

History of Jammu State.

J. HUTCHISON and J. PH. VOGEL.

Jammu state seems originally to have included only a small tract in the valleys of the Tawī and the Chināb, in the outer hills, and extending some way into the plains. At the period of its greatest expansion, under the old dynasty in the eighteenth century, it was bounded on the west by the Chināb, on the north by the Ladha range separating the Tawī from the Chināb, on the east by the States of Chanēhni, Bandhrāta, Mankot and Jasrōta, and on the south by the plains. Within this area were embraced several subordinate States, ruled chiefly by branches of the Jamwāl family in subjection to Jammu. These were Rihāsi, Bhoti, Sāmba and Dalpatpur, while Akhnur to the west of the Chināb seems to have been similarly ruled. Jammu also held suzerainty over all the States in the outer hills to the east as far as the Rāvi, and over Kashtwār and Bhadrwāh in the Chināb Valley. The original name of the State was Durgara, and according to tradition the capital was at Bāhu, where the ancient fort and a small town still exist.

The fort and town of Bāhu stand due east of Jammu, on the left bank of the Tawī and overlooking that river. The fort still bears an appearance of great strength, and was famous in former times, as we learn from the Muhammadan authors.

It is to be regretted that the material for the history of an ancient State like Jammu should be so scanty and unreliable. Every available source of information has been drawn upon but with indifferent results, and we can only express the hope that further research may yet bring more material to light.

Of the documents relating to the history of the State the *Vansāvalī* of the royal family is the most important; but unfortunately it is not available in original, and the only copy forthcoming is a compilation said to have been made in the reign of Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, and called the *Gulābnāmah*. It may have been compiled from older records, but it contains little more than a long list of names, dating from that of the mythical founder down to the present time. As there is no corroborative evidence for the early portion, it must be received with caution. It contains about 120 names, but there are several breaks in the continuity of the line, so that it is difficult to form an estimate as to the foundation of the State. We may, however, safely assume that it is of ancient origin, probably dating from the first century of the Christian era or earlier. Considerable doubt is thrown upon the reliability of the *Vansāvalī*, by the record of long reigns of sixty and seventy years ascribed to a succession of Rajas.

The History of Jammu State by Thakur Kāhn Singh Balauria is practically the

only other source of information in addition to references by Muhammadan authors, and to it we are indebted for many details. The author has been at great pains in tracing the origin of the various branches of the Jamwāl clan and in showing their connection with the parent stem.

¹ A reference to the State occurs in Ferishta connected with events which are said to have happened in the first century. Where Ferishta got his information we cannot say, but possibly he had access to old records which are now lost. The account is somewhat confused and not fully reliable; and yet it may well be a reminiscence of an early invasion of the hills by one of the paramount powers on the plains, which as we know claimed dominion over the hill tracts.

At that early period, it is said, one Rāja Rām Dev Rāthor ruled in Kanauj, and among conquests made by him, the Outer Hīmālaya, from Kumāon to the Jehlam, are said to have been invaded and subdued. After conquering Kumāon he advanced westward as far as Nagarkot, which also submitted, and then he went on to the fort of Jammu. The Rāja of Jammu, "confident in the valour of his army, the strength of his fortress, the difficulty of access, the denseness of the jungles and the abundance of his supplies, refused to surrender and came out to battle." But he was unable to make a stand and fled. A force was sent in pursuit and meantime the fort was invested and soon captured. The Rāja then came humbly to wait on Rām Dev, who, after concluding peace and receiving a daughter for his son, penetrated westward as far as the Jehlam and then returned to Kanauj.

That Jammu is an ancient principality seems hardly open to doubt, though it is not referred to in Sanskrit literature or any ancient records. The first historical mention of the State, under the name of Durgara, occurs on two Chambā copper-plate title deeds of the eleventh century, but referring to events that took place in the early part of the tenth century, proving that the State was then in existence and ruled by its own chief.² Surprise has been felt that no reference to Durgara is to be found in the *Rājatarangīnī*, in which many hill States, as Chambā, Vallāpura (Balor), Trigarta (Kāngra), and others are mentioned.³ The explanation seems to be that the State is referred to under the name of its capital, which was then evidently at Babbapura, now Babōr, near the left bank of the Tawi, some 17 miles east of Jammu. Reference to the hill States by the name of their capital was and still is a common custom, indeed in many cases the State has taken its name from its capital. That Babbapura or Babōr was a former capital of Jammu State seems extremely probable. The modern derivation is entirely in analogy with that of other similar place-names in the hills, e.g. Vallāpura-Balōr; Brahmāpura-Brahmōr; Mangalāpura-Manglōr. That Babōr is an ancient site is attested by the ruins of no less than seven stone temples, one of which bears an inscription in Śārada characters, but so badly defaced as to be illegible. But enough remains to show that the type of Śārada is the same as that of the Baijnāth Eulogies, which are dated in Sāka 1126=A.D. 1204. We are

¹ Ferishta, *History*, Brigg's trans. Vol. i, Introduction. Also Elliot's *History*. Vol. vi, App. p. 562.

² *Antiquities of Chambā State*. Part I, pp. 99 and 182 sq.

³ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society* for 1907, pp. 403—9.

thus referred to the very period in which, from Kalhana's account, Babbāpura must have flourished. The situation of the place, its extent and ancient remains and especially the name by which it is still known, all point to the conclusion that it represents the ancient Babbāpura. There is every evidence that the town which once stood on the site shared the fate of so many Indian cities at the hands of foreign invaders. Among the coins found on the spot was one of Kalaśa of Kashmir, who reigned from A.D. 1063 to 1089. An exploration of the ruins now in progress may throw more light on the subject.

According to the *Vansāvalī* the town of Jammu also is of ancient origin, but this seems improbable as there are no ancient remains or evidences of antiquity. It may, however, date from about the ninth or tenth century as stated in one record.

That Babbāpura was the original capital seems doubtful, as Bāhu is so regarded by ancient tradition. After the Muhammadan invasions began both Bāhu and Jammu must have been specially open to attack, being so near the plains; and it thus seems not improbable that for a time the Rājas withdrew further into the interior of the hills, and fixed their residence at Babbāpura.

That place is not mentioned by Alberuni (A.D. 1030),¹ and local tradition is indefinite, owing probably to its having been the capital for a comparatively short time. Two and possibly three chiefs of Babbāpura are named in the *Rājatarangīnī*. First among the hill chiefs who visited Śrīnagar in the winter of A.D. 1087-8, in the reign of Kalaśa, the son of Ananta Deva, is mentioned "Kirti of Babbāpura."² Sir A. Stein has suggested that possibly this Rāja is to be identified with "Kirtirāja, lord of Nilapura," whose daughter, Bhuvanamati, was married to Kalaśa. It is, however, impossible to say if Nilapura is synonymous with Babbāpura, or if it was the name of another principality, perhaps under the same ruler. Kalhana, the author of the *Rājatarangīnī*, twice mentions a locality called Bappanila, which looks like a combination of the two names.

³ At a later period we meet with the name of "Vajradhara of Babbāpura" among the five hill princes who, about A.D. 1114, while on a pilgrimage to Kurukshetra, fell in with Bhikshachara, great-grandson of Kalaśa, and acknowledged his claim to the throne of Kashmir, which had been usurped by the Lohara princes. At a still later date (A.D. 1118-19), Vajradhara is again referred to as supporting Susala against Bhikshachara, after having been given an opportunity "to do homage,"⁴ presumably to swear allegiance. It has also been surmised that Umadhara,⁵ who was in alliance with Harśa, son of Kalaśa, in A.D. 1101, was a chief of Babbāpura, but his state is not named. On a reference to the *Vansāvalī*, or genealogical roll of the Jammu rājas, we find the names of Kirtidhara and Vajradhara, or Vajraladhara as in the *Vansāvalī*, just about the period when one would expect to find them, and they are separated by two reigns which may have been very short.

¹ Alberuni was present at the siege of Kangra Fort in A.D. 1009 (Anc. Geog. of India, p. 140), and remained in India till A.D. 1031 or later.

² *Rājatarang*, Stein trans., VII, 588 and 582.

⁴ *Rājatarang*, VIII, 625.

³ *Rājatarang*, Stein, VIII, 537-541.

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 1512.

Further evidence of the great antiquity of the State is furnished by the extensive ramifications of the royal clan. These are ten in number, each of which ruled over a separate principality, *viz.*, Jammu, Jasrōta, Sāmba, Mankot, Lakhanpur, Trikot, Dalpatpur, Ribāsi, Akhnur and probably Bhotī. Some of these, as Ribāsi, Dalpatpur and Akhnur, were probably only fiefs of the parent State and always dependent upon it, while others enjoyed complete autonomy.

As already mentioned the ancient name of the State was Durgara, as found on two Chambā copperplate deeds, and of this name the terms *Dugar* and *Dogra*, in common use at the present time, are derivations. Till the discovery of the copperplates several other derivations were assigned for the origin of the name. One of these was *Dugarṭa* or *Dvigarta*, that is, "the tract between two rivers," *viz.*, the Rāvi and Chināb—in analogy with *Trigarṭa* or Kāngra. By some the name was supposed to refer to the two sacred lakes of Saroin Sar and Man Sar, and the country around them. These derivations of the name must now be regarded as purely fanciful. The name Durgara is probably a tribal designation, like Gurjara, the original of the modern "Gujar."¹ The names *Dugar* and *Dogra* are now applied to the whole area in the outer hills between the Rāvi and Chināb, but this use of the terms is probably of recent origin, and dates only from the time when the tract came under the supremacy of Jammu.

The chronology of Jammu is a blank down to the early part of the tenth century, when it is referred to under the name of Durgara. This reference establishes the fact that the State then existed and was ruled by its own chief, called the "lord of Durgara." At a considerably later date the references in the *Rājatarangīnī* to two Rājas of Babbāpura, if accepted as applying to Jammu, enable us to fix approximately the subsequent reigns. We may assume that Vajradhara, who was in power in A.D. 1114-18, succeeded about A.D. 1110, and the earliest authentic date after this is that of Rāja Parasrām Dev (A.D. 1589). Between these dates twenty Rājas ruled the State, giving an average reign of about twenty-five years. There may have been omissions of names in copying the *Vansāvalī* which would reduce this average, indeed one such name is found in the *Akbar-nāmah*. Again, from A.D. 1589 to A.D. 1812 there were twelve reigns, giving an average of nearly twenty years. These averages are in keeping with those of many other hill States.

As in other parts of the hills, Jammu State was probably preceded by a long period of government by petty chiefs, called Rānas and Thākurs. The traditions relating to this Thākuraīn period, as it is called, are less definite to the west than to the east of the Rāvi, but in the historical records of most of the States in the Jammu area there are fairly clear evidences of such a political condition. These traditions, however, are least definite in the oldest States, having probably passed into oblivion through lapse of time. The foundation of some of the States is distinctly associated with the conquest of one or more of these petty barons.

There are no references to the Rānas in the Jammu *Vansāvalī*, and it is unusual

¹ *Dugar*, derived from *Durgara*, is the name of the country—*Dogra*, which would correspond to a Sanskrit form *Dauḡara*—indicates the inhabitants.

to find such references in the case of very ancient States, but in the folklore of the people traditions of the ancient polity are common. We may therefore assume that for many centuries after Jammu State was founded the outlying portions, which at a later period became separate and independent States, were under the rule of Rānas and Thākurs, possibly with a loose allegiance to Durgara.

The Dogra royal line trace their descent from Kus, the second son of Rāma, and came originally, it is said, from Ayodhya. Like Chambā and many other royal families of the hills, they belong to the Śurajbansi race and the clan name is *Jamwāl*. Probably there was an older designation which has been forgotten.

¹The Manhās Rajputs, a large agricultural tribe found along the foot of the outer hills between the Rāvi and the Jehlam, claim to be descended from the same ancestor as the Jammu royal clan. The tradition among them is that from an early period some of the younger members of the royal clan took to agriculture, and as following the plough is opposed to Rajput sentiment, they thereby became degraded, and are looked down upon by those who adhere to ancient custom. Most of the Manhās, it is said, can trace their descent from chiefs of the various States under different offshoots of the *Jamwāl* royal clan. It is improbable that *Jamwāl* was the original name of the tribe as suggested by Ibbetson. The name can date only from the time when Jammu became the capital and it is applied only to the royal clan and its offshoots.

The early history of the State is lost in the mists of the past and even common tradition is silent. The first Rāja, named Agnibarān, is said to have been a brother or kinsman of the Rāja of Ayudhya. He came up into the Punjab by way of Nagarkot (Kāngra), and after crossing the Rāvi settled at Parol near Kathua, opposite to Mādhapur in the Gurdāspur District. According to the records this, if authentic, must have been at a very early period. His son, Vayusrava, added to his territory the country of the outer hills as far west as the Jammu Tawī. Four other Rājas followed in succession and the fifth was Agnigarbh, who had eighteen sons, of whom the two oldest were Bāhu-lochan and Jambu-lochan. Bāhu-lochan succeeded his father and founded the town and fort of Bāhu, on the left bank of the Tawī, opposite Jammu, and made it his capital. In seeking to extend his territories towards the plains he fell in battle with Chandārnhās, then Rāja of the Punjab (Madhyadesa) whose capital was probably at Siālkot. The reference is interesting and probably historical. The war with Chandārnhās doubtless was the outcome of an attempt on the part of the hill chief to enlarge the State boundaries towards the plains. Tradition affirms that in former times the territory extended much farther to the south than now, and the Rāja of Siālkot would naturally oppose such encroachments on his borders.

²Siālkot has been identified with the ancient Sākala, the Sāgala of Buddhist literature, which is thus proved to be one of the oldest cities in the Punjab. In very

¹ Punjab Ethnography, Ibbetson, 1883, para. 455.

² Cunningham identified Sākala—Buddhist Sāgala—with Sāngala Hill. It was visited by Hwen Tsiang in A.D. 630, but the reference is evidently to Siālkot. A.S.R., Vol. ii, p. 193.

ancient times it was the capital of the Madras who are known in the later Vedic period, and Sākaladvīpa or "the island of Sākala" was the ancient name of the *doab* between the rivers Chandrabhāga (Chenāb) and Irāvati (Rāvi). In somewhat later times (c. B.C. 200) Sākala was the capital of the later Graeco-Indian kings of the house of Euthymedus, who ruled the Eastern Punjab, and it was the residence of Menander who has been identified with king Melinda, who is known from the Buddhist treatise called "The Questions of Melinda." His date was about B.C. 150. At a still later period Sākala was the capital of Sālavāhana, whose son, Rāsālu, is the great hero of all Punjab tradition, and after the invasion of the Hunas (Huns) in the latter part of the fifth century A.D. it became the capital of Toramāna and his son Mihirakula, who ruled over the Punjab and also probably over Kāshmir. As Jammu is only thirty miles from Siālkot, and the boundary even at the present time is within seven miles of the latter place, it is evident that frequent disputes must have arisen in former times, similar to that referred to in the Vansāvali.

Jambu-lochan followed and continued the war with Chandar-hās in which the latter was slain. He is then said to have founded the town of Jammu. The story is thus related:—Jambu-lochan on becoming Rāja wished to found another town as his capital and name it after himself. With this in view he went out hunting one day accompanied by his officials, and crossing the Tawi he saw in the jungle a deer and a tiger drinking at the same tank. Being surprised at the sight he returned to his tent and calling his Ministers enquired the meaning of such a strange occurrence. They replied that the explanation lay in the fact that the soil of the place excelled in virtue and for that reason no living creature bore enmity against another. The Rāja therefore came to the conclusion that this was just the kind of site he was in search of and founded a new town, calling it Jambupura.¹

The spot on which the tank was found is now called *Purāni Mandī*,² a locality in Jammu town, where the Rājas on their accession receive the *rājtilak*, or mark of investiture at the time of installation. The Purāni Mandī marks the spot where the palace originally stood, and the Rājas resided for centuries. It is near the small temple of Raghunāth (Rāma) called "Mahārāni ka Mandir," founded by the Bāndhrāli Rāni of Mahārāja Ranbir Singh. A great number of people are daily fed there, and receive each one pice in cash in name of the *rāni*. The present Purāni Mandī buildings are said to have been erected by Rāja Māl Dev, probably in the fourteenth century. The present palace is modern and was erected by Maharaja Gulāb Singh.

Jammu has no ancient buildings or remains, nor anything to indicate that it is a place of great antiquity. The temples, which are generally a sure evidence of age, are all modern. The place has a large population, but its prosperity is of recent date. The earliest historical mention of Jammu is in connection with Timur's invasion in A.D. 1398-9. In the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr-i-Azamī* (A.D. 1417) a Rāja of

¹ A belief in the influence of the soil on human and animal life is widely prevalent in the hills.

² *Mandī* among Rajputs is the name in use for the courtyard in front of the house. In Jammu it is the outer court of the Palace where all State business is done.

Jammu is referred to and the town is spoken of as then about five hundred years old. We may therefore conclude that it was founded about A.D. 900. It is quite possible, however, that Jammu may date from an earlier period, as the legend says; though it may not have been a place of any importance and did not become the capital till a later time.

From the earliest times, as there is good reason to believe, the capital was at Bāhu and the Rājas resided in the strong fort; and this probably continued to be their residence till they retired to Babbāpura after the Muhammadan invasions began, perhaps in the tenth or eleventh century.

Jambu-lochan was followed by Puran Karan who had two sons, Dayakaran and Dharm Karan. A strange tradition of an occurrence of this time is found in the *Vansāvalī*. Kāshmir is said to have then been in disorder and Puran Karan was appealed to for help. He sent his elder son, Daya Karan, who restored order and became ruler of the country. From him are said to be descended the Bhau Rajputs still existing in Jammu, whose former capital was at Kaleth, near Akhnur.

Some generations later we find a note purporting to refer to the time of Rāja Sāla or Sālavāhana who ruled the Punjab as far north as Gāndhāra (Peshawar), and whose capital was at Siālkot. He is said to have invaded Jammu, defeated the Rāja named Shīb Prakāsh, and destroyed the town.

The Rāja of Jammu being driven from his capital sought refuge in the inner mountains, where he and his successors are said to have lived for some generations. Jammu was then recovered and the Rāja returned. Most probably the reference is to Bāhu, which must still have been the capital of the State.

¹ Sālavāhana was Rāja of Siālkot, then called Sākala, probably about B.C. 100. He seems to have belonged to the Yādava family—descendants of Krishna—who may have succeeded the Graeco-Indian kings. The first capital of the family, according to Cunningham, was at Gajnipur, now Rawal Pindi, from whence they were driven by the inflowing tide of the Indo-Scythian or Sāka invasions, when they retired to Sākala. Sālavāhana is said to have afterwards defeated the Sākas in a great battle, near Multan, and established the Sāka Era—B.C. 78—to commemorate his victory. He was succeeded by his son, Rāsālu, the famous hero of tradition in the Punjab, who also contended with the Sākas, but on his death his kingdom passed to one Rāja Hudī, who was his enemy, and probably a Sāka prince.

For long afterwards we find only a list of names, the only event which may have an historical reference being a conflict on the Rāvi with a Rāja of Nagarkot—probably a border foray—in which the Rāja of Jammu was killed. Such a conflict between Jammu and Nagarkot at that early period is a thing not at all improbable. The State boundaries must have been very indefinite and the tracts between Durgara and Kāngra were probably held by Rānas and Thakurs, whose allegiance to either State must have been very uncertain.

² For many generations afterwards there is nothing on record but a long list of

¹ Arch. Survey of India, Vol. ii, pp. 21, 22.

² *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Vol. i, pp. 182 to 197.

names which brings us down to the early part of the tenth century, the date of the first historical reference to Durgara. The two Chambā copperplate deeds already referred to are the most important and interesting historical documents we possess in connection with this period of Jammu history. These plates were issued in the middle of the eleventh century by two Rājas, named Soma Varman and his brother, Āsata, who ruled in succession, the first by Soma Varman alone, and the second conjointly. Their probable date is A.D. 1050-66. Durgara is referred to in both, and the chief historical interest lies in the fact that they allude to events associated with that State which occurred in the early part of the tenth century.

¹Sahila Varman was then Rāja of Chambā (c. A.D. 910-30), and his country is said to have been invaded by a strong force of foreigners, called "Kīra" in the deeds; assisted by the "lord of Durgara and the Saumaṭaka." Who the Kīras were is still a moot question. By some they are supposed to have been Kāshmiris, as Kāshmir is said to have then claimed paramount power over a large tract of the western hills, and is known from the *Rājataranginī* to have invaded Chambā and other hill States about A.D. 1050-60. Sir A. Stein, however, regards the Kīras as having probably been a tribe living to the north-east of Kāshmir and perhaps in alliance with that country. In any case it is clear that Durgara had been called upon to furnish a contingent, and help was also afforded by the Saumaṭaka or people of Sumaṭa (map Sambarta)—doubtless Vallāpura or Balōr, called Basōhli in later times. The allies of the Chambā chief were Trigarta (Kāngra) and Kulūta (Kulū). The invaders are said to have been completely defeated, for we are told that they were dispersed by the Chambā forces "as if by a frown on the Raja's brow." Possibly the victory was not secured quite so easily, but the hill chiefs were never slow to take credit to themselves on such occasions.

About one hundred years later the Muhammadan invasions began and Durgara lay directly in the line of advance of the invading armies. Even at a later period it was still the custom for such armies to advance and retreat along the foot of the hills, crossing the large rivers where this could most easily be done. There is no mention of Durgara or Jammu in the histories of those times, and we may perhaps conclude that previous to this the capital had been moved from Bāhu to Babbāpura for safety. Jammu if it then existed must have been only a small and insignificant place.

That Babbāpura was the capital for a time seems highly probable, especially in view of the fact that the names found in the *Rājataranginī* correspond with those in the *Vansāvalī*. The comparative silence of tradition on the subject would suggest that the transfer lasted only for a limited period. The place was undoubtedly very ancient and its erection is popularly ascribed to the Pāndavas, as is the common custom all over India in the case of ancient remains the origin of which is unknown. On the map it is called "Pāndu ruins," and it stood on the road through the hills from the plains to Kāshmir. ²Mr. Drew in *Jammu and Kashmir* has the following

¹ Chambā Gaz, pp. 76, 77, 78.

² Drew, *Jummoo and Kashmir*, p. 7.

remarks about Babōr. "Within a couple of marches from Jammu to the eastward are three or four places worth noting, one of these is Babōr in the Dansāl Dūn, near the left bank of the Tawī. There are the ruins of three old Hindu temples, of what age I know not, the buildings were of great solidity and considerable beauty, the chief feature of one of them was a hall, whose roof was held up by eight fluted columns supporting beams of stone 10 feet in length, on these beams were laid flatter stones chequerwise so as to fill up the corners of the square as far as the centre of the beams, and to make a new square corner-ways to the other, on this was laid a new set of stones cornerwise to this, and so on till the whole space was covered; this square mass of stone was ornamented with carving. The material of these buildings is a slightly calcareous sandstone, which is found among the strata near. It has well stood against weathering, and its toughness may be known from one of the beams of it used in the construction being as much as 14 feet in length. No mortar was used in the building, this must have been a predisposing cause of the lateral shifting of some of the stones, one upon the other, the moving cause being, I take it, earthquakes. The other neighbouring ruins have a great resemblance to this first, but they are not all equally ornamented."

It is probable that Mahmud of Ghazni passed near Jammu on more than one of his expeditions, but the place is not mentioned in the histories of his time. Alberuni (Abu Rihān) who was in India in A.D. 1030-31, gives an itinerary of the road from Hardwār to Kāshmir through the hills, which was in use in his time as at a later period, and passed through Babōr. Though he names stages not far from Jammu he does not refer to the place itself or the State. These stages were Pinjōr to Dahmāla (Nurpur), thence to Ballāwur (Balōr), then to Ladha and the fort of Rājagiri, and then turning to the north the road ran on to Kāshmir over the Banihāl Pass.¹

About twenty years later (A.D. 1055), the two copper plate deeds in which Durgara is mentioned were granted by two Rājas of Chambā. It seems probable that Kāshmir had for some time previous exercised a suzerainty over some of the States in the outer hills.² From the Rājataranginī we learn that Rāja Ananta Deva of Kāshmir, A.D. 1028-63, invaded Chambā and "uprooted" the Rāja, whose name was Salā or Salāvāhana, and placed a new ruler on the throne. From the contents of the deed it is plain that both then and in the previous century the name *Durgara* was in use for Jammu State, as known by that designation at a later period. We may therefore assume that Durgara had been the name of the State from a very early period, though it was also known alternatively by the name of its capital for the time being, in accordance with a practice which as we have seen is still in use.

Kirtidhara, c. A.D. 1070.³—About thirty years later, in the winter of A.D. 1087-8, we find in the Rājataranginī a reference to an assemblage of eight hill chiefs at the court of Rāja Kalaśa of Kashmir, son of Ananta Deva, among whom is mentioned "Kirti, the ruler of Babbapura." They had evidently come to render homage to Kalaśa as lord paramount. The prominent position given to Kirti in the list seems to

¹ Alberuni's *India*, Trübner's Oriental Series, 1910, Vol. 1, p. 205.

² *Rajatarang*, Stein, vii, 218.

³ *Rajatarang*., Stein, vii, 528-590.

imply that he held a leading place among the hill chiefs, and we are justified in assuming that the State of Durgara is indicated, the capital of which was then probably at Babbāpura or Babōr. Evidently Kāshmir had not then relaxed its hold on the states of the outer hills, of which Durgara was one.

Kirtī or Kirtidhara's name as we noticed above also occurs in the *Vansāvalī* just about the time one would expect to find it. There can thus be little doubt that he was the Rāja of Jammu of the time. We may assume that Kirtidhara reigned from about A.D. 1070 to 1090, and was succeeded by *Ajyadhara* and *Vijayadhara*, the next Rājas according to the *Vansāvalī*, whose reigns must have been short; and they were followed by *Vajradhara*, called *Vajraladhara* in the *Vansāvalī*.—Here the *Rājataranginī* again comes to our aid and in the reign of Sūssala of Kāshmir we find another reference to Babbāpura, and its Rāja, as "Vajradhar, the lord of Babbapura." That he is to be identified with the *Vajraladhara* of the *Vansāvalī* seems exceedingly probable.¹

At that period political affairs in Kāshmir were in a very unsettled condition. In A.D. 1101, the descendants of Ananta Deva,—his grandson, Harśa and great-grandson, Bhoja,—had been killed and the throne was usurped by the Lohara Princes—Uchchala and Sussala. On Bhoja's death his infant son, Bhikṣhachara, was conveyed away to Mālwa by the Princess Āsamatī. There he remained till A.D. 1112, when he returned to the Punjab in order to make an attempt to recover his paternal throne. At Kurukshetra (Thanesvar) he fell in with several hill chiefs who had come there on pilgrimage.² Among them was *Vajradhara* of Babbapura and also *Jāsata* of Chambā, who was maternal uncle to the young prince. These two Rājas along with the *Yuvārājas* or heirs-apparent of *Trigarta* (Kāngra), and *Vallāpura* (Balōr), espoused his cause and promised their support. Soon afterwards Bhikṣhachara made an unsuccessful invasion of Kāshmir, but what amount of help he had from *Vajradhara* we do not know. He and *Jāsata* of Chambā soon lost interest in the royal claimant, and changed sides when things looked unfavourable. The following note in the *Rājataranginī* (A.D. 1118) makes this quite clear.³ "When the king (Sussala) who resembled *Vajradhara* (Indra) gave an opportunity to *Vajradhara* and other princes to do homage he showed them a favour against his will." That this refers to *Vajradhara* of Babbapura seems extremely probable, and we may assume that he returned to his allegiance like *Jāsata* of Chambā, and left Bhikṣhachara to his fate. This is the last reference to him or the State in the *Rājataranginī*.

Surya Dev, c. A.D. 1125.—*Vajradhara* may have ruled from about A.D. 1110 to 1125, and was succeeded by *Suryadev*, who was the first to assume the suffix of *dev*, and it continued in use till the expulsion of the Senior Branch of the family about 1812.

Bhuj Dev, c. A.D. 1150.—The next Rāja was *Bhuj Dev*, who was in power from

¹ The form *Vajradhara* must have been the correct and full form of the name. We may assume that from it was formed an abbreviated name, *Vajrala* (as in names like *Vayula*, *Dronala*, *Rudrila*) to which *dhara* was added in the *Vansāvalī* by the mistake of a copyist, making the impossible form *Vajraladhara*.

² *Rājataranginī*, viii, 537-54.

³ *Rājataranginī*, Stein., viii, 625.

about A.D. 1150 to 1175, and from him were descended the collateral branches of Mankot and Jastrōta which founded separate and independent States.

Autār Dev, c. A.D. 1175.—Bhuj Dev's eldest son, being feeble-minded, was regarded as disqualified for rule in those warlike times, and was therefore displaced by his next younger brother, named Autār Dev. He was probably assigned a *jāgīr*, where his descendants resided, and about A.D. 1280 or 1300, the then head of the family, named Mānak Dev, made himself independent and built the Mānkot Fort. The third or youngest son of Bhuj Dev, named Karan Dev, in like manner obtained a *jāgīr*, and founded the Jastrōta State, about A.D. 1200.

Till the foundation of Jastrōta State, Durgara seems to have remained one and undivided. The State probably extended westward as far as the Chināb; towards the north it was shut in by the Ladha Range and to the east by the independent States of Chanēhni and Bandhrālta, all of which may have been founded by the beginning of the eleventh century. Farther to the east it may have bordered with Vallāpura (Balor) and Bhadu, and southward it may have extended some way into the plains.

The Rānas and Thākurs as already noted are not so prominent in the records as in those of many other States, but that they were in possession previous to the founding of all these States can hardly be doubted, and even after their subjection they still continued to hold their lands and wield great power. They are referred to in the records of Bandhrālta, Chanēhni and Vallāpura.

Jas Dev, c. A.D. 1195,—Autār Dev may have reigned till about A.D. 1195, and was succeeded by his son, Jas Dev, who is said to have founded the town of Jastrōta, which afterwards became the capital of the State of that name.

From the beginning of the Muhammadan invasions, in A.D. 1000, there must have been almost continuous warfare, and references occur in the vernacular history to these wars, in which several Rājas fell in battle, but unfortunately no details have been preserved. In the final struggles in the latter half of the twelfth century we find Kāshmir mentioned among the confederate States,¹ comprising the army of Anang Pāl of Delhi (A.D. 1150-70), the last of the Tomara line; and Durgara with other Hill states must also probably have sent a contingent. Though the Muhammadans held Lahore, and the plains of the Punjab, they were unable to penetrate into the mountains, where the Rajput chiefs still preserved their independence, with a free passage for their forces through the hills to Delhi.

After Jas Dev the following Rājas succeeded, of whom we know nothing beyond the names: *Sangrām Dev I*, *Jasākara Dev*, *Chak Dev*, *Braj Dev*, *Narsingh Dev*, *Arjun Dev*, *Jodha Dev*, *Māl Dev*. It must have been in the reign of one or other of these Rājas that the capital was changed from Babbāpura to Jammu. As already stated, the present Purāni Mandi buildings are said to have been erected by Rāja Māl Dev, who may have succeeded about A.D. 1370.

The town of Jammu stands on the right bank of the Tawi river at the point

¹ Tod's *Rajasthān*, reprint, 1899, Vol. i, p. 268.

where it leaves the low hills. It is built on three terraces rising one behind the other, the highest—on which the palace stands—being towards the north. Viewed on the approach from the plains the place presents a picturesque appearance, with the low hills of the Sawālakhs in the back ground rising tier upon tier, till the horizon is closed in by the snowy range of the Pir Panjāl. From the palace the vista to the north-east, along the upper windings of the Tawī, is very fascinating. The finest view of all is from Rāmnagar to the north of the town, overlooking the Tawī Valley. Here stands a striking pile of buildings erected by the late Raja Sir Amar Singh, with the frontage to the river and in tastefully laid out grounds.

Jammu contains a large cluster of temples on the lower terrace, but all of them seem to be of recent date.

The town was originally fortified towards the south, fronting the Tawī, but the walls are now in a crumbling condition, and have been breached in many places. Towards the north and east it was protected by the deep gorge of the Tawī, and on the west by the dense jungle.

Though Jammu contains no ancient remains to indicate that it is a place of any great antiquity, yet there may have been the nucleus of a town on the spot from an early period. We may assume, however, that it was not a place of any importance till the ninth or tenth century, when according to the *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr-i-Azami* it is said to have been founded.

¹ *Bhīm Dev*, c. A.D. 1395.—As already stated the first historical mention of Jammu is found in the *Malʿuzāt-i-Timūri* in connection with Timur's invasion of India in A.D. 1398-9. He advanced as far as Delhi, and hearing of the Hindus who inhabited the outer hills he determined to carry a holy war against them on his way back to the Indus. The Rāja of Jammu of the time is referred to but not named, and we may conjecture that Bhīm Dev was then in power.

From Timur's personal narrative it is easy to follow the line of his advance northward along the foot of the hills. After leaving Delhi on his return he marched by Mirat to near Hardwār on the Ganges, the ancient name of which, Mayapuri, is noted. He then entered the Sawālakhs, and crossed the Jamna, the Satluj and the Biās where they leave the hills, fighting all the way.

Between the Satluj and the Biās he had severe conflicts in the outer valleys with the forces of the Rāja of Nāgarkot (Kāngra), but does not appear to have penetrated as far as Kāngra fort, nor does he mention its capture. He most probably passed through Pathānkot, then called Pathān or Paithān, which was at that time the capital of Nurpur State. Having crossed the Rāvi, probably at Shāhpur Kandī or Mādhopur, he continued his march along the fertile tracts bordering on the plains, as far as Mansar, whence the final advance was made on Jammu. Timur's camp must have been pitched on the left bank of the Tawī river opposite the town, and a reference occurs to Jammu Fort, that is, the fort of Bāhu, on the left bank of the Tawī. The dense jungle along the low-lying valley of the Tawī to which Timur refers

¹ Cf. *Zafarnāma*, Elliot's History, Vol. iii, pp. 517-520, and *Malʿuzāt-i-Timūri*, Elliot's History, Vol. iii, pp. 468-9-70.

still exists and it is easy to understand how a successful ambush could be laid for the Jammu forces as related.

On moving away from Jammu, Timur crossed to the right bank of the Tawi and followed that bank down to the Chināb, which he calls Chināwa, a name still in use. He then crossed that river into Bajwāt, as the district is now called, and marched westward into the Chibhān—or country between the Chināb and Jehlam—and crossed the latter river probably a little way above the present town of the same name. There he left his army and travelled by forced marches to the Indus on his way back to Samarkand.

¹ The reference to Jammu is interesting and we give it in full;—"I inquired of the people who were acquainted with this region if there were any more infidels in the vicinity against whom I could carry the scourge of a holy warfare. In answer to my inquiry I was informed that the castle of Jammu was near, that it was connected with the Siwalik and Kuka mountains, and that the inhabitants were not submissive and obedient to the Sultans of Hindustan. These facts being made known to me, I on the 16th Jamada'l-Akhir, 802 (A.D. 1398), marched from the village of Mansar determined to carry my arms against the infidels of Jammu. After marching six *kos* I encamped at the village of Baila, in the territory of Jammu. I sent Amir Shaik Muhammad, son of Amir Aiku Timur and some other officers at the head of a body of horse against the village of Baila. The people in that village confident in their numbers, in the density of the jungle, and in the altitude of the position, had placed themselves in ambush in many places along the borders of the jungle, prepared to give battle and offer resistance. The Amirs who had gone on in advance reported these facts to me, and asked permission to attack and defeat the enemy. I returned answer that I myself was desirous of sharing in the merit of the holy war, and therefore that battle must be deferred to the morrow, until I should arrive. On the next day the 17th I marched towards Baila. When the eyes of the enemy fell upon my royal banners, and the cries of my warriors sounded in their ears they wavered and fled, seeking refuge in the dense jungles and thickets. I directed the Amirs in the front to advance and seize the mouths of the jungles and woods, so that the troops might enter the village of Baila and plunder it in security. No man was to enter the jungle and woods. The Amirs carried out these orders and the soldiers obtained great quantities of grain, sugar and oil. After that they set fire to the houses and destroyed the buildings. At the foot of a mountain in the vicinity of my camp there was a flourishing village, and I sent a force to plunder it. When they reached it, the Hindus of the place who were numerous assembled to resist, but on the approach of my men fear fell upon their hearts, and they set fire to their houses and fled to the mountains. My victorious soldiers pursued them and slew many of them. A large booty in grain and property fell into our hands. There were two other large villages in the vicinity of this village. These also were plundered and a large amount of spoil was secured. On this day Ra-timur was wounded."

¹ *Malfuzāt-i-Timuri*, Elliot's History, Vol. iii, pp. 468-9.

"On the 19th I again marched and came up opposite to the city of Jammu and there encamped, my royal tents and canopies being set up. The five or six *kos* which I traversed on this day's march was entirely through a cultivated country, nowhere did I see any dry or waste land, and so in the place where I encamped there was no necessity for any man to go out into the fields in search of fodder, for his horse or camel, for there was grain and grass enough between the tents to feed the animals. On the next day, the 20th, after resting for the night, I again moved with the intention of attacking the town of Jammu. I came into the valley where the source of the river of Jammu is situated and there I pitched my tents, but I sent my army over the river to the foot of a mountain, on the left of the town, and to the village of Manu on the right. When my forces had secured these positions, the demonspirited Hindus sent off their wives and children from their villages to the tops of the mountains, and they fortified themselves in their village. The Rāja, with his warlike *gabrs*, and athletic Hindus, took his post in the valley, where they howled like so many jackals. I commanded that not a soldier should go towards the mountain or have anything to do with these *gabrs*, but that they should attack and plunder the town of Jammu and village of Manu. Accordingly my forces fell to plundering, and secured an enormous booty in grain, goods of all kinds, and cattle. I returned victorious to the baggage, where I entered my tents, and passed the night in pleasure and rest."

"As soon as morning broke the drums sounded. I selected certain *Kushūns* (regiments) which I placed under the command of experienced, veteran Amirs, and I instructed them to go and conceal themselves in the jungle, while I marched away with drums playing. The Hindus and *gabrs*, who had fled to the hills in alarm at my approach, would then come down from the mountains in fancied security, and my troops in ambush might fall upon them and cut them to pieces. In execution of this order the troops went and concealed themselves, and I mounting my horse crossed the river of Jammu, and marched four *kos*. All this distance was through arable land, and a green and fertile country. I encamped on the banks of the Chinawa on a piece of cultivated ground, and set up my tents with all the baggage around. Some horsemen now arrived in haste from the Amirs whom I had left in ambush, to inform me that after I had marched away, the Raja of Jammu and other devilish *gabrs* came down confidently from the tops of the hills. When they reached the plain the Amirs rushed suddenly from their ambush upon the infidels and killed a great number of them. A few of them, worn out and wounded, had escaped to the jungle and woods. The Raja of Jammu, who was ruler of the country, with fifty Raos and Rajputs had been made prisoners by Daulat Timur Tawachi, Husain Malik Kuchin and others belonging to the *tuman* of Amir Shaikh Nurud-din, and the whole force was coming up with the prisoners. I gave thanks to almighty God that the enemies of the Muhammadan religion had been smitten down by the men of the faith, or had been made prisoners. The day before, confident in their numbers and in the density of the jungle and the altitude of the hills, they had raised their cries of defiance, and now by the grace of God they were prisoners in my hands. I immediately

gave orders that the prisoners should be put in bonds and chains. When my eyes fell upon the Rāja of Jammu who was wounded and a prisoner, fear took possession of his heart and he agreed to pay certain sums of money and to become a Muhammadan if I would spare his life. I instantly ordered him to be taught the creed, and he repeated it and became a Muhammadan. Among these infidels there is no greater crime and abomination than eating the flesh of a cow or killing a cow, but he ate the flesh in the company of Musalmans. When he had thus been received into the fold of the faithful, I ordered my surgeons to attend to his wounds and I honoured him with a robe and royal favours."

We are not told the name of the Rāja of Jammu who was thus captured and forced to become a Muhammadan; it may have been Rai Bhīm. Of one thing we may be certain, *viz.* that his successor was a Rājput of the ancient line.

Some years after Timur's invasion a reference to Jammu occurs in the *Tārīkh-i-Kāshmir-i-Azamī* (A.D. 1417). It is to the effect that Sultan Ali, son of Sultān Sikandar of Kāshmir, after reigning for six years and nine months, abdicated in favour of his brother, Zain-ul-Ābidin, and started on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

¹On reaching Jammu the Rāja of that place, to whose daughter he was married, dissuaded him from undertaking the journey, and incited him to march against his brother. It is certainly very remarkable that the daughter of a Hindu Rāja should have been married to a Muhammadan prince. One is inclined to conclude that the Rāja of Jammu of the time must have been the same whom Timur converted by force to Islām, and who, having broken caste, may have been unable to return to his ancestral faith.

²A few years later another reference is found in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārikshāhi*, containing the name of a Rāja of Jammu which does not appear in the *Vānsāvali*. It is thus evident that some names must have been dropped in copying. At that period the Sayyid dynasty was ruling in Delhi (A.D. 1414-1450), and the Punjab seems to have been in a disturbed and unsettled condition. The Rāja of Jammu of the time was Rāi Bhīm and he may possibly be the same who is referred to in the *Tārīkh-i-Kāshmir-i-Azamī*. His name, however, is not found in the *Vānsāvali*, but he may have come after Rāja Māl Dev, about A.D. 1395.

³In A.D. 1420, a rebellion broke out in the Punjab led by one Jasrath Shaikha Khokar, one of the local *Zamindārs* or petty chiefs, and he aimed at the capture of Delhi.⁴ The first mention of the family occurs in Timur's Memoirs. On his march towards Delhi he was opposed near the banks of the Biās by one, Nasrat Shaikha Khokar, who was defeated and slain. This man had formerly, as we learn, been Governor of Lahore under Sultān Mahmud of Delhi (A.D. 1394-1414). On the defeat of Nasrat Shaikha Khokar, his brother, Malik Shaikha Khokar, waited on Timur and made his submission. He remained for some time in Timur's camp, and after receiving permission to depart, he proceeded to Lahore and rebelled. A force was sent

¹ Ferishta, Vol. iv. Briggs, 1910, pp. 467-8.

² Elliot's History, Vol. iv, p. 56.

³ Elliot's History, Vol. iii, pp. 54-55.

⁴ Elliot's History, Vol. iv, pp. 415-416.

against him and he was made prisoner and brought to Timur's camp, and of him we hear nothing more.¹

¹ Jasrath Shaikha Khokar was probably a son of Malik Shaikha Khokar. On his rebellion a force was sent against him from Delhi and being defeated on the Satluj he fled northward along the foot of the hills, pursued by the Sultān, and seems to have passed near Jammu. Rāi Bhīm came to the royal camp and was honoured with an interview. He then undertook to act as guide in the pursuit of Jasrat Shaikha Khokar, and after crossing the *Janhāva* (Chināb) he conducted the royal army to a place named Tekhar, Jasrat's stronghold, which was captured and destroyed.

In² A.D. 1421 Jasrath Shaikha Khokar was again on the war path, and advanced as far as Lahore, to which he laid siege. On being defeated, after some severe fighting, he retreated towards Kalanaur, then an important place held by a royal garrison. On hearing of the new outbreak, Rāi Bhīm seems to have hastened from his capital to Kalanaur to offer assistance, and came into the fort. On Jasrath's approach constant fighting went on without any decisive result. At length on the approach of a royal army from Delhi Jasrath was compelled to retreat to Tekhar his stronghold, and as the royal army advanced in pursuit along the foot of the hills, Rāi Bhīm again came out and joined it, but we are not told how the rebellion ended. This is not the last we hear of Jasrath Khokar. In A.D. 1423, he again invaded the Punjab and was once more opposed by Rāi Bhīm, who was killed in the fighting,³ the greater part of his horses and arms falling into the hands of the victor. On the death of Rāi Bhīm, Jasrath, joined by a company of Mughals, then beginning to swarm into India probably as mercenaries, attacked the territory of Dipalpur and Lahore, but was driven back. He continued to be a thorn in the flesh to the Sayid Sultāns for many years. The last we hear of him is in A.D. 1441, when Bahlol Lodi was sent against him from Delhi, but he managed to win over Bahlol and encouraged him to aspire to the throne. Jasrath was ultimately killed by his wife, a daughter of Rāi Bhīm, in revenge, it is said, for the death of her father.⁴

The side lights which these records throw on contemporaneous history are interesting as showing the general condition of things in those distracted times, in which the Rājas of Jammu must have borne a part. Unfortunately we meet with no further references to any of them in the Muhammadan histories till a much later period.

The States of the eastern hills continued to enjoy independence for several centuries after the Muhammadan invasions began. For a short time indeed Nagarkot, after being captured by Mahmud in A.D. 1009, remained in alien hands; but it was recovered in A.D. 1043, and for three hundred years afterwards it was in the possession of its legitimate lords. With Jammu things must have been different. It

¹ Elliot's History, Vol. iii, p. 473.

² Elliot's History, Vol. iv, pp. 54, 55, 56.

³ Elliot's History, Vol. iv, pp. 56-57.

⁴ Elliot's History, Vol. iv, pp. 59 and 85. Tekbar has not been located, but it was in the hills to the west of the Chinab called Tekbar on p. 73.

⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans., I, p. 344, and *Māāsir-ul-Umarā*, ii, p. 367.

was much more open to attack, being on the very edge of the plains and lying right in the way of advancing and retreating armies. Unfortunately there are no records to tell us of the varying fortunes through which it passed. That it was tributary to the Muhammadans from an early period seems probable, more especially after the fall of the Hindu empire of Delhi in A.D. 1193, and the full establishment of Muhammadan rule. That revolts were frequent seems certain, and we read of such an occurrence in the reign of Salim Shāh Sur when Jammu Fort was captured (A.D. 1545-53). The hill princes were probably often goaded into rebellion by the harsh treatment meted out to them by local governors, for in the reign of Sher Shāh, A.D. 1540-45, we read that Hamid Khan Kakar "was in charge of the hill country and ruled with great severity."

The Rājas who followed Bhīm Dev were Hamīr Dev, Ajaya or Ajab Dev, Virāma Dev, Ghogar Dev and Kapūr Dev, but of these reigns no records are available.

Jag Dev, c. A.D. 1560.—Kapūr Dev had two sons, Jajna or Jag Dev and Samīl Dev, between whom a dispute arose about the succession, owing probably to their having been born of different *rānis* at or near the same time. On their father's demise strife began between them, and as each seems to have had a large following, the State was divided into two parts, with the river Tawi as the boundary. Bāhu Fort had probably been the place of residence of the Rājas from ancient times and Jag Dev held his court there, while Samīl Dev ruled in Jammu, and this condition of affairs seems to have lasted for several reigns. The Rājas ruling in Bāhu were called Bāhuwāl and those in Jammu took the name of Jamwāl. We may perhaps conclude that *Bāhuwāl* was the ancient clan name of the Rājas of Durgara, and that the present clan name *Jamwāl* dates from the time of Samīl Dev.

Parasrām Dev, c. A.D. 1585.—Jag Dev was succeeded by Parasrām Dev, and Samīl Dev by Sangrām Dev, ruling as contemporaries, the one in Bāhu and the other in Jammu, and so keen was the feeling between them that people crossing the Tawi from either side were robbed and maltreated, and actual warfare seems to have gone on for some time, with the loss of many lives.

¹With the full advent of Mughal rule the Muhammadan supremacy which had previously been intermittent became firmly established, and from the time of Akbar onwards for 200 years the hill States were completely subject. Even then, however, this submission was not accepted willingly, for we read of frequent outbreaks in which Jammu and other States were involved. Such an outbreak occurred in A.D. 1588-89, in the 35th year of Akbar's reign. The revolt seems to have been general throughout the hills from the Satluj to the Chināb, and was led by Rāja Bidhi Chand of Kangra. Among the hill chiefs involved appear the names of Parasrām of Mount Jammu, Partāp of Mankot, Rāi Krishan Balauria of Balōr (Basōhli), Rāi Bhaso (Bhabu) Buzurg of Jasnōta, Balhbhadar of Lakhanpur, Rāja Bāsu of Mau' (Nurpur), Bidhi Chand of Nagarkot (Kangra), Rāja Anruḍh of Jaswān, Rāja Kamluri (Kahluri-Bilāspur), Rāja Jagdes Chand Dahwāl (Dadwāl-Datārpur), Daulat of Kot Bharta

¹ *Āin-i-Akbari*, trans., I, p. 344, and *Māisir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 368.

(Bhadu), Rāi Sansār Chand of Panna, and Rāi Raodeh Dhamerwāl. The united forces of these Rājas amounted to 10,000 horsemen and one lakh of footmen.¹ Zain Khān Koka who was Akbar's foster-brother was placed in command of a strong force for the suppression of the revolt, and like a wise commander and good strategist he entered the hills at Pathānkot so as to separate the enemies' forces and conquer them in detail. Though it is not stated, we may conclude that a force was sent westward towards Jammu, while he led the main army eastward as far as the Satluj. In the end all these chiefs submitted and accompanied Zain Khān to Court where they tendered their allegiance, presented valuable presents, and were pardoned. They were then dismissed and returned to their principalities.

It was probably about this time that Akbar initiated the practice of requiring hostages from the hill states to ensure the fidelity of the Chiefs. The hostage usually was a son, brother, uncle or near relative of the ruling chief, and he had to remain in attendance on the Emperor. We are told that in the beginning of Jahangir's reign there were 22 young princes as hostages from the hill States at the Mughal Court.

In A.H. 1003¹—A.D. 1594-5, another rebellion took place which is fully described in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* and the *Akbarnāma*. Two large forces seem to have been sent for its suppression. One of these was under the command of Mirza Rustam Qandāhari to whom the *pargana* of Paithān (Pathānkot), a portion of Nurpur State, was granted in *Jāgīr*. This force entered the hills at Pathānkot, and on its approach Rāja Bāsu took refuge in the strong fort of Maukot, which was besieged and captured in two months. On his surrender he was sent to Lahore, and on making his submission and renewing his allegiance he was pardoned and the State "was graciously confirmed to him" except the *pargana* of Paithān which, as already stated, was annexed to the Empire. Before leaving for Lahore he seems to have sent his son, Suraj Mal, to Jammu to meet the force advancing from there towards the Rāvi, which he joined at Sāmba.

The other imperial army² for the suppression of the revolt was placed under the command of Shaikh Farid, the Emperor's Bakhshi or Paymaster, and advanced against Jammu. The Rāja of the time is not named, but most likely Parasrām was still in power. The leader of the revolt was the Rāja of Jaserōta, called Bhabu, who is spoken of as the "leader of the rebels." We are not told what was the occasion of the rising, but may conjecture that the chiefs were impatient of control and took advantage of every opportunity to regain their freedom. The account is as follows:—"Armaments had several times been sent under Amirs of distinction to effect the subjugation of Jammu, Ramgarh and other places, but this difficult enterprise had never been satisfactorily accomplished. So on the 10th Muharram, A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594), the Emperor sent Shaikh Farid, Bakhshi-ul-Mulk, with several other Amirs and a considerable force to effect the conquest. He had great confidence in the ability and resolution of the Bakhshi. The force marched to the Siwalik hills and

¹ *Māāsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. ii, p. 367.

² *Akbarnāma*, Elliot's *History*, Vol. vi, pp. 125 to 129.

the Bakhshi resolved to begin by attacking Jammu, one of the strongest forts in that country, which had once been reduced, after considerable resistance, by Salim Shah Sur. The Rāja made signs of resistance and it was resolved to attack him before the army proceeded to occupy the territories of the rebels in other directions. Husain Beg and some other officers were accordingly sent against him. When the Rāja and the Zemindars heard of the approach of the imperial forces they were greatly alarmed and surrendered the fort of Jammu. After placing a garrison in the place the Bakhshi marched against the fort of Ramgarh which he took by assault, and placed in the custody of the men of Nawab Zain Khān Koka. Husain Khān now returned and joined the main force. Another force was now sent under Payinda Kakshal to receive the submission of such Rājas and Zemindars as were willing to pay their allegiance, and to coerce those who resisted. The army then proceeded towards Jastruna (Jasrōta) and Lakhapur and the Rājas and Zemindars, who had long been independent submitted and paid their revenue."

After the suppression of the revolt things seem to have remained quiet in the Jammu hills for a long time, and we read of no more outbreaks. Parasrām Dev was followed by Krishan Dev about A.D. 1610, Azmat Dev, c. A.D. 1635, and Kripāl Dev, c. A.D. 1660, all of whom ruled in Bāhu.

There¹ is a reference to Kripāl Dev in the Chambā annals, probably between A.D. 1670-80. Khwāja Rezia Beg was then Viceroy of the Punjab, and he was in the habit of making inroads into the hills and seizing portions of territory from the hill chiefs. Kripāl Dev of Jammu, Chatar Singh of Chambā, Dhirāj Pāl of Basōhli and Rāj Singh of Guler, therefore, combined their forces against him and Jammu sent Pathān mercenaries who defeated the invaders and expelled them from the hills. According to the *vansāvalī* Kripāl Dev was succeeded by Anant Dev and afterwards the Bāhuwāl Rājas seem to have retired or been expelled from Bāhu, but the family is still in existence and resides in Jammu territory.

Meanwhile the descendants of Samil Dev continued to rule in Jammu. Samil Dev was succeeded by Sangrām Dev, who is frequently mentioned in the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*.² It is probable that Sangrām Dev of Jammu is the hill Rāja referred to by Jahāngīr about A.D. 1616-17, as having opposed Rāja Mān who had been appointed to succeed Shaikh Farīd Murtazā Khān in the government of the Punjab, and in the siege of Kangra Fort. On his arrival at Lahore, as we read, Rāja Mān heard that "Sangrām, one of the Zemindars (petty chiefs) of the hill country of the Punjab," had taken possession of part of his province. He therefore proceeded to drive him out. As Sangrām was unable to make a stand he retreated into the hills and Rāja Mān pursued him with a small force and seems to have fallen into an ambush. A fight took place and Rāja Mān was killed.

³The next mention of Rāja Sangrām Dev occurs in the *Wāqīāt-i-Jahāngīrī* in A.D. 1620, where it is recorded that "Sangrām Dev of Jammu" received orders from the

¹ Chamba Gaz., p. 94.

² *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Vol. II, pp. 5, 88, 120, 138, 154, 171, 175, 193. ³ *Wāqīāt-i-Jahāngīrī*, Elliot's History, pp. 373-4.

Emperor, then probably in Kashmir, to send a contingent to co-operate with a force from Kashmir to suppress a revolt or popular outbreak in Kashtwār. In the following year he was sent to Kangra with Qāsim Khān, and was presented with a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant.

Sangrām Dev¹ may have ruled till about A.D. 1625, and he was succeeded by Bhupat Dev, whose signature occurs on a Persian *sanad* in the Chambā archives, given by a Mughal officer under the orders of the Viceroy of the Punjab, and dealing with a boundary dispute between Rāja Prithvi Singh of Chambā and Sangrām Pāl of Basōhli. It is dated 19th Safar, 1058 H.—15th March, 1648 A.D. and Bhupāt Dev is there called "Rāi Bhupāt Jamwāl," and he probably reigned till about A.D. 1650.

According to the vernacular history he was followed by Harī Dev, who may have been in power till about A.D. 1675, and was succeeded by Gajai Dev.

Gajai Dev, c. A.D. 1675.—It was probably during this reign that the Bāhuwāl Rājas either retired or were expelled from the portion of Jammu State over which they ruled, and the two portions were then reunited under one chief. Gajai Dev had two sons, Indar Dev and Dhruva or Dhruv Dev. The former having been accidentally killed by a fall from his horse, Dhruv Dev succeeded on his father's death in A.D. 1703.

Dhruv Dev, A.D. 1703.—Under the weak Emperors who followed Aurangzeb the Mughal Empire began to decline. The invasions of Nādir Shah and the Marāthas and the growing power of the Sikhs hastened on the downfall, which reached a crisis in the Punjab in 1752, with the cession of the province to Ahmed Shāh Durāni. The decline began soon after Dhruv Dev came to the *gaddi*, and during this critical and eventful period the increasing disorder on the plains must have been watched with keen interest by the hill chiefs.

It² was probably in the early part of Dhruv Dev's reign that two incidents recorded in the Chambā annals took place. At that time Udai Singh was Rāja of Chambā (1690–1720), and very friendly relations seem to have existed between him and Rāj Singh of Guler. Rāj Singh died leaving an infant son, Dalip Singh, to whom Udai held the relationship of guardian. Soon afterwards Guler was invaded by Jammu, assisted by Basohli and Bhadu. In her extremity the queen-mother appealed to Udai Singh for help, and with the aid of Siba, Kahlūr and Mandi, he drove out the invaders and established Dalip Singh on the *gaddi*.

This association of the three States of Jammu, Basōhli and Bhadu is interesting. As we have seen, this close relationship had been in existence from early times, and it became still closer from the reign of Dhruv Dev. With the State reunited and powerful Jammu began to extend her supremacy over the neighbouring States and probably most of those between the Chināb and the Rāvi were brought under her control, more or less, in the early part of the eighteenth century. The invasion of Guler to the east of the Rāvi was probably also an attempt in the same direction.

¹ Chamba Museum Cat., p. 53.

² Chamba Gaz., pp. 95–6.

Another incident referred to in the Chambā annals took place in Dhruv Dev's reign. Rāja Udai Singh of Chambā had aroused strong feeling against himself among the officials and they suspended him from power and put his cousin, Ugar Singh, in his place. Soon afterwards, however, they restored Udai Singh and Ugar Singh fled to Jammu, where he found an asylum and was hospitably treated by Rāja Dhruv Dev, till recalled to Chambā on Udai Singh's death. Dhruv Dev had four sons, Ranjit Dev, Ghansār Dev, Surat Singh and Balwant Singh, and from Surat Singh is descended the junior branch of the Jamwāl royal family.

Ranjit Dev, A. D. 1735.—Ranjit Dev was perhaps the most notable chief who ever ruled in Jammu. Soon after his accession he incurred the suspicion of Zakariah Khān the Mughal Governor of the Punjab. On a report of his disloyal attitude reaching the Emperor's ears an order for his arrest was issued and the governor proceeded to Jammu in person to carry it into effect. Ranjit Dev was accordingly seized and brought to Lahore where he remained in captivity for twelve years, his brother, Ghansār Dev, meanwhile acting as ruler of the State. He was finally released on the intervention of Adīna Beg Khān, then governor of Jālandhar, on the promise to pay a ransom of two laks of rupees, only half of which seems to have been sent. By the time it reached Lahore the governor was dead and the money was made over to Adīna Beg Khān who kept it. As Zakariah Khān died in A.D. 1747, this was probably the year in which Ranjit Dev was set at liberty.

Soon afterwards Ahmad Shah Durāni invaded the Punjab and Ranjit Dev seems to have lent him support, and received favours from him on the cession of the Province in A.D. 1752.

In 1762 Ahmad Shāh Durāni again invaded the Punjab, and his attention was turned to Kashmir where his Governor, Sukh Jewan, had for nine years carried on the administration without remitting any portion of the revenue to his master. Preparations for an invasion were made and with some difficulty Ranjit Dev was prevailed upon to co-operate. A strong force was sent from Lahore which the Jammu Chief in person conducted over the Pir Panjāl into the valley and after some slight resistance the governor submitted and on being made prisoner he was blinded as a punishment.

With the cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Shāh Durāni Mughal supremacy over the hill States came to an end, after having been in existence for nearly 200 years. But the condition of anarchy resulting from the Marātha invasions and the predatory bands of Sikhs rendered it impossible for the Afghans to fully establish their authority. The province remained nominally attached to the kingdom of Kabul, but as Mr. Barnes remarks, "The same vigour of character which had secured the territory was not displayed in the measures adopted to retain it. "There was indeed an Afghan Viceroy in Lahore, but Mughal officers are believed to have continued to maintain almost independent power in the various parts of the province. The hill chiefs were not slow to take advantage of the absence of all authority, and they asserted their independence and proceeded to resume all the territories of which they had been deprived under Mughal rule. This was comparatively easy, as Durāni

rule, weak even on the plains, was practically nominal in the hills to the east of the Jhelam and Chināb.

Ranjit Dev was a man of great ability, force of character and administrative talent and he soon began to make his power felt in the hills. Like the other hill chiefs he resumed independence on the cession of the Punjab, and also asserted his supremacy over the other hill States between the Chināb and the Rāvi. Indeed as we have seen it seems probable that Dhrub Dev, his father, had already acquired some control over these States as far east as Basohli.¹ Ranjit Dev even sought to bring Chambā under his sway, during the minority of Rāja Raj Singh of that State. The queen-mother was a Jammu princess, perhaps a sister of Ranjit Dev, and with her help as queen-regent, he had appointed one of his own officials as Wazir. On coming of age, Rāj Singh who disliked this official and probably suspected designs on the State, had him arrested and imprisoned. This was resented by Ranjit Dev, and he sent an army under Amrit Pāl of Basōhli to invade Chambā. A large portion of Churāh, the northern province of the State was overrun. On hearing of this Rāj Singh who was then on the plains sent to the Rāmgarhia Sirdārs for help, and with their aid he drove out the invading force. This took place in 1775.

Ranjit Dev also extended his supremacy over the States of Kashtwār and Bhadrāwāh in the inner mountains, and even for some distance to the west of the Chināb.

² During Ranjit Dev's reign the town of Jammu prospered greatly. The confusion and disorder on the plains diverted trade to the hills and many wealthy merchants had sought an asylum or established branch firms for safety and security. To all alike, Hindu or Muhammadan, the Rāja extended a welcome and his capital grew and flourished.

As the ordinary routes of travel through the plains had become unsafe, merchants and other travellers proceeding to Kashmir and the north-west frontier adopted a route which entered the outer hills near Nāhan, passed through Bilāspur, Nadaun, Haripur (Guler), and Nūrpur to Basōhli on the Rāvi, and thence to Jammu. This was really an old route which was in use in the time of Alberuni (A.D. 1030), but which had probably fallen more or less into disuse in the settled times of Mughal rule. By this route Mr. Forster travelled in 1783, on his journey from India to England.

³ He remarks: "Previous to Nadir Shah's invasion of India the common road from Delhi to Kashmir lay through Sirhind, Lahore and 'Heerpur (in Kashmir),' the pass of which is fully described by Mr. Bernier under the name of Bimber. Since the inroad of the Persians, Afghans and the Marhattas, but especially since the period of the Sikh conquests, that track has been rendered unsafe to merchants and is now disused. This obstruction diverted the Kashmirian trade into the channel of Jambo which being shut up from the Punjab by a strong chain of mountains, difficult of access to cavalry, it has been preferred to the Lahore road, though the journey is tedious and the expenses of merchandise increased."

¹ *Chamba Gaz.*, pp. 98-9.

² Cf. *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 10.

³ *Forster, Travels*, pp. 282-3.

Many others besides merchants, such as artizans, also retired into the hills where they could pursue their various callings in security and peace.¹ Several political refugees in those troublous times also found an asylum in Jammu, and were treated by Ranjīt Dev with much distinction. He also enjoined his son, Brajrāj Dev, to continue to them the same courtesy, but this the latter failed to do. Among others were Malka Zamāni, a Delhi queen; and also one of the widows of Mir Manu, Viceroy of Lahore in the reigns of Muhammad Shāh and Ahmad Shāh; Hari Singh, the son, with other members of the family of Rāja Kaura Mal, the Diwān or Minister to Mir Manu, who was killed in 1752 near Shāhderah in battle with Ahmad Shāh Durāni; also Dalpat Rāi, the son of Lakpat Rāi, the Diwān or Minister of the Mughal Viceroy, Yahya Khān; with the remains of other families of the nobles of Delhi, or of the Viceregal Courts.

Mr. Forster² passed through Jammu in 1783 and has much to say in praise of Raja Rānjit Dev, from which we give the following:—"Ranjit Dev perceiving the benefits which would arise from the residence of Muhammadan merchants observed towards them a disinterested and honourable conduct. He protected and indulged his people, particularly the Muhammadans, to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Mughulpur, and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque was erected in the new colony, a liberty of disposition the more conspicuous and conferring the greater honour on his memory, as it is the only instance of the like tolerance in this part of India. He was so desirous also of acquiring their confidence and esteem that when he has been riding through their quarter during the time of prayer he never failed to stop his horse until the priest had concluded his ritual exclamations. The Hindus once complained that the public wells were defiled by the Muhammadans' vessels and desired that they might be restricted to the water of the river, but he abruptly dismissed the complaint, saying that water was a pure element designed for the general use of mankind and could not be polluted by the touch of any class of people. This made Jammu a place of extensive commercial resort where all descriptions of men experienced in their persons and property a full security."

³The latter years of Rānjit Dev's reign were clouded by dissensions in his family between himself and the heir-apparent, Brajrāj Dev, probably arising out of the dissipated character of the latter. For this reason it is said, Ranjīt Dev, favoured the succession of his younger son, Dalel Singh. From quarrelling they fell to fighting, and this resulted in an appeal for help being made to the Sikhs by both sides. The Sikhs had begun their incursions into the hills some time before and in 1756 Jammu was invaded by Gujar Singh and in 1761-2 by Bhamma Singh and Hari Singh, all of the Bhangī *misl*, and on each occasion the town was plundered. From then the State was more or less in subjection to that *misl*, and paid tribute to Jhanda Singh, the then head of the *misl*. In 1774 Brajrāj Dev called Sirdār Charat Singh of the Sukar-chakia *misl*, grandfather of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh, and Jai Singh of the Kanheya *misl*.

¹ Prinsep, *History*, Vol. I, p. 246.

² Forster, *Travels*, pp. 283-4-5.

³ Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. i, pp. 237-40 also *History of the Punjab*, Lalit, p. 298.

Ranjit Dev, appealed for help to Jhanda Singh of the Bhangi *misl*, to whom he was tributary.

Brajrāj Dev wished to depose his father, and Charat Singh joined in this design the more readily that he entertained old feelings of enmity against Ranjit Dev. The united forces then marched into the hills and encamped on the banks of the Basantar river, some way east of Jammu.

Ranjit Dev had timely warning and collected a force to oppose the invasion, composed of his own troops, with auxiliaries from Chambā, Nurpur, Bashahr and Kāngra, in addition to the force of Jhanda Singh Bhangi.

The two armies lay encamped on opposite sides of the Basantar and in a skirmish between the Sikh auxiliaries, Charat Singh Sukarchakia was killed, by the bursting of his own matchlock. The skirmishing went on for some days and at one time it seemed as if the Bhangis would win. It was therefore determined by Jai Singh Kanheya and others to effect the assassination of Jhanda Singh, who was the mainstay of the Jammu Raja and the avowed enemy of the Sukerchakia and Kanheya *misl*s. A sweeper in the Jammu camp was bribed to do the deed and effected his purpose by firing at and mortally wounding Jhanda Singh as he was walking unattended through the camp.

Another authority, Khushwaqt Rāi, states that Charat Singh was killed at Udhu Chak on the banks of the Basantar, after the two armies had been six months encamped on opposite sides of the stream. He also confirms the story of the assassination of Jhanda Singh, but states that the Chief was riding about with two or three orderlies at the time.

On the death of their Chief the Bhangis retired from the Jammu Camp, and the Sukerchakia and Kanheya Sikhs also abandoned the enterprize. Thus Ranjit Dev and his son were left to settle their quarrel between themselves. Before leaving the camp, Mahā Singh, son of Charat Singh, went through the ceremony of *dastar-badli* or exchange of turbans with Brajrāj Dev, which bound them in brotherhood for life.

Although Ranjit Dev was hard pressed by the Sikhs and by dissensions in his own family, he seems to have succeeded in retaining the suzerainty over many of the other hill States between the Rāvi and the Chināb, and it was probably in his reign that the popular saying arose: *Bāyan vich Jammu Sirdār hai*, meaning "among the twenty-two Jammu is head."¹ This saying is understood by some to refer to the twenty-two States, between the Satluj and the Chinab; eleven being to the east and eleven to the west of the Rāvi, but it may perhaps be more correctly referred to the States between the Rāvi and the Jehlam, twenty-two in number, which are now all included in the province of Jammu. How far Ranjit Dev had acquired a suzerainty over the States of the Chibhān, between the Chināb and the Jhelam, we do not know, but the *Tārīkhi-Punjab* states that Rajauri was then tributary to Jammu.

¹ In this connection the following note by Mr. Drew on the political condition and relations of Jammu in the reign of Ranjit Dev is interesting:—"A little after the middle of the last century we find that the power of the Jammu ruler, exercised either

¹ Sansār Chand of Kangra seems to have made a similar claim.

² *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 9.

directly or by feudatory chiefs owing allegiance, extended eastwards to the Rāvi river or nearly so, westwards to some miles beyond the Chinab, southwards for some little way into the plains and northwards as far as the beginning of the middle mountains. The feudatory chiefs, those, for instance, of Akhnur, Dalpatpur, Kiramchi, etc., governed their own subjects, but to the ruler of Jammu they paid tribute and did military service. During a portion of the year they would be present at Jammu itself; attending the Court of the ruler and having separate ones themselves. At this day various spots in that town are remembered where each of these tributaries held his court on a minor scale. Doubtless there was some petty warfare, resulting sometimes in an extension and sometimes in a contraction of the power of the central ruler, but usually the chiefs were more occupied in sport than in serious fighting and the various families continued in nearly the same relative positions for great lengths of time."

This statement is confirmed by the Balōr Chronicle which tells that Basōhli was more or less dependent on Jammu from the time of Dhrub Dev, and as we have seen the invasion of Chamba in 1775 was carried out by Amrit Pāl of Basōhli under the orders of Ranjīt Dev.

Ranjīt Dev as we also know exercised control over the States of Kashtwār and Badhrawāh in the Chināb Valley.

Brajrāj Dev, A. D. 1781.—Ranjīt Dev died in 1781 and was succeeded by his son, Brajrāj Dev, who was debauched and dissolute. Though he had succeeded to the state he still cherished strong hatred against his brother, Dalel Singh, and sought to kill him. He first approached Zorāwar Singh, his own cousin, but met with a refusal, but Miān Mota, another cousin, was persuaded to undertake the perpetration of the deed. Soon afterwards Dalel Singh, accompanied by his son, Bhagwant Singh, set out to visit the shrine of Trikota Mai and Miān Mota followed him with a force, on the pretence of also doing the pilgrimage. On reaching the village of Charanpādika there was an encounter and Dalel Singh and his son were both killed. It is said that Bhagwant Singh, though only a boy, fought bravely, and slew several of his assailants before he was overcome. Jit Singh, second son of Dalel Singh, was not with his father and so escaped. This tragedy must have taken place previous to Mr. Förster's visit to Jammu in 1783, as he states that Brajrāj Dev had slain one brother and imprisoned another. Probably it was Jit Singh, the son of Dalel Singh, who was imprisoned and on making his escape he fled to the Sikhs to solicit their aid. Discontent soon arose in the State, affording an excuse for interference.¹ Another cause for this interference was that the Sikhs of the Bhangi *Misl* had annexed a portion of Jammu territory which Brajrāj Dev wished to recover. He therefore applied to Jai Singh and Hakikat Singh of the Kanheya *Misl* for help. After a pitched battle the territory was recovered, but the Kanheya Chiefs then deserted Brajrāj and went over to the Bhangis. Karianwala, the territory referred to, again passed to the Sikhs and Jammu was invaded. The Jammu Chief called to his assistance Mahā Singh of the Sukerchakia *Misl*, but was defeated and agreed to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 30,000 to Hakikat Singh Kanheya. Six months afterwards, the money not having been paid,

¹ *History of the Punjab*, Latif, pp. 342-3.

Hakikat Singh gained over Mahā Singh to his side and they determined to make an attack upon Jammu, which, as we have seen, was then one of the most flourishing and prosperous towns in the Punjab. It will be recalled that Mahā Singh had previously received Brajrāj into blood-brotherhood, by the ceremony of exchanging turbans, but the obligation he had then come under does not seem to have troubled the Sikh chieftain. Brajrāj Dev being in no condition for resistance, fled to the Trikota mountain, a famous place of pilgrimage in the hills to the north of Jammu. On Mahā Singh's approach the principal inhabitants of the capital went out to meet him with large presents, but this did not satisfy him and the place was plundered and sacked. The whole country around was also laid waste, which resulted in a destructive famine throughout the State. An enormous amount of booty of all kinds was carried away, amounting according to one authority to two crores of rupees.¹

¹The invasion of Jammu seems to have been going on while Forster was there, and the country was being plundered and laid waste. Forster has the following reference: "It appears that Jumbo continued to increase its power and commerce until the year 1770 (1781) the period of Ranzeid Dev's death, when one of his sons, the present chief (Brajrāj Dev), contrary to the intention and express will of his father, seized on the government, put to death one of his brothers, the intended successor, and imprisoned another, who having made his escape, sought the protection of the Sicques. Pleased in having obtained so favourable a pretext for entering Jumbo, which they attempted in vain during the administration of Ranzeid Dev, the Sicques promised to espouse the fugitive's cause with vigour. A small sum had been annually exacted by them from Jumbo, but in a much less proportion than what was levied in the adjacent territories. The Sicques, indeed, aware of the respectable state of the Jumbo force, and the ability of the chief, were contented with the name of tribute.

"The most valuable division of the Jumbo districts lay in the plain country, forming part of the Northern Punjab, which under pretence of affording assistance to the persons who lately sought their protection, a body of Sicques have laid waste. They are now prosecuting a vigorous war against the present-chief, who through the defection of many of his people, driven by oppressions to the party of his brother, became unable to make any effectual stand; and, that his illfortune might be complete, he called in to his aid a party of Sicque mercenaries commanded by Maha Singh, a powerful officer in that quarter, who has firmly established his authority at Jumbo, and has erected a fort at the south entrance of the principal pass leading into the Punjab. For defraying the expense incurred by the Sicque troops the Jumbo Chief has made rigorous demands on the native inhabitants of the city and is now throwing an eye on the foreign merchants, who dreading his disposition and necessities have taken a general alarm."

According to Forster the State at that time included the whole mountain area northward to the river Chinab where it bordered with Kashtwār and Bhadrawah,

¹ Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. 1, pp. 245-6-7.

² Forster, *Travels*, Vol. 1, pp. 286 ff.

then under Chamba. Chanēhni and Bhoti were dependent and tributary. To the east the States of Mankot, Basōhli and Bhadu were also dependent, though Jasrota seems still to have been separate, and Sāmba had long been incorporated in the State. The revenue was then about five lakhs of rupees. After leaving Jammu, Forster continued his journey northward by Chanēhni, and over the Ladha range to the Chināb where he entered Kashtwār territory. He then crossed the Banihāl Pass into Kashmir.

Mahā Singh on retiring from Jammu went to Amritsar with his booty to pay his respects to Jai Singh Kanheya, but was very coldly received by the old chieftain, who did not approve of his raid upon Jammu. He was dismissed by Jai Singh with a taunt which stirred up fierce anger and a strong desire for revenge. At that time Jai Singh held the Kāngra Fort, with the supremacy over the hill States of the Kāngra group, from which Raja Sansār Chand of Kangra wished to expel him. When therefore Maha Singh allied himself with Jassa Singh Rāngarhia, an old enemy of Jai Singh's, he was also joined by Sansār Chand, and the allied forces advanced to Batāla, where they were opposed by Gurbaksh Singh, son of Jai Singh. The latter was killed in the battle and his army defeated and dispersed. As a result the Kāngra Fort and the supremacy over the hill states between the Satluj and the Rāvi passed soon afterwards into the hands of Sansār Chand.

In 1786-7, Jammu was again invaded by the Bhangi Sikhs and Brajrāj Dev was killed in battle. He was succeeded by his son, Sampuran Dev, a minor, only one year old.

Sampuran Dev, A.D. 1787. The Rāja being a minor the administration was in the hands of Miān Mota, eldest son of Surat Singh, the next youngest brother of Ranjit Dev.

From Brajrāj Dev's reign the state was completely subject and tributary to the Sikhs, the sum payable yearly being Rs. 30,000. At the same time it would appear that the Durānis also claimed a shadowy supremacy over the hill States. Sampuran Dev's name occurs in a *Sanad* to Raja Jit Singh of Chamba from Shāh Zamān of Kabul, dated in January 1797, in which Jit Singh is enjoined "to perform the services of the Diwāni (Civil Justice and Revenue) in conjunction with Sampuran Dev of Jammu."¹

Sampuran Dev died in 1797 at the age of about 12 years, and was succeeded by Jit Singh, son of Dalel Singh, to whom reference has already been made.

Jit Singh, A.D. 1797. In 1800-1, Mahārāja Ranjit Singh obtained the sovereignty of the Punjab and in the same year he advanced to Jammu, but retired on the Rāja's tendering his submission and presenting the customary tribute. From this time the State became entirely subject to Lahore and there is no further mention of it in the records till 1809-10, when a Sikh force was sent into the hills to suppress an outbreak headed by one Miān Dedu. This man was a member of a branch of the ruling family, but the cause of the outbreak is obscure. He seems to have

¹ Chamba Museum Cat., p. 72, c. 46.

been a brave and fearless man and he had gathered around him a band of men like himself who lived by plunder. For years he was the terror of the Jammu hills and his name still lives in local tradition. To the poor he was kind and generous and his hostility seems to have been directed chiefly against the Sikhs. He was in fact a freebooter and many interesting stories of his exploits have been preserved. To Ranjit Singh he evidently bore no good will. It is related that soon after the conquest of Kāshmir in 1819 baskets of the luscious fruits of the valley were on their way down to Lahore through the hills, and fell into his hands. Miān Dedu had the baskets emptied of their contents and filled them with cowdung instead, and then closed them up and sent them on. One can imagine Ranjit Singh's anger and disgust on finding how he had been fooled. Miān Dedu was finally killed in 1820 in an engagement with a force sent against him. In 1812 Jammu was assigned in *Jāgīr* to Prince Kharak Singh, son of the Maharāja, and Rāja Jit Singh was then probably deposed from his position as ruler, but Lepel Griffin gives 1816 as the date of the final subversion of the State and its annexation to the Sikh Kingdom. Jit Singh had probably died previous to this and his two sons, Raghbir Dev and Devī Singh, were conveyed to British territory and after the annexation of the Punjab they were assigned a *Jāgīr* at Khrota near Dinanagar in the Gurdaspur District, where their descendants still reside.

The later history of Jammu is linked with the names of three brothers, forming a Junior Branch of the Jamwāl family, and descended from Surat Singh, the third brother of Ranjit Dev. These were:—Gulāb Singh, Dhiān Singh and Suchēt Singh. The Sikh Court was at that time the resort of all aspirants for fame, fortune and advancement, and having few prospects in Jammu, Gulāb Singh retired to Lahore about 1810-12, and entered the Sikh army. He had previously been in the service of the Rājas of Rajauri and Kashtwār. Being a young man of ability and address as well as handsome in person he soon attracted the attention of Ranjit Singh and was advanced to a higher command. He then called his two brothers from Jammu and they too enrolled themselves in the Sikh army.

Maharaja Gulāb Singh's character has been portrayed in different colours by those who have written of him. M. Jacquemont, who visited him in his hill principality in 1831, described him as about forty, very handsome, a lion in courage, but with the plainest, mildest and most elegant manners. Prinsep and other writers of the time draw a darker picture. Perhaps on the whole we may accept Mr. Drew's estimate as fair and just without being extreme. It is as follows:—"Gulāb Singh had some qualities which mitigated the effects of an administration worked on the principles above denoted. He was always accessible and was patient and ready to listen to complaints. He was much given to looking into details so that the smallest thing might be brought before him and have his consideration. With the customary offering of a rupee as *nazar* any one could get his ear, even in a crowd one would catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out, "*Mahārāj, arz hai*" that is

¹ *Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 15. There is a doubt as to which of the brothers went first to Lahore. Prinsep says it was Dhiān Singh.

"Your Highness, a petition." He would pounce down on the money and having appropriated it would patiently hear out the petitioner. Once, a man after this fashion making a complaint, when the Mahārāja was taking the rupee closed his hand on it and said, "No, first hear what I have to say." Even this did not go beyond his patience, he waited till the man had told his tale and opened his hand, then taking the money he gave orders about the case."

"The rise from low station to high position did not spoil him, that is, he did not become stuck up with pride, nor did he often stand greatly on his dignity, indeed he was ordinarily familiar and free with all classes and was distinguished by that quality which in a ruler, otherwise respected, goes so far to conciliate the natives of India, that which they call *bhalmansāi*, which may be translated "bonhomie." This is the more noteworthy as those faults he was free from, are the ones most generally contracted by people of his caste who raise themselves in social rank."

¹ The story of Raja Dhiān Singh's advancement, as told by Prinsep, is as follows :— "While Ranjit Singh was reviewing his troops he observed by the side of his elephant a common lancer breaking in a vicious horse. The beauty of the young man (then about twenty-five) as well as his skill and bold carriage struck him and the replies made to his questions confirmed his good opinion. Ranjit took Dhiān into his household, made him first porter to the palace, then *deorhiwāla* (lord of the privy chamber) and ultimately Prime Minister, in which capacity he amassed enormous wealth, became master of a large mountainous country on the borders of Kashmir, studded with hill forts, maintaining an army of 25,000 men and a fine artillery. He has been described as a fine-looking man and though slightly lame, of noble presence, rather above the usual height, with quick and intelligent eye, lofty, handsome forehead and aquiline features, modest and unassuming in his speech and deportment, polite and affable in his manners, he nevertheless cherished a deep and rancorous hatred towards Europeans. He not only acquired Ranjit's confidence, but possessed great influence over the Sikh nation. At the darbār he stood, or sat upon the ground, behind his master, while others, though his inferiors, occupied chairs."

Rāja Suchēt Singh, the third brother, was a courtier and a gallant soldier, whose life was spent mostly in the field. He had little predilection for diplomacy and political affairs in which he seldom intermeddled. He also enjoyed Ranjit Singh's favour and became wealthy and powerful, but did not rise to the same eminence as his brothers.

Gulāb Singh having gained the favour of the Mahārāja rose rapidly and obtained the command of a troop. He was employed chiefly in suppressing risings in the hills around Jammu, and west of the Chināb. In 1819 a Sikh force was organized against the Rāja of Rajauri, the command of which was conferred on Gulāb Singh. He succeeded in overrunning the country and capturing the Rāja, whom he brought in a prisoner. In the following year Kashtwār was acquired by Gulāb Singh for the Sikhs, and the Rāja, who had been invited down to Doda within his own territory,

¹ Prinsep, *History of the Punjab*, Vol. II, pp. 202-3-4.

was made a prisoner and sent on to Lahore. He had given mortal offence to Ranjīt Singh by affording an asylum to Shāh Shuja, the ex-Amir of Kabul, after his escape from Lahore, in 1815, an act which could not be forgiven.¹ Gulāb Singh had served under both of these Rājas before going to Lahore, but the times had changed and the servant had now become master.¹

For these and other similar services the principality of Jammu was conferred upon him as a fief about 1820, and in 1822 he was made a Rāja and entrusted with the government of the Jammu hills.

About the same time the title of "Rāja" was bestowed on Dhiān Singh and Suchet Singh and to the former was granted the principality of Punch, from which the old line of Rājas had recently been expelled. Suchet Singh received the State of Baudhrālta or Rāmnagar which had also recently come into the hands of the Sikhs.

While Gulāb Singh and Suchet Singh were thus actively engaged in military operations in the hills, Dhiān Singh spent all his time at Court in the discharge of his official duties and also in advancing and safeguarding the interests of the family. In 1818 he had as already stated been appointed to the office of *deophiwāla* or chamberlain, a position of great importance, as it rested chiefly with him to grant admission to the Maharaja's presence.

From this time his rise was steady and rapid, with an increasing measure of political influence which was utilized to advance the interests of the family. In 1828 he became prime minister of the Sikh kingdom, an office which he continued to hold till his death in 1843.

About the same time (1828) Hira Singh, his eldest son then a boy of twelve years, was also created a Rāja, and soon afterwards (1834), the principality of Jaserōta was granted him. He had been introduced at Court and the Mahārāja had taken a great fancy to him, seldom suffering him out of his sight and delighting in honouring all his caprices.

Ranjīt Singh was desirous of arranging a suitable matrimonial alliance for his favourite, and at the instigation of Rāja Dhiān Singh, a proposal was made to Anirūdh Chand of Kāngra, son of Rāja Sausār Chand, then on a visit to Lahore, to give one of his sisters in marriage.

The Katoch Chief viewed the proposal with abhorrence. By immemorial custom a Rāja's daughter can marry only a hereditary Rāja or an heir-apparent, and Dhiān Singh bore the title only by favour of his master. Anirūdh Chand dissembled and asked permission to return to Nadaun to arrange for the wedding. Some time passed, but on the suit being pressed and no escape possible he took his family and all his belongings and fled across the Satluj into the British territory, preferring to sacrifice his kingdom rather than accept an alliance which he regarded as a degradation to his family.

With the rise of the three Jammu brothers to power the smaller States between the Rāvi and the Chināb lost all autonomy, and became completely subject. Kasht-

¹ Cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 181-2.

wār and Mānkot were the first to fall in 1820. The Mankotia Raja seems to have submitted quietly to his fate, but the Rāja of Kashtwār went to Lahore and appealed to Ranjīt Singh. All was in vain and three years later he was poisoned by his own servant.

About 1822 Bandhrālta and Chanēhni were subverted and annexed. The former seems to have been yielded up by its chief without any protest. In the case of Chanehni the Raja went to Lahore, and on appealing to the Mahārāja he was granted permission to reside in his own state in the enjoyment of a *jāgīr*. The smaller States around Jammu, such as Rihāsi, Sāmba and Dalpatpur, must have been annexed at an earlier date—Akhnur was subdued in 1812.

Bandhrālta was granted in fief to Rāja Suchēt Singh soon after the old line of Rājas was expelled. Jasrōta managed to maintain its existence as a State till 1834, Basōhli till 1836, and Bhadu till about 1841. Lakhanpur had probably been annexed by the Mughals in Akbar's reign, and afterwards was held by Jasrōta and Basōhli in turn; and finally towards the end of the 17th century it was seized by Nurpur. With the annexation of that State in 1816 it came directly under the Sikhs. Bhoti or Kirmchi was annexed in 1836. To the west of the Chināb, the State of Punch had been overthrown in 1819, and was granted in fief to Rāja Dhiān Singh about 1822. The last ruling Rāja of Bhimbar, including Naushahra, named Sultān Khān, made a brave resistance against the Sikhs in 1810-12, but was overpowered and imprisoned for seven years in Lahore. He was then set at liberty and assisted Ranjīt Singh in the invasion of Kāshmir in 1819, and was afterwards killed in Jammu. His nephew succeeded to the Chiefship, but was dispossessed by Rāja Gulāb Singh in 1840, and retired to British territory in 1847 on a pension. The present head of the family is Senior Viceregal Darbari in the Gujrat District. Members of the family have served Government with great distinction, both in the army and in civil employ.

The Rajauri Chiefs continued to rule their State in subjection to the Sikhs till 1841, but on the cession of the alpine Punjab to Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, the reigning chief elected to reside in British territory on a pension, his State having been annexed to Jammu. The head of this family resides at Rihlu in the Kangra District and a junior Branch at Wazīrābād. Many members of the family are in Government service.

¹ Khariāl on the Jehlam was invaded and conquered in 1810 and a *jāgīr* of Rs. 4,000 was assigned to the ruling family in Jammu, a smaller property being afterwards granted in British territory. The family resides in the Gujrat District, and many members of it are in the Indian Army. Kotila was annexed in 1815.

From about 1825, the three Jammu princes seem to have dominated the hill tracts between the Rāvi and the Jehlam. Rāja Gulāb Singh exercised the chief authority, being virtually governor of the hills, and the central tracts around Jammu and in the Chināb valley were all under his control. From Bandhrālta (Rāmnaḡar) Rāja Suchēt Singh ruled over the country to the east of Jammu, including Sāmba, Chanēhni, Mānkōt (Rāmkōt) and Bhadu. Jasrōta and Basōhli were in the fief of

¹ Cf. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 239.

² This State was also called Khari Khariāl.

Rāja Hira Singh, the eldest son of Rāja Dhiān Singh. Rāja Dhiān Singh himself seems to have controlled the entire tract between the Chinab and the Jehlam.

Dhiān Singh and Hira Singh resided chiefly at the Sikh Court and Suchēt Singh was engaged in military expeditions. In consequence of this and under a compact with his brothers, Gulāb Singh had the management of all the family possessions and exercised the chief authority. He thus came to be considered, after Ranjit Singh, the greatest chief in the Punjab. Nominally these conquests and annexations were made in the name of the Sikhs and as extensions of the kingdom of Lahore, but in reality Gulāb Singh was practically independent.

Having become *de facto* ruler of all the hill country between the Rāvi and the Jehlam he sought to still further extend his power to the north. Various free lances had been attracted to his court in the hope of employment, and amongst them was Zorāwar Singh Kahluria, a *sartora* or illegitimate son of the Rāja of Kahlur (Bilāspur). He was taken into service and appointed to the charge of Kashtwār and the countries to the east of Kashmir. Zorāwar Singh was imbued with the spirit of his master, to whom he was absolutely faithful, and it was probably on his suggestion that the conquest of the Indus Valley was undertaken.

It is said that Rāja Gulāb Singh first made private enquiries as to the attitude of the East India Company in the matter, and was told that no objection would be made. In fact the Government at that time probably knew little about Ladākh and were not politically interested in its fate. The Sikh kingdom lay between it and British territory, of which the Satluj was then the boundary, and Mr. Moorcroft was almost the only European who had visited the country. At that time Ladākh was ruled by a Tibetan king residing in Leh, where the old palace may still be seen. Lower down the Indus Valley was the kingdom of Baltistan, with the capital at Skardo.

As ¹ Kashmir was held by the Sikhs the Dogra Army could not advance by that route, and it was therefore decided to start from Kashtwār. Accordingly in 1834 a force of 10,000 men was placed under the command of Zorāwar Singh, which ascended the Māru-Wārdwan Valley and crossed the passes of the Western Himālaya into Suru. The Dogras were opposed at many points beyond Suru by the Ladākhis, but unsuccessfully, and advanced to Leh, and ultimately the king of Ladākh was deposed and the country annexed.

Pādar,² a small province of Chamba, in the Chinab valley, was also annexed about the same time (1836) and added to Jammu.

In 1840-41 Baltistan ³ was in a similar way invaded and conquered, the Rāja, Ahmad Shah, being sent as a prisoner to Kashtwār, where he is said to have died.

⁴ In 1841 Zorāwar Singh conceived the bold design of conquering Eastern Tibet, and in this he would probably have been successful if the expedition had started at

¹ Francke, *History of Western Tibet*, pp. 137 to 153.

² Chamba Gazetteer, p. 105.

³ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 195 et seq. also *History of Western Tibet*, p. 154.

⁴ *History of Western Tibet*, Francke, pp. 161, 2, 3, 4.

the proper time of year. At that time, as we know, the conquest of Tibet was much talked about in Lahore, and a force was sent into the Kangra hills to prepare the way for an advance through Kulū, by capturing the strong fortress of Kamlahgarh in Mandī. This may possibly have led Gulāb Singh to hurry on his own expedition. The Dogra army was composed of 10,000 men and it assembled at Leh. In those lofty regions, at 14,000 feet and upwards above sea-level, there are only three or four months in summer that are suitable for mountain warfare, and the Dogra army did not leave Leh till October, when the favourable season is nearly over. At so late a time of year it was madness to attempt such an enterprise.

The Tibetans fell back before the invaders, well knowing that every day's delay was in their favour. Soon the winter set in with snow and intense cold, to which they were accustomed, but which the Dogras could not bear up against. They became benumbed and helpless. At length on 10th December the Tibetan army gave battle and in two days' fighting all was over. The battle took place on a plain 15,000 feet above the sea. The cold was extreme and hail and snow had fallen during the night. The Dogras suffered severely and many died from cold. On 12th December Zorāwar Singh was wounded in the right shoulder, but he changed his sword to the left hand and fought on. At last a rush was made by the Tibetans on the Dogra trenches and Zorāwar Singh was killed by a spear-thrust in the breast. Their leader being dead, the Dogra army broke up and fled, but only about a thousand reached Leh. The rest were either taken prisoners or died from exposure. We have heard it said that the upper part of Zorāwar Singh's skull is still used as a bowl in one of the Tibetan Monasteries. The prisoners were on the whole kindly treated, and after a time set at liberty. This was the last great military enterprise undertaken by Gulāb Singh, for he was soon afterwards confronted with events of the gravest character nearer home.

Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh died in 1839, and when his strong personality was removed the Sikh kingdom soon began to fall into disorder. All power gradually passed into the hands of the army which was personified under the name of *Khālsā*. Kharak Singh, son of the great Mahārāja, was deposed after a reign of only a few months and died a year later, in November 1840. His only son, Nau Nihāl Singh, who had been on bad terms with his father, was killed along with Udham Singh, eldest son of Gulāb Singh, on his way back from his father's funeral, by a mass of masonry falling on him as he passed under one of the arched gateways of the Lahore fort.

Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjīt Singh, was then raised to the throne, but was assassinated on 15th September 1843, and a few hours after Rāja Dhiān Singh, the minister, met the same fate. He and Sher Singh had conspired against each other and their common enemies, the Sindhianwala Sirdars, destroyed them both. Dalip Singh, another reputed son of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh, was then installed as Mahārāja, with Rāja Hira Singh, son of the murdered Minister, as prime minister.

There¹ was however a party in the kingdom who encouraged Rāja Suchēt

¹ *A History of the Sikhs*. Cunningham, p. 239, also cf. *History of the Punjab*, Latif, pp. 525-6.

Singh to aspire to the office of minister, and he also had the support of a section of the *Khālsā*. This caused intense feeling between him and his nephew, Hira Singh.

On the invitation of those who favoured his claim, Suchēt Singh came down from the hills to Lahore on 26th March 1844. His friends, however, all failed him and next morning he found himself, with only forty-five followers, opposed to a large portion of the Sikh army, under Hira Singh, numbering 20,000 men and 56 guns.

Even then his dauntless courage did not forsake him, and refusing to flee, he and his brave band of heroes charged, sword in hand, into the midst of their foes, and perished to a man. Hira Singh is said to have shed tears on viewing his uncle's body, and well he might for his own end was also near. On hearing of his death Suchēt Singh's Rānis in Rāmnagar placed his turban before them on the pyre and became *sati*. He died childless and his fief was merged in Jammu. He had done much to improve the town of Rāmnagar by the erection of new bazars and also a baronial palace for himself which is still in good order.

In December 1844 a conspiracy was hatched against Rāja Hira Singh, and the army was won over against him. He fled from Lahore along with Pandit Jalla, his chief adviser, and Sohan Singh, second son of Rāja Gulāb Singh; but they were soon overtaken and slain. Hira Singh also died without a male heir and was succeeded in Punch by his younger brother, Jawāhir Singh; while his fiefs of Jasrōta and Basōhli became a part of Jammu State.

Jasrōta Fort had been used as a place of deposit for all the valuables of the family, and on hearing of the death of Hira Singh, Jawāhir Singh at once set out for the purpose of transferring everything to Jammu.

This he partly succeeded in doing.

A force of 10,000 men was then sent by the leaders of the *Khālsā* to capture Jammu, in the hope of recovering a large amount of the plunder. Gulāb Singh, however, removed all the valuables to a strong fort in the interior of the mountains, probably Rihāsi, and then entrenched himself at Jammu. On the arrival of the Sikh army he negotiated both with the commander and directly with the troops, and in this way succeeded in buying them off with the promise of a large sum of money. To this they agreed and a party of troops was afterwards sent to receive the payment. But on their way down to Lahore they were set upon by a company of hillmen who retook all the treasure and almost destroyed the force.

An attack was then made by the Sikhs on Gulāb Singh's force, which was repulsed, and many of the Sikh soldiers entered his service. The remainder of the Sikh force retreated to Lahore, pursued by the Dogras. There an accommodation was arrived at and peace was restored.

This was the last occasion on which a hostile army advanced against Jammu.

The Sikh army had now arrogated to itself supreme power in the State. The highest officers held their appointments only at the will of the *Khālsā*, which made known its decisions through delegates, five in number from each corps. There was

¹ *History of the Punjab*, Latif, pp. 529-30-31.

no one of sufficient influence to exercise any effective control, and the soldiery were restrained solely by frequent largesses, which only tended to make them the more rapacious. The treasury was empty and the resources of the kingdom were well nigh exhausted.

The queen-mother who had been appointed regent, along with her advisers, fully realised the danger and took steps to meet it. These were of a desperate character, in keeping with the condition of affairs for which they were designed as a remedy. With the connivance of the minister, Rāja Lāl Singh, and other officials, the Rānī planned to hurl the *Khālsā* against the British, in the hope that after its destruction a more stable form of government might be secured.

False reports were circulated that the British Government was preparing for an invasion of the Punjab, and the fact that British troops were then being moved towards the frontier on the Satluj, as a precautionary measure, helped to lend colour to these reports. Forged letters from Sikh officers on the southern frontier were read to the soldiers, containing complaints of British high-handedness and aggression, and everything was done to inflame their passions and stimulate their martial ardour.

This was not difficult to do. Trained under European officers, chiefly French and Italian, in the time of Ranjit Singh, the *Khālsā* had been transformed from a rabble into a well-disciplined army, whose prowess had already been proved on many a hard-fought field. The sepoy believed themselves to be more than a match for the British, and boasted of the spoils which they hoped to secure from the conquest of India.

On 17th November 1845 a final meeting of the army delegates was convened, at which the proposal to invade British territory was deliberately made. It was received with acclamation by the soldiers and accepted by the Sikh Government, and preparations were at once begun for war.

By 13th December 1845 the Sikh army had crossed the Satluj, then the boundary, and in four fierce and sanguinary battles they well sustained their national renown. How near they were to achieving a great success is recorded on the page of history. At the battle of Sobraon, on 10th February 1846, they were finally defeated with great slaughter, and the victors, led by the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, then advanced to Lahore to dictate terms of peace.

While these events were in progress Rāja Gulāb Singh kept aloof in Jammu, but on the defeat of the Sikh army, he came down to Lahore to play a leading part in the negotiations, as the chief representative of the Sikh Government.

The British Government demanded the cession in perpetuity of the Jālandhar Doāb, that is, the country between the Satluj and the Biās, and one million and a half sterling as war indemnity. The cession of territory was at once agreed to, but the Sikh Government, being unable to pay the whole indemnity, agreed to cede the hilly and mountainous country between the Biās and the Indus as the equivalent of one million, and promised to give the balance in cash.

This treaty was concluded on 9th March 1846, and on the 11th of the same month a supplementary treaty was signed, providing for the rights of the dispossessed

chiefs and others within the ceded territories. It was further agreed that in consideration of the services rendered by Rāja Gulāb Singh, in restoring friendly relations between the two powers, he should be recognized in independent sovereignty of such territories in the hills as might be made over to him.

Accordingly a separate treaty¹ was concluded on 16th March 1846 between the British Government and Rāja Gulāb Singh, transferring to him in perpetual possession all the hilly and mountainous country between the Rāvi and the Indus, including Chambā and excluding Lahul, on his stipulating to pay £75,000 to the Government. He was also to tender as yearly tribute, one horse, twelve shawl goats, and three pairs of Kashmir shawls, in acknowledgment of the supremacy of the British Government, to which he was in future to owe allegiance.

The extensive territories thus transferred to Rāja Gulāb Singh included the whole of the outer hills between the Rāvi and the Indus, the valley of Kashmir, also Ladākh or Western Tibet with Gilgit, Baltistān and the Indus Valley down to Chilās.

In making over these territories the Government imposed upon Rāja Gulāb Singh the obligations which had already been accepted as regards the rights of the dispossessed Hill Chiefs. In fulfilment of these obligations an agreement was made between Rāja Gulāb Singh and the Chiefs, under the guarantee of the British Government, by which cash allowances, amounting to Rs. 62,300 per annum, were assigned in perpetuity to the dispossessed chiefs of the Dugar group of States, between the Rāvi and the Jhelum. They were at the same time given the option of remaining in or leaving Jammu territory and most of them chose the latter alternative. Those who did so were the Rājas of Rajauri, Bhimbar and Punch, west of the Chināb, and of Jasnōta, Mankot, Rāmnagar, Basohli, Bhadu and Kashtwār, between the Rāvi and the Chināb. The British Government then became responsible for the payment of their annuities, and to provide for these, certain lands belonging to Rāja Gulāb Singh near Pathānkot and on the Biās, valued at Rs. 42,800, were ceded by him in perpetuity. The chiefs who elected to remain in Jammu territory were to receive their allowances direct from the Jammu State. The Kaka Bamba Chiefs of the upper Jhelum Valley, below Kashmir, also came to a private arrangement with Rāja Gulāb Singh and were confirmed in their *jāgirs*, under subjection to Jammu. Regret has often been expressed that Kashmir was thus lost by our own act, when it was wholly within our grasp. It is easy to be wise after the event, but at the time of transfer there was no one who imagined that within three years the Punjab would become a British Province. On the contrary the transfer of the hill tracts to Rāja Gulāb Singh was regarded at the time as a masterly stroke of policy; at once weakening the Sikh kingdom and setting up another power, friendly and subordinate to the British Government, on the most vulnerable frontier of the Empire.

¹That the transfer was regarded in this light is clear from the following letter, addressed by the Governor-General to Queen Victoria, and dated 18th February 1846:

¹ *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, 1863, Vol. II, also cf. A History of the Sikhs. By Cunningham, edited by Garrett, 1915, pp. 308-9 and 317-18-19-20.*

² *Letters of Queen Victoria, Vol. II, pp. 734.*

"The territory which it is proposed should be ceded in perpetuity to Your Majesty is a fine district between the Rivers Satluj and Biās, throwing our frontier forward, within 30 miles of British territory in front of Loodiana, which relatively with Ferozepore is so weak, that it appeared desirable to the Governor-General to improve our frontier on its weakest side, to curb the Sikhs by an easy approach towards Amritsar across the Biās river, instead of the Satluj, to round off our hill possessions near Simla, to weaken the Sikh State which has proved itself to be too strong, and to show to all Asia that although the British Government has not deemed it expedient to annex this immense country of the Punjāb, making the Indus the British boundary, it has punished the treachery and violence of the Sikh nation, and exhibited its power in a manner which cannot be misunderstood. For the same political and military reason the Governor-General hopes to be able before the negotiations are closed, to make arrangements by which Cashmere may be added to the possessions of Gulāb Singh, declaring the Rajpoot Hill States with Cashmere independent of the Sikhs of the plains. The Sikhs declare their inability to pay the indemnity of one million and a half, and will probably offer Cashmere as an equivalent. In this case if Gholab Singh pays the money demanded for the expenses of the war, the district of Cashmere will be ceded by the British to him and the Rajah become one of the Princes of Hindustan."

In Kashmir the transfer was not carried out without difficulty as the Sikh Governor refused to yield up his trust and a force had to be sent against him.

Soon¹ afterwards the treaty was modified as regards the boundary on the Rāvi. This river divides Chambā State into two portions, and a question arose as to whether the whole State was included in the transfer or only the portion to the west of the Rāvi. The Rāja of Chambā also objected to being subject to Jammu. Ultimately an arrangement was come to whereby Chambā surrendered all claim to Bhadrawāh, for which it held a *sanad* from Mahārāja Ranjit Singh, in lieu of the territory to the west of the Rāvi, and Government exchanged Lakhampur and Chandgraon, then a portion of Nurpur, for the eastern portion. The State was thus freed entirely from Jammu and came directly under British control.

There² was also a change on the Indus. At the time of the transfer the Hazāra Chiefs were all in revolt against the Sikhs and they refused to yield submission to Rāja Gulāb Singh. Becoming weary of attempts to subdue them Gulāb Singh, in the beginning of 1847, approached the Sikh Darbār in Lahore with a request to be relieved of Hazāra, and expressed his willingness to accept in exchange territory of half the value, after deducting *jāgirs*, anywhere else nearer Jammu. His request was acceded to and Hazāra again came under Sikh rule, the *ilaqas* of Manāwar and Garhi being given in exchange.

But it was not for long.

In 1848 the Second Sikh War began, and the indecisive battle of Chilianwala, on 13th January 1849, claimed by both sides as a victory, was followed on 21st February

¹ Chamba Gaz., p. 108.

² Hazara Gaz., pp. 134-5-6.

by that of Gujrat, which crushed the Sikh power for ever. Hazāra then passed under British rule by the annexation of the Punjab.

One other change has yet to be recorded. On the death of Rāja Hira Singh in 1844, his younger brother, Jawāhir Singh, became Rāja of Punch. Owing, however, to the fact that the State was not recognized as independent in the treaty, it became subject to Jammu. This subordinate position was unacceptable to Jawāhir Singh and it, with other things, gave rise to strong feeling between him and his uncle, Mahārāja Gulāb Singh, which lasted for many years. At length, in 1859, after Mahārāja Gulāb Singh's death, a compromise was arranged, and Jawāhir Singh abdicated in favour of his brother, Rāja Moti Singh, and retired from the hills beyond Ambala, on condition of receiving annually one lakh of rupees as an allowance. Rāja Moti Singh died in 1897 and was succeeded by his son, Rāja Baldeo Singh, who died in 1918, and was followed by his son, Rāja Sukhdev Sing.

In 1891, the States of Hunza, Nagar and Yasin, north of Gilgit, were conquered, and the northern frontier of the State was thus carried to the Hindu-Kush, where it meets that of Russia, while on the northern slopes of the Karakoram it marches with China. On Mahārāja Gulāb Singh's death in 1857, he was succeeded by his son, Mahārāja Ranbīr Singh, who died in 1885 and was followed by Mahārāja Sir Partāp Singh, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., the present ruler.

OFFSHOOTS FROM JAMMU STATE.

The Jammu royal family gave off numerous branches in past times which founded and ruled over separate and feudatory States, and with these we now proceed to deal in so far as the historical material at our disposal will allow. Unfortunately that material is very scanty in the case of all of these States. For our information we are chiefly indebted to the *Tārīkh-i-Rajputan, Mulk-i-Punjab*, by Thākur Kāhn Singh Balauria, who has been at great pains in tracing the various branches of the Jamwal clan. These are about ten in number, all of them grouped around the parent stem, viz. Jasnōta, Mankōt, Lakhanpur, Trikot, Sāmba, Akhnūr, Rihāsi and Dalpatpur. Bhoti and Bhau were also probably offshoots from Jammu at an early period.

Some of these States, as ¹ Akhnūr, Rihāsi,² Dalpatpur and Trikot, seem always to have been fiefs, whose chiefs were only Mians,—that is of royal descent in the second degree, and never assumed the title of 'Rāja'; the others enjoyed more of a regal status.

Cunningham included Akhnūr and Rihāsi among the Muhammadan States of the Central Group, but this is a mistake. They are now included among the Hindu States of that group, and the list should be readjusted accordingly. As already stated these subordinate States were all more or less dependent on Jammu, and were under obligation for tribute and military service. The chiefs were also bound to present themselves at the Court of their lord paramount, and Mr. Drew tells us that, during a

¹ Vide *Where Three Empires Meet*. By Knight, 1897.

² The Akhnūr Mians are descended from Rāja Hari Deb, c. A.D. 1675.

³ The Dalpatpur Mians are descended from Rāja Sangram Deb, c. A.D. 1625.

portion of the year, they were present at Jammu attending the Court and holding separate ones themselves. Various spots in the town are still remembered, where each of these tributary chiefs held his court on a minor scale. This relationship was certainly in existence from about the middle of the eighteenth century, in the reign of Ranjīt Dev, and may have been from an earlier period in the case of some of the States. Jāsrota seems to have enjoyed the greatest measure of independence.

MĀNKOT STATE.

Mānkot, now called Rāmkoṭ, is situated in the Dansāl dun, about half-way between Dansāl and Basōhli. As a State it was bounded on the north by Bandhrāṭta, on the east by Bhaḍu and Balōr, on the south by the Karaidhār range separating it from Sāmba and Jāsrota, and on the west by Jammu.

One reference to Mānkot is found in the Muhammadan histories.

The ruling family is an offshoot from Jammu, and the clan name is Mankotia. They claim descent from Rāja Bhoj Dev of Jammu.

Rāja Bhoj Dev ruled about A.D. 1150 and on his death his eldest son, Bharurak Dev, who was feeble-minded, was regarded as unfit for rule in those troublous times, and was set aside in favour of his younger brother, and settled down in the Dansāl dun. His descendant in the fifth generation, named Mānak Dev, conquered some villages near the present town of Rāmkoṭ, probably from the petty chiefs, called Rānas, and built a fort which he named after himself, and made it the capital of the new State. The original name was probably Mānakkot, which in time became corrupted to Mānkot or Mankot. This may have been about A.D. 1300. The change of name to Rāmkoṭ took place in recent times. The State was always small and more or less dependent on Jammu. The early Rājas were: Bīr Dev, Kripāl Dev and Ahl Dev.

There were twenty-three Rājas in all from the foundation of the State to its extinction in 1820, giving an average reign of about twenty-five years to each. The names of the later Rājas were:—Mānak Dev, Udai Dev, Nagar Dev, Uttam Dev, Hari Chānd Dev, Ajmal Dev, Kalās Dev, Bīram Dev, Sarwar Dev, and Pratāp Dev. Unfortunately only one of these names is known to history, viz. that of Pratāp Dev.¹ In the time of Akbar he is referred to in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā* as "Rai Partāp of Mankot," in connection with the revolt of A.D. 1588-9 and was one of the thirteen hill chiefs who accompanied Zain Khān Koka to court to make their submission and present valuable presents.

In A.D. 1594-5 another² serious outbreak took place led by the Rāja of Jāsrota and though Mankot is not mentioned in the reference in the *Akbarnāmah*, yet there can be little doubt that it too was involved, and Rai Partāp may still have been in power. The outbreak was suppressed by a Mughal army under Shaikh Farid, which marched from Jammu to Jaswān overrunning the country and reducing the hill chiefs to obedience. From this time onwards for nearly 200 years we can find no reference in any record to Mankot, and we may conclude that the history of the State was

¹ *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, Vol. II, p. 367.

² *Akbar Nāmāh*. Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 125 to 129.

uneventful. The Rājas who followed Rai Pratāp were Arjan Dev, Sital Dev, Mahipat Dev, Dhota Dev, Tredi Singh, Ajmat Dev; Dalel Singh, Chatar Singh, Aparab Singh. Like other hill States it probably came under the control of Ranjit Dev of Jammu in the latter half of the eighteenth century, more directly than it had previously been. How far the Sikhs succeeded in entering the State is uncertain, as it was in the interior of the hills and so more out of reach of their marauding bands.

In 1783 Mr. Forster passed through Mankot. Travelling as he did in the disguise of a Muhammadan merchant he nowhere came in contact with any of the hill chiefs. He gives no details of his visit beyond the fact that 'a chief dependent on Jammu' resided there.

The State came under Mahārāja Ranjit Singh's control in 1809, and was annexed to the Sikh kingdom in 1820, and the ruling family then retired to Kutlehr in Kangra. A few years later it was conferred as a fief on Rāja Suchēt Singh of Jammu along with Bandhrālta, Sāmba and probably Bhadu; and on his death in 1844 the territory was merged in Jammu.

After the First Sikh War and the transfer of the hills to Rāja Gulāb Singh, a pension was assigned to the Mankotia family and they fixed their residence at Salāngari in the Kāngra District. The last ruling chief of the line to exercise any power was Raja Aparab Singh. In later times Raja Balbir Singh, the then head of the family, was an officer in the 13th Bengal Cavalry, and rendered distinguished service in the Afghan War and also in Egypt.

JASRŌTA STATE.

Jasrōta State was situated in the outer Sawālakhs, to the west of the Rāvī and to the south of the Karaidhār Range. It was bounded on the north by that range, separating it from Basōhli, Bhadu and Mankot: on the east by the Rāvī, on the south by the plains, and on the west by Sāmba. The capital, also called Jasrōta, is on the southern outskirts of the Karaidhār. Under its own Rājas the place was in a prosperous condition and continued to be so till after the death of Rāja Hira Singh in 1844. It then lost its importance and fell into decay.

Owing to the fertility of the tract, being so close to the plains, Jasrōta under its native rulers was a powerful State, which vied with Jammu in importance down to the time of its extinction in 1836.

As we have already stated the Jammu royal family gave off many offshoots which in past times ruled over separate and more or less independent principalities, and of these Jasrōta seems to have been the oldest. Till the thirteenth century the parent State remained undivided, though we may assume that its rule was of a loose character in tracts distant from the centre of power, where the petty chiefs named Rāna or Thākur still held sway. About that time Rāja Bhoj Dev ruled in Jammu. He had four sons of whom the eldest was the ancestor of the Mankotia family, the second son became Rāja of Jammu, and the third, named Karan Dev, was assigned a *jāgīr* in the outer hills, where Jasrōta now stands, or probably conquered a small tract from the Rānas. There he settled and became the head of a new State of which one of his successors made Jasrōta the capital. The town had previously been founded

by Jas Dev, the Rāja of Jammu, and grandson of Bhoj Dev. From their capital the ruling family adopted the clan name of Jasrōtia, in accordance with the custom of the hill States.

Jasrōta is not mentioned in Sanskrit literature, but it is twice referred to in the Muhammadan histories of the time of Akbar. It seems always to have been more or less in touch with Jammu, and in the two rebellions, of which we possess a record in the *Akbar-Nāmah* and the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, the two States acted in concert.

We may assume that the State was founded about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and there were, according to the vernacular history, twenty-seven chiefs down to 1834. Of the early history of the State we know nothing but the names of the Rājas, who held power. These were Karan Dev, Bīr Dev, Kālu Dev, Amil Dev, Balār Dev, Kalās Dev and Pratāp Dev. In Pratāp Dev's reign some trouble seems to have arisen between the Rāja and his younger brother Sangrām Dev, which resulted in the division of the territory into two parts, and the founding of a new State. The capital of the new State was at Lakhanpur and the river Ujh, a tributary of the Rāvi, was fixed as the boundary on the west. A fort was erected at Lakhanpur as the residence of the Rāja, and the State took its name from its capital. Another fort was erected at Thain on a cliff overlooking the Rāvi, and as the Rājas seem to have resided frequently there, the State is sometimes referred to as Thain in the contemporaneous records. The ruins of these two forts may still be seen.

After Pratāp Dev followed Jatār Dev, Atar or Atal Dev, Sultān Dev, Sagat Dev, Daulat Dev and Bhabu Dev. Of these Chiefs we have no records till the reign of Bhabu Dev, who figures prominently in the rebellions of A.D. 1588-9 and 1594-5 in the time of Akbar, to which reference has already been made.

The whole of the Hill States had been subdued and made tributary to the Mughals early in Akbar's reign, but the hill chiefs, so long accustomed to independence, were restless under a foreign yoke, and the two rebellions referred to seem to have been a concerted and united attempt to regain their freedom. In the 35th year of Akbar, A.D. 1588-9, a revolt took place in which almost all the States from Jammu to Jaswān were involved. It was led by Rāja Bidhi Chand of Kāngra, who had succeeded to the throne in A.D. 1585. A strong force under Zain Khān Koka, Akbar's foster-brother, was sent to suppress the revolt. He entered the hills at Paithan (Pathānkot) and advanced eastward to the Satluj. A force was also doubtless detached towards the west, for we are told that all the dwellers in those territories became submissive, and when the Mughal Commander had successfully concluded the campaign he was accompanied to court by thirteen of the hill chiefs, bearing valuable presents, who tendered their submission to the Emperor. Among these we find the name of "Rai Bhabu Buzurg of Jasrōta."¹ That the confederation was a powerful one is shown by the fact that they had an aggregate of 10,000 horsemen and more than one lakh of footmen.

The subjection, however, was not complete and in the 41st year of Akbar

¹ *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*. Vol. II, p. 367.

another revolt of a still more formidable character took place, led by Rāja Bhabu of Jastrōta. On this occasion also many of the States, both east and west of the Rāvi, seem to have been involved. A Mughal army under Mirza Rustam Qandahāri was first sent to operate against the eastern States, especially Nurpur, then ruled by Rāja Bāsu, who had been implicated in the previous rebellion. He was besieged in the fort of Maukot for three months, and on his surrender was sent to Lahore; but before leaving he seems to have deputed his son, Suraj Mal, to wait upon Shaikh Farid, the Commander of another army, which had advanced about the same time against Jammu.

After the capture of Jammu and other forts the Mughal army advanced eastward by Sāmba, where Balibhadar, the Rāja of Lakhanpur, and Bhabu, the Rāja of Jastrōta, came in and surrendered. The latter is spoken of as the "leader of the rebels and the great promoter of the strife." Suraj Mal, son of Rāja Bāsu, also came in and tendered his submission. The army then advanced towards Jastrōta where it was fiercely opposed by the sons and relatives of Bhabu, and there was much fighting.

The following reference is from the *Akbarnāmah*: "On reaching Sāmba, Bhabu the Rāja of Jastruna (Jastrōta) and Balidar (Balibhadar the Zamindār of Lakhanpur) came in. This Bhabu had been the leader of the rebels and the great promoter of the strife. Next day Suraj Singh (Suraj Mal), son of Bāsu, the Rāja of Mau (Nurpur), came in and made his allegiance and he was placed in charge of Husain Beg Shaikh Umari, until it should be determined by the Emperor how the *Parganas* of Sāmba and Jastruna should be disposed of. Two *kos* from Sāmba a fort was built and Muhammad Khān Turkomān was sent forward to take charge of Lakhanpur."

"The army next proceeded to the village of Aliya where Bhabu was and there encamped. This is a strong place surrounded on all sides by jungle so dense that it was difficult to pass through it. Hither the rebels and fugitives fled and hid, deeming themselves safe from all pursuit. Shaikh Farid stayed for some days at that village, and gave orders for clearing away the jungle by the axe and by fire. The soldiers were engaged in the work for several days, but were unable to clear away more than a road of twenty or thirty yards wide. Several of the old trees that were fit for building purposes were cut down and sent to Lahore, for use in the Government buildings. Bhabu before mentioned had been the chief and most active of the rebels, and he had done an immense deal of harm. A royal order had been given that no effort should be spared to capture him. Now that he was in the hands of the army, it was determined to send him to the Emperor in charge of Ali Muhammad.

"When the army reached Jastruna (Jastrōta)—the native place of Bhabu—his sons and brethren and friends gathered together and took up a strong position at a small fort on a hill. This hill was covered with jungle from top to bottom, with only one narrow way along which one or two horsemen might pass. On each side of this road there was a wall with loopholes through which muskets could be fired, and arrows shot upon strangers and foes, to prevent their approach."

¹ *Akbarnāmah*. Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 126, 7, 8.

² Elliot's History, Vol. VI, pp. 126, 7, 8.

"At the bottom of the hill on the level ground there was a cultivated tract in which there was a fort with moats. Shaikh Farid, when he perceived these hostile preparations, determined to capture the place and punish the rebels. He first sent forward Husain Beg to attack the lower fort. By great exertion the moat was filled, the gates burst open and the fort was taken. Several of the assailants were killed by wounds from gun shots and arrows. Then the troops entered the jungle to attack the upper fort. The enemy hotly disputed the passage through the jungle with their muskets and bows. But the valiant soldiers returned the fire and pressed on till they reached the gate. Then they set fire to the place, and the rebels fled for refuge into the jungle. All the buildings and crops were burnt.

"Husain Beg halted here and sent intelligence of his success to Shaikh Farid. An answer was returned directing him to fortify the place and stay there the night or to leave a detachment and himself rejoin the main force. It was late in the day, the army was two *kos* distant, the way through the jungle was narrow and difficult and the returning force might be attacked at great disadvantage, so Husain Beg resolved to rest for the night and to make his way back in the morning. All night long the enemy harassed them from all parts of the jungle with arrows, but according to the plan agreed upon, each man sat behind his breastwork (*morchal*) with his shield over his head, never moving or making a noise. The night was thus passed mid a constant rain of arrows, but in the morning the forces made their way through the jungle and effected their junction safely. Husain Beg obtained great praise for his gallantry, and rewards in *ināms*, money and robes were bestowed upon the officers and soldiers"

The whole reference of which we have quoted a portion is of great interest. The Mughal army on its march from Jammu evidently kept to the outer valleys of the Swālakhs by Sāmba, Jasnōta and Lakhanpur, though detachments probably penetrated farther into the interior. No mention is made of the States in these inner valleys, viz. Bhoti, Chanēhni, Bandhrāta, Mānkot, Balōr and Bhadu, though they too were doubtless all involved in the rebellion. We are told that Lakhanpur was made over in *jāgīr* to one of the Mughal officers. Possibly the Rāja was removed from power and the State annexed. The crossing of the Rāvi must have taken place near Mādhopur or Shāhpur Kandi.

On reaching Maukot in Nurpur Suraj Mal, son of Rāja Bāsu, who was with the force, his father being still at Lahore, was told that he ought to present a suitable *nazarāna* in acknowledgment of the country having been restored. Maukot was then visited by the Imperial Commanders, and after the duties of hospitality had been discharged the tribute was presented, consisting of valuable horses and fine clothes. From there the Mughal army marched to Guler and Jaswān, and the revolt being at an end, Shaikh Farid was recalled to court, and reached Lahore, travelling express, in three days and received great honours from the Emperor.

After the final subjection of the hill States by Akbar the States of the Jammu or Dugar area, between the Chināb and the Rāvi, seem to have settled down into quiet submission and we read of no more revolts among them in the histories of the

time. When revolts in the Kangra area occurred, as in the case of Kangra and Nurpur, in the time of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān, we read that the Chiefs of the Jammu hills were summoned to help in restoring order.

The Rājas who came after Bhabu Dev were Bhoj Dev, Fateh Dev, Tāj Dev, Shib Dev, Jag Dev, Sikh Dev and Dhruv Dev, but of the events of their time we possess no records.

After them followed Kiral Dev and Ratan Dev of whom the latter was contemporaneous with Ranjit Dev of Jammu (A.D. 1750).

We may assume that on the decline of Mughal power in the first half of the eighteenth century and the cession of the Punjab to Ahmad Shāh Durāni, Jastrōta, like Basōhli and other States, came more or less under the supremacy of Jammu, especially in the reign of Ranjit Dev of that State. In the latter part of the century the Sikhs began their incursions into the outer hills, often it is to be feared on the invitation of the hill chiefs themselves, to act as mercenaries in their mutual quarrels. Such invitations we know were given by Chamba, Basōhli and Jammu, and, as Mr. Forster remarks, "after having performed the service for which they were called, they became pleased with the new situation and refused to withdraw." They were called to Chamba in 1774 and to Basōhli in 1783, and Jastrōta may have been invaded about the same time or even earlier as it lay so much nearer the plains. Most probably the Sirdars of the Kanhiya Misl, who held Pathankot, were the first to enter the State.

During that period the Rājas of Jastrōta were Bhāg Singh, Ajab or Ajib Singh, and Lāl Singh, down to the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1800-1, Ranjit Singh became Mahārāja of the Punjab and in 1808, he reduced the fort of Pathānkot and then marched on Jastrōta, where the ruling chief tendered his allegiance and became tributary, after paying a large *nazarāna*. Soon afterwards with the surrender of Kangra Fort the supremacy of the whole of the hill States came into his hands. Desa Singh Majithia was then appointed Nāzim or Governor of the hills, and Jastrōta with the neighbouring States of Basōhli, Bhadu and Mankot came under his control.

At that time Ranbīr Singh was Rāja of Jastrōta and on his death without male issue he was succeeded by Bhuri Singh, his brother, who was the last ruling chief of the Jamwāl line. He was entirely subject to the Sikhs and the extinction of the principality was now near at hand.

In 1828, Hira Singh, the eldest son of the Sikh Minister, Rāja Dhiān Singh, was advanced to the status of a Rāja by Ranjit Singh, though then only twelve years old, and in 1834 the State of Jastrōta was conferred upon him as a fief, and the ancient line was expelled from the territory. The family now reside at Khānpur near Nagrōta in Jammu and the pension is paid by Government. The clan name is Jasrotia.

LAKHANPUR STATE.

Lakhanpur was originally a portion of Jastrōta State, from which it was severed in the beginning of the fourteenth century. It was bounded on the north by the Karai-

dhār Range separating it from Basōhli, on the east by the Rāvi, on the south by the plains and on the west by the Ujh river, a tributary of the Rāvi.

Kalās Dev of Jasrōta who ruled about A. D. 1320 had two sons, Partāp Dev and Sangrām Dev, and after their father's death, Sangrām Dev claimed half the State. This was surrendered to him, including all the territory between the Ujh and the Rāvi, with the capital at Lakhanpur, hence the name of the State. The alternative name was Thain as found in some of the records, from the name of a strong fort on a lofty cliff overlooking the right bank of the Rāvi, where the Rājas seem often to have resided. The State is twice referred to in the Muhammadan histories. The clan name is Lakhanpuria.

The *Vansāvalī* of the family does not seem to be available, and few of the names of the ruling chiefs after Sangrām Dev are known. One of them was Balabhadar, called Balidar, in the *Ma'āsir-ul-Umarā*, who was involved in the rebellion of A.D. 1588-9 in the reign of Akbar, already referred to in the history of Jasrōta. He is probably also the "Rāja of Lakhanpur" referred to in connection with the rebellion of A.D. 1594-5, as having come in and surrendered to Shaikh Farid at Sāmba, and who also received the same Mughal Commander on his arrival at Lakhanpur. The State was then placed under a Mughal Amīr and a garrison was left in the fort. The reference in the Akbar-Namāh is as follows:— "Having left Husain Beg there (Jasrōta) with a garrison, the army proceeded towards Lakhanpur. The Rāja came out to meet it. The *pargānah* was given to Muhammad Khan Turkomān, and a sufficient garrison was placed in the fort. Then the army crossed the Rāvi by a ford and proceeded to the *pargānah* of Pathān; next day it marched to Mu (Maukot), a *pargānah* under the authority of Bāsu (of Nurpur)". The ford was probably one of those still used near Shāhpur Kandi.

From the above reference we are perhaps to understand that the State was overthrown and the territory annexed, for no further mention is found in any of the records. How long the Mughals held possession we do not know, but at a later period Lakhanpur seems to have become a bone of contention among the three neighbouring States of Jasrōta, Nurpur and Basōhli. Possibly what happened was that on the decline of Mughal power the tract was seized by Jasrōta, but it seems to have been for a time in the possession of Basōhli. It finally fell to Nurpur in the latter part of the eighteenth century. At the time of settlement, after the first Sikh War, Lakhanpur became British territory as having been a part of Nurpur State.

After the first Sikh War the hill tracts between the Rāvi and the Indus, including Chamba, were made over to Rāja Gulāb Singh of Jammu, by the treaty of 16th March, 1846. The Rāja of Chamba, however, represented his unwillingness to be placed under Jammu and an arrangement was made whereby Lakhanpur was ceded to Gulāb Singh in lieu of Chamba Cis-Rāvi, and is now a part of the Jasrōta District in Jammu territory.

The small chiefship of Trikōt is said to have been granted in *jagīr* to one of the

sons of Jhojar Dev, son of Saido, one of the early Rājas of Lakhanpur and is still in the possession of the family, and from Malho, another son, were descended the Rājas of Sāmba as will be related.

SĀMBA STATE.

Sāmba State was an offshoot from Lakhanpur and may have been founded about A.D. 1400. Its boundaries are uncertain as it was overturned at an early period. It was situated to the east of Jammu and between that State and Jāsrota, with the capital at the town of Sāmba.

Being practically on the plains the tract was very fertile.

Sāmba was originally in the possession of a local tribe, named Ghotar, of Rajput descent, now common zamindars, and under a chief of that tribe. Into this family married Malho or Malh Dev, a grandson of Rāja Sangrām Dev, the founder of Lakhanpur State, who after his marriage took up his residence at Sāmba. After a time he succeeded, with the help of a Muhammadan force, in dispossessing the Ghotar family, and made himself master of the tract, with Sāmba as the capital. The clan name is Sambīāl or Samiāl.

It seems doubtful if the family ever had the title of 'Raja' and they appear to have lost all power at an early date in the reign of Akbar, probably in the rebellion of A.D. 1588-9.

On the occasion of the revolt of A.D. 1588-9, Sāmba is not referred to, but in that of A.D. 1594-5, the Mughal army, we are told, advanced from Jammu to Sāmba, and there Bhabu, the Rāja of Jāsrota and Balibhadar, the Rāja of Lakhanpur came in and surrendered. No mention is made of a Rāja of Sāmba, but the disposal of the *parganas* of Sāmba and Jasruna (Jāsrota) was referred to the Emperor, and two *kos* from Sāmba a fort was built. The restoration of the State seems to have been promised at a later time, in the reign of Shahjahān, but the promise was not fulfilled. It finally came under the control of Jammu in the reign of Dhrub Dev, or later.

The Sambīāl royal clan is one of the largest in the hills, and members of it are found not only in Sāmba but throughout the hills and on the plains. Traditionally there are said to have been twenty-two *Mandis*, or residential quarters, of the branches of the clan in Sāmba territory, and to account for these some have said that the founder, Malh Dev, had twenty-two sons. At present there are only eleven such *mandis*, and of these three are offshoots of older *māndis*.

It is probable that from the time of Ranjīt Dev of Jammu (A.D. 1735-81) Sāmba was practically a part of the Jammu State, and it continued to be so till the expulsion of the senior branch of the Jammu family about 1812. A few years later, on the transfer of the hill tracts to the junior branch of the Jammu family in fief by Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh about 1822, Sāmba with other States fell to the share of Rāja Suchet Singh. He is said to have built a palace in the town, where he often resided, and on his death in 1844 some of his *Rānis* there became *Sati*.

Sāmba is now a Tahsil in Jammu territory.

BHĀU STATE.

Bhau State must not be confounded with Bāhu, the original capital of Jammu State. The origin of the Bhau family is obscure, but it may have been an early offshoot from Jammu, as supposed by Thākur Kāhu Singh. The story told is that at a very early period a Rāja of Jammu was invited to become Rāja of Kāshmir by the zamindars, who suffered much from the exactions of the local petty chiefs, corresponding to the Rānas and Thākurs elsewhere. Having acceded to their request for help, he sent his eldest son with an army, who conquered the petty chiefs and afterwards became Rāja of Kāshmir. One of his descendants had the name of Bhau Dev, and from him the family took their distinctive cognomen of Bhau, which is the clan name.

Two generations later the Bhau family were expelled from Kāshmir and retired to the outer hills, where they took up their abode at a place called Sahāranpur in Jammu territory. At a still later date the head of the family removed to Kalēth, near the Chīnāb, which he occupied and made it the capital of a small independent State. The fort of Kalēth was built by a later chief.

There seem to have been frequent conflicts between the State and Jammu, which was then beginning to assert supremacy over the surrounding principalities.

The State, however, was able to maintain its independence, till invaded by the Sikhs in the early part of the nineteenth century, when it became tributary to Ranjīt Singh.

Finally, some time after 1820 Rāja Gulāb Singh overturned and annexed the State, and granted a *Jāgīr* to the ruling chief, in Rihāsi, where the family still resides. There were in all 31 chiefs, bearing the title of ' Rai ' from the time of the emigration from Kāshmir till the extinction of the State. Allowing an average of twenty years the State may have been founded about the thirteenth century. The exploits of one of the later chiefs are commemorated in song by the hill bards.

BHOTI STATE.

Bhoti State seems to have been an ancient principality embracing most of the tract now included in the Bhoti *ilāqa*, a part of the Udhampur tahsil of Jammu. The capital was at Krimchi about four miles north of Udhampur, and to the south of the Ladha range. The site of the former town is now waste, but there are ruins which testify to the fact that a town once stood on the spot. This is also in keeping with local tradition which ascribes the founding of the town to one Kechak. There are also three or four large and ancient temples which are believed to date from the time when the place was inhabited. They bear signs of great antiquity. The largest of them is still in a fair state of preservation. The interior of these temples, where the idols are, is now two feet lower than the ground outside, showing an immense accumulation of debris in past times. The present village of Krimchi stands on the other side of the Delok nāla near the fort which is on a hillock, but is now in ruins. Inside the fort is a large "green " and the ruins of the ancient palace where was the residence of the Rājas.

The founder of the State is said to have been named Kechak and from him the line is called locally the Kechaks, but who he was and whence he came is involved in uncertainty. Local tradition seems to point to the family having originally come from Kāshmir. There were 34 Rājas in all, and allowing twenty years to a reign we may conclude that the State was founded about the twelfth century. The family is of the Surajbansi race and by some is traced back to one Daya Karan, son of a Jammu Chief, whose descendants are said to have ruled Kāshmir, and from whom another family, the Bhau Rajputs, trace their origin. This, however, is all conjecture and as the *vansāvalī* is not forthcoming the question must be left unanswered.

Bhoti State is not referred to in any records, and may always have been more or less dependent on Jammu, as it certainly was at a later period. Of the history of the State we are ignorant and there seem to be no sources of information available. It probably came entirely under the control of Jammu in the early part of the eighteenth century.

Bhoti came under the control of the Sikhs about the same time as Jammu, and on the transfer of the hill tracts to Rāja Gulāb Singh and his two brothers, it fell completely under the former to whom a tribute of Rs. 2,000 was paid. About 1834 the State was finally overthrown and annexed.

Mr. Drew has the following reference: "Kiramchi and the tract of country near and round it used to be under a Rāja or a Miān of the Pathiāl (Bhatiāl) tribe of Rajputs, who was tributary to Jammu, paying to it yearly 2,000 rupees and giving the services of some ten horsemen. About the year 1834, Gulāb Singh, having made up his mind to possess the place, refused the tribute and sent a force to besiege the fort. After some time they took it and the country was annexed. What now remains of the fort is a well built wall of sandstone and a dry tank. It is on a rocky mound in a commanding position behind the town."

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