



## KASHMIRI PANDITS: COURSE OF ADJUSTMENT WITH THE RULING ELITE

NITIN CHANDEL

RESEARCH SCHOLAR

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU

EMAIL. Nitinchandel19@gmail.com

Ph. No. 7780929094

Pin. Code. 180006

### ABSTRACT

*This paper is an attempt to describe the relation of the Dogras with the Kashmiri Pandit Community of Kashmir. The regional identity of Kashmir with the beginning of the Dogra rule had altered a lot over the period of time and the populace had adopted the ruling features of authority. Building Kashmir within their own framework became necessary for the Dogra rulers' means of preserving supremacy. In this Dogra domination, two actors, the British (externally) and the Kashmiri Hindus (internally), played a decisive part. Internally, the Kashmiri Pandits (also called as Pandits or Kashmiri Hindus) aided the Dogra kings in the administration of the Kashmir. The study displays the concerns of Kashmir Pandits with the Dogra rulers and how they amalgamated themselves with the political sway of the Dogras and through the process of adjustment and the apparatus of the new state, they occupied the monopoly of the State administration. A brief analysis of the religious concerns of Dogras with the Hindu minority of Kashmir exerting religious actions, approaches and common framework of worship had been portrayed with strong belief for religious advocacy. The study accentuated Dogras political and cultural alliance with the Kashmiri Pandits in supporting their rule by granting privileged access to them and later being benevolent to support the authority.*

**KEY WORDS:** - Dogras, Loyal class, Urban, Pandits, Dharmarth, identity and privileges.

### INTRODUCTION: -

The treaty of Amritsar made Maharaja Gulab Singh the first Dogra ruler of the state of Jammu and Kashmir comprises Jammu, Kashmir valley, Ladakh, the tribal areas of Goro, Hunza and the neighboring territories of Jammu<sup>1</sup>. It was on 9th November, 1846 A.D, that Gulab Singh entered Srinagar as its ruler. The Kashmiri Pandit extended a warm welcome to the Dogras. Even at that time the Prime- Minister was, a Kashmiri Pandit namely Pandit Tilak Chand Munshi and he had to make a space for the Emanabadi trader i.e., diwan Jwala Sahai who arranged the money which the Maharaja had undertaken to pay to the British in lieu of Kashmir, and it was natural that he and his followers rose very high in the estimation of Maharaja<sup>2</sup>.

Gulab Singh was quite acquainted with some dominated Kashmiri Pandits who monopolized the authority since the time when they had been vassals at the Lahore court. Sut Ram Razdan, a Kashmiri Pandit had been venerated by all the Hindus of the valley who had no less than sixty-five villages and portions of villages which were dispersed through fifteen parganas in the valley. These were held either directly by him or in his name by dependents and friends who had acquired their lands mostly without official sanctions. In addition he also had Rs 4500 worth of *Dharmarth* (revenue free religious endowment)<sup>3</sup>. Gulab Singh was familiar that the Kashmiri Pandits were highly advanced in education and more than seventy percent of their members were literate. By dint of their knowledge of Persian language, they succeeded in getting important jobs in the Lahore court as well as in other States. In the field of art, philosophy and literature, they had produced a galaxy of authors, scholars and saints<sup>4</sup>. Gulab Singh knows that Kashmiri Pandits were a minority in the valley, and their small number was trumped by their influence, due to their long tradition of literacy and so their indispensability to the administration of any regime in power in Kashmir. Recognizing this, Gulab Singh continued the Pandits in their dominance of the administrative machinery of the State, most particularly in the revenue department where an intimate knowledge of tax-gathering procedures was critical<sup>5</sup>. Besides this, Kashmiri Pandits were also proficient in Persian poetry, Pandit Raja Kaul Arzbeji was a great poet who wrote exquisite poetry in Persian, Pt. Hari Koul, Pt. Veda Lal Dhar, Pt. Badar Joo and others have also composed good verses in Persian<sup>6</sup>. Later on, a council was constituted in December, 1846 A.D, for the governance of the Punjab and Raja Pandit Dina Nath was made its president with the active support of the British. Pandit Ganga Ram named secretary general Diwan Pandit Ajudhya Prasad assisted Maharaja's *Fauj-i-Khas* who showed considerable skill in handling military affairs<sup>7</sup>. Similar was the case with Colonel Badri Nath and rose to the rank of a colonel. He was second in command to General Hari Singh Nalwa, when the latter wrested Peshawar from the Barakzais<sup>8</sup>. The socio-economic condition of the Kashmiris was highly deplorable when Gulab Singh took over the control of Kashmir. The resumption of Jagirs created a great deal of resentment amongst the Jagirdars. Representations were made to the British Government. A commission under an Englishman was sent to Kashmir to inquire into the allegations<sup>9</sup>. Pandit Raja Kak Dhar, who commanded a great deal of local influence, was able to ascertain the bonafides of the jagirdars and resumed the lands of those who had been newly granted these in Jagirs helped the Maharaja to tide over the difficulty and even succeeded in taking a favourable verdict from the commissioners. Pandit Raja Kak Dhar was appointed the governor of Kamraj, but after a short time he was placed in charge of the shawl department. He raised the income of this department from four lacs to twelve lacs of rupees<sup>10</sup>. Pandit Mahananda Joo Dhar was appointed first the governor of Kamraj and then as officer incharge of the Accounts Department and was later appointed the governor of Jammu<sup>11</sup>. The Dogra rulers required the expertise of the Kashmiri Pandits not only because they were co-religionists but also because they had, since the time of the Afghans, established their credentials as actual administrators, accomplished linguists and mid-level administrators. They delivered amenities in revenue administration; they collected taxes and supervised agricultural proceeds to the State<sup>12</sup>. From the Afghan reign onwards Kashmiri Pandits had already become proficient in Persian and by dint of their learning, they gains employment in courts, revenue etc. and they were so well entrenched in the administration that the Dogra rulers found it impossible to dislocate them<sup>13</sup>. The Kashmiri Pandit as Hindus sought to secure precedence in the administration and the government of the state had received considerable encouragement from the Dogra Hindu Identity<sup>14</sup>.

Many Kashmiri Pandits emigre have climbed to high posts in British India on account of their equipped wit and tact and when they came back to their inherent place, they boost their community in reforms and education<sup>15</sup>. Kashmiri Pandits who excelled in education and learning took all the posts of the government and occupied bulk of the jobs assigned by the Dogra rulers trusted Kashmiri Pandits rather than the Muslims

not only because they were fellow Hindus, but also because they fashioned the traditional administrative and accomplished class in Kashmir<sup>16</sup>. Dispensed to the task of revenue assignment and gathering, and generously rewarded for it, the Pandit minority in Kashmir rose in rank and wealth. The lower services comprising the *Patwari, shaqdar, Kardar* on the revenue and the *Lambardar, dum, thanadar* and *Mamladar* on the executive side were manned by locals particularly the Kashmiri Pandits. The entire administrative machine was run by the Hindus- the lower ranks by the Kashmiri Pandits and the upper by Punjabis and Dogras<sup>17</sup>.

### **KASHMIRI PANDITS UNDER MAHARAJA RANBIR SINGH**

Maharaja Ranbir Singh's rule (1857-85) in general reflected the unity, peace and the smooth-moving wheels of a well-organised and stable government. During his time, Kashmiri Pandits formed the bulk of government officials<sup>18</sup>. According to Colonel Torrens, who wrote in 1860 A.D describes, "*Kashmiri Pandits not only retained the religion of their Brahmin forefathers but also a high position among their compatriots. Thanks to superior education and fitness for business, he continues, they were largely employed by their successive conquerors and placed in post of trust*"<sup>19</sup>. Besides the revenue department in which they had established their traditional hold since time immemorial, the department of shawl industry also came to be monopolized by them. The Dagshawl Department that controlled the taxation and production of shawls was reorganized and brought firmly under the control of the State. The superintendent of the Shawl department was often a Kashmiri Pandit, Pandit Raja Kak Dhar hold this office till his death in 1866A.D<sup>20</sup>. The income of the State from 1846 to 1869 A.D was on an average seven lakhs of rupee per annum. The best shawls ever made in Kashmir were manufactured in the time of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, between the year 1865-72A.D. The export of shawls touched a new high- an average of 28 lakhs of rupees per annum<sup>21</sup>. According to an estimate in 1870-72, there were about 200 Kashmiri Pandits employed as inspectors in the Shawl departments.

**SOCIAL-DIVISIONS:** - During the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, another section of Kashmiri Pandits now made their appearance on the scene. These were the Kashmiri Pandits who had migrated to India during previous regimes now began coming back to Kashmir. But during the absence from their native land which extended over a period of more than a century, they had changed beyond recognition. Diwan Badri Nath belonged to the family of Raja Pandit Dina Nath and when he was appointed the Governor of Kashmir and along with him approached a numeral of Kashmiri Pandits. But socially they upheld a certain amount of remoteness from the local Kashmiri Pandits, though inter-marriage was adept to some extent and common customs were too followed<sup>22</sup>. They are entitled as *Buher* (or Bohra) and the *Purbi* (Purib). During pre-colonial spells these two groups struggled to proclaim their identity on the Kashmiri Pandits. The Dogra administration was partial only to the urban- mostly Hindus and some Muslim—elites. Kashmiri Pandits, *Sayyids* and *Pirzadas* were estimated to pay only one trak per kharwar of the extra four traks levied by the State, in cases where they cultivated the land as discounts to this loyal class. The urban elites controlled commerce and the state bureaucracy. They guaranteed smooth functioning, and successful operation of the Dogra administration.

**RELIGIOUS DIPLOMACY OF THE DOGRAS:** - The Dogras ushered a novel juncture in Kashmiri history, as they recognized its strategic and economic importance and considered Kashmir itself was an empire. Recreating the identity of Kashmir in their own image was the methodology they claimed

legitimacy. Gulab Singh endowed his rule with a framework of legitimacy drawn from Hinduism, though, for example, the revival of a law forbidding cow-slaughter that had been announced and then rescinded during the Sikh regime, the construction of temples throughout the State, and the establishment of institutions such as the Dharmarth. Making Kashmir “Hindu” became obligatory for the Dogra rulers’ means of maintaining supremacy<sup>23</sup>. In this Dogra predominance, two performers, the British (externally) and the Kashmiri Hindus (internally), played an essential role. Internally, the Kashmiri Pandits (also called as Pandits or Kashmiri Hindus) aided the Dogra kings in the administration of the Kashmir. In 1846, the Dogra ruler, Gulab Singh, inaugurated the *Dharmarth* (a religious and legal trust), for the protection of the Dogra Hindu kings and all his male heirs. Additional laws included banning cow-slaughter, expenditures on cow-sheds for cows and bullocks, and the allocation of funds for building lodgings for Hindu pilgrims in the city of Kashi and Banaras<sup>24</sup>. The political control over the valley of Kashmir by the Dogras Maharajas was matched by the extension of its sway of the Raghunathji’s temple and forms of worship associated with it by fostering together the vaishnavite ruler’s Rama cult with the Tantric Shaivite beliefs and shrines of Kashmiri Pandits. Ranbir Singh consecrated a shrine to the worship of Rama, from whom, according to Dogra tradition, the dynasty was descended. The Dogra Maharaja needed to substantiate their prerogative to legitimacy in Kashmir as Hindu rulers by associating with them its powerful Hindu minority, while the Kashmiri Pandit community was concerned to hold on to its privileged access to government employment. Ranbir Singh proceeded to patronize the worship of the Kashmiri Hindus, making allowances for some of their specific customs. Both funding from and regulations of the Dharmarth trust were applied to the principal Kashmiri Hindu shrines such as *Khair Bhawani*, *Shri Jawalaji* and *Sharkaji*. Maharaja Ranbir Singh comprehensively allowed the construction of new temples dedicated to Rama and Hanuman in the Kashmir valley besides reserved patronage and regulation of Tantric Shaivite shrines already in existence in Kashmir. The European scholar of Sanskrit, Dr. Buhler himself in his report mentioned, poetry, poetics, grammar, philosophy, mathematics, algebra and Euclid were the subjects taught in the Pathshala, and Pandit Gwash Lal Kaul adds, Vedas and Niyaya to the list. Pandit Gwasha Lal Kaul refers to one more Sanskrit Pathshala established by the Maharaja at Uttarbhani where instructions were imparted in the Vedas, Kavya Shastra (poetics) and Niyaya. The domain of painting also witnessed efforts at affiliating vaishnavite and Tantric Shaivite practices, drawing together Jammu and Kashmir<sup>25</sup>. Kashmiri Pandits highly cherished Khir Bhawani goddess, but it was only under the aegis of the Dogra Maharaja that a mahatmya<sup>26</sup> was first composed and an island temple built in her honour. Traditionally, the sophisticated and complex deity Siva Bhairava is the god par excellence in the valley but in the mahatmya of the goddess, the supreme god himself gives the goddess Khir Bhawani the mandate of protecting and guarding the Kashmiris<sup>27</sup>. Khir Bhavani’s mahatmya, Sri Sri Maharajni Pradhurbhava, written in Devanagari script is considered authoritative by all Kashmiri Pandits. Besides the patronage of Kashmiri shrines and deities, very gradually Maharaja Ranbir Singh also began to implant aspects of the Rama cult in the valley in order to associate Jammu and Kashmir within a common frame of worship. Firstly, the Dogra Maharaja erected temple *Gadadharji* dedicated to Hanuman and the *Ranbirswamiji* temple, both in Srinagar. Secondly, the celebrations of religious festivals honouring Rama, such as *RamaNaumi* (lord Rama’s birthday) and *Dussehra*, celebrating the lord Rama’s victory over the demon king Ravana. These festivals had never been celebrated in Kashmir before the Dogras but these pleasant festivals were welcomed by the local population. Thirdly, the composition of the mahatmya for *Khair Bhawani* provided Ranbir Singh with fresh occasion to superimpose the Rama cult on Kashmiri beliefs and to do so by enlisting the help of Kashmiri Pandits funded by the Dharmarth trust<sup>28</sup>.

Ranbir Singh endeavoured to establish Hindu lineage of their dynasty and his policy entrenched the idea of Kashmir as a region with an ancient tradition of Sanskrit learning, and foundation of the Raghunath temple at Jammu to which were attached a library (*pustakalya*) and a Sanskrit pathshala (college). He deputed several Kashmiri Pandits to acquire Sanskrit manuscripts for the library within the State and outside particularly Benaras and by the 1880s the library had become the largest repository of the Kashmiri Sanskrit texts anywhere in India. Maharaja had commissioned Pandit Sahib Ram, one of the foremost among Kashmirian Sanskrit Scholars, to prepare a descriptive survey of all pilgrimage centres (*tiratha*) of Kashmir. For this purpose a staff of scholars (*Pandits*) and scribes (*bhasha bhatta*) was placed at his disposal<sup>29</sup>. Moreover the Maharaja patronized the production of new commentaries and digests in various branches of Sanskrit literature and the translation of several texts of Hindi as well as Persian and Arabic texts into Sanskrit. Most of these activities including- collection, copying, collation and the production of commentaries and translations- were carried out by a massive staff of Kashmiri Pandits<sup>30</sup>. The religious concerns of Kashmiri Hindus were important to the Maharaja Pratap Singh also. Pratap Singh must have recognized the hierophany of a natural spring at Tulmul. He strengthened his political position by instituting social reforms and his sacral status by simultaneously constructing a marble temple at the pilgrimage centre of tulmul and commissioning the composition of the Mahatmya Sri Sri Maharajni Pradhurbhava<sup>31</sup>. It took about quarter of a century to politically utilize the rapidly increasing fame of the pilgrimage centre of *Khiri bhawani*<sup>32</sup>. The Dogras rulers portrayed their legitimacy from Hinduism, they engaged in endorsing and manipulating the scope of Hinduism scripturally and ritualistically. They re-established sacrosanct Hindu practices, constructed Hindu temples, expended on the maintenance of sacred Hindu monuments and structures and eliminated practices confrontational to religious Hindu sensibilities<sup>33</sup>. This religiously noteworthy and politically astute interchange not only imported the festivals of the Rama into the valley but also revitalized the ancient and mostly elapsed indigenous tantric Shaiva traditions through the cult of the developed goddess Khiri Bhavani<sup>34</sup>. By the time of Pratap Singh climbed the throne, the religious boundaries of the Hindu conviction amalgamated the province of Jammu and Kashmir in a state that not only had a Hindu ruler but that itself also had a distinctly Hindu identity<sup>35</sup>.

**INTRODUCTION OF LOYAL CLASS TO THE STATE:-** During the period of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the privilege position occupied by Kashmiri Pandits had enhanced considerably by bestowing greater authority and encouraged them to traffic in land. In 1862, Ranbir Singh introduced the system of *Zer-i-niaz chaks* (grants on easy terms of assessment) in an effort to extent cultivation to fallow lands in the valley because large tracts of land in Kashmir lay uncultivated until the early decades of the twentieth century. Besides the obvious merits in agrarian terms, the *chakdari* system was also a device for the Dogras to brace their alliance, political and cultural, with the Kashmiri Pandits<sup>36</sup>. In 1866-67, Ranbir Singh introduced yet another kind of chak in the valley, granted on even more favourable terms and known as the chak *hanudi* or *chaks* granted to Hindus on easy terms of revenue assessment. In 1880, the *chakdaris* were extended further to include a new category of *mukarrari chaks* under which a great deal of land was held when Wingate surveyed the valley in 1888. The *chakdari* system became an important mechanism for the Kashmiri Pandit community to acquire control over extensive tracts of land in the valley. *Chakdaris*, at the inception of the system, were granted through *pattas* (deed of grants/assignments) issued directly by the durbar, as a means of establishing and extended the latter authority over powerful political allies. In creating *chaks hanudi* and *mukarraris* assigned mostly to Hindus in the valley, the Dogras were quite clearly seeking to provide Kashmiri Pandits with a stake in supporting their rule. They abdicated voluntarily the supervision of the actual working of these grants in favour of the Pandit-dominated revenue department<sup>37</sup>. The Dogra State's policy of granting Hindus privileged access to Kashmiri revenues was not only confined to the Pandits alone.

In 1877, Ranbir Singh had created service grants in portions of the valley for members of his own caste of the Dogra Mian Rajputs. The objective was to encourage them to settle in Kashmir so that the Maharaja would have a certain body of his own people ready at hand in the event of any disturbances in the valley<sup>38</sup>. It was clear that the Dogra administration was attempting to create a class of men loyal to the State who, significantly were not drawn from the ranks of Kashmiris, most were Punjabis or Dogras alongside a prominent Kashmiri Pandits bureaucrats by granted chak lands<sup>39</sup>. Rights over land were held by the ruler and his assignees and on the other hand by zamindars. The term zamindars in Kashmir held a different meaning from other parts of the Indian subcontinent. In the valley the term denoted not an intermediary class of revenue collectors but the cultivators themselves. The Dogra State employed its own tax-gathering agency to collect the revenue directly from the cultivators.

This hierarchy begun at the village level with the accountant, the *patwari*, whose chief duty was to maintain records of the area of holding and revenue paying capacity of each villager. The entire revenue establishment, known as the *Daftar-i-Diwani*, was composed almost entirely of Kashmiri Pandits and was ultimately subordinate to the *Hakim-i-Ala* or Governor, who was often, if not always, a Kashmiri Pandit. However, this formality gradually lapsed and *diwans* (revenue ministers) and *wazir wazarats* in Kashmir made such grants under their own authority. These officials tended to be Kashmiri Pandits and so their sympathy towards their co-religionist in the consolidation of large landed estates in the valley<sup>40</sup>. The institution of *Jagirdari*, which was utilized by the Dogras in Kashmir in similar ways and for similar reasons as by the Mughals, Afghans, Sikhs before them to bolster the authority and prestige of the state while providing an efficient means of revenue collection, Jagirdars were mainly Dogra or Punjabi officials in high positions of government or Pandits at the higher levels of the revenue administration, most residing in the city of Srinagar. The chief Jagirdars rendering civil service to Maharaja included Pt. Kamal Bhan- chief Record keeper, Munshi Trilok chand- chief treasurer, Hakim Azim- chief physician, Lachman Pandit Dhar- governor of Kashmir, Wazir Ratnu Kotwal, and chief Toshkhana. Other important *jagirdars* of the Maharaja included Wazir Punoo, Wazir zorawoo, and Raja kakdhar, all in the service of the Dogra state<sup>41</sup>.

In 1872, Kashmiri Pandits had a population around 52,576 out of which 5572 were working as clerks. With the passage of time the local Pandits rose to high positions especially in the Revenue Department. No wonder therefore, in 1890 one finds all the positions of Revenue Department from village *Patwari* to *Wazir-i-Wazarat* being monopolized by the Kashmiri Pandits<sup>42</sup>. There were many Pandits who enjoyed significant positions in the Dogra government. Pandit Rajkak Dhar was the officer incharge of Daghshal, Raja Suraj Koul was revenue Minister for State Council, Pandit Radha Krishan Koul was Judicial Minister, Pandit Zanakak Dhar was Deputy Governor and Pandit Shivkak Dhar was *Wazir-i-Wazarat* of Kishtwar, Pandit Ramju Dhar was *Diwan-i-Mal*, Pandit Vidhlal Dhar, Raja Sir Daya Krishan Koul were private Secretaries to His Highness. Pandit Wasa Kak Dhar, Pandit Ram Joo Mattu and Pandit Parkash Joo Zutshi were *Wazir-i-Wazarats*. Diwan Badri Nath, Janki Prashad, Pandit Mamnohan Nath Koul and Mamnohan Lai held the posts of the Governor of Kashmir respectively. Sir Walter Lawrence was appointed the settlement officer, and under him worked a number of Kashmiri Pandits. These Pandits were deputed to such far-flung places as *Gilgit*, *Chelas Gupis*, *Iskardu*, and *Ladakh* for the purpose of effecting land settlement and assessment work. Some of these Pandits were abducted by the tribal's across the border and many more died on account of the rigours of an unsuitable climate. But finally a land settlement was effected<sup>43</sup>. In Muzaffarabad district, Pandit Mahananda joo Dhar prepared the assessment report. The assessment report prepared by a Kashmiri Pandit named Pandit Mahananda joo Dhar which is over known as *khewat-I-mahananda-joo*, and has been judicially recognized as a reliable document. It was by such sacrifices and sufferings that the Pandits

contributed to the consolidation and settlement of the state<sup>44</sup>. This service mentality is very old among the Pandits. As clerks and accountants, they have served the State throughout ages. During this period, English became the common language of correspondence throughout India and it began to be introduced in the government offices in Kashmir; Kashmiri Pandits were the first to learn it<sup>45</sup>. Kashmiri Pandits moved with the times and by their tremendous capacity for adaptability to adverse condition, they maintained their reputation for learning and penmanship, for enabling themselves to survive through their predicament. They achieved enviable proficiency in Persian when it became the official medium<sup>46</sup>.

**CONCLUSION:** - The brief assessment of this paper divulges that the Dogra Maharajas and the Kashmiri Pandits possessed the tool needed for shaping the ultimate sacred value, and through that value, solidify legitimacy and authority. The infusion occurred gradually, firstly by cooperating with the authority and secondly by the education they gripped in administration and lastly, in a religiously diplomatic manner by Dogras, i.e., by introducing a religious festival in honour of Rama, then by constructing Rama idols and shrines and finally by composing, with the help of the Pandits and bhasa bhatta and the mahatmya texts of a local goddess whose story could appropriate the Rama mythology to foster the Pandits closed to their affinity. The Dogras rulers played a momentous character in defining the religious landscape of the valley. The purpose for doing this was to gain religio-political authorization from the Kashmiri people particularly the Pandits. The Dogras were quite acquainted with the skills of Kashmiri Pandits and adding factor of co-religionists, they soon occupied high posts in Dogra administration. The Dogras dispensed top position to Pandits with a stake in supporting their rule and assistance in the bureaucracy. The natures of alliance between Dogras and Kashmiri Pandits during the early Dogra period were healthier and cooperative to large extent as the former needed cooperation to their authority and the latter wanted privileged ranks in the Dogras administration and in a true erudition both engaged in interdependence and identical in their stratagems.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Kaur,Ravinderjit, *Political Awakening in Kashmir*, New Delhi 2001, p.31.
2. Pannikar.K.M, *Founding of the Kashmir State*, p.134.
3. Rai.Mridhu, *Hindu rulers, Muslims subjects, Islam, Rights, and the History of Kashmir*, Delhi 2004, p.50.
4. Bamzai.P.N.K, *Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, Srinagar 2007, p.25.
5. Rai.Mridhu, *Hindu rulers, Muslims subjects*, p.50.
6. Kilam.J.L, *the History of Kashmiri Pandits*, Delhi 2003, p.223
7. Kilam.J.L, *The History of Kashmiri Pandits*, p.205.
8. Sharma.D.C, *Kashmir under Maharaja Ranjit Singh*, New Delhi 1984, p.97. Gulab Singh confronted few glitches of reconciliation and consolidation in Jammu and did not interfere with the traditional frames of social stratification, property relations and constraints of political control. The province of Kashmir, however, presented many difficulties of administrative rebuilding and consolidation. Almost the entire agricultural land of the province was grabbed by landlords and industry monopolised by private and official agencies. The provincial governors of the Afghans and later the Sikhs enforced heavy imposts and duties on agricultural harvest, industry and trade and a huge and cumbersome structure of village officials, revenue collectors, tax collectors, spies and Sepoys had grown upto feed on the population of the province. Gulab Singh resumed Most of the land grants, wrested away the monopolies in trade and commerce and

reimposed state control over the shawl and the silk industries in which indentured labour was employed. From Panikkar.K.M, *Founding of Kashmir State*, pp. 134-35.

9. Kilam.J.L, *The History of Kashmiri Pandits*, p.211.
10. Suri.Sat.Prakash, *The Dogras Rulers of Jammu and Kashmir*, p.33.
11. Kilam.J.L, *The History of Kashmiri Pandits*, p.211.
12. Zutshi.U.K, *Emergence of Political Awakening in Kashmir*, New Delhi 1986, p.52.
13. Khan.M.I, *History of Kashmir*, Srinagar 1978, p.4.
14. Kaur,Ravinderjit, *Political Awakening in Kashmir*, New Delhi 2001,p19.
15. Bazaz,P.N, *Inside Kashmir*, Srinagar 2002, p.202.
16. Koul, Anand, *The Kashmiri Pandits*, Delhi, 1991, p.19.
17. Bamzai.P.N.K, *Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, p.25.
18. Kilam.J.L, *The History of Kashmiri Pandits*, p.212.
19. Bamzai.P.N.K, *Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, p.380.
20. Palit.Major General.D.K, *Jammu and Kashmir Arms*, Dehradun, p.73.
21. Bamzai.P.N.K, *Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, p.239.
22. It is unquestionable that the Dogras brought Kashmir closer contact with the British India. The rulers displayed the princely state's fealty to the British in overt ways, with Maharaja Ranbir Singh providing troops to quell the revolt of 1857 in British India and Signing the commercial Treaty of 1870 with the British, which provided for the duty-free import of goods into the State through British India. This period also exhibited the peaceful period as Kashmiri Pandits had returned back to the valley as in early regime of Afghans they had migrated to northern parts of Indian sometimes economic factor and sometimes religious persecutions. From Sufi.G.M.D, *Kashir*, vol.II, p.794. Also See Kilam.J.L, *The History of Kashmiri Pandits*, p.212.
23. Zutshi, Chitralkha, *Op.cit*, p.47.
24. Rai.Mridhu, *Op.cit*, p.115.
25. Sufi.G.M.D, *Kashir: Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own*, New Delhi 1974 p.790.
26. *Mahatmyas are the Hindu sacred texts that narrate myths and legends of important dieties, eulogize the deity's pilgrimage centre and prescribe the rites to be observed by the pilgrims.*
27. Kaul.Gwasha.Lal, *Kashmir through Ages*, pp.142-3. Also See in, Timm.Jeffrey.Richard, *Hermeneutics of a Kashmiri Mahatmya, Text in Context*, by Madhu Bazaz.Wangu, New York 1992, p.153.
28. Rai.Mridhu, *Op.cit*, p.126.
29. Timm.Jeffrey.Richard, *Op.cit*, p.152-56.
30. Indra.Sengupta and Daud Ali, *Knowledge production, Pedagogy and institutions in Colonial India*, New York 2011, p.274.
31. Rao.Aparna, *The valley of Kashmir (The making and unmaking of a composite culture)*, New Delhi 2008, p.274.
32. Timm.Jeffrey.Richard, *Op.cit*, p.156.
33. Zutshi,Chitralkha, *Op.cit*, p.49.
34. Rao.Aparna, *Op.cit*, p.294.
35. Rai.Mridhu, *Op.cit*, p.126.



36. Rai.Mridhu, *Op.cit*, p.156.
37. Another nature of land grant that continued in the Dogra Period was the *maufi*, namely lands exempt from the payment of land revenue to the State. *Maufi* grants to Sayyid and Pandit families by erstwhile regimes remained intact in the early Dogra period. There were two kinds of *Maufi* grants in the Dogra period i.e., Religious *maufi* lands usually had religious institutions such as mosque, shrines, temples and maths and non- religious *maufis* were granted to persons for the construction of work for public use, such as bridges, wells and others. In many cases, chakdars had their chak lands enlisted as *maufis* and made huge sums of money on them. From Proceedings of the State Council of Jammu and Kashmir, 1898-1900, Jammu State Archives. Also See, Bamzai.P.N.K, *Socio-Economic History of Kashmir*, p.167.
38. A.Wingate, *A Preliminary Report of Settlement Operations in Kashmir and Jammu*, IOL. pp.27-28.
39. Rai.Mridhu, *Op.cit*, p.159-60.
40. Zutshi,Chitralkha, *Op.cit*, p.71.
41. Zutshi, Chitralkha, *Op.cit*, p.72.
42. Koul.Anand, *The Kashmiri Pandits*, Delhi, 1991, p.72.
43. Lawrence.Walter, *Op.cit*, p.422.
44. Kilam.J.L, *The History of Kashmiri Pandits*, p.216.
45. *Ibid*.
46. Bazaz,P.N, *The History of Struggle for freedom In Kashmir*,Srinagar,2002,p 283.