Early Tribes of Jammu Region: A Study of Cultural Ethnography

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Abstract: The study of the distribution of various tribes that inhabited the different parts of Jammu region from early to early medieval period shows that tribes such as Takkas, Druhyus, Kuyabs, Nagas, Khasas and Nadyals were migrated from other parts of India and settled in various parts of the region. With the passage of time they expanded their area of influence and were in constant conflict with each other for the occupation of land. Most of these tribes assimilated into the Brahmanical varna fold during early medieval time and due to which the various Rajput clans came into existence in Jammu region. Some of these were the aboriginal tribes of Kashmir, i.e., Nagas, Khasas, Pisacas, etc., migrated in these peripheral parts of Jammu region to save their socio-political structure from monarchical outrage. The Nilamata purana mentions some tribes are the Nagas, the Pisacas, the Darvas, the Abhisaras, the Khasas, the Madras, the Tanganas, the Mandavas, the Antagiris and the Bahagiris. Some of the important Naga deities of Kashmir found a prominent place in the hilly region of Jammu. The Vasuki's sons and their descendants settled their small villages and established their own small kingdoms in the valleys drained by the rivers Nitu, Toshi, Sewa and Ujh that flow around the Kailash Lake and Mount Kailash. The temples built in the memory of the same small snake kings are still visible around Suddhamahadeva and other parts of Jammu region. The population of the Gaddis and Gujjars were distributed in Doda, Bhadarwah and Bani areas of Jammu region. They were semi nomadic tribal people inhabiting the region.

Key Words: Tribes, Jammu Region, Madra, Nagas, Khasas.

The Rig Vedic hymns provides the earliest account of Aryan people and it suggests that their concept of territory was in a primitive form. Besides people there are only references to things which were important for their cattle, the chief source of their economy. So we find the references of rivers in the Rig Vedic verses, which provide pasture land and water to cattle. In the Mahabharata text certain verses presented the Madra people with evil character and used some derogatory remarks for their women. The stain on their character according to the epic writers was due to the tribal admixture of the Madra people and the non Brahmanical practices observed by them, which were uncommon among the members of Brahmanical society of those days. There were differences in the accepted practices and norms between the orthodox later Vedic eastern social system and liberal early Vedic outlook. The tribes mentioned in Nilamata are the Nagas, the Pisacas, the Darvas, the Abhisaras, the Khasas, the Madras, the Tanganas, the Mandavas, the Antagiris and the Bahagiris. The first two are described as occupying Kasmira, and the rest, the neighbouring countries.

Remains of early and mature Harappan culture have also been found on both sides of the Chandrabhaga river in the Jammu region, which shows that human settlements had been established in this area near the banks of rivers four to five thousand years ago and the founders of these settlements can be considered to be the original inhabitants of Jammu region. Different scholars have different opinions about the original inhabitants of Jammu region. Many scholars have considered the Nagas to be the original inhabitants of this region, while many are of the opinion that the Kirats were the tribes of this area. Like the Nagas, the pre-historic tribes such as Yaksha-Pisacha etc. also resided in this area.

The Republican states flourish long in the Panjab and the hilly areas near it but after getting a last stroke from the Gupta imperialism, almost all of them disappeared by the end of the fifth century CE. A few expressions, however, occurring in the Nilamata, suggest the existence of some republican elements in some parts of Kasmira, even after that period.

THE MADRAS

The Madras were an ancient kshatriya tribe known since the Vedic times. The early Vedic Samhitas do not mention this tribe but an ancient Vedic teacher, Madragara Saungayani is mentioned in the Vamsa Brahmana of the Samaveda. It was from him, Aupamanyava, the Kamboja, received the Vedic lore. From the name Madragara, scholars infer that Saungayani belonged to the Madra tribe and this supports the idea that the Madras were well versed in Vedic learning and some of them were given a respected position in the list of ancient teachers. This indicates that the Madras belonged to the Vedic culture before the age of the Brahmanas. The Madras were famous since the Vedic times for their knowledge of the Vedas. The Brihadaranyaka Upanisad says that the Madras were well versed in sacrificial studied. Their country Madra which finds mention in the Ashtadhhyayi, the Mahabhasya and the Jatakas, correspond to the modern Sialkot(ancient Sakala) and the surrounding regions between the Iravati and the Candrabhaga.

The evidence of the presence of the Madra tribe in Jammu region is the Puranic literature in which it is clearly mentioned that most of the area of Jammu region were ruled by the Madra clan. The time of composition of the Padma Purana probably seems to be the eighth century, at that time this tribe had settled in this area or they had got the control over this area. The main centre of the Madra tribe was the city of Sakala. One of its chief was the Salvahan, about whom it is said that he built a fort in the hills of Paumi in Jammu region around the tenth century. Historians consider the Madra Jana to be a later Vedic tribe, because the mention of their
Janapada is also found in the Mahabharata. From the study of various aspects of history, it seems that Madras were not only the inhabitants of Jammu region but they also ruled this region. The plain fertile tract below Jammu was in their possession. The Madras seem to have come to this region before the Shakas.

The Kambojas
The Kambojas were also among the early Vedic tribes. In the Vamsha Brahmana of the Samaveda, we find the earliest mention of Kamboja. In this Brahmana, a list of ancient Vedic teachers is given having the name of a Vedic teacher Kamboja Aupamanyava, that is, Kamboja, the son of Upamanyu. Another Vedic sage Andanaja received the Vedic learning from the Vedic teachers Samba, the son of Sarkarakṣa and Kamboja. In Vedic learning Kamboja was marked by some special pre-eminence. Both the teachers of Andanaja had received their own education in Vedic lore from the same sage, viz., Madragara Saungayani, whose name indicates that he belonged to the Madra people. There were a natural connection between the Madras and the Kambojas, as they were close neighbours in the north-western part of India. The Kambojas must have been a Vedic Indian people in early Vedic times and not Iranian as has been supposed by several scholars. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri points out that a place called Rajapura which lay to the south or south-east of Punach was the home of the Kambojas, as it is corroborated from a passage of the Mahabharata. The association of the Kambojas with the Gandharas enables us to identify this Rajapura with Rajapura of Hiuen Tsang. B.C Law agreed with H.C Ray Chaudhuri in identifying the Kamboja mahajanapada with Rajapura.

The Khasas
The historians are of one opinion in the answer to this question whether Khasa people are the original inhabitants of Jammu region or came from outside. They believe that the original habitat of the Khasas was East Central Asia and these people came to the Himalayan region about four thousand years ago from today crossing the mountains. They were from cold regions. So they settled at the foot of the mountains. The height of Khasas was long, the body was compact, the complexion was fair with sharp eyes. Their women were also tall, thin and beautiful. These some inertia and flexibility was often lacking in them. As soon as they entered the Jammu region, they snatched the settlements of the local people like Kirat, Koli etc. and drove the natives from their area. The Mahabharata gives a list of hill tribes including the Khasas, Darvas and Abhisaras. These tribes were powerful, fierce and ferocious. They had been defeated by the Bharatas.

Khasas are also mentioned many times in Kalhana’s Rajatarangini. Kalhana places the Khasas between the middle course of the river Vitasta in the west and Kastavata in the east occupying the south and west valleys of the Pir Pantsal range. The rulers of Rajapura are referred to as Khasa lords in the Rajatarangini and their soldiers as Khasas. In the Rajatarangini, it is mentioned that Tunga, a resident of the village of Badddivasa in Parnotsa, was the son of Bana, a Khasa. Baddivasa is identified with Budil, an early village settlement situated on a tributary of the Ans river, to the south of the Pir Panjal. Budil was a stronghold of the Khasa tribe. A route for Kashmir valley passed through Budil. A mountain pass over the territory of the Khasas has been named after Budil. It was once a much frequented mountain route for trekking Kashmir valley. Similarly, the mention of Khasa lord is made in relation with Bhagika, who ruled from the castle of Banasala (Banihal) is considered the abode of Khasas in the Rajatarangini. Bhiksachara was killed in this Khasa fortress. The description of the Khasa tribe in the Rajatarangini is shown to them being live outside the Kashmir Valley along with the Pir-Panchal mountain range. The region of Poonch and Rajouri were the main centres of the Khasas and from the hills of Udhampur to the entire Doda and Kishtwar, the Khasas had settlements. Even today, up to the river Jehlam and Ravi, which is the hilly region of Jammu is considered the abode of the Khasas.

Amongst the early tribes which settled in the region region of Kishtwar along the border of Kashmir valley in a semicircular shape from Chingam to Singpur was Khasa tribe. In the succeeding times they got assimilated in the Brahmanical social structure and obtained the title of the Thakur clan and became agriculturists. They also excelled in warfare. Kalhana has mentioned this area as Khashalya in Rajatarangini and has often spoken about the Thakurs of Chandra Bhaga. Later on it was named as Khasal or Khashal. Khasas were peace loving people and always extended a helping hand to the fugitives from Kashmir who came here as suppliants from time to time.

Nagas
India is the only country in the world inhabited by all the known families of living snakes. It possesses the largest number of their species with greatest variety of the generic types. It is implausible to think that the Indians borrowed the practice and ritual of serpent worship from outside. The Nikamata Purana informs us that the Nagas originally inhabited the valley of Kashmir called Satidesa. Afterwards, they were cohabited in the valley by the Pisacas and the descendants of Manu. The Nagas are associated with some Myth and legend. Sometimes they are represented as reptile Snakes and at another as human beings. Ancient Indian literature presents some references indicating the character of the Nagas as a people or tribe.

In the Nikamata Purana we find a reference of one Naga named Sadangula, who was exiled from the valley by the Naga king Nila for kidnapping the female consorts of men. He was allotted the mount Usikara and his protection by lord Vishnu in the land of Darva, bordering the Kashmir valley. In the Nikamata Purana, there occurs a long list containing names of the Nagas and reference to their worship on various occasions. Some names of the Naga are similar to those of the epic heroes, others probably seems to be of non-Aryan origin. It presents the Nagas as deities and as a people.

The settlements of Naga people is found in the Bhomag region lying east of Chandrabhaga river in the interiors of the Shiwalik hills. They have been migrated from Bhaderwah area and settled on the eastern bank of Chandrabhaga river. They were in direct
conflict with the Khasa tribe who have been settled on the western bank of Chandrabhaga river. The river defined their boundary and area of influence which is still in practice. There may be possibility that the Khasas were defeated and controlled by the Naga people as the earlier started offering prayers to the naga deities. These tribes were included into the brahmanical four folds in the passing times.

The Darvas and Abhisaras

The epic and the Purana literature mention the Darvas and Abhisaras as a Northern tribe along with the Suras, the Audambaras, the Kashmiras, the Daradas, the Trigartas etc. They were inhabitants of Darvabhaisara region. Darva is identified with the area of Jammu and Vallapura. While the region of Abhisara represents the geographical area between Chandrabhaga and Vitasta. Stein, while discussing the countries around Kashmir states that the territory of the Darvabhaisara lay between the river Vitasta and Chandrabhaga which included the hill states of Jammu to Punch. The collective expression Darvabhaisara indicates the name of one continuous territory.

The Abhisaras were the famous tribe who offered resistance to the Macedonian invader Alexander but later on accepter his suzerainty when he confirmed their rule over their land under the title of Satrap. The names of the neighbouring territories on the west and south of Kashmir valley have long ago been recognized in the names of their rulers, Arsakes and Abises. These names clearly represent ethnic appellations derived from Urasa (Ptolemy’s Ovapara) and Abhisara. Kashmir was protected from the Muhammadan conquest in the south by a belt of war-like Hindu hill-states. Kashmir had never been seriously threatened due to the presence of these hill-states. Talking about the rulers of these Hindu hill states, The Rajatarangini states that Nara and other merchants by setting up their own thrones ruled Darvabhaisara and the neighbouring regions. They were in possession of spotless horses and owned large number of villages.

In the Rajatarangini, it is mentioned that when the traditional customs related to the nagas were broken by the bodhisattva Nagarjuna and the nagas lost their oblations. Offended by this the Nagas set down excessive snow, every year to cause distress to the Buddhas. In harsh climatic conditions, the king of Kashmir Abhimanyu resided for six months in the cold season in Darvabhaisara and in other neighbouring regions. The Darvas and Abhisaras are mentioned as a combined name in various ethnographical lists, furnished by the Mahabharata, the Puranas and Brihatsamhita, along with other tribes belonging to the Panjab and the Madra land and no good- will in Darvabhaisara.

It was Wilson who first ascertained the position of their country. The available evidence gives us an idea that Darvabhaisara as a geographical term comprised the whole of the lower and middle hilly tract lying between the Vitasta and Chandrabhaga. The Chandrabhaga seems to mark the eastern limit of the territory. From the topographical point, it is clear that the hill-state of Rajapuri was included in Darvabhaisara as discussed in different literary sources.

In another passage of Rajatarangini Kalhana while discussing the pitiful life of Bhiksacara who left Kashmir to seek refuge in its neighbouring territories of Rajapuri and Darvabhaisara. He was denied refuge by Somapala in his dominion Rajapuri. Following which, Bhiksacara proceeded to Sulhari, a place in the Darvabhaisara. Citing this event, Kalhana concludes that there was no generosity in the Madra land and no good- will in Darvabhaisara.

During the rule of Utpalapida in Kashmir, Darvabsara was subject to Kashmir but Samkaravarman had to wage a war again to conquer this territory before he proceeds against Gujar of Gujarat, to the south of Bhimber. This ascertained the idea that Darvabhaisara regained its independence after the reign of Utpalapida. Lalitaditya Muktapida made his attendants Kings by granting them the area of Lohara and other territories including Darvabhaisara. He generally gave names to many new towns and structures founded by him. These were in some cases had in a Perfect Relations in keeping with the special occasions. When he took the leaf (parna) from a place, he named the place Parnotsa and a town was built there, which became famous in the later times.

It is undoubtedly the modern town of Punch called prunts by Kashmiris, a name given to a small hill state situated to the Southwest of the Pir-Panjal range. The territory of this hill state is mentioned under the name of Pun-nu- tso by Hiuen-tsang, who visited it on his way from Kashmir to Rajapuri and probably reached it by the Tosmaidan route. During the time he visited this place, it was directly subject to Kashmir. Subsequently the town appears to have been included in the hill district of Lohara. Hiuen Tsang’s reference in the first half of the seventh century proves that the name Parnotsa is older than the time of Lalitaditya and the town existed long before the rule of king Lalitaditya of Kashmir.

Alexander Cunningham's ancient geography has correctly identified Pun-nu-tso with Punch of Jammu region, but has not recognized in it the Parnotsa of the chronicle. The identity of the later name with Prunts was well known to the inhabitants of Srinagar. The town of Punch includes a large percentage of Kashmiris in the population of the town and territory of Prunts. This is evidently the result of the close political connection which has since old times existed between the latter and Kashmir. Parnotsa is frequently mentioned by Srivara in his account Rajatarangini.

King Samkaravarman of Kashmir, in order to gain wealth and fame led a foreign explanation outside Kashmir. Hearing the shouts of his army, the frightened lord of Darvabhaisara took refuge in the mountain-gorges. Darvabhaisara designates the territory of the lower Siwalik Hills of Jammu region stretching between the river Vitasta and Chenab to the north of Gurjara or Gujarat. It also denotes to a tract in the neighbourhood of Bhimbhar. King Samkaravarman fearing treachery slew the brave king of Darvabhaisara,
Naravaha, who cherished no evil intent, together with his followers against Samkaravarman. The king of Darvabhisara here mentioned in the Rajatarangini is probably identical with th'e Naravahana who figures as the son of the Darvabhisara king Nara in the pedigree of the Lohara family. 60 It is curious that the narrative does not explain how the king of Darvabhisara, who on Samkaravarman’s expedition to the south had retreated into the mountains, came to place himself in the king’s power. 61

Kirats
Along with the Khasas, Kirats also lived in this entire region. These people were very backward in civilization from the Khasas, so they were left far behind in the race of development. Many sub-castes of Kirat people such as Gain, Tehar, Nadiyal, Sarear today mainly live in the mountainous region. Their complexion was black, medium size stature with thin body. Their main occupation was drum-beating, pastoralism and agriculture. These people used to live on the flesh of dead animals. They were skilled in handicrafts and lived in small settlements. Many scholars also calculate the Dom caste of Jammu under the Kirat caste, but others has considered them to be related to the Damara clan. 62

Takka
Another important tribe among the tribes coming from outside in the Jammu region were the Tak. Huien Tsang, the Chinese traveller who was a contemporary of Harshavardhana also visited Takk country. He talks about the Takkas as a powerful tribe living near the Chenab, and were at one time the undisputed lords of the Punjab. 63 He has written the name of the city of Takka as Sakar. 64 Jagdish Chandra Sathe, the famous scholar of Jammu, is of the opinion that Takk was the name of an ancient caste settled in the upper reaches of the rivers of Punjab in 3rd-4th century. 65 Historian Sukhdev Singh Chadak is of the opinion that the Takks came to this region after the Gujjars. At present in Duggar, the people of Takka clan live in front of Akhunr region to the west of Chandra Bhaga and call themselves Takai and connect themselves with Takka Desh. 66 It seems that the area of Akhunr was either a part of Takka Desh or people of Tak tribe from Tak Desh migrated to Akhunr. Some historians have considered the present Takkars or Thakurs to be the descendants of the Takka caste. The Takkars or Thakurs currently inhabit the entire area of Jammu region but their main settlements are in the Shiwalik hills and the central Himalayan valleys. 67

Takhas have also been mentioned many times in Rajatarangini. Their country is first mentioned in the context of King Samkaravarman (883-920) of Kashmir. 68 Similarly, the mention of this clan is also found in the seventh and eighth book. 69 The language of the Tak people is described in Kavya Mimamsa and Prakrit-Chandrika. It is clear from these examples that the Takka caste became famous even before the tenth century. It was over the script of the Tak clan was named Takri. Even after the Tak clan, tribes continued to arrive in this area. The Takkaland (Takkadesa) is mentioned only once more in the Rajatarangini as Takkavisaya. As an ethnic designation, Takka is used in connection with the names of certain persons. These are Vulliya, Asidhara, Bimbiya and Laksmidhara, who were known from their ethnic designation as Takka. 70 Cunningham has rightly connected the name Takka with that of ‘the kingdom of Tseh-kia,’ which Huien- tsiang reached after traveling to the South-East of Rajapuri or Rajauri. The kingdom of Tseh-kia is ascribed as bordering in the east on the Vipasa (River Beas) and in the West on the Indus. Its capital was in close proximity to the old city of She-Kie-lo. The latter place is undoubtedly identical with the ancient Sakala, famous in Brahmanical and Buddhist tradition. Sakala is mentioned in the Mahabharata as the capital of the Madras or Bahikas, tribes settled in the modern Punjab and with the Bhika we find the Takkas actually identified in Hemacandra's synonymic lexicon. It is, however, probable that the ancient city was situated somewhere between the Chenab and Ravi, there we should then have to look for the seat of the 'Takka tribe, which in Huien- tsiang’s time appears to have ruled the greatest part of the Northern Punjab. 71 Towards the end of the 9th century its power must have been considerably reduced, as in our passage the term Takkadesa is evidently used in a far more restricted sense than Huien-tsiang’s kiongdom of Tseh-kia. Cunningham was evidently right in tracing back to our Takka 72 the name Takeshar which Alberuni gives to a region situated to the South of the Pir-Panjal Range and neighbouring on the region of Lauhawar (Lahore).

Durgar
This word has been used in the Chamba copper inscriptions of the eleventh century. The composition of these inscriptions is said to be between 1056 and 1066 CE. 73 These inscriptions belong to the reign of King Somavarman of Chamba. In these it is written praising the king of Chamba, Sahil Varma (920-940 AD), that this king defeated Dugareshwar (King of Duggar) who was assisted by the Keer and Smatik tribes in the battle. What was this Durgar tribe and where did it come from, this question became a matter of research for historians. Historians W.B. Cunningham and A.H. Bingley were of the opinion that Durgar was not the name of a tribe but the name of a particular area which was situated near Mansar and Sarausar lakes. The people of this area were called Durgars. 74 Both these historians have indicated that the evolved form of the word Durgar is Duggar or Dogra. 75 But linguists do not agree with this view. They says that from the point of view of linguistics, the word Duggar cannot develop from the word Durgar. Some of the linguists have considered the derivation of Duggar from Dwigart, some from Durgal, some from Durgrah etc. 76 Local historian Dharamchand Prashant is of the opinion that Duggar is derived from the word ‘Dungar’ from Rajasthani word for mountain.

When Rajasthan was attacked by Muslims, many Rajput tribes of Rajasthan migrated from Rajasthan and came towards the mountains in search of a safe place. They called this hilly region ‘Dungar’ in their language and the words Duggar and Dogra were formed from Dungar, in which the first word means hill region and the second one means the resident of a hill region. It is a historical fact that in the eleventh century many tribes from Rajasthan, Magadha and Maithili and Gaur (Bengal) migrated to this region. Before their arrival, the Rana system of governance was prevalent in this region. But somewhere the king’s rule system was

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also prevalent. The names of Babbapur, Ballapur, Kashtavata, Rajapuri, Nilpur and Purnotsa are found in the areas where the king's rule system was established before their arrival. These kingdoms were also very small and were under direct or indirect control of the kings of Kashmir till the first phase of the twelfth century. The monuments of these kings can be seen even today in Babbapur, Ballapur and Krimchi situated between the rivers Ravi and Chandrabhaga. The people of Rajput tribes coming from Rajasthan and outside gradually defeated these kings in war or by deceit and drove them away from this land. While migrating from here, they also took their historical records with them or the chieftains of the newly arrived tribes destroyed their history. Perhaps this is the reason why we do not have the history of the Duggars before the eleventh century. Only the Rajatarangini, the Nilamata Purana, the Vishnu Dharnaota Purana, the Vayu Purana, the Matsya Purana, the Vamana Purana are some such texts in which a blurred outline of the history of this region is found.

Gujars

This tribe was concentrated in the Siwalik foothills between river Jhelum and Chandrabhag in the land of Gurjara and Bhimber, bordering Rajapuri and Jammu. Their descendants still form the majority of population in this area and some of them have expanded their influence upto Punch. In Rajatarangini we find many references of Gurjara tribe. The name was probably a representation of the capital of their state Gurjar which is preserved in that of the modern town of Gujrat, situated in the Punjab plain about five miles from the Western bank of the Chenab. This evident identification is clearly indicated by Alexander Cunningham and has already been noted by Wilson. The name of the modern town is also used in an extended sense for the designation of the neighbouring territory, comprising the upper portion of the Doab between the Jhelum and Chenab Rivers to the foot of the Bhimbar hills. In this sense the term was well-known in Kashmir. It appears that the older name Gurjara had, at the tune of the events here related, a much wider territorial application represents subsequently as part of the Kingdom of Gurjara the Takkadesa, or land of the Takkas, which, as Hiuen-tsiang's account clearly indicates lay to the east of the Chenab. In explanation hereof, it will be sufficient to refer to the very numerous instances, both ancient and modern, in which Indian kingdoms were designated by the name of their capitals for the time being (comp., e.g., the use of the name Lahore for the whole Punjab in the reign of Ranjit Singh. The ruler of Gurjara ruled over both Takka desh and Gurjara, bordering Jammu. He gave up the territory of Takka desh to Samkaravarman of Kashmir in wake of the later's attack on the Siwalik Plains and saved his own country.

Panjsanis, Rotars and Ganwais

Panjsanis, a trading community from Punjab, came to Kishhtwar for trading purpose and settled here. Then they spread towards other parganas of this hill state. A few families of Panjsanis are still living in Wahankundla Palmar and Tund in Kishhtwar. Rotars and Ganwais were also among the early Aryans who lived in Kishhtwar. There was struggle for survival and supremacy between Rotars, Ganwais and Panjsanis. Ultimately Panjsanis came out successful. Ganwais, now Ganie, are found in Hatta village and Kishhtwar proper. Rotars originally Ganwais settled down below Zewar village, now Kishhtwar town. These clans were Rajputs who were commonly known as Thakurs. Their influx from Kashmir valley and subsequent conquest of Kishtwar is described by Shivaji Dhar in Tarikh Samkaravarman of Kashmir in wake of the latter’s attack on the Siwalik Plains and saved his own country.

Conclusion

Our study of the distribution of various tribes that inhabited the different parts of Jammu region from early to early medieval period shows that tribes such as Takkas, Druhyus, Kuyabs, Nagas, Khasas and Nadyals were migrated from other parts of India and settled in various parts of the region. With the passage of time they expanded their area of influence and were in constant conflict with each other for the occupation of land. Most of these tribes assimilated into the Brahanical varna fold during early medieval time and due to which the various Rajput clans came into existence in Jammu region.

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12. The scholar has visited this historical site situated on a hill top of Pouni In present Reasi District of Jammu Region.

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