Gilgit 45 rifles with ammunitions, 6 L.M.G. and four 2 mortars.<sup>137</sup> As a result of this enhancement of strength, an approach path was cut to Khari Dong and fresh batches of snipers were sent every day.

A wave of independence movement is reported throughout Baltistan. A number of volunteers came forward to bring information and give support to the army. With this renewed vigour in the area Major Ehsan Ali now decided to contain the Dogras within the cantonment and save the people from being harassed. With this new strategy of containment he began to deploy his men around and continued to support the snipers who were on the top of Kharpocha hill. Several encounters were made with the patrol parties and they were given heavy blows. On 25th February Lt. Babar was sent to Sondus on the other side of the river. He established his headquarter there and closed enemy movement on the south of the town. This was possible because the snipers were on the top of the hill. The following day Captain Mohammad Khan established himself at Husainabad with a platoon, thus closing the eastern side. On the west Major Ehsan Ali himself was there. On the northern side a post was established at Sarfa Ranga. Thus the cantonment was surrounded on all the four sides. This certainly gave an impression that Major Ehsan Ali was going to attack the Dogras second time. However, the positions occupied suggest that the plan adopted was to contain the Dogras in their own grounds and build a chain of defensive posts around them. The only shelling was from the top of the Kharpocha hill, Point 8853.

Mahajan reports that by 25-26th February the Dogras were surrounded on all sides and they were expecting large-scale attack any moment. On the following day "Thapa ordered the Jawans to scale the hump from the fort and attack Point 8853. It was an impossible feat as there was nothing to grip on the hump. Ropes were thrown up and they fell down. Then they tried to scale the

mill from major axis side, but failed".<sup>138</sup> Mahajan reports increase of military activity in early March and says, "started a war of attrition".

Still more disturbing for Major Ehsan Ali was the news of Brigadier Faqir Singh's march towards Skardu alongwith his Indian Army Adviser Col. Cootes. Instruction was given to Thapa that he should keep open the Indus routes and even occupy (Thurgo) Pari but in face of the encircling strategy of Major Ehsan Ali it was not possible for him to send his men outside his defence line. Mahajan records:

"Srinagar had informed Skardu that the column (of Brigadier Faqir Singh) will reach Skardu on March 18 but, unluckily it arrived a day early to meet disaster. On March 17, the Skardu Cantonment was subjected to heavy shelling and firing by the enemy so that no help could reach the ambushed column from outside. Nevertheless, two weak platoons were sent from Skardu on March 18 to meet and receive the reinforcements. The Skardu platoons were also ambushed and fired upon from three sides but they returned home safe".<sup>139</sup>

The ambush at Thurgo Pari (Indians spell it as Ipri) is memorable in the military history of Skardu. The Brigadier was coming with 350 men, loaded with ammunicions and accompanied with ration, clothing and other equipments carried by six hundred coolies and two hundred horses. The site of ambush was Thurgopari, where the valley narrowed and the road passed on the left side of the Indus river by the side of high range. Only one horse could move at one time. On the other side of the gorge there was another high range just above the village of Nurhbuchung. The Indus river makes a sharp curve here. Captain Nek Alam with his platoon and some local volunteers took up position on the northernmost spur of Thurgo hill. He had also Shah Sultan with him. His men collected a huge quantity of boulders to be rolled down against the heads of the enemy. On the other side of the river, near the village of Nurhbuchung, Lt. Babar and Subedar Mohammad Ali spread out their two platoons. One machine gun section was posted at the edge of the Pari. At the other end position was taken by Captain Mohammad Khan with one mortar section and a machine gun section. With this preparation on 16th March they were ready to challenge the enemy by surprise. On 17th March,<sup>140</sup> after getting clearance from the forward advance party Brigadier Faqir Singh and Col. Cootes, both on horse, followed by men and other materials, entered the narrow valley. After they had finished their lunch, they started to move inside the narrow gorge. As soon as they were within the range of firing, shots were fired from all sides. Big boulders

were rolled from the top. This surprise ambush created great confusion. Many were killed. Some plunged into the river. The rout continued until evening. Those who saved themselves, fled for their life, leaving behind their ammunition and ration. The arms captured, included 3 mortars, L.M.G., rifles, Bren gun, Sten gun, grenades and 303 rounds and twenty wireless sets. The Brigadier alongwith Cootes fled with nearly 135 men. Naib Subedar Ismail was sent to pursue the fleeing soldiers. Others returned to Skardu to besiege the Cantonment. With this success Major Ehsan Ali could now enroll Balti young men and provide them with weapons captured in the last action. This renewed strength enabled Major Ehsan Ali to narrow the circle of attack on the Dogra Cantonment. The fight continued throughout March and April. One by one they were able to finish off the pickets. The Dogra position on 2nd April 1948 was: "Enemy have practically occupied all houses near and around our positions. Enemy heavy firing and shelling going on since morning. Cut off pickets are very hard up. They could not get water for two days".<sup>141</sup> By 7th April the Skardu garrison had roughly an area not more than 1500 yards long and 600 yards wide around the cantonment. In the meanwhile news of another reinforcement of a full brigade from Srinagar reached Major Ehsan Ali. He had to thin down his force in Skardu and send his men towards Parkuta. On 29th April he himself left Skardu, giving the charge of siege to Lt. Mohammad Babar Khan. This siege continued throughout May and June 1948. On 12th June Lt. Babar himself had to proceed towards Ladakh. Then Col. Mataul Mulk of Chitral shouldered the responsibility of besieging the Skardu Cantonment with the men that he brought with him. On 17th June Col. Mataul Mulk sent a letter to Lt. Col. Thappa with a prisoner advising him to lay down arms. Thappa did not surrender and reported to Srinagar. According to Mahajan the first R.I.A.F. aircraft came to Skardu on 19 June 1948 and fired burst of machine guns. They also supplied ration and ammunition in containers. Thereafter there was continuous air support to besieged garrison till the end. Then Col. Mataul Mulk fixed two cannons, one on the south and second near Sondus and started firing from 11th August 1948. These guns he had received on 27th July 1948. This continued until 13th of August.<sup>142</sup> In the night about two hundred men had fled from the Cantonment by way of Satpara and Husainabad. In the morning of 14th August 1948 the following surrendered — Lt. Col. Thappa, Captain Ganga Singh, Captain Parhdal Singh, Lt. Ajit Singh, some

J.C.O's and 51 men. They were taken by Captain Mohammad Khan to Col. Mataul Mulk. Out of those who fled, 130 men were captured and brought back to Skardu. Thus fell Skardu into the hands of the Mujahidin. Baltistan became independent on 14th August 1948, exactly one year after Pakistan was born. The final victory was achieved with the help of Chitral men that delivered the final blows under the command of Col. Matual Mulk, the brother of Mehtar of Chitral.<sup>143</sup>

Major Ehsan Ali's responsibility<sup>144</sup> had now increased considerably. He was free from the responsibility at Skardu siege after the arrival of Col. Mataul Mulk from Chitral in the middle of June 1948. After the successful ambush at Thurgopari, Major Ehsan Ali had sent Jamadar Mohammad Ismail Khan to pursue the retreating men of Brigadier Faqir Singh. His platoon took position at Bagicha<sup>145</sup> on the left bank of the river Indus and continued to send intelligence information. Towards the end of March this platoon learnt that an enemy brigade, called 'Z' brigade, was concentrating at Kargil in order to proceed to Skardu for the relief of the besieged garrison. The brigade consisted of 5 Kashmir Light Infantry Battalion under the command of Lt. Col. Kirpal Singh and 7 Kashmir Infantry Battalion commanded by Col. Sampuran Singh. Major Ehsan Ali had to thin down his force at Skardu and send whatever men he could spare to ambush the advancing brigade on route. About 100 men (3 platoon strong) he deputed under Captain Mohammad Khan Jarral to Parkuta to stop the enemy's advance.<sup>146</sup> Later Captain Nek Alam and Subedar Dost Mohammad Khan also joined with more men. Captain Mohammad Khan set up his headquarter at the plateau of Hotong-Chan opposite Charkatipari. Other troops were posted to take position on either bank of the river at great heights. Here they waited for the enemy to come. In the first week of April the 'Z' brigade left Kargil and reached Parkuta on 18th April. When the patrolling party gave O.K. signal, two companies proceeded ahead and came right in front of the first platoon posted by Captain Mohammad Khan. Some men of this platoon were sighted by the enemy and as a result exchange of fire started. From behind the *Mujahids* showered volley of bullets. The enemy battalions stopped their advance and dug themselves upon both sides of the Indus river right on Mahdiabad. Fighting started and took a serious turn resulting in the loss of a high point at Pandah. Captain Mohammad Khan sent a signal to Major Ehsan Ali in Skardu and he had to leave Skardu and come himself for meeting the situation. He reached Mahdiabad on 29th April. Now Subedar Dost Mohammad was sent to recapture the lost hill-top, which he managed to do by circumventing it from the

other direction. This recapture broke the backbone of the first battalion. However, the rear side of the Dogra battalion was still free and open to receive the second battalion being commanded by Col. Sampuran Singh. That battalion was on way to Tolti. Major Ehsan Ali made plan to ambush this advancing battalion in between Kamangu Satghu and Sirmun. For this purpose one platoon under Subedar Sher Ahmad Khan was sent towards Sirmun and another section under Havildar Major Mohammad Khan was posted on the other side of the river. On 10th May about 150 men of advance party came within firing range of the Mujahids who started to open fire. Unable to defend themselves in the valley, the enemy soldiers ran for their lives. Even Col. Sampuran Singh retreated via Marol to Ladakh on 12th May. Col. Kripal Singh continued to give resistance until 16th May but the situation for him had become so difficult that he could neither stay at Mahdiabad nor retreat southward as the rout of Col. Sampuran Singh's men had been known to him. The only way open for him was to cross the river and go to Khar-mong. Thus the whole of Parkuta area was freed from the enemy on 17th May. This great success added another plum to the feather of Major Ehsan Ali, who was certainly indebted to his captains, the Subedars and Mujahids who had dutifully followed his instruction to ambush the enemy. The local people played a great role in providing correct information as well as material help.

By this time there has been fundamental change in the strategic move of the Mujahid forces in this area. As the Ibex Force was stuck up in Baltistan to meet the challenge of the strongly guarded enemy at Skardu and also to meet the advancing columns that were coming from Kashmir as re-inforcements via Kargil, Col. Pasha decided to despatch another force towards Kargil (See below under Eskimo Force) to check any advance to the enemy from this direction. When Kargil was taken by the Eskimos, Col. Kripal Singh was in a great fix. His move towards Khar-mong across the river Indus was tactical. He could cross over to Nobra and receive further re-inforcements there. For Major Ehsan Ali the position was now clear. As far as Skardu was concerned, re-inforcements by land-route was closed, except from Nobra. Hence Major Ehsan Ali decided to take measures immediately. One platoon of volunteers under Naib Subedar Wazir Sher Ahmad was sent to Nobra by way of Khaplu. He himself continued pressing hard the retreating column of Col. Kripal Singh towards Khar-mong.<sup>147</sup> With him was Captain Nek Alam. Captain Mohammad Khan Jarral was sent away with three platoons. He proceeded to Khar-mong by alternate secret route and took position on the right side of the river from Gondos to Karbathang. By 19th May the Mujahids were ready to ambush the enemy. Col. Kripal Singh had to cross the river Indus by a rope



bridge in order to reach Khar Mong. By 20th May he managed to bring his men to the river side. After rest, when they were ready to move, he was addressing them. The moment was most appropriate as the whole of the enemy lay open to the firing range of the Mujahids. Simultaneous fire was opened all of a sudden giving no chance to the enemy to reply. There was an utter rout resulting in many casualties. Col. Kripal Singh managed to escape with 100 men to Girkh and Torghun.

The platoon sent towards Nobra came to Khaplu, where the Raja and the heir-apparent Fath Ali Khan welcomed the men and provided them with all the materials and ration. Earlier a section under Havildar Mohammad Ali Shah had been posted here to guard the route. After a rest of three days the platoon reached Beogdang, the last village in Baltistan towards Nobra. In Nobra there was one Company of the Maharaja. Later volunteers were recruited here. Towards the end of May Havildar Ghulam Husain and Havildar Major Mohammad Ali Shah were sent towards Utmoro Sukoro-Gumpha, which was occupied. Later Ghulam Husain also captured Hundul and advanced towards Skoro. But the enemy replied with great force. When no further advance could take place, Major Ehsan Ali sent Subedar Amir Hayat with one platoon but even after severe fighting, no more advance could be made.<sup>148</sup> However, the advance into a part of Nobra favoured the control of Pakistan over Siachen glacier.

Thus Major Ehsan Ali led his Ibex Force and the new volunteers that he recruited in Baltistan onward beyond the limits of Baltistan. On one side his men crossed over into Nobra and on the other he sent Lt. Mohammad Khan Babar to Ladakh. Here he joined hands with the Eskimo Force and commanded as an area Commander in this Sector. Major Ehsan Ali fought severe battles on his way to Ladakh and successfully used the technique of ambush and showed how skilfully he had trained his men for this type of attack. Major Ehsan Ali thus moved on and on from one success to another until he was able to clear Baltistan from all enemies. It is his leadership that brought this whole region into Northern Areas of Pakistan. Major Ehsan proved his mettle as the conqueror of Baltistan.

**Lt. (later Gr. Capt.) Shah Khan: Hero of Eskimo Force (Pl. 63)**

Rising from humble officer rank in the Gilgit Scouts to be Group Captain in Pakistan Air Force, the stout and stalwart Shah Khan<sup>149</sup> represents Hunza in spirit, prestige and position of strength. As Hunza can not be ignored any time in the history of the

Northern Area of Pakistan, so has been the case with its princely family which maintained its high stature in the dual role of political relations with the great imperial powers on the north and south. Snatching territorial rights and privileges from both, Mirs of Hunza played creative role in the local politics. Their position in the days of the Maharaja and the British was unique and enviable. Same was true at the time of independence in 1947—1948. Their diplomatic move is as mysterious as their role has been in history. And yet their representative, Shah Khan, son of Mir Sir Mohammad Nazim Khan and uncle of the then ruler, Mir Jamal Khan, threw himself and his men whole-heartedly in the independence struggle with others of the Gilgit Scouts. Proud of blue blood in his veins he gives full marks to the virile vigour of his Hunza people and tells a story how in childhood Hunzakuts are made to experience extreme hardship of jumping over the mountains and of dipping their hands and feet in the icy cold water of Hunza river for hours so that they become fit to raid and plunder the caravans passing from Kashmir to Yarkand or along Silk Road (See ante p. 130). No wonder that such a thick-skinned man was later chosen to command the Eskimo Force, literally so named as the Force had to wade through thick cold ice sheets lying over winter Deosai plateau to lead his equally hard men over the hill tops and suddenly pounce upon the enemy down in the valleys of Kargil, Dras and Zojila to snatch their food, clothing and weapons in the same style as the Hunzakuts were wont to do with the caravans. While this story of raid and conquest is told later, Shah Khan holds his own position in the freedom struggle and rightly maintains that Hunza and Nagar both played equal role in the struggle. Without their simultaneous cooperation freedom could not have been achieved. Day-to-day participation in the fight for freedom by Hunzakuts had been discussed earlier. Shah Khan was among the leading officers of Gilgit Scouts to participate in the secret meetings. He was present in the Gilgit action and later accompanied Col. Hasan Khan to take part in Bunji action. He went right up to Astor and remained a Bunji even later to assist in all subsequent activities that followed there. According to him, it is his absence from Gilgit that delayed his promotion to the higher rank as a Lieutenant. Shah Khan was born on 21st March, 1925 at Karimabad, joined Gilgit Scouts as V.C.O. in April 1942 and got commission on 1st January, 1948 in recognition of the meritorious service that he rendered during struggle for freedom. For his successful operation on Zojila by planting the Pakistani flag there in 1948, he was awarded Sitara-i-Jurrat and later in 1979 Sitara-i-Imtiaz (military) by Government of Pakistan and given the title of Sher-e-Jang by the Government of Azad Kashmir. When he was captain in the army, he was transferred to

Pakistan Air Force in December 1958, promoted to the rank of Group Captain and appointed Base Commander, PAF base at Kalabagh in October 1977. He retired in March 1980 but continues to take part in all activities of adventure and is now on tourist and hotelling business.

Heroic achievement of Shah Khan started after Col. Pasha arrived in Gilgit scene and reorganised his men into three — ‘A’ Wing under Major Ehsan Ali and ‘B’ wing under Captain Hasan Khan — both of whom experienced and trained army officers — and third ‘C’ wing under Lt. Shah Khan, having no proper training and no experience of war. Hence this last wing was kept as a reserve force with a view to reinforcing either of the two other columns. This ‘C’ wing was formed in January 1948 at Gilgit and sent to Bunji for training, which was to be completed by the end of March. The wing composed of four companies:

- ‘A’ company of Hunza, having three platoons, commanded by Subedar Safiullah Beg;
- ‘B’ Company of Nagar, having three platoons, commanded by Subedar Sultan Firoz.
- ‘C’ Company of Hunza having three platoons, commanded by Subedar Jamshed Khan but later relieved by Subedar Ghulam Murtaza; and
- ‘D’ Company of Yasin, having three platoons, commanded by Subedar Sher Ali.

The wing was sent to Chilam on 26th of April 1948. It had a total strength of 100 men. It was here that the wing was given the name of Eskimo Force and it was also here that the new task was finally given to them. In the words of Shah Khan:

“The Eskimo Force was moved to hit the enemy’s vital concentration points. It was to strike at Kargil, Dras and Kharol bridge simultaneously. Their mission needed division of force into three different groups which created some serious problems of command and control, mutual support, supplies and much-needed decisions on the spot.”

As the Indus valley route had developed into a major supply line of the enemy forces, it was necessary to take control of this route. Originally this was the main task of Major Ehsan Ali but he was stuck on his way. It was discovered that Kargil controlled routes to Skardu, Leh and Srinagar and hence it became the place of major concentration by the enemy. Decisive victory at Skardu or even at Bandipur was insignificant unless the enemy line of communication was hit at main points, Kargil being the most important. Hence the Eskimo Force was commissioned to hit the enemy’s vital points at Kargil, Dras and Kharol bridge. On 27th April Eskimo rested and made final preparations to move to Gultari, the first human habitation, located at a distance of sixty

miles from Chilam. The condition is thus described by Shah Khan:

“Throughout these sixty miles there was no chance of any rest because there were no tents, no sleeping bags and, the worst of all, no dry wood for warming up or cooking food. The moment they stopped, they were to be frozen or buried under snow. Safety hang on constant march, day and night, with no fresh food, no medicine and no rest. It was a feat unexpected of human experience. On 28th they prepared food for three days because that was the maximum they could carry with them. After three days they had to depend on their own. Throughout the entire trek even drinking water was not available. The Scouts had to swallow snow in order to quench their thirst”.

The Eskimos reached Gultari on 1st May, where they were welcomed by the local people. On 4th May the Force left Gultari and reached Kunar where the plan for attack was finalised.

Kargil had a unique strategic advantage, being located in a valley, formed by the confluence of Suru and Wakka river, that originate in the northern slopes of the Himalayas, bordering Kargil on south. These rivers fall into the Indus. West of Kargil Shingo and Dras rivers join Suru and Wakka, where the important Kharol bridge is located. The town is surrounded by barren mountains, 16000 feet above Sea level.

The town of Dras is located in the river valley of the same name. To the north between Dras and Shingo rivers, is a giant-like feature, 18400 feet high, dominating the town and the surrounding area. Twelve miles away is Machoi, to the south of which is a high mountain, 12,000 feet high. To its west the mountain gradually rises and culminates into Zojila pass, 11,578 feet high — the pass being a bottle-neck on the vital communication link. At the western foot of Zojila stands the town of Sonamarg and 130 miles away is Srinagar. Sonamarg was the base of operations for the enemy force.

The Eskimo force was divided into three groups. ‘D’ Company under Subedar Sher Ali moved south towards Dras. ‘A’ Company under Subedar Safiullah Beg moved to the Kharol bridge. After crossing the Shingo river, it had to reach Hardas village, two miles short of the objective. ‘C’ Company under Subedar Ghulam Murtaza was to go to Chilis Khamba, an important hill feature that overlooked Kharol bridge and Kargil Garri on Headquarter. ‘D’ day for the attack was 10th May. On 7th all the three groups dispersed for their objectives.

As information was received that an enemy convoy of about 20 ponies carrying rations was going from Dras to Kargil, Subedar Ghulam Murtaza was detailed to capture the convoy and divert it to Kaksar. This was achieved on 9th of May, thus easing the problem of ration. ‘D’ Company of Subedar Sher Ali surrounded Dras by the evening of 9th May. The enemy Company under Captain Kashmir Singh was occupying the rest house and some adjoining buildings.

As re-inforcements could reach here from Machoi and Zojila, a platoon of 20 men under Jamadar Mohammad Ameen was despatched to Pindras with the aim of ambushing the enemy re-inforcement. After successfully isolating the Dras cantonment, the Eskimos anxiously waited to strike. But the intervention of Maulvi Mannan, who had accompanied the Eskimos from Astor, with the religious concept against surprise attack on the enemy, the Subedar sent a local to the Dogra Commander to surrender or to fight. The Dogra Commander preferred to fight as he had better equipments. Thus the chance of surprise move was lost (See below for further action).

Jamadar Mohammad Amin positioned himself at Pindras defile with his 20 men. The enemy company approached Pindras in total ignorance of their position. When they came within fire range, the Eskimos poured down bullets. Taken unawares, the Dogras threw away their weapons and ran for protection. After the action 60 dead bodies of the enemy were counted. The remaining two companies were positioned to overlook Kargil and Kharol bridge. Both opened simultaneous fire on the enemy picket north of Kargil. Enemy resistance gradually subsided till it finally disappeared by 1.00 p.m. One platoon under Jamadar Rustam Ali occupied the high ground south of Kargil, from where he started firing. There was a chaos in the Kargil garrison headquarters. Thirty men were killed and the rest fled with their Company Commander via Suru Kishtwar and some towards Leh. A section under Havildar Asli Khan followed the fleeing soldiers and captured some men. Thus the area upto Khalsi (or Khalatse) bridge was cleared. Later an enemy Company, that belonged to Col. Sampuran Singh and was fleeing from Parkuta, appeared north of the Kharol bridge quite unaware of the positioning of the Eskimos there. When they came near their position, the Eskimos opened fire but many of the enemy soldiers took protection behind boulders. Later in the darkness of the night they ran towards Olthing. By 20.00 hours all enemy north of Kargil had been cleared. The Kharol bridge and other adjoining posts had been captured. Two platoons of 'C' Company under Subedar Ghulam Mutaza were sent to occupy the Garrison H.Q. at Kargil, which had been earlier vacated by the enemy. On 11th May the Eskimos moved to Kargil. At this place huge quantities of all types of stores fell to the Eskimos which greatly facilitated their further operations. In the meanwhile Subedar Safiullah Beg was sent to Olthing Thang to pursue Col. Sampuran Singh and his men. On 12th May morning they surrounded the Indian Company near Marol, where the enemy was crossing the river by skin rafts. While Col. Sampuran Singh and Cootes succeeded in crossing, the rest of

the Company was surrounded and taken on. About 30 were killed, 24 soldiers with 2 J.C.O's, a Subedar and a Jamadar surrendered. Thus Marol bridge came into the hands of the Eskimos.

### **Joint Action by Ibex Force and Eskimo Force**

After the capture of Kargil and the destruction of the 'Z' brigade in the Indus valley area, the Ibex Force and the Eskimo Force linked up under the area Commander Major Ehsan Ali. The Commander, in consultation with Captain Mohammad Khan Jarral, Captain Nek Alam and Lt. Shah Khan chalked out future plan to advance to Dras and Ladakh. Lt. Mohammad Babar Khan was called from Skardu to Kargil. He reached Kargil on 14th June 1948. The policy of advance by chasing the enemy without any respite was decided. Both the forces were to follow separate areas of advance. The Ibex Column advanced to Leh while Eskimos pressed on to Dras and Zojila.

The position as it then stood was as follows. All the routes between Kargil, Skardu and Gilgit had been captured. Zojila-Dras route had been taken over by the Eskimos. Yet Kargil-Leh track, although cut at Khalatse bridge, was still open to the enemy. A second route in their hands went from Kargil along the Suru river and bifurcated at Suru village into two directions — one to Srinagar and another to Leh. A third route started from Kargil and went along the Wakka river over Fotula (13,342 feet) to Lamayuru and Leh.<sup>150</sup>

One platoon of Eskimos under Jamadar Rustam Ali was sent to Suru and one Company of Ibex Force under Lt. Mohammad Babar Khan went along the Indus towards Leh. Another platoon was sent to Lamayuru on the road from Leh to Kargil. Meanwhile Dras was kept under constant pressure. One Company tried to relieve them on 12th May but they fell victim to the Eskimos at Pindras. On May 25, one battalion, supported by mountain artillery, left Sonamarg for Dras. It cleared Zojila on 27th and advanced towards Pindras. But the 'D' company of Eskimos, positioned at Pindras, opened fire at them relentlessly but the battalion first halted, then resisted but finally withdrew quietly after suffering heavy losses. Lt. Shah Khan arrived with two companies of Eskimos at Dras on June 4 to reinforce the men who were besieging there. This additional strength was difficult for the Dogras to face and they fled towards Zojila on the night of 5th/6th June. In Pindras they fell a prey to 'D' Company posted there. On 7th May the platoons of 'C' Company went as re-inforcement to Pindras. The fleeing Dogra Company was completely encircled by

the Eskimos. Finding no way of escape, all of them surrendered. Thus Dras fell into the hands of Eskimos on 6th June 1948.

Now came the turn of Zojila<sup>151</sup> that provided a direct route between the main Kashmir valley and Kargil. Captain Mohammad Khan Jarral was given the command of the combined force consisting of 'A' and 'B' wings of the Gilgit Scouts with the task of capturing Zojila. But the commander on the spot was Lt. Shah Khan, who gives a detailed account of the action in his unpublished book.<sup>152</sup> On 9th June Shah Khan reconnoitered the areas and decided to follow the offensive tactic. In order to keep the enemy engaged from front, 'D' Company of Subedar Sher Ali was deployed on the Khore feature. They continued to engage the enemy from front. The other two Companies were taken to the rear of the enemy. Following the route through Musku, the Companies headed for Bot Kulan Pass, located in the north-west of Zojila. After climbing for three days and nights over path that was covered by snow, they reached Gumri Nala on 14th June 1948. At this point the enemy battalion headquarter was just three miles away and their strong picket was right at the head of the Gumri Nala. Volunteers were chosen to destroy the picket. Jamadar Rustam Khan of 'A' Company and 50 more Scouts volunteered to destroy the post. On 17th June they approached the hill top and hid themselves in snow trench. The following day they reached within fifty yards of the enemy. When the enemy was around the fire, Jamadar Rustam Khan and his men shot volley of bullets and threw hand grenades. Fifty of the enemy fell flat on the ground. Continuous exchange of fire with the main enemy battalion went on. In a few minutes two Indian tempests arrived and started strafing and rocketing madly. One platoon was taken by Shah Khan to the south to give covering fire. When the firing ceased, the picket had fallen into the hands of Jamadar Rustam Khan, who was awarded Sitara-e-Jurrat for his gallantry in this action. With the fall of this picket, the Eskimos established three more pickets around the enemy battalion. 3 Mortar was also brought from Dras. The mortar Commander Havildar Hidayatullah Beg aimed accurately at the enemy headquarter, which was destroyed. Shah Khan writes: "On the night of 6th July, they (enemy) quietly withdrew. The Eskimos once again pounced on them like leopards. Zojila was thus liberated on 7th July 1948". After the capture of Zojila the following arrangement was made. 'D' Company was deployed on Lal Tekri, the eastern ridge of the main pass, to check any frontal or flanking move from the south. 'A' Company was deployed in the immediate west overlooking the main pass itself. Further north-

west, at Bot-Kulan Gunji, one platoon of 'C' Company was posted which guarded the side approaches to Dras and also the rear of the Eskimos. From this base Sonamarg and Baltal areas could be observed and information about enemy build-up could be gathered. Thus Lt. Shah Khan and his Eskimo Force had not only the honour of conquering this important pass but also the privilege of sitting on its head to watch the future movement of the enemy. Lt. Shah Khan deserves to be remembered in history as the heroic 'Eskimo' leader to drive his men to the impossible task of conquering Zojila in the winter month against well-equipped enemy battalion.

'D' Wing of the Ibex Force, with a strength of 50 Scouts, had left Skardu for Kargil on 12th June 1948 under Lt. Mohammad Babar Khan. They were ordered to proceed to Ladakh by the Area Commander, Major Ehsan Ali. They started their advance on 17th June 1948 by the eastern bank of the Indus river. On way they captured the villages of Gurkon, Dah, Biama, Hanoda Chinathang and Marcha without any resistance. By this time Indian army of one full battalion under Lt. Col. Prithi Chand had taken over Leh. He consolidated his position and moved forward along the Indus and Lamayuru routes simultaneously. His advance was checked on both routes by a platoon of Eskimos at Khalatse and a platoon of Ibex at Lamayuru. Lt. Col. Prithi Chand wanted to make a detour and isolate the two platoons. When the enemy had almost succeeded in isolating the two platoons, Lt. Babar reached and found the enemy at various places in small pockets. Continuing the advance, Lt. Babar linked up with Eskimos on 10th July, who were then relieved. Khalatse was secured. He advanced further towards Leh and encountered the enemy at Nurla, Himis and Nimu. During these encounters the enemy could not stand and left behind a large quantity of arms, ammunition, clothing and other valuable stores. By 16th July Lt. Babar established his headquarter at Nimu, a few miles short of Leh and sent parties to climb up the hills around Leh and established a number of pickets. The Indian forces at Leh were surrounded and they continued to get reinforcements by air. Lt. Babar did not feel strong enough to attack Leh. Although he held on to his post until November 18, 1948, when he had to withdraw to Marol as a result of the Indian offensive across Zojila towards Kargil (see below).

### **Indian Reinforcements, Change of Command and Ceasefire**

In the earlier sections detailed information has been given



about the reinforcements that were coming to Skardu from Kargil. The strongest reinforcement was that of 'Z' brigade. The smashing of this brigade by Major Ehsan broke the supply line to Skardu by road. It was now a matter of time for the beleaguered garrison at Skardu to surrender before the overpowering attack of Chitral bodyguard under the Command of Col. Mataul Mulk. It has also been said above how Col. Kirpal Singh fled with 100 men to save his life towards Kashmir. On way this party stopped at Talel, where a newly recruited platoon of Tiger Force was resting in the village without taking any precaution. With the connivance of the local villagers all the fifty men of the platoon were killed by the Dogras. This was the greatest tragedy suffered by the Mujahids.<sup>153</sup> It has also been stated earlier (ante pp. 374-75) how in June 1948 Col. Hasan Khan's main Tiger Force had to withdraw from Tragbal and Gurez and establish a new post at Chorban. He had already sent two of his platoons towards Kargil and they had joined the Eskimos at Pindras. The Indians had started a major attack against Tiger Force that led to their withdrawal. Further advance of Indians was stopped by sending reinforcements of volunteers to Kamri.<sup>154</sup>

By the end of June 1948 the Azad Force of Gilgit and Baltistan under the over-all command of Col. Pasha had cleared the land completely from Maharaja's forces, except for the beleaguered men at Skardu, whose days were also numbered. In the Kargil sector the Azad Force was on the offensive and although they did not take possession of Leh, they had surrounded the town and pushed southward towards Jammu. It is at this time that in the first week of July 1948 two fundamental changes came into this area. The first was closing of the winter seasons and the melting of snow, which led to new tactical move: The approach of summer went in favour of the Indians who could now re-enter with their better trained men and better war equipments supported by air force. The second great change was the replacement of Col. Pasha in the first week of July 1948 by Lt. Col. M.G. Jilani, a war veteran and man of great experience, but certainly unaware of the local geography, local men, local warfare tactic that had been so far followed and unused to the terrain of the area where he was sent to command over men who had not received full army training and who were not so well equipped and had practically no air support. During his tenure he did obtain reinforcements of Chitral bodyguards and also of Frontier Constabulary platoons. This help eased the capitulation of the besieged Skardu garrison but that in any case was to happen sooner or later. Whether this change of command was politic or militarily

sound, would be answered by future historians but the result certainly was adverse because of unnecessary delay in decision making, and whenever such a decision was taken, it was done from an entirely different angle and strategy that were so far followed. Thus far the offensive policy had been pursued and attempts were made to give a surprise attack on the enemy, close his routes of advance and retreat and have a full watch over his movement. With the increase of enemy strength and weather favouring his advance, it is possible that such a policy might not have paid dividends. Perhaps this calculation might have weighed in the mind of the new Commander who was sent by the General Headquarters in Rawalpindi to counterbalance the Indian moves in Kashmir Campaign. Whatever may have been the motivation, it appears that the change of command at this juncture did not prove fruitful. So far the Campaigns in the Northern Areas were isolated and were fought on the initiatives of the local commanders with men recruited locally and were hardly linked with what was then happening in Kashmir.

With the change of Command new strategy had to be devised. After the occupation of Northern Areas by Azad Force, now the aim of the future war was to see that Kashmir was saved from attacks of the Indian army reinforcements that Maharaja had received and thus augmented his strength. As the Indians were concentrating on the western front, it was thought advisable to bring the whole brunt of attack by Azad Force on Leh so that the Indian diversion towards Ladakh might ease the battle situation on the western front.<sup>155</sup>

Col. Jilani decided to consolidate his position in Gurez and Zojila and to concentrate as much force as possible in Nimu so as to capture Leh. After visiting Lt. Babar in Nimu, he reinforced his strength. In the meanwhile the enemy made a major attack on Zojila. The first attack came on 1st and 7th September 1948 by two Indian battalions, 5th Marhatta and 3rd Jat, but it was repulsed. The second attack came on 13th/14th September but that was also repulsed. Then the Indians built the Zojila road to bring tanks, which was hardly believed in by Col. Jilani. In the meanwhile further changes took place in the military commanders on Pakistan side. Major Ismail took over from Major Ehsan Ali and Major Qureshi took over from Lt. Shah Khan. On the other hand the enemy reinforcement at Leh became threatening. In addition to this the Muslim soldiers of former J. and K, who belonged to Poonch and Mirpur and were under the command of Captain Mohammad

Khan Jarral received orders for leave and rest. They were sent to Dras till arrangement for sending them home was complete. They went away on 21 September 1948. In Zojila two defensive lines had been established. The Eskimos who now numbered 200, could hardly defend only 1st defensive line because two companies of second defensive line had been taken away to reinforce the Ibez Force at Leh. On 1st November 1948 at 12.00 hours the Indian tanks sent a volley of shells and they broke through the first defence line of the Eskimos. The latter could not face the shelling. They climbed high mountains and reached Dras. Two other platoons reached Machoi defile. Here they took up the defensive position. On 15th November 1948 Dras fell to the enemy and the Eskimos had to withdraw to Gultari. By now a small strength of Scouts was left with Major Qureshi who decided to lay an ambush near the Kargil bridge on November 25. On hearing of the enemy's break-through at Zojila, Col. Jilani abandoned his plans to attack Leh and ordered his troops to withdraw to Dras. But before his troops reached Kargil he learnt that an attack on Dras was imminent. The enemy was also approaching Kargil through Suru valley. He therefore decided to withdraw his forces both from Leh and Kargil to the general area of Marol. By December 14 all the Scouts had pulled back to Olthing and Marol. Col. Jilani established defensive positions near the Kharol bridge. On January 1, 1949, when the ceasefire was announced, the Scouts were holding a line roughly parallel to Kargil, Dras and Zojila, at places more than 8 to 10 miles away.<sup>156</sup>

One group, known as Padum Party,<sup>157</sup> had advanced far ahead in Zaskar. Having no wireless information about ceasefire, the party continued to hold and fight in this area for nearly six months after the ceasefire. This is the area, to the south of which lies Kangra, on the north is Kargil and Suru on the east is Chek Thang and Lhasa and on the west is Kishtwar. Padum was first occupied by Subedar Mohammad Yasin of Shigar. After two months he was relieved by Havildar Ali Haidar of Nagar. After sometime he was cut off from the headquarter and so he decided to go back but on way he was met by Subedar Rustam and they both came to Padum and reorganised its defence for any possible enemy attack. Naib Subedar Mohammad Ali was then deputed to advance towards Rangdam. Later he also went to Padum and joined with Subedar Rustam. The latter returned to Kargil after handing over Charge to Mohammad Ali. From Padum the Commander used to

send patrolling parties to get information about the enemy position. One such party met the enemy fire severely and had to rush back to Padum after leaving some of their men as prisoners. On 7th Jan. 1949 the enemy advance towards Padum and surrounded the village on 9th. The defenders under Mohammad Ali dug in trench and continued to repulse the enemy attack. In the last week of March 1949 when the Buddhists were celebrating their festival, one Muslim prisoner by name Sikandar ran away from enemy and joined with Mohammad Ali. The fight continued from January to June 1949. As all connection with Pakistani headquarter was cut off, the party decided to send three volunteers to Kargil in order to make contact with the headquarter. They were able to reach Kharol and gave the news about the safety of Mohammad Ali and his men. It is on this information that the General Headquarter in Rawalpindi made contacts with the Indian counterpart and the party was saved and returned to Pakistan. The spirit of these Mujahids made them suffer great hardships and continue to fight till the end without surrendering to the enemy.

It is this spirit of Jihad that inspired the people of Gilgit and Baltistan and they enrolled themselves as volunteers to fight along with their men of Gilgit Scouts. Finally it is they alone who scored victory against the forces of the Maharaja and liberated the entire area, which is today called Northern Areas of Pakistan. The blood of the martyrs who died in the battlefield, the material and moral support that the entire people of this Zone gave for fight for freedom and their voluntary offer to integrate their land with Pakistan, prove the will of the people to cut themselves away from the Maharaja and throw away his decision to join with India. Under this circumstance Northern Areas of Pakistan came into existence to join freely out of its own accord with Pakistan.

## FOOTNOTES

1. *The Kashmir Campaign, 1947-1948*, produced by the Historical Section of the General Staff Branch, General Headquarters, Rawalpindi. (Henceforward referred as *Kashmir Campaign*).
2. S. Kumar Mahajan, *Debacle in Baltistan*, New Delhi, 1973, Chapter IV, F.M. Hassnain, *Gilgit: The Northern Gate of India*, New Delhi, 1975, Chapter V.
3. Brigadier Ghansara Singh, *Gilgit Before 1947*.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
5. Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar Khan, "Inqilab-i-Gilgit meri nazar me" in *Karakorum—Hindukush*, ed. by Manzoom Ali, Islamabad, 1985, pp. 345-46 and p. 354.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 348, 351—352 and 360. See also Col. Sayid Durrani, "Inqilab-i-Gilgit ek mukhtasar jaizah" in *Ibid.*, p. 376; and Major Mohammad Khan Jarral, "Inqilab our Jang-i-Azadi", in *Ibid.*, p. 381.
7. Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 336. On the other hand Subedar Major Mohammad Babar speaks of a civilian organisation being formed and Mohammad Ali Barbari enjoined to propagate among the people. See his article in *Bebak*, p. 25.
8. Col. Hasan Khan Rana (Rono), unpublished manuscript, *Jang-i-Azadi, Gilgit wa Baltistan*, folio, 22.
9. For loyalty of the Mirs and Rajas see Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar, *op.cit.*, p. 339.
10. Quoted by Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar, *op.cit.*, pp. 339-340.
11. See below.
12. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio, 37.
13. Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar, *op.cit.*, p. 347.
14. See footnote 21.
15. The weekly *Bebak*, published from Muzaffarabad, in its issues between 20th January and 10th February, 1973 (vol. II, nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6) contains articles by Shah Rais Khan, Col. Hasan Khan and Captain Babar, presenting the different angles.
16. Major Mohammad Khan Jarral, *op.cit.*, pp. 383-384.
17. S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, p. 15.
18. C.C. Trench, *The Frontier Scouts*, London, 1985, chapter 15. In his personal communication to me Gr. Capt. Shah Khan explicitly said that the action in Gilgit was on the initiative and plan of Gilgit Scouts. Brown was informed only on 31st October night of this plan. This view is confirmed by Babar in his article.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
- 19a. The arrest is attested by Babar, see *Bebak*, pp. 27-28.

20. Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar, *op.cit.*, pp. 343-344. According to him Brown was arrested by Col. Hasan.
21. Col. Mataul Mulk, , "Jang-i-Azadi our Chitral Body Guard" in *Karakorum-Hindukush*, pp. 392-403.
22. Published by Army Education Press, Rawalpindi, 1975.
23. See footnote 1 above.
24. By Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi, Skardu, 1984.
25. See footnotes nos. 5 and 6.
26. *Gilgit: The Northern Gate of India*, New Delhi, 1978.
27. *Debacle in Balistan*, New Delhi, 1973.
28. Some even take objection to a reference to the rank which was held at that time, as communicated to me in an official letter from Gilgit enclosing the complaint of (ex) Group Captain Shah Khan. I have therefore referred to all these officers by the rank which they got promoted later in their career.
29. F.M. Hassnain, *op.cit.*, chapter 4.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 144.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
35. *Ibid.*,
36. Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi, *op.cit.*, pp. 61-64.
37. Brigadier Ghansara Singh, *op.cit.*, chapter IV, pp. 51-58.
38. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio, 15.
39. C.C. Trench, *op.cit.*, p. 269.
40. Col. Sayid Durrani, *op.cit.*, p. 374.
41. Mohammad Khan Jarral, *op.cit.*, pp. 380-82.
42. S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
43. Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi, *op.cit.*, pp. 69-70.
44. S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
45. A. H. Suharwardy, *Tragedy in Kashmir*, Wajid Alis, Lahore, 1983, p. 149.
46. Major Sikandar Khan, *Liberation of Northern Areas*, Rawalpindi, 1975, p. 25.
47. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio, 25.
48. Manzoom Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 512.
49. Major Sikandar Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 26.
50. See file no. C/1/47. Confidential letters were exchanged in August 1947 between the British Commandant of the Gilgit Scouts and the Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmir State Army.
51. C.C. Trench, *op.cit.*, p. 214.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 271.
54. Gr. Capt. Shah Khan, *op.cit.*, Ms. Chapter I.
55. *Bebak*, *op.cit.*, pp. 25-26.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 11 of the Contribution of Shah Rais Khan.
57. *Karakorum—Hindu Kush*, 545.
- 57a. *Bebak*,
58. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio 32.
59. Brigadier Gansara Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 74, confirms that these two Rajas were in Srinagar in July 1947 at the invitation of the Maharaja of Kashmir.
60. See ante p 346. where Col. Hasan Khan claims that the Raja of Puniyal ran away because he was afraid of him.

61. Lt. Ghulam Haidar, *op.cit.*, pp. 339-343.
62. Brigadier Ghansara Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 59; F.M. Hassnain, *op.cit.*, p. 153.
63. Ahmad Hasan Dani — 'Gilgit Scouts win the battle of freedom', in daily *Muslim*, Islamabad, 2nd November, 1984.
64. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio 35.
65. Brigadier Ghansara Singh, *op.cit.*, 67. See also F. Hassnain, *op.cit.*, pp. 156-157.
66. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio 39.
67. The actual number, according to the diary of Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar, was 30 and they were under the command of only Subedar Major Mohammad Babar Khan while he himself seized post and telegraph office and tried in vain to persuade Ghansara Singh to surrender but there was no phone connection.
68. The version as it appears in his article in *Bebak*, pp. 23-24.
69. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio 41.
70. *Bebak*, pp. 11-12.
71. Brigadier Ghansara Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 72.
72. F.M. Hussnain, *op.cit.*, pp. 157-158.
73. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio 14-16.
74. Major Sikandar Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 36.
75. C.C. Trench, *op.cit.*, p. 273 has mixed up the order sent to Chilas and given to Subedar Safiullah Beg and later on pp. 276 and 277 he gives a slightly different version of the actual action but the main objective was achieved by Scout Subedars and Matheison was left far behind.
76. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 42-44.
77. His contribution in *Bebak*, p. 12.
78. It is only later writers, such as Manzoom Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 558 who talks of "Hasan Cabinet", probably to please him or to idolize him.
79. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio 43-44.
80. Some (apparently forged) documents have been made available to me in Gilgit by the son of Shah Rais Khan, in which there is a petition from the representatives of Darel praising the work of Shah Rais Khan as President of the Provisional Government and further requesting the Government of Pakistan for his continuation in the job. At the same time these tribals offer allegiance to Pakistan.
81. Major Sikandar Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 36 and figure on p. 37.
82. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio 45.
83. *Ibid.*, folio 45-46.
84. *Ibid.*, folio 48-49.
85. *Ibid.*, folio 51.
86. *Ibid.*, folio 53.
87. Gr. Capt. Shah Khan gives a different version: "On 3 November wireless message from Ghansara Singh in the capacity of military Governor was sent to the Dogra Commander at Bunji. He was ordered to surrender alongwith his troops as the entire area had been captured by the tribal lashkar. The Dogra Commander refused to obey unless he got the order in writing personally signed by the Governor".
88. Captain Mohammad Khan Jarral, *op.cit.*, in *Karakorum—Hindukush*, pp. 383-386.
89. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio 55.
90. *Ibid.*, folio 62.
91. The account is based on personal interview with Brigadier Aslam given at Gilgit on 17 October 1984.

92. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio 64, describes how he was his fellow cadet and fought together in Burma front and both were awarded M.C. for their gallantry in the same action.
93. *Kashmir Campaign, 1947-1948*, p. 10 see also Major Sikandar Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 40.
94. That is what he impressed me when I interviewed him on 14 November 1984 in village at the ripe old age of 84.
95. This naturally led to jealousy as we read in the account of Col. Hasan Khan and his undeserving remarks against others.
96. Col. Hasan Khan wrongly states (folio 5 and 64-65) that he was sent here as he was private secretary to General Gracy. Actually he became private secretary later when he was recalled.
97. Sardar Mohammad Alam Khan in his simple sincerity desired his own protection and the territory under him in his own way by keeping the Scouts in Gilgit but Col. Pasha had a different plan.
98. Col. A.S.B. Shah and Mr. Khurshid of the Ministry of States and Frontier Region, Government of Pakistan.
99. This date is taken from Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar's diary. Subsequent account is also based on the records of his diary.
100. Col. Hasan Khan, *op.cit.*, folio 68ff., paints a self-centred position and talks of the Pakistani Political Agent having his authority in Gilgit Agency while he himself had his headquarter in Bunji with full authority in the liberated area of Astor and Harmosh. He talks of a meeting held in the bungalow of the Political Agent, where such a division of authority was made, possibly under the cunning suggestion of Major Brown so that Gilgit Scouts Command remained outside the hand of Col. Hasan Khan. It is possible that there was a power tussel in Gilgit but to say that Sardar Mohammad Alam Khan agreed to such a division of power is hardly possible in view of the backing that he had from the Government of Pakistan.
101. According to a personal interview with him he was not opposed to freedom struggle but as he arrived late in Bunji, he was unaware of the local development.
102. Entry in Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar's diary, dated 1st December 1947.
103. See footnote 100 for another view of Col. Hasan Khan.
104. Brown claimed that he was responsible for getting Commission for Babar Khan but that claim could hardly be believed in view of the fact that Col. Pasha was back in G.H.Q for consultation. The decision must have been taken by Pakistani High Command.
105. The date is taken from Lt. Col. Ghulam Haidar's diary.
106. *Kashmir Campaign, 1947-48*, p. 10.
107. Col. Hasan Khan, in his unpublished book, *op.cit.*, throughout makes an insinuation that Col. Pasha did not do justice to him out of jealousy as he did not send him re-enforcements when he could advance to Srinagar. Manzoom Ali follows him and apparently blames him as well as General Headquarters in Rawalpindi for not giving him time to pursue his attack.
108. Major Sikandar Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 87-88 has slightly different version.
109. Mr. Manzoom Ali, *Hindu Kush -- Karakorum*, pp. 576-577, who, in his article, is throughout idolising Col. Hasan Khan, sees the whole strategy only from the angle of Bandipur and Gurez, the sector where Col. Hasan was commanding. On the other hand the Commandant Col. Pasha was bent on executing the whole scheme and defending Northern Areas against possible approach of the enemy from either route.



110. Manzoom Ali, *op.cit.*, p. 513.
111. This biographical note is based on the article of Sher Baz Ali Barcha, 'Mirza Hasan: Janam se Lahad tak' in *Karakorum—Hindukush*, pp. 431-478, which verbally quotes Col. Hasan's own account.
112. His political ambition can be gauged from his own remarks about achieving Pakistan, his later involvement in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy case. In 1958, after his release from goal, he founded the Gilgit League the first political party in this region. Later he joined Pakistan Peoples Party but on difference with Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was again imprisoned for 19 months. Finally he joined Tahrik-i-Istiqlal party and remained its Chairman in Azad Kashmir, Gilgit and Baltistan until his sudden death on 19 November 1983.
113. The following account is summarised from Col. Hasan Khan's own book, *op.cit.*, folio 68 ff. It has also been summarised by Manzoom Ali, Major Sikandar Khan and in *Kashmir Campaign*. Attempt is made here to follow the detail as given by Col. Hasan Khan.
114. Manzoom Ali, *Karakorum—Hindukush*, pp. 513-14.
115. The account is partly based on two personal interviews by the author.
116. These versions can be read in Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi, *op.cit.*, and in Manzoom Ali, *op.cit.* While giving his life sketch, the latter dismisses him in four and half lines, *Ibid.*, p. 517.
117. It appears that only junior officers of the Kashmir State Army, upto the rank of Captain, at Bunji were in the forefront of the revolt. They perhaps did not trust Major Ehsan Ali, or rather they felt jealous of him and did not give him any responsibility when the Provisional Government was formed in Gilgit. His relation with Subedar Major Babar Khan is not known, except that both belonged to Nagar. Later in Baltistan Campaign Babar served under him. In the Provisional Government all good positions were taken over by Kashmir State army officers — Captain Hasan Khan, Captain Sayid Durrani and Lt. Ghulam Haidar. Only Babar could hold one position and Presidentship was given to Shah Rais Khan. In the tussel for power that followed, the senior officers appear to have been set aside. This position completely changed on the arrival of Col. Pasha. The two British officers left Gilgit and so were gone Captain Sayid Durrani and Lt. Ghulam Haidar. The remaining officers got their position according to their ranks. Major Ehsan Ali, being the seniormost, became the Commander of the Ibex Force and Captain Hasan Khan the Commander of the Tiger Force. These appointments put an end to local feuds. Other officers of the State army and those of the Gilgit Scouts were given due responsibility in the future struggle of advance and defence.
118. S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, p. 26.
119. Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi, *op.cit.*, pp. 81-82.
120. S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, p. 27.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 27; See also Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi, pp. 82-83.
122. S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, p. 44.
123. *Ibid.*, pp. 38-39.
124. Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi, *op.cit.*, pp. 84-87.
125. S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, p. 47.
126. Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi, *op.cit.*, pp. 91-92; Manzoom Ali, *Karakorum—Hindukush*, pp. 588-89; S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, p. 54.
127. *Kashmir Campaigns, 1947-48*, pp. 12-13; Major Sikandar Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 53-55.

128. S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, p. 55.
129. *Kashmir Campaign, 1947-1948*, p. 14.
130. S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, p. 59.
131. *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
133. *Op.cit.*, pp. 100-102.
134. *Kashmir Campaign, 1947-1948*, p. 15.
135. S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, pp. 64-67.
136. Major Sikandar Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 61.
137. *Op.cit.*, pp. 98-102.
138. Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi, *op.cit.*, pp. 104-105.
139. S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, p. 70.
140. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
141. Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi, *op.cit.*, p. 107 gives as 19 March.
142. S. Kumar Mahajan, *op.cit.*, p. 89.
143. Col. Mataul Mulk, 'Jang-i-Azadi our Chitral body guard' in *Karakorum—Hindukush*, pp. 392-401.
144. Major Sikandar Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 67-68.
145. The description of Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi, *op.cit.*, pp. 109-110, is somewhat different. He names the place of ambush as Sarnik in Parkuta, which, according to him, was spread out for seven Km. between the narrow valleys of Mangal bagh and Charkati, the two narrow gorges at the two ends. According to him 200 men were sent from Skardu under Captain Mohammad Khan and Captain Nek Alam.
146. Mohammad Yasin Husain Abadi, *op.cit.*, pp. 116-118; Major Sikandar Khan, *op.cit.*, pp. 93-94.
147. *Kashmir Campaign, 1947-48*, p. 22; Mohammad Yusuf Husain Abadi, *op.cit.*, pp. 121-122.
148. This account is based on personal interview with him and on the unpublished book that he has written, mostly its Chapter III.
149. *Kashmir Campaign, 1947-1948*, p. 27.
150. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30. Major Sikandar Khan, *op.cit.*
151. It is this account which has been copied by Major Sikandar Khan in his book.
152. Manzoom Ali, *Karakorum—Hindukush*, pp. 593-94; Moahmmad Yusuf Husain Abadi, *op.cit.*, pp. 117-18.
153. Major Sikandar Khan, *op.cit.*, p. 102 mentions that Col. Pasha himself went to this sector for personal supervision but on personal enquiry with Col. Pasha it is learnt that he did not go to the Sector at all. He only sent reinforcements.
154. This is the reasoning given to the author by Col. Jilani on personal interview for his new strategy of putting all pressure on Leh.
155. Major Sikandar Khan, pp. 114-115.
156. Hashmatullah Khan, 'Padum Party', in *Karakorum—Hindukush*, pp. 479-505.

## IX

## EPILOGUE

## DARDISTAN OR BALURISTAN

In the long march of the history of the land, which today bears the name of Northern Areas of Pakistan, there has been thrilling story of men who have presented a life pattern that is adopted to high altitude living. Although the land has been cut away from the rest of mankind most of the year by snow-capped ranges, yet the people have never been isolated. Hemmed in by great states on all sides, the people devised their own schemes to save themselves from the hands of imperial powers and build an independent pattern of life of their own. In this build-up local geography stood in the way of unitary cultural development. Lack of easy communication between one valley and another led to multiple cultural systems and this multiplicity dominated the course of historical evolution. Survivals of old cultural features are yet another characteristic of the land. The people, in their aloofness, have preserved many lost cultural trends of mankind. It is in the discovery of these trends that one may find solution to some of the missing links that are visible in the advanced societies of the neighbouring areas. One thing is certain that these people have never been separated for long from the civilized world. They have always felt the impact of the Asian drama of history. It will be wrong to say that they have been only at the receiving end. Their interaction with the surrounding areas shows sufficient exchange of men and material and keeps up the ebb and flow of historical currents. And yet the land has its own peculiarities, for which the scholars have tried to find a name. For long in modern historical works they have been dubbed under Dardistan. In the ancient and medieval history the land bore the appellation of Bolor, from which some modern writers have deduced the geographic term of Baluristan. Until this term becomes widely

accepted, the present name of Northern Areas of Pakistan would continue to hold at least in the official documents of Pakistan.

### Historical Pattern

The word, Dardistan, was coined (see ante Chapter. I) by Dr. Leitner on the basis of the general name of a people, designated as Dard, while Bolor is most probably derived from Patol (see ante p. 146). Whatever may be their derivation, the old history of the land is preserved behind the use of these two terms. The other archaeological data and epigraphic records add detail to the history and the accounts of the travellers and in foreign sources present the inter-relationship of the land with the neighbouring states. The famous Silk Road of the past sent its branch line southward and along that road moved many people with their trade, mission and ideas to enrich this land. The last great movement of the people was of the Turks, who called themselves Trakhans in the mediaeval period. They formed the ruling class of the land for the last one thousand years. The royal houses of Gilgit, Nagar and Hunza all belong to this main stock. The royal house of Chitral, Koh-i-Ghizar, Yasin, Gupis and Punial belong to another group, commonly tracing their descent from Kator family, although the Yasin branch is known as Khushwaqte family and Punial branch as Burush family. In Baltistan the story is somewhat different. The main dynasty of Skardu is known as Maqpon and that of Khaplu is called Yabgu. The Skardu family branched off into those of Rondu, Astor Parkuta, Tolti, Khar Mong and probably Kargil. Shigar provides a link between Hunza and Baltistan. Its ruling family is known as Amachas.

These families have continued to hold their power and prestige right down till today although their political power waned in the 19th and 20th centuries with the incursion of the British power in this region and their subordinate ally, Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. Earlier the royal families established close relation with the local people and they practically mixed up with them and in fact the ministerial rank was always selected from them. The British started a new game of diplomacy. Although the Sikhs first and the Dogras later interpolated in this area due to feud in the royal families, it is the British genius and British military command that brought the area under British paramountcy and under it was surreptitiously promulgated the so-called "suzerainty" of the

Maharaja. The meaning of this term was never made clear as the British could manipulate their position in whatever manner they liked. What is clear is that Gilgit Agency was not recognised as Maharaja's territory until 1947. Even then before the lapse of the British paramountcy of 14th-15th August 1947, the British handed over, on 1st August 1947, the region to the Maharaja without ascertaining the views of the people. It is against this quiet transfer that the local people revolted, defeated the forces of the Maharaja, asserted their independence, formed a provisional government and on their own accord joined with Pakistan. In this way Northern Areas of Pakistan came into existence in 1947. While the legal question of this land forming a part of Kashmir may remain under dispute, the local people themselves have made a decision out of their free will by throwing away the Maharaja's government from this entire land of Gilgit, Baltistan and tribal regions and expressly volunteered to join with Pakistan in order to associate themselves with the Muslim conduct of government and lead a Muslim way of life.

### **Administration in 1947-1948**

At the time of ceasefire on 1st January 1949, the areas<sup>1</sup> controlled by the Political Agent, Gilgit, were as under:

- I.
  - i) Gilgit Agency consisting of Gilgit Sub-division (which is a settled district);
  - ii) The states of Hunza and Nagar;
  - iii) The Sub-agency of Chilas;
  - iv) The political districts of Punial, Koh-i-Ghizar, Yasin and Ishkoman.
- II.
  - i) The whole district of Astor;
  - ii) The whole of Skardu and a part of Kargil Tehsils of the Ladakh district, and a part of Gurez Niabat.

As for the Gilgit Sub-division administration is concerned, the Political Agent was assisted by one Assistant Political Agent at Gilgit with usual Tehsil and sub-divisional staff consisting of one Tehsildar, one Naib Tehsildar and other Tehsil establishment, and a Political Inspector with an establishment of 50 persons.

There were 8 schools in the Agency of which one was a Middle School for boys, one Primary School for girls and 6 Primary Schools for boys.

There was one Veterinary Hospital with one Veterinary

Sub-assistant Surgeon and usual subordinate staff in the Agency. In Gilgit proper there was a big Civil Hospital with one Agency Surgeon, one Assistant Surgeon, and other subordinate staff. Besides this, there were 8 dispensaries with usual staff, being run in the Agency.

The Public Works Department, headed by the Resident Engineer, was also functioning with a staff of overseers, Work Munshis and other Workmen distributed all over the area administered by the Political Agent.

The States of Hunza and Nagar were administered by their hereditary Mirs. The Mirs were assisted in the disposal of all criminal, civil and other cases by a Council of Elders appointed by the consent of both the litigants. The Elders were elected by the public.

The Sub-Agency of Chilas was administered by the Political Agent, Gilgit, through an Assistant Political Agent in Chilas, who had a staff consisting of one Political Naib Tehsildar and Raja Orderly with 62 Civil Levies to act as Police. The cases were decided by him on Jirga system. The Jirgadars were appointed by Assistant Political Agent with the consent of the litigants from amongst the Elders elected by the public.

The Political district of Puniyal was administered by the Governor of Puniyal on hereditary basis under the advice of the Political Agent, Gilgit. The cases were disposed of by him with the assistance of tribal jirga appointed by him with the consent of both the litigants.

Political districts of Koh-i-Ghizar, Yasin and Ishkoman were administered by Governors appointed by the Administration from among the local people. They held these appointments as long as they performed their duties satisfactorily. Prior to the revolution the governors were arbitrarily appointed by the Political Agent. Now the people's wishes were taken into consideration in the appointment of these Governors.

All the areas in II above were administered by the Political Agent in Gilgit with the assistance of one Assistant Political Agent in Skardu with two Tehsildars, and three Naib Tehsildars for Skardu and Kargil Tehsils and one Tehsildar, two Naib Tehsildars with the necessary staff for Astor and Gurez areas.

In addition to this, two civil dispensaries, one veterinary dispensary, one Middle and 11 Primary Schools were also functioning regularly in Astor district. The district had a police force and an officer of the Public Works Department as well as a Forest Ranger.

Similarly three hospitals one veterinary hospital, one Lower High School, two Lower Middle Schools and 30 Primary Schools were functioning in Skardu and Kargil areas, which also had necessary police force and an officer of Public Works Department.

The figures, as obtained in 1941 Census, are given in the following chart:

**GILGIT AGENCY**

| According to 1941 census Population | Roads length fit for animal transport & maintained by Govt. | Bridges          | Annual Cost of Maintenance of Roads. | Schools Middle-Pry-Girls | Government | Levies and State body Guards | Hospitals Hosp. Disp.              | Revenue in cash payable to Govt. | P & T Office |                 |          |
|-------------------------------------|---|------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------|
| 1. Hunza State.                     | 15,341  | 99 miles         | 17                                   | —                        | 1          | —                            | 35                                 | —                                | 1            | —               | 1        |
| 2. Nagar State.                     |   |                  |                                      | 14,874                   | 1          | —                            | 18                                 | —                                | 2            | —               | —        |
| 3. Punial Pol. District.            | 8,164   |                  |                                      | —                        | 1          | —                            | 14                                 | —                                | 1            | —               | —        |
| 4. Gupis —do—                       | 8,512   | 164 miles        | 32                                   | —                        | 1          | —                            | 17                                 | —                                | 1            | 1613/—          | 1        |
| 5. Yasin —do—                       | 9,989   |                  |                                      | —                        | 1          | —                            | 10                                 | —                                | 1            | 1610/—          | —        |
| 6. Ishkoman                         | 4,282   |                  |                                      | —                        | 1          | —                            | 115                                | —                                | 1            | 1172/—          | —        |
| 7. Chilas Sub-Agency                | 15,364  | 115 miles        | 20                                   | —                        | 1          | —                            | 661                                | —                                | 1            | 3233/—          | 1        |
| 8. Gilgit Sub-Division              | 22,495  | 115 miles        | 12                                   | 1                        | 6          | 1                            | 1810                               | 1                                | —            | 24,420/—        | 1        |
| Area in Sqr miles<br>16,160)        |   |                  |                                      |                          |            |                              | (High School) at<br>Gilgit in 1952 |                                  |              |                 |          |
| <b>Total</b>                        | <b>99,021</b>   | <b>492 miles</b> | <b>81</b>                            | <b>Rs. 125,700/—</b>     | <b>13</b>  | <b>1</b>                     | <b>21,180</b>                      | <b>1</b>                         | <b>8</b>     | <b>32,048/—</b> | <b>4</b> |

|                        |       |                          |  |
|------------------------|-------|--------------------------|--|
| <b>ADMINISTRATION.</b> | (1)   | Hunza & Nagar States:—   | Administered by their own hereditary Mirs, usually advised by P.A. in internal affairs and are all provided with lives, paid by Govt. to act as Police under them. |
|                        | (ii)  | Punial:—                 | Administered by its own hereditary chief.  |
|                        | (iii) | Gupis, Yasin & Ishkoman. | Administered by governors appointed by Govt. from among prominent ruling families of the Agency.   |
|                        | (iv)  | Chilas:—                 | Administered by Political Agent through Asstt. Pol. Agent, Chilas.   |
|                        | (v)   | Gilgit:—                 | Administered by Pol. Agent. Gilgit through A.P.A. GILGIT.  |



Astor is wholly mountainous and consists of 39 villages including Bunji Cantonment. Total area is 1632 sq. miles. Its population according to 1941 census, was 17,026. The total land revenue is Rs. 40,000/- annually.

Skardu and Kargil areas composed of 222 villages and a population of 1,20,000. The total land revenue is Rs. 1,10,000/- annually.

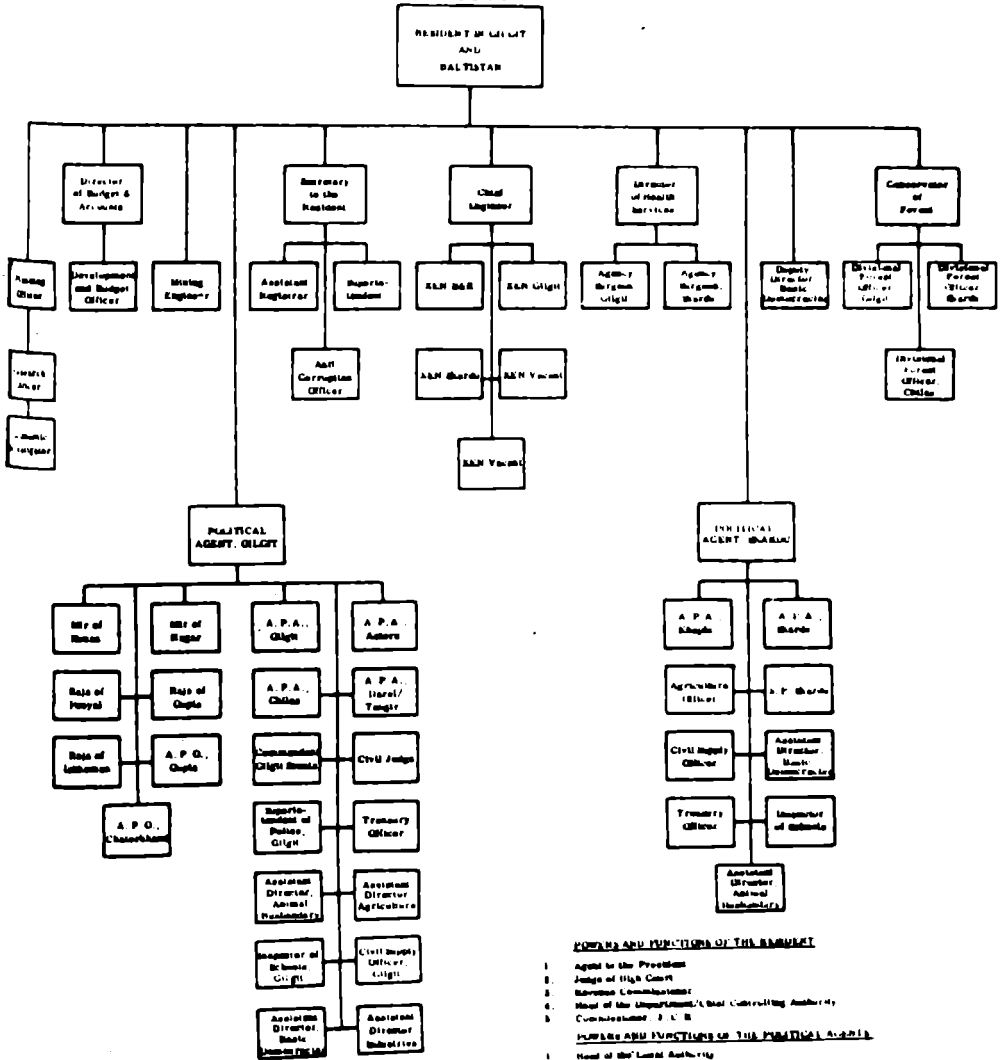
### Later Administrative Changes<sup>2</sup>

In November 1947 Government of Pakistan appointed a Political Agent in Gilgit in response to the invitation by the Provisional Government set up in Gilgit on 1st November 1947. Later in pursuance of an order of the Governor-General in Council, dated 6th April 1948, the Political Resident in Council, dated 6th April 1948, the Political Resident in the North West Frontier Province was directed to act as Agent to the Governor General for the Gilgit Agency including the States in that Agency. The Political Agent in Gilgit was thus placed under the administrative control of the Political Resident. At that time Baltistan formed part of the area known as Gilgit Agency. Consequent upon the transfer of the charge of the Gilgit Agency from the local administration of the North West Frontier Province to the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs in 1950, a post of Political Resident and Chief Adviser to the Azad Kashmir Government was created under the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. In 1950 the control of Northern Areas was transferred from the Governor of N.W.F.P. to the Ministry of Kashmir Affairs. It was the Political Resident for Gilgit and Baltistan who looked after the actual administration. This arrangement continued till 1952, when the Joint Secretary, Kashmir Affairs Division, was entrusted with the additional charge of the post of Resident of Northern Areas and Chief Adviser for Azad Kashmir. In 1967 another change was made and a separate post of Resident for Northern Areas only was created with headquarters at Gilgit. He combined the powers of head of the local administration, High Court, Commissioner under F.C.R. as well as the Provincial and Revenue Commissioner.

The administrative structure of Northern Areas, as existed in 1971, is given in the following chart:

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

1971



POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE RESIDENT

1. Agent to the President
2. Judge of High Court
3. Revenue Commissioner
4. Head of the Department's Local Controlling Authority
5. Commissioner, P. U. S.

POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE POLITICAL AGENTS

1. Head of the Local Authority
2. District Magistrate and Sessions Judge
3. Collector
4. Commissioner, P. U. S. (up to 1 year B. I.)
5. Inspector General of Police

## Administrative Structure in 1971

Northern Areas comprised two administrative constituents known as Gilgit Agency and Baltistan Agency. The two Agencies consisted of the following units:

- A *Gilgit Agency*
- i) Gilgit Sub-Division.
  - ii) Astor Sub-Division.
  - iii) Chilas Sub-Agency.
  - iv) Darel and Tangir Sub-Agency.
  - iv) States of Hunza and Nagar.
  - vi) Political Districts of Punial, Yasin, Koh-i-Ghizar and Ishkoman.
- B. *Baltistan Agency*
- i) Skardu.
  - ii) Shigar.
  - iii) Rondu.
  - iv) Khaplu.
  - v) Kharmong.

The over-all control of the Northern Areas vested in the Central Government through the Resident who exercised the functions of a local Government for the Areas. He also acted as the High Court and Commissioner F.C.R. as well as the Financial and Revenue Commissioner. He was assisted by two Political Agents one each in the Gilgit and Baltistan Agencies. There being no separate legislative Body in the Areas, the Resident also exercised legislative powers in consultation with the Government of Pakistan.

### Gilgit Agency

The Political Agent, Gilgit was the head of the Gilgit Agency and was responsible to the Resident for running the administration of the Agency.

He also performed the functions of:—

- (a) District and Sessions Judge.
- (b) District Magistrate.
- (c) Collector under revenue laws.
- (d) Commissioner, FCR for Gilgit Agency with powers to award punishment upto 70 years R.I.
- (e) Inspector General of Police.
- (f) Chairman District Council and Project Director, Rural

**Works Programme.**

- (g) Controlling Officer of Cooperative Societies.
- (h) Registrar, Cooperative Societies, Director of Education, (Animal Husbandry and Fisheries).

Gilgit Sub-Division is a settled area. Its last land settlement was completed in 1917. Land Revenue was realised both in cash and in kind. The area was administered through an Assistant Political Agent who was assisted by the necessary revenue staff and the police. The Assistant Political Agent also functioned as:—

- (a) Senior Civil Judge.
- (b) Magistrate First Class with Section 30 powers.
- (c) Deputy Commissioner, under FCR.
- (d) Assistant Collector, First Grade.
- (e) Sub-Divisional Magistrate.
- (f) Registrar under Registration Act.
- (g) Additional District Magistrate for the four Political Districts of Punial, Koh-e-Ghizar, Ishkoman and Yasin.

Astor Sub-Division was reconstituted as a Sub-Division after Gilgit Agency was taken over by the Government of Pakistan in November, 1947. This too is a settled area like the Gilgit Sub-Division. Land Revenue was realised in cash as well as in kind. It was administered through an Assistant Political Agent. The Assistant Political Agent exercised the same judicial functions as the A.P.A., Gilgit.

Chilas Sub-Agency was not a settled area. No regular land revenue was imposed here. In the form of royalty, however, a sum of Rs. 3,335/- per annum was realised from various communities. This Sub-Agency was headed by an Assistant Political Agent with one Naib Tehsildar, one Raja Orderly and sixty one levies who functioned as police and assisted the administration in the maintenance of law and order. No regular laws of Pakistan had been extended to this Sub-Agency. All cases arising in the Sub-Agency were decided under the provisions of F.C.R. for purposes of which the Assistant Political Agent functioned as Deputy Commissioner.

The tribal areas of Darel and Tangir voluntarily joined Pakistan in 1951. Darel and Tangir were administered as a Sub-Agency of Gilgit through the Assistant Political Agent, Chilas. He was assisted by an Assistant Political Officer with headquarters at Tangir, a platoon of Scouts and 77 levies headed by a Raja Orderly. The Assistant Political Agent also functioned as Deputy Commissioner under the F.C.R. No land revenue was imposed. The people, how-

ever, paid annually gold dust weighing seven tolas as tribute to Government.

The States of Hunza and Nagar lie in the extreme north-west of Kashmir, on the banks of the Hunza River. Both the States were autonomous in internal affairs. All executive, judicial and legislative powers vested in the Mirs who governed through Jirgas and Panchayats.

The Mir of Hunza received an annual subsidy of Rs. 5,300/- from the Government of Pakistan. For maintenance of law and order, besides other machinery, the Mir was assisted by 35 levies who were financed by the Government of Pakistan. The Mir also functioned as the Leader of the Levies and got a remuneration of Rs. 100/- per month on this account.

Nagar has the same pattern of administration as that of Hunza. The annual subsidy of the Mir of Nagar, however, was Rs. 6,000/-. The number of levies, he headed was 10 for which he received a payment of Rs. 100/- per month.

There were 4 Political Districts in the Gilgit Agency, namely, Punial, Koh-i-Ghizar (Gupis), Ishkoman and Yasin. The Districts of Punial, Koh-i-Ghizar and Ishkoman were administered through Rajas who were also known as Governors. The District of Yasin was administered by the Assistant Political Officer, Gupis, through a Naib-Tehsildar posted at Yasin.

All the four Political Districts were "unsettled" and no record of land tenure system existed in these areas.

Punial is an hereditary jagir. The Raja was under the administrative jurisdiction of the Political Agent, Gilgit. He was independent in so far as the internal administration of the district was concerned. The strength of levies in Punial was 15. The Raja was entitled to collect the revenue of the "District" and kept it as his jagir money.

Koh-i-Ghizar and Ishkoman Districts were administered by a Raja each, who were not hereditary but were appointed by the Resident. The law and order was maintained through political levies which were financed by the Government of Pakistan. There were 19 levies in Gupis and 17 in Ishkoman and the Rajas functioned as levy leaders in their respective "districts". The land revenue for these districts was realised by the Rajas, a small portion of which was paid to the Government.

Yasin Political District was under the direct administrative charge of the Assistant Political Officer, Gupis, who was assisted by

a Naib-Tehsildar at Yasin. The revenue of the District was realized by Government and credited into Government Treasury. The Assistant Political Officer of Gupis also functioned as Magistrate First Class for disposal of cases pertaining to Yasin. The Assistant Political Officer had 11 levies.

### Baltistan Agency

The Baltistan Agency, also known as Little Tibet ( تبت خور ) is comprised of five main valleys, viz. Skardu, Khaplu, Shigar, Rondu and Kharmong.

The entire Baltistan Agency was a settled area. The Agency was headed by a Political Agent whose powers and functions were similar to those of the Political Agent, Gilgit. There were two Sub-Divisions in the Agency at Skardu and Khaplu, each under the charge of an Assistant Political Agent, whose powers and functions were more or less the same as enjoyed by an Extra Assistant Commissioner in a settled District in Pakistan. Besides their main responsibilities of revenue administration and maintenance of law and order, the Assistant Political Agents also functioned as Magistrates, First Class with Section 30 powers, Senior Civil Judges, Assistant Collectors, First Grade Deputy Commissioner under FCR, Incharge of Games and Fisheries, Collector, Land Acquisition and Registrar under the Registration Act. There was a District Treasury at Skardu in the charge of a Treasury Officer who was of the status of a Tehsildar. He also functioned as Civil Judge I Class, Magistrate I Class.

In August 1972 the then President of Pakistan ordered various fundamental and far-reaching reforms<sup>3</sup> to be introduced in the Northern Areas, important of which were:

- (i) Abolition of Jagirdari system; Institutions of Rajas and Mir of Nagar; Agency system; and conversion of Gilgit and Baltistan Agencies into Gilgit and Baltistan District.
- (ii) Redesignation of the Political Agents as Deputy Commissioners and that of the Resident and Commissioner for Northern Areas.

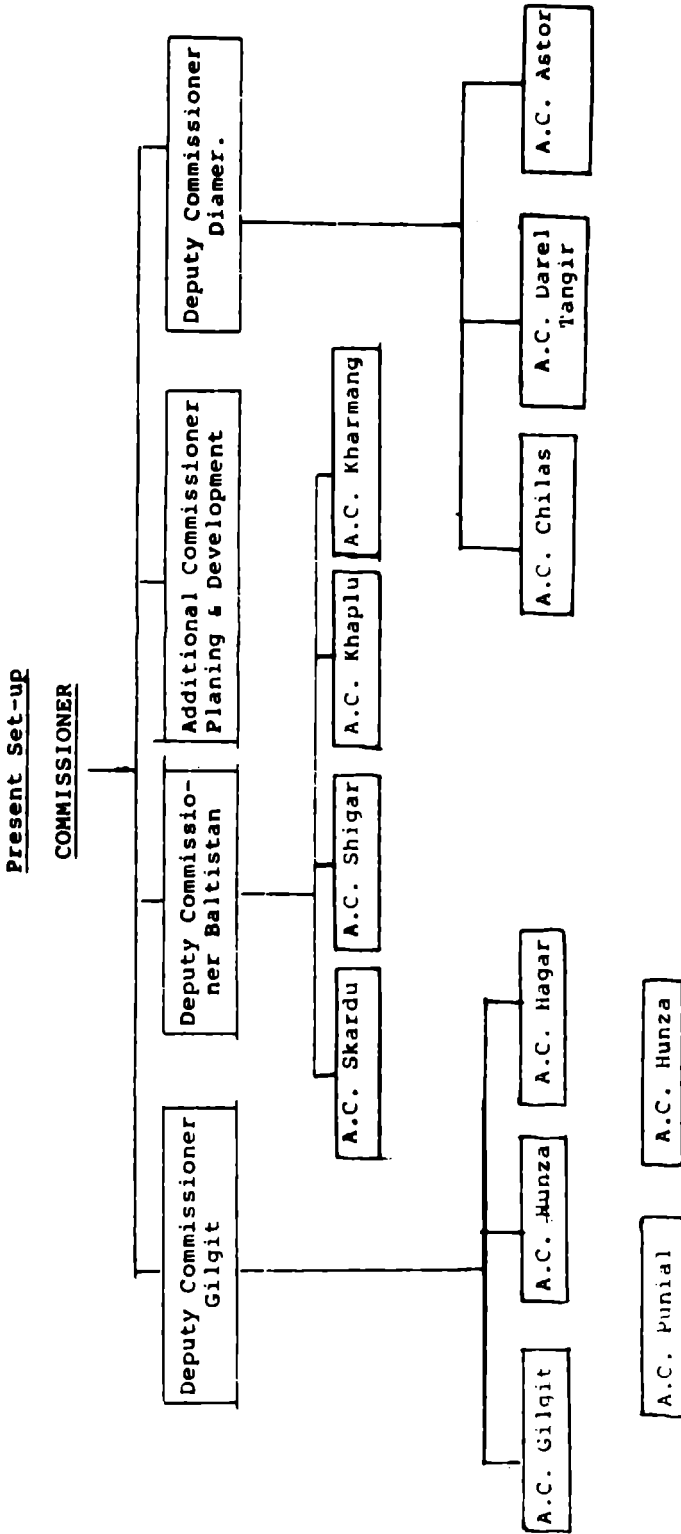
In December 1972, a new district known as Diamar consisting of the Sub-divisions of Astor, Chilas and Darel/Tangir was created.

In September 1974 the Prime Minister of Pakistan paid a visit to the Northern Areas and announced the following reforms:

- (i) Abolition of Hunza State.

- (ii) Creation of a new district known as Ghanche consisting of Khaplu and Kharhong Sub-divisions in Baltistan.
- (iii) Creation of a new district known as Ghizr.

The Ghanche and Ghizr Districts were later abolished for reasons of economy and merged with the Districts of Baltistan and Gilgit respectively. At present, therefore, Northern Areas stand divided into three districts for administrative purposes. The set-up is shown in the following chart.<sup>4</sup>





**Present Position (1985)**

Northern Areas comprise three districts, viz. Gilgit, Baltistan and Diamar, each headed by a Deputy Commissioner, all functioning under the Commissioner for Northern Areas (see chart above). In view of limited resources of the Northern Areas it was decided that these districts should be immediately given separate administration under the Federal Government. Accordingly Northern Areas Advisory Council was established. Local Union Councils at the District and Sub-divisional levels were also created.

During Martial Law Regime Northern Areas were treated as a separate Martial Law Zone. This gave encouragement to certain elements and movement for the creation of a separate province was started. When Majlis-i-Shura came into existence, representation was given to the Northern Areas and members received observer status.

During the recent past a number of significant developments have taken place which hold promise of speedier economic growth and some alleviation of poverty. The construction of the KKH has reduced the distance between the region and the rest of the country and is also helping to open up internal communication. The administration of the region has been streamlined to afford easy access to the common man. The number of tourists and mountaineering expeditions and trekking parties have increased. Barter trade with the People's Republic of China has expanded. While the total effect of these developments on per capita income is not readily measurable there is little doubt that wages and employment opportunities have gone up appreciably and signs of progress are visible.

According to the rough estimates, the Northern Areas have a total cultivated area of 1,25,000 acres of which cropped area is about one lac acres. In addition to the major crops i.e. wheat and maize, other arable crops such as barley, millet, potatoes, vegetables and fodder etc. are also cultivated in this region.

The total food production (wheat, maize and pulses etc.) is estimated at 10 lakh maunds per annum. The total food requirements are estimated at 15 lakh maunds per annum. The deficit of about 5 lakh maunds is met by imports of foodgrain from down country. The deficit has been calculated at 4½ lakh maunds which is being provided by government at subsidized rates.

As a result of past development efforts the following assets<sup>5</sup> have been created:

**Education**

|    |                         |     |
|----|-------------------------|-----|
| a. | Degree Colleges         | 2   |
| b. | Intermediate Colleges   | 2   |
| c. | College of Education    | 1   |
| d. | High Schools (Boys)     | 28  |
| e. | High Schools (Girls)    | 5   |
| f. | Public School           | 1   |
| g. | Middle Schools (Boys)   | 67  |
| h. | Middle Schools (Girls)  | 4   |
| i. | Primary Schools (Boys)  | 306 |
| j. | Primary Schools (Girls) | 50  |

**Health**

|    |                    |     |
|----|--------------------|-----|
| a. | Hospitals          | 17  |
| b. | Bedding capacity   | 537 |
| c. | Dispensaries       | 94  |
| d. | First Aid Posts.   | 59  |
| e. | No. of doctors.    | 78  |
| f. | Paramedical staff. | 600 |

**Transport and Communication**

|    |                           |           |
|----|---------------------------|-----------|
| a. | Length of poney tracks    | 185 km.   |
| b. | Length of jeepable roads  | 2307 k.m. |
| c. | Length of mettalled roads | 96 k.m.   |
| d. | R.C.C. bridges            | 6 nos.    |
| e. | Daily suspension bridges  | 1 no.     |
| f. | Suspension bridges        | 266 nos.  |
| g. | Cradle bridges.           | 11 nos.   |

(In addition KKH from Thakot to Khunjerab 616 k.m. and KK—Skardu 240 k.m.)

**Physical Planning and Housing**

|    |   |           |
|----|---|-----------|
| a. | Residential accommodation constructed.    | 604 units |
| b. | Non-residential units.                    | 312 units |
| c. | Rest Houses                               | 86 units  |
| d. | Drinking water supply to 1,50000 persons. |           |

**Power**

|    |                              |         |
|----|------------------------------|---------|
| a. | Number of power houses.      | 29 Nos. |
| b. | Generating capacity          | 534 KW  |
| c. | No. of villages electrified. | 45      |
| d. | Population benefited.        | 86,000  |

**Water**

|    |                            |              |
|----|----------------------------|--------------|
| a. | Water channels constructed | 200 k.m.     |
| b. | Area irrigated             | 10,800 acres |

**Agriculture**

|    |                             |                 |
|----|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| a. | Cultivated area             | 1,25,000 acres  |
| b. | No. of fruit nurseries      | 30 (192 acres)  |
| c. | Area under fruit            | 25,000 acres    |
| d. | No. of forest nurseries     | 40 (78 acres)   |
| e. | Area under forest           | 1,100 sq. miles |
| f. | No. of veterinary hospitals | 6 Nos.          |
| g. | Of veterinary dispensaries  | 54 Nos.         |
| h. | No. of poultry farms        | 2 Nos.          |

**Telephone Exchanges**

|    |                     |         |
|----|---------------------|---------|
| a. | Exchanges           | 30 Nos. |
| b. | Maximum capacity    | 1,850   |
| c. | Working connections | 1,107   |
| d. | Extensions          | 36      |

**Post Offices**

|    |                     |    |
|----|---------------------|----|
| a. | Head Office         | 1  |
| b. | Sub Post Offices    | 19 |
| c. | Branch Post Offices | 80 |

**Prospects and Expectations**

Since the Northern Areas were liberated by the people of the region, they have been hoping to integrate themselves with Pakistan and get equal rights as any other citizen of Pakistan. As noted before, the Government of Pakistan, in recognition of the sacrifices made by the local people and in response to their wishes, accepted the responsibility of establishing a stable government and administration in the region. It has been a very uphill task because the

whole region did not have a uniform system of administration and then there was the great danger of preserving the freedom of the region from foreign encroachment.

As far as the second issue was concerned, some stability came because of Ceasefire that was accepted by Pakistan and India on 1st January 1949. Even then two subsequent wars in 1965 and 1971 between India and Pakistan created problems of defence. In 1965 one hill feature in Kargil area was forcefully occupied by India and in 1971 some villages of Northern Baltistan, Chorbat area (254 Sq. miles) fell into Indian hands. Again in 1984 India launched an offensive over Siachen glacier, a zone which had practically remained under the control of Pakistan so long. These Indian aggressions call for strengthening the original position at Ceasefire line.

As far as the first issue is concerned, the ground is now open for internal integration. The region, which was so long cut away by geographical barriers, has now been linked with Pakistan by an all-weather Karakorum Highway that goes from Islamabad right upto Khunjerab pass at the Chinese border and joins with Sino-Pak Highway, thus for the first time in history providing a wide open highway for easy movement of men and traffic between China and Pakistan right down to the Arabian Sea. This Karakorum Highway is bound to prove life-line for the future of Pakistan. For the western regions of China it has provided an opening, historic in character and having great potential in her future relationship with the western world. Before 1947 Gilgit-Astor-Bandipur road connected this region with Kashmir but that was a very poor and narrow road, primarily meant for ponies, but the present Highway is a grand metalled road for all sorts of Vehicular traffic. Besides this road, there have been built several bridges on the Indus and its affluents and numerous by-roads that connect one valley with another. The new metalled road from Gilgit to Skardu has linked the two sub-areas into one region. Similarly the jeepable road from Gilgit via Singol, Gupis, Ghizr, Fundar lake, Shandur pass to Chitral provides a remarkable passage linking the various cultural subregions into one great Hindukush region. This is the first time in history that possibilities of internal integration and political cohesion have been created.

The frame of political activity is now completely changed. Before the British the local Rajas were the prime movers in the field. Their mutual feuds led to political bickerings. The common people sided with one claimant or another or lent their support to one royal family or another. There were certain historical families that played important role in king making and ministerial jobs. The

system changed during the British period when status quo in the political claim was guaranteed by the power of the British. No other political activity was allowed. On personal enquiry it was learnt that in the forties of the present century Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah tried to go to Gilgit from Srinagar but he could hardly reach Astor when he was turned back. In the post-independence period Chaudhury Ghulam Abbas once paid a visit to this region for popularising his Muslim Conference. Although his visit was officially sponsored, yet it did not bear any fruitful result. It is only in the early seventies that a branch of the Pakistan People's Party was founded by Col. (Retired) Hasan Khan in Gilgit. Later he transferred his allegiance to Tahrik-i-Istiqlal. Some other parties, such as Jamat-i-Islami and Muslim League have not had sufficient propaganda work started here. On the other hand the students of this region have been very active. In the recent years quite a sizeable number of students have gone out from this region and taken admission in Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore and Karachi. The student movement has taken up double role — firstly the demand for more scholarships and reservation of seats in Technical Colleges; secondly, the demand for representative government and equal status for the region.

In response to the crying need of the people Government of Pakistan has already taken steps to lead the people of the region towards representative form of Government. A definite step was taken in 1973, when promise was made that in about ten year's time the region may be constituted into a Province with its own legislative assembly. That promise still remains unfulfilled. Very recently Government of Pakistan has set up another Committee to examine the existing conditions so as to find out whether they justify to take another step in the near future.

In a recent demand<sup>6</sup> attention has been drawn to the following issues:—

1. The determination of political status.
2. Appointment of a local Adviser for Northern Areas.
3. Reservation of all Northern Areas posts for the people of Northern Areas.
4. Participation at local, national and International level.
5. Special provision for the participation of people of Northern Areas in all services.
6. Establishment of Secretariat like Azad Kashmir in Northern Areas.
7. Right to appeal in High Court and Supreme Court.
8. Increase in the allocation of seats in professional colleges.

9. Reservation of seats in public and other Educational Institutions for the students of Northern areas.
10. All the services of Northern Areas should be brought at par with Federal Services.
11. Provisions of foreign scholarships and training facilities.
12. Establishment of Agro-based industries.
13. Development of mineral resources and participation of people of Northern Areas.
14. Development of Hydel Power.
15. Construction of Water Channels and development of available land.
16. Discouragement of the people responsible for creating religious tension.
17. Establishment of Social Welfare Department in Northern Areas.
18. Construction of Cantonment in Gilgit Town Area.
19. Improvement in Health Facilities in Northern Areas.
20. Problems relating accommodation, etc. of the Government servants belonging to Northern Areas and working in Rawalpindi/Islamabad.

In 1974 the Government of Pakistan remitted the land revenue in the region, thus foregoing the revenue income from the region. This has certainly led to great financial difficulties as the whole administrative expenditure has to be subsidized by Government of Pakistan. The second great source of income is from the forest, particularly in the Sub-Himalayan zone of Diamar district. The income from this source is shared by Government and local people. The third great source is the mineral deposits which are now leased partly to private individuals and partly managed by Mineral Development Authority.

Besides the agricultural produce and rich horticulture industry in the region, the potential of water resources from the rivers as well as from the glaciers is tremendous. If they are properly tapped, they are bound to increase the prosperity of the region. On the other hand the tourist industry has a great prospect of development. Still more important is the international trade between China and this region. Development prospects are multifarious but they can be cautiously taken in hand by economic experts who could bring new technologies in the area. The people of Northern Areas of Pakistan have a great energy to rebuild their land and take an honourable place not only in Pakistan but also in the civilised world of today and future.

## APPENDIX

**GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN  
RESIDENTS AND COMMISSIONERS OF NORTHERN AREAS**

| S.No.                         | Name.                       |             | From       | To.        |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|------------|------------|
| <i>Residents</i>              |                             |             |            |            |
| 1.                            | Mr. G. Mueen-ud-Din         | CSP         | 22.6.1950  | 2.3.1952   |
| 2.                            | Mr. F.A. Karim              | CSP         | 8.4.1952   | 19.1.1955  |
| 3.                            | Mr. M. Azfar                | CSP         | 19.1.1955  | 1.11.1956  |
| 4.                            | Major Ibne Hassan           | CSP         | 1.11.1956  | 24.12.1956 |
| 5.                            | Mr. A.A. Hamid              | CSP         | 24.12.1956 | 29.4.1957  |
| 6.                            | Major M. Yousuf             | CSP         | 29.4.1957  | 26.11.1958 |
| 7.                            | Mr. Mohammad Zaman Kiani    | CSP         | 26.11.1958 | 29.8.1960  |
| 8.                            | Mr. A.H. Khan               | CSP         | 29.8.1960  | 22.7.1962  |
| 9.                            | Mr. N.M. Khan               | CSP         | 23.7.1962  | 10.8.1962  |
| 10.                           | Lt. Col. M. Yusuf           | CSP         | 10.8.1962  | 4.3.1963   |
| 11.                           | Mr. Amanullah Khan Niazi    | CSP         | 5.4.1963   | 12.2.1966  |
| 12.                           | Mr. Aslam Abdullah Khan     | CSP         | 16.2.1966  | 13.2.1967  |
| 13.                           | Mr. Habibur Rehman Khan     | TPK         | 20.3.1967  | 8.11.1969  |
| 14.                           | Brig. Mahboob Khan          | TQA         | 8.11.1969  | 14.2.1972  |
| <i>Resident Commissioners</i> |                             |             |            |            |
| 15.                           | Mr. Nasrum-Minallah         | CSP         | 14.2.1972  | 16.3.1973  |
|                               |                             | TQA         |            |            |
| 16.                           | Mr. Ijlal Hussain           | CSP/<br>TPK | 12.4.1973  | 9.1.1975   |
| 17.                           | Mr. Ataullah                |             | 10.1.1975  | 7.6.1976   |
| 18.                           | Mr. Ashraf Rashid Siddiqi   | CSP         | 7.6.1976   | 30.6.1978  |
| 19.                           | Mr. Abdul Qayum Khan        |             | 1.7.1978   | 10.9.1979  |
| <i>Commissioners</i>          |                             |             |            |            |
| 20.                           | Acting Arrangement          |             | 10.9.79    | 10.5.1980  |
| 21.                           | Wazir Zada Abdul Qayum Khan |             | 11.5.1980  | 23.3.1981  |
| 22.                           | Mr. Iftikhar-ud-Din         |             | 22.3.1981  | 18.2.1982  |
| 23.                           | Acting Arrangement          |             | 19.2.1982  | 30.6.1982  |
| 24.                           | Syed Jamil Haider Shah      |             | 1.7.1982   | 25.9.1984  |
| 25.                           | Mr. Khalid Mahmud           |             | 25.9.1984  |            |

### FOOTNOTE

1. **Based on the official record preserved in Commissioner's Office, Gilgit, and prepared by the Political Agent in response to the questionnaire on 25th March 1949.**
2. **Based on the Report of the Northern Areas Committee, 1971, pp. 4-5.**
3. **Based on personal enquiry from the official sources.**
4. **Drawn from the Research Paper on "The Problems of Planning and Development In Northern Areas of Pakistan", by Mr. Saeed Ahmad Khan at the National Institute of Public Administration, Lahore.**
5. **Based on the report prepared at the office of Additional Commissioner, Planning and Development, Gilgit.**
6. **Submission made by Dr. Sher Zaman to the President of Pakistan in December, 1987.**





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Dani — Chilas: — A.H. Dani, *Chilas the City of Nanga Parvat (Dyamar)*.  
E.I. — *Epigraphia India*.  
E/W. — *East and West ISMEO*, New Series.  
I.A. — *Indian Antiquary*.  
IOR. — *India Office Library Records*.  
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JRAS. — *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.  
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Pl. 1. Chilas — Group hunting scene. Prehistoric period.



Pl. 2. Chilas: Palm impressions.



Pl. 3. Chilas — Men in jolly mood, hand-in-hand.





Pl. 4. Chilas: Snake-god or river-god (?).



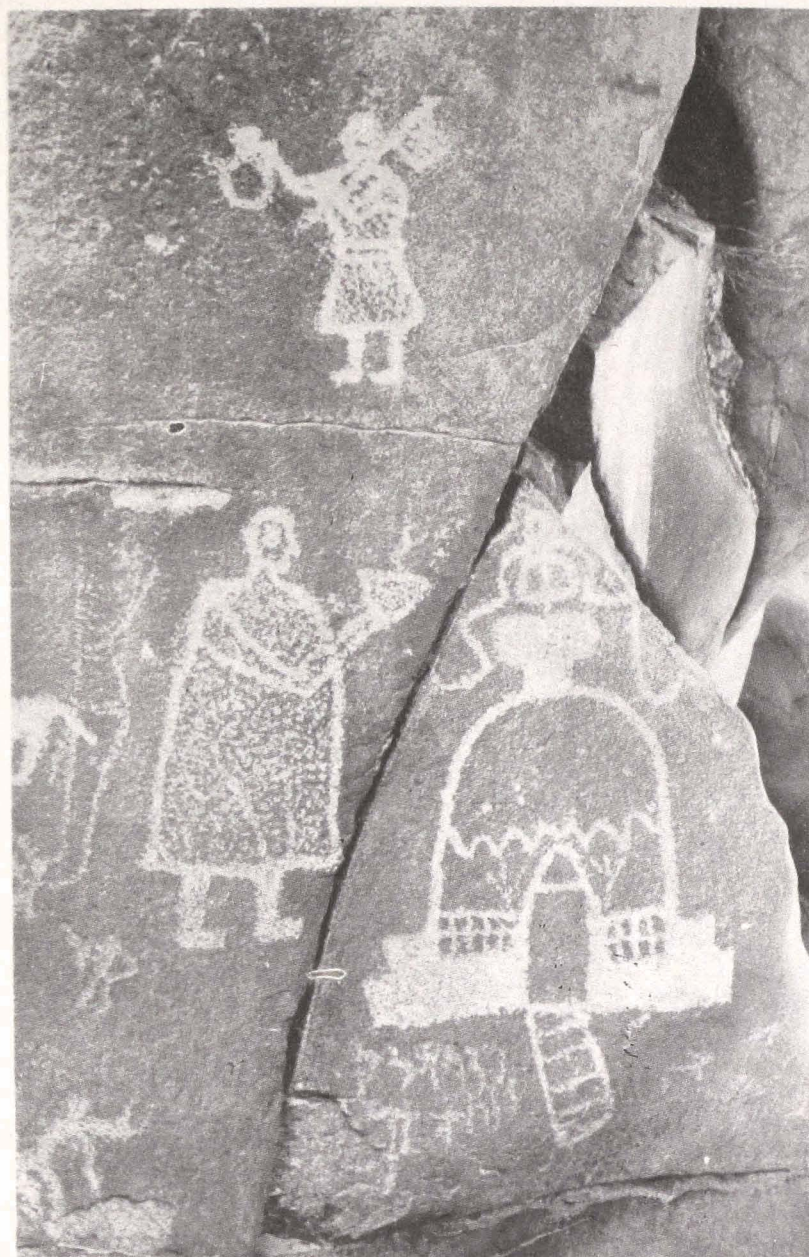
Pl. 5. Yasin — Megalithic Stone Circle, 1st millennium B. C.



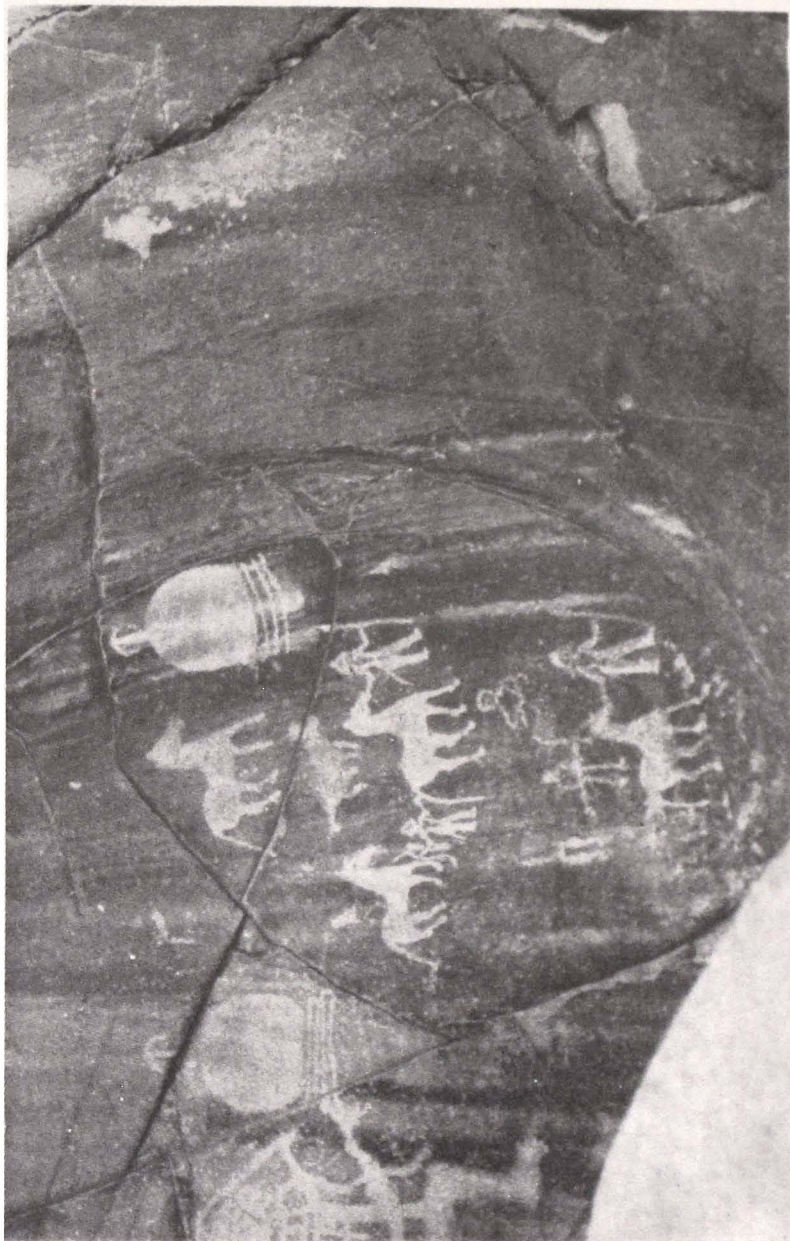
Pl. 6. Kandia Valley — Bronze horse in the style of an Ibex.  
Ist millennium B. C.



Pl. 7. Chilas II — Buddha on top, Baladeva on left and stupas.



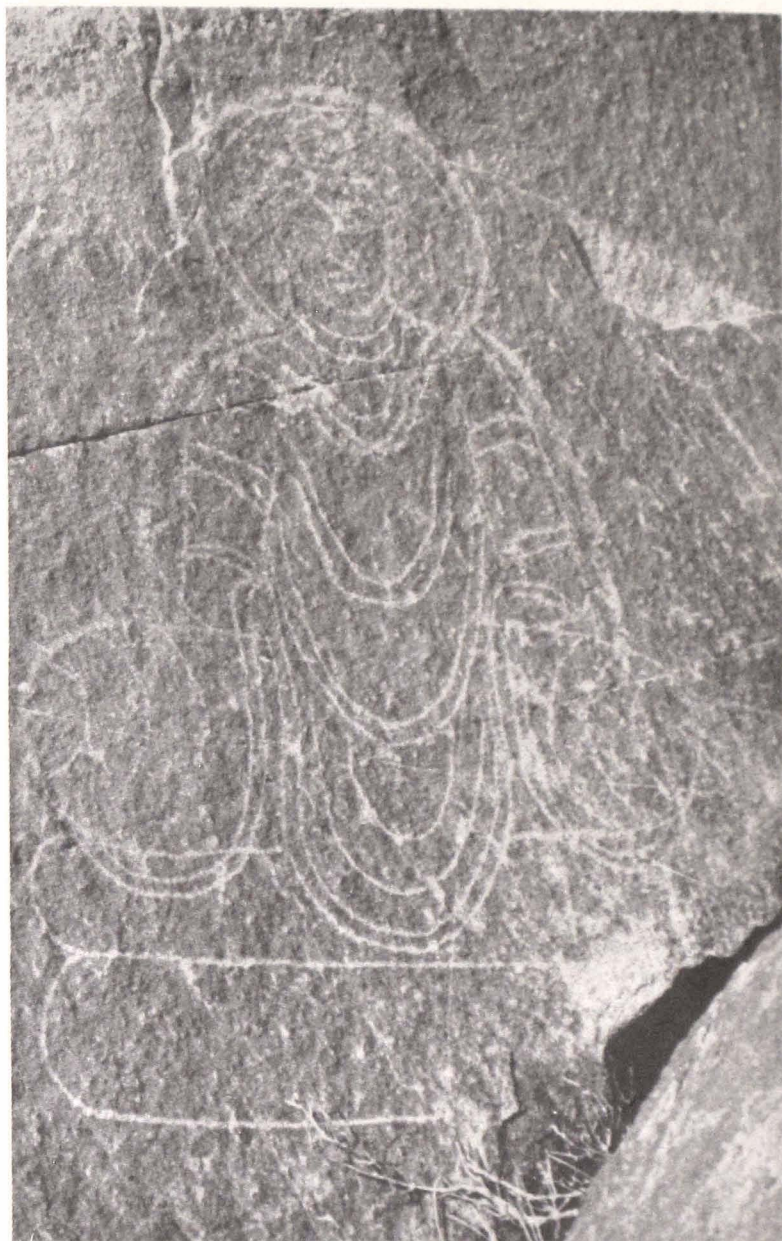
Pl. 8. Chilas II — Buddhist monk before a stupa and a pilgrim with water pot in hand.



Pl. 9. Chilas — Scythian soldiers before a stupa. 1st century  
B.C.



Pl. 10. Hunza: Kushana emperor standing in the middle and animals around.



Pl. 11. Chilas — Seated Buddha showing Gandhara influence.





Pl. 12. Chilas — The king Simhadeva worshipping with lamp in hand.



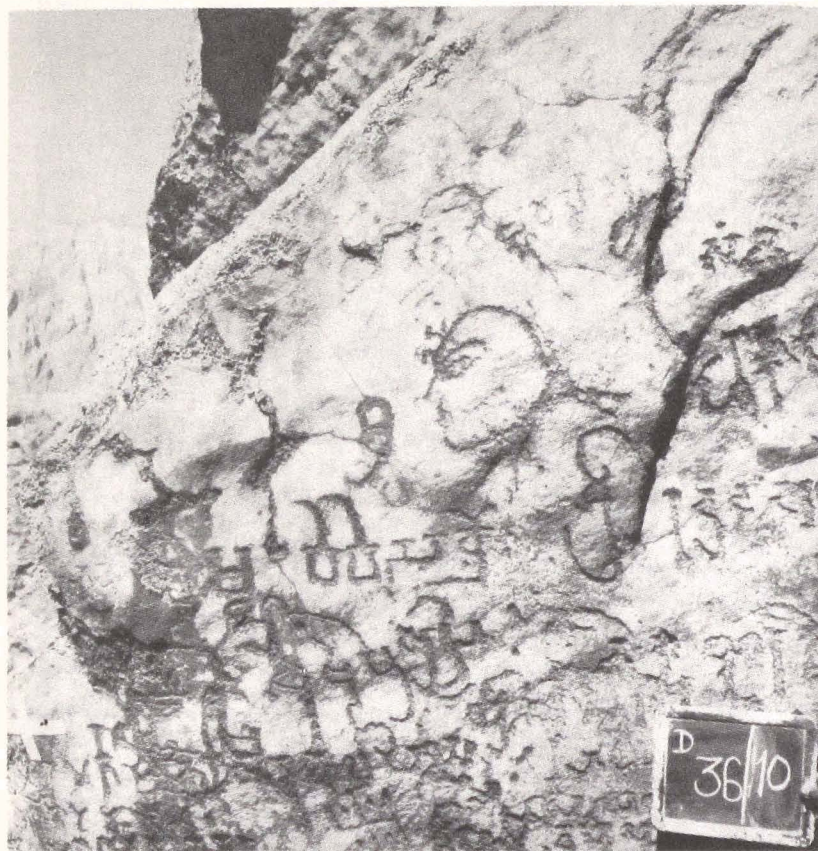
Pl. 13. Hunza — Chinese inscription naming the envoy Gu Wei-Long of Great Wei dynasty of China, dated between 444 and 453 AD.



Pl. 14. Skardu (Manthal) — Buddha mandala carved on a boulder, 8th century AD.



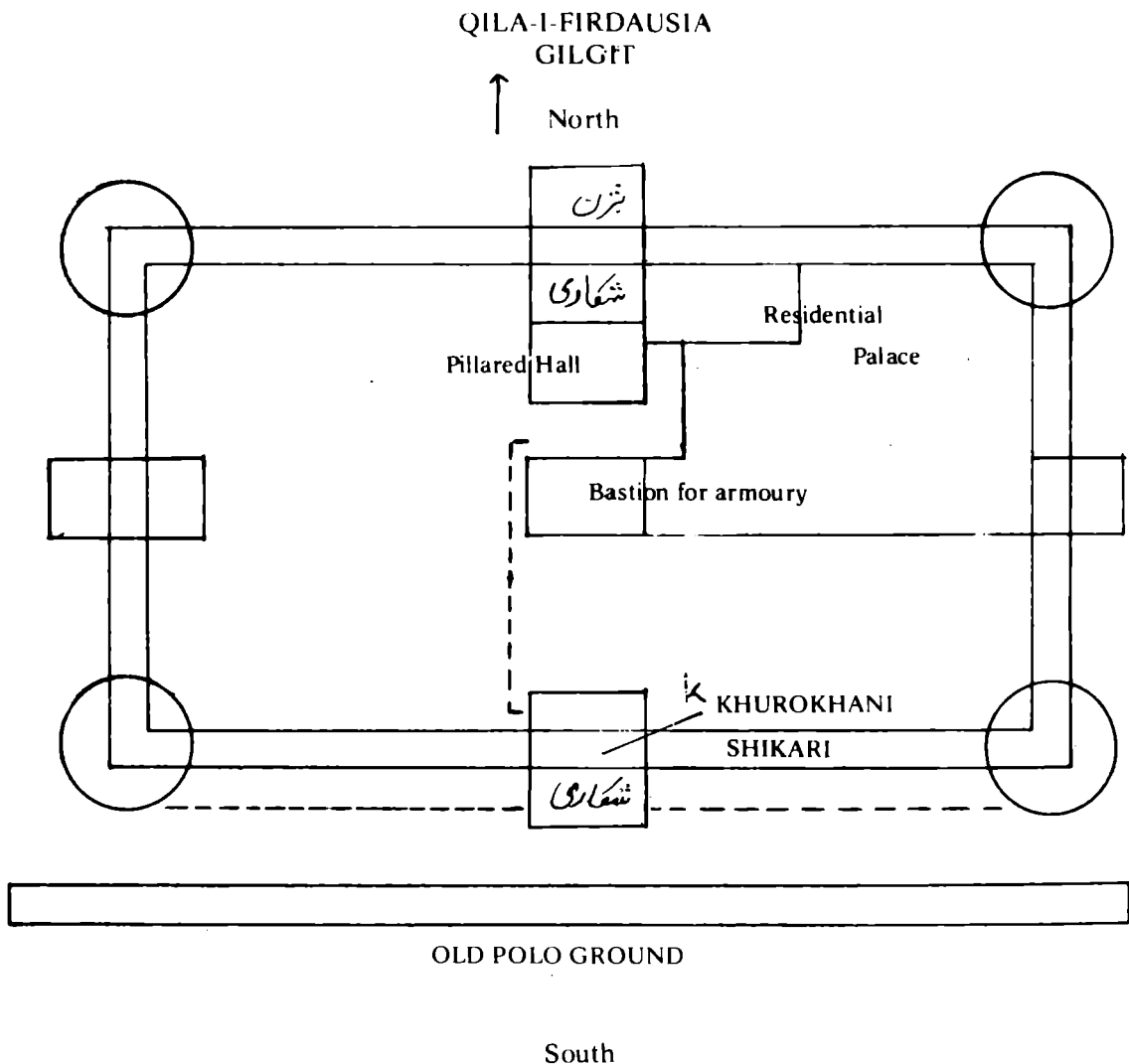
Pl. 15. Gilgit (Kargah) Standing Buddha in vitarka pose, 8th century AD.



Pl. 16. Hunza — royal head with pig-tail and inscriptions.



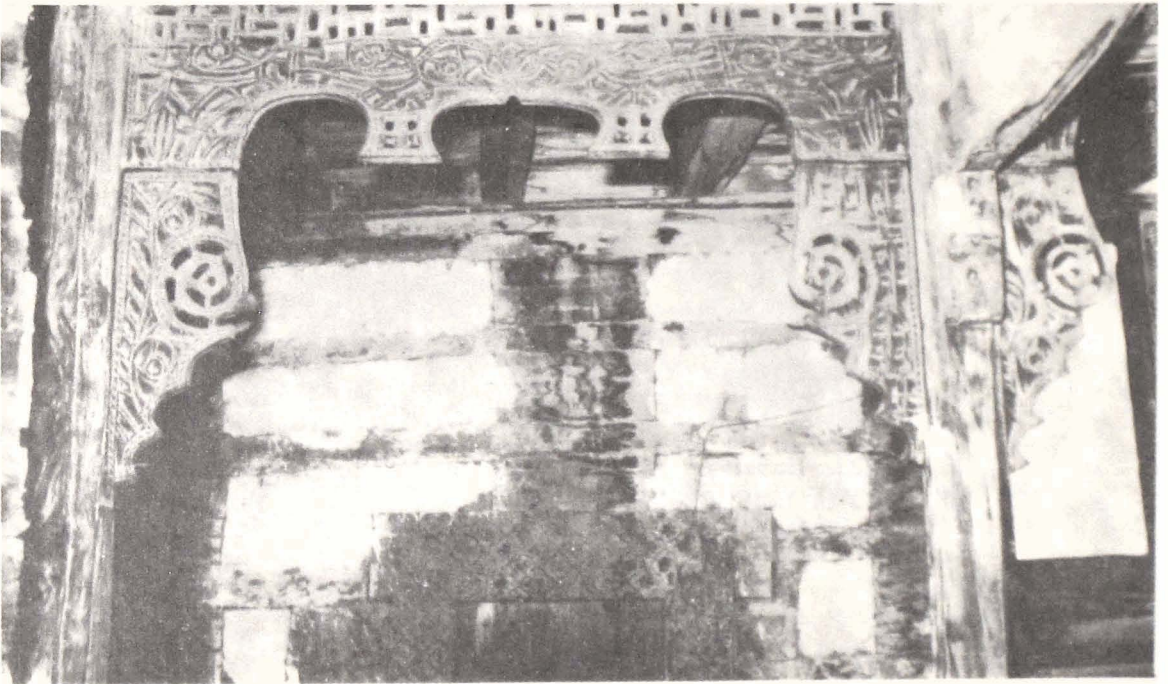
Pl. 17. Bubur in Punial — A conical granite stone bearing standing Buddha on one face. (now broken and possessed by Mr. Ali Ahmad Jan, A.I.G. Police, Gilgit), 8th century AD.



Pl. 18. Gilgit — Qila-i-Firdausia.



Pl. 19. Danyor — Dargah of Sayyid Shah Sultan Arif showing the Kashmiri style of tower.

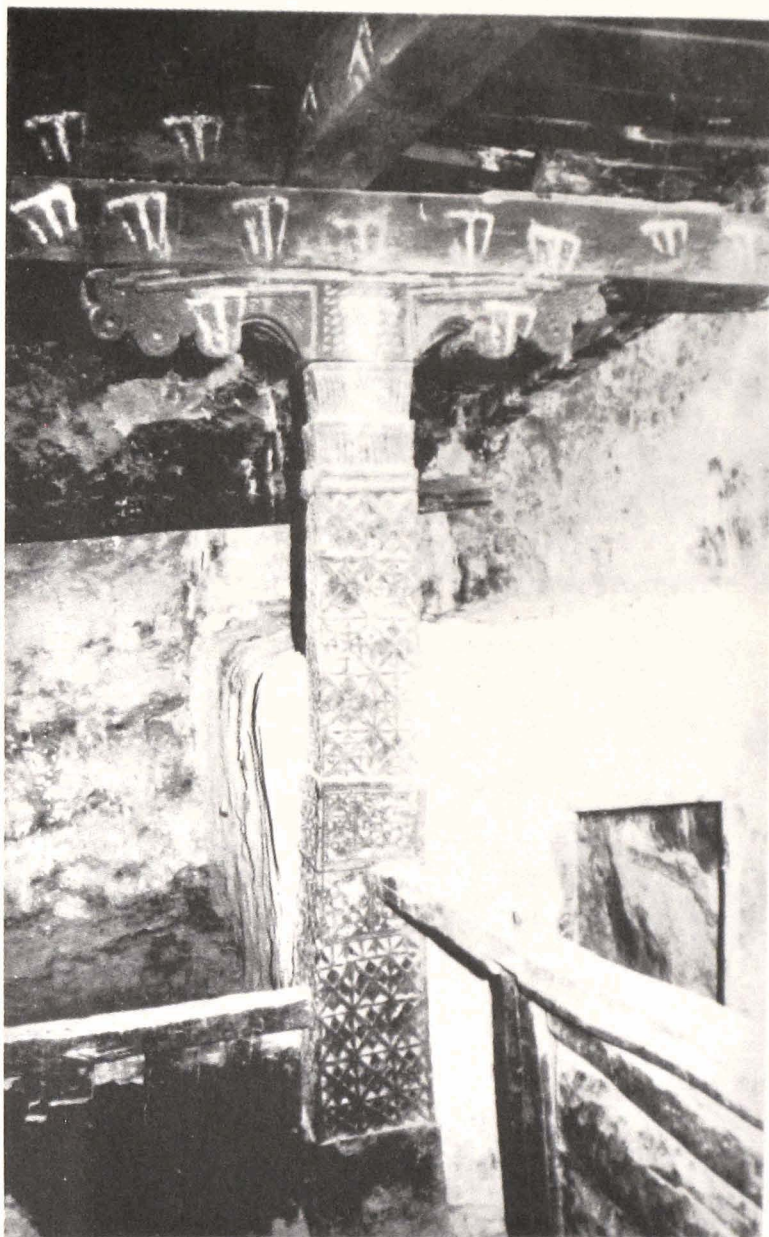


Pl. 20. Hunza — A decorated entrance at Altit fort.

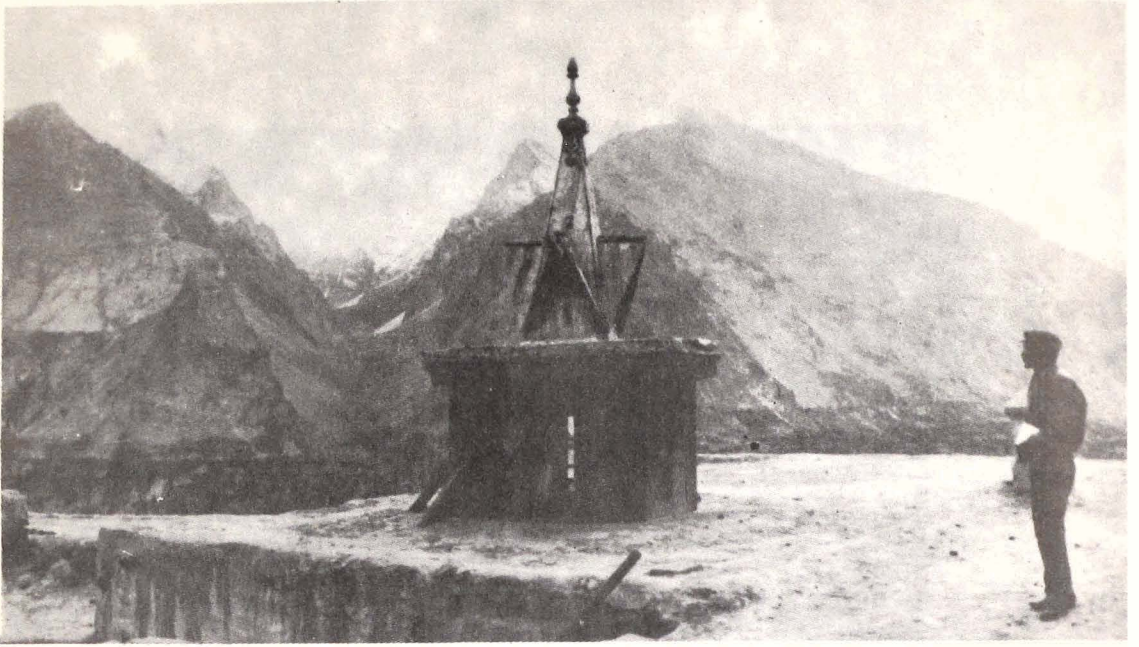




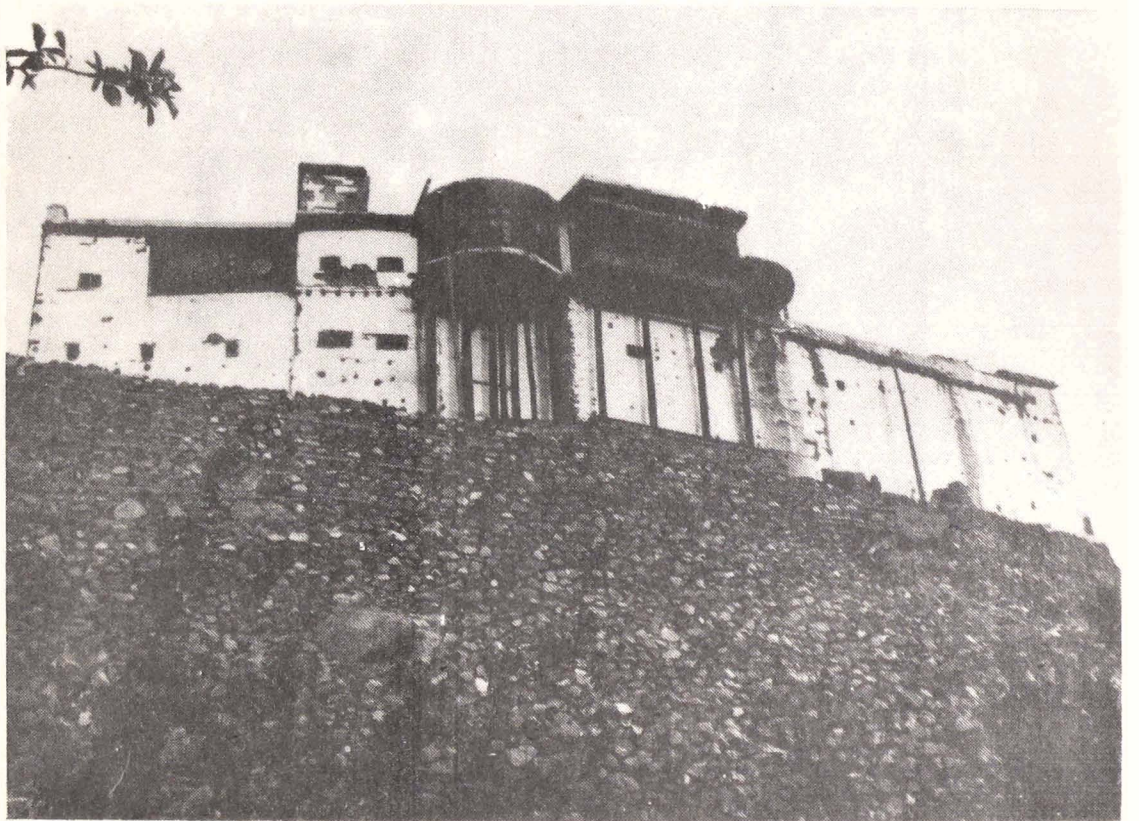
Pl. 21. Hunza — A high tower in Altit fort, dated to 955 AH./1548 AD.



Pl. 22. Hunza — A decorated wooden pillar in Altit fort, with harvest symbols.



Pl. 23. Hunza — The mosque tower in Altit fort



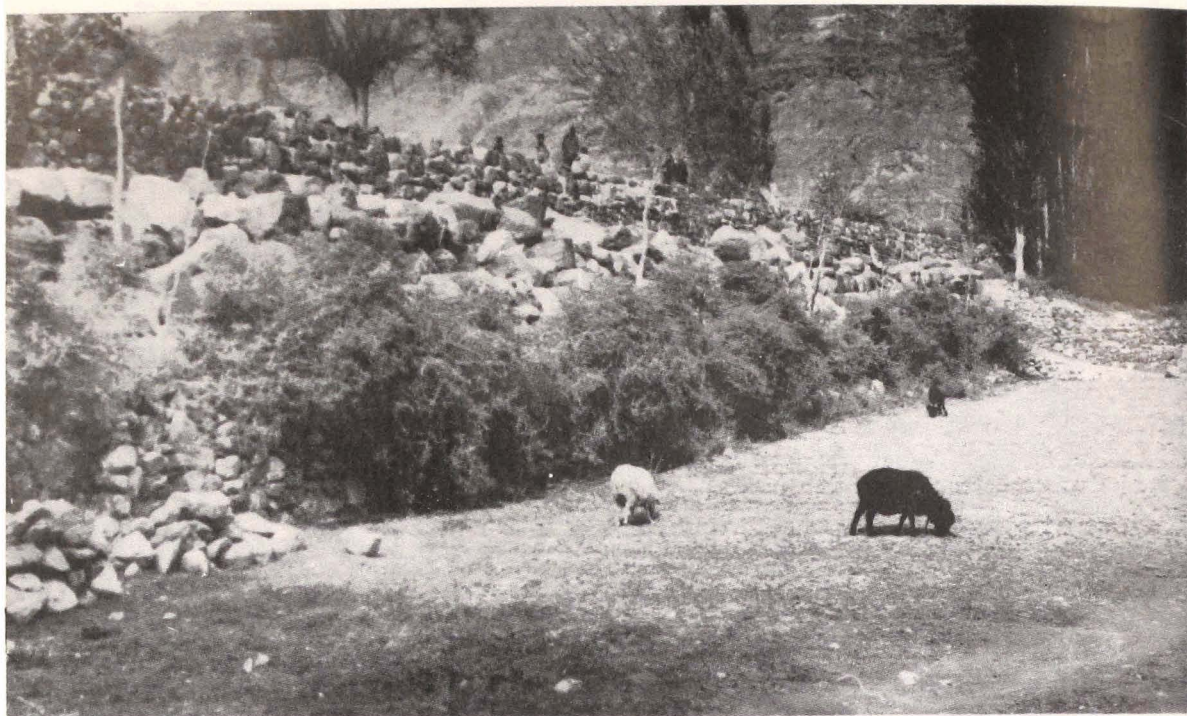
Pl. 24. Hunza — Baltit Fort, exterior view.



Pl. 25. Hunza — Baltit Fort — the Diwan-i-Am with mosque tower behind.



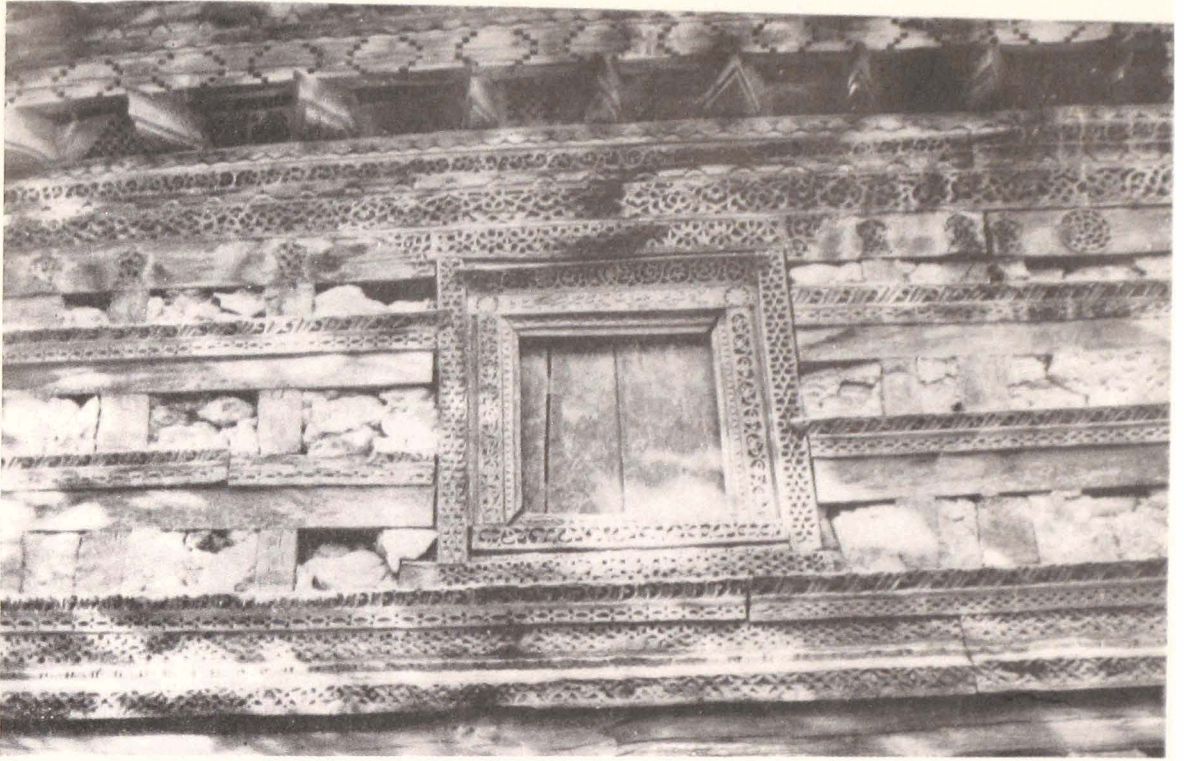
Pl. 26. Hunza. Baltit. The throne hall.



Pl. 27. Skardu — Water Channel of the mediaeval period made of huge boulders of stone.



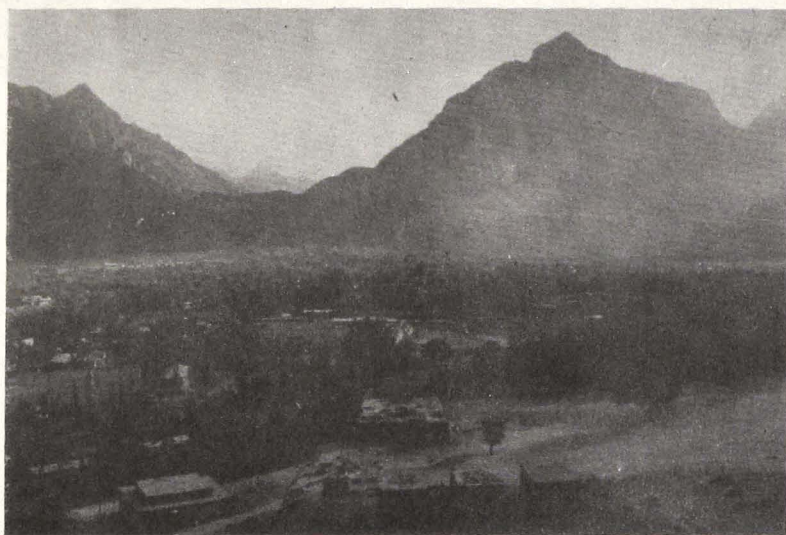
Pl. 28. Shigar — Side view of Ambariq Mosque traditionally attributed to Sayyid Ali Hamadani.



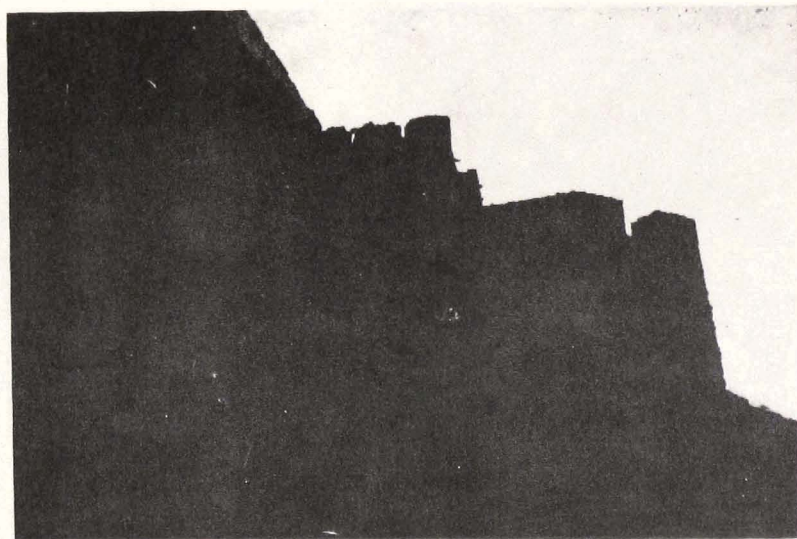
Pl. 29. Shigar — Wood carving in the Ambariq Mosque.



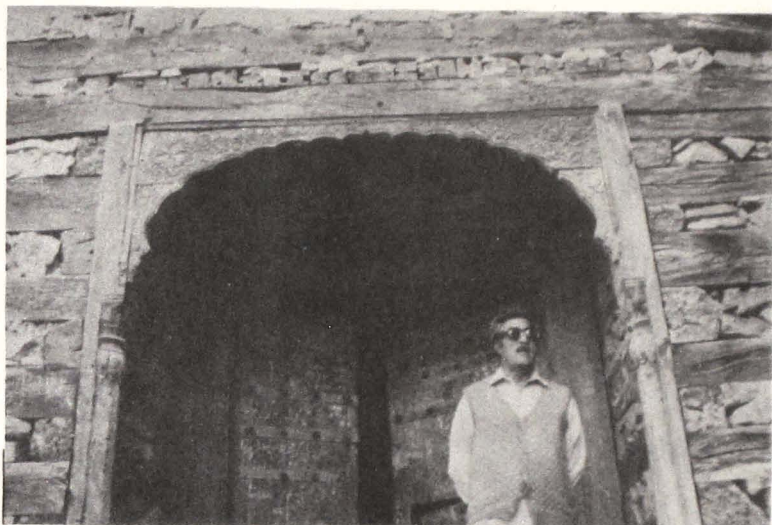
Pl. 30. Shigar — Khanqah of Mir Shamsuddin Iraqi (died 1525 AD.) showing the Kashmiri style tower over the roof.



Pl. 31. Skardu — Looking down from the fort.



Pl. 32. Skardu — Kharpocha fort.



Pl. 33. Skardu — Entrance of the fort, as rebuilt by the Dogras.



Pl. 34. Skardu — Corner bastion and walls of Kharpocha fort.

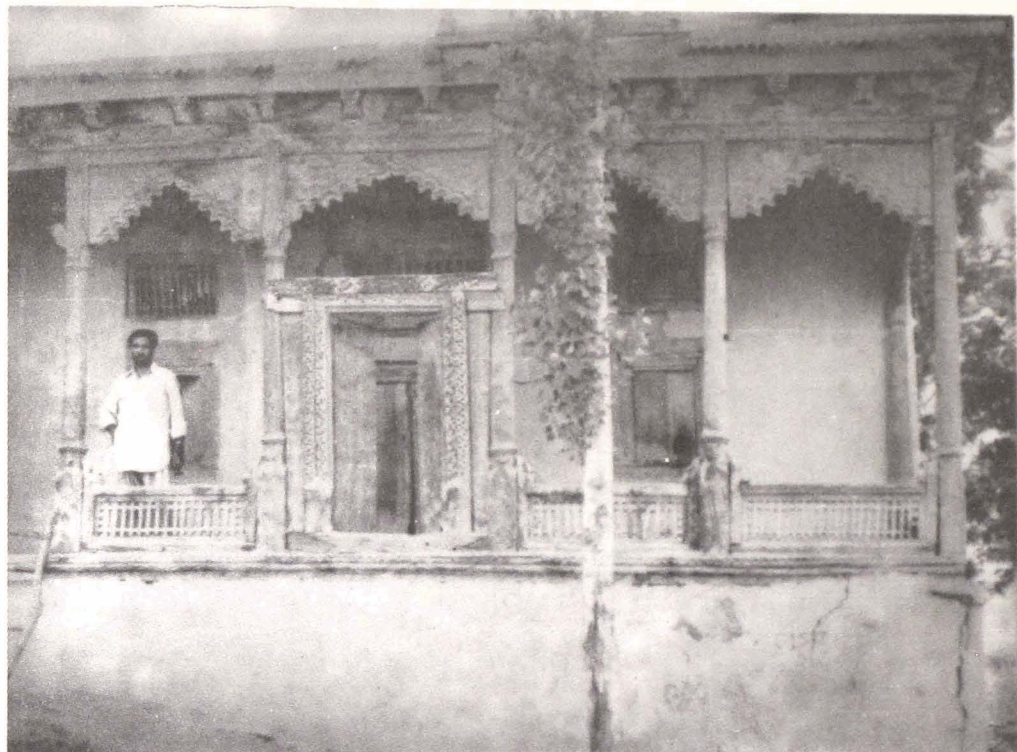




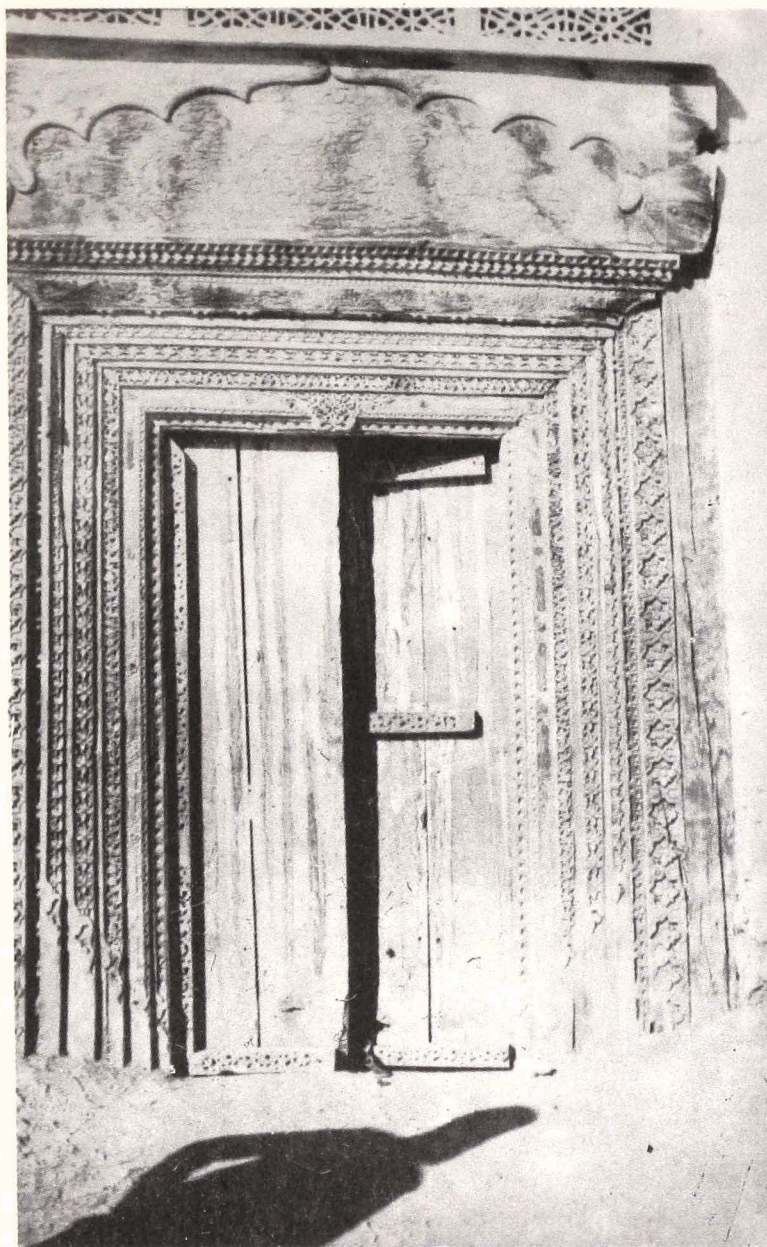
Pl. 35. Skardu — Raja's Palace, renovated in modern time.



Pl. 36. Skardu — Raja's Palace door steps of marble.



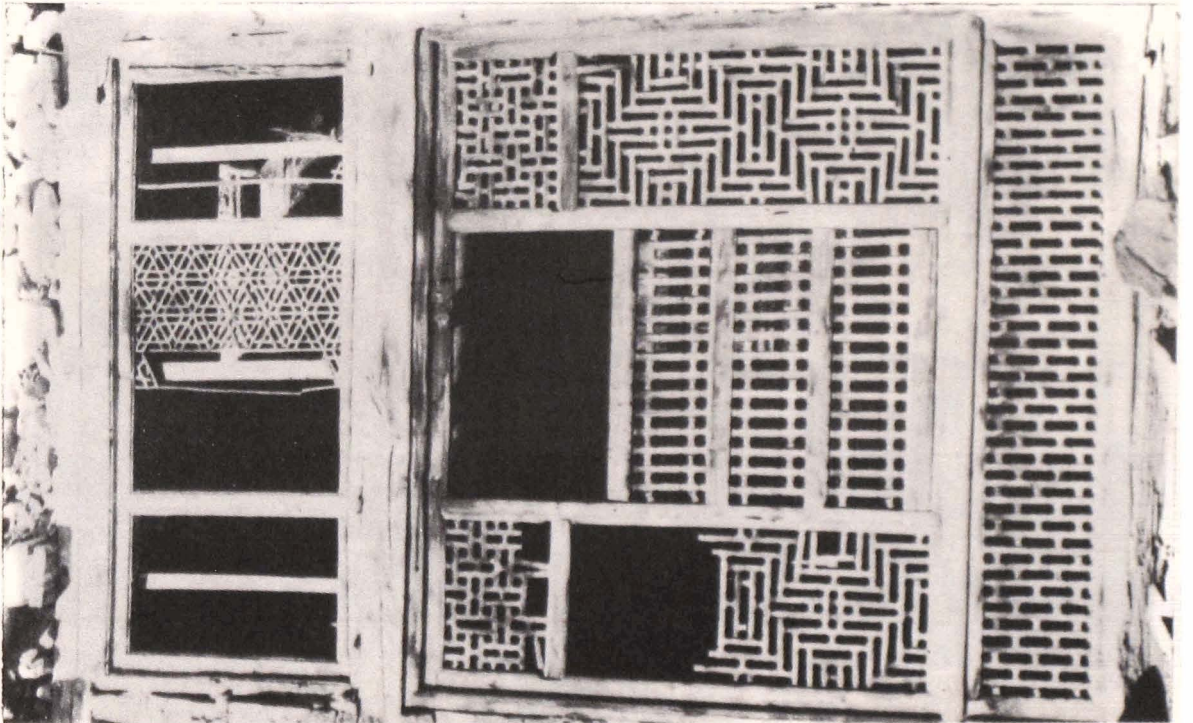
Pl. 37. Skardu — Mosque of Thayur — Fine wood carving.



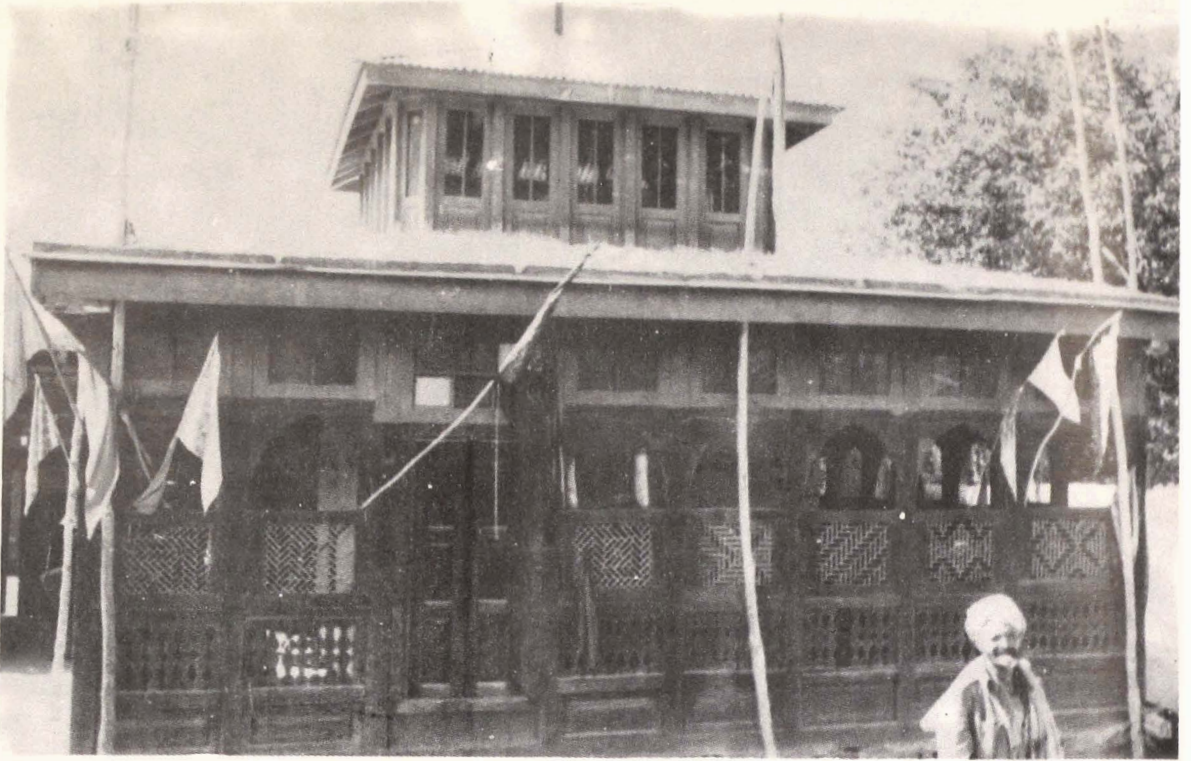
Pl. 38. Skardu — Khanqah of Ibrahim main entrance.



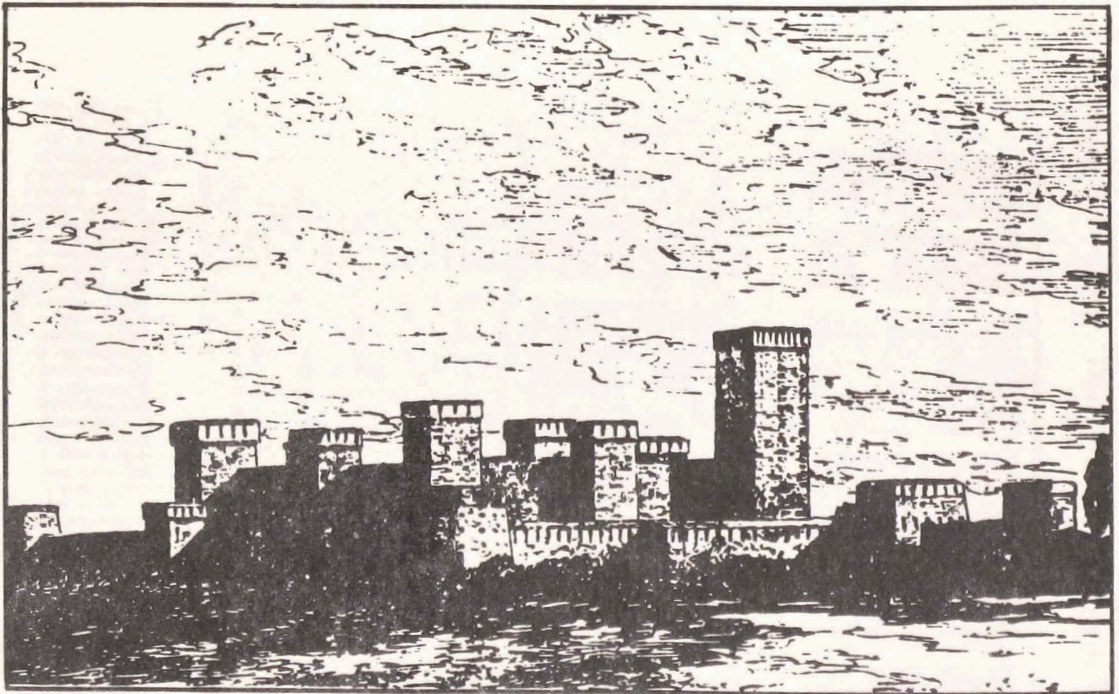
P. 39. Skardu — Wood carving of the main entrance of the Khanqah of Ibrahim.



Pl. 40. Skardu — Wood jali work at the Khanqah of Ibrahim.



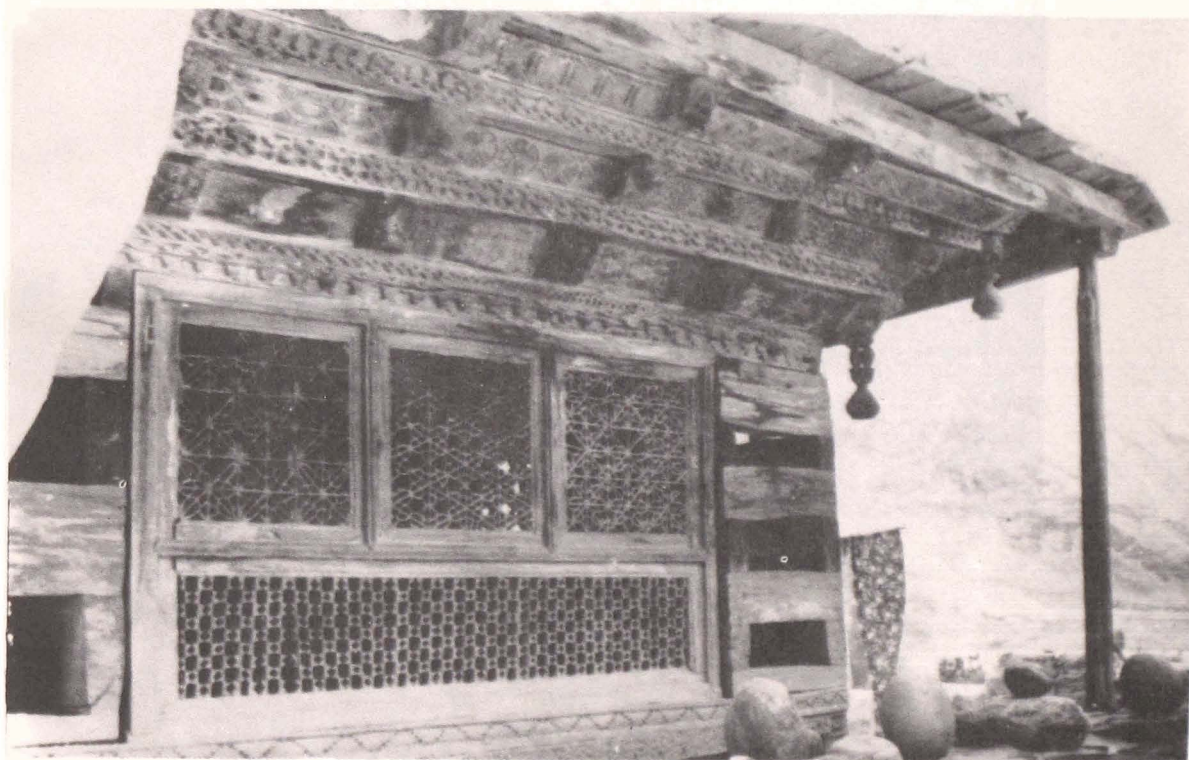
Pl. 41. Kuwardo (Baltistan) -- Dargah of Sayyid Ali Tusi  
(died 1080 H./1669 A.D.)



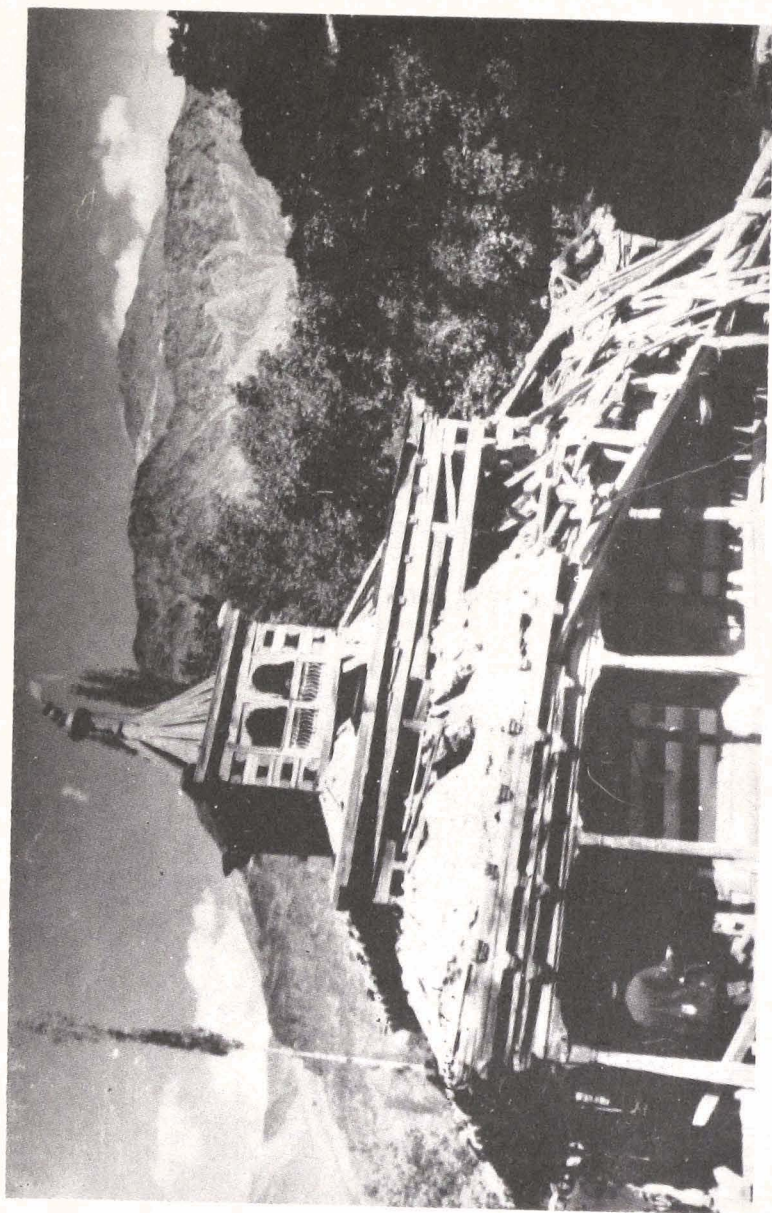
Pl. 42. Gilgit fort.



Pl. 43. Thagas — Tomb of Mir Mohammad Ishaq, son of Mir Mukhtar of Kiris.



Pl. 44. Thagas — Decoration of the tomb of Mir Ishaq.



Pl. 45. Shigar: Tomb of Mir Yahya (dated) 18th century.

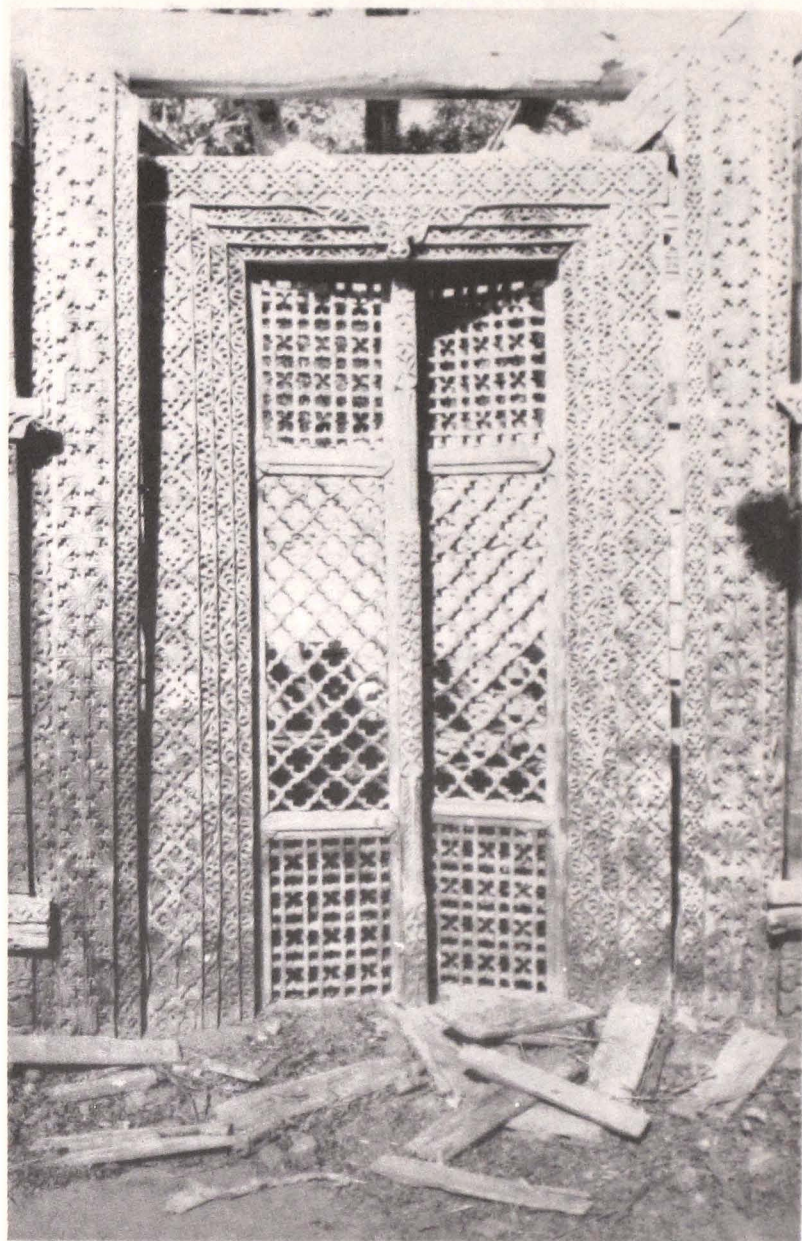


Pl. 46. Kiris — Tomb of Mir Mukhtar 18th century.

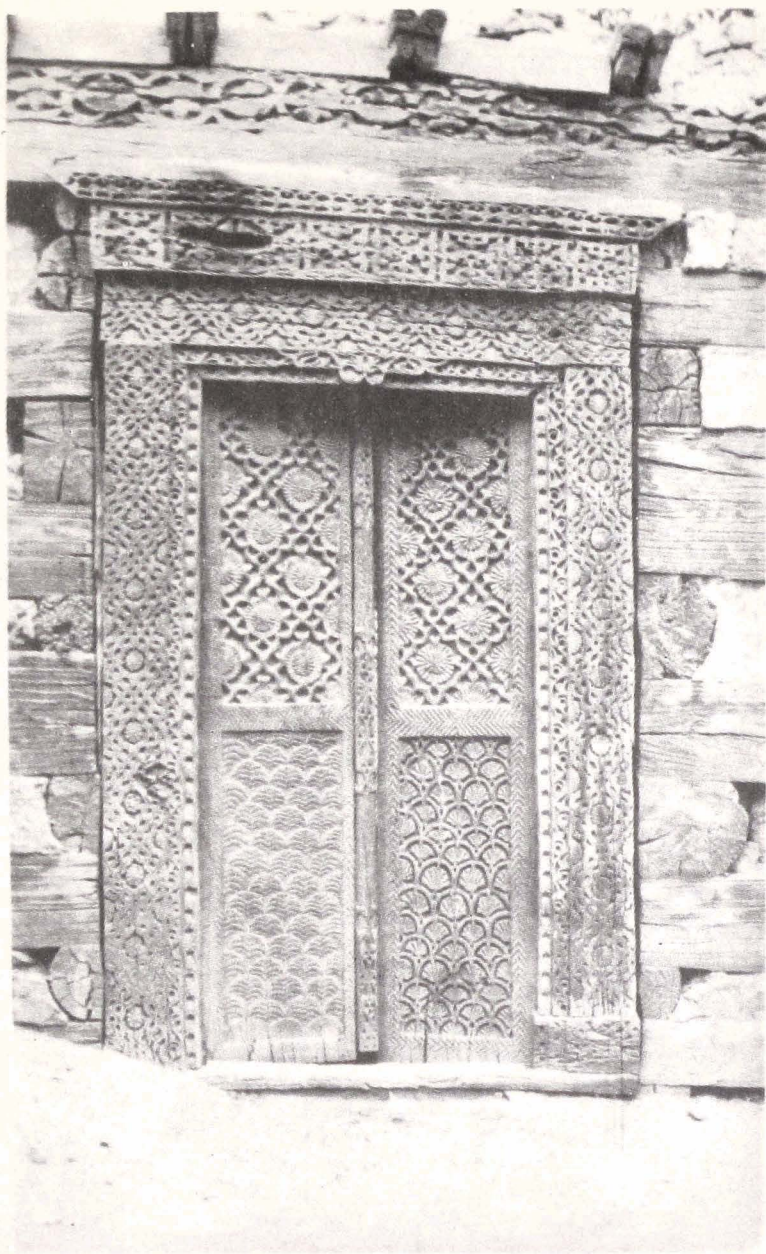




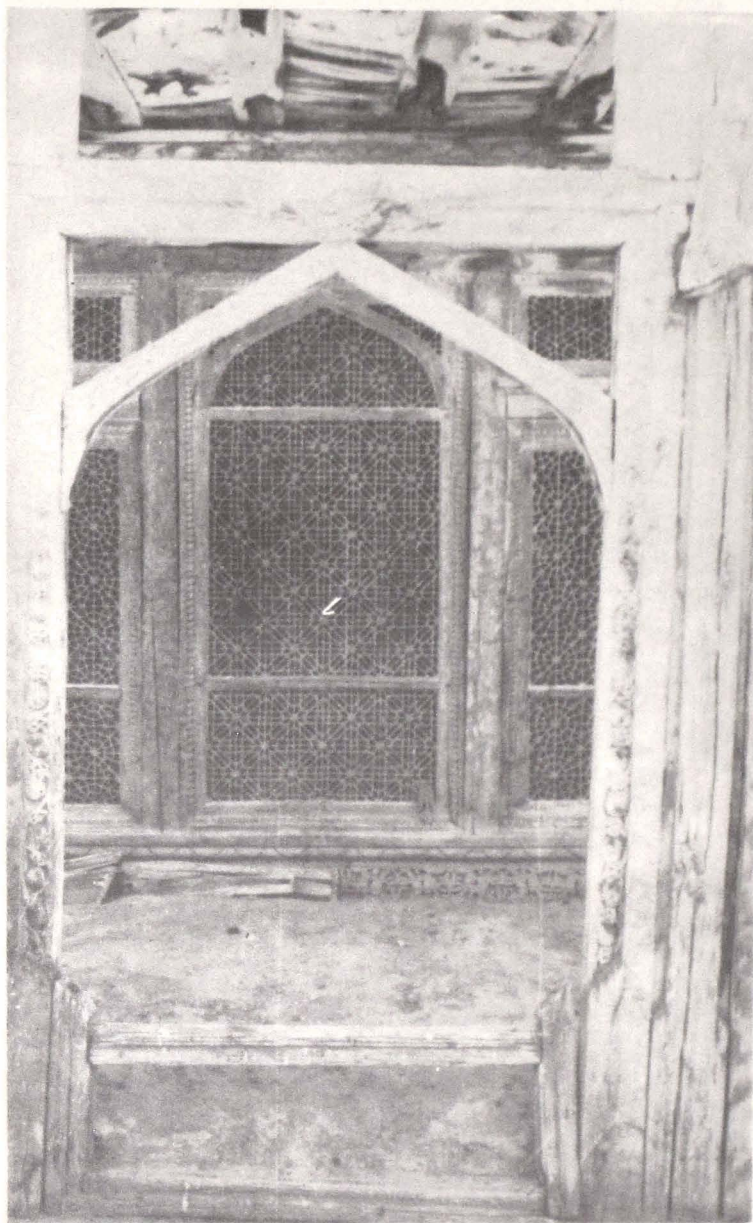
Pl. 47. Kiris — Wood carving at the door of the tomb of Mir Mukhtar.



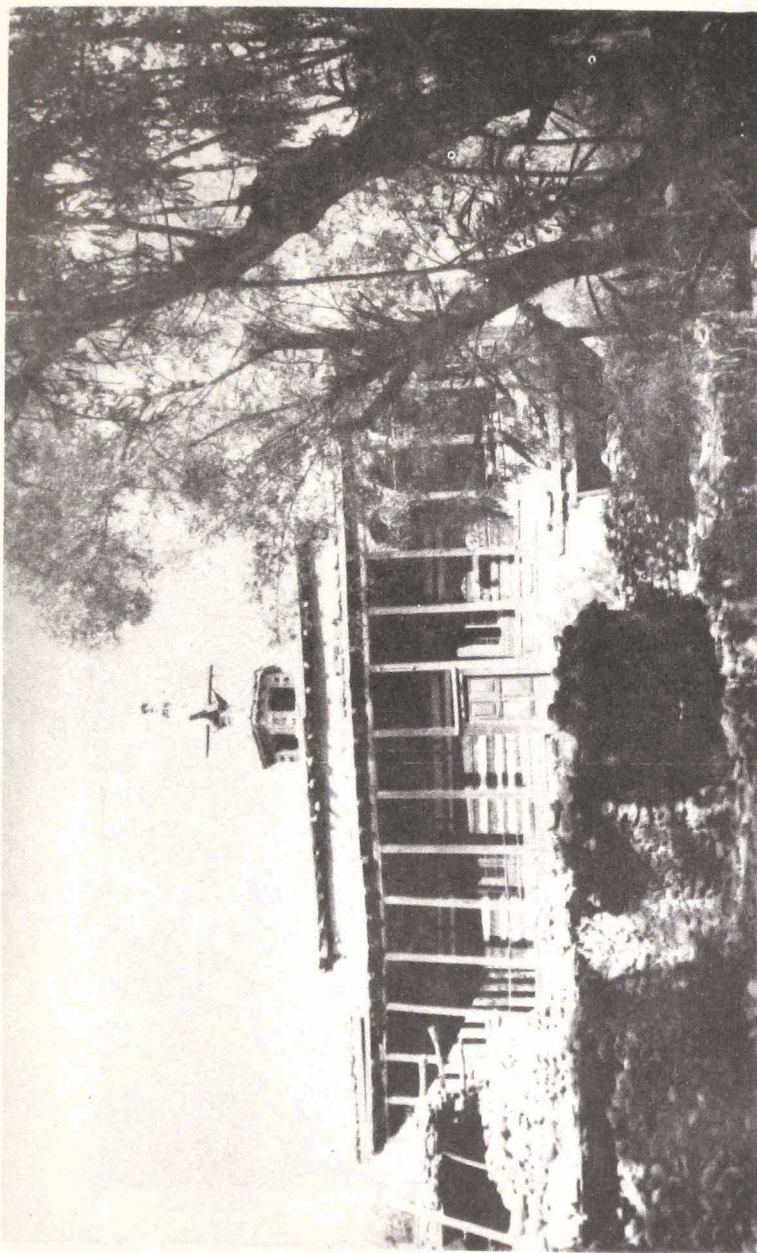
Pl. 48. Kiris — Wood carving at the tomb of Mir Mukhtar.



Pl. 49. Kiris — Wood carving at the tomb of Mir Mukhtar.



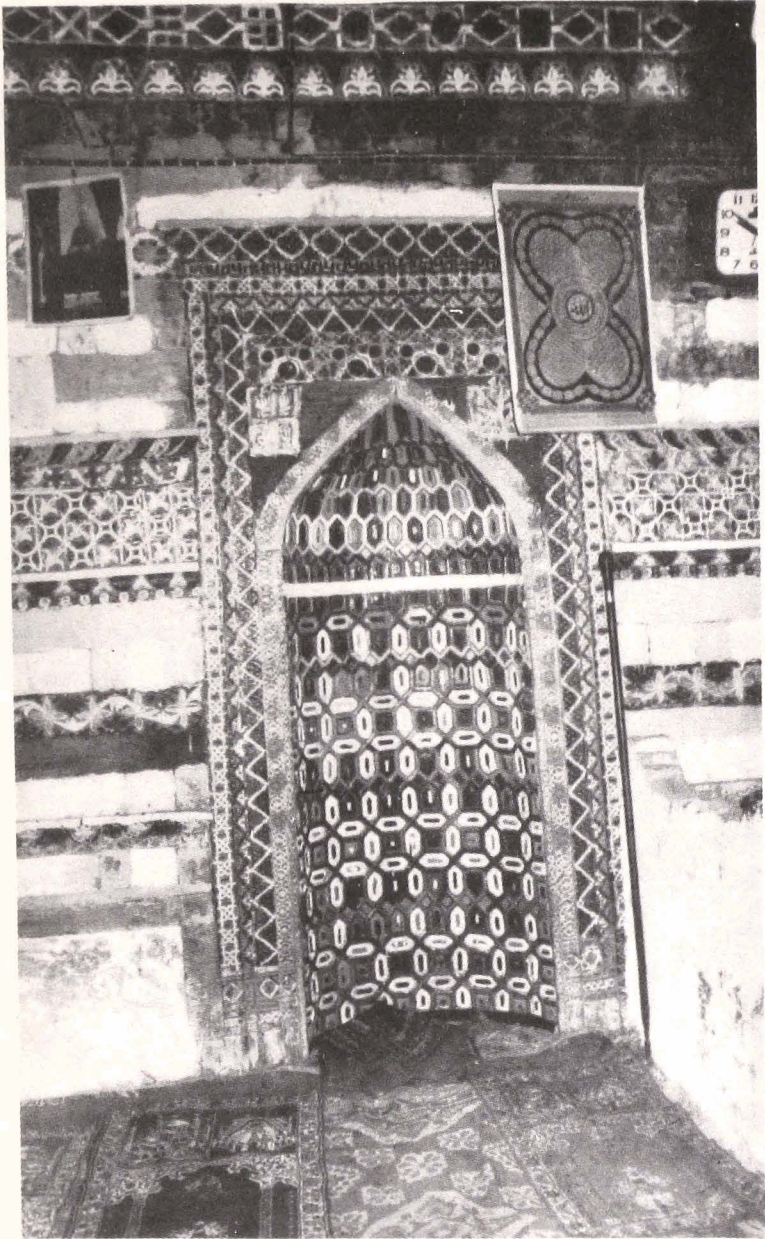
Pl. 50. Kiris — Window panelling at the tomb of Mir Mukhtar.



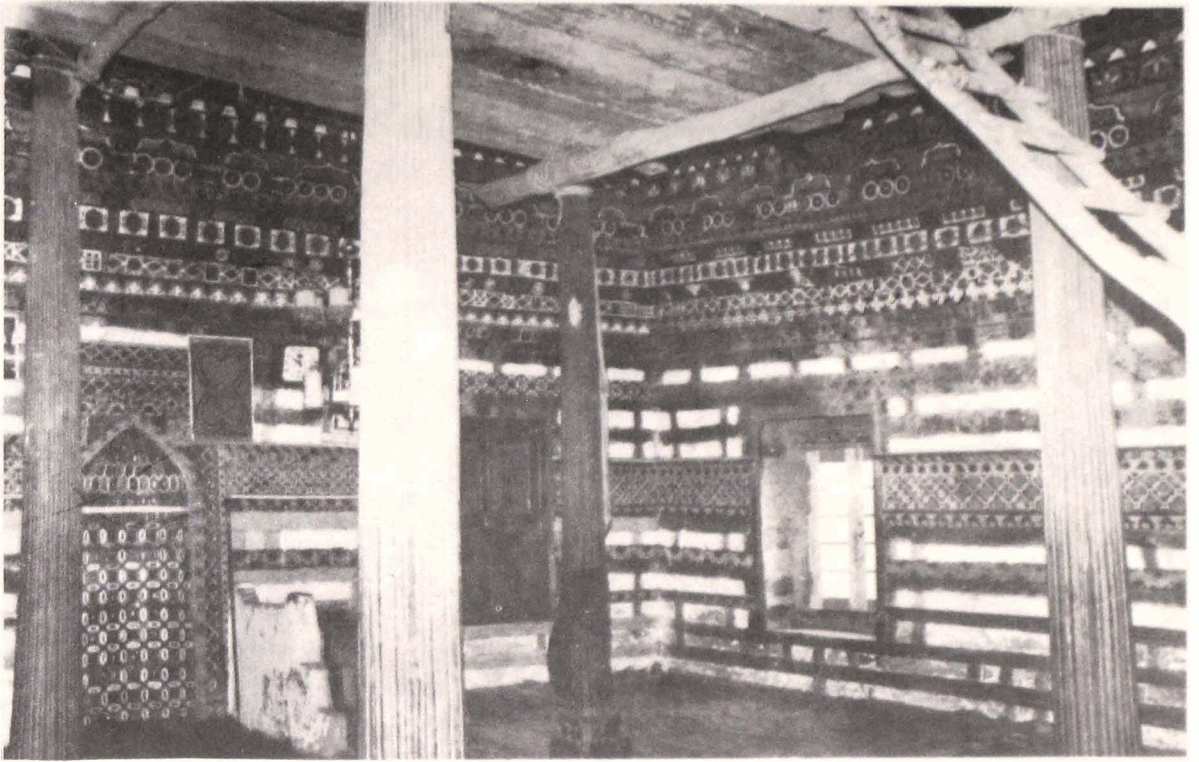
Pl. 51. Khaplu — Chakchan Mosque attributed to Sayyid Ali Hamadani.



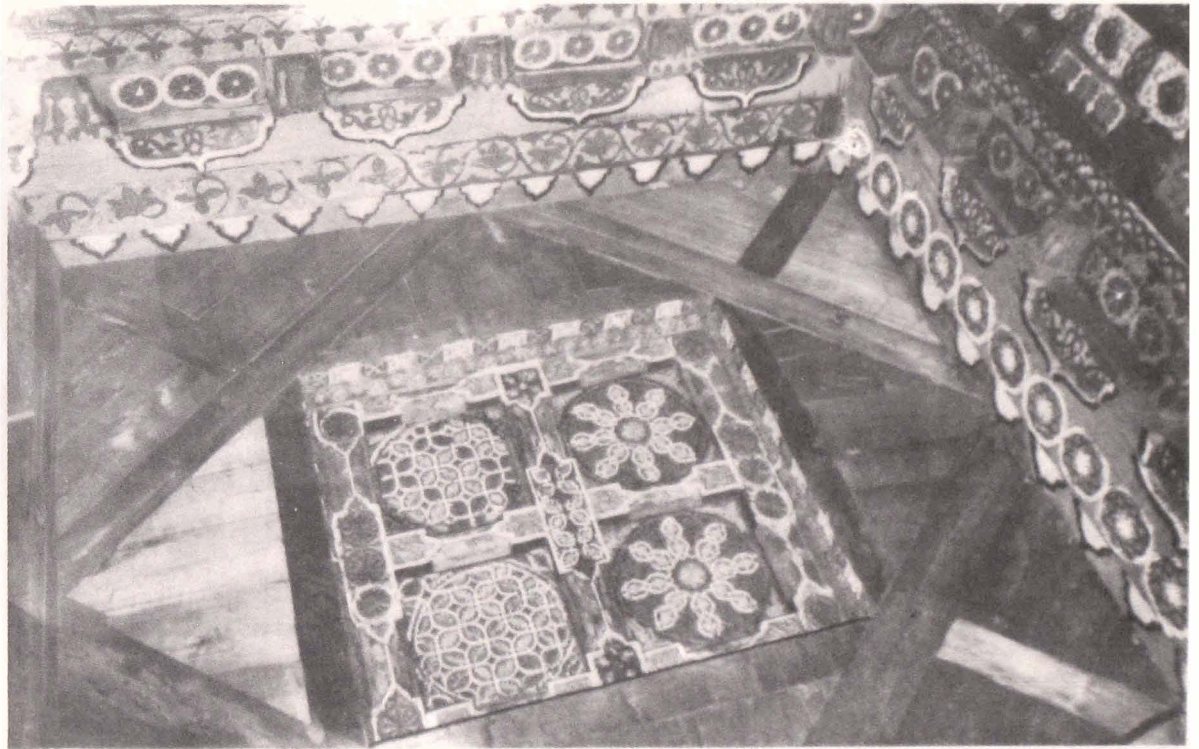
Pl. 52. Khaplu — Entrance of Chakchan mosque.



Pl. 53. Khaplu — Mehrab of Chakchan mosque.

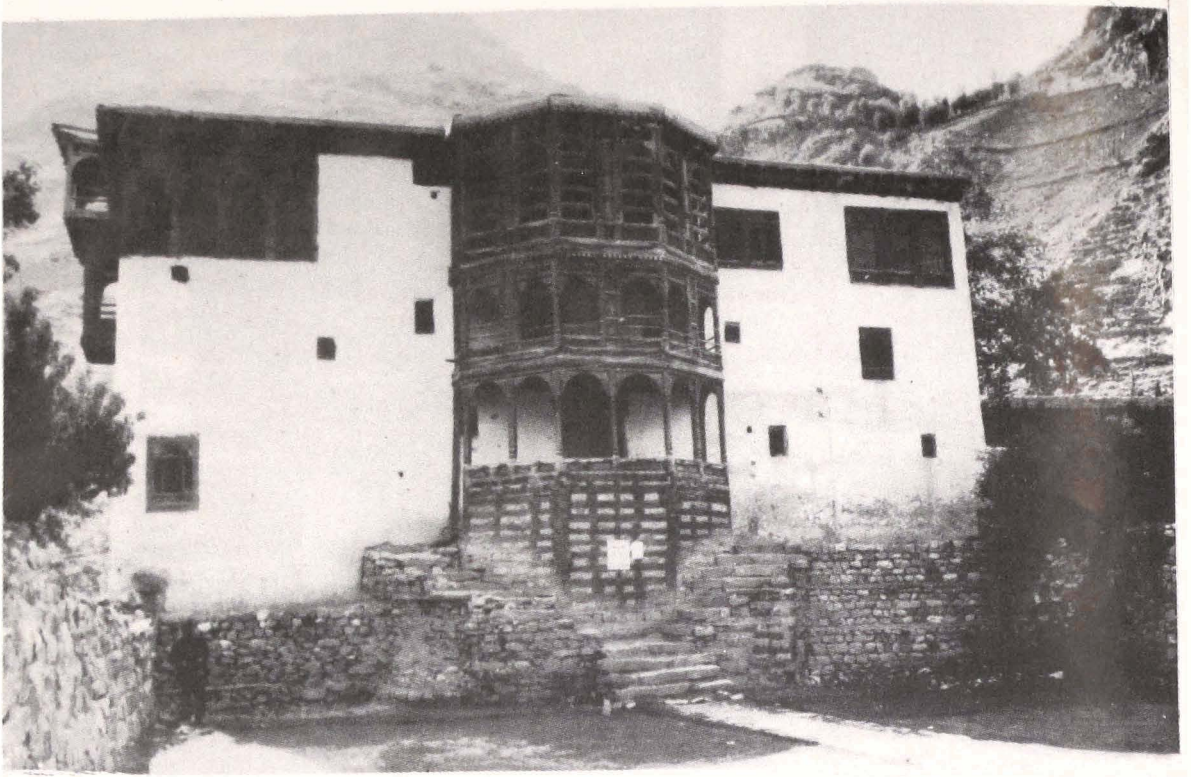


Pl. 54. Khaplu — Interior decoration of Chakchan Mosque.



Pl. 55. Khaplu — Ceiling decoration of Chakchan Mosque.





Pl. 56. Khaplu — Raja's Palace. showing the octagonal balcony in Mughal style.



Pl. 57. Gilgit Independence Memorial with late Mr. Abdul Hamid Khawar.



Pl. 58. Subedar Major M. Babar Khan — the leader of Gilgit Scouts 1947—48.



Pl. 59. Shah Rais Khan — President of the Provisional Government of Gilgit 1947.



Pl. 60. Col. Pasha (Brigadier (Rtd.) M. Aslam.



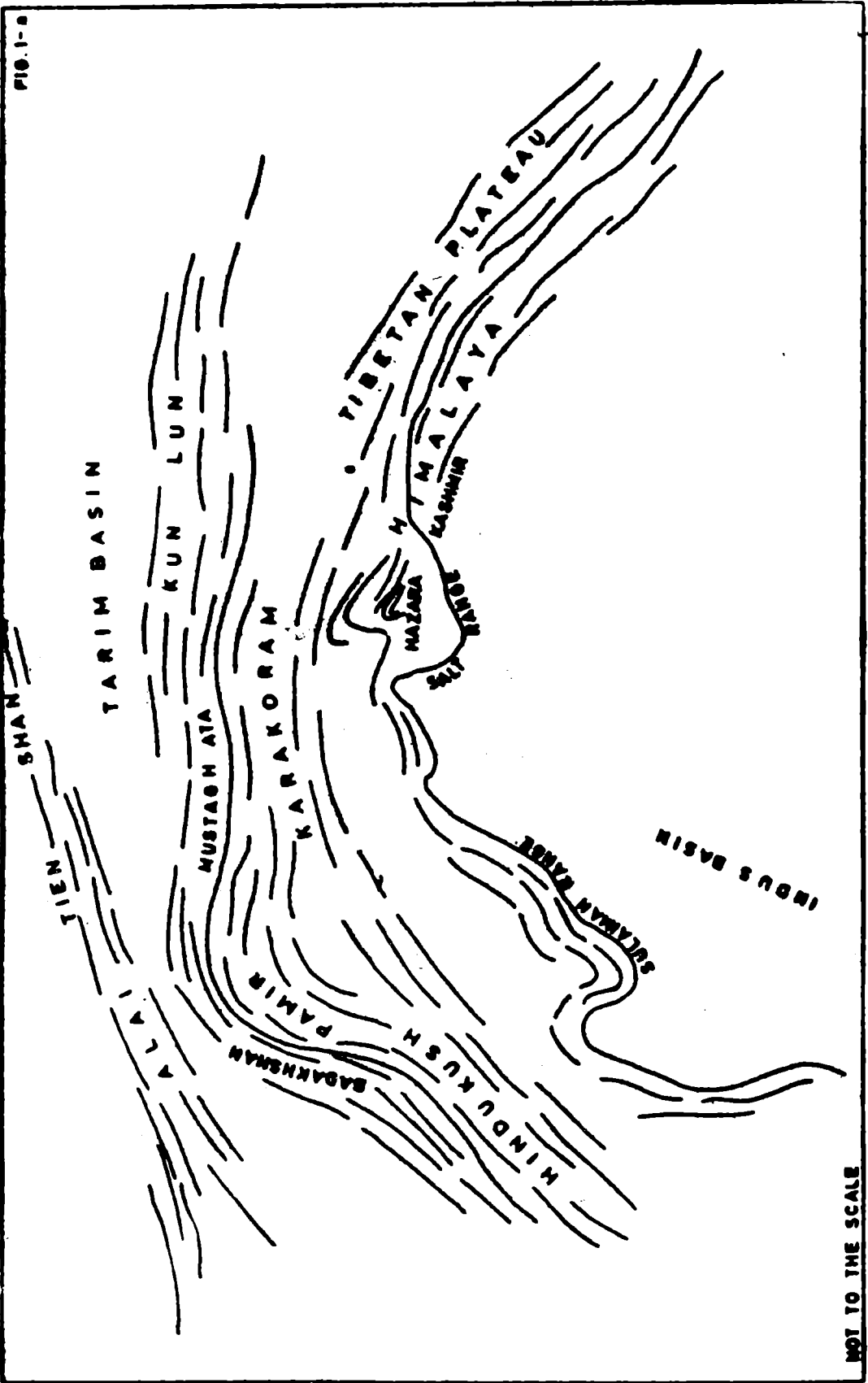
Pl. 61. Col. Hasan Khan — The Hero of Tiger Force.



Pl. 62. Major (Later Lt. Col.) Ehsan Ali — The Hero of the  
Ibex Force.



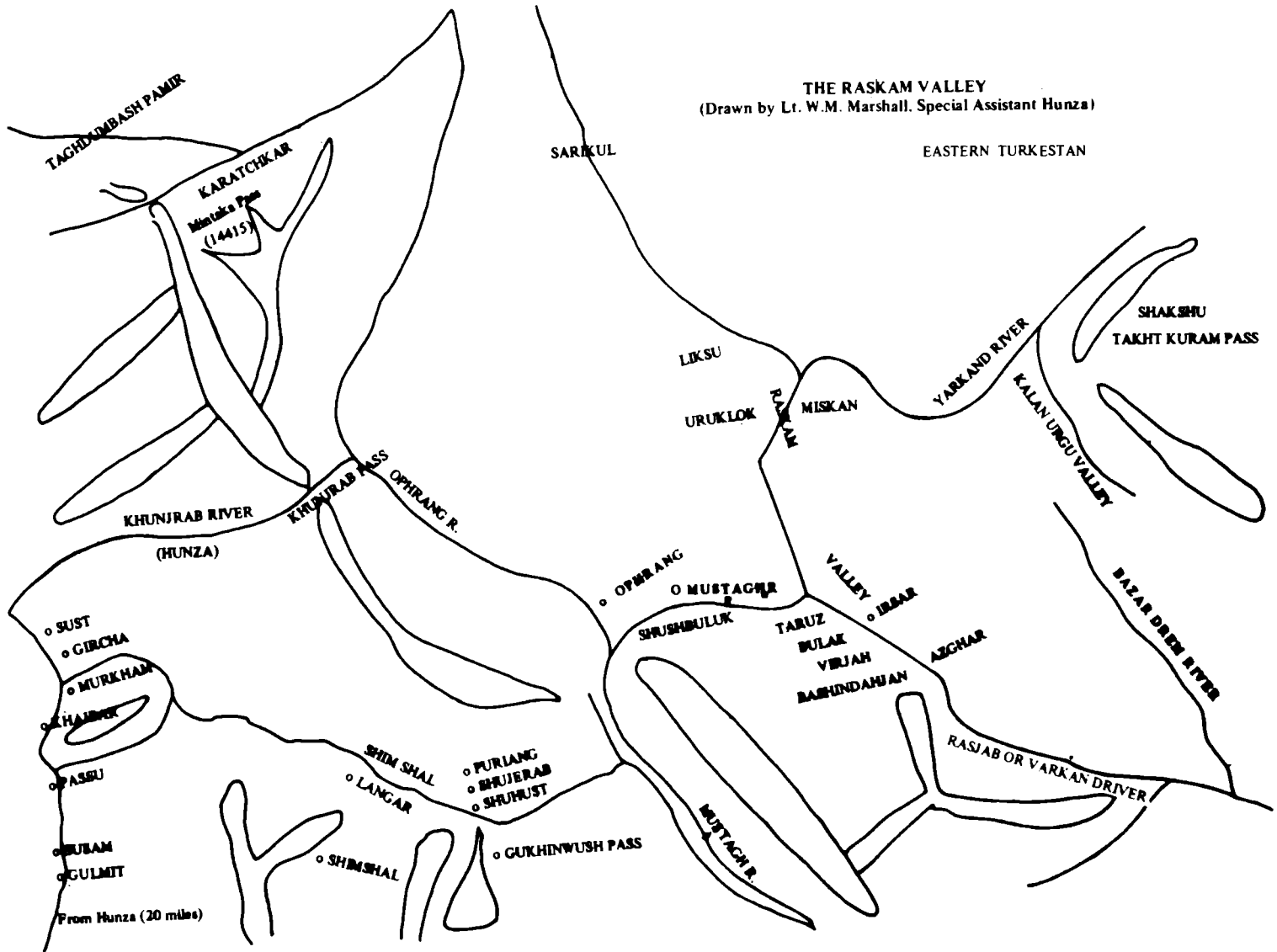
Pl. 63. Gr. Capt. (Rtd.) Shah-Khan — The Hero of Eskimo Force



GEOGRAPHICAL DOMAIN OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN MOUNTAIN SYSTEM

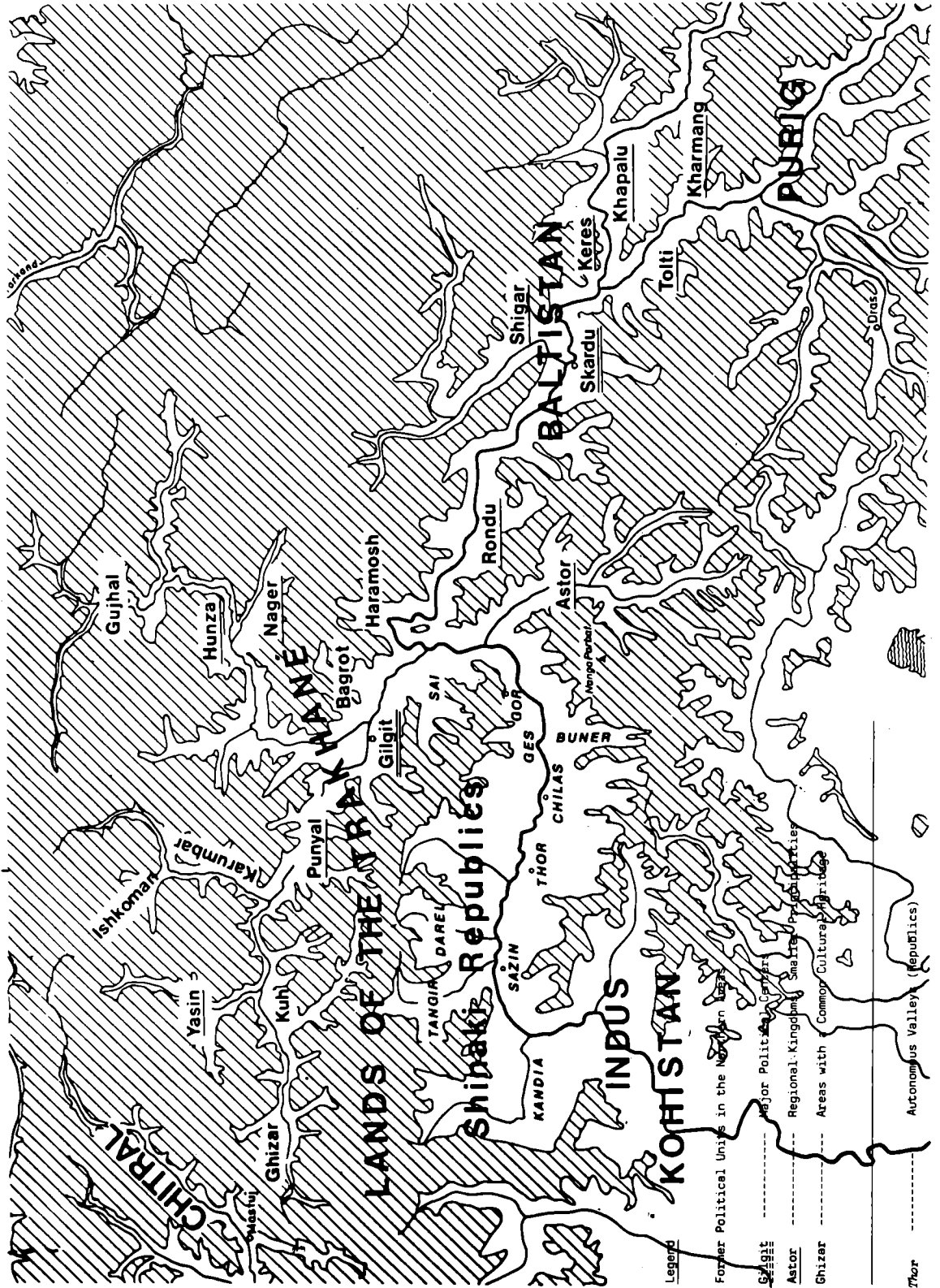
**THE RASKAM VALLEY**  
 (Drawn by Lt. W.M. Marshall, Special Assistant Hunza)

EASTERN TURKESTAN



From Hunza (20 miles)





**Legend**  
Former Political Units in the North-West Frontier Province  
Major Political Centers  
Regional Kingdoms and Principalities  
Areas with Common Cultural Heritage  
Autonomous Valley (Republics)  
Thar

