

KASHMIR UNDER THE LOHARAS.

A.D. 1003-1171

By

K. Mohan.

(Krishna Mohan)

School of Oriental and African Studies.

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ABSTRACT.

This work is an attempt at the reconstruction of Social History of Kashmir under the Lohara dynasties 1003-1171.

Ch.I.

We start with a discussion of the importance of this period in the history of Kashmir following it up with the previous work done in the field. A discussion of the various sources utilized in this work and the limitation set to it conclude this chapter.

Ch.II. Part.1.

This section draws a picture of the general geography of ancient Kashmir and the adjoining hill territories. In this section we also say a new words on the people of Kashmir.

Ch.II. Part.II.

An attempt has been made to present the political history of the times of the Loharas and their relations with the adjoining hill states. In this connection our endeavour has been to analyse the data presented by the local Kashmirian sources and the researches of eminent modern scholars and wherever possible to fix the chronology.

Ch.III.

This chapter has three sections. The first deals with kingship--the king being the most important member of society, we have presented the theories of kingship existing in Kashmir and

the monarchy in actual practice. The king's relations with the ministers, the criteria for appointment to ministerial posts are discussed. It is followed by a section on the office held by various ministers and the local government.

Ch.IV.

This chapter deals with the various duties of government in connection with the administration of justice, revenue and arms on which depends the strength and stability of a kingdom. We have tried to analyse the various theories about these institutions as set forth by the ancient and medieval Indian theorists, the views of our local authors, and the system in actual working.

Ch.V.

We have tried to determine whether the social system in Kashmir may in any sense be termed feudal. It is seen that the term feudal in Kashmir as in India in general cannot be used in its strict connotation. The position of Dāmaras and Lavanyas along with various other elements of the system have been fully described and analysed.

Ch.VI.

This portion deals with various sections of Kashmir society as they existed in medieval Kashmir and their counterparts even at present existing in Kashmir. The position of women in society is analysed. This is followed up by education, food, dress and ornaments.

Ch.VII.

In this we depict the religious picture of Kashmir from the earliest times, giving the details of the material manifestation of the religious faiths of the Kashmir kings. Buddhism, Tantricism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and various ^{Sūrya} minor sects are dealt with in separate sections. We conclude that religious sects flourished in Kashmir with perfect toleration and equal reverence for each other.

Ch.VIII.

We shortly summarise the whole story depicted in all the above chapters. The Age of the Locharas, as we have stated, marked the zenith of Medieval Hindu Kashmir and with it passed its glory.

Appendices.

Five appendices dealing with Kalhaṇa's position, His impartiality, Historiography in Kashmir, The Khaśas, the race to which the rulers of Kashmir belonged and the analysis of the term Dāmara in medieval Kashmir have been added.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Ap. Dh. Sū.	Āpastambhā Dharma Sūtra
At. Br.	Ātreyīya Brāhmaṇa
Amāra.	Amarakoṣa
Ant. Chamba	Antiquities of Chamba
Arthasastra	Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra.
Arch. Survey	Archeological Survey of India Annual Report
As. Res.	Asiatic Researches.
Bh. Or. Res. Inst.	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Bṛhas.	Bṛhaspati Smṛti.
B.S.O.A.S.	Bulletine of the School of Oriental & African Studies
Cāru.	Cārucaryāśataka
C.I.I.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C.M.I.	Coins of Medieval India.
C.R.O.L.	Commonwealth Relations office Library.
C.V.	Cūlavamśa.
D.H.N.I.	Dynastic History of Northern India.
Ep Ind.	Epigraphia Indica.
Ency. Rel. Ethics.	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Essay.	Wilson's Essay on the Hindu History of Kashmir.
Firishta.	Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa.
Festgabe.	Festgabe zur Pūjakaumadi.
G. Insc.	Gupta Inscriptions.
His. Dh. Sh.	History of Dharmaśāstra.
H.M.H.I.	History of Medieval Hindu India.
H.I.	History of India as told by its own Historians.
Imp. Gaz.	Imperial Gazetteer.
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary.
I.H.C.	Indian Historical Congress.
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Ind. Alt.	Indian Alterthumskunde.
I.S.	Indische Studien.
J.D. or Letters.	Journal of the Department of Letters.

J.P.Hist.Soc.	Journal of the Punjab Historical Society.
J.N.S.	Journal of the Numismatic Society.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.BR.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Jonarājat.	Dvitiya Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Jonarāja.
K.M.	Kāvyamālā Series.
Kām.	Kāmandakīya Nītisāra.
kāt	Katyāyana.
K.S.S.	Kathāsaritsāgama.
K.S.T.S.	Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies.
Kuṭṭanī.	Kuṭṭanimatam Kāvyaṃ.
Kavī.	Kavīkaṇṭhābharāṇa.
Manu	Manu smṛti.
M.Bh.	Mahābhārata.
Matsya.	Matsya purāṇa.
Ms.	Manuscript.
Nār.	Nārada
N.Mālā.	Narma mālā.
Nilamata.	Nilamatapurāṇa.
Nītivākya.	Nītivākyaṃṛta.
Nīti.	Nītikalpataru.
P.Sāra.	Parmārthasāra.
P.W.	Petersburg Wortherbuch.
Q.J.M.S.	Quarterly Journal of the Mythical Society.
Rājat.	Rājatarāṅgiṇī.
Stein Rājat.	Stein's Tr. of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle of the kings of Kashmir.
Report.	Buhler's Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts. Extra No. of the Journal of the Bombay branch of the R.A.S.E. 1877.
Rāmā.	Rāmāyaṇa.
Sam. Māt.	Samayamātrikā.
S.B.E.	Sacred Books of the East.
S.B.H.	Sacred Books of the Hindus
S.S.S.	South Indian Inscriptions.

Śrīkaṇṭha.	Śrīkaṇṭhacarita.
Śrīvara.	Śrīvara's Rājāvalī
Śukra.	Śukranītisāra.
Suvṛtta.	Suvṛttatilaka.
Tab. Ak.	Tabquat-i-Akbarī.
T.A.	Tantrāloka.
Valley.	The Valley of Kashmir.
Vas.	Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra.
V.S.M.R.S.	Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor Religious Syst
Vikramāṅka.	Vikramāṅkadevacarita.
Viṣṇu.	Viṣṇu Dharmaśāstra.
Yāj.	Yājñavalkya.Smṛti.
V. Cintāmaṇi.	Vyavahāracintāmaṇi.
V. Māt.	Vyavahāra Mātrkā.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The main object of the present work is the study of the social history of Kashmir during the rule of Lohara kings A.D. 1003-1171. The Age of the Loharas marks the zenith of early Medieval Hindu Kashmir, at a time when the rest of India was passing through a great upheaval at the hands of the Muslim invaders Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and Mohammad Ghori; in Kashmir except for two references to the help sent to the Śāhi kings of Kabul and the unsuccessful attempts of Mahmud to enter the valley, there is no record of any conquest by these invaders.

The Loharas produced a number of able rulers who were not great conquerors like Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa (c 699-736) but maintained very good relations with Jālandhara, (Trigarta), Rājapurī (Rajauri), Campā (Chamba), Kāṣṭavāṭa (Kishtwar), Uraśā (Hazara), The Śāhis of Kabul and even the distant south.

Most of the existing institutions and the social types of Kashmir appeared during this period. From the accession of the Lohara dynasty in A.D. 1003, the Ḍāmaras (the landed aristocracy) attained such military power and political influence as to become an unending danger to the royal authority. King Harṣa's attempt to curb them cost him his throne and life. The succeeding

reigns down to the time of Kalhaṇa, provide an important and almost continuous record of struggle between the central authority and the Dāmaras, or between the various sections of the Dāmaras themselves. The last great king of the second Loahara dynasty-- Jayasiṃha, tried to win them over by cunning and shrewd diplomacy and recognition of their importance.

This period is the richest with regard to literary development. Kalhaṇa, 'the one historian of real merit in Sanskrit literature', wrote his Rājatarāṅgiṇī or 'River of Kings' during this period. The polymath Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa, Somadeva, Maṅkha, and Abhinavagupta all flourished during this period and have given us rich literature in different branches -- history, social satire, erotics, religion, fiction and folk tales.

It was during this period that Śaivism, with its particular philosophy of idealistic monism known as Trika, reached its highest development and produced teachers and writers of high calibre. Abhinavaguptācārya, the much revered Kashmirian philosopher and sage, was a contemporary of king Ananta of Kashmir (1029-64).

^a
Kashmir is the only region in the whole of India which has produced a historian of high renown. Kalhaṇa, the poet-historian wrote in the time of king Jayasimha of the second Lohara dynasty, in 1149-50. His history of Kashmir is the only one of its kind though Kashmir had from fairly early times a tradition of historical writing.

First mention of the Rājatarāṅginī, after the continuation or course by the later authors, was during the time of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. It is mentioned in the Aīn-i-Akbarī that people approached the emperor with a history of Kashmir written by Kalhaṇa paṇḍit. It was then translated into Persian and in 1664 the chronicle of which Bernier possessed a copy was a Persian compilation and not the Sanskrit text.

In 1805 Colebrooke secured in Calcutta an incomplete copy of the original version. In 1823, Moorcroft, on his visit to Kashmir, got a devanāgarī transcript prepared from a Śāradā manuscript. Wilson's researches in this field in 1825 led to his famous essay published in the Asiatic Researches. But as he did not have the full text, he could not do much. In 1835 the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal took up the work of the edition of the text. In 1840 A. Troyer of Calcutta Sanskrit College began the publication of the new edition of the text. In 1852 was completed a French translation which,

though containing valuable information on many points concerning the history, was full of errors.

In 1846 A. Cunningham paid an official visit to the Valley and this helped him to elucidate series of questions relating to chronology and numismatics. Prof. Lassen's analysis published in his Indian Alterthumskunde failed to extend materially the store of trustworthy data. In 1898 appeared J.C. Dutt's translation of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, but this too was defective in many respects owing to the defective manuscripts utilized by him.

The first great event in this field was the visit of G. Bühler in 1875. His Report and the most valuable suggestions revived European interest in the text; and by 1889 Stein paid his first visit to the Valley, and by 1889 he secured several manuscripts and took up the great task of editing the text which he completed in 1892. Stein did not leave his efforts at that, and brought forth a translation with introduction, comments and various appendices, thus making this valuable material available for historical and antiquarian study. This work proved valuable not only for the records of Kashmir's past but also of great value for the history of India in general.

In 1892 Durgaprāsād also completed his edition of the text which was much appreciated by Stein. In 1933, a literal translation of the text was made by the late Ranjit Sitāram Pandit. His appendices also throw new light in many respects.

Indological studies in the past have concentrated mainly on religion and political history. No sociological study of Early India on an exhaustive level has yet come to our notice, not to speak of such a study on Kashmir. Vol. IV and recently published Vol. V. of the lengthy and detailed History and Culture of the Indian Peoples cover the period under consideration but in writing the social history of the period the authors make only a passing references to Kashmir, the main source utilized being the Rājatarāṅginī.

The accounts of various travellers have mainly described the hills, lakes, snows and shades of Kashmir but hardly has any one ~~has~~ endeavoured to narrate its history or tell the story of what the valley has given to the world.¹ Dr. Sufi in his Kashmir has tried to present an up-to-date record of the history of Kashmir, but has confined his work to the more documented Muslim period, giving a bare sketch of Hindu history in a single chapter.

Hema chandra Ray's is a very good account. but, as the title of his work suggests, the aim of his volumes was to reconstruct the history of Northern India between c. A.D. 966-1196. from dynastic point of view only. The third volume, intended to deal with administrative, Social, Religious and literary history, monuments and coins etc. , has not so far appeared.

1. G.M.D.Sufi. Kashmir. Vol. I.

2. H.C.Ray. The Dynastic History of Northern India. 2. Vols.

Calcutta 1931.

beni Prasad in his State in Ancient India has given only a short sketch of the state order in Kashmir.

U.N.Ghoshal has published an analysis of Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, throwing light on the historian and his attitude towards various sections of Kashmir society in general.

S.C.Ray has published some articles on some of the aspects of the life in early Kashmir in some journals. Very recently this author has brought together his papers on this subject, together with additional material, to form a general cultural history of the whole pre-Muslim period. Though useful, this work contains little which has not already appeared. Several short articles on aspects of early Kashmir also exist, and are mentioned in our bibliography.

Thus there is much need for a work in this field based not only on the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, but also on other local sources which provide a rich field for historical research and help us in judging the authenticity of Kalhana's work.

This thesis does not claim to be an exhaustive study of every aspect of life and society in medieval Kashmir under the Lohara dynasties; several aspects need further specialized study. Thus we have omitted all consideration of art and architecture, our period being "the last and hitherto hardly

known phase of Kashmiri art in the 11th and 12th centuries".
We have no definite architectural remains of the period.
Probably the building work was mostly wooden and may have
have been burnt down in the numerous conflagrations recorded
by Kalhana.

Our efforts have been directed at providing a thorough
study of those aspects of culture which are essential for
obtaining an understanding of the Age. Despite the lack of
earlier works on the subject an attempt has been made to give
an objective survey based on the available authentic sources
as a contribution towards the understanding of the social life
of Northern India during the period under consideration.

SOURCES

For a study of the history, especially the social history and the institutions existing during the period we can safely draw upon literary sources not only of the contemporary period but also earlier.

Of the writers of the period itself by far the most important is unquestionably Kalhaṇa. Well versed in the Hindu Dharmaśāstra, Nītiśāstra and Epic lore, Kalhaṇa gives us detailed information about the working of the institutions of his time. The greatest value of the material supplied by his chronicle, lies in the fact that the author was the son of a minister, Lord of the Marches (Dvārapati) during the reign of ill-fated Harṣa of the first Lohara dynasty, and was himself closely connected with court circles. Therefore whatever he wrote was not based merely on the political theories that he had read in the text books, but on a thorough knowledge of the practical working of the institutions as they existed. Though for the earlier period Kalhaṇa wrote romance rather than history, we find admirable accuracy and fullness of detail when he approaches his own time. The first six books of the Rājatarāṅginī contain only 2645 verses while in the 7th and 8th books, the number of verses is 3449.

-
1. The question of the trustworthiness of Kalhaṇa's ~~work~~ record is considered in Appendix.II. pp.

The next great author whose writings we have utilized was the Kashmirian polymath Kṣemendra, who came of a line of ministers and stands in a class by himself among later Sanskrit writers. His comprehensive style, his clarity of expression, his power to use satire to the best advantage and his critical insight into literature have earned for him a place among the ¹ masters of Indian literary tradition.

Kṣemendra mentions the need of familiarity with the ways of the world (lokācāraparijñāna) and special didactic skill (upadeśaviśeṣokṣi) among the hundred pieces of sound advice to a budding poet in his Kavikanthābharana.² He himself shows these admirable qualities in no small measure in his didactic poems-- the Deśopadeśa, the Narmamālā, the Samayamātrkā, the Kalāvīlāsa, the Darpadalana, the Cārucaryāśataka, and the Sevya-sevakopadeśa. His satire on the bards and singers, goldsmiths, quacks, astrologers and venders of medicines and false Tantric gurus contained in these works, give a lucid picture of the then existing social types. In all his works Kṣemendra is true to his maxim, "the true poet like the sun with his rays of poetry reaching every region reveals in fresh colours the sentiments, feelings and emotions of all beings".³

1. Sūryakānta. Kṣemendra Studies. Introd. p.1.

2. Kavi. II. 6.

3. Ibid. 16.

Sūryakānta divides Kṣemendra's works into four divisions:

1. Poetical epitomes--Rāmāyanamañjarī or Rāmāyanakathāsāra, Bhāratamañjarī, Brhatkathāmañjarī, Daśāvatāracarita, and Baudhāvadānakalpalatā.
2. Didactic poems--Kalāvilāsa, Samayamātrkā, Cārucaryāśataka, Sevyasevakopadeśa, Darpadalana, Deśopadeśa, Narmanālā and Caturāvargasaṅgraha.
3. Poetics and metrics--Kavikanṭhābharana, Aucityavicāracarcā, and Sūvṛtātilaka.
4. Miscellaneous--Lokaparakāśakośa, Nītikalpataru and Vyāsāṣṭaka.

Of the above the works contained in the first division give us some idea of the condition of the Sanskrit epics in the time of Kṣemendra. The Daśāvatāracarita and the Baudhāvadānakalpalatā show the reverence in which Buddhism was held in the 11th and 12th centuries in Kashmir; otherwise these works are of little value for our purposes. We have chiefly utilized the following texts of Kṣemendra.

The Samayamātrkā was inspired in some degree by the work of Kṣemendra's predecessor Dāmodaragupta. In this work the hetaira-to-be, Kalāvatī, is introduced by a barber to an old courtesan, who proves an able instructress. In the second canto the barber gives an amusing and humorous account of the pawd's

wanderings in Kashmir, which provides valuable information on topography. In keeping with the science of erotics (kāmaśāstra) Kṣemendra describes with great skill the details of the incidents of the prostitute's life. In the last two cantos the heroine is able to dupe a young fool and his parents. Thus closing his work Kṣemendra lays bare the snares of courtesans and warns the youth to beware of them. He humorously applies his knowledge of the science of erotics to the existing social conditions of his age in an admirable manner.

The Kalāvilāsa is considered by critics to be Kṣemendra's best work. In ten sections he discourses of the various occupations and follies of mankind. In canto 1. the character of Mūladeva, the famous cheat is introduced. After dealing with greed, arrogance, the pitiable plight of those in love, and the deceitful nature of courtesans, Kṣemendra starts a satire on the kāyasthas, the lesser civil servants of the time. The unscrupulousness of their character is here exposed. This corroborates Kalhana's records on the rapacious behaviour of the kāyastha class narrated at so many places in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Canto VII gives a very interesting satire on the bards and singers. The next ridicules the goldsmiths. The last two cantos give advice

to young men, and indicate the means by which they can avoid falling into evil ways.

The Darpadalana is a long poem consisting of seven chapters intended to show the folly of pride, whether it is based on noble birth, wealth, knowledge, beauty, courage, generosity or asceticism. In each case Kṣemendra begins with a few generalizations appropriate to the cause of pride under consideration. He follows these up with a tale in which the leading character delivers a long didactic speech abounding in general maxims and observations. The Buddha appears in this rôle in the second canto and Śiva in the seventh, where ascetics are denounced as not being worthy of salvation because of their passions.

The Deśopadeśa describes in detail Kṣemendra's own observations on the customs and notorious characters of the day. He ridicules misers, courtesans, bawds and parasites. The sixth canto is a satire on the Gauda students who came to Kashmir to complete their studies. In the next an old man's marriage with a small girl is ridiculed.

The Narmamālā is a further satire on the officials (kāyasthas) and writers (diviras).

The Cārucaryāśataka is a short poem of one hundred verses which teaches law and polity--mainly drawn from Epics and purāṇas. The Sevyasevakopadeśa lays down the duties of master and servant.

The Caturvargasaṅgraha seeks to describe the four ends of human life--morality (dharma), practical life (artha), love (kāma), and release (mokṣa).

Kavikanthābharana, Aucityavicāracarcā, and Suvrttatilaka are treatises on making of a poet, literary criticism and metrics respectively.

Opinions are divided on the authorship of Lokaprakāśakośa of Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa. Bühler has identified him with our renowned author Kṣemendra. There is no denying the fact that in the form and content of the Lokaprakāśa as we find it today considerable alterations and additions have occurred. But in it we find exactly the same humorous descriptions of the origin of the kāyasthas and diviras as we find in the Narmanālā. From the general satirical bent of the whole text and the diversity of the subjects treated in it, we are thoroughly convinced that its author could not be any one else than our Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa. As it seems to have remained a compendium of official business even during the Muhammadan period, many interpolations have occurred in it. Thus Bühler is correct in identifying the author of Lokaprakāśa with the famous Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa, but Stein also pointed out that the "authorship of Kṣemendra (middle 11th century) can be admitted only for a small portion of the work. Additions to it have been made as late as the time of Shah-Jahan".²

1. cf. verse 15 of ch. 1. of N.Mālā with Lokaprakāśa IV. verses 2

2. Stein. Rājat. vol II. ³¹³ 376.

The Nilamatapurāṇa is an important work from the point of view of the history, legendary lore and topography of Kashmir. The work contains the 'doctrines of Nilanāga', the tutelary deity of Kashmir, which he imparted to the brāhmaṇa Candradeva. Most of the ceremonies and the festivals prescribed by Nīla are the usual brāhmaṇical and Purāṇic rites, but some are peculiar to Kashmir.

Kalhaṇa also drew on the Nilamatapurāṇa when reconstructing the history of the earlier period.¹ Beni Prasad refers to the expression Nilamatas or 'blue records' as reminding one of 'Blue Books'. He thinks that records of political and other happenings were regularly kept in Kashmir.² But if this was the case, such records could not have been kept in this form. The Nilamatapurāṇa gives us only the legendary history and mentions the festivals and rites that continued until Kalhaṇa's own time, while the regular historical records were kept by historians whose names have been ^{mentioned} by Kalhaṇa as his predecessors.

Winternitz thinks this Purāṇa to be several centuries earlier than Kalhaṇa's work.³ Bühler considers it not older than the 6th or 7th centuries of the Christian era.⁴ As we have shown elsewhere, it was in the time of the Kārkoṭa dynasty (8th cen.) that a regular tradition of historical writing seems to have started in Kashmir.⁵ It would seem, therefore, that it was during

1) Rājat. 1. 14
 2. Beni Prasad State in Ancient India. p. 419.
 3. Winternitz. History of Sanskrit literature. vol. I. p. 583.
 4. Bühler, Report pp 37. ff.
 5. Appendix. III. 451. ff.

this period that the teachings ascribed to Nīlanāga, the king of Kashmir Nāgas and tutelary deity of Kashmir, were also recorded by the brāhmaṇa Candradema -- to whom they are said to be revealed.

The Ocean of Story -- the Kathāsaritsāgara, is one of the largest collection of stories extant in the world. Its compiler was a brāhmaṇa named Somadeva. The whole work containing 22,000 verses--nearly twice as much as the Iliad and Odyssey put together was written for the amusement of Sūryamatī, wife of king Ananta of Lohara dynasty, at whose court Somadeva was poet. On the basis of Ananta's first and second retirement from the throne Somadeva's date is fixed at about 1070.¹ The history of Kashmir at this period is one of discontent, intrigue and despair.

We have used the Kathāsaritsāgara with the utmost caution. The chronology of the events and customs referred to is not certain while the locale is different with each story. But on an exhaustive study of the whole work, it is obvious that whatever may be the basis of these stories, the author, being a Kashmirian, could not help living in his own world. The book contains stories about witches, sorcerers and Gandharvas. Kalhaṇa also relates many such stories in connection with the early history of Kashmir. Whatever the origin of these beliefs, there is no denying the fact that Kalhaṇa has used them as historical facts. Relating the story of king Baka and a sorceress who sacri

(1) K.S.S. Penzer ed. Vol. I. Introduction pp xxxi - xxxii.

2. Rājat. I, 330-35.

ficed him to the "Circle of Mothers" (Mātrcakra) Kalhana tells us that the recollection of the story is kept alive in the math of Kherk (modern Khur). Thus we are inclined to believe that though these tales appear to be legendary and mythical and whether non-Aryan or Indian by origin, by Somadeva's and Kalhana's time they had become assimilated and taken a local form. The names of the flowers, the fruits and various customs and manners that Somadeva describes are purely Kashmirian and we find them also in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. So deeply is the author immersed in his own atmosphere that even the God of Death (Yama rāja) is said to write on birch bark (bhūrja), in place of the palm leaf usual in most parts of India.

The Vikramāṅkadevacarita is a poem of eighteen cantos which glorify king Vikramāditya VI. Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇa 1076-11. Though it deals with a king of Deccan its author was the Kashmiri Bilhana. The last canto contains some information about the author's homeland.

Material of a numismatic character, which plays such an important part in the history of the plains, is comparatively scanty in the hills. Though Kalhana also tells us that he made use of the coins while reconstructing the early history of Kashmir, we find that ancient coins, especially those of the period with which we are concerned, are very rare. Moreover, inscriptions on stone and copper plate title-deeds, which were even consulted by Kalhana while composing his chronicle, have almost all perished; as the purpose of all such inscriptions was mainly religious, it is no wonder that most of these were destroyed by Muhammedan iconoclasts, especially Sikander Shah.

In limiting the scope of this work to the Lohara dynasties we have in view the limitations natural to a single thesis. Such a chronological limitation, however, can only be applied rigidly in the case of political history. In an account of the working of the institutions we have often to go beyond these limits. Though the account of the rule of the Lohara kings is contained in the 7th and 8th cantos of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, we have utilized the earlier portions for supplementing the evidence available in the period under review. The institutions which reach their fuller development during this period have their origin much earlier. Moreover, Kalhaṇa belongs to this period and while describing the earlier conditions he often pauses to reflect and pass his own judgement, which ultimately represents his own Age.

To see our period in its proper perspective and to understand the working of its institutions, sources dealing with both earlier and later periods have been utilized. Thus Dāmodaragupta's Kuṭṭanīmatam and Ratnākara's Haraviṅṅaya have also been consulted. The later chronicles of Jonarāja, Śrīvara, Prājñabhaṭṭa and Śukṣa have similarly helped much in understanding conditions earlier than their own time. We have also utilized two Persian M.S.S. in the India office library.

Owing to the geographical position and the isolation resulting from it Kashmir has escaped those great ethnic and political changes which have from time to time swept over the

larger portion of India. As pointed out by Stein, "local tradition has remained undisturbed and still clings to all prominent sites with that tenacity which is characteristic of Alpine tracts all over the world". Some of the institutions of our period continued even until the time of the Mughal emperor Akbar, despite the fact that the Sultanate period (1310-1555) had intervened between this and the Hindu dynasties, and some features of early Kashmir are even noted by Lawrence in his "Valley of Kashmir"; hence we have utilized later material, with due caution, as throwing light on our period.

As Kashmir was then a purely Hindu State and our authors were well versed in the Dharmaśāstra and Smṛti literature, a very important contribution to the correct use and interpretation of the local material has been made by comparison with the contemporary theories and institutions in the rest of India. Thus we have tried to understand and interpret the trends in Kashmir society in the light of the Indian background and the sources which relate to the rest of India; because though geographically Kashmir enjoyed an isolated and independent position, it had close contacts with the rest of India as far as the South.

The accounts of the Chinese travellers Hsüan-Tsang and Su-Kóng, and that of the contemporary Muslim traveller Alberūnī, contained in his Kitab-ul-Hind, have also helped in understanding the position enjoyed by Kashmir in Indian literature, learning and religion. Marco-Polo, the Venetian traveller of the thirteenth century, also throws valuable historical light on Kashmir.

CHAPTER. II. Part. I.

ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY AND ADJOINING HILL TERRITORIES

By Kashmir we do not mean the modern Jammu and Kashmir State which stretches from the east of the Indus to the west of the Rāvī, but the valley of Kashmir which is about 84 miles long and 20 to 25 miles broad, lying between 33° to 33°_{35} N. and 74° to 75°_{25} E. It covers an area of 1,800 to 1,900 square miles and its height above sea-level is nowhere less than 5,000 feet. It is surrounded by an almost unbroken chain of mountain ranges which rise between 10,000 to 18,000 feet high. In the great mountain chain which encircles the valley, there is one narrow gap, near the north-west end, the gorge at Varāhamūla, the modern Baramūla - the ancient as well as the modern 'Gate' (Dvāra) to the valley.¹

Modern Jammu and Kashmir State is a creation of the British; and its birthdate is the treaty of Amritsar in 1846. Historically the territorial extent of the kingdom has always been confined to the great valley drained by the headwaters of the Vitastā, and to the inner slopes of the ring of mountains that surround it; excepting the occasional suzerainty of Kashmiri kings over the hill states.²

The Indus Valley, and the commercially important Gilgit area, although occasionally invaded by the kings of Kashmir and

1. This section is based on Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. II. pp.387 ff.

2. cf. L. Petech. Northern India According to the Shui-Ching-Chu
p.72.

although always open to the cultural influence of the valley, were never an integral part of the Kingdom.¹ The natural limits of the territory of Kashmir are so sharply marked that they can be traced through all the historical records whether indigenous or foreign. Hsiān Tsang, Ou Kóng and Albērūnī's accounts show them clearly and the local chronicles prove in detail that the Kashmir of Kashmirian tradition never extended appreciably beyond the summit-ridges of those great ranges which encircle and protect the valley.

None of the natural features of Kashmir have had a more direct bearing on the history of the country than the great mountain barriers that surround it. The importance of the mountains as the country's great protecting wall has at all times been duly recognised both by the inhabitants and by foreign observers. From an early period the Kashmirians have been wont to pride themselves on their country's safety from foreign invasion, a feeling justified only by the strength of these natural defences.² Kalhana speaks of Kashmir as unconquerable by the force of soldiers owing to the protection afforded by its mountain walls.³ In the statement of Policy attributed to King Lalitāditya it is said:

1. L. Petech. Op. cit. p.72.

The Sanskrit inscription found at Paniāl up the Gilgit river shows that the dīnnāra reckoning in Gilgit (ancient Gilgitā) was essentially of the same character as in Kashmir - evidence of the far-reaching influence which ancient Kashmir also had on the economic side of the civilization of neighbouring tracts. See Stein. J.R.A.S. 1943-44. pp. 12-14.

2. Stein. Rājāt. Vol. II, p.390.

3. Rājāt. I, 31, 39.

"Those who wish to be powerful in this land must always guard against internal dissension. They are as little in fear of (foreign) enemies (paraloka) as the carvakas of the world beyond". Special notice is taken by Hsüan Tsang and Ou-Kóng of the mountains enclosing the kingdom and the difficulty of the passes leading through them.² The statements of the early Arab geographers, brief as they are, lay stress on the inaccessible character of the mountains.³ The great chain is, however, broken at various places by passes leading to the Valley and special care had to be taken in the past to keep a strict watch over them.⁴

Alberūnī, while referring to the inaccessible character of the mountains, shows also the anxious care taken to maintain the natural strength of the country by guarding the passes.⁵ Sharāfu-d-dīn, the historian of Tīmūr (Cir. A.D. 1397), says of Kashmir: "This country is protected naturally by its mountains on every side, so that the inhabitants, without the trouble of fortifying themselves, are safe from the attacks of enemies."⁶

Quite often in the Rājatarāṅginī we find the term Dvāra, Draṅga. The high mountain wall was broken at a number of places

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1. Rājat. IV, 345.
 2. Beal. Si-Yu-Ki. Vol. I. pp.148 ff; L'itinéraire de Ou-Kóng.
 3. Al Qazwīnī, Gildemeister De Rebus Indicis. p.210.
Al Adrīsī. Elliott History of India I, pp.90 ff. Quoted by Stein Vol. II, p.359 note.
 4. Stein. Rājat. I, 302, 122; VIII, 140, 413, 451.
 5. Alberūnī. India. Vol. II. p.361.
 6. Tārīkh-i-Rāshidī, tr. N. Elias and E.D. Ross, p.432.

through the Pīr Panṭṣāl range. These passes are called Dvāras.¹ Referring to the words dvārādiṣu pradeśeṣu, Stein thinks that they probably refer to one or the several main passes which give access to the Valley of Kashmir.² There are numerous references to the term dvāra in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, which show that there were a number of passes leading to the Valley.³ These entrances have always played an important part in Kashmir history and have, until quite modern times, been specially guarded by watch stations.⁴

The mountain-ring enclosing Kashmir is divided into three main ranges. One of these, usually designated the Pīr Panṭṣāl Range, forms the boundary of the Kashmir Valley to the south and south-west. It begins from the southern-most part of the valley where the Bānihāl pass, 9,200 ft. above the sea, marks the lowest depression in the chain of mountains. After running for about thirty-five miles from east to west, the range turns to the north-north-west. In this direction it continues for about fifty miles more and, after attaining its greatest elevation in the Taṭakūṭī peak (15,524 ft.), gradually descends towards the valley of the Vitastā. All important routes towards the Punjāb cross this great mountain barrier.⁵

1. Rājat. I, 122.

2. Stein. Rājat. I, 122 note.

3. e.g. Rājat. I, 302; VIII, 140, 413, 451.

4. Stein. Rājat. I, 122 note.

5. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II, p.392.

The eastern-most route was the Banihāl pass, the Bāṇaśālā of Kalhaṇa, which, owing to its small elevation (9,000 ft.), must always have been a convenient route of communication towards the upper Chenab Valley and the Eastern Punjab hill States.¹ The Castle of Bāṇaśālā, which guarded this route, was in the hands of a Khaśa chief in the twelfth century. During Jayasimha's reign (1128-49), the rival claimant Bhikṣācara planned his invasion of Kashmir through this pass.

Another crossing in the range is at Siddhapāṭha (the modern village of Sidā), from where two routes lead to the Buddhil and Kōnsaranāga passes of the Pīr Panṭṣāl range - thus connecting the valley with Akhnoor and Sialkot in the Punjab plain. Siddhapāṭha is mentioned in the Rājataranṅinī as the route chosen by a pretender in Sussala's reign.²

The lowest dip in the central part of the whole range is marked by the pass known as Pīr Panṭṣāl, 11,400 ft. high. The route which crosses it has from early days formed the most frequented line of communication from Kashmir to the central part of the Punjab.

The village of Śūrapura (modern Hārṣpūr) is often referred to as the entrance station for those reaching Kashmir from Rājapur and the neighbouring places, or as the point of departure for those

1. Rājat. VIII, 1665 ff.

2. Ibid. 557.

entering from the opposite direction.¹ Śūra, the minister of Avantivarman (9th century), evidently with the intention of establishing a convenient emporium on this trade route, transferred to this locality the watch-station (draṅga) of the pass.² Ascending the valley of the Rembyār or Ramaṅyāvī for about seven miles, we reach the point where the streams coming from the Pīr Panṭṣāl and Rupri passes unite. In the angle formed by them rises a steep rocky hillock which bears on its top a small ruined fort known as Kāmelankōṭh.³ Kalhaṇa calls this site Kramavarta.⁴ At a distance of four miles above Kāmelankōṭh and close to the Mughal Sarai of Aliabad, we have a ridge known as Hastivañj. Aliabad Sarai is a Mughal hospice erected for the shelter of travellers about half a mile above Hastivañj.⁵ Stein is right in thinking the maṭha or hospice on the Pīr Panṭṣāl route, which Kṣemendra mentions, to have been situated somewhere in its neighbourhood.⁶

From Aliabad Sarai the road ascends in a gently sloping valley westward until at a distance of about four and a half miles from the Pīr Panṭṣāl (Pañcāladeva) pass is reached.⁷ From this point starts the descent towards the Punjab side. About 3,000 ft

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1. Rājat. III, 227; V, 39; VII, 558, 1348, 1352, 1355, 1520; VIII, 1051, 1134, 1266, 1404, 1513, 1577, 2799.
 2. Rājat. V, 39.
 3. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II, p.394.
 4. Rājat. III, 227.
 5. Ibid. See J.R.A.S., 1895, pp. 378 ff.
 6. Ibid.; Kṣemendra. Sam Māt. II, 90 ff.
 7. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II, p.398.

below the Pīr Panṭṣāl pass lies Puṣiāṇa, the ancient Puṣiāṇanāda, which Kalhaṇa repeatedly mentions in connection with the civil wars of his own time. Pusiāṇanāda belonged to the territory of Rājapurī.¹ From Puṣiāṇa the route leads to Bahrāṅgala (Bhairavagala) and from the turning to the south, reaches the Ratan Pīr pass; 8,200 ft., descending into an open valley to Rājapurī.²

The central part of the Pīr Panṭṣāl range rises considerably. The Tangtala pass, above five miles on the north of the Pīr Panṭṣāla pass, is mentioned by ~~the~~ Abu-l-Fazl.³ The next two passes, known by the Pahārī names of Cittapānī and Coṭi Galā are both over 14,000 ft. in height. A short distance to the northwest of the Coṭi Galī pass the range culminates in Mount Taṭakūṭī which is 15,524 ft. high. From this point the range is crossed by the passes of Sangsafēd, Nūrpur and Cōragali - all difficult routes leading down into the Valley of Loharin, the ancient Lohara.⁴

The next considerable depression, which was the ancient line of communication between Kashmir and the Western Punjab, via Lohara, was the Tōṣamaidan pass. This pass, being on the most direct route between the Kashmir Capital and Lohara, was of special importance during the reign of the later Kashmirian kings whose

1. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II. p. 398.

2. Ibid - vide Śrīvara IV, 529, 509.

3. Ibid; Ain-i-Akbarī II, p. 348.

4. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II, p. 398.

original home and safest stronghold was in Lohara. Moreover, it was the shortest and the safest route into the valley of Poonch (Parnotsa) and to Western Punjab between the Jhelum and the Indus. The route started from the present village of Draᅅg, situated at the foot of the mountains in the Biru Pargana c 33°57' lat. 74°36' long. - the site of an ancient Draᅅga, 'watch-station'; in old times it was distinguished as Kārkoᅇadraᅅga.² From there the route ascends over an easy forest-clad slope to the edge of the Tōᅇamaidan. This place is located as the proper 'Gate' (Dvāra) of this route.³

Beyond the Toᅇamaidan Pass, in the north-west, the Pīr Panᅇsāl Range gradually descends into the Vitastā Valley. Below Baramula this is confined between the two ranges of mountains - the Pīr Panᅇsāl Range separating from the main chain at a point behind Gulmarg and in the North the mountain system which culminates in the Kājnāg peak (14,400 ft.). A route along the right bank of the river Vitastā, marked by Abbottabad, Garhi, Habibulla, Muzaffarabad and Baramula, has been recognized by Stein in Alberūnī's itinerary. The route started from Baramula and to the western end of the town stood in ancient times "the stone Gate, the

1. Ibid.
2. Stein. Rājat. VII, 140 note; VIII, 1596 note.
3. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II, p.399; Rājat. VII, 140, 1301.

western end of the kingdom", through which Hsiian Tsang had passed before he reached Huṣkapura (Hu-se-kia-lo). Ou-Kóng and Alberūnī knew well this watch-station (Draṅga), which is also mentioned by Kalhaṇa under the general designation of Dvāra. This route was of importance chiefly as leading to Uraśā (Hazara) and to old Gandhāra (Rawalpindi). Stein states that its importance, military or commercial, was in ancient times far smaller than that of the Pīr Panṭṣāl and Toṣamaidan routes.

The kings of Kashmir held the Vitastā Valley as far as Bolyāska (modern Buliasa) as an outlying frontier district. This is indicated by Kalhaṇa's account of Śaṅkaravarman's expedition towards the Indus (A.D. 902) where the Kashmir army retreating from Uraśā reached the borders of their own territory.¹ Beyond this, up to the borders of Uraśā the valley was known as Dvāravati (modern Dvārabidi).² North of Dvāravati in the lower valley of the Kṛṣṇā (modern ~~Kiṣṇ~~gaṅgā), lay the semi-independent Khaśa principality or Karṇāha (modern Karnāy). As noted above, between Dvāravati and Karṇāha the Kājnāg Range accompanies the Vitastā for about eighty miles to Muzaffarabad. The mountains which enclose the Kashmir Valley in the north-west and north, may be looked upon as one great range, and join on to the Kājnāg peak north-west of Baramula and then continue in the direction of South to North to-

1. Rājat. V. 225; Stein. Rājat. tr. V, 225 note.

2. See also Stein Rājat. Vol. II, p.404.

wards the upper Kiṣangaṅgā. The water-shed of this portion forms the western boundary of Kashmir towards Karṇāha. One important route crossed this range near Śārdi from near the ancient district of Śamālā (modern Hamal) and Uttara (modern Uttar) and was guarded by the Castle of Śiraḥśīla.¹ From Śārdi this range continues in a slightly south-easterly direction for about 100 miles. The upper course of the Kṛṣṇā (Kiṣangaṅgā) in this region was inhabited by the Daradas and was known as the Darada-deśa.² A route starting from the north of Mahāpadma (Wular lake) crossed this northern range at Gurais on the Kiṣangaṅgā which is probably to be identified with Daratpurī, the chief town of the Daradas and then led to Astor and the Balti territory on the Indus. There lies the Dugdhaghāta fort which was held by a Dāmara and on his death passed to the Daradas; and which King Harṣa unsuccessfully endeavoured to recover.³ To the east of this fort the summit of the range culminates in the Haramukuṭa (modern Haramukh) peak where are situated some of the holiest ~~tirthas~~ referred to by the Kashmirian sources.⁴

Eastward from Haramukuṭa, the range meets near the head of the Indus Valley, the great chain of snowy mountains which stretches from Mount Nanga Parvat in the south-easterly direction in the Numkum peak from south of which is reached the Zoji-la Pass -

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1. Rājat. VIII, 2492; Stein. Rājat. vol. II, pp. 340-44.
 2. Rājat. I, 312; Stein. Rājat. tr. I, 312 note; vol. II, p. 435
v. 152; VII. 119: VIII, 253
 3. Stein. Rājat. vol. II, p. 406; Rājat. VII, 1071. See infra p. 29
 4. ibid. p. 407.

connecting the Kashmir Valley with China and Tibet via Ladākh. The Tibetan inhabitants beyond this pass were known as the Bhauṭṭas. Kalhaṇa repeatedly refers to the Bhauṭṭas and the Bhauṭṭarāṣṭrādhvan.¹ From Zoji-la a range of mountains, forming the eastern boundary of Kashmir, runs almost due south until it reaches the headwaters of the Vitastā. It then turns to the north-west and at the Banihal Pass joins on to the Pīr Panṭṣāl Range; towards the Chenali this range is pierced by two passes - the Margan and the Marbal (11,500 ft.), the latter forming the usual route to Kāṣṭhavāṭa (modern Kishtwār). This territory is mentioned as an independent State by Kalhaṇa. The route descends from Marbal Pass to the valley known as Khśalya in Kalhaṇa's time.²

According to Cunningham the oldest classification of the hill States divided them into three groups, each named after the most powerful State which was the head of the Confederation. These were Kashmir, Dugar and Trigarta. The first group consisted of Kashmir and the petty States between the Indus and Jhelum; the second between the Jhelum and the Rāvī; the third comprised Jalandhar or Trigarta (Kangra) and the various small states between the Rāvī and Satlej.³ Kashmir was the oldest and the most powerful of the three original states, and was founded long before the Christian era, though all the three existed from a period anterior

1. Rājat. VIII, 2887; Stein. Rājat. Vol. II, p.408.

2. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II p.401.

Rājat. VII, 399, 588-90; Stein's note in tr.

3. S.N. Majumdar. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India. p.150f

to the 7th Century A.D.¹

In the seventh Century, according to the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-Tsang, the kingdom of Kashmir comprised not only the valley of Kashmir itself, but also the whole of the hilly country between the Indus and the Cənāb to the foot of the Salt Range in the South. The different States visited by Hsüan-Tsang were Uraśā to the West of Kashmir; Taxila and Simhapura to the South-west; and Poonch and Rajaurī (Rājapurī) to the South. The other hill States to the East and South-east are not mentioned; but there is good reason for believing that they also were tributary and that the dominions of Kashmir in the seventh century extended from the Indus to the Rāvī.² The petty independent State of Kullu, in the upper valley of the Beās river was saved by its remoteness and inaccessibility, and the rich state of Jālandhara, on the lower Biās, was then subject to Harṣavardhana, the great king of Kanauj.³

Śaṅkaravarman extended the sovereign Power of Kashmir to the whole of the Punjab from the Indus to the Satlej.⁴

No understanding of the political history of Kashmir under the Loharas is possible without the picture of the territories that lay beyond the frontiers of ancient Kashmir and formed the neighbours of this kingdom in Hindu times.

1. Ibid. p.

2. A. Cunningham. ed. cit. p.103.

3. Ibid.

4. Rājāt. III, 100; IV, 117; V, 143-44; VII, 218-221, 588-90.

The names of many of these hill kingdoms occur in the Rājataranṅinī. Thus we have Kāṣṭhavāṭa, Campā, Vallāpura, Viṣṭātā, Rājapurī, Lohara, Parṇotsa, Dvāravaṭi, Uraśā, Karṇāha, the Darada territory and the Bhauṭṭa land. Another kingdom mentioned by Kalhaṇa is Babbāpura and there is also one reference to Bhadrāvakaśa.

Beginning in the South-east we have first the valley of Kāṣṭhavāṭa, the present Kishtwār, on the upper Cinābe. It is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a separate hill-state in the time of Kalaśa.¹ The hill-district of Bhadravāh, lower down on the Cinābe river, is the Bhadrāvakaśa of the Rājataranṅinī.² Its rājās were probably tributary to Campā for we do not find a ruler of this place in Kalhaṇa's list of hill rājās.

The rājās of Campā (modern Chambā) often figure in the Rājataranṅinī.³ This territory has since early times comprised the valleys of all the sources of Rāvī and some adjoining valleys, draining into the Cinābe between Kangra, the ancient Trigarta and Kāṣṭhavāṭa (Kishtwār).

To the West of Campā and South of Bhadrāvakaśa lay the old chieftainship of Vallāpura, the modern Ballāwar. Kalhaṇa repeatedly mentions the rulers of this State.⁴ Alberūnī also mentions

1. Rājat. VIII, 590.

2. Rājat. VIII, 501.

3. Rājat. VII, 218, 588, 1512; VIII, 538, 1083, 1443, 1531.
Stein. Rājat. tr. VII, 218 note.

4. Alberūnī - India.

Ballāvar.¹

Immediately at the foot of the Bānāhāl Pass in the territory of Viṣalāṭā we find the castle of a 'Khaśā lord' who gave shelter to Bhikṣācara and at the time was evidently independent.²

Rājapurī was the most important of the hill-states lying to the South-west and West of Kashmir. It comprised the valleys drained by the Tohi or Rājapurī and its tributaries. Owing to its position on the most direct route to the Punjab, Rājapurī was necessarily often brought into political relations with Kashmir.³ When Hsüan Tsang passed through it, the kingdom of Rājapurī was subject to Kashmir.⁴ Its rulers belonged to the Khaśa tribe. During Lohara times, the chiefs of Rājapurī appear to have been practically independent rulers, though we find the kings of Kashmir occasionally undertaking expeditions into this territory and also interfering in the internal affairs of the kingdom.

On the North-west, Rājapurī was adjoined by the territory of Lohara. The chief valley belonging to this hill state was the present Loharin. The rulers of Kashmir in the 11th and 12th centuries hailed from this territory. The chiefs of Lohara also belonged to the Khaśa tribe. Lohara seems to have included in those times also the town and district of Parṇotsa, corresponding to the present Poonch or Prunṭṭ, in the lower valley of the Tohi

1. Alberūnī. India. Vol. I p. 205.

2. Stein. Rājat. tr. vol. II. p. 432; Rājat. VIII. 1665 ff.

3. Rājat. VI, 206, 348-49, 351; VII, 105, 267, 533, 539, 541, 546, et

4. A. Cunningham. ed. cit. p. 148-49.

(Tausi). In Hsüan Tsang's time Parṇotsa gave its name to the whole hill state which was the tributary to Kashmir.

Towards the North-west of Parṇotsa (Poonch) is the Valley of Vitastā (Jhelum). This was held in old times as an outlying frontier district of Kashmir as far down as Bolyāska, the present Buliāsa.

To the West and beyond the course of the Vitastā after its great bend lay the ancient kingdom of Uraśā. Its greatest part is comprised in the district of Hazara between the Vitastā and Indus.

Lohara or Loharakoṭṭa, 'the Castle of Lohara', played an important part in the Medieval history of Kashmir as the ancestral home and stronghold of the dynasty whose narrative fills the last two books of Kalhaṇa's work. As pointed out by Stein, Wilson wrongly¹ identified Lohara with Lahore, because he did not have access to the last two cantos of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, where, in numerous passages, Kalhaṇa speaks of it as a hill-fortress, situated in close proximity to Kashmir; as a result of the special tour in August 1892 in this locality, Stein fixed its position in the valley now called Loharin, belonging to the territory of Poonch Parṇotsa).²

Through Loharin proper and through a side valley descending

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1. Wilson. Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir. As. Res. Vol. XV, p.47.
 2. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II, p.293.

from the mountains on the North leads the path to the Toṣamaidan Pass, which from the earliest times to the present day has formed one of the most frequented and best routes from the Western Punjab to Kashmir.

Jālandhara is not mentioned in Sanskrit literature except in the Hemakośa, the Rājataranṅiṇī and the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa;² on the other hand, Trigarta is repeatedly referred to, notably in the Mahābhārata. On the basis of the data supplied by Hsüan Tsang, Cunningham suggested that, if the dimensions supplied are even approximately correct, Jālandhara must then have included the State of Cambā on the North with Mandi and Suket on the East, and Satadru on the South-east.³ At the time of Hsüan Tsang's visit Jalandhara itself was the Capital, while the Capital of Trigarta was probably Nagarakoṭa.⁴ Referring to the alternative name for the kingdom of Jālandhara in ancient documents - Trigarta or the land of the three rivers - Moorcroft had doubts whether it referred to the Rāvī, Bias and Sutlej.⁵ Vogel suggests that the reference is to the three main tributaries of the Beās.⁶

1. Stein. Rājat. K. Vol. 11. p. 293.
2. Hutchison & Vogel. The History of the Punjab Hill States. Vol. I, p.103.
3. A. Cunningham. ed. cit. pp.156-58. For Satadru Cunningham suggests modern Sirhind.
4. Hutchison - Vogel. Op. cit. p.106.
5. Moorcroft. Travels. Vol. I, pp.140-41.
6. Hutchison & Vogel. Op. cit. pp.102-103 note.

Hema Candra says:¹

Jālandharas Trigartah Syuh.

"Jalandhara that is Trigarta"

Jālandhara is also mentioned in the Yogini Tantra.²

The name of Jālandhara is preserved in that of the present town and district of Jallandhar in the Punjab. The ancient kingdom of Jālandhara included the hill territories on the upper course of the Biās and in particular Kangra or Trigarta. Jālandhara and Trigarta are several times mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.³ Trigarta is identical with the modern hill district of Kāngrā, situated between the mountains of Cambā and the upper course of the Beās. A glossary of a manuscript of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī renders Trigarta by Nagarkoṭṭa.⁴

We first read of Trigarta in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, when Śreṣṭhasena, the son of Meghavāhana, bestowed the land of Trigarta upon the Pravareśa temple.⁵ King Lalitādilya Muktāpiḍa of the Kārkoṭa dynasty made his attendants kings by granting them Jālandhara, Lohara and other territories.⁶ At the advance of Śaṅkara-varman's armies, Prthvicandra, the ruler of Trigarta, is said to

1. Hemakośa. Quoted by Cunningham, p.156 and Vogel, p.103.
2. Yogini Tantra. I, 11, 2. 2, 2. 9 quoted by B.C. Law Historical Geography of Ancient India, p.86.
3. Stein. Rājat. IV, 177 note; Beal Si-yu-ki Epic. Ind. I, pp. 11, 102; I, p.175 f.
4. Stein. Rājat. III, 100 note.
5. Rājat. III, 100.
6. Rājat. IV, 177.

have approached the king in order to offer homage.¹

Queen Sūryamati, wife of Ananta (1028-63), was the daughter of Inducandra of Jalandhara. Her elder sister Āśāmati had been married to Rudrapāla Śāhi of the Hindu Śāhiya dynasty of Kābul.² Cunningham has identified Inducandra of Rājatarāṅgiṇī with Inducandra of the genealogical lists of the Kangra rājās.³ The ending Candra in the name of the Trigarta rājā Pṛthvicandra, is however, not found in the genealogical list of the Katoch rājās who ruled Kangra from an early period.⁴ We find further reference to this place during the reign of King Jayasimha when Sujji, the exiled Kashmirian minister, met Jyeṣṭhapāla, a follower of Bhikṣācara at Jālandhara and planned an invasion of Kashmir in alliance with Bhikṣācara.⁵

Physical and ethnic characteristics sharply mark off the Kashmiri from all surrounding races yet no particular localities can be connected with ethnic divisions.⁶ On the evidence of the language and physical appearance of the Kashmiris, Stein considers them a branch of the race which brought the Indo-Aryan type of languages into India. The purity of race he assigns not only to

1. Rājat. V, 143-47.

2. Rājat. VII, 150.

3. A. Cunningham. Ed. cit. p.158. Cunningham is however wrong in saying that Ananta (1028-81) married the two daughters of Inducandra.

4. Stein. Rājat. Vol. I. p.99.

5. Rājat. VII, 1651, 1670.

6. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II, p.429.

the natural isolation of the country but to a curious faculty for absorbing foreign elements.¹

The wide prevalence of Nāga worship before and even after the Buddhist period indicates that the first settlers in the Kashmir Valley must have been primitive aborigines. The modern Dūmbs, the descendents of the old Dombas are related to the gipsy tribes of India and Europe.² J.J. Modi has made an attempt to show that Kashmir was once a Zoroastrian country,³ but, as pointed out by Dr. Sufi, the references quoted in support of this view are more or less of a legendary nature.⁴

Modern authorities like Lawrence, Younghusband, and Bernier have pointed out the Jewish cast of faces of the inhabitants of Kashmir.⁵ Referring to the Kashmiris Al-Berūnī pointed out that it was difficult to have commerce with them and that "in former times, they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people".

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid. p.430. also see infra. p.

3. J.J. Modi. J.B.Br. R.A.S. Vol. XIX. December 1895, pp.237-48.

4. G.M.D. Sufi. Kashmir. Vol. I, p.15.

5. W. Lawrence. The Valley of Kashmir. p.318.

Younghusband. Kashmir. pp.129-30.

Bernier. Travels. p.430.

6. Alberūnī. India. Vol. I, p.206.

CHAPTER II Part II

P O L I T I C A L H I S T O R Y .

From Lohara (modern Loharin) hailed our kings of Medieval Kashmir, whom we refer to as the kings of the Lohara dynasties and who ruled in the most critical times from A.D. 1003-1171.

Before the advent of the Lohara dynasty to the throne, Kashmir was ruled by the dynasty of Parvagupta (949-50) who rose from the family of a divira, or 'writer'. Parvagupta had been in the cabinet of ministers during the reign of king Saṅgrāmarāja of the dynasty of Yaśaskara (939-948); having killed the boy king in 949, he seated himself on the vacant throne.¹ After Parvagupta, his son Kṣemagupta succeeded to the throne (850-58).² Kṣemagupta married Diddā, the daughter of Siṃharāja, the ruler of Lohara.³ This marriage created bonds between the rulers of Lohara and the kings of Kashmir. Kṣemagupta died in 858 and queen Diddā first exercised royal power as the guardian of her sons Abhimanyun II. (958-72), Nandigupta (973-75), Tribhuvana (973-75), and Bhīmagupta (975/80-1). Assured of her safety by the help of Tuṅga, a Khaśa from Parṇotsa (Poonch) in the year 980/1 she had Bhīmagupta put to

1. Rājat.VI. 130.

2. Rājat VI. 150.

3. Rājat.VI. 176. Queen Diddā was on her mother's side a grand daughter of king Bhīma Śāhi of Udabhāṇḍa, mod. Und.

4. Rājat.VI. 188 ff.

death by torture, and reigned for twenty-three years with Tuṅga as her prime minister.¹ Ultimately she bequeathed the throne in undisputed succession to her nephew, the young Saṅgrāmarāja, son of her brother Udayarāja, the ruler of Lohara.²

With Saṅgrāmarāja commenced the rule of the Lohara kings. These kings belonged to the Khaśa race. The term Khaśa, Khaśaka, or Khāśaka appears frequently in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and the people to whom it refers in so many verses have been confined by Stein to a comparatively limited region comprising the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pīr-Pantsāl range. We believe, however, that this term covered the inhabitants of a wider area of the Himalayas than Stein admits.³

Kalhana depicts Saṅgrāmarāja as a prudent but personally weak ruler.⁴ Tuṅga remained in power during the early part of the reign of this king, in spite of a revolt which the brāhmaṇa ministers had stirred against him through the brāhmaṇas and the temple-purohitas.⁵ But old age and the cares of official affairs so weakened his discretion that he started employing inefficient and rapacious persons into high state offices,⁶ a step which added to his unpopularity. His position was further weakened by his defeat at the hands of Maḥmūd of Ghazni.

1. Rājat. VI. 330 ff.

2. Rājat. VI. 355. ff.

3. see infra Appendix IV. pp 462-65

4. Rājat. VII. 9.

5. Rājat. VII. 13 ff.

The most important event in the history of Northern India during the early decades of the 11th century when Saṅgrāmarāja was on the throne of Kashmir (1003-28) was the series of Muhammadan expeditions led by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, but the great wave of invasion which swept across the Indus stopped short of the mountain ramparts protecting Kashmir. The several expeditions which we know Maḥmūd to have led in that direction never seriously threatened the independence of the valley. There is a distinct record of these events in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Kalhaṇa gives us an account of the expedition which was despatched under Tuṅga to the assistance of Śāhi Trilocanapāla.¹ Not listening to the advice given by the Śāhi ruler, who was acquainted with the Turuṣka system of warfare, and encouraged by the defeat of the Muhammadan reconnaissance party, Tuṅga went to fight them and was defeated. From the materials available in Elliot's work Stein takes this expedition to have been undertaken in the year 1013 - against the ninth^{of} Mahmud's

1. Rājat. VII, 47-48. It was in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa (November-December) that King Saṅgrāmarāja despatched Tuṅga to help the Śāhi King Trilocanapāla.

Kashmir is also said to have given shelter to Anandpāl, the son of Jaipal in 1006, on his defeat near Peshawar, by Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. There is no such record in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Possibly Kalhaṇa was aware of these happenings but did not care to record because they did not concern his narrative.

cf. Rājat. VIII, 1190 note.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India 1908, Vol. XX, p.114-15.
Firishta Brigg's tr. p. 41.

campaigns according to Elliot's reckoning.¹ Firishta tells us that in A.H. 404 or A.D. 1013 Sultan Maḥmūd marched with his army against the fort of Nindoona² situated on the mountains of Bulnat, then in the possession of the rājā of Lahore, that is the Sāhi king Anandapāla. His son Jeipal II, seeing that he could not oppose the sultan in the field, drew off his army towards Kashmir. It is in connection with this campaign of sultan Maḥmūd that Firishta tells us about his plundering of Kashmir and forcing the inhabitants to acknowledge the prophet.³ Kalhaṇa records that when Trilocanapāla had gone afar, the whole country was overshadowed by hosts of fierce caṇḍālas.⁴

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1. Rājat. VII, 47-58. Stein Rājat. tr. verses 47-69. note. Nāzim points out that Kalhaṇa's reference to Maḥmūd as Hamīra is an obvious adaptation of Amīr as title by which Maḥmūd was generally known and not Amīru'l-Mū'minīn as suggested by Stein.
Nāzim. Sultan Maḥmūd pp. 92-93. note.
Stein. Rājat tr. VII, 67-69. note.
 2. Firishta. Brigg's tr. p. 54.
Nandana situated on the northern spur of the Salt Range, commands the main route into the Ganges Doāb. It is the Nārdān of Utbī; Gardīzī and Baiḥāqī call it Nandūnah.
Thelum Gazetteer also identified Ninduna with Nandana a hill fort in the Salt Range where there are some remains of ancient buildings belonging to Kashmir rule.
Thelum Gazetteer p. 62.
Nāzim. Sultan Maḥmūd. p. 91. note.
Vide. Punjab District Gazetteer. XXVIIA. 1904. pp. 46-47.
 3. Firishta. Tr. Brigg's Vol. I. p. 54.
Jeipal II is said in this book to be the grandson of Anandpal. The reference is to Trilocanapāla who is mentioned as Puruḥjaipāla in Elliot's version.
Elliot Vol. II. p. 451. Albērūnī. India II, p. 13.
C.V. Vaidya. Vol. III. p. 61. Stein. Rājat tr. VII, 117-69
 4. Rājat. VII, 63. note.

Thus the power of Trilacānapāla was broken and, putting the fort of Nandana in the charge of Sārūgh, the sultan returned to Ghaznī in the summer of A.H. 405 (July-August 1014).

Once more Kalhana, while talking of the conduct of the sons of a certain Candramukha, whom Saṅgrāmarāja had put in the military posts previously held by Tuṅga, tells us how they too, when sent by the king to fight with the Turuṣkas, fled and came back to their country.¹ He does not, however, give us the date of this event. The first actual invasion of Kashmir - the siege of Lohkot or Loharkot - is recorded by the Muhammadan historians, Gardīzī and Firishta² as occurring in the year A.H. 406 (A.D. 1015). The sultan made preparations for an invasion of Kashmir, probably to punish Saṅgrāmarāja for his assistance to Trilocanapāla. He marched towards Jhelum and then, proceeding along the valley of the river Tohi (ancient Toṣi of Parnotsa), he tried to cross over to Kashmir by the Toshamaidan pass. His progress was checked by the hill-fort of Lohkot, modern Loharin, which guarded the pass and had the reputation of being impregnable. The sultan

1. Rājat. VII, 111-118.

2. Firishta. Brigg's trans. pp. 54-55.

3. Gardizi. p. 72. Quoted by Nazim. p. 104.

invested the fort, but heavy snowfall cut off the communications and, after a month's fruitless endeavour, he was forced to raise the siege and retire.¹ All the Muhammedan historians tell us that on his return march Maḥmūd had to face great trouble. Many of his troops perished and he himself escaped with difficulty.² Nāzīm thinks that it was probably during this expedition that some of the rājās of the South Western Kashmir hills submitted to the sultan.³

Maḥmūd made another attempt to invade Kashmir and in the autumn of A.H. 412 (September-October 1021), he marched from Ghaznī to reduce the fort of Lohkot which had formerly checked his advance.⁴ The natural defences of the fort again proved insurmountable, and for one month the besiegers made futile attempts to take it. The onset of severe winter reduced them to a pitiable plight and the sultan was once again forced to raise the siege and finally to abandon the

1. Firishta. Brigg's tr. Vol. I pp. 54-55.

Gardizī. p.73.

2. Tab. Ak. tr. B. Dey. p.9.

3. Nāzīm. Sultan Maḥmūd. p.105. note. cf. Utbi. p.304.

Firishta. Brigg's tr. p.57.

Firishta tells us that on his invasion of Kanauj, Maḥmūd reached the confines of Kashmir and the prince whom he had established in that country sent him presents and was directed to accompany the army.

4. Gardizī. p.79.

idea of conquering Kashmir. Firishta's history has another reference to the sultan going to sack the hilly tracks named Kuriat and Nardein, which lie between Turkistan and Hindustan. Both these places he pillaged, and converted the inhabitants to Islam; he destroyed the temple at Nardein and, after building a fort there, marched in the direction of Kashmir and on the route invested the stronghold of Lohkot., but finding it altogether impregnable he decamped.¹ We have already noted that Firishta mentions that Maḥmūd's first expedition against Lohkot took place in the year 1015;² this account of a second campaign must refer to that which Gardizi mentions as having been undertaken by Maḥmūd in September-October 1021. Thus the accounts of the Muslim historians corroborate one another on the point that Maḥmūd made repeated efforts to sack the hill fortress of Lohkot or the Loharakoṭṭa of Kalhana, but that every time he was foiled in his attempt. It is, however, interesting that, except for the mention of the two expeditions sent by King Saṅgrāmarāja, Kalhana is quite silent about Maḥmūd's invasions. Moreover, in both these cases he mentions the defeat of Tuṅga and of the sons of Candramukha, whom Saṅgrāmarāja had installed in Tuṅga's position.³ Kalhana, however, often

1. T. Firishta. Brigg's trans. p.65. Tch. Ak. P. 13.
 2. Supra. p.42.
 3. Supra. p. Ibid.

mentions the natural defences of his country and the strength of the Lohara castle, which served as a stronghold even during the internal strife and the civil wars of the two Lohara dynasties.¹ Knowing the weakness of his own countrymen's forces and their lack of acquaintance with the Turkish system of warfare, it may be that he did not feel strongly about the defeat of Maḥmūd which was not so much due to the strength of the fighting forces as to the natural impregnability of the fortress itself - hence his silence on this point.

Regarding these invasions V.A. Smith writes: "In the reign of Saṃgrāma, the kingdom suffered an attack from Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and, although its troops were defeated by the invader, preserved its independence which was protected by the inaccessibility of the mountain barriers".² On the evidence of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī Vaidya maintains that the text tells of the defeat of Saṃgrāmarāja's forces not in Kashmir, but in Kabul, where they had been sent to assist the Śāhi king. Kashmir was not invaded in the days of Saṃgrāma at all.³

While Vaidya is right in saying that Kalhaṇa's reference relates to King Saṃgrāma's sending Tuṅga to help the Śāhi ruler Trilocanapāla against the invasion of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, his further statement, that Kashmir was not invaded at all in the

1. Rājat. IV, 345.

2. V.A. Smith. Early History of India. 4th ed. p.389.

3. C.V. Vaidya. History of Mediaeval Hindu India. Vol.II, p.228

reign of Saṅgrāmarāja, is wrong. Although Kalhana is silent about the matter we have already seen on the authority of Muslim historians that Maḥmūd invaded Kashmir in the years 1015 and 1021.¹ From the Rājatarāṅgiṇī we know that Saṅgrāmarāja ruled from 1003 to 1028.² Smith seems to have interpreted Maḥmūd's invasion of the kingdom of the Śāhi Trilocanapāla as an invasion of Kashmir, but he is on the whole correct in stating that Maḥmūd was never able to conquer Kashmir owing to the inaccessibility of its mountain ramparts.³ Smith's statement thus tends to combine the events of several years into a single campaign, and is therefore confused.

Though Kalhana does not give us the date of Maḥmūd's invasion of Trilocanapāla's territory and Saṅgrāmarāja's help to the latter, we gather on the authority of Muhammedan sources that the event took place in 1013. Vaidya, however, thinks that Maḥmūd's attack on Trilocanapāla was in 1021,⁴ a theory which we consider further below.

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1. Supra. pp 42-43
 2. Rājat. VII, 1-127.
 3. Supra p.45.
 4. C.V. Vaidya. H.M.H.I. Vol.III, p.62.

About Maḥmūd's fight ~~against~~ Trilocanapāla which we date as 1013, Vaidya writes: "If we reconcile this account with the statement of Al-berūnī that Trilocanapāla ruled till 1021 and Bhīma ruled for five years after him, we have either to postpone this battle to 1021 A.D. or to believe that Trilocanapāla lived and ruled till 1021 some other insignificant portion of the hilly sub-montane part of the Panjab or went to Kanauj and there again fought with Maḥmūd."

Basing his remarks on the account given by Utbī, Nāzīm tells us that, after his defeat at the hands of Maḥmūd, Trilocanapāla returned to the Eastern part of the Punjab, where he seems to have established himself in the Śiwālik hills.¹ Trilocanapāla² did not rest in peace, but carried on warfare with neighbouring rājās, particularly with Candra Ray of Sharwā. After his expedition to Kanauj (close of A.H. 409/beginning of A.D. 1019), Trilocanapāla entered into alliance with Gandā, (Nanda of Utbi and other Muslim historians) rājā of Kāliñjar and secured from him a promise of help in winning back his ancestral kingdom from sultan Maḥmūd.³ When Maḥmūd received news of this alliance he marched from Ghazna in the beginning of Autumn A.H. 410 (October A.D. 1019) with the intention of punishing Ganda.⁴ The sultan pursued Trilocanapāla also and overtook him on the 15th of December 1019, but Trilocanapāla managed to cross the river Ruhut (Rāmagaṅgā). Ultimately Trilocanapāla was wounded in the battle; he managed to escape but was assassinated by some of his own followers in 1021-22.

The events in which Trilocanapāla lost his life occurred in 1021.⁵ His son Bhīmapāla succeeded to his dominions and with his death in 1026 the Hindu Shāhiya dynasty came to an end. Thus we have seen that the battle with Tricolanapāla took place

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1. Nāzīm. Sultan Mahmūd. p.93.
 2. Puru Jaipal of Utbi. pp.311-13. Vide Nazim's note p.93.
 3. Nāzīm. Op cit. p.94. Vide Gardīzī. pp.76-77; Abnūl Athir IX. 218.
 4. Gardīzī. p.76; Utbi. pp.317-18.
 5. Rājat VII, 66-69; Alberūnī ^{India} Vol.II. p.13.

in 1013 and there is no necessity of shifting it to 1021 while Vaidya's second suggestion is proved by above account. All this evidence is corroborated by Kalhana when he says: "Even after he had obtained his victory, Hammira did not breathe freely thinking of the superhuman prowess of the illustrious Trilocanapāla, who displayed great resolution also after he had fallen from his position, and relying on his force of elephants endeavoured to recover his victory".¹ He further states: "I have not described here at length how rapidly the royal glory of the Śāhis has vanished even (down to their very) name, this being only an incident".² Thus it is clear that the event of 1013 was just an incident among the campaigns of Maḥmūd against Trilocanapāla. Finally Kalhana pathetically says: "That Śāhi kingdom whose greatness on the earth has alone been briefly indicated in the account of King Śaṅkara varma's reign - now one asks oneself whether, with its kings, ministers and its court, it ever was or was not".³

Samgrā^{ma}rāja died in the month of Aṣāḍha (June-July) 1028, and was succeeded by his son Harirāja. This prince, during his brief reign, took steps to preserve law and order, but his reign was cut short by his sudden death after only 22 days. The general reports said that queen mother Śrīlekhā had used witchcraft against him because he did not approve of her licentious conduct.⁴ Though this queen wanted to get the

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1. Rājat. VII. 64-65.
 2. Rājat. VII. 66.
 3. Rājat. VII. 68-69
 4. Rājat. VII. 127-33

throne for herself, the Ekāṅgas and the king's milk brother Sāgara made her child son Ananta king.¹ Encouraged by these events in Kashmir, Vigharāja, the ruler of Lohara, who was Ananta's paternal uncle, proceeded from Lohara in rapid marches, burnt down the 'Gate' (Dvāra)², and after two and a half days unexpectedly entered the city. The troops of Śrīlekhā, however, foiled his designs.

The most important political event during the reign of King Ananta was the marriage of the king with Sūryamatī, the younger daughter of Inducandra, the prince of Jālandhara. This marriage was arranged at the inducement of Rudrapāla, one of the Śāhi princes staying at Ananta's court after the destruction of the Śāhi power at the hands of Maḥmūd of Ghazni. Rudrapāla had himself married the elder sister named Āśāmatī. This brought together the Śāhis, the King of Kashmir, and the prince of Jālandhara in the close ties of a matrimonial alliance.³ The Śāhis, though no more a great power by themselves, wielded great influence at Ananta's court. Though haughty and extravagant, they greatly helped king Ananta against the invasions of the Dāradas. Acalamaṅgala, the king of the Dāradas, together with seven Mleccha princes,

1. Rājat. VII. 134-35.

2. Rājat VII, 139-140. The term Dvāra refers to one of the 'Gates' leading to the valley. See Supra p. 22

3. Rājat. VII. 150-52.

invaded Kashmir. This invasion was instigated by the Dāmaras, who were induced to do so by treasury superintendent (gañjādhipa) Brahmarāja, who had quarrelled with Rudrapāla, the Śāhi prince. The Mleccha princes were all slain or captured and King Ananta obtained much plunder in gold, jewels and other presents. The Śāhi prince presented to Ananta the head of the Darada ruler.¹ H.C. Ray thinks that "by the word Mleccha, Kalhaṇa means Muslim chiefs from the upper Indus valley".² Citing the use of the word Śakas for the enemies of Ananta (who joined the Darada ruler) by Bilhaṇa in his Vikramāṅkadevacarita, he suggests that by Śaka, Bilhaṇa may have hinted at the Turkish origin of the Mleccha princes.³ C.V. Vaidya also takes these princes as Muslim Turks.⁴

King Ananta obtained further victories over various kings. He first invaded Campā,⁵ (modern Chambā). He uprooted King Sāla and placed a new ruler on the throne. King Sāla, whose name does not occur in the Chambā Vaṁśāvalī has been identified by Prof. Kielhorn with Sālavāhana - mentioned as King Somavarmadeva's predecessor in the Chambā

1. Rājat. VII, 166-176

2. H.C. Ray. D.H.N.I. Vol. I, p.139

3. Ibid vide. Vikramāṅka.XVIII, 33-34.

4. C.V. Vaidya. H.M.H.I. Vol. III, p.31; Vol. II, p.228. Śaka in the sense of Mohammedans is found in the grant plate in J.A.S.B. XLIII. Pt. I, pp.105-108.

5. Rājat. VII, 218.

grants.¹

Bilhaṇa in his Vikramāṅkadevacarita speaks of King Ananta's supremacy being acknowledged in Campā, Dārvābhisāra, Trigarta and Bhartula (Vartula).² Cunningham places the invasion of Campā by Ananta between 1028-31, but, as already pointed out by Stein, he does not give his authority for any of these dates.³ The Rājataranṅinī does not give us any dates for this event and there is no allusion to it in the Chambā Vaṁśāvalī. Vogel thinks that it occurred not later than A.D. 1060, nor earlier than about A.D. 1050.⁴ The date of Śālavāhana is given as c A.D. 1040. Taking King Ananta's invasion of Campā, as stated by Cunningham, to be between 1028 and 1031 and noticing the presence of Āsaṭa in King Kalaśa's assembly of hill rājās, Kielhorn dates the Campā grant in the middle of the 11th century.⁵

Encouraged by these successes, Ananta led an expedition to Vallāpura⁶ (modern Ballaur, situated in the lower hills to the East of Jammu). His troops became weary and were with difficulty extricated by Haladhara. His attack on Uraśā (modern Hazārā) was also not a great success and the retreat was made possible by his able commander-in-chief's sagacity.⁷

1. Ind. Ant XVIII, pp. 7f.

2. Vikramāṅka, XVIII, 38.

3. A. Cunningham, ed. cit. p.162; Arch.Survey Report,¹⁸⁸² Vol. XIV, pp.114-15
Stein. Rājat. tr. VII, 218 note.

4. Hutchison-Vogel. Op cit. p.42.

5. Ind. Ant XVIII, p.7f. (6) Rājat VII, 220. (7) Rājat VII, 221

The earliest of the copper-plates of Campā was granted by Somavarman in the seventh year of his reign, in the month of Bhādrapada, and on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Vogel has stated that there was a solar eclipse in Bhādrapada, A.D. 1066, and though the day does not exactly correspond with that on the plate, he thinks it near enough to raise a strong probability that this is the eclipse referred to. Counting back seven years from 1066, Vogel fixes 1059-60 as the probable date of the invasion of Campā by Anantadeva and of Somavarman's accession. He considers that Ananta's invasion cannot have been later than 1060, nor much earlier than 1050.¹ He has also stated that solar eclipses took place in the month of Bhādrapada of the years 1047, 1056 and 1066, but restricts the alternative dates to 1056 and 1066, the latter being regarded as the more probable date of the eclipse referred to.²

We have already referred to Cunningham's suggestion that the invasion of Campā by Ananta took place in between 1028-31.³ We cannot accept this date as it appears to be definitely too early. It is clearly stated in the Rājataran-ginī that King Ananta began his reign as a child in 1028.⁴ It is also known from this source that Ananta committed suicide in 1081 at the age of sixty-one.⁵

1. J. Hutchison and J.Ph. Vogel. History of the Punjab Hill States. Vol. I, p.275.
2. Ibid. note
3. Supra p. 51
4. Rājat. VII, 134-35, cf. Vogel. Anti. of Cāmbā, p.183. f.
5. Rājat. VII, 452.

Born in 1020, Ananta could not have led an expedition at the tender age of eight or eleven years.

The eclipse of 1066 referred to by Vogel occurred actually in Āśvina, Friday, 21st of September 1066. Therefore we are not satisfied that it was the eclipse referred to in the Campā grant. We have records of two solar eclipses in the months of Bhādrapada of the years 1058 and 1059 - Saturday, August 31st, 1058, and Thursday, August 11th, 1059.¹ Counting back seven years from these dates we get 1051 and 1052 as the probable dates of the invasion of Campā by King Ananta. The Rājataranṅī tells us that, after uprooting King Sāla, Ananta placed a new ruler on the throne. This was King Somavarman² mentioned in the copper plate grant of Campā and identified by Kielhorn³, and Somavarman's date of accession would thus be 1051 or 1052.

Kalhana has also stated that King Harṣa (1089-1101) was helped in his last desperate struggle against his brothers Uccala and Sussala of Lohara by Jāsaṭa, the son of Harṣa's maternal uncle.⁴ This reference shows that Harṣa's mother Bappikā was a princess of Campā. We also consider the dates of birth of the kings of Kashmir in this connection. King Kalaśa is stated to have been 49 years of age at his death in 1089, thus

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1. Swamikannu Pillai. Indian Chronology 1911, pp.82-86.
 2. Rājat VII, 218.
 3. Op cit. Ind. Ant. XVIII p. 7ff..
 4. Rājat VII, 1512-13.

establishing his date of birth in 1040.¹ On the evidence of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī we know that Harṣa was born in 1058;² Kalaśa was then 18 years of age. Kalaśa may have thus been married to Bappikā at the customary age of 16 years³ in 1056, which shows that by this date relations between Kashmir and Campā were strengthened by the close ties of a matrimonial alliance, and invasion of this kingdom by Ananta must surely have taken place at an earlier date. In view of this argument the dates 1051 or 1052 seem quite plausible. The marriage alliance could not have been formed just after the installation of Bappikā's brother Somarvarman because Kalaśa was then just a small boy and so must have been Bappikā; the marriage took place when Kalaśa came of age in 1056. Moreover, Kalhaṇa records troubles at home during the period immediately preceding King Ananta's abdication in favour of his son Kalaśa in 1063.⁴ We are therefore convinced that Ananta's career of conquests and expeditions must have come to an end long before his abdication. The date we have fixed would also give a fair length of time to the rule of Somavarman, who was succeeded by his brother Aśaṭa, presumably about 1086⁵, for the latter was definitely on the throne of Campā by 1087/88 when we find him in the list of hill Rājās who assembled in Kashmir in 1087-88 during King Kalaśa's reign.⁶

1. Rājat. VII, 723-13.

2. Rājat. VII, 1717.

3. cf. Arthaśāstra III, ch. III. Manu 9, 94.

4. Rājat. VII, 222-232.

5. Hutchison-vogel. op cit. p. 292

6. Infra. p. 58

While King Ananta was engaged in reckless foreign expeditions various acts of violence occurred at home. The illustrious Rājeśvara, who was the lord of the 'Gate', fell by the hands of the Dāmaras of Kramarājya.¹ There were other palace scandals about Queen Sūryamatī;² the king also came under the domination of his wife and was ultimately induced by her to abdicate in favour of his son Kalaśa, much against the wishes of some of his ministers.³ Later he again took the royal power into his own hands, while Kalaśa remained king merely in name.⁴ In the meantime Kalaśa fell into the hands of base associates and led an utterly immoral life; in one of his licentious appointments he was disgraced by the night watchmen and was only saved from their hands by disclosing his identity as a king.⁵ This disgrace and utter humiliation brought rupture between the father and son⁶, but Ananta's hands were tied by his queen, who out of her love for the son would not permit the king to take any strong action against Kalaśa.⁷ Angered by these circumstances King Ananta left for Vijayeśvara with his followers.⁸ King Kalaśa tried to put his administrative machinery into order and, after arranging things in

1. Rājat. VII, 222-23.

2. Rājat. VII, 225.

3. Rājat. VII, 228-31

4. Rājat. VII, 244-46.

5. Rājat. VII, 273 ff. Four princes of the Sāhi family were

6. Rājat. VII, 317-322.

his associates.

7. Rājat. VII, 334.

8. Rājat. VII, 336 f., 357-60.

Śrīnagara, he attacked Ananta;¹ here again an armistice was arranged between the father and son by the queen. Kalaśa retreated on the receipt of secret messages from the queen, while King Ananta, annoyed by the behaviour of his son, thought of passing on the sovereignty to the sons of Tanvaṅga.² Fearing lest the throne should pass from her line, the queen secretly called Harṣa, the elder son of Kalaśa to Vijayēśvara, in order to make him king.³ When Harṣa joined his grandparents Kalaśa in disgust burnt down Vijayēśvara and persistently ordered the old king to go over to Parṇotsa. The queen also induced him to do so; once in a violent altercation with his wife, Ananta committed suicide in 1081.⁴

Another important event in the history of Kashmir at this time was the visit of Ananta's cousin Kṣitirāja from Lohara, who was troubled by the evil conduct of his son, and abdicated the throne of the hill principality in favour of Utkarṣa, the younger son of Kalaśa.⁵ Thus the kingdom of Kashmir was for the first time joined with that of Lohara under the rule of the same family. The financial position under king Ananta and the influence of queen Sūryamatī over this king have been dealt with separately.⁶

1. Rājat. VII, 366-67

2. Rājat. VII, 381. Tanvaṅga was Ananta's ^{brother} uncle and son of Jassarāja by another branch of the Loharas

3. Rājat. VII, 390-92.

4. Rājat. VII, 408, 420-422 ff.

5. Rājat. VII, 251-256.

6. Infra. p. 326

After the death of king Ananta and the self-immolation of queen Sūryamatī, Kalaśa tried to end hostilities with his son Harṣa; he appropriated all the treasures which Harṣa had brought from his grandparents and fixed a certain sum as allowance for him. Kalaśa also tried to look personally into the affairs of the kingdom and brought about much improvement in the administration.¹ Having settled the affairs at home and having made pious foundations, he then took up foreign expeditions. At this time King Sahajapāla of Rājapurī died and was succeeded on the throne by his son Saṅgrāmapāla, but the child king's uncle Madanapāla wanted to usurp the throne. Saṅgrāmapāla's sister took refuge in Kashmir and sought help from king Kalaśa; the latter's soldiers restored order in Rājapurī.² After some time there was again trouble from Madanapāla in Rājapurī; the Kashmirian commander Bappaṭa defeated him and brought him in fetters to the king.³ Next expedition was sent to Uraśā under Malla, the father of future kings Uccala and Sussala. Malla easily defeated king Abhaya⁴.

1. Rājat. VII, 488 ff.

2. Rājat. VII, 533-537.

3. Rājat. VII, 574-75.

4. Rājat. VII, 585-86.

Malla was Kalaśa's brother from another branch of the Lohara family.

of Uraśśā and brought herds of horses as booty. These expeditions and successes were followed by a darbar of hill rājās in Kashmir in 1087-88. According to Kalhana it was attended by:-¹

- i. Kīrtī of Baddhāpura (Babbāpura or Durgara)
- ii. Āsaṭa, King of Campā (Chambā)
- iii. Kalaśa, Tukka's son, lord of Vallāpura (Balor)
- iv. King Saṅgrāmapā(a, lord of Rājapurī (Rajaurī)
- v. Utkarṣa, ruler of Lohara (Loharin)
- vi. Saṅgaṭa, king of Uraśśā (Hazārā)
- vii. Gāmbhīrasīha, chief of Kānda
- viii. Uttamarāja, the ruler of Kāṣṭhavāṭa. (Kishtwār)

i Stein could not identify King Kīrtī of Baddhāpura with any of the rulers mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.² On the basis of variations in the various manuscripts, he suggested that the ruler of Babbāpura, mentioned in VIII, 538, in a list of rājās from the hills to the east of Kashmir, corresponds in all probability to the chief named in the first place.³

1. Rājat. VII, 588-90. For Kalaśa of Vallāpura cf. VII, 220.

2. Stein. Rājat. tr. VII, 588-90 note.

3. Ibid.

See Stein Addenda to the text ed. Rājat.

He also suggested that Kīrti could possibly be the abbreviated name of Kīrtirāja, who is referred to as ruler of Nīlapura in another verse in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī,¹ and felt that Nīlapura could possibly be connected with a locality mentioned as Bappanīla in certain verses in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, Nīla suggesting connection with Nīlapura while Bappa could be connected with Babbāpura.²

Writing the history of the Jammu state, Hutchison and Vogel found the first historical mention of this state under the name of Durgara in two Chambā copper plate title deeds of the eleventh century, which actually refer to events that took place in the early part of the 10th century. This gave them the evidence that the state was in existence and was ruled by its own chiefs. They felt surprised that while many other hill states like Campā, Vallāpur (Ballaur), Trigarta (Kangra), and others are mentioned, there is no reference to Durgara in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.³ The explanation for this fact, according to Vogel, is that the state was referred to under the name of its capital, which was evidently at Babbāpura, now Babor, near the left bank of the Tawi, some 17 miles east of Jammu.⁴ The derivation of the modern name Babor from Babbāpura is

1. Stein. Rājat. tr. VII, 588-90. note.

2. Stein. Rājat. tr. VII, 253 note.

3. J.P. His. Soc. Vol. VIII. No. 2, pp. 10f.
J.R.A.S. pp. 403-406.

4. F. Drew. A Geographical Account of the Jammu and Kashmir territories. p.87.

taken on the analogy of other similar place names ending in Pura in the hills, such as Balor derived from Vallāpura, Brahmor from Brahmapura, and Manglor from Maṅgalapura.¹ This was further strengthened by the existence of a defaced inscription in Śāradā characters of the type of Cambā copper plates (Baijnāth praśastīs) which are dated in Śaka 1126 or A.D. 1204.² The discovery of a copper coin from the Babor site and its identification by R. Burn with the coins of king Kalaśa of Kashmir is, as pointed out by Vogel, particularly interesting in connection with Kalhaṇa's first mention of Babbāpura in the reign of king Kalaśa of Kashmir.³ The name of Kīrtidhara is found in the Vaṃśāvalī just about c A.D. 1070-90. Thus from the prominent position given to this ruler⁴, and from all the sound reasons put forward by Vogel, we are led to believe that he was no other than the king of Jammu territory, the capital of which was then at Babor, the ancient Babbāpura. The name of this rājā as given in the list supplied by Kalhaṇa is Kīrti and not Kīrtirāja, for he uses

1. Hutchison and Vogel. D.P. Hist. Soc. Surv. p.104;

J.R.A.S., 1907, p.404.

2. Bühler. Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p.97 ff.

3. J.R.A.S. 1907, pp. 405-406.

4. Rājat. VII, 582, 588.

It is interesting to note here that in Dogri language Babba is the term used for 'father'.

the latter name for the rājā of Nīlapura. The abbreviation from Kīrtidhara to Kīrti is quite possible; Kalhaṇa never makes such an abbreviation in respect of the name of Kīrtirāja of Nīlapura.¹ From a previous reference to this rājā Stein's suggestion would seem quite possible, but on the basis of the evidence supplied by Vogel we are quite convinced that this was none other than King Kīrtidhara of Babbāpura.

The territories and names of the other rulers are well known. Utkarṣa the ruler of Lohara was the younger son of Kalaśa and, as a feudatory of the King of Kashmir, he also came to pay homage. On the reference to Kānda as lying on the road from Bhadrāvakaśa (modern Bhadravāh), to Kashmir, Stein conjectured that Kānda was the name of one of the hill districts immediately to the S.E. of Kashmir.² On local knowledge we suggest that it may be the home of the Dogras and Chibs situated along the Punjab frontiers and known as Kandi at present.

The presence of particularly all the known rājās of Kalaśa's time who came to pay homage to him as feudatories or

1. Stein. Rājat tr. VII, 588-90, note.
 2. Ibid. cf. Imp. Gaz. Vol XV, p.72; *Ant. of Chamber. p. 23.*

as friendly neighbours shows the great importance of the kingdom of Kashmir in connection with the adjoining hill territories in Mediaeval times. The hospitality shown by the king of Kashmir is also significant of their good relations.

The rest of the history of Kalaśa is full of internal troubles, especially owing to the disaffection of his son Harṣa, who formed a plot to kill his father, on the conspiracy becoming known to Kalaśa, Harṣa was imprisoned and Utkarṣa, Kalaśa's younger son, was brought from Lohara and was anointed king of Kashmir on Kalaśa's final illness and death in 1089.¹

After Kalaśa's death in 1089, Utkarṣa, the younger brother of Harṣa, was crowned², but Vijayamalla, another son of Kalaśa from Queen Padmaśrī stood in opposition.³ The king tried to appease him by promising him the same daily allowances which his elder brother Harṣa had received from his father. Harṣa, the rightful heir to the throne, was kept

1. Rājat VII, 698-703.

2. Rājat VII, 729.

3. Rājat VII, 731.

in a closely guarded prison where, apprehensive of his personal safety, he managed to secure the good offices of his younger half-brother Vijayamalla.¹ Utkarṣa's inefficiency and parsimonious conduct soon alienated the feelings of his court and subjects, who longed to see the magnanimous Harṣa on the throne.² Encouraged by these developments Vijayamalla rose in open rebellion and attacked King Utkarṣa in the capital. This rising induced Utkarṣa to plan the murder of Harṣa, but his cowardice and vacillation stood in his way and, in his nervousness, he gave wrong orders which led to Harṣa's release. The confusion and the tumult that followed gave an opportunity to Harṣa to seize the throne.³ Utkarṣa was made a captive in the palace, where he committed suicide after a reign of twenty-two days only.⁴

Thus came to the throne King Harṣa, the last great king of the first Lohara dynasty, who ruled from 1089-1101. In some ways resembling Muhammad Tughlaq of medieval India and Charles II of England, Harṣa stands as a striking figure among the medieval Hindu rulers of Kashmir. At the commencement of his reign he showed wise forbearance by

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1. Rājat VII, 750-55.
 2. Rājat VII, 732-35, 773-74.
 3. Rājat VII, 729.
 4. Rājat VII, 833-850.

keeping his father's ministers in their original posts.¹ He placed his younger half-brother Jayarāja at the head of the host of Chamberlains² and made Vijayamalla, his other half-brother, his chief adviser in all the affairs of State.³ This very Vijayamalla began to lust for the throne and conspired to kill Harṣa. The conspiracy, however, leaked out and Vijayamalla had to seek refuge in the territory of the Daradas in the north of Kashmir, where he was welcomed by Vidyādhara Śāhi, the Darada ruler; later, in an attempt to lead an expedition against Kashmir, Vijayamalla was killed by an avalanche.⁴

Being free from the danger from Vijayamalla, Harṣa started his elaborate scheme of introducing elegant fashions in dress and ornaments in the attire of his courtiers and himself. The magnificence reached its culmination with the introduction of the Dākṣiṇātya fashions and the adoption of the coin-types from the south.⁵ Such was the splendour that he bestowed on his courtiers and scholars that it is said that Bilhana, who was a chief Paṇḍit of the court of the Cālukya king Tribhuvanamalla VI, now regretted having left Kashmir during the reign of King Kalaśa.⁶ The introduction of a south Indian coin-type has been proved by the numismatic evidence⁷, while the Vikramāṅkadevacarita

1. Rājat VII, 886 ff.

2. Rājat VII, 881.

3. Rājat VII, 899-912.

4. Rājat VII, 913, 916.

5. Rājat VII 925 ff.

6. Rājat VII. 935-937.

7. Cunningham. C.M. 9. P 34.
(Plate V. 22, 23)

of Bilhana testifies to his being in the court of the Cālukya king Tribhuvanamalla.¹ Thus we can believe that Kalhana's conventional description of the magnificence of the court has a factual basis. Harṣa also gave lavish gifts to the brāhmaṇas. He had been well-known for his learning and love for the learned even before he came to the throne,² and had entertained his father in his court with his poetic compositions and musical performances. Kalhana also records that he used to provide the scholars out of his own meagre funds as a prince.³ The parsimonious conduct of Kalaśa and Utkarṣa and the criticism that the latter met from the subjects, who referred to him as a miserly Khaśa, must have further encouraged Harṣa.⁴ The scanty allowances that he received as a prince from his father seem to have caused a psychological reaction on his coming to the throne, and his excessive gifts to the poets and scholars suggest that by extravagant generosity he relieved his pent up feelings at the first opportunity. The introduction of the new fashions stands testimony to his elegant tastes but the introduction of the coin type from the south and the existence of his silver and gold coinage do not necessarily indicate any general affluence and prosperity during his reign, but rather his extravagance in

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1. Vikramāṅka Bühler. *Introd.* pp 6 ff.
 2. Rājat VII, 610-717.
 3. Rājat VII, 611-613
 4. Rājat VII, 773-774

spending the wealth stored in the royal treasury.

Harṣa also attempted foreign expeditions in order to assert the authority of Kashmir in the neighbouring territories. We have already seen that there was internal trouble over the succession to the throne in Rājapurī and King Kalaśa, Harṣa's father, had been quite successful in settling the dispute in favour of Saṁgrāmapāla. We have also seen that King Saṁgrāmapāla attended the darbar of hill rājās in Kashmir in 1087-88,¹ but the relations between the two kingdoms appear to have been strained during the reign of King Harṣa², when an expedition was sent to Rājapurī under Sunna³, with no apparent success. A later expedition, led by the Commander-in-Chief, Kandarpa, defeated the Rājapurī forces and compelled the ruler to pay tribute.⁴ The success that Kandarpa attained in Rājapurī, roused the jealousies of the other ministers, and the evil counsellors who now surrounded Harṣa managed to secure the disgrace and ultimately the banishment of this great and faithful general.⁵

The mutual jealousies at the court and the existence of treacherous officers around Harṣa, encouraged Jayarāja, his younger half-brother, who was the son of a concubine of Kalaśa,

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1. Supra. p. 59.
 2. Rājat VII, 967-991.
 3. Rājat VII, 968.
 4. Rājat VII, 971-991.
 5. Rājat VII, 996.

and who, we have stated before, had been placed at the head of the Chamberlains by the king, to enter into a dangerous conspiracy to kill Harṣa.¹ His associate in all this arrangement was Dhammaṭa, the son of Tanvaṅga from another branch of the Lohara family.² Harṣa came to know of their intentions, succeeded in sowing dissension between the two conspirators, and then had Jayarāja executed.³ After cruelly putting Jayarāja to death in the year 1095, he turned upon Dhammaṭa and had him also killed.⁴ Harṣa seems to have become so desperate at the conduct of these relatives, whom he had raised to good positions and had treated affectionately, that he now planned to put an end to all possible dangers to his life and throne. He thus had Dhammaṭa's four sons - Tulla, Vijayarāja, Bulla and Gulla - killed.⁵ Domba, the elder son of Utkarṣa, was also killed along with Jayamalla, the son of Harṣa's younger brother Vijayamalla.⁶

Harṣa's extravagant expenditure on the magnificence of the court and the huge expense incurred on the maintenance of troops, led to a serious drain on his treasury and grave financial troubles⁷. He now planned to meet them by looting the temple

1. Rājat VII, 1011-1015.

2. Rājat VII, 1018.

3. Rājat VII, 1019-1032.

4. Rājat VII, 1046-49.

5. Rājat VII, 1065 - See Genealogical table, No. I. part. B.

6. Rājat VII, 1068, 1069.

7. Rājat VII, 1081 ff.

treasures. Not content with this, he started the desecration of the images, melting them down for financial purposes.¹ We have dealt with the whole question of the defilement of the images of gods and the spoliation of the wealth of the temples separately.² He also imposed excessive taxes on the people until even the night-soil used as manure was taxed.³ This was followed by the excessive influence of the parasites and imposters. Harṣa is said to have become so debauched that he committed incest with his own cousins and father's wives.⁴ The king's perversion and depravity^{had} led him to introduce three hundred and sixty women of doubtful character in his seraglio.⁵

It was amidst this atmosphere of debauchery and dissipation that Harṣa led another expedition against Rājapurī. The trouble in this territory seems to have continued even after its conquest at the hands of Kandarpa.⁶ We find king Harṣa first carrying on negotiations through envoys and later himself leading an expedition.⁷ The fortress of Pṛthvīgiri was besieged, and the king of Rājapurī offered large tribute and supplies in order to save the garrison, but Harṣa did not agree to raise the siege.

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1. Rājat VII, 1091 ff.
 2. Infra. p. 209
 3. Infra. p. 210
 4. Rājat VII, 1146-48.
 5. Rājat VII, 961-964.
 6. Supra. p. 66
 7. Rājat VII, 1150-59; 1293.

Later Harṣa's treacherous army-commander (dandanāyaka) Sunna, who was bribed by the king of Rājapurī, instigated the soldiers to demand heavy marching allowances and spread rumours of an invasion of Kashmir by the Turuṣkas. Apprehensive of the ruin of his own kingdom, Harṣa was compelled to raise the siege and flee in despair.¹ After Harṣa's retreat from Rājapurī, Sahela, the Mahattama², who had embezzled the king's revenue, instigated him to lead an expedition against the Daradas and to seize from them the fort of Dugdhaghāta³. This fort had fallen into the hands of the Daradas after the death of the Dāmara Lakkanacandra, who had held it during the reign of king Kalāśa. Harṣa now endeavoured to capture it.⁴ The expedition was undertaken on a report that the garrison's water supply was exhausted due to drought.⁵ The king despatched all his feudatories to besiege the fort but it was very difficult to stand the onslaught of the Daradas.⁶ The situation grew worse because of the heavy rain which made fighting difficult.⁷ The forces were compelled to retreat. Numberless Kashmiri soldiers were captured or slain, but the situation was saved by the bravery of Malla's two sons Uccala and Sussals, who

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1. Rājat VII, 1159.
 2. See infra. p. 160, note 4.
 3. Rājat VII, 1170-71.
 4. Rājat VII, 1172-73.
 5. Rājat VII, 1175-76.
 6. Rājat VII, 1180-81.
 7. Rājat VII, 1186.

endeavoured to save the army and who were destined to become the first kings of the Second Lohara dynasty; these showed great bravery and thus won the hearts of the subjects.¹ All these events fall between the years 1095 and 1099. The expedition to Dugdhaghāṭa was sent in 1098 while the unsuccessful expedition to Rājapurī may be placed between 1096 and 1098.²

These disastrous expeditions were followed by natural calamities. While a plague was raging and robbers were everywhere harassing the subjects, there occurred a disastrous flood which resulted in a severe famine, so that the rivers were all full of dead bodies.³ The king, instead of relieving the distress of the subjects, imposed heavier taxes on them.⁴ These financial exactions were followed by the persecution of the Dāmaras of Maḍavarājya and Kramarājya,⁵ and those who brought to the king the heads of the Dāmaras, were honoured with rich gifts. The rest of the history of Harṣa's reign is a long story of the struggle of Uccala and Sussala to gain the throne of Kashmir with the help of Rājapurī and the disaffected Dāmaras of Kashmir. So ruthlessly did Harṣa persecute the Dāmaras that he did not even spare their women if they resisted; some of them fled

1. Rājat VII, 1196-99.
 2. cf. Rājat VII, 1032, 1219.
 3. Rājat VII, 1219-1222.
 4. Rājat VII, 1225.
 5. Rājat VII, 1227-1235.

to the neighbouring territories and converted to Mohammedanism. This persecution of the landed aristocracy turned them desperately against king Harṣa and, collecting their forces, they decided to offer united resistance.¹ Instigated by Lakṣīdhara, one of the ministers of Harṣa, they decided to kill Uccala and Sussala.² Learning about this plan, the two brothers escaped in the autumn of 1100. Uccala went to Rājapurī, while Sussala took shelter with king Kalha of Kāliñjara - a hill territory to the south of Kashmir.³

Uccala's presence in Rājapurī was a constant source of fear to Harṣa; so he offered huge sums of money to king Saṃgrāmapāla to kill him. Rather than removing the danger these overtures exposed Harṣa's weakness and led the king of Rājapurī to show more favours to Uccala. Kalhana writes: "Those of Rājapurī are no well-wishers of Kashmir. What need be said of the intrigues which arose when a mighty opponent of the Kashmirian ruler had arrived amongst them."⁴ Thus the situation turned out to be very grave when a rival claimant to the throne of Kashmir reached the court of a powerful enemy, instigated and helped by the desperately offended landed aristocracy. Harṣa now had recourse to diplomacy. He bribed a chief

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1. Rājat VII, 1227-41.
 2. Rājat VII, 1248-49.
 3. Rājat VII, 1254-56.
 4. Rājat VII, 1258-61.

(Thakkura) of Rājapurī in order to sow dissension between Saṅgrāmapāla and Uccala.¹ The scheme worked well at first, but when Kalāśarāja, the Thakkura of Rājapurī, with the connivance of the king, was planning to capture Uccala and imprison him in the fortress of Rājapurī, the plan was revealed to Uccala through his trusted friends.² Kalāśarāja's soldiers, however, attacked Uccala, but the fighting was stopped through the intercession of some of the chief persons of Rājapurī.³ Thereafter Uccala sent some of his helpers ahead and himself planned to march through Kramarājya on Kashmir. Some of the disaffected Dāmaras and Khāśikas from the hills joined Uccala on the way.⁴ King Harṣa's officers did not take quick action against the rebels, while Uccala was marching fast. The Dāmaras of Kramarājya were now in open rebellion and those of Maḍavarājya also rose under the leadership of Ānanda, the maternal uncle of Uccala.⁵ After defeating Sakela, the Commander-in-chief of king Harṣa's army, Uccala established himself at Parihāsapura.⁶ Harṣa bravely routed Uccala's forces but committed a great blunder in not pursuing the enemy until he was utterly defeated. This gave Uccala another chance to gather up his strength in

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1. Rājat VII, 1266-68.
 2. Rājat VII, 1272-75.
 3. Rājat VII, 1294-96.
 4. Rājat VII, 1298 ff.
 5. Rājat VII, 1302.
 6. Rājat VII, 1319, 1326.

Kramarājya.¹ Uccala had hardly been routed when Sussala attacked Harṣa from the south through the frontier guard-station of Sūrapura (Hirōpōr) on the Pīr Pāntśāl route and pushed the royal forces towards the capital.² The brave commander-in-chief Cradrarāja checked Sussala's advance, but the latter's attack encouraged Uccala and also diverted the strength of the king's defences into two opposite directions.³ As the Dāmaras were mostly on foot, Uccala, fearing Harṣa's Cavalry, marched across the mountains into the Indus valley. Thus he took the king unawares and defeating the royal army marched towards the Capital.⁴ The brāhmanas of Hiranyapura (modern Ranyil) assembled together and consecrated him as king.⁵

Treachery and treason at Harṣa's court aggravated the situation. Some of his ministers now advised him to seek shelter in the Lohara castle.⁶ Harṣa refused this advice and did not even allow his son Bhoja to seek shelter there. The Tantrīn troops⁷, when sent to oppose the enemy, claimed marching allowances even if they stayed in the city. Desperate over these troubles and instigated by the Śāhi queens, Harṣa killed

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1. Rājat VII, 1331.
 2. Rājat VII, 1340-48.
 3. Rājat VII, 1352-59.
 4. Rājat VII, 1359-85.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Rājat VII, 1457.
 7. Infra pp 185-88.

Malla, the father of the rebels Uccala and Sussala in the month of Bhādrapada 1101.¹ This roused the anger of Malla's sons, who carried on the struggle with greater vigour. Sussala, who was advancing from the south-east, threw himself upon Vijayeśvara and, defeating the king's general Candrarāja, advanced on Śrīnagara. Harṣa's brave son Bhoja managed to defeat Sussala, but in the meantime Uccala entered the capital from the north.² Events might have had a different course had not Bhoja's efforts been frustrated by the treachery of the general Sunna, and Nāga, the prefect of the City³ who threw open the gates of Śrīnagara to Uccala. After some resistance at the head of the bridge of boats over the Jhelum, Harṣa was driven back into the palace, which was then set on fire. Bhoja took to flight. Only Candipaka, Kalhana's father, Prayāga, Harṣa's personal servant who had remained faithful to him through all his troubles and turmoils, and a cook Mukta, remained with the king. He sent away Candipaka to search for his son Bhoja. Being completely deserted by all his followers, Harṣa became utterly confused and fled, hiding himself in the hut of a base mendicant. It was in that wretched shelter that Harṣa got the terrible news of the death of his son Bhoja; his identity being revealed, he was betrayed and ultimately mercilessly killed by the Dāmaras⁴, at the age of 42 years

1. Rājat VII, 1469-70.

2. Rājat VII, 1497-1537.

3. Rājat VII, 1540-42

4. Rājat, 1498-1717.

and 8 months. The rule of the first Lohara dynasty thus came to an end in 1101.

On this remarkable and ill-fated king, we cite the words of Kalhana. Thus Kalhana asks: "How is it to be related, that story of King Harṣa which has seen the rise of all enterprises and yet tells of all failures; which brings to light all (kinds of) settled plans and yet shows the absence of Policy; which displays an excessive assertion of ruling power and yet has witnessed excessive disregard of orders; which (tells) of excessive abundance of liberality and of (equally) excessive persistence in confiscation; which gives delight by an abundant (display) compassion and shocks by the superabundance of murders; which is rendered charming by the redundance of pious works and soiled by the superabundance of sins; which is attractive on all sides and yet repulsive, worthy of praise and deserving of blame; which sensible men must magnify and deride; regard with love and yet feel aggrieved at; which is to be blessed and to be condemned, worthy of memory and yet to be dismissed from the mind?"¹

It is interesting ~~here~~ ^{here} to see a view of history as a Science dealing with the mind of man. Such a concept is appropriate to the chronicle of the history of a despotic monarchy where there is one man trying to mould affairs according to his own schemes, good or bad, or by his own whims and caprices - sometimes a curious medley of motives and their effects. It

1. Rājat VII, 869-873.

happened in England with the coming of the Stuarts. James I and his ideas about the divinity of kings and the "law of free monarchies"¹ when put into practice, though in different circumstances and environment, created a constant struggle culminating into civil war and regicide. It is interesting to note that James I came from Scotland while Harṣa's dynasty was from the hill castle of Bohara. James was a highly intellectual man while Harṣa's literary accomplishments are repeatedly mentioned in the Rājataranṅinī and also recognised in foreign sources.

We repeat further words of Kalhaṇa's, which he puts into the mouth of the king himself: "Nobody else, I know, will reign with such wide aims as I have reigned in this late period", "death and Kubera sit upon the lips of kings, this saying was true of me alone in this Kali Yuga",¹ "for the sake of maintaining the people I, though versed in a combination of sciences, affected to be (solely) a producer of riches (Śrīgarbha), this has been the cause of my confusion",² "Uccala too, whose intellect might be gathered on the tip of a finger, will mock my actions",³ and last of all he says: "The fire which has risen from the burning pains of the subjects, does not go out until it has consumed the king's race, fortune and life".⁴

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1. Rājat VII, 1416-17.
 2. Rājat VII, 1424.
 3. Rājat VII, 1425.
 4. Rājat VII, 1582.

We do not write the above as an instance of exact parallels but an interesting reminiscence of the idealism of a man at the helm and despotism in its practical working.

Thus all the characteristic features of Harṣa's reign are expressed through the king himself. He was a great luminary of his time, he had played the role of Kubera (the God of Wealth) as a bestower of splendour and magnificence to his court yet he had killed his subjects, the Dāmaras like the God of Death. The amassing of wealth by all possible means had been his main aim, pursuing which he did not shirk even from confiscating the wealth of the temples and melting the divine images. Yet to his utter disgust, he saw the results of his policy before his very eyes, and realized that they had been the cause of his utter misfortune.

He killed all the possible rival claimants to the throne, yet did not realize the evil effect of his actions on the remaining members of the Lohara family. Killing the Dāmaras he did not realize that they were also a part of his subjects; while amassing riches by foul means he did not understand the horror which it would cause to the feelings of his religious minded subjects. He gave magnificence to his court, but did not realize that the magnificence of the court was not the magnificence of the public at large. Thus concluded a reign which started with high hopes but came to an ignominious end. We might excuse Harṣa somewhat, in view of the wide aims with which he started his reign and his sincerity and affection for his relatives, but it is difficult to excuse him as a ruler who went to an ultimate limit to execute his aims without realizing their deeper effects and the general conditions of his country. He

did not realize the importance of promptitude and swiftness of action needed of a State^sman. The very magnificence created mutual jealousies which resulted in the disaffection of his officers and courtiers and became the cause of the downfall of the first Lohara dynasty. The subjects at large, including the brāhmaṇas, were totally alienated by his ruthless policy.

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Thus came to the throne Uccala, the elder son of Malla, as the first king of the Second Lohara dynasty. He ruled from 1101-11. There were three great problems which he had to face just at the commencement of his reign.

- i. The rivalry of his brother Sussala.
- ii. The powerful landed aristocracy - the Ḍāmaras - who had played a great part in the downfall of the first Lohara dynasty.
- iii. An empty treasury.

He settled the first by making Sussala, an independent ruler of Lohara.¹

The struggle between the two rival dynasties had brought the Ḍāmaras into the forefront. They had played a great role in the fight against Harṣa. We have seen that in this great struggle, even Rājapurī had held aloof, and it was actually only through the help of the Ḍāmaras that Uccala had been successful in bringing about the downfall of the first Lohara dynasty. These constant wars had made them quite turbulent and they themselves became a great source of danger to the monarchy in Kashmir. Remembering their past services, Uccala at first put them to high offices but later he created mutual jealousies among them and employed cunning diplomacy to bring about their deaths; by arranging duels between them he managed to get many of them killed.

1. Rājat. VIII, 8.

2. Rājat. VIII, 39 ff.

The next task before Uccala was the reorganisation of the internal administration, which must have been greatly disrupted during the turbulent period at the end of Harṣa's reign. The first step towards this aim was to win over the feelings of the public by redressing their grievances, by strictly avoiding all cases of voluntary starvation (prāyopaveśa) which was so common in medieval Kashmir as a protest against injustice.¹ Kalhaṇa has related an anecdote of this king's Solomon-like justice.² He tried to reform the bureaucracy by curbing the power of the Kāyasthas.³

Despite all these measures, the history of Uccala's reign is a long story of the repeated resurgence of these problems. Sussala never rested till he got the throne of Kashmir while the Dāmaras were a constant source of trouble. Corruption and rebellion were rampant. The rebellion against Harṣa encouraged other rival claimants and pretenders to the throne of Kashmir. Thus the Darada ruler put forth the claims of one of king Kalaśa's sons.⁴ Uccala diplomatically managed to induce the Daradas to retire to their own territory. The next great rival was Bhikṣācara, the grandson of Harṣa, who had escaped and had been brought up by the Parmāra king Naravarman of Malwā (c 1097-1111).⁵ Even the City Prefect Chuḍḍa laid claim to the throne of Kashmir

1. Rājat. VIII, 51.

2. Infra. pp 223-25

3. Rājat. VIII, 85 ff.

4. Rājat. VIII, 209.

5. Rājat. VIII, 255 ff. Stein. Rājat. tr. VIII, 228 note.

as the descendant of king Yaśaskara¹ and one night he and his brother murdered the king, on 8th December, 1111.² Raḍḍa, one of the brothers of Chuḍḍa now became the king assuming the name of Śaṅkharāja, but was put to death by Gargacandra of Lahara.³ Salhaṇa, a half-brother of Uccala, was put on the throne⁴, but the news of Uccala's death brought Sussala to Kashmir. Gargacandra fought against him and put him to flight.⁵ Salhaṇa had neither political wisdom nor valour, neither cunning nor straightforwardness, neither liberality nor greed, and Gargacandra became the real king during the short reign of this puppet.⁶ Salhaṇa's attempt to break the power of Gargacandra, threw him into the arms of Sussala, who, after some struggle, succeeded in defeating and capturing Salhaṇa after a short reign of about four months, in the spring of 1112.⁷

Sussala's character is described by Kalhaṇa as being like that of Uccala in many respects, but his long fruitless struggles seem to have added to his natural harshness and cruelty.⁸ Knowing the condition of the depleted treasury, he hoarded treasure in the family stronghold of Lohara. His rule is one long

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1. Rājat. VIII, 256 ff.
 2. Rājat. VIII, 303 ff.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 347-48.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 371 ff.
 5. Rājat. VIII, 379-411.
 6. Rājat. VIII, 415 ff.
 7. Rājat. VIII, 450-80.
 8. Rājat. VIII, 482 ff.

tale of internal troubles caused by rebellion of the powerful Ḍāmaras whom Sussala in vain endeavoured to subdue completely.

Very soon after his accession, Sussala had to face the rising of the Ḍāmaras under Gargacandra.¹ He had to struggle hard to break their strength. He imprisoned the rivals Salhaṇa and Loṭhaṇa, and renewed his alliance with the chiefs of the neighbouring hill tracts. At this time Sahasramaṅgala and other nobles whom Sussala had exiled made attempts to enter Kashmir from Cināb valley.² Another danger that Sussala had to face was Bhikṣācara. As noted above, he had escaped³ from Kashmir as a small child and now met a party of hill chiefs from Campā, Vallāpura⁴ and adjacent valleys. They entered into marriage alliances with him, but the plans that they made for the invasion of Kashmir could not be executed because of their own internal feuds.⁵

In the short interval of rest after this, Sussala diverted his attention towards exacting revenue administration which we have dealt with elsewhere.⁶

Suspicious of the great power of Gargacandra, Sussala, raised a rival in Mallakoṣṭha, a Ḍāmara of Lahara. After a hard

1. Rājat. VIII, 502 ff.

2. Rājat. VIII, 534 ff.

3. Supra p. 80

4. Rājat. VIII, 537 ff.

5. Rājat. VIII, 549 ff.

6. Infra. p. 210

fight in the Sind Valley, Gargacandra was forced to surrender and was later strangled to death along with his sons¹ in 1118.

About this time (1118), there was again trouble in Rājapurī. ~~We have already mentioned~~ ^{Earlier,} that after the death of Saṅgrāmapāla there had been friction over succession there. King Uccala had interfered in the affair and, in order to have closer ties with this kingdom, had given his daughter in marriage to king Somapāla.² Now Somapāla put his elder brother Pratāpāpāla to death, at which Nāgapāla, the younger half-brother of Somapāla, murdered the minister who had murdered Pratāpāpāla and fled to Kashmir for protection.³ Enraged at the action of Somapāla, king Sussala did not accept his friendly overtures and decided to wage war against him. Baffled in his attempts at conciliation, Somapāla sought alliance with Bhikṣācara, the grandson of Harṣa who had established himself at Vallāpura (modern Balor). This made matters worse and hastened Sussala's attack on Somapāla.⁴ Thus we find that both Rājapurī and Kashmir became the centres of intrigues and safe refuges for the rival claimants to each other's thrones. In the ensuing fight king Somapāla was defeated and fled, and Sussala installed Nāgapāla on the throne of Rājapurī in the autumn of 1118. Kalhana tells us that king Sussala stayed in Rājapurī for seven

1. Rājat. VIII, 605 ff.

2. Rājat. VIII, 288-291.

3. Rājat. VIII, 619-20.

4. Rājat. VIII, 621-24.

months" causing terror to his various enemies", which shows that the trouble did not end with the defeat of Somapāla and the situation necessitated Sussala's constant stay there.¹ Despite this protracted stay he could not win the feelings of the subjects, who were attached to Somapāla, and when in the spring of 1119 Sussala returned to Kashmir, Nāgapāla² his protégé lost his throne and had to follow him. It appears from the narrative that Sussala's long stay in Rājapurī and the ultimate failure of the whole project of putting a puppet ruler on the throne of this kingdom cost king Sussala much. After his return to Kashmir he started oppressing the subjects reduced his expenditure, and made new appointments, which resulted in much trouble and disintegration in the internal affairs of Kashmir. The new ministers lacked strength and there was heavy loss to the exchequer by the sudden change in administration.³

This policy resulted into discontent and a rebellion of the Dāmaras in Lahara. The commander-in-chief Tilaka was able to put down the rebellion but the king's disregard made this general disaffected and slack in his duties⁴. In the beginning of the year 1120 there was a great rising of the Dāmaras, who carried off the king's horses. The king showed great cruelty, killed them and even dishonoured their women. Vijaya and Mallakoṣṭha, the great Dāmaras of the time, now brought Bhikṣā-

1. Rājat. VIII. 624.

2.3. Rājat. VIII. 634-40.

cara to Kashmir, by the route of Viṣṭāṭā. Vijaya was killed by the commander-in-chief, but Mallakoṣṭha sent his own troops to help Bhikṣācara.¹ The king in his folly now told the disaffected officers to let Bhikṣācara enter the city so that he might slay him, but this resulted in Bhikṣācara's gaining fame; making the people feel that it was owing to the king's inability that he entered unopposed. As he approached Śrīnagara various rumours spread all over Kashmir about Bhikṣācara's greatness and in the summer of 1120 he actually won a victory over king Sussala. The Dāmaras of Lahara, Khadūvī, and Holaḍā, all joined together and besieged Śrīnagara. The king offered brave resistance, but owing to the disaffection of the members of the inner court (ābhyantara) and the faithlessness of the commander-in-chief, his efforts proved useless. The ~~breaking out of a~~ rebellion of the royal troops broke the back of his defences and in the winter of 1120, he was compelled to seek shelter and safety in Lohara.²

After Sussala's departure Bhikṣācara was installed as king, thus bringing about the restoration of the first Lohara dynasty. The city Prefect Janakasiṃha and the commander-in-chief Tilaka respectively gave him their niece and daughter in marriage

1. Rājat. VIII. 661 ff.
 2. Rājat. VIII. 749ff.
 3. Rājat. VIII. 851, 860

Bhikṣācara had been brought to the throne owing to the mutual jealousies and lust for power of the Dāmaras, but he was not a suitable person to be the king in those turbulent times. Inexperienced in the affairs of state he left the regal power in the hands of Bimba, the prime minister (Sarvādhikārin) and himself engaged in the pleasures of royalty.¹ The Dāmaras whose conspiracy and revolt had been aimed at establishing a puppet ruler on the throne, had a free hand in the country. The strongest among them, especially Pṛthvīnara and Mallakoṣṭha, fought terrible battles among themselves and a reign of terror prevailed in the kingdom.²

The Prime Minister, Bimba, now led an expedition to Lohara with the help of Somapāla, king of Rājapurī and some Turuṣkas -- Muslims of the lower Punjab hills.³ The Kashmir force was completely defeated by Sussala. This brought a reaction in favour of the old king,; the Dāmaras made secret contact with him and even the brāhmaṇa corporations also longed for the return of Sussala.⁴

Pṛthvīnara, however, remained on Bhikṣācara's side. In the summer of 1121 Sussala marched on Śrīnagara and entered the city unopposed. Bhikṣācara fled to Rājapurī and later settled in Puṣiāṇanāḍa (modern Puṣiāṇa) at the southern foot of the Pīr Pantiśāl pass. His attempts to defeat Sussala created apprehension

1. Rājat. VIII. 849 ff.

2. Rājat. VIII. 882 ff.

3. Rājat. VIII. 884 ff.

4. Ibid.

among the Dāmaras whose ambition was not to have a strong, but a weak and insignificant ruler, who would not be in any way a check to their power.¹ The treachery and weakness of his own officers now made Sussala employ many Rājaputras from the hills to the South of Kashmir², whose bravery and faithfulness helped him in holding his position against the repeated attacks of Bhikṣācara and the rebellious Dāmaras.³ The Dāmaras were still a constant source of trouble to the ruling king and in the Spring of 1123, they closely besieged Śrīnagara.⁴ This was followed by a huge conflagration in which the whole city was burnt and great stores of rice were destroyed. The Dāmaras blocked all communications with the villages and hence utter starvation and huge loss of life occurred in the city.⁵ Exasperated by these calamities and troubles and the death of his beloved Queen Meghamañjarī, Sussala decided to abdicate in favour of his son Jayasiṃha, whom he called from Lohara; Jayasiṃha was crowned in the summer of 1123⁶, but the intriguers now played their hand again and made Sussala suspicious of his own son. Power remained in Sussala's hands, since the young king was kept in virtual captivity.⁷

We have stated above that Bhikṣācara was a constant source

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1. Rājat. VIII, 1028, 1032.
 2. Rājat. VIII, 1040, 1083-86.
 3. Rājat VIII. 1104 ff.
 4. Rājat VIII. 1155 ff.
 5. Rājat VIII. 1169 ff.
 6. Rājat. VIII, 1127 ff.
 7. Rājat. VIII, 1247 ff.

of trouble to the kings of the Second Lohara dynasty. Sussala made a plot against this rival with Utpala, the treacherous agent of Tikka, a powerful Dāmara of Devasarasa (modern Divasor) district; Utpala was actually working to destroy the old king and succeeded in murdering Sussala in the Spring of 1128.¹

With the murder of Sussala, Jayasimha, the last great ruler of the Second Lohara dynasty, who was already king in name, gained full control of the government. The condition of the country was very precarious. The Dāmaras were a constant element of unrest, the resources of the country were totally exhausted owing to the constant struggles of the preceding reigns,² and there was continual danger from Bhikṣācara, who had found a refuge with some of his powerful Dāmaras supporters in the Śamālā district.³ Moreover, Jayasimha succeeded to the throne in the midst of an open rebellion.⁴ He started his reign judiciously by proclamation of general amnesty, which was amply rewarded by winning him the support of his subjects.⁵ He also succeeded in enlisting the help of one of the most powerful Dāmaras, Pañcacandra, who had succeeded to his father Gargacandra's rich estates in Lahara (modern Lar).

On the news of Sussala's murder, Bhikṣācara rapidly collected his troops and marched towards Śrīnagara, but

1. Rājat. VIII, 1287-1348.

2. Rājat. VIII, 1544 ff.

3. Rājat. VIII, 1259 ff.

4. Rājat. VIII, 1315 ff.

5. Rājat. VIII, 1377-81.

excessive snowfall retarded his progress.¹ In the meanwhile Pañcacandra's troops, enlarged by detachments of mercenaries, wrought utter disaster in Bhikṣācara's army.² The Ḍāmaras who supported Jayasiṃha put down the chief adherents of Sussala, while the new king's position in the Capital and much of the surrounding country was made secure by Sujji, a minister of the former king, who gave Jayasiṃha full support.³

On the melting of the snow Bhikṣācara once again made an attempt to recover the kingdom with the help of the Ḍāmaras. Sujji, the best of King Jayasiṃha's generals, met him on the bank of Gāmbhīrā⁴ and defeated his forces. This victory was followed by a further success at Dāmodara.⁵ The king also won over further Ḍāmaras to his side by the judicious granting of suitable grants and honours.⁶ Bhikṣācara was thus forced to retire from Kashmir, and could get no help from the king of Rājapurī, who had concluded a treaty with Jayasiṃha.⁷

1. Rājat. VIII, 1392.

2. Rājat. VIII, 1394-98.

3. Rājat. VIII, 1402-22. Khaḍūvi is a district in the Vihi pargana which adjoins Śrīnagara from the South-East.

4. Rājat. VIII, 1494 ff. Gāmbhīrā is the lowest part of the course of Viśokā on its way to Vijayesuara.

Stein. Rājat. tr. VIII, 1510 note.

5. Rājat. VIII, 1512. Stein. Rājat. tr. note.

Dāmodara is modern Damodar Uḍar to the south of Śrīnagara

6. Rājat. VIII, 1523-24.

7. Rājat. VIII, 1529 ff.

Lakṣamaka, the chief chamberlain, who appears to have been the most influential minister during the early period of Jayasiṁha's reign, re-established law and order. Utpala, who had murdered Sussala, was captured and executed.¹

In the autumn of 1128, however, Bhikṣācara again marched from the South but was defeated once again by the commander-in-chief Sujji.²

Despite the improvement in the political life of Kashmir, Court intrigues and mutual jealousies continued among the ministers. The jealousy of Lakṣmaka and other courtiers so worked against Sujji that Jayasiṁha exiled him. He went to Rājapurī, where he entered into negotiations with Bhikṣācara. Luckily for the king, Bhikṣācara, without waiting for Sujji to join forces with him, expecting a rebellion of Ḍāmaras in Kashmir, marched to the attack once again. Lakṣmaka's forces drove Bhikṣācara back to the castle of Bāṇasālā held by a Khaśa chief, at the south foot of the Bānihāl pass. The king's troops besieged the castle and bribed the Khaśa and allies of Bhikṣācara. Betrayed by his supporters this prince was killed in 1130.⁴

On the death of Bhikṣācara, it appeared as if the real danger to the king's position was over. But soon after there was another trouble. This was the loss of the Lohara Castle.

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1. Rājat. VIII, 1577 ff.
 2. Rājat. VIII, 1584 ff.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 1626 ff.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 1665, 1702-5.

Loṭhana, the brother of the ex-king Salhaṇa, had been kept in Lohara as a captive. With the help of some of the officers, this prince escaped from his prison and captured the fort along with its hoarded treasures.¹ Realizing the danger from the loss of the family stronghold, Jayasiṃha sent a large army under Lakṣmaka to recapture it. The heat of the early summer and the spread of fever among the forces brought disaster. Sujji, the former minister of Jayasiṃha, who was now a trusted supporter of king Somapāla of Rājapurī, taking advantage of this favourable opportunity, persuaded Somapāla to break his treaty with Jayasiṃha. Somapāla sent an expedition to Lohara.² The royal army was completely destroyed and the chamberlain Lakṣmaka was taken prisoner; we are told that 10,000 soldiers of the royal army died of fever alone.³ Lakṣmaka was subsequently ransomed from Somapāla for 36 lakhs of Dinnāras.⁴

Loṭhana thus became the ruler of Lohara with Sujji as his minister.^{4a} The presence of various members of the branches of the Lohara family, always remained a source of trouble. In the winter of 1131, Loṭhana was deposed by Mallārjuna, a half-brother of Jayasiṃha who had been kept as a prisoner in the Lohara Castle. Mallārjuna was, however, a feeble ruler and Jayasiṃha's troops soon intimidated him to agree to pay tribute.⁵ Attempts of

1. Rājat. VIII, 1794 ff.

2. Rājat. VIII, 1865 ff.

3. Rājat. VIII, 1879 ff.

4. Rājat. VIII, 1918.

4a. Rājat. VIII, 1921 ff.

5. Rājat. VIII, 1941 ff.

Loṭhana to depose Mallārjuna gave the chance to the Dāmara Koṣṭheśvara, the son of Pṛthvīhara to establish his position strongly in the valley around Lohara.¹ At the deposition of Loṭhana King Jayasiṃha had recalled Sujji from Lohara and had reinstated him in the charge of the chief-command of the army.² Sujji was able to defeat Mallārjuna, who now fled to Rājapuri. The intrigues of the courtiers again poisoned the king's mind against this minister, who was treacherously murdered through one of his own officers in 1133. The murder of his relations soon followed.³

Jayasiṃha's chief enemies were now Mallārjuna and Koṣṭheśvara⁴. Jayasiṃha tried to accomplish the murder of Koṣṭheśvara, but the plan failed and the latter fled and joined Mallārjuna.⁵ They raised a further rebellion in Kashmir, but the king's troops compelled Koṣṭheśvara to come to terms with him, while Mallārjuna again fled.⁶ In the autumn of 1135, Mallārjuna also surrendered. Thus one of the pretenders to the throne of Lohara was captured.⁷

Jayasiṃha also endeavoured to extend his sway towards the north in the territory of the Daradas, on the death of their

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1. Rājat. VIII, 1989-2024.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 2029-2152.
 4. Supra p. 91
 5. Rājat. VIII, 2220.
 6. Rājat. VIII, 2264.
 7. Rājat. VIII, 2309.

king Yaśodhara.¹ The attempt, however, failed and added to Jayasiṃha's problems by encouraging Loṭhana, the old pretender to the throne of Lohara, and securing him an ally, in the Daradas.² Alaṅkāracakra, a powerful Ḍāmara of Karnāh (Karnah) in the upper Kṛṣṇagaṅgā, with the help of the Daradas, rose in rebellion, ostensibly in support of Loṭhana's cause.³ Loṭhana, supported by Vigharāja, a half-brother of Jayasiṃha, and Bhoja, a son of king Salhana, took up his position in Śirahśilakoṭṭa, a hill castle of the Ḍāmara Alaṅkāracakra on the Kṛṣṇagaṅgā. King Jayasiṃha's forces, besieged the castle. The food and water supplies of the defenders having become exhausted, Alaṅkāracakra bought his safety by delivering Loṭhana and Vigharāja to the king in the Spring of 1144.⁴ Bhoja was kept by Alaṅkāra for future eventualities. Fearing the intentions of the Ḍāmara, Bhoja managed to escape to the Darada ruler Viḍḍasiha who received him hospitably. From the Darada territory Bhoja intrigued with the disaffected officers and the Ḍāmaras of Kashmir to raise a revolt in his favour.⁵ Then he marched with the support of the Darada ruler and the Mleccha (Muhammedan) chiefs from the Upper Indus and reached the Mahāpadma lake.⁶ Bhoja, however, found that his Ḍāmara supporters had been won

1. Rājat. VIII, 2454 ff.

2. Rājat. VIII, 2467 ff.

3. Rājat. VIII, 2488 ff.

4. Rājat. VIII, 2492-2629.

5. Rājat. VIII, 2704. ff.

6. Rājat. VIII, 2761 ff.

over to Jayasiṃha's camp. This resulted in the breaking of the alliance. In the autumn of 1144, Bhoja's northern allies, the Daradas and the Mlecchas, deserted him and he was again left in the hands of Alaṅkāracakra.¹ Alaṅkāracakra's control over Bhoja caused constant fear and trouble to Jayasiṃha throughout the winter of 1144-45. After protracted negotiations between Bhoja and Jayasiṃha and with the mediation of the chief queen Kalhanikā as a surety, against the will of his Dāmaras allies, Bhoja surrendered to the king in the summer (Jyeṣṭha) of 1145.² The surrender of this last pretender was followed by the subjection of several important Dāmaras, including Rājavadana Prince Gulhaṇa, the eldest son of Jayasiṃha, crowned ruler of Lohara.³

Earlier Jayasiṃha had given his daughter Ambāputrikā in marriage to Somapāla of Rājapuri; while he had himself married Nāgalekhā, Somapāla's sister's daughter.⁴ He now strengthened his relations with Rājapuri by marrying his daughter Menilā to Prince Bhūpāla, son of Somapāla. Another princess, Rājyaśrī,⁵ was married to Ghaṭotkaca, the younger brother of king Prājidhara. Kalhaṇa does not give us any clue to the territory ruled by Prājidhara, but he was evidently a hill chief.⁶ He is stated to have crossed the river Kṛṣṇā (modern Kiṣangaṅgā), and defeating Dvītiyā, the lord of Uraśā, with the help of Jayasiṃha, he took

1. Rājat. VIII, 2844-96.

2. Rājat. VIII, 3008-3179.

3. Rājat. VIII, 3301.

4. Rājat. VIII, 1648.

5. Rājat. VIII, 3396-97.

6. Rājat. VIII, 3398-99.

Atyagrapura (Agror).¹ Uprooting king Vikramarāja of Vallāpura (Balor), Jayasiṃha placed on the throne king Gulhaṇa.²

Jayasiṃha is stated to have had very friendly relations with distant rulers in India.³ Kalhaṇa's statement is corroborated by the evidence of Mañkha. In the assembly of poets held in the house of his brother Alaṅkāra, are mentioned Suhula, the ambassador of Govindacandra, king of Kānyakubja (Kanaṅj)⁴ and Tejakaṅṭha, the ambassador of Aparāditya the Śīlahāra lord of Koṅkaṇa.⁵ Both these rulers have been identified from their inscriptions.⁶

Kalhaṇa's narrative ends in 1149-50, telling us that king Jayasiṃha had been twenty-two years on the throne by that date. He had removed the pretenders one by one, the rebellions of the Dāmaras had been crushed, and the attempts of his northern neighbours - the Daradas - to help the pretenders in alliance with Mleccha chiefs (Mohammedans) of the Upper Indus had failed. Thus we find Jayasiṃha securely established on the throne.

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- 1. Rājat. VIII, 3401-2. For Atyagrapura, see Stein. Rājat. tr. VIII, 3402, note.
 - 2. Rājat. VIII, 2452.
 - 3. Rājat. VIII, 2453.
 - 4. Śrīkanthas. XXV, 102.
 - 5. Ibid. 110.
 - 6. Bühler. Report. p.51.

We have seen that within a period of four months Jayasiṃha managed to rid himself of the immediate dangers to his position,¹ though he had many further problems to face owing to the turbulence of the preceding reigns. Learning from the failures of his uncle and father, Jayasiṃha tried to appease the Dāmaras by cunning diplomacy rather than to curb them by sheer force of arms. By his judicious diplomacy he succeeded in maintaining himself on the throne in the midst of the troubles which had been the cause of the misfortune of his predecessors. Stein writes: "Kalhaṇa has nowhere to tell us of acts of personal bravery of the king, but on the other hand gives us ample proof of his skill in plotting and of his self-possession. By the side of these qualities we note a conspicuous want of firmness and decision which accounts for the ascendancy gained over the king by a succession of favourites. This moral defect, probably, also prevented him from reaping more permanent advantages from otherwise well-designed measures, and may explain some acts of striking ingratitude and treachery for which it would be difficult to assign any serious political motives."² Looking back to the situation at the time of Jayasiṃha's accession we find that he had many dangers to face and a number of rivals to contend with. The whole of the history of his reign is characterised by intrigues at court, the revolts of the Dāmaras, and their support of the pretenders - Bhikṣācara, Loṭhana, Mallārjuna and Bhoḷa in turn. The rivalries of the commander-in-chief, Sujji, and the

1. Supra. pp. 88 ff.

2. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. I. p.1204.

chamberlain Lakṣmaka, occupy a large part of the narrative. Court intrigues and mutual jealousies had become such a regular part of the history of medieval Kashmir, mostly owing to the ambitions of the Ḍāmaras and the designs of rival claimants for the acquisition of the throne of Kashmir and Lohara that it was perhaps difficult for one man to rule the kingdom without committing any error anywhere. This cunning and unscrupulousness appear to have been necessitated by the circumstances of his time and were quite in keeping with the traditions of the Arthśāstra. That the policy succeeded in maintaining Jayasiṃha securely on the throne during the difficult days after his accession, and later in removing one by one all the rival claimants to the throne along with the powerful Ḍāmaras, is perhaps the only justification for Jayasiṃha's conduct. The praises which Kalhaṇa sometimes showers on this king may give an impression that the poet is partial to him, but when we notice the lengths of the reigns of the earlier kings who were unable to cope with similar dangers and problems we are led to believe that Kalhaṇa had good reason to approve his policy. Friendly relations with neighbouring rulers and distant kings in India attest Jayasiṃha's importance and popularity. The surmise that, but for the moral defects in Jayasiṃha's policy, he might have reaped more permanent results from his otherwise well-designed measures, may be quite reasonable but it is difficult to say whether it was possible to do anything better in the circumstances in which this ruler was placed. ^{Kalhaṇa records that} Jayasiṃha had

five sons. The eldest ^{of these} was Gulhaṇa, son of queen Kalhaṇākā, who, as a child of six or seven years old, had been crowned ruler of Lohara.¹ Jayasiṃha also had four sons from queen Raḍḍādevī, three of them named after the illustrious earlier kings of Kashmir - Aprāditya, Jayapīda, Lalitāditya and Yaśaskara.²

The chronicle of Kashmir was continued by Jonarāja, who again revived the tradition of historical writing in the reign of king Zain-ul-ābidīn in the early decades of the 15th century.

According to Jonarāja, Jayasiṃha ruled for five years after Kalhaṇa's account ceases, and undertook an expedition against an unnamed Turuṣka-Yavana (Muslim) king. He died in the Spring of 1154-55 and was succeeded by his son Paramāṇuka.³ It is curious that we do not find the name of this prince among the sons of Jayasiṃha mentioned above. Probably it was the pet name of one of the princes, for there does not appear to be any evidence for the end of the second Lohara dynasty with Jayasiṃha's death. In this connection we refer to some of the verses of Kalhaṇa where he mentions that, when Jayasiṃha once fell seriously ill of a skin-disease (lūta), Sujji, one of his ministers, planned to install on the throne the king's only son Parmāṇḍi who was then a child of five years. Parmāṇḍi is stated to be born of queen Guṇalekhā who was the daughter of Dāmara Gargacandra.^{3a} Parmāṇuka appears to be

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1. Supra p. 94.
 2. Rājat. VIII, 3371-78.
 3. Jona. Rājat. 26-27.
 - 3a. Rājat. VIII, 460, 1604 ff.

the pet name of the same prince. Being the eldest of Jayasiṃha's sons he had every right to succeed to the throne after his father's death.

Kalhana's silence in this respect is surprising. While telling the names of all other princes he does not mention either Guṇalekhā, the mother, nor Parmāṇḍī. Could it be that, having told us of Guṇalekhā and the prince Parmāṇḍī previously, he did not feel it necessary to mention them again. At the time when Parmāṇḍī is mentioned Jayasiṃha's other sons were not born for he is referred to as the only son. If our identification of Paṛmāṇuka with Parmāṇḍī be acceptable, it is interesting that the last but one ruler of the Second Lohara dynasty was a Ḍāmara on his mother's side.¹

Paṛmāṇuka's coins have been found and discussed by Cunningham who reads the name as Sri-para (mānaka) deva.²

Paṛmāṇuka is, however, said to have been a very weak ruler who reigned until 1164-65 as a mere tool in the hands of his ministers Prayāga and Janaka. He was succeeded by his own son Vantideva, who died in 1171-72. For want of a worthy successor, one Vuppadeva was installed on the throne. Thus the Second Lohara dynasty seems to have come to an end with the death of Vantideva in 1171-72.³

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1. This does not, however, in anyway establish the complete victory of the Ḍāmaras.
 2. Cunningham. C.M.I. Plate V.
 3. Jona. Rājat, 38-52.

CHAPTER III.

K I N G S H I P.

In order clearly to understand the theory of kingship in Kashmir we have to understand the nature of Kashmir society, and its religious and philosophical background, which was permeated with the doctrines of idealistic monism. Moreover, the author of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī was himself a high class brāhmaṇa, apparently not only a man of books but also as the son of a state minister (dvārapati), in touch with practical politics.

As regards the nature of kingship, Kalhaṇa gives the traditional view in Kashmir that "Kashmir land is Pārvatī and its king is a portion of Śiva. Though he be wicked (duṣṭopi), a wise man who desires his own prosperity will not despise ¹him". In other words in accordance with the prevalent system of the worship of Śiva as Ardhanārīśvara, the land of Kashmir is Pārvatī, the Śakti of god Śiva -- the all powerful, sublime lord who projects Himself in a state of perfect enjoyment -- and hence Kashmir as an embodiment of Pārvatī is the very part of god Śiva in his form of Śakti. ²Kingship in this case is not

1. Rājat. 1. 72. kaśmīrah pārvatī tatra rājā jñeyo haraṅśajah/
nāvajñeya sa duṣṭopi viduṣā bhūtimicchitā //
 cf. Jonarāja. kaśmīrah Pārvati tatra rājā jñeyo Haraṅśajah/
ityetatpratyāyēva vasyāsītaakṣuṣam trayam //
 cf. K.S.S. vol. IV. p. 1. Nīlamata. 237. Lokaprakāśa. IV. p. 61.
 2. cf. J.C. Chatterjey Kashmir Saivism p. 37.
Das. Shakti or Divine power. p. 59.

a divinely ordained institution but the Divinity himself is personified in the form of the king. the very land of Kashmir also is considered as a part of the deity -- land, people and king are made into one entity. "The king is, it would seem, a part of the people and land of Kashmir, looked as an organic whole"¹.

The verse we have quoted above enjoins upon the people the duty of obeying their king under any circumstances. Further it is stated that "carrying out the orders of the king even if he were a child is the duty of the officers. Any failure in this would be considered a crime"². These verses of Kalhana are used in the context of a situation when Yaśovati, the widow~~ed~~ queen of Dāmodara I. was being installed on the throne by the brāhmanas and some of the people grumbled about the accession of a woman. The word duṣṭopi in the verse quoted previously apparently refers to the irregularity of succession and the attempt to justify the succession of a woman, saying that not to speak of a woman even a wicked king is to be obeyed.

We find a similar theory in Nārada where it is stated: "The king's command should be obeyed, otherwise death would follow. What the king says, be it right or wrong, is the law (dharma) of the suitors. The king lives on this earth like a visible

1. A.L.Basham. The Kashmir Chronicle. Unpublished paper submitted to a conference on Historical writings on the History of Asia. London, 1956.

2. Rājat. I. 79. cf. Manu. VII. 8.

Indra; the people cannot prosper by violating his orders. Whatever a king does is right, that is the settled rule, because the protection of the world is entrusted to him and on account of his majesty and benignity towards all creatures. As a husband though worthless must be always worshipped by his wives, in the same way the king though feeble should be worshipped by his subjects".¹

Commenting on the above Ghoshal writes: "In this context it is categorically stated that the king should be honoured irrespectively of his personal qualifications, and his orders obeyed without reference to their moral justification. Whether the further implication of this theory as involving absolute non-resistance on the part of the subjects was realised by the authors, it is impossible to say. But there can be no doubt that the above passage marks the culmination of the Hindu doctrine of submission and obedience and makes the closest approach to the western theory of Divine Right".²

On seeming analogy the verses of Kalhana and of Nārada quoted above remind one of the views of James I, who in 1616 said to his parliament, "it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do.,. so it is presumption and high contempt in a

¹ Narada. XVIII. 22.

² U.N. Ghoshal. Hindu Political Theories pp 228-29

² George Catlin. A History of Political Philosophers. p. 223.

subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that".¹ In a certain verse referring to Mihirakula Kalhana says : "That a king of such wickedness was not killed by the rising of the subjects can only be due to his having been protected by the Gods, who made him to act in this manner".² On the face of it, this would appear rather like the idea of "divinity that hedgeth the monarchy", but as we probe deeper into the matter we find the resemblance less close. For in this verse Kalhana also recognizes that the subjects are liable to rise against their king, which shows that if he was considered to be divine, he was expected to come up to the standards of divinity. Thus this passage presents a curious admixture of the ideas of divinity and the just claims of the subjects to good government.³

Dr. Bal Krishan 's view that " the Hindu political science does not recognize an irresponsible, unerring, imperishable and unjust king. It takes him to be endowed with divine functions rather than with divine rights",⁴ fits in very well with the ideas about kingship in Kashmir. In this connection we have another verse in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī where talking of the evil ways of king Cakravarmaṇ and the praises bestowed on him

1. George Catlin. A History of Political Philosophers, p. 223.

2. Rājāt. 1. 324.

3. cf. Manu. VII. 27-28; Anuśāsana parvan.

4. Bal Krishna. The Evolution of The State. I.H. Q. III: p. 325.

by the panegyrists, parasites, bards, and flatterers, Kalhana contemptuously remarks : " Deceived in his mind by these praises he thought himself a god, and thus committed acts which were devoid of judgement".¹ Thus our author hates irresponsible evil doing despots who consider themselves divine by the mere acquisition of the divine office of kingship. Such kings, however, according to Kalhana's view, rise to power owing to the sinful deeds of the subjects.

The ideal relationship between the king and his subjects that Kalhana advocates is that between a father and his sons. He repeatedly refers to this in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.²

"Kings" James I said to parliament in 1610, "are also compared to fathers of families; for a king is truly parens patriae, the political father of his people. And, lastly, kings are compared to the head of this microcosm of the body of man... do not meddle with the main points of government, that is my craft ... to meddle with that, were to lessen me".³

About this Davies says: " James' attitude towards the national representatives was both paternal and contemptuous like a wise father, he wished his people to believe that whatever he did was for their good, but the thesis that their

1. Rājat. V. 350; cf. VII. 506; VIII. 60.

2. Rājat. I. 98; VII. 506.

3. George Catlin. Op cit. p. 223.

representatives should decide what was good or bad for the country was rank sedition to him".¹ Thus we can well understand that there was a great difference in the concept of king as the father of the subjects as enunciated and followed by the despotic rulers of the west and the despotism of the kings of Kashmir and India in general. In the words of Troyer, "it is the absolute power of one man under the directing influence of official councillors and under the very widespread restriction of inviolable customs, which embrace and form the domestic and public life of the people".²

Thus Śukra says : " The kingdom is an organism of seven limbs-- the sovereign, the minister, the friend, the treasure, the state, the fort, and the army! Of these seven constituent elements of the kingdom, the king or sovereign is the head, the minister is the eye, the friend is the ear, the treasure is the mouth, the army is the mind, the fort is the arms and the state is the legs".³

The analogy again shatters when we read the subsequent verses: " The king is the cause of the prosperity of this world, is respected by the experienced and old people and gives pleasure to the eyes (of the people) as the moon to the sea".⁴ Without the governer, the subjects do not keep to their own spheres. Nor does the sovereign flourish in the world without subjects."

1. Godfrey Davies. The early Stuarts.p.6.
 2. M.A. Troyer. Radjatarangini Vol. III. p. 488.
 cf. Medhātithi on Manu. VII. 13.
 3. Śukra.I,121-22 4. Ibid. 127-28. 5. 131-32.

To good king Kalhana even attributes super-natural powers.¹ The cruel king Mihirakula, on the other hand is called a royal vetāla or vampire.² Evil kings meet death through the superior effect of their subjects' merits.³

The king should be virtuous and free from vice. Thus Kalhan^a condemns a "king who yields to the passion of love, is fond of wine, is addicted to dice, and is surrounded by drunkards who plunder the riches of the treasury"⁴. Referring to the murder of king Uccala, Kalhana writes: " Kings who in their kingdom go eagerly after enjoyments and please their mind with a multitude of various dresses, resemble bees which in the garden seek eagerly the stamina of the flowers and please themselves with a multitude of various blossoms... alas, they both somehow disappear as soon as they are seen".⁵ Thus a king should be free from pride and devoted to god Śiva.⁶ Among the royal virtues⁷ Kalhana mentions cleverness, kindness, discretion and politeness. The king is also required to be shrewd and diplomatic.⁸

1. Rājat. I. 190; III 16-25; VIII. 2639.

2. Rājat. I. 292, cf Śukra I 59-70. classifies kings into Sātvika^a
Rājasa, Tāmasa. one who protects his subjects, The

3. Rājat. I. 325 cf Śukra I. 87. ^{opposite and the one who is}
gunajustastu yo rājā sa jñeyo devatāṅśakah/

viprītastu rakṣoṅśah sa vai narakabhājanah//

4. Rājat. VI. 153-54 cf Manu VII. 140.

5. Rājat. VIII. 334. (6) Rājat. I. 279.

7. Rājat. VIII. 599; 2663; cf Manu VII. 140.

8. Rājat. VIII. 122, 211.

In practical politics, Kalhaṇa requires the king to be a shrewd judge of men and of all situations. Referring to the measures taken by Sujji - one of the disaffected officers of Jayasimha - for his own protection, he says: "That the king who with dull senses mistakes a falsehood for truth and truth for falsehood, foregoes his aims and is put to sufferings by misfortune".¹ The kings are also required to respect the learned and the wise and not to discuss their good qualities in public and their faults behind their backs.²

The protection of his subjects is considered the primary duty of kings. Thus the legendary King Tuṅjina, when a great famine occurred during his reign, thought that the excessive snowfall and the consequent famine were caused by some fault of his own,³ bought food with his own treasures and, with the accumulated wealth of his ministers, and, together with his wife, by day and night put fresh life into the people. When all his wealth was exhausted, afflicted by the sufferings of the subjects, he decided to burn his body to ashes. Here Kalhaṇa speaks through the king: "Blessed are those rulers who sleep at night in happiness, having

1. Rājat. VIII, 48, 211, 2083.

2. Rājat. I, 358.

3. Rājat. II, 20 ff. This gives an impression that herethe man is the maker of his age. The spirit of the age is what is created by the king's activities. cf. Śukra. Ch. I, 37-44, 119-20.

cf. NītiVākyaṃrta. VII, 21, Manu VII, 84.

Medhātithi on Manu says that protection of the subjects consists in the removal of troubles, secular and spiritual. (Adṛṣṭ)
(Unseen)

before seen their citizens in comfort everywhere as if they were their own children".¹ His Queen is stated to have said: "Devotion to their husbands is the duty of wives; faithfulness is the duty of ministers; the duty of kings is to have no other aim but the protection of their subjects".²

Again Kalhaṇa says: "Those kings whose only object is to oppress their subjects, perish together with their descendents, whereas royal fortune attends the race of those who will repair what has been destroyed".³ King Jayasīṃha of the second Lohara dynasty is said to have been very anxious for the protection of his subjects.⁴

In all the ancient literature on politics, we find the promotion of dharma, artha and kāma as the aims of the state. Thus Manu says: "at midday or midnight, when his mental and bodily fatigues are over, let him deliberate, either with himself along or with his ministers, on virtue, pleasure, and wealth".⁵ In accordance with these tenets, Kalhaṇa also prescribes threefold objects for the king. Thus King Kalaśa, before he came under evil influences, divided his time with due regard for the threefold objects.⁶ The term dharma is applied in its wider meaning, as

1. Rājat. II, 42.

2. Rājat. II, 48.

3. Rājat. I, 108; V, 211-12; VII, 1552; III, 472-73.
cf. 323, 348. Manu. VII, 111-12,
Śāntiparvan LVIII, 1-4.

4. Rājat. VIII, 2351.

5. Arthaśāstra. I, 7; Śāntiparvan. V, 20-23; Manu VII, 151 ff.

6. Rājat. I, 320.

the maintenance of law by discharging his kingly duties, not merely by having a sense of religious merit, but by fostering a feeling of piety and religiousness, by encouraging virtue and morality among his subjects and establishing religious institutions indiscriminately for all the sects, by helping the poor and the decrepits, and by extending patronage to men of letters. Kalhana emphasizes the king's position as the first citizen and the necessity of his setting lofty ideals before the public. Thus King Durlabhaka Pratāp¹ditya II, though much afflicted by the pangs of love for the wife of a merchant, refused to take her as his wife, because he thought that, if he violated the law, the subjects would be inclined to do the same.

The term Dharma is also used in its restricted sense of religious observances in the Rājataranṅinī.² We have dealt with the religious activities of the Kashmir kings separately.³

The state in Kashmir, though it did champion the cause of varnas and āśramas, did not confound dharma with the unequal social order, rather the kings of Kashmir gave a lead in encouraging liberal policy. They married in lower castes and offered high posts to any persons of whatsoever religious belief and social status they may be, provided they were competent for the task.⁴

1. Rājat. IV, 28-30. cf. Manu VII, 44-53.
 2. Rājat. IV, 697.
 3. Infra. pp 38-39.
 4. Infra. pp 133-34.

They promoted piety and religion but they did not make themselves subordinate to the religious and priestly order. Earlier King Yaśaskara was given his throne by the brāhmaṇas but the moment he sat on it he explicitly told them not to be proud on account of the fact that they had bestowed it on him, and exhorted them not to come to him except in the case of some business. The brāhmaṇas appear to have exercised a healthy influence sometimes, but on the whole the kings were not instruments in their hands and could show them their proper place if they so chose. The only weapon in the hands of the brāhmaṇas was the prāyopaveśa, the hunger strike. They were ordinarily exempt from taxation and capital punishment.²

The promotion of artha, which would imply encouragement of agriculture, trade and industry, was also aimed at by the Kashmir kings in general. King Avantivarman's irrigation works led to general prosperity.³ King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa made an arrangement at Cakradhara for conducting the water of the Vitastā (Jhelum) and distributing it to various villages by the construction of a series of water wheels, and large areas of land which were previously under water became productive.⁴ But when we take Lalitāditya's testament⁵ into consideration and remember that Kalhaṇa in

1. Infra. p. 305.
 2. Infra. pp 230-31
 3. Rājat. V, 88 ff.
 4. Rājat. IV. 191.
 5. Rājat. V. 349-52.

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paraphrasing it, has actually his own time in view, we get the impression that the general trend of government policy in Kalhana's time was to leave the masses with bare subsistence. On the other hand, we find Kalhana regretting the policy of King Harṣa, which, though generous, was not properly executed. Using King Lalitāditya as his mouthpiece, he is, no doubt, referring to the existing anarchy of his times and the rising power of the Dāmaras. The struggle during the rule of the Loharas represents the conflict of this rising feudal class which had equipped itself with armaments and was also oppressing the other sections of Kashmir society. When King Jayasimha tried to appease the Dāmaras, Kalhana is all praises for him.

The kings promoted the Kāma of their subjects by ensuring peace and order and by encouraging fine arts. During the reign of King Harṣa (1089-1101) taste reached its high water mark in Kashmir. The king, himself a great poet and singer, even gave lessons in these arts.¹

Thus, though on the whole we cannot claim that the kings of the Lohara dynasties came quite up to the ideals set forth by the theorists, we can believe that they recognised them as such and tried to achieve them to whatever extent and in whichever way their personal tastes and activities directed them.

1. Supra. p.65

It has sometimes been claimed that the monarchy in Kashmir was elective. Though there are instances of apparent election in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, they demand thorough examination before a conclusion can be reached. When the Utpala dynasty came to an end in A.D. 939, one Kamalavardhana managed to get the effective control of the government machinery. Instead of crowning himself immediately, he asked the brāhmaṇas of the capital to elect somebody to the kingship, thinking that they would naturally support his claim. Kalhaṇa says that this was the most foolish procedure that could ever have been thought of. Quite cynically he compares it to the conduct of a person who does not accept the love offer of a lady of exceptional beauty coming herself to his house under intoxication to beg to be accepted, but sends a messenger the next day to enquire whether she would come.² In this particular case, the brāhmaṇas went on arguing for five or six days without coming to any decision, while the purohita-corporation collected together and started a solemn fast to enforce a decision. Ultimately the choice of the assembly fell on Yaśaskara - a brāhmaṇa, who had just returned from abroad.¹ The above instance shows that the very idea of the election of king appeared strange to the historian of the twelfth century. Moreover, the fact that a group of brāhmaṇas sat to elect a king in the above instance does not establish the principle of election.

1. Rājat. V, 459-60.

2. Rājat. V, 462-66.

in the modern sense of the word, and the very fact of the brāhmanas not being able to come to a decision shows that the idea of electing a king was quite alien to them, and as such was not a regular practice, but only occurred at the request of the person who expected to get the formal sanction of the assembly for his accession to the throne. It is very interesting that the decision arrived at was not apparently animated by any principle of election by majority, but only by their desire to wind up the discussions.

Thus kingship was hereditary. There were, however, cases of nomination. The advent of the Lohara dynasty, as stated by Kalhana himself, marks a great change in dynastic history. Queen Diddā, in default of a successor to the throne in her own line, brought in the son of her brother Udayarāja, named Saṅgrāmarāja, and bestowed in her lifetime the rank of Yuvarāja on him. After her death, he ascended the throne of Kashmir as the first king of the Lohara dynasty.¹

Although we have the practice of brother-to-brother succession during the rule of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, succession was according to the law of primogeniture during our period.² The eldest son was installed to the office of Yuvarāja.³ During the

1. Rājat. VI, 355 ff. cf. K.S.S. Vol. IV. p.18.

2. cf. K.S.S. Vol. VIII, p.101.

3. Rājat. V, 128-29; see V, 22.

It was customary, in case the heir to the throne was a young child, to place him in the arms of an elder relative, and to perform the abhiṣeka ceremony for both jointly. This was to assure the safety of the heir during his infancy, and his subsequent accession to actual power. Thus Gargacandra, a minister of King Uccala, after the death of latter, wanted to put his infant son in the arms of Saḥasramāṅgala. The relationship of this man is, however, not stated. Rājat. VIII, 371 & note

During the reign of King Kalaśa (1063-89) his cousin Kṣitirāja who ruled at Lohara, being at enmity with his own son who was preparing an expedition against him with the help of the ruler of Nīlapura, came to Kashmir for help, resigned worldly affairs and bestowed the kingdom of Lohara on Utkarṣa, the younger son of Kalaśa.¹ The elder son of Kalaśa was Harṣa, and in this case the bestowal of the Lohara kingdom on Utkarṣa, the younger brother, instead of Harṣa, suggests the safeguarding of the right of the elder son to succession to the Paternal throne of the main kingdom of Kashmir.

Troyer was wrong, however, in saying that the succession to the throne from father to son had only been rarely broken during 3252 years.² Despite the maintenance of the principles of hereditary and primogeniture, we find interesting fluctuations in Royal succession during the early part of rule of the Lohara dynasty. Because of King Ananta's weakness of character, Queen Sūryamatī held the affairs of government in her own hands for some time, and later, in 1063, she obtained the formal abdication of the throne by King Ananta in favour of his son Kalaśa.³ Her object was apparently to put the rule of the land into stronger hands. Later on, disgusted with Kalaśa's licentiousness and advised by his ministers, Ananta resumed the royal power, while Kalaśa remained

1. Rājat. VII, 251-261.
 2. M.A. Troyer. Radjatarangini tr. Vol. III, p.488.
 3. Rājat. VII, 223.

king merely in name, taking even his meals in the presence of his parents and acting as if he were his father's purohita at assemblies and other royal functions. Tired of the evil conduct and misbehaviour of Kalaśa, Ananta proceeded to Vijayeśvara, where he was attacked by Kalaśa, and later, afflicted by the harsh words of his wife Sūryamatī, committed suicide.¹ After this there was much disaffection and rivalry between King Kalaśa and his son Harṣa,² but even when Kalaśa became weak in body, he wanted to bestow his throne on Harṣa; noticing the opposition of his ministers, however, he recalled Utkarṣa from Lohara in order to have him installed as king. Thus, after King Kalaśa's death, Utkarṣa was crowned by the ministers.³ The citizens, however, supported the claims of Harṣa, who was first imprisoned in the turmoil of popular discontent, but was ultimately able to ascend the throne, with the help of his younger brother Vijayamalla.⁴ Thus, though the law of primogeniture was recognized in Kashmir, there occurred irregularities in succession to the throne during the rule of the first Lohara dynasty owing to the struggle between father and son and brother and brother, which characterized this dynasty's history. The Second Lohara dynasty was founded by Uccala in 1111. As the struggle for the throne of Kashmir had been jointly carried on by

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1. Rājat. VII, 244-46.
 2. Ibid. 336 ff.
 3. Rājat. VII, 703, 729.
 4. Rājat. 773-74, 829
 5. Rājat. VII, 829.

the brothers Uccala and Sussala, the latter, not content with the rule of Lohara, attacked Uccala, got the kingdom, and was succeeded by his son Jayasiṃha, who ruled until 1155. There were even during the rule of Uccala and Sussala usurpations for short periods by Raḍḍa-Śaṅkharāja, Salhaṇa and Bhikṣācara - rival claimants through one or the other branch of the Loharas.¹ After Jayasiṃha, the throne appears to have passed to his son.

As for the eligibility of the individuals to the royal title, we find many instances in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī when the throne passed to orders other than that of the kṣatriyas. The Kārkoṭa dynasty (c 600-885) was of a tribal origin.² Avantivarman, the founder of the succeeding dynasty known as Utpala, was the son of a spirit distiller.³ The caste of Yaśaskara, the founder of the next dynasty (939) is not known.⁴ Parvagupta, the minister of Unmattāvanti, succeeded in his schemes to gain the throne and ruled from 949-50. He belonged to a family of diviras or scribes. His successor, Kṣemagupta, married Diddā, the daughter of Simha raja of Lohara and the daughter's daughter of the Sāhi king Bhīmpāla of Kabul.⁵ Diddā's marriage into the family of Kashmir rulers shows that it was not the caste of the ruling families but the fact of the acquisition of the throne which was given importance.

1. Rājat. VIII, 342, 375-76, 842 ff.

2. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. I, p.86.

3. Rājat. IV, 677-79.

4. Rājat. V, 469-75, 479-80.

5. Rājat. VI, 176-78.

The Loharas themselves belonged to the Kṣatriya caste and Khaśa tribe. It is from the advent of this dynasty that we have I succession of rulers of kṣatriya lineage on the throne of Kashmir.

In the second Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Jonarāja, we find a verse wherein it is stated that a king Rāmadeva (1273) adopted the son of a brāhmaṇa. Jonarāja here gives his own comment, saying that though he was made a kṣatriya, he did not abandon his own brāhmaṇical practices and did not act like a kṣatriya just as a stone even when coloured cannot attain the qualities of a jewel.² The idea of a brāhmaṇa becoming a kṣatriya by getting the throne is quite consistent with Medhātithi's definition of kingship: "The word Rājan does not signify the Kṣatriya caste alone, but it applies to a person possessing the attributes of coronation, lordship, and such other qualities". In other words, it is the office of the king and not his caste which assigns the kingly attributes. Thus "the incidents and duties attached to the Kṣatriya ruler apply to any one else who discharges the functions of the former"³. This dictum is supported by Jonarāja's regrets about a brāhmaṇa remaining a brāhmaṇa though in theory converted into a kṣatriya. Whether he came up to the standard expected of a kṣatriya or not is besides the point in this context. The eligibility of a brāhmaṇa to the throne and to become theoretically a kṣatriya is well established.

1. Rājat. VII, 663.

2. Jona. Rājat. verse 119.

3. U.N. Ghoshal. Hindu Political Theories, p.235.

Śiva and Pārvati from Gandhāra



The kings of Kashmir are said to have worn crowns with three circles (cakra-traya). The first reference to this type of crown is found during the reign of Gopāllavarman (904-905).¹

Among the British Museum sculptures of the Śāhi period, we have a standing female figure of Pārvatī which "nicely illustrates the stylization of naturalistically rendered and disposed drapery when compared with the Lakṣmī from Brār (Kashmir) published by Foucher".²

The second piece from the British Museum represents Śiva and Pārvatī. As pointed out by Mr. Barrett the relation of this Pārvatī with her crown of three "crescents" to the other picture is obvious, and he dates it in the 7th century.³ Though the adornments of the crowns are referred to by Mr. Barrett as "crescents", and though Stein wrongly uses the word in his translation of the cakra in the above passage, they are actually in both cases almost complete circles and would probably qualify as cakras.⁴

Though both these sculptures are from Gandhāra (Kabul), we believe that the kings in Kashmir must have worn such crowns.

1. Rājat. v. 231.

2. see platte No II. A & plate III, B.

3. Douglas Barrett. Sculptures of the Śāhi period. Oriental Art. N. Series Summer 1957. Vol. III. No. 2. p. 58.

cf. A. Foucher. Mémoires Concernant l'Asie Orientale Tome Premier, Paris 1913. p. LXIII.

3. Douglas Barrett. Loc. cit. p. 59. See Plate I

4. Stein Rājat. tr. v. 231.

Pārvati from Gandhāra.

A



Viṣṇu (Avantipur).

B.



In Kashmir the images of Viṣṇu are shown as wearing crowns but not those of Śiva and it is the image of Pārvatī in the above cases who wears the crown. We show a 9th century image of Viṣṇu from Avantipura, which wears a crown obviously similar to those of the Śāhi Pārvatī figures, but much more ornate. Here the designs are definitely circular and might well be referred to as cakras.¹ We have already discussed the theory of kingship in Kashmir wherein Pārvatī as the Śakti of Śiva is considered the ruler of Kashmir.² In this connection we find a very interesting story in the Kathāsaritsāgara where the God Śiva, relating stories to Pārvatī, tells her that when Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) craved a boon of Śiva to become his devotee, he became incarnate and was born in the form of Pārvatī, for she is the same as Nārāyaṇa, the power of Śiva all powerful.³ In the Rājataranginī also the queen of the legendary king Raṇāditya, who was actually a Goddess in human form, relates to the king that at one time, at the marriage of Pārvatī, Prajāpati, who filled the office of Purohita, brought his own divine image for purpose of worship. When Śiva saw that it was Viṣṇu's image which was being worshipped by him, he thought it of no use as it represented only the Śakti without Śiva. Thereupon Śiva put together into a lump the jewels which the invited Gods and

1. see plate. No. II, B p.

cf R.C.Kak. Handbook of the Archeological and Numismatic Sections of the Srī Pratap Singh Museum Srinagar.
pp. 50, 61-63.

2. supra. p. 100 f.

3. K.S.S. Vol. 1, p. 4.

Asuras had brought as marriage presents and formed a liṅga and thus both Śiva and Viṣṇu were worshipped. The stories bring home to us the importance of viṣṇu as a form of the Śakti of Śiva; according to Kashmir Śaivite theology.¹ Thus the crowns on the heads of the kings of Kashmir can be regarded, like those of the Viṣṇu and of Pārvatī, as implying that the ruler is a manifestation of Śiva.

The next reference to the crown of the king is during the reign of king Ananta.² It is said that he pawned his crown with its five resplendent crescents (candraka) to a foreign merchant. We do not have any specific sculptures of this type except for the image of Buddha's mother with a diadem surmounted by five floral designs.³ Possibly the crown during the Lohara dynasty was decorated in the same manner with five circular designs similar to those on the crown of the Avantipura Viṣṇu. The number of these may have been increased from three to five by the Loharas. The diadem on the head of Buddha's mother is, however, is dated in the 10th century by H. Goetz.⁴

1. Rājat. III. 443-54.

2. Rājat. VII. 195.

3. see plate. No III. A.

4. H. Goetz. Māṅg. VIII. No. 2. Bombay. March. 1955. P. 72.

cf Brhatsamhitā. Part. II. ch. 2. verse 5. It is stated that the King's Patta shall have five points or crescent crests; the queen's and the prince's shall have three crests. C. S. S. renders Patta as a frontlet or fillet worn round the head.

Lord Buddha's mother.

A.



Lakṣmī from Brāh.

B.



M I N I S T R Y

The ministry or council of advisors was regarded by ancient Indian political thinkers as a vital organ of the body politic.¹ The second of the seven elements of the state (rājya) is given by them as amātya or minister, for whom "there are three words which are interchangeable though sometimes distinguished --- amātya, saciva and mantrin, the first being the oldest of the three".² A kārikā of Paṇini gives the derivation of the word from amā meaning 'near' or 'with' with the affix tyapa (tya).³

The word amātya occurs in the sense of minister in the Apastamba, Dharma, Sūtra⁴, which states that the king should not live better or more luxuriously than his gurus (elders) and his ministers. The word saciva occurs, in its original meaning, in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa⁵ where it is stated that Indra considered the Maruts as his sacivas (comrades or helpers). In the Arthaśāstra we find the word

1. Arthaśāstra I. ch. VII. Manu. VII. 54-56. Śukra. ch. II. 1
2. P.V. Kane. Hist. of Dh. Sh. Vol. III. p. 104.
3. Mahābhāṣya. Vol. II. p. 292.
4. Āp. Dh. Sū. II. 10, 25. Verse 10.
5. Ait. Brā XII. 9.

saciva used for councillor.¹ Śūkra uses the term mantrin.² In the Rājataranginī Kalhana clearly mentions a council of ministers (mantripariśad or mantrisabhā)³, and indiscriminately uses the words amātya, saciva and mantrin for the single term 'minister'.⁴

The necessity of amātyas is stated in graphic language by several writers. Kautilya says: "kingship is possible only with assistants, a single wheel cannot work a chariot, therefore the king should appoint ministers and listen to their opinions".⁵ Manu says: "it is difficult for a person single-handed to accomplish even an easy task, how can government particularly, which has great good as its aim, be accomplished without helpers".⁶ A king without a minister cannot govern a kingdom even for three days.⁷

1. Arthaśāstra I. ch. VII.

2. Śūkra. ch. II.

3. Rājat. IV. 61, Vi. 261.

4. Rājat. IV. 310, 318, 320, 341, 378, 403.

VIII.24, 551, 554, 559-71, 583-85, 1722, 2737.

5. sahāyasādhyam rājatvam cakramekam na vartate/

kurvīt sacivāṅstasmātteṣām ca śṛṇuyānmatam// Arthaśāstra. I

ch. VII

6. Manu. VII. 55.

7. Śāntiparvan section CVI. p. 344; Sabhā section V. pp. 14-15

Śukra says: "Sovereignty in a kingdom is deprived of its beauty if there is a king only but no ministers"; even a king who is proficient in all the sciences and a past master in State-craft, should never by himself study political interests without reference to ministers, "for different persons have different aptitudes"¹. The actions of kings without help (of councillors) lead to hell and destruction; take away the fear of the enemy's army and ruin life and wealth."²

In Kashmir we find these theories in their actual working, for the king was always helped in the affairs of government by a number of ministers and councillors. At the very beginning of his narrative Kalhana mentions the king's advisors and councillors and other officials who held the various important offices in the state.³ He shows that the ministers along with other confidants formed a regular part of the king's assemblies, and declares that "the royal dignity does not spread lustre without the ministers, just as the night without the moon

1. Śukra. ch. II, 3-4.

2. Ibid. ch. IV. section V, 20-21.

3. Rājat. I. 119,360.

or speech without truth".¹

As for the strength of the ministry Manu holds that it should consist of seven or eight members.² The Mahābhārata in one place prescribes the latter number.³ Kauṭilya⁴ and Kāmandakiya⁵ Nītisāra state that according to the Mānava school the council (pariṣad) of ministers should be constituted of twelve amātyas, according to Bārhasyapatyas of sixteen, according to the Anuśāsnas of twenty, but Kauṭilya's own opinion is that the number is determined by the power or the exigencies of the state (yathāsāmarthyam). The Nītivākyaṃṛta holds that they should be three, five or seven, that unanimity is difficult to secure in a group of persons of different characters, and that when there are many ministers they are jealous and try to carry out their own ideas.⁶ "These passages", says Kane "show that firstly there was to be a council (pariṣad) of ministers who might be eight or more in number according to requirements, and thirdly there was a large number of amātyas or sacivas (high functionaries concerned with

1. Rājat VI. 279

2. Manu. VII. 54.

3. M.Bh. XII. 85.

4. Arthaśāstra I. 15.

5. Kām. XI. 74 ff.

6. Nītivākya. (mantrīsamuddeśa pp. 127-28).

various departments)".¹ In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī Kalhaṇa repeatedly makes mention of the five ministers of the state.² On the other hand we are told that during the reign of king Saṅgrāmarāja (1003-28) the seven³ sons of a certain Śrīdhara, who were brāhmaṇas and councillors (mantriṇaḥ), came and fought against Tuṅga. If seven brothers were king's councillors the whole body must surely have been constituted of many more. This reference makes it doubtful whether the King in fact had only five ministers or a larger number in his council. It appears from the above quoted verse that the council had a large number of councillors, while the chief ministers formed the smaller cabinet for discussing very important, urgent or confidential matters,⁴ and these ministers held the key posts in their charge. This is further proved by the fact that Kalhaṇa also uses the word mantrin for the governors who were sent from time to time to rule at Kramarājya, Maḍavarājya or the Lohara kingdom.⁵

1. P. V. Kane. Hist. of Sk. Vol. III. p. 107.

2. Rājat. V. 422, VI. 102-03, 115.

3. Rājat. VII. 22.

4. Rājat. V. 430, VII. 1251.

5. Rājat. VII. 1375-76

In a certain verse we find mention of brāhmaṇa councillors and in the following verse of brāhmaṇas and ministers, which gives the impression that there were a large number of brāhmaṇa councillors in the council¹; on the other hand, we get reference to the words like pradhāna-saciva, Mantrin, agryamantrin, mukhyamantrin.² In all these references the word mantrin is not used for the Chief Minister, who is called Sarvādhikṛt, but it is used for a number of ministers usually five, also called the pradhānaprakṛtis³, making it clear that these were distinct from all other ministers and councillors. Thus the whole organisation of the council seems to fall in line with that recommended by the Nītivākyaṃṛt.

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1. Rājat. VII. 13-14.
 2. Rājat. V. 418, VI. 194, VIII. 1382, 1431, VIII. 2175 (pradhānaprakṛti)
 3. Rājat. VII. 1042, VIII. 2175.

Roches translates the word Prakṛti as elements of State. He writes: "It is generally accepted that the Hindu State is constituted by seven elements (Prakṛti). They are: the king, the ministers, the territory and the people, the fortified city, the

We find Kalhaṇa everywhere emphasizing the authority of the king over his ministers. The king should seek his ministers' advice but should not be dictated to by them. Thus praising king Candrāpīḍa's thorough acquaintance with affairs Kalhaṇa writes: " He was not instructed by his ministers but gave them instructions. The diamond is not cut by any other precious stones, but it cuts them".¹ In fact Kalhaṇa advocates a proper balance between the position of the king and that of his ministers. He compares a

foot note continued from previous page.

treasury, the army and the allies. This meaning of the term has been given by Aparaditya Aprārka. l. 351. as follows:

" That out of which an object is produced is its material (or element), e.g., gold for an ear-ring. The kingdom cannot be produced without a king, etc. , and even if produced without a king it cannot last without them.

Therefore, the king etc., are the elements of the kingdom."

(V. Cintāmaṇi p.182. note to verse 62)

Note 1. for this page.

cf. Śukra. ch.1.31-30,
122-24.

Rājat. IV. 51.

frightened king to "an artist who is unable to replace the stone block when it has fallen from the machinery";¹ for the ministers of one such king, Yudhiṣṭhira I, would not accept the conciliation offered by him and banished him from the land.² On the other hand King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa praised his ministers for not having carried out the order to burn a city which he had given them in a fit of intoxication.³ Altekar has taken this as evidence of standing instructions by the king to his ministers that they should not execute his orders if they were unreasonable or given when he was not in his full senses.⁴ There is no evidence to prove this. In fact, according to the source, it was only after the wise act of the ministers that Lalitāditya realized the real significance of their action and fully praised them for it.

1. Rājat I. 363-67. II. 4.

2. Rājat IV. 320. (ed. Durga Prasad)

3. In K.S.S. 3.3.46, it was stated that discharging the duty of minister means undivided attention to the burden of king's affairs but the compliance with a king's passing fancies is the characteristic of a mere courtier.

4. A.S. Altekar. State and Government in Ancient India.

Indeed, Kalhana declares that the king is his own master as long as he moves on the right path. Such a king, if virtuous, shares pleasures with his ministers even in the other world, but the ministers act as checks upon him when he follows an evil way. Thus he writes: "By those noble minded souls the earth is purified, who, unmindful for their own life, persist in protecting here their king when he moves on the wrong path".¹

The ideal relationship is when the king and the minister have mutual regard for each other; thus Kalhana says: "The king (Avantivarman 855/6-883) and his minister (Śūra) were towards each other both equally masters in respect of giving orders and servants in receiving them. If the king is grateful and of mild disposition and the minister devoted and free from arrogance, such a connection may at times be found to be lasting owing to merit from previous births."² So great was the regard shown by king Avantivarman to his minister Śūravarma, and so much did he regard his feelings that he bore himself outwardly as a worshipper of Śiva, the minister's favourite deity, though he was in reality, from his childhood, a

1. Rājat. IV. 321.

2. Rājat. V. 3.

worshipper of Viṣṇu. This secret he only disclosed at the time of his death.¹ Similarly, we are told, the minister saw in the king his "chief deity, to please whom he ought to sacrifice even religion, life or a son".²

Once a Dāmara, Dhanva of Lohara district, forcibly took away the villages belonging to the temple priests, who could thereby only offer green vegetables (utpalaśāka) to the deities. He had been high in the favour of the minister Śūravarman, but when the latter learned of the displeasure of the King at Dhanva's oppression of the subjects, he at once killed him and sent his severed head to the King in order to avoid his displeasure.³ Kālhana remarks: "Such a King and such a minister, whose relations were never disfigured by the blemish of mutual hatred, have not otherwise been seen or heard of".⁴

Ministers played a very important role in settling even such important affairs of state as the succession to

1. Rājat. V. 124.

2. Rājat. V. 47.

3. Rājat. V. 48 ff.

4. Rājat. V. 63. cf. VIII. 302.

the throne, and they could influence the king's decision to bestow it upon any one of his own choice. When King Śaṅkaravarman's (902) lineage had died out, Queen Sugandhā wished to place upon the throne a relation of her own, at which the ministers remonstrated that he was not a fit person.¹ King Kalaśa (1063-89) wished to bestow the crown on Harṣa but, noticing the opposition of the ministers, he had Utkarṣa brought from the castle of Lohara in order to have him crowned as king of Kashmir.²

The strength or otherwise of the ministers depended on the personality of the ruling king. Powerful ministers even rose against the king, if he was not strong and able enough to keep them in their proper place and rule the realm efficiently. Weak kings were often in the hands of their ministers. Thus, talking of Bhikṣācara, a weak king of the second Lohara dynasty, Kalhaṇa says: "What the ministers spoke, he said after them; not a word came out of himself, as if he had been hollow inside."³ At the time of the wars of succession

1. Rājat. V. 253-55.

2. Rājat. VII. 703.

3. Rājat VIII. 872.

during the second Lohara dynasty Gargacandra, a minister, became the king-maker, and obtained so much power over Salhana that "the King was a mere shadow and all, whether of the inner or outer court, whether small or great, were dependent on Garga for life and death".¹ On the other hand, King Uccala of the Second Lohara dynasty (1101-11), seeing the strength of the lord of the 'Gate' (dvārapati), removed him and gave his charges to those who were pliant and devoted.² Sometimes, the exigencies of the state created a different situation. During King Jayasimha's (1128-49) reign so great was the trouble from the Dāmaras and the efficiency of the chamberlain (pratihāra) Lakṣmaka in coping with them, that the King thought it prudent to leave affairs in the hands of the minister.³ Lakṣmaka became so powerful that "he did not allow other ministers to rise and was able to make them rise or fall like playballs".⁴

Lakṣmaka is also praised for having known the art of addressing the people with kind words and giving friendly gifts.⁵

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1. Rājat VIII. 415-426
 2. Rājat VIII. 175-86
 3. Rājat VIII. 1484, 1567, 1633.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Rājat VIII. 1382

According to Kauṭilya the ideal minister should be a "native of the country, born of high family, influential, well trained in arts, far sighted, wise, of good memory, vigilant, eloquent, bold, intelligent, endowed with character, strength, health, spiritedness, free from arrogance and fickleness, affectionate, who would not have recourse to hatred".¹ The Rājatarāṅgiṇī shows that some kings aspired to the creation of ministers who should conform to similar ideals, but in many cases the ministers were very lacking in the good qualities listed by Kauṭilya. In Kashmir the first two requisites laid down by Kauṭilya, that the minister should be a native and born of high family, do not seem to have been maintained. Haladhara, the son of Bhūti, a vaiśya watchman at the temple of Gaurīśa, rose daily higher in Queen Sūryamatī's service and obtained the prime-ministership (Sarvādhikārikā)². Kṣema, a barber, filled the treasury and organised the Revenue office (pādāgra), which was later put openly above all offices.³ A low-born Kāyastha Bhadreśa was put to the charge of Gr̥hakar̥tya office (domestic affairs) by King

1. Arthaśāstra Book I. ch. 5.

2. Rājat. VII. 207-208.

3. Rājat. VII. 203-210.

Saingrāmarāja (1002-28).¹ Keśava, a brāhmaṇa from Trigarta, became minister during King Ananta's time (1028-63), though he remained in the king's favour only for a very short time.²

Mutual jealousies played a very important part in raising or ousting people from high offices of state. Thus, in the time of King Harṣa, (1089-1101), Kandarpa, the lord of the 'Gate' won victory at Rājapurī and was greatly honoured by the King, but Ananda, who had already won over the councillors by bribery and by ousting Vāmana, had acquired the charge of the Revenue (Pādāgra) office, and aspired to the office of the lord of the 'Gate' held by Kandarpa. He ultimately succeeded in ousting him.³ Kalhaṇa strongly deprecates such tendencies⁴, but nevertheless, clearly exposes their existence in medieval Kashmir. The results were in such cases often disastrous. Harṣa had later to repent for this action and, during the catastrophe before his ultimate end, when he begged shelter at the doors of his other ministers and councillors, all of them refused it.⁵

1. Rājat. VII, 39-42.

2. Rājat. VII, 204-205, cf VIII, 1042, 1047.

3. Rājat. VII, 991-98, 1012.

4. Rājat. VII, 1610-14.

5. Rājat. VI, 271-77.

At an earlier period the jealousies of the lesser ministers resulted in the downfall of Queen Diddā's able minister Naravāhana; they poisoned the Queen's mind against him until she was estranged from him and made his position so difficult that he ultimately committed suicide.¹ The history of King Jayasimha's time is full of instances of such intrigues and disaffections, sometimes leading to treason and rebellion.

Kalhana gives primary importance to capability. A capable minister was to be respected, even if he sometimes committed an offence.² But in addition he should be capable of treating the subjects well,³ for there are references to arrogant and cruel ministers being killed by the people.⁴ King Kalaśa (163-89) did not give the office of Pādāgra (Revenue) to the minister Nonaka, though he was an expert in raising revenue, as he was afraid of his cruelty.⁵ He also refrained from appointing those persons to high posts "who showed a self-willed disobedient spirit, thieves, and those who were connected with confederacies".⁶ In the time of King

1. Rājat. VIII, 2186, 2189, 2737.

2. Rājat. VII, 891.

3. Rājat. VII, 37.

4. Rājat. VIII, 433.

5. Rājat. VII, 571.

6. Rājat. VII, 573. Samdhyādisaṃśrayāḥ, presumably joining in groups likely to be treasonable. The compound suggests that Kalhana had the "four expedients" in view, but we cannot give good sense to the expression on this basis.

Saṅgrāmārāja (1003-1028) the brāhmaṇa councillors gave the lead to the purohitas and other brāhmaṇas in a hunger-strike at Parihāsapura, in order to bring about the fall of an obnoxious royal favourite named Tuṅga, a Khaśa from Parnotsa.¹

King Kalaśa's minister Kandarpa, who held the post of the lord of the 'Gate', undertook an expedition to the castle of Śvapika at his own expense, but later on, being offended for some reason he resigned. Praśastakalaśa, another minister who had been angered by Kandarpa's haughty behaviour, collected a large number of soldiers with his own money and obtained this post for his own brother Ratnakalaśa.² This is an instance of the purchase of office with money, though the person who obtained it was not fit for the post. Kalhaṇa remarks: "How could a painted lion do the acts of a real one". This account also shows that a man's monetary position helped him greatly in acquiring high office. Moreover, to rise in the king's favour and to attain high offices recourse was even had to bribery.³

Kalhaṇa gives us an interesting account of the criterion of appointment to official posts during the earlier period. During the times of King Pārtha (906-921) the king wanted to

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1. Rājat. VII, 13 f.
 2. Rājat. VII, 596-600.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 2353.

raise those people to ministerial posts who would be able to raise the sums due on the Tantrins bills. Thus evil kings sometimes formed a league with the ministers in oppressing the subjects. In the time of Pārtha (906-921), the child king's father Paṅgu or Nirjitvarman together with the ministers, being bent only on the amassing of bribes, oppressed the people, and the ministers even profiteered in the sale of rice during times of shortage.¹

Under the Lohara kings, sometimes the capacity^{ability} and sometimes even favour played an important part in official appointments.

It was disputed by the Hindu theorists whether or not the king's friends and companions should be appointed to official posts.² In Kashmir such people seem often to have held high offices. Janakasiṃha had been familiar with king Jayasiṃha (1028-49) from his boyhood and had been acquainted with all his affairs, and thus it was difficult to harm him. Janakasiṃha's sons were of the same age as the king and, owing to their mother's intimate familiarity with the royal family, they prudently made an ostentatious display of their horses, litters, outfits, meals,

1. Rājat. VII, 203, 207-8, 568-71.

2. Rājat. III, 1569. cf. Arthaśāstra. I, VIII.

etc., which were as sumptuous as those of the king. Their pompous familiarity roused the displeasure of Kalhaṇa, who wrote: "It is by no means proper that a ruler should keep on a footing of equality with his contemporaries after he has risen to power. It is a great humiliation for the row of lotuses when they have grown up, to be jumped over by a band of frogs".¹ Śṛṅgāra the son of Sajjaka had been King Jayasiṃha's companion at gambling and other amusements; this man later got the position of prime-minister. Kalhaṇa does not seem to approve of such appointments, but when the person has proved worthy of his post, Kalhaṇa praises him highly.²

Sometimes several members of a single family held various official charges in the state.³ Manu, Yajñavalkya, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Sabhāparvan, and Śukra prescribe that the ministerial office should be hereditary if the son is capable like his father.⁴ The principal of hereditary succession to the ministerial posts does not seem to have been specifically maintained in Kashmir. Kalhaṇa himself did not hold any post in the state though he was the son of the great minister, Caṃpaka, the lord of the 'Gate'. There is a reference however, to Jayapāla, the son of a commander-in-chief in King Jayasiṃha's time named Sañjapāla, being given the post after the

1. Rājat. VIII, 1572-74.

2. Rājat. VIII, 2357-60, 2366, 2375.

3. Rājat. VIII, 183.

4. Manu VII, 54, Yājñ I, 312; Rāmā II, 100.26; Sabhāparvan 5. 43.

latter's death. The father had been of haughty temperament but all that was forgotten owing to his son, "just as the heat of the autumnal sun is forgotten owing to the cooling moonlight".¹ Thus it appears that the descendants of former ministers were employed in cases where it was expected that they would prove suitable to the appointment.

Normally each minister held the charge of one department only. In the earlier books of the Rājatarāṅginī we do not find any reference to one person holding more than one ministerial post. It is not clear whether this is owing to the absence of any detailed records available to Kalhana or whether the practice had not developed at all in that period. The first reference to one person being assigned two ministerial offices occurs in the reign of Queen Diddā, when Tuṅga held the offices of Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief.² In the reign of King Harṣa, Mahattama Sahela is said to have held the charge of commander-in-chief as well as the lord of the 'Gate'.³ Among the ministers of King Jayasiṃha Sujji was in charge of both the judicial ^{and military} affairs. He is also said to have been in charge of the Kheri post.⁴ Later

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1. Rājat. VIII, 2473, 3322.
 2. Rājat. VI, 333, 354.
 3. Rājat. VII, 1319.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 1624.

on Alaṅkāra is seen holding the chief command of the army and the office of the chief justice. Citraratha also during the same reign was raised to the simultaneous charge of the 'Gate' and the revenue (pādāgra) offices.¹ Possibly it was owing to turbulent conditions that the Lohara kings concentrated such high positions in a few trusted and efficient hands, so that the kings had fewer potential rebels to watch.

We do not find any specific evidence to show the tenure of these officers. They held their offices as long as they were in the king's favour or were able to prove equal to the situation. Often if they lost the king's favour they were thrown out of office. On the other hand, ministers also resigned their offices at will and sometimes refused to accept or retain them even at the repeated requests of the king. When the struggle was going on between king Harṣa and the brothers Uccala and Sussala from Lohara, none of the frightened ministers would accept from the king the command of the army.²

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1. Rājat. VII 595 ff.; VIII, 93, 187, 562, 1625.
 2. Rājat. VII 1362.

ADMINISTRATION

In the Rājatarāṅgiṅī we often find the king holding counsel with five chief ministers¹ - Pradhānaprakṛti as they are sometimes called.² We have already shown that the kings of Kashmir were always helped in the affairs of government by a number of ministers and councillors, and that the five chief ministers formed a small 'cabinet' for discussing very important, urgent or confidential matters. These ministers also held the key posts in their charge. Kalhaṇa does not anywhere distinctly mention the names of the five important posts which were held by these ministers. Going through the verses in the Rājatarāṅgiṅī we find the Prime Minister (Sarvādhikṛt), the Commander-in-Chief (Kampana), the lord of the 'Gate' (Dvāra), the Chief Justice (Rājasthāniya) and the Chief Revenue Officer (Pādāgra) to have been apparently the most important officers.

1. Rājat. VI, 422-23. cf. K.S.S. Vol. I, p.71; Vol. V, 98-99; VI, 102-103, Vol. VII, p.137. 115, 189. VII, 1092.
2. Rājat. VIII, 2175.

For purposes of convenience we often employ modern political terminology in discussing the politics of mediaeval Kashmir. It must, however, always be borne in mind that the bodies and individuals mentioned did not always function in the same way as their present day counterparts. Thus the Kashmir "Cabinet" was an advisory council with no definite legislative functions. Similarly the 'Prime Minister' was not ~~always~~ normally the originator of policy or chief executive, but the chief advisor to the king.

The highest office in the state was that of the Prime Minister (Sarvādhikṛt). Before the establishment of the Lohara dynasty one Tuṅga, a Khaśa from Baddivāsa, became the Prime Minister. He continued to hold this office during the reign of King Saṁgrāmarāja, the first king of the Lohara dynasty. But so strong were the feelings of the public against him owing to his mal-administration¹, that he was ultimately murdered. Haladhara became the Prime Minister during the reign of King Ananta², and Vāmana was raised to this post during King Kalaśa's time³ (1063-1089). When the assembly of hill rājās met in the capital during the latter's time (1087-8) Vāmana made excellent arrangements for giving them every possible comfort.⁴ We do not get very many references to this office in Kalhaṇa's narrative after this. During Bhikṣācara's reign, the regal power was in the hands of Bimba, who was made Prime Minister (Sarvādhikṛt) while Bhikṣācara enjoyed the mere title of King.⁵ During the reign of King Jayasiṁha (1128-49) Śṛṅgāra, son of Sajjaka, was made the Prime Minister.⁶ Moreover, Lakṣmaka, who was a very important personage during this king's reign, is often mentioned as the chief chamberlain. He became king Jayasiṁha's chief adviser, pacified the Dāmaras and was able to oust people from high posts,

1. Rājat. VII, 13, 14, 74 ff.

2. Rājat. VII, 207, 208.

3. Rājat. VII, 568.

4. Rājat. VII, 587 ff.

5. Rājat VIII, 862.

6. Rājat VIII, 2360, 2375.

and replace them with his own favourites. The same person is later mentioned as having held the office of Prime Minister.¹ He must have held the post of chamberlain (Pratihāra, Kṣattāra) in the beginning, but even if later he rose to be the prime minister he seems to have still been referred² by the original post with which he started his career. In any case it is clear that the office of the prime minister retained its importance during King Jayasimha's reign.

The office called Rājasthānādhikāra² or simply Rājasthāna³ is repeatedly referred to in the last two books of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and was evidently a high post, judging from its mention along with the great official charges of the Kampana (the Commander-in-Chief) and the Dvāra (lord of the 'Gate').⁴ Rājasthāniya appears to be the designation of the officer who held this charge.⁵

C.V. Vaidya looks upon Rājasthāniya as a Government district officer. Some take him as a foreign secretary - the officer who had to deal with other states and kingdoms or Rājasthānas.⁶ Bühler, referring to the term Rājasthāniya occurring in the Vallabhī grants, takes it, on the basis of a

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1. Rājat. VIII, 911, 1286, 1382, 1539, 1567, 1629, 2471.
 2. Rājat. VIII, 181.
 3. Rājat. VII, 601; VIII, 573, 1046, 1982.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 178-81, 573-75; Stein. Rājat. tr. VII 601 note.
 5. Rājat. VIII, 2618.
 6. C.V. Vaidya. Hist. of Med. Hindu India. Vol. I, p.157.

verse in Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa, as a viceroy.¹ Kṣemendra writes: prajāpālanārthamudvahati rakṣayati sa rājasthānīyaḥ, "He who carries out the object of protecting the subjects and shelters them is called a Rājasthānīya."²

The term Rājasthānīya is occasionally mentioned in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. In some he appears as a high officer³ but in others as of low rank, while none of them gives any clue to the exact meaning of the word.⁴ Among the list of officers mentioned in the records of the Maitrakas and their contemporaries, rājasthānīya is mentioned next to rājaputra, rājāmātya and dūtaka.⁵ Here again the exact nature of the post is not discussed.

The term Rājasthānīya has been used with two connotations in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. It is used to imply a high post when Kalhaṇa says: "In due course the king (Kalaśa) induced again with much difficulty that excellent servant (Kandarpa) to accept the charge of Rājasthānīya in the city".⁶ In another verse Kalhaṇa uses the definite term Rājasthānādihikāra.⁷ King Uccala (1101-11) reduced Chuḍḍa and his brother, who were eager to grasp the royal power, to inferior positions and removed them from their posts in

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1. G. Bühler. Ind. Ant. Vol. V., p.207.
 2. Lokaprakāśa. IV, p.58.
 3. Gupta Insc. No. 35, p.157.
 4. C.I.I. Vol. III, pp. 170, 218.
 5. K.J. Virji. Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra. pp. 233-34.
 6. Rājat. VII, 601.
 7. Rājat. VIII, 181.

the royal court (Rājasthānāt)¹. Here the term Rājasthāna clearly means the court in a wider sense and has not the technical sense of a specific office.

Stein takes Rājasthānādhikāra as connected with the administration of justice.² The administration of justice has always been regarded in India as a direct function of the king, who is to hold court, according to the Smṛtis³, in a separate building within his own palace; the delegation of this regal duty to a chief justice, is equally well known to Indian tradition.⁴ Referring to a verse of Lokaprakāśa,⁵ which was also quoted by Bühler, and the immediately following fourfold division of the courts mentioned therein, Stein has concluded that the work of the Rājasthāniya was concerned with the administration of justice.

Alaṅkāra held the charge of the Rājasthāna office during the reign of king Jayasimha. He is variously referred to as Rājagrhya⁶, Rājasthāniya⁷ and Bāhyarājasthāniyādhikārabhāk.⁸ Earlier during king Harṣa's reign Kalhaṇa mentions two royal councillors (rājagrhyau), Akṣoṭamalla and Malla.⁹ In other

1. Rājat. VIII, 270.

2. Stein. Rājat. tr. VII, 601 note.

3. Manu. VIII, 1; Vas. 16.2: Yāj. 1, 327: Nār. 1. 2.; Śukra IV 5.5.

4. J. Jolly. Recht. und Sitte, p.132.

5. Infra p.

6. Rājat. VIII, 2671, 2925.

7. Rājat. VIII, 2618.

8. Rājat. VIII, 2551.

9. Rājat. VII, 1501.

verses in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī we find the mention of Rājasthāna-mantriṅāḥ¹ and several Rājagrhyas.² This raises a further problem. If the Rājasthāniya Alaṅkāra was the chief justice, what were the functions of the other Rājasthāniyamantriṅāḥ and the Rājagrhyas?³ Stein suggested that they were the subordinate judicial officers.⁴

The term Dvārādhipa⁵, literally 'Lord of the Gate' or 'Gates', along with its synonyms Dvārapati⁶, Dvāreśa⁷, Dvāranāyaka⁸, Dvārādhikārin⁹, Dvārādhiśvara¹⁰, is probably the most frequent administrative office to be found throughout the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. From all the references it is evident that it was a ministerial office like that of the Kampana (the commander-in-chief). Sometimes the two charges - that of the commander-in-chief and the lord of the 'Gate' were held by one and the same person.¹¹ The post of the commander-in-chief is commonly found in the whole of ancient India, but the office of the Dvārādhipa is peculiar to Kashmir.

1. Rājat. VIII, 756.

2. Rājat. VII, 1501; VIII, 3132.

3. Ibid.

4. Stein. Rājat. tr. VII. 601 note

5. Rājat. V, 214; VII, 576; VIII, 633.

6. Rājat. VI, 179, 281; VII, 223, 584, 912, 1172; VIII, 756.

7. Rājat. VII, 1301; VIII, 2254, 2493, 2662, 2852, 2937.

8. Rājat. VI, 325; VIII, 185.

9. Rājat. VII, 216, 995, 1178; VIII, 1042.

10. Rājat. VIII, 178, 2501.

11. Rājat. VII, 1319.

Encircled on all the sides by high almost inaccessible mountain barriers, the valley of Kashmir enjoyed a very safe position in ancient times. Stein says: "Even when Islam at last, after a long struggle, victoriously overspread the whole of Northern India, Kashmir behind its mountain ramparts remained safe for centuries longer".¹

The political history of Medieval Kashmir and the strategic importance of the routes² leading to the valley made it imperative to appoint a special high official to whom was specifically assigned the duty of guarding the frontiers. This high charge was held by the Dvārādhīpa - or 'the Warden of the Marches'.

While describing the invasion of Kashmir by Uccala, the descendent of the lateral branch of Lohara and later the ruler of Kashmir (1101-11), during King Harṣa's reign (1089-1101), Kalhaṇa mentions the Commandant of the 'Gate' (Dvāreśa) Sujjaka, who was sitting at ease and was taken by surprise in an attack by Uccala.³ The use of the term Dvāreśa here makes it doubtful whether Kalhaṇa means to refer to the mere commandant of a watch station or to the "Warden of the Marches", who must have had all the routes under his charge. Likewise there arises another doubt, whether there was only one 'Lord of the Gate' or many. The context of the above verse shows that here Dvāreśa represents

1. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II, p.391.
2. Supra pp. 23 ff.
3. Rājat. VII, 1301.

merely the commandant of the Watch-station on the Toṣamaidan route. During the reign of King Jayasiṃha (1128-49), Utpala, the murderer of King Sussala, when attempting to re-enter Kashmir from Puṣiāṇanāda (Puṣiāna, a village at the south foot of the Pir Panṭṣāl pass) was caught high up in the mountains by the commandant of the guard-station at Śūrapura.¹ Here Kalhaṇa uses the words draṅgādhiśvara, draṅgādhipa, draṅgeśa for the commandant of the watch-station.² Thus we find a commandant in charge of the Kārkotadraṅga at the Toṣamaidan route, and another of the Śūrapura draṅga, on the Pir Panṭṣāl pass.³ Similarly there must have been guardians of all the watch-stations; while throughout the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, we find only one high post of the 'Warden of the Marches' (dvārapati) - the office held by Kalhaṇa's father Caṃpaka during king Harṣa's reign (1089-1101)⁴. When referring to new appointments Kalhaṇa never mentions more than one person at a time being put in charge of the Dvāra.⁵ Dvārakārya (the duty of the Dvāras) is also occasionally mentioned as a specific office, no doubt implying the post of 'Lord of the Gate'.⁶ In a certain verse Kalhaṇa mentions that Mahattama Sahela was Commander-in-Chief (Kampaneśa) of king Harṣa's army as well as the 'Lord of the Gate',⁷ which shows that 'the Lord of the Gate'

1. Rājat. VII, 140; Stein. Rājat. tr. VII, 140 note, Vol. II, p. 399.

2. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. II, p. 292.

3. Ibid.

4. Rājat. VII, 1177.

5. e.g. Rājat. VIII, 573.

6. Rājat. VIII, 790, 2354.

7. Rājat. VII, 1319.

was a general term for the Warden of the Marches and the post was bestowed as a very high ministerial office unlike that of the ordinary draṅgeśa. Otherwise it could not have been combined with the post of the commander-in-chief, which, as already shown, was a high ministerial office. We must conclude that Kalhaṇa, in the reference to Sujjaka above, uses the term dvāreśa loosely, and actually means by it the commandant of the frontier watch-station. This is, however, the only reference we have found where the term has this broader connotation.

The post of dvāreśa might be dangerous one. Thus, during the reign of king Ananta (1028-63), the brave Bimba held this charge and lost his life while fighting against the Khaśas.¹ Rājeśvara, the son of Bhadreśvara, then took this charge, but he too was killed by the Ḍāmaras of Kramarājya (modern Kamraz).² On the other hand, strong men seem to have held this office for long periods and were even sometimes requested by the kings to retain the post against their wishes. Thus, during the reign of king Kalaśa (1063-89), Kandarpa was made 'Lord of the Gate'; he crushed the Ḍāmaras and even won victories at Rājapurī; being irritable by nature he repeatedly resigned the charge, but was every time conciliated by the king.³

1. Rājat. VII, 216-17.

2. Rājat. VII, 223, 364, 576.

3. Rājat. VII, 364, 576.

This minister seems to have dealt directly with the feudal chiefs and neighbouring kings, levying tribute from them and issuing orders to them as the king's viceroy.¹ Thus the brave Kandarpa, who was the lord of the 'Gate' during king Kalaśa's reign (1063-89), crushed the Ḍāmaras, and the neighbouring chiefs (Sāmantas) touched his orders with their crest ornaments. This minister also appears to have exercised judicial powers over the commandants of the frontier watch-stations.² In fact, this office was considered as great honour. During king Harṣa's time Ananda, who had got the post of Pādāgra (revenue), was still aspiring to get that of the 'Lord of the Gate'.³

Dvāarakārya, or the work of guarding the routes, was so vulnerable a charge that even the enemies of the Kashmir kings seem to have organised such an office. During king Sussala's reign Bimba, a step-brother of the commander-in-chief (Kampaneśa) Tilaka, went over to the king's enemies and accepted from them this charge.⁴

Military posts like that of the commander-in-chief and the 'Lord of the Gate', seem to have obtained great importance during the time of the Lohara dynasties, especially during the

1. Rājat. VII, 576-80.
2. Rājat. VII, 1172.
3. Rājat. VII, 993-95.
4. Rājat. VIII, 790.

Second. King Harṣa (1089-1101) did not pay any special regard to his personal servants, and, avoiding any subversion of the established order, bestowed the various high state offices upon his father's ministers. Nevertheless, Kalhaṇa mentions the appointment of Kandarpa to the charge of the Gate and Madana to the chief command of the army (Kampana).¹ Whether they were the ministers of his father or were newly appointed by him, the specific mention of only these two high ministerial posts establishes their importance in the state.

Very often in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī occurs the term Kampana or Kampanā. While Wilson, Troyer and Dutta have taken this word as referring to a territory, Stein has quite correctly interpreted it as a term for 'army'.² By the titles Kampanādhipa, Kampanādhiśa, Kampanāpati and Kampaneśa, is invariably meant the commander-in-chief or general.³

In the Lokaprakāśa attributed to Kṣemendra, the Kampanapati is mentioned in a list of the great state officers between the Dvārapati, and the Aśvapati, the commander of the horses.⁴

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1. Rājat. VII, 886-87.
 2. Wilson. Essay, p.73; Troyer Radjaterāṅgiṇī Vol. III, p.569. J.C. Dutt. p. Lassen. Ind. Alt. Vol. III, p.1049, connected it with a river.
 3. Rājat. V. 447; VI. 228, 230, 233, 237, 259; VII, 154, 267, 365, 399, 579, 887, 923, 1319, 1362, 1366; VIII. 177, 180, 627, 647, 652, 685, 698, 860, 960, 1046, 1624. Rājat. VIII, 1430. Kampanodgrāhika is also once mentioned.
 4. Lokaprakāśa. Dh. IV. p.59.

It refers to the Kampanāpatī thus:-

prajānām paramaḥ kampo mohakampam nivārayet

'The greatest terror should remove the perplexity and fear of the people.' The etymology from the root Kamp appears to be false. It seems to be of Latin origin by way of Greek¹, from campus meaning originally an open field, and then as a "camp", from that to the "army". As this word had long established itself in the common vocabulary no-one seems to have known its origin, for in one reference we find even Kalhaṇa connecting it with trembling.² In the same way we find Kṣemendra trying to give very interesting etymological interpretations of the word divira, which we know was of foreign origin.³

Out of the five great ministerial offices, we have hitherto dealt with those of the prime minister (sarvādhikṛt), the lord of the 'Gate' (dvārādhipa), the commander-in-chief (kampana), and the chief justice (rājasthāniya). The fifth is not easy to identify.

There were several important offices other than the above four, such as those of the minister for war and peace (sāndhivigrahika)⁴, the prefect of the city (nagarādhipa)⁵, the

1. von B. Lebech. B.S.O.A.S. VI, 1931, p.431.

2. cf. Rājat. VIII, 575.

3. infra, p. 168

4. Rājat. IV, 137, 711; VI, 320; VIII, 1304. 3354.

5. Rājat^{iv} IV, 81; VI, 70 note.

minister for domestic affairs (grhakarṭya)¹, the Pādāgra² and the Kheri³. One reference suggests that the post of Pādāgra was the fifth of the five great offices. While describing the troubles created by the Ḍāmaras during the reign of king Jayasimha (1128-49) Kalhana writes: "Also Citraratha and others who were soon to become the great ministers (mahāmātya) took to grass as their festive dress (i.e. became poor).⁴ In a subsequent verse Kalhana mentions the various appointments made by king Jayasimha: "The king then placed Citraratha, Śrīvaka, Bhāsa and others in charge of the Pādāgra (post), the 'Gate', Kheri (district) and other offices respectively".⁵ The lord of the 'Gate', the commander-in-chief and the Rājasthāniya are often mentioned together as high posts,⁶ while reference to the Pādāgra as a high office is found only once⁷, which suggests that it was not as great an office as the others. If the Pādāgra was the chief revenue officer the comparative fewness of the references to this post is very curious. It is perhaps due to the circumstances of the age in which Kalhana was writing. The internal civil strife, the ever rising power of the landed aristocracy - the Ḍāmaras - and the alliance formed with pretenders by the

1. Rājat. VI, 167, 176-77; VII, 42.

2. Rājat. VII, 571, 994; VIII, 1482, 1964, 2224, 2352.

3. Rājat. I, 335; VIII, 960, 1118, 1482, 1624.

4. Rājat VIII, 1436.

5. Rājat. VIII, 1482.

6. ^{e.g.} Rājat. VIII, 178-81, 573-75.

7. Rājat. VIII, 1964.

neighbouring kings seem to have directed the greater force of the state activity towards military rather than civil affairs, so that the office of the chief justice was combined with that of the commander-in-chief (kampaneśa)¹, and the Pādāgra (revenue) with that of the lord of the 'Gate'. Citraratha held the two latter offices during king Jayasiṃha's reign.²

The Pādāgra office is first mentioned in the reign of king Anantadeva (1028-63), when Haladhara the prime minister put it openly above all offices.³ This office is here said to have been organised by Kṣema during the same king's reign. Earlier Kalhaṇa says: "Kṣema, a barber, filled the king's treasury, securing revenue by the impost of one-twelfth (dvādaśabhāga) and other means".⁴ King Kalaśa (1063-89) "knowing how to guard the interests of his subjects, did not give the Pādāgra office to the minister Nonaka, though he was expert in raising revenue, as he was afraid of his cruelty".⁵

Regarding the meaning of the term Pādāgra Stein writes: "Etymologically the term Pādāgra might mean the officer who stands before the feet (of the king)", but concludes from the above reference that he was chiefly concerned with revenue.⁶

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1. Rājat. VIII, 1624.
 2. Rājat. VIII, 1964.
 3. Rājat. VII, 208-210.
 4. Rājat. VII, 203.
 5. Rājat. VII, 571.
 6. Stein. Rājat. tr. VII, 210 note.

Collection of the taxes was evidently the chief duty of this officer. We find Citraratha to have been so persistent in increasing the imposts that the brāhmanas at Avantipura held a solemn fast in protest.¹ So oppressive became his fiscal exactions that his servants confiscated even the grazing lands (caraka) of the sacred cows, and one cowherd burned himself to death in consequence.² Thus we find Citraratha, who was to become a high minister (mahāmātya), receiving the post of the Pādāgra. This man was later assigned the charge of the 'Gate' as well.³ The use of the word Mahāmātya for Citraratha may signify his later charge of the Gate, but the mention of the office of Pādāgra even before that of the lord of the 'Gate' shows clearly enough that it was a high post of ministerial rank.

Kheri⁴ is also mentioned as one of the high charges in the verse under discussion. This as shown by Stein, is a certain district, identified by him with the parganā now known by the name of Khur-Naravav. The administration of Kheri as a royal allodial domain, appears to have formed a special charge as Kalhana refers repeatedly to 'Kheri-Kārya' in the sense of a high office.⁵ But however important this office may have been to the royal interests it was definitely not a great charge like

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1. Rājat. VIII, 2224.
 2. Rājat. VIII, 2225-26.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 1964.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 1482.
 5. Stein. Rājat. tr. I, 335 note.

that of the Pādāgra.

So great was the influence of the Pādāgra Citraratha over king Jayasiṃha that the latter paid no heed to the complaints of the people nor did he take any steps to redress their grievances. One youth named Vijayarāja from the family of Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭṭa planned to kill Citraratha. Though he could not be killed, he was severely wounded and passed the rest of his days in utter misery.¹ Later on the king's mind was incited against him by Mallārjuna. Fearing the king's wrath, he fled to Sureśvarītīrtha under the pretence of wishing to die there.²

In his capacity of Pādāgra, Citraratha appears to have amassed fabulous wealth. The confiscation of this minister's great wealth in the form of gold, clothes, equipment, horses, jewels, arms and other valuables by the king added much to the royal fortune.³

Another important office, called Gṛhakarṭya, was first organised by King Śaṅkaravarman (883-902) at the behest of the kāyasthas, who are said to have advised him to extort money out of his subjects instead of gaining it by wars and conquests. Another office established along with this was that of Aṭṭapati-bhāga - the Department of the Lord of the Market.⁴

1. Rājat. VIII, 2227-36. (3) Rājat VIII. 2345-47.

2. Rājat. VIII, 2341-44.

3. Rājat. V, 167. The normal meaning of bhāga is 'share'. It seems more appropriate however to take it here in the sense of Vibhāga, 'section' or 'department'.

Gṛhakarṭya etymologically means domestic affairs. Pt. Madhusudan Kaul, the editor of Kṣemendra's Narmamālā takes Gṛhakarṭyādhipati, the officer in charge of the Gṛhakarṭya office, as the head of the home department, who controlled both civil and military offices and also religious affairs.¹ In the text of the Narmamālā, however, we do not find any references such as could indicate this office to be concerned with military affairs.

After mentioning the establishment of this department, Kalhana in the subsequent verses refers to the plundering of sixty-four temples by the Gṛhakarṭyādhipati. He also levies taxes on the profits arising out of the sale of incense, sandalwood and other articles², and is responsible for the resumption of the charge of the villages granted to the temples, the reduction in the annual allowance of the temple corporations, and fines on those who escape their duty of the forced carriage of loads, and contributions for the monthly pay of the Skandakas (village headmen), and grāmakāyasthas (village accountants or Patwāris); all these items of revenue and taxation filled the king's treasury and were under the direct control of the Gṛhakarṭya office. It was thus a public office, concerned rather with the state revenues than with the king's domestic affairs.³

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1. N. Mālā. p.12. (Introd.)
 2. Rājat. V, 168-69.
 3. Rājat. V, 170-76.

Kṣemendra in his Narmanālā places this office as the highest in the hierarchy of officers concerned with home affairs, for he tells us that the greatest ambition of a kāyastha is to become the Gr̥hakṛtyādhipati.¹ Kāyastha, as we have seen, is a general term for all the minor state functionaries. We have mention of the Aśvaghāsakāyastha² (clerk of fodder for horses) and the Samdhivigrahakāyastha³ (clerk of peace and war), which shows that the kāyasthas were also concerned with military and foreign affairs; this does not mean, however, that all the kāyasthas came under the charge of the Gr̥hakṛtya department or that it dealt with military affairs also. The kāyasthas with special appellations must have been in charge of the ministers concerned with respective departments.

The Gr̥hakṛtyādhipati had the authority to choose and appoint his own officers. Kṣemendra tells us that there were seven executive officers and eight staff-bearers working under him.⁴ Even when the office was first organised during the reign of King Saṅkaravarman, Kalhaṇa informs that there were five secretaries (diviras) and one treasurer (gañjavara) appointed under him.⁵ Other officers, working under him, were the paripālaka (administrator), the niyogi, the gañjadivira and the grāmadivira.⁶

1. N. Mālā I.verse 32.

2. Rājat. III, 489

3. K.S.S. Vol. I.

4. N. Mālā I.verses 34-37.

5. Rājat. V, 177.

6. N. Mālā, pp. 5-12. I.verses. 51 ff.

Madhusudan Kaul takes paripālaka as the governor of a province.¹ Not being a big empire such as that of the Mauryas, Kashmir, like other smaller kingdoms of India at that time, had few territorial divisions. The valley of Kashmir has from very early times been divided into two chief parts, known as Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya.² There was only one governor (Maṇḍaleśa) of the whole of the valley, in charge of both divisions.³ A Maṇḍaleśa was also sometimes placed in charge of Lohara, which in our period was generally governed by a member of the Royal Family.⁴ Thus we cannot take the term Paripālaka as meaning the Governor of a Province. We find no direct reference to this post in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.

In one/verse, however, occurs the term Paripālyam Kurvan where the hard hearted Ananda, who had been put by the king in charge of the Pādāgra and other posts. Stein is not certain about the meaning of the expression and from the reference made to the Corporation of Priests at Parikāsapura, he concludes that Ananda had something to do with the administration of the property of the corporation. To us it suggests that this expression has some connection with the post of the Paripālaka as mentioned by Kṣemendra, because this officer is in the Narmamālā mainly

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1. N. Mālā. Editorial p.12.
 2. infra p. 162 f.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 1178, 1227, 1231, etc.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 1228, 1814, 2029.

responsible for temples and endowments. It would seem that this was the chief function of the Paripālaka, an important member of the Gr̥hakar̥tya's staff. Could this post be like that of the modern Dharmācārtha officer who is mainly concerned with the religious endowments and grants?¹

The only other reference we find to the Gr̥hakar̥tya office concerns the reign of King Saṃgrāma⁴vāja (1003-28), when a low born kāyastha Bhadreśvara was put by the Prime Minister Tuṅga in the charge of this office. On his appointment he is said to have cut off the sustenance of gods, cows, Brāhmaṇas and the poor, the stranger and the royal servants.² Kṣemendra also refers to the Gr̥hakar̥tyadhipati as Mahattama³, a term often found in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.⁴ Though its precise significance is not clear it seems to have been often concerned with revenue administration. Sahelaka of the purohita corporation (parṣad) at the temple of Samarsvāmin, who as the advisor of Vijayamalla, king Harṣa's brother, had been hateful to the king (Harṣa 1089-1101), obtained the position of Prefect of Property (arthanāyaka) by securing a doubled revenue, and having once obtained access to the king,

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1. Rājat. VII, 994, note.
 2. Rājat. VII, 42.
 3. N. Mālā, I, verse 60.
 4. Rājat. VII, 438, 659; VIII, 560, 1427.

Another connected term often occurring in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī is Mahattama - comparative formation of Mahat, 'great' and is given by Monier Williams in the special sense of the 'head or oldest man of a village'. In Indian inscriptions we have the superlative formation Mahattama, used in some technical way.

Gupta Inscā No. 38, pp.170, 218. C.I.I. Vol. III, p.168, 218.

became in time his Mahattama. Sahela, the Mahattama is again referred to as connected with the embezzlement of king Harṣa's money¹; when discovered he is said to have tried to wreck vengeance on the king by directing his attention towards difficult military expeditions. All these verses suggest that Mahattama was perhaps another name for Gr̥hakṛtyādhipati, but in a certain verse we find that there could be more than one Mahattama at the same time.² The term seems to have implied any important office, but usually one connected with revenue administration.

Kṣemendra tells us that king Ananta curbed the power of the Kayasthas and relieved the administration of their oppression and atrocities.³ It is significant that we do not find any mention of the Gr̥hakṛtya office, which is put at the head of the hierarchy of officials concerned with home affairs by Kṣemendra,⁴ anywhere after the reign of king Saṃgrāmarāja, the father of king Ananta.⁵ It is clear from Kṣemendra's statement that all offices of state from the Gr̥hakṛtyādhipati down to the smallest village officer were sternly repressed by him. It would seem that Ananta abolished the corrupt Gr̥hakṛtya office entirely. On the other hand at the beginning of this king's reign, Kṣema, a barber filled the king's treasury by the impost of twelfth part (dvādaśbhāga) and other imposts and later organised the Pādāgra office.⁶

1. Rājat. VII, 1170-71.

2. Rājat. VIII, 560.

3. N. Mālā. verse 4.

4. Ibid. verse 32.

5. Rājat. VII, 42.

6. Rājat. VII, 203.

The valley of Kashmir has from very early times been divided into chief parts, known by their modern names as Kamrāz and Marāz. These terms are derived from Sanskrit Kramarājya and Maḍvarājya which are found very frequently in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī as well as later chronicles.¹ On the evidence of various references in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, the prevailing notions among the people, and Abu-l-Fazl's Ain-i-Akbarī, Stein takes Marāz as comprising the districts on both sides of the Vitastā above Śrīnagara, and Kamrāz those below.² The whole of the valley has from a very early time been sub-divided for administrative purposes into a considerable number of small districts formerly known as viṣayas³ and, in more recent times, as pargaṇās. Kṣemendra in his Loka-prakāśa tells us that Kashmir comprised twenty-seven viṣayas in his time. The great majority of pargaṇās known in recent times can be safely assumed to have existed during Hindu rule, because references to these occur in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Kṣemendra's list, however, gives some of the names so corruptly as to be beyond recognition.⁴ Abu-l-Fazl's account is the first which presents us with a systematic statement of Kashmir pargaṇās. This list shows also that the districts were from time to time

1. Stein. Rājat. 11, 15.
 2. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II, p.436.
 3. Rājat. V, 51; VIII, 1260, 1413, 2697.
 4. Lokaparakāśa. p.60.

increased in number or were readjusted within certain limits according to administrative requirements or fancies. The report of Asafkhān, reproduced by Abu-l-Fazl, shows thirty-eight parganās while the earlier report of Qāzi Ali contained forty-one. The difference is to be accounted for by the amalgamation of some and the splitting up of other parganās. They varied greatly in size, as is shown by the striking contrasts in revenue assessment. Thus, for example, Patan was assessed at 5300 kharwārs, while the revenue from Kamrāj amounted to 446,500 kharawāras. The Sikhs, on their conquest of the valley, seemed to have found thirty-six parganās as the accepted traditional number. Stein considers Major Bates' list as the most accurate for the Dogra rule. Subsequently under Lawrence, Tahsils were constituted after the fashion of British provinces and Lawrence's list shows eleven such tahsils. (F.W.) According to the Census Report of 1941, the central province of Kashmir State had fifteen districts. (1) B.

A curious traditional verse of Kalhaṇa puts the number of villages in ancient Kashmir at 66063. The same verse is found twice in Kṣemendra's Lokaparakāśa¹ and there is a reference to about the same number of villages in Kashmir in Jonarāja's Rājataranṅinī.² Taking the number of villages as recorded by the Census Report of 1941 as 3518 for the province of Kashmir, one would feel that Kalhaṇa, Kṣemendra and Jonarāja have all

F.A. Stein: Rājataranṅinī, Vol. II, p. 436-37. I B. Census of India, 1941, p. 72.
 1. Lokaparakāśa, p. 60. See Indische Studien XVIII, p. 375.
 2. Jonarāja, verse 153.

given us very exaggerated numbers.¹ Stein writes: "The large number of administrative sub-divisions, which goes back to an early date, may be taken as an indication of the dense population of the valley".² The figures of the population of the valley for about the past hundred years throw some interesting light on the increase in population:-

1835	200,000 ³
1891	814,000
1941	1,728,705 ⁴

From the above figures we find that the population in 1891 increased four times as against that given in the year 1835. This increase occurred despite the fact that by the famines of 1877-78, three-fifths of the population had been removed.

Taking the above record in view, Stein tells us: "The above figures indicate great powers of recuperation ... yet it was held by competent judges that the then existing agricultural population was by no means sufficient even for the land actually under cultivation. Thus the population in the most prosperous days of Hindu rule must have been quite dense. The existence of a very great number of deserted village sites in all parts of the country, the remains already alluded to of a far more extended

1. Census of India, Kashmir, 1941, pp.72-73.
 2. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II, p.438.
 3. The estimate of Lawrence (The Valley of Kashmir), pp. 223 ff.
 4. Census of India Report. pp. 72-73.

system of irrigation, the number of great temple ruins and the uniform tradition of the people - all point to the same conclusion."¹

The rise of the population figures from 814,000 to 1,728,705, or about double, from the years 1891 to 1941, further confirms the above views. It is quite feasible that the population of medieval Kashmir was greater than it is to-day.

Even Shirāf-ud-din, whose information was collected about A.D. 1400, and who, as Stein tells us, is on the whole accurate and matter of fact, records: "It is popularly believed that in the whole of the province - plains and mountains together - are comprised 100,000 villages"². It is curious, adds Stein, that Mirza Haider, who had ruled Kashmir himself, copies the statement without modification or dissent³. Thus from the ever-increasing figures of the population of the valley as gleaned from the various Census Reports of the recent past we are inclined to take the Chronicles at their word and believe that the valley was very densely populated in medieval times. Only thus is it possible that such a large number of villages can have existed in the past. We have, however, no clear idea as to what actually constituted a village. It may well be that the figure of 66063 villages includes very small settlements such as are nowadays included within the boundaries of larger villages.

1. Stein. Rājat. Vol. II, p.438.

2. Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p.430. quoted by Stein - Vol. II, p.439.

3. Stein. Rājat Vol.II, p.439.

Many of the writers on ancient India Policy mention the territorial division of rural areas into grāmas, with larger groupings of ten grāmas, one hundred grāmas, a thousand grāmas, and ten thousand grāmas - the last division (ten thousand) is mentioned only by Śukra.¹

We have no evidence to show that the rural areas of Kashmir were organised into such divisions but in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and Kṣemendra's Lokaparakāśa and Narmamātā we get a clear idea of the existence of an organised local government with graded officials.²

The smallest unit of local government was the village and the representatives of the State in the village were generally known as grāmakāyasthas.

1. Artheśāstra. I, section I.

2. Manu. VII, 114-15

Viṣṇu. III, 5.

Śukra. I, 192.

2. Rājat. V, 175.

Stein. Rājat. V, 175 note; Vol. I, p.210.

Ksemendra. N. Māla. I: 97-140

The term Divira, as it occurs in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, is evidently used for officials who had to deal with writing and accounts.¹ The proper explanation of the term is given by Bühler while discussing its occurrence in the Valabhi grants. In the St. Petersburg Lexicon, which is followed by Monier Williams, divira is said to be a proper name, and the Rājatarāṅgiṇī VI. 130, VII. 111, 119, is quoted as the authority. In the first passage, as pointed out by Bühler, the reading divirāt is merely a faulty reading of Troyer's edition for Śivirāt, which latter the Calcutta edition and the Śārada MSS. give. The other two verses referred to above have been wrongly translated by Troyer, otherwise it would have been recognised that a divira must be an official.² The verse VII. 111, of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī runs as follows:-

Purā devamukhākhyāya divirasya kilājani Apūpikāyām
veśyāyām putraścandramukhābhidhaḥ,

meaning:-

Formerly a son, called Candramukha, was born to a divira called Devamukha by a courtesan Apūpikā.

The second verse is:-

Ithaṁ mantriṣṭva Yogyeṣu kṣāntiśīle ca bhupataḥ
kecidudrekamphajandaraddivira dāmarāḥ.

meaning:-

1. Rājat. VII, 111, 119; VIII, 131.

2. Ind. Ant. Vol. VI. p.10.

While the ministers were thus worthy and the king was of forgiving disposition, some daradas, diviras and Dāmaras became overbearing. (Rājat. VII, 119)

In landgrants divira or divirapati is always used as a title, especially for the officials who drew up the Sāsanas.¹ This shows also that it denoted the holder of some office. Kṣemendra in his Lokaparakāśa (Prakāśa 111) speaks of various classes of diviras - gañjadiviras, nagaradiviras, grāmadiviras, khavāśadiviras. Secondly, in giving the forms of huṇḍis and other bonds he says: "I will now propound all written documents according to the details of each, in their proper order, for the benefit of the diviras".² Bühler is quite right in taking these officials as concerned with writing and accounts, and we may equate the word with the modern kārkūn - a writer and accountant. Bühler was not able to find an etymology for the word in Sanskrit. He suggested that it might be connected with the old persian dipi, 'writing', which occurs in the Cuneiform inscriptions.³ Kṣemendra in his Narmamāta gives a very humorous etymology of the word divira divi, 'in the sky' and ra (rodana) 'weeping', i.e. one who weeps in the sky. The divira is said to be the incarnation of the domestic accountant of the Daityas who, when they met with destruction at the hands of Viṣṇu, wept so bitterly in the sky that Kali took pity on him and granted him the pen (Kalama) to terrify

1. Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p.10.

2. Lokaparakāśa, p.11.

3. Ibid.

the devas (Gods).¹ This story gives a good indication of the attitude of the people in general to the oppressive official class, and suggests that the diviras were even ready to take advantage of the temples and other religious foundations, a fact which can be confirmed from the evidence of the Rājataranṅinī.²

In the Lokaprākāśa Kṣemendra next mentions the kāyasthas. This term occurs very frequently in the Rājataranṅinī.³ From a comparison of all the references we believe that in medieval Kashmir it tended to have a general meaning signifying the clerks and minor officials, including the diviras, in whatever department of the State they might be working⁴. The Kāyastha appears as a writer in the landgrants of other parts of India.⁵

Both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa paint a deplorable picture of the atrocities committed by this section of Kashmir Society.⁶ They besought king Jayāpīḍa of the Kārakoṭa dynasty (751-782) to avoid wars and conquests and to amass wealth instead of oppressing his own subjects.⁷ These officials, when in charge of the collection of the revenue and taxation, during king Jayāpīḍa's time, took from the subjects all the harvest, including the cultivator's share. In fact, they themselves appropriated

1. N. Mālā. 9+13.

2. Rājat. V, 176; VII, 119.

3. Lokaprākāśa, p.11.

4. Rājat. IV, 90, 588, 621-23, 629; VII, 38, 1226; VIII, 85-114, 131, 664, 1225-26, 2383.

5. Ep. Ind. III, pp. 222, 340-44, 350-59; IV, p.99, 103; V. 115; VIII, p.140; IX, pp. 68, 181.

6. Rājat. V, 439; VII, 149; N. Mālā I, Samaya 1-49.

7. Rājat. IV, 621-22.

7. Rājat. IV, 621-22.

practically the whole if it, leaving only a small fraction for the king.¹ King Harṣa is said to have oppressed his people through the Kāyasthas, and we are told that he did not even spare his subjects 'a clod of earth' owing to the heavy fines that he inflicted.² Kalhaṇa refers to the kāyasthas, diviras, and courtesans as worse than poisoned arrows, for they have been trained under a teacher's instruction to extort money from the people.³ Elsewhere he refers to them as a plague among the people, as serious as cholera, colic, and exhaustion, which rapidly destroys everybody. The crab kills its father and the white ant destroys her mother, but the ungrateful Kāyastha, when he has become powerful, destroys everything.⁴ He is further compared to a goblin (vetāla) and a poison-tree.⁵ Kṣemendra tells us that the kāyastha's greatest ambition is to rise to the post of the Grhakarṭyādhipati - the minister for domestic affairs.⁶ One of the kāyasthas even rose to the position of a prime minister during the reign of king Sussala(1112-1120).⁷

The more efficient kings tried to curb the power of these petty tyrants, whose extortions were universally resented. Kṣemendra blames earlier monarchs for allowing the kāyasthas to

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1. Rājat. IV, 628-29.
 2. Rājat. VII, 149, 1226.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 131.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 53, 92-106.
 5. Rājat. VIII, 85-91.
 6. NMālā I.verse 32.
 7. Rājat. VIII, 560.

commit such oppression, and praises his contemporary king Ananta (1028-63) for the restoration of peace and order in the state by the wholesale dismissal and imprisonment of kāyasthas.¹ The Rājatarāṅgiṇī confirms that Ananta tightened up the administrative machinery and restored good government.² Uccala, the usurper who followed Harṣa, is said to have completely crushed the power of the Kāyasthas by degradation, dismissal and imprisonment.³ Thus the Kāyasthas evidently profited by the rule of a weak king, but were never safe from punishment under a strong one.

The Rājatarāṅgiṇī shows that the term kāyastha in Kashmir during the period under review did not signify a caste, as it does in most parts of India to-day, but a class of people engaged in government service, for in a certain verse a brāhmaṇa Śivaratha is referred to as a kāyastha in his official capacity.⁴

One of the most important duties of any central government and secretariat is the control and supervision of the provincial, district and local administration. The efficiency of the administration depends to a great extent upon the ability of the administrative officers and the accuracy with which they draft the orders of the Central Government. KAuṭilya says: "Government is writ and writ is government".⁵ Śukra declares that royalty does not reside in the person of the king but in his

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1. N. Mālā, I verses 3-4.
 2. Rājat. VII. 2. 5. †.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 53, 92-106.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 2383.
 5. Arthasāstra. II, ch. 10.

sealed and signed orders.¹

In medieval Kashmir a developed system of record keeping and accountancy was a regular feature of the government, as it appears to have been in other parts of India also.² We find several references to royal orders being reduced to writing by the secretarial officers at the Record Office (Akṣapaṭala).³ Some have rendered the word Akṣapaṭala as "court of justice" and "archives", but Stein prefers to translate it as "Accountant General's office" on the evidence of a gloss in a manuscript of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī which explains Akṣapaṭala as gaṇanādhīpatis-thāna.⁴ Dr. Fleet renders it as "Record office" or "Court of Rolls".

In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī the word occurs during the reign of king Yaśaskara (939) who was able to detect a fraudulent transaction on account of the unusually high fee paid to the official recorder (adhikaranalekṣhaka) when it was registered at the record office.⁵ Another passage is of special interest as it shows that title deeds were issued and recorded by this office. King Cabravarman (923) granted the village of Kelu to Raṅga, a Śvapaka whose daughters the king had married, as an agrahāra, but the

1. Sukra ch. II. 587. (587)

2. Ep. Ind. IX, p.305; XX, 128; Arthaśāstra II, p.7. cf. Vogel. Camba Antiquities, 133. Harṣacarita VII, para. 2. C.I.I. No. 60, p.257.

3. Rājat. V, 301, 389, 398; VI, 287; VII, 162, 1604.

4. Rājat. V. 397-8; Stein. Rājat. note.

5. Rājat. VI, 38.

recorder of the Official document (Paṭṭopādhyāya) did not execute the document relating to the grant (dānapaṭṭaka); Raṅga proceeded to the Akṣapātala office and intimidated the official to write: Raṅgassa Helu diṇṇa (Helma is granted to Raṅga).¹

1. Rājat. V. 397-98.

The army is an important element of government and, according to Kauṭilya, it is one of the seven Prakṛtis of the state or sovereignty.¹ Śukra says: "The army is the group of men, animals, etc., equipped with arms, missiles, etc.; without the army there is neither kingdom nor wealth nor prowess".²

We have seen above that though the valley of Kashmir was guarded by high mountain walls, there were routes spread in all directions and on their protection depended the safety of the whole valley. It was in fact a hard task to safeguard the routes leading to the valley from foreign invasions, from the cupidity of the neighbouring chiefs and from the turmoils and troubles created by the Dāmaras in alliance with rival claimants to the throne. We have already referred to Alberūnī's remarks about the anxiety of the Kashmirians for the natural strength of their country and the care to keep a stronghold upon the 'Gates'.³ Thus, in order to tide over the dangers of foreign invasion and civil war at home, it was imperative for the kings of Kashmir to maintain a well-organised and powerful army.

Indian tradition is almost unanimous in accepting a

1. Arthaśāstra. Book VI, ch. I, p.309.

2. Śukra IY. Section VII, 2.

3. Supra. p.21.

fourfold division of the army - infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants.¹ The Buddhist Jātakas also refer to this fourfold force.² In the Rājataranṅiṇī, we find mention of infantry, cavalry and elephants, though the last become rarer as we approach the times of the Lohara dynasties. We do not find any reference to chariots as a part of the forces. The chariots as a major element in the army had disappeared from India even in Gupta times, and, moreover, it is evident that the geographical features of the country did not allow the use of chariots or fast carriages even for conveying generals from place to place. In place of chariots we read of litters (karnīrathas) carried by men. King Lalitāditya is said to have had one lakh and a quarter of these litters in his army, while Jayāpīḍa had only eighty thousand.³ Kalhaṇa gives us numerical strength of King Śaṅkaravarman's (9th century) army when he marched from the gate,⁴ but litters are nowhere mentioned. We do not find any mention of litters as part of the army in later times, except that of the litter in which Śaṅkaravarman's dead body was brought from Uraśā.⁵ Another possible meaning of karnī ~~as it occurs in the Raghuvamśa~~, is 'missile' or

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1. Arthaśāstra. X, ch. IV. Manu VII, 185, states that the constitution of the army was six-fold, viz: elephants, cavalry, chariots, infantry, officers and attendants. Even in this classification the main division is in four. cf. Indian game of chess.
 2. Jātakas. Vol. II, Nos. 66, 70, 71; Vol. III, Nos. 157, 161. Vol. IV, Nos. 80, 307, etc. quoted by Dikshitar. War in Ancient India, p. 293.
 3. Rājat. IV, 407.
 4. Rājat. V, 137, 143-44.
 5. Rājat. V, 219.

'arrow'¹; Karnīratha could accordingly mean the "chariot for arrows" or quiver. In view of the incredible number of litters mentioned by Kalhaṇa one would feel tempted to take this as a mention of quivers, but Kalhaṇa's specific mention of a karnīratha² as conveying the dead body of Śaṅkaravarman does not allow us to accept any other meaning. Moreover, Prince Bhoja, the great-grandson of King Harṣa, who rose against King Jayasiṃha (1128-49) with the help of the Dāmaras, is seen carried in a litter to the king's camp. He was driving on the litter-carriers by touching their heads with his foot.³

Date writes: "It must be admitted that the horse was never regarded in ancient India as a superior fighting unit, and elephants, as also the chariots, continued to occupy a position higher than the cavalry".^{3a} It does, however, receive its due praise at the hands of Somadeva in his Nītivākya⁴. We often find the words aśvāroha hayāroha for horse-riders in the Rājataran-giṇī. Next to that of the infantry the military value of the horse was much appreciated in Kashmir. Along with the foot soldiers we find mention of mounted soldiers, which shows that the kings of Kashmir maintained horsemen also as a part of the regular standing force.⁵ King Jayāpīḍa of the Kārkoṭa dynasty is stated to have had horses in his forces, and he is said to have given a

1. Monier Williams Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 257.

2. Raghuvamśa. XIV, 13; Rāghavamśa, also uses the term in the sense of a 'litter'.

3. Rājat. V, 219.

3. Rājat. VIII, 3161-65.

3a. G.T. Date. The Art of War in Ancient India, p.45.

4. Nītivākya. Bala-Samuddeśaḥ verses 7-8.

5. Rājat. VII, 360; 902-905, 911; VII, 40, 394, 937, 1360, 1568-9

lakh of horses less one to the brāhmaṇas.¹ Kalhaṇa's narrative here is somewhat confused because first he mentions this king having asked the elders in his kingdom as to the number of litters (karnīratha) that his grandfather Lalitāditya had; suddenly after mentioning that this king was not disappointed for not having had the same number, Kalhaṇa starts talking of his military strength and the donation of horses to brāhmaṇas. The gift of cows to brāhmaṇas is very commonly referred to in early Indian literature, but we know of no other reference to their being given horses. We suspect some confusion in the text here.

Referring to King Saṃkaravarman (883-902), Kalhaṇa specifically mentions the depletion of the resources of the country and states that this king's army contained nine lakh of foot soldiers.² In a subsequent verse he states that it contained three hundred elephants and a lakh of horsemen as well.³ We find specific record of horsemen in the forces of the Lohara kings. King Harṣa's horses are said to have been well-bred.⁴ Kalhaṇa gives us an interesting record of a quarrel on account of a mare that took place between Harṣa's son, Bhoja, and Campaka, identified as Kalhaṇa's father.⁵ Kalhaṇa refers to the excellent training received by Harṣa in riding, so that when he was called by Kalhaṇa's disaffected father Ananta to vijayeśvara, where the latter was

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1. Rājat. IV, 415.
 2. Rājat. V, 137.
 3. Rājat. V, 143-144.
 4. Rājat. VII, 1333.
 5. Rājat. VII, 1591.

staying after his abdication, King Kalaśa's horsemen could not match him in speed.¹ In Harṣa's fight against Uccala, Kalhaṇa specifically refers to the king's cavalry force (turgānika), afraid of which the Dāmaras who had joined Uccala, took difficult mountainous routes to march towards the Capital.² King Sussala's forces were very strong in cavalry, for realizing the importance of horses in the battles, he bought them at high prices.³ So huge seems to have been the expense incurred by Kashmir kings in buying horses that Kalhaṇa talks of King Uccala as not to have wasted money on their purchase.⁴ There are references to the horse as a prized animal during the reign of Jayasiṃha.⁵ Special persons were employed by Kashmirian kings for training the horses. There are many references to foreign horse dealers,⁶ though Kalhaṇa does not clearly state the source of the supply of these horses. In a certain verse in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī Kalhaṇa states that King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa in his campaigns emptied the stables of the Kambojas⁷ - the inhabitants of the eastern part of Afghanistan which is famous for, even in the epics^{for} its breed of horses.⁸ From this we infer that the horses may have been imported by

1. Rājat. VII, 393-94.

2. Rājat. VII, 1360, 1568-69.

3. Rājat. VIII, 528, 743, 1094.

4. Rājat. VIII, 73.

5. Rājat. VIII, 2093-94.

6. Rājat. VII, 188, 213; VIII, 493.

7. Rājat. IV, 165.

8. Stein. Rājat. tr. IV, 165, note. cf. Arthaśāstra II.30.

Kashmir kings from this country.

We do not, however, get many details about the constitution and numerical strength of the cavalry forces of the Kashmir kings. They were, however, placed under the charge of Cavalry Commanders (Hayasenāpati, Aśvapati)¹, and there was a special officer appointed for maintaining the supply of fodder for the horses (Aśvaghāsa-kāyastha) and also a writer concerned with the stables (Aśvaśālādivira).² Kalhaṇa praises the skill of certain cavalry officers.³ The importance which the cavalry received as a superior fighting force during the times of Lohara kings, may well be the result of the failure of the Śāhis at the hands of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī owing to their weakness in this respect.

Elephants, elsewhere in India, much prized as a fighting arm, are frequently mentioned in the earlier books of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa's forces are said to have had numberless elephants.^{3a} Incidentally Kalhaṇa here refers to the Kalinga country as their birthplace.⁴ Presumably they were imported from that place. By the time we reach the Lohara dynasties we find few references to fighting elephants. In his war against his brothers Uccala and Sussala - the future rulers of Kashmir - Harṣa is described as fighting on his armour clad elephant. Attacked by this elephant, which had turned against its own side, the

1. Rājat. VII, 766-69; VIII, 339.

2. Rājat. III, 489.

3. Rājat. VIII, 528.

3a. Rājat. III, 327; IV, 54, 147-48, 162, 277.

4. Rājat. VII, 1553-55.

foot and horse of Harṣa's army were routed. The mention of a single elephant suggests that fighting from an elephant survived only as aⁿ kingly privileges.¹ The virtual disappearance of the fighting elephant in Kashmir may also be due to the lesson learnt after the defeat of the Śāhīs of Kabul at the hands of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī.

Besides the four classical divisions of the army, the military organisation in ancient India included other branches such as commissariat, transport and medical services.² They must naturally have formed an essential part of the armies of the Kashmir kings. There must have been a stores department with the army. We find reference to the supply of fodder for the horses of King Sussala's army being sent for an expedition against Rājapurī.³ From another verse it appears that arrangements were made for bringing the wounded back to the base camp, and Sussala took special care that casualties should have the arrow heads removed from their wounds, which were then bandaged.⁴ It is said that the sums which King Sussala spent on his troops by giving gratuities and medicines were beyond calculation.⁵

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1. Manu. VIII, 399-400. Medhātithi on Manu refers to elephants as one of the monopolies of the kings. *not the same as*
 - Yājñ. II, 261; cf. Bühler. Ā.B.E. XV, 323 note.
 2. G.T. Date. The Art of War in Ancient India. p.59.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 629; VII, 1191.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 735-42.
 5. Rājat. VIII, 741-43.

We have preference to the moving treasury (calagañja) with the forces of King Jayāpīḍa.¹ The soldiers are stated to have been paid marching allowance (pravāsavetana).²

The ancient Indian army contained troops of various kinds. Kauṭilya in his chapter on the recruitment of the army recognizes as many as six classes of troops - hereditary standing army (maula) hired troops (bhṛtaka), soldiers of corporations (śrenī), troops belonging to an ally (mitra), those who have deserted from the enemy (amitra), and those of the wild tribes (aṭavībala).³

No specific account of the composition and the mode of the recruitment of the army under the Lohara kings is available in the Rājataranṅinī. Scattered information on this point is, however, made available by Kalhaṇa while describing the various campaigns and wars conducted during the period under review. Moreover, we cannot find any specific classification of troops in the Rājataranṅinī similar to that of Kauṭilya.

1. Rājat. IV, 589.

2. Rājat. VII, 1156; VIII, 757, 808, 1457, 2753.

3. Arthaśāstra X, ch. IV.

4. J.D. of Letters. Vol. XIV, 1927, p.24 note.

Maula probably means a standing army, the soldiers of which had served the state for a long time.

The Ramāyana refers to four kinds of troops, maula, mitra, bhṛtyabalam, and dviśadbalam. Rāmā Laṅkā. Ch. 17, verse 24.

The Rājaputras, chief Councillors (mahāmātya), the feudal chiefs (sāmanta) and others constituted the forces of Tuṅga, the prime minister of King Saṅgrāma~~v~~āja (1003-28) when he marched to assist the Sāhis of Kabul who were attacked by Mahmūd of Ghazni.¹ Earlier King Saṅkaravarman's (883-902) army is said have had many feudatory princes in its number.² Rājaputras are referred to as taking pay and carrying arms.³ Next we find reference to Rājaputras, horsemen, soldiers, and Ḍāmaras in the service of King Ananta.⁴ In another verse we find Tantrins also forming part of the eighteen divisions of the army.⁵ In King Sussala's forces Councillors, Ḍāmaras and feudatories abounded.⁶

Taking all these references into account we find that Councillors, Rājaputras, Tantrins, horsemen, feudal chiefs with their forces, Ḍāmaras and other soldiers together formed the eighteen divisions of the armies of the Kashmir kings. Even Turuṣkas or Turkish Muslims formed a part of King Harṣa's armies. Bhikṣācara had Turuṣkas from the Punjab as his allies against Sussala.⁷ Jayasīma (1128-49) is also referred to as having

1. Rājat. VII, 48.

2. Rājat. v, 145-47.

3. Rājat. VII, 209, 325; VIII, 266.

4. Rājat. VII, 360.

5. Rājat. VII, 1371, 1512-14. The eighteen divisions of the army referred to by Kalhaṇa (Rājat. VII, 1371) find illustration in Amarakośa, ll. 8; 79, 81.

6. Rājat. VIII, 1072.

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7. Rājat. VIII, 885-87.

Yavanas in his army.¹ Kalhana appears to be using the word for Muhammedans.

B.K. Majumdar has stated that "the Kashmirian kings used to recruit soldiers from Rājaputana (sic) and other parts of the country" (Rājat. VII, 1868; VIII, 2264; XV, 306) and that "like the Normans in Medieval Europe the Rajputs lent the service of their sword in different localities and won great reputation."²

References VII, 1868; XV 306 are not to be found in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī while VIII, 1868 and VIII, 2264 refer to Saindhavas and Yavanas. As for the Rājput soldiers of the Kashmiri armies we have definite evidence in Rājatarāṅgiṇī that these Rājaputras belonged to Campā, Vallāpura, and the hill regions to the south of Kashmir. In his fight against Bhikṣācara, the rival claimant to the throne of Kashmir from the first Lohara dynasty, Sussala was able to keep up his courage with the assistance of Rājaputras and it was to the bravery and devotion of these mercenaries that Sussala owed his victory over the rebels near Gopādri (modern Takāt-i-Sulaiman hill) to the South-east of the city of Kashmir in 1122.³ They remained a potent force in the armies of all the kings of the Lohara dynasties.

A very interesting class of soldiers very frequently

1. Rājat. VII, 1149; VIII, 2264.

2. B.K. Majumdar. The Military System in Ancient India, p.90 note.

3. Rājat. VIII, 1051-1108, 1327-28, 1394, 1520, 2316, 3071, also cf. IV, 426, 447; VIII, 266, 323.

mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī is the Ekāṅgas.¹ From the references to their appointment and functions they appear to have formed an important part of the king's standing army. Literally the word Ekāṅga means 'one limb' or 'part' - perhaps the hereditary maula army. Stein infers that they were foot soldiers to whom police duties were assigned.² They are first mentioned in the reign of Queen Sugandhā, who it is said to have ruled for two years with their support.³ When Yaśaskara was seized by an abdominal disease, he had Varnata, the son of his paternal great-uncle Rāmadeva, consecrated king by the ministers, Ekāṅgas and feudal chiefs.⁴ The fear of a rising of the Ekāṅgas did not allow Parvagupta, the regent minister of Saṅgrāmadeva (948-49) to destroy the latter, although the latter was just a child, but on attaining the throne for himself Parvagupta took revenge on them.⁵ King Ananta (1028-63) was installed on the throne by the Ekāṅgas even without permission of his mother Śrīlekhā.⁶ Again, when his powerful commander-in-chief, Tribhuvana, became rebellious, collected the Dāmaras, and drew to himself the whole army, only the Ekāṅgas and the mounted soldiers did not leave the King's side.⁷

1. Rājat. V, 249, 250, 259, 261, 288; VI, 91, 120, 124, 132, 133; VII, 94, 135, 155, 161, 162, 1604.

2. Stein. Rājat. tr. V, 249 note. Kalhana uses the term aṅga for resources of a State. Rājat. VIII, 50.

3. Ibid. 248, note. Stein considers them similar to the gendarmes of Continental Europe.

4. Rājat. VI, 121-24.

5. Rājat. VI, 132-33.

6. Rājat. VII, 135.

7. Rājat. VII, 155, 1604. This reference shows that the Ekāṅgas were normally foot soldiers.

Being pleased with their help and, in order to show his gratitude, Ananta relieved the Ekāṅgas of their uncertain dependence on the accounts office (Akṣapaṭala) for their salaries, and gave them instead a fixed assignment of ninety-six crores of dinnāras.¹ Thus they appear to have been in the salaried service of the king. Moreover, from all these references we find them to have formed a very important element in state affairs. We do not find any further reference to them until the time of King Harṣa's last unfortunate days, when an equerry (Sūta), Trailokya by name, told the king of the services rendered by the Ekāṅgas to King Ananta and suggested to him that he should collect them in his hour of need at the Akṣapaṭala office.² They are nowhere mentioned during the times of the kings of the second Lohara dynasty.

While the Tāntrins are counted among the eighteen divisions of the army and are sent with the rest of the forces on military expeditions, we do not find Ekāṅgas performing any such duty.³ They appear to have formed the king's body-guard - similar to the Jānadāra soldiers of the sultans of Delhi. We fail to find any very definite evidence that they performed police duties, as Stein believes, though of course as the personal body-guard of the king they may well have been used for the apprehension of his political opponents from time to time.

It is with the coming to the throne of Queen Sugandhā

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1. for Akṣapaṭala see infra. p. 172.
 2. Rājat. VII, 1604.
 3. Rājat. VII, 1457; VIII, 597.

(904-906) that we find mention of Tantrins foot soldiers, who had formed a confederacy strong enough to punish or favour the rulers of Kashmir. Together with Ekāṅgas, ministers, and feudal chiefs, they formed the council which Sugandhā called in order to place on the throne Nirjitavarman, nicknamed Paṅgu or 'the Lame', who was descended from Śūravarman, the half-brother of Avantivarman; but the Tantrins overruled the Queen's council and by open rebellion obtained the crown for Pārtha, the infant son of Nirjitavarman (906).¹ In the year 914, the Ekāṅga troops went forth united and brought back Sugandhā from Huṣkapura, but the Queen's force was defeated by the Tāntrins, and she was made a prisoner and subsequently executed.² Again, in 921, Pārtha was formally deposed by the Tantrins in favour of his son Nirjitavarman, who, however, died two years later.³ Cakravarman, the child son of Nirjitavarman, who succeeded him, was kept on the throne under the guardianship of his mother and grandmother, until in the year 933-934 a fresh revolution of the Tantrins raised his half-brother, Śūravarman I, to the throne.⁴ As the new king could not pay the large sums claimed by the troops he was deposed and Pārtha was once more raised to the throne, but the cupidity of the Tāntrins made them restore Cakravarman in 935.⁽⁵⁾ As he also failed in raising the promised sums, he had to flee in the same year, whereupon the

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1. Rājat. V, 250 ff.
 2. Rājat. V, 259-62.
 3. Rājat. V, 287.
 4. Rājat. V, 290-92.
 5. Rājat. V, 295.

Tāntrins gave the throne to the minister Śambhuvardhana.¹ In the meanwhile Cakravarmaṇ turned for help to the Ḍāmara Saṅgrāma, who with his troops enabled the king to defeat the Tantrins. Kalhaṇa tells us that five or six thousand Tantrins fell slain in a short time on the field of battle.² Though they did not cease to be a part of the King's forces, their power seems to have been considerably reduced during these troubles.³ We find reference to them in the later days of King Harṣa, as forming a part of the king's armies.⁴ We do not find them giving any trouble to the kings of the First Lohara dynasty, and the strong kings of the Second Lohara dynasty seem to have kept them in their proper place, for we find King Uccala turning all the Tantrins out of his service as a result of some slight displeasure.⁵ But during the interregnum of Raḍḍa Śaṅkharāja and Saḷhaṇa (111-12), they are again mentioned as intriguing with King Sussala; they are part of Sussala's army when he gets the Kashmir throne.⁶ Thus the Tantrins formed a very important part of the kings' standing forces and, from the references to ^{the payments to} them through bills of exchange,⁷ we infer that they were regular paid soldiers. During the famine of 917-918, they

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1. Rājat. V, 302.
 2. Rājat. V, 328-35.
 3. Rājat. V, 431; VI, 132.
 4. Rājat. VII, 1513.
 5. Rājat. VII, 292.
 6. Rājat. VIII, 373-76, 510, 597.
 7. Rājat. V, 266, 275, 293.

by
 amassed huge riches/selling stores of rice at high prices.¹

Thus we find that the Ekāṅgas were a body organised in military fashion but employed chiefly as the king's bodyguards.

The Tantrins were foot soldiers. Stein has suggested that their name was originally a tribal one, which he has connected with the Tāntri of modern Kashmir, and he has further suggested that they owed their close organisation to ethnic affinities.² These views seem very reasonable. As we have noted above, during the reigns of weak rulers, the two bodies of troops played a great part in civil and military affairs, and in rivalry with each other took sides with the rival claimants to the throne.

The next constituent of the army was the forces collected in the time of emergency - the bhṛtaka of Kauṭilya's classification. Jayananda, who was the prime minister during the reign of king Kalāśa, wishing to collect foot soldiers, raised loans from rich people even if they were disreputable.³ These levies were paid during the period when they were in the active service of the king, but it appears from the above reference that they were disbanded after the campaign. When the Ḍāmaras rose in favour of Bhikṣācara, Sussala, the rival claimant to the throne, began to raise foot troops at enormous outlay, showering so much money on them that even the artisans and the carters took up arms.⁴

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1. Rājat. V, 274.
 2. Stein, Rājat. tr. V, 248 note.
 3. Rājat. VII, 367-68.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 726-28.

The next important element of the forces of the Kashmir kings was the feudal levies supplied by the chiefs (sāmantas).¹ We do not find any reference to the payment of such forces. Their recruitment and liability to serve in the king's armies must have been based on land tenure. Moreover, we find the Kashmir ministers possessing large forces of their own - a condition typical of feudal organisation.² Thus Phalguṇa, even though ousted from the prime ministership by king Abhimanyu (958-972), is seen marching to Varāhakṣetra attended by a large armed force. King Jayasimha (1128-49) did not conciliate Sujji, his disaffected commander-in-chief, but considered the way in which he could be attacked, as he had a powerful army at his disposal.³ During King Harṣa's time, 'the lord of the Gate', Campaka - Kalhana's father - crossed the Madhumati river and invested the fort of Dugdhaghāṭa with his own troops, while the king dispatched all the feudatories from all sides to his assistance.⁴

The mention of artisans and carters as taking up arms as a result of excessive showering of money by King Jayasimha shows that ordinarily these classes, unlike the śreṇi or Kauṭilya's classification, did not form a part of king's force. This also shows that there was no system of conscription in Medieval Kashmir.

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1. Infra. pp 250-47.
 2. Rājat. VI, 132, 204.
 3. Rājat. VIII. 1980
 4. Rājat. VII, 1180.

We have no clear reference to the numerical strength of the army during the Lohara dynasties. Kalhana tells us, however, in one passage that Sussala and Bhikṣācara had maintained their power with the aid of ten thousand picked troops, and that Jayasimha raised the same number of soldiers and sent them against the Castle of Lohara, where they all perished.¹ Earlier King Lalitāditya (8th century) is said to have had one lakh and a quarter of litters in his army, while Jayāpīḍa had only eighty-thousand.² The latter is referred to as being followed in his march by the feudatory princes with their forces, and Kalhana does not clearly state whether the figure refers to the total number of litters in the whole army, or only to that directly under the king's control. Saṅkaravarman (883-902) had an army of 900,000 foot soldiers, 300 elephants and 100,000 horsemen. His army on the march was also swelled from place to place by the troops of feudatory chiefs.³ These latter figures seem definitely exaggerated, but the more modest figure of 10,000 mentioned as the number of troops maintained by Sussala and Bhikṣācara may give us some idea of the approximate strength of the standing army of the time, excluding temporary recruits and feudal levies. King Sussala (1112-20), when he abandoned his throne and marched away was followed by 5,000 or 6,000 soldiers.⁴

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1. Rājat. VIII, 1905-6.
 2. Rājat. IV, 407-14.
 3. Rājat. V, 137-140.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 818.

Kalhana recognises the importance of military strategy, the posting of scouts, night watches and military exercises, and condemns Tuṅga for not having followed all these principles when he was sent to help the Śāhis of Kabul in their fight against Maḥmūd of Ghaznī.¹ Despite the advice of the Śāhi leaders Tuṅga did not care to acquaint himself with the Turuṣkas' methods of warfare; the result was that the Kashmir forces were utterly routed.² Kalhana admits the superior strength of Maḥmūd's forces and of those of the Śāhis of Kabul, who managed to hold out for some time against the Muslims. The Kashmir armies, which were mostly levies collected in the time of need or supplied by the feudatory princes, seem to have been fit enough for guarding against local troubles or for expeditions against Rājapuri, Vallāpura or the Dārads, but when they came face to face with the better organisation and the superior skill of the Mohammedan armies at Kabul, they were utterly defeated. Another defect in the Kashmir military organisation, as was also the case in Hindu India generally, was the total dependence of the forces on their leader,³ whose defeat or death completely disheartened them and often resulted in rout. Kalhana's casual mention of the battle arrays shows that some arrangement was made for the formation of such battle arrays.⁴ It appears that due consideration was given

1. Rājat. VII, 49-50.

2. Ibid.

3. Rājat. VII, 90.

4. Rājat. VIII, 2205.

to the seasons for starting the campaigns.¹ King Jayasiṃha lost Lohara when Loṭhana, the brother of the ex-king Saḥana, who had been imprisoned in the Castle of Lohara, escaped from his fetters and captured it. Realizing the damage from the loss of the family stronghold, in 1130 Jayasiṃha sent a large army under Lakṣmaka to recapture it. This expedition is strongly criticized by Kalhana because it was undertaken during the fierce heat of the early summer, since dangerous cold fevers prevailed in the Lohara valley from the commencement of the summer rains and during Autumn.² Similarly Kalhana condemns kings who march on any expedition during the winter snows, when most of the roads are impassable.³ Phālguna (February-March) is specifically mentioned by him as a terrible month, owing to heavy snows-falls.⁴

Siege warfare was a regular feature of the fighting in Kashmir. Kalhana records the siege of Prthvīgiri, a fortress in Rājapurī, and of the Dugdhaghāṭa Castle against the Daradas by the forces of King Harṣa.⁵ King Sussala had to carry on regular sieges around the fortified castles of the great Ḍāmara Gargacandra of his time.⁶ The Ḍāmara rebels are repeatedly mentioned to have besieged Śrīnagara.⁷

1. Rājat. VII, 470.

2. Rājat. VIII, 1836-39.

3. Rājat. VIII, 1373.

4. Rājat. VIII, 598.

5. Rājat. VII, 1152, 1179-80. cf. also VIII, 1681, 1841.

6. Rājat. VIII, 502 ff.

7. Rājat. VIII, 723 ff; 1155 ff; 1474.

Espionage accompanied the armies.¹

Fortes were a capital means of defence from the very dawn of Indian history. The non-Aryan races, while resisting the inroads of their Vedic conquerors, took shelter in their fortified places.² In a later source an attempt is made to define the fortress: "That is called a fortress which removes calamities and inflicts them upon the enemy."³ A king without a fort is compared to a snake without poison or an elephant without rut.⁴ Thus the Castle of Lohara was the stronghold of the kings of Kashmir during the Lohara dynasties. It was to this that they retired in times of danger, and sent their treasury and families during troublous times. When Sussala succeeded in wresting Kashmir from his half-brother Salhana he used the stronghold of Lohara for the custody of his dangerous relatives and as the hoarding-place of his treasures.⁵ When threatened by the rebel forces of the pretender Bhikṣācara in the summer of 1120 he sent his son and family to

1. Rājat. VIII, 3160. cf. Śāntiparva LXIX. p.227.

2. Pura is a word of frequent occurrence in the Rg veda and later, meaning 'rampart', 'fort' or 'stronghold'.

Rg veda. I. 53, 7; 58, 8; 131, 4; 166, 8;
III. 15, 4; IV. 27. 1. etc.

Tait Brāh. I, 7, 75.

Ait. Brāh. I, 23; II, 11.

ŚataPatha. III, 4, 4, 3; VI, 3, 3, 25; XI. I. 1, 2, 3.

Chāndogya Up. VIII. 5. 3. etc. teste Vedic Index. s.v. pura.

3. Nītivākya. Durga-Samuddeśah. verse I. p. 199

4. Sukra. IV. 6

5. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. II, p.295. cf. VIII, 519, 567, 639.

Lohara for safety, and followed them himself in the autumn of that year.¹ During the remainder of Sussala's reign we hear of Lohara only once more when Jayasimha was brought back to Kashmir after three years residence at Lohara and was received by his father at Varāhamūla.² Kalhana tells us of the installation of Gulhana, Jayasimha's eldest son, as ruler of Lohara during the lifetime of his father.³ Alberūnī makes very interesting and important reference to the fortress of Lauhawar. In the absence of access to full texts of the last two books of Rājataranginī, Wilson took this Lauhawar to be Lahore, but Stein,⁴ on the evidence of all the references given in the Kitāb-ul-Hind, has correctly identified it with the Lohara Castle. The strength and impregnability of this fort is testified by the Mohammedan historians who all agree in relating that Maḥmūd's invasion was brought to a standstill at the seige of the fort of Loh-Kot, which Firishta tells us "was remarkable on account of its height and strength".⁵

Guarding the route to the Darada country we hear of the castle of Dugdha Ghāṭa, once held by a Dāmara Lakkanacandra, who was executed by order of King Ananta (1028-63). After this event the stronghold fell into the power of the Darada king, from whom Harṣa subsequently vainly endeavoured to recover it with the

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1. Rājat. VIII, 717, 819 ff.
 2. Rājat. VIII, 1227 ff.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 3301, 3372.
 4. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. II, p.298.
 5. Ibid. p.299. vide Elliott. The History of India. Vol. II. pp. 455-56.

assistance of the neighbouring Ḍāmaras.¹ Another very strong castle was Śiraṅśīla on the banks of the Kiṣangaṅgā river where the rebel Ḍāmaras and pretenders took shelter.² On a smaller scale we find the kings to have built fortresses in each village each of which was put into the charge of a Koṭṭeśa.³

Music was a regular feature of ancient Indian warfare. The sound of martial music thrilled and inspired the soldiers of the marching army, while it struck terror in the hearts of the opponents. Military music was regularly employed in Kashmir.⁴ Kettle-drums (duṇḍubhis) were beaten at the time of attack. Kalhaṇa refers to the sound of martial instruments in numerous passages.⁵

The weapons of war used by Kashmir forces were swords (asi, khadga, khaṅga)⁶, bows (cāpa) and arrows (śara)⁷, daggers (kṣurikā)⁸, darts (śūla)⁹, spears (kunta)¹⁰ and battle-axes (paraśu)¹¹ are often mentioned by Kalhaṇa. When stationed on mountain tops the fighters hurled big stones on the opponents

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1. Rājat. VII, 1071 ff.
 2. Rājat. VIII, 2556, 2706 ff. Stein Rājat. tr. Vol. II, p.341.
 3. Rājat. VII, 2194.
 4. Rājat. VI, 246.
 5. Rājat. IV, 129; VI, 246; VIII, 947-53, 1080-81.
 6. Rājat. III, 388-90; VII, 1300, 1322; VIII, 346.
 7. Rājat. V, 218; VIII, 25, 435.
 8. Rājat. VII, 1711.
 9. Rājat. VII, 769, 1567.
 10. Rājat. IV, 306; VIII, 1161.
 11. Rājat. VIII, 2316. Stein translates paraśu as hatchet.



Memorial Stone. Baramula (Varāhamūla)

below.¹

The necessity of armour as a safeguard from weapons was recognised by the Kashmirians.² Kalhaṇa also mentions shields (khetaka)³ and helmets.⁴ Armour for animals is also mentioned.⁵

We also find that the Kashmirians made incendiary arrows besmeared with vegetable oil. The troops of Prince Vijayamalla, the younger half-brother of Harṣa, led by Madhuravaṭṭa, the Commander of the cavalry, burnt the houses with the firebrands fixed at the points of their darts.⁶ Again we find clear reference to such methods used by Kandarpa, the commander-in-chief of the Kashmir forces under King Harṣa (1089-1101), whose troops while fighting against Rājapurī shot burning arrows smeared over with vegetable oil. The verse liptānausadhitailena nārācānnicikṣepa is too clear to allow any other possible meaning.⁷ Inflammable vegetation is abundantly found in the hills adjoining the Valley. Gustav Oppert, in support of his claim to the existence of fire-

1. Rājat. VIII, 1677.

2. Rājat. III, 401; VI, 248-49; VII, 669, 1548; VIII, 1322, 1548, 2207.

3. Rājat. VII, 1483.

4. Rājat. VII, 1544.

5. Rājat. VII, 1553; VIII, 728.

Note: See Plate IV. Memorial Stone at Baramulā (varāhamūla)

Description:- Battle-axes, bows and arrows and quiver.
In Hindu pantheon, these are arms of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.
Both the horse and the rider are clad with armour.

6. Rājat. VII, 768-69.

7. Rājat. VII, 983.

arms in India, quotes the following extract from Mujmalu-t-Tawārikh, which was translated from a Sanskrit original: "The brāhmaṇas counselled Hal to have an elephant made of clay and to place it in the van of his army and that, when the army of the king of Kashmir drew nigh, the elephant exploded, and the flames destroyed a great portion of the invading force".¹ While criticizing Oppert's claim Date writes that the testimony of Mujmalu-T-Tawārikh could be acceptable if it could be supported by Kalhaṇa, but the chronicles of Kashmir give nothing to sustain the contention.² There is, however, one verse which suggests the existence of fire-arms; King Harṣa's forces attacked Rājapurī and threw burning arrows besmeared with vegetable oil, on which the Rājapurī forces, believing that he knew the use of fire-arms (āgneyāstra), were frightened.³ This gives the impression that here the āgneyāstra was something different from a mere burning arrow besmeared with oil, the use of which was common knowledge. The matter becomes clear when we remember that the term āgneyāstra occurs in the Epics.⁴ Kalhaṇa, being adept in the Epic lore, knew, and probably believed in, the existence of the magic fire-weapons given by the gods to heroes of ancient days. Kalhaṇa's statement also indicates that belief in these magic weapons was widespread in Kashmir as well as the adjoining hill states.

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1. Elliott. The History of India. Vol. I, p.107; Vol. VI, p.475.
 2. G.T. Date. The Art of War in Ancient India. p. 40
 3. Rājat. VII, 983-84.
 4. E. Bh. P.W. vol. I. P.600

Elliott, however, believes that "fire-arms were known in India".¹ Egerton supports his view saying that "Rockets, or weapons of fire, 'agnyastra', were certainly known at a very early period. They were a kind of fire-tipped dart discharged horizontally from a bamboo, and were used against cavalry. The invention is ascribed by the 'Purāṇas' to Visvacarma, their vulcan, who for 100 years forged all the weapons for the wars between the good and bad spirits. The knowledge, however, of the manufacture of gun-powder or some material composed of sulphur and salt-petre, and the use of projectiles, probably died out before the historic times, and only an inflammable projectile or naphtha ball was used till the revival of fire arms from the West".²

The whole of the history of Kashmir is full of instances of treason and disaffection of officers, whether in civil or military posts. Mutual jealousies of the ministers and the presence of the rival claimants to the throne of Kashmir led to such a situation, and in times of war the forces would often desert one party to join the other. King Harṣa's servants were all characterised by timidity and treachery. His general (daṇḍanāyaka) Sunna, accepted bribes from King Saṅgrāmapāḷa of Rājapurī, whom Harṣa had besieged and who, hard-pressed by the siege, was offering tribute and supplies. Sunna took his bribes and instigated the soldiers of his own armies to demand more marching allowance (pāvāsavetaṅga). The soldiers of king Harṣa's armies then began a solemn fast (prāya) and

1. Elliott. The History of India. Vol. VI, p.481. Appendix Note A. p.470-75.

2. Egerton of Tatton. Indian & Oriental Armour. cf. Elliott Op. Cit. Vol.VI.p.471.

the whole army fell into disorder. When the king was still trying to bring order among the soldiers, Sunna spread a rumour of an attack from the Turuṣkas. Ultimately King Harṣa was compelled to raise the siege and march back in fright, leaving his whole treasure and stores on the road.¹ This officer is again referred to as having been the cause of Harṣa's misfortunes, weakening his armies, bringing rival claimants into the city, and ultimately advising the king wrongly and thus causing his downfall.²

When Harṣa was in great trouble, and when Uccala was consecrated as king by the brāhmanas of Hiranyapura, even the Tantrin troops who were sent to oppose the enemy claimed marching allowance in utter disregard of the king's critical situation.³ All other servants of this king deserted him.⁴ Sujji, one of King Jayasiṃha's ministers, from jealousy of the chamberlain Lakṣmaka, turned hostile to the king and intrigued with King Somapāla of Rājapurī. Jayasiṃha is seen approaching Sujji, fearing lest Mallārjuna, a rebel, might obtain his support.⁵ In the same reign, which was Kalhana's own period, the troops of Jayasiṃha are referred to as actually drawing allowances from his enemy Mallārjuna.⁶

1. Rājat. VII, 1155-62, 1376, 1385.

2. Rājat. VII, 1597-99, 1609.

Stein translates Dandanāyaka as 'Prefect of Police', which does not appear to be correct. We take the word to mean "a general".

3. Rājat. VII, 1457.

4. Rājat. VII, 1458-59, 1542-46.

5. Rājat. VIII, 1852-53, 1921-25, 1980.

6. Rājat. VIII, 2283.

Nāga, the town prefect, who had chosen troops and on whom King Harṣa relied, also turned to Sussala when the latter entered the city of Śrīnagara.¹

Although righteous warfare (dharmayuddha) was regarded as the chief function of the Kṣatriya caste, and it is possible to find early Indian texts which glorify war for its own sake, most writers on Indian policy do not recommend war in all cases. Only if all the three diplomatic expedients - conciliation, ^{(Sāma),} bribery (dāna), and sowing dissensions (bheda) - had failed should recourse be had to the fourth expedient, open war (daṇḍa).² Thus we find King Harṣa bribing the chief Ṭhakkura of Rājapurī so as to induce King Saṅgrāmapāḷa or Rājapurī to desist from helping Uccala, who wished to seize the throne of Kashmir.³ When the Ḍāmaras of Lohara, in sympathy with Bhikṣācara, marched to the siege of Śrīnagara, Sussala tried such devices as negotiation and sowing dissension.⁴

Manu declares that, whether the enemy is equal, superior or inferior, a kṣatriya called to action must not turn back, for this is to violate the dharma of the kṣatriya. Those kings who fight one another without turning their backs attain vīrasvarga or the heaven of heroes.⁵ Deeply versed in the Epic lore, Kalhaṇa

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1. Rājat. VII, 1542-46.
 2. Manu. VI 190-99 cf Śāntiparva. LXIX. 24.
 3. Rājat. VII, 1266-67.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 754.
 5. Manu. VII, 87-89.

is full of ideas of heroism and chivalry. For the brave soldier it was a great humiliation to die on his couch¹, while, on the other hand, dying on the battlefield is an honour absolving the hero of the debt of his master's favour, and such a soldier goes to heaven in the celestial cars of the nymphs (apsaras).²

Kṣemendra also glorifies the death of a hero on the battlefield.³ Kalhaṇa expresses the same views through the ministers of King Harṣa, when they advise him at the time of his ultimate misfortune.⁴

While telling of the bravery of some of the soldiers, Kalhaṇa does not, however, shirk the facts about the treachery and cowardice of many of the Kashmirian troops.⁵ There are instances where we find the soldiers hiding themselves on seeing the battlefields.⁶ Earlier we are told that King Jayāpīḍa's forces, being tired of his constant wars, became disaffected and neglectful of their duties towards him and turned back from the royal army.⁷ Kalhaṇa records many more instances of this type.

The plundering of towns and villages by the troops of the invading king was considered disreputable. Ananda the governor

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1. Rājat. VII, 1364.
 2. Rājat. VII, 147, 1484, 1501, 1502; VIII, 197, 1778.
 3. Kalāvilāsa X, 37.
 4. Rājat. VII, 1402-04.
 5. Rājat. VIII, 58, 1886, 2157.
 6. Rājat. VII, 987.
 7. Rājat. IV, 411; VIII, 1886, 2157.

of Kramarājya (modern Kamrāj), when captured by King Uccala's forces, thought of helping his lord, King Harṣa (1089-1101), by urging Uccala to proceed to Śrīnagrā and plunder the neighbouring towns and villages, thinking that such acts would bring disrepute upon him and turn the populace against him.¹ Thus it appears that generally the civilians were not subjected to the rigours of war, but were allowed to carry on their peaceful vocations if they did not interfere with the invaders.

In the last hours of Harṣa's life, when he was discovered in a mendicant's hut, he was attacked by soldiers. He succeeded in pulling down one of them, but would not kill him because he was fallen. Kalhana calls this false pride² for, in the hour of adversity, he does not recommend any of the moral principles which are otherwise enjoined by the ethics of ancient Indian warfare.

Cutting off the fingers was considered a mark of submission.³ We find the repentant rebel Mallārjuna being carried in a litter towards the capital and holding an earthen vessel in which lay his amputated finger; he was pardoned by King Jayasīṃha and allowed to retire to a maṭha.⁴ When pressed by Tilaka, the commander-in-chief of Sussala's forces, Gargacandra sent his wife and daughter before the king to conciliate him, and

1. Rājat. VII, 1323-25.

2. Rājat. VII, 1705.

3. Rājat. V, 150; VIII, 1594 note, 1738, 2272, 2308, 3300.
Sam. Māt. II, 106. Stein. Rājat. VII, 86, note.

4. Rājat. VIII, 598-601.

later concluded the peace laying down the arms.¹ Other marks for showing humiliation and submission were binding the head-dress round the neck or carrying a shoe on the head.²

Though fighting was considered the main duty of the Kṣatriyas in ancient India, the armies were not exclusively recruited from the kṣatriyas but from all the sections of the community. Śukra asserts that a person possessing the requisite qualifications may be given the command of an army, be he a Śūdra, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Mleccha.³ The same view is held by the author of the Agni Purāna.⁴ We do not find any distinction on the basis of caste in Kashmir for there were brāhmaṇa feudal chiefs in the armies of the Lohara kings.⁵

1. Rājat. VIII, 605, 610.

2. Rājat. VIII, 2273.

3. Śukra. Book I, line 868.

4. Agni Purāna, p.397.

5. Rājat. V, 424-25; VII, 91, 1480; VIII, 1013, 1071, 1345, 3018.

R E V E N U E

The ancient Indian political thinkers fully realized the importance of sound finances as an absolute necessity for a stable and prosperous state. Kośa is included by them in the list of seven constituent limbs of the state.¹

In Kashmir under the Loharas when King Ananta abdicated in favour of his son and proceeded to Vijayakṣetra, the local brāhmanas are said by Kalhaṇa to have approached him saying: "How is it right that you should have started leaving behind your treasures, when you desire to enjoy comfort after leaving your son - who would concern himself with a man who has no treasure (Kośa), though his abilities may be raised to the highest pitch (dhārā) - though his descent (vaṁśa) may be noble and his character pure, or who should touch a sword which is without a scabbard (kośa) though there is strength in its blade (dhārā) though its hilt (vaṁśa) is good and though it is spotless (śucimān)?" On this exhortation Ananta took away all his treasures with him.² Though this verse, with its double meanings, appears to be the work of Kalhaṇa himself, it shows that, if the treasury was so important to the out-going

1. Arthaśāstra. VIII, 1.

Manu. IX, 294.

Viṣṇu III, 353.

Kām. XIII, 33-34.

Yājñ. I, 327-28

Nītivākya. Anthasamuddeśah pp. 27-31.

Śukra. Ch. IV, sec. II.

2. Rājat. VII, 372-44.

king, how much more necessary would it be thought for the ruling one. Later we find King Kalaśa telling his son Harṣa: "I keep the treasures because I bear in mind that a king without means falls under the will of his own people as well as of his enemies."¹ It is thus quite clear that in Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, large reserves of wealth were thought absolutely essential for the welfare and defence of the State.

To maintain a full treasury, absolutely necessary to a healthy state, some form of taxation existed from the earliest times in India. Several reasons have been set forth in ancient Indian texts in justification of taxation by the king. The early law-giver Gautama lays down that the taxes are to be paid in return for the protection given by the king.²

According to Nārada the royal revenue is the reward of a king for the protection of his subjects.³ The king has thus the right of taxation, but he should not impose it oppressively, otherwise he would destroy the tree which gives golden apples. Regarding this Kāmandaka advises the king to follow the principle of a florist or a milkman. "Just as cows are at one time to be tended and nourished and at other times to be milked, so are the subjects to be helped at one time with provisions and money, and at other times to

1. Rājat. VII, 645.

2. Gaut. X. 28. cf. Manu. VII, 128.

3. Nārada. XVIII, 48.

be taxed. Again a florist both tends and sprinkles water on his plants and cuts flowers from them.¹

But in the case of rich royal officials, who have gained enormous wealth by some foul means, Kāmandaka advises the king differently. In such cases a monarch should bleed freely his subordinates swelling with unlawful wealth, like a surgeon bleeding a swelling abcess. Thus stripped of their unlawful gains, they stand by their Sovereign like men standing by fire.²

The importance of regular revenue from taxation was recognised by the Kashmir kings. The internal administration, the struggle against the Dāmaras, and foreign expeditions, all needed money. How far these kings adhered to just principles of taxation is a point which requires analysis. King Jayāpīḍa's cupidity was excited by the greedy officers of finance, who exhorted him to give up his strenuous expeditions for conquest and riches, and to get the latter from his own subjects. Thus started his harsh fiscal oppressions.³ In fact, however, the officials (kāyasthas) became rich by carrying away the wealth of the people and delivering only the smallest fraction to the king.⁴ King Śaṅkaravarman (883-902), losing all his treasures through the distractions to which he abandoned himself, skilfully planned to appropriate the wealth of gods and others. He established two new revenue-offices called

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1. Kām. V, 84.
 2. Ibid. V, 85.
 3. Rājat. IV, 621-23.
 4. Rājat. IV, 629.

Aṭṭapatibhāga (the department of the Lord of the Market) and Gr̥hakṛtya (Domestic affairs). He took from the temples the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandalwood, etc., resumed the villages which belonged to them, reduced the weights when giving the annual allowance of commodities to the temple corporations, introduced the system of forced carriage of loads, and fined the defaulters very heavily.¹ He also levied special contributions for the pay of the village clerks (Grāmakāyasthas) and Skandakas² as well as other land taxes. Kalhaṇa, through this king's son Gopālavarman, tells us that "at the instigation of the officials (Kāyasthas) breathing was the only function which remained free for men".³

While a full treasury was an absolute necessity, extortion and avarice on the part of the king were much disapproved of in Hindu Political thought. Kalhaṇa shows that he fully shares these views when he discusses Gopālavarman's reign. "The splendour of a

1. Rājat. V, 165-174.

2. Skandaka. As already pointed out by Stein the meaning of the term skandaka is doubtful. He suggests that it may perhaps mean the 'village headman', the modern Muqaddam or Lambardār, who, as the person directly responsible for the payment of the revenue, has since old days been an important factor in rural administration. The proper spelling he suggests as Skandhaka. The term occurs in the Samayamātrkā as skandaka dānakale.

Stein. Rājat. tr. V, 175 note; Sam Māt. VI, 15.

Lawrence Valley, p.447.

3. Rājat. V. 184.

ruler who practises avarice causes no pleasure (as little as that) of a flower out of season, which does not promise fruit. As the cloud destroys the lustre, duration and splendour of a winter day, so does avarice that of the king. The kinsmen of a king who shuns enterprises from fear of their expense, become seditious. No servants would show devotion to him who is too faint minded to reward their services. His own people will always attempt the life of (that king) who accumulates riches. What evil is there which avarice (acting) like an enemy does not quickly bring upon a king?"¹ During Gopālavarman's reign, Prabhākaradeva became the Superintendent of treasury (Kośādhyakṣa) and plundered the riches.²

King Saṅgrāmarāja (1003-1028) is himself stated to have admitted that his wealth had not been acquired by lawful means.³ King Kalaśa (1063-89) recovered the riches accumulated by the Dāmara Jayyaka after the latter's death which, Kalhaṇa tells us, though with apparent exaggeration, sufficed to relieve the king for his whole life from money troubles.⁴ Also in many other ways riches of various kinds plentifully reached this king. Kalhaṇa much praises the skill of King Kalaśa in keeping an account of his wealth like a merchant who was careful to spend it in the right way and yet had ever an open hand. The king himself watched over the present and future income and expenditure and kept always by his

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1. Rājat. V, 175-191.
 2. Rājat. V, 228-232.
 3. Rājat. VII, 110, 122.
 4. Rājat. VII, 494 ff.

side birch-bark (bhūrja) and chalk like a clerk.¹

Thus it is evident that Kalhaṇa admires the king who looks into finances himself and whose motive in doing so is the protection of the people and the promotion of prosperity. A king is good if he looks after his wealth carefully and does not waste public funds over his own enjoyments. If he guards his treasures carefully, spends them properly, and has an open hand for gifts and endowments it stands to his credit.

In one place, however, Kalhaṇa ridicules kings who look too closely into their financial affairs like clerks.² He despises Utkarṣa for daily inspecting the hoards of the treasury to weigh them. The king, we are told, was avaricious and did either what cost nothing, or pondered over the cost. Kalhaṇa wants his kings to be of generous mind and open hand, not miserly like the priests (Śrotriya).³

The greatest culprit among the extortionate kings of Kashmir was Harṣa, who took away the wealth of the temples. So great was his spoliation of temples that he appointed Udayarāja as the prefect for the overthrow of divine images (Devotpāṭananāyaka).⁴ He took away the wealth of the Bhīmakeśava temple and planned to loot the riches of the other wealthy temples so that the local

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1. Rājat. VII, 506-509.
 2. Rājat. IV, 349-52.
 3. Rājat. VII, 756-59.
 4. Rājat. VII, 1091.

purohita corporations induced him by a solemn fast (prāya) to grant them in compensation exemption from the forced carriage of loads (rūḍhabhāroḍhi).¹ Not satisfied with the treasures of his father and grandfather and all the wealth secured through the confiscation of temple riches, he endeavoured to secure more wealth by oppressing the householders. New officers were appointed for such exactions and the new imposts were² named after them. The king went to such an extent as to appoint a prefect (nāyaka) for night soil used as manure.³ Persons who secured ample revenue were exalted to high positions. Thus, Sahelaka became the Mahattama.⁴

King Sussala's minister Gauraka deprived royal servants of their livings by dismissing them from various state offices and thus filled the king's treasury. Kalhaṇa tells us that the sordid gains put into the treasury which was formerly quite pure, destroyed the previous wealth in the same way as the new snow destroys the old snow. The king daily accumulated fresh treasures and sent all his riches to the Lohara castle.⁵ During the reign of King Jayasiṃha Citraratha accumulated wealth by oppressing the subjects.⁶

King Uccala, the successor of Harṣa, on the other hand, is

1. Rājat. VII, 1085-90.

2. Rājat. VII, 1100-1101.

3. Rājat. VII, 1107.

4. Rājat. VII, 1102-1106. See Supra. p. 160. note 4.

5. Rājat. VIII, 563-567, 1949, 1951-61.

6. Rājat. VIII, 2043.

said to have loved his subjects and showed indifference to greed.¹

Kings must have drawn considerable income from Kheri, or the crown lands. An official charge named Kherikārya is frequently mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. The royal official placed in charge of these crown lands must have held a very important status, as is evident from various references to this office along with high ministerial charges in the state.²

The Bhāga may be taken to be king's customary share of the produce levied on the ordinary revenue paying lands. Payment of the land revenue in kind may be traced among the Hindu states of Northern India down to the recent times.³

In its technical sense as the designation of a specific tax on land (as distinguished from the more general sense in which it is identified with Bali and Kara) it occurs in two Arthaśāstra passages. At one place ^{the} Arthaśāstra mentions Bhāga with Bali, Kara, etc., under the heading of rāstra,⁴ while in another reference it includes Śadabhāga with Bali, Kara, etc., under the same general heading.⁵ From these two references Ghoshal concludes that Bhāga undoubtedly means the king's customary share of the produce, normally though not universally, amounting to one-sixth.

1. Rājat. VIII. 48, 64, 80-85.

2. see infra pp 248-249

3. U.N. Ghoshal. Hindu Revenue System p. 34.

Kṣīrasvamin commenting on Amara, while quoting Arthaśāstra text defines Bhaga as one-sixth and like payable to the king. Kṣīra on Amara. II 3, 28

4. Arthaśāstra II. 6.

5. Ibid.

The Smṛtis do not lay down any uniform rate of taxation, the percentage that they recommend varies from eight to thirty-three.¹ Manu had perhaps different types of land in view when recommending a sixth, eighth or twelfth part of the produce as revenue.² Ordinarily, however, the Hindu theorists recommended one-sixth as the king's share of the produce.

During the reign of king Ananta (1028-63) one Kṣema, a barber filled the king's treasury, securing revenue by the impost of one-twelfth (dvādaśabhāga) and other means.³ We cannot say with precision whether Kalhaṇa meant by this expression the actual revenue charged by the Kashmir kings or whether it was an additional impost introduced by Kṣema, over and above the one-sixth traditional share allowed to the king for the protection that he gave to his subjects. We have already seen that the Pādāgra office was concerned with revenue and it was Kṣema who first organised it.⁴ Anand Kaul, on the authority of Mullah Ahmad's translation of the Ratnākarapurāṇa tells us that a very early king Vaiṇā-ditya built near modern Gagribal two vaults. In one of these the revenue of Kamrāj (ancient Kramarājya) division was to be deposi

1. Manu. VIII. 130; Gaut. X. 24-27; Arthaśāstra. V.2.

2. Manu. VII. 130.

3. Rājat. VII. 130.

4. supra. pp 153-54.

ted and in another that of Marāj (ancient Maḍavarājya) to the value of one-tenth of the produce, even the king paid one-tenth.¹ Lawrence in his 'Valley of Kashmir' tells us that in early Hindu period the state was contented with one-sixth of the produce of the soil.² He does not, however, give his authority for this statement, which is probably based only on the general tradition of Hindu India. It would seem that in fact the land tax was of varying proportion. Though the state may have usually charged one-sixth, the traditional revenue allowed by the Smṛtis, it evidently varied considerably during the reigns of certain kings. There does not seem to have been a permanent settlement of the land revenue, and there are instances of kings having charged various rates and various new imposts at their own will.

1. Anand Kaul. J.R.A.S.B. Vol. IX. p.200.

The name of Vaiṣṇāditya does not occur in the Rājatarāṅginī. Pt. Anand Kaul has quoted Hasan, a historian of Kashmir who wrote in Persian. Hasan has stated that Zain-ul-Abidin who reigned in Kashmir from 1423-1474, got a translation of the Rājatarāṅginī done in Persian by Mullah Ahmad who was poet laureate of his court. For this purpose Zain-ul-Abidin made a search for Purānas and Tarāṅginīs of ancient writers. The names of more than fifteen different Rājatarāṅginīs were then known. Sikandar had destroyed all works. With great efforts, only the Rājatarāṅginī of Kalhaṇa, Kṣemendra, Wachhulākar and Padmamihira were obtained. Kṣemendra's being replete with inaccuracies, translation was completed from other texts. A few years later birch-bark leaves of old Rājatarāṅginī written by Pt. Ratnākara called Ratnākara Purāna was obtained and account of 35 lost kings and other facts were recorded in Mullah Ahmad's translation of the Rājatarāṅginī

2. Lawrence Valley. pp. 402-403.

From a certain verse in the Rājatarāṅginī we know that, as in the rest of India, the land-tax in Kashmir was usually paid in kind. King Uccala sold his own grain at cheaper prices, from tender care for the people and thus stopped a famine at its very rise.¹ The land revenue was till quite recently paid in kind in Kashmir² and our passage clearly shows that this was the case in Hindu times also and the system afforded the means of meeting the famines arising from occasional bad harvests. Anand Kaul tells us that king Vaiṇāditya (A.D. 474-521) issued an edict that the villagers should themselves come at the end of the year and should deliver the tenth part of their produce into their respective vaults and hence the number of the revenue collecting staff was reduced.³ Sometimes even salaries were disbursed in kind.

Ghoshal while discussing the term kara as a source of revenue takes it as a general tax levied periodically.⁴ The other interpretations offered by modern writers, viz., 'taxes paid in money', 'taxes or subsidies paid by vassal kings and others', 'taxes levied upon fruit trees' -- he takes as lacking authentication.⁵

1. Rājat. VIII. 65.

2. Lawrence. Valley. p.403.

3. Anand Kaul. J.R.A.S.B. Vol. IX. p.200.

4. U.N.Ghoshal. Hindu Revenue System. p. 36.

5. the first two interpretations are offered by Shamashastry and the third by Gaut. The Arthaśāstra, moreover, knows of the use of kara in the sense of a tax in general.

In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī the term kara occurs in the sense of tribute, and taxes or subsidies paid by vassal kings. King Kalaśa (1063-89) bestowed upon Jindurāja the chief command of the army and forced Rājapurī and other regions to pay tribute (kara).¹ During Harṣa's reign Kandarpa, the lord of the Gate, took tribute (kara) from the king of Rājapurī.² Thus the term Kara here falls in with Shamashastry's interpretation as 'tax or subsidies paid by vassal kings and others'. After defeating Mallārjuna who was installed as king at Lohara, Jayasiṃha made him pay the tribute (kara).³

Another important fiscal term is śulka (toll or customs). This is mentioned in the Amarakośa⁴ and in several epigraphic sources. In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and in the Samayamātrkā of Kṣemendra we find the mention of this source of revenue. That this formed a lucrative source of income for the treasury is evident from the fact that Sussala, when he attacked Śrīnagara during the reign of King Harṣa, "defeated the Commandant Māṅikya of the Watch Station (Draṅga where tolls were collected) of Śūrapura and obtained ample means which enabled him to display wonderful affluence during the whole of his enterprise".⁵ During the reign of King Jayasiṃha Mallakoṣṭha, the ḍāmara Chief of Lohara,

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1. Rājat. VII, 265-67.
 2. Rājat. VII, 991.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 1970.
 4. Amara. 8, 28, p.181.
 5. Rājat. VII, 1352-53.

became so powerful that he imprisoned the officials, collected the customs at the Watch-Station (Draṅga) and had his own name stamped in red lead on the wares as if he were the king.¹ This passage is of interest because it shows that the articles on which customs had been paid were marked in red lead with the king's seal. In Kṣemendra's Samayamātrkā we find the heroine Kaṅkālī crossing the customs posts (Śulkasthāna) and avoiding the customs duties by rendering the customs officer (Śaulkika) unconscious by means of some wild narcotic flowers or herbs.² As regards the charges on ferries we do not ^{have} any specific reference to show whether they were paid to the State or were charged by the private owners of boats. During the reign of King Uccala, we find reference to the fictitious account of a fraudulent merchant who wished to appropriate to himself a large sum deposited with him by another man. In the course of this statement is mentioned an item relating to the payment of six hundred (dīnāras) taken away by the depositor for tolls in crossing the ferry.³

King Jayasiṃha placed the wood-supplies (dāruṇāmākarāḥ), the revenue from which benefited the royal treasury, at the free disposal of the citizens, and thereby got the whole city built anew. Thus the income from the forest wealth must have formed at that time, as it does even at present, a considerable revenue for

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1. Rājat. VIII, 2010, cr. Arthaśāstra. II, 21. Sam. 136, 71, 102.
 2. Sam. Māt. II, 102.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 136.

the State treasury.¹ Though it is not stated anywhere in our sources, the right to catching fish must have been controlled by the government, who must have charged some revenue from those to whom it was leased.²

Fines on those sentenced in the Courts normally formed another source of the royal income in Hindu India. We have few specific references to these in Kashmir, but we are told that King Jayasiṃha did not take money from minor criminals whom he punished, for fear of being defiled by its touch, but made them exculpate themselves by performing some pious work.³

The property and wealth of persons dying without heirs seem to have escheated to the state, as in other parts of India. Thus King Kalaśa recovered the riches accumulated by the Ḍāmara Jayyaka after the latter's death.⁴

State ownership of mines is suggested by the story of the copper mine found by King Jayāpīḍa in Maḍavarājya.⁵

Medhātithi tells us that saffron, silk and wool were state monopoly. They must, therefore, have been a lucrative source of income to the State.⁶

Kalhana also refers to taxes on auspicious occasions.⁷

1. Rājat. VIII, 2390.
2. cf. Lawrence. Valley. p.157. The average amount realized by the State for the years 1893-95 was Rs.2,000. Government controlled fisheries at Accabal rear the best variety of trout in the Valley.
3. Rājat. VIII, 65, cf. 3336.
4. cf. Brhas. Nārada III, 16+18.
5. Rājat. v. 617
6. Medhātithis on Manu. VIII, 399.
7. Rājat. v. 1428.

Forced labour (rūdnabhārodhi known as viṣṭi in the rest
¹ or India) formed an important indirect source of revenue to the
state. King Śaṅkaravarman for the first time introduced this
system of forced labour, which Kalhaṇa aptly calls the harbinger
of misery to the villagers. An interesting sidelight is thrown
upon the method of its exaction by the statement that the tyrant
fined the villagers failing to carry loads for one year, at the
value of the load calculated according to the highest prices in
the regions concerned; and that he fined in the same way all the
villagers without any fault of theirs. Kalhaṇa states forced
labour to be of thirteen kinds.²

Reference to this burden is found later on; when in the
reign of Harṣa a certain temple was plundered, the members of
the Purohita corporation requested him to exempt them from
forced labour (rūdhībhārodhi).³ Making the brāhmaṇas carry loads
seems strange, though we may be led to believe it in view of the
fact that king Harṣa plundered the temples and derided the images.
The forced carriage of load and its thirteen kinds as introduced
by Śaṅkaravarman would suggest that it was not always necessarily
the actual carriage of loads but may be commuted by some pay-
ment in cash or kind. Harṣa might have imposed it even on brāh-
maṇas who it is said on the plunder of their temples requested

1. Arthaśāstra. II, 35

2. Rājat. V. 172-74. cf. Arthaśāstra II, 7,15; X,4.

3. Rājat. VII, 1088. supra pp 209-10

the king to exempt them from this burden. The system continued with its oppression during the reign of king Jayasimha also.¹ It must have continued during the Afghan and the Mughal rule in all its rigours, for as late as the nineteenth century, Lawrence recorded his opinion that nothing had done more to ruin Kashmir than the corrupt and cruel manipulation of the corvée.²

The state revenue may not have sufficed to allow the kings to undertake expeditions and wage wars. We find that one of king Kalaśa's officers named Jayananda, wishing to collect foot soldiers, raised eagerly loans from rich people even if they were disreputable.³ This reminds one of the billeting of soldiers upon private houses and imposition of forced loans and benevolences during the rule of Tudors and Stuarts in England. Sukranīti, however, definitely states that, when the king is engaged in maintaining troops for destroying his enemy, he may increase the rate of fines and tolls and may seize the wealth of rich people after giving them an allowance for subsistence, but he must return the same with interest after he has overcome his danger.⁴

1. Rājat. VIII. 2513.

2. Lawrence. Valley. p. 411

3. Rājat. VII, 367, cr, Śāntiparvan CXXX, 23-24.

since the kṣatriya is the destroyer as well as the preserver of the people, he should take away wealth from them when he is engaged in the task of protection.

4. Sukra. ch. IV, Section 2, 18 ff.

J U S T I C E

The word vyavahāra is used in several senses in the sūtras and smrtis.¹ One of its meanings is 'transaction' or 'dealing'.² It also means 'dispute' or 'law-suit'.³ Kauṭilya uses the word vyavahāra in the sense of an agreement.⁴ A third sense is the legal capacity to enter into transaction.⁵ A fourth, but a rare, sense is 'the means of deciding a matter'.⁶

In legal literature the word vyavahāra has generally the meaning of 'law-suit', 'dispute in a court' or 'legal procedure'.⁷ The word vivāda which means 'dispute' is often used as a synonym for vyavahāra in the sense of law-suit or legal procedure or both.⁸ But lawyers tend to confine vivāda to the substantive legal issue being litigated, reserving vyavahāra for procedural issues.

In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī the term vyavahāra is used in the sense of legal administration and also, in particular, contractual rights, and the word vivāda repeatedly occurs in the sense

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1. P.V. Kane. Hist. of Dh. Sh. III, p.245.
 2. Udyōgaparva 30, 37. Āp DH. Su. II, 7,16,17: I. 6, 20, 11, 16.
 3. Śāntiparva. 69, 28. Kulluka on Manu VIII. I, Vasiṣṭh, 16.3. Śukra IV, 5.5 Yāj II, 1: Nārada I, 1.
 4. Arthaśāstra II, 1, pp147-8.
 5. Gaut. X. 48. rakṣed rājē bālānām dhanānyaprāptavyavahārānām.
 6. Gaut. XI. 19. tasya vyavahāro vedo dharmasāstrānyaṅgāni.
 7. Hist. of Dh. Sh. Vol. III, p.246. Nārada I. 5. vivāda meaning 'law-suit'.
 8. V.Cintāmaṇi 4.1.2. Āp. Dh. Sū. II, 11, 29. 5.

of a law-suit.¹

The term vyavahārapāda means theoretical topic or subject matter of litigation or dispute. From very ancient times eighteen vyavahārapādas have been enumerated - classifying most of the possible disputes into eighteen convenient heads.² The Kashmir kings, no doubt, followed the ancient Indian smṛti tradition, but we do not find any reference to the term vyavahārapāda in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, in Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa, or any other source. There is a verse in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī stating that king Jalauka, by establishing eighteen offices (karmasthānas) in accordance with traditional usage, created a condition of things as it was under Yudhiṣṭhira.³ Having the general agreement between Rājatarāṅgiṇī and Manusmṛti in view Troyer has taken this mention of eighteen karmasthānas as implying eighteen vyavahārapādas or the eighteen subjects of dispute or litigation.⁴ There is, no doubt, a general agreement between the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and the Manusmṛti, but as rightly pointed out by Jolly⁵ these eighteen offices (karmasthānas) evidently correspond to the eighteen tīrthas or state offices mentioned in the Mahābhārata⁶, and not the eighteen vyavahārapādas as erroneously stated by Troyer.

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1. Rājat VIII, 123, 129-30, 158. Stein translates vivāda as 'the court' while actually 'law-suit' would be the appropriate translation.
 2. P.V. Kane. Hist. of Dh. Sh. Vol. III, p.248.
 3. Rājat I, 120.
 4. Troyer. Rājat tr. Vol. II, pp.484-504.
 5. J. Jolly. Weber Festgabe, p.84.
 6. Ibid vide M. Bh. II V. 38.

In Hindu India the ~~king's~~ king's court of justice was variously called dharmasthāna¹, dharmāsana² or dharmādhikaraṇa³. Kātyāyana says that the place where the decision of the truth of the plaint is reached by the consideration of the rules of the sacred laws is called dharmādhikaraṇa (the hall of justice).⁴ Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti employ the word dharmāsana.⁵ In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī Kalhana uses the words sabhā and dharmāsana for the king's court of justice.⁶ From the words dharmādhikaraṇadivira, āsthānadivira and adhikaraṇadvijas used by Kṣemendra, we assume that the courts of justice were also known as dharmādhikaraṇa, adhikaraṇa and āsthāna.⁷

Reference to the king's court of justice shows that in ancient India justice was primarily dispensed by the king. He was an original court as well as an appellate tribunal.⁸ Smṛtis and digests generally assume that the king cannot always dispense justice by himself alone, but must do so with the help and guidance of others - that is, he should be assisted by learned brāhmaṇas and ministers proficient in statecraft. Kātyāyana adds

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1. Śaṅkhalikhita. Quoted in the Hist. of Dh. Sh. Kane. Vol. III p.243.
 2. Nārada. I 34. Manu VIII. 23.
 3. Śukra. IV 5. 46. V. Cintāmaṇi, p.413 (Sabhā & Karaṇa)
 4. Kātyāyana. Śukra IV 5. 44.
 5. Shakuntalā. V. ¹⁰⁵⁻¹³⁷ Uttara. I.
 6. Rājat VI, 28, 60.
 7. N. Mālā. verses 112 ff. 7
 8. P.V. Kane. Hist. of Dh. Sh. Vol. III, p.268. Manu VIII, 128; Śukra IV, 5. 8. Anuśāsana 6. 38. ch. 70.

that a king who examines disputes in the presence of the judge, the ministers, the learned brāhmaṇas, the purohita and the sabhyas (courtiers) attains heaven.¹ The kings of Kashmir acted in keeping with these injunctions of the Smṛti texts. They dispensed justice openly in the courts in the presence of the judges (stheyas) and Sabhyas. Kalhaṇa, while writing about the reflections of Maṭṛgupta on king Vikramāditya's court, says: "In the court of this king there is no confidant (āpta)² whose merits are falsely renowned, no minister who loves quarrels, no judge who would decide cases wrongly or untruthfully".³

We have several cases in the Rājatarāṅginī where the king personally heard the appeals of the plaintiffs. King Uccala was able to remove the doubt in a law-suit between a merchant and a litigant which had eluded the comprehension of

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1. Kātyāyana. 55-56. quoted in V. māt. p.278, Yāj. II. 2.
 2. Śukra. tr. Sarkar, p.55. note.

Āpta is a technical term in Hindu philosophy denoting the persons who by their spiritual strength as well as gifts of intellect have attained a position in which they can directly visualize the highest truths of the universe; who are in fact ṛṣiṣ, capable of 'seeing' even in spite of spatial or temporal obstruction. Their knowledge may thus be regarded as 'revealed'. It does not come through observation or inference as that of ordinary men. Āptavākya means the words of those who may be trusted as infallible authorities because of their character and attainments.

3. Rājat III, 139. Mithyākhyātaguno nāpto nāmātyaḥ kalahapiyaḥ asatyasandhaḥ stheyo vā nāsthānēsyā mahīpateḥ

Stein wrongly translates this as: "In the council of this king there is no confidant of false merits, no minister who loves quarrels, breaks his promise or robs." The term stheya is often used by Kalhaṇa for 'a judge'.

In V. 203 and VII, 681, 1389, Āpta is again used in the sense of a confidant.

the judges. The case ran as follows:-¹

A certain man deposited a lakh of money (dinnārs) in the house of a merchant, who acted as his banker. From time to time he took from the latter sums of money to use for his expenditure. When twenty or thirty years had passed he asked the merchant for the amount that remained after deducting what he had drawn from time to time. The wicked merchant, who was intent upon embezzling the deposit (nyāsa)², deceitfully delayed it under various pretexts.³ When all his pretexts were exhausted he showed a long list of articles noted in the account book which had been bought by the litigant on credit, and had thus turned his account from credit (śreyas) into debit (aśreyas), and so he demanded the capital along with interest. The depositor sued the merchant in the court, but could not get the better of him, nor could the judges help him out of his difficulty. Ultimately the matter went before the king, who decided in favour of the plaintiff, basing his decision on the evidence of the existence of the coins of his own time in the deposit while it had been handed to the merchant during King Kalaśa's time, from which it followed that the merchant had been using the deposited

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1. Rājat VIII, 123-158. quoted in Kane. Hist. of Dh. Sh. Vol. III. p.457-8.
 2. A verse quoted by Kṣīrasvāmin on Amara defines Nyāsa as an open deposit. Nār. p.9. note 1. Nyāsa (common deposit)
 3. cf. Manu, VIII. 181.

amount for his personal needs. Therefore, if the plaintiff had to pay to the merchant interest on what he had taken from the latter, the merchant also was bound to pay interest on the deposited lakh as if he had taken it on loan. In view of the evidence the king's decision was exactly in keeping with the smṛtis.

Referring to this deposit Stein writes: "The law books clearly indicate two different kinds of deposits, open or closed (e.g. Manusmṛti VIII, 185). The case shows that the deposit was a closed one and that the merchant who acted as a banker was not supposed to use the money for his personal transactions. The king's decision is based on the evidence furnished by the new coins, which showed that the merchant treated the deposit as an open one. Having used the amount deposited for trade purposes, the merchant was bound to pay interest for it just as if he had taken the money on loan. In the same way the depositor was obliged to pay interest on the advances he had drawn from the merchant."¹

The term used by Kalhana for deposit is nyāsa which, according to the Smṛtis, means an open deposit.² According to one authority Nyāsa is the sanskrit equivalent for bailment. Bailment is a technical term of the common law of England and

1. Stein. Rājat tr. VIII, 123 note.

2. Rājat VIII, 126; Nārada p.9 note.

means, in the words of Justice Storey, a delivery of a thing in trust for some special object or purpose and upon a contract expressed or implied to conform to the object or purpose of the trust.¹

It is specifically stated by Nārada that in whatever manner a man may have delivered any of his effects to another, in the same manner shall that article be restored to him. Delivery and receipt ought to be equal.² Manu corroborates this when he says: "In whatever manner a person shall deposit anything in the hands of another, in the same manner ought the same thing to be received back (by the owner); as the delivery (was, so must be) the redelivery."³ Yājñavalkya prescribes: "The article deposited must be returned in the same condition in which it was handed over."⁴ Thus the Smṛti law holds that all types of deposits, whether sealed or open, should be returned on demand in the same condition as deposited. The bailment is gratuitous and it does not give the bailee any right to make use of the article bailed.⁵ Thus it is also stated that if the bailee derives profit from a deposit, by using it without the consent of the depositor, he shall be punished likewise, and shall

1. Matilal Das. The Hindu Law of Bailment, p.69.

2. Nārada II, 3.

3. Manu VIII, 180.

4. Yāj II, 65.

5. Mati Lal Das. Hindu Law of Bailment, p.115.

cf. Viṣnu 5 - 169-70.

restore the profit, together with interest, to the depositor.¹
 Manu says: "He who does not restore his deposit to the depositor at request may be tried by the judge".²

The verse quoted by Stein³ - Manu VIII, 185 - mentions two types of deposits, but it does not lay down any rules regarding the return of the deposits in general. It only tells that the open or sealed deposit should not be returned to a new relative.

The original basis for the king's decision as it appears from the merit of the case, was not that the sealed deposit had been treated as an open one by the merchant but that the merchant who acted as the banker was not authorized to use it without the permission of the depositor. The merchant with whom the money was deposited was guilty of having used it without consent, of having delayed the return of the deposit, which according to law, he should have done on demand, and lastly of showing falsely that purchases had been made from time to time on credit by the depositor and his family.

The deposit is stated to have contained 100,000 dīnnāras from which the depositor took some money from time to time; this suggests that the amount was known to the bailee. The king appears to have decided the case according to the letter of the

1. Nārada II, 8.

2. Manu. VIII. 181-8. cf. Nārada II, 13; Brhas XII. 9.
 Jolly. Recht und Sitte. pp.102 ff.

3. Supra. p. 225

letter of the law as in the Smṛti literature quoted above. In this case the merchant does not appear to have been a regular banker like those of modern times, otherwise there would not have been any insistence on the return of the identical coins deposited. The last important point to consider in this case is that if the question had been only of sealed and open deposit, the case would have been simple enough and should not have eluded the comprehension of the judges. Moreover, there is no allusion to seals having been examined by the judges. The contents and quality of the deposit was openly known.¹

King Uccala's personal view about justice was that "in a law-suit a merciful order is appropriate in the case of a person who has been under a mistaken notion. But severity ought to be used against him who had employed fraud".²

King Harṣa is said to have installed great bells in all the four directions of the palace gate (siṃhadvāra), to be informed by their sound of those who had come with the desire of making representations; and, when once he had heard of their complaints, "he fulfilled their desires (as quickly) as the cloud in the rainy season (fulfils) that of the cātaka bird".³ Thus, though we do not meet with any accounts of specific legal cases during king Harṣa's time, it is clear that he took special

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1. The case gives an interesting reference to the prevalence of the system of credit in matters of ordinary daily purchases which exists even at present in many parts of India.
 2. Rājat. VIII, 158. cf. Manu VIII, 189-92; Nār. V. 6; Brhas. XII, 10-13.
 3. Rājat. VII. 879-80. cf. South Ind. Ins. II. p.311 note 3. The bells were ^{probably} introduced as a result of South Indian contacts

interest in the administration of justice and the redress of the grievances of the people, at least in the earlier part of his reign.

The earlier king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948), heard the case of a certain brāhmaṇa even after he had finished with the business for the day and was in his dining hall.¹ His justice was so much appreciated that he became a model for the line of succeeding kings and he was looked on in much the same way as Solomon by the Jews and Christians. During his time a fraudulent purchaser by means of a heavy bribe of one thousand dīnnāras induced the official scribe (adhikaraṇalekhaka) to include a well in the sale of a house (kūpasahitaṃ), while actually the owner had sold it excluding the well (kūparahitaṃ). The seller of the house lodged a plaint against the purchaser. When the case was brought before the judges they decided it in favour of the defendant. Ultimately the plaintiff appealed to the king. While all the councillors (sabhyas) were thoroughly convinced of the correctness of the previous judgment, the king realised that fraud had taken place. On reading the deed of sale, without letting the court know, he called on the defendant's accountant to produce the account book of the year in which the deed had been executed and, there finding ten hundred dīnnaras as the fee paid to the official recorder, he knew for certain that the merchant

1. Rājat. VI, 25-41. also mentioned in the Hist. of Dh. Sh.
Vol. III, p.494.

In India, as contrasted with England, it was usual to grant a plot of land either with or without its amenities such as wells, trees, rocks and buried treasure, etc.

had got him to write sa for a ra in the phrase kūparahitam in the deed. Confirming the truth from the official recorder, the king granted the house to the person who had originally sold it together with the property of the man to whom it had been sold and who had tried to defraud by tampering with the sale deed.¹ The secret manner and the pretence adopted by the king while calling the merchant's accountant was apparently to ensure that no trick (chala) may be played by the defendant.²

Another case recorded during the reign of this king is the decision of a dispute between a man whose money purse had fallen into a well and a stranger who took it out, as to the remuneration payable to the latter. The story only emphasizes the distinction between the letter and spirit of the law.³

A very interesting case is found during the reign of king Candrāpīḍa of the Kārkoṭa dynasty. A brāhmaṇa woman's husband died while sleeping. She suspected that he had been killed by witchcraft by another brāhmaṇa who was jealous of his learning. The case was a doubtful one and the king was in great difficulty over its decision. So he told the lady: "What shall we judges do to a man whose guilt has not been shown. Not even

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1. Ibid. Deprivation of all property and exile are recognized penalties in Hindu law. Yāj 1, 339. P.V. Kane III P.1484.
 2. cf. Yāj. 11, 19: Nārada 1, 29-31. ^{instance of} King's discretion ^{and} personal intelligence.
 3. Rājat. VI, 42-69.

another person can receive punishment if his guilt is not established, still less a brāhmaṇa who is exempt from capital punishment although guilty."¹ But on the lady's insistence on redress the king had recourse to seeking divine judgement (divya), and finding the footprints of brahmahatyā behind the brāhmaṇa's footprints, he was punished accordingly.² Kalhaṇa does not mention the form of the punishment. The nature of the ordeal to which the culprit submitted is not clearly explained by Kalhaṇa and is considered below.

A court of justice was (according to Br̥haspati) of four kinds - one established in a fixed place (pratiṣṭhitā), such as in a town, not fixed in one place but moving from place to place as on a circuit (apraṭiṣṭhitā), the court of a judge appointed by the king, who is authorized to use the royal seal (mudritā) and the court in which the king himself presides (śāsītā or śāstritā according to Sarasvatīvilāsa and Prāśaramādhvīya).³

In Lokaparakāśa, a compendium of legal documents of Kashmir ascribed to Kṣemendra Vyāsadāsa of the eleventh century we find the verses: Patitā capratisthā ca mudritā śāsītā tathā,
caturvidhā sabhā proktā sabhyāścaiva caturvidhā
pratiṣṭhitā pure grame calatvādapraṭiṣṭhitā,
mudritā atyarthasamyuktā, rājayuktā tu śāsītā.⁴

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1. Rājat. IV, 82-105. cf. Viṣṇu V, 2+7. Viṣṇu prescribes that for murdering another Brāhmaṇa the figure of a headless corpse be impressed on his forehead.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Sarasvatī Vilāsa. p.58, Prāś. Mādh. III, p.24. Vide Kane.
 4. Lokaparakāśa. p.58. Hist. of Dh. Sh. Vol. III, p.277.

Allowing for errors in the text, the four kinds of the courts mentioned here exactly accord with those of Br̥haspati.¹

From the manner in which Kṣemendra mentions all these names of the courts along with the post of Rājasthānīya and the Rājamahattama offices often occurring in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, we are induced to believe that such divisions of courts were well known in the time of Kṣemendra. The fact that we find no mention of the term Rājasthānīya in the later chronicles suggests that the portion of the Lokaprakāśa dealing with justice is the genuine work of Kṣemendra and not a later interpolation as are many parts of the text.

Manu, Yājñavalkya, Kātyāyana and Śukra all suggest that when owing to pressure of other weighty business the king cannot attend to the work of administering justice, he should appoint a learned brāhmaṇa together with three sabhyas to decide the disputes of the people.² The chief judge was preferably to be a learned brāhmaṇa.³ He is referred to as a Rājasthānīya in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.⁴ Alaṅkāra, who held this post in the reign of king Jayasiṃha, is once mentioned as Bāhyarājasthānādhikārabhāk.⁵ As already stated the king's courts were usually held in the royal

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1. Br̥has noted by Aparārka p.600, also see Stein Rājat. tr. VII 601 note.
 2. Kane. Hist. of Dh. Sh. Vol. III, p.271. Manu VIII, 9-10. Yājñ II, 3; Śukra IV, 5, 12; Kāt. 63.
 3. Manu. VIII 9, Yājñ. II, 3.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 181, 573, 1046, 1982, 2624. Known as Prāḍavivāka in Viṣṇu; 4, 33. Lokaprakāśa p. 58
 5. Rājat. VIII, 2557.

palace and justice was dealt with in its outer part (bāhyāli), hence the term Bāhyarājasthānādhikārabhāk for Rājasthāniya.

This officer was apparently normally a brāhmaṇa, and we find reference to āsthānadviḥa and āsthānabrāhmaṇas in the Rājatar-aṅgiṇī as the councillors in the royal court of justice.¹

Sabhyas, as already stated, constituted an important element of the court. On the distinction between sabhyas and brāhmaṇas Kane writes: "The distinction is that sabhyas were appointed by the king as judges, while brāhmaṇas were persons who were well-versed in the dharmaśāstra, who could attend the Court, though not appointed (aniyukta), and whose opinions on difficult points of law were respectfully received by the judges."²

The chief justice, the sabhyas, and the learned brāhmaṇas were probably elderly people, as great emphasis is laid on this by Nārada and the Udyogaparva. Kalhana declares that: "That is not a real sabhā where there are no elderly men".³ The court in which the chief justice presided, was the mudritā court, or the court in which the chief judge was authorized to use the royal seal.⁴ With the advent of the Lohara dynasty (1001-1149), the Rājasthāna office appears to have come into great prominence. The term is first used with reference to the time of king Kalaśa (1063-89).⁵ As for the officers known as Rājasthāniyamantriṇaḥ

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1. Rājat. VII, 85-86, 1505 mentions Asthāniya.
 2. P.V. Kane. Hist. of Dh. Sh. Vol. III, p.274.
 3. Rājat. VII, 601, Nārada III; 18, udyogaparva 35, 58.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 756.
 5. Rājat. VII, 1501, VIII, 3132.

Rājagrhyas, Stein suggests that they may have been subordinate judicial officers.¹

Divya is defined as that which decides a matter (in dispute) not determined by human means of proof,² or that which decides what cannot be or is not to be decided by human means of proof;³ the general rule, as stated by Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Br̥haspati, Kātyāyana and Pitāmahā, is that ordeals are to be resorted to only if no human evidence (such as witnesses, documents, possession) or circumstantial evidence is available.⁴ It is stated in Vyavahāra Cintāmaṇi that ordeal may be administered in major trials only, not elsewhere.^{4a}

Yājñavalkya, Viṣṇu and Nārada and Vyavahāracintāmaṇi mention five different kinds of ordeal - by balance, fire, water, poison and holy water (kośa). Manu mentions only two - plunging into water and holding fire - while Śankhalikhita mentions ordeal by balance, poison, water and holding a red hot iron.⁵ Divya or divine judgement is mentioned first in the Rājataranṅinī in connection with a judicial case during the reign of king Candrāpīḍa of the Kārkoṭa dynasty.⁶ On a doubtful criminal case where death was caused by sorcery, the king had recourse to 'divine

1. Stein. Rājat. tr. VII, 601 note.

2. Vyavahāramayūkha.

3. Divyatatva. p.574.

4. Yāj. II, 22; Nārada II 29, IV 239; Kāt. 217.

4a. V. Cintāmaṇi. p.32.

5. Yāj. II, 95; Viṣṇu IX, XIV; Nārada IV, 252; Manu VIII, 114. Vyavaharacintāmaṇi 538-585.

6. Rājat. IV, 82-105.

judgement'. But the ordeal mentioned is peculiar and is not found in any of the Smṛti texts. Referring to the disputes of ascetics and sorcerers Bṛhaspati says: "The king should cause the disputes of ascetics and of persons versed in sorcery and witchcraft to be settled by persons familiar with the three Vedas only and not (decide them) himself for fear of rousing their resentment".¹

In the present case the king was in great doubt as to the right decision in a case where death was suspected to have been caused by the secret means of sorcery. On the persistent demand of the widow of the dead man the king himself performed a fast (prāyopaveśa) at the feet of the image of Viṣṇu Tribhuvan-
asvāmin. Being pleased with king Candrāpīḍa's virtues Viṣṇu told him to throw rice flour in the courtyard of the temple, make the brāhmaṇa circumambulate the shrine three times and, if there were seen behind his footprints the footprints of brahmahatyā, then he was the murderer. The rite was to be carried on during the night time. Eventually the guilt of the brāhmaṇa sorcerer was proved and he was punished accordingly. This type of ordeal is not found elsewhere.

We cannot say with certainty whether this was a device used by the king to intimidate the sorcerer, or by the fear of

1. Rājat. IV, 82-105.

Bṛhaspati eulogises ordeals saying that "witnesses may disagree out of affection, anger or greed; when an ordeal is administered properly, no disagreement is possible anywhere".

Bṛhas VIII, 14.

Nārada 1, 239, 252. Bṛhas VIII, 4, 5, 6.

divine justice to prevent him from using sorcery to obtain a favourable result, as might have been thought to happen if a normal ordeal had been employed, but it is clear from this case that ordeal was one of the means of deciding doubtful criminal cases where there was no other evidence available.¹ This case suggests that in criminal cases where there were no witnesses and no evidence of any other kind, no room even for ordeal (Divya), it was the king who had to decide as best as he could.

Another very common method of ordeal was that of sacred libation - kośapāna.² The ordeal of sacred libation is performed by swallowing three mouthfuls of consecrated water in which an idol has been bathed. The defendant is declared innocent if no misfortune (such as an illness, or fire, or the death of a relative or a heavy visitation by the king) befalls him within a certain period after the trial.³ Nārada states that the ordeal by sacred libation has been laid down by learned men for all seasons indiscriminately. Drinking holy water (kośapāna) was employed not only as an ordeal for proving innocence but it was resorted to also for assuring another of one's friendship and allegiance.⁴ The oath by sacred libation in Kashmir had its own peculiarities, and often involved other

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1. S. Varadachariar. The Hindu Judicial System, pp.238-39.
 2. Rājat. V, 326; VI, 211; VII, 8, 492; VIII, 280, 2091, 2222, 3006, 3095.
 3. Nārada VI, 7; Viṣṇu XIV, 1-5; Yājñ II, 112-13; also quoted in Vyavahāra Cintāmani p.327 by Dr. Ludro Rocher Gent 1950.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 2222, 2237.

elements in addition to the mere drinking of holy water. King Cakravarmaṇ (A.D. 935), after losing his throne, came to the house of the Dāmarā Saṃgrāma at Śrīdhakkā; when the king sought help for recovering his throne, the Dāmarā made the king promise to treat all the Dāmaras with kindness after he had regained his throne. Thereupon the king and Dāmarā each placed a foot on a sheepskin sprinkled with blood, and mutually took an oath by sacred libation (kośa) sword in hand.¹ This is an oath-taking ceremony of a type sometimes known as an Embodied Oath. "The largest class of oaths in the early and middle cultures, continuing also into the higher, is that in which the swearer swears by or on some object, powerful, dangerous, or sacred, or some person or animal with like qualities."²

In N.W. India a cock is killed and, as the blood is poured on the ground, the oath is taken over it. The Khonds swear on a tiger skin, praying for death from a tiger if they lie, upon a lizard skin, whose scalliness they pray may ^{be} their lot if forsworn, or upon an ant-hill 'that they may be reduced to powder'.

Another reference to oath by sacred libation, while the feet of the parties were placed on a blood-sprinkled sheep-skin, is found in the reign of king Jayasiṃha (1128-49).⁴ In order to

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1. Rājat. V, 326.
 2. Hastings. Ency. Rel. & Ethics Vol. IX, p.430.
 3. T.C. Crooke II, 287; III, 313, 444. Quoted in Hastings's Enc. of Rel. & Ethics.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 3006.

dispel the fears and distrust of Bhoja, the son of Salhana and the rival claimant to the throne of Jayasimha, the Khaśakas (Khaśas) took this oath. In all other references to the Kośapāna ceremony, it takes place before the image of a deity in a shrine.¹ In the two references quoted above, which introduce the blood sprinkled skin, one of the parties in the first place is a Ḍāmara and in the second a group of Khaśas. It appears from this that the ceremony must have been peculiar to the tribal people of the hills and that the particular customs of the various people were respected. While referring to the texts quoted by Jolly², wherein the kośa ordeal or oath is referred to both as a means of exculpation and as a procedure calculated to create confidence with reference to a subsequent transaction, Stein takes Kalhana's references to kośapāna as illustrations of the second use of the word - to create confidence with reference to subsequent transactions.³

Stein is broadly correct in this, but from the facts that, as noted by Stein in Manuscript A3, a kośa is glossed as divya and that in a verse wherein Kalhana describes the oath by sacred libation taken by the servants of queen Sūryamatī after the death of king Ananta, the rite is described as a divya, it is clear that Kośapāna must also have been sometimes used as a

1. Rājat. VIII, 2222.

2. J. Jolly, Festgabe, 146.

3. Rājat. 326 note.

These cases suggest that due regard was given to the usages (caritra) of the parties concerned.

means of exculpation.

In Kalhaṇa's description of the unusual ordeal enforced by Candrāpīḍa we are told that the wife of the dead brāhmaṇa requested the king to use some very efficient ordeal against the brāhmaṇa culprit because, owing to his knowledge of sorcery, the administration of any ordinary ordeal would be useless.¹ Among these other ordeals sacred libation (kośapāna) must surely have been included because of its very common occurrence throughout the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.

Thus the choice of the ordeal depended on the circumstances and also the nature of the suit; and the personal character of the accused was particularly taken into consideration.

1. Rājat. IV, 94.

CHAPTER V.
F E U D A L I S M

Feudalism is too wide a term to come within the bounds of any specific definition. As Dr. Helen Cam has remarked, the constitutional historian has tended to find the essence of feudalism in the fact that "land holding is the source of political power", while to the lawyer its essence has been that "status is determined by tenure", and to the economic historian "the cultivation of land by the exercise of rights over persons".¹ According to Prof. P. Struve, "Feudalism is a regime based on the legal recognition of the connection compulsory for both parties, between the vassal's service and the suzerain's grants to him. At the basis of this regime lies a contractual but indissoluble bond between service and land-grant, between personal obligation and real right".²

Prof. M.N. Pokrovsky, a Soviet Marxist historian, regarded feudalism inter alia as a system of self-sufficient "natural economy", by contrast with a moneyed "exchange economy", - as "an economy that has consumption as its object".³

According to Coulborn "Feudalism is primarily a method of government, not an economic or a social system, though it

1. History Vol. XXV, 1940-1, p.216. (Quoted by M. Dobb, p.33)
2. P. Struve. Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. I, p.427
3. Brief History of Russia, Vol. I, p.289. *

obviously modifies and is modified by the social and economic environment. It is a method of government in which the essential relation is not that between ruler and subject, nor state and citizen, but between lord and vassal. This means that the performance of political functions depends on personal agreements between a limited number of individuals, and that political authority is treated as a private possession. Since personal contacts are so important in feudal government, it tends to be most effective at the local level where such contacts are easy and frequent. Since political power is personal rather than institutional, there is relatively little separation of functions; the military leader is usually an administrator and the administrator is usually a judge".¹

The system of government as it existed in Kashmir during the period under review or earlier cannot fit in exactly with any of the definitions given above.

There was the king, and there were his ministers, and his council. The king formulated policies and his ministers carried them out, and there were a number of appointed officials (kāyasthas and niyogis) carrying on administration at a local level. Thus the basis of authority was not feudal, though ministers generally had very little separation of functions. Military leaders usually also served as administrators such as judges; though their power was not personal but was vested in

1. R. Coulborn. Feudalism in History, pp. 4-5.

them by the monarch, who might withdraw it at will.

Moreover, it is said that "the men who discharge political functions in a feudal society are not necessarily aristocrats when they first begin to gain power, but - unless the experience is an abortive one - they soon are recognised as an aristocracy. There are usually marked distinctions within the aristocracy; even in the simplest feudal society there are leaders and followers and in a highly developed feudal society, such as that of Western Europe, many more gradations may be found. In theory, and occasionally in practice, the feudal aristocracy can be an aristocracy of ability; actually, in all feudal societies there has been a strong, almost irresistible tendency towards heredity of function".

In Kashmir we find that the offices were bestowed on able persons whatever caste they might belong to and whatever standard of life they might maintain. During the period under review there is no evidence of a feudal hierarchy as such. On the contrary, as already noted, there was no marked tendency towards heredity of functions, though something like the hereditary principle is found when members of the same family are put to various offices.² This can also be due to the ability of the family concerned. One example of the father's office devolving upon the son is noted with gratitude by Kalhana, when he says: "How should we praise that kindness of the king who puts in the

1. R. Coulborn. Feudalism in History, p.5.
2. Rājat. VIII, 183.

place of the dead minister his boy son".¹

In the Srī-Kaṇṭhacarita Alaṅkāra is called "the best of the Sāmantas",² - a word which often seems to mean a feudal vassal. Time and again we find reference to Sāmantas, especially as respectable members of society and as feudal vassals of the state. While we find also Sāmantas as tributary princes who might have originally been independent neighbours and not feudal landlords.

Again it is said, "No static definition can be entirely satisfactory, for feudalism, like any other political system, constantly develops. To the static definition, therefore, may be added one in dynamic terms. In those terms feudalism can be described as a series of responses to certain kind of challenge. A challenge which affected a good many societies was that of the decay or weakening of a highly organized political system - an empire or a relatively large kingdom. The spasms of disintegration of such a system can sometimes produce by way of response a series of moves toward reconstruction which lead in a feudal direction. In such cases feudalism usually has some tinge of legal sophistication, some relics or tendencies toward centralisation".³ Here again we find that the case of Kashmir is peculiarly different. As a hill state, it is an isolated region "where there is not the excuse of foreign invasions
decay or

1. Rājat. VIII. 2473.

2. Śrīkaṇṭha XXV, verses 40-41.

3. R. Coulborn. Op. Cit. p.7

empire, new religions and so on"¹ to account for social change.

Looking at all these definitions we agree with Maine who observed that the term Feudalism "has the defect of calling attention to one set only of its characteristic incidents."²

"The conception of 'feudalism', according to Sprott, is extremely confused. Common to all uses of the word is the implication of an agricultural society in which there are large estates cultivated by persons in varying degrees of servitude, and with various obligations. Such a state of affairs may develop out of a tribal system as it emerges, for one cause or another, from a relatively egalitarian regime into a different stratification in which some members of clans become dominant over other members of their tribe, or of other tribes which they have conquered. It may on the other hand, come about with the collapse of a social structure, when men retire from the political and urban life, to live on their estates."³

"Usually, however", Sprott adds, "the word 'feudalism' implies more than this. It implies (1) the holding of land on condition of services, either administrative or military, and (2) a personal relation of loyalty between vassal and lord. Either of these may be stressed at the expense of the other, or both may be equally important".^{3a}

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1. D.D. Kosambi, p.260. Annals of the Bh. Or. Res. Inst. 1956. Vol. XXXVI parts III and IV.
 2. Maine. quoted by M. Dobb, p.33 (ref. not given)
 3. W.J.H. Sprott. Sociology, p.63.
 - 3a. Ibid.

According to Liversedge, in primitive societies "we shall find the distinction between feudal and tribal system mainly in the degree to which a political system is superimposed upon ordinary tribal practice".¹

In Buganda there was a supreme monarch, the Kabaka, and under him three classes exercising local authority:-

"(a) The Bakungu or chiefs appointed by the Kabaka to govern the administrative areas into which the country was divided

(b) The Batangole or particular individuals to whom land was allotted by the Kabaka in return for services rendered; and

(c) The Bataka or heads of the indigene class who exercised their authority by immemorial right".²

The remainder of the people were Bakopi or peasants who appear to have held their land by prescription.

Here all the motifs intertwine : bureaucracy, fief, and tribal custom.³

The state of agricultural society described above bears a curious resemblance to the conditions existing in Kashmir during the period under review. After surveying all the details of

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- 1. Liversedge. Land Tenure in the Colonies (Cambridge 1945), p.19
 - 2. Meek. Land, Law & Custom in the Colonies, p.132.
 - 3. Ibid.

Note: In Buganda a newcomer could obtain land by applying to the local chief. Anyone short of land might obtain a temporary loan from a friend for growing seasonal crops. No payment was expected but custom prescribed some gift at the harvest. The lender of the land could resume it when he pleased.

conditions as they appear from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī we find the existence firstly of a bureaucracy, secondly of feudatories (Sāmantas) or fief-holders, who provided a main part of the king's armies whenever he had to fight against foreign invasions, adjoining chiefs or even against the Dāmaras in the land; and thirdly of the Dāmaras, petty chiefs in the villages, often indigenous, who might have risen from lower ranks of society, as appears from one reference in the Chronicle. These roughly correspond to the Bakungu, the Batangole and Bataka of Buganda.

After describing the system in Buganda Sprott sums up:

"Thus we can envisage a political system of authority superimposed on tribal customs, among which must be noted the traditional and regulated presentations due from the tribesmen to the chief, and on a state of affairs in which there are already estate holders in possession, on land tilled by people who are more or less tied to the soil and often with dependents who (e.g. the Roman colonus) owe them service. The more the monarch can administer by means of a bureaucracy, and a paid army, the more 'absolute' his power is; the more he has to decentralize administration, grant fiefs and benefices in return for services, and confirm land-ownership on the same terms, the more he approximates to 'feudalism' in the political sense, and beyond feudalism, if the power of the monarch is weak, and his administrative organisation immature, lies that threat of anarchy which besets the policy of the feudal king".¹

1. Sprott. Sociology, p.64.

In Kashmir we find the political system of authority being imposed on tribal people, though not on tribal custom; we do not get any evidence to show traditional presentations to the overlord, though there must have existed something of the sort. We have chiefs or Dāmaras in Kashmir, who hold estates, and tiller who are more or less tied to the soil. There is also the tendency on the part of the monarch to centralize the administration by means of bureaucracy, and a paid army, though there are Sāmantas or feudal chiefs and Dāmaras or territorial landowners, whose turbulence and struggle for power ultimately compel the monarchs to incorporate them into the regular state order, though we do not find "the complete victory of feudalism" arising out of the growing power of the Dāmaras as one authority has suggested.¹ In fact the power of the Dāmaras was never complete. Even King Uccala (1101-11), who had gained the throne with their help and had given them the position of feudatories, later carried on enormous campaign of repression and tried to curb their power.²

We cannot have any complete picture of the medieval Kashmir state unless we have the following features of the system in view:-

i. The monarch ensuring some patrimony for himself like the crown lands in medieval England, called Kheṛi in Kashmir.

ii. (a) Feudal Chiefs or Sāmantas.

(b) Feudatories or tributary princes known as Sāmantas or Nṛpāḥ. (c) Brāhmana feudal chiefs. (brāhmana sāmantas).

1. D.D. Kosambi. Loc. Cit. pp. 254-60.

2. Infra p. 267

iii. The ḍāmaras.

iv. The peasants.

Often in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī is mentioned Kherīkārya as a high state office.¹ According to Wilson Khed or Kher means ploughing or tillage and Kheḍk or Kheṛa, a small and chiefly agricultural village, while in Bundelkhand it is the land immediately adjacent to a village.² Stein has, on the basis of a verse in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and the later Chronicle of Śrīvara, identified Kheṛi with the name of a district (viśaya) now known by the double name of Khur-Nārvāy,³ comprising the fertile valleys descending from the Gulābgarh and Muhi passes of Pīr Panṭṣāl to the Véssau (ancient Viśokā) river rising near the Kōnsar Nāga (Krama Saras) lake in the Pīr Panṭṣāl range.⁴ As Kheṛi was the name of a district and Kherīkārya a special charge and an important one too, we believe that Stein was quite correct in suggesting that it was a royal allodial domain,⁵ the management of which must have been in the charge of an official of ministerial rank. It is curious to find the charge of a district Kheṛi mentioned along with great offices like that of Pādāgra (Chief Revenue Officer) Dvārādhipati (Warden of the Marches), and Rājasthānīya. There were other

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1. Rājat. VIII, 960, 1009, 1118, 1482, 1624. Śrīvara III, 190; IV, 452.
 2. Wilson. Glossary of Indian terms, p.284.
 3. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. I, Book I, 335 note: Vol. II, p.470.
 4. Stein. Rājat. tr. I, 5, note; Vol. II, p.415.
 5. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. I, 335, note.

districts also but we do not find any special officer invested with their charge. Some such administrative arrangements must have existed with regard to each district (viṣaya), but none was perhaps considered so conspicuously important as this one. This could not be due to the strategic importance of the district, because we have already seen that the frontiers were in charge of the Warden of the Marches (Dvārapati).¹ Thus the royal allodial domain must have been managed by a great official appointed by the king, like the royal demesne or Crown lands of Medieval England.

It is strange, however, that the reference to this office occurs for the first time only in the reign of King Sussala (1121-28) of the second Lohara dynasty, when the charge of Kheri is given to one Malla; the other important office mentioned at the same time is that of the commander-in-chief (Kampana).² We cannot clearly account for this term appearing so late. It may be that Kheris existed in earlier reigns, but for some reason Kalhana did not mention them. On the other hand the circumstances under which the kings of the second Lohara dynasty ruled and the strength that the landed aristocracy - the Ḍāmaras - were acquiring, may have induced the kings to seek security in their control of the crown land, and hence to appoint a special high minister in this office.

1. Supra, pp 146-50

2. Rājat. VIII, 1482, 1624.

This fertile tract of land must have made a copious addition to the king's personal income and produced much grain for the royal granaries; we are told that King Uccala (1101-11) sold his own grain stores at cheaper prices through care for the people in times of famine, and thus relieved them of their distress.¹

The word Sāmanta, according to Monier Williams, has various meanings² - 'being on all sides', bordering, limiting, a neighbour, a vassal, feudatory prince, the chief of a district (paying tribute to the lord paramount), a minister, a leader, a general, a captain, a champion. Kalhaṇa also uses the term Sāmanta loosely, and we are therefore not right in accepting anyone whom he refers to by this title as a feudal chief.

In one source, Śrikanṭhacarita, the minister Alaṅkāra is praised as the best of the Sāmantas.³ We do not know whether by calling him such Mañkha means to say that he was the best of the ministers or the best of the feudal chiefs. Kṣemendra, in his Lokaparakāśa⁴, gives lists or synonyms of the names of the four great classes of society - among which Sāmanta occurs as one of the epithets of the brāhmaṇas. J. Bloch in his French translation of the Lokaparakāśa translates Sāmanta as 'Chantre'⁵ or hymn-singer,

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1. Rājat. VIII, 61.
 2. Monier Williams, p.1205.
 3. Śrikanṭha canto XXV, 40-41.
 4. Lokaparakāśa, p.1.
 5. J. Bloch. Le Lokaparakāśa, p.1.

but we cannot believe that the word had this meaning in our time. It is possible that the inclusion of Sāmanta among regular brāhmaṇa names is the result of the re-working of the text in the 17th century. Taking the word Sāmanta as one of the epithets of the brāhmaṇas, we would be led to think that whenever the kings of Kashmir are stated to be attended by the Sāmantas in the court, it always meant the brāhmaṇas or the brāhmaṇa ministers; but on the other hand our evidence gives quite a different impression. King Jayāpīḍa is found attended by vassals (Sāmantas) when he received the brāhmaṇas to whom he gave audience when the latter approached him in order to complain against the ruthless confiscation of agrahāras.¹

It is just possible that Mañkha in his Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, uses the term Sāmanta for his brother Alaṅkara in the sense of brāhmaṇa and not as feudal chief. We do not, however, find any such use of the term in the Rājataranṅinī. Ordinarily Kalhaṇa uses the term loosely for the feudal chiefs as well as for the adjoining princes who helped in times of war and paid tribute.² He uses it for the Dāmaras also, but only twice throughout the whole of his work.³

1. Rājat. IV, 643. cf. E.I. p.67f.

In the landgrants of Haṅṣavardhana the terms Sāmanta mahārāja and mahāsāmanta appear as the titles of big imperial officers. cf. Ep. Ind. p.67f; IV, p.208, X, p.89
In the inscriptions dated in the Kalacuri/cedi era, from A.D. 597 onwards rājas and Sāmantas took the place of Uprikas and Kumārāmatyas. C.I.I., p.394, verse 5.

2. Rājat. V, 34, 220-24, 355, 448, 451-52; VI, 90-91, 132; VII, 47-48, 91.

3. Rājat. VIII, 7; V, 395.

We first meet this word in the Rājatarahgiṇī when Matr̥gupta (1st half of the 6th century), who is nominated as the ruler of Kashmir, arrives at the frontiers and is received by the ministers attended by all their vassals (Sāmantas)¹ This evidence suggests that ministers also had their retinues and subordinate chiefs. Kalhaṇa does not here use the word Sāmanta for ministers.

When King Cakravarman of the Varman dynasty became king for the third time (936-37), he is referred to as surrounded with affection by feudal chiefs (Sāmantas), ministers and Ekāṅgas.² When this king granted an audience to the Dombā singer called Raṅga, the door-keepers seated in proper order the ministers and the chiefs (Sāmantas) who had come.³

King Unmattāvanti's (937-39) child son Śūravarman was also entrusted to the chiefs (Sāmantas), councillors, Ekāṅgas and Tantrins.⁴ Consequently when Kamalavardhana, the commander-in-chief who was struggling to get the throne for himself, learnt about Śūrvarman's being nominated as the king, he too reached in haste the vicinity of the city of Śrīnagara, accompanied by feudal chiefs (Sāmantaīḥ).⁵ As he entered the city together with his troops he was stopped by Ekāṅgas, Tantrins, Sāmantas, (feudal chiefs), and horsemen. When King Yaśaskara of the Utpala dynasty (939-48)

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1. Rājat. III, 232.
 2. Rājat. V, 341-47.
 3. Rājat. V, 355.
 4. Rājat. V, 448.
 5. Rājat. V. 451.

consecrated Varnaṭa as king, the consecration (Abhiṣeka) was performed by the king, ministers and feudal chiefs (Sāmantas).¹ At Parvagupta's accession (949-50), we find princes, Ekāṅgas, chiefs (Sāmantas), ministers, officials and Tantrins mentioned together.²

When King Saṅgrāmarāja of the 1st Lohara dynasty sent forces to help the Śāhi king Trilocanapāla against Maṃūd of Ghaznī the army was attended by many Rājaputras, chief councillors, feudal chiefs (Sāmantas) and others capable of making the earth shake.³ When Tuṅga, the commander-in-chief under Saṅgrāmarāja, became too arrogant and was hated by the people, the king had him murdered. Kalhaṇa mentions him as having his own troops, but also describes one Bhujaṅga, the son of a brāhmaṇa feudal chief (Sāmanta), as fighting for him against the king.⁴

In all the above references the term Sāmanta is used in the sense of a feudal chief and not of a minister, for ministers are mentioned separately by such term as amātya, mantrin, or saciva in each case.

Thus we find that the obligations of the Sāmantas included military service, and attendance on the person of the king, and they evidently formed a regular part of the state order together

1. Rājāt. VI, 90-91.
2. Rājāt. VI, 132.
3. Rājāt. VII, 47-48.
4. Rājāt. VII, 91.

with the ministers, Ekāṅgas, etc. This is clear from the fact that we find them with the king in his court, attending both social gatherings and state activities, and not being called on only at the time of internal strife or foreign expeditions.

The kings of Kashmir were also followed on their expeditions by the adjoining princes who were subordinate to them and paid tribute (kara). These are usually termed nṛpa, rājā, naranātha, mahipāla, bhūpati and also even Sāmanta. Thus king Jayāpīḍa was followed on his expeditions for the conquest of the world (digvijaya) by feudatory chiefs¹ (nṛpaiḥ) and princes, who evidently had their own armies², while Mummuni and other chiefs (Mummunipramukhāḥ nṛpāḥ) roamed with fierce caṇḍālas outside his army and formed a guard at night.³

King Śaṅkaravarman also revived the tradition of "conquest of the world" (digvijaya) and his army too was swelled from place to place by the troops of feudatory chiefs (naranāthānām pṛtnābhiḥ) as a large river by the streams which join it.⁴ We have, however another reference wherein, while narrating the expeditions of the same king, Kalhaṇa tells us that while returning from one of his expeditions against Daradas, this king was killed and the fact was kept concealed by his ministers who so arranged his dead body that, by means of hidden cords, it was made to accept the homage of the

1. Rājat. IV, 404.

2. Rājat. IV, 14.

3. Rājat. IV, 516.

4. Rājat. V, 140.

sāmantas who came to submit to him.¹ Since this is said to have taken place outside the bounds of Kashmir, the Sāmantas here referred to must be local chiefs recently conquered and not regular feudal vassals.

The term is usually, however, used in this latter sense in ancient Indian records. As is evident from its use in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya² and the inscriptions of Aśoka in the Maurya period this term meant independent neighbours. In the post Maurya law-books, however, it began to be used in the sense of a feudal lord, as has been shown by B.N. Dutta,³ From Gupta times onwards, however, the word Sāmanta was regularly used in the sense of a feudatory chief or lord.⁴ In the Rājataranginī, as we have shown above, the word Sāmanta was used not only for the feudal barons but also for tributary kings.

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- 1. Rājat. V. 220-24.
 - 2. Arthaśāstra, 1, 6; R.E. 11, 1.5.
 - 3. B.N. Dutta. Hindu Law of Inheritance. p. 27.
 - 4. D.D. Kosambi.

Just as the church as a land-holding institution was an inseparable part of the economic, social, and political structure of feudal Europe, so the brāhmaṇas in India, including Kashmir, held lands as grants given to them by the king; these brāhmaṇas held the strings of the educational system and dictated the philosophy of life.¹

Oftentimes in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī we find agrahāra as a regular term used by Kalhaṇa for designating a village or piece of land, the revenue of which was assigned to an individual, corporation (Pāriṣad) or religious institution.² These religious landgrants slowly helped towards the development of feudal order, and we have a reference in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī where Kalhaṇa makes mention of a brāhmaṇa feudal lord (Sāmanta).³ Possibly these brāhmaṇas, like the chiefs, held lands on service tenure, because we find brāhmaṇas as military leaders in times of war or internal disturbances during the period under review.⁴ Whether these villages were cultivated by the brāhmaṇas themselves or were cultivated by peasants, who had the land from them, is nowhere indicated by Kalhaṇa. We have also one reference to agrahāra being granted to non-brāhmaṇa grantee.⁵

1. Marion Gibbs. Feudal order. Introd. p.9.
2. Stein. Rājat. tr. I, 87, note; ibid. p.
3. Rājat. VII, 91.
4. Rājat. VIII, 3018.
5. Rājat. V, 397.

The term Ḍāmara is one of frequent occurrence in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and the people to whom it relates play a very significant part in the history of Kashmir, especially during the times of the first and the second Lohara dynasties.¹

The whole of the history of Medieval Kashmir is full of the struggle of the monarchy against this section of society, which not only endangered the very existence of the ruling dynasty, but also became a terror to the rest of the population. The Ḍāmaras appear to have been rather like the Bataka² or heads of the indigene class of Buganda, who exercised their authority by immemorial right. At first they do not appear to have been very strong, but later, under weak rulers, we find them very powerful and they emerge into a position of great importance by the time of the Lohara dynasties. The whole of the strife during the times of the Lohara dynasties may be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the kings to superimpose a system of political authority on tribal custom and of the Ḍāmaras trying to assert their authority and attain offices of state, especially when they had made themselves economically secure.

A question here of great importance and interest is how far the Ḍāmara was a "bojar" - feudal landowner or baron.³ The service of both the Sāmantas and the Ḍāmaras was based on land tenure. The Sāmantas and the Ḍāmaras or Lavanyas, though parts of

1. See Appendix IV.

2. Supra. p. 245

3. Cf. Hutchison & Vogel. History of the Punjab Hill States.
Vol. I, p.17.

the general feudal order, are mentioned as two separate entities in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.¹ Kalhaṇa generally mentions the Sāmantas favourably² while, as regards the Ḍāmaras, he is full of scorn and hatred. In view of the anarchic conditions when the Ḍāmaras were constantly encouraging claimants to the throne or rising in revolt themselves, it was natural for Kalhaṇa to have cherished bitter feelings against these local lords. The struggle does not appear to have been waged between the monarchy and the feudal organisation as a whole, but between the kings and the Ḍāmaras, for the Sāmantas are regularly found to be fighting on the side of kings against the Ḍāmaras.³ Kalhaṇa surprisingly gives no instance of a rebel Sāmanta.

In the earlier books of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī the Ḍāmaras are^{only} mentioned as Sāmantas,⁴ which shows that occasionally a Ḍāmara loyal to the king might be incorporated into the regular feudal order established under his leadership. On the other hand, we have many references⁵ where Sāmantas and Ḍāmaras are mentioned as separate classes. In a certain verse Kalhaṇa specifically uses the word Ḍāmarakula, "Ḍāmara tribe", to differentiate one part of the army from the regular Kashmir soldiers from various feudatory

1. Rājat. cf. VIII, 1072-1078, 909-910.

2. Rājat. V, 405, 406; VIII, 7.

3. CR. IV. Army.

4. Rājat. V, 395.

5. Rājat. V, 446, 447, V. 451, 454; VIII, 1078.

families.¹ If the Ḍāmaras had formed a part of the regular feudal organisation there would have been no necessity of mentioning them separately. Moreover, they would have been liable to all the obligations and eligible for all the privileges of the Sāmantas.

In the above quoted reference Kalhaṇa even seems to distinguish between Ḍāmaras and Kashmirians, as though he scornfully rejects their rights to be looked on as authentic members of the community.² Could it be due to their descent from a tribal section of Kashmir society?

As regards the conditions under which their landed property, the basis of their influence was acquired and held, Stein suggested that "a kind of service-tenure, the grant of land in return for military or other services, may have been the original foundation of the system".³ He made this suggestion on comparing the conditions prevailing in other parts of India and in the absence of any exact data, he took it as a mere conjecture.⁴

In an earlier instance King Cakravarman (935), after losing the throne, came to the house of the Ḍāmara Saṃgrāma and asked for

1. Rājat. VIII, 1078.

2. Rājat. VIII, 887; VIII, 1078.

Kalhaṇa mentions a coalition of Kashmirian, Khaśa and Mleccha forces sent by Bhikṣācara against king Sussala at Lohara by way of Rājapurī. The distinction is made in the same way as Kalhaṇa does in the above quoted verse between Ḍāmaras and Kashmirians.

3. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. II, p.307.

4. Ibid.

his help to get it back.¹ The Dāmara made him promise to look back upon all of his class at all times in kindness. Thereafter they entered into a solemn compact by placing their feet on a sheepskin sprinkled with blood, and mutually took an oath by sacred libation, sword in hand.² It was only after this agreement had been made that king Cakravarman was able to collect a numberless host of Dāmaras to help him. From this particular case it appears that if there had been any definite system of land-tenure based on relations of mutual protection and military service between the king and the Dāmara, there should not have been any necessity of the two parties entering into such an agreement at this time. Nor is the king anywhere described as reminding the Dāmaras of their sworn duty towards him. After having regained the throne with their help we find him again forgetting his promise and persecuting them.³ The fact that king Cakravarman was no longer the ruling sovereign at the time strengthens our point that Saṃgrāma was free to enter into agreement with anyone, whether he was on the throne or not, for if this were not so, his allegiance would have been transferred to the new king the moment Cakravarman was dethroned.

We do not find even a single reference in the whole of the chronicle to throw light on the relations between the Dāmaras and their numerous troops. But Saṃgrāma's condition to the king

1. Rājat. V, 306.

2. Rājat. V, 326.

3. Rājat. V, 405.

Cakravarman, "if you promise to look upon us all at all times in kindness, I march before you with troops on the morrow", shows that some sort of service-tenure must have existed between the Ḍāmaras and their followers, who would march at their lord's command. The Ḍāmara troops apparently did not have any direct relations with the king, and it was only after the agreement that they followed their chief to help him.

There is no mention of any quarrel between the Ḍāmara leaders and their followers or any rising of the latter. Whether they could not raise their heads for fear of oppression of the leaders or they were kindly treated by them, we cannot say with precision. Kalhaṇa's silence in this respect suggests that the relations between the powerful Ḍāmaras and their followers, who may have been the actual tillers of the soil, must have been quite good. In one reference it is stated that King Saḷhaṇa (1111-12) persuaded Gargacandra, the all powerful Lavanya minister of his time, to give his daughter to him in marriage, but Gargacandra's followers did not wish that he should ally himself with a king who was like a mere ghost.¹

In making a comparison of the features of the Rājput society with those of the Middle Ages in Europe, as drawn by Hallam

1. Rājat. VIII, 441.

Tod wrote¹: "The leading features of government amongst the semi-barbarous hordes or civilised independent tribes must have a considerable resemblance to each other. In the same stages of society, the wants of men must everywhere be similar, and will produce analogies which are observed to regulate Tartar hordes or German tribes, Caledonian clans, the Rājput kula (race) or Jaraja Bhayyad (brotherhood)". To this we may add the Dāmara kula.

This system of Sāmantas and Dāmaras compares with the two classes of Rājput landholders in Mewar. One is the Girasia Thakkur or lord, the other, the Bhumia. The Girasiā chieftain is he who holds Giras by grant (Patta) of the prince, for which he performs service with specified quotas at home and abroad, renewable at every lapse when all the ceremonies of resumption, the fine of relief and the investiture take place.² The Bhumia does not renew his grant, but holds it on prescriptive possession. He succeeds without any fine, but pays a small annual quit-rent, and can be called upon for local service in the district which he inhabits for a certain period of time. As for the Sāmantas or feudal lords of the Rājataranginī, we believe that they must have

1. Tod. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. Vol. I, p.154.

Knowing that Bhumia tenures "appeared in the parts of Mewar settled since remotest antiquity where they were defended from oppression by the rocks and wilds in which they obtained a footing; as in Kumbhalmer, the wilds of Chappan or plains of Mandalgarb, long under the kings, where their agricultural pursuits maintained them" we are reminded of king Lalitāditya's injunction to his ministers regarding treatment towards people in the hills.

(Tod. Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān. Vol. I, 166, 196.)

2. Ibid.

held lands of the kings, but regarding the stipulation of specified quotas at home and abroad, renewals on lapse involving the ceremonies of resumption, the fine of relief, and the investiture we have no evidence whatsoever in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī or any of the other sources concerned with the period.

That the Dāmaras of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī may be compared with the Bhumia of Tod's Annals of Rājasthān, is evident from the story of a Dāmara Lakkanacandra¹, who held the castle of Dughaghāt. (modern Dudakhut pass) which guarded the old route to the Darada country. He had been executed by order of king Ananta (1028-63). Subsequently his widow had offered the hill fort to king Kalaśa (1063-89) with a view to better assuring the safety of the neighbouring tract from inroads of the Daradas. King Kalaśa refused the offer. The stronghold then fell into the power of the Darada king, from whom Harṣa (1089-1101) subsequently vainly endeavoured to recover it with the assistance of the neighbouring Dāmaras.² From this Stein has drawn the conclusion that "strongholds as well as land had practically become hereditary possessions in the families of these feudal lords, whenever the central authority in the land was unable or unwilling to assert the right of resumption."³ But why did king Kalaśa refuse the offer? If he did on account of his weakness and inability to hold the fort, why did not king Ananta take it, when he had sufficient strength to

1. Rājat. VII, 1171-74.

2. Rājat. VII, 1177 ff.

3. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. II, p.306.

accomplish the execution of the ḍāmara who held it?

If he had held the fort of the king by any form of feudal tenure it would have ultimately lapsed to the king after the execution of the ḍāmara and, again, if the king had any feudal rights over it, Kalaśa would have been obliged to accept the offer of the ḍāmara's wife as a matter of right and duty rather than of favour. That the offer came from the ḍāmara's wife after the reign of king Ananta, shows that she succeeded to her husband's possessions as a matter of right and, if any royal sanction was needed, she might have ^{taken} it. So we cannot agree with Stein's conclusion that the ḍāmaras' holdings were becoming hereditary by the weakening of the central authority; it would rather seem that they were hereditary by long standing tradition at all times.

In the earlier period we do not find the ḍāmaras to have formed a part of the regular royal army. Queen Diddā's¹ commander-in-chief is seen destroying the hosts of the ḍāmaras. We do not find them in the army sent under Tuṅga to help Śāhi Trilocanapāla against Maḥmūd of Ghaznī.² Only in turbulent times of civil strife do we find them taking sides with one or the other faction, usually against the ruling king.

1. Rājat. VI, 354.

2. Rājat. VII, 46-47.

See APPENDIX P.

The main concern of the Ḍāmaras in the civil wars between King Harṣa and the rival claimants, the brothers Uccala and Sussala, was the amount of power and influence that they themselves could wield. Harṣa, Uccala, Sussala or Bhikṣācara, whosoever might have been on the throne, did not matter to them so long as their own position was secure; much less could they tolerate the attempts of any of these rulers to bring them down.

King Harṣa's attempt to curb the Ḍāmaras by making them work on water-wheels and do forced labour had disastrous results.¹ Joining hands with rival claimants, the brothers Uccala and Sussala, they rose against the king.² After the revolt which drove Harṣa from the throne it was they who carried away the ladies of his seraglio and ultimately murdered him in the hut in which he was hiding;³ and it was with forces supplied by this section of the Kashmir population that the rival claimants to the throne brought about the fall of the First Lohara dynasty.

Naturally the kings of the Second Lohara dynasty had learnt a lesson and hence they attempted to deal with this turbulent aristocracy in a manner different from that which had been used by Harṣa. With the advent of the Second Lohara dynasty we note a marked development in the Ḍāmaras' position in the State. We find them in high posts⁴, firstly because they had helped king

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1. Rājat. VII, 357.
 2. Rājat. VII, 1578.
 3. Rājat. VII, 1709.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 627.

Uccala get the throne and secondly because they had become so strong that it became difficult for the kings to neglect them. In this period they are occasionally mentioned as feudatories (Sāmantas) and as ministers.¹ Their recognition by the kings and incorporation into the state order reminds us of Coulborn's words already cited that "men who discharge political functions in a feudal society are not necessarily aristocrats when they first begin to gain power, but - unless the experience is an abortive one - they soon are recognised as an aristocracy. Even in the simplest feudal society there are leaders and followers".² Thus we find the Dāmaras also soon being recognised as an aristocracy. This recognition was, however, enforced by the circumstances of the history of medieval Kashmir. Kalhana much disdains their rise to power,³ but, as a shrewd politician, he is prepared to accept them.

In this connection we have also to bear in mind that their rise to power and their recognition by the kings did not settle matters. They still lent support to the rival claimants to the throne from their own selfish motives, while on the other hand the kings accepted their support because they had no choice but to curb or conciliate them. Thus the period of the Second Lohara dynasty presents a constant struggle between the great Dāmara leaders striving to assert their importance by putting

1. Rājat. VIII, 7.

2. Op. cit. supra. P. 242.

3. Rājat. VIII, 7.

puppet rulers on the throne, and the kings trying to cope with them by means of cunning and shrewd diplomacy - by fostering mutual jealousies among them, and even by entering into matrimonial alliances with the most powerful of them.¹

Kaihaṇa tells us that honest Uccala from kindheartedness allowed robbers (dasyu) to rise to high posts, in remembrance of their past services.² King Uccala is also said to have given them high posts in order to create mutual jealousies among them and to make them instrumental in breaking the power of the rest of their class. One of them named Janakacandra wished to obtain high position in the State and planned to put Bhikṣācara (King Harṣa's grandson) on the throne and himself to be the real ruler.³ Thus Uccala decided to put Janakacandra into the high post of the Lord of the 'Gate' (Dvārapati) hoping thereby to turn other Ḍāmaras against him. Now we find the Ḍāmaras divided into two hostile camps fighting a series of engagements which ultimately led to the murder of Janakacandra.⁴ Thus Uccala got rid of the more powerful of them by diplomacy, and also secured his own position by forcing those in Kramarājya (modern Kāmraḥ) to dismiss their mounted and other troops, while he impaled some of them.⁵

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1. Rājat. VIII, 458-59, 1444; VIII, 459, 1607; VIII, 2953, 878.
 2. Rājat. VIII, 7, clearly mentioned as Sāmantas.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 16-19.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 24. cf. Vijayanagar "A forgotten Empire". Sewall &
 5. Rājat. VIII, 39-42.

During the short reign of Salhaṇa, the half-brother of Sussala (1111-12), one Ḍāmara Gargacandra obtained predominance.¹ He did not hesitate to destroy the Ḍāmaras of Nilāśva and Hālāha (Kashmir districts) by throwing them into the Vitastā and by poisoned food.² But when king Salhaṇa persuaded Garga to give his daughter in marriage to him, Gargacandra's followers did not approve of his allying himself with a king who was like a ghost.³

King Sussala (1112-20) had to struggle against the rising power and ambition of Gargacandra. In the beginning, however, the king allied with Garga, not because he trusted him but because he needed his support. This struggle lasted from 1112-1118 - practically the whole of the reign of Sussala, until Gargacandra along with his sons Kalyāṇacandra, Catuṣka and Videha was executed. The king tried to punish Gargacandra's followers also.

Other Ḍāmaras who figure prominently in this reign are Vijaya, the brother-in-law of Gargacandra, and the former's relatives named Brhaṭṭika and Sūkṣmaṭikka.⁵ The Ḍāmaras of Devasarasa were beaten by the king and they also rose in revolt. Sūkṣmaṭikka, who escaped death, later became the cause of future rebellions⁶. Prthvihara, a Ḍāmara from Saṃālā⁷, who had been

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1. Rājat. VIII, 370.
 2. Rājat. VIII, 425-36.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 440-41.
 4. Rājat. VIII, 615-16.
 5. Rājat. VIII, 522-525.
 6. Rājat. VIII, 525-29.
 7. Rājat. VIII, 605.

given the charge of guarding the routes¹, became disaffected and, together with eighteen Dāmaras of Śamaṅgāsā, formed a league against the king.² In 1120 there was a strong rising of the Dāmaras in which Pṛthvīhara was victorious.³ Mallakoṣṭha, another Dāmara of great strength, whom the king had raised to a high position against Gargacandra, also rose in rebellion and joined Bhikṣācara, the rival claimant to the throne.⁴ The Dāmaras of Lahara, together with Bhikṣācara and the Dāmaras of Maḍavarājya, besieged Śrīnagara and occupied the bank of Mahāsarit.⁵ Ultimately in 1120, king Sussala had to leave Śrīnagara and retire to Lohara.⁶ Mallakoṣṭha then became the chief instructor of Bhikṣācara in all affairs⁷, but the jealousy between Pṛthvīhara and Mallakoṣṭha made his court full of dissensions.⁸ Bhikṣācara's marriage with a lady from Pṛthvīhara's family enraged Mallakoṣṭha.⁹

Tired of Bhikṣācara's reign Mallakoṣṭha and others sent messengers to king Sussala¹⁰ to make fresh efforts towards its reconquest while Bhikṣācara¹¹ marched forth with Pṛthvīhara; ultimately left Kashmir and proceeded to the village of Pusyānāda.¹² It was the rivalry between these two Dāmara leaders, Mallakoṣṭha¹³ and Pṛthvīhara¹⁴, which led to the split in the

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| 1. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 627. | 8. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 876. |
| 2. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 650-61. | 9. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 878 |
| 3. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 712. | 10. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 897. |
| 4. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 601, 725. | 11. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 933, 936, 938, 956. |
| 5. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 723, 733, 753. | 12. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 959. |
| 6. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 817 | 13. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 897, 944. |
| 7. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 849. | 14. <u>Rājat.</u> VIII, 930, 933, 936,
938, 958, 1013. |

Ḍāmarā hordes and the recall of Sussala from Lohara - Mallakoṣṭha being on the side of king Sussala, while Pṛthvīhara fought in support of Bhikṣācara.

Short restoration of the First Lohara dynasty under Bhikṣācara witnessed internecine or feuds owing to the jealousies of the Ḍāmaras, Pṛthvīhara and Mallakoṣṭha.¹

King Sussala, on his restoration in 1120, won over all the Ḍāmaras to his side and appointed Malla, son of Vaṭṭa, to the charge of Kheṛi and Harṣamitra, another Ḍāmarā, to the command of the army (Kampana).² But once Sussala regained his position Mallakoṣṭha was exiled from the country by the angry king.³ The king had later to fight against the combined strength of Pṛthvīhara, Mallakoṣṭha and Bhikṣācara.⁴ The attitude of King Sussala towards Mallakoṣṭha shows that there was no love lost between the two; Sussala had regained his throne with the help of Mallakoṣṭha but when it suited his purpose he unscrupulously exiled him, and raised in his place the eldest surviving son of Garga, named Pañcacandra, who, though yet a boy under the guardianship of his mother Chuḍḍā, was gradually joined by his father's followers,⁵ and acquired some reputation. In 1123, there was a fresh rebellion of the Ḍāmaras who wholly devoted themselves to the work of

1. Rājat. VIII, 882 ff.

2. Rājat. VIII, 960.

3. Rājat. VIII, 1041.

4. Rājat. VIII, 1051-53, 1124-25.

5. Rājat. VIII, 1121-22.

burning, looting and fighting.¹ Ultimately the king broke up the terrible Ḍāmaras by exceptional measures,² so much so that Bhikṣācara and the Lavanyas, having lost their strength, thought of going abroad from fear of their powerful foe. One of the followers of the Ḍāmara Tikka, named Utpala, ultimately became instrumental in the murder of king Sussala.

King Jayasimha started his reign by proclamation of general amnesty. Picturesquely Kalhana describes their entry into the city, "when the Ḍāmaras distinguished by their power proceeded to the city it appeared as if bridegroom processions were taking place at a time when auspicious moments (lagna) are easy to find".³ When the people saw each one of them more splendid than the king, with his pack horses, parasols and steeds, they magnified the rough valour which King Sussala had shown in his firm resistance.⁴ Kṣīra and other Ḍāmaras from Maḍavarājya whose hosts of soldiers were awe-inspiring, were also brought over to the king's side.⁵ Jayasimha took those who were fit into his salaried service, thus increasing the number of those who belonged to the inner court.⁶

At this juncture one would reel that the conciliation of the Ḍāmaras was complete, while on the other hand Kalhana's

1. Rājat. VIII, 1157.

2. Rājat. VIII, 1267.

3. Rājat. VIII, 1535.

4. Ibid. 1536.

5. Rājat. VIII, 1539.

6. Rājat. VIII, 1542.

narrative shows that these Dāmaras, despite all this, turned to the king's enemies at the slightest possible chance. Bhikṣācara was still striving to regain the throne; Pañcacandra¹, the eldest surviving son of Gargacandra, the Dāmara who had played prominent part during the reign of Sussala, arrived with his soldiers by the side of the king who was destitute of troops. Even during this reign the Dāmaras of Khaḍvī tried to kill the minister Sujji and actually killed Mahattama Ananda, son of someone named Ananta, while the Dāmaras of Holadā besieged the king's officers and laid siege to Avantipura.

Jayasimha tried to bribe and win over the Dāmaras of Khaḍvī district, while the Dāmaras intrigued with king Somapāla of Rājapurī, offering him the throne.

The circumstances of the times and the strong position of the Dāmaras necessitated a very diplomatic treatment on the part of the king. Kalhaṇa does not approve of any policy which might lead the Dāmaras to hostilities. So reckless had they become that they would seek the help of the Daradas and of Rājapurī and even offer the throne for this.

The significant manner in which Kalhaṇa mentions the names of some of these Dāmaras along with the localities to which they belonged shows that by amassing wealth and power they had become local magnates in those areas, and it seems that only a few Dāmara families played a prominent role in the struggles during the

1. Rājat. VIII, 1577-79.

whole of the Second Lohara dynasty. Gargacandra¹, who played the king-maker during the reigns of Salhana and Jayasimha, was from Lahara. Later on Prthviharā² of Samālā and Mallakoṣṭha³ of Lahara rose to importance. Kalhana also mentions Abhinava⁴, Vāga and Pāja of Samālā⁵, Dhanva of Lahara⁶, Sobha of Degrāma⁷, Lakkanacandra⁸ of the Dughdaghāta fort, Bimba of Nilāśva⁹, Loṣṭaka of Selyapura¹⁰, Maṅkha of Naunagara¹¹, the Ḍāmaras of Khaḍūvi¹² and Hoḷadā¹³, those of Kramarājya¹⁴, Maḍavarājya¹⁵, Vijayeśvara¹⁶ and so on. In the same way Kalhana refers to their strongholds as Upaveśanas¹⁷. One such was that regarding which we have already related above in connection with the Ḍāmara Lakkanacandra, who had been executed by the order of king Ananta.

According to Tod the Rājput "Martial System", and "traditional theory of government" bore striking analogies "to the ancient feudal system of Europe", with reference to a period when the latter was yet imperfect. He concluded that the Rājput system was so strikingly analogous to the European as to be truly feudal.¹⁸

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| 1. <u>Rājat</u> . VIII. 415 | 588, 599. | 10. <u>Rājat</u> . VIII, 202. |
| 2. <u>Rājat</u> . VII, 159. | | 11. <u>Rājat</u> . VIII, 995. |
| 3. | | 12. <u>Rājat</u> . VII, 1228. |
| 4. <u>Rājat</u> . VIII, 159. | | VIII, 1413, 1477. |
| 5. <u>Rājat</u> . VII, 1022; VIII, 591, | | 13. <u>Rājat</u> . VIII, 733, 1930, |
| 1517, 2749. | | 3115. |
| 6. <u>Rājat</u> . V, 51; VIII, 38. | | 14. <u>Rājat</u> . VII, 1240, |
| 7. <u>Rājat</u> . VII, 263-66. | | VIII, 40. |
| 8. <u>Rājat</u> . VII, 1172-73. | | 15. <u>Rājat</u> . VII, 1240: VIII, 41 |
| 9. <u>Rājat</u> . VII, 1630-31; VIII, | | 16. <u>Rājat</u> . VIII, 1488. |
| 424, 3115, 2778 | | 17. <u>Rājat</u> . VIII, 1124, 1512, |
| | | 1692, cf. 1254. |
| | | Stein. <u>Rājat</u> . tr. VIII, |
| | | 1070, note. |

18. Annals of Rājasthan (Tod), Vol. 1, p.154.

Critics of Tod have raised the question whether in Rājasthān the basic relationship was actually that of lord and vassal and have asserted rather that it was that of tribal chieftain and his blood kin. They base this on the very documents furnished by Tod in the appendix to his feudal system in Rājasthān.¹

The editor of the best edition of Tod's Annals, William Crooke, himself an outstanding authority on tribal organisation in Northern India, while criticizing Tod's analysis of the system in Rājasthān and his comparison of Rājput phenomena with those of medieval feudalism in Western Europe, wrote: "While it is possible to trace, as Tod has done, certain analogies between the tribal institutions of the Rājputs and the social organisation of Medieval Europe - analogies of feudal incidents connected with Reliefs, Fines upon alienation, Escheats, Aids, Wardship and Marriage - these analogies, when more closely examined, are found to be in the main superficial". His own suggestion was to seek comparison with the social organisation of more or less kindred tribes on the Indian borderland, Pathans, Afghans or Baloch; or, in a more primitive state, those of the Kaniks, Gonds, Mundas or Oraons of the central highland of India.²

Alfred Lyall in his analysis of Rājputānā saw the Rājput clans as a political and military overlay upon the cultivating

1. W. Crooke. Introd. to Tod's Annals of Rājasthān. Vol. I, p. XXXIX.

2. Ibid.

classes, composed mainly of castes and clans whom the Rājputs subdued when they first took possession. Such a society, Lyall wrote, bore a resemblance to feudal society which was at first sight striking enough. It misled Tod into missing "the radical distinction between the two forms of society, tribal and feudal. Although he clearly understands the connection of those whom he calls 'vassals' with their Suzerain to be the affinity of blood, still he insists that the working system of Rājputānā is feudal."¹ But in truth, declared Lyall, nowhere in Western Rājputānā had the system become entirely feudal, nowhere had "military tenure entirely obliterated the original tenure of blood and birthright of the clan". "Land tenure in Rājputānā", he wrote "had not become the basis of the Rājput 'noblesse'; rather their pure blood is the origin of their land tenure".²

Regarding the Rājput system Prof. Kosambi believes that their military hierarchy, with each man owing fealty to one acknowledged leader, goes back to their tribal and clan origin.³ Referring to Tod's sympathetic treatment of Rājput tradition, he says: "The error is in thinking that the military hierarchy etc.

1. Asiatic Studies. Vol. I, p.243.

2. Ibid. p.245. Quoted in Feudalism in History ed. R. Coulborn p. 142

The Princeton University Conference on Feudalism Nov. 1950, accepted Mr. Horner's verdict on Tod's views as correct in the main. Essentially Mr. Horner is for Crooke's opinion that 18th Century Rājputānā was tribal not feudal. (R. Coulborn op. Cit. p.218)

3. D.D. Kosambi. Introduction to the Study of History. p.340.

sufficed to constitute feudalism".¹ Their complete political in consequence, he adds, is also due to the persistence of a narrow tribal outlook. Their home territory in comparatively barren Rājasthān lay across the important trade-route to the South. The Rājputs, therefore, show us - in an undeveloped stage - the superficial elements that go to make feudalism, but not a supply of labour to cultivate extensive fields.

The verdicts of both Tod and Lyall are arbitrary in the main when they describe the system as purely tribal or feudal. Taking the words of Maine cited above that "the term feudalism has the defect of calling attention to one set only of its characteristic² incidents", we believe that it would be more appropriate to define the system in Rājaputānā as elsewhere in ancient and medieval India as quasi-feudal.

Marion Gibbs gives us three usages³ of the term feudalism, each of which she thinks can be defended, if not equally well.

In the first place there is the long established technical usage which arises from the legal meaning of the Latin term feudum, usually translated into English as "fee"; this was the benefice or endowment of land which a man of free status received from his lord

1. Ibid, p.371 note.

2. Supra p. 244.

3. M. Gibbs. Feudal order. p.2.

for his homage and service, usually military service. No fee, no feudalism, is the dogma of English Academic historians.

In the second place, the word feudal has been applied to the whole social order which developed after the German Conquests in Europe, and so to all the principal features of English society, including the relationship between manorial lords and dependent unfree peasants, and the relationship between lords and freeholders, whether they owned land in their own right or held fees.

In the third place, feudalism is sometimes identified with the economic system which prevailed in Europe before the rise of Capitalism, in particular with serfdom. Marxists, M. Gibbs adds, have given more point to this usage, very common among economic historians, by linking it to their conception of epochs of historical development, each characterised by the evolution of a particular mode of production, which conditioned, as they suggest, the general character of the corresponding social and political process. Feudal society, they will remind us, was a class society.¹

Marion Gibbs believes that the Marxist conception of feudalism as an epoch of development in which the mode of production is fundamental, is a useful approach to the period following the Germanic migrations of the fifth century, in so far as it leads to matter of fact analysis of the changing structure of society.

1. Ibid, p.3.

Feudalism, according to her, is to be regarded as a process of social development involving the transformation of certain tribal institutions and the destruction of others.

Prof. Kosambi defines History as the 'presentation in chronological order of successive developments in the means and relations of production'.¹ Accordingly, he divides feudalism in India into two distinct types - 'feudalism from above' and 'feudalism from below'. By 'feudalism from above' he means "a state wherein an emperor or powerful king levied tribute from subordinates who still ruled in their own right and did what they liked within their own territories - as long as they paid the paramount ruler. These subordinate rulers might even be tribal chiefs and seem in general to have ruled the land by direct administration, without the intermediary of a class which was in effect a land-owning stratum". By 'feudalism from below', is meant the next stage where a class of landowners developed within the village, between the state and the peasantry, gradually to wield armed power over the local population. This class was subject to military service, hence claimed a direct relationship with the state power, without the intervention of any other stratum".² Kosambi classifies these two types according to the stages of historical development he has in view. He calls the first stage that of older indigenous 'feudalism from above' which had failed to develop new techniques.³ After the period of the 'feudalism

¹ D. D. Kosambi. Introduction to the Study of History. P. 1.

². Ibid. p.275.

³. Ibid. p.328.

from above', came the next stage of India's historical development, 'feudalism from below', which emerged in the later centuries of Hindu period, and lasted throughout the period of Muslim domination down to the coming of the British. In India the new class of petty land-holding barons grew in importance, as the merchant class declined and the new class of small chiefs still further encouraged the settlement of fresh villages. This new phase began under the Hindu rulers, with the development of Rājput feudalism, the growth of Ḍāmaras in Kashmir, and the frequent granting of land to non-brāhmaṇa recipients who acquired a status comparable to that of the feudal baron.

As regards Kashmir, Kosambi has in view the system of Sāmantas and Ḍāmaras and one can easily be led to believe that in the category of 'feudalism from above', fall the adjoining princes and the feudatories (Sāmantas) of the kings of Kashmir who served their respective paramount lords whenever the latter went on their expeditions, and that 'feudalism from below' is actually represented by the rise of Ḍāmaras who wield armed power and are seen struggling for direct relationship with state power, and who actually get a sort of recognition in the end; but on minute observation we find that the system does not neatly fit in with the classification given by Kosambi. We find the Sāmantas and the Ḍāmaras existing side by side, and later we have the growth of a further class, the Lavanyas, as a feudal aristocracy who are mentioned with the Ḍāmaras, but this does not show that the development was by stages and that the 'feudalism from above', the

system of Sāmantas if we take it as such, was extinct before the Ḍāmaras rose to power.

Let us consider Prof. Kosambi's analysis of the system as it existed in Kashmir.

"Feudalism in India was so often a concomitant of Muslim rule that underlying causes are completely forgotten under the religious upheaval, or attributed to foreign domination. Kaśmir being a valley isolated from serious foreign intervention till long after feudalism had conquered, shows us that the change cannot be imputed either to theology or to the Mohammedan conquest. The natural course of events may be seen undisguised¹...."

Kosambi is quite right in his surmise; we have seen the various elements of a feudal system existing in Kashmir since early times. We have the feudal chiefs (Sāmantas), the landed aristocracy (Ḍāmaras), brāhmaṇa feudal chiefs (brāhmaṇa Sāmantas) and, in one instance, a non-brāhmaṇa holder of agrahāra grant.²

Kosambi attributes this development towards feudalism to "the need to import trade goods, especially salt and metals, difficult transport, lowering of grain prices with great increase in village settlements due to extensive water works", which meant "concentration of wealth in a few hands for each small group of villages". "In India", he adds, "there arose a class of armed

1. D.D. Kosambi. Origins of Feudalism in Kaśmīr, p.2.
Reprinted from 'The Śārdhaśatābdi Commemoration'
volume 1804-1954.

2. Supra.

barons who expropriated the surplus for trade; in Kaśmīr, the man who had the surplus acquired more wealth by trade, took to arms, turned into a Ḍāmarā. The caste system was never strong enough in Kaśmīr to prevent such direct change of class whenever economic advantage permitted. For that matter it could not prevent this in India, but a formal change of caste had to be effected, which took far more time, and was not possible for individuals without great difficulty".¹

We must bear in mind that though the Ḍāmaras in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī formed a class by themselves, we have quite a peculiar social system in Medieval Kashmir. The Krām names are little more than nicknames which were given to specific groups of people on the basis of certain special characteristics, and though they are now connected with the caste system, this was not the case in earlier times. When Kalhaṇa speaks of a householder becoming rich and attaining the position of a Ḍāmarā, we believe him to mean that this appellation was used for these people as a nickname to show their status, and not that it implied a change of caste.

Next question is how did other people acquire the status of Ḍāmaras. There is a verse in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī which runs as follows:-

Tanayo Nayanākhyasya kalyaṇ Selyapuraukaṣaḥ kuṭumbino
Jayyakākhyāḥ kramāḍḍāmaratāmagāt.

Jayyaka, who was the clever son of a householder at

1. D.D. Kosambi. Loc. cit. p.2.

Seyapur, called Nayana, (~~SIC~~) had gradually attained the position of a Ḍāmara.¹

What Kalhana apparently means to imply in the above verse is that the acquisition of wealth is necessary to attain the position of a Ḍāmara. The people who held the position of Ḍāmaras must evidently have been quite rich and here we meet the case of a householder who had become as rich as a Ḍāmara would ordinarily be. The points we take up in the above reference are:-

- i. The term Ḍāmara signifies a status.
- ii. That people who held that status were very rich.
- iii. Jayyaka acquired that status by acquisition of money.
- iv. The means for amassing this money were the produce of his land and the selling of victuals in various lands.²

The verse does not necessarily imply that Jayyaka really became a Ḍāmara or changed his class and joined that of the Ḍāmaras. Moreover, it does not necessarily mean that the wealthy Ḍāmaras had cornered the trade of Kashmir - especially the saffron. We maintain this in view of several references in Kṣemendra's works to the existence of rich merchants, especially those trading in saffron³, but he nowhere mentions that these merchants were Ḍāmaras. In the Samayamātrkā Kṣemendra admittedly mentions a rich

1. Rājat. VII, 494.

2. Rājat. VII, 495. Sthalotpattiḥ sa digdeśavikrītānno vanijyayā sambhrtārthah sanairlubdhho dhaneśapardhitān addhe.

3. Samayamātrkā II. 8

Ḍāmara named Samarasimha - showing that they existed as a rich class of society in medieval Kashmir but Samarasimha is nowhere mentioned as a merchant.¹ While this author talks much of social evils such as the rapaciousness of the officers (Kāyasthas) and writers (Diviras) who defraud and carry away the riches of the country, to the loss of both the king and the public, it is curious that he does not refer to Ḍāmaras as such.

Further it is stated that "the agrahāra grants made to brahmins did not prevent the rise of private (feudal) ownership of land, but rather served in the trading environment, as model of the later jāgīr, whereas land in India proper continued to belong to the state till a later period".² Though we have evidence of the existence of private property in land in Kashmir, we have a reference in the Samayamātrkā of Kṣemendra to the effect that a certain widow, when her husband died, attained the right to his property by the king's Decree. Though the succession was hereditary and the right of women to the property of their dead husbands was recognised, she had to seek royal sanction before inheriting her husband's estate.³

As we have seen, according to Kosambi "the Ḍāmaras formed the equivalent of feudal barons far more than the Sāmantas - who

1. Ibid ii, 21 f.

2. D.D. Kosambi. Loc. cit. p.2.

3. Samamāt. iI, 41 ff.

were barons created by the court as counterpoise to the Dāmaras, as perhaps were the titular Thakkars".¹ He further states: "There is no possibility of these people being a separate caste, or tribal chiefs surviving from ancient times, or army captains settled on land to become local counts. The name has no tribal meaning like that of the Khaṣas, does not survive as a krām to-day, though (Stein 11, p.306) many of them in the eastern Madavarājya portion of the valley were recruited from the Lāvanya group (7, 1229)".²

We have elsewhere dealt with the tribal significance of the term Dāmara.³ Kosambi is definitely not correct when he says that the name does not survive as a krām to-day. The krām Dār exists up to the present day as one of the leading krāms in Kashmir and, out of the main krāms, the dār family have probably been the most influential, though proverbs suggest that their influence has not been beneficial. One of these proverbs runs: "Dār na baiyad guzāsht be zangir - the dārs like doors should be locked up."⁴ In the Census Report of 1891, the Dārs were included among the brāhmaṇa castes of Kashmir, who by change of religion had adopted agriculture. As such their number was stated to be 68,949 - the largest among the whole group.⁵ The term brāhmaṇa seems to

1. D.D. Kosambi. Loc. cit. §

2. Ibid. P. 101. Loc. cit.

3. See inira p. Appendix. 5. pp 465 ff.

4. Lawrence. The Valley of Kashmir, p.188, note 3; p.304, note 2.

5. Census of India. Vol. XXVIII, 1891, p.125.

There are, however, Dārs among the Kashmiri brāhmaṇas.

be based on the popular belief that prior to their conversion to Islam, most of the population of the valley were brāhmaṇas. As regards castes, the Ḍārs form a sub-caste of the Vains, the original Muhammedans of Śrīnagara city, considered also the purest and of the best descent. The vains in turn are one of the castes of the Sheikhs - the convert class of Kashmir Muhammadans, as distinguished from the Sayads, the Mughals and the Pathans.¹

The Census Report of 1921 states: "In both the Rātaraṅgiṇī and the Nilaporana (sic) we find the names of several sects, namely Malechhas (sic), Nishadas, Ḍāmaras (sic), Tantris and Nyayaks, who constantly gave trouble not only to the rulers of the country but also to the Brāhmaṇas. They pursued agriculture, military service and other professions. The sub-castes of Tantri, Nyayak and Ḍār (abbreviation of Ḍāmara) survive among the agricultural population even to this day".² Though we cannot take these groups as sects, we believe with the authors of the Report that the Ḍāmaras survive among the agricultural population to-day under the appellation of Ḍār. If there should be any doubt as to the relationship of the modern Ḍār and the medieval Ḍāmara, we may draw attention to the later Chronicle of Śrīvara. Here we find reference to a minister whose name ends in Ḍāra - Phīryyaḍāra.³ The name of the same person occurs as Phirryyaḍāmara in an earlier

1. Census of India. 1891, Vol. XXVIII, p.140.

2. Census of India, 1921. Vol. XXII. Kashmir part I, p.154.

3. Śrīvara. Jaina. Rājat. Book II, verse 72.

verse.¹ Moreover, in the above quoted reference to the krām Dār, we have a clear evidence of their significant and strong position which was not liked by the rest of the public - reminiscent of their position in the past.²

As regards Kashmiri Muslims, the Census Report of 1931 states:-

"The most important sub-castes from the statistical point of view are the Bat, the Dar, the Ganai, the Khan, the Lon, the Malik, the Mir, the Pare, the Rather, Shah, Sheikh and Wain. They are mostly found in the Kashmir province and Udhampur district of the Jammu Province."³

Out of the above list, we are concerned here with the Dars and the Lons - present day survivals of the ancient Dāmaras and Lavanya. Having dealt with the Dāmaras, we now take up the term Lavanya, which first occurs as late as in the VIIth book of the Rājataranḡiṇī and is used indiscriminately with Dāmaras⁴. Who were these Lavanyas? Why are they referred to so late? These are questions that strike one forcibly! We have elsewhere dealt with the term Lavanya as meaning 'an agriculturist', from the root Lu, 'to cut', and the rise to power of this class as agriculturists.⁵

1. Ibid. Book III, verses 28, 69.

2. Supra p. 284

3. Census of India, 1931. Vol. XXIV. Jammu and Kashmir State. Part 1, Report. p. 316.

4. Rājat. VII, 1228-29, 1236-37.

5. Infra. p. 474 (Appendix, N.1)

The term Ḍāmarā was later applied to all those agriculturists who became powerful and abnoxious. As pointed out by Stein, the krām or tribal name Lon survives¹ to this day as a name for those people who were known as Lavanya in Medieval Kashmir. In the Census Report of 1891, the Lons are mentioned as a sub-division of the Rājput agriculturist class of Muhammedans in Kashmir. They are also catalogued as one of the castes which are found generally in several provinces.² On the basis of his examination of the Rājataranḡiṇī Stein had also confirmed that the Lons "were never confined to particular divisions, but spread over the whole valley".³ It is very interesting to note that the Lons of the present day and not the Ḍārs are considered as a sub-division of the Rājput class. Stein had also noted that many of the Ḍāmaras in the eastern Maḍavarājya portion of the valley were recruited from the Lavanya group.⁴ This suggests that the Lavanyas, though often Ḍāmaras, belonged to a distinct stock, whereas the Ḍāmaras in general had no ethnic significance.

Here we repeat Lalitāditya's testament to his successors:-

"Those who wish to be powerful in this land must always guard against internal dissensions ... those who dwell there in the (mountains) difficult of access, should be punished, even if they give no offence; because sheltered by their fastnesses, they

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1. Stein. Rājat. vol. II, p.430. Vide V, 248 note; VII, 1171 note.
 2. Census of India, 1891. Vol. XXVIII. The Kashmir State, p.127.
 3. Stein. Rājat. tr. VOL. II, p.430.
 4. Ibid. p.306.

are difficult to break up if they (once) accumulated wealth. Every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for (the tillage of) their fields. Because, if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable Dāmaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king. When once the villagers obtain clothes, women, woollen blankets, food, ornaments, horses, houses, such as are fit for the town; when the kings in their madness neglect the strong places which ought to be guarded; when their servants show want of discrimination; when the upkeep of troops is raised from a single district; when the officials are closely drawn together by bonds of intermarriage; when the kings look into their own affairs as if they were clerks (Kāyastha) - then a change for the worse in the subjects' fortune may be known for certain."¹

About this testament of State Policy recorded by Kalhaṇa Stein wrote: "From the reference made here, we can see clearly that Kalhaṇa, in making Lalitāditya set forth these principles of Kashmir policy, is thinking in reality of his own times".² Kalhaṇa is no doubt putting the king's speech in his own words, but it appears that there must have existed some running tradition or some other record of this sort about this great king.³ The statement, however, gives us a clear picture of the whole process

1. Rājat. V. 349-52

2. Stein. Rājat. IV, 345-52, note.

3. infra, p.

of the development of the power of the Ḍāmaras. They are hinted at as hilly people sheltered by their fastnesses. Their strength lies in their wealth and in their strong position from the military point of view. Kalhaṇa also shows the imminent danger of the rise of the agricultural class who become Ḍāmaras by the surplus revenue of their lands and accumulated wealth. As regards the contents of this testament, Stein is correct in stating that "Kalhaṇa makes Lalitāditya, before his disappearance from the scene, foretell in a kind of political testament the events of the immediately succeeding reigns".¹

Professor Kosambi claims that saffron "enabled Kāśmīr to import salt, some metal, cloth and other goods. It made also for an accumulation of wealth which sometimes led to external military adventures on the part of ambitious Kāśmīrian kings or foreign attempts at invasion. Whenever the state was strong enough, saffron remained a state monopoly".² It is true that this commodity was very light and must have brought much wealth to Kashmir, but it is surely going too far to say that it was with the wealth accumulated through saffron alone that kings were able to lead external military adventures. If this were so, we should have had some mention of saffron and its importance to the finances of the State in Lalitaditya's testament on State Policy. He refers to the agricultural villagers and the surplus of their

1. Stein. Rājat. Vol. I, p.93.

2. D.D. Kosambi. An Introduction to the Study of Indian History.

fields in general. Saffron is not referred to at all as such. Moreover, ^{if} it was the basis of the whole trade and military power of the Kashmir kings, it should not have been difficult for them to control the growth of this commodity and to guard closely the saffron cultivation area. We have definite evidence in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and in an Indian source to the fact that the use of saffron in Kashmir was a kingly prerogative.¹

Kosambi has again stated "without the crocus or some equivalent commodity, the internal history of Kaśmīr would have been far less turbulent, as may be seen by comparison with the small neighbouring Himalayan valley Cambā, which shows relatively uneventful continuity of succession in the same dynasty, with people still worshipping images dedicated about 700 A.D. in temples standing over a thousand years. It is known that saffron does not grow elsewhere in the Indian sub-continent, but its role in the means and relations of production for Kāśmīr has escaped our historians".²

To draw a comparison between Cambā (Campā) and the Kashmir kingdom is going too far, because in the first instance, though richest in epigraphical remains, the hill state of Cambā is not of so great an antiquity and historical importance as Kashmir, Kangra (Trigarta) and Kulu (Kulūta). The state itself is said to have been founded about 550,³ and the first mention we find of this

1. Rājat. VI, 120; Stein, note; VIII, 1897. Medhātithi on Manu VIII.399.
 2. D.D. Kosambi. Loc. cit. p.3.
 3. Hutchison & J.P. Vogel. History of the Punjab Hill States. Vol. I, p.13.

kingdom is in the reign of King Ananta (1028-63), who invaded it between 1050-60. Moreover, the Cambā inscriptions and Vaṁśāvalis, though unique in India for their comprehensiveness, are different in nature from the Rājataranṅiṇī of Kalhaṇa. The oldest traditions in the hills refer to a time when petty chiefs, bearing the title of Rana or Thakur, exercised authority, either as independent rulers or under the suzerainty of a paramount power. About these Western Himalayan States Hutchison and Vogel write: "In considering the political organisation of the hills, at that early period, we must dismiss from our minds all ideas of fully-organised principalities, and think of an order of things that was patriarchal rather than monarchical, and very akin to the clan system of the highlands of Scotland, down to the eighteenth century".¹ In Chamba state alone there must have been more than 100 petty chiefs in ancient times, known as Ranas or Rajanakas.² Moreover, Chamba did not enjoy a geographical position which would lead to the development of a large state, as was the case with Kashmir.

As for the Kashmir monopoly of saffron, we must point to the case of Kāṣṭwār (ancient Kāṣṭhavāṭa) a valley lying in the South-east of Kashmir, forming a part of Udhampur district of the Jammu Province, of the Jammu and Kashmir State, where saffron of very good quality is cultivated.³ Kalhaṇa also mentions it as a separate hill state, in the time of King Kalaśa.⁴ This little

1. Hutchison & Vogel. Op.cit. Vol. I, p.12.

2. Ibid. p.13.

3. Personal Knowledge.

4. Rājat. VIII, 590. Stein. Rājat. VIII, 590, note.

State never rose to a position of importance, despite its production of saffron.

In order to understand the whole struggle between the kings and the Dāmaras, we have to go back to dynasties which preceded the Loharas. The Kārkoṭas were renowned for their conquests and glory but they were followed by weak and imbecile rulers of the Utpala dynasty 853-939. The next dynasty of Vīradeva ruled only for ten years from 939 to 949 and was followed by that of Abhinava, a divira. It was with the marriage of Diddā - who was the daughter of Simḥarāja of Lohara - with Kṣemagupta, the last king of this dynasty, that the relationship of Kashmir with Lohara started. When her son and all the grandsons died, Diddā brought her nephew Saṅgrāmarāja from Lohara and nominated him as her successor. It was in the reign of Ananta, the second king of the Lohara dynasty of Kashmir, that we have a reference to the coming to Kashmir of Kṣitirāja, the cousin of King Ananta, when the former was troubled by the evil behaviour of his son Bhuvanarāja, and Ananta sent his second ^{grand}son Utkarṣa, though he was a small child, to rule over Lohara under the guardianship of Tanvaṅgarāja, who was his cousin from Jassarāja, another cousin of his father. On this arrangement Kalhaṇa remarks: "Up to that(time) the members of the royal family had enjoyed all possessions in common, and their relationship was not stained by treachery".¹

1. Rājat. VII, 262.

When tired of the evil conduct of king Kalaśa, king Ananta and his wife Sūryamātī went to stay in Vijayeśvara, the princes who were the sons of Tanvaṅgarāja, Guṅga and other relatives, followed Ananta; one of these princes named Thakkana of Jasarāja's family was present at the time of Ananta's suicide.¹ Sūryavarmacandra and other Ḍāmaras also went to Vijayeśvara along with Rājaputras, horsemen, soldiers and took up their quarters near the old king Ananta.² During the reign of this king when the queen Sūryamatī held the affairs in her own hands and was troubled by the insolence of some of the Ḍāmaras, she made Jindurāja, an arrogant man, her minister and had Śobha, the Ḍāmara of Degrāma, executed.³ Thus we find that though the earlier kings had occasional troubles from individual Ḍāmaras, there was never an organised rising of them all together until the time of king Harṣa.

This naturally brought Kashmir face to face with a rival dynasty. The Lohara kings of the first dynasty belonged to the branch of Udayarāja. Saṅgrāmarāja, the first king of this dynasty, and Vigharāja of Lohara were both his sons and with this arrangement when the actual line and strength of Lohara got united with that of Kashmir, under the guardianship of Tanvaṅga of Kāntirāja's family, another brother of Diddā, the struggle was natural.

1. Rājat. VII, 354, 447.

2. Rājat. VII, 360.

3. Rājat. VII, 266. Stein. Rājat. tr. 266, note.

Degrāma is the modern hamlet of Dēgāma situated about one and a half miles to the west of Śupiyan.

With this background the struggle between the Ḍāmaras and kings of the Lohara dynasty commenced. During the reign of king Ananta (1028-63) when Sūryamati was troubled by the insolence of the Ḍāmaras, she made Jindurāja, an arrogant man, her minister and had the Ḍāmara of Degrāma executed.

The reign of Kalaśa, the next king (1063-89) is marked by the weakness and licentiousness of the king and the evil influence of the four arrogant princes (Rājaputras) from the Śāhin family - Bijja, Pitharāja, Pāja and another.

During the reign of this king the Ḍāmaras are mentioned as causing troubles and being temporarily crushed by successive commanders-in-chief. Their power became stronger during the reign of king Harṣa (1089-1101) and during this reign we have the first mention of Lavanyas, who take sides with the rival claimants to the throne. Even earlier, whenever there was some struggle for the throne, we find the Ḍāmaras in importance.¹ So it was the rivalry between the two houses of the Loharas, the one on the throne and the other that of Malla, whose descendents later became kings, of the Second Lohara dynasty, which gave to the Ḍāmaras an opportunity of fighting the ruling dynasty. The history of Kashmir and the position of the Ḍāmaras therein might have had a different course altogether if there had ^{not} been a rival dynasty, whose members were strong and resolute enough to cause the downfall of the first.

1. Kalhana now starts using the terms Lavanya and Ḍāmara indiscriminately. We should remember that he was writing for his own time and hence did not feel any necessity to explain his reason.

Another very interesting surmise made by Kosambi is that "the conflict between king and Dāmara, feudal baron and central power, led ultimately to a Kaśmīrian Hindu king plundering temple property and melting down the images for profit without change of religion or theological excuses, simply to maintain the army and a costly state apparatus. Because this could not continue for ever, we have the ultimate victory of feudalism, and weakening of the Central Power."¹

Before proceeding to analyse what Kosambi has said about the temple looting and confiscation of property, we have to take into account some of the most important remarks made by Kalhaṇa, which indicate definite landmarks in the history of Medieval Kashmir. For instance, he records the beginning of a new epoch when he refers to the advice given by the Kāyastha officials to king Jayāpīḍa (8th century) to give up schemes of foreign conquest and to acquire wealth from his own country.² Let us here point out incidentally that none of the wars fought by the Kārkoṭa kings (600-855) were waged for the accumulation of wealth to be used in the struggle against feudal barons. Kosambi has himself stated that even under Jayāpīḍa (8th century), measures had been taken for the expropriation of wealth.³ At this stage we have no mention of any definite struggle between the Dāmaras and the Central government

1. D.D. Kosambi. Loc. cit. p.2.

2. Rājat. IV, 631-3, 638-9.

3. D.D. Kosambi. Loc. cit. p.12.

Śaṅkaravarman's (883-902) fiscal necessities led to this king's confiscation of agrahāra grants and even of the property of temples and ordinary householders.¹ Śaṅkaravarman's confiscations show the king's ultimate ownership of the land. It is suggested that the resumption of villages against compensatory assignment (Pratikāra) shows recognition of property rights in land.² The confiscation of lands and looting of the temple property was not a laudable action on the part of the king and, as we have seen, even while plundering the temples he appointed special officers under the pretext of exercising supervision.³

He reduced the weights in the scales by one-third, and still made out that he gave more to the temple corporation (parṣad) than the due annual allowance.⁴ Thus as a Hindu king, he kept an outward show of maintaining the religious orders though he actually plundered them in all possible ways. The oppression of the brāhmanas and temple purohitas must necessarily have been preceded by that of the other agricultural classes, and Kalhaṇa records that by levying contributions for the monthly pay of the Skandakas and village clerks (grāmakāyastha), and by various other imposts, he drove the villagers into poverty.⁵ It seems evident that in resuming land granted to temples, the king gave some

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1. Supra, pp. 206-07.
 2. D.D. Kosambi. Loc. cit. p.12.
 3. Rājat. V, 169.
 4. Rājat. V, 171.
 5. Rājat. V. 175.

token compensation in order not to antagonize public opinion further, and as a sop to the brāhmanic clergy. The sin of confiscating land granted to religious bodies was thought to be so great that Śaṅkaravarman may well have hesitated to do without some token compensation. Thus this gives no real evidence of full property rights in land.

The logical culmination of the confiscatory scheme came under Harṣa who fought, but ultimately lost, a war of extermination against the ¹Ḍāmaras. In order to understand the real basis of the struggle we have to bear in mind the picture of the whole society at that time and understand clearly every aspect of this unique reign in the history of medieval Kashmir. Harṣa's rule marks the culmination of the magnificence of the court with the introduction of Southern fashions but we have here also to take into account the economic resources of the country which could not cope with such far-fetched schemes. Another very important factor which we have to consider is the total effect of his policy on the various sections of the society of his time. Here we recall Kalhaṇa's résumé at the very outset of this king's reign, where the author is all praises for this king's majesty and magnificence but still has to record his failures.² Moreover, here we do not only look to the impressions and views of a mere

1. supra. p. 209. f.

2. supra. pp 75. f.

poet historian but to a survey of the whole situation as must have been made for him by the Lord of the 'Gate', the illustrious lord Campaka--Kalhana's father.

As for Harṣa's magnificence and favours, we have to ask who were those people on whom they were bestowed. Kalhana says: "In the king's palace, councillors, chamberlains and other attendants, moved about adorned with golden chains and bracelets." No body in his court was seen without brilliant dresses, without golden ornaments, with a small following, or without a resolute bearing".¹ Harṣa is also said to have profusely provided the brāhmaṇas with gifts of black antelopes, skins and cows with calves.²

Now in all the above references we see that the magnificence was limited to the court and favourites who did not constitute a large section of the society and next to the gifts and immunities to the ministers, there came those to brāhmaṇas and other pious foundations. Nothing is said to have been done for the masses of the Dāmaras. In the meanwhile there arose troubles with the adjoining hill state of Rājapurī. The magnificence of the court also led to mutual jealousies, court intrigues and even to plans to kill the king. Disaffection at the court, need for money to keep up its magnificence, foreign expeditions and the advice of evil councillors were quite sufficient reasons for

1. Rājat. VII. 81-83.

2. Rājat. VII. 95

3. Rājat. VIII.

turning the king's head. Thus he started his evil deeds. The first great confiscation started with the wealth of the temples. As already noted this had been practised in Kashmir before Harṣa time.¹ Not satisfied with the wealth confiscated from the temples he endeavoured to secure more by oppressing the householders. Next Harṣa's magnificence turned to licentiousness and utter immorality followed by a natural calamity-- a famine in 1099. Economic crisis ensued, followed by the persecution of the Ḍāmaras.

While the courtiers had been encouraged to partake of the magnificence of the court, Harṣa started killing the Ḍāmaras, and in Maḍavarājya (modern Marāz) did not even leave a brāhmaṇa alive if he wore his hair dressed high and was of prominent appearance. It was after the extermination of the Ḍāmaras in Maḍavarājya that those of Kramarājya (Kamrāz), desperate over the imminent danger to their very existence, rose in rebellion. It was under such circumstances that Uccala and Sussala laid plans to seize the throne of Kashmir(1100) which were implemented by the ready help of the oppressed Ḍāmaras at home and by Rājapurī and Kāliñjara abroad.²

We conclude that it was not the conflict between king and Ḍāmara which led to Harṣa's plunder of temple property and the melting down of the images for profit, but the magnificence of

1. supra. pp 206-207

2. supra. pp 70 f.

the court, the introduction of the new expensive fashions, the use of gold and silver for new coins in addition to all the necessary state expense which ultimately brought the struggle between the king and the Ḍāmaras. Moreover, the Ḍāmaras were oppressed and killed at a time of famine. They had not shared the magnificence of the court and yet they had to bear the brunt of Harṣa's extravagance. We get an idea of this when Kalhaṇa states that even during the time of his rather Harṣa sometimes could not even afford his daily meals, so much was the extent of his gifts.

Here we take into consideration the introduction of the Śaivite Advait philosophy and the existing Tāntric faith of the masses leading to their belief in witchcraft (abhicāra) and the connected Tāntric rites and ceremonies. Though the advent of the Kashmir Śaivism did not mark the coming of a new religion, it was really too deep to be understood by the ignorant masses who felt themselves a part of the mysterious natural phenomenon around them. Belief in witches and elves is characteristic of the mountain regions every where. May we add that both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa are full of contempt and satire for the Tāntric gurus.

Thus we are prepared to accept Prof. Kosambi's broad outline of the development of feudalism in Kashmir but we disagree with some of his analyses especially that which claims that the mode of production was the sole cause of the development of the power of the Ḍāmaras in Kashmir.

There is no phase in Kashmir history when purely one type of feudalism or the other can be said to have existed. We find the Sāmantas, the brāhamaṇa feudatories, and the Ḍāmaras existing together in Kashmir since early days.¹ As we have stated above, the first mention of the word Sāmanta occurs at the time of Mātṛgupta's arrival in Kashmir to rule over this kingdom as the nominee of the king of ^{Ujjaini} ~~Kanauj~~.² The first reference to the Ḍāmaras is found in the reign of king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.³ The Sāmantas were there already and the reference to the hill people whom Lalitāditya reared shows that they existed long before this king. Kalhaṇa is, however, thinking of the great power of the Ḍāmaras of his own time but the reference gives us a clue to the genesis of the whole system. We have seen that the earlier books of the Rājataranḡinī are confused and that authentic records start from the time of Kārkoṭas with whom the Kashmirian tradition connected every thing of importance, as in the case of the plantation of sairon.⁴ The fact actually is that we cannot safely take the things attributed to Lalitāditya, to have existed long before him.

We should also remember that the scholars of the 10th century, looking at certain peculiar institutions which had survived to their own day from the period when these institutions

1. supra. pp 247-48.

2. supra. p. 252.

3. supra. p. 287

4. infra. p. 375

had originated and flourished, invented the term 'feudalism' to sum up a long series of loosely related facts.¹

Moreover, in his study of feudalism in France, Germany, the kingdom of Burgundy-Arles, Italy -- which had grown out of the ruins of the Frankish monarchy, Ganshoff has pointed out that in the Norman kingdom of Sicily into which these were finally absorbed, the feudal institutions imported from France had to be imposed on a social and political system of extreme complexity. A central government of unusual strength succeeded in formulating a remarkably coherent system of feudal relationships, in which the rights and prerogatives of the lord and in particular those of the head of the state, were strongly emphasized. "Such a development", he wrote, "cannot be regarded as in any way characteristic of Western feudalism as a whole".² In Kashmir also we have monarchy with its widely spread bureaucracy and the attempts of the rulers from time to time to put it in order.

1. R. Coulborn op.cit. p.1.

2. Ganshoff. Feudalism. pp. 59-60.

In India it is usual to conceive of society as divided into four sections - Brāhmanas, Ksatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The Rājatarāṅgini also refers to the kings as the producers of the happiness of the castes (Varna).¹ It is evident that the four divisions of society in accordance with the injunctions of the Hindu Śāstras were maintained theoretically, though there does not appear to have existed any strict adherence to this fourfold classification in practice. Nor is there any reference to the old spirit of caste segregation.

We find much mention of the brahmana class in the Rājatarāṅgini. The kings are referred to as kṣatriyas,² while we get a few references to Vaiśyas and Śūdras.³ The lowest order is that of caṇḍālas.

On the caste system in Kashmir Dr. Ray has stated that, "though the conception of the population as consisting of four traditional castes was not altogether unknown, there was no such caste as Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra in early Kāśmīra (sic). In other parts of India there were various intermediary castes between the brāhmanas on the one hand and the lower castes on the other. Curiously enough, so far as we can ascertain, such intermediate castes did never exist

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1. Rājat. II - 13; III - 85; IV - 111.
 2. Rājat. VII - 661-63.
 3. Ibid. - 207. (vaiśya)

in the valley."¹ As we have already referred to the existence of the Vaiśyas and Śūdra castes as mentioned by Kalhaṇa, and as the kings of the Lohara dynasties are said to have belonged to the Kṣatriya caste, we believe that, though the fourfold class division is not much referred to by Kalhaṇa, this is not due to any other reason than the very nature of the narrative, for Kalhaṇa was not writing as a theorist that he should pause to explain every aspect of a social order which was thoroughly well known to his readers, and Kalhaṇa's reference to them clearly established that there was definite recognition of the four orders, together with classes below the Śūdras such as the Caṇḍālas and the Dombas, who were the lowest in the social order. In addition to the fourfold division, Kalhaṇa also once refers to the sixty-four intermediary castes when he tells us that during the reign of king Jayasimha (1128-49) one of this king's pious ministers, Rilhaṇa, excited astonishment by treating the sixty-four castes to excellent food at a sacrificial feast.³

Manu eulogises the Brāhmaṇa Varṇa as the supreme creation of the God.⁴ Kalhaṇa and Kṣemendra hold the Brāhmaṇas in great esteem, especially those who practise

1. Early History and Culture of Kashmir. p. 86.

2. Supra p. 303.

3. Rājat, VIII. 2407. In this reference Kalhaṇa employs the term varṇa to imply a caste as distinct from the four great classes. This is a very unusual use of the term. Kṣemendra also in his Lokaprakāśa uses the term varṇa for sixty-four castes. Lokaprakāśa p. 1. cf. Kullaka on Manu X. 31.

4. Manu. I 92-96.

austerities through which they gain the power of reversing the fortunes of even the great rulers.⁽¹⁾

Such is their power that once the royal fortune is lost through disrespect shown to the brāhmaṇas it never returns.² Kaṭhaṇa tells us that when the legendary king Dāmodara II did not give the haughty brāhmaṇas food before he had taken the bath of Śrāddha they turned him into a snake by their curses. He refers to them as Gods on earth (bhūdeva), possessed of the spiritual power by which they could bring the forces of nature under their control.³ On the other hand, by showing kindness and giving gifts to a brāhmaṇa, king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa acquired the power of producing streams of water at his mere wish in the desert tracts.⁴ In order to secure royal dignity for his future births, Yaśaskara bestowed the royal insignia upon a brāhmaṇa.⁵

Kalhana mentions some of the Kashmir kings, however, who, knowing full well that the brāhmaṇas through their spells caused the power of the Gods to be present, meted out punishment to them nevertheless. One such king was Tārāpīḍa.⁶ King Jayāpīḍa confiscated their Agrahāras and oppressed them so that many of them emigrated and not less than

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1. Rājat, 1 - 160, IV 122, V, 114-15.
 2. Rājat. I. 161-65.
 3. Rājat. VIII. 2238.
 4. Rājat. IV. 228-33.
 5. Rājat. VI. 85.
 6. Rājat. IV, 122.

one hundred brāhmaṇas died daily from his oppression.¹

In the beginning even King Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48) though the throne had been bestowed on him by the brāhmaṇas, did not allow them to approach him for fear of their becoming arrogant.²

Kalhaṇa sets forth lofty ideals for the brāhmaṇas to follow. The Kashmir kings are frequently mentioned as granting lands (agrahāras) to the brāhmaṇas.³ But the evil King Mihirakula is said to have granted such agrahāras to brāhmaṇas from Gandhāra who resembled him in their habits and were the lowest of the twice born.⁴ Kalhaṇa does not approve of those brāhmaṇas who accepted agrahāras and other gifts from heretical or wicked kings like Cakravartman and Unmattāvanti.⁵

In accordance with the doctrine of Manusmṛiti the brāhmaṇas are prohibited the use of garlic. The legendary King Gopāditya is said to have removed those who ate garlic to Bhūkṣīravāṭikā, (Modern Buch'vār) and transferred the brāhmaṇas who had broken their rules of conduct to Khāṣaṭā (somewhere in the immediate vicinity of Śrīnagara but not precisely identified)⁶. Our historian does not censure the king for doing this because the brāhmaṇas are worthy of

1. Rājat, IV. 631-33, 638-56.

2. Rājat. VI. 3-4.

3. Rājat, I-87, 96, 200, 341; II - 132; III - 481; IV - 673, 698-99, V - 23-24, 120; VI - 89.

4. Rājat. I - 306, 312-16. Cf. Yājñ I - 140, which provides that a brāhmaṇa should not accept a gift from a king who is parsimonious or greedy and acts against the dictates of 'Śāstra.

5. Rājat. V - 403, 442. Cf. Manu, X, 76.

6. Rājat. I - 342-43. Cf. Manu V - 5.

respect only if they act according to the standards of conduct expected of them. Brāhmanas versed in the Vedic lore perform their purifications with earth and water.¹

Though all the Kashmiri brāhmanas at present consider themselves as Kāśmirikas,² we have several references in the Rājatarāṅginī to the immigrations of brāhmanas from Kānyakubja (Kanauj), Gandhāra and Gauḍa (modern Bengal).³ The Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa, who was made vidyāpati by Cālukya King Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇa, tells us in his Vikramāṅkadevacarita that he belonged to a pious and learned Madhyadeśi brāhmaṇa family.⁴ The poet Abhinanda (10th century) son of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, who wrote Kādambarīkathāsāra, a metrical summary of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's prose romance, traces his ancestry from 'Śaktisvāmin, a minister under Lalitāditya, who was originally an inhabitant of the Gauḍa country but later migrated from his native province and settled in Kashmir.⁵

1. Rājat. VI - 69.

2. Cf. Bühler -- Report, p. 19.

3. Vikramāṅka. XVIII verse 6.

4. Ray. I.H.Q. Sept. 1955. XXXI No. 3. p. 243.

5. Rajat. I. 116, 307, 341-43.

The Kashmiri brāhmaṇas consider themselves to be a branch of the Sārasvatas. Bilhana also refers to the brāhmaṇas of Kashmir as belonging to the Sārasvata branch.¹

The brāhmaṇa élite who were well versed in the 'śāstras stood at the head of the society both in the spheres of administration as ministers and as the highly learned class. Kalhana's father was a great minister. Maṅkha, the author of the Śrikanthacarita, belonged to a family of ministers and poets. His brother Alaṅkāra was the superintendent of the Great Treasury (Brhadgañja)² and later became the Chief-Justice (Rājasthānīya)³. Śṛṅgāra, another brother of his was a judge (Brhattantrapati)⁴ Maṅkha is mentioned by Kalhana as holding the post of minister of war and peace (Sāndhivigraha-ika).⁵ There are also references to brāhmaṇa councillors⁶ (Āsthānadvija, Āsthānabhaṭṭa, Adhikaraṇadvija).

We find the term parṣad used throughout the Rājatarāṅgiṇī to designate the corporations formed by the purohitas of individual temples and holy places (Tīrthas). Their members are called Pāriṣadya, also Pārṣada.⁷ Kalhana

1. Vikramāṅka. XVIII verse 6.

2. Rājat. VIII -- 2423.

3. Ibid - 2557, 2618, 2671, Stein. Rājat. Tr. Vol. II, VIII - 2671. Note.

4. Śrikanṭha III ^{50, 62} XVIII - 61. 50, 62. Rājat. VIII 2423. Cf.

5. Rājat. VIII. 3354.

6. Rājat. VII - 85-86; VIII - 1620.

7. Rājat. I - 87; V - 171.

Śrikanṭha XVIII. 61.

clearly distinguishes these from other brāhmaṇas when he describes the brāhmaṇa assembly which met for discussion regarding the disposal of the throne when the Utpala dynasty came to an end (middle of 10th century). While the brāhmaṇas (presumably brāhmaṇa councillors) passed five or six days in discussion, there assembled an immense host of purohitas of sacred shrines (Pāriṣadyas) with their drums, cymbals and other musical instruments arranged in litters, raising glittering flags, ensigns and umbrellas.¹ They appeared on the scene in order by a solemn fast to force the brāhmaṇa assembly to come to a decision regarding the future king. The Pāriṣadyas often seem to have adopted this procedure and thus to have played an important part in political affairs.² On Tuṅga's appointment as Prime Minister by Diddā, the former ministers met in council and brought to Kashmir Prince Vighraharāja, the son of Diddā's brother, who on his arrival induced the brāhmaṇas holding the chief agrahāras to enter upon a fast (prāyopaveśa) and cause disturbance in the kingdom.

Another such instance occurred during the reign of King Saṅgrāmarāja when brāhmaṇa councillors and the purohitas

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1. Rājat. V -- 461-66. Stein Tr. vol. I Book V, 461-66.
Note. Stein is wrong in translating the word Yugya here as "carrying seats on load animals". It is everywhere else translated by him as a 'litter'. Cf. VI 264, VII 713.
 2. Rājat. VII, 993-95; VIII 709-900.

of sacred shrines started a solemn fast (prāyopveśa) at Parihāsapura, in order to bring about the fall of Tuṅga, the minister who had been the cause of the death of a brāhmaṇa. Kalhaṇa tells us that it was difficult for the king to allay this revolt which was caused by the common resolve of the brāhmaṇas and the ministers, as when fire and storm combine. The brāhmaṇas were ready even to dethrone the king.¹ This also shows that the ministers used the Pāriṣadyas to attain their selfish ends.

When the hostility between Ananta and his son Kalaśa was growing, the brāhmaṇas held a solemn fast against both father and son in order to put a stop to their hostility, which was causing ruin to the country; thus they ultimately succeeded in arranging a reconciliation.²

During the reign of King Sussala (1112-20), the brāhmaṇas of Rājanvātikā, for fear of losing the produce of their agrahāra lands through the plunder and atrocities committed by the Dāmaras rebels, approached the king against his ministers who were showing indifference in fighting the Dāmaras and were thus perpetuating uncertain conditions.³

An assembly of the purohitas was held during the reign of King Bhikṣācara, (1120-21) when, tired of the oppression of the Dāmaras who held high position during this king's reign, the brāhmaṇas holding agrahāras also rose in revolt.

1. Rājat. VII 13 - 15.

2. Ibid. 400 ff.

3. Rājat. VIII 768-775.

The purohitas along with the citizens demanded the restoration of king Sussala and even prepared to fight; when Bhikṣācara started his fight against Sussala, his preparations frightened these purohitas, who left their solemn fast and fled with the divine images under their arms.¹ Another such fast occurred when the brāhmaṇas of Maḍavarājya (modern Marāz) resisted Sujji who was commander-in-chief during Jayasimha's reign.²

Here Kalhaṇa shows that ordinary brāhmaṇas holding agrahāra villages and those of the Purohita corporations (Pāriśadyas) were distinct from the highly educated Brāhmaṇa class to which he himself belonged.³ He criticises the rise to power of the humbler Brāhmaṇas during king Sussala's (1112-20) reign when he says: "By the manyfold mistakes which arose during the endeavour to conciliate them the country fell into complete confusion, and plunder became excessive."⁴ These wretches, who had never seen the king's assembly and who knew nothing of affairs, used harsh language towards the king (Sussala) when he tried to appease them. Worse than the Lavanya rebellion was this rebellion for the king, just as a disease of the throat pains more than one

1. Rājat. VIII. 900-40.

2. Ibid., 2076.

3. Rājat. VII -- 12, 177; VIII - 898-900. Here Kalhaṇa distinguishes between the brāhmaṇas holding agrahāras and those of the purohita corporation. The latter are at present known as Bāchbattas.

4. Rājat. VIII -- 774.

of the foot."¹

The growth of the power of these brāhmaṇas and their inducing the king to do as they desired by these means, invites Kalhaṇa's contempt and abuse. Referring to the brāhmaṇas who rose in revolt during the reign of Saṃgrāmarāja, Kalhaṇa calls them 'wicked-minded' and 'impure'.

In no single reference to assemblies of this kind do we find Kalhaṇa refraining from condemnation of such interference on the part of the brāhmaṇas holding agrahāras and the Purohitas of sacred places in the affairs of state, with which they were not at all conversant. Though at some places we find them exerting a good influence -- as in the case of the hostility between king Ananta and his son Kalaśa.²

Thus though the Rājatarāṅgiṇī describes the brāhmaṇa donees of agrahāra lands, engaged in the performance of religious rites; they also played an important role in the political vicissitudes in Kashmir. Whatever the general effect of their interference in the affairs of state may have been they did try to influence politics and sometimes to get redress of their grievances by organizing strikes and holding assemblies in times of political upheavals. Kosambi has stated that "the brahmins (sic) were not specially influential in politics as a priesthood except for

1. Ibid. 775-76; VIII 706. ff.

2. Rājat. VII. 400

a brief period under the brahmin king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948). On occasion, even their fasting to death was looked upon with contempt, without moving the king's heart in the least (4.631-39)".¹ In this connection we must bear in mind the distinction we have already pointed out between the brāhmaṇas well versed in dharmasāstras who acted as ministers and councillors and the humbler brāhmaṇas who lived by their priestly functions. Yaśaskara had been made king by the brāhmaṇa assembly which sat to decide on the succession, but still he did not allow them to approach him lest they should become arrogant from pride at having bestowed the throne on him. He was otherwise prepared to give them their due respect. We have already referred to the assembly of purohita corporations which was active as late as the reign of king Bhikṣācara; when they grew tired of the rule of this king they held a meeting to bring back Sussala. What we want to point out in this connection is that they were not granted any special privileges even under king Yaśaskara, but yet they did not cease to make further attempts to influence politics; Kalhaṇa repeatedly expresses his disapproval of their interference in political affairs

1. D.D.Kosambi. Origins of Feudalism in Kaśmīr, p. 5.

when they were not properly versed in them.

Kalhana disapproves of king Saṁgrāmarāja's giving of his daughter in marriage to the superintendent of the Diddāmaṭha, when he says, "How great is the difference between a princess fit for a king who is bent upon the conquest of the world and a brāhmaṇa of a small mind whose hands are wet with the water of presents."¹

There is evidence in the Rājatarāṅginī, to show that the brāhmaṇas in Kashmir were not merely concerned with religious, literary and administrative duties, but that some of them on occasions even took to the military profession. Thus we have brāhmaṇa feudal chiefs (sāmantas) and also brave brāhmaṇa soldiers who took active part in battles.² This appears quite normal in view of the fact that brāhmaṇas in Kashmir eat meat even today as they did in Kalhana's time. Strangely enough however, though his own father was 'lord of the Gate', we find Kalhana, while recapitulating the conditions at Yaśākara's accession, disparaging those brāhmaṇas who are not devoted to their studies and carry arms.³ Here we consider Manu's verses that "twice born men may take up arms when they are hindered in the fulfilment of their duties; when destruction threatens the

(1) Rajāt VII, 12. (2) Rajāt VII 21, 675, 1480, VIII 1073 ; (3) Rajāt. VI. 9, Lawrence. Valley pp. 302-303.

The brāhmaṇas of Kashmir, commonly known as Paṇḍits, are divided into three classes; the astrologer class (Jotish), the priest class (Guru or Bāchabat) and the working class (Kārḱūn). The priest class do not intermarry with either of the other classes, partly because they are regarded as divine, and partly because the laity abhor their practice of accepting the apparel of deceased Hindus. The Jotish

twice-born castes (varṇa) in evil times, in their own defence in a strife for the fees of officiating priests, and in order to protect women and brāhmaṇas; he who under such circumstances kills in the cause of right, commits no sin".¹ Medhātithi takes the first part of the above two verses to mean that the twice-born classes may take up arms on all occasions. He rejects the contrary interpretation which would, by taking the two verses together, limit their scope to the specific occasions mentioned by Manu. If we take Kalhaṇa's above quoted remark into consideration we get definite evidence of the development of the idea that brāhmaṇas might take up arms when they were hindered in their duties towards Medhātithi's free interpretation of it, that brāhmaṇas might take up arms on all the occasions. If we take the actual history of Kashmir into account we can believe that in the time of king Yaśaskara (939-48), when Kalhaṇa records general peace and maintenance of law and order, there was no necessity for the Brāhmaṇa varṇa to take up arms. Though in the earlier books they occur occasionally

Footnote continued

and the Kārkuṅ Paṇḍits intermarry. The Jotish Paṇḍits are learned in the Śāstras and expound them to the Hindus, and they draw up the Calendars. The Priest class perform religious rites and ceremonies. The vast majority of the Paṇḍits belong to the Kārkuṅ (writer) class, who regard the pen as their natural destiny. These ^{sections} correspond to the learned brāhmaṇas, priests (Pāriṣadyas) and the Kāyasthas of the Rājatarāṅgīna and other Kashmir sources.

1. Manu. VIII. 348-49.

The references to brāhmaṇa feudal chiefs and soldiers become common in the seventh and eighth books of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, which deal with the times nearest to Kalhaṇa's own and for which he had regular records and eye-witness evidence. The turbulent times of Lohara days must have led to this development. In theory Kalhaṇa seems to have believed and wished that the brāhmaṇas should follow their traditional profession of devotion to studies. In this context we clearly understand Kalhaṇa's remark which is otherwise contradictory to the actual history of his own time and that immediately preceding, and to the very profession of his father and his associates.

As regards immunities and privileges prescribed for brāhmaṇas, the Matsya Purāṇa lays down for a brāhmaṇa guilty of serious offences banishment and branding with distinctive signs instead of the death penalty.¹ In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī it is stated that when a brāhmaṇa widow complained to king Candrāpīḍa against another brāhmaṇa whom she suspected of having caused the death of her husband by witchcraft, the king told the brāhmaṇa lady that he could not punish anybody without his guilt having been established, still less a brāhmaṇa, who is exempted from capital punishment although

1. Matsya. ccxvii. 163f.

he may be guilty.¹ Later on, at the brāhmaṇa lady's threat of death by starvation, the king sought divine judgement, and the guilt of the brāhmaṇa became evident: but even then the judges inflicted a lighter punishment, since a brāhmaṇa could not be put to death. Kalhaṇa has not made it clear what punishment was meted out to him. In a later reference we find that king Yaśaskara (939-48), who exercised close control over the castes and conditions of life of his subjects, on discovering that at Cakramelaka a brāhmaṇa ascetic Caḥrabhānu had departed from proper conduct, punished him by having the mark of a dog's foot branded on his forehead.² Some such punishment must also have been inflicted on the brāhmaṇa sorcerer, who, being instigated by king Candrāpīḍa's younger brother Tārāpīḍa, is said to have used his knowledge of witchcraft (abhicāra) in slowly killing king Candrāpīḍa.³ Kalhaṇa is all praise for the dying king for not having punished this brāhmaṇa sorcerer any further, knowing that the crime was instigated by someone else.⁴

1 Rājat. IV. 88-105; cf Manu VIII 124-125. Supra. pp. 230-31.

2 Rājat. VI. 108-112.

3 Rājat IV. 112.

4 Rājat. 114.

According to orthodox theory brāhmaṇas were also exempt from all the taxes.¹ The Śānti parva makes it clear, however, that if they forsook their true vocation and followed any other occupation such as trade, government service, agriculture cattle-rearing and the like, they were to be taxed like others and were even to render the usual corvée.² In Kashmir brāhmaṇas appear to have been exempted in theory from taxation during the period under review. We find Jonarāja expressing his regrets at a later king who imposed taxes even on brāhmaṇas.³ As we shall see below we have reference to many such kings in the earlier period also. ^{we have already stated that} During the reign of king Harṣa (1089-01), the priests of the purohita corporation, whose temples were robbed by the king, approached him⁴ to grant them in compensation exemption from the forced carriage of loads (rūdhībhārodhi). Kalhana does not further state whether they were exempted during the reigns of the kings succeeding Śaṅkaravarman and was reimposed by king Harṣa of the first Lohara dynasty, or whether it had continued ever since its first introduction by

1 Agni.Purāṇa CCXII. 15-18, 30-32.

2 Śāntiparvan. LXXVI. 5

3 J. C. Dutt. Vol. III. P. 16.

4 Rājat VII Supra. pp 209-10.

Śaṅkaravarman. On the whole, it would seem that if in criminal cases capital punishment was never inflicted on a brāhmaṇa, the same principle may have ordinarily been applied in all other spheres of life and conduct. If they were not wholly exempt from taxation, it appears that under the more orthödox kings they paid at a lower rate.

The caṇḍālas were presumably the lowest order of society. The Arthaśāstra prescribes that heretics and caṇḍālas shall live outside the city beyond the burial ground.¹ Hsüan-Tsang saw these unfortunate people actually forced to live outside the town and included among them butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers.² The caṇḍālas are the most important representatives of the lowest castes known as Antyas, Antyajah or Antyajātis in commentaries and digests.³

The distinctive feature of the status of the caṇḍālas according to the Smṛti laws was that they were placed under a rigorous ban of untouchability. Not only is their touch included in a list of acts requiring purification of the body, but according to the extreme views quoted or followed by Smṛti authors such penances are prescribed for their approach within a certain distance, for the sight of or

1 Arthaśāstra. 11, 3, 59.

2. H. Tsang. tr. Beal. 1. p. 74.

3. Manu. VIII. 279. cf. Aparārka on Yājñ. III. 292; Medhātithi on Manu V, 12; x. 51.

conversing with them, for witnessing their shows, for crossing their shadows, and for touching them in the second, third, or fourth degrees.¹ In the Rājatarāṅginī we find the terms caṇḍālas, ḍombas and śvapākas. Some times these are apparently used synonymously.

The caṇḍālas are referred to as untouchables. We have seen that the caṇḍāla woman who found Suyya (who later became the great minister under Avantivarman (855/6-883) did not consider it proper to bring him up, thinking that she would thus ruin both his spiritual and material prospects with her touch, and therefore gave her up to a Śūdra nurse.² Kalhaṇa records that king Cakravarman (936-37) received the Ḍomba singer Raṅga with his daughters Haṃsī and Nāgalatā, and later took these two girls in his seraglio. Haṃsī was even raised to the status of chief queen (mahādevī).³ These Śvapākas or Ḍombas were ordinarily not allowed to enter the temples of the gods, but, being related to the king, they were permitted to do so. Kalhaṇa much resents such a concession and says "surely the Gods of fierce might did not dwell in this land, otherwise how could a Śvapāka woman have entered their temples". Kalhaṇa also records that only the proud Ḍāmaras among the chiefs did not follow

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1. Aparākaon Yājñ III. 292; s.c. ll. 304-8. *
 2. Rājat. V. 74-78.
 3. Rājat. V. 387

* touching a thing touched by the caṇḍālas, by touching a person who may have been polluted by touch a touch and so on.

the Śvapāki queen when she went to visit the temple of Viṣṇu Raṇasvāmin to celebrate the festival of Tiladvādaśī.¹ The Ḍomba singer Raṅga was also granted the village of Helu as an agrahāra. It is stated that when the recorder of official documents (paṭṭopādhyāya) at the Record office (akṣapatala) did not execute the document relating to the grant (dānapaṭṭaka) he was addressed with abuses by Raṅga, and, thus frightened, he wrote the document.² Such grants however do not seem to have been repeated.

So strong is Kalhaṇa's belief in the impurity of these Ḍombas that, about king Yaśaskara (939-948), he says that it was through the intercourse with those who had taken the Ḍombas' food remnants that impurity fell upon the king, just as the evil of leprosy spreads through the touch of a leper. When there was a great fire during the reign of Abhimanyu (958-972) Kalhaṇa declares that it purified the land by burning the great buildings which had been defiled by the contact of the kings who had been touched by the Ḍombas and caṇḍālas.³

The Śvapākas (literally dog-cookers) are in the above quoted references referred to synonymously with the ḍombas.

1. Rājat. VI. 84. This festival is explained below.

2. Rājat. V. 397-98.

3. Rājat. V. 192. ff.

It is a festival celebrated on the 12th day of the dark half of Māgha (Mārghaśrīśā) when Sesamum grains (tila) are to be offered in sacrifice. The Nīlamala purāna mentions the six-fold rite to be performed on that day with Sesamum usually termed Sattila. Rājat V. 395. Nīlamala. 482 ff.

The modern Dumbas, the descendants of the old Dombas, are still the low caste watchmen and menials as they appear in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. Stein has pointed out that "they have retained in their appearance a distinctive type of their own which points to the relationship with the gypsy tribes of India and Europe".¹ Referring to their occupations as hunters and fishermen, buffons, quacks, etc., and to their daughters working as singers and dancers, Stein wrote: "Their occupations thus closely resembled those of the gypsies whose name Rom, is undoubtedly derived from Sanskrit Domba".²

We have already dealt with the question of kāyasthas and diviras and have shown that these terms did not signify castes in medieval Kashmir but meant to signify certain professions.

We have not been able to ascertain to which caste the Dāmaras belonged. This much is sure that they were not brāhmaṇas. We have reference to brāhmaṇa fasts owing to the oppression of the Dāmaras. Perhaps being the indigene class they could not be incorporated within the framework of the haughty nobility. In the second Rājatarāṅgiṇī they are mentioned as Dombas. Lawrence was also told that the Dāmaras were the descendants of Sūdras. Whether this epithet was used merely out of scorn or not, this much can be said that they belonged to an inferior class. In a certain passage Kalhaṇa praises the wife of the

1. Stein Rājat. tr. Vol. II. p. 450.

2. Ibid. note 3. see. p. w. s. v.

3. Rājat. VII. 1229, 658.

4. Lawrence. Valley. p. 306.

Ḍāmara Koṣṭhaka who became a Satī when her husband was mortally wounded and he attributes this exceptional conduct to the lady's noble descent from a family of Rājputs¹. This reference suggests that the Ḍāmaras were not kṣatriyas or Rājputs as the Lavanyas at present known as Lons claim to be. As Satī was a common practice at that time and was much esteemed by all the brāhmaṇas and the kṣatriyas especially, it appears that Ḍāmara women, not belonging to the higher strata of society in matters of caste, did not immolate themselves. Moreover, the blood-sprinkling rite, as we have seen above in the case of king Cakravarman and the Ḍāmara taking pledge together, was peculiar to the Ḍāmaras and the Khaśas, and was not followed by the brāhmaṇas.² Such customs, we have stated already, are found among the Khonds in other parts of India.³

Contd.

1. Op. cit. (infra. p. 337)

2. supra. p. 237.

3. Ibid. p.

POSITION OF WOMEN

Regarding the position of women in Kashmir, we have a reference in the Rājatarāṅgiṅī to a verse in the Nilamatapurāṇa where it is stated that when the legendary King Dāmodara's pregnant widow Yaśovatī was installed on the throne by the Brāhmanas, the councillors grumbled at the coronation of a woman. Then Kṛṣṇa of Yadu's race appeased them by saying that the land of Kashmir is Pārvatī and its king, as a portion of Śiva, is to be respected by all those who desire prosperity. Here we find that a queen, in the same way as a king, is considered to be a portion of Śiva -- the all Transcendant Being. Thereafter the people started looking upon Yaśovatī as the mother of her subjects and as a Goddess, while previously women were considered to be objects of enjoyment only.¹

Nevertheless, Kalhaṇa elsewhere emphasises the duty of absolute obedience and devotion of wives to their husbands.² We also find references in the Kathāsaritsāgara enjoining women of good families to worship their husbands with chaste and resolute behaviour and take them as the highest deity.³ Even death is better for a woman of good family,

1. Rājat. I, 70-73. ; Nilamata. 237

2. Rājat. II, 48; I, 322.

3. K.S.S. vol. I. p. 164.

when her husband is away, than to meet the eyes of people who lust after her beauty.¹

Faithfulness to a single man is the greatest virtue of women.² Kalhaṇa strongly condemns immoral conduct on their part. Referring to King Durlabhavardhana's wife, who is said to have had illicit relations with the King's minister Khaṅkha, Kalhaṇa speaks of a woman as an object of sense like the other objects of senses (Indrayārtha) -- Śabda, Sparsā, Rūpa, Rasa and Gandha, Strī (woman) being the sixth.³ A woman had to devote all her efforts to proving herself a devoted wife to her husband and to trying to please him.⁴ Thus it appears that the woman's duty was to remain confined to her home and to fulfil all her manifold domestic duties. This, however, does not imply her total subjection.

As regards the role of women in politics, the history of Kashmir is full of instances where women managed the affairs of the state as successfully as some of the kings did. The right of women to rule the realm was recognised in Kashmir from early times. We have already referred to the case of Gonanda's queen, whose right to rule was defended by Kṛṣṇa himself.⁵

1. Ibid. pp. 33-36.

2. Rājat. V 8; K.S.S. vol. I. p. 36.

3. Rājat. III 514; VI 76-77, 316-317.

4. Ibid. II 48; III 496.

5. Ibid. supra P. 324.

After the death of Śaṅkaravarman, queen Sugandhā (902-4) actively governed the country as regent and later, when the king's lineage died out, she is said to have assumed the reins of government (904-6) at the request of her subjects.¹ Before she became a full-fledged sovereign in her own right we find Diddā's name on the coins along with that of Kṣemagupta. She dominated the historical scene of Kashmir for more than half a century (950-1003), first as queen consort, then as regent, and finally as ruler in her own right. With the help of her minister Tuṅga she broke the power of the great landowning Ḍāmaras and even of the brāhmanas. Eventually she founded a new line of rulers of Kashmir by nominating her nephew Saṅgrāmadeva as her successor.²

During the rule of the Locharas we find that queen Sūryamatī controlled the affairs of the state during the reign of her husband king Ananta, much of whose success in government was due to this vigorous queen. She wanted the government to be in stronger hands and it was on her advice and insistence that the king abdicated in favour of his son Kalāśa.³ King Uccala gave a rare privilege to his favourite queen Jayāmati by allowing her to occupy one half

1. Rājat, V. 243.

2. Rājat. VI. 188 ff.; Cunningham. C.M.S. Plate IV. II.

3. Rājat, VII. 199 ff.

of his throne. It is not, however, very clear whether this was a privilege enjoyed by all the queens of Kashmir or was first introduced by this king and Kalhana specifically refers to it because of the queen's low descent.¹

During the rule of the Loharas we do not find any women ministers and councillors, though in an earlier time we have a queen acting as the chief Chamberlain.²

There is a reference during the reign of king Harṣa showing that ministers were required to obey the written orders sent by the queen.³ Neglect of one such order of Harṣa's queen by the commander-in-chief was considered as an offence.

SATI.

Remarriage of widow was generally not countenanced and in fact the death of a woman's husband meant social ruin. Her position in society became miserable. If she was dissuaded by her family at the last moment she could escape social censure; otherwise it was preferable to face the flames and end the life in honour. On the position of widow in contemporary India Alberūnī remarks " If a wife loses her

1. Rājat. VIII. 82.

2. Rājat. IV. 485

3. Rājat. VII. 1206.

husband by death, she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things -- either to remain a widow as long as she lives or to burn herself; and the latter eventuality is considered the preferable, because as a widow she is ill-treated as long as she lives. As regards the wives of the kings, they are in the habit of burning themselves, whether they wish it or not, by which they desire to prevent any of them by chance committing something unworthy of the illustrious husband. They make an exception only for women of advanced years and for those who have children; for the son is the responsible protector of his mother".¹ Thus all our evidence agrees on the point that it was the degraded and miserable plight of woman in Hindu society which encouraged this practice widely in India. It is also evident from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī that those ladies who did not immolate themselves on the death of their husbands led a very simple and austere life. Mallārjuna's mother wore no ornaments on account of her widowhood.²

The custom of the sacrifice of the widow at the funeral pyre of her husband was widely known in ancient times. Discussing the general prevalence of this custom among

1 Alberūnī. India. Vol. II. p. 155.

2. Rājat. VIII. 1969.

the primitive warlike tribes, Altekar is of the opinion that fighting races are very jealous of their women and often prefer to kill them, rather than take the risk of their going astray after their husbands' deaths.

There was also the general belief that the warrior would require in his next life all those things which were near and dear to him in this existence.¹

The custom started to become popular in Kṣatriya circles from A.D. 400c. and from A.D. 700, fiery advocates began to come forward in increasing numbers to extol the custom of sati.² There does not appear to be any instance of force being exercised to compel unwilling widows to mount the funeral pyre. The Padmapurāna, though it highly extols the custom, expressly prohibits it for the brāhmaṇa women. Later on, the brāhmaṇa community, with its self-denying code of life, began to feel that it should not allow itself to be outdistanced by the Kṣatriyas. The custom, therefore, began to be followed by a few brāhmaṇa families soon after 1000 A.D.³ Most scholars believe that the practice of sati was mainly a medieval development and

1. A.S.Altekar. Position of Women in Hindu Civilization. p. 136-37

2. Ibid. p. 143

3. padma purāna, Harita, Viṣṇu, xxv. quoted by A.S.Altekar.

was not very popular in Northern India before A.D.1000 C.

In Kashmir also we find that the custom of satī, though it existed from very early times, was not strictly followed before the advent of the Lohara dynasty.¹

That Queen Diddā became the guardian of her son Abhimanyu after the death of her husband Kṣemagupta (950-58) shows that she did not immolate herself along with her husband. Kalhaṇa tells us that on Kṣemagupta's death, Queen Diddā showed her desire to become a satī, but, while the other queens were ready to immolate themselves, Diddā felt regret in front of the funeral pyre, and was prevented from seeking death by the persistent remonstrances of Naravāhana, her minister.²

Earlier among the ladies of King Yaśaskara's seraglio, only the single queen Trailokyadevī immolated herself.³ Later Kalhaṇa records the case of another lady who was requested by the next King Paravagupta (949-50) for her favours. She deluded him by telling him to complete a certain Viṣṇu temple before she would agree to his request. The King proudly fulfilled his promise while the lady

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1. Rājat. III. 123. ; A.S.Altekar. Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, p. 150.
 2. Rājat. VI. 195. ff
 3. Ibid. 107.

sacrificed her life in the flames of the sacrificial fire.¹ Nandā the wife of king Gopālavarman, did not burn herself with him.²

On the death of King Saṃkaravarman (883-902) three queens, Surendravatī and two others, followed the king into death, while Sugandhā, who had even accompanied him on his expedition to the Northern region (uttarapatha) did not commit satī, in order to act as the guardian of her son Gopālavarman, whom King Saṃkaravarman had while dying entrusted to her protection, since the boy had no other relatives and was still a child.³

Kalhaṇa, however, does not admire those queens who did not immolate themselves with their husbands. Referring to the ascendancy of Naravāhana, Diddā's minister, he contemptuously uses the word 'widow' (Raṇḍā) for Queen Diddā.⁴ He tells us that the widowed Queen Sugandhā became desolate through sensual enjoyments and fell in love with the minister named Prabhākaradeva.⁵

King Harṣa in his hatred of the family of Malla killed Vyadamaṅgala, and the latter's wife and mother set their house on fire and burned themselves.⁶ When this king, in his last

1. Rājāt 138 ff.

2. Rājāt, V. 245-46.

3. Rājāt, V. 220-6.

4. Rājāt, VI. 260.

5. Ibid, 195, 276.

6. Rājāt. VII. 1467-68

desperate struggle against Uccala and Sussala, killed their father Malla, the latter's consort Kumudalekhā and her sister Vallabhā, immolated themselves in a fire kindled in their house.¹ Āsāmatī and Sahajā, Malla's daughters'-in-law, who were the wives of Salhaṇa and Ralha, also burned themselves to death.² Six female attendants of the ladies of Malla's household died on the same pyre.³ And the mother of the future kings Uccala and Sussala, burned herself in her house together with her nurse Candrī, who felt unable to see the water which was to be offered at the funeral libation of her whom she had brought up as a child with her own milk.⁴ Thus we find that the practice of satī was very much honoured and universally practised by the ladies of the Malla's branch of the Lohara family. The wide prevalence of this custom was naturally a family tradition. The Loharas as Khaśa kṣatriyas of the solar stock seem to have been very proud of their women for preserving the family honour, and satī was practised even by attendants and nurses.

Though there was so much ill feeling on account of their son, Kalaśa's conduct, between King Ananta and his wife Sūryamatī, and though the king committed suicide on being afflicted by her words, we find that Sūryamatī was burnt to

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1. Rājat. 1486.
 2. Ibid. 1487
 3. Ibid. 1490-92.
 4. Ibid.

death on her husband's funeral pyre. An interesting feature of this event as described by Kalhaṇa is her oath by sacred libation, which she took in order to avoid the slanderous rumours which had grown up with regard to the position of the minister Haladhara as her confidante.¹

During the time of the Lohara dynasty, the custom of satī seems to have taken deep root in the ruling families of Kashmir, so that not only regularly married wives but even concubines used to practise it. King Kalaśa and Utkarṣa were followed in death both by their wives and concubines.² In the time of Harṣa, 17 queens including his daughter-in-law immolated themselves in apprehension of the king's death, when he and his son Bhoja were in the field fighting against the rival claimants and the rebellious Dāmaras.³

The history of Kashmir during the second Lohara dynasty teems with the cases of satī in the royal families. On King Uccala's death queens Jayāmatī and Bijjalā immolated themselves with him.⁴

We have no evidence of the exercise of physical force to induce the women to burn themselves, but there exists a situation of helplessness on the part of the widow,

1. Rājat. VII. 461 ff.

2. Ibid. 724-28, 855-62.

3. Ibid. 1579. cf. VII. 956, 1579. Vasantalekhā was from the Śāhi family.

4. Rājat VIII. 367-68

where social pressure was such that she dared not openly declare her unwillingness, but could only try to influence one of the ministers to dissuade her. Presumably, if the minister's arguments were forcible enough, it was felt that honour was satisfied and that the widow might keep her life without too serious a stain on her character.

The few cases of completely voluntary self-immolation fill Kalhana with wondering admiration, not unmixed with cynicism. King Uccala had been treacherously murdered by conspirators, just as he was on his way to the apartments of Bijjalā, his favourite queen. Kalhana further describes the efforts made by Bijjalā to throw herself first on the pyre in front of the chief queen, Jayāmatī.¹ On this pathetic and memorable event Kalhana writes, "Nobody can understand these women of inscrutable minds, who, though given to unfaithfulness and killing their husbands, yet step with ease into the fire."²

Though there is strong opposition to the custom in Bānabhaṭṭa's Kādambarī,³ and though it was strongly condemned by the South Indians in the twelfth century, we find a different note in the Rājataranginī.

1. Rājat. VIII. 367.

2. Ibid. 365-71.

3. Kādambarī. Pūrvārdha. p. 308.

On King Sussala's murder four of his queens came forth to follow him into death. As they could not be carried to the burning ground owing to sudden hard frost, they were burnt in haste near Skandabhavana Vihāra.¹

Kalhana has recorded the cases of two Kashmir queens bribing their ministers in order to induce them to come to the cremation grounds and dissuade them from their apparently voluntary resolutions to accompany their departed husbands. Queen Diddā was saved thus by her minister Naravāhana.² On the other hand Gargacandra, the minister of Jayamati, Uccala's queen, took the queen's word as a formality (prakriyā-vaco) and prepared her funeral pyre. The queen had to be burnt in pursuance of her so called voluntary resolve.³ These cases show that the practice of becoming a satī was in some cases rather a matter of convention than of actual feeling on the part of the ladies.

Regarding the practice of satī among the brāhmaṇa

1. Rājat. VIII 1440-1444.

2. Rājat. VI. 195 ff.

3. Rājat VIII. 363-68. Compare Abul-Fazl Ain-Ak. II pp. 191-192. Abul-Fazl divides the satis into a number of categories. Those who are compelled by relatives to burn themselves, those who deliberately and with a cheerful countenance accepted the ordeal owing to their devotion for their dead husbands, those who surrendered themselves out of regard for public opinion, those who were swayed by consideration of family traditions and customs, and finally those who were actually dragged into the fire against their will.

class we find that during the reign of king Candrāpīḍa, a brāhmaṇa widow complained to the king against another brāhmaṇa whom she suspected of having caused the death of her husband by witchcraft. She had not burnt herself because she was waiting until she could seek vengeance against the culprit. Thus we find that the practice of sati was prevalent among the brāhmaṇas in Kashmir from very early days.¹

There is also a reference in the Rājatarāṅginī to the mother's becoming a sati after the death of her only son. She had not perhaps committed it at the death of her husband perhaps because her child was then very small.²

The feeling of devotion sometimes led the servants to burn themselves at the death of their masters.³

As well as members of the ruling family, Kalhana tells us of satis among ministerial and other families. Thus in the reign of Ananta, Bimbā the daughter of a Śāhi Chief and the daughter-in-law of the minister Tuṅga, who was a Khaśa from Parnotsa, entered the fire as a sati on the death of her husband, Kandarpasimha.⁴ At the same time we are told that Kṣema, another wife of the same Kandarpasimha, had

1. Supra P. 230-31.

2. Rājat. VII. 1380.

3. Ibid. 1447.

4. Rājat. VII. 103.

had meetings with Nāga, Tuṅga's brother, even after her husband's death.¹ Kalhaṇa also tells us that the unhappy Maṅkhanā, the wife of Tuṅga, after the death of her husband left the country and took up residence at Rājapurī. She is said to have taken with her the two sons, Vicitrasiṃha and Māṭṛsiṃha, whom Mammā, a concubine, had borne to Kandarpassiṃha, as well as Mammā herself.²

It is noteworthy that here the only case of self-immolation is that of the lady of the Śāhi Stock; Tuṅga's wife and his other daughters-in-law apparently did not even consider doing so.

Kalhaṇa appreciates the conduct of the Dāmara widow, who, belonging to a Rājput family, did not follow the custom of other Dāmara women who refused to immolate themselves with their husbands, but became a sati.³ On the other hand he condemns the conduct of those who just burned themselves for the sake of following the prevalent custom. Kalhaṇa's conception of a sati is a matter of the heart, wherein the husband and wife live in complete conjugal harmony during their lifetimes and the latter burns herself on her separation from the former.⁴

1. Rājat. VII 103.

2. Ibid. 102.

3. Rājat. VIII 2334. 599.

4. Rājat VII 1412. see K.S.S. vol. iv Appendix I. p. 363

cf. the Sikh Guru Amar Das's remark "They are not Satis who burn themselves with the dead. The true Sati is she who dieth from the shock of separation from her husband. They also ought to be considered satis who abide in chastity and contentment, who serve, and when rising, ever remember the Lord" cf. Ādi Grantha pp 92. 600.

Thus when the devoted wife of King Tuṅḡina immolated herself on the pyre, Kalhaṇa compares the flames of the pyre on which the Queen became a satī with the fibres of the stalks of the Water-Lily, which are used as a cooling application. He also records that the place where that lady followed her husband in death was known in his day to the people as Vākpustātavī, apparently after the name of the lady.

The Dāmara women did not ordinarily practise this custom. The wife of Dāmara Koṣṭhaka, who did follow it, is said to have done so because she belonged to a Rājput family. It is clear that though she had been married into a Dāmara family she had the liberty to decide about it herself without any interference from her people. Kalhaṇa much praises this act of hers because it was purely voluntary, for if she had wanted she could have avoided it since it was not enjoined by the social custom of the Dāmaras.¹

In the Samayamātrkā the heroine Kaṅkāli marries the Dāmara Samarasimha but plans to have him killed in a quarrel with one of his relatives; on the success of her plan, far from becoming a satī, she lives with her father-in-law as his wife.² In the Mahānirvāṇatantra it is stated that a woman is the embodiment of supreme Goddess and that if a person

1 Rājat. VIII 2334-59

2. Sam.Māt. II 21. ff.

burned her with her husband, he would be condemned to eternal hell. Thus according to the t̄antric view a woman should not immolate herself. In Kashmir the rarity of sati among the D̄amaras was perhaps due to their following the t̄antric religion rather than the idealistic monism adhered to by the br̄ahmanic section of Kashmir society.

The class of prostitutes, known from early times in India, formed a distinct social unit in Kashmir. D̄amodaragupta in his Kuttanīmatam and Kṣemendra in the Samayamātrkā, the Deśopadeśa, and the Kalāvīlāsa exhaustively deal with this class and all the snares and tricks of the trade of the courtesans for entrapping innocent young men and getting rid of unwanted patrons. In the Samayamātrkā Kṣemendra describes in detail the various occupations adopted by the heroine Kaṅkālī, to seduce merchant's sons, temple priests (prasādapāla), D̄amaras, horsemen, scribes (diviras), and the keepers of the royal prisons. She becomes a Buddhist nun to gain her ends, a nurse in the house of a minister, the wife of a shepherd, and a seller of flowers and garlands for the gods; she sells wine at the time of the Takṣaka festival and then becomes the wife of a load carrier; and ultimately

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1. Deśopadeśa III passim.
 2. Sam.Māt. II passim

she crosses the Kashmir boundary by applying some soporific wild flower to the keeper at the watch station (draṅga). The narrative describes the various arts in which she is adept, so that she can pretend to adopt any occupation which she needs in connection with her trade.

In the ~~first~~ chapter of the Samayamātrkā and in the Kalāvilāsa Kṣemendra gives a detailed list of all the sixty-four arts which are prescribed by the authorities on the science of erotics (kāmaśāstra)¹ Dāmodaragupta in the Kuṭṭanīmatam gives details of the life of a courtesan and expects very high qualifications from her.² This text also relates a story which shows that the connection of a brāhmaṇa with a courtesan (ganikā) was regarded as a disgraceful act.³ Kṣemendra relates stories about the feigned love of these ladies, who make a show even of dying at the funeral pyres of their lovers, while in reality they never act upon such feelings of affection.⁴ Kalhana also, in the Rājataranṅinī, mentions the courtesans, who are naturally inclined towards extracting money from their lovers rather than being bothered about their good

1. Sam.Māt. IV. ; Kalāvilāsa IV. 3-11.

2,3. Kuṭṭanī. verses 106 ff; 256 ff.

4. Kalāvilāsa. IV. 19, X. 23. Deśadeśa III. Passim

qualities. He condemns their wealth and tells us that during the rule of weak and imbecile kings, the realm fell a prey to prostitution and immorality.¹ Kalhana gives us many instances of Kashmir kings who took such women into their seraglios, and even sometimes made them their chief queens. Thus king Uccala's chief queen (Paṭṭadevī),² Jayamatī, a woman of unknown origin, had been adopted by a female dancer named Karṇaśrāvati. She was Uccala's mistress and later became the concubine of the governor Ānanda. When the latter died she came back to Uccala and was finally raised to the status of chief queen.³

Among the classes of people who visit the prostitutes Kṣemendra mentions sarīron merchants, cooks, flower sellers, the temple care-takers (prasādapāla), the Dāmaras, the cavaliers, the writers (divira), the sons of officers and those of the ministers.

An important companion of the prostitute was the Kuṭṭanī

1. Rājat. IV. 461, 661; V 294.

2. Paṭṭadevī or Paṭṭamahīṣi is called from Paṭṭa or golden pound round the head of the queen who participated in the ceremony of the coronation of the king. The Gāhadvāla queen Kṛthvīdevī Prthvīversīkā was so called. In our reference J.R.A.S. 1895.p.786.

C.V.Vaidya. Vol.III.p.428.

3. Rājat. VII. 1460-62.

Jayamatī could not have participated in coronation; though the term may have been used generally for the chief queen.

also see. Supra . P. 120.

or procuress, who taught her the tricks of the trade and helped her in entrapping young men. In the Samayamātrkā Kṣemendra talks very contemptuously about this class of woman and uses abusive language for them.¹ Nevertheless, he admits the indispensibility of the procuress in the house of a courtesan when he makes Kalāvātī tell us of her miserable condition at the death of the old bawd (mātrkā) who was killed by the ministrations of a quack physician.² The parasite (viṭa) was another regular member of this class of Kashmir society. All our authors mention him with scorn.³

Whatever the regrets that high class brāhmaṇa society may have had at the existence of these people, it is very clear from our sources that they were regular features of the life of Kashmir in Mediaeval times. Kṣemendra lays them all bare before us and justifies his humorous and satirical pornography by explaining that he has written it for the amusement of the right-minded and for the guidance of youth, who fall easily into the snares of the courtesans and waste the wealth of the country. Through his satire he also brings to light the degraded life of the Buddhist nuns and the class of tāntric gurus who used religion as a covering

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1. Sam.Māt. IV. 1-8, 40-45 Deśopadeśa IV. passim.
 2. Ibid. I. Samaya. 27 ff.
 3. Ibid. Deśopadeśa. V. passim.

for sin, spent the nights with the prostitutes and during the day posed before the world as high spiritual authorities.

The custom of dedicating maidens for service in temples can be traced back to ancient times. Reference to this class of women is found in Medhātithi as well as in inscriptions all over India.¹ Abu Zaid also speaks of courtesans attached to Indian Temples.² On the causes of prostitution in the India of his day Alberūnī wrote "The Hindus are not very severe in punishing whoredom. The fault, however, in this lies with the kings, not with the nation". But for this, no Brāhman or priest would suffer in their idol temples the women who sing, dance, and play. The kings make them an attraction for their cities, a bait for pleasure for their subjects, for no other but financial reasons. By the revenues which they derive from the business both as fines and taxes, they want to recover the expenses which their treasury has to spend on the army."³

Crooke, writing about this custom, thinks that the connection of courtesans with temples began about the 9th or 10th century A.D.⁴ T.V.Sheshagiri Iyer believes that their connection with religious institutions must have been

1. Ep.Ind. XXII. 122 f; DVII. 8.f.; S.I.I. 11. No. 66.

2. H.I. (E.D.) vol. 11. quoted in the Age of Imperial Kananj. p.379.

3. Alberūnī. India. vol. II. p. 157.

4. W.Crooke. Ency.Rel. & Ethics. vol. x. p. 407.

344.

earlier.¹ In Kashmir we find references to dancing girls (martakī) attached to the temples from very early times.² Kalhana tells us that king Durlabhaka Pratāpaditya II fell deeply in love with a merchant's wife, and when his life was at stake, the merchant offered to part with her. The king did not accept the offer, as it was unjust. The merchant then offered to put her in the temple as a dancer, so that the king could enjoy her as a dancing girl attached to the temple. Reference to dancing girls belonging to temples occurs again during the time of King Lalitāditya. The custom is said to have been hereditary, and Kalhana tells us through the girls themselves that it was handed down to them by tradition - they themselves did not know the reason.³ King Jayāpīḍa of the Kārkoṭa dynasty is said to have attended such dancing in the Gauḍa country and brought one of the dancers as his wife along with a princess from that place.⁴ So accomplished was this lady that she could from the King's ways understand that he was either a disguised king or a rājaputra born in a great family.

The story of King Durlabhaka shows that these temple dancers could be taken as secondary wives.⁵ King Utkarṣa (1089) had a concubine named Sahajā. She had been a dancing

1. T.V.Shesagiri Iyer. Q.J.M.S. vol. XIII. April. 1923. P. 69.

2. Rājat. IV. 421-2

3. Rājat. IV. 36.

4. Rājat. IV. 421-22.

girl attached to a temple. He had seen her on the dancing stage and had taken her into the royal seraglio. Kalhana highly praises the noble conduct of this lady, who, on the king's death by suicide, entered the pyre after smearing thickly over her limbs the blood of her lover.¹ This instance shows the high sense of attachment and devotion to her lord on the part of Sahajā, who had been, as a courtesan, favoured also by Harsadeva. He now wanted her to remain alive, but she refused.

The most striking feature of a Hindu family was and still is its joint nature. The family in the Hindu Society might include any number of members. All these members of the joint family lived in a common abode and shared the property of the family in common.² Brhaspati speaks of the Hindu family as one the members of which share a common kitchen (Ekapākenavaṣṭam)³ The system of joint families existed in Kashmir in the past as it exists up to the present day. In the Rājatarāṅginī⁴ we have evidence of the prevalence of this system not only among the masses but even in the royal families. King Ananta, even when he had crowned his son Kalaśa (1063-89), later, on his minister Haladhara's advice, resumed his power, Kalaśa remaining king

1. Rājāt VII 855-860.

2. Cf. Nārada. XIII, 38 . Jolly. Hindu Law and Customs p. 168.

3. Brhaspati. XXV.6.

4. Rājāt. VII. 243-50, 262.

merely in name, taking even his meals regularly in the presence of his parents. Full of jealousy and embittered in her mind over her son's power, Queen Sūryamati would not permit that her daughter-in-law should make in their dress, ornaments or in anything else that display which befitted them as the King's young wives. She made these queens constantly do the work of slave girls until they did not refuse even to smear the house floor with cow-dung. Kalhana relates another interesting story in this connection. King Kalaśa had fallen into licentious habits and was once beaten badly by the Candāla watchmen when he was trying to get into the house of the minister Jindurāja in order to have illicit relations with the latter's daughter-in-law. The next day when the retired King Ananta met his son Kelaśa, the ruling king, the former slapped him in the face in the presence of Bijja a Rājaputra.¹

The Kathāsaritsāgara is also full of stories about the joint family system and the status of the daughter-in-law therein.

Even as late as the 14th century we have the case of Lallā, the prophetess, who was a married woman of respectable family living at Pāndreṭhan (ancient Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna) near

1. Rājat. VII. 307-322.

śrīnagara, and was cruelly treated by her mother-in-law, who nearly starved her to death.¹ Thus the women in a joint family were under the general control of the oldest married woman in it, usually the mother-in-law. Generally in a joint family the sons, daughters and daughters-in-law had all to bow down before the orders and decisions of their elders.

1. Sir Carnac Temple. The Word of Lallā, the Prophetess.
Intro. p. 7.



Terra-cotta tile. Harwan



Zoroastrian figures. Harwan



A danseuse. Harwan

E D U C A T I O N

The land of Kashmir has been known from ancient times for its learning. At the very outset of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, Kalhaṇa praises the "learning, lofty houses, saffron, icy water and grapes such as even in heaven are difficult to find." Kashmir is considered the very abode of the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī. The Rājatarāṅgiṇī and the other Kashmirian sources give ample evidence of the scholarly education not only of the brāhmaṇas who attained high proficiency in all the branches of literature, but also of men of other castes, so much so that even a foreign observer - Alberūnī - (A.D. 1030) noted that Kashmir was the centre of Hindu learning in his time. Alberūnī also praises the skill of the Kashmiri scholars in taking in hand any difficult task, even such as that of committing the veas to writing. Earlier Hsiian Tsang noted that the people of Kashmir loved learning and were well instructed.³ Kalhaṇa again refers to the spiritual excellence of his priceless country through Matr̥gupta, when he describes how the latter was sent to rule over Kashmir by Vikramāditya of Ujjaini.⁴ Bilhaṇa also in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita praises his motherland (Kashmir) for its holiness, for the sanctity and learning of its

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1. Rājat. I, 42.
 2. Alberūnī. Vol. I. p.173.
 3. Hsiian Tsang. tr. S. Beal Vol. I, p.148.
 4. Rājat. III, 223.

brāhmaṇas and for the beauty and learning of its women.¹

There is much evidence in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī to show that the Kashmir kings patronised learning. King Jayāpīḍa brought from abroad competent expositors to restore the study of Mahābhāṣya of Patāñjali; he himself was instructed in grammatical science by Kṣīrasvāmin, and gained distinction with the wise.^{1a} This learned man, who flourished in Jayāpīḍa's court, was the author of the well-known commentary on the Amarakoṣa and several smaller grammatical treatises. Jayāpīḍa patronized several other famous scholars; Bhaṭṭa Udbaṭṭa was his chief paṇḍit (sabhāpati), Dāmodaragupta, the author of the Kuṭṭanimatam was his chief councillor (Dhurya-Dhīśaciva), Manoratha, Śaṅkhadanta, Caṭaka, and Sandhimat were his poets, and Vāmana and others his ministers.² King Amantivarman of Kashmir (855/6-883) appointed a certain well-known teacher to expound grammar in a Vaiṣṇava temple founded by himself.³ King Yaśaskara founded a hospice (matha) for the residence of students from India (āryadeśa) who came to Kashmir for education, and to the superintendent of this matha he presented the royal insignia with umbrellas and chowries, with the exception of mint dies and the royal seraglio.⁴

Queen Sūryamatī bestowed one hundred and eight agrahāras on

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1. Vikramāṅka. XVIII, verses 1-8.
 - 1a. Rājat. IV, 488-94.
 2. Ibid. 495-97.
 3. Ibid. 28-29
 4. Rājat. VI, 87-88.

learned brāhmaṇas.¹ King Harṣa (1009-1101) was possessed of exceptional skill, knowing all languages, a good poet in all tongues,² and, as a depository of all learning, famous even in other countries. He adorned men of learning with jewels and bestowed on them the privilege of using litters, horses, parasols, etc.³ Bilhaṇa, who had left Kashmir in the reign of King Kalaśa, had been made by Parmādi, the lord of Karnāṭa, his chief paṇḍit (vidyāpati), whose parasol was borne aloft before the king. We are told by Kalhaṇa that even in the distant Deccan he heard that King Harṣa was like a kinsman to true poets, and thought that even so great a splendour as he was then enjoying was a deception.⁴ Harṣa also composed songs which were much appreciated.⁵ The Tibetan tradition attributes a Sanskrit poem entitled Aṣṭa-Mahā Caitya-Vandana-Stotra to King Harṣa.⁶

The kings in Kashmir were required to be learned and well-versed in the Sanskrit language. Kalhaṇa ridicules King Śaṅkara-varman (882-902) who did not know Sanskrit and used vulgar speech (apabhraṅśa) fit for the drunkards.⁷

Though we have no definite evidence about the training of

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1. Rājat. VII, 104.
 2. Rājat. VII, 610.
 3. Rājat. VII, 934.
 4. Rājat. VII, 935-37.
 5. Rājat. VII, 942.
 6. I.H.Q. 1941, pp.223 ff.
 7. Rājat. V, 206.

the princes we get an impression from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī that they were trained in all the śāstras and sāstras, that is, they had to be well-versed in the arts of war and the arts of peace. Diddā's son Abhimanyu (958-72) is said to be learned, cherished by the learned and versed in both śāstras and sāstras.¹ Prince Harsa's learning shows that there must have been arrangements for the education of the princes.²

The Amarakośa defines maṭha as an abode for scholars and others.³ Maṭhas were used also as sort of feeding houses for the poor and the infirm and rest houses for pilgrims as well as important educational centres. The maṭhas were attached to temples and played an important part in the cultural life of Kashmir. They controlled temple affairs and provided lodgings and food for devotees, and above all, were centres of educational activity and moral and spiritual instruction. We have elsewhere referred to King Avantivarman's appointment of a well-known teacher to expound grammar in a Vaiṣṇava temple.⁴

Buddhist Vihāras were also centres of learning and culture in ancient India. We have no evidence to show whether the Buddhist monasteries of Kashmir continued as centres of general learning during this period. But the regular establishment of

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1. Rājat VI. 290
 2. Rājat. VII, 610.
 3. Amara. 5.7.
 4. Supra. p. 349.

Vihāras by the Kashmir kings and even the renovation of some of them during the Second Lohara dynasty shows that they remained as centres of Buddhist learning, though their work could not have been primarily secular.

Vihāras and maṭhas were not the only centres of education and learning in Kashmir. Suyya, who had been found by a caṇḍāla woman and had been brought up by a Śūdra nurse, grew into an intelligent youth and, having learnt his letters (akṣaras) became a teacher of small boys in the house of a certain householder.¹ Referring to the ancestry of King Yaśaskara (939-48) Kalhaṇa tells us that the king's grandfather Kāmadeva, who lived in the village of Piśācāpura, having acquired the knowledge of letters (akṣaras), became a boys' teacher in the house of Meruvaradhana.² The above references show that private individuals contributed a great deal towards education by arranging small classes of students in their houses. Evidently these teachers were professionals, whose employment and payment must have been arranged by the householders themselves. It is not, however, clear whether the payment was arranged by the parents or guardians jointly out of the common funds collected at a certain fixed rate, or whether the householder in whose house the classes were arranged, being in a position to incur the whole expense, himself undertook to bear it on behalf of all the children, ^{our evidence is clear on this point that the children} who received their education in these family schools also included those who did not belong to the house and who must

1, Rājāt. V, 74-78.

2. Rājāt. V, 469-75.

surely have been gathered from the neighbourhood. Another interesting reference in this connection is when Kalhana speaks of Phalguṇa, the prime minister of Abhimanyu of Yaśaskara's family A.D. 958-72; when, here we are told that, after his dismissal, he proceeded to Parnotsa, the ministers rejoiced as boys when left by their teacher.¹

One is reminded of similar pictures of the classrooms and students in modern schools. The reference may also suggest the use of corporal punishment in disciplining the boys. The age for starting education appears to have been small. Girls are nowhere mentioned as attending such schools.

There is evidence in the Rājataranṅinī showing that initial training in learning the letters and calligraphy was done on black coloured wooden slates which is even at present prevalent in Indian schools.²

The cases of Suyya and Yaśaskara also make it clear to us that in Kashmir in medieval times in the case of education as of kingship and the offices of State, the field was not limited to specific castes. Anybody who could prove himself competent enough could rise to any position.

The Manu Smṛti provides that the three twice-born castes (varṇas) discharging their prescribed duties should study (the Veda) but among them the brāhmaṇas alone should teach it, not the other

1. Rājat. VI, 209.

2. Rājat. VII, 508; also see VI, 209: IV, 494. Gifts and charitable institutions.

two.¹ It appears that the study of Vedas and its teaching may have been limited to the brāhmaṇas while there was no restriction for anyone to study and teach secular subjects.

Kṣemendra tells us that he studied rhetoric under Abhinavagupta, the author of *Vidyāvivṛti*; Gaṅḍaka and Somapāda (a believer in the Bhāgavata faith) were also his teachers. Sūryakānta's suggestion that Kṣemendra may have had other teachers as well, with whom he may have studied different branches of literature² who were specialists in them, appears to be quite possible, because Kṣemendra shows himself to have been concerned with the stages of learning where the pupils were in the making as poets and not as students in the early stages. The general schools arranged by the householders must have been concerned with teaching the students ordinary reading and writing while great scholars like Kṣemendra's teachers and Kṣemendra himself must have been concerned with learning in its higher forms. Whether they had special organised schools for this level or took individual students under their guidance is not clear from our sources, nor is it stated anywhere whether the scholars were paid by their pupils or imparted education for the sake of the dissemination of learning for its own sake. As the kings also patronised learning in Kashmir our scholars may have possibly depended on the grant of agrahāra lands and their produce.³

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1. Manu I - 88; X - 1; 75-76.
 2. Sūryakānta. Kṣemendra Studies. p.11.
 3. Supra. p. 256.

Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa, Kalhaṇa, Maṅkha and Abhinavagupta, to cite a few examples, do not in any way appear to be connected with Vihāras and maṭhas.

The various fields of learning in which the writers of our period attained proficiency bear testimony to a very high standard prescribed for the students at that time in Kashmir. King Lalitāditya showed great interest in patronising scholars even from outside Kashmir. The greatest achievement in the field of Śaivite learning and philosophy was made by the two families whom this king brought from Kānyakubja (Kanauj) and settled in Kashmir with a grant of agrahāra lands.¹

Though the tenth and eleventh centuries brought forth a large body of literature in the field of Śaivite religion and philosophy, that was not the only sphere in which the Kashmirians attained great heights. Side by side with the highest literature on the abstract Śaivite philosophy, we have the development of language and literature in grammar, poetics, history (itihāsa) and rhetoric. The chief of Bilhaṇa's family, Muktakalaśa, was learned in the four vedas. One of his ancestors, Jyeṣṭhakalaśa, composed an exposition of the Mahābhāṣya. Bilhaṇa, though he became Vidyāpati at the court of Vikramāditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (1076-1127), received his early education in Kashmir and obtained proficiency in the Vedas with their Aṅgas, grammar and poetics.

1. Infra. ^{p. 420 note 3} Appendix III f. 453 ,

Bilhaṇa's example shows that, proficient in learning, the Kashmirian brāhmaṇas often went out in the rest of India in quest of fame and fortune. In this connection we refer to a verse in the Kuṭṭanīmatam where it is specifically stated that those who do not learn the dress, manners and speech of other lands are like bulls without horns.¹

Among the greatest luminaries of the age was Kṣemendra who tried to write in every branch of language and literature, conforming to his own ideals of the branches of learning a scholar was supposed to know of, and touching all the varied fields and aspects of the society of his day. His works also show that the great teachers of those days did not believe only in textbook theories, but tried to encourage originality by putting before their pupils compositions of their own, and comparing them with those of the earlier writers of their own land as well as those of the rest of India. Kṣemendra has thus criticised and praised the skill of a number of earlier writers. The vast list of authors that he mentions and criticises in his Aucityavicāracarcā, Kavikanthābharana and Suvṛttatilaka,² shows the wide reading which he had done with a critical mind.

Kṣemendra has given the summaries of the Epics, works on all the aspects of society with bitter satire on its evils, and also fine pieces like Samayamātrka and Kalāvilāsa revealing his thorough

1. Kuṭṭanī. verse 212. cf. Medhātithi on Manu. IX, 76.

2. See note next page.

mastery of the science of erotics.

Note 2. Pre Page

The authors quoted in the Aucityavicāracarcā are:-

Amaraka, Anandavaradhana, Kārpaṭika, Kālidāsa, Kumāradāśa, Gaṅgaka, Gauḍakumbhakāra, Cakra, Caṇdraka, Caṇḍaka, Dīpika, Dharmakīrti, Parimala, Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, Bhaṭṭaprabhākara, Bhaṭṭeḍurāja, Bhavabhūti, Māgha, Maṭṛgupta, Mālavakuvalaya, Mālavarudra, Muktapīḍa, Yaśovarmadeva, Rājaśekhara, Laṭṭa, Laṭṭana, Varāhamihira, Vyāsa, Śyāmala, Śrīmatutpalrāja, Śrīharṣa.

Authors quoted in the Kavikaṇṭhābharāṇa:-

Amaraka, Āryabhaṭṭa, Indrabhānu, Utpalarājdeva, Cakrapāla, Candraka, Bhaṭṭadāmodaragupta, Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, Bhaṭṭabāna, Bhaṭṭabhallaṭa, Bhaṭṭamayūra, Bhaṭṭamuktikalaśa, Bhaṭṭavācasapati, Bhaṭṭaśrīśivasvāmi, Bhaṭṭodayasiṃha, Rājaśekhara, Lakṣmaṇāditya, Vidyānanda, Vidyānandā, Vyāsa and Śrīharṣa.

Authors quoted in the Suvṛttatilaka:-

Abhinanda, Indurāja, Utpalarāja, Kalaśaka, Kālidāsa, Gaṇḍinaka, Cakra, Tuñjira, Dīpaka, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, Parimala, Bāṇa, Bharṭṛmenṭha, Bharṭṛhari, Bhavabhūti, Bhāravi, Muktakāṇa, Yaśovarman, Ratnākara, Rājaśekhara, Rissu, Lātaḍiṇḍira, Vallāṭa, Vāgabhaṭṭa, Vīradeva, Vyāsa, Śyāmala, Sāhil, Harṣa.

Note:-

The above list has been prepared out of the index of verses quoted in the above works of Kṣemendra, prepared by Dr. Sūryakānta in his 'Kṣemendra studies.'

After paying homage to the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu, and then to Vyāsa, Kṣemendra tells us that he has composed for his intelligent students Suvṛttatilaka,¹ ("the forehead mark of fine metres") of charming letters, a decoration for the face of the Goddess of Learning, and a decorative mark of bright pigment on her forehead. This is an original work on metres, which illustrates each point that Kṣemendra makes with quotations with his other works, or from those of Vyāsa. After giving the definitions and illustrations of popular metres, he takes up the exposition of their merits and demerits with illustrations from various authors. The same method is adopted by him in his 'discourse on propriety' (Aucityavicāracarcā). In the Kavikaṇṭhābharāṇa, Kṣemendra instructs his pupils in the art of writing poetry. About the author's own skill Suryakanta writes "a study of Kṣemendra's works reveals that they were written in accordance with the doctrines propounded in his Kavikaṇṭhābharāṇa; for instance, his didactic poems, the Samayamātrkā, the Kalāvīlāsa, the Darpadalana, the Sevyasevakopadeśa, and the Cārucaryāśataka, illustrate his Lokācāraparijñāna (Kavi II.6), 'familiarity with the ways of the world', and Upadeśaviśeṣakti (Kavi. II.16), i.e. special didactic skill - Epitomes of the epics and the Nṛpāvali bear testimony to the fact that he was pursuing the principle of itihāsānusa-
raṇam (Kav. II.6) i.e. 'accordance with history'. In his

1. Suvṛtta. Ch. I, verse 4.

2. Sūryakānta. Kṣemendra Studies. p.2.

Daśāvatāracarita he illustrates his sāmyaṃ sarvasurastutau (Kavi II.19), i.e. "impartiality in the praise of all deities", and so on.

Kalhaṇa, the author of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, also shows marked originality in his work. Kashmir had no doubt a tradition of historical writing even before Kalhaṇa's time, but such a work as his, does not seem to have existed before, nor do we find the later chronicles in any way coming up to the same standard.¹ We find evidence of his belief in original composition when he says: "Poets and kings of these modern times augment their own work by plundering the poems or the property of others".²

1. Infra. Appendix III p.459.

2. Rājat. V, 160.

Food and Drinks.

The staple food of the people of Kashmir in medieval times, as it is now, was rice (dhānya, śāli, tanḍula, vrihi, kalama). Plain boiled rice formed the principal food of the people. There is no mention of rice flour also in the Rājatarāṅginī and in the Narmamālā.² Cakes of rice are referred to in the Nīlamata-purāna.³

Barley (yava) formed another item of food. It is mentioned in the Rājatarāṅginī and Nīlamatapurāna that bread and cake (apupa and pistaka) were made from barley.⁴

Kashmir produces enough beans and pulses to meet the need of its inhabitants and though they are not considered the principal food in the valley at present, they must have constituted then, as now, an important item of food. Damodaragupta mentions kulatṭha cana, and masūra.⁵ The Rājatarāṅginī also mentions lentils (masūra). The Nīlamata also refers to māsa and masūra.⁶ Among cheap variety of pulses was mudga (phaseolus mungo), now known in Kashmir as mung.⁷ It is said that king Utkarṣa served this to his father's

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1. Rājat. I. 246 (dhānya); II. 18; III. 24; IV. 295; V. 71, 116-17; VII. 496 (vrihi); Sam Māt. II 78 (tanḍula); N.Mālā. III.5; Nīlamata 748-49; Deśopadeśa VIII.36; Kuṭṭanī. 228; Lokaparakāśa p. 6; J. Bloch. tr. Notes p. IV. (kalama)
 2. Rājat. VIII 140 N.Mālā. III 3.
 3. Nīlamata.
 4. Rājat. I. 233-39, IV. 228, VII. 111. Nīlamata 449-505, 696-97.
 5. Kuṭṭanī 228.
 6. Nīlamata. 422.
 7. Rājat. III. 256, VI. 187; VII. 758.

wives because of his avariciousness. It is also mentioned by Kṣemer Kṣemendra in his Narmamālā as one of the cheap items of food.¹

Kalhana also mentions porridge (saktu). Karambhaka, rice and pulses mixed together (now known as Khiccri) was served on certain religious days and was also given to the brāhmanas.² Parpata made of pulses appears to be the modern papar, which, though eaten in Kashmir even at present, is not made there, but is imported from India.³

Sesamum (tila) was also eaten, especially on certain days such as Tiledvādasi, which is named after the grain held in honour on that day.⁴

Though there is not much mention of vegetables in our sources, we believe that Kashmir must have produced abundant vegetable in the past as in the present. The Rājatarāṅgiṇī mentions a wild vegetable of bitter taste known as Utpalāsāka (now called upalhakh), which was placed by the temple priests of Bhūteśvara on the base of the god's image as an offering, since they were too impoverished to offer more, owing to the overbearing behavior of the Damara Dhanva of Lahara, who had taken away all the villages belonging to the shrine.⁵ Sāka (green vegetable) is also mentioned by Kṣemendra in the Deśopadeśa and the Samayamātrkā. The lotus stalks

1. Narmalā. I. 124, 127.

2. Rājat. I. 205; Pandit Rājat. tr. III. 256 note; Nilamata, 484-91

3. Nilamata. 529

4. Rajāt. III 426, V. 395 for Tiledvādasi see infra p. 321. note. I.

5. Rājat. V. 48-52.

(bisa) was an important vegetable cooked by the Kashmirians in medieval times, and it is very common item of food even at present.¹ The onion was commonly used in cooking and as an offering to the Tāntric gurus. In the Samayamātrkā onion (palāndu) and garlic (lasuna) are mentioned as aphrodisiacs.² Garlic as we have seen was an article forbidden for the brāhmaṇas.³ Parched grain is often mentioned in connection with auspicious occasions;⁴ though it is nowhere mentioned that it formed an item of food, we find that parched beans are eaten by the masses even at present.

Salt appears to have been a costly article. In his description of a miser in the Deśopadeśa and the Narmanālā Kṣemendra repeatedly refers to hōm as eating his food without salt.⁵ Though the article is in itself not very costly one, its transportation from the Salt Range of the Punjab must have involved great difficulty, thus raising its price in the valley. Ginger (araraka) is mentioned by Kṣemendra as a prized article and was also used together with honey for medicinal purposes.⁶ As it is not grown in Kashmir it must have been imported from outside. Chilli (marica) and turmeric were well known as condiments.⁷ We believe Kashmir must have imported these spices from

1. Rājat. VIII. 676. Lotus roots are stewed with meat also.

2. Sam.Māt. II. 26.

3. Rājat. I. 342-43.

4. Rājat. I. 361; II. 119.

5. N. Mālā. I. 124, 127. Deśopadeśa I, 8, 9, 15.

6. N. Mālā. I. 123. Rājat. VIII. 141.

7. Ibid. Kuttani, 228

India. Kalhaṇa often mentions highly spiced dishes enjoyed by the courtiers of the Kashmir kings.¹ They were thus luxury articles enjoyed by few. The masses at large could not have been able to use them in their cooking. Honey was also a cherished article and was used for food and medicinal purposes.² White sugar appears as a luxury. Kalhaṇa ridicules the citizens and Dāmaras some of whom when plundering king Harṣa's palace put camphor in their mouths, thinking it was white sugar.³ Sugar was, however, used for sweetening ~~the~~ food.⁴

Milk formed an important item of food. Though this is nowhere specifically stated it may be inferred from the special reverence for cows and the gifts of cows with calves by the kings to the brāhmaṇas.⁵ The use of purified butter (ghṛta),⁶ butter (sarpis),⁷ milk pudding (kṣīra)⁸ and curd (dadhi)⁹ seem to have been prevalent. Ghṛta was mostly used for sacrificial fires and śrādhā rites and as a luxury article for the preparation of food.

Kṣemendra tells us that oil was used for cooking.¹⁰ Though he does not mention the specific kind of oil used in his time we believe it to be the mustard oil commonly used for cooking purposes in Northern India.

1. Rājat. VIII. 1866-67 ; Deśopadeśa VII. 21.

2. Rājat. VIII. 140-41 ; N. Mālā I. 123.

3. Rājat. VII. 1574.

4. N. Mālā. II. 80.

5. Rājat.

6. Rājat. II. 78; VI. 143; VII. 306; VIII. 137, 140; N. Mālā. I. 123, 127 III. 5; Sam. Māt. II. 79; Deśopadeśa. III. 32.

7. Rājat. VI. 143; VIII. 138.

8. Sam. Māt. II. 6.

(9) N. Mālā. II. 80; III. 8 (10) Sam. Māt.

Meat has been a common item of food of Kashmir brāhmaṇas since very early times. The meat of rams (mesa) and perhaps also of the goats (chāga) is mentioned in our sources⁽¹⁾ The meat of birds was also eaten;⁽²⁾ that of the pigeons however seems to have been forbidden. Kalhaṇa while narrating the story of a famine in Kashmir during the time of the legendary king Tuñjīna tells us that the pious queen, distressed by the suffering of the subjects, prayed to gods and there fell on each house daily a flight of dead pigeons. He explains this fact by saying that they were not real pigeons but some other substance which this lady of saintly character produced in order to keep the people alive.⁽³⁾ There is no mention of the meat of the fowls. As it is a forbidden food for the paṇḍits at present we believe that it was not eaten by the brāhmaṇas in the past. S.C. Ray is wrong in saying that it was an item of Kashmir cuisine in Mediaeval Kashmir.⁽⁴⁾ Kashmiri brāhmaṇas also do not eat eggs. Even taking any sort of poultry into the kitchen is prohibited in the orthodox families. Alberūnī also mentions that eggs of all kinds are forbidden among articles of food in North-Western India.⁽⁵⁾ In this connection it is interesting to note that Tibetans as well as Ladākhīs do not

(1) Sam. Māt. II. 74; N. Mālā. II. 124; III. 8.

(2) Rājat. II 50-52; N. Mālā. II 124.

(3) Rājat. II. 52. Cf. Padma Purāna P.I. LVI; 33.

(4) H.C. Ray. I.H.C. 1949. P. 134.

(5) Cf. Alberūnī India Vol. II. P. 151.

permit the eating of fowl. Eating of beef of all kinds was strictly forbidden by the Kashmiris, as cows were respected and given as gifts to pious brāhmanas. Kalhaṇa mentions with contempt those who ate cow's meat in the land of the Mlecchas.⁽¹⁾ As the bullock was held in great reverence there must have been a similar ban on the eating its meat. King Harṣa is said to have eaten the meat of domesticated pigs (grāmyasūkara). It is not clear whether this formed a common item of Kashmiri food at that time or whether his love of pork was a further example of the various perverted actions of the king. Kalhaṇa, however, mentions it as an example of the extraordinary behaviour of the king, who was otherwise favourably inclined towards the Turuṣka soldiers of his army and constantly supported them.⁽²⁾ These were presumably Muslims and must have looked on the king's love of pork with abhorrence. The Kashmiris at present do not eat pork. Fried meat was a luxury enjoyed by the higher strata of society.⁽³⁾

The eating of meat is strictly prohibited in the Nīlamatapurāṇa for five days for those who are engaged in the consecration of Viṣṇu images in the bright half of the month of Kārtika (ekādasī to pūrṇimā - 11th to the full moon day).⁽⁴⁾

(1) Rājat. VII. 789; VIII, 76.

(2) Rājat. VII. 1149 ff.

(3) Rājat. VII. 1510; VIII. 1866-67; VIII. 2251.

(4) Nīlamata. 446-47.

On the other hand meat is prescribed for celebrating the dark eighth of the month of Māgha (Māghakṛsnāṣṭamī); it is enjoined that the śrāddha on that day should be performed with meat.(1)

It would appear from these references that the habits of the Hindu Kashmiris in respect of meat eating were much the same in the 11th and 12th centuries as they are to-day, when beef, pork and chicken are avoided, but there is little or no objection to the consumption of mutton, goat's meat or fish. Fish forms an important item of the food of all classes of people in Kashmir at present especially of the boatmen who depend for a considerable part of their food on fish and of those who dwell near the streams and the lakes. There are numerous references in all our medieval literary sources to fried fish and fish soup (matsyayūṣa and matsyasūpa) as health giving foods.(2) It must have constituted an important item of food of all the classes in medieval times; and from different kinds of fish being available in their seasons throughout the entire course of the river Jhelum (Vitastā) between

(1) Nīlamata. 469.

(2) Rājat. VII. 522; Stein Rājat. VII. note; Sam. Māt. II. 26, 49, 71; Deśopadeśa. III. 32.

Islāmābād (Anantanāga) and Baramula (Varāhamūla),⁽¹⁾ we believe that it must have formed a great proportion of the food of the poorer classes in Kashmir.

Among the fruits Hsüan Tsang mentions pears (Li), wild plums (Nai), peaches (T'au), apricots (Hang or Mui) and grapes (Po-tau) as the principal fruits of the valley.⁽²⁾ Pālevata mentioned by Kalhaṇa, is believed by Stein to be the apple on the testimony of the Kashmiri paṇḍits. Apples grow so plentifully in Kashmir at present that it would be surprising if they were not known in Lohara times, especially as many of the other fruits of Kashmir had already become acclimatized. Pear (tanka) and apricots are also mentioned by Śrīvara.⁽³⁾ The

(1) Lawrence. The Valley of Kashmir. pp. 157-58.

Vigne noted only six varieties of fish, by far the best being Himalayan trout, while Lawrence had noted eleven different varieties known as Charri gad, (gad is Kashmiri name for fish) Sattar gad, Krout gad, Pikut or Pekri gad, Chash gad, Harj gad, Ramah gad, Unyour, Tet gad, Dras, and Ait gad. A small fish called Gurun is found in streams and morasses.

(for details see Lawrence pp. 157 ff.)

(2) Si-yu-ki. tr. S. Beal. Vol. I. p. 88.

Mulberry (Tul), bitter cherry (alucha), plum (Ār), apple (tsunt), pear (tang), vine (dach), walnut (Dūn), pomegranate (Dān) and berries of various kinds are indigenous and are found in all parts of the valley.

Cf. Lawrence Valley. p. 73.

The cherry called the gilās, a corruption of cerasus, is said to have been introduced from Europe via Arabia, Irān and Afghanistan.

Sufi Kashīr. Vol. II. p. 651.

(3) Śrīvara. 1. 196.

Rājatarāṅgiṇī also mentions kapittha fruit in connection with the various stories related regarding the great king Lalitāditya Mukṭāpīḍa. A certain verse from which it is clear that Kalhaṇa meant to refer to a fruit which grows in Kashmir only for a short time at the commencement of the summer and is rare in India, led Stein to conclude that the reference is to the cherries, which are obtainable in Kashmir only in the beginning of the summer. As Kashmir grows various varieties of cherries at present, which are exported to rest of India by air owing to their perishable nature, we believe Stein to be quite correct in taking kapittha as a cherry rather than the elephant apple as mentioned in the dictionaries of economic products.⁽¹⁾ The best and the most cherished fruit of the valley was the grape.⁽²⁾ Kalhaṇa proudly refers to it. Bilhaṇa in his Vikramāṅkadevacarita praises the vines of his homeland. Kṣemendra also mentions it in the Narmamālā.⁽³⁾ The juice of grapes and sugar cane was used as drink.⁽⁴⁾

Wine drinking (madyapāna) was very common in mediaeval

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- (1) Rājat. VI. 356; Stein. Rājat. tr. VI. 356. note.
Hsüan-Tsang also mentions it. S. Beal. Vol. I, p. 88.
- (2) Rājat. IV. 219, 237; Stein. Rājat. tr. IV. 219. note.
- (3) Rājat. I. 42; IV. 192; 498; VIII. 2386; N.mālā. 1. 124;
Vikramāṅka. XVIII, 72.
- (4) Rājat. II. 60, III. 362, IV. 502, VIII. 1863. Cf. Si-yu-ki.
tr. S. Beal. Vol. I. p. 89.
The Lokaparakāśa mentions an instrument for extracting
sugar cane juice.

Kashmir. The Nīlamatapūrāṇa has a special prescription for wine drinking (navamādyapāna) on the day when the first snow falls⁽¹⁾ --- presumably drinking the new wine from the last summer's grapes. King Lalitāditya drank so heavily that once in a fit of intoxication he ordered the town of Pravarapura to be burnt down.⁽²⁾ King Kṣemagupta (950-958) also indulged in excessive drinking.⁽³⁾ Among the kings of the Lohara dynasty, we do not find much reference to wine drinking on the part of king Ananta (1028-63) and Jayasimha (1028-49), but Harṣa, Kalaśa and Utkarṣa drank heavily. The brāhmaṇa élite do not seem to have approved of it and both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa deprecate excessive wine drinking, while on the other hand soldiers, Dāmaras, the class of prostitutes, bawds and parasites freely enjoyed drinking. Those who followed the Śākta religion also drank wine, because it forms one of the five makāras enjoined by the Tāntric ritual. In some of the families of brāhmaṇas at present in Kashmir the worship on the Śivarātri festival is carried on with wine. The followers of Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava sects perhaps did not take wine, since these two sects developed strong and more puritanical views on such matters than the Śaivites and the Tāntricians.

(1) Nīlamata. verses 465

(2) Rājat. IV. 311.

(3) Rājat. VI. 150.

(4) Rājat. V. 358.

(5) Rājat. VIII. 1866-67. For five makāras see supra. p. 411 and
 p. 412 2.

Dress and Ornaments.

We get some information about the dress worn by the people of Kashmir from references in Kalhana's work as well as in those of Ksemendra. The dress worn by the male population was a lower garment (ardhāṅśuka), an upper garment (aṅgarakṣa) and turban (śiraṅśāta). The usual garment referred to in the Rājataranṅinī is the long cloak (prāv āra), which even at present forms the principal type of dress worn by all the classes in Kashmir, and by both men and women.¹

The dress of the female population as it is seen in the terra cotta tiles from Harvan appears to have also consisted of tight fitting trousers;² while the image of goddess Lakṣmī is seen wearing garments very much like the modern saree.³ In Kashmir the women of the Paṇḍit class wear either long cloaks or the saree.

The material used in the making of the cloaks must have been the thick woollens for Kalhana refers to the Pāriṣadyas, the brāhmaṇas of the Ferozita corporations as carrying thick woollen garments. (sthūlakambalavāhinaḥ).⁴

The kings are also said to have donated gifts of antelope skins to the brāhmaṇas.⁵

Though Ksemendra refers to silk dress also it is not stated whether they were made of the silk yarn and material prepared in Kashmir itself or whether they were imported from outside.

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1. Rājat. I. 207-209. III. 169; v. 461. Deśopadeśa. I. 14, 30
IV. 435; N. Mālā. I. 72.
2. Plate. V (3) Plate. III. (4) Rājat. V. 461
3. Rājat. VII. 955, VIII. 2405. (6) S. Māt. VI. 16

Both males and females in Kashmir wore ornaments. The ornaments of men were usually ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets and finger rings.⁽¹⁾ Thus a saffron merchant's son is described by Kṣemendra as wearing an ear ornament (karnābharanapakāncanam) and small gold finger rings (hemavālakavālikā),⁽²⁾ King Jayāpīḍa wore finger rings and had bracelets with his name engraved on them, one of which fell into the mouth of a lion that he is said to have killed in Gauḍa.⁽³⁾ Men also wore ornamental ear rings known as kunḍala, like those of the ladies, and gold chains (śṛṅkhalā).⁽⁴⁾

King Harṣa of the Lohara dynasty (1089-1101) introduced elegant fashions of dress and ornaments from South India. It is said that before his time nobody in the land of Kashmir except the king was allowed to wear a head-dress and ear ornaments. His courtiers are described as appearing in his presence with waving palm leaves and adorned with big fore-head marks of sandal ointment.⁽⁵⁾ On Kṣemendra's evidence we know that men in Kashmir before king Harṣa's time also wore ornaments and from Kalhaṇa's statement we understand that it was only in the presence of the kings that ornaments were forbidden.

(1) Rājat. III, 241, IV. 349-52; II. 876-78, ff.

(2) Sam. Māt. II. 10-11; VII. 13 ff.

(3) Rājat. IV. 440, 458.

(4) Sām. Māt. LL. 51. Rājat. IV. 720; V. 373.

(5) Rājat. VII. 921. ff.

The ornaments worn by women were chains or necklaces (nāra, śṛṅghalā, sūtikā, mālikā)¹, wristlets (kaṅkaṇa), armllets (keyūra), bracelets (patihārya)², ear-rings (valayayugalam, tāḍiyugalam, tāḍidala, karnikā, karnakuṇḍala)³, girdles (kāñci, mekhalā)⁴ and anklets (mañjīrā)⁵.

The women of ordinary means wore ornaments of shells and silver (vidrumamālikā, tāḍiyugamarājtam)⁶, while women of poor classes had even earthen ear-rings! In the time of king Harṣa (1039-11.1) his ladies twined golden strings in the ends of their locks, in their hair-braids they had golden tilaka-leaf ornaments and on their fore-neaus pendants, which made their fore-head marks unsteady.⁷

Various ungeunts for decorating and perfuming the body were saffron(kumkuma)⁹, camphor (karpūra) and sandalwood paste (candana)¹⁰. The use of saffron as an ungeunt is repeatedly referred to as a royal privilege.¹¹ Collyrium was used for the decoration of the eyes. The ladies of king Harṣa's seraglio made the line of collyrium (añjana) join the corners of the eyes to the ears.¹²

13. Women's feet were coloured with red lac (yavakahāriṇau caranau). They also made fore-head marks (tamālapatra)¹³. In the earlier books of the Rājataranṅinī there is only one reference to the decoration of the hair of the ladies with flowers; Harṣa, however, is stated to have introduced Dākṣiṇāṭya fashions and the coiffure during his reign is said as decorated with long garlands of flowers.¹⁴

1. Sam.Māt. II. 51, 70, 73, VIII, 34; Rājat. V. 257, 356-9; N.Mālā. I. 144.
2. Rājat. V. 359. (3) Sam.Māt. II. 70; III. 326, IV. 120; V. 356, 373
4. Sam.Māt. I. 14; III. 37; VI. 6. (5) Rājat. I. 206-9, 247; (6) Sam.Māt. II, 70
(7) N.Mālā. I. 75 (8) Rājat. VII 928-31; Kalavilāsa III (9) Rājat. V. VI. 126 Note (10) Sam.Māt. I, 14; VII, 10, (11) Sam. I. 13. II 59 (12) Rājat. VII. 922-31 (13) Sam. III 415 (14) Sam. 326.

In the very first book of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī Kalhaṇa mentions saffron (kumkuma) and grapes among "the things that even in the heaven are difficult to find but are common there".¹ The only area where saffron is grown at present is Pāmpur (ancient Padma-pura). Prāṅṅabhaṭṭa and Śuka also mention the village of Pāmpur as the only locality where saffron was grown in their time.² This account is corroborated by that of Abu-l-Fazl who tells us that in the time of Akbar, there were 10,000 or 12,000 bighās of land covered with saffron, which "afford prospect that would enchant those who were most difficult to please".³ Lawrence noted 4,527 acres of saffron land within a distance of fifteen miles from Śrīnagara, near Pāmpur.⁴ The Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa has also praised his birth place Khonamuṣa, the modern village of Khunamun, situated about three miles to the north-west of Pāmpur, for its saffron cultivation.⁵

Saffron fields remain under cultivation for ten to fourteen years, during which period the number of corms originally sown is almost doubled. After the field has borne saffron for about ten years, the land remains fallow or is put under other crop, such as wheat or barley, for a period of about ten years; the soil above Pāmpur is strong and excellent crops of wheat and barley grow there.⁷

1. Rājat. 1. 42.

2. Śuka IVth Rājat. 927ff

3. Lawrence Valley. p. 343.

4. Ain-i-Akbarī Vol. 1, p. 357 ff

5. Vikramāṅka. XVIII. 70-72.

6. Economic Development of Kashmir. (Papers on Indian Stated Development. ch. III p. 50)

7. Lawrence Valley p. 343

it is peculiar that saffron is grown only around Pāmpur, though it was noted by Lawrence that there is no special property in the Pāmpur soil which does not exist elsewhere in Kashmir. Many people attested in his time that saffron had been grown in other places. We have, however, no record at present of saffron being grown at any other place except Pāmpur.¹ Stein also pointed out that its cultivation was confined to this area only.² We have already referred to Bilhaṇa's pride in the saffron cultivation of his village.³

How its cultivation first started we cannot tell. The legend is that it was first given out of gratitude to a physician resident at Padmapura, by a Nāga or water deity, in the time of king Lalitāditya. In fact, however, we have earlier references to it in Indian sources, where it is mentioned as Kaśmīraja. Chinese sources show it being imported from its habitat Kashmir into China during the third century A.D.⁴ Commenting on Manu's verse about the royal monopolies, Medhātithi mentions saffron in Kashmir as a royal monopoly.⁵

1. Lawrence. Valley. 343.

2. Stein Rājat. Vol. II. p.306.

3. supra. p. 373

4. D.D.Kosambi . loc.cit. p.3. vide B. Laufer.Sino Iranica.
(Chicago. 1919) pp. 309-23.

5. Medhātithi on Manu. VIII. 399.

Conveyances.

In the very first book of the Rājatarāṅginī, Kalhaṇa refers to the coming and going of boats in the river Vitastā.¹ After his rupture with his son Kalaśa, king Ananta proceeded by boat to Vijayakṣetra by way of the river Vitastā.² King Kalaśa proceeded to die at Mārtaṇḍa temple by the water route.³ Thus the river Vitastā (Jhelum) formed a great high way for movement within the valley.

Kings, queens and ministers and the courtiers used litters (karnīratha, yugya), for movement from one place to another. These litters were carried by men. We have dwelt in detail on the question of the litters elsewhere.⁴ Much of the travelling was done on foot. Alberūnī also refers to the pedestrian habits of the Kashmiris; thus he writes; "The inhabitants of Kashmir are pedestrians, they have no riding animals nor elephants. The noble among them ride in palankins called Kaṭṭ, carried on the shoulders of men".⁵ Such palanquins are seen on the hills of Kashmir, being engaged by those who cannot either walk on foot or ride the ponies.

The elephant, though occasionally mentioned in the Rājatarāṅginī, was apparently very rare and seems to have been used by the kings only. As noted above even Alberūnī pointed this out.⁶

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1. Rājat. I. 201-202. The river Vitastā (Jhelum) is navigable without a single lock from Baramula to
 2. Rājat. II. 347. Khanabala, the port of Islamabad (Anantnag),
 3. Rājat. VII. 714. a distance of 102 miles.
 4. Rājat. V. 33; VIII. 940, 1512, 2290, 2300, 2636, 2673, 3160; Sam Māt.
 5. Alberūnī. India. Vol. 1. p. 206 Vi 26.
 6 Ibid.

CHAPTER. VII.
RELIGION

In the following pages an attempt has been made to reconstruct the history and fundamentals of the religious ideas and practices prevalent in Kashmir under the Lohara kings. No such reconstruction is possible until we have a clear picture of the faiths of Kashmir as they existed before the advent of this dynasty. Religious ideas and practices do not change rapidly in India; moreover the change, when it does take place, does not so drastically alter the face of the existing faith that it is transformed beyond recognition. Here we agree with Eliot who wrote: "Though it would be easy to fill an encyclopaedia with the accounts of Indian beliefs and practices, yet there is often great similarity under the superficial differences; the main lines of thought are less numerous than they seem to be at first sight and they tend to converge".¹

In Kashmir as in the rest of India, those ideas which existed during the earlier period continue during this period also, but with a marked development in Śaivism, which dominated the field, while Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism, though not

1. Eliot. Hinduism and Buddhism. Vol. II. p.135.

ousted from the land and though tolerated by the kings and the public, appear to have lost their importance. A notable feature of the religious life, as in the other parts of India is the spirit of toleration; and this spirit led to a catholicity which overrode narrow sectarian views.¹

The most important and influential scripture of Kashmir Hinduism was and still is the Nīlamatapurāṇa, believed to date from the sixth or seventh century A.D.² By the time of which we write the Nīlamatapurāṇa was thought to be a text of great antiquity. The rites it prescribed are said to have been proclaimed by Nīla, the king of the Kashmir Nāgas and the protector of the land in the remote past,³ and it was virtually looked on as the Bible of Kashmir. Thus when a religious point arises after the coronation of Yaśovatī, the third ruler of the Gonanda line of Kashmir, even the God Kṛṣṇa is depicted as quoting the authority of Nīlamatapurāṇa in support of the view that Kashmir is Pārvatī and its king a portion of Śiva.⁴ Similarly when the religion of the land is said to have suffered at the hands of the Buddhists under the leadership of the great teacher Nāgāñjuna, the worst sin

1. cf. The Age of Imperial Kanauj. p. 256.

2. G. Bühler. Report. p. 40-41.

3. Ibid.

4. Rājat. 1. 71-72

5. ~~Rājat. 1. 178.~~

of these heretics is said to have been their bringing to an end the performance of the rites proclaimed in the Nīlamatapurāna.¹

Further when Candradeva, a descendant of Kaśyapa, propitiated Nīla, the lord of the Kashmir Nāgas, who, being angry at the suspension of the customary oblations because of Buddhist influence, had sent down a destructive snowfall, the religion that was revealed to him anew was no other than that of the Nīlamatapurāna. In fact this seems to be a garbled recollection that the purāna was actually composed on the decline of Buddhism and that its author was actually a teacher of this period called Candradeva. The various rites of Kashmir Śaivism, supposed to have been revealed by Nīla, occupy about two-thirds of the Purāna.²

Kashmir has from times immemorial been a land of holy sites. Kalhana says: "There is not a space as large as a sesamum without a tīrtha".³ Alberūnī tells us that in his time Kashmir held the same position among holy places as Banaras, Kurukṣetra etc.⁴

1. Rājat. 1. 178.

2. Rājat. 1. 183.

3. Rājat. 1. 38.

4. Alberūnī. India. Vol. I. p. 206; Vol. II. p. 148.

The people in ancient Kashmir were much given to the worship of the Nāgas or tutelary deities of springs and lakes. The Nīlamatapurāṇa provides a long list of Kashmir Nāgas and puts their number at thousands.¹ Popular tradition looks upon Kashmir as the favourite residence of these deities, from the time when Kaśyapa, the father of the Nāgas, drained the lake of Satī (Satīsaras), and the Nāgas came to Kashmir for a refuge from Garuḍa.² Hsüan Tsang refers to these Nāgas as 'dragons' because they are represented in the form of serpents living, like the Chinese dragons, in the water of the springs which they are supposed to protect.³

The Nīlamatapurāṇa also contains verses describing the 'tīrthas' connected with the worship of both Śiva and Viṣṇu. In a verse already quoted we find that even the God Kṛṣṇa is stated to have said that the land of Kashmir is Pārvatī and its king a portion of Śiva.⁴ Thus Kṛṣṇa was thought by the Śaivas to have himself been a follower of Śaivism. Similar statements may be found in other Śaivite texts, and interpolations in the Epics and Purāṇas show that the medieval Śaivites often tried to adopt Vaiṣṇava tradition to their own purpose.⁵

1. Nīlamata verses 881-ff.

2. *Ibid.* verse 55.

3. Si-Yu-Ki. Vol. II. p.148. Also see. Crooke. Folk Tales of

4. *Supra.* p. 100.

Kashmir. p.

5. K.C.Pandey. Abhinavagupta. p.55.

About the ancient religion of Kashmir Wilson says; "The religion of Kashmir has been Hindu from a very remote date. Originally no doubt it was the Ophite or the snake worship, but this is a part of the Hindu ritual, and the Nāgas are included in the orthodox pantheon. The adoration of Śiva was soon ingrafted upon this, even if the two rites were not originally identified"¹.

"Snakes and snake deities figure quite important in the worship and traditional history of Kashmir. The extent and permanence of the superstition we may learn from Abul-Fazl, who observes that in seven hundred places there are carved figures of snakes which they worship"².

Thus the religious history of Kashmir may be summarized in the words written by Wilson nearly a century and half ago, which still hold good in most particulars despite later research :-

"If any conclusion may be drawn from such imperfect premises, it might be supposed that the inhabitants of Cashmir (sic) originally followed an idolatrous system of their own, to which they superadded a few ill defined Gods and

1. H. H. Wilson . An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir.

As. Res XV. p. 83.

2. Ibid. Akbari.

and ceremonies, borrowed from the Brahmans of the plains; that whilst they were yet open to conversion, an attempt was made from the other side, or from Tartary, to introduce Buddhism (sic) amongst them, which was combated and finally frustrated by Southern assistance: The national faith of Cashmir (sic) has eversince continued Hindu, and the almost exclusive form of adoration has been that addressed to Śiva and his Śacti (sic)".¹

MATERIAL MANIFESTATIONS OF RELIGIOUS FERVOUR

The religious beliefs and the activities of the Kashmir kings led them to erect many religious foundations such as temples, vihāras and mathas. With a few exceptions all of them tried to do something or the other for the sake of religious merit. The advent of the Lohara dynasty was also the period of the growth and development of Kashmir Śaivism and of great literary activity both in its Tāntric and philosophical aspects.

Earlier kings, in the period for which we have a reliable record, from Lalitāditya Muktāpīda onwards (c 699-736. A.D.)

I. H.H.Wilson. Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir.

As. Res. Vol. XV. p84.

built large vihāras and maṭhas and endowed agrahāras for their maintenance. King Lalitāditya built at Huṣkapura (modern Ushkar) a splendid shrine of Viṣṇu called Muktasvāmin, and a large vihāra with a stūpa. He also built a lofty temple of stone for Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra and made grants of agrahāra villages. He built the wonderful Mārtaṇḍa temple and is credited with the erection at Parihāsapura (modern Paraspor) of several Viṣṇu images with the titles, Parihāsakeśava, Muktakeśava, Mahāvarāha and Govardhanadhara (modern Gurdurūḍar). He built the Rājavihāra with a large quadrangle (catuḥśālā)¹, a large caitya, and a colossal image of the Buddha. Kalhaṇa tells us that he built all these structures with practically equal cost on each. Even his wives and ministers consecrated hundreds of images of Viṣṇu and Śiva.² Thus though the predominant faith under Lalitāditya was Vaiṣṇavism, the worship of Śiva, Mārtaṇḍa and Buddha went on side by side with perfect toleration and mutual veneration at this time.

As already noted, the tenth and eleventh centuries were marked by a spirit of religious activity. This was also the time when a distinguished line of literary men expounded the special Kashmir form of Śaivite philosophy called Trika.

1. Rājat. IV. 188-203.

2. Rājat. IV. 207-209.

reference to donations to Viṣṇu and the foundation of temples devoted to him become rare. No king of this period is reported to have endowed a Buddhist vihāra --- though Buddhist donations were resumed under the second Lohara dynasty. Lalitaditya's⁵ patronage of the Sun-god was not repeated. Until the coming of Islam Śiva ruled supreme in Kashmir; other gods were far beneath him in importance.

King Parvagupta (949-50), though he had accumulated riches through evil ways, yet founded a shrine of Śiva. A lady of king Yaśaskara's seraglio (939-48) constructed a temple of Viṣṇu Yaśaskarasvāmin.¹ During the reign of king Kṣemagupta (950-58) the Jayendravihāra was burnt and he built on its site the temple called Kṣemagaurīśvara.² This gives a clear indication of the way in which Buddhism was supplanted gradually by Śaivism in the valley of Kashmir. Queen Diddā also founded two³ temples of Viṣṇu and a vihāra and a maṭha for foreign brahmanas³

King Ananta's queen, Sūryamatī (1028-63) founded many Śiva temples and a maṭha provided with an agrahāra, bāṇalingas, triśūlas and other sacred emblems.⁴ King Kalaśa (1063-89) built

1. Rājat. VI. 137-41.

2. Rājat. VI. 171-73.

3. Rājat. VII. 304.

4. Rājat. VII. 180-85. for Bāṇalinga see. Plate. VII.

and a shrine in honour of Siva Kalāśvara

śiva temples at Vijayakṣetra and Tripureśvara, at a place unspecified.¹ We shall deal with king Kalaśa and king Harśa later.

King Uccala of the second Lohara dynasty (1101-11) bestowed thousands of cows, horses, gold and other gifts on the brahmanas and put up the illustrious image of Viṣṇu known as Parihāsakeśava which king Harśa had carried off.² His brother and successor king Sussala is also credited with the building of three high temples in his own name and in the names of his mother-in-law and wife, and with the renovation of Diddā vihāra which had been burnt down by a sudden conflagration.³ With the coming to the throne of king Jayasiṃha and the consequent establishment of good government, religious activity seems to have received a further stimulus. Among this king's religious foundations those in favour of Buddhism stand prominent; to his patronage are attributed the vihāra of Ratna-devī,⁴ another vihāra in honour of his deceased wife Sussalā,⁵ the building afresh of the Caṅkuṇavihāra⁶ founded by his uncle, of the Sullavihāra founded by his uncle.⁷ Kalhaṇa tells us that the shrine of Siva Rilhaṇeśvara which he erected at Pravarapura excited wonder and became pre-eminent among pious

1. Rājat. VII. 524-27.

2. Rājat. VIII. 76-79.

3. Rājat. VIII. 580.

4. Rājat. VIII. 2402.

5. Rājat. VIII. 2410.

6. Rājat. VIII. 2415-17.

7. Rājat. VIII. 3316-18.

foundations.¹ He completed the three temples of his father and made a permanent endowment to the maṭha of king Uccala.² He also consecrated the image of Viṣṇu Govaradhanadhara.³ This religious activity on the part of the king was followed by his ministers and their families. Bhuṭṭa, the younger brother of Jalla, the Sāṃdhivigrahika of the ruler of Darvābhisāra,⁴ established liṅgas of Bālakeśvara and Bhuṭṭeśvara, and founded a town called Bhuṭṭapura (modern Batapōr in Machipur Pargana) with great houses, vihāras and maṭhas.⁵ Maṅkhanā, the brother of Alaṅkāra, the minister of foreign affairs (Sāṃdhivigrahaka) distinguished himself by erecting a shrine of Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva) together with a maṭha.⁶ Rilhaṇa, another minister, made gifts to Siva temples and placed a golden parasol on a Viṣṇu temple.⁷ Cintā, the wife of Udaya, the commander-in-chief, adorned the bank of Vitastā by constructing a vihāra with fine buildings.⁸

1. Rājat. VIII. 2409.

2. Rājat. VIII. 3316-18.

3. Rājat. VIII. 2438.

4. Darvābhisāra-- territory between Vitastā and Candrabhāgā
Stein Rajat. tr. I. 180. note.

5. Rājat. VIII. 2430-32.

6. Rājat. VIII. 3354.

7. Rājat. VIII. 3368-70.

8. Rājat. VIII. 3352-53.

Despite this general tendency towards religious toleration and desire for religious merit leading to the establishment of so many lofty temples, vihāras and maṭhas, there were, during the first Lohara dynasty and even earlier, kings whose avariciousness led to severe spoliation of the temples and even desecration of the images of gods. We have already discussed King Śaṅkaravarman's (883-903) excessive habits of avarice which led him to plunder sixty-four temples through special officers and to resume the villages belonging to the temples against a compensatory assignment (pratikāra).¹

King Kalaśa (1063-89), by a sudden change for the worse in his conduct, destroyed first the copper image of Sūrya, called Tāmrasvāmin, and also seized the brass images from the Buddhist vihāras.² Later he regretted this conduct of his, and, believing that the god Sūrya was angered by the destruction of the images of Tāmrasvāmin, he proceeded to take refuge at the temple of Mārtaṇḍa to propitiate the Sun-god in order to save his life. Though he was a worshipper of Śiva, he offered a gold image of the sun-god before the feet of Mārtaṇḍa.³

King Harṣa of the first Lohara dynasty, though reputed for his lavish gifts and elegant tastes, had his own peculiar ways.

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1. Supra. pp 206-207.
 2. Rājat. VII, 695-96.
 3. Rājat. VII, 709-715.

He is remembered for the spoliation of temples and the breaking of the images of the gods, which he performed so thoroughly that only two divine images of Kashmir were spared by him, the illustrious Rāmasvāmin in Śrīnagara and the main image of the great Mārtāṇḍa temple. Two Buddha statues were saved through the interference of Kalhaṇa's uncle Kanaka and the śramaṇa Kuśalaśrī.¹ Kalhaṇa, however, tells us that, at the time of his death, King Harṣa uttered the words, "O! Maheśvara", showing his faith in Śaivism.² The work of temple looting was carried out so thoroughly that Harṣa appointed a special officer named Udayarāja as superintendent for the destruction of the gods (Devotpāṭananāyaka).³

Not being content with the mere confiscation of the images Harṣa got them deliberately defiled by the naked mendicants (Nagnāṭa) who were employed by the king as his agents in looting the temples. "Evidently this deliberate pollution", opines Prof. A.L. Bashm, "was impelled by some motive other than the mere relief of financial stringency; and it may surely be inferred that the king's whole policy was in part inspired by a bias towards heresy".⁴

Kalhaṇa uses the epithet 'Turuṣka' for this king, which led Stein to interpret his iconoclasm as evidence of his leanings

1. Rājat. VII, 1091-96.

2. Rājat. VII, 1712.

3. Rājat VII, 1091.

4. A.L. Bashm. Harṣa of Kashmir and the Iconoclast Ascetics. Reprint from the BSOAS. Vol. XII, parts 3, 4. 1948. p.688.

towards Islam.¹ Referring to Harṣa's iconoclastic orgies, R.C. mitra writes: "Being a Turuṣka by birth, he was a mleccha by faith and the sacriligious action of Harṣa and his grandfather (sic) Kalaśa may thus be easy of explanation".² Though Harṣa's iconoclasm has led the scholars to believe that he had leanings towards Islam we do not quite understand as to what made Mitra believe that Harṣa was a Turuṣka by birth. If it were so the whole of the first Lohara dynasty might be claimed to have cherished the Mohammedan faith.

Allusions to Turuṣkas became more frequent now than before. We are told that Harṣa had a hundred Turuṣka chiefs under his pay. On his siege of Rājapuri, when Harṣa was quite successful, it is the rumour of an attack from the Turuṣkas which led Harṣa to abandon the enterprise and flee back to his kingdom. The reference alludes to the rising power of the Turks under Shahabuddin Mohammad Ghorī who had conquered northern India by Harṣa's time.

No conversions to Islam are recorded by our sources as having taken place at this stage of the history of Kashmir, and Kalhaṇa gives us repeated records of the establishment of religious foundations by the Kashmir kings even after the fall of this dynasty.³ There is no doubt that King Harṣa's father Kalaśa also followed evil ways. Four Rājaputras from the Sāhi family were his favourites

1. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. I, p.353 note.

2. R.C. Mitra. Decline of Buddhism in India. p. 23.

3. Supra pp. 385-86.

and he fell under the control of the t̄antric guru named Pramada-kaṇṭha. Kalhaṇa gives all the details of this king's licentiousness and the evil that he practised in the company of these base associates. Our author, though full of remorse at his behaviour, makes no mention of this king's leanings towards Islam but clearly attributes it to his association with the tantric guru, who even acted as a procurer.¹ Along with all these practices are mentioned Kalaśa's pious foundations² and this consecration of images of gods. It is also stated that near his end King Kalaśa felt great repentance for having caused the destruction of the image of T̄amrasvāmin, and died at the holy abode of god Sūrya though he was the worshipper of Śiva.³ We should, however, bear in mind all the influences that worked on Kalaśa before we start analysing the attitude of King Harṣa. Prof. Kosambi attributes this tendency on the part of Harṣa to "the need for money to pay the army (then engaged in the struggle with Ḍāmaras and pretenders) and for metal (which in Kashmir was always in short supply for lack of efficient prospectors) as the only reasons. No theological necessity was discovered, adduced or needed. Harṣa did employ Turuṣka mercenaries, but showed as great contempt for Islam as for his own religion, by his eating pork".⁴ As for the need for money we have already seen that even in the time of King Jayāpīḍa there

1. Rājat. VII, 273 ff.

2. Rājat. VII, 524-32.

3. Rājat. VII, 722.

4. D.D. Kosambi. Introd. to the Study of Indian History. p.337.

was financial difficulty. The officials (Kāyastha) besought the king to avoid the hardships of universal conquests and to collect instead riches from his own land; thus he started to oppress his subjects, and in his persistent greed he went so far that for three years he took the whole harvest, including the cultivator's share, and even confiscated the agrahāras of the brāhmaṇas.¹ King Śaṅkaravarman's oppressive financial exactions have been referred to.² Thus long before the time of the Loharas the avariciousness of the rulers had led them to disregard the privileges of the brāhmaṇas and misappropriate the wealth of the temples. This tendency surged up again under King Kalaśa and reached an extreme limit under Harṣa. The avarice and the licentious habits of the previous kings led them to oppress the subjects, but there was no breaking or any sort of defilement of the images of the gods. The need for money was surely even more urgent under Harṣa, who was so extravagant and who introduced elegant fashions and maintained a lavish court. All this entailed a huge expense and compelled the king to find out some device to meet this need. As rightly pointed out by Kosambi, the need for money was made even more pressing by the fact that the king had also to cope with the rising power of the Ḍāmaras who were accumulating riches and were usurping more and more power. Ultimately they became so turbulent that this unfortunate king lost his throne, his son and his very life.

1. Supra. p. 206

2. Supra. p. 206-207.

Kalhana specifically tells us that the money thus secured was used for the efficient running of the various departments of the army. But there was no necessity of causing ordure and urine to be poured on the gods and to cover them with spittle instead of flowers. Harsha's bias towards heresy is proved by his sacriligious activities and the deliberate defilement of the images of all the gods indiscriminately.

B U D D H I S M

Buddhism did not have the privilege of being the exclusive state religion, but we have enough evidence to show that the successive rulers of Kashmir, their ministers, and their queens, extended their patronage to Buddhism and established Buddhist foundations, even though some of them were Śaiva or Viṣṇava by faith.

The Rājatarāṅgiṇī tells us that king Aśoka ruled over Kashmir, embraced the Buddhist religion, covered Śuśkaletra and Vitast^ātra with numerous Stūpas, and built caityas and vihāras.¹ Buddhism may have entered Kashmir even earlier, for one legendary king Surendra is said to have founded in the neighbourhood of the Darada country a town called Soraka and built a vihāra called Narendrabhavana and another vihāra called Sorasa in Kashmir.

The traditions preserved in Buddhist texts regarding the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir find corroboration in the Nilamatapurāṇa.³ In this text Buddha is made an incarnation of Viṣṇu and in connection with this belief mention is made in the purāṇa of the celebration of the birthday of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu on the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha

1. Rājat. I, 101.

The Blue Annals of Tibet also mention Aśoka and his propagation of the Buddhist faith in Kashmir. J.A.S.B. 1848. pp. 23-25.

2. Rājat. I, 93-94.

3. Nilamata. Verses 684-689.

(April-May). On that day it is said that Buddha's statue is to be bathed with water containing herbs, jewels and scents and worshipped with the recitation of the sentences employed by the Sākyas. The place of worship is to be coated with honey. The temple and the stūpa are to have pictures painted in them. The Sākyas (the Buddhist ascetics) are also to be worshipped and presented with cows, monastic robes (cīvara), food and books.¹

Though the Chinese Buddhist scholar Hsuan Tsang does not give us a very favourable picture of the state of Buddhism in Kashmir in the 7th century,² the fact that the then ruling king of Kashmir came to Kapiśa to pay his respects to the Buddhist monk shows his regard for the Buddhist faith.³

In the middle of the 8th century, Ou k'ong found 300 monasteries instead of 100 of Hsuan tsang's days, and though Vaiṣṇavism was the religion followed by Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, we have record of the foundation of a number of vihāras during his reign. His minister Caṅkuṇa took the image of Buddha which Lalitāditya had brought from Magadha and installed it at Śrīnagara. The reference to the magic powers of this minister appears to be a symptom of the prevalence of Tāntric Buddhism in this time.

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1. Ibid. This description is exactly like that given in the KṛtyaṚatnākara (pp.159-60), quoted in Kane's History of Dharma Shastra Vol. II, p.722. The ceremonies for the worship of the Buddha are similar though the day mentioned for this worship is 7th day from the full moon of Baisakh (April-May).
 2. Beal. Life of H.T. pp. 69, 191.
 3. Rājat. III, 355.

To the reign of Avantivarman (855/6-883) belonged Śivasvāmin the author of the Kapphiṇābhūdaya.¹ Śivasvāmin's work was inspired by Buddhist teachings. Following the version of the Avadānaśataka in writing this poem, he has introduced many changes. One of these is that the Buddha appears on the scene as a result of the prayers of King Prasenajit of Kosala, who is unable to withstand the advance of the enemy. The Buddha changes the mind of Prasenajit's enemy, King Kapphiṇa, with a miracle. He preaches the Law to him, but when requested by King Kapphiṇa to initiate him into the order, he refuses to do so, but admonishes him to practise selflessness in the discharge of his duties as the ruler of his kingdom.²

From the deviation of this legend from the version in the Avadānaśataka, Gauriśankar, the editor of this work, has pointed out that the influence of the Hindu ideal of life as found in the laws of Manu, and the doctrine of 'Non-attachment' in the pursuit of one's duties, find full adherence in Śivasvāmin. The Buddhist ideal of monkhood is replaced by that of the householder who seeks salvation by doing his duties in a spirit of self-renunciation.³

We shall further discuss this point later.⁴

1. Rājat. V, 1-126.

2. Śivasvāmin. Kapphiṇābhūdaya. Ch. XVIII, 141-151;
Ch. XX, 1-42.
Ch. XIX, 1-45.

3. Ibid, p. XXIV - XXV.

4. AMR2, p.

King Kṣemagupta (950-68) is said to have burnt down the famous Jayendra Vihāra and utilized the brass of the image of Buddha in the temple of Śiva that he erected.¹ Dr. Sunil Ray and R.C. Mitra look upon the burning of the vihāra with suspicion, and we believe with the latter that "this fury was perhaps provoked by political factors rather than by motives of religious persecution."² This vihāra had sheltered the rebel Ḍāmara Saṃgrāma and also King Pārtha (906-21) when the latter was dethroned owing to ministerial intrigues.³ During the reign of Nandigupta (972-73) queen Diddā built Vaiṣṇava temples as well as Buddhist vihāras and consecrated an image of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi.⁴

Some scholars hold that from the middle of the ninth century till the advent of the eleventh, Buddhism fell on evil days and all kings were anti-Buddhist. It is stated by K.C. Pandey, an authority on Abhinavagupta, that the visit of Śaṅkarācārya, the great Śaivite philosopher, took place some time in the second decade of the ninth century, after Śaṅkara had given his final blow to Buddhism in the rest of India.⁵ He thinks that this visit purged the local faith of its Buddhist elements, strengthened the position of the new Tāntric creed which was brought by the two immigrant families and had already begun to be accepted by the

1. Rājat. V, 171.

2. J.B.R.S. June 1955, p.178. R.C. Mitra. Decline of Buddhism in India p.22.

3. Rājat. VI, 428.

4. Rājat. VI, 171-73.

5. K.C. Pandey. Abhinavagupta, p.90.

populace, and aroused their curiosity to know more about it. Wilson has stated that the attempt to introduce Buddhism in Kashmir was combatted and finally frustrated by Southern assistance. He also seems to refer here to the visit of Śaṅkara.¹ Though the growth of Śaivism is connected with the reign of Avantivarman (mid. 9th century) and though during the reign of this king, Kalhana does not record much religious activity on the part of Buddhism, we do not find any instances of religious persecution of any sort. Moreover, it was during this time that Śivasvāmin wrote Kapphiṇā bhudaya based on a Buddhist theme, though the poem extols the brāhmanical ideal of a householder rather than that of monkhood of the Buddhists.² We have already referred to the reverence shown by the Kashmir kings as well as their queens and ministers and the public towards the teachings of Buddha.³ Wilson wrote when indology was in its infancy and much research in this field has been made since his days. Pandey followed the older authors and the Śaṅkaradigvijaya.⁴ His remarks are far-fetched; for, not to speak of North, even in the South "Buddhism did not crumble down to ruin at the touch of Śaṅkara in the early 9th century A.D. nor was its extinction complete in the 12th".⁵ Mitra rightly believes that the name of Śaṅkara was devised by later zealots as a

1. Supra. p. 382.

2. Supra. p. 394

3. Supra. p. 382 ff.

4. K.C. Pandey. Abbinavagupta. p.90. vide Śaṅkaradigvijaya
ch. XVI, pp.54-80.

5. R.C. Mitra. Decline of Buddhism in India, p.103.

plausible human agency with whom to associate the tradition of a heresy-hunt, simply because these authors fashioned the new philosophy in vindication of orthodoxy which seemed to have knocked the bottom out of the Buddhist defence.¹ He adds: "Though he (Śaṅkara) fortified Hinduism against the assault of the heretical sects by enrolling missionaries in its defence and organising them into corporate monastic schools ... the legend of his having preached and led a bloody crusade against the Buddhists cannot be sustained".² There is a small poem Daśavatāra Stotra assigned to Śaṅkara, wherein he describes Buddha in worshipful terms as a yogī, seated in padmāsana, in deep meditation, and thereby recognizes the divine character of Buddha. Also Sureśvara, the disciple of Śaṅkara, quotes the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti and calls him respectfully a Śākya Puṅgava or the eminent Bauddha.³

King Kalaśa (1063-89) seized the brass images from the Buddhist Vihāras. But in his case we note that the treatment towards other sects was equally bad.⁴ When describing the destruction of gods and the spoliation of the wealth of the temples by King Harṣa, Kalhaṇa is particular to name the Buddha Statues - one at Parihāsapura and the other ^{at} Śrīnagara - which were preserved, together with the images of Hindu gods which shared that

1. Ibid. pp. 128-30.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. quotes Memoirs of A.S.P. Vol. XXVI, p.5.

4. Rājat. VII, 686.

distinction.¹ It is also of singular interest that Tibetan tradition attributes a Sanskrit poem entitled Aṣṭa Mahā Sthāna - Caitya Vandanaṃ Stave (Gnas Chen Po Brgyad Kyi la Phyang tshal ba'i bstod Pa) to King Harṣa.² Another work named Suprabhāta Prabhāta-Stotra is also attributed to his authorship in the Tangyur.

Mitra believes that the atrocity of Harṣa had no peculiar anti-Buddhist bias; while temples were systematically plundered by an officer specially appointed for the purpose, and the cherished idols were demolished and made to roll on night soil, no such revolting desecration is recorded of Buddhist idols and relics.³ But though we know that Harṣa spared the two principle images of Bhuddist at the interference of Kanaka and Śramaṇa Kuśala Śrī, we cannot say clearly that he had special regard for Buddhism. The spoliation of the temples and images is a manifestation of his perverted mind rather than of special hatred of any particular religious sect, for among the divine images spared by him are also mentioned those of Raṇasvāmin and Mārtaṇḍa along with two Buddhist images.⁴

It is curious that the authors of Vol. V. of the History

1. Rājat. VII, 1097 ff.

2. I.H.Q. 1941, pp. 223 ff. quoted by R.C. Mitra, Decline of Buddhism in India, p.23.

It is clear the Harṣa of Kashmir is referred to and not Harṣavardhana of Kanauj.

The chronology of the Rājataranginī, especially for Lohara period has been correctly fixed and is proved by corroborative evidence. See Stein. Rājat. tr. VIII, 35 note.

3. R.C. Mitra. Op. cit. p.23.

4. Op. cit.

and Culture of the Indian People, have praised Harṣa for his leanings towards Buddhism and have denied any charges of the desecration of the Buddhist images or looting of the vihāras.¹ There is no doubt that the Chinese and Tibetan sources give us evidence about the Buddhist writings of Harṣa.² Kalhaṇa also testifies to the literary ability of this king and praises his unique skill in composition of all sorts. We have no chronological records to show in which years these works were written. He may have changed his attitude later. When he started the work of spoliation he spared the images of two Hindu gods and two Buddhist, thus it is clear that he had equally turned against all the sects. We believe that at a certain period in his life, he came under certain sinister influences and started looting the temples and defiling the images of the gods of all the established sects without any discrimination.

Buddhist foundations are also recorded to the credit of the Queen of King Uccala of the second Lohara dynasty.³ His brother and successor King Sussala is credited with the renovation of Diddāyihāra which had been burnt down by a sudden conflagration.⁴ We have already referred to the prominence of the religious foundations of King Jayasimha in favour of Buddhism.⁵ This was followed

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1. Rājat. VII, 1091-97.
 2. Vol. V. The Struggle for Empire. p.42.
 3. Rājat. VIII, 580.
 4. Rājat. VIII,
 5. Supra. p. 385

by his ministers and their wives.¹ In a recently published text book it is stated that Jayasimha (1128-1155) lacked catholicity of heart and broke up images and burnt down the vihāra at Arigaon near Śrīnagara, though it was afterwards rebuilt. "Fortunately", adds the author, "only a few bigots of the type of Jayasimha sat on the throne of Kashmir".² There is no evidence whatsoever regarding the breaking of the images of gods by Jayasimha; he is, on the other hand, credited with a number of new establishments as well as with the renovation of the old ones. There is no trace of his bigotry in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī; the statement we have quoted is based on a stone inscription found at Arigaon, written in Śāradā characters and dated Laukika saṃvat 73, or November 1197.³ The inscription begins with an invocation to Avalokiteśvara. The object of the inscription is to record the reconstruction by a Vaidya named Ulhaṇa, of a Vihāra built of burnt bricks, to replace a wooden structure which had been burnt down by King Simha. Konow identifies Simha with Jayasimha, (1128-55), in whose reign Hāḍigrāma was burnt down by Sujji.⁵ Stein identified Hāḍigrāma with the modern Arigaon where the inscription was found.⁴ The burning of the vihāra does not apparently imply any sort of deliberate persecution of the Buddhists by King Jayasimha, who, on the other hand, is stated by Kalhaṇa to have established Buddhist vihāras himself.

1. Rājat. VIII, 2430-32, 3368-70, 3343-44, 3352-55.

2. The Struggle for Empire. p.420.

3. Supra.

4. Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, p.300.

5. Stein. Rājat. tr. VIII, 1104, 2234, 2574, 2402, 2410-17, 3316-18.

The burning probably took place during the troubles arising out of the intrigues against Sujji. Konow further identifies the Vaidya Ulhāṇa with Ulhāṇa, the son of Sahadeva, who is referred to by Kalhāṇa as a supporter of Sujji. This inscription clearly shows that Buddhism was still alive in Kashmir in the end of the 12th century, but gives no evidence of its persecution.

As regards Kalhāṇa's general tendency towards religious toleration and equal reverence for the various religious sects, Stein writes: "It is curious to note side by side with close attachment to Śaivism on the part of both Kalhāṇa and his father the manifestly friendly attitude which Kalhāṇa displays towards Buddhism throughout the whole of the chronicle. A long series of kings from Aśoka downwards receives his unstinted praise for the Vihāras and Stūpas they founded for the benefit of the Buddhist creed. Similar foundations by private individuals are recorded with the same attention. Others like Meghavāhana are praised for having in accordance with Jina's teachings prohibited the slaughter of animals."² It is not only in the earlier period that we find references to the Buddhist faith. Kalhāṇa makes numerous references to the images of Buddha claiming special interest. We have already referred to the preservation of ^{Buddha statues by King Harṣa together with} Hindu gods which shared that distinction.³

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1. Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, p.300. vide Rājat. VIII, 2066, 2092, 2097.
 2. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. I, p.8. vide Rājat. III, 4-7, 27 ff. 255ff; V. 64, 119.
 3. Supra. pp 397-98

Referring to the interference of the Buddhist Śramaṇa Kuśalañī, in order to save the Buddha statue, Stein writes: "In view of this company it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Kanaka too was personally connected in some way with Buddhist worship".¹ Kalhaṇa does not hesitate to refer repeatedly to the Bodhisattvas or to the Buddha himself as the comforters of all beings, the embodiments of perfect charity and nobility of feeling. They are, to him, beings of absolute goodness who do not feel anger even against the sinner but in patience render him kindness.² As late as the reign of King Jayasiṃha, when Buddhism was declining in India, we find mention of belief in Buddhism in Kashmir. Tired of the terrible exactions of Citraratha, the revenue minister, the subjects decided to kill him, saying "the destruction of one wicked person is called lawful when all are helped by it. Even the Jina (Buddha) slew a great snake which killed living beings".³ Though it is not possible to trace the Buddhist legend here alluded to, it is enough to tell us of the reverence with which Buddha and his life were held by the people of Kashmir even as late as Kalhaṇa's own time. Thus Kalhaṇa also shows us his thorough familiarity with special points of Buddhist traditions and terminology.

Kṣemendra, as well as his Hindu writings, composed the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, a collection of Jātaka stories. His

1. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. I, p.7.

2. Ibid. p.8, vide Rājat I, 134; III, 28; VIII, 2574.

3. Rājat. VIII, 2334.

son Somendra, in the introduction to this work, tells us that his father composed it at the request of a brāhmaṇa Sajjanānanda and his friend Nakka. Kṣemendra undertook the work but left it after writing three avadānas, as the work seemed too lengthy; but being instructed by the Tathāgata himself in a dream, Kṣemendra composed 107 tales (pallavas). Vīryabhadra, an authority on Buddhist texts, also helped him. The 108th tale was added by his son Somendra, who also provided an introduction. The work illustrates six perfections of the Bodhisattva - charity, moral character, patience, diligence, contemplation and wisdom.² Somendra in his introduction to the tale of Jimūtavāhana, his additional pallava, says: "Those well-known vihāras, gorgeous with the array of pictures pleasing to the eye, have passed away in the course of time. But the vihāra of moral merit, excellent and delightful, erected by my father, in which the Avadānas, with weighty meanings underlying them, are carried out, as it were, and painted with variegated colours by the pencil of the goddess of learning, will not perish even at the end of time, not even by the ravages of fire or of water".³

It appears that there was not much Buddhist building activity in this period and the vihāras of old had decayed by the passage of time and the ravages of fire and flood. But the words

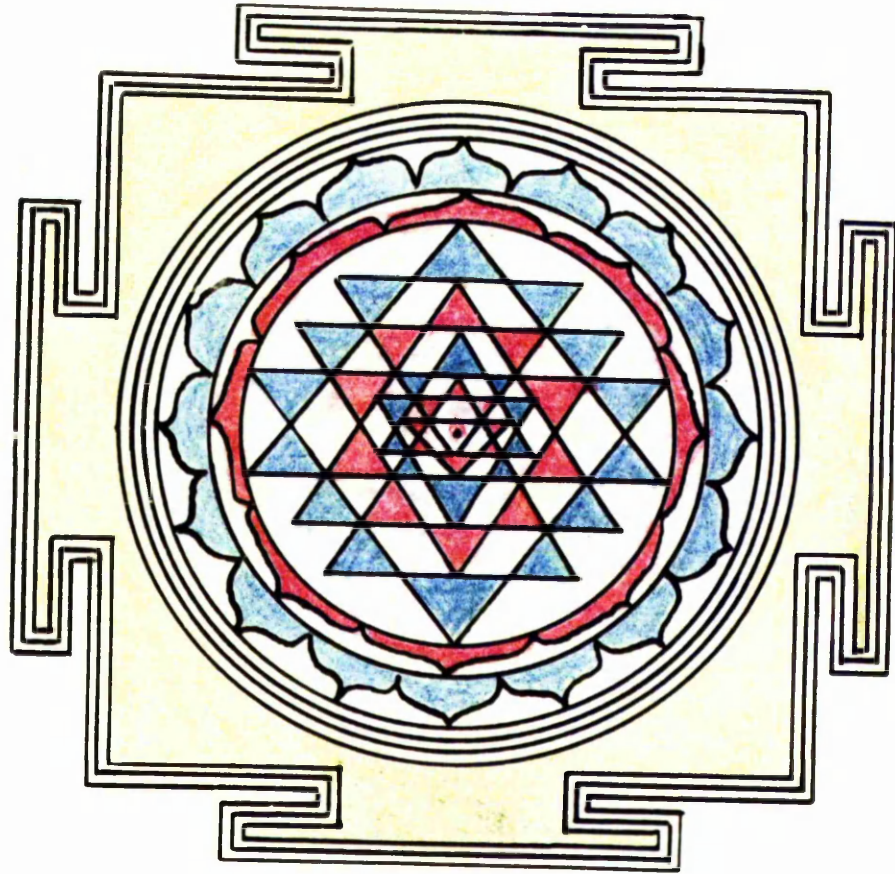
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1. Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra. Ed. Sarat candra Das and Pt. Hari Mohan Vidya bhushana. Vol. I, Calcutta, 1938.
 2. Ibid. Introd. Somendra, verses 5, 6, 10-16.
 3. Ibid. Prefatory note pp. V, VI.

echo the great reverence with which Buddhism was held by Somendra and the country of Kashmir. The Kathāsaritsāgara is also full of Buddhist features.¹ That Śākyaśrī, a pandit of Kashmir, presented the Bodhisattvāvadānakaikalpatā to the Kun- dgah- rgyal Mtshan, the Lama of Tibet in 1202, shows the regard with which Buddhism was held in Kashmir as late as the beginning of the 13th century.²

R.C. Mitra, who has made a detailed survey of the decline of Buddhism in India, believes that Buddhism was in a prosperous condition in Kashmir in the 11th century. He does not agree with Foucher who thought that "Buddhism at this time was singularly enfeebled".³ We do not believe with Mitra, however, that Buddhism was in a really flourishing condition and that there was no laxity. We find definite signs of laxity, and evidence of magic and exorcisms, the arid pedantry and mystic cobwebs of the Tantric imagination.

1. Kietty. History of Sanskrit Literature. p. 249.
 2. R.C. Mitra. Dec. of Bud. p.135, also see J.A. 1892, p.167.
 3. Bodhisattava. Ed. cit. Prefatory Note. p iii.

bindutrikonaśukasukonadaśārayugmamanvaśranāgadala
 sañyutaśodaśāraṃ / vrittatrayaṃ ca dharaṇīśadana
 trayam ca śrīcakrametaduditaṃ paradevatāyāḥ //



Śrī Yantra

DESCRIPTION FROM THE CENTRE OUTWARDS

1. Red Central Point--Sarvānandamaya
2. White Central Triangle--sarvasiddhipradha.
3. Eight Red Triangles--Sarvarogahara.
4. Ten Blue Triangles--Sarvarakṣākara.
5. Ten Red Triangles--Sarvārthasādhaka
6. Fourteen Blue Triangles--Sarvasaundhāgyadāyaka.
7. Eight-petalled Red Lotus--Sarvasaṃkṣobana.
8. Sixteen-petalled Red Lotus--Sarvāśāparipūraka.
9. Yellow Surround--Trailokyamonana.

TANTRICISM

The Tantras, inculcating the worship of the Mother Goddess in her various forms, constitute a considerable body of literature.¹ The Tantric literature essentially represents a very important part of Indian spiritual lore, so far as its practical aspect is concerned.² Tanyate vistāryate jñānam anena iti tantram, according to this derivation of the word "Tantra" from the root tan 'to spread', it is defined as the Śāstra by which knowledge (jñāna) is spread - the end of the practical methods which these Śāstras employ is to spread Vedāntic Jñāna. The end is essentially the same; the means to that end vary according to knowledge, capacity and temperament.³

The word 'Tantra' by itself simply means a 'treatise' and not necessarily a religious scripture. In its latter meaning it may mean the scripture of several divisions of worshippers who vary in doctrine and practice. Thus there are Tantras of Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, and Śāktas and of the various sub-divisions of these.⁴ It is a cultural discipline in a wide sense, and when used in a more limited sense, it is spiritual knowledge of a technical

1. R.G. Bhandarkar. V.S.M.R.S. p.144.
 2. Haridas Bhattacharyya. The Cultural Heritage of India. Vol. IV, p.211.
 3. Woodroffe. Shakti and Shākta. p.142.
 4. Ibid.

nature.¹

The Tantras form the fourth section of the Hindu scriptures in order of inspiration and authority, the other three being Śruti, Smṛti and Purāṇas. They are also known as the fifth Veda by those who regard them as authoritative and observe the ritual which they enjoin.² Kulluka Bhaṭṭa commenting on Manu says that Śruti is twofold - Vedic and Tāntric.³ Some regard them as a Śruti or Āgama, 'revelation', as opposed to a Smṛti or Nigama, 'tradition'. It is thus classed with Vedas.

The religious attitude in the Tantras is fundamentally the same as in the Vedic ritual. The Tantric sādhana also concerns the attainment of ascendancy over the forces of nature by the esoteric ritual involving the yogic practice, its aim being the union of the two principles, the Śiva and the Śakti.⁴

The Tantras, which succeed are in part dependent on the Purāṇas, are also in part unrelated to the latter and are of considerable antiquity. In their present form they are usually ascribed to 6th or 7th century.⁵ Tantric usages and practical formulae were current and were practised in a much earlier age, for they belong to a type of thought that varies little among

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1. Haridas Bhattacharyya. Op. cit. p.211.
 2. Ency. Rel. & Eth. Vol. XII, p.192-93; Woodroffe. Introduction to Tantra Shastra. p.40; Wilson. Essay, p.216 note.
 3. Kulluka Bhaṭṭa. Comm. on Manu. Ch. II, verse 1.
 4. H. Bhattacharyya. Op. cit. p.211.
 5. Ibid. p.213.

primitive peoples in the course of centuries.¹ But though their practices are undoubtedly very ancient, nearly all authorities ascribe the growth of tantric literature to a later period.² It was only from about the 5th or 6th century A.D. that tantrism as a special religious or philosophical school gradually arose. The worship of the Mothers and references to the Dākinīs attending them may be traced back to the Gangādhara inscription of the 5th century A.D.³ and images of the mothers are referred to in the Brhatsaṃhitā.⁴

According to Bhattacharyya the Tantras of the Āgama type were prevalent during the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, from the Kuṣāṇa period down to the end of the Gupta period.⁵

The religion of the Āgamas (Śiva Tantras) apparently developed through two channels, one exoteric and the other esoteric. The former was pure Śaivism with greater emphasis on the devotional aspect of the worship of Śiva-Paśupati, with a view to attaining salvation. The latter was continued as Śāktiṣm, with greater emphasis on the various Śakti cults, not so much to attain salvation as to gain ascendancy over the forces of nature, and to carry on experiments with them in order to gain a detailed knowledge of their

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1. Enc. Rel. & Ethics. Vol. XII, p.193.
 2. Bhandarkar. R.G. V.S.M.R.S. p.
 3. C.I.I. III, p.74.
 4. Brhatsaṃhitā. Part II. ch. 11. verse 56.
 5. Haridas Bhattacharyya. Op. cit. p.216.

working. Salvation was too small a goal for the latter. The later literature of pure Śaivism ceases to be called Tantra. Tantra proper became more Śāktic in character. The character of Tantra became definitely established by the tenth century.¹

According to the geographical classification of the Tantras given in the Sammoḥa Tantra, they are divided into four classes, viz. Kerala, Kāśmīra, Gauḍa and Vilāsa - the Kāśmīra class prevailing in all countries from Madra to Nepāla.²

According to tantric philosophy, Anandabhairava or Mahābhairava, which is the name given by Tantricians to Śiva, is the soul of, or is composed of, the nine groups of substances (Vyūha) of which the world is made up; time in its various forms (kālavvyūha) existing things or substances (kulavyūha) names (nānavyūha), perception (jñānavyūha), and the five faculties of consciousness, heart, will, intelligence and mind (cittavyūha). Mahābhairava is the soul of the Goddess, and she in turn is the soul of, or composed of, the nine groups. Both, therefore, constitute one entity. When there is Sāmyarasa, or community of joy or intense love between them, creation follows. The female element, or Mahābhairavi, however, is predominant in the process of creation, and the male element, or Mahābhairava, in the work of destruction.³ This sect, therefore, looks upon every woman as an incarnation of the Universal Mother, to whom proper respect should be paid.

1 H. Bhattacharyya. op cit p. 219

2 Ibid p. 221

3. Bhandarkar. V.S.M.R.S. p.145. Wide Saundaryalahari with Lakṣmidhara's Comm. (Mysore Edition). V - 34. In the Upaniṣhads the padma symbolised generative force and hence could be used for the female organ.

The term Guru stands for the religious preceptor who gives dīkṣā or sectarian initiation to his disciples. The Mother Goddess is propitiated and eventually attained by assuming the vow (dīkṣā) of devoted worship of her. The first step to salvation consists in fully concentrating the mind on the Devī as sitting on the lap of Śiva in the Mahāpadmavāna, as possessed of a body which is pure joy and as the original cause of all, identical with one's own self.¹

The second stage is Cakrapūjā, or worship by means of the mystic circles, which is the bāhyayāga, or material worship; and the third consists in studying and knowing the doctrine. The second is the proper 'Śākta ceremonial'.² This consists in the worship of a diagram of the female organ drawn in the centre of another consisting of a representation of nine such organs, the whole of which forms the Śrīcakra.³ The Mātrīcakas or the 'circles of the Mothers', represent the sensual form in which she is the object of worship with the school of Śāktas, who are so called because they are worshippers of Śakti.⁴ This system we find referred to in the mention of Mātrīcakas and Devīcakas in

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- ~~Bhandarkar. V.S.M.R.S. p.145. Vide Saundaryalahari with Lakṣmīdhara's Comm. (Mysore. ed) v.34. In the Upanisads the Padma symbolized generative force and hence could be used for the female organ.~~
1. ~~Bhandarkar. V.S.M.R.S. p.146.~~
 - 1a. Bhandarkar. V.S.M.R.S. p.146.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Saundaryalahari. V, p.41. Comm.
 4. Bhandarkar. V.S.M.R.S. p.144.

Kashmir.¹

To the worship of Devī, the Goddess, who is the joyously creative energy of nature, belong the five true things (Pañca-tattva) through which mankind enjoys gladly, preserves its life, and procreates; intoxicating drink (Madirā) which is a great medicine to man, a breaker of sorrows and a source of pleasure; meat (māṃsa) of the animals in the villages, in the air or in the forests, which is nutritious and strengthens the force of body and mind; fish (matsya) which is tasty and augments procreative potency; roasted corn (mudrā)² which is easily obtained, grows in the earth and is the root of life in the three worlds; and fifthly physical union (maithuṅ) with Śakti - the source of the bliss of all living beings and the deepest cause of creation and the root of the eternal world.³ This Tantric Pañcatattva ritual was interpreted and adopted by the sensual people in their own interest. Hence Monier Williams describes the faith of the Śāktas, or the worshippers of the feminine deities, as a mixture of sanguinary sacrifices and orgies with wine and women.⁴

1. Rājat. I, p.122, 333, 335, 348.

2. Woodroffe. Introd. to Tantrasatra. p.112.

In ordinary parlance Mudrā means ritual gestures or positions of the body in worship and meditation with artificial aids (Haṭhayoga) but as one of the five elements it is parched cereal, and defined as "Bhr̥ṣṭādānādīkam yadyad cavyaniyam Pracakṣate sā mudrā kathitā devī sarvaṣām nāganandīnī". (Yoginī Tantra. Ch. VI). cf. Rājat I, 367: II, 119. K.S.S. where parched grain is used at welcomes. Paddy rice, wheat and gram are generally Mudrā. (Introduction to Tantraśāstra Woodroffe. p.116).

3. Woodroffe. Shakti and Shākta. p.120. tr. of Winternitz' article

4. M. Williams. Brahmanism and Hinduism. p.180 ff.

Barth admits that the cult of the Mother is based on a deep meaning and that the Tantras are also full of theosophical and moral reflections and ascetic theories, but is not thereby prevented from saying that the Śākta is "nearly always a hypocrite and a superstitious debauchee, even though many amongst the authors of the Tantras may have really believed that they were performing a sacred work".¹

The worship of the 'Mothers' which is identical with that of the Śaktis, plays an important part in the Tantra ritual which has flourished in Kashmir from ancient times. Mystical diagrams are prepared and worshipped to this day in Kashmir according to the rules of the Tantraśāstra, both in private houses and temples. Of supposed natural Cakras (Śvābhāvika) of the king, the Śrīcakra on the Śārikāparvata in Śrīnagara and the Jvālāmukhicakra on the rocky hills above Uyen (Skt. Ovana) in the Vīhi Pargana receive special reverence.²

In the Rājataranṅinī it is said that Iṣāṇadevī, the queen of the legendary King Jalauka, established circles sacred to the Mothers (Mātr̥cakra), which were distinguished by their spiritual power, at the 'gates' of Kashmir and other places. Kashmir tradition represents King Jalauka as the son and successor of Aśoka. A son of Aśoka by this name cannot be traced in any of the

1. Barth. Religions of India. pp. 205 ff.
 2. Stein. Rājat. tr. I, 122 note.

available sources, but the location of the agrahāra founded by him at Vārabāla (the present Bāraval) and of the circles attributed to his queen Iśāṇdevī can be identified.¹ The date of this king, whether or not he was the son of Aśoka, was evidently very early, and hence the existence of this cult too can be taken as very early compared with the later dates assigned to the Tantric system in its final form.

King Baka of Mihirakula's lineage is said to have once met a sorceress named Bhaṭṭā, who, having assumed the appearance of a lovely woman, approached the king one evening and lured him to accept her invitation to view the wonders of her sacrificial feast. When he came the next morning along with his hundred sons and grandsons, she made of him a sacrificial offering to the "circle of the Goddess", (Devīcakra). Kalhaṇa tells us that even in his time there was seen on a rock the double impression of her knees, showing where, on attaining supernatural power as a result of this human sacrifice, she had risen to the sky, and the story was kept alive in the Maṭhas of Kheri (the present Khur) by the image of god Śatakapāleśa, by the circle of Mothers, and by that rock.² The story suggests that Tantric practices were known in Kashmir at an early date and that they were practised in their fiercest forms. Though the tale of King Baka becoming a victim

1. Rājat. I, 122.
 2. Rājat. I, 330-33.

in this way may be a mere folk legend, it certainly points to the probability that some of the earlier kings took part in the Tantric rites.

Moreover, this is an example of the worship of the Goddess in her most terrible form, which is associated with the schools of Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas, and in which animals and human beings are sacrificed.¹ Another king of Mihirakula's race Narendrāditya I, had a guru named Ugra, who was the recipient of divine favours and constructed the shrine of Śiva Ugreśa and a "circle of the Mothers".² The son of Meghavāhana, the first prince of the restored Gonanda dynasty, was Śreṣṭhisena, whom people called Pravarasena I, and Tuñjīna II; he is said to have constructed the shrine of Pravaraśvara together with "a circle of the Mothers" (Matṛcakra).³ The worship of the circle of the Mothers (Matṛcakra) along with the construction of Bhairava temples continued during the time of King Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883), when idealistic monism became more popular.⁴

The Sammoḥa Tantra mentions three classes of Tantras according to the nature of their Sādhanās; divya, kaula and vāma.⁵

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1. cf. Bhandarkar. V.S.M.R.S. p.144.
 2. Rājat. I, 346.
 3. Rājat. III, 99; K.S.S. Vol. IV, p.225.
 4. Rājat. V, 66. cf. Crooke. Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India. Vol. I. pp.144-48.
 5. P.C. Bagchi. Studies in the Tantras. p.96 ff.

In Kṣemendra's works we find mention of Kaula school.¹ In the eleventh century, the Kaula schools were quite developed, comprising a number of sects. Kula stands for Śakti, and so the Kaula schools were Śāktic in character.²

A very grim picture of how this subtle philosophy and its ritual could be misused is presented by Kalhaṇa, though with great regrets, in his account of King Kalaśa (1063-89). His guru was a tantricist, Pramādakaṇṭha, the son of a brāhmaṇa named Amarakanṭha. Kalhaṇa praises the father while he deplores the evils of the son. We have here an evidence of the existence of the sober worship of the god Śiva the auspicious, and of the Tantric ceremonial in its most hideous form, side by side. Kalhaṇa relates that this teacher (guru), who was evilly disposed by nature to wicked practices, made King Kalaśa ignore the distinction between women who are approachable and those who are not. This guru is himself said to have lived in incest with his own daughter.³ Next, Kalhaṇa mentions another swindler, nicknamed the 'cat-merchant' from the fact that he kept a pet cat, who acquired reputation as a Tantric guru and made even honourable and learned men (Bhaṭṭapāda), who knew how to behave fearlessly at the great tantric rites (Mahāsamaya), bend their knees in fear.⁴ This guru also posed as

1. N. Mālā II, Verses 100-116.

2. H. Bhattacharyya. The Cultural Heritage of India. Vol. IV, p.223

3. Rājat. VII, 277-78.

4. Rājat. VII, 279-84. For Mahāsamaya - a Tantric rite - see Rājat. VII, 523.

a physician. Thus the tantric ceremonies (Mahāsamaya) associated with the worship of Śakti tended to become a ruse for debauchery, and Kalaśa's licentiousness induced him to follow the basest possible forms of the religious practice, degenerating into obscenity. Hence one would be inclined to agree with Barth's saying that "a Śākta of the left hand is almost always a hypocrite and a superstitious debauchee".¹ Such sinister developments seem to have created a feeling of disgust in Kalhaṇa's mind too, though not so much at the Tantric school as such as at its false gurus. He mentions with reverence those kings and queens who established Mātrcakras and Śrīcakras.

Kṣemenara also, while describing the life of a clerk (Niyogi) in his Narmanālā, tells us that he was formerly a Buddhist, later became a Vaiṣṇava, but for the welfare of his wife he had recourse to Kaulācāra, and instituted a Yāga for the restoration of her health. In this ceremony, the important figure is the guru, who is the spiritual teacher not only of the Kāyastha and his widowed sister but also of the prostitute who resorts to him to get amulets, etc. for the preservation of her body, of the old trader who every now and then consults him for various purposes, of the country surgeon of a very low position, and lastly of a third rate eye-specialist.

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1. Barth. Op. cit. Supra. p.412.
 2. Rājat. II, 222, 348; III, 99.
 3. N. Mālā III, verses 100-116; Sam. Māt. VI, 25.

In the same context appear to be associated the base superstitions and the practices of witchcraft (abhicāra) by which so many kings and heirs-apparent are stated to have been killed.¹ Abhicāra dark or magical practices performed with a view to injure or destroy others. Even Marco Polo in the late 13th century noticed the acquaintance of the Kashmirians with the devilries of witchcraft and enchantment.²

Thus in Kashmir of the period under review we find the subtlest philosophy combined with the grossest possible, absurd and repulsive superstitions.

On the magic practices frequently referred to in the Tāntric literature of later time Bhattacharyya's view "that in many cases they are derived from the religious practices of a primitive society assimilated into the Vedic society; but, logically speaking they also represent a phase of the Vedic ritual, not practised for higher spiritual purposes, but for certain lower ends in which a group of people had always some interest"³ fits in very well with the prevalence of magic practises of the Tāntricians in Kashmir; especially when we remember that the brāhmanical society was brought to settle among the primitive Kashmir population.

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1. Rājat. IV, 88, 112, 114, 124, 686; V, 239; VI, 108-112, 121.
 2. Yule. Marco Polo. Vol. I, pp. 172, 175 note; II, 41.
 3. H. Bhattacharyya. op. cit. p. 214.

Bāṇa Linga.



Bāṇa Linga.

Ś A I V I S M

Commenting on the date of the appearance of Śaivism in Kashmir, J.C. Chatterjĳe writes: "In Kashmir itself - where even the most orthodox followers of the Shivāgama (sic) admit that the Trika-Shāšana (sic) first appeared (or, as they put it, reappeared) about the beginning of the ninth Christian century - Shivāgama (sic) is regarded as of high antiquity, indeed of eternal existence like the Vedas".¹

The growth of Kashmir Śaivism is thus connected with the reign of King Avantivarman (middle 9th century) who is much praised by Kalhana for his peaceful government and patronage of learning. The introduction or origin of the Kashmir Śaivite philosophy as such did not come as a revolt against the existing religious thoughts and practices, but as a natural accompaniment of the growth of learning, leading to the development of Śiva-sūtra literature. We have clearly shown above that the various religious sects of 'Saivism, Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism flourished together quite amicably in Kashmir. Even the Kashmir kings do not appear to have been very rigid as regards their religious beliefs and outward forms of worship. This is illustrated by the fact that King Avantivarman (855/6-883) out of regard for his able minister Śūra, though a Vaiṣṇava at heart, outwardly worshipped

1. J.C. Chatterjĳe . Kashmir Śaivism. p.3; Bhandarkar. V.S.M.R.S.
p.76.
Pandey. Abhinayagupta. Quotes T.A. Ah. 35 MS. Appendix A. p.337.

Śiva, and this secret he revealed only at the time of his death.¹

Kashmir Śaivism has two branches - the Spandaśāstra and the Pratyabhijñāśāstra. The authorship of the basic text of the first school is attributed to Vasugupta and his pupil Kallaṭa. The two principal works of the system are the Śivasūtras² and the Spandakārikās or Spandasūtras, which consist of fifty-one verses only. The Śivasūtras form, from the Trika (Kashmir Śaivite) point of view, the most important part of the Āgamaśāstra. Their authorship is attributed to Śiva himself, while they are said to have been revealed to the sage Vasugupta.³ The Spandaśāstra lays down the main principles of the system in greater detail and in a more amplified form than the Śivasūtras, hardly, however, entering into philosophical reasoning in their support.⁴ The Spandaśāstra is attributed by Kṣemarāja to Vasugupta himself, but it was more probably composed by the latter's pupil, Kallaṭa. Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa lived in the reign of King Avantivarman (855/6-883), the founder of the Utpala dynasty of Kashmir.⁵ His commentary called Spandasarvasva on his teacher's Spandakārikās was discovered by Bühler during his search for Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir.⁶

1. Rājat. V, 124.

2. J.C. Chatterjee. Kashmir Shaivism. Vol. II, 1.

3. Ibid. p.15.

4. Ibid.

5. Rājat. V, 66.

6. Bühler - Report. p.78. ff.

Vasugupta and Somānanda are regarded as the human founders of the Trika or Advaita Śaivism which is peculiar to Kashmir. Of these two, while Vasugupta gave out the doctrines merely as revelations and articles of faith, Somānanda, who was probably a pupil of Vasugupta, laid the foundation of the philosophical side of the school. We know something about Vasugupta from his pupils, who tell us that he lived in the charming valley of Sadardhavana, the modern Hārvan stream, behind the Shālimar garden near Śrīnagara.¹ The work of Somānanda was carried on in greater detail by Utpala and Abhinavagupta.

A great part in the growth of this philosophy was played by the two great families which provided Somānanda and Abhinavagupta - the chief exponents of the Pratyabhijñā philosophy.²

Somānanda tells us about his lineage that once Śrikanṭha (Śiva), while roaming over Mount Kailāśa, was touched with pity for suffering humanity which was immersed in spiritual darkness caused by the disappearance of Śaivāgamas. He therefore instructed the sage Durvāsas to revive the Śaivite teaching. The sage accordingly divided all the Śaivāgamas into three classes according as they taught monism, dualism or monism-cum-dualism, and imparted their doctrines to his mind-born sons - Tryambaka, Amardaka, and Śrīnātha respectively. Somānanda represents himself as the nineteenth descendant of Tryambaka, the founder of the Advaita

1. Śiva Sūtra Vimarśiṇī. Vol. I of Kashmir series.

2. Pandey. Abhinavagupta. p.73.

Tantric school. Somānanda's fourth ancestor named Saṅgamāditya, came in the course of his wanderings to Kashmir and settled there.¹ The names of the three descendants between Saṅgamāditya and Somānanda in the order of succession are Varṣāditya, Aruṇāditya and Ānanda.²

The other family which, about two centuries later, in the second half of the tenth and first quarter of the eleventh century, was to produce the great Śaiva philosopher Abhinavagupta, migrated from Kānyakubja to Kashmir. The earliest ancestor of Abhinavagupta was Atrigupta, who lived in Antarvedī, the region between the Ganges and the Yamunā rivers, in the reign of King Yaśovarman of Kanauj (early 8th century).³ He was well-known for his proficiency in all branches of learning and in the Śaiva Śāstra in particular. King Lalitāditya (c 731-36) was so much impressed with his scholarship that he brought him to Kashmir and settled the family in a spacious house on the bank of the river Vitastā (Jhelum) with a large grant of land for their maintenance. His father, Narasiṃhagupta, alias Cukhalaka, was an avowed devotee of Śiva and proficient in all Śāstras.⁴

The usual form of Śaiva worship to which the brāhmanic section of Kashmir society adhered during the period under review

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1. Pandey. Abhinavagupta. vide T.A. Ah. 35. MS. Appendix-A-P.337.
 2. Somānanda. Śiva Drṣṭi. ed. Pt. Madhusudan Kaul. Ch. VII, verses 107-120.
 3. Parā. T. V, 280; Tantrāloka Ah. 37 MS.
Pandey. Abhinavagupta. Appendix A, p.337.
 4. Ibid.

was this Idealistic Monism of the Advaita Śaiva school as expressed in the worship of Ardhanārīśvara, representing the god Śiva in his union with Pārvatī. The introductory verses prefixed to each book of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, contain prayers addressed to Śiva in this form. Kalhaṇa also mentions his father Campaka's visits to the tīrthas of Nandikṣetra, all of which are sacred to Śiva.¹ Kalyāṇa, whom we have identified with Kalhaṇa, was the teacher of Jayaratha, the commentator of the Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta, the great Kashmirian Śaivite philosopher.²

The Śaiva system of Kashmir, known as the Trikaśāsana in the ancient philosophical literature of India, upholds as its name indicates, the existence of three ultimate principles - Śiva, the Supreme Being, Śakti, a personal entity of the nature of perfect egoity, and Aṇu, the individual soul under the bondage of impurities of limitations. Of these three the exponents of the Trika school have brought into greater prominence the idea of Śakti. Śiva is the Supreme Entity. He is ^{the} all-doing, all-knowing, serene lord all-pervading, indivisible and infinite. In Him remains His Śakti, or nature, in a sort of reflex relation of Self Identity.³ Then as he comes to possess the tendency of projecting Himself, His Śakti

1. Rājat. VII, 954; VIII, 2564-65.

2. See infra. Appendix I, p.

3. Mālinīvijayottara Tantra I, verses 17-18. tatreśaḥ sarvakṛcc-
hāntaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarvakṛt prabhuḥ sakaloniṣkaloṅhāntaḥ
śaktirpyasya tadvidhā.

Das. Śakti. Appendix. P. 231.

evolves from Him in the form of Divine Creative Will.¹ The Mālinīvijayottara, speaks of both Śiva and Śakti as beyond the Turya or the fourth state - Turyātīta.²

In his Paramārthasāra Abhinavagupta says: "Creation, maintenance and dissolution, waking (jāgrat), dreaming (svapna) and dreamless sleep (susupti), appear in Him in the Fourth Abode; but He reveals Himself under their covering".³

"The above conditions are present as phenomena in the consciousness of the Lord in the 'Fourth' stage, (i.e., the waking state is the 'Universe', because of differentiation; dreaming sleep is 'Illumination', because of the greatness of the light, the state of dreamless slumber is that of 'Understanding', for it is compact of knowledge; above these is the "Fourth"⁴ - the state of Sadāsiva), in which He is pure Bliss, the state of Infinite egoity, from which the phenomena of the three lower states of consciousness derive their character. Their presence does not suppress His real nature, for He reveals Himself everywhere as higher than they, as the universal subject of perception, under all conditions infinite in essence".⁵

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1. 3rd Adhikāra, verse 5 - yā sā śaktirjagaddhātuḥ kathitā samavāyini icchātvam tasya sā devī sirsṛkṣōh prātipadyate.
 2. Ibid. 2nd Adhikāra, verse 29. Śakti śambhū parijñeyant turyātīte varṇane.
 3. Barnett. P. Sāra. Ed. & tr. J.R.A.S. 1910. p.730. verse 34-35
 4. Ibid.
 5. Barnett's Explanation of verse 34 of J.R.A.S. 1910, p.730.

"Looked at from that point of view," writes Das, "Śakti is not at all an entity different from the Parama Śiva and does not stand in any (external) relation to him."¹

"Śakti," says Jayaratha, the commentator of Abhinavagupta, "is the very Śaktimat Himself. But her difference from Him is held only by a sort of transference or epithet by reason of the difference in Her evolutes."² "Almost all the definitions of Śakti given by Śaiva writers try to explain the world of phenomena - both mental and material, not from a static point of view as a mass of lifeless inert matter but from a dynamic viewpoint as a vast storehouse of one energy manifesting itself as partly potential and partly active."³ "Looked at from this new point of view of the Kashmere (sic) Śaivites the whole external world of cognisables or matter interpreted as having its origin from Śakti as a particular mode of conscious reflection of objectivity (Idantāparāmarśa) comes to be imbued with life force, and apparelled in the garb of truth and reality (not Māyā or illusion) and appears in a perfectly glorious light to the devotee (sādhaka)".⁴ The idea does not appear to be altogether new when we remember the verse from Nīlamanjari, repeated in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, where Kṛṣṇa says: "Kashmir

1. Das. Śakti. p.63.

2. Jayaratha's Viveka. verse 106. Das. Śakti. Appendix. P. 232.

3. Das. Śakti. p.66.

4. Das. Śakti. p.67.

land is Pārvatī; know that its king is a portion of Śiva".¹

The whole land of Kashmir is the Śakti of the god Śiva or the externalization of the conscious Śiva as the object of His own self-enjoyment. Here is a clear evidence of the idea of Śakti (Pārvatī) being applied to the whole of the world of the philosophy of life of the people of Kashmir. Thus the idea was widespread but was expounded clearly in philosophical form by the later writers like Kallaṭa, Somānanda and Abhinavagupta. They clearly showed that the whole world has its roots deeply implanted in the Supreme Being Śiva and is therefore naturally a reality. Consistent with this principle, the Kashmiri Śaivites did not accept Māyā as an independent entity. Abhinavagupta defined it as nothing but "His power of absolute freedom in the manifestation of manifold appearances - an external manifestation of the Supreme free will (Śvātantrya) of the Lord Śiva".² The aim of these philosophers in asserting the reality of the phenomenal world as a manifestation of the Divine, was to harmonise the full-bodied principle Śakti with the conception of Supreme Reality - the god Śiva - so that the philosophy might not be interpreted in terms of dualistic dvaita principles.³

In Śiva Drṣṭi Somānanda discusses and puts forth briefly his views as the first known exponent of the Idealistic Monism of

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1. Nīlamata. verse 237. Rājat. I, 72.
 2. Das. Śakti. p.142-43. Cf. Abhinavagupta T.A. Vol. VI. Das. 9th Ahnikā. verses 149-50. Śakti P.264
 3. Śiva Drṣṭi (Introduction). Pt. Madhusudan Kaul.

the Śaiva school of the Indian philosophy. The title of the work is significant enough to express clearly that he wants to bring home to his readers the realization of the whole universe as the manifestation of one absolute Reality called Śiva, the All-Blissful.

The aim of this system of Idealistic Monism, like that of Vedānta, is to help the individual in self realization; and the means also by which this end is to be achieved is the same as that of Vedānta - removing the veil of ignorance. But the two systems differ in their conceptions of self realization because their ideas of the apparent (ābhāsa, i.e. the universe) are different. While Vedānta holds that universe is unreal, the Realistic Monism of the Kashmiris maintains it to be real, because it is a manifestation of the ultimate. Therefore while according to the former all that we know disappears at the time of self-realization, according to the latter the objective universe stands even when the self is realized, but is known in its true perspective. This kind of realization is spoken of as Recognition (Pratyabhijñā)¹ - and hence the name Pratyabhijñā was used for the philosophy of Kashmir. With all its purity and subtlety Kashmir Śaivism is very rightly considered more humane and rational than some other Śaiva schools such as those of the Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas.²

1. Pandey. Abhinavagupta. p.172-73.

2. Bhandarkar. V.S.M.R.S. p.129.

VAIṢṆAVISM

Viṣṇu is a Vedic deity. There are but few hymns addressed to him in the Ṛg Veda, but his personality is by no means unimportant. The long strides which he takes and the three steps by which he measures the universe, are always described with an enthusiastic spirit¹

In the Nīlamatapurāṇa, the earliest extant religious book of the Kashmiris nearly 500 verses are devoted to the description of Viṣṇu tīrthas.² Though Śiva was the supreme deity and Viṣṇu less important, the latter god was nevertheless widely worshipped, as is shown by the space devoted to his shrines in this text.

Pandey believes Kṛṣṇa himself to have been taken by the Śāivas as a follower of the Trika, on the basis of the fact that in the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa we are told that Kṛṣṇa was taught the sixty-four monistic Śaivāgamas by sage Durvāsas.³ Though the Purāṇas are quite late, the Kashmiri Nīlamatapurāṇa which we have referred to above is an earliest extant ~~is an earliest~~ extant work about Kashmir faiths and the reference wherein Kṛṣṇa himself declares that the land of Kashmir is Pārvatī and its ruler the God Śiva's part, seems to refer to quite early times.⁴

1. R.G.Bhandarkar. V.S.M.R.S. p.33.

2. Nīlamata. 1669-1640.

3. Pandey. Abhinavagupta. p.55.

4. Supra. p.100.

The Daśavatāracarita of Kṣemendra is devoted to the description of the ten incarnations (Avatāras) of Viṣṇu -- Matsya (fish) Kūrma, (tortoise), Varāha (boar), Narasiṃha (man-Lion), Vāmana (dwarf), Parśurāma, Śīrāma, Śrīkṛṣṇa, Buddha and Karkya.¹ The most interesting is that referring to Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

In the writings of Abhinavagupta there are many quotations from the Bhagavadgītā and also references to Kṛṣṇa as Guru. The Bhagavadgītārthasaṅgraha of Abhinavagupta gives a summary of the subject matter of the Bhagavadgītā and claims to explain its hidden and true import.²

We have already related the reverence shown by the Kashmir kings to Sun-god. the worship of Sūrya in Kashmir is associated with the famous Mārtaṇḍa temple, said to have been built by king Lalitāditya.³ This temple has three headed image -- a symbol of the Sun as Brahmā, or the creator in the morning, The Viṣṇu or the preserver at noon and Śiva or the destroyer at evening. The four arms are typical of Viṣṇu Sūrya worship.⁴ This makes it clear that the worship of the Sun was closely related to that of Viṣṇu, and the two gods may well have been often thought of as one. We have already related the story about Viṣṇu being considered in Kashmir as the very Śakti of God Śiva. Here we find what we stated at the outset that there is always great similarity under the superficial differences; and this also accounts for the harmonious existence of the various cults side by side.

1. Kṣemendra. Daśavatāracarita. K.M. 26.

2. Abhinavagupta. T.A. I. 162. Introd. verse 5. *author Pandey.*

3. Rājat. iv. 137 ff. (4) J.A.S.B. 1893. p. 266. plate XVI.

5. supra. p. 120.

CHAPTER VIIIConclusion

We now briefly survey and summarize the story we have depicted above.

Our period, as we have seen, marked the advent of a new dynasty on the throne of Kashmir. We have to bear in mind that we are not dealing with an empire in the heart of India but an isolated hill kingdom, protected by its mountain ramparts and yet exercising a considerable influence on the adjoining hill states.

The advent of the Loharas brought Khasa rulers of the ~~Sakar~~ line of ksatriyas to the throne of Kashmir and also led to the unification of the hill kingdom of Lohara with that of Kashmir.¹ The Age of the Loharas does not mark the extensive conquests of the Karkotas, but it shows that the kingdom of Kashmir was to be reckoned supreme among all the adjoining hill states.² The ties with some of them were strengthened by matrimonial alliances. The kingdom of Rajapuri lying to the south-west of Kashmir, though a constant source of trouble during the rule of the Lohara dynasties as a safe refuge for disaffected or exiled ministers and rival claimants to the throne, was later brought into close ties of a matrimonial alliance by Jayasimha,³

1. supra. pp 38-39; 56.

2. supra pp 58ff.

3. supra pp 57, 66, 68+69, 71, 83, 84, 94.

the last great Hindu ruler of Kashmir.

The most important political event in the beginning of the 11th century--the time of the advent of the Loharas in Kashmir--was the series of invasions of India led by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. Though the Kashmirian forces sent to help the Śāhi king Trilocanapāla were not successful, Maḥmūd's subsequent attempt to invade the valley was foiled by the great mountain barrier.¹

The first great event during our period in the political history of Kashmir is the Darbar of kill rājās held under the suzerainty of king Kalaśa in 1087/88.² Moreover, as late as the middle of the 12th century, in the reign of king Jayasimha, the kingdom of Kashmir held quite a powerful position and the neighbouring kingdoms sought its help and alliance. In the rest of India also it held a respectable position as is shown by the presence of the envoys of the kings of Kanauj and Koṅkaṇa in Maṅkha's sabhā held in the time of Jayasimha.³

Political affairs nearer home were characterized by the attempts of the various rival claimants to the throne. Ananta's cousin Kṣitirāja had bestowed the kingdom of Lohara on Utkarṣa the younger son of Kalaśa, thus uniting the two kingdoms under kings of the same family. The Loharas had other lateral branches thus Malla's sons Uccala and Sussala aspired to the throne and

1. supra. pp. 40-48
2. supra. pp 58 ff.
3. supra. p. 95.
4. supra.

in alliance with the landed aristocracy, the Dāmaras and the newly rising agricultural class known as Lavanyas, also termed Dāmaras, brought about the downfall of the first Lohara dynasty.

Things might have had a different course if Harṣa had ruled differently. His extravagant expense on the fashions of the court, leading to the spoliation of the temples, and his ruthless persecution of the Dāmaras, resulted in the alienation of the feelings of all his subjects, including even the brāhmanas.¹

The bureaucracy instead of organising the machinery of government, robbed the public of all their wealth through excessive revenue exactions and taxation. Kṣemendra has recorded that king Ananta tried to curb the power of the kāyasthas; Kalhaṇa records king Uccala's reforms in this sphere but the avaricious kings used them for robbing the public; in fact, however, the officials looted the people's wealth and even the kings did not get an adequate revenue from their extortionate schemes.²

Kingship in Kashmir was an hereditary monarchy with the succession governed by the principle of primogeniture. The king was advised by a body of councillors but he was not bound to act on their advice.³ Not the king's high ministers but the

1. supra. pp. 65 ff.

2. supra. pp. 169 ff.

3. supra pp. 100-25.

and councillors but the brāhmaṇas, especially those of the Purohita corporations (pāriṣadyas), are seen opposing the king. Though their influence was not always beneficial they caused considerable trouble if they were not listened to and we find the kings even bribing them to obtain their support. Sometimes, we find them exercising considerable influence in consecrating the kings of their own choice.^{1.}

The kingship in Kashmir, as shown in the earlier indigenous records like the Nīlamatapurāna is not stated to be merely divinely ordained, but the Divinity Himself personified in the form of His Śakti. The land itself is considered Pārvatī -- thus bringing the land, people and the ruler into one organic whole.² The theory of kingship in Kashmir enjoined upon the king the duty of protecting his subjects and maintaining the triad of Dharma, Artha, and Kāma -- virtue, wealth and pleasure. The good kings aspired to come to these tenets, while those who did not, receive Kalhaṇa's reproach. These theories of kingship compare very well with those of the Indian Epic and Smṛti, while in actual practice we find a very interesting working of the Arthaśāstra doctrines on state policy under the rulers of the second Lohara dynasty, who receive Kalhaṇa's full support.^{3.} It was the Machiavellian diplomacy of the rulers of this dynasty

1. supra pp. 308 - 313.
 2. supra. pp 100 - 101.
 3. supra pp. 108-111; 96-97; 79, 82 f.

which enabled them to with the situation at their accession and to maintain themselves on the throne of Kashmir so long.

Constant sources of trouble were the Ḍāmaras. The advent of the Loharas brings this section of Kashmir society into prominence. Their strength lay in their landed estates, but they were in no way the feudal barons of the Medieval European type. They were an indigenous aristocracy grown steadily by the acquisition of wealth. Though recognized later and incorporated into the state order, they were originally not Sāmantas in the real sense of the word. The kings had crown lands like the medieval kings of England; there were the Sāmantas, the feudatories of these kings; and also the landed aristocracy helped and served by their peasant tenants, in no way directly in contact with the king. Thus the various elements of feudalism in its loose sense, the monarchy and the corrupt bureaucracy existed side by side like those existing in Buganda.^{1.}

In religion during our period we have seen that though the brāhmanical section of society was deeply versed in idealistic monism there existed Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava and Tantric sects side by side with perfect toleration of each other. The brāhmanas were generally tolerant, though our authors invariably mention the Tantric gurus with contempt; evidently owing to some of the base practices of the followers of this sect. Buddhism though

1. *Supra.* ch. v pp. 240 - 302

Not so strong as it was in early period, was held in great esteem and had been incorporated into the Mīndu religion and Buddha was considered as one of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu. In fact we find a marvellous religious harmony in Kashmir. †

On superficial observation it would appear that there was deterioration in the moral standards of society, but looking to the existence of men like Kṣemendra, the polymath; Kalhana, the great poet historian, Somadeva, the poet laureate of the court of Ananta, Mañkha, the author of the Śrīkanthacarita and the great Śaivite philosopher and teacher Abhinavagupta and others we believe that the Age of the Loharas was one of ~~gre~~ great progress and literary activity of a social, historical and philosophical nature. That Kṣemendra sneers at the snares of the courtesans, and also exposes the laxity that had entered in the morals of the people of his day, does not necessarily mean that it was an age of deterioration. Texts such as Kṣemendra's had existed long before, for we have vātsyāyāna's Kāmaśāstra in India and Dāmodaragupta's Kuṭṭanīmatam in Kashmir. Kṣemendra himself says that he brought the evils of society into the lime-light and used his satire as a means of expressing his views before the public in a humorous way and to advise the young men of his age to desist from evil ways. Such evils exist in

1. Supra ch. VII. pp. 377-428

every society at every age. That we have literary records of the then existing evils of society, shows that there were men who were quite concerned over such a state of affairs and tried to remove them indirectly.¹

Having considered all the aspects of the social position of women in Kashmir, we conclude that the women in general held a respectable position, though it was in no way equal or superior to that of men. There are instances to show that Kalhana's Age regarded women as the most venerable members of society, but their field was mainly domestic. We have cases of queens who rose to critical occasions and controlled the affairs of state strongly and efficiently. Sūryamatī, the queen of Ananta, managed affairs quite successfully. Diddā and Sugandhā are earlier examples of such queens. On the whole, however, where such queens rose to power, we find regret and remorse in Kalhana's tone. Either he condemns them for not having committed Satī ² or he quotes scandals about their relations with their ministers.

To sum up we have seen that the rule of the Loharas lasted for about two centuries. Kalhana's narrative ends in 1149-50 when Jayasimha was ruling. The later chronicles tell us that Jayasimha continued to rule until 1155 and was succeeded by his son Paramānuka and the dynasty came to an end in 1171.³ This

1 Supra. pp. 339-42.

2. Supra. pp. 324 ff.

3. Supra. pp. 98-100.

sudden fall of this great dynasty, whose rulers were so brave, astute and diplomatic leaves one speculating as to the reasons for its end. If we recapitulate the history of the Loharas, we find that their advent marks a new epoch. Though the rest of India was sacked by Mahmūd, Kashmir remained safe in its isolation behind the great mountain barriers. The extortionate scheme of the earlier kings and the rapacity of the minor civil servants had already depleted the resources of the kingdom. The extravagance of the rulers of the first Lohara dynasty added to the trouble.

The advent of the second dynasty brought about the downfall of the first but it had given importance to a new force in the kingdom -- the landed aristocracy. Their support became the bane of these rulers. They managed somehow to keep the Dāmaras under control but the centrifugal tendencies were aggravated by the existence of rival claimants. These circumstances needed able rulers and the moment the strong hand of Jayasīṃha was taken away the whole fabric appears to have crumbled in the hands of his weak and imbecile successors. Though Kashmir continued under Hindu rulers for some two hundred years after this, her later history is one of continued anarchy and decline. The fall of the Loharas marked the close of an age, and the end of Kashmir's greatness.

APPENDIX. I.
KALHANA AND HIS POSITION

In the assembly of poets mentioned by Mañkha, a fellow countryman and contemporary of Kalhana, in his Śrīkanthacarita, one kavi Kalyāna is mentioned, and Mañkha describes him as holding a distinguished position among the expert masters of the kāvya as a poet whose art of writing had become so polished as to reflect Bilhana's muse as if in a mirror, and "whom the illustrious Alakadatta thought capable of accomplishing fully his chosen task". This poet Kalyāna has been identified quite accurately by Stein with Kalhana on phonological grounds and on the internal evidence of the work itself.¹

Mañkha belonged to a family of poets and ministers. His brother Alaṅkāra, in whose house this assembly was held, was the superintendent of the great treasury² (brhadgañja) and later the chief-justice (bāhyarājasthāniya)³. Mañkha speaks of his brother Alaṅkāra as holding the post of the minister for war and peace (sāndhivigrahika) under Sussala and Jayasimha.⁴ Śṛṅgāra, another brother of his, was a judge (brhattantrapati)⁵. Kalhana also mentions Śṛṅgāra as

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1. Stein Rājat. tr Vol. 1. Introd. p. 12. vide Śrīkantha. XXV . 78-80.
 2. Rājat. Viii. 2423.
 3. Rājat. Viii. 2557, 2618; Stein Rājat. tr. 2671. note.
 4. Śrīkantha. III, 62; XXV. 61.
 5. Rājat. 2423.: Śrīkantha. III. 50.

holding the post of Tantrapati. In view of the composition of the two poems, Śrīkaṇṭhacarita as suggested by Bühler in 1135-45 and the Rājatarāṅginī in 1148-50, we can believe both because Alaṅkāra might have held these posts in succession. Maṅkha himself is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as holding the post of minister for war and peace (sāndhivigrahika). Kalhaṇa's praise in the assembly of such people as a great poet shows that he held a respectable position not only in literary circles as a great master of the kāvya but also among the high dignitaries of state. Moreover, while talking of the reign of his contemporary king Jayasīma, Kalhaṇa quotes words spoken by the king himself.¹ It would not have been possible for him to mention the faults of the king in his own words unless the quotation was substantially true and was told to Kalhaṇa by some very intimate source.

Kalhaṇa's Position

Kalhaṇa's work does not give any evidence to show that he himself held any office under the rulers of the new dynasty. There are two possible suggestions about his position - that he was a court poet, or that, as suggested by Stein,² his family, disgusted with king Harṣa's fate, voluntarily decided not to take office at the court, and that consequently he took up an independent position of a poet and teacher in

1. Rājat. Viii. 2933

2. Stein. Rājat. tr. Vol. 1. p.17.

the Śaivite philosophy. The first appears difficult to accept in view of the fact that he uses such strong language while talking of Jayasīma, his contemporary king; which is quite contrary to the general tendency of all court poets and chroniclers in ancient India who extol their ruling kings so highly. To say that this frankness was peculiar to Kashmir would also be incorrect, for even Bilhana and Kṣemendra, while writing of their contemporary kings, speak very highly of them.

Versed in the Dharmaśāstra and Mītiśāstra and the Epic lore and with all the requisite training in statecraft from his father, who was the Warden of the Marches, Kalhana was quite capable of holding some high post in the state. As suggested by Stein, "the dynastic revolution which had cost king Harṣa his throne and life, had a lasting effect on the fortunes of Kalhana's family... it is evident that Kalhana's father, who in Harṣa's reign had occupied one of the highest posts of old Kashmir administration, played no longer any part in public life after that monarch's death. Whether this retirement was entirely voluntary or otherwise we can no longer ascertain. That it was, however, connected in some way with the loyal attachment which Cāmpaka, according to the chronicle, had proved to the last for the ill-fated king, seems likely enough."¹

1. Stein. Rājat. tr. vol. 1. p. 17.

As for the third point the introductory verses prefixed to each book of the Rājataranṅinī, contain prayers addressed to Śiva in his form as Ardhanārīśvara, representing the god Śiva in his union with his spouse Pārvatī. Moreover, there is a small work written by Kalhaṇa known as the Ardanārīśvara Stotra.¹ This shows his Śaivite leanings, and is in full accord with his father Campaka's gifts and visits to the tīrthas of Nandikṣetra (mod. Nand kol. 13,000ft.), all of which are sacred to Śiva. Moreover, one Kalyāṇa is known as the teacher of Jayaratha, the commentator of the Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta (995-1115), the great Śaivite philosopher.² Jayaratha is stated to have flourished in the twelfth century under king Rājarāja. The name of this king cannot be identified with any of the Kashmirian kings in those times, but on the other hand in point of time and Śaivite beliefs this Kalyāṇa appears to be none else than the author of the Rājataranṅinī and if this argument be accepted, this further strengthens Bühler's identification of Kalyāṇa with Kalhaṇa.³ Kalhaṇa thus seems to have chosen an independent position and even in choosing his subject there does not appear to be any expectation of reward, such as ordinarily was the case with poets in India. He was commissioned to write the history of Kashmir by his patron Alakadatta, the minister for War and

1. Kāvyaṃālā XIV

2. Pandey. Abhinavagupta p. 149.

3. Bühler. Report p. 61.

Peace (sāndhivigrahika), as it is known from Jonarāja's commentary on the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita.¹ Nor does he seem to have been in any disfavour at the court, for if he could reach these high court circles it should not have been difficult for him to obtain a high post too, if he chose to do so. To say that it was Jayasiṃha's policy not to employ a supporter of the first Lohara dynasty - Kalhaṇa's father having been a great minister under King Harṣa - also sounds strange in view of the fact that Jayasiṃha started his reign by a declaration of general amnesty and tried to appease the ḍāmaras (the landed aristocracy) whose turbulence had been the cause of the downfall of the first Lohara dynasty. Some of the ḍāmara leaders like Gargacandra were put into high ministerial posts and had matrimonial alliances with some of the kings.² There does not, therefore, appear to be any reason for the king to neglect or disfavour a man of Kalhaṇa's calibre. The pardoning of Bhoja, the son of Saḥaṇa and a new pretender who had obtained powerful allies in the Daradas, the northern neighbours of Kashmir, at a time when the ḍāmaras were in revolt, shows that Jayasiṃha was a diplomatic and astute ruler.³

1. Śrīkaṇṭha. XXV. 78-80.

2. Supra. pp 88 ff.

3. Supra. n.

In the Śrīkanthacarita it is stated that Śrīngāra, who held the office of a judge, helped Sussala in his war against Harṣadeva, whom he ultimately defeated.¹ This family was the opponent of Kalhaṇa's father in the war against king Harṣa. Yet Kalhaṇa speaks very highly of these brothers in the Rājataranginī, though his praise is not one-sided. The way in which Maṅkha speaks of Kalhaṇa in his book shows that there was no ill feeling between the two families. Thus if his merit was so highly recognized by those who might have been his opponents there could not possibly be any difficulty for him to get a high post nor could there be any reason for him to be in special disfavour with the ruling king.

Lastly the Śrīkanthacarita was written earlier than the Rājataranginī, the last limit of its date being 1144.² Its praise of Kalhaṇa shows that he had an established position, not that of one struggling for recognition.

1. Śrīkantha. v. 47.

2. Böhler Report p.51.

APPENDIX. II.
KALHANA'S IMPARTIALITY

In the very opening verse of the Rājatarāṅginī Kalhana promises to acquit himself impartially when he says: "That noble-minded (poet) is alone worthy of praise whose word, like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past." ¹

S.C. Ray rightly commends Kalhana's rare sense of appreciation of the philosophy of history, a quality rare among the writers of the past. He adds: "He does not use the facts to illustrate his thesis, much less does he manipulate them to fit a doctrine of his own; his philosophy waits upon the facts and does not govern them".²

Kalhana does not hesitate to point out the errors and weaknesses of all the kings - even of the king who was his contemporary. He praises the valour and victories of King Lalitāditya but without any hesitation he mentions the fit of drunkenness in which he ordered his ministers to burn the town of Parihāsapura.³ Nor does he hesitate in mentioning all the evil ways of King Harṣa, his rather's patron.⁴ Uccala, Harṣa's successor, is praised for his energy, resolution, his solicitude for the people's welfare and piety, but equally

1. Rājat. 1. 7.

2. S.C. Ray. I.H.Q. Sept. 1955. p.255.

3. Rājat 1V. 310 ff.

4. Supra. pp 64 ff.

strongly is he criticized for his harshness of speech and other defects.¹

Sussala, Jayasiṃha's father, though praised for his good qualities, is strongly condemned for his cruel exactions, and persecution of the Dāmaras and Kāyasthas. Kalhaṇa openly talks of the king's character and does not hesitate to mention the rumour that he was possessed of a demon.² Kalhaṇa freely bestows the highest praise on the valour and heroism of the pretender Bhikṣācara.³ In his account of the contemporary king Jayasiṃha, he finds it necessary to give him a certain amount of conventional praise, which however is interspersed with references to the good and bad qualities of his character.

Praise for the contemporary king may be conventional; it may be well deserved; or it may be mere sycophancy, to please the king in order to obtain a high position in the state.

Criticism may be either due to disfavour or impartiality. Kalhaṇa does not write his long account of Jayasiṃha purely in his praise or by way of criticism. While starting the narration of the events of the reign of his contemporary king, he takes us back to the claim made in the very beginning of his

1. Rājat Viii. 168 ff.

2. Rājat viii. 654, 675, 1143, 1460-62

3. Ibid. 1017, 1740, 1768, 1776.

book when he says:-

"If we examine carefully the qualities such as they are in reality of a king who is under our direct observation we shall not fail as regards an impartial judgement."¹

But he understands the toughness of his job. The following are some of his remarks about Jayasimha:

"Nobody is indeed clever (enough) to penetrate the true character of another such as he is in (reality) how (should) he then penetrate) that of such a king of supernatural power?"²

"How should the mind of everybody find its way to a right conclusion as regards the nature of his virtues and faults, which is so wonderful?"³

"Uneven indeed are the features also in his character not perceiving the excellence of their (aggregate) results, people have concluded that there were faults."⁴

"On hearing of his transcendental virtues as observed by direct perception, the people will feel convinced as regards the deeds of former kings."⁵

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- 1. Rājat. viii. 1551.
 - 2. Ibid. 1552.
 - 3. Ibid. 1554.
 - 4. Ibid. 1555.
 - 5. Ibid. 1557.

Next Kalhaṇa mentions the king's cleverness, kindness, politeness, firmness, cool composure and calls him sun among kings.

After mentioning his pious foundations, his regard for gurus, scholars, brāhmins, his care of the helpless, and his restoration of old buildings he writes: "Notwithstanding that he is of such character, yet, because he has once committed acts of enmity against persons equal (in respectability) to religious students (brahmacārins), he is said by dull persons to be altogether an embodiment of cruelty".²

Here we find Kalhaṇa trying to defend the king's cruel behaviour. It appears that some people had grievances against him; rather than ignore this fact he tries to defend him on the basis of the aggregate results of his rule.³

Bhikṣācara's rebellion is suppressed and Kalhaṇa bestows praise on Jayasīṃha. He praises this king's cool composure at the news of Lohara rebellion. Praise in such cases is but natural and some sort of conventional gratitude would be due to the king. Further Kalhaṇa mentions the suppression and later resurgence of the rebellion.⁴ The sup^pression he attributes to the king's glory and the resurgence to the error of judgement

1. Rājat. viii. 1714-1806.
2. Ibid. 2381.
3. cf. viii. 1555 above
4. Rājat. viii. 1714, 1900, 2915.

on the part of ministers.

He puts some conventional praise into the mouth of a royal messenger who goes to prince Bhoja or Salhana's family, when he is brought to the king and is reconciled. All this appears very natural in the context of the situation.¹

The king's expedition to Śiraḥśila Castle is boldly criticized. He disapproves of the king's conduct in connection with intrigues against Sujji, his minister: "What other king would act firmly on his own judgement, if this (king) too is made to dance like a child (pulled about) by rogues."²

Though this weakness is said to be due to the wickedness of others, an alternative reason is suggested:

"Or is it perhaps, that the dullness imparted in early youth by an entourage chiefly composed of fools does not pass away even in mature age, just as the flaw (does not pass away) from the precious stone".³

"Even during Sussala's (Jayasimha's rather's) contest, for the crown there was not seen such distress as there arose on all sides during that of his own."⁴

1. Rājat. viii 1838-39, 2521, 2968-9.

2. Ibid. 2032.

3. Ibid. 2033.

4. Ibid. 2809.

Next the king's policy is criticized.

"It is nothing new that kings should commit wrongs owing to their mind departing from the right way in their haste to achieve their object."¹

"In truth the service of kings is more dangerous than the raising of a demon (vetāla), the leap over a precipice, the chewing of poison, or the fondling of a snake."²

On the whole Kalhana boldly lays bare the weaknesses of the king's policy. Perhaps the praise that he bestows on Jayasimha in the beginning is a sort of compensation for all that he has to say, sometimes too boldly, in the body of his narrative of Jayasimha's reign.

On superficial examination one feels that the author is all praise for the king, that he is trying to defend him at every step, but after having seen the context of each occasion when he praises or criticizes him, we are convinced that Kalhana comes up to the standards of impartiality that he promises at the start. While defending the king he gives his arguments in support of each case, but he also lays bare before us some of his imprudent acts and bad policy.

1. Rājat. viii. 2975.

2. Ibid. 2187.

Moreover, praise is, in the case of king Jayasiṃha, well deserved. From the study of the history of Kashmir both before his accession and during his reign we know how turbulent were the times and how difficult it was to cope with the rebellions of the Ḍāmara aristocracy and the rival claimants. King Jayasiṃha's long rule and his success in keeping these elements in control (1128-49/55) shows that he was an able ruler.

In all the above instances we find that Kalhaṇa is conscious of the fact that he is writing for his contemporary king and that too much praise of the ruling king would bring his claims of impartiality in question. From Maṅkha we learn that after completing a composition, it would ordinarily be put to discussion before poets, dignitaries of state and important persons from other states in India. Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅginī may also have been put to the same test. We have seen that Kalhaṇa keeps the possibility of public criticism also in mind while writing about this king; he gives explanations of his praise and sometimes writes in guarded language while criticizing; this leaves very little chance of his having suppressed the facts, or of his having extolled the king undeservedly.

It is also important to note Kalhaṇa's praise of the king in the last verse, and his wishes for the king's longevity, but along with this is a warning against future indulgence in evil.

He had examples of even good kings falling into malicious ways:

"Even the water, which is liquid by nature freezes and turns in time hard as stone, while the stone may dissolve into water. Under that wonderful dominion of time which has witnessed even in the beings of exceptional greatness, the rapid change of unlimited might, whose nature can remain unchanged on the road laid out by the power of fate?"¹

That the Rājatarāṅginī is the only Kashmiri historical composition of merit and that earlier compositions are not to be found anywhere, shows that Kalhaṇa's book was acceptable to the king and public alike who preserved it down to the present day.

1. Rājat. VIII. 3405-06.

HISTORIOGRAPHY IN KASHMIR

In most of Hindu India we do not find historical literature in the Western sense of the word, though it is admitted that every ancient Indian court had its genealogists or court poets. We have historical kāvyas (caritas) but they have their limitations as sources of historical information in their panegyrical character and abundance of obscure allusions. Kashmir had from fairly early times a tradition of historical writing, which, especially with Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgi comes nearest in character to the chronicles of medieval Europe and Muhammedan East.¹

As a result of his searches for ancient Kashmirian coins and their analysis, G. Cunningham critically controlled Kalhana's records and succeeded in fixing with fair accuracy the dates for almost all the kings from the advent of the Kārkoṭa dynasty onwards.² None of Kalhana's sources except the extant Nīlamatapurāṇa has been found to enable us to check his records, but the fact of the authenticity of his dates tends to show that it was from the Kārkoṭa dynasty onwards that the tradition of the writing of history started in Kashmir. It does not seem to have started earlier because Kalhana did not

1. Stein. Rājat. tr. vol I.

2. G. Cunningham. J.N.S. No. XX. pp/ ff. quoted by Stein.
Rājat tr. vol. I. preface p. xi.

possess authentic records for Mihirakula, the white Huna ruler whose date has been fixed on the basis of coins, inscriptions and Chinese annals as the early 6th century of the Christian era.¹ According to Kalhana's system of chronology it comes to 704-634 B.C. - an absurd difference of 1200 years.

By the time of Kalhana, however, the idea of writing history seems to have been pretty well-developed.

Ksemendra, while discussing the qualities of poets in his Kavikanthābharana, considers Itihāsa also as one of their requisite accomplishments.² By Itihāsa he does not mean anything other than history as such because he himself is stated to have written a chronicle (Nṛpāvalī)³, though no copy of it has been found so far. Kalhana refers to Ksemendra's work as full of mistakes. In the history of Kashmir translated by Mullah Ahmad in the reign of King Zain-ul-Abidin it is stated that Ksemendra's work was replete with inaccuracies. We do not know whether the author really compared the works of Ksemendra and Kalhana or just took Kalhana's word and repeated them in his work. With Ksemendra's varied tastes and satirical proclivity of mind, his history, had it survived,

1. Fleet. Ind. Ant. XV. pp. 245 f.

2. Kavi. tr. Sūryakānta. verses 6-7.

3. Rājat. I, 13. Anand kaul. J.R.A.S.B. p. 200.

would have given us some very valuable material for a comparative study of Kalhana's work.

Earlier than Ksemendra, Alberūnī(1130), while discussing Indian eras, makes mention of the Kashmir Calendar and the dates therein. This calendar, it appears, was nothing else but a chronicle by some earlier writer. This clearly shows that copies of a Kashmir chronicle existed in other parts of India as well as in Kashmir itself.¹ Regarding the lack of attention of Hindus in relating the chronological succession of their kings Alberūnī states that the Śāhi rulers of Kabul had a pedigree of their royal family written on silk, existing in Nagarakotta, which he could not see, though he very much wanted to.²

These are probably the same records as Hsüan Tsang refers to as Ni-lo-pi-tu (nīlapītam) and which contained official annals and state papers. The colour "blue and yellow" speaks of the colour of the silk on which the records were inscribed -- a Chinese custom.³

The Vaṃśāvalis of Nepal go back to 9th century and they indicate the reigns and events occurring during a particular reign.⁴

In Assam the Ahoms introduced the practice of writing historical annals -- Buranjis. These dynastic records date from

1. Alberūnī. India. Vol, II. p.5.
2. Ibid. pp. 10-11.
3. P.C. Bagchi. India and China. pp196 f.
4. Ibid.

the time of king Śukapna in 1228-68. 1 A-

Kalhana's dates approach accuracy when he reaches the Kārkoṭa dynasty. During this time close contacts existed between Kashmir and T'ang China. The Chinese had traditions of maintaining historical records from very ancient times.

Archival records were prepared in China for each individual court during the 10th and 8th centuries B.C. Scholars trace the "Spring and Autumn Annals", the chronicle of the state of Lu from 722 to 481 B.C., edited by Confucius, the first expression of the idea that political morality should be upheld by the historian, that it is a function and responsibility of his calling to apportion praise and blame in due measure, not by extended personal comment, but by the manner and emphasis of his record. No other ancient nation possesses records of its whole past so voluminous, so continuous, or so accurate as those of China.²

King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kashmir had great love for learning. We have already referred to his having induced Atrigupta the ancestor of Abhinavagupta, to come and settle in Kashmir. He had a minister from Tokhara (Upper Oxus) referred to with the corrupt form of a Chinese name, Cañkuṇa. Names of the Kashmirian kings of the Kārkoṭa dynasty are found in the Chinese Annals; it therefore appears that historiography in Kashmir arose through

1A. Bhuyan S. K. Assam Bazarāṅgi 9th ed. pp XXV & f.

1. Stein. Rājat. Vol. I. p. 67.

2. Gardner. Chinese Traditional Historiography pp. 10, 15, 105.

3. supra. pp 355, 420

close contacts with the Chinese and received further encouragement through the king's love for learning. Chinese influence has been recognized in the remains at Pandrethan and Parināsapura which date from the reign of king Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.¹ The existence of the brother-to-brother succession to the throne practised by the Kārkoṭas again speaks of Chinese influence and we do not find this repeated after them.²

In India also the practice of writing histories was followed mostly in outlying kingdoms, which were in close contact with China for several centuries.

The Muslims had also a highly developed sense of historiography, but the period for which Kalhaṇa starts giving authentic records does not suggest that the Kashmirians could have got it from the Muslims. Kashmir, protected by its mountain walls, remained for long unaffected by the Muslim invasions. A century earlier than Kalhaṇa's time, however, we find traces of Muhammadan influence due to the defeat of the Śāhis of Kābul at the hands of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, but historiography was already in Kashmir long before this time.

Kalhaṇa's chronicle was continued by Jonarāja, Śrīvara, Prājñabhaṭṭa and Śuka; none of these rises even to producing a

1.H.Goetz. The early Wooden Temples of Chambā. p. 104.

2.Stein. Rājat. tr. vol. 1. Genealogical table pp 142-43

faint reflection of Kalhana's work, though sometimes they make a very poor attempt at copying him. The total extent of the three distinct works does not amount to more than about one-half of the text of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhana . No doubt Hindu learning suffered considerably during the period of turmoil before Akbar's conquest (excluding Zain-ul-Abidin's reign) but even the Muhammadan historians were more interested in their own period than in the earlier past. Some account of the Hindu period that their works contain is translated from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī -- mostly from the legendary and anecdotal part.

We find a very interesting similarity between the Heimskringla of Snorri Sturlasson, the statesman, poet, scholar and above all, the historian of the twelfth century Iceland, and the Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kalhana, the poet historian of twelfth century Kashmir. Kalhana's shortcomings for the earlier part of his work lay to a great extent in the type of material he was handling. On the other hand for the Heimskringla there existed a tradition of story telling where the teller of the story was, in most cases, placed face to face with critical audiences. The chiefs themselves and their children and relatives, would in most cases be numbered among the crowd of interested listeners, and would be certain, if necessary, to interrupt and correct the reciter, whenever his

1. The Heimskringla ed. William Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon.
Vol. IV. p. xvii.

delivery failed in veracity as to facts or offended against fairness. In fact the story teller was here at a school which enforced upon him the principle of impartiality and the duty of carefully collecting facts; for to them must be left the task of showing which side to the story was in the right, which in the wrong, and to what extent. In this manner it came about, that to tell a story fairly and truthfully was a moral duty and the highest matter of honour, while telling a "leaning story" was regarded as the meanest of actions, and more than once cost the perpetrator his life. In the relation existing between reciters and their audiences lies hidden the cause of the faithfulness of the oral saga tradition of Iceland".¹

The earlier books of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī are unreliable and full of mythological stories. Stein has pointed out that to the Indian mind "the products of religious imagination and epic fiction... retain a matter of fact aspect even for the learned. That spirit of doubt does not arise which alone can teach how to separate tradition from historic truth, to distinguish between the facts and the reflection they may have left in the popular mind".² This seems very true when we note that the whole course of events from Lalitāditya's time onward is by popular tradition projected into the past and attributed to the judgement of the

1. The Heimskringla. ed cit. Vol. IV. p. xvii.

2. Stein Rājat. Vol. 1. pp. 27-28

chivalrous hero whom the Kashmirians worshipped.

Here we cite some of the judgements passed on the Heimskringla:

" The Heimskringla is in reality a chronicle or rather a series of memoirs, of kings and other personages, and of the events in which they have been engaged in Norway, Denmark Sweden and England, other countries, from those early ages in which mythology and history are undistinguishably blended together, down to the period nearly of Snorro Sturlesson's own birth, to 1170. Snorro begins with Odin and the half fabulous tales of the Yugling dynasty, and, showing more judgement than many of the modern saga scholars and antiquaries, pass rather rapidly over these as an unavoidable introduction to authentic historical times and narratives. From the middle of the 9th century, from Halfdan the Black who reigned from about the year 841 to about 863, down to Magnus Erlingsson, who reigned from about 1162 to 1184, he gives a continuous narrative of events and incidents in public and private life, very descriptive and characteristic of the men and manners of those times--of the deeds of bold and bloody sea kings... and of their home and fire side also; and he gives every now and then very graphic delineations of the domestic manners, way of thinking, acting and living in those ages".¹

1. Laing. The Heimskringla Vol. 1. pp. 1-2.

Curiously enough Kalhana records first exact date on the accession of king Avantivarman in 855/56 and, from thence onward the account that he presents before us, as far as it has been ascertained from the contemporary Indian sources and coins, has been found to be correct, As in the Heimskringla, so in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, we find that the last two books are most graphic and detailed.

Snorri 's "work stands unrivalled in the Middle ages. In that class of literary production-- the lively representation of historical events by incidents, anecdotes, speeches, touches true to nature, bringing out strongly the character and individuality of each eminent actor in historical events -- it may be doubted if, ever since the Middle ages, any, excepting Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott in their historical representations, have surpassed Snorro Sturlesson".¹

Kalhana's greatness was recognized by the authors who followed him. Jonarāja writes: "Let my work which is mingled with that of Kalhana Paṇḍita be accepted, for even the water of a reedy marsh is taken for drink when it has mingled with the water of a river".²

1. Kaing. The Heimskringla Vol. III. p. 393.

2. Jona Rājat. ed. Durgeprasad Verse 26.

3. J.C.Dutt. Rājat. tr. p.4.

There is not much to compare between The British History translated by Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Rājatarāṅgiṅī for in the Introduction to this book J.A.Giles says: "We do not insert the British History in our series of early English records as a work containing an authentic narrative, nor do we wish to compare Geoffrey of Monmouth with Bede in point of veracity".¹

While Geoffrey's work was to translate the book from one language into another, Kalhaṇa's endeavour was to reconstruct the past history on the basis of earlier records which had become fragmentary.

About his style Geoffrey says : "If I had swelled the pages with rhetorical flourishes, I must have tired my readers, by employing their attention more upon my words than upon the history".²

Similarly Kalhaṇa starts his work saying : "Though in view of the length of the narrative diversity could not be secured by means of amplification, still there may be found in it something that will please the right minded".³

Geoffrey's account starts with the description of the first inhabitants of Britain while Kalhaṇa gives an account of the land of Kashmir and its reclamation by Kaśyapa. In the

1. J.A.Giles. The British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

Introd. p. xvii.

2. Ibid. ch.1. p.2.

3. Rājat 1. 6.

former the historian connects the events with Trojan war and the latter connects Gonanda I. with the Mahābhārata war.¹ The difference in the narrative lies in the locale of the two themes. Exploits of Britus resemble Babur's early endeavours or Alexander's campaigns.

In all the narrative of British History we find mere relation of events. The author does not pass his own judgement. The records are more in the nature of the description of a society in the process of establishment. As for the genealogical summary added at xxv Giles has pointed out many anachronisms.²

1. J.A.Giles op. cit. Book 1. ch.2.p.2; ch. 3. p.3.

2. Ibid. Book III.

APPENDIX IV.

The Khaśas.

Sanskrit literature contains frequent references to a tribe whose name is usually spelt Khaśa, with variants such as Khaśa, Khaṣa, and Khaśira.

Grierson has stated that "the mass of Aryan speaking population of the Himalayan tract in which Pahārī is spoken belongs, in the west to the Kanēt, and in the east, to the Khas caste ... Kanets themselves are closely connected with the Khaśas and one of their two sub-divisions bears that name¹.

There is a legend regarding a woman named Khasā in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. The famous Kaśyapa to whom is attributed the origin of the country of Kashmir had numerous wives. Of these Krodhavaśā was the ancestress of the cannibal piśitāśis or Piśācas and Khasā of the Yakṣas and Rākṣas. These Yakṣas were also cannibals and so were the Rākṣasas.²

In Buddhist literature the Yakṣas correspond to the Piśācas of Hindu legend. There is also a verse in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī which equates Yakṣa and Piśācas.³ The Mahābhārata mentions Bāhlika (inhabitants of Balkh); amongst armed with swords and pikes were

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1. Grierson Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. IX. Part IV. p.2.
 2. Wilson. Viṣṇu Purāṇa. II. 74 ff. cf. Nilamata. 583.
 3. Rājat. I. 164

Daradas, Taṅgaṇas, Kṇaśas, Lampākas (now Kafirs of Hindukush), and Pulindas.¹ The Manābhārata also gives a long account of the various gifts presented by Yudhiṣṭhira by the kings of the earth, among these are the Kṇaśas... the Pāradas (the people beyond the Indus), the Kulindas and the Taṅgaṇas.² In another passage the Kṇaśas are mentioned together with the Kāśmīras (Kashmiris), the inhabitants of Uraśā (the modern Punjab district of Hazara), the Piśācas, the Kambojas (a tribe of the Hindukush the Daradas (or Dards) and the Śakas, (Scythians) as being conquered by Kṛṣṇa.³ In the Harivaṁśa, the Kṇaśas are mentioned as despicable people. Many references to them occur in the Viṣṇu and Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇas.⁴ A remarkable passage in the Bhagavata-purāṇa⁵ gives a list of a number of out caste tribes, which are said to have gained salvation by adopting the religion of Kṛṣṇa. In this connection we know that the rulers of Lonara, who were Kṇaśas, were also the adherents of the Viṣṇuite sect of the Bhāgavatas.⁶ Khaśa is mentioned as one of the names of the countries in the north-eastern region in the Kūrmavibhāga (tortoise section) of the Brhatsamhitā of Varānamihira, along with Abhisāra, Dārada, Dārva, Dāmara, Kīras and Kaśmīras.⁷

1. Grierson. op cit. Introd. p.3
 2. M.Bh. II. p 182 ff. Quoted by Joshi, Khasa Family Law p.16
 3. A. Cunningham. Survey p 131.
 4. Harivaṁśa 784; Mārkaṇḍeya. I. xxi
 5. Bhāgvata. II. iv, 18.
 6. Rājat. VII. 254.
 7. op.cit. see infra. p.467

In his paper on "Mount Caucasus" Captain Wilford has made an attempt to trace the Khaśas from Kashghar through Kashmir and Kumaon to the Khassiya hills in Assam. Without agreeing with his arguments and conclusions L.D. Joshi also believes in the theory of a very wide extension of a Khaśa race in the prehistoric times on the northern borders of India. The antiquity of the Khaśas in the Himalayan districts is accepted by Grierson who believes that "the great mass of the Aryan speaking population of the lower Himalayas from Kashmir to Darjeeling is inhabited by tribes descended from the ancient Khaśas or the Manābhārata". Śukra also places them among the people of the North. The principal ethnic group in the Himalayas seems to have been the Mongoloid Khaśas, whose settlements extended from eastern Turkistan (Kashghar) over Kashmir to Nepal and Assam (Khāśis).

King Ananta's son Kalaśa had two sons Utkarṣa and Harṣa. Utkarṣa was the second son of Kalaśa and when the latter's cousin Kṣitirāja, son of Vighnarāja from Lohara came to Kashmir disgusted with his own son, he made king Kalaśa agree to spare Utkarṣa to be crowned as the king of Lohara. Later Utkarṣa was called to Kashmir and in a certain verse Kalnaṇa calls Utkarṣa with contempt as a Khaśa, whom people did not like because of his avariciousness and wanted to have Harṣa as their

1. As. Res. Vol. VI. 1801. p. 455

2. L.D. Joshi. Khasa Family Law. p. 16.

3. Grierson. op.cit. p. 8.

4. Śukra. ch. IV. Sec. V. verse 98.

5. Grierson. op. cit.

6. Rājat. VII. 251-57.

It is interesting to note the use of the term Knaśa here for Utkarṣa because both Harṣa and Utkarṣa were the sons of Kalaśa who was as much a Knaśa as any of his sons. Perhaps it was owing to Utkarṣa having lived and ruled in Lohara from his childhood that Kalhaṇa uses the epithet Khaśa for him, or perhaps it implied that those who became the rulers of Kashmir were considered as much Kashmirians as the inhabitants of the valley itself.

We get references in the Rājatarāṅgiṇi showing that the people from Lohara, Parnotsa and all over the area in the south-west of Kashmir, Rājapurī, Bāṇasālā etc. were Knaśa, Khaśakas, or Khāśakas.¹

1. Rājat. VII. 251 11; VIII. 177, 409-10, 393, 1722, 1720-20, 1739, 1754, 1702, 1713, 2203, 3000, 3031, 3101.

APPENDIX VI

The Dāmaras

The term Dāmara is one of common occurrence in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, and the people to whom it relates play a very significant part in the history of Kashmir, especially during the times of the first and the second Lohara dynasties.

"The word Dāmara", states Stein "in the sense in which it is used in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and the later Chronicles has not yet been traced outside Kashmir." (1)

The authors of the St. Petersburg Lexicon, with reference to a possible etymology, suggested that the word might have had originally a more general meaning, "riotous", "rebel". (2) "The true purport of the term", adds Stein, "was recognized only in a brief supplementary note of that work which reproduces a suggestion of Prof. H. Kern assigning to Dāmara the meaning "Bojār", i.e. feudal landowner or baron. (3)

There is no denying the fact that the Dāmaras were really landowners, but we have doubts about the possible meaning "riotous" or "rebel", assigned to the word Dāmara in this particular case. Taking the word as etymologically connected with the root Ḍam "to sound as a drum", as suggested by the

(1) Rājat. Vol. II, p. 304.
(2) P.W. III. p. 185, Rājat. Vol. II, p. 304. Cf. C.V. LXXIV. 22-43, Dāmarikatta is used for acts of violence.
(3) Rājat. Vol. II, p. 304; cf. St. Petersburg Lexicon VII. p. 1747.

St. Petersburg dictionary, we can say that it might have originally been given to one of the indigenous tribes because of the boorishness and the riotous nature of these hilly people, and from that it may have been adopted to signify all such people in the land.

The word Dāmara is found also in Jayaratha's commentary on Abhinavagupta's Tantrāloka⁽¹⁾ where it is mentioned as one of the sixty-four tantras (a class of works teaching magical and mystical formulae).⁽²⁾ It is curious to note the same word being applied to a ritualistic text and to a class of people.

Varāhamihira in his Brhat Saṁhitā mentions Dāmara in the list of the countries of the North Eastern region along with:-⁽³⁾ Meruka, Naṣṭharājya, Paśupāla, Kīra, Kaśmīra, Abhiśārada, Tangaṇa, Kulūta, Saicindha, Rāṣṭra, Brahmapura, Dārva, Dāmara, Vanarājya, Kirāta, Cīna, Kaṇṇinda, Bhalla, Palola, Jaṭāsura, Kanaṭha, Khaśa, Ghoṣa, Kucika, Ekacaraṇa, Anuviśva, Svaraṇabhūmi, Arnasuddhana, Nandaviṣṭha, Paurava, Cīra-nivāsana, Trinetra, Punjādri, Gandharva.

In this list we have names of people like Paśupāla and Trinetra, which are epithets of the God Śiva. Dāmara, as

(1) Jayaratha's commentary on the Tantrāloka I, 42-43. Jayaratha provides the list of sixty-four monistic Tantras on the authority of the Śrīkanthī, a Śaiva work. (Quoted by Pandey. Abhinavagupta, p. 80.)

(2) Monier Williams. p. 436. Col. I.

(3) Brhatsaṁhitā Ch. XIV. Verses 29-30. *The words in italics are very familiar.*
c. 1922 falsely resolves the compound and gives the words Darvada and Amera instead of Dārva and Dāmara

already stated above, is the name of a tantra in Śaivite Tantric religion and Dāmara is also the name of one of the attendants of Śiva.

In Kashmir we find many references to people named after their epithets, such as Lavanya,⁽¹⁾ Balahara,⁽²⁾ Tantrin,⁽³⁾ and the like. We come across Dārvābhisāra, - a clear reference to Dārva and Abhisāra as a joint name, and it has been identified by Stein with the lower hills between Jhelum and Chinab.⁽⁴⁾

Stein refers to Kīra, appearing in the ethnographic list of Varāhamihira's Brhat Samhitā (XIV, 29), as the name of a race located in the North-East along with Kaśmīras, Abhisāra and Dārads.⁽⁵⁾ In the Chamba copper-plate grant of Aṣata, the Kīras are named between the Durgaras, (Dogras) and Trigantas⁽⁶⁾

- (1) Lavanya - a tribal group corresponding to Lūni krām.
See Stein Rājat tr. note, VIII, 2967; Rājat. VII, 1171, 1229, 1230, 1231, 1233, 1237, 1378, VIII, 747, 776, 910, 956, 1010, 1032, 1268, 2538, 3447. Also see Stein Rājat Vol. II, p. 523.
- (2) Rājat, VIII, 2695, 2768.
- (3) Rājat. V, 248-50, 255, 260, 265-66, 274-75, 287, 289, 293-95, 302, 328, 331, 338-40, 421, 431, VI, 132, VII, 1513, VIII, 292, 303, 375, 510, 597, 928.
- (4) Rājat. VIII, verse 1531. Stein Rājat tr. I.180. note
- (5) Stein Rājat. VIII. 2767. note.
- (6) Ind. Ant. XVII. p. 9.

(Kāngrā). Excluding of course the purely legendary names, Stein recognizes the Abhisāras, Dārades, Dārvas, Khaśas, Kīras, and even the distant Kulūtas and Kaunindas or Kaulindras "as the names of tribes which undoubtedly must be located in the immediate neighbourhood of Kashmir".⁽¹⁾ As we have such people inhabiting the North-Eastern division of India according to Varāhamihira's classification, and as some of them have been identified by Stein, we can take Dāmara as one of them. Moreover, the Brhat Samhitā was written much earlier than the Rājataranginī. It is, however, curious that the Dāmara in this ethnographical list missed Stein's notice, though he mentions the Kīras and others, who appear in the same verse, and takes them even as tribes. Perhaps taking the word etymologically and being quite convinced of its connection with "riot" or "strife", rather than of its being a tribal name, he did not notice it.

As already mentioned we have other examples of the use of tribal names in Kashmir⁽²⁾ to designate special sections of the people. In the Rājataranginī we find the Tantrins referred to as a body of foot-soldiers; these probably derived their designation from their tribal name, and owed their close organisation to ethnic affinities, but their original appellation was assimilated to the Sanskrit word "tantra".

(1) Stein. Rājat tr. Vol. II, p. 365, note.

(2) Supra. p. 467

Kalhana, while describing King Lalitāditya's injunctions on state policy, specifically⁽¹⁾ mentions the hill people first, and then he speaks of not allowing the villagers to have more food than is required for one year's consumption, otherwise they would become terrible Dāmaras. It is perhaps from this verse that Wilson concluded that the Dāmaras were a fierce intractable tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kashmir.

Could it possibly be that the hill people referred to by Lalitāditya are the original Dāmaras whose specific characteristics might have given their name to the turbulent section of Kashmir society?

We have references in the Rājatarāṅginī wherein Dāmara and Lavanya are indiscriminately used for separate groups of people or for one and the same person.⁽²⁾ Kalhana gives us no evidence to show what the term Lavanya originally meant or how it came to be applied. As shown by Stein it is a tribal name still surviving to this day in the Krām name Lūn, borne by a considerable section of the agricultural population of Kashmir.⁽³⁾ "From the way in which", he adds, "Kalhana employs the name in the passages referred to, and from various others

(1) Rājat. IV, 347-48.

(2) Cf. Rājat. VIII, 48, 747, 780, 1032 & 1033, 1124 & 1127, 1992 & 1993, 2009 & 2012, 2337 & 2338.

(3) Stein Rājat. tr. Vol. II. p: 306.
Haider Malik in his Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr mentions the term 'don' for the Dāmaras and he refers to them as a 'tribe' Ta'ifa.
Msq. Folio. No. 76-B.

in which Lavanyas are mentioned, it must be inferred that the mass of Dāmaras was recruited from that tribal section. If this was the case the indifferent use of the ethnic and class designations is easily accounted for."(1)

Basing his view on the geographical distribution of the Dāmaras in the whole of the valley of Kashmir and the mention of the epithet Lavanya for the first time in the reign of Harṣa, B.P. Mazumdar suggests that the Dāmaras did not belong to a particular tribe.(2) He adds: "Some Dāmaras have been called Lavanyas and from this Wilson concluded that all of them belonged to a tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north(3) of Kashmir". It was from the passage referring to King Lalitāditya's injunctions to his ministers that Wilson concluded the above and not from the fact of Dāmaras being termed as Lavanyas.(4) As it is seen from the Rājatarāṅgiṅī^{and} as B.P. Maṣumdar has himself stated, the term Lavanya occurs for the first time in the reign of King Harṣa;(5) while King Lalitāditya's time is much earlier. From Stein's note(6)

(1) Ibid.
(2) B.P. Mazumdar. I.H.Q. 1946. p. 194.
(3) Ibid. p. 194. Quotes Wilson's Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir, pp. 51 - 70.
(4) Wilson. Essay. pp. 51 - 70 ff. Stein Vol. II. p. 304.
(5) Supra p. Cf. Rājat. VII. 1171.
(6) Stein. Rājat. IV. 348. note.

that Kalhaṇa, in making Lalitāditya set forth the principles of Kashmir policy, is thinking in reality of his own times, one may be led to believe with him that the reference to Dāmaras at this early date is due to Kalhaṇa's imagination working into earlier times. We have, however, clear evidence in the cases of the minister Śūra and King Cakravarmaṇ(1) that much earlier than Kalhaṇa's own time Dāmaras had become quite powerful and were a terror to the rest of the population. As shown by Stein himself, we find characteristic indications of their growing influence during the period of comparative consolidation which followed Yaśaskara's accession (939-48) and Queen Diddā's advent to power.(2) Both under Unmattāvanti (937-939) and Diddā (980/1 - 1003) special mention is made of the success of royal commanders-in-chief in coercive measures against the Dāmaras.(3)

As regards their original home Mazumder suggests that "the Lavanyas had come from the Lavana Parvata, which is contiguous (sic) to Kashmir. Pr̥thvīhara and his son Koṣṭheśvara have been referred to as Lavanyas and Dāmaras. Trillaka as Dāmara and a Lavanya, was a relative of Koṣṭheśvara. It is likely that they or their ancestors had come originally from Lavana

(1) Rājat. V. 48. ff., 405. ff.

(2) Stein Rājat. Vol. II, p. 305.

(3) Ibid. see Rājat. V. 447, VI. 354.

Parvata and settled in Kashmir."(1) Mazumdar seems to have misunderstood the word Krām, (originally meaning family appellation) when he wrongly quotes Stein, saying "Stein thinks that the Lavanyas were a tribal people inhabiting the Kram named Lun". As already quoted what Stein actually says is: "Lavanya is a tribal name still surviving to this day in the Kram name Lun, borne by a considerable section of the agricultural population of Kashmir."(2)

It is from this misunderstanding of the words Kram and Lun that Mazumdar has suggested their original habitat as Lavana Parvata. We do not understand what specific area he means to suggest -- whether he is thinking of the Salt Range of the Punjab hills or any other place, it is not clear. We have, however, Lavanotsa, said to be a town founded by prince Baka of Mihirakula's race(3) Stein could not find the position of Lavanotsa, though the place is several times mentioned by Kalhana. From a certain passage,(4) Stein understands that Srīnagara could be reached by a single forced march from Lavanotsa and that Padmapura (modern Pampur), lay on the route. He cites other references which suggest that Lavanotsa was situated near one of the high roads leading to Srīnagara from

(1) B.P. Mazumdar. I.H.C. 1946. p. 195.

(2) See Supra. p. 468 note. I

(3) Stein Rājat. tr. I. 329. note.

(4) Ibid. Rājat. VII. 762. ff.

abroad. This area is nowhere near the Punjab Salt Range. Prthvīhara whom Mazumdar refers to, is a Dāmara of Samālā - one of those districts (viṣaya)⁽¹⁾ of the old kramarājya which lies to the north of the river and the Volur lake and Samālā is very frequently mentioned in the last two books of the Rājatarāṅgīnī, particularly on account of its territorial chiefs or Dāmaras, who played a prominent part in all the civil wars of the later reigns. This area too has nothing to do with the Punjab Salt Range.

In Wilson's Glossary of⁽²⁾ Indian terms, the word 'Lavana' is stated to mean 'Reaping', and from that in Hindi the term Lavani or Launi, as wages in kind to reapers at harvest time; also reaping, cultivating. Monier Williams takes⁽³⁾ 'Lavana', from the root Lu, to cut or reap, as meaning one who reaps and Lavanya as the name of a particular tribe in the Rājatarāṅgīnī. The name Lavanya may signify the original reaping or agricultural profession of the Lavanyas or Dāmaras.

In Kashmir even at present we find that the paṇḍits are broken up into numerous gotras, and each gotra has many Krams, or tribal sub-divisions. The Kram name is often the relic of a nickname applied to the ancestor of the sub-division.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Stein Rājat. Tr. Vol. II. p. 484.

(2) Wilson. Glossary of Judicial/and Revenue Terms. p. 310.

(3) M. Williams. P. 898. Obviously follows Stein.

(4) Cf. Lawrence. Valley. p. 304.

As suggested by Stein, "the Lavanyas must have formed an important tribal section of the rural population of Kashmir and their name, like that of the Tantrins, survives in a modern Kram name of frequent occurrence viz Lun".⁽¹⁾ He further adds that "that though the passages referring to them do not tell us anything of their origin, they show that many of them must have held a position of influence as landowners or tribal headmen."⁽²⁾ Their tribal name thus seems to have originated from their being landowners. Luns are found throughout the valley and according to villagers' statements recorded by Lawrence they are said to have come from Cilas.⁽³⁾ Stein however, could not trace any such tradition and suggested that the mass of Dāmaras was recruited from the Lavanya tribal section and therefore the indifferent use of the ethnic and class designations became common.⁽⁴⁾ Following Stein, Vogel also takes the Lavanyas as a class of agriculturists. Thus he says: "The feudal barons in Kashmir, corresponding to the Ranas and Thakurs in other parts of the hills, bore the title of Dāmara, and they belonged chiefly to a class called Lavanya, who were agriculturists, and may therefore have held much the same social rank as Thakurs, Rathis and similar agriculturist

(1) Stein Rājat. tr. VII. 1171 note.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Lawrence Valley. P. 306.

(4) Supra. P. 471

castes elsewhere in the hills".(1)

We have already noted that the name Lavanya came to be used for the first time during the reign of king Harṣa and these people figure prominently in the reigns of succeeding kings. If the mass of the Dāmaras had been recruited from this tribal section, it would not have been mentioned so late. On the other hand, we believe that the Lavanyas must have formed a tribal sub-section and being an influential section of the agricultural population must have been classed with the Dāmara tribe, and hence the indiscriminate use of the epithets Lavanyas and Dāmaras for the same people. Moreover, if we believe with Stein that Lavanya was a tribal name, we are compelled to believe even more strongly that Dāmara started as a tribal rather than as a class name. For if the name Lavanya, originally tribal, could be applied indiscriminately to the Dāmaras, Dāmara might equally well be taken originally as a tribal name, later assigned to all those who acquired a certain position by means of agricultural revenue and trade.

Thus from the above references to tribal names we can safely assume that the word Dāmara started as the name of a people and from the special characteristics of this people it was later applied to all those who attained a certain position in society. In other words, beginning as a tribal name it became later used as a class name, as is shown by the fact that Lavanyas are

(1) Hutchison-Vogel. op. cit. P. 17.

sometimes termed Dāmaras. Moreover in Kashmir to-day we have Lons (Lavanyas) and Dārs (Dāmaras) as two separate castes.

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GENEALOGICAL TABLE I. A.

FIRST LOHARA DYNASTY

Sinharaṅga or Loha

Udayarāja	Diadā m. to Kṣema Gupta
Vigraharāja	Samgrāmarāja
Ḷṣitirāja	
Bhuvanarāja	Harirāja 1028
	Ananta 1061.

Kalasa 1089

Harṣa 1101	Utkarṣa	Vijayarāja	Jayarāja	Bhoja
		Jayamalla		
Bhoja-Buppa	Salha	Ḷomda	Prātāpa	
(1101)				

Bhikṣācara, 1130.

B.

SECOND LOHARA DYNASTY AND LATERAL BRANCHES

Kāntirāja
Jasarāja

Panvanga			
Thakkana	Dhammata	Ajjaka	Guhga
Ralhana	Salhana		Kalla

Ḷolla Vijayarāja

Bulla

Gulla

Uccala	Suṣsala	Sāhaga	Lohana
(A.D. 1101-11)	(1112-20)	(1111-12)	
usurpation of	(1121-26)		
Raḳḳa Sāhharāja		Bhoja	
(1111)			

Jayasinha (1126-55)

Parmāṅgi	Gulhana	Aparāḳṭitya	Lalitāditya	Jayapīḳa	Yāsaskara
(Paramāṅuka	(king of				
1154-55 to	Lohara)				
1164-65)					
Vantideva(1164-65-1171)					

RELATIONS OF LOHARA KINGS WITH THOSE OF CAMPA.

CAMPA

KASHMIR.

Sālavāhana - Rardhā
c A.D.1040.

Ananta - Sūryamati
A.D.1020-63.

Somavarman	Asata	Bappikā--Kalaśa	1063-69.
(c 1051-52)	c 1000		(born in 1040; †1101).
	:	:	
	:	:	
	:	:	
	1	2	
	Jāsaṭa	Harṣa	1009-1101 †

Bhoja - Buppa; 1101.

Bhikṣācara (born in 1099; †1130).

1. It is stated in the Rājataranṅinī (VII.1512-13) that king Jāsaṭa, the son of king Harṣa's maternal uncle was in Kashmir at the time of Harṣa's last great struggle for the throne with the brothers Uccala and Sussala of Lohara. The reference shows that Bappikā, Harṣa's mother was a princess from Campā.
2. King Harṣa was born of the above relationship in 1058. We have seen that Kalaśa was born in 1040 and was thus eighteen years old at the time of arṣa's birth. We might thus assume that the marriage took place at the traditional age of sixteen in 1056.

ANCIENT KASHMIR

ANCIENT NAMES ARE UNDER LINED IN RED.





SRINAGAR.
 Ancient names are
 underlined in red.

PUNJAB HILL STATES

Scale (3000000 or 1:014 inches to 16 miles)

ANCIENT NAMES of IMPERIAL
adjointing Territories are given
in red.

