STORY OF KASHMIR

PRITHVI NATH TIKOO

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FOREWORD

The State of Jammu & Kashmir is unique in many ways. Geographical and historical factors have contributed significantly to its distinctiveness and cultural diversity. The valley of Kashmir stands out for its scenic beauty; Ladakh is reminiscent of Shangri-la; and the Jammu region, with its many temples, occupies an important place in the sacred geography of India. Though these regions broadly represent three distinct religious traditions, their symbiosis is as important as their separateness. The State is multilingual; with many languages, dialects, and speech communities. The cultural patterns in the northern part of the State remind one of Central Asia and in the south one finds distinct continuities of the plains' culture of the Panjab. Altogether the State presents a fascinating richness and variety of regional and local cultural forms.

Shri Prithvi Nath Tikoo, in this book, has attempted to tell the story of Jammu and Kashmir in a simple and attractive style. His narration is not over-burdened with scholarship, although he offers evidence of considerable study and research. Highlighting only the essentials, Shri Tikoo has presented attractive thumb-nail sketches of several facets of the different cultural-geographical regions of this State. I have no doubt that this book will be read both inside the State of Jammu and Kashmir and outside. To those belonging to the State, it may represent a re-discovery of self in some important aspects. To those outside, it will be a suitable first introduction to a State that is known world-wide for its idyllic beauty and which has emerged in the last three decades as the test case for secular India.

Shri Tikoo is to be congratulated for this endeavour in the field of authorship.

30 January, 1979

S.C. DUBE

PREFACE

The story of Kashmir is as old as the lofty mountains surrounding it. It is a fascinating story—its earlier part mostly legendary, and latter, historically factual.

Ever since historiography and geopolitics developed a scientific bias, both these have been presented in a rather heckneyed and prosaic manner. Particularly history, in which we are told of kings, their nobles, the territories they ruled over, the battles they fought, and so on and so forth, but without the flavour of a story.

Story writing is, however, an art: and a difficult one at that, when it assumes the form of a historical tale as against a fairy tale. Presentation of facts in a palatable manner in the former is, of course, of utmost importance. The old stereotype, however, correct in detail, is mostly dull and monotonous, especially to the young. On the other hand a colourful and lucid narrative makes a historical tale attractive and gripping; and this depends upon the author. The story of a country and its people, when narrated must therefore have charm of style and adequacy of content. It must dispense with worn-out cliche and jargon—Goethe has said that "history's best gift is the enthusiasm which it stirrs".

The narrative of a country has to treat of its common people, their joys and sorrows, their difficulties and how they overcame them. Mention of sex and suspense even cannot be ruled out. Such details can intoxicate and convert the dull monotony of the study of history into joy. Mention about the personal life of some great kings and queens, their idiocyncracies, escapades and some of their anecdotes, certainly adds charm and colour to a historical narrative.

Apart from the description of the unparalleled all-round beauty of Kashmir, about which thousands of volumes have so far been written, its story is fascinating for its very amazing and interesting contrasts. In a sea we find pearls, all kinds of good and sweet fish as well as sharks and crocodiles, it also provides great scope for further exploration. Kashmir also, more or less,

provides an analogy to this. Its story is full of contrasts. Where we, read of great and emancipated saints like Nagarjuna, Lal Ded and Sheikh Nurdin putting human beings on the correct path to salvation; we also find on the other hand depressing periods of religious persecution, loot and arson, perpetrated by fanatics against innocent people. There are instances of high endeavour, of conquest and glory, of good government; also by contrast longer periods of crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind. We meet broad-minded and fresh statesmen and also narrow-minded bigots, and marauders. Kashmirians are known for having produced great patriots, politicians, historians, humanists and philosophers; they have also been accused of dishonesty and cunning—a trait acquired, no doubt, by living through generations of oppression. These contrasts are reflected also in the kings of Kashmir. Against great kings of the stature of Lalitaditya, Pravarsena and Zain-ul-Abidin we have merciless and depraved despots like Mihirkula, Queen Didda, Harsha, Asad Khan and Madad Khan.

In spite of limitations in trying to present the Kashmir story in the manner mentioned above I have taken pains to give an adequate and factually correct picture. Good judgement comes from experience and experience is gained from bad judgement. For myself I feel the satisfaction of having gained a very valuable insight into our past, in that way.

The story of Jammu and the frontier Districts of Ladakh, Gilgit etc., appears in the second and third part of this book.

It is important to mention here that in the Indo-Pak war of 1947, some portions of Jammu and Kashmir state were taken by Pakistan and are still in its possession. However, to avoid any complication or confusion, that fact has been ignored and not taken into account in the narrative that follows.

I feel extremely grateful to Professor S.C. Dube, Vice Chancellor, University of Jammu, for his having managed to spare some of his very valuable time in going through the manuscript of this book and then writing a foreword for the same. I also express my indebtedness and gratitude to my son-in-law Dr. R.K. Zutshi (now Superintendent, C.D. Hospital, Jammu, and Professor of Tuberculosis and Chest Diseases, Govt. Medical College, Jammu), for evincing great interest in

this work of mine and for some useful suggestions given about it from time to time. My thanks are also due to all those well-wishers and friends of mine for the encouragement and advice that I received from them in many ways during the compilation of this book. I also express my gratitude to the librarians of the Jammu University for their valuable finance and help rendered to me during my research there. I acknowledge that the major portion of the material for this book was found by me in their libraries.

Prologue to Part II

Jammu is an ancient principality. It is situated on the west of the two lakes, Suruinsar and Mansar. The former is heart-shaped, 45 Kms. away from the present city of Jammu. The other about 32 Kms. from there. According to legend, Arjuna, the best archer, among the five Pandavas of the Mahabharata fame, once, while chasing Shesha (the serpent god) reached 'Patal' (nether-world) where he defeated Shesha. During this chase and on his return, Arjuna created these two lakes by shooting arrows on the earth at these two sites. It is from these two lakes, 'do-garta' that the original name of the region was derived (Durgara) which later on changed into Dugerdesh.

The ancient history of this region is still shrouded in mystery. It is based both on legend and tradition. According to that the ruling class of the Dogras migrated from Ayudhia, some ten centuries before Kalyuga. Raja Agnibaran is said to have been the ancestor of the Dogra Rajas who arrived in Shivaliks and settled there. Seventh in succession from him were the two brothers, Bahulochan and Jambulochan. The hilly tracts from the plains of the Punjab to Kashmir (present Jammu Province) were never before A.D. 1846 united under any single ruler. The Jammu area later on expanded to about twenty-two Dogra states. The ruling classes there, the Rajputs, seem to have taken refuge in these mountain fastness when the Rajput hegemony in the Punjab was shattered in the 12th century by the invasion of Muhammad of Ghor. These petty principalities accepted the overlordship of the Mughal Emperors and paid some nominal tribute to them, but, by and

large they enjoyed internal autonomy during those times.

Following the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Mughal kingdom disintegrated in the first half of the 18th century. From that time the Rajput rulers, who held sway around the town of Jammu, regained their complete independence. Raja Dhruv Dev and his son Ranjit Dev, during their reign, played considerable role in the politics of Northern India. Ranjit Dev ruled for over half a century. He was the noblest and the ablest ruler before Maharaja Gulab Singh.

(The principality of Jammu had, after undergoing various vicissitudes of political upheavals, acquired a fairly stable Government under his rule till 1772 A.D.).

After his demise, Ranjit Dev was succeeded by his son Brijraj Dev—a person full of defects like inefficiency, debauchery etc. The neighbouring Sikh Chiefs and the Rajas of Chamba, taking advantage of Brijraj's weaknesses, started grabbing the Dogra territories. Basohli was the first to fall to them in A.D. 1783. Brijraj was killed in a battle with the Sikhs who, in course of time, appropriated the whole country previously ruled by Ranjit Dev. The neighbouring Sikh Chief Mohan Singh Sukarchakria and the Bhangi Sardars were the powerful overlords. The Durranis also claimed a shadowy supremacy over the hill states. The Sikh-Pathan rivalry continued for many years, till in A.D. 1812, Jammu became part of the kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Soon after, a greatly gifted person, who was to play a marvellous part and give an altogether different turn to the politics of the land, appeared on the scene.

At that time Jammu region consisted of scattered countries separated by so many mountain chains and races as widely different. These countries and kingdoms were, however, won over and brought under one ruler. How was all that achieved and to whom does that credit go ? The answer to this almost resolves into the history of one person. He combined in himself the qualities of a born soldier, a keen diplomatist and a great tactician. By exercising these qualities he succeeded in raising himself from a humble position to that of the Maharaja of a State that he carved out for himself during the 19th century out

of the wreckage of the great kingdom of the Sikhs. He was Gulab Singh.

The story of Jammu and Kashmir State from A.D. 1846 to 1857, by and large revolves round the untiring work of this builder of that one-piece State. As a soldier he fought battle and subdued kingdoms, as a diplomat he used all kinds of stick-and-carrot methods against the concerned, as a great administrator and stickler for discipline he maintained law and order and brought peace to the State, as a tactician he kept the British on his side helping them and receiving help from them. Maharaja Gulab Singh was not, however, spared by Nature to rule the State for more than twelve years. Yet during that short period he succeeded in consolidating the State and putting it on the road to prosperity.

After his death in 1858, three generations of Dogra dynasty ruled the State right upto the time India achieved independence in A.D. 1947. Theirs, however, was more or less a routine job. The British indulged in intrigues against these rulers, interfered in their administration and did not give them a free hand to manage and improve the conditions in the State. After August 1947, when India achieved independence the State of Jammu & Kashmir became an integral part of India.

New Delhi;
November, 1979

PRITHVI NATH TIKOO

INTRODUCTION

I wrote my first book "*Immortal India*" in the year A.D. 1973, after intensive research involving hard labour for three years. All the same I was not cock-sure that it would satisfy and please the reader as a standard book does. It was, therefore, with some diffidence that I persuaded myself into getting the book published in 1975 A.D. Soon after, however, it came as a pleasant surprise to me when my patrons and my friends praised that book and expressed their sincere admiration for this maiden effort of mine as an author.

Mr. P. N. Haksar, the then Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Government of India, was kind enough to go through the manuscript of this book (*Immortal India*) and to write a foreword for the same. In that he said, *inter alia*, that "the book will enrich our knowledge of Indian civilization and would be useful book for the students of history and researchers". Nothing could be more encouraging for me. It inspired me into taking another step forward in the field of authorship, and this book (Story of Kashmir) is the outcome.

The subject-matter of this book was suggested to me by an officer of the State Education Department, who, besides being an erudite scholar is an expert in Library science also. He wanted me to write some book on the history of Jammu and Kashmir state which could prove useful for the students and for others interested in our past. The form I have given to this book has been stated in the preface.

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PART I

KASHMIR

1

The Story of Kashmir

I

REFERENCES AND GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

Indigenous

The name of Kashmir is very ancient. It is found in ancient Hindu texts like *Nilamatpurana* and grammarian Panni's magnum opus, 'ASHTADHYAYI'. The *Mahabharata,* the *Puranas* and the *Braht Samhitta* also refer to Kashmir as a country. Kashmir in its original Sanskrit form, has been used as the sole designation of the country throughout its known history. Its continued use can be traced back through an unbroken chain of documents for more than 23 centuries.

Foreign

Reference to Kashmir is also found in Ptolemy's geography. D'Anville, another French geographer, has recognized its name in that of the region of Kashperia situated below the sources of Bedasper (Vitasta) and of Sandabul (Chandrabhaga) and of

Idris (Iravati).* Haider Malik, Burnouf, Wilson and many others have taken Kashmira as a contraction of Kashyapmir, i.e., the sea of mountains of Kashyapa.

Geographical

The valley of Kashmir is situated to the north of the Pir Panjal range of mountains in northern India. It is of an irregular oval shape lying north-west and south-east, perched securely among the Himalayas at an average height of about 6,000 ft. above the sea. It is about 84 miles in length and twenty to twenty-five miles in breadth. On the north it is cut off from the Punjab by rocks of mountains approaching in certain cases even 18,000 ft. above the sea level. The rocky walls of the valley have one gap near Baramulla where river Jhelum flows out by a narrow opening towards the Punjab. Along side this gap has been built a road, named Jhelum Valley Road which connects Kashmir to western Punjab through Kohalla. The road has, however, remained closed from Uri (60 miles north of Srinagar) onwards, from October 1947 due to Indo-Pak conflict.

On the southern side the Pir Panjal peaks, walling the valley, vary in height more than 15,000 ft. (Tatakuti is the highest snowy peak in the whole range, visible even from Lahore on clear days.) On the Banihal hill a tunnel 8359 ft. long (one of the longest tunnels of the world) named Jawahar-tunnel has been built at a height of 7280 ft. above the sea, soon after independence (P. 205), replacing the old higher level tunnel 9,200 ft. The trunk road (popularly known as B.C. road) from Srinagar to Jammu passes through this tunnel. The old tunnel used to remain closed due to snow and inclement weather during most part of the winter which brought all communication between Kashmir and Jammu through B.C. road to a halt during that period. The new tunnel, apart from shortening the

* It has been suggested that Ptolemy's statement refers to a period when the power of the dynasty ruling over Kashmir actually extended over the wide territory above indicated. The probable historical assumption is that Kashmir was then subject to a great foreign dominion, the rulers of which were designated from this part of their realm.

distance between Srinagar and Jammu by about 30 miles, now remains open to all traffic almost throughout the year.

More to the east lie the valleys of Baltistan. Between Kashmir and Skardu (8,873 ft.) are the mountain plains of Devsai (13,400 ft.) and the high valley of Dras, through which runs the road to Leh and Yarkand.

After the Treaty of Amritsar (1846) Kashmir became a separate State under Maharaja Gulab Singh with the British as the paramount power. The Dogra rulers expanded it further. In 1947, when the Britishers left India, Jammu and Kashmir was the largest State in India, larger than Hyderabad, thrice as large as Mysore, twice as much as Gwalior and Bikaner put together, five times the size of Jaipur, ten times the area of Baroda and a dozen times as much as Travancore. It contained three divisions that of Kashmir, Jammu, and the frontier area of Ladakh, Gilgit etc.

Geological

Probable Age

About one hundred million years have been reckoned as the probable age of Kashmir, quite small compared to the hoary antiquity of the earth itself, which may be over 1,000 million years from the evolution of its birth, from the current nebula. For some 900 million years Kashmir struggled under the Tethysa sea. Where there are such stupendous folded mountains today, there rolled the sea. There are many evidences of this long burial among these rocks, in the layers of sediments, muds and shells that have been hardened by time into stones and solid rocks, folded, contorted and faulted in many places. "The oldest rocks in Kashmir are found in the height of Takht-i-Sulaiman. Some lava sheets, covering the earliest sedimentary rocks, are noticeable here. This was Kashmir's first appearance on the earth's surface but only in the form of a volcanic island. Then in the Devonian period, another volcanic erruption helped it to form an archipelago. During the Carboniferous period, Kashmir emerged with greater forces and more rocks were born. The most exciting drama of Kashmir's evolution has been

enacted during the Tertiary period, only about 40 million years ago. During the Eocene age particularly, both Kashmir and Tibet had become dry land, when the Himalayas slowly emerging could contact the Peninsular block in the south. It is to be noted that where the Vale of Kashmir itself lies, there was a vast lake about a million years ago, but it got drained through the gap now known as the Baramulla-pass as the Himalayas grew higher and higher."[1]

Other Accounts

The geological observations upon which modern scientific inquiries like that of Mr. Drew and Col. Godwin Austin have based their belief as to the former existence of a great lake, are mainly concerned with the undoubted lacustrine deposits found in the Karewa Plateaus. There is not, however, complete unanimity among the geologists in this view. Richard Lydekker, for instance, states that the lakes or tarns which occur in the mountains surrounding the valley, mostly lie in what are generally considered to be true rock basins, but it is difficult to say whether the existing lakes in the valley are real rock basins. He gives facts to show that the glaciers of Kashmir Himalaya were formerly of vastly greater proportions than they are at present and points out that some of these existed at levels and in districts where there are none now. Some geologists think that some of the gravels at Baramulla are considered to be of glacial origin. Mr. Drew says: 'it is impossible to say whether the valley of Kashmir is a true rock-based, or blocked river valley'. "In the Karewas the presence of thick beds of conglomerate near Baramulla, has led to the inference that these beds were probably deposited by river itself, which must then have flowed out from the valley in a course not very far removed from its present one; if this be correct no lake could have existed here at that time."[2]

1 Maneck Pithawalla, *An introduction to Kashmir*, Pakistan Geoffery, Cambridge Oxford University Press, 1953.
2 Sir Walter Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, Cassell & Coy. Ltd., London.

The upper Karewas are a fine claying and sandy deposits perfectly horizontal and extend across a wide and open river valley, and attain a height of more than 200 ft. above the level of that valley. It is difficult to imagine how these could have been accumulated without the aid of a dam lower down the valley by which its waters have been pounded back. The only explanation of the mode of formation of the upper Karewas is that Kashmir was formerly occupied by a vast lake of which the existing lakes are remnants.

The nature of the barrier which dammed this old lake cannot be certainly determined before it is finally decided whether the lower Karewas of Baramulla are true lacustrine or "Wash Deposits".

However, whatever view may ultimately recommend itself to geologists, or the archaeologists, it is certain that the lacustrine deposits of Kashmir, though of no remote date, speaking by a geological standard, are "far older than any monuments of man that have yet been discovered".[3]

Legendry

Satisars

According to the legends, old Hindu scriptures like 'Nilamat-Purana', and traditional accounts and confirmed by the modern geologists, a huge lake called 'Satisaras, the lake of Sati (Durga) occupied the place of the valley of Kashmir from the beginning of the 'Kalpa' (cycle of creation of the universe). It remained as such during the periods of the first six of the fourteen 'Manavantras' (one Manavantra is 307,720,000 years). In the seventh Manavantra the demon Jalodbhava (water-born) who resided in the lake, caused great distress to the inhabitants of all neighbouring countries by his devastation. Was there anyone capable of relieving them from their distress ? Yes, they found it when their thought ran to the great sage Kashyapa and his son Nila.

3 *Ibid.*

Kashyapa Muni

Muni Kashyapa was the son of Marichi and the grandson of Brahma, the creater of the universe according to the Hindu Pantheon. He was also the father of all Nagas.

The Lake is Drained off

While on a pilgrimage to the Tirthas (holy places) in the north of India, Kashyapa heard the cause of this distress of the people from his son Nila, the king of Kashmir Nagas. His saintly heart was very much moved, and he determined to punish the evil doer. He approached Brahma and implored his and other gods' help, for the purpose. His prayer was granted. God Vishnu called upon his brother Balabhadra to drain the lake. This he did by piercing the mountains near Baramulla (34 miles north of Srinagar), with his weapon, the ploughshare. The water from the lake was drained off and Jalodbhava was slain.

The Hari Parbat Legend

There is yet another legend available to us in connection with the desiccation of Satisaras. According to this, Kashyapa Muni after a long penance invoked the help of some gods including goddess Sharika. The goddess came in the form of a common Myna (Acridotherestristis) carrying in her beak a pebble which she dropped upon Jalodbhava to kill him. The Sanskrit and the Kashmiri name for a Myna is Sarika and Hari, respectively. The pebble is believed to be the hillock (Parbat) which later on was and even at present is known as Hari Parbat or Sharika Parbat. The dropping of the Hari Parbat on Satisaras drained it dry. It also killed the Jalodbhava. Some hold the view that this outlet might have been the result of an earthquake or by some cataclysm followed by attrition.

The Nagas

So, after desiccation of the lake, people from outside began to

pour in to inhabit the valley. According to *Nilamata* (written some time between 6th and 8th century A.D.) the valley of Kashmir was occupied in ancient times by the Nagas only. They were followed by Pishachas and the descendants of Mannu also, who came here on the invitation of Kashyapa. The origin of the Nagas is not clearly known, yet from the legend they "peep out at one time as reptile snakes with supper-natural powers etc., and at another as human beings sometimes highly respectable".[4] However the views of scholars on this topic differ.

Kashyapa's Progeny

The name Nilmata (teaching of Nila) is associated with its author Nila (Kashyapa's son) who was a Naga. The Nagas, it is stated were the progeny of Prajapati Kashyapa, and his wife Kadru—the daughter of Daksha. The Devas, the Daityas, the Danavas etc., are also said to have been the sons of Kashyapa.

The Pishacas

Another tribe of the Pishacas came from North-west of India to live in the valley. Modern folklore associates them with 'Bhuttas' and 'Pritas'—the ghosts of persons having died an unnatural death. Some believe that the Pishacas were the enemies of Nagas living in the mountains and having considerable nuisance value for the Nagas. Later, on Nila's intervention, the Pishacas were promised occasional feasts and they thus became friends. This tradition still persists with the Pandits of Kashmir who keep cooked rice, pickles, meat and fish outside their houses once or twice during the mid-winter months as an offering to Pishacas.

Other Evidences

The legend of the desiccation of the lake is alluded to also by Hiuen Tsiang, though in another Buddhistic form. Its main

4 Dr. Ved Kumari, *Nilamatpurana* (Trans.), *J & K Academy of Culture*, Jammu/Srinagar.

features, as related in the *Nilamata*, live to this day in popular tradition. They are also reproduced in all Muhammadan abstracts of the chronicles etc., (*Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 380 and Wilson's essays, p. 93). From Haider Malik's 'Tarikh' the legend became known to Dr. Bernier (Bernier's travels, p. 393). It has since found its way into almost all Europeon accounts of Kashmir. Recent findings at Burzahom excavations also corroborate this fact.

II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Sources of History

A study of ancient Indian history as a whole, reveals the fact that Indian Scholars were indifferent to the search for the bare truths of historical facts. Thus "it has often been said of the India of the Hindus that it possesses no history".[5] This indifference naturally prevented the scholar from arriving at the perception of historical development and change. The researcher of history is consequently obliged to reconstruct the general outlines of the country's ancient history with the help of the scanty and frequently uncertain data developed from inscriptions, coins and occasional references in literary works. Even then he can scarcely hope to recover a continuous account of leading events even for a couple of centuries.

Kashmir is, however, an exception. This is perhaps the only region in India which, besides its legends, can claim the distinction of possessing an uninterrupted series of written records of its history, and deserving the name of real chronicles.

Kalhana Pandita is the first person whose historical narrative of Kashmir (*Rajatarangini*) from 8th to 12th century, in a scientific manner, has come down to us. Yet he nowhere claims the merit of originality for the plan and form of his work. On the contrary he refers to various earlier compositions on the

5 Dr. B.N. Puri, *A Study of Indian History*, Bharatiya Vidyabhawan, Bombay, 1971.

history of Kashmir kings which he had used. But none of these has come down to us. Kalhana refers also to Surata's poem, and other "eleven works of former scholars containing the chronicles of the kings".[6] For special mention he singles out Ksemendra's 'Nripavali' (list of kings).

Nilamat Purana

The author of *Rajatarangini* also refers to the *Nilamatpurana*. This book is the oldest extant text about ancient Kashmir. While mainly dealing with the 'Tirthas' (sacred places) rituals and ceremonies of Kashmir, it throws a great deal of light also on its social conditions, speaks of the common men in their houses and describes their social customs and domestic aspects. It also deals with the legends of the origin of Kashmir, the myths relating to its original inhabitants and their gradual displacement by others. Social background to the dynastic and political history given in the *Rajatarangini* also provided in *Nilamatpurana*. It shows the Kashmiris as devout people, believing in the sacredness of their land, and generally leading a happy life. From this we read that women in Kashmir, unlike in any other part of North India enjoyed considerable freedom and were looked upon with honour and respect.

The *Nilamatpurana* written some time between 6th and 8th century A.D., opens with Janmejaya's inquiry from Vaishampayana as to why the king of Kashmira did not participate in the war of Mahabharata although his kingdom was the principal one in the world. Vaishampayana states that some time before the Mahabharata war king Gonanda of Kashmira was invited by his relative Jarasandha to help him in a war against Yadavas. Gonanda complied with this request, but he was slain there by Krishna's brother Bala. To avenge his father's death, Gonanda's son Damodara went to Gandhara to fight with Krishna who had gone there to attend a Svayamvara. In the fight Damodara was killed by Krishna. However, taking into consideration the high sanctity of Kashmira, he coronated the

6 M.A. Stein *Rajatarangini*-Kalhana, (Trn.) Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi.

rival's pregnant wife Yasovati. Her posthumous son Gonanda II was a minor at the time of the great war. As such he did not take part in it either on the side of Kauravas or the Pandavas.

Vaishampayana points out the importance of Kashmira by referring to its numerous charms and its identification with Uma. About the mythological history of Kashmir, Vaishampayana relates a dialogue held previously between Gonanda and the sage Brahadasiva giving the story of demon Jaladeva of Satisaras, etc., etc.

Earliest Inhabitants

The earliest inhabitants of ancient Kashmir, according to *Nilamata* were the Nagas: Then came Pishacas and the Manawas. There existed four *varnas* and various sub-divisions of the society. The Brahmins in general were highly honoured but the Sudras too were not considered degraded.

Kalhana Pandita

Now we come to Kalhana Pandita and his *Rajatarangini.* He is the first person in whose historical narrative of Kashmir from 8th to 12th century has come down to us.

Kalhana was born in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. in a Brahmin family. He wrote the introduction to his chronicle (*Rajatarangini*) in the year A.D. 1148-49, and completed this work in the following year. He was the son of Chanpaka, a minister of the king Harsha, who ruled from A.D. 1089-1101. Chanpaka seemed to have enjoyed the confidence of the king and to have occupied responsible offices. The high position occupied by the family would no doubt have given Kalhana many opportunities to be a spectator of the most important contemporary events in the state. Of even greater significance, it secured him an excellent education which equipped him for his work as historian. The training consisted mainly of rhetoric, grammar and literature, by which Kalhana became acquainted with the ancient Indian epics such as *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana.* He thus writes as an able, intellectual and educated man, quick to notice what is happening in the world, to observe little points of detail

that illuminate great incidents, to assess the true worth of the actions he portrays, and to give reasoned opinions that are always of value concerning people and events. We find also in his work a high moral sense shown especially in his appreciation of courage against great odds, in his condemnation of disloyalty and in his recognition of the spiritual value of sacrifice and unselfishness. We find also a refreshing independence of judgement that regards the actions of kings not as above the moral law but as subject to it, and capable of being judged by it. His word like that of a judge keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past.

Kalhana was an accomplished versifier and wrote the *Rajatarangini* in verse. He uses his work to enforce the moral lesson of the fleeting nature of all subjects of human desire, and the value, therefore, of the detachment from the world. It is pre-eminently a Buddhist sentiment, and as we should expect, we find that Kalhana, though himself a Hindu Brahmin retains nevertheless, a deep sympathy and affection for Buddhism and its profession.

Rajatarangini

It is a historical record containing a mass of detailed information about the conditions of ancient Kashmir. It furnishes connected accounts where the narrative of past events had become fragmentary in many respects. Kalhana has adopted an artificial nature in the first three books of his work, i.e., up to the beginning of the seventh century A.D. The very detailed record he gives us of the history of Kashmir in his own time was based on his personal knowledge. This fact makes the narrative so valuable to us.

Rajatarangini is admittedly the most direct source of information on the early period of the Hindu kings of Kashmir. Allowing for the legendry character of much that is related in the first three cantos regarding the earliest dynasties and discarding the artificial chronology of these portions, we retain in Kalhana's work a connected account of Kashmir history which has well stood the test of historical criticism. "It comes nearest the character to the chronicles of Medieval Europe and of Muhammadan East".

Kalhana's time is marked in the history of Kashmir by an important dynastic revolution which brought about material changes in the political state of the country. There was a civil war between king Harsha (A.D. 1089-1101) and the Damras in which the king was killed. The kings that followed Harsha fought with one another. Kalhana's life thus passed in what was for Kashmir one long period of civil war and political dissolution.

Chronological Order in Rajatarangini

The contents of Kalhanas work divide themselves into two great portions. The narrative of Books IV to VIII which extend from the beginning of the Karkota dynasty to Kalhana's own time. The first three books contain the narrative of earlier epoch. The record here found of successive Gonandiya dynasties, whose rule is supposed to have filled an aggregate period of nearly 3050 years, consists mainly of bare dynastic lists interspersed with more or less legendry traditions and anecdotes. The date (A.D. 813) given by Kalhana for Cippata-Jayapida's death is an important landmark in the chronology of the *Rajatarangini.* The dates which succeed it are of precise form and independent of each other. Kalhana has, however, no real dates to offer to us about chronology of the preceding period.

From the trustworthy information that has been furnished by Kalhana in Books VII and VIII of *Rajatarangini* one can see how small were the events, how limited the political interests and influences of that period of Kashmir history. All the same the value of the narrative from a historical point of view does not lie merely in the truthful picture it represents of contemporary life and local conditions. It helps us also to understand its subsequent course of political destinies of the country and to realize in it some leading features of Kashmir history generally.

Post-Kalhana Historians

After Kalhana the thread was taken up by Pandit Jonaraja, one of the top advisers of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. His work (Jonaraja's *Rajatarangini)* is the most important source for the

history of Kashmir from 1150 to 1459. It gives us a brief account of social and political conditions of Kashmir from 1150 to the accession of Shah Mir, and helps us to understand the circumstances which led to the establishment of Sultanate there.

Srivara

After Jonaraja's death, his pupil Srivara continued the narrative in his book 'Jaina Rajatarangini'. This book gives a detailed account of the remaining years of Zain-ul-Abidin's reign (1459-86) and that of his successors till the accession of Fath Shah in 1486.

Prajabhatta and Suka

After Srivara, Prajabhatta and Suka composed 'Rajavali-Pataka'. This covers the period from A.D. 1486 to 1512.

Mughal-period Historians

During the Mughal period and after, we have a series of Persian and other historiographers like Haider Malik, Narayan Koul, Mohommad Azam, Birbal Kachroo, Diwan Kripa Ram, Maulvi Hassan etc. But none of these Persian chronicles can claim any independent authority on the earlier period of Kashmir history.

Modern Historians

During our time also (1977) Dr. Muhib-ul-Hassan, Dr. R.K. Parimoo have done useful research on the Sultanate period and Muslim rule in Kashmir respectively. Mr. P.N.K. Bamzai's work on the history of Kashmir is also praiseworthy. But all these have, by and large, been built on old materials available on the subject. Writing of Kashmir story during some past decades has thus been a process of remakes and remakes, without anyone coming with an account just slightly new or different. The recent sensational artifacts and other finds excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India at Burzahom

(Kashmir) may, however, make it necessary to revise some facts of the past history of Kashmir refuting many an old theory about it.

Distinctive Local Character of History

The great natural ramparts which enclose Kashmir, have given this country long immunity from foreign invasions as also a historical existence of marked individuality. On this no lasting impression was left even by those periods when the valley was under the sovereignty of great foreign dynasties. Kashmir history has hence always borne a distinctively local character. Since an early period Kashmirians have been wont to pride themselves on the country's safety from foreign invasions due to the strength of natural defences, force of soldiers and efficient defensive system. Hiuen Tsiang, Ou-K'ong, and many other geographers have corroborated this fact.

But where did that isolation, independence and organisation go ? The succeeding chapters of this book will unfold the reasons as we proceed on with the narrative of different stages in the Kashmir story.

To ensure its coherence and lucidity this story has been divided into the following six parts:

(1) The legendry and ancient period of Hindu Kings.
(2) The period of Kashmir Musalmans (Salatini Kashmir).
(3) The Mughal period (Shahani Mughlia).
(4) The Pathan Rule (Shahani Durani).
(5) The short period of Sikh rule.
(6) The Dogra rule.

History of Jammu and Frontiers

Mr. Hashmatullah Khan's 'A Short History of Jammu' (written in Urdu, Mr. K.M. Pannikar's 'Gulab Singh', and Mr. Alexander Cunningham's 'Ladakh' give considerable details about the history of Jammu and Ladakh etc. These appear in the 2nd and 3rd parts of this book.

2

The Hindu Period

I

THE ANCIENT HINDU KINGS

Ancient Indian Condition

Besides what we learn from the legends and other extant books like *Nilamatpurana* etc., Kalhana, as we have seen, was the first person who has provided us with historical narrative of ancient Kashmir from 8th to 12th century A.D. Up to the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Kalhana's account about the conditions in ancient India till his own time is, by and large, artificial and the dates given are mostly conjectural. Yet there is no other reliable record available to us about pre-Kalhana period upon which we could build any fool-proof thesis. What do we learn from this account ?

The Gonandiya Dynasty

68-kings of Gonandiya dynasty ruled Kashmir for 3049 years (S. 628-3677). Their story is of little consequence for our purpose inasmuch as it does not furnish any juicy details that

could make Kashmir story much informative or delectable. All the same mention about some important figures among them is made here.

Ashoka and the Story of Srinagar

The first important king in the line is the illustrious Ashoka. He is said to have built the town of Srinagari.*

General Cunningham has proposed to locate Ashoka's Srinagari at the site of the present village of Pandrethan, Kalhana's 'Purnadisthan', on the right bank of Vitasta, about 5 Km. above modern Srinagar.

The transfer of the old name Srinagari to the new capital built by Pravarsena II on the site of present Srinagar, and properly called 'Pravarpura' has also been satisfactorily accounted for by Cunningham. Srinagari is, in the *Rajatarangini* as well as in other Kashmirian texts by far the most common form of the name of this new capital, and as such was remained in general use to the present day. But the Persian chroniclers, Haider Malik and Mohommad Azam etc., place Ashoka's capital at 'Sir' now a village in Anantnag district. This, however, looks rather far-fetched.

It cannot be the result of chance that Pravarsena's city, Pravarpura (modern Srinagar) has escaped the fate of so many Indian capitals of being superseded by later foundations. There had indeed been many an attempt on the part of the later rulers to transfer the capital to the sites which they had chosen for their own cities. Lalitaditya, Jayapida, Awantiverma, and Shankervarman, had successively endeavoured to effect this object. The ruins of Parihaspura, Jayapura, and Awantipura show sufficiently that the failure of

* In *Rajatarangini* Kalhana gives the extravagant story that Srinagri was most important on account of its 96 lakhs houses resplendent with wealth (*Rajatarangini*, B.K. 1, p. 104). Taking into consideration the topography of Srinagari, these figures seem to be very much exaggerated. There is not, unfortunately, sufficient room for 9 million and more houses of Kalhana's fancy. The site is restricted one, being bounded by the hills and the river.

the first three kings was not due in anyway to deficient means or want of purpose. However, each one of the temporary capitals speedily sank into insignificance, while Pravarpura has continued to be the political and cultural centre of Kashmir down to the present day.

Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka

Then there appear in the land, three Turushka kings—Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka. They built three towns named after them, Hushkapura, Jushkapura and Kanishkapura respectively. These three kings are supposed to have ruled simultaneously. The Kanishka of the *Rajatarangini* has been identified with Kanishka, famous in Buddhists traditions. According to a tradition preserved in China, "It was under the patronage of Kanishka (1st-2nd century A.D.) the fourth great Council was held, at which Sarvastivadin doctrines were codified in a summary, the 'Mahabhasa'."[1]

The town called after Hushka has been rightly located at Ushkur, now a suberb of Baramulla on the left bank of Jhelum. Hiuen-Tsiang stopped at this place when he came to Kashmir via Baramulla in the 7th century A.D. Jushkapura is modern 'Zukur' an important suberb of Srinagar now. Kanishkapura is the present village of Kanispura in Baramulla district.

During the powerful reign of these three kings the land of Kashmir was to a great extent in the possession of the Buddhas, who by (practising) the law of religious mendicancy had acquired great renown.

Nara

Nara was a great king in the Gonandiya dynasty. He built the town of Narapura (Narwara). Though he followed the right customs, still when the fortune of his subjects turned, he brought about a series of great calamities under the baneful influence

1 A.L. Bashan, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 266 (Rupa & Coy., Delhi.)

of sensuality. It is said a Buddhist ascetic, living in a Vihara in Narapura, seduced the king's wife through "magic power". In his wrath over this, the king burned thousands of Buddhist Viharas, and granted the villages which had belonged to them to Brahmins residing in the town of Madhyamatha.

In his own turn, king Nara, overpowered by sensual desire, wanted to take by force Chandralekha, the beautiful daughter of a Naga who had been wedded to a pious Brahmin. When this was reported to the lord of Nagas, he rose, blind with fury, from his pool. Casting about dense darkness by thundering clouds of sinister look, he burned the king within his town in a reign of fearful thunderbolts. The king thus perished through his own evil conduct after a reign of forty-one years.

Siddha

One son of the king named Siddha, however had in the wonderous course of events been previously taken by his nurse to Vijayeshvara (Bijbihara). He did not thus lose his life, and ultimately succeeded his father. He led a pious life and also revived the thoroughly exhausted nation.

Mihirkula

The 12th king in the Gonandiya line needs special mention. He is Mihirkula, a men of violent acts and resembling *Kala* (Death). "This terrible enemy of mankind had no pity for children, no compassion for women, no respect for the aged. People knew he was coming by the vultures which flew ahead of him, eager to feast on the carnage which they had by experiences come to associate with his presence." He did not even spare innocent and useful animals. Once at the northern gate (dvara) of Kashmir, this sadist heard the terrified cry of an elephant which had accidentlly fallen over a precipice. The king was in raptures with joy over this sound, so much so that he had a hundred other elephantally rolled down by force to enjoy it further. The place where this inhuman act was perpetrated, later came to be known as Hastivanj. "After ruling the land for seventy years this terror of the earth and destroyer of

three crores of human beings in his empire become afflicted in his body with many diseases. These became so unbearable that he destroyed himself in the flames."[2] He was one of the Huna kings who ruled Western India for some time from A.D. 500 onwards. Mihirkula is remembered by the 7th century Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsiang as a fierce persecutor of Buddhism. Brahmanism was pampered. Kalidasa, the well-known Indian poet was born in Kashmir during his reign.

Baka

After Mihirakula's death, his virtuous son, Baka was crowned by the citizens. Born from an arch tormentor, he became a reliever of humanity, as the burst of rain which follows after an excessively hot day darkened by the clouds. He ruled for sixty-three years.

Gopaditya

Another great king in this line was Gopaditya, whose care for all castes and orders 'brought back the first Yuga before the eyes of men'. He founded the shrine of Jyestheshvara (Jeethyar) near Gopadri (Gupkar). He ruled for sixty years.

Yudishthara

King Yudishthara, the grandson of Gopaditya ruled his inherited kingdom with care for a short time. However, intoxicated by regal splendour he fell into a caprecious conduct afterwards. Consequently the wise men shunned him in his depravation, and the affairs of the kingdom soon fell into disorder. Ultimately he was forced to quit the country and take refuge somewhere outside.

2 *Rajatarangini* (Kalhana), p. 46-Bk I (Tr. by M.A. Stein) (Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi).

SOME FOREIGN RULERS

Pratapaditya Jalukas

After the fall of Yudishthara, a new person was brought from abroad and inaugurated as king. He was Pratipaditya a relative of king Vikramaditya. From that period onwards the country which had suffered from internal dissensions, was for some time subject to some foreign kings. After ruling for thirty-two years Pratapaditya was succeeded by his son Jalukas, who also shone forth for the same length of time as his father.

Tunjina

Then his son Tunjina ruled and delighted the people along with the queen Vakapushta, who was possessed of divine gifts. Unfortunately the country had to face a calamitous famine most trying for the people. Both the king and the queen did their best to alleviate the misery of the people. The king died after a rule of thirty-six years. His queen became a 'Sati' and thus followed her husband into death. They had no child to succeed them.

Vijaya

Then one Vijaya descended from another family, became the king, and ruled for eight years. He built a town around the shrine of Vijayesvara, with that name.

Jayendra

This king was succeeded by his son Jayendra. He ruled for 37 years and died heirless.

GONANDIYA DYNASTY RESTORED

Meghavahana

The people then, guided by the Ministers, brought Meghavahana from Gandhara. He proved to be a king possessed of divine gifts with a firm belief in non-violence. He is said to have crossed over to Lanka and subdued king Vibhishana there.

Pravarsena I

After his death Meghavahana was succeeded by his son Shreshthasena, whom the people called Pravarsena I and Tunjina II.

Hiranya and Tormana

After him, his two sons Hiranya and Tormana, became sovereign and Yuvraja respectively. A son was born to Toramana and he was named Pravarsena II. Hiranya died without any issue.

Vikramaditya and Matragupta

At that period there lived at Ujjayini the glorious king Vikramaditya who bore the second name of Harsha also. He had a wise and faithful minister named Matragupta. In recognition of his loyal services, the king decreed that Matragupta be inaugurated as king of Kashmir. This was done. However, after a period of five years of Matragupta's rule, Pravarsena II, appeared on the scene. Vikramaditya had then died. Having thus lost his patron and benefactor, Matragupta got dejected. Accordingly he abdicated and renounced the world.

Pravarsena II

Pravarsena proved to be a great king. He subdued many a prince outside Kashmir, and then began to live at the residence of his grandfather Parvarsena I (Puranaadhishthana). He built a great city on the right bank of Vitasta, and named it Pravarpura.

Ranaditya

Ranaditya, also called Tunjina, was another famous king in this line. He and his queen built the temple of Shanker Parvati.

Baladitya

The last king in this line of Gonandiyas was Baladitya. He died without a heir after ruling for thirty-seven years. So his son-in-law Durlabvardhana was proclaimed king. He was said to have been begotten by the Naga Karkota.

II

THE KARKOTA DYNASTY

Durlabvardhana

Before the rise of Karkota dynasty, the history of Kashmir is largely composed of fables and fairy tales and is, therefore, not very reliable. Not only is it, by and large, reliable thereafter but till the close of the 16th century it is also the history of a sovereign and independent state.

Durlabvardhana died after ruling for 36 years.

Pratapditya II

He was succeeded by his son Durlabhaka, who took the name of Pratapditya II. He built the town of Pratapditya (now Tapar) on Srinagar Baramulla Road. He ruled for 50 years, leaving behind him three sons Chandrapida, Tarapida and Muktapida. They are also known by the names of Vajraditya, Udayaditya and Lalitaditya, respectively.

Chandrapida

Chandrapida (Vajraditya) was a saintly person. He died after ruling for only nine years.

Tarapida

Tarapida (Udayaditya) succeeded his father. He was cruel, created terror in the country and perpetrated fratricide. Fortunately he died after ruling for only four years.

Lalitaditya (Muktapida) (699-736)

"Then the illustrious king Lalitaditya became the universal monarch." Whether Lalitaditya was a pure Kashmiri it has not yet been ascertained. His grandfather, the founder of the dynasty to which he belonged, was a man of humble origin who was connected by marriage with the preceding ruling family. The dynasty to which his grandfather succeeded was foreign. It is not thus possible to say how much foreign blood Lalitaditya had in his veins, but his family had at any rate been settled in Kashmir for a couple of generations and Kashmir was not in his time the mere appendage of a greater kingdom, but was a distinct and isolated kingdom in itself. Lalitaditya lifted his country to the pinnacle of fame.

Conquests Abroad

Eager for conquests abroad, this king passed most of his time chiefly on expeditions. He subjudgated Punjab, Kanauj, Tibet, Badakshan and Peking and returned to Kashmir after 12 years of conquest abroad. All historians are not, however, agreed on the authenticity of such far-flung conquests. According to them it is highly doubtful if the ruler of Kashmir could really muster so many men and also command all the resources which the gigantic job needed.

Sagacity and Foresight

Once, seized by curiosity to view lands which no one else had reached before, the king set out towards the boundless regions of the North. During this long journey, Lalitaditya in a message to his nobles, cautioned them against internal dissensions. The message conveyed, *inter alia*, the instructions that there should

not be left with the villagers more food than required for one year's consumption; nor more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their fields. The reason for this was that if the villagers should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable 'Damras' and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king. Finally Lalitaditya ordered that offices should not be held by family cliques. "When Kayasthas are united to one another by marriage; when kings see their officers behaving like Kayasthas, then you will know for certain that the people's lot is going to be changed for worse."[3] This advice had a ring of prophecy.

A Great Administrator-cum-Statesman

Lalitaditya's real fame, however, rests not on the military laurels but on his achievements at the home front. He was primarily an administrator and statesman and only secondarily a conqueror. He introduced some very important reforms in the Central administration of his country. His religious policy was very liberal. He was a Vaishnavite himself, but respected other religions also like Buddhism etc.

A Great Builder

The chief glory of Lalitaditya's reign lies in his building activities. The important towns which owe their existence to him include Suniscitapura, Darpitarpura, Phasupura, Parnotsa (perhaps modern Poonch), Lokapura and Parihaspura. The king also built some beautiful temples, Viharas and Stupas. The most important among these is the wonderful shrine of 'Martand' (Sun god) with its massive walls of stone within a lofty enclosure built on a hill over Mattan village. Sultan Sikandar (A.D. 1839) is said to have demolished this temple. According to General Cunningham, the Sultan "maintained a large establishment for one year for the demolition of the grand Martand temple. The massive masonry resisted all efforts and finally gun powder was

3 *Rajatarangini.*

applied and the noble buildings were cruelly defaced".[4]

Parihaspura

The town of Parihaspura (Parispur Udar) was also built by Lalitaditya. His queen and ministers helped to develop the town into a big city, so much so that it ranked as royal residence for some time, while Srinagar continued to be the real capital.

The Seamy-side of the King

In short, Lalitaditya has left many marks on the sands of time as a conqueror, administrator and patron of architecture and literature. But as great men's faults are seldom small, he had some serious shortcomings also. He drank like a fish, and when intoxicated issued cruel orders and did not always keep faith. It is said, once in a bout of drunkenness Lalitaditya ordered a bonfire of the city of Pravarpura to assure the predominance of his own creation, Parihaspura. His wise councillors, however, saw clearly that the king was inebriate and not, at that time, responsible for what he had ordered. But, in order to please him they arranged a faked fire. A sufficient number of faggots and ricks of hay were hurriedly collected, piled together in lines at some distance and then set on fire. Seeing this the king got the impression that his orders had been carried out. He stood and rocked with crazy laughter thinking that Pravarpura was up in flames. On the following morning, when the effect of the alcohol on him was over, the king felt repentant over his previous night's faux pas. But when the councillors revealed how they had played a ruse with him to save the city of Pravarpura, the king got immensely pleased with them.

Unpardonable Breach of Faith

Another black spot in the king's conquests abroad is the con-

4 Cunningham, Quoted in *Immortal India* by P.N. Tikoo, p. 133 (Sagar Publications, New Delhi).

fidence trick he played against the powerful king of Gauda (Bengal) whom the king could not conquer in an open battle. Lalitaditya invited this king to come to Kashmir promising him safety of life and making the idol of Vishnu, the surety. But when the guest was on his way to Srinagar, the king got him killed at Trigami. Hearing this, some devouted followers of the late king came all the way from Bengal to Kashmir to avenge the death of their ruler. But in the fight here they were overpowered by the local soldiers and put to death. Paying tribute to these brave men Kalhana says 'even the creator cannot achieve what the Gaudas did on that occasion, and to this day the world is filled with the fame of those Gauda heroes'.[5]

The Death

The date and place of death of Lalitaditya are not exactly known. Some have reported that "he perished in the country called Aryanaka (probably in eastern Iran) through excessive snow which fell out of season".[6] According to some "the king burned himself in order to preserve the foremost position which he had long held among the kings".[7]

Paying his last tribute to Lalitaditya, Kalhana says, "Thus the moon of his subjects vanished, after comforting the earth in this fashion during thirty-six years seven months and eleven days."[8]

Kavalaypida

After Lalitaditya, his son Kavalaypida came to the throne. By his liberality he gave spotless brightness to the royal fortune. Unfortunately for the people of the country, this pious lord ruled for only one year, after which he left the kingdom and retired to forests to spend the rest of his life in austerities.

5 *Rajatarangini* B.k IV-332-335 (M.A. Stein) Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi.
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Ibid.*, p. 366.

Vajraditya

Then Vajraditya, second son of Lalitaditya became the ruler. He, however, proved a contrast to his brother. He was wicked, a slave to avarice. He had a large number of women in his seraglio. After ruling the earth for seven years, this sinful king ended his days through consumption caused by excesses in sensual enjoyment.

Jayapida Lalitapida

Vajraditya's youngest son also proved to be a great king in the beginning in his own right. Like his grandfather, he collected a sizable army and set out "for conquest of the world" and showed considerable prowess outside. He married Kalyandevi, the daughter of king Jayanta of Paundravardhna (somewhere in Bengal). On his return this righteous king, assisted by his queen, managed the affairs of his kingdom. He founded the city of Jayapura (now Andarkot, a village near Sumbal) and made it his capital. He established the office of Administration of Justice (Dharmadhikarna). A spy system to find out the miscreants was also introduced by him.

Unfortunately for his subjects, this king underwent a metamorphosis of the worst kind after some time. Abandoning his grandfather's course he now followed the conduct of his father. He fell prey to avarice and became the oppressor of his own kingdom. His plans directed towards the capture of various princes, were now fixed on the imprisonment of his own citizens. Brahmins became the chief target of his sadism. Lust for money made him cruel, so much so that for three years he grabbed the whole harvest including the cultivators' share. The powerful Brahmins of Tulamul, brought Jayapida to death in 782 A.D. after a reign of thirty-one years. He was succeeded by his son Lalitapida, who also proved to be a slave of passion, and his kingdom was defiled by immorality.

Brahaspati

After Lalitapida, his minor son, Brahaspati, became the king

under the guidance of his five maternal uncles including Utpalla and Mamma. However, when he came of age, Brahaspati was killed by these wicked persons in A.D. 850-51. A terrible civil war between Mamma and Utpalla followed, in which it is said, "the current of Vitasta was stemmed by the bodies of the soldiers killed in the war".

The dynasty of the kings from Karkota race was almost completely destroyed. Utpal's descendents in course of time obtained great might so much so that they declared Awantivarman, one of their men, as king in A.D. 855.

III

THE UTPALLA DYNASTY

Avantivarman (855/56-883)

Avantivarman, the first king of the Utpalla dynasty was the noblest of all the rulers of ancient Kashmir. Humility, generosity, warmth of love and angelic softness were his great virtues. He was, besides, a king full of judgement and wisdom. The real splendour and power did not intoxicate him. He waged no wars, not even to regain control over the territories which his predecessors had lost long ago. His were the piping times of peace and plenty, and, in point of prosperity, about the quarter of a century of his rule found Kashmir at its zenith. It was a glorious chapter in the history of this country. Never before or for centuries later were the people so happy as they were in his time. He brought the Damras to book.

Suyya the Great Engineer

In Avantivarman's time an illustrious person, who later on came to be known as Suyya, was born "to give fresh life to the people". The origin of this great man is not exactly known. A Chandala woman, Suyya by name, while sweeping up a dust heap on the road, saw a covered earthen vessel lying there. Raising its cover she saw in it a handsome babe sucking its fingers. Taking the name of Suyya, this baby, later on grew

into an intelligent youth and a great Engineer. Hearing about the calamities, that floods and the consequent famines brought to the valley, Suyya offered to give solution to the great problem. Avantivarman, anxious to test ability of Suyya placed the treasures at his disposal.

He (Suyya) saw more than a thousand years ago, what modern engineers have also observed, that flood in the valley are due to the waters of the Jhelum not being able to get through the gorge, three miles below Baramulla with sufficient rapidity. The constricted passage gets blocked with boulders and both Suyya and our present engineers saw that this obstruction must be removed. But, while the modern engineers imported electrically worked dredgers and a Drugging engineer from Canada (Mr. Dezzy), Suyya adopted a much simpler method.[9]

The Vitasta had got compressed due to which its waters turned backwards in whirls. The famine-stricken villagers looked helplessly as what they believed was Heaven's wrath. What did Suyya do? He went to Khadanyar (Baramulla) in Karamrajya (Kamraz) north of Srinagar. There he threw with both hands coins (dinnara) into the river in presence of the villagers who had collected there. Seeing this the poor villagers jumped into the river in search of the coins thrown into it, and in the process dragged out the rocks from it. The bed of the Vitasta thus got cleared and water found its outlet. And Suyya had in this manner artfully drained off that water.

Suyya's Other Works

Suyya constructed many stone embankments from the Wular lake to Khanabal (more than 100 Kms.), introduced an effective irrigation system, and procured a supply of river water for the villagers which thus no longer remained dependent only on rainfall. This great engineer "made the streams of Indus and Jhelum flow according to his will like a snake-charmer his snakes".[10] These two great rivers (Sindhu and Vitasta) which

9 *Kashmir*, Francis Younghusband, Adam Charles Black, London, 1909.

10 A. L. Bashan, *The Wonder that was India*, p. 195.

formerly met near the temple of Vishnu, flowing to the left and right of Tregami, 'have to this day, in the vicinity of Srinagar, their confluence which Suyya first planned, and which will last to the end of the world'. (*Rajatarangini*). The town where Vitasta leaves the waters of Mahapadman lake (now Wular lake) was named Suyyapura (now Sopore) after the name of this Engineer.

Shankarvarman

Avantivarman left this world in 883 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Shankarvarman, builder of town of Shankarpora (modern Pattan about 25 Kms. north of Srinagar). In the beginning this king went on an expedition with a huge army, subdued the king of Gujrat and conquered many other regions.

In course of time, however, Shankarvarman's mind became absorbed by excessive habits of avarice. He began to oppress his own subjects, robbed the temples of their property and income. He introduced the notorious system of forced carriage of load without wages (now known as *Kari-begar*). This was the harbinger of misery for the villagers and drove them into abject poverty. This system remained, till recent time, one of the most characteristic feature of Kashmir administration. Sins of father, they say, visit his sons. Would this were true in case of virtue also.

Gopalvarman and Queen Suganda

Suganda was married to Shankarvarman. On his death in A.D. 902 she became the ruler for some time on behalf of her minor son Gopalvarman. She was a simple, sincere, large-hearted lady with a religious bent of mind. She had no hunger for power and tried to rule with the consent of all. With all these qualities, however, she was sensuous and fell in love with an unscrupulous Minister, Prabhakardeva. This Achille's heel ultimately caused her fall. This man plundered the amourous woman, of her riches. This fact heavily weighed upon Gopalvarman and he died only after a brief rule of two years. Suganda now herself resumed the royal power. However,

after ruling for only two years (904-906 A.D.) she was imprisoned and put to death by the Tantrins.

Partha (906-921 A.D.)

The Tantrins made, 10 year old Partha, king, under the guardianship of his father Nirjitvarman who assisted by his corrupt ministers amassed bribes and oppressed the people. In A.D. 921, Partha was overthrown by his father before his death in A.D. 921. Partha staged a come back in A.D. 934 and ruled up to A.D. 935.

Unmattavant (937-39 A.D.)

Then came the wicked son of Partha called Unmattavant. He got his father mercilessly killed. Himself he died in 939 A.D. and Yaskara now came to the throne.

Yaskara to Dida

From Yaskara followed ten rulers up to and including queen Dida. Yaskara (939-48 A.D.) was a king of sterling qualities, but he was killed in 948 A.D. His minor son and legal heir to the throne Sangramdeva was killed by Minister Parvagupta who usurped the throne in 949 A.D. However he died soon in 950 A.D. His son Ksemgupta, who succeeded his father, proved to be incompetent, shallow, wicked, sensuous and a man of several other vices. The only important event in his reign was his marriage to Dida, daughter of Simharaja, the lord of Lohara.

Ksemgupta died in 958 A.D., leaving behind his minor son Abhimanyu as successor to the throne. This boy now became the king under the guardianship of his mother queen Dida. This woman had no scruples, no moral principles and no mercy for anyone. She foolishly exasperated Narvahana, a most faithful minister, into committing suicide. Other cruel officials of the government plundered Kashmir. All this became unbearable to sensitive Abhimanyu. Consequently he died of consumption in 972 A.D., succeeded by his son Nandigupta.

Queen Dida (980/1-1003 A.D.)

The death of her child in 972 A.D. chastened Dida for so time, and she rose in the estimation of the people. She bu Didapura with a 'Math' (now known as Dedamar). Many oth shrines were also built by her.

But such a frame of Dida's mind did not last long. For on after a single year when her grief had been allayed this unfaithfu woman lusting for pleasure caused the death of her two lit grandsons. She also now committed hundredfold excesses b open misconduct. Bhimgupta, her third minor grandson wa put on the throne. But when he came of age, queen Dida be came suspicious of him. He was tortured to death, and Di herself ascended the throne and ruled up to her death i 1003 A.D.

Dida's Place in Kashmir History

Dida's masterful personality thus dominated the politics o Kashmir for nearly half a century, first as chief queen o Ksemgupta, next as the regent of her son and grandsons, an finally as an independent queen. She was a "remarkable woma in many ways. She was beautiful but lame. But her physic handicap did not deter her from playing certain games. She wa greedy, intelligent, courageous, self-willed, full of determinatio shrewd, and a good judge of human nature. Most of her tim was spent in cruel, ruthless and unscrupulous deeds and detes able vices. She was uncommonly vuluptuous, profligate an dissolute. Her lust for power was almost limitless". Benjami Walker says her rule was characterised by "petty politics, intrigue, treachery, cruelty, debauchery and murder".

After a harvest of success, Dida had every reason to be very happy. But it is said that her happiness took a very undesir able form. She chose the primrose path. In the words o M.A. Troyer, Dida "the Massalina of Kashmir, was noted for her extraordinary profligacy, rivalling anything that is recorded of Catherine of Russia".[11]

11 M.A. Troyer, *Kashmir in Olden Times*, Calcutta Review, V/XIV-850, p. 214, quoted by M.L. Kapoor, p. 35.

According to Kalhana "The Officers who held charge of foreign affairs, the royal household, and other posts, visited the Queen's bed-chamber without scruples."[12]

"Dida fell in love with a letter-carrier who had begun life as a herdsman; she appointed him her minister and he retained undisputed predominance over her for her reign of 23 years, his valour supplementing her cunning diplomacy and bribes in overcoming all opposition."[13]

During her lifetime, Queen Dida had nominated the brother's son, Samgramrajya as her successor. This was thus her third wonderful change in the royal dynasties of this country which took place through relationship by marriage. Sungramrajya's succession in 1003 A.D. marks the establishment of the first Lohara dynasty in Kashmir.

IV

FIRST LOHARA DYNASTY (1003 to 1089 A.D.)

Location of Lohara

Lohara is, most probably, the valley south of the Pir Panjal, adjoining Poonch, between the Tatakuti peak and the Tosamaidan pass. The broadest and the best cultivated part of the valley of Loharian lies about 8 miles above Mandi.

Sangramrajya (1003-1028 A.D.)

There is nothing to the credit of this king except some minor fighting and intrigues. Tunga was his powerful Prime Minister. The king wanted to get rid of him and bade his time. The first step he took was the marriage of his daughter Lothika to Preman, a Brahmin superintendent of the Didda 'Math', who possessed wealth, courage and other good qualities. To keep him off his guard, the king made Tunga all-powerful. Preman

12 *Rajatarangini* VI-189.

13 Francis Younghusband, *Kashmir*, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1909,

tried to oust Tunga but did not succeed. Finally the king la
a trap; called Tunga and his son to the palace, where both w
treacherously killed.

To avenge his murder Tunga's followers gave much troub
to the king. He became a cat's paw of his so-called support
and was not therefore able to assert. "The king's last ye
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Hariraja to Ananta

King Sangramrajya died in A.D. 1028, after having his s
Hariraja consecrated. But this noble person was destined to r
for only 22 days. He was succeeded by his minor broth
Ananta. Being incompetent to be a ruler he had to abdicate
1063 in favour of his son Kailasa.

Kailasa (1063-1089 A.D.)

Kailasa was efficient but had a serious defect. He was licenti
so much so that he did not scruple to come down to incest.
would roam about from house to house during the night en
ing the women of others. In such illicit emours he had so
times to face humiliations, but he did not mind these.

After the death of his parents, Kailasa ruled efficien
improved the economic condition of his State and made pe
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Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.)

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Lalanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, 1965,
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To avenge his murder Tunga's followers gave much trouble to the king. He became a cat's paw of his so-called supporters and was not therefore able to assert. "The king's last years were further saddened by the unworthy conduct of his wife, Srilekha. She began to lead an unholy life and developed illicit relations with Tribhavana, a son of Tunga's younger brother and Jayakara, a revenue officer". (K.S. Sexena, *Political History of Kashmir*, 1974, quoted by M.L. Kapoor, p. 47).

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After the death of his parents, Kailasa ruled efficiently, improved the economic condition of his State and made people happy.

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King Kailasa died in A.D. 1089, and his son Harsha succeeded him. Unfortunately his rule did not fulfil the expectations of the populace. He proved to be a strange compound of contradictions. "His was a reign in which there are many enterprises, but no success, many plans, yet no policy, extreme assertion of authority coupled with extreme disregard for others; excessive

liberality side by side with extreme confiscation; abundant compassion, superfluity of pity countered by an equal superfluity of sin. A reign in short that is both worthy to be remembered and worthy to be dismissed from the mind."[14]

Character and Achievements

Harsha was learned and knew many languages. He was large-hearted and very munificent to men of learning. He reformed the administration and was "the solitary exception who issued gold and silver coins, besides copper ones".[15]

Harsha had to face many an internal turmoil. But after he was free from these he came to be exploited by some rogues around him. He now became excessively greedy and this transformed his character. He plundered from all the temples the wonderful treasures which former kings had bestowed there. The money thus obtained was wasted on personal luxuries and foreign expeditions etc. The royal treasury was also impoverished. Urgent need for money at last "turned the liberal king into a cruel oppressor" (*Rajatarangini*). The sacred images were systematically defiled through outcast mendicants. Kalhana when relating these shameful confiscations, gives to Harsha the epithet 'Turuska', i.e., Muhammadan. There is, however, no confirmation or other proof anywhere to show that Harsha had changed his religion.

Insatiable Greed

The key to the understanding of Harsha's strange conduct is indeed furnished by the sudden appearance of an intense greed in him. The more he had, the more he wanted. That is why he did not rest on his oars after plundering temples and seizing images. This steady degeneration in Harsha's character and the ascendency of worthless Officials soon told upon both, the internal and external affairs of the country. Only in the beginning did Harsha exhibit a liberal nature. Later on he perpetrated

14&15 Dr. Lalanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, 1965, pp. 215-19.

most detestable crimes, and moral degradation reached its climax under him.

Unparalleled Example in History

Dr. H. C. Ray compares him with Muhammad Tughlak. He says 'Harsha in his dazzling qualities and monstrous vices as well as his heterodoxy and traces of incipient insanity probably finds a parallel in Muhammad Tughluk" (*The Dynasty History of Northern India*, 1973 by Dr. H.C. Ray, p. 159, quoted by M.L. Kapoor, p. 64). But the comparison does not seem to be very accurate. For neither Harsha had the ability of Muhammad Tughlak to formulate great administrative reforms nor Muhammad Tughlak showed anything of the depravity and debauchery of Harsha. The fact is that the Kashmir ruler is without a parallel in history; he "stands unrivalled".

Cause of Downfall and Death

Naturally under such a monarch, a wave of general discontentment and despair spread throughout his kingdom, and every section of the people was sick of him. At this stage when things had reached the boiling point, Harsha committed yet another serious faux pas, which caused his humiliation, downfall and finally his inglorious death.

Murder of Mulla

Uccala and Sussala had gained considerable popularity in the country. Their father, Mulla, was leading the life of an ascetic. Indiscriminately and foolishly Harsha and Mulla mercilessly murdered. Consequently the two brothers, to avenge their innocent father's death attacked Harsha, set his palace on fire while he stood helpless at the bridge-head outside his place in rags, watching the people looking whatever they found in it—riches-cloth-and what not. One person mistook camphor for sugar and on eating it, had his mouth burned. Others discovered cloth painted with gold, and anxious to get the gold, burned the cloth and searched amongst the ashes. Others carried off the

ladies of the king's household, looking like fairies in their magnificent dresses and contrasting strangely with wild figures in whose arms they were seized.

Ignominous Death

Confused, king Harsha ran for refuge to the house of the Brahmins 'who had been his ministers, but was turned away. At last he found shelter in the hut of a low-class beggar. His life, indeed had been spared just long enough to hear of the death of his son, Bhoja who was soon slain by the servants'. To complete the tale, the beggar turned informer, and got the king killed. His head was brought to Uccala who had it burned but his naked body was burned, without any ceremonies, by a common wood dealer.

V

SECOND LOHARA DYNASTY (A.D. 1101-1128)

Uccala (1101-11 A.D.)

Uccala of the Lohara dynasty succeeded Harsha. He was a king of extremely good qualities – piety, justice, generosity and was unattached to wealth. He appointed his younger brother Sussala as king of Lohara. But instead of being grateful to his elder brother, Sussala rebelled against him and killed him in 1111 A.D. In the confusion Sussala's younger brother Salhana was hurriedly made king. He proved mentally incompetent to be a king, and was taken into captivity in A.D. 1112, after ruling for only four months.

Sussala (1112-20 A.D.)

Sussala now ascended the throne. He was an efficient ruler but had to encounter many enemies. People turned against him and he fled for his life to Lohara. After an interrugnum, however, Sussala again returned to Srinagar and occupied the throne. He had again to fight the Damras etc. At this time a great fire

occurred which consumed almost the entire city of Srinagar. This had a terrible depressing effect on Sussala. He lost his nerve and abdicated in favour of his son Jaysimha in 1123. Finally Sussala was murdered by one of his own men.

Jaysimha (1128-1149 A.D.)

Jaysimha was a brave and a pious king. He fought many a battle and put down many a rebellion.

Signs of the Final Collapse

From 1101 to 1149 A.D. when Kalhana Pandit ends his history, there was little else than civil war. The Damras, 'well-skilled in burning, plundering and fighting' were a terror to the country. Central authority was at an end, and the kings seemed to grow more and more helpless and incapable. King Uccala discarded the Kayasthas as he dreaded them like Pestilence. That was an indiscreet action. All things now point to a breaking up of the Hindu kingdom, which had lasted for so many centuries.

Jonaraja's Rajatarangini

Jonaraja's account throws sufficient light on the unsatisfactory condition of social and political Kashmir obtaining during the period from 1150 to 1459 A.D. In 1301 A.D., Raja Simhadeva asserted his supremacy over the whole of Kashmir. After a period of anarchy and confusion a stable government was established. The Damras, however, by their constant revolts plunged the country into confusion. To cap it a great calamity fell the kingdom at that time.

Invasion of Zulkadar Khan

Zulkadar Khan, the Tartar, invaded the country with sixty thousand horsemen. Helpless Simhadeva fled to Kishtwar. The Tartar Zulju, as he is commonly known (Jonaraja calls the Khan, Dalcha) slaughtered the people, took slaves, and set fire to the city of Srinagar. After occupation of the country for

eight months Zulju who had depopulated the valley, found it difficult to find provisions here. He, therefore, left Kashmir through Kuli Narwav valley. Heavy snow, however, overtook him en route. As a result he, his army and his Kashmiri captives, all perished.

Ramchand

Meanwhile, Simhadeva's Commander-in-Chief, Ramchand had been trying to keep up some semblance of authority in the valley. When Zulju departed, Ramchand moved down to Inderkot and drove out the Gaddis who had come in from Kishtwar on a raid.

Shah Mirza and Rainchan

Ramchand had with him two men, who, like other foreigners before, were destined to play an important part in the history of Kashmir. One was Shah Mirza from Swat; the other was Rainchan Shah. The latter was the son of the king of Tibet, who having quarrelled with his father, had come as an adventurer to the valley.

Murder of Ramchand

Soon after, Rainchan Shah broke with Ramchand, and with the assistance of mercenaries from Tibet, attacked and killed him. He also married Ramchand's daughter Kota Devi and in 1320 A.D. made himself undisputed master of Kashmir.

Rainchan and Devaswami

Rainchan Shah proved to be an able ruler, inquisitive and alert. He soon restored peace and happiness to the hapless country. He was also a person in search of spiritual peace. As such he would spent much time in the society of learned men, Hindus and Buddhists, discussing things with them. According to Jonaraja "The king asked Sri Devaswami to initiate him in the Mantras of Shiva, but as he was a Bhotta, Devaswami feared

that the king was unworthy of such initiation and did not favour him".

Rainchan Meets Bulbul Shah

According to some historians, Ramchand one morning saw Bulbul Shah, the Muslim saint at his prayers and under his initiation decided on Islam and taking the name of Sadr-ud-Din, built the Jama Masjid and a shrine for Bulbul Shah, still known by the name of Bulbul Lanker. But as this is not followed by any reference to the adoption of Islam by the king, it constitutes a very strong negative evidence against the popular tradition. This is further strengthened by the comment of Jonaraja, with reference to a later event in which Shah Mirza played a prominent part, namely 'strange that the believer in Allah became the saviour of the people'.[16] It is also to be noted that the both Nizam-ud-Din and Farishta describe Rainchan as an infidel and expressly state that his queen Kota Devi embraced Islam when she had married Shah Mir after the death of Rainchan.* Both the authorities look upon Shah Mir as the first Sultan of Kashmir. There is thus no valid reason to assume that Rainchan adopted Islam, in spite of popular traditions to the contrary.

Rainchan died in 1323 A.D. after a reign of three years. He left behind him a minor son. His mother Kota Rani accordingly acted as his Regent.

Kashmir was again invaded by the Turks. They entered the country via Hirpur. Kota Rani courageously faced the Turks and forced them to withdraw from the valley. She now became powerful but her reign was challenged by Shah Mir. She was defeated and imprisoned.** Shah Mir ascended the throne under

* According to Sir Walter Lawrence, *Velley of Kashmir*, she (Kota Rani), the last representative of Hindu Royalty, stabbed herself to death, before she married Shah Mir.

16 Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, H.V. 281, p. 26 (English Trs. by J.C. Dutta).

** According to Dr. Muhib-ul-Hassan, Kota Rani was defeated and imprisoned by Shah Mir and she died in prison in 1339 A.D.

the title of Sultan Shams'd Din. This laid the foundation of his dynasty which ruled Kashmir for over 200 years. Kota Rani died in prison in 1339.

Epilogue to Hindu Period

So, with Sultan Shams'd Din (1339 A.D.) Muslim Rule started in Kashmir and the Hindu Rule came to an end. The Hindu rulers did not lose the country as a result of any foreign invasion. It was due to unsatisfactory internal conditions obtaining in the country. With the establishment of Lohara dynasty in 1003 A.D., signs of internal decay began to manifest themselves in this country. Henceforth the Hindu rule in Kashmir started on its downward course until it was overthrown in about 1320 under Simhadeva. The kings of the period, with a few exceptions of course, were mostly weak, cruel and worthless. The Damras grew powerful, and by their constant revolts plunged the country into confusion. Socially and morally the people of Kashmir had sunk very low. Such conditions created a favourable atmosphere for a foreign invasion and occupation.

3

The Rule of Muslims

I

THE SULTANATE RULE

Sultan Shams'd Din (1939-1942)

Shah Mir (Shams'd Din) became the first Sultan ruler of Kashmir. He opened the new chapter in the history of the valley. Kashmir now became a Muslim State. Shams'd Din was an able ruler. He kept the feudal Chiefs under control. To counteract their influence, the Sultan raised to prominence two families: the Magres, who were of indigenous origin, and the Chaks who had migrated to Kashmir from Dardistan. This king, however, died after a brief rule of only three years, leaving behind him his two sons Jamshed and Ali Shah.

Ali Shah alias Ala-Ud-Din (1343-1354)

Jamshed succeeded to the throne but he was soon ousted by Ali Shah, who styled himself as Ala-Ud-Din. He ruled efficiently for over 11 years, and did much to relieve the people from the effects of a terrible famine which occurred during

his time. He died in 1354 and was succeeded by his son Shahab-Ud-Din.

Shahab-Ud-Din (1354-1373 A.D.)

A good soldier and an efficient administrator, Shahab-Ud-Din governed his kingdom with firmness and justice. He was also a patron of learned men. He had selected the area around Sharika Parbat (the areas which is above flood-level in Srinagar) for his capital and built a new town—Sharika Pura—there.

There was a seamy-side also in the administration of the king. By a regulation the hanjis (boatmen) of the valley were forced to serve him for seven days in a month without any wages. Baj (a kind of oppressive tax) was also levied upon the people. Another and a more serious charge against the king was that, in the evening of his life, a charming concubine enticed him and made him to exile his lawful queen with her two minor sons. Not only that, the king was made to nominate his younger brother, Hindel, as heir to the throne after his death.

Qutub-Ud-Din (1373-1389 A.D.)

So when Shahab-Ud-Din died in 1373 A.D., Hindel ascended the throne under the title of Qutub-Ud-Din. He was an efficient ruler, highly cultured and a patron of the learned. He founded the town of Qutubdinpura after his name. It was during his reign that the great scholar of Muslim theology, Syed Ali Hamdani (commonly known by the names of Shah Hamdan, Amiri-Kabir or Ali Sani) arrived in Kashmir for the second time.

Shah Hamdan

Shah Hamdan, accompanied by seven hundred Sayyids, had first come to Kashmir in 1372, but had returned to his home in Hamdan Via Mecca. "The reason for the Sayyids to leave their homeland, besides propagation of Islamic cult, was to escape from Timur who was suspected of contemplating, from

political motives, the massacre of the powerful Sayyid family."[1] Shah Hamdan repeated his visit to Kashmir in A.D. 1379. This time he remained here for two and a half years before he left for Turkistan via Ladakh. In 1383 A.D., he came again to Kashmir for the third time and remained here for about a year.

Shah Hamdan's arrival in Kashmir had far-reaching consequences for the society and culture of Kashmirians. "At this time (1383) the number of Muslims in Kashmir was very small, Hindus being still in the majority. Moreover in dress, manners, and customs, there was nothing to distinguish them from the Hindus. In Allaudinpura, for instance, there was a temple which was visited every morning both by the Sultan and his Muslim subjects. To avert famine, Qutub-Ud-Din once performed a 'Yagna' and distributed large gifts to the Brahmins. In contravention of Islamic teachings he had two wives who were sisters. Sayyid Ali denounced this and made Qutub-Ud-Din divorce the elder sister. He had discussions with the Brahmin priests and in this way secured many converts to his faith."[2]

Shah Hamdan selected his residence on the right bank of river Jhelum below Fateh Kadal. After him, a huge mosque built at this place, now known as Khankah-i-Maula. Islam was introduced into Kashmir from the time of Rainchan Shah, but it had not made any appreciable progress until the arrival of Shah Hamdan. He and his disciples completely Muslimised the king and the Musalmans here.

Mother Lulla

One of the greatest *Yogins* of Kashmir, Lalleshwari (reverently called Lal Ded—Mother Lulla—by all the Kashmiris) was Shah Hamdan's contemporary. Born in 1335 A.D. at Puranadhishthan (Pandrethan) near Srinagar in a Pandit family, she was gifted with a spiritual frame of mind from the very childhood. Established traditions dogmas and rituals of Brahmanism never

1 Dr. Sufi, *Kashir*, Vol. I, p. 841.
2 Dr. Muhib-ul-Hassan, *Kashmir under the Sultan*, p. 56.

appealed to her. She was married by her parents, but was cruelly treated by her in-laws. She suffered all that with a completely detached mind. Finally a Shaivite scholar, Sidh Bayu, gave her lessons on Shaivism and acquainted her about the ancient culture of Kashmir. She was a poetess and in course of time became the harbinger of great reform in religion. From her sayings (Lala Vakya) one clearly sees the accusing finger pointing out the corruption that had crept into Hindu society and religion. Lala preached reform in both. She also denounced animal sacrifice, idolatory and the caste system and propogated broader views on religion. To her, true religion meant faith in the highest, purity of heart, absence of false ego, equality among all, modesty and non-injury to others. This, emancipated and large-hearted saint and reformer, can be classed among the great reformers of India of the fourteenth century—Ramananda, Kabir and Nanak. She was, besides, a great protagonist of Hindu-Muslim unity.

Sheikh Noor Din

Laleshwari's cult was popularised by her younger contemporary Kashmiri saint, Sheikh Noor Din, founder of the 'Rishi' order in Kashmir. While Lala, a Hindu, protested against the rituals of the Brahmanic cult, Noor Din protested against Muslim fanaticism. Sheikh Noor Din was born in 1377 A.D. in Kaimuh (a village in Kulgam tehsil). His great grandfather was a Hindu Raja of Kishtwar who had been killed in a civil strife. Noor Din's father Sheikh Salar-Ud-Din came in contact with Sayyid Hussain Simnani who converted him to Islam.

It is said that when Sheikh Noor Din was born he refused breast-feeding from his mother—Sudra. The family got perturbed. So the baby was brought before Lala. She rebuked the new-born infant for his false renunciation. Thereupon Sheikh Noor Din began to have his natural nourishment. In due course Noor Din became interested in the spiritual problems of life. He learnt from Lala the secrets and mysteries of the Hindu cult. He lived a perfectly saintly life and firmly believed in the universal brotherhood of man and the basic harmony of all religions. He was a strict vegetarian and did not even touch

onions or garlic. During the closing days of his life, he gave up even milk and honey and lived on simplest diet, which sometimes comprised solely of a few cups of water. He died at the age of sixty-one in 1438 A D., during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. The Sultan himself accompanied this great saint's funeral procession with great reverence up to Chrar village where he was burried. Kashmiris still remember him with great reverence and call him Nund Rishi.

Numerous legends and anecdotes have been associated with the life and doings of Nund Rishi. These are still fresh in the memory of people. It is said that this saint was once invited to a feast. But in his usual tattered clothings, in which he went there, he was mistaken for a very poor begger, and was thus refused admittance into the assembly of the otherwise well-dressed guests. What did the saint do ? He left the place and at once managed to obtain and put on a rich dress and returned to the feast clad like a rich man. Now he found no difficulty in entering and sitting with other guests. When the service started Sheikh Noor Din did not eat anything but put the sleeves of his costly Choga (Toga) into the dishes and asked these to do justice to them (Zetheo Narev Khiyiv Sal—Long sleeves enjoy the feast). The host and other guests present were naturally astonished at such a strange behaviour and requested for an explanation. The saint replied with a smile, 'the feast was not meant for Noor Din but for his costly and long sleeves'. The hollowness of the values in the society, in which outward appearance command more respect for a man than his intrinsic worth, were thus brought home to everyone present. The guests and the host were thus put to shame by this great saint.

Sultan Sikander (1389-1413 A.D.)

Qutub-ud-Din died in 1389 A.D. He was succeeded by his minor son, Sikander. So his mother Sura acted as the Regent. Rai Magre was the powerful Prime Minister. He had great ambitions and was bent upon mischief to gain his cherished desire. He had Sikander's younger brother Habib Khan poisoned. However when Sikander took the reins of the government in his

own hands he sent Rai Magre to conquer Ladakh. Magre returned victorious, but Sikander sent him to prison where, after some time, he committed suicide.

Sultan Sikander was an able and a brave ruler. But he remained under the influence of Sayyids and Mullahs. "It was due to the advice of Sayyid Muhammad Hamdani that the Sultan imposed two 'Pals' of silver as 'Jazia' upon non-Muslims and prohibited 'Sati' and application of 'qashka' (tilak—a religious mark made by the Hindus on the forehead). However the chief person who prevailed upon Sikander to adopt an intolerant attitude towards the non-Muslims was Saif-ud-Din (Seh Bhata), who was in this respect his evil genius. With the zeal of a new convert, Saif-ud-Din called upon the Brahmins to embrace Islam. Those who refused had to pay 'Jazia'. Many Brahmins who did not, or could not pay, left Kashmir. In this misplaced zeal for their faith, Sikander and Saif-ud-Din, were also responsible for the destruction of some images and temples."[3] The famous temples were either completely destroyed or damaged beyond repair. These include the temples of Martand, Chakredhara, Triparashwar, and Awantipura. For this Sikander earned for himself the sobriquet of But-Shikan (Iconoclast).

Sultan Ali Shah (1413-1420 A.D.)

Sikander died in A.D. 1413. He was succeeded by his eldest son Ali Shah. Being incompetent himself, this man was dominated by his Chief Minister Saif-ud-Din. But the latter died in A.D. 1417. There was thus a power vacuum and consequent intrigues. Saif-ud-Din's brother Hamsabhatta tried to fill up the vacuum himself and in that attempt, got some of his rivals murdered. Hamsabhatta wanted to assassinate Ali Shah's younger brother, Shahi Khan, also, but did not succeed. Shahi Khan was supported by Ali Shah and the Thakurs. In the back fire, therefore, Hamsabhatta was killed in Id-gah on the day of Id-ul-Zuha.

Ali Shah was a person with a religious bent of mind. He went to Mecca to spend the rest of his days there. The kingdom was entrusted by him to Shahi Khan giving him the title of Zain-ul-Abidin. Ali Shah, tried to stage a come back, but Zain-ul-Abidin did not allow it.

3 Dr. Muhib-ul-Hassan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 65.

Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470 A.D.)

Among all the Sultans, who sat on the throne of the Kashmir, Zain-ul-Abidin was undoubtedly the greatest. He ushered in a period of nearly fifty years of peace, prosperity and benevolent rule for his subjects. Under him the boundary of the Sultanate of Kashmir reached its greatest extent. He loved his subjects and won their loyalty and affection. They called him 'Bad Shah' (the great king). Age has not withered his name nor custom made it stale. Even now, after a lapse of more than five centuries, Kashmiris remember Bad Shah with great affection, respect and feelings of admiration for his great qualities of head and heart.

The king introduced many arts and crafts and improved agriculture in this country. Floating islands were built and on these crops were sown. The chief glory of the great king's reign was his tolerance towards the Brahmins, and regarding this, a curious tale is told. It is said that the king was on the point of death when a Hindu Jogi volunteered to give his soul for the dying monarch on condition that his body should be preserved in some safe place. The king took the Jogi's soul, but cremated the body, and thenceforward the real king of Kashmir was not Zain-ul-Abidin but the Hindu ascetic. So, from the time of his recovery he treated Hindus with respect and tried to repair the wrong inflicted on them by Sikander. Some have compared Zain-ul-Abidin to Akbar, for he treated Hindus with a catholicity worthy of the Great Mughal Emperor. The Hindus who had left Kashmir during some previous regimes were brought back and rehabilitated. Sultan had great reverence for the Hindu 'Tirthas' and used to visit these frequently. He also celebrated the Hindu festivals like the birthday of Vitasta (Veth-Truvah), Sont (Basant), Shri-Panchami (On Jeshtharudra hill). According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, he forbade oxen being slain.

Zain-ul-Abidin was, besides, a learned man and a great builder. He was well versed in Persian, Sanskrit, Tibetan and

some other languages. He founded several new towns, built many bridges and dug many irrigation canals. The towns of Naushehra, Zainakot, Zainapura, Zaina Lank, and the bridge known as Zaina Kadal were all built by him. The important canals of Zainagir, Lacham Kul, Kakapura and Chakdar are also his creation. These canals improved and developed the irrigation system and brought prosperity to the people. The construction of Jama-Masjid in Srinagar, started by Sikander was completed by him. This great Sultan's reputation for justice and patronage of arts and culture had spread far and wide. To stop corruption in the judiciary he established a High Court of Justice which consisted of judges known for their integrity and ability. Embassies were exchanged and friendly relations with the rulers of various countries established.

The death of Bad Shah in A.D. 1470 terribly depressed his subjects. They thought that their golden era of peace and prosperity had come to an end. In a way they were right. For, the men who came after this great king, proved to be incompetent. The downward course of Shah Mir dynasty started in their time until it met its doom at the hands of the Chaks.

Haider Shah (1470-1472 A.D.)

Zain-ul-Abidin's son Haji Khan succeeded to the throne under the name of Haider Shah. His relations with the Hindus were not cordial. Besides he was a drunkard. His weakness gave the Chaks the opportunity for the aggrandizement of their power. He transferred the capital from Naushehra—built by his father—to Navhutta and built the Navakadal bridge in Srinagar. He died after a brief reign of one year and ten months. Even during this brief period this king had to face many intrigues.

Sultan Hassan Shah (1472-1484 A.D.)

After Haider Shah, his son Hassan came to the throne in A.D. 1472. He also had to face the intrigues of his rivals,

Bahram, Abhimangu, Malik Zada etc. In the beginning, by ruling the country well, the Sultan gave the impression of a tolerant and cultured person in Shah Mir dynasty, after Bud Shah. Later on, however, lust of power made inroads into his good qualities. He became tyrannical and pursued a policy of intrigue and nepotism and took to drinking. Luli, a wicked barbar, became his evil genius. This man turned his wickedness against the Hindus. In fairness to him, however, it may be stated that although his rule was politically a failure, Hassan Shah was a great patron of learning and art. He built palaces at Didamar and Sopore. The burnt down mosques of Khankah Maula and Jama Masjid were got rebuilt by him.

The last years of Hassan Shah's reign brought misery to the country. The great fire occurred in 1469 A.D. There was infighting between M.A. Yatu and Tazi Bhat, Sultan's Prime Minister and Commander-in-chief respectively.

Sultan Muhammad Shah (1448-1486 A.D.)

Hassan Shah died in 1484 A.D., succeeded by Muhammad Khan under the title of Muhammad Shah. He was soon imprisoned, and in his place Fateh Khan (Shah) became the ruler.

Fateh Shah (1486-93 A.D.)

Sultan Fateh Shah, however, could not pull on with his nobles, and he was thus compelled to give up the throne.

Muhammad Shah (1493-1505 A.D.)

Muhammad Shah was released and restored to the position of Sultan for the second time. But Fath Shah made things hot for him and he had to leave the capital.

Fath Shah (1505-1514 A.D.)

Fath Shah was now proclaimed Sultan. His reign, however, was short-lived as he was soon ousted.

Muhammad Shah (1514-1515 A.D.)

He once again became the Sultan for the third time only to step out and leave Kashmir in A.D. 1515.

Fath Shah (1515-1517 A.D.)

After nine months of exile Fath Shah staged a come back as Sultan. But he was only a figurehead. The real power lay with his nobles. Finally the nobles revolted against him and he fled to the Punjab where he died in 1517.

Muhammad Shah (1517-1528 A.D.)

Sultan Muhammad Shah came again to rule for the fourth time. Qazi Chak was his powerful Wazir. He deposed Muhammad Shah in favour of his son Ibrahim Shah 1528-29 but he had to leave the throne for Nazuk Shah.

Nazuk Shah (1529-1530 A.D.)

Nazuk Shah was a ruler only by name, for it was again Qazi Chak who wielded real power. But Qazi Chak was eventually defeated and had to leave Kashmir. In the meantime, Kamran, Himayun's Governor of the Punjab was sent to invade Kashmir. The Kashmiri nobles requested Qazi Chak to return to Kashmir to confront the Mughals. He came and succeeded in repulsing them.

1st Invasion by Mirza Haider—1533 A.D.

Himayun then authorised one of his nearest relatives, Mirza Haider to invade Kashmir. The country had thus to face another attack after only a year from the Mirza's forces who came from the north-east (Kashghar). Mirza Haider descended from the Dughlat tribe, a sub-division of the Chaghatay branch of the Mughals. He was Babar's first cousin. From January to March 1533, Haider's force of 4000 Mongols carried out their ravages in Kashmir. To quote Shuka: "Hundreds of houses were burnt and the city that had been populous before

now became like the ground for burning the dead. No regard was paid either to age or sex, nor was any distinction made between the Hindus and the non-Hindus."[4] Kashmiris gave a tough fight. Finally the two entered into a treaty and Mirza Haider left the valley.

Haider's 2nd Invasion—A.D. 1540

Kashmir was again invaded by the Mirza on 22nd November, 1540. This time he came from Poonch pass. Qazi Chak, the Prime Minister lost his nerve and he approached Sher Shah for help. The Afghan ruler provided him with a force of 2000 men, horses and some elephants under the command of Ali Khan. So Qazi Chak returned to Kashmir, with this force, via Hirapur to confront Haider. But he was defeated and fled to India.

Haider's Fanaticism

Mirza Haider was a man of many accomplishments besides being a lover of art and culture. He was distinguished as a soldier, and in literature he is best known to posterity as the author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. "But these qualities of his were offset by his excessive religious fanaticism. In his enthusiasm to preserve Islamic orthodoxy he banned Shi'ism and the Shafi'ite school. He also persecuted Nurbakhshiyas and put to death many of their leaders. Other Sufi orders were also banned. While in Kashmir, he thought he was in exile and never identified himself with the people here and treated them with arrogance."[5]

In 1548 A.D. Haider occupied Baltistan, Ladakh and Rajouri. But soon there was a revolt in all these places. In the valley also there was war in 1551 A.D. in which he was killed. His family was, however, treated with due consideration and sent to Kabul.

4 J.C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir*, p. 371.
5 Dr. Muhib-ul-Hassan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 143.

Nazuk Shah

Nazuk Shah, who had been raised to the throne by Mirza Haider was allowed to continue as Sultan by the nobles. Actually, however, it was, his Prime Minister. Idi Raina, who this time wielded power. He was generous to the nobles and the Chaks who had suffered under Mirza Haider. Daulat Chak, Ghazi Chak, and Behram Chak were also compensated by allotment of land.

Who were the Chaks ?

The Chaks, as we shall see, played considerable role in the politics and religion in Kashmir during the 15th and 16th centuries. Little is known about their origin, but it is suggested that they were non-Kashmiris and came from the country of the Dards (Gilgit-Hunza region). Legends point to the fact that Chaks came from the north. The pool at Trigam, in the northern district of the valley, is said to have been constructed by Madan Chak. At Regipura, in the same neighbourhood, are the remains of an old Chak city. The stone arrows in Khushipura, also in the north-west, known as Raman Khan, are said to have been aimed by the gods at the turbulent Chaks who had a fort at Khushipura. Some of the leading men in Raja Simha Deva's reign were Langer Chak, Pondo Chak, Halmat Chak and Shamas Chak. A fable says that Pondo Chak sprang from a father who was the offspring of a Kashmiri woman, an amorous demon, and that this branch of the Chaks who lived at Trigam were of enormous stature. The Chaks were Shias, and for the first half of the sixteenth century they gradually increased their power, subduing their rivals the Magris and Rainas. They were not, however, men to found a stable dynasty.

Daulat Chak (1552-1561 A.D.)

Towards the end of 1552 A.D., Idi Raina made an attempt to overthrow Daulat Chak. He did not succeed and was put to flight. Daulat Chak now assumed the duties of the Prime

Minister. He deposed Nazuk Shah and set up in his place, Ibrahim Chak, the son of Muhammad Shah, who had once, before this, reigned for a short time. Daulat Chak gave full religious freedom to the people. He lifted the ban imposed by Mirza Haider on Shi'ism and Nurbakhshia sect. The sovereignty over the rulers of Ladakh was restored. After some time Daulat Chak fell in the estimation of his own family circle. Consequently he was over-thrown and replaced by Ghazi Chak.

Ghazi Chak (1561-67 A.D.)

In A.D. 1561 Ghazi Chak assumed the title of Sultan and thus became the first Chak ruler of Kashmir. He was courageous, energetic and vigilant and thus laid the foundation of the Chak dynasty here. He died in 1566-67 A.D.

Hassan Shah (1567-70 A.D.)

In the Chak dynasty, Hassan Shah was by far the best ruler. His efficient and strong rule was tempered with mildness and justice, so that his subjects called him Naushirvan-i-Adil, after the great Sasanid Emperor of Persia.

An incident, however, occurred during his reign that brought Kashmir into intimate relations with Akbar. Qazi Habib, a Sunni, after leaving the great mosque on a Friday was attacked and wounded by one Yusuf, a Shia. There was no cause for this attack except the animosity that existed between the two sects. The matter was placed before some holy men for their arbitration. Under their verdict Yusuf was publicly stoned to death.

Mirza Muquim and Mir Yaqub

About this time, two persons of the Shia sect, Mirza Muquim and Mir Yaqub were deputed to Kashmir as Emperor Akbar's ambassadors. With them came a number of persons of the Shia sect to Srinagar. After some time Mirza Muquim issued orders that the holy men who had decreed the death of Yusuf, should also be put to death. So a more brutal method was used

to kill them. Ropes were tied to their feet and they were dragged through the streets and markets of the town till they were dead. Hussan Shah then presented the ambassadors with some valuable presents for their master. He sent his daughter, also to be married to Akbar Badshah, and acknowledged his supremacy.

Hassan Shah's Humiliation

Akbar, however, was greatly annoyed and horrified at the conduct of Hassan Shah for having sanctioned such a proceeding in his country. He refused to accept his daughter and sent her back to Kashmir. Sultan Hassan Shah was terribly shocked at this so much so that he was seized with a violent illness and had to abdicate in favour of his brother Ali Shah. He then left for Zainapur village where he died.

Ali Shah (1570-1579 A.D.)

Sultan Ali Shah was an able ruler. He had, however, to confront many revolt. Even his eldest son and successor, Usuf Khan once revoted against his father and had to be cut down to size. In A.D. 1579, while playing Polo, Ali Shah met with a serious accident. Realizing that his end was near, he crowned Usuf Shah as Sultan.

Sultan Usuf (1580-1585 A.D.)

Sultan Usuf Shah was one of the most cultured rulers of the Sultanate period. He was a great lover of music and a patron of poets and scholars. He married a poor handsome peasant girl from Chander village (near Pempore), who, beside her physical charm was a poetess and a melodious singer. The Sultan tried to promote the welfare of the people, but he lacked prudence and thus brought about his downfall through his own follies. In the very start he quarrelled with his minister Saiad Mubarak Khan who promptly turned him out. Feeling disgusted with the insincerity of his Kashmir nobles, Usuf Shah approached Akbar in 1580 A.D. at Agra for help. The Emperor

whose ambition always was to annex Kashmir to his Empire, promised to send some Mughal troops to Kashmir to help the Sultan regain his throne. Usuf Shah was from the beginning overawed by the Mughal power, and was thus inclined to acknowledge Akbar's sovereignty without of course losing his independence. But his son, Yakub Khan, was a different stamp of man. In 1582 A.D. when Akbar made his first attempt to take Kashmir, Yakub got together a force consisting of the Bombas and Khukhas who lived in the Jhelum valley and pushed out the Mughals with great loss.

Usuf Shah was brought back to power, but he gave himself up to pleasure. He was the first ruler of Kashmir who discovered the charm of Gulmarg, a summer resort in the valley. He neglected the administration, spending more of his time over the wine cups and in the company of women and musicians. Moreover he became so obsessed with the threat of the Mughal invasion that no amount assurances of loyalty from people could dispel the fear from of his mind.

Mirza Qasim Comes to Kashmir

Yakub Khan's treatment with the Hindus and the Sunnis was not good. So they sent complaints to Akbar. Sensing the dissatisfaction of the Kashmiris with the administration, Akbar despatched Mirza Qasim with a force to Kashmir via Rajouri in 1585 A.D. Himself he came and camped at Attock, from where he sent word to Usuf Shah to present himself before him (Akbar). Kashmir nobles gave a tough fight to the Mughals and they did not advise Usuf Shah to meet Akbar. Much against the advice of his nobles, the former contacted the Emperor through Raja Bhagwandas, one of his Rajput Ministers. There was a treaty between the Mughals, through Raja Bhagwandas, and Usuf Shah. The latter was promised sefety and retention of his rule of Kashmir, if he presented before the Emperor.

Usuf Shah is Entrapped

Accordingly Usuf Shah was taken to Attock. It now became

clear that Akbar had managed this treaty as a trap to capture the Sultan. The Emperor refused to ratify the treaty and broke faith with Usuf Shah by imprisoning him and debarring his return to Kashmir. Raja Bhagwandas felt terribly let down. This was an unbearable mental shock for him and "he committed suicide".[6]

Usuf Shah was sent to Bihar. After a brief interval Yakub was also ordered to Bihar to be with his father. In his exile, the lot of Usuf Shah was very tragic. Want of sufficient money; hot climate; absence of his own society of scholars, poets and musicians. He pined for his faithful, virtuous and pious queen Habba Khatun. All this caused mental depression and affected Usuf Shah's general health and he died a forlorn person on 22nd September 1592. His son, Yakub was poisoned on 5th October, 1593. Here in Kashmir, queen Habba Khatun turned recluse. She could not bear the separation of her husband and thus pined to death.

"Akbar's treatment of Yusuf Shah is one of the chief blots in his character".[7] Kashmir now lost its independence and it became part of the Mughal Empire. It was the end of the Sultanate rule in this country.

II

THE MUGHAL RULE IN KASHMIR

The Covetous Eye on Kashmir

The Mughal sovereigns of India had directed their attention to Kashmir so early in their line as Babar who, after firmly planting his feet in India tried twice to annex Kashmir to his Indian Empire though without success. Humayun never lost sight of his father's Kashmir policy, but the extraordinary vicissitudes of his career left its execution incomplete. In 1540, when a fugitive in Lahore, he was invited by certain Kashmir nobles to come

6 Haig, *Cambridge, History of India*, p. 293.
7 *Ibid.*

and conquer their country. Being unable to undertake the affair himself, he authorised his relation Haider Mirza to accept the invitation. Torn as this country was by dissensions, Haider came and succeeded very easily in expelling Nazuk Shah.

Akbar failed to take Kashmir in the first instance. But in his second attempt, with the capture of Sultan Usuf Shah Chak, he became the undisputed sovereign of Kashmir from about A.D. 1585. Abu-l-Fazl here recounts a ghost story which he must have found in some ancient chronicle, and according to which the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar was foretold by a Brahman 900 years earlier. This fulfilment delighted the Emperor beyond measure.

Emperor Akbar

Emperor Akbar, a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, was himself illiterate. One of his ministers, Abu-l-Fazl, however, was a historian of great literary power and energy. To him we are indebted for the *Akbar Nama* containing the history of Akbar. The Emperor placed great reliance on him and much of the success of Akbar's reign was due to Abu-l-Fazl. He was unfortunately got murdered by the Emperor's own son Salim (Jahangir). Akbar mourned bitterly Abu-l-Fazl's death, exclaiming that if Salim wanted to become Emperor, he would have done better by killing his father and sparing Abu-l-Fazl.

Abu-l-Fazl's Account

According to Beverige, however, Abu-l-Fazl's account of Akbar's reign is not wholly objective. In his preface to *Akbar Nama* he says, "Abu-l-Fazl is not an author for whom one can feel much sympathy or admiration. He was a great flatterer and unhesitatingly suppressed or distorted facts. His style too seems—at least to western eyes—to be quite detestable, being full of circumlocutions, and both turgid and obscure. He is often prolix, and often unduly concise and darkly allusive. His one

merit is his labouriousness."[8]

Abu-l-Fazl tells us that "he follows his master's stirrup to Kashmir". This shows that he accompanied the Emperor during all his three visits to the valley.

First Visit

Akbar paid his first visit to Kashmir on 5th June, 1589, reaching the city of Srinagar after travelling for forty days. After a brief holiday here he left the valley on 11th July, 1589. Here a copy of the *Rajatarangini* was presented to him and he had it translated. Abu-l-Fazl gives a summary of the history of Kashmir previous to the Mughal conquest, borrowing his material largely from the *Rajatarangini*.

Akbar did much to rehabilitate Kashmir and bring peace and prosperity to the poor and harassed people there. The country was insulated from foreign invasions. He proclaimed religious tolerance and abolished 'Jazia' and 'Begar'.

Second Visit

Akbar's great contribution to Kashmir, an agricultural country, is the reorganization of the Revenue System. When this reorganization was started, some sections of the people resented it. They revolted and proclaimed one Mirza Yadgar as king of Kashmir. Receiving this news, Akbar hurried to Kashmir. He came via Pir Panjal and reached Srinagar in October 1592. This was his second visit to the valley. The revolt was suppressed and Mirza Yadgar was killed. Akbar made a conciliatory approach to the nobles here. He married Shami Chak's daughter. The daughters of Mubarak Chak and Hassan Chak were married to Prince Salim. All this was calculated to creating an atmosphere of amity, goodwill and harmonious relations between the Kashmir and Mughal nobles.

8 H. Beverige, *Akbar Nama*, (Translation) Rare Books, Preface, Delhi, 1972.

Reorganization of Revenue System

To reorganize the Revenue System, "the whole country was divided into fourteen portions and 'bilikeis' (Accountants) were sent to each of these so that they might study the settlement papers of every village and might ascertain the extent of the cultivated and uncultivated land, and of the collections, and might reckon one half of the produce as the share of the ruler, and return any excess".

Todar Mal Did Not Do It

It is commonly believed that Todar Mal made a settlement of Kashmir, and, according to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (VII-93), he made a very summary record. But this does not appear to be correct. Abu-l-Fazl nowhere says so. "It appears to me he never was in the country. The first settlement in Kashmir was made by Abdul Majid (Asaf Khan No. I of Badayuni). Afterwards Usuf Khan made a settlement, B. 346. Qazi Ali Baghdadi and some others also made a settlement. This was after Todar Mal's death (1589) and indeed he had for some years been past work.

The point is important for the settlement of Kashmir was arbitrarily and badly made and led to a rebellion. Todar Mal was in no way responsible for this, though perhaps Abu-l-Fazl's Faizi was to some extent responsible. Abu-l-Fazl nowhere says in the 'Ain' or in his historical part of the *Akbar Nama* that Todar Mal was ever in Kashmir, or made any settlement of it."[33]

However, whatever the truth of the matter, the settlement ordered by Akbar served the best interest of the people in general and the landowners and the cultivators in particular.

Third Visit

Akbar paid his third and the last visit to Kashmir in May 1597 and stayed here for three months and twenty-nine days.

39 H. Beverige, *Akbar Nama*, (Trans) V. III, p. 61.

With the chief aim of providing work for the people, he built the great fort at the Hari Parbat hill and, in the vicinity of the fort he raised the town of Nagar at an enormous cost. The fort (wall) is of great strength and has numerous bastions. The fort on the top of the hill is of late construction and was built by Atta Mohomad Khan, the Pathan Governor.

During Akbar's reign the people of the valley had to face a few floods and a severe famine. The Emperor did all what was possible to mitigate the sufferings of the people. Supplies of grain were sent from Lahore and Sialkot etc., for distribution among the people here through Mirza Ali Akbar the then Governor of Kashmir.

Jahangir (1605-1628 A.D.)

After the death of Akbar in 1605, his son Salim occupied the Mughal throne in Delhi under the title of Jahangir. He and his famous queen (Noor Jahan) visited Kashmir several times during the hot summer months. Jahangir ruled well. One of his Governors Dilawar Khan conquered Kishtwar. In Srinagar this man lived on the right bank of Mar canal near Fateh Kadal. The place is still known as Bagh-i-Dilawar Khan and the premises are just now under the occupation of Gandhi Memorial College. Jahangir's numerous visits to Kashmir were marked by the construction of lovely pleasure-gardens, and he set a fashion which was followed by his nobles also. The beautiful Shalimar and Nishat gardens on the banks of the Dal lake were laid out during his time. Shalimar was laid out by the Emperor in the year 1619 A.D., while Nishat Bagh was laid out by Nur Jahan's brother Asaf Khan. The spring at Verinag—one of the sources of river Jhelum—was got enclosed by sculptured stones and given an octagonal shape by Jahangir. Nur Jahan also laid out the garden at Achhabal, and this place came to be known then as Begamabad.

Irrigation System

Jahangir showed considerable interest in the improvement of the irrigation system for the benefit of the tillers of soil in the

valley. The system of 'Mirabs' was introduced by him. Over every main channel there was a 'Mirab'—one of the villagers—whose duty was to see to repairs and to call out labour. The system of distribution was rough and simple, but had the advantage that quarrels between villages rarely arose, and quarrels between cultivators of one and the same village, never. Jahangir laid down the rule that the upper villages which had no local spring and lower villages which received no overflow water from the upper villages was entitled to a share of irrigation from the main channel. Jahangir had considerable faith in astrology. On one occasion in Srinagar, his grandson Shah Shuja, aged four, fell from a window ten yards above the ground, but was not injured. Jahangir was much affected by his accident and escape, and refers to a prophecy from Jotik Ray, his favourite astrologer, that this time was an unproptious one in the horoscope of the Prince, and that though he might fall down from some height yet "the dust of calamity would not settle on the skirt of his life". Jahangir had carefully tended hi n on the difficult journey to Kashmir, but he had apparently relaxed precautions in Kashmir itself where the accident took place. Jahangir's journal contains many similar references to events falling out as they had been predicted by astrologers.

Last Visit and Death

Jahangir came to Kashmir for the last time in 1627 A.D., in very indifferent health. After the summer months he was medically advised to return to the warmer plains of India. Accordingly he left Kashmir, but en route at Bahramgalla his sickness took a serious turn and he died there. Jahangir had tremendous love for Kashmir. When on his death bed, he was asked whether he wanted anything, he replied 'only Kashmir'.

Shah Jahan (1628-58 A.D.)

Jahangir was succeeded by his son Shah Jahan and he occupied the Mughal throne for thirty years. In his reign the Mughal splendour in India reached its climax. Side by side signs of

its decay also began to become visible. Shah Jahan was a great builder but of an extravagant nature. In the matter of administration he was much more strict to his governors than his father. They were made to take greater interest to bring about the welfare of the people. With this view he selected Provincial Governors of admitted loyalty and efficiency. Those who did not come up to the Emperor's expectations were punished.

Itiqad the Oppressor

Itiqad Khan functioned as Governor of Kashmir from 1622 to 1632 A.D. These ten years were one of the most oppressive in Kashmir history. Oppressive taxes were levied against the people and they were made miserable in many other ways. Consequently Itiqad Khan was dismissed by Shah Jahan and Zafar Khan, a better man, replaced him.

Zafar Khan the Good

A serious conflict between the Sunni and the Shia sects of the Muslims in the valley took place during Zafar Khan's time, but he took stern measures to restore order. Zafar Khan abolished many of the severe taxes imposed by Itiqad Khan. The system under which the revenue on account of saffron was collected, was improved. The poll tax on boatmen as also the taxes on wool and sheep were also reduced. The system of earmarking and seizing all the best fruits for the use of officials which had led to the cutting down of fruit trees by the owners, was put down with a firm hand. This produced the desired effect. The cutting down of fruit trees was no more resorted to by the concerned.

Ali Mardan Khan

One of the famous governors who was deputed to Kashmir during Shah Jahan's time was an Iranian, Ali Mardan Khan. He laid out many gardens in Kashmir. The garden of Chashma Shahi is one of them. Many splendid 'Sarais' (Rest Houses) were built on the Pir Panjal route leading to Punjab. In Ali Mardan's

time there occurred a severe famine in Kashmir and he distinguished himself by the energy with which he imported grain to Kashmir from the Punjab. Both Zafar Khan and Ali Mardan, are still remembered by the Kashmiris with affection as kind and just rulers.

A Miserable End

Shah Jahan had, however, a miserable end, for, in the evening of his life, this great king was imprisoned by his son Aurangzeb and he died as a prisoner in the Agra fort.

Aurangzeb (1658-1707 A.D.)

After succeeding to the Mughal throne in 1658, Aurangzeb ruled up to his death in 1707 A.D. During his long reign of 48 years, Kashmir remained a province of the Mughal empire. Aurangzeb, the last of the Great Mughal Emperors, paid only one visit to Kashmir in 1665 A.D. for reasons of health. The pleasure resort of Jahangir and Shah Jahan had few attractions for this man. His visit to Kashmir was by way of treatment prescribed for restoration of his health, and in view of the long distances involved, it was decided to allot eighteen months to the expedition. There was indeed some doubt as to whether Aurangzeb should go away for so long a time when his father still remained as his prisoner in Agra fort. But considerations of health and persuasions of his queen Roshanara Begum, decided the issue. The 6th December, 1664, having been discovered by the astrologers to be a day propitious for long journeys, Aurangzeb and his bodyguard of over fifty thousand troops set out.

Danishmand Khan, a noble of his court and paymaster of the army, was present on the journey, and being himself a person of consequence, was accompanied by his own physician. The latter happened to be a Frenchman, Francois Bernier. Bernier was well treated. (His salary of Rs. 300 per month was a large sum for those days). He published his memoirs in several parts. The description of Aurangzeb's journey to Kashmir is contained in a series of nine letters to M. deMarveilles. Of

Bernier's writtings as a whole it is said that they are of the highest order.

As we have seen Aurangzeb came to Kashmir under compelling circumstances. All the same, like an honest king he considered Emperor's trip to the remote country of Kashmir as mere luxury entailing great hardship to the people of Kashmir. Aurangzeb was, no doubt, a puritan by nature and conservative in outlook. In Kashmir he prohibited the cultivation of opium poppy to save people from the pernicious effects of the use of this intoxicant and narcotic.

Aurangzeb was a vigilant and a good administrator. He put down corruption with a heavy hand. During his rule, fourteen Governors were deputed to Kashmir from Delhi. Some of them were good. They built bridges and laid out gardens. Governor Saif Khan (1664-71) built Safa Kadal in Srinagar. Iftikhar Khan (1672-75) was an unfortunate Governor. The great fire of 1673 in the city of Srinagar in which over ten thousand houses were gutted, occurred in his time. During the time of Ibrahim Khan (1678-85), the valley had to face a severe famine in 1683 A.D. This was followed by a devastating earthquake in the following year. As if these natural calamities were not sufficient, a Shia-Sunni conflict errupted in 1685, in which both Ibrahim Khan's son and son-in-law were murdered. As the Governor proved incompetent to handle the situation he was dismissed.

Iftikhar tyrannized the Brahmins of Kashmir to a breaking point. So they approached the ninth Sikh Guru, Guru Tegh Bahadur at Anandpur (Punjab) soliciting him to exert his personal influence with the Emperor Aurangzeb. Guru Tegh Bahadur was, however, executed by the Emperor. This led to the organization of the Sikh fighting force 'Khalsa' by his son Guru Gobind. This Guru did much to help the Brahmins of Kashmir out of their sad plight. Unfortunately Aurangzeb was an orthodox Muslim. His treatment towards religions other than his own was not good. His name was execrated by the persecuted Brahmins of Kashmir. A legend is told of his persecution of the famous Rishi Pir Pandit Padshah, a Hindu ascetic (He must have been possessed of occult powers). A messenger was sent citing the Rishi to appear before the Emperor at his

court in India. The Rishi travelled one night through the air to India, and appeared in a terrible form mounted on a lion, as the Emperor lay asleep. "Aurangzeb in his fear agreed to Rishi's retaining his title of Padshah, but the legend does not say that the Emperor relaxed from that time in his persecution of the Hindus".[10]

Fazil Khan and the Sacred Hair

Fazil Khan (1698-1701 A.D.) was also a broad-minded governor. He took personal interest in the flood-protection measures. His period in Kashmir is particularly known for a very important event. During 1699 A.D. one Khwaja Nur-Ud-Din Ishbari, a rich merchant, brought to Srinagar the 'Moi Mubarak' (sacred hair of the Holy Prophet) from Bijapur (Deccan).

Later Mughal Rulers of Kashmir

Aurengzeb died in 1707 A.D. Those in the Mughal line who ascended the Mughal *Gadi* after him were, Bahadur Shah, Jehendar Shah, Farukh-Siyar etc. All of them proved to be weak rulers. In their time there was little peace for there were uprisings and rebellions throughout the country. Kashmir, being situated far away from Delhi, suffered most at the hands of the Mughal Governors or their deputies who were posted to the country. Supervision and control of the Central Government over them was minimal. They thus acted almost independently. Most of them perpetrated worst kind of religious fanaticism against the Hindus and Shias with impunity. There was nobody to question their action.

During reign of Emperor Mohammad Shah the Hindus suffered at the hands of Governors Abdul Gani and Mulla Sharaf-ud-Din. Kalashpura a Hindu ward of the city, was set on fire and the Hindus were forbidden to wear turbans. The Subhas fought among themselves and Kashmir fell into wild disorder. Abdul Samad Khan, one of the Governors sent by

10 Sir Walter Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 195.

Muhammad Shah in 1722 A.D. was however, a contrast. He was broad-minded and an efficient administrator, and brought considerable relief to the people here. All restrictions imposed upon the Hindus here before his time were removed. They could now wear turbans and put on *Tilak* on their foreheads.

This was however, only a brief interlude. For, the long period of thirty years of Mohd. Shah's Rule was a period of dwindling Mughal Empire. Kashmir had to face the raids of tribes of Bombas of Muzaffarabad, Khokhas and Gujjars from Poonch and Hazara. The worst period was the rule of Afrasiab Khan (1748-51). He was ruthless and callous to the woes and tears of the people.

By the year A.D. 1751, the Office of Subha of Kashmir appears to have become hereditary and practically independent of Delhi. This worsened matters further. Kashmir was bled white by corrupt officials. Besides, incessant floods and famines terribly disrupted the economy here. Many Kashmiris left their homeland to settle outside. Fed up with the administrative chaos and with some sort of will-o-the-wisp fascination for a change in the Government, two leading persons of Kashmir, Mir Muquim Kanth and Zahir Dedamari went and approached King Ahmed Shah Abdali of Afghanistan (who had annexed Punjab to Afghanistan) and requested him to conquer Kashmir and annex it to his empire. This step proved to be a hasty Himalayan miscalculation and blunder on the part of the two men mentioned above. For Ahmed Shah easily conquered Kashmir, put an end to the Mughal rule here, and laid the foundations of the cruel rule of Shahani Durani. For Kashmir, the rule of these new masters proved to be a 'time of brutal tyranny, unrelieved by good works, chivalry and honour'.

III

THE PATHAN PERIOD IN KASHMIR (A.D. 1753-1819)

Origin of the Pathans

The period of sixty-seven years of the rule of Shahani Durani

(or the Pathans) started from 1753, when Ahmed Shah Abdali conquered Kashmir. The Pathans were originally a nomadic tribe scattered in many groups. They had finally settled in the mountain terrain lying between the river Indus on the east and Kabul on the west. They acquired some prominence during and after the rule of Sher Shah Suri (1540-55). But Ahmed Shah Abdali's triumphant conquests made the Pathans independent rulers of Afghanistan and the adjoining territories. Kashmir also became one of these from 1753.

The Corrupt and Rapacious Governors

So, from that year right up to 1819, when the country was conquered by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Kashmir was ruled by the kings of Afghanistan through their Viceroys (Governors) who, with very few exceptions, were all favourites of the Kabul ruling clique. All these men, by and large, enjoyed freedom of action without any serious watch from the centre.

In all, 28 such Governors were deputed to Kashmir during the Pathan rule here. Most of them were corrupt and ruthless. They wrung as much money as they could out of the wretched people of the valley. There was no time to be lost in grabbing that money, as no one knew how many days would elapse before he was recalled to Kabul to make room for some needy favourite of the hour. One of the Governors, Azim Khan, is said to have made a fortune, by the usual unfair means, to the tune of two crores of rupees in six years. Ishaq Aqasi (1753) remained in Kashmir for a short period of only six months. Even during such a short period, he let loose hell upon the people here which included loot and murder. Men of all communities with some substance were compelled to surrender to him all their wealth on point of death. Those who found the atrocities unbearable, left the country for good.

Sukhjewan Mal

The Governor who came after Ishaq Aqasi was a Punjabi Khatri, Sukhjewan Mal (1753-62). He had the distinction of being the first Hindu to be the ruler of Kashmir after over four

hundred years. He established peace in the country. In Hassan Banday, he had a most loyal and trustworthy minister. Unfortunately these too could not pull on well after some time. Accordingly Hassan Banday was replaced by Mahanand Dhar. Thereafter the Raja turned a bigot and in the process committed a grave 'faux pas'. He banned *Azan* (call to prayer) and cow-slaughter. This was an affront to the orthodox Muslim sentiments, and it displeased Ahmed Shah. Sukhjewan Mal was arrested, blinded and taken to Lahore. There he was got trampled to death under the feet of an elephant.

Buland Khan

The next Governor deputed to Kashmir for a very short time was Nurdin Bamzai. After him came Buland Khan (1763-65). In his time there wes a Shia-Sunni conflict here in which Zadibal, a Shia dominated village near Srinagar, was set on fire.

Nurdin Bamzai and Lal Khan

In 1765 A.D., Nurdin Bamzai came to the valley as Governor for the second time for about a year. He appointed Mir Muquim and Pandit Kailash Dhar, as Dewan and Revenue Officer respectively. After some time Mir Muquim was murdered. Lal Khan followed Nurdin and worked as Governor for six months during 1766 A.D.

Khurum Khan and Kailas Dhar

Khurram Khan (1766-67) was an emancipated type of a person. He tried to repair the damage done to Kashmir and its administration by the tyrannical policies of Lal Khan. To restore confidence among the Hindus, Kailas Dhar was appointed as Dewan by this Governor. In 1767 A.D., the chief of the Bombas, Muhammad Khan sent Faqir Ullah Kanth with a small force to invade Kashmir. Both Khurrum Khan and Kailas Dhar lost their nerve and fled for their lives to Kabul. Faqir Ullah thus got an easy walk over in the Valley. He remained here as head of the administration for about a year. He was a

narrow-minded person, and women and wine were his chief weaknesses.

When this news reached Ahmed Shah Abdali, he sent Nurdin Bamzai to punish Faqir Ullah Kanth. This man fled to Karneh and died there. Nurdin, however, did not behave well, and thus disappointed Ahmed Shah. Khurrum Khan and Kailas Dhar were therefore deputed from Kabul with some force to Kashmir to capture the country. This they did without any resistance from the other side.

Amir Khan and Murder of Kailas Dhar

Khurram Khan proved inefficient and was therefore dismissed. His place was taken by Amir Khan Jawansher (1770-76). He appointed Mir Fazel Kanth as his Chief Minister. The latter suspected Kailas Dhar to have been the murderer of his father (Mir Muquim). In order, therefore, to avenge that murder, Fazel Kanth beheaded Kailas Dhar. He further let loose hell on the Pandits. Being a Shia, Amir Khan, harassed the Sunnis. The old palace at Sherghari (Srinagar), and Amira Kadal bridge nearby were built by Amir Khan, but on the other hand, he showed petty spite in destroying the Mughal gardens on the Dal. The other Pathan rulers are now only remembered for their brutality and cruelty, and it is said of them that they thought no more of cutting off heads than of plucking a flower. 'Sar Buridan Pesh in Sangin Dilan Gulchidan Ast'. In 1771 A.D., an inundation in the valley washed off all the bridges of Srinagar and numerous other buildings. In the succeeding year 1772 A.D. Ahmad Shah Abdali died in Qandahar and was succeeded by his son Timur.

Karim Dad Khan and His Atrocities

In 1776 A.D. Karim Dad Khan was sent to Kashmir by Timur to replace Amir Khan. This man remained in Kashmir for seven years. During this time Kashmiris were subjected to all sorts of cruelties. They were heavily taxed, and that brought them abject poverty. Many were drowned in the Dal lake. The victims

of these fiends were the Pandits, the Shias and Bombas of the Jhelum valley.

Asad Khan and the Pandits

Karim Dad died in 1783, and was succeeded by his son Asad Khan. The son outdid his father in his atrocities over the people. He proclaimed himself as the independent ruler of Kashmir and boasted that the savage Nadir Shah was his prototype. "It was his practice to tie up the Pandits, two and two, in grass sacks and sink them in the Dal lake. The Pandits who formerly wore moustaches, were forced to grow beards; turbans and shoes were forbidden and 'Tika' or forehead-mark was interdicted".[11]

Madad Khan, Mir Hazar and Atta Mohomad

Asad Khan was succeeded by Madad Khan, and there is a well-known saying 'Zulmi Asad ra rasid madad' which means that Madad out-heroded Asad. Mir Hazar was another friend who used leather bags instead of grass sacks for the drowning of Brahmins and Shias indiscriminately. Atta Mohomad Khan was a ferocious libertine, and his agent, an old woman named Koshib, was the terror of Brahmin parents, who rather than allow the degradation of their daughters destroyed their beauty by shaving their heads or cutting their noses.

Rahmat Ullah and Nand Ram Tikoo

Timur Shah Durani died in 1793, and was succeeded by Zaman Shah. He sent Rahmat Ullah Khan with a force to Kashmir, and Hazar Khan, who had declared himself independent there, was defeated. On his return, Rahmat Ullah Khan took along with him an official, Nand Ram Tikoo, (a Kashmiri Pandit) to Kabul. There the latter took up service under Zaman Shah and in course of time rose to the high position of a Minister in Kabul and was granted the title of 'Dewan'.

11 Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 198.

The Boiling Point

On the whole the Pathan rule in Kashmir was so brutal and atrocious that it will be difficult to recount the instances of their brutal cruelty. In the meantime, the Sikhs had, after the death of Timur, practically captured the administration of the Punjab, and Ranjit Singh had emerged as the most influential Sikh Chieftain. So, when things in Kashmir became intolerable, the Kashmiris turned to the rising power of Ranjit Singh, the 'Lion of the Punjab'. Fatteh Khan Barakzai had, it is believed, been negotiating with Ranjit Singh, and had promised him an annual payment of eight lakhs of rupees if he would take Kashmir.

Accordingly a Sikh force was sent to Kashmir by the Pir Panjal route to help the people there against their tyrannical masters. The then libertine Governor of Kashmir was defeated. Fatteh Khan paid the promised amount to Ranjit Singh and left his brother Muhammad Azim Khan to govern the country.

Azim Khan

Azim Khan began to rule well. Very able local persons like Sahaz Ram Dhar and Hardas Tikoo etc. were chosen and appointed to high administrative posts by him. He was thus able to tone up the administration and economy of this country appreciably. Azim Khan did not pay the annual tribute to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and thus antagonized him. So in 1814 the latter sent a Sikh army via Pir Panjal to invade Kashmir, himself watching the operations from Poonch. But, alarmed by some false rumour, the Sikh army beat a precipitate retreat half way from somewhere in the Pir Panjal range. It could not reach Srinagar. Azim Khan's head turned by this occurrence. He now turned sadist and gave himself up to the delights of torturing Brahmins. Har Das Tikoo was put to death. The administrative machinery now began to creach and there was a sharp fall in the revenues of the State. Realising his follies, Azim Khan now went back to the expediency of toning up his administration by the appointment of competent Hindu officials in the Government. Accordingly Birbal Dhar, Mirza Pandit Dhar and

Sukh Ram Safaya were appointed against responsible posts to improve the efficiency in the administration. But the basic policy of the Governor did not change. There was a failure of crops in the valley and Birbal Dhar could not, as such, collect the land revenue in full and he was put under arrest.

Birbal's Escape

Birbal, however, escaped from the prison and ran away from Srinagar on horse-back accompanied by his son Raj Kak. They left via Devasar Pass and reached Jammu. In Srinagar Birbal kept his wife and daughter-in-law concealed in the house of a Muslim friend Qudus Gojwari. When Azim Khan came to know about Birbal's escape he cited to his court Mirza Kak, Birbal's brother, and wanted to know the purpose behind Birbal's escape from the country. Mirza Kak calmly replied that in case Birbal was fed up with the world he would turn an ascetic and go to Ganga to spend the rest of his life there. If the case be otherwise, he would approach the Sikhs for intervention in Kashmir affairs. When asked by Azim Khan what was the solution of all this, the Pandit boldly replied 'Put Mirza Kak to death'. The Sardar was very much impressed by the strength and character of Mirza Kak and did not take any action against him.

Wasa Kak's Chivalrous Act

Azim Khan, however, insisted that Birbal Dhar's wife and his daughter-in-law should be traced and brought before him. Pressure was put on Wasa Kak Harkarbashi, a relation of Birbal, to find out these two ladies. Although this man knew very well where these ladies were, he did not divulge the secret. As a penalty for this Wasa Kak was put to death under orders of the Sardar.

Tilak Chand's Betrayal

Now an indefensibly outrageous act was perpetrated by Tilak Chand Munshi for which even the epithet 'perfidious' will be

an under-estimate. Being Birbal's son-in-law, he knew the place where these two ladies were hiding. He informed Azim Khan about it. So these two ladies were ordered to be brought to the Sardar's palace in a Dunga (boat). While in the Dunga, Birbal Dhar's wife committed suicide by swallowing the poisonous diamond of her ring. She also asked her daughter-in-law to do the same but the latter's courage to commit suicide failed. So this lady was seized alive and taken to Kabul.

Birbal and his son reached Jammu. There they contacted Raja Gulab Singh who gave them a letter of introduction to his brother Dhyan Singh and sent them to Lahore. At Lahore when they were brought before Maharaja Ranjit Singh, they requested him to come to the assistance of Kashmiris. To guarantee Ranjit Singh's success in Kashmir, Birbal kept his son Raja Kak with Maharaja Ranjit Singht at Lahore as a hostage. This satisfied the Maharaja and he promised help to Birbal.

Azim Khan Escapes to Kabul

In Srinagar, when Mohammad Azim heard about Birbal's success with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he got alarmed and left for Kabul leaving his brother Jabar Khan as Governor.

Kashmir Again Comes Under Hindu Rule

As promised, Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent Birbal Dhar back to Kashmir (A.D. 1819) with Sikh forces under the command of Ranjit Singh's great general, Diwan Chand, and Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu. A fierce battle ensued on Pir Panjal. The Afghans were defeated and Jabar Khan fled to Kabul.

The victory of Sikhs over the Pathans in Kashmir in 1819 is an important landmark in the history of the valley. For it ended the five centuries old Muslim rule in Kashmir which now passed into the hands of the Hindus.

4

The Hindu Rule Again

I

THE SIKH RULE IN KASHMIR (A.D. 1819 to 1846)

The story of the valley of Kashmir, from the year 1819 when Ranjit Singh conquered it, up to 1846 when it was granted by the English to Raja Gulab Singh, does not present a happy tale. The Sikh rule had little bright side about it, though it was a shade better than that of the Pathans. The Sikh ruler did practically nothing to better the deplorable condition of the people. On the other hand the Sikh soldiers and Kutwals perpetrated untold persecution on the poor Kashmiris. Being far removed from Lahore, the Sikh Governors could freely fleece the people. The ancient practice of *Begar* was continued by the Sikhs more harshly. "The Sikhs were not so barbarically cruel, but they were hard and rough masters."[1]

"The Sikhs seemed to look upon the Kashmirians as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh is punished by a fine to the Government of, sixteen to twenty rupees, of

1 Younghusband, *Kashmir*, p. 142.

which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, two rupees if he was a Muhammadan."[2]

The Sikh Officials, by and large, overlooked the fact that the Kashmirians who had been groaning under oppressive rulers needed an enlightened Government now. Kashmir was administered by ten Governors during the Sikh rule.

The chief aim of the Governors who were deputed from Lahore was to amass as much wealth as was possible, and with the money they bought their immunity from the wrath of the Sikh ruler Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who manifested his concern on more than one occasion over the sufferings of the Kashmiri people. After the conquest of the country by the Sikhs, Dewan Chand remained in charge of the country's administration. Though a great general, he lacked the qualities of a successful administrator. He was called back to Lahore. "There he paid a sum of Rs. 25,00,000 to the Maharaja and thus secured his immunity."[3]

Dewan Chand was succeeded by Moti Ram. Pt. Birbal Dhar was deputed to help him in the administration. Moti Ram was just and humane and he restored confidence in the valley. He had, however, one great weakness. It is said that he was afraid of anti-government plot by the Muslims, and as a safeguard against it he forbade them to congregate anywhere. Even Jama Masjid at Srinagar was closed for public prayers. 'Azan' was also interdicted. It is said that one of the Sikh Commanders, Phula Singh, wanted to demolish the mosque of Shah Hamdan. But, thanks to the intercession and influence of Pt. Birbal Dhar, Phula Singh was checked from executing his plan. This speaks volumes about Birbal's prudence and catholicity of mind.

Hari Singh Nalwa

Moti Ram also having failed as an administrator, was replaced by the Sikh General Hari Singh Nalwa in 1820 A.D. He freed

2 Moorcroft, *Travels*, Part III, Chapter II, pp. 235, 293, 294.
3 J.L. Kilam, *A History of Kashmiri Pandits*.

the valley from the Bombas and Khokhas who often used to loot the people of their property. Birbal Dhar remained in charge of the Revenue Administration. Once, he was called to Lahore by Maharaja Ranjit Singh for presentation of the accounts to him. The Maharaja was highly pleased with the clear manner in which accounts were presented to him by Birbal Dhar. By way of reward for such work the Maharaja presented "an elephant, a pair of golden bracelets and a *Khilat* to Birbal".[4]

On his return from Lahore, Birbal's relations with Hari Singh Nalwa got strained due to some intrigue hatched by one of his collaterals Ganesh Pandit Dhar. He was, therefore, dismissed on a false charge of conspiracy and sent to Lahore.

Hari Singh Nalwa, having proved to be an oppressive type of ruler was recalled and Moti Ram was appointed as Subedar a second time. Birbal also was permitted to return to Kashmir. But here his relations with Moti Ram also got embittered. Consequently Birbal was sent to prison by Moti Ram and all his moveable property was confiscated on a charge of embezzlement of *Sarkari* money. Birbal died while in custody, "a strange irony of fate that the person who made it possible for the Sikh Rulers to occupy the country and who greatly contributed to the strengthening of the administration, should have been imprisoned by the same Sikh Rulers and died in their prison".[5]

Dewan Moti Ram did not remain long in Kashmir on account of the untimely death of his son which unhinged his mind so much so that he proposed renouncing the world. His successor Chuni Lal committed suicide when he was summoned to Lahore to explain his inability to collect the Revenue.

Kripa Ram (1825-30)

After Chuni Lal, Kripa Ram was sent as Governor to Kashmir in 1825 A.D. He was a Bohemian type of a person—mild—self-indulgent. His special weakness was to boat. He

4 J.L. Kilam, *A History of Kashmir Pandits*.
5 *Ibid.*

also had a fascination for the boat-women. Boat-men were made to tie 'Gungrus' (a tinkling anklet worn to produce musical sound at the time of dancing), round the padles; for he liked the sound, (termed "Shroin" in Kashmiri) produced by them when rowing the boat. For this, the people called him by the nickname of 'Kripa Shroin'.

During Kripa Ram's time Kashmir was rocked by a severe earthquake in which numerous houses collapsed. This was followed by a cholera epidemic, another natural calamity. Man also played part in disturbing the peace of the country. Raja Zabardast Khan of Muzaffarabad revolted and greatly harassed the Sikh troops. Ganesh Pandit Dhar was sent to subdue him, and he succeeded in this. Kripa Ram, by his mild rule, did bring some relief to the people. The Central Government was, however, unhappy with his idle rule. Consequently after an easy rule of five years, he received orders of his recall to Lahore while he was enjoying a pleasure party on the Dal lake. At Lahore he was disgraced. Finally, probably finding this insult unbearable, Kripa Ram spent the rest of his life as an ascetic. "It is said in jest by the Kashmiris that Kripa Ram introduced crows into Kashmir, considering that they were necessary in due performance of funeral rites, as it is the custom in the Punjab to feed crows on such occasions, and his valuable contribution to the fauna of Kashmir forms perhaps the most important act of Kripa Shroin's idle rule."[6] Ganesh Pandit Dhar was exalted for his good work to the position of Chief Minister.

Bhim Singh

Bhim Singh Ardali now came as Governor in 1831 A.D. In his time a terrible Shia-Suni riot broke out, but Ganesh Pandit Dhar soon succeeded in restoring order and reconciling the two communities.

6 Sir Walter Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 200.

Sher Singh (1832-33 A.D.)

In 1832 A.D., Shahzada Sher Singh, Son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, became the nominal Governor of Kashmir. He did not take much interest in the Government and left all business to one Baisakha Singh. A terrible famine occurred here and Jamadar Khushal Singh was deputed from Lahore to watch events. But, apart from taking any relief measures, this man, by his unwise interference deepened the famine and many Kashmiris fled to the Punjab. The famine of Sher Singh is still a great mark in Kashmir history. Sher Singh having signally failed to bring any relief to the people of Kashmir, was recalled to Lahore in 1833 A.D.

Col. Mian Singh

Sher Singh was replaced by Col. Mian Singh, the best among all the Sikh Governors sent to Kashmir. By importing grain and eggs from the Punjab, he was able to restore some measure of prosperity to the villagers who had lost their grain-seeds and fowls in the unprecedented famine. With a view to stimulating population, Mian Singh remitted the tax upon marriages. He also toned up the administration and brought order to it. Agricultural advances were made free of interest, proper weights were introduced and fraudulent middlemen were mulcted. Cases were decided justly and quickly by which Mian Singh earned great reputation in Kashmir. 'Sika Shahi' is an expression used even now very commonly in the valley to denote summary justice, as distinguished from the tardy way of making a decision after regular inquiry. But, most unfortunately, this man's useful life was cut short by mutinous soldiers and the remainder of the Sikh rule into disorder and anarchy.

Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din (1842-45 A.D.)

To punish the murderers of Col. Mian Singh, Raja Gulab Singh came up to Kashmir with a force and having effected his object he returned to the Punjab leaving Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din as Governor (A.D. 1842). The Sheikh proved to be an excellent

administrator. He gave religious freedom to people and opened the Jama Masjid, the gates of which had remained closed since 1819 A.D. Many relief measures were also ordered by this man for the Kashmiris. In 1845 Sheikh Imam Din became the Governor of Kashmir and remained here for about a year only.

After Ranjit Singh

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had died in 1839 A.D. After his death the Government at Lahore was in a chaotic condition. There was wild anarchy all over the State especially among Ranjit Singh's descendents. The Sikh soldiers had also become turbulant and unruly.

Raja Gulab Singh's eye on Kashmir

Gulab Singh had already been invested as ruler of Jammu. The chaos obtaining in the Sikh Government was, therefore, grist to his mill. He watched the situation with great attention, his aim being to bring Kashmir also under his rule. Fortunately for Gulab Singh, his stock in Kashmir had risen very high ever since he had installed Sheikh Mohi-Ud-Din as Governor here.

The Defeat of the Sikh Army

To the British also this was a golden opportunity. They also wanted to make capital out of internecinal conflicts in which Sikhs were involved. In A.D. 1845 Lord Hardinge declared war against the Sikhs. The Sikh army was betrayed by some of their generals, as a result of which it was defeated in 1846 A.D. The English occupied Lahore on 20th February 1846, and the 'Treaty of Lahore' was signed.

The Amritsar Treaty of 1846

At the close of the first Sikh War in 1846, Raja Gulab Singh appeared on the scene as a mediator between the English and the Lahore Darbar. In the negotiations that followed, the

defeated Sikh Maharaj was called upon to pay an indemnity of rupees one crore, to the East India Company, in addition to large forfeit of territory in the Punjab. The Maharaja was not in a position to pay such a heavy amount. Instead he ceded all his territories from the Beas river to the Indus including Kashmir and Jammu. But for certain administrative and other difficulties, Lord Hardinge considered the occupation of the whole of this territory inadvisable. Raja Gulab Singh was ready; and shrewed as he was, he caught this opportunity by the forelock. Claiming this tract as his hereditary posssession, he offered to pay the war indemnity on the condition that he was made the independent ruler of Jammu and Kashmir. This was agreed upon and a separate treaty embodying the arrangement was concluded with Gulab Singh at Amritsar on March 16, 1846 (Appendix I). On his part Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government over the State. A remission of Rs. 25,00,000 (Twenty-five lakhs) was made by the British in lieu of some areas—Lahore, Kulu, Chhamb etc. The Raja therefore paid 75 lakhs of rupees only in cash. Gulab Singh and his successors thus became the rulers of Jammu & Kashmir. The frontier Districts of Ladakh, Skardu and Gilgit etc., were annexed to the State subsequently by Gulab Singh and his son Ranbir Singh.

II

THE DOGRA PERIOD AND BRITISH SUPREMACY IN KASHMIR

The Dogra Brothers

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, Jammu was ruled by a Dogra chief of Rajput descent, named Ranjit Dev. He died in 1780 A.D. and there ensued a quarrel for succession. This gave the Sikhs the opportunity of turning Jammu and neighbouring hill tracts in a dependency. Three great-grandnephews of Ranjit Dev, namely Gulab Singh, Dhyan Singh and Suchet Singh entered the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. They rendered such distingunished service that the latter, in 1818, con-

ferred the principalities of Jammu on Gulab Singh with the hereditary title of Rajah. Bhimber and Chibal including Poonch on Dhyan Singh and Ramnaghar on Suchet Singh. Both Dhayan Singh and Suchet Singh were subsequently killed.

Gulab Singh takes Kashmir

Under the treaty of Amritsar, March 16, 1846, Kashmir and all the hilly and mountainous country situated eastward of river Indus and westward of the river Ravi, which had been ceded by the Sikhs to the British Government in lieu of indemnity, was made over to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and the heirs male of his body for the sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees. The Treaty of Amritsar marks the commencement of the history of Jammu & Kashmir as a political unity. It also marks the beginning of the British after-thought to become the *de facto* rulers of the State.

Gulab Singh's Dejection

Gulab Singh took Kashmir, but his immediate reaction was not that of joy, for he looked ruefully at the map of his new estate and remarked that one third was mountain, one third water, and the rest was alienated to leading families. But this surely was a mistaken outlook, for the Maharaja had not probably taken into account the fact that, under good management, the fertile soil of Kashmir and its splendid forests of Deodar can yield a large revenue. Some say that the purchase money paid for Kashmir was recouped in a few years only and that after about fifty years in 1900 A.D., there was not State in India more prosperous.

British Reaction

What was the reaction of the British in this connection ? When the "Second Sikh War (1848-49) coloured the map of the Punjab red, some amongst the British, regretted the sale of Kashmir to

the Dogra chief".[7] Lord Hardinge was severely criticized for the ignoble deal with Gulab Singh. The view of Sir Walter Lawrence on this bargain, expressed later on, was, however, different, from the political point of view. He says: "It was fortunate that we sold it (Kashmir). Now, as in the days of Sikh kingdom of the Punjab, the Dogra nation may prove a determining factor if there be trouble in the Punjab: just as the great power of Nepal may some day play a great part in the destinies of the fertile Indian provinces which lie adjacent to her frontier".[8]

Kashmir on the eve of Dogra Rule

Conditions prevailing in Kashmir when Gulab Singh took it over, were deplorable. The Sikh rule had failed to bring any economic prosperity to the poor people. Cultivation of the land had fallen to the minimum. Gulab Singh had, therefore, to face an uphill task in consolidating and normalising the chaotic conditions in the valley. Besides, the handing over of Kashmir was not effected without some trouble. When Gulab Singh sent his troops to take over charge, he was opposed by Sheikh Iman-ud-Din, the Sikh Governor. Gulab Singh's troops were defeated at the outskirts of Srinagar and many, including his representative, Lakpat Rai, were slain. On this, Gulab Singh appealed to the British to carry out the provisions of the treaty; and action on that was taken at once. A British force was put in motion and Sheikh Imam-ud-Din yielded. The transfer of the country was thus completed without further disturbance.

Gulab Singh's Administrative Reforms

Maharaja Gulab Singh, the first of the Dogra rulers, thus became the only Indian ruler who carved out a State for himself during the 19th century out of the wreckage of the great kingdom of the Sikhs. He was a man of great vigour, foresight and

7 Sir Walter Lawrence, *India we served.*
8 *Ibid.*

determination. His first care was to safeguard his new property against the marauding Bombas, and with this view he established forts at strategic points to stop any raids. Next the Maharaja looked carefully into the revenue administration of Kashmir, and by his untiring industry and by strict supervision of his officials, made the most of the revenues of the valley. Great care was taken to see that the revenue reached the treasury, and that all unnecessary expenditure was avoided. He repressed opposition and crime with a stern hand. He was also mild and conciliatory, and was universally feared and respected by his subjects and servants. He brought the principle of a personal rule to perfection. The State was Maharaja Gulab Singh, and as he spent much of his time in Kashmir and was an able, just and active ruler, the conditions of the people improved, and after many years, some confidence was inspired in the performance of administration. Robbery was put down with a ruthless hand.

Communication

The earliest mail service between Jammu and Srinagar was established during Gulab Singh's time. This service ran through Banihal and Verinag. Seventy-five mail runners were appointed with three Superintendents and three clerks, one each at Jammu, Verinag and Srinagar. The service was mainly used for official purposes. Private letters were carried free of charge. Mail bags reached Jammu from Srinagar in 100 to 140 hours depending on weather conditions.

Faith in Religion

On the whole, Maharaja Gulab Singh led a holy life. He was a devout Hindu and did not neglect pilgrimages to sacred places or the founding of temples. Veneration of the cow and the prohibition against killing it were followed throughout his dominion. Even when it concerned the training and descipline of his army, the words of command were taken from Sanskrit. "It is true that Gulab Singh's private life stood as one of purity against the immorality of the Sikhs. The debauchery and licentiousness of the Lahore Court were unknown in that of Jammu."[9]

Relations with the British

The Maharaja was a good and loyal friend to the British Government in their troublous time of 1857 A.D. He rendered all possible help to them in facing the Mutiny. He died that year.

Hardinge's Justification for Sale of Kashmir

Turning to the British side once again. It is a matter of comment that Ranjit Singh passed over so many of the other Sikh leaders in favour of Gulab Singh and his brothers. One of the important reasons, which Ranjit Singh was astute enough to perceive, concerned the balance of power within his state. The establishment of a Rajput dynasty in the north of his kingdom served as a counterpoise both against the power of the other Sikh leaders who were by no means easy to control and against the Muhammadans from whom Ranjit Singh had himself wrested his kingdom.

Exactly the same considerations applied with the British when they made the treaty of Amritsar. They are referred to in despatch No. 8 of 19th March 1846, from the Governor-General Lord Hardinge, to the Hon'ble the Secret Committee of the East India Company. In this despatch Lord Hardinge has, *inter alia*, stated that "As it was of the utmost importance to weaken the Sikh nation before its Government could be re-established, I consider the appreciation of this part of the ceded territory to be the most expedient measure I could devise for the purpose, by which a Rajput dynasty will act as a counterpoise against the power of a Sikh prince, the son of the late Ranjit Singh, and both will have a common interest in resisting attempts on the part of any Muhammadan power to establish an

9 J.P. Ferguson, *Kashmir*, p. 57.

independent State on this side of the Indus, or even to occupy Peshawar."[10]

General British Opinion

This argument was not appreciated and, as stated before, Lord Hardinge was criticised for this deal. In fact, for a long time after the treaty of Amritsar, the British opinion in general and a significant part of the official opinion in particular, felt that a political indiscretion had been committed, when at Amritsar, Jammu and Kashmir had been ceded to Gulab Singh, and in order to redress the wrong, Kashmir deserved direct annexation.

Cross-section of British Opinion

An idea of the cross-section of the British opinion can be had from a perusal of the book 'The wrongs of Kashmir' written by a Missionary in Kashmir, Arthur Brinckman. According to him the sale of Kashmir to Gulab Singh, "was against the wish of the people who were allowed no choice in the matter. The Raja of Cashmere is our tributary, bound by treaty to acknowledge our entire supremacy, and is not an independent prince but our subject... . Grant that kingdom to be an independent state (which it is not), then if annexation is unjust, why is not war at once declared against it, and the country taken by force ?... . Until Cashmere is ours, it will be sharp thorn in our side... . It was a cruel injustice, selling Cashmere to Gulab Singh at all, the injustice being the greater, as an inoffensive people, who never harmed us, were handed over to a tyrant, whose antecedents had caused his name to be hated by the Cashmerees. That it is a source of serious discontent amongst the Mussalmans in Cashmere, and not there only, of our having sold so many flowers of Islam to a Hindoo idolator, to rule over, and terribly oppress as well... . The poor Cashmiri is like a mouse trying to drink milk with an army of cats in the same room with him... ."[11]

10 J.P. Ferguson, *Kashmir*.
11 S.N. Gadroo, *Kashmir Popers*, quoted.

Gulab Singh Given a Bad Name

So, Lord Hardinge on his part, started the process of bringing the territories of Jammu and Kashmir within the ambit of British control. On the pretext of having received complaints of oppression in Kashmir by Gulab Singh, Lord Hardinge, in 1847, warned him that "in no case will the British Government be the blind instrument of a Ruler's injustice towards his people, and if the evil be not corrected, a system of direct interference must be resorted to, which would lower the dignity and curtail the independence of the Ruler".[12] Motivated by considerations of trade in Shawl-wool, Gulab Singh had annexed the territory of Ladakh to his State some time before he took over Kashmir. The British also developed keen interest in the Shawl trade. But this could be done only by dislodging the Dogras from the Frontier regions and then secure for themselves unrestrained opportunities across the Frontier particularly with the Shawl-wool producing centres in Tibet and Yarkand.

Thin Edge of the British Wedge

Gulab Singh was accordingly asked to relax his monopolistic control over the Shawl trade in Ladakh which he had assumed by the annexation of that territory. In fact an unsuccessful attempt was made through Alexandar Cunningham (of the Kashmir Tibetan Frontier Boundary Commission), to secure the abandonment of any clause in any treaty between Gulab Singh and Tibet respecting a Ladakh monopoly Shawl-wool trade.

In 1852, the Government of India made the Maharaja accept the appointment of a "Civil Officer on Special Duty" in Kashmir to look after the European visitors there. Gulab Singh, however, did not live long to witness any more interference by the Government of India. He died in 1857 A.D. The day of his death was marked by an earthquake.

12 India Archives.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-1885 A.D.)

The man and his training

Maharaja Gulab Singh was succeeded by his third son Ranbir Singh, a man of noble presence and good intentions. Although a model Hindu Prince, devoted to his religion and to Sanskrit learning, Ranbir Singh had a secular outlook and was kind and tolerant to the Musalmans to whom he allowed the free exercise of their religion. He was certainly free from many frivolities and vices which but too often disfigure the proper conduct of oriental princes. Born in 1829, Ranbir Singh passed his youth in the company of his father and took part in several of his campaigns in and around his State. He also assisted his father in consolidating it by taking over the administration of Jammu Province. Thus at twenty-eight when his father died, Ranbir Singh was sufficiently experienced to take over the rule of the largest princely state of India.

Reforms

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was a great admirer of the institutions of the British Government. He opened many dispensaries and schools in the State. Separate Departments for revenue, the Civil, the Police and the Military were set up. Courts of justice were opened and the judicial system was reorganised. A Penal Code, on the lines of the Penal Code then obtaining in the British India was also introduced. This Penal Code, known as Ranbir Dand, is still referred to in the courts of the State. Justice was made speedy and cheap, and it required only half a rupee worth of stamp to have a case heard by the Maharaja himself. Facilities for trade, commerce, communication and transport were improved. Construction of metalled road from Kohala to Srinagar was taken in hand. Post Offices were opened in Gilgit, Astore and Muzaffarabad. Jammu, Sialkot and Srinagar were telegraphically linked in 1877 A.D. and in 1883 A.D. from Kashmir to Gilgit and from Astore to Askardu.

In 1872 there was an outbreak between the Sunis and Shias, and the Maharaja evinced his spirit of justice by granting 3 lakhs

of rupees as compensation to the Shias. Ranbir Singh made efforts to introduce new staples in Kashmir, and money was freely spent on that. The development schemes which he inaugurated are even now yielding fruit. He had a full-fledged development Ministry under whose guidance many past industries were revived and many new started. He started the Silk factory and planted Mulberry trees all over the valley. (The mulberry leaves are very necessary for rearing of the silk-worms). Shawl industry was revived. A brewery was also started which produced best wines and which stood competition with choice French wines and Scotch Whisky. As such the British brought pressure on the Maharaja and made him to close that brewery.

Defence

The army was about forty thousand strong and was efficiently generalled by Dogra and Gorkha Officers. The terms of command were all in Sanskrit.

Conquests

Ranbir Singh was very anxious to re-conquer the whole of the Gilgit territory that had gone out of the Dogra possession. Accordingly in 1860, a force, under the command of Col. Devi Singh was despatched to Gilgit for the above purpose. Devi Singh succeeded in his mission and Gilgit was again annexed to Jammu. Subsequently Yasin, Panial and Daryal were brought under the Dogra control.

The Maharaja's handicaps

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was an enlightened prince who would have done much towards the development of the valley. But as he was surrounded by unscrupulous and corrupt officers and himself did not possess the stern determination of his father to control them, his efforts at various improvements in the State were not very spectacular.

The Great famine

The latter part of Maharaja Ranbir Singh's life was darkened by the occurrence of the ghastly famine of 1877-79, and by a disease from which he never recovered. The Maharaja spared no money in procuring grain from the Punjab but here also the selfish and corrupt officers disappointed him.

The British point out the mole

The British, who were looking for some excuse, accused the Maharaja of inefficiency. Interference in the internal affairs of the State began and the process of planting British Officers like the Resident etc., started. In course of time all the political and commercial dealings with the Central Asian, Chinese and Tibetan Governments, were taken over by the British direct; thus reducing the Maharaja's influence and prestige in these regions to a minimal. With the appointment of British Joint Commissioner in Ladakh and a Political Agent in Gilgit started the period of British domination of all foreign relations of Kashmir with the Governments of Central Asia and Tibet.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh died on 15th September 1885 A.D. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Partap Singh.

Maharaja Partap Singh

Early education and training

Maharaja Partap Singh was born in Reasi (Jammu) in 1850. He was educated in Dogri, Sanskrit, Persian and English and had a general knowledge of law, science and medicine. His experience in Government began at an early age and his father Ranbir Singh had groomed him for rulership by allowing him to hear the petitions of their subjects and pass judgements and orders. His first major assignment came in 1881 when the Viceroy of India visited Kashmir. Partap Singh was sent to meet the Viceroy at the border and conduct his tour. However, his physical appearance tended to detract from his other qualities as he was short

and thin and wore an oversized turban, the overall effect giving little indication of his robustness of mind and spirit.

Maharaja's Brothers

The Maharaja had two younger brothers—Raja Ram Singh and Raja Amar Singh. Maharaja Ranbir Singh had appointed Ram Singh as Commander-in-Chief of Kashmir forces, and Ram Nagar tehsil was allotted to him as *Jagir*. Raja Amar Singh had to look after the Home administration. Badrawah (Jammu) and Langet (Kashmir) were allotted to him as *Jagir*.

The British Intrigue

Maharaja Partap Singh was not however, given an easy time by the British from the very day of his accession to the throne. They now found it easier to interfere in the State administration. Partap Singh was formally installed as the Maharaja on 25th September 1885 A.D. The same day the Officer-on-Special-Duty took over as the British Resident Political Office in the State. This was done in pursuance of the British policy to intervene in and finally control the administration of the State. Such a measure had been strongly resisted by both the Maharajas—Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh. Now the British met with their first major success in the grand design to reduce the Dogras into subsidiary alliance. Side by side with the appointment of the Resident in the State, the Government of India began to express concern about the inefficient handling of the State administration. The Resident was authorised to tell the Maharaja plainly that in case there was no improvement in the administration, the Government of India would take the necessary action.

Maharaja Partap Singh announced a few reforms on the Raj Tilak Day, but that did not satisfy the Resident. Accordingly he reported the Government of India that it was hopeless to "look for any serious improvement in the administration generally without constant and heavy pressure and material interference

in detail".[13]

An Intriguing Resident

In 1886 A.D., Mr. T.C. Plowden a political intriguer was appointed as British Resident in Kashmir. From the very beginning he assumed a supercilious attitude towards the Maharaja. He tried to break up the Maharaja's Council, which included efficient persons like Govind Sahai (Dewan) and Nilamber Mukherjee (Finance Minister). The Resident succeeded in compelling Mr. Nilamber to leave the State. In 1887 A.D. the Maharaja was made to dismiss Gobind Sahai Ministry and appointed a protege of Resident, Lachhman Dass, as Dewan. This man started by ousting Partap Singh's advisors and trusted men. In desperation, however, the Maharaja took up courage and dismissed Dewan Lachhman Dass. With the permission of the Government of India the administrative machinery was reorganised. In the reformed set up the Maharaja worked as the Head of the Council and Raja Amar Singh as it's Vice-President, and Prime Minister of the State. "With the formation of the Council which was wholly manned by people from the neighbouring provinces of the Punjab, waves of office-hunters from outside moved towards Kashmir. They got employment in almost every Central Office. All the important positions came to be occupied by them and even in subordinate offices they found place in large numbers These outsiders opposed giving higher education to the people of the State."[14] One of the members of this Council even opposed opening of a College here as 'it would be unwise to impart higher education to the people of a frontier province'. However, in spite of this opposition a College, under the name of Sri Partap Hindu College, was opened at Srinagar.

During all these years the Muslims were not much in the picture. The policy of the Government of India was to keep the Muslims more or less contended but under control. As

13 Sir William Dibey, *Condemned unheard*—App. A, quoted by Gadroo.
14 J.L. Kilam, *A History of Kashmiri Pandits*, p. 287.

stated elsewhere in this Chapter a land settlement was effected. Their holdings were guaranteed to them. But little encouragement was given to them in the field of education. The leadership of the Muslims in those days had gone into the hands of obscurantists and reactionary priests. They very much discouraged the Muslims to take to Western education. Later on, however, under wiser leadership the Muslims gave up their intransigence and started taking interest in higher education.

The Pandits availed of the fresh opportunity afforded to them by the opening of a College. They started producing graduates from 1911 A.D. Unfortunately, however, a positive discouragement was meted out to them by the Government at the helm. Almost the same was the case with the people of Jammu. Though they found an opening for themselves in the army, yet the powerful outside element in the administration stood in their way of getting a foothold in the civil administration. Finally a definition of the State Subject was formulated in 1912 A.D. and an order was promulgated that only Subjects of the State should be recruited to State service.

The Russian threat

From A.D. 1860, the Russian advanced in Central Asia had introduced a new element in the British policy towards Kashmir. In 1865 the Russians had swept into Tashkand and Kokand and has subsequently annexed Samarkand etc. The British became apprehensive of the impact of the Russian frontiers rapidly descending on the Dogras. So the Government of India commenced an immediate reappraisal of the entire frontier, which inevitably involved a reconsideration of its relations with Kashmir. Direct annexation of tribal territories by them then was out of question. The only other course that looked feasible was assume greater control over the State of Jammu & Kashmir.

Plowden's charges

In 1888 A.D., Plowden set about planning the deposition of

the Maharaja and annexation of the State of Jammu & Kashmir. Partap Singh was dubbed imbecile lacking in intelligence. The Anglo-Indian press in India said that he was found guilty of treasonable activities. Towards the end of 1888 A.D., Plowden was replaced by Col. Nisbet as Resident. He was said to have been a 'personal friend' of Partap Singh.

The cooked up case of treason

Almost immediately after Nisbet joined, the Kashmir Residency came out with a startling statement that it had come to possess letters of treasonable nature written in Dogri by the Maharaja to the Czar of Russia and some favourites in the State. These letters were alleged to have been acquired by Col. Nisbet from Sardar Dayal Singh, the Proprietor of the *Tribune*, to whom they had been given by the lawyer of Dewan Lachhman Das. Lachhman Das had secured the letters from Partap Singh's younger brother Raja Ram Singh and some of his private servants, to be used to blackmail the Maharaja.[15]

Amar Singh testifies

Raja Amar Singh, who had been won over by the Resident to his side, was made to testify that the letters were written by the Maharaja. The case was thus well cooked up against Partap Singh. Nisbet also vouched for the truth that the letters were actually written by Partap Singh.

Nisbet's accusations

Reporting the matter to Sir H.M. Durand, the then Foreign Secretary, Col. Nisbet *inter alia*, accused the Maharaja of having appointed unworthy and incapable persons in the administration without consulting the proper Counsellors. He was dubbed as "timid and very superstitious man at the mercy of a set of unscrupulous scoundrels who plunder the State".

15 Indian Archives, Foreign Department Proceedings, Secret E. April, 1889-90.

Nisbet further said "There appear to me weighty reasons for advising the practical setting aside of the Maharaja's authority".[16]

Partap Singh's defence

Maharaja Partap Singh emphatically stated that all the letters were forged, and he demanded a proper enquiry. Nisbet refused to oblige him. Instead he exhorted from the Maharaja an edict of voluntary resignation by virtue of which he relinquished all powers of the Government for a period of five years, entrusting the administrative authority to a Council. This Council included his two brothers and an officer to be nominated by the Government of India. The Maharaja retained control over the matters of the "Private and the Mahalat", only soon after the resignation was secured from him, the Maharaja appealed to the Viceroy of India to allow him full opportunity to defend himself, but the Viceroy showed sublime indifference to this. The Maharaja was divested of all his powers and administrative authority which was henceforth to be exercised by the Council. Raja Amar Singh was to be the Chairman of the Council. The Resident could veto any resolution passed by the Council or suspend action thereon. The 'de facto' administration of the Gilgit frontier passed into the hands of the British Officers and Gilgit Agency came into being in 1877 A.D. Hunza and Nagar also came under British influence subsequently.

Justification for the deposition

In his letter (Simla—June 28, 1889 A.D.) to Maharaja Partap Singh, Lord Lansdowne gave the reasons for his deposition. These included, unfavourable reports about the conduct of the State administration, disorder in the finances, neglect to act upon the advice of Lord Dufferin about the carrying out the reforms; certain treasonable letters alleged to have been written by the Maharaja and the offer by the Maharaja to resign the rule of the State.

16 Sir William Digbey, *Condemned Unheard*, App. 'A'.

The Mahraja's reply

Maharaja Partap Singh replied that he did carry out all possible reforms, but he never had a free hand to do as he desired; that he was thwarted in his work by the Resident; that his younger brother was encouraged to intrigue against him; that he had never resigned his position in the sense alleged, but what he did do in this direction was the result of 'manysided pressures' which he was powerless to resist. "A letter of a more pathetic character, or one calling more loudly for consideration on the part of a friendly Paramount Power, is not to be found in the whole range of Indian history."[17]

Why was justice denied

The Maharaja had a good record. Justice and fairplay demanded that he should have been called upon to show cause why he should not be deposed. This was not done, nor was he given any chance to defend himself before an impartial Tribunal. Such a Tribunal would surely have exonerated the Maharaja from all the charges levelled against him. But that would not have served the political ends of the Government of India.

Amrit Bazar Patrika's sensational disclosure

However, in October, 1889, on the eve of Durga Puja holidays, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, a nationalist paper of Bengal, made a startling disclosure in this connection. It printed a very secret Government of India Foreign Department official document, the appearance of which caused intense excitement throughout India. It must have startled even the Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne himself. The secret document revealed the real reason why Maharaja Partap Singh had been deposed. It was not because he resigned or oppressed his people, but because Gilgit was wanted for strategical purposes by the British Government. Mr. Plowden had proposed that the principalities of Gilgit should be occupied by the British Government at once but it did

17 S.N. Gadroo, *Kashmir Papers*, p. 132.

not meet the approval of the then Foreign Secretary, Sir H.M. Durand, who wanted to avoid any precipitate action. His suggestion was "to take the whole thing in our hands without hurting anyone's feelings...".[18]

Lord Lansdowne, referring to the above disclosures in the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, admitted that document pertaining to the memorandum submitted to the then Viceroy Lord Dufferin by Sir H.M. Durand, in May 1888, was only partly substantially correct. The *Statesman* of Calcutta, however, gave facts and figures to prove that "the main allegations of *Patrika's* are thus practically admitted". The *Patrika's* own justification of the publication of the documents which so greatly incensed the Viceroy is thus stated:

"The object of the publication of the document was to put before [the Viceroy, who is a newcomer, the real facts of the Kashmir case. The Viceroy has brought certain charges against the Maharaja of Kashmir, upon the strength of secret and *ex parte* reports from Mr. Plowden and the Foreign Secretary. Our object in publishing the document was to show that those who had persuaded him to believe in the guilt of the Maharaja and to cause his deposition, were even before the advent of His Excellency, hankering after "the whole thing...".[19]

Reaction in India

All this created a flutter among the India Princes. When they learnt about Maharaja Kashmir's deposition, they felt their own position insecure. There was uneasiness and sorrow in the minds of at least nine-tenths of the India people at what had been arbitrarily done in Kashmir. They were, however, helpless to break the British intransigence.

Sir William Digbey's book

"Condemned Unheard" was published in 1890 A.D. This is actually a long letter addressed by Sir William Digbey to a celebrated journalist; Founder and Director of Indian Political

18&19 *Ibid.*

Ajency in London; to Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth. The work mainly contains facts in defence of the Dogras. It is also a reappraisal of the British policy of aggrandisement which finally led to the British intervention in the State. The expansionist nature of British Imperialism and security of the Gilgit Frontier were, thoroughly exposed, by Digbey. Finally in the letter he had exhorted, "I pray you sir, to reconsider the papers laid before you in the interests of a greatly-wronged Prince and of outraged millions of our fellow-subjects... . I hope you and your fellow-members of the House of Commons, will see that his Highness the Maharaja Partap Singh is at least entitled to an opportunity to prove his innocence of the charges insinuated, rather than plainly expressed against him".[55]

Maharaja's power restored

The action of the British Government in having undeservedly given a bad name to Partap Singh, to oust him from Kashmir, earned for them greater natoriety than even the Amritsar transaction had involved. In order, therefore, to placate the ruffled tempers at home and dispel the fears of the other Indian princes, the British now started to wash the guilt off their hands. They adopted a measured strategy which underlined a process of gradual restoration of powers to the Maharaja, and relaxation of their grip over the Government of Kashmir. In 1905 A.D., the State Council was abolished and after twenty years of powerlessness, control over the affairs of the State began to pass on to Maharaja Partap Singh. During World War I, Maharaja Partap Singh rendered good services to the British. In recognition of these services and other causes the Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford, restored full powers to the Maharaja in 1921 A.D.

The Maharaja over hauled and toned up the administration and introduced many reforms. The most important of these that benefited the people most was the land settlement and revenue assessment. The major portion of credit for this goes to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Walter Lawrence who was appointed as Settlement Commissioner in the State. This man's efforts

20 Sir William Digbey, *Condemned Unheard*, Appendix 'A'.

brought much prosperity to the peasants and the landowners. Dishonesty and corruption were eradicated. For people, who by this new setllement by Lawrence, lost their power and perquisites, disliked him and tried to put obstacles in his work. To illustrate this, Mr. Lawrence humourously quotes an example. One day he noticed an elderly Pandit in a crowd. He was standing on his head, but this did not seem to surprise the other petitioners. This man was asked to state reason for his unseemly attitude. He explained that as a result of the new settlement, his affairs had become so topsy turvy that he did not know whether he was standing on his head or heels.

Maharaja Partap Singh obtained the services of many Europeans to take charge of the Accounts, Forest, and Public Works Department etc. These experts revolutionized and modernised the working in these Departments. In 1905, two Degree Colleges, one each in Srinagar and Jammu were opened. Srinagar Kohalla and Srinagar-Jammu roads were completed. Many canals were dug and Electric Power Stations at Mohora (Kashmir) and Jammu were built. To check floods in Kashmir, a Dredging Department was created and huge dredges worked below the Wular lake, for this purpose.

Maharaja Partap Singh also was easily approachable like his father. People could go to him and obtain redressal of their grievances. He died on September 23, 1925 at Srinagar. His death was universally mourned not only throughout the State but in India also.

Maharaja Hari Singh

Early education and training

When Maharaja Partap Singh died, he left no child of his own to succeed him. Accordingly his 'Gaddi' passed to his nephew, Raja Hari Singh, the only son of Raja Amar Singh. Born in 1895, the young prince received his education under the tutelage of the British at Mayo College, Ajmer, and military training at the Imperial Cadet College, Dehra Dun. His tenure as Commander-in-Chief of the State Forces began in 1915 and during

World War I he was responsible for training and equipping the units which served abroad.

A secular and constructive outlook

Raja Hari Singh was extremely intelligent and well-read. His experience in politics began after the restoration of Maharaja Partap Singh's power in 1922, when he was appointed Senior Member of the State Council to advise the Maharaja. During this apprenticeship his principal contribution to State administration was an attempt to mitigate the chronic food shortage in the State; this, and his advocacy of the appointment of State Subjects to administrative posts, as well as his communal impartiality secured for him the trust, loyalty and affection of the people. His Raj Tilak ceremony marking his assumption of power, was held in Jammu in March 1926.

Though an autocrat and a Hindu by birth, Maharaja Hari Singh was gifted with a judicious and secular mind. In his first Raj Tilak proclamation he declared that his religion was 'Justice', and throughout his rule he tried to stick to it. He did everything possible to make Kashmir a thoroughly modern and progressive State. Being a great builder, Hari Singh spent millions of rupees in building roads in the State, beautifying the city of Jammu and on the construction of the famous Boulevard road round the Dal lake. To provide work for the poor labourers of Kashmir, he built the beautiful Gulab Bhawan palace in Srinagar.

Under the new Maharaja, the post of Senior Member of the Council was abolished so that he himself thereafter could preside over the Council. Mr. G.E.C. Wakefield, one of the members, became the State Secretary. The rank of Major General was conferred on the Revenue Minister, Col. Janak Singh, and he was appointed as Army Minister. To man the Council the services of some very able officers from the Civil Services of the Government of India, were secured. The most important among these officers were, Sir Albion Banerjee, Messrs. V.N. Mehta, P.K. Wattal and Wujahat Hussain. They held the portfolios of Senior and Foreign; Revenue; Finance and Home respectively.

Important reforms

Among Hari Singh's other important reforms were relief to Agriculturists, Compulsory Primary Education and Prevention of Infant Marriages which made it unlawful to contract marriages for boys under 18 and girls under 14 years of age. The Maharaja also enforced his long-held conviction of recruitment of State Subjects against all Government jobs. Many young educated State Subjects belonging to different communities were deputed to foreign countries for advanced training in different branches of science and technology. On their return and successful termination of their training, these youngmen were appointed against responsible Government jobs.

Gilgit leased out

The Maharaja, however, found it more difficult to assert his authority *vis-a-vis* the British in Gilgit. Even when Maharaja Partap Singh's full powers had been restored, control of Gilgit had remained in the hands of the British Political Agent. Gilgit Wazarat II or the settled area, was ruled by the Maharaja's Government, but the agency continued to be administered by the Political Agent, appointed by the British. British interest in Gilgit continued to be as persistent as it was when the Agency was created in 1889, and Maharaja Hari Singh failed to make any progress in his demand of abolition of the Gilgit Agency.

5

The Struggle for Rights and Reforms

Relations with the Public

Though the Maharaja started with the best of intentions to eradicate poverty in the State and ameliorate the general condition of the people, his cardinal mistake was not to remain in touch with the people. That cost him dare. He failed to keep his fingers on their pulse to feel their wants, demands and aspirations. He was surrounded mostly by mediocre Rajputs whom he had appointed on responsible posts in the State, and other such sycophants. They did not, or could not, advise him to change his bureaucratic approach, have direct contacts with the general public to gauge their various difficulties and handicaps. In those days the Kashmiris harboured the grievance that 60% of the top appointments in the State were usurped by non-Kashmiris and that recruitment in the State Army was tabooed for them. There was no freedom of Press and platform. In course of time things began to reach the boiling point. The grievances were now ventilated more openly.

Sir Albian's Statement

Sir Albion Banerjee, left the service in the State in March 1929.

On his return he gave his famous, though somewhat prejudiced press statement in Lahore. He stated that the "State was labouring under many disadvantages with a large Muhammadan population absolutely illiterate and labouring under very low economic conditions of living and governed like dumb-driven cattle; that there was hardly any public opinion in the State, and in absence of any freedom of the Press the Government was not benefited to the extent that it could be by the impact of healthy criticism... . Kashmiri Pandits who are a highly educated community represent the intellectual class are in a sense depressed because they got no opportunity of rising in Government service or in any other field of useful activity such as industry or commerce with the result that they are also discontented and present a problem which requires to be seriously tackled." This provoked a stir in Kashmir public. Several other forces also were at work in giving expression to the people's discontent. Outside the State the Indian Independence Movement and Mahatma Gandhi's call for non-cooperation set an example for conducting a campaign against unjust rule. In spite of precautions against checking the infiltration of political ideas from outside, these did have their repercussions in this State also.

Hari Singh's 'faux pas'

At this time the Maharaja committed a serious 'faux pas' at the Second Round Table Conference held in London in 1930. He was, no doubt, a Nationalist by heart, but his nationalist sentiment got the better of his discretion, and he behaved like the politician thinking ahead of his surroundings. The few words Hari Singh spoke on contemporary political affairs at the Conference incensed the British and they began to doubt his loyalty. The short speech made on behalf of the Princes of India included the passage "As Indians and loyal to the land whence we derive our birth and infant nature, we stand as solidly, as the rest of our countrymen, for our land's enjoyment of a position of honour and equality in the British Commonwealth of Nations".

1 Major General D.K. Palit, *Jammu & Kashmir Arms*, p. 119.

For this indiscretion the Maharaja was subsequently made to pay through the nose. In the hope, therefore, of limiting the Maharaja's political aspirations, "the British encourged the agitators in Kashmir with material support".[2] From outside the State came the literature railing against the Hindu ruler in which organizations like Ahrars and Qadianis took an active part. The Lahore Muslim Press also started a violent and venemous campaign against the Hindu Maharaja and his administration. The Anglo-Indian Press also joined in the chorus of vilification of the Maharaja and his government. In Kashmir the Muslims, especially the young and educated amongst them, whose chief grievance was that they were not allowed their due share in the Government services etc., got excited and started anti-government demonstrations. Fortunately a highly educated young man, Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah who had started his career in the Government as a school teacher, became the leader of the young Kashmiris. Subsequently Sheikh Abdullah emerged as the most emancipated leader of Kashmiris in their onward march towards progress. In fact he is the only political leader worth the name produced by the State so far. (See details in Chapter 6).

Maharaja Hari Singh could have done much to nip the evil in the bud, by calling for the aggrieved persons, giving their leaders a patient hearing and extending to them a hand of sympathy and friendship. That would have worked wonders in assuaging their agitated minds. But precious little was done by the Maharaja towards that end. He always thought it beneath his dignity to talk to Sheikh Abdullah, "a former school teacher in his Government",[3] on equal terms.

Abdul Qadier Strikes the Match

On 21st June 1931, while the local anti-government demonstrations were going on in Srinagar, a big public meeting of Muslims was held at Khanqahi Maula. At this huge gathering one Abdul Qadier, an ordinary buttler with an European, delivered

2 Major General D.K. Palit, *Jammu & Kashmir Arms*, p. 119.
3 Kuldip Nayar, *Distant Neighbours*, Vikas Publications, New Delhi.

a very provocative speech exhorting massacre of Hindus. He was arrested, and, as a precautionary measure, the Government decided to hold his trial outside the city of Srinagar, in the Central Jail.

The Martyrs' Day

On the 13th of July 1931, when Abdul Qadier's trial was about to start in the Central Jail premises, a large crowd of Muslims gathered outside the prison walls. When the Magistrate and other concerned officials arrived on spot the mob became violent demanding the release of the accused. They tried to force their entry into the Central Jail. Some of them cut the telegraph and telephone lines and made an attempt to set the Police Lines on fire. In order therefore to bring the situation under control and stop the violent mob from further mischief, the Police opened fire in which, according to official report ten persons were killed. The firing excited the Muslim mob against the local Hindus who were identified with the Hindu Maharaja's Government. At Maharaja Gunj, an old trade centre in the city, they looted the Hindu shops there. There was rioting in other parts of the city also, like Naushehra, Vicharnag etc., in which three Hindus were killed and 163 wounded. The State Police miserably failed to discharge its duty to maintain order. Some Muslim agitators and leaders including Sheikh Abdullah, were arrested. There were protest processions and hartals in the city. So in the annals of modern Kashmir, 13th of July 1931, (now called the Martyrs day), has come down as a very important day. From this day the struggle for freedom began to be conducted openly.

The Dalal Commission

An official commission comprising of three Judges of the High Court headed by Sir Barjor Dalal, Chief Justice of the J & K State, was appointed by the Government to inquire into the rioting and firing at the Central Jail. This did not satisfy the Muslims. When it was published, the Dalal Committee report was publicly burnt in a Muslim locality at Jammu. The Maharaja terminated the services of M/s. P.K. Wattal and G.E.C. Wakefield the members of State Council, on whom he got displeased. Raja Hari Kishen Koul was appointed as the *Hazur* (Prime) Minister of the State. He set at liberty all the political prisoners after they had given an undertaking that they would desist from any unlawful action like provocative speeches inciting communal bickerings etc.

The Kashmir Committee

In the meantime some prominent communal-minded Muslims of the Punjab had formed a body, known as the "Kashmir Committee", to help the Kashmir movement by propaganda and funds etc. The main pillers of this committee were Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal and Mirza Bashir Ahmed, the Head of the Ahdmadias at Qadian. The Kashmir Committee observed 14th of August 1931 as All-India day for the purpose of expressing the sympathy with the victims of 13th July and for organizing Muslim public opinion to forward the Kashmir agitation. Sheikh Abdullah and other Muslim leaders of Kashmir took much pains in making the Kashmir Day a success in the State. This was another pointer to the fact that the Muslim movement in Kashmir was working under outside influence.

The 'Narchoo Paltan'

On 24th of September 1931, there was a recrudescence of the same agitation. A huge (but non-violent) procession of the people armed with some crude tools and local fishing-rods, (Narchoo) (now locally known as Narchoo Paltan) was taken out through the main city streets. The Government passed an ordinance (known as 19. L) on the lines of that which had some time before been promulgated in Burma to put down a rebellion there, and the army was brought to assist to local authorities to restore peace. On 5th October the above ordinance was withdrawn and all the political prisoners were released. The Maharaja also announced that "if any section of my Subject desires to submit any reasonable request, they will receive my sympathetic consideration".

Demands of Different Communities

In response to this gesture all the communities in the state put in their demands in the form of Memorandums. The majority community of the Muslims wanted a strong Constitutional Government, protection of their life and property, grant of fundamental rights to the people and State Assembly with proportional representation for the Muslims there. The Sikhs demanded one-third share in Government-services and a Sikh Minister in the State Cabinet. The Kashmiri Pandits wanted a fair field in the services and no special favour. They expressed their anxiety for the introduction of a Constitutional Government, but they were equally anxious that "the body politics should not be corrupted by the canker of communalism". They also demanded recruitment of Kashmiri Pandits in the State Army, and employment for the educated unemployed persons in their community.

Unrest in Jammu

As a result of the events in Kashmir, unrest in Jammu Province was also in evidence. The Ahrar Party in the Punjab (a Muslim organization) organised several demonstrations to express their sympathy for the State Muslims. They also sent large parties of Muslims (Jathas) into the state territory to pressurise the Government to accede to the demands of the State Muslims. Thousands of members of these Jathas were arrested by the State authorities but the infiltration continued and the situation became out of control of the State Government. At this stage His Highness, Government approached the British to intervene. So on 4th November the British troops were despatched to Jammu. A few days later the Viceroy of India promulgated an ordinance stopping the infiltration of Ahrar and other 'Jathas' into the State territories.

By the end of November trouble arose in the District of Mirpur in Jammu Province, Sardar Gauhar Rehman, a Jammu leader, in an irresponsible speech preached non-payment of revenue to the Government. This ultimately lead to a communal clash. Whole villages were burnt down and entire buildings

razed to the ground in greater part of the tehsils of Mirpur, Kotli and Rajouri.

British Government's Directive

In the meantime the British Government insisted that the Maharaja accept the following terms at twenty-four hour's notice:

(i) Definite steps to remedy the alleged Muslim grievances ;
(ii) Enquiry by a British Officer into their demands ;
(iii) A Europeon I.C.S. Officer to be appointed Prime Minister.[4]

The Glancy Commission

Accordingly, on 12th November 1931, formation of a Grievances Committee was announced by the Maharaja. Sir B.J. Glancy of the Foreign Department of Government of India was appointed as its Chairman with two Muslims and two Hindus as its members. These members were M/s. G.A. Ashai (Kashmir Muslim), Ghulam Abas (Jammu Muslim) Lok Nath Sharma (Jammu Hindu) and Prem Nath Bazaz (Kashmir Hindu). The Glancy Commission was "to inquire into and report on the various complaints of a religious or a general nature contained in the memorials, and also such complaints as might be directly laid before the Committee".

Jammu Representative Resigns

Apart from some lacuna in the composition of the Commission, the Hindus were not satisfied with the manner in which it began to conduct its proceedings. The Hindus also resented its interference in the matters pertaining to cow-killing and inheritance law etc. that affected their religion directly or indirectly. Both the Hindu members of the Committee were therefore asked to resign. The Jammu member Shri L.N. Sharma promptly com-

4 Major General D.K. Palit, *Jammu and Kashmir Arms*, p. 120.

plied with this public mandate. He resigned from the Membership and disassociated himself from the Commission. The Kashmir Hindu member, Mr. Prem Nath Bazaz, however, obstinately enough, stuck to the Commission ignoring the call of the community whom he was supposed to represent. Reasons for such obduracy on the part of Mr. Bazaz are given in detail in the following chapter 6 (Section II).

Col. Colvin

While the Grievances (Glancy) Commission was conducting its inquiry, events in the State were moving fast. Lt. Col. E.J.D. Colvin, an Englishman, of the foreign and political department was appointed as the Prime Minister of the State.

Lease of Gilgit

Col. Colvin succeeded in making the Maharaja to give Gilgit Wazarat on 'lease' to the British Government for 60 years and hand over the administration of the leased territory to them. This 'lease' document was signed on March 29, 1935, by the Maharaja and the Resident, Col. L.E. Lang. The Viceroy and Governor-General of India was authorised to assume the Civil and Military Government of the Wazarat of Gilgit although the territory would continue to be included with Jammu & Kashmir State which would retain its rights to mining in the area.

Glancy Commission Report

The, very cleverly drafted, Glancy Commission Report was published in April 1932. Its main recommendations included restoration of Muslim religious buildings in the occupation of the Government to that community; the Hindu law of inheritance to remain untouched; educational development to be seriously taken in hand; proprietary rights to be granted to land of which the ownership was retained by the State; 'Kahcharai' (grazing tax) to be suspended in certain specified areas; payment of labour requisitions for State purposes to be made at proper rates, and promotion of industries to receive earliest attention of

the State authorities. In the matter of distribution of Government services the Commission's main recommendation was that 'Minimum qualifications should not be pitched unnecessarily high, and that 'Effective measures should be taken to provide a system of appointment and a machinery for supervising that system in such a way as to prevent the due interests of any community from being neglected'.

The main recommendations of the Commission were promptly approved and accepted by the Maharaja. These satisfied the Muslim Community, but shocked the already aggrieved minority community of the Kashmiri Pandits. They were "a highly educated community and represented the intellectual class" and were depressed because "they got no opportunity of rising in Government service or in any other field of useful activity such as industry or commerce". They complained that "nowhere in the world and at no stage of human history have able applicants for offices been told that though possessed of higher abilities than other competitors in the field, they cannot be appointed, because they are the members of the minority community. The general practice is and has been the opposite." The Pandits said "Our community cannot grudge other people entering State service in large numbers provided they are not admitted through the back door of favouritism and do not claim immunity from open competition". They formed the vanguard in demanding Constitutional progress in the State "Long before the Musalmans of Kashmir had become politically conscious, it were Kashmiri Pandits who fought for modernism in administration. It was they who first raised the cry of Kashmir for Kashmiris. It was they who first demanded a legislature, a free Press and a free platform. They cannot today go back on their nationalism and repudiate these and other essentials of good Government." (Kashmiri Pandits Memorial to the Maharaja, 1931).

The Glancy Commission wrote, "Kashmiri Pandits complain that out of 763 Gazetted appointments in the State their community holds only 74 including 17 Pandit Officers imported from British India or elsewhere... . It is certainly not a high proportion... . It is claimed that, although no scholarships have been specifically reserved for Kashmiri Pandits, over fifty per cent of their numbers are literate—a far higher percentage than that

obtaining in any other community: that ministerial work is their hereditary occupation and they have no other means of subsistence readily available. There is force in this contention." Beyond these remarks, however, the Commission did not provide or recommend any alternative avenues for the subsistence of the Kashmiri Pandits after the door to Government service were practically closed against them. Government service was the Chief source of living for the educated Kashmiri Pandits. So the 'minimum qualification' clause in the recommendation of the Glancy Commission came to them as a bolt from the blue. The problem was carefully considered by the Kashmiri Pandit intelligentsia, and the conclusion reached was that by overlooking their legitimate claims, the Glancy Commission had spelt ruin to the Kashmiri Pandit community.

The Bread Movement

So a vigorous and an unprecedented non-violent agitation known as Bread Movement (*Roti* Agitation) was started by the Pandits to protest against the Glancy Commission recommendations and press for their legitimate rights. The Maharaja's Government swooped down upon the community and hundreds of Kashmiri Pandits were put behind the bars: the teen-agers participating in the agitation were ruthlessly beaten by the police. Two prominent Kashmiri Pandits, Pt. Shiv Narayan Fotedar (afterwards Chairman of the Upper House in the State legislature) and Pandit Zanardan Teng (a leading advocate) went to Allahabad where they contacted Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and apprised him of all the details about the matter. He advised them against resorting to any direct anti-Government action, but promised to use his good offices to see that the grievance of the Kashmiri Pandits was redressed. The matter was, however, closed when the Government of the State held out an assurance that the grievances of the Kashmiri Pandits would be looked into sympathetically.

No Business Instinct

Kashmiri Pandits have, in the first place, little instinct for business. Besides there are strong social and religious inhibitions against doing trade in certain lines like grocery, confectionary, tailoring, poultry, business in leather goods etc. Business in any of these involves the loss of social status to anyone who enters into it. Getting of marriage becomes an acute problem for them. The stigma can even go down to generations. But a person in Government service or even in service in a private concern, has no such problems to face in the society. It is said in jest that it is far easier to a confectioner's clerk to get married than his master. A Kashmiri Pandit has, therefore, preferred service throughout the history. Even now young men serve not only in this State but far away in India or even in the western countries abroad. It is a fact that taking up service and settling in places outside Kashmir has resulted in considerable dislocation in the Pandit society. If this process continues, it can be anybody's guess what will be the future position of this community in this State.

Communal Harmony

Throughout the different phases of the history of this State communalism was unknown here till 1931. The local Hindus and Muslims, till then, not only lived harmoniously but evinced great affection for each other. They always shared each other's joys, sorrows and sufferings as part of their life. The main reason behind it was that racially, culturally and linguistically the people of the two communities are practically one. With a few exceptions, the majority of the Muslims of Kashmir come from the same Aryan stock as the Pandits; the same blood flows in their veins. Only their religions are different. When fanaticism does not get the better of their discretion—and such occasions are indeed very rare—they like to live peacefully with each other.

After 1931

The movement of 1931, however, brought about considerable change in this harmony. The movement was a mass uprising against the Maharaja's rule, but unfortunately for want of some

mature guidance it started with a communal clash. Its leaders then thought it advisable to give the movement, 'against the Hindu Government', a communal hue. This was just when the progressive elements in the leadership led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah were finding their feet. The religious group was headed by Mir Waiz Usuf Shah. Actually the two parties represented the middle class of Muslims on the one side and the upper class on the other respectively. Sheikh Abdullah was in course of time accepted by the masses as their leader and they began to follow him. So by the end of the year the division between the two forces led by Abdullah and Mir Waiz (which took on the sobrequit, 'Shairs' and 'Bakras') became much accentuated. The leaders of the two groups started throwing mud over each other. The bickering now involved the masses also resulting in occasional street skirmishes in Srinagar between the 'Shair' and the 'Bakras' parties. This infighting sometimes provided a lighter side also. During the course of these skirmishes the Shairs would find it well-nigh impossible to pass through the Bakra jurisdiction below the 3rd bridge and vice versa. Once, during such days a man walking near third bridge was suspected by the Shairs to belong to the opposite party. They caught hold of him, but before manhandling him, some sober persons wanted to confirm his identity. "What are you, Bakra or Shair?," he was asked. Pat came the reply, 'I am both. The right side of my body belongs to Shairs and the left one to Bakras'. So the Shairs did not touch his right side, but they thrashed and bastinadoed him on the left side. The Shair-Barkra differences still persist unabated.

The Muslim Conference

The Jammu & Kashmir Muslim Conference was founded soon after the publication of the Glancy Report. Its first session was held at Srinagar in October 1932, with Sheikh Abdullah as its president. The history of the Muslim Conference is the record of the struggle of the middle and upper class of Muslims during the period, (1932-38) for the achievements of their rights, especially in the matter of distribution of State services. On this and other issues there was a serious clash in January 1934 between the Muslims and

the Government. The Young Men's Muslim Association gave an ultimatum to the Government to accept their demands, chief among which was immediate removal of important non-Muslim officials from Srinagar. Accordingly the Government took action under 19-L, on January 28, 1934. Seven leaders were exiled under these provisions, and hundreds more arrested. There was mob fury at Pulwama and Bijbihara as a result of which the Police had to open fire in which ten persons were killed. "And yet, painfully enough, all this was done by the young Muslim leaders to obtain more jobs for the upper and middle classes of the Muslims in Government Employment !"

At this stage the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference met at Sialkot in February. The Constitution of the Conference was suspended by the Committee and Ch. Gulam Abbas was appointed as the Dictator. He started an anti-government movement and put-forth the unpracticable demand for immediate implementation of the Glancy Commission recommendations. He was arrested and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. The movement fizzled out within a couple of weeks for want of public response. This still-born movement had a telling effect upon the Muslims as it set them thinking on the right lines. The leadership now realised their mistake in having alienated the mass support. It also now dawned upon the Muslims that in political matters non-Muslim interests were not altogether distinct from the Muslim interests. Fundamentally they were similar. In fact such a progressive view was already held by S.M. Abdullah. In his Presidential Address delivered in October 1932 to the first session of the Muslim Conference he assured the non-Muslims that "the Kashmir Movement is not communal but has come into existence to get the grievances of all classes of people redressed. We assure our Hindu and Sikh brothers that we are prepared to held them in the same manner as we do the Musalmans. Our country cannot progress until we learn to live amicably with one another... ." Later on, thanks to Sheikh Abdullah, his National outlook began to permeate the entire Working Commtitee of the Muslim Conference. There was another reason which helped to bring about this important change in the political outlook of the Muslims. As a result of the Glancy Commission recommendations a large number of

Muslims were appointed in all ranks and grades in the State. Some of them who were already in service were upgraded out of turn and over the heads of their non-Muslim colleagues. Muslim masses entertained high hopes and had great expectations from these Muslim brothers about their sympathy, good treatment and help to them, in their official capacity. But the masses were bitterly disappointed inasmuch as the Muslim Officials fell far below their expectations. They proved more corrupt and unscrupulous and less sympathetic. The concerned people everywhere complained against them. In many cases they now preferred Hindu officials over their apathetic Muslim brothers. In April 1934, constitution of a Legislative Assembly for the State was announced by the Maharaja, and its first session was held at Srinagar in the autumn of that year. It was, however, found to be powerless and did not satisfy the Muslim representatives of the people there. They wanted some sort of democratic set up responsible to the people. To achieve this they needed the cooperation of the non-Muslims with a nationalist bent of mind. Liberal Hindus, therefore came forward and expressed their willingness to join their ranks. Where the national interests were at stake and where something good was demanded for the whole of the country, many non-Muslim elected members voted with the Muslim Cenference party in the State Legislative Assembly. Similar other actions on the part of the leaders of both the parties paved the way for establishment of a united party similar to that of the Indian National Congress. Accordingly after considerable poli''king and going through a sort of purgatorial experience for some time the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference met at Srinagar on 10th June 1939. And after heated discussions passed a resolution to change the name and the Constitution of the Muslim Conference so that persons of all the communities and religions desirous of taking part in the political struggle may become ligible for membership in that body.

The Great Change

The above resolution by the Working Committee was moved in the open session of the Muslim Conference on 11th June 1939.

It was passed there by an overwhelming majority of the delegates. Only three out of 176 delegates opposed it. Thus came the end of the Muslim Conference and the birth of J & K National Conference. This was a great achievement in the politics of the State.

6

The Great Leader and the Opportunist

I

SHEIKH MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH

It is but fair to devote a separate chapter to this great leader to recount briefly the role played by him in the State politics.

Early life

S.M. Abdullah, a Kashmiri Muslim, was born in 1905 A.D. in Soura, a suberb about five miles north of Srinagar. He became orphan when only a boy and was brought up by his brothers. In those days getting into State Service here was the main purpose behind educating their children by the people. Sheikh Abdullah's brothers also wanted that he should earn his living by serving in the State. So they gave him high education, sent him to Aligarh University wherefrom he passed his M.Sc. Examination. On his return, to his homeland Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah, in spite of his high educational qualifications, failed to get a gazetted or some higher job here. The number of gazetted posts in the civil departments of the State in those days was in the first instance very limited; besides, almost all the

available Gazetted appointments went either to the outsiders to the ruling class of Rajputs. Service in the army was und taboo for all Kashmiris. Kashmiri Pandits who produced th largest number of highly educated persons, were appointe against petty non-Gazetted posts of clerks, school masters, low executive jobs etc. The lot of the Muhammadan majority com munity in the State was still worse. Most of them were livin on the, and even, below, poverty line. The number of educate persons among them in those days was very limited and being Kashmiri was also a handicap for them. Sheikh Abdullah ha therefore, willy-nilly to accept the post of a non-Gazetted Schoo master in the State Education Department.

First Debut in Politics

Before this some local Muslim leaders had drawn the attention of the authorities towards the miserable plight of the Muslims here. But that was in a subdued manner to which a deaf ear was invariably turned by the authorities. To Sheikh Abdullah, however, such a state of affairs became galling and unbearable. But his was not a tame approach to things. He realised that it required a loud sound for the deaf to hear. Accordingly Sheikh Abdullah took up the lead and soon found himself in the whirlpool of politics in this State. His political career thus started from 1931 A.D. He eschewed the material rewards of pelf and power and instead chose to champion the cause of the people. In this field he was destined to play an important role and carve an indelible name for himself in the country's history. He proved to be the greatest leader Kashmir had produced and he is now ranked as one of the great leaders of India; one of the specimens of conscious, selfless divine instruments who devote their lives to the service of humanity without any selfish motive.

His Secular Outlook

Though a devout and God-fearing Musalman, Sheikh Abdullah is far above narrow communalism. He is gifted with a secular outlook in politics, and he has always tenaciously stuck to that. It is a condition of his mind. Even when he was leading a

communal organisation, he never tolerated, much less encourged communal tendencies in the State Muslims, nor did he ever base his struggle on the cheap but mischievous slogan of 'religion in danger'. All his attention was focussed on the upliftment of the State Muslims and he worked for it selflessly and with great perseverance. Soon he gained tremendous political influence and importance, but he never tried to use that for buildings his personal career when he could have easily become a very big officer in the State. His ideas were very lofty to champion the cause of the poor people of Kashmir and to better their lot. In that struggle he was imprisoned many a time. All told he has spent about 16 years in detention so far (1977 A.D.)

A Unique Feat

In the Muslim Conference—a communal organization—Sheikh Abdullah felt very uncomfortable, a round man in a square hole. So he put on streneous efforts to change it to a secular body. He succeeded. In June 1939, the communal organization was made to shed its communal complexion. It became a National body taking the name of Jammu & Kashmir National Conference. Subsequently it was affiliated to the All India States Peoples Conference. The Sheikh possesses tremendous courage of his convictions. His courage in changing the outlook of the Muslims politics was amazing. The conversion of a communal organization into a nationalist body is a unique feat in the political history of Kashmir.

Outlook Brodens

Sheikh Abdullah now established contacts with the All India National Congress and some of its top leaders and luminaries like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Khan Brothers, Abul Kalam Azad and Rajgopalacharya etc. This widened his political horizon and broadened his basic secular outlook. In those days the Princely States throughout India produced only 40 Watt leaders, but Sheikh Abdullah proved to be a luminous exception. Nehru became his friend, philosopher and guide, and Abdullah began to command great respect throughout India.

The Quit-Kashmir Movement

In May 1946, the National Conference launched an anti-Maharaja (Quit-Kashmir) movement. Sheikh Abdullah and many of his followers were arrested and put on trial. To plead their cause Jawaharlal Nehru at once left Delhi for Srinagar. Hearing this the Maharaja committed a gaffe. He issued orders to put Jawaharlal under arrest on his entering the State territory. This was done and Jawaharlal was detained in the Rest House at Ghari. At that time the crucial conference at Simla between the Viceroy Lord Wavell and the Indian leaders about India's future was going on. Jawaharlal's detention at that time would have led to very serious consequences. Thanks, however, to the pursuasion of Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Azad, Jawaharlal left Kashmir and went to Simla. All this was done out of regard for Sheikh Abdullah and his lofty ideals. Shri Jawaharlal never afterwards forgave the Maharaja for such narrow-sightedness.

Opposition to 'Two Nation' Theory

At home Sheikh Abdullah showed a marvellous capacity to carry the Muslims towards the path of progress and away from narrow communalism. Mr. Jinnah's Two-Nation Theory never appealed to him, and he always kept himself aloof from the All India Muslim League politics. Mr. Jinnah tried to make Sheikh Abdullah see eye to eye with him in the political field. Once he even came to Srinagar for that purpose in 1945. But all this fell flat and did not carry conviction with the latter. Just before the partition two leaders met at Lahore and had discussions about the question of division of India. After many years, Sheikh Abdullah in a press interview on 20th and 24th February 1971, recalled his talk with Mr. Jinnah at Lahore thus "I told him that I was not opposed to his idea of Pakistan, but it would not help in the situation. Muslims were flung all over India and they would face more difficulties if certain portions were taken away from the country and declared independent. If they (the Muslims) were not safe in the entirety of India, how would

they be safe in a smaller portion".[1]

In a broadcast to his people, soon after his appointment as head of the Emergency Government in Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah stated *inter alia*, "when the progressive forces of India, notably the great Indian National Congress and its leaders Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru lent their moral support: the Muslim League and its leader Mr. M.A. Jinnah would have no truck with us, nor any sympathy with the National aspirations of the ten million people of the Indian States".

Outspoken Approach to Politics

Sheikh Abdullah's rectitude, integrity, courage and outspoken approach to politics, are unquestionable. Whatever his weaknesses as a human being, 'he cannot be accused even by his bitterest opponents of harbouring communal feelings. He devoted the best part of his life to fighting communalism and is hopeful that he will be in a position to provide a healthy leadership to the minority community'.[2]

Supreme Test of Secular Ideology

In October 1947, when Pakistan Raiders entered Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah the *fons et origo* of the National Conference, at once dashed to Delhi. He passed on a message recommending the acceptance of Kashmir State's accession to India. Subsequently the Instrument of Accession was signed by Maharaja Hari Singh as the Ruler of the State and Sheikh Abdullah on the State people's representative organization, the J & K National Conference, who had granted him *carte-blanche* for that. A request for military protection to the State was also made. All this was done at a time when North India (outside Kashmir) was in a grip of a communal frenzy. Sheikh Abdullah declared India to be secular, and Nehru was eulogised by him as the symbol of Hindu-Muslim Unity.

1 P.N. Tikoo, *Immortal India*, p. 165.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 166.

Pak Complicity in the Depredations

A graphic description of the 1947 raids was given in a broade by Sheikh Abdullah in these words: "The gentlemen of Pakis are not only allowing the raiders free access through their coun and free use of basis on their side of our borders but supplyi ammunition, arms, direction and control to them. And thus th are lending active support to the devastation and misery that t raider is spreading wherever he goes, trailing arson and loo abduction of women and uprootment of houses and hearth Thousands of our countrymen have been killed, thousands abdu ted and lakhs of them rendered homeless, and crores worth o property has been looted and destroyed...." Sheikh Abdullah an his colleagues proved far-sighted enough in visualising the trea ment that Kashmiris would receive from Pakistan in ca Kashmir acceded to that country. Their apprehensions hav been proved genuine after 20 years by the atrocities perpetrated by the Government of Pakistan against the people of Eas Bengal. The Sheikh stated that "the correctness of Kashmir' historic step in rejecting union with theocretic Pakistan in October 1947, were amply proved by the tragic events in Bangla desh."[3]

End of Dogra Rule

After the Emergency Government was formed in the State, Sheikh Abdullah as Head of the Government, and Maharaja Hari Singh as Ruler, found it difficult to pull on together. Consequently their differences had an adverse effect on the smooth working of the Government machinery. The upshot of this disharmony between the two was that the Union Govern ment was compelled to advise Maharaja Hari Singh to quit the State and nominate his son, Yuvraj Karan Singh to be his regent there. Finally Sheikh Abdullah persuaded the Jammu & Kashmir Constituent Assembly in taking a formal decision to abolish the dynastic (Dogra) rule in the State. Sheikh next pressed the Union Government to accord a special status to Kashmir. This

3 P.N. Tikoo, *Immortal India*, p. 167.

also was agreed to, and a new clause 306-A (which finally be some Article 370 of the Indian Constitution), was added to the Union Constitution—Part XXI.

After some time, some misunderstandings cropped up between the Sheikh and the Union Government. These became so accute that the former was dismissed as Chief Minister on August 9, 1953 and kept in detention. He was replaced by the Deputy Chief Minister, Bhakshi Ghulam Mohd. Time, however, is a great molifier. After about two decades, most part of which Sheikh Abdullah was under detention, all cobwebs of mis-under standing between him and the Central Government were cleared. The Sheikh came to terms with the Government at Delhi and joined the mainstream of Indian politics as before and agreed to run the Government of the State. This he subsequently did.

II

MR. PREM NATH BAZAZ

Mr. Bazaz is a Kashmiri Pandit. Born in A.D. 1905 he received his education at Srinagar and then took up some non-Gazetted job in the Public Works Department. In Srinagar, the unfortu nate incident of firing at the Central Jail took place on the 13th of July 1931. This was followed by communal disturbances in the city and some of its suberbs. In that agitated atmosphere, Kashmiri Pandits, who are in a minority, were subjected to harassment, loot and murder etc. To ventilate their grievances and safeguard their life and property; a few Kashmiri Pandit youngmen formed an organization—The Sanatan Dharam Young men's Association—with Mr. Bazaz as its President. It was then that Bazaz entered his political life. This organization did good work during that disturbed period and brought some solace to the harassed community of Kashmiri Pandits. Naturally people developed respect and even affection for the Yuvak Sabha and its workers including Mr. Bazaz. But in that emotional outburst, the intrinsic worth and real character of Mr. Bazaz could not at that time be fully gauged. The Yuvak Sabha soon developed into an important organization. When the Glancy Commission was formed, Mr. Bazaz was chosen to represent the Kashmiri

Pandits in it. The community reposed all confidence in him

The Glancy Commission began its deliberations some time November 1932. However, observing the trend of handl things by that Commission, the Hindus soon lost faith in They accordingly asked their representatives to disassociate th selves from that body. The Jammu member, Mr. Lok N Sharma, complied with the mandate, but Mr. Bazaz the seco Hindu member refused to resign. His instinct for self-pres vation asserted itself and he swept aside every other considerati and stuck to the Commission, shocking everyone concerned.

Mr. Bazaz proved to be a small man, immature, gulible mentally no match for the non-Hindu members and the Cha man of the Commission. He was thus not competent enough deliver goods in that Commission. Subsequent events al proved that, to safeguards personal interests, Bazaz can thr all considerations of propriety, decency and patriotism to win He can act like one of those changeable reptiles who adapt th hue to environments, and a renegade who joins the oppos camp when he finds his personal interests in jeopardy.

Mr. Bazaz was therefore dubbed as a traitor and was d owned by the Kashmiri Pandit community. He was rebuk and also pushed out of the Yuvak Sabha very ignominously. the letter of plaint to Mahatma Gandhi Bazaz said, "a sectio of the Kashmiri Pandits rebuked me for this attitude.... I w subsequently hooted, dubbed as a traitor and thrown into bac ground after much harassment.... I do not know what to do."

We also find Mr. Bazaz as a pack of contradictions. Findi that he had no future in his own community, Bazaz now trimm his sails to the winds of the opposite camp. He began to hobn with the Muslim Conference leaders whose activities, interes and programme at that time were not identical with those other communities.

In June 1939, when the Muslim Conference changed in National Conference Mr. Bazaz became its full-fledged membe To flatter Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the moving spirit National Conference, Bazaz called him the 'Chief hero of t Kashmir struggle' and eulogised him for his 'supreme sel

4 P.N. Bazaz, *Kashmir in Crucible*, p. 176.

abnigation'. He also called Sheikh Abdullah 'Kashmir ka Gandhi' and wrote a small book in Urdu with that title. But on 28th November 1940 he resigned from the National Conference on the plea that the working committee had ceased to be a national body.

Nationalism is antithesis to anti-Indian activity. But not so with Mr. Bazaz. After leaving the J & K National Conference Mr. Bazaz became an exponent of Muslim League's 'Two Nation' theory. About Jammu & Kashmir he now advocated that "In accordance with the basic principle governing the partition, viz., the consideration of religion professed by people in different parts, the Jammu & Kashmir State whose population is predominantly Muslim, should legitimately and unconditionally belong to Pakistan and must in fairness go to it. The occupation of the valley by the forces of the Indian Union was a clear act of unprovoked and wanton aggression."[5] Since such advocacy must have paid Mr. Bazaz at that time, he did not pause to think that this was a perverted view which he would have to (as he did afterwards), contradict in due course of time. Bazaz misinterprets and distorts history when he says "in October 1947, the Maharaja, aware of the support of the Indian Union and the Kashmir Nationalists was itching for a fight and was twisting the tale of the lion of revolution. The animal raised its ferocious head. The enraged people all over the valley and other parts rose in rebellion against the despotic foreign ruler. A parallel Government (Azad Kashmir) was found in Poonch. Deeply moved by the plight of the State Muslims, the fanatical tribesmen from the trans-border region rushed to the rescue of their old neighbours and co-religionists in the State. The Azad Kashmir Government accepted the challenge and declaring on the next day—23rd of October 1947—a holy war for the liberation of homeland and ordered the Azad forces to proceed to Srinagar. If the Congress leaders had not made repeated attempts to influence the Maharaja to make preparations for joining India, there would have been no incursion of tribesmen into Kashmir".[6] What a false and undeserved vilification and what

5 P.N. Bazaz, *History of struggle for freedom in Kashmir*, p. 342.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 326.

a blatant distortion ! In his passion to distort history and co
ceal facts, Mr. Bazaz has conveniently overlooked the fact th
in 1947, Lord Mountbatten "conveyed the assurance from th
Minister of States, Sardar Vallabbhai Patel to the Maharaja
Jammu & Kashmir that if he acceded to Pakistan, India wou
take it a miss".[7]

It may be recalled here that Prem Nath Bazaz was imprisone
for three years for his subversive activities.

The public impression here is that in all his anti-Indian an
pro-Pak propaganda Bazaz was actuated by some personal interes
and to achieve that he acted as a tool of some foreign power
that time inimical to India.

Mahatma Gandhi is now no more, with Prem Nath Bazaz, a
'my Bapu'. He comes down to sarcasm now and talks of hi
'noble ideals and high principles', and states that "Mahatma
Gandhi blessed the Congress leaders to invade Kashmir".

When Bazaz was trying to find his feet in the Muslim and the
the National Conference, he put Sheikh Abdullah on a pedestal.
But when sychophancy ceased to serve his purpose, we see
Bazaz with changed views. The Sheikh is now the "self-styled
arch revolutionary, who became confused and could not main-
tain the magnanimity of heart and boldness in action that he
had been exhibiting for a considerable period". "Abdullah",
says Bazaz, "is a hater of books and no admirer of intellectual
debates and discourses. He shuns the company of the learned
and rarely tolerates a man with independent opinion about him.
Being utterly ignorant of Kashmir history and developments in
contemporary world of thought and politics, he could not
comprehend the forces that had begun to play within the ranks
of the National Conference.... " Bazaz further accuses the Sheikh
of having become "a tool to crush the people of Kashmir in the
hands of those very exploiting forces whom he had originally
planned to exterminate".[8]

Sir Gopalswami Ayyanger, who proscribed Bazaz's book
'Inside Kashmir', is dubbed as 'cunning Ayyanger'; Mr. R. C.
Kak had, understandably not a high opinion about Bazaz's

7 V.P. Menon, *Integration of Indian States*, p. 394.
8 P.N. Bazaz, *Struggle for freedom of Kashmir*, pp. 176 & 319.

I.Q. So he is dubbed as 'egoistic, stiff-necked, ambitious and reactionary of the worst type'. Mirza Afzal Beg is accused of nepotism, jobbery and other unfair methods. "During his tenure as Minister (1944) Mirza Afzal Beg successfully got a large number of his relatives, friends and acquaintances appointed on high and low-grade jobs, he gave large lucrative contracts to those whom he liked. While he was in power, the local (Anantnag) Cooperative Bank and Cooperative Stores came to be in the grip of Beg family. The distribution and sale of sugar, salt etc., was made through the agency of the Cooperative Stores. Not even a part of the goods meant for the lakhs of peasants reached them."[9]

It never involves much effort for Mr. Bazaz to turn his coat and then annunciate view diametrically opposite to what he had been advocating before. Probably finding no need now to please any foreign power in the changed international political situation vis-a-vis India, Bazaz at once changed his views (obviously he wanted to settle peacefully and safely in Delhi, where he has built much property including a fairly big house as Hauz Khas). Kashmir cannot now accede to Pakistan on the plea that it is 'predominantly Muslim'. "I have no hesitation in confessing" says Bazaz, "that when independence was achieved, I believed there was no alternative for the State but to accede to Pakistan. Influenced by subsequent developments, my views have undergone a change.... . If the Kashmir valley falls to Pakistan, the forces of disruption in India will overwhelm the country. Therefore, safety lies in maintaining the cease-fire line as it is, indeed it has to be transformed into an international boundary."[10]

Religion now ceases for Bazaz to be a factor in determining the Kashmir question. Referring to the Indo-Pak War for 1965, Mr. Bazaz says, "Pakistan could not even dislodge the Indian from the Valley where the Muslim population is 95%. This should be an eye-opener to those who refuse to forsake the belief that religion is the determining force in State politics or in an armed clash."

At the time of general elections for the State Assembly in 1977,

9 *Ibid.*, p. 226.
10 P.N. Bazaz, *Kashmir in Crucible* (Blurb).

Bazaz joined the Janta Party and made his appearance in Srinagar as a self-styled leader. Here he got the treatment he deserved. People suspected him as a C.I.A. agent. Soon after he left for U.S.A. for 'medical treatment'. His son Bhushan Bazaz contradicted the rumour in Delhi that his father had given up active politics.

7

The End of the British Rule

I

THE BRITISH ANNOUNCE THEIR DECISION

Meanwhile far-reaching developments were taking place in the country. On 19th September 1944, Mr. Atlee, the British Prime Minister, and Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, made an announcement that the people of India would be helped to frame their own Constitution etc. In the House of Commons the Prime Minister declared, "India herself must choose what will be her future constitution and what will be her position in world... . If India elects for independence...in our view she has a right to do so...(but) we cannot allow a minority to place their veto on the advance of a majority". But Mr. Jinnah refused to accept this verdict. He insisted on Pakistan as a separate land for the Muslims of India. The British Government first sent the Cripps-Mission and then the Cabinet-Mission headed by Lord Pethick Lawrence to persuade Indian leaders to accept a Constitution in which India would not be partitioned into two. But all that persuasion failed. Subsequently during the last phase of World War II, Lord Mountbatten was despatched from London with plenary powers to arrange the future. He

arrived in India on March 22, 1947 at first determined to hold free India together as one nation. He announced that the new nation would come into being in June 1947. At the final stage also Mr. Jinnah remained adamant on getting Pakistan.

India is Partitioned

Accordingly Lord Mountbatten agreed to the division of India into two separate independent States—India and Pakistan. He sent a partition proposal to the British Government, who now took a very precipitate step. On June 3, 1947, the Cabinet in London announced that partition would occur. In India Mountbatten announced that the two nations would begin separate operation on August 15, 1947, only 72 days away. The problem of 900 years—dating from the first invasion of Mohammad of Ghazna—was to be settled in 72 days. The abandonment of power was thus dangerously precipitated.

The Position of Princely States

In the partition plan of June 3rd, the British Government declared that the paramountcy which they exercised over the Indian States would automatically lapse. This meant that the rights of States which flowed from their relationship to the Crown would no longer exist, and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power would return to them. The States had to make a decision about entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India etc.

Danger to India's Solidarity

There was thus a greater danger to India's solidarity, and the possibility of 'Balkanisation' and further vivisection of India, should the rulers of more than 500 states decide to remain independent. In fact many such princes were entertraining visions of independence and power-aspirations which were likely to do irreparable harm to India's unity.

Kashmir Becomes a Source of Anxiety

The Maharaja of Kashmir also was toying with the nation of "an independent Jammu & Kashmir". He kept his option open till it triggered a war between India and Pakistan. The State of Kashmir thus became a source of great anxiety to India. Maharaja Hari Singh dallied and did not spell out any definite decision about the future course of choosing to join either India or Pakistan or to remain independent.[1] Shortly before the transfer of power, the Maharaja's Government announced their intention of negotiating a Stand-Still Agreement with both India and Pakistan. Pakistan, which was looking for some sort of trap to take Kashmir, atonce signed the Agreement. But India wanted time to examine its implications. The Maharaja was not asked to accede to India, though at that time the Radcliffe Award had connected Kashmir with the rest of India through the road via Gurdaspur.

Lord Mountbatten visited Jammu on 18th June 1947. He told the Maharaja that independence of the State 'was not feasible proposition and that the State would not be recognised as a dominion of the British Government'. Lord Mountbatten con-

1 During this crucial period of thinking over and making this great decision by the Maharaja and his political advisors, two other main persons also were indirectly involved in this matter—Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohomad Ali Jinnah—at that Stage Sheikh Abdullah was not taken into confidence. As the then—Maharaja's First Minister in the State, Mr. Ramchandra Kak was the repository of all the Government secrets at that time. In an attempt to find out the exact reasons that made Maharaja Hari Singh to adopt dangerously dilly dally tactics that subsequently proved so harmful to all concerned, the author interviewed Mr. Kak at his residence during the summer of 1977. He wanted to know from Mr. Kak which party or person was responsible for such a great gaff by the Maharaja. All the political aspects obtaining at that time were frankly discussed. However, about the main enquiry, Mr. Kak refused to oblige saying "this great secret I have been nursing in my heart for the last thirty years, and I may not, during my life, make an exposition of it to anyone for reasons know to me only". The author thus drew a blank. Mr. Kak, however, did not give any reason to keep this important part of the story untold.

veyed also the assurance from the Minister of the States, Sardar Patel to the Maharaja "that if he acceded to Pakistan, India would not take it amiss". Even then the Maharaja failed to take a decision. If the Maharaja had decided to join Pakistan then, New Delhi would have accepted the situation. Maharaja Hari Singh, however, avoided to give any definite reply to Lord Mountbatten. 'Had the Maharaja even at that late hour awakened to realities his State might have been saved from the ravages of war' that followed soon after.

But, even after the execution of the Stand-Still Agreement with Pakistan, the Government there showed no consideration for the State of Jammu & Kashmir or its people. The relations between the two remained far from cordial. Pakistan brought pressure upon the State into acceding to it. The supply of food, petrol and other essential commodities, was cut off. The free transit of travellers between Pakistan and Kashmir and vice versa was hindered. Military pressure was also applied by Pakistan in the form of hit-and-run border raids, along a 450-mile frontier. This naturally made it necessary for the Kashmir to disperse and deploy the State troops along a wide distance with no adequate reserves. This also rendered the defence too thin to resist and all-out attack.

II

THE INDO-PAK WAR 1947

Kabailis raid Kashmir

As already discussed, at the insistence of the All India Muslim League, led by Mr. Jinnah, a separate State of Pakistan for the Muslims of India was granted by the British from August 1947. Jinnah, however, felt dissatisfied in as much as the British award did not include Kashmir as a part of Pakistan. So he thought of taking the State by force. The situation in Kashmir had become fluid as a result of Maharaja Hari Singh's indecision to spell out what was up his sleeves about the future set up of Jammu & Kashmir State. Mr. Jinnah, therefore, trying to take advantage of such a favourable position for him, sent thousands

of armed and equipped men to raid Kashmir. They came and crossed the border at Kohalla on 22nd October 1947. They had orders to advance to Srinagar. These raiders consisted of Frontier Tribesmen and soldiers of the Pakistan army on leave led by regular officers. Later on, units of regular Pakistan forces also moved into the State territory.

Depredations by the Raiders

These tribesmen had never been known for disciplined fighting. They had been kept out of the army by the British. No communal bias spurred them to action. They loved loot and women. So they came looting and killing people, raping women, and burning houses indiscriminately and reached Domel. All the Dogra Muslims of the State Army there deserted, shot down their Commanding Officer and his adjutant, and then joined the raiders. These raiders now marched upwards towards Baramulla, their destination. At Mohora they almost wholly destroyed the Power House which supplied electricity to Srinagar. At Baramulla also they indulged in loot and rape and in that process wasted four days there.

Maharaja's s.o.s. to British Prime Minister

Maharaja Hari Singh's vacillating attitude continued right up to the time the Raiders crossed over to the Kashmir territory. Even at that time he sent an s.o.s. to the British Prime Minister soliciting his help, overlooking the hard fact that the British could no longer protect a princely State. But when the raiders reached the gateway of the valley, the Maharaja woke to the realities of the situation. His army had retreated in total disarray. There was great panic throughout the State.

Request for Accession

So, on 24th October when the raiders were about to reach Srinagar, Maharaja Hari Singh finding himself helpless, appealed to the Government of India for help. They, however, felt that it was not legally possible to send any help to the Maharaja as

Kashmir had not then acceded to India. The Maharaja him... was now in immediate danger. Shri V.P. Menon, Secretary... the States Ministry, was sent to Srinagar from Delhi to... things for himself. He saw that the entire valley was in a ... pressing state, and advised the Maharaja to leave Srinag... On 26th October 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh wrote a letter to t... Governor-General of India, Lord Mountbatten saying "I want... to take time to decide to which dominion I should acce... whether it is not in the interests of both the Dominions and my Sta... to stand independent, of course with friendly and cordial re... tions with both... . Naturally they (Government of India) can... send the help asked for by me without my State acceding... India. I have accordingly decided to do so and I attach t... Instrument of Accession for acceptance by your Government".

Abdullah Dashes to Delhi

With his inborn faith in secularism and instinctive aversion to the 'Two-Nation' theory, Sheikh Abdullah also dashed to Delhi to press for the acceptance of Kashmir's accession to India. This was, it may be noted here, done at a time when North-India was in the grip of communal frenzy. The Hindus and the Sikhs were killing Indian Muslims in the North-west India and the Muslims were slaughtering the Hindus and Sikhs, in Pakistan.*

Accession Accepted

Under these circumstances the Government of India granted the request for accession made both by the Ruler and the people of the State through their leader Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. The army and the air-force was despatched to the State to chase out the raiders and save the valley from further destruction and

* Mahatma Gandhi visited Srinagar in August 1947 to study the 'Treaty of Amritsar' and to ascertain for himself the views of the Maharaja about the matter of accession of J & K State. The then Prime Minister of the State, Pt. Ramchandra Kak me him here. When after the meeting he came out, the Press correspondents requested Mr. Kak to give his views about the accession. His reply was, 'we are and will remain friends with both'.

devastation. On the advice of Lord Mountbatten, however, a condition was attached to the Instrument of Accession. Therein it was provided that after the raiders were driven back from the State and peaceful conditions restored, the final decision on the accession of Kashmir would be taken by ascertaining the will of the people of the State.

The Emergency Government

An emergency Government was formed in the State and Sheikh Abdullah was nominated as its Head. The defence of Kashmir now became *de jure* responsibility of the Indian forces. India decided to create Jammu & Kashmir force. Infantry Brigade 161 was to undertake the liberation of the valley.

Raiders' Advance Checked

The Hindus and Muslims of the valley led by Sheikh Abdullah, except those in the northern parts who were forced by the raiders to guide them in loot and arson, came out to resist the raiders as one man, and to check their entry into Kashmir territory. There was complete communal harmony in the city and southern parts of the valley. Sheikh Abdullah was the undisputed leader of the Muslims, Hindus and the Sikhs of the valley. The credit for such complete harmony in those days in the valley, mostly goes to him and his followers, who showed their readiness to render any sacrifice of life, limb and liberty to save Kashmir from the invaders. The supreme sacrifice made by Shaheed Sherwani may be quoted as an instance in this point.

Sherwani's Supreme Sacrifice

Maqbool Sherwani was a National-Conference worker from Baramulla. He had a thorough topographical knowledge of the northern part of the valley below Srinagar. Immediately after the raiders entered the State territory, Sherwani 'began working behind the line, keeping up the morale of the besieged villagers, urging them to stick together after casting aside all considerations about their particular faith and religion, and to resist the

raiders. He encouraged them by assuring that help from the In... Army and people's Militia was on the way and coming to ... help. Thrice by skilfully planted rumours he decoyed ban... tribesmen and got them captured by the Indian Infantry, ... the fourth time he was himself captured, and was then bru... killed. Thus Shahid Sherwani rendered his supreme sacrifi... the alter of Nationalism.

Auchinleck Refuses to Oblige Jinnah

On October 27, information about the landing of Indian troo... in Srinagar, reached Mr. Jinnah. He ordered Sir Dougla... Gracy, Acting Commander-in-Chief in Pakistan to move Paki... tan troops into Kashmir. The General expressed his inability ... do it without the prior approval of the Supreme Commander ... the Joint forces of India and Pakistan, Field Marshal A. Claud... Auchinleck. The latter did not approve this saying that th... invasion of Kashmir would mean the automatic and immediat... withdrawal of every British soldier serving in the Pakista... Army.

The Raiders Repulsed

The first major assault of the Raiders came from a depression near Badgam, a few miles from Srinagar Airstrip, in which the Indian forces were repulsed. Fresh Indian reinforcements were called in but the enemy had massed in overwhelming numbers. It was close enough to put the Airstrip out of commission and raid Srinagar. Somehow the danger was averted by the Indian army. Another battle was fought with the raiders near Shalteng, on Srinagar-Baramulla road, about 3 miles north of Srinagar. Indian 'Fighter' planes here subjected them to intensive straffing and chased them away beyond Baramulla. That town was capitulated without firing a shot by the Indian Army. When they entered Baramulla they found it in shambles, its numerous houses and shops as also the Mission Hospital destroyed by arson etc. Mother Superior of the Christian Convent had also been killed. The devastation by the raiders was ghastly, remini-

...nt of Nadir Shah's sacking of Delhi. Baramulla is mostly ...habited by Muslims.

Behaviour of Jammu/Poonch Muslims

The Muslims of the valley resisted the raiders and prevented them from entering into the city of Srinagar. But the area from Akhnoor to Poonch (in Jammu) mostly went over to them. Poonch was the first to receive the attention of the Pakistan forces. The State forces were besieged in the town as early as September 1947. Poonch remained cut off for some time.

Fall of Gilgit

At Gilgit also the Muslim soldiers deserted the State army; and the State Governor there was put under arrest. The Hindus and Sikhs were either massacred or driven into mountains. In the third week of November, an agent came from Peshawar to take over Gilgit, which thus passed into Pakistan hands.

Indian Military Situation

With the onset of winter the first phase of the war in Kashmir was over. But, for India, the military situation was far from reassuring. The whole of the Gilgit area was in Pakistan hands. The fate of Skardu, Kargil and Ladakh was hanging in the balance. On the western Front in Jammu Province there was a positive deterioration in the military position. In the district of Mirpur: Mangla, Alibeg Gurdwara, the towns of Mirpur, Bhimber and Rajouri, the villages of Deva and Battala and the whole area adjoining Chhamb and Naushehra, and Jhangar were lost.

Raiders' Threatening Concentration

By the end of 1947, the raiders' concentration in Kashmir to the west of the Pir Panchal and the adjoining area of Pakistan had increased to a dangerous size. They were fed, clothed,

armed and transported with the help of Pakistan. This was a theatening posture.

India's Peace Efforts

India tried to persuade Pakistan to withdraw the raiders but all that fell flat. The former's second alternative was to launch an attack from the Punjab and to cross the International boundary as she had to do, when hard-pressed, in Chhamb-Jurian sector during the 1965 Indo-Pak war. But that would have led to a full scale war which India did not want. So she adopted the third course of seeking the intervention of the United Nations Organization.

India Approaches the Security Council

Accordingly, on January 1, 1948, India filed a complaint against Pakistan in the Security Council under Article 35 of the United Nations' Charter. Under this any member of the U.N.O. may bring any situation, the continuation of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of International peace and security. The complaint urged that the situation in Kashmir was dangerous and called for an immediate action. The Council was requested to prevent Pakistan from assisting, in anyway, the invasion of Jammu & Kashmir, and to call upon Pakistan Nationals to desist from taking part in the fighting in that State, and to deny the invaders access through Pakistan territory, etc., etc. Mahatma Gandhi was unhappy over the reference of the dispute to the U.N.O. It would give them 'monkey justice', he warned. 'Could not Pakistan and Indian representatives sit down and settle the problem' ?

India feels Disappointed

India was disappointed and Nehru was personally hurt by Washington's pro-Pak attitude. "He was convinced that the U.N.O. was being completely run by Americans and that the American representative had made no bones of his sympathy for Pakistan case." It was evident that the attitude of America in

Britain was related to their belated efforts to rehabilitate themselves in the Arab world by siding with Muslim Pakistan after advocating partition in Palestine. Soon after they had agreed to accord precedence to the hearing of India's charges, they decided to give simultaneous hearing to Pakistans' charges also. Their attempt to deal out even-handed justice was, according to Mountbatten 'producing heavy-handed diplomacy'. Nehru bitterly regretted having gone to the U.N.O. Pakistan at first denied all the charges brought against it and launched an intensive hate-campaign in the Council against India. Subsequently, however, it was proved, and Pakistan had to admit the fact, that it was behind the raiders who were sent to Kashmir and that three of its Brigades were deployed in Kashmir.

Sir Owen's Observation

In this connection the observation of Sir Owen Dixon, a U.N. representative who was sent to the Sub-continent in May 1950, with arbitrary powers to bring about peace between the two contending countries, is quoted here:

> "Without going into the causes or reasons why it happened, which presumably formed part of the history of the subcontinent, I was prepared to adopt the view that when the Frontier of the State of Jammu & Kashmir was crossed on, I believe October 20, 1947 by hostile elements, it was contrary to the International law, and when in May of 1948, as I believe, units of regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the State, that too was inconsistent with International Law."

The Cease-fire

The manner in which India's request for justice in the Kashmir case was handled by the Security Council is part of history now and need not be discussed here. Besides it is beyond the scope of our present story which covers the period ended 1947 only. However, the U.N.O. succeeded in bringing about a cease-fire between India and Pakistan from the last mid-night of Decem-

ber 1948, a year after India had filed her complaint before the Security Council. A Cease-fire line was demarcated according to the position as it stood at the end of December 1948. This left a good portion of Indian territory under the occupation of Pakistan. A team of U.N. observers was appointed to watch and prevent violation of the cease-fire line by the parties concerned.

Technically the case has not yet been closed by the Security Council, although there have been many major changes in the previous position.

Subsequent to the abolition of the rule of the Dogra dynasty in Jammu & Kashmir the State became a part of India. It was allowed a democratic set up like other provinces of the country. But unlike other provinces Kashmir enjoys a special status under Article 370 of the Indian Constitution in respect of certain subjects.

PART II

JAMMU PROVINCE

8

Introductory Outline

PHYSICAL AREA OF THE STATE

Broadly speaking the entire State of Jammu and Kashmir comprises the following three main physical areas:

(i) The northern region beyond Zogilla range of outer Himalayas drained by the middle reaches of the Indus.

(ii) The vale of Kashmir, lying between the Himalayan ranges and drained by the Jhelum and Kishen-Ganga rivers.

(iii) The southern strip of the Jammu plains, drained by the upper reaches of the Chenab. The third may be subdivided further into (a) the outer Monsoon region and (b) the Chenab Ravine region. This third forms the subject-matter of this part.

JAMMU PROVINCE: GEOGRAPHICAL

From the south, the boundary of the Kashmir Province ends and that of the Jammu Province begins once we cross the Jawahar

tunnel on Pir Panjal range dug at a height of 7250 ft.* This province lies between the plains of the Punjab and the Valley of Kashmir. From Sialkot (Pakistan) the plain rises in general ascent, and within a few miles becomes hilly and rugged. The lower Himalayan ranges begin of a sudden behind the town of Jammu, which placed on a slope of over 1300 ft., overlooks and commands the plain watered by the Chenab and the Ravi. The hilly tract consists of hills which rise higher and higher in the interior and cut up the country into isolated and inaccessible areas.

THE DOGRAS

The hilly tracts of Jammu (Duggar Desh), from times immemorial (some put it as past five thousand years) have been the seat of the rule of Hindu dynasty of Rajput caste, who later on took the name of Dogras. They were the pioneers to settle in the hilly region and, in course of time, carve it into a state. What were their antecedents ?

Their Origin

Of the Aryans, who swept into India and colonized it till they became its main population and among whom Hindu religion grew up, a branch settled in the hills that edge the Punjab. To those who settled in the lower hills and did not proceed further into the snowy regions, the name Dogra belongs. The Dogras have figured with some prominence in the history, politics, trade and military events of their region. They are mainly of Rajput descent carrying with them the habits and attitudes of a martial class. As soldiers they are reported to be brave, honest, truthful and direct. Whether in peace or at war, their special qualities are endurance and unflinching courage.

*Actually, for the convenience of the transport, two tunnels have been dug out side by side through the Pir Panjan mountains. They are among the longest tunnels of the world. Their length is 8303 ft. and 8359 ft. respectively.

Their Homeland

The area of Jammu has been closely connected to Kashmir and has become an integral part of the Jammu and Kashmir from A.D. 1846. But before that it had its own and a very separate development. Little of substance is yet known about these hill tracts before the thirteenth century, but it is a fact that the "Dogra homeland, situated on the summit of the first sloping ridges rising from the plains of the Punjab, has been inhabited, fought over, traversed and cultivated since the ancient 'Puranic' periods of Indian history.

This territory (Duggardesh) as we have seen consisted of about twenty-two small 'Dogra' states. Of these Jammu was the most important and influential. In the eleventh century when Jammu was still known as Durgara, the capital was at Babbapura, seventeen miles east of Jammu. The city of Jammu became the capital in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The territory of the Dogra rulers extended from the northern Punjab plains into the hills of Jammu and Kangra. During the middle ages, from eleventh century onwards, when, owing to series of invasions, the conditions in northern India were much disturbed, unity, survival and sovereignty of the Dogra hill states became increasingly difficult. The Kangra kingdom was forced to abandon Jullundur and retreat further into the hills. In the fourteen century, the famous Timur, after his ferocious sweep through Delhi, Meerut and Hardwar in January 1398, marched with his army along the Shivalik Hills and captured Kangra on January 16. Jammu also was sacked and people there were massacred in large numbers. Such circumstances forced this region to lie low for over a century. Hence except for occasional references to the region a detailed account of Jammu begins only after it became part of the Mughal Empire. Kangra fort was the first stronghold in the area to fall into Mughal hands in A.D. 1556 when Akbar ascended the throne.

Subsequently Akbar extended his control over several of the hill kingdoms including Jammu, Jasrota, Mankot, Lakhanpur, Bhadu and Balour. Once secure in this quarter, Akbar turned his attention and forces towards further south. The result was that the hill states of Jammu and Kangra were no longer moles-

ted. These states, for the most part feudatories, now exercised a great deal of independence during Mughal rule. However, to keep them under discipline, Emperor Jahangir made them pay tribute and send hostages to his court.

With the decline of the Mughal Empire and the invasion of the Afghans under Ahmad Shah Abdali in A.D. 1750 Jammu and Kangra and the neighbouring hill states become nominal subjects of the Afghan, but they continued to retain considerable degree of political and administrative independence.

In the early 18th century, Raja Dhruv Dev was considered the leader of the small states in Jammu region. His son Ranjit Dev sought to extend his own control over this region and as much more as he could obtain. The other leader in this region was Kripal Dev. Ranjit Dev, in spite of his sterling qualities, perpetrated a confidence-trick with him by which he grabbed Kripal Dev's territory. He ruled for over half a century very efficiently. Ranjit Dev notwithstanding his intrigues and ambitions, is credited with providing a peaceful and clean administration to the State and making it properous and respectable. But his epoch was both the culmination and the beginning of the end of the old state of things. He died in A.D. 1782. After him Jammu did not produce any competent ruler and there was mal-administration and lot of confusion in the State. Such a state of affairs in these hill states was a source of disquiet to Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the king of Lahore. He wanted to set things right but could not do it before he took possession of Jammu States. So in A.D. 1812 he sent an expedition under the command of Bhai Hukum Singh to conquer Jammu and annex it to the territory of the Lahore Government. Hukum Singh met with success. Jammu was subdued and annexed to Lahore. With this annexation the independent Dogra Kingdom in Jammu Hill, which had consolidated during the 18th century from many states into a single unit, now ceased to exist.

All the same, Jammu was destined to see good days and become an integral part of a much bigger state of Jammu and Kashmir enjoying an important status in the sub-continent of India. The major credit for all that goes to the super-human qualities of one individual. Who was he ? The answer to this

is contained in the following lines of Mr. Fredrick Drew:

"Countries separated by so many mountain chains, races so widely different, how did they all come to be under one ruler ? The answer to this almost resolves itself into the history of one man, of the one, who by exercising with wonderful persistence the qualities of a soldier and a diplomatist succeeded in raising himself from an inconspicuous station to a position in which his adherence and goodwill became of extreme value to the British Government in India, who in their turn, enabled him to achieve an object that for long had been dear to his heart, and in giving over to him Kashmir, completed the agglomeration of all the countries, we are treating of, into one state. This man was Maharaja Gulab Singh".[1]

By a judicious exercise of his intelligence, efficiency and hard work he, as stated before starting from a scratch rose to the position of the Maharaja of a State that he carved out for himself during the 19th century out of the wreckage of the great kingdom of the Sikhs. Naturally the story of Gulab Singh, the pioneer, occupies more space in this book than others.

I

LEGENDRY AND TRADITIONAL

An Old Principality

The ancient principality of Jammu is not mentioned by that name in any old Sanskrit or Persian literature. The first historical mention of the land may have been covered by the name "Madra Desha" which had its headquarters at Shalkot (Sialkot)[2]. Raja Shal, the maternal uncle of the Pandavas conquered

1 Fredrick Drew, *Jammu and Kashmir Territories.*
2 S.S. Charak, *Maharaja Ranjit Dev and Rise and Fall of Jammu Kingdom,* p. 6. Dogra Pahari Itihas Kendra Pathankot, 1971.

Jammu, and for many generations after, this territory remained subject to Shal's successors. That was in the legendry past.

Ragho-Vanshis

According to Hindu scriptures Marichi was the offspring of Brahma, the Lord of Creation. He was blessed with a son Kashapa to whom Vivaswan (also called Surya "Sun") was born. Vivasat Manu was the son of Vivaswan to whom Ikshvaku was born. After many generations in this line appeared Dirgabahu known as Raghu. The generations that followed in his line now became known as Raghu Vansha (see Kalidasa's *Raghuvansha*). Raja Dashratha, the father of Divine Rama of the Hindu scriptures also belonged to this line.

Jambulochan

According to another legend, the house of Jammu Dogras is descended from the above-mentioned Surya-Vanshi line, or solar branch of Rajputs, and its first scion, Agnigiri, came from Ayodhya. Raja Jambulochan, the founder of Jammu was his descendent. Later on one of his sons Daya Karan is said to have conquered and ruled Kashmir, as did his descendents for fifty-two generations. Some Dogra people trace their ancestry back to the Mahabharata in which ancient history and mythology are intertwined.

The Kangra Tradition

"According to Kangra Tradition, the Dogra is a descendent of Susarmachand Chandra, the founder of Katoch branch of the lunar race of Rajputs. He was a descendent of Bahuchand, a mythological figure miraculously created out of sweat which fell from the brow of the goddess-Bhagwati".[3]

3 Major General D.K. Palit, *Jammu and Kashmir Arms*, p. 21.

The Katoch Dynasty

The original kingdom of Susarma Chandra was suppossed to have been located at Multan. Tradition says that he married Raja Duryodhana's daughter and was made commander of his forces in the Mahabharata war against the Pandavas in the 13th century B.C. However, after Duryodhana's defeat at Thanesar, Susarmachand settled in Jullundhara (probably the present Jullundur, at that time considered synonymous with Kangra and the neighbouring places), and founded the Katoch dynasty. The Katoch kings ruled from ancient times until Akbar's capture of Kangra fort in A.D. 1595.

The Original Settlers

"About the time of Cyrus, two Rajput brothers emigrated with their families and followers from a small village called Oopa, the original hereditary 'jagir' of the family, in the vicinity of Oudh, and settled themselves on the banks of the Sutlej."[4] They followed warlike occupations and lived in or about Punjab for many generations. Their twenty-eighth, Baja Singh is said to have been the first to move to the hills about the present Mirpur in about 369 of Bikramaditya, and lived there. Henceforward the Rajputs went on collecting their families till they found a small colony in the hills north of Lahore. From there they scattered in different directions. Two principal members of the family, Kripal Dehu and his brother Sangram Dehu settled on the hill where the present fort of Bahu stands.

Raja Mal Dev

The sixty-third Chief of the family was the great Raja Mal Dev. Raja Druped Dev, mentioned elsewhere in this book, came down from this line. He died A.D. 742.

4 Major General D.K. Palit, *Jammu and Kashmir Arms*, p. 21.

The Founders of Bahu and Jammu

Raja Bahulochan, a Raghu-Vanshi, is said to have found Bahu after his name. The fort and the small town of Bahu still stand on the left of river Tawi, just opposite the city of Jammu. Bahu was the seat of a principality, separate from Jammu. Raja Bahulochan was killed in a conflict with Raja Chander-Has, the ruler of Madra Desh, i.e., the country of the Punjab. As he left no heir, one of his younger brothers, Jambulochan succeeded him to the throne. To avenge his elder brother's death, Jambulochan attacked, defeated and killed Chandra-Has and occupied the kingdom of the Punjab with all its boundaries and frontiers.

Jammu (Origin of the Name)

Jambulochan had a desire to raise, after his name, a delightful and strongly fortified town, and with this view was always on the look out for a suitable site where to fulfil his desire. One day a strange thing happened. The Raja had gone out-hunting. While he was riding and looking for a game, his eyes fell on a pool of fresh water on a neighbouring hillock. To his utter surprise he saw a royal lion and an innocent deer (according to some, it was a sheep) slaking their thirst by drinking water simultaneously from that very solitary pool. The Raja was lost in amazement and could hardly believe his eyes. He went back to the Royal camp and related all what he had seen, to his courtiers and wazirs. All of them unanimously averred that the place must be a sacred one, and what the Raja had seen auspicated well for his future. The present famous Shivadwala in the centre of Jammu is believed to have been the place where Raja Jambulochan saw the strange phenomenon. Jambulochan lost no time in constructing a town there. This he named Jamboo (Jammu).

Bahuwalas and Jamwals

Bahu had been the seat of a separate principality after Kapur Dev who died about A.D. 1507. The Bahuwalas ruled there up to

Raja Hari Dev's reign (A.D. 1650-85). This Raja united Jammu and Bahu under one sceptre, making the town of Jammu as the capital. The Raja ruling in Bahu were called Bahuwalas, and those in Jammu took the name of Jamwals. "We may perhaps conclude that Bahuwal was the ancient class-name of the Rajas of Durgara, and that the present class-name, Jamwal dates from the date of Smail Dev (Hutchison and Vogel, p. 335—quoted). Any conclusive proof in this connection is yet lacking. The Jammu area of 22 states became mainly inhabited by the Rajputs who safeguarded their independence and lived a life of placid contentment unaffected by the changes and revolutions in Hindustan."[5]

II

HISTORICAL

The Early Immigrants

Maharaja Sudershan of Ayodhya (1600-1560 B.C.) had two sons, Agnibaran and Agnigar. The elder one succeeded his father as ruler (1560-1530 B.C.). The younger one got fed up with the attitude of his elder brother and left his home. He reached Shivalik hills and lived there for some time. Finally he came to Podal (Kathua) where he took possession of some of the villages and established a sort of an estate there. Agnigar's successors, it looks, joined the other Rajput immigrants. They consolidated and enlarged their possession right up to the river Tawi. One of them was Agnigarbh (1380-1350 B.C.). He was succeeded by his eldest son Bahulochan (1380-1320 B.C.). But since Bahulochan was killed in a battle his younger brother Jambulochan took his place.

Post-Jambulochan Rulers

Numerous Rajas followed Jambulochan for some centuries. Not all of them were of much historical significance till Raja Mal Dev came on the scene. This man ruled for 40 years (1359-1399 A.D). His son and successor Hamir Dev ruled for 26 years, before he

5 K.M. Panikkar, *Gulab Singh*, p. 9.

was killed in a battle against Mubarak Shah, the Syed ruler of Delhi (1421-1434 A.D.).

Dhruv Dev

A few centuries after Hamir Dev's rule, Raja Dhruv Dev ascended the throne (A.D. 1703-1735). He had four sons, Ranjit Dev, Balwant Dev, Ghansar Dev and Surat Dev. Dhruv Dev extended his sway over some more area surrounding his State. "Most of the states between river Chenab and river Ravi were brought under his control more or less in the early part of the 18th century".[6] Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi, now recognized Dhruv Dev's overlordship in the hills and granted him a 'Patta' (A.D. 1724) confirming him as Raja of Jammu on some specified conditions like payment of 'nazrana' etc.[7]

Ranjit Dev

After Dhruv Dev's death in A.D. 1735, his son Ranjit Dev succeeded to the throne. But soon after, he fell in the estimation of Zakarya Khan, the Mughal Governor of the Punjab. As a consequence, Ranjit Dev was taken to Lahore and was interned there for 12 years. After his release, however, he was reinstated as Raja of Kashmir and the Punjab region. On the throne, Ranjit Dev soon proved his intrinsic worth as a just, honest, efficient and a courageous ruler. In a short time, from a limited jurisdiction, he extended his lordship over a number of feudatory chiefs of such places as Akhnoor, Dalputpur, Kiramchi and Jasrote. All the outer-hill tract chiefs also, who governed their own subjects, paid tribute to them and did military service for their liege of Jammu.

The fame about Ranjit Dev's benevolent rule spread in and outside his state territories. Now many persons of substance began to come and settle in Jammu. One of the queens of Emperor Muhammad Shah did not think it safe of go to Shahjahanabad in the Punjab because of the anarchy of the

6 Hutchison and Vogel, *History of Punjab, Hill State*, p. 540—quoted.
7 Document No. 1, State Archives Repository, Jammu—quoted.

Sikhs there. She had full faith in Ranjit Dev's protective rule and therefore preferred to come to Jammu where she took shelter. Here she was treated with all consideration. All these things brought splendour and prosperity to the city of Jammu.

Sukhjiwan's Escapades

During the reign of the Afghan king, Ahmad Shah Abdali, Raja Sukhjiwan was deputed as Governor of Kashmir. Here, however, he declared his independence from the Abdali over lordship. So Raja Ranjit Dev was called to Lahore and requested to conquer Kashmir and cut down Sukhjiwan to size. He accepted this and sent his son Brijraj Dev with some force to Kashmir for this purpose. Hearing this Sukhjiwan lost his nerve and, before Brijraj Dev reached Kashmir, he fled from the camp and Brijraj got a walk over. For this service, Ranjit Dev was rewarded by the Shah. All the Rajas of the mountain region were now made his tributaries.

Brijraj Dev

Raja Ranjit Dev died in A.D. 1782. After him this dynasty did not produce any competent ruler who could safeguard their kingdom. He left two sons from his two wives. Brijraj from the one and Mian Dalel Singh from the other. There was, however, no love lost between these two step-brothers. Brijraj was incompetent and full of many defects. He succeeded to the throne of his father. Now he tried to get Dalel Singh and his sons assassinated and tried to lure Mian Zorawar Singh (Gulab Singh's grandfather) into perpetrating this heinous act. Zorawar, however, declined the offer and did not oblige Brij Raj. But Mian Mota, the younger brother of Zorawar Singh, succumbed to the temptation. He got Dalel Singh and his son Bhagwan Singh, murdered but Dalel Singh's younger son ran away and thus escaped death. As a compensation for this Mian Mota was granted the *Jagir* of Dansal.

The Nemises

After ruling for a brief period of five years only, Brij Raj also was killed by Sardar Mohan Singh (Maharaja Ranjit Singh's father). His wife became a 'Sati'. There was now considerable confusion and chaos in the kingdom which consequently lost its cohesive force. The story of Ranjit Dev and his descendents ends here.

Gulab Singh's Ancestors and Brothers

Mian Surat Dev was one of Ranjit Dev's younger brothers. He had three sons—Zorawar Singh, Mian Mota and Dhulla Bhoola. Kishen Singh was born of Zorawar Singh. From Kishen Singh were born Gulab Singh (1792 A.D.), Dhian Singh (1796 A.D.) and Suchet Singh (1801 A.D.)

Raja Dhian Singh initially obtained a job on Rs. 60 p.m. in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's court. Later on, due to his efficiency, loyalty and hard work, he rose to the influential position of the 'Deodiwalla' (Chief door-keeper) and later on was declared to be the Raja of Bhimber and Poonch, and the First Minister of the State. Unfortunately he was stabbed and killed at the age of forty-seven. Raja Suchet Singh was the youngest and the handsomest of Kishen Singh's three sons, and one of the most polished courtiers in Lahore Darbar. He was made Raja of Baudretta and Samba in A.D. 1822. He also was killed on March 29, A.D. 1848.

III

MAHARAJA GULAB SINGH

Early predictions about him

Gulab Singh was born in A.D. 1792. It is stated in *Galab-Nama* that some time before his birth, an ascetic named Pata of Utter-Behni (north of Jammu) had forecast that "three stars of the firmament; valour, compassion and generosity will shine over Jammu in one constellation, and the most exalted of these will bring under his sway most of these regions and Utterbehni will become celebrated and reconstructed by his grace".

An almost similar prediction about Gulab Singh had been made by Pandit Mansa Ram Razdhan, one of the greatest saints of Kashmir. Saint Razdhan had left Kashmir and used to roam about and sojourn in Chenani and other places in Jammu, revealing many mysteries there. Numerous people from all around had received his blessings. One Achhru was an attendant of Gulab Singh when he was only a baby. One day this man took the baby in his arms to Saint Razdhan. He read Gulab Singh's forehead and predicted a very bright future for him saying that Destiny had entrusted some miraculous deeds to be performed by him.

Both these predictions came true as can be judged from the eventful career of Gulab Singh, narration of which follows.

Childhood

Early in his childhood, Gulab Singh was sent to live with his grandfather, Zorawar Singh, a stern old warrior. He was not given much literary education, but received training in all manly arts. When young, Gulab Singh and his younger brother Dhian Singh went to Maharaja Ranjit Singh's court at Lahore to push their way up as soldiers of the future.

Service in the Sikh Army

Gulab Singh accepted the service as a 'Sawar' or trooper in the army under Jamadar Khushial Singh, a trained servant of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In the year A.D. 1808, the Sikh army attacked Jammu under orders of their Maharaja. Gulab Singh also was included in that army. "There is a tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune". How true this Shakespearen rhetoric proved true in his case. It was here that Gulab Singh found an opportunity to distinguish himself and turn the tide in his favour. In a hand-to-hand fight at Jammu, he greatly impressed his Commander Bhai Hukum Singh. This Officer, therefore, spoke high of Gulab Singh's prowess and other soldierly qualities to Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

The former thus rose in the estimation of the Maharaja. Thereafter Gulab Singh made a name at Lahore for his chivalry and bravery. He was exalted to the position of a Commander of twenty-two horsemen and was also granted a *Jagir* of three villages.

Conquest of Kashmir

Maharaja Ranjit Singh, under whom Sikh power reached its apogee, had a keen ambition to conquer and possess Kashmir. Having complete confidence in Gulab Singh the Maharaja felt that he (Gulab Singh) alone could deliver goods and accomplish this great task.

Birbal Dhar

In the meantime politics in Kashmir where the people had been fed up with their Pathan rulers, took a strange turn favourable to the Maharaja. The Pathan rule in Kashmir had become intolerably oppressive, and people were groaning. Things could not, however, simmer indefinitely. The boiling point came at last. Pandit Birbal Dhar, the 'ijaradar' of Deosar (Kashmir) took the lead in this part of the drama. He ran away from his prison and taking his son Rajakak with him, left Srinagar on horseback *via* Banihal pass with the intention of contacting Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore and invoking his help to rid Kashmir of the Pathan rule. At Jammu, Birbal and his son met Gulab Singh. He gave them a letter of introduction to some authority in Lahore which helped them to obtainaccess to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Pandit Birbal assured the Maharaja of his success in the Kashmir expedition keeping his son Rajakak as hostage. Thereupon the Maharaja deputed Gulab Singh and Birbal Dhar with a force to conquer Kashmir. They gave a tough fight to the Pathan Governor and finally won a glorious victory. The rule of the Sikhs was thus established in Kashmir in A.D. 1812 and it marked the end of the tyrannical Pathan rule.

Conquest of Kishtwar

In A.D. 1820, Gulab Singh moved his troops towards Kishtwar and by diplomatic tactics etc., subdued the Raja there and forced him to go to Lahore.

Mian Dido

Dido was a brave Dogra Rajput of Jammu clan, living in a village somewhere in the north of Jammu. He was a patriot and his blood could not brook the overlordship of the Sikhs in this State. He rebelled against it. As his *modus operandi*, he took to cold-blooded high way robbery to perplex the Sikhs. This created panic in the Khalsa army and their grandies at Jammu. An anecdote about Mian Dido, that finally became the cause of his discomfiture and death may be related here. One day a 'dali' containing dry and fresh fruits was despatched to the 'Sarkar' by Birbal Dhar from Kashmir. While on its way to Lahore the 'dali' was intercepted by Mian Dido somewhere near Jammu. The fruits in it were replaced by cow-dung-cakes and filth before it was permitted to be carried onwards to its destination. The 'dali' reached Lahore where its contents were examined. This infuriated the 'Sarkar' and upon inquiry it revealed that Mian Dido was the author of this insulting mischief. Against such provocation nobody could expect the Maharaja to turn the other cheek. He issued orders for the immediate suppression of the rebellion and due action against Dido. Gulab Singh volunteered to accomplish that. On this Maharaja Ranjit Singh got highly pleased with Gulab Singh so much so that he brought down the shawl from his shoulders and bestowed it to him. Gulab Singh went with some force and after considerable effort overpowered and killed Mian Dido.

Asghar Khan's Defeat

The Raja of Rajouri, Asghar Khan, did not behave properly with the nobles and betrayed a tendency to flout the Lahore overlordship. Gulab Singh was sent to Rajouri to cut the Raja down to size and prevent any recrudescence of this misbehaviour.

Asghar Khan was arrested and imprisoned by Gulab Singh in May 1820 A.D. For this service "the family obtained in Jagir, the principality of Jammu with which they had long been connected". (S.M. Latif, *History of the Punjab*, p. 421—quoted.)

Coronation as Raja of Jammu

In recognition of his perpetual loyal and meritorious services Maharaja Ranjit Singh decided to install Mian Gulab Singh on the throne of Jammu so that the management of the land was carried on properly and the formality of the appreciation of his services expressed in an appropriate manner. In June 1822 A.D. the Maharaja came to Akhnoor. Gulab Singh also was summoned to come there on 17th June A.D. 1822, the Maharaja put on a shining saffron mark (*Tilak*) himself on Gulab Singh's forehead. It is said that this mark was put upside down. When someone among those present on the occasion wanted to know the cause of this departure from the customary practice of putting on the 'Tilak' upwards the Maharaja replied, "I have planted the roots of this tree in the soil, so that it flourishes and lasts till eternity". Gulab Singh thus became the Raja of Jammu and was allowed to keep an army of his own.

Fortune Favours Gulab Singh

From early 19th century Gulab Singh's luck was in ascendence. In the next ten or fifteen years all the Outer Hill region and some of the mountain tract had become completely subject either to him or to his brothers with whom he acted in concert. He then turned his attention to wider fields. In the years from 1834 to 1841, his lieutenant Zorawar Singh, effected the conquest of Ladakh and Baltistan. Fortune still favoured Gulab Singh; by the death of his brother Suchet Singh the principality of Ramnagar fell to him. There was now only one country left which he much coveted; that country was Kashmir, and the events of the winter of 1845-46 ended in its acquisition as we shall see next.

Conquest of Samartah

In A.D. 1824, Samartah fort (somewhere near Chamba) was conquered by Gulab Singh. In this expedition he was accompanied by Mian Bishen Singh and Labh Singh. Bishen Singh was installed as Thanedar of Samartah before Gulab Singh returned to Jammu.

Position in A.D. 1839

Raja Gulab Singh now rose from strength to strength. By A.D. 1839 he became the largest farmer of the Lahore State. Besides owning the Jammu Raj, he governed a vast territory of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's kingdom. His possessions were vast and his power almost equal to that of the ruler of the Punjab. He was virtually supreme in all the northern territories that had been conquered in the time of Ranjit Dev. (G.A. Henery, through the Sikh war, p. 85).

Hari Singh Nalwa

Starting his career as a common 'Khidmetgar' (personal attendant), this man by his enterprising disposition rose, step by step to the position of Governor of Kashmir and Attock. About this man it is said that he was once seized by a tiger as a prey, but he cloved the head of this ferocious beast and thus saved his own life. For such bravery Hari Singh had gained the appellation of Nalwa. In A.D. 1837 the Afghan ruler's son Wazir Mohammad Akbar, opened hostilities and attacked the fort of Jamrud (Peshawar). Hari Singh Nalwa confronted the Afghan prince but was killed. Raja Gulab Singh and Prime Minister Dhian Singh, however, rendered remarkable service in this battle and subdued the enemy.

Ranjit Singh's Death and After

Maharaja Ranjit Singh died on June 27, A.D. 1839. His eldest son Raja Kharak Singh succeeded him. This man, however, besides being an imbecile, was a man of base ambitions and vile

nature. He was eventually got killed on Nov. 5, 1840 by his own nobles whom he had offended before.

The Sad Event After the Funeral Rites

On the day of his death, Kharak Singh's funeral rites were performed by his son Kanwar Nihal Singh. Raja Dhian Singh and Mian Udham Singh (Gulab Singh's brother and eldest son respectively) were also present at the cremation. After the obsequies were over, the party left the place. But bad luck awaited them at the entrance of their destination. The gateway of the portal suddenly crashed as soon as these three men passed through it. The battlements of the gate fell down resulting in the death of Naunihal and Udham Singh. The third man Mian Dhian Singh, however, luckily escaped with only some minor injury. Obviously the fall of the archery was accidental, but some writers have stated that Raja Gulab Singh had a hand in it as he wanted to kill Naunihal the only heir to the Lahore throne. Gulab Singh was, however, terribly shocked by the sudden death of Udham Singh, his eldest son. The circumstantial evidence goes a long way to exonerate him from the above allegation.

Chand Kaur becomes the Regent

Contrary to Raja Dhian Singh's wish and expectations, the Sindanwalia Sardars brought in Maharani Chand Kaur (widow of Maharaja Kharak Singh, and mother of Naunihal) as the claimant for the Lahore throne and declared her as the Regent on the ground that she was pregnant. Next to her, Sher Singh was made vice-Regent and President of the Council of Chiefs. Neither Raja Gulab Singh nor Jamadar Khushial Singh was nominated for this Council. This arrangement did not prove workable. It created a rift between Dhian Singh and Chand Kaur. Sher Singh also revolted and took up arms against Maharani Chand Kaur. Raja Gulab Singh, however, chose to side with her, and, helped by some other chiefs, prepared for the defence. A fierce battle began at Sammar fort. Raja Dhian Singh now mediated and brought about a truce between the

Maharani and Sher Singh. In the compromise, Raja Gulab Singh was recognised as guardian of Maharani Chand Kaur.

Gulab Singh helps the British

In A.D. 1841 the British army was in great trouble in Afghanistan. The garrison at Jalalabad was being besieged. The British needed the cooperation of the Sikhs which included their keeping away from any activity undesirable from the British point of view, before they could tide over their predicament.

By virtue of his position and strength, Raja Gulab Singh was the person who could render help to the British in their hour of need. Accordingly the task of extending all possible cooperation in this connection to the British was assigned to Gulab Singh by the Lahore Government. In compliance with these orders Gulab Singh moved his troops towards Peshawar. Here he used his diplomatic tact. Khalsa army Chiefs were contacted by him and the Khalsa soldiery were thus kept in abeyance from resorting to any anti-British design. For all this, Raja Gulab Singh earned the gratitude of the British. They wrote to him "we heard from the Chief of our army how wisely you planned for the help of our troops and how kindly you rendered this to them...we shall never forget it".[8]

Gulab Singh's Madiation

Later on, the estranged relations between the Sikhs and the British came to the surface, culminating in a war (battle of Sobraon) between the two. In that, the Sikhs were driven back across the Sutlej river, and the British forces entered the Punjab territory. Kashmir (which in A.D. 1819 had been conquered by the Sikhs from the Afghans) was detached from the Sikh territories by the British. Its charge was given to Raja of Jammu now. The Sikh soldiers looked upon Gulab Singh as their leader. They gave him a *carte blanche* to negotiate with the British. From the British side Mr. Carrie and Sir Henery

8. K.M. Pannikar, *Galab Singh.*

Lawrence accompanying the British army. They dangled a bait before Raja Gulab Singh to induce him not to press on much resistance and dispute for the Lahore Darbar. The Governor General offered to exclude Kohistan territory from Lahore Kingdom for him (Gulab Singh) and to confer on him the title of Maharaja. Gulab Singh was thus lured into accepting the British proposal. In his mediatory role he succeeded in bringing about a treaty between the two governments at Lahore on 9th March 1846. This was much humiliating for the Sikhs.

The Lahore Treaty

This Treaty recognised Maharaja Dhuleep Singh as ruler but required that the country between Beas and Sutlej should be handed over to the British and that £ 15,00,000 sterling should be paid as indemnity to the British. The Lahore Darbar, being in an impecunious state, was unable to pay that much cash. So in its stead they ceded the hill territories between Beas and Indus including Kashmir and Hazara. Lord Hardinge was reluctant to occupy the whole of his area for certain political and administrative reasons. Besides he wanted to weaken the Punjabis by strengthening the friendly Dogras. So a direct and express offer of an independent hill sovereignty was made to Gulab Singh by Lord Hardinge. By this the latter completely succeeded in alienating Raja Gulab Singh from the interests of the Khalsa. He too used his diplomatic skill in wrenching out of the British authorities his heart's desire. The British were conscious of Gulab Singh's power and influence at that time. He could have "brought forty thousand men by a sign of his finger" (Hugh Pears, *Life of Henery Lawrenae*, p. 260—quoted in *Gulab Nama*, p. 316).

The Amritsar Treaty

So a line was drawn at the Chakku river and the area except Kulu, Mandi, Nurpur and Kangra (which were beyond the Beas was sold to Maharaja Gulab Singh for seventy-five lakhs of rupees. To legalise this another treaty known as the Amritsar Treaty (Appendix 'A') was entered into only seven days after the

Lahore Treaty between Gulab Singh and the British authorities. Under this the former was recognized as Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

This was beyond the expectations of Raja Gulab Singh though his immediate reaction was not that of joy. The Dogra who had only hoped to be the Chief Minister of a truncated Punjab, became, instead, the Maharaja of a state about the size of Italy. "Thus the 'richi' as he was known amongst the people, got the best honey out of the Darbar's honey-comb." (Khushwant Singh, *The fall of the Kingdom of the Punjab*, pp. 116-117—quoted).

Redemarcation of the Boundary

It has been the subject of remark by some that the words in the Treaty of Amritsar namely "the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies situated eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi" cannot be made to include Gilgit which indeed is on the north of Indus. However, after some time a "Commission was sent by the British Government which laid down a portion of the boundary, and by the Commission both Ladakh and Gilgit were recognised as part of the countries handed over to Maharaja Gulab Singh" (Fredrick Drew, *Territories of Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 439).

The British Regret Over the Sale

Some Britishers regretted the sale of Kashmir to the Dogra chief and Lord Hardinge was severely criticized for the ignoble deed with Gulab Singh.

British help in Kashmir take-over

Maharaja Gulab Singh's entry into Kashmir did not, however, prove an easy walk-over. For on his entry into the Kashmir territory the then Governor of Kashmir, Sheikh Imam Din took up arms to oppose this entry. The British, however, assisted the Maharaja in taking possession of Kashmir. Maharaja Gulab Singh thus entered the valley on November 9, 1846 A.D. Nathu Shah was posted by him to be incharge of the frontier

territories, Chilas, Gilgit etc. as these were understood to have been acquired under the Amritsar Treaty.

Gulab Singh-British Relations

Maharaja Gulab Singh thereafter remained a loyal friend of the British and extended all possible cooperation to them. On the outbreak of India's first war of independence (known as the Mutiny of 1857) he chose to side with the British and helped him with men, money and material. He moved a part of the State troops to help the British in the siege of Delhi.

Deft Handling of Administration etc.

As an administrator Maharaja Gulab Singh was better than most of those of his own time and neighbourhood. He knew how to govern a country in the sense of making his authority respected all through it. His own immediate subjects had become somewhat lawless; robbing and murder were common. It is said that at that time a cap or a 'Pagri' that a traveller might wear was enough for a temptation to plunder and violence. With a firm hand Gulab Singh put this down and brought the country to such a state of quiet and security as made it at that moment in that respect a pattern. Ambitious and avaricious, the young Raja ruled to subjects with a rod of iron and extended his power over all the petty independent chiefs of the neighbouring states and reduced the political importance of the feudal chiefs around him. The unlawful elements like robbers, murderers and crooks quivered at the drop of Gulab Singh's name. The tendency of his Government was always towards centralization. He was a man of stronger character than most of the rulers that had preceded him.

It is said that Maharaja Gulab Singh was rather unscrupulous as to the means of attaining his objects and in the pursuit of them. In this he sometimes came down to cruelty also. But he was not wantonly cruel. Besides, Gulab Singh had some qualities which mitigated the effect of an administration worked on the above principle. He was always accessible and was patient and ready to listen to complaints. He was much given

to looking into details, so that the smallest thing might be brought before him and have his consideration. With the customary offering of a rupee as, 'nazar' anyone could get his ear. Even in a crowd one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out "Maharaja araz hai", i.e., "Maharaja a petition". He would pounce down like a hawk on the money, and having appropriated it, would patiently hear out the petition. Once a man, after this fashion submitted a petition. But when the Maharaja stretched out his hand and was about to take the rupee, the petitioner closed his hand on the coin and said "No first hear what I have to say". Even this did not go beyond Gulab Singh's patience. He waited till the fellow had told his tale and opened his hand; then taking the money he gave necessary orders about the case.

Cunningham's Estimate of Gulab Singh

In his book, *History of Sikhs*, p. 332, Alexander Cunningham says, "In the course of this history there has more than once been occasion to allude to the unscrupulous character of Raja Gulab Singh; but it must not therefore be supposed that he is a man malevolently evil. He will indeed, deceive an enemy and take his life without hesitation, and in the accumulation of money he will exercise many oppressions, but he must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race and to the necessities of his position. If these allowances be made, Gulab Singh will be found an able and moderate man, who does little in an idle or wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humour and generosity of temper." (Ferguson).

The Last Days

Maharaja Gulab Singh led a saintly private life. In his advanced years he was afflicted with diabetes. From A.D. 1856 the disease took a bad turn which made inroads into his stamina. He could not now work as assiduously as he used to previously. For this reason he decided to entrust the administration of this State to his only surviving son Ranbir Singh. Himself he became almost an anchorite.

The End

Mian Ranbir Singh was, accordingly, formally installed on the 'Gaddi' in A.D. 1856. For his pastime Gulab Singh contended himself with the position of Governor of Kashmir. He died in A.D. 1857 at Srinagar and was cremated at Rambagh there. Here thus ends the story of this highly controversial figure. His was the case of a man in 19th century India, who, beginning from a humble position conquered kingdoms and established himself as a Sovereign. He rose to be the founder of the Dogra dynasty of the State of Kashmir. Through his commander, Zorawar Singh, he conquered Ladakh and for the first time in India's long history, made it a part of the sub-continent.

Three generations of Maharajas of the state followed Gulab Singh up to A.D. 1947. They were Maharajas Ranbir Singh, Partap Singh and Hari Singh.

9

Jammu with its Peripheral Towns

Jammu province has considerably developed now (1978). It comprises 6 districts: Doda, Udhampur, Jammu, Kathua, Rajouri and Poonch, with some other minor towns. A brief description of some of these towns is given below:

Jammu

Jammu (1030 ft.) on river Tawi is the winter capital of this State. It is a big trading centre and is also the gateway to the interior through the mountains that surround it. The National Highway leading to Kashmir and to the Frontier Province also passes through Jammu.

Temple, Tirathas and Towns: Because of the existence of numerous temples there, the city of Jammu is known as the city of temples also. Among these Ragho Nath Mandir in the centre of the city is the biggest. Its foundation was laid by Maharaja Gulab Singh in A.D. 1851. Fourteen other smaller temples have been constructed around it. The main contribution to the building of most of the Jammu temples has been that of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The Ragho Nath Sanskrit Library in the Ragho Nath Temple precincts is a vast storehouse containing thousands of rare ancient manuscripts. Some other holy

places of All India fame also exist in the province of Jammu.

Vashno Devi Caves

These exist on the Kuya mountains at an altitude of 5000 ft. Throughout the year thousands of pilgrims from all over India visit this holy place to pay homage to Goddess Vashno Devi with great reverence.

Purmandal

Twenty-four miles east of Jammu lie the imposing temples of Purmandal nestling in the Shivaliks. These temples have been built on a rock. The most sacred Devak stream flows at the base of this rock. Besides, a hooded stone serpent jutting out of a cistern in the rock in the central shrine is an object of religious attraction as it is believed to be the only manifestation of Lord Shiva of that kind anywhere. Another mystifying pheno menon for the devotees at Purmandal is that "the cistern remains only half-filled with water though thousands devotees go on pouring water in it over the hood of the snake as a ritual."[1]

Jhiri

Sixteen miles to the west of Jammu city lies Kalyanpur. Here the famous Jhiri fare is held annually on Kartik Purnima, in memory of Bawa Jito who sacrificed his life about five hundred years ago fighting the tyrannies of a feudal system. It is said when Bawa Jito died his daughter also burnt herself alive on the pyre of her father. After this a religious sanctity to this place as also some mystical episodes got attached to it. On Bawa Jito's anniversary every year thousands of people collect at his Samadhi. They perform Jatru, i.e., moving their heads from side to side in a frenzied manner to the accompaniment of beating of drums. This is done in the belief that they

1. Surj Saraf, *Jammu Darshan*. p. 15.

would get rid of the evil spirits bedevilling their lives with various sufferings.

Udhampur

The District of Udhampur is an elongated area extending from the Jammu Sivaliks in the south to the middle Himalayas in the north with Kulgam tehsil (Kashmir across) the mountains. The District of Doda lies to its east and the District of Poonch to its west. There are three tehsils in this District: Udhampur, Ramnagar and Reasi. The town of Udhampur in the innermost dun (2400 ft.), about 40 miles north of Jammu, was founded by Mian Udham Singh the eldest son of Maharaja Gulab Singh. The opening of Dar-Udhampur road which, bypassing Jammu, meets the main National Highway near Kathua, has added to the political importance of this area. It has also brought considerable prosperity to Udhampur.

Ramnagar

This town is situated at a few miles south of Udhampur. It has been built on a small triangular plateau (2700 ft.) in A.D. 1822. Raja Suchet Singh was awarded this town as Jagir by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in A.D. 1822. After the death of Suchet Singh the principality of Ramnagar fell to Gulab Singh. A great collection of murals in Pahari style are found in the Rang Mahal Palace there.

Reasi

This is an important town in Udhampur district. In A.D. 1815 this was awarded by Maharaja Ranjit Singh to Mian Dewan Singh, who was an enemy of Gulab Singh. The latter therefore disliked this award. One day when Dewan Singh was away in the plains, Gulab Singh forestalled him and took possession of the area, putting Zorawar Singh Kalhoria in charge of its defence.

Doda

It is a small town and is the headquarters of the Doda district. It is now the largest district (area 4380 sq. miles) in the State. This region has an advantageous position, being the intermediate zone between the valley of Kashmir in the north and the province of Jammu in the south. The tehsils of Bhadrawah, Kishtwar and Ramban form parts of this district.

Bhadrawah

This town is mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* as Bhadravakash. It is situated in the inner mountains, to the north of Balour and Basohli in the valley of Nira, a territory of the Chenab river. (*Rajatarangini* VIII-501). Maharaja Ranjit Singh conferred the title of the Raja of Bhadrawah on Mian Suchet Singh (Raja Gulab Singh's brother). Padar, in this area, is known for its rich sapphire mines.

Kishtwar

This town is situated at a height of 5400 ft. above sea level, in the east of Batote. River Chenab coming from Padar takes a bend here, when the Marwa (Wadwon) river joins it. According to tradition Kishtwar was originally a huge forest and known as Samratah-Garh. Many types of carnivorous animals like tigers, wolves etc., lived in it. Once, as a result of some seismic or cataclysmic shocks, the earth under it cracked. From these cracks water came out which in course of time submerged the whole area and turned it into a lake. That lake took the name of Gabarvansar. But its existence as a lake did not last long. For, some time after another seismic shock cracked the mountains below Kishtwar near Tathri, which created a big gap. Through that crack the water of Gabarvansar found an outlet. By this natural drainage of water the lake dried up and it ultimately turned into a habitable dry land. A great saint, Shri Paul came to live in this place, and, for the performance of his austerities, built a temple there. Gradually other common people also got attracted and came to live in this place

till it developed into a town—Mahakalgarh. Shri Paul somehow got disgusted with the behaviour of the inhabitants there. Accordingly, he left the town which now began to become desolate. Subsequently, however, a Brahmin named Ahang Pat, came and settled in this place along with his family. This place sprang back to life, the family multiplied and became prosperous. All this became unbearable to the people living in the region bordering Kashmir. They came, conquered and finally liquidated Ahang-Pat tribe. The five Pandavas of Mahabharata fame are said to have reached this place, probably during their exile. "One of them, Bhim Sen, constructed the Nila Kantha temple there. By divine power he brought Gupta Ganga which produced water for this arid land" (Hashmat Ullah Khan.)

The people who came from Kashmir side as conquerors got divided into two groups. One of these settled in Zevda, a place below Mahakalgarh. That place later on came to be known as Kishtwar. Kahan Paul, a Suryavanshi Rajput came from Ujjain, overpowered the locals and became the Raja of Kishtwar (A.D. 470-500). His descendents ruled till the sixteenth century. Jahangir subdued Kishtwar and turned it into a tributary of the Mughal Empire. Many rulers followed. One of them was Raja Jai Singh (1656-1664). He came under the influence of a Muslim theologian and embraced Islam and was named Bakhtiar Khan. His son Kirat Singh also became a Muslim during Aurangzeb's time. The Emperor conferred on him the title of Sadatyar Khan.

After the Mughals and the Afghans, Kishtwar came under the Sikh rule in A.D. 1820. Raja Gulab Singh now found an opportunity. He took possession of Kishtwar in A.D. 1821 defeating Raja Tej Singh there. The Prime Minister of Kishtwar, Wazir Lakhpat was taken into service in the State. This was Gulab Singh's first independent province.

Kathua

The District of Kathua is the extreme south of the State adjoining West Punjab. It has three tehsils: Kathua, Hiranagar and Basohli. Kathua town is the District headquarters. It has

now developed into a very important industrial and commercial centre. The recently built Jammu-Pathankot branch-railway line passes through this town.

Basohli

This place was once the seat of Rajaships. According to legend, Basohli was found by Vishvakarma, the master artist of the scriptures. This place has given birth to the famous art of Pahari miniatures which later on found pride of place in international museums and art gallaries. Raja Kripal Paul (1678-1693) was a great patron of this art.

Poonch

Poonch is situated in the south-west of the State between the Pir Panjal Range and the Jhelum river. It is contiguous to the district of Rajouri and the Pakistan-occupied territory of the State.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had granted the Jagir of Poonch region to Raja Dhian Singh, as a special favour. Subsequently this principality became the seat of Raja Moti Singh who was succeeded by his son Raja Jagat Dev Singh. Of the three sons of Maharaja Ranbir Singh; Maharaja Partap Singh and Raja Ram Singh had no living male issue. But Raja Amar Singh was gifted with one son, Mian Hari Singh. It was, therefore, obvious that the latter would succeed to the 'Gaddi' of the Jammu and Kashmir State, after Maharaja Partap Singh's death. To this view Partap Singh never showed any reluctance. But since he was an extremely orthodox type of a person, he wanted someone to perform his obsequies and other religious ceremonies after his death. With this view he adopted Raja Jagat Dev Singh of Poonch as his son. Raja Amar Singh suspected, behind all this, an intrigue to deprive Raja Hari Singh of succession to the throne of the State. Maharaja Partap Singh tried his best to convince his brother of the real motive of adopting Raja Jagat Dev Singh as his son. This, however, did not carry conviction with Amar Singh, and till his death his relations with Partap Singh remained estranged.

After Partap Singh's death, Raja Hari Singh became the Maharaja of the State. Soon after his accession he amalgamated Poonch with the State. Raja Jagat Singh had therefore to leave the place over which he had ruled for some time.

Till A D. 1947, a fair-weather road from Uri over the Haji-Pir Pass (8600 ft.) connected Poonch with the Srinagar-Domel road, and it was considered to be the main access to it. Another fair-weather road led into Poonch from Jammu via Akhnoor, Naushera, Jhangar and Kotli. From Pakistan side access to the Poonch area was by means of two foot-bridges, one just west of Palandari and the other to the south-east at Lachhman Pattan, and four ferries.

The inhabitants of Poonch district were predominantly Muslims. From mid-1946 onwards they were known to have established links with the Muslim League in Rawalpindi etc. Disaffection among the Poonch Muslims had been rife for many years because of bad administration and some unnecessary taxes etc.

Bagh (3400 ft.) is a picturesque township situated on the right bank of the Mahl river. Its population of about 5000 consisted mainly of Hindus and Sikhs, while the surrounding area was populated predominantly by Muslims.

The enemy hostilities from Poonch side had begun early in October 1946. Since mid-October the J & K piquets around Bagh had been under constant attack by local armed bands. They had been completely isolated so-much-so that no movement could take place in or out of Bagh. They expected help from nearby Chakothi, but this did not become possible. After 28th October pressure on the outposts and piquets increased considerably and ammunition began to run short. Finally on 7th November 1946 the town of Bagh had to be abandoned. The next morning the column was in Poonch. The towns of Rawalakot, Palandhri also fell to the enemy.

The heroic defence of Poonch began now and it lasted for 16 months. Everywhere else the war was being fought mainly by the Indian Army troops; only at Poonch did the garrison consist of predominantly State forces. Poonch was saved for the Indian Union and its thousands of inhabitants spared the

fate that befell the unfortunate people of the western villages and townships.

Rajouri

This town stands at a height of 3000 ft. above the sea level, 76 miles north-west of Jammu on the old Imperial route (known as Mughal road) leading from Jammu to the Province of Kashmir via Pir Panchal Pass. In the 10th century onwards it had been independent. Albiruni describes exactly the position of 'Rajawari' and speaks of it as the farthest place to which Muhammadan merchants in his time traded (*India*, p. 208). During the Mughal rule, the rulers of Rajouri had embraced Islam. This town has considerably developed now and it is the headquarters of the Rajouri district.

Akhnoor

About 15 miles east of Jammu on the Jammu-Rajouri road comes the town of Akhnoor. Here the Chenab river debouches into the plains. The fort at Akhnoor was built at the end of the 18th century by Mian Tej Singh. From here a canal (Ranbir canal) has been tapped off from the Chenab to irrigate some parts of Jammu.

PART III

FRONTIER PROVINCE

10

The Frontier Province

PROLOGUE

The Frontier Province of the Jammu & Kashmir State, where "Three Empires meet," is situated across the Himalayas with the Karakoram and Eastern Deosai mountains on its north; Tibet on the east; the Valley of Jammu and Kashmir on its south and Yagistan and Chitral on its west. Its three divisions namely: (i) Ladakh, (ii) Baltistan and (iii) Dardistans with their respective sub-divisions are very important politically and otherwise. Ladakh is the largest tract (70%) of the country, and one of the most elevated regions of the world with an average height of about 12,000 feet above the sea level. The importance of Ladakh lies in the fact that it has, for centuries, been a seat of Buddhist culture and a respository of Buddhist scriptures. Its geographical position also makes it important from commercial and political points of view. Originally the great road for merchants from Hindustan lay via Zanskar etc., to Ladakh. Another approach to Ladakh from Chamba was by Burmawar, Lahul, to Chu-Chat—as that part of the valley of the Indus a little above the town of Leh, was called. The way to Ladakh from the Punjab and vice versa passed through Basohli, Bhadrawah, Doda, Kishtwar etc. Ladakh can also be

reached via Kulu, Simla etc., on the Himalayas. Many a traveller to Kashmir came and returned from these routes and Ladakh assumed the name of 'Gateway to India'. It was for this reason that Ladakh, in spite of Radcliff award, became politically most important to India after the 1947 partition when East Punjab was awarded to Pakistan and the conventional road to East Punjab was blocked owing to post-partition Indo-Pak bickerings. After 1834 when General Zorawar Singh conquered it, Ladakh lost its independent character. Since then it quietly submitted to the conquerors till 1947 when India achieved independence and the entire province of Ladakh in the Jammu & Kashmir State became an integral part of India, *de jure* and *de facto*.

Baltistan, the flower garden of the Frontier with its capital Askardu, known for its luscious fruit and fertile land, lies in the neighbourhood of Ladakh. We shall read of the marvelous defence of this country by its ruler Ahmad Shah against the attack of Zorawar's forces in inclement weather resulting in great loss to the Dogras. As against this it will be seen how, Basti Ram of the Sikh/Dogra forces, by his undaunted spirit and heroism turned the tables against the Baltis and won a Pyrrhic victory over them. Not satisfied by capturing Baltistan, General Zorawar Singh, overpowered by ambition, proceeded forward towards Tibet. But nemesis caught him and he was killed by the Lhasa army.

The Gilgit story is much fascinating. Here we have a naked picture of the clandestine intrigue of the British to snatch Gilgit from the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir; to safeguard their own interests and how this great secret got leaked out through the good offices of *Amrit Bazar Patrika* exposing the British to the gaze of the whole world.

PHYSIOGRAPHICAL

This part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is situated across the Himalayas with the Karakoram and Eastern Deosai mountains on its north; Tibet on the east; the valley of Kashmir, and Jammu on its south and Yagistan and Chitral on its west. River Indus flows through it. It comprises the three main

divisions: (i) Ladakh, (ii) Baltistan and (iii) Dardistan, with their respective sub-divisions as detailed below.[1]

I

LADAKH

Geographical

Ladakh, the largest tract of the country, lies to the east of Kashmir valley. The Karakoram ranges form its northern boundary. To the south lies the Ladakh range and further south the Zanskar range. In between the two, flows river Indus. To the east and the south-east are the Chinese districts of Rodok and Chumati; and to the south are the districts of Lahul and Spiti. To the west lie Kashmir and Balti. The greatest extent is from the north-west to south-east, from the head of the Dras river in longitude 75°.30, to Chibra, on the Indus in longitude 70°.10, a distance of 240 miles. Its greatest breadth is 200 miles from the Karakoram pass, in the north latitude 35°.10 to the Rotang pass in Lahul, in latitude 32°.25. Its main length is 200 miles, and its main breadth 150 miles. The river Shyok with its tributaries drains the northern part of this region. This river flows parallel to Indus across the Khudung La pass (17,000 ft.) and finally joins that river. To the south-west of Leh the high mountain ranges of Zanskar rise to 21,477 ft. at Chalung and 23410 ft. at Nankun, and so on.

Climate

The joint effect of elevation and of isolation amidst snowy mountains produce a singular climate. Burning heat by day is succeeded by piercing cold at night, and everything is parched by the extreme dryness of the air. Almost no rainfalls there and snow is but little.

1 The territories in Baltistan and Dardistan that went to Pakistan in 1947-48 and in Ladakh, taken subsequently by China in 1962, have not been taken into account in detail (See body of this Book).

Administrative Divisions

Ladakh has six sub-divisions: Rakshak, Zanskar, Nobra, Leh, Drass and Kargil. Leh, the largest town in the area and situated at a height of 11,555 ft. above the sea level, is the capital of Ladakh. Its different valleys lie along the head-waters of the Indus, the Sutlej and the Chenab.

Approach from Srinagar

From Srinagar the route to Leh (243 miles) passes through Sindh Valley and the Zojila pass (11,300 ft.) on to the tableland of Ladakh. This route takes a southerly direction towards Kargil etc.

Religion

Ladakhis profess the Buddhist (Mahayana) faith. The ceremonial of the 'quinquennial assembly', originally established by Ashoka about 250 B.C. is duly performed with much magnificence and with becoming gravity. Even as far back as A.D. 400 (See the succeeding Chapter), when the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian visited this region, he observed that Buddhism was then (in its Lamaistic form) the prevailing religion of Ladakh. A Ladakhi village has invariably a small or a big Gumpa (monastery) with its monks and nuns, their number depending upon its size.

Social Divisions

Ladakh is the home of ancient Bhauttos. Previously they were divided into four principal classes: (i) Gayalpo (Raja), (ii) Jirak (officials), (iii) Mungrik (cultivators) and (iv) Ringan (menials). The Mungriks form the majority group.

The People

The population of Ladakh is predominantly Mongolian in type. There is no consideration of community among the Bodhs.

The different divisions between them, as mentioned above, have been created by their different professions. Some Muslims also reside in Leh, but they have migrated either from Kashmir or from Baltistan.

A peculiar Family System

A remarkable social institution of Bhotas is the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two. Sometimes, in certain cases, it rises to three and even four. This system prevails, of course, only among the poorer classes. The rich generally have two and even three wives at a time according to their circumstances.

Apart from the customary way of arranging and performing marriage ceremony of the boy and the girl, sometimes abduction also takes place. Many a time the boy abducts the unmarried girl from some house and both of them escape into hiding and lead a married life there. When the girl conceives and the child is in its seventh month, word is sent to the parents of the girl about this fact. After this, parents of the girl with some relations and friends go to the boy's house and the marriage is solemnized there. In the normal marriage, when the marriage procession reaches the house of the bride, a mock-fight between the two parties giving one the impression of a free-for-all, is staged. Hot words are exchanged and a mock-fight between the two parties takes place. Lathis are brandished by able-bodied persons from both the parties, but it lasts for a few minutes only. After that the so-called scuffle ends and the ceremony start in right earnest.

Pastime

Besides local and folk dances, Changhan Bazi or Hockey-on-horseback, which they call Polo is the favourite game of the Ladakhis.

Administration of Justice

The old system

In the olden time, the administration of justice in Ladakh was truly patriarchal. The Gyalpo or the Kahlon of his district sent all the complaints received by him to an assembly of five or seven elders of the community for inquiry, and decision. Their adjudication was often final. In A.D. 1876, during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's time a Joint Commissioner was appointed for Ladakh by the British, but he mostly looked after their interests and did not interfere much with the local administration.

Kinds of Punishments

The punishments were few in kind—stripes, fines, imprisonment, and in extreme cases, banishment or death. The sentence of death was, seldom awarded and still more rarely executed. In case of sacrilege such as spoilation or desecration of temples, or in more horrible cases of murder, the criminals were either sent to the gallows or thrown into the Indus bound head and foot and weighted with stones.

Right of Inheritance

Among the Bodhs the eldest son only was considered to be the heir to his father. In case there was no male heir, the daughter becomes the legal heir. Where even a daughter was not available some other appropriate heir was brought in.

Revenue Collection

For purposes of tax collection etc., the country was divided into five districts, Ladakh, Zanskar, Kargil, Nobra and Dras. Over each of these was appointed a Thanedar whose salary varied from Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 a month. These five district-Thanedars exercised military command as well as civil authority over their respective districts. After the Dogra rule, however, the entire system of old administration, revenue etc., underwent considerable change. After A.D. 1947 this pattern, by and large, fell in line with other parts of the State.

Population

Density of Population

Ladakh is thinly populated, the average density being 2 persons per sq. mile, even though its area is over seventy per cent of the total area of the entire state of Jammu & Kashmir. Leh, the Government Headquarters, is the only important town among more than 200 villages. Even now its population is 88,651 (1978 A.D.) only.

HISTORICAL

Early Government

The earliest historical notice of Ladakh is that of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian who reached there in A.D. 400. At that time the country had a king and a numerous clergy, all of whom were strongly attached to the popular Buddhistical doctrine. By and large, the history of Ladakh has always remained closely connected with the history of Kashmir.

> "Ladakh was governed in temporal matters by an independent prince, and in spiritual affairs by the Guru Lama, or Chief-Montiff of Lhasa".[2]

De facto Independence

The political dependence of Ladakh, however was more nominal than real. Under vigorous rulers such as Palgyi-Gon in the tenth century, and Singge Namgyal in the seventeenth century, its entire independence was asserted and upheld.

2 Moorcroft, *Travels*, p. 336.

A Vandalic Act

In the tenth century, when the empire of Great Tibet was finally broken up, several of the outlying districts were separated by ambitious chiefs, and created into independent kingdoms. From that time down to the end of sixteenth century, no historical records exist in Ladakh. Reason? During the invasion of Ladakh by Ali Shah, King of Askardu in the beginning of the seventeenth century, almost all the Buddhist books in the libraries there, were thrown into the Indus. The only available record about this country, therefore, begins from the time of Chovang Namgyal.

Chovang Namgyal

Chovang Namgyal (a descendent of the Khari-Tsampo, the first king of Tibet) being expelled from Lhasa, came to Ladakh and took refuge there. Here he, not only established himself about A.D. 1580, but also extended his conquests into many neighbouring districts. He died some time about A.D. 1600, without leaving any children. So his brother Jamya Namgyal succeeded him as the Gyalpo.

Ali Mir takes Ladakh

Jamya Namgyal, had soon to face a misfortune. For he and many of his followers were got arrested by Ali Mir, the Gyalpo of Balti. They were taken to Askardu and confined there. Ali Mir took possession of the whole of Ladakh now. The bigoted Muhammadans of Askardu came and burnt the Buddhist temples and monasteries in Leh etc. The images of Buddha and of his various personified emanations also were destroyed. Almost all the religious and historical books were thrown into the river Indus.

Release of Jamya

"After some time, however, Jamya, the imprisoned Gyalpo of Ladakh was not only released, but the king gave him one of

his daughters in marriage".[3] This was by way of a conciliatory gesture.

Singge Namgyal

Jamya died probably in 1620, succeeded by his eldest son Singge Namgyal. He was a strong person and added the neighbouring district of Roudik to his kingdom.

Internal Administration

Since then the government functioned as a mild type of despotism under a ruler who bore the title of Gyalpo (Emperor). Administrative control was generally entrusted to the Prime Minister or 'Kahlon' whose apparent power was absolute; his post was almost hereditary. Many of the principal nobility of Ladakh were petty chiefs of valleys, which had once been independent. The next great officers were the Lonpos, or Governors of towns; and Kharpons, or Commanders of forts, the Makpon or the Commander-in-Chief, and the Chagsot or High Treasurer, etc., etc. The inferior officers were the Mirpans (head-men) and the Shoganipa or Provincial collector of taxes and custom.

Foreign Affairs

The few questions of foreign polity that the Government of Ladakh had to deal with were simple and easy. They were chiefly confined to political relations with Balti and Rudok, the commercial ties with Yarkand and Kashmir, and the religious connection with Lhasa. The last was a national bond of union between two peoples speaking the same language and holding the same faith. The Gyalpo of Ladakh sent presents to Lhasa annually. These were, however, a sort of devotional offering to the Dalai Lama, as the head of the Buddhist religion, and not an extorted tribute to the emperor of China as lord paramount.

3 Alex. Cunningham, *Ladakh*, p. 320.

Defence

In Ladakh there was no regular army then. But every family or house throughout the country was obliged to furnish one ready-armed soldier at the call of the Government. The army (Pung or Makpung) thus raised, was placed under the control of a Mukpon (Commander-in-Chief). The 'best means of defence' were provided by nature. Ladakh was inaccessible during the half of the year, when the passes remained closed due to snow. Besides, the physical difficulties of crossing the Karakoram mountains prevented the governors of Yarkand and Kotan from attempting the conquest of Ladakh. The poverty of the country also did not tempt the Muhammadan rulers of Kashmir to subjugate any portion of Ladakh. However, on the occasion of any impending danger to their land from outside, the Ladakhis had the power of breaking down the bridges on the Indus and other unfordable streams. People also were alerted on such occasions and the local army was raised to face the danger.

Relations with Neighbours

These were the reasons why the relations of the rulers of Ladakh remained friendly with their neighbouring states. With Rudok on the east there was a long peace. With Balti on the west, however, there existed a perpetual state of border plundering, which prevented growth of any friendly relations between the two regions.

The Tartar Incursion

In the year 1687-88, Ladakh was overrun by Kalmuck Tartars. The then Gyalpo, unable to cope with the daring invaders, implored the aid of Kashmir, which at that time formed a part of the great Mughal empire. Thralim Khan, the then Governor of Kashmir, referred the Gyalpo's request to Emperor Aurangzeb. The great Mughal permitted him to march to the aid of Gyalpo on the condition that for the future "Ladakh should pay an annual tribute to Kashmir and that the Gyalpo himself should become a Muhammadan. These conditions were readily accepted."[4] The Kashmiris routed the Tartari army; and the Gyalpo, donning a green turban as became a true follower of the Prophet, resumed his former life of inglorious ease.

Moorcroft Earns a Severe Censure

Ladakhis were so apprehensive of the grasping policy of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab, and so conscious of their own weakness, that, with a view to avert the invasion, they made a voluntary offer of allegiance to the British Government, and asked Mr. Moorcroft, at that time (A.D. 1822) residing in Leh to mediate and to forward their tender of submission to Calcutta. "Moorcroft did it. However, not only was the offer declined, but severe censure was passed on him for this meddling in politics".[5]

Sikh and Dogra Incursions

The Sikh Government of the Punjab and the Dogras also occasionally made incursions into Ladakh to possess it. Moorcroft came to Ladakh in A.D. 1822. At that time the Gyalpo used to pay an annual tribute to the Governor of Kashmir with which Maharaja Ranjit Singh probably remained contended. The emissaries of 'Jammu Brothers', however, kept a close watch against any design of the Sikhs, posted in Kashmir, from invading Ladakh. Raja Dhian Singh who was a prominent figure in the Sikh Darbar, was resolved that no one but his elder brother Raja Gulab Singh should obtain possession of Ladakh and Balti.

Dogras Conquer Ladakh

The invasion, so much dreaded by the Ladakhis, did not, however, come from Maharaja Ranjit Singh. It came from the Dogras in A.D. 1834. At that time the power of the Jammu Brothers had been extended over all the hill states lying between

4 Lt. Col. Torrens, *Travels, Ladakh Territory and Kashmir*, p. 187.
5 *Ibid.*

the Jhelum and the Ravi, except in Kashmir. So in A.D. 1834, a large body of Dogra troops under Wazir Zorawar Singh invaded Ladakh where they went via Kishtwar valley. The Dogra forces reached Suru valley, quartered their forces and built a small fort—Qilla Suru Kuri—there. In their onward journey to Leh they had to encounter many a skirmish with the locals. The Ladakhis were defeated. The Dogras constructed a fort at Leh. King Tse Pal got enervated and agreed to come to the negotiating tables. An agreement was reached between these two parties. Tse Pal remained as the ruler holding power from Raja Gulab Singh. The king paid the war indemnity and agreed to send an annual tribute to Gulab Singh. Dalel Singh was appointed as Thanedar of the place.

End of Ladakh's Independence

Ladakh lost its independence and it now came and remained permanently under the Dogra rule, right up to 1947. They held the country by a few garrisons of tolerably well-equipped infantry who were quartered in different forts erected by General Zorawar and some of his successors.

II

BALTISTAN

Descriptive

The region to the north-east of the valley (6522 sq. miles) between the parallels 74°.06 and 76°.35 east longitude, is named Baltistan. It is also known as Little Tibet. It is bounded on the north by the Karakoram and Himalayan mountains; on the east by Ladakh, and on the west by Dardistan. The valley of Shayok, Shigar and Askardu are normally populated. The subdivisions of Baltistan are, Kharmong, Khaplu, Shigar, Askardu and Rondu. Like Ladakh this area also, as a whole, is thinly populated. It has very little cultivable land, but sweet fruits like apricots, grapes, and water-melon etc., grows in abundance. Trade in this yields handsome revenue to the region. Askardu,

the capital of Baltistan is called the fruit garden of Baltistan. The whole area is usually called after the name of this town. It ends on the banks of river Sindh at an elevation of 7,700 ft. above the sea level. The Baltis say that the country is divided into several Tibets and that Ladakh, Askardu, Gilgit and Astore are distinct Tibets. These are Upper, Middle and Little Tibets.

Lhasa, the residence of the Great Lama, is the capital of Upper Tibet. Ladakh of that part is called Middle Tibet and Askardu is the principal place in Little Tibet.

Legendry

The inhabitants of Ladakh are Bhautas or Buddhists. Those of Little Tibet are Shia Muhammadans. According to some Kashmiri legend Bulbul Shah, the Fakir, who first converted the Baltis to Islam, came from Tibet. Some believe that Bulbul Shah may very possibly have been a Persian devotee.

The Fakir Becomes King

There is yet another legend available about this region. At one period the royal race (of Little Tibet) was nearly extinct, the last Gyalpo having left an only daughter. Her hand was sought in marriage by twelve Wazirs, or great men of the country; and ere a choice was made, a fakir (mystic) holding a rod of gold in one hand, and a purse containing the same metal in the other, was observed sitting on a large stone in the village of Shikari. He was always to be found there. He soon acquired a reputation for extraordinary sanctity—and the more so, as no one could tell whence he came. The young lady was given to him by the consent of all concerned, and "to this union the Rajas not only of Askardu, but of Katakchand, Parkuta, Rondu and Astore etc., traced the origin of their families."[6]

Custom in Matrimony

The marriage ceremony etc., of Little Tibet differs from that of

6 G.T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir—Ladakh—Iskardoo*, Vol. II, p. 251.

other Muslim countries in that the husband, instead of sending a friend or relation to see the lady, goes in person for that purpose. He may refuse to marry the girl if he pleases. The other difference is that on the day of marriage the wife comes to his house instead of his going to visit her.

Origin of the Name and Climate

Tradition in Askardu exists to the effect that it was once called Iskandaria, and that it was one of the cities founded by Alexander the Great. It is watered by the Indus, and the country striking its banks is more fertile than any part of Ladakh. However, in winter the climate of this place is one of great severity.

Before 1947, some Hindus also, besides the Muhammadans, lived here albeit temporarily as traders doing business in fruit and gold which is found, at some places, from the river sand. But no Hindus live there now. Most of them fled the country by crossing over to the Indian territory in 1947-48. The rest were killed along with almost all the non-muslim government officials (including Wazir Wazarat Amarnath).

POLITICAL

Foreign Relations

The relations of Baltistan with its neighbouring Ladakh seldom remained cordial. There existed a continual state of border plundering. These unfriendly relations between the two went on increasing till they reached a climax when in the beginning of the 17th century Ali Shah, the king of Askardu, invaded Ladakh along with his army and people, and took possession of the region, which after that remained under the control of the Baltis till the Dogras conquered Ladakh.

Zorawar's Exploits in Baltistan

Wazir Zorawar Singh conquered Ladakh in A.D. 1834. He was an ambitious General. The conquest of Ladakh completed, he

next made up his mind to subjugate the province of Balti, situated to the north-east of Ladakh. The Wazir, probably unaware of the severity of the winter in Askardu, ordered march of his army to Balti (A.D. 1836) towards the close of the year. Lakhpat Rai and Basti Ram were deputed for this purpose to that place. This was a great mistake which cost Zorawar very dear in frost casualties.

Ahmad Shah's Defence

Ahmad Shah, the chief of Balti, prepared for an energetic defence. He resorted to a wise strategy. To gain time he broke down the only bridge across the Indus, thus confining the operations of the invading army to the right bank of the river. For 25 days they could not find practicable crossing place. The result of this could be anybody's guess. For the Dogra troops, provisions grew scarce, and as a climax to their misfortunes, a heavy fall of snow ushered in a winter of unusual severity. Death was busy in their ranks. But it was fated that in this very severity of cold, the shivering Dogras and Sikhs should find, not only escape from their miseries but the means of victory.

The Anti-climax

Mehta Basti Ram, one of the chief officers of the expedition, whose resolution seems to have been undaunted by the difficulties, which appalled the rest, had watched with daily increasing hope the freezing of the river. "Out of this nettle, danger, we pluck the flower, safety" he muttered to himself or would have muttered had he ever read Shakespeare.[7] And one dark night, with only one follower, he examined the ice up and down for miles. After an anxious search, and many a perilous trial, Basti Ram found a place where the river was completely frozen across. Ere morning dawned this hero had crossed the Indus with his little party, now reduced to twelve men.

The Balti people perceiving how insignificant in numbers was

7 Shakespeare, *Henery the Fourth*, Part I, 2.3.10.

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this resolute little band, attacked them, but these thirteen men held their own until Zorawar Singh could arouse a few hundred of his soldiers from their torpor, and cross to their assistance.

Defeat of Baltis

The men of Balti were defeated, with a loss of three hundred killed and wounded. The loss of the Dogras/Sikhs in this affair was not more than forty killed and wounded, but the casualties caused by the frost were much more numerous. The fort of Askardu was surrounded and thus was Baltistan added to the possession of Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu.

Zorawar's Further Exploits

The provinces of Rudok and Garo, abounding in Shawl-wool and studded with richly-endowed monasteries, next tempted the ambition and cupidity of the Wazir. In A.D. 1841 he marched an army of 5000 men up the valley of the Indus.

Rudok and Garo submitted without a blow. Zorawar established his headquarters on the Sutlej, near its rise in the sacred lake of Mansarower. "Basti Ram was stationed close to the Nepal frontier, while an officer named Ghulam Khan was specially deputed to plunder the monasteries and desecrate the temples of Buddha".[8]

The Retribution and Zorawar's Death

But a day of retribution was at hand! Intelligence of a Chinese army soon reached Zorawar; but flushed with his successes, the General had learned to despise his enemies, and he had the audacity to despatch a small force to check the advance of the Lhasan army, ten thousand strong. The handful of men was cut to pieces and hardly a man escaped. A similar fate attended a second Sikh force in which General Zorawar himself was killed.

8 Lt. Col. Torrens, *Travels, Ladakh Territory and Kashmir*, p. 195.

Our plucky friend Basti Ram inspired again by Shakespeare, probably, that on this occasion "the better part of valour is discretion"[9] and that "he that fights and runs away may live to fight another day" (17th century poem)[10] escaped over the snows of the Himalayas into the District of Kumaon. Ultimately he succeeded Zorawar in the Governorship of Ladakh.

Throughout the period of the Dogra Raj, the British for reasons of security of the State, had assumed all strategic responsibility for the entire Frontier region. But after the Britishers left India, Baltistan was then invaded by Pakistan. The Indian army put up a gallant defence there from February to August 1948. Ultimately, however, India lost this region and it went to Pakistan in whose possession it still remains (1978).

III

DARDISTAN

The Dards

Dardistan is the region in the north of the valley from Rondu down to Sind valley upto Amb State. Its inhabitants are called Dards. They inhabit the area between Hindu Kush and Kaghan. In a restricted sense these inhabited places, are Chilas, Astore, and Duryal. Gilgit and Goh are called Shin. The Muslims of Chilas are all Sunnis. The rest of the Muhammadan Dards are Shias. Though Aryans, Dards are very different and easily distinguishable from Kashmiris.

Besides Gilgit, Dardistan comprises, Hunza, Nagar and small principalities of Chilas, Yaseen, Punial, Ghizar, Ishkoman and Koh.

GILGIT

The central position of the territory is named Gilgit (4890 ft).

9 *Ibid.*, 5.4-120.
10 Musarum *Delicism*.

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The distance from Srinagar to Gilgit is 223 miles over the Burzul pass.

Astore

The area from Burzul of Burji is called Astore or Hasura (7853 ft.) as invariably spoken by the Dogras. It is a long narrow valley around Gilgit, some 60 to 70 miles long along the river of the same name. "Some of its passes are 12000 ft. high."[11]

Gilgit District

The District of Gilgit consists of the lower part of the valley on a river, a tributary to the Indus, which rising in the mountains that bound Badakshan and Chitral, flows into the great river, a little above Bunji. The length of the course of this Gilgit river is 120 miles, which flows through Yasin (60 miles), Punial (25 miles) and Gilgit (35 miles).

The Original Name

The original name of Gilgit is said to have been Sergen, which afterwards changed into Gilyat, probably a Sanskrit derivation. After the conquest of this place by the Sikhs and the Dogras, the word Gilyat also underwent a change and became Gilgit.

Covetous Eyes on Gilgit

Because of its strategic position and importance, the region has always been coveted by different kingdoms on its borders. But the Dards managed to maintain their independent status till the middle of the last century when it was subjugated by the Dogras.

Ancient History

No historical detail about Dardistan is yet available. However,

11 Fredrick Drew, *J&K territories*, p. 397-98.

the information gleaned from the folklore and other traditions, one finds that in olden time this country was governed by autocratic Rajas mostly from outside. Agortham is said to have been the first Raja of Gilgit in about 700 A.D. He was killed in 750 A.D. by Abudgah a member of the Shah Rayis family who were Buddhists. In about A.D. 1120, this family also was ousted and replaced by Tarakam family who were either Muslims or Turkish. Raja Shamshir (1120-1160) was their ruler. During his time six scholars of Muslim theology came to this place. They converted all the Buddhists to Islam. Shamshir conquered Punyal, Yasin and Chitral. Islamic faith gradually enveloped all these regions.

Tartara Khan

After his death Shamshir and many other Rajas followed. One of them was Tartara Khan. One of the anecdotes about this man makes interesting reading. He was married to a girl of some family in Daryal. This lady had seven brothers, who used to come, off and on, to see their sister and vice versa. One day a very strange and unexpected thing happened when all the seven brothers had come to Tartara Khan's house. As a pastime they sat over a game of dice. During the course of the game, heat generated on some trivial issue amongst the players—Tartara Khan on one side and his brothers-in-law on the other. Both sides lost their temper and no one showed a compromising attitude, much less gave proof of 'Savoir faire'. The heat of arguments and counter-arguments went on increasing till it reached the point of madness run amuck. Being in his own home, Tartara Khan was in an advantageous position with lethal weapons available and at his disposal. His brothers-in-law were on a casual and courtesy visit and must have been unarmed. The scuffle between them assumed enormous proportions so much so that Tartara Khan killed all his seven brothers-in-law. Their sister who was pregnant at that time, looked on helplessly.

Mrs. Tartara Khan Avenges Herself

Mrs. Tartara Khan was terribly shocked over such a ghastly

occurrence. However, even in this state of her physical health and emotional shock, she made a firm resolve in her mind to avenge the murder of her brothers. She began to bide time. One day, finding an opportune time she poisoned her husband Tartara Khan to death, and immediately declared herself the ruler of Gilgit. A few days after, a handsome boy was born to her, but she loathed its very sight. Was he not the son of the murderer of her seven brothers ? So she ordered that this child should be shut in a box and thrown into the nearby stream. Her orders were promptly obeyed; but who can kill when He saves. Floating on the shallow river water for some distance, this small box was seen by two small boys playing on the bank of the stream. These two brothers took this foundling out of water and carried it to their mother. This lady was surprised to see a very handsome and alive boy lying inside this box. She told her two sons that Almighty had sent them a third brother. The baby was nursed and brought up by this humane lady with the same affection as if he were her own uterine child. In course of time this infant grew up and became a play mate of the two boys.

The Queen Finds Her Son

One day, while playing, the boys reached the vicinity of the palace premises. Here the eyes of the queen fell on them. Overpowered by some sort of attraction, she made some sifting enquiries from these boys. This investigation led her to recognize the younger lad as her own son (Tara Khan) whom she had caused to be thrown into the river in a box. Instantly the maternal instinct in the queen outbroke. Thus surcharged by emotion she at once proclaimed this boy as her successor to the Gilgit throne. She detached herself from temporal affairs and became an anchorite. This happened in A.D. 1310.

Tara Khan

Tara Khan ruled Gilgit for twenty-five years A.D. 1310 to A.D. 1335. His rule was interrupted by Taj Mughal, the ruler of Badakshan, who invaded Gilgit and defeated Tara Khan. Taj Mughal was

an orthodox Shia of Ismalia sect. But when Tara Khan also converted to the Islamic faith he was restored to his position by Taj Mughal who had left for Hunza. There also the Raja and the people accepted the Islamic faith and thus escaped from any kind of molestation.

Sikhs take Gilgit

Many an independent person followed Tara Khan to the Rajaship of Gilgit till the time of Gohar Aman whose rule started in A.D. 1841. But only after the first year of his rule, the Sikh forces came from Kashmir, attacked Gohar Aman, defeated him and took possession of Gilgit, installing Karim Khan, one of their stooges as Raja there under the tutelage of Taj Mughal.

"When by the Amritsar Treaty, Gulab Singh acquired Kashmir, it was understood that he acquired all the claims on these areas, including Gilgit which the Sikh Government controlled since A.D. 1841. Nathu Shah, who had entered Gulab Singh's service was given charge of the frontier territories in A.D. 1847."[12]

The Inhabitants of Chilas

The Chilasis are a Dard race inhabiting a long valley (Chilas) on the west of Diyamir or Nanga Parbat (28,660 ft.). In the year 1850 A.D., a band of Chilasis raised a strong fort (Chilas fort) in Chilas. From there they started plundering Astore. This provoked Gulab Singh as Astore was in his possession. He, therefore, deputed Dewan Hari Chand and Wazir Zorawar with an army to curb the delinquents. A grim battle between the Chilasis and the Dogras followed in which the Chilasi forces had to eat the humble pie.

Still the Chilasis did not give up their predatory habits. They went on making occassional expeditions for plundering into the Astore valley. But Gulab Singh sent a punitive force against them in 1851-52 which made them mend themselves. Thereafter the raids stopped.[13]

12 K.M. Pannikar, *Gulab Singh, the founder of Jammu*, pp. 141-42.
13 Fredrick Drew, *J&K Territories*, pp. 398-99.

The Gilgit Insurrection

In A.D. 1852, Gouhar Aman made a sudden attack on Gilgit. At that time Sant Singh was the Thanedar or Commander at Gilgit fort. A couple of miles away the Nanpura fort garrisoned a Gurkha regiment of the Maharaja. Ram Dev was their Commandant. Bhoop Singh held the command of reserve-force stationed at Bunji and Astore. Gauhar Aman deployed his army between Gilgit and Nanpura forts. The Dogra army got sandwitched in between and the supply of their rations got cut-off. A thousand soldiers of Dogras died on spot. Some were taken prisoners and sold into slavery. Aman installed himself as the king. The Dogras were pushed out and their rule in the territory up to the right bank of the river Sindh thus ended.

For many years afterwards, Gulab Singh did not make any further attempt to proceed towards Gilgit beyond Bunji. It was left for Maharaja Ranbir Singh to recapture this area in A.D. 1860.

Ranbir Singh Conquers Gilgit

Right from A.D. 1857, when Maharaja Gulab Singh died, his son Maharaja Ranbir Singh remained anxious and determined to conquer the part of Gilgit territory which had gone out of Dogra possession. Accordingly he attacked Gilgit in A.D. 1860 and conquered it. Subsequently Yasin, Punnial and Daryal also were brought under his control by the Maharaja.

Officious Attitude of the British

The British with their penchant for interference in the internal affairs of the State to butter their own bread, now started to plant their own officers like the Resident etc., there. In A.D. 1876, when Lord Lyton was the Viceroy of India, a British Joint Commissioner and a Political agent was appointed for Ladakh and Gilgit. Captain Bedulph was posted in Gilgit, but having proved incompetent to deliver goods, he had to be recalled. The Political agency at Gilgit was also abolished for the time being.

Anti-Pratap Singh Intrigue

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was succeeded by his son Maharaja Partap Singh. The British started making things hot for him and compelled him to relinquish almost all his powers. Gilgit administration was also taken away from him. Col. Nisbet, an arch intriguer, was posted as Resident in Kashmir. This man, with the collaboration of some local intriguers, clandestinely started cooking up a false case against Maharaja Partap Singh to accomplish the British design.

Amrit Bazar Patrika leaks out the British Intrigue

However, through the good offices of *Amrit Bazar Patrika* an influential Daily of Calcutta, this top secret of the British got leaked-out. This created such a scandle in India and England etc., that the British felt enervated and had to shelve the case for some time. Simultaneously, however, Col. Durand was appointed as Political agent for Gilgit in A.D. 1889.

Hunza and Nagar

Hunza and Nagar are two small states situated to the extreme north-west of Kashmir. They are divided by the Hunza river (a branch of the Gilgit river). Towards the north they extend to the mountainous region which adjoins the junction of the Hindu Kush and Mustagh ranges; towards the south they border on Gilgit; and on the west Hunza is separated from Ashkuman and Yasin by a range of mountains, while the Mustagh range trending southwards shuts Nagar off from Baltistan on the east.

The inhabitants of Hunza and Nagar come from one stock and speak the same language, but there was never any love lost or good neighbourly feeling between the two communities. The fort of Chalt and its connected villages, lying between Hunza and Nagar and Gilgit, were long a source of contention between the two states. The people of Hunza are Mulias (followers of H.H. the Agha Khan) while the people of Nagar are Shias.

The Son Kills His Father

In A.D. 1886 Ghazan Khan, the Tham of Hunza was murdered by his son, Safdar Ali, who, after his succession, professed his submission to the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Col. Durand in Hunza and Nagar

On the re-establishment of the British agency at Gilgit in A.D. 1889, the Agent Col. Durand visited Hunza and Nagar and the Chiefs there bound themselves to accept his control. The Government of India sanctioned for them (the chiefs) subsidies of Rs. 2,000 each in addition to those already paid by the Kashmir Darbar.

The Chiefs' Escapades

In A.D. 1891 some sort of subversive activity by the Russians in the north was smelt by the British. They naturally felt perturbed over it. The states of Hunza and Nagar tried to fish out of these troubled waters and to derive some advantage for themselves. The British immediately reinforced the threatened outposts of Chaprot and Chalt by sending additional men and arms and rations from Gilgit.

The British Counter-blast

Hunza and Nagar were accordingly attacked to cut-down the chiefs to size. Tham Zahid Khan of Nagar atonce submitted. Tham Safdar Ali of Hunza and his Wazir, Dadu fled to Chinese Turkistan. Raja Uzar Khan of Nagar was deported to Kashmir where he died in A.D. 1922. All the subsidies paid to both these Chiefs were withdrawn. A political officer was posted in Hunza to supervise the affairs of the State.

The Truce

When things came to normal, Mohomad Nazim Khan, a half-brother of Safdar Ali, was formally installed as Tham of Hunza

by the British Agent on 15th September 1892 A.D. Thani Zafar Ali Khan was reinstated as Chief of Nagar. Their subsidies were renewed.

Constitutional Position of the two States

Both Hunza and Nagar were autonomous as regards their internal affairs, but both acknowledged the suzerainty of Maharaja of Kashmir to whom they paid a tribute of nominal value.

Subjugation of Chilas

The State of Chilas in the south was subjugated by the J & K State forces. Maharaja Ranbir Singh had, in A.D. 1870, entered into a treaty with Imam-ul-Mulk, the Mehtar of Chitral, binding the latter to acknowledge Kashmir's sovereignty over his territory and to pay an annual tribute to the State. This area had great strategic importance because of its geographical position at the extreme north of Kashmir bordering Afghanistan and close to Russia.

War Against Umrao Khan

After the death of Imam-ul-Mulk in Chitral, court intrigues followed and there were internecine conflicts between different contenders and claimants for the throne of Chitral. This worried the Kashmir Darbar. Ultimately it led to a battle between the Jammu & Kashmir State from one side and Umrao Khan (Chief of Jandal state) assisted by Sher Afzal one of the contenders, on the other. The J & K forces were defeated in this battle and General Baj Singh and Major Bikram Singh were both killed. However, in a subsequent attack in April, Chitral was captured by the Dogra army. A defence J & K force was posted in Gilgit, Skardu and Leh.

Hari Singh's Failure in Gilgit Case

British interest in Gilgit did not flag. It remained active. Their Political Agent continued to control it as usual. Maharaja Hari

Singh ascended the throne of Jammu and Kashmir in A.D. 1925. He adopted many progressive measures for the upliftment of the State. But with regard to Gilgit he found it difficult to assert his authority there, vis-a-vis the British. In A.D. 1935 he was, willy nilly, made to withdraw the State administrative machinery from Gilgit Wazarat and hand it over along with the Gilgit Agency, to the British on a sixty-year lease. So, on and from March 29, 1935, the British assumed the Civil and Military Government of the Wazarat of Gilgit. The J & K State were allowed to retain its rights only to mining in the area.

Gilgit Scouts Maintain Internal Security

Gilgit now became the focal point of the British military and political influence and strategy in the north. The Gilgit Scouts (Border force) approximately 600 strong raised and officered by the British, were well-trained, armed and equipped. Their mandate was the maintenance of the internal security of the agency, and the prevention of border infiltration.

Brigadier Ghansar Singh appointed Governor of Gilgit

When in A.D. 1947, India achieved independence, the British relinquished their control over Gilgit in August 1947, and it now once again became a de facto part of Jammu and Kashmir State as before. The Maharaja appointed Brigadier Ghansar Singh as Governor of Gilgit.

Pro-Pak Leanings of the British

However, all British Officers of the Agency there opted to serve in Pakistan. In other ways also they betrayed an anti-Indian attitude. The loyalty of the Gilgit Scouts also favoured Pakistan. This country was the pole towards which the population of Gilgit (all Muslims) gravitated. The Dogra Governor found himself in an utterly helpless position like a lonely jackal surrounded by a pack of wolves. He was arrested and taken as a prisoner

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to Pakistan.[14] Gilgit, Boonji and the entire Muslim areas of Skardu, Kargil and Dras joined and went to Pakistan. Most of the Hindu officers then posted at these places including Wazir Wazarat Amar Nath were killed. Since then all these frontier regions have remained on the Pakistan side of the Cease-fire line.

Pastime

Chang Bazi, called Polo by the Baltis and Ladakhis is also well-known to the Gilgatis and Astorians. The game is called Tope in Astore and Bulla at Gilgit.

The Gilgatis are wine-bibers though not so much as the people of Hunza. In Nagar little wine is made.

Marital Custom

In Gilgit this appears to be a more simple ceremony than in Chilas and Astore. The father of the boy goes to the father of the girl and presents him with a big knife, four yards of cloth and a pumpkin filled with wine. If the father accepts the present, the betrothal is arranged. This is inviolable and is only dissolved by death as far as the woman is concerned. The young man is, however, at liberty to dissolve the contract.

14 The author interviewed the Brigadier in Jammu in May 1978 to find out what meritorious work he had done in Gilgit to merit the honorific of Sher-i-Gilgit by which he is referred to by the Dogras. But he could give no clear explanation.

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PART IV

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11

General Administration

I

ANCIENT HINDU PERIOD

Kota Raj

After the lake Satisaras got dried up, the valley became permanently inhabited about the twelfth century before the Christian era. At first the country was split into numerous little kingdoms known as Kutraj. It is just possible that the machinery in these kingdoms had its origin in some tribal patriarchal and matriarchal type of self-government as found in the history of many other parts of the world. Unfortunately, however, the little kings of these little kingdoms began to fight amongst themselves. That must possibly have made it impossible for anyone to give shape to some sort of a good Government and administrative machinery, as we understand it now. Beyond the scanty record and other sources regarding this nothing else has so far become available. *Rajatarangini* is essentially a narrative of political history. It does not throw much light on the administrative system of the Valley. But the bits of information that can be gathered from it, when taken in conjunction

with other literary works, available epigraphs and numismatic data, one can form some picture of the same.

Institution of Kingship

Although the history of Kashmir of the remote past is traditional and uncorroborated, yet one thing is clear; the institution of kingship was a known and established feature there. 'The Office was elective in principle and people played an important role in the choice of the king.' Numerous instances of persons being chosen as kings, deposed or forced to abdicate, are mentioned in the Chronicle. Brahmans generally played a role in the selection of a king. Subsequently the official hierarchy began to assert itself. Now, instead of the Brahmans, the Council of Ministers and Army Chiefs frequently intervened in the selection of a successor to the king. Yet another factor that played a significant role in the succession of a prince to the throne was the harem politics. The kings in the valley maintained a sizeable seraglio and these were, very often, hot-beds of intrigue. There was rivalry among the off-springs.[1]

Administrative System of Jalauka

Kashmir, it is said, was included in Asoka's empire. Possibly, therefore, the Maurya system of administrative was in vogue at the time. Kalhana, however, gives credit for the introduction of the new administrative measures in Kashmir, not to Asoka but to his son Jalauka. According to him the government of Kashmir was the same that of other States. There were seven chief officials; the judge, the revenue superintendent, the treasurer, the commander of the army, the envoy, the priest and the astrologer. The Chief Minister was called 'Sarvadhikari', 'Agrigamantri, and 'Mukhya-mantri' on different occasions. Another title 'Rajanaka' (now Razdan and Raina) was a mark of high and outstanding honour for persons of eminence and importance in Kashmir. Jalauka increased the number of offices (Karmasthana) into eighteen.[2]

1 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, English Tr. M.A. Stein, Vol. I, V-221/262.
2 *Ibid.*, I, 118-120.

King's Darbars

The king had two types of courts or 'darbars' in the traditional style; 'abhyantra' (interior) and 'bahya' (exterior) like the Darbar-i-Am and Darbar-i-Khas of Mughal times. The ministers too wielded considerable influence on the policies and tendencies of kings.

Lalitaditya's Reforms

The old system of administration obtaining in the valley seems to have been followed by all rulers with some modifications and innovations till the beginning of the 8th century A.D. when the Karkota king Lalitaditya created five new functionaries (Karmasthana) collectively termed as 'Panchamahasabha'. The bureaucracy was headed by a number of ministers and other high officials.

Particular interest attaches to the passage when Kalhana gives us in abstract the principles of government adopted to his country. This little code of administrative wisdom is put into the mouth of king Lalitaditya as a kind of political testament. But it is clearly drawn by the chronicler from the experiences of his own time, and intended to express his personal views on them. The first item of advice bears this distinctive local colour. "As Kashmir has to fear no foreign foes, owing to the strength of its natural position, its rulers are advised to concentrate their attention on preventing internal dissensions... ."[3]

Jayapida Shankarvarman

Jayapida added two more offices to the existing administrative machinery—'dharmadhikarma' (department of justice) and 'calaganja' (moving treasury)[4]. 'Seda' was the Accounts Officer during the last days of Karkota dynasty. The two new administrative departments created by Shankarvarman were 'atapati-bhaga' (revenue office) and 'Grahakatya' (office con-

3 *Ibid.*
4 *Ibid.*, IV-588-589.

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cerned with domestic affairs)[5]. The village headman was probably called 'Skandaka' (modern Muquaddam or Lambardar) who as the person directly responsible for the payment of the revenue, has since old days been an important factor in rural administration.[6] 'Gramkayastha' was probably the official ancestor of the present 'Patwari'.

Administrative Divisions

The valley of Kashmir has, from early times, been divided into two main parts, Madavarajya (Maraz) and Karamrajya (Kamraz). These were further sub-divided into smaller units known as 'Vishayas', (like present time *parganas* in the valley). Each Vishaya was comprised of several villages where administration was carried on by the 'Skandakas' who were assisted by 'Gramakayasthas'. They were paid their dues from the village revenue. Besides paying their dues to the State-Officer, the villagers were also called upon to provide forced labour. "Even Brahmins were not exempt from this type of 'Begar' " (Dr. Saxena). 'Akashpatali' was the Accountant General. 'Asthana' and 'Asthaniya' was the name for 'Court' or Assembly. The main sources of State Revenue were, land-revenue, customs like tolls on bridges and frontier-posts, fines, confiscation and usurpation of 'agrahara' lands and villages, etc., etc.

Abu-l-Fazl's Account

Abu-l-Fazl's account is the first which presents us with a systematic statement of Kashmir *Parganas*. Their list could be increased or readjusted within certain limits according to fiscal requirements and administrative fancies.

Changes in Administrative Model

In Kashmir, Hindu rule ended and Muslim rule started from A.D. 1339, but the administration remained as before in the

5 *Ibid.*, V, 167.
6 *Ibid.*, VI, 210.

hands of the traditional official class, the Brahmins. However, from the time of Sultan Sikander, under the influence of Persians and Turks, the tendency was to model the administration on the system prevalent in other countries under Muslim rule. New institutions began to be imported, designations of the old ones to be changed. The main lines of administrative development seems, however, to have been completed during the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin.

The Sultan and his Council

The Sultan of Kashmir was an autocrat. He was the supreme executive, legislative and judicial authority in his kingdom. He could make laws and interpret the 'Sharia'. He was the highest court of appeal and had powers of life and death over his subjects. He had a council consisting of his ministers and high officials. Although the ultimate decision on administrative matters, foreign policy and war and peace rested with him, yet since the Council was composed of members drawn from the leading and powerful land-owning families, it prevented his rule from turning into despotism. The Sultan also enjoyed certain special prerogatives, meant to inspire awe and fear in the hearts of his people.

The Wazir

The Chief Minister was called by the old name of 'Sarvadhikari' under the Shah Mir rulers. Later on he began to be distinguished as 'Wazir'. The Wazir was the head of the civil administration and the highest officer in the State. He wielded great powers, and, therefore, upon his ability and wisdom depended the welfare of the people and the stability of the kingdom. The Wazirs were 'de facto' rulers and the Sultan was a puppet in their hands. Next to Wazir was 'Diwani Kul'. This post was introduced by Fath Shah with a view to reduce the powers of the Wazir.

Administration of Zain-ul-Abidin

"Zain-ul-Abidin realized that it was impossible to reconstruct

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the administration without the help of the Pandits, the old class of officials, whom the fanaticism of the earlier reigns had driven out of Kashmir." He, therefore, gave them every facility and encouragement to return to their home, and many responded to this call. This improved the administrative machinery very much as the Sultan had expected. He rooted out corruption among the officials and the judges. Crime was put down with a heavy hand. To improve the Revenue system, Zain-ul-Abidin had the entire country measured. The valley was divided into Parganas, and Parganas into villages, and villages into peasant holdings.

THE MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

Pre-Mughal Position

India, on the eve of the Mughal rule was in a very bad state. There was no strong Central Government, and the people were smarting under the oppression of feudal lords. There was religious persecution also. Accordingly, change of the rule was the demand of the day. This change did come when Akbar conquered Kashmir. With the stepping in of the energetic Mughals on the soil of India, an era of peace was ushered in. It was during the rule of the first five Mughal emperors that India saw again a political unity from the north to the south.

The Mughal Subas

The state was composed of eight *Subas*. Each *Suba* was placed under the control of a Subedar by the Central government. He was answerable to the Centre for any lapse of administration. He had to follow a uniform code of administration and law set up by the Centre. The Kotwal had to look after law and order, public welfare, sanitation etc. Criminal cases were rare. According to *Ain-i-Akbari*, 'although Cashmir is populous, and money secure, yet a thief or a beggar is scarcely known amongst them'. The Mughal subedars deputed to Kashmir were, by and large, good administrators, and looked after the welfare of the people. Akbar brought the defective

revenue assessment of the valley in line with that prevailing in the rest of India. This was done by the officials sent from the Centre to Kashmir. It is commonly believed in Kashmir that Todar Mal made a settlement of Kashmir. The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* also mentions that 'Todar Mal made summary record'. But this does not appear to be correct. Abu-l-Fazl never says in the *Ain* or in the historical part of the *Akbar Nama* that Todar Mal was ever in Kashmir or made any settlement in it. The first settlement of Kashmir was made by Abdul Majid (Asaf Khan No. I of Badauni). After that, Usuf Khan, Qazi Ali Baghdadi and others made a settlement. But that was after Todar Mal's death (1589 A.D.). The point is important, for the settlement of Kashmir was arbitrarily and badly made and led to a rebellion. Todar Mal was in no way responsible for this.

After Akbar

The Mughal emperors Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb who followed Akbar, also did much to stop corruption, tone up the administration and bring peace and prosperity to the people. But the later Mughal rulers were incompetent. During their time corruption became rampant, resulting in economic chaos and popular discontent. But on the whole, the rule of the Mughal emperors was fairly just and enlightened, their laws also were just and impartial in spirit.

THE PATHAN ADMINISTRATION

The Machinery at a Standstill

After Mughals came the Pathans. Their 67 years rule in this country, was cruelest of all. Kashmiris had to face penury, degradation and slavery. Most of the Pathan Governors, far from giving the people good administration, mercilessly indulged in loot, murder and other acts of barbarity against them. Except for a few interludes, the administrative machinery had well-nigh stopped working.

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ADMINISTRATION OF THE SIKHS

The Extorting Governors

The Pathan rule in Kashmir was followed by the Sikh rule. The working of the administrative machinery during this rule here was a shade better than that of the Pathans. On the whole, however, it was far from satisfactory. The Governors who were sent here from Lahore were cruel; they fleeced the poor, innocent people and perpetrated undue and untold persecution on them. The ancient practice of 'Begar' was continued by the Sikhs with greater vigour. The administrative divisions of 36 Parganas with Kotwals as their administrators, was, by and large, continued as by previous Governments. Many a Kotwal levied unauthorised tolls and taxes on people and pocketed the proceeds himself. The Sikhs, however, freed the valley of the constant incursions of Bombas and Khokhas.

ADMINISTRATION DURING THE DOGRA RULE

Gulab Singh's Uphill Task

In 1846 A.D. when the Sikhs in Northern India were defeated, Kashmir passed to Raja Gulab Singh under the Treaty of Amritsar. When he took over, conditions in Kashmir were very chaotic. The Sikhs had bled the people white and pushed them to penury. Land cultivations had fallen to the minimum. Maharaja Gulab Singh had therefore to face a tough uphill task in restoring order and improving the miserable economic condition of the country. Though his rule lasted for a short period of only twelve years, he had the Herculian nerve to bring about normal conditions in the State. All unlawful landlords were dispossessed of their land. 'Begar' system was reformed and a system of rationing of rice was introduced. Crime and theft were ruthlessly suppressed. There was no Police save in the capital and a few small towns.

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Maharaja Ranbir Singh and the British

Gulab Singh's son Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1858-1885) introduced a number of Administrative Reforms in the State. The Departments of Revenue, Civil and the Military were set up. The judicial system was re-organized. Trade, Agriculture and Commerce also were specially attended to. Silk and Shawl Industries received the Maharaja's personal attention. The Maharaja was not, however, lucky enough in having an honest band of workers to assist him in the administration. They did not share his enthusiasm for reform. Most of his officials and servants were corrupt. Besides, in his time, Kashmir witnessed a severe famine. The people were in a terrible plight. Ranbir Singh did all what was possible to bring relief to the Kashmiris. All the same the British, accused him of mismanaging things in the valley. Under this false pretext they started their policy of planting a British Resident with other British Officers in the State permanently. The real aim for this was to watch the British interests and consolidate their hold in the State. So with this, as also with the appointment of British Joint Commissioner in Ladakh and a Political Agent in Gilgit, the British now dominated all foreign relations of Kashmir, especially with the Governments of Central Asia and Tibet.

Maharaja Partap Singh (1885-1925)

Partap Singh succeeded his father. During his long reign of 40 years, he carried out many reforms to make the State progressive, prosperous, modern and peaceful. He reorganized the Police and the Military, improved transport and completed the construction of J.V. Road from Srinagar to Kohalla and B.C. Road from Srinagar to Jammu.

The Pin-pricks of the British

Maharaja Partap Singh was not, however, given an easy time by the British. A British Resident was installed here and the Maharaja was dubbed inefficient. He had a Council of Ministers manned by very efficient persons, but the British Resident was

out to break that. A false case of treason was trumped up against Partap Singh (for details see the Dogra period in this Book). He was forced to relinquish all powers of the Government for a period of five years. The administration was conducted by a Council and an all-powerful Resident, both of the British choice. The British Government, however, earned considerable notoriety for this intrigue. Sober elements in England and India as also the princes of the Indian States felt incensed over it. Finally, under that impact, the British Government had to yield. In 1905 A.D. the State Council was abolished and by 1921 all powers were restored to the Maharaja.

Toning up of the Administration

The Maharaja now took all possible steps to tone up the administration of the State. The most important of his reforms was the land settlement and revenue assessment. This brought much prosperity to the peasants and the landlords. Besides, many expert Englishmen served in the State as heads of different Departments like Accounts, Forests, Public Works etc. These experts modernised their Departments and brought them on par with their sister Departments in the Government of India. Like his father, Maharaja Partap Singh also was easily approachable. People could go to him direct and obtain redressal of their grievances. He was assisted by new Council of efficient Ministers of which Raja Hari Singh was the Senior Member.

Maharaja Hari Singh

Maharaja Partap Singh died on September 23, 1925, without leaving any heir. So the 'gaddi' of Jammu and Kashmir passed to his nephew, Raja Hari Singh, the only son of Partap Singh's brother, Raja Amar Singh. Hari Singh was extremely intelligent and well-read. His experience in the administration of the State began in 1922 when he was appointed as Senior Member of the State Council to advise the Maharaja. In that capacity he worked very hard to mitigate the chronic food shortage in the State. He also advocated the appointment of State Subjects only against high administrative posts in this State. He was a

great builder also. Many roads like Boulevard in Kashmir and some others in Jammu were constructed by him. Gulab Bhawan Palace and other important buildings are also a living tribute to his memory.

Work of the State Council

The State Council, which had been created in 1924, continued during Hari Singh's time also, and he presided over it. Among the important Acts passed by this Council were the Agriculturists Relief Regulation, Compulsory Primary Education Act, and Prevention of Infant Marriages Act, etc. Hari Singh deputed many educated young State Subjects to foreign countries for training and on their return appointed them against responsible posts.

The Big Mistake

In short, the Maharaja did much to ameliorate the condition of his poor subjects. But in spite of all his best intentions he made one great mistake that cost him dear. He kept himself aloof and did not keep in touch with his subjects. He thus remained well-nigh ignorant about the aspirations, difficulties and demands of the general public. In the appointment of higher services, the Rajputs were allowed to take the lion's share. And service in the State Army was tabooed for the Kashmiris. Such partiality for the Rajputs and many such other things left the Kashmiris much dissatisfied. The Maharaja displeased the British Government also by his tactless speech at the second Round Table Conference in London in 1932. The Kashmiris rose in revolt against the Maharaja's rule in which the Government of India did not extend any help to him. Under these circumstances the Kashmiris led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, succeeded in getting their demands accepted and in turning the Maharaja's one-man rule into a democracy. At the time of partition of India, Hari Singh displeased the Congress leaders as well till circumstances compelled him to request the National Government to accept his proposal of Kashmir's accession to India. This was agreed to and Kashmir joined the

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mainstream and became a part of India, subject of course, to certain conditions discussed elsewhere in this book.

II

LAW AND ORDER (INTERNAL SECURITY—JUDICIARY)

Police

Civil Police

The 'drangadhipa' (lords of gates) and 'Kampanadhipati, (Commander-in-Chief) etc., mostly performed military functions. Some sort of Police Organisation also seems to have existed then. 'Dandanayka' or 'dandadhikarini' was perhaps the Chief of the Police Department (*Rajatarangini* VII/VIII). From the scanty records available to us, it is, however, difficult to ascertain exactly the functions performed by the officials connected with law and order, during ancient times. Besides the two officials mentioned above, we do find reference to the words 'chauradharnika' and 'dushtasadhaka'. They were probably the designation of the highest officials connected with the apprehension of thieves and robbers. It seems the administration was interested in the prevention of crime through reformative measures correcting the incorrigibles and apprehending thieves and punishing them properly with fines, imprisonment etc. The presumption is that in olden times the Police system was to a considerable extent a part of the feudal and the village administration. Under this, villagers were sometimes asked to provide watchmen. The detection of the crime was the function of the feudal lords. There was a regular system of espionage, and spies were called by such names as 'Carika', 'Pisuna' and 'Pumschalaka'. The spy system, to find out the miscreants, was introduced by Jaipida. King Kailasa (1063-1089) had a strong spy system. 'He was able to watch the acts of his people and strangers by means of spies; only the dreams of his subjects remained unknown to him'.

The Ekangis

King Sugandha (A.D. 904-906) had 'ekangis' in his establishment. They were a body organized in military fashion, but employed chiefly for Police duties.

Harsha (1089-1101)

From Harsha's time we find the mention of the word 'Police'.

Jaisimha (1128-1149)

Though we do not find any reference to Police during the period, yet a staff of "guardians" was maintained for keeping proper watch over the treasury and other places of importance.

The System of Muslim Rulers

The 'Kotwal'

During the Muslim rule the 'Kotwal' was generally the Police Officer, incharge of a town and had to look after the morals of the citizens. He had to maintain law and order and protect the citizens from thieves and robbers. To enable him to discharge his duties efficiently, the Kotwal had a Police force under him. The Muhtasib, besides performing the duties akin to those of the Kotwal was also responsible for collection of revenues etc.

The System of the Sultans

Under the Sultans, internal security and its maintenance were under the domains of the Kotwal. He patrolled the city at night and guarded the thoroughfares. He maintained a register of the inhabitants of every quarter and took notice of every arrival and departure. The Kotwal was purely a civilian official and was only a committing magistrate. The Sultan also kept a network of spies to keep watch over the subjects, nobles reporting to him everything happening in the kingdom. In the later Sultanate period the main functions of the Kotwal were

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to maintain peace and order in the city, to prevent crime and to bring the culprits before the court of criminal law (Qazi). The Kotwal had his subordinates and spies. His jurisdiction was confined to the metropolitan town. Smaller cities and rural areas had separate Police Posts manned by the 'Thanedars' who maintained peace and order and also helped in the realization of revenue. The Thanedars were under the control of 'Shiqq-dar' of the Pargana in which the Thanas (modern Police-Sta-tions) were located.

The System of the Mughals

Under the Mughal administration, while the headmen and 'muqqadams' in the villages were responsible for the safety of the area under them, at a higher level it was the 'Faujdar' who had the overall responsibility of law and order in his 'Sarkar'. He prevented crime and punished those responsible for the notorious acts and violence. The Mughals held the Faujdars and the Kotwals responsible for thefts within their jurisdiction, but "a thief was scarcely known amongst Kashmiris". The Kotwal of the Mughals had, besides, to look after law and order, public welfare and sanitation etc. Crime, however, was rare.

The Subha of Kashmir had a varying number of 'Sarkars' each of these was in charge of a Kotwal. He, with the assistance of the Police force and the Mansabdars looked after the security of the people in the city and the town.

The System of the Pathans

There is nothing commendable about the law and order position in Kashmir during the Pathan rule. The despotic Governors kept their secret-agents only to fleece the people.

The System of the Sikhs

The Sikh Kotwal

During the Sikh rule also crime in any form was altogether absent among the Kashmiris themselves, though Sikh soldiers

committed untold persecution and fleeced the people. The Sikh Kotwal was one of the important Officials in a Pargana. He was incharge of a body of troopers and had to perform the varied duties of a Police Officer, P.W. Officer, Sanitary Inspector etc.

The Police in the Dogra Period

Gulab Singh repressed crime

Though Maharaja Gulab Singh did not find much time (1846-1858) to organise a modern Police system, yet he repressed crime with a stern hand. "There was not a single crime of importance; and there was no Police save in the capital and in a few small towns."[7]

Ranbir Singh (1858-1885)

During the period of this Maharaja, some sort of Police organi-zation did exist side by side with the military troops stationed at various places. The system was headed by the Kotwal who probably worked as the Police chief in those days. Commands were issued to Kardars and Thanedars in each Pargana whenever in the day-to-day administration, the Government needed their assistance.

The Primitive System

The Police system, as we have examined so far, was, by and large, primitive. The will of the Ruler was supreme and in certain cases the only law in the land. There was no regular Civil Police. The nearest approach to a Police Officer being the Kotwal. In times of emergency such as riots, either the Mughals were turned out to quell the disturbances, or the disturbance was allowed to exhaust itself. There were a few subordinate officers known as 'Harkaras' or 'Agyapravaratakas' or 'Messen-gers' who acted as spies and carried out the less important duties

7 Sir Walter Lawrence, *The India We Served*, Cassell & Coy. Ltd., London, 1928.

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in conjunction with the Kotwal. "The Police Officers, so-called, did not receive pay, but were commissioned as such on payment by them of a Nazrana, the inducement being that the Officer paying the Nazrana would reimburse himself from the people, whose watch-dog he was appointed to be."[8] The position in the year A.D. 1873 was that "Police in both provinces of Jammu and Kashmir were under one Officer General of Police with one officer and some deputy inspectors, sergeants and constables in each province. Their work was supervised by the Officers of the judiciary and Wazir wazarats concerned." The total number of Police personnel that year was 1656. No standard police existed in the Frontier district. Some locals worked there under the Wazir. The old system, however, was very effective. The nucleus of the regular police force came into being that year (1873), with one police officer and 14 Thanedars for the Srinagar city. It was likewise started in Jammu also. Later on each province was provided with one Superintendent of Police, one Assistant Superintendent of Police and some upper and lower subordinates. The Lambardars and the Chowkidars also helped the Police. L. Mathra Dass and Sheikh Imam Din were the first Superintendents of Police of Jammu and Kashmir respectively. "The police officers are assisted by the village watchmen and Chowkidars who are numerous, vigilant and inquisitional body. They are mostly Dum class and have keen detective faculties and an excellent system of transmission of intelligence. Everything of the slightest interest which occurs in a village is promptly reported by the watchman to the Police. The watchman receives no pay from the State and lives on the contribution of the villagers within his beat. Crime is almost unknown in the villages, property is absolutely safe. There is no theft in crops. Offences against the person are extremely rare. The absence of crime is due to the stern measures of repression taken by the rulers of Kashmir especially Maharaja Gulab Singh. The flaying alive of thieves has had its effect as a deterrent."[9]

8 J&K State Administration Report, 1931.
9 Sir Walter Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 278.

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Modernisation of the Police

All the same, Partap Singh was very keen to improve the Police Organization. The real process of modernisation of the police started during his rule. In 1897 A.D., on the representation of the State Commander-in-Chief, who then controlled the Police force also, the State approved the suggestion of the appointment of an expert to advise on the reorganization of and improvement in the police organization in this State. Accordingly Mr. P.N. Broadway of the Indian Police was appointed as Personal Assistant to the member-incharge, Police Department, for that purpose.

However, Maharaja Partap Singh, not being in the good books of British Government then, was not given any free hand and things drifted on till 1914.

The first I.G. Police

That year saw a very important change in the Police Department. The post of the Inspector General of Police for the State was created. The services of Mr. C.G.D. Farquhar were lent by the Punjab Government, and he took over charge as the first Inspector General of Jammu and Kashmir Police on 1st January 1915 A.D. He worked under the Home Minister. The Police was reorganised under which rates of pays of all ranks were increased and large additions were made in the numerical strength of the force so as to provide a sufficient leave-reserve over and above the number required to cope with the various current duties. The strength of the Police force now was 367 officers and 1768 men. Local training schools at Srinagar and Jammu were started on a modest scale. The compilation of the first volume of the Police Rules was taken in hand.

Absence of Crime in Kashmir

Stating the position of crime in Kashmir, Sir Walter Lawrence, the then Settlement Commissioner of this State says, "Kashmir is happily free from crime, and one gaol in Srinagar is sufficient for the valley. In the year 1891-92, 243 convicts were admitted

to gaol including some from Muzaffarabad district, whereas in England convicts form 0.70 of the total population, in Kashmir they represent only .029. The small number of convicts is due to no leniency on the part of the executive nor to want of zeal on the part of the Police. In no country is secret espionage more keen than in Kashmir, and the absence of crime partly due to the non-criminal character of the people, and partly to the fact that as everyone is a political spy, men on the brink of crime are kept back by the knowledge that their friends and relations will betray them. This system of informers has made criminal pursuits unpopular and unprofitable.[10]

The Chain of I.G.Ps.

After Mr. Farquhar the following I.G.Ps. came to Kashmir:

1. D.W. Temple (1918-1920);
2. Mr. Brocas Howell (1921-1923);
3. D.S. Hadow (1924-26);
4. Col. Gandharb Singh (1927-1931);
5. B.C. Lawther (1932-1933);
6. E.G.B. Peel (1934-1935);
7. W.H. Archbold (1936-38);
8. R.S. Bell (1939-45);
9. R. Powell (1946-1947).[11]

All the above-mentioned British I.G.Ps. were very capable persons. They infused new life into the Police. Messrs Temple and Hadow took special interest in the organization of C.I.D. Branch of the Police. During the disturbances and jail-riot in 1931, Col. Gandharb Singh was the Police chief. He was a

10 *Ibid.*, p. 227.
11 J&K State Administration Reports, 1915 to 1947.

misfit and could not handle the situation properly.[12] Accordingly another lent Officer from the Indian Police, Mr. B.C. Lawther was appointed as I.G. Police. He was a genius but very unmethodical and unpredictable. He would generally say, "my name is Lawther. This means that the law will tremble in my time". He created an awe in the Police force by his unconstitutional methods. Lawther-Shahi became a by-word in the Police Department here. Even now it is often quoted in the Police circles.

Mr. E.G.B. Peel, besides being a great scholar of English and Persian languages was a very methodical officer. He did much to correct the wrongs that had been committed by his predecessor, Mr. Lawther, to the Police staff.

Mr. Archbold is known for the efficient manner in which he brought the communal agitation led by Mir Waiz Yusuf Shah against some speech made by Pt. S.N. Fotedar, the leader of the Kashmiri Pandits. The Mir Waiz was arrested by Mr. Archbold himself when the former was leading an unlawful procession through the streets of Srinagar. The 'cow-protection' agitation started by the Hindu community in Jammu was also successfully handled. An important event pertaining to the strength of the force was the sanctioning of the Srinagar city scheme in his time. The total strength of the Police force now went up to 17 gazetted and 3102 non-gazetted. To improve the efficiency of the Police force a standard Police Training School was established at Srinagar on the lines of the Police Training School at Phillaur (India).

During the time of Mr. R.S. Bell an additional Police Organisation named 'Maharaja's guards' was temporarily created. This was to assist the Police in the maintenance of public order in times of emergency and to maintain internal security and defence during the period of war. Both officials and non-

12 Once (probably in 1928), Sir Albion Banerjee, the then Senior and Foreign Minister of this State, inspected the Police Lines at Srinagar. While he was inspecting some registers etc. in the office, Col. Gandharb Singh kept standing all the while. Sir Albion lost his temper and told the former, "You Inspector General of Police, of His Highness's Government here, will you sit in the chair". The I.G. Police complied at once.

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officials were appointed as Maharaja's guards. These guards (1362 in number) did good work at the great 'Dashhar' fair at Shadipur (Kashmir).

Mr. Powell was a very energetic officer and a hard-task-Master. He galvanized the Police force into alacrity. He worked well during the crucial pre-independence years (1946-47).

JUDICIARY

Justice during ancient times

In pre-*Rajatarangini* historical records of Kashmir, one does not find any mention about the existence of any kind of independent or separate judiciary in the country. The Buddhist or Hindu rulers probably dispensed justice according to their religious injunctions and scriptures which served as the Penal Codes. The king or a great religious leader has in the ancient times invariably been the supreme authority to punish or reward his subjects or followers. Petty cases of disputes about property etc., in the villages were, it seems, decided locally by the Assembly of elders sitting in conclave like our present-day Panchayats.

Justice in the later period

King Jaipida of Karkota dynasty, it is stated, was the first king to establish the Office of the Administrator of Justice (Dharmadhikarma). The Office of 'Rajasthan' (Chief Justice) existed during the rule of King Jayasimha of the second Lohara dynasty. According to Kalhana, the king granted the garland of the office of Chief Justice to Ydaya. And in the concluding phase of this dynasty's rule the term 'dandanayak' is found as the official designation of Sunna. This word literary means the 'Prefect of Punishments' (High Court).

Judicial System of the Sultans

The Sultan, like his predecessor the Hindu Raja, was an autocrat. He was the law-giver as also the interpretor of law. Under the Sultanate rulers the rod of justice was wielded by a

separate authority, 'Qazi'. The severity of the criminal code and the responsibility of the family for the lapse of any of its members prevented repetition of crimes. The Minister of Justice was called 'Sadr-us-Sudir'. He was also the Chief Judge, 'Qazi-ul-Mulk'. 'Shekh'l Islam' was the legal and religious adviser to the Sultan. Under the Chakas the duties of the Shekh'l Islam were taken over by the Qazi of Srinagar, known as "Qazi'l Quzah". He was the highest judicial authority in the State and was assisted by a Mufti who gave rulings according to the Hanfia law. The Kotwal, a civilian officer, was also a committing magistrate.

Judicial reforms by Zain-ul-Abidin

When Zain-ul-Abidin became the king, judiciary had become corrupt; the judges accepted bribes from both the plaintiff and the defendant, and litigants resorted to forgery, theft, highway-robbery and wine-bibbing, were common. To put a stop to all this, the Sultan established a High Court of justice staffed by judges known for their integrity and efficiency. Documents were properly registered to prevent fradulent transactions in property. The Sultan was himself the final court of appeal. Pandits and Qazis were appointed to assist him in his work. His approach to crime, however, was reformatory. Seldom was anyone put behind the bars, nor was anyone hanged for his crimes. Instead he employed the criminals on public works, in factories and other industries.

A keen sense of Justice

The Sultan was gifted with a keen sense of justice. "Once a Resident of Kashmir (Lake district) lost his cow. Four years later he found it, along with a calf, with a man of Maraz district. Failing to get it restored, he appealed to the Sultan. On enquiry, the cow's present owner told the royal court that it had been with him from its very birth. To test the truth of his statement, the Sultan threw some green water-nuts before the cow and its calf. The cow ate the nuts with relish but its calf did not. The inference was inescapable that

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the cow was used to taking nuts, but for the calf this food was new. And this proved that the cow originally belonged to the Lake district noted for the production of water-nuts, whereas the calf had been born and brought up away from the lake. The cow was accordingly restored to its owner" (Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, p. 95—quoted in Dutta's *Kings of Kashmir*).

Mughal Kotwal and Faujdar

During the Mughal times also the Kotwal was the 'Muhtasib'—the Censor of public morals and a committing magistrate too. The Faujdar performed the functions of the Chief Justice.

Pathan Time

The Afghans were seldom known for their sense of justice. They only knew how to torture and fleece people. The question of dispensing any justice by some judicial authority never arose during their time.

The Sikh Period

The crime being very rare, no special judiciary seems to have existed during the Sikh rule. The administrators who remained incharge of policies were deputed from Lahore. The Sikh Governor was the final Judicial authority.

Justice under the Dogras

Maharaja Gulab Singh's rule being short-lived, he did not find time to organize any standard judicial system, nor was any separate judicial authority appointed. Gulab Singh brought personal rule to perfection. Anyone could approach him direct with an application and a fee of Rs. 2 and his case was heard and justice done according to its merits. He suppressed thieves and imposed heavy punishment for any kind of serious crime.

The Codification of Laws

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was an admirer of the British Institutions. He organized the judicial system. A State Penal Code—Ranbir Penal Code—named after the Maharaja, was drawn along the lines of Macaulay's Code in British India. This is still in use in the State. Justice was neither tardy nor expensive. Like Gulab Singh anyone could approach the Maharaja direct. Only half a rupee stamp was needed to have a case heard by the Maharaja himself. The established courts were also easily accessible to the people.

Thus the Ruler has always been the fountain-head of justice and also the source of all legislative and executive authority.

The Judiciary is modernised

During his rule Maharaja Partap Singh had practically been deposed by the British for about two decades. During that period the Resident in the State wielded judicial powers: the mixed court was abolished and the Resident given powers to decide civil cases. However, in 1905, the administrative powers were restored to Maharaja Partap Singh by the Viceroy Lord Curzon. The State Council was also abolished. The Maharaja was to be assisted by a Chief Minister and some other Ministers including a Judicial Minister. The administration of justice up to 1905 was, however, vested in the Member of the State Council incharge of Judicial Department who exercised the powers of 'Adalat-ul-alia' in civil and criminal matters. Orders for the appointment of a Judge of the Jammu and Kashmir were issued. This Court was appointed to decide all judicial cases. There was no separate judicial body in the State then. Every Departmental Minister proposed and the High Court passed it into law (Department of Archives, Jammu, No. 15887). The appointment of the High Court in this State was the first step to separate the higher judicial functions from the executive. However, it was in 1912 A.D. that the draft of the Criminal Procedure Code was approved and introduced in the State. Under it the High Court was statutorily defined as the highest court of Criminal appeal and

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revision subject to the general powers of His Highness the Maharaja in matters of revision, reference and further appeal. The Small Causes Court Regulation was also passed. Provincial Governors were now made District Magistrates for purposes of chapters 8 to 13 of the Criminal Procedure Code (No. 15849, Department of Archives Jammu). In 1920 A.D. a Legislative Department was formed and the posts of Legal Rememberancer and the State Advocate under the High Court were created. The Mohtamid Darbar was the Magistrate with some summary powers to hear and decide cases against all the Europeans in the State. In 1921 A.D. the State Council was again revived. All appeals and revisions both in civil and criminal cases which lay to His Highness were again dealt with by the Law Member who submitted his opinion to His Highness.

A Full-fledged High Court

In 1928, Maharaja Hari Singh established a High Court consisting of a Chief Justice and two Puisne judges. Sir Barjor Dalal of the Allahabad High Court was appointed as the first Chief Justice of the State. One of the Puisne judges was designated Judge High Court and Revenue Commissioner. He was empowered to hear Revenue appeals. The Civil and criminal jurisdiction of the High court was extended and he was empowered to confer civil and criminal powers on Magistrates. All the civil and criminal cases against the orders of the High Court, pending in the Maharaja's and the Judicial Minister's offices were transferred to High Court for final disposal. The Judicial Minister, however, still continued to exercise executive control over the High Court in administative matters.

High Court and the Act of 1939

In September 1939 an Act was passed conferring upon the High Court a substantial measure of independence. Every Judge of the High Court could now hold office up to the age of 55. His services could not be terminated before this save in cases of resignation, misbehaviour, or mental imbalance etc. The High

Court was invested with powers of superintendence and control over the lower courts. He could make rules to regulate its own practice and the practice of the subordinate courts etc., etc. A Board of Judicial Advisors consisting of three members was appointed by the Maharaja to decide certain specified cases. The administrative control of the Judicial Minister over the High Court, however, remained.

Grant of Letters Patent

Even this last vestige of executive control over the High Court was taken away on and from 10th of September, 1943. This day was important in the history of administration of justice in the State. On this day Letters Patent were granted to the High Court on the model of Letters Patent of the Chartered High Courts in British India. The High Court now came directly under His Highness the Maharaja, the Prime Minister being the channel of communication between His Highness and the High Court.

Organization of the Judiciary

For purposes of Civil and Criminal Justice the High Court had under it five District and Sessions Judges working at Jammu, Srinagar, Mirpur, Poonch and Ladakh. The Wazir of Ladakh exercised, in addition to his own, the powers of the District Magistrate as well. The District and Sessions Judges had under them the necessary complement of subordinate judges. Two of them were designated Additional District Magistrates of Jammu & Kashmir Provinces. Under the subordinate judges were the Munsiffs who were Magistrates of the 1st class. Under the Sub-Divisional Magistrates (Wazir Wazarats) were the Tehsildars and Naib-Tehsildars exercising powers of 1st class, 2nd class and 3rd class Magistrates. In addition to this, certain Heads of Departments etc., also exercised powers of Magistrate of First class. They were: Director of Tawaza; Chief Conservator of Forests; Divisional Forest Officers; Deputy Controller of Shikar Gah. The Director and the Deputy Director Visitors Bureau exercised

summary powers under Section 260(2) Criminal Procedure Code.

Separation of Judiciary from the Executive

Thus after the delegation of powers etc., to the High Courts etc., there was, in the Provinces of Jammu and Kashmir, a virtual and effective separation of Judiciary from the Executive, except in the category of lower magistracy and a few departmental Magistrates. In Ladakh there was a combination of judicial and executive functions in executive officials.

III

DEFENCE

Defence During the Ancient Hindu Period

The natural ramparts of Kashmir

During ancient times Kashmir rulers had no serious Defence problems to face. The great natural ramparts which enclose Kashmir, have assured to this 'land of Sharda' long immunity from foreign invasions. The first rush of Arab invasions in the Indus Valley during the 8th century carried the Muhammadan arms at times close enough to the confines of Kashmir. No permanent conquest, however, has been effected. Even when Islam overpowered the whole of Northern India, Kashmir behind its mountain ramparts remained safe for centuries longer. Since the early period Kashmirians have been wont to pride themselves on their country's safety from foreign invasions, a feeling justified only by the strength of those national defences. Kalhana is said to have stated that 'Kashmir is unconquerable by the force of soldiers and the protection afforded by its mountain walls'. Although much of the annals of Kashmir concerns waring kings and tales of conquest and civil war, neither Kalhana nor any other contemporary historian tells us a great deal about military organization. King Lalitaditya has once in a message to his nobles stated that "as Kashmir has to fear no foreign foes,

owing to the strength of its natural position, its rulers are advised to concentrate their attention on preventing internal dissensions".

Guarding of Frontier passes

All that Kashmiris needed was to guard their country's natural passes and some of its approach roads; and also to provide some check to stop internal dissensions. According to Albiruni 'the Kashmirians are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading to it'. We have here a full statement of that system of guarding all frontier-passes which we find alluded to already in the Chinese records. A careful guard was kept over the passes leading through mountains by a system of frontier watch-stations, designated by the word 'Dvara' (gate), or by the more specified terms 'dranga' or 'dakka'. They served at the same time the purposes of defence, customs and Police Administration. They were garrisoned by troops under special commanders, designated as 'drangesha' or 'drangadhipa'. The control over all these frontier stations and the command of the 'Marches' generally was vested in Hindu times to one high State Officer, known by the title of 'Dvarpati'.

Dvarpati Margesas

'Dvardhipa' or 'Dvarpati' (literary lord of the gate) is of most frequent reference throughout the chronicle, right from Lalitaditya's time, as the designation of the high officer who had charge of the passes leading into Kashmir. The history of Kashmir down to the present century shows clearly that it was on the defence of these approaches that the safety of the Valley has always depended. It was for this reason that the protection of these passes, and the general command over the watch-stations established on them, were entrusted to a high special officer. We see the succession of 'dvarpatis' exercising military functions, particularly in connection with troubles in the border territories. The post was held by one person only. Other identical posts in the Defence Department, which figured in the later periods,

were 'Margesas' (guardians of the routes). The difference between the 'lord of the gate' and 'Margesas' is that the latter are generally referred to in the plural and in connection with particular routes across the mountains, like 'Maliks' of Muhammadan times. There were feudal chiefs who held hereditary charge of specific passes, and were bound to furnish garrisons for the frontier posts on these passes in return for the revenue of certain lands assigned to them.

Gates of Kashmir

There were many watch-stations and routes leading to the Valley. Hieun Tsiang (6th century) is believed to have entered Kashmir by the valley of the Vitasta (Jhelum Valley). After crossing over mountains he arrived at the 'stone gate'—the frontier watch-station on the gorge of Varahmulla (Baramulla). Another Chinese traveller who came to Kashmir in 759 A.D. was Ou-Kong. He describes the kingdom of Kashmir as enclosed on all sides by mountains; only three routes have been opened through them, and these again are secured by gates. In the east a road leads to T'ou-fan or Tibet (present Srinagar-Leh road over Zogila pass); in the north there is a road which reaches into Po-lin or Baltistan (Srinagar-Gilgit road); the road which starts from 'the western gate' goes to Kien-to-lo or Gandhara (J.V. Road). Near Baramulla, 'Drang' was the watch-station. Then comes Tatkoti pass, in Pir Panchal range. There were numerous other passes like Budal, Rupri, Darhal, Pir Panchal. Tosamaidan was an important and ancient line of communication. Its historical importance is best illustrated by the fact that it was chosen on two occasions for serious attempts at invading Kashmir. The first was Mahmud Ghazni's expedition (A.D. 1021). The attempt at invasion was brought to a standstill by valourous defence of the castle of Lohara and a timely fall of snow. Nor was Maharaja Ranjit Singh more successful when in 1814 A.D. he first attempted to invade Kashmir by this route.

Pravarsena

In the sixth century, Pravarsena organized the hill Chieftains to form a system of regional defence to withstand the marauding Central Asian tribes. The exploits of Pravarsena established a tradition of military supremacy of Kashmir that was to last for more than a hundred years.

Lalitaditya and Jaipida

The zenith of Karkota dynasty was reached in the mid-eighth century under the fourth ruler Lalitaditya. Apart from his other accomplishments, he is primarily renowned for his military prowess and achievements. He was greatly influenced in political and military affairs by the Chinese, whose techniques were superior to those of the Indians. For the most part Lalitaditya recruited his army from the hill tribes, probably the forebearers of the Dogras. In this period the king's army was under the control of a Commander-in-Chief called the 'Kampanesha'. It is estimated that Lalitaditya and his successor, Jaipida, maintained armies consisting of 100,000 and 80,000 litters respectively. (Litters were seats for the high-born warriors mounted on platforms and carried or pulled by slaves or low caste conscripts). Recruitment to the army was open to all castes and classes. Lower classes were often pressed into military service for menial duties.

Shankerverman

Shankerverman (883 A.D.) raised a great army. Though there is mention of the warlike Tantrins and Damras of Kashmir, yet it is not clear whether the brave soldiers of Lalitaditya and Shankerverman were natives of the Valley or mercenaries from the Punjab. Kashmiris have seldom produced serious fighting men. They are essentially non-militant in character.

Ekangis, Rajasthana and Kotapadati

King Sugandha (A.D. 904-906) ruled for two years relying on 'Ekangis' and through the goodwill of the Tantrins (The Tantrins appeared to have formed in Hindu times a military caste of strong organisation). The Ekangis were a body organized in

military fashion, but employed chiefly for Police duties. Mention about the office of 'Rajasthana' is often made during the reign of Lohara dynasty. He was the high Officer holding the charge of Kampana and Dvara (army and gate). From Harsha's time we find the mention of the word 'Police', foot-soldiers garrisoning the castle (Kotapadati) at Lohara. These correspond to the 'Killadar'.

The army of Utpalas and Loharas

After the fall of Karkota dynasty, a new dynasty of Utpalas arose. During their time the politico-military situation reached so low a level that at one point, when a queen ruled Kashmir, her paramour, a former buffalo-herdsman, was the Commander-in-chief of the army. After the queen's death came the rule of the Loharas. They did not distinguish themselves in military exploits. In fact even the best known of the Lohara rulers, Harsha, was defeated in many of his undertakings. His ultimate defeat was at the hands of Damras. His clumsy war-machine was not good enough to withstand their guerrilla tactics. The organization of Harsha's army was typical of the military organization of the middle ages in Kashmir. There were four traditional units: elephantry, cavalry, infantry, and litters (which were used in place of chariots in the plains) as well as 18 'divisions'. Elephants in the Kashmir army were employed mainly for portage and, occasionally, in attack and defence on level ground. The cavalry, however, was the main strength of the Kashmir army. In battle both the horse and the rider were protected by armour. The Kashmir infantry was heavily armed. The sling was a popular weapon in Kashmir from the time of Jaipida to the reign of Gulab Singh.

Positional and Defensive Warfare

It is true that Pravarsena and Lalitaditya were the two illustrious warrior kings, whose military exploits took them far beyond the borders of their own territories. But most of the other campaigns of Kashmir medieval history were fought defensively within its borders or just beyond. Hence in Kashmir

armies of those days were organized and trained essentially for positional and defensive warfare. There was never a highly developed tactical consciousness among the commanders; generalship depended more upon birth, personality and leadership than on military acumen.

Defence During the Muslim Period

Army of the Sultans

In 1343 A.D. Shah Mir founded the Sultanate dynasty which ruled Kashmir for 222 years. In the early period of Sultanate the army was kept in good condition. It was used vigorously in many a conquest in and outside the State. The Commanders capitalized on the combat abilities of the hill people and encouraged their martial traditions. It soon grew into a formidable force. It was the best army that Kashmir had produced.

The earlier Sultans had organized their army into four distinct categories: the standing-army; the provincial or territorial army; the feudal levies and the 'volunteers'. The Sultan himself was the commander-in-chief. The classes recruited into the regular army were mainly Khasas and Rajputs, with Kashmir admixture of Magres, Chaks, Rainas, Damras and Lavanyas. "The provincial army was a territorial 'gendarmerie' force. It was stationed permanently in outlying areas such as the or along the main trade routes. The head of this organization was called the Nayak (the successor of old Dvarpati). The feudal levies were personal troops of social nobles. They did not owe allegiance to the Sultan. But they could be summoned by the Sultan when the country was threatened with invasion."

Defence During the Mughal Rule

Change from the Mughal time

With the Mughal conquest of Kashmir in the 16th century, Kashmir lost its isolated, independent position and became a part of India like other Subas. Its defence was accordingly undertaken by the Mughals. Gradually, as a result of this,

Kashmiris lost their martial spirit. "The strength of the Mughal army went up to 90,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry".[13] They were commanded by a Faujdar who worked under the Subedar of Kashmir.

Defence During the Period of the Pathans

Afghans take the Valley

Things went on pretty smoothly up to the reign of Aurangzeb. After the death of Aurangzeb, however, there was chaos and it became more and more difficult to administer an outlying provinces like Kashmir with any degree of effectiveness. Consequently the peripheral territories began to assert their independence. In such conditions came the dynasty of the Afghan, Ahmad Shah Abdali—the successor of Nadir Shah. It is interesting to mention here that in spite of the internal strife and disorder then prevalent in Srinagar and the valley, the Kashmir army defeated the army of Ahmad Shah Abdali in its first attempt to invade the valley. However, when Afghans returned the next year via Pir Panchal, the commander of the Kashmir force defected to the Afghans. This enabled the Afghans to march through to Srinagar and claim possession of the valley.

Sukhjewan Reorganizes

The only bright silver-lining that appeared on the Kashmir horizon during the dark clouds of Afghan rule was the deputation of Raja Sukhjewan, an adviser to Afghan Governor in Kashmir. On the death of the Governor (1754 A.D.), Sukhjewan proclaimed himself ruler of Kashmir and announced his allegiance to the Mughals and administered the country benevolently for eight years. He reorganized the Kashmir army virtually from the scratch. He concentrated on revitalizing the old mountain "gendarmerie"—and was soon able to train and equip a force of 30,000 soldiers to man the passes and other ingress to the valley. This force kept the Afghans out of Kashmir for nearly a decade. Sukhjewan unfortunately, became over-confi-

13 D.K. Palit, *Jammu & Kashmir Arms*, p. 11.

dent about his military strength. He embarked on an ambitious campaign southwards in which he was defeated and Kashmir once again came under Afghan rule.

Defence During the Sikh Rule

Sikh invasion of 1819 A.D.

In 1819 A.D., at the request of Pt. Birbal Dhar, Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent an army of 30,000 troops to invade Kashmir. They gave a tough fight to the Afghan army—about 12,000 strong—and defeated them. The Sikhs thus got a clear passage to Srinagar and took possession of Kashmir. They ruled here up to 1846, when the country was sold out by the British to Gulab Singh under the treaty of Amritsar as mentioned before.

Defence During the Dogra Rule

While the Dogras have not been a particularly large group numerically, they have figured in the military events of their reign. They are mainly of Rajput descent, carriying with them the habits and attitudes of a martial class. As soldiers they are reputed to be brave, honest, truthful and direct. They are known for their loyalty and respect for authority as well as enthusiasm and dedication to a cause when they are motivated. They are anything but flamboyant by nature, and whether in peace or at war, their special qualities are endurance, unflinching courage and orderly obedience.

Gulab Singh's Army

Raja Gulab Singh had started by raising a small cavalry force of a hundred Dogra horsemen for the protection of Jammu etc. "This unit eventually became the Jammu and Kashmir Bodyguard Cavalry".[14] With his position secure in Jammu and the resources of the State increasing, Gulab Singh began his long

14 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

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series of conquests of territories to the north of Jammu. By 1827, he had annexed most of the territories between Jammu and Kashmir valley and was gradually increasing the strength of his army and grooming such generals as Zorawar Singh for leadership and command of the forces for future undertakings. Under the treaty of Amritsar (1846) Kashmir passed to Maharaja Gulab Singh. He increased the strength of his army by raising No 3 Kashmir-Rifles in 1849 A.D. The battalion was composed mainly of Gorkhas, and was named 'Suraj Gorkha' (now 5th J & K Rifles). The Raghunath Battalion (now 3rd J & K Rifles) was raised in 1856 and the Bodyguard (now 2nd J & K Rifles) was raised in 1869. "Other units raised by the Maharaja during this period were a battery each of horse mule artillery, sappers and miners and cavalry regiment."[15] Maharaja Gulab Singh died in 1857 A.D.

Ranbir Singh's handicaps

Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who succeeded Gulab Singh was trained for soldiering from his youth. He joined his father in several of his campaigns. "Ranbir Singh did not share his father's aggressive and adventuresome spirit in external expeditions. His proclivity was underscored by the British intervention in the area and their desire to restrain any further expansion by the Kashmir ruler into territory they now considered sensitive in their relations with Russia, China and Afghanistan."[16] Besides Maharaja Ranbir Singh's hands remained full with administrative reforms, famine etc., in Kashmir. He was not as such able to devote much attention to increasing his army. He died in 1885 A.D. When Maharaja Partap Singh ascended to the throne in 1885, the region of the north-west had assumed considerable significance in the eyes of the British policy-makers in England and in India. Russia had continued her advance eastward, which the British perceived as a threat to India. Lord Dufferin the then Viceroy of India conceived the plan of developing the State forces so that they could be of use to the Government of India. In December 1888, he announced an agreement on a plan under

15 *Ibid.*, p. 51.
16 *Ibid.*, 58.

which the States which had particularly "good fighting material (would) raise a portion of the army to such a pitch of general efficiency as will make them fit to go into action side by side with Imperial troops". "Jammu and Kashmir State provided the largest contingent of Imperial Service Troops constituting a mixed brigade at Jammu Cantonment: one squadron of Kashmir Lancers, First and Second J & K Mountain Batteries, grouped together into the Imperial Service Artillery, and the 'Raghupratap', the Bodyguard and the 'Raghunath infantry battalions'."[17]

Because of its commitments along a vast 'international frontier', the J&K force had considerably more experience than other State forces, particularly in frontier, mountain and tribal warfare. The Jammu and Kashmir Army, were the only State forces which contributed to the Imperial Service Artillery. The composition of the Jammu and Kashmir (JAK) contingent of Imperial Service troops included Gorkhas. The 2nd and 3rd JAK Rifles were designated for service in Gilgit as part of the Imperial Service Troops.

In addition there remained at Jammu a regular brigade consisting of the Bodyguard Cavalry Regiment and Horse Artillery, the 'Suraj Gorkha' (5 JAK Rifles), the Rudra Shibnath (9 JAK Rifles) and the Sappers and Miners. Kashmir Brigade consisted of units serving in Srinagar, Ladakh and Skardu.

On January 1, 1890, 4 JAK and 5 Kashmir Light Infantry were added to the Imperial Service Troops.

The Jammu and Kashmir Army was, by and large, quiescent until the outbreak of World War I. They only fought with the British in the Boer war in South Africa (1900-1902) and rendered appreciable service there.

In the first decade of the twentieth century intensive training was carried out under the direction of the British Officers in line with that of troops in the rest of India. Raja Amar Singh was the Commander-in-Chief of the State forces. The J and K forces were grouped into Imperial Service Troops and the local service troops (the Regulars). These were deployed in all important stations in the State. The Regular forces

17 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

were composed of the Bodyguards cavalry, the Horse Artillery, one garrison battery, three infantry battalions, four companies of Sappers and Miners and a brass band. "The total strength of the State forces was 6,283 of which 3,370 were Imperial Service troops."[18] Maharaja Partap Singh established a Cadet School in 1907.

World War I (1914-18)

The most outstanding event of Maharaja Partap Singh's reign was the participation of several units of the J and K force with the British forces in Africa and the Middle East during World War I. 31,000 men of the State forces were placed at the disposal of the British Government and over a crore of rupees was spent in the war effort by the J and K State forces.

Reorganisation

The J and K force underwent a period of significant reorganisation between 1921 and 1924. In the process, 4 JAK originally, 100 per cent Dogra was converted to 50 per cent Dogra and 50 per cent Muslim (1923). All in all the Jammu and Kashmir Force was increased by five hundred men.

Hari Singh and the Army

After Maharaja Partap Singh came Maharaja Hari Singh. During World War II (1939-45) he contributed generously of his army to aid the British in the various theatres of war. During 1930's various steps had been taken to improve the training of educated officers etc. Two companies of a training battalion were raised in November 1936. The Bodyguard Cavalry was reorganised. 7th JAK, 8th JAK and 9 JAK battalions were raised. In July 1942, 9 JAK was placed at the disposal of the British Government. It served on many a war front. During the post-war period, the State forces of Kashmir were organized into Army

18 *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Headquarters and four infantry brigades. Army Headquarters was located at Srinagar and was directly under His Highness the Maharaja, though in all day-to-day affairs executive control was exercised by the Chief of Staff, Major General H.L. Scott.

Border Raids in 1946

The total post-war strength of the State forces in 1946 being only twelve thousand or so, it had been decided to raise a number of garrison police companies in order to provide security along with 500 miles border with Pakistan. A number of companies were raised and they were armed from some ancient stocks of arms. By August 1946, these companies had been posted in small outposts all along the Punjab border. Tribal incursions from across the border had already started on a minor scale. These companies were engaged to repel the invaders. "From August 1947 onwards there had been many instances of border raids and looting and burning of villages by armed Jathas from Pakistan side, often assisted by Pakistan Police and troops; but Srinagar naively assumed that they were not a part of Pakistan national policy."[19] Even the Government of India was completely unaware of what was brewing in Pakistan till Pakistan concentrated tens of thousands of tribesmen on the Abbotabad-Muzaffarabad road. "On 22nd September 1947 the Chief of the Staff, General Scott, submitted to the Maharaja a note on the deteriorating situation on the State boundaries, but not all his suggestions were acted upon."[20] In the first week of October thousands of armed tribes and border inhabitants from Pakistan stiffened by Pakistan Army regular personnel in civilian guise moved rapidly inside J and K borders and attacked border posts. The stage was being carefully set for the *coup de grace*. "In November 1946, 9 JAK was stationed at Jhangar. In this area two other battalions, I JAK at Poonch and 6 JAK at Naushehra, were posted. There was also a cavalry squadron at Bhimber and a Garrison Police (G.P.) each

19 *Ibid.*, p. 153.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 149.

at Ghanger and Mirpur."[21] However, in course of time, it became clear that the State Muslim troops had been subverted—and were not as reliable as they had been in the past. There were communal disturbances in many parts of the Western Punjab and organized propaganda was launched by Pakistan 'agent provocateurs' to incite communal hatred and anti-state passions in the Muslim troops and Muslim inhabitants of Mirpur district and other areas.

"About 15th August, on the Mirpur front more troops were sent and deployed on important border posts to help Hindus and Sikhs seeking refuge who had crossed into State territory from different places from the Punjab."[22] The pressure from Pakistanis on our army units deployed on Poonch and Kohalla etc., was mounting day by day. Three crack Dogra battalions of the JAK State Forces were tied down in the Poonch area. There was fierce fighting between Pakistanis and J & K forces in which most of the area in Mirpur district fell into the hands of former (October-November).

Invasion of the Valley

4 JAK Infantry was disposed for the defence of Muzaffarabad-Domel area (Kashmir) under the command of Lt. Col. Narayan Singh. The class composition of the battalion was half Dogra-Hindu and half Poonch Muslim. "The Muslim Officers and men of 4 JAK had been in league with the enemy for weeks. They had passed on all the details about these garrisons at Domel and Muzaffarabad to Pakistan."[23] Thus posted with all information about the strength and disposition of 4 JAK, 5000 raiders, armed to teeth crossed the border. "Col. Narayan Singh and others were killed and inhuman atrocities were perpetrated on the non-Muslims, some of whom managed to escape via Teetwal and Sopore to Srinagar."[24]

Now Srinagar was in imminent danger. So on 24th October, 1947 the Maharaja appealed to Government of India for

21 *Ibid.*, p. 158.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 161.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 179.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 181.

Military help which was after certain formalities immediately provided. The Pak forces were pushed back and Srinagar was saved.

The Gallant Effort at Poonch

Since mid-October the JAK picket around Bagh (Poonch) had been under constant attack by local armed bands. Finally, Bagh was abandoned on 7th November. The strongholds of JAK forces at Palandari, Bagh, Rawlakot fell one by one. Now began the defence of Poonch which lasted sixteen months, 'one of the most gallant efforts of the J&K forces'.[25] Everywhere else the war was being fought mainly by Indian army troops; only at Poonch did the garrison consist of predominantly State forces. So, with the help of 161 Infantry Brigade, Poonch was saved for the Indian Union.

Gilgit

Gilgit Agency, leased to the British in 1935 by the Maharaja, was a focal point of British military and political influence. 600 strong Gilgit-Scouts raised and officered by the British were well trained, armed and equipped. Just prior to independence the British relinquished control over Gilgit which in August 1947 came once again into the domain of Jammu and Kashmir. Brigadier Ghansara Singh was posted there as Governor. The British Officers of the Gilgit Agency were pro-Pakistan and actively hostile. The loyalty of the Gilgit-Scouts also favoured Pakistan. On the night of 31st October, the Commander of these Scouts, Major Brown, accompanied by about 100 Scouts surrounded the Governor's residence and started firing by light machine-guns. Brigadier Ghansara Singh was then arrested, taken to Pakistan and there released at Suchetgarh on 15th January 1949. Gilgit and Bunji now came under Pakistan.

From now onwards the defence of Kashmir became the baby of the Indian Army.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 208.

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PART V

12

Religion and Worship

I

The Holy Land

From remote past religion has always dominated the life of the Kashmirians, and Kashmir has always been a holy land abundantly endowed with holy sites and objects of pilgrimage. Kalhana speaks of it as a country "where there is not a space as large as a grain of sesame without a Tirtha". According to Abu-l-Fazl (16th century) "the whole of Kashmir is considered to be holy ground by the Hindus. There are one hundred and thirty-four shrines dedicated to Hindu deities..." (quoted by Ferguson).

Ancient Religious Cults

The earliest inhabitants of Kashmir probably cherished some aboriginal beliefs, the details of which are not traceable now. The snake-cult or Naga worship seems to have been established in the valley from a remote period and had been one of the earliest religions of the land. Regarding the origin of Nagas, it is stated that they were the progeny of Prajapati Kashyapa

and his wife Kadra—the daughter of Daksha. The identification of Nagas is difficult as they "are still behind the veil of myth and legend, peeping out at one time as reptile snakes with supernatural powers etc., and at another as human beings, sometimes highly respectable etc."[1] According to Abu-l-Fazl, "there are seven hundred places in which snake-worship is carried on and around which marvellous legends have grown up. This is an interesting testimony to the power which the ancient Naga or serpent worship still exercised in a country that had long been ruled by Hindu or Muslim kings" (quoted by Ferguson). Reliable information about the type of religion practised in very remote pre-vedic times point out the fact that Kashmiris were nature-worshippers also. The whole nature was in some sense divine. They had sacred rivers, trees and animals like cow etc. The civilized inhabitants worshipped the 'Mother Goddess' and some incarnation of God—a proto-Shiva. The Goddess was the wife of Shiva, called in her benevolent aspect 'Parvati', 'Durga', 'Girija' etc. Among the Hindu Gods Shiva either originated or entered the valley some time before Buddhism made its entrance, and was later followed by Vishnu, Surya and other Brahmanical gods and goddesses. The worship of Surya was probably brought into the valley from Iran at an early period. The epics, *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* and *Bhagwad Gita* also began to invade the Hindu society in Kashmir.

Buddhism in Kashmir

Buddhism seems to have obtained a footing in Kashmir as early as the 3rd century B.C. Kashmir formed a part of the empire of Asoka who was a great votary, if not actually a follower, of Buddhism. He gave state recognition to this cult. He had broken through the fetters of Brahmanism. The result of his religious influence may be seen to this day in Kashmir in the remains of Buddhist temples and statues and other ruins of cities founded by him 250 years before Christ. In Kashmir he caused stupas and temples to be erected. Buddhism came to

1 Ved Kumari, *Nilamat Purana* '(Tr)', p. 46.

Kashmir with its doctrines of love, piety, universal brotherhood. It also gave freedom from the rigid and suffocating Brahmanical rituals and blind faith in God etc. Most people came out to breathe this fresh air. The intellectual class of Nagas were the first to accept this new faith. Progressive Kshatriyas and enlightened Brahmins followed soon. Though the vedic religion existed side by side, Buddhism was more popular in the valley.

It's Golden Phase

Buddhism in Kashmir entered its golden phase under the patronage of Kushana king Kanishka and his successors who came to occupy the valley about the end of first century A.D. During the rule of the three powerful kings in this line, Kushka, Jushka and Kanishka, the land of Kashmir was, to a great extent, under the possession of Buddhas. The Fourth Great Buddhist Council sponsored by Kanishka, who ruled in Kashmir about 40 A.D., was held in Kashmir to draw up the "Greater Vehicle of the Law". At Harwan, overlooking the Dal lake, lived a famous Bodisttava, Nagarjuna. He exercised a spiritual lordship over the land. He is stated to have been the Luther of Buddhism, and an apostle of Bakhti Marga. The flourishing site of Buddhism in Kashmir at the end of Kushana period and afterwards is testified to by archaeological evidence. The site of Harwan, yields Buddhist stupas, bases of chapels, inscriptions containing the celebrated Buddhist creed etc. Not only the Kushan kings, but the rulers of Kashmir also seem to have patronized the faith of Buddha in the early centuries of the Christian era. During the reign of the Karkotas especially, i.e., during the 7th or the 8th centuries A.D., Buddhism in Kashmir was in a thriving state. Owing to the conversion of Nagas to the Buddhist faith the Naga influence considerably dwindled in the valley.

The Descent of Buddhism

But, even when Buddhism had undermined the Naga beliefs, one of its early kings Gonanda III is said to have reintroduced the pilgrimages, sacrifices and other worship in honour of the

Nagas, as they had been before. The Naga cult thus prevailed in the valley throughout the Hindu rule and even afterwards.

Buddhism seems to have been overshadowed by growing Vaishnava and Shiva faiths in the centuries following the Karkota period. The dynasty of Utpala supplanted the Karkota about the middle of the 9th century A.D. The founder of this dynasty, Avantiverman, (A.D. 855/56-883) was a staunch follower of Shiva. Ksemgupta (A.D. 950-958) and Harsha (A.D. 1089-1101) were anti-Buddhist. But all the same the fact cannot be disputed that Buddha was held in high honour in Kashmir up to the last days of the Hindu rule. The place of Kashmir in the history of Buddhism was great indeed. From the moment Buddhism was preached in the Valley, Kashmir became mistress of the Buddhist doctrine. She played a great role in the spread of Buddhism beyond India.

Shiva Worship

The history of introduction of Shaivism in Kashmir is shrouded in mystery. Traces of Shiva-worship have been discovered in the proto-historic Harappa culture. It is not known whether Shiva of Kashmir was an immigrant from the neighbouring Indus Valley or was of local origin. Whatever might have been the origin of Shaivism in Kashmir, there is no doubt that Shiva as a popular deity was widely worshipped (as it is even at present) from a remote period. Asoka himself built temples of Shiva. His son Jalauka was also a worshipper of Shiva. Shiva was worshipped with great devotion not only in the Karkota and the Utpala period but also in the succeeding ages. It flourished also under the Second Lohara dynasty and after.

Shaivism in Kashmir

The early Kashmir Shaivism (based on a number of 'tantras') seems to have preached dualistic doctrine. From the 8th or 9th century, the Shaiva system of Kashmir assumed a new character. Based on pure 'advaita tatva', it henceforth began to preach a sort of idealistic monism. The new system took the name of 'Trika Shastra'. The founder of this new doctrine was a holy

sage named Vasagupta, who probably lived in the early years of the 9th century A.D. A philosophical treatise supporting the doctrine of the 'Trika' by critical arguments and reasonings was written by Siddha Somananda and this came to be known as 'Pratyabhijna'. Somananda's work was taken up and expanded into greater details by his successors Utpala, Abhinavgupta, Ksemraja, Yogaraja and Jayaratha. It claimed that Pratyabhijna brings into awareness the ultimate aim of man in his life, the ignorance of which is the main cause of human misery and suffering. The system does not believe in the fate of men as being rigid and unchangeable. Man is all-in-all. He is himself the pivot of his own life, and his own world which he builts for himself by his own free choice, free thinking and effort (Dr. R.K. Kaw, *Bi-annual*, I-5/76 Research Deptt.).

However, the idealistic monism of the Trika system being exclusively philosophical and ethical, remained confined to a particular class of learned religious-minded people only. The mass kept themselves attached to their old forms of Shiva-worship, and had little to do with the idealistic school.

Vaishnavism

The cult of Vishnu also has existed in Kashmir from a very early period. Images of Vishnu were consecrated by many kings like Jayasimha, Ranaditya etc. With the accession of Karkotas to the throne of Kashmir in the 7th century A.D., Vishnu, the adorned deity of the family, came to occupy a prominent position in the Kashmir pantheon. In the Vaishnavism of Kashmir we find a synthesis of different Vaishnava cults which were current in ancient India.

Other Gods and Goddesses

Besides Vishnu and Shiva, there were many other minor Hindu gods and goddesses in the early Kashmir pantheon. These included Surya, Agni, Lakshmi, Durga etc. In the 8th century A.D. King Lalitaditya erected the shrine of Aditya at Lalitpur. He built another massive stone temple of Surya under the name of Martanda, the ruins of which still exist at Mattan. Ganesha

was (as it still is), one of the popular gods of the valley of Kashmir. According to *Nilamatpurana*, the 8th of the darker Ashadha of every year was dedicated to the worship of Ganesha and went by the name of Vinayak Ashtami. This date has now been changed. The 14th of the lunar night of Vaishakh is now celebrated throughout Kashmir as the Ganesh Chaturdashi by the Hindus. Worship of 'Shakti', the energetic principle seems to have been widely prevalent. In the worship of Goddess Durga, who is but an embodiment of Shakti, animal (goat and sheep) sacrifice played an important part. Goddess 'Sharda' was one of the most celebrated deities of the valley and she was nothing but Shakti embodying three manifestations. All these gods and goddesses mentioned above are still worshipped by the Hindus in Kashmir with complete faith and devotion. Time has not been able to diminish it.

Although Kalhana's family (11th century) was Brahmin by caste and he was attached to Shiva worship, yet in his work he has evinced a keen interest in Buddhism also. For centuries before Kalhana's time Buddhism and orthodox creeds have existed peacefully side by side in Kashmir. As far as laity was concerned, they had to a great extent amalgamated. 'Kashmir had its married Bikshus long before Kalhana's time. Buddha had centuries earlier been received into the orthodox pantheon as the ninth of the ten incarnations of the great God Vishnu.

Worship of Holy-men

Hindu worship was not confined to the propitiation of gods and demigods only; great and holy men were also reverenced both during their lives and long after their death. This tradition was later on, imbibed by the Muslims also. Some saints like Lal Ded, Sheikh Nurdin, Batmalu Sahib, Dastagir Sahib, and almost all the Rishis are still reverenced by both the Hindus and the Muslims in Kashmir.

The Catholicity and Tolerance of Hindus

The most noteworthy trait of Kashmiri character is their tolerance and catholicity. We see Brahmans and the Buddhists

living in utmost harmony; Buddhist Viharas and stupas being built side by side with Vishnu and Shiva temples; Buddhist kings building Hindu temples and Hindu kings like Lalitaditya etc., building Viharas for the Buddhists. Hinduism admits that religion cannot be compressed within any juridical system or reduced to any one single doctrine. The secular outlook towards life was ever present in Kashmir in the hoary days of its history. Not a single communal trouble is mentioned by Kalhana in his chronicle. When Kashmiri Hindus were converted to Islam by thousands, there was not a single complaint about it. The catholicity of Kashmir can very faithfully be proved by the existence of Turushka-Raja Bhairava, a Shaiva shrine at the new colony of Srinagar—Narsingh Garh. As the name conclusively suggests, the foreign Turk has been accepted and exalted into a Bhairava (a form of Shiva). Even now it is being worshipped regularly.

THE MUSLIMS

Beginning of Muslim Religion in Kashmir

The Hindus of Kashmir came in contact with the Muslims as early as the beginning of eighth century. But Islam did not make much headway here till Renchan was converted by Bulbul Shah in the first quarter of the 14th century. It took Islam almost six centuries to secure a strong foot-hold in Kashmir. Thereafter numerous and frequent conversions of Hindus into the Muslim fold took place. During the time of Sultan Qutub-ud-Din (1373-1389 A.D.) a great scholar of Muslim theology, Syed Ali Hamdani arrived in Kashmir with hundreds of his disciples. At that time the number of Muslims in Kashmir was very small. There was very little to distinguish the Muslims from the Hindus. Complete religious harmony between these two communities prevailed here. The Sultan himself visited the temple at Allaudinpura every morning. Once, to avert famine, Qutub-ub-Din performed a Yagya and distributed large gifts to Brahmins. In contravention of Islamic teachings he had married two wives who were sisters. The Muslims adopted broad principles of Islam and believed in one God, one Prophet and one

Koran. Shah Hamdan denounced all this. He made the Sultan divorce the elder sister. He completely Muslimised all the Musalmans of the valley including the Sultan. He had discussions with the Brahmin priests also and in this way secured many converts.

Main Reasons Behind Easy Conversions

The main factors that brought about such easy conversions of Hindus to Islam were:

(i) Streams of Sufis and Rishis poured into Kashmir. By example and precept they were able to impress Kashmiris with the simple teachings of their own faith.
(ii) The faith of the Hindus in the caste rules had become lax due to Buddhist influence. The invasion of Dulcha in 1320 A.D. gave a further set back to their social solidarity.
(iii) Islam believes in universal brotherhood, is opposed to idol worship, caste system and untouchability. It teaches oneness of God. These ideas, in due course, began to affect the Hindus with the dogmatism of the Brahmins and their torturing rituals, etc.

Under these circumstances Islam galloped through and within next one hundred years almost overshadowed Hinduism.

Part Played by Others

Under the influence of Shah Hamdan, the Muslims of Kashmir now led their life according to the injunctions of Islamic religion. Later on they were divided into Shia, Suni and several other sub-cults. The Muslim families which played a distinguished part here were either of foreign origin or emerged into prominence during the Sultan rule. The Chaks and the Baihaqi Sayyids belong to the former while the Rainas, Magres, Dars etc., were of indigenous origin. The religious classes are composed of 'Ulama' or theologians, the Sayyids, the Sufis and other descendents. The Sufis or Muslim mystics were men of deep

religious feeling, who led ascetic lives and laid emphasis on the practices of self-discipline as preparing the human for the intuitive knowledge of God. There were six main Sufi orders in medieval Kashmir. These were Qadiriya; Suhrawardiya; Kubravia; Nurbakshiya; Naqshbandia and Rishi. The first five were introduced from Persia and Turkistan, but the order of Rishis was of indigenous origin. It was founded by Sheikh Nurdin. "In the time of Akbar and Jahangir there were 2000 Rishis in the valley of Kashmir" (*Tuzki Jehangiri*, 149-150).

Changes under the Hindu Influence

One of the important reasons for the growth of the above sub-cults in the Islamic religion was the close contact of Hindus and Muslims. Waheed Mirza writes "the cumulative effect of the presence of a large number of such saints and ascetics (as Qalanders and begging friars) was transformation of Islam in India from a simple and puritan religion, with emphasis on the performance of outward legal duties (Takalif-i-Sharya) to a complex devotional creed in which miracles and superstitions, combined with the saint-worship, played an important role. It became a common practice now to get oneself attached to a spiritual preceptor, who alone according to popular belief could guarantee bliss and happiness in this life and life hereafter". (Quoted in *Immortal India*, p. 300, P.N. Tikoo). "The worship of tombs and dead Pirs (Muslim saints) is only a relic of Buddhist worship of stupas (Pagodas) which is not checkmated by change of creed (Aurel Stein, *Immortal India*, p. 300—quoted).

The Present Position

Just now (1977 A.D.) there are two main religious cults in this State—the Shias and Sunnis. There is little love lost between the two. As we have mentioned in the past chapters these two sects have always been at daggers drawn against each other and there have been numerous Shia-Sunni riots resulting in considerable loss of property and human beings. Even now the feud continues. These two sects have separate mosques for

prayer. Even on great festivals like 'Id' etc., they do not offer joint prayers in one and the same mosque.

The Kashmiri Musalmans have faith in their dead saints and offer prayers at their tombs and Khankahs. At the mosque at Hazratbal (Dargh-i-Sharif) where the sacred Hair of the Holy Prophet is preserved, lakhs of Muslims offer their prayers especially on Fridays throughout the year.

II

CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

Jammu and Kashmir is the home of different races and sects and their history goes thousands of years back. "The culture of Kashmir is a composite one, a synthetic pattern with unity in diversity". The great natural ramparts which enclose Kashmir, have assured to this 'Land of Sharda' long immunity from foreign invasions and contacts. Thus isolated from the rest of the world, Kashmirians developed their own individuality, culture, their own interesting customs and traditions. *Nilamatpurana* is the oldest extant book about Kashmir. It shows the Kashmirians as devout people, believing in the sacredness of their land, and generally leading a happy life. We also read from this that women in Kashmir, unlike in any other part of North India enjoyed considerable freedom and were looked on with honour and respect. The earliest inhabitants of the valley, according to *Nilamatpurana*, were the Nagas. Then came Pishacas and the Manawas. There existed four Varnas and various sub-divisions of society. But the division was not as rigid as in India. The Brahmins in general were highly honoured but the Sudras too were not considered degraded. Women enjoyed a very respectable position in the society. Subsequently many religions, cults and foreign contacts influenced and laid their impress upon Brahmanism and the ancient culture in this country. The first impact was with Buddhism. But fortunately there never was any serious clash between the two. By nature Kashmiris are non-militant, catholic and tolerant. So the two great religions co-existed in utter mutual tolerance and harmony. It was as a result of such a peaceful atmosphere that Kashmiris

rendered a valuable contribution to Indian literature. Kalhana and Bilhana are remembered for their historical works. The former wrote the famous *Rajatarangini*. Bilhana's *Vikramankadava Charita* deals with the history of South India. Charka and Koka studied medicine and sex respectively. The authors noted for their literary criticism are: Vamana; Nammata; Anandavardhana; Kuntala; Abhinavgupta, etc. Similarly Manaka; Kshemendra; Matrigupta; Shivaswamin; Somdeva; and many others were eminent writers. The common feature of all these great men was an 'all Kashmir consciousness' born of intense love for their motherland—Kashmir.

Impact of Islam

The second great impact in Kashmir culture was that of the Muslims. The spread of Islam in Kashmir from the later half of the fourteenth century onwards brought about a great transformation in the life of the people. The cultural contacts that were established with Persia and Turkistan and the influx of a large number of Muslims from those countries also affected profound social changes. But despite the foreign impact, links with the past were not broken, for, the Kashmiris refused to give up their beliefs, traditions and practices completely. "History has perhaps very few examples of a people numerically so small who have in the course of a long succession of centuries suffered and struggled so much and paid so high a price in order to preserve their ancient traditions and culture."[2]

Right from the time of Renchan the majority of Hindus of the Valley became converts. However, most of the Brahmins resisted conversion. The members belonging to all other castes embraced Islam. As a result the Brahmin caste only survived, and the other three castes disappeared. Many of the converts, however, did not, among other things, give up their surnames. "Thus persons who bear the titles of Kouls, Bats, Aitus, Mantoos, Ganais, Pandits and Rainas are the descendants of Brahmins, while those who are called Magres, Dars, Raina (Rajputs), Rathors, Thakurs, Nayaks and Chaks

2 Dr. R.K. Parimoo, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 34.

have Kshatriya origin." The Brahmins who clung to their religion and castes, divided, in course of time, into two sub-castes; the Karkons, who studied Persian and entered Government service, and Basha Bhattas, who studied Sanskrit and looked after the religious affairs of the community.

Communal Harmony

In course of time and in spite of the bigotry of some fanatical rulers, and differences on the surface, the two great communities lived peacefully together and there always flowed a genial current of mutual harmony and cooperation in different spheres of life. As the majority of the Muslims of the valley were converts, they retained many of the Hindu customs even as Muslims. A Kashmiri Muslim shares in common with his Hindu compatriots many inhibitions, idolatrous practices as well as social liberties etc., which are unknown to Islam. Muslim influence on Hinduism was also considerable. Among numerous other things this can be traced in Shaivism and Lalala's sayings.

The standard of culture in Kashmir during the Sultanate period was very high. There was general appreciation of arts, letters, and music, by the people of the valley. Cultural contacts between Kashmir and Persia during this period was considerable. Sanskrit learning was on the decline. Nevertheless it continued to enjoy the patronage of many of the Sultans and Kashmir could boast of a number of great Sanskrit scholars. It was during the Sultanate period that Jonaraja, Shrivara, and Prajyabhatta and Shuka wrote their commentaries. Shrivara, besides writing a historical work, also translated Jami's 'Yusuf-u-Zulaikha' into Sanskrit and compiled 'Subashitavali' about the works of more than 350 poets. In 1450 A.D. Jagddhar Bhat wrote 'Stutikasmanjili' and in 1457 A.D. Sita Kantha wrote 'Balbodhini' etc., etc. During this period Kashmir developed a respectable poetic literature of its own. Lal Ded and Sheikh Nurdin wrote excellent mystic poetry. Sita Kantha composed 'Mahanayaprakasha'. Nothosoma and Yodhabhatta composed 'Jaincharita' and 'Jainprakasha' respectively. In the Chak period the most outstanding genius was Habba Khatun, the queen of

Yusuf Shah. Music, painting and many other minor arts received much encouragement during the Sultan period.

The Mughals from Akbar to Aurangzeb brought peace and some prosperity to the valley. They encouraged art. Akbar built the city of Nagar-Nagar, and the great wall around Hari Parbat. Jahangir and Shah Jahan laid the famous Mughal gardens in Kashmir and built many *pucca* highways on which thousands of labourers were employed. The frequent visits of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan to Kashmir brought considerable prosperity to this land. During the reign of the later Mughals, however, Kashmir again fell on bad days. The Mughal governors bled people white. Earthquakes and floods also impoverished the people. All these factors affected their outlook on life. The Afghan and the Sikh rule did not affect the people of the valley in any spectacular manner so far as their culture was concerned.

To sum up, it may be stated that, time and even conversion to Islam of the greatest portion of the population has not changed things very much. For, besides the Tirthas (holy places) there is even now scarcely a village which has not its sacred spring or grove for the Hindu and the Ziarat for the Muslim. Established as the later shrines are almost invariably by the side of the Hindu places of worship they plainly attest the abiding nature of the local worship in Kashmir. So in Kashmir "the traveller finds himself face to face with three cultures and religious systems of Asia living side by side. These are Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim. The distinctive characteristic of Kashmir is that these three stages are not merely stages in its past history but are living co-extant forces".

Appendix

The Treaty of Amritsar (1846)—Articles 1,3,9 and 10

Article 1

The British Government transfers and makes over forever in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body all the hilly or mountainous country with its independencies situated to the eastward of the River Indus and the westward of the River Ravi including Chamba and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State according to the provisions of the article IV of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March 1846.

Article 3

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing article Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of rupees (Nanakshahi); fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty and twenty-five lakhs on or before the 1st October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 9

The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10

Maharaja Gulab Singh will acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve Shawls, goats of approved breed (6 male and 6 female) and three pairs of Cashmere Shawls.

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