

**SOCIO-POLITICAL HISTORY OF KISHTWAR FROM
12th CENTURY TO 17th CENTURY**

Thesis Submitted for the Award of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

HISTORY

By

Rajni Bhagat

Registration Number: 41900655

Supervised By:

Dr. Amita Gupta (26082)

History

Lovely Professional University, Punjab



L LOVELY
P ROFESSIONAL
U NIVERSITY

Transforming Education Transforming India

LOVELY PROFESSIONAL UNIVERSITY, PUNJAB

2023

DECLARATION

I, hereby declare that the presented work in the thesis entitled “**Socio-Political History of Kishtwar from 12th Century to 17th Century**” in fulfilment of degree of **Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.)** is the outcome of research work carried out by me under the supervision of Dr. Amita Gupta, worked as Assistant Professor, in the History Lovely Professional University, Punjab, India. In keeping with the general practice of reporting scientific observations, due acknowledgments have been made whenever the work described here has been based on the findings of other investigators. This work has not been submitted in part or full to any other University or Institute for the award of any degree.

(Signature of Scholar)

Name of the scholar: Rajni Bhagat

Registration No.: 41900655

Department/school: History/School of Social Sciences and Languages

Lovely Professional University, Punjab, India

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the work reported in the Ph.D. thesis entitled “**Socio-Political History of Kishtwar from 12th century to 17th century**” submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the reward of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)** in the History School of Social Sciences and Languages is a research work carried out by **Rajni Bhagat, Registration no. 41900655**, is bonafide record of her original work carried out under my supervision and that no part of the thesis has been submitted for any other degree, diploma or equivalent course.

(Signature of Supervisor)

Name of supervisor: Dr. Amita Gupta

Designation: Assistant Professor

Department/School: History/ School of Social Science and Languages

University: Lovely Professional University, Punjab, India

DEDICATION

“This dissertation work is dedicated to my respected father-in-law Sh. B.L. Bhagat, a retired IAS officer whose sole aim has been my PhD since the day I entered the threshold of my in-laws’ family. I have sincerely tried to fulfil my father-in-law's dream by accomplishing my research work. This work is also dedicated to my husband Mr Surendar Bhagat, who has always stood by me through thick and thin since the day I pursued my studies for my research work.”

ABSTRACT

Kishtwar was one of the 22 Punjab Hill States during the Medieval period, comprising of 11 parganas namely *Kishtwar proper, Nagseni, Paddar, Marwa Wardwan, Dachhan, Udil, Kontwara, Saroor Sarthal, Zanskar, Bawanjwah, Doda Siraj*. It also finds reference in Kalahah's *Rajatarangini*. He mentions Kishtwar as *Kashtvata* i.e., garden of wood. Abul Fazal has also mentioned about Dechhan and Maru-Wardan Parganas of Kishtwar. It had a unique position due to its geographical location and climatic conditions. It was surrounded by high mountains with mighty rivers like *Chanderbhaga* and Maru-Wardwan and other streams which provided natural protection to Kishtwar. Kishtwar had a number of hot water springs and thick forests. It provided political asylum to the rebels and fugitives of Kashmir on one hand and shelter to the common people during their hardships on the other hand. Kishtwar held a key position in the eyes of invaders because its territories provided passage to them to invade neighboring areas of Kishtwar. It is located at Lat. 33° 10' and long. 75° 25' at 5400 feet above sea level. Due to its geographical location, climatic conditions, production and other reasons, a number of nomenclatures had been assigned to Kishtwar. These nomenclatures included *Samrath Garh, Goverdhan Garh, Mahakal Garh, Mansamra Garh, Suraj Garh, Cheerhad* and *Bhut Nagar*. Different reasons have been given by the writers for the nomenclatures of Kishtwar. Geographical and climatic conditions and natural calamities shaped the nomenclatures for Kishtwar e.g., earlier Kishtwar was a lake surrounded by mountains but due to a natural calamity it turned into a dry and barren land. Some of the nomenclatures attributed to Kishtwar are based on its production like *Chirhad*, due to number of *Hadi* trees planted in the area. According to a theory *Kishta* means dried skin of *Hadi* and *ward* means area or Ahata thus the name *Kishtwar*. According to another theory *Kushta* means a wild herb found in Kishtwar used for ayurvedic medicines due to which word *Kashastwatt*. The main routes passing through Marbal Pass and other areas connecting Kishtwar had an important position due to the safety and security of Kishtwar. The climate of Kishtwar was very cold in winter. The extreme cold was there in the month of November,

December, January and February. There were forests of deodars, fir and oak trees in Kishtwar.

A number of rulers belonging to different dynasties ruled Kishtwar. *Rathers* and *Ganies* who had invaded Kishtwar ruled it till they were overthrown by the *Panjasasis*. *Panjasasis* were the people belonging to a trading tribe of Punjab. They traded in important items like the skin of Apricots known as Kashta in Punjab. They imported important items from Punjab to Kishtwar. The *Panjasasis* settled in Kishtwar. They were very brave and strong and succeeded in defeating *Rathears* and *Ganies* and annexing power from them. Kahan Pal a scion of Sen dynasty of Bengal annexed power from the *Panjasasis*. Kahan Pal was succeeded by Gandherv Sen and some other Rajas who were not much important. But some prominent and powerful Rajas, namely Sangram Singh, Bijay Singh, Gur Singh, Bhagwan Singh, Jai Singh and Kirat Singh ruled Kishtwar after Kahan Pal. These Rajas adopted the policy of conquests annexation and imperialism.

Kishtwar had a multireligious society consisting of Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists. We find a reference of Buddhism in Milind Panho which narrates the conversation between Buddhist scholar Nagsen and King Manader Nag Sen is believed to have resided in Nagseni area of Kishtwar. The Buddhists reside even in Gulabgarh, Chakorie and Hango areas of Kishtwar till date.

The people of Kishtwar had a deep-rooted faith in God, goddesses, rituals, rites and superstitions. The people of Kishtwar had also faith in natural forces. The people of Kishtwar had faith in the performance of Havanas. The Havanas were performed to please the gods and even to eliminate the facts of evil forces like ghosts, demons etc. Even the Rajas of Kishtwar had deep-rooted faith in Havanas. Raja Sangram Singh performed a Havana through a Brahmin named Sangram Bhatt to protect his people from the cruel hands of a demon. The Demon in the form of an elephant was killed and buried in the Chougan of Kishtwar under a huge stone. The partial remnants of the stone can be seen even today. The place is known as Hasti Gandh i.e., the place where elephants are tied. The Rajas of Kishtwar made land grants to temples and mosques for the maintenance of the shrines. Brahmins were held in very high esteem and huge land

grants were made to them. The Rajas of Kishtwar worshipped gods and goddesses to get rid of famine and drought for their subjects. Raja Maha Singh worshipped the *Neelkanth* God for ending dry spell and drought conditions in Kishtwar. A number of fairs and festivals were celebrated in Kishtwar. The fairs and festivals were associated with religious background. These fairs were associated with Yatras like *Kanthak Yatra*. *Kakul* and *Tahar* festivals were celebrated in Kishtwar. *Kakul* was a legendary festival celebrated in the month of *Phalgun* on the *hudri* spring of Kishtwar. *Bisou* is another festival which was celebrated on the confluence of the rivers at Bhandarkot. Water was considered pious and was worshipped in different forms like springs and rivers. A special ceremony, *Panchui* i.e., touching of water was celebrated in Kishtwar. The springs were considered as a form of gods because a number of diseases were cured with the water of these springs. *Ashtdashbhuj*a temple was a famous temple in Sarthal area of Kishtwar. *Sarthal* Devi Yatra also was held in Kishtwar to worship the goddess of victory. *Tahar* were the special kind of festivals celebrated in Kishtwar proper, Mandal, Nagseni, Sarthal and Saroor areas for nine days, but in the areas beyond Bhandarkot these festivals were celebrated for five days. These festivals were celebrated to worship water. The gods were supposed to visit and leave the worshipping places in the houses on particular days. These *Tahar* festivals also included the worship of plants for better crops and the prosperity of the people.

The Rajas of Kishtwar were secular in their religious approach and adopted policy of welfare towards their subjects. They believed in the welfare of the people and helped them during natural calamities and other sufferings. The Rajas of Kishtwar didn't discriminate in making land grants to temples and mosques on the basis of religion and showed reverence to both the Hindu and the Muslim shrines. Islam had spread in Kishtwar even before the advent of the Sufi saints like Fari-ud-Din Qadri of Baghdad and Shah Israr-ud-din. Islam had spread in Kishtwar during the period of the Sultans of Kashmir when they came in contact with Rajas and the people of Kishtwar. The rebels and the people of Kashmir frequently used to seek shelter in Kishtwar. They welcomed the Muslim saints like *Fari-ud-Din Bagdadi* and *Israr-ud-Din*. Even some Rajas of Kishtwar embraced Islam Their example was followed by a number of people. The broad outlook and liberal approach of the Sufi Saints also played a great role for

the peaceful spread of Islam in Kishtwar. Raja Jai Singh and Raja Kirat Singh of Kishtwar were highly impressed by Islam and embraced Islam. Many of the people of Kishtwar followed the example of these Rajas by embracing Islam. The Rajas of Kishtwar were very liberal towards Islam, they not only made grants for the maintenance of the mosques but also appointed Qazi for delivering Justice among the Muslims for settling their disputes as per Muslim law. The Rajas of Kishtwar recruited the Muslims in jobs on large scale and never interfered in the internal affairs of the Muslims and gave them free hand to offer prayers and other religious duties.

Kishtwar enjoyed an important position due to its typical and unique features. The relations of Kishtwar with the neighbouring states date back to the ancient times when Raja Oudat Dev of Kishtwar attended the assembly of Rajas of the Hill states held under Raja Kalsa of Kashmir to resist the common enemy endangering the sovereignty of the hill states. This assembly was attended by eight important Rajas of Hill States and was referred to by Kalhana in *Rajatarangini*. It shows that the Rajas of Kishtwar never hesitated in joining hands with the neighbouring states to resist the enemy posing a common threat to the sovereignty of the hill states. During the early Medieval period, the Rajas of Kishtwar had relations with Sultans of Kashmir which varied in character, friendly as well as strained nature. Sometimes the rulers of Kashmir sought refuge in Kishtwar. The rebels and the discontented princes of Kashmir used to seek political asylum in Kishtwar. The common people of Kashmir took shelter in Kishtwar when they faced natural calamities or religious persecution. During the period when Kashmir was under the governors of the Mughal emperors, the relations of the Rajas of Kishtwar varied in nature due to political and diplomatic reasons. The matrimonial alliances and paying of tributes by the rajas of Kishtwar played an important role between the relations of Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughal emperors. The relations of Rajas of Kishtwar with the neighbouring states like Bhaderwah, Balor-Basoli, Jammu and Chamba varied similarly as in case of Kashmir. The Rajas of Kishtwar had matrimonial relations with Rajas of these neighbouring states and the Mughal emperors. The Rajas of Kishtwar and Bhaderwah used to seek help from each other, but the policy of conquest, imperialism and annexation led to strained relations between the two important hill states. Raja Bhup Singh of Kishtwar had matrimonial relations with Raja

Sangram Singh of Jammu but Raja Sangram Singh sided with the Mughal emperor Jahangir during the invasion of Kishtwar by the army of Dilawar Khan under the orders of emperor Jahangir. Sometimes matrimonial relations were performed for the safety and security of alliances between Rajas of Kishtwar with the neighbouring states. The political, social and religious factors also played a pivotal role for the relations of Kishtwar with Kashmir and other neighbouring states. The granting of political asylum to the enemies of Kashmir by the Rajas of Kishtwar proved a cause for spoiling the cordial relations of Kishtwar with Kashmir. The invaders had a great interest in Kishtwar because Kishtwar proved a link for their further invasions of Punjab and other neighbouring states.

Kishtwar was inhabited by people professing different faiths like Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam. The population of these people varied in number residing in different areas and villages. The Hindu society was divided into different castes which included the *Thakkars*, *Brahmins* and *Meghs*. The *Gaddis*, and *Backarwals* were the tribal people. The *Gaddis* were the Hindus whereas the *Backerwals* professed Muslim faith. The dress and diet of Kishtwar had an impact on Dogri and Pahari culture. Both woollen and cotton clothes were used. People used *Puttu*, a woollen coarse cloth for winter dresses. Skull caps were used both by men and women. The *Gaddis* wore a special type of cap, made up of stiff cloth. The dress of the royal people was distinctive from the common people. Kishtwari language had an impact on Bhaderwahi, Siraji, Pogali, Kashmiri and Ladakhi languages. The Hindu population of Kishtwar believed in Rituals, superstitions and customs including belief in *Havanas* and sacred thread. The people of Kishtwar believed in natural forces and in evil forces like ghosts etc. Witchcraft also existed in Kishtwar but was seen with hatred eye due to its evil effects. *Dynes* were the women who practiced witchcraft, *Shagins* were the people who could save the people from the ill effects of the witchcrafts. Even the Rajas of Kishtwar believed that the women having the knowledge of witchcraft could harm or help them during their hours of need. A number of historians forward different theories of the witches, but some of them believe that witches used a special variety of wild herbs to impress as well as harm the people. Marriage was not considered a sacrament. A bride could divorce her husband to marry another man of her choice against which the new

husband had to pay a sum to the former husband as per his paying capacity. To marry a virgin girl the bridegroom had to pay the price in the form of money or service in the house of the bride. The architecture of Kishtwar was greatly influenced by the architecture of Kashmir and neighbouring states which was reflected in palaces, forts, temples, and mosques. Saiya Daman in Nagseni is an example of architecture and sculpture.

Kishtwar had a mixed economy with agriculture as the main source of income and profession of the masses. Some people also joined the army to earn their livelihood by serving the army. The people of Kashmir and neighbouring states of Kishtwar used to seek shelter in Kishtwar when they were hard-pressed by the famines, droughts, and other economic hardships. Agriculture trade and commerce were the three pillars of the economy of Kishtwar. Wheat, barley, beans, rice maize and pulses were the main crops grown in Kishtwar. Kuth was also very important crop of Kishtwar, it was known with the different names Pastkai, Rusto Kostum and Changala. It was also known as Kui, Kot or Pachak in Hindi and Kust in Arabic and Persian. Kuth was used for a many important purposes like Medicines, Hair washing, for protection of fabric from the attack of Moth or vermin. It was also used for fragrance by burning in lamps. It was used as an antiseptic against boils, ulcers and wounds. It was also used in Ayurvedic medicines. A number of fruits were grown in Kishtwar like Apples, Pears, Apricots, Oranges, Watermelons etc. The quality of fruits produced in Kishtwar competed with that of Kashmir. Saffron was the most important crop with agriculture and with trade point of view which formed the main source of the economy of Kishtwar. It was also the main item of trade in Kishtwar. The saffron of Kishtwar was rated far above than that of Kashmir. It fetched a big chunk of revenue for Kishtwar its income could be judged from the fact that it served as the main source of income for maintaining the army of Kishtwar. The Rajas of Kishtwar had appointed soldiers exclusively for the production and security of saffron. During the hard times of Kashmir, the Rajas of Kishtwar exported saffron seeds to Kashmir. Kishtwar had a number of sapphire mines and was known for sapphire in Asia.

Kishtwar had trading contact with the neighbouring states and far-off areas like Agra, Tibet and Ladakh. The items of export from Kishtwar were mainly dried apricots

and Saffron. Salt was the main item of import from Punjab. The taxation system was the main source of the economy of Kishtwar. Heavy fines were imposed even for small offences. The tax was imposed on houses and not on land. Heavy fines were imposed on the rich people. The rich were the heavily burdened class for bearing fines and taxes. *Sanhasi* was the unit of trade and exchange system. The unit of weights and measurement also existed during the medieval period of Kishtwar. Both land routes and river routes were used for conducting trade in Kishtwar. Rivers formed a source of transport of timber and were used for trade purposes. Tribute was paid by the Rajas of Kishtwar to the Mughal emperors which had an impact on the income of the state of Kishtwar because a considerable chunk of income of Kishtwar was used in paying tribute.

The historical records of the medieval period don't provide a detailed account of administration under the Rajas of Kishtwar, but different writers have made reference to the main administrative set-up under the Rajas of Kishtwar regarding their rule and public welfare activities. Kishtwar was ruled by the Rajput Rajas during the medieval period. The important posts like the commander of the army were held by the Rajas themselves or the princes of the royal family. The important posts like wazir, were also held by the members of the royal family. In other words, the administrative power was not shared by the royal family but was concentrated in the royal hands only. The Rajas of Kishtwar or the princes of the royal family held the command of the army in their own hands without having any trust on anybody else. During the Mughal period, the Rajas of Kishtwar accepted the Mughal sovereignty but succeeded in maintaining the autonomous status of Kishtwar and ruled it, the way they liked. The Mughals rarely and exceptionally interfered in the internal affairs of Kishtwar. The Mughal emperor sent resident officers to Kishtwar e.g., Kahan Pal, Jiun Pal, and the Khatri brothers to Kishtwar by the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. These two officers were the exceptions holding important posts like advisors in Kishtwar although they didn't belong to the royal family.

Generally, the eldest son succeeded to the throne of Kishtwar, but in his absence, the brother of the deceased Raja could succeed to the throne. Intrigues also played a role for successorship to the throne and for the important posts like Wazir etc.

The Rajas of Kishtwar maintained a strong army and succeeded in maintaining the autonomous status of Kishtwar during the Medieval Period. It consisted of foot soldiers, horsemen, and musketeers. The sling users and the *gulel andaaz* soldiers formed the special feature of the army of Kishtwar under the Rajas. The Rajas of Kishtwar had a secular approach in the recruitment of the army. The army of Kishtwar was heterogeneous in character. Bridges provided special protection to Kishtwar. The archers were placed at strategic points to guard the bridges.

The Rajas of Kishtwar ruled Kishtwar with a secular and farsighted approach with an idea of the welfare of the people. They had a deep-rooted sense of welfare for their subjects and never discriminated among them on the basis of their religion. The Brahmins were a part of the administration because they performed rituals and Havanans on the orders of the Rajas for the welfare of the people. The Rajas were deeply concerned with the welfare of the people and could never tolerate their sufferings of any nature. The Rajas of Kishtwar sought the services of the priests for eliminating the sorrows and sufferings of the people. They helped the people by helping them with foodstuff and monetary help. Matrimonial alliances and paying tribute also affected the administration of Kishtwar. Sanskrit and Persian were the official languages during the medieval period in Kishtwar. The Rajas patronized both languages. Under the impact of the relations of Kishtwar with the Mughals Persian was adopted as the official language of Kishtwar, relegating Sanskrit into the background. Due to the successful and peaceful administration of the Rajas of Kishtwar. The Rajas of Kishtwar enjoyed very high status among their subjects. It was due to the best administration provided by the Rajas of Kishtwar that Kishtwar succeeded in maintaining its independent status even against the mighty Mughal empire.

Preface

Kishtwar is presently a district in the Jammu Division of J&K, UT, an important area with geographical, Political, Social, Cultural and Religious points of view. It enjoyed a unique position due to its geographical location and climatic conditions. The History of Kishtwar dates back to ancient times, which is traced back to the ancient and medieval Period in respect of changes that took place in its culture, religion and political sphere. The early History of Kishtwar is based on legends, but from the 5th century onwards, the historical evidence and records could be studied from different historical works. Kishtwar was one of the Punjab hills states during the medieval Period. Some of the Socio-Political attributes continue even in modern times. Some Scholars have studied different aspects of the History of Kishtwar pertaining to the Ancient, Medieval and Modern Period. But many aspects have been left untouched and unexplored.

Through this research work titled *Socio-Political History of Kishtwar from 12th Century to 17th Century*, a sincere effort has been made to bring out the unexplored and hidden aspects of Socio-Political, Religious and economic life of the people of Kishtwar during the Period under review. Both primary sources and other modern works, including the works of important contemporary writers, the accounts of travelers, archaeological evidence, Gazetteers and official reports, have been studied. Forts, Palaces and religious shrines, i.e., temples, mosques and Ziarats have been visited to compare the available historical information with the existing monuments and the remnants of the old structures. The archives and libraries have been visited to enrich the research work with more information. The available literary works and other information have been compared with the presently available evidence to prove the facts. The field study corroborated the historical opinion during the visits to the research area. To understand the factual conditions of Kishtwar during the Period and related aspects for the Period under review were explored by conducting interviews of the people. The works of local writers and historians have been studied. One of the local writers was personally consulted and interviewed for detailed historical information on the society and culture of Kishtwar. The Persian, Urdu and Hindi works of different writers have been consulted. The accounts of officers who visited Kishtwar and served

Kishtwar in different capacities have been studied and analyzed after comparing them with the other available sources of information.

The inspiration and idea for the present research work on Kishtwar for the particular Period with specific aspects came to the scholar because the scholar has done P.G. in medieval India and has done M. Phil with the research on Kishtwar. However, it was found during the History of J & K study that there is much more scope for research on the History of Kishtwar. Many aspects of the History of Kishtwar have either been left untouched or unexplored. Some of the aspects over which research has been made have left gaps and voids which need to be filled. Through this research work, an attempt has been made to cover these voids in political, Social, Religious and economic aspects.

The whole research work stands divided into seven Chapters:

1. Introduction
2. Literature Review
3. Ruling Dynasties of Kishtwar and their important Rulers
4. Relations of Kishtwar with the Mughals and the neighbouring States
5. Society and Culture of Kishtwar
6. Economy of Kishtwar
7. Interpreting the Archives: Decoding and Analyzing the Historical References Found in Written Records of the Kishtwar Region through Field Visits

The thesis starts with the Chapter first titled *Introduction*. It describes the geographical position and location of Kishtwar along with Latitude, Longitude and its height above sea level. The rivers and streams flowing through the territories of Kishtwar and the mountain passes connecting Kishtwar with Kashmir have been discussed. The Chapter traces back the History of the medieval period of Kishtwar with

the ancient History of Kishtwar. The Chapter deals with different nomenclatures of Kishtwar with their background behind it. The Chapter further explains how geographical, political and climatic conditions played their role in the nomenclatures of Kishtwar. It explains how the nomenclatures of Kishtwar were affected due to the Rishis and other important personalities who settled in Kishtwar. Natural forest cover with natural fruits and vegetation has been discussed. Saffron, the main supporting crop for the economy of Kishtwar, finds a detailed reference in the Chapter. The foundation of Kishtwar by Kahan Pal has been discussed along with Rathars and Ganies of Kishtwar and Panjasasis, a trading tribe of Punjab. The Chapter deals with the Parganas of Kishtwar.

Libraries for written material have been visited and available works of different historians have been studied. A number of visits to confirm the available information were made to Kishtwar and its adjoining areas.

Chapter second entitled 'Literature Review' deals with different literary sources, including the books of different ancient, medieval and modern historians. The works of contemporary historians like *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* have been mentioned in this Chapter. The Urdu and Persian sources studied and analyzed in the thesis have been mentioned along with the Gazetteer, with relevant information. The official reports studied for the research work have been reflected in this Chapter. The historical works of the local writers have been shown in this Chapter.

Chapter third, i.e., 'Ruling Dynasties of Kishtwar and their important rulers', deals with the ruling dynasties and their important rulers in chronological order. In this Chapter, the Rathars and Ganies the ruling class has been discussed. The Chapter explains the political conditions and circumstances under which Kahan Pal laid the foundation of the state of Kishtwar. The origin of Kahan Pal and his relations with the ruling dynasty of Bengal has been discussed. The successors of Kahan Pal with their achievements have been discussed. The policy of annexation and imperialism adopted by the Rajas of Kishtwar has been discussed. Kishtwar was ruled by the Rajas belonging to the Rajput clan during medieval times, which has been discussed in this chapter. The rajas of Kishtwar maintained a strong army which was organized with typical and

unique features and was heterogeneous in character. The Chapter deals with the conquests of the Rajas of Kishtwar over the neighbouring territories of Kishtwar which led to the conflicts of Kishtwar with Kashmir and the Mughal emperors. The literary qualities of Rajas of Kishtwar have been discussed. The role of intrigues in succession to the throne of Kishtwar has been discussed. The succession to the throne in Kishtwar sometimes involved the interference of the Mughal emperors.

The justice and welfare policy adopted by the Rajas of Kishtwar towards the people of Kishtwar has been explained at length which formed the part of the administration of Kishtwar. The monetary support and help of food grains offered by the rajas of Kishtwar to the common people have been discussed in the chapter. The Chapter deals with the land grants made by the Rajas of Kishtwar to the Brahmins and the temples. In this Chapter, the turning point in the History of Kishtwar was marked when Raja Sangram Singh adorned *Singh as* the title for the first time. The matrimonial relations of the Rajas of Kishtwar with the sultans of Kashmir, Mughal emperors and neighbouring states have been discussed in this Chapter. This reveals the strong position of the Rajas of Kishtwar, who offered a stiff resistance to the mighty Mughal power to maintain the sovereignty of Kishtwar in which the Rajas of Kishtwar were successful. The rajas of Kishtwar enjoyed respect and honour from the common people belonging to different faiths. The loyalty of the people of Kishtwar was reflected when they protested against the Mughal authorities. The Mughal emperor Jahangir restored the throne of Kishtwar to Gur Singh under pressure from the people of Kishtwar. In this Chapter, the relations of Kishtwar with Kashmir and other neighbouring states like Balore Basoli have been discussed, which varied from time to time due to different reasons behind it. The victories of the Rajas of Kishtwar were commemorated through celebrations and the holding of festivals like the *Kanthak yatra*. The role of hostages finds mentioned in this Chapter. The hostages generally belonged to the royal family, but in exceptional cases, the hostages could belong to the non-ruling class. There is a research gap in the chronological order of the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Period of their rule. Different literary sources have been consulted and studied to fill this gap.

Chapter four, titled 'Relations of Kishtwar with the Mughals and the neighbouring States. This Chapter discusses the relations between the Rajas of

Kishtwar with Kashmir and other neighbouring states and the Mughal emperors. The reasons for the variation of these relations have been studied and explained in this Chapter, which varied in nature due to political, geographical and religious factors. The policy of conquests, expansion and annexation has been discussed. The ancient background of the History of Kishtwar and its Rajas in respect of their relations with the hill states has been discussed. The relations of Raja Oudat Dev of Kishtwar with Raja Kalas of Kashmir have been discussed. It has been shown that the Rajas of Kishtwar joined hands with the neighbouring states to face the common dangers from the invaders which shows their farsightedness.

The grant of asylum to the rebels and the dissatisfied elements of Kashmir proved to be a source of strained relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the sultans of Kashmir. The conflicts between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughal emperors and the reasons behind these conflicts have been discussed. The Chapter throws light on the relations of the Rajas of Kishtwar with the neighbouring states like Bhaderwah, Balor Basoli, Reasi, Jammu, Punjab, Kangra and Nurpur. The terms and conditions settled during the alliances between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Sultans of Kashmir find mentioned in the Chapter. It has been mentioned that not only the rebels and dissatisfied elements from Kashmir and neighbouring states sought shelter in Kishtwar, but the Rajas of Kishtwar also sought shelter in neighbouring states like Bhaderwah during the period of adversity. Sometimes the Rajas of Kishtwar have been shown to have cordial and friendly relations with Mughal emperors e.g., during the Period of Jahangir and Shah Jahan Kishtwar had cordial relations with the Mughals. The Period of Kishtwar as a tributary state under the Mughals has been explained. Even the Rajas of Kishtwar is described as having been honoured with *Khillats* by the Mughal emperors. This Chapter discusses a special type of relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughal emperors, where Jeevan Sen and Kahan Sen, the two Khatri brothers, were appointed as officers in Kishtwar. The latter's duties were very much like the British residents appointed in the autonomous states. The religious policy of the Rajas of Kishtwar was also a deciding factor for the relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughal emperors. The Mughal emperors interfered in the internal administration of Kishtwar. They sought concessions for the Muslims residing in Kishtwar to maintain

cordial relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughal emperors. The Chapter explains the role of Mughal emperors for appointments to the high posts in Kishtwar. The impact of the conquests of Kashmir by the invaders on Kishtwar has been discussed in detail in the Chapter. The matrimonial alliances of the Rajas of Kishtwar with the neighbouring states and the Mughal emperors have been discussed.

Generally, hostages formed part of alliances between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughal emperors and the other states. These hostages were taken from the royal families for the security and surety of the alliances. But in exceptional cases, the hostages could be the members of non-royal families, as has been mentioned in the Chapter. The hostages were treated honourably unless the terms of the treaty were violated. Sometimes the Rajas of Kishtwar accepted the dictates of the Mughal emperors by accepting their interference in making the appointments for important positions. This Chapter discusses the importance and role of matrimonial alliances between the Rajas of Kishtwar and Kashmir, the Mughal Empire and the neighbouring states. The relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the neighbouring states and the Mughal emperors explained in this Chapter reveal that the Rajas of Kishtwar believed both in the policy of resistance and diplomacy while dealing with the neighbouring states and the Mughal emperors.

The fifth Chapter deals with 'Society and Culture of Kishtwar'. Kishtwar is a state with a society of multi-religions like the Hindus, the Muslims and the Buddhists'. Different castes have been discussed existing in Hindu society and the tribal castes like Gaddis, *Gujjars* and *backerwals* belong to both the Hindus and the Muslims. The Chapter throws light on the population of different religions inhabiting different regions of Kishtwar. The language spoken by the people of Kishtwar has been explained. Social customs with rituals and beliefs have been explained. The influence of witchcraft in the society of Kishtwar has been discussed in detail in this Chapter. The architecture of Kishtwar and its origin finds its place in the Chapter. Fairs and festivals and the religions prevailing in Kishtwar and the role of the Rajas of Kishtwar in these fairs and festivals have been explained. The participation of the Rajas in these festivals with the common people has been shown as a unique feature in the society of Kishtwar. The available data from literary sources were compared and confirmed during the spot visit

by the scholar. A local writer named Krishan Lal Sharma, a Retired Principal of Kishtwar was interviewed to confirm the social and cultural aspects of the research work. He has confirmed the literary sources regarding cultural and social aspects.

The sixth Chapter deals with the economy of Kishtwar which was a mixed economy in which agriculture was the main source with saffron as the main item of trade and economy. The Chapter shows how the Rajas of Kishtwar were dependent on the income of saffron to meet the expenses of the army. Agricultural production with crops and fruits and natural vegetation has been dealt with in detail. Trade was an important source of income for the Rajas of Kishtwar and has been explained by showing the important routes along with items of import and export for the trade of Kishtwar. The units of measurement and the unit of exchange for trade, for example, *Sanhasi*, have been discussed in the Chapter. A detailed system of taxation and imposition of fines has been discussed. For this Chapter, primary and secondary sources have been consulted, including *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* and Gazetteers and official reports.

The seventh Chapter, titled 'Interpreting the Archives: Decoding and Analyzing the Historical References Found in Written Records of the Kishtwar Region through Field Visits', deals with the experiences and knowledge gained through the visits for her research topic. The knowledge gained through the study of different historical sources of the medieval period was compared on the ground with the modern status of historical facts. It was found that there is the existence and similarity of the facts recorded in the History of Kishtwar, e.g., the Chogan of Kishtwar is having same location and peculiarities as recorded in the History of Kishtwar. Other places of historical importance, like *Kandani*, *Mughal Mazar*, *Bhandarkot*, *Sarthal* and *Nagseni* area, have the same features as in historical records. The mixed culture of Kishtwar and the society of Kishtwar have been found to be similar to the medieval period of Kishtwar. Similarly, the production of saffron and its role in the economy of Kishtwar has been found in accordance with the medieval History of Kishtwar.

For the study of this research work, both contemporary as well modern works have been consulted. Among the contemporary sources, *Kalhana's Rajatarangini* is an important literary source in the nomenclature of Kishtwar as *Kashtvata*, i.e., *Garden of*

Wood. It also explains the relations of Kishtwar with Kashmir and the neighbouring states. In *Ain-i-Akbari*, the areas of Kishtwar, like Dachhan and Maru Wardwan, have been mentioned. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, another contemporary source, explains the political, social and economic conditions of Kishtwar. The dress of the royal family, the diet of the common people and the production of crops and fruits in Kishtwar have been discussed. The source of income and unit of exchange, along with units of measurement, has been discussed in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, another contemporary work, shows the unsuccessful attempt and the defeat of the army of Mirza Haider Doughlat at the hands of Raja of Kishtwar.

Among the modern works, the most prominent work, *The History of Punjab Hill States*, by Hutchison and Vogel, provides detailed information regarding the geographical location, climatic conditions and Parganas of Kishtwar, along with different nomenclatures of Kishtwar. The book refers to the ruling dynasties in Kishtwar like Rathors, Ganies and Panjasasis, along with the references of Rajas of Kishtwar like Kahan Pal and his successors. Political relations of Kishtwar with the neighbouring states and granting political asylum to Kashmir rebels have been mentioned in this work. Another work, *The History of Kishtwar* by D.C. Sharma, gives a detailed account of Kishtwar. A detailed account of the Rajas of Kishtwar with their dynasties has been made. The political, social and religious policies of the Rajas of Kishtwar have been explained. The work shows the fairs and festivals celebrated in Kishtwar and their religious importance in Hinduism and Islam. The shrines of the Hindus and the Muslims with their background find mentioned in the work. The economy of Kishtwar with trade and items of trade for export and import has been mentioned. The author has given the details of places of archaeological importance. In his work *Antiquities of Marev-Wardwan*, R.C. Kak gives detailed information about the society belonging to Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists, especially the castes among the Hindus, with special reference to the area of Dachhan. The practice of witchcraft prevailing in Kishtwar has been explained in detail. The mention of a unique Kaikut deodar temple with special architectural features is in the work.

Shahjahan Nama by Devi Prasad, Munshi (Hindi), *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar* by Ishrat Kashmiri (Urdu) and *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar* by Shiv Ji Dhar (Persian) works have been

studied, which show the social, political and religious life of the people of Kishtwar with their beliefs and thoughts in which social customs and rituals had a special place.

Accounts of travelers and civil servants who visited Kishtwar have been studied and analyzed in this research work, including Fredric Drew in his work *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*. This work shows the origin of river Chenab, its tributaries and its nomenclature. The work explains plantations, fruit trees, and shrubs. It speaks of the type of population and houses in Kishtwar and their main profession for livelihood.

The ruling dynasties of Kishtwar have been discussed. The role and influence of Sufi saints in the life of the rulers and people of Kishtwar have been discussed. This work explains the location of Kishtwar and also explains the rope bridge, locally named as *Jhula*. In his work, *later Mughals*, William Irvine gives an account of the matrimonial alliance between the Raja of Kishtwar and the Mughal Emperor. He refers to the marriage of Bhup Devi, the daughter of Raja of Kishtwar, with the Mughal emperor Farrukh-Siyar. The writer also mentions the geographical location of Kishtwar.

A number of primary, as well as secondary sources, have been studied, in addition to some of them mentioned above, for the completion of my research work. The additional works include gazetteers, official reports and reports of the writers. In addition, the scholar has personally visited the area under research and the surrounding areas of Kishtwar. During the visits for research, the scholar interacted with a number of people who could provide relevant knowledge for the research work. After studying the literary works of writers and comparing them with the evidence found on the spot a number of facts have coincided with the literary opinion. Still, during the study, it was found that certain research gaps are there with the research point of view, like the chronological gap between the Rajas of Kishtwar, their Period of rule etc. A sincere effort has been made to put such gaps at rest by getting information from additional sources to clarify such gaps.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It is the most important and memorable moment of my life to feel proud of my research work which is going for submission and is towards the final phase of this uphill task. It is the result of my constant, laborious and sincere efforts. *No man is an island, he is just part of the continent.* It applies well in the case of my research work. It won't have reached success without the sincere and timely support of my well-wishers, teachers, friends, co-scholars, juniors and family members. I express my sincere gratitude to all of them.

First and foremost, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my respected supervisor Dr. Amita Gupta for her sincere and serious advice, inspiration, encouragement and dedicated help and support for the completion of my Ph.D. She has a missionary and impressive approach to guidance and quality work. I feel proud to be a scholar under such a highly expert and talented personality. It's my earnest desire to be a learner under her for learning under her guidance even after the submission of my Ph.D. thesis.

I am also grateful to LPU, the Department of History and its faculty members. Dr. Manu Sharma, HOD, who has guided me with her best suggestions since the day I started my research work in LPU. She has supported me with her wide vision and farsighted outlook during my research.

Dr Tarikh Shaikh, who is well-versed with my research topic and has always guided and supported me in my research work. Dr. Munmun Mondal, Assistant Professor and faculty member of the history department has also given moral support to me.

I am also grateful to my research fellows, especially Shiwani Thappa, who has helped me by sharing invaluable information for the completion of this work.

My special thanks go to, Dr Jigar Mohammad, former HOD., Department of History and Former Dean Research Studies, the University of Jammu from the core of my heart who has spared his invaluable time and helped me by guiding me from time

to time for my research work. He has acted as a guiding star for my career since the day I joined the P.G. Department of History.

I am also indebted to Dr Sham Narayan Lal for helping me in the completion of my Ph. D. thesis.

I am grateful to Ms. Neelam Bhagat Professional Assistant, Department of history who has supported me by making available rare books, Journals, and gazetteers for my research work.

My thanks are due to Ms. Rajni Sharma, Professional Assistant, Department of Sanskrit, University of Jammu.

I am also thankful to the staff of Dhanvantri Library which has made me successful by rendering necessary help by issuing the books from time to time.

I am also thankful to the librarian and staff of Ranbir Library Jammu for their contribution for my research work.

I am indebted to the Department of Geography and political science University of Jammu for enriching my knowledge for my topic of research.

My special thanks go to the research scholar Naveen of the Geography department. I am also thankful to research scholar S. Gurnam Singh, department of Remote Sensing and GIS, University of Jammu for his contribution in my research work.

My special thanks go to Sh. Ashok Pal, an engineer at State Times, Jammu, for his contribution to my research work.

I am grateful to the Directorate of Archives, Archaeology & Museums, Government of Jammu & Kashmir, Mubarak mandi Jammu which made me available the rarest research material.

I am grateful to the local libraries of Billawer, Basohli, Bhaderwah. I am thankful to Sh. Oma Kant Basotra R/O Billawer and Sh. Pradeep Singh Bioria, lecturer R/O Basoli for providing me necessary material and information required for my research work.

It would be an injustice on my part if I forget to mention my special gratitude to the important personalities of Kishtwar without whose support my research work could not have reached its conclusive end. Among them, Abdul Majeed Bichoo, a retired senior officer from civil secretariat R/O Atholi Paddar, presently Kishtwar. He has enriched my knowledge about socio-political history and has introduced me to some important and knowledgeable persons like Lekh Raj and his brother Sham Lal R/O Upper Bidda, Nagseni, Kishtwar. Mr. Bichoo has helped me by introducing me to the heritage of Kishtwar, especially Gulab Garh and Atholi areas of Paddar. Without the help of Mr. Bichoo it was not possible to explore the archaeological sites of Kishtwar, especially the Nagseni area. Mr. Shashi, a local resident of Gulabgarh played an important role by apprising me about the local traditions of Paddar area. Prof. Rishi Kumar R/o Atholi, Gulabgarh has supported me with his knowledge about the living style of the people of Paddar. Mr. Farooq Ahmad Kandoo, Sr. Assistant Tourism Department, Kishtwar made his contribution by accompanying me to different places of historical importance especially Ziarats of Kishtwar. Sh. Inderjit Parihar, SDM Chatru and chief executive officer of Kishtwar Development Authority made his sincere and tireless efforts to acquaint me with the important historical sites and the people fruitful for my research work.

I would be missing an important personality if I don't mention here the local historian Sh. Kewal Krishan Sharma. Who has narrated a number of unexplored facts about the society of Kishtwar which has clarified my research vision for the history of Kishtwar.

I extend my thanks to Sh. Ghulam Rasool Sheikh S/O Sh. Late Mohammad Abdullah R/O Kishtwar, a maulvi who has enlightened my knowledge about the background of Sufi Saints and their advent in Kishtwar.

I am also indebted to Pandit Santosh Kumar Parthi, the Pujari of Ashtdashbhuja Temple of Sarthal. The Pujari has made a number of mysteries crystal clear about the background of Ashtdashbhuja temple and the goddess Sarika Devi.

I am grateful to a saintly personality Sh. Sant Singh Ji who has always showered his blessings on me for my research work and has always shown his keen and deep interest and concern in my studies.

I won't be sincere to my duties if I don't thank my parents and parents in laws, especially my father-in-law Sh. B.L Bhagat, a retired IAS officer, whose blessings and moral inspiration has always encouraged me to achieve this landmark success. He has always acted as the torch bearer in my career and boosted my morale as and when I felt low in my thoughts to fulfil my ambition.

I am grateful to my loving son Muktesh Bhagat who has rendered timely technical support for the completion for my thesis by helping me when any network, typing, or any other problem pertaining to any software occurred during my writing work for Ph. D.

My thanks to my younger son Radhesh Bhagat who has also helped me by giving me moral support and sparing my time by taking serious note of his studies which otherwise form a part of my duty being a mother.

I am indebted to my husband, Mr. Surendar Bhagat, for his cooperation and moral support throughout my research period. He has made sincere efforts and guided me from time to time on a regular basis for the completion of my research work which otherwise was not only tough but impossible for me to complete. Being a senior revenue officer, he has proved a great source for me to get information regarding the revenue records available in Urdu and Persian. It was important for getting first-hand information regarding the society of Kishtwar during the medieval period.

I am grateful to all those who have contributed towards my research work directly or indirectly but may have been left without their reference reflected here due to the oversight I owe to them for their important role in the completion of my research work.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Title page.....	i
Declaration.....	ii
Certification.....	iii
Dedication.....	iv
Abstract.....	v
Preface.....	xiii
Acknowledgement.....	xxii
Table of Contents.....	xxvi
List of Tables.....	xxxii
List of Maps.....	xxxiii
List of Figures.....	xxxviii
Glossary.....	xxxviii

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Different Nomenclatures of Kishtwar.....	01-07
1.2. Geographical location	07-15
1.3. Rivers.....	15-17
1.4. Climate.....	17-18
1.5. Mountains.....	18-19
1.6. Soil.....	19
1.7. Area of Study.....	20
1.8. Objectives.....	20
1.9. Statement Of Problems.....	20
1.10. Research Gap	21
1.11. Methodology	21
1.12. Method of Data Collection	21
1.13. Research Design	21-22
Conclusion	

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction	23
2.2 Literature Review.....	23-58

Conclusion

Chapter Three: Ruling Dynasties of Kishtwar and Their Important Rulers

3.1 Introduction.....	59
3.2 Ruling dynasties of Kishtwar	59
3.2.1 Rule of Panjasasis.....	59-60
3.2.2 Rule of Kahan Pal.....	60-64
3.2.3 Petty Rulers of Kishtwar.....	64-68
(Gandharv Sen, Chander Sen, Narindar Sen, Ram Sen, Kam Sen, Madan Sen, Bramse, Adut De, Prithav Dev, Ganga Dev, Gurd Singh, Sagar Dev, Raghu Dev, Anand Dev, Avtar Dev)	
3.2.4 Important Rulers of Ruling Dynasties of Kishtwar.....	68-84
(Rai Raj, Gur Dev, Agar Dev, Bhup Dev, Bhup Dev, Lakshman Dev, Sangram Singh, Jagat Singh, Bhag Singh, Narab Shanker, Megh Nad, Duloo Singh, Rai Raj (Narayan Singh), Salhan Singh, Rai Bhan Singh, Gambir Singh. Bijay Singh, Bhadur Singh, Pratap Singh, Gur, Singh, Jagat Singh, Bhagwan Singh, Maha Singh Jaya Singh (Bakhtiyar Khan), Kirat Singh (Saadatyar Khan)	
3.2.5 Genealogical Table.....	85
3.3 Law of Succession.....	86-84
3.3.1 Table of Mode of Succession.....	84-87
3.4 Administration under the Rajas of Kishtwar.....	88-89
3.4.1 Army and the system of warfare under the Rajas of Kishtwar.....	90-96
3.5 Social Justice and Public welfare activities.....	96
3.5.1 Social Justice.....	96-97
3.5.2 Public Welfare activities.....	97-98

Conclusion

Chapter Fourth: Relations of Kishtwar with The Mughals and the Neighbouring States

4.1 Introduction.....	101
4.2 Relations of Kishtwar with the Mughals.....	102-122
4.3 Relations of Kishtwar with Kashmir.....	122-130
4.3.1 Shelter to the Rebellious elements.....	130
4.3.2 Shelter to Kashmiri Rajas and Sultans.....	131-132
4.4 Relations of Kishtwar with the Neighbouring States.....	132-132
4.4.1 Relations of Kishtwar with Bhaderwah.....	132-135
4.4.2 Relations of Kishtwar with Jammu.....	135-135
4.4.3 Relations of Kishtwar with other petty areas.....	135-136

Conclusion

Chapter Fifth: Society and Culture of Kishtwar

5.1 Introduction.....	138
5.2 Caste System.....	138-139
5.3 Culture: Dogri, Pahari, Dress and Diet	139-140
5.4 Language.....	140-141
5.4.1 Patronage of literature.....	141-142
5.5 Social Customs and Rituals.....	142-143
5.5.1 Witchcraft.....	143-146
5.6 Religion in Kishtwar.....	146
5.6.1 Temples in Kishtwar	147-152
5.6.1.(i) Neel Kanth Temple	

5.6.1.(ii) Ashatdasbhuja Sarthal Temple	
5.6.2 Ziarat in Kishtwar	153-156
5.6.2.(i) Ziarat of Shah Farid-ud-din Sahib	
5.6.2.(ii) Ziarat of Asraru-ud-di Sahib	
5.6.3 Fairs and Festivals.....	156-162
5.6.3 (i) Kakul Festivals	
5.6.3 (ii) Bisou	
5.6.3 (iii) Sarthal Devi Yatra	
5.6.3 (iv) Kantak Yatra	
5.6.3.(v) Tiharas	
5.6.3 (vi) Yatras	
5.7 Land Grants and Religious Institutions	162-162
5.8 Literature and Fine arts.....	163-165
5.9 Architecture and Sculpture.....	165-175
5.10 Zampa or Jhula.....	175-177
Conclusion	

Chapter Sixth: Economy of Kishtwar

6.1 Introduction.....	180
6.2 Agricultural Production.....	180-181
6.2.1 Crops.....	180
6.2.2 Saffron.....	180-185
6.2.3 Kuth.....	185-188
6.3 Trade.....	188-189

6.3.1 Trade via Land Routes.....	189-190
6.3.2 Trade via land Routes.....	190-192
6.3.3 Trade via River Route.....	192-193
6.4 Finance Taxation System.....	194-194
6.5 Payment of tribute to the Mughals	195-195
Conclusion	

**Chapter Seventh: Interpreting the Archives: Decoding and Analyzing the
Historical References Found in Written Records of the Kishtwar Region through
Field Visits**

7.1 Introduction.....	197-198
7.2 Kandani.....	199-200
7.3 Hudri.....	200-202
7.4 Chogan of Kishtwar.....	202-205
7.5 Ziarats of Sufi Saints.....	206
7.5.1 Ziarat of Shah Farid-ud-din	206-207
7.5.2 Ziarat of Shah Asrar -ud-din.....	208-208
7.6 BhandarKot	209-210
7.7 Mughal Maidan/ Mazar.....	210-212
7.8 Nagseni.....	212-215
7.9 Sarthal Mata.....	216-222
7.10 Neelkanth Temple.....	221-222
7.11 Buddhist Monastery.....	223-224
7.12 Saffron.....	225
7.13 Miscellaneous	226-229

Conclusion	231-239
References	240-245

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Chapter-3</i>		
Serial No.	Description	Page No.
Table 3.2.4	Genealogical Table No. 1	85
Table 3.3	Mode of Succession in Kishtwar Table no.2	88-89
<i>Chapter-6</i>		
Serial No.	Description	Page No.
Table 6.1	Trade Land Routes of Kishtwar	189-190
Table 6.2	Trade Land Routes	190-192
Table 6.3	Trade River Routes	192-193

LIST OF MAPS

<i>Chapter-1</i>		
Serial No.	Description	Page No.
Map 1.1	Location of Kishtwar	8
Map 1.2	Locations of Parganas of Kishtwar	9
<i>Chapter-7</i>		
Serial No.	Description	Page No.
Map 7.1	Important Places of Kishtwar	198

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Chapter 1</i>		
Serial No.	Description	Page No.
Fig. 1.1	Map of Location of Kishtwar	8
Fig. 1.2	Map of Location of Parganas of Kishtwar	9
Fig. 1.3	Chogan of Kishtwar	13
Fig. 1.4	Confluence of Maru-Wadwan River with Chenab at Bhandarkot in Kishtwar	14
Fig. 1.5	Wide view of the confluence of the Maru-Wadwan River with the Chenab at Bhandarkot in Kishtwar	15
<i>Chapter 3</i>		
Serial No.	Description	Page No.
Fig. 3.1	Internal view of Hudri Spring	60
Fig. 3.2	Outer view of Hudari Spring	60
<i>Chapter 4</i>		
Serial No.	Description	Page No.
Fig. 4.1	Old picture of Mughal Mazar in Kishtwar	104
Fig. 4.2	Present view of Mughal Mazar/ Mughal Maidan in Kishtwar	104
<i>Chapter-5</i>		
Serial No.	Description	Page No.
Fig. 5.1	Neekanth temple's entrance, Nandi at Nandi at doorstep	149
Fig. 5.2	Neelkanth Temple's internal view with black colour Shivalinga	150

Fig. 5.3	Picture of Ashtdashbija Devi Temple at Sarthal	152
Fig. 5.4	Picture of Ziarat of Farid-ud-Din Bhagadadi	154
Fig. 5.5	Picture of Ziarat of Shah Asrar-ud -Din Shahib Located near Chogan of Kishtwar	155
Fig. 5.6	Picture of remaining top of the stone under which the demon was buried	159
Fig. 5.7	Picture of old deodar Temple at Kaikut	168
Fig. 5.8	Picture of present view of Kaikut Temple	168
Fig. 5.9	Picture of remains of an old temple at Saiya Draman	170
Fig.5.10	Picture of an undeciphered inscriptions at Saiya Draman Nagseni	171
Fig. 5.11	Picture of close view of undeciphered inscription at Saiya Draman Nagseni	171
Fig. 5.12	Picture of architectural remains in Saiya Draman	172
Fig. 5.13	Picture of headless idol sculpture out of black rock with other idols of the deities	174

Chapter-7

Serial No.	Description	Page No.
Fig. 7.1	Map of important places	198
Fig. 7.2,7.3	Picture of Present view of village Kandani	199
Fig. 7.4	Picture of Present external view of Hudri Spring, Kishtwar	201
Fig. 7.5	Picture of present internal view of Hudri Spring Kishtwar	202
Fig. 7.6	Picture of present view of Chogan of Kishtwar	204
Fig. 7.7	Picture of ruins of throne of Raja Mohammad Teg Singh	205
Fig.7.8	Picture of present view of throne of Raja Mohammad Teg Singh in ruins	205
Fig. 7.9	Picture of Ziarat of Shah Farid-ud-Din Sahib in Kishtwar	207
Fig.7.10	Picture of external view of Ziarat of Sha Farid-ud-Din with Maulvi Ghulam Rasool Shaikh	207
Fig. 7.11	Picture of Ziarat of Shah Asrar-ud-din Sahib, Kishtwar	208
Fig. 7.12	Picture shows the bridge at Bhandarkot	209

Fig. 7.13	Kishtwar, confluence of river Chenab and Maru-Wadwan river	210
Fig. 7.14	Picture shows the Mazar of a Faquir namely Abdul Shah Mughal at Mughal Maidan	211
Fig. 7.15	Present Picture of trout fish farm at Mughal Maidan, Kishtwar	211
Fig.7.16	Picture shows the recreation park at Mughal Maidan in Kishtwar	212
Fig. 7.17	Picture of headless black stone idol along with the idols of other different deities	213
Fig.7.18	Picture of ruins of temple at Saiya Draman, Nagseni (Kishtwar)	214
Fig. 7.19	Picture shows the undeciphered inscription at Saiya Draman, Nagseni, Kishtwar	215
Fig. 7.20	Picture shows a close view of undeciphered Inscription at Saiya Draman, Kishtwar	215
Fig. 7.21	Picture shows the external view of Sarthal Mata Temple at Agral, Kishtwar	218
Fig. 7.22	Picture shows Image of Ashtdasbuja goddess at Sarthal, Kishtwar	218
Fig.7.23	Picture shows the musicians playing the Local musical instruments in the shrine complex	219
Fig.7.24	Picture shows the people dancing in the religious festival in the Shrine	220
Fig. 7.25	Picture shows the interview with the pujari of the Temple at Sarthal	220
Fig.7.26	Picture shows an old door belonging to the old temple as claimed by the Pujari of the temple	221
Fig. 7.27	Picture shows the internal view of Neelkanth temple, Basoli	222

Fig. 7.28	Picture shows the external view of Neelkanth temple Basoli	223
Fig. 7.29	Entrance gate of Buddhist Monastery	224
Fig. 7.30	Internal view of Buddhist Monastery	224
Fig. 7.31	Saffron fields of Kishtwar, People are collecting saffron	225
Fig. 7.32	Saffron fields, close view	226
Fig.7.33	Picture shows a local weighing Instrument in Paddar	227
Fig. 7.34	The picture shows a view of traditional and antique house, Gulabgarh	228
Fig. 7.35	Picture shows a local stair made up of logs of wood to collect grass from inaccessible hills, locally known as <i>taran</i>	229

GLOSSARY

Sr No.	Abbreviation	Explanation
1.	Pahwa	Place of rearing sheep and goats
2.	Abgiri	lake
3.	Kushta	A medicinal herb found in Kishtwar used for Ayurvedic medicines
4.	Panjasasis	A trading tribe of Punjab
5.	Kashtwark	Eliminator of miseries
6.	Chandrabhaga River	River Chenab, formed by joining two streams Chandra and Bhaga.
7.	Rai-Dev-Tahavan	Jungle of Rai Dev
8.	Lachhbhata	Land grant made by Raja Lachman Dev of Kishtwar.
9.	Raj Mandal	Chatru (present name)
10.	Bhoot nagar	Kishtwar
11.	Jhula or Zampa	A Swing bridge
12.	Ishq-i-Mazazi	Believing in Khuda
13.	Mughal Mazar	Graveyard of Mughal soldiers
14.	Chaks	The ruling class of Kashmir
15.	Khutba	The prayer was read on Friday in which the name of the Sultan was also read.
16.	Garhbagh	A famous fort and garden in Kishtwar.
17.	Farman	A royal order.
18.	Mansab	An Arabic word, meaning rank or position in the military
19.	Jat	The personal rank of a mansabdar in the administration signifies the salary of the mansabdar.
20.	Sawar	The number of horses and cavalrymen maintained by Sawar.

21.	Khillat	A ceremonial robe or gifts given as a mark of honour by the Sultans.
22.	Kantak Yatra	A festival celebrated in Kishtwar.
23.	Brari -Angan	A village in Kashmir near Achhabal
24.	Backkerwal	A Muslim tribal pastoral community herding goats and sheep.
25.	Gaddi	A Hindu tribal pastoral community rearing sheep and goats.
26.	Puttu	A coarse Woolen cloth.
27.	Shuttan	A long loose trouser tightened at bottom
28.	Dan, Dagin, Dakini	Female goblin
29.	Shagin	A person who helped the people against the evil effects of witchcraft.
30.	Kakul	A legendary festival in Kishtwar
31.	Phalgun	Month of February March
32.	Zadi	A poisonous tasteless herb
33.	Rathers and Ganies	Local people of Kashmir settled in Kishtwar
34.	Kumkum	Saffron, Zaffron
35.	Guchhi or Turla	Twisted together to form a particular shape
36.	Rishinivas	A place where Rishi resides (caves)
37.	Sangeet Sangrah	A book on music
38.	Kirti Komudi	It is a granth written by Someshwer
39.	Sapphire	A precious blue colour stone
40.	Ashtadashbuja devi	Goddess with eighteen arms
41.	Fateh Khatoon	Lady of victory
42.	Dais Kahu	One out of ten
43.	Tihars	A nine days festival celebrated in Kishtwar for worship of gods, water and crops.
44.	Yatras	The festival celebrated in Kishtwar is affiliated with religious activities accompanied by procession, dance and music.

45.	Hasti Gand	A place where elephants are tied.
46.	Havanas	A religious ceremony
47.	Bhum Chhawai	Touching of earth
48.	Pain Chhawai	Touching of water
49.	Golan Gadai Langi Gai	The gods have left
50.	Sanhasi	A coin used for trade.
51.	Seer	Unit for measurement of weight, two seers of Hindustani weight were equal to a man (Maund)
52.	Anna	An Anna was a unit currency equal to 1/16 of the rupee.
53.	Zamindar	A term used for local chiefs and autonomous Rajas by the Mughal emperor Jahangir.
54.	Qazi	A Judge who decided cases in accordance with Muslim law.
55.	Gulel Andaz	One who shoots with a pellet-bow
56.	Demon	A ghost or an evil spirit
57.	Watan Zagir	A term used for the territory of Rajas who accepted the sovereignty of the Mughal emperors but ruled in an autonomous manner.

CHAPTER -1

INTRODUCTION

The present research work has been titled as Socio-Political History of Kishtwar from the 12th Century to the 17th Century and has been taken for the detailed survey of History of the Medieval period of Kishtwar. Research has been done on the history of Kishtwar by some scholars taking into consideration different aspects spanning over different periods of time. But on studying these works, it has come to my notice that many aspects have either been left unnoticed or unexplored due to certain reasons, may be due to the paucity of time or material available to them. Keeping in view all the above facts, I have chosen this topic with a particular aspect and period to fill the research gap. An attempt has also been made to correlate the history of the ancient period of Kishtwar for a better understanding of the present research work.

The history of Kishtwar dates back to ancient times. It has been mentioned in Kalahan's *Rajataragini* as *Kasthtvata*. Kishtwar was one of the Punjab hills states during the medieval period. It was surrounded by high mountains with a number of rivers and streams flowing through the valley of Kishtwar. It was situated on a plateau at 5400 feet above sea level with Lat. 33° 10' and long. 75° 25'. Kishtwar had a unique position with its geographical and climatic conditions. A number of nomenclatures had been assigned to Kishtwar due to climatic changes, the topography of the area and production. The literary sources of the history of Kishtwar are available since the second half of the 5th century A.D.

1.1 Different Nomenclatures of Kishtwar

Kishtwar is a small hill state located in the south of Kashmir and *Maru-Wadwan* valley. On its south lies *Bhaderwah*. The river Chenab lies on the eastern side and *Ramban* and *Banihal* on the western side of Kishtwar¹. Kishtwar is the area lying

¹ R. K. Parmu, A History of Muslim rule in Kashmir, First Pb. 1969 Second Pb. Srinagar ,2009, p.307.

between Chenab and Maru Valley. The area became popular with the name Kishtwar from the 12th century onwards. Different names were known for this area before it was named as Kishtwar. Many modern Historians like Hashmatulla, Narsingh Dass Nargis and Ishrat Kashmiri have forwarded different opinions for different nomenclatures of Kishtwar from the earliest period to the 12th century². These studies show that the area of Kishtwar was earlier known by different nomenclatures. These names were based on the type of people who settled in the area from time to time. A lake known as *Abgiri* existed in the area of Kishtwar, which almost covered the area of Kishtwar, as explained by Shivji Dhar in his work *Tarikh-I Kishtwar*.³ Kishtwar was known by other nomenclatures like *Smarath Garh*, *Gowardhan Garh*, *Mahakal Garh Dauhi*, or *Mansamra Garh*, *Suraj Garh*, *Chirhard* and *Bhut Nagar*. All these nomenclatures existed for Kishtwar during the ancient period involving different backgrounds behind it.

Several legends explain the reasons for the change of the ancient names of Kishtwar. According to one legend, the earliest name of Kishtwar was *Samrath Garh*. It had a very dense forest of Deodar. *Samrath Garh* area had a very thick forest area in which abundant deodar trees were found. Due to the thick forests of the area, it was an abode for many wild animals like Wolves, Tigers and lions, etc. According to another opinion, *Samrath Garh* got ruined along with its forests because of a natural calamity that occurred in the *Samrath Garh* area. A lake came into existence after this devastation. This lake came to be known as *Goverdhan Sar* with the name of the area⁴.

According to another legend, the area was converted into a lake named as *Gowardhansar*. However, *Gowardhansar* could not remain a lake for a long time. After some time, due to, another natural calamity in the form of repeated earthquakes occurred and destroyed the mountains and surroundings. Consequently, the water of the lake flew towards other areas. As a result, the lake turned into a dry area and was converted into fields because the water of the lake flew down to the adjoining areas⁵.

² Pt. Shivji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, PP.21-23

³ Ibid.p 21

⁴ Ibid. p.21-22.

⁵ Hashmatulla Khan, *A Brief History of Jammu*, Vol. I, Tr. A. R. Khan, 2016, p.100.

After some time, Gowardhangarhsar was replaced by the nomenclature Mahakal Garh. According to a legend, a person named *Rishi Pal* passed through this area, found a peaceful place for worship, and constructed a temple to worship MahaKal⁶. Within a short span of time, the area became famous with the name of Maha Kal Garh. The people gathered in large numbers from different regions to Maha kal Garh to seek the blessings of Rishi Pal. Many people got their desires fulfilled with the blessings of Rishipal. After some time this place got converted into a town and became famous as Mahakalgarh⁷. After some time, differences erupted among the followers, who got divided into two sections. One section followed the teachings of Rishi while the other became opponents to it and indulged in evils and a life of comfort. The Rishi cursed the second section and as a result, a great famine took place and Mahakal was ruined, leaving it a barren and unpopulated place for a long time⁸.

After this for a long time, Kishtwar remained unpopulated and barren. Meanwhile, a person named Ahangpat came to Mahakalgarh. He had three sons: Ramdass, Raghunath, and Murlidass⁹. Mahakal Garh was renamed Manshamra Garh by the sheep goat rearer Ahangpat, who had come here to earn his livelihood by rearing sheep and goats. The place of their residence was known as *Pawahi* because the place of rearing sheep and goats in the Kishtwari language is *Pahwa*. But Ahangpat named this area as Manshamra Garh. Over time, the number of members of the Ahangpath family increased and took the shape of the tribe. Some people of other social backgrounds settled in the area. All of them depended on the rearing of sheep and goats. But the people of adjoining areas did not tolerate their prosperity. One tribe named Damer attacked and killed all the area's inhabitants and occupied it. They made the area fertile with their hard work.

But with the passage of time, Manshamarh Garh was replaced by another nomenclature, *i.e.* Suraj Garh. According to a legend, once Kashyap Rishi came with his three followers -Nand, Koul, and Jatta settled here and named it Suraj Garh; the

⁶ Molvi Hashmatulla Khan, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, Jammu, (Urdu), 1992, p.136.

⁷ Narsingh Dass Nargis, Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh, 1967, p.251.

⁸ Ibid. p.252.

⁹ Shivji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, Srinagar, 1962, p.21.

Hashmatulla and Narsingh Dass Nargis mention the name of 3rd son of Ahangpat as Murlidhar.

followers of Rishi fought among themselves. Rishi cursed them for their decline. As a result of it there arose a great scarcity of food in the area.

It is also known that five *Pandvas* came here during their exile period. Bhim Sen laid the foundation of the Neelkanth temple here and a river named Gupt Ganga was also dug, which provided water to the area. After some time, two groups of Kashmiri conquerors, one Rather and the second Ganai tribe, settled here. The Rathers settled at Zeewda, while the Ganai dynasty settled below Zeewada. This place is famous as Kishtwar town. These dynasties planted Hadee trees in their residential areas. The area was converted into the garden of Hadee trees and was named as Chirhard ¹⁰. Later on, the Rather and Ganies indulged in evil practices and ignored the security of their areas. Such a situation gave an opportunity to foreigners to control the area. Therefore, Kosoor Tendreof Gyalpore Suru, was informed about it, who attacked Chirhard through Bota Kol pass and conquered the whole country up to Thatre and made Cheerhad its capital city and renamed it as Bhoot Bhatee or Bhoot Nagar. He conquered the area from Bhut Nagar to Thatri. For some time, he ruled successfully and his people were living in peace and prosperity. But his rule did not last long. Later on, there were some disturbances in his own motherland, for which he had to return to Suru and control from such a distant area, which was impossible, with the result that Rather and Ganies succeeded in regaining their lost prestige by reestablishing their rule¹¹.

During the reign of Rather and Ganie, a nomadic tribe *Siyasian* from Punjab established trading contacts with the people of Bhoot Nagar and began to reside there. The panjsasis purchased medicinal plants and Herbs of Kishtwar and sold in Punjab ¹². They also traded in the dry skin of *Haddi* and carried it to Punjab. At that time the *Haddi* trees were in abundance at Bhoot Nagar; therefore, the dried Haddie's were exported to Punjab in bulk. The dried *Haddi* in Punjab is called *Kashta*¹³, and *War* means area or place. In this context, it was called *Kashtawar*, in place of Chairhar, which later on changed to Kishtaward. According to Narsingh Dass Nargis, there were

¹⁰ Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, p.253.

¹¹ F.M. Hassnai, *History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar*, Pb. Delhi, 1998, p. 78

¹² *Ibid.* p.253.

¹³ *Ibid.* p.253.

plenty of *Haadi* trees in Bhoot Nagar. Its inner content was known as Kishta in Punjab and *vard* means open field, i.e., *Ahata*. Thus, the name of Bhut Nagar was renamed as Kishtawar¹⁴, i.e., the place of *Kishta*.

The word Kishtwar has also been explained with the theory that to reach Kishtwar one had to pass through difficult, tedious, and dangerous terrain. It tracks to reach Kishtwar meaning thereby, i.e., a place of discomfort, i.e., Kashtwar¹⁵. *Kasht* means troubles, war means areas. In Contrast, according to an opinion, Kishtwar means *Kashtnawark*, which means comforts and pleasures after passing through troubles. According to another opinion, Kishtwar was also called Kashastwatt because a wild herb, namely *Kushta* was found in Kishtwar in abundance which was used for Ayurvedic medicines¹⁶.

The word Kishtwar derives its meaning from two different backgrounds: Kisahta means dried apricot and War means area. The second background for the term Kishtwar is found in the word *Kasht* means trouble. The following rhyme explains the condition and suffering of a common person in Kishtwar¹⁷:

“Kashtwar, Kasht Ka banda.

Din Ko bhukha, rat ko Thanda.

Jo Ki ae jab wuh jae

Wuh hai gusain Ka jhanda.”

The above rhyme depicts the miserable condition of the people of Kishtwar. It explains that a person living in Kishtwar faces the cruelty of hunger during the day and suffers from the coldness of the night. It further explains that whoever visits Kishtwar his condition is like a thin stick when he leaves Kishtwar.

¹⁴ Ibid, p,253

¹⁵ N.C. Kotwal, Political and Cultural Heritage of Bhaderwah, Kishtwar and Doda, Jammu,2000, p. 29.

¹⁶ Ibid. p.29.

¹⁷ J. Hutchison and J. Vogel, The History of Punjab Hill States, Vol.II, New Delhi, 2021. P.643

However, the above description of Kishtwar doesn't hold much ground because it has been commented on by a person of Kashmir and not by a person belonging to Kishtwar. The word *Kashthavata* is Sanskritized and not a Sanskrit word. *Kashthavata* word meaning the garden of wood, whereas vata -War means an enclosure or garden¹⁸. Kishtwar has been mentioned as *Kashthavata* and its location has been described to the southeast of Kashmir as an independent state during the period of Raja Kalasa of Kashmir. Champa (Chamba), *Villupuram*, (Billawar) and other hill states existed during the period of *Raja Kalasa* of Kashmir¹⁹. The Climatic conditions in the area of Kishtwar adjoining the Tibetan area were the reason for fewer inhabitants residing there²⁰.

Besides the reason mentioned above for the nomenclature of Kishtwar, there is another opinion regarding it. One Harilal Jotshi consulted a manuscript entitled *Rajvansh Kiriti Komudi* written by Pt. Sangram Dev, which is of the opinion that Kishtwar is derived from the term *Kashtwarak*. The meaning of *Kashtwarak* is the eliminator of miseries.

The Verse runs as under:²¹

Sa Kashtvarkodehha Kamneyote Pavana

Kridasathanam Mhosai himdrohridayasathlum

The translation of this Verse is,

"this place Kashtwarak is beautiful and holy. It had been lord Shiva's manifestations and is the heart of Himalayas."

¹⁸ J. Hutchison and J Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II, 2021, Pb. New Delhi, p.643.

¹⁹ K.S. Saxena, Ancient Political History of Kashmir, Srinagar, 2009, p.10.

²⁰ Ibid. p.12

²¹ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, p. 24.

In *Vasuk Purana* of Bhaderwah, it has been mentioned as *kast Niwarak*. The sloke runs in it²².

Kasht Nivarak Desh Chanderbhagatatsitham

Samaagat s Nagesh s Kashmirraibhyobhainivat s

(Vaopo 4/12)

The translation of this Verse is as:

"The place situated on the bank of Chander Bhaga has been called *Kasht Niwarak*. The king of Serpent Vasuki, fled from Kashmir and took refuge here."

1.2 GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION

Kishtwar is an ancient state of Jammu Hills. (Fig. 1.1) It can be traced to the pre-Christian era. One legend tells that Nag Sen of Kishtwar made intellectual discourse with Indo-Greek king Manendar in the 2nd century B.C.²³ Kalhana, in his *Rajatarangini*, mentioned it as *Kashtvata*²⁴. The literal meaning of it is "*garden of wood*". Abul Fazal has recorded some parts of Kishtwar, such as Dachhin and Maru Wardan Parganas of Sarkar of Kashmir and Suba of Kabul. But he does not provide detailed information about Kishtwar's location. It seems that when Abul Fazal compiled the *Ain-i-Akbari* in 1595, the Mughals were gaining knowledge about the newly conquered area of Kashmir (1586). However, Abul Fazal writes that Kishtwar was conquered with the area of Lahior through river routes, *i.e.*, the Chenab River.

²² Ibid. p.24.

²³ P.K. Kaul Nagsen of Milind Panhu, Delhi, 1996, p.24.

²⁴ Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Vol. II., Eng. Tr. By M.A. Stein, Delhi, 1989, p. 431.

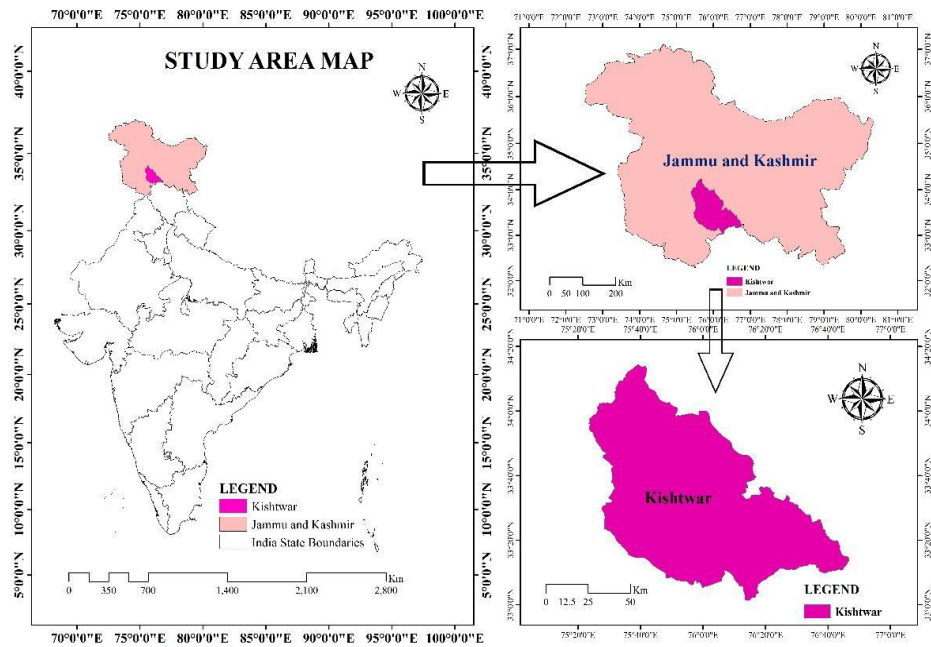


Fig:1.1 shows the location of Kishtwar.

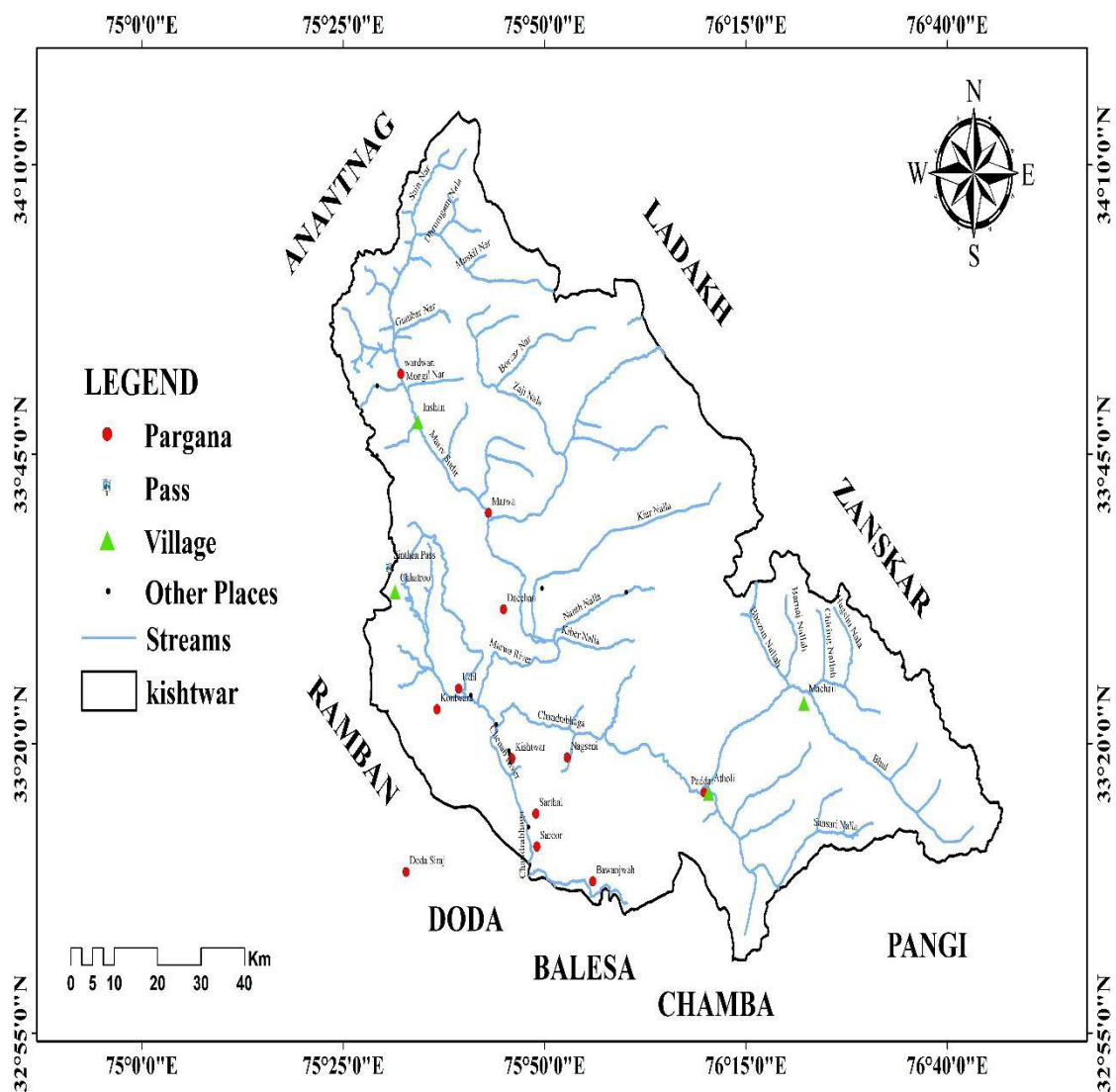


Fig:1.2 shows the location of Parganas of Kishtwar.

During the medieval period, Jammu hills comprised 22 states:

1. Jammu, 2. Mankot, 3. Jasrota, 4. Lakhanpur, 5. Samba, 6. Trikot, 7. Akhnoor, 8. Reasi, 9. Dalpatpur, 10. Bahu, 11. Bhoti, 12. Chenni, 13. Bhandralta, 14. Bhaderwah, 15. Basohli, 16. Bhaddu, 17. Kishtwar, 18. Poonch, 19. Kotli, 20. Rajouri, 21. Bhimbar, 22. Khari Khariyali.

Kishtwar was one of them²⁵. Jahangir describes Alkah as the capital of Kishtwar²⁶. The capital of Kishtwar was situated at a distance of sixty kos from Srinagar. It was bounded on the north by Ladakh, on the east by Paddar and Chamba, on the south by Badherwah and on the west by Kashmir. According to Shivji, Dhar Kishtwar is comprised of the following Parganas²⁷. Fig. 1.2 shows the important Parganas of Kishtwar with their locations.

1. Kishtwar proper – Kishtwar proper is located on the left bank of river Chenab and is situated on a plateau. Kishtwar proper included the areas of Palmar, Lach Gafar, Dool, Pochhal, Lasch Goha,
2. Nagseni – It was the main valley of Chandrabhaga lying between Kishtwar and Pader. It included the villages *Kwartangi, Bhagna, Damzi, Chandna, Chinga, Bhattan, Dajjla, Ghalhar Bhata, Bhata Semna, Ajana, Sazar, Cheergi, Piyas* etc.,
3. *Pargana Saroor Sarthal* – The pargana *Saroor* had 19 villages, namely *Joshana, Badhat, Salana, Bugarana, Buroti, Duga, Lass, Khori, Mander, Kalchanda, Chilasoo, Tatana, Kukerwas, Kanwar, Neju, Londri, Gadh, Dhar, Shirol* . There were 7 villages of *Sarthal* viz. *Lawa, Karool, Gahan, Porah, Chandali, Drab* and *Janwas*.
4. *Paddar* – It included 30 villages, *Pandali, Tiyyari, Tun, Batwas, Ongai, Ishatihari, Laddar, Lai, Gluggarh, Kundal, Kadail* namely *Afani, Atholi, Palali, Chag, Jarh, Sohal, Chishoti, Chitto, Leondi, Lussani, Muthal, Matti, Masu, Ligri, Machail, Hamori, Hango, Garh, Kabban*.

²⁵ S.D.S. Charak, History and Culture of Himalayan States, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1978, p.7.

²⁶ Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Eng., Tr., by Alexander Rogers, Delhi, 1994, p.135.

²⁷ Pt. Shivji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar (Persia), Srinagar, 1962, pp.8-10.

5. Bawanjwah – The valley of *Bhonjwah Nala* lay to the south of *Sarur*. This pargana Consisted of these villages of *Kither, Patnazi, Binoon, Jirwar, Nali, Jawalapur, Kewa, Tipri, Mori* and *Balgram*.
6. *Marwa – Wardwan* – It consisted of the whole Maru *Wardwan Valley*²⁸. It had 21 villages namely *Yurdu, Tellar, Changer, Dehrna, Drari, Renai, Pathgam, Qaderna, Nowpachi, Nowgam, Arwan, Inshan, Afti, Basmana, Brayana, Choidraman, Rikenwas, Sugati, Margi, Gomri* and *Monki*.
7. *Dachhan* –It included the villages of *Janakpur, Chhicha, Sonder, Lohrna, Lopara* and *Hanzal*.
8. *Kontwara* – This pargana included 8 villages of *Thakarie* namely *Filler, Pakalan, Darbadan, Seergawari, Nar, Sarawn, Hurna, Dhar*, and 15, villages of *Kontwara* namely *Kutal, Akerhang, A njole, Ohli, Bhalkut, Hadar, Barshala, Shandri, Haloor, Maliu, Sanggna, Bandehra, Nagbatna, Prashmulla* and *Lotna*.
9. *Zanskar*- This pargana had 51 villages which remained with *Kishtwar* state temporarily.
10. *Doda Saraj* –The pargana *Doda Siraj* remained a part of *Kishtwar* for a long time. It included the present *Doda, Ramban* and *Banihal*, tehsils, excluding the area to the left of the *Chenab*.
11. *Udil* –*Inderwal, Tagood, Kochhal, Chingam, Durbeel, Chatroo, Rahalthal, Sigdi* and *Mulchhitar* were included in this pargana.

It was situated on Lat. 33° 10' and 33° and long. 75° 25' and 76° 10'. *Kishtwar* is situated about 5,400 feet above the sea²⁹. It's distance is eleven marches or 129 miles from the city of *Jammu* and 84 miles or 7 marches from *Inshin* in the *Maruwardan Valley*, and 186 miles or 20 marches from *Kulang* in *Lahaul* by the road which follows the course of the *Chandra Bhaga*³⁰.

William Irvine describes the location of *Kishtwar* on the left bank of river *Chenab* on the southern slope of the *Himalayas*. He explains the location of *Kishtwar*

²⁸ B.N. Roy, who has compiled notes on places in *Kashmir*, mentions that *Maruwardwan valley* was situated along the range that formed the eastern frontier of *Kashmir*, running from the *Zojila* almost due south towards *Kishtwar*. Quoted in *Ain-I-Akbari*, Eng., Tr. p.390.

²⁹ *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, Calcutta, Reprint, 1890, p.503.

³⁰ P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1962, p.3

at 5000 feet above sea level on the left bank of river Chenab with latitude 33° 18' and longitude 75° 46'³¹.

The geographical location of Kishtwar, its boundaries, production and its routes connecting to neighbouring states were also responsible for the relations of Kishtwar with the Mughals. Social, economic and religious conditions of Kishtwar also played an important role in assigning Kishtwar a key position among the hill states. The geographical location of Kishtwar was also responsible for its relations with the neighbouring states and the Mughal emperors, which varied from time to time for different reasons. Kishtwar was surrounded by high mountains and mighty rivers like Chanderbhaga. The high passes made Kishtwar an inaccessible region. It made Kishtwar a safe region for its rulers. This was the reason that a number of fugitives and rebels from Kashmir and other neighbouring states sought political asylum in Kishtwar for their struggle against their home state to regain power. This geographical location moulded the history of Kishtwar.

Kishtwar is a beautiful upland mountainous area with a range of mountain heights of up to 8000 feet. Kishtwar lies in the temperate zone. It has forests of rhododendron, chestnut, deodar and pine trees. Kishtwar is located in the valley of Chenab River ³². In the Pader area, which lies on the southern side of Kashmir, there is continuous snowfall. Pine, deodar and Chinar trees are found in large numbers. Pader area is known for its beautiful and invaluable sapphire. Experts evaluate and grade these sapphires' quality worldwide³³. Panjal range of mountains extends from Muzaffarabad to Kishtwar on the river Chenab. Panjal falls among the high range of mountains. ³⁴

Pader is a mountainous area with attractive natural scenic beauty. This area is known for sapphire mines. Kishtwar is known for saffron. It produces the best quality

³¹ William Irvine, *Later, Mughals*, Vol. I & II, New Delhi, 1971, edit. By Jadunath Sarkar, p.401.

³² W.R. Lawrence, *Provincial Gazetteer of Kashmir and Jammu*, New Delhi, 1985, p.1 .

³³ *Ibid.* p.3

³⁴ *Ibid.* p.13 .

saffron. Saffron is produced in large quantities and for this reason, is known as the saffron queen³⁵.



Fig. 1.3: A view of Chogan in Kishtwar.

Chogan lies in the heart of the town of Kishtwar. (Fig 1.3) As per the historical evidence, its length and breadth were 5 miles and 7 miles, respectively. Its location was on a plateau. The Chogan of Kishtwar has great importance in geography. Political, Social and Religious points of view. The fort of Kishtwar, built by Raja Kahan Pal on a hill lies on the corner of the Chogan of Kishtwar. The Chogan was used for playing a

³⁵ N.C. Kotwal, Political and Cultural Heritage of Bhaderwah, Kishtwar and Doda, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 28-29

Polo-like game in the Chougan. The stones of Polo games still lie in the Chougan. An old historical Chinar tree still exists in the Chougan.

A number of stories are associated with this Chogan, e.g. *Hasti gand* (explained in chapter V, in religion), *Kantak Yatra* (Chapter V), Sarkut pond links the story of *Mughalani* a brave lady (explained in chapter IV).

Confluence of Maru-Wadwan and Chenab



Fig. 1.4: A Close view of the confluence of the Maru-Wardwan River with Chenab at Bhandarkot in Kishtwar.



Fig. 1.5: Wide view of the confluence of the Maru-Wardwan River with the Chenab at Bhandarkot in Kishtwar

Fig. 1.4 and 1.5 shows the close view and broad view of the confluence of the Maru-Wardwan River at Bhandarkot in Kishtwar. Bhandarkot is a place with political, Geographical as well as religious importance. There was a jhula bridge to approach Kishtwar. In case of damage of the bridge, nobody could cross the river. It formed a natural boundary of Kishtwar and served as a natural protector of Kishtwar. The importance of the Bhandarkot bridge could be judged from the fact that when the bridge was destroyed; out of 80 soldiers of the Mughal army who attacked during the time of Raja Gur Singh tried to cross the bridge, 68 drowned in the river and only two could swim across the river safely.

1.3 Rivers:

There were two important rivers in and around Kishtwar. The Maru and Chenab rivers were the main source of water supply to the State. Kishtwar, the capital of the state was situated on the left bank of the Chenab River. During the ancient period the Chenab River was known as Chandra Bhaga.

According to Jahangir, Chandra and Bhaga were the two sweet water streams and were very useful for Kishtwar in terms of security and transport system ³⁶. The distance between the Maru River and Chenab River was two bow shots. Jahangir writes that crossing the river on foot by people was a difficult matter³⁷. This shows that the flow of water was very fast; consequently, the people had to construct rope bridges on the river because the flow of these rivers was very strong. Sometimes these rope bridges were destroyed by the floods. During the reign of Mughal Emperor Jahangir, under Dilawar Khan, Kishtwar was attacked, but his army had to suffer a big loss of his soldiers due to the flood in river Chenab³⁸. The Mughal Army suffered a huge loss of soldiers. Narrating the incident, Jahangir writes, "As the water was flowing with great violence, the rafts (rope bridge) were carried down by the flood of destruction, and sixty-eight (out of eighty soldiers) of these gallant men were drowned in the sea of non-existence³⁹.

The rivers provided water for drinking purposes to the different areas of Kishtwar. Most of the cities of Kishtwar were situated either on the bank of these rivers or on the bank of their tributaries, e.g., Kishtwar and Bhadarkot were situated on the banks of Chenab and Maru rivers, respectively⁴⁰.

In Shahjahan Nama, Kishtwar has been mentioned as a hill state. Its location has been shown in the mountains of Himalayas. It has been mentioned that Kishtwar is located in the valley of Chander Bhaga.⁴¹

The river Chenab is one of the five rivers of Punjab. It flows through the territory of Kishtwar and is one of the important rivers of the Kishtwar region. Chenab has been referred to as *Acesines* by the Greeks; it has been referred to in ancient India in Vedas as *Asikni*. The origin of river Chenab is traced to the Himalayan area of Lahul. Chenab literally means the water of China. This name was given due to the fact that it came from Chinese territories. This name was given because the river flowed through

³⁶ Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Eng. Tr. by A. Rogers, Delhi, 1994, p.137.

³⁷ Ibid. p 137.

³⁸ Ibid. p.137.

³⁹ Ibid. p.137.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 137

⁴¹ Munshi Devi Prasad Krit, Shahjahan Nama (Hindi), 1975, p.50.

an area inhabited by *Laholis*, who were similar in every respect to the Chinese in their speech, look and religion ⁴².

The Chander stream flows from Bara Lacha southeast side and the Bhaga stream originates from the north-west slopes of *Bara Lcha* pass. Bhaga is called Marev-Send in the local language. Small streamlets joined it from the valleys of Basman, Zaji-nai etc. Bota-wath glacier is an important source of water for the Bhaga stream ⁴³.

Both Chandra and Bhaga rivers join together at *Tandi*. The united river is known as Chandra Bhaga or Chenab. The Chandra Bhaga River flows through Pangi Valley in Chamba and enters the padar territory. Uniar, Shudi, Bhutna and Maru Wardwan rivers join Chandra Bhaga after *Tandi*. Chenab river is joined by the streams like Golan Lar, and Lidar Kol, Bichlari and Hans after Kishtwar ⁴⁴.

1.4 Climate:

Kishtwar has a really cold climate and in the winter snow falls. In Kishtwar, there is neither much rainfall nor much snowfall. The snowfall continues for four months. But due to climatic effects, it does not stay continuously on the ground ⁴⁵. The climate of Kishtwar could be divided into four seasons, i.e., Spring, summer, autumn and winter. In the month of march, there is the spring season, and Kishtwar experiences the summer season in the month of June. There is autumn in the month of September. The months of November, December, January and February are the months of winter in Kishtwar. The summer season in Kishtwar is mild, but the months of winter are quite cold. Kishtwar region falls in a poor rainfall zone and receives an average annual rainfall of 891.032 mms. The climate of Kishtwar is arctic in winter⁴⁶.

The climate of Kishtwar was most suitable for producing varieties of fruits. A number of fruits were produced. Prominent among them were apple, quince, plum, apricots, cherry mulberry, peach grapes and walnut⁴⁷. Three kinds of pears were also

⁴² Fredric Drew, The Jammu and Kashmir territories, Srinagar, 2009, p.79.

⁴³ R.C. Kak, Antiquities of Marve-Wadwan, New Delhi, 1971, p.12

⁴⁴ W.R. Lawrence, Provincial Gazetteers Kashmir & Jammu, New Delhi, 1985. p.92.

⁴⁵ Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, p. 504.

⁴⁶ F.M. Hussna in, History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar, Vol. II., Delhi, p.146.

⁴⁷ Frederic Drew, The Jammu and Kashmir Territories, 2009, p. 83.

produced. The climate of Kishtwar is quite pleasant and refreshing. Climatically Kishtwar has been compared with Kashmir. It has been compared with a perfect *orchard* because it had various fruits, including melons, peaches, etc.⁴⁸.

In Padar pargana, the people and cattle live indoors for six months out of the year, due to much snowfall. In this area, trees and food were scarce.

1.5 Mountains:

Kishtwar included a section of *Chandra Bhaga* valley in the Himalayan Mountains extending from *Nag Seni* to *Ramban* and its principality with Palmy Days. It included the following mountainous area:

1. Kishtwar proper, 2. Nag Seni, 3. Sarthal, 4. Sarur, 5. Banjwah, 6. Dachan and Maru Wardwan, 7. Udil, 8. Kantwara, 9. Banihal.

The mountains of Kishtwar were covered with a forest of Deodar trees, Fir, Oak which lend charm and majesty to it. High ranges of mountains surround Kishtwar state. These mountains acted as a barrier between Kishtwar and the other regions. The Panjal range separated Anantnag area from the valley of Kashmir in the northwest. The Suru and Zaskar areas lay in the Ladakh district and were separated in the east. The height of this Mountain varied from area to area; for example, at Marbal its Height was 11,500 feet from the Height at Nun Kun, 23,000 feet.

Similarly, other *dhars* the *Shopu* and *Gulu – dhanantru (Nagloten)* separated Kishtwar from *Chamba* territory. There were many other lateral dhars which divided Kishtwar into different areas or Parganas for example – *Phampur dhar* separated the Udil area from *Warwan*, *Marwa*, and *Dachhan* and ended at Mughal maidan. Similarly, Dhazu a branch of Bar – Dhar separated *Padar* from *Dachhan* and Marwa.

Due to the mountainous climatic nature of the topography of Kishtwar, a number of springs of hot water were found in Kishtwar, which were locally known as *Tattavani*. These springs existed in the medieval period and exist even today. One such spring was found in the Padar area, in which one could not drop his hand because it had

⁴⁸ R.K. Parmu, A history of Muslim rule in Kashmir, pb. Srinagar, 2009, p.307.

water at boiling point. The *Tattavani* spring in *Nagseni* area is located on the bank of Chenab at a distance of 22 km from Kishtwar town. This spring could be seen only in winter when the water of river Chenab recedes. The hot springs are also found in Merv-Wardwan area of Kishtwar but don't have much hot water⁴⁹. One hot spring, i.e., *Tattavani* is located in Atholi in Padar and is referred as *Shesnag*.

There are certain water resources like Trisandhya in Dachhan Marwa area where water abruptly starts flowing and recedes suddenly before joining a nearby stream. The water flows thrice from a hidden source which is defined by the people belonging to some natural power. The people sit on their sides to take a bath in the stream's water, which is miraculous and meritorious in nature⁵⁰.

1.6 Soils:

1.6.1_Karewa Soils:

These types of soils are found both in Kishtwar and the valley of Kashmir. These soils are very important for the cultivation of crops like saffron. Karewa soils are also important for growing varieties of fruits like apples, almonds, peaches and walnuts. Maize is also grown in Karewa soils in the regions falling under high reaches. A good quality of paddy could be grown in Karewa soils but required proper irrigation facilities.

Kishtwar was an important hill state. It was known with different names before being named as Kishtwar. Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini* mentions it as *Kashtvata*. In general language, Kishtwar is derived from the term *Kashtwark*, eliminator of miseries. Kishtwar had six parganas. Maru and Chenab were two important rivers of Kishtwar. These rivers were the main source of water supply and were useful for Kishtwar in terms of Security and Transport. The climate of Kishtwar was cold. On the other hand, such a climate was most suitable for the production of fruits and vegetables.

⁴⁹ J.N. Ganhar, *Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages*, New Delhi, 1973, p.84.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.81.

1.7 Area of Study:

Kishtwar has been selected as an area of study for the medieval period spanning from 12th century A.D. to 17th century A.D. with socio-political history of Kishtwar. It was one of the 22 Hill States of Punjab during the medieval period. Kishtwar consisted of 11 Parganas which included, Kishtwar proper, Nagseni, Pargna Saroor Sarthal, Paddar, Bawanjwah, Marwa, Dachhan, Kontwara, Zanskar, Doda Saraj and Udil. It was a hilly state surrounded by high mountains and mighty rivers. Kishtwar had a mixed population of Buddhists, Hindus and the Muslims. Presently Kishtwar is a district of J&K, with Paddar and Chatru as its sub-divisions. Kishtwar also includes the area of Dachhan, Sarthal and Nagseni and Saroor even in the present times. The area of study includes the study of cultural heritage, socio-Political life of the people and religious background of Kishtwar. The economy of Kishtwar has been studied in detail with geographical and climatic conditions.

1.8 Objectives:

- To study the role of Kishtwar in the political life and History of Jammu hills.
- To identify the nature of the population in Kishtwar.
- To examine the indigenous economic resources and socio-economic relations of Kishtwar.
- To highlight Kishtwar as a state with its own heritage

1.9 Statement of Problems:

Kishtwar is a state of the medieval period having a mixed rich culture and heritage due to different reasons behind it. It had come in contact with people of different religious and cultural backgrounds which moulded its socio-political history. It is believed that Kishtwar had its own script but is not available. Some people had medieval manuscripts with them, but they didn't pass on these manuscripts and couldn't be preserved, depriving the society of getting invaluable information about Kishtwar. The archaeological monuments have not been preserved but are found in ruins from which some information can be collected. The information about the region of Kishtwar can be mainly gathered from the historical records of the neighbouring states especially Kashmir and the Mughal records.

1.10 Research Gap:

During the research, a research gap has been noticed in the regional history of Kishtwar. A number of scholars have made research on the regional history of Kishtwar, but they have mainly confined their work to the modern period of Kishtwar. Some scholars have devoted their attention towards the history of the ancient period of Kishtwar but the study of the medieval period of Kishtwar is a gulf between ancient and modern periods of Kishtwar which has not been bridged through proper historical works. Which needs further more research for the important historical region like Kishtwar.

1.11 Methodology:

Methodology means the research strategy adopted to scrutinize the collected data and access it for suitability for the research work. The proposed research is based on the critical analysis of archaeological and literary sources. The Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu and Hindi literary sources have been consulted. Oral traditions have also been taken into consideration after comparing them with the written evidence. The collected data has been analyzed in accordance with the trends of the medieval period from the 12th to 17th century A.D.

1.12 Method of Data Collection:

The data for the inquiry has been sourced from public records, state/national archives, libraries, newspaper archives, and historical society offices. It is available both in printed and electronic (Digitized and Internet-transmitted) form. The nature of this archival and documentary data is available in the form of correspondence or collections of public records like administrative reports, assembly debates, home department files and collection of private records. Finding and gaining access to the archives has been the first step. After obtaining access to the necessary materials belonging to the period under study, the relevant information has been identified, categorized, and converted into data and analyzed.

- The data information collected from primary as well as secondary sources has been compared with the information collected through conduct of interviews of the local and other reliable people who could make their contribution for the research work.

- The collected data from different sources has been analyzed by using different methodologies i.e., the use of software techniques such as tables, flow charts, questionnaires and other tools.
- Data collection was followed by documentary analysis. The analytic procedure has entailed finding, selecting, appraising and synthesizing data contained in documents. The researcher has refined and critically analyzed the data collected and compiled it in thesis form.

1.13_Research Design:

A detailed study of available different sources along with archaeological sources and legends has been made. This information has been compared on spot during the visits to the area of research and a number of prominent, senior citizens have been contacted including a historian. A prominent retired senior officer, a maulvi of Ziarat and a Pujari of the temple in Sarthal include the list of the people consulted for the authenticity of facts studied in the historical literature. The information shared by them has been compared with contemporary sources and has found relevance with the historical facts of the medieval period of Kishtwar.

Conclusion:

The introduction part of the thesis is an important segment of the research work. It is a short and summarized form of the thesis. It reflects the whole work showing the geographical location, climate, and the people residing in the area of Kishtwar. It further shows the political, social and religious life of the people of Kishtwar. The economy of Kishtwar has been discussed in brief. The literary and archaeological sources available for the research work and the limitations for the research have been discussed. The area of study, methodology, research design, limitations, research gap and problems for research have been discussed in the introductory part of this work.

CHAPTER-2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction:

The previous chapter has represented the introduction to the research work, area of the study, research objective, research methodology, methods of data collection, research design, statement of the problem and research gap. The present chapter shares the review of the literature. The information about Kishtwar is found in various writings but very nominal details are available on certain matters. The literature review is providing the relevant information on the following concerns:

2.2 Literature Review:

Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jhangiri, Pb. Delhi, 1904, shows the location of Kishtwar and its distance from Kashmir. It shows the struggle of Mughal emperor Jahangir with the Rajas of Kishtwar for the conquest of Kishtwar. The book throws light on the rivers of the area like the Maru and Chenab and explains the mode of crossing the river with the type of bridges over the rivers. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir* speaks of contemporary the Rajas of Kishtwar during the period of the Mughal emperor Jahangir. The book explains the main crops and cultivations of Kishtwar. The quality of saffron has been discussed. The book explains in detail the types of fruits found in Kishtwar. The currency of Kishtwar has been discussed. It explains the unit of measurement of weight prevalent in Kishtwar. The book explains the system of payment to the army. The book also explains the mode of the land revenue system and the annual amount of land revenue system paid to the government. The Source of income of the Rajas of Kishtwar has been explained. The book also explains about the payment of salary to the jaghirdars. This work explains about the dress, customs and language of Kishtwar e.g., Mughal emperor Jahangir was greatly impressed by the personality and dress of the raja of Kishtwar when the latter was brought before the emperor as a captive. Emperor Jahangir was pleased enough to forgive the raja of Kishtwar and treated him honourably and assigned him the rank of Jaghirdars. This work explains the subjugation of the Rajas of Kishtwar by Dilawar Khan during the period of Jahangir. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* further explains diplomatic and political relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and Mughal ruler Jahangir.

G.M.D. Sufi, The Islamic Culture in Kashmir, Srinagar, 1930, In this work writer explains about the foreign invasions in Kashmir, and its impact on Kishtwar. The work deals with the tribes like Gaddis residing in Kishtwar and its neighbouring areas. The religion in Kishtwar with the spread of Islam in Kishtwar has been dealt in the work. It further explains about the political system of Kishtwar. It also explains about the invasion of Mirza Haider Douglaqt.

Mohibul Hassan, Kashmir under the Sultans, Srinagar 1959, In this work the writer explains the route connecting Kashmir with Kishtwar. He refers to the important pass *i.e.*, Marble pass with its height of 11570 feet. It is mentioned that this pass had to be crossed through land route from Kashmir to approach Kishtwar. The details of the important rivers have been explained in the work which had to be crossed before reaching Kishtwar from Kashmir. We find special references of the mighty rivers Wardwan and Chenab in this work. The mode of crossing the river has been mentioned especially the rope bridges. The impact of climate has been referred to in the work. It has been mentioned that during the winter the route from Kashmir to Kishtwar was closed.

The work speaks of cordial relations between Kashmir and Kishtwar by referring the accounts of the Rajas of Kashmir and Kishtwar who sought refuge in each other's territories during the days of distress. During the period of Suhadeva (1301-1320) Zulu, a Mongol attacked Kashmir. After facing a defeat at the hands of Zulu, Suhadev sought refuge in Kishtwar. But at the same time, it refers to the change of attitude by the sultan of Kashmir towards the Rajas of Kishtwar. During the rule of Ali Shah Chak Kishtwar was attacked in 1572 in which the ruler of Kashmir invaded Kishtwar and made Bahadur Singh, the ruler of Kashmir to accept the suzerainty of Kashmir by signing a humiliating treaty with a promise to pay annual tribute to the sultan of Kashmir. Mohibul Hassan in this book refers to the matrimonial alliances between the rulers of Kishtwar and the sultans of Kashmir. Bahadur Singh the ruler of Kishtwar married his sister Shankar Devi, to Yaqub, the grandson of Ali Shah, the ruler of Kashmir.

P.N. K. Bamzai, A History of Kashmir, Delhi, 1962, This work explains about the geographical location of Kishtwar. It shows the location of Kishtwar. The altitude of the Kishtwar has been shown 5400 feet above sea level. The distance of Kishtwar from

Jammu, Maru Wardwan and Lahol has been shown. The distance between Kishtwar from Jammu has been shown as 129 miles whereas the distance between Kishtwar from Lahol has been shown as 286 miles. The book also refers the course of river Chanderbhaga. This work also explains about the climate of Kishtwar and refers it as pleasant and refreshing. The Main source of water in the state of Kishtwar was Maru and Chenab River.

Pt. Shivji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, Pt. Shivji Dhar in this book refers to the location of Kishtwar. The Chenab and Maru Rivers valley has been referred. The location of Kishtwar has been shown in Chenab and Maru Valley. The book explains that Kishtwar was an area exclusively covered by a lake (Abgiri). The writer explains in the book about the historical background of Kishtwar and justifies Kishtwar title as Manshamragarh. It has been explained that Manshamargarh nomenclature was given by Ahangpat, a person who came and settled in Kishtwar with his sons and adopted the profession of *Pahwa i.e.*, a profession of rearing sheep and goats. Pt. Shivji Dhar in his book explains that Manshamragarh became an important and flourishing town but was destroyed by a tribe named *Damer* which attacked and killed all the inhabitants of the area.

The work refers to the origin and nomenclatures of Kishtwar. The book also explains the beginning of the rule of Suryavanshi Dynasty in Kishtwar under Kahan Pal. Kahan Pal, who had come from Gaur, ancient capital of Bengal. He belonged to Suryavanshi dynasty. He was descendent of raja Vikram jeet of Bengal. It further explains that how Kahan pal succeeded in establishing his rule by defeating the Panjasasis through an intrigue. This book also shows the invasion of Kishtwar under the command of Mirza Mohammad Khan, Dilawar Khan on the orders of Mughal emperor Jahangir. The reason for the conquest of Kishtwar has been explained. The shelter offered by the Rajas of Kishtwar to the rebels of Kashmir was one of the reasons behind it.

Raja Sangram Singh was the first ruler to adorn the title of *Singh* in place of *Dev*, the title used by the earlier the Rajas of Kishtwar. It is the turning point in the history of Kishtwar. Henceforth the Rajas of Kishtwar used Singh as the title. The work also shows relations between the Mughal emperor and the Rajas of Kishtwar which varied from time to time. An army of 10,000 men from Kashmir was sent to Kishtwar

on the orders of emperor Jahangir to support Bagawan Singh who became the raja of Kishtwar with the help of Mughal emperor, after defeating Kanthak, the commander of the army of Raja Bhupat Pal of Basholi who had conquered Kishtwar. The work refers to a religious and social festival known as **Kanthak yatra** which reveals the victory of the Raja of Kishtwar over the raja Bhupat Pal of Basholi. The yatra is named after the name of Kanthak, a leader and representative of Raja Bhupat Pal of Basohli. **Kanthak yatra** festival is celebrated annually to commemorate the victory of the Raja of Kishtwar. The writer also discusses about the relation with neighbouring areas like Chich & Sazar and the conquest of these areas by Raja Sangram Singh.

A detailed account of different castes and the major communities inhabiting the different areas of Kishtwar with their background. The major castes of Kishtwar like Brahmans, Meghs, Gaddis, and Thakurs. the people of different castes lived in different areas. Their population was not homogeneous it varied from area to area. Thakurs, Meghs and Kashmiri Muslims lived in Kishtwar and Bunjwah. The book speaks about the major communities *i.e.*, Hindus and Muslims who had settled in Kishtwar and adjoining areas.

Shivji Dhar explains the Parganas of Kishtwar of the time as under.

1. Kishtwar proper
2. Nagseni
3. Paddar
4. Marwa Wardwan
5. Saroor Sarthal
6. Doda Siraj
7. Zanskar
8. Dachhan
9. Bawanjwah
10. Kontwara
11. Udil

Beni Prasad, The History of Jahangir, Pb. Allahabad, 1962, In this work author explains about the location of Kishtwar. He also discusses about the revenue system

prevailing in Kishtwar. According to the author, every house of Kishtwar had to pay the tax which was fixed by the Government. Fines were also imposed by the state which were generally heavy upon the wealthy people. The author further explains about the Saffron and other agricultural production. According to him, Saffron of Kishtwar was best in quality as compared to Kashmir. The author also discusses about the Weights and measuring system which existed in Kishtwar. He tells that *Sanhansi* was the unit of exchange which was equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ of a rupee. The Writer also discusses the varieties of fruits which were grown in Kishtwar. He discusses the policy of conquest adopted by Mughal emperor Jahangir against Kishtwar because by conquering Kishtwar Mughal emperor wanted to secure his position in Kashmir. The author also discusses the importance of Bhandarkot Bridge. Because when this bridge was destroyed, the Mughal army had to face a great difficulty to attack Kishtwar. After reconstructing the bridge, the Mughal army made a successful attack on Kishtwar. In this book, the author also explains the dress of the Raja of Kishtwar when he was produced before the Mughal emperor Jahangir after his defeat in the battle.

In this book, author also explains about the love and respect shown by the general masses towards their Raja. They showed their resentment by making protest when the Raja of Kishtwar was arrested by the Mughal emperor.

Irfan Habib, Agrarian System of Mughal India, Bombay, 1963, Irfan Habib refers a detailed account of peasants of Kishtwar. He divides the type of crops into two main types *i.e.*, Rabi crop (spring) and the second kharif. He further gives the variety of crops under Rabi crops like wheat barley, poppy and beans etc. Under the Kharif type of crops, he gives the names of rice maize, saffron and pulses etc. The area and cultivation of variety of crops. He further categorises crops into two types *i.e.*, cash crops *i.e.*, *Jin-i-Amit* and food grain crops *i.e.*, *Jin-i-Ghalla*. This division was based on the prices of the crops in the market.

Narsingh Das Nargis, Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh, 1967, Narsingh Das Nargis explains the nomenclatures of Kishtwar as Mahakal Garh and refers to the background of Mahakal Garh which was named by a person who worshipped Mahakal and describes the cause of the ruin of Mahakal Garh. He relates the history of Kishtwar to the Mahabharata period by referring to Neelkanth temple which was built by Bheem Sen the legend hero of Mahabharata. This book also refers the background of Kishtwar

which was occupied by Rathars and Ganies tribes who planted Hadi trees *i.e.*, *chherhad*. It is mentioned that two tribes namely Rotar and Ganai settled in *Cheerhar*. The book also refers about the trade of Kishtwar with the neighboring states like Punjab. The major items of trade for import and export have been explained which included medicines, herbs, and dry skin of apricot. He explains the important personalities who gave different nomenclatures to Kishtwar. The references of *Panjsasis* a nomadic tribe of Punjab have been discussed in the work. A detailed account of struggle for power between *panjsasis* tribe and Rather and Ganies of Kishtwar has been discussed. The book explains about Raja Kahan Pal's visit to Amarnath yatra which later on established its rule in Kishtwar. The book explains the association of Raja Kahan pal with Gorakh Nath ji who helped Raja Kahan Pal by advising Kahan Pal, the proper strategy to establishing his rule in Kishtwar. His work explains the reforms and justice given by Kahan Pal to the people. The book also speaks about the financial support extended by Raja Kahan Pal in the time of need to the people. Gandharav Sen the son and successor of Raja Kahan Pal ruled Kishtwar from 500-586 A. D. attacked and conquered Kashmir in the battle of Twelve Yone. The construction of the temple of Sarthal Mata *i.e.*, goddess of Eighteen arms has been mentioned in this work. The book explains the background of this Goddess who helped the Raja Parthu Dev in defeating and killing ferocious Dev (demon).

The writer explains the annexation of Kashmir during the period of Mughal emperor Akbar in 1556 and the account of Yaqub Shah who fled and sought refuge in Kishtwar during the period of Raja Bahadur Singh. This work explains that Kishtwar was a safe sanctuary for the rebels of Kashmir and also for the Kashmiri sultans during the days of distress. Kishtwar provided shelter to *Lavangs* who rose in revolt during the reign of Alauddin. Even the Kashmiri sultans used to seek refuge in Kishtwar e.g., Yaqub Shah sought shelter in Kishtwar and made Kishtwar a base for his struggle against Kashmir for regaining the throne of Kashmir. The work explains the contribution of Kashmiri rebels who contributed towards the development of Kishtwar e.g., Shanker Devi the queen of Yaqub Shah did a lot for the works of public welfare by building the irrigational canal *Kanyankaram* and *chashmalali* canal. Narsingh Das Nargis explains details of a number of festivals celebrated in Kishtwar e.g., Tahar, Ashta Buzi Devi and Kantak Yatra. A fair is also celebrated in the name of *Farid-ud-din*. Some of these

festivals are based on local legends. *Tahar* festival is celebrated in the month of Fagun on the bank of Hudri Spring. The background of festivals like Kanthak Yatra has been explained. The background of the Sarthal temple has been explained. The writer explains about the occurrence of severe famine during the period of Raja Maha Singh and prayers offered by the raja to the god Neelkanth and the blessing showered by the deity. The work refers about the architectural interest of Raja Gur Singh [1618-29] who built the wonderful palace, *Diwan-i-Aam* and also a palace at *Banderkot* on the bank of river Chenab. The writer in this work explains the terms and conditions for accepting the sovereignty of Mughals emperors by the Rajas of autonomous states. It shows that a part of land revenue had to be sent to the Mughal emperor as a sign of being a tributary state which was symbolic of loyalty. The writer also explains in sequence the Rajas of Kishtwar who accepted the sovereignty of the Mughal emperors or the rulers. It was a practice to send a close relative *i.e.*, a son, sister, or brother to the Mughal court as a hostage. This practice reveals the loyalty of the Rajas of Kishtwar towards the Mughals emperors.

The writer refers about the system of succession among the Rajas of Kishtwar. The eldest son generally succeeded the deceased Raja. The succession ship was generally hereditary. The Mughal rulers interfered in succession to the throne of Kishtwar but the base was hereditary. Shahjahan accepted Jagat Singh, the son of Raja Gaur Singh as the successor to the throne of Kishtwar. The work explains the influence of Sufis in Kishtwar. Raja jai Singh accepted Islam under the influence of Sufi saint Shah Mohmmad *Farid-ud-din*. The writer refers to the love for justice by the Rajas of Kishtwar. Due to this justice people from the neighbouring states migrated to Kishtwar in large numbers. Raja Maha Singh appointed a Qazi for justice to the Muslims who had migrated to Kishtwar. It shows that the Rajas of Kishtwar were justice-loving and followed liberal approach even towards the Muslims. They did not interfere in the personal laws of the Muslims.

This work explains the release of the raja of Kishtwar Gur Singh (Kunwar Singh) by Emperor Jahangir after Gur Singh signed a treaty with Emperor Jahangir. Raja Gur Singh believed in the welfare of his people. He extended financial support to them by distributing one lac rupees among the people. Raja Kunwar Singh was a great builder. He constructed a palace at Bhanderkot. During the reign of Aurangzeb, we find

conversion to Islam in Kishtwar. Raja Kirat Singh embraced Islam during the period of Aurangzeb. His example was followed by the people of Kishtwar. The work refers about Raja Maha Singh and his love for justice and his secular approach towards Muslims because he welcomed the Muslims from Kashmir who came and settled in Kishtwar. This work explains the relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and Mughal emperor Jahangir during the period of Raja Maha Singh, Raja Jai Singh and Raja, Kirat Singh. It also shows the differences between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb but at times these relations became strained on the basis of religious factors. the writer also explains an account of the conversion of Raja Kirat Singh to Islam.

R.C. Kak, Antiquities of Marev-wardwan, No.1, New Delhi, Reprinted 1971, It shows the details of caste and communities belonging to different religions living in the territories of Kishtwar and adjoining areas. It refers about the Thakkars who were Hindus by caste and belonged to Dacchan area of Kishtwar and had settled in *Brari Angan* village in Kashmir. The work also speaks of tribal people belonging to *Bakarwal* community of nomads. The *bakarwals* belonged to Muslim community. Their main profession has been shown as goat rearers. The work refers about the geographical boundaries with the adjoining areas. The writer gives an account of social life and rituals of the people living in Kishtwar with detail.

The work speaks of the practice of witchcraft which was prevalent in the area of Kishtwar and Dachhan. The Thakkar women were known for the practice of witchcraft. The writer further explains that the women with witchcraft had extraordinary power even to fly in the air. They could change themselves into the form of animals and could grant life or death to a person. The men folk were afraid of them and could not dare to dishonour them. These women with magic power performed dark and horrible rites and had no mercy for anybody. But all the women who practiced witchcraft did not harm the people. The writer himself explains that he was a witness of punishment suffered by a chowkidar who a victim of black magic was. *Shagin* was a class of people who could neutralize the ill effect of black magic. They were blessed with the power to punish the women practicing witchcraft for harming the people. The knowledge of herbs and its different uses has been discussed. A particular type of herb has been referred with the term *Zadi*.

The writer refers to an inscription of the period king Anant Deva(1028-1063A.D.). The inscription of Anant shows that Dachhan was a part of Kishtwar.

We find a detailed description of the art and architecture used in temples in Kishtwar. The architectural knowledge and expertise in this field by the people of Kishtwar is confirmed by the fact that deodar Kaikut temple of Kashmir was built with deodar wood by the raja of Kishtwar. This temple was built by the raja Majjan of Kishtwar.

William Irvine, Later Mughals, Reprinted New Delhi,1971, The writer Gives an account of matrimonial alliance between raja of Kishtwar and the Mughal Emperor. He refers the marriage of Bhup Devi, the daughter of Raja of Kishtwar, with the Mughal emperor Farrukh -Siyar on 3rd July 1717. The writer also mentions the geographical location of Kishtwar. He refers Kishtwar as a state located on the slope of Himalayas on a small plain on left bank of Chenab. The location of Kishtwar has been shown at 5000 feet above sea with lat.33°0-18' long.75-46'.

Mirza Haider Doughlat, Tarikh-i-Rashidi, Eng. tr. by N.Elias & E.Denison Ross, Patna ,1973, In this work, the writer explains about the background of Mirza Haider, his struggle for establishing his rule in Kashmir, his attack on Ladakh, Kishtwar, Baltistan and Tibet (Ladakh), Rajouri and Pakhli. The native chiefs of Kashmir sought the protection of Sher Shah against Mirza Haider. Mirza Haider in this attempt was defeated and sought refuge in the Hills but later on, succeeded in defeating the army of Afghans and native chiefs of Kashmir comprising an army of 5000 soldiers. After establishing his rule in Kashmir Mirza Haider attacked Ladakh. Kishtwar was also attacked by Mirza Haider. The writer refers that Mirza Haider sent Bandagan Koka to attack and himself followed him. Bandagan Koka was defeated and killed. Mirza Hider had to suffer a great loss of army. He left the idea of invading Kishtwar due to heavy loss of army and defeat at the hands of army of Kishtwar. He planned to invade Baltistan that is little Tibet, Tibet, Rajouri, and Pakhli in which he was greatly successful and added these areas to his Kashmir dominions.

G .M Israt, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, Pb. Jammu, 1973, G.M. Israt explains territory of state of Kishtwar and its boundaries. He also refers the policy of annexation adopted by the Rajas of Kishtwar under raja Sangram Singh and further followed by raja Jagat Singh's son and successor of Raja Sangram Singh.

It shows the relations of The Rajas of Kishtwar with Mughal emperors. *i.e.*, raja Maha Singh. He had very good relations with Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. He sent his son Jai Singh to Mughal court. Jai Singh was sent back to Kishtwar with honor by Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. The book shows the liberal approach of the Rajas of Kishtwar towards their own religion and towards Islam. He also speaks about the spread of Islamic culture in Kishtwar. A mosque was built by raja Maha Singh in Kishtwar. A number of Muslims from Kashmir often visited Kishtwar and settled here. It led to the spread of Islamic culture in Kishtwar. This work also shows the self-sufficiency of Kishtwar in agricultural production and also refers to detailed account of agricultural production in Kishtwar and its comparison with the agricultural production of Kashmir. The main crops of Kishtwar were saffron, wheat, rice, and pulses *i.e.*, moong, kuth and mash. Fruits and herbs were also cultivated. It shows the abundance of agricultural production in Kishtwar and its prosperity. The prosperity of the Kishtwar is supported by the fact that during the days of natural calamity and hardships the people from neighbouring areas migrated to Kishtwar to earn their livelihood.

G.M. Ishrat refers to the feudal type of administration in Kishtwar. the persons of the warrior class controlled the political and socio-economic life of the state. The Rajputs belonged to the ruling class. The rulers of Kishtwar always encouraged the people to take up soldiery as profession.

Nural Hassan, Thoughts on Agrarian Relations in Mughal Empire, Delhi, 1973, The work refers to the type of Zamindari system under the Mughal rule in general and the category of zamindars assigned to the Rajas of Kishtwar in particular in the administrative hierarchy.

J. N. Ganhar Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages, New Delhi, 1973, The work is an important source of historical importance during the ancient and medieval period of Kishtwar. It also throws lights on the different temples and shrines located in Kishtwar belonging to Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists. The writer explains the different faiths and the beliefs of the people. Different gods and goddesses in Kishtwar and its adjoining areas. The religious buildings and shrines have been explained by the writer. The springs, bowlies and streams, their medicinal importance and their religious affiliation have been reflected under the religious life of the people. The social and religious life has been explained. The geographical location of Kishtwar and its neighbouring states

find references in the work. A comparative study could be made between Kishtwar and its neighbouring state Bhaderwah for the existence of the same deities and the devotion of the people towards them. A special feature of the deities *i.e.*, making animal scarifies in the temples and the Muslim shrines has been discussed by the writer. The social life of the people of Kishtwar and the neighbouring states has been discussed. The background of the different shrines of Kishtwar and its adjoining areas have been explained in the work. The work deals with the literature in the region of Kishtwar. The work also throws light on the entertainment and past times which included the music and musicians. Which was a peculiar feature of the society. The beliefs superstitions and faith in witchcraft have been explained in the work. The population of the Buddhists and the villages inhabited by them have been discussed in this work. The production of crops fruits and vegetables of Kishtwar has been referred to by the writer. The study of the Rajas of Kishtwar with their dynasties the history of the ruling dynasties of Kishtwar could be made. The work helps in studying the Rajas of Kishtwar and their relations with neighbouring states like Badherwah and Kashmir. The work deals with the comparison of the different fruits and crops of Kishtwar with the adjoining states e.g., saffron of Kishtwar has been compared with the quality of Kashmir. Similar is the comparison of the apricot of Kashmir. The climatic conditions of Kishtwar have been explained and compared with the adjoining areas. The writer characterizes Kishtwar as a cousin of Kashmir by comparing the different features of Kishtwar with Kashmir. A comparison of the climate of Kishtwar has been made with the climate of Badherwah.

Mushi Devi Prasad Krit, Shahjahan-Nama, Raghubir Singh & Manohar Singh Ranawat, Delhi, 1975 (HINDI), The work is very important with historical point of view. It deals with the later medieval period of India. It is a work which is contemporary to the Mughal period and is a translated version in Hindi. The writer explains the political relations between the Mughal emperors and the Rajas of Kishtwar e.g., Kunwar Sen, the raja of Kishtwar had received *khilat* from the Mughal emperor. The Rajas of Kishtwar had also matrimonial relations with the Mughal emperors. These relations were a part of political alliances. The work shows that the Rajas of Kishtwar were tributaries to the Mughal emperors and had received precious gifts and important assignments. They had been enrolled in the list of important *Mansabdars* e.g., Kunwar Sen was a *mansabdar* of 200 *Sawars* during the Mughal period. The work refers to the

geographical location of Kishtwar. The river Chander Bhaga has been mentioned on the bank of which Kishtwar was located. It also refers to the Chander Bhaga valley.

Dr. S.S. Charak, History and Culture of Himalayan States, Vol. I, New Delhi, 1978, The writer gives a detailed account of Jammu Hill states, during the medieval period, Kishtwar has been mentioned as one of the Hill states, also ruled by Kishtwaria clan. He also writes about the geographical location of Kishtwar, and it has been shown an area situated between the rivers Ravi and Chenab [7].

Indian Conquest of Himalayan Territories S.S. Chark Pathankot, 1978, The work explains the efforts of Mughal emperors and their policy of imperialism and annexation. The work also gives us an account of the expedition of Mughal emperor Jahangir for the conquest of Kishtwar. It also shows the political and diplomatic relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughal emperors. The work is an account of the relations of Kishtwar with the Mughal emperor on one hand and neighbouring states like Basoli on the other hand. It also reveals the intervention of the rulers of Delhi in the political and religious affairs of Kishtwar. The work also deals with the social aspect of the society including the dress used by the ruling class during the period of emperor Jahangir.

I.H. Qureshi, the administration of Mughal Empire, Delhi, 1979, The work explains refers the judicial system for social justice during the reign of Raja Maha Singh of Kishtwar. The liberal approach towards the religion other than the Hindus is reflected in this source. The appointment of Qazis for justice is supported by the fact that for giving justice to the people and settlement of disputes were referred to the Qazis, the Qazis settled the cases of disputes of the Muslims. The cases belonging to the property of insane, insolvent, orphan and *auqaf* property work decided by the Qazis. The qazis also performed rituals for the marriage of the Muslims. All these facts prove beyond any doubt that the Rajas of Kishtwar never interfered in the internal affairs of the Muslims rather they provided the social and religious justice system based on the faith of the Muslims.

G.M.D. Sufi, Islamic Culture in Kashmir, Delhi, 1979, In this work G.M.D. Sufi gives an account of the invasion and conquest of hill states *i.e.*, little Tibet, Pakhli, and Rajouri. The state of Kashtwar (Kishtwar) was one among the conquered states by Mirza Haider. He annexed these states to the kingdom of Kashmir. Again, during the

Chak rule under Gazi Chak the states of Tibet, Askardu, Gilgit Kishtwar, Pakhli, and wangli were invaded and annexed to Kashmir. According to Sufi an efficient administration was established in these areas under the competent governors which included Kishtwar. This work also refers the defeat of Bahadur Singh the raja of *Kashtwar* at the hands of Ali Shah. It explains the struggle for power between the sultans of Kashmir and the Rajas of Kishtwar, the alliances which used to take place have been referred in the work. These alliances have been shown among these sultans and the Rajas. These alliances were based on annual tribute and matrimonial relations. Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishtwar got his daughter married to Ali Shah who was earlier known with the title *Fateh Khatoon*. He also married his niece Shanker Devi to Ali Shah's grandson Yaqoob Khan. The work also throws light on matrimonial alliances between the sultans of Kashmir and the Mughal emperor. Ali Shah sent his niece as a part of the matrimonial alliance with Mughal emperor Akbar along with other presents. This work throws light on the alliances of the Rajas of Kishtwar and sultans of Kashmir on one hand and relations between sultans of Kashmir and Mughal emperors on the other hand.

Kingdom of Kashmir M.L. Kapoor 1983, The writer explains the origin of the nomenclature and the location of Kishtwar. and describes the adjoining states of Kishtwar. It shows how the fugitives of Kashmir used to seek shelter in Kishtwar.

It shows the conquest of Kishtwar and other territories by Shihabudin, ruler of Kashmir. It also speaks about the attack on Kishtwar by Mirza Haider Doughlat in 1548 under the command of Bandagan Koka and Idi Raina. This expedition ended in failure. The work describes the relation of Kishtwar with Chaks and shows how Kishtwar was conquered by the Chaks. The work also explains the relations of the rebels of Kashmir and the rulers of Kishtwar during the reign of Chak rule in Kashmir. It explains about the matrimonial relations of the rulers of Kishtwar and the rulers of Kashmir and shows that at times of need, they took refuge in Kishtwar. Kishtwar also became the tributary state of Kashmir and also established matrimonial relations with neighbouring territories.

Dr. S.S. Charak, A Short History of Jammu Raj, Pb. Pathankot, 1985, In this working writer, shows the diplomatic and political relations between the chiefs of Hill states and the Rajas Kashmir. It has been mentioned that Kirti raj of Bhaddhapura

(Babbapura, Jammu), Asata of Champa (mod. Chamba), Kalasa of Vallapura (Balaor), Sangramapala of Rajapuri (Rajauri), Utkarsha of Lahora, Gambhirasimha of Kanda, Sangata of Urasa (mod. Hazara). Uttamaraja of Kashthavata (mod. Kashtwar) was one among these chiefs who attended an assemblage in the court of Raja Kalasa. In this meeting, common problems and danger from Muslim invaders were discussed. It has been referred to that a joint front was formed to meet such problems and common dangers. He explains the relations of the Rajas of Kishtwar with rulers of Kashmir and shows that the rulers of Kashmir sought refuge in Kishtwar. Suha Deva, the Raja of Kashmir, sought refuge in Kishtwar. The writer explains in this work, the relations between the Mughal emperor Jahangir on one hand and the relation between the Rajas of Kishtwar and rulers of Kashmir on the other hand. It shows the frequency of offering shelter to the rebels of Kashmir by the Rajas of Kishtwar e.g., Raja Bhup Singh of Kishtwar gave shelter to the fugitive chief of Kashmir.

Majid Hussain, Geography of Jammu & Kashmir, Delhi, 1987, The writer describes the nature of the soil and its suitability for growing saffron and different kinds of fruits. The writer refers that the soil of Kishtwar was formed by sedimentary rocks with considerable thickness. The location of Kishtwar has been explained with reference to Pir Panjal and Zaskar ranges. The reference of the river of Jhelum and Chenab has been made to locate the geographical location of Kishtwar. The work explains that the main population of Kishtwar which mainly comprised of Kashmiris and *Paharis*. The Kashmiris, as per this work predominated in the Kishtwar area. The high and tall mountains surrounding Kishtwar provided natural security and protection to Kishtwar.

Nizam-ul-Din Wani, Muslim Rule in Kashmir, New Delhi, 1987, This work shows the invasion of Kishtwar, Gilgit, Ladakh and Karda by Gazi Shah Chak and shows that Kishtwar was once a tributary of Kashmir under sultan Gazi Sha Chak. Kishtwar state had become a place of political asylum for the rebels of Kashmir during the chak rule and proved a source of trouble for the Chak rule in Kashmir.

Bernier Francois, Aurangzeb in Kashmir (Travels in the Mughal empire) Ed. D. C Sharma, New Dehi, 1988, The work refers about the Mughal period and gives an account of Chak rebels and other nobles who used to flee from Kashmir and took shelter in Kishtwar. Yaqub Shah of Kashmir had sought shelter in Kishtwar. Many more rebels from Kashmir sought asylum in Kishtwar and joined hands with Yaqub Shah, who tried

to regain his lost rule in Kashmir with the help of raja of Kishtwar. Bernier discusses other details of Kishtwar. He refers Kishtwar as a petty state of the time and assigns it the character of safe sanctuary for the Chaks who were the pretenders for power in Kashmir. The annual income of Kishtwar has been discussed. The efforts of Jahangir to conquer and annex Kishtwar has been discussed. The work makes a comparison between the mighty army and the Mughal empire and the rulers of Kishtwar. The defeat of raja of Kishtwar at the hands of Jahangir has been explained. The struggle of the people and the raja of Kishtwar to regain power find account in the work. The period of Mughal governor Nzar Ullah Arab and his assassination has been discussed and the account of the restoration of peace by the commander Iradat Khan in Kishtwar has been discussed.

S.D.S Charak, History and Culture of Himalyan States, Vol. VI, Pathankot, 1988, The work deals geographical location of Kishtwar and its adjoining states like Chamba, Kashmir and Ladakh. As per this source, Kishtwar was an independent state and was included among the group of individual states.

Neither it was subordinate to any other state, nor did it have any satellite state. The writer discusses 10 divisions which formed the state of Kishtwar. These divisions included 1. Kishtwar proper, 2. Nagsun, 3. Dachin & Maru Wardwan, 4. Doda Saraj, 5. Sartali or Shatali, 6. Surur, 7. Udil, 8. Kontwara, 9. Banihal and 10. Bonjwah.

The natural scenic beauty of mountains with rivers has been discussed. The climate of Kishtwar has been discussed and compared with that of Bhaderwah. The writer refers to the cultivation of fruits which included apricots, Plum, pears, apples, grapes, mulberry and walnuts. These fruits were found in large quantities in Kishtwar. The cultivation of superior quality of saffron has been referred by the writer. Kishtwar produced mainly the crops like wheat barley and rice. The description of the town of Kishtwar has been made with its length and breadth along with its location. There is a description of the main ground of Kishtwar locally known as Chaguan which was having chinar trees in it. The importance of Chaguan lies in the fact that it was used for playing polo which resembled present hockey. The population of Kishtwar along with the type of houses has been explained. Hindus and Kashmiri Muslims inhabited the town of Kishtwar. The caste of Hindus included Thakkars and Karars. The description of houses has been made which were single storied with flat roofs constructed with

wood stones and mud material. The description of the market has been made which included a few shops including looms for weaving of shawls and blanket work. The work speaks of the language of Kishtwar which resembled with that of Kashmir. The town of Kishtwar had Ziarats of Muslim saints like Farid-ud-din and Israr-ud-din. S.S. Charak in this work explains the resources for the history of Kishtwar, its title has been explained with reference to its origin in Kalahan's *Rajatarangini* where Kishtwar has been referred as Kastavata. In his work, the writer explains different nomenclatures of Kishtwar like Goverdhan Saar and *Mahakalgarh*. An account of *Punjasis*, a trading tribe from Punjab has been made in this work by the writer. The invasion of Kishtwar by the invaders like the king of Suru of Ladakh. The establishment of the rule of Kahan Pal in Kishtwar has been discussed in detail. The chronology of the Rajas of Kishtwar after Kahan Pal has been discussed. The writer explains the political and diplomatic relations of Kishtwar with Kashmir and the neighbouring states. The struggle for power in Kishtwar between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughal emperor has been discussed. The liberal policy of the Rajas of Kishtwar for granting refuge to the rebels of Kashmir and the adjoining states by the Rajas of Kishtwar has been discussed along with its impact on the state of Kishtwar. The social and economic life of the people has been discussed.

Motamid Khan Bakshi, Iqbal nama- i- Jahangiri in M.A. Ansari, Geographical Glimpses of Medieval India Vol. II, Delhi, 1989, The writer refers to the technique used by the Mughal army to cross river Chinab. it refers to the bridge specially designed to cross the river locally known as *Zam-pa*. It was a rope bridge and played an important role for the protection of life property and territory of the people of the area. *Tanabs* were used for the construction of bridge. One end of the *tanab* was joined with the fort on the hill while another was tied to the other side of the bridge. There was distance of one Gaz between the two *tanabs*. One *tanab* was used to rest the foot while the other was used to hold the hands. Kishtwar produced the best quality of *Zaffron*. It was superior in quality even than that of Kashmir at that time. It was major item of trade among the items of export and contributed a lot towards the prosperity of Kishtwar. The importance of the *Saffron* of Kishtwar could be judged from the fact that the Rajas of Kishtwar paid special attention towards the protection of the cultivators of saffron.

700 soldiers were deployed for the protection of the saffron cultivators. The income from saffron was used for the maintenance of the army.

It also refers to the main crops of the Kishtwar region which included wheat, mash, and adas. These crops were grown in large quantities and were available on cheap rates in Kishtwar. Shali (rice) was also grown in Kishtwar, but its production was less in comparison of Kashmir. The main fruits of the area have also been discussed in the work. Narang, *Turanj*, and *Hinduana* formed the best quality of fruits. *Kharbuja* was also found in Kishtwar and was similar to that of Kashmir. *Grapes*, *Shaftalu*, *Zardalu*, and *Amrud* were found, but the quality of these fruits was not superior. The book also refers to the currency of Kishtwar known as *Sahsani*. The system of revenue and taxation has also been discussed. The rulers used to collect one and a half *Sahsani* per rupia. The comparison of currency was fixed by the king. The weights and measures have been discussed with reference of Ser and Man. The main source of income of the Rajas was their taxation system and was mainly used for the maintenance of the army which consisted of 700 topchis. The annual income of Raja was 1 lakh rupia. The availability of horses in Kishtwar has also been discussed which were not found in large numbers.

Shaikh Farid Bakhari, Zakhirat- ul- Khawanin, M.A. Ansari Geographical glimpses of Medieval India ,Vol.II, 1989, Shaikh Farid Bakhari in Zakhirat ul Khawanin discusses in this work about the production of Zafran and its quality. He categorizes the quality of Zafran of Kishtwar as superior to that of Kashmir. The writer discusses the main fruits of Kishtwar and makes mentions of Narang, Turanj, Kharbuza , Grapes, Shaftalu, Zardalu and Amrud. The writer explains that the revenue of Kishtwar was as 100000 rupia. The writer further explains the details of the army of the Kishtwar. As per the version of the writer the Rajas of Kishtwar could raise an army of 7000-foot soldiers during the invasion. The army of Raja of Kishtwar had 100 Kashmiri Ghalula-andaz or sling user soldiers. These sling users were very expert in use of this weapon. The writer explains that not even a single bird could enter the territory of Kishtwar from across the border. It has been explained that army of Kishtwar had very few horses. the Rajas of Kishtwar had only 50 horses of good breed. The status of raja of Kishtwar has been shown as he had a jagir of 100 jat & sawar from the time of Jahangir.

Abul Fazal, Ain I Akbari, Vol.I & III Eng. Tr. Colonel H.S. Jerret Pb. Delhi,1989

Abul Fazal writes about the Parganas of Kishtwar like Dachhin and Maru Wardan. Abul Fazal describes the connectivity of Kishtwar with Lahore through Chenab River. It defines the origin and name of river Chenab which turned into a mighty river Chenab by joining of two streams *i.e.*, Chander and Bhaga. In his work Abul Fazal mentions the language of Kishtwar region, Known as Kishtwari. He explains that Kashmiri and Kishtwari are similar in terminology, but there is the difference in pronunciation. The origin of Kishtwari language has been discussed. Abul Fazal finds the origin of Kishtwari language in the Prakrit language. As per version of Abul Fazal it has no script of its own. The work also explains the production of saffron its process from growth till its maturity .The plantation of saffron and its period of cultivation has been explained .The work explains in detail about the rope bridge found in Kishtwar popularly known as *Zampa* or *Jhula* . The construction of this bridge has been explained in detail. The strategic importance of *Zampa* Bridge has also been explained in detail. It has been explained that this type of bridge acted as lifeline for the protection of life, property and territory of the people of Kishtwar. The mode of fighting and use of stones for defeating the enemies has been explained in this work. The suitability of stone pelting as the mode of warfare has been explained which was fruitful in defeating the Mughal army.

Anonymous, Baharistan-i-Sahi, Eng. Tr.by K.N.Pandit, Calcutta, 1991, The writer explains in this work Kishtwar was a place of shelter for the rulers of Kashmir. The rulers of Kashmir sought shelter in *Kathwad* (Kishtwar) during the period of hardships and foreign invasions. The Rajas of Kishtwar always gave shelter to the rulers of Kashmir as and when they needed their support. Raja Suh Dev of Kashmir had sought shelter in Kishtwar during the invasion of *Zulchu* who had made a great distraction in Kashmir and had defeated Suh Dev. Suh Dev sought shelter in Kishtwar second time when he was defeated by Rinchana. Rinchana had captured the throne of Kashmir during the absence of Suh Dev, diplomatically. Rinchana had also won the favour of the people of Kashmir and the son of commander Ramchand. It shows that the Rajas of Kishtwar and Kashmir had cordial relations. Moreover, it is quite evident that the topography and geographical location of Kishtwar were inaccessible for the

invaders and outsiders. It was another cause for seeking shelter by the Kashmiri rulers in Kishtwar.

Ganesh Dass Badhera, Radarshini, Eng. Tr. S.D.S. Charak, Jammu, 1991, The writer explains the defeat of Raja *Aj-Inder* of Jammu at the hands of Zamindars of Kishtwar and the revenge of this defeat by his son *Raj-Inder*. The work refers about the production of Kishtwar. The writer explains that Kishtwar produced the best quality of saffron at that time. Its quality could be judged by the fact that the saffron of Kishtwar was one of the items presented as gift and as an item of honour and subjugation to the Rajas. The work reveals the joint confederacy of hill states during the period of Mahmood Gazani offered a stiff resistance to the invader by supporting raja Narad Dev of Jammu. Kishtwar was one of the hill states which offered support to the raja of Jammu against the invader Prince Masud. The work gives an account of the Farman of Mughal emperor Jahangir against Raja Gur Singh of Kishtwar in which emperor Jahangir had ordered for invasion of Kishtwar. It shows the relations of the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughal emperor during the period of emperor Jahangir. The writer throws light on the political and diplomatic relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and Mughal emperor Jahangir on one hand and the relation between Mughal emperor Jahangir and the Raja of Jammu on the other hand.

G.M. Mir, Saffron Agronomy in Kashmir, Srinagar, 1992, The work refers to the climate of Kishtwar and climatic conditions of Kishtwar which were most suitable for the production of superior quality of Saffron.

P.K. Kaul, Himalayan Principalities in Jammu, Kangra, Bhaderwah, Jammu, 1993, The work speaks of the ancient historical background of Kishtwar right from the pre-Christian era. It shows the geographical location of Kishtwar and the nature of the territory falling in the state of Kishtwar. The writer explains the struggle for power under Jahangir for the annexation of Kishtwar to the Mughal Empire. The writer gives a detailed account of the defeat of the army of Kishtwar by Mughalani the widow of Mirza Mohammad Khan Mughal. It also speaks of the reoccupation of Kishtwar by Raja Pratap Singh of Kishtwar. Earlier, Raja Pratap Singh had fled to Bhaderwah after his defeat at the hands of the Mughalani. The writer explains the cordial relations between the Raja of Kishtwar and the Raja of Bhaderwah.

P.N.K. Bamzai, Cultural and Political History of Kashmir Vol.2, Kashmir, Pb.1994,

The writer refers to the state of Kishtwar and its relations with the valley of Kashmir. It shows that the Hill tribes of Kishtwar were very brave and were recruited into the army of sultans of Kashmir. The political struggle between Kishtwar rulers and the sultan of Kashmir has been explained. The work also speaks of the conquest of Kishtwar by the Mughals under Dilawer Khan. It also shows the diplomatic relations between Chaks of Kashmir and raja of Kishtwar. It also proves the fact that the fugitives from the neighbouring states of Kishtwar used to seek political asylum in Kishtwar. The writer also explains the process of the fixation of nomenclatures of Kishtwar. According to Shivji dhar, in the ancient period, the area of Kishtwar was covered by a lake known as *Abgiri*. The different names of Kishtwar e.g., *Samrath Garh*, *Gowardhan Garh*, *Mahakal Garh*, *Mansamara Garh*, *Suraj Garh Chirhad*, *Bhut Nagar* were given by the people who settled in the area from time to time.

The work also explains the history of the people of Kishtwar their political social and cultural life. It speaks of the geographical location of Kishtwar and the effect of the high mountains surrounding Kishtwar. It shows the relation of Kishtwar with neighbouring states. The Rajas of Kishtwar believed in the policy of conquest and extension of territories of the state by bringing the neighbouring states to its sovereignty. Raja Agar Dev attacked Sarthal Pargana and annexed it to the state of Kishtwar and brought Sarthal under the direct administration of Kishtwar by assigning the charge of Kishtwar to Sunder Pal, the younger brother of Raja Agar Dev.

D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Pb. Kishtwar, 1995, In this work author gives a detailed account of the rulers of Kishtwar in a chronological manner. The role of Sufi saints and Rishis has been explained. The Architecture has also been explained. In *Agral*, the temple of *Ashat Das Bhuja* is an example of the best architecture of Kishtwar. The main production i.e., *Saffron* and *sapphire* have been explained. The history of Kishtwar and the basis of archaeological sources have been explained. The important places of historical importance in Kishtwar and surrounding areas have been explained. The work contains the details of forest and forest products. It also contains the detail of agricultural products and the climate of Kishtwar. It shows the routes to Kishtwar and the routes connecting Kishtwar with other neighbouring

states. The hazardous condition of Kishtwar has been discussed by the author. It also speaks of agricultural products found in Kishtwar and the effect of climate on agricultural products like Saffron etc. The author explains the tyrannical rule of Raja Rai Dev and his failure to protect his rule against the Rotars and Gannais. The same strategy was adopted by Rai Dev for recapturing the throne of Kishtwar which his ancestor, Raja Kan Pal had earlier used. In this work dress and diet of the people have been discussed. The places of religious and political importance have been explained. The main source of income and livelihood has also been explained. The work speaks of historical sources of Kishtwar, its history and its account of foreign travellers. It also speaks of the origin of Kishtwar. The work also speaks about the tribes and people who settled in Kashmir. The writer also explains the role of relatives of the king and the opinion of the general people in the religious affairs of the state. The temple of Ashat Buja was built on the site proposed by the brother of Raja Agar Dev and the people of Kishtwar. The writer also speaks about the religious grant in the shape of land granted to the temples. He also mentions offering of gold and silver to the pujaris of the temples.

P.K. Koul, Nagsen of Malind Panho, Delhi, 1996., The work explains the influence of Buddhism in Kishtwar and refers to the conversation between King Menander and Buddhist scholar Nagsen in Milind-Panho. The work gives an account of the Buddhist saint and scholar Nagsen and shows that King Menander adopted Buddhism under the influence of Nagsen. The works speak about the geographical features of Kishtwar. The work also explains about historical places like Kanini, Demzi and Bhattan area of Kishtwar. The writer also speaks about the routes connecting Kishtwar, Kangra, and other places. The work also refers the main and mighty river Chenab and its tributaries flowing through Kishtwar. The work highlights the sacred places, crops and fruits grown in the Nagseni area of Kishtwar. The work mentions the Muslim saints like Sheikh Zain-ul-din Wali of Palmar area of Kishtwar. The work discusses the historical monuments of Kishtwar in Nagseni and adjoining areas.

F.M. Hussain, History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar Vol. III, 1998, This writer speaks of the influence and existence of Buddhism in Kishtwar and the spread of Buddhism in Kishtwar. It also speaks of the Kishtwar language and its dialect referred to in Milind Panho. The work also refers to the nomenclatures of Kishtwar. The work speaks of petty landlords who were later on termed as the Rajas. The writer

also speaks of the social system. It also explains the system of agriculture and the domestication of animals. It also shows the trading system of Kishtwar and also refers about a particular tribe *i.e.*, Panjasasis. The work speaks of the Rajas of Kishtwar. It also refers to the conquest and invasion of Kishtwar. Relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the rulers of Kashmir have been discussed. The work explains that Kishtwar provided a safe sanctuary for Suha Dev during the invasion of Kashmir by Zulchu. It proves that the relations between Kishtwar and Kashmir were cordial during the period in 1301 A.D. Again, during the Mughal period, a reference is found that the sultan of Kishtwar took refuge in Kishtwar and sought the support of the Rajas of Kishtwar for recapturing Kashmir. It also shows the acceptance of the sovereignty of the Mughals by the Rajas of Kishtwar with certain terms and conditions. The work refers to the establishment of a mosque in Kishtwar, and the establishment and spread of Islam in Kishtwar. It also refers to the society and culture of Kishtwar along with social traditions. The historical background for the nomenclatures of Kishtwar finds a place in the work along with economic and climatic conditions. The work also speaks of superstition and witchcraft prevalent in the areas of Kishtwar. The natural vegetation of Kishtwar and water sources like springs and rivers have been discussed. The writer discusses the medicinal effects of the springs. The importance of water reservoirs, known as talab and bowlies find a place in the work. A hot water spring known as tata pani also finds place in the work. Flora and fauna of Kishtwar have been discussed by the writer. It speaks of composite culture and traditions which grew up due to clans and tribes who came in contact with the people of Kishtwar. The work explains the food, dress and social and cultural life of the people of Kishtwar. Kishtwari language and script have been referred to in the work along with its origin and its development. Cultural and religious fairs and festivals have been discussed by the writer.

R.C Agrawal, Kashmir and it's Monumental Glory Delhi, 1998, The work refers about Sultan Shahab ud din of Kashmir, also known with the title of Lalitaditya of Kashmir, due to his farsightedness and kind attitude towards his subjects. The author discusses the policy of expansion and annexation adopted by the Sultan of Kashmir against the Raja of Kishtwar. He attacked Kishtwar leaving the idea of the conquest of Ladakh and Baltistan, which proves the importance of Kishtwar in the eyes of the

Sultans of Kashmir. This expedition was made by commander Candrar Damara of Kashmir.

Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, Jammu, 1998, This work explains about the different nomenclatures of Kishtwar. It also explains about the advent of Kahan Pal and the way he became the ruler of Kishtwar by defeating the local tribes. The writer makes mention of the political history of Kishtwar. It also speaks about the invasion of Jahangir under the command of Mirza Mohammad Khan and his defeat and how Mughalani took the revenge. It explains how she was released from her vow. The writer also explains the Conversion of the Raja of Kishtwar. This work also throws light on the existence of witchcraft in Kishtwar. The background of the history of Mughal Maidan has also been discussed. In this work, the term Zamindar has been used for the Rajas. The work shows that the law of succession was through inheritance in the case of the Rajas of Kishtwar as a rule. It also explains about the special techniques of warfare adopted by the Rajas of Kishtwar against the Mughals.

N.C. Kotwal, Political and Cultural Heritage of Bhadarwah, Kishtwar and Doda, Pb.2000, Jammu. It also explains the location and different nomenclatures of Kishtwar. It explains the geographical status of the Kishtwar state. It also explains the boundaries of Kishtwar with adjoining states. the scenic beauty has been explained in the work. The writer explains the religious beliefs of the people in different gods and deities. The writer also explains the relations of Kishtwar with its neighbouring states like Bhaderwah and Basoli. The work reveals the background of the Neel Kantha temple in Kishtwar and Basoli and its history affiliated to the ancient time with Kurukshetra. The temples and shrines have been explained. Kishtwar Valley is also known as saffron queen due to its production of the best quality of saffron. It also speaks about the ascetic practices started by Raja Prithu Dev to seek the blessings of Durga Ashhat Buja the goddess of victory. The goddess appeared after destroying the demons. Sarthal devi temple was constructed, where the annual pilgrimage takes place. The writer gives a detailed account of the attack of Mirza Haider on Kishtwar.

The writer also explains about the invasion of Kishtwar by the raja of Basoli, Raja Bhupat Pal. The work refers to the advent of Islam in Kashmir and Doda and its impact on Kishtwar during the 14th century. Moreover, the work refers to the acceptance of Islam by the people of Kishtwar under the influence of Sufi saint *Shah Farid-ud-din*

Bagdadi. It shows the invasion of Kishtwar during the period of the Mughal emperor Jahangir. It refers to the defeat of the Mughal army at Mughal Maidan in Kishtwar. It also reveals the historical background of the nomenclature of Mughal Mazar presently known as Mughal Maidan. The work refers to the background of Mughalani Kot.

Mohibul Hassan, Kashmir Under the Sultans, Pb. Srinagar, 2002, The work refers about the geographical location of the marbal pass which fell enroute from Kashmir to Kishtwar. It also mentions about the Wardwan and Chenab Rivers and shows that these rivers could be crossed by rope bridges. The work mentions that the route through the Marbal Pass was seasonal and was disconnected during the winter.

In this work Author explains about the invasion of Mangol invader Zulu on Kashmir. In this work, the author explains about the cordial relations between ruler of Kashmir and the Raja of Kishtwar. Due to these cordial relations, the Raja of Kashmir Suhadeva took shelter in Kishtwar on the invasion of Zulu, a Mongol invader. The author also discusses the political changes that took place in Kashmir when the raja Suhadeva fled to Kishtwar and his commander in chief, Ramchandra remained in Kashmir. The writer explains about the Gaddis of Kishtwar who were defeated and repulsed back by Ramchandra. He also mentions that the relations were so cordial that when the People of Kashmir faced any problem, they took shelter in Kishtwar e.g., when the Sultan of Kashmir adopted the policy of persecution, the common people sought shelter in Kishtwar during the reign of Sultan Sikander of Kashmir. The rebellious Chaks of Kashmir also sought asylum in Kishtwar.

Wali Mohd. Aseer Kishtwari , Focus on Jammu & Kashmir, Pb. Jammu, 2006, The writer explains the different nomenclatures of Kishtwar. The earlier name of Kishtwar was referred as Samarath Garh which later on changed to Kishtwar. The area was dominated by wild and beast animals. The nomenclature of Kishtwar which changed from time to time due to the impact of natural forces like earthquakes, floods natural calamities. It made Kishtwar area barren and unpopulated many times. Kishtwar had also to suffer due to the curse of godly man like Kashyap Rishi. It also explains the trade of Kishtwar with neighbouring states like Punjab. It refers to a tribe named Panjasasis who belonged to Punjab and traded in different items like cloth, salt, and gur, from Punjab to Kishtwar and exported medicinal herbs, ghee, cumin seed, beans, saffron etc. The writer explains the establishment of rule by Kahan Pal in Kishtwar

through diplomatic way and by the help of a panjasais woman. The work explains the battle between Kahan Pal and the panjasais on a spring named Hudri. The writer explains the efficient administration and public welfare activities done by Kahan Pal. He is said to have planted trees and dug canals. The writer also explains the high honour given to the Brahmins and justice provided to the poor by rendering help to them. The work shows that the caste system was prevalent in the society in which Brahmins used to enjoy all the privileges. Agriculture and trade were the main occupations of the people of Kishtwar. The work refers to the relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the rulers of Kashmir. The writer explains that Kishtwar was a safe place of refuge for the rebels and nobles of Kashmir. The relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Rajas of Kashmir were cordial, but these relations became strained sometimes due to the shelter given by the Rajas of Kishtwar to the enemies of Kashmir.

The writer explains the details of the ruling dynasties of Kishtwar. It also gives the details of the Rajas who ruled Kishtwar in a chronological order. The writer also explains the relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Rajas of Chamba. Matrimonial alliances existed between Kishtwar and Chamba states. The Raja of Chamba had married his daughter with Bhut Dev of Kishtwar, the son of Raja Agar Sen. Raja of Chamba helped Prince Bhup Dev against Raja Agar Dev for succession to the throne with the help of Raja of Chamba Bhup Dev succeeded against his father Agar Dev for capturing the throne of Kishtwar.

Frederic Drew, 2000, This work shows the origin of river Chinab, its tributaries and its nomenclature. It also explains the passage of river Chinab from Pangi in Chamba till it enters the territory of Jammu in Paddar. It also shows the cultivation of Kishtwar, the range and characterises of mountains covering Chenab valley.

The work speaks of the geographical location, length and breadth of the town and its height from the sea level. The work explains plantations, fruit trees, and shrubs. It explains the type of timber in the forest of Kishtwar. It also explains the waterfalls in the area. It speaks of the type of population and type of houses in Kishtwar, and their main profession for livelihood. It also throws light on the climate of Kishtwar. The main type of fruit has been discussed. The ruling dynasties of Kishtwar have been discussed. The role and influence of Sufi saints in the life of the rulers and people of Kishtwar have been discussed. This work explains the location of

Kishtwar and also explains the rope bridge, locally named as Jhulla. It was built with the help of raw ropes which was very risky for the animals crossing the bridge. Such rope bridges were renewed every three years, if not carried away by any unusual flood. The work gives detailed information about the people of Padar. The Thakkars and some other low-caste people chiefly the Megh caste inhabited Kishtwar. Some people from the Thakkar caste had embraced Islam in Kishtwar.

Kalahana, Rajatarangini, Vol.II, Eng.tr.by M. Stein, Delhi, 2009, First ed.1900, Reprint 1961,1979,1989, Kalhana explains Kishtwar as *Kashavata i.e., present Kastvar*. Kalhana in his Rajatarangini explains the geographical location of Kishtwar. He describes that the valley of Kishtwar lies to the south-east of Kashmir. He further explains that the river Chenab flows through the valley of Kishtwar. Kishtwar has been mentioned as one of the hill states of the time. It gives a detailed account of the Rajas of Kishtwar and describes them as Hindus. Kalhana further explains that Hindu the Rajas of Kishtwar acted as independent the Rajas till Aurangzeb's time. The writer further explains the conquest of Kishtwar by Raja Gulab Singh. With the invasion of Kishtwar by Maharaja Gulab Singh the Rajas of Kishtwar lost their independent status. The work also explains the neighbouring hill states of Kishtwar like Bhaderwah and Chamba. It explains that the Rajas of Bhaderwah were the tributary of the Rajas of Chamba.

R.K. Parmu, A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, Kashmir, 2009, Parmu explains about the attack of Mirza Haider Dughlat on Kishtwar. The writer describes the location of Kishtwar and its adjoining areas. An account of the river Chenab flowing through Kishtwar and special type of rope bridge find reference in the work. The Main crops of Kishtwar have been discussed in the work with special reference of rice which was found in less quantity. In this work, we find comparison of Kishtwar with Kashmir in the context of climate, quality and quantity of fruits. The author makes a comparison of the saffron of Kishtwar with that of Kashmir. The unit of exchange and unit of weight prevalent in Kishtwar have been explained in this work. Land revenue and taxation system have been discussed by the writer. The main source of income of the state of Kishtwar has been discussed. The details of the army with its different wings and the system of payment to the army have been discussed by the writer. The nature of the state of Kishtwar has been discussed especially the state of Kishtwar has been discussed

as a state of poverty-ridden state with an inclement weather. Even the people who happened to visit Kishtwar state had to suffer with discomfort. Parmu explains that the rebels of Kashmir found safe sanctuary in Kishtwar. Providing shelter to such rebels invited trouble for the Rajas of Kishtwar. The political and diplomatic relations and matrimonial alliances find reference in this work which took place between the Rajas of Kishtwar and Mughal emperors. The main routes from Kashmir to Kishtwar have been reflected. The struggle during the conquest of Kishtwar by the Mughal army has been discussed in the work. We also find arrangements made by the Mughals in Kishtwar after its conquest. The work also speaks of the revolt by the people of Kishtwar against the Mughals after the conquest of Kishtwar by the Mughal emperor.

K.S. Saxena, Ancient Political History of Kashmir (B.C. 300 A.D. 1200), 2009, Gulshan Publication Srinagar, The writer explains the geographical location of the Kishtwar and the neighbouring states. The writer also explains the cause of the thin population of Kishtwar. The reference of an assembly of hill states in Srinagar during the period of Raja Kalsa of Kashmir has been made by the writer. The writer explains that some states became autonomous and Kishtwar was one among those during the period of Raja Paramanuka of Kashmir. *Kashthavata* or Kishtwar was one of the neighbouring hill states of Kashmir with which The Rajas of Kashmir had maintained relations.

Kewal Krishan Sharma, Kishtwar Darpan, 2010, Pb. Maanvi Prakash a Panjthirti Jammu, (A Hindi Book), The writer explains the geographical location of Kishtwar. It has been explained that Himachal Pradesh lies to the east, Anantnag to the west, Janskar to the north and Doda and Badherwah to the south of Kishtwar. It is located at 75-76.45 degrees from the equatorial line. The distance of Kishtwar from Jammu and Srinagar has been shown by the writer. The area of Kishtwar has been shown along with its height from sea level. The natural scenic beauty of Kishtwar has been discussed. The work shows the location of Kishtwar at the bank of river Chanderbhaga. The writer speaks of mountains and passes surrounding Kishtwar. It also gives detail of the rivers like Chander and Bhaga along with waterfalls in the areas of Kishtwar.

Kishtwar has been referred with different nomenclatures like Samrathgarh, Goverdhan Sar, Kashyawas, Mahakal Garh, Lohit Mandal, Kashtyavark, Kashtyanibark, Kashtvat, Bhoot Nagar, Pahi and Chirhad. Different theories have been

forwarded by historians for justification of the different names of Kishtwar which changed from time to time. Some writers attribute the natural causes for its nomenclatures e.g., according to one viewpoint Samrath Garh means a strong fort. The name is justified by the fact that Kishtwar was surrounded by dense forest and was inhabited by wild animals which protected it like a fort. Govindsar means that earlier Kishtwar area was a water body *i.e.*, lake. Kashyavas's name has been given after the name of Kashyap Rishi who resided in Kishtwar. Similarly, other nomenclatures have been justified on the basis of climatic conditions and religious faith or some important person who settled in Kishtwar.

The construction of buildings and houses has been discussed. Mud, stone and wood were used for the construction of houses. The buildings were single storied due to frequency of earthquakes in Kishtwar. The choughan of Kishtwar has been explained with its area and other details. The work speaks of an ancient historical fort which was constructed along with palace by raja Kahan Pal. It is situated towards the southwest of Kishtwar. The work also explains the architecture existing in Kishtwar during the medieval period. The springs, Bowlies and other water sources have been discussed e.g., Vimal Nag and Mool Nag springs. The springs were compared with snakes.

The detail of the domestication of animals like goats, sheep, dogs, bulls, cows and horse have found in this work. There is mention of wild animals like tiger leopards, lions, deer, foxes, and monkeys. The writer has discussed the Rabi and Kharif crops of Kishtwar. The cultivation of saffron and its importance has been discussed in detail. Vegetables and fruits have also been discussed in detail. Pastureland and grazing fields have been discussed where the tribal people moved seasonally along with their flocks. The writer has explained the dress and ornaments of the people of Kishtwar along with their diet. The population of Kishtwar with the major communities has been explained in detail.

The chronology of the Rajas of Kishtwar and their political and diplomatic relations with the neighbouring states have been discussed. The origin of the Kishtwari language and its development has been explained in detail.

Diwan Kirpa Ram, Gulabnama Eng, Tr. Dr. S.S. Charak and Dr. Anita Charak Billawaria, Kashmir Pb. 2013, Gulabnama, a work by Diwan Kirpa Ram refers to the foundation of Kishtwar by a member of the Sena family of Gour in Bengal. The writer

mentions the reference of Kishtwar in Rajtarangini where Kishtwar is named as *Kashtavata*. The work also explains the role of Kishtwar in the history of Kashmir in the 11th century (Chapter 4-foot note). The work explains the geographical location of Kishtwar. It also refers to the river Chenab flowing through the valley of Kishtwar. The work gives a detailed account of the rulers of Kishtwar with their rule and religion. The work also explains the autonomous nature of rule *i.e.*, the autonomous ruling class of Kishtwar. It also refers to the period of Kishtwar when the rulers of Kishtwar became tribute-paying the Rajas.

Dr. S.S Chark (Jammu Kingdom) Ancient & Medieval (History & Culture of Himalayan States IV) Pb. Jammu, 2014-15, describes the charming beauty of Kishtwar along with the course of river Chenab and the mountainous topography of Kishtwar. It also explains the dress of both men & women which was totally affected by the climate. The work speaks of the main river Chenab which flows through the territory of Kishtwar. It also refers to Chander and Bhaga, the main tributaries and main streams which join together to form the mighty river Chenab. It speaks of the climate and climatic conditions of Kishtwar during the year. The main types of diseases prevalent in the area of Kishtwar have been discussed. It speaks of diseases like cholera that also existed. The work explains cultivation and the source of irrigation. It also speaks of the communities like Gujjars who graze their animals in the grazing areas. Wild animals like bears and monkeys have been discussed. The main fruits grown in the territory have been discussed. Flora and fauna have been discussed. It speaks of local folk songs ballets and the culture of Kishtwar. The relation of the culture of Kishtwar with rivers has been discussed. It also shows the importance of the river Chenab as the source of water transport. Timber was transported in the form of logs of wood from mountainous and rocky areas to the plains of Jammu. The writer gives a detailed account of languages spoken in the area of Kishtwar.

Hashmat Ullah Khan, A brief history of Kishtwar tr. A.R. Khan, 2016, Hashmat Ullah Khan in this work speaks about different nomenclatures of Kishtwar. The work explains the geographical location of Kishtwar. The rivers which flow near Kishtwar and their origin has been discussed. The streams Chander and Bhaga join together to form a mighty river named Chenab at Bhanderkot. River Chenab flows near Kishtwar. The writer explains in detail the length and breadth of the town of Kishtwar along with

other details. It shows the different areas which formed the state of Kishtwar. It shows the different kings and the ruling dynasties of Kishtwar and its adjoining states. The work gives a detailed account about Raja Kahan Pal of Ujjain, who succeeded in establishing his rule in Kishtwar and the administrative set-up made by him after conquering Kishtwar and the adjoining areas. It also gives an account of the rulers of Kishtwar in a chronological order. It also speaks of the relations of the rulers of Kishtwar with Mughal rulers and explains that Kishtwar was a tributary state under the Mughal empire. It also discusses the period and conditions for religious conversion that took place in Kishtwar state. The writer also explains about the major communities residing in the area of Kishtwar. At times the Mughal rulers helped the Rajas of Kishtwar with the army and moral support. This fact has been supported and authenticated by the background and origin of Katak Yatra which is celebrated annually in Kishtwar.

Diwan Kirpa Ram, Gulabnama, eng.tr. S.S. Charak, and Dr. Anita Billawaria, Srinagar, 2016, The work explains the foundation of the rule of Kahan Pal in Kishtwar, who belonged to the Gour family of Bengal. The work further explains the location of Kishtwar along with the history of Kishtwar parallel to the period of Raja Kalsa of Kashmir. This work also speaks about the Rajput Raja Girat Singh who embraced Islam.

S.D.S.Charak, Rajdarshini, tr. Charak and Annoted by Dr. Anita Billawaria, Jammu, 2016-17, The writer explains the relations between the Rajas of Jammu and the Rajas of Kishtwar. Raja Inderput son of Raja Raj-Inder attacked Kishtwar with heavy loss to the army of Kishtwar. The work reveals that the Rajas of Kishtwar never hesitated in joining hands with Jammu and other neighbouring states against the common enemy posing threat to their independent rule. The work explains the conflict of Raja Gur Singh of Kishtwar against the Mughal emperor Jahangir. The work further explains the alliance of Raja Sangram of Jammu with Mughal emperor Jahangir against Raja Gur Singh of Kishtwar.

Walter R. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, Kashmir, Pb. Gulshan, 2017, First ed. 1895, reprint 2005, 2011, Lawrence explains the geographical location of Kishtwar. He refers to Buddhist people and their customs and their society. The writer refers to the Gaddi tribes who were Hindus. In this work, the writer compares the customs of the

Hindus of Kishtwar with the customs of the people of Kashmir. The people of Kashmir were greatly fascinated and impressed by the fashions and customs of Kishtwar. The writer explains that Hindus inhabited Kashmir before their conversion to Islam. The climate of Kishtwar has been discussed with the effect of southwest monsoon on it. The writer refers to the summer rainfall in Kishtwar and compares it with rainfall in Jammu. The work explains that the Kishtwar state played an important role in the history of Kashmir. Lawrence in this work gives an account of Simha Dev the king of Kashmir who was defeated by *Zulkadar* Khan and mentions that Simha Dev fled to Kishtwar. Zulkadar Khan has also been identified with the name Tartar *Zulzu*. The fact stands supported by Jonaraja who names Zulu as Khan Dakha. The human slaughter on large scale by Zulzu and the destruction of villages and towns along with crops has been mentioned by the writer. An account of the perishing of the army of Zulzu along with the captives has been referred in the work. A detailed account has been made about Ram Chand who was commander in chief of Simha Dev's army. Ram Chand after the departure of Zulzu defeated the Gaddis who had come to attack Kashmir from Kishtwar. The writer explains about the castes of the people of Kashmir and some of them like *Thakurs* and *Aituts* had migrated to Kashmir from Kishtwar.

Muhammad-ud-din Fouq, A Complete History of Kashmir, 2017, Tr. R.K. Bharti, Gulshan Publication, Kashmir, The writer explains about the invasion of Kashmir by Zulqader Khan during the period of Raja Sch Dev in 1323 A.D. and the escape of Raja Sah Dev from Kashmir to Kishtwar. He also explains the attempt of Schdev, the Raja of Kashmir to recapture the throne of Kashmir after the menace of Zulqader Khan was over. The attack by Dilawer Khan on Kishtwar under the order of Mughal emperor Jahangir on Kishtwar has been explained by the author. The writer explains about the description of the personality of Raja of Kishtwar as explained by The Mughal emperor Jahangir. The reward given to Governor Dilawer Khan by Mughal emperor Jahangir finds an account by the writer.

Hutchison and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II, Lahore, 2021, First ed. 1933, This work depicts the geographical location of Kishtwar with its provinces and the name of the capital of Kishtwar. It gives us details of the ruling dynasties of Kishtwar from the ancient period to the medieval period and even up to modern times *i.e.*, the pre-independence period. The strength of the army and the strategy adopted by

the rulers of Kishtwar during their expeditions and attacks over the neighbouring states has been explained in the work. The methodology adopted by different rulers belonging to different dynasties to get power has been explained. The work also deals with the chronology of rulers of different dynasties. The influence and role of adjoining rulers of the Kishtwar state in the politics and intrigues of Kishtwar have been explained. The impact of climate, rivers and mountains on the army in the expedition of Kishtwar and the methodology adopted by the invaders has been explained. How the rebels and enemies of Kishtwar sought asylum in other states has been explained. But it does not throw much light on the life and culture of the people of Kishtwar. The work speaks of the political relations of Kishtwar with the neighbouring states. It shows about the construction of forts, palaces and the history of some towns and villages regarding their foundation. The work explains the nature of the population and their religion and throws light on the religious places of Hindus and Muslims *i.e.*, the major community of that time. The history of some Sufi saints who visited Kishtwar at that time has also been discussed. The change in the nomenclatures by the Rajas of Kishtwar has been discussed *i.e.*, the title of Singh adorned by the rulers of Kishtwar which is a turning point in the history of Kishtwar. Kishtwar became the place of refuge for the rebels of Kashmir from the 14th century onwards.

Gazetteer:

- 1. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XV, published Under the Authority of Majesty's Secretariat of State for India in Council, London, 1908,** Bates in this work discusses the climatic conditions of Kishtwar. He explains the Severity of the climate of Kishtwar. He mentions that the climate of Kishtwar had a great impact on human life and livestock. He refers that due to severe and harsh climatic conditions, the life of the people of Kishtwar was very miserable and their economic condition was deplorable. This work refers to social and cultural conditions existing in Kishtwar. The work also mentions the tribes residing in Kishtwar. A special reference to the Gaddis, a tribe inhabiting the hilly terrains of Kishtwar has been made to their social cultural and economic life. It gives a detailed description of their dress and their lifestyle with their livelihood. The work explains the cultivation of crops in Kishtwar The work

refers about the cultivation of saffron. The quality of saffron has been explained which was superior in comparison to Kashmir. The demand of saffron in Kashmir was very high in the neighbouring states. It was exported to far of areas. Saffron was a great source of income of Kishtwar and played a great role in the economy of Kishtwar.

2. **Compiled under the direction of the Quarter Master General in India in the Intelligence Branch, Gazetteer of Kashmir, Ladakh, Delhi, 1974**, Bates in this work shows the geographical location of Kishtwar. The writer describes the dress of the people of Kishtwar in detail. It also explains the diet of the people of Kishtwar. The cultivation of variety of crops in the area of Kishtwar has been discussed. These crops were suitable for cultivation with the type of climate existing in Kishtwar. The work explains the type of population inhabiting Kishtwar. A special mention of the Gaddi tribe residing in Kishtwar has been made. The religious faith of the people residing in the area of Kishtwar has been explained. The mention of existing temples has been made with special reference to the goddess of Aastha Buzi.
3. **Walter R. Lawrence, Provincial Gazetteers of Kashmir and Jammu, Pb. Delhi, 1985**, Walter R. Lawrence discusses the geographical Status of Kishtwar. He mentions it in a temperate zone with pine Deodar and cash nut production. He refers to Kishtwar and Badherwah as beautiful uplands. The mountainous area is drained by the deep gorge Chenab. The detail of the Pader area of Kishtwar has been made. It has been shown with the forest covered with pine and deodar trees. The production of sapphires has been discussed. It has been shown that the Pader area had very valuable sapphires. This sapphire had been valued very high-quality sapphire in the world. The mention of the Panjal river is found in this work. It has been explained that the Panjal River touched the boundary of Kishtwar on the Chenab River. Lawrence in this work discusses the period of Raja Simha Dev. During his rule in Tartar, Khan Dalcha attacked Kashmir. Simha Dev fled from Kashmir and took shelter in Kishtwar. During the absence of Simha Dev from Kashmir. Ram Chand managed to look after Kashmir as ruler. Ram Chand had also defeated the Gaddis. The writer mentions that the Kishtwar area was ruled by the Rajput Chiefs. The writer explains about

the local tribes of the Kishtwar area. He writes that Gaddis belonged originally to Kishtwar and were a pastoral community. The dress of the Gaddis tribe of Kishtwar has been discussed in detail in this work. The work refers about the witchcraft prevailing in Kashmir which was adjoining areas of the Maru Wardwan area of Kishtwar. Witchcraft was widely spread in Kishtwar right from the ancient to the medieval period. The work refers about the production of saffron in Kashmir but shows that seeds of saffron were imported from Kishtwar to Kashmir. It gives an account that during famine the people of Kashmir had consumed the saffron bulbs which led to the destruction of the saffron crop in Kashmir, in spite of the export of saffron seeds from Kishtwar. It shows the dependency of saffron seeds from Kishtwar for Kashmir on the one hand and the trade of saffron between Kishtwar and Kashmir on the other hand. It again proves that Kashmir and Kishtwar had trade relations between them. Hence trade relations existed between Kishtwar and Kashmir in addition to their political and diplomatic relations.

The work refers about the main river flowing through Kishtwar. It refers about the origin and route of river Chenab known with the name of *Acesines* a Greek term and *Askini* in *Veda*. Its origin has been shown in Lahul. Chander and Bhaga which join together at a place *Tandi*. Chenab River flows through Pangi Valley Chamba before entering Pader area. Uniar, Sudhi, Bhutna, and Maru Wardwan rivers are joining the river Chenab to make it a mighty river Chenab. During its course from Kishtwar to Akhnoor many tributaries join which include Golan, Lar and Lidar, Kol and Bichlari and Ans. Jhula Bridge has been mentioned for crossing the river.

4. **A Gazetteer of Kashmir (and adjacent, Kishtwar, Badrawar, Jammu, Naoshera, Punch, and the Valley of the Kishen Ganga) compiled (for Political and Military References) by Charles Ellison Bates, 2005, Resident Road Srinagar**, the work shows the geographical location of Kishtwar along with its area and its distance from the major cities and towns. It also mentions the main rivers and their routes passing through Kishtwar. It shows the origin of the Rajas of Kishtwar and their predecessors. The relations of the Rajas of Kishtwar with the rulers of Kashmir and the king of Persia have been discussed.

The work shows that the Rajas of Kishtwar was granted jagirs in Kashmir by the Mughal emperors. The writer explains that at certain points of time, the boundaries of Kishtwar had been extended even up to Ladakh. The writer explains that the people of the Kishtwar were much more superior in race than the Kashmiris and explains the language and nature of the people of Kishtwar. The language of the people of Kishtwar resembled with that of Kashmir. It also explains the dress of the people of Kishtwar. The dress of the rich and royal class of society and the Rajas of Kishtwar has been explained. The writer explains that the Rajas and the people of the royal section of the society wore impressive dresses. The work explains the details of the houses and the people residing in these houses along with the population of the villages. The market and bazaars of Kishtwar have been explained. The work shows that a number of weaving looms, and workshops existed in the towns. The cultivation of crops and growing of fruit plants have been explained. The varieties of fruits and diet of the people of Kishtwar have also been explained. Kishtwar produced good quality and variety of fruits including apples, pears and pomegranates etc.

The rivers played an important role for water transport. Timber was transported from the mountainous and rocky areas of Kishtwar to the plains of Jammu through the river Chenab. Timber formed an important item of trade for supporting the economy of Kishtwar. The work also gives an account of other items of trade in Kishtwar.

Domestication of animals has been discussed. Pastures for grazing of animals have been referred in this work. The writer refers to the policy of taxation and shows that tax was imposed on domestic animals also. The wild animals and bird reptiles found in Kishtwar have been explained along with their natural abodes. The treatment of snake bites has been explained. The inclement weather and other climatic conditions have been explained showing the distress in Kishtwar for the residents and visitors. The work refers to the details of the religious places of Muslims as well as Hindus. It gives detailed account of the fort of Kishtwar. The writer refers to a game played locally in Kishtwar which resembled with the present game of hockey.

Assessment Reports

- 1. Ramdhan (Settlement Officer) Assessment Report of Kishtwar Tehsil of Udhampur District of Jammu Province, Allahabad, 1914.** This report speaks about the natural protection of Kishtwar by high mountains. It also speaks about the Panjal range of mountains. It speaks about the different castes of the people living in the area of Kishtwar and about the cultivation in Kishtwar. It explains the cold climate of the region and also shows the impact on the life of the area who have confined themselves in their homes due to extreme cold conditions in winter. It also shows the cultivation of Saffron.
- 2. Lala Sant Ram Modi (Assistant Conservator of Forest), Working Plan for the Kuth Field of Kishtwar Forest Division, Jammu and Kashmir State, (Sambat 1982-1987), Allahabad, 1926.** The writer describes the different names of Kuth crops in different languages in different parts of Kishtwar. The work describes in detail the formation of the Kuth plant. The Kuth plant and favourable climatic conditions for its plantation and cultivation have been described.

Conclusion:

The above-referred sources of different contemporary historians and modern historians, Gazetteers, accounts of travellers, officials' reports and accounts of civil servants have enriched the knowledge about the history of Kishtwar for the period under study. On the basis of the study of these historical sources, it could be well concluded that the state of Kishtwar was an important state among the 22 Punjab Hill States of the medieval period. It had natural protection due to its geographical location. Kishtwar was a safe area for the rebels and the people of the neighbouring states. It had a composite culture with a mixed population belonging to different religious faiths. It had a mixed economy, with saffron as the main source of income. Kishtwar was an important state which succeeded in maintaining its autonomous status against the mighty Mughal power.

CHAPTER-3

RULING DYNASTIES OF KISHTWAR AND THEIR IMPORTANT RULERS

3.1 Introduction:

The background of Kishtwar, its origin and the persons like *Rishi Pal*, *Ahang Pat* and *Kashyap Rishi* who brought it into prominence has already been mentioned in the first chapter. They made Kishtwar their abode at different points of time and influenced the history of Kishtwar in social, cultural, and religious aspects. The climatic conditions of Kishtwar have already been discussed, which played a major role in the history of Kishtwar. Due to the climatic changes, sometimes floods occurred which created great havoc in Kishtwar. Sometimes there were drought conditions which made Kishtwar a barren land and depopulated it. It led to different nomenclatures for Kishtwar.

3.2 Ruling Dynasties of Kishtwar

3.2.1 Rule of the *Panjasasis*:

The *Panjasasis* were the first tribe that attacked Bhoot Nagar and established their rule in Kishtwar. The *Panjasasis* were in fact a trading tribe from Punjab who used to trade with Kishtwar. They used to export saffron, cumin seeds, etc. from Kishtwar and imported cloth, salt and Gur etc. to Kishtwar. The *Panjasasis* were very brave and were always armed with weapons. They were known for their warlike qualities. The *Panjasasis* were unarmed only once in a year *i.e.*, during the worship for offering prayer to their goddess at Hudri spring¹.

The *Panjasasies* established their domination and ruled over the land and people of the Kishtwar area, till Kahan Pal occupied Kishtwar in 470. *Panja Siyasian* were a nomadic tribe of Punjab. They established their trade relations with Bhoot Nagar (Kishtwar), as traders and began to reside there. Within a short span of time, they established good trade relations with Kishtwar and intimate contacts with the local people. In the beginning, they were carrying medicinal plants for sale in Punjab, for their subsistence. At that time *Bhoot Nagar* was known for Haddi trees. Haddi trees were in abundance in Bhoot

Nagar. The dried *Haddis* were exported to Punjab in bulk from Bhoot Nagar. After some time, the Panjasasis came into conflict with Rathers and Gannais. Panj siyasis were experienced warriors but were less in number. They succeeded in attacking and defeating the Rathers and Ganies. After defeating the Rathers and the Gannies the Panj Siyasis established their rule forcibly in Kishtwar¹.

The brave Panjasasis occupied Kishtwar and their rule lasted for a long time. They were so brave and strong that during their rule neither they allowed any other power to establish rule in Kishtwar nor did they allow any other power to interfere in the political affairs of Kishtwar till 470 A.D. Raja Kahan Pal succeeded in capturing the throne through intrigue and conspiracy. Kahan pal was a descendant of Suraj Vansi dynasty of Bengal. Raja Kahan Pal's genealogical order is recorded as: (The first ruler Bikrimjeet was succeeded by his son Raja Bhog, and Raja Bhog was succeeded by his son Raja Hari Pal, and Raja Hari Pal was succeeded by his son Manak Pal; Manak Pal was succeeded by Raja Kahan Pal)².

3.2.2 Rule of Kahan Pal:

Raja Kahan Pal failed in capturing power in Kishtwar through fair and honest means. He took the support of a local woman and entered into an intrigue for his ambition to conquer Kishtwar. He was aware of the fact that Panjasasis were very tough and brave people. The Panjasasis had established their trade relations with Kishtwar before establishing their rule in Boot Nager (Kishtwar). The Panjsasis had captured power from Local rulers i.e., Rathers and Gannais. Panjasasis were very brave, but they could never smell any conspiracy against them. However, Raja Kahan Pal's conspiracy worked well in his favour. He succeeded in defeating the Panjasasies and capturing power. It is known that Kahan Pal was on his visit for the Pilgrimage of Amarnath swami Yatra and was accompanied by *Gorakh Nath Jee*. He was very much impressed with the beautiful valley of Chander Bhaga i.e., Chinab. He made up his mind to stay in Kishtwar as he had been compelled by the circumstances to leave his

¹ Malvi Hashmatulla Khan, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa (Urdu) Kashmir, Jammu, 1992, p.p.103-104

²Hasmat Ullah Khan, A brief History of Jammu, Vol. I, Eng. Tr. A.R. Khan, 2016, Srinagar, p.103.

motherland. Kahan Pal was the legal heir of the empire of Manak Pal. The empire had been awarded to Kahan Pal earlier, but later on, his younger brother Chander Sen succeeded in dethroning Kahan Pal and capturing the power. It made Kahan Pal flee from his native land and make up his mind to visit Kishtwar. He had come to Kishtwar in the company of Swami Gorakh Nath Jee along with some soldiers and reached Kandani. Kishtwar was being ruled by the Panjasasis, a brave and courageous tribe, always ready to wage war for the sake of their honour and security of their rule. They never took any chance or risk while living without weapons.

To fulfill his ambition of establishing his rule in Kishtwar, Kahan Pal planted an agent on the advice of Gorakh Nath Jee for getting secrets of the Panjasasis and their weaknesses. That agent succeeded in his mission. He took a Panjasasi woman into confidence by paying her with heavy bribes and gifts. Kahan Pal thus entered into an intrigue with the Panjasasi woman. She revealed the secrets and weaknesses of the Panjasasis. She said that the Panjasasis were very brave and it was not possible to defeat them because they were always armed with weapons, except on a particular day in Kishtwar in a year. She told that during the festival of Tahar, in the month of Pahgun, the Panjasasis go on *Alya-i-Sayah Chashma hodri spring* for Bagraj Bath and worship unarmed³. This was the only occasion when the Panjasasis could be attacked and defeated otherwise it was not possible to defeat them.

Hudri Spring- is located on the southern side of the plateau of Kishtwar town. *Hudri* spring is located at *Tund* village and presently lies in Hidyál Block of Kishtwar⁴. Rathors and Ganaís had established their principalities in Zewar and the present Kishtwar town on the southern slope of the Qila. The only day when they used to disarm themselves was the festival of '*Kakul*' which fell on the second dark fortnight (Krishan paksha) of Phaguna (February, March).

³ Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, 1967, p.254.

⁴ Hutchison J & Vogel. J, *History of Punjab Hill States*, Voll. II, 2021, p.643-444



Fig. no 3.1: Internal view of *Hudri Spring*



Figure no 3.2 Outer views of *Hudri Spring*

On that day all the male members used to assemble at *Hudri* Spring for a religious ceremony⁵.

During the scholar's visit, it has been found that *Hudri* Spring still exists in Kishtwar in *Tund Village* with the same location as mentioned by Hutchison and Vogel, Shivji Dhar and D.C. Sharma in their accounts. Its location is the same and the spring is a source of water for the locals.

Kahan Pal on the advice of Panjasasi woman, waited for the month of Phagun (February-March), the festival which was to be held after three months. A day before the festival, Raja Kahan Pal surrounded the area of the Hodri spring along with his army. A heavy snowfall took place that night. In the early morning, Panjasasis came without weapons as usual, for Holy bath and worship. Kahan Pal along with his soldiers who had already laid ambush behind the trees around the spring, abruptly attacked the Panjasasis. The Panjasasis who were unaware of it were taken by surprise and were unable to retaliate and defend themselves. Soldiers of Raja Kahan Pal attacked the unarmed Panjasasis. The Panjasasis were defeated. Many of them were either killed or fled. It led to the complete death and destruction of the Panjasasis⁶.

Thus, Kahan Pal established his rule in Kishtwar with the help of Sawami Gorakh Nath Jee and with the help of the Panjasasi woman through intrigues and conspiracy. Thus ended the rule of Panjasasis dynasty⁷. Kahan Pal ruled Kishtwar and its surrounding territories from 470 A.D. to 500 A.D. He subjugated neighbouring areas by crossing the river Chenab via *Sayghat*. Kahan Pal attacked *Raithan Kantawada*. A fierce battle was fought in which a number of soldiers lost their lives. After defeating Raithan Kantawada, it was annexed to Kishtwar area by Kahan Pal⁸. The area of Oadilsar was also annexed to Kishtwar by Kahan Pal. Kahan Pal did not face any confrontation to conquer Oadilsar. This area was annexed by Kahan Pal, Thus the area across the river was conquered. Raja Kahan Pal after conquering these areas returned back to

⁵ Shiv ji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar* (Persian), 1962, P.24.

⁶ Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, 1967, p.254.

⁷ Hashmat Ullah Khan, *A brief History of Kishtwar*, Eng. Tr. A.R. Khan, 2016, p.105.

⁸ *Ibid.* p.105

Kishtwar. He organized a great feast to celebrate the victory. He constructed a great fort and a palace on the hill adjacent to *Neel Kanth* temple. He gave peace and prosperity to his subjects. Being an independent ruler, Raja Kahan Pal made many reforms and gave justice to the people of Kishtwar. He was a great donor and extended financial support and help to the people of Kishtwar by providing food and grains in their times of need. He ruled for 30 years and died in 500 A.D.⁹.

3.2.3 Petty Rulers of Kishtwar:

Kahan Pal was succeeded by his eldest son Gandharb Sen. Who ruled from 500-586 A.D. Kahan Pal had three sons namely Gandharab Sen, Madan Sen, and Dev Sen¹⁰. Gandharab Sen attacked Kashmir. He succeeded in conquering Kashmir after waging twelve days of war against Kashmir.

Gandharab Sen was very liberal towards his brothers; he shared political powers with his brothers. One of his brothers namely Madan Sen settled in the village of Matta near the chaugan while, Dev Sen his second brother settled in Maru¹¹. Gandharab Sen was succeeded by his son Maha Sen. He ruled from 586-666 A.D. After ascending the throne, Maha Sen attacked Maru Wardwan and succeeded in conquering it after twelve days fight¹². Maru Wardwan was included in Kishtwar. Maha Sen ruled Kishtwar for a period of 80 years and ruled till his death i.e., 666 A.D.¹³

After the death of Maha Sen his elder son, Chander Sen succeeded him and ruled from 666-746 A.D. His rule also lasted for a long time. He attacked Chamba but could not fully conquer it. Thus, he was unsuccessful in annexing Champa Patti to his empire. But Chander Sen succeeded in plundering Chamba on large scale and after loot and plunder returned back to Kishtwar with the war booty. He realized that he could not capture Chamba therefore he preferred to return back to Kishtwar with war booty which included cash and

⁹ Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, 1967, p.254.

¹⁰ Molvi Hashmatulla, *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa, Kashmir*, (Urdu), Jammu, 1992, p.142.

¹¹ Hutchison and Vogel, *History of Punjab Hill States*, Vol.II., Lahore, 2021, p.644.

¹² Molvi Hashmatulla, *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir*, (Urdu), Jammu, 1992, p.142.

¹³ Narsingh Dass Nrgir, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, 1967, p.255.

cattle. Raja Chander Sen died issueless¹⁴. Raja Chander Sen abdicated the throne in favour of his brother Narinder Sen¹⁵.

Narender Sen the brother and successor of Chander Sen ruled Kishtwar from 746-51 A.D. He attacked Paddar and conquered areas up to Beas. He adopted the route of *Rawlkote*. He annexed these areas to Kishtwar. Due to his attack, people were rendered homeless. He ruled for a brief period of 5 years only¹⁶.

Narender Sen was succeeded by his son Ram Sen. After the death of Ram Sen his son Kam Sen became the raja of Kishtwar. Kam Sen was succeeded by his son Madan Sen. After Madan Sen his son Brahm Sen succeeded to the throne of Kishtwar¹⁷. As per the opinion of Hashmat Ulla Khan, Brahm Sen was a competent ruler. He was a talented person with the qualities of a poet also. He had great knowledge of Sastras and defeated many literary persons in religious debates. He was also blessed with spiritual knowledge. Kishtwar was a prosperous state under the rule of Brahm Sen¹⁸.

Brahm Sen was succeeded by his son Udat Sen. According to Fida Mohd Hasnain, Brahm Sen was succeeded by his son Ram Sen. As per Husnain, raja Brahm had two queens. One of his queens belonged to Reasi and the other to Bhaderwah. The queen from Reasi was issueless while the queen of Badherwah had a son named Ram Sen. The queen of Reasi adopted Auth Dev as her son and pleaded to Brahm Sen for the succession of Auth dev as crown prince. On refusal of this proposal by Raja Brahm Sen, the queen from Reasi intrigued with Zamindars and made raja Brahm Sen a captive and sent Ram Sen and his mother to exile to Badherwah. As per this version, Auth dev was made the king of Kishtwar. Ram Sen with the help of the rajas of Bahderwah, Chamba and Basoli, attacked Kishtwar and defeated and killed Audth Dev in a fierce

¹⁴Hashmatulla Khan, A brief History of Kishtwar, Eng. Tr. A.R. Khan, Srinagar, 2016, p.106

¹⁵ Narsingh Das Nargis, Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh, 1967, p.255.

¹⁶Hashmatulla Khan, A brief History of Kishtwar, Eng. Tr. A.R. Khan, Srinagar,2016, p.106.

¹⁷ Ibid, p.p. 106-107.

¹⁸Wali Mohd. Aseer Kishtwari, Focus on Jammu and Kashmir, Jammu,2006, p.964.

battle that was fought at Jangal Wara. Thus, Ram Sen got the throne of Kishtwar¹⁹.

But most of historians mention Auth Dev, as the son and successor of raja Brahm Sen. Audth Dev has been referred to as the first raja of Kishtwar who wrote Dev suffix with his name instead of Pal or Sen. Auth dev has been referred to as Uttamraja in Rajatarangini of Kalahana, (Kalahana Rajataragini vii, 585). He has mentioned Uttamraj as illustrious king, due to the prosperity of Kishtwar. Ishrat Kashmiri also supports the title of Uttamraj to Auth Dev²⁰.

After the death of Audth Dev his son, Parthu Dev succeeded to the throne of Kishtwar. Parthu Dev was a brave ruler. He was a lover of justice and believed in the welfare of his subjects. He considered the welfare of the people as his moral duty. He could not bear the sufferings of his people and was always ready to serve them anywhere, at any point of time and for any sort of misfortune which was confronted by his people²¹. During his period, a Demon appeared in Nagseni and Kishtwar area and became a great terror for the people. Many people lost their precious lives due to the destruction caused by the Demon. Raja Prathu Dev came to know that such havoc was caused by the Demon. He was very much perturbed and made up his mind to set free his people from the cruelty committed by the Demon on the innocent people of the area. He took up the cause of the people in his hands. The raja worshiped Durga Ashatbhuja i.e., the goddess of victory. The goddess showered her blessings on Raja Prithu Dev and helped him in defeating and killing the demon. Peace and prosperity were restored in Kishtwar. To Pay homage to the goddess for victory over the demon raja, Prithu Dev constructed the Ashat Bhuja Sarthal Devi temple. With it, an annual pilgrimage started²². He planted trees around the temple which later on grew into a thick forest. The temple earned great fame not only in Kishtwar but in the far-off areas also. The temple and goddess were held in very high esteem. Nobody could dare to take a false oath in the name of the goddess. If somebody

¹⁹ F.M. Hassnain, History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar, Vol. III, Delhi, 1998, p.84.

²⁰ Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Urdu) Jammu, 1997, p.35.

²¹ Narsingh Dass Nargis, Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh, 1967, p.256.

²² N.C. Kotwal, Political and Cultural Heritage of Bhaderwah, Kishtwar and Doda, Delhi, 2000, p.31.

indulged in such a practice, he was sure to face punishment at the hands of the goddess²³.

After the death of Raja Parthu Dev, his son Ganga Dev ascended the throne of Kishtwar. He ruled Kishtwar from 928-948 A.D. i.e., for 20 years. He annexed the areas of neighboring states like Nagasen, which included Chairjee and Poler and occupied these areas. It led to an end to the outlaws of these areas. By conquering these areas, he suppressed the rebellious elements, and Ganga Dev established peace and prosperity in these newly annexed areas²⁴. After the death of Ganga Dev, God Singh, Sagar Dev, Raghu Dev, Anand Dev, Outar Dev, and Roy Raj succeeded to the throne in succession. All of these rulers were nominal rulers. Neither did they carry much importance in the history of Kishtwar, nor did they enjoy much influence among the people of Kishtwar. All these nominal rulers ruled from 948 to 1080 A. D²⁵.

However, Raja Rai Dev was an important ruler among the nominal rulers referred to above. He attacked Padar and conquered the area up to Jadhkadail. Mangal Rai was the wazir of Raja Rai Dev who attacked Padar and conquered it. Raja Rai Dev plundered and conquered this area and brought Rs.24000 as war booty along with cows, oxen, sheep and goats²⁶.

During the period of Raja Rai Dev Rotar and Ganai tribes joined hands against Raja Rai Dev with the support of local people and succeeded in raising a revolt of very high magnitude against Raja Rai Dev. These Rathar and Ganai tribes had earlier ruled over Kishtwar and were made to rule over the petty hill tracts after their defeat in Kishtwar. Rathars and Ganais had earlier made unsuccessful attempts to re-establish their authority over Kishtwar many times. These attempts were made during the rule of predecessors of Raja Rai Dev, who were weak rulers. But these rulers had succeeded in maintaining their

²³ Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, 1967, p.256.

²⁴ Hashmatulla Khan, *A Brief History of Kishtwar*, Eng. Tr. A.R. Khan, Srinagar, 2016, p.107.

²⁵ Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, 1967, p.256.

²⁶ Hashmatullah Khan, *A Brief History of Kishtwar*, Eng. Tr. A. R. Khan, Srinagar, 2016, p.107.

authority over Kishtwar by not allowing Rathors and Ganais to capture power in Kishtwar²⁷.

Raja Rai Dev after his defeat at the hands of Rotars and Ganais preferred to run away from Kishtwar for his safety along with his loyal followers and family members. But was not allowed to escape. His passage was blocked at Bhandharkot and *Sihghat*. He was compelled to seek asylum on the mountain known as *Godanbaran*. For a year circumstances did not favour Rai Dev to regain his lost rule. His followers and supporters brought a portion of land under cultivation. Presently this place is known as *Rai-Dev Tahavan*. (Jungle of Rai Dev)²⁸. Raja Rai Dev succeeded in recapturing his lost throne by attacking Rathors and Ganais at *Hudri Spring* on the '*Kakul*' festival celebrated in the month of *Phagun*.

He adopted the same strategy to win the battle as adopted by his ancestor Raja Kahan Pal. He along with his army and loyal followers hid himself around the *Hudri spring* during the *Kakul* festival. Raja Rai Dev in the darkness of night, laid an ambush there waiting for the enemy. During the wee hours of the night, the worshippers were taken by surprise on being attacked by the enemy. Many of them were put to death without much resistance. These devotees included the people of Kishtwar and the people belonging to the Rather and Ganie tribes. It almost led to the complete death and destruction of Ganie and Rather tribes²⁹.

3.2.4 Important Rulers of Ruling Dynasties of Kishtwar:

After the death of Raja Rai Dev his son Gour Dev also known as Gur Dev succeeded to the throne in 1080 A. D. Gur Dev ruled Kishtwar from 1080 to 1110 A.D. He ruled Kishtwar with peace and prosperity. Agar Dev succeeded his father Gur Dev in 1110 A.D. He ruled Kishtwar up to 1140 A.D.³⁰. Raja Agar Dev was a strong ruler. Being a strong ruler, he believed in the policy of imperialism. He found that some of the neighbouring areas were

²⁷ Hutchinson and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II., Lahore, 2021.p.645.

²⁸ Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, (Urdu), Jammu, 1992, p.145.

²⁹ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, Tarikh -i-Kishtwar, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.26.

³⁰ Hutchinson and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II. Lahore, 2021, p.645.

not under Kishtwar. These areas were ruled by the local chiefs. Sarthal was one among those areas which was being ruled by a local chief. The local chiefs ruling the Sarthal Parganas were known as Ranas. After the consolidation of his rule, Agar Dev proceeded to bring other states under his control. He led an expedition against Sarthal. The Rana of Sarthal did not offer any resistance to Raja Agar Dev. Thus, Sarthal was conquered without facing any resistance and was annexed to the state of Kishtwar. Raja Agar Dev entrusted the administration of the territory of Sarthal to his younger brother Sundar Rai and returned to Kishtwar. The period of Agar Dev is known as the period of peace and prosperity in the history of Kishtwar. During the period of Raja Agar Dev, a goddess of *Ashtadasbhuj* emerged in a jungle. This goddess stone with eighteen arms was found in a jungle by a cow herd boy. The villagers came to know about the emergence of this goddess. The story of finding this stone was brought to the knowledge of Raja Agar Dev. Raja Agar Dev himself paid a visit to establish the truth behind the story. Raja Agar Dev paid homage to the goddess. He ordered that the stone image of the goddess be shifted to a safe and pious place with due honour. His brother Sunder Rai and the people of the village suggested a place for the image which was readily approved by Raja Agar Dev. Ultimately the stone image was shifted to a place in a village named *Agral* after the name of Raja Agar Dev. A beautiful temple was built in the village *Agral*. The village was named *Agraliya* after the name of Agar Dev. The image of the goddess was placed in the temple with religious ceremonies and rituals. For the maintenance of the temple, land grants were made which was having a forest area in it known as *Devyunvon i.e., Deviji's Jungle*³¹.

Bhoot Dev, the eldest son of Raja Agar Dev succeeded to the throne of Kishtwar, after the death of Raja Agar Dev. Bhoot Dev is also known by the name of Bholar Dev and Bholder Dev. There is a controversy regarding the relation of Bhoot Dev with Raja Agar Dev. Ishrat Kashmiri and Syed Nizamuddin refer to him as a cousin of Agar Dev, but this opinion has been contradicted by some historians like Pandit Sita Ram, *Fida Mohammad Husnain*

³¹ D.C. Sharma, History and culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, p.48-49.

and Hashmat Ulla Khan. In the opinion of these historians, Bhut Dev was the son of Agar Dev. Bhut Dev ascended the throne of Kishtwar with the help of his father-in-law *i.e.*, the ruler of Chamba. After the birth of his son Lachman Dev, a conspiracy was hatched against Raja Bhut Dev. Raja Bhut dev was poisoned to death as a result of this intrigue³².

Bhut Dev was succeeded by his son Lachman Dev to the throne of Kishtwar. Lachman Dev is known for his bravery. He proved to be a strong ruler of Kishtwar. He wanted to consolidate his own kingdom first and then the conquest of lost territories which earlier formed a part of Kishtwar. Under these categories fell the Dacchan Pargana. This area was conquered earlier by Deep Sen, the younger brother of Kahan Pal. But this territory became independent later on. Lachman Dev, therefore, decided to conquer Dacchan pargana. He moved against Dacchan Marwah with a strong army. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the rebels of Dacchan Pargana. Thus, Dacchan Pargana was again brought under the direct administration of Kishtwar. Land grants were made to the Brahmans of the *Palmar* area. This area is still known *Lachhbhata* named after Raja Lachman Dev³³.

Raja Lachman Dev was succeeded by his son Sangram Singh. Raja Sangram Singh ruled Kishtwar from 1200-1230 A.D. Succession by Raja Sangram Singh is the turning point in the history of rajas of Kishtwar as he was the first raja of Kishtwar who adorned the *title of Singh*. It led to a change in the nomenclature of the ruling dynasty of Kishtwar. With it, the Rajas of Kishtwar adopted *Singh* as the high-sounding title. Which came into existence in the hill state of Kishtwar,³⁴ whereas the Predecessors of Raja Sangram Singh used the title, Dev. Raja Sangram Singh is known for his bravery in the history of Kishtwar. He was also a kind-hearted king. He is known for the welfare of his subjects. His public welfare stories are told at length. Once upon a time, a demon is said to have appeared in the Kishtwar *chogan* and he took a heavy toll on the

³²Wali Mohd. Aseer Kishtwari, Focus on Jammu and Kashmir, Jammu, 2006, p.967.

³³ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.27.

³⁴ Hutchinson and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II, Lahore, 2021, p.645.

life of the people of Kishtwar who happened to pass through the *chogan* of Kishtwar. Raja Sangram Singh invited a mystic and astrologer named Sangram Bhat. He used his services for getting rid of the demon through the mystic person and awarded him with land grants³⁵.

Raja Sangram Singh believed in the prestige of his kingdom. He wanted to increase the power and prestige of the state of Kishtwar. He adopted the policy of conquest and annexation. He brought some adjoining areas of Kishtwar under the subjugation of Kishtwar which had not submitted to the rajas of Kishtwar so far. These areas were being ruled by local chiefs called *Ranas*³⁶. According to Pt. Shiv ji Dhar Raja Sangram Singh attacked *Chicha* and *Sazar* with a strong army. It led to the complete conquest of Nagseni Pargana. This area was annexed to the kingdom of Kishtwar. He also brought some Brahmins to Kishtwar and granted them land to settle in the Mandal area³⁷.

Raja Sangram Singh had two sons named Jagat Singh and Suraj Singh. After the death of Raja Sangram Singh, he was succeeded by his son Jagat Singh. Raja Jagat Singh ruled Kishtwar from 1230-1260 A.D. He carried forward the policy of imperialism adopted by his predecessors like Raja Sangram Singh. Raja Jagat Singh had cordial relations with his younger brother Suraj Singh. Raja Jagat Singh dispatched a strong contingent of the army under the command of his younger brother Suraj Singh. He attacked and conquered the territories like Siraj, Pogal and Kanthi. The chief of Siraj submitted it to Jagat Singh. This area was annexed to Kishtwar. Pogal and Kanthi were also attacked and conquered by Suraj Singh. A fierce battle was fought against the chief of Pogal and Kanthi, these areas were conquered and were annexed to the state of Kishtwar. Raja Jagat Singh ruled without facing any trouble³⁸. He abdicated the throne in favour of his son Bhag Singh (1260-1300 A.D.). Bhag Singh was a brave ruler. He extended the boundaries of his empire up to Kashtigarh. Raja Bhag Singh also conquered *Biajjarni* and annexed his

³⁵ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, p.p.51-52.

³⁶ Hutchinson and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II., Lahore, p.p.645-446

³⁷ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Persian), Srinagar, 1961, p.27.

³⁸ Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, Jammu, 1973, p.38.

kingdom. He also founded a village *Goza Bhago* in his name³⁹. According to *A.R. Khan*, in his work, *a brief history of Jammu*, Vol. 1st p.109, Bhag Singh was succeeded by Narab Shingar.

According to Shiv Ji Dhar (p.28 Persian), Raja Bhag Singh was succeeded by Raja Singaar Singh, Raja Meghan Singh, Raja Devi Singh, Firoz Singh and Narayan Singh in succession. This chronology of succession is supported and authenticated by Israt Kashmiri (*Tarik- I- Kishtwar*, Urdu p 39), Hutchinson and Vogel (*History of Punjab Hill states* p-646). All these historians except D.C. Sharma (*History of Kishtwar*, P-54-55) and Kewal Krishan (p.65-66, Local Historians) are of the opinion that Firuz Singh succeeded his father Devi Singh to the throne of Kishtwar. These two historians are of the opinion that Firuz Singh succeeded Dullu Singh the brother of Devi Singh. According to D. C. Sharma and Kewal Krishan Sharma Dullu Singh succeeded Meghan Singh in Kishtwar whereas Devi Singh the second son succeeded in Sarthal. The reason for the difference of opinion regarding succession is due to the fact that Meghan Singh had two sons. Both the sons Dullu Singh and Devi Singh succeeded to the throne of Kishtwar. Dullu Singh decided to rule in Kishtwar whereas Devi Singh decided to rule in Sarthal. Agraliya was made the capital of Sarthal. At present Agral is a village in Sarthal Pargana. Devi Singh ruled peacefully in Sarthal. Both of them were contemporary rajas and successors of Raja Meghan Singh⁴⁰. No more details are available about these rulers.

Narayan Singh succeeded his father, Raja Firoz Singh, to the throne of Kishtwar. Raja Narayan Singh is also known as Raja Raya Raj by *A. R. Khan*, *A Brief History of Jammu*, p.110. He succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Raja Firoz Singh. He was a brave raja and a strong ruler. He suppressed the rebellion of *Tahalla* and *Mawlana* and dealt with the rebels with a heavy hand. He consolidated his state by giving it peace, prosperity and protection⁴¹.

³⁹ Molvi Hashmatulla, *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir*, Jammu, p.147.

⁴⁰ D.C. Sharma, *History and Culture of Kishtwar*, Kishtwar, 1995, p.54.

⁴¹ Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, (Urdu) Jammu, 1973, 39.

Raja Narayan Singh was succeeded by his son Salhan Singh to the throne of Kishtwar. Salhan Singh was a strong ruler. He believed in the policy of imperialism. He wanted to conquer the adjoining areas to increase the prestige of Kishtwar on the one hand and to safeguard the security of Kishtwar on the other hand. He preferred to attack those areas whose chiefs had not accepted the sovereignty of Kishtwar. The Pargana of Saroor was among the territories whose chiefs had not accepted the sovereignty of Kishtwar. Therefore, Raja Salahan Singh, after preparing himself moved with a strong army against Saroor Pargana which was being ruled by Rana Narpat. Rana Narpat was also a strong ruler. He offered stiff resistance to Raja Salhan Singh. A fierce battle was fought at Kanani. But Raja Salhan Singh defeated Rana Narpat in the battle and laid the foundation of the village Salhana after his name⁴². Rana Narpat accepted the sovereignty of Kishtwar. The area from Tatni to Kuligad was annexed to the state of Kishtwar. After the conquest and annexation Saroor Pargana Raja Salhan Singh moved forward for the conquest and subjugation of other areas of this principality which were included in the territory of Kishtwar. Raja Salahan Singh married a woman from the Kohli dynasty of this area of village Sarwal. Raja Salahan Singh had two sons from this queen, named Rai Bhan and Siraj Bhan⁴³.

Raja Salhan was succeeded by his elder son Rai Bhan. He ruled Kishtwar from 1540 to 1560 A.D. Rai Bhan succeeded to the throne with the title of Raja Rai Singh. Raja Rai Singh was the first ruler whose date of accession and period of rule matched the accuracy recorded as per historical accounts. Raja Rai Bhan is also titled Raja Rai Singh.

Raja Rai Singh was the contemporary of Sultan Nazuk Shah of Kashmir. Raja Rai Singh had close relations with Kashmir⁴⁴. Raja Rai Singh was a great and brave ruler. He had a strong army at his disposal. He attacked and invaded Raj Mandal. Presently Raj Mandal is known as *Chatru*. It was not

⁴² Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Persian) Srinagar, 1962, p.29.

⁴³ Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, (Urdu), Jammu, 1992, p.147.

⁴⁴ Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Urdu), Jammu, 1973, p.42.

easy to invade Chatru because it had enjoyed independence status till date and was being ruled by the Thakurs. The chief of Chatru was defeated by Raja Rai Singh at a place known as Singhpur. Raj Mandal state was annexed to Kishtwar by Raja Rai Singh. With the annexation of Raj Mandal to Kishtwar, Kishtwar was exposed to the foreign invaders who invaded Kashmir⁴⁵.

During the reign of Raja Rai Singh, Mirza Haider Doughlat led an expedition against Kishtwar and encamped at Raj Mandal. Raja Rai Singh dispatched a strong army against the invader. Koki Devi, a brave woman of Kishtwar also fought against the enemy successfully. The Kishtwar army was sent under the command of Wazir Narian Padiar. The Mughal army had to suffer a great loss. It lost its soldiers along with its commanders. The army of Kishtwar used arrows and musket shots against the enemy⁴⁶. The army of the Raja of Kishtwar used the best war tactics and won the day. The Kishtwar army did not hesitate in attacking the enemies with stones and other weapons. The victory of the Raja of Kishtwar led to the enhancement of his prestige due to this great victory. Mirza Haider Doughlat had to retreat back. The loss of the Mughal army could be judged from the fact that a wide graveyard had to be dug for the burial of Mughal soldiers who lost their lives in the battle in Raj Mandal. This place is known as Mughal Mazar i.e., the graveyard of Mughals presently known as Mughal Maidan.⁴⁷

After the victory, Raja Rai Singh awarded the brave woman Koki Devi with a robe of honour whereas Wazir Narayan Padiar and other commanders of his forces were also rewarded by the raja. Raja Rai Singh was succeeded by his son Gambir Singh. Any important work of major significance has not taken place during the reign of Gambir Singh. Gambir Singh was succeeded by his son Bijay Singh.

Bijay Singh ruled from (1560-1566). A rebellion took place during the period of Raja Bijay Singh in Pargana of Suraj now called Siraj which is a

⁴⁵Molvi Hashmatulla, *Mukhtsar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir*, 1992, Jammu, p.147.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p.30.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p.149.

place located on the right bank of the Chenab. The people of Siraj never wanted to live under the rule of the rajas of Kishtwar, therefore they rose in rebellion. Raja Bijay Singh himself proceeded against the rebellious elements with a force of 700 soldiers. The rebellion was crushed after a number of small battles for 40 days. Finally, the rebellion was suppressed with a heavy hand and the rebellious people were punished⁴⁸. After the invasion of Siraj, Raja Bijay Singh built a fort at *Bijranij* also known as *Bijay*. It was built to commemorate the victory of Kishtwar over Siraj by Raja Bijay Singh. He also constructed a fort in the village Bijay. A rebellion took place in Badad. Raja Bijay Singh proceeded to Badad to suppress the rebellion. Badad was a place located in Surur. These rebellions were raised by Ranas and Thukars⁴⁹.

Raja Bijay Singh encamped at Badad to quell the revolt. The family of Raja Bijay Singh of Kishtwar also joined him in Badad. During the night, Raja Bijay was attacked by two brothers, Gag and Jala. These two brothers attacked the raja in his bedroom and assassinated him when he was asleep. It led to great chaos and confusion in the camp of Raja Bijay Singh. The family of Raja was killed except his seven years old boy named Bahadur Singh. All the soldiers of the army of Raja Bijay Singh were killed. Bahadur Singh, the son of Raja Bijay Singh escaped the camp and was escorted by one of the loyal servants of the raja. He was brought up in a Ganai family by his foster mother. He was treated well but the absence of a raja in Kishtwar led to disorder, disturbances and lawlessness. Under such circumstances, the news of Bahadur Singh spread to Kishtwar. The nobles of Kishtwar brought Bahadur Singh back and enthroned him as the raja of Kishtwar⁵⁰.

He ascended the throne in 1570 and ruled up to 1605. But there is a difference of opinion regarding the date of accession to the throne. According to Hashmatulla, Bahadur Singh ascended the throne in 1566. After accession to the throne, Bahadur Singh wanted to take revenge for the assassination of his

⁴⁸ Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, (Urdu), Jammu, 1977.p.44.

⁴⁹ Hutchison and Vogel, *History of Punjab Hill States*, Vol. II, Lahore, 2021. P.648.

⁵⁰ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.30.

father and family members and the defeat of his father in Saroor pargana. He took a strong step against the rebels by attacking the Sarwar area after consultation with courtiers and heads of his army. A sudden attack was made on the enemies who were taken by surprise and defeated. Great bloodshed took place. The inhabitants and the soldiers of the area from Salana to Tatani were dealt with heavy hands and put to the sword. Their houses were burnt and raised to the ground. This expedition of Raja Bahadur Singh was a complete success against the assassination of his father and their supporters. He returned back with large war booty. Bahadur Singh ruled Kishtwar with peace and prosperity for some time till 1572 A.D. Ali Shah Chak the ruler of Kashmir attacked Kishtwar. He sent a strong army under the command of Abdul khan, Ali khan and Nazukchak. The attack on Kishtwar was sudden and surprising for the ruler of Kishtwar⁵¹.

Raja Bahadur Singh could not face a strong army during the planned attack under the commanders of Ali Shah Chak. He could not resist the army of the enemy. He realized that his army was no match for the army of Ali Shah Chak. He was a farsighted ruler and acted in a very diplomatic manner and accepted the suzerainty of Ali Shah Chak. He agreed to pay regular tribute and got his sister, Sanker Dei married to Yaqub shah Chak the grandson of Ali Shah Chak⁵². Raja Bahadur Singh consolidated his position by strengthening his army, He stopped paying annual tributes and declared his independence. Ali Shah Chak dispatched a strong army against Bahadur Singh. A fierce battle was fought but Raja Bahadur Singh was defeated and proved a failure against Ali Shah Chak. He submitted before the enemy and sent his son Narayan Singh as a hostage along with his daughter later on known as Fateh Khatoon. She, later on, became the wife of Ali Shah Chak. The raja of Kishtwar also agreed to pay an annual tribute⁵³.

⁵¹ Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtasar Tarik -i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, Jammu, 1992. p.151.

⁵² Mohibul Hassan Kashmir under the Sultans, Srinagar, 2002, p.158.

⁵³ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.31.

Yushaf Shah Chak, the son of Ali Shah Chak sent an army against Kishtwar where some Kashmiri rebel nobles had sought shelter. But was defeated by the army of Kishtwar. Ali Shah Chak himself proceeded against the rebels and defeated them⁵⁴. Raja Bahadur Singh ruled during the period when the position of Kishtwar was not so strong. It was exposed to foreign invasions because it had become exposed to Kashmir after the conquest of Chatru by the Rajas of Kishtwar.

After the death of Raja Bahadur Singh, his son Pratap Singh ascended the throne of Kishtwar. Raja Pratap Singh ascended the throne of Kishtwar with the title of Bhup Singh. During his reign, the Mughal army attacked Kishtwar under the orders of Jahangir in 1606. Kishtwar was a very strong state at that time under the rule of Raja Pratap Singh. Therefore, Emperor Jahangir sent a strong force against Kishtwar. After a fierce battle between the Mughal army and the army of Kishtwar, the Mughal army was defeated and met with a humiliating defeat⁵⁵.

The Mughal forces were completely routed by the Kishtwar army. The army of Raja Pratap Singh used boulders against the Mughal army. The Mughal army had to suffer a great loss. It led to the death of a number of Mughal soldiers along with its commanders. The Mughal army had to retreat to Kashmir after losing its two commanders namely Mirza Mohammad Khan and his other commander Mirza Haider Koka. The Mughal army along with two other commanders fled to Kashmir after being defeated by the Kishtwar forces. It gave peace and prosperity for some time during the rule of Raja Pratap Singh⁵⁶.

The widow of Mirza Mohammad Khan, the commander of the Mughal army, took an oath to take revenge for her husband's death. She sought the help of Mughal emperor Jahangir for it. Jahangir dispatched a strong army in her support to invade Kishtwar. Dilawar Khan was sent as commander to support her. She reached Kishtwar at a place known as Bhandarkot. Kishtwar's

⁵⁴ M.L. Kapoor, Kingdom of Kashmir, 1983, p.186.

⁵⁵ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar (Persian), Srinager, 1962, p.31.

⁵⁶ Israt Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, Jammu, (Urdu), Jammu, 1973, p.50.

army was defeated after a prolonged and fierce fight. It was a result of disloyalty shown by a resident of Kishtwar towards its own country. Raja of Kishtwar was defeated and he fled to Bhaderwah. After the retreat of the Mughal army back to Kashmir, Raja Bhup Singh returned back to Kishtwar but died after some time in Kishtwar.

Raja Pratap Singh was succeeded by his son Gaur Singh. Gaur Singh is also known as Kunwar Singh⁵⁷. During the Mughal emperor Jahangir an order was issued to the governor of Kashmir Dilawar Khan for the conquest of Kishtwar. It was ordered that Dilawar Khan would lose his rank and position which had been conferred on him if he failed in compliance with the royal order⁵⁸. Dilawar Khan attacked Kishtwar with a strong force under a strategic approach. He attacked Kishtwar with a force of ten thousand soldiers. He divided his army into three commands. He commanded one division of the army while command of the other two divisions was entrusted to his sons Jalal and Jamal. A fierce battle took place between the Mughal forces under Dilawar Khan and Raja Gur Singh of Kishtwar. In this battle, the army of Kishtwar had to suffer a great loss at the hands of Dilawar Khan. Kishtwar suffered a great loss of the human life of soldiers and property. Raja of Kishtwar saved his own life by surrendering himself before Dilawar Khan⁵⁹.

Raja of Kishtwar, Raja Gaur Singh was taken as a captive to Kashmir and produced before the Mughal emperor in fetters but was treated with honour and dignity. The Mughal emperor Jahangir was greatly impressed by the personality and dress of Raja Gaur Singh. The Mughal emperor Jahangir praises him and describes his personality as different from other Zamindars of the area and he refers that the raja was a well-versed person knowing both Kashmiri and Hindi languages. Emperor Jahangir persuaded Raja Gaur Singh to accept the sovereignty of Mughal rulers for being pardoned. Raja of Kishtwar

⁵⁷ Jahangir, Tuzuk- i- Jahangiri, Vol. I & II Eng. Tr. by Alexander Roger, Delhi, 1994, p.238.

⁵⁸ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.34.

⁵⁹ Hutchison and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II., Lahore 2021, p.650.

was asked to produce his sons to the Mughal court otherwise he would be imprisoned in the court of Hindustan⁶⁰.

Dilawar Khan left Kishtwar leaving it under the command of Nasrullah Arab. A rebellion took place in Kishtwar against Nasrullah Arab in which many Mughal soldiers were killed and he himself fell prey to this rebellion. He had made two mistakes. Firstly, he treated the zamindars and people of Kishtwar very harshly. Secondly, He had granted leave to many of his officers to further their cases for promotion in the royal court. The people of Kishtwar found it the most suitable opportunity. They attacked the Mughal army which was defeated and had to leave Kishtwar with a heavy loss. Many of the Mughal soldiers were made captives. Emperor Jahangir on hearing this news asked Dilawar Khan to invade Kishtwar. Raja Sangram Singh of Jammu was ordered to assist Dilawar Khan. Iradat Khan succeeded in suppressing the revolt in Kishtwar⁶¹.

Raja Gaur Singh enjoyed the loyalty of his people. They did not succumb under the pressure of Mughal forces even after suffering heavy losses of life and property. Emperor Jahangir was compelled to release Raja Gaur Singh and permit him to return back to Kishtwar with due honour in 1622. An alliance was signed between emperor Jahangir and Raja Gaur Singh. Raja Gaur Singh agreed to pay tribute to the Mughal emperor and to send his son to the Mughal court. The rebellious activities in Kishtwar came to an end with the signing of this alliance. It followed an era of peace and prosperity in the history of Kishtwar. Raja Gaur Singh took a number of administrative and public welfare activities. He constructed a number of royal buildings also, the Palace at Bandharkot on the bank of River Chenab is one among them. Gaur Singh died in 1629⁶².

Raja Gaur Singh was released from Mughal imprisonment. He returned to Kishtwar. After his return from Mughal imprisonment, he ruled

⁶⁰ Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. 1 & II, Eng. Tr. by Alexander Roger, Delhi, 1994. P.139-40.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p.170-71.

⁶² Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, 1967, p.262.

Kishtwar peacefully. He died in 1629 A.D. He was a ruler with a sense of great farsightedness. He was aware of the important locations of Kishtwar. Keeping these facts in view he constructed a number of important forts during his period. The palace at Bandarkot is one among those⁶³.

After the death of Gaur Singh his younger son Jagat Singh succeeded him to the throne of Kishtwar in 1629. Jagat Singh was a very brave and ambitious ruler. He believed in the policy of annexation and expansion of the empire. He attacked Badherwah and defeated the ruler of Badherwah. In his absence, Raja Bhupat Pal, ruler of Balor (Basoli) attacked Kishtwar and captured it after defeating the army of Kishtwar. He brought the ling of Neelkanth to Basoli which is worshipped till date. Raja Jagat Singh in an attempt to recapture Kishtwar was defeated and killed. The administration of Kishtwar was entrusted to an officer named Katak by the raja of Balor (Basoli)⁶⁴.

Bhagwan Singh succeeded his brother Jagat Singh in 1635 A.D., after the death of Raja Jagat Singh. He defeated the raja of Balor (Basoli), who had captured Kishtwar. Bhagwan Singh succeeded to the throne of Kishtwar with the help of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. Bhagwan Singh defeated and killed *Katak* the commander of Raja of Basoli. He avenged the death of his brother Raja Jagat Singh. He used the head of the slain Katak as football in the Chogan. To celebrate his victory, Raja Bhagwan Singh organized a *Mela* (Fair) in Kishtwar in the form of a festival. This mela is known as *katak yatra* mela and is celebrated every year ⁶⁵. It shows the bravery and power of the Raja of Kishtwar. The mela started by the Raja was to exhibit his power and bravery to his subjects. Every year a *mela* is celebrated in Kishtwar to commemorate the victory of Kishtwar over the Raja of Basoli.

Bhagwan Singh was a brave raja, he attacked Ramban. He defeated the raja of Ramban and annexed Ramban to Kishtwar state⁶⁶. Bhagwan Singh

⁶³Israt Kashmiri, Tarikhi-i-Kishtwar, Jammu, (Urdu), 1973, p.57.

⁶⁴ Hutchinson and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II., Lahore, 2021, p.652.

⁶⁵ Ibid. p.652.

⁶⁶ S.D.S. Charak, History and Culture of Himalayan States, Vol. VI, Pathankot, 1988, p.297.

had a lot of experience of wars. He also rendered his services in the Mughal court during the period of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. He had proved his worth in the Deccan expeditions under the Mughal emperor. His services had been recognized by the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. He had been awarded by the Mughal emperor. Shah Jahan was so impressed by Bhagwan Singh that at the request of Bhagwan Singh, Shah Jahan sent two commanders Jewan Sen and Kahan Sen to help him to recover Kishtwar from the Raja of Balor (Basoli). With the help of these two officers Raja, Bhagwan Singh not only consolidated the areas like Suraj, Doda, Bujjarani, Saroor, Nagseni, Decchan and Udil, but also succeeded in conquering Ramban, Dangbatal, Kanthi, Kashtigarh, Banihal, Pogal and Peristan. Bhagwan Singh had a strong army. Due to the strength and power of his army, he did not face much resistance in making these conquests. The bravery and success in wars exhibited by Raja Bhagwan Singh are supported by the fact that a stone called "*Kishtwar Kain*" i.e., Kishtwar stone was installed in Banihal which shows the victory of Kishtwar over Banihal. Raja Bhagwan Singh was the ruler, who by virtue of his power linked Pogal and Pristan with Kishtwar through Nandmerg⁶⁷.

Maha Singh succeeded to the throne of Kishtwar after the death of his father Raja Bhagwan Singh. He is also known as Mahajan. He was a person of Literary taste and was well-versed with Hindu religious books like sastras. In his religious approach, he was far ahead among the rajas of his time. He was a worshipper of lord Shiva. He had great faith in lord *Shiva* i.e., (*Neelkanth*). He was a great poet as well and composed a number of poems which are recited by the people of Kishtwar till date. He was a generous king, believing in the welfare of his people. He was ever ready to sacrifice himself for the welfare of the people. Kishtwar was a prosperous state under him with a large population. But during his period Kishtwar faced a dry spell. It led to famine-like conditions. Raja Maha Singh offered prayers to God Neelkanth and recited poems in praise of lord shiva. Ultimately his prayers were accepted by lord Shiva. Lord Shiva favoured him. The raja and the people of Kishtwar were blessed with the heavy

⁶⁷ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, p.77.

rainfall that took place in Kishtwar. Thus, due to the prayers of Raja Maha Singh, Kishtwar was saved from severe conditions of dry spell and destruction⁶⁸.

Emperor Jahangir Imprisoned and put Haifz Giasudin in prison who had been earlier sent as a hostage to the Mughal court by Raja Bhagwan Singh. Aurangzeb asked Hafiz Giasudin for the attendance of Raja Maha Singh at the Mughal court In Delhi. Giasuddin proved a failure in getting the presence of Maha Singh in the Mughal court. This was the reason for putting Giasuddin in prison. Hafiz Abdul Qasim, the son of Hafiz Giasuddin was ordered to get Raja Maha Singh in the royal court. But Raja Maha Singh evaded his presence by sending his son Jai Singh to the Mughal court⁶⁹. An agreement seems to have taken place between Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and Raja Maha Singh. Prince Jai Singh was allowed to return to Kishtwar with due honour by Aurangzeb. He was received with great honour and was welcomed in Kishtwar. Raja Maha Singh allowed the construction of mosques in Kishtwar and also invited Mullahs from Kashmir and granted land for the maintenance of these Mosques. Raja Maha Singh appointed the Muslims in government services on large scale⁷⁰.

Raja Jai Singh was a liberal-minded ruler with a broad religious outlook and a great sense of public welfare. Towards the last phase of his life, he abdicated the throne and led a secluded life⁷¹.

Jai Singh succeeded his father, Maha Singh. Jai Singh was one of the three sons of Maha Singh. The other two sons were Ram Singh and Sirdar Singh, but Jai Singh was the eldest son. Jai Singh was a liberal-minded ruler. He believed in the policy of sharing power. He shared power with his brothers Ram Singh and Sirdar Singh. He appointed Ram Singh as Wazir of Kishtwar, whereas his second brother Sirdar Singh was appointed as commander of the army of Kishtwar. Sirdar Singh was a brave person. But he was a very ambitious

⁶⁸ Hutchison and Vogel. History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II, Lahore, 2021, 652-53.

⁶⁹ Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, Jammu, (Urdu), 1973, p.58.

⁷⁰ Hutchison and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II., 2021, p.653.

⁷¹ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.38.

person and was not satisfied with his post. He fled to Kashmir, but the sultan of Kashmir did not favor him. Ultimately Sirdar Singh fled to Delhi. At the same time, Ram Singh was sent to Delhi as a goodwill gesture by Raja Jai Singh to win the favor of Mughal emperor Aurangzeb⁷². During the early period of Raja Jai Singh, many Muslims of Kashmir often visited Kishtwar. These Muslim visitors were free to visit and settle in Kishtwar. No restrictions had ever been imposed on them. A number of Muslims from Kashmir had settled in Kishtwar. A Mosque, *masjid Khawaja Garib* had also been built during the period of Raja Maha Singh. The Muslims who had settled in Kishtwar from Kashmir began to spread Islamic culture in Kishtwar.

Raja Jai Singh was alarmed by these developments and took them as a danger to his own religion and rule. His courtiers advised him to give serious thought to such developments which could prove a danger for Kishtwar in future. After great consultation and with the opinion of his wazirs, Raja Jai Singh issued an order. According to this order, no Muslim visitor could stay in Kishtwar for more than a day. Any Muslim who violated this order could be punished with imprisonment⁷³.

When such developments came to the notice of Emperor Aurangzeb, he called Raja Jai Singh to his court to explain his position. Under such circumstances, Raja Jai Singh was compelled to send his brother Ram Singh as a hostage to Delhi⁷⁴.

Sirdar Singh, another brother of Raja Jai Singh had already proceeded to Delhi. Sirdar Singh further exploited the situation by creating a misunderstanding between Raja Jai Singh and Mughal emperor Aurangzeb for personal gains. He complained against Raja Jai Singh with the plea that the Muslims were being treated very harshly in Kishtwar and that Raja Jai Singh had adopted a policy of intolerance towards the Muslims who visited Kishtwar. He quoted the order of Raja Jai Singh by which he had imposed a ban on Muslim

⁷²S.D.S. Charak, History and Culture of Himalayan States, Vol. VI, Pathankot, 1988, p.298.

⁷³ Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kashmiri, (Urdu), Jammu, 1973, p.61.

⁷⁴Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, (Urdu), Jammu, 1992, p.166.

visitors to Kishtwar on staying for a period of more than a day. This order prescribed a punishment of imprisonment for the Muslims who violated this order. Emperor Aurangzeb was convinced by this complaint. On hearing this complaint, he was greatly annoyed and became very furious. He ordered Raja Jai Singh to attend the Mughal court and explain his position in light of the complaint made by Sirdar Singh. But Raja Jai Singh's son Kirat Singh met the Mughal emperor and explained the factual position existing in Kishtwar. Kirat Singh on behalf of his father Jai Singh assured the emperor that in future no Muslim shall be harassed in Kishtwar. He assured that the Muslims shall be treated well and with due honour. Emperor Aurangzeb pardoned Raja Jai Singh and no action was taken against him⁷⁵.

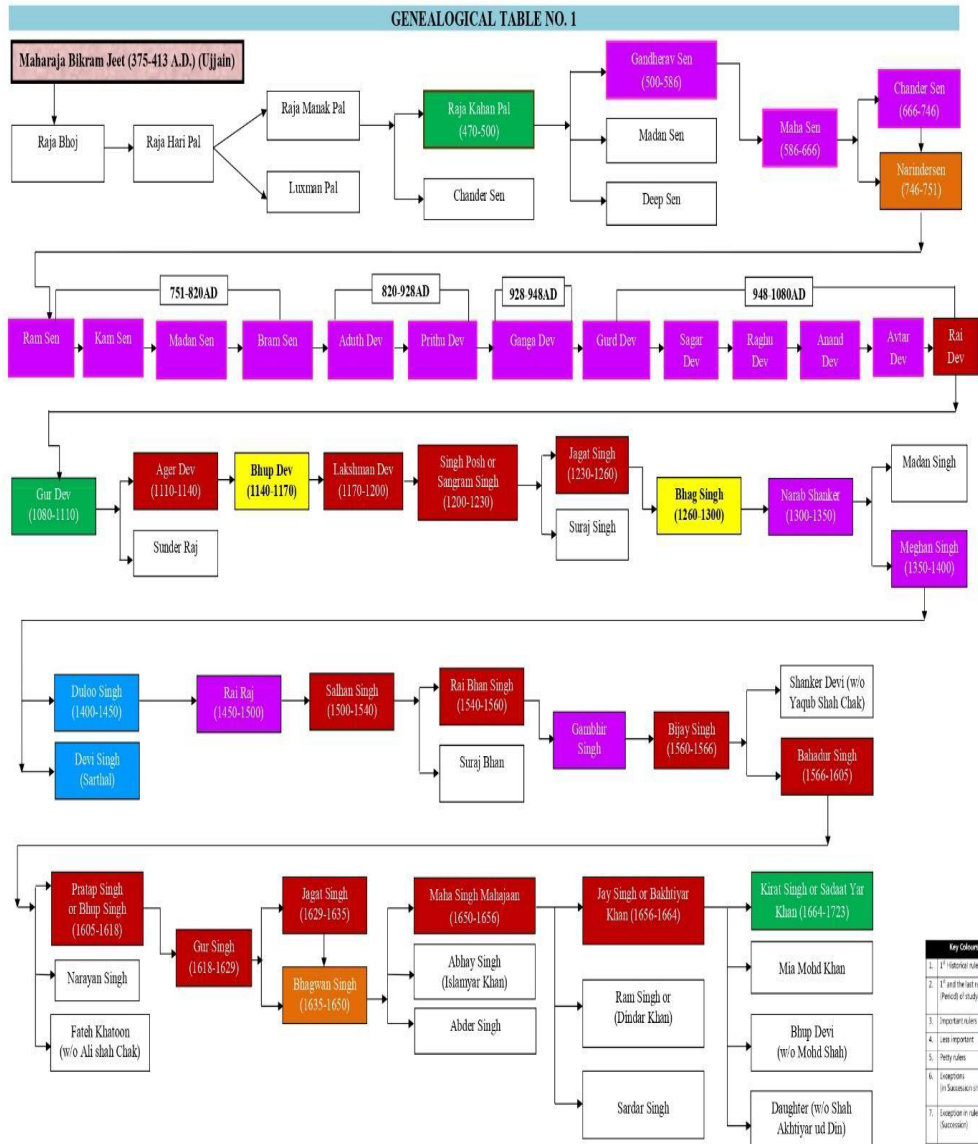
Raja Jai Singh was succeeded by his son Kirat Singh. He (Kirat Singh) ascended the throne in 1664 A.D. He was also known as Girat Singh. Aurangzeb appointed Ram Singh, the uncle of Kirat Singh as wazir. He was the first ruler of Kishtwar who embraced Islam. Relations between Kirat Singh and Mughal emperor Aurangzeb remained cordial. Ram Singh also embraced Islam. Fedric Drew refers to Kirat Singh as Girat. Drew mentions that Kirat Singh had embraced Islam under the influence of Sufi saint Sayeed shah Farid-Ud-Din. Kirat Singh was a disciple of Aurangzeb and received the title of Raja Sadat Yar Khan⁷⁶.

Different writers have forwarded different theories regarding the conversion of Raja Kirat Singh to Islam. According to Shiv Ji Dhar, Kirat Singh was made to embrace Islam forcibly in 1687 A.D. and was conferred the title of Sadat Yar Khan. Due to the shock arising out of the conversion of Kirat Singh to Islam Raja Jagat Singh died⁷⁷. G.M. Ishrat explains that Kirat Singh had to embrace Islam because Ram Singh, the uncle of Kirat Singh had made the complaint against Raja of Kishtwar with the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. Raja

⁷⁵ Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, 196, p.264-65.

⁷⁶ Frederic Drew, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, Delhi, 2009, p.84.

⁷⁷ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p. 39.



3.2.4 Genealogical Table no. 1

Kirat Singh was compelled to embrace Islam. Earlier he was sent to Kashmir to pay homage⁷⁸.

But according to another view, many tributary rajas had gone to Kashmir to welcome the emperor. Kirat Singh was one among them. The story of the conversion of Kirat Singh to Islam seems to be true. But since the emperor was busy in Deccan, the possibility of conversion of Kirat Singh to Islam during this period does not hold ground but the fact is supported by the circumstances that conversion of Kirat Singh to Islam took place in Srinagar. Dr. Sukdev Singh Charak agrees with this theory⁷⁹.

The conversion of Kirat Singh to Islam was not accepted by the people of Kishtwar. They rose in rebellion. But when Raja Kirat Singh reached Kishtwar, he succeeded in convincing the people of his conversion to Islam. Many of the People who had raised the rebellion were pacified and many of them embraced Islam. These people included the close companions and associates of Raja Kirat Singh. Kirat Singh was killed by a local known as Krishana Padiar⁸⁰. Kirat Singh ruled Kishtwar for 47 years. Krishana Padiar ruled Kishtwar till he was defeated and killed by Amlok Singh.

3.3 Law of Succession:

The nature of succession was hereditary. It can be well assumed that a set system of succession to the throne existed in the ruling class in Kishtwar. Generally, the eldest son succeeded to the throne e.g., Gandherv Sen was the eldest son of Kahan pal among his three sons who succeeded to the throne of Kishtwar. Similar was the case when Raja Maha Singh, Narinder Sen and Pratap Singh succeeded to the throne of Kishtwar. However, the exceptions were there when the deceased raja was succeeded by his brother. In case the raja was issueless his brother could succeed to the throne e.g. After the death of Chander Sen his younger brother Narinder Sen succeeded to the throne of Kishtwar. Similarly, Raja Jagat Singh was succeeded by his brother Bhagwan Singh,

⁷⁸ Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, (Urdu), Jammu, 1973, p.82.

⁷⁹ Sukhdev Singh Charak, *The History and Culture of Himalayan States*, Vol. VI., Part 3 : Constituent States , Vol. VI. Pathankot ,1988, p.299.

⁸⁰ Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, 1967, p. 266.

when Raja Bhupat Pal of Balor Basoli had usurped the throne of Kishtwar after killing the raja Jagat Singh of Kishtwar. The deceased Raja's brother succeeded to the throne because Raja Jagat Singh had no son. Both Raja Chander Sen and Raja Jagat Singh had no son to succeed. Their succession took place under the same circumstances. The succession to the throne by the eldest son after the death of the deceased Raja had political and social legitimization.

But exceptions cannot be ruled out for this law of succession. Intrigues were made for succession to the throne in the royal family when there was more than one stakeholder for the throne. Generally, the Rajas shared power with the members of the royal family i.e., the brothers of the rajas. But sometimes they were not satisfied with their posts and involved themselves in the intrigues. e.g., when Jai Singh succeeded to the throne of Kishtwar, no doubt being the eldest son of Maha Singh, he was the right claimant for the throne. His brothers were intrigued by him. He appointed his brothers, Ram Singh and Sirdar Singh to important posts. He appointed his brother Ram Singh as Wazir and Sirdar Singh as *Sipahsalar* respectively. But both of his brothers were not satisfied even with the important position assigned to them. Sirdar Singh and Ram Singh hatched a conspiracy against Raja Jai Singh of Kishtwar. The sole motive behind these intrigues by the brothers of Jai Singh was their desire to annex the throne. It proves that to satisfy the desire for the throne, the princes of the royal family of Kishtwar did not hesitate in seeking the help of the neighbouring states and they could even move to the Mughal court for satisfying their ambitions. Among the ruling class of Kishtwar, it has been found that generally, the Rajas shared powers with the members of the royal family e.g., Raja Megan Singh had two sons Dulu Singh and Devi Singh. Dulu Singh succeeded in Kishtwar whereas Devi Singh was assigned the *Jagir* of Shritthal or Sarthal. It can be well concluded that there was a fixed law of succession in Kishtwar except for a few exceptions.

The following table shows the succession of the rajas of Kishtwar after the death of their father⁸¹.

⁸¹Hashmatullah, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, P.130

3.3 Mode of Succession Table no. 2

Sr No.	Name of the Deceased Raja	Name of the enthroned Raja	Period (A.D.)	Remarks
1-	Gur Dev	Agar Dev	1110-1140	Agar dev was son and successor of Gur Dev (1080-1110)
2-	Agar Dev	Bhup Dev	1140-1170	Bhup Dev was son and successor of Agar Dev
3-	Bhup Dev	Lakshman Dev	1170-1200	Lakshman Dev was son and successor of Bhup Dev
4-	Lakshman Dev	Singh Posh or Sangram Singh	1200-1230	Sangram Singh was son and successor of Lakshman Dev
5-	Sangram Singh	Jagat Singh	1230-1260	Bhag Singh was son and successor of Jagat Singh
6-	Jagat Singh	Bhag Singh	1260-1300	Bhag Singh was son and successor of Jagat Singh
7-	Bhag Singh	Narab Shankar	1300-1350	Narab Sankar Singh was son and successor of Bhagh Singh
8-	Narab Shanker	Megh Nad	1350-1400	Megh Nad was son and successor of Narab Shanker
9-	Megh Nad	Dulloo Singh & Devi Singh	1400-1450	Dulloo Singh & Devi Singh were sons & successors of Megh Nad but Devi Singh ruled in Sarthal and Duloo Singh in Kishtwar
10-	Dulloo Singh	Rai Raj	1450-1500	Rai Raj Singh was son and successor of Dulloo Singh
11-	Rai Raj	Salhan Singh	1500-1540	Salhan Singh was son and successor of Rai Raj
12-	Salhan Singh	Rai Bhan Singh	1540-1560	Rai Bhan Singh was son and successor of Salhan Singh
13-	Rai Bhan Singh	Gambhir Singh	1560*	Nominal ruler ruled for *less than a year, No record of any important work available
14-	Gambir Singh	Bijay Singh	1560-1566	Bijay Singh was son and successor of Gambir Singh
15-	Bijay Singh	Bahadur Singh	1566-1605	Bahadur Singh was son and successor of Bijay Singh

16-	Bahadur Singh	Pratap Singh	1605-1618	Pratap Singh was the son and successor of Bahadur Singh.
17-	Pratap Singh	Gur Singh	1618-1629	Gur Singh was son and successor of Pratap Singh
18-	Gur Singh	Jagat Singh	1629-1635	Jagat Singh was son and successor of Gur Singh.
19-	Jagat Singh	Bhagwan Singh	1635-1650	Bhagwan Singh was brother and successor of Jagat Singh.
20-	Bhagwan Singh	Maha Singh	1650-1656	Maha Singh was son and successor of Bhagwan Singh.
21-	Maha Singh	Jaya Singh	1656-1664	Jaya Singh was son and successor of Maha Singh
22-	Jaya Singh	Kirat Singh	1664-1723	Kirat Singh was son and successor of Jaya Singh
23-	Kirat Singh	Amluk Singh	1723-1771	Amluk Singh was son and successor of Kirat Singh

Note: The above table details show the mode of succession in the state of Kishtwar during the medieval period. It explains that twenty-two out of twenty-three rulers succeeded their fathers. Only Bhagwan Singh was an exception to this rule in which; he had succeeded his deceased brother Jagat Singh who had lost his life in an attempt to regain his lost throne of Kishtwar.

But before the beginning of the rule of Kahan Pal, in Kishtwar there was a struggle for capturing power as a ruler in Kishtwar. There were a number of chiefs who fought among themselves for supremacy and for the extension of their territories. These chiefs were locally known as rajas who had attacked, conquered, and annexed the territories of other chiefs for (explained in Chapter 1) capturing power as ruler of Kishtwar. Rathers and Ganies were the local tribes who had succeeded in capturing power as rulers. But the Panjasasis, a trading tribe from Punjab which used to trade for export and import of goods, succeeded in capturing power from the Rather and Ganaie tribes. The strength of weapons and the bravery of Panjasasies was the reason for their success as rulers of Kishtwar. Panjasasis ruled Kishtwar before Raja Kahan Pal. Kahan Pal became the ruler of Kishtwar by defeating the Panjasasies through intrigue and diplomacy with a small force, which proves that in Kishtwar there was no single mode for succession or for capturing power.

The rajas of Kishtwar led a luxurious life. They lived in palatial buildings. Some rajas of Kishtwar like Salahan Singh maintained a harem. He had married a woman from the Kohli caste but sometimes the Rajas married a second time on being issueless from the first wife. Sometimes, the issue of succession was the reason behind the second marriage. Political reasons also played a major role in the marriages among royal families. The rajas of Kishtwar were known for their religious and broad outlook and public welfare activities. Raja Maha Singh built a mosque in Kishtwar and granted revenue-free land grants for the maintenance of the mosque. He also employed Muslims in government jobs on a large scale. The Rajas of Kishtwar were kind-hearted and could not tolerate the suffering of their subjects. Raja Maha Singh worshipped God *Neelkanth* for rains to save the famine-stricken people. The Rajas of Kishtwar celebrated their victory by building forts and palaces e.g., Fort of Bhandarkot. Sometimes the rajas of Kishtwar celebrated their victory by celebrating festivals and melas e.g., Kanthak Mela. *yatra* is celebrated in commemoration of the victory of raja Bhagwan Singh over raja Bhupat pal of Balor Basoli whose commander kank was killed by raja Bhagwan Singh. Sometimes the rajas of Kishtwar embraced Islam but the reason was more political than religious e.g., when Raja Kirat Singh was given an option either to leave the throne or embrace Islam. Raja Kirat Singh preferred to embrace Islam.

3.4 Administration under the Rajas of Kishtwar

The historical records of Kishtwar do not reveal much information about the administration of Kishtwar. Even the contemporary Mughal sources and indigenous literature does not throw much light on the administrative setup of the rajas of Kishtwar. But on the basis of available historical evidence collected from the chronological order of the rajas of Kishtwar, and their expeditions and their public welfare activities, the administration of the rajas of Kishtwar could be well explained. The problems faced by the people of Kishtwar and its disposal comprise a part and is a glimpse on the administration under the rajas of Kishtwar.

Kishtwar was an important state among the Punjab Hill States of Medieval India. It had special features with geographical location and prevailing climatic conditions. High mountains and mighty rivers surrounded Kishtwar. These two factors protected it. But in spite of these factors, it faced attacks from the invaders many times.

These factors affected the administration of Kishtwar which the autonomous rajas of Kishtwar ruled. During the medieval period of Kishtwar, the ruling class belonged to the Rajput dynasty. The administration of Kishtwar was affected by the external danger from the neighboring states like Kashmir which posed a threat for Kishtwar because the rulers of Kashmir wanted to expand the territories at the cost of Kishtwar. The people of Kishtwar used to take up the army as their profession⁸². The Rajas of Kishtwar were one of the three types of *zamindars under the Mughals* i.e., Primary, intermediary, and autonomous. Mughal emperor Jahangir refers to Gur Singh the Raja of Kishtwar as a *zamindar* and compares him with the other *Zamindars* of the region⁸³. Emperor Jahangir does not make any distinction between an ordinary chief or landlord and a Raja. He refers to a local chief as the *zamindar* of the Bhandarkot area who helped Dilawer Khan to construct a *zampa* bridge, which ultimately led to the defeat of Raja Gur Singh of Kishtwar⁸⁴. A document was issued during the reign of Aurangzeb in 1664, which refers raja of Kishtwar as Zamindar⁸⁵. The Mughal emperors used the term Raja or zamindar for all the Hindu rajas and used the same term for the rajas of Kishtwar as well. It was not an exception in the case of Kishtwar⁸⁶.

According to a historian, zamindars during the Mughal period belonged to three categories⁸⁷, i.e., the primary, intermediary, and autonomous chiefs. The primary and intermediary *zamindars* had the same status because they were not independent enough to rule their respective territories directly. But they ruled under the direct control of the Mughal emperors. The zamindars in the third category were autonomous chiefs who were free to rule their territories directly under the Mughal emperors. The territories of these chiefs were known as *Watan Jagirs*. They were enrolled in the administrative machinery and hierarchy. This system of enrolling the chiefs, i.e., rajas, was evolved by the Mughal emperor Akbar⁸⁸.

⁸² Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh -i-Kishtwar*, Jammu, 1973, p.8.

⁸³ Jahangir, *Tuzuk -i- Jahangiri*, Delhi, 1994, Vol. I & II pp.139-40.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p.137.

⁸⁵ Hashmataullah, *Mukhtarsar Tarikhi-i-Jammu wa Kashmir*, pp.168-169.

⁸⁶ Muhammad Arif Qandhari, *Tarikh-i-Akbari*, in M.A. Ansari, *Geographical glimpses of Medieval India*, Vol. II, p.13

⁸⁷ S. Nurul Hasan, *Thoughts on Agrarian Relations in Mughal Empire*, Delhi, 1973, pp. 28-37

⁸⁸ Ibid. p.34

Important Posts in Kishtwar were generally held by the members of the royal family, i.e., royal princes. But sometimes exceptions could be there, e.g., Kahn Pal and Jiun Pal were the two Khatri brothers from Delhi who were sent to help Bhagwan Singh by the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. They were assigned very important posts of wazirs in spite of the fact that they didn't belong to the ruling family of Rajas of Kishtwar. They played an important role in the administration of Kishtwar. The descendants of Kahn Pal and Jiun Pal reside in Kishtwar till date. Kahn Pal and Jiun Pal acted as advisors of the Rajas of Kishtwar. Their posts were hereditary. Their position was like residents of the British Empire in the native states⁸⁹.

During the period of the Mughal emperor Akbar, there were 2300 Rajas/zamindars in the Mughal Empire. The autonomous chiefs of the zamindars and the rajas who entered into imperial service were assigned *mansabs*. In some instances, very high *mansabs* were assigned to these rajas for military commands⁹⁰.

3.4.1 Army and the System of Warfare under the Rajas of Kishtwar:

The rajas of Kishtwar had designed their army as per the topography of the area, and made use of available sources for maintaining the army. The art of stone pelting was also a great weapon used by the army of Kishtwar. The art of throwing stones through *Gulel Andaz* was a typical and unique feature of the army of Kishtwar. The Rajas of Kishtwar never believed in the regional character of the army, i.e., the homogeneous nature of the army; rather, the army of Kishtwar was heterogeneous in character. The army of Kishtwar included soldiers from Rajouri as well as soldiers from Kashmir also. The army of Kishtwar also included *Gulel Andaz* or Sling user soldiers. The archers of the army had a great edge over the enemy during the war. They could attack and kill enemies even from a distance of more than a mile. The archer of the army of Rajas of Kishtwar didn't allow the army of Dilawar Khan to construct a bridge over the river at Bandharkot when he tried to attack Kishtwar.

The Rajas of Kishtwar were quite aware of the external dangers. They knew that the neighbouring states and the invaders could attack Kishtwar. Uttmaraja of

⁸⁹Fredric Drew, The Jammu and Kashmir Territories, 2009, p.84.

⁹⁰ S.N. Nurul Hassan, Thoughts on Agrarian Relations in Mughal Empire. p.34

Kishtwar attended the assembly of Rajas of Hill States in Kashmir, which Raja Kalasa of Kashmir convened to discuss the common danger from invaders for the hill States⁹¹. It shows that the Rajas of Kishtwar, in the interest of administration, never hesitated in discussing and finding ways and means to safeguard the boundaries of their Kingdom.

The Rajas of Kishtwar paid special attention towards the organization of their army. A number of forts were constructed at the strategic points to keep an eye on the enemy's activities to maintain the security of the borders⁹². The army of Kishtwar consisted of foot soldiers (*Payada*), archers, and cavalry. The cavalry of Kishtwar was not very strong. The Rajas of Kishtwar lacked horses of good breed because good horses were scarce, e.g., the rajas of Kishtwar had only 50 horses of good breed for his personal security⁹³. *The Gulel Andaz* soldiers of the Kishtwar army belonged to Kashmir. They were experts in using the sling and in defeating the enemy. It is known that the *Gulel Andaz* used to keep an eagle's eye on the movement of the enemies on the borders. They were so active and alert that even a bird could not cross the border. The army of Kishtwar consisted of 100 sling users. These sling users (*Gulel Andaz*) belonged to Kashmir. The security of the borders of Kishtwar was foolproof and it was not possible for the enemies to cross the areas bordering Kashmir⁹⁴.

The rajas of Kishtwar commanded the army themselves or through their kith and kin. The members of the royal family even held important posts. However, the exceptions were there when important posts were held other than the members of the royal family. Jeewan Sen and Kahn Sen did not belong to the royal family of the Rajas of Kishtwar. But they held important positions in Kishtwar as advisors.

The rajas of Kishtwar were far ahead of time in respect of organizing and strengthening their army. They encouraged the people of Kishtwar to adopt the army as their profession⁹⁵. The geographical conditions and topography of Kishtwar were significantly taken care of while designing different wings of the army, e.g., the rajas

⁹¹ S.S. Charak, A short History of Jammu Raj, Pathankot, 1985, p.61.

⁹² Narsingh Dass Nargis, Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh, 1967, 243,

⁹³ Shaikh Farid Bakari, Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin in M.A. Ansari Geographical glimpses of Medieval India, Vol. II. Delhi. 1989, p.48.

⁹⁴ Ibid. p.48.

⁹⁵ Ishrat Kashmir, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Urdu), 1973, p.8.

of Kishtwar had devised special techniques and instruments for stone pelting and using stones as war weapons. Sling users were exclusively recruited for this purpose. The Rajas of Kishtwar had evolved a special strategy to fight the enemy as per the topography of their state. Since Kishtwar was a hilly state, fighting the enemy by laying off ambush and attacking the enemy was the most suitable and fruitful technique to defeat and destroy the enemy's forces who tried to attack and invade Kishtwar⁹⁶. The army of Kishtwar used another technique suitable for the geographical location of Kishtwar. It was pelting stones from high mountains to defeat the forces of the enemy without wasting much manpower and material. The Mughal army, which had not fought battles in the hilly terrain of Kishtwar, could not withstand such local techniques to fight against the army of Kishtwar. This technique was so effective that the Mughal army had to suffer a heavy loss of soldiers and retreat back in 1606 when Kishtwar was attacked under the command of Ahmed Khan, Dilawar Khan and Mirza Mohammad Khan⁹⁷.

The sling users of Kashmir excelled over the sling users of Kishtwar, which made the Rajas of Kishtwar recruit soldiers from Kashmir for this purpose. The army of Rajas of Kishtwar also consisted of gunmen and artillery (*Topchi*). There were 700 gunmen in the army of Rajas of Kishtwar. The army of Kishtwar could be raised up to 7000-foot soldiers in times of need⁹⁸. The Rajas themselves commanded the army of Kishtwar. The rajas of Kishtwar were brave enough to lead the armies on the battlefield and had deep-rooted faith in their capacity to lead the army. They never took a chance to hand over the command of their army to anybody else except themselves or their close relations, e.g., Raja Gur Singh led his army on the battlefield against Dilawar Khan when the Mughal army attacked Kishtwar under the command of Dilawar Khan⁹⁹. Again, Raja Jagat Singh himself led the army of Kishtwar in his expedition against Bharderwah. Raja Jagat Singh attacked the Raja of Balor Basoli and took himself to the command of the army of Kishtwar but was killed during this expedition. Again, Raja

⁹⁶Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, (Urdu), Jammu, 1998. p.154.

⁹⁷Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, (Urdu), Jammu, 1998, p.154.

⁹⁸Motamid Khan Bakshi, Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri in M.A. Ansari, Geographical glimpses, Medieval India, Vol. II, Delhi, 1989. P.41.

⁹⁹Hashmat Ullah Khan, Brief, A Brief History of Kishtwar, Eng. Tr. A.R., Khan, 2016, Srinagar, p.118.

Bhagwan Singh took the command of the army in his hands against Kantak, the commander of Raja of Basoli. Raja Bhagwan Singh killed Kantak in the battle and started Kantak Yatra to commemorate this victory¹⁰⁰. It proves beyond any doubt that the Rajas of Kishtwar were brave and confident enough to provide protection and security to the people of Kishtwar by taking command of the army in their own hands against the enemy.

The Rajas of Kishtwar paid special attention towards connectivity through bridges and the rivers constructed over them because the rivers provided natural protection to Kishtwar. The rivers also acted as arteries for the purpose of trade, transport and commerce. Many routes of river transport were used during the period of rajas of Kishtwar (discussed in detail in Chapter 4). The Chander and Bhaga streams formed River Chanderbhaga i.e., Chinab, which flowed through the territory of Kishtwar. The Chanderghaga River provided natural security to Kishtwar. The rivers were very useful for the protection of Kishtwar from invaders or enemies who could not ordinarily dare to cross these rivers without the help of bridges. According to Jahangir, the rivers could not be crossed without the help of bridges¹⁰¹. According to Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, sixty-eight out of eighty soldiers drowned in the river when they tried to cross it in their attempt to attack Kishtwar.

The Rajas of Kishtwar never hesitated in seeking help from any quarter or person who could help them in winning the war against their enemies. During the period of Raja Rai Singh of Kishtwar, the Mughal army, under the command of Mirza Haider, reached Chatru and intended to attack Kishtwar. It posed a great threat for the security of Kishtwar. Raja Rai Singh became perturbed. He called a meeting of his wazirs to form a strategy to face the enemy. At such a point, an old lady known for her knowledge of witchcraft appeared before the Raja, requesting him for permission to face the enemy alone and assuring that she could defeat the enemy all alone. She laid an ambush at a narrow passage where only a single person could pass at a time. She used a spear to attack and kill the enemy soldiers whosoever passed through the passage. The army of

¹⁰⁰ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, p.76.

¹⁰¹ Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. I & II Eng. Tr. by Alexander Roger, Dehi, 1994, p.137.

the enemy was ultimately defeated. The Raja suitably awarded her¹⁰². It shows that the rajas of Kishtwar believed in laying ambush for the enemies and used spears also as a weapon of war.

Kishtwar was a hilly state with a number of rivers and was surrounded by high mountains. The people used horses and mules to transport goods and move from one place to another. They used both rivers and land routes for transport. The Rajas of Kishtwar built bridges over the rivers to transport goods and people. The Rajas designed a special kind of bridge for crossing rivers. These bridges were locally known as *Zampa*. These bridges were constructed using locally available material. The people of Kishtwar used these bridges to transport local produce and fodder. The Rajas of Kishtwar used the *Zampa* bridges for the security of the state and destroyed these bridges during the war if the enemies approached to attack Kishtwar¹⁰³. These *Zampa* bridges were under the control of the state.

3.5 Social Justice and Public welfare activities:

3.5.1 Social Justice:

The rajas of Kishtwar had a great sense of justice. They believed in the policy of delivering justice to the people. They never distinguished themselves in delivering justice to their subjects based on caste creed and religion. The rajas of Kishtwar were not known for their justice in Kishtwar only, but they were known in the neighbouring states also¹⁰⁴. Raja Maha Singh was known for his liberal and secular approach towards Hindus and Muslims alike. A number of Kashmiri families migrated to Kishtwar during the period of Raja Maha Singh due to his love for justice. He built a mosque for the Muslims for prayers and made a huge land grant for its maintenance. *Qazis* were appointed to deliver justice to the Muslims as per Islamic law¹⁰⁵. The *Qazi* decided the cases of the Muslims for managing the property of the insane, insolvent and orphans and *Auqaf* property. The *Qazi* also acted as a priest for the marriages of the Muslims

¹⁰² Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, (Persian), Srinagar, Gulshan Publisher, Srinagar, 1962. P.30.

¹⁰³ Molvi Hashmatulla, *Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir*, Jammu, 1998, p. 154.

¹⁰⁴ Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, 1967, p.263.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p.263.

and performed rituals during the marriage. The Rajas of Kishtwar never interfered in the internal affairs of the Muslims; therefore, they established institutions for justice through *Qazi* for the Muslims. The liberal approach of the Rajas of Kishtwar towards the Muslims led to the spread of Islam in Kishtwar¹⁰⁶.

3.5.2 Public Welfare Activities:

The Rajas of Kishtwar believed in the welfare of the people. They undertook a number of activities for the welfare of the people. They were very much concerned about the welfare of the people and could not tolerate the suffering of their subjects. The Rajas of Kishtwar distributed food and money on special occasions to the poor and needy people. Raja Kahan Pal distributed money to the people¹⁰⁷.

Similarly, Raja Parthu Dev had great sympathy, love and affection for his people. He treated the people like his own children. He was very much concerned about the welfare of his subjects and could not tolerate their sorrowful sufferings. Once upon a time, a demon appeared in Kishtwar and killed a number of people and made great havoc in some areas of Kishtwar. On hearing about the incident, the Raja took the matter into his own hands and took the services of a learned Brahmin, got the demon killed, and freed the people from the cruel hands of the Demon¹⁰⁸. The Rajas and even the members of the royal family took a keen interest in the welfare of the people. Shanker Dei, the daughter of Raja Bahadur Singh, dug a canal from the *Goganbaran* stream to the town. She also constructed a missionary water tank called *Darang-Bajai*. She also dug a watercourse from Kali Nag to village *Zewar*¹⁰⁹. According to D.C. Sharma, Shanker Dei got the public welfare works executed from her own resources. She is known for her public welfare works. The watercourse from

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.p.263-66

¹⁰⁷ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, p.39.

¹⁰⁸ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.28.

¹⁰⁹ Hutchison & Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II, Lahore, 2021, p. 649.

Lahli to Dranhwaji is called *Shanker Majian Kol*, i.e. Mother Shanker Dei's waterway¹¹⁰.

Raja Gur Singh also believed in the policy of the welfare of his subjects. He also believed in sharing his joyful events with the people. He distributed one lac rupees to the poor and needy after the Mughal emperor Jahangir released him. He also distributed cattle and clothes to the poor¹¹¹. Raja Maha Singh is also known for his sentiments and affection towards his subjects. Raja Maha Singh is known to have donated money even to beggars. He once offered an amount of one lac rupees to a beggar in the donation¹¹². The story of his charity and love for his people is told at length. During his reign, Kishtwar faced a spell of drought and famine due to the failure of rains. The people suffered a lot and faced starvation and suffering. Raja Maha Singh was greatly shocked to see the condition of the people. He himself moved barefoot to the Neelkanth temple and sang self-composed verses in favour of the god Neelkanth. He worshipped in the temple and prayed to the god to free his people from the calamity. The god accepted his prayers. Kishtwar experienced rain and the dry spell in Kishtwar was over. Prosperity ran back to Kishtwar due to the love, sincere efforts and sense of welfare in the mind of Raja Maha Singh for his subjects¹¹³.

Conclusion:

Rajas of Kishtwar enjoyed the patronage of their subjects. The people of Kishtwar were very loyal to the Rajas of Kishtwar. The study of the history of Kishtwar during the medieval period reveals that the Rajas of Kishtwar was greatly honoured by the people of Kishtwar and were kept in very high esteem. It has been found in the History of Kishtwar that on special occasions, the Rajas of Kishtwar was honoured even by the common people. Raja Narayan Singh of Kishtwar made a successful campaign in the Saraj area and subdued it. The people of Kishtwar presented him with a '*golden Orange*' on his return back from the successful campaign. The Rajas of Kishtwar

¹¹⁰ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, p.66.

¹¹¹ Molvi Hashmatullah, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, (Urdu), Jammu, 1998, p.161.

¹¹² Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.38.

¹¹³ Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, (Urdu), Jammu, 1998, p.164.

commanded respect to such an extent that on special festivals, they were presented gifts by the common people¹¹⁴.

The people of Kishtwar did not accept foreign rule even when their rajas were defeated and made captive by the invaders. They revolted against the invaders till their rajas were restored back to their throne e. g., Mughal emperor Jahangir defeated Raja Gur Singh of Kishtwar and made him captive. The people of Kishtwar rose in rebellion and continued disturbances in Kishtwar till Gur Singh was released honourably by Jahangir. The people of Kishtwar had great regard for their rajas but they did not honour them if they changed their religion e.g., When Raja Kirat Singh embraced Islam people initially objected to it, but when he reached Kishtwar many people followed his example and embraced Islam. It shows the loyalty and sincerity of the people of Kishtwar towards their rajas.

The succession ship in Kishtwar was hereditary. Generally, the eldest son succeeded to the throne of the deceased king in Kishtwar, but in some cases, the brothers of the deceased rajas also succeeded to the throne; for example, Raja Jagat Singh was succeeded by his brother Bhagwan Singh. Successions sometimes involved intrigues in the state of Kishtwar.

The Mughal emperors also contributed towards social reforms in the administration of Kishtwar. The Mughal emperor Jahangir prohibited the practice of dying of women with their dead husbands. He also put a ban on inter-religious marriages among Hindus and Muslims¹¹⁵. The Rajas of Kishtwar had a great sense of justice for people of different faiths. Raja Maha Singh appointed Qazi to deliver justice to the Muslims and made grants to maintain these mosques. The rajas of Kishtwar were secular in character and never hesitated to recruit soldiers from the people of the faith other than their own. They recruited soldiers from Poonch and Rajouri. *Gulel Andaz* was recruited from Kashmir. *Gulel Andaz* and sling users were the special features of the army of Kishtwar. The Rajas of Kishtwar paid special attention to the safety and security of their people. They constructed *Jhula* Bridges over the rivers. The rajas of Kishtwar also protected the crop of saffron through the army because it was a major

¹¹⁴ Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarik-i-Kishtwar*, (Urdu), 1973, p.39

¹¹⁵ G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, Srinagar, 2007, p.150.

source of their income. During the period of some rajas of Kishtwar, art and literature flourished. Witchcraft was prevalent in Kishtwar and had spread deeply in some areas of Kishtwar. It affected the life of the people and the administration as well. The rajas of Kishtwar had sought exemption from the witches for the state employees.

CHAPTER- 4

RELATIONS OF KISHTWAR WITH THE MUGHALS AND THE NEIGHBOURING STATES

4.1 Introduction:

During the ancient period, Kishtwar was a power to be reckon with. The raja of Kishtwar, Oudat Dev, is referred to in *Kalahana's Rajatarangini*. He had attended an important assembly of rajas of the time in Kashmir. This assembly was held under the chairmanship of raja Kalsa of Kashmir in 1087-88 A.D. in Srinagar, Kashmir¹. This assembly was attended by eight important rajas of the Hill States of the time, *Babbapura (Babore)*, *Champa (Chamba)*, *Vallapura (Billawar)*, *Rajpuri (Rajouri)*, *Lohara (West of Kashmir)*, *Urusha (Uri)*, *Kanda (Kangara)* and *Kashtavata (Kishtwar)*². During the medieval period, Kishtwar had a number of neighbouring states like *Jammu*, *Chamba*, *Bhaderwaha*, *Basoli*, *Nurpur*, *Kashmir* etc. The state of Kishtwar comprised of *Kishtwar proper*, *Nagsun*, *Sarthali or Shastli*, *Surur*, *Bhonjwah*, *Dachin and Maru*, *Udil*, *Kontwara*, *Doda*, and *Banihal* divisions³.

Several factors played a vital role in the relations of Kishtwar with the neighbouring states and Kashmir. These factors also influenced the relations of Kishtwar with the Mughal emperors of Delhi. The geographical location of Kishtwar, boundaries and production also played a role in its relations with the neighbouring states. The routes connecting Kishtwar to neighbouring states were also responsible for the relations of Kishtwar with the Mughals. Sometimes social, economic and religious factors also contributed to the relations of Kishtwar with the neighbouring states and the Mughal emperors, which varied from time to time for several reasons.

¹ Sukhdev Singh Charak, A Short History of Jammu Raj, 1985, p.61.

² M.L., Kapoor, Kingdom of Kashmir, 1983, p.84.

³ Hutchison and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. ii, 2021, p.638.

4.2 Relations with the Mughals:

The relations of Kishtwar with the Mughals date back to the period of the Mughal emperor Akbar. Akbar led an expedition against Kashmir in 1586. At that time, Yaqub Shah was the sultan of Kashmir⁴. The army of Kashmir under Sultan Yaqub Shah offered stiff resistance to the Mughal army but could not achieve success. Yaqub Shah was defeated. The experienced commanders commanded the Mughal army. Eventually, the sultan Yaqub Shah of Kashmir had to accept the sovereignty of the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1586⁵. Mohammed Quli was appointed the governor of Kashmir in 1604⁶.

Many Kashmiri chiefs and rebels took shelter in Kishtwar as usual because it was a practice among the chiefs and rebels of Kashmir to seek shelter in Kishtwar. These rebellious chiefs and the people of Kashmir who sought refuge in Kishtwar continued anti-Kashmir activities because they wanted to regain their lost power in Kashmir⁷.

Akbar ascended the throne in 1556. He wanted to rule over India by conquering and annexing the small and tiny states. He had a strong desire to conquer and annex Kashmir. He adopted a diplomatic and farsighted approach to the annexation of Kashmir. He sowed the seeds of discord among the claimants to the throne of Kashmir against Ali Shah, the sultan of Kashmir. The emperor Akbar also granted political asylum to the rivals of Ali Shah Chak and incited them to revolt against Ali Shah. He sent an embassy to Ali Shah under Qazi Saddar-ud-din. Ali Shah received the embassy with honour and agreed to a matrimonial alliance with Akbar by sending his niece to prince Jahangir to show his obeisance to the Mughal emperor Akbar. He got the *khutba* read in the name of Mughal Emperor Akbar⁸. After the death of Ali Shah, Mughal emperor Akbar played a role in the politics of Kashmir to gain power in Kashmir. Akbar succeeded in his attempt to create a rift among the nobles of Kashmir against Yousaf

⁴ F.M. Hassnain, History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar, Vol. II, 1998, pp.97-98.

⁵ Abul Fazal, Akbar Nama, vol. III p.

⁶ F.M. Hassnain, History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar, Vol. II., 1998, p.98

⁷ P.K. Koul, Himalayan principalities in Jammu, Kangra, Bhaderwah, p.28

⁸ G.M.D. Sufi, Islamic Culture in Kashmir, 1930, p.134.

Shah, the sultan of Kashmir. The defeat and disposition of Yousaf Shah led to the end of the sultanate of Kashmir. Yaqub Khan, the last ruler of the Sultanate of Kashmir, fled and took shelter in Kishtwar. Mohd Quli Khan despatched a strong force against the raja of Kishtwar on the order of Mughal emperor Akbar. Finding it difficult to defeat the Mughal army, the raja of Kishtwar accepted the sovereignty of Mughal Emperor Akbar with the following conditions:

- He shall remain faithful to the Mughal emperor Akbar,
- He shall send hostages to the Mughal court as surety,
- He shall pay annual tribute to the Mughal Emperor
- He shall not grant refuge to the Chaks and other compatriots

With this, Kishtwar became a tributary state of the Mughal empire under Akbar.⁹ After the establishment of Mughal rule in Kashmir, there was a significant change in the relations between the governors of Kashmir and the rajas of Kishtwar. The Mughal emperor strictly instructed the governors of Kashmir not to allow anti-Mughal activities from Kishtwar. It was further ordered that Kishtwar should not become a base for rebels and fugitives because Kishtwar was a safe sanctuary for the anti-Kashmir elements. Akbar had also analysed all these factors earlier. This was the reason for his plan to conquer Kishtwar for the safety of Mughal rule in Kashmir.

Akbar despatched an army under the command of Mirza Shah Rukh, Raja Bhagwan Dass and Shah Quli Muva. The army of Kashmir offered tough resistance to the Mughal army but was defeated. The ruler of Kashmir accepted the sovereignty of the Mughal emperor in 1586¹⁰. In 1604 Mohammed Quli, was appointed the governor of Kashmir. The Kashmiris fled to Kishtwar and took shelter there. They made Kishtwar their base for activities against Kashmir to regain their lost power¹¹.

The relations between the sultans of Kashmir and the rajas of Kishtwar changed with the establishment of Mughal rule in Kashmir. The Mughals ruled Kashmir after

⁹ Ibid. p.98.

¹⁰ Abul Fazal, Akbar Nama, Vol. III. ,p- 762

¹¹ P.K. Koul, Himalayan Principalities in Jammu, Kangra, Bhaderwah, Jammu, p.28.

appointing governors in Kashmir in 1586. The Mughal rulers viewed the Kishtwar state as a threat to Mughal power in Kashmir because Kishtwar was a place of refuge for the rebels of Kashmir. These rebels indulged in anti-Mughal activities. The Mughal governors in Kashmir were directed to keep a close eye on the anti-Mughal activities in Kishtwar and not to allow such activities at any cost. These were the reasons for continuous conflicts between the governors of Kashmir and the rajas of Kishtwar. The relations between Mughal governors and the rajas of Kishtwar became strained during the period of Mughal emperor Jahangir. Jahangir ordered the governor of Kashmir to conquest Kishtwar in 1606 because he wanted to suppress the Kashmiri rebels on the one hand and wanted to punish the chak rebels on the other hand who had fled from Kashmir to Kishtwar. These rebels were tirelessly indulging in anti-Kashmir activities, which severely threatened Mughal rule in Kashmir¹².

Mughal emperor Jahangir ordered the governor of Kashmir to conquer Kishtwar in 1606. Raja Pratap Singh (also known as Bhup Singh) was the raja of Kishtwar at that time¹³. It was a direct outcome of strained relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughals emperors. The granting of refuge to the enemies of the Mughal emperors was one of the reasons. Secondly, Kishtwar was the base for the Kashmiri rebels for their anti-Mughal activities. The Mughal emperor Jahangir ordered the governor of Kashmir to attack, conquer and annex Kishtwar to the Mughal empire¹⁴.

The army from Kashmir was sent by the Mughal governor Mirza Ali Akbar. The army's command was entrusted to Mirza Haider Koka and Mirza Mohammad Khan Mughal. The army was sent through Marble Pass. But there is a difference of opinion regarding the commanders of the troops. According to Hashtmatulla, Jahangir had sent an army against Kishtwar under the command of Ahmed Khan, Dilawar Khan and Mirza Mohammad Khan¹⁵.

The Mughal army reached a place named Singhpur after crossing the Marbal Pass. The army of the raja of Kishtwar puts a stiff resistance. A fierce battle was fought

¹²Hutchison and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II, Lahore, 1933, p.649.

¹³ Ibid. p.649

¹⁴Hutchison and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II, Lahore, 1933, p.649.

¹⁵Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, (Urdu) Srinagar, 1992.p.154.

between the Mughal army and the army of the Raja of Kishtwar. In this battle, the raja of Kishtwar was fully supported by Aiba Chak, the brother of Yaqub Shah. The Mughal army faced a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Raja of Kishtwar. The mughal army suffered a heavy loss, with the loss of its experienced commanders and soldiers. There was a narrow pass at the place of battle. The forces of the Kishtwar army seized the Mughal forces. Several Mughal soldiers were killed due to the narrow passage at the pass. The Kishtwar army used stone pelting tactics, a common war tactic among the rajas of Kishtwar. The stone-pelting tactics of war led to a significant loss to the Mughal army, which almost perished in this battle, excepting a few soldiers. Mirza Haider Koka, a Mughal commander, fled to Kashmir after being defeated in the war¹⁶. This battle was fought at Raj Mandal, presently known as Chatru. The Mughal army lost many soldiers in this war. It was the second defeat of Mughal forces at the hands of the raja of Kishtwar. Thus, this expedition of Mughal emperor Jahangir proved futile and ended in a complete failure. The Mughal soldiers who were killed in large numbers in this war were buried at a place known as *Mughal Mazar*, presently known as *Mughal Maidan* (*Mughal Maidan* is a place located at a distance of one march from Kishtwar towards Kashmir. Fig. 4.1 shows the old location of Mughal Mazar or Mughal Maidan and Fig. 4.2 shows the present view of Mughal Mazar or Mughal Maidan. The place was also known as Mughal Mazar because it was a graveyard of the Mughal soldiers who lost their lives in the battle in Mughal Maidan.) As per the opinion of the local historian, 200 Mughal soldiers lost their lives¹⁷. After it, Kishtwar was not attacked for a long time. The Raja of Kishtwar got a lease of peace for a long time. He (Bhup Singh) ruled Kishtwar peacefully and independently till his death.

¹⁶ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar* (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.32.

¹⁷ Frederic Drew, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, 2009, p.119.



Fig. 4.1: Shows an old picture of Mughal Mazar: The burial place of Mughal soldiers at Mughal Maidan. (*Source: History and Culture of Kishtwar by D.C. Sharma*)



Fig. 4.2: Present view of Mughal Mazar /Mughal Maidan presently a tourist park (During a visit to the Mughal Mazar, in Mughal Maidan, presently a tehsil of District Kishtwar *Source: Clicked by scholar*)

Presently Mughal Maidan is a place located on the route from Kishtwar to Kashmir at a distance of almost 22 km. from Kishtwar towards Chartoo. As per the revenue record, the area of the graveyard, Mughal *Mazar*, is 16 canals. The highway from Kishtwar to Kashmir almost bisects the Mughal Mazar area. Presently some portion of Mughal Mazar, a park, has been developed with a small fish form and a tourist place. At present, the traces of the graves have not been found on the spot. Fig. 4.1., shows an old picture Mughal Mazar i.e., the burial place of the Mughals in Mughal Maidan. Fig. 4.2. Shows the view of Mughal Mazar in Mughal Maidan which is presently a recreation park for tourists. There is a Mazar of a Faquir named Abdul Shah Mughal (*Ishq-i-Mazazi i.e., believing in Khuda*) in the Mughal *Madain*. As per the version of the local people, the Sufi saint visited this place during the later medieval period. The people visit this Mazar on special days to pay their homage. The scholar collected this information during her visit to Kishtwar in April, 2022¹⁸.

Mirza Mohammad Khan, the commander of the Mughal army, was defeated and killed along with other soldiers of the Mughal army. The widow of Mirza Mohammad Khan was deeply shocked by the death of her husband. She vowed to take revenge for her husband's death. She pleaded with emperor Jahangir to help her to conquer Kishtwar and take revenge for her husband's death. She was supported by a huge force of 10,000 soldiers. Jahangir also send *Z-ul-Qadr* and Dilawar Khan to invade Kishtwar¹⁹.

The widow of Mirza Mohammad Khan is known as Mughalani in Kishtwar records. She reached with a strong army at Bandarkot *via Singhpur*. After hearing about the Mughal army attack under the command of Mughlani, the raja of Kishtwar became alert. The people of Kishtwar blocked the march of the Mughal army by destroying the *Zhula* bridge i.e., the swing bridge. The *Zhula* bridge was the sole source of crossing the river Chanderbhaga. The Mughal army was compelled to stay on a plain presently known as *Brinj Bagh*. Mughalani constructed a fort at *Brinj Bagh*. Trees were planted, and a garden was also laid at the site. A tank was also dug out on the spot. According

¹⁸ Personal Visit to Kishtwar, April, 2022.

¹⁹ Hutchinson and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II, Delhi 2005. P.649.

to regional oral sources, the Mughal army had to stay here for fourteen years. These oral sources are supported by Hutchison & Vogel (History of the Panjab Hill States)²⁰ and S.S. Charak (History and Culture of Himalayan States, VI, Jammu Kingdom, Part 3)²¹. But this view of fourteen years of stay of the Mughal army at Bandharkot is contradicted by the other set of historians. According to Ishrat Kashmiri (*Tarik -I -Kishtwar*, Urdu)²², *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Eng. tr. by A. Rogers, Vol. II)²³ and Hashmatulla (*Mukhtsar Tarikh Jammu wa Kashmir*, Urdu)²⁴. These historians have their opinions that the Mughal army stayed in Kishtwar for four months and ten days. But the theory of fourteen years stay of the Mughal army cannot be easily accepted because such a long stay of the army at a particular place can neither be maintained nor can it attain any success after being inactive for such a prolonged period.

Hashmatulla refers about the traces of the fort at *Mughalani kot*. During her period of stay at Mughalani kot, the Mughal army succeeded in bribing the people of villages of Puchal, Pahi and Holu and getting their support. The people of these villages helped Mughalani for constructing a *Zhula* bridge. The Mughal army crossed the Chander Baga River at night and reached Chogan of Kishtwar. A battle took place between the Mughal army and the army of Kishtwar under Raja Pratap Singh. The Mughal army defeated the raja of Kishtwar. The raja of Kishtwar fled to Badherwah along with his family and took shelter with the raja of Bahaderwah. Raja Bask was the ruler of Bhaderwah and a friend of Raja Pratap Singh. Mughalani laid siege of Kishtwar and encamped his army near Chogan of Kishtwar. She made a great slaughter in Kishtwar and made destruction on a large scale for three months. She constructed a fort and a garden in Kishtwar, which is famous as *Garhbagh*. The people of Kishtwar requested Mughalani to pardon them. She told them that she had vowed to throw even the dust of Kishtwar in the river and was compelled to make the people of Kishtwar to suffer. She asked them to free her of her vow if they wanted peace. Ultimately a tank

²⁰ Hutchison and Vogel, History of the Panjab Hill States ,2021, p.649.

²¹ S.S. Charak, History and Culture of Himalayan States, Vol. VI, Jammu Kingdom Part 3, Constituent States, 1988, p.294.

²² Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Urdu), 1973, p.51.

²³ Jahangir, Tuzik-i-Jahangiri, 1994, p.137.

²⁴ Moulvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtsar Tarikh-i- Jammu Wa Kashmir, 1998, p.155.

was dug near the chaughan, and its earth was thrown into the Chanderbhaga. The people of Kishtwar heaved a sigh of relief, and the Mughalani was relieved from her vow²⁵.

The Mughalani left some portion of her army in the fort of Kishtwar and left for Kashmir with the rest of the army. On finding the circumstances in his favour, Raja Pratap Singh returned to Kishtwar with his family. With the help of Raja Bask of Bhaderwah, he reoccupied the throne of Kishtwar.

Raja Partap Singh died in 1610 A.D. Gur Singh succeeded to the throne of Kishtwar after the death of his father, Raja Partap Singh. In *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Jahangir mentions Gur Singh with the name of Raja Kunwar Singh. After the recapture of the throne by raja Pratap Singh, the predecessor of Gur Singh, the Mughal emperor and the governor of Kashmir became very annoyed. They were in search of some suitable opportunity to conquer Kishtwar and to teach the raja of Kishtwar a lesson. It was important because the fugitive from Kashmir under Gohar Chak and Aiba Chak were creating troubles for the governors of Kashmir and were posing a regular threat to the Mughal authority in Kashmir.

Raja Sangram Singh of Jammu enjoyed very good relations with the Mughal emperor Jahangir and was favoured with royal favours. He was given *Khilats* and other honours. He was granted the *Mansab* of 1000 and 500 *Sawars*. With such royal favours Raja, Sangram Singh succeeded in suppressing his enemies and fortifying his boundaries. Emperor Jahangir ordered raja Sangram Singh to assist the imperial army in the expedition against the raja of Kishtwar Gur Singh. Raja Sangram Singh was directed to imprison Raja Gur Singh of Kishtwar and to present Gur Singh before the Mughal emperor Jahangir. Raja Sangram Singh obeyed the royal *Farman*. He was awarded with the *Mansab* of 1500 *Jat* and 1000 *Sawars*²⁶.

Dilawar Khan, the governor of Kashmir, was ordered to invade Kishtwar with a strong force by emperor Jahangir. As per the royal order, if Dilawar Khan failed in his expedition against the raja of Kishtwar. He would lose his royal title along with his

²⁵Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtsar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, (Urdu), Jammu, 1992, p.156.

²⁶ Ganesh Dass Badhera, Rajdarshini, Eng. Tr. S.D.S Charak, Jammu, 1991,p.150 .

governorship. Dilawar Khan was warned of severe punishment if he failed to subdue raja Gur Singh of Kishtwar. Dilawar Khan took the *Farman* of the emperor seriously. He was quite perturbed and at once started preparations for the conquest of Kishtwar²⁷.

Dilawar Khan proceeded with a strong force of 10000 horses and foot soldiers to conquer Kishtwar. He left his son Hasan and Ali Mir Bahar to guard Srinagar. Dilawar Khan left a force at Desu under the command of Hibat to monitor and control the activities of Gohar Chak and Aiba Chak, who were claiming their rights as rulers of Kashmir. Dilawar Khan after dividing his forces, proceeded further towards Kishtwar²⁸. The Mughal army reached up to the Maru River at a place known as Narqat near Chatru. Aiba Chak was waiting with his forces to support the army of Raja Gur Singh against the Mughal army. Aiba Chak and his soldiers were killed while fighting against the Mughal army under the command of Jalal and Jamal. On hearing the sad news of the death of Aiba Chak, the raja of Kishtwar was very discouraged. He lost hope of facing the enemy and preferred to retreat from the battlefield. He crossed the Maru River bridge and encamped at Bandarkot. Some soldiers of the Mughal army crossed the river and fought against the army of the Raja of Kishtwar. Many soldiers of the Mughal army lost their lives.

The army of Kishtwar was repulsed and crossed the bridge at Bandarkot. An indecisive battle between the Mughal army and the Raja of Kishtwar was fought, but neither side could get any edge in the struggle even after twenty days. Raja Gur Singh sent a diplomatic message of peace to Dilawar Khan²⁹. The raja of Kishtwar sent a proposal of peace to Dilawar Khan. According to this proposal, he conveyed that Kishtwar was a petty state with meagre sources of income in comparison to the Mughal empire. He further wrote that if the purpose of this expedition was to collect tribute, he was ready to pay it because it could be paid from the income of saffron. Raja Gur Singh further said that he would himself visit the emperor to pay his respect. The raja of Kishtwar further said that, if the purpose was to conquer Kishtwar then the Mughals must learn a lesson from the past when they had suffered a great loss during their earlier

²⁷ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.24.

²⁸ Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Delhi, 1904, p.135

²⁹ Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Delhi, 1994, pp.135-36.

wars. Raja Gur Singh further warned that Dilawar Khan must show clemency for his soldiers who were sure to lose their lives if they fought against Kishtwar. Dilawar Khan was very intelligent person and a farsighted personality. He foresaw the deceitful design and diplomacy of Raja Gur Singh. He did not show any interest in this proposal. He, rather on receiving this message became annoyed and proceeded for attack on Kishtwar³⁰. Dilawar Khan tried to cross the river, in this attempt many of his soldiers lost their lives. The army of Kishtwar raja destroyed the Maru bridge and returned back. The Mughal army had to reconstruct the damaged bridge. After the reconstruction of the bridge Mughal army crossed the Maru River and reached Bandarkot. The Mughal army had to encamp at Bandarkot before they could get help from the local Zamindar who guided them to construct the bridge at some unknown place in the night. He made a *Zampa* bridge³¹. Jalal Khan succeeded in crossing the bridge during the night with 200 soldiers. He defeated the army of Kishtwar in a sudden and abrupt attack during the night. Many of the soldiers of Raja of Kishtwar were put to the sword and some of them succeeded in escaping the battlefield with their lives. During this sudden attack, the raja of Kishtwar could not retaliate and was made captive by Jalal Khan, the son of Dilawar Khan³²

After the defeat, the Kishtwar town was plundered with a great loss of lives of inhabitants and the army of Raja Gur Singh. Raja Gur Singh was moved to Kashmir to be produced before the emperor Jahangir as per his orders. The raja of Kishtwar as per *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* paid homage to the emperor. Dilawar Khan was awarded by the emperor for his successful expedition with revenue of one year. Dilawar Khan produced the raja of Kishtwar before the Mughal emperor Jahangir in chains. The raja of Kishtwar was produced before the emperor in a pitiable condition. Emperor Jahangir was greatly impressed by the personality of Raja Gur Singh. He praises the raja for his appearance and his royal dress. Emperor Jahangir distinguishes him from other chiefs and rajas of time. Jahangir mentions that the raja could speak Hindi and Kashmiri languages. Jahangir told the raja that if he agreed with the conditions of the emperor, he could be

³⁰Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtasar Tarik-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, (Urdu) Jammu, 1992. P.158

³¹ Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Delhi, 1994, 137.

³² Ibid. p.p.137-38

released honourably otherwise he would be imprisoned in one of the forts of Hindustan. Jahangir asked if the raja produced his sons to the Mughal court and if the raja could be allowed to rule his lost kingdom with honour under the Mughal sovereignty. Raja of Kishtwar as per *Tuzuk-I-Jahangiri* promised that his family and sons along with the people of Kishtwar would pay homage to the emperor³³.

Nasrullah Arab was made the commander of Kishtwar with full power to administer Kishtwar. Some *Mansabdars* were appointed to guard Kishtwar, but Nasrullah Arabs could not rule Kishtwar efficiently. He made two mistakes i.e., he dealt with the Zamindars of Kishtwar very harshly and allowed many of his officers and soldiers to go on leave for their personal interest. They raised a standard of revolt against the Mughal rule in Kishtwar³⁴. Bridges were burnt the Mughal camp was surrounded and plundered. Nasrullah Arab himself was killed during this rebellion. The news of this revolt reached emperor Jahangir through Iradat Khan, the governor of Kashmir. Zawal Khan was appointed to suppress the revolt because earlier he had achieved success against Kishtwar. He was despatched with a strong army including a number of Zamindars. Raja Sangram Dev the Zamindar of Jammu was ordered to join with Zawal. Ultimately the rebellion was suppressed with great difficulty because Gur Singh enjoyed very high prestige among the people of Kishtwar. This was the reason for their rebellion against the Mughal emperor Jahangir. Under such circumstances, Jahangir was compelled to release Gur Singh from prison and was allowed to return back to Kishtwar honourably after signing an accord with Jahangir with certain conditions. Jahangir also honoured Gur Singh with a horse and a dress of honour with a title of Raja. Raja Gur Singh was designated with the title of Kunwar Singh³⁵. Thus, Kishtwar became a tributary state under the Mughals.

The cordial relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughal emperor Shahjahan continued. Kunwar Singh (Kunwar Sen as mentioned in Shahjahan Nama), the raja of Kishtwar received Mansab of 1000 Jat and 200 Sawars³⁶. Raja Kunwar Sen

³³ Jahangir. *Tuzuk -i-Jahangiri* Delhi, 1994. p.139-140.

³⁴ Ibid. p.138.

³⁵ Hutchison & Vogel, *History of Punjab Hill States*, Vol. II., Lahore, 1993, p.651.

³⁶ Devi Prasad, Munshi, *Shahjahan Nama*, Delhi, 1975, p.50

was a tributary of the Mughal Empire. He was honoured with a Khilat and a horse by Mughal emperor Shahjahan on sept 14,1640 when the emperor was proceeding from Kashmir towards Lahore³⁷. The *Manasab* of Raja Kunwar Sen was further enhanced to 400 *Sawars* by the Mughal emperors due to loyalty shown by the Raja of Kishtwar towards the Mughal emperor³⁸. The rajas of Kishtwar had matrimonial relations with the Mughals. The daughter of raja Kunwar Sen of Kishtwar had been married to Buland Akhter, the son of Shah Sujja³⁹.

After the death of raja Gur Singh his elder son Jagat Singh succeeded him to the throne of Kishtwar. Bhagwan Singh, the second son of Raja Kunwar Singh remained hostage in Mughal Court. Bhagwan Singh enjoyed good relations with the Mughal emperor Shahjahan and also accompanied Shahjahan during his Deccan campaigns. Raja Jagat Singh was killed in a battle with raja Bhupat Singh of Billawar Basohli⁴⁰. At the time of the death of Raja Jagat Singh, his brother Bhagwan Singh was in the Mughal court and was having good relations with the Mughal emperor. He had proved his worth during the Deccan Campaigns of Shahjahan and had been honoured by the Mughal emperor. On returning back to Kishtwar, Bhagwan Singh, sent Gias-ud-din as hostage to the Mughal court. *Gias-ud-Din* was accepted as a hostage by the Mughal emperor Shahjahan.

Bhagwan Singh sought the help of the Mughal emperor Shahjahan. Shahjahan dispatched a strong force of 10,000 soldiers from Kashmir to help Bhagwan Singh for taking revenge and recover the lost throne of Kishtwar. The Mughal forces marched through Marbal pass for the support of Bhagwan Singh against Raja Bhupat Pal of Balor Basoli. The raja of Basoli had established his rule in Kishtwar which was being ruled by his wazir *Kantak*, the commander of the raja of Balor Basholi. In a fierce battle that was fought between *Kantak* and Bhagwan Singh, *Kantak* was defeated and killed in the battle. He was beheaded and his head was used as a football in the chaughan of Kishtwar. Raja Bhagwan Singh celebrated his victory and held a great festival in the

³⁷Ibid, p.162

³⁸Ibid, p.310.

³⁹ Ibid, p.192

⁴⁰ S.D.S. Charak, History and Culture of Himalayan States, Vol. VI, Pathankot, 1988, 296.

chogan of Kishtwar with the name of *Kantak Mela Yatra*. Raja Bhagwan Singh announced that every year on this day a festival with the name of *Kantak Yatra* would be held to commemorate this victory. Raja Bhagwan Singh in recognition of the services of the Mughal forces dispatched the governor of Kashmir with presents and *Khillats* and showed gratitude to the governor of Kashmir⁴¹.

Jeewan Sen and Kahan Sen, two brothers, were sent to assist Bhagwan Singh in the administration of Kishtwar⁴². The Position of Jiun Pal and Kahn Pal was like that of residents of the British government during the British rule in native states. It was also meant to check the activities of the Raja of Kishtwar and keep an eye on the political developments in Kishtwar. These two brothers belonged to the Khatri caste from Delhi. Their post became hereditary. The descendants of these brothers still reside in Kishtwar. These families acted as advisors to the rulers of Kishtwar. It is a unique feature in the administration of Kishtwar such type of feature has not been found anywhere in the ruling system among the rajas of Kishtwar. These two brothers were appointed to the most important positions in Kishtwar. They were appointed on the post of Khwaja in Kishtwar. Khawaja was a very important post during this period. The descendants of the Khwaja family still reside in Kishtwar⁴³. The wazirs of Kishtwar are the descendants of Jeewen Sen and Kahan Sen who had held very important positions in revenue and civil administration during the period of Raja Bhagwan Singh and his successors⁴⁴.

The Mughal emperor of Delhi ruled Kashmir through its governors. The confrontation of power between Mughal emperors in Delhi and Raja of Kishtwar was not direct but through the governors of Kashmir. But the rajas of Kishtwar were no match for the mighty Mughal power in Delhi. They were defeated by the governors of Kashmir, which was ruled by the Mughals.

The power of Raja Bhagwan Singh was greatly increased with the support of the Mughal emperor Shahjahan. The strengthened relations with the Mughals proved

⁴¹ Pt Shivji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.p. 36-37.

⁴² Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, 1967. P.263.

⁴³ Fredric Drew, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, Delhi, 2009, p.84.

⁴⁴ Wali Mohammad Aseer Kishtwari, p.980.

very helpful for Bhagawan Singh for consolidating his power in Kishtwar and invading the neighbouring states like Ramban, Kashtigarh, Kanthi, Pogal, Paristhan and Banihal. In these expeditions, Jeewan Sen and Kahan Sen, the officers appointed by the Mughal emperor helped Bhagwan Singh in making Kishtwar a great power⁴⁵.

Maha Singh succeeded the throne of Kishtwar after the death of Raja Bhagwan Singh. He is also known as Mahajan. He was a generous and farsighted ruler and tried to keep the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb in good humour but relations between the Mughal emperor and raja Maha Singh became strained when Aurangzeb ordered Giyas-ud-din, the Vakil of Kishtwar for personal appearance of raja Maha Singh of Kishtwar in the Mughal court. On the failure of Giyas-ud-din to comply of the order of the emperor, Giyas-ud-din the hostage of the raja of Kishtwar was imprisoned for his failure to produce the raja of Kishtwar before the emperor⁴⁶. Maha Singh had two brothers namely Abhay Singh and Odhar Singh. Abhay Singh due to his differences with Raja, Maha Singh, left for Delhi and sought shelter with Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. He embraced Islam with the title of Islam Yar Khan. He also called his brother Odhar Singh to Delhi. Abay Singh and Odhar Singh made complaints against Maha Singh to the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. Their complaints formed the base for Aurangzeb's annoyance against Maha Singh, the raja of Kishtwar. It made Aurangzeb to order for the appearance of Maha Singh in the Mughal court. But due to intelligence and diplomatic behaviour, Maha Singh succeeded in escaping the anger of Aurangzeb⁴⁷.

The task of producing Raja Maha Singh in the Mughal court was assigned to Abdul Qasim, the son of Giyasud din. Abdul Qasim, in compliance of the royal orders, proceeded to Kishtwar. Raja Maha Singh acted diplomatically as he knew it was very important to keep emperor Aurangzeb in good humour and he could not afford to wage enmity of the mighty Mughal emperor. He preferred to send his elder son Jai Singh to

⁴⁵ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, p.77.

⁴⁶ Hutchison Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II., Lahore, 1993, p. 653.

⁴⁷ G.M. Israt, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Urdu), Jammu, 1973, p. 59.

the Mughal court. At the same time, he adopted the policy of appeasement towards the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb⁴⁸.

Maha Singh allowed the construction of a mosque and called the Mullas from Kashmir. During his period Mullah Bahdur and Mullah Husain, the sons of Mullah Mehmood Kashmiri came to Kishtwar from Kashmir. During this period first Mosque was constructed in the town of Kishtwar which was known as masjid Khwaja Gharib. A land grant for the maintenance of the mosque was made. For the maintenance of Masjid, 180 kharwars were given along with 12 annas for livelihood per day⁴⁹. A number of civil appointments were made to the Muslims. Through all these policies Raja Maha Singh succeeded in reviving peaceful relations with the Mughal emperor. Jai Singh reached the Mughal court and succeeded in pacifying the wrath of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. Jai Singh was introduced to the Mughal emperor. He was permitted to return back after some time with due honour by Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. On his return from Mughal, court Jai Singh was given great honour by Raja Maha Singh and the people of Kishtwar⁵⁰.

Giyas-ud-din was released from imprisonment and restored back to his position as Vakil in the Mughal court. He served as Vakil in the Mughal court till his death. Muhat Khan was appointed in place of Giyas-ud-din after the death of Giyas-ud-din⁵¹. Raja Maha Singh ruled for a short period. Raja Maha Singh abdicated the throne of Kishtwar in favour of his son Jay Singh. Raja Maha Singh had three sons namely Jai Singh, Ram Singh and Sirdar Singh. Raja Maha Singh had become fed up with the circumstances he faced during his rule and preferred to live a secluded life. He abdicated the throne in favour of his elder son, Jai Singh⁵².

Raja Jai Singh succeeded to the throne of his father and became the raja of Kishtwar in 1656. Raja Jai Singh succeeded the throne under great stress and strain due to disloyalty shown by his two brothers Ram Singh and Sirdar Singh. Raja Jai Singh

⁴⁸Hutchison & Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol.II, Lahore, 1993, p.653.

⁴⁹Walio Mohammad Aseer Kishtwari, p.982.

⁵⁰Hutchison & Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol.II., Lahore, 1993, p.653.

⁵¹WaliMohd. Aseer Kishtwari, Focus on Jammu and Kashmir, Jammu ,2003, p. 982.

⁵² Pt. Shivji Dhar Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Persian), Srinagar.p.38.

appointed his brother Ram Singh as wazir of Kishtwar and Sirdar Singh as the commander of his army. He took this decision on the advice of his father so that a family feud may not arise on the issue of succession ship ⁵³.

During the period of Jai Singh Kishtwar was a flourishing town in spite of the fact that there existed a struggle for power among the sons of Raja Maha Singh. The population of Muslims was rising very rapidly, in Kishtwar where a mosque namely Masjid Khawaza Garib which had been constructed during the period of raja Maha Singh. Raja Jai Singh took a serious view of this fact and took it as a danger for his rule in Kishtwar. His courtiers advised him to take action to avoid the situation from worsening any more. He issued an order prohibiting the Muslims to stay for more than a day ⁵⁴. Sirdar Singh the brother of Jai Singh reached Delhi and complained against Jai Singh regarding the anti-Muslim attitude of raja Jai Singh. Aurangzeb got furious over the treatment for Muslims by the raja of Kishtwar. Raja Jai Singh was called to the Mughal court by the Mughal emperor to explain his position in the light of the complaint made against raja Jai Singh. Raja Jai Singh sent his son Kirat Singh to the Mughal court to clarify his position ⁵⁵. Sirdar Singh, the brother of raja Kirat Singh reached in the Mughal Court and met emperor Aurangzeb. He complained about the religious policy of raja Jai Singh. Jai Singh sent his elder son Kirat Singh to the Mughal Court. Kirat Singh explained the position of raja Jai Singh and promised that the Muslims in Kishtwar shall be treated honourably and shall not be harassed by the raja of Kishtwar. Emperor Aurangzeb pardoned Jai Singh ⁵⁶.

Kirat Singh succeeded his father Jai Singh in 1664 (Kirat Singh also mentioned as Girat Singh by Drew P-119). Kirat Singh established cordial relation with Aurangzeb. He was confirmed as the raja of Kishtwar by Aurangzeb. Kirat Singh appointed his uncle Ram Singh as wazir in compliance to orders of emperor Aurangzeb. Ram Singh was very ambitious and was not sincere towards his brother Kirat Singh

⁵³ Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-kishtwar, (Urdu) Jammu, 1973, p.61.

⁵⁴ Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, Jammu, 1992, p.166.

⁵⁵ Narsingh Dass Nargis, Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh, 1967, p.264.

⁵⁶ Israt Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Urdu), Jammu, 1973, p.61.

rather he established individual relations with the Mughals. Ram Singh wanted to establish his rule over Kishtwar with the help of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb⁵⁷.

The relations of raja Kirat Singh with the Mughal emperor were affected due to the policy of his uncle Ram Singh, the prime minister of Kirat Singh who used to make complaints against Kirat Singh for his personal gains. The strained relations between raja Kirat Singh and his uncle Ram Singh led to the worst effect on the relations of Kirat Singh with the Mughals.

Ram Singh, Wazir-i-Riyasat presented a petition to the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb through Hafiz ula Khan. Ram Singh complained that Kirat Singh had shown disrespect to Islam by dishonouring him because he had embraced Islam religion. In his petition, he requested for punishment to Raja Kirat Singh. Ram Singh prayed to the emperor that raja Kirat Singh should be dethroned. In case of the failure of Kirat Singh to leave the throne, he must be made to embrace Islam. Raja Kirat Singh on the advice of Abdul Qasim's son of Hafiz Ula Khan (the wakil of raja in the Mughal Court) embraced Islam. According to another opinion Kirat Singh was converted to Islam forcibly in the Shah Hamadan Ziarat at Srinagar in 1689 AD⁵⁸.

After embracing Islam, Kirat Singh received the title of Saadat Yar Khan. He was granted three lacs rupees, an elephant and sixty thousand *Kharwars*⁵⁹. Kirat Singh was allowed to continue as raja, but the following conditions were imposed on him:

1. that no tax shall be imposed on the Muhammadans.
2. that no person shall be molested if he embraced Islam.
3. that Muhammadans worship and the Eid festivals should be duly celebrated and honoured.
4. that all the disputes among the Muslims shall be settled as per the *Shariat law*.

Hafiz Abul Qasim was appointed Qazi of Kishtwar by the emperor.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Narsingh Dass Nargingh, Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh, 1967, p.264.

⁵⁸ Hutchison and Vogal, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II. Lahore. 1933, p.654.

⁵⁹ A measuring of weight equal to 10 mands, mentions in Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri Vol. I, p.279.

⁶⁰ Molvi Hashmatullah, Mukhtasar, Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, (Urdu), Jammu, 1992, p.168.

On hearing the news of the conversion of Raja Kirat Singh to Islam, the people of Kishtwar rose in revolt. The people of Kishtwar rose in rebellion on a high scale. It resulted in death and destruction. Many innocent people were massacred. In this incident, *Tulsi Gir*, a saintly person who lived in Sirkut in Kishtwar played a major role in exploiting the sentiments of the people of Kishtwar against the Mughals and their rule in Kishtwar⁶¹. Inayat Ulla, the son of Abul Qazi saved his life by seeking shelter in the Ziarat of Fariud din [The people who sought refuge in the Ziarat were spared by the mob⁶². On hearing this news, the governor of Kashmir sent a force to suppress the rebellion. Kirat Singh himself reached Kishtwar and pacified the people of Kishtwar. He used his influence to pacify the people and helped the Mughal governor in quelling the rebellion. The bloodshed and lawlessness were brought under control. Kishtwar again witnessed peace and harmony. The news of the conversion of Kirat Singh to Islam reached Jai Singh. He was greatly shocked to know about the incident of conversion and died as a result of shock⁶³. Some of his close associates embraced Islam. These associates included Farash or carpet layers, Naquibsor drum beaters, Bazdar or hawk rears and Chobdars or stable keepers etc⁶⁴.

Kirat Singh was the last Hindu ruler and the first Muslim ruler of Kishtwar. He established matrimonial alliances with the Mughal rulers. Kirat Singh sent his sister Bhup Devi along with his brother Mia Mohd. Khan to Delhi. Bhup Devi was married to the Mughal emperor Farooqsiyar. Mia Mohd Khan was given a Jagir of eight villages in Kashmir namely Habalshi, Agahran, Tungan pura, Shastergam, Gujram, Kali Pura, Pahalgm and Tara zuba⁶⁵. According to William Irvine, in his work, the Later Mughals, the raja of Kishtwar married his daughter to Mughal emperor Farrukh Siyra in 1717. She was taken as a concubine in the harem of the Mughal emperor⁶⁶. According to Aseer Kistwari in his work '*Focus on Jammu and Kashmir*', Bhup Devi the sister of raja Mohammad Kirat Singh married his sister Bhup Devi with the emperor Faukh Siyar in 1717. She was honourably accepted and married to emperor Farukh Siyer with the

⁶¹D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, p.85.

⁶²Molvi Hashmatullah ,Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir,(Urdu),Jammu,1992.p.170.

⁶³ Pt. ShivjiDhar,Tarikh-i-Kishtwar,(Persian),Srinagar, 1962. P.39.

⁶⁴ Frederic Drew, The Jammu and Kashmir Territories, Delhi, 2009, p. 120.

⁶⁵ Pt. Shivji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Persian), Srinager,1962, p.39.

⁶⁶ Irvine William, Later Mughals, New Delhi, 1971, p.401.

status of queen no. 2. She was accompanied by her brother to the Mughal emperor. Mia Mohammad Khan the son of raja Kirat Singh was granted a jagir consisting of three villages i.e., 1. Helgam, a village situated to the northern corner of Lidder valley 2. Village Havlash, and 3. Tarzu, is a village situated on the banks of wuller lake⁶⁷.

Thus, the relations between the Rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughals emperors varied from time to time during the Mughal period. The reasons for the variations of these relations were the geographical location of Kishtwar and the desire of the Mughal emperors to check the influence of anti-Mughal elements in Kishtwar and to protect Mughal rule in Kashmir. These relations were political and matrimonial in character. The background of these relations could be traced back to the period of Mughal emperor Akbar when he attacked and annexed Kashmir in 1586. The rebels and the disgruntled elements sought asylum in Kishtwar to continue their anti-Mughal activities from Kishtwar. It made the Mughal emperors to realise the fact that for controlling the affairs in Kashmir, the subjugation and annexation of Kishtwar was the prerequisite condition. Moreover, the strategic location of Kishtwar was also a factor which always made the Mughals to pay special attention towards Kishtwar. Kishtwar was protected by high Himalayan mountains and a number of rivers provided additional security to Kishtwar. These mountains and rivers could not be crossed easily. It is worthwhile to mention here that the rives like Chander Bhaga (Chenab), could be crossed only through the bridges for which only these locals had the expertise to construct these bridges. Therefore, Kishtwar enjoyed high status among the other Hill states. It could act as the protector of enemies of the Mughals and could prove dangerous for Mughal power in Kashmir and other hill states. By following the policy of conquest and annexation, the Mughal emperors attacked Kishtwar and annexed it many times but could not establish their direct rule in Kishtwar due to strong opposition of the Mughals by the people of Kishtwar e.g., Mughal emperor Jahangir attacked Kishtwar conquered it after defeating raja Kunwar Singh. He had to restore Kunwar Singh back to the state of Kishtwar as raja of Kishtwar due to the strong opposition and resistance by the people of Kishtwar. An alliance was signed between the Mughal emperor Jahangir and the raja of Kishtwar by which certain conditions were imposed on the raja of Kishtwar. The relations

⁶⁷Wali Mohd. Aseer Kishtwari, Focus on Jammu and Kashmir, Jammu, 2006, p.986.

between the Mughals and the Rajas of Kishtwar remained cordial and friendly also. Raja Jagat Singh accompanied, Shahjahan the Mughal ruler during the Mughal expedition in Deccan. Bhagwan Singh, the raja of Kishtwar was supported by the Mughal emperor Shahjahan in defeating the raja Bhupat Pal of Bilawar. Even the Mughal emperor sent two officers Jeewan Pal and Kahan Pal to assist Raja Bhagwan Singh.

The Mughals sometimes adopted the policy of interference in the political and internal affairs of Kishtwar. They also acted as kingmakers in Kishtwar. The policy of interference was adopted because the Mughals could never tolerate a state so strong to oppose their rule in Kashmir which could provide shelter to the enemies of the Mughals. Moreover, the location of the Kishtwar was such that the advance of the Mughal army from Kashmir to invade Chamba, Kangra and other hill states required safe passage which was possible only when Kishtwar was either a friendly to the Mughals or was a tributary state of the Mughals. But sometimes the relations between the rajas of Kishtwar and the Mughal emperors became strained, the reason for strained relations was not confined to political but religious factors also contributed towards it e.g., when the raja Jai Singh of Kishtwar imposed restrictions on Muslims in Kishtwar and their stay in Kishtwar the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb issued a *Farman* against the raja of Kishtwar and asked him to make his presence in the court and clarify his position. The relations could be improved only by sending a prince to the Mughal court to justify the stand. The Princes of Kishtwar played no less role in the relations of Kishtwar with the Mughal emperors because the princes of Kishtwar were sometimes contenders of power in Kishtwar. They exploited the internal conditions of Kishtwar many times and misrepresented the conditions of Kishtwar to win the favour of the Mughal emperor e.g., Ram Singh and Sirdar Singh the brothers of Raja Jai Singh complained against raja jai Singh to the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. During the period of Raja Kirat Singh, the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb appointed Ram Singh, the uncle of Kirat Singh as prime minister of Kishtwar. This proves that sometimes the Mughals emperors played an important role in important appointments in Kishtwar.

The matrimonial alliances also formed part of the relations between the Mughal emperors and the Rajas of Kishtwar. Shah Shuja the Mughal prince had married the

daughter of Kunwar Sen, the raja of Kishtwar. Farrukh Siyar who was among the later Mughal rulers, married a princess, the daughter of Raja of Kirat Singh of Kishtwar. She became the Concubine of the Mughal Emperor. Raja Kirat Singh the last Hindu ruler and the first Muslim raja of Kishtwar continued cordial relations with the Mughal emperors even after the death of Aurangzeb. Therefore, the relations between the rajas of Kishtwar were cordial as well as strained. Matrimonial relations and alliances also formed a part of the relations of the Mughal emperors and Rajas of Kishtwar. The Mughals also influenced the succession ship of rajas and played an important role in assigning important posts in the state of Kishtwar.

The Rajas of Kishtwar adopted both the policy of appeasement and resistance towards their relations with the Mughals. They adopted the policy, according to the circumstances and the situation. They adopted friendly relations with the Mughals when they were compelled by the circumstances, but they resisted the Mughal authority when their interests clashed with the Mughals. e.g., when Aurangzeb got annoyed with the raja of Kishtwar over the issue of treatment meted out to the Muslims in Kishtwar. Aurangzeb imprisoned Ghias-ud- din, the hostage of the raja of Kishtwar. The raja of Kishtwar was asked for his appearance in the Mughal court. The raja of Kishtwar adopted the policy of appeasement by sending his son Jai Singh to the Mughal court and by making grants for the mosques in Kishtwar and employing the Muslims in government services on a large scale.

4.3 Relations of Kishtwar with Kashmir:

The relations between Kishtwar and Kashmir date back to the ancient period. Generally, the Rajas of Kashmir didn't prefer to have relations with rulers of distant areas except in exceptional cases. But rulers of Kashmir established relations with their immediate ruling states like Chamba, Rajouri and Lahore etc. Kishtwar was one of the neighbouring states of Kashmir with which Rajas of Kashmir established cordial and friendly relations ⁶⁸

⁶⁸ K.S. Saxena, Ancient Political history of Kashmir, Srinagar, 2009, p300.

These relations had prominence from a religious point of view because the rulers of Kishtwar visited the Shrines of Kashmir. Amarnath Shrine was one of those. It was located on the border of Maru wardhawan. The Kashmiri rulers sought political asylum in Kishtwar they depended for help on the rulers of Kishtwar. Matrimonial alliances also formed the part of relations between Kishtwar and Kashmir. Both in Kashmir and Kishtwar the dialect spoken was similar to a great extent. Gurudeva, a ruler of Kishtwar visited Kashmir and married a Kashmiri princess. He also helped the ruler of Kashmir in defeating his enemies⁶⁹.

Kishtwar had also trade relations with its neighbouring states. It had trade relations with its neighbouring state Punjab during the period of Rathars and Ganai who had settled in Chirhard⁷⁰. Trade relations between Kishtwar and Punjab were established through a trading tribe known as Panjasasis . The Panjasasis tribe had its origin in Punjab. It has been explained in detail in the chapter first.

The relations between Kashtwar and Kashmir find references in Kalhana's Rajatarangini. The relations of Kishtwar and Kashmir were cordial and friendly. During the period of Raja Kalasa of Kashmir (1068-1089), Raja Uttamraja of Kashthavata, visited Kashmir along with other hill chiefs to pay homage to the raja of Kashmir. It proves the existence of the Kishtwar state and its autonomous status and the relations of Kishtwar with Kashmir⁷¹.

This view of this homage /tribute to the raja of Kishtwar along with other hill chiefs is supported by S.D.S. Charak. These chiefs included:

1. Kirtiraja of Bhaddhapura (Babbapura,Jammu) ,
2. Asata of Champa (mod. Chambs),
3. Kalasa of Vallapura (Balaor),
4. Sangramapala of Rajapuri (Rajauri),
5. Utkarsha of Lahara,
6. Gambhirasimha of Kanda,

⁶⁹ F.M. Hussain, History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar, Vol. III, Delhi, 1998, p.86.

⁷⁰ Narsingh Dass Narsingh, Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh, 1967, p.253.

⁷¹ Kalhana, Rajtarangini, VII. ,Eng.,Tr. by M. Stein,Delhi,1989. Pp..588-89.

7. Uttamraja of Kashthavata (mod. Kashtwar) and
8. Sangata) of Urasa (mod. Hazarat).

Uttamraja, the raja of Kashthavata attended this important assembly. This assembly was convened to discuss and to form a joint strategy against the Muslim invaders. These invaders posed a regular threat to the existence of the rajas of Kashmir and other hill states. S.S. Charak refers 'that probably the hill states were subject to Kashmir. Kashmir was having its hold over the hill states'⁷². It shows that Kishtwar had attained important status among the other hill states because Kishtwar was one among the participating states in the assembly. It proves that during this period Kishtwar enjoyed friendly and cordial relations with Kashmir.

The relations of Kishtwar with Kashmir during the period of Gandhrav Sen, the son and successor of Kahan Pal are marked by the success of Gandhrav Sen against Kashmir in the battle of *twelve Yon*⁷³.

Kishtwar became a place of shelter for the rebels of Kashmir⁷⁴. A civil war broke out in Kashmir after the death of Raja Jagadeva of Kashmir. Rajadeva the son and successor of Raja Jagadeva had fled to Kishtwar for his safety and security. The chronology of Rajas of Kishtwar and their political and diplomatic relations with the neighboring states have been discussed. The origin of Kishtwari language and its development has been explained in detail. Padma had assassinated Raja Jagadeva. After the assassination of raja Jagadeva, Rajadeva was brought back to Kashmir by the enemies of Padama. Padma was killed in a battle and Rajadeva succeeded the to the throne of Kashmir. Raja Rajadeva ruled Kashmir till his death in 1235 A.D⁷⁵.

During the reign of Suha Dev of Kashmir, Zulchu (Zulju) attacked Kashmir with seventy thousand Mongols and Turk soldiers and horsemen. Different historians have forwarded different opinions about Zulu. Mohibul Hasaan describes him as a Mongol. He gives a detailed account about the invasion of Kashmir by Zulu. According

⁷²Dr. S.S. Charak, A Short History of Jammu Raj, Pathankot, 1985, p.61.

⁷³ Narsingh DassNargis ,Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh,1967,p.255.

⁷⁴ Hutchison and Vogal,History of Punjab Hill States, Vol.II., Lahore,2021.p.653.

⁷⁵ P.N.K. Bamzai, A History of Kishtwar, Delhi,1962, p.165.

to his opinion Zulu, attacked Kashmir while adopting the Jehlum valley route. Zulu did not face any resistance on his way to Kashmir. A great army was organised by Suha Dev the ruler of Kashmir. But Suha Dev couldn't offer resistance to the enemy and fled to Kishtwar without any sentiments for the safety and security of the people. The people were left at the mercy of the invader⁷⁶. According to Mudammadud-din Fouq, Zulqader Khan Tatri also known as *Zulchu* in Kashmir. He mentions Suha Dev as Sehdev.⁷⁷

Zulchu indulged in a massacre of the natives in a cruel manner on a large scale. A great loss of human life took place. The women and children were made captive and sold to the traders who had accompanied *Zulchu* to Kashmir. The houses of the Kashmiris were ravaged and burnt. The food grains were destroyed. The destruction took place on a large scale. Suha Dev the raja of Kashmir got terrified and discouraged. He preferred to flee from Kashmir rather than face the invader *Zulchu*. Suha Dev fled to Kathwar (Kishtwar) with some of his close associates⁷⁸. Ramchand the commander of Suha Dev shut himself in a fort. The people of Kashmir fled towards the mountains and did not dare to come back to till their lands. As a result, there became a shortage of food grains. *Zulchu* was forced to leave Kashmir⁷⁹. On his return, he was shown a tough and disastrous route by the prisoners. This route happened to pass through the top of a high mountain. *Zulzu* was killed along with his army and the prisoners during thunderbolts, snow and storm. It led to the perishing of the army and the captives also. It led to the liberty of Kashmir from the cruel hands of *Zulchu*⁸⁰.

The people of Kashmir who had fled to the mountains, returned back to their homes to find a scene of death and destruction left behind after the invasion of *Zulchu*. But they had to face the attacks of robbers who had fled to mountainous regions. The women and children were made captives and the homes of the people were plundered. The people organised themselves to produce and procure the weapons. They captured forts and appointed kotwals in each Pargana. Each Pargana was autonomous in its

⁷⁶ Mohibul Hassan, Kashmir under the Sultans, Srinagar, 1959, p.35.

⁷⁷ Muhammad uddi ,Fouq, A complete history of Kashmir, Kaashmir, 2017, pp.207-208.

⁷⁸ Anonymous, Bharistani-i-Shahi, Eng. By K.N.Pandit, Calcutta, 1999, mentions Kishtwar as Kathwar. P.3.

⁷⁹ Ibid. ref. f.n. 1., Persian Chronicles call Zulu as Zulju. Jonaraja calls him Salacha or Zalcha. Jonaraja also calls him Daluch. P.3.

⁸⁰ Ibid. p.4.

status. Rinchana was the head of Lar pargana. He attacked Ram Chand the commander of Suha Dev, who had taken shelter in fort. Ramchand was killed and his family was made captive by Rinchana. Rinchin became the ruler of Kashmir. But he established friendly relations with Rawan Chand, the son of Ramchand and married Ramchand's daughter. He also bestowed the title of honour *Renu* on Ravanchand. Suha Dev who had earlier fled to Kathwar returned back to Kashmir and attacked Kashmir to re-establish his rule in Kashmir. Suha Dev was defeated by Rinchan and was forced to flee back to Kathwar⁸¹.

The Lavanyas were the Tribal people belonging to the rural section of Kashmir society. They were landowners. They also took to arms and are also known as *Lon*. Their origin is not known but they held an influential position and also acted as landowners and headmen. The frequent reference to Lavanyas means that the Lavanias held an important position during the times of Jonaraja, but Srivara refers to the Lavanyas once only⁸². It means the Lavanyas held an important position during Jonaraja's times, but they lost their significance during Srivara's times. The lavanyas revolted in Kashmir during the period of Sultan Ala-ud-Din (1343-54). The Lvanys after their defeat fled to Kishtwar but were chased and captured and brought back to Kashmir⁸³.

Many theologians moved from Persia to Kashmir during the period of sultan Sikandar. The sultan treated them well. Sayyid Muhammad Hamdani came to Kashmir along with his seven hundred sayyid companions. These orthodox Sunnis influenced Sikandar with religious zeal and the sultan began to rule the state purely on Islamic law and propagated Islam by force. Malik Suha Bhatt, a newly convert to Islam, instigated the sultan to adopt a short-sighted policy in his religious approach. Many temples like Martand, Vijashwari and Sureshwari were destroyed. Many people were killed by Malik Suhabhadd, the prime minister of Sikandar⁸⁴.

⁸¹ Anonymous, *Bharistani-i-Shahi*, Eng., Tr. By K.N. Pandit, Calcutta, 1999, p.5.

⁸² P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, Vol. I., Delhi, 1962, p.189.

⁸³ MohibulHassan , *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Srinagar,1959. P.48.

⁸⁴ P.N.K. Banzai, Vol. I., *A History of Kashmir*, Delhi,1992, p.p. 320-21

During the period of Sultan Sikander, the ruler of Kishtwar, the policy of religious persecution was followed against the Hindus. Many people were killed, temples destroyed and property of the people was burnt on the basis of religion. Many people migrated to other parts outside Kashmir, some of them even fled to Kishtwar. This policy of persecution was reversed by Raja Zain-ul-abidin, the ruler of Kashmir. He is also known as *Budshah* in the history of Kashmir. The people who had migrated from Kashmir to Kishtwar were called back and were treated honourably by the sultan of Kashmir. Their offices and lands were restored to them⁸⁵.

Mirza Haider Doughlat in 1540 with an attention to conquering Kashmir tried to establish an alliance with the neighbouring states by either conquering these states or by making diplomatic terms with these states because he wanted to make Kashmir safe and secure from these states. In this attempt, mirza Haider Doughlat attacked Kishtwar but proved unsuccessful in it⁸⁶.

Kishtwar was having also friendly relations with the sultans of Kashmir. The Rajas of Kishtwar sought help from Kashmir during the internal and external problems. Raja Raibhan Singh was killed when he went to Kanthi and Siraj, where a rebellion had taken place and Raja Raibhan Singh had proceeded to this area to suppress the rebellion. On the death of Raja Raibhan Singh, during the rebellion in Kanthi and Siraj in Kishtwar, Jai Singh (Vijay Singh), the son of Raja Raibhan Singh sought help from Kashmir. With the help of Kashmir's force, he succeeded in ascending the throne of Kishtwar⁸⁷.

Gazi Chak ascended the throne of Kashmir in 1561 with the support of his nobles. He was the founder of Chak dynasty in Kashmir. He ascended the throne on the pretext that Habib Shah, the ruler of Kashmir was incompetent. A revolt took place in Kashmir under the leadership of Fathe Shah and Lohar Chak. This rebellion proved unsuccessful because due to snowfall many rebels lost their lives and fled to Kishtwar. It again proves that Kishtwar was a place of shelter for rebels and dissatisfied

⁸⁵ Mohibul Hassan, Kashmir under the Sultans, Srinagar, 2002, p.131.

⁸⁶ R.K. Parmu, A History of Muslim rule in Kashmir, Kashmir, 1969, p. 227.

⁸⁷ F.M. Hassnain, History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar, Vol. II, Delhi 1998, p.94.

elements⁸⁸. Gazi Chak i.e., Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad (1554-63) subjugated the petty states of Ladakh, Karda, Gilgit and Kishtwar. The rajas of these states were made to pay tribute regularly⁸⁹.

During the period of Ali Shah Chak, the Kashmiri rebels sought refuge in Kishtwar and became problematic for the sultan. Ali Shah on his accession as sultan of Kashmir in 1570, found an atmosphere of intrigues around him. These conspirators had sought shelter in Kishtwar. The raja of Kishtwar realised these developments in Kashmir and wanted to make use of the opportunity. He refused to pay homage to the sultan of Kashmir on the one hand and gave shelter to the enemies of Kashmir on the other hand⁹⁰. Ali Shah proceeded with a strong army against the Raja of Kishtwar. Bahadur Singh the raja of Kishtwar could not face the strong army under the joint command of Ali Shah. He submitted before Ali Shah and promised to be faithful to the sultan of Kashmir. He agreed to pay an annual tribute. Bahadur Singh presented a woman, who has been described as a relative of Bahadur Singh. She was married to Ali Shah and titled as *Fath Kathun* i.e., the lady of victory⁹¹.

Hashmatulla does not agree with the opinion that *Fath Kathun* was a relative of Bahadur Singh. He explains that Bahadur Singh had sent his daughter with his son Narayan Singh to Ali Shah. Ali Shah kept Narayan Singh as hostage in Kashmir⁹². After sometimes Bahadur Singh the raja of Kishtwar refused to remain loyal to the sultan of Kashmir. He was attacked by the sultan and received a humiliating defeat at the hands of Ali Shah. He started reorganising his army to revenge his defeat. He did not pay tribute to the sultan. Ali Shah became annoyed on knowing the rebellious attitude of the raja of Kishtwar. Ali Shah again sent a force against Bahadur Shah in 1574. This force was sent against Raja Bahadur Singh under the command of Ismail Ganai. The raja could not face this invasion and submitted before the sultan. Raja Bahadur Singh

⁸⁸Mohibul Hassan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Srinagar, 2002, p.151.

⁸⁹Nizamu-ud-Din Wani, *Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, New Delhi, 1987, p.42.

⁹⁰F.M. Hassnain, *History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar*, Vo. III. Delhi, 1998, p.95.

⁹¹Mohibul Hassan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Srinagar, 2002, p.160.

⁹²Hashmatullah Khan, *A Brief History of Kishtwar*, Eng. Tr. A.R. Khan, 2016, p.152.

agreed to pay tribute in future. He also sent his sister Shanker Devi, who was married to Ali Shah's grandson Yaqub⁹³.

After it, the relations between Kishtwar and Kashmir remained friendly and cordial. The rajas of Kishtwar remained loyal to the sultans of Kashmir. In 1586 when the Mughal forces attacked Kashmir, Yaqub Shah fled from Kashmir to Kishtwar along with his wife and took shelter there (Kishtwar). After the annexation of Kashmir to the Mughal Empire by the Mughal emperor Akbar, Qasim Khan was appointed as the first Mughal governor of Kashmir. The fugitive sultan Yaqub Shah of Kashmir who was having friendly relations and a matrimonial alliance with the raja of Kishtwar sought political asylum in Kishtwar. The Mughal governor harassed the nobles of Kashmir and the people of Kashmir. The Mughal governor of Kashmir extracted a huge amount of money from the Kashmiri nobles. The Kashmiris were harassed to a great extent. Many chiefs and the people of Kashmir fled to Kishtwar and requested their former ruler Yaqub Shah who was in exile in Kishtwar to help them. Yaqub Shah collected a small army in Kishtwar and attacked Srinagar. He received partial success in the beginning and even occupied some parts of the city of Srinagar but was defeated and had to flee back again to Kishtwar⁹⁴.

It shows that the relations of Kishtwar and Kashmir varied from time to time. These relations remained cordial and friendly but sometimes these relations became strained due to political reasons. During times of trouble, not only the sultans and nobles but general people also expected and received support from Kishtwar.

The Kishtwar records show that Yaqub shah Chak died in Kishtwar in 1588. Shanker Devi, the widow of Yaqub Shah continued to reside in Kishtwar⁹⁵. Yusuf Shah was crowned as sultan in 1579 by Sultan Ali Shah Chak. During the reign of Yusuf, Haider Chak the rebel went to Kishtwar. Similarly, Prince Yaqub, the son of Sultan Ali shah under the influence of bad elements like Aiba Khan and Abdul Bat fled to Kishtwar. But the prince Yaqub Shah was brought back by Mula Hasan on the

⁹³ Mohibul Hassan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Srinagar, 2002, p.161.

⁹⁴ Bernier Francois, *Aurangzeb in Kashmir*, (Travels in the Mughal Empire), Tr. from French by Irving Brook, edited by D.C. Sharma, New Delhi, 1988, p.p.1-2

⁹⁵ Hutchison & Vogel, *History of Punjab Hill States*, Vol. II., Lahore, 2021, p.649.

instructions of sultan Yusuf Shah. Aiba Khan and Haider Khan continued their rebellious activities from Kishtwar⁹⁶. Sultan Yusuf Shah despatched a strong force of army under Sher Ali Bat and Nazi Malik against Haider Chak in Kishtwar. Sher Ali Bat was killed in this expedition. After this sultan Yusuf Shah himself along with his son Yaqub Shah advanced against the rebels. Prince Yaqub Shah Chak was defeated, and he had to retreat to join back the main army. In the battle that again took place between Haider Ali and the sultan of Kashmir, Haider Chak was defeated. Haider Chak and Shamas Chak and Aiba Khan fled from the battlefield. It led to the complete victory of Sultan Yusuf Shah⁹⁷.

Akbar attacked Kashmir in 1586. Yaqub Shah Chak the sultan of Kashmir was defeated by the Mughal forces. Kashmir was annexed to the Mughal Empire after its conquest by the Mughal emperor Akbar. Sultan Yaqub Shah fled to Kishtwar and took refuge there. Yaqub Shah had matrimonial relations with the Raja of Kishtwar. Raja Bahadur Singh supported Yaqub Shah against Akbar. Yaqub Shah proved unsuccessful in his attempt to regain the throne of Kashmir. He submitted it to Akbar. Bahadur Singh also established his relations with the Mughals by sending valuable articles to the Mughal emperor.

Thus, the relations of Kishtwar with Kashmir were multi-dimensional:

1. Shelter to the rebellious elements
2. Shelter to the Kashmiri sultans

4.3.1 Shelter to the rebellious elements:

Kishtwar was a safe sanctuary for the rebellious elements of Kashmir e.g., The Lavanya rose in revolt in Kashmir during the period of Sultan Alauddin (1343-54) and sought refuge in Kishtwar. Similarly, Fathe Shah and Lohar Chak the rebellious chiefs sought shelter in Kishtwar. Even prince Yaqub Shah took shelter in Kishtwar in the company of mischievous elements.

⁹⁶Mohibul Hassan, Kashmir under the Sultans, Srinagar, 2002, p.274.

⁹⁷Mohibul Hassan, Kashmir under the Sultans, Srinagar, 2002, p.274.

4.3.2 Shelter to Kashmiri Rajas and Sultans:

Suha Dev the raja of Kashmir (1301-20) also took shelter in Kishtwar when Kashmir was attacked by Zulu⁹⁸. A number of sultans of Kashmir from time to time sought shelter in Kishtwar. Kishtwar proved a place of safe sanctuary for the sultans during the days of trouble in their homeland i.e., Kashmir. Kishtwar proved safe heaven for these sultans who used to flee from Kashmir to Kishtwar to save their lives and families. These sultans used to make Kishtwar a base for their efforts to regain their lost throne and power in Kashmir e.g., Yaqub Shah fled from Kashmir to Kishtwar along with his wife Shanker Devi. He continued his efforts to regain power in Kashmir with the support of the Raja of Kishtwar but couldn't meet any success in his efforts. At last, he settled in Kishtwar⁹⁹.

Thus, Kishtwar played the role of safe sanctuary and refuge for the rebels of Kashmir. It provided a safe asylum to the nobles and dissatisfied elements of Kashmir. e.g., during the period of Sultan Allauddin, the Lavanyas rose in revolt and fled to Kishtwar. These anti-Kashmir elements didn't find only safe refuge in Kishtwar but also received political support from Kishtwar against Kashmir. Kishtwar also played an important role in the war of succession in Kashmir. Even during the defeat of the rajas of Kashmir by their enemies, the rajas of Kashmir sought shelter in Kishtwar e.g., when Zulchu, the Mongol invader attacked and conquered Kashmir. The raja of Kishtwar not only welcome Suha deva, but also helped him in attacking Kashmir to regain his lost throne. The rajas of Kishtwar interfered in the internal affairs of Kashmir like succession ships and suppression of rebellions. Kishtwar proved a safe heaven for the people of Kashmir when they were persecuted in Kashmir by the sultans of Kashmir. They used to migrate to Kishtwar for their safety and security e.g., when sultan Sikander followed a policy of persecution, many people from

⁹⁸ Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, 1967, p.260.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p.259.

Kashmir migrated to Kishtwar. These people returned back to Kashmir when they found suitable conditions for them in Kashmir.

The Sultans of Kashmir evaluated Kishtwar as the most important state due to its strategic and geographical location because it was easy for them to attack and invade the neighbouring states of Kishtwar like Punjab, Nagarkot and Delhi etc. Sultan *Shahab ud Din* of Kashmir preferred to conquer Kishtwar than Ladakh and Baltistan and made Kishtwar a base for attacking *Satluej* and other areas of Punjab¹⁰⁰.

4.4 Relations of Kishtwar with the neighbouring states:

Jammu, Chamba, Bhaderwah and Basholi, were the important neighbouring hill states of Kishtwar in addition to Kashmir. The relations of Kishtwar with Kashmir have been discussed in part 1st of this chapter. The relations of Kishtwar with the neighbouring states can be traced back to the period of raja Kalasa of Kashmir when raja Uttam raja of Kashtavata (Kishtwar) attended an assembly in Kashmir which was held during the reign of raja Kalas of Kashmir. This assembly was held to form a joint front against the common danger from the Muslim invaders. In this assembly, many other rajas of neighbouring hill states including the raja of Jammu, the raja of Balor, Rajouri, and other hills rajas attended the assembly¹⁰¹. It shows that Kishtwar offered its support to the neighbouring states by joining hands with them against the common enemy. It proves that Kishtwar was not an isolated state in the context of its relations with its neighbouring states. It was greatly concerned with the danger from foreign powers which could prove disastrous for its autonomous character.

4.4.1 Relations of Kishtwar with Bhaderwah:

The relations of Kishtwar were friendly with Bhadarwah. Raja Brahma Sen had married two princesses one from Reasi and the other from Badarwah. The raja of Badrawah participated in the war of succession in Kishtwar during the period of raja Brahma Sen. Ram Sain was the son of Brahma Sen from the

¹⁰⁰ R.C. Agrawal, Kashmir and its Monumental glory, Delhi, 1998.p.32.

¹⁰¹ S.S. Charak , A Short History of Jammu Raj, p.61.

princess of Badrarwah. There arose a war of succession between Uthadeva, the adopted son of the princess from Reasi and Ram Sen the son of the princess from Bhadarwah . The raja of Badherwah joined hands with the rajas of Chamba and Basoli and succeeded in crowning Ram Sain to the throne of Kishtwar ¹⁰² .

During the period of raja Pratap Singh, who is also known as Bhup Singh in the history of Kishtwar, Mughal forces under the orders of emperor Jahangir attacked Kishtwar. Bhup Singh the raja of Kishtwar was defeated. He fled to Bhaderwah, leaving the people of Kishtwar at mercy of the invader. The people of Kishtwar were slaughtered and the country was laid waste by the enemy. After some time, on the request of the people of Kishtwar, Mughalani, the commander of the Mughal army stopped killing the people of Kishtwar and destroying their property. She left Kishtwar for Kashmir after some time with the Mughal army. Finding it a safe opportunity, raja Bhup Singh returned from Bhaderwah and occupied the throne. Bhup Singh died in 1610 ¹⁰³ . Raja Jagat Singh succeeded his father Gaur Singh as raja of Kishtwar in 1629. Raja Jagat Singh was a great conqueror. He led an expedition against Bhaderwah. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the raja of Bhadarwah¹⁰⁴ . Thus, the relations between Kishtwar and Bhaderwah varied in nature. The relations between Kishtwar and Bhadarwah were friendly earlier but became strained when Jagat Singh attacked and defeated the raja of Bhadarwah.

The relations of Kishtwar with Basoli were not cordial and friendly. The Raja of Basoli participated in the war of succession during the period of Raja Brahma Sain. He helped Ram Sain the son of Raja Brahma Sain against Uthadeva, the adopted son of Brahma Sain. The joint forces of Basoli, Bhadarwah and Chamba attacked and defeated Uthadeva and helped Ram Sain to succeed to the throne of Kishtwar¹⁰⁵ .

¹⁰² F.M. Hassnain, History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar, Vol. III, Delhi, 1998, p.84.

¹⁰³ Hutchison & Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II., Lahore, 2021, p.649-50

¹⁰⁴ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, p. 75.

¹⁰⁵ F.M. Hassnain, History of Jammu Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar, Vol. III., Delhi ,1998. p. 84.

During the period of Raja Sangram Singh a conference of hilly rajas was called in Kishtwar. These rajas included the rajas of Kathi of Ramban Rajouri and Reasi. But the raja of Reasi did not participate in the conference. Raja Sangram Singh took it as disobedience of his orders and attacked on Reasi, but was killed. The army of Kishtwar again attacked Reasi and conquered it along with other areas like Channani, Kirmichi and Bhuti areas¹⁰⁶. This shows that Kishtwar was having a prominent status among the neighbouring states and small principalities and had the power to call the chiefs of these areas for the conference with authority.

When Raja Jagat Singh of Kishtwar was busy in his expedition against the Raja of Bhaderwah. Raja Bhupat Pal of Balor-Basoli made advantage of the absence of the raja of Kishtwar. He attacked Kishtwar conquered and occupied it because the army of Kishtwar could not offer tough resistance to the army of Bhupat Pal in the absence of their raja. Bhupat Pal the raja of Basoli took away the Holy Lingam of Neelkanth from its temple to Basholi. He constructed a temple in Basoli and installed the Holy Lingam in it. Raja Bhupat Pal also married a princess of Kishtwar. Sangram Pal the next ruler of Basoli was the son of a princess of Kishtwar¹⁰⁷.

After the conquest of Kishtwar, the administration of Kishtwar was entrusted to Kantak Balloria, the wazir of Bhupat Pal. Jagat Singh returned back from Bhaderwah leaving his conquest in midway. He (Raja Jagat Singh) attacked Kishtwar but was defeated and killed in the battle by Kantak¹⁰⁸. Bhagwan Singh the brother of Raja Jagat Singh attacked Kishtwar with the help of the Mughal forces. He succeeded in defeating Kantak in a fierce battle. Kantak was killed in the battle, his head was severed and rolled in the chaughan of Kishtwar like football. Bhagwan Singh was crowned as the raja of Kishtwar. He celebrated this victory against the raja Bhupat pal of Basoli by arranging celebrations in the Chogan of Kishtwar and announced that every year this day

¹⁰⁶WaliMohd, Aseer Kiahtwari, Focus on Jammu and Kashmir, Jammu,2006, p.969.

¹⁰⁷ D.C Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, p.75.

¹⁰⁸ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar,1995, p.75.

shall be celebrated with the name of Katak Yatra festival. He despatched the Mughal army with great honours and awarded the Mughal officers and commanders with Khilats and gifts¹⁰⁹.

4.4.2 Relations of Kishtwar with Jammu:

Relations of Kishtwar with Jammu varied from time to time. Raja Sangram of Jammu had matrimonial relations with the Raja of Kishtwar. Raja Sangram had married his daughter to the raja of Kishtwar¹¹⁰. Raja Sangram of Jammu supported the Mughal emperor Jahangir against the raja of Kishtwar when rebellion arose against the Mughals in Kishtwar. Raja Sangram of Jammu was ordered by Mughal emperor Jahangir to help Dilawar Khan in suppressing the rebellion and to proceed towards Kishtwar from Jammu with the army¹¹¹.

The raja Sangram of Jammu was ordered by emperor Jahangir through a Farman by which raja Sangram of Jammu was ordered to attack the raja of Kishtwar. Raja Sangram was also ordered to help the imperial officers in conquering Kishtwar. Raja Sangram showed loyalty towards the Mughals and made compliance of the order of emperor Jahangir. He received favours and honour from the Mughal emperor along with a khilat¹¹².

4.4.3 Relation of Kishtwar with other Petty areas:

The Rajas of Kishtwar believed in the policy of expansion of their territories. They followed the policy of conquests and annexation towards the neighbouring petty hill states and principalities. Raja Bhagwan Singh of Kishtwar led an expedition against the local chiefs. He conquered the local chiefs of Kastigarh, Kanthi, Ramban, Dambatal, Pogal, Paristan and Banihal.

¹⁰⁹ Pt. Shivji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.36.

¹¹⁰ Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I&II Eng. Tr. Alexander Roger, Delhi, p.138.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* p.171.

¹¹² Ganesh Dass Badhera, *Rajdarshini*, Eng. Tr. Dr. S.S. Charak & Dr. Anita Billawari, Jammu, 1991, p.150.

To commemorate the victory of Kishtwar over Banihal, Raja Bhagwan Singh, installed a stone in Banihal known as '*Kishtwar Kain 'or Kishtwar stone*¹¹³.

Padar was also an independent principality neighbouring Kishtwar. It had maintained its independence since ancient times. Raja Chattar Singh of Chamba invaded it in 1650 A.D. and established its capital at Chattargarh presently known as Gulabgarh. Chattar Singh appointed his officers there known as Palsara. Thus, Chamba acted as a bordering state of Kishtwar with its capital at Gulabgarh. But there was no direct conflict between the rajas of Kishtwar and the rajas of Chamba during this period. Kishtwar was having matrimonial relations with Dhameri (Nurpur). Raj Bhup Singh was son in law of raja Suraj mal of Nurpur.

The rajas of Kishtwar attacked many times the villages of Paddar. Jar, Kadail, Tatapani, Atholi, Kundal and Karthai were frequently attacked by rajas of Kishtwar but were not annexed to the state of Kishtwar. The rajas of Kishtwar generally used to return back after looting the war booty. The relations of Kishtwar with Marwah remained friendly. Marwah carried its trade through Kishtwar. Rajuri was also a neighbouring state of Kishtwar. The raja of Rajuri attacked the fort of Agasi in Gulabgarh (Reasi), Which formed a part of the state of Kishtwar. Chamal Singh was the commander of raja of Kishtwar. Finding himself in a critical situation, Chamal Singh asked the raja of Kishtwar for reinforcement but couldn't receive any force from the raja of Kishtwar. He faced the enemy bravely but had to surrender to the enemy. It shows the Rajas of Rajouri could make an attack on Kishtwar territories for the annexation of areas which were otherwise a part of the Kishtwar state¹¹⁴.

¹¹³ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, 77.

¹¹⁴ R.C. Kak, Antiquities of Marwah-Wardwan, No. , New Delhi, Reprint 1971. P.30

Conclusion

To sum up, the relations of Kishtwar with its neighbouring states varied in nature and character from state to state, spanning over different periods of time. Kishtwar had diplomatic political and matrimonial relations with its neighbouring states. But the relationship changed its characters with the passage of time. e.g., the relations between Kishtwar and Bhadarwah were cordial and friendly during the period of Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishtwar. The raja of Bhadarwah had granted political asylum to Raja Bahadur Singh, who had become a fugitive after his defeat at the hands of the Mughal army. The Raja of Bhadarwah supported him in regaining the lost throne of Kishtwar. But Raja Jagat Singh of Kishtwar attacked Bhadarwah and defeated the raja of Bhadarwah resulting into strained relations between the rajas of Kishtwar and the raja of Bhadarwah. But Raja Bramha Sain of Kishtwar had married a princess of Bhadarwah. The raja of Bhadarwah also played the role of kingmaker in Kishtwar during the reign of Raja Brahma Sain. The Rajas of Kishtwar didn't enjoy good relations with Basoli. the raja of Basoli attacked Kishtwar and occupied it in the absence of Raja Jagat Singh of Kishtwar. But the raja Bhupat pal of Basoli established matrimonial relations with Kishtwar marrying a princess of Kishtwar. Kishtwar was having matrimonial relations with the raja of Jammu. But the raja of Jammu allied with the Mughals against the rajas of Kishtwar.

CHAPTER-5

SOCIETY AND CULTURE OF KISHTWAR

5.1 Introduction:

The society of Kishtwar mainly comprised of two communities i.e., the Hindus and the Muslims. Most of the population consisted of Hindus. The Muslims were in the minority. Their number was quite low in comparison to the Hindus. The Hindu society was divided into caste-based structures. The climatic and geographical conditions had a great impact on the food, dress, and dietary habits of the people. The customs and style of living were also affected by the natural conditions prevailing in and around Kishtwar. The people of Kishtwar were liberal in their religious outlook. They had adopted a secular character in their approach.

5.2 Caste System:

Kishtwar had a composite culture since the days of the early history of Kishtwar¹. The Aryan tribes, Kassites (Khashas) migrated to Kashmir, Chamba and Kishtwar mountain belt. The Rajputs, the Thakkars, the Nagas and the Greeks mixed up with the regional inhabitants of Kashmir, Kishtwar and Chamba. It led to the composite culture in Kishtwar also. The population of Kishtwar includes the Kahwaja, Chani, Padyal, Rathors, Shan, Chandels, Gosani, Rajput, Brahmin, Bhatt, Sheikh, Mahajan and Thakkars. Kamyars, i.e., Pottery makers and Anghals were the Blacksmiths, Sonyars were the ornament makers. The Meghs and Sweepers also existed in society. Meghs and sweepers formed menial classes of society. The caste system prevailed in the society. The people of Kishtwar had several castes. Some of the people enjoyed high status and lived a rich and royal life. These castes included Thakurs, Ranas, and Brahmins. The Brahmins enjoyed a privileged status².

¹ F.M. Hassnain, History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar, Vol. II, 1998, p.150.

² Wali Mohammad AseerKishtwari, 2006, Focus on Jammu and Kashmir, p.970.

The *Thakkars* and the *Bakkarwals* (Goat-Herders) formed a part of the population of Kishtwar. Some of these *Thakkars* might have migrated to *Brari-angan*, a village of Kashmir near Achhabal³. Some *Thakkar* families had migrated from Dacchan in Kishtwar to *Brari-angan* in Kashmir. These *Thakkar* families spoke Kashmiri languages and had mixed up with the Kashmiris in other aspects. These *Thakkars* lived in harmony with the local people of *Barari-angan*. The *Bakarwals* belonged to a very hardy race. They were very tough people. They cleared forest lands for the cultivation of maize crops. These nomadic people migrated to high mountainous pastures in summer and migrated to the area of Reasi and Mirpur in winter. The *Bakarwals* sometimes damaged the state forests. The *Bakarwals* didn't mix up with the people of *Barari-angan* and had established their separate identities. They were not in friendly and cordial relations with the people of *Barari-angan*⁴.

The *Gaddis*, a pastoral tribe were the semi-nomad people who lived in Kishtwar. They resided in high altitudes to graze their flocks of sheep and goats. During the summer, the *Gaddis* encamped at high mountainous areas but with the start of winter and snowfall, they moved into plain areas. During the year, the *Gaddis* were on the move, migrating from one area to another hilly and plain areas. But the *Gaddis* also resided in some settled villages. The *Gaddis* were very nice people. The people kept *Gaddis* in very high esteem. The *Gaddis* enjoyed a high reputation among the people and were welcomed by the people⁵.

5.3 Culture of Kishtwar:

Dogri and Pahari culture had a great impact on the dress and diet of the people. The dress and diet of the people of Kishtwar reflected both Dogri and Pahari culture. The features of Dogri and Pahari culture had a deep-rooted impact on the dress and diet of the people. The people wore the dress of *puttu* (woollen cloth). The people used both woollen and cotton clothes. Grass shoes were also used by poor people⁶. The *puttu* was

³ R.C. Kak, *Antiquities of Marev-Wardwan*, 1971, p.5.

⁴ *Ibid.* p.6.

⁵ Walter R. Lawrence, *Provincial Gazetteer of Kashmir, and Jammu*, 1985, p.35.

⁶ D.C. Sharma, *History and Culture of Kishtwar*, 1985, p.10.

coarse cloth. It was woven locally by the people of Kishtwar to meet the demand of local people. Both men and women used *Puttu* for their dresses. The men wore loose jackets with long loose trousers tightened at the bottom (foot). The men used a skull cap and used a blanket tied around the lions. The people also used shoes made of grass. The women used a long, broad piece of *puttu* to cover themselves. They used grass pins to fasten the piece of *puttu* around the shoulders. The women also used a skull cap. Some women in Kishtwar also used trousers like the men folk of Kishtwar⁷.

The Gaddis were the nomads who lived in the region of Kishtwar. They wore duffel clothes. The Gaddis wore a special type of hat made up of stiff cloth⁸.

The rich and royal people of the society wore a dress which was distinctive from the common people. The dress was distinctive in style and quality compared to the people living in rural areas. When the Raja of Kishtwar, was defeated and arrested by the Mughal army, and was produced before the emperor Jahangir. The emperor was highly impressed by the dress and personality of the Raja of Kishtwar. Jahangir praised his dress and explained that his dress was quite different from other Zamindars of the region⁹.

5.4 Languages:

A number of languages were spoken in Kishtwar. Kishtwar was greatly influenced by Bhadarwahi, Siraji, Pogali, Kashmiri and Ladakhi languages because the people of these areas had established their relations with Kishtwar since the ancient period and continued even in the medieval period. The Kishtwari language had a great impact on these languages. During the 17th century, many Muslims from Kashmir migrated to Kishtwar and settled there. These migrated people spoke the Kashmiri language. Under the influence of these migrated people, the people of Kishtwar started speaking Kashmiri. Most of the people started speaking Kashmiri under the influence

⁷ Charles Ellison Bates, A gazetteer of Kashmir, 2005, p. 237.

⁸ Walter R. Lawrence, Provincial Gazetteer of Kashmir and Jammu, 1985, p.35.

⁹ Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangir, 1994, p.140.

of migrated Muslims. The *Thakkars* understood and spoke the Kashmiri languages but used *Patois*, a language used in the area of *Udil*, Doda and the adjoining areas¹⁰.

Both Kashmiri and Hindi languages were also spoken in Kishtwar. These languages were used both by the common people and the royal section of society in Kishtwar. The raja of Kishtwar, when produced before the Mughal emperor Jahangir, could speak both Hindi and Kashmiri languages¹¹.

5.4.1 Patronage to Literature:

Very little is known about the literature during the medieval period of the Rajas of Kishtwar. Some of the Rajas are known to have a great interest in literature and were persons of great literary taste. They composed poems which are recited even today in folklore. Raja Narinder Sen is known as good scholar of Sanskrit. *Sangeet Sangrah*, a book was composed during the period of Raja Narinder Sen by *Shri Vak*, a Sanskrit scholar. Bana's *Harsh Charita* was preserved in Kishtwar. *Rajvansh Kirti Kamudi* shows the details of the Rajas of Kishtwar. The Sanskrit language was patronized before the advent of Mughal rule in Kashmir and affected the literature and language of Kishtwar. Sanskrit language and literature received a setback and were relegated to the background with the flourishing of the Persian language in the Kishtwar state.¹² During the 17th century, Persian became the court language due to the patronage of the Raja's courtiers and scholars. Raja Maha Singh was a great scholar; he composed verses in Sanskrit and Persian. Once Raja Maha Singh recited a self-composed poem in praise of Neelkanth God¹³. Raja Maha Singh was a literary person of a very high order. He was the master of Hindu *Sastras* and was a learned person¹⁴. Abdul Gafoor contributed towards Persian literature.

The rajas of Kishtwar neither patronized the Kishtwari language nor could it develop due to the lack of its own script. However, Kishtwari poetry has passed on,

¹⁰R.C. Kak, *Antiquities of Marwar*, 1971, p. 23.

¹¹Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, Eng.tr. by Alexander Rogers ed. Henry Beveridge, 1994, p.140.

¹²D.C. Sharma, *History and Culture of Kishtwar*, Kishtwar, 1995, p.212.

¹³Hutchison and Vogel, *History of Punjab Hill States*, Vol. II., Lahore, 2021, p.653.

¹⁴*Ibid.* p.652.

through Kishtwari folklores¹⁵. Raja Gur Singh was a literary person. He was well-versed in the Kashmiri and Hindi languages. Mughal Emperor Jahangir praises Raja Gur Singh for his command over both languages¹⁶. The Mughal emperors contributed towards the flourishing of the literature of Kashmir and Kishtwar. According to emperor Jahangir, *Kalahaha's Rajataragini* was translated from Sanskrit into Persian during the period of Mughal Emperor Akbar¹⁷. The work has references to Raja Kalasa of Kashmir and Raja Oudat Dev of Kishtwar.

5.5 Social Customs and Rituals:

The Hindu population, mainly Thakkars, predominantly inhabited the Dechhan area of Kishtwar. *Thakkars* belonged to *Vaishya* caste. The Muslim population was less in number in Dechhan in comparison to Wadwan and Marev. The Hindu population in Dachhan was not strict towards the observation of Hindu rituals. But they observed Hindu customs and rites in birth, marriage and death. The Hindus also used to wear the sacred thread. Marriage was not considered as a sacrament. Marriage relations could be easily broken. A woman could sever her relationship with her husband easily. Her new husband had to pay her previous husband. The amount of her compensation varied from rupees fifty upwards depending upon the paying capacity and status of the new husband. The bridegroom made a payment for the purchase of a virgin wife for marriage. But among the poor classes, the bridegroom had to perform personal services in the father-in-law's house as a substitute for monetary payment. The period of service varied from two to seven years usually it was five years¹⁸.

Many Kashmiri families of Kashmiri Pandits had settled in the Dachhan area. These Pandits practiced priesthood and agriculture. They established matrimonial relations with the *Thakkars*. The *Kashmiri* Pandits married the women from Thakkar caste but didn't marry their daughters in the Thakkar caste¹⁹.

¹⁵ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Kishtwar, 1995, p.218.

¹⁶ Jahangir, Tuzuk-i- Jahangiri, Vol. I & Vol. II. Eng. Tr. by Alexander Roger, Delhi, 1994, p.140.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 140.

¹⁸ R.C. Kak, Antiquities of marev-wardwan, 1971, p.23.

¹⁹ Ibid.23

Matrimonial alliances took place during the medieval period among the Rajas of Kishtwar, the rulers of Kashmir, and the Mughal emperors. Shanker Devi, the niece of Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishtwar was married to Yaqub Khan the grandson of Ali Shah of Kashmir, the ruler of Kashmir. Mughal emperor Jahangir forbade marriages between Hindus and Muslim women but allowed the Muslims to marry Hindu women²⁰. *William Irvin, later Mughals* refers to the marriage of the daughter of Raja of Kishtwar with Mughal emperor Farrukh Siyar in 1717 A.D.²¹

5.5.1 Witchcraft:

The practice of witchcraft was a deep-rooted feature in the area of Kishtwar among the women folk. Kashmir was greatly affected with the practice of witchcraft, which existed in Maru Wardwan and the areas bordering Kishtwar²². The women of Kishtwar particularly from Dechhan area were known for witchcraft. The women indulging in witchcraft had earned a very bad name in society. It is believed that these women had extraordinary powers, e.g., they could fly in the air or change themselves in the form of lower animals. They could grant life and death to a person. The women with ordinary witchcraft could only harm the people by casting evil eyes. The menfolk were generally afraid of their women because they believed they had the powers of a witch. Nobody could dare to insult the women because it could lead to serious repercussions. It was believed that a witch had no mercy and would not spare even her husband or her child. The men were afraid of the witch and wouldn't utter even a single word against the witch because it could lead to their death and destruction if she happened to listen to anything against her. It was believed that a witch could listen even from a distance if somebody spoke against her. According to an incident witnessed by *R.C. Kak*, the chowkidar was harmed by a woman because the man who was hit on the head with the stick happened to be the husband of a woman who was a witch. The chowkidar also had to suffer with the punishment of severe headaches for being cruel to the husband of the

²⁰ G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, 1930, P.134.

²¹ William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, 1971, p.401.

²² Walter Lawrence, *Provincial Gazetteer of Kashmir and Jammu*, 1985, p.36.

witch. The term which has been explained by R.C. Kak as *Dagin* is used for the witch it is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *Daikin* i.e., female goblin²³.

Only two types of people could escape from the influence of the witches. The first being the state servants and the second men of high moral character. The first category of people was exempted at the request of Maharaja Gulab Singh when he invaded Kishtwar. The second category which was exempted were the men of high character who couldn't be attracted by the beautiful look of the fair sex. This category of men of firm will laugh at the temptation of the witches to attract them²⁴.

Shagin was a class of people who helped the misery of the male population of Kishtwar and Dachhan from the evil effect of the witches. The *Shagins* could counter the ill effects of the witches. The *Shagins* had the power even to punish the witches for their evils and mischief. According to an opinion the power of witchcraft has been extracted through imagination. This opinion is countered by the plea that women used to enjoy domination over their men partners because the women had knowledge of the herbs. For example, *zadi* was a poisonous tasteless herb and could easily be mixed with tea. A person consuming *zadi* could lose his vitality. The *zadi* was served by the witches(women) to their lovers and disloyal husbands²⁵.

Mirza Haider attacked Kashmir during the period of Raja Rai Singh of Kishtwar. Mirza Haider also attacked Kishtwar after invading Kashmir. He attacked Kishtwar with a strong force²⁶. The Raja of Kishtwar, on knowing the strength of the enemy was greatly perturbed and called a conference of his ministers for their suggestions. He discussed the strategy for ensuing danger and the best method to resist the enemy. Witchcraft existed in Kishtwar at that time.

²³ R.C. Kak, Antiquities of Marve-Wardwan, 1971, p.24, from f.n.

²⁴ Ibid. p.24.

²⁵ Ibid. p.24.

²⁶ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, 1995, p.58.

At this point of time, a woman known for witchcraft appeared before the Raja in his court and requested him to allow her to face the army with a spear only and assured the Raja that she could defeat the enemy²⁷.

The old woman (witch) was permitted to fight against the enemy. She proceeded towards Mughal Maidan with a spear. She went to a place towards the western side of the Mughal Maidan and hid herself in a cave. There was a single track for crossing the area through the passage. She waited for the army of the enemy to cross the passage. The Mughal army had to cross passage with one soldier at a time. This passage was a steep route which straightway landed in a deep gorge. Any soldier who tried to pass through this point was attacked with a spear and thrown into the gorge by the woman. Nobody could know about it until the witch killed many soldiers, leading to the high casualties of the Mughal Army. The woman succeeded in defeating the enemy from the narrow passage. This passage was very narrow and even today only one person can pass through it. The Mughal army suffered a great loss and a number of Mughal soldiers were killed in Mughal Maidan. The bodies of a number of soldiers were buried here and the place began to be known as Mughal Mazar, presently known as Mughal Maidan. The Mughal army received a devastating defeat due to the role of the witch. Kishtwar was saved from a great loss of human life and property which could otherwise result into death and destruction of very high magnitude²⁸.

The Raja Rai Singh of Kishtwar awarded the woman (witch) named *Koki Devi* with robes of honor for defeating the enemy in the battle in Mughal Mazar presently known as Mughal Maidan. Folk songs are sung and folk tales are told at length depicting the bravery of Koki Devi in Kishtwar till date²⁹. Both Hashmatulla and D.C. Sharma agreed that the woman had successfully

²⁷ Hutchison and Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol.II, 2021, p.647.

²⁸ Molvi Hashmatulla, Mukhtasar-Tarikh -i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, 1998, p.149.

²⁹ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, 1995, p.60.

killed the army's soldiers due to the strategic position taken by her for attacking the enemy.

The story of Koki Devi seems to be based on imagination. The path was very narrow and it was easy for a person to attack and kill a person from an ambush, laid for the enemy. Therefore, defeat for soldiers in such a situation was nothing but natural. The magic spells of witches seem to be blind faith and superstitions. In fact, the most reasonable ground for it was the scientific knowledge of herbs attained by the women of Kishtwar. These women used herbs for the men folk to make them habitual and addicted for the consumption of these herbs. After becoming addicted for such herbs, the men came under the influence of women (witches). It was the wrong notion that the men had become prey to the witches and were acting as per the dictates of the women (witches).

5.6 Religion in Kishtwar:

The religion of the people of Kishtwar was based on faith in God, Goddesses, rituals, rites, superstitions and natural forces. The society of Kishtwar consisted of the population of Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims. The people of Kishtwar were at liberty to profess their religion without any restrictions and interference on the part of the Rajas of Kishtwar.

Milind Panho, i.e., the questions of King Manader with Nagsen. In this work the king *Manader* had religious discussion with Nagsen, a Buddhist saint and scholar. King Manader was very much influenced with the discussions with Nagsen and adopted Buddhism³⁰. Nagsen as per historical and geographical evidence belonged to Nagseni area of Kishtwar because the location and topographical features prove that Nag Sen belonged to Nagseni³¹. A sizeable number of people of Kishtwar accepted Buddhism under the influence of Buddhist missionaries. Buddhist Gompas have been found at Padar. The Buddhists reside in Chakorie, Kabban and Hango areas. There are Dharam

³⁰ P.K. Koul, Nagsen of Malind Panho, 1996, pp.1,5.

³¹ Ibid.,p. 72-73.

Chakaras or the wheel of Dharam in monasteries in which the people had great faith. The people seek blessings of lord Buddha by rotating the wheel of Dharam ³². The Buddhists reside in the Gulabgarh area of Kishtwar District till date.

5.6.1 Temples in Kishtwar:

The Rajas of Kishtwar believed in the paucity of temples and donations of land grants to the Brahmans. Some Rajas made land grants to the Brahmans for the maintenance of the temples. Raja Narayan Singh granted land to the Brahmins in *Varshala* for a temple known as *Lachhmi Narayan* temple. Anybody who ever entered this temple i.e., *Thakurdwara* could not be arrested as per the orders of Raja Narayan Singh³³. Raja Maha Singh of Kishtwar also known as Maha Jaan was a literary and religious person. He had great faith in the Neelkanth God. Once there was a dry spell in Kishtwar during the reign of Raja Maha Singh which led to famine and starvation conditions. Raja Maha Singh was greatly shocked to see the conditions of his people. He left his palace barefooted to the temple of Neelkanth God. He recited self-composed poems in praise of Neelkanth God and narrated the sufferings of his people to the god. He prayed to the Neelkanth God for the rains and prosperity of his kingdom. His prayers were accepted and there was good rainfall³⁴. Prosperity returned back to Kishtwar. Raja Maha Singh paid his gratitude to the god and distributed food to the Brahmans.

5.6.1.(i) Neel Kanth Temple: Neel Kanth god i.e., Lord Shiva was held in very high esteem in Kishtwar and adjoining states of Kishtwar like Balor Basoli. The people had great faith in lord Shiva i.e., Neel Kantha. Even the Rajas and the royal families deeply believed in Neel Kanth God. Raja Bhupat pal of Balor Basoli attacked Kishtwar and invaded it. He took away the Shiva-ling from the temple of Kishtwar to Basoli and

³² D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, 1995, p.231.

³³ Ishrat Kashmiri, Tarikh-i-iKishtwar, (Urdu), pb. Jammu, 1973 p.39.

³⁴ Pt. Shivji Dhar, Tarikh-i-Kishtwar, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.38.

established it in a temple in Basoli with honour³⁵. This Shivalinga was earlier the family deity of the Raja of Kishtwar. It was believed that one could see the image of previous life if he looked at the Shivalinga. It is believed that once the Rani of Kishtwar became furious after she saw her image as the monkey in the Shivalinga. Out of frustration and anger, she threw the sapphire colour Shivalinga in the fire which turned black. it led to death destruction and famine in Kishtwar. The situation worsened to such an extent that people were compelled to leave Kishtwar for the safety and security of their lives. At the same time, Shivalinga saved the people of Basoli from famine and dry spells who worshipped, lord Shiva. Neel Kanth god used to be worshipped even when Shivalinga was taken away from Kishtwar ³⁶. *N. C. Kotwal, Political and Cultural Heritage of Bhaderwah, Kishtwar and Doda* supports the theory of origin of Neel Kantha Shivalinga and traces it back to the period of Mahabharata. As per this account, Shiva-ling was found in *Kurukshetra* in a well on the guidance of a girl to the Raja of Kishtwar. Shiva-ling was shifted to Kishtwar and installed in the temple of Neel Kanth god. The *Shiva-ling* is believed to have the power to show the previous birth of a person who worshipped the Neel Kanth devotedly. Once a queen of Kishtwar threw it into fire out of her wrath and anger which made the Neel Kanth god angry and made Kishtwar face famine death and destruction. The Raja of Balor Basoli attacked Kishtwar and took away the *Shiva-ling* with him to Basoli as per the wishes of Neel Kanth god in his dream ³⁷.

Hashmatulla, Mukhtsar Tarikh-i-Jammu wa Kashmir, supports the story of the shifting of Shiva-linga from Kishtwar to Balor Basoli

³⁵ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, pb. Chandra Bhaga, 1995, p.75

³⁶ J.N. Ganhar, Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages, pb. New Delhi , 1973, p.51-52.

³⁷ N.C. Kotwal, Political and Cultural Heritage of Bhadarwah, Kashmir and Doda, pb. Jammu, 2000, p.116-118.

during the period of Raja Jagat Singh when Raja Bhupat Pal of Balor Basoli defeated Kishtwar³⁸.

The rajas of Kishtwar had a great faith in gods. Neelkanth was held in very high esteem. Kishtwar faced the conditions of drought during the period of Raja Maha Singh. For a long time, Kishtwar experienced a dry spell and no rains were there in Kishtwar. The people suffered a lot and famine-like conditions existed. The sources of water like springs and ponds became dry. Raja Maha Singh was a great devotee of Neel Kanth god. He went to the temple of Neelkanth temple god barefooted and recited verses with devotion in favour of the god. His prayers were accepted and Kishtwar experienced heavy rainfall with an abundance of water. Prosperity returned back to Kishtwar³⁹.



Fig. 5.1: shows the entrance of Neelkanth Temple, Basoli with Nandi at the doorstep. (source: self clicked)

³⁸Molvi Hashmatulla Khan, MukhtasarTarih-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir, pb. Jammu, 1998, p.161-162.

³⁹Wali Mohammad. Aseer Kishtwari, Focus on Jammu & Kashmir, pb. Jammu, 2006.p-982.



Fig.5.2: shows the internal view of Neel Kanth Temple, Basoli, with Black color Shivalinga. which was earlier in sapphire color. (source: self clicked)

5.6.1.(ii)Ashtadashbuja Sartal Devi Temple: Ashta Dah Bozi Devi is a sacred place in Kishtwar in Sarthal area. This goddess has been compared with Sharika Devi of Kashmir. The people visit the shrines of the goddess Ashta Dah Bozi Devi to seek blessings. The goddess is believed to be the protector of the people ⁴⁰. Raja Agar Dev of Kishtwar is believed to have built the temple of the Eighteen arms goddess in Village Agral of Sarthal area of Kishtwar. The goddess is known for her spiritual powers. The people pay their obeisance to the goddess annually after the Devi accepts their prayers. Nobody dares to take false oaths of the goddess. If anybody indulges in such a practice, he is punished by the Devi Maa within days. Raja Agar Dev founded a village here with the name of Agarar, which later turned into Agral⁴¹. The establishment of *Sarthal Devi* temple in *Agral* by Raja Agar Dev and granting of land

⁴⁰ F.M. Hassnain, History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwat, Vol. II, pb. New Delhi, 1998, p.156.

⁴¹ Molvi Hashmatullah, Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir (Urdu), p. Jammu, 1998, P.145.

for the maintenance of the temple is supported by the *Aseer Kishtwari*⁴². Ishrat Kashmiri writes that Raja Agar Dev assigned the rule of Sarthal area in which Agral village was located to his younger brother Sunder Rai⁴³.

According to a legend, the image of a goddess with eighteen arms was found in a jungle by a cow herd boy. He informed the villagers about it. Raja Agar Dev came to know about it and visited the spot and ordered to shift the image safely to a place now known as *Agral*. He constructed a temple and named the village as *Agraliya*. He even granted forest land for the maintenance of the temple this forest was known as *Deviyun Van* i.e., *Deviji's Jungle*. Raja Agar Dev also donated gold and silver to the Brahmins⁴⁴. The ruins of the temple still exist in Agral. A new temple has been constructed at about one km. from Agral where the idol of goddess *Ashtadasgbhuja* had been installed.

Ashtdashbuja goddess is identified with *Sarika Devi* of Kashmir and is located at a height of 7000 feet above sea level in village Agral in Sarthal area of Kishtwar. It has a black stone image of a goddess with eighteen arms. According to a legend *Sarika* goddess shifted herself from *Hari Parbat* in Srinagar through a shepherd to *Agral*. The goddess who appeared before a shepherd boy in the form of a little girl and asked him to carry her on his back. The female deity flew the boy to *Agral* area on closing his eyes. According to this legend when the boy opened his eyes, to his surprise he found him in a new place known as *Ajaal* in the area of *Sarthal*. Raja Agar Dev visited the place to pay his obeisance but according to another legend Raja Agar Dev had seen *Ashtdashbhuja* goddess in a dream, the very next day the Raja saw the image of the

⁴²Wali Mohd. *Aseer Kishtwari*, Focus on Jammu and Kashmir, pb. Jammu, 2006, p.966.

⁴³ Ishrat Kashmiri, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, pb. Jammu, 1973, p. 37.

⁴⁴ D.C. Sharma, *History and Culture of Kishtwar*, pb. Chandra Bhaga, p.48.

same goddess in the jungle and ordered for shifting of the image to a new place and installed it in the temple in *Agral*⁴⁵.

Devotees and barren couples worship the goddess to get children with the blessings of the goddess. The People whose desires are fulfilled with the blessings of the Ashtdashbuja Devi, visit Devi's temple for paying their obeisance to the mother goddess. The people visit the shrines with their families and relatives in colorful dresses along with the music of bagpipes, flutes, Bugles, and drums. The people visit the shrines with chanting and dancing and raising slogans in the praise of the goddess. The pilgrims visit this shrine annually in thousands even from neighbouring states like Himachal and Punjab. Sacrifice of sheep and goats are made to seek the blessings of the goddesses.⁴⁶



Fig.5.3: Ashtdashbuja Devi Temple at Sarthal. (*source: self clicked*)

⁴⁵ J.N. Ganhar, Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages, pb. Delhi, pp.13, 14.

⁴⁶ J.N. Ganhar, Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages, pb. New Delhi, 1973, p.15

5.6.2 Ziarats in Kishtwar:

Islam spread in Kishtwar under the influence of Sufi Saints and *Rishis* like Sheikh *Nuru ud Din*. The father of Sheikh *Nuru -ud- Din* belonged to the royal family of Kishtwar. Whose earlier name was *Salar Sanz* ⁴⁷. During the period of Mughal emperors, Islam spread in Kishtwar. During the period of Aurangzeb Raja Jai Singh of Kishtwar embraced Islam under the influence of Syed *Farid- ud -Din Qadiri*, of Baghdad. Raja Jai Singh had embraced Islam on being impressed with the supernatural powers of Sheikh *Farid -Ud -Din*. Several people of Kishtwar embraced Islam after the conversion of Jai Singh to Islam. All these conversions were peaceful and did not involve any forcible tendency to accept Islam. The Mughal emperor visited Kashmir frequently. These visits also contributed for the spread of Islam in Kishtwar because Kishtwar lay enroute to Kashmir⁴⁸.

5.6.2.(i) Ziarat of Shah Farid-ud-din Sahib:

Kishtwar is famous for Muslim shrines, one of which belongs to Shah Farid -Ud -Din Sahib and the second belongs to *Asrar- Ud- Din* Sahib. Shah *Farid -ud- Din* was a great Muslim saint. Shah Farid -ud -Din came to India from Bagdad during the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. But after a brief stay in the capital of Mughal empire, he shifted to Kishtwar with some of his followers and settled there. Raja Jai Singh, the Raja of Kishtwar was greatly impressed by the teachings and spiritual powers of Shah *Farid -Ud- Din*. Due to the influence of Shah *Farid -Ud- Din*, Islam spread in Kishtwar. Shah *Farid -Ud -Din* lived a simple and long pious life and left this mortal world at the age of 99. His life was very simple and he used to consume bread of barley and vegetable sauce. He performed several miracles. A *Ziarat* has been constructed over his tomb. People from Kishtwar, Bhaderwah and other

⁴⁷ G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, pb. Srinagar, 1930, p. 50.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 57

places visit the shrines to seek the blessings of the Sufi saints⁴⁹. Every year a fair is held at Ziarat of this revered saint. People from Rajouri, Punch and Kashmir valley attend the *Urs* of Shah *Farid-Ud- Din*. This *Urs* is celebrated on the 7th of Har which falls on the 21st or 22nd of June at the Ziarat of Shah Farid-Ud- Din. Raja Jai Singh was greatly impressed by the miracles performed by Shah-Fari-ud. Din, and embraced Islam with the name of Bakhtiyar Khan and became the first ruler to embrace Islam⁵⁰. The title of Bakhtyar Khan was bestowed upon Raja Jai Singh by the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb. A number of people embraced Islam during the period of Raja Jai Singh⁵¹. This version of Aseer Kishtwari regarding embracing of Islam by the people on a large scale is supported by G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*⁵².



Fig.5.4: Ziarat of Farid-ud-Din Baghdadi, Kishtwar (*source: self clicked*)

⁴⁹ J.N. Ganhar, *Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages*, Pb. New Delhi, 1973, p.122-23.

⁵⁰ S.D.S. Charak, *History and Culture of Himalayan States*, Vol. VI, pb. Pathankot, 1988, p.299.

⁵¹ Wali Mohd. Aseer Kishtwari, *Focus on Jammu and Kashmir*, pb.2006, p.984.

⁵² G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, pb. Srinagar, 1930, p. 57.

5.6.2.(ii) Ziarat of Shah Asrar-ud-din Sahib:

Shah Asrar-Ud-Din was son of Shah Farid -ud -Din. He died at young age of 18 and was buried near the chogan of Kishtwar which became a place of pilgrimage. He is believed to have performed a number of miracles ⁵³.Asrar -ud -Din Sahib was known for his Kindness and the miracles performed by him. Once he is said to have restored life to one of his childhood friends who was being taken for cremation. It is told that when his friend was being taken for cremation, Asrar -ud Din was told that the deceased was one of his Hindu friends. On knowing about it, Shah Asrar- ud- Din touched the dead body and asked it to get up. His friend got up by this miracle and was granted a new lease of life. The Ziarat of Shah Asrar ud Din is located on the south-west of Chogan of Kishtwar. Every year Urs is celebrated on the Ziarat of Asrar ud Din Shah.

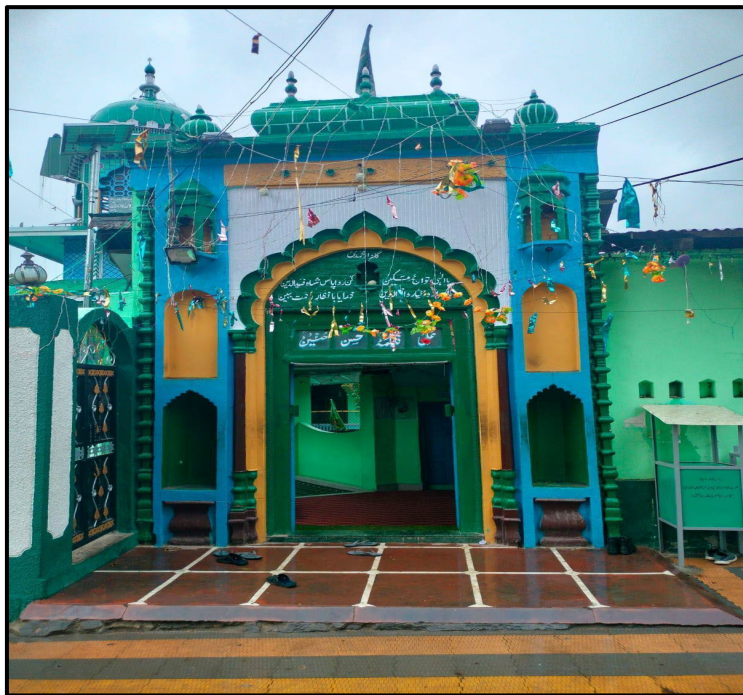


Fig. 5.5 Ziarat of Shah Asra ud Din Sahib, located near the Chogan of Kishtwar. (source: self clicked)

⁵³ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, pb. Chandra Bhaga, Kishtwar, 1995, p.82.

The alliances between the Rajas of Kishtwar with rulers of Kashmir and the Mughal emperors were motivated purely on political grounds but the matrimonial alliances sometimes accompanied these alliances. The diversity of religion did not matter in such alliances because these such alliances were made irrespective of the faith of the powers signing these alliances. Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishtwar married his daughter to Ali Shah Chak, the ruler of Kashmir who became famous with the name of *Fateh' Khatoon* ', i.e., the lady of victory. Bahadur Singh was defeated again by Ali Shah and made an alliance with him and agreed to pay tribute. Bahadur Singh sent his niece in marriage to Yaqub Khan, the grandson of Ali Shah⁵⁴.

5.6.3 Fairs and Festivals of Kishtwar:

A number of fairs and festivals have been celebrated in Kishtwar since early times and some of them continue to be celebrated till date in different ways. Kakul, Tahar, Ashta Bhuji, Katak Yatra, continue to be celebrated in Kishtwar. A great fair is celebrated in memory of Shah Farid-ud-din.

5.6.3.(i) Kakul:

Kakul is a legendary festival celebrated in the month of Palguna (February, March) on that day all male members used to assemble on the Hudri spring for the performance of a ritual and religious purpose⁵⁵. Hudri Spring is located on the Southern site of the fort of Kishtwar. On the day of Kakul festival, the male members used to take holy baths in the spring after discarding their clothes and weapons. They used to worship on Hudri spring after discarding their clothes and weapons. They used to worship on Hudri Spring after performing some rituals⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ G.M.D. Sufi, Islamic Culture in Kashmir, pb. New Delhi. 1979, P. 111.

⁵⁵ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, Tarikh -i- Kishtwar, (Persian), pb. 1962, Srinagar, p.24.

⁵⁶ J. Hutchison and J. Vogel, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. II, pb. New Delhi. 2021, p.644.

The Hudri spring was held in very high esteem from the religious point of view.

The Panjasasis (warlike trading tribe from Punjab) have been residing in Kishtwar since ancient times. They ruled Kishtwar on the invasion of Kishtwar by Raja Kahan Pal, (the first historical ruler of Kishtwar). The Panjasasis worshipped in the month of Phalgun (February March) at *Hudri* spring. It was a custom among the Panjasasis to worship Hudri spring by disarming themselves on the day of Kakul festival. On this day the Panjasasis were defeated and suffered a great loss of life due to the attack of Kahan Pal, who became the ruler of Kishtwar⁵⁷.

5.6.3.(ii) Bisou: Bisou is one of the festivals of Kishtwar. The confluence of rivers was taken as a holy place; religious ceremonies were celebrated on the confluence of the rivers on the day of Bisou. This festival falls on the day Baishakhi and has religious importance among the people of Kishtwar. The people of Kishtwar take bath at Bandarkot, the confluence of River Chanderbhaga and *Marev Suder*. The people take this bath as a holy bath and affiliate it with the religious ceremony.

5.6.3.(iii) Sarthal Devi Yatra: During the period of Raja Parthu Dev, who ruled Kishtwar from 820-828 A.D. A ferocious demon is described to have appeared in the area between Kishtwar and Nagseni and is believed to have made a great loss of precious human lives and made great destruction in the area. The Raja of Kishtwar took to ascetic practices and worshipped Durga Asht Buja i.e., goddess of victory and succeeded in killing the Demon. It led to the end of atrocities committed on the people by the Demon. Raja Parthu Dev constructed a temple in Sarthal known as Asht Bhuja Sarthal Devi temple. With Raja Parthu

⁵⁷ Ibid., 644.

Dev's victory over the demon, an annual pilgrimage to Sarthal Devi started⁵⁸.

5.6.3.(iv) Kantik Yatra: The rajas and the people of Kishtwar had faith in the performance of *Havanas*. The *Havanas* were performed even by the Rajas of Kishtwar for the welfare of the people. During the period of Raja Sangram Singh, a demon appeared in Kishtwar and Killed a number of people of Kishtwar. The people did not cross the Chogan for the fear of Demon ⁵⁹. They preferred to cross the Chogan in group for the safety of their lives. Every tenth person who crossed the Chogan was killed by the Demon. The term *Dais Kahu* explains the term i.e., one out of ten ⁶⁰. Raja Sangram Singh had a great faith in *Havans* and priests and was a religious person. He invited a priest, Sangram Bhat from Nagseni to free his people from the death and destruction caused by Demon. The Havana was performed in Chaar Chinnar in Chogan . The place of gost have been marked with a stone in the Chogan of Kishtwar. The Demon was ultimately caught and killed by the priest. Raja Sangram Singh and the people of Kishtwar celebrated this victory over the Demon annually in the form of a fair. The Raja made a land grant to the priest which was latter known as *Sangrambhata*. The Demon was buried in the Chogan of Kishtwar below a huge stone by Sangram Bhat by performing a Havan. The place where the Demon was killed in the shape of elephant is known as Hastigand i.e., the place where the elephant has been tied ⁶¹. This day was affiliated to Kantik Yatra from the period of Raja Bhagwan Singh⁶². Raja Bhawan Singh ordered for an annual festival i.e., Kantik Yatra to commemorate his victory over Raja

⁵⁸ N.C. Kotwal, Political and Cultural Heritage of Bhadarwah, Kishtwar, and Doda, pb. Jammu, 2000, p.31.

⁵⁹ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, Tarikh-i- Kishtwar, (Persian), Pb. Srinagar, 1962, p. 27.

⁶⁰ Ibid.,p. 27.

⁶¹ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, pb. Kishtwar, 1995, p.52.

⁶² Wali Mohd. Aseer Kishtwari, Focus on Jammu and Kashmir, pb. Jammu, 2006, p.968.

Bhupat Pal of Balor Basoli in which Kantik, the commander of Balor Basoli was killed.

D.C. Sharma, *History, and culture of Kishtwar* and Aseer Kishtwari, agree on the theory of the victory of Raja Bhagwan Singh over Kantik, the commander of Raja Bhupat Pal of Balor Basoli. Raja Bhagwan Singh associated the day to commemorate his victory with the Kantik Yatra. This festival was earlier started by Raja Sangram Singh of Kishtwar. This festival is celebrated in Kishtwar even in modern days, but with the changed form in which the people celebrate the festival among their family members and relatives by holding feasts ⁶³.



Fig. 5.6: shows the stone in the chogan of Kishtwar. It shows the remaining top of the stone under which the Demon was buried. Raja

⁶³ D.C. Sharma, *History and Culture of Kishtwar*, p. Kishtwar, 1995, p.52.

Sangram Singh started a festival to celebrate the victory over the Demon. The people began to celebrate this annual festival by singing and dancing. (*source: self clicked*)

5.6.3.(v) Tihars: Tihar is an interesting festival celebrated in Kishtwar. It is celebrated in Bhaderwah as well. The springs and Baulies are cleaned and worship of Naga i.e., Serpents is done on that day⁶⁴. Tihars are a special type of festival which were celebrated in Kishtwar during the medieval period and continue to be celebrated in Kishtwar and Bhandarkot area. These Tihars, beyond the Bhandarkot area, are celebrated for five days, whereas these festivals are celebrated for nine days in Kishtwar proper, Mandal, Nagseni, Sarthal and Saroor areas. These Tihars are given different names for celebrations on different days. Images of gods and goddess were prepared by the Hindus who invited them by worshipping the images. The images of gods were placed very sensitively in the houses by the people to worship the deities. On the first day, gods were invited by the people with the *term Div Aye* i.e., the gods have come. Second day *Sadaankalan*, the third-day *Sattan*, fourth-day *Kakul*, Fifth *Do Kakul*, Sixth day *Tre Kakul*, Seventh *Nikas*, Eight *do Nikas*, and Nineth day *Tre Nikas*⁶⁵. On the day of *Kakul*, the male members used to go to the water source and after taking bath, brought water to their homes in small pots locally known as *lotas*. It was a local ceremony known as *Pain Chhawai* i.e., touching of water. The ladies were forbidden to go to sources of water, maybe springs or streams. The male members brought water to their homes. On the Second day of *Kakul* festival, *Kamrath*, the ornaments were weighed. On the final day of *Tre Nikas*, the ladies touched the water. A ceremony named *Bhum Chhawai* i.e., touching of the earth was celebrated. The male and female members of the house assembled in the field with branches of fruit trees, flowers, cooked meals and burning incense, cow

⁶⁴ J.N. Ganhar, Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimage, pb. New Delhi, 1974, p.139.

⁶⁵ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, pb. Kishtwar 1995, p.208.

dung, spade etc. The male members dug a trench with the spade and the branches of the fruit trees were planted in it. The cooked meal was distributed among the children. Throughout all the days of *Tihars* delicious foods and dishes were prepared. On the last day the slogans were shouted like *Div Drai*, Golan Gadai Langi Gai i.e., gods have left. Even today, *Tihars* are celebrated in changed form by holding feasts and greetings⁶⁶.

5.6.3.(vi) Yatras:

Yatras are very popular and frequent in Kishtwar. Yatras are held both in Kishtwar and Bhandarwah. In Kishtwar the yatras were celebrated even during the medieval period. Yatras mean a mela comprising of a procession accompanied by dancing. The Yatras can also be defined as seasonal festivals when the farmers were free from their work in their fields. A big yatra is held in Ashtadasbhuja temple in Kishtwar. The dancers perform their activities in Hindu and Muslim shrines by dancing and music. During Yatras ram fights were arranged in the chogan near the Chinar tree. Even a yatra was held in chogan known as Kahtak Yatra which is affiliated with the killing of Kanak, a commander of Raja of Balor Basoli by Bhagwan Singh, the Raja of Kishtwar. This Yatra is also associated with the killing of a demon in the chogan at a place known as *Hasti Gand*. Another Yatra is held for nine days in the month of Phagun, an agriculture festival, and a symbol of the start of harvesting season. A Yatra is also held in Sarthal Devi shrines in which sacrifice of sheep and goat is made. The performance and the mystic powers of Chelas are the special features of these Yatras. The Chelas are devotees of the deity in whose honour Yatras are held. In these Yatras Chelas hold a key position due to their performances including the forecasts of calamities like famine, drought, and disease. It was also believed that the Chelas could also help the people by their powers in getting rid of drought, famine

⁶⁶ Ibid. P.208-209.

etc. They could walk on the glowing hot embers without getting harmed⁶⁷.

5.7 Land Grants and Religious Institutions:

The Rajas of Kishtwar respected the sentiments of the people professing different faiths. They assigned grants to mosques as well as temples for the maintenance of these religious institutions. Raja Maha Singh assigned land grants to the Brahmins after his successful prayer in the Neelkanth temple. Raja Agar Dev granted a land grant for the maintenance of the temple.

A number of land grants were made to religious institutions. The Rajas of Kishtwar were very liberal in their religious outlook. They never discriminated the religious institutions on the basis of different faiths existing in their state. They made grants to religious institutions without any discrimination. Raj Agar Dev granted land for the maintenance of *Ashtdashbujja* Devi temple in a village named *Agral*. The land grant was known as *deviyun Van*, i.e., Deviji's Jungle. A Brahman named Koul was appointed Pujari of the temple⁶⁸. Raja Laxman Dev was also very liberal in making grants for religious purposes. He granted revenue-free land grants to the Brahmans of Palmar. The land grant of Palmar village is known as *Lachhbhata* after the name of Raja Laxman Dev⁶⁹. Raja Sangram Singh also continued the liberal approach to grant land to religious institutions. He assigned land grants to Sangram Bhat, a Brahman and an astrologer. Sangram Bhat founded there a village known as *Sangrambhata*. The Rajas of Kishtwar adopted the same outlook towards Islam for the grant of lands for the maintenance of the mosques, e.g., Raja Maha Singh granted land for the maintenance of Masjid Khwaja Garib in Kishtwar. Twelve annas per day were granted as cash for the maintenance of the mosque⁷⁰.

⁶⁷ J.N. Ganhar, *Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages*, Pb. New Delhi, 1973, pp.146-148.

⁶⁸ D.C. Sharma, *History and Culture of Kishtwar*, Kishtwar, 1995, p. 48.

⁶⁹ Pt. Shiv ji Dhar, *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, (Persian), Srinagar, 1962, p.27.

⁷⁰ Ibid. p.38.

5.8 Literature and fine arts:

The art and literature in Kishtwar date to Rigvedic times when the Rishis compiled the hymns during their stay in caves. One such place *Rishinivas* is known as *Rikinivasin* Warwan area and other places in Kishtwar. Dance, music, poetry, and philosophy also originated in Kishtwar and changed with the passage of time. *Milind Panho* was written in the 2nd century B.C., a conversation between king Milind and Nagsen of Nagseni in question-answer form. The conversation of *Milind Panho* is in the Pali language. The art and literature did not receive patronage of the rajas of Kishtwar before the 10th century A.D. But after the 10th century A.D. it received royal patronage. During the period of Raja Narinder Sen, a book on topography and on astrology was written in Sanskrit. During Raja Narinder Sen a book on music titled *Sangeet Sangrah* was composed in Sanskrit by Shri Vik⁷¹. Rattan Kanth a Kashmiri Pandit who migrated from Kashmir to Kishtwar in the second half of the 17th century had found a manuscript of Ban Bhat's *Harsh charita*, which had been preserved in Kishtwar by the Sanskrit scholars⁷².

Another Sanskrit work *Rajvansh Kirti Komudi* was written by Sangram, Dev a Brahman. Sarthal Devi Darshnam, a work in Sanskrit written by Hari Lal Joshi contains 556 slokas (verses) with hymns. This work reveals the history of Sarthal Devi Mata Ashtadsashbhuj. Kishtwar has proved a cradle for Sanskrit literature. Sanskrit work like, *Rajvansh Kirti Komudi* and *Sangeet Sangrah* and *Sarthal Devi Darshanam*, are living examples of Sanskrit literature in Kishtwar. G.M. Ishrat in his work *Tarikh -i- Kishtwar* explains that during the Mughal period, the Sanskrit language received a setback and was relegated into the background while the Persian language received royal patronage and flourished in Kishtwar. The rajas of Kishtwar showed a keen interest in Persian Language and they were great scholars of the Persian language. The Persian Language became the court language. Some rajas composed verses in Persian. Raja Maha Singh was a great scholar of the Persian language. Raja Kirit Singh also composed verses in the Persian Language. Raja Anayatullah Singh was also a Persian

⁷¹ J.N. Ganhar, Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages, pb. New Delhi. 1973, p. 167.

⁷² D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, pb. Kishtwar, 1995, p. 211.

scholar and poet. Raja Mohammad Tegh Singh, the last ruler of Kishtwar, was also a renowned Persian scholar and poet⁷³.

The Hindi language also developed in Kishtwar along with the Persian language. Hari Lal Joshi scholar also wrote books in Hindi⁷⁴. Ishrat Kashmiri, an Urdu scholar, wrote the history of Kishtwar in Urdu.

The poetry of Kishtwar is an indigenous art that resembles the poetry of Kashmir. But it is distinctive in character to some extent of Kashmir Poetry. Kishtwari poetry has not developed to a great extent as compared to Kashmiri poetry because the script of the Kishtwari language is lacking, moreover, royal patronage was lacking in the development of Kishtwari poetry. However, it has been passed on from generation to generation through folklore⁷⁵.

The cultural and social life of the people of Kishtwar had a deep-rooted impact of the indigenous style of music and dance in it. Raja Narinder Sen was one of the rajas of Kishtwar who gave patronage to music. Music and dance were a part of the festivals of Kishtwar. A festival in Kishtwar started during the period of Raja Sangram Singh, which was related to the killing of a demon. According to an opinion, an elephant who was a Demon used to kill the people of Kishtwar was buried in the Chogan of Kishtwar. In this context, a festival started to be celebrated in the ground of Kishtwar during the period of Raja Sangram Singh. Later on, this festival merged with Katak Yatra after the invasion of Raja Bhagawan Singh over Katak, the commander of the army of Balor (Basoli)⁷⁶.

Zagroo music is a typical style of Kishtwar found in Saroor, Sarthal, Nagseni, Thakarie, Paddar and Kontwara areas of Kishtwar. Zagroo music and dance have deep-rooted social and religious bearings and show the different aspects of the culture of Kishtwar. Paddy tune finds a place of importance in Kishtwari Music. Dance and music find a special place in the religious ceremonies, social functions, fairs and

⁷³ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, pb. Kishtwar, 1995, p.212.

⁷⁴ Ibid. p.213.

⁷⁵ Ibid. p.218.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p.220

festivals in Kishtwar. Many songs are sung during crop harvesting, grass cuttings, husking and planting of paddy, both by men and women⁷⁷.

The painting and drawing of Bengal greatly influenced the art of painting and drawing because the Rajas of Kishtwar had their origin in Bengal. Kahan Pal was the first historical ruler of Kishtwar. He had his roots in Bengal. The pictures of some rajas of Kishtwar and the courtiers show the influence of Bengal in the style of Paintings. The drawings and paintings show the impact and style of paintings of Bengal⁷⁸.

5.9 Architecture and Sculpture:

Kishtwar had a unique position due to its geographical location and political conditions. Due to the attacks of the invaders, asylum seekers of the neighbouring states took shelter in Kishtwar. The religious missionaries also visited Kishtwar from time to time. The advent of Islam in Kishtwar was also a special feature in the history of Kishtwar. All these factors shaped the art and architecture of Kishtwar and gave it a unique and special identity as compared to the Art and Architecture of the neighboring states. But at the same time, the art and architecture of Kishtwar did not remain aloof from the art and architecture of the neighboring states like Kashmir, Chamba, Bahderwah, Kangra and Delhi.

The reflection of art and architecture of Kishtwar can be traced in its religious buildings, i.e., temples, ziarats and monasteries. The architecture of Kishtwar can also be found in the forts, royal palaces, and other buildings constructed by the Rajas of Kishtwar. With the passage of time, many of these monuments have been fully or partially damaged due to climatic and other factors. Still, a detailed study of the remnants of caves, fountains, megaliths, idols, images, ruins of forts and palaces, buildings, and temples show the architecture which has gone through different stages since ancient times. The study of the following buildings, temples, Ziarats, forts and palaces reveal the style and quality of the architecture of Kishtwar.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p.223.

⁷⁸ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, pb. Kishtwar, 1995, p.223.

Kaikut Temple:

The temple at Kaikut is a unique temple constructed purely with deodar wood. It is located at a distance of Thirteen miles from Dachhan in Kishtwar. The temple of Kaikut has got no comparison in its unique features of construction and quality⁷⁹. It is believed that the temple was built by raja Maha Jaan i.e., raja Mahajan who ruled Kishtwar from 1650-56. It is believed that the temple was built about three hundred years ago⁸⁰. The temple is a square of 6' 9". The height of the temple from the floor of the sanctum to the top of the spire is 21' 5".

The temple has a corridor around it built of wood and stone. The walls of the temple have been constructed of timber with alternate courses of timber. The stone used in the temple is mostly used of small chips size. The walls have been divided into different sections by the small transverse timber, which passes through the thickness of the walls. The angles at corners and the jambs at the entrance were built of pieces of wood. The core consisted of dry-stone masonry; a sloping roof covered it. A few rafters could be traced till date. Its eaves rested on a string course decorated with a row of carved lozenges⁸¹.

The external surface of the sanctum is composed entirely of wood. The plinth has been constructed with the combined use of stone and wood. The height of the wall from the floor of the corridor is 6' 10". The wall was divided into four sections i/e. (1). Plinth Section, (2 & 3.) Sections were in the middle consisting each of five courses and separated from each other by fish bone pattern (>>><<<) set point to point. The courses consist of long horizontal beams alternating with the ends of transverse timber, whose interspaces were filled with small pieces of wood 1' 3" to 1' 6" long. The topmost course of the second section was composed of a single beam that also served as the doorway's lintel and was elaborately carved. (4.) Over this is the projecting bracket course. The temple has a small doorway 3' 4 ½" x 1' 9". Its frame is 8" wide and beautifully carved. Its decoration consists of floral scrolls and a row of perforated hearts with two

⁷⁹ R.C. Kak, *Antiquities of Marev-Wardwan*, Pb. Delhi, 1971, p.27.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p.27.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 27.

denticulated borders. In the middle of the other three sides are small niches, similar in shape and size to the doorway and sunk only three inches similar in shape and size to the doorway or so below the surface of the wall. The construction of the temple shows that its builders did not have a clear concept of the use of a niche which can be seen by its shallowness and the fact that round moulding on the external surface of the sanctuary was carried through the middle where it is no use because it does not serve any purpose.

The spire is carried 8' 8" higher than the level of the rafters of the corridor. The interspace of its wall is open and has not been filled with stones. The ceiling of the sanctum was 6' 7" in height. On the top of the spire, a few beams are placed diagonally. At the point of their intersection is raised a pier which supported the kalasa. Its shape looked like a ribbed melon. There are indications supported by tradition that the walls of the corridors were carried higher and supported the roof which extended from the top of the spire downwards and that the rafters of corridors were intended principally to counteract the inward thrust of the steep roof which owing to its steepness always pressed inwards the walls upon which it rested. The temple faces east and rests on a rubble basement measuring 52' 4" square and 2' 6" height. In the middle of the north side is a double flight of steps, 7' 6" in height with the same width. A retaining wall on the east side protects the temple by keeping the debris away from the temple's compound⁸².

The Kaikut temple shows the secular characteristic of the architectural style common with the mosque of Shah Hamdan in Srinagar, which proves that the wooden style of architecture was not confined to Muslim buildings alone but had been adopted by the Hindus for the construction of their religious buildings.

Kaikut temple is a *nag* temple. The temple was built in the 17th sanctuary by Raja Maha Singh. It is the best example of the architecture of its time. It is a fine combination of the construction of wood and stone. The temple is an example of carving

⁸² R. c Kak , Antiquities of Mareve- Wardwan, pb. Delhi, 1971, p.28.

on wood and stone sculpture and proves the craftsmanship during the medieval period. The land adjoining the temple shows that there was civilization inhabiting in the area⁸³.

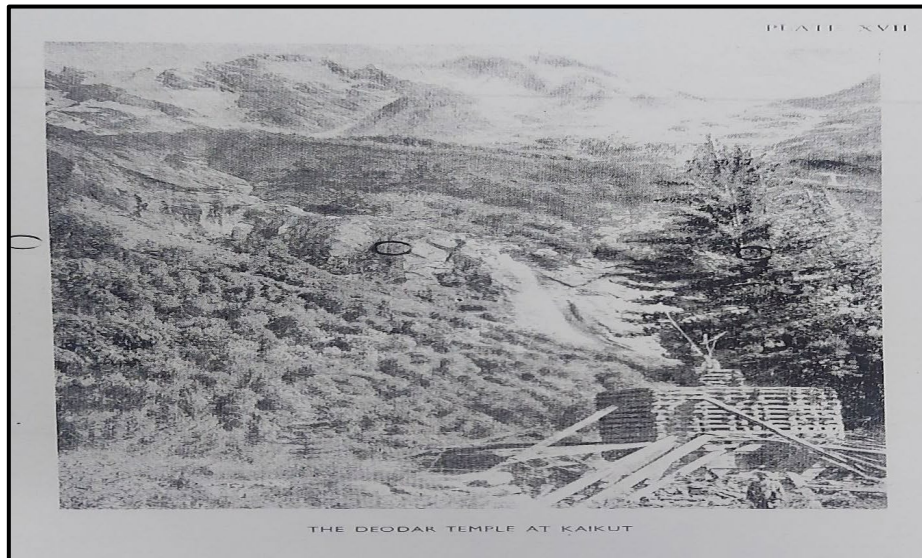


Fig. 5.7: A View of Deodar temple at Kaikut. It shows the old view of Kaikut temple, as R.C. Kak shows in his work "Memoirs of the Archaeological survey of Kashmir No. 1 Antiquities of Marev-Wadwan".



Fig. 5.8: Present view of Kaikut temple at Kaikut. (source: self clicked)

⁸³ <https://Kishtwar.nic> dt 18/07/22.

Caves of Bathastal:

These caves are located in Dachhan at a distance of more than a mile from Dachhan. The mouth of the cave is very narrow. It is located below a small waterfall. A small streamlet starts from it. It is inconvenient but not difficult to enter the cave. There is a long, spacious hall inside the cave. The cave is dry inside, except for the area where water flows. At the cave entrance, there is a handprint which seems to have been addressed to *Kunti*, the mother of the *Pandavas*⁸⁴. The cave's formation seems to have resulted from natural erosion and frost action at the mouth of the cave. The cave's characteristics show that it has undergone various changes like styles belonging to different periods painted with multiple colors on its ceilings. These writings in caves proved that they were written between the third century A.D. and the fifth century A.D. The characteristics of the cave prove that these were the specimens of Brahmi. The words written could not be interpreted so far due to their defaced condition⁸⁵. According to D.C. Sharma, the *Rishis* during ancient times used to sit for meditation in the cave and compiled religious literature as well. Bathastal Cave belongs to such caves with inscriptions in *Brahmi* script of the 3rd century A.D.⁸⁶.

Stone gateway at Agral:

Sarthal is an area of Kishtwar in which Agral village is located. The temple of Ashtdashbhuj Devi is situated in this village. There is a stone gateway at Agral at a distance of half a mile from the site of the old temple. The gateway of the temple is made up of stone blocks 59"x 33" from the inside with a capital of 85"x23" on it. Raja Agar Dev built this gateway during his reign. It is a remarkable and magnificent example of the craftsmanship of Kishtwar state. A musical sound is produced on striking the rectangular stone blocks of the gateway⁸⁷.

⁸⁴ R. C. Kak, *Antiquities of Marev- Wardwan*, pb.Delhi, 1971, p. 25

⁸⁵ Ibid. p.26.

⁸⁶ D.C. Sharma, *History and Culture of Kishtwar*, pb.Kishtwar, 1995, p.225.

⁸⁷ Ibid. p.228.

Saiya Draman Nag Seni, Kishtwar

Nag Seni was an area of Kishtwar state lying between Kishtwar and Gulabgarh. *Saiya Draman* is presently a village of *Nag Seni* block in Kishtwar. *Saiya Draman* is a rich area with an architectural point of view and has great historical importance as well. It has numerous archaeological remains which show the architectural development with its social and cultural historical background, which the society of Kishtwar carried through different phases of history. Architectural ruins are a treasure from an archaeological point of view. Several ruins have been found in *Saiya Draman* that have not been preserved. But show the ancient architecture of Kishtwar. A small stone temple still exists in a ruined form in *Saiya Draman* in spite of facing different natural calamities like earthquakes, winds and storms.



Fig. 5.9 The remains of an old temple at *Saiya Draman*. It shows the architectural remains of the temple at *saiya Draman*, *Nag Seni*. (source: self clicked)

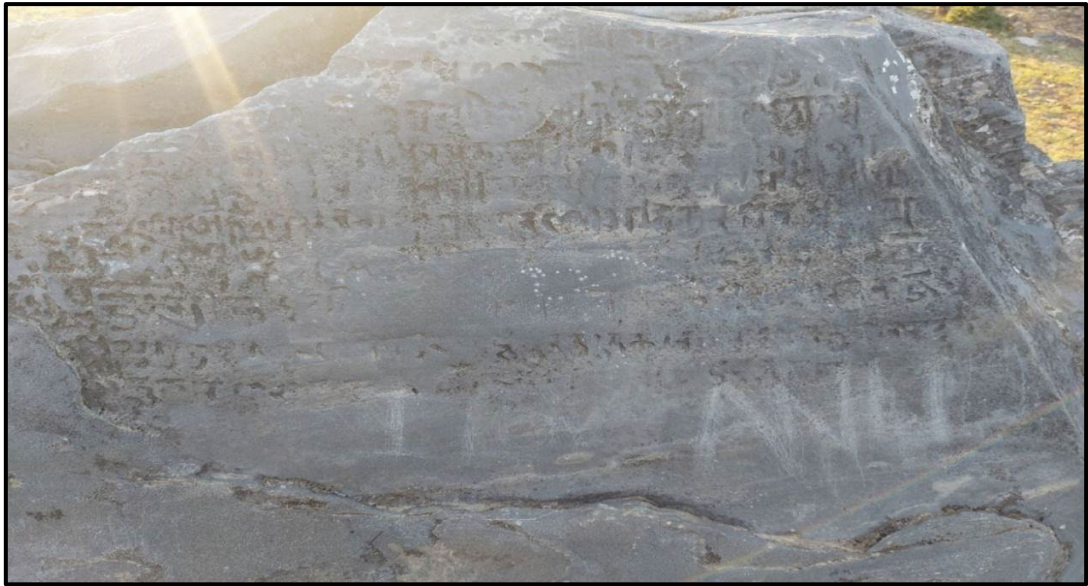


Fig. 5.10: Undeciphered inscriptions at Saiya Draman Nagseni (*source: self-clicked*)

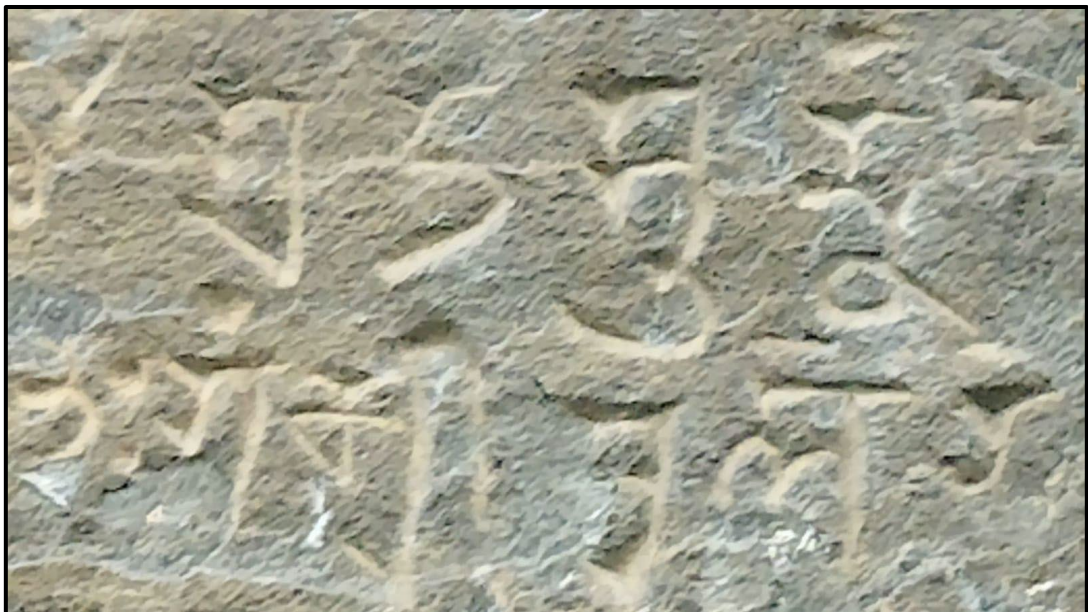


Fig. 5.11: Close view of Script in Nagseni (*source: self-clicked*)

A headless idol sculptured out of black rock is enshrined in the temple, along with inscriptions that have been found engraved. (Fig. 5.13) There is also an inscription on a block of stone measuring 12x31 inches which has not been deciphered so far. (Fig. 5.10, 5.11) Nagseni is associated with Buddhism. Nagsen, a Buddhist sage, is believed to have lived in the Nagseni area and composed his work Milind Panho in the area about

2000 years ago. The Vishnu temple at Saiya Draman is believed to be built about 500 years ago⁸⁸.



Fig.5.12: Architectural remains in Saiya Draman. It shows the overall view of the temple at Saiya Draman with other historical remains at the site lying in the ruins.

(source: self-clicked)

⁸⁸<http://m.facebook.com/nagsenitalks/photos/a.109123030770987/111864707163486/?type=3>

Sculptures

The art of sculptures existed in Kishtwar even during the ancient period and developed in a phased manner in the medieval period, which can be proved from the available monuments which belonged to ancient and medieval times. The monuments have not been preserved and have faced natural and human devastations. These monuments, including forts, palaces, and temples and inscriptions on some important buildings, show the architecture and sculpture of Kishtwar. It was indigenous but underwent different stages under the influence of Buddhist missionaries and the impact of invaders who came to invade Kishtwar. Some people from Kashmir who visited and settled in Kishtwar brought new techniques of inscriptions and sculptures borrowed from Persia and Afghanistan.

The Pahari School of Art has also influenced the art of sculpture of Kishtwar, but the Gandhar School of Art has least influenced it. The roots of the sculpture of Kishtwar are embedded in Vedic culture but with the passage of time, it included Vedic and Puranic periods with Naga cult, which dominated it. But later on, Buddhism dominated the sculptures of Kishtwar. But Bengali and central Indian culture also reached Kishtwar with the establishment of the rule of Kahan Pal in Kishtwar. The art of the Sculpture of Kishtwar is having an impact of the Hindu and Buddhist art of sculpture. But the patronization of sculpture by the Rajas of Kishtwar has not been confirmed in the historical records⁸⁹.

The remains of ruins of the sculpture of Kishtwar include the idols of animal figures, floral designs, icons etc. These are the handiwork of the sculptors of Kishtwar. A rosette has been carved out around the mouth of the fountain at *Tilmuchhi*. It is a common feature of all *noans* found almost in all parts of Kishtwar.

⁸⁹ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Pb. Kishtwar, 1995, P. 235.



Fig. 5.13: Shows the headless idol sculptured out of black rock. It shows the internal view of the temple with the headless idol in black rock, along with other idols of the deities. *(source: self-clicked)*

The carvings and engraving have been found on the doors, windows, and ceilings at Kaikut and Dhensher Nag. It shows the indigenous sculptural art of Kishtwar. Stone plates with images of gods on them have been found in Nagseni area

of Kishtwar. The ruins at *Saiya Draman* in *Nagseni* in Kishtwar show the old art and sculpture of Kishtwar. A broken image with floral design has been found in *Saiya Draman*. Ashok Chakra or Dharam Chakra with 24 spokes has been found along with the image of Buddha at *Bhattan* in *Nagseni*. An Image of *Kuber* God has been found in *Bhandarkot* fort, which is made up of sandstone schist⁹⁰. An Idol of Lord Vishnu has been found in Vimal Nag temple of Saroor. It is an ancient piece of sculpture and shows the craftsmanship of ancient Kishtwari Sculptors. The head of the deity is overshadowed by seven-headed *Serpents* Sheshnag. An idol of Vishnu had been found in Mughal Maidan made up of dark bluish stone. It is an impressive antique, kept in Mair Gosain temple in Mughal Maidan. The sculptural pieces found in Kishtwar, Nagseni, Sarthal and Dachhan have many similarities in their resemblance and the quality of stone used for them. In Marwa and Warwan many scattered sculpture pieces prove beyond any doubt that these areas were under the deep impact of *Shavism*⁹¹.

5.10 Zampa or Jhula

Kishtwar is a land with geographically unique features. High mountains surrounded it and a number of rivers flowed through it. Maru wardwan and Chanderbhaga are worth mentioning. The high mountains protected Kishtwar state, but the mighty rivers also played an important role in the life of the people for the safety and security of their life and property. Even the rivers played an important role in the state of Kishtwar but the most important role which the rivers in Kishtwar played was the protection of the people and the territory of Kishtwar. It was not easy to cross the rivers. The rivers could not be crossed without the bridges over them. The people of Kishtwar had developed an indigenous technique for building bridges using the locally available material. These bridges were known as Zampa or Jhula in Kishtwar.

The *Zampa* bridge was a simple suspension bridge made from strong ropes. Initially, 12 or more ropes sufficient in length for crossing the river were made by twisting twigs mainly of birch or other trees or shrubs. 3 or 4 such ropes were together to make a cable and which was tied at both ends of the river. The *Jhula* Bridge was in

⁹⁰ Ibid, p.236

⁹¹ D.C Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Pb. Kishtwar,1995, p.237-39.

fact a swing bridge. It was horrible to look at the roaring river below while crossing the river. In the case of long spans of rivers and during the high winds the *Zampa* bridge used to swing and it was difficult to cross over the river safely and securely. It became more difficult during such situations to cross the river with the load. During storms and winds sometimes the movement over the bridge was halted⁹².

The ponies and other animals could not cross the river with the help of *Zampa* bridge. The animals swam across the river, and a person held the animals by a rope to lead them to cross the bridge but sometimes the animals lost their lives by drowning in the river if any mistake was made while making them to cross the river. The bridges were not permanent in nature. they had a maximum span of 3 years that too if they were not destroyed due to some natural calamities or some other reasons⁹³.

Zampa Bridge was made of strong ropes, wood planks were placed between the two ropes. One of such bridge was constructed over the Chenab River. One end of these ropes was tied to the top of the hill. The other end of the rope was tied across the water on the other side. The other two ropes were fixed at distance of a Gaz higher than the lower rope. The people could move from the higher side of the hill to the bottom by placing their feet on the wooden planks and by holding the ropes. They used to cross the river by constructing *Zampa* bridge over the rivers. The rivers could not be crossed without the *Zampa* bridge⁹⁴. During the period of Emperor Jahangir, the Mughal army attacked Kishtwar under the commander Dilawar Khan. The army of the Raja of Kishtwar was defeated at Maru Bridge, and it had to retreat. The army of the Raja of Kishtwar destroyed the bridge on the river Maru. It created a great problem for the Mughal army under Dilawer Khan to cross the river. He had to wait until the bridge was repaired to cross the river.

After crossing the river, Dilawer Khan reached Bandarkot. To cross the river Chenab. Dilawer Khan constructed a bridge over the river with the help of planks i.e., *Jhula*. But the fast currents of the river carried away 68 of 80 Mughal army soldiers

⁹² Frederic Drew, *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, pb. Srinagar, 2008. P.86.

⁹³ *Ibid.* p.86.

⁹⁴ Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i- Jahangiri*, Vol. II, Eng. Tr. Alexander Rogers, pb. Delhi, 1994, p. 137.

who attempted to cross the river to attack the Raja of Kishtwar. Only 10 soldiers who swam back could save their lives while only 2 succeeded in crossing the river but the army of Raja of Kishtwar captured them. The Mughal army had to wait for four months at Bhandarkot to cross the river. The army of Kishtwar used musketeers and archers as and when the Mughal army tried to construct a bridge at any place. It was successful only when a local *zamindar* helped the Mughal army by showing a hidden corner where a *Zampa* bridge could be constructed. With the help of the *Zamindar*, a *Zampa* bridge was successfully built during the night, and ultimately, the Mughal army crossed the river.⁹⁵

Conclusion:

To have a glimpse of the society of Kishtwar, we find that the society of Kishtwar during the medieval period had two major communities i.e., the Hindus and the Muslims. In addition to these two communities, the Buddhists had also settled in a considerable number in Dachhan, Marwan and other areas of Kishtwar. The Gaddis and Backcrawls also formed part of the society of Kishtwar. The Hindu society was divided into different castes, including the Brahmans, Ranas, Thakkars and Meghs. The society of Kishtwar was secular in its character, where people professing different faiths lived in peace and harmony. The society was mainly agrarian in nature. The people of Kishtwar worshipped nature in different forms. They had their deep-rooted faith in deities like Durga Maa, Lord Shiva, Vishnu, and other gods. The Muslims had their religious places in Kishtwar and were at liberty to offer prayers, the way they liked. Special officers like Mullas had been appointed to dispense justice to the Muslims as per the Muslim laws. The Buddhists had their monasteries for worship. They had settled in Kishtwar in large numbers in some villages.

Even the rajas of Kishtwar had great faith in gods, goddesses and deities. They equally respected religions other than their own e.g., Islam and Buddhism. The Rajas of Kishtwar granted land to the temples and the mosques as well. Even grant in cash was made for the maintenance for the temples and mosques. The rajas of Kishtwar

⁹⁵ Ibid. p.137.

never discriminated against their subjects on the basis of caste, creed and religion. The rajas of Kishtwar had a deep-rooted faith in gods to such an extent that they made prayers and havans to please the gods for the sake of their people.

Some rajas of Kishtwar were very literary and patronized literature. They composed poems which are recited in Kishtwar even today. Sanskrit was patronized and a number of books were composed during the period of rajas of Kishtwar e.g., *Sangeet sangrah* was composed during the period of Raja Narinder Sen by a Sanskrit scholar Shri Vak. Even the Rajas of Kishtwar composed poems in Sanskrit. But Persian began to be patronized with the influence of Mughal rule in Kishtwar and the Sanskrit language received a setback. The Sanskrit language was relegated to the background and became second in importance.

The population of Kishtwar was not homogeneous in nature. The population of Kishtwar differed in different areas in respect of different castes and communities. In Kishtwar, the houses were built using mud and stone bricks. Wooden was mainly used for doors, windows, and ceilings of the roofs. The houses were built in single and double storeys, with roofs flat and sloping in shape.

The society of Kishtwar used indigenous techniques for their day-to-day life, e.g., to cross the bridges, they constructed bridges over the rivers by using locally available materials and their indigenous material like wood and ropes made up of local plants and herbs. A special type of bridge was built over the river known as *Zampa* or *Jhula*, i.e., a swing bridge, by the people. This bridge was used for crossing over the river and for transporting materials like fodder etc. But the bridges were not used for the transport of animals.

Rituals, superstitions, and witchcraft formed part of the beliefs of the people of Kishtwar. A number of rituals were performed by the people. These rituals were performed for the benefit of family and cattle as well and were generally affiliated with agriculture. The people had belief in superstitions like the sight of a beggar and the crowing of a crow etc. The people had great impact and influence of witchcraft in Kishtwar. Some areas of Kishtwar, like Dachhan, had a significant prevalence of

witchcraft. The women practicing witchcraft were not honoured in society. They were locally known as *Dyens*. They were believed to have the power to fly and the power to harm people.

The people of Kishtwar had social contacts with the immediate neighbouring areas and the states like Kashmir, Badharwah, Ramban, Kangra, Noorpur, Balor Basoli etc., and had common ideology and beliefs. Many gods and deities were similar in Kishtwar and neighbouring states, e.g., Lord Shiva, Durga Maa, and other deities.

CHAPTER-6

ECONOMY OF KISHTWAR

6.1 Introduction

The economy of a state depends upon agriculture production, trade, and commerce. Similarly, the economy of Kishtwar was based on agricultural production, trade, and commerce. It is known that Kishtwar had trading contact not only with its neighboring areas, but it was well connected with other neighbouring Hill states like Punjab, Kashmir, Ladakh and Lahul. The trade depends upon agriculture production and relations with the neighbouring states. In this respect, Kishtwar enjoyed good relations with Chenab Valley and other hill states, including areas like Dacchin, Nagseni etc.

6.2 Agriculture production:

India is an agriculture-based country. The people of India primarily depend upon agricultural production. Like other parts of India, peasants of Kishtwar also cultivated two types of crops: first, *Rabi* crop (*spring*) and second *Kharif* (*autumn*). The rabi crop consisted of wheat, barley, beans, etc. and Kharif crops consisted of rice, maize, saffron, pulses, etc. These crops could be further divided into two categories: cash crops formed as *Jin-i-Amit* or *Jin-i-Ala* by Mughal chronicles. The second category of food grain was called *Jin -I-Ghalla* or *Jin-i-Adna* (crops which are fetched at low prices). The main crop of the area was saffron. The main food grains were wheat rice pulses (moong, kuth, mash). Besides, some fruits and herbs were cultivated in the area.

In agricultural production, Kishtwar was self-sufficient. The agricultural lands were in abundance, whereas Kishtwar was very thinly populated. There was heavy rainfall because of the dense forest. Consequently, agricultural production was made on a large scale. The history of Kashmir shows that food grains were exported from Kishtwar frequently in the medieval period to Kashmir. Whenever Kashmir faced economic hardships or natural calamity, the people of the neighbouring Anantnag took shelter in Kishtwar to earn their livelihood. The population of Chattardarbeel and

Marwaha consisted mostly of such people who came from different areas of Kashmir because of the financial crisis in their native areas. The arrival of these migrants led to an increase in the population of Kishtwar. This shows that Kishtwar could feed not only the native people of Kishtwar but also those from the neighbouring state.

6.2.1 Crops:

Kishtwar produced a number of crops, including wheat, barley, lentils, millet and pulses. These crops were grown on a high scale in Kishtwar. Oranges, citrons, and watermelons were produced in Kishtwar. These fruits were graded among the high-quality fruits. The quality of the melons was the same as that of Kashmir. Other fruits like grapes, apricot, peaches and sour pears were also found in Kishtwar. The quality of these fruits could be improved. The cultivation of saffron was very common in Kishtwar. The saffron of Kishtwar was very superior in comparison to Kashmir. Kishtwar produced a large quantity of saffron¹.

6.2.2. Saffron:

The background of the cultivation of saffron goes back to the period of Mahabharata. In Sanskrit terminology, it is known as *Lohit*, and the area of Kishtwar was known as *Lohit Mandal*. *Lohit* means saffron or Kesar. *Lohit* is also known as Kumkum Sanskrit. In Kishtwar, it is called *Kung*. In Urdu, saffron is called *Zafron*².

The saffron which was produced in Kishtwar was of superior quality than that of Kashmir³. It is mentioned in *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* that Kishtwar produced about a hundred hawks and falcons that were caught annually⁴. The reference to saffron is also found in *Zakhrat-ul-Khawanin*. In this work, the quality of saffron has been mentioned. The quality of the saffron of Kishtwar

¹ Jahangir, Tuzuk-i- Jhangiri, Vol. II, Eng. Tr. by Alexander Rogers, pb.1994, Delhi, p.138.

² D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, pb. Kishtwar, 1995, p.8.

³ Charles Ellison Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, pb. Srinagar, 2005, p.238.

⁴ Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, Vol. II, Tr. Eng. Alexander Rogers, Pb. Delhi, 1994, p.138.

has been evaluated far higher than that of Kashmir⁵. Saffron has been described as the most important product of Kishtwar due to its multiple uses. Saffron was used as a religious symbol by the Hindus by putting a *tilak* on their forehead. It was used for diet by mixing it in milk. It was also used for fragrance purposes on special occasions like religious ceremonies in food and sweets⁶. The valley of Kishtwar produced saffron of very superior quality and was in abundance in Kishtwar. The valley of Kishtwar is known as the saffron queen⁷.

During the medieval period of India, saffron (Zafron) was grown mainly in Kishtwar and Kashmir. It was a very useful and costlier product of the Kishtwar and Kashmir area. It was an essential item of trade in Kishtwar and thus played a significant role in the economy of Kishtwar. Kishtwar exported bulbs of saffron to Kashmir.

Saffron bulbs were called *guli*⁸. For the cultivation of saffron, a particular piece of land was set apart for the cultivation for growing the seeds. It took three years before the bulbs could be planted out in the small square plots. It was grown in dud- Gora Hail⁹. For it, the land has to be ploughed eight or nine times. The saffron bulbs were taken out from the plants in the month of Bhadon. The dried-up crushed bulbs were removed and sown. The saffron plants wore flowers in the middle of October. After harvesting, the saffron was left in the ground for three years. The saffron flowers were weeded from time to time. During the first year, the crop was not at full capacity. A crop was better than the previous year and reduced cultivation in successive years. After three years, the bulbs were again transplanted. During the month of March and April, the land was ploughed times and again till it became suitable for the cultivation of saffron. The saffron bulbs were placed in the ground. The bulbs took one-

⁵ Shaikh Farid Bakshi, Zakhirat -ul- Khawanin, in M.A. Ansari, Geographical Glimpses of Medieval India, pb. Delhi, 1989, p.48.

⁶ D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, pb. Kishtwar, 1995, p.8.

⁷ N.C. Kotwal, Political and Cultural Heritage of Bhaderwah, Kishtwar and Doda, Pb. Jammu, 2000, p.29.

⁸ F.M. Hassnain, History of Jammu Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar, Pb. 1998, Delhi, p.148.

⁹ Ramdhan (Settlement Officer), Assessment Report of Kishtwar Tehsil of Udhampur District of Jammu Province, Allahabad, 1914.

months' time till they sprouted out. But for growing up, it took some more time till it rose to the size of a finger.

The cultivation of saffron and its role in the economy of Kishtwar was very vital. Saffron was grown in Kishtwar on a very large scale and was the main source of income of Kishtwar. Kishtwar produced a fine quality of saffron in comparison to the saffron of Kashmir. The climate and soil of Kishtwar were very suitable to produce saffron. Once upon a time, there was a famine in Kashmir; the people of Kashmir were facing starvation and consumed the bulbs of saffron. The saffron seeds were exported to Kashmir from Kishtwar. The cultivation of saffron involves a long process, from sowing to its maturity. Sloppy and special land was required for three years for its cultivation. It took three years to prepare the land for the cultivation of saffron. The plots used for the production of saffron seeds were left fallow for eight years no manure and water were used in the plots meant for the production of saffron seeds. Once the saffron was planted in a square plot, it lived for fourteen years. The saffron plantation of saffron was made in the months of July and August. The plot was saved from water logging by digging a trench around the field. The flowers of saffron appeared in the mid of October¹⁰.

The season for the cultivation of saffron was the month of March and April, in which land was ploughed and softened, and the land was also repaired for plantation. The saffron bulbs were sprouted after one month of their plantation in the land. The crop matured in the month of September. Once the saffron plant was planted, it flowered for six years. During the first year, the yield was small, but it reached its highest point during the third year when the yield was at its highest point¹¹.

Jahangir compared the fragrance of saffron with the flower of *Champakali*. He mentioned that in terms of aroma and smell, saffron and *champakali* are similar in fragrance but *champakali* is the whitest yellow in

¹⁰ Walter R. Lawrence, Provincial Gazetteer of Kashmir and Jammu, Pb. New Delhi, 1985, p.56.

¹¹ Abul Fazal, Akbar Nama, Vol.III, Eng. Tr. by Bevridge, Pb. Delhi, 2000, p.356.

colour. Jahangir explains that saffron plant's growth was different as compared to other plants. The *Zafron* plant grows from the ground without leaves and branches and looks beautiful from a distance¹².

Temperature and climate suitable for the cultivation of saffron: Temperature plays an important role in saffron cultivation. A Warm temperate climate is suitable for the cultivation of saffron. Optimum 12 hours light period per day is essential. The optimum temperature required is 20 to 22 degrees centigrade. Low temperature and high humidity are harmful to the quality and quantity of saffron. But the high temperature in summer and low temperature in winter harms the saffron crop because for the development of saffron, different conditions of the climate are required at different stages. In winter and spring, the rains with low temperatures are very helpful for the growth of saffron. The delay of summer rains and early winter is harmful to the growth of saffron. Frosts are harmful to the cultivation of saffron¹³.

D.C. Sharma has compared the techniques of detaching saffron of Kishtwar and Kashmir. He compares the saffron of Kashmir with that of Kishtwar and evaluates the saffron of Kishtwar as superior quality to that of Kashmir. He explains the reason for it and explains that it was due to the superior techniques of detaching the saffron. The people of Kashmir pluck the flowers after sunrise, but the people of Kishtwar pluck the flowers early in the morning before the sun rises. After thrashing the flowers with small sticks, these were dipped in water in Kashmir; in this way, the petals were decanted and the red carpels were taken out and dried, but the white stems of the red carpels remained attached to the petals. Thus, *mongra* quality was produced. But in Kishtwar, a different technique was adopted. The flowers were stored for two days after plucking them. And then red and yellow carpels were detached. The red carpels along with the white stem were arranged in a particular way and twisted together to form a particular shape. called *guchhi or turla*, without

¹² Jahangir, Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, in M.A. Ansari, Geographical Glimpses of Medieval India, Vol. II, Pb. 1989, Delhi, p.28-29.

¹³ G.M. Mir, Saffron Agronomy in Kashmir, Pb. Srinagar, 1992, P.18

twisting, called *Lachha*. By adopting this technique, the fragrance of saffron is not decreased. This is the reason for the superior quality for the production of saffron in Kishtwar. The saffron flowers also contain yellow carpels called saffron or *Pamu* or *Patti* in the local dialect and were of different yellow colour in Kishtwar. These yellow carpels were detached, dried up and sold in the market, which was cheap as compared to red carpels¹⁴.

6.2.3 Kuth

Kuth formed an important crop of Kishtwar in its agricultural production. Kuth was known by a number of names. Locally in Kishtwar, it was known as *Saussurea Lappa*. It was known as Kushta or Kashmirija in the area where it was produced. Kuth is also called as Kui, Kot, Costus or Pachak in Hindi and Kust in Arabic or Persian ¹⁵ . It was also known by the names Pastkai, Rusto, Ouplate, Kostum, Changala, Seppudy and AucklandiaCostus.

The Kuth plant had a tall perennial stem and large radical leaves with sessile flower heads. The plant had a strong penetrated root which could attain a length of 2 to 4 feet and a girth of 15 to 12 inches. The stem of the Kuth plant was 2 to 6 feet in height with a cluster of flowers. The Kuth plant wore the flowers in the month of Sawan. The flowers are green initially but turn bluish green after some time.

The seeds of Kuth ripe in the mid of Assuj but at the time of ripening of Kuth seeds differs due to the location and climatic conditions, e.g., in warm climatic conditions, seeds ripe earlier in the month of Assuj but in the cool locality, the seeds ripe take much time to ripe. The seeds were collected when red and blushed dots developed on the seeds. On average, 10 to 12 seeds were found on the head of a flower. For the separation of seeds winnowing techniques were used. 16 seers of heads produced one seer of seeds. One seer of seeds

¹⁴D.C. Sharma, History and Culture of Kishtwar, Pb. Kishtwar, 1995, P.8.

¹⁵ Lala Sant Ram Modi (Assistant Conservator of Forest), Working plan for Kuth Field of Kishtwar Forest Division, Jammu and Kashmir State, Allahabad, 1926, p .44.

consisted of 35000 of seeds, sufficient for sowing 3 acres of land¹⁶. The seeds were stored in corked bottles after mixing them with dry sand. The rotten seeds were separated from the good seeds by separating them by keeping them in water for some time. The lighter and useless seeds were thrown away. Loamy soil with 9000 feet in height was most suitable for the Kuth plant. The clay and water-logged soil are not ideal for the growth of Kuth plants. Artificial manures such as goat dung were prepared by hoeing or ploughing 6 inches or a foot in depth, all the roots and weeds being got rid of.¹⁷

After preparing the soil, the seeds were sown at a gap of 2 to 22 feet. The seeds were covered lightly with earth. Different methods were used for the plantation of Kuth like

- Patch sowing
- Transplanting
- Root planting

Patch Sowing: In this mode of cultivation, pits of 6 inches to 1 foot were dug in depth. The distance between these patches was maintained, which was 8 to 10 feet. In each patch, 4 to 5 seeds were inserted. This method was used in Kuth areas.

Transplanting: Transplanting was the more economical mode of planting Kuth than direct sowing. For this purpose, a nursery was prepared to keep in view the suitability of soil for the Kuth plants. The seeds were sown in November and December. The seeds were doubled in 4 inches apart and 2 inches deep in the soil. Germination of the plant took place in the early spring. It used to take 5 months for the plant to grow to the size of 3 to 4 inches high. After this, the plant was pricked out in the same bed. One-year-old seedlings were to be

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 44

¹⁷ Lala Sant Ram Modi (Assistant Conservator of Forest), Working plan for the Kuth Field of Kishtwar Forest Division, Jammu and Kashmir State, Allahabad, 1926 p.44-48

planted out. After planting, the plants were well watered as per the need. One acre of Kuth Nursery could be sufficient to provide plants for 75 acres of land.

Root Planting: This plant could be reproduced from rootstocks. Root planting was done in early spring or in Badon and Assuj. One inch cutting in length was planted in the soil with 2 to two and a half feet distance between the plants. According to *Fuller*, root planting could be done at any time in summer with a certain degree of moisture in the air. The Kuth has a specific type of fragrance. It has a bitter, pungent taste. *Mr Bhanden Powel* describes the following uses of the Kuth root.:

- i. Dried and powdered Kuth could be used as an astringent stimulant ointment when applied to severe ulceration.
- ii. The dried and powdered form could be used as hair wash.
- iii. It was used as a stimulant in cholera. A mixture of cardamom dram, fresh Kuth 3 drams, and 4 ounces of water was used after every half an hour.
- iv. Shawl merchants used it to protect Kashmiri fabric from the attack of moths or vermin.
- v. It was also exported to other places. It was shipped to China in large quantities and used as incense. The smaller pieces were ground to powder form and made into incense sticks. The bigger pieces were cut into slices and used in burning lamps.
- vi. The dried root of kuth is an agreeable fumigatory and burns fairly well.
- vii. It is used to colour the hairs in black. In China, it is used by mixing it with musk to treat aching teeth.
- viii. It is used as an antiseptic against boils, ulcers, wounds etc.
- ix. Its oil has a strong fragrant aromatic smell. In China, it is used as a scent.
- x. Its extract gives a feeling of warmth in the stomach. Excessive use of Kuth could lead to problems e.g., excessive use could lead to dizziness. Headache and sleeplessness. It could also lead to depression because it affects the body's nervous system. Kuth was also used as a drug even in ancient India. Ayurvedic medicines are used as a tonic for the respiratory

system, especially for *Asthama*. It was also used as medicine for treating malaria, as referred *Atharva Veda* ¹⁸. It is also recommended for the treatment of rheumatism.

Thus, it is clear that from ancient times Kuth was used as medicine and for treating many diseases.

6.3 Trade:

Every region is not self-sufficient in respect of its natural resources and other necessities. Therefore, one state has to depend upon the other to meet its requirements. Such requirements are met through a trading system by exporting and importing the different items of trade. The surplus items of trade from one region were exported to another region and the requisite surplus items were imported from the other regions through the medium of trade.

The people of Kishtwar were engaged in agriculture and trade activities. Though Kishtwar was not a very important state from an agricultural and artisanal production point of view. It had established trading relations with other hill states. The trade of Kishtwar dates back to early medieval times as per the historical records. Kishtwar had trade relations with the neighbouring states. The most important items were foodstuffs and cloth. Kishtwar had trade relations with Punjab also. Panjasasis, a tribe from Punjab used to trade from Punjab with Kishtwar. The Panjsasi used to trade in items like Medicinal herbs, dried apricots¹⁹ and other hill products as exports from the valley of Kishtwar. The dried apricots i.e., *Kisht*, were a special item of export²⁰.

According to *Irfan Habib*, the saffron of Kashmir was exported to Agra and other parts of India²¹. The quality of saffron Kishtwar was superior to that of Kashmir. It can be well assumed that the saffron of Kishtwar was exported to other parts of the country e.g., the people of Kashmir consumed saffron seeds during the famine. The

¹⁸ Lala Sant Ram Modi (Assistant conservator of Forest), Working plan for the Kuth field of Kishtwar Forest Division, Jammu and Kashmir State, Allahabad, p.48.

¹⁹ Narsingh Dass Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, pb. Jammu, 1967, p.254

²⁰ S.D.S. Charak, *History and Culture of Himalayan States*, Vol. VI, pb. Pathankot, 1988, p.285.

²¹ Irfan Habib *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pb. Bombay, 1963p. 73.

bulbs of saffron were exported to Kashmir from Kishtwar²². Salt was not produced in Kishtwar; it had to depend upon other states to meet the requirement of salt. Punjab was the main source of salt and exported salt to Kishtwar²³.

The *Sanhasi* was a coin used for trade purposes. It had been designed on the pattern of coins of Kashmir. One and a half *Sanhasi* was equal to one rupee. Fifteen *Sanhasi* or ten rupees were equal to one *Padshahi*. Seer was a unit for the measurement of weight. Two *Seer* of Hindustani weight were equal to a man (*maund*)²⁴.

Kishtwar was well connected with neighbouring Hill states through land and river routes. It was connected with areas such as Newbug, Maru-Wardwan, Inshri, Stalleot and Srinagar etc., via land route. Lahul, Seri, Pyas, Sdrari, Gulabgarh and Kitiarbia river route.

6.3.1 Trade *via* Land Routes:

The following Table 6.3.1 shows different land routes from Kishtwar to other states (A1).

Name of places from	Name of places to	via	Distance in miles
Kishtwar	Now Bug ²⁵	MogalMidan ²⁶ , Chingam, Sin-Thun	44.5

²² , Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XV. Pb. London ,1908, p.120.

²³ Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, pb. Vivek publisher1974, p 504.

²⁴ Ibid. p.138-39.

²⁵ Ibid.

Now Bug -It is situated at Lat. 33° 39' and long. 75° 25. The village lies almost in the valley of the same name. On the slopes above the right bank of the stream. There are two Masjids in the village and the Ziarat of Shah Abdul Majid, which is believed to have been erected 200 years ago on the death of a saint, who is said to have come from Bagdad. P.295.

²⁶ Ibid.,

Moghal Maidan situated at Lat. 33° 42' Long. 75° 42'. It is a small village situated about 16 miles north-west of Kishtwar on the road towards Kashmir by marbal pass, p.278.

Kishtwar	Maru Wardwan valley ²⁷	Phalma, Ekali, Sanger, Hanja, Petgam Camp, Inshin.	84
Kishtwar	Inshin ²⁸	Petgam, Phalma, Ekali, Sanger, Haqnja, Camp. Inshin	84
Kishtwar	Sialkot	Ramnagar a Badrawar, Joshni, Jaora, Badrawar, Siwaldhar Maidan, Duder, Korta, Ramnagar, Chain, Suruinsar, Pargalta, Jammu to Sialkot.	176 ²⁹
Kishtwar	Sialkot	Kishtwar, Janshi, Zangiwan, Bhelu, Kallen, Aser, Baloti, Cheneni, Balli, Udampur, Dansal to Sialkot.	174.5 ³⁰

Table No. A1 trade via land routes 6.1 of Kishtwar. It explains that Kishtwar had established its trade relations with different areas of Kishtwar through land routes.

6.3.2 Trade *via* Land Route:

The Following Table 6.3.2 shows the trade relations of Kishtwar via Marbal Pass, Trade via Land routes of Kishtwar (A2) ³¹.

²⁷ Ibid, Table No. 35, p.462.

Maru Wardwan valley is mentioned by Abul Fazal in Ain-i-Akbari as murwar-duin, p.273. (It is explained in detail in 1stchapter)

²⁸ Quarter master General of India, Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak, Route No.32, p. 962.,

Inshin – It is situated at Lat. 33° 49' and long. 75° 37'. One of the principal villages in the Maru Wardwan valley situated above the left bank of the river at the foot of Charsar. It is about 7 miles or four marches, east of Islamabad, by way of the Now bug Valley 1 and about 84 miles ,or seven marches , north of Kishtwar . There is a masjid in the village, *Ziarat Baba Daud Guni*. P. 382.

²⁹ Ibid. Table Route No. 54 (Continued), p.1009-10.

³⁰ Ibid. Table Route no. 54, p.1008.

³¹ Charles Ellison Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, Srinagar, 2005, Table No. 70 & 71 pp.512-514.

Name of the place from	Name of the place to	Via	Distance in miles
Kishtwar	Srinagar	Marbal Pass, Kishtwar to Moghal Maidan, Singhpur, Kurbodum, Wangam, Islamabad to Srinagar	94 ³²
Kishtwar	Srinagar	Marbal Pass ³³ , Kishtwar to Phalma, Mogal Maidan, Singpur ³⁴ , Karbodra, LowerSinzi ³⁵ , Sagam, Islamabad to Srinagar.	103
Kishtwar	Srinagar	Marbal pass, Kishtwar, Moghal Maidan, Singhpur, Wanlringi, Wangam ³⁶ , Islamabad to Srinagar	109

³² Ibid., Table No. 70, p.512.

³³ Ibid.,

Marbal Pass is situated at Lat. 33° 30' Long. 75° 32' and at Elevation 11,550 feet. It is a pass between the south-eastern extremity of the Kashmir valley and the province of Kishtwar. The pass was approachable through horses and opened at the same time when pir panjal pass was open for horse traffic. The last two miles journey was steep and difficult on either side. The summit of the pass is about 34 miles south-east of Islamabad, and 40 miles north-east of the town of Kishtwar. Shah Shuja the ex-Amir of Kabul, who was a fugitive at the court of Raja Teg Singh of Kishtwar attacked Kashmir through marbal pass with 3000-4000 troops. He reached up to Tansan bridge and initially met some success but on hearing that Azim Khan the Patharreis coming with troops, Shah Suja abandoned the expedition on the pretext of snowfall, p.268-69.

³⁴ Quartermaster General, Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak, p.754.

Singpur is a small village situated at Lat. 33° 28' Long. 75° 37'. This village had a few scattered houses numbering seven or eight. The village was situated above the left bank of the KashirKhol Stream, on the Kishtwar side of the marbal pass. The place existed 32 miles northwest of the town of Kishtwar and 42 miles South of Islamabad.

³⁵ Ibid. p.574, 754.

Lower A small village situated at Lat. 33° 32' and long. 75° 25' towards upper extremity of Bring Valley on the right bank of Tansanstream. The road leading to Kishtwar becomes hilly and tough for riding after leaving this village. In the neighbouring lower, the cultivation is luxuriant and the hills are beautifully wooded. Sinzi is a small village 25 miles southeast of Islamabad.

³⁶ Charles Ellison Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, Srinagar, 2005. P.399.

Wengam is a village situated at Lat. 33° 35' and long. 75° 23'. The village is in poring Psargna, situated on high ground, in the middle of the village at some distance from the left bank of the river. It is 8 miles

Table A2 shows that all neighbouring states of Kishtwar had trading relations among them. From Kishtwar to Srinagar trade route passed via Marbal pass a distance of 94 miles. This Marbal pass was generally called *Singhpur*. Very few ponies were taken by this route because it was difficult to cross the Maruwardwan and Chanderbagha rivers, especially the Maruwardwan was impossible to cross while in flood. The Marbal pass remained closed from the end of October till the end of January. Fuel was obtained at the top of the pass but there was no water.

6.3.3 Trade Route *via* River Route:

Source: Chinab (ChanderBhaga)

Table no.: 6.3.3 (A3) The following table shows the trade route via the river route

Name of Places from	Name of places to	via	Distance in miles
Kishtwar	Lahaul	Baga, Pyas, Sidrari, Seri or Sireri, Jhar, Golabgarh, Sole Ashdari, Darwar, Kilar, Sauch, Korai, Shor, Tindi, Margiaon, Triloknath, Jarna, Tandi, Kailin, Kulang.	186 ³⁷

distant from Shahabad, a by thr path crossing the range of hills lying between the Bring and Shahbad Parganas,

³⁷ Charles Ellison Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, 2005, Srinagar, pp.457-58

Kishtwar (Alternative Route)	Lahaul	Bagna, Pias ³⁸ , lidrari, Seri ³⁹ or Sireri, Jhar, Golabgarh ⁴⁰ , Sole ⁴¹ , Ashdari, Darwas, Kalara, Sach, Sechu, Butor, lias, Charput, Myad, Udampur, Tiluknath, Jahame, Tandi, Kailing, Kulang.	189 ⁴²
Kishtwar	Lahaul	Bhaga, Pyas, Lidrari, Tanwari, Attoli, Sol, Ashdari ⁴³ , Durwas, Kilar, Sach, Solgraeon, Margoan Triloknath, Jarma, Tandhi, Kailing, Kulang.	182 ⁴⁴

Table No. A3, shows the trade of Kishtwar through river route 6.3. It shows that Kishtwar trade through the river route and number of villages, Bhaga, piaslidrari, seri, Golabgarh, sole, Ashdar etc.,

³⁸ Ibid.

Pias, it is situated at Lat. 33° 20' and long. 76° 1'. It is a small village in the province of Kishtwar. It consists of six or eight poor houses. It lies above the left bank of the Chandra Bhaga, above 21 miles east of Kishtwar, on the road towards Lahaul, p.308.

³⁹ Quarter master General of India, Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak, Dehi, 1974.

It is situated at Lat. 33° 18' and Long 75° 5'. It is just lying some distance above the left bank of the Chanderbhaga. It is about 35 miles east of Kishtwar, on the path towards Lahoul. P726.

⁴⁰ Charles Ellison Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, Srinagar, 2005.

Golabgarh, It is situated at Lat. 33° 16' and Long. 76° 13'. It is a small square fort in the Pader district, situated at a place where both Batna and Chabderbhaga rivers join together. There was a rope bridge which has been replaced by a wooden bridge. The bridge was constructed about a few 100 yards above the fort. The fort of Golabgarh was about 50 miles east of Kishtwar. But in winter it was very difficult to pass through the path. There is another path for the people to travel along the river side. But it is very dangerous. P.194.

⁴¹ Ibid.

Sol, It is a village situated at Lat. 33° 13' and Log. 76° 16' , on the right bank of the Chanderbhaga river, between Golbgarh and Ashdari on the road from Kishtwar to Lahaul. p. 350.

⁴² Ibid. Tble No.34 (continued), p.459-60

Route (2)-Kishtwar to Lahaul by Chanderbhaga River and Gardhar Pass (Alternative route).

⁴³ Quartermaster General in India, Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladak, 1974, Delhi, p.175.

Ashdari, It is situated at, Lat. 33° 10' and Long. 76° 20' and elevation, 8800, a small village on the right bank of the chenab , and it is about 3 miles from the boundary between Kishtwar and Chamba. It is nearly 2,000 feet above the river. Ashdari lies on the road from Kishtwar to Lahoul.

⁴⁴ Charles Ellison Bates, A Gazetteer of Kashmir, Srinagar, 2005.

Table No. 34(Continued) , (3)-Kishtwar to Lauhal by the Chandebhaga River- Alternative route , p.161-162.

6.4 Finance and Taxation System:

The economy of Kishtwar was mainly based on agricultural production. The state's source of income was trade and taxes imposed on the production of agricultural goods, taxes and fines imposed by the Government. Kishtwar produced crops like *Shali* (rice), but in less quantity. The other crops included wheat, Mash, and Adas in large quantities. In addition, there was the production of *Zafran*, which was very superior in comparison to *Zafran* (*Saffron*) of Kashmir. Kishtwar also produced the best quality of fruits like *Narang*, *Turang*, *Hinduana*, *grapes*, *shaftalu*, *Zardalu*, and *Amrud*⁴⁵. Saffron was a major source of income for the state of Kishtwar. The income of Kishtwar from saffron played an important role also in the political affairs of Kishtwar. It could be judged from the fact that when Kishtwar was attacked by Dilawar khan on the orders of Mughal emperor Jahangir, Raja of Kishtwar, Raja Gur Singh offered the income from saffron. The army of Kishtwar was maintained and financed from the income of saffron ⁴⁶.

The tax was not imposed on the cultivation of land but on the houses. Each house had to pay six *Sanhasi* as tax which was equal to four rupees. *Sanhasi* was a unit of currency and used for transaction. Fifteen *Sanhasi* or ten rupees were equal to one *Padshahi Mohar*. Saffron was the main source of income. Its income was assigned to the seven hundred *musketeers* who belonged to the Rajput caste. A tax of rupees four per *maund* was collected from the traders for the sale of saffron. Four rupees had to be paid as tax on the sale of two seer of saffron i.e., one *maund* of saffron. Fines and taxes formed the main source of income of the Raja of Kishtwar. Heavy fines were imposed even for small offences. The fine was imposed heavily on the rich; they had to pay heavy sums even for small offences. The Rajas collected fines and taxes heavily from the rich people. From all sources, the annual income of the Raja was rupees 10,0000 (one lac)⁴⁷.

⁴⁵Motamid Khan Bakshi, *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri* in M.A, Ansari, *Geographical Glimpses of medieval India*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1989, p.41.

⁴⁶Jahangir, *Tuzu-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I & II. Eng.Tr.by Alexander Roger, Delhi, 1994, p.139.

⁴⁷ Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. I & II, Eng. Tr. by Alaxander Roger, Delhi, 1994, p.139.

6.4 Payment of Tribute to the Mughals:

It was customary under the Mughals that any autonomous state accepting the Mughal sovereignty had to pay part of the land revenue of their state in the form of an annual tribute. As long as the state paid annual tribute, it was protected by the Mughal emperor. But any state deviating from the rule of paying tribute to the Mughal emperor was declared as a rebellious state and was attacked by the Mughal emperor. Kishtwar had been an autonomous state since the days of its ruler Kahan Pal. Ali Shah the ruler of Kashmir attacked Kishtwar in 1572⁴⁸. Ali Shah defeated Raja Bahadur Singh of Kishtwar. Kishtwar became a tributary State of Kashmir under Ali Shah Chak, the ruler of Kashmir. Thus, Kishtwar lost its independent status and the raja of Kishtwar agreed to pay annual tribute to Ali Shah Chak, the ruler of Kashmir⁴⁹. The tribute formed a part of the alliance and included the marriage of Shanker Devi, the sister of Raja Bhadur Singh with Yaqub Shah, the grandson of Ali Shah. After accepting Ali Shah's sovereignty, Bahadur Singh sent his son Narayan Singh to Kashmir.

Again, during the period of Raja Gur Singh, Dilawar Khan, the Mughal governor of Kashmir, attacked Kishtwar on the orders of the Mughal emperor Jahangir. Gur Singh (Kunwar Singh) was defeated and accepted the sovereignty of the Mughal emperor. Raja Gur Singh agreed to pay six annas per rupee as tribute to the Mughal treasury. Gur Singh sent his son and brother Bhagwan Singh to the Mughal court⁵⁰. Raja Gur Singh continued to pay tribute till his death⁵¹. The paying of tribute did not affect the autonomous status of a state but it affected the economy of a state because a big source of income of a state got drained out from the income of the state in the form of tribute and definitely affected the economy of the tributary state.

Conclusion:

Thus, it could be well assumed that Kishtwar had a mixed economy that included income from agricultural production, crops, and fruits. The main source of

⁴⁸ Narsingh Das Nargis, *Tarikh-i- Jadid Dogra Desh*, pb. Jammu, p.259.

⁴⁹ J. Hutchison and J Vogel, *History of Punjab Hill States*, Vol. II, Pb. New Delhi, 2021, p.648

⁵⁰ Narsingh Das Nargis, *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh*, Pb. Jammu, 1967, p. 261.

⁵¹ J. Hutchison and J Vogel, *History of Punjab Hill States*, Vol. II, pb. New Delhi, 2021, p. 651.

income for the people of Kishtwar was agriculture. The people of Kishtwar also reared cattle including sheep and goats to support their livelihood and contributed towards strengthening the economy of Kishtwar. But the income from trade in different items like dry fruits also contributed to the economy of Kishtwar. Saffron was cultivated in abundance in Kishtwar and formed the major source of income of the people and the government of Kishtwar. But the main item of trade and source of income was saffron. The income of saffron could be judged from the fact that when the Mughal army under the command of Dilawer Khan attacked Kishtwar, Raja Gur Singh of Kishtwar offered income from saffron to Dilawer Khan to avoid conflict with the Mughal army. The income from saffron was used to meet the expenses of the army of Kishtwar by the Rajas of Kishtwar.

Kishtwar traded with neighbouring states like Kashmir, Punjab, Delhi, Agra, etc. The saffron of Kishtwar was highly evaluated and superior in quality to that of Kashmir. Rice, wheat, maize and vegetables were produced in Kishtwar. Various fruits including apricots, apples, pears etc. were produced in rich quantities. Rice and wheat were the staple diet of the people and formed a part of the trade. It also supported the economy of Kishtwar. Taxes collected from trade and other sources like imposition of fines etc. also were also the source of economy for the Raja of Kishtwar.

CHAPTER-7

INTERPRETING THE ARCHIVES: DECODING AND ANALYZING THE HISTORICAL REFERENCES FOUND IN WRITTEN RECORDS OF THE KISHTWAR REGION THROUGH FIELD VISITS

7.1 Introduction:

Through the field visits, the scholar has had the privilege of gaining access to these invaluable glimpses into the lives, customs, and events that shaped the history of the Kishtwar region. They offer a unique perspective, allowing us to bridge the gap between the past and the present. Several facts could be proved that coincided with the historical records whereas some facts couldn't be proved due to their transformation that occurred with the passage of time and other climatic and natural calamities to the Kishtwar Region and its Culture. During our meticulously planned visits to Kishtwar, as well as neighbouring regions including Bhaderwah, Sarthal, Nagseni, Paddar, Pangi, and Kashmir, the scholar diligently observed and examined numerous sites of historical significance. The purpose of these visits was to gather first-hand experiences and insights that would complement my research and enhance my understanding of the region's historical landscape.

These on-site observations, accompanied by detailed documentation and analysis, have provided invaluable contributions to our scholarly endeavor. By overlaying our findings onto the map (Figure 7.1), the scholar has not only mapped out the physical geography of the region but also gained a deeper understanding of the historical contexts in which specific locations played significant roles. As the scholar presents her findings in this chapter, it is important to emphasize the significance of combining written records with the tangible experiences gained through field visits. The integration of these two approaches allows me to bridge gaps in knowledge, overcome limitations, and paint a more nuanced picture of the historical references and cultural heritage of the Kishtwar Region.

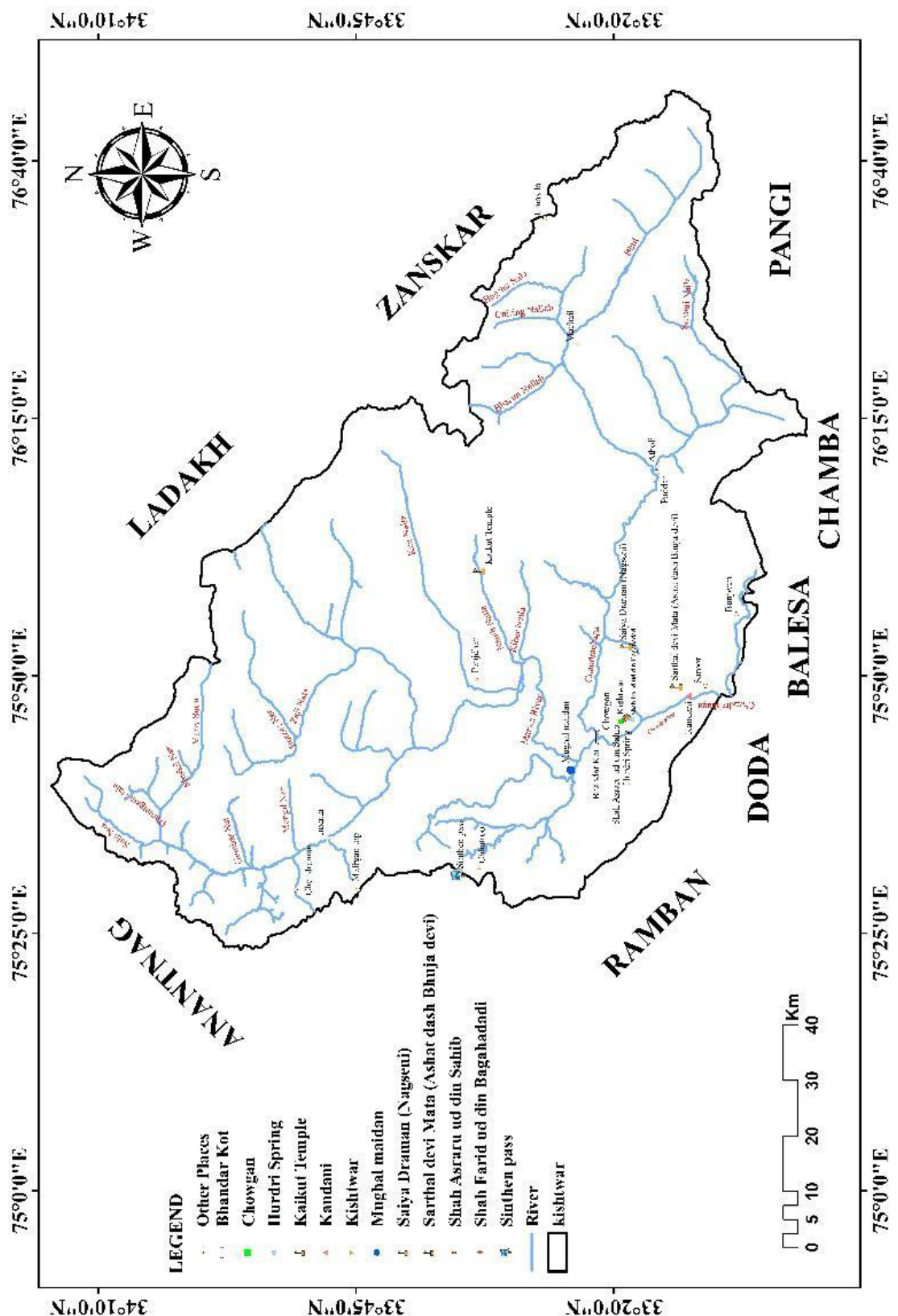


Fig. 7.1 Shows the important places of Kishtwar. (source: made by cartographer)

7.2 Kandani:

It is an important place and a turning point in the history of Kishtwar because it is a place from where Kahan Pal, the first historical ruler of Kishtwar attacked the Panjsasis and captured power by defeating the ruling dynasty of Kishtwar. During the visit Kandani was located at the same place with the same distance from Kishtwar as mentioned in the historical records i.e., 12 miles south of Kishtwar. A small cluster of sheds with the labour-class population is residing there presently but no traces of any old structure has been found on the spot.





Fig. 7.2 & 7.3: shows the present status of village Kandani, the camping ground of Kahan Pal from where he attacked Kishtwar. It shows the cluster of sheds presently found in the village Kandani, Kishtwar. *(source: clicked by scholar)*

7.3 Hudri

Hudri is an important place with a historical point of view. It is associated with the defeat of *Pajasasis*. *Pajasasis* were a trading tribe from Punjab that had established their rule in Kishtwar. The *Panjasasis* were defeated at *hudri* spring by Kahan Pal. The location of *Hudri* Spring has been mentioned to the South of the plateau of Kishtwar. Spring exists even today in Kishtwar. (Fig.7.4 & Fig 7.5)



Fig. 7.4 Present External view of Hudri Spring Kishtwar. (*source: clicked by scholar*)



Fig. 7.5: Present Internal view of Hudri Spring Kishtwar. (*source: clicked by scholar*)

7.4 Chogan of Kishtwar:

The Chogan of Kishtwar forms the focal point in the History of Kishtwar. It holds the key position in the History of Kishtwar due to multi reasons and the background behind it. It has two famous Muslim Ziarats nearby. The Ziarat of the

famous Sufi Saint Israrud Din is located near the chogan of Kishtwar. As per historical records, the Chogan of Kishtwar measured 5 miles in length and 7 miles in breadth during the medieval period. It had a fort near it built by Raja Kahan Pal. The *Chogan* of Kishtwar was used to play polo by the Rajas of Kishtwar. It has a stone where a demon elephant was buried. The place is known as *Hasti Gand* i.e., place for fastening of an elephant. The *Chogan* is also associated with the story of the defeat and death of *Kantak*, the commander of Raja of Bhupat Pal of BaloreBasoli by Bhagwan Singh the Raja of Kishtwar. This incident is also linked to *Kantak yatra*. The Chogan of Kishtwar is also linked to Mughalani who had commanded the Mughal army and defeated the raja of Kishtwar as per the historical records of Kishtwar. As per the records she had encamped in the Chogan of Kishtwar which led to the name *shawni* i.e., army camp to a particular area of Chogan. Mughalani is also believed to have dug a pond near the ground known as *Sarkut* pond as described by the local historians.

During the visit to the Chogan of Kishtwar, many facts were studied to prove their relevance with the historical facts. It was found that the length and breadth of Chogan have shrunk to some extent but the ground locally known as Chogan exists there even today. The Ziarat of great Sufi Saint Israr-ud -Din still exists on the corner of the Chogan, equally revered by both the Hindus and the Muslims. The stones used for boundary marks for playing Polo still exist in the *Chogan*. An old historical Chinar tree still exists in the Chogan of Kishtwar. Fig 7.6. shows the present view of *Chogan* of Kishtwar. The historical fort built by Raja Kahan Pal still exists with the name of Qila. The walls of the fort have been either demolished or ruined but can be traced.

Figures 7.7 & 7.8 show the remains of the throne of Raja Teg Singh and can be still found but in ruins, found during the spot visit by the scholar. The complex of the fort has been transferred presently into a residential colony known as *Qila Mohalla*. It is located on a high hillock.



Fig.:7.6 shows the present view of Chogan of Kishtwar. (*source: clicked by scholar*)



Fig.:7.7 Throne of Raja Mohammad Teg Singh, and slab with four pillars of the throne in ruins. *(source: clicked by scholar)*



Fig.: 7.8 shows the present view of the throne of Raja Mohammad Teg Singh of Kishtwar with three pillars in ruins. *(source: clicked by scholar)*

7.5 Ziarats of Sufi Saints

The ziarats of Sufi saints are not merely physical spaces; they are imbued with a profound sense of spirituality and reverence. As devotees embark on these journeys, they enter a realm where the boundaries between the earthly and the ethereal blur. The atmosphere is filled with the fragrance of incense, the echoes of devotional chants, and the palpable energy of faith. Pilgrims offer prayers, recite verses from sacred texts, and engage in acts of remembrance, seeking to establish a deeper connection with the saint and to draw inspiration from their life and teachings. These visits offer solace, spiritual guidance, and a renewed sense of purpose to those who embark on this sacred journey. The ziarats of Sufi saints continue to play a vital role in preserving the rich spiritual heritage.

7.5.1 Ziarat of Shah Farid -ud- din

Shah Farid-Ud-Din Baghdadi came from Baghdad during the reign of the Mughal emperor Shahjahan. He was a great pious saint and was blessed with miraculous and supernatural powers. A famous Ziarat exists over his tomb. This Ziarat has been referred in the historical records of the medieval period of Kishtwar. The Ziarat is highly revered by both Hindus and Muslims even today. The *Ziarat* is in a well-decorated condition. A number of devotees were found offering prayers in the *Ziarat*. A detailed interview of Maulvi Ghulam Rasool Shaikh, a retired teacher and a senior citizen of Kishtwar was conducted. He enlightened knowledge of scholar about the background of *Shah Farid-ud-din*, and his Ziarat in Kishtwar. Maulvi Ghulam Rasool told that Shah Farid-ud-din stayed in Doda (Faridabad) and reached *Bhandarkot* via Keshwan and Thakrai. He explained that Shah *Farid ud din* performed a great miracle when he was stopped at Bhandarkot to proceed further towards Kishtwar. He asked his disciples to sit on a mat and close their eyes and by doing so he reached Kishtwar along with his disciples. Maulvi Shaikh Sahib said that *Farid-ud din* Sahib left this world at the age of 99 years and was succeeded by his sons namely *Syed Asraru-ud-din*, Hazarat *Syed Akhyar-ud-din*. (Fig.7.9, Fig. 7.10 & 7.11)



Fig.: 7.9 shows the pic of the Ziarat of Shah *Farid-ud-Din* Sahib in Kishtwar. (source: *clicked by scholar*)



Fig.: 7.10 Outer view of Ziarat of Shah *Farid-ud-Din* Shah, with Maulvi Gulam Rasool Shaikh. (source: *clicked by scholar*)

7.5.2 Ziarat of Shah Asrar-ud -din:

Shah Asrar-ud-Din was son of Shah Farid-ud -Din Baghdadi. He was a kind and Sufi Saint who is known for his soft-hearted approach and miracles but left this world at the young age of 18 years. He is known to have performed a number of miracles during the short span of his life and even gave a lease of life to one of his friends. His Ziarat is located in Kishtwar at the southwestern end of the chogan of Kishtwar. His Ziarat is still located in good condition and well-maintained form. Every year a great festival is celebrated with the name of *Urs* in Kishtwar on 25 of *Kartik* Month. Fig 7.11 shows the present view of the Ziarat.



Fig.: 7.11 Ziarat of Shah *Asrar-ud-din* Sahib, Kishtwar. (source: clicked by scholar

7.6 Bhandarkot

Bhandarkot is an important place of historical importance in the history of Kishtwar. It is the confluence of rivers Chanderbhaga and Maru-Wardwan. Bhandarkot played an important role in the history of the medieval period of Kishtwar during the rule of the Rajas of Kishtwar. It had a bridge of ropes and planks of wood known as Jhula or Zampa bridge. It was not possible to cross the river at Bhandarkot by the enemies. Therefore, it provided protection to the Rajas of Kishtwar. The history of Kishtwar records that even the Mughal forces had to encamp there at Bhandarkot for four months and ten days in the absence of a Jhula bridge. A garden had been constructed at Bhandarkot by the Mughal army under Dilawer Khan. But during the visit by the scholar, no garden was traceable on the spot. An old steel bridge near the confluence of rivers Chanderbhaga and Marev Wardwan was found on the spot. The location and distance of Bhandarkot is similar in nature as mentioned in the historical records. The importance of Bhandarkot also lies in the fact that on its confluence during the day of Baisakhi, people take a holy bath here to which the scholar was the witness. (Fig.7.12 &7.13)



Fig. 7.12 shows the view of the bridge at Bhandarkot. (source: clicked by scholar)



Fig. 7.13 The confluence of the river Chinab and Maru Wardwan in Bhandarkot and the people celebrating the Baisakhi festival with a holy dip at the confluence. (*source: clicked by scholar*)

7.7 Mughal Maidan/Mughal Mazar:

Mughal Maidan is an important place in the medieval history of Kishtwar. It is located at a distance of 22 km from Kishtwar towards Kashmir. Earlier it was known as Mughal Mazar i.e., the burial place of the Mughals. A large number of Mughal soldiers were killed and buried here when they tried to invade Kishtwar under the command of Mirza Haider during the period of Raja Rai Singh of Kishtwar. The Mughal army suffered a humiliating defeat. The present area of Mughal Maidan is 16 kanals as per revenue records. As per historical accounts, 200 Mughal Soldiers lost their lives in Mughal Mazar. A park is also existing with no signs of graves. Only one Mazar of a faqir namely, Abdul Shah Mughal has been found in Mughal Maidan, but it is believed that it belongs to some later period shown in Fig. 7.14. Presently at Mughal Mazar/Mughal Maidan, there is a hatchery of trout fish farm shown in Fig. 7.15. A road bisects the Mughal Maidan presently. There is a recreation park in Mughal Maidan shown in Fig 7.16, and a building of tourism department in the Mughal Maidan.



Fig.:7.14 Mazar of a faqir namely Abdul Shah Mughal at Mughal Maidan. (Source: *clicked by scholar*)



Fig.: 7.15 Hatchery of trout fish farm at Mughal Maidan, Kishtwar. (Source: *clicked by scholar*)



Fig.: .7.16 shows the recreation park in Mughal Maidan Kishtwar. (Source: clicked by scholar)

7.8 Nagseni

Nagseni was an important pargana of Kishtwar state during the ancient and medieval periods a number of sites of archaeological importance have been found in the Nagseni area. Presently Nagseni is a tehsil and block of District Kishtwar. It has a number of important historical sites including the temple of lord Vishnu in Saiya Draman. Saiya is the name of the village whereas Draman is ground in the local language as narrated by the local people. The scholar visited this place on the 15th of April 2022 and found the temple of lord Vishnu, the main structure of which has been damaged due to natural calamities and weather conditions. Two local people Lekh Raj and Sham Lal, the two brothers R/O Upper Bidda, Tehsil Nagseni, accompanied me along with a senior citizen of Padar namely Sh. Abdul Majeed Biccho R/O Atholi , Paddar, to Saiya Draman . Lekh Raj and Sham Lal gave detailed information about this temple and its importance. They explained that an annual festival is celebrated annually on the third day of Raksha Bandhan (Puran Maashi) in honour of the god *Nagsen*. The temple of the god Vishnu located here is believed to be 500 years old. But the temple is presently in ruined form as found during my visit. Fig. 7.17 shows a headless black stone idol along with the idols of other gods. Fig 7.18. shows the ruins of the temple in the small ground at Saiya Draman. As per the information shared by the locals, an

annual festival is celebrated here for two to three days known as yatra in which devotees known as chelas of the gods, perform special and rare religious activities accompanied by the beating of drums. According to these people, the gods are invited here with the beating of drums and are given adieu honorably with the beating of drums. The Nagseni area is associated with the Buddhist sage Nagsen. It is believed that Nagsen wrote his famous book Milind Panho in Nagseni area 2000 years ago and is important from a Buddhist history point of view. In Fig 7.19 an undeciphered inscription has been found on the spot at Saiya Draman. Fig 7.20 shows a close view of the undeciphered inscription.



Fig.:7.17 shows a headless black stone idol along with the idols of other gods.

(source: clicked by scholar)

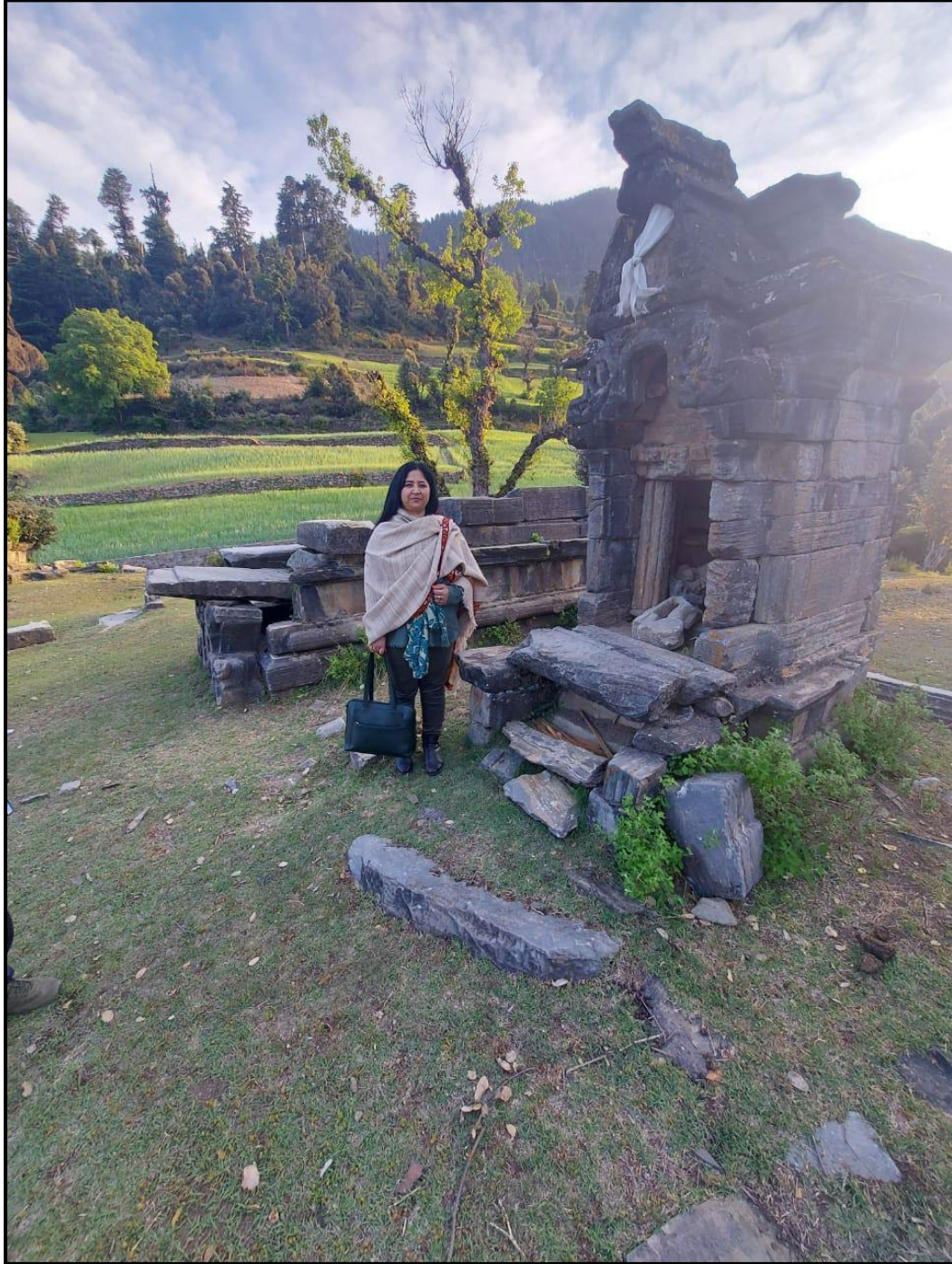


Fig.: 7.18 shows the ruins of the temple in the small ground at Saiya Draman, Nagseni, (Kishtwar) *(source: clicked by scholar)*

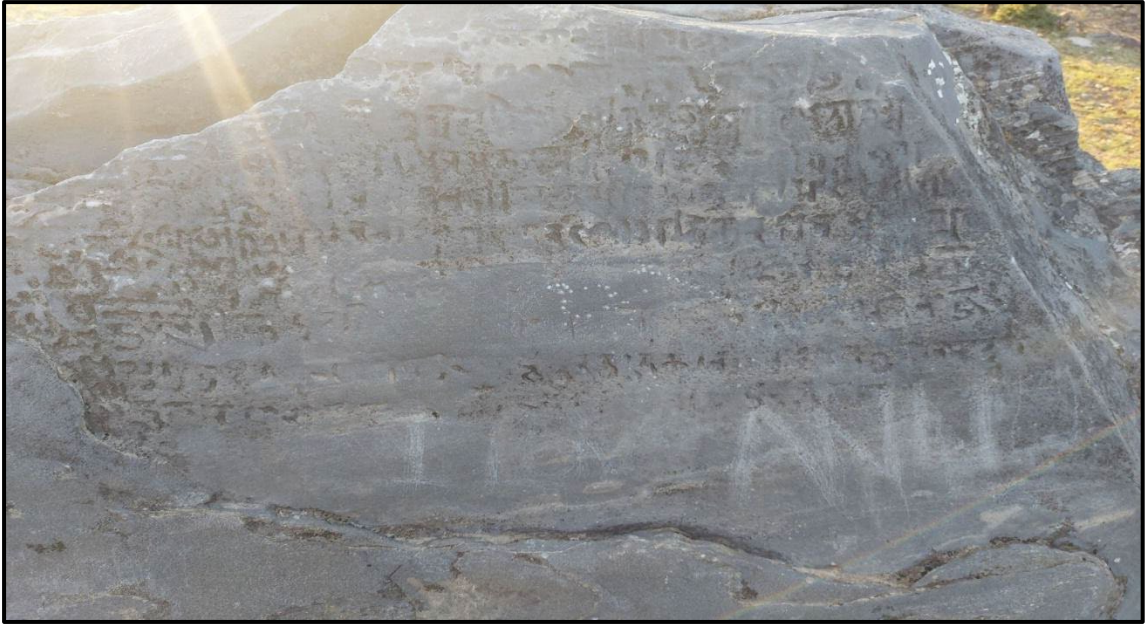


Fig.: .7.19 Undeciphered inscriptions at Saiya Draman Nagseni. (*source: clicked by scholar*)

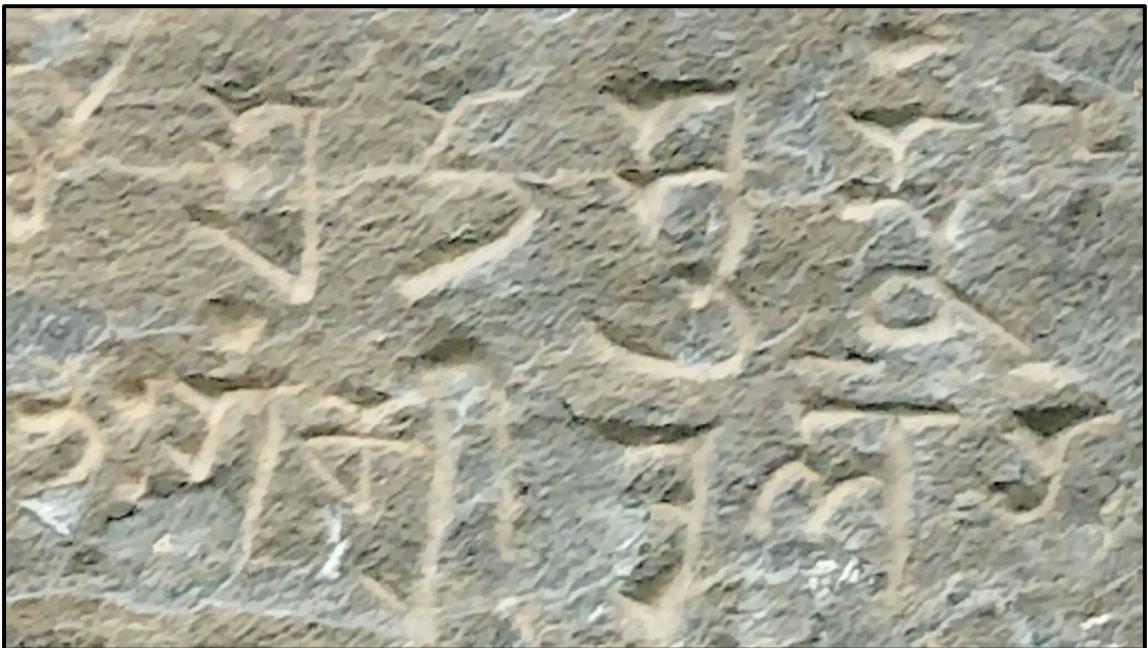


Fig.: .7.20 close view of Script in Nagseni. (*source: clicked by scholar*)

7.9 Sarthal Mata:

There is a famous temple of Ashtadasbhujia i.e., the goddess with eighteen arms. It is located in Sarthal on the Sarthal mountain. It is identified with *Sharika Devi* of Kashmir. This historical temple is located at 7000 feet above sea level. It has a legendary background behind its establishment in Sarthal. According to a legend Sharika Bhagwati resided in Hari Parbat in Srinagar. She took the form of a small girl and sought the help of a shepherd to reach a place known as *Ajaal* on the Sarthal mountain and took the form of a stone. Raja Agar Dev on hearing the existence of strange and pious stone visited the place to pay his homage and obeisance. But according to another legend Raja Agar Dev had seen this idol in a dream, and the next morning he found this idol in a jungle. He ordered for shifting of the image to his palace but couldn't be moved beyond Agar. The image was installed in Agar. It is clear that the image was brought from Kashmir by the devotees during the reign of Sikander. This temple is highly revered by the people, the barren couples are blessed with children with the blessing of the goddess. They visit the shrine in colorful clothes with dance in the procession accompanied by local music of flutes and drums etc. They visit the shrine with songs, dances and slogans in praise of the goddess. Animal sacrifice is also made to please the goddess, which includes sheep and goats.

On the visit to this historical shrine, scholar was fortunate enough that she visited the shrine on a special day when a festival was being celebrated in the temple. The devotees had gathered there in large numbers in festive dresses. It was found that people were taking a feast after worshiping the goddess and making the animal sacrifices at the altar adjoining the temple Fig. 7.21. shows the outer view of the Sarthal Mata temple. Fig. 7.22 shows the image of the goddess of the Sarthal Mata temple. Fig. 7.23 shows the musicians playing the local musical instruments in the complex of the shrine. Fig. 7.24 shows the people dancing and festive spirits. Fig. 7.25 shows an interview with Pujari Sh. Santosh Kumar Parthi (Goswami) s/o Sh. Mangal Parthi, a senior citizen of 78 years, is a pujari of the shrine. Fig. 7.26 shows a picture of an old door which was earlier a part of the temple as per the statement of the pujari, Sh. Santosh Kumar Parthi.

During the interview, the Pujari shared important information and confirmed historical facts of the medieval period of the Kishtwar with special reference to the Ashtadasbhuj temple. He claimed that his family was affiliated with the temple since the days of his ancestors. Two different families of Pujaris of the temple exist there in the village. One family of Goswami and another family of Pujaris was Pandits invited by Raja Agar Dev. He confirmed both the legends regarding the migration of Sharika Devi from Srinagar to village Agral. He confirmed the story of *Gavala* i.e., a cowherd boy, who helped Sharika Devi in the form of a small girl to move to Sarthal area. According to this legend, Sharika Mata took the form of a small girl and asked a cowherd boy to shift her to *Agral Village*. The cowherd boy closed his eyes by following the direction of the goddess and shifted her on his back to a Nala i.e., a stream near Agral village. She helped the boy to go back to his village with a Kangari (fire pot), with coals in it and a blanket provided by the goddess. On reaching home the boy found that the coals had been turned into precious metal. The goddess had taken a form of a stone image. According to another legend, the image of the goddess was seen by Raja Agar Dev in his dream which he found in a stream nearby *Agral* village and tried it to shift in his palace but had to establish it at *Agral* when it couldn't be moved ahead. The Pujari explained that the temple had been made a number of times but the main place where the image had been established originally. He claimed that his brother had seen the trunk of the deodar tree on which the image had been originally established. The pujari showed an old door which he claimed that it was a part of the old temple of the Ashtadasbhuj goddess. The pujari told that an annual festival is celebrated after Janmashtami on the day of *Amavasya*. The *chelas* and pujaris perform religious activities throughout the night. The interview with the Pujari was recorded. As per the information shared by pujari the *mundan* ceremony of the children is celebrated here by making scarifies of the goat. *Prasaad* of both veg and non-veg is served to the devotees after offering it to the goddess.



Fig.: 7.21 shows the entrance of Sarthal Mata Temple of Kishtwar. *(source: clicked by scholar)*



Fig.: .7.22 shows the Image of Ashtadasbuja Sarthal Mata inside the temple Sarthal, Kishtwar. *(source: clicked by scholar)*



Fig.: 7.23 shows the musicians playing the local musical instruments in the complex of the shrines. *(source: clicked by scholar)*



Fig.: 7.24 shows the people in dancing and festive mood. *(source: clicked by scholar)*



Fig.: 7.25 shows an interview with Pujari Sh. Santosh Kumar Parthi (Goswami).
(source: clicked by scholar)



Fig.: 7.26 shows a picture of an old door which was earlier a part of the temple.
(source: clicked by scholar)

7.10 Neelkanth temple

Neelkanth is an important temple of Kishtwar. It was greatly revered by the people of Kishtwar and even the Rajas of Kishtwar. It is believed that the Neelkanth temple was built by Bhim sen the hero of Mahabharat. According to a historical account when Kishtwar was facing famine and drought-like conditions due to the failure of rains, Raja Maha Singh worshipped Neelkanth god. His prayers were accepted by the god Neelkanth. Prosperity returned back to Kishtwar with the blessings of the god, Neelkanth. It was believed that anybody who looked at the Shivalinga, could see his previous birth. On looking at it, the queen of Kishtwar got furious, when she saw her

image as a monkey. She threw the Shivalinga into the fire, which turned from grey to black. It led to wrath and destruction by the god Neelkanth in Kishtwar. The idol of Neelkanth was taken away to Basoli by Raja Bhupat pal of Balor Basoli, this idol was established in a temple in Basoli. Which was greatly kept in high honour by the people of Basoli. During the visit to Basoli, the history of the Neelkanth temple of Basoli was studied and found factual, when compared with the historical background. A local lecturer Sh. Pradeep Singh Balloria confirmed that as per the history told by his ancestors, the idol of Neelkanth was brought to Basoli by Raja Bhupat Pal of Basoli from Kishtwar. Fig 7.27 shows the present internal view of Neelkanth Temple Basoli. Fig 7.28 shows the outer view of the Neelkanth temple of Basoli.

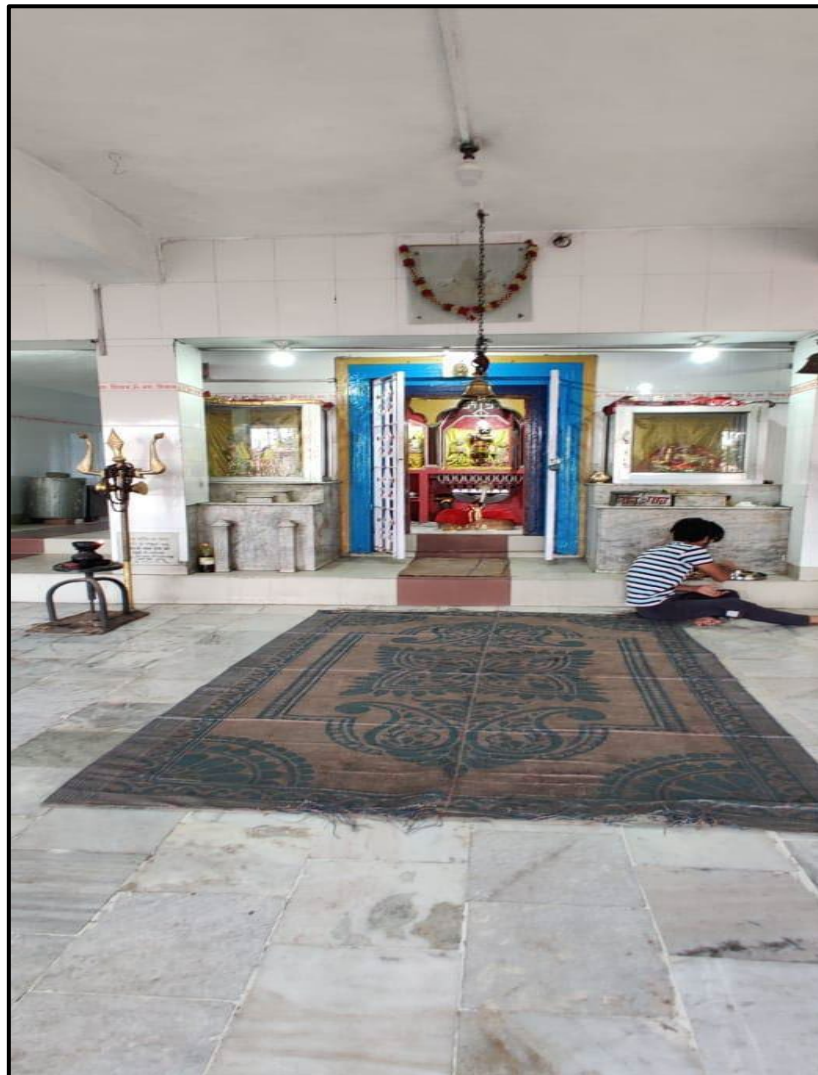


Fig.: 7.27 The internal view of Neelkanth Temple Basoli. (source: clicked by scholar)



Fig.: 7.28 The external view of Neelkant temple, Basoli. *(source: clicked by scholar)*

7.11 Buddhist monastery

Kishtwar region was equally important for Buddhism. During the visit of the scholar the Buddhist population was found in the villages Haloti, and Chakroie in Padar area . Buddhist also live in villages of Kishtwar namely Hango, Haloti, Tun and Kabban. The Buddhist had settled in these villages in ancient times and continued residing there in medieval and modern times. These areas have monasteries with statues of Lord Buddha. A monastery of Lord Buddha was also found in Gulabgarh town where the devotees were found offering prayers, Fig. 7.29 and fig. 7,30 shows the outer view and inner view of the monastery. The scholar during her visit to the monastery interviewed the monk who told that the monastery in addition to religious institute serves as an education institute for the Buddhist children.



Fig. 7.29 Entrance Gate of Buddhist Monastery, in Gulabgarh, Kishtwar. (*source: clicked by scholar*)



Fig. 7.30 Internal view of monastery in Gulabgarh area. (*source: clicked by scholar*)

7.12 Saffron:

Saffron is an important crop of Kishtwar. During the medieval period, it was the main source of income of the rajas of Kishtwar. Saffron of Kishtwar was rated as the best quality in Asia due to its growing and processing techniques. Even in the present time, the Saffron is produced in Kishtwar. Fig. 7.31 shows the saffron fields of Kishtwar, and the people collecting saffron. Fig.7.32 shows the close view of the saffron field, pictured during the visit of the scholar to Kishtwar.



Fig. 7.31 Saffron field in Kishtwar and the people collecting Saffron. *(Source: clicked by scholar)*



Fig. 7.32 Saffron fields, close view. (*source: clicked by scholar*)

7.13 Miscellaneous

During one of the visits to Kishtwar, the scholar visited Gulabgarh in the Paddar area of Kishtwar and also visited the area up to Pangi sub-division of Chanba and found many similarities in social, cultural and religious beliefs with Kishtwar. Many religious practices like the worship of gods and beliefs in sacrifices are common features of the region. More so the dress and language of the people are similar to a great extent. During the visit to Kishtwar, the scholar also visited Gulabgarh and Atholi areas of the Paddar subdivision. The scholar also visited an old house of a typical style in the Gulabgarh area which is similar to the houses constructed even during the medieval period as claimed by the owner Harisaran aged 86. This house has peculiarities of its own type like the house is constructed without the use of steel nails. It is purely made up of wood and use of mud. Accommodation for animals is housed in the same building with the provision of fuel food and fodder stored in it. A special system of burning the wood as fuel and exit of smoke is there in the building. A special type of provision for light and warmth during the winter when there is chilling cold outside was found in the house. A special type of weighing instrument of the medieval period was also found. It was a wooden stick with weighing marks inscribed on it with thin rope for hanging the commodity to be weighed. Fig. 7.33 shows the local weighing instrument. Fig. 7.34 shows the front view of an old house. Fig. 7.35 shows the local made stair locally known as *Taran* to collect grass from high reaches. It was found during the visit to Paddar area.



Fig.:7.33 shows the local weighing instrument. (*source: clicked by scholar*)



Fig.: 7.34 shows an old traditional house. *(source: clicked by scholar)*



Fig.: 7.35 shows the locally made stair locally known as *Taran* to collect grass from high reaches. (source: clicked by scholar)

Conclusion:

From the study of this chapter, it can be well concluded that Kandani was a take-off point for Kahan Pal to establish his rule in Kishtwar. Kandani village still exists at a distance of 12 miles towards south of Kishtwar. *Hudri*, an important place located in the south of Kishtwar is a spring mentioned in historical records that still exist in the village near a *Government Girls' Middle School*. The place of *Hudri* Spring

is important due to the fact that *Panjsasis* were defeated here by Kahan Pal. It led to the foundation of the rule of the Sen Dynasty of Bengal in Kishtwar. The facts about the focal position of *Chogan* in the History of Kishtwar find the detailed account in this chapter. The mythical, religious, political and social importance of *Chogan* has been discussed in this chapter. The Muslim shrines of Kishtwar with their religious background have been discussed. *Bhandarkot* an important place with historical point of view and having religious and social importance has been discussed. The importance of Bhandarkot from the security point of view finds its place in the chapter. Mughal Mazar presently known as Mughal Maidan is an important place in the history of Kishtwar due to the heavy loss of the Mughal army while fighting against the Raja of Kishtwar has been described in detail *Nagseni* a prominent area of Kishtwar with religious and architectural point of view has been referred with relevant historical facts. Sarthal Mata temple a mythical, legendary and historical shrine has been explained with its similarity with Sarika Devi of Srinagar. Neelkanth temple of Kishtwar and the shifting of its idol to Basoli has been narrated in the chapter. The local techniques prevalent during the medieval period have been studied and shown with figures in the chapter. The techniques used with locally available material still find a way in the life of the people of Kishtwar. (Fig.7. 35)

CONCLUSION

Kishtwar was one of the medieval Punjab Hill States of India. Kalhana refers to Kishtwar as Kashtvata. It is situated between the Chenab and Maru Valleys in southern Kashmir. Kishtwar has a unique identification because of its location and geographical position. Multiple rivers and streams flow through the mountainous region of Kishtwar. Due to its geography and climate, Kishtwar was known by a variety of names, including Samrath Garh, Gowardhan Garh, Maha Kal Garh, Suraj Garh, Chirhad, Bhut Nagar, etc. Some terminology was allocated to Kishtwar because of the people who lived here, while others were given to it because of the nature of its output. According to historical accounts, Rathars and Ganies reigned over Kishtwar. The Panjasasis, a merchant clan from Punjab, overthrew the Rathars and Ganies and seized authority. Due to intrigue, Kahan Pal, a descendant of Bengal's reigning Suraj Vansi family, was able to seize power from the Panjasasis. Kahan Pal secured the assistance of a Panjasasis lady by promising her a substantial amount. Kahan Pal was able to effectively assault and defeat the Panjasais at the Hudri spring in Kishtwar after the lady divulged their vulnerabilities and secrets. Gandharv Sen and many other rulers followed Kahan Pal. In the history of Kishtwar, however, all the Rajas had not great authority and significance. After Kahan Sen in the chronology of Rajas of Kishtwar, Bijay Singh was a notable and strong king of Kishtwar.

Among the Rajas of Kishtwar, there was no special succession rule. In most of the cases, the throne of a deceased Raja passed to the eldest son, although there were instances in which the Raja's brothers ascended the throne. In rare instances, the succession to the throne was also marred by intrigues. Occasionally, foreign forces also had a role in the succession to the kingdom of Kishtwar.

The Rajas of Kishtwar believed in the policy of annexation. Raja Agar Dev conquered the region of Sarthal, incorporated it into his kingdom, and delegated its administration to his younger brother Sunder Rai. Raja Luxam Dev invaded the Dachhan region, placing it under Kishtwar's control. Raja Sangram Singh was the first king of Kishtwar to add the surname Singh to his name. This demonstrates that the

reigning family of Kishtwar changed its name, and the high-sounding surname Singh emerged in the hill regions. He annexed Nagsun, located in the major Chandrabhaga valley above Kishtwar, to his domain. Raja Sangram Singh was succeeded by his son Jagat Singh. Raja Jagat Singh continued *Singh* title with his name. He also maintained his father's annexation and imperialist policies. Raja Jagat Singh added Saraj, Pongal, and Kanthi to his realm after capturing them. Raja Sangram Singh attacked and conquered the regions of Chicha and Sajzar. He brought the whole region of Nagseni under the rule of Kishtwar. Raja Rai Singh expanded the frontiers of Kishtwar to Marbal and Sinthan pass by conquering and annexing Rajmandal, i.e., the Chatru region in his kingdom. This led to direct clashes between Kishtwar and the sultans of Kashmir and Mughal emperors who administered Kashmir through their administrators.

Raja Bijay Singh further expanded his territory, annexed the Saraj region to Kishtwar, and established the settlement of Bijjarni. Raja Bahadur Singh invaded and annexed Saroor Pargana to Kishtwar. This journey was undertaken to avenge the murder of his father in Saroor. Raja Jagat Singh, Raja Gur Singh's son and successor, ruled Kishtwar from 1629 to 1635 A.D. He mounted an expedition to Bhaderwah and inflicted a devastating defeat on the Raja of Bhaderwah but was forced to abandon the campaign halfway when Raja Bhupat Pal of Balor Basoli attacked Kishtwar. Raja Bhagwan Singh, the brother and successor of Raja Jagat Singh, was a renowned conqueror and strong Raja who believed in the policy of conquests and the expansion of boundaries of Kishtwar. He conquered and annexed to his kingdom the regions of Kanthi, Ramban, Pogal, Peristan, Kashtigah, and Banihal. He installed a stone of victory at Banihal.

The Rajas of Kishtwar were secular and concerned for the well-being of their subjects. During the reign of Raja Sangram Singh, a demon emerged in Kishtwar in the form of an elephant and caused extensive devastation and the deaths of many people. Raja Sangram Singh sought the services of an astrologer named *Sangram Bhat*, who slew the demon and buried it under a stone in the Chogan of Kishtwar. The place was referred to as *Hastigand*. The remnants of the stone may still be discovered in the Kishtwar chogan. During the reign of Raja Maha Singh, circumstances of famine arose in Kishtwar owing to the lack of rainfall. The Raja of Kishtwar was so upset that he left

his palace barefooted in order to worship the deity Neel Kanth. He recited self-composed verses in favour of the deity Neelkanth. As a result of his prayers, the rains fell and prosperity returned back to Kishtwar.

The importance of Kishtwar could be judged from the fact that even the Mughal rulers recognized the importance of Kishtwar for their rule in Kashmir and adopted either a policy of war or reconciliation towards the rulers of Kishtwar. Kishtwar had a great importance due to its geographical location. It was a great attraction for the invaders due to its strategic position because it was an important route to reach Kashmir on one hand and Punjab and other hill states on the other hand. The Mughal emperors regarded Kishtwar as their enemy because the Rajas of Kishtwar granted asylum to their enemies.

A number of important rulers ruled Kishtwar. Raja Sangram Singh, Raja Gur Singh, Raja Jagat Singh, Raja Bhgawan Singh, Raja Maha Singh or Maha Jajan, Raja Jai Singh and Raja Kirat Singh were the important rulers of Kishtwar. Kishtwar witnessed an era of peace and prosperity during the reign of these rulers. Mixed culture due to a liberal and secular approach of these rulers emerged in Kishtwar. A number of Sufi Saints visited and settled in Kishtwar. The Rajas of Kishtwar were highly impressed by them and embraced Islam under their influence along with close associates. The important Rajas of Kishtwar made their position strong through the policy of imperialism, annexation and matrimonial alliances. The Rajas of Kishtwar made their position strong enough to face the mighty Mughal power successfully.

The Rajas of Kishtwar did not discriminate among the people on the basis of religion. They made grants for the maintenance of both the temples and the mosques. During the medieval period of Kishtwar, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam existed in Kishtwar. Buddhism entered Kishtwar since ancient times and continued to exist even during the medieval period. A considerable population of Buddhists had their monasteries in the areas inhabited by them. The Rajas of Kishtwar believed in the Havanas and prayers to gods. They had deep-rooted faith in the gods and goddesses like Lord Shiva, Ashthadasbhuja Devi, Durga Ma and Nag Devta, i.e., the Serpent god. Rich grants were also made to Brahmins and Purohits.

Due to the secular approach of the Rajas of Kishtwar, a number of Muslim families migrated from Kashmir and other adjoining areas to Kishtwar. The Rajas of Kishtwar appointed Qazis to deliver justice to the Muslims in accordance with their religion. *Farid -ud- Din* Baghdadi came to Kishtwar during the reign of Raja Jai Singh of Kishtwar and earned a great name and influence among the people of Kishtwar. Islam spread in Kishtwar during his period. Raja Jai Singh was so much impressed by *Farid-ud -Din* Sahib that he embraced Islam with the title of Bakhtiyar Khan. Shah *Israr -ud -Din* the son of Shah *Farid -ud -Din* also gained respect for his miracles but died young. Several Muslims came to Kishtwar and settled here on knowing about the secular attitude of the Rajas of Kishtwar. Raja Maha Singh made land grants to the mosques and appointed Muslims in government jobs on a large scale. The Muslims were given freedom during the period of Rajas in their religious affairs without any interference on the part of the government. Raja Kirat Singh also embraced Islam with the title Saadat Yar Khan, and many of his close associates followed his example. The Rajas of Kishtwar embraced Islam but continued their old title and old customs. Raja Kirat Singh used the services of purohits and offered prayers in the temples attached to the royal palace. Islam spread in Kishtwar without any forcible conversions. The influence of Sufi Saints and their equal respect for Hindus and Muslims was the reason for the peaceful spread of Islam in Kishtwar. In this way the analysis of the society of Kishtwar was depicting a composite and secular character which included the features of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. It was mainly affected by climatic conditions and geographical location. The intrusion of invaders and visits of different religious preachers also contributed towards its multi-features. Kishtwar had also matrimonial relations with sultans of Kashmir, Mughal emperors and with the neighbouring states. The matrimonial alliances were purely political in character. The matrimonial alliances also played a role in the formation of mixed society.

The relations of Rajas of Kishtwar with the Sultans of Kashmir, Mughal emperors and the neighbouring states were motivated by geographical, political, social and religious factors. These relations varied in nature and character from time to time. Sometimes the relations of Kishtwar were cordial with these states but turned into strained relations due to the varying nature of situations arising from political reasons

and foreign invasions. The Rajas of Kishtwar never hesitated in joining hands with the neighbouring states during common threats posing for the safety and security of Kishtwar. Matrimonial alliances played a vital role in the relations of Kishtwar with Kashmir and the other neighbouring states, including the Mughal empire. As a result of the successful policy adopted by the Rajas of Kishtwar, the state of Kishtwar remained autonomous in its character. It only allied with the Mughal emperors by paying annual tribute and remaining sincere to the Mughal emperors.

The rajas of Kishtwar were very serious about the protection of their state. They adopted a farsighted approach for the safety and security of Kishtwar. They never hesitated in recruiting soldiers from Kashmir and Rajouri to get specialized experts in the matter of warfare. *Gulel Andaz* was specially recruited from Kashmir. The character of the army of Kishtwar was heterogeneous. The army of Kishtwar included foot soldiers, cavalry, *Gulel Andaz* and musketeers. The army of Kishtwar was strong enough to face and defeat even the mighty Mughal army. Dilawer Khan attacked Kishtwar under the direction of Mughal emperor Jahangir but had to face a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Kishtwar army during the period of Raja Pratap Singh. The method of stone pelting proved a great weapon against the Mughal army. A number of Mughal soldiers, including commander Mirza Mohammad Khan, lost their lives in Mughal Maidan, i.e., Mughal Mazar. The Rajas of Kishtwar used bridges over the rivers as an offensive as well as a defensive weapon against their enemy. They would attack the enemies by crossing these bridges, chopping off the ropes, and destroying the bridges so that enemies could not cross them. The bridges in Kishtwar were made with locally available material consisting of ropes and wooden planks. These bridges were locally known as *zampa* or *jhula* bridges. Only the local people were experts in the construction of these bridges. These bridges formed a source of transport and also protected Kishtwar. Stone pelting from high mountains was one of the modes to attack and defeat enemies.

Kashmir, Bhaderwah, Chamba and Balore Basoli were some of important Punjab hill states neighbouring Kishtwar. The relations of Kishtwar with its neighbouring states varied in nature from time to time during different spans of times due to political reasons and imperialistic designs of the rulers. e.g. Kishtwar had cordial

relations with Bhaderwah during the period of Raja Bahader Singh of Kishtwar but became strained when Raja Jagat Singh of Kishtwar attacked Bhaderwah. Similarly, the Rajas of Kishtwar had strained relations with the Mughal emperors when Jahangir ordered an attack on Kishtwar but became cordial when the Mughal emperor Shahjahan helped Bhagwan Singh of Kishtwar against Raja Bhupat pal of Balore Basoli. These relations were purely motivated for political reasons. The people of Kishtwar were highly knowledgeable and they developed techniques to use local raw material to make Jhula Bridge, etc. It was constructed over the rivers which served as a source of transport and security for the region of Kishtwar. Bhandarkot was functioning as a check post to keep an eye on the enemies who were coming to attack Kishtwar. The mighty river Chanderbhaga could not be crossed easily without a bridge. The Rajas of Kishtwar often build forts in strategic locations. The Rajas of Kishtwar constructed palaces and forts even after returning from conquests. Bhandarkot was the location of the construction of one such fort.

Kishtwar was mostly an agrarian state. It grew wheat, rice, corn, and lentils, among other crops. The principal crop of Kishtwar was saffron, which greatly contributed to the economy of the locals. In Kishtwar, a variety of fruits, including apricots, pears, apples, oranges, and watermelons were cultivated. The residents of Kishtwar were mostly engaged in agriculture and livestock husbandry.

The inhabitants of Kishtwar had trading relationships with neighbouring states. They conducted business through both land and water routes. The rivers were crucial to the commerce and transportation. The river and pathways were used for transporting wood. The better quality of Kishtwar's saffron compared to that of Kashmir made it the principal export and a significant source of revenue for the Rajas of Kishtwar. The revenue from saffron was sufficient to cover the army's costs. The Rajas of Kishtwar had a highly justifiable and public-friendly taxing policy. The tax was collected on dwellings, and not on the land. Even for minor violations, hefty penalties were enforced. The wealthy were required to pay hefty penalties and taxes. *Sanhasi* was a coin used for trade purposes. Fifteen *Sanhasis* were equal to ten rupees or one *Padshahi Mohar*. Kishtwar had trade relations with Maru-Warden, Srinagar, Lahoul, Gulabgarh, Ladakh, Punjab and other neighbouring states.

Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam were all represented in Kishtwar's religiously diverse population. There were Brahmins, Thakkars, Rajputs, and Megh among the Hindus. The Gaddis were a pastoral tribe that practised Hinduism and reared sheep and goats. Their attire was usual and featured a unique cap made of stiff fabric. Both the Gujjars and the Backcrawl tribes belonged to the Muslim religion. In Hindu culture, the Brahmins were highly revered and even the Rajas held them in high esteem. The Dogri and Pahari cultures significantly influenced the attire and nutrition of the people of Kishtwar. In Kishtwar, people wore both woolen and cotton garments. Puttu, a form of coarse woolen fabric, was also used. The impoverished also wore shoes made of grass. Both genders wore the Skull cap. The wealthy and royal attire was distinguishable from the commoners.

Mughal emperor Jahangir in Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri praises the dress and personality of Raja Gur Singh of Kishtwar. He mentions that the dress of Raja Gur Singh of Kishtwar was distinctive from the other zamindars, i.e., the local Rajas of neighbouring states. A number of languages were spoken in Kishtwar, but the main language was kishtwari which greatly impacted the Kashmiri language. The society of Kishtwar believed in a number of social customs and rituals. But the Hindu population of Dachhan was not strict in the observation of the Hindu rituals but they observed Hindu customs and rites in birth, marriage, and death. The Hindus used sacred thread. A woman could easily break the marriage to remarry herself with a second husband. The bridegroom had to pay the bride price in the form of money or service to the parents of the girl for marrying a virgin girl. Kashmiri Pandit's families had settled in the *Dachhan* area and established matrimonial relations with *Thakkars*. Even the Women enjoyed an honorable place in the society of Kishtwar. They were free to leave their husband and opt for a second marriage honorably. Sometimes the bride had to purchase by either paying the bride in cash or rendering services in the house of the bride. The women of the royal family like Shanker Dei contributed for the welfare of the society.

Especially in the Dachhan region, witchcraft was practiced in Kishtwar. Due to their negative and detrimental outlook on society, the women who practiced witchcraft were known as *Dyens* and did not have a prestigious position in society. Witchcraft had recognition in society and it is clearly reflected in Kishwar society. But was looked

down upon in the society. It was mainly prevalent in the Decchan area of Kishtwar. They were thought to possess the ability to assume the shape of lesser creatures. *Shagins* were the class of people who could save the people from the ill effects of the witches and even could punish them. The Rajas of Kishtwar had also faith in witchcraft. And the Rajas of Kishtwar sought assistance of which craft e.g., Koki Devi helped Raja Bhup Singh against the Mughal army. Local People had knowledge of wild Herbs which were also used for witchcraft.

Kishtwar is the land of fairs and festivals. Several festivals, like Kakul, Tahar, Ashtashbuzi, Katak Yatra and Urs of Shah Farid-ud-din etc., were celebrated in Kishtwar and continue till date in the changed form. The fairs and festivals were accompanied by dance and music both in Hindu and Muslim shrines. Goat and sheep sacrifices were made to please the god and goddess. The devotees visited the temples of deities to seek blessings and visited the shrines when their desires were fulfilled. The *Chelas* were the devotees of the deities and were believed to have communication with the gods. They were regarded as the mouthpiece of the deities who could forecast the coming disasters and even tell the solutions for the devastations. The geographical position, the foreign invasions and the role of religious missionaries influenced and shaped the art and architecture of Kishtwar. The neighbouring states of Kishtwar, like Kashmir, Bhaderwah, Chamba and Kangra etc., played a great role in the art and architecture of Kishtwar, which is reflected in forts, palaces, religious buildings, and royal palaces. Kaikut temple is made up of deodar wood and is a unique example of architecture. Sai Draman area of Nagseni in Kishtwar is a historic site from an archaeological study point of view. It has monuments in ruined form. In Kishtwar, Sanskrit and Pali languages were used, but with the spread of Islam in Kishtwar and the relations of Rajas of Kishtwar with Mughal rulers, Persian became the official language. The Rajas of Kishtwar patronized both Sanskrit and Persian languages. Kishtwari language had its own script, but it has been lost and is not available presently. Only its references are found in the works of some historians.

The present surviving remains in the Kishtwar is reflecting the marvels of Kishtwar in the past, At the time of Mughal, Mughal Mazar/Mughal Maidan was known as the graveyards full of the graves of the Mughal soldiers when Mughal army had

faced a humiliating defeat by Raja Pratap Singh alias Bhup Singh. Chogan is also an important place in the history of Kishtwar and it is still existing with historical remains of Kishtwar. The famous Katak Yatra finds its origin in Chogan and Hastigandh still exists here. The remains of a stone boundary wall for Polo are still available. Sarthal Devi an historical temple in Agral area of Kishtwar built during the period of Raja Agar Dev still exists but in a changed form. Nagseni area of Kishtwar with rich heritage of Buddhism and Hinduism is vast area with archaeological structural remains. Kaikut wooden temple is a unique example of architecture built during the period of Raja Majan still exists in a modified form.

This research comprises material gleaned through personal interviews with local historians, elderly residents, Maulvi of Ziarat, temple priests, and other individuals who could throw light on pertinent Kishtwar historical knowledge. Trips to significant historical sites have improved the material. The obtained data has been compared to known historical, literary and archaeological sources. It has been discovered that material from the medieval era of Kishtwar within the study period still corresponds with a number of present realities, such as the existence of a composite culture and religion.

REFERENCES

Agrawal, R.C. (1998), *Kashmir & its Monumental Glory*, Pb. Aryan Book International, Delhi.

Anonymous. (1991), *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, (Persian manuscript), a chronicle of medieval Kashmir, Eng. Tr.by K.N. Pandit, Srinagar, Gulshan books.

Aseer Kishtwari, WaliMohd. (2006), *Focus on Jammu & Kashmir*, First ed.2003, second ed.2005, Third ed.2006. Pb. Crescent House Publications Jammu.

Badehra, Ganesdas. (2016-17), *Rajdarshani*, (A Persian History of North Western India from Earliest Times to 1847 A.D.) Eng. Tr. by S. D. S. Charak, Annotated by Dr. Anita K. Billawaria , Pb. Jay Kay Book House, Residency Road, Jammu.

Bakhari, Shaikh Farid. (1989), Zakhirat-ul-Khawanin in M..A. Ansari, *Geographical Glimpses of Medieval India*, Vol. II., pb. By Mohammad Ahmad for Idarahi -I Aidabiyat-I ,Delli.

Bakshi, Motamid Khan. (1989), *Iqbal nama -i- Jahangiri* in M.A. Ansari, *Geographical Glimpses of Medieval India* Vol. II, Idarahi-1 Adabiyat-1Delli.

Bamzai, P.N. K. (1962), *A History of Kashmir*, Delhi.

Bamzai, P.N.K. (1994) *Cultural and Political History of Kashmir* Vol.2, Medieval Kashmir, Pb. MD Publications Pvt, Ltd. New Delhi.

Bamzai, P.N.K. (2010), *A History of Kashmir*, (Political-Social-Cultural from earliest times to present day), first ed. 1962, second ed., third ed., fourth ed. pb. Gulshan Books Kashmir,

Charak, Dr. S. S. (1988), *History and Culture of Himalayan States*, Vol. VI, Jammu Kingdom part 3,: constituent states, Pb. Ajay Prakashan, Pathankot,

Charak, Dr. S.S. (1978), *Indian Conquests of the Himalayan Territories*, Pb. Ajay Prakashan, Kathlaur Colony, Pathankot.

Charak, Dr. S.S. (1985), *A Short History of Jammu Raj*, (from earliest times to 1846 A.D.), Pb. Ajay Prakashan, Pathankot.

Charak, Dr. S.S. (2014-15), *Jammu Kingdom, Ancient & Medieval (History & Culture of Himalayan States IV)* Pb. Light and Life Publisher, Jammu.

Charak, S.D.S.(2016-17) *Rajdarshini* tr. S. D. S. Charak&Annoted by Dr. Anita Billawaria, Pb. S.Kartar Singh for Jay Kay Book house, Residency road Jammu.

Charak,Dr. S.S. (1978), *History and Culture of Himalayan States*, Himachal Pradesh, Part one, Pb. Light & Life Publisher, New Delhi.

Devi Prasad, Munshi. (1975), *Shahjahan Nama*, Pb. The MacMillian company of India Ltd. Delhi.

Dhar,Pt.Shivji.(1962), *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar*, (Persian), pb. Gulshan publisher, Srinagar.

Drew, Frederic. (2008), *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, Pb. Sheikh Ajaz Gulshan Books, Residency Road, Srinagar.

Dughlat, Mirza Muhammad Haidar. (1973), *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, (A History of Moghuls of Central Asia) Eng, tr. by N. Elias & E. Denison Ross, pb. Academica Asiatica, Patna

Fazal Abul, (2000), *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, Eng.Tr., by Beveridge, Pb. Prof. Anil, K, Srkar, General Secretary. The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Delhi, First pb. 1939, Reprint,2000.

Fazal, Abul. (1989), *Ain I Akbari*, Vol. I & III Eng. Tr. by Colonel H.S. Jarret, Pb. New Taj Office, Urdu Bazar, Jama Masjid, Delhi.

Fouq, Muhammad -ud-din,*A Complete History of Kashmir*, (2017), Tr. R.K. Bharti, Gulshan Publication, Kashmir

Francois, Bernier. (1988) *Aurangzeb in Kashmir* (Travels in the Mughal Empire) Tr. from French by Irving Brook, ed. by D.C. Sharma, Pb. Rima publishing house, New Delhi.

Ganhar, J.N. (1973), *Jammu Shrines and Pilgrimages*, pb. Ganhar Publication, New Delhi.

Habib, Irfan. (1963), *Agrarian system of Mughal India*, oxford university press.

Habib,Irfan .(1556-1707),*Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Pb. New Delhi,1999

Hasan Mohibbul, (2002), *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, ed. Hamid Naseem, Pb. Gulshan Publishers, Fairdeal Market Residency Road, Srinagar, Kashmir,

Hashmatulla, Molvi. (1998),*Mukhtasar Tarikh-i-Jammu Wa Kashmir*, second edt. J &K Book House, Residency Road, Jammu.

Hassan, Mohibul.(1959), *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Srinagar

Hassan,Nural. (1973), *Thoughts on Agrarian Relations in Mughal Empire*, Delhi.

Hassnain, F.M. (1998), *History of Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh and Kishtwar* (Ladakh & Kishtwar), Vol. II, Pb. Rima Publishing House, Inderpuri, New Delhi.

Hussain, Majid. (1987), *Geography of Jammu & Kashmir*, compiled by Bhupinder Zutshi, Mohinder Dutta, Mohammad Siddique, Tasawoor A Kaanth. Pb. Ariana Publishing House, New Delhi.

Irvine Willam, (1971),*Later Mughals*, Reprint New Delhi 1971.

HutichisonJ. &Vogal. J. (2021), *History of Punjab Hill States*, Vol. II , First published 1933,Reprint 2021, Manohar publisher & Distributors ,New Delhi.

Jahangir, *Tukuk-i-Jahangiri*.(1989), In M.A. Ansari. *Geographical Glimpses of Medieval India*, Vol. II, pb. By Mohammad Ahmad for Idarah-i-Adabiya-1, Delli.

Jahangir. (1994), *Tuzuk-i-Jhangiri*, Voll. Eng.Tr.by Alexander Rogers, edt. Henry Beveridge, Pb. Low price publications, first published 1909-1914, first reprint 1989, second reprint 1994, Delhi.

Kak, Ram Chandra .(1971), *Antiquities of marev-wardwan*, Memories of the Archeological Surey of Kashmir No.1 ,(Published under the Authority of Kashmir Durbar) Delhi ,Reprinted 1971

Kalahana, *Rajatarangini*.(2009) Vol.II, Eng.tr.by M. A.Stein, pb. MotitalBanarsidassPublishesrpvt. Ltd. Delhi. First print 1900, reprint 1961, 1979, 1989, 2009,

Kapoor, M.L. (1983), *Kingdom of Kashmir*, Pb. Kashmir History Publications.

Kashmiri, Ishrat. (1973), *Tarikh-i-Kishtwar* (Urdu), Pb., Tawi Printing Press, Jammu.

Kaul, P.K.(1993) *Himalayan Principalities in Jammu, Kangra, Bhaderwah, Jammu* ,

Khan, Hashmat. (2016), *A brief history of Kishtwar* Vol.1, Eng.tr. by A.R. Khan, Pb.SheikhHayaan Javeed, Srinagar.

Kirpa Ram, Diwan. (2013), *Gulabnama*, (Persian), (A History of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu & Kashmir), Eng. Tr. by S.S. Charak and annotated by Anita CharakBillawaria, pb. Gulshan Books residency road Srinagar.

Kotwal, N.C. (2000), *Political and Cultural Heritage of Bhadarwah, Kishtwarand Doda*, Pb. Jay Kay Book House, Jammu.

Koul, P.K. (1996), *Nagsen of MalindPanho* , Pb. Eastern Book Linkes, Delhi.

Lawrance Walter R. (2017), *The Valley of Kashmir*, first ed.1895, Reprint second 2005, Pb. Gulshan Books Kashmir.

Mir, G.M. (1992), *Saffron Agrenamy in Kashmir*, Pb. Gulshan publisher Srinagar,

Nargis, Narsingh Das. (1967), *Tarikh-i-Jadid Dogra Desh* , Pb. Chand Publication, Jammu.

Parmu R.K. (2009) *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, first publication 1969, second 2009, pb. Gulshan Books Residency Road, Srinagar.

Prasad, Beni. (1962), *The History of Jahangir*, first ed. 1922, second ed. 1930, third ed. 1940, fourth ed. 1953, fourth ed. 1962, pb. B.N. Mathur at Indian press pvt. Ltd. Allahabad.

Qureshi, I. H. (1979), *The administration of Mughal Empire*, Delhi.

Ram Kirpa, Diwan. (2016), *Gulabnama* Eng, Tr. Dr. S. S. Charak and Dr. Anita Charak Billawaria, Pb. Gulshan Books residency road, Srinagar, Kashmir. first ed. 2013.

Saxena, K.S., (2009), *Ancient Political History of Kashmir* (B.C. 300-A.D.1200), Gulshan Publication Srinagar

Shaikh Farid , (1989) Bakhari, Zakhirat- ul- Khawaninin M.A. Ansari *Geographical glimpses of Medieval India* , Vol.II, .

Sharma, D. C. (1995), *History and Culture of Kishtwar*, Pb. Chandra Bhaga Publisher, Kishtwar.

Sharma, Kewal Krishan. (2010), *Kishtwar Darpan*, (A Hindi Script) Pb. MaanviPrakashanPanjthirti Jammu.

Sharma, Kewal Krishan.(2010), *Kishtwar Darpan*,(Hindi Script),pb. ManviPrakashanPanjthirathi, Jammu.

Sufi GMD. (2015), *Kashmir, Being a History of Kashmir from earliest times to our own*, Pb. Gulshan Books, Residency Road, Srinagar,

Sufi, G.M.D. (1930), *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, pb. By Sheikh Ajaaz, Gulshan Books, Srinagar.

Sufi, G.M.D.(1979), *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, Lights & Lights publishers, New Delhi.

Wani, Nizam-ul-Din. (1987), *Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pb. Jay Kay Book House residency road, Jammu Tawi, Jammu and Kashmir.

Websites

<https://Kishtwar.nic.dt.18.07.2022>

<http://m.facebook.com/nagsenitalks/photos/a.109123030770987/111864707163486/?type=3> Accessed on 04.10.2022

Gazetteer

Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XV, published Under the Authority of Majesty's Secretariat State for India in Council, London, 1908.

Compiled under the direction of the Quarter Master General in India in the Intelligence Branch, *Gazetteer of Kashmir, Ladakh*, Delhi, 1974,

Walter R. Lawrence, *Provincial Gazetteers of Kashmir and Jammu*, Pb. Delhi, 1985.

A Gazetteer of Kashmir (and adjacent, Kishtwar, Badrawar, Jammu, Naoshera, Punch, and the Valley of the Kishen Ganga) compiled (for Political and Military References) by Charles Ellison Bates, 2005, Residency Road Srinagar.

Assessment Reports

Ramdhan (Settlement Officer) Assessment Report of Kishtwar Tehsil of Udhampur District of Jammu Province, Allahabad, 1914.

Lala Sant Ram Modi (Assistant Conservator of Forest), Working Plan for the Kuth Field of Kishtwar Forest Division, Jammu and Kashmir State, (Sambat 1982-1987), Allahabad, 1926 P-44-48

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The major difficulty for extracting data for this research was some of the local historical records written by local authors have either been destroyed or misplaced. Some records were confined with particular persons and could not be passed to the next generation. Number of monuments and historical importance have either been perished or traceable only in partial manner due to climatic conditions like earthquakes and weathering conditions. The people of Kishtwar are very conservative regarding their history. They do not speak on the facts like witchcraft etc. The Buddhist architecture is available here, but very concise Buddhist literature is available on Kishtwar. Last but not the least Sufi culture is very interesting here, but written records are not available.

FUTURE SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

During the research, it has been observed that there is a vast scope of historical and archaeological research. As many architectural remains were available with the inscriptions. The Centre and state government should draw attention towards the preservation of the Kishtwar remains as they were highly neglected and destroyed. Problems which faced during data collection Kishtwar had a mixed rich culture. It came into contact with people of different religious and cultural backgrounds which moulded its socio-political history. It is believed that Kishtwar had its own script, but the remains are not available. The people of Kishtwar had manuscripts with them but they did not preserve it therefore these invaluable manuscripts were destroyed due to lack of proper conservation. The invaluable information is still hidden about Kishtwar due to lack of awareness. The undeciphered inscriptions could provide further details of unexplored facts about the history of Kishtwar if deciphered with proper technique and systematic manner.