

**A
CULTURAL HISTORY
OF
KASHMIR & KISHTAWAR**

F. M. Hassnain

RIMA PUBLISHING HOUSE
ER-10, Inderpuri, New Delhi-110012 (INDIA)

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FOREWORD

Perched among the Himalayan ranges and surrounded by Ladakh, Jammu, Chamba and Kashmir, the Valley of Kishtawar, commonly spelled as Kishtawar, was known as Kashtavata during ancient times. According to a popular legend, this Valley emerged out of a lake like Kashmir. Both Kishtawar and Kashmir were peopled by various tribes, notable being the Caspians who are designated by the common names of Khas, Kash, Cush, Kosh, Kish, Kas and Kush. Known to anthropologists as Kassites, these people are said to have founded the towns of Kash, Kashan, Kashgar, and after crossing the Hinu-Kush ranges, are the earliest settlers of Kashmir and Kishtawar.

It is also true historically that the tiny kingdom of Kashtawar did exist during ancient times and continued to exist right up to the 19th century. Kalhana's Rajatarangini, which is the oldest historical chronicle in India makes mention of the King of Kashtavata among the hilly kingdoms surrounding Kashmir. We are informed that this tiny kingdom did play its role in the history of Kashmir and even became a centre of offensives against the mighty Mughals. Small wonder that the rulers of Kishtawar did provide refuge to kings like, Sultan Yaqub Shah of Kashmir and Sultan Shah Shujah of Afghanistan.

Kishtawar did produce not only able rulers but also scholars, saints and soldiers. The region has given a remarkable evidence of communal harmony and understanding. Through out its history, the people of Kishtawar have maintained the traditions of secular thinking and brotherhood. Unfortunately, all its rich traditions and achievements have remained wrapped in mystery. About its history and culture, a few sketchy works in Hindi, Persian and Urdu are available. In view of the above, there was a great need to have a standard work on its history and culture. Compiling of such an authentic work in English was entrusted to Professor Hassnain, who is one of India's distinguished Historian. He has succeeded in presenting an authentic history of the region, for which he deserves our congratulations.

The history of Kishtawar is a part of the history of our country and with the passage of time, further researches would be made about the past heritage of this region. However, the services of Professor Hassnain, in preserving for posterity, the history and culture of Kishtawar, would be remembered with gratitude.

Ghulam Hussain Arman, M.L.C.

Dedicated to the Loving Memory of

*Mohammad Teg Singh Saif Ullah Khan
(1796-1821)*

The Last Independent Ruler of Kishtawar

PREFACE

Kishtawar is officially spelt as Kishtawar but I prefer the pronunciation of the natives, who pronounce it sometimes as Kashtawar. It was in 1962 when I first read a Persian manuscript written by Pandit Shivji Dhar, preserved in the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar. Despite the fact that it was concise and consisted of about 50 pages only, I felt fascinated about Kishtawar and its people. At that time, I wrote an introduction for this manuscript and got it published through the Department.

It was in 1986 that Hon'ble Ghulam Hussain Arman, M.L.A. assigned the task of writing this book to me. Despite my engagements, I have compiled this work and I feel proud of having done this service to the natives of Kishtwar, for whom I have great affection. I hope they will love to read about their ancestors, who were great in many respects and had close relations with us, the Kashmiris. In fact both Kashmir and Kishtawar were peopled by the same race during pre-historic days. That accounts for the affinity between the two peoples. It was Kishtawar which provided refuge to our last independent ruler, Sultan Yaqub Shah Chak and it is for this reason that I dedicate this book to the loving memory of the last independent ruler of Kishtawar, Raja Mohammed Teg Singh Saif-ullah Khan Bahadur.

I have consulted all available source material on the subject in English, Persian and Urdu, Hon'ble Arman Sahib took great pains in obtaining printed books for me and photostat copies of some files and documents. The most important and original source material, written in 1864, was procured by him from the library of Dr. Ganda Singh. This manuscript has been used for the first time in this work. It appears to be compiled by some relative of the last Raja of Kishtawar and, as such, is trustworthy records of events that lead to the annexation of Kishtawar by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu. There are some indications that this work may have been compiled at Lahore under the directions of Jameel Singh, the eldest son of Raja Mohammed Teg Singh.

My sincere thanks are due to the authors whose works were have been consulted by me. I have to make a special mention of one scholar from the region who procured some valuable material for me. He is Mr. Mohammed Ishaq, Publicity Secretary Faridiya Bazam-i-Adab, Doda and I am thankful to him for his help. It is my misfortune that I could not visit the region about which I have compiled this work. It happened about my another work also — Gilgit, which I visualised from 20 paintings in the Srinagar Museum. For Kishtawar, I requested Mrs. Anni Kotroo of the Sun Travels, Srinagar to procure many photographs of Kishtawar for me, where she was leading a group of

travellers. She very kindly has prepared the colour transparencies, which are included in this book. I have to thank her for these photographs which she has permitted to reproduce and which remain her copyright.

I am happy that this work sees the light of the day and the reading public get to know Kishtawar, which was once a cradle of rich culture. History must repeat itself one day, when this region will gain become the focus of civilisation.

F.M. Hassnain

KASHMIR

I

GENERAL

INTRODUCTION

Since ancient times, the Valley of Kashmir has been a meeting ground of many cultures. The earliest references about Kashmir are contained in the Annals of the Hang-Shu, which date back to 220 B. C. After this, we find it mentioned in the Greek classics of Ptolemy, Dionysios, Hakataios, and Herodotos. In the 6th century, Kashmir and its rulers are mentioned in the Annals of the Tang dynasty. We also find Kashmir and its people described in the Arabic works of Al-Masudi, Al-Qizwini, Al-Idrisi and Al-Beruni. In about 8000 B. C. the Valley was a big lake but after its drainage, it became a habitate for a dozen tribes, most prominent being the *Kash*, which is also known as the Kassites. This tribe was of Semetic origin and had come from Mesopotamia. Whenever, this tribe went, it made mention of its origin by adding the name *Kash*. It is due to this reason that we find such place names as Kashir in Egypt, Kasan in Iran Kashgar in Central Asia and of course, the Hindu-Kush mountains. The leader of this tribe was known as Kashyapa. The inhabitants of the valley call it *Kashir* and themselves as *Kushur*, which are Hebrew words.

After the departure of Alexander the Great, many small Greek states grew up in the north-west of India. The kingdom of

Demetrius included the Valley of Kashmir. Among the Greek rulers whose coins have been found in the valley are Menandrou, Azilises and Mause. It was Menandrou who got converted to Buddhism at the hands of the famous Buddhist monk, Nagasena, who was a Kashmiri. The Yuchi tribes of Kansu, China, known as the Kushanas, occupied the north-west of India in about the 2nd century B. C. Kashmir formed a part of the Kushan empire during the first century and Kanishka is reported to have convened the 4th Buddhist Council in the valley. It was during that period when Kashmir became the focus of Asiatic civilization and became an important stop on the renowned Silk Road. In that period the grandeur of a king was measured by the extent of his kingdom as well as his administrative qualities. In this regard, Kashmir did produce able administrators and great kings also. Our archaeological remains and monuments at Harwan, Awantipur, Mattan, Parihasapura, Kangan, Rajauri and Akhnoor are a testimony of their greatness. History can not forget the great names like, Lalitaditya, Awantivarman, Didda Rani, Shahabuddin, Zainulabidin, and Yousuf Shah Chak. It was Lalitaditya who stopped and reverted the movement of the Arabs from the west to east in the 8th century. He conquered

not only some parts of Afghanistan and Tibet but brought under his sway the whole of north India. It was he who built the first capital of India at Parihasapura because Delhi did not exist at that time. He has subjugated Kanauj. It was Shahabuddin who conquered Kabul, Sind, Punjab, Kangra and some regions of the Hindu--Kush. In the same tradition, Zainulabidin defeated the Kashgarians and regained Ladakh to Kashmir and his nephew became the *Nazim* of his kingdom which extended from Sirhind to Peshawar.

It was in the 16th century that the process of disintegration set in and the kingdom of Kashmir became an easy pray for the invaders. Since then the Kashmiris were conquered by the Mughals, the Afgans, the Sikhs and the Dogras.

Location and Boundries

The Valley of Kashmir lies between the Himalaya Range in the north and of the Pir Panjal range in the south. Comprahended between latitude. 33°. 55' to 34°. 50' and longitude, 74°. 30' to 75°. 35' the valley lies in the north-west of India. The valley is about 116 miles long with width varying from 40 to 70 miles, the side valleys adding much ground to the cultivated area. The total area is about 6000 sq. miles. The mountain slopes, being covered with forest and pastures, the low and more or less flat part of the valley measures about 84 miles by 20 to 25 miles, the area being about 2000 sq. miles or 1.2 million acres. The population density is about 325 per sq. mile.

The probable age of Kashmir is reckoned to be 100 million years; it is believed to have struggled under the Tettys sea for 900 million years. The Valley of Kashmir

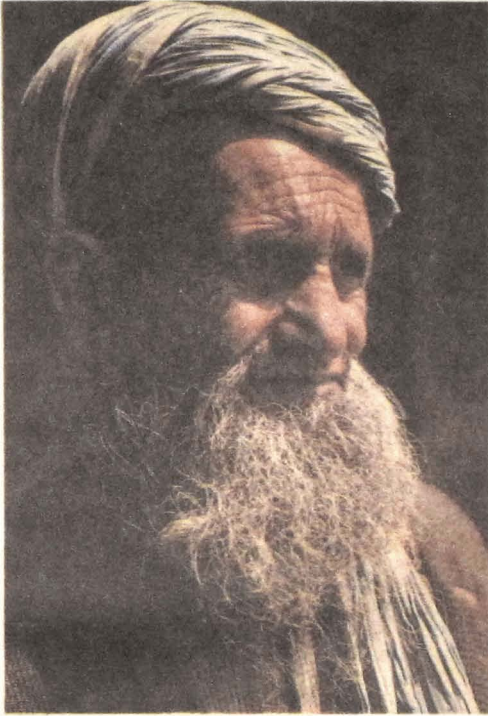
itself is believed to have been lying under a vast lake, which got drained gradually through the Baramulla Khadanyar Gorge as the Himalayas grew higher and higher. "The Dal, the Mansbal, the Wullar and many other lakes are but the shrinking ramnants this great lake." The valley bed is covered, end to end, by *Karewa* deposits, representing sediments of these vast bodies of lakes water. Rain and rivers have cut up one continuous expense of *Karewas* into strips and isolated blocks and this process is going on even now. The ramnants now cover nearly half the area of the valley.

Area and Population

The valley can be measured in the two ways, Firstly, by reckoning it from summit to summit of the mountains that encircle the flat part of the valley. Taking, first the claim of mountains, we find that the length of the irregular oval, is 185 kms., while its width varies from 64 to 120 kms. The low and flat part of the valley itself is about 154 kms. long and its width varies from 32 kms. to 40 kms. The area of the valley is 15, 853 kms. and the total population comes to 31,34,909 according to 1981 census.

Topography

Kashmir has been described as a land of lakes, streams, turf, fruits, forests and mountains. Perfected securely among the snow-capped mountains at an average height of about 15000 feet above the sea, lies the green Valley of Kashmir. Range after range of mountains guard the valley. The general aspects of the valley is that of a basin surrounded on all sides by a ring of lofty mountains. Within it is an extensive track of alluvial soil watered by the river Jhelum and its numerous tributaries. These rivers and streams flow down from the



An old face of Kashmir

mountains and are fed by glaciers, snow and rain. The valley resembles a gem set in the gasket of the ever lasting Himalayas. The wild grandeur of its mountain barriers and its own intrinsic loveliness make it an "emerald set in pearl."

Mountains and Hills

The mountain ranges enclosing the Valley of Kashmir do not appear monotonous. Varied in form and colour, they are so beautiful as an artist might picture in his dream and a poet might extol in his verse. Important peaks among them are: Harmukh, Kaunsar, Kajinag, Hukhsar, Gawashibarsari, Braribal, Afroth, Mahadev, Amarnath, Pir Panchal, Banihal, Narbal, Morgam, Rajdaniengan, Zojibal, and Nahishanar. To the north lies many claims of mountains, broken into snow ranges waves hastening in wild up to the promi-

nent peak of Nanga Parbat 26,620 feet. To the east rises Harmukh 16,903 feet the stern mountain which guards the valley of river Sindh. On the south is Mahadev 13,600 feet which seems to look down on Srinagar. The peaks of Gwashi Brari (17,800 feet) and Amarnath (17,321 feet) look very beautiful in the sunset. On the south-west stands the Pir Panjal with peaks, Konsarnag (12,800 feet) Tratakoti (15,524 feet). Further north as the Toshamaidan (14,000 feet) over which men pass to Poonch and in the north-west corner rises the snowy Kazi Nag (12,125 feet).

Within the majestic mountains, there are depressions which popularly called *darangas* (passes) which provide several outlets between the valley and the adjacent regions. various enumerations of such passes have been made by different authorities. Abul Fazl mentions 26 and Vigne 20 but to an active mountaineer, the number is practically unlimited. A list of those passes which are most traversed is given below:

<i>Pass</i>	<i>From Whence</i>
Razdain angan	Gurais, Tilail, Skardo
Marbal	Kishtwar, Chamba
Banihal	Jammu, Sialkot
Pir Panjal	Bhimber, Rajoori, Gujrat
Margan	Maru, Wardwan, Suru
Zojila	Drass, Ladakh
Tosa Maidan	Poonch, Jhelum
Forozpur	" " " "
Baramulla	Murri, Abbotabad, Poonch
Nattishannar	Karnah, Muzzafarabad: Abbotabad.

The eminences throughout Kashmir, except those connected with the great enclosing range are few and inconsiderable. The Hari Parbat rises 250 feet above the Kal Lake. Not far from it, rises the *Takht-i-Su-*

laiman to the height of 1,038 feet from the same level. The hill of Ahak Teng (1,000 feet) on the mouth of the Manasbal lake is remarkable owing to its isolated. Almost all the mountains are coated with green vegetation and dense forests and these forests are of great importance to the valley, because of the supply of timber, fuel and grass, the agricultural prosperity of the valley depends on these forests. In Kashmir, cultivation commences immediately right up to the fringe of the forests. A little lower down at an elevation of about 2133.600 m. rice of the hardy and stunted growth is found and the shady plane trees appear. Lower still superior varieties of rice are grown.

Margs or Mountain Downs

During summer, the sheep and cattle are driven up from the valley to the margs or mountain--downs. They are numerous on the tops of the range of hills immediately below the Pir Panjal and also upon the slopes of those mountains which enclose the north-eastern side of the valley. The principal meadows among such *margs* are Gulmarg, Khillanmarg, and Sonamarg.

Where the mountains cease to be steep, there are flat like deposits all round the valley. These table-lands, which are some sixty or ninety metres in height, are called *Wudars* or *Karewahs*. Leaving the *Karewas*, one drops down to the terraces of alluvial soil which slopes gently towards the river Jhelum. The main valley, is thus, divided naturally into two parts, *viz.*, the *Karewas* or table-lands and the alluvium of the river Jhelum.

The *Karewas* constitute nearly one half of the total area of the valley, forming an object in Kashmir scenery. The clay con-

sisting for the most part of a brown sand. Chemical analysis show variation in nitrogen content from 0.644 to 0.00132 and KO from 0.06 to 0.08. They are separated from each other by ravines of about 30.480 to 91.440 m. in depth. The *Karewas* and their dividing ravines occupy a width varying from 12.8 to 25.6 kms. along the south-western side of the valley for a length about 80 kms from near Shupian to Baramulla. Beyond Sopore again the north-western end of the valley is mostly *Karewa* table land.

The *Karewa* soil is poor in organic matter and nitrogen content and they have little moisture retaining capacity. The *Karewas* are of two kinds; firstly, those which on their summits make a table-land totally flat. Secondly, those which slope up continuously towards the mountains. The table-land which lies between the river Jhelum and the circle of the mountains to the north and east is almost entirely a flat topped *Karewa*. It is known as Pampur about 45.720 m. above the level of Jhelum and its alluvial plain. As far as the slopping *Karewas* are concerned they occur along the south-west side of the valley. By Shupian there is a large tract of ground slopping to the north-east and this may perhaps be called a slopping *Karewa*. More accurately perhaps it might be called an alluvial tract a very large scale.

Alluvial Plain

After the *Karewa* one drops down to the alluvial soil which slopes gently towards river Jhelum. It is by the banks of this river, which flows through the length of the valley that the flat plain lies extending from Anantnag for more than 80 kms. With a width varying from 3.2 or 4.8 to 24 kms. The surface of this alluvial plain has been

formed by deposition of sediment on the water over flowing the banks at flood time. The plain is north-west 16 kms. to 19.2 kms. below Anantnag but about Srinagar and beyond it is wide. In this last part great portions of the plain are a marsh covered with water in spring and summer and left dry in winter. Thus the plain which extends along the north-east side of the valley for a great part of its length is partly land and partly water, but where the surface is watery the land is not far beneath.

Lidder Valley

The first upland valley to the east of Jhelum is the Lidder and it gives passage to a river at the same time. It extends in a northerly direction from Anantnag to Pahalgam and includes the *Parganas* of Dachinpora and Khaurpora. At Pahalgam, the valley divides itself into two defiles which stretch obliquely, one towards the north-west to be reached by a foot-path

following the course of the Lidderwat stream, the other towards the north-east, leading up to the Sheshnag and the cave of Amarnath. At its lower end, the valley is 3 to 4 miles wide but at its upper end only a few hundred yards. It is bounded on both sides by mountains which are increasingly lofty and covered with dense forests. Cultivation does not extend beyond about a mile north of Pahalgam. There is a road along the valley which follows the left bank of the river as far as Pahalgam and then takes the eastern defile towards the Sheshnag and Amarnath. This path is practicable for ponies and is yearly traversed by multitudes of Hindu pilgrims. The river Lidder is fed with streams from Kolahai and Sheshnag. Towards Kolahai is a small valley covered with grass where glades are used by graziers. The steep sides of the valley show marded ice action with several waterfalls till the Kolahai glacier (17,779 feet).



Gaimarg

Sind Valley

The Sind Valley is the most beautiful lateral Valley of Kashmir. It owes its name to the river Sind Lar which is fed by the glaciers and streams. It extends from Ganderbal to the Zojjila pass, covering a distance of 58 miles. This valley is the best example of the grandeur of mountain scenery of Kashmir. Sonamarg is the most beautiful undulating grassy meadow near the Tajwas glacier, which is a famous tourist spot.

To the west alluvium is spread widening to the point where the river Sind joins the river Jhelum at Shadipur. This beautiful valley is guarded by the Harmukh range. On either side of the valley are lofty mountains whose tops are usually covered with snow. The valley abounds in large forests of pine and the tracts down below are lined with walnut, chestnut and many other kinds of trees. Among the lakes, Vishansar, Krishansar and Gangabal are famous tourist spots.

Lolab Valley

This fertile oval shaped valley is situated in the north-east side of Kashmir. It is about 15 miles long and 3 miles wide. It is traversed by a considerable stream called Lahwal, which flows down from the surrounding hills. The valley is thickly covered with dense forest of deodar. There extensive pasture lands in the valley under the hills and along the side of the spurs, where a large number of cattle are grazed. Besides this, fruit like apple, cherry, peach and walnut is abundant.

Rivers

Nature has provided the Jammu and Kashmir State with ample water resources,

in the form of its rivers Indu, Jhelum, Chinab and Ravi, in its lakes, springs and snowfields and glaciers. Floods do not cause any serious calamity, within the State, apart from minor inundation, bank erosions and some meanders. These are all tackled with small remedial measures. Some of the worst and notable floods were these of 1841, 1844, 1859, and 1865. The level of water rose 95% feet to 300 feet above the normal level. These were caused by the damming of rivers, due to landslips caused by an earthquake, glaciers blocking the valley and the subsquent bursting of the barriers.

Jhelum River

The principal river of Kashmir is the Jhelum which flows in the middle of the valley. Locally known as the *Veth* it has its source at the Verinag Spring situated at the foot of the Pir Panchal mountains. At Khanabal, it is joined by the upper tributaries Sandran, Bringe and Arapath. From Khanabal the river is navigable. In its course it is joined by Lidder, Arapal on the right and Vishau and Rambiar and Romeshi on the left. At Srinagar, it flanks the Dal Lake and before it enters into the Wular Lake at Bangari, it is joined by Sind (Lar) on the right. There are other tributaries in this region but these fall in lakes and marshes which dominate in this river stretch Dachigam falls into Dal Lake, and Erin and Madhumati into the Wular Lake on the right. Doodganga, Sukhnag, Ferozepore and Ningli streams pass through a series of swamps and *numbals* into the Wular lake. From Khanabal to Bangari, the river covers 80 miles and from its outfall at Sopore to a little distance below Baramulla a distance of about 10 miles the slope is very flat ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1 feet per mile. The Pohru river joins the river at Doabgah and at



Jhelum River

Khandanyar, the river, enters into the rapids and the slope is about 40 feet per mile, dropping from R.L. 5000 at Kadayar to about R.L. 2000 at Domel. Enroute the river is met by Buniyar, Namla and other small nallas. From Verinag to Domel the distance is 185 miles. From Domel to the plains, the distance is 120 miles. In this reach its tributary within the state is the Poonch river.

The river Krishenganga, which is locally known as Neelam joins the river Jhelum below the town of Muzaffarabad. The Kishenganga rises in the high hills of Tilail and drains the northern slopes of Kashmir. It rushes through the Gorges of Gurez to Sharda, and its joined by Karnah

river at Karnah. The Hydel power and irrigation potential of this river is enormous but none has been developed so far. Very rich deodar forests lie in the region and these are floated down the river in the form of logs. The gradient of the river is very steep and therefore, no navigation facilities have been provided so far. As in other backward pockets of the State, the people have on their own built small irrigation kuhls and water mills in the basin. The pastures are excellent. The floods damage the bridges but beyond that except for minor bank erosions, no disasters are caused within the State. Muzaffarabad is situated on its left bank, a couple of miles upstream of Domel.

The Jhelum is navigable from Islamabad to Bramulla, a distance of about 60 miles various kinds of wooden boats are used in Kashmir for lake and river transport but these boats have no dales. The river is spanned by many bridges, in its course through the valley.

Mineral Wealth

The Valley of Kashmir is very rich in its mineral wealth. The following are mineral occurrences known from various parts of the Kashmir Valley:

1. *Abrasive*: Exposures of a tuff, composed of minute particles of volcanic glass at Khunamuh, Zewan Pansapura and Marahama.
2. *Clays*: Clays which are certain earthy rocks consisting chiefly of hydrous aluminium silicates are of many types. Clays suitable for manufacture of cement occur in Wuyan, and Khunmuh and Anantnag. Such clays are reported from Pampur also. All these belong to the *Karewa* formation.
3. *Cobalt*: Cobalt is an important alloying metal. After iron, it is the most magnetic of metals, and iron-cobalt alloys, are therefore, used for making magnetic steels which have great lifting power, and permanent magnets. Occurrences of cobalt is reported from Buniyar and Baramulla, in association with lead, copper, and nickle.
4. *Copper*: Copper is the most important non-ferrous metal after iron and it has the widest application in industry. Copper mineralisation in the form of chalcopryrite, borite, chacocite, malachite and azurite is reported from many localities in Sindh Valley, Kangan, Ganderbal being important, Shamuhal near Aishmuqam in Anantnag district and Lashteel area of Baramulla District.
5. *Diatomaceous earth*: Diatomite is essentially composed of fossil remains of microscopic aquatic plants known as diatoms. Pura diatomite is white chalklike in appearance, friable and porous and it is used as a filtering agent. The *Karewa* in Bataparathi area of Gulmarg region have some diatomaceous earth but so far no workable deposit has been located.
6. *Galena*: Galena is the chief ore mineral of lead which is quite soft and very heavy. The deposits are located at Shumuhal in Anantnag district and Buniyar, Paran Kutrian-Hapathhai, Lashteel in Baramulla district. The deposits near Buniyar are associated with zinc and copper and contain a little silver also.
7. *Glass sand*: Huge deposits of very good quality quartzite suitable for manufacture of glass are present in Lidder Valley of Anantnag district.
8. *Graphite*: Graphite finds important use in the manufacture of crucibles and other refractory articles. Amorphous graphite occur associated with gypsum in parts of Uri Tehsil (Khadanyar-Islamabad Dhanni Saiydan area).
9. *Gypsum*: Fertilizer and cement are two important industries in which gypsum finds side usage. Very good

quality massive gypsum is found between Ijara and Islamabad over 24 km. long tract in Uri Tehsil; it is also known from Islamabad-Dhanni Sariyidan area. In these areas, it occurs invariably in association with graphite.

10. *Lignite*: It is generally woody or composed of finely divided plant tissues and represents the intermediate stage in the alternation of wood into coal.

It is extensively used in the manufacture of producer gas. It finds large use as briquettes also. Lignite seems to have been noted in Raithan Nichahom area, Chokibal area, and Shaliganga river and Vishnu river.

11. *Limestone*: Limestone is extensively used in the manufacture of cement and in the formation of lime. Huge deposits of high grade limestone suitable for the manufacture of port-land cement occur at Achabal, Anantnag, Bawan, Verinag, Naupur, Doru, Diunpau, Aishmuqam areas in Anantnag district and Bandipora, Ajas, Beru, Manasbal, Sonamarg, Zozila areas in Baramulla district.

12. *Ochre*: Ochre is a group of natural pigments and occur chiefly in yellow, red, green and brown shades. Ochres occur as isolated surface deposits at Nurkhawh, Ratasar and Jhuggi areas of Uri Tehsil.

13. *Phosphorite*: Phosphatic nodules and Phosphorite of very poor quality are known from parts of Handwar, Kopwar areas of Baramulla district.

14. *Silver*: Metallic silver is used principally in ornaments, coinage and silverware. The lead of Baramulla district are reported to contain a fair amount of silver also.

15. *Slate*: Slate is grey to dark metamorphic argillaceous rock used for roofing purposes, making school slates etc. Good quality slate is available from Mar Pathra area near Gulmarg.

Fauna

In the lap of the Himalayas, perched securely among the snowcapped mountains at an average height of about 1500 metre above the sea, lies the green fertile Valley of Kashmir. Range after range of mountains guard the valley and the south boundary has the rocky barriers. The mountain snows feed the rivers and the streams which pass in their course, through pools of the purest cobalt. It abounds in mountain tarns, lovely lakes, and swampy lagoons. It is also rich in springs. The valley is drained by the Jhelum river and its various tributaries. On the south and west there are grand forests of pines and firs. When the great dark forests cease, the brighter woodlands begin. The green smooth turf of the woodland glades is like a well kept lawn, dotted with clumps of beautiful trees and bushes. Beyond the woodland glades, cultivation commences and extends up to the fringe according to altitude. Higher up the valley, the useful birch trees appear and then come grasses and glaciers, the country of the shepherds. Until the end of May and sometimes by the beginning of October there is a continuous ring of snows around this valley, turns this beautiful valley into a paradise. Naturally the feathered world within it also gets into its own deco-

ration. Behind such a splendid background, the valley becomes a dreamland of naturalists. Moreover, the migratory birds further enrich its birdlife during spring and autumn due to its central position in Asia and also being a doorway in between Palearctic and Oriental Zoo-geographical regions in Northern India.

Mammals

The following are the important mammalian fauna of the valley:

1. Among the larger carnivora, the Tiger, the Leopard and the snow Leopard are important. The last mentioned animal is rare and only a stray visitor from higher altitudes of the Himalayas.

2. The Leopard Cat, the Jungle Cat are of common occurrence in the valley.

3. The Brown Bear and the Himalayan Black Bear are found at high altitudes. In later part of the summer or early autumn these come down to the valleys and cause damage to the crops.

4. The principal species of vaverridaie found in the region are the Toddy Cat and the Himalayan Palm Civet.

5. The small Indian Mongoose is common and useful in riding a house of Vermins.

Many kind of game birds are found in Kashmir. The black *chikor*, grey and snow species of fiartridge are found in many parts of the valley. Waterfowl of every species are very common in the winter season. They come from Central Asia. Thousand of sea swallows, ducks and geese congregate in the Wullar, Anchar, Hoksar

and other lakes. Numerous herons may be found at their fishing points of everywhere. The bulbul a nightingale of Kashmir, is a distinct specie.

Kashmir was famous for big as well as small game in the pre-independence era. But during post-independence there was a large scale destruction of wild life throughout the State. This has greatly depleted the wild life resources. Due to changed socio-economic condition, there have been large scale encroachments on forest lands. From sanctuaries and game reserves, large chunks of areas have contributed to the destruction of wild life. This has adversely effected the economy of the people as a large section of the tourist trade depended on wild life and ancillary services. The supply of fur and raw skins has also been reduced, hitting a number of fur-dealers and taxidermists. The following birds and animals are fast becoming rare due to peaching and indiscriminate killing:

BIRDS

1. Chikar partridge
2. Red jungle fowl
3. Chakor

ANIMALS

1. Cheetal
2. Markhar
3. The Kashmir stag
4. Musk deer
5. Leopard
6. Snow leopard
7. Brown bear

The Kashmir stag also known as the Hungul has become scarce. This deer species is not found elsewhere in the world and has now been put on the list of threatened species. The main reasons for this

situation are the disappearance of habitat conditions and poaching.

The Jammu and Kashmir Game Preservation Act 1942 is, no doubt in force but the precious wild life of this beautiful valley can not be protected by law alone. In order to preserve the variegated wild life, sanctuaries and zoos have to be set up. At present there are only two sanctuaries in the entire valley at Dachigam and Desu. A Botanical Garden has been laid at Chashma-i-Shahi near Srinagar but a well-developed zoo has hitherto remained a cherished dream of the lovers of the wild life. The government, the people of Kashmir too have to play their part.

The amphibians under family Ranidae are generally smooth skinned frogs found in the day-time either in water or near the water sources.

Boulenger is the rough skinned small toad and is broadly distributed in Europe, North Africa, Western and Central Asia, Mongolia and Tibet. They are even found at a higher altitude in the Himalaya. Toads are nocturnal (preferring darkness) in habit and live away from water sources.

Fishes

The fish fauna of Kashmir Valley has an explicit Zoo-geographical importance, because most of it shows Central Asiatic elements. The Valley of Kashmir has been often referred to as an angler's paradise, with a network of rivers and streams as well as high altitude lakes all abounding in trout-both brown and rainbow. Trout fishing in Kashmir is far, far cheaper than it is any other part of the world. The most important sources of fish are the spring fed and snow fed river Jhelum and its tributar-

ies. Then there are the Wular, the Dal and the Manasbal Lakes, which abound in fish.

Among the fishes, the most important one which attracts the attention of anglers and tourists alike is the common trout. The fish grows to a good size and is considered a delicacy for the table. It is one of the introduced fishes. The other fish is Girard, which is an important larvicidal fish. The other fishes of commercial importance are collectively and commonly known as the Indian trouts and yield delicious flesh.

The common *Mahaseer* and *Mecllell* are found in good numbers and as reckoned as species of immense food value.

Cyprinus carpio var. *communis* Linnaeus and *Cyprinus Carpio* var. *Specularis* Linnæus have also been introduced in Kashmir Lakes, where they thrive well and have proved productive from commercial point of view.

Apart from these there are a few kinds of loaches which have little, commercial value but to a certain degree form the poor man's food in the State. Kashmir's fabled natural beauty needs no introduction. Criss-crossing the state are the wellknown Sind and Lidder rivers, along with their tributaries and a silvery network of smaller rivers and streams. The geographical variation along the course of each river is immense, affording endless possibilities for the angler. The local fish are abundant in the waters of Kashmir and are known by the names of:

Charri Gad, Sattar Gad, Kront Gad, Pekri Gad, Chash Gad, Harj, Ramash Gad, Unyour, Tet Gad, Das, Ail Gad.

All the above local fish are caught in their seasons throughout the entire course of the river Jhelum. In the month of June, *Mahaseer* or the *Pairim Gad* is caught between Srinagar and Baramulla. A small fish known as *Guran* inhabits in streams, marshes and morasses. The *Sattar Gad* and the *Charri Gad* are taken in nets from the Wular and the Dal Lake. The fish from the river are better than from the lakes. The Kashmiris do not eat *Nag Gad* or the fish from springs and ponds attached to temples, shrines and mosques.

The following table shows the fish caught in Kashmir, along with species from 1968 to 1975.

Year	Trout	Mirror corb	(Figures in (Qlts.)	
			Country fish	Total
1968-69	84	27872	16277	44233
1969-70	129	37024	20440	57593
1970-71	60	36917	20291	57268
1971-72	77	29185	23296	52558
1972-73	27	28506	33472	62005
1973-74	74	35823	26988	62885
1974-75	70	40798	23132	64000

Flora and Forests

Kashmir is pre-eminently the country of forests which among other things are the mainstay of its economy. The valley is rich in forest wealth and 59% of its total area is under forests. Not only from the economic point of view but for the maintenance of natural balance which is of paramount importance in a hilly country like Kashmir forests play a vital role. In addition to providing timber and minor forest products, they help to regulate water supply in the catchments, protect the hill sides

and enhance the aesthetics of the country as a whole. The total geographical area of the valley is about 15120.42 sq. kms. and out of it, the forest area comprises about 8343.67 sq. kms. or about 58%. The Srinagar district has the lowest forest area as compared to other districts. It is for this reason that a city forest scheme has been introduced to plant more trees on both sides of the roads as well as vacant lands. The forest of Kashmir are classified under two hands, *viz*; commercial and uncommercial. Those forests which are suitable for economic exploitation are known as commercial forests, whereas, uncommercial forests are those which are not yet exploited owing to their inaccessibility or forests whose produce is unsaleable presently or forests which are maintained as protection belts. About 37% of area under forests is commercial and 63% uncommercial.

There has been no-dejure change in the forest area of the State during the last sixty years but there has been *de facto* reduction in the area since 1947. A huge fraction of Jammu and Kashmir forests is under the occupation of Pakistan. Besides big areas, details whereof are not known have been brought under plough under the shield of "Grow more Food" campaign.

Classification

From the point of view of composition, the forests are distinguishable *Deodar*, *Kail*, *Fir*, *Chir* and mixed broadleaved Zones in the region.

(a) <i>Deodar</i>	1129.30	sq. kms.
(b) <i>Kail</i>	1797.31	"
(c) <i>Fir</i>	2979.94	"
(d) <i>Chir</i>	1641.10	"
(e) Broad leaved	1019.29	"

The Deodar is very durable and is used for making poles, fence posts, boats and in joinery and cabinet making. It is also used as railway sleepers. The deodar wood is used in house and bridge construction.

The Kail pines are fairly durable and are used in general house construction, in making beams, scants, planks, doors, windows, props boats Oars, in general carpentry, lead pencils, casks tea boxes. Its wood is used as railway sleepers and in making wood pulp.

The Fir is liable to shrink when seasoned. It is fairly durable and easy to split. It is used in interior planking, rough furniture, packing cases and in making wood pulp.

The Valley of Kashmir has a rich flora and presents a picture of an almost constant verdure. The brief description of each vegetation type is given as under:

1. *Sub-tropical deciduous* : This is characterised by a large number of trees, mostly deciduous, which extends from the lowest altitude to about 1,500 metres. This type occurs in Uri Tehsil of Baramulla District.

2. *Temperature Zone*: It is by far the most extensive vegetation zone in the State and occurs between 1,500 and 3,000 metres altitude. It extends over the entire Kashmir Valley.

3. *Alpine Zone* : This zone is characterised by the high level birch, rhocodendron, willow, etc. and a multitude of flowering annuals which lend a characteristic scenic grandeur to the meadows of Kashmir. This zone range from 3,400 metres and above.

The easiest classification of the flora of Kashmir will be found in grouping them under their several economic uses and properties as detailed below :

Aromatic Plants

Pedicularis brevifolia (Kasture), Morina longifolia (Khandij) and Jurinea macrocephola (Gogal-dhupp) are used as an incense.

The most important of the aromatic plants is Kuth (Saussurea Lappa) which is more abundant on the mountains of the northern end of the valley. It has four varieties. viz. (1) Kot (2) Drankhar (3) Poshkar (4) Kor. The root of *Kot* known as *cholikot* is used both as an incense and medicine. The flowers of bed *mushk* (*salix caprea*) yield an its or essences which is much used in perfumery. The roots of *eogal-dhup* and *Khandij* are esteemed as an incense.

Condiments

Caraway seeds of *Zirah-i-sivah* is an important condiment that grows in the forests. The seeds of mor-mujh (*Daucus-carota*) are used as an adulterant for the real caraway seeds. It is used for the preparation of food deciciasies.

Drugs

Hamp or bhang (*cannabis indica*) grows in great profusion along the banks of the Jhelum and the Vishau. The narcotic made from the hemp plant is called *charas*. The drug known as *qard-bhang* or *churu charas* extracted from the female plant grown in the south of the valley is said to be *qanua*. *Artemisia* or *tetwan* is a common plant and from its leaves is distilled a drug known as *ibsantin*.

Fibre - Yielding Plant

The valley is very rich in fibre-yielding plants of which the Kashmiris make full use. The following indigenous plants yield fibre for ropes and other purposes:

<i>Botanical Name</i>	<i>Kashmiri Name</i>
Iris ensata	Krishum
Cannabis Sativa	Bhanga
Abutilon avicennae	Yechkar
Rush	Vandil
Typha sp.	Pits.
Betula utilis	Zurza
Carex sp.	Fikal
Ulmus Wallochiana	Bren
Cletis a ustiralis	Brimij
Indigofera heterantha	Kats
Cotoncaster sp.	Lun
Parrotia Jacquemontiana	Poh
Salix sp.	Vir.

Fodders

The effect of climate of Kashmir on vegetation is wonderful. The nature has been very beautiful in supplying fodder for cattle and sheep. Among the trees used for fodder mention must be made of *Vir*, willow, *Dan*, *Lun* hawthorn ring, phres or poplars. The swamps also produce some valuable fodder plants. The most important of such plants is the *nari*, a kind of reed, which is either eaten green or is stored away for the winter. The *Khur* a round leafed swamp plant is much valued as fodder for cows. Apart from these fodder trees and plants Kashmir is rich in grasses. The best grasses are the *hereh*, (clover and metil. The *tari* grass is also a valuable fodder for horses and the *Kabba* grass is very common and much prized as a fodder. Among other grasses should be mentioned *hama* which is said to be the most fattening food for horses.

Medicinal Plants

The forests, meadows and gardens of Kashmir are full of herbs and medicinal plants. The local doctors and *hakims* use many herbs and plants for treatment of diseases. Even the elderly persons know the medicinal value of herbs. The root of the red iris or *Sosan* is bruised, mixed with honey and administered in cases of amenorrhoea. It is also called by the name of *Mazar-mund*, because it usually is grown in grave-yards. *Gowzaban* or *Macrotomia Benthami* is boiled and administered to those who suffer from chest ailment and bad cold. It is mixed with the leaves and flowers of *Bunafsha* *Viola Sarpens*. *Kuth* or *Ancklandia* grows abundantly on the mountains of Kashmir. The root of this plant is used for preparation of many medicines. In Kashmir, this plant is used as an application to ulcers, a hair-wash, a remedy in cholera and an effective preservative of cloth and woollens against the ravages of moth and other insects.

Tethwan or *Artemisia* is expectorant and its powdered leaf is used to eradicate worms from intestines. In every Kashmiri *Isband* or *Peganum Harmala* is burned in fire-pots as incense to avert evil eye. It is also employed in rheumatism and colds. Saffron is also used in tea to give strength to ailing persons. Saffron as well as *Moveel* (*Ceosia*) is used for colouring of meat preparation and food. *Shatarr* or *Fumaria Officinalis* is used internally as a syrup for eradication of skin diseases and purification of blood. In the same way many flowers are also used for various ailments.

Forest Trees

Kashmir is rich in forests which abound in a great variety of trees. Almost all the mountains are coated with dense forests.

Some of the trees with their Kashmiri names are mentioned hereafter.

Of trees, the Deodar or Himalayan Cedar merits the first notice. Then comes *Kairo* or the Blue pine. The Himalayan spruce is known as Kachil in Kashmir. *Budloo* is the Kashmiri name for *Abies Webbiana* or the Himalayan Silver Fir. The *Brimij* or *Celtis Australis* is a species of nettle tree which abounds in cemeteries. The forests of Kashmir are full of Birch, Maple, Hazel, Wild Oak, Beech, Fir and Pine.

The *Saroo* or the Cypress is very common in forests as well as gardens.

The blue pine and fir are the most prominent among the coniferous species. The fir

generally occurs above an altitude of 2,500 m. and may be seen up to 3,100 mtr. which is practically the tree-limit in Kashmir. The blue pine chips are used as lights and torches by the villagers. The Deodar is more or less absent on the northern slopes or the Pir Panjal facing the valley but, elsewhere, it forms extensive forests, particularly in the Lolab Valley. The Deodar is usually seen in the altitude of 7,000 to 12,000 feet above the sea level. The spruce and blue-pine may in some places occur along with the Deodar but in Kashmir the spruce does not attain much prominence, and is found only in patches. The silver fir grows to a great size, reaching 150 feet in length and 16 feet in girth.



Tarsen Lake

Among the broad-leaved trees of Kashmir mention must be made of Maple, Beech, Brimij, hazel, hawthorn, bird-cherry, elm and birch. The birch or *Bhojpatr* and alder, approach the limit of perpetual congelation. The birch is more hardy than the alder. The graceful birch grows at high altitudes. They are found in the Valleys of Krishen Ganga and Guraiz.

The birch or *Bhojpatra* is easily detached without injury to the trees, and was largely used in old time by the people for spreading over the roofs of houses, and separated into thin sheets or leaves as paper for packing goods in. The ash furnishes a strong useful timber much prized by agriculturists for implements more especially the handles of ploughs. Boatmen esteem the wood for paddles. The poplar (phras) attains great length and luxuriance. There are two species of poplar found in Kashmir and the Kabuli poplar is very beautiful with white bark and silvery leaves. Two species of willow grows in the valley, *viz.*, *Mushka vir* and *bota vir*. The twigs are used in baskets making, as well as datun for teeth cleaning. The walnut grows in most sheltered places it which attains great size. Its timber is in great demand for furniture, ploughs and spinning wheels. Walnut oil is extensively used for culinary purposes and its shells are used for fuel. Among Rhododendrons, the tree *Thododendron* of the lower elevation. *R. Arboreum* and its usual oak associate do not occur in the valley but at higher altitude, on the mountains, *R. Campa nulatum* and the aromatic shrubby, *R. Leidotum* and *R. anthopopon* are frequently seen. A familiar planted tree is the chinara which like the walnut, belongs to the valley. As a shade tree the chinara is unrivalled. It is a beauti-

ful tree, which gives shade from the sun and protection from the rain. In the autumn its leaves become red like fox. The local Kashmiri name of the chinara is *Boin*. It is evident that it is a Kashmiri species. The following table provides information about the export of timber from the Jammu and Kashmir State:

Export of Timber (In Lakh ft.)

Year	Timber Supplied to Private Agencies	Timber Supplied to Rly. Deptt.	Timber Supplied to D. G. S. D	Total
1968-69	43.67	4.00	2.11	47.78
1969-70	42.70	4.51	3.98	51.19
1970-71	42.50	2.07	7.46	52.03
1972-73	49.20	1.46	3.27	53.93
1973-74	43.73	1.28	2.43	47.44

Timber and Firewood

Timber and firewood are the major forest products of the valley. Deodar, Kail, Fir and Chir are the principal timbers while Hatab, Zangloo, Mulberry, Conifer and Willow are the main fuel woods. Among the minor forest products mentioned may be of *Guchi*, *Kathu*, *Banafsha*. Assuming that the output of major forest products is proportional to the area under forests in each district of Kashmir province, broad estimate of output of these products for the year 1966 is as follows:

Timber	156850 mts.
Firewood	574390 qtls.

Forest in addition to yielding major products in the shape of timber gives us (Minor

Forest products) of medicinal importance such as Atrope, Bellodona, Padhyllum, Hexandrum, Aconites (A. Kashmiriana, Inula Royaline, Jurinea, Microphila (Locally known as Dhoop) Valriama, Hyoscumou Saussurealappa (the famous Kuth) Prethream (Ohrysanthemum Cinearaiifolium) Discoriam Deltoidae (Kints). The drugs form an important asset both from the point of view of subscribing to the revenue as well as meeting the requirements of medicinal world. Minor forest produce such as resin, catchew and gum is being produced.

Importance of Forests

In their extent, distribution and potential the forests of Jammu and Kashmir constitute of the biggest industry and being so, they are the mainstay of the economy of the State. In view of their importance they have been described as the Green Gold of the State. An all time record has been touched in 1969-70 when the revenue rose to Rs. 5.20 crore.

The forest industry roughly absorbs 50 thousand families all over the State in various operations for eight months of the year. Provision of employment is one of the greatest advantage afforded by the Forest Department. This provision of employment helps in the rotation of forest capital because after all more labour means more timber and in turn more money. On an average 160 lakh mandays employment is provided annually by works connected with forest and forestry.

The Valley of Kashmir offers great attractions to sportsmen, and for its size, possesses a large and varied animal kingdom. Some of the rare species of wild life

such as Bara Singha (Kashmiri Stag) Musk deer, Snow Leopard, the Brown Bear, Markhor, etc., attracts tourists and sportsmen from all over the world.

Forests in addition to providing revenue and employment earns foreign exchange also which is of immense importance to the country as a whole.

Weather

Thunderstorms are frequent during summer months (March-October). They are most severe during April to July or August with at least seven days thunder storms in each of the months. A few of the thunderstorms may be accompanied with hail, particularly in March and April. The period November to February is relatively free from thunder. Fog is common in December to March. Thick radiation fog may occur in winter months in the wake of western disturbances. During nights, moisture is carried down into the valleys which are therefore fog covered in the night and early morning. The air is occasionally close and oppressive, for a day or two, before rain. As the isolation at high altitudes is intense due to rarified and transparent atmosphere, soil and rocks absorb radiation, and heat up rapidly with the result that the temperature in open are considerably higher than those in shade, specially in summer. Mountain slopes turned away from the sun may be considerably cooler compared to those exposed to the sun. In the same way, east-facing slopes experience warm mornings and cold evenings, while reverse is the case on west-facing slopes. Variations in temperature from place to place are, therefore, considerable depending upon elevation and exposure to the

sun. Immediately after the sunset, ground begins to cool rapidly owing to outgoing radiation through the rarified atmosphere. Cold air drains down the mountain slopes into the valleys below. Where it may remain stagnant during night. All these factors cause considerable variation in temperature to the particularly in the valleys. December and January are considered the coldest months in Kashmir, when the average morning temperature is below freezing point. The temperature starts rising in February till June and July, which is the warmest month. The Srinagar District is the warmest portion of the region. Here at an elevation of about 1.5 km., the mean maximum temperature in the warmest month of July touches 31° c while at a slightly higher station, Quazi-Gund, though situated to the south of the valley, the temperature is lower by 3° c. In winter also the mean maximum at Srinagar is higher by 3° c than that at Quazi Gund. Fall in temperature is conspicuous after September. December to February is the coldest part of the year when the minimum temperatures on the mean are below the freezing point and the mean daily temperature is less than 5° c. At elevation above 3 km., even the maximum temperatures do not rise above 0° c in these months. During the period, June to September, the influence of the monsoon air is noticeable in that both the maximum and minimum temperatures remain substantially steady, particularly during July and August. During the cold season, cold waves in the rear of western disturbances cause the temperatures to fall appreciably, when minimum temperature as low as -20° c may be registered. Frost is common during December to February.

METEOROLOGICAL DATA

The data made available by the Meteorological Department shows that the average maximum and minimum temperature during the decade (1951-60) stood at 19.1°c (66.4°F) and 7.60° (45.7°F) respectively. Srinagar had its highest maximum temperature in July, 1953 at 37.8°c (100.0°F) and the lowest in January, 1954 at -12.2°c (10.0°F).

The next table shows the monthly temperature in centigrade degrees for the year 1960.

TABLE

Month	Mean Max. temp.	Mean Min. Temp.	Highest Max. Temp.	Lowest Min. Temp.
January	5.1	-3.5	9.9	-9.4
February	9.3	1.2	18.7	-0.8
March	11.0	3.2	18.9	0.0
April	17.5	6.8	23.8	0.9
May	24.5	11.1	29.7	6.0
June	29.6	14.1	33.3	10.9
July	30.3	19.1	35.4	14.1
August	30.4	18.8	33.9	15.8
September	28.1	12.3	32.2	6.8
October	23.4	4.3	28.2	0.2
November	14.8	0.4	19.3	-3.6
December	8.5	1.4	14.2	-5.7

Humidity

Humidity of the atmosphere is more favourable to vegetations than animal life.

Humidity is high in the morning throughout the year. Maximum occurring during December to February, when it is of the order of 90 per cent. During May and June, humidity is lowest in the afternoon, being 40-45 per cent. Ascending air in the afternoons carries moisture upwards and often results in the afternoon humidity at high elevations. Since scientists consider the dryness of air in Kashmir to the brightness of soil, which quickly absorbs rain or snow.

Clouds

Skies are more than 5/8th covered with clouds from December to April. Clouding is least in June and October, when it is less than 3 oja, clouding occurs mostly in the afternoon. Moisture carried upwards by the exdenting currents, results in the cloud-formation in the afternoon. Katabatic winds carry moisture downwards and the clouds tend to disappear at high elevations during night offering a clear view of the mountain peaks, under favourable conditions in the nearly morning.

Winds

The air of Kashmir is remarkable for its stillness. Winds are mostly light to moderate with some strengthening in January-April. Winds increase in strength during July and August also. In the wake of western disturbances, however, strong cold winds blow.

CHIEF FEATURES OF CLIMATE

The climate of Kashmir varies according to aspect and elevation. Owing to this orientation, the climate is rigorous on the top of the mountains, while it is temperate in the valley. The region is not cut off from the influence of the monsoon. Lying in the

extra-tropical 34° N latitudinal belt, the region enjoys extra tropical mountain climate, tempered with moderate monsoon conditions. In consequence of the high elevation of Kashmir the winter season is extremely rigorous and cold. On the whole, the spring and the autumn are pleasant.

The chief features of the climate are : (a) severe winter, (b) considerable winter precipitation, and (c) moderate summer rains. Severe winter conditions arise partly due to the above mentioned geographical features and partly due to the influence of the western disturbances affecting the valley in this season. Winter precipitation occurs in association with the passage of these disturbances. These disturbances are low pressure systems which approach the area from the west. The approach of disturbance is attended with a fall in the atmosphere pressure and a rise in temperature. Incursion of moisture over the region results in increased clouding. High clouds appear first, followed by medium and low clouds, and even thunderstorm clouds may develop. Afterwards rain and snow follows and thundershowers occur. With the passage of the disturbances to the east, weather begins to clear. On an average, four to five disturbances per month affect the region during winter.

The monsoon rains occur as a result of penetration into this region of the monsoon current through the trenced valleys. This occur. either in association with storms/depressions which, forming in the Bay of Bengal, approach and affect this region from the south or south-east during their passage across north India, or as a result of the shift of the axis of the monsoon though of low pressure to the north of its normal position. The normal position of

this trough is from Rajasthan to the north Bay of Bengal. Heavy rain and floods can occur in association with these situations.

Precipitations : Rain and Snow

During the cold weather the precipitation increases with the elevation up to and even above 20,000 feet. As a result, the district gets plenty of snowfall from the middle of December till late in February almost every year. The south-west monsoon rainfall is heaviest at the foot of the mountains facing Punjab and decreases with elevation and in the process of proceeding into the interior. During the intervening period from April to June, thunder-showers are of occasional occurrence and provide what may be termed as hot weather rainfall. As a result, the valley has a good winter rainfall from September to February, light to moderate rains from thunder-showers in March and April and occasional from July to middle of September.

Owing to the complexity of relief, the distribution pattern of the rain is also complex. Still, a generalised description may be given. Srinagar valley may be considered. The precipitation rapidly increases towards north and less rapidly the south. The northeastern part receives the highest precipitation of over 150 cm. In the extreme southeastern, rainfall exceeds 100 cms. According to district-wise distribution, the annual precipitation varies from 60 to 120 cms. Over Anantnag district, and from 80 to 100 cms. over Baramulla district, March and April are the rainiest months, and the two preceding months of January and February coming next. About 10 per cent of annual rainfall occurs in the month of May. South-West monsoon rains occur mostly in July to August, June and

September contributing slightly above 10 per cent of the annual. November is the least rainy month when the rainfall is hardly 2 per cent of the annual.

It may be mentioned that the rainfall percentage during June to September over Srinagar district decreases to less than 20 per cent towards the northeast beyond Gund, while over the rest of the district it is 30 to 35 per cent.

Heavy snowfall occurs in January to March over the entire region. In February Srinagar valley is often in the grip of snow, accumulation may reach 3 metres. Sufficient snow also falls in April. In winter the snowline is lowest and comes lower to below 2 kms. ASL (above mean Sea level) June and July are generally free from snowfall, although it may still occur over high peaks. Snow begins to melt in April when snowline begins to ascent.

Variability of Rainfall

The coefficient of variation of annual rainfall is about 30 per cent for this division. The variation of the seasonal rainfall is more, being 50 per cent for the period during January-February and 40 per cent for March-May. Monthly rainfall is highly variable. About the end of March and beginning of April, there are frequent and sudden storms, accompanied by rain. During May, the valley witness spring showers. However, the hottest months in the valley are July and brightest and the temperature even in the shade varies from 90° to 95° or even 98°F. Thunder storms are frequent during summer months.

According to local belief, the rigours of Kashmir winter last for a period of two

months from 9th of Poh (21st December) to 10th of Phagan (1st March). This period is divided into three parts, one extending to 40 days from 21st December to end of January and known as *Chila Kalan* and the second for 20 days from 1st February to 20th February called *Chila Khurd*. The third period is limited to 10 days only and is popularly known *Chila Bacha*. It is not necessary that the snow-falls should take place during this period alone, but the heaviest fall in temperature is invariably recorded in the month of January.

The people of Kashmir do not generally welcome the advent of winter, as it paralyzes all economic activity and imposes an unbearable strain on the already meagre-financial resources of the people. The fields

remain covered under snow for 2 to 3 months continuously and mobility becomes difficult, if not impossible. Many people, both from rural and urban areas, move down to the plains to find alternative employment for the winter months. Those who cannot migrate divert their savings, if any or raise loans to provide themselves and their dependants with warm clothings and beddings, wood, charcoal and Kangris, etc., so as to stand the rigours of the winter. During severe winters, river Jhelum and Dal Lake freeze, causing great distress to the people whose chief highway is thus closed to traffic. A greater calamity faced by the people is the occurrence of *Kathkashu* or *frost*, which seems to freeze even the damp moisture of the air.

II

HISTORY

Out of all the regions in the Sub-Continent of India and Pakistan, the Valley of Kashmir excels in the compilation a continuous series of historical works from ancient times to the present day. The Kashmiris have made notable contribution in the field of historiography. In this regard the names of Ratnakara, Bilhana, Kalhana, Suka, Srivara, Jonaraja, Mulla Ahmad, Mulla Nadri, Mohsin Fani, Narayan Koul, Mohammed Azam Dedmari, Birbal Kachru and Pir Hassan Shah readily came to ones heaven.

SOURCE MATERIAL FOR THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR

The history of Kashmir social, political or spiritual, has not attracted the attention of the historians of India or Pakistan. The source material is vast and diverse but access to it is difficult. This material is scattered in various countries of the world. The other difficulty is that of language, for we have references about Kashmir in Greek, Chinese, Tibetan, Turki, Persian, Sanskrit, Arabic, Urdu, French, Russian, German, and English. The information is both official as well as private. Then there are the accounts of the travellers and geographers who have written about Kashmir and its people. We have also accounts of Kashmir

by some of its rulers, ministers and officers. For the modern period, we have source material in the shape of records, accounts, newspapers, histories and travel books. It is difficult to classify the source material because it is so vast that it may be termed as legion. However, we may categorise the same as under:

1. Archival material--created and preserved by the Government.
2. Private Archives--Semi-Government.
3. Published Archives.
4. Unpublished documents, manuscripts and accounts.
5. Contemporary sources.

Sanskrit Sources

1. Rajatarangini by Kalhana is one of the best historical work ever compiled anywhere in the world. The work was completed in 1149-50 A.D. It is written in verse which is no small achievement. The monumental work is a political history of Kashmir from earliest times to 1149-50 A.D. The account after seventh century A.D. is quite authentic. Besides, being a political work, it contains valuable information about the social, economic and cultural life of the people of Kashmir. The work has been translated into Persian, Hindi and English.

The Rajatarangini consists of eight books (Chapters) of unequal size, written in Sanskrit in nearly 8,000 verses of rare literary merit. The text may roughly be divided into three sections:

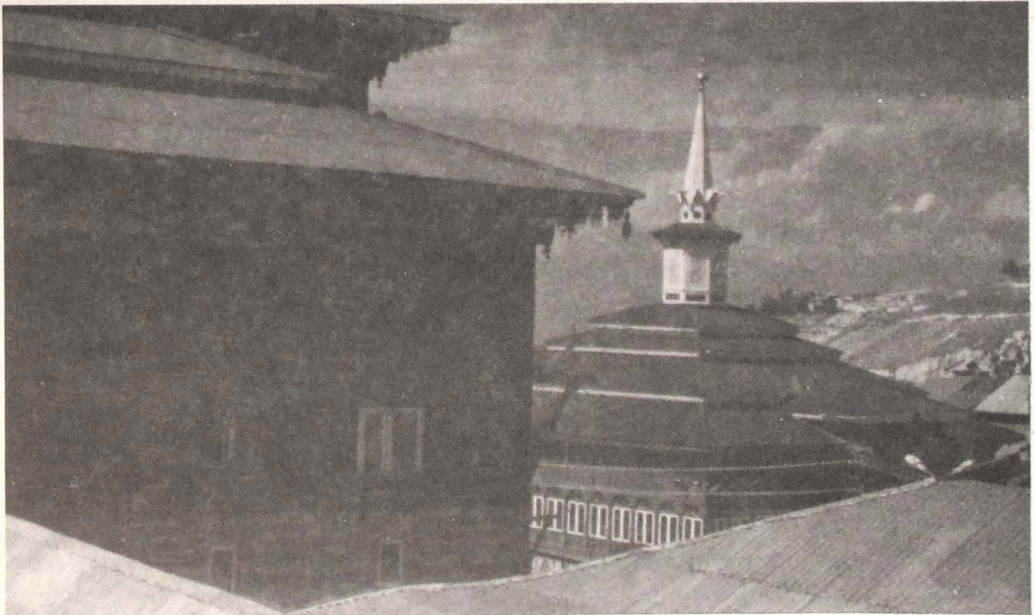
1. Books I-III, are based on traditions.
 2. In Books IV-VI, dealing with Karakota and Utpala dynasties Kalhana has made use of the work of earlier chroniclers who were contemporaries or near contemporaries of the events they described.
 3. For Books VII-VIII, dealing with the two Lohara dynasties, he made use of personal knowledge and eyewitness accounts, the latter often perhaps received at second or third hand.
2. Dwitya-Rajatarangini of Jonaraja is an account of the rulers from the time of Jaysingh up to the regime of Badshah. The

book was named as *Zain-tarangini* indicating thereby that it was written at the instance of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.

Jonaraja was another Kashmiri chronicler who did not let the eternal current of Kalhana's Rajatarangini (River of Kings) die. He compiled the work during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. He brought down the historical narration from 1149 to 1459 A.D. His work is inferior to that of Kalhana's and is pure political narration. He is very particular about chronology. His topographical references are very useful.

3. Jaina-Rajatarangini by Srivara is a historical work of great importance. His description of the various section of the people is very graphic and true to life.

He maintained the continuity by recording the events from 1459 to 1486 A.D. The work gives the political as well as cultural information, about Kashmir.



Chrari Sherif

4. Works of Prajya Bhatta and Suka are the most important sources of information on the history of Kashmir. Though these works have some shortcomings, yet these portray political and social events in a fair way.

5. Prajya Bhatta's chronicle deals with history of twenty-seven years. The work is not available but, fortunately, Suka has given a brief summary of the events recorded by Prajya Bhatta. Suka's work is silent about certain major events. For instance, he does not mention how Kashmir fell to Mirza Haider in 1540 A.D. The author however, takes note of Babur's victory at Panipat and first Mughal attack on Kashmir.

6. Persian Source With the advent of Islam, Sanskrit language received a setback and Persian which was the mother-tongue of most of the new rulers, became the official language. Besides such histories as were written by casual visitors like Alberuni, many others were compiled by local writers and immigrants who permanently settled in Kashmir. These include Waqaye Kashmir of Mulla Ahmad and the Histories written by Mulla Nadir, Qazi Hamid, Mullah Hussain Qari, F Hassan Bagh etc. No copy of any of these except Waqaya Kashmir is now available. During and after seventeenth century, a number of histories were written by many people important among these are:

1. (Waqia-i-Kashmir) by Allama Ahmed the poet laureate of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir from Mulla Mohmud, an Afghan inhabitant of Pindori village in Rawalpindi District now in Western Pakistan. It is a translation of a history written in Sanskrit namely Ratnakar Purana. It contains an account of thirty-five kings

who ruled over Kashmir five thousand years ago and also of seven kings who ruled from the end of the second to the beginning of the sixth century. These accounts were lost to history. During the time of Avantivarman (855-83) A.D. Pandit Ratnakar wrote a political history of the State covering the regimes of all the Rajas who ruled Kashmir from Kuljug epoch to the middle of ninth century. No copy of this book is now available but some of the stories cited by Pandit Ratnakar have been translated by Mulla Ahmad and reproduced in this book Waqia-i-Kashmir written during the regime of Badshah or Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.

2. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* of Rais-ul-Mulk, Malik Haider Chadura who accompanied Kashmir's last ruler Yousuf Shah Chak in exile. He became a grandee of the Mughal empire. The history is written in two parts, the first deals with the contemporary rulers of Khurasan and Turan. This history of Kashmir goes up to A.H. 1030 = A.D. 1621 or in other words up to the 12th year of Jahangir's reign.

3. *Muntakhab-ul Tawarikh* by Pt. Narayan Kaul Ajiz. It was written by the author on the initiative of Arif Khan, Mughal Governor of Kashmir from 1710 to 1711. Arif Khan had collected a number of manuscripts dealing with the earlier history of Kashmir and he offered them to "Ajiz" for coordinating and for writing a new history. Ajiz compared these histories with the history of Malik Chadura and thereby the book has lost much of its value.

4. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Narain Kaul 'Aziz' is another history of importance. It was composed in A.H. 1122 or A.D. 1720.

5. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*: The book had been written in 1614 and is one of the most authentic history of Kashmir but unluckily its author is not yet known. It is one of the excellent books on the early history of Kashmir especially the Chak period.

Baharistan-i-Shahi : is another source of Kashmir's history during the Mughal period. The work by an anonymous hand and comes down to A.H. 1023 (A.D. 1614). It begins without any introduction, but is very important for both the Mughal and the pre-Mughal period of Kashmir history.

6. *Waki'at-i-Kashmir* is another source of Kashmir history for the aforesaid period by Khwaja Muhammad 'Azam Didamarri.' The work was begun in A.H. 1148 (A.D. 1735) and completed in A.H. 1160 (A.D. 1747), and dedicated to the Emperor Muhammad Shah. The chief object of the compiler was to supply especially biographical notes and extracts from the writings of principal Shaikhs and 'Ulemas and poets of Kashmir, which were entirely wanting in works previously written on Kashmir, and being more or less translations from the old Hindu work, Rajatarangini.'

7. *Akbar Nama*, by Hamidullah Islamabadi and its versified translation by Wahab Parrey of Hajan in Kashmiri remained proscribed during British Rule. It is one of the finest epics written by two Kashmiris in two languages (Persian and Kashmiri) depicting the defeat of the British and Sikh forces at the hands of the Afghans. Both the books have local touches pertaining to the Afghan period in the History of Kashmir.

8. *Akbar Nama* by Abul Fazal : Contains an excellent chapter on Kashmir, its

earlier history, its religious places, and describes local fairs and festivals. The book is treated as the foundation for a history of Akbar's region. Its chronology is more accurate and detailed than that of rival books by Nizam-ud-din and Badayuni and it brings the history on to a later date than they do.

9. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Mirza Haider Dughlat. This work although a special history of Jatah and Kashgher, is also a brief account of Kashmir. During the last stage of the work, the author was in Kashmir.

Mirza Haider came to Kashmir when Shah Miri ruler, Fateh Shah, was the Sultan of Kashmir. Mirza Haider tried to make the State a part of Mughal Kingdom which was becoming extinct in India at that time on account of the rise of Sher-Shah Suri. Mirza interfered in local politics and was able to make Nazuk Shah a puppet in his hands. He had to pay dearly for it and he was killed by the patriotic Kashmiris along with his family at the battle of Wathur. His work discusses some important events at the time of the decline of Chak dynasty in Kashmir.

10. *Wajecz-u-Tawarikh* written by Mulla Abdul Nabi is an extremely concise book on the history of Kashmir and comes up to the reign of Maharaja Rambir Singh.

Wajiz-al-Tawarikh is another work of note, and is a great source for later Mughal period in Kashmir. It was composed in A.H. 1274 = A.D. 1857 by Mulla Abdul Nabi.

11. *Majmua-i-Tawarikh*, by Pt. Birbal Kachroo, in Persian, records the history of

Kashmir from the earliest times up to 1835. It is an authentic work on Sikh Rule.

Majnu-'al Tawarikh by Birbal Kachroo is another source of later Mughal history in Kashmir. It was compiled in A.H. 1262 = A.D. 1846, and is carried from the earliest times to the end of the last ruler of the Punjab Sikhs in Kashmir.

12. *Labu-Tawarikh*, by Bahu-Din: It begins from ancient times and covers the history of Kashmir up to 1828. Its first part deals with Kashmir geography, the second describes the political history, and the third describes the Saints and Sufies of Kashmir.

13. *Gulzari-i-Kashmir* by Dewan Kripa Ram--It was written on the directive of Mr. Roberts, the then Judicial Commissioner of Punjab. It was published in 1871 and its style is akin to *Ain-i-Akabari* of Abul Fazal. Its first published copy is in the S.P. Library, Srinagar. It deals with a variety of subjects such as Arts and Crafts, products and Manufacture of Kashmir besides Political History.

State Archives

This State has three main Archives Repositories at Leh, Jammu and Srinagar, which house records from 1724 A.D. upto the present times. Besides the above, we have departmental record Offices, such as Mahafiz Khana Meal and Mahafiz Khana Bandobast at Jammu, Srinagar and Poonch. In these repositories at Jammu, Srinagar and Leh, the following items of records are preserved on scientific lines:

- a. Documents in Turkish, Tibetan, Dogri, Hindi, Sanskrit.
- b. Persian records, documents, diaries, memoranda and accounts (1724-1892).
- c. Kitab-navisi Registers, containing daily reports about administrative affairs, in persian, from 1847 to 1927.
- d. Old Records in English from 1868 to 1921. These records with various social, political and governmental affairs.
- e. Private Records of Maharaja, from 1885 to 1924. These records were created by Pratap Singh as his personal and private property. These interesting archives contain his private correspondence with the then British Viceroys.
- f. State Department Records (1885 - 1924) These archives are in English and contain comprehensive information on all matters of administration in the State.
- g. Vernacular (Urdu) Records from 1889 to 1921. All these records are in Urdu and deal with all governmental affairs and administration.
- h. Secretariat Records. (1889 - 1947) These records are in English and deals with various departmental affairs.
- i. Council Proceedings. All Council Proceedings have been bound in volumes and some volumes have been printed also. All proceedings are in English, duly signed the Maharaja and his Council of Ministers. The period covered is from 1922 to 1926.
- j. Army Records. These records deal with military affairs and pertain to the period from 1922 to 1943. These records deal with raising of State regiments and army codes.

- k. His Highness Orders. These archives pertain to the period from 1926 to 1943. Between this period, the Maharaja exercised unlimited powers and all orders were issued by him in his personal capacity as the ruler of the State.
- l. Council and Cabinet Orders. (1943 to 1947).
- m. Secretariat Record. 1947-87.
- n. Cabinet and Council Orders (1947 to 1987).
- o. Secretariat and other Departmental Records. (1947 to 1987).
- p. Governor of Kashmir Records. (1924-47).

All the above records are unpublished original source material for the history of Kashmir.

London Archives

Archival source material on the modern period of Kashmir is preserved in the British Records office, London and India Office Library. These archives are listed as under:

- a. Indian State Papers. These are confidential files pertaining to the affairs in the Indian States including Kashmir.
- b. Political and Secret Records. (1880-1902). These files contain secret and confidential reports about Kashmir.
- c. Foreign Proceedings. (1846-1924). Information about Kashmir is contained

in various select volumes--India Foreign Proceedings and Punjab Foreign Proceedings.

- d. Political and Secret Home Office Correspondence. These archives are an important source on the modern period of Kashmir right from 1842 to 1946.

All the above archives are in the possession of the British Record Office. It is Necessary to apply for permission to consult these records through the British High Commissioner or through the relevant British University or College. They must also write to the Curator, British Records Office, London.

India Office Library, London

Very important original source material on Kashmir is available in the India Office Library, London. This material pertains to:

- a. Political Despatches to India.
- b. Political Letters to India.
- c. Political and Secret Memoranda.
- d. Secret and Political Letters.
- e. Political and Secret Home Correspondence.

All these records are bound in hundreds of volumes and can be consulted by the research scholars sponsored by Indian universities. It is better to obtain full information from the Indian High Commission in London.

National Archives of India

In the National Archives of India, New Delhi, we have unpublished archives material about Kashmir. These are listed below:

- a. Foreign Secret Papers.
 - b. Foreign Despatches.
 - c. Foreign Department Proceedings.
 - d. Political Department proceedings.
 - e. Governor General's Despatches.
 - f. Home Department Proceedings.
 - g. India Foreign Proceedings.
 - h. Political and Secret Home Correspondence.
 - i. Secret Letters and enclosures.
 - j. Political and Secret Memoranda. (Native State and Northern frontiers)
 - k. Parliamentary Papers, Official Diaries and Secret Reports.
- e. Correspondence with the Resident at Lahore.
 - f. Despatches: Home, Political and Secret.
 - g. Secret and Political Letters from the Governor General.
 - h. Secret Records pertaining to the Lahore Durbar.

For consultation of these archives, application required to be routed through the Pakistan Embassy in Delhi.

Private Archives

Most of the British Governor Generals have left their own private records, which are preserved in England, Canada and America. These can be consulted in:

1. The Commonwealth Relations Office, London.
2. Public Record Office, London.
3. Mc Gill University, Montreal, Canada.
4. British Museum, London.
5. Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.
6. Government Record Office, Madras.
7. Government Record Office, Calcutta.
8. National Library, Calcutta.
9. Punjab Record Office, Patiala.
10. Government Record, Andaman.
11. Public Record Office, Peshawar, Pakistan.

For consulting these records, one must submit his application to the Director, National Archives of India, New Delhi under the Archives Research Rules.

Lahore Archives

At Lahore in the Government Record Office, we have a big collection of archival material pertaining to Kashmir. It is mentioned broadly as under:

- a. War Office Records.
- b. Records of the Agent of the Governor General.
- c. Secret Proceedings.
- d. Home Records and Proceedings.

C.I.D. Reports

In the State Archives Repository, there are preserved C.I.D. Reports, presented to the Maharaja by the Prime Minister. These reports deal with political affairs right from 1931 to 1947. Besides this, the State Archives Repository, Srinagar houses the records of the Governor of Kashmir right upto 1947 which is full with information about political upheaval in Kashmir in 1931. Also are preserved in this Repository, the constitutions which Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah envisaged for Kashmir and his secret correspondence with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad. The State Archives also posses the approved Constitution of the Jammu and Kashmir duly signed by the members of the Constituent Assembly.

Among the interesting records, mention may be made of records pertaining to the Central Asian Trade, reports by the State secret Agents deputed in the Central Asian Principalities, Trade Missions to Tibet, known as Choba Lahsa Missions, papers regarding Gilgat and Chitral, and documents about the Christian Missionaries. It may be interested to know that the State had an enclave in Tibet, the revenue of which was collected by the team of the State officers who would visit Minsar at intervals. It is interesting to note that Partab Singh was deposed by the British and we had no Maharaja for about 10 years. It is also interesting to note that Gilgat was leased out the British Government by the Maharaja for about 90 years. It were the British who constructed the Jhelum Valley Road from Kohala to Srinagar and the Frontier Road from Srinagar to Gilgat, for military purposes. Other important and interesting archives pertain to the British political Missions into Central Asia.

Most of the records have been indexed right from 1724 to 1950 and it is very easy to locate any file by consulting these alphabetical lists. Uptill now, about 25 index volumes have been printed and published.

Published Source Material

Published source material about Kashmir falls into two categories: Governmental and private. Among the Governmental source material, mention may be made of:

- a. Administration Reports. (1872-1965)
- b. Jammu and Kashmir Gazettes. (1889-1965)
- c. Punjab Gazette. (1925-1934)
- d. India Gazette. (1925-1955)
- e. Census of India Reports. (1891-1961)
- f. Jammu and Kashmir Budgets. (1893-1965)
- g. J & K. Praja Sabha Reports. (1934-1946)
- h. J & K. Constituent Assembly Debates.
- i. J & K. Legislative Assembly Debates. (1955-1975)
- j. J & K. Civil & Military Lists. (1893-1947)
- k. J & K. Civil Lists. (1954-1970)
- l. Magazines, Newspapers and Pamphlets.
- m. Reports and Memorandams.

All the above printed publications are preserved in the State Archives Repositories at Jammu and Srinagar.

Manuscripts

The valley of Kashmir has the Unique distinction of having its history recorded in manuscripts. Such manuscript collections are preserved in the following libraries:

1. Oriental Manuscript Library of the Research Department.
2. Academy Library, Lalmandi, Srinagar.
3. Archives Reference Library, Old Secretariat, Jammu.
4. Archives Reference Library, Old Secretariat, Srinagar.
5. Public Library, Lalmandi, Srinagar.
6. Rughnath Patshala Library, Jammu.
7. Buddhist School of Philosophy, Leh, Ladakh.
8. Madinat-ul-Aloom, Hazratbal, Srinagar.
9. Bab-ul-Ilam, Budgam, Kashmir.

These manuscripts are written in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Tibetan, Turkish, Hindi, Urdu, Kashmiri, and Dogri.

For the modern period of the History of Kashmir, we do have rich material in Persian and Urdu manuscripts. Diaries of Mirza Saif-ud-din in Persian deal with the administration of early Dogra rulers. Besides this, we have contemporary writings in prose and poetry describing social life of the people during the Dogra period (1846-1947).

Printed Contemporary Sources

Among the contemporary printed publications, mention may be made of:

- a. Histories written by Pir Hussan Shah Khuihami, Pandit P.K. Bamzai, Pandit Gwash Lal, Dr. G.M.D. Sofi, Munshi Mohammad Din Faug, Dr. R.K. Parmu and Prof. Mohib-ul-Hasan.
- b. Research works done by Walter Lawrence, Fredrick Dreww, Pandit P.N. Bazaz, Rashid Tasir, Francis Young husband and Prof. F.M. Hussanian.
- c. Travel Accounts written by Francis Bernier, Vigne, Hugel, Schonberg, Rothfold, and Knight.
- d. Special works on geography, archaeology, sociology, culture, Politics, and education by Bates, Wilson, Assadullah, Malik Fazal Hussain, Hajini, Charak, Tokan Sumi, Pandit R.C. Kak, Pandit Anand Koul, Pandit T.N. Madan, Prof. Ishaq Khan, Prof. Rafiqi, Sunil Chander Ray, Aziz Ahmed, Ferguson, Pandit Samsar Chand Koul, Moneoh Pithawala, Tyndel Biscoe, Yosuf Taing, M.L. Saqi, J. L. K. Jalali, G.H. Khan, and Robert Throp.

I have mentioned important source material on the history of Kashmir relating to the modern period only. It may be mentioned that there is no lack of original rare material for the period in many Archives Offices in the State as well as abroad. At Moscow, we do have very original source material pertaining to Kashmir during the British period. Most of this material is in Russian, English and French.



A Vegetable Shop in a Boat

Newspapers and Journals

Newspapers and journals are an important source material for modern period of Kashmir. Very rare collections of newspapers and journals are preserved in:

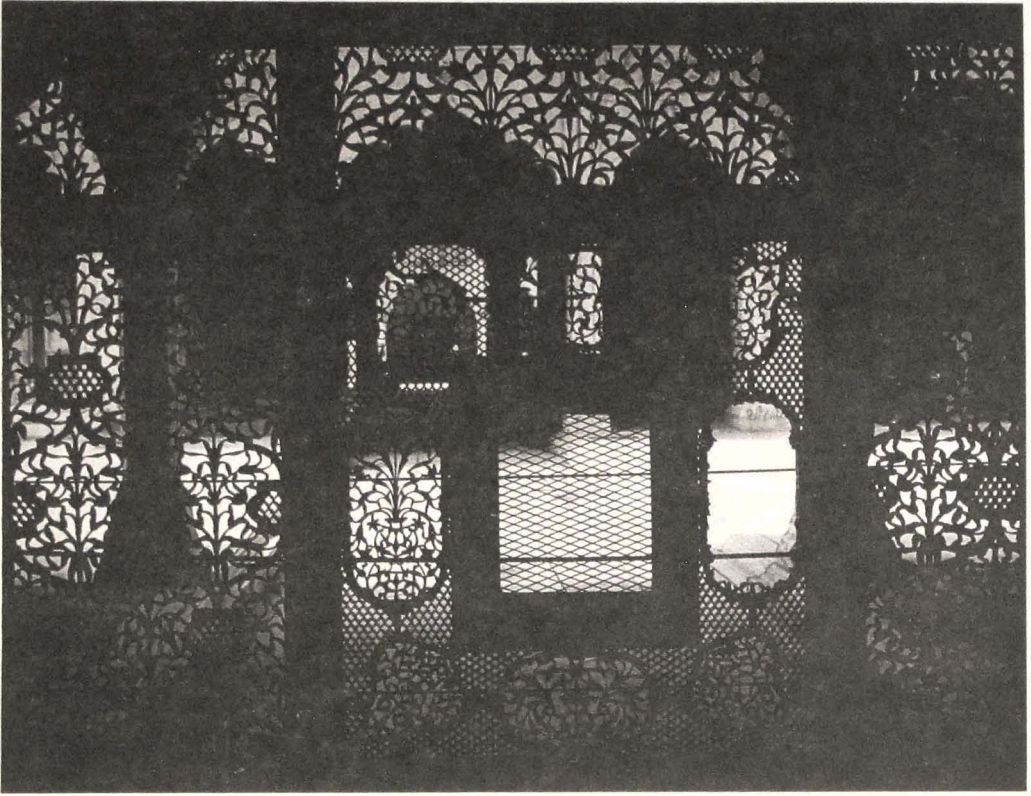
1. India Office Library, London.
2. National Library, Calcutta.
3. State Archives at Jammu and Srinagar.

Among the vernacular papers, important are; Akbar-i-Kashmiri, Khair-Khawh-i-Kashmir, Akhbar-i-Aam, Lahore, The piasa Akhbar, The Kashmir Darpan, The Kashmiri Pandit, Hamdard-i-Hindi, Ranbir, Jammu, Haqiqat, Srinagar, Hamdard, Srinagar and other local papers. These papers cover the period from 1881 to 1947. Among the English papers, mention may be made of: Amrita Bazar Patrika, Civil and Military Gazette, the Englishman, the Friend of India, and the Times, London. Among the journals, special mention may

be made of the journal of the Asian Studies, Asiatic Quarterly Review and the Modern Review. It may be mentioned that first local Urdu paper Al-Rafiq gives vivid accounts regarding mal-administration on the State, during early Dogra period.

Pre-History and Archaeology

Excavations conducted at Burzaham in Kashmir has revealed that the earliest inhabitants of the Valley were cave or pit dwellers. The site of Burzaham is about 24 km. north-east of Srinagar, and is located near Harwan overlooking the Dal lake. The earliest settlement of this site is in the form of a series of underground caves pits, dug into clay, which are circular, oval, square and rectangular in plan. The circular or oval cave type pits have a narrow opening and a side base. Cut to a depth of 1.5 metre or 2.5 metre with a narrow entrance, some of the deep dwellings are provided with steps. It is presumed that the larger dungeons were used for purposes of



Inside Shalimar

dwelling. Around the perimeter of these underground dwellings are found post holes which suggest the presence of thatched roof over them. Hearths were encountered near the entrance of circular underground dwellings but in rectangular or square pits these were found in the centre. The material culture included coarse grey or black burnished pottery, often with matmarked base, a wide range of bone points, awls, needles and harpoons, stone axes pecked and ground, of both oval and long section, ring stones and a distinctive pierced rectangular chopper or knife of bone called harvester--a kind hitherto unknown to India. Hurting appears to have played an important part in the subsistence of these settlers. This underground dwellings cul-

ture can be placed to 2375 B.C. on the basis of radiocarbon dating. It means that the people of Kashmir choose the highland *Karewas* for their dwelling purposes.

In Period II, the people continued to use stone and bone tools but they now lived in mud or mud brick houses sometimes plastered with mud, instead of pits or caves and frequently buried their dead. Both primary and secondary burial have been encountered chiefly of crouched skeletons placed in oval pits without grave goods. In some cases, red ochre had been put over the body. Dogs were also sometimes buried with their owners, of unusual interest are the burial habits of these people who used to bury human beings with animals

such as dogs, wolves or ibex. A very interesting find from this period is a stone slab graphically depicting a hunting scene, with two suns, which is perhaps the earliest specimen of primitive art in Kashmir.

It has been found that the Neolithic culture of Kashmir Valley has its own distinctive traits. Its wide range of bone tools, dwelling pits, residential caves perforated knife or blade, burial of pet animal with master and purposeful burial of animals mark it as unique. On the basis of comparative study, it is claimed that Neolithic culture of Kashmir with its hunting based culture has close affinity with similar culture of North-West China and Central Asia.

Neolithic phase is followed at Burzahom by a culture associated with erection of massive stone circles or Menhirs in memory of the dead. The material culture of Megalithic people of Burzahom, is characterised by the use of coarse red ware pottery. There are eleven megaliths on the top of this *Karewah*, of which five are erect and the rest fallen.

Other Pre-Historic Sites

Recent explorations in the Valley have brought to light nine sites at Begagund, Gofkral, Hariparigom, Jayadevi-Udar, Olchibag, Pampur, Panzgom, Sombur, Thajwor, Waztal and Brah, all with neolithic assemblage closely similar to that revealed at Burzahom. Menhirs were also noticed at Bagagund, Gofkral, Hariparigom and Pampur.

Ancient Period

No historical writings are available about the Greek kings of Kashmir except coins which have been found in the Valley. The

Nilamatapurana, which is an early literary product of ancient Kashmir provides us with information about four kings only and these are Gonanda I, Damodhara I, Queen Yasuvate and Gonanda II. The *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana has not recorded the name of 52 earlier kings, he has also omitted the names and works of 35 kings. As such we have not positive evidence about earliest rulers of Kashmir. Hassan in his *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* has been able to locate the lost kings, but his account would need further screening.

Kashyapa

The first Aryan, whose name confronts us at the beginning of our study is Kashyapa, who has been mentioned as the father of the people. He is also spoken of as a great saint, who had practised penance for a long time. Thus, it appears that Kashyapa was both a political and a religious head. Kashyapa was a man of great status and position and he could summon other men of importance to his help, of need. This valley was inhabited by Jalodbhava and his people and Kashyapa wanted to destroy them. In spite of his important position, he alone was not able to face Jalodbhava. The *Nilmata-Purana* gives a lengthy account about the destruction of Jalodbhava. It is evident that the Aryan settlers had to face a strong opposition from the original inhabitants of the valley.

Nil-Naga has been mentioned as the King of the Kashmiri Nagas. Nil-Nag spring exists even at present and is now known as Veri-Nag. In those days, colonies flourished near water especially around the springs and every owner of the spring was known as a Naga.

The people shared the belief that the snakes lives in springs. They also believed that snakes could appear in human form, marry and have children. A spring is called a nag in Kashmiri even today. The earliest inhabitants of the valley cherished aboriginal beliefs, among which the snakecult was popular. But with the advent of the Aryans, their belief in the aboriginal deities sank into oblivion. However, their belief in the ghosts and the spirits continued and got mixed-up with the Vedic and the Puranic gods and goddesses.

The river Vitasta in those days, had been represented name of the goddess Gauri and the lake Wular had been named after Padma-Naga. We come to the conclusion that in the time of Nila-Naga, the Wular lake existed in the valley.

The Naga Kingdom

The Naga kingdom extended from Shardi to Ver-Nag and had ruled over by the descendents of Kadru and Vinata. Who had divided it, between themselves. When, the children of Kadru were forced to migrate from Ver-Nag. Vishnu came to their help. Kalhana speaks very high of the Nagas, who made the valley safe from the foreign invaders. During their rule, big and lofty house of timber were constructed by the people. Many works of public utility, like embankments and stairs descending into rivers were carried out by them. They also established certain seats of learning. Many gardens were laid out by them, which had grape and fruit plants, irrigated by canals and streams.

Kalhan, while praising the conditions prevailing at that time says that 'things that even in heaven are difficult to find are common there.'

Much is not known about the kings of Kashmir after the death of Nila-Naga and his successors. Gonanada I, according to Kalhana, is the first important ruler of Kashmir, whose successors are stated to have ruled Kashmir for 2268 years. This may be an exaggerated account, because the kings, whose preceded Gonanda, are not known to us. Scantly information about them proves that they were mighty and possessed wealth, elephants and palaces.

Gonanda

Gonanda I, has been spoken of, as a glorious king. He was an over-tord of the northern region of Kashmir, from Drass to the Haramukh. Jarasanda, the king of Magada called him for help against Krishna. Gonanda proceeded towards India, with large army and is said to have besieged the town of Mathura. The hostile armies pitched their campus, on the banks of river. A fierce battle was fought, in which thousands of soldiers from each side fell to the ground. It is interesting to note that the ensign of the Kashmiri forces was the plough. The King of Kashmir died heroically, while fighting in the battle field. One of the important conclusions, which we obtain from the above is that Kashmiri's help was sought by an Indian king in those days and the Kashmiri fought bravely in the battle grounds.

The Greeks in Kashmir

Alexander set out for his Indian expedition in about 327 B.C. from his base camp in Bactria, which touched Gandhara. Having crossed the rocky and forest clad valleys of the Hindu Kush, he reached Taxila, the capital city of Gandhara. After having spent some time at Taxila he reached a tributary of the river Sutlej, where from he turned back for home. Thus Taxila become

a meeting ground between the Mediterranean and India, a centre of Greece-Roman art and culture for nearly eight hundred years. It remained under the Greek rule for nearly 20 years and during that period, small contingents of the Greek soldiers disposed themselves in the Hindu-Kush, Chitral, Gilgat, Hazaraz and Kashmir. They founded small colonies and chiefships in Bactria, Central Asia and Afghanistan. These small Greek states were ruled over by military commanders, who had got detached away from the main command of the Greek army. Famous among these vice-roy are Demetrius, Pantaleon, Agarthocles, Apollodorus, Menander, Antialcides, Strato, Elicles, Lysias and Archebious. We have numerous specimens of the coinage issued by these Greeco-Indian rulers.

The Greek Kings

The Greek period in the history of Kashmir is completely shrouded in mystery. Here and there, we find evidence; archaeological and numismatic, which proves that after Alexander's invasion, numerous chiefships came to be established in the north-western parts of India. These Greeks overlords, who established their small kingdoms in Kashmir, seem to have owed allegiance to their masters in the beginning but after lapse of some time and, when the central rule had weakened, they, assumed independent postures. It was during their rule that the Roman art travelled to Kashmir through Syria, Persia and Kabul. The Sun Temple of Kashmir has its closest links with the Temple of the Sun at Baalbeck in Syria. The Kharoshti inscriptions and statues found by the author in the Lolab valley and numerous Greek coins preserved in the Srinagar Museum, all point out to the factual existence of the Greeks in

Kashmir. It was during the rule of Greeks that Buddhism was introduced in Kashmir.

The following are the Greek kings, whose coins have been located in Kashmir:

1. Euthudemos. 220-B.C
2. Eukratidos 175-B.C.
3. Apollodotos.
4. Menandrou.
5. Nikephoro-antimakhos
6. Soterios.
7. Megalou-Azou.
8. Basileos Basileon Megalon Azon.
9. Megalou Azilison
10. Spali-risou.
11. Abda-gasou.

The Greeks made donations to the Buddhist Sangha, erected stupas over the sacred relics, constructed virharas and installed images in them.

It has been, now established that at the time of Alexander's invasion, Kashmir formed a part of Gandhara. This country came under the influence of the Achaemenid and the Greek Kings. It may be stated that in the latter half of the 6th century B.C. Achaeminian monarchy rose to power in Persia under the leadership of Cyprus. He is believed to have subdued Gandhara. In Kashmir are found the Bactrian, the Scythian and the Parthian coins. After the

departure of Alexander, Chandragupta Muriya, entered into a treaty with Seleukos and got control over the north-western India.

Buddhism in Kashmir

The Rajatarangini begins at the time of the Guru war--which occurred sometime between the 12th and the 14th century B.C. Surendra is the first Buddhist ruler of Kashmir, who built the first vihara in Kashmir. His reign can be fixed in the middle of the 1st century B.C. It is recorded that during the rule of Ashoka (269-327) B.C., some monks of the Sthaviradin school fled away to Kashmir due to the lack of royal patronage. According to the Chinese sources, it was Madhyantika, a disciple of Ananda, who succeeded in bringing Buddhism to Kashmir, after having subdued the Nagas by his supernatural powers. His journey to Kashmir has also been narrated in the Kashmiri sources.

It is reported that Madhyantika brought with him many bhikas for settlement and he himself remained in the valley for nearly 20 years. He developed agriculture in Kashmir and also introduced saffron cultivation for the first time.

But, Buddhism could not achieve much success during his life time. Demetrius became the king of vast territory, which included Kashmir also. Similarly Menander also exercised pressure on Kashmir.

Menandera

It was Menandera, who came under the influence of Buddhism. It goes to the credit of Nagasena, to have defeated Menandera

in a religious discussion, which was held at a place near Kashmir. The Milindapanha is the best source of information on the history of Buddhism in Kashmir. It informs that Menandera built the Milinda vihara and joined the Sangha as a monk and finally attained arhathood.

The Milindapanha, which was written originally in Kashmiri was subsequently translated into the Pali and the Senhalese. The Indo-Greeks appear to have accepted the doctrines of Buddhism and the Kharoshdi inscriptions found at Swat, Taxila and Lolab in Kashmir, prove the existence of Buddhism during the period. These kings erected stupas, constructed viharas and installed images of the Sakya-muni. Thus, it is clear that Buddhism came to Kashmir long before the reign of Ashoka, Maurya.

We must revert to the prophecy made by Buddha to Vijrapani that Madyantiaka would bring his message to the Nagas of Kashmir. In fact, the Nagas believed in cooperative life and had their own communes in various parts of the Valley. As they did not like the caste system of the Brahmans, they embraced Buddhism.

Turushka Kings

The Yu-echi tribe rose to power in about 162 B.C. and drove out the foreigners, who had occupied the borders of China. They lived in the Kansu province, but their success was shortlived and their leader Chang-lun was defeated by Lau-shang. The Yu-echi tribe was vanquished and turned out of their home in the year 177 B.C. They fled towards Kashmir and occupied Afghanistan and are known as the Kushans.

Kushans

With the coming of the Kushans, Buddhism received a tremendous support. There is no denying the fact that during their rule, the Buddhism enjoyed royal patronage. Coins of Hushka or Huvishka and Kanishka have been located in Kashmir. There is no such evidence in respect of Jushka, except that he built Jushkpura or Zakur a large village near Srinagar. To Hushka, the building of Husukpura or Ushkur is attributed. Kanishka is supposed to have founded Kanishkapur.

Kanishka

Kanishka came to power in about 40 A.D. His name lives in the legends of Kashmir, Tibet, China and Mongolia. His sway extended over a large empire including northern India, Afghanistan and Turkistan. The capital of his empire was Purushpora, the modern Peshawar. He is said to have conquered eastern India up to Banaras. The most important military exploit of Kanishka was his conquest of Kashmir, Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. Kanishka is said to have changed his faith from time to time and these changes can be established from the study of his numerous coins. In the latter part of his reign, when Parsha becomes his religious preceptor, he became a Buddhist. By then, the Buddhist influence had increased in Kashmir. The masses, who had felt disgusted with castes and narrowness of the Brahmanistic doctrines had become followers of Buddhism. Henceforth, Kashmir became the headquarters of Buddhism and the Kashmiri monks propagated this religion in Tibet, China and other countries.

Patron of Buddhism

Kanishka founded the town of Kanis-pore, now village and then a big industrial and literary centre. Kanishka imported great artists from other lands to decorate his buildings and shrines. His coins have been found in different parts of India. Stray coins of Kanishka have been dug out in Scandinavia and Wales also. It was Kanishka, who restored Buddhism in his kingdom by giving it, his royal patronage. As such, his period is most important for the history of Buddhism in Kashmir, Gandhara and Central Asia. He built many viharas, stupas and other religious buildings. Further, lavish grants were made in favour of the monks. It was Kanishka, who decorated his coins with the name of Boddo or Buddha.

Fourth Council

According to the Buddhist tradition, Kanishka held the fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir. He was advised by Parsva to summon all monks for collection of the sacred texts, and to prepare commentaries on the Sutra, the Vinaya and the Abhidharma. This council was held at Kundalvana in Kashmir. It has been termed as *kien-tho-lo* in the Chinese geography. Besides the large audience, this Council was attended to by 500 Arhats, 500 Bodhisattvas and 500 Panditas. Ashvaghosa, the celebrated author of the *Buddha-charita*, the *Saundrananda* and the *Sariputra-Prakarma*, attended this council and commentaries of all the Buddhist texts were compiled into two treatise known as *Upadesa-sastras*. The latter is known as *Jashmirshi* in the Chinese. It also goes to the credit of this Council, that for the first time in the history of

Buddhism, freedom of thought and expression was recognised and it was declared that texts of all the 18 schools of thought in Buddhism were correct and all of them contained the word of the Master.

Henceforth, Kashmir became the headquarters of Sarvastivadin school of Buddhism. These doctrines penetrated into Kabul, Kandhar, Central Asia and Tibet. Kanishka patronised such activities and even made a gift of Kashmir to the Sangha. It has further been given by the Chinese sources that the final decisions of the Council were engraved on copper plates and deposited in a Stupa. Excavations done at Harwan, Ushkar and Ahan have revealed existence of the Buddhist relics but not traces of these copper plates have been found and this problem still engages the attention of scholars throughout the world.

Naga-Arjuna of Kashmir

Naga-Arjuna is highly spoken of in the Buddhist literature. He is titled as Bodhisattava also, the sole lord, or the land. He is mentioned to have defeated the Shaivits in religious discussions. He lived at Sadarhadvana in Kashmir, which is known as Harwan these days. It was due to his knowledge that the Buddhists of Kashmir maintained their ascendancy over other Acharyas. He is also said to have denominated the Shaka era. Naga-Arjuna's name has been very closely associated with the Mahayana and Kashmir. History records that the Buddhists suffered untold miseries during the reign of Abhimanyu, who gave royal patronage to Shaivism and the Buddhists were forced either to renounce their religion or face annihilation. Under such circumstances, many ran away towards the plains. Naga-Arjuna had to

flee from Kashmir and reached south India. In this way, his name began to be associated with Nagarjunakunda in the South. However, Naga-Arjuna's spring in a village, near the Hirapur hill in Shupiyan, Kashmir is known upto this day.

The Huns of Kashmir

Kalhana has not given complete information about the Hun rulers of Kashmir.

The white Huns are also known as the Hiung-nu or the Hunas. After having defeated the Mu-echi tribe, they moved towards the west. At the beginning of the sixth century, they occupied Afghanistan and then moved into the north India. Under the leadership of Toramana, they succeeded in down the edifice of the Gupta Empire. He succeeded in establishing the Hun Empire from Persia to the central India. Kalhana has mentioned Hiryanakula and Vasukala as the Kings of Kashmir. According to him, Mihirakula was a son of Vasukala, but it is a historical fact that Mihirakula succeeded his father, Toramana as the king of the Huns. Coins of Toramana show the king standing in the royal dress, left arm on his hip and the right extended over the alter. The reverse side of the coins show the goddess Jaya, dressed elaborately. He was a sun-worshipper, like his forefathers.

Mihirakula

Mihirakula, came to the throne of the Hun Empire in 515 A.D. He was one of the most powerful kings of the age and his name was a terror for the people. He has been represented as a blood thirsty tyrant, who took immense pleasure in the murder of human beings and even did not spare the old or the women. It is said about him,

that having noticed his queen wearing a jacket made of cloth from Cylone with golden foot prints marked on it, he got enraged and led an expedition for the conquest of Cylone. According to Hieun Tsiang, he was a staunch communalist, who persecuted the Buddhists and plundered their monasteries. In the Chinese annals, he has been represented as a fiend and not as a human being.

Another story about him is that when an elephant fell down from over a precipice of Pir Panchal pass, he was overjoyed to witness this terrible sight. Such a beast he was, that he got all elephants rolled down by force from the precipice and enjoyed this rightful scene with immense enjoyment. The precipice is known as Hatvanj even now and it implies the place where elephants were destroyed.

The white Huns were sun-worshippers, who built many sun temples in the valley including the sun temple of Martanda. They believed in various gods and goddesses; Jaya being prominent among the goddesses. Mihirakula having murdered three crores of women, young and old together with children could not save himself when people rose in rebellion against his tyranny.

Revolt

A brave Kashmiri, who after having collected numerous supporters made an end of Mihirakula. Thus the Kashmiris, got rid of a beast in human shape. The people of Kashmir who had lived in turmoil, terror and lawlessness, during the reign of Mihirakula felt relieved after his death and when Baka, his son came to the throne, they felt that peace had returned. The new king,

built a few shrines, dug out a canal and founded a town. Nothing more is known about him except that he had sons and grandsons, whose number touched one hundred.

Meghavahana

Meghavahana, who ascended the throne of Kashmir in 430 A.D. was a Buddhist. He tried to revive the dying faith. He and his queen built many viharas for the benefit of foreign bikshus.

The main viharas were built at Vicharnag, Narvor and Khadanyar in Kashmir. Famous among these was Amritabhavana which was got built by the queen Amritaprabha. Oukong has mentioned this vihara by the name of Ngo-mi-to-po-wan. This place is known as Antabhawan now and lies in the vicinity of Vicharnag, Srinagar. As the queen was a Ladakhi lady and her Guru was also a Stumpa from Ladakh, she dedicated this vihara to Amitaya, the giver of long life. It further transpires that the Mahayana has swayed both Ladakh and Kashmir during that period. Many legends have been connected with the name of Meghavahana, showing his kind and beneficent bent of mind. He is credited with having subjugated northern India and in this connection, Kalhana relates the expeditions led by the king against the kings of Marwar, Sind and Cylone.

A Monk Monarch

A philosopher king, in the name of Vinayaditya has been mentioned to have come to power in the sixth century. His name shines in history as a moral reformer. He was a saint and a monarch, combined in one personality. He is said to have accepted the throne of the kingdom from his

subjects after making them accept certain conditions. Some of the conditions were that none should kill any living being or deceive other or commit bad acts. The king lived in a hut at the foot of the hill on the banks of the Dal lake. He led a very simple life and earning his livelihood by cultivating a piece of land. He helped the needy and was honest in his dealings with the people. Some scholars have stated that the prophet of Islam sent his two ambassadors to meet the king.

Military Autocracy

During the second half of the sixth century, Kashmir came under the new military autocracy of Pravarasena, who is said to have marched his army into Kashmir after the fall of Matrigupta. The new King was a military adventurist, who aspired fame, glory and renown through conquests.

Pravarsena, in order to achieve this aim started his reign with the detachment of military expeditions for conquests. His raids included some of the northern portions of the Punjab, the Ganga-Jamuna plain and Gujrat. According to Kalhana, his army, uprooted the inhabitants of Surastra, Pravarsena repulsed the invasion of Mummuni the muslim chief Turkstan and accumulated great treasures. A new capital was founded by him and given the name of Pravarsena, a fact collaborated by the Annals of the T'ang dynasty. A bridge was also constructed over the river Vitasta near Maisuma. The practice of constructing boat bridges was started during his reign. Moreover, a huge statue of the Buddha was erected on the bank of the river, in a vihara mentioned by Hieun Tsang by the name Che-ye-n-to-lo. This vihara was burnt down and this statue was melted down by the

king Ksemagupta for construction of a temple dedicated to Shiva.

Ranaditya

Another cruel autocrat ascended to the throne is the name of Ranaditya, whose word descended on the forests of his enemies' necks, causing streams of water in the eyes of their women and there danced none but headless corpses. In spite of his cruel exploits, he sometimes diverted his attention towards works of public utility. Kalhana credits him with having established, few temples and hospital. He was succeeded by Baladitya, another military leader, who was the last of the Gonanda family. He was also a powerful autocrat who subdued other kings and nationalities. Much is not known about him and his subjects. The people of Kashmir seem to have followed the same life as they had done in previous reigns. No great progress seems to have been made in the domain of art and culture.

Durlabhadeva

Coins bearing the name of Durlabhadeva have been found in Kashmir. Much is not known about this early life except that he started his career as a menial in the royal stable. By his cleverness, diplomacy and merit, he rose to high post of a minister. The king gave his daughter, Anangalekha in marriage to him. She was a debauchee and had illicit relations with the minister, Khankah. He would conduct himself with her in the seraglio as it pleased him and Durlabhadeva would shut his eyes over her indecent tricks. This very Minister Khankha, removed all obstacles in the way of Durlabhadeva, who became the ruler of Kashmir, after the death of his father-in-law. Hieun Tsang, came to Kashmir via Hushkapura, the modern Ushkur and made

remarkable enquiries about the country and its people. He stayed for two years in a Buddhist convent, absorbed in study and writing. He mentions Kashmir as the kingdom of Kia-shi-mi-lo. He says that "the people are not given to faith and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought." According to him, "the people are weak, pusillanimous and cunning." Hieun Tsang left the valley through the Toshamadan route. He was followed by Ou-kong, whose account of Kashmir is more detailed. He came to Kashmir in 759 A.D. and stayed for 4 years. It may be recorded that the first clear reference to Kashmir, is contained in the classical literature of the Greeks, Ptolemy has mentioned the reguib held by the Kaspeirans as Kaspeiria. In the Chinese records, the valley of Kashmir and its surroundings territories have been fully described. The first T'ang dynasty dates back to 541 A.D. Hieun Tsang visited Kashmir, ninety years after the date of this notice. The next Chinese notice of Kashmir is contained in the records of the T'ang dynasty of the year 713 A.D. The next important visitor was Ou-Kong, who has described three hundred Buddhist shrines of Kashmir. His description of the boundaries and the routes through Kashmir even after Ou-Kong, but records thereof are still concealed.

The next kings who followed, were benevolent monarchs, because they tried their best to administer the country with an ideal of sincere benevolence. They helped the people in distress, protected them against injustices and ruled according to their best judgement and traditions. The chronology of these kings is subject to controversy, because Kalhana has not given their dates of accession. The length of their

reign is also contradictory to the entries in the Chinese records. Hence we have to follow the chronology as given in the annals of the T'ang dynasty.

Pratapaditya II ascended the throne in 630 A.D. He is credited with having founded the town of Tapar, 22 miles west of Srinagar, where he built many spacious temples and mansions. Excavations have brought to light foundations of a Buddhist vihara made of huge stone slabs. The whole area is full of sculptures. Metal detectors have revealed that there are deposits of metal other than iron under the entrance gate.

Chandrapida

Chandrapida, who ascended the throne in 711 A.D. has been identified with Chen-to-lo-po-ii in the Chinese records. We learn from the annals of the T'ang dynasty, that the King of Kashmir asked for the aid of the Chinese against the Arabs, who had made raids in the north-western region of India. We further learn that Chandrapida was granted the title of king by the Chinese emperor. He is credited with having codified the law, which the other kings had left incomplete. He was the benefactor of his subjects and introduced a better system of administration in his dominion. His reign is known for justice, peace and prosperity. The king and the queen interested themselves in the construction of viharas and temples. The construction of Tribhuvana-swamin, has been attributed to him. The people seem to have attained a lethal mind as is evident from the story of a leather tanner, who had refused to give up his hut for the site of a temple. While asserting his right of private property and personal honour, he boldly told the king, "I am not as low as a dog is and my hut is a palace for



Ancient Day Rest House in Gulmarg

me". Hunger strikes were also observed in those days, and such hunger strikes were used as a weapon for political ascendancy and coercion.

Lalitaditya the Great

Lalitaditya Muktapida ascended the throne in 724 A.D. He is known in history as a great king who brought glory and honour to the Kashmiris. He ushered a new era of prosperity in the realm. He has been mentioned in the Chinese, the Turkish and the Tibetan legends as a great conqueror. In the Chinese annals, he is known as Mu-ti-pi, the king of Kashmir who sent an embassy to the Chinese court between 736-47 A.D.

Being eager, like Alexander for new conquests, he set out on new expeditions every now and then. After having subjugated the Punjab, he invaded the kingdom of Kanauj, which had acquired importance during the reign of its ruler, Yasovarmana. Both the kings entered into an alliance and

a treaty of friendship was drawn accordingly, Mitrasarman, the Foreign Minister of Lalitaditya picked up a quarrel with Yasovarmana, which resulted in complete uprooting of the Kanauj army at the hands of the Kashmiris. Kanauj was annexed and by this conquest, Lalitaditya became the sovereign on north-western India.

This success created a desire in the king's heart for world conquest which could not be allayed. According to Kalhana, the king then led an expedition for the conquest of Kalinga. The Kashmiri army had now equipped itself with a large number of elephants. Having conquered Kalinga, the king marched further and the king Javita-gupta of Bihar and Bengal, was also defeated. From there, they advanced into the territory of Karnataka which was ruled over by a benevolent queen named Ratta. She submitted and got protection and with her convince, he marched towards the west. Gujarat was occupied and the Kashmiris then entered into the city of Dwarika. Thus,

the empire of Lalitaditya became the most powerful empire since the days of the Guptas.

Conqueror of Hindustan

But the Kashmiris became uneasy at prolonged haltage and decided to march back. The king admonished them to strictly observe discipline. However, the king turned his attention towards the eastern parts of Afghanistan. Cities after cities fell and the people fled away to the mountains. Now, he came face to face, with the Caliphate of Islam, which had extended to borders of Afghanistan by then.

While the Arabs were making efforts to advance towards Kabul, Lalitaditya got an easy opportunity to extend his sway towards the Indus. After having defeated the Shahis of Kabul, the king made his homeward march from Gilgat. Daradistan was completely over-run and occupied. Kalhana remarks, that the king did not tolerate the continued drinking of wine by the Dards and their other sensual habits. After having subdued them, he conquered some regions towards the north of Kashmir especially some parts of Ladakh.

National Glory

Through these conquests, Lalitaditya collected many treasures. He had subdued Orrisa, Bengal, Decan, the Punjab, Afghanistan, Daradistan, Ladakh, Tibet and some territory in Central Asia. Many kings submitted and accepted Lalitaditya as their emperor. He got from Magadha a huge statue of Buddha for installation in his capital. It is clear, that Kashmir commended the respect of many kingdoms of the south as well as of the north and the Kashmiris were fortunate enough to find a great leader, to lead them on the path of national glory.

The emperor granted jagiris to his dependant kings. The vanquished rulers and the subjugated people were ordered to adopt various characteristic marks by which their defeat at the hands of the Kashmiris could be indicated. With the passage of time, these characteristics became their habits. Some of the subjugated people were ordered to shave half of their head. Such other marks of bondage were forced upon the vanquished. Still his attitude towards the vanquished people was magnanimous and munificent.

Parihasapura

Lalitaditya was a great builder and a patron of arts and culture. He created an environment in which a movement of founding of big and small Buddhist and Shaivist temples was manifested. A number of Shrines, temples, cities were built by him. Pruntus, Latpore, Shadipore and numerous other towns were founded by him, but his other towns cannot be traced now. Religious endowments were granted for maintenance of the Shrines. Huge statues were erected at different places. The grand viharas at Parihasapura, in Kashmir were dedicated to Buddha. Here stood the three conventional huge structures, a temple, a monastery and a stupa, built of massive stones. The edifice was surrounded by a city. The emperor got erected a colossal statue of Buddha in copper, in the main stupa. It is a pity that Shankaravarmana burnt down the city of Parihasapura and got demolished these Buddhist viharas and the material was used by him for construction of temples dedicated to Shiva at Pattan. Similarly, Harsha stole away all the statues and got them melted in order to fill in his treasury.

The ancient site at Parihaspura is of great historical and archaeological interest. Prior to the building of a new capital here by Lalitaditya, it was Buddhist site, where existed the royal viharas constructed during the Kushana period. It is an ancient megalithic site, and the plateau was inhabited by the cave-dwellers of Machihom, which lies adjacent to Dever. The Site served as the launching pad of space-crafts by the pre-historic people. According to Kalhana, Lalitaditya built the four Shrines as Vishnu Parihasa-kashava, Mukta-Kasheva, Mahavaraha and Govardhanadharama here. He also built the famous Raja-vihara and installed a colossal image of Buddha at the site. But the site suggests that it has remained as such since prehistoric times and the king utilised the megaliths available, for his edifices. At present, the foundation of five ruins are available at the site. It is probable that the records of the fourth Buddhist Council, held during the reign of Kanishka are buried here under the huge megalith in the centre of stupa towards the south. Lalitaditya patronised Buddhism and built a monastery at Ushkar, which has been partly excavated now. Here, he built a large vihara, with a stupa. He also built a Vishnu temple for lishment. Oukong, who reached Kashmir in 750 A.D. from Gandhara, spent four years in this monastery. According to Kalhana, Harsha destroyed those Buddhist monuments ruthlessly, despite wailings of the Buddhists, who entreated him to spare the gods from his wrath.

Martanda

Lalitaditya got reconstructed on the old foundations, the famous shrine of the sun at Martand. Its position is superb and it rests on a plateau overlooking the valley.

Perhaps, it is one of the most striking monuments of the Kashmiri architecture. Its spacious courtyard is enclosed with close stone pillars raised at different points. During his reign, gold, silver and copper statues made by the Buddhist craftsmen were put in these shrines. His example was followed by the queen, his ministers and officials. The emperor did not ignore the works of public utility and during his reign many irrigation works were completed. The Sun temple of Martanda appears to have been remodelled at different periods. It was initially constructed by the Greeks of Kashmir and was later renovated by the Kushanas and also by the Hun ruler, Mihirakula. It was again remodelled by Ranaditya and finally reconstructed by Lalitaditya. Its three plinths have come to the light, up till now and its walls appear to have been remodelled or strengthened several times by refixing of stone slabs, thus hiding the inner mural decorations. Its courtyard has also been enlarged and shortened from time to time. The shrine has remained Jewish, Zoroastrian, Buddhist and Shaivite from time to time and its composition and character represents a composed and mixed culture which is Jewish, Greek and Hindu at the same time. Metal detectors show abundance of metal beneath it with a band of radio-active waves. The place is a megalithic site of pre-historic times and might have been used as a launching pad by the ancient astronauts.

Avanti-Varman

With Avantivarman, who came to power in 855 A.D. Vaishnavism and Shaktism attained prominence in Kashmir. He patronised Shaivism, which was propounded by Vasugupta, the author of Shivasutaras. Henceforth, the masses were attracted

towards Shaivism and Buddhism lost its importance as a prominent religion of the valley. The only remnant of the Buddhist literature in Kashmir is *Avdhana-kalpalata* by Ksemendra of the 11th century. This manuscript is available in the Tibetan and Devangiri scripts. In order to bring communal harmony between the Buddhists and the Shavites, Ksemendra wrote *Dash-avata-charita*. Every verse of this book advocates socialistic and democratic ideas.

Being sagacious, Avanti-Varmana at the outset of his reign subdued other dissonant factors and effected improvements in his administration. Some new appointments were made and Sura was bestowed with the post of the Chief Minister. His reign brought an era of peace and prosperity to the valley. Religious activities, pertaining to Hinduism were resumed and shrines, temples and mathas were built by him and his ministers. He was a great patron of art and letters and during his reign, learned men and scholars came to Kashmir from abroad and were placed on important posts. Kalhana credits him with having built many monasteries for the benefit of ascetics. The Town of Avantipur, Suurapur and Suyapur were founded by him.

Avantipur

Avanti-Varmana founded the town of Avantipur, where under his patronage, the Kashmiri architects produced a group of temples dedicated to Vishnu Awantieshvara. Both these temples are the products of matured architectural experience of the Kashmiris of that age. The main shrine of Awantisavamin is enclosed by a courtyard and adorned with graceful pillars and cells. The monolithic pillar with Garuda stands near the entrance which is decorated with a crocodile and a tortoise. The main shrine is

built on a double base which is intact. The sculptured relief on the stair represents Vishnu seated between his two consorts. Among the group of the gods, two figures represent the king and the queen, who are donors of the temple and they are profusely attired in royal garments. The Avantisvara temple is enclosed pillars.

A group of six temples at Naran-nag in Wangath, were also founded by the king. A matha for pilgrims to the sacred lake of Gangabal was also constructed here but is in ruins now.

Suyya

Suyya, who is remembered as a great engineer up-till now, lived during this period. Of humble origin, he rose to the position of an engineer and conducted the first soil survey in the valley. He not only drained the valley and reclaimed waste land but regulated the course of the Jhelum. The city of Suyyapur, now known as Sopore, commemorates his name. The course of the river, which had been closed due to the blockade of rocks was trenched and the rocks were dragged out of it. Dams were also constructed by workmen under his supervision at several places and a network of irrigation canals was started and many villages sprang out of the marshy tracts. Tree plantation on both sides of the river banks was his innovation. Under his supervision, different categories of land were examined and people distribution of water was arranged. His irrigation projects resulted in the abundance of agricultural produce and prices of foodstuff became low. Flood protection measures were taken by him, with the result that the valley was saved from floods for hundreds of years after him.

Samkara-Varmana

After having succeeded in defeating his kingsmen as well as his foes, he came to power in 883 A.D. In order to regain the old glory of Kashmir, he organised an army which consisted of "nine lakhs of foot soldiers, three hundred elephants, and a lakh of horseman." He penetrated into the Punjab and conquered the town of Gujrat. He is said to have subjugated Hazara and Kangra also. Further conquests were made by him on the banks of the river Indus.

Destruction of Parihasapura

Lalitaditya's greatness is manifested in the creation of phenomenally extensive structures at Parihasapura. Having founded the town, he raised the three conventional Buddhist edifices, a stupa, a temple and a monastery. These structures were of abnormal dimensions. All these buildings were constructed from massive stones. These were the most important Buddhist structures for which Kashmir could have surpassed Bamiyan.

But its complete destruction at the hands of Shankaravarmana is most regrettable. Being anti-Buddhist, he removed enormous building materials from the site to Pattan, where he built two Shiva temples. About sixty-four rich old sanctuaries were plundered by him under the pretext of religious reforms. He further converted all the Buddhist viharas into Vaishnava temples, which resulted in the decadence of the sculptural art in Kashmir. At present the whole area of Parihasapura is covered with a huge mass of scorched debris.

Chakra-Varmana

Being a child, he reigned under the guardianship of his mother for 10 years,

when he was deposed by the Tantrins. He was again, restored to the throne in 935 A.D. He bestowed offices on his helpers and favourites but in spite of it, the Tantrins did not feel satisfied. They wanted adequate bribes and the king could give them nothing for he had no money in his treasury. He fled away and succeeded in getting the support of Sangrama, the leader of the powerful Damaras. In a battle, which was fought at Padampore, nearly six thousand Tantrins fell in the battle field. Chakravaman saving won, made a triumphal entry into the capital. He avenged himself by killing all his opponents. After that, he abandoned himself to the life of pleasure and exhausted his treasury on flatters, bards and parasites. He took foreign dancing girls in the royal seraglio and Hamsi, the domba dancing girls became the chief queen and the low caste dombas rose to power. With the patronage of the queen, they were posted as high officials and even became ministers. The Damaras, who had helped the king in recovering his kingdom got alarmed. Some of them entered the royal chamber and killed him. Unmattavanti was then installed as the new king of Kashmir.

Queen Didda

Ksemagupta succeeded his father in 950 A.D. Sensual and vicious by nature, he became still more wicked when he came to the throne. A habitual drunkard, he absorbed himself with his parasites in wine and women. According to Kalhana the royal court became an assembly of whores, villains, idiots and corruptors of boys. The king himself was a shameless brute who indulged in sodomy and spent his spare time in jackal hunts and plunder. The famous Buddhist vihara of Jayendra was put on fire by him after plundering its



Valley Tiddler Water Fall

treasures. Previous relics as well as golden statues of Buddha and other deities were got melted under his orders and this work was carried out under his orders by the minority community living at Mleechimar in the capital.

The king of Lahorin gave his daughter, Didda in marriage to the king. It was a political marriage, which not only brought Kashmir closer to Daradistan, but finally under the Lohara family. Didda though very young at the time of marriage, combined in her character all the qualities needed for a sovereign.

She was kind and generous but at the same time cruel and suspicious. In order to gain power, she would resort to any method, whether good or immoral and in this respect, she would go to the extremes. Though slightly; a.e. she was buxom, graceful and highly attractive. From the outset, she dominated the king to such an extent that he became hen-pecked and the people nicknamed him as 'Didda-Kshema'. She took part in all the affairs of the realm and her name was inscribed on the coins. The king absorbed himself in merry-making, while the queen exercised all royal powers. Didda, being extremely licentious had her own rounds with the ministers, so that her road to the throne could be cleared from all obstacles. The king died under suspicious circumstances and the young Abhimanyu II was placed on the throne by the queen, who became the regent. Diplomatic cunning, ruthless and energetic by nature, she possessed inborn qualities of rulership and as such smoothened her path to the throne of Kashmir. All officials of the state and even minister obeyed her and she dominated them. She would not tolerate disobedience and knew no mercy. It was her policy not to allow any one to become powerful enough to challenge her authority. Being suspicious by nature, she would not tolerate her ministers to become powerful and she resorted to political intrigues, extirpations and murders to achieve her aims. By showering affection at different periods on various ministers, she made them to fight with each other and perish.

Mahiman's Rebellion

In the meanwhile, Mahiman and Patla, the pretenders hatched a conspiracy against the queen and expired to seize the throne. They collected a force and the queen, though

alarmed also made preparations. As her position was weak, she restored to political on. She purchased the supporters of her enemies with gold and exhibited affection for her powerful minister.

Through his intervention reconciliation was brought about between the queen and the rebels. The leaders of the rebels were given importance and one of the rebels Yasodhara was posted as Commander-in-Chief. In order to get rid of him, he was ordered to proceed against the Shahi ruler. As he won a victory he expected royal favour but she got him deported. This resulted in a mutiny in the forces, but she averted this danger by sheer courage, sagacity and political decent. There were other dangers ahead and she faced them as a brave person.

Mutiny

A fighting started between the troops, in the vicinity of Srinagar. The rebels routed and their leaders were either killed or captured. The queen took a terrible vengeance on them. Those captured were thrown into the river Jhelum with stones bound with their necks. All treacherous ministers along with their families were exterminated. During this crisis it was Naravahana, her minister who had stood by her and she in return paid him with love and all honours. He was appointed Rajanaka or the chief of the council of the ministers. According to Kalhana, she slept, when he slept, took food when he took it, rejoiced in his joy, and from sympathy felt dejected when he was dispondent. But this personal attachment could not be useful for all times to the queen. When her attachment for him ceased, he was removed by intriguers; Naravahana committed suicide.

Political Murders

Now, the queen was without any wise councillor and a paramour, she recalled Pahalagana who could not refuse the position of honour and wordly pleasures.

Didida used sex for political aims but her son became sick to see her evil conduct. He started questioning his mother about her ways, but she was not a lady to be questioned. Abhimanyu could not understand that the interests of the crown were more dear to her and she had to save them by whatever means she could employ. In order to forget himself, he absorbed himself in wine and women and died of consumption. The queen, felt sorrow for her deceased son and became mild and kind. She started works of piety and many shrines, monasteries and temples were constructed through her efforts. This way of life was short-lived and she again came to the forefront to handle agairs of the government. Nandigupta, who had replaced Abhimanyu began to question about her lust for pleasure. Didida was not a person to tolerate such interrogations and restored to political murder. Nandigupta also died in suspicious circumstances. Now, she placed her grandson, Tribhunava on the throne. Bhimagupta, child on the throne. During all these years Didida was the real power. These nominal child kings came and went but her power remained like a rock fixed and unmoved. During all these years she had to face many enemies but made full use of gold and sex to overcome all her difficulties. Sex as an instrument for furtherence of crown interests developed as an institution during her reign. Didida changed paramours from time to time and made them to fight each other and perish. She resorted to political murders, so as to

gain political supremacy. She kept Bhim Gupta in prison where he was also tortured to death, because he dislikes her immoral conduct.

The Monarch

Having removed all claimants to the throne, she in 980 A.D. resumed all powers absolutely in her own hands. She made here chief paramour, Tunga, a letter carrier, her chief minister and began to live openly with him. This could not be tolerated by the other ministers, who hatched a conspiracy against her and her lover. They collected followers from all sides and Vigharaja, became their leader. The Brahmans succeeded in enraging the feeling of the masses against Tunga, but in reality they wanted to remove Didda. But she was a clever diplomat and she again made use of gold and purchased certain influential Brahmans. Tunga, now came forward and in warth look a terrible revenge on the rebels who were murdered ruthlessly. Thus, again the queen succeeded in averting.

Queen Didda, in order to divert attention of the people from home, ordered an expedition against Rahouri, Tunga, who took part in this campaign, burnt down the capital of Rajouri and made the raja to surrender. The net result of the war was that people forgot his past and the forces of other novles thinned in this expedition. Tunga after this victory obstained unlimited favours of the queen. Before her death, the queen nominated Somgramaraja as her successor.

Estimate

For nearly half a century, Didda overshadowed everyone in the realm. Nominal kings succeeded one after the other, but Didda remained supreme.

All this shows that she was very cunning and tactful. Everything is fair in love and war, was her maxim. In wars, she played tricks, resorted to political treachery and in love she did not hesitate from murder. Inspits of her extraordinary qualities, she was suspicious and fickle minded. Her favours were not continuous, hor was her enmity. Her personal character was not high and she indulged in excessive sexuality. She was ambitious and this lust for power increased as she advanced in age. She exercised influence at the court for few years, then assumed the duties of a regent, then she virtually exercised the royal power and finally, she herself became the ruler. It goes to her credit that through her own efforts, she became a sovereign in those days when it was very difficult for a women to be even the master of household. In fact, she was one of the greatest and the ablest rulers, who have adorned the throne of Kashmir throughout the ages.

Mahmud Invades Kashmir

In the middle of the 8th century, the Arabs had gained control of Gilgat, which posed a real threat to the valley, which had earlier also witnessed an invasion by the Arab forces of Mohammad-bin Qasim. Two another attempts by the Arabs to conquer Kashmir had failed. But, it was in the 11th century that a serious attempt was made by Mahmud of Ghazni to occupy the valley. Geographically situated as it was, Kashmir dit not fall in his line of advance but the help, which Trilochanapala, the ruler of the Punjab, had received from the Kashmiri king, enraged him.

Mahmud, in order to punish, Samgramaraja tried to enter the valley from

the Toshmaidan route but was stopped by the Kashmiri forces at Loharkot. Due to heavy snow fall, he lost much of his troops and escaped to save his life. In order to retrieve his honour, he again set out in 1021 A.D. from Gaznah to invade Kashmir. This time, he again followed the same route and the Kashmiris stopped him at Loharkot. This convinced him about the impregnable strength of the Kashmir kingdom and Al-Beruni had to remark that the Kashmiris are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country and, therefore, take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it.

Muslim Invited

The Darads having been defeated and humiliated did not rest and Brahamaraja went to the king of the Dardistan and invited him for the conquest of Kashmir.

Subsequently, Acalamangala combined with seven mleecha princes, invaded the valley but were stain in the battle of Khuyrut. This reference to the mleecha invasion is very important, because the Darads but that time, had embraced Islam and that accounts for the hatred shown by the Kalhana, towards them. Stein also supports the view that by the mleechas, Kalhan means the muslims. Jonaraja also remarks at a place that the kingdom to Kashmir was polluted by the evil practices of the mleechas.

With the death of two Shahi princes, Ananta lost his capable advisors. He now came under the direct influence of his queen, Suryamati. With the Brahmans, who created turmoil with their fasts, she followed a policy of appesement. They were given cows, horses, gold, jewels and other pres-

ents. She also ordered construction of temples for the Shaivites, Ksemendra compiled some of his famous works, including Desopadesa and Bharatimanheri during this period. Yogaraja and Billhana wrote commentaries on the works of Abhinavagupta.

Kalasa

After the coronation, some of the old nobles especially Randitya and Haladhara, induced the ex-king Ananta, to resume royal power, Kalasa remained a king in name only and the affairs of the realm were handled by the queen mother, Kalasa, on the other hand wanted to enjoy the pleasures of life and as such, occupied himself in women. He kept four queens and many courtesans, Kalhana has given a long account of the kings procurers and his shameless acts. One of his procurers, Chamakya, by name, who had been given the title Thakura by him, had illicit relations with the king's sister and her daughter. This led to an open rapture between the father and the son. Kalasa was so mad in sins that his beliefs changed and he thought sin to be a virtue. He roamed from house at night in search of women.. His father, Ananta and his mother Suryamati, filled with shame at the conduct of their son thought of removing him from the throne. Having failed they went to Awantipora with determination to leave the country. But Kalasa and his wife approached them and brought them back. Kalasa again took to the licentious life in which he suffered public disgrace. The old king, Ananta and his queen got disgusted and left for Behbehara with their treasury, horses and servants.

Destruction of Shiva-Vijayashvra

Kalasa, made preparations for flight against his father. He collected foot-sol-

diers and raised funds for his army. Having formed a huge force, he marched against his father. But the queen mother secured an armistic between the two but Ananta in his heart cherished the desire to punish his ungrateful son. The hostility between the father and the son day after day. Subsequently, the Brahmans started hunger strike to bring peace but without any result.

On the other hand, Kalasa destroyed soldier of Ananta by poison, fire and sword. He even burnt down the sacred shrines of Shiva-vijayshvara which totally perished in the fire. The shrine of Shiva-vijayshvara was a tirtha of great sanctity.

The king and the queen lost everything but still they managed to repair the burnt houses and purchase new stores. Ananta invited Harsha, the son of Kalasa, whom he desired to place on the throne to live with him. This created suspicious in the mind of Kalasa.

Pro-Hindu Alliance

It was Kalasa, who sensed the incoming danger of the penetration of the muslim sultans. As such, the king took certain measures to strengthen his position. Vamana was made the Prime Minister, who confiscated religious endowments and filled up the royal treasury. Kalasa suppressed the Damaras and exiled Bijja, who had led the unruly elements in the kingdom. The king of Hazara, who had rebelled was defeated and brought into submission. The king asserted his authority in the surrounding principalities and in order to create a ring of buffer states around his kingdom, convened a royal conference in 1087 A.D. It was attended to by the Rajas of Chamba, Kangra, Lahora, Bhaderwah, Kishtwar, Hazra, Rajouri and Bandipora.

The conference was held in his capital city of Srinagar. It is significant that the king of the Darads and other chiefs of the northern territories were not invited to this assembly, because they had already accepted the muslim rule. We have earlier seen Kalhana complaining about the predominance of the Darads, the Damaras and the Divaras in the kingdom. These people had accepted Islam and according of Jonaraja were polluting pure air of the valley by the evil practices and usages. We have also seen that Kalasa organised his secret services and took much precautions about the aliens, who had penetrated into the valley and mixed with the local people. We have also seen that the muslims of Dardistan had been invited by Brahmaraja to conquer Kashmir and their expedition had failed, due to timely action by Kalasa. It is evident that the king wanted to forge a united front of the Hindu rajas against the inroads of the Muslim sultans. Probably, this was the second call of unity after that of Tricochan-pala.

Utkarsa

Utkarsa, though related to the king of Kashmir, was a foreigner to this land. He had been called from Lohare and his accession was facilitated by the greedy courtiers. Utkarsa gave bribes and presents to his followers, but the people wanted Harsha to succeed his father.

Harsha's brother Vijaymalla rose in rebellion against the king, with the help of his followers and the Damaras, who started arson and looting. The city was set on fire and the people went to the prison to save Harsha. After obtaining his freedom, the citizens garlanded Harsha and went in procession to the royal palace, Harsha ascended the throne, with the help of the

people. A revolution had taken place and the people has asserted their right of electing a king. Utkarsa was captured and imprisoned alongwith followers. He committed suicide with a pair of scissors. Thus died he, at the age of 24 years after having ruled the country for only 22 days.

Harsha

Harsha's accession to the throne marks a new era of benevolent and beneficent kingship. He had seen hardships, misfortunes and miseries. Thus, he was alive to the needs of the sufferers. Kalhana, gives a beautiful description of Harsha's mixed character. He was liberal and at the same time hard; was kind and even cruel; was famous for pious works through a sunner; a fine example of mixed character; worthy and unworthy at the same time. While praising his physical beauty, Kalhana says that Harsha was of a dark reddish complexion, his face was round, his eyes were clear and he had a bushy board. He had

broad shoulders, big arms, narrow waist and a super fine personality. His voice was clear and charming.

Court

Kalhana gives an elaborate account of the splendour of Harsha's court., which was magnificent and exhibited pomp, show and grandeur. His ministers and councilors attended the court with magnificent attire. They wore golden bracelets, chains and ornaments. His court included scholars soldiers and saints. In order to ensure speedy justice, the king had got hung big bells at his palace gate, through which the people informed him of their representations. No important change in the officialdom was made by Harsha and the old officials retained their previous jobs. The rebel leaders were set free and placed on their own posts, except Nonka and a few other, who were executed. The king rewarded his followers with gifts and appointments.



Shikams

Conspiracy

Vijaymalla, who had helped the king to secure the throne, became the chief councillor of the king. He fell prey to the advice of the wicked and entered into a conspiracy against Harsha, who was to be invited to a religious function and sacrificed there. But the king had been informed about the intrigue earlier and had taken all precautions. The followers of Vijaymalla started the offensive by attacking the royal forces, but his followers were cut to pieces. He fled away along with his wife, on a horse back to Daradistan, which was peopled by the Muslims. He was received with hospitality by the king of Gurais, who very much liked to fish in the troubled waters. Vijaymalla asked for help and the Dards were too glad to afford him all facilities. His army having been equipped by the Dards, he invaded Kashmir, at the opportune moment, when the Damaras had created confusion in the realm. An accident changed the fate of Vijaymalla who died under an avalanche, near Baltal. The Dards returned to their homes, and Harsha was saved from external invasion.

Innovations

Harsha was a man of new ideas and hence made new experiments in the realm of art and culture. He introduced new fashions, which were more elegant and dignified. The people had no hair dress and kept their hair loose, but the king introduced new hair dress for the masses. The people in general could not use rings but he allowed them this luxury. Coloured clothes formerly a monopoly of the rich were also introduced as a fashion. The practice of illuminations and fire-works came into vogue. The king introduced gold and silver coins which were more artistic than the previous ones.

People appeared in his assembly hall with waving palmleaf fans, adorned with forehead marks of sandal ointment and waving sparkling daggers. The ladies of the upper classes wore garlands of golden thread, used collyrium for beautifying their eyes, kept their breasts in jackets and looked extremely fascinating dressed in male attire.

Patronage

Harsha was a great patron of the fine arts, literature and crafts. He honoured and rewarded the learned. Himself a poet of high order, he patronised poets. He was fond of singers and kept them in his court. Himself an artist, he loved fine arts, and got constructed fine and massive buildings. Kalhana pictures to us Harsha, as an embodiment of excellent qualities. He founded many shrines and made religious endowments for the hungry, the sick and the helpless. He always gave cows, presents, and alms to the Brahmans. Under his patronage, meetings and performances were held during night, in his assembly hall, which used to be illuminated by one thousand lamps. Kalhana has preserved for us a graphic picture of such lovely night meetings. The king was liberal and gave much of his father's hoarded wealth to the people. Fond of beauty, he kept 360 maidens in his royal seraglio. The people felt happy in such found in the abundant issue of gold and silver coins during his reign.

HARSHA'S ICONOCLASTIC ACTS

Among the Hindu iconoclasts who preceded Harsha, mention may be made of Jalauka, Kalasha and others, who destroyed the Buddhist viharas and relics. The iconoclism of Harsha was not restricted to the

Buddhist viharas only but to the Shiva temples also. In the temple of Bhima Sahi, he found a treasury full of silver, gold, and jewels. He diverted his attention towards other temples which were the repositories of wealth. Ruthless spoilation of religious shrines assumed so much importance that he appointed the Turuska Muslims as captains in his army to carry out the work of temple spoilation was done by them. Harsha ordered removal of the gold and silver idols and collected heaps of such treasures. In order to defile the images of gods, he had excrements and urine poured over their faces by naked mendicants whose noses, feet and hands had rotten away. These statues were dragged with ropes and no respect was for religious feelings. Harsha desecrated one and all temples in the realm, except the Martanda shrine, in the countryside and Ranasavammin temple in the capital. Two statues of Buddha were saved with great imploration of the Buddhist. He confiscated all riches of the sacred temples for financial considerations. Even the great hue and cry in the realm did not deter him from such shameful acts and Kalhana rightly names him as Turusha Harsha and Stein has hinted about the propensity of Harsha towards Islam.

Advent of the Muslims

The king, in order to divert attention of people, invaded Rajouri and laid a seige of the fort but he met with a strong resistance. In the meanwhile, reports came about the penetrations, which the Muslims were making in the valley. Fearing that his absence from the capital would induce the Muslim sultans to a full scale invasion. Harsha put off the seige and returned. In fact the Darads had penetrated into the valley from the north, and the advent of

the Muslim in Kashmir was now a matter of time. In the meanwhile the Lavanyas, who were being persecuted by the king, fled in all directions and some of them become Muslims.

The king of the Dards had captured the fort of Dugdghat near Gurais. Harsha consulted councillors, who advised him to lay a seige of the fort at any cost so that further in roads of the Muslims could be stopped. He had no option but to save his kingdom from external dangers. He collected a large army and proceeded to punish the Dards. His army fought with valour and took a heavy toll of the enemysoldiers, but due to heavy snow, the king was forced to retreat, leaving everything near the Tragabal pass. The Dards pursued the king and destroyed a big portion of his army. Harsha saved himself with the help of the two princes namely, Uccala and his brother Sussala. He had suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of the Darads and his kingdom lay open, now to the external penetration. Harsha had fallen low in the eyes of his subjects, who desired his downfall. Another calamity was approaching and it came in the shape of a severe famine.

Jayasimha

Jayasimha ascended the throne of the kingdom of Kashmir in 1128 A. D. The general state of affairs, at the commencement of his reign had been described by Kalhana as most precarious, full of chaos and lawlessness. The whole kingdom was divided and controlled by the numberless Damaras and othr tribal chief. The feudal lords, who had appropriated big lands without any authority constituted a great source of danger to the king. Former officials, ministers and councillors were not



Kousumag Lake

loyal to the crown. They too were bent on creating mischief hatching conspiracies and formenting treason to their own advantage. Due to this unhappy state of affairs, the masses had been rendered helpless and put to immeasurable sufferings. The wars of succession had shattered the economy of the kingdom and rendered in bankrupt. Jayasimha after his accession followed a policy of pacification from the beginning. Being brave, resolute a diplomatic, Jayasimha defeated his enemies, subdued his rivals and crushed his opponents. In order to safeguard the frontiers and making his position strong, he entered into a matrimonial alliance with Somapala. His foremost enemy, Bhiksharaja, who was still alive and cherished hopes of snatching the throne, collected soldiers and wanted to take advantage of the king is weak position. At his instance, most of the Damaras rose in rebellion and he himself led the revolt. But the king over the Khasa chief with bribes, who betrayed his colleagues

and Bhiksharaja gained on honourable death while fighting bravely in the battlefield. His corpse was cremated with honours under orders of the king.

Khajlak the Turuska

Internal weakness of the kingdom, encouraged others to invade the valley. Khajlak, whom Jonaraja has mentioned as Kajjala the Turuska, entered Kashmir during the period. The king fled away towards the Lidder valley with the result that Khajlak succeeded in occupying the throne of Kashmir up to 1287 A.D. He did not consolidate his position here because his aim was to capture the throne of Delhi. After crossing the Punjab, Khajlak alongwith his generals, Sarmak, Kili and Baidu invaded the territory of Delhi which was taken governed by Sultan Muiz-ud-din Kaiquabad. Occupation of the valley by the Turks from 1259 A.D. to 1287 A.D. resulted in starting an era of anarchy in the kingdom of Kashmir. After the departure of

Khajlak, many feudal lords became claimants to the throne of Kashmir, Sangrama-Chandra who claimed to have driven out the invaders, declared that he was the real claimant to the throne. On the other hand, Simhadeva, the son of Lakshmanadeva, declared himself the King of Kashmir from his hideout in the Lidder Valley. He tried to improve the conditions prevailing in the kingdom and laid foundations of many religious institutions. But in the later part of his life, he seems to have drifted away from Hinduism. He openly spoke against gods and goddesses with the result that the Brahmans got him murdered through an intrigue, lest he openly turn a Muslim. Darya was supported by Kamasuha who was the assassin. His brother, Suhadeva ascended the throne in 1301 A.D. with the support of Ramachandra, whose daughter Kota Rani became the chief queen. Suhadeva was the ruler in name only and the real power was exercised by Ramachandra and Kota Rani. Other feudal lords were jealous of the power of Ramachandra and always tried to hatch conspiracies for his downfall.

Muslims Patronised

Jonaraja informs us that Suhadeva also extended his Patronage to the Muslims and many of them, who had come to seek employment there in Kashmir, were bestowed with important jobs in the Kingdom. Some of them were local converts but most of them had come from outside and these also included mercenary recruits. Some of them were nobles and descendants of the ruling families attained much respect and power in the kingdom. One of them was Shahmira, son of Tehahala, of the lineage of Arjuna, the hero of Mahabharata. Shahmira came to Kashmir

along with his family in about 1313 A.D. and was posted as the commandant of the castle at Andarkot. His ancestors were converts to Islam.

Gyalpo Rinchina

Gyalpo Rinchina belonged to the Balti tribe, which lived in Khar Mong. His father Bakatanya was the chief of the tribe and held sway over the area right upto Vakha in Kargil. By the time, nearly the whole population of Baltistan had adopted Islam, though they retained their Buddhist beliefs also. His father Bakatanya was murdered by his kinsmen. After his father's death, Rinchina obtained the help of Vyala and Tukka and avenged the murder of his father. But it became difficult for him to stay at his palace and as such, he set out towards Kashmir, along with his Buddhist followers. He occupied the village of Nilah in Lar under the patronage of Ramachandra. In the course of time, he became the over lord of the area and after gaining strength started raids in the mountains to extend his sway.

Tartar Invasion

The kingdom of Kashmir disintegrated due to the invasion of the Tartars in 1320 A.D. Dulcha, the commandant in the army of the king of Turkistan, entered the valley through Baramulla along with a huge army. Suhadeva tried to collect money from all, so as to buy off the invader but failed due to the opposition of the Brahmans. As such, instead of facing the enemy, he fled away towards Kishtawar leaving his household, including his queen Kota Rani, at the mercy of the invaders. His Prime Minister, Ramachandra also ran away towards the Lar along with his riches and the family. Thus the whole valley was exposed to the

invader by its ruler and it was Shahamira alone, who stood at his post and tried his best to save the kingdom.

Dulcha ransacked the valley for nine months and finally perished in a snow near the Banihal pass. Ramachandra came out of his hide-out utilising this opportunity to his own advantage and usurped the throne of his son-in-law. Rinchina and the other feudal lords, who were already jealous of Ramachandra rose in a rebellion against the usurper and stormed the royal palace. Ramachandra fled away towards Lar, but was chased and killed by the followers of Rinchina, who assumed the government in his own name and proclaimed himself as the king of Kashmir on 6th December 1320 A.D.

Rinchina Embraces Islam

By a stroke of luck once again a Buddhist had become the king of Kashmir. History had repeated itself after five centuries. Rinchina had taken advantage of the anarchy that prevailed in the valley after the Tartars had left the country. But due to their communal outlook, the Brahmans were not ready to accept the Buddhist rule, which meant a death-knell to their privileges, which they had enjoyed as the most reversed caste among the Hindus. They were not prepared for such a change and hence started intrigues against new ruler, who was in alien. Rinchina, in order to appease them, made a formal announcement of his marriage with Kota Rani. But, still the Brahmans did not feel satisfied and desired his dethronement. Jonaraja's statement about Rinchina's request for admittance to the Hindu fold is only a conjecture, for he is silent about the religion that Rinchina eventually

adopted. Rinchina was a Buddhist and he was eager to obtain the support of the Hindus, to strengthen by position as a ruler. But such a support was denied to him by the Brahmans. The Buddhists and the Muslims remained at his back. He had been brought up in an environment of toleration. He felt disgusted at the narrow attitude and conservative outlook of the Brahmans and was drawn towards Islam. He assumed the name of Sadur-ud-Din and thus became the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir.

Administration

During his reign, Ravanchandra was appointed to the post of Commander-in-Chief and Shahamira was made the Chief Minister. He tried to establish peace and order in the kingdom. For this purpose, his forces stormed the strongholds the Damaras, which had served as the chief centres of confusion and turmoil in the country in the past.

Rinchina broke their strength and they were reduced to a state of terror. He also broke the league of the unruly elements in the kingdom and gave rest to the valley, which had been weary of chaos and disorder. Jonaraja is all praise for Rinchina's sense of justice and says that he spared none, whether minister, friend or son, who interfered with justice. At the outset of his reign, Suhadeva reappeared in the valley from Lar with his forces but was defeated by Rinchina. He fled away again towards Kishtawar. There occurred a rising of some Hindu feudal lords but Rinchina succeeded in suppressing that also. Now, an abortive attempt was made on his life by the Brahmans. It was engineered by Udayandeva, the brother of Suhadevam who incited

Tukka, one of the feudal lords to kill Rinchina and seize the throne. The conspirators struck Rinchina with swords in the vicinity of Idgah in Srinagar and thinking that he was dead, ran away to the palace to announce his death. But he regained consciousness and rushed towards the palace with his followers. His assailants were caught, impaled upon stakes and their women were also killed by ripping open of their wombs.

Rinchina founded a walled quarter in Srinagar after his own name, known as Rinchinapura. He also built the first mosque in Srinagar, which is known as Raintan masheed. He also built a charity kitchen at Bulbul Lanker in memory of his religious mentor, Jonaraja, has termed the rule of Rinchina as the golden age in the history of Kashmir.

Rinchina died at the end of 1323 A.D. leading behind his son named Haider Chandra from his wife Kota Rani. Before his death he invited Shahamira to take charge of the queen and her son. Kota Rani became the ruler in the name of her son, with Shahamira as the Prime Minister.

Kota Rani

Kota Rani started her rule as a regent in the name of her son, Haider-chandra. Her first act was to invite Udayanadeva the regicide of her husband, Rinchina to the capital, who was supported by the Damaras. In order to strengthen her position, she also married Udayanadeva in utter disregard to the advice given by her Prime Minister, Shahamira. Thus she brought disgrace to the royal family by marrying the enemy of her former husband. Secondly, without caring for the claims of her son

Haider-chandra to the throne of Kashmir, she installed her third husband Udayanadeva on the throne of Kashmir, Shahamira as her Prime Minister and as guardian of Haider-chandra did not approve her acts. So in order to remove him from the capital. Shahamira was granted the region of Kamraz in perpetual proprietorship. But she could not remove him from the post of prime minister nor from his position as guardian of Haider Chandra, the crown prince. At the same time the queen, ignoring the claims of the sons of Ravana-chandra, who held the post of Commander-in-chief, appointed Bhatta Bhikshana, as her commander-in-chief and also made him guardian of her second son by Udayanadeva. The net result was that the whole kingdom was divided into two factions led by Shahamira and Bhatta Bhikshana, as guardians of her two sons by her two husbands. Jonaraja, the chronicler of the period rightly remarks that the royalty was debased when it passed from Rinchina to Udayanadeva, who took no interest in the affairs of the kingdom.

Acala Attacks Kashmir

Kota Rani had ignored the claims of the sons of her brother to the post of Commander-in-Chief. Acala, one of the sons of Ravana-chandra, who had obtained the support of the Muslims of Poonch and Rajouri, made a sudden attack on the valley.

Udayanadeva, who was a coward acted in the same manner as his brother had acted at the time of Dulcha's invasion. He fled away towards the hills leaving his queen, his child and his subjects to the mercy of the invaders. But Shahamira, at this critical juncture played a dignified

role and faithfully discharged his duties as the prime minister of the kingdom. He succeeded in enlisting the support of the people and the army. He faced the invaders in the battle ground and saved the kingdom from other catastrophe. But Kota Rani, on the other hand, offered the throne to Acala in utter disregard to the legal claims of her sons. At the same time, she invited the followers of her dead husband, Rinchina to take over administration of the valley. Shahamira on the other hand, suppressed the feudal chiefs and brought peace to the country. After the invading forces had left, the people acclaimed him as their saviour.

Shahamira

After this turmoil, Udayanadeva returned to the capital and was received warmly by her queen Kota Rani, who placed him in charge of the administration. Her decision did not find favour with the people and the Damaras, who now offered their allegiance to the Shahamira, rose in rebellion.

Shahamira, fortified himself in the fort of Chakdar and declared Haider-chandra the crown prince as the king of Kashmir. Kota Rani on the other hand ignored the claims of Haider-chandra and appropriated the kingdom of Kashmir to herself. At the same time, she promoted Bhatta Bhikshana to be her Chief Minister, to the resentment of Shahamira. Her action resulted in a turmoil in the capital, with the result majority of the ministers and the chiefs sided with Shahamira. Having been insulted and humiliated, he made up his mind to make an end of the advisors of the queen. Kota Rani deputed her Chief Minister, Bhatta Bhikshana alongwith Avatara

and other ministers to make a settlement with him, but he got them assassinated in his own castle.

The End

Her ministers dissuaded her to arrest Shahamira but she made an attempt to punish the feudal lords, who had gone to the side of Shahamira. Having failed she shifted to the castle of Andarkot, leaving the capital to the mercy of Shahamira, who occupied it with the support of the Damaras. Kota Rani lost her mental equilibrium and was arrested by Shahamira who put her in prison alongwith her two sons, the crown prince, Haider-chandra and the younger son, Jatta. A party of the Damaras tried to release her from the prison but failed. Shahamira himself became the King of Kashmir under the title of Sultan Shamsud-Din in 1339 A.D.

Jonaraja, the earliest available authority for the period says that Kota Rani passed her life as a prisoner alongwith her sons. The stories regarding her suicide are fictitious interpolations made by the Persian historians of the later periods. Similarly, the story about her marriage with Shahamira is concocted.

THE SULTANATE (1339-1586)

The Sultanate period in the history of Kashmir from the 14th century to the end of the 16th century is considered as important period in the history of Kashmir. It was period when the valley had its own rulers, who were not only great builders but also benevolent to their subjects. Most of them did much to ameliorate the condition of the people. Irrigation facilities were provided by construction of canals. Many new arts and crafts such as paper-machie,

shawl and carpet weaving, Namda-sazi, wood work, were introduced. It was during this period that Kashmir established its trade and commercial links with Central Asian Countries, the Punjab, Afghanistan and Tibet. The valley became an important post on the silk Route and its branch routes to Delhi and Lahore. During the Sultan-ud-din's reign (1354-1373) the Kashmiris subjugated Tibet and Jammu but also routed the Afghans at Peshwar and subdued Kashgar, Badakshan, Kabul and Sind. Another great ruler of this period was Sultan Zain-u-Abidin, who ushered benevolent rule for his people. Irrespective of religious considerations. He paved the way for religious toleration, long before the Mughal Emperor, Akbar. During the Sultanate period, the Kashmiris evolved a new humanistic philosophy known as the *Rishi Order*, founded by the Saint patron of Kashmiri Hazrat Nund Rishi. These Muslim Rishi played an important role as preaches of love, justice, social reforms pity and Islamic principles of peace and brotherhood. These sultans were patrons of culture. During the sultanate period, Kashmiris remained not only independent but also enjoyed the Kashmiris benefits of material prosperity and cultural advancement.

Shamir (1339-42)

The Sultan abolished extra taxes, which has been imposed on the people previously. In case of agricultural produce one-sixth of the produce was fixed revenue. The new ruler established law and order in Kashmir in order to check the power of feudal chiefs, he raised into prominence two tribes, the Magres who were Kashmiris and the Chaks who had come to Kashmir from Dardistan. The tried to give good government to the people.

Sikander (1389-1413)

On Qutb-ud-din's death his eldest son, Sikander succeeded him. Since Sikander was a minor, his mother Subhatta acted as the Regent. The queen mother and his son ruled firmly and when Sikander grew up. She married him to Shobha-Devi, when Sikander took up the reigns of the government he had to face the revolt of his prime minister Udda. Sikander however succeeded in capturing him and throwing him into prison, where is said to have committed suicide.

In 1398, Timur invaded India. Sikander in order to avert an invasion of Kashmir, sent an envoy with the rich presents to the banks of the river Indus, where Amir Timur lay encamped, offering his homage. But Timur wanted Sikander to come personally. After having sacked Delhi, Timur started his return journey. In token of his success and to inspire awe, he distributed elephants among those chiefs who has offered allegiance to him. As such Timur sent two elephants as his present to Sikander. Now Sikander set out to meet Timur but on reaching Baramula, he came to know that Timur had returned to Samarkund. An event of great significance was the arrival of Mir Syed Mohammed Hamdani, the son of great mystic Syed Ali Hamdani. He was accompanied by three hundred disciples. Sikander showed much respect for the Syed because his disciple.

Suba Bhatta who was commander-in-chief of the Sultan abjured Hinduism and became a Muslim at the hands of Mir Syed Mohammed Hamdani. This new convert adopted the name of Saif-ud-din and gave his daughter in marriage to the Syed. That Suba Bhatta had ulterior motives in changing his religion cannot be doubted, for he

aspired to capture the throne of Kashmir at a future date. In order to show that he was a staunch Muslim he inflicted atrocities on the Pandits of Kashmir. The Sultan countenanced the destructive acts of Saif-ud-din, who became the chief tool of the Sultan, in the breaking of Statues in the temples of Martand, Bijbehara, Chakdar Udar and Baramulla. At the time *Jiziya* was imposed on the Brahmins so that they could pressure their caste from pollution. But later, the Sultan at the recommendation of Simha Bhatta, abolished *Jiziya*. Sikander also ravaged and looted temple property. Before his death in 1413, he installed his son Mir Khan by his Muslim queen on the throne instead of Feroz, who was his eldest son by his Hindu queen.

Sultan Zain-Ul-Abidin (1419-70)

Shahi Khan, received the title of Zain-ul-Abidin from the outgoing Sultan, Ali Shah. Out of love the people Kashmir have and still call him Budshah or the great king. He was greatest ruler of the Sultanate period. His fame to greatness rested not on any conquests but for this benevolent behaviour, religious toleration and patronage of poets, scholars and artists. He also patronised artisans and craftsman. He introduced various crafts and arts for which Kashmir is so famous. He sent Kashmiri craftsman to Iran and Central Asia to learn the art of book binding, wood carving, papermachie and making of shawls, carpets and paper. He also invited craftsman from other countries to instruct his subjects in various arts and crafts.

The Sultan established madrasas and patronised men of letters. He himself was a scholar and a poet. He wrote two books in Persian and composed poetry. In order

to encourage research and knowledges, he established a translation bureau in which Persian works were translated into Sanskrit works into Persian. He patronised the Brahmins and the Muslims divines, alike. He got repaired those Hindu temples which were dilapidated.

The policy of religious intolerance pursued by Sikander was reversed by Zain-ul-Abidin who reduced the *jiziya* from two palas of silver to one masha. He even allowed the Pandiths who had become Muslims under duress to revert to their old religion. The Sultan participated in the festivals of the Pandith and trusted them. He ushered an era of religious toleration and appointed the Pandit Brahmins on high posts.

The Sultan took various measures to promote agriculture. He got built floating islands in which crops were grown. He got drained the marshes so as to bring large areas under cultivations. He got constructed a number of canals two of which--the Avanthipur canal and the Martand canal still exist. Owing to these measures the valley became self-sufficient in foodgrains. He got land measured and got fixed state revenue, one third of the gross produce. But in times of famine it was Shams-ud-din was succeeded by his eldest son Jamshed (1342-43). He would have proved himself to be a good ruler but his power was threatened by his ambitious brother, Ali Sher who raised the banner of revolt and occupied Srinagar. Jamshed, not finding himself strong enough, fled from the capital. Ali Sher later assumed the little of Ala-ud-din (1343-54). He was a firm and strong ruler. During his reign the Lavan-yas revolted but he showed no mercy and

crushed them. He repaired many buildings and founded the town of Alam-dinpora.

Shahab-Ud-Din (1354-73)

The new Sultan was a great conqueror. After consolidating his position at home, he set out to subdue the neighbouring chiefs of Jammu, Chamb, Punch, Rajouri, Baltistan, Ladakh and parts of north Punjab. He defeated the Afghans at Peshawar and subdued Western Tibet and then traversed some areas of Badakshah and Herat. He even defeated Sultan Feroz Shah, the King of Delhi. A treaty was signed by which the boundaries were fixed at Sirhind.

Shahab-ud-din was an able administrator but his exaction of *baj* from his subjects and the regulations that every boatman would have to serve the government for seven days a month without wages was a burden. The Sultan was very tolerant towards his Hindu subjects. He needed money for his exploits but he refused the suggestions of his Hindu Ministers to meet this exigency by breaking golden and silver statues of deities. He consolidated his kingdom on sound lines and in order to strengthen the Sultanate, organised his army on sound line for the Kashmiri soldiers, he built about one thousand barracks.

It was during his reign that Mir Syed Ali Hamdani, a great mystic of Persia came to Kashmir in 1372 with the seven hundred disciples. The mystics were well-read and cultured. The Syed settled in a cloister in Srinagar and preached the good tenants of Islam. He distributed his disciples in the Valley who had a life of virtue and piety. In this way, they influenced the local people to such an extent that many came to Mir

Syed Ali Hamdani to accept the faith of Islam. Mirra Haider succeeded in defeating the Chaks who had entered the capital city of Kashmir. Placing Nazuk Shah as a titular ruler on the throne of Kashmir, he kept administration of the kingdom in his own hands and virtually ruled for ten years. After having consolidated his position, Mirza Haider Dughlat started a policy of divide and rule. While he patronised the Sunni Muslims he ordered hunting and destruction of the Shia Muslims in the name of the purification of Islam. Their mosques and cloisters were set on fire and their habitations were destroyed. He even ordered digging of graves of their religious leaders. Some of the Kashmir nobles, having felt bewildered on the atrocities of the Mughals decided to kill Mirza Haider Dughlat. Having raised the banner of revolt against the intruder, they started attacking the Mughal soldiers, in the nook and corner of the valley. Mirza Haider chased them but was himself surrounded and in an ambush killed. Thus came to end the hated rule of Mirza Haider Dughlat in 1551.

CHAK PERIOD

With the accession of Mohammad Shah the decline of the Shah Mir dynasty became rapid until it was overthrown by the Chaks. The period was marred by conflicts between the Sayyids and Kashmiri tribal chief and between various clans. The hostility of Kashmir nobles towards the Syeds was due to the fact that they were foreign origin. They had come to Kashmir and had entered into matrimonial alliances with the royal family and had risen to high position in the State. But the Kashmiri chiefs were jealous of the Syeds and suc-

ceeded in overthrowing them. But the overthrow of the Syeds did not bring peace to the Valley, for a struggle for power was in reality between families of Chaks, Dars, Magres and Rainas. Sometime, the Magres gained ascendancy and sometime the Dars, Rainas or Chaks. Real power was exercised by the members of these clans and the rulers were mere puppets.

After the overthrow of Mirza Haider and his followers, Idi Raina exercised real authority, though Nazuk Shah continues as a tutolar Sultan. In 1552 Kashmir was invaded by the Afghans, but Idi Raina, with the help of Daulat Chak and I Hussain Magre defeated him. Raibat Khan the Afghan invader and many of his soldiers were killed. A scramble for power between Daulat Chak and Idi Raina started which resulted in the victory of Daulat Chak.

Yusuf Shah Chak (1579-86)

At the death of Ali Shah in 1579, he was succeeded by his son Yusuf, whom he had designated as his successor. But Yusuf Shah's succession was challenged by his uncle, Abdul Chak. He was defeated and killed at Nauhetta in Srinagar. However, another revolt took place which was led by Syed Mubarak who wanted to capture power. Yusuf Shah's commander, Mohammad Khan, was defeated at Idqah in Srinagar. In consequence, Yusuf Shah fled from Kashmir and Syed Mubarak declared himself Sultan in 1579. Syed Mubarak occupied the throne only for a few months. Being still considered as a foreigner, the Kashmiri nobles could not tolerate his rule. One of them Adbal Bhat invited Yusuf Shah to return to Kashmir. Yusuf Shah came, but since he received no help from

the Kashmiri nobles, he was defeated by Syed Mubarak's forces. But Addal again aroused the nobles to revolt against Mubarak's Shah and sent him an invitation to Yusuf Shah to return. Realising that opposition to him had become serious and that he would not be able to withstand it, Syed Mubarak gave up the throne. But the Kashmiri nobles instead of restoring the throne to Yusuf Shah raised Lohar Chak, the son of Shanker Chak to the throne.

Lohar Chak ruled only for a year (1579-80). Yusuf Shah proceeded to Agra in January 1580 and appealed to Akbar for help. The Mughal Emperor gave him a force under Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf Rizvi. In 1580 Yusuf Chak defeated Lohar Chak at Sopore and became ruler for the second time. Hardly had Yusuf sat on the throne than he was faced with the revolt by Haider Chak, Habib Khan and Yusuf Khan. But they were defeated and killed. It appears that the Mughals had designs on Kashmir and they tried to bring the downfall of Yusuf Shah in one way or the other. After some time, Mohammed Bat, the Wazir planned to murder the Yusuf Shah, but the conspiracy leaked up. Next a revolt was engineered through Yusuf Shah's own son Yaqub, who wen to Kistwar and Joined Haider Chak. But fortunately, the father and the son came to senses and Yusuf Shah himself proceeded to Kistwar but Haider Chak fled to Lahore, where Raja Man Singh took him under his protection and gave him Bhimber and Naushara as Jagirs. Now an opportunity had come to Akbar for the subjugation of Kashmir. In 1585, Akbar sent Hakim Ali Gilani and Baha-ud-din Kambu to Srinagar with orders that since he was near Kashmir, Yusuf Shah should go atonce to pay his respects. Yusuf Shah

was willing to proceed to Kalanpur, but he was dissuaded by his advisors. They told him that in view of the impending invasion by the Mughals the Kashmiris should strengthen the defence position on the borders. All the nobles of his court decided to face the invador with a strong determination. So after a stay of two months, Hakim Ali and Bahu-ud-din left Kashmir empty handed.

Akbar had always claimed Kashmir because it had been conquered by Mirza Haider Dughlat on behalf of Humayun. In 1560 he had sent an army to the the reconquest of Kashmir; but it had been defeated. It was not until 1585 that Akbar found himself sufficiently free to direct his attention to Kashmir. He despatched an army consisting of 50,000 soldiers. Raja Bhagwan Das to invade the valley. Haider Chak and Sheikh Yukuf Sarfi acted as guides

for the invading armies. The Mughals entered Kashmir bia Pakhli without meeting any resistance because the Kashmir had left that route undefended, expecting the enemy to follow the Bhimber route.

When the news of the Mughal invasion reached Srinagar, people came to Yusuf and urged him to offer resistance to the enemy. Ostensibly he agreed, but in the reality he had resolved to surrender. However, owing to public pressure he made arrangements to resist the further advance of the enemy. The Kashmiris met the Mughals at the pass of Bhulbas. The invading forces owing to the stiff resistance and owing to snow, rain and scarcity of supplies, failed to defeat the Kashmiris. Thereupon, Raja Bhagwan Das sent two of his agents to Yusuf with a letter stating that fresh troops would soon arrive, and it would be impossible for Yusuf to go on resisting



Kalahoi Glacier

indefaitly. As such he was advised to proceed to the Emperor's presence and submit. The Yusuf Shah held talks with the envoys the whole night and the next morning he escaped to the Mughal Camp.

This betrayal of Yusuf Shah did not break the spirit of the Kashmiris. They set up Yaqub as Sultan and decided to continue the armed struggle against the invaders. They attacked to the Mughals and killed three thousand soldiers of the enemy. In the meanwhile, Yusuf Shah concluded a treaty with the Raja. The terms were that the coins would be struck and *Khutba* recited in the name of the Emperor; that the ming, saffron cultivation, shawl manufacture and laws would be placed under the control of Mughal Officers; and Yusuf Shah would continue to be the ruler of the Kashmir.

After the conclusion of pease, Raja Bhagwan Das left along with Yusuf Shah to the camp of Akbar at Attack. But Akbar, not only violated the Treaty but also ordered imprisonment of Yusuf Shah.

The treaty which Yusuf Shah had concluded with the Mughals was denounced by Yaqub who struck coins and recited the *Khutba* in his own name. This was done with the consent of Kashmiris nobels who rallied round him. But very soon, by his own mistakes, he lost their goodwill. He appointed Ali Dar, as incompetent man, his wazir. He also become arrogant and began to ignore the nobles. Some of them headed by Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi proceeded to the court of Akbar and requested him to annex Kashmir.

As soon as Yaqub Shah heard of the Mughal invasion, he marched towards

Hirapur to repel it. He had already sent some troops in advance, but some of his commanders had gone over to Mughals. In fact, there were so many defections that Yaqub Shah got disgusted and decided to retire to Kishtwar. However, some of the Kashmiri chiefs having felt ashmed at their betrayal of Yaqub changed their mind and decided not to submit to the Mughals. So they offered resistance, and the Kashmiris lost due to defection of its commanders to the Mughals. Thus came to end the Sultanate after a period of two hundred and fifty years. Henceforth, Kashmir lost its independence and became a part of the Mughal empire.

The Mughal Period (1585-1753)

The advent of the Mughals ushered an area of peace and progress in Kashmir. They knew the art of administration and governing of the people. They held the whole of India under their sway and various communities accepted their overlordship because they gave them a good government. The valley of Kashmir, now became a part of the Indian empire. The Mughals took a great interest in the welfare of the masses. A network of the communications began as soon as a pleasure of the Mughals occupied Kashmir. They made Kashmir a summer retreat as well as a pleasure ground. Akbar, at the outset engaged the Kashmiris in construction activities such as the building of the Nagar-Nagar Fort. Simultaneously, the Mughals gardens came into existence. Trade and commerce developed and articles of merchandise began to pour in the valley. The land was measured and the land taxes and revenue was fixed. Akbar was succeeded by Jahangir in 1695, who was emancipated like his father. All of his Indian subjects

liked him: During his reign, many Mughal gardens, like Shalimar, Chisma-Shahi, Naseem Bagh and Verinag were built. He claimed that the valley of Kashmir was a paradise on earth and he made it as such by laying down many gardens. Jahangir visited Kashmir eight times. He laid many gardens and serais enroute from Lahore to Srinagar. It was during his reign that the great Jamia Masjid of Srinagar was repaired and restored to its glory. His queen, Nur Jahan built the famous Pather Masjid. Besides this, a garden was laid at Acchabal with a hammam, which exists up to the present times. During this period, three histories of Kashmir were compiled by Haider Malik Chadura, Sahib Koul and third scholar whose name is unknown, who wrote, Baharistan-i-Shahi.

During his reign, Jahangir deputed seven Governors to Kashmir. Dilawar Khan, who was in Kashmir for only three years not only subjugated Kishtwar but also laid a few gardens in Kashmir. Jahangir toured Kashmir during this period and visited the Wular Lake, Verinag Spring, Acchabal the Dal Lake and the Saffron fields of Pampore. Another Governor, Hiqad Khan, was very cruel. He hunted down the remaining Chaks and massacred them in groups. He wanted to show to Jahangir that he has totally annihilated the Chaks, he had not still surrendered.

In 1626, Jahangir again visited the valley of Kashmir. He was ailing this time and was carried to various meadows of Gulmarg, Tosa-maidan and Acchabal. This was his last visit and he had spent at least six months in Kashmir. Death overtook him on his way back towards Delhi. When he was on the death bed, he was asked if he

wanted anything, he replied that his wish was to die in Kashmir.

Shah Jahan (1628-57), who built the world famous Taj Mahal and the Red Fort, also laid many garden in Kashmir; Chishma Shahi, one of the best gardens with a spring, in Kashmir is his creation. His son, Dara Shikoh took much interest in the valley and stayed here most of the time. He was interested in intellectual and spiritual matters. He translated the Upanishad into Persian and named it, Sirri-Akbar or the Great Secret. He laid the famous garden & observatory of Pari Mahal on the banks of the Dal Lake in Kashmir. For his preceptor, Mulla Shah, he got built a mosque on the Hari Parbat. He also laid a garden at Bijbehara. The famous Nishat garden on the bank of the Dal Lake was laid out by Asif Khan, the father-in-law of the Emperor. During this period, Mulla Mohsin Fani wrote a treatise on world religions entitled, Dabistan-i-Mazahib.

During this period, five Mughal Governors ruled over Kashmir on behalf of the Mughal Emperor. Among them, Zafar Khan Ahsan (1630-1640) is remembered for his kind treatment of the Kashmiris. He abolished several taxes such as the taxes on saffron cultivation, the poll tax on sheep, cows and boatmen. He was himself a poet and patronised poets and scholars. He loved the Valley of Kashmir so much that he compiled a complete work in poetry, praising the natural scenery of the country. He was kind to people and took every effort to improve their financial resources by encouraging agriculture and handicrafts. He is credited with having laid down four gardens in and around Srinagar.

During Aurangzeb's reign (1658-1707), Kashmir suffered natural calamities in the shape of floods, famines, fires and earthquakes. Many Kashmiris perished and many fled away towards the plains of the Punjab. Aurangzeb visited Kashmir in 1663 and 3000 Kashmiris were employed as coolies and planquin bearers for the Emperor and his retinue. He got rebuilt the famous Jamia Masjid of Srinagar, which had been destroyed by fire. During his reign, a dozen Debelhdars ruled over Kashmir as Mughal Governors. They committed much atrocities on the people by imposing taxes and collected money for the Emperor and for their own persons. One of the Mughal Governors, Saif Khan introduced innovations in the form of new exactions. Muzaffar Khan and Abu Nisar-Khan, enriched themselves at the cost of people. Among the Mughal Governors, it was Fazal Khan(1698-1701) who was kind to the people of Kashmir. He remitted many cesses of former times. It was during his tenure that the Kashmiris were introduced to service under the Mughals. Two Mughal Governors, Ibrahim Khan and Ifitkhar Khan were notorious in inflicting atrocities on Shia Muslims and the Pandiths of Kashmir.

The most notable event during this period was the carriage of the sacred hair of the Prophet of Islam to the valley in 1718 by Nur-ud-din Ishbari. This sacred relic is housed in the famous mosque at Hazrat-bal, Srinagar-Kashmir.

Afghan Period (1752-1819)

It has remained a tradition with Kashmir that whenever they felt miserable about the rule of one Sultan or Raja, they invited some powerful outsider to turn out



AhraBal Waterfall

the existent ruler to be replaced by the foreigner. The same tradition was repeated this time. Mohamad Dhar and Mir Muqim Kant, personally went to Lahore and sought intervention of Ahmad Shah Durani into Kashmir. Accordingly Ahmad Shah Durani sent a strong detachment of 15,000 soldiers under Abdullah Khan to occupy Kashmir. The Afghan commander made his way to Kashmir with the help of Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu, and established the authority of the Duranis. Ahmad Shah appointed Abdullah Khan Governor of Kashmir with Sukh Jiwanwal as his *Sahibkar* or head of the Secretariat. This heralded the establishment of the Afghan rule in Kashmir.

Thus the centre of authority for Kashmir shifted from Delhi to Kabul.

Abdullah followed the policy of blood and iron in exacting money from the people. Third degree methods were employed by him to extract money from the people. In six months, he amassed a fortune of one crore of rupees. Out of this, he paid a fraction into royal treasury the rest for himself. He retired from Kashmir and settled down in Afghanistan. He entrusted the government to his deputy Khwajah Abdullah Khan who appointed Sukh Jiwan as his Diwan. The new Governor behaved no better than his predecessor. The disillusioned Kashmiris would not, however, look with *equanimity* on the continuance of the tyrannical Afghan rule. Abul Hassan Bandy an influential noble entered into a conspiracy with Sukhjiwan. The Governor and his son were assassinated and Sukhjiwan became the virtual ruler of the land.

In view of the oppressive policy of Afghans in Kashmir, Sukhjiwan was offered his allegiance to the Mughal Emperor of Delhi who granted him the title of Raja. His rule was the best for both the Hindus and the Muslims. He proved himself a highly capable and liberal ruler. He bestowed his favours upon Hindus and Muslims alike and treated the poor with great sympathy and consideration. In 1754 when crops failed in Kashmir and severe famine broke out, he acquired huge quantities of rice and other things from neighbouring territories and distributed one *lakh Khawars* of rice among the poor. To those who could afford to buy he sold the rice at cheap rates.

Sukhjiwan possessed of good qualities. He repaired all the shrines and gardens. On every month he got sacramental food cooked and distributed among the people. He bestowed favours on every visitor to the court whether he was poor or rich. Once in every week he held a poetical symposium. He was a patron of arts and letters. He engaged five best scholars to compile a history of Kashmir from the earliest times. While Kashmir was enjoying tranquillity under the benevolent rule of Sukhjiwan, the Durran succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat upon the Marathas at the third battle of Panipat. In 1762, the Durranis decided to recover Kashmir from where he had received no tribute for nine years Ahmad Shah induced Ranjit Dev of Jammu to lead an expedition into Kashmir under his personal guidance. He was given about 4,000 Afghan troops but failed. Another expedition on a larger scale was launched when the rains were over. Nuru-ud-din Bamzain was in charge of this undertaking. With the active cooperation of Ranjit Dev, the Afghan forces entered Kashmir by Tosha Maidan. Sukhjiwan came to oppose the invaders as the head of 50,000 troops. His Commander-in-chief was won over by Ranjit Dev. Sukhjiwan was captured. He was blinded and sent to Lahore, where he was trampled down to death by horses.

After putting down the turbulent elements in Kashmir Nuru-ud-din returned to Kabul leaving the administration in the hands of Buland Khan Bamzai. During Buland Khan's regime (1763-65), Shia-Sunni riots occurred in which Shia suffered much. In the next five years six Governors followed one another in quick succession. Amir Khan Jawansher built a number of bridges

and buildings. He was succeeded by Karimdad Khan who ruled with an iron hand. His soul was to collect money from every Kashmiri. Azad Khan and Madad Khan surpassed Karimdad Khan in committing atrocities upon the people. A number of his successors who enjoyed this office for short periods acted almost similarly. Mir Hazar Khan in 1793 treated Pandits and Shias harshly. Some of the Pandiths leaders were sown in gunny bags and thrown into the Dal Lake to be drowned. Ata Mohammed Khan Alkozai declared his independence as the sons of Ahamd Shah Durrani were engaged in an internecine war. As Ata Muhammed Khan of Kashmir was not paying any tribute to Kabul, Fateh Khan, Wazir of Afghanistan, was anxious to expel Ata Muhammad Khan and seize Kashmir for himself. But he did not consider himself strong enough to achieve this object. Consequently he made a pact with Ranjit Singh who agreed to contribute 12,000 soldiers for the conquest of Kashmir. In return the Maharaja was to be one third of the plunder of the valley estimated at one crore and twenty lakh in total, one third of the jewellery and one third of its territory. The combined armies advanced upon Kashmir in 1813. The Sikh troops were in command of Diwan Mohkamchand. Kashmir was seized. Ata Muhammed fled away. Fateh Khan showed no willingness to part with one third of the promised cash, jewellery and territory.

After the explosion of Ata Muhammed Khan, Fateh Mohd. Khan appointed Muhammad Azim Khan, Governor of Kashmir. In 1814 Ranjit Singh made an attempt to conquer Kashmir, but failed. Soon after however, Azim Khan's repressive measures resulted in a sharp fall in

revenues. In order to set the administration he entrusted the collection of revenue to Birbal Dhar, Mirza Pandit Dhar and Sudh Ram Safaya, as fate would have it there was a failure of crops and Birbal Dhar's collections fell short by a lakh of rupees. Birbal Dhar, therefore fled to Lahore to seek the help of Ranjit Singh in throwing off the Afghan yoke. Muhammad Azim Khan had retired to Kabul with the treasure and the best contingent of troops. Ranjit Singh's best general, Mizzar Diwan Chan, led a strong force through the passes into Kashmir, Jabbar Khan, put forth through resistance. But he was overpowered and Kashmir became a part of the Sikh dominions on 1819. The chapter of Afghan rule in came to an end for good.

Sikh Period (1819-46)

The defeat of Jabbar Khan's forces at the hands of Sikh army in 1819 marks end of an epoch and beginning of the Sikh period. In Kashmir Maharaja Ranjit Singh had consolidated his kingdom in the Punjab. In order to secure his boundaries for the north he wished to conquer the valley of Kashmir. During the period, it was ruled over by the Afghan Governors of Kabul. The Afghan rule was very unpopular with the Kashmir. The Afghans specially were very harsh to the Kashmiri Pandits. Jabbar Khan who was placed in charge of administration in Kashmir ruthlessly persecuted the Pandits. As such the Pandits waited for an appointment to make an end of the Afghan Rule in the Kashmir. The Sikh Kingdom had established itself on solid and firm ground. As such Bir Dhar, one of the Pandit nobles decided to approach Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Keeping his wife and daughter-in-law under the custody of one Qudus Gujwari, he fled to the Punjab.

He invited the Maharaja to drive away the Afghan rulers. Ranjit Singh has failed in his two attempts to capture Kashmir. In 1819 the Sikh entered the Kashmir under leadership of Misra Dewan Chand and Phula Singh Nihang. As has been the practice with the victorious forces, some miscreants indulged themselves in loot, arson and killings of Kashmir Muslims. However to restore the conditions to normalcy, and to handle the administration of the Valley, Dewan Moti Ram was appointed Governor and Birbal Dhar as the Agent for collection of the revenue fixed at 53 lakhs of rupees. Octroi and other cesses were formed to Jawahir Mal for 10 lakhs.

First in the rank of Governors of Kashmir under the State, Diwan Moti Ram could not come upto the expectation of the Maharaja. He failed to make the Kashmiris reconcile with the new order. Cholera broke out and it took a heavy toll of life exposing the people to miseries. This resulted in poor collection of revenue and thereafter he was recalled to Lahore and Hari Singh Nalwa was appointed in his place. He found masses in disappointment and revenue of the State in arrears. As his position demanded, he occupied himself effectively to collect revenue. He found the State poor in the uniformity of currency, which had adverse effect on trade and transactions. He, therefore, introduced a new currency known as "Hari Singhi Rupaya". He introduced social and economic reforms, abolished the system of begar and directed his attention to the development of agriculture, rehabilitation of shawl and papier-machie industries and extension of saffron cultivation. He advanced loans in cash and kind to shawl weavers and ordered reduction in the land revenue. He

introduced standardised weights and measures, which facilitated the local and inter-provincial commerce and exchange and gave a fillip to economy. Even during this period there were currents and cross currents of different factions which disturbed the calm surface of administration.

Hari Singh Nalwa was recalled at Lahore and Dewan Moti Ram was given a second term of governorship of Kashmir. Having incurred the displeasure of the Maharaja he was dismissed as Governor and was succeeded by Dewan Chuni Laib. He could not pull on with Gurmukh Singh, the Chief Collector of Revenue. As a result of this there was a drop in the revenue and administrative disorder. This caused his recall. He was succeeded by Dewan Kripa Ram and Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-din was appointed to assist him. The Diwan took least interest in it and instead entrusted the administration to the Sheikh and engaged himself in pastimes and enjoyments.

Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-din took some effective measures for public welfare. To ensure security of tenure to the agriculturists, he introduced a revised system of farming. He encouraged shawl weavers also and afforded them opportunities of progress. When Kashmiris were carving out ways for their betterment, they were caught in a catastrophe in the shape of terrible earth shocks followed by cholera. This natural calamity took a heavy toll of life and shattered the economy of Kashmir.

These man-made and natural calamities resulted in poor collection of revenue and worsening the conditions of the population. Diwan Kripa Ram was immediately recalled at Lahore, and as a stop gap

measure the administration was handed over to Behman Singh Ardali, during whose period people had to suffer once again from famine. He was succeeded by Kanwar Sher Singh.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh appointed Sher Singh, his reputed son, as Governor of Kashmir with a view that he would sincerely carry out his instructions so far as public welfare was concerned. With his negligence, the people were left to their lot. They also became victims to great famine due to untimely heavy snowfall and perished in great numbers. Sher Singh was removed from Governorship of Kashmir. This time, the Maharaja appointed Mehan Singh as Governor of Kashmir.

The new Governor tried to give peace and tranquility to the people. When he came to Srinagar, he found signs of distress, caused by famine. He took immediate steps to bring life to normalcy. He imported the system of land ownership, tenure and assessment and got it recorded on spot. Finally, all aspect of rural and urban wealth were recorded in a manual known as *Dasturual Amal*. He rehabilitated shawl industry which had previously received a get set-back.

The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 left the Sikh kingdom in shackles and bloody dramas polluted the political atmosphere of the Punjab. The confusion that siezed the Punjab affected Kashmir also. The Sikh army in Kashmir found an opportunity to claim their arrears. Mehan Singh failed to handle the problem diplomatically and afforded an opportunity to the Sikh soldiers to hatch a conspiracy against him. They murdered him in cold blood with an idea to install anyone of

their brothelhood as Governor. The people suffered heavily during this period at the hands of rebellions Sikh army.

Maharaja Sher Singh, the ruler of the Punjab at that time, deputed Gulab Singh with a strong force to quell the army. The mutinous army was defeated and the governorship was, this time entrusted to Shaikh Gh. Mohi-ud-din.

Well acquainted with the Kashmiris Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-din based his governorship on the secular lines in order to win the public in general. Kashmir would have maintained the progress under the enlightened governorship of Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-din but for instability of the Lahore Court and the British intervention in the frontier. As the chances became bleak and his death changed the politics, throwing Kashmir into confusion.

Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-din was succeeded by his son Sheikh Imam-ud-din as Governor of Kashmir. A man with good intelligence and education would have proved a successful but the turmoil in the politics of Lahore, prevented him from effecting healthy changes in his administration.

The Sikh army had become turbulent and as such a problem for the Sikh kingdom. The British activities also alarmed the ruling junta, headed by Rani Jhinda, the mother of the child Dilip Singh. The army was ordered to march against the British forces based on the Sutluj. The defeat of the Sikhs by the British resulted in the sale of Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh. But the forces in Kashmir did not surrender to the Dogra army and the Maharaja had to seek the British assistance. The news

of the British army harassed the Governor whose *jagirs* in the Jullander and Doab were confiscated. This compelled him to leave Kashmir for good. And Gulab Singh became the Maharaja in 1847, thus making thereby an end of Sikh rule in Kashmir.

Dogra Period (1847-1951)

Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu who was feudatory to the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore wanted to cultivate friendship with the British, for he foresaw in their rising power sure chances of his own exaltation. He wanted to extend his principality and enhance his prestige by becoming an independent sovereign himself. The British on the other hand had their own aims and objects. By establishing a friendly power in the rear of the Sikhs, they wanted to weaken them and annex their territories. There is ample evidence to prove that the Raja was in league with the British long before the sale of Kashmir to him in 1846. The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 and subsequent weakness of the Lahore semented the bond of friendship between Raja Gulab Singh the British because in it, both foresaw their own gains. The Raja became a strong ally of the British. During the Anglo-Sikh conflict, he declined to interfere on the pretext of remaining neutral and after some time took side of the British when Sir Henry Lawrence negotiated a bargain with him.

Through the Treaty of Amritsar 1846, the East India Company made over to Raja Gulab Singh in his independent possession "all the hilly and mountainous country with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi", for an amount of Rupees

seventy five lakh. Thus Kashmir became a part of the modern State of Jammu and Kashmir in 1846 A.D. under Maharaja Gulab Singh.

The above shows that the sale of Kashmir was a shadowy deal, conducted by the British. It was simply a political gift and for political reasons. The British desired to curb the revolting spirit of the hilly chiefs, as well as retard any aggression from the 'Chinese-Gurkhas and Afghans' and this could easily be done by keeping their tested and trusted ally in the north of India. The British did every thing to settle the affairs for Gulab Singh, so that he could govern in peace. But they had to face difficulties in the hilly area, where the uprising was in full swing. The tribesmen of Hazara had risen against the Dogra ruler. Gulab deputed Dewan Hari Chand, with a large army to suppress them but failed. Under such conditions Gulab Singh felt that he could not indulge in such costly wars with the tribesmen. He requested the British Government to take over Hazara, which was agreed to by the Governor General, who favoured him with the territories of Kathua and Suchetgarh instead of Hazra. Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, was formed the State of Jammu and Kashmir, under the protection of the British Government. The Treaty of Amritsar did not mention anything about the internal administration of the State and the Maharaja was left to do whatever he liked.

The first batch of the British officers, who had come to establish Gulab Singh as the de-facto ruler of Kashmir, tried to set-right the administrative machinery, which had fallen into pieces during the turmoil. Important measures were taken by these

officers with regard to the control of prices, grant of rations to the citizens and fixation of pay for the officials. Side by side survey parties were deputed for delimitation of the boundaries and collect intelligence reports.

Gulab Singh had only two aims in life and these were "zamin and zar". By his loyalty to the British, he had obtained the regions of Jammu, Kashmir, Baltistan & Ladakh. He was not satisfied with it. As such at the outset of his reign, he confiscated all unregistered *jagirs* and declared that all land in his subjugated territories of Kashmir and frontier *illaqas* belonged to him and the owners or the tillers of land were simply tenants-at-will. This is one of the instances of the differential treatment that the Kashmiris received under the Dogra rule. This was the first time in its history that the Kashmiris as well as the people of frontier *illaqas* lost ownership of their own lands. It was left to Maharaja Hari Singh (1925-1947) to grant proprietary rights to the owners of land. In order to do work on behalf of the Government, he fixed a number of men in each village to do *begar* or forced labour on the back and call of the officers. Young and old were dragged like slaves out of their huts and against their will to carry loads for the officials and the Government. These unfortunate people, who were dragged from their homes and families to 'trudge' for months perished of hunger and thirst on the road side of died of cold on the snowy passes. The next step, which the Maharaja took was to fall upon the savings of artisan especially the shawl weavers. He imposed heavy taxes on this industry and imposed other duties such as a poll tax of Rs. 47.00 per annum on each shawl weaver; and in order to ensure a

constant flow of income, he did not allow workers, whether half blind or full blind to leave his loom, without a substitute. He also charged an *advoleram* duty of 25 per cent of the cost. In face of such oppression, the workers started fleeing from the valley. Gulab Singh imposed tax on every shop at Rs. 12/- per annum and Rs. 60/- per annum for new shops. Accordingly the owners of the shawl factories as well as workers were greatly agitated and made the following demands in June 1847.

- a. The various kinds of taxes, such as Baj, Nazarana etc. be reduced;
- b. the wages of the labour be fixed;
- c. the Government should establish a rule of law in respect of this industry and codify it.

On 12th June, 1847 they presented their grievances before Taylor and he got annoyed. The workmen struck work and set out for migration to the Punjab in large numbers. The Maharaja, who was bent upon making his power felt suppressed their uprising with an iron hand. As 4,000 workers had set out for migration outside the State, the Maharaja got alarmed and announced new strict rules for the workers. Out of fear, the residents of a few villages fled away towards the hills. On the whole the people starved and it aroused misgivings in the minds of the British Government about the internal administration of Gulab Singh and Lord Hardinge asked the Maharaja in 1848 to effect necessary improvements in his administration.

It has been mentioned earlier that the Maharaja declared himself as the owner of all lands, forests and mountains and did

not allow proprietary rights to the owners. The land was held by his subjects in the capacity of the tenants, for which they were required to pay land revenue to him. As such the Maharaja attached great importance to the land revenue which was the major and the main sources of income to him. Land revenue was fixed and collected by the Zaildars of villages, for which they were paid by a cess of 1 ½ percent of gross produce of the land. During the governorship of the Shaikh Iman-ud-din, the total revenue of Kashmir amounted to Rs. 33,92,000.00 but during the first year of the rule of Gulab Singh, it was to Rs. 84,30,000.00, nearly three times more than the previous figure. This would show the zeal, with which extortion of money was practised in the early period of the Dogra rule. Numerous other taxes, were to be paid by the masses. Even the sale proceeds of houses were taxed at an exorbitant rate of 50 per cent. Strongly enough, the office of the grave digger was also taxed. Without going into details, it may be said that every thing save air and water was taxed by the Maharaja.

Ranbir Singh (1857-85)

Gulab Singh died at Srinagar in August 1857. He was succeeded by his only surviving son, Ranbir Singh. The new Maharaja was popular with his people and was also zealous for reform. But he was handicapped by the lack of his father's strength of will and non availability of honest and capable officials. From the outset he thought about the extension of his territories. He could not proceed towards the south, for it would bring him in clash with the British, who had extended their sway right upto Peshawar. He had no option but to look towards the north and fish in the

troubled waters of the Central Asian Khanates. The first thing he did was to train a batch of persons, who could go to the Central Asian countries. For this purpose he established the Russian Language School, at Srinagar, the first of its kind in India, where Russian and other languages were taught. The students had to learn and write the Russian language. He sent his agents into Central Asian Khanates, who could report to him about the events prevailing there.

It is clear that the British Government were not idle spectators of the affairs prevalent in Central Asia and it had employed its agents to work in that vast region. It was in 1872 that Haji Tora reached Srinagar as the first envoy of Yaqub Khan, the Amir of Kashgar and Yarkand. The Maharaja directed him to the viceroy for, political discussions. This event excited the British and they began to cast doubts on the future designs of the Maharaja. They put a stop to the 'leap forward policy' of Ranbir Singh. He was told to behave as a ruler of the native State, subordinate to the paramount power, existence whereof depended on the will and pleasure of the Governor General.

The reign of Ranbir Singh is also noted for a great military activity and developments in his relations with the British Government of India which profoundly influenced the subsequent history of Kashmir.

After making ample preparations, and equipping his army with arms, ammunition and provisions, Ranbir Singh deputed a huge force for the conquest of Gilgit. By 1860 Gohar Aman had died and there was

no able leader to combine the strength of the tribal Chieftains against the invader. The Dogra forces under Col. Devi Singh had no difficulty in capturing the fort of Gilgit. Using it as a base, he proceeded to Yasin and carved out a buffer State of Ponial, between Gilgit and Yasin and nominated Isa Bhadar as its ruler. Thus a faithful feudatory was planted right within the tribal territory of Dardistan. This policy proved fruitful for the Maharaja. The whole of Dardistan lay divided at the mercy of the Dogras. The Maharaja sent several expeditions against the frontier tribes on the north-west. As a result of these, varying degree of control came to be established over Ghilas, Ponial, Yasin, Darel, Hunza and Nagar by the end of 1870. Gilgit was finally reduced in 1860.

Russia seized Panjdeh, an Afghan outpost in 1884 and fear as well as mistrust of the Russian manoeuvres across the Pamirs continued to disturb the British. While the Maharaja wanted to keep the valley of Kashmir detached from the rest of the country, the British Government also wanted to connect it. As Kashmir had acquired an importance in the context of Anglo-Russian Rivalry, the question of developing road communications, attracted the first attention of the British. It was necessary to have roads to fortify the military position on the frontiers, as well as resist, if necessary an attack from Russia. In 1877, therefore, an agreement was reached with Ranbir Singh for the establishment of a Political Agency at Gilgit. It is evident that the British were eager to have a net work of communications on the north western frontiers of India. It was hoped that these routes ultimately, would lead them to Central Asia.

In order to encourage trade and industry, the system of taxation was over-hauled and means of transport and communication was improved. Thus, while tax on shawl manufacturers was reduced, a number of imposts were altogether abolished. Postal arrangements were made more efficient. Formerly all the postal charges were made only in cash on the spot. Now postage stamps began to be used. The number of stages between Jammu and Srinagar were considerably increased. It enabled the runners to take the letters from one end to the other in only 25 to 30 hours. Postal services between Srinagar and Muree were also now introduced and letters were delivered within 72 hours.

The British, not only improved transport but other means of communications also. Telegraph lines were laid down between Rawalpindi and Srinagar. The line was extended from Srinagar to Dras in 1882 and from Srinagar to Gilgit in 1883. Side by side, postal system was improved in the territories of the Maharaja. After Gilgit, was finally subjugated in 1860, it was decided to connect it to Srinagar by a telegraph line. But during the reign of Ranbir Singh, the line could be laid only between Bandipur and Guraz. Telegraphic links were established between Srinagar and Jammu as well. Many old bridges were repaired and some new ones were also built over the Jhelum in Srinagar, Baramulla and Anantnag. By building of the Kohala Bridge in 1870, the postal mail service started to run between Srinagar and Rawalpindi and trade between Central Asia and the British India was carried on through the State territory. But the imposition of heavy transit duties by the Maharaja's Government greatly hampered it. In 1863

Ranbir Singh agreed to reduce these duties. In order to ensure effective supervision over the Central Asian Trade, the Governor General sanctioned Rules regarding import of the British products into Central Asia, via Kashmir. It was notified that no custom levy will be imposed on merchandise imported into Kashmir and Central Asia from the British India and all products, henceforth, shall be sealed at Calcutta, Bombay and Amritsar. These Rules were notified in the *Gazettee of India* dated 6th July, 1874.

Trigonometrical survey of the State, which had been commenced in the reign of Gulab Singh, was now brought to a completion and map of the Valley and surrounding mountains was prepared. The work of survey and determination of the boundaries was completed. The survey parties were followed by fraud and religious misions in Kashmir. The influx of the British were continued till 1852 when Major Megregor was for the first time formally appointed to stay at Srinagar and look after the foreign visitors. The Maharaja protested but in vain.

The Maharaja divided the Valley of Kashmir into six *Wazarts*, Sharih-i-Khas, Anantnag, Shopian, Pattan, Kamraj, and Muzaffarabad. In order to streamline collection of taxes on land an attempt was made to assess the land revenue at a fixed rate. Now staples were introduced into the country and money was freely spent on sericulture, hops, vines and presses.

Ranbir Singh was a patron of arts and letters. He established a big library at Jammu and a translation bureau for translation of Persian, Sanskrit and Hindi manuscripts.

For the physical and moral uplift of the people, a number of medical dispensaries and schools were opened. He tried his best to popularise the new alphabet for Dogri.

Ranbir Singh introduced many reforms in administration. The administrative set up was reorganised into three departments; Daftar Diwani, Dafter Nizamat and Dafter Jongi and the Military Department. Each department was put incharge of minister. They functioned under his direct control and were responsible to him alone. Amongst Ranbir Singh's achievements the most notable was the introduction of a uniform legal system in the state and the establishment of regular courts to administer justice. He got a penal code, *Ranbir Dandh Bidhi* based on the Indian Penal Code, promulgated in Jammu and Kashmir State. Law regarding criminal procedure and civil procedure was codified and consolidated. The Maharaja however, continued to be the final arbiter of justice. "Justice was inexpensive and it required only half a rupee worth of stamp to have a case heard by the Maharaja. He would examine and sharply examine the witnesses and often refers the matter to a magistrate for investigation". Indeed the administrative structure was still indiginous and continued to broadly based on the personal rule of the Maharaja.

The closing years of Ranbir Singh's reign were darkened by the ravages of the great famine of 1877-79. In 1877 rain fell so heavily for three months that the crops were completely ruined. A number of villages were devastated and trade came to a standstill. The Maharaja tried to alleviate the sufferings of the people, but his efforts were greatly thwarted by his unscrupulous officials. The loss of human life was,

therefore, enormous. To prevent the rigour of famines in future, Ranbir Singh started the construction of a cart road to connect Srinagar with Rawalpindi. At the same time considerable attention was given to digging of canals for irrigation.

Pratap Singh (1885-1925)

Ranbir Singh passed away on September, 12, 1885 and was succeeded by Pratap Singh, the eldest of the three sons.

From the beginning of his rule, Pratap Singh felt suspicious that some intrigue was going on against him. As such, he looked towards the British for support, but as we will see later, it did not come from them. Rather he was forced to abdicate through an intrigue sponsored by the British Resident in which his brother, Amar Singh, played the part of an arch traitor. The Maharaja was told that he had a difficult task before him and as such he should consult the Agent of the Viceroy, "at all times and be guided by his advice", in carrying the views of the Viceroy in execution. It clearly meant that the Maharaja had to carry out the orders of the British Resident in Kashmir, who had to watch even beyond the northern frontiers of India.

Only about three years and a half after his accession, Pratap Singh's powers were transferred, under the orders of the Government of India, to a State Council. The latter was presided over till 1891 by the Maharaja's youngest brother, Raja Amar Singh, and thereafter by Pratap Singh himself. In 1905, however this Council was abolished and the Maharaja was partially restored. During the period from 1889 to 1905 the over-all control of the State administration remained in the hands of the

British Resident.

The British Resident started reorganisation of civil administration in 1895 and reorganised all departments by 1903. The Resident put British officers in charge of important Departments and most of them worked very hard. One of them was Walter Lawrence, who carried land settlement and revenue assessment in the valley. In Kashmir, the land was regarded as the absolute property of the Maharaja and every year allotments were made to the cultivators. In 1859, the country was parcelled out among *Rardars*, who were land agents of the Maharaja, with every large powers to collect largest amount of grains for him. A *Rardar* was assisted by a *shakdar*, who kept watch and ward of the crops. Then there used to be *Szawal* who was the inspecting agency for many villages. When the harvest time came, the Platoons of soldiers, known as *Nizamiat Palton* were sent to each and every village and exort more and more produce from the cultivators. Of almost proportion, and his numerous agents and officers took the rest. For the first time permanent hereditary occupancy rights were bestowed, on those who agreed to pay the assessment fixed and entered in his or her name. But this right of occupancy was alienable either by sale or mortgage. This meant that a cultivator was not the owner or the proprietor of his field.

The new assessment provided payment of land revenue partly in cash and partly in kind. *Futther* begar or forced labour and many officials or unofficial exactions known as *rasoom* were abolished. At that time, fruit trees, brickbark voilets, hides, silk, saffron, hemp, tobacco, waternuts and paper were treated as State monopolies

and farmed out to the Pandits. The right to legalise marriage was farmed out and the office of the grave dagger was also taxed. Prostitutes were taxed, and everything, save air and water was brought under taxation. The new settlement brought an end of all this inhuman taxation. Settlement operation were conducted in Baltistan and Ladakh during 1901 and 1904.

The land settlement give much needed security to the cultivators and became responsible for their increasing prosperity. The revenue of the State also increased by more than 100 per cent. Begar abolished officially by State Council in 1891. Under the able guidance of the Resident, progress was achieved in all directions. A meteorological observatory was established at Srinagar in 1890 and rains gauge were established in all principal stations in the State. Within a span of five years, meteorological observatories and rain gauge station were established at Jammu, Ramban, Kishtawar, Punch, Domel Skardu, Gilgit, Leh, Kargil, Dras, Anantnag and Banihal.

During the reign of Pratap Singh, Kashmir was greatly transformed. And no other factor contributed so much towards this end as the improvements effected in the means of transport and communication. The first major step was taken in 1890 when the Jhelum Valley Cart Road, from Kohala to Baramulla was completed. It was later extended to Srinagar in 1897. In 1922 another great highway, the Banihal Cart Road, was thrown open to the Public traffic. It connected Srinagar, the summer capital, with Jammu, the winter capital of the State. Besides these, many feeder roads in the Valley and those connecting Srinagar with Gilgit and Leh were also completed.

It was in the field of education that the British left an important impact. They established the first English School in the State which followed the university syllabus. The same pattern was copied by the schools, which were established by the State under the directions of the Resident. English was introduced in the State Schools in 1886. But the growth of the education was very slow. "Out of a population of 52,576 Hindus only 1,327 are receiving State instruction, while out of a population 7,57,433, Muhamedans, only 233 obtains any benefit from the State Schools. These figures also show that though the Hindu form less than 7 per cent of the population, they obtain maximum benefit of the education bestowed by the state." This was the state of affairs in 1891, and accordingly the scheme of studies prescribed for the school was improved and village schools were established.

However, the people of Kashmir had also to pass through some very trying times during the early years of Pratap Singh's rule. The cholera epidemics of 1888, 1892, 1902, 1906 and 1910 took a heavy toll of life. The great floods of 1893 and 1903, and the fires of 1892 and 1899 also caused considerable loss. The people suffered heavily due to floods and fires of 1892 and 1899. A great number of people died of starvation combined with the hoarding of foodgrains resorted to by the local traders during the First World War period of 1914-18 led to an acute food shortage. As a result, the price of unhusked rice, and the staple food of the people of Kashmir, rose from Rs. 3 per *Khutwar* (192 lbs) in 1916 to Rs. 24 in 1921. Various measures initiated by the State Government to deal with the situation ended in a failure. Ultimately, it was decided to

collect a part of the land revenue in kind and to distribute the rice thus collected to the inhabitants of Srinagar at cheap rates. Thus came into existence the Food Control Department of the State.

Hari Singh (1925-47)

Pratap Singh left no issue of his own when he died on September, 1925. Hence he was succeeded by his nephew, Hari Singh, son of Raja Amar Singh.

The campaign of progress first launched by Ranbir Singh and then systematically pursued under Pratap Singh was carried further by the reformatory spirits of the new Maharaja. In less than six years, laws were passed which over-hauled almost every department of the State. Hari Singh initiated a vigorous policy of reforms. Right on the occasion of his *Raj-Filak*, he announced grant of various rights and concessions to his subjects. Immediately after, reforms were introduced in the revenue administration of the state. A constitution was promulgated in March, 1927 under which the civil administration was entrusted to a Council of 6 Ministers. The Maharaja presided over the Council. A special committee was appointed to recommend reforms in the financial administration, organisation of various departments and recruitment to State services. An Anti-Corruption Enquiry in Government Offices recommended ways and means to eradicate it. In March, 1928, Hari Singh appointed a High Court of Judicature for the first time in the State.

Simultaneously the public opinion was gradually getting organised in the State and movements for greater economic opportunity and security, political liberty

and social justice were gathering support. Both the Kashmiris and the Dogras of Jammu clamoured for more representation in Services. As the State Administration was in the hands of outsiders, the Maharaja promulgated the State Subjects Act, so that the interests of the local people could be safeguarded against outsiders.

As the Muslims of Kashmir had taken to the western education very late, the definition of the hereditary State Subject brought little good to them. Forming an over-whelming majority, they still lagged behind other communities in regard to their representation in the State services. In 1929, therefore, some prominent members of their community approached the Government to reserve a number of posts for the Muslim. The Government, however, refused to admit their places. The resultant discontentment ultimately led in July, 1931 to a mess upsurge of people. Subsequently anti-Government agitations also took place at various places in Kashmir and Jammu. Many Kashmir Muslims were jailed and turned out of the State. A few dozen Muslims died due to military and Police firings. It was at this juncture that Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, emerged as a leader of the masses and continued to influence their destiny. During next 50 years or more, in spite of his best efforts the Maharaja could not stem the tide of seething unrest. The All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference as a Muslim organisation which sought to uphold and protect the rights of Muslims in the State, played a leading role in the agitation. The agitation however, created a deep impression on the Maharaja. After a short span of repression, the Maharaja swung back to a more rational and positive attitude. The State Government appointed,

in November 1931, a Commission, presided over by Glancy, an officer of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, to enquire into the grievances of the Muslims and other communities also. While the Glancy Commission were in progress, a Constitutional Reforms Conference was convened by the Government to examine the issue of further constitutional reforms. The Glancy Commission recommended a "fair and adequate representation in services to all the communities, grant of freedom of press and platform, return of the confiscated Muslim religious sites and Mosques and establishment of a representative Assembly. The Maharaja readily accepted these recommendations. But this failed to satisfy the majority community. Now they decided to continue their struggle for the achievement of their rights in a more organised manner, for achieving other civil and political rights.

In accordance with the recommendations of the Constitutional Reforms Conference and the Franchise Commissions the Jammu and Kashmir Regulation No.1 of 1934 was passed by the Maharaja. The Act provided for the establishment of an Assembly, to be called, the "Jammu and Kashmir Praja Sabha." The Assembly was to consist of 75 members of whom 33 were to be elected. Franchise carried high qualifications and only 6 per cent of the people became entitled to vote. The Sabha was empowered to ask questions, introduce resolutions and legislate on such matters only as were specified for its purview. Power to legislate with regard to the rest was reserved by Hari Singh for himself. The Sabha was also empowered to discuss the State budget but was vested with no

powers to spend any portion of the revenues. The Praja Sabha which had only recommendatory powers, originally consisted of 75 members - 12 Government officials, 16 State Councillors, 14 nominated and 33 elected members. The last named category included 21 Muslims, 10 Hindus and 2 Sikhs. At least, the Maharaja had agreed to grant partial representation to all communities in the State. But, still he retained all law making powers with himself. The Maharaja promulgated the constitution Act of 1939. Under the provisions of the Act, the executive authority continued to be rested in the Maharaja. In civil administration he was to be assisted by a Council of Ministers. The Prime Minister was to be the President of the Council. The Council was to hold office during the pleasure of the Maharaja and was responsible to him alone. The Council was empowered to promulgate orders and ordinances in case of emergencies and when immediate legislation was necessary.

It goes to the credit of Hari Singh to introduce many schemes of public welfare and utility. During his reign, special stress was, however, laid on the measures to protect the agriculturists. Thus, under the Agriculturists Relief Act, a debtor could bring his creditors to a court of law for settlement of accounts. This freed the peasants from the rapacity of the money lenders. The Land Alienation Act forbade the transfer of agricultural land to the non-agriculturists. The agriculturists also acquired the proprietary rights and exemption from the payment of such dues as *Nazrana* and *Malikana*. If they wished to effect improvements in their lands, they could get from the Government loans on easy terms. The village communities who had no villages

commons were allowed to occupy the *Khalsa* land equal to their holdings. The term of the land settlement was extended to forty years. Begar of forced labour was completely abolished.

The Maharaja accepted all the recommendations of the Glancy Commission and issued order for their implementation. But most of his good their intentions were sabotaged by the Pandit Community, which controlled all departments of the Government.

In March 1946 the British Government sent to India the Cabinet Mission which proposed a Federal Union of India. In May the same year the National Conference launched on the pattern of Quit India movement of 1942 a Quit Kashmir movement against Maharaja Hari Singh. The State Government tried to suppress it and arrested all political leaders.

By now the British had made up their mind to Quit India. They announced on June 3, 1947 the Mountbatten Plan which envisaged the partitioning of the country into two Dominions of India and Pakistan. The Indian States were allowed to accede to any of the two Dominions. The Maharaja was thus faced with another problem; he was required to decide whether he should join India or Pakistan. But he could not come to any decision. To help him in the matter, Mountbatten, the last British Viceroy to India, flew to Srinagar on June 19, 1947. Still the Maharaja remained undecided. On August, however, he tried to enter into a "stand-still agreement" with both India and Pakistan. While the former hesitated, the latter accepted this arrangement two days latter. In the meantime, the

actual partition of India took place on the night of August 14-15, creating two countries of Pakistan and India.

It seemed that Hari Singh had succeeded in gaining time to come to a final decision on the question of accession. Kashmir was passing through a crises. In September 1947 the State came under an economic blockade when Pakistan suspended supplies of all the essential commodities to the valley. On the 28th October, 1947 at the instance of Pakistan, a large number of tribesmen equipped with modern weapons began invading Kashmir from the side of Muzaffarabad. This compelled Hari Singh to join the Indian Union and ask for India to render immediate military aid. The next day a bath of the Indian forces was flown to Srinagar. By now the invaders had already reached Baramulla, the Indian forces fought a successful battle with the tribesmen within five miles of Srinagar. And by the end of March 1948, the latter were pushed back from a major portion of the State territory. Finding the tribesmen in a hopeless condition, Pakistan's regular army also marched into Kashmir to help the former. As such the Government of India presented a case against Pakistan in the United Nations.

In the meantime Shaikh Mohammed Abdullah had been set free and an Interim Government of the State with him as the Prime Minister had started functioning.

Drive against the invaders continued till January 1, 1949 when a cease-fire was declared at the intervention of the Security Council of the United nations. This left Muzaffarabad, Gilgit, Mirpur and a part of Punch with the invaders under an over-all control of Pakistan.

While the Kashmir question lay before the World body, Hari Singh went into Voluntary exile and his son, Karan Singh, took over as Regent of the State on June 20, 1949. On the authority of the latter's proclamation of May 1951, elections to the State Constituent Assembly were held. There won for the National Conference all

the 75 seats. Because the elections admittedly were not free nor fair only one party fought the elections. In its very first session of October 1951, the Constituent Assembly abolished the hereditary rule of the Maharaja. With this the Dogra period came to end in the State, in 1951.

KISHTAWAR

(Mini Kashmir)

III

CULTURE

The Valley of Kashtawar is known as Kishtawar now. Its ancient name is Kashtavata and it lies to the south-east of the Valley of Kashmir on the upper Chenab. Lying at an elevation of 5300, above the sea level, its climate is somewhat warmer and snow melts as soon as it falls during the four winter months. The valley is full of flowers and fruits amidst mountains. Kashtawar is mentioned as an independent hilly kingdom by Kalhana in his Rajatarangini. It retained its independent existence till 1822 when it was subjugated by Gulab Singh for his master Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. At that time more than half of the inhabitants of Kashtawar were Kashmiris.

The Pir Panchal range is the most prominent range in the Great Himalaya. It looks majestic due to its conspicuous snow-covered mountains. This range starts from the Kishanganga gorge to Deo Tibba in Himachal, where it merges with the Great Himalaya. It leaves Kashmir at the borders of Chamba but is pierced by the rivers Jhelum and Chenab in tremendous gorges at Uri and Kishtawar. Both the river Jhelum and the Chenab cut across the Pir Panchal range, below Baramulla and below Kishtawar. But this physical feature

creates a flat terrace hanging about one thousand metres from the bottom of the Chenab, which is known as the Valley of Kishtawar. On both sides, the Pir N Panchal range rises to Naginshoru (4089 m) in the east and Piparan (4041 m) in the west. In between, the terrace of Kishtawar hangs like a ledge,

The crest of the Pir Panjal range is made up of volcanic rocks. The whole range is chiefly of amygdaloid trap and at some places composed of limestone and mica schist. An old legend also testifies that the region had witnessed many earthquakes, and the debris had stopped overflow of the river Chenab, resulting in the creation of a lake known as Gobronsar. After some period another severe earthquake resulted in the removal of hinderences at Thatri and the water of this lake outflowed in a river. After the water having been drained, terraced land appeared. Subsequently, after drainage, the land was renamed as Govardansar. In the centre, it still had a small lake, which is the present site of the town of Kishtawar. It is a mountainous region, bisected by the Chenab, which on being joined by the Maru Wardwan river, flows almost due south. None of the mountain ranges measure less than 3485 metres. However, the region is inter-

persed here and there with plain and low-lying valleys, criss-crossed by numerous mountains and dense forests.

LOCATION

Situated between N. 33-0 and 34-0 and E. 75-0 and 76-45, Kashtawar, officially spelled as Kishtawar is a land of perennial beauty. Kalhana speaks about it in his Rajatarangini as "a garden of forests" and in fact more than half of Kashtawar is filled with dense forests. It is a hilly country made of undulating plains of varying heights located between the lower hilly tracts of Himalayan ranges. Geographically, the region is divided into various areas, important among these are—Nagasane, Paddar, Udale, Kontwara, Dachhin and Maru Wardwan. Nagasane, the main valley of the river Chenab lies between Paddar and the town of Kishtawar up to the Ladri Nala. Paddar is the far-flung area lying in the north-east end of Kishtawar, adjacent to the borders of Himachal Pradesh. Paddar is the home of world famous lustrous blue sapphire mines. Maru Wardwan comprises the whole of Maru Wardwan valley towards the north of Kishtawar. This valley is famous for its antiquities in the form of inscriptions carved on stones.

ETYMOLOGY

The etymology of Kishtawar is shrouded in mystery. In the Survey of India maps, the region has been designated as Kishtawar while the European authors of the 19th century have designated her as "Kashtar" or "Kashtwar". Kalhana in his Rajatarangini has given the name of "Kashthavatta" to the ancient territory of Kashtawar. In an im-

portant Persian history entitled, "Baharistan-i-Shahi", the region has been designated as "Kathwar". The capital city of the territory bears the same name of Kishtawar, which was also known by the different names of Samarthgarh, Gobaransar, Mahakalgarh, Pohi, Mansamragarh, Cherahar, and Bhootnagar. A Persian poet has given the etymology of Kishtawar in the following verses:

*Kasht ranj amad ba Hindi jaiwar
Jai-ranj amad ba manay Kashtwar.
Har ki sakin may shawud dar Kashtwar
Kard bayid ain do jeezish akhtiyar.
Roz darad nafs ra dar soz-i-joh
Shab zi sarma bayidish tark-i-hijoh.*

In Hindi, it means the region of grief.

A habitant of Kishtawar has to do two things;

During day, he has to remain hungry,

During night, he has to shiver in cold.

This etymology was construed by the poet after the region lost its independence in early 19th century. "The present condition of Kishtawar is not that of the times of its rightful Rajah, who claimed, in common with the Maliks of Shahabad in Kashmir, a descent from Nurshivan, King of Persia, and whose grandfather was the first Mohammedan Rajah of the country. The Moghul emperors were kindly disposed towards the Rajahs of Kishtawar and gave them Jaghirs or grants of land in Kashmir, which they possessed till the time of the Sikhs. After being taken possession of by Gulab Singh of Jammu, the oppression and rapacity of the Sikhs

reduced the revenues to a paltry amount of a few thousand rupees." The above description given by a foreign author makes the etymology given by the sensitive Persian poet, more explicit and understandable.

According to another legend, Kishtawar owes its etymology to Kashyapa, whose name is also associated with Kashmir. In case of Kashmir, it has been claimed that the name of the country is derived from *Kashyapa-pura* or the city of Kashyapa or from *Kashyapa-War*, or the house of Kashyapa. Keeping in line with this trend, it is claimed that Kishtawar derives its name from *Kashyapa-war* or the place of Kashyapa. It is also legendary that it was Kashyapa, who first colonized Kashmir. Such type of fanciful etymologies, propounded by Oriental writers have no solid base, and as such, have been rejected by later researchers.

For locating the correct source for the name, Kashtawar now pronounced as Kishtawar, we have to consider the etymologies of, Kashan, a district in Iran, Kash-gar, a famous city in Central Asia, Hindu-Kash, the mountain range in the north-west of Pakistan, Kashkar, the region in the north of Kafristan and Chitral, and other place names, which are prefixed by the word, Kash, Kish or Kush. We will consider it later, when we speak about the Kassite Aryans. These Kassites are termed as *Khashas* in Sanskrit works.

Another significant fact worth noting is that exact geographical information about, so famous a country like Kashmir is lacking in Sanskrit literature, with the

result that we have to turn to the Greek and the Chinese sources. Under such lamentable circumstances, what will be the position relating to Kishtawar. We hear about Kashtavatta, which is the name given to Kishtawar, in the Sanskrit literature for the first time during Kalsha's rule (1063-89). It appears that like Kashmir, Kishtawar was also a "foreign country" to the Sanskrit scholars. It is astonishing that a clear reference to Kashmir comes from the Greek sources, particularly, by Ptolemy, who names the valley as "Kaspeiria" which into Prakrit phonetics comes nearer to "Kashvira." While giving location of the Valley of Kashmir, he speaks of Kaspeiria situated "below the sources of the rivers Bidaspes and Sandabal, which represent the present rivers, known as Jhelum and Chenab. According to him, the whole region is held by the Kaspeirians. It is clear that according to Ptolemy, the Kashmiris did hold the whole region between the sources of Chenab and Jhelum. The region would include some territories of the present Himachal Pradesh, such as Chamba. We do find powerful kings in the history of Kashmir, like Pravarasena, Lalitaditya Muktapida, Kalasha and Shihabuddin, having held sway on most parts of India, including the hilly states of Punjab. But as a general political philosophy, the Kashmiri kings felt contented with having a ring of feudatory kings around their state. Even Huen Tsang informs about the tributary states around Kashmir.

KASHMIR AND KASHTWAR

We also find Kalasha, the King of Kashmir, convening a conference of feu-

datory states in 1087 A.D. which is attended to among other rulers, by the Rajas of Bhadrawah, Kishtawar and Chamba. All this not only supplants but testifies to the correctness of the statement of Ptolemy that prior to the advent of the Christian era, the whole region "between the sources of Jhelum and Chenab was held by the Kaspeirians."

In bygone days, the Valley of Kashmir was the centre of "Greater Kashmir," about which, Hiuen Tsiang, Ou-Kong and Al-Biruni have made special mention. While the nearest regions were directly administered from Srinagar, the outgoing regions paid allegiance to the central authority. Thus, according to Hiuen Tsiang, not only Urasha, Prontsa, Rajapuri and Simhapura in the Salt Range, were having no overlord at the time of his journey, but Taxila, even depended directly on the administration from Srinagar. After a few centuries, we find eight kings, including the rulers of Kashtavatta and even Chamba, coming to Srinagar to pay their homage to the sovereign. These few facts of history would show the nature of ties between Kishtawar and other hill states with Kashmir. We find that up to the 11th century, Kashmir exercised effectively her suzerainty over Chamba, Kangra and Kulu, while Kishtawar maintained an "independent position" but friendly and allied to Kashmir. The Kashmiri kings had entered into matrimonial alliances with these rulers and imported queens from the hill states. For instance, Susala had the Chamba princesses as his queens. We find Kishtawar, more linked with Kashmir, after the 11th century. A time comes, when it, even enters into

a matrimonial alliance with the Mughals, and the Kashmiri Sultans. Thus, Kishtawar establishes very closed political links with Srinagar and Delhi.

STONE AGE IN KASHTAWAR

It has been asserted by the legends of the land that Kishtawar was once a lake. It is a fact that the region is hilly with undulating plains with a varying altitudes ranging from 5300 ft. to 5400 ft. above the sea level. These plains are the result of glacial forces and have existed from antiquity under the shadow of very high mountain ranges. Hitherto it was held that there was no stone age in Kishtawar but the existence of megaliths and stone implements at various sites point to the existence of such an age in the region. It may be noted that the Naga tribes did establish early settlements in Kashtawar and some sites like Damar-nag, Kani-nag Godarash-nag and Gamani-nag testify to this fact. Then came the other tribes like the Aryans and the Kassites. According to the Buddhist legend, the Valley of Kashmir was peopled by the Buddhists after its drainage. Hiuen Tsang also relates the same story when he says that the Naga tribes were subdued by Madhyantika at the time he drained the lake occupying the Valley of Kashmir. We can safely infer that the same thing might have happened in Kishtawar also and the existence of Buddhist sites and population, even at present, testifies our hypothesis.

Between Zanaskar and Kishtawar, we have numerous glaciers, which are slowly melting away. To what extent these glaciers have contributed to the existence of terraces, requires to be ex-

amined scientifically but it is a fact that the region has passed through a glacial age. After this, the stone age started in Kishtawar and some of the stone implements testify to it.

ANTHROPOLOGY

Mankind has been divided into four main races--the Caucasoids, the Mongoloids, the Negroids and the Australoids. Within this major classification there are many sub-races which emerged due to the admixture of the main races. The Caucasoids originated in the regions around the three waters known as the Caspian, the Black and the Mediterranean Sea. The principal sub-race among the Caucasoids is termed as the Mediterranean and they were the major colonizers of Europe and Asia. Another sub-race among the Caucasoids has been termed as the Alpines because they extended between the Alps and the Balkans. Most of these sub-races got intermixed later on and their blend originated in the advent of tribes known as the Aryans, the Semites and the Hemites.

The advent of the Aryans in the north-west of India has been dated to about 1500 B.C. However, some Semite migrations from Mesopotamia had occurred earlier into Iran and Afghanistan. We have found no traces of the Aryan symbols like horse or iron at Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Skeltons from both these places represent the original stock from Mesopotamia. This leads us to conclude that the Indus valley civilization was founded by some other tribes before the onslaught of the Aryan tribes. The stocks living in Iran, Afghanistan and the north-west of India are mostly Semites which

was a blend of the Mediterranean with the Caspian species. There was a time when it was claimed that many branches of the Aryans of Central Asia had moved towards also directions in search of lands. Now, further researches have proved the existence of many waves of earlier tribes towards the east and west. These tribes moved into the Himalayan region from the north and the north-west. One of the branches crossed Pamir, moved to Kashgar and then entered Kashmir. "From there it moved forward slowly and steadily into the middle belt of the Himalaya, subjugating and subduing the aboriginals and establishing its colonies in the hills and valleys of Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Gurhwal, Kumaon and Nepal. This important branch came to be known as Khashas, who are considered to be Kashatriyas."

THE KASSITES

The Kassites were a sub-stock of the Aryan tribes, whose exploits are shrouded in mystery. They were known differently in various lands. We hear of them as *Kasshu* in ancient Babylonia. In Egypt, where they ruled, they were known as *Kush*. According to the Puranic tradition, the *Kashi* dynasty was founded by Kashva. In the Old Testament Kish is spoken of as a man of power among the Semites. One of the Kassite chiefs, Khas-khem invaded Egypt and established his power at Eritrea and Nubia which were renamed as *Kush* and *Kash* by him. It was due to this reason that the Nile region was known as *Kush* and *Kash* during ancient times. Even at present the Kassite remnant is found in the town of Kosh in Nubia.

It was in 1780 B.C. that the Kassites established themselves as rulers in Babylonia. It was during this period that they settled in Elam mountains. They named their capital as *Kish* and designated their kingdom as *Kashi*. From Mesopotamia they spread themselves into Iran and established their settlement in *Kashan*. They were known as *Kossai* in Iran, from which country they proceeded further, crossing the *Hindu-Kush* mountains. They founded a settlement in Central Asia which is known as *Kash-gar* even at present. The Kassites reached Kashmir and Kishtawar after crossing the river Indus. Both the names were given by them to these two valleys, which they termed as *Kasheer* and *Kashtawar*.

ACCOUNTS OF KASHTAWAR

Our information for Kishtawar may be divided into Sanskrit, Persian, English and Urdu manuscripts, books and records. Kalhana mentions it as *Kashthavata*, and independent hill state in the ancient period. Mirza Hyder Dughlat who invaded Kishtawar in about 1547 has written profusely about this region. In particular, we have historical records of Kishtawar written by Persian scholars such as Syed Najam-ud-din and Pandit Shivji Dhar. In Urdu, we have *Tarikh-i-Kashtawar* by Ishrat Kashmiri. Another history of region is in Hindi by Pandit Dina Nath was utilised by Molvi Heshmat Ullah Khan for his *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, which he wrote in Urdu. References about Kishtawar are contained in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, *Gulab-nama*, *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Azami*, and *Mukamal Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Munshi Mohammed Din Fauq. Among the writ-

ers in English, mention may be made of the following works:

1. History of Punjab Hill States by Vogel and Huchison.
2. *Kashtawar* —With pen and rifle by Rothfield.
3. Linguistic Survey of India by George Grierson.
4. *Kasheer* by G.M.D.Sufi.
5. *Kashmir Under Sultans* by Mohibbul-hassan.
6. *The Jammu & Kashmir Territories* by F. Drew.
7. *Antiquities of Marev Wadwan* by R.C. Kak.

A rare manuscript, entitled, *Ahwal-i-Rajahai Kishtawar* translated by Sita Ram Pandit was procured by Mr. G.H. Arman for us from the manuscript library of Dr. Ganda Singh of Patiala. This rare manuscript is being used for the first time in compiling this work.

GEO-POLITICAL BORDERS

At present, Kishtawar has been thrown into oblivion. There was a period, when this country was ruled over by powerful rulers. During that era of its history, its frontiers extended to that of Ladakh on one side and Chamba on the other side. Besides including the long Valley of Maru Wardwan and Suru, it had full control over Badrawah. The Maru Wardwan Valley is about 40 miles long lying to the south-east of the Valley of Kashmir. It is intersected by the river Maru, which starts from the glaciers of Suru, and flows south till it joins the river Chenab at the town of Kishtawar. Badrawah is the valley on the other

side of Chenab, facing the hanging terrace of Kishtawar. The river Neru comes from the middle of Bhadrawah to join the river Chenab at Doda. There are a series of terraces in the Chenab valley, which are used for agriculture and habitation. In the accounts of Alexander's Indian campaign, a chief is mentioned under the ethnic appellation of *Abisares*. A region comprising the hilly region between Chenab and Jhelum has been denominated as *Darva-bhisara*, a combination of the names of *Darvas* and *Abhisaras*. From the notices of the *Rajatarangini*, we learn that hilly regions occupied by the *Khashas* extended in the south-west of the Valley of Kashmir in a semicircle from Kishtawar to the Kishanganga valley. We also know that the *Kassites* or the *Khashas* were the early settlers of Kishtawar. This makes us to believe that during its ancient glory, the *Khashas* of Kishtawar might have been held sway over an extensive region. At the same time, their claiming a descent from the King of Persia, shows the high position and status of Kishtawar among the hill chiefs of the western Himalaya.

OLD PARGANAHS

Before its annexation by Gulab Singh of Jammu, the Kishtawar kingdom contained the following parganahs or regions:

1. *Khas Kishtawar*: This paragraph included, besides the main capital city of Kishtawar, the other towns like, *Mandal*, *Matta*, *Poochal*, *Palmar*, *Dool*, *Trigam*, *Lach Gopa*, *Lach Gaffar* and *Bhanderkot*. *Lach Gopa* and *Lach Gaffar* have been renamed as *Lach Dayaram* and *Lach Khazana* now.

2. *Nagseni*: It included the villages of *Kwartenji*, *Bhagna*, *Chandna*, *Bhatin*, *Damji*, *Chingnana*, *Bhata Gulhar*, *Ajna*, *Sazar* and *Cherji*.

3. *Paddar*: This parganah included the villages of *Aphani*, *Atholi*, *Batwas*, *Tun*, *Tyari*, *Pandel*, *Jar*, *Chak*, *Palali*, *Chaton*, *Sohal*, *Kadail*, *Gulabgarh*, *Layee*, *Luder*, *Lavindi*, *Losain*, *Muthal*, *Mati*, *Masu*, *Ligri*, *Machail*, *Hamori*, *Hangu*, *God*, *Kaban* and *Ongayee*.

4. *Jaskar*: This parganah is now known as *Zanaskar* in the maps. It included the villages of *Paddam*, *Karcha*, *Zangla*, *Looth* and *Saini*.

5. *Maru Wardwan*: It included the villages of *Tiler*, *Chanjer*, *Deharana*, *Dharie*, *Rinaie*, *Pathgam*, *Kadarna*, *Nopachi*, *Nawgam*, *Irdu*, *Anshan*, *Aftee*, *Basmana*, *Barayan*, *Choye-Draman*, *Rekenwas*, *Margi*, *Gumri*, *Mungli*.

6. *Dachhan*: It included the villages of *Janakpur*, *Chicha*, *Sonder*, *Lohrna*, *Lupara* and *Hanzal*.

7. *Udale*: Among the villages of this parganah, the villages of *Indarwal*, *Toggod*, *Kuchal*, *Chingam*, *Darbeel*, *Chhatroo*, *Rahalthal*, *Sigdee*, *Moolchetar* are significant.

8. *Kontwara*: *Filler*, *Pakalan*, *Dharbadan*, *Saranwan*, *Seergwar*, *Haorna*, *Dhar*, *Kutal*, *Anjol*, *Akarbaring*, *Batkoot*, *Hadar*, *Bershala*, *Ohli*, *Shandri*, *Halor*, *Malie*, *Sangna*, *Bhandera*, *Naghbatana*, *Prishmula*, are significant in this parganah.

9. *Saror Sarthal*: This parganah included the villages of *Jushana*, *Badhat*,

Salna, Bhagrana, Baroti, Duga, Lass, Chhalaso, Kalchanda, Mandar, Niju, Kunwartha, Kukarwas, Tatani, Loondri, Dahar, Sharoti, Chandali Pora, Gahan, Lawa, Darab Krool, and Janwas.

10. *Doda Saraj*: The region extended up to the Banihal pass and included besides Doda, the villages of Gool (Dangbatal) Ramban, Peristan and Kandi.

11. *Bonjwah*: The Valley of Bonjwah nalla, which existed between Doda Saraj and Udit was another parganah of the kingdom of Kashtawar, which was bestowed of Lakhpat Padyari, who had defeated the forces of the Raja of Chamba.

In the past, other regions were a part of the kingdom of Kishtawar. Shivji Dhar is of opinion that three parganahs of other kingdoms have become a part of Kishtawar and he describes them as, Padar from Chamba, Jasnaskar from Ladakh and Maru Wardwan from Kashmir.

INSCRIPTIONS

Inscriptions form an important source for reconstructing history. Many inscriptions engraved on stones in Sharda script have come to light in Kashmir and Kishtawar. The inscriptions discovered by Kak and Vogel in Kishtawar are described below:

1. An inscription incised on a granite boulder, found at Dacchan, in Kishtawar speaks about the construction of embankment by Mahingupta, a resident of Viri, during the reign of the illustrious Nantadeva. The work is mentioned to have been supervised by Mahi and

the date mentioned is the 12th lunar day of the bright half of *Chaitra* in the year 12. The inscription has been composed by the son of Laksha. This inscription establishes connections between Kishtawar and Kashmir, during the 11th century, when Ananta ruled over Kashmir.

2. An inscription incised on a small limestone, found at Zaji Nai in Wardwan, Kishtawar speaks about the establishment of a stable for the protection of horses and cattle by Stipalayudaka, grandson of Suphalaka. According to a local tradition, the inscription was engraved during the reign of Sultan Zainul-abidin of Kashmir. Discovered by R.C. Kak, this inscription is preserved in the Government Museum, Srinagar, Kashmir.

3. Vogel found an inscription incised on a stone *lingam* at Kishtawar but the inscription is too much defaced and has not been deciphered as yet.

As regards the inscription mentioned at 2 above, Kak is of the view that this river stone boulder measures 2.3 ft. in height and 2 ft. in circumference. According to him the local residents called this boulder as "Kalpakan", meaning "stone of doomsday". The nearby mountain also bears this name. It is supposed to have been put up by a shepherd of Zaji-nai. On the top side of the inscription, the sculpture has carved a trident of Shiva enclosed by a circle. The master engraver has engraved a standing horse between the lines of the inscription. This horse clearly depicts that the inscription is about horses. The inscription reads as under:

“Om sam... srud...h... traiva... stitah. Rasvav. Raj Mayagha... titam Rahu ladhakena Thungaka...putrana...Vasagu. stipalayudakena puterana Suphala—ka-pautrena...pha ashvapadam vinaya pratishathaptam asvaguoraksha, pu. nga.”

“I have made it. I am Rahuladhaka son of Thungaka. At this place was established a place for horses for their protection by the grandson of Suphalaka.”

The trident of Shiva is a later addition by a shepherd who happened to be the follower of Shiva. The engraver as well as the person who established this place for the protection of horses appears to be a follower of Buddhism. The name of the engraver, Rahula suggests his religion.

The inscription found at Dachhan reads as under:

“Om, Sam 12 Chaitra su

“ti 12 Sri Nantadeva rajiya

“Sri Chiri vam tavya Mahima-gupta-tena tu kritha

“Karmapati Mahima rupa ruputre.”

Translated, it says as under:

In the Samvat year 12, on the 12th day of bright half of Chaita, in the reign of illustrious Nantadeva a bridge was made by Mahima-gupta, resident of Sri-chiri.

Annatadeva ruled over Kashmir and Kishtawar in the 11th century. This

inscription establishes historical and cultural links between Kashmir and Kishtawar since ancient times.

4. The inscriptions painted in colour on the ceiling of the caves of Bathastal have not been deciphered nor interpreted properly. Kak who discovered these inscriptions in 1921 is of opinion that these beautifully written inscriptions date back to about 3rd century and are in the earliest form of Brahmi writings. He has openly stated that it is neither possible to connect various groups nor interpret them.

According to palaeographic experts, during ancient period, in India only two writing styles were in vogue and these were Kharoshti and Brahmi, both of which are offshoots of Aramaic language. While Kharoshti reached India via trade routes of Afghanistan, the Brahmi reached Sind via sea routes. It is also said that Aramaic was a Sumerian language and its centre was Yemen, which was a prominent centre of trade with India during 3rd and 10th Century B.C. One fact emerges that if Brahmi inscriptions have been located in this remote area of Kishtawar, it establishes that such inscriptions would exist in Kashmir also. Secondly, the existence of Brahmi inscriptions in Kishtawar establishes its palaeographic connections with Sumeria or ancient Iraq.

CYCLE OF SEASONS

Altitude is the most important factor for controlling the climate in the Himalayan regions. Next come the seasonal winds and their gravity which makes the climate varied. It is important to note

that the lower ranges have a lower snow-line and the higher ranges have a higher snow-line. Further, the altitudes control not only temperature but also rainfall. Kishtawar is situated at the height of 5392 feet above the sea level. The region continuous to Ladakh is covered with glaciers and remains cut off during major part of the year. Generally, there are four cycles of seasons in Kishtawar. The spring begins in mid March, the summer in early June, the autumn in mid-September and the winter season lasts for November, December, January and February. However, the climate is, on the whole mild in summer and cold in the winter months. The region falls in Poor Rainfall Division and on an average receives an annual rainfall of 891. 032 mms. As a result the climate is arctic in winter.

SPRINGS

In Kishtawar, springs, tanks and streams are utilised for irrigational purposes. However, springs have been used for drinking water since ancient times. The springs of Gadrash-nag, Hodri, Hamar-nag, Tailmoochi, Arhi, Kundali, Marpanyar, Damar-nag, Sangram-nath, Sunderaman, Arsea and the tanks of Sarkoot. Besides this there are many unnamed springs in Dachhan, Marwah and Sarthal. The water of fresh water springs is used for drinking and cooking purposes. It has been stated earlier that the region is deficient in rainfall. However, this deficiency is off-set by springs and streams. Due to mountainous terrain, the role of the river Chenab, as a source of irrigation and water supply, pales into insignificance.

Since ancient times, the spring of Gorash-nag, has been a source of drinking water to the town of Kishtawar. It gushes out of the Konkinbern hill and a stream takes its water in the centre of the town. The spring of Hamar-nag is famous because its water has medicinal potentiality. According to a legend the water of Tailmoochi spring could be used as oil for lamps. The waters of Marpanyar provide much benefit to the residents of Oohi, Kaleed and Ousar. Another spring known as Damar-nag is fed with glacial water and so is the case with Sangramnath. This water from the flaciers reaches the flat ground of Chowgan and makes it green with vegetation. It is due to this water that chinarr trees have come up in the town of Kishtawar. This water is stored in reservoirs, known as *talabs* and *boulis*. The water reservoir at Sarkoot is very famous in the region, for it stores rain water.

Kishtawar is famous for its hot springs also. We hear about many springs the water of which was supposed to have medicinal values. Among the hot springs, known as "Tatta-Pani", the springs of Padar, Maru and Nag-Saini were famous. These springs were very popular with those who had joint ailments or arthritis. Women after delivery would go to these springs for medicinal bath.

MINERALS

According to experts, the structure and topography of the Himalayan mountain ranges is not conducive to the exploitation of minerals. However, geolo-

gists are trying their best to locate the occurrences of minerals. Kishtawar is rich in mineral wealth and its sapphire mines have earned distinction. Changes of discovery of other precious gems is bright in this region. According to earlier surveys, important minerals like, gypsum, mica, zinc, copper, glass-sand, and clays have been located in Kashtwar. The existence of combustible gas under the glaciers of Padar and Maru cannot be doubted.

Kishtawar is very famous for its sapphire mines which are under operation since 1881. This precious stone is interbedded in the rocks of Salkhala series. Ruby, which is a red transparent variety of corundum, is also found in Zanskar and Kishtawar. There are numerous other non-metallic minerals in the bedded deposits.

VILLAGES AND TOWNS

Kishtawar and some prominent towns in the past when it was a kingdom. The region now stands bifurcted and does not have its past glory. At present 73% of the villages consist of those which are inhabited by a population of less than 500 persons only. However, the majority of the villages are very sparsely populated and large proportions of population are concentrated in a few villages only. It may be noted that the majority of the rural population is suffering from scarcity of adequate accommodation. Even in the urban areas, one-third of the household live in single room dwellings. About 76% rural houses have walls made of stone with thatched or wooden roofs.

Old histories of Kishtawar mention many towns, such as, Padam, Sooro, Kishtawar, Badrawar, Doda, Moghul Maidan, Darwas, Pelgam, Padar, inshin. Among the important villages, mention may be made of Sharthal, Karool, Gud, Ghuri, Barshalla, Chatroo, Kochal, Soondar, Danchan, Saini, Machail, Batwas, Ajna, Trigam, Suknis, Rajparan, Nowbug, Ramband, Bhagwar, and Joshni.

NATURAL VEGETATION

Kishtawar falls in the Himalayan snow-line ranges and, as such, is covered with natural vegetation. Such extensive stands of pines, decidars, beeches, rhodoendrons and birches are not available anywhere else except the Himalayan region. In the Chenab alley, we have sub-tropical evergreen forests. we have sub-tropical evergreen forests. However, the cheif trees grown in the region are, fir, juniper and pine. On account of wide variety of climate and terrain, there is variety in forest wealth also. The main species which have been brought under management are:

- Fir (*Abies Pindrow*)
- Chil (*Pinus*)
- Deodar (*Cedrus Deodara*)

The forests of Kishtawar are full with air trees and the valleys are a spactcle of luxuriant pasturage. While the lower parts of the mountains are covered with firs, the upper parts are devoid of trees. however, the rocks are covered with juniper bushes. Among the forest flowers, mention may be made of the blue poppy (*meconopsis aculeata*) which is

named as the Queen of Kashmir flowers. Other flowers which grow profusely in the Kishtawar forests and valleys rhododendron, corydalis govaniiana and the rose. It may be of interest to note that florists have collected 93 species of flowers from Marau Mardwan Valley of Kishtawar. It has been earlier stated that high valleys and forests of the region grow many herbal plants, among which, *Trul* (*impatens roylei*) and *Phool-gassa* (*achillium millifolium*) are very common. Among the other medicinal plants, mention may be made of polygonum, Lynchnis, *Corydalis*, *labiataes*, *alpinum*, *delphinium*, *aconitum*, *santonion*, and *soranjan talkh*.

SAFFRON

Saffron is known as *safran* in Arabic and *Zafaran* in Persian language, while it is known as *Kong* in Kashmiri and *kunkuma* in Sanskrit. In Hindi, saffron has been termed as *Kesar*. This aromatic flower plant is called *crocus sativus* in botanical terminology. It is grown in Spain, France, Sicily, Iran, Kashmir and Kishtawar. Saffron is highly prized in the world as medicine and is also used for colouring of confectionary and choice kind of food. Since ancient times, Kishtawar is famous for its two products, i.e., saffron and sapphire.

Saffron bulbs are called as *guli* In Kishtawari, which are sown in mid-July each year. These bulbs produce a small quantity of stigmas and petals during the first year. In the second and third year, the saffron bulbs remain in soil and give ample produce. But the fourth year is the most effective year of production with a bumper crop. Now is the time to

consider replanting of bulbs which is done after the completion of a 5 year's cycle. Saffron flowers are dried in the sun. Every flower has three orange-coloured stigmas, which are considered the first quality of saffron. The dried petals are beaten with light sticks and winnowed so as to form the second quality of saffron. The remaining petals are adulterated by dyeing with orange colour.

Kishtawar is famous for its high quality of saffron and has supplied its bulbs for rejuvenation of its cultivation in Kashmir.

FAUNA

Varied and interesting wild life can be found in the forests of Kishtawar. These forests are evergreen, full with trees and shrubs. These forests abound in medicinal plants, herbs and flowers. There is a variety of game-birds and animals in them. The fauna of Kishtawar is described as under:

1. *Snow Leopard*: (*Felix uncia*) It is named as *chot suh* Kashmiri and is found near the snowline and also called *safaid cheetah*. It is an animal of high elevations and can be seen during winter at low altitude. It is covered with grey or white wool with black spots on the head and limbs. There has been a big diminution in its number in recent years with the result that it is now considered a rare specie now.

2. *Tahar*: (*Hemitragus jemlaicus*) It is known by many names as, *Khras*, *Jigla* and *Kart*. It is found among the rocks girdled with cedar forests of Wardwan.

3. *Black Bear*: (*Selenarctos thibetanus*) It is known as *haput* in Kashmiri and lives in caves and hollow tree-trunks. The bear is basically a vegetarian and creates havoc in the maize fields. But occasionally they carry off sheep and have to encounters with shepherds.

4. *Serow*: (*Capricornis sumatrensis*) known in Kashmiri as *ramu*. it is found among rocks and forests where under growth is very sparse. It is a kind of a wild goat with horns. Some other varieties of this animal bear the names of *thex* and *pijad*.

5. *Hangul*: (*Cervus Cashmirianus*)

It is the most rare animal in the world and is chiefly found in Kashmir, Kish-tawar and Chamba. Known also by the names of *barasinga* and *roos-kot*, it is found in the Maru Wardwan valley. It belongs to the family of stag, the males whereof have branchy horns, the females have none. It is a protected animal in Jammu and Kashmir. According to 1984 census of animals, the number of Hanguls in the State does not exceed 556.

The other common animals of Kish-tawar are: *Ponz* (monkey) *Ramahoon* (wolf) *Pochhlov* (fox) *Shall* (jackal) *Drin* (marmot) and *Kail*, a specie in the family of *thex*. Among the domesticated animals, mention may be made of sheep, goat cow and buffaloes, which supply wool, meat and milk. Kish-tawar is famous for its woollen blankets, which are soft and warm. In the past many-fur-bearing animals were hunted in Kish-tawar but now, this activity is controlled under Wild Life Act.

There is a large variety of birds in Kish-tawar. It includes high altitude and low alitiutude birds, such as, chikor, cuckoo, jackdaw, pigeon, chough, thrush, pheasant, kite and eagle.

RESOURCES

Terraces of fertile alluvial soil are very common in the Chenab valley. Kish-tawar, in itself is a hanging terrace of land. There are a series of terraces futher down the valley, and isolated flat basins. While the flat terraces are cultivated, the houses are located on their frings on higher slopes, or in hollows cut by streams. Villages and towns are located at the upper edges of the terraces or on mounds. Such chains of villages occur in whole of Kish-tawar.

Kish-tawar is a land of mountains and forests. There are glaciers and streams in the north-western region. There are numerous high level grass-lands with varieties of nutritous grasses for cows, sheep and goats. As such there is abundance of wool in the region, which is used for producing high quality blankets, and shawls.

A persian poet has termed "Kish-tawar" as a garden of appricot. Fruit is grown in the region and we have several varieties of plum, peach and apples. There is great scope to spread orchards in Kish-tawar.

On the whole, Kish-tawar is backward in regard to industry and power, However, it has immense potential to develop hydroelectric power. A prestigious electric project has been taken in hand, which will be bigger than Salal. It is

possible to build other power stations in the gorges. With the production of power, the establishment of small and big industrial units would become easy and viable.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

Kishtawar abounds in many natural resources like, mines and minerals, medicinal herbs, forests and pastures. However, the people continue to depend on rural arts and crafts only. Sapphire mines have been traced in the Paddar region but are not worked on modern scientific lines. Kishtawar is famous for its woolen blankets which are warm, colourful and artistic. Handlooms abound in the region but there are no factories for making woolen cloth. After independence, small scale industrial units have sprung up in the region. Manufacture of wooden furniture, leather goods, Cotton dyeing and bleaching units have come up in recent years. insofar as workers are concerned, nearly 91% of them consist of those employed as or engaged as cultivators. Workers engaged in mining, quarrying, livestock, hunting claim about 1% each.

THE PEOPLE

We have earlier dealt with the migration of the Aryan tribes towards the Himalayan ranges. We also spoken about the advent of the Kassites, locally known as *Khashas*, Who penetrated from the north-west into Kashmir, Kistawar, Chamba and other mountain belts. After *Khashas* came other tribes, such as, the Greeks, the Rajputs, the Thakars and the Nagas, who mixed up with the earlier people. The net result has been the creation of a people having composite culture and traditions.

CLANS AND TRIBES

The people of Kishtawar still retain their tribal or caste surnames. The upper classes carry the surnames of Syed, Khwaja, Ghanai, Padyar, Rathor, Shan, Chandel, Butyal, Gosani, Rajput, Brahmin, Bhat, Shaikh, Mahajan, and Thakar.

The Kamyars and Ahangars are pottery makers and blacksmiths. Similarly, Sonyars are workers who make ornaments. Sweepers and Meghs are considered belonging to menial classes and they hold the nomenclature of schedule castes. The Meghs as a clan are divided into three sections, namely, Kabir Panthi, Barwala and Batwal. The Meghs constitute about 17% of the whole population in the region. The Meghs are cobblers and shoemakers. They also attend to menial jobs of cooks and cleaners. Some of them work as herdmen, hunters and house servants. Most of the maid servants for upper classes are obtained from the Megh clans. The per capital annual income of the people is very low and despicts poverty. However, they are light-hearted even in adversity. Their honesty is proverbial and they have a great regard for truthfulness. Offences are very rare in Kishtawar.

The people of Kishtawar are socially backward and economically poor people. Having lost their independent identity, the people have lived in ignorance and illiteracy for centuries. Once a brave and noble people, they have now learnt to be patient and servile. However, centuries of cruel rule has not broken their moral traits. They are reputed for honesty, gentleness, faithfulness, super-human patience and noble character. On

the whole they are peace-loving and want to lead a calm and sedate life. Tender in physique, they are neither too tall nor too short in stature. On the whole, they are healthy and beautiful people.

In Kishtawar, women take equal share with men in tilling the land. Sowing of seed and harvesting operations. Besides agriculture, the ladies are active in other activities such as spinning of cotton and wool, collection of wood twigs and cooking. The following ornaments in gold or silver are worn by women:

- Tikka* : a decorative hanging for the forehead.
- Arga* :
- Jumka* : different designs of earrings.
- Kanwaij* :
- Chal* :
- Dur* :
- Rong* : a type of a noose for nose.
- Mal* :
- Namah* : a type of necklace.
- Vaej* : rings
- Korr* :
- Banga* : a type of bracelets.
- Panzeb* : a decorative ornament for ankle.

FOOD AND DRESS

The staple food of people is wheat barley and maize but rice is used by the rich. Meals consist of *chappatis* and *dals*. which are served at noon and in

the evening. Due to the scarcity of milk, tea is served without milk but occasionally, poppy seed is grinded with water to make a white cream to be used as a substitute for milk. *Dals* are split pulses and beans commonly used as food-stuff along with *Chappatis* which are baked bread of wheat flour. Vegetables are scarce except green leafy *Karam* or *hak*. Frequent use of costly vegetables like tomatoes, carrot, cauliflower and of costly items of meat, chicken and eggs depends on the financial position. The Kashtawaris in general are poor people and preparation of delicacies are meant for special occasions like marriages and festivals. Dry wood twigs and leaves are used as household fuel for cooking purposes. Cattle dung is not used for burning but is kept as manure, for fertilizing of land.

The dress worn by Kishtawaris consist of woolen and cotton *kurtas* and *suthans* with coats. The waists are girdled with a cloth or a rope made of cotton or wool. Local weavers weave cotton and woolen cloth from yarn produced locally. Woolen blankets of Kishtawar are warm and comfortable. The most common foot-wear is made of local leather and is called *Joota*.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

People in general are religious minded and superstitious. From ancient times, polygamy has been in vogue in the region and a man can keep more than one wife at a time, the number depending on his financial status. Widow marriage is common but polyandry is totally absent. Child marriage is also absent in

the region. In general, joint family system prevails in Kishtawar. The people believe in omens and witch-craft. Singing without the aid of musical instruments is common. In spite of diverse religions, the people of Kashtawar are proud of their common heritage. Besides their way of thinking being alike, their dress, diet, customs and ceremonies and social life is homogeneous.

LANGUAGE

Kishtawari, a dialect akin to Kashmiri language is the mother-tongue of the people in Kishtawar. Nearly 80% vocabulary of Kishtawari dialect comes from Kashmiri. In fact while the Kashmiri language has been influenced by Persian, the Kishtawari dialect stands preserved as original Kashmiri. There exists no tradition of a folk dance in the region. Grierson has pointed out that Kishtawar had not only its language but alphabets also and he has named it as the Kishtawari script. This script was an intermediary between the Sharda script of Kashmir and the Takri script. Some of the scrawls painted on the ceiling of the caves of Bathastal are definitely in the Kishtawari script, which is a modified form of Kharoshti.

As stated earlier, the predominant language of the region is Kashmiri which has been renamed as Kishtawari or the language of the people of Kishtawar. It is evident that Kishtawari is the mother-tongue of the masses despite some claiming Dogri, Pahari, Padari, Siraji and Poguli as their mother-tongue. However, the percentage of people making such claim is insignificant because Kishtawari is predominantly used by people in day-

to-day talk between themselves. Urdu and English is used for official communications.

It is a fact that in the Kishtawari, we find the original Kashmiri language preserved by its people. There are historical reasons for this happening. While Kashmir remained open to the Persian, Urdu and English influence, Kishtawar, as it stood locked within mountains, remained aloof from such influences. In Kishtawari, we find original and archaic Kashmiri words which have been lost in Kashmir. Among the two ancient scholars of Kishtawar who wrote in Kashmiri, mention may be made of Nagasena, the author of *Malinda-panha* and Shatikanth, the author of *Mahanai-Prakash*. The *Malinda-panha* is not available in its original Kashmiri language at present but its Pali and Senalese translations are viable and are considered as a best source of information on Buddhist philosophy. Nagasena existed during the reign of Menandrou, the king of North Western India, some time before the first century. It was Nagasena who converted the Greek king to Buddhism. The second work, *Mahanai-Prakash* by Shatikanth, written in Kashmiri of the 13th century deals with Shiva philosophy. This is the original existing Kashmiri work produced in Kishtawar.

COMMUNICATIONS

Since ancient times, Kishtawar had commercial and political relations with neighbouring countries. With Kashmir, it have had an intimate relation, as is recorded in history. A good deal of merchantdise found its way into

Kishtawar from Ladakh. At the same time, traders from Islamabad reached Kishtawar via Maru Wardwan. Some of the Kashmiri kings also found refuge in Kishtawar. The old routes from Kishtawar to other towns are explained as under:

1. *Kishtawar-Srinagar*

Various stages on this were : Kishtawar-Phalma-Moghul Maidan-Singpur-Marbal Pass-Wankringi-Lowai-Wangam-Sof-Achibal-Islamabad-Bij Behara-Avantipur-Pampur-Srinagar.

Another route lay from Kishtawar to Srinagar via Maru Wardwan is described in the following stages: Kishtawar—Phalma-Ekali-Sanger-Hanja-Pelgam-Noksar Pass-Nowbug-Karpur-Chana-Islamabad-Bij Behara-Avantipur-Pampur-Srinagar.

The stages of another route via Inshin are given below: Kishtawar-Phalma-Sangar-Hanja-Pelgam-Inshin-Margan Pass-Martand-Achibal-Islamabad-Bij Behara-Avantipur-Pampur-Srinagar.

Another route lay between Kishtawar and Srinagar via Banihal Pass. Its stages are as follows: Kishtawar-Phalma-Serai-Huts-Doda-Bhagwar-Bararibal Pass-Chaon-Banihal Pass-Verinag-Shahabad-Islamabad-Bij Behara-Avantipur-Pampur-Srinagar.

2. *Kishtawar-Sooroo*

A route which connected Kishtawar with Baltistan passed via Sooroo and then went to Kargil and Skardu. Its stages are: Kishtawar-Phalma-Sanger-

Hanja-Pelgam-Inshin-Sudramman-Basman-Sukins-Pajahoi-Gandan Mar-Danora-Sooroo.

3. *Kishtawar-Padam*

For trade with Ladakh, Several routes were followed and the one, which passed via Padam is described hereinafter: Kishtawar-Phalma-Bagra-Jhar-Seri-Atoli-Umshil-Chishoti-Michail-Bujwas-Kuhar-Umasila Pass-Batra-Gowra-Ating-Tungrung-Padam.

4. *Kishtawar-Leh*

Its stages are as follows: Kishtawar-Phalma-Bagra-Jhar-Seri-Atoli-Sole-Ashdari-Darwas-Kilar-Sauch-Korai-Gandhar Pass-Chirpat-Miyar-Oadapur-Tirot-Jarna-Tandi-Ling Kyun-Patasio-Bara Lacha Pass-Kilang-Lingti-Taka-Sangtha-Kharnak-Bibrangla Pass-Hankar-Marka-Shew-Shashot-Leh.

5. *Kishtawar-Chamba*

It is recorded in History that the Rajas of Chamba, Badrawar and Kishtawar were feudatories of the Raja of Kashmir. These Rajas had established their own inter-state relations. During the rule of powerful Rajas, Badrawar was annexed by Kishtawar. The stages of the route to Chamba passed through Badrawar. These are as follows: Kishtawar-Joshni-Badrawar-Thannela-Puari Pass-Langera-Bungal-Sunu-Digi-Manjeri-Kanla-Chamba.

6. *Kishtawar-Jammu*

Jammu came into prominence in the 19th century. The old route between

Kishtawar passed through Krimchi, which is described as under: Kishtawar-Joshni-Zungalwar-Bhelu-Kalen-Asar-Batoti-Chineni-Dhar-Bali-Krimchi-Dansal-Nagrota-Jammu.

MOUNTAIN PASSES

Kishtawar is a land of glaciers and mountains and it is surrounded by many mountain passes, which are mentioned below with approximate heights in feet.

Khutkut Pass	:	14370
Margan Pass	:	11600
Noksar Pass	:	13315
Marbul Pass	:	11570
Banihal Pass	:	9200
Bararibal Pass		
Umasila Pass	:	11369
Darwas	:	8429
Sach Joth Pass	:	15500

Mountain heights are given below:

Bramaih	:	21059
		21585
		20988
		16516

TOURISM AND TREKKING

Kishtawar possesses all the possibilities to become a tourist attraction. The

snow-capped mountains with glaciers, placid lakes and springs. It is a land of perennial beauty with luxuriant pastures and dense forests with valleys separated by mountain ranges. The lower parts of the mountains are covered with firs and deodar trees. The slopes are full of grass and herbs. Among the wild flowers mention be made of corydalis govaniiana, rhododendron, and the blue poppy. The floral beauty of the Wardwan valley has enchanted many hikers and travellers. There are abundant mountains and glaciers for mountaineers and hikers. There are many tourist spots yet unidentified, in the Maru Wardwan valley. Besides luxuriant pastures, the region has many hot springs which could become a major tourist attraction. The famous peaks, *Nun Kun* (23410 ft.) can be reached easily through Kashtawar Dachhan Marwah road. Dachhan has many streams, springs and willow plantations, which can serve as ideal tourist camps.

RECREATION

The majority of the people of Kishtawar are poor and, as such, have no time for leisure and recreation. They work from morning to evening and get no time for play. Whenever they get time, they relax themselves by gossip and fun. Generally, ceremonial occasions provide them the opportunities of singing, dancing and play. School children play international games like, football, hockey, volleyball and cricket. Among the local games, *kabaddi*, *langis*, *guli-danda* and *sidode* are also played. *Sidode* is a local game of sticks. The players fix a place in the ground by drawing a line called *nishan*. Two to six sticks, six inches in

length, are fixed at the *nishan* according to the number of players. Each player has to kick a stick with the help of the main stick. Distances covered by these sticks after being hit denotes the comparative success of each player. After the first trial, the sticks are again fixed on the *nishan* to be hit again and again so as to continue the game. After final calculation of distances obtained by each player the winner is determined. There was a time when the people would join folk dances. Even men surpassed women in these dances. But now, such dances have become rare. Music is liked by all and is played on festivities and auspicious ceremonies. Folk songs are popular with the peasants and are sung at the time of harvest.

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS

The people of Kishtawar, in general, are religious minded and superstitious. Their way of thinking is same and most of their fairs and festivals are homogeneous. In spite of their diverse faiths, they possess a common cultural heritage. Hindus visit Muslim shrines with equal enthusiasm. A big fair is held, every year in honour of Hazrat Shah Farid-ud-din Sahib at the Ziarat-i-Sharif in the city of Kishtawar. He was a great saint who came to Kishtawar in the 17th century from Bagdad and many joined the fold of Islam due to his miraculous powers. Another big fair is annually held in honour of Hazrat Shah Asrar-ud-din Sahib at Kishtawar, who is renowned for his miraculous powers, in the whole region. Both the fairs are attended by Hindus and Muslims in great number. Another important fair is held, every

year, at the shrine of Devi Ashta Dah Bozi at Sarthal which continues for ten days. Goats and sheep are sacrificed on the occasion for the purpose of invoking the blessings of the Devi. During previous times, musicians and players used to amuse people and most of them used to be Muslims but with the advent of better economic opportunities, such festivities have been abandoned. In the same way, another fair known as Katak-Jatra was observed in the centre of Chogan every year to commemorate the defeat of the Raja of Basholi at the hands of the Raja of Kishtawar. In this festival, there used to be folk dances, singing and goat fighting. Besides the above particular festivities pertaining to the region, other religious festivities are also celebrated by the people.

Ashta Dah Bozi Devi

The shrine of Ashta Dah Bozi Devi is considered a very sacred spot in Kishtawar. She is considered the tutelary deity of Kishtawar like Sharika Devi of Kashmir. According to a legend, the Valley of Kashmir emerged out of water when Sharika Devi destroyed Jalodhbava. This very Devi is said to have travelled to Kishtawar via Marbal pass and settled at Sarthal. The legend also accounts for the belief that like Kashmir, Kishtawar was also a lake in pre-historic times. Every year, people come of the region to quench their spiritual thirst at this shrine and sacrifice sheep in honour of the Devi. Many bring their children for *mundan* ceremony to this spot. The legend of Ashta Dah Bozi Devi hints to the migration of Kashmiris from Kashmir to Kishtawar and their settlement there during prehistoric times, car-

rying with them the legend of Sharika Devi.

THE KISHTAWAR FORT

This fort existed in the town of Kishtawar, built on a hillock during the 9th century. In the early period, it served as a royal place but later it was converted into a royal fort. It occupied a strategic location for it being the watch post of the road leading to Kishtawar by the bank of the river Chenab. It had mud walls with minarets in between. It was Gulab Singh who converted this fort into a prison. He used it as such for keeping rebels and enemies. It was destroyed under orders of Maharaja Hari Singh (1925-47) in accordance with the advice rendered by his Prime Minister, Wakefield in about 1931.

SUPERSTITIONS

The Kishtawaris still believe in witchcraft, demons, sorcery and superstitions. According to a tradition in Kashmir, some women of Kishtawar who are fully acquainted with black magic are called *dains*. Logically, the above legend is nothing but a symbolic representation of the women of Kishtawar, who captivate the heart of men by charm, elegance and beauty. In Kishtawar, the crowing of a cock in the evening, sight of a priest in the morning, and the cowing of crows at night is considered unlucky. The Kishtawaris still believe in omens, talismans, charms, amulets and dreams. Walking on burnt coal or fire is still practised at the shrine of Ashta Dash Bozi Devi at Sarthal, on every annual fair. Such festivities are known as *Jatras* in Kishtawar. In each festival, besides goat sacri-

fices there is much singing and dancing. Till late period, the villagers would perform the ceremony of Bhum-jehwai. According to this ceremony, cooked food placed in plates was taken to the agricultural fields to be eaten by children. This ceremony was considered very suspicious. Another ceremony was to fix, a bunch of leaves of fruit trees on a stick with a couple of flowers especially narcissus and a bunch of wool. This miraculous stick was fixed in the earth of every agricultural field with the intention of obtaining a bumper harvest. Such were the beliefs of Kishtawaris till recent times.

THE RISHI ORDER

The indigenous Sufi Order of Kashmir is known as the Rishi Order, which has continued there since ancient times. It is a Sanskrit word assimilated into Kashmiri and is applied to a saint or a sage or an ascetic. It was Hazrat Nunda Rishi, who rejuvenated the ancient Hindu ascetic traditions in the 15th century in Kashmir. It were the Rishis, who composed the Vedas and sang the sacred hymns of the Rig-Veda. It is for this reason that the names of many ancient Rishis exist in these hymns. In the ancient Hindu society, a Rishi occupied a very high status of honour and respect. The Rishis loved humanity and were broad-minded. They aspired to live away from habitations in the lap of nature. The name of Kashyapa Rishi is connected with the emergence of Kashmir out of the vast lake of Sati-sara. The Nilamata-Purana mentions many Rishis of ancient Kashmir. Hazrat Nunda Rishi has also mentioned the names of Ludarman Rishi, Zulkar Rishi, Miran Rishi, Rama Rishi,

Khalasaman Rishi and Palasman Rishi, who existed in ancient times. This Rishi Order of Kashmir is not only unique but is different in many respects from the Sufi Orders. It is indigenous to Kashmir and its traditional human culture. Free from orthodoxy, the Rishis of Kashmir won respect from all, irrespective of caste, creed and colour.

HAZRAT NUNDA RISHI

Hazrat Shaikh Noor-ud-din, popularly known as Nunda Rishi is the Saint-patron of Kashmir. His life and teachings are shrouded in myths and legends. We know nothing about his ancestors except his pedigree, which is as under:

“Ugra Sanz, his son Daratpa Sanz, his son Zanga Sanz, his son Hanar Sanz, his son Garza Sanz, his son Sallar Sanz, his son Nunda Sanz.”

In his poetic compositions, which are in Kashmiri, Hazrat Nunda Rishi claims his descent from the royal family of the Sanz. He says:

“Though I am born in a poor family,
My ancestors were like the royal
Pandhas.
But my father and mother both
belong,
To the royal family of Sanz.”

Ugra Sanz, who belonged to the ruling family of Kishtawar, fled away from his home-land and settled in Kashmir. After a few generations, Sallar Sanz became a Muslim at the hands of Hazrat Sayyid Hussain Samnani. Sallar Sanz had three sons, namely Shesh, Kundar and Nunda. While the elders became thief,

the third son, Nunda became the standard-bearer of all the Rishis of Kashmir. Hazrat Nunda Rishi was born at Khi near Nila Nag in Gogji-Pathri region. His ancestors were employed by the Bhat Raja of Nila Nag. His ancestry goes back to Kishtawar and it is matter of pride for Kishtawaris. Hazrat Nunda Rishi was born in 779 A.H. (1382 A.D.) and passed away in 842 A.H. (1445 A.D.) Many stories are woven about his early life. It is said that his brothers induced him to become a thief but he failed them. He went to a weaver to become an apprentice but could not continue and left him. His parents got him married and his wife bore children. After some years, he left his family and became a mendicant. His mother admonished him but failed to bring him back. One day, his mother, in an angry mood asked him to repay the gratitude of her having him nursed with her breast's milk. Hazrat Nunda Rishi then asked the nearby stone to give back the milk he had suck. In a miraculous way, the stone started pouring out milk.

Hazrat Nunda Rishi dug out a cave in the karewah of Kaimuh and lived in it for twelve years. After some time, his wife and children died, leaving him alone to lead a life that suited him. He roamed in forests and mountains of the Valley of Kashmir. He received inspirations from a great Kashmiri lady saint, Lalla Ded. In one of his poetic composition, he says:

Lalla belonged to Padmanpur,
She is immortal;
She is an autar and a yogini;
God! I seek the same from thou!

Hazrat Nunda Rishi has become a symbol of Kashmiri culture, which is tolerant, kind and just towards all. His sayings and sermons lay great stress on piety of mind and purity of action. He advocates universal brotherhood and to him all of us are the children of God. He advocates abstinence, vegetarianism and simple life.

ZAINA RISHI

Hazrat Nunda Rishi was admired and respected by a large number of Kashmiris irrespective of creed. The Muslims surnamed him as *Shaikh-ul-Alam* or the Shaikh of the world. They also named him; Shaikh Noor-ud-din or the light of the faith. Some titled him as *Shamash-ul-Arifeen* or the sun among mystics. The Hindus titled him as *Shezananda* or the saint who has recognised the soul. His chief disciples were Hindus who accepted Islam at his hands. Bhuma Sadhu was a Hindu guru who after initiation was renamed as Baba Bam-ud-din. His second disciple was Zia Singh, who

hailed from Kishtawar. After the demise of his father, he had to flee from Kishtawar to Kashmir. Both he and his mother sought refuge in the hermitage of Hazrat Nunda Rishi. Zia Singh showed mystic tendencies from his childhood. He was initiated and became popular with the people. Hazrat Nunda Rishi gave him the name of Zaina Rishi and directed him to offer penances in a cave at Aish-Muqam. He led a simple life, did not eat flesh and remained a bachelor through out his life. He travelled to many regions including Tibet and exhibited miraculous powers.

LATIF-UD-DIN RISHI

The third *khalifa* of Hazrat Nunda Rishi was Ladi Raina, a landlord of Maru Wardwan, a *parganah* of Kishtawar. Once he came to obtain blessings of Hazrat Nunda Rishi, who attracted him so much that he abandoned his worldly life and became a hermit. After initiation, his name was changed to Latif-ud-din.

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IV

HISTORY

In the presence of the king appeared the illustrious Uttama-raja, the ruler of Kashthavata. has made it very difficult for us to separate tradition from history.

KALHANA

The first clear historical reference to the ruler of Kashtawar is contained in Kalhana's Rajatarangini during the reign of Kalasha (1063-89). It informs us about the visit of "the illustrious Uttama-raja, the ruler of Kashthavata" in 1088 A.D. to meet the King of Kashmiri. As such, the legendary accounts of earlier kings cannot be authenticated on historical basis. However, these legends and traditions do provide a sort of continuity to the ancient heritage and culture of the region. It is customary with the Sanskrit scholars to introduce regal names of other regions in local narrations and weave miraculous stories around them. The net result has been that mythology has been mixed with history to such an extent that credibility of the whole has become flimsy. A careful study of the history of Kashtawar reveals that superstitious beliefs and myths have been presented as historical accounts. Despite these doubts, we have no option but to scan these exaggerations and superstitions and present these accounts in a creditable form. The dearth of sources

BUDDHIST PERIOD

During pre-historic periods, Kishtawar was occupied by wandering tribes such as the Kash, the Nag and the Pishach. Later came other tribes such as the Rathore, the Ghanai and the Punjsasi. Each tribe made its settlement around some source of water like a spring, a stream or a river bank. During the first century B.C. there appeared numerous Greek principalities in the north-west of India. A large number of Greek coins have been located at several places in Kashmir and Kishtawar. However the Greek period of our history is shrouded in mystery. Buddhism came to Kashmir and Kishtawar prior to the advent of the Greeks. It was Menandrou, the Greek prince who came under the influence of Buddhism due to the Buddhist missionary known as Nagasena. A treatise written in question and answer form about the above religious discussions is titled as Milindapanha. Originally this treatise was written in "Kashtawari" dialect but the original is extinct now. This fact establishes the Buddhist period in the region. We also have a Buddhist period in Kashmir

which lingers on up to the 7th century. We also know that all the regions of "Greater Kashmir", whether politically linked with Srinagar or not, were connected with it for economic links and all these hill states used to gravitate culturally as well as economically around the Valley of Kashmir. We also know that several monks from the hill states would come to the Rajavihara for instructions in Buddhism. It is probable that Buddhism may have lived in Kashmir and Kishtawar up to the 7th century and after that its decline may have commenced, as in other parts of India, due to the onslaught of Shivaism. That is the reason that historical writings on the Buddhist period are lacking among the works of Hindus.

We still find some traces of Buddhism in Kishtawar, in the etymologies of the place names, such as, Nagsoon, Sangna, Sukhnai and Kaban, which are attributed to the Buddhist monks. At the same time, there exist still some Buddhist population as well as habitations like Kaban.

The name of Nagasena has been connected with Nagasen or Nagsoon in Kishtawar. After the shifting of his capital to Skala or Sialkot, Menendar comes into contact with the Buddhist monk, Nagasena. His work, Malindapanho speaks about the visit of Menander to a place near to this town for religious discourses, after which the king became a Buddhist. It is also possible that after its extinction from Kashmir, Buddhism found its refuge in Kishtawar till it further proceeded towards Zanskar and Ladakh. The monastery at Alchi in Ladakh testifies to its construction by the Ka-

shmiri Buddhist monks, who were skilled in wood-work. The Buddhist region of Zanaskar constituted a district of Kishtawar uptill recent times. All the above information, though scanty, proves to the Buddhist period in Kishtawar.

According to a tradition, when Gyalpo of Sooroo, heard about the richness of the region, he made preparations for a sudden attack. Having crossed the Bhutkul Pass, he led his army into Ch-erhar. From that he proceeded further up to Thatri. He could have established himself in Kishtawar but news reached about a rebellion in his native kingdom of Sooroo. As such, he left the conquered territory to the mercy of the Rathores. He only gave the region a name; Bhootnagar, which also was forgotten after some time.

CLASS STRUGGLES

Up to the 9th century, the whole region of Kishtawar and its adjoining territories were ruled over by petty landlords who termed themselves as Rajas. In fact, every village had a Raja of its own. The Rathore and the Ghanai tribes had established themselves in the mainland while the northern areas were peopled by the Bhutia tribes. Every tribe had its own social system. Some lived on agriculture while the other were mainly shepherds who tended sheep, goat and cows. In the mean while another element entered the tribal society and it was the class of traders known as Punjsasis. These alien traders used to be fully armed. They came from adjoining areas of Jammu, Chamba and Gurdaspur. A time came when some of them settled at Hadri and converted it

into their stronghold. The other tribes counted this act as a sign of danger for them. Hence class struggles began to occur against the Panjsasis tribe. The Rathores and the Ghanais who considered themselves rulers of the region incited other residents against the Panjsasi tribes. But they could not subdue the Panjsasis who inflicted severe defeats on them. Many among the Rathores and the Ghanais were killed with the result that the Panjsasis became the rulers of Kishtawar. However, even after having suffered defeats and killings, the Rathores and the Ghanais continued their struggle like guerrillas and inflicted heavy losses on the Panjsasis. Divided among themselves, the Kishtawaris could not continue for long as independent communities and a time came when they had to succumb to a foreign intrigue.

We have seen some original works as well as later works, the majority of which have connected the ruling family of Kishtawar with Vikramaditya of Ujjain in Central India. Some have connected the pedigrees of the rulers with the Ghores of Bengal. According to them, Kahan Paul was the great grandson of Vikramaditya. For comparative study, these pedigrees are given below:

Vikramaditya Vikramaditya Vikramaditya.

Bhuj. Bhuj. Bhuj.

Hari Paul. Hari Paul. Hari Paul.

Manak Paul. Daynak Paul. Manak Paul.

Kahan Paul. Manak Paul. Kahan Paul.

Kahan Paul

It is interesting to note that the pedigree given in the manuscript in our possession is somewhat different in as much as it replaces Paul into sain. It is given as under:

Vikramaditya.

Bhujdev Sain.

Haripaul Sain.

Manaksain.

Kahansain.

In all, it gives the pedigree of 45 rulers, ending with Jaimalsingh.

We feel that all these earlier genealogical pedigrees are of legendary character. It was customary with the Hindu rulers to connect their ancestry with some famous King of India. In this manipulation, the Brahman courtiers would indulge to please their masters and concoct false genealogical tables. In fact none of the earlier rulers had any connection with Malwa or Bengal. Some of the Brahmans who had settled in Kishtawar after their dismemberment from Ujjain after the conquest by the Turks, have connected their roots by insertion of Ujjain in the pedigrees of these early rulers of Kishtawar.

The other difficulty in reconstruction of the history of Kishtawar is its chronology. In fact the first historical reference about the ruler of Kishtawar comes during the reign of Kalasha of Kashmir, in about 1087. As such real history of Kishtawar starts from that year as in case of Kashmir, it starts from about 631,

when Hue Tsiang reaches Kashmir. As such, our earlier narratives of the rulers of Kishtawar would be based on fragile sources except the manuscript, referred to above. However, in fixing the chronology, on the basis of the year, 1087, we are on a sure ground. It was Uddatdev Sain, who attended the royal court of Kalasha in the year 1087.

It is interesting to note that the *Gazetteer of Sakeet* denotes a single ancestor for the ruling families of Sakeet, Kinthal and Kishtawar. This would show that during those ancient days, all these hill states were bound by matrimonial alliances. However, all of them were under the suzerainty of Kashmir.

FOREIGN INVASION

The neighbour states had always schemed to annex Kishtawar but it was Kahan Sain of Sukeet who succeeded in capturing the region. How he did it, is an interesting legend which appears to be possible in the circumstances. In the first instance, he deputed his spies into the region and enquired all details about the tribes living in Kishtawar. These spies entered the region in disguise as *sadhus* and mendicants, outwardly proceeding towards the holy cave of Shri Amarnatha in northern Kashmir. It was reported to him that all males among the Punjsasi tribe remain fully armed during day and night. It is only on the dawn of *Tahar* that they put down the arms and go for bath and *puja* near the Hadri spring. After making all preparations, Kahan Sain and his soldiers hid themselves in a forest near the site. At dawn all male and female members of the Panjsasi tribe arrived near the spring

and disarmed themselves. When they started having the sacred bath, Kahan Sain and his soldiers pounced on them like wolves. Most of them got perplexed by this sudden and unexpected attack. Some tried to run for safety but were put to sword. Those who tried to catch their arms were killed. Even women and children were massacred and the rest were made slaves.

At this juncture, the Rathore and the Ghanai tribals remained unconcerned with the result that a foreigner became the ruler of Kishtawar. It took him some time to establish himself but he succeeded in obtaining the support of the Rathore and the Ghanai tribes. He showered favours on them and won over the rest with bribes. Assuming the title of the Raja, the new ruler distributed tracts of lands among his followers as *jagirs*. Side by side, he took effective measures to organise his army on sound lines and equip it with arms and ammunition.

KHAN SAIN

Khan Sain is supposed to be the first known Raja of Kishtawar. While, Shivji Dhar has named him as Kahan Paul, Hashmtullah Khan has termed him as Kahan Paul Sain and fixed his reign between the years 470-500 A.D. Isirat Kashmiri, who has discussed the issue of chronology at length, has also termed him, as Kahan Paul. He fixes the accession of the Raja between 800-10 A.D. Goverdhan Singh, in his *History of Himachal Pradesh* has altogether ignored Kahan Paul and given a categorical statement that it was Hamir Sen who established the principality of Kishtawar in about 1211 A.D. In fact, he has copied

this unauthenticated information from a later Urdu work on the Rajput principalities, where it is mentioned as under :

“The Rajas of Kishtawar belong to Chandar Banshi Gour family, whose ancestor, Raja Rupa Sen died at Ropar in 1267 B. While fighting with the Afghans. His third son, Hamir Sen, established himself as the Raja of Kishtawar. His first son, established the principality of Sukeet and his another son established himself as Raja of Keonthal.”

It will be seen from the above that while some authors fix 5th century about the advent of the Sain or Sen family, the others have fixed it in the 13th century A.D. But the author of Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar, has given the following pedigree of Kahan Sain:

Raja Vikramaditya of Ujjain

Raja Bhojadev Sain

Raja Hari Paul Sain

Raja Manak Sain

Raja Kahan Sain.

It is a common knowledge that the Saaka era, founded by Vikramaditya started in 78 A.D. As such, the first Vikramaditya may have existed the first century. But there have been numerous Vikramadityas. But Kalhana's Rajatarangini establishes connections between Kashmir and Ujjain, when he speaks about Vikramaditya of Ujjain having granted the throne of Kashmir to Matrigupta. His reign has been fixed in the first half of the 6th century.

It appears that like Kashmir, the Rajas of Kishtawar have also connected themselves with Vikramaditya of Ujjain. There may be or may not be any truth in the above, but at least, such claims have helped us and others in fixing a tentative chronology for the rulers of Kishtawar. Hiuen Tsiang having met, Shiladitya Pratapashila, the son of Vikramaditya in 580 A.D. We have presumed the death of the earlier monarch in 570 A.D. Subsequent descendents having ruled about 167 years, we come to the ascendancy of Kahan Sain, which has been fixed in about 637 A.D.

Most of earlier works and the manuscript of original character in our possession, the founder of the dynasty has been pin-pointed by name of Kahan Paul or Kahan Sain. Under such circumstances, it is not possible for us to attribute founding of this dynasty to Hamir Sen, as propounded by Goverdhan Singh. Nor are we inclined to accept 1211 A.D. as the date of his accession, because from the beginning of the Karkota dynasty in Kashmir in 600 A.D., we have definite dates and are on surer grounds. We also know that in 1088, Udayat Sain, the *Raja of Kishtawar went to Srinagar* to present himself at the court of Kalasha and he was six generations after Kahan Sain. As such the founding of the Sain dynasty in Kishtawar to a later date proposed by the learned scholar, mentioned above at 1211 A.D. is preposterous.

KAHAN SAIN: 637-67 A.D.

Raja Kahan Sain reached the banks of Suttlej along with his retinue. At the instance of Gagan Chand the Raja de-

posed the usurper and gave the throne of Machiwara to Gagan Chand. After this, he proceeded towards Kishtawar and reached Badrawah, where he came to know about the military exploits of the Panjsasi tribes, who had over-run Kishtawar. Having sent his spies to enquire about them, he crossed the Chenab at Thatri and established his position there. Having obtained more reinforcements, the battle between his forces and the Panjsasis started at night. Kahan Sain had the upper hand and his forces went on proceeding further and further by inflicting losses on the defenders. Bhularadev, the leader of the Panjsasis died while fighting along with his followers, who were put to sword by the invaders. Thus Kahan Sain became the overlord of Kishtawar.

Having made his position secure, Kahan Sain decided to extend his dominion. His first target was the principality of the Rathors, known as Kantwara. After crossing the Chenab, his army vanquished opposition in no time. All accepted his overlordship. After achieving his aims, Kahan Sain proceeded against the chiefship of Thakarai, which also fell before his forces. All opposition was crushed ruthlessly. His sudden conquests created a sense of terror in the minds of other chiefs with the result that everyone hastened to submit. In the first place, the chief of Oadale offered his allegiance which was accepted. Others followed soon and when he returned to Kishtawar, Kahan Sain had subdued a vast territory. As a gesture of thanks giving for his success, he got built a temple in honour of Sri Nilakantha and endowed it with many

villages. He also got built a big palaced for him and his family.

Kahan Sain gave much thought to give a just administration to his subjects. He made himself popular by his works of public utility, encouragement of agriculture, planting of fruit trees and building of canals. He subdued with a heavy hand all unruly elements in his kingdom and thus brought peace to the region. He patronised the Rathore and the Ghanai tribes and used them against the militant Panjsasi tribes. Generous by nature, he helped the poor with money and food. The Raja took caution to keep the Brahman caste in good humour and made many endowments for them. For the first time the people got rid of anarchy and developed faith in a settled kingship. This helped Kahan Sain to establish his newly found kingdom on sound and safe lines. He trained his sons in the art of government. He led a long life and passed away fully satisfied with his achievements. In history, Kahan Sain goes as the founder of the Kingdom of Kishtawar.

BHOJA SAIN

Our chronicler makes Bhoja Sain to succeed Kahan Sain, while none of earlier works have made any mention of him. He gave much attention to the re-organisation of his forces. He established military posts on passes with headquarters at Nagasain, Kunwartha, Banjai, Sharor, Udiampur, and Thakrai. He also invited the Rajput clans to settle in different parts of his realm. He organised his administration on *taluka* level and placed his trusted landlord over the

people. The Raja took much interest in establishing his revenues, for which he fixed revenues for the regions of Dachhan, Oadale and Siraj. In Doda, he built a fort for submission of the people.

The Raja had three sons, namely Rudra Sain, Dvaip Sain and Arjan Sain. But he proposed to place his second son on the throne. As such, Rudra Sain left the capital and got settled in the principality of the Rais. Bhoja Sain passed away and Dvaipa Sain continued to rule over Kishtawar, for some time. It so happened that while playing polo, he fell down from the back of the horse and his own sword got thrust into his belly. Soon after he passed away but before his death placed Kadarpa Sain on the throne of Kishtawar.

KANDARPA SAIN: 707-21 A.D.

After accession to the throne, Kandarpa Sain ruled over Kishtawar, on the lines of his father. His father had built a strong military base and the new king had no fear of rebellion. As such, peace prevailed in the region. The engaged himself in works of public utility. During this reign, many gardens were laid and many water reservoirs were made for drinking purposes. For this purpose several mountain rocks were cut after spending much money from his treasury.

He had two sons, namely Madana Sain and Brahama Sain. The elder son lost his eye-sight due to measles, in childhood and became unfit to rule over the country. As such, the Raja made his second son, Brahama Sain the heir apparent to the throne. After some time, Kan-

darpa Sain passed away.

The above account given by our chronicler is altogether different from the previous accounts given by Dina Natha, Hasmatullah Khan and Ishrat Kashmiri. Dina Nath makes the Raja invading Kashmir and fighting the ruler, whose name is mentioned as Sangarupa. As no such event is recorded in Kalhana's Rajatarangini, nor have we any such Sangarupa as a ruler of Kashmir, during the period, the account given by Dina Natha is fictitious. The above authors have shown this two brothers, Madana Sain and Dvaipa Sain having established their own principalities in Matta and Maru Wardwan. We have no source to authenticate this information. For fixing the length of his reign, we have depended on Ishrat Kashmiri, who says that Kandarpa Sain ruled over Kishtawar for 4 years. We have no reason to believe that his reign lasted for 86 years and such a fixation by Hasmatullah Khan is imaginary.

BRAHAMA SAIN

According to our Chronicler, the next ruler who adorned the throne of Kishtawar, was Brahama Sain. This king has not been mentioned by other writers. The Raja had married two princesses; one from Riassi and the other from Badrawah. While the first queen bore no issue, the second queen gave birth to a son, who was named Rama Sain. This event created a jealousy in the heart of the first lady, who went to her parents in Riassi and adopted a child and named him as Uthadeva. She demanded that her adopted son be declared as heir apparent. Brahama Sain did not agree

to this proposal. Now, the Rani conspired with the landlords and won them over through wealth. With the help of the conspirators, she got the Raja arrested, While he was on tour in Siraj. She succeeded in installing her adopted child on the throne and started her own rule as a regent. Rama Sain was exiled along with his mother to Badrawah. Hardly a few years had elapsed when, Brahama Sain passed away due to illness.

RAMA SAIN

At the time of the death of his father, Rama Sain lived in Badrawah with his mother, and Her father was the Raja of Badrawah and through his good offices, Rama Singh collected a force and attacked Kishtawar. When he was at Nagashera, there occurred a snow-fall, due to this mishap the Badrawahi forces had to retreat without having subdued Uthadeva.

After this venture, Rama Sain obtained military support from the Rajas of Basaoli, Chamba and Badrawah and organised his invasion on Kishtawar. On the other hand, Uthadeva, the usurper was helped by the rulers of Kashmir and Jammu Both the forces met at Zungalwar and fought a fierce battle. This time Rama Sain got the upper hand and inflicted a sever defeat on Uthadeva, who lost his life in the battlefield. Rama Sain ascended the throne of his father with great pomp and show. He distributed the state treasury among the soldiers from Basaoli, Chamba and Badrawah. At the same time he showed mercy to his enemies. The Raja granted a jagir to the sons of Uthadeva.

Other chroniclers have mentioned Rama Sain as the son of Narinder Sain and have shown Kama Sain as the next successor. Shivji Dhar mentions Narayan Sain as the father of Rama Sain. It appears that both these authors have depended on unconfirmed legends.

DEVADATTA SAIN

He succeeded his father, during the the Raja's life time, because he was crowned earlier. After some time, he appointed Meghadeva, one of the sons of Uthadeva, as a commander of his forces. This man had, in his heart, evil designs against the Raja. He suggested that the Raja should invade the land of the Bhutias and annex it. His aim was to drive away the Raja from his capital town of Kishtawar. But the Raja, instead told him that as he had been appointed the commander of his army, he should proceed towards Ladakh and make conquests. Meghadeva proceeded towards Padam and re-annexed the whole region around Paddar. Having established himself at Paddar, he invited the Raja to visit the place to see achievements of his military commander. The Raja proceeded towards Paddar and Meghadeva proceeded towards the capital town of Kishtawar. Devadatta Sain spent some years in wandering among the hilly regions, while Meghadeva consolidated his position by entrusting administration of various *talukas*, in the hands of his kith and kin. He entrusted the capital town in the hands of his son, Raghadeva and himself toured to strengthen his defences. In the mean while, Devadatta Sain proceeded towards the capital town to obtain his throne. The masses stood up to support

the Raja, with the result that in the battle, which ensued, Meghadeva was killed and Rughadeva fled away towards Chamba. All the conspirators were either killed or fled away, leaving Rughadeva's wife and son. The Raja did not kill them but kept them in the royal place and named the child as Sundaradeva.

After some time, a son was born to the queen, who was named as Ananda Sain by the Raja. Both Sundaradeva and Ananda Sain grew up in the place. In the mean while Devadatta Sain passed away and Sundaradeva assumed the charge of administration and chiefship. In the meanwhile Ananda Sain also died in young age leaving a widow and two sons. Rughadeva brought them up and adopted the eldest son as his son and gave him the name of Autaradeva. He declared Autaradeva to be the heir apparent to the throne.

AUTARADEVA

Autaradeva became the first ruler of the Deva dynasty. Henceforth, the Rajas of Kishtawar added *deva* instead of *sain* after their names. No important event is recorded by our chronicler during his reign. When his son Rairajadeva became major, the Raja got him married to a princess. She gave birth to a son, who was named as Curudeva. Autaradeva entrusted the government into the hands of his son and retired. Rairajadeva ruled over Kishtawar for many years. The crown prince, Curudeva visited Kashmir and was a royal guest. Before his return from Kashmir, he married a Kashmiri princess.

RAIRAJADEVA

Our chronicler has not provided any important information about Rairajadeva. However, other chroniclers have given an account of events during his reign. Rairajadeva assumed rulership in Autaradeva's life-time. He was thirsty for wealth and dominions. His minister, Mangalrai thought of a plan to satisfy the whims of his master. In order to loot wealth, he led an attack on Paddar. In this venture he succeeded in looting much wealth besides numerous herds of cows, sheep and goat. All this plunder could not satisfy Rairajadeva and he started to snatch away the belongings of his subjects. Having been fleeced by the Raja, the people approached the Panjsasi tribals to come to their rescue. They made a common stand and attacked the forces of the Raja, who suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of his subjects. He was forced to flee and seek refuge in the mountains of Kongan Baran. The rebels failed to capture him and thus disintegrated again. Subsequently, he made preparations for one year and when he had obtained support of some factions of the people, he led an attack on the Panjsasi tribals on the day when they were engaged in prayers. They were butured by the royal forces and thus Raidev again obtained the throne of Kishtawar for himself. He had learnt a lesson. Now he tried his best to please his subjects by grant of favours and by giving them good government. His capital town of Kishtawar became overpopulated. He brought peace and prosperity to his people.

EVENTS IN KASHMIR

We have seen that the rulers of Kishtawar maintained close relations with Kashmir. Most of them would come to Kashmir to visit ancient shrines, Shri Amarnatha being the premier, because it was on the borders of Maru Wardwan. At the same time, the Kashmiri rulers depended for aid on Kishtawar and some of them even took refuge there. Both the ruling dynasties at Srinagar and Kishtawar had also entered into matrimonial alliances. The people of both the regions belonged to the same stock and spoke the same dialect. It is no wonder, seeing Gurudeva visiting Kashmir and marrying a Kashmir Princess. This lady gave birth to a son, who was named Vyaghradeva.

During the reign of Gurudeva, the Valley of Kashmir witnessed many turmoils due to the raids by enemies of the King of Kashmir. He sought help from Rairajadeva of Kishtawar, who deputed his son, Gurudeva to help the Kashmiri ruler. Gurudeva reached Srinagar with his soldiers and aided the king to subdue the rebels. These combined forces suppressed the disturbances and Gurudeva returned to Kishtawar after his success in Kashmir.

SRINAGAR CONFERENCE

It is necessary to give an account of the Srinagar Conference in which eight notable Rajas of the hilly kingdoms participated at the invitation of the King of Kashmir. He knew that the political situation was not satisfactory at Srinagar at that time. Kalasha was opposed not only his father, who had abdicated but by his

son also. Under such circumstances, Kalasha wanted to show that he had the support of so many princes. His second aim in convening this conference was to forge some sort of unity to face the tide of approaching *Turushka* and *Yavana* invaders. Perhaps it was a second call of unity among the Hindu Rajas, after that of Trilochana-paula, to rise against the incoming Muslim advance, from Daradistan. Despite severe winter elaborate arrangements had been made for the comfort of the invitees. Due to this conference Kalasha did succeed in establishing himself but for his second aim of forging a pro-Hindu united front against the inroads of the advancing Muslims, he does not seem to have achieved much. However Uttamdeva of Kishtawar offered his full support to the plan.

GURUDEVA

During the reign of Gurudeva, a rebellion occurred in the *taluka* of Kharonti and Siraj. It was a major rebellion and the Raja decided to go in person and subdue the rebels. In the first place the nominated his son, Vyaghradeva to rulership and granted the title of Raja to him in his life time.

After making full military preparations, Gurudeva proceeded to punish the rebels. His soldiers got hold of the leaders and killed them. The Raja moved from place to place hunting the rebels and thus established his authority. In the mean while, he fell ill due to fatigue. He had spent three years in suppressing the rebels. Thus he lost his life while engaged in this mission.

ZULCHU AND SUHADEVA

Suhadeva ascended the throne of Kashmir in 1301 A.D. The most important event which produced far-reaching effects on Kashmir was the invasion of Zulchu from Central Asia. At that period, the Mongols were the overlords of the region and Zulchu was a military commander in the service of the chief of Turkistan. The Persian chroniclers have named him as Zulju or Zulqadar Khan. Suhadeva made a special appeal to the feudatories for help but none came to his aid. He tried to save his kingdom by paying a large sum of money to the invader as ransom. But his foolish act increased Zulchu's appetite for plunder. Leaving his people at the mercy of the invader, Suhadeva fled away into Kishtawar.

Suhadeva took flight to Kishtawar because the Raja of that state was in matrimonial alliance with him. Before winter set in, Zulchu left the Valley of Kashmir and perished in the Pir Panchal Range.

VYAGHRADEVA

Vyaghradeva had been placed on the throne by his father during the later life-time and, as such, he had full knowledge of governance. He was brave and adventurous to a great extent. In order to attend to other important matters, he divided his state among his seven sons, asking them to administer in a just and strong way. He made his eldest son as heir apparent and kept him in the capital city of Kishtawar. He asked his sons to behave as jagirdars, subservient to the centre at the capital.

At that time the kingdom of Kashmir faced problems created by the Darad and Lavanya tribes. Vyaghradeva, being the chief ally of Harsha, decided to strengthen borders towards the Kashmir kingdom. At the same time, he collected a large number of recruits for his army and organised them into a good fighting force.

SUPPRESSION OF SARTHAL

Having collected a strong force, the Raja invaded the region of Sarthal and ruthlessly subdued the rebels. At Asvina in Sarthal, there is the shrine of Ashta Dash Bozi, where devotees from all regions of Kishtawar come to make offerings. The priests and the Brahmanas receive much money, ornaments and livestock from pilgrims. Vyaghradeva, in order to please the priests, founded many *agrarahas* and religious endowments. He also made an endowment in favour of the temple of Sri Deva Ji.

INVASION ON BADRAWAR

Now, Vyaghradeva made preparations for an attack on the principality of Badrawar. But the Raja of Badrawar knew about such designs and had made full preparations to defend his dominion. So when, Vyaghradeva, marched his forces against Badrawar, he had to face a stiff resistance. So the siege continued for some time without any result. So, Bhaularadeva, the crown prince approached the King of Kashmir and sought military support. Having obtained a substantial number of soldiers from Kashmir, Vyaghradeva, invaded Badrawar with vengeance. The Raja of Badrawar could not defend himself

against the combined forces of Kishtawar and Kashmir. He ran away along with his courtiers, leaving his people to the mercy of the invaders. Most of the soldiers of Badrawar were cut into pieces and the people fled away towards the hills of Kaplas. But the Kishtawar army chased them towards Basaoli, which was an independent principality. In the mean while, Vyaghra-deva received further reinforcements of Kashmiri soldiers and he became doubly strong. He did not rest at the borders of Basaoli but invaded that principality also on the plea that it has given refuge to his enemies. Having crushed all resistance from Basaoli, he even did not hesitate to set the capital town on fire. His soldiers looted the region burning, whatever came before them. Thus, Vyaghra-deva succeeded in subjugating the principalities of Badrawar and Basaoli.

END OF VYAGHRADEVA

The end of Vyaghra-deva is shrouded in mystery. According to one version, Vyaghra-deva invaded Sharora and this became a cause of rift between him and Bhaular-deva. His soldiers rebelled against him at the instance of Bhaular-deva. In order to save himself, he crossed the mountains and reached Kashmir, where the king granted a *jagir* in his favour at Roopawan. Our chronicler gives the following version:

“Having kept his representative in Basaoli, Raja Vyaghra-deva proceeded towards Kishtawar. He camped on the Sewaldahar hill for a few days. Both the Rajas of Badrawar and Basaoli, conspired to murder him

Vyaghra-deva was murdered by assassins when he was asleep.”

CONQUEST OF KISHTAWAR

Shihab-ud-din alias Shirahshataka ascended as Sultan of Kashmir in 1355 A.D. He was a great conqueror like Lalitaditya the Great, and from the start of his reign, engaged himself in hazardous campaigns. For this, he organised his army under the command of three Damara generals, Chandra, Sura and Laula. His first campaign begins in the north-western region, where he subdues the Afghan tribes. Having conquered Peshawar, the Sultan sacks Gazni. After crossing the Hindu-Kush, he subdued Sind and then returned to the river Sutlej. Here he blocked the way of the mongol invader who had returned after looting Delhi. This fact induced him to attack Firoz Shah, the King of Delhi.

Both the armies from Kashmir and Delhi faced each other with intention of fighting to the finish, when Hazrat Sayyid Ali Hamadani intervened and brought about a compromise. Firoz Shah, the King of Delhi agreed to fixing of boundaries between his kingdom and the Kashmir Sultanate at Sirhind. He also agreed to give his three daughters in marriage with Hassan Khan, the crown prince, Qutub-ud-din and Sayyid Hasan Bahadur. After this Shihab-ud-din returned to Kashmir.

The Sultan then decided to conquer Ladakh and for this purpose, he desired conquest of Kishtawar so as to clear the way for the royal armies. A contingent was deputed for the annexation of

Jammu and Kishtawar, under the command of Chandra. He succeeded in conquering Kishtawar and the whole of that hill tract till Jammu. During this period, Kagra had become a powerful hill state under Raja Roop Chand, with the result that he had to face two-pronged attack from Delhi as well as Kashmir. However, when Shahab-ud-din attacked Kanga, the Raja fled away and hid himself in the famous temple of Matadevi in Kangra. Afterwards, he tendered his submission by paying a heavy tribute, which he had plundered from Delhi.

BHAULARADEVA

It has been earlier mentioned that the Raja of Kishtawar had parcelled his dominion among his seven sons. He had nominated Bhaularadeva as his heir apparent and kept him posted in the capital town of Kishtawar. All the brothers did not look eye into eye with each other and each one of them aspired for higher rank. The old Raja had engaged himself in excursions and invasions in the hills. When the news of his disappearance reached his sons. Every one put forth a claim on the throne of Kishtawar. One by one, Bhaularadeva had to deal with the intrigues engineered by his brothers. But, the difficulty with them was that each one of them was full of schemes and fought among themselves. Bhaularadeva faced them one by one and had to spend all his treasures in suppressing them. Fortunately, all these claimants to the throne were either killed or imprisoned. Bhaularadeva became free from his brothers and attended to the work of administering his dominion. He had married the daughter of

the Raja of Chamba, who gave him much support and help. This lady gave birth to a son who was named as Lachmandeva. At the time of the birth of the child, several guests from Chamba arrived at the capital town and among them was the younger brother of the Rani Now, all these persons from Chamba conspired to kill Bhaularadeva and administered poison to him. After his death, they continued to stay their saying that they had to protect the child. Thus Kishtawar became a colony of Chamba.

INTERLUDE

During the infancy of Lachmandeva, the affairs of the state were controlled by the Rani, her brother and their kith and kin, who went on coming from Chamba. The net result was that for every region of the realm, they imported officers from Chamba, who were indifferent to the welfare of the people. While the masses groaned due to corruption, the Rani and her advisors did not care. There occurred an exodus of people from Kishtawar and they ran away to the adjoining territories. The local zamindars tried to save themselves but in vain. When Lachmandeva became major, he understood all this scheming of his uncle. For his marriage, they brought a girl from a royal house of Chamba. All this was done to keep him under their thumb. Lachmandeva would visit various regions of his father's dominion and meet people, who would complain about atrocities inflicted on them by the Chamba clique. No body cared for Lachmandeva and he felt humiliated. Once, when he had gone out for hunting, a deputation of elders from Kishtawar met

him. Its leader was the head of Padyar clan whose name was Sampoorana Shana. They implored the young Raja to exert himself and make an end of the Chamba click. But this news leaked out and Lachmandeva had to suffer a terrible reversal. His maternal uncle, who had usurped the chiefship, contrived to kill him. It so happened, he had been to Dachhan for hunting and his wife and retinue was with him. When he was in the forest, some one fired at him and he fell down. The Raja was taken into shelter along with his wife and retinue by the Padyar clan. It so happened that when they were hiding in a forest, a tiger roared and the Rani gave birth to a child, who was named Singha, meaning a tiger.

The Padyar tribals rose against the Chamba click and in their struggle, they were helped by the mercenaries from Jammu. Bhagwan Padyar succeeded in killing the maternal uncle of the young Raja. After this, all those who belonged to Chamba started running away towards Chamba, and most of them were killed in the way. The Padyar clan had the full support of the priests and their chief, Ratnakara by name. The Raja and his son were brought out of the hiding and crowned at the capital town of Kishtawar.

Lachmandeva did not forget the attempt on his life at Dachhan. He organised his soldiers and led an attack on the region. Every one who came in the way was killed. He was ruthless in his clearing operations and besides killings, he made many captives. These slaves were brought to Kishtawar. When he had settled, the Raja established a

few religious endowments. He made land grants in favour of the priests and the Brahmanas. This place, where he made grants is called Lachhbatha.

SIMHA SINGH

At the time of his birth, he was named as Singha. His mother used to call him Devi Singh. At the outset of his reign, there occurred a rebellion in Pogal and Peristan. His vazir, Bhagwan Padyar died in suppressing the rebels. He himself went and succeeded in punishing the rebels. Having succeeded, the people renamed him as Sangram Singh, meaning the lion of the battle. He was brave, courageous and just and these qualities made him very popular with the people.

The Raja patronized the Brahmins and the Khistriyas with cash and grants. He rehabilitated a great number of Brahmins in his capital town of Kishtawar and the place is still known as Sangrambhata. Why he did it, is given in detail in another work. After having organized his forces, the Raja proceeded towards the *taluka* of Nagsain to crush a rebellion. In the mean while, a genni in the shape of an elephant emerged near the Choogan Maidan and possessed many persons; killing some of them and ailing some of them. The Raja consulted his advisors and was told about a Brahman priest of Nagsain, who possessed miraculous occult powers. After having crushed the rebellion at Nagsain, the Raja obtained the services of a priest named Sangramanatha, for driving out the genni of Choogan Maidan. The priest came and through the occult powers was able to control the genni. The Raja bestowed many honours on him. At the same time,

he made this place, the habitation of royal priests, who were given cash and land grants.

INVASION ON RAJAORI

Among the ten sons of the Raja, Nar Singh was very brave and adventurous. He was very fond of hunting expeditions and would always engage himself in mountaineering. This lad asked his father to equip him with a military force and a retinue so that he could go to the mountains without any fear. After having equipped himself with arms and collecting soldiers, Nar Singh proceeded towards Kanthi in Ramban region. Having spent time in the forests, the lad proceeded to Arnas. From that place, he and his soliders crossed into the State of Rajaori. He made incursions into Rajaori and Poonch from time to time. At the same time, he informed his father that he had conquered Rajaori and Poonch. But Raja Sangram Singh advised him to retard his retard his further adventures and stay posted at Kanthi.

ASSEMBLY OF HILL CHIEFS

Raja Sangram Singh convened an assembly of adjoining hill chiefs in his capital town of Kishtawar. Some attended the assembly in person and some deputed *vakils* on their behalf. But the Raja of Riassi did not attend the meeting. Raja Sangram Singh considered it as an insult to his person. Having declared his son, Jagat Singh as heir apparent, the Raja marched his army into Riassi. Despite his efforts, he could not succeed and lost his life in the battlefield. This news created a stir in Kishtawar with the result that Kishtawar

soldiers and private mercenaries joined hands to wage a war against Riassi. These inter-state battles continued for seven years. Riassi was devastated by the Kishtawari forces. It also succeeded in conquering the territories of Chineni, Krimchi and Bahuti. Sangram Singh was a powerful ruler and many neighbouring principalities paid allegiance to him. But his son proved more capable and extended the state right up to Riassi.

JAGAT SINGH

Jagat Singh ruled over Kishtawar with a strong hand. He made his younger brother, Suraj Singh, the commander of his army. Suraj Singh suppressed disturbances in Poogal and Kanthi and annexed the region with Kishtawar. Jagat Singh is remembered to have extended political domination of Kishtawar on all regions between Riassi and Paddar. He was a shrewed politician and placed his son Bhag Singh on the throne of Kishtawar, during his life time. After this, he retired from active life and became a hermit.

BHAG SINGH

Bhag Singh became ruler of Kishtawar, during the life time of his father. He was a just ruler and loved his subjects. He did not allow any rebellion in his state. He founded the village of Bhagwa in Doda.

MINOR RAJAS

Bhag Singh was succeeded by his son Shingar Singh. No information is available about his achievements. He ruled for a short period and was succeeded by Megh Singh. He lived long and even

saw his grand children and great grand children. He distributed gold among the royal priests. Having parcelled out the state among his children. He advised them to live in friendship and brotherhood. Appointing his eldest son, Devang Singh as the Raja of Kishtawar, he drowned himself in Chenab.

Devang Singh continued as Raja for some period after which the throne passed to his son, Dulat Singh. After his death Nahar Singh became the Raja. Nothing is known about him was succeeded by Kir Singh.

KIR SINGH

Our chronicler has not much information about Kir Singh. He was a pious man and engaged himself in meditation through out day and night. Having succeeded in having occult powers, he would know and predict future. He would sit in the company of *faqirs* and mendicants. He proceeded to visit holy shrines of the Ganga and died there. He was succeeded by Sher Singh who ruled for some time. After his sudden death, the throne passed to his minor son, Pratap Singh. His mother, the Rani became his regent and continued to rule.

PRATAP SINGH

After becoming major, Pratap Singh started his rule in right earnest. At the same time, his younger brother Nar Narayan Singh absconded and went to Chamba. He spent some time there in enlisting private mercenaries. At the instigation of the Raja of Chamba, who provided him with soldiers, Nar Narayan Singh invaded Kishtawar. Both the brothers fought many battles which

brought havoc and devastation to the state. Pratap Singh obtained aid from Kashmir and Jammu and succeeded in crushing his brother. Nar Narayan Singh failed in his attempt to capture Kishtawar and fled away in the hills.

FOREIGN INVASION OF KASHMIR

In 1533 A.D. Ladakh witnessed an invasion by Said Khan of Kashgar. After having occupied Nubra, he deputed his commander, Mirza Haidar Kashgari for the conquest of Kashmir, with an army consisting of 27000 soldiers. The invaders reached Srinagar without facing any opposition, for the Kashmiris hid themselves in the mountains. Mirza Haidar ordered general massacre of the people. As such, many Kashmiris were put to death and their women and children were made captives. The Kashgari soldiers let loose a reign of terror in which houses were burnt, properties were looted and immoral acts were perpetuated. Despite these sufferings, the Kashmiris once again united to drive out the ruthless raider and inflicted a crushing defeat to Mirza Haidar Kashgari. In all 1600 raiders were killed by the Kashmiris in the battle of Martand. Mirza Haidar Kashgari sought peace and left Kashmir along with his remaining soldiers. But in his heart he retained the desire of attacking not only Kashmir but Kishtawar also. Why did he bracketed Kishtawar with Kashmir? The main reason for such an attitude appears to be the importance of Kishtawar for Kashmir. It is a historical fact that Kishtawar served as a base and a refuge for Kashmiris. Secondly, the battle between Mirza Haider and the Kashmiris, in which a major number of

his Mughal soldiers perished, had occurred in the krewas of Bawan which is adjacent to Maru Wardwan. At that period of history, the politics of Kashmir was controlled by four groups and the Kishtawari group was prominent. So writes the author of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari*:

“During these days four groups are honoured in Kashmir. The first group consists of the Eidi Rani, the second of Hassan Mgray, and the third are the Kishtawaris and Bairam Chak.”

RAIBHAN SINGH

Raibhan Singh ascended the throne in 1540 A.D. He continued administration of his kingdom on old lines and did not interfere in the old order of things. The social system was caste-ridden and the Brahmans occupied a position of privilege. The common people engaged themselves in agriculture and trade. The landlords termed as Thakurs or Ranas lived in comfort and luxury. Though Kishtawar was engulfed in peace Kashmir was in trouble. In 1541 A.D. Mirza Haidar Kashgari again invaded Kashmir to avenge his previous defeat. This time, he had, not only furnished himself with a huge army but obtained secret support of the disgruntled elements among the nobles of Kashmir. This time Mirza Haidar Kashgari gave a religious interpretation to his killing of Kashmir people. He ordered burning of houses, killing of people and general massacre of Muslims belonging to the Shia school of thought. All those who were tortured were thrown as food for dogs and corpses of their ancestors were dug out from graves and burnt down.

As previously, Kishtawar had always given refuge to the sufferers from Kashmir. Mirza Haidar Kashgari wanted to teach a lesson to the Kishtawaris. As such, he proceeded with an army for the conquest of Kishtawar. In 1547, he deputed an advance force towards Dudpeth, while he himself reached Chatru on the other side of the river Maru.

INVADERS DEFEATED

Having received information about this invasion, Raibhan Singh made necessary arrangements to meet Mirza Haidar Kashgari. He arranged his army at the junction of the river Maru with its tributaries. Kuka with a contingent of soldiers from the invading army proceeded to make recognisance but was intercepted by the Kishtawari forces. He was killed along with 25 soldiers and the rest fled to inform Mirza Haidar Kashgari. The invaders were ignorant of the terrain while the Kishtawaris knew every inch of their land. Narayan Padiyar, the commander of the Kishtawari forces had spread his detachments in such a way so as to occupy high altitudes. As such the Kishtawaris were in a better position to watch the movements of the enemy. Mirza Haidar Kashgari thought of avoiding face to face combat with the Kishtawaris and took a turn towards Dhar but here the people threw stones and boulders from mountain tops on his army. This skilful maneuver of the Kishtawaris disheartened the invaders who found safety in flight. Now, Narayan Padiyar and his soldiers led the main attack on Mirza Haidar Kashgari. His soldiers started annihilation of the enemy troops while the people

continued hurling of boulders on Kashgaris. The sight of the battle became the graveyard for the invaders and was named Mughalmazar or the graveyard of Mughals. It was changed to Mughal-*maidan* or the Mughal playground during Mughal ascendancy when Kashmir was conquered by Akbar. Having been defeated, Mirza Haidar Kashgari left the battlefield and fled to Kashmir along with his remaining army.

Our chronicler has a different version of the story. According to him, Kishtawar was invaded from three sides but the invaders left after some time. He has this version for the death of Raibhan Singh.

“Raibhan Singh had a son whose name was Jayas Singh. Keeping him at the capital city, the Raja went to suppress a rebellion in the *taluka* of Kanthi and Siraj. Despite his efforts he could achieve nothing and lost his life, while fighting the rebels.”

Jayas Singh was in trouble and applied for help from Kashmir. It was due to the Kashmiri force, sent from Srinagar that he ascended the throne of Kishtawar. He is also known as Viajay Singh or Vijay Singh.

VIJAY SINGH

Vijay Singh ascended the throne after the death of his father. Soon after, he faced a rebellion from the people of Siraj. The Raja himself proceeded with his army to the site of rebellion and crushed it with an iron hand. Those who resisted were put to sword and those who submitted were made slaves. Only

children and women were spared. In order to keep watch and ward over the region, he got built a fort and founded a town at Bajarni to keep his soldiers there.

Soon after information reached him about another rebellion in the *illaqa* of Sharoti. He brought more reinforcements and proceeded to crush the insurgents. He let loose a reign of terror on the people, because the rebels had taken refuge in private houses. Most of the people were killed and the rebellion seemed to have been crushed. However, unrest prevailed in the region and the Raja had to remain there indefinitely. He brought his *harem* from Kishtawar to Bidhat so as to continue his stay there. The insurgents who had been suppressed thought of a stratagem and selected Gagh and Jalal to kill the Raja. These two conspirators who acted as servants and had easy access to the palace. They managed to kill the Raja during one dark night. Their next target was to kill the crown prince, but he was concealed by a faithful servant, who got a refuge for him in a Ghanai family at the capital city of Kishtawar. In the meanwhile, the rebels killed most of the soldiers, burnt the royal palace and eliminated all signs of kingship.

BAHADUR SINGH

It took several years for the elders in Kishtawar to establish some sort of order in the region. When the prince attained majority, he was placed on the throne. Now, the first question before Bahadur Singh was to avenge the murder of his father. For this, his first act was to reorganise his army and collect as many youngmen as possible for

conscription. All the soldiers were equipped with swords, arrows and bows, axes and other weapons.

The Raja held a war council in which elders and elite joined. It was argued and decided that the best way to punish the insurgents was to burn all existing houses in the region. When his army entered the *illaqa*, it set fire to all houses, killed all males and made all women and children captives. The net result was that in a short time, all the villages from Salna to Tatani were burnt down and laid waste. The Raja ordered his soldiers to kill every male member of the families in the region. None was spared and women were made captives. Every soldier was permitted to engage himself in loot, arson and barbarity. The net result was the devastation of the whole region. In this way the Raja had avenged murder of his father and now he felt satisfied.

CHAK INVASION 1572 A.D.

Ali Shah became the ruler of Kashmir in 1570 A.D. Soon after his accession, he faced numerous conspiracies aimed at ousting him from the Sultanate. All these conspiracies had the support of the Mughals who wanted to annex Kashmir. Some of the conspirators had taken refuge in Kishtawar to the resentment of Ali Shah. The Raja of Kishtawar knew the troubles of Ali Shah and wished to take an advantage of the situation. As such, he in the first instance refused to pay homage to the Kashmir Sultanate and secondly, granted refuge to the enemies of Ali Shah.

All these acts of the Raja, enraged

Ali Shah, who deputed a huge army for suppression of Kishtawar under the joint command of Abdal Khan, Ali Khan and Nouroz Chak. Ali Shah, himself proceeded up to Singpur, a village situated on the south side of Marbal pass. Bahadur Singh who had no resources to face this attack decided to submit. Promising his allegiance to the Kashmir Sultanate, he paid his homage to Ali Shah and promised to remain faithful to Srinagar. As a proof of his fidelity, he presented his younger sister, Sankardevi in marriage for the prince Yaqub Khan.

SECOND INVASION OF KASHTAWAR

Bahadur Singh had suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Ali Shah. He started reorganisation of his army so as to avenge this defeat. When news of this preparation by Kishtawar reached Ali Shah, he became annoyed with anger. In order to punish Bahadur Singh, a big force under the command of Ismail Ghanai and Haidar Chak was deputed from Kashmir. The Raja could not face this invasion and submitted as before. This time, besides paying homage, he presented his daughter, for marriage with the Kashmiri king. The lady was renamed as Fateh Khatoon or "the lady of victory" at the time of her marriage with Ali Shah. At the same time, Bahadur Singh had to depute his son, prince Narayan Singh to Srinagar as a royal hostage. In order to prove his loyalty he sent many presents for the King of Kashmir and also bound himself to remain faithful in future. After this event, both the rulers of Kishtawar and Kashmir had bound themselves in matrimonial alliance and remained faithful

to each other. In fact, since that time, Kishtawar always took side of the kings of Kashmir and even gave refuge to them against the onslaught of the Mughals.

AKBAR AND KISHTAWAR

Akbar took over as the Mughal emperor of India in 1556. Since his accession to the throne, he aspired to annex Kashmir. He experimented various schemes formulated by Abul-Fazal but none succeeded. Akbar had the whole of northern India under his thumb and one by one, all small and big Rajas and chiefs had submitted before his might and offered allegiance to the Mughal throne. Ali Shah Chak, the Sultan of Kashmir, who has occupied the throne in 1570 knew about the might of Akbar. It was after two years of his accession that he had succeeded in obtaining the submission of the powerful Raja of Kishtawar. All these reports had reached Akbar, who himself was desirous of not only capturing Kashmir but Kishtawar also. During that very year when Ali Shah subdued Kishtawar, an embassy from Akbar reached Srinagar which included Qazi Saddar-ud-din and Maulana Ishqi. The retinue was received by Ali Shah with all honours and respect. Akbar had demanded the daughter of the Sultan for his son Jahangir. It was also demanded of him to read Khutba in the name of Akbar so as to acknowledge his overlordship. The Sultan not only read Khutba in the name of Akbar but also agreed to the matrimonial alliance. He sent his niece for betrothal with Jahangir along with many presents.

After this event, Akbar deputed a big force under Hasham Khan, Safdar Khan

and Ahmad Beg for the conquest of Kishtawar. As this news reached the Raja, he felt panicky and called for his advisors. When nothing came out of these discussions, an old lady taught them a strategem by which they could kill the invaders. At a spot on the way leading to Mughal Maidan, there is cave-like gorge and it is very easy to hide oneself there and kill the incoming persons. Hence, the Raja entrusted this work to a squad, who succeeded in killing each Mughal soldier, who passed that way. When a large number of soldiers disappeared from the hanging gorge, they all felt panicky and ran away. Most of them were killed by stone throwing of the Kishtawaris.

CONFEDERATION OF HILL STATES

In 1588, a secret confederation was formed by the hills states under Raja Bidhi Chand of Kangra, with the aim of defying the overlordship of the Mughals. He had nourished grievances against the Mughals, who had confiscated some villages from his state and handed these over to Chamba. The net result was that except, Chamba, Kulu, Mandi and Sukeet, all the princely hill states of the Punjab, between Sutlej and Chenab rebelled. Accordingly, the Mughal emperor deputed Zain Khan Koka, with a large force to bring them into submission. After defeat, 13 hill chiefs accompanied him to Delhi to offer allegiance. Bidhi Chand had to submit and kept his son, Trilok Chand as a hostage at the Mughal court. During this period, Kishtawar had accepted protection of the Chak Sultans of Kashmir, who were antagonists of the Mughals.

END OF THE SULTANATE

Subjugation of Kashmir by the Mughals led to the end of the Kashmir Sultanate. Akbar, the Mughal emperor of Delhi was jealous of the tiny independent kingdom of Kashmir and wanted to annex it as soon as possible. First he tried to raise differences among the Kashmiri elite by purchasing a few among them. After the death of Ali Shah, these agents of Akbar, incited the relatives of the late king to fight among themselves for the throne of Kashmir. At the time of his accession, Yousaf Shah faced a serious threat from his uncle Abdal Khan, who claimed the throne. In the battle that ensued between them many died but Yousaf Shah won. This event shows to what extent Akbar's spies and agents had succeeded in sowing seeds of dissensions among the nobility of Kashmir.

Hardly had Yousaf Shah continued to rule Kashmir for two months when, he faced another big rebellion from the junta consisting of Abdal Bhat, Lohar Khan, Ali Khan, Fateh Chak and Mubarak Khan. In the battle that ensued, Yousaf Shah suffered a crushing defeat and roamed from place to place with his compatriots. He was advised to approach Akbar the Mughal emperor, which he did gladly and reached Fatehpur Sikri, to seek help. Akbar promised help but in his heart had designs on Kashmir. After waiting for an year, Yousaf Shah left the Mughal court on his own accord and reached Kashmir along with a band of four thousand soldiers. He succeeded defeating the rebels with the support of the people of

Kashmir, who welcomed him. Akbar had failed in his designs for the second time. Having got enraged, the Mughal emperor ordered invasion of Kashmir in 1585.

The invading army reached Baramulla where it was met by the Kashmiri forces. In the battle which ensued the Mughals were defeated by the Kashmiris. However, after the defeat, Bhagwan Dass, the commander of the Mughal forces played a trick. Accepting his defeat he threatened Yusuf Shah with dire consequences and at the same time implored that should Yusuf Shah Chak accompany him to the Mughal court, he will be confirmed on the throne of Kashmir and in future he will have no interference from Akbar. The Sultan scummed to this stratagem and left for the Mughal court against the wishes of his sons and the Kashmiri army.

Having lost their king at the time of their success, the Kashmiris deposed Yusuf Shah and installed his son Yaqub Shah on the throne of Kashmir. Akbar could not tolerate such an insurgency from Kashmir and as such deputed a bigger force for the conquest of Kashmir. The Mughal forces met resistance from the Kashmiri forces but attained an upper hand because the Kashmiris were divided among themselves. In 1586, the Mughal forces reached Srinagar and thus Akbar succeeded in annexing Kashmir to his empire. Sultan Yaqub Shah had no option but to take refuge in Kishtawar. His reign lasted for thirteen months only. Thus came to an end the last independent ruler of Kashmir.

CHAKS IN KISHTAWAR

After the conquest of Kashmir by the Mughals, the Chaks and other Kashmiri compatriots took refuge in Kishtawar. The Raja provided them with all moral and material support against the Mughals. From his base in Kishtawar, Yaqub made four attempts to recapture his lost throne of Kashmir but failed. Having lost all hope, he absorbed himself in prayers while his queen, Sankardevi took some works of public utility in Kishtawar. She got built an irrigation canal from Konganbaran to the town, which is known as the canal of "Sankar-mooji" or Mother Sankardevi. She also got built another canal from the spring of Kalinag to Zewra. After the death of Yaqub Shah, the Kashmiris continued their struggle for regaining the Valley of Kashmir from the Mughals. For this purpose they used Kishtawar as a base. In 1604, in retaliation, the Mughal Governor of Kashmir, Mohammed Quli deputed a huge force to crush the insurgents. The Raja had no resource but to submit and promised to:

- a) accept the suzerainty of the Mughals.
- b) remain faithful to Akbar and his dynasty.
- c) provide no refuge to Chaks and other compatriots.
- d) pay annual homage to the Mughal emperor.
- e) send, as many as possible, hostages as surety.

Hence-forth, Kishtawar became a tributary state of the Mughal empire.

SOHAN SINGH AND AKBAR

Sohan Singh and Mehtab Singh were twin brothers. The Raja placed the elder incharge of the Padyar tutors and the younger incharge of the Rana tutors. At the time, they attained youth, both had their factions behind them. Both the Padyars and the Ranas wanted to project their candidate. It so happened that on the day of *Nauroz*, the Raja could not come to the *darbar* himself, for he was ill. He sent his eldest son, to represent himself in the assembly. When Sohan Singh sat at the royal seat, the Padyars came forward and garland him. This meant that he was the future ruler. This act, not only enraged the Ranas but also created misgivings in the mind of Mehtab Singh. The old Raja also became unhappy and felt that it was a sort of a conspiracy to overthrow his authority. He felt that the Padyars were the chief culprits, who wished to place Sohan Singh on the throne. The Padyars, on the other hand felt panicky and selected four representative elders for making a petition before Akbar, the Mughal Emperor.

The Padyars traversed a long distance from Kishtawar to Agra and succeeded in obtaining orders for the enthronement of Sohan Singh. At the same time, Akbar deputed a force consisting of one thousand horsemen under the command of Mirza Ali for assistance to Sohan Singh. The old Raja was on the death bed at that time. So Mehtab Singh took all measures to defend his position. For this,

he safe-guarded all mountain passes and dismantled all bridges on the Chenab. Sohan Singh, accompanied by Mirza Ali and the Padyars reached Sukeet via Belaspur. Here, they were entertained by the local Raja. After that they whole retinue reached Mandi and the Raja received the royal guests. From Mandi, Sohan Singh proceeded to Chamba and after crossing Badrawar, arrived on the banks of the Chenab.

Sohan Singh found all the bridges cut off but managed to cross it during night with the aid of inflated goat-skins. It was a night-mare for Mehtab Singh, when he found himself surround by the Mughal forces. A darbar was called by Mirza Ali, who placed Sohan Singh on the throne. Mehtab Singh was arrested and despatched to the court of Akbar.

Raja Sohan Singh opened the state treasures and distributed cash and gold among his followers. Mehtab Singh, who had gone to the court of Akbar developed relations with Ranas of Gwalior and Udaipur through marriage in the royal family. He even obtained some soldiers from the prices and invaded Kishtawar. But the Mughal forces came to the rescue of Sohan Singh and he retained his throne. Mehtab Singh was arrested and killed. Sohan Singh continued his rule without any interruption.

Raja Sohan Singh fell down from a *palki* and sustained injuries. He fell ill and passed away, leaving his son, Chambir Singh.

REBELLION IN MARU

Mohammed Quli Khan, the Mughal

Subehdar of Kashmir was not only clever but ruthless. He was very vigilant and deceitful. His ways of dealing with insurgents were very harsh. He knew that the anti-Mughal elements had spread in the Pir Panchal ranges from Anantnag to Maru and then to Kishtawar. He made an announcement that all able-bodied persons of Dachinpara would be granted employment and for this purpose, they should assemble near the spring of Bawan. When the youth had assembled at the spot, they were encircled by the Mughal forces and killed. Thus he wiped out the first recruiting base of the Chaks. Subsequently, he succeeded in killing Hussain Chak and Shamash Chak and a large number of anti-Mughals at Regipura. After attaining success in his attempts to curb anti-Mughal elements, Mohammed Quli Khan proceeded towards the Maru Wardwan valley, which formed a part of the Kishtawar state. In a battle which ensued between the insurgents and the Mughal forces, the Subehdar succeeded in obtaining submission of all zamindars of the region. They promised not to give shelter to the Chaks.

CONQUEST OF KISHTAWAR

Jahangir ascended the throne in 1605. Having reorganised the Mughal system of administration of provinces, he diverted his attention towards Kashmir. Still the Chaks had not been completely liquidated. Gohar Chak and Ibrahim Chak claimed the throne of Kashmir and continued inflicting lossess on the Mughal forces. Kishtawar formed the main base of their operations against the Mughals. The following is the list of Subehdars of Kashmir:

- 1) Nawab Qalbih Khan 1606-109
- 2) Hasham Khan 1609-12
- 3) Safdar Khan. 1612-15
- 4) Ahmed Beg Khan. 1615-18
- 5) Dilwar Khan. 1618-20
- 6) Iradat Khan. 1620-22
- 7) Itiqad Khan. 1622-33

The first four Subehdars spent their terms of office in subduing the unruly elements and the Chak insurgents with partial success in Kashmir. Despite their efforts, they could not achieve any military success in Kishtawar. But it was Dilwar Khan, the fifth Subehdar of Jahangir, who succeeded in the conquest of Kishtawar. In 1619, Jahangir issued orders for the invasion of Kishtawar. He warned Dilwar Khan that if he failed to deliver goods, he shall be demoted in position. This imperial warning caused much anxiety and alarm in his mind and he called a meeting of his close relative and trusted friends, for discussions. It was decided that for their survival from the wrath of Jahangir, they should whole-heartedly invade Kishtawar with a large force, and follow a scorched earth policy.

Gohar Singh, the new Raja of Kishtawar has ascended the throne during this very period. When he heard about the preparations being made by the Subehdar of Kashmir for an attack on his state, he discussed the matter with his advisors. It was decided to mobilise all available resources and face the Mughal invaders. At the same time, the Raja wrote the following letter and des-

patched it to the Subehdar of Kashmir:

"I feel that it does not behave well with a supreme power like the Mughals to invade a small state like Kishtawar. If the reason for intended invasion is realisation of insignificant tribute of saffron and a few birds, I am ready to comply with by sending the same myself. In that case there is no need for your presence in Kishtawar. If, on the other hand, you aim at usurping this land, then I must warn you that your efforts in that direction would be no more than waste of time. I hope you already remember the fate of Mirza Haidar and Kukamir, who invaded this land with the force consisting of 3000 soldiers and despite having forcing battle after battle on us, had to plunge themselves in the whirlpool of destruction. Not a single invader could save his life during that invasion. No person has solved this mystery during all these years from the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar to the twelfth year of the accession of Jahangir. Even Hasham Khan, Saffdar Khan or Ahmad Beg Khan tried their best to annex Kishtawar but failed in their design. It seems better that you take pity on your soldiers and do not plunge them in this invasion. Prudence demands that you should not put yourself and us in struggle and anxiety."

When this letter reached Dilwar Khan, he became enraged and ordered immediate invasion of Kishtawar. This invading force consisted of 10,000 horsemen, which was commissioned to attack from the side of Kashmir. At the same time, Raja Sangram Dev of Jammu had been ordered to stab Kishtawar from the

back so as to punish the rebels.

MUGHAL INVASION OF KISHTAWAR, 1619

Dilawar Khan made ample preparation for the invasion of Kishtawar because he was aware of the mountainous terrain and the determination of the Kishtawaris. In the first instance, he collected a huge force of ten thousand soldiers and equipped it with all requirements. He placed one of his sons, Hassan, to be in charge of the capital city of Srinagar. He appointed Gurd Ali Mir Bahar, who was an able commander, as the protector of frontiers. Dilawar Khan divided his forces into many contingents and made a three pronged attack on Kishtawar. Keeping a reserve contingent under his brother Haibat Khan at Vesu, he deputed his eldest son, Jamal as commander of the advance party through Murgan pass. Another contingent was sent under the command of his another son Jalal along with Nasarullah Arab and Ali Malik Kashmiri via Brarian-gan. He himself proceeded with a big force by the way of Singpur, a village situated above the left bank of the Kasher Kul. As a precaution he kept a part of cavalry with him.

Despite heavy resistance, Jalal Khan covered the mountain route to Narkot where a fierce battle was raged between him and Ibrahim Chak. In this battle Jalal obtained victory and Ibrahim laid his life in the battlefield. Jahangir writes in his autobiography:

“Keeping their sense of duty, the young soldiers climbed the mountain peaks. The brave among the army of Islam fought the infidels at every step.

The unlucky Ibrahim Chak was killed along with many of his companions.”

The above excerpt from Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri shows the extent to which religion was used by the Muslim kings to further their own ends. It is strange that Jahangir considered his soldiers as *Ghazi* or champions of Islam while he termed the freedom loving Kashmiri Muslims like Ibrahim Chak as *Kafir* or infidel!

The death of Ibrahim Chak brought a death-blow to the resistance of the Raja against the Mughal invaders. He fled from the field and after crossing the river Marau took refuge at Bhandarkot. At the time of his flight, the Raja ordered destruction of the hanging bridges on the river so as to prevent further advance of the enemy forces. Dilawar Khan got prepared wooden rafts for crossing the river but lost 78 soldiers in dashing current of the river. However, Jalal succeeded in crossing the river Chenab and proceeded with his contingent towards the rear. He had only 200 soldiers with him and such, moved in darkness so as to avoid detection. At dawn Jalal led an attack on the camp of Gohar Singh, which brought confusion among the Kishtawaris, who were cut to pieces. The Raja submitted and was brought as a royal prisoner before Dilawar Khan. Thus Kishtawar lost the rule of its independent Rajas. In this invasion, the Mughals were helped by Raja Sangramdev of Jammu, who had been ordered to attack Kishtawar from the south.

The Massir-ul-Umara has the following version about the Kishtawar expedition:

"In the 14th year of Jahangir, Dilawar Khan resolved to conquer the country of Kishtawar by means of 10,000 horse and foot. His soldiers mounted the hills on foot and fought stage after stage till they came to the river, where there was an engagement. The Raja of the country lost heart when Ibrahim Chak, who claimed to be heir to Kashmir and had taken protection with him, was killed. He crossed the river and halted in Bhandarkut which was on the other side. Though the brave men tried to cross by the bridge the resistance was such that they could not do so. At last, one day, Jamal Khan crossed the swollen river with a number of others by swimming, and engaged the enemy. From the river in question to the Chenab, which is a great support of theirs, they had placed musketeers and archers at every place. For four months and ten days every attempt that was made to cross ended in failure. It happened that one night, Jalal, under the guidance of a landholder, crossed with safety, and fell upon the Raja and sounded the trumpet of victory. Many were killed and the rest saved their lives by flight. Afterwards the Raja was made prisoner. Dilawar Khan took the Raja with him and produced him before Jahangir, in the 15th year near Baramulla which is the gate to Kashmir. Dilawar received various favours and was made an officer of 4000 with 3500 horse. He also received a present of a lac of rupees, being the revenue of the conquered territory for one year. As the Raja was not devoid of dignity, an order was given that

his sons should be sent for, in order that the Raja might be delivered from perpetual imprisonment, and might spend his days in peace. He obeyed and was treated with favour."

In March 1620, Jahangir made his first royal tour to the Valley of Kashmir. When his camp reached Shihabuddinpura, the Subehdar of Kashmir presented himself before the emperor. While giving an account of his Kishtawar campaign, Dilawar Khan presented Gohar Singh before Jahangir. The Mughal emperor felt happy and made a prize grant of one year's revenue of Kishtawar in favour of Dilawar Khan. As regards the Raja, he writes:

"The Raja of Kishtawar is an embodiment of royalty. Dressed like an Indian, he speaks both Kashmiri and Hindi. In comparison with the local landlords, the Raja looks well-bred and civilised. I have ordered that despite his faults he can be released from imprisonment, if he keeps his sons as hostages in the Darbar. For future, the *Khiraj* of Kishtawar is fixed at six annas per rupee."

The Raja having agreed to pay ransom, was permitted to return to Kishtawar. However, he kept his eldest son, Bhagwan Singh in the Mughal court.

When Gohar Singh reached Kishtawar, he found that Kishtawar had been placed under the control of Nasrullah Arab by the Subehdar of Kashmir. This man was very cruel to the people and they disliked him. Seeing that their Raja

had come back to the capital town, they raided the camp of the Mughal representative. Nasrullah Arab and his retinue was killed. In the mean while, Iradit Khan, who had replaced Dilawar Khan, as Subehdar of Kashmir, arrived in Kishtawar with a large force. He succeeded in capturing the rebels and killing them. He established various Mughal military posts in Kishtawar and succeeded in bringing peace and order to the region. Raja Gohar Singh was found innocent and as such, was allowed to be the Raja of Kishtawar.

BHAGWAN SINGH AT AGRA

Bhagwan Singh, in his capacity as the royal hostage from Kishtawar, was kept at Delhi for some time. He was provided with a house and some pension was sanctioned in his favour so that he could live with luxury. As a royal hostage, it was his duty to remain in attendance at the Mughal court. As time passed on, Bhagwan Singh won praise due to his exemplary conduct. His loyalty won him favours from the Mughal emperor and he was allowed to take into service *vakils* or representatives. He moved with the imperial Mughal court between Delhi and Agra. He appointed Giyas-ud-din of Agra as his *vakil*. He also kept Abul-Qasim, as his *naib-vakil* at the imperial court. After some period, Bhagwan Singh was taken into service by the prince Shah Jahan, who had been ordered by the Mughal emperor, Jahangir, to bring about annexation of the Deccan states. Shah Jahan was entrusted with the Deccan campaign due to the mechanicism of his step mother, Nur Jahan, the empress, who wanted to install her own son-in-law, as the next emperor. For this pur-

pose, her aim was to shunt away Shah Jahan far from the imperial court. In obedience to the wishes of his father, Shah Jahan kept himself engaged in the Deccan operations. In the mean while, Jahangir who had gone on an imperial visit to the Valley of Kashmir with Nur Jahan fell ill. Nur Jahan felt panicky but showed great presence of mind. She ordered immediate march of the imperial retinue towards Lahore. Her aim was to reach Lahore and declare Shar-ayar as the emperor of India. But nature was against her wish and Jahangir passed away in the way near Rajouri on October 29, 1626. Shah Jahan was declared emperor of India on January 29, 1628 at Agra.

In 1629, Shah Jahan decided to conquer Deccan and for this purpose ordered all the hill chiefs to accompany him along with their forces. Bhagwan Singh had already attained confidence of the Emperor and it was through his efforts that some of the hill chiefs, who were under arrest got freedom. Our chronicler has given lengthy account of this event, which is very interesting:

“The emperor was angry due to the disobedience of the hill Rajas, for they had not presented themselves in time for the Deccan campaign. Twenty-two of them had been placed under house-arrest at Delhi. It so happened that the emperor went out for hunting expedition. In the sky, he saw a falcon like bird, flying in the sky. After enquiry it transpired that the hawk belonged to Raja Bhagwan Singh. All tried their best to persuade the hawk to sit on their hand but failed. Some one in the reti-

nue said that this hawk belongs to a hilly region and is faithful to his master, just as Raja Bhagwan Singh is loyalty the emperor. Shah Jahan heard this and desired that the Raja be asked to present himself in the Darbar. But he was informed that the Raja had also been placed under house-arrest like other hill chiefs. The Emperor ordered his release along with other hill Rajas, because Bhagwan Singh interceded on their behalf."

JAGAT SINGH

After the death of Gohar Singh, one of his sons Ram Singh came to power but his reign was short and the throne passed on to Kam Singh. This Raja was very brave and could pick up two stone boulders like two small pins. A stone boulder could make seat for ten to fifteen persons. It was inscribed on these stones that the Raja was so brave that he could pick up these stone boulders. This Raja was succeeded by Jagat Singh, who became ruler of Kishtawar, while Bhagwan Singh remained at the court of Shah Jahan at Agra. None of the earlier works on Kishtawar make any mention of either Ram Singh or Kam Singh and these place Jagat Singh, after Gohar Singh. We are also told that Shah Jahan came to Kashmir on a royal tour and it was at that time that Gohar Singh presented himself and begged for royal sanction to the nomination of Jagat Singh as the heir apparent. The emperor having acceded his request, he returned to Kishtawar and distributed a lac of rupees among the poor as a thanks-giving ceremony.

When we analyse the above ac-

counts, it becomes clear that the ascendancy of Ram Singh and Kam Singh had no imperial sanction and as such, both of them have been ignored by earlier historians. Jagat Singh has been mentioned by all because the insignia of Rajaship was granted in his favour and he ruled over Kishtawar. During his reign an important event occurred which resulted in the return of Bhagwan Singh, who was at Agra. Jagat Singh invaded Bhadravar but during his absence, Raja Bhupal Paul of Basaoli, made a successful attempt to conquer Kishtawar. Jagat Singh returned in hurry to save his throne but was killed in a battle with Raja Bhupal Paul. Before leaving for Basaoli, Bhupal Paul kept his commander, Kantaka in the capital town. He also stole away all silver and gold from the treasury. He did not even spare the temple and collected all statues, including the famous Nilakantha Lingam, which he installed at Basaoli for worship.

BHAGWAN SINGH

After the termination of the Deccan campaign, Bhagwan Singh returned to Agra and settled there. He now occupied himself in reading and writing literature. As times passed on, he absorbed himself in prayers and meditation. For this practice, he would sit under a dry tree, which after some time, became green with leaves and rejuvenated. Hearing this, the emperor became very kind to him and loved him. He even made a present of a diamond rosary to Bhagwan Singh. He was also provided with amenities to live as a Raja and use princely robes and dresses. He was permitted him to use umbrella, embroidered with golden thread.

It so happened that the Raja went to Delhi to pay a visit to his friends. He stayed there for some days. He would often go for hunting along with other nobles. A princess, who saw him, fell in love with him and proposed for marriage. She even informed her mother about this love-affair and the news reached the emperor also. He was told to accept Islam and thus become the overlord of the hill states. "The emperor told him to think and keep it a secret and even Bhagwan Singh never exposed this secret."

During this very period, the disturbing news about the death of Jagat Singh reached him. He also heard about the occupation and annexation of Kishtawar by Kantaka. Hearing this, Bhagwan Singh presented himself before Shah Jahan and implored for assistance in regaining his ancestral throne.

KISHTAWAR CAMPAIGN

Shah Jahan issued immediate instructions to the Subehdar of Kashmir to provide all help, men and material, to Bhagwan Singh for the Kishtawar campaign. He also provided him with the services of two able administrators, Jivan Sain and Pran Sain, who were directed to set right the revenue and civil administration of Kishtawar. Keeping his *vakil*, Giyas-ud-din at the imperial court at Agra, Bhagwan Singh and his retinue proceeded towards Kashmir. Zafar Khan Ahsan, who was the Subehdar of Kashmir at that time, provided him with a strong force of 12000 soldiers. Bhagwan Singh proceeded towards Kishtawar from the side of Maru Wardwan

and reached Bandarkut in no time. The Mughal offensive was so sudden and Kantaka could not maneuver his forces with the result that he was arrested and his soldiers were annihilated.

Bhagwan Singh received a royal reception in the capital town of Kishtawar from the masses. He ordered that the victory over the invader be celebrated for one month. The celebrations started with much singing and dancing. The Raja ordered for an exhibition polo match in the Chogan Playground. Kantaka, who had been made prisoner in the battle was brought before the Raja who severed the head of the invader and played with it as a polo-ball. Thus, Bhagwan Singh laid the foundation of an annual Kantaka Jatra festival.

After having reconquered Kishtawar, Bhagwan Singh distributed his treasures among the Mughal soldiers. He despatched presents as well as Khiraj to the imperial court at Agra. He also despatched presents to the Mughal Subehdar of Kashmir. Now, he thought of consolidating his dominion and re-annex the adjoining territories. From Doda, he moved his forces to Kastigarh and conquered it. He built a fort at that strategic site. Then he proceeded towards Kanthi and subdued it. All submitted before his superior force and he conquered the whole region up to Piristhan.

Bhagwan Singh honoured the two brothers, Jivan Sain and Pran Sain with the posts of *vazir* and appointed Abul-Qasim, the son of his *vakil* at Agra, as *qazi* of Kishtawar. The Raja, being very particular to copy the Mughals, entrusted

his three sons, Maha Singh, Abhey Islamyar Singh and Rudera Singh to the care of eminent tutors, who taught them Persian. All the three excelled in culture learning and etiquette. The Raja deputed the younger sons to the Mughal court as his *vakils*. One of them stayed at Delhi and the other at Agra. He made his eldest son, Maha Singh alias Maha Jan Singh as heir apparent.

During his long stay at Delhi and Agra, Bhagwan Singh had learnt to live as a Mughal dandee. He not only wore the Mughal dress but acted and behaved as a Mughal. He was proficient in Persian, Hindi and Brijbasha. He introduced the Mughal etiquette in his Darbar, which he held every day for dispensing justice. He took interest in works of public utility and in the improvement of agriculture. He was a patron of arts and crafts and established *maktabs* and *pathshalas* in his state. His Darbar included a number of poets and singers also. It appears that while following some Islamic tenets, Bhagwan Singh observed Hindu rituals also and in this respect, he was an embodiment of composite culture.

RAJ TILAK OF MAHAJAN

Bhagwan Singh had proved his devotion and loyalty to the Mughal emperor. He received generous treatment from Shah Jahan. The Raja was very prompt in submitting *khiraj* and *nazrana* to the imperial court through his *vakils*. Bhagwan Singh having become old thought of nominating his successor. For this purpose, he obtained permission of the emperor, who, even sent a Raja from the imperial court to attend the *raj tilak*

ceremony of Maha Singh Mahajan. A big Darbar was held in the capital town of Kishtawar, in which neighbouring chiefs from Sukeet, Mandi and Kangra attended to come to felicitate the heir apparent. Many rejoicings were held in the region and the Raja distributed alms among the power.

MAHA SINGH MAHAJAN

Maha Singh succeeded his father as ruler of Kishtawar in 1650. He is also known as Maha Jan and composed poetic verses in Persian. He was a scholar and knew several languages including Sanskrit, Hindi, Kashmiri and Urdu. In history, he is known as a secular and just ruler. At the outset of his reign he kept his brother Abaysingh alias Islamyarkhan to Delhi to remain in attendance at the Mughal Court. Later he sent his younger brother, Rudara Singh to Delhi to remain there as a hostage besides his Vakil, Giyasuddin.

Maha Singh was a benevolent ruler who introduced many reforms in the administration of his state. He encouraged villagers to bring more soil under cultivation. He would hold his Darbar every day and hear petitions. His court included scholars and administrators. During his reign peace prevailed in the region and his subjects lived in contentment. Many Kashmiri families migrated into Kishtawar during this period and introduced arts and crafts. He not only permitted Muslims to build a mosque but also granted a Jagir for its maintenance. Himself a pious Hindu, he would visit the Nilkanth temple and pray for the prosperity of his subjects. Many anecdotes have been woven by the

people about his piety. Once when scarce conditions prevailed in Kishtawar due to the absence of rains, Maha Singh proceeded bare-foot to the Nilkanth temple and prayed for rains. He did not leave the holy place until heavy rains occurred in the whole of Kishtawar. Many stories are remembered up till now about his generosity and benevolence. Maha Singh would engage himself in prayers and would hold his Darbar occasionally. This created a rift among his courtiers. One of his vazir, who was a Padyar thought of installing some one else on the throne. Once, he went to the Raja and wished to relate some happenings. The Raja, retorted saying that all this sovereignty and governance of people is bestowed by the Will of Allah.

Aurangzeb usurped the imperial throne by arresting his father, Shah Jahan and killing his elder brothers. In order to impress his authority, he deputed Itiqad Khan to replace Lashkar Khan as Subehdar of Kashmir, in 1659. Maha Singh continued to rule over Kishtawar during this period. Aurangzeb desired presence of the Raja at the imperial court, but Maha Singh avoided and sent his son instead with *khiraj* and *nazarana*. He also deputed his qazi, Abul Qasim to wait upon the emperor and explain the whole position. When his son and the Qazi returned to Kishtawar, there was much rejoicing among the people.

FIRST MOSQUE IN KISHTAWAR

The influx of a large number of Muslims in Kishtawar started with the advent of Raja Bhagwan Singh, who had been provided with 12000 soldiers by the Subehdar of Kashmir. It cannot be

denied that majority of these soldiers professed Islam as their religion. It is also a historical fact, that prior to him, many Muslim soldiers and traders had settled in Kishtawar during the Chak period. After the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar, many Chak princes and nobles got refuge in Kishtawar and they made it a base for their anti-Mughal operations. Both Akbar and Jahangir organised several military campaigns against Kishtawar so as to punish the rebels. By the time, Bhagwan Singh came from Delhi to reconquer Kishtawar, nearly half of the populations consisted of Muslims. However, we find a mixed type of a society in Kishtawar during the reign of his successors, some of whom had adopted the new religion. Kishtawar and Kashmir have always maintained close cultural and political relations since past and it is no wonder that with the entering of matrimonial alliances with the Chaks, the Rajas of Kishtawar had practically joined the Muslim fold. Since the time of the marriage of Shankar Devi with Yaqub Shah Chak, the Rajas of Kishtawar had started believing in Islamic tenets. It was a sort of a composite culture which had been adopted not only by Kishtawar but by other hill states around Kashmir. When Jahangir returned to his capital from a visit of Kashmir, he found in Rajouri, inter-marriages between Hindus and Muslims. Jahangir was a tolerant ruler, but he ordered that henceforth only Hindu girls would be married in Muslims families. Rajouri, we know was an adjoining state with Kishtawar and once formed part of the dominion of the Rajas of Kishtawar. Shah Jahan, on his first visit to Kashmir in 1634 found in Bhimber that

a large number of Hindus had Muslim wives. Accordingly, he ordered that all those Hindus who had Muslim wives must become Muslims. At the instance of Shah Jahan, the Hindu Raja of Bhimber, who had Muslim Ranis, became a Muslims. Following his example, 400 Hindus became Muslims for the sake of their Muslims wives.

Similar conditions prevailed in Kishtawar during the period under review. The first mosque in the capital town of Kishtawar was constructed during the reign of Maha Singh by Mulla Bahadur and Mulla Hussain. For its maintenance, a jagir was granted by the Raja who also made cash endowment in favour of the Muslim priests. Thus we find Islam gaining its foot-hold in Kishtawar not due to forced conversions but social mix-up of society. Of course, later on, it were the influence of the Muslim saints and sufis, which accelerated the pace of conversions. It cannot be divided that some of the Hindus gave up their religion to obtain royal favours. Such was the case with the Rajas and princes of Kishtawar, who became Muslims for becoming more closer to the ruling families in Kashmir and India. The example of the Rajas was followed by their subjects.

INDRA SINGH

Indra Sing, one of the son of Maha Singh went to the imperial court at Delhi and presented his compliments to Aurangzeb. He met many Rajas and nobles of the Mughal court, possibly to win favour. From Delhi, the prince went to Nepal and married a Gurkha princes. After some period, Indra Singh returned

to Kishtawar. During his travels, he also visited the Rajas of Sukeet and Mandi. Mahajan Singh felt happy on the return of his son. After some time, the princes gave birth to a son, who named as Jai Singh. According to available sources, Raja Maha Singh had three sons and the eldest was Jai Singh. But our chronicler had made Jai Singh as the grandson of Maha Singh.

DEATH OF MAHA SINGH

Maha Singh passed away at a very ripe age leaving his sons and grandsons. Some have said that he surpassed one hundred years of life. He had kept a harm of nearly two dozen rains. At the time of his death nearly twenty ladies burnt themselves along with the dead Raja on the funeral pyre. These included some of his rains, maidens and consorts. According to our chronicler, even some pet animals of the old Raja were burnt in fire.

THE GURKHAS

Kalhana in his Rajatarangini mentions Nepal as a powerful state during the period when the Karkotas ruled over Kashmir. He speaks about the invasion on Nepal by Jayapida in late 8th century where he was defeated and imprisoned by Aramudi, the King of Nepal. The Rajatarangini, then gives an account of his escape from prison and his subsequent exploits against the Nagas.

Our chronicler establishes a connection between Nepal and Kishtawar, when he speaks about the visit of Indra Singh to Nepal and his marriage there in the royal family. He also establishes

that Jai Singh was born to the Nepali queen. After this speaks about the incursions of the Gurkhas in the hill regions just after the demise of Raja Maha Singh. His account is full of interest because we find the same policy being followed by Nepal in the beginning of the 18th century, when they wanted to extend their power over hill states. It was during this period that Nepal took effective steps to establish a Gurkha kingdom from Nepal to Kashmir. According to our chronicler, Nepal had made such an attempt earlier also, may be in the 17th century.

“Nepali forces, which were very large, attacked Kishtawar but the Raja had closed all passes. He had also informed other neighbouring Rajas about it. So when the invaders reached nearer the borders of Kishtawar, they were surrounded by the forces of Sukeet, Mandi and Jasrotha from the three side. The forth side was covered by Kishtawari soldiers. In the battle which ensued, not a single Gurkha soldier could save himself and go to Nepal.

JAI SINGH BAKHTIYAR KHAN (1663-1681)

Maha Singh Mahajan had three sons, namely, Jai Singh, Ram Singh and Sardar Singh. Due to old age, he could not attend to the duties of a ruler. Having nominated his eldest son as the next ruler, he handed over government in the hands of Jai Singh. The new ruler, made his brother Ram Singh as his *wazir* and Sardar Singh as his *Sepahsalar*. Maha Singh Mahajan passed away in 1665 and Jai Singh assumed full charge of his government.

The advent of the Mughal rule in Kashmir had produced far-reaching effects on Kishtawar. Not only with the Subehdars of Kashmir, the Rajas of Kishtawar had established direct contacts with the Mughal court at Delhi. They would always keep a Vakil at the Mughal court besides royal hostages. At the same time, the Mughal arts and crafts flourished in Kishtawar. Persian became the court language and the Kishtawari Rajas, even changed their religion. Many Kashmiri families settled in various parts of the kingdom. The main capital town became a centre of Islamic culture and learning. Those Kashmiri families, which had settled in the capital attained an overhand over the locals. Periodic and continuous migration of Kashmiris from Kashmir and their settlement in Kishtawar caused an alarm in the mind of the locals. Fearing an upheaval, he imposed a ban on the settlement of Kashmiris in his kingdom. His courtiers divided itself on this issue and his younger brother, Sardar Singh reached the Mughal court with a complaint against the Raja. Aurangzeb asked the Subehdar of Kashmir to seek an explanation from Jai Singh, who deputed his son, Kirath Singh to Delhi with presents. It appears that Sardar Singh wanted to fish in the troubled waters so as to obtain the throne of Kishtawar for himself. He was aware of the communal nature of Aurangzeb and in order to gain his favours told him that Jai Singh had banned the entry of Muslims in his realm. But the ruler of Kishtawar was more clever than him. The Raja not only deputed his son to the Mughal court to show allegiance and contradict all the above allegations levelled against him but also declared that he had become a Muslim, at the hands

of Hazrat Shah Mohammed Farid-uddin. Hearing this, the Mughal emperor felt pleased and bestowed the title of Bakhtiyar Khan on him.

HAZRAT SHAH MOHAMMED FARIDUDDIN

It is a historical fact that it were the Sufi saints and not kings, who spread the message of Islam by their exemplary conduct and spiritual powers. It was Hazrat Syed Abdulqadir Jilani of Baghdad who tamed millions of barbarous Tartars and Mongols. It was Hazrat Mir Syed Ali Hamdani who brought the religion of peace to Kashmir and thus ushered an era of tolerance, brotherhood and development in the valley. Similarly, it was Hazrat Shah Mohammed Fariduddin who reached Kishtawar to show an enlightened way of life to the people. He belonged to the Qadri order or *silsila* of Sufism. His father Hazrat Shah Syed Mustafa was one of the descendants of the illustrious family of Hazrat Syed Abdulqadir Jilani of Baghdad. From his childhood, Hazrat Shah Mohammed Fariduddin gave promise of piety and learning. Having completed his education in Arabia and Egypt, he migrated to India when he had hardly entered youth. For some time he stayed at Agra and Delhi spending time in prayers and meditation, and many became his disciples.

After a few years, the saint was directed by his mentor to go to Kishtawar. Accordingly, Hazrat Shah Mohammed Fariduddin proceeded towards Kishtawar along with his four disciples, namely, Syed Bahauddin, Syed Shah Abdal, yar Mohammed and Dervish

Mohammed. When the news reached the Mughal court, the emperor ordered Hafiz Abual Qasim to accompany the saint. During this journey, some others joined them and the caravan reached Kashmir in about 1665. After his stay in Kashmir, the saint proceeded towards Dang-Batal where people began to flock around him. The landlord of the area Lashkar Rai by name, accepted Islam at the hands of the saint and requested him to stay at Daing Batal. In order to settle the saint in his domain, he offered his daughter in marriage to him. After a lapse of few years, Hazrat Shah Fariduddin proceeded to Dada along with his disciples. Many families got attracted towards Islam due his teaching and spiritual powers. The landlord wanted the saint to remain permanently with him. As such, he entered into a matrimonial alliance with Hazrat Shah Mohammed Fariduddin and gave his daughter in marriage to the saint. After a few years stay at Doda, the saint proceeded towards Kishtawar at the request of the ruler who had constructed a palace for him. Thus, Hazrat Shah Mohammed Fariduddin made his final abode in the capital. Here he showed many miracles which have been recorded by some writers. It was due to him that the whole region accepted Islam as their way of life. It was by his spiritual powers and love for all that won for him the affection of all which continues uptill now.

CONVERSION OF KIRAT SINGH

The conversion of Kirat Singh to Islam is a controversial issue among the historians. According to one version, Kirat Singh was forced by the Subehdar of Kashmir to adopt the new religion.

After his conversion in 1687 he was named as Saadat Yar Khan. He was the heir apparent of Kishtawar at that time. According to another version, Kirat Singh became a Muslim due to the political pressure put on him by his uncle Kam Singh alias Deendar Khan. Another version, which is full of interest is requires to be reproduced.

“Raja Jai Singh had four or five sons from various queens. His eldest son was Sher Singh, who was renamed as Kirat Singh at the time of Raj-Tilak ceremony. Soon after the Raja died and a war of succession ensued. At that time, the Subehdar of Kashmir deputed his emissary, Narayan Dhar Pandit with a small contingent to Kishtawar. The emissary demanded Khiraj and Nazarana, which was paid. He also demanded presentation of Kirat Singh before the Subehdar. When the queen mother protested, the Pandit told her to obey orders for in case of disobedience, her son was bound to lose the throne. After her consent, Kirat Singh reached Srinagar and was treated well. He ate food cooked by a Muslim, thinking that the cook was a Hindu, as promised by Narayana Dhar Pandit. In the mean while, he was granted a robe of honour in accordance with the orders of the Mughal emperor. The Raja returned to Kishtawar, duly converted along with his cousin brothers, who were already converts. They informed the people that Kirat Singh had converted to Islam out of his free will. At that time the following orders of the Mughal emperor were received.”

- a) the practice of Raj-tilak ceremony be continued in the same way as was done earlier. For this, the Hindu priest should apply Tilak on the forehead of the heir apparent.
- b) the title of Singh be continued with the name of the ruler.
- c) in case of marriage, Hindu rituals be performed at the first instance and prior to *nikah* ceremony.
- d) both the Hindus and the Muslims should join to celebrate the Hindu *melas* and the Muslim *gurus*.

In accordance with the above orders, Kirat Singh got written a set of instructions for his successors.

KIRAT SINGH SAADAT YAR KHAN

Kirat Singh Saadat Yar Khan ascended the throne at a time when Kishtawar was passing through an era of transition. The majority of his subjects were Hindus while the Raja had become a Muslim. The Muslims who were in a minority had the backing of the Mughals. The Hindus felt that they had lost the ground and they crused the Raja for it. Both the religious groups felt suspicious of each other.

The most striking political act of Kirat Singh Saadat Yar Khan was to contact a marriage alliance with the Mughals. He considered that the Mughal emperor at Delhi, though weak, was still the fountain-head of all political power in India. The Raja got his sister, Bhupa Devi married with the Mughal emperor,

Farruk Siyar. This event occurred in the year 1717 and Bhupa Devi attained the position of queen number two of the Mughal emperor. It appears that the Raja felt panicky and wanted to consolidate his position. Perhaps he was under pressure from the Hindu masses who had also supporters in the Raja's relatives. His brother, Mian Mohanmed Khan, who had accompanied Bhupa Devi from Kishtawar to Delhi, obtained favours from the Mughal emperor. He was granted vast estates in the Valley of Kashmir as jagir. The following villages were bestowed on Mian Mohammed Khan:

Pahalgam, a village situated at the north end of Lidder valley.

Habalash, a region around the source of a stream, which joins the river Vishav in Anannag area.

Tarazoo, a village on the banks of Volur.

Kirat Singh Saadat Yar Khan was a benevolent ruler interested in the welfare of all his subjects. He would hold his Darbar regularly and dispense justice without favour or fear. In the evenings, he would hear music and songs. Himself a scholar, the Raja patronised poets, scholars and teachers. In order to usher an era of toleration he would not only initiate discussions but also participate in debates. He was generous and distributed his wealth among the needy.

ANTI-MUSLIM REACTION

Nadir Shah sacked Delhi in 1738 and demolished the edifice the Mughal monarchy. The net result was a civil war

among the claimants to the throne, who fought and killed each other. Chaos prevailed in every part of the Mughal empire. The Mughal Subehdar rebelled and declared their independence from the central authority. The Subehdar of Kashmir also rebelled against the central power. All these events did produce a sort of commotion in Kishtawar.

It has been stated earlier that among the royal family, some members adhered to their original faith while some had adopted Islam as their religion. The people, in general were also divided on the same lines. Among the elite, there existed two groups; the old group of Hindu nobles and the new emerging group of Muslim courtiers. Another factor, which produced much malice among the Hindus was the emergence of orthodox Mullas who were very particular about the dogma and doctrine. On the other hand, the Hindu majority had roots in the soil and the elite among them were very particular to defend their privileges.

Another cause of resentment was that while the Muslims were exempted from payment of rasums, the Hindus had to pay this tax. Among the Hindus, some people had already converted themselves to Islam for economic gains and many were following in suite. This tendency was resented by the high caste Hindus, more so when the Raja had given a free hand to the Mullas in their proselyzing efforts.

Another cause of resentment seem to be the introduction of the Shara'iat laws among the Muslims. Up to that time, the people used to contact mixed mar-

riages without any regard to religion. Now, Abdul Qasim, the Qazi and his son, Inayat Ullah wanted to enforce the Shariat Laws under which, no Muslim woman could be the wife of a Hindu. Such a sort of religious restriction was quite contrary to the common usage and practice in Kishtawar. It did effect many families and was a challenge to the self-respect of many Hindus.

In the Raja's household and family, there were two divergent classes, one adhering to the old faith and the other following the new faith. At the same time, there were some claimants to the throne, who wanted to depose the Raja, who had become old and had no issue. These elements intered into an alliance with the Padyars. It so happened that one of the Ranis of the Raja gave birth to a son, who was named as Amolak Singh. The brother of the Raja, who expected to ascend the throne after the death of the ruler, felt dismal at the birth of the heir apparent. Hence, they instigated the Padyars to make an end of the Raja.

THE PADYAR REVOLT

Since ancient times, the Padyar clan formed an important element in the society. Its leaders held important posts under the Rajas of Kishtawar. The Padyars formed a military class, which was utilised by the Rajas in their compaigns. The Padyars had shown great valour in defending Kishtawar against foreign invasions. It was Narayan Padyar and his soldiers who had defeated Mirza Haider Kashgari in 1547 A.D. It was this very clan which had fought against the

Mughals also. As such, this clan had attained the first position in the hierarchy of courtiers. The other classes consisted of Khwaja, Rathor, Shan, Chandail, Butyal, Ghanai and Gousani. Due to their valuable services to the state, the Padyars had obtained jagirs, high posts and other privileges. In fact, they were the king-makers and their advice was greatly respected by the Rajas of Kishtawar.

With the advent of Islam in Kishtawar, a new element entered in the society, which up to that time was predominantly a Hindu society. When the Chaks entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Rajas of Kishtawar, their example was followed by many. Later when the Mughals got prominence in Kishtawar, such mixed marriages between of Hindus and Muslims became a fashion. The Kashmiri troops as well as the Mughal soldiers, who were posted in Kishtawar, married among the Hindu families. Secondly, a new class of nobles consisting of Muslims from Kashmir and Delhi penetrated into the hegemony of the Kishtawari nobility. Such a situation created many fears among the old class, who saw the elimination of their privileges in near future. Naturally, it created a wave of resentment among the Padyars.

THE MASSACRE OF KIRAT SINGH

In the begining the conspirators included the clan of Padyars and the kith and kin of the Raja. Later on, other disgrunted elements also joined them. Among the chief conspirators mention may be made of Krishna Padyar, who

was a wazir in the court and his companions, Lala Padyar, Balram Padyar and Jaghu Shan. The Raja used to hold open Darbar in various places and the conspirators thought of a stratagem to massacre the Raja and his courtiers. In an open Darbar at Gulab Bagh, the conspirators presented themselves before Kirat Singh with some petitions. Krishna Padyar drew a dagger out of his sleeve and plunged it into the chest of Kirat Singh. Soon after, his companions and other conspirators unsheathed their swords and fell upon the courtiers. The Raja died instantly and his death created a confusion among his officers, who were either killed or ran away from the scene. Having killed nearly 35 courtiers, officers and advisors of the Raja, the conspirators dispersed themselves into their villages. The killed included both Hindus and Muslims which shows that the conspirators had other aims besides killing the Raja. It appears that the Hindu population was instigated against the outsiders, who were mostly Kashmiri Muslims. Secondly, this conspiracy meant that a section of the Hindus did not like the religious policies of the Raja. But there were other elements among the Hindus who were on the side of the Raja. However, the whole of Kishtawar fell into confusion and disorder.

After his murder, the Raja and his other courtiers who had fallen in Gulab Bagh were treated as martyrs and buried in a graveyard still known as Shahid-mazar or the graveyard of martyrs. Till lately the people would revere even the earth of this graveyard and use it as a talisman in ailments. When this news reached the Mughal court at Delhi,

the Subehdar of Kashmir was ordered by the Mughal emperor to deal with the rebels. Inyatullah, the son of Abul Quasim accompanied the Kashmiri army which was sent to punish the rebels. Krishna Padyar and his other companions were searched out and killed one by one. After some time, calm prevailed in the country and law and order was restored. The Kashmiri army which had succeeded in punishing the rebels placed Amolak Saadatmand Khan, the eldest son of the deceased Raja on the throne of Kishtawar.

AMOLAK SINGH SAADATMAND KHAN

After his succession, Amolak Singh Saadatmand Khan had to face the calamity of economic disorder in his dominion. There was scarcity of food in Kishtawar and he had to feed the people. Then there was the problem of all those courtiers and officers who had been killed by the conspirators. The Raja distributed much money among the poor agriculturists and artisans and provided much relief to them. He made grants in favour of all widows whose husbands had been killed by the conspirators. The descendants of his courtiers, officers and advisors were given jobs and posts. He reorganised his soldiers and posted them on the borders of his kingdom. He also took measures to see that all conspirators had been punished. Orders were issued for banning intoxicants in the region. He took measures to ensure safety of travel in the region. At the same time, the Raja gave impetus to agriculture and introduced some reforms in revenue collection. The Raja introduced

some innovation in his administration so as to achieve speedy justice to his subjects. He appointed Thanadars to look after law and order situation in various regions of his kingdom. Among the Thanadars mention be made of Inayat Ullah Khan and Aziz Ullah Khan who brought peace in the realm. Robbers were nabbed by the village watchmen and all centres of gambling were stopped in Kishtawar. The Raja took measures to bring about moral uplift of the people. Gambling and drinking was stopped through-out the length and breadth of the realm.

REVOLT IN KASHMIR

It was Akbar who extended the Mughal empire in India by annexing Kashmir through deceit. However, the Kashmiris could not forget that there was a time when the Sultans of Kashmir could rub their shoulders with the Mughal rulers of India. After his exit from Kashmir, Yaqub Shah had made Kishtawar, a base for his future operations against the Mughals. Despite the help he received from the people of Kishtawar, he could not reign his kingdom, and died in anguish. His dowager queen, Shankar Devi built an irrigation canal in memory of Yaqub Shah. Since then, Kishtawar always indulged in various activities in Kashmir to creat problems for the Mughals. However, the Mughals subjugated the Raja of Kashtawar, who accepted the suzerainty of Shah Jahan. The contact between Kashmir and Kishtawar continued as before.

The Mughal Subehdars deputed to Kashmir from Delhi let lose a reign of terror on the Kashmiris. Besides heavy

taxation they imposed other *rasums* on them and looted their properties. The Mughal soldiers inflicted many miseries on the people who lay flat on the ground completely crushed and demoralised. The Mughals would depute cruel and just Subehdars at intervals, so to crush as well as sustain Kashmiris for further exploitation. Aghar Khan who became the Subehdar of Kashmir in 1727 looted rich and poor alike with the result that the people rebelled against him. They even drove him out to Bramulla but could not face the Mughal imperialism. During the period of Ahtaram Khan and Abu Barkat Khan the Kashmiris died in famines. In rage they attacked the grain stores and set them on fire. Haibat Khan, the ruler of Muzaffarabad led an attack on Kashmir from the north. Mir Jaffar Kanth joined hands with the rebels and set shubrubs of the capital city of Srinagar to fire. Nearby 20 thousand houses got burnt down in this revolt.

KISTAWAR INVADES KASHMIR

It was not possible for the Raja of Kishtawar to remain indifferent about the turmoil in Kashmir. According to the Kashmiri historians, the Kishtawari soldiers found the people of Kashmir bleeding with wounds and in a miserable condition. This lead them to change their mind and instead of helping the Subehdar of Kashmir, they joined the camp of Babarullah Beg, who had raised the banner of rebellion against Abu Barakat Khan. In 1745, the people from the hill regions and Poonch also came down on the people of Kashmir. In this chaos and confusion, the Kishtawaris joined hands with the mercenaries from

Poonch and started looking and killing the Kashmiris in villages and towns. Our chronicler gives a different version of this incident which is full of details. According to him, the Raja held a council on the events which lead to the massacre of his father. He came to the conclusion that religion formed the cause of rebellion by the Padyar clan. He recalled that the set of instructions formulated in the reign of Kirat Singh had been forgotten. Accordingly, he announced that hence-forth, no compulsion will be tolerated in the case conversions and previous usages and rituals will continue. After convincing the masses he made them to swear to remain faithful to them. In the mean while, the brothers of Kirat Singh, who were living in Kashmir, invaded Kishtawar. Some of the Padyars who lived between Chhatroo and Chingam were made captives by the Kashmiri soldiers and despatched to Shahabad Doru. This enraged Amolak Singh, who collected a large force which consisted of young and old and invaded the Valley of Kashmir. He not only defeated the invading Kashmiri army but occupied the region of Shahabad Doru and Islamabad. His victory is recorded in local history. The Kashmiri soldiers have suffered a defeat sent their emissary, Pandit Rughunatha Bhan to settle the terms of peace. After discussion it was decided Banihal, Maru Wardwan and the villages on this side of the Pir Panchal Range would constitute the natural boundary, as in the past, between Kishtawar and Kashmir. Both the sides agreed to exchange khilat and presents and live as friends in future. After the truce, Raja Amolak Singh asked his posts to vacate Shahabad and Islamabad.

DEATH OF DALEEL SINGH

Amolak Singh had four sons, namely Mehar Singh, Sujan Singh from one *rani* and Ghuman Singh and Daleel Singh from the second *rani*. As Amolak Singh lived long, all his sons became major and were married. Daleel Singh was married with the daughter of the Raja of the Bhutta-land. After some time, Daleel Singh was murdered by the Bhuttas due to mistake. This tragedy caused much sorrow in the heart of the Raja, who left taking interest in the affairs of his state. He entrusted the administration of his realm in the hands of Mehar Singh and Sujan Singh and himself lived as a mendicant. He was about one hundred years old at that time.

RISE OF RAJA RANJIT DEV

About 1760, when the Mughal empire was attacked from the North by the Afghans and the Sikhs and from the South by the Marathas and the Jatas, the smaller Dugar principalities on Western side of the Ravi had become subject either to Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu or to Raja Kirpal Dev of Jasrota. Both the Rajas were rivals and aimed at subjugation of the remaining nine principalities in the Dograth. Raja Ranjit Dev was not only ambitious but was skillful and clever. In order to eliminate his rival from the scene, he played a successful trick. He sent his agents to all the petty Rajas and invited them for consultations against impending invasion either from the Sikhas or from the Mughals or the Afghans. He urged Raja Kirpal Dev to come to Jammu so that they might consult together as to their mutual interest. When the Raja reached

Jammu, he was imprisoned and his dominion was annexed. Raja Ranjit Dev succeeded in establishing his authority over the entire country from Jasrota to Kuluwai on the Chenab by killing or eliminating all his rival Rajas. But still some powerful states like Basaoli, Badrawar, Bhimbar, Rajori and Kishtawar surrounded his dominion. It was not possible for him to advance towards the east because in that case he had to confront the principalities of the Trigarata, which were very powerful. Hence, he concentrated on Basaoli, Badrawar and Kishtawar. He gave his daughter in marriage with the Raja of Basaoli. He also entered into a matrimonial alliance with the Raja of Chamba, whose daughter he got married with his son, Brijraj Dev. Now, he had to deal with Badrawar and Kishtawar. He instigated his son-in-law, Raja Amrit Paul of Basaoli to invade Badrawar and bring it under his way. At the same time, he waited for an opportunity to interfere into the affairs of Kishtawar. Luckily, he got this opportunity after the death of Raja Amolak Singh.

MEHAR SINGH SAIDATMUND KHAN

Mehar Singh Saidatmund Khan had assumed the rule of his state during the life time of his father, when the latter had turned a mendicant. While making him the Raja, the old ruler had made his brother Sujan Singh as *wazir* of the state, and his another brother, Ghuman Singh as commander of the army. The death of the old Raja gave chance to Mehar Singh Saidatmund Khan to assume full powers and exert his position as the rightful Raja of Kishtawar. Both

Sujan Singh and Ghuman Singh were relegated to background, which caused resentment in their heart. Their enmity against the Raja knew no bounds and they conspired to kill him. Having failed in their mission both fled away to the neighbouring states for hatching conspiracies against Kishtawar. Sujan Singh reached the court of Ranjit Dev, the powerful ruler of Jammu.

Mehar Singh Saidatmund Khan became uneasy at the attitude of his brothers. He became peevish and fell ill due to magalomania. His *rani*, Vilas Maji nursed him day and night and the courtiers felt that he had become henpecked. At the same time, the Raja of Basaoli, who had extended his sway over Badrawar, invaded Kishtawar, and occupied it. The Raja passed away wept and un-sung. The soldiers from Basaoli, which numbered twelve thousand, brought havoc to Kishtawar. They set fire to many houses and engaged themselves in loot and arson. They even rampaged the Hindu temple of Sri Nilakantha.

THE RISE OF THE SIKHS

Up to 1748, the Sikhs consisted of about 65 roving bands but after that at the instance of Nawab Kapur Singh, these roving bands of the Punjab amalgamated into a Dal Khalsa consisting of 12 *misl*s or divisions. Each *misl* contested to annex the neighbouring territories and for this purpose conducted raids of the hill states. By 1770, Raja Jussa Singh, of the Ramgarhia *misl* became so powerful that the Rajas of Kangra, Nurpur and Chamba became his tributories. His dominion included almost the whole of

the hilly country between the Ravi and the Beas and the whole of Jalandhar plain. Raja Ranjit Dev who was powerful Raja of Jammu also wanted to extend his sway on the hill states and his immediate target was Chamba. In fact, he had forced the Raja of Chamba to give his daughter in marriage to his son. But even this stratagem could not help Raja Ranjeet Dev of Jammu, because of the protection offered by Raja Jussa Singh to Chamba. As such, skirmishes continued between the Sikh and the Dogras of Jammu for some time, until Ranjit Singh consolidated the Sikhs and established his kingdom in the Punjab.

During this very period, a roving band of the Sikh invaded the territory of Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu, who collected his soldiers to face the enemy. Raja Sujan Singh of Chamba, who at that time was a courtier in his court also went to the battlefield to fight against the Sikh. In the battle which ensued between the two parties, Raja Sujan Singh showed great valour in saving, Brijraj Singh, the hero apparent of Jammu, from the clutches of the Sikh. The Raja of Jammu felt much obliged to Sujan Singh and allowed him to proceed to Kishtawar, where his elder brother, Raja Mehar Singh Saidatmund Khan had passed away due to illness. Before allowing him to proceed to Kishtawar, he had to keep his son, Inayatullah Singh as a royal hostage in the court of Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu.

MOHAMMED SUJAN SINGH

At the outset of his reign, Raja Mohammed Sujan Singh took effective steps to win over the masses. He gave them a just administration and tried his best to

solve their economic problems. In order to help farmers he reduced the land revenue. The Raja, often distributed food grains among the draught-stricken areas. Even though, his treasury had been looted by the invaders, he distributed all available wealth among the poor. For the sake of his subjects, the Raja issued the following proclamation:

- a) None shall usurp the property of his brother, nor the property of a deceased brother's wife.
- b) None should marry those women, which are prohibited to him under personal law.
- c) Any one who capable of maintaining more than one wife, can do so up to the limit of four wives, provided he gives them just and equitable treatment.

By issuing the above proclamation, the Raja wanted to bring about moral upliftment of the people, who had degenerated into degradation. As an enlightened ruler, he aimed at introducing social reforms. He made specific endowments for orphans and widows.

In order to safeguard his state from invaders, he reorganised his army. The Raja would conduct regular tours in every part of his dominion. In order to have secure frontiers on the Kashmir side, he annexed the region of Banihal. For this purpose, he invaded the region and won after killing its ruler, Karam Baksh.

Raja Mohammed Sujan Singh was a scholar and knew Persian, Arabic, Hindi

and Urdu. He could compose verses in Persian and join discussions on philosophy, ethics and religion in his court. The Raja passed away at Kundi during his tour of Doda and was buried there. His rule extended to about ten years.

INTRUSION

The sudden death of the Raja during his tour and away from the capital town, plunged Kishtawar in turmoil and confusion. The heir apparent, Inayatullah Singh was at Jammu at that time. Raja Ranjit Dev, the ruler of Jammu had kept him in his court as a royal hostage. He was bound to release and depute him to Kishtawar but he did not do so because of ulterior motives. According to the Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar:

“Raja Ranjit Dev did not allow Raja Inayatullah Singh to proceed to Kishtawar at the time of the death of Raja Sujan Singh. He did it because of ulterior motives. Not only, stopping the heir apparent to go to his state, Raja Ranjit Dev also despatched his forces to occupy Kishtawar. He also granted favours in the shape of *jagir*, worth 12 thousand to the enemies of Raja Inayatullah Singh.”

After the death of Raja Mohammed Sujan Singh, his courtiers got divided into two groups; one favouring Inayatullah Singh and the other against him. Under such circumstances, the dowager *rani*, Vilas Moji thought of a stratagem. She placed her own nominee, Prithvi Singh, who was a son of the late Raja by a concubine, on the throne. In doing so her main aim was to keep some body on the throne of Kishtawar and thus

shelve the designs of Raja Ranjit Dev. But this action of the *rani*, was opposed by the cousins of the late Raja, who advanced their own claims to the throne.

Hardly six months had elapsed, when Ajit Singh, a cousin brother of the Raja succeeded in murdering Raja Prithvi Singh. It so happened that the Raja in company of his courtiers had gone to Bhandar Koot for Shikar. While the Raja was crossing a bridge on the Chenab, Ajit Singh approached him from the back pushed him down the bridge in the river. So Raja Prithvi Singh lost his life and Ajit Singh returned to the capital, declaring himself as the Raja of Kishtawar.

Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu had imprisoned the heir apparent of Kishtawar, Inayatullah Singh in the Bahu fort. He was in constant touch with his spies in Kishtawar and was watching the situation there. Having considered all issues, he acted in a swift way and sent his army to invade Kishtawar. It was a most opportune time for an invader because confusion and discord had engulfed Kishtawar. His nominee Lal Dev, found it very easy to usurp the throne from another usurper. Ajit Singh, who had set on the throne after murdering Raja Prithvi Singh, was defeated by the Jammu army and Lal Dev became the Raja of Kishtawar. It is imaginable as to how much satisfied would have been Raja Ranjit Dev on his success. But certain other events followed which resulted in bringing Inayatullah Singh into lime light and these started with the death of Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu.

INAYATULLAH SINGH

The death of Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu in 1782 provided an opportunity to the supporters of Inayatullah Singh for action. At that moment, the royal hostage had been kept in the Bahu fort. The elders of Kanthi met in secret and devised ways and means of securing release of Inayatullah Singh. Some of them reached Jammu in disguise and entered the fort. They succeeded in setting him free in the dead of night had hastened to Kishtawar along with the heir apparent. With the spread of this unexpected news, the people of Kishtawar rushed to welcome Inayatullah Singh, who was acclaimed as the rightful Raja. On the other hand, Lal felt nervous and asked for help from Jammu. When a few thousand soldiers arrived from Jammu, he made plans for an attack on Inayatullah Singh. His aim was to arrest him and for this purpose he proceeded towards Kanthi. In the mean while, the masses had flocked around Raja Inayatullah Singh and he was fully prepared to face the usurper. Both the forces met in the battleground and fought a fierce battle. In the end, Raja Inayatullah Singh won and the Jammu suffered a crushing defeat. Lal Dev fled away leaving his soldiers to the mercy of the Kishtawaris, who killed them. These who remained alive sought mercy which was granted. A pyjama was hung on a pole and the soldiers from Jammu were asked to proceed under this banner, without pyjamas. This was done to make them feel ashamed.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

After the defeat of Lal Dev, deputations from various regions came to the

court of Raja Inayatullah Singh to take an oath of allegiance. The elders from Banihal, Pogal and Piristhan came to offer their homage to the Raja and promised to remain loyal. From Kanthi, he proceeded to Doda and all came out to declare their allegiance to him. From that place he proceeded to Mahala and from that place to Barshala. All expressed their loyalty and related the stories of suffering at the hands of previous usurpers. He ordered construction of bridge over the river Chenab at Barshala. After obtaining homage from the people of Sarthal, he returned to the capital town of Kishtawar.

INVASION OF PADER AND BHADRAWAR

Having felt convinced that the people of Kishtawar had suffered economically, he thought of compensating them in one way or the other. He felt that the best way was to loot the neighbouring regions. Lal Dev had devastated Kishtawar in one way or the other. The villagers had left their fields and the livestock had diminished. In Kishtawar, there were no buffalo for ploughing purposes. It took him one year to organise his army for an attack on Padar. His soldiers looted the region and collected all livestock for distribution among the agriculturists of Kishtawar. The people of Padar ran away into forests to save themselves from destruction. After this success, his army invaded Badrawar and indulged in loot and plunder. All wealth which was obtained from Badrawar was distributed by the Raja among his subjects. In this, he compensated the loss of Kishtawar.

KASHMIR UNDER THE AFGHANS

In 1753 A.D. a deputation of the Kashmiris headed by Muqem Kanth and Zahir Dedamari reached Lahore. They had come to invite the Afghan rule over Kashmir and for this purpose met Ahmad Shah Durrani. Accordingly, Abdullah Khan invaded Kashmir with a force consisting of fifteen thousand Afghan soldiers. In this way Kashmir became a colony of the Kabul kingdom who deputed Afghan Subehdars, from time to time, to rule over the Kashmiris. These Subehdars let loose a reign of terror on people who were looted irrespective of their economic strength. The destruction of Kashmir is attributed to the Afghans and the havoc brought by them is remembered with anguish even up to the present times.

Azad Khan became the Subehdar of Kashmir in the year 1783 and remained at the helm of affairs for a short period of two years. He was a cruel tyrant who took pleasure in beheading one or two persons every day. While the Kashmiri historians have mentioned his invasion of Kishtawar, none of the Kishtawari sources make mention of such an event. Hassan describes this invasion in two lines:

“Azad Khan undertook an expedition for the conquest of Kishtawar, imprisoned the Raja after fierce engagement and brought him to Srinagar. After showering many favours and khilat on the Raja, he allowed him to go to Kishtawar.”

Azad Khan remained as Subehdar of Kashmir for a short period of two years

during which time he engaged himself in suppressing the revolts of the hilly regions of Poonch, Rajori and Muzaffarabad. As such, the story of an invasion by him on Kishtawar is a myth.

Inayatullah Singh had his friends in the court of the Subehdar of Kashmir. Two of them, namely, Rasool Malik and Bahadur Malik of Shahabad, informed the Raja about the hot-headedness of Azad Khan. They advised him to come to Srinagar for payment of *nazrana* and annual tribute. The Raja agreed to their advice and presented himself before the Subehdar of Kashmir along with presents. The Subehdar felt pleased to see Inayatullah Singh, who spoke fluently in Persian and impressed him. Inayatullah Singh was granted a *Khilat* and asked to keep his *vakil* at Srinagar.

MURDER OF INAYATULLAH SINGH

Inayatullah Singh was a poet and a lover of beauty. He could compose verses in Persian, Urdu and Hindi. One of his courtiers, Noor-ud-din had a beautiful wife, who developed intimate relations with the Raja. He wrote verses in her praise, which became popular with the people. This scandal enraged Noor-ud-din who decided to avenge this disgrace. Inayatullah Singh had twenty courtiers who were very near to him. Among them was his cousin, Gulab Singh, who in his heart of heart wanted to capture the throne. He had the secret support of Kashi Padyar, Ali Ghanai, Kanwal Sain and Bahadur Shah. Noor-ud-din became their advisor and they entered into a conspiracy to murder Inayatullah Singh.

Having administered drugs in his food and drinks, they succeeded in deranging the mind of the Raja. One night, these conspirators took him on the bank of the Sarkoot reservoir. Kanwal sain drew his sword and struck the head of the Raja from behind. Then came Noor-ud-din who put his dagger into the belly of Inayatullah Singh, who cried with pain. Gulab Singh who looked at the scuffle, then drew his sword and cut his throat. Ali Ghanai and Kashi Padyar went on striking the dead Raja. A mendicant, who witnessed the whole scene uttered a loud cry which made all the conspirators to run away into hiding. Soon the news reached palace and all inmates ran away for protection. At this critical occasion, the dowager queen Anwar Devi took an important decision. In order to save the life of heir apparent, who only two years old, she deputed him to a safer place in the city.

She feared that the conspirators would not spare him. This child, whose name was Mohammed Teg Singh remained concealed in the house of a priest for forty days. The next day, the murdered Raja was buried in the martyrs graveyard by his followers. Every one felt shocked and mourned the tragic end of their beloved Raja.

FORTY DAYS

Gulab Singh and his courtiers had acted swiftly and their action had not only shocked the people but paralysed them. The conspirators took advantage of the situation and declared Gulab Singh as the new Raja. All the chief conspirators became *wazirs* and were granted *jagirs*. Gulab Singh wanted to distribute

money so as to win followers but there was little left in the treasury. The previous Raja had distributed all among his subjects. However, soldiers and people loyal to the old Raja absorbed themselves in making plans to end the rule of Gulab Singh. On *chelum*, is a death ceremony observed on the fortieth day, people from all parts of Kishtawar assembled at the grave of Inayatullah Singh. After the ceremony, they came towards the Raja's palace. In the meanwhile, Bahadur Shah came to know about the intention of the people and hid himself in the shrine of Hazrat Shah Asrar-ud-din. A villager from Nagsain, who had a sickle in his hand came running after him and thrust it into the belly of Bahadur Shah.

Some of the loyal soldiers of the late Raja caught hold of Kanwal Sain and Ali Ghanai and killed them. Gulab Singh saw people approaching his palace told them to disperse but they said that they had come to pay respects to him. A soldier loyal to the old Raja fired at Gulab Singh but it missed him and instead killed his gaurd. Gulab Singh ran away to protect himself but the mass of people broke away the gate of the palace and started killing each and every one who came before them. Gulab Singh who had concealed himself in an underground cell was dragged out and killed along with his twenty followers. Thus came to end the rule of the usurper which an had lasted for forty days.

QUEEN ANWAR DEVI

At the time of the murder of his father, Mohammed Teg Singh was a minor. It was a critical situation because

some members of the Raja's family could take undue advantage of the circumstances. Kishtawar was surrounded by external as well as, internal enemies. Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu was waiting for any opportunity suitable for the conquest of Kishtawar. At the time of the murder of Inayatullah Singh, the dowager queen Anwar Devi had, taken a wise decision to protect the heir apparent by sending him to the house of a priest. Gulab Singh, the usurper had tried his best to know the whereabouts of Mohammed Teg Singh but had failed. Now, the masses had arisen and killed Gulab Singh. At this critical juncture in the history of Kishtawar, Anwar Devi played her role with striking sagacity. While declaring the accession of Mohammed Teg Singh to the throne, she nominated a council of regency to govern the state in the name of the infant Raja. Thus the vacuum created by the sudden murder of the old Raja was filled up. She proved her administrative capability by heading the regency for twelve years. She appointed Pandit Nand Ram as *wazir*. This man was not only faithful and loyal to the infant Raja but was a shrew diplomat and able administrator.

Pandit Nand Ram organised collection of revenue for the treasury. He knew that there were still many conspirators who were eager to snatch away the throne from the infant monarch. As such, he appointed Bakshi Cheta Ram as chief of the secret service so as to obtain news about the schemes of the enemies. He also entrusted the difficult job of internal security in the hands of Bakshi Koul Ram. All the three took an oath to save the infant monarch at all costs.

CONSPIRACY

Some of the courtiers joined together with the aim to remove the regency council and obtain all privileges for themselves. They approached Anwar Singh and Ratan Singh, the sons of Gulab Singh and offered the throne of Kishtawar to them. Both the princes wanted to avenge the murder of their father who had ruled over the region for hardly forty days. A deputation of the courtiers from Kishtawar reached the capital of Kashmir and incited the subehdar against the regency council. The conspirators gave false reports about Kishtawar and informed the Subehdar that Pandit Nand Ram along with his other coreligionists wanted to bring back the Hindu rule in the region. Without ascertaining real facts, the Subehdar of Kashmir provided soldiers to the conspirators under the command of Khuda Doost. Anwar Singh and Rattan Singh became jubilant and proceeded for the conquest.

When Pandit Nand Ram heard about the invasion he did not feel perturbed. He had no strength to face the conspirators who had obtained help from Kashmir. When the invading forces reached Chatroo, he played a stratagem. He asked the royal family and his advisors to change dress and accompany him in disguise along with the infant king. The whole party, after crossing the river Chenab reached badrawah and sought shelter from its Raja.

The invading army passed through Kishtawar bringing havoc and devastation to all. The Kashmiri soldiers indulged in loot, arson and rape. Under such awful condition, the villagers fled

away towards forests leaving their hearth and homes unprotected. When the invaders reached the capital city of Kash-tawar, nearly half its populace had run away. Both the conspiring princes, Anwar Singh and Rattan Singh divided the kingdom into two provinces, with Doda and Kishtawar as its capitals. While Rattan Singh declared himself the ruler of Kishtawar, Anwar Singh sat on a throne at Doda.

MOHAMMED TEG SINGH SAIF ULLAH KHAN: (1798-1820)

Mohammed Teg Singh Saif Ullah Khan was two years old when his father was murdered by Gulab Singh. From 1784 the Dowager queen Anwar Devi ruled over Kishtawar, in the name of infant king, for a period of twelve years. A conspiracy hatched by Rattan Singh and Anwar Singh resulted in the flight of the infant Raja to Badrawah along with his loyal *wazir*, Pandit Nand Ram and the dowager queen. The Raja of Badrawah agreed to provide him with material help and soldiers. Pandit Nand Ram equipped himself with a big force and entered Doda along with Mohammed Teg Singh Saif Ullah Khan. Hearing news about the arrival of their real ruler, the people of Doda welcomed him. Anwar Singh, the usurper fled away like a coward from Doda and reached Kishtawar with much difficulty. Thus Mohammed Teg Singh Saif Ullah Khan succeeded in recapturing half of his ancestral kingdom.

Pandit Nand Ram was a clever strategist and had to plan for the final onslaught. First, he obtained the allegiance

for the Raja from the elders of Banihal, Daing Batal, Peristan, Poogal and Kanthi. Secondly, he obtained mercenaries for the Raja from the conquered regions. Now, Pandit Nand Ram carried out his wonderful stratagem. At this direction, a letter was drafted on behalf of the Raja inviting Anwar Singh and Rattan Singh to Doda for settlement of the issue pertaining to the throne of Kishtawar. The emissaries assured both the brothers that the whole state would be divided between them and Mohammed Teg Singh Saif Ullah Khan. Hearing this both the brothers reached Doda and met the Raja who received them with all honours. A big feast was arranged for them and both the usurpers were served with intoxications. When the party lost self control, they were disarmed. After this both the usurpers and their partners were murdered. Thus Mohammed Teg Singh Saif Ullah Khan avenged the murder of his father. After having killed the enemies, the Raja proceeded towards the capital town of Kishtawar. His encourage was welcomed by the people on his way to his ancestral throne. When he reached Kashtawar, the people rejoiced. After some time, the Raja showered much wealth on his loyal supporters.

INVASION

The Raja had hardly behaved a sigh of relief, when he was forced to face an invasion from Kashmir. Strange enough, a contingent of Afghan soldiers crossed the borders of Kishtawar from the north. These soldiers looted the villagers on their forward journey. Mohammed Teg Singh Saif Ullah Khan hid himself in Peristan. When the invaders reached the

banks of a river, they could not find their way towards Kishtawar. Rather they were deceived by Santoo and his compatriots. Thus after leading them astray, the invaders were killed and drowned in the river. When the situation became clear, the Raja reached his capital.

ADMINISTRATION

Raja Mohammed Teg Singh was a good administrator who took various measures to make Kishtawar a strong state. During his infancy and childhood, the State was fortunate in having an able *wazir* in the person of Pandit Nand Ram, who by his diplomacy saved the throne of Kishtawar for the Raja. When he took over as ruler, he was fortunate to have able *wazirs* in the person of Lakhsat Rai Padyar, Khwaja Ghulla Bhoncha, Balli Ram and others. He entrusted the civil and revenue administration of his state to Lakhsat Rai Padyar, who was granted a *jagir* in Dool. For military administration, he utilised the services of Khwaja Ghulla Bhoncha, who was given a *jagir*. Balli Ram looked after the home affairs while Dehna Shan served as *kotwal*. Bakshi Nand Ram served as the accountant and Bakshi Cheta Ram was placed in charge of official work. Premo Shan looked after houses and animal husbandry. Among the advisors, mention may be made of Ramo Badyar and Uttam Badyar, who looked after revenue collection. The Raja had kept Hafizullah as his *wakil* in the court of the Subehdar of Kashmir, while Baha-uddin served as *qazi* in Kishtawar. While Mehta Amro served as office superintendent, Azizullah was a courtier-in-

waiting to the Raja. The army was organised on sound lines. The soldiers were paid in cash. At the time of emergency every house hold in Kishtawar provided one armed soldier to the state.

MILITARY EXPEDITIONS

In order to bring all regions of the state under effective control, the Raja had to take military expeditions in Banihal, Maru and Doda. While peace prevailed in Kishtawar, conflict was rampant in Badrawar. Raja Raj Singh of Chamba was eager to subdue and annex Badrawar. For this purpose, he had invaded this state in 1783 and obtained allegiance of Fateh Paul. Later, he took another action by calling Fatch Paul to Chamba and placing him under house arrest. Accordingly, Daya Paul, became the Raja of Badrawar in place of his father in about 1790 A.D. Soon after, his uncle Bhup Chand entered into a conspiracy with Raja Raj Singh of Chamba to dethrone the new ruler. Feeling himself as helpless, Daya Paul fled to Kishtawar and placed himself under the protection of Raja Mohammed Teg Singh. The exiled Raja was granted a *jagir* with an annual income of 12,000 rupees and he remained as such for a few years. In order to regain the throne of Badrawar for its rightful Raja, a military expedition was organised by Kishtawar. Mirza Shah and Lakhsat Rai Padyar were entrusted with this campaign against Bhup Chand of Badrawar. This army marched into Badrawar and set fire to the fort. The people fled away into the forests to save themselves. Thus, having succeeded in driving out the Chamba nominee, the Kashtwari forces placed Daya Paul on his ancestral throne. In this regard, Raja

Mohammed Teg Singh exhibited both valour and chivalry. in subsequent pages.

RISE OF THE SIKHS

The closing decade of the 18th century saw the downfall of the Delhi kings and emergence of the Sikhs in the Punjab. It goes to credit of Ranjit Singh to have defeated and subdued the Sikh landlords and mercenaries. With the conquest of Lahore in 1799, he became the Maharaja of the Sikh Kingdom. After this achievement, he invaded the Cis-Sutlej states but his progress was stopped by the British, who were emerging as the greatest power after the Mughals. Hence, the Maharaja diverted his attention towards the hill states. In 1801, the Sikhs advanced towards Jammu and compelled its Raja Jit Singh to become a feudatory of the Maharaja. The same fate awaited Basohli, and Chamba. After this, the Maharaja deposed the Raja of Jammu and annexed it to his Kingdom. He assigned this region to his son, Kharak Singh as Jagir. In 1810, Gulab Singh, Dhiyan Singh and Suchet Singh, commonly known as the Dogra brothers, became employees of the Maharaja. They soon won the favours of Ranjit Singh by serving him in various ways. Gulab Singh was utilised by the Maharaja for subduing revolts against the Sikh Kingdom. In about 1819, Dhiyan Singh was appointed as the Deodhiwala or the gate keeper of the Maharaja. This gave him much influence and power because none could see the Maharaja without his permission. Soon Gulab Singh had to earn higher status and this elevation in his favour from an ordinary trooper to that of a Raja is connected with the subjugation of Kishtawar. This will be treated

SHUJAH-UL-MULUK IN KISHTAWAR

Timur Shah Durrani, the King of Afghanistan died in 1773. After his death, a war of succession started between his seven sons. The central government at Kabul having become weak, the Afghan Subehdars in Kashmir behaved as independent rulers and inflicted untold miseries on the people. The war of succession between the sons of Timur went on up to 1804, when Shujah-ul-Muluk, the 5th son of the King became the ruler. Soon after, he had to face rebellion after rebellion of his provincial governors with the result that he lost grip of the situation. At that time, Atta Mohammed Khan held the office of the Subehdar of Kashmir. His father, Mukhtar-ul-Dowllah, who was a provincial governor under Shujah-ul-Muluk, rebelled against Kabul and was killed in a battle with the King. The death of his father at the hands of Shujah-ul-Muluk, enraged Atta Mohammed Khan, who declared his independence in Kashmir. During this very period, Shujah-ul-Muluk suffered a defeat at the hands of Aziz Khan and lost the throne of Kabul. At that time, Maharaja Ranjit Singh was the King of Punjab. Shujah-ul-Muluk took refuge in his court and sought help to regain his throne.

After declaring himself as independent ruler of Kashmir, Atta Mohammed Khan took various measures to strengthen his position against the raids from Kabul. He organised his forces on efficient lines and collected gun-powder, guns and cannons. He also thought

of avenging his father's murder from Sujah-ul-Muluk, who had attached himself with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. But his advisors told him to use Shujah-ul-Muluk as a trump card against Kabul. For this purpose, he sent his two emissaries to Shujah-ul-Muluk and succeeded in bringing him to Srinagar. Atta Mohammed Khan imprisoned Shujah-ul-Muluk in the Koh-i-Maran fort. In the mean while, Mehmood Shah, the King of Afghanistan, deputed a huge force under his able commander, Wazir Fateh Mohammed Khan for the conquest of Kashmir. This huge force was assisted by another contingent of 10,000 soldiers sent by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, under Dewan Mukham Chand. The aim of Mehmood Shah was to arrest Atta Mohammed Khan while the aim of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was to capture Shujah-ul-Muluk. This combined force Atta Mohammed Khan gave a stiff fight to the invading army but his forces deserted him and he had to shut himself in the Sheragarhi fort. At this critical juncture, he was advised to consult Shujah-ul-Muluk, which he did gladly. Both decided to play a ruse with Wazir Fateh Mohammed Khan. They both approached Dewan Muluk Chand and assured him of their allegiance to Maharaja Ranjit Singh instead of Mehmood Shah. Thus, they succeeded in dividing the invaders. Wazir Fateh Mohammed Khan returned to Kabul along with artificial gems and ornaments presented to him by Atta Mohammed Khan. Dewan Mukham Chand returned to Lahore with real gems and ornaments presented by the Subehdar of Kashmir. But, he was wise and took away Shujah-ul-Muluk also with him for presentation before Ma-

haraja Ranjit Singh. Thus, Shujah-ul-Muluk again became a prisoner of the Maharaja,

Shujah-ul-Muluk suffered untold miseries at the hands of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. After being persecuted in one way or the other, he handed over the famous Koh-i-Noor to the Maharaja. After some time, he flicked away from captivity through the underground drain into the river Ravi. Instead of going to Ludhiana, where his family was under the protection of the British Resident, he reached Sialkot and then Jammu. From the place, he reached Bhadrawar. But, he could not stay there for fear of being arrested by the forces sent by the Raja of Chamba. When Raja Mohammed Teg Singh heard about the arrival of Shujah-ul-Muluk, he deputed his wakil to him with an invitation on behalf of the Raja, Shujah-ul-Muluk had already heard about the good qualities of Mohammed Teg Singh. He agreed and entered the borders of Kishtawar in 1814 A.D. The Raja himself proceeded to receive the royal guest. After welcoming Shujah-ul-Muluk, the Raja presented tents, woollens and utensils of gold and silver to the fugitive and made all arrangements for the comfortable stay of the guest.

SHUJAH-UL-MULUK INVADES KASHMIR

Shujah-ul-Muluk was given a royal treatment by Raja Mohammed Teg Singh. The British Agent at Ludhiana wrote a few letters to the Raja impressing upon him to provide all amenities to the fugitive. As time passed on, both the Raja and the exiled King became friends. Both of them were poets in Persian and would

often complete with each other in composing verses. At the instance of the Raja, the exiled King was married to a Kish-tawari lady whose name is given as Sakri or Sugar. She was herself educated and cultured. In her company, Shujah-ul-Muluk forgot all his misfortunes.

Despite having suffered many ups and downs in life, Shujah-ul-Muluk had not forgotten that he had been a King of a vast country. His heart burned with a wish to conquer a territory and then rule over the subjects. The Valley of Kashmir lay adjacent to Kishtawar and he felt sure of his success there. In order to pave his way, he deputed his emissaries to the courtiers of Mohammed Azim Khan, who happened to be the Afghan Subehdar of Kashmir at that time. At the same time, he implored his host, the Raja of Kishtawar, to help him in organising this invasion of Kashmir. The Raja, not only collected mercenaries from neighbouring lands but also agreed to personally lead his own forces against Mohammed Azim Khan. Thus, he spent much money from his treasury and did not ask for a single pie from Shujah-ul-Muluk.

The Subehdar of Kashmir heard about the impending invasion from Kishtawar. He made all arrangements to face the invaders and kept himself ready along with his forces on the Pir Panchal Range. The time was not ripe for an invasion of the valley because the winter season had set in and some little snow had fallen on the passes. As soon as the Kish-tawari forces crossed the Singhpur pass, there occurred a heavy snowfall. Shujah-ul-Muluk and Mohammed Teg Singh

consulted each other and decided to wait for a few days in their tents. The soldiers collected wood from the forests and set it on fire to warm up their tents. They also caught hold of goat and sheep and ate roasted meat. The snow fell continuously for four days and four nights. On the fifth day, soldiers complained of diarrhea and cold. By the sixth day, several soldiers had died. Raja Mohammed Teg Singh advised to follow the policy of "do and die" but Shujah-ul-Muluk decided to retreat, saying that time was against him. During their retreat many soldiers scumbled to frost-bite and many fell down from the rocks. It was with much difficulty that both the Raja and Shujah-ul-Muluk returned to Kishtawar after having suffered a great loss in men and money. Raja Mohammed Teg Singh made no complaints about this foolish venture but Shujah-ul-Muluk became gloomy.

In the mean while Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent his emissaries to Raja Mohammed Teg Singh asking him to hand over Shujah-ul-Muluk to him. The Raja exhibited great moral courage in refusing the request of Ranjit Singh. He advised Shujah-ul-Muluk to save his person by seeking the protection of a powerful host. Both Mohammed Azim Khan and Ranjit Singh were making plans for an invasion on Kishtawar. Hence, the Raja provided escort to Shujah-ul-Muluk and his retinue to reach sooroo. It was given out that the royal guest has gone for hunting expedition. Shujah-ul-Muluk reached Ludhiana in 1816 A.D. After a long odyssey via Zanaskar and Kangra. When this news

reached Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he imposed a fine of eighty thousand rupees on the Raja of Kangra for not having arrested Shujah-ul-Muluk. He also instructed Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu to take necessary measures for the annexation of Kishtawar.

CONSPIRACIES AGAINST KISHTAWAR

Kishtawar became exposed to external invasions both from the Sikhs and the Afghans. Its ruler had defied the wishes of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab by refusing to hand over the royal prisoner to him. The Afghan Subehdar of Kashmir and the King at Kabul became his enemies, for he has supported an attack on Kashmir. Inside Kishtawar, the situation became worse for Mohammed Teg Singh Saif Ullah Khan. His courtiers divided themselves into various factions for their personal ends. Some of the conspirators met and decided to remove the Chief Minister, Lakhpat Padiyar from the scene. In the mean while, there occurred a few revolts and invasions in the state. Jaloo Rai raised the banner of rebellion in Taing Batal and created much disorder in the western regions. The Raja deputed Mirza Beg to deal with this rebel, who was killed and thus the rebellion came to an end. Though the Raja heaved a sigh of relief for sometime. He had to face a much cleverer enemy and it Gulab Singh of Jammu.

CONQUEST OF KASHMIR

The Afghan period in the history of Kashmir is known as an era of devastation, misery and maladministration. The

Afghan Subehdars committed inconceivable brutalities in Kashmir and oppressed the people irrespective of religion. They extracted riches from the Hindus, which were rich and the Muslims, who were mainly tillers of lands. The plight of the Kashmiris became intolerable due to the acts of moral turpitude of the Afghan soldiers. Motivated by massive greed they plundered the rich and the poor alike. Under such circumstances, Pandit Birbal conspired to bring about Kashmir under the subjugation of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. Accordingly, a huge force consisting of 30,000 soldiers attacked Kashmir, and drive out the Afghan mercenaries and thus Kashmir became a part of the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab in 1819. This conquest of Kashmir paved the way for the conquest of Kishtawar.

After Maharaja Ranjit Singh had earlier tried to conquer Kashmir earlier also in 1814 but all his soldiers were killed by the forces of Mohammed Azim Khan. After enquiry, it transpired that the Pandits had engineered this invasion of Kashmir. As such, the Subehdar became extremely angry and revengeful towards the conspirators. First, he murdered Dewan Hira Dass, who was leader of the conspirators. Then he killed each and every Pandit or Muslim who detested his rule. He inflicted untold miseries on the Pandits and even imposed *jazia* on them. Those Muslims, who had taken the side of the Pandits were also taken to task. Their posts were snatched and their jagirs were confiscated. The nature brought havoc to Kashmir in the shape of famine and draught. The whole country was laid waste and many people

died of starvation.

The Subehdar received reports about the involvement of Pandit Bir Dhar in the earlier invasion of the Sikhs. He learnt that revenue *kardar* of his administration was in league with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He placed a contingent of soldiers to surround this house of the Kardar with the aim of harrasing him . Pandit Bir Dhar reacted by hiding his family in the house of a Muslim, Qadoos Gojwari and fleeing away to Jammu. He met Gulab Singh and told him about the affairs in Kashmir. Gulab Singh gave him an introductory letter for his brother, Dhiyan Singh, the wazir-i-azam of the Sikh kingdom. At Lahore, Pandit Bir Dharmet Maharaja Ranjit Singh and implored him to attack Kashmir. The Maharaja who was eager for such an opportunity told him to wait, for he was afraid of Mohammed Azim Khan due to a previous experience. But soon after, in 1819, the Maharaja received information that Mohammed Azim Khan had left for Kabul, placing administration of Kashmir in the hands of his brother, Jabbar Khan. He ordred organising of a large army for the conquest of Kashmir. He selected one of his ablest generals, Mirs Dewan Chand to supervise military operations. For assistance, he provided him with the services of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, Hari Singh Nalwa, Jawala Singh Padania, Hukhma Singh and others. The Maharaja even deputed his son, Kharak Singh along with this army which was fully equipped and armed. Before crossing the Kashmir frontiers, the army was divided into two divisions. The defence forces met them at the outskirts of Shupiyan. In the battle,

Jabbar Khan received a wound, which disheartened him and he fled away from the battlefield. Seeing their commander leaving the ground, the Pathan soldiers also fled away. The advancing Sikh forces chased them and killed them one by one. They devastated each and every house, where a Pathan soldier had stayed. While proceeding towards the capital city of Srinagar, the invading troops destroyed whatever came in their way. Thus, the Valley of Kashmir became a part of the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab in 1819.

END OF INDEPENDENT KISHTAWAR

The enmity of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab towards Kishtawar dates back to the arrival of Shujah-ul-Muluk in this states. Despite his warning, Raja Mohammed Teg Singh had not surrendered the royal fugitive to him. Now, when he had conquered Kashmir, his grip on Kishtawar became firm. It was now a matter of time to make and end to the independence of Kishtawar. The Maharaja had to first, consolidate his position in Kashmir and this took him two years. When he became free from this task, he diverted his attention towards Kishtawar. It was Gulab Singh of Jammu, who had earlier presented Pandit Bir Dhar in the Maharaja's court, which had lead to the annexation of Kashmir. It was Gulab Singh who had successfully, fought and brought Jammu, Riasi and Rajori under the thumb of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He was the most trusted and clever military commander under the Maharaja. Hence, in 1821 A.D. Orders were issued to him to capture Raja

Mohammed Teg Singh and his state. Gulab Singh was a proved master in deceit and diplomacy. Before embarking on any venture, he had to take all issues into consideration. His spies informed him about the rift among the courtiers of Kishtawar. At the same time, it transpired that it would become easy to annex Kishtawar, if Lakhpat Rai is removed from the scene. It has been stated earlier that Lakhpat Rai happened to be the most capable wazir under the Raja, who controlled administration in Kishtawar. Two courtiers, who exercised much influence on the Raja, were, Ahmad Shah and Hakim Jameel Shah. The first was a sworn enemy of Lakhpat Rai and would speak against him. The second was a clever man, who administered drugs in the drink and food of the Raja with the intention of impairing his brain. Gulab Singh wrote a letter to Lakhpat Rai, praising his services in the past. The letter also informed him that he will receive reward for his loyalty. This letter was made to fall in the hands of Mohammed Teg Singh. The net result was that the Raja became convinced that Lakhpat Rai was disloyal to him and had been purchased by his enemies.

After this incident, the relations between the Raja and his wazir became strained. Ahmad Shah and Hakim Jameel Shah advised the Raja to eliminate the wazir. The next day, an attempt was made on the life of Lakhpat Rai in the court and he received sever wounds. His relatives took him for nursing to their house in Hariyal. After some time, when his wounds had healed to some extent, Lakhpat Rai fled away along with his family to Badrawar. From that place, he

went, to Jammu and presented himself before Gulab Singh. Thus it was Lakhpat Rai who became a guiding agent for the conquest of Kishtawar.

After making ample preparations, Gulab Singh advanced the conquest of Kishtawar. The Raja of Chinene provided a safe route through his state for this invasion. When Raja Mohammed Teg Singh heard about this invasion, he consulted his courtiers. His intention was to send his family to a safer place in the mountains and fight against the invader. The people were also ready to fight but there was a rift among the courtiers. It appears that most of them stood already purchased by Gulab Singh. In the mean while a letter came to the Raja from Gulab Singh, informing him that "Maharaja Ranjit Singh has no intention to annex your state but you must present yourself before the Maharaja." Gulab Singh took an oath on "Granth and Ganga-jal", saying that the Raja could keep his son at Kishtawar as his successor. This ruse induced the Raja to accept the invitation of Gulab Singh. Having nominated Jaimal Singh as heir apparent, he proceeded to the camp of Gulab Singh. Raja Mohammed Teg Singh was taken to Jammu as a royal prisoner. At Jammu, he was told to ask his son to present himself before Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Both the Raja and his son presented themselves before Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Sujapur. In this way, Raja Mohammed Teg Singh surrendered his state to Gulab Singh. When the Royal prisoners were presented before Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he retorted with anger:

"You have disobeyed us surrend-

ing Shujah-ul-Muluk to others. Had you followed orders, your relations with us could be friendly. We could have given you a bigger jagir than Kishtawar in Punjab. You have reaped the fruit of those seeds which you have sown."

After this, Raja Mohammed Teg Singh was ordered to proceed to Lahore and live under house arrest near the fort.

For his loyal services to the kingdom of the Punjab, Gulab Singh was granted the administration of the *Chakla* of Jammu with the title of the Raja. It goes to his credit that he rose to the position of a feudatory of the Khalsa Kingdom by his devotion, hard work and cleverness. It would be seen that Kishtawar became a stepping stone for Gulab Singh for obtaining even higher status. A time came when as a reward for his loyal services to the British, Kashmir was sold to him and he became the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

EPITAPH

Among all the rulers who ascended the throne of Kishtawar, Raja Mohammed Teg Singh Saifullah Khan has been the greatest. He was a Raja of a small state but could rub shoulders with other big rulers of the age, such as, Timur Shah Surrani, Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Shujah-ul-Muluk. His only ambition was to make known the tiny State of Kishtawar among all kingdoms and states.

Raja Mohammed Teg Singh Saifullah Khan was faithful to his friends and cruel to his enemies. He took interest in learn-

ing and would remain in the company of the scholars for days together. He was a poet who could compose verses in Persian, Urdu, Hindi and Kishtawar. He was a patron of music, dancing and fine arts. He was a lover of nature and found much joy among forests, flowers and springs.

For his subjects, he could be termed as a benevolent monarch, who took much interest in the development of Kishtawar. He was a just ruler who abolished *rasums* and taxes. He wanted to provide good administration to his people and for this purpose patronised able *wazirs* like, Lakhpat Rai, Gulla Bhoncha, Balli Ram, and Jatto Goora. In order to provide moral education to his subjects, the Raja stopped prostitution and sale of women in his state. In his outlook, he was liberal, tolerant and secular. He was a brave soldier and participated in many campaigns. All these qualities, secure for him a claim to be the greatest Raja, which Kishtawar had during its independent existence.

Raja Mohammed Teg Singh Saifullah Khan loved his people and his state. Before his surrender to Gulab Singh, to obtain pardon of his subjects for his acts of omission and commission and even attempted to place his turban on the feet of his servants. And, when Maharaja Ranjit Singh broke his promise and did not allow him to resume rulership of Kishtawar, the Raja committed suicide. He was buried at Lahore in the compound of the Dargah of Hazrat Sah Abu-al-Muali. We propose the following epitaph for his grave:

**RAJA MOHAMMED TEG SINGH
SAIFULLAH KHAN HELIVED
AND DIED FOR KISHTAWAR**

EPILOGUE

Kishtawar lost its independent existence in 1820 and its Raja died after four years captivity in Lahore. Raja Mohammed Teg Singh was survived by three sons and three daughters, from his three wives. After their father's death, the two elder brothers were kept under the charge of Sher Singh. They received education as well as training in horseriding and swordmanship. Once, when they were presented by Dewan Mirs Chand before the Maharaja, he remarked that I will fulfil the promise made with the late Raja and send his sons to Kishtawar. Raja Dhiyan Singh, who was the Chief Wazir of the Maharaja at that time, became apprehensive of these young lads. Kishtawar, Jammu and other regions were under the control of his brother Raja Gulab Singh. As such, he never wished reinstatement of Jameel Singh to his father's state. In order to protect his brother's interests, Raja Dhiyan Singh ordered both these young lads to proceed to Jammu and remain under the protection of Gulab Singh. Hearing this, both Jameel Singh and Zorawar Singh went to Sardar Desa Singh for advice and he also told them to obey orders. Khalifa Noor-ud-din, who happened to be there told them that Raja Dhiyan Singh being very powerful will harm them if they fail to comply with his orders.

In order to save their lives, both the brothers fled away in disguise towards Ludhiana to seek protection under the

British. They met Shujah-ul-Muluk who was still under the protection of the British. He treated them as his guests and gave them some money. They also met the British Resident, Capt. Wade, who told them to wait.

In the mean while, the British had permitted Suhjah-ul-Muluk to proceed to Kabul for the purpose of regaining his kingdom. He was also assisted with some military aid. Both, Jameel Singh and Dilawar Singh, reached the fort of Bala Hissar to remain in attendance of the ex-king. Raja Jameel Singh was placed as commander of one hundred horsemen. He showed his valour in an encounter with the rebels when he saved the life of Maharaja Stuart. On the day, the British forces moved towards Jalalabad, Raja Jameel Singh could not proceed with them and had to remain in the fort. Shujah-ul-Muluk could not succeed in crushing his opponents and was killed by his own kith and kin.

After an attack by the Afghans on the fort of Bala Hissar, the British Indian forces had to flee away. Raja Jameel Singh reached Ferozepur. It was a time when chaos and Trumiol prevailed in the Punjab. The downfall of the Sikh Kingdom started with the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, in 1839. Maharaja Kharak Singh the next ruler died after an year. When Sher Singh took over as the Maharaja in 1840, the courtiers and provincial Subehdars had divided them selves into various camps. Another calamity fell on the Kingdom when the Sikh soldiers rebelled and assumed independent posture. It resorted to loot people and killing of

the courtiers. Maharaja Sher Singh was killed by a military commander in 1842 and Maharaja Daleep Singh was placed on the throne with the help Raja Hira Singh, who assumed the position of Chief Minister. The Sikh soldiers even did not spare Hira Singh who was also murdered. Due to the collapse of the central authority, the Sikh kingdom was thrown into confusion and turmoil.

It was at this juncture that Raja Jameel Singh made an attempt to reach Kishtawar and regain his ancestral throne. He had met the British agent at Ludhiana and Ambala and sought their advice. In disguise, he visited Sukeet and Mandi and from that place went to Chamba. When he reached Badrawah, he obtained the services of a companion. After crossing the river Chenab, they reached Doda. Jameel Singh lived like a mendicant and the man with him worked as a spy and obtain information. Some days had passed when, Jameel Singh was recognised by Yosuf Khan, who had been his servant at Ludhiana. For the sake of getting some sort of material gain, Yosuf Khan disclosed the identity of Jameel Singh to the Dewan Sarabdayal. This disclosure resulted in his arrest. Raja Gulab Singh deputed a contingent of soldiers to Doda, which took Raja Jameel Singh to Riasi and then to Jammu for presentation before Raja Gulab Singh. In the mean while Raja Hira Singh was killed at Lahore and Raja Gulab Singh had to go to Lahore. Raja Jameel Singh was interned in the Bahu fort, Jammu.

REBELLION IN KISHTAWAR

After its annexation by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, Kishtawar was placed

under the control of a military commander, Mian Chain Singh. For assistance in civil administration, he was assisted by Laloo Shah. Both of them were ruthless and treated the people no better than animals. Mian Chain Singh wanted to teach a lesson to the Kishtawaris. All jagirs were confiscated and bestowed on those who offered their loyalty to the new rulers. The villagers were taxed heavily and begar or forced labour became the fashion. In order to insult the conquered region, Mian Chain Singh started the practice of deporting young girls of Kishtawar to Jammu. His soldiers indulged in loot arson and rape. This cruel acts of the Dogra governor created a wave of resentment among the people. In the mean while Dilawar Singh reached Doda and incited the people against the foreign yoke. Yosuf Khan, who had received no *jagir* from Raja Gulab Singh, also joined the fray. Last of all, the landlord of Kastigarh whose name was Bikram raised the banner of rebellion against the Dogras. He collected a band of mercenaries and started setting fire to habitations. In order to suppress this rebellion, a big force under Lakhpat Rai reached Kishtawar. Another contingent of soldiers arrived from Lahore under the command of Zorawar. While the rebels fought with swords, the Dogra soldiers were equipped with guns and cannon. They succeeded in crushing the rebellion with a strong hand. Dilawar Singh fled away towards Kangai. Yosuf Khan was killed at Jammu.

SALE OF KASHMIR

Events, not only in India, but also in Europe towards the closer of the 18th century largely shaped the policy of the

British in India. They took effective measures to safeguard the Indian empire from the designs of Russia. It was ringed with dependent states like Siam, Bhutan, Sikkim, Nepal, Tibet and Afghanistan. As Kashmir occupied a strategic position, it was sold to Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu as a reward for his loyal services to the British in the difficult task of liquidating the Sikh Kingdom of the Punjab. The Kashmiris rose against this inhuman act of the British and fought against the Dogra forces, which were sent to occupy the land. Lakhpat Rai, the most capable military Commander of Raja Gulab Singh was killed in action by the Kashmiris. The British who were in hot haste to install their progency in Kashmir, deputed about fourteen regiments of the British Indian army for subjugation of Kashmir. While the over all command remained in the hands of Col. Lawrence, other British officers were attached with him for assistance. Thus Raja Gulab Singh accompanied by Col. Lawrence reached Srinagar in November, 1846.

Raja Jamel Singh had been kept in the Riasi fort by Maharaja Gulab Singh.

It so happened that Capt. Brind and Maj. Nicholson, who has been ordered to move their regiments into Kashmir, reached Riasi and learnt about the royal prisoner. Accordingly, it were they who informed Col. Lawrence about the plight of Jameel Singh. He was set free and brought to Lahore. For his maintenance, the British Government granted a jagir amounting to 3000 rupees in his favour. Zorawar Singh and Dilawar Singh also got political pensions from the British. In 1859, Jameel thought of going to Shimla and wait upon the Governor General. But, as misfortune would have it, fell ill and got no opportunity to present his case for reconsideration. Our chronicler closes his account in 1864 with the explanation:

“At present, we live from hand to mouth. Our pensions are meagre but the expenditure is heavy. The net result is that we have become indebted, very heavily. Our condition is most miserable among all the Rajas, who receive pension from the British.”

It is probable that Raja Jameel Singh passed away in 1864 at Lahore.

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Mohammad Quli Khan became the Subehdar of Kashmir in 1590.
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77. Hashmatullah Khan Tarikh--i--Jammu, p. 154.
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91. *Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar*, f. 57-58.
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93. Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 161. Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 57.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 162 also, Shivji Dhar, p. 36.
95. Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 57. Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 162.
96. Shivji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 35.
97. *Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar*, f. 58.
98. Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu* p. 161.
99. *Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar*, f. 59.
100. Shivji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 36.
101. Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 163.
102. *Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar*, f. 61.
103. Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 163.
104. Shivji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 38.
105. *Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar*, f. 63.
106. Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 165.
107. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, V. II, p. 181.
108. Mohammed Din Fauq; *Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, V. II, pp. 207-08.
109. Both the priests were the sons of Mulla Mahmood Kashmiri.
110. *Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar*, f.64.
111. *Ibid.* f. 66.
112. Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 61.
113. Kalhana; *Rajatarangini*, iv : 531.
114. Goverdhan Singh; *History of Himachal Pradesh*, p. 144.
115. *Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar*, f. 66.
116. Shivji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 39.
117. Ishrat Kashmiri; *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 82.
118. *Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar*, fs. 67-74.
119. Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 87.
120. Shivji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 39.
121. Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 87.

122. Ahwal-in-Rajahai-Kishtawar, p. 74.
123. Shivji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtawar, p. 14.
124. Our chronicler says in Ahwal that a loyal soldier of the Raja, who belonged to Guleer, killed
125. Krishna Padyar. Ahwali-Rajahai-Kishtawar, f. 74.
126. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, p. 171.
127. Mohammed Din Fauq, Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir, V. II, pp. 255-59.
128. Hassain Shah Khuihami, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, V. II, p. 616
129. Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar, fs. 74-77.
130. *Ibid.*, f. 79.
131. Bingley and Cunningham, History and Culture of the Dogras, p. 38.
132. Shivji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtawar, p. 40
133. Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtawar, p. 92.
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135. Goverdhan Singh, History of Himachal Pradesh, p. 142.
136. Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar, fs. 82-84.
137. Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtawar p. 94.
138. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, p. 175.
139. Shivji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtawar, p. 41.
140. Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar, f. 85.
141. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, p. 176.
142. Shivji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtawar, p. 41.
143. Ahwal-i-Rajahai Kishtawar, f. 85.
144. Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtawar, p. 96.
145. Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar, f. 86.
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148. Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtawar, p. 96.
149. Mohammed Din Fauq, Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir, V. II, p. 280.
150. Hassan Shah Khuihami, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, V. II, p. 687.
151. Mohammed Din Fauq, Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir, V. II, p. 304.
152. Shivji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtawar, p. 42.
153. Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtawar, p. 97.
154. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, p. 178.
155. Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar, f. 93.
156. Ishrat Kashmiri; Tarikh-i-Kishtawar p. 97.
157. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu p. 179.
158. Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar, f.04.
159. Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtawar, p 100.
160. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, p. 180.
161. Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtawar, p. 102.
162. Hashmatullah Khan, Tarikh-i-Jammu, p. 181.
163. Shivji Dhar; Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, pp. 45-49.
164. Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtwar, f. 97.

165. Mohammed Din Fauq, *Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, V.II, p. 322.
166. Hassan Shah Khuihami, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, V.II, p. 729.
167. Hashmatullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 183.
168. *Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtawar*, f. 99.
169. Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p. 106.
170. *Ahwal-i-Rajahai-Kishtwar*, fs. 101-04.
171. Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kishtawar*, p 110.
172. Hashmatullah Khan; *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 184
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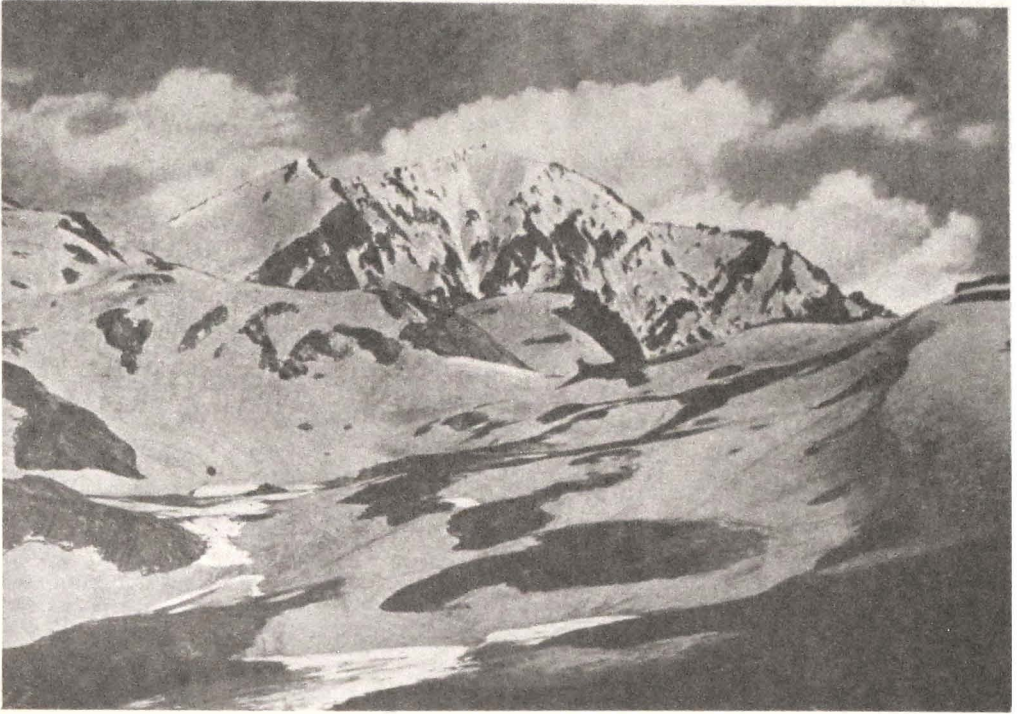
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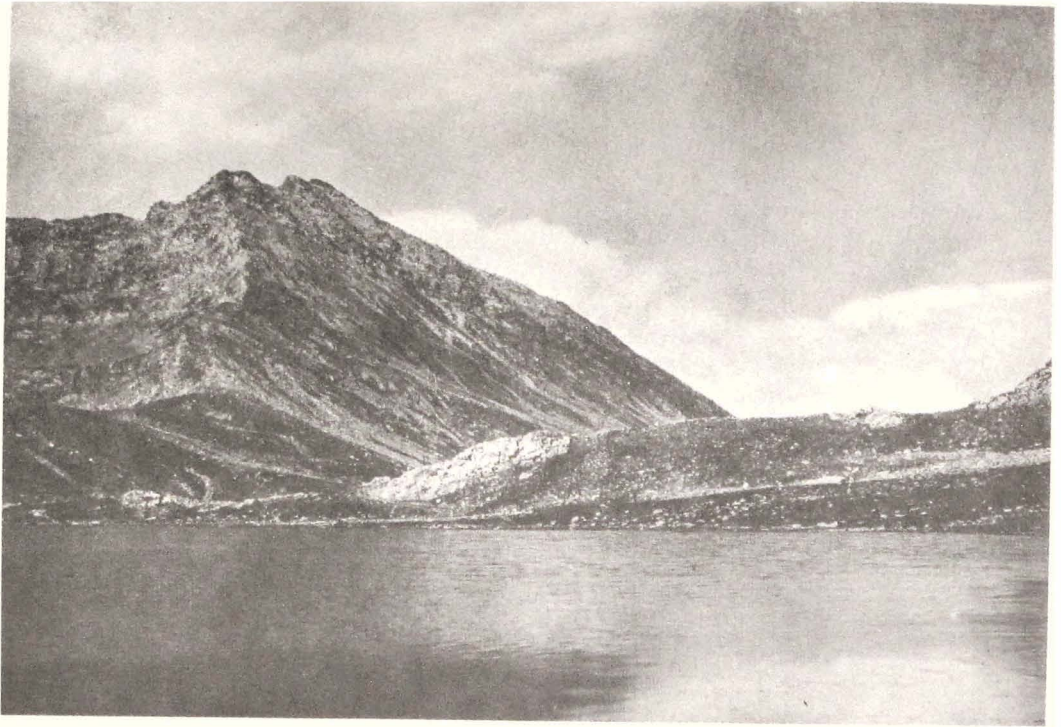
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View from top of the Saari Pass



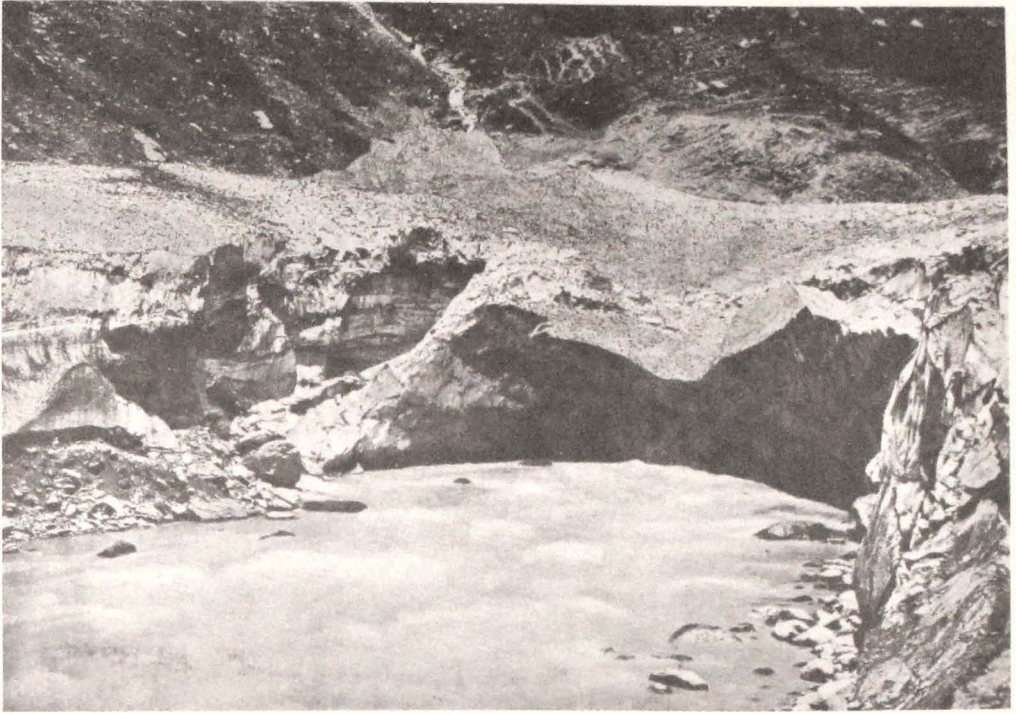
Sanskrit inscription on the stone in the Zaji-Nai



Tsuhaar Nag.



Raja Mohammad Teg Singh Saif Allah Khan Bahadur & his court



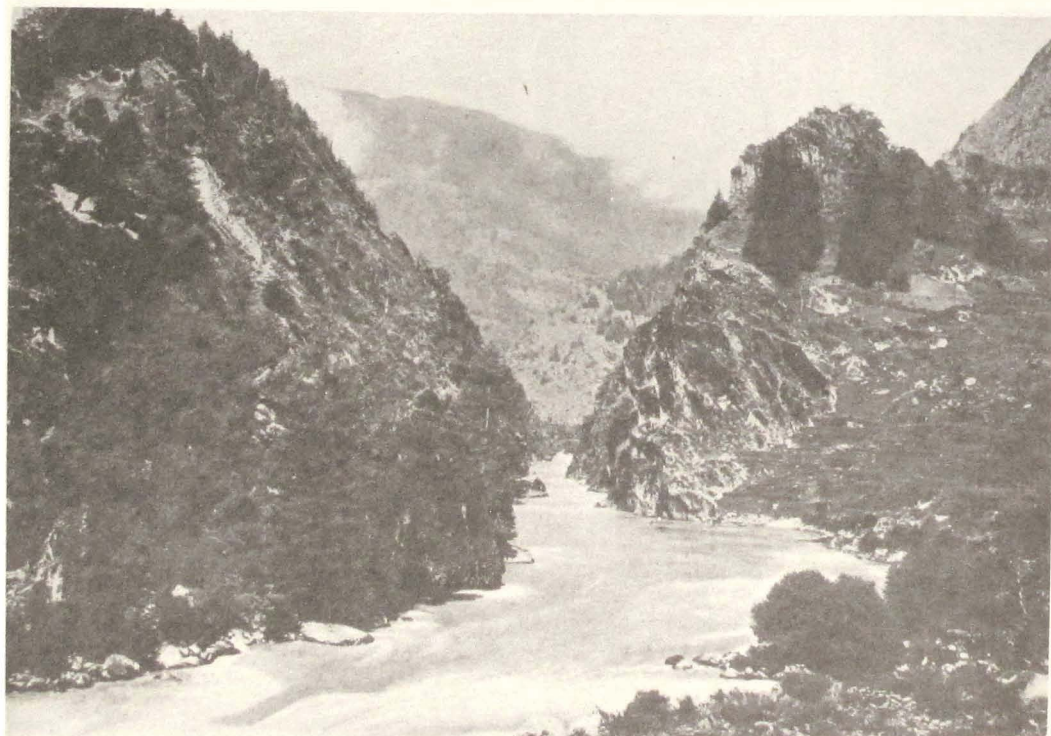
Snow bridge over the Zaji-Nai Nallah



The Bathastal Cave



Log bridge over the Guhi Nallah near Sarkund



The marev-send at Dachhan



Dal Lake



Marsan Lake



Nishant Garden



Shalimar Garden



Laari wat-Pahalgam



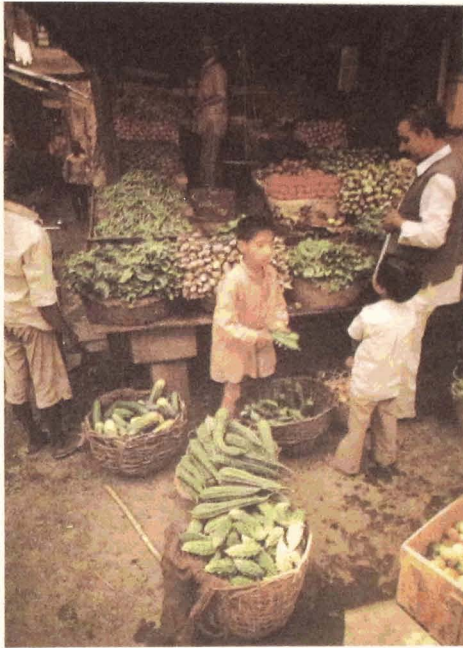
Nagin Lake



Flowerman in Dal Lake



Dal Lake



Fruit & Vegetable Shop



Sona Marg



Way to Audo



Tree lines of Srinagar Valley



Festival in Hazratbal



Rice fields of Sirchi



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Different styles of cursive script painted on the ceiling of the Bathastal Cave

