Chapter-I
A Brief Survey of Political History of Himachal Pradesh (till 19th Century)
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The word Himachal derives its origin from two Hindi words, Him and Achal meaning Snow and Mountain respectively. Thus Himachal Pradesh stands for the region which lies in the lap of snow i.e. in the slopes and foothills of the Himalayas. Before 1948, this region was known as the 'Punjab Hill States' and the 'Simla Hill States'. The name 'Himachal Pradesh', was first time used in the agreement signed on March 8, 1948 by 31 Hill States.\(^3\)

Himachal Pradesh, covering an area of 55,673 square kilometers,\(^3\) is situated in the north-western corner of India, in the heart of the Himalayan range and is almost entirely mountainous. It is located between the Chenab river in the west and Yamuna river in the east. To the north-west lies the state of Jammu and Kashmir, Uttaranchal in the south-east, Haryana on the south and Punjab on the west, whereas on the north-east it forms India's border with Tibet, the lands of the Lamas.

Himachal, known as Dev Bhumi (the land of Gods) to the ancients, is situated in the heart of the western Himalayas. The early history of Himachal Pradesh, like the other parts of India, is not fully established. This is mainly due to the absence of adequate archaeological and literary sources. Some latest explorations and researches however, have thrown significant light on the political and cultural history of the state going as far back as the earliest dawn of human civilization.

According to the Skand Purana, Himachal is the Jalandhara Khand of the Himalayas. Himachal Pradesh covers almost the same area as
Jalandhara known to the ancient geographers of India. They had defined the Himalayan range into five distinct divisions as follows:

(Nepal, Kurmachal, Kedara, Jalandhara and Kashmir are the names of the five divisions of the Himalayas).

Whatever history of Himachal Pradesh is known so far is based mainly on unauthenticated traditions and unreliable vamsavalis etc. Some authentic facts however, are known from a few inscriptions. This region is referred to us, only when the historians felt it necessary to highlight the activities of their patrons or sultans.

**Early Period**

Shiwalik mountain range occupies an important place in the evolutionary history of man. The geological and archaeological explorations prove that some of the early ancestors of man lived on the Himachal foot-hills, in Nalagarh-Suketi region and in the Kalpa valley of Kinnaur as early as two millions years ago. Fossils of the various animals viz. elephants, horses etc. and the presence of a large number of stone tools like chisel, choppers, hand-axes and flakes which have been found from some regions of Himachal Pradesh testify to the growth of human life. The archaeological surveys so far carried out, clearly point out the human existence in the area traversed by the Banganga-Beas valley of Kangra, the Suketi-Markanda valley of Sirmour and the Sirsa-Sutlej valleys of Nalagarh and Bilaspur.
In the earlier stage man was a hunter and fruit-gatherer. Since metal was not then known, he used stone for making his artifacts. The early man made stone-tools like choppers and scrapers which had edges suitable for their functions. These tools indicate the earlier stages of human culture in the valleys of the Himalayas.

The traces of settled life in the Himachal have been discovered from a place called Ror in the Kangra district. The stone-tools found here are axes, chisels, picks, axe-hammers and ring stones which date back to the post Pleistocene period. This is the period when man adopted settled life, used earthen pots and pans, domesticated animals and produced food through agriculture.

The Indus civilization is generally believed to have flourished between 2750 and 1750 B.C. This civilization covered the whole area extending from the Arabian sea to the Gangetic valley in the east. It covered the entire area of Punjab as far as the Himalayan foothills, and in the south Rajasthan and Gujarat. In prehistoric times outside the Indus valley, The Indo-Gangetic plain was inhabited by Munda speaking Kolorian people. It is believed that when the inhabitants of the Indus valley spread through the Gangetic plains, they pushed forward the Kolorian people. The Kolorians people were forced to migrate to the forests and valleys. Thus this race fled northward to the Himalayas or Himachal Pradesh. With the passage of time this race spread
themselves over the whole of the western and central Himalayas. They lived in groups and had their own language and indigenous beliefs.

During the Rig-Vedic period, these people were called Dasas, Dasyus, Nishadas etc. Literary sources of post-Vedic period mentioned these people as Kinnaras, Nagas and Yakshas. This is not known who inhabited this region before the coming of these races from the Indian plains. However, the Kols, also known as Mundas, were perhaps the earliest original migrants to the Himachal hills and possibly the Kolis, Halis, Doms and Chanals of the western Himalayas and the Chumangs and Damangs of Kinnaur, Lahaul and Spiti are the remnants of this ancient race.

The second migrants were the Mongolian featured people mentioned as Bhotas and Kiratas in the Indian literature. In pre-historic times they occupied the sub-Himalayan region and now-a-days they are found only in the higher areas viz; Kinnaur, Lahaul and Spiti of Himachal Pradesh.

In the third millennium B.C. a third race i.e. the Aryans entered in the racial arena of Himachal Pradesh. It is generally accepted that the original home of the Aryans was Central Asia. In the prehistoric times the Aryans left their Central Asian home in search of new lands, and pastures for their animals. When Aryans migrated from the Central Asia, they divided themselves into three branches and each branch moved in a different direction. One branch marched towards the western Europe upto Spain.

The other branch marched towards south-east. This branch crossed Pamir, moved to Kashgir and then entered into the middle belt of Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Garhwal, Kumaon and Nepal regions of the Himalayas. The people of this branch were of the Aryan origin. They were known as the
Khasas, who are considered to be Kshatriyas. It is interesting to note here that the ancient name of the Himalayan districts was *Khas-des* i.e. country of the Khases. In the Himalayan regions there is practically no historical evidence of Khasas immigration, and it cannot be said when they came to occupy these hills. It is clear however, that Khasas came from outside India and subjugated the dark aboriginals (the Doms, Kolis, Halis etc.) and established their colonies in the hills of Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Garhwal, Kumaon and Nepal.

The third branch of Aryans is also known as the Indo-Aryans. When the people of this third branch left their Central Asian home, they marched southward and came to Iran. Some of them settled there and developed a specific Indo-Iranian culture and religion. The other more adventurous band of Aryans turned to the east and after crossing the Hindukush, came as far as the Indus valley which they called Sapta-Sindhu or the land of seven rivers. The date of arrival of the Aryans in this region is placed at about 2000 B.C.

From the Indus valley, the Aryans moved generally in a north-easterly direction, crossed Punjab and moved up to the foot-hills of the Himalayas from where they turned towards the Sarswati, Yamuna and Ganga valleys. The dark-skinned dwellers of the soil, whom the Aryans called Dasyus, offered a strong resistance to the invaders. One of the powerful Dasyu Kings was Shambara, who was greatest enemy of the Aryans. After fighting for about forty years, the Aryans defeated Shambara. After his defeat some of the Dasyu tribes retreated towards the north and maintained a precarious existence in the hills under the supremacy of the Khasas. The Aryans mostly
spread through the plains and the northern limit of their extension touched only the Shiwalik foot-hills.\textsuperscript{12}

**The Janpadas\textsuperscript{13}**

According to the *Ramayána* and the *Mahabharata*, the Himalayan region, now forming Himachal Pradesh, was divided into a number of small tribal republics. Perhaps all these Himalayan tribes or people had their political identities from the ancient times and had their own administrative set-up. Some of the Important tribal republics or Janpadas of Himachal Pradesh were the Adumbaras, the Trigartas, the Kulutas and the Kulinda or Kunindas,\textsuperscript{14} which continued to flourish in several regions of the Himachal Pradesh after the decline of the power of the Kushanas, which is known on the basis of archaeological, numismatic and literary sources.\textsuperscript{15}

**The Audumbaras**

The Audumbara was one of the most prominent tribes of Himachal Pradesh. In the *Mahabharata* the Audumbaras is mentioned as Udambara or Odumbara.\textsuperscript{16} Some coins of the same tribe were found at Trippal and Jwalamukhi regions of Kangra district apart from the Punjab districts of Pathankot and Hoshiarpur - both being border districts outside Himachal Pradesh.

Brahmi and Kharoshthi scripts have been used on the coins of the Adumbaras.\textsuperscript{17} Thus Audumbaras republic seem to have flourished in the eastern Kangra, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur districts.

**The Trigartas**

The earliest reference to the name Trigarta is found in the *Mahabharata* and in the *Purana*, as well as in Panini's *Ashtadhyayi*. The
ancient name of Trigarta was Jalandhara. Probably Jalandhara was the name of the territory in the plains and the Trigarta of that in the hills. Thus, Trigarta stood for three valleys of the Ravi, Beas and Sutlej.17

Panini refers to Trigarta as Ayudhajivi Sangha (the word Ayudhajivi means a person who earns his livelihood by arms) and a confederation of six states known as Trigarta Shashathas.18 In the great epic Mahabharata, Susharman, the founder of the Trigarta, is stated to be an ally of the Kauravas.19 The existence of Trigarta as an independent republic in the second century B.C. is also indicated by the coins bearing the legend 'Trikata- Janpada'.20

The Kulutas

The Kuluta find mention in the Mahabharata and the Puranas.21 We also know of a king named Virayasas of the Kulutas from a silver coin discovered from Kulu has been ascribed to the first-second centuries A.D.22 Megasthanes also mentions a people named Colubae identified with the Kulutas.23 S.B. Chaudhuri on the basis of numismatic evidence and the evidence of Hiuen Tsang points out that the Kulutas ruled over the upper valley of Beas river in the Kulu area and also included the little area of the principalities of Suket and Mandi.24 The capital of the Kulutas was Nagar on the banks of the Beas. Nothing is known of the Kulutas as a tribal state at any later date. Probably the Kulutas country was parcelled out among the petty Ranas and finally it took the form of a Kingdom during the period of emperor Harsha (606-645 A.D.).
The Kunindas or Kulindas

The Kunindas are stated to be the most ancient inhabitants of the Himachal Pradesh. Their rule in many parts of Himachal in the pre-Christian era, is known from their early coins. Their influence extended over the area at the foot of the Shiwalik hills, between the Sutlej and Yamuna river, including Shimla, Sirmaur and Kinnaur.²⁶

Kunindas are mentioned in the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*.²⁷ Atkinson quotes Ptolemy, "At the sources of Bias, Satlaj, Jamna and Ganges (reside the Kulindas) whose country was called Kylindrine i.e., the people of the hills between the Satlaj and the Ganges".²⁸ The ethnic name Kulinda may have been obtained from the river Kalinadi or the Yamuna and so that Kulindas are not to be confused with the people of Kulu valley who are separately mentioned. We know something definite of these people from the *Mahabharata* that they were scattered in many territories or their settlements extended over a wide area which belief is also supported by the numismatic evidence.²⁹ The ethnographic distribution and the numismatic finds of the second and the first centuries B.C., of the Kunindas in the Shiwalik hill right from Kangra to Kumaon, which included Himachal Pradesh as well as its adjoining areas, shows that at the time the Kunindas were independent. During the Saka invasions (first century B.C.), they even extended their power in the plains between Ambala and Saharanpur. From their coins we know that they followed a monarchical organization. The Kunindas submitted to the rule of the Kushanas and probably joined the Yaudheyas to regain their independence. The Kunindas probably disappeared from the political map of northern India sometime before 350 A.D., for they are not mentioned
in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. There is also no other evidence of the continuation of their rule. Thus they seem to have occupied the districts of Shimla, Sirmaur and parts of Kinnaur district. They may be associated with the Kanets and the Kinnauris of the present time.

The Nanda-Maurya Period

The Janpada pattern of society continued to function undisturbed till the advent of the Maurayans. This was in fact a natural development in the political and social set up. The Greek invasion of India under Alexander the great (326 B.C.), helped the emergence of a central paramount power in order to safeguard the Borders of Hindustan and to establish peace inside. Under the guidance of Kautilya (the minister of Chandragupta Maurya), a successful effort was made to bring all the Janpadas under one banner. This resulted in the establishment of the great Mauryan empire which took into its fold all the chieftains of these hills.

Jain sources state that when Chanakya or Kautilya, failed in his initial attempt to uproot the king of the Nanda dynasty, he went to Himvat-Kuta and made an alliance with its ruler named Parvata (Parvo raya) and lured him to render military assistance with the offer of half the kingdom of Magadha on the defeat of the Nanda King. The combined forces of Parvata and Chandragupta besieged Pataliputra and forced the Nanda King to surrender. But Parvata was killed with the help of a poison-girl (Vish-Kanya) by Chanakya to avoid the division of the Magadha kingdom and then Parvata's own territory was annexed to the Mauryan dominion.

Ashoka extended his boundaries to the Himalayan region also as is evident from the inscriptions found at Rummandei and Nigilhwa in the Nepal
His entry into the western region of the Himalayas is indicated by two inscriptions. One of them major rock-inscription is at Kalsi in Dehradun district (Uttaranchal), an important settlement on a trade-route at that time, which is at the confluence of the Tons and the Yamuna rivers in the Jaunsar-Bawar region which was once a part of Sirmaur State. The other was incised on a pillar, located at Topra, near Khizrabad, immediately west of the river Yamuna at the foot of the Shiwalik mountain. Both these places are not very far from the borders of Himachal Pradesh. Thus we can say that Ashoka might have entered deep into the area of Himachal Pradesh and placed some of his edicts there. This story, slightly changed, is also available in the drama Mudra-rakshasa of Visakhadatta. If these literary traditions have any historical basis, it may well be said that the hilly region of Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Garhwal formed a part of the Mauryan Kingdom from the very beginning. They are yet to be deciphered, and it is perhaps due to the lack of proper archaeological explorations.

**Post Mauryan Period**

After the fall of the Mauryas, the Shungas (187-75 B.C.) came to power. They could not keep these tribal republics under their sway. Taking advantage of the political conditions at that time the Greeks, the Sakas and the Parthians invaded and occupied the outlying north-western provinces of India.

The first invaders were the Bactrian Greeks (185 B.C.). Having consolidated their power in Herat, Kandhar and Kabul valley, they attacked Punjab and extended their rule as far as the river Ravi and then entered the Himalayan region. The existence of the Indo-Greeks (Indo-Bactrians) in the
Chamba, Kangra and Hamirpur region is also supported by the numismatic evidence. Indo-Greek coins have been found at Chamba, Kangra and Hamirpur districts of Himachal Pradesh. It included the coins of Menander, Antimachus II, Antialkidas, Philoxenus and Lysias, along with some worn silver punch-marked coins. Thus we cannot deny the presence of the Indo-Greeks in Himachal Pradesh in the districts of Chamba, Kangra and Hamirpur.

**The Kushanas**

Yue-chi, a nomadic tribe to the west of China was driven out from there by the Han dynasty of China. They in turn drove the Sakas before them. The Sakas invaded the north-west frontiers of India in first century B.C. They were defeated and later expelled in 58 B.C. by Vikramaditya of Ujjain, who established an era which is still popular. The Yue-chi, by this time had come to be known as Kushana under their outstanding ruler Kanishka, who had turned Buddhist. During his reign the fourth Buddhist Council was held to discuss the matters pertaining to Buddhist theology and doctrine.

Kushanas had conquered the whole of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh appears to have been within their sphere of influence, if not under direct control, because it is supported by the numismatic evidences which have been discovered in Kangra and Shimla areas. The Kushanas were defeated and expelled or absorbed by the constant efforts of Yaudheyas, who organized a major revolt to which Kunindas of these hills also contributed a lot. The Kunindas then formed a confederacy with Yaudheyas.
The Gupta Empire

In the period between the downfall of the Kushanas and the emergence of the imperial Guptas, the country between the Himachal mountains and the Narbada river was divided into various independent states (monarchies as well as republics) which did not owe allegiance to any sovereign power. The literary and numismatic evidence indicate the rise of several monarchies and republics in the Gangetic plains and the Himalayan foot-hills respectively.

In the middle of the fourth century A.D. the new monarchical power of the Guptas rose from Magadha with its capital at Patliputra. The Gupta empire was founded by Chandragupta (319-20 A.D.). His son, Samudragupta, was a great conqueror whose achievements had been engraved by his minister of war, Harisena, on the Ashokan pillar at Allahabad. In this inscription, there is a list of those frontier states which acknowledged the supremacy of Samudragupta without a war. Some of the republican tribes of the Punjab and the other neighbouring Shiwalik hill states had also been mentioned. They were the Kartipura, the Yaudheyas, the Arjunayanas and the Madrakas. Samudragupta adopted quite a different policy towards these republican tribes in the Punjab and Shiwalik hill regions. He did not march in person against them but exercised his power against them through various means. They were offered the choice between two alternatives, either destruction of their kingdoms like the northern kingdoms in case of insubordination, or assurance of peace and maintenance of internal autonomy by acceptance of the Gupta overlordship. The rulers who submitted were not disturbed in their internal administration. They continued
to enjoy internal autonomy but they had to acknowledge the supremacy of Samudragupta and to pay tribute to him as feudatories. They also had to offer him customary presents. They acted as buffer states between his empire and the other mighty empires situated across their borders.\textsuperscript{36}

All these states most probably developed relations with the Gupta rulers for the development and progress of their states in the social, economic and political fields. Samudragupta perhaps would not have thought of attacking these hill regions where there were few chances of gaining anything and many chances of suffering heavy losses. So he voluntarily recognized his supremacy.

During the same period, Kacha-Gupta, the younger brother of Samudragupta conquered the territories leading to the door of Kashmir,\textsuperscript{37} which may mean the areas of Kangra, Chamba and Jammu.

Samudragupta's successor, Ram Gupta, ruled for a very short period before Chandra-Gupta II Vikramaditya. However, he proved to be a weak ruler. We know from the Kavyamimansa of Rajashekhara (10th century A.D.) that a king named Sharm-Gupta who is taken as the corrupt reading for the Gupta King Rama-Gupta was defeated and imprisoned by the king of Khashas (Shaka-Pati) of the Himalayas. After having lost his courage and morale, Rama-Gupta promised to give away his wife, Dhruvaswanini to the victor.\textsuperscript{38}

Although different interpretations have been given regarding the exact location and the event referred to above, the suggestion that the event occurred in the Kangra region of Himachal Pradesh seems to be more plausible, because it is in this region where Alipur or Aripur the camping
place of the Khasas ruler is situated. This place has some ruins of an ancient fort. This identification appears more plausible though not definite. However, without further evidence, nothing concrete can be said at this stage.

It appears that Chandragupta brought under his sway, the whole of ancient Himachal Pradesh. The Mehrauli pillar inscription informs us that the emperor crossed the seven rivers of the Punjab and conquered the Bahlikas living in Afghanistan or nearby it. It may have been possible only after conquering the Punjab and parts of Himachal Pradesh.

The emperor Chandragupta also got some military assistance from the hill chiefs is known from the Salri rock inscription of Kulu of the fifth century A.D. The inscription also refers to the defeat of one Rajjilabala by Maharaja Shri Chandresvara Hastin who was the son of Maharaja Isvaram Hastin. Isvaram Hastin was probably deputed by Samudragupta or his successors to make further conquests in the hilly region. The conquered chief Rajjilabala is not known to us, presumably he was a local king belonging to Kulu-Mandi region of Himachal Pradesh, who may have succeeded in carving out an independent principality for himself after the downfall of the Kushana in this hilly region.

The process of conquests continued in the Himalayan region during the reign of Kumara-Gupta. This surmise is based on the archaeological and literary sources. Rajashekhara in his Kavyamimansa praises Karttikeya for making new conquests and introducing efficient administration in the Himalayas where the Kinnaras lived at different places. The conquests of some parts of Himachal Pradesh by Kumara-Gupta is also known from one
of the types of his coins which depict the God Karttikeya on his mount peacock. We notice the figure of the God Karttikeya on the coins of the Yaudheyas, Audumbaras and the Kunindas, who were inhabiting this region. This motif may have been borrowed from those of the tribal coins by the Guptas after they took these tribes under subjugation.

After the death of Kumara-Gupta, Skanda-Gupta defended well the frontiers of the empire and crushed the invaders and rebels. During the rule of Skanda-Gupta, the Hunas invaded India and threatened the integrity of the Gupta empire, but the invaders were repulsed. After Skanda-Gupta, the Hunas again invaded India and occupied Punjab and possibly some parts of Himachal Pradesh because this region were situated on the important trade routes connecting Central Asia, China, Tibet, Ladakh and Kashmir. The Hunas who came from Central Asia must have realized the importance of controlling all the trade routes in the north-west. The Huna invasion expedited the decline and the downfall of the Guptas. This created a political uncertainty in the hilly region and resulted in the rise of a number of local rulers and growth of small principalities. It was probably during this period that a number of independent principalities emerged and they managed to delink themselves politically from the plains in the northern India. Probably, Chamba was the first state to have come into existence during this period. This event is believed to have taken place about the middle of sixth century A.D. Its old capital was at Brahmapura, founded by Meru Varman in about 550 A.D. Kulu also regained its independence during this period. In the Kalhana's Rajatarangini it is referred that the Kuluta had a distinct existence and it was a separate state in the sixth century A.D. when, we are
told, Ratisena, King of the Cholas, sent his daughter, Ranarambha, to the
residence of his friend, the King of Kuluta, and Ranaditya (King of Kashmir)
grew with joy to that not distant land to receive her. Other parts of Himachal
Pradesh, however, seem to have still been linked politically with northern
India.

Harshavardhana (606-47 A.D.)

The political instability in the Punjab plains and its adjoining hills came
to an end with the rise of Prabhakara Vardhana, who carved out a small
Kingdom for himself on the ruins of the Gupta empire. He chose
Thaneshwar (modern Kurukshetra) to be his capital. Prabhakara Vardhana
soon launched offensive wars in different directions including Himachal
Pradesh. He defeated and repulsed the Hunas. This era of conquest in
different directions continued under his son Harshavardhana who moved
soon to Kanauj, which was destined to become the capital of northern India
for many years to come. Harsha succeeded in giving good administration to
this region including Himachal Pradesh which seems to have enjoyed an era
of peace and prosperity. He appointed provincial governors and ruled
through them. Samudrasena was probably one of his chiefs appointed in
Kulu. In the Nirmand inscription of the seventh century Samudrasena is
described as Mahasamanta and Maharaja, titles being used by feudatories
under a sovereign authority. It seems that there were many other small
feudal rulers subordinate to him governing various parts of this region.

The account left by Hiuen Tsang, who visited India in 629 A.D.,
shows that Harshavardhana held control over different parts of Himachal
Pradesh. The king of Jalandhara named Buti or Buddhi was instructed by
Harsha to extend all kinds of comforts and security to the Chinese traveller during his visit to that region. From Jalandhara, Hiuen Tsang went to the Tamasavana, a place which may be identified with a site near Kangra, where there were many Buddhist monks and Shrines. Further, he went to Kulu and from there came to Srughana, Bhahmapura and Suvaranagotra, these places situated probably in Himachal and Kumaon hills. From the account left by Hiuen Tsang, it appears that these places in Himachal Pradesh were under the control of emperor Harsha.

The Post-Harsha Period

After the disintegration of the Harsha's empire, there was a great political upheaval in the north Indian plains and it became a congeries of small states. The Gurjara-Pratiharas emerged as one of the leading powers here. They seem to have left their influence on various parts of the Himachal Pradesh.

The Ranas and Thakurs

In the Cis-Himalayan region, between Ravi and the Yamuna, a new group of petty chiefs, known as the Ranas and Thakurs, emerged after the collapse of the Harsha empire (647 A.D.). They claimed to be Kshatriyas. The period during which they ruled is known as the Apthakuri or Apthakurai, while the territory of a Rana was called Ranhun and of a Thakur, Thakuri or Thakurai.\(^5\)

It will not be out of place here to discuss the origin and significance of the titles borne by these ancient rulers. On the slab inscriptions and copper-plate title deeds the Ranas are indicated by the name of Rajanaka. Hutchison and Vogel are of the view that the word Rana is derived directly
from the Prakrit title Rajana (i.e. rajanna, Sanskrit rajanya) and was used either as the title of a petty chief or as a caste name. In the former meaning it is synonymous with Sanskrit Samanta and Thakkura. The oldest record actually bearing the title of Rajanaka was found on an image at Svain, in the Himgiri pargana of Chamba, which may be assigned to the ninth or tenth century A.D.54

The name Thakur means 'Lord'. In ancient period when might was right, all the ancient rulers of the hills gave an impression that they were the Kshatriyas. Men of other communities who had strong personality and the qualities of leadership, might have conquered a tract of country and assumed or were given the title of Thakkura, later Thakur.

The Ranas and Thakurs exercised authority either as independent rulers or under the suzerainty of a paramount power. The territories of the Ranas and Thakurs were of very diminutive size and their boundaries were liable to constant change accordingly as each ruler gained ascendancy or yielded to a superior power.

As a result of the foundation of the Rajput principalities in the western Himalayas by the Rajput adventurers, the Apthakurai period came to an end sooner in some parts of the hills than in others. These Rajput adventurers either came direct from the plains or were cadets of one or other of the noble families which had already established themselves in the hills.56

The power of the Gurjara-Pratiharas declined in the later half of the tenth century. Their feudatory chiefs tried to fill in the vacuum and consequently the Rajput states rose to power in Rajputana and Ganges-Yamuna Doab.57 It is probable that some Rajput adventurers penetrated into
the foothills of the Himalayas, subdued the local petty chiefs, Ranas and Thakurs and established powerful principalities. These Rajput chiefs invited other Rajputs from the plains to join their forces against the local chiefs. Most of the hill states were founded before the eleventh century when the Turkish invasions of north India had started.

**The Early Turkish Invasions**

As we have noticed above, the hills of Himachal Pradesh were dotted over with numerous Rajput states which enjoyed varying degrees of Independence till the eve of the Turkish invasions. Some of the important hill states during the early medieval period were Bhimnagar (Kangra), Kulu, Bushahr, Hindur (Nalagarh), Kahlur (Bilaspur), Dhameri (Nurpur), Chamba, Mandi and Suket. Of these the most important was the Katoch Kingdom of Kangara (earlier a part of the Trigarta empire) which attracted the attention of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in the tenth century A.D.⁵⁸

Mahmud of Ghazni was a Turk Muslim and belonged to a different stock from that of the earliest Arab invaders of Sindh. He made seventeen raids in a short period of 32 years.

In 1008 A.D., Sultan Mahmud marched from Ghazni to fight against the confederacy of the Hindu states under the leadership of the Punjab ruler Anandpala. In a pitched battle that was fought near Waihind,⁶⁰ Mahmud routed the confederate forces and achieved a complete victory.

According to Al Utbi, the Sultan himself joined in the pursuit (of the defeated forces of the Hindushahi ruler, Anandpala) and went after them as far as the fort called Bhimnagar, which is very strong, situated on the promontory of a lofty hill, in the midst of impassable waters.⁶⁰ All accounts
agree that the fort of Kangra was famous for its strength and immense
treasure of precious jewels which were offered in the temple by the rich
devotees. It was thus the greed of Sultan Mahmud for acquiring the untold
treasure for which he could not resist the temptation of invading the Kangra
fort.

It appears that the fortress of Nagarkot was left without a garrison by
the Katoch ruler Jagdish Chandra and was occupied only by the Brahmins
and servants of the temple who surrendered without any resistance. Sultan
entered the fort along with Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Mohammed Farighuni, the
ruler of Juzjan and all his own private attendants. Two of his Chief
Chamberlains, Altuntash and Asightigin, were appointed to take charge of
the treasures of gold and silver and all valuable property, while he himself
took charge of the jewels. Mahmud also appointed one of his most reliable
servants to the charge of the fort of Kangra and property in it, on his
departure to Ghazni.

The recovery of Nagarkot by the Katoch Chiefs subsequent to Sultan
Mahmud's invasion is not recorded anywhere. According to traditional
accounts the Katoch rulers were able to regain Nagarkot (Kangra) during the
middle of the eleventh century with the help of the Tomar ruler of Delhi.

In A.D. 1051-52, Abdul Rashid, a son of Mahmud had captured the
fort of Kangra, but it was soon recovered by the Katoch rulers around 1060
A.D. after which for nearly 300 years, it remained in their possession.

Mohammed Ghori opened his series of conquest of India in 1175
A.D. He was the first Muslim who laid down the foundation of a permanent
Muslim rule in India. In 1192 A.D. he encountered the Rajput army under
Prithviraj Chauhan at the battle of Tarain  The defeat and death of the Chauhan ruler, however, led to the downfall of the Rajput Kingdom and establishment of the first Turkish dynasty in northern India.

The Sultnate Period

The Sultans of Slave dynasty (1206-90 A.D.) and Khalijis dynasty (1290-1320 A.D.) never paid much of a serious attention towards the Punjab hills, as against the plains of Punjab, which witnessed continuous onslaught by the Turks, and led to the immigration of many Rajput families to the Himachal which resulted in the foundation of many Rajput Kingdoms here.

We have several references to the penetration of rebel Turks in the Shiwalik hills during the reign of Razia and Balban. Among the Sultans of Tughlaq dynasty (1320- 1414 A.D.) Mohammed-bin-Tughlaq was the first to cherish a dream of conquering the neighbouring countries. One of his ambitious projects was the sending of an expedition against the hill chieftains of the Himalayas.

The mid-Himalaya expedition of Sultan Mohammed-bin- Tughlaq has been regarded as a part of the Nagarkot expedition which was led in the year 1338 A.D. The name Qarachil or Qarajil is found in several forms. Ferishta writes about it as 'Hemachul' and from the account of Ziauddin Barni, it appears that this project was a part of the proposed Khurasan expedition, which Sultan Mohammed Tughlaq wanted to bring under the dominion of Islam.

The Qarachil expedition seems to have been sent to complete the chain of fortification in the north for securing the northern frontiers of the empire. The conquest of Nagarkot, however, seems to be a part of the same
plan. According to Ibn Batuta, Qarachil was held by a powerful infidel rulers. He also identified 'Qarachil' with Kurmachal, the old name of Kumaon. It was a Rajput State in the Kumaon-Garhwal region or as Gardner Brown point out that it was the mid-Himalayan tract of Kulu in the Kangra district against which the expedition was sent.88

Almost all writers agree that a large army was deputed for the Qarachil expedition and Khusrau Malik69 was instructed to establish military posts at interval along the route through the mountains. These posts were to serve two objectives; facilitating the transport of provisions and serving as places of refuge in case of retreat. The royal troops captured Jidya (near Sirmaur) and the surrounding country at the foot of the Himalayas. After this, they sent a written message of their victory to the emperor. In turn, Mohammed-bin-Tughlaq sent a Qazi and a Khatib to them ordering them to remain there. But Khusrau Malik, however, transgressed the Sultan's orders. Flushed with preliminary victories, he took the whole of the army or a detached force across the mountains into the territory of Tibet. There, the army was overtaken by the rains followed by an outbreak of plague and thus panic seized the Tughlaq army. The mountaineers got an upper hand. They hurled blocks of stones from the mountain tops on to the retreating troops of Tughlaq army in the valley below and the military posts established to safeguard the retreat fell into disorder. It is stated that only a few survived, to speak about the disastrous result of this expedition.70

From the above account of the Qarachil expedition, it becomes clear that the consequences of this ill-judged expedition proved highly disastrous to the Sultan of Delhi. It appears that the Kangra Chief remained tributary to
the Tughlaq Sultan until the regime of Sultan Feroz Shah Tughlaq, when the Kangra ruler Rup Chand (1360-75 A.D.) repudiated his allegiance to the Sultan. This resulted in another attack in the fourteenth century to bring the Kangra Chief into submission.

To bring back the Rai of Kangra to submission Sultan Feroz Shah Tughlaq decided to undertake a military expedition to Nagarkot. For this purpose, he recruited a large army in 1360 A.D. and equipped it with several weapons of war. The arrival of the imperial army had alarmed the Rai who shut himself up in his fort, leaving his country to the mercy of the invaders who plundered it extensively. Thus they opened the siege of the fortress and closely invested it from every side. After a long siege of six months, the Katoch Chief, Rup Chand, was forced to surrender. Feroz Tughlaq forgave him and accepted the submission and gave the Rai an umbrella, an embroidered dress of honour besides many horses. At the request of the Rai of Nagarkot, the temple of Jwalamukhi, the special attraction of the Kingdom was spared. When Sultan Feroz Shah Tughlaq reached the site of the Jwalamukhi temple, he is stated to have summoned all the Rais, Zamindars and Ranas accompanying him and rebuked them for worshipping this idol. At first, the Sultan thought of burning the idol, but after the conclusion of peace with the Rai or Katoch Chief, the idea was given up. A library was attached to the temple which consisted of 1300 books. The Sultan, out of his deep love for learning took possession of these and had some of them translated into Persian by A'azz-ud-din Khalid Khani. The translation was named after the Sultan and called it 'Dalail-i-Firuz Shahi'.
Thus from the above account of the Nagarkot expedition, it becomes clear that this expedition had ended in triumph and it did not yield any advantage to the empire of Firoz Tughlaq except the submission of the Rai of Kangra, Rup Chand, who sent many presents to the Sultan.

In January 1399 A.D., Timur, after the sack of Delhi had come into Shiwalik hills and had devastated the country and captured and plundered Nagarkot. During Timur's invasion of India, Megha, the Katoch Chief was ruling over Kangra. It may be safely assumed that the effect of Timur's invasion over Kangra was not long lasting. After Timur's return, the Katoch rulers of Kangra remained almost independent.

We then hear of an expedition taken by Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517 A.D.) to Nagarkot or Kangra. He broke images of Hindu idols there and then the stones of broken idols were brought to Delhi and given to the butchers to be used as weights. Of course, his religious policy, if it can be described as anti-Hindu, might have created some problems in the hill areas as well.

**Himachal And The Mughal-Afghan Rulers**

Indeed, Himachal finds no further mention in any of the Muslim records till the reign of Sher Shah Suri (1540-45 A.D.). It is stated that Sher Shah had sent his general Khawas Khan to the Kangra hills, in order to bring the country under his subjugation. He sacked the temple of Devi Shankar, brought away the stone which the Hindus worshipped, together with a copper umbrella which was placed over it, and on which a date was engraved in Hindu characters, representing it to be two thousand years old. When the stone was sent to the Sultan, it was given over to the butchers to use as weight for weighing meat. From the copper umbrella, pots were made
and they were placed in masjids and also in the King's palace. After the conquest, the hill country seems to have been placed under the charge of Hamid Khan Kakar. But strangely enough, no other historian speaks of any siege of Kangra fort nor of any garrison having been left there. Thus, Kangra seems to remain in the hands of the local ruler, Dharm Chand.

We hear of Himachal Pradesh once again towards the end of the Sur period. When in 1555 A.D. Sikandar Shah Sur (a nephew of Sher Shah Suri) was defeated by the Mughals at Sarhind, he retreated into the Shiwalik hills around Nurpur and Kangra. Prince Akbar and Bairam Khan were sent to the Shiwalik hills to crush Sikandar Afghan. When Akbar reached at Kalanaur, he heard the news of the death of his father Humayun at Delhi. He was then raised to the throne as emperor in the town of Kalanaur by Bairam Khan, Commander-in-Chief, with the concurrence of the nobles. He then advanced into the hills. According to Abul Fazl, Dharm Chand, the Chief of Kangra, came to Nurpur (Dhameri), where Akbar had camped, and made his submission.

In 1557 A.D., Sikandar Shah Sur left his retreat in the hills and invaded Punjab. Akbar, therefore, set out for Lahore, to oppose the Sikandar Afghan. When he reached Jalandhar, Sikandar Sur fell back to the Shiwalik hills and sought refuge in the fort of Maukot. The Mughal forces seized the fort and hard pressed its garrison to surrender on terms as dictated by the besiegers. Sikandar Shah Sur had to send his son Abdur Rahman along with Ghazi Khan Sur as hostages to imperial court. He also sent with them several war elephants and various articles of tribute. On 24th May, 1557 A.D., the fort was surrendered by Sikandar Shah Sur and it was then put
under the charge of Abul Qasim. On 31st July, 1557, the Mughal army, after a stay of six month, left the Shiwalik hills for Lahore, in order that they might proceed to Agra after having arranged the affairs of the Punjab.80

The Mughal forces during the reign of Akbar were not able to subjugate the Kangra fort fully and it was only during the period of his son and successor Jahangir that the fort was annexed to the Mughal empire. However, emperor Jahangir, from the very first, was determined to conquer the fort of Kangra and was successful in his efforts after a long siege of the fort in 1620 A.D. In his autobiography, the 'Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri',81 he proudly claims his success. From that time onward, however, till A.D. 1783 the fort continued to be held by the Mughals, under an officer of rank, with the title of Nawab. It is stated that in the beginning of Jahangir's reign there were 22 young princes from the Punjab hills, as hostages at the Mughal court.82

The period of resistance by Kangra rulers after the capture of the fort by Jahangir in A.D. 1620, is very confused and uncertain. But it seems clear that after the capture of the Kangra fort by Jahangir in 1620 A.D., the whole territory was annexed to the Mughal empire, only the jagir of Rajgiri was assigned to the royal family. With this Hari Chand, the ruler of Kangra was dissatisfied and broke into rebellion and apparently continued a guerrilla war, till he was captured and killed sometime in the year 1627 A.D. The guerrilla war was then taken up by Chander Bhan Chand (1627-1660 A.D.) who might have been previously associated with Hari Chand, and was prolonged for many years. He is said to have been finally captured during the reign of Aurangzeb, possibly about 1660 A.D. His brave struggle for the independence of his country still haunt the local people in the form of ballads
sung in his name. Chander Bhan is said to have built a fort near Nirwanah, east of Dharamsala. The ruin of his fort on the Chander Bhan hill (Chander Bhan Ka Tila) may still be seen. Chander Bhan was succeeded by his son Vijay Ram Chand in 1660 A.D.\textsuperscript{83}

Vijay Ram Chand, the new ruler, was summoned by emperor Aurangzeb and on his refusal to appear at the Mughal court, the rajtilak was conferred on his brother, Udai Ram, along with the jagir of Rajgiri and five other taluqas, viz., Nadaun, Palampur, Mahal Sarai, Jaisukh and Malhar. During the reign of Udai Ram, the guerrilla warfare had ceased and the Raja had quietly settled down as a tributary of the Mughals. After the death of Udai Ram in 1690 A.D., his son Bhim Chand was recognized as his successor by Aurangzeb.\textsuperscript{84}

During the reign of Aurangzeb, the fort of Kangra was successively put under the charge of Sayyid Husain Khan, Hasan Abdulla Khan Pathan and Nawab Sayyid Khalil Ullah Khan. Their rule was probably marked by the same intolerant bigotry which distinguished Aurangzeb's governors in other places, as in Multan, Mathura, Gwalior and Banaras, where the Hindu temples were destroyed to make way for the mosques. The last governor of Kangra fort was Nawab Saif Ali Khan who was appointed in 1743 A.D. and on his death in 1774 A.D., the fort was surrendered by his son, Zulfikar Khan to Jai Singh Kanhia,\textsuperscript{85} the Sikh Chieftain. The fort of Kangra remained in possession of the Kanhia Sardar at least till 1787 A.D., when finally Jai Singh Kanhia was defeated by Sansar Chand and his allies. Jai Singh Kanhia vacated the fort and it was occupied by its legitimate owner, the Katoch Chief Sansar Chand\textsuperscript{88} by whom it was lost to Ranjit Singh in 1809 A.D.
Chamba And The Mughals

Prior to the sixteenth century, no evidence is available regarding the Muslim penetration into the state of Chamba. It seems that Chamba enjoyed complete independence during the entire pre-Mughal period. Even prior to Akbar’s invasion of Kangra, there is hardly any evidence of Muslim pressure which may have led to any danger to the freedom of this state.

It is stated that after the capture of Kangra fort, Akbar deputed his finance minister, Raja Todar Mal to create an Imperial demense in Kangra by confiscating territories from the various adjoining states of the Kangra group. After annexing a large part of Kangra valley, a similar demand on each of the other states, proportionate to their means, was made by Raja Todar Mal. Chamba was thus compelled to surrender Rihlu and all the territory extending towards the east of that province, which included two other small districts of Chari and Gharoh. From now onwards, Chamba remained subjected to the Mughal empire, and its ruler Pratap Singh Varman (1559-86 A.D.), a contemporary of emperor Akbar, continued to remain loyal to the Mughal officer appointed in the hills.87

The second phase of the Chamba-Mughal relations began with the rule of Emperor Jahangir. In 1618 A.D. Raja Suraj Mal of Nurpur rebelled against the Mughals, because he disliked the extension of Mughal influence so close to his patrimony. Jahangir deputed Raja Bikramajit with reinforcements to suppress the rebellion and reduce the Kangra fort. Before any action could be initiated against the rebel chief, he fled through Pathankot to the strong fort of Mau in the Nurpur hills. Raja Bikramajit, at the head of the Mughal forces, soon reached the place and laid siege to the fort.
The siege lasted for some time after which Suraj Mal was forced to vacate the fort and flee towards the Nurpur fort, which was built by his father Raja Basu. The fort of Mau was captured by Bikramajit and he now pursued the fugitive chief Suraj Mal. The latter was compelled to leave Nurpur and seek shelter in the fort of Taragarh (on the hill near Chamba-Nurpur frontier), which belonged to the Raja of Chamba. After a long siege, Raja Suraj Mal was defeated and fled to Chamba, where he died and his entire property was surrendered to the Mughals by the Chamba chief. Bikramajit established his own thanas in the different forts of that area in order to keep peace.

After the conquest of Kangra fort in 1620 A.D., Jahangir visited Kangra in 1622 A.D. At that time the Raja of Chamba, Janardhan, laid down his offerings before the emperor Jahangir. Jahangir makes a special mention of it in his autobiography, the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.

Prithvi Singh (1641-1664 A.D.), the Chief of Chamba, was a contemporary of Shahjahan and he set to himself the task of consolidation and expansion of his state. It is stated that Prithvi Singh maintained very cordial relations with emperor Shahjahan during whose reign, he visited Delhi at least nine times. He was granted the jagir of Jaswan which remained attached to the state for ninety years, apart from the valuable presents he received from the emperor during his visits to Delhi. In his dispute with the Basohli chief Sangram Pal, regarding his claim over Bhalai, the Chamba chief Prithvi Singh was favoured and the dispute was settled in his favour in 1648 A.D.

Raja Chatar Singh (1664-90 A.D.), who succeeded Prithvi Singh over the throne of Chamba, was a contemporary of emperor Aurangzeb. In 1678
A.D., when Aurangzeb issued an order for the demolition of all the Hindu temples in the native states, Chatar Singh refused to obey the royal orders and instead directed that a gilt pinnacle be put on each of the temples in Chamba as a mark of defiance of the Mughal authority. At that time Mirza Obed Beg, the subedar of Punjab used to make incursions into the hills, and greatly annoyed the hill chiefs. This led to a confederation of the hill chiefs included Chatar Singh of Chamba, Raj Singh of Guler, Dhiraj Pal of Basohli and Kripal Deo of Jammu against Mirza Obed Beg, to counter his incursion into the hills. The Mughal subedar was defeated by the confederate forces and the hill chiefs were able to recover their lost territories.

Like Kangra, the Chamba rulers remained tributary to the Mughals since the period of emperor Akbar, but all accounts agree that the Mughal authority sat very lightly on them. On the whole, the Chamba chiefs received generous treatment from the Mughal rulers. The chiefs, however, had to acknowledge Mughal suzerainty by regular payment of nazrana or peshkash.

Sirmaur And The Mughals

As in case of Chamba and Kangra, the Mughal suzerainty also extended to Sirmour State where its rulers Raja Dharam Parkash (1538-70 A.D.), Raja Deep Parkash (1570-85 A.D.), Raja Bakhat Parkash (1585-1605 A.D.) and Raja Budhi Parkash (1605-1615 A.D.) are stated to have remained loyal to the Mughal emperors Akbar and Jahangir.

In 1621 A.D. Karam Parkash founded the new capital Nahan and the seat of government was changed from Kalsi to Nahan. Karam Parkash ruled upto 1630 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Mandhata Parkash, who was
a contemporary of emperor Shahjahan. The Sirmaur chief not only remained loyal to the emperor but even assisted the Mughal subedars in the various expeditions against the neighbouring Garhwal chiefs. As a reward for his services, the Sirmaur chief was conferred with many territories adjacent to his own dominions.92

During the period of emperor Aurangzeb, the Sirmaur's Raja Subhag Parkash (1647-59 A.D.) was instructed by Aurangzeb to intercept all correspondence between Sulaiman Shikoh, then at Srinagar (Garhwal) and his father Dara Shikoh.93 Through another firman, Subhag Parkash is directed to aid Raja Raj Rup (the Raja of Nurpur and son of Raja Jagat Singh), commander of the Mughal forces, against the zamindar of Srinagar (Garhwal).94 Garhwal was attacked and conquered by the Mughal forces. The Sirmaur chief was also conferred several territories, in addition to his own, as a reward for his services to the Mughals.95

Sirmaur's subordinate cordial relations with the Mughal emperors continued during the rule of the next Raja Budh or Bidhi Chand Parkash, son of Subhag Parkash. He also carried on small scale operations against the adjoining plains of Ambala district and hilly tract of Garhwal. He supplied the Begam Jahan Ara at Delhi with musk, wild pomegranates, jungle fowl and pheasant, receiving valuable khillats in return. Ice or snow was also sent to her, being stored at the foot of the hills in ice-pits and thence sent to Delhi in the hot weather.96 Budh or Bidhi Chand's son, Medni Parkash, also receiving recognition and a khillat from the emperor Aurangzeb. It was during the reign of Medni Parkash that Guru Govind Singh came to Paonta in the Sirmaur State and made it his residence.97
From various other imperial *firms*, issued from time to time, it seems certain that the Mughal domination over Sirmaur State continued till the death of emperor Aurangzeb and the State remained dependent on the Mughal court to check the encroachments on its territory by the adjoining Srinagar (Garhwal) rulers.

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 A.D., the Mughal Empire began to decline at a rapid pace and soon fell to pieces. The Mughal power in the hills, particularly after the death of the last governor, Nawab Saif Ali Khan in 1783, rapidly declined and hill chiefs took full advantage of the situation to assert their independence. But the rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at the close of the eighteenth century, led to defeats of the Punjab hill states and their annexation to Lahore Darbar. These states were ceded to the British finally in 1846 after the defeat of the Sikhs and this also led to an end of their domination in the hills.

Indeed, throughout the whole period of Mughal ascendancy, the hill Chiefs seem to have experienced liberal and even generous treatment. So long as they did not fail in their allegiance, they were left very much to themselves in the government of their principalities, and were allowed to wield the power and exercise the functions of independent rulers. For example, they built forts and waged war on one another, without any reference to, or interference from the emperor and sometimes even asked and received assistance in men and arms from the Mughal subedar. On his accession each chief had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor by the payment of a fee of investiture, after which he received a *sanad* or patent of installation, with a *khillat* from the imperial Darbar. The Hill Chiefs were
always addressed as *zamindar,* the title of raja being conferred only as a personal distinction. There seems to have been much friendly relation between them and the Imperial Court. Some of the chiefs gained for themselves so high a place in the favour of the emperors that they received mansab or military rank in the Imperial army and were advanced to important offices in the State.
Notes and References

1. The other meaning is also taken as 'Anchal' which means 'Lap'.


4. Skanda Parana, Kedara Khanda, Chapter 204/46-47/; See also Parmeshwaril Lal Gupta, *Numismatic History of Himachal Pradesh*, (Delhi, 1988), p. 3. In praising the glories of Himachal, the Skanda Parana says, "He who thinks on Himachal, though he should not behold him, is greater than he who performs all worship in Kashi, and he who thinks of Himachal shall have pardon for all sins and all things that die on Himachal, and all beings that in dying think of its snows are freed from sin. In a hundred ages of Gods I could not tell thee of the glories of Himachal. This was the road the raja took to heaven, where he went with his body. That Himachal where Siva lived and where Ganga falls from the foot of Vishnu like the slender thread of a lotus flower and where the Rishis worship and where the Siva lingas are numerous". See *Manasa Khanda* (a portion of *Skanda Purana*), edited by Gopal Dutt Pandey, Chapter 8, Shalokas, 30-42, (Varanasi, 1989), pp. 59-60; also see E.T. Atkinson, *The Himalayan Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Part I, (New Delhi, reprint 1973), pp. 307-08.


13. The *janapadas*, mostly named after the group of people or territorial units, retained their own cultural integrity in matters of customs, beliefs and dialects. There were territorial or ethnic units and some were monarchical. The majority, however, was republican in character and these were also called *Sangha janapadas* or *Ayudhajivi Sanghas* who worked under the elected or hereditary chiefs and their own assemblies. For details see L.P. Pandey, *Ancient Himachal: History, Religion and Culture*, Chapter III.


20. L.P. Pandey, *op.cit.*, p. 34.


31. M.C. Joshi, "Early History of Himachal Pradesh" in V.C. Ohri (ed.), *op. cit.* , pp. 2-3. This story, slightly changed, is also available in the drama *Mudra-rakshasa* of Visakhadatta. If these literary traditions have any historical basis, it may well be said that the hilly region of Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Garhwal formed a part of the Mauryan Kingdom from the very beginning.
42. L.P. Pandey, *op. cit.* , pp. 24-25.
55. The title was used in medieval records from the eighth to the thirteenth century. The *thakurs* and *rauts* thus did not possess a princely status and were possibly entitled as such only when they had fallen down from some royal status. Epigraphic evidence suggests that some Brahmana and Kshatriya families who were related to the royal families and could not succeed to the throne due to some reasons and were thus placed in a subordinate position, were entitled to such a status. V. Upadhyay, *Socio-Religious Condition of North India*, (Varanasi, 1964), pp. 52-53; see also M.S. Ahluwalia, *Muslim Expansion in Rajasthan*, (Delhi, 1978), pp. 34-36.


64. The contemporary chief of Kangra during its re- occupation is stated to be Padam Chand. see J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *op.cit.* , Vol. I, p. 123.


66. For example (1) The flight of Nizam-ul-Mulk Muhammad Junaidi and his followers in the Sirmur hills during the rule of Sultana Razia. (2) Flight of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud’s step brother Jalaluddin Masud Shah from his iqta of Sambhal to Santurgarh in the Sirmaur hills. (3) Flight of Qutlugh Khan and his officers to Santurgarh in 1256 A.D. It appears that these rebel Turks were given shelter by the local Ranas of Himachal. For details see Minhajuddin Siraj, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, Major H.G. Raverty, (tr.). Vol. I, (New Delhi reprint, 1970), pp. 641, 684, 704-06.


69. Khusrau Malik, the nephew of Muhammad Tughlaq was made the Commander of the expedition. Ferishta, *op.cit.* , Vol. I, p. 239.


72. Timur, *Tuzak-i-Timuri*, H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, (tr.), *op.cit.*, pp. 465-68.


75. Shaikh Rizkulla Mushtaki, *Wakiat-i-Mushtaki*, Elliot and Dowson, (tr.), *op.cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 544.


82. It was this time that the title of 'Mian' came into use. It is very difficult to say about its origin, but traditionally it is believed to have been conferred by Jahangir on these young princes. *Gazetteer of the Kangra District, Kangra 1883-84*, Part I, (New Delhi reprint, 1994), p. 37; also see J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *op.cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 73-74.


85. The head of Kanhia *misl* was Jai Singh, of Mouza Kanhia, 15 miles east of Lahore, which gave the misl the name it bears. For details see S.M. Latif, *History of The Punjab From the Remotest Antiquity to the Present Time*, (New Delhi, 1964), pp. 309-312; also see *Punjab District Gazetteers, Kangra District 1924-25*, *op.cit.*, pp. 67-69.


95. See for example firman dated 7th Zil-Hijjah, 3rd Reignal Year, issued by emperor Aurangzeb, through which the ilaqa of Kalankhar (near Dehradun) is conferred upon Raja Subhag Parkash. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.


In the rule of emperor Jahangir, Raja Jagat Singh enjoyed royal favours. He held a *mansab* of three thousand *zat* and two thousand *sawar*. In the time of Shahjahan (1646 A.D.) Jagat Singh, Raja of Nurpur, at the head of 14,000 Rajputs raised in his own country, conducted a most difficult but successful enterprise against the Uzbeks of Balkh and Badakshan. Again in the early part of the reign of Aurangzeb (1661 A.D.) the Raja Mandata, grandson of Jagat Singh, was deputed to the charge of Bamian and Ghorband on the western frontier of the Mughal empire (Mandata mansabdar of 2000 horses). In the days (1758 A.D.), Raja Ghamand Chand of Kangra was appointed by Ahmad Shah Durani to be Governor of the Jalandhar Doab and the hill country between the Satlej and Ravi. See Sayad Muhammad Latif, *History of Punjab*, (Calcutta, 1891), p. 301. also see J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *op.cit.*, p. 76 and 78.