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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Afghan Rule in Kashmir (1752–1819): Governance, Economy and Social Transformation

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ABSTRACT

The Afghan rule in Kashmir, which lasted for approximately 67 years in the eighteenth century, marked a significant phase in the political, administrative, socio-economic, and cultural transformation of the region. The emergence of the Afghans on the political scene of Kashmir was closely connected with the weakening of Mughal authority and the growing political instability within the province. Although some sections of the local population initially sought Afghan intervention in the hope of relief from the oppression and administrative difficulties of the later Mughal period, their arrival did not bring the anticipated respite and instead intensified the hardships experienced by various sections of Kashmiri society. The Afghan administration largely continued the institutional framework established by the Mughals, while introducing changes in certain offices, particularly those associated with revenue administration. During this period, Kashmir witnessed the appointment of numerous Afghan governors, while political developments in neighbouring regions, particularly Punjab, Lahore, and Sindh, significantly influenced the course of its political history. Heavy taxation, administrative exploitation, and the extraction of local resources placed considerable pressure on the valley's economy, while the non-Muslim population was particularly vulnerable to various forms of hardship, leading some inhabitants to migrate to neighbouring regions and leaving certain settlements sparsely populated. The economic and social consequences were also reflected in the decline of Kashmir's traditional arts and crafts, as many artisans were compelled to abandon their occupations to protect their livelihoods and security. At the administrative level, the Afghan rulers did not fundamentally restructure the Mughal system but largely retained its established mechanisms of governance, with modifications in selected provincial offices and revenue practices. At the same time, local elites played an important role in shaping the political conditions of the period and adapting to the changing balance of power.

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INTRODUCTION

The establishment of Afghan rule in Kashmir was closely connected with the political developments that followed the invasion of Hindustan by Nadir Shah in 1738-39. Nadir Shah had overthrown the last ruler of the Safavid dynasty, which had governed Persia for more than two centuries, and subsequently assumed the title of Shah of Persia. He ruled from 1736 to 1747 and undertook a number of military expeditions against territories bordering his kingdom. After successful campaigns in Mashhad, the Ottoman territories and Kandahar, he turned his attention towards the declining Mughal Empire, then ruled by Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719–1748). Following the conquest of Kandahar in 1738, Nadir Shah decided to invade the Mughal territories. Ghazni, Kabul, Peshawar, Sindh and Lahore were among the first important regions to come under the impact of the Persian advance. After defeating the Mughal forces at the Battle of Karnal, Nadir Shah restored Muhammad Shah to the Mughal throne, while retaining Kabul and Peshawar within the Persian Empire. He subsequently proceeded towards Khurasan.[1] During this time, the political situation in Kashmir also became more unstable. The internal disturbances and rebellions weakened the administration of the provinces and the subadar of Kashmir, Fakhr-ud-Daula failed to manage them. He was thus replaced by his son, Ati'ullah Khan, son of the previous subadar Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri. Ati'ullah Khan retreated to Lahore where he tried to retake Kashmir with the help of the Persian army. With the assistance of Nadir Shah's army, he was able to invade Kashmir and rule the province as representative of the Afsharid Empire. The khutba was read and coins were minted in the name of Nadir Shah. But his government faced a lot of opposition from the Kashmiris. Eventually the Persians were forced out of the valley with the help of Ati'ullah Khan and Abul Barkat Khan, and the province was once again under Mughal rule.

During the last period of Mughal rule in Kashmir, the administration was marred by serious defects and the conflicting wars between the native nobles. Anarchy was the province of the provincial administration as rival local elites vied for control of the administration and hindered the establishment of a stable order by successive subadars. Political enmity led to chronic administrative instability and uncertainty. One of the leading local nobles who were caught up in these political events was Mir Muqqim Kant who had been naib subadar in 1742. Mir Muqqim Kant asked Ahmad Shah Abdali to help him to oust Abul Qasim Khan from the administration of Kashmir and invited him to rule it on behalf of the Afghans. So, the Afghan occupation of Kashmir was not only a foreign military intrusion, but also was supported by the internal political divisions among the Kashmiri nobles. Following Nadir Shah's death in 1747, Ahmad Shah Abdali became the chief heir to his lands and declared himself Amir of Khurasan. He strengthened his position by making a number of military conquests. By 1749 Ghazni, Kabul, Lahore and Sindh had been conquered, and by 1750 Herat and 1751 Nishapur and Mashhad were added to the list. After the conquest of Lahore and Punjab, which were politically divided under Sikh and Rajput chiefs, Ahmad Shah Abdali wanted to regain his control over these areas. Then he turned his focus on Kashmir, and sent an expedition to Kashmir in 1752.Internal political disunity of Kashmir was one of the main reasons behind the Afghan conquest. In the waning days of Mughal rule a number of zamindars, representative of the Urdu speaking people, had gained significant power in the provincial administration and were able to manipulate the politics of the region to their own advantage. Some of the well-known personalities included Mir Muqqim Kant, Khawaja Zahir Didamari and Abul Qasim Khan.[2] Political instability and rebellions weakened Mughal control in Kashmir. Mir Muqim Kant and Zahir Didamari invited Ahmad Shah Abdali, whose forces defeated Abul Qasim Khan at Shopian in 1752, establishing Afghan rule, which lasted until 1819.[3]

Administrative Structure under the Afghans

The Afghan administration did not completely reorganise the existing Mughal administrative system. While some salient offices, mostly those related to revenue administration, were changed or new ones added, most of the institutions related to provincial governance were retained. Some offices changed their names as well. The Afghan rule brought changes such as the replacement of karguzar (naib subadar) with the term sahibkar. The subadar's office was the chief place of provincial government. Subadar was the chief official of the central government in Kashmir and he was mainly responsible for maintaining law and order in Kashmir and collecting and forwarding the revenues from various parganas to the imperial treasury. Occupiers of territory, suppressors of rebellions were often provincial governors. The Afghan administration was not as formal as the Mughals were and there was no definite term of service for sub-adars of Kashmir. Governors could be in place for a few months or for a number of years. Their expulsion more often than not was to be

related to their relations with the Afghan emperor, their political behavior, or to their revolts against the imperial rule or their complaints to the lower officials. For instance, Amir Khan Jawan Sher, whose body of soldiers was led by Subadar Khuram Khan, complained about the inefficiency and incompetence of Khuram Khan to the central authority. This resulted in Khuram Khan's replacement by Amir Khan Jawan Sher. But in the Kashmir, the political rebellion and imperial discontent played a special role in the ouster of Governors.

The length of the Afghan governorships was thus very different. Abdullah Khan Ishaq Aqsai was the first Afghan subadar who served for barely six months. He was succeeded by Khawaja Abdullah Khan Kabuli whose rule was for about four months and seven days. Likewise, Nur-ud-Din Khan, who was appointed as governor of Kashmir three times, ruled for three months for the first time. There were several other governors who served for only a few months. However, some governors ruled for much longer. Raja Sukh Jiwan Mal ruled Kashmir for almost eight and a half years. Amir Khan Jawan Sher ruled for about six and a half years, Haji Karim Dad, Sardar Abdullah Khan, Atta Muhammad Khan, and Wazir Muhammad Khan all reigned for seven years, eleven years, six years and seven years respectively. Therefore, the duration of the tenure of subadars in Afghanistan might be much shorter or longer than the duration as mentioned under Mughal administrative system.[4] Another significant difference between the Mughals and the Afghans in the administration was the selection of provincial ministers. During Mughal rule, the important provincial offices were mostly appointed by direct selection of the emperor. But under the Afghans, the subadar had a lot of authority to make appointments in his sub-district, such as the nazim or subadar, sahibkar, peshkar, diwan, qazi, qari, and other officers of his province.This practice dates back to the establishment of Afghan rule. After a few months, Ishaq Aqsai came back to Kabul and appointed Khawaja Abdullah Khan as his successor and Sukh Jiwan Mal as sahibkar to Kabul in 1752. Similarly, Sukh Jiwan Mal, once he became subadar, appointed Banday as sahibkar. He then appointed Mir Muqim Kant as his replacement, restored Hasan Banday to his position and eventually set him up to be killed, as he suspected that he was conspiring against him.

Kailash Dhar was the first Kashmiri Pandit to be nominated as sahibkar by Khuram Khan. In the governorship of Karim Dad Khan, Mulla Gaffur Khan was appointed as sahibkar and Zia-ullah was appointed as qazi. Sahaj Ram also was appointed to significant provincial roles by Abdullah Khan. These are some of the examples of how powerful the Afghan subadars in particular are in the appointments at the provincial level.Often the governors' wide powers allowed them to appoint members of their own families to influential positions. For example, Juma Khan made his son Abdullah Khan qazi of Kashmir. After the death of his father, Rehmat-ullah Khan took over the governance of Kashmir as subadar and ruled it for three months and twelve days. In the same way, Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar ul Daula had his son Atta Muhammad Khan appointed as subadar of Kashmir. The wide authority given to the subadars also allowed them to change administrative institutions as they saw fit. Mir Hazar Khan, for instance, tried to do away with the office of diwan, which was important. This trend continued to increase over time and thereby bolstered the authority of the provincial governors and diminished their reliance on the centre at Kabul.[5]

Provincial Autonomy and Rebellions

The growing authority of the subadars frequently resulted in conflicts between the provincial administration and the Afghan imperial government. Several governors eventually attempted to separate Kashmir from Afghan authority and establish independent rule. Of the approximately twenty-six Afghan governors, eleven reportedly challenged Afghan authority after consolidating their position in Kashmir and either attempted to establish independent rule or sought political connections with neighbouring powers. Sukh Jiwan Mal was the first major Afghan governor to attempt to separate Kashmir from the Afghan Empire. Other governors, including Mir Faqir Kant, Amir Khan Jawan Sher, Azad Khan and Mir Hazar Khan, also attempted to distance Kashmir from Afghan control, although none succeeded in establishing a durable independent state.[6] The Afghans therefore did not introduce an entirely new political system in Kashmir. Instead, they retained much of the Mughal administrative framework while making several modifications, particularly in revenue administration. Among the new offices was that of the *peshkar*, whose principal responsibility was connected with revenue and customs. The peshkar also functioned as a personal assistant to the subadar. There was a distinction between the functions of the sahibkar and peshkar. The sahibkar assisted the governor primarily in matters of administration and law and order, whereas the peshkar was more directly associated with economic and revenue affairs. Nevertheless, the same individual could sometimes hold both offices. Sukh Jiwan Mal, for example, served simultaneously as sahibkar and peshkar under Abdullah Khan Kabuli. Mirza

Karim also held both offices in 1796, while Pandit Sahaj Ram served as sahibkar and peshkar in 1796. In certain cases, officials holding the position of peshkar also assumed additional administrative responsibilities. Harnam Das Tikku, for instance, simultaneously served as diwan and peshkar. Pandit Sahaj Ram, who had been appointed sahibkar and peshkar in 1795, subsequently received additional responsibility for the diwani in 1806.[7] The offices of *shiqdar* and *sazawal* also became increasingly significant during Afghan rule. These officials were associated with the supervision of agricultural production and revenue collection. The shiqdar was responsible for monitoring standing crops and preventing cultivators from removing their produce before the assessment of revenue, while the sazawal supervised the activities of the shiqdar.These arrangements were intended to facilitate the efficient, rapid and maximum extraction of agricultural revenue and consequently placed considerable pressure upon the cultivators. Most of the other provincial offices continued to function in a manner broadly similar to the pre-Afghan period. One notable institution was the *tahwildar*, who was responsible for receiving and depositing revenue collected in both cash and kind.

Transformation of the Local Elite

The change in ruling dynasty also resulted in changes in the composition and political influence of Kashmir's local ruling elite. Before Mughal rule, political power had been exercised by families such as the Chaks, Magrays, Bhats, Rainas and Dars. These groups had played significant roles in the political history of Kashmir under the Shahmiri Sultans and the Chak rulers. Although a few groups, including the Dars, continued to retain some political influence during the early Mughal period, several older elite families gradually disappeared from the political arena. At the same time, new families such as the Maliks, Beighs and Dars began to acquire prominence within the Mughal administration. During the later Mughal period, families including the Kants, Beighs, Bandays and Dhars became particularly influential in the political affairs of Kashmir. Many of these families had migrated from Central Asian regions, including areas associated with present-day Tajikistan, during the period of Muslim rule and gradually established themselves in Kashmir. By the closing years of Mughal rule, these families had acquired sufficient political strength to influence provincial affairs according to their own interests. The Kants and Bandays, in particular, played a significant role in facilitating the establishment of Afghan rule. When Mir Muqqim Kant and Abdul Hasan Banday, both influential officials under the later Mughal administration, failed to obtain positions that they considered satisfactory under Qasim Khan, the last Mughal subadar, they turned against Mughal authority and encouraged Ahmad Shah Abdali to intervene in Kashmir.[8] Mir Muqqim Kant subsequently assisted, and in many respects guided, the first Afghan governor, Abdullah Khan Ishaq Aqsai, during the initial six months of Afghan rule. His role included helping the new administration establish itself and collect revenue from the population. These local elites continued to exert considerable influence during the early years of Afghan rule. They participated in the appointment and removal of governors and attempted to consolidate political authority in their own hands. In 1752, Sukh Jiwan Mal, who served as sahibkar, joined Abdul Hasan Banday in killing the second Afghan subadar, Abdullah Khan, along with his two sons. Sukh Jiwan Mal subsequently assumed the position of subadar, while Abdul Hasan Banday became sahibkar. This episode illustrates the considerable political influence exercised by local elites during the early decades of Afghan rule.[9]

The influence of these families, however, gradually declined. Sukh Jiwan Mal imprisoned Mir Muqqim Kant and Khawaja Abdul Hasan Banday in 1753 and restricted their interference in provincial affairs. Abdul Hasan Banday was eventually exiled from Kashmir and spent the remainder of his life in Kohistan, where he died. His death significantly reduced the political influence of the Banday family. The local elites frequently resisted Afghan governors and also competed among themselves for influential positions. Mir Muqqim Kant, for example, encouraged Sukh Jiwan Mal to dismiss and imprison Abdul Hasan Banday and subsequently acquire his position as sahibkar. Although Mir Muqqim Kant was later imprisoned during the governorship of Buland Khan Bamzai, he joined the camp of Nur-ud-Din Khan and assisted in removing Buland Khan. He subsequently regained the position of sahibkar under Nur-ud-Din Khan but was eventually killed during the same tenure because of his political intrigues. Following his death, members of his family attempted to preserve their political influence, but Afghan policies increasingly marginalised them. Mir Faqir-ullah Kant's eleven-month tenure as subadar represented the last major attempt by the family to preserve its political prominence. Thereafter, other groups increasingly occupied the influential positions previously controlled by the Kants and Bandays.[10]

Decline of Kashmir's Arts and Crafts

The Afghan policy of revenue extraction had serious consequences for Kashmir's traditional industries and crafts. Kashmir had possessed a long-established tradition of skilled craftsmanship, with Srinagar functioning as the principal centre of production. Other areas, including Anantnag, Sopore, Baramulla and Pulwama, also contributed to the region's industrial activity. During the winter months, when agricultural activities were restricted, many inhabitants engaged in handicrafts and other occupations to supplement their livelihoods. Important industries included shawl weaving, silk production and woollen cloth manufacturing. Among these, the shawl industry was particularly significant and had supported the economy of Kashmir since the Sultanate period. The development of Kashmir's handicraft tradition was closely connected with its historical contacts with Central Asia. During the rule of Sultan Qutb-ud-Din, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadani arrived in Kashmir in 1373–1389 along with a large number of followers, including skilled craftsmen and artisans. Their arrival contributed to the development of several new arts and crafts.[11]

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420–1470) greatly promoted Kashmir's handicrafts by attracting foreign artisans, training local craftsmen, and supporting overseas learning. His policies advanced silk, shawl and carpet weaving, glassmaking, papier-mâché, wood carving, papermaking and bookbinding, strengthening Kashmir as a major centre of handicrafts and art. The shawl industry became particularly prosperous, and Kashmiri shawls were exported beyond the valley.[12] Following the death of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, political and social disturbances contributed to a decline in these industries. However, the craft tradition was subsequently revived during the occupation of Kashmir by Mirza Haider Dughlat in 1540-1551. Although his period was marked by Shia-Sunni tensions, he continued to encourage the shawl industry and invited skilled craftsmen such as Nazuq Beigh of Khokhand to Kashmir. Nazuq Beigh is associated with the introduction of new designs in shawl production, including distinctive red and green motifs arranged in regular rows. These innovations increased the popularity of Kashmiri shawls outside the valley. Several varieties were subsequently produced, with *Jamawar* emerging as one of the finest forms. The Mughal conquest of Kashmir in 1586 further strengthened the shawl industry. From the beginning of Akbar's reign, Kashmiri shawls became highly valued luxury products within the Mughal court. Akbar reportedly referred to the finest shawls as *Parm-Narm*. The craftsmanship reached such a high level that some exceptionally fine shawls could be passed through an ordinary finger ring, leading to their later identification as "ring shawls." According to Abul Fazl, Akbar took particular interest in the organisation and development of the shawl industry. Mohibul Hassan has referred to the existence of approximately two thousand shawl factories during Akbar's reign. Later Mughal rulers also extended support to the industry. Bernier observed the considerable economic potential of the shawl trade, while increasing demand contributed to higher prices for finely produced shawls.[13]

Afghan Rule and Its Impact on the Kashmiri Shawl Industry

The shawl industry had already gained great popularity and international demand when Afghans took over Kashmir in 1752-53. Some new designs were invented by the rulers of Afghanistan such as floral designs which added to the artistic diversity and beauty of Kashmiri shawls. Afghan government economic measures, however, subjected the shawl artisans to a great hardship. Once they consolidated their power in the valley, Afghan rulers forced artisans and workers to pay heavy taxes and other levies and charges. The governors and officials of the revenue were more interested in increasing revenue, especially as soon as they were appointed the rulers could be put to the test and dismiss them without prior notice. For a few years, Raja Sukh Jiwan Mal had ruled Kashmir, but was not as popular as many other Afghan rulers were among Kashmiris. During his rule, a number of things happened—Brahmans from the valley came and settled in the valley. But his political standing was not consolidated. Ahmad Shah Abdali appointed Bamzai as his agent for his removal in 1762. Sukh Jiwan Mal was captured and brought to Lahore where he was then executed by order of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Later Nur-ud-Din went back to Kabul and left behind the administration of Kashmir in the hands of Buland Khan Bamzai. In 1764, he once again became governor. Under his rule two Kashmiri nobles were given high offices in the revenue and financial affairs. Initially, their relationship was cordial, but it soured over issues related to tax collection and eventually Mir Muqqim was killed. Kailash Dhar was believed to have been a part of the incident. On leaving Kashmir his uncle Nur-ud-Din named his nephew Jan Muhammad Khan as governor and too that became unpopular among the Kashmiris. Another governor was Faqirullah Khan who was accused of conversion of a large number of Hindus to Islam. Amir Khan Jawan Sher, however, who ruled Kashmir between 1772 and 1776, on the other hand, is remembered comparatively favourably. His constructive contribution was in building Amir Kadal and Sher Garhi palace in Srinagar.[14] Afghan rule severely weakened

Kashmir's economy through heavy taxation and exploitation, particularly under Karim Dad Khan.[15] The shawl industry suffered as weavers faced excessive taxes and low wages, causing many skilled craftsmen to leave. Despite this, Kashmiri shawls retained international demand and were exported widely.[16]

Afghan period was very detrimental in the field of traditional arts and crafts of Kashmir. While the shawl industry was still manufacturing extremely fine items and there was still a demand for it in the international market the artisans were being over taxed and over administered. The Dag Shawl system imposed a lot of economic constraints on the weavers. As a result of this, Kashmiri shawls got great reputation in other countries and the craftsmen behind it were extremely poor. As per contemporary accounts, Kashmiri shawls were still being sold in various markets of Europe and Asia, and the producers were getting a tiny share of the profit of their labour. In 1796, a visit was paid to this state by the Syrian scholar Syed Yahya of Baghdad, while Abdullah Khan Alkozai was the governor of Kashmir (1796-1805). He had visited some religious places in the valley, now he was ready to go back. Abdullah Khan gave him a Kashmiri shawl, which ended up in the hands of Napoleon. This episode is connected with the increasing popularity of Kashmiri shawls in Europe, particularly France. France was then the biggest market for Kashmiri shawls, and was known to be a significant share of the export.

The expansion of international demand demonstrated the continued excellence of Kashmiri craftsmanship. However, the economic benefits generated by this growing market did not proportionately reach the artisans because of the heavy revenue demands imposed by the Afghan administration. Atta Muhammad Khan, who governed Kashmir from 1807 to 1813, also contributed to social tensions through his policies, which reportedly affected both Shias and Brahmans. Historical accounts mention an elderly woman named Koshib, who is described as having acted as his agent and becoming a source of fear among the Brahman community. Accounts from the period also describe humiliating practices directed against members of the Pandit community. According to Moorcroft, the total value of shawl goods manufactured in Kashmir during Afghan rule amounted to approximately thirty-five lakh rupees annually. During the subsequent Sikh period, this amount reportedly declined to about half. This comparison demonstrates the considerable economic importance of the shawl industry during the Afghan period while simultaneously highlighting the adverse effects of administrative exploitation and changing political circumstances. Thus, although Afghan rule did not destroy the international reputation or artistic excellence of Kashmiri shawls, excessive taxation, revenue extraction and official interference placed a severe burden on the artisans and contributed significantly to the deterioration of their economic and social conditions.

End of Afghan Rule

The final Afghan governor of Kashmir was Jabar Khan, who assumed authority in 1819. His tenure lasted only about four months. During the same year, the forces of Maharaja Ranjit Singh defeated the Afghan army and brought Kashmir under Sikh rule. The downfall of Afghan authority was facilitated by the widespread dissatisfaction that had developed among different sections of Kashmiri society. Excessive taxation, revenue extraction, political instability, social oppression and religious tensions had weakened the legitimacy of Afghan rule. The invitation extended earlier by Kashmiri nobles to Ahmad Shah Abdali, which had initially been intended to replace the declining Mughal administration, ultimately resulted in a political order that many Kashmiris came to regard as oppressive. Thus, the Afghan period of Kashmir's history, lasting approximately sixty-seven years from 1752 to 1819, represents a complex phase marked by both administrative continuity and significant political transformation. The Afghans retained much of the Mughal administrative structure but strengthened the authority of provincial governors and introduced additional mechanisms for revenue extraction. The growing autonomy of the subadars, competition among local elites and repeated conflicts between provincial and imperial authorities produced considerable political instability.[17]

Economically, the period was characterised by heavy taxation and the transfer of a substantial portion of Kashmir's resources to the Afghan imperial centre. The pressure placed upon cultivators, traders and artisans weakened the local economy. The shawl industry, despite maintaining its international reputation and producing new designs, suffered considerably under the *Dag Shawl* system and other revenue practices.[18] Socially, Afghan rule witnessed periods of communal and sectarian tension, particularly between Hindus and Muslims and between Shia and Sunni communities. At the same time, the period witnessed an important transformation in the composition of the political elite, with Kashmiri Pandits gradually acquiring influential

administrative positions. By the end of Afghan rule, they had emerged as a significant political group and subsequently played important roles during the Sikh and Dogra periods. Afghan rule left a deep imprint on the political, economic and social history of Kashmir. Although individual governors differed considerably in their administrative policies and a few undertook constructive measures, the broader character of the period was shaped by political instability, fiscal exploitation, social hardship and the extraction of Kashmir's resources. These conditions ultimately contributed to the weakening of Afghan authority and facilitated the transfer of Kashmir to Sikh rule in 1819.

CONCLUSION

Afghan rule in Kashmir from 1752 to 1819 marked a significant phase of political, administrative, economic, and social transformation. Its establishment was facilitated by the decline of Mughal authority and rivalries among local Kashmiri elites. The Afghans largely retained the Mughal administrative structure but strengthened the powers of provincial governors, resulting in considerable political instability. Local elites such as the Kants and Bandays initially played an important role in Afghan administration, while Kashmiri Pandits gradually gained greater prominence in provincial affairs. Economically, heavy taxation and revenue extraction placed severe pressure on cultivators, traders, and artisans, while a substantial portion of Kashmir's resources was transferred to the Afghan centre. The shawl industry, despite retaining its international reputation and artistic excellence, suffered from oppressive taxation and the *Dag Shawl* system, which adversely affected the livelihood of artisans. The period also witnessed social and religious tensions among different communities. These political, economic, and social hardships gradually weakened Afghan authority and increased public dissatisfaction. Ultimately, the cumulative effects of administrative instability, fiscal exploitation, and social tensions facilitated the defeat of Afghan forces by the Sikhs in 1819. Thus, Afghan rule left a lasting impact on Kashmir's political institutions, economy, social structure, local elite, and traditional industries.

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