SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN ANCIENT KASHMIR

(C. A.D. 855 - 1150)

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims at assessing the social conditions in ancient Kashmir (C. A.D. 855-1150). In the introductory chapter, we give the importance of this period in the history of Kashmir, previous work done on the subject, the source material we use, and a brief account of the physical geography and political history.

In the second chapter we discuss the relative position of different castes and classes.

The third chapter deals with various aspects of the life of a Kashmiri. Here we discuss the life of the king, the ideas of kingship, the succession, city and village administration, the position of women, education, the merchant-bankers and the means of conveyance.

The fourth chapter concerns food and drink.

The fifth chapter deals with prices, co\`m\’age, and weights and measures.

In the sixth chapter we discuss dress and ornaments.

Games and amusements of the Kashmirians are dealt with in the seventh chapter.

The eighth chapter depicts popular beliefs and superstitions. We add a few words on S\’kta beliefs and tantric gurus.

The ninth chapter gives a description of the festival rites of the Kashmirians.
In the tenth chapter we discuss the importance of tirthayatra. In furnishing a brief history of the sanctity of the pilgrimage places, we have restricted ourselves to the important ones. This is followed by a brief account of various religious foundations.

These chapters are followed by a conclusion in which the main results of this thesis are summarized.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Like all pupils who are first ushered into the world of scholarship by their learned teachers, I feel good in recording my incalculable debt of gratitude to my revered teacher, Dr. J.G.De Casparis, Reader in the Department of History. It has been a pleasant task to research on the pleasant land of Kashmir under his pleasant, classical and erudite supervision. It was a delight to watch his fascination for my subject and to receive his ungrudging help and criticism. It is very kind of him to forgive always my sins of omission and to give his injections of politeness, loving encouragement and sympathetic attitude. In very truth he was the beacon-light and perennial source of guidance and inspiration and this work carries with it his masterly supervision. I shall remain indebted for all his kindness. I am much obliged to my old teachers in the Department of Ancient History and Culture and Archaeology, Panjab University, Chandigarh, Professor Buddha Prakash (at present Professor and Head of the Department of History and Ancient History and Culture and Archaeology, Kurukshetra University), Professor Jagan Nath Aggarwal and to Mr. S.N.Chopra, for their encouragement and valuable suggestions.

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Sudarshan Kumar.
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Genealogical Tables:

1) Utpala Dynasty (Fifth Taraṅga)
2) Dynasty of Yaśaskara (Sixth Taraṅga)
3) First and second Lohara Dynasties (Seventh and Eighth Taraṅgas) .. .. .. ..
Plates:
1) 
2) 
3) Tiles from Harwan
4) 
5) Coins of our period
6) 

Map  Ancient Srinagar
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>A.S.S.</td>
<td>Anandaśārama Sanskrit Series.</td>
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<td>A.V.</td>
<td>Artharvaveda.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B.I.</td>
<td>Bibliotheca Indica.</td>
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<td>Bṛhaspati</td>
<td>Bṛhaspatismṛti.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cat. Catalog.</td>
<td>Aufrecht, Catalogus Catalogorum.</td>
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<td>C.V.</td>
<td>Cūlāvāmśa.</td>
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<td>Dānakṣaṇa</td>
<td>Dānakṣaṇa section of Kṛtyakalpataru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.O.S.</td>
<td>Gaekward Oriental Series.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.I.</td>
<td>Epigraphia Indica.</td>
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<td>Fourth Chronicle</td>
<td>Rājāvalīpatāka of Prājyabhaṭṭa and Śuka.</td>
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<td>Gautama</td>
<td>Gautamasmṛti.</td>
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<td>Grhaṣṭhakāṇḍa of Krtyacakalpatam</td>
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<tr>
<td>H.D.S.</td>
<td>History of Dharmaśastras.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hob</td>
<td>Hobogirin, Fascicule Annexe, Tables du Taisho Issaikyo. Ed. by Maison Franco-japonaise (Chief Editor - Paul Demièville), Tokyo, 1931.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.H.Q.</td>
<td>Indian Historical Quarterly.</td>
</tr>
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<td>I.A.</td>
<td>Indian Antiquary.</td>
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Kāmandaka
K. M.
Kātyāyana
Manu
Mbh.
Milinda
Nārada
N.S.P.
Niyatākālaśaṅga
On Manu
On Yājñavalkya
P.W.M.B.
R.A.S.B.
Report
R.T.
R.V.
S.B.E.
Śrīvara

Kāmandakanitīsāra.
Kāvyamāla Series.
Kātyāyanaśmṛti.
Manuśmṛti.
Mahābhārata.
Milindapañjho.
Nāradāsmrī.
Nirmaya Sagar Press.
Niyatākālaśaṅga of Kṛtyakalpataru.
Commentary of Medhātithi, and Kūlluka on the Manusmrī.
Commentaries of Viśvarūpta, Viṁśeśvarana and Aparārka on the Yājñavalkyasmṛti.
Prince of Wales Museum Bulletin.
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Kalhapa's Rājatarāṅgīpī.
Rgveda.
Śrīvara, Rājatarāṅgīpī (Calcutta Edition).
Vippu

Yajnavalkya

Vippusmrți.

Yajnavalkyasmrți.
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

In the winter of 1964, it was during a brief halt at Srinagar, intended to receive a passport issued to visit Ladakh with the intention of searching out material on the social life of the Ladakhis, when I was greatly attracted by the beauty of the Kashmir Valley and the sojourn turned into a stay of four months. The charming beauty of the 'Happy Valley', coupled with different Kashmirian social ways in certain respects I noticed while I stayed with a Kashmiri Brahmaṇa family were solely responsible in bringing about a turn in the tide which forced me to switch my attention from the Ladakhis to the Kashmirians. Those four months were utilized in the study of Kalhaṇa's Rajataraṅgini, visiting ancient sites of historical importance, observing social customs and institutions and making general enquiries about the data I gleaned from the Chronicle. I chose to reconstruct the social conditions in ancient Kashmir from the time of Utpala dynasty, founded in A.D. 855, to the times of Kalhaṇa and the present work is an attempt in this direction.

It was due to the protection and isolation afforded by the mountain-ramparts to the country of Kashmir that it remained a sanctum of Hindu culture as late as the beginning of the fourteenth
century. In the early decades of the eleventh century the great wave of invasion under Mahmud of Ghazni, which swept across the Indus Valley and along the Panjab plains never endangered the independence of the Kashmirians. Indeed with the exceptions of an expedition\(^1\) despatched under Tuṅga, the prime minister of king Śaṅgramarāja (A.D.1003-1028), to the assistance of Śāhi Trilocanapāla against Mahmud's invasion, and a serious attempt of Mahmūd, aimed at the conquest of the Valley from the south when his progress was checked by the fort of Lōh-kot, which 'was remarkable on account of its height and strength', we do not read of another foreign invasion of the Valley. In more than one way, the period under review proved a landmark in the history of Kashmir. Kashmir produced such great men of letters as Abhinavagupta, Somadeva, Kṣemendra, Bilhāṇa, Maṅkha and Kalhana, who by their compositions added lustre to Sanskrit literature. There occurred a great development of Advaita Saivism in Kashmir. But Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism continued to exist with complete toleration. In his

\(^1\) R.T., VII, 47-69.

Dasāvatārācarita, Kṣemendra describes Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Viśṇu. 'The integration of Kashmir life was so complete that one of the most remarkable books that Kṣemendra, who was himself a Śaivite, produced was on the Avadānas of the Buddha, a classic in later Buddhist literature.' The period witnessed a great construction work in the form of the foundation of temples and the Vihāras though the latter were fewer in number. Kashmir continued to be a great seat of learning attracting foreign students. Mathas which were erected in great number during this period, and the Vihāras were centres of Hindu and Buddhist learning. Women continued to hold a good position in the society. Institutions such as satī and devadāsī received momentum and became regular features of the Kashmirian life. During the reign of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883), far-reaching reforms were carried out which gave tremendous boost to agriculture. Kings like Harpa (A.D.1089-1101) introduced in Kashmir new fashions in dress and ornaments of southern India. The period is very significant so far as the emergence of the Dāmaras as an influential and powerful landowning class is concerned. But we should not forget that for most of the period the land of Kashmir was in the grip of civil war as a result of the struggle between the ruling authority and the powerful landholders (Dāmaras) who had gained great power by
this time. During such periods of confusion and disorder, the general condition of the people turned sad as the account of Kalhāya reveals.

The history of Kashmir has been a subject of study for many scholars who usefully contributed on one aspect or the other. Before M.A. Stein published in 1892 his critical text of the Rājatarāṅgini and eight years later an English translation of the text together with notes, introduction, a memoir on the ancient geography and appendices, scholars such as H.H. Wilson, Troyer, Cunningham, Lassen and Yogesh Chundur Dutt had laboured hard to acquaint us with the history of Kashmir but because of the incomplete and defective manuscripts which they could lay their hands on, full justice could not be given with no fault of their own.

H.H. Wilson is credited with having first introduced us to the general character of Kalhāya's work and the critical abstract of the contents of the first six taraṅgas of the Rājatarāṅgini. To Troyer belongs the merit of translating into French, in 1852, the first six taraṅgas of the Rājatarāṅgini, accompanied by historical and geographical accounts. A. Cunningham received credit for his labours and his patient researches on the topography, Chronological system of the Rājatarāṅgini, architecture and the monetary system of Kashmir are very useful.
We mention G. Bühler as the next pioneer in the field and his Report in search of Sanskrit manuscripts is very instructive and gave M.A. Stein an impetus to carry further the task of translating the Rajatarangini. Yogesh Chundur Dutt's translation which appeared at Calcutta, 1879-87, was useful when it was composed. M.A. Stein receives the greatest share of merit for his monumental researches. The great importance of his work as a valuable guide for future researches can hardly be over-estimated. The works of H.H. Cole, W.G. Cowie, and D.R. Sahni give us a good idea of the architecture of ancient Kashmir. In his Ancient Monuments of Kashmir R.C. Kak furnishes a good account of the art history of Kashmir and the archaeological findings from various sites. H.C. Ray's Dynastic History of Northern India includes a good account on the Political history of Kashmir of our period. In his book State in Ancient India, Beni Prasad discusses briefly the polity of ancient Kashmir. U.N. Ghoshal's analysis on Kalhana as a historian contains little more than Stein's interpretation. J.C. Chatterji's Kashmir Saivism is a useful work.

Dr. Sufi's Kashmir in two volumes is a useful research but he dilates upon the Muslim period, giving the history of Hindu period in a single chapter. Early History and Culture of
Kashmir by S.C.Ray is a useful piece of work but the author concentrates more on the ancient topography, political history, administration and art history. His account on a few aspects of social history is sketchy and needs further improvement. P.N.K.Bamzai's History of Kashmir traces the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the modern times and the pages on the Hindu period do not say much which is newer than what has appeared before.

There has been no serious attempt to portray the Kashmirian society in ancient Kashmir. Some social aspects that come under the care of existing works are not adequately dealt with. In this thesis we have endeavoured to reconstruct the social conditions in ancient Kashmir (C. A.D. 855-1150).

The important part which the general physical features of the country of Kashmir have played in its social, economic and political history can hardly be overestimated. Ancient Kashmir was confined to the Valley drained by the headwaters of the river Vitasta and to the inner slopes of the mountains that surround it. The account of Kalhaqa, Jonaraja, and Srvara amply show that ordinarily Kashmir of Kashmirian tradition never extended materially beyond the summit-ridges of those great ranges that encircle and protect the Valley.¹ The extent of the natural

¹But at times the influence of Kashmirian power was felt beyond this boundary. At the time of Huien Tsang's visit much of the
limits of the country of Kashmir were appreciated by the foreign
writers like Hiuen Tsang, Cu-K'ong and Alberuni.

The great mountain-barriers that surround the small country
of Kashmir had a direct and distinct bearing on its history
and culture. The impregnability of the mountains enabled Kashmir
to preserve and consolidate its peculiar social conditions. Their
importance as a great protecting wall has always been appreciated
and recognised. Since ancient times, the Kashmirians have been
proud of their country's safety from foreign invasion, afforded by
mountain defences. The country of Kashmir 'may be conquered by
the force of spiritual merits, but not by forces of soldiers.
Hence its inhabitants are afraid only of the world beyond',

adjacent territories on the south and west were under the
suzerainty of Kashmir. The places mentioned by him (Si-yu-ki, vol.
1, pp. 136, 143, 147, 163) are Takṣāsila to the east of the Indus,
Urama or Hazara, Siṃhapura or the Salt Range, Rājapura and
Parqotsay or Punch. King Lalitāditya is recorded to have con-
quered territories as far as Kanauj and his grandson Jayapīda
tested his arms with the kings of Kanauj, Gauḍa and Nepal.
Sāmkara-varman (A.D. 883-902) conquered Dārvāhidāra and some
tracts of northern Panjāb. Kālāśa (A.D. 1063-1089) re-established the
Kashmirian authority over Rājapuri and among the neighbouring states
which accepted the mettle of Kashmir, mention may be made of Campā,
Vallāpura, Urama and Kāsthavāṭa.

\[1\]R.T., I, 39.
proudly writes Kalhana. The great importance of mountains
serving as natural defences was duly recognised by foreign
writers.¹ 'The kingdom of Kasmir,' writes Huen Tsang, 'is en-
closed by mountains. These mountains are very high. Although
the mountains have passes through them, these are narrow and
contracted. The neighbouring states that have attacked it
have never succeeded in subduing it.'² Alberuni writes:
'They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of
their country, and therefore take always much care to keep
a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it.
In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with
them.'³ The small forts which guarded these passes leading
into the Valley are referred to in the "Rajataramini" and later
accounts by the word dvāra, 'gate' or by the more specific terms
drāga, or dhakka. Certain passages of the "Rajataramini"
show that these dvāras served also the purposes of customs
and police administration. These forts were garrisoned by troops
under commanders known as drāgesa or draṅgadhipa. The officer
in charge of all the frontier stations was designated as 'lord

³Tarikh-i-Rashidi, p.432.
of the gate' (dvāradhikārin, dvāradhūśvara) - the very post
Kalhaṇa's father Cappaka held under king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101).

Ancient Kashmir has been likened to an irregular oval
Valley about eighty-four miles in length, from south-east to
north-west and its width varies from twenty to twenty-five
miles. Its height above the sea is everywhere 5,000 feet
and the mountain-ranges that enclose it vary at different
points from 10,000 to 18,000 feet in height. The slopes of
these mountains are drained by rivers and streams which join
the river Viśtā within the Kashmir plain. The side-valleys
of these tributaries provide much cultivated ground and even
the higher zones of the mountain slopes are clothed with a
belt of magnificent forests which add to the economy of
Kashmir. The Kashmirians have always appreciated the moderate
temperature of their summer ensured by the elevation of the
Valley. Kalhaṇa writes with patriotic pride: 'Out of respect,
as it were, the sun does not burn fiercely, during summer even,
in that country which has been created by his father Kaśyapa,
as he knows that it ought not to be tormented.' Elsewhere,
he dwells on the charms of the 'most delightful Kaśmīr summer
which is not to be found elsewhere in the whole world.'

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1 R.T., I, 41.
same time Kalhana does not forget to refer to the rigours of Kashmir winter which at the time of heavy snowfall is sometimes severely felt.¹ 'The comparative immunity from fear of foreign domination, due to the strength of the country's natural defences and to the practical impregnability of the routes leading to it, the abundance and variety of wholesome and nutritious food, the mild and salubrious climate, the narrowness of the geographical horizon - the Kashmiri could see his whole world from the roof of his house - are largely responsible for moulding the character of the inhabitants of the Happy Valley, a character which has remained unaltered for many centuries.'²

In A.D.855, with the accession of Avantivarman, the grandson of Utpala, starts over Kashmir the rule of the new dynasty, known as the Utpala. Avantivarman descended from a family of ministers who had raised themselves from a low origin to the position of king-makers. Avantivarman is described as a lovable person and his reign of little less than thirty years is said to have brought consolidation to the country which, due to internal troubles caused by the feuds of powerful barons and the oppressive administration of the kayasthas, had suffered politically as well as economically during the last half century.

¹R.T., VII, 592; VIII, 411, 1376 sqq., 1434 sqq., 2710 sqq.
²R.C.Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, pp. 4-5.
He directed his attention solely to the internal recovery of the country. The great change in the material condition of the country, brought about by the irrigation reforms carried out by his able engineer minister Suyya, is evidenced by the fact that the price of a Khari of rice, the staple food of the Kashmirians, fell from 200 دینارات to 36 دینارات only. A large number of temples were founded during his time. He was a liberal patron of learning and highly honoured scholars and poets of his day.

Avantivarman was succeeded by his son Śaṃkaravarman who, unlike his father, was cruel and avaricious and averse to learning. Having secured his position by defeating all contenders to the throne, Śaṃkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) set about a round of foreign expeditions which Kalhaḍa with poetical magniloquence describes as 'reviving the tradition of the conquest of the world'. The first territory he turned towards was Dārvabhīṣara, the hill-tract which stretches from the Pīr Pantsāl range towards the plains of the Panjab. Pythivīcandra, the ruler of Trigarta (Kangra), is recorded to have approached Śaṃkaravarman, to pay his homage, but subsequently fled in terror. Kalhaḍa's account does not tell plainly about the actual conquest of the territory. Śaṃkaravarman's next target was Alakhāna, the ruler of Gurjara territory which comprised 'the upper portion of the flat Doāb
between the Jehlam and Cināb rivers south of Dārābhisāra, and probably also a part of the Panjab plain further east.¹ Alakhāna ceded to Šāmkaravarman the Takka-land, 'by which designation a tract adjoining the lower hills east of the Cināb is probably meant'.² His next expedition was against the 'illustrious Lalliya Sāhi' of Udbhanda in whom we must recognize the founder of the 'Hindu Shāhiya' dynasty, probably Kallar of Alberuni.³ But he does not appear to have achieved any material success in this direction. These wars sapped the treasury and demanded of king Šāmkaravarman that he resort to excessive fiscal exactions which resulted in oppression.⁴ King Šāmkaravarman goes down in the history of Kashmir, as a cruel and oppressive ruler.

The period of thirty-seven years following the death of Šāmkaravarman in A.D.902 was marked by gross misrule during which as many as ten rulers occupied the throne, viz., Gopālavarman (A.D.902-904), Sugandhā (A.D.904-906), Pārtha (A.D.906-921), Nirjitavarman (A.D.921-923), Cakravarman (A.D.923-933), Suravarman I

¹Aurel Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), V, 143-144 note.
⁴R.T., V, 167-171.
(A.D. 933-934), Sambhuvardhana (A.D. 935-936), Cakravarman restored (A.D. 936-937), Unmattavanti (A.D. 937-939), Suvravarman II (A.D. 939). During this period the power was in the hands of the Tantrins and the Ekāṅgas, which rival and antagonistic military organisations, who acted as true king-makers. Kings and ministers were at their mercy. The throne was bought by paying them bribes in a competitive spirit. There was no love lost between the king and his son and the ministers following a dubious policy sided with that party that promised them more gains. In A.D. 936, the deposed Cakravarman, with the help of the Pāmaras, crushed the power of the Tantrins and now onwards we find the Pāmaras gaining more and more influence and power. In A.D. 939, the Brāhmaṇa Kaśāyana, the son of Gopālavāman's treasurer Prabhakaradeva was chosen by the Brāhmaṇa assembly, as the king of Kashmir. His rule of nine years is described as wise during which time the country received the much needed respite from the chaos and disorder that prevailed in Kashmir during the preceding four decades. He is described as a just and good administrator. Among various foundations that go to his credit, special mention may be made of a Mahā, for the foreign students. But his reign was not without blemish and towards the end of his reign, he is

\[1\text{ R.T., V, 461 sqq.}\]

\[2\text{ R.T., VI, 14-67.}\]

\[3\text{ R.T., VI, 87 sqq.}\]
recorded to have earned a bad name for himself by fiscal exactions.\textsuperscript{1}

Yaśaskara was succeeded by his minor son Śāmgramādeva who ruled for a few months only. The treacherous minister Parvagupta, who has been on the look out for an opportunity for the past couple of years to seize power, rose to the occasion and, after killing the child king, assumed royal power. But he was not destined to enjoy the realm long and after oppressing the people for about a year and a half died of leprosy.\textsuperscript{2} Parvagupta, who traced his descent back to a family of clerks (divira), was succeeded by his son Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958), a sensual youth who was kept engrossed in dice, wine and women by his evil-conducted parasites, who later also encouraged him to commit excesses.\textsuperscript{3} The foundation of the Kṣemagaurēśvara temple at Srinagar was the only notable act of his reign.\textsuperscript{4} His marriage with Diddā, the daughter of Simharāja, chief of Lohara and the daughter's daughter of Śahi Bhimapāla, is significant in so far as it brought Kashmir under the rule of the Lohara family. Queen Diddā played an important part in the history of Kashmir. Coming from the noble Śahi family, she possessed a political mind which

\textsuperscript{1} R.T., VI, 68-84.
\textsuperscript{2} R.T., VI, 130-148.
\textsuperscript{3} R.T., VI, 151-170.
\textsuperscript{4} R.T., VI, 171 sqq.
Kṣemagupta died in A.D. 953 and was succeeded by his son Abhimanyu II. As he was a minor the real power fell into the hands of Diddā who acted as a regent-mother. Court factions characterized this period and Diddā had to fight very hard for her existence. Abhimanyu died young and was succeeded in A.D. 972 by his young son Nandigupta. But only after a year, the ambitious and lustful Diddā destroyed Nandigupta by witchcraft. Tribhuvanagupta (A.D. 973-975), another grandson who succeeded Nandigupta, was similarly removed by Diddā. Then the throne went to the only remaining grandson Bhimagupta (A.D. 975-980/1). The heartless and cruel queen had Bhimagupta also put to death by torture in A.D. 980/1, and herself ascended the throne. During the following twenty-three years, Tuṅga, a Khaśa from Parnotse, who had made his way into Kashmir as a letter-carrier and had become queen's favourite and paramou, maintained an undisputed predominance as the prime minister. Various attempts made by the discontented factions to oust Tuṅga

1 R.T., VI, 177.
2 R.T., VI, 311 sqq.
3 R.T., VI, 330 sqq.
were foiled by Diddā's cunning diplomacy and bribes and Tuṅga's personal courage and prowess. During her reign, Tuṅga is said to have launched a successful expedition against Rājapuri and consequently earned a tribute from Prthivipāla, the ruler of this hilly state. Before dying in A.D.1003, Diddā conferred Yuvarājaship on her young nephew Saṃgrāmarāja, son of her brother Udayarāja, the ruler of Lohara. At her death in A.D.1003, the rule over Kashmir passed peacefully to the house of Lohara.

Saṃgrāmarāja is described as a prudent but weak ruler. The dissatisfied ministers, invoking the help of the Brahmāpas and temple purohitas, stirred up an uprising to oust Tuṅga, but in vain. Saṃgrāmarāja did not check ever-increasing predominance of Tuṅga and their carelessness led to maladministration resulting in fiscal exactions. Elsewhere, we have referred to a force of Kashmirians sent under Tuṅga to help Śahi Trilokanatāpāla when the latter was attacked by Mahmūd of Ghazni as also the unsuccessful attempt made by Mahmūd to conquer the Valley from the south.

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1 R.T., VI, 335 sqq.
2 R.T., VI, 348 sqq.
3 R.T., VI, 355 sqq.
4 R.T., VII, 13 sqq.
Samgramarāja was succeeded by his son Harirāja, but the latter died after only twenty-two days. Srilekha, the mother of Harirāja vainly endeavoured to secure the throne for herself and Ananta, the son of Harirāja was raised to the throne. Vigrāharāja, a brother of Samgramarāja and ruler of Lohara, attempted to oust Ananta but was defeated and killed. During the early years of Ananta's reign (A.D.1028-1063), the Śahi princes such as Rudrapala and Diddapāla who earned great subsidies exercised great influence and power. Ananta displayed great prowess in successfully defeating the rebel commander-in-chief Tribhuvana, who with the help of the Dāmaras rose against the king. He also emerged triumphant against the Dard ruler Acalamaṅgala when the latter invaded Kashmir.

Kalhaṇa refers to queen Suryamati's predominance over king Ananta and her assumption of full charge of the royal affairs. This brought peace and stability to the land. Ananta won a victory

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1 R.T., VII, 131 sqq.
2 R.T., VII, 139 sqq.
3 R.T., VII, 144 sqq.
4 R.T., VII, 154 sqq.
5 R.T., VII, 167 sqq., Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 34.
over king Sāla of Campa, but his expedition against the hill states of Uraśa and Vallāpura ended in fiasco.

In A.D. 1063, queen Sūryamati persuaded Ananta to abdicate in favour of his son Kalaśa. The couple soon realised their mistake and consequently Ananta resumed charge of the royal functions while Kalaśa's title of king was purely nominal. This arrangement went on for some time without any trouble but Kalaśa, during this period, is said to have grown very licentious as Kalhaṇa paints his misdoings. In A.D. 1076 there occurred a rupture between Ananta and Kalaśa and the former, acting on the advice of the queen, retired to the town of Vijayēvara, taking with him the royal treasure and most of the troops. After some time Kalaśa became hostile and set fire to Vijayēvara, which did great damage to the treasures and stores. Not long after, after an altercation with his queen Sūryamati, Ananta committed suicide.

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1 R.T., VII, 218; Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 38.
2 R.T., VIII, 219 sqq. If we believe Bilhaṇa (Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 35-38), Ananta held his supremacy over Darvabhisara, Trigarta and Bhartula.
3 R.T., VII, 273 sqq.
4 R.T., VII, 354 sqq.
5 R.T., VII, 408 sqq.
6 R.T., VII, 445 sqq.
The acquisition of full power worked wonders and was instrumental in bringing about a change for the better in his conduct as Kalaśa appears totally a different man, looking always worried for the welfare of his subjects. He gave good administration to the country and thus relieved his financial straits.\(^1\) After securing his position at home, Kalaśa set about asserting his authority over the neighbouring states. Supporting the cause of Samgramapāla, the rightful chief of Rajapuri, against his uncle Madanpāla, he reestablished the Kashmir suzerainty over that state.\(^2\) He made his influence felt among the surrounding hill-states and it is said that in the winter of the year A.D. 1087-1088, the chiefs of eight hill-states around Kashmir assembled at the Kashmir capital.\(^3\)

Kalaśa died in A.D. 1089 and was succeeded by Utkarṣa, the younger son of Kalaśa. Following the policy of Kalaśa, he kept Harṣa imprisoned.\(^4\) But Utkarṣa soon lost the confidence of the court and the people and taking advantage of the situation Harṣa found an ally in his younger half-brother Vijayamalla and encouraged

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\(^1\) R.T., VII, 506 sqq.
\(^2\) R.T., VII, 533.
\(^3\) R.T., VII, 587 sqq.
\(^4\) R.T., VII, 737 sqq.
him to raise a rebellion. Vijayamalla attacked Utkarṣa\(^1\) and
the latter in his straits tried to have Harṣa killed in the
prison but the murderous plot failed and the guards who had
been won over by Harṣa set the prince free. After having secured
a compromise with Vijayamalla, Harṣa made Utkarṣa captive in
the palace. Unable to stomach this insult and disgrace,
Utkarṣa committed suicide by cutting his arteries. He was only
twenty-four.\(^2\)

Harṣa is the most striking figure among the rulers of
our period. Kalhaṇa furnishes an elaborate description of Harṣa's
character. He is described 'as a youth of powerful frame and
great personal beauty, courageous and fond of display, well
versed in various sciences and a lover of music and arts.
Cruelty and kindheartedness, liberality and greed, violent self-
willedness and reckless supineness, cunning and want of thought—
these and other apparently irreconcilable features in turn display
themselves in Harṣa's chequered life.' Using this shrewdness and
wise forbearance, he retained many of his father's officials,
notwithstanding their previous treatment towards himself.\(^3\) We

\(^1\)R.T., VII, 762 sqq.
\(^2\)R.T., VII, 861.
\(^3\)R.T., VII, 886 sqq.
have discussed at proper places his fine tastes and introduction of various fashions and manners.

Samgramaraja, the chief of Rajapuri, now appears to have turned hostile. Kandarpa, the 'lord of the Gate', led an expedition against Samgramaraja and after inflicting defeat on the latter, forced him to pay tribute.¹ Court intrigues and hostilities from near relatives characterized our period. He crushed plots hatched at different times by Vijayamalla, Jayaraja another half-brother from a concubine and Dhammata, a relative from another branch of the Lohara family.²

Elsewhere, we have given detailed references to his extravagant expenditure on the troops and indulgence in costly pleasures which led him to embark on a systematic temple spoliation and impose new and oppressive imposts which reduced the country to chaos and confusion. At this time Harṣa foolishly undertook some enterprises. His expedition against Rājapuri and the Dards ended in complete humiliation and disaster. This was followed by a famine caused by a serious flood. A plague that ensued worsened the situation and took a great toll of the Kashmirian population. The Dararás took advantage of this anarchical

¹ R.T., VII, 967 sqq.
² R.T., VII, 899 sqq., 1013-1067.
state and resorted to plunder and confiscation. This was unbearable for Harṣa who proceeded to relentless persecution of the Ḍāmaras, which Kalhaṇa describes in great detail.

Another blunder which Harṣa committed at this time was to look with suspicious eyes at Uccala and Sussala, the sons of Malla, and descended from a side branch of the Lohara dynasty, as possible claimants of the crown. Knowing that Harṣa has planned their murder they fled at night from Šrīnagar. Uccala found a refuge with Saṅgramapala in Rajapurī and Sussala with Kalha, the chief of Kalijjāra. Kalhaṇa records in detail the hostility that ensued. The brothers secured the help of the Ḍāmaras and attacked Harṣa with a powerful army. Harṣa was betrayed by his followers and the victorious Uccala entered Šrīnagar and set fire to the royal palace. Kalhaṇa describes touchingly Harṣa's flight from the city. He took shelter in a beggar's hut where he was murdered by the followers of Uccala.¹

Uccala who wielded power in A.D.1101 had a bad time to start with. He had to contend with his brother Sussala who was ready to rise against him, and the leaders of the Ḍāmaras who after helping Uccala in his successful bid for the throne had started behaving as the true rulers. He very wisely ceded to

¹R.T., VII, 1717 sqq.
his younger brother, Sussala, an independent chiefship of Lohara. He gave a proof of his shrewdness when he secured his position against the Damaras by creating mutual jealousy and suspicion amongst them which resulted in murder and exile of most of their influential leaders, 'without himself incurring the odium'. Now the iron was hot and he hit other Damaras and forced them into disarmament and submission.\(^1\) Next came the turn of the officials (kāyasthas). Kalhana describes Uccala as an energetic, capable and just ruler and commends his liberality and considerate regard for his subjects.\(^2\) He records with humour and relish the persecution of the kāyasthas which Uccala carried out rather systematically.\(^3\) Jealousy of personal merits and harshness of temper and speech were the main defects in his character.\(^4\)

But he was not destined to rest long. His ambitious brother Sussala attacked him but was driven to take asylum in Dard territory from where he made fresh efforts to regain his old seat.\(^5\)

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\(^1\) R.T., VIII, 39 sqq.
\(^2\) R.T., VIII, 46 sqq.
\(^3\) R.T., VIII, 85 sqq.
\(^4\) R.T., VIII, 162 sqq.
\(^5\) R.T., VIII, 191-208.
of Jayasimha, the son of Sussala, brought about a reconciliation between the two brothers. But the peace thus secured could not flower and Uccala became a victim of a conspiracy hatched by the city prefect Chuqda and his brother Radqa who claimed descent from Yasaskara. Their cause was backed by the disgruntled officials whom Uccala had dismissed. After murdering Uccala in the palace, Radqa ascended the blood-stained throne the same night but enjoyed it only till the following morning. A leading Damara, Gargacandra, who had achieved great power and fame as a result of special favour bestowed on him by Uccala, avenged his master's death by putting to death Radqa and his partisans.

Unable to find someone suitable to act as regent for Uccala's infant son, Gargacandra crowned Salhaqa, a half-brother of Uccala. Receiving the news of his brother's murder, Sussala started for Kashmir to assert his claim but his small force could not match the mettle of Gargacandra, and he fled back to his kingdom. Salhaqa proved indolent and worthless.

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1 R.T., VIII, 303 sqq.
2 R.T., VIII, 342, 356.
3 R.T., VIII, 346 - 356
4 R.T., VIII, 371 sqq.
5 R.T., VIII, 379-411.
Soon after, Gargacandra lost his grip and he opened negotiations with Sussala for his return. Sussala accepted two daughters of Gargacandra as brides for himself and his son Jayasimha. He pushed on to the capital, occupied it and besieged Salhaṭa in the palace and succeeded in making him a prisoner. 1

Sussala's rule is marked by a series of internal troubles stirred up by Pāmaras whom king Sussala vainly tried to suppress. Not much time passed before he had to face a rebellion of Gargacandra and his own relatives. He had to seize Gargacandra's fortified seats regularly before he could force the latter into submission. 2 He proceeded to Lohara and imprisoned Salhaṭa and Loṭhaṇa. But the man who really proved a pain in his neck was Bhikṣācara, Harṣa's grandson, whose escape and growth abroad Kalhaṇa relates by a story. 3 Bhikṣācara met at Kurukṣetra a group of hill-chiefs from Cāmpa, Vallaṇura and other neighbouring states, who had gone to the holy site on a pilgrimage. They supported the cause of Bhikṣācara but the invasion met with failure due to internal feuds. 4 Some time about A.D.1117 Sussala made operations

1 R.T., VIII, 450-480.
2 R.T., VIII, 502 sqq.
3 R.T., VIII, 255 sqq.
4 R.T., VIII, 549 sqq.
against Gargacandra and succeeded at last in putting to death the latter and his three sons.\(^1\) At the same time he carried out an expedition against Somapāla, the chief of Rajapuri, who had invited Bhikṣacara. Though he was successful in his encounter, he could not establish there Nāgapāla, Somapāla's brother whose cause he had taken and after an occupation of Rajapuri for seven months he retired to his territory.\(^2\) The expedition involved heavy expenditure which forced him to resort to oppressive imposts which created discontent. The year A.D.1120 experienced a dangerous rebellion of the Pāmaras headed by Prthivihara in the eastern part of the Valley and by the spring it turned into a general revolt.\(^3\) By bringing Bhikṣacara into their party they 'gave the revolt unity and a well-defined object'. Suscalā was besieged in Srinagar. For some time he held his enemy back but at last in the face of treachery and rebellion among his own army, he was forced to leave the city/some faithful followers and reached Lohara.\(^4\)

Bhikṣacara's rule was of short duration. He, being inexperienced and sensual by nature, neglected the affairs of the

\(^1\) R.R., VIII, 605 sqq.

\(^2\) R.T., VIII, 621 sqq.

\(^3\) R.T., VIII, 661.

\(^4\) R.T., VIII, 723-827.
the State. The people were at the mercy of the Pāmaras and the mutual jealousy and quarrels among the latter further aggravated the affairs. In the midst of such confusion and chaos, Bhikṣācara foolishly despatched the prime minister Bimba to conquer Lohara. He was assisted by Somapāla, the chief of Rājapūrī. But they were routed by Sussala and consequently many Kashmirian soldiers joined Sussala's camp. Sussala then headed towards Śrīnagar to capture the throne and was joined by many leading Pāmaras. Bhikṣācara fled from the capital and took refuge with the chief of Rājapūrī.

Sussala could not enjoy a restful time even after his restoration (A.D.1121-1128). Bhikṣācara established himself at Puyānaṇāḍa at the southern foot of the Pīr Pantsāl Pass from where he started fresh incursions. He defeated the royal troops at Vijayesvara.1 The year A.D.1122 was full of attacks and counter-attacks in which sometimes the royal troops gained success and at others the pretender. In A.D.1123, the Pāmaras besieged Śrīnagar and set the city on fire which did great damage to property and life.2 Sussala succeeded in dispersing the Pāmara hosts but is said to have been dishearted by these calamities. The following

1 R.T., VIII, 968 sqq.
2 R.T., VIII, 1155 sqq.
few years were comparatively calm. Sussala planned to kill Bhikṣācara through an assassin and to carry this out he entered into a secret pact with Utpala, an agent of Tikka, a baron in the Devasarasa district. But the fickle-minded Utpala disclosed this to his master and at the instigation of the latter succeeded in his attempt to murder Sussala.

Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-1150) is recorded to have been a great statesmen. As there was every possibility that the rebels might attack him, he proclaimed a general amnesty and consequently strong men like Pañcacandra, son of Pāmara Gargacandra came under his banner. The powerful Pañcacandra repulsed the attack of Bhikṣācara.  

This initial success coupled with the advent of numerous trusted officers of his father under his belt made Jayasimha more assured. Another attack launched by Bhikṣācara with the assistance of the Pāmaras was beaten back by Sujji inflicting heavy loss to the enemy's force. Other successes that followed and the coming over of many influential Pāmaras to his camp, bought over by offering bribes and other means, left Jayasimha in a commanding position wherefrom he could

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1R.T., VIII, 1383 sqq.
2R.T., VIII, 1402, sqq.
3R.T., VIII, 1497 sqq.
dictate things. But the power of the Damaras still remained uncurbed who were now in their full blossom. It was due to a change of policy towards the Damaras that he could maintain his rule for twenty-seven years with comparative safety. His success is attributed to his 'cunning diplomacy and unscrupulous intrigue, skill in plotting and of his self-possessin'.

Bhikṣācara made another attempt when he invaded from the south but was driven away thanks to the diplomacy and bravery of Lakṣmaka and Sujji - the commander-in-chief. But Sujji was exiled through the jealousy of Lakṣmaka and the former decided to take up the cause of Bhikṣācara. But before Sujji could join him, the impatient Bhikṣācara started to try his luck again. But the royal troops besieged him in the castle of Bānasāla, held by a Khaśa chief, at the southern foot of the Bānahal Pass. He was betrayed by the Khaśas and his Damara colleagues and was killed in A.D.1130. But fresh troubles broke out in other quarters. Lōthara set himself free from the prison and assumed power at Lohara. The force sent under Lakṣmaka met with failure.

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1 R.T., VIII, 1584 sqq.
2 R.T., VIII, 1665 sqq.
3 R.T., VIII, 1702-1775.
4 R.T., VIII, 1794 sqq.
5 R.T., VIII, 1865 sqq.
and Lothāṇa maintained his position with Sujji as his prime minister.

But soon he was deposed by a plot of his former partisans, in favour of Mallārjuna, a half-brother of Jayasiṃha, who was kept in Lohara jail. But soon after, Jayasiṃha captured Lohara by sending a force under Sujji who had previously been reconciled. Mallārjuna fled to Rājapūrī from where he was captured in A.D.1135. Sujji and his relatives were also killed on the king's order.

The following few years were peaceful during which Jayasiṃha restored many temples and mathas. The outbreak of hostilities in the Dard territory following the death of its ruler Yaśodhara, offered Jayasiṃha an opportunity to extend his influence in the north. But his attempt met with failure and the new ruler Vīggaśiṃha stirred up troubles against Jayasiṃha. Taking advantage of the situation, Lothāṇa, the old pretender, again appeared on the scene. His cause was taken by Alamkāracakra, a powerful Pāmara in the district of Karṇāha, on the Upper Kīṣan-gaṅga, Vīggraharāja, a half-brother of Jayasiṃha, and Bhoja, a son of king Salhāṇa. To combat this serious general rising Jayasiṃha

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1 R.T., VIII, 1921 sqq.
3 R.T., VIII, 2454 sqq.
despatched a force which besieged the enemy in the Sirah-
śālākoṭṭa, a hill-caste of Alamkārakakra on the Kīṣanganga,
and after a long siege forced Alamkārakakra to hand over
Lothapa and Vīgraharāja to the royal troops. Bhoja, however,
managed to escape and took asylum with the Dārd ruler Viśāsīha.
Later, accepting the help offered by the Dārd ruler, Rāja-
vadana, a discontented officer of Jayasiṃha and joined by
powerful Dāmaras such as Trillaka and Catuṣka, Bhoja raised
a standard of rebellion. Jayasiṃha succeeded in averting
this danger with great difficulty. But Jayasiṃha could not
breathe a sigh of relief till A.D. 1145 when Bhoja surrendered
through the mediation of Jayasiṃha's queen Kalhaṇika. From
this time to A.D. 1149-50 when Kalhaṇa closes his account,
Jayasiṃha appears to have ruled with peace. He crowned his
eldest son Gulhaṇa as the ruler of Lohara. Numerous religious
foundations made by the king, his queens as well as the ministers

1 R.T., VIII, 2492 sqq.
2 R.T., VIII, 2641.
3 R.T., VIII, 2718 sqq.
4 R.T., VIII, 2761 sqq.
5 R.T., VIII, 3018-3179.
6 R.T., VIII, 3301 sqq.
have been mentioned elsewhere. According to Jonarāja's chronicle, Jayasimha ruled up to A.D. 1154-1155.

Sources

We have compiled our material broadly from two kinds of sources, viz., literary and the archaeological, though the latter are comparatively scanty.

Of the literary sources, by far the most important is Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgini which is a veritable mine of information, not only for the political history of ancient Kashmir, but also for the social and cultural history in general. The colophons attached to each Taranag of the Rājatarāṅgini ascribes its composition to 'Kalhaṇa, the son of the great Kaśmirian minister, the illustrious Lord Caṇpaca.' Kalhaṇa completed his chronicle in A.D. 1148-49.¹ Looking at the date of the composition of the Rājatarāṅgini and the above titles, the identity of Kalhaṇa's father with Caṇpaca who is mentioned as the lord of the Gate (dvārapati) or commandant of the frontier defences in the latter part of Harṣa's reign (A.D.1089-1101) becomes highly probable.² Though Kalhaṇa nowhere mentions about his caste, there are strong indications that he belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family. Sanskrit learning

¹R.T., VIII, 3403.
of the type displayed in the Rajatarangini has, in Kaśmir, as elsewhere in India, been always cultivated chiefly if not ex-
clusively, by Pandits of Brahman descent. Quite often he mentions the Brahmaṇas with such high-sounding titles as 'the gods on earth' and shows great sympathy with Brahmanic self-assertion. Moreover Jonaraja refers to him with the epithet dvīja. Every Taraṅga of the Rajatarangini begins with prayers addressed to Śiva as Ardhanārīśvara. This clearly speaks of Kalhaṇa's attach-
ment to Śaiva faith. He also describes his father Gappaka as a devout worshipper at the Tīrthas of Nandikṣetra, all of which are sacred to Śiva.

The Rajatarangini consists of eight taraṅgas. The history of the period under question is covered in the fifth, sixth, seventh and the eighth taraṅgas. In the introduction of his chronicle Kalhaṇa admits to have consulted the previous works such as Suvrata's poem, Kṛṣṇendra's Nṛpavali, the Nīlamatapurāṇa, and the chronicles of Helarāja, Padmakīrī and Śrī Chavillākara as well as many inscriptions. As a historian, Kalhaṇa is held

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2 R.T., IV, 631 sqq., 641 sqq.; V, 16 sq., 46 sqq.; VI, 2 sqq.; VIII, 2227 sqq.
3 Jonarāja, 5.
4 R.T., VII, 954; VIII, 23654
5 R.T., I, II-20.
in great esteem for his impartiality and independence, the 
individuality of his characters, accuracy of geneology, high 
sense of historical truthfulness and precision of topographical 
details.\(^1\) Kalhaṇa's work is unique as the only attempt at 
true history in the whole of surviving Sanskrit literature, 
for the numerous praśastis of the inscriptions, the biographical 
kāvyas such as the Hārpadarīta and the Vikramāṅkadevacarīta, 
the legends of the epics, and the king-lists of the Purāṇas cannot 
be considered as history in anything like the modern sense, 
whatever their value as historical sources.\(^2\)

The Kashmirian polymath Kṛṣmendra is a versatile genius 
and holds a prominent place in the galaxy of Sanskrit poets. He 
wrote on a wide range of subjects, giz. didactic poems, treat-
ises on poetics and prosody, narratives, a drama, kāvyas and 
mahakāvyas, a chronicle of the kings of Kashmir and a lexicon. 
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 masters 
of Indian literary tradition.'\(^3\) Kṛṣmendra belonged to a well-

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\(^2\) A.L. Basham, The Kashmir Chronicle, Historians of India, Pakistan 
and Ceylon, London, 1961; U.N. Ghoshal, Indian Historical Quarterly, 

\(^3\) Suryakanta, Kṛṣmendra Studies, p.1.
to-do family. His father Prakāśendra¹ was a devout Śaivite. He is described as very rich and a great patron of the Brahmaṇas. Kṛṣṇendra studied under many teachers, the notable amongst them were Gaṅgakopādhyāya, Abhinavagupta and Somācārya. He was a Śaiva by birth and maintained devotion for Śiva under the teachings of his Śaiva teacher Abhinavagupta but later in his life he became a Vaiṣṇava under the influence of his teacher Somācārya. In the Brhatkathāmaṇjari, Kṛṣṇendra mentions that he received lessons in poetics from Abhinavagupta,² whose literary career is placed between A.D. 990 and 1020.³ Kṛṣṇendra's literary activity is assigned to the second and third quarters of the eleventh century.⁴

Most of Kṛṣṇendra's works are lost and are known only by name. His published works include Bhāratamāṇjari, Kāmāyanamāṇjari, Brhatkathāmaṇjari, Avadānakalpalata, Hitikalpataru, Āruḍhacarita, Desopadesa, Narmamalā, Kalāvīlaśa, Samayamātrīka, Darpadalama, Sevyasevkapadesa, Caturvargasamgraha, Aucityavicāracarca, Kavikanthabhadrapa and Daśavatāracarita. We give here a brief

² Vide verse 37 in the concluding portion of Brhatkathāmaṇjari, p.620.
³ P.V.Kane, History of poetics, p.lxxi.
⁴ Suryakāṇata, Kṛṣṇendra Studies, p.7.
description of the works we have utilized for our purpose.

The *Kalavilāsa* is regarded as the masterpiece of Kṛṣṇendrā. It consists of 557 verses and is divided into ten chapters. In this work Kṛṣṇendra 'wields his weapon of satire with lesser coarseness but with greater sense of the comical element'. Mūladeva, the legendary master of tricks, instructs his disciple in the arts of roguery. In the first chapter called Dambhākhyāna various forms of deception and exponents are surveyed. The second deals with the origin of greed which generally resides in various trades. In the third the seductive nature of the harlots (*vaśya*) is exposed, the fourth refers to kāma. The fifth exposes the unscrupulousness of the kāvasthas. The sixth denounces vanity (*māda*). The seventh hits at the bards, singers, dancers and actors. The eighth exposes the trickery of the goldsmiths (*suvarnakāra*) who are 'thieves and deft swindlers'. The ninth describes many kinds of roguery practised by such quacks as an astrologer, a doctor, vendor of medicines, merchants etc. In the last chapter, Kṛṣṇendra leaves a piece of constructive advice urging the inexperienced and the young to guard themselves.

In the *Semayamātrikā*, one of the finest compositions Kṛṣṇendra lays bare the snares and tricks of courtesans. The hetaira-to-be Kalāvati is introduced to an old courtesan Kaikālī
by a barber. The second samaya gives an account of the rambles of Kaṅkālī in Kashmir, who marries several persons one after another and becomes a widow of all of them. She is described as following many professions and at last becomes a procurress again. This samaya is very significant from the topographical point of view and makes the earliest mention of the Pīr Pantsāl Pass (Paṅcāladhara) and its hospice (māṭha). The third samaya depicts incidents that take place in the 'prostituere' in the evening. In the fourth samaya, the bawd meets Kalāvati and gives her instructions. The fifth mentions different classes of lovers and twenty three tricks by which a lover, having no money, can be got rid of. The sixth provides a beautiful description of all that happens at the prostituere in the morning. The last two samayas describe how Kalāvati ensnares a merchant's son and cheats his parents.

The Desopadeśa consists of eight chapters and describes the author's observations on the ignoble customs and notorious characters of the day. The first upadeśa ridicules an unscrupulous and wicked man. The second upadeśa deals with the miserable and dirty habits of a close-fisted miser and his life in general. The third depicts the snares and tricks of a courtesan. The fourth and the fifth ridicule bawds and the vīra respectively. In the sixth Kaṃemendra depicts with a sharp satire the evil manners
and arrogance of Gauḍa students, studying in Kashmir. In the seventh, the author ridicules the marriage of an old hag with a young damsel. The eighth criticises different classes of society such as the poet, the alchemist, the quack, the scribe, etc.

Kṣemendra's Śrīmad Narmamalā is akin to the Deśopadesa in plan and theme and is divided into three parīhasas. Kṣemendra's main target is the villainous kāyastha, in a way the whole official machinery is ridiculed. The first chapter gives a mythological origin of the kāyastha who is also called a divira. He is 'pointed to be an unmitigated hypocrite without any redeeming feature, and finds pleasure in ruining temples and making the Brāhmaṇas go on hunger strikes'. His wholly unbearable behaviour as an official is described. Then the author goes on to describe the depraved private life of a typical kāyastha, his lascivious wife and adds his criticism on quack physicians, ignorant astrologers, Buddhist nun acting as a procurress, the barber surgeon and Śaivaguru. Winding up, Kṣemendra refers to the tragic end of the hypocrite kāyastha, who after his arrest, is jailed, released again and later after his property being confiscated, he dies a sad death.

Kṣemendra's Deśāvatārakarita is an abstract of the stories of Viṣṇusincarnation viz. Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vāmana,
Parśurāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Karkya, and as the subject matter is taken from the Puranic stories, it is not considered an independent composition. The work has great importance in so far as it contains the earliest reference to the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. It is said to have been finished in A.D. 1066 on the Tripūreśa mountain.

_Darpadalana_, a satirical and didactical poem, consists of 596 verses and is divided into seven chapters called _vicāras_. The first chapter refers to seven causes of pride, viz., high birth, wealth, learning, beauty, valour, munificence and austerities. Then the author deals with them separately in succeeding chapter.

The _kavikapṭhabhārana_ is a short but excellent guide in literary training to the prospective poet. It is divided into five chapters and deals with the subjects of _kavitvaprāpti_, _śikṣa_, _camatkṛti_, _gupadopabodha_, and _paricayapraśti_.

There is little doubt about the authorship of a curious glossary and manual which goes by the name of Ṛṣmendra's _Lokaprakāśa_. Professor A. Weber does not ascribe its authorship to Ṛṣmendra. But both Bühler and Aurel Stein think that its author is none but our well-known Ṛṣmendra. Bühler writes: 'This work gives a great amount of information on the daily life of the Hindus which elsewhere we seek in vain. He gives forms of _mudrās_ or letters of exchange, bonds, and the like, the titles of most
of the Kashmirian officials, in some cases with explanations, a list of the pareganas into which Kashmir was divided. The importance of such information cannot be over-rated, as all the Kośakāras live too high in the clouds of the Śastras and poetry to care about such trivial matters as the geography...''

Aurel Stein remarks: 'The work represents a strange mixture of the usual Kośa and a practical handbook dealing with various topics of administration and private life in Kaśmīr. Though a great deal of the information given in it is decidedly old, and probably from the hand of our well-known Kaśmendra, there are unmistakable proofs both in the form and contents of the book, showing that it has undergone considerable alterations and additions down even to the seventeenth century. This is exactly what we must expect in a work which had remained in the practical use of the Kaśmirian 'Kārkuns' long after the time when Sanskrit had ceased to be the official language of the country.'

In the Aucityavivaracaracā, a treatise on literary criticism, Kaśmendra propounds that aucitya or Propriety is the soul of poetry which should be observed in twenty-eight places such as pada, āpā, rasa, rīti, vacana etc. etc. The Suvṛttatilaka is a fine work on metrics and deals with some important aspects of prosody. The Beuddhāvadānakalpalalā is a collection of Jātaka

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stories. It illustrates the six perfections of the Bodhisattva, viz., charity, moral character, patience, diligence, contemplation and wisdom.

Somadeva, a later contemporary of Kṣemendra, composed his Kathasaritsāgara for the amusement of Ananta's queen Sūryamati, the mother of Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089).

Bilhana has left a useful information about his native land in the last canto of his historical poem Vikramāṅkadevacarita. He left Kashmir early in the reign of king Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089), in quest of patronage and after long wanderings and visiting places like Mathurā, Kānyakubja, Prayāga and Vārānasi, became court poet of the Gālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. In the last canto Bilhana traces his descent to a learned Madhyadeśi Brāhmaṇa family which had migrated to Kashmir early on. He was born at Khonamūga, near Pravarāpura. Bilhana pays a glowing tribute to the learning and scholarship of his father Jyeṣṭhakalaśa and his mother's name was Nāgadevi.

Maṅkha, Kalhaṇa's contemporary, composed his work Śrīkanṭhascarita some time between the years A.D. 1135-1145. In the third canto he gives an account of Pravarāpura and other sites which is quite useful for our purpose. We learn that his father's name was Viśavārata. He and his three brothers Śrīgāra, Bhaṅga and Alaṅkāra held official posts under king Jayasiṃha.
The last canto is important as it gives the names of thirty contemporary scholars and poets who assembled at an assemblage held at the house of Alamkara to mark the completion of the work.

The later Sanskrit Chronicles of Kashmirian poets are very helpful to corroborate and supplement the material that we glean from the Chronicles of our period. These Chronicles composed with the object of continuing Kalhana's work are:

the Rajatarangini of Jonaraja who continued the account down to the times of Sultan Zainul-abidin (A.D. 1420-1470) and died in the middle of his work, A.D. 1459; the Jaina-Rajatarangini written by Srivara, the pupil of Jonaraja, which covers in four books the period A.D. 1459-1486; and the Fourth Chronicle which was begun by Prayabhati under the name Rajavali-patak and completed by his pupil Suka some time after the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar, A.D. 1586. Besides, we have utilized for our purpose some material from the Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haider Dughlat of Kashger who conquered the Valley in A.D. 1540 and ruled it till A.D. 1551 under the name of Humayun, and the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar. The account of Abul Fazl is helpful to our cause as it refers to numerous shrines dedicated to the various deities and describes in detail many of the Kashmirian Tirthas. Of the importance of Abul Fazl's
account Aurel Stein remarks: 'It serves as a most useful link between our older texts regarding these pilgrimage places and the modern tradition. It helps us to check the data of the Māhātmyas in many particulars of topographical interest. Abū-l-Fazl's notes have enabled me to trace in more than one instance the position of ancient Tīrthas or particular features regarding them which have since his time been wholly forgotten. It cannot be doubted that Abū-l-Fazl's list of sacred sites was supplied by competent Brahman informants just as his abstract of the Sanskrit Chronicles.'

Different social ideas and institutions, which persisted even after our period for which we have consulted later Kashmirian Chronicles, existed even before the period under study. Taking this in view we have supplemented our material by a study of the earlier taraṅgas of the Rājatarāṇī and the Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya of Dāmodara-gupta, the court poet of Jayapiṭa. Though it concerns courtesans, the Kuṭṭanīmatakāvya (8th century A.D.), has very interesting references to a typical petty officer's life and throws ample light on the contemporary social life.

We have derived very useful information from the Mālamātā-pūrāṇa. The Pūrāṇa which was used by Kalhaṇa as one of his important sources of information, give the sacred legends regarding

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2 R.T., I, 14.
the origin of the country of Kashmir, special ordinances which Nilanäga, the lord of Kashmir Någas, revealed for the worship as also certain rites to be observed in it. The Nīlamatapurāṇa provides a mine of information in the preparation of the chapters 'Festivals' and 'Ṭīrthas and Religious Foundations'. After recording the legends on the origin of the country, it gives a list of the principal Någas of Kashmir, followed by an interesting legend regarding the Mahāpadma lake (Völur). There are enumerated miscellaneous Ṭīrthas mainly connected with Śiva worship. Then follows a lengthy description of the legends connected with numerous Ṭīrthas on Mount Haramukuṭa sacred to Śiva and Pārvatī. Next we read an account of Viṣṇu-Ṭīrthas which is comparatively short. After a list of sacred Samgamas and Någas, we find a detailed synopsis of the chief Ṭīrthas of Kashmir. The description of Vitastā, the holiest of Kashmir rivers, closes the text of the Nīlamatapurāṇa. Winternitz opines that the Nīlamatapurāṇa is many centuries earlier than Kalhaṇa's Rajatarangini.¹ Bühler thinks that it could not be older than the sixth or seventh century A.D.² On this question Aurel Stein remarks: 'It appears to me by no means improbable that the text has undergone changes and possibly additions at later periods. On the whole, however, the local names found in it bear

¹History of Sanskrit Literature, vol. i, p. 583.
²Report, pp. 37 ff.
ancient look, and agree closely with the forms used by Kalhana.

Reference may be made to the numerous texts known as Mahātmyas concerning important Tīrthas of Kashmir. Aurel Stein shows that these Mahātmyas, though they use older materials, are of late composition or redaction. We could not get our hands to these texts and hence have relied in the case of only very important Tīrthas, on the information given by Aurel Stein.

Among other texts used by us on the most important holy Tīrthas, we may mention the Haracaritacintāmaṇi of Jayadratha who appears to have lived in the twelfth or thirteenth century of our era. This work consists of thirty-two cantos and relates legends connected with Śiva and his avatāras. Some of these legends are localized at well-known Kashmirian Tīrthas and provide the author an opportunity to make mention of sacred sites. The Haracaritacintāmaṇi is very useful for the interpretation of brief notices recorded in the Nāyataraṅgini and the Nilamatapurāṇa.

In certain cases, we have tried to compare the conditions existing in Kashmir with those of other parts of India and for this purpose we have made use of Dharmasūtras, Smṛtis, Smṛti Commentaries, and such digests as Yuktikalpataru, Samarāṇangasūtradhāra and Kājāmārtanda of Bhoja (eleventh century), Niyatakalakāṇḍa and Tīrthavivecanakāṇḍa of Krṣṭyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (twelfth century), Kālaviveka and Dayabhāga of Jīmutavāhana (twelfth
century), Desīnāmālā, Dvyaśraya and Tṛṇīśālākapurupacaritā of Hemacandra (twelfth century), Dānasāgara of Vallaśasena (twelfth century), Caturvargacintāmani of Hemādri (thirteenth century) and Kṛtyaratnākara of Cāndēśvara (fourteenth century). Incidental references have been drawn from the Vedic and Epics literature and from Kautilya's Arthasāstra. We have used the Śukranītisara, a nineteenth century text in a few cases.

Of the foreign accounts we have made use of for our study, we may mention those of Hiuen Tsang, Cu K'ong, Alberuni and Marco Polo.

The archaeological material at our disposal is very meagre. We are unfortunate not to have found many inscriptions from the Valley and among those that survive are included a Brāhmi inscription from Harwan of about the fourth century A.D., a fragmentary inscription from the Martanda temple, two inscriptions of queen Diddā, and a Sāradā inscription from Arigom dated A.D.1197. These are of very little use for our study. Coins from the Valley help us considerably to form a general idea about the socio-economic conditions of ancient Kashmir and confirm the succession of rulers from Śamkaravarman onwards as given in the Rājatarāgini. Archaeological findings from such sites as Harwan, Huṣkapura, Pandrethā, and Avantipura form a good collection for our subject.

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1 B.S.O.A.S., XXV, part 3.
Chapter II

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The material at our disposal does not allow us to draw a clear picture of various people inhabiting Kashmir in ancient times. The \textit{Nilamata puraṇa} and the works of Kṛṣṇendra, Bilhaṇa, Maṅkha and Kalhaṇa, while recording the honourable position in which the Brahmāṇas were held, do not say anything tangible about other castes. But still the more scattered references in the literature reveal that the population of Kashmir in the period under review comprised numerous classes and castes. Of these, besides the Brahmāṇas who are treated at length, the Kashmirian texts occasionally mention the Candraśālas, Dombas, Niśādās, Kaivartas, Śvapakas and Krishnaśas. There are few references\(^1\) to the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. The kings of the Lohara dynasty are described as Kṣatriyas. The Rajatarangini\(^2\) refers to the kings as guardians and producers of the happiness of the castes (varṇa).\(^3\) The mention of sixty-four\(^3\) castes by Kalhaṇa leaves the impression that with the passage of time

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  \item \textit{R.T.}, II, 13; III, 85; IV, 111.
\end{itemize}
there had occurred a multiplication of the traditional castes into numerous sub-castes. According to Brihaddharmapurana,¹ the number of mixed castes having the status of Sudras was forty one; whereas the early Muslim writers like Ibn Khurdadba² and Al Idrisi,³ record the number of castes as seven, Alberuni⁴ maintains that there were sixteen castes.

We gather from the account of Kalhana, that the caste system in Kashmir, as elsewhere in India in this period, was not rigid. The departure from their traditional profession on the part of all the castes is visible, as in other parts of India, even much before the period under review. There was no binding of any kind on the different castes, not to go beyond their theoretical professions. Thus, for example, the Brahmanas in Kashmir did not confine themselves to studying, teaching and to the execution of priestly functions only, but we find them working as ministers, councillors, performing military functions, as landowners, traders and feudatory chiefs (Samantas).

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¹Brihaddharmapurana, II, 13-14.
²Elliot, H.M., History of India as told by its own Historians, vol. II, pp. 16-17.
³Ibid., p.76.
Atri (verses 373-383) records Kṣatra Brāhmaṇa, living by military functions, the Vaiśya Brāhmaṇa, engaging himself in agriculture and trade, the Śūdra Brāhmaṇa, who lives by selling salt, milk, lac, honey, ghee, meat and some particular dyes, and Niṣada Brāhmaṇa, living as thief and robber. The flexibility in the caste system in Kashmir is further noticed in Kalhaṇa's recording of one Haldhara, son of Bhūti, a vaiśya, obtaining the prime-ministership (Sarvādhikāritā), a low kāyastha Bhadreśvara in charge of the Gṛhakṛtya office, a barber Kṣema working in revenue department, Dombas as ministers under king Cakravarman (A.D. 936-937) and the Candalas serving as soldiers and bodyguards. Such deviations from their theoretical professions, which have been permitted by the law books in times of emergency, became, with the passage of time, the regular functions of different castes. Discussing the point in the Brahmaṇa literature U.N. Ghoshal writes: 'Above all the primary law of self-preservation was held in such great respect in the Brahmīnical Canon that individuals and classes were permitted for the sake of livelihood to assume in times of difficulty abnormal functions which were aptly designated as emergency duties (apaddharma).

It is seen that even the kingship in Kashmir was not the monopoly of the Kṣatriyas. The Karkoṭa dynasty was of tribal origin. Avantivarman, the founder of the Utpala dynasty, belonged to the family of spirit-distillers. Parvagupta belonged to the family of diviras. The Lohara kings belonged to the Kṣatriya caste.

Regarding the mutual relations of different castes in Kashmir, the joint authority of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas over the rest is quite obvious. And as regards the position of the higher castes we may easily contend that the Brāhmaṇas definitely held a position of superiority over the Kṣatriya population.

'As regards the relative superiority of these classes,' writes U.N. Ghoshal,¹ 'the dogma of the origin of society involves, as we have seen, the Brāhmaṇa's precedence over all the other classes by virtue of the will of the Creator.'

As in other parts of India, in Kashmir also, the prevalence of a touch of segregation in the society is attested to by the chronicle of Kalhaṇa. Consequently, as time rolled on, a large number of workers engaged in most beneficial services for society came to be regarded as unclean. In a passage of Medhātithi² which enjoins the dead bodies of Sudras, Vaiśyas, Kṣatriyas and

¹Ibid., p.48.
²On Manu, V, 91.
Brāhmaṇas to be carried out of the city by the south, west, north and east gates respectively, the old spirit of caste segregation is reflected. P.V.Kane observes: 'The ancient Hindus had a horror of uncleanliness and they desired to segregate those who followed unclean professions like those of sweepers, workers in hide, tanners, guardians of cemeteries etc. This segregation cannot be said to have been quite unjustifiable.'\(^1\) The Rājatarāgini furnishes us with a very clear and vivid picture of the existence of untouchability in the Valley. His narration of the three stories\(^2\) makes it crystal clear that the Cāndālas, Dombas, and the leather tanners were considered as untouchable. Of course, in exceptional cases as noted above, the members of a Domba family served as ministers and a Cāndāla fought as a soldier, but we should not forget that Kalhaṇa makes a stinging attack on such appointments and looks with contempt at their conduct. In the absence of further evidence we are at a loss to know if the rest of the low-caste people as listed in the account of Alberuni\(^3\) as untouchable were regarded so in Kashmir also. Aparārka\(^4\) while quoting the

\(^1\)P.V.Kane, H.D.S, II, ch. IV, p.170.

\(^2\)R.Tk.:IVyo62 sqq; V, 77 sqq; 354.


\(^4\)Aparārka, pp. 1177-79.
Brahmapurāṇa shows that one should not accept food from the members of the following professions: an actor, a singer, a surgeon, a physician, a goldsmith, a blacksmith, a vendor of weapons, a washerman, a tailor, a distiller or seller of liquors, an oil presser, a bard, a carpenter, an astrologer, one who rings bells, a village officer, worker in hides, a potter, a wrestler, a worker in bamboo, an indigenous banker, and one who serves as priest to the whole village. The list is too inexhaustible and does not appear to have been applicable in its entirety in Kashmir.

Countless passages in the Rajataramgini quite obviously reveal the privileged and honoured position enjoyed by the Brahmāyas in the social hierarchy. They constituted a unique and distinct class, superior to all the others. Kalhana sets very lofty ideals to the Brahmāyas. Thus he requires them to be well-versed in scriptures, honest and faithful. He is all praise for the honest\(^1\) and learned\(^2\) Brahmāyas and looks with hatred and contempt towards the dishonest, deceitful and cunning Brahmāyas, calling them silly\(^3\) and wretched.\(^4\) Lakṣmiṇidhara, the Gāhaṇavāla, in his Dānakanda\(^5\) prescribes equally high requirements for an ideal Brahmāṇa donee. He should be zealously loyal to the vedic

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1. R.T., VII, 204-205.
2. R.T., VII, 184.
4. R.T., VII, 1611.
5. Kṛtyakalpataru, Dānakanda, pp. 26-30 quoting Yama, Yājñavalkya,
studies, chaste, truthful, serene, greedless, afraid of sin, practise ahimsa, love the cow, keep burning the sacred fires and conscientiously observe the religious vows. Kalhaṇa's liking for an ideal and sober Brāhmaṇa can be well-judged by his reference to one Keśava, an honest Brāhmaṇa from Trigarta, when he remarks that by becoming minister of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) he threw lustre on the king, just as the moon throws her light on a stuccoed terrace.¹ There could be found many ideal and simple Brāhmaṇas like Keśava in the Valley. But Kalhaṇa does not fail to cite, rather grudgingly, the examples of crafty and depraved Brāhmaṇas inhabiting the valley of Kashmir. Fartha, the City prefect (nagarādhikṛta) under king Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1101-1128), was known to keep up intrigues with his brother's wife. Moreover, he 'whose mind was entirely devoid of merit, committed slaughter and other sins on the holy platform of the Liṅga of Śiva) Pravareśa'.² King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) fell into the company of two depraved and licentious Brāhmaṇas who coloured the king in their vile habits. The Brāhmaṇa Pramadakaṇṭha, who was a teacher of king Vasiṣṭha, Mahābhārata and Sātātaka.

¹R.T., VII, 204-205.
Kalaśa, instructed him 'in wicked practices and made him ignore the distinction between those women who are approachable and those who are not'. Moreover this Brāhmaṇa 'without fear, lived in incest even with his own daughter'. And the other Brāhmaṇa Loṣṭaka by name, became dear to the king as 'guru, procurer and astrologer'. The Kathāsaritsāgara also gives references to such evilly-disposed Brāhmaṇas.

The Brāhmaṇas were the most powerful and most respected members of the society. Kalhaṇa remarks that 'beyond conception is the power which austerities gain for those mighty Brāhmaṇas who are capable of reversing the fortunes of great rulers. One has seen the royal heir and others, restored again; but when once lost in consequence of disrespect shown to Brāhmaṇas it never returns'. Such was the power of the Brāhmaṇas that on a certain occasion, having been refused food by king Damodara II, they turned him, in their anger, into a snake (sarpa). They are described as the gods of the earth (bhudeva).

1 R.T., VII, 277-278.
4 R.T., I, 160-165; IV, 122; V, 144-115; VIII, 2238.
5 R.T., I, 160-161.
6 R.T., I, 162-165.
7 R.T., VIII, 2238.
who could cause the power of the gods to be present through their spells.\(^1\) At another place Kalhaṇa writes that 'no one until all his merits [from a former existence] have been exhausted, enters upon an obstinate course against the Brahmāṇas before whom the destructive arts of the wicked break down'.\(^2\) On account of the merit which kilg Lalitādiṭya had attained by giving loaf and water to a starving Brahmāṇa, sweet streams appeared at his feet at his mere wish, even on desert tracks.\(^3\) King Yaśakara (A.D. 939-948), in his desire to secure the royal dignity also for his future birth, bestowed the royal insignia upon a Brahmāṇa.\(^4\) But some wicked kings meted out punishment to the Brahmāṇas.\(^5\) Lākṣmiṇīdhara, the Gaṅgāvala minister of king Govindacandra (c.1114-1154 A.D.), eulogises a Brahmāṇa by quoting Yama that 'to be born a Brahmāṇa is deemed a piece of rare fortune, the result of good deeds in a past life'.\(^6\)

\(^{1}\) R.T., IV, 122.
\(^{2}\) R.T., VIII, 2239.
\(^{3}\) R.T., IV, 228-233.
\(^{4}\) R.T., VI, 85.
\(^{5}\) R.T., IV, 122; IV, 631-633, 638-656; VI, 3-4.
\(^{6}\) grhastra�eṇḍe, p.415.
U.N. Ghoshal writes that 'the Brahmāpas indeed occupy from the first a very important place in the society and the state. In the Brāhmanical Canon not only are the person and property of the priestly order protected by the severest penalties but they are armed with a formidable array of immunities which included the exemption from taxation as well as from capital punishment'.

As elsewhere in India, in Kashmir also the Brahmāpas seem to have been divided into groups according to the areas where they lived and come from and their vocations. Kalhaṇa informs us about the migration of Brahmāpas from Kāhyakubja, Rauhitalāṇḍ, Indus region and other places into Kashmir at different periods, and they appear to have kept a separate identity of their own. Bihāra in his Vikramāṅka-devacarita, traces his ancestry from the Kauśika family of Madhyadesa and informs us that there resided in his native village, Khonamūra, many families of Kauśika Brahmāpas who were zealously devoted to the Vedas, Śastras and the observance of sacrifices. The ancestors of Abhinanda, the author of Kadambrīkthaśāra, were immigrants from Gaṇḍa. Also the Brāhmaṇas

3 Vikramāṅka-devacarita, XVIII, 71-86.
were graded according to their occupation. Those who were well-versed in scriptures and held responsible ministerial posts occupied a more honourable position in the society than the ordinary Brāhmaṇas of the priestly class. Devala\(^1\) gives the following classification of the Brāhmaṇas in accordance with the degree of the knowledge of the Vedas, viz. mātra (one who is born in a Brāhmaṇa family only, but has neither read the Vedas nor operated the work of a Brāhmaṇa), Brāhmaṇa (who has read a part of the Veda), śrotriya (who has read only one recension of the Veda along with its six aṅgas and accomplished six functions of a Brāhmaṇa), anuchāna (one who is pure at heart, tends sacred fire and is aware of the meanings of the Vedas and aṅgās), bhrūpa (who possesses qualities of anuchāna Brāhmaṇa and performs yajñas), ṛṣikalpa (a celibate, who is truthful and leads an austere life, and is able to reward and curse), and muni (who dwells in a forest and lives on fruits, vegetables and roots). There might have been a similar division of the Brāhmaṇas in Kashmir also. Kalhaṇa is concerned about the marriage of Lothika, the daughter of King Saṅgīmaraja (A.D.1101-1128), with the superintendent of the Diddāmajha, Preman by name, when he remarks: 'How great is the distance between a princess

fit for a king, who is bent on universal conquest, and a Brahmana of small mind whose hand is wet with the water of presents'.

Numerous professions were followed by the Brahmanas in the period under review. These members of the sacerdotal class could be found in almost all walks of life. Kṛṣṇadeva Raya offers some interesting reasoning as to why a Brahmana should be appointed to important positions in the state when he records thus: 'Because a Brahmana would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kṣatriya or a Sudra, it is always advisable for a King to take Brahmanas as his officers.'

At another place he observes: 'That King can lay his hand on his breast and sleep peacefully who appoints as masters of his fortresses such Brahmanas as are attached to himself, are learned in many sciences and arts, are followers of Dharma, are heroic and have been in his service since before his time, who make arrangements for storing in those fortresses tiger's cheese (puli-junnu?) and other rare articles to last for a generation; who increases his treasures by multiplying his income and lessening

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1 R.T., VII, 10-12.
2 Amukta, IV, 217.
expenditure, and by seeing that the people are without trouble ..... who sees that neither he nor his subjects suffer and who gives trouble only to his enemies."\(^1\) Of the import of the Brāhmaṇas in Ancient Indian administration, Beni Prasad writes: "The Brāhmaṇas were, socially and religiously, too important and intellectually, too powerful, to be left out of political counsels. Brāhmaṇa priests or ministers were often by the side of the King. Legal difficulties were often submitted to Brāhmaṇa parisads or committees for solution. Attempts were made to enlist the moral support of the Brāhmaṇas for the government. Law, which is an expression of the social spirit, reflected caste at numerous points in ancient India."\(^2\)

A section of the Brāhmaṇa community in Kashmir appears to have its sustenance by performing religious rites, serving as priests and by imparting knowledge of the sacred texts. In addition to the sacrificial fees, donations were very frequently granted to the Brāhmaṇas. The Skaṇḍapurāṇa,\(^3\) developing a line of thought in Manu,\(^4\) observes that he who makes a gift in a

\(^1\)Ibid., IV, 261.

\(^2\)Beni Prasad, State in Ancient India, p.12.

\(^3\)Quoted by Aparārka on Yaśavalkya, I, 224.

\(^4\)II, 149.
straightforward fashion, without scrutiny into the qualities of the Brāhmaṇa donā7, satisfies the manes as well as the gods. The Nilamata-purāṇa also requires the donor to make gifts to Brāhmaṇas during almost any religious ceremony in order to acquire religious merit. The Rajata-rāginī1 is full of references to agrahāras as being donated by the kings to an individual Brāhmaṇa, and to religious institutions even before the period under review. By the term agrahāra Kalhaṇa seems to designate a village or piece of land, the revenue from which is assigned to a Brāhmaṇa or to a corporation or religious institution. The custom of granting agrahāras which was enunciated by the Hindu rulers continued in Kashmir in the succeeding period.

Suravarman, the brother of king Avantivarman (A.D.855/6-883) from a different mother, granted a number of agrahāras.\(^2\)

In the time of king Cakravarman (A.D. 936-937) one Domba, Raṅga by name, enjoyed the agrahāra of Helu.\(^3\) The Brāhmaṇas accepted agrahāras from the king Utmattavanti (A.D. 937-939).\(^4\) King Yaśakara (A.D. 939-948) granted to Brāhmaṇas fifty-five agrahāras, furnished with various implements, on the bank of the Vitastā.\(^5\)

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1\(^{R.T., I, 87, 88, 90, 96, 98, 100, 121, 175, 307, 311, 314, 340, 341, 343; II, 55; III, 376, 481; IV, 9, 639.}\n
2\(^{R.T., V, 23-24.}\n
3\(^{R.T., V, 397.}\n
4\(^{R.T., V, 442.}\n
5\(^{R.T., VI, 89.}\)
At the glorious temple of Vijayesvara, Suryamati the queen of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063), bestowed as a gift of great merit, one hundred and eight agraharas on learned Brahmāpas. ¹ Also during the rule of the second Lohara dynasty agraharas were granted. ² Not only the kings but some of the ministers too, granted agraharas. ³ But Kalhaṇa, like Manu, does not like the Brahmāpas to accept agraharas from wicked kings. ⁴

In addition to the agraharas the Brahmāpas in the Valley also received different kinds of gifts. For example, on the consecration of the temple of Sadasiva, Suryamati the queen of Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) made many Brahmāpas rich by giving away cows, gold, horses, jewels and other presents. ⁵ King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), profusely provided Brahmāpas with skins of black antelopes, cows with calves and other presents. ⁶ The Brahmāpas and gurus also received due regard and presents from king Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-1149)⁷ and his pure-minded minister Rilhaṇa. ⁸

¹R.T., VII, 184.
²R.T., VIII, 898, 899, 903, 2408, 2419, 2420, 3355.
³R.T., IV, 9.
⁴R.T., V, 403, 442. cf. Manu, X, 76.
⁵R.T., VII, 181.
⁶R.T., VII, 955.
⁷R.T., VIII, 2376-2380.
The Brāhmaṇa purohitas also enjoyed the revenue of the villages attached to the temples.\(^1\) We learn from Kṣemendra that to supplement their income the Brāhmaṇas on certain occasions resold to the public the sweets which were offered to the deity of the temple.\(^2\) This is corroborated by the account of Kalhaṇa, which informs us that at times the priests shared the profits arising from the sale of incense, sandalwood and other articles of worship.\(^3\)

As in other parts of India, in Kashmir also, the Brāhmaṇas did not fail to adopt the military career. The Valley produced some notable and distinguished Brāhmaṇa warriors and feudal chiefs (samanitas). Citing the instances of Kripa and Drona of the Mahābhārata we can say that the profession of arms was adopted by the Brāhmaṇas since early times. Gautama\(^4\) and Manu\(^5\) are in favour of the Brāhmaṇas taking up arms in times of difficulty, as also for their protection, to save cows or prevent the admixture of varṇas.\(^6\) Kautilya\(^7\) avers that the

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\(^1\)R.T., II, 132; V, 48-52, 170.

\(^2\)Samayamātrka, II, 77.

\(^3\)R.T., V, 168.

\(^4\)Gautama, VII, 6, 25.

\(^5\)Manu, VIII, 348-349.

\(^6\)Cf. Arthasastra, IX, 2.

\(^7\)Arthasastra, XI, 2.
army of Kṣatriyas trained in the art of wielding weapons or
the army of Vaiśyas or Śudras having great numerical strength
is better than a Brahmāṇa army. With regard to the hereditary
army, Kāmandaka\(^1\) holds that it should consist mainly, though
not exclusively of the Kṣatriyas. Although the profession of
arms was open to all castes, but according to the Matsya and
Agni Purāṇas,\(^2\) the commander-in-chief must either be a Brahmāṇa
or a Kṣatriya. The Sukranitisāra\(^3\) states that caste is not the
sure test of the quality and bravery of soldiers, whether they
are Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śudras, Mechechhas or of mixed castes,
they must be disciplined, brave, well-built, having devotion
towards their master and Dharma and a feeling of hatred towards
the enemy. Sukranitisāra is also against the appointment of
a Śudra as commander-in-chief. He gives the first preference
to a brave Kṣatriya as a commander-in-chief, and in case of
nonavailability, a Brahmāṇa may be so appointed.\(^4\)

It is noteworthy that while sketching the picture of the
peaceful reign of king Yaśaskara (A.D.939-948), Kalhaṇa happily

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\(^1\) Kāmandaka, IV, 63, 65, 67.  
\(^2\) Matsyapurāṇa, 215.10. Agniapurāṇa, 220.1.  
\(^3\) Sukranitisāra, II, 137-139.  
\(^4\) Ibid., II, 429-430.
records that the Brāhmaṇas were solely devoted to their studies and did not carry arms. It follows from this passage that Kalhaṇa wants the Brāhmaṇas to be devoted to their studies in times of peace and like Manū and Gautama, allows them to take up arms in self-defence in times of emergency. We find many Brāhmaṇas taking up arms during the turbulent times of the Lohara dynasty. In the reign of king Saṅgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028) Kalhaṇa records that Bhujamga, the son of a Brāhmaṇa feudal chief (śāmanta), gave a tough time to the king. Gappaka, the father of Kalhaṇa, held the post of dvārapati, under king Harga (A.D. 1089-1101). He remained loyal and faithful to the king to the last. Two Brāhmaṇas, Rayyavajja and Vijaya, distinguished themselves as soldiers. The Brāhmaṇa Ajjaka, who was king Salhaṇa's (A.D. 1111-1112) minister, died heroically in a battle against Sussala. One Brāhmaṇa Tukka, a chief man in the force of Sussala, was killed while fighting against Bhikṣu, Purthvihara and others. Kalhaṇa is all praise for Brāhmaṇa Kāyāgarāja, who was well-versed in military exercises and

1 R.T., VII, 91.
2 R.T., VII, 1177.
3 R.T., VII, 1480.
4 R.T., VIII, 472.
5 R.T., VIII, 1013.
who despite cowardice on the part of the force of Sussala, gave up his life fighting with his face to the enemy. Kalhaṇa also records the bravery of two Brāhmaṇas, Lavarāja and Yasacraja who were killed while fighting the assassins of king Sussala.

The Brāhmaṇas also took part in various offices in the government of the country. Though holding also common official posts, the Brāhmaṇas often served as ministers and councillors (āsthaṇadvija, āsthaṇabhṛta, adhikarapadvija) of the king. Manu lays down that the ministry and the judiciary should be represented, as a rule, by the Brāhmaṇas. According to the Mahābhārata, the Privy Council of the king should comprise four Brāhmaṇas, eight Kṣatriyas, twenty one Vaiśvas and three Śudras. According to Sukra the caste should not be considered at the time of making ministerial appointments, it should only be enquired into on the occasion of marriage and dinner. In accordance with the recommendation of Somadeva,

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1 R.T., VIII, 1071.
2 R.T., VIII, 1345.
3 Manu, VII, 37, 58; VIII, 20.
4 Mahābhārata, XII, 85.7-8.
5 Sukranītisara, II, 545.
the ministry should be represented by all the three regenerate castes. Thus king Lalitaditya-Muktapiṇḍa had Mitrasarman as minister of foreign affairs (Sahādhivyagrāhika). Devasaran, the son of Mitrasarman, served king Jayapiṇḍa as a minister. King Jayapiṇḍa's chief councillor was the Kavi Dāmodaragupta, the illustrious author of the poem Kuttanāmata. One Bhāṭṭa Phalgupa, who was the councillor of king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948) later became a minister of king Kṛṣṇagupta (A.D. 950-958). The same official also served under queen Diddā.

King Saṅgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028) had also Brahmāṇas as his councillors who, for the welfare of the country, made the Brahmāṇas and the puṟuḥitas of sacred shrines (pārisadāya), start a solemn fast (prāya) at Parihasapura. Later, for the same cause, seven Brahmāṇa sons of Śridhara, who were councillors, fought against Tuṅga. Kalhaṇa also records one Keśava, an

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1 Nitivākyamrita, p.55.
2 R.T., IV, 137.
3 R.T., IV, 469.
4 R.T., IV, 496.
5 R.T., VI, 168, 194, 284.
6 R.T., VII, 13.
7 R.T., VII, 22.
an honest Brahmaṣa from Trigarta, among the ministers of
king Ananta (A.D.1028-1063). 1 Brahmaṣa Sivaratha was an
official (kāvastha) in the time of king Jayasimha. 2
Alaṅkara, the brother of Maṅkha, the author of the Śrīkṛṣṭha-
carita, was the superintendent of the great treasury
(byhadgaṇija) under king Jayasimha. 3 He later, under the
same king, held the position of the Chief-justice (Rājāsthāniya,
Rājagṛhya). 4 Maṅkha himself served king Jayasimha (1128-1149)
in the capacity of the minister of foreign affairs (Saṃdhyāgrāhika). 5

During the period under survey, many Brahmaṣas of Kashmir
had become landowners as a consequence of the granting of egra-
haras to them by the kings. Occasionally, nobles and landlords
also obtained merit by donating land to Brahmaṣas. A perusal
of the Rajataraṅginī reveals that the Brahmaṣas gradually
became more and more dependent on land which led to the emergence
of a petty Brahmaṣa landlord class. And it is not unlikely
that some of the rich Brahmaṣa agriculturists turned into in-

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1 R.T., VII, 204-205.
2 R.T., VIII, 2383.
3 R.T., VIII, 2423-2425.
4 R.T., VIII, 2618-2671.
5 R.T., VIII, 3354.
influential traders. Whereas the Vedic literature allows agriculture to the Brāhmaṇas, the Dharmaśāstras contain conflicting views on the subject. Baudhāyana holds that 'the study of Veda tends to the destruction of agriculture and [devotion to] agriculture tends to the loss [of the study] of the Veda. One who has the capacity [to look after both] may resort to both, but he who is unable [to look after both] should give up agriculture'.¹ Manu avers that 'a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya compelled to follow the avocations of a vaiṣya [owing to a difficulty of maintenance otherwise] should by all means avoid agriculture which is full of injury to sentient beings and dependent on others [labourers, oxen etc.]. Some regard agriculture as a good mode of livelihood but it is condemned by the good, [as] wood having an iron tip [i.e. the plough] strikes the earth and [the insects aid germs] imbedded in the earth.'² Paraśara while allowing a Brāhmaṇa to take to agriculture lays down the following condition: 'The proper number of oxen to be yoked to the plough is eight, six being middling, four are yoked only by the cruel and two by those who sacrifice the lives of their oxen; he should not yoke an ox that is hungry, thirsty or tired, he should make

¹Baudhāyana-dharmaśātra, I, 5.101.
²Manu, X, 83-84.
the oxen work only for half the day and then bathe them in water, he should offer the five mahayajñas and other sacrifices with corn raised by himself engaging in agriculture, the sin of ploughing the earth for a day with an iron-tipped plough-share is equal to that incurred by a fisherman fishing for a year; he should give one sixth of the corn to the King, offer one twenty one to gods and one thirtieth to Brāhmaṇas and then he may not be smeared with sin.\textsuperscript{1}Vyūdhā-Hārīta\textsuperscript{2} considers agriculture common to all varṇas and does not forbid agriculture and rearing of cattle to any. Laksmanādhara, quoting Devala, shows that the agricultural profession was open to the Brāhmaṇas on certain conditions. If a Brāhmaṇa is kind to the oxen by neither unreasonably loading nor castrating them, feeding them at the proper time he might utilise their services in ploughing and harvesting. Furthermore it is no sin to till the soil if the Brāhmaṇa landowner pays one-sixth of the produce of the land as tax to the king, one-twentieth to the Gods and one-thirtieth to the Brāhmaṇas.\textsuperscript{3} The Sukraṇītisāra, though of later

\textsuperscript{1}Paraśara, II, 2-4, 7, 14.

\textsuperscript{2}Vyūdhā-Hārīta, VII, 179, 182.

age, also recognises the practice of the Brāhmaṇas of tilling the lands.\(^1\) Similarly the Brāhmaṇas were permitted to maintain themselves by trade in the time of necessity. Gautama averts that a Brāhmaṇa can maintain himself and his family by agriculture, sale of commodities and money-lending only if he does not engage in these pursuits personally, but through some agent.\(^2\) But the Dharmaśastras\(^3\) give a long list of articles which the Brāhmaṇas were forbidden to sell. Alberuni also tells the similar tale. He says that the Brāhmaṇas preferred the Vaiśyas to transact business in their name. Nevertheless some Brāhmaṇas tried their fortune in the trade of cloth and betelnut.\(^4\) We have no means to ascertain how far the Brāhmaṇas of Kashmir followed these instructions.

We glean from the pages of the Rajatarangini that the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed certain immunities and privileges in the valley of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa's account makes it quite clear that the Brāhmaṇas were exempted from capital punishment. He records\(^5\) the

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story of a Brāhmaṇa woman, who underwent voluntary starvation (prayopavēsa) in order to get her grievances redressed. She wanted the king to award death sentence to a Brāhmaṇa whom she suspected of having murdered her husband. During the course of their conversation, king Candrapīḍa spoke to that woman: 'What shall we judges do to a man whose guilt has not been shown? Not even another person can receive punishment if his guilt is not established: still less a Brāhmaṇa who is exempt from capital punishment although guilty.' When the guilt of that Brāhmaṇa became evident, the judges awarded some punishment which, as he was a Brāhmaṇa, could not be that of death. But Kalhaṇa does not mention what punishment was meted out to that Brāhmaṇa. We learn that the younger brother of king Candrapīḍa, Tarapīḍa by name, made use of this enraged guilty Brāhmaṇa to further his cause and consequently this Brāhmaṇa used his witchcraft (abhicēra) against the king. But one is thrilled to know about the forebearance of this king who, on the point of his death, did not destroy this Brāhmaṇa sorcerer (kṛtyādhāvin), saying: 'What sin is there in this poor fellow whom another has instigated!' Kalhaṇa gets an opportunity while recording the events of king Yaśaskara's (A.D. 939-948) reign, to make mention that this king, who was ever ready to exercise control over the castes and
conditions of life among his subjects, punished in accordance with the law a Brāhmaṇa, who had departed from proper conduct, by having the mark of a dog's foot branded on his forehead.\footnote{R.T., VI, 108-112.}

It is just possible that king Candrapīḍa might have given similar punishment to the guilty Brāhmaṇa. It follows that the most severe punishment for a guilty Brāhmaṇa was branding and banishment. Gautama\footnote{Gautama, XII, 43.} and Manu\footnote{Manu, XI, 99-100.}\footnote{Baudhāyana-dharmaśāstra, I, 10.18-19.}\footnote{Barhaspatya Arthasastra, I, 17.}\footnote{Laghvarhannītisāstra, I, 1.37.}\footnote{Manu, IX, 237.}\footnote{Matsyapurīṣa and Visnu-dharmaśāstra\footnote{Matsyapurīṣa, 227. 163-164.} and Visnudharmaśāstra\footnote{Visnudharmaśāstra, V, 4-7.} prescribe for a Brāhmaṇa guilty of a serious offence,}
banishment and branding with distinctive signs instead of the death sentence. Manu\textsuperscript{1} at another place lays down heavy fines for a Brāhmaṇa guilty of rape or adultery. Kautilya\textsuperscript{2} is also against capital punishment to a guilty Brāhmaṇa but prescribes branding and banishment like other thinkers. The same punishment is laid down for a guilty Brāhmaṇa, particularly for theft, in Yājñavalkya and Nārada smṛti texts.\textsuperscript{3} Medhatithi\textsuperscript{4} forbids not only corporal punishment, but even a money-fine, to be inflicted upon a guilty Brāhmaṇa. Alberuni records that if a Brāhmaṇa killed a man, the former had only to fast, pray and give alms. And if a Brāhmaṇa stole a valuable object, the king had the right to make him blind and cut off either his left hand and right foot or his right hand and left foot.

On the other hand, the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa was the greatest sinner, who perpetrated the most heinous crime.\textsuperscript{5} Some passages in the Rajstaraṅgini referring to the execution of the Brāhmaṇas, put us in doubt how far the Brāhmaṇas were privileged of not

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\textsuperscript{1} Manu, VIII, 378.
\textsuperscript{2} Arthasastra, IV, 8.
\textsuperscript{3} Yājñavalkya, II, 27.
\textsuperscript{4} On Manu, VIII, 124.
\textsuperscript{5} Sachau, vol. II, p.162.
being killed. But the passage (VII, 1013) refers to one Tukka Brāhmaṇa, a soldier in the army of king Sussala (A.D.1121-1128), being killed by Bhikṣu and his partisans during the course of their attack on Srinagar. It is contended that those Brāhmaṇas who had adopted the military career could not have claimed the privilege of not being killed. The Udyoga and Sānti Parvans\(^1\) lay down that one does not incur the sin of Brāhmaṇa-murder if one kills in a battle a Brāhmaṇa who fights like a Kṣatriya. The second passage (VII, 1229) describes the persecution of the Dāmaras in Madavāryāja by Ananda, the governor under king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101), who also as Kalhaṇa says, killed those Brāhmaṇas who wore their hair dressed high and were of prominent appearance. It is possible that those Brāhmaṇas might have been supporters of the Dāmaras or might be dressing themselves like Dāmaras. The third passage (VIII, 2060) records that Sujji, once the minister under king Jayasiṃha, killed a Brāhmaṇa, who had spoken harsh words in anger. But it is to be noted that Kalhaṇa considers it as a wicked action, which agitated the minds of the people who in consequence turned against Sujji.\(^2\) It follows that the killing of a Brāhmaṇa was considered

\(^1\)Udyogaparvan, 178, 51-52. Sāntiparvan, 22, 5-6.

\(^2\)R.T., VIII, 2059-2061.
as a wicked action. Moreover, the surrender of the kings of Kashmir on different occasions to the solemn fasts of the Brāhmaṇas, who threatened to kill themselves if their demands were not met with, shows that the fear of Brahmahatya seems to have been lingering in the minds of the rulers. All this helps us to conclude that the killing of a Brāhmaṇa in Kashmir was considered as an act of wickedness. The killing of a Brāhmaṇa is looked upon as the greatest sin since ancient times. Gautama\(^1\) puts the killer of a Brāhmaṇa at the top of his list of patitas (persons guilty of mortal sins). Manu\(^2\), Viṣṇu-dharmaśūtra\(^3\) and Yājñavalkya\(^4\) count Brāhmaṇa-murder in their list of five mahapatakas. At another place Manu avers that there is no worse sin in the world than the Brāhmaṇa-murder.\(^5\) But the ancient thinkers all agree that one does not incur sin if one kills a Brāhmaṇa who is atatayin.

So far as the privilege of non-payment of taxes is concerned it seems unlikely that ordinary Brāhmaṇas enjoyed this

\(^1\) Gautama, 21.1.
\(^2\) Manu, XI, 54.
\(^3\) Viṣṇu-dharmaśūtra, 35.1.9.
\(^4\) Yājñavalkya, III, 227.
\(^5\) Manu, VIII, 381.
privilege. Only certain individual learned Brāhmaṇas (Śro-
triya) seem to have enjoyed this rare privilege. The Brāhmaṇa
landowners who with the lapse of time had become influential
traders and money-lenders and those who were holding influential
official posts do not seem to have been exempted from taxation.
Similarly the temples owning extensive lands were not naturally
exempted from taxation. The Brāhmaṇas might be paying somewhat
low rates as compared with the rest but their complete exemption
is not likely. According to the Mahābhārata, those Brāhmaṇas
who are holding influential governmental posts and those who
were following the professions of agriculture, trade and cattle-
rearing are to be charged usual taxes at their full rates.¹
We have seen how the digests prescribe that the Brāhmaṇa
agriculturists must pay one-sixth of their income to the king,
in addition to many other obligations. Vasiṣṭha-dharmaśūtra²
and Manu³ say that a Śrotriya was to be free from taxes.⁴ Manu⁴
holds that 'by the religious merit which the Śrotriya accumulates

¹Mahābhārata, XII, 76.4-7.
²Vasiṣṭha-dharmaśūtra, 19.23.
³Manu, VII, 133.
⁴Manu, VII, 136.
every day when protected by the king, the king's life, wealth and kingdom increase'. Most of the digests contend that the king shares the religious merit of the Śrotriya. U.N. Ghoshal and A.S. Altekar point out that neither the Mahābhārata and Naradasmrti nor the South Indian inscriptions of the thirteenth century show that the whole of Brāhmaṇa community, irrespective of their occupation, were exempted from taxation.¹

A study of the Rajatarangini reveals that the Brāhmaṇa Community was not exempt from the forced carriage of loads (Rudhabharodhi) which was introduced as Kalhaṇa informs us, by king Saṃkaravarman (A.D.883–902) and was of thirteen kinds. We notice that king Harṣa (1089–1101) exempted the purohita corporation from the forced carriage of loads as a compensation for his plundering the Bhimakesava temple.² The kings of Kashmir might have granted such special occasional exemptions to purohita corporations or to learned Brāhmaṇas, but on the whole the Brāhmaṇa community had to do the forced carriage of loads like other sections of society. According to Santiparvan, a religious king should get taxes and forced labour from those who are not Śrotriya and who do not kindle the sacred fires.³

²R.T., VII,1088.
³Santiparvan, 76.5.
Undoubtedly the Brahmāpas in Kashmir held an esteemed position in society. They took part in the coronation ceremony (abhisēka) of the king. In some cases, the Brahmāpas had influence in the selection or rejection of the king. Thus, we notice that when the Utpala dynasty had come to an end, the Brahmāpas nominated the Brahmāpa Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948) as king in preference to Kamalavardhana.¹ Again during the reign of king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) the Brahmāpas of Hiranyapura consecrated Uccala as king.² Gaḍēśvara, the fourteenth century Mithita writer avers that though the king is the final authority he is advised to have consultations first with the ministers and then with the Brahmāpas.³

The privileged and commanding position enjoyed by the Brahmāpas is reflected in the effectiveness of the solemn fasts (prāyopaveśa), which the Brahmāpa assemblies from agrahāras as well as temple priests undertook from time to time, and thereby influenced the internal administration. This non-violent form of passive resistance was resorted to when something went or seemed to go against them as well as the interest of their beloved

¹R.T., V, 461-477.
²R.T., VII, 385.
³Rajānītiratnākara, Ch. II, p.10.
country. It was due to the semi-religious belief in the supernatural power of the Brāhmaṇa that their fasts were much dreaded lest they bring some terrible consequences. Curiously enough, Kalhaṇa, notwithstanding his Brāhmaṇa descent, often sympathises with their fasts and expresses his contempt in a sarcastic fashion, particularly when these fasts were undertaken for blackmail at the instigation of ministers and pretenders and when their interests were not directly involved.

The period under review witnessed many such cases of solemn fasts. After the deposition of king Śravavarman II (939 A.D.) the Commander-in-chief Kamalavardhana did not ascend the throne but collected the Brāhmaṇas (presumably as councillors) and canvassed them in his desire for royal power. When they failed to enforce any decision 'there assembled an immense host of purohitas of sacred places (paripāḍa), causing a mighty din by their drums, cymbals and other musical instruments, raising glittering flags, ensigns and umbrellas, and carrying seats on load animals'. Ultimately, the choice fell on Yaśakara who was later crowned. During the reign of queen Dīḍā, the disaffected

\[1\] R.T., IV, 532 sqq.: VIII, 2242.

\[2\] R.T., V, 465-466.

\[3\] R.T., V, 477.
former ministers who had been ousted by the newly-appointed prime-minister (sarvādhiṅkarin), in their endeavour to raise a rebellion, brought to Kashmir from Lohara prince Vigrahāraja, the son of Didda's brother, who induced the Brahmāyas holding the chief āgrahāras to hold a solemn fast (prāyopavesa) to cause disturbance in the country. The queen won over the Brahmāya leaders by offering them bribes and the fast ended. Immediately after the accession of Samgramarāja (A.D.1001-1028), the Brahmāya ministers, in an attempt to bring about the fall of Tuṅga, induced the Brahmāyas and purohitas of sacred shrines (parisādyā) to start a fast (prāya) at Parīhasapura. 'It was difficult for the king to allay this revolt,' writes Kalhaṇa, 'which was caused by the common resolve of the Brahmans and the ministers, as when fire and storm combine to cause conflagration.'2 Kalhaṇa demonstrates the wickedness of these Brahmāyas who even after appeasement by the king tried to humiliate the minister by an evil fraud but were driven to their own houses by an evil spirit (kṛtya) which they had raised according to a story narrated by Kalhaṇa.3 It was the solemn fast (prāya) of the Brahmāyas which

1 R.T., VI, 335 sqq.
2 R.T., VII, 14.
3 R.T., VII, 1620 sqq.
brought about a reconciliation between king Ananta and his son Kalaśa.¹ At King Harṣa's (A.D.1089-1101) ransacking the treasuries of the temple of Bhīmakeśava, the members of the local purohitā corporation induced the king by a solemn fast to grant them in compensation exemption from the forced carriage of loads (rūdhbhārodhi).² When king Sussala was attacked by Bhikṣu with the help of Damaras and the enemy had even besieged śrīnagar and had carried/wholesale massacre caused partly, as Kalhaṇa informs, us, as a result of indifference shown by the ministers in battles, the Brāhmaṇas of Raśanavatika held a solemn fast to get the evil ministers punished.³ Kalhaṇa regretfully remarks: 'Like another hostile army there grew to power by his side a throng composed of office employees, violent purohitas of sacred places (parīgadya) and the like. By the manifold mistakes which arose during the endeavour to conciliate them, the country fell into complete confusion, and plundering became excessive.'⁴ The king succeeded in getting the fast ended by offering bribes

¹ R.T., VII, 400-401.
² R.T., VII, 1081-1088.
³ R.T., VIII, 768 sqq.
⁴ R.T., VIII, 773-774.
to the chief intrigues. Kalhaṣa does not always like their intervention in the affairs of the state with which they are not conversant and grudgingly writes thus: 'These wretches who had never before seen the king's assembly, and who knew nothing of affairs, used harsh words of various kinds towards the unfortunate king when he tried to appease them.'¹ Bhikṣṇacara (A.D.1120-1121) was sensual by nature and the land fell a prey to disturbances caused by the Devaras and rival ministers. The people were hard pressed and longed for the restoration of Sussala whom they had reviled before. The plundering of the agrahāra of Akṣosuva by Tilaka's people added fuel to the fire, leading the Brāhmaṇas of that place to start a solemn fast against the king. This was followed by mass fasting of the Brāhmaṇas holding agrahāras at Vijayeśvara and Rajnavāti etc. They were further joined by the purohitas of the temples. There was so much agitation and disgust that the citizens and the purohitas were ready, if attacked, to fight the royal troops. Bhikṣṇacara failed to pacify them.² Later Sussala succeeded in winning back the throne. During the reign of king Jayasiṃha also the Brāhmaṇas took part in internal affairs of the state. We are informed that the Brāhmaṇas of Madavarāja went on fast against the appointment

¹R.T., VIII, 965-967, 969.
²R.T., VIII, 901-908.
of Sujji as commander-in-chief. Also the Brahmaṇas, in order to preserve their lands, held a solemn fast at Vijayaś-vara against the rebellious Damara Trillaka, who according to Kalhaṇa was the gathering place for all robbers (pāmaras), just as the pit is for the owls, consumption for diseases, hell for the demons, and the ocean for the sea-monsters, and who after getting the prefect of the Devasara district over to his side had raised a rebellion. The Brahmaṇas succeeded in getting the minister Alamkara dismissed and were later on induced to give up their fast by the promise that the king will uproot Trillaka.

We also read an instance of self-immolation by the Brahmaṇas. When the Brahmaṇas of Avantipura who had fasted against the increase of imposts caused by the minister Citraratha were not attended to, many of them burned themselves in fire. The sufferings of the Brahmaṇas could not be tolerated by a young Brahmaṇa Vijayyaraja who vowed to kill Citraratha and one day, getting an opportunity, attacked him on the head and later died heroically fighting the royal troops. On his arm

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1 R.T., VIII, 2076.
2 R.T., VIII, 2931 sqq.
3 R.T., VIII, 2224 sqq.
was found a leaf bearing the reason for his deeds in these words: 'From Yuga to Yuga I come into existence to protect the righteous, to destroy the evil-doers, and to restore the sacred law.' The desire which the Brāhmaṇa expressed in his death by this verse writes Kalhaṇa sanctified him.¹

The Rājaputras (Rajputs) are repeatedly mentioned in the account of Kalhaṇa as representing the defence force and serving as royal guards. They were courageous and served Kashmir with appreciable faithfulness. A passage of the eighth taraṅga of the Rājatarangini² ascribes foreign origin to these Rājaputras who could be distinguished from the rest of the population on account of their personal appearance. Except for two particular incidents the Rājaputras are on the whole recorded to have distinguished themselves by their heroism and loyalty in their lord's service. Kalhaṇa, while narrating how king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101) was deserted by his followers during his last days, sadly remarks: 'Even those Rājaputras, Anantapāla and the rest, who claim descent from the thirty-six families and who in their pride would not concede a higher position to the Sun himself, they too left him step by step,

¹R.T., VIII, 2256-2257.
²R.T., VIII, 1328.
and their horses disappeared in the dense darkness.\(^1\) The other occasion when they brought disgrace to their tribe presented itself when they, along with others, ran away abandoning the body of their murdered king Sussala to the assassins.\(^2\) In general they are referred to as chivalrous and loyal. The Rāja-putras, together with ministers and feudal chiefs, accompanied Tunga when he was despatched to help Śahi Trilocaṇapāla when the Śahi ruler was attacked by Mahmud of Ghazni.\(^3\) The last years of the reign of king Harṣa are marked by internal dissensions due to the attempts of Uccala and Sussals to secure the throne. We find the Rāja-putras fighting against Sussala when the latter tried to capture Vijayesvara.\(^4\) The Rāja-putra, Kalhaṇa, son of Sahadeva, helped king Sussala in his endeavour to regain the throne from Bhikṣācara, by preceding the king on the march towards Śrīnagar and collecting the Pāmaras resident in Kumaraṇājya.\(^5\) And when Sussala during the period of his restoration, was besieged in Śrīnagar by Pṛthvīhara along with a

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\(^1\) R.T., VII, 1617-1618.
\(^2\) R.T., VIII, 1322 sqq.
\(^3\) R.T., VII, 47-48.
\(^4\) R.T., VII, 1512-1514.
\(^5\) R.T., VIII, 926.
force of Damaras, the Rajputras defended the siege heroically.\(^1\)
Immediately after the accession of Jayasimha, Bhiṣṇu tried to
dethrone the former and in his bid to secure the throne came
in the vicinity of Srinagar. The Rajputras headed by Paśča-
candra marched out bravely to battle. They fought so gallantly
that they put the army of Bhiṣṇu and Pṛthvīhara into disorder.\(^2\)
During the latter period of king Jayasimha (A.D.1128-1149)
the Rajputras played no mean a part in fighting back the pre-
tenders to the throne.\(^3\) Referring to the valour and prowess
of brothers Prajji and Sujji who distinguished themselves by
their loyal service to king Jayasimha Kalhaṇa admiringly writes:
'Prajji alone of spotless fame safeguarded in this land the
honour of the sword and of learning which the wickedness of
the times had shaken.'\(^4\) Describing the anecdote of Kalasā's
misconduct, Kalhaṇa records how he, after being summoned, was
slapped on the face by his father king Ananta. This was un-
bearable for Kalasā's brave and loyal Rajputra bodyguard
Bijja who, with superhuman courage, boldly said: 'O king,

\(^1\) R.T., VIII, 1076-1082.
\(^2\) R.T., VIII, 1383 sqq.
\(^3\) R.T., VIII, 1681, 3124.
\(^4\) R.T., VIII, 1150.
though the foremost of the proud men, do you not know that men of honour should never break the great vow of keeping their self-respect? How can I as a Rajaputra, when I have taken my pay and carry arms, abandon my master in these straits while life is in me. You are the father, this your son. At another time, when I am not present, you may do, O king, what is proper.\(^1\) These Rajaputras had started to enter the country of Kashmir as early as the closing years of the tenth century A.D. and during the following centuries formed a regular kṣatriya Rajput caste in the society.

After the extinction of the Hindu Sāhi dynasty many Sāhis had inhabited the Valley and thereby joined the king’s service. We find many scions of this house who are designated as Sāhi-putraḥ or Sāhi-vāṃśaja Rajaputraḥ, having positions of renown in the time of king Anantadeva (A.D. 1028-1063).\(^2\) Vasantalekha and other Sāhi princesses were the wives of king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).\(^3\) After the defeat of king Harṣa these Sāhi ladies true to the valour of their race gave their lives by setting fire to the palace.\(^4\) We find that Bimba, a Sāhi daughter and a daughter-

\(^1\) R.T., VII, 324-326.
\(^2\) R.T., VII, 144 sqq., 178, 274.
\(^3\) R.T., VII, 956, 1470.
\(^4\) R.T., VII, 1550-1571.
in-law of Tuṅga, entered fire as a ṣati after the murder of her husband.\(^1\) Kalhana does not fail to make mention of the fame and renown enjoyed in his time by numerous kṣatriya clan which claimed descent from the Ṣahi race.\(^2\) These immigrant Ṣahi families must have had close social relations with the Rāja-putra and Khāsa families in particular.

The Tantrins and Ekaṅgas, who are quite often mentioned in the Rājatarangini, formed a warrior class. There does not appear to have been a marked difference in the character of these people who represented a strong military organisation. The Tantrins were at the peak of their power during the first four decades of the tenth century A.D. They were the most influential body in deciding the affairs of the state. When king Saṅkaravarmā's lineage had died queen Sugandhā herself ruled for two years (A.D. 904-906) through the goodwill of the Tantrins who had formed a confederacy and were strong enough to punish or to favour the rulers.\(^3\) Once, in order to bestow regal power on some fit person, queen Sugandhā held an assembly of the ministers, feudal chiefs, Tantrins and Ekaṅgas, and while they were combating over the choice the Tantrin foot-soldiers made

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\(^1\) R.T., VII, 103.
\(^2\) R.T., VIII, 3230.
\(^3\) R.T., V, 250-255.
Fartha, the son of Nirjitavaran (grandson of Suravarman),
king.\(^1\) When the cause of queen Sugandha was taken up by Ekaäga
troops who had brought back the queen from Hukkapura, the
Tantrins broke the union of the Ekaägas by defeating them
and captured the queen who was put to death afterwards.\(^2\) Kalhaäa
very pathetically remarks at this critical juncture: "Then there
arose in this noble land a series of misfortunes which caused
the destruction of wealth and lives everywhere. The kings were
in the service of the Tantrins, and ousted each other, like
village officials, by offering greater and greater bribes. In
this land, the rulers of which had conquered Kanyakubja and other
countries, the kings now maintained themselves by giving bills
of exchange (huññikā) to the Tantrins.'\(^3\) Fartha was overthrown
by Paṅgu (Nirjitavaran) with the support of the Tantrins.\(^4\)
The claim of Cakravarman, the son of Nirjitavaran, whom the
latter had placed on the throne, was challenged by Fartha who
with the assistance of the Tantrin foot-soldiers fought a battle
with the Ekaägas.\(^5\) Cakravarman was overthrown by the Tantrins

\(^1\) R.T., V, 250-255.
\(^2\) R.T., V, 257-262.
\(^3\) R.T., V, 263-266.
\(^4\) R.T., V, 267.
\(^5\) R.T., V, 288-289.
in 933/4, who made Suravarman I, the son of Pañca from Māgavati, king. ¹ Though this prince was of good character, he could not find favour with the Tantrins without rich presents. Consequently after a year, he was deposed by Tantrin foot-soldiers who seeing a chance of profit made Parthā king.² After a year Cakravarman again secured the throne by bribing the Tantrins.³ As Cakravarman had fled in fear as he could not pay the promised money to the Tantrins, Sambhavardhana succeeded in capturing the throne by promising them better pay.⁴ But Cakravarman's courage was not exhausted. He succeeded in securing the assistance of powerful Dāmara Sa'mgrāma and his other Dāmara class-fellows, and gave a crushing defeat to the Tantrins in a fierce fight near Padmapura, the casualties in the Tantrin camp being more than five thousand.⁵ While referring to the execution of the Tantrins at the hand of king Cakravarman Kalhaṇa writes: 'The evil-lived Tantrin had previously, like cruel snake-charmers, reduced princes deserving of respect, unapproachable, and of great descent, to helplessness

¹R.T., V, 292.
²R.T., V, 193-195.
³R.T., V, 297.
⁴R.T., V, 304.
⁵R.T., V, 306 sqq.
as if they had been tamed snakes. Making ever new demands, they had wantonly, for the sake of their living, exposed them to shame, in playful tricks. Cakravarman, who felt deep indignation at this contemptuous treatment, destroyed them in a moment, as if he had been a great snake, with the hot poison of his sacred hatred.1

The Tantrins were in the service of king Harṣa also and were captured along with Rājapūtra's feudatories etc., in the temple of Vijayēśvara by Sussala.2 The Tantrins intrigued against king Uccala (A.D.1101–1111) and sided with the conspirators to kill the king.3 Kalhaṇa mentions Karaṇa and Sudraka, the Tantrin brothers who in company with other Tantrin classfellows died in suppressing the revolt of Garga and his partisans which occurred in the early years of king Sussala's reign.4 It is seen that the Tantrins were a military caste in Kashmir and their ascendancy in the first half of the tenth century A.D. may be attributed to their numerically stronger representation in the army. In the tenth century the kings were at the mercy of the

2 R.T., VII, 1513.
3 R.T., VIII, 303, 375.
Tantrins who raised different claimants to the throne one after the other by accepting larger and larger bribes.

Like the Tantrins, the Ekaṅgas who have been frequently mentioned in the fifth, sixth and seven taraṅgas of the Rāja-taraṅgini appear to have been a special section of the Kashmirian army and both these special tribal units in the army fought quite often with each other by supporting different claimants to the throne. They had a say in the affairs of the country and the kings, princes, ministers and other pretenders dreaded their power.

Queen Sugandhā (A.D.904-906) could rule for two years relying on the power of the Ekaṅgas. Kelhāya's reference to the queen as convening an assembly of the ministers, feudal chiefs (śamantas), Tantrins and Ekaṅgas in order to find out a suitable successor to the throne quite obviously conveys that, as the Tantrins, they had great influence in the selection of a king. Later on, taking the side of queen Sugandhā who had been ousted by the powerful Tantrins who themselves had raised Paṛtha as king, the Ekaṅgas unsuccessfully fought with the Tantrins. When in A.D.923 Cakravāman was installed by his dying father Paṅgu

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1 R.T., V, 249.
2 R.T., V, 250.
3 R.T., V, 259-261.
(Nirjitavarman), the Tantrin foot-soldiers siding with Pārtha, fought a battle with the Ekaṅgas. After king Yaśaskara has been seized by an abdominal disease, he had Varpaṭa, the son of his paternal grand-uncle Ramadeva, consecrated as king by the ministers, Ekaṅgas and feudal chiefs and entrusted him to their care. Parvagupta resorted to witchcraft for the extermination of the child king Saṅgramadeva (A.D. 948-949) as he could not destroy the child openly for fear of a rising of the Ekaṅgas.

With reference to the first Loharā dynasty, Kalhagā mentions about thirty brave Ekaṅgas laying down their lives in the cause of their master Tuṅga who was treacherously murdered. After the death of Harirāja (A.D. 1028), the Ekaṅgas made Ananta king. The Ekaṅgas protected king Anantadeva (A.D. 1028-1063) from the rising of Tribhuvana, the powerful commander-in-chief, and the king out of kind feeling relieved the Ekaṅgas of the uncertain dependence on the Akaṣapaṭala office and gave them instead a fixed

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1 R.T., V, 288-289.
2 R.T., VI, 90-91.
3 R.T., VI, 121-125.
4 R.T., VII, 94.
5 R.T., VII, 134-135.
assignment (vilabdhisthavara).\(^1\) King Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101), in his final struggle tried to collect the force of the Ekangas in the neighbourhood of the office of the aksapata.\(^2\) We may infer from this that the Ekangas, in addition to their service in the army, performed police duties also.

From the passages of the Rajatarangini in which the Lavanyas are referred to, we glean that they constituted a tribal group of the rural agriculturist population of Kashmir. By comparing the numerous verses of the Rajatarangini\(^3\) it becomes evident that Kalhaṇa, while referring to the Damaras, indiscriminately uses the term Lavanya to designate them and from the way in which Kalhaṇa employs the name it should be counted that many Damaras were recruited from the Lavanya tribe. We should also see in them a powerful class of tribal landowners who played a prominent part in the internal strifes which characterized history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

A perusal of the Rajatarangini reveals that special sections of the people in Kashmir were designated by their tribal names,

\(^1\)R.T., VII, 154-162. The meaning of the term vilabdhi is doubtful. Stein (R.T., VII, 161-162 note) interprets it as an assignment, a sort of pension. In the Charter of Vīṣṇusena of Kathiawar, dated A.D.592, Vailabdhi is mentioned as one of the state officers. This designation, derived from vilabdhi, seems to indicate the custodian of presents offered to the king or of stolen property recovered from thieves (D.C. Sircar, Indian Epigraphy, Ch.VIII, section III, p.361; Epigraphia Indica, vol. XXX, p.167.)

\(^2\)R.T., VII, 1604.

\(^3\)Compare VII, 1228 with VII 1229 sqq.; VII, 1236 with VII, 1237, VII, 1254 sq; VIII, 627 with VIII 910 sqq; VIII, 1127; VIII, 2009 with 2012.
e.g. the Tantrins, the Ekañgas, the Levanyas etc.

No doubt the Vaiśyas were considered as a separate caste, but the tendency to level them down to the status of the Sudras had set in very early. The literature confirms the traditional view that most of the Vaiśyas were peasants. But we have reasons to think that the Sudras were also becoming peasants slowly and steadily. In fact the law books of Manu, Vīgna and Yajñavalkyā show that land was rented out to Sudras against half the crop. By and by these Sudras established themselves permanently on the land. Kaḥāpa, too, does not seem to distinguish between Vaiśyas and Sudras and almost the total absence of these terms in the Rajataraṅgini tends to reveal that both those castes had gradually merged into a single class. No doubt both these castes had given themselves to each other's profession but the conception of the Vaiśyas as a separate caste was not altogether unknown. Kaḥāpa refers to Bṛhti, a Vaiśya, working as a watchman at the temple of Gaurīśa during the reign of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063). The Vaiśyas not only adopted the profession of the fourth traditional caste but some of the capable Vaiśyas worked

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2 Manu, IV, 253; Vīgna, LVII, 16 uses the term ārdhikā; Yajñavalkyā, I, 166 uses the term ārdhasirikā.

3 R.T., VII, 207.
as state ministers. Kalhana records Haladhara, one of the three sons of Vaiśya Bhūti, as obtaining the prime ministership (sarvadhikārīta) on account of his skill in management, under king Ananta (A.D.1028-1063).\(^1\) Alberuni also does not appear to have found any difference in the status of the Vaiśyas and the Sudras, when he writes that their tongues were cut off by the ruler, if men from either of these castes recited the Vedas.\(^2\)

So the distinctions between the functions of the Vaiśyas and the Sudras were being gradually obliterated. Manu allows the Vaiśyas to take to the occupations of the Sudras if they find it difficult to support themselves by their own occupations.\(^3\) We do not find any separate reference to the functions of these two castes in the Questions of Milinda. A passage prescribes trade, cultivation and tending of cattle as the functions of the Vaiśyas and the Sudras.\(^4\)

There appears to have been an improvement in the status of the pure Sudras in the Valley. Broadly speaking, the Sudras may be divided into two categories, i.e. the pure and the impure.

\(^1\) R.T., VII, 208-209.


\(^3\) Manu, X, 98.

\(^4\) Milinda, p.178.

\textit{avaseśānaṃ puthuvesvaruddānaṃ Kasivanijja
gorakkha karṇiya}
In the first category may be placed the agricultural and other labourers, artisans, wood workers, carters, workers of water-wheels, handmills etc., barbers, herdsmen, load-carriers, fishermen, potters, ironsmiths, washermen and the like. The second category includes the Cāndālas, Dombas, nṛṣadas, kirātas, svāpakas, leather tanners etc. Kalhaṇa's account does not help us to draw a line of demarcation between the Vaiśyas and the pure Sudras. The Vaiśyas continued to be peasants, artisans, the petty traders, and the emergence of the Sudras as a class of agriculturists, artisans and the like, appears to be the cause of their not being referred to separately by Kalhaṇa.

The law-books prescribe service to the three other varṇas as the duty of a Sudra. The Sudras have been held as workers (karmakaras), and it is stated that there would be no workers if there were no Sudras, Nārada and Bṛhaspati divide the wage earners (bhṛtakas) into three categories, i.e. those who served in the army, those who used the plough and those who carried loads from place to place. The Rajatarangini gives no information about the wages of agricultural labourers in Kashmir. We

1Manu, I, 91; Kāmandaka, II, 21; Sāntiparvan, 60.26, 92.2; Anuśasenaparvan, 9.18; Bhavyapurāṇa, XI, 17.19; Bhaviśyapurāṇa, I, 44.27; Markandeyapurāṇa, 28.3-8, Vippupurāṇa, III, 8.32 & 33.

2Anuśasenaparvan, 208.34.

may merely conjecture that the conditions of labour were fairly
good in the ancient past and consequently with the lapse of
time, the agricultural labourers turned into influential land-
owning class during the period under survey. The Santiparvan prescribes that the cultivator who is supplied with seeds is entitled to a seventh part of the yield. But Bṛhaspati who is more liberal recommends that the workers engaged in cultivation should receive a quarter of the yield if they are provided with food and clothing, but a third if they had not been supplied with food and clothing. These or even more liberal provisions must have been in practice in the Valley since early times and the agricultural labourers gradually developed into a powerful land-owning class (Dāmaras). We have reasons to assume that the majority of the Dāmaras belonged to the Sudra caste. They are nowhere referred to as Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas. If they belonged to Brāhmaṇa caste the Rajatarangini which treats them at great length would have mentioned them so. That they were not kṣatriyas either becomes evident from Kalhana's recording with admiration of the wife of the Dāmara Kośṭhaka who true to her noble descent from the Rajput family becomes sati. While praising

1 Santiparvan, 60, 25.
2 Bṛhaspati, XVI, 1-2.
her exceptional conduct Kalhaṇa distinguishes her conduct with other Damara ladies who do not become satī after the death of their husbands.¹ We have discussed elsewhere that the practice of satī was prevalent among the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya population of the Valley. Had Lavaniya Damara belonged to either of these castes the practice of satī would have been followed by their ladies. Either the Lavaniyas originally could not have held a very low position as a caste, or with their rise to wealth and power that gradual elevation in the social scale had already set in, which forms so interesting a feature in the modern history of many an Indian caste.² M.A. Stein correctly puts more probability to the latter explanation and quotes the Jats of the Panjāb plains as an exact parallel. From this agricultural caste of low social position there has risen during the times of Sikh ascendancy, a powerful landed aristocracy, which has supplied most of the families ruling the Panjāb Native States. One of these Jat chiefs has not so long ago succeeded in obtaining a wife from a poor but noble Rajput family, notwithstanding the aversion with which such a mésalliance is regarded among the proud Rajputs of the Panjāb hills. The history of this Jat aristocracy seems also in other

¹R.T., VIII, 2334 sq.
respects to illustrate the origin and growth of the Damara class.\(^1\)

This leads us to believe that the Damras of the Lavanya tribe who are of common occurrence in the Rajarajanjiva belonged to the Sudra caste. But this does not mean that all the landed aristocracy belonged to the low caste as there were others belonging to different varnas, particularly the Brahmanas of the agrahara lands who with the passage of time must have become big landlords. Incidentally, Kalhana records a story of a householder Jayyaka who by the revenue of his lands and exporting victuals to distant lands had accumulated exceptional wealth and had gradually raised himself to the position of a Damara.\(^2\)

This story reveals that apart from direct inheritance the position of a Damara, i.e. powerful wealthy land-owner could be achieved by anyone. The story also testifies to the profession of trade as having been practised by some of the Sudra community as well in the Valley. Yajnavalkya allows the Sudras to become traders if they fail to maintain themselves by service to the twice-born.\(^3\) Bhaspati allows a Sudra to trade in all articles as one of his normal occupations. The Puranas,\(^4\) too, allow the

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\(^2\)R.T., VII, 494 sqq.

\(^3\)Yajnavalkya, I, 120.

\(^4\)Markandeyapurana, 28, 3-8; Vignapurana, III, 8.32-33.
Sudras to indulge in trade activities. But the position of the Sudra trader does not seem to have been as favourable as that of other varnas. Bhāspati prescribes that a Sudra partner in business should pay one sixth of the profits to the king, a Vaiśya one ninth, a Kṣatriya one tenth and a Brāhmaṇa one twentieth.\(^1\) It is, however, uncertain how far the theoretical rules affected the position of the Sudra traders as Kalhana is silent on this score. But the power gradually attained by the Sudra agriculturists speaks in favour of their being well-placed in trade too.

The *Anuśasanasparvan*,\(^2\) warns a wise ruler not to be complacent towards the Sudras who are destroyers of the king. Kalhana, using king Lalitaditya as his mouthpiece makes that king warn his successors that '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 field. Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year formidable Dāmaras and strong enough to neglect the commands of the kings'.\(^3\) The invincible power attained by these Sudra landowners (Dāmaras) in later years seems to suggest

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\(^1\) Bhāspati, XIII, 16.

\(^2\) Anuśasanasparvan, 214.58.

\(^3\) R.T., IV, 347348.
negligence on the part of the rulers of Kashmir towards the political maxims of Lalitāditya. These passages covering the advice of king Lalitāditya as well as those in which the Lavanyas and the Dāmaras are used indiscriminately as also the story of householder Jayyaka already referred to, tend to show that the term Dāmara started as a tribal name but later came to be used as a class name. To put it another way, the Lavanyas and other tribal sections who were rich landlords were initially called Dāmaras (meaning a feudal lord) but the term was later extended to all those who by virtue of their wealth acquired from land and trade and other such means could attain the position of a territorial lord. But looking at the pages of the Rājatarāṅgini, we are forced to believe that great majority of these Dāmaras belonged to low castes.

The Dāmaras came to limelight and started asserting themselves from the middle of the ninth century. They had attained power during the weak rulers of the tenth century but we meet with their fullest development during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. These feudal lords kept their armed attendants and Kalhapa specifically mentions their seats (upavesāna) capable of defence and the districts to which they belonged. During the period from the Sāṅgramaraśa to Utkarṣa's death (A.D.1003-1089), the Dāmaras, had established themselves and setting up various pretenders and
siding sometimes with king Ananta and sometimes with Kalaśa
maintained the father and the son in their internecine struggle.
Harṣa's attempt to suppress their power cost him his throne. The
period from the accession of Uccala (A.D.1101) to the end of
our period is marked with a series of struggles between these
feudal lords and the Kashmirian kings or between their own
factions.

According to a story\(^1\) related by Kalhaṇa, a Dāmara Lakkana-
candra held the castle of Dugahghata which guarded the route to
the Dard country. After being executed by order of Ananta, the
widow of the Dāmara subsequently offered the fort to king Kalaśa,
apparently with the intention of assuring the safety from the
inroads of the Dards. King Kalaśa turned down the offer, which
resulted in the capture of the stronghold by the Dard king from
whom king Harṣa subsequently vainly strove to recover with the
help of the neighbouring Dāmaras. The facts here referred to
'justify the conclusion that strongholds as well as lands had
practically become hereditary possessions in the family of these
feudal lords, whenever the central authority in the land was unable
or unwilling to assert the right of resumption'.\(^2\) It is difficult

\(^1\) R.T., VII, 1171 sqq.

to ascertain 'the conditions under which their landed property, the basis of their influence, was acquired and held. If we compare the conditions prevailing in other parts of India where a similar class of landed aristocracy is still extant, the view suggests itself 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. Yet even as regards this point the absence of all exact data prevents us from going beyond mere conjecture. Still less can we hope to ascertain the exact relations in which the Dāmaras may have stood towards their sovereign and towards the cultivators in matters of revenue administration etc.'

Discussing in detail the position of the Ranas and Thākurs of the Western Himalaya, T. Hutchison and J. Vogel write:

'The feudal barons in Kashmir, corresponding to the Ranas and Thākurs in other parts of the hills, bore the title of Dāmar, and they belonged chiefly to a class called Lavanya, who were agriculturists, and may therefore have held much the same social rank as Thākurs, Rathis and similar agricultural castes elsewhere in the hills.'

The term Thākura occurs for the first time in the sense of a baron or small nobility in the seventh canto of the Rajatarangini.

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3 R.T., VII, 290.
and almost all the passages of this and the following eighth
Canto refer to the Thakkuras of Lohara. It appears that the
feudal landowners in Kashmir proper were designated by the
term Pāmara and not by the Thakkura which term was used in the
Khaṣa territory of Lohara which of course came to form part of
Kashmir from A.D. 1003 onwards when the throne of Kashmir
passed to the Lohara house. In the neighbouring hill states
the Rānas belonged to the Kṣatriya caste and the Thākurs as
a caste ranked 'immediately below the Rajputs'. As the Khāṣas
of Lohara are described as belonging to the Kṣatriya caste, their
feudal lords seem to be designated by the term Thakkura, whereas
the majority of the feudal lords in Kashmir proper seem to
belong to the Lavanya and other low castes, they were not de-
signated as Thakkura but with different term Pāmara. But a passage
of the Rajatarangini informs us that the title of Thakkura
was sometimes conferred as an honorary distinction. Kalhana records
that Camaka obtained as king Kalaśa's favourite 'a place even
among the councillors and received the title of Thakkura'.

2 R.T., VII, 290.
An examination of the pages of the *Rajatarangini* reveals that the title *Rājanaka* which literally means 'almost a king' was conferred especially on ministers as a recognition of their services rendered to the king. The term came to be regarded as synonymous with minister as *Kalhaṇa*, referring to minister Parvagupta who had established himself as the sole master of the place in the time of the child-king Śaṅgamadeva (A.D. 948-949), remarks: 'Displaying a conduct in which the royal dignity was combined with the functions of a minister, he created the mingled impression of king (rājan) and Rājanaka'.

Queen Diddā is recorded to have conferred the title *Rājanaka* on her favourite minister Narvāhana who had made the queen acquire power. The title *Rājanaka* or *Rājāna* continued to be in use as a designation of a high officer even after the Hindu rule. It appears that during the period under survey, the title *Rājanaka* was often conferred on the Brahmans and thus the title has 'survived in the form Rāzdan as a family name of very frequent occurrence among the Brahmans of Kashmir'.

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used by the barons of hill states of Chamba, Trigarta etc. came to be used even in these states as an honorary distinction.\(^1\)

The law-books include handicrafts as normal occupations of the Su\(\text{d}r\)as.\(^2\) Byhaspati defines these crafts as working in gold, base metals, wood, thread, stone and leather.\(^3\) Again Kalhana does not make any distinction between the Va\(\text{i}\)śyas and the Su\(\text{d}r\)as while referring to different classes of artisans such as carters,\(^4\) wood dealers,\(^5\) leather worker,\(^6\) barber,\(^7\) potter\(^8\) etc. who served the society in a useful way.

The load-carriers\(^9\) were no doubt regarded as a low type of worker; nonetheless they constituted an important section of labourers in Kashmir. Kalhana's account does not shed any light on the rules that regulated the relations between the carriers and the owners of the merchandise. Nārada avers that a carrier who abandons merchandise which he had agreed to carry to its destination, will give a sixth part of his wages,\(^10\) but if he

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\(^2\)Kāmandaka, II, 21; IV, 54-56. Mārkandeyapurāṇa, 28, 3-8; Viṣṇupurāṇa, III, 8.32-33. Yajñavalkya, I, 120; Viṣṇu, III, 5.

\(^3\)Byhaspati, XIII, 33.

\(^4\)R.T., VIII, 727.

\(^5\)R.T., VII, 1727.

\(^6\)R.T., VIII, 137.
poses any difficulties at the time of starting he will be required to pay twice the amount of his wages. This rule has also the support of Yajñavalkya. Neither do we get any information from the chronicle of Kalhapa on the relations between the employer and the labourers. Most law-books prescribe a fine of double the amount of wages, in case the worker fails to perform his work after having received his wages. Vismu asserts that if a worker fails to complete his work, he should pay a fine of a hundred pagas to the king in addition to his wages to the employer. But he prescribes similar punishment for the employer, if he dismisses the worker before the completion of the work. Brhaspati lays down a proper punishment by the king for the employer who does not pay wages to a worker who has completed his

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1 Narada, VI, 3.
2 Yajñavalkya, II, 198.
3 Yajñavalkya, II, 193; Narada, VI, 5; Brhaspati, XVI, 5-6.
5 Vismu, V, 157-158.
6 Brhaspati, XVI, 11.
work. Narada goes a step further when he says that in such a case the employer shall be compelled to pay the wages with interest.

A study of the Rajatarangini reveals the existence of slavery in the Valley, though it appears to be on the wane. The Santiparvan maintains the theory that the Sudra was created by Prajapati as the dasa of the three other varnas. The dasas in the Valley do not seem to have been employed in productive activities but were chiefly employed in domestic work, as the account of Kalhana shows. Kalhana clearly refers to the existence of female slaves (dasis), who served as maid-servants and concubines in the houses of rich people.

The unsympathetic and contemptuous feelings for the slaves is reflected in such utterances as 'the son of a slave girl' (dasisuta). Kalhana, while depicting the events of the later part of the reign of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063), writes that the queen Suryamati felt embittered against her son Kalasa

1 R.T., VII, 250, 1645; VIII, 137, 1727, 1952.
2 Santiparvan, 60.27.
3 R.T., VII, 250; VIII, 137, 1727, 1952.
4 The practice of keeping slave girls as concubines goes back to an early period (Arthaśāstra, III, 135; Kātyāyana, 728; Medhatithi on Manu, IX, 143.
5 Samayamatkā, VIII, 18.
and out of jealousy and hatred 'made the queens of her son con-
stantly do the work of slave girls (dāsis), until they did not
refuse to do even the smearing of the house-floor with dung etc.\(^1\)
Nārada\(^2\) mentions fifteen kinds of slaves and Brhaspati\(^3\) joins
him in stating that they are employed in impure work, which
consists of sweeping the gateway, the privy, the road, removing
the leavings of food, ordure, wine etc., and rubbing the master's
limbs or shampooing the secret parts of his body. According to
the Jaina Hemachandra,\(^4\) the duties of a slave girl include grinding,
threshing, carrying water, sweeping and smearing the house with cow-
dung and such other household work. At another place, referring
to the normal treatment meted out to slaves he writes that they
are required to carry heavy loads, endure hunger and thirst and
are beaten like mules.\(^5\) In a passage Kalhaṇa\(^6\) hints at the un-
reliable character of the water-carrying slave woman (kumbhādāsi).

\(^1\) R.T., VII, 250.

\(^2\) Nārada, V, 26-28.

\(^3\) Nārada, V, 5-7; Brhaspati, XV, 15-16.


\(^6\) R.T., VIII, 1727.
They have also been exposed as unreliable in the Mrochakatika. In another passage Kalhana gives a glimpse of the poor condition of the āsas. In this passage Kalhana, while depicting the poor tale of Harṣa's last days and his seeking refuge in a mendicant's hut, states that the king was wearing a woollen cloak of a slave (āsas). This hints at the unsatisfactory condition of the āsas though we do not pick anything about the rules regulating the āsas and his master.

The members of the second category, viz., the Cāndālas, the Doḥbas, the Kiratas and the Niśādas occupied the lowest rank in the social hierarchy. The Purāṇas and the Smṛtis degrade them as untouchables and are very severe in emphasising the social and religious disabilities of this class. Repeating the old law, the Agni purāṇa prescribes that the Cāndālas shall be employed for the execution of criminals, shall wear the clothes of the dead, and while living outside the village shall not pollute others by their touch. Medhatithi prescribes the similar task to Svapakas. We notice certain rules in the Smṛtis to prevent

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2R.T., VII, 1645.
3Agni purāṇa, 151, 10f.
4On Manu, X, 38.
pollution by the touch of Çandālas.\(^1\) Medhātithi prescribes even certain distinctive signs that should be borne by the Çandālas.\(^2\)

This is not all. Some of the śātris even go to the extent of prescribing certain penances for crossing the shadows of the Çandālas. Atri, Aṅgiras, Sātātapa, and Auśanasas - Smṛti\(^3\) prescribe purification by bath for crossing a Çandāla's shadow.

But Medhātithi\(^4\) and Śivadharmottara\(^5\) do not side with this view. According to Alberuni\(^6\) the people called Ḥādi, Ḍoma (Ḍomba), Çandāla and Badhatau are not reckoned amongst any caste or guild. They are occupied with dirty work, like the cleansing of the villages and other services. They are considered as one sole class, and distinguished only by their occupation.

Kalhapa records that Suyya, who turned out to be a great engineer in the time of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) was found by a Çandāla woman in an earthen vessel while sweeping up a dust heap on the road. This woman without defiling the child by her touch, arranged for his keep in the house of a śūdra-nurse'.\(^7\)

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\(^1\) On Manu, V, 12; X, 51.

\(^2\) On Manu, X, 55.

\(^3\) Atri, 288-289; Aṅgiras, quoted by Vijnāneśvara on Vaiṣṇavakaṭ, III, 30; Sātātapa quoted by Aparāraka on Vaiṣṇavakaṭ, III, 292; Auśanasasmr̥ti, IX, 1.552.

\(^4\) On Manu, V, 133.

\(^5\) Quoted by Aparāraka on Vaiṣṇavakaṭ, I, 193.


\(^7\) R.T., V, 74-77.
The Jaina writer Hemacandra also prescribes that the Caḍālas and the Ḍombas would make sounds of sticks to enable men of higher castes to avoid pollution.¹

The Caḍālas in Kashmir appear to have been fierce and ferocious fighters. Kalhaṇa records that once king Uccala (A.D.1101-11), who was stopping in Kramarājya, proceeded to the hill village of Varhaṭacakra to see the Svayambhū fire. As he was marching by way of the village of Kambaleśvara, he was surrounded by armed Caḍālas, robbers of that locality. The personal courage of the king only attracted their weapons.²

In Kashmir the Caḍālas worked as royal bodyguards³ and watchmen.⁴ It is not improbable that some served in the king's army though there is no certainty on this score.⁵ Caḍālas were employed by conspirators to assassinate king Uccala (A.D.1101-1111)⁶.

The Ḍombas, another low caste, are also quite often mentioned by Kalhaṇa. On some occasions they are mentioned together with the Caḍālas and this association shows that there was no

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¹Desināmanama, II, 73; II.54. dumbādinām sparaśapariharartha chihpayaṣṭih; caḍaladinām sparaśa pariharartha chihpayaṣṭih.

²R.T., VIII, 250-252.

³R.T., IV, 516.

⁴R.T., VII, 309; VIII, 2172; VI, 77.

⁵R.T., IV, 475, 476.

⁶R.T., VIII, 304, 325.
difference in the social status of the Pombas and the Capālas. That the touch of the Pombas and the Capālas was considered impure becomes quite evident from Kalhaṇa's reference to a terribly conflagration that arose in the reign of Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-972), destroying the great buildings. Kalhaṇa writes that "the fire, as it were, purified the land, by burning the great buildings which the contact of the kings who had been touched by Pombas and Capālas had defiled". It is to be noted that Kalhaṇa mentions the Pombas also as Svapākas.

We have already noticed Medhatithi (On Manu, X.38) as assigning to Sopākas the task of executioners, carrying away unclaimed corpses and taking their clothes, of eating cakes offered to the dead and the like. Such functions may have been performed by the Svapākas of Kashmir also though we do not come across any direct reference to it.

In view of the stories recorded by Kalhaṇa it appears that singing and dancing for the entertainment of the people was one of the occupations of the Pombas. Alberuni also found

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1 R.T., VI, 190-191.
2 R.T., VI, 192.
3 R.T., V, 390-393, 405, 407, 413, 415.
4 R.T., V, 354-396.
the Pombas as singers and lute-players.\(^1\) A passage of the Rajatarangini, however, describes the Pombas as huntsmen.\(^2\)

We find the Pombas in power during the reign of king Cakravarman (A.D. 936-937). The king paying no regard to the low caste of the Pombas, took into his seraglio Harisi and Nagalata, the sweet-eyed daughters of Pomba singer Ranga and raised their relatives to ministerial posts.\(^3\) Kalhapa is not happy and grudgingly remarks: 'Robbers as ministers, a Svapaka-woman as queen, Svapakas as friends: what wonders were left for king Cakravarman to achieve?' \(^4\) Again 'Surely gods of fierce might did not then dwell in this land. Otherwise how could then a Svapaka woman have entered their temples?' \(^5\)

We also notice that those who partook of the food left over by the Pombas queen had their seats in the court, not only of Cakravarman but the subsequent kings too. Taking of food remnants is prohibited by the smritis.\(^6\) Kalhapa is also against this

\(^1\) Sachau, vol. I, p.102.
\(^2\) R.T., V, 182.
\(^3\) R.T., V, 360 sqq.
\(^4\) R.T., V, 391.
\(^5\) R.T., V. 394.
\(^6\) Manu, IV, 211; Vijnan, II,10.
practice. Speaking of king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-48), he remarks: "From the intercourse with those who had taken the Đombas' food remnants, impurity fell upon Yaśaskara, just as the evil of leprosy spreads through the touch of a leper."¹

Kalhaṇa assigns to the Kirātas, another low caste of forest-dwellers, the task of destroying wild beasts by raising jungle-fires and by constructing traps.² Kirātas along with śabaras and Pulindas are included in the Śudra-varga of the Amarakośa.³

The Niṣadás, another low caste of Kashmir generally lived by fishing and hunting. But in one passage Kalhaṇa includes in the term Niṣāda also the boatmen of the Valley.⁴ It is not unlikely that fishing played a great part in the livelihood of the boatmen. They occupied a low position in the social scale. W. R. Lawrence draws a vivid picture of the divisions and the customs of these boatmen (Hanji). He writes: "The father of the family is an autocrat and, while his sons and daughters remain on his boat, all their earnings go to the father, who

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¹ R.T., V, 84.
² R.T., VIII, 358.
³ Amarakośa, II, 10.21.
supplies them with food. When a son wishes to marry he must obtain his father's consent, which is often withheld, as there is little room for the young people in the Kashmiri boat. There are many divisions in the Hānji tribe. There are the half-amphibious paddlers of the Dal Lake (Demb Hānẓ), who are really vegetable-gardeners, and the boatmen of the Wular lake, who gather the Singhara nuts (Gāri Hānẓ), and these two sections hold their heads high among the other Hānjis. Next in respectability come the boatmen, who live in the large barges known as bahats and wār, in which cargoes of 800 maunds of grain or wood are carried. Then less respectable come the owners of the dūngas or passenger boats. Dūnga Hānẓ prostitute their females, and, owing to the dependence of the city on the river, they have a footing in nearly every family of means. The worst of the Dīnga Hānẓ are the Nār Hānẓ, or the boatmen who ply on the Nalla Mār. Then there are the Gad Hānẓ, who net or angle for fish. Another small section of the tribe known as Hak Hānẓ make a livelihood by dredging for drift-wood in the rivers. The Dūnga and Gad Hānẓ are famous for their inventive powers and for their vocabulary of abuse, and when, as often happens, a quarrel arises between two boats, one woman stands up on the prow of her boat and commences a torrent of invective, to which one in the other boat promptly replies. The men remain seated listening with interest to the dialogue. If night sets in
before the women are exhausted they invert their rice baskets (paj), which signifies that the quarrel is not ended but laid aside till morning, when the wordy warfare is recommenced with fresh vigour.¹

¹W.R. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, pp. 313-314.
Chapter III

LIFE IN THE VALLEY

In the mini country of Kashmir which is walled off by high mountains and dotted with numerous lakes, springs, rivers and streams which, being navigable by boats, formed the main means of communication, where there were very few roads suitable for wheeled traffic, where there was 'not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tirtha' and people adhered to different creeds with complete tolerance, which was famous for its learning and where the people strictly followed the age-old customs and traditions, the life of the inhabitants was in several respects different from that in other parts of India.

The kings of this Happy Valley led a luxurious polygamous life, having large seraglios. Both Bilhana and Kalhana take patriotic pride in the lofty palaces and homes of their land. King Harsha (A.D. 1089-1101) was the most luxurious of all the kings and Kalhana mentions the grandeur of his palace and the court in glowing terms. During the course of his narrative Kalhana gets many occasions to refer to the splendour and large dimensions of the royal palace. It sounds that the king's palace was a beauty, having many stories and apartments serving purposes of administration and personal comforts of the royal house. The dancing hall and sometimes the assembly hall was used to witness the dancing, singing, poetical and dramatic performances.¹ A

¹ Infra, p. 306.
separate building in the palace, which had a hundred gates
\(\text{satadvara}\)^1 must have been gorgeous and wonderful. Judging
from numerous references to the four-pillared pavilion (\text{catuskā},
\text{catuska}, \text{catubstambha}) and the context in which it appears, it
looks as though this served as one of the important drawing rooms,
offering very good outside view and was used sometimes by kings to
give hearings and \text{darsana} to the citizens.\(^2\) A hall of eight
columns (\text{agstastambhamagdana}) is also referred to.\(^3\) Whereas
the inner court (\text{abhyantrara}) of the palace served to convene
assemblies and give audience to the officials of high position
when the 'Bahya' were excluded, the outer court (\text{bahyali}, \text{bahya},
\text{bahyabhryta}) was used to give audience to ordinary royal servants
and public.\(^4\) This distinction applied exactly to the Diwān-i
Khas and Diwān-i 'Am, observed at the Mogul court.\(^5\) King
Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) is said to have abandoned the old palace
(\text{purāparaṣjadham}) and set up another near the shrine of Sadāsiva,\(^6\)

\(^1\) \text{R.T.}, VII, 1550, 1556.

\(^2\) \text{R.T.}, VII, 707, 717, 1024; 1550, 1556, 1570, 1571; VIII, 23,
1375, 2527.

\(^3\) \text{R.T.}, VI, 96.

\(^4\) \text{R.T.}, IV, 62; VII, 385, 392, 986; VIII, 46.

\(^5\) \text{Bernier, Travels}, p. 265.

\(^6\) \text{R.T.}, VII, 186-187.
which remained the residence of later Hindu kings. The old palace is assumed to have existed in the old part of Pravarapura on the right bank of the river Vitasta and the new one is traced near the stream Ksiptika (Kuṭakul) on the left bank of the river Vitasta. The great height of the palace is specially mentioned by Bilhaṇa and its rapid destruction by fire at the time of Uccala's final attack on Harṣa, accounts for the use of wood in large proportion in its construction. A fair idea of what the Hindu palace looked like can be had from the one constructed by Zainu-l-ābidīn (A.D. 1420-1470). Mirzā Haider writes: 'Sultan Zainu-l-ābidīn built himself a palace in the town which in the dialect of Kashmir is called Ṛjādn (i.e. Skr. Ṛjadhēni). It has twelve stories, some of which contain fifty rooms, halls and corridors. The whole of this lofty structure is built of wood.'

Kalhaṇa mentions, though not elaborately, the daily time-table followed by the kings. It seems that different kings took to different routines according to their own preference and to the urgency and pressure of state business, and kings like Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) are known to have been very particular about court

2 R. T., VII, 1565 sq; 1583.
3 Tarikh-i Rashidi, p. 429.
discipline and manners. The kings of Kashmir do not appear to have pursued such a rigorous and detailed time-table as that prescribed by Kautilya.¹ Looking at their luxurious palace life, toilet, amusements, worship, huge seraglions and the like, one can judge that the rulers of Kashmir did not devote as much time to the affairs of the state as advised in the Arthasastra. From the stray references in the Rajatarangini, it is difficult to ascertain the precise division of time. King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089), who lived in luxury and comfort, divided his time between the three aims (trivarga), and was invisible for all officials from the afternoon onwards.² Writing about King Harsha (A.D. 1089-1101), who was the most luxury-loving of all the kings of Kashmir, Kalhaṇa says that always fond of amusement, he slept for two watches of the day and kept awake at night, when he held his assemblies.³ The Chronicler goes on to say that his nights were spent in the assembly hall, which was illuminated by a thousand lamps, attending meetings of learned men, musical performances and dances.⁴ Bath and worship of the gods appear to have constituted the forenoon daily routine of king Susala (A.D. 1121-1128).⁵

¹Arthasastra, I, 19.
³R.T., VII, 943.
⁴R.T., VII, 944.
⁵R.T., VIII, 1299-1300.
Kalhaṇa's illustration, by two anecdotes, of the judicial sagacity of the Brahmaṇa king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948), shows that this king finished with his daily business by evening, after which he took his food and was unapproachable by the petitioners.\footnote{R.T., VI, 42 sqq.}

The story of the Brahmaṇa petitioner, who was attended to by this king even after he had dispensed with his daily business reveals the liberality and broadmindedness of king Yaśakara. In addition, the king later induced the Brahmaṇa to partake of food by his side.\footnote{R.T., VI, 56.} But there were others who cared more for their enjoyments. The \textit{Sukranitisaśara}, unlike that of Kautilya's \textit{Arthasaśāstra}, requires the king to devote only eleven out of thirty muhurtas for the affairs of the state. The \textit{Bṛhaspatya Arthasaśāstra} goes a step further in asking the king to attend to the business of the state for seven and a half muhurtas only. And the remaining period should be spent on bath, repast, amusements, playing with beloved ones, worship, dancing, cohabitation and sleep.\footnote{\textit{Sukranitisaśara}, I, 276-285.}

Though many kings of the tenth century proved incompetent and failed to rise to the occasion when the country fell to confusion and turmoil, on the whole the kings of our period took keen personal

\footnote{\textit{Bṛhaspatya Arthasaśāstra}, I, 59-60.}
interest in the discharge of their administrative duties. Some followed the Aśokan ideas of kingship and considered the welfare of the subjects as their primary duty.

Kalhapa sets forth very lofty ideas of kingship and cautions the rulers against oppression and tyranny. Welfare of the people is the keynote of his dictum and those kings who 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.¹ Cautioning the kings against avarice and oppression Kalhapa writes that those kings who do evil to their subjects, have their family, their glory, their life, their wives, nay, even their name, destroyed in a moment.² Kalhapa follows the ideals of kingship as expressed in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata and other law books with which he was thoroughly acquainted and influenced as his narrative shows. The Rājan is the 'guardian of the people', their 'ruler'.³ Manu is very emphatic on the subject of protection, which involves all castes and creeds with special reference to minors and women.⁴ Oppression through folly

¹R.T., I, 188.
²R.T., V, 211.
³Ṛveda, III, 43.
⁴Manu, VII, 2. 35.
will entail the loss of life and kingdom.\textsuperscript{1} Kautilya wants a king to do good to all the people.\textsuperscript{2} 'In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare; whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good.'\textsuperscript{3} Kalhaṇa is ready to attach supernatural powers to good and pious kings, whereas he calls the cruel kings as royal vetāla who find their deaths through the superior effect of subjects' merits.\textsuperscript{4} The Chronicler who seems to have been partially influenced by Buddhist ideas of kingship, in addition wants a king to be virtuous, truthful, free from pride, wine and dice and from the evil-conducted favourites and morally high.\textsuperscript{5} He writes: 'The king who yields to the passion of love, is fond if wine, is addicted to dice, and is surrounded by drunkards who plunder the riches of his treasury, is like a lotus which is red (rāgī), is full of sweet honey (madhupranayavan), carries seeds (vihitāksaṅktir), and is frequented by bees (madhupair) which abstract the essence of its calyx (kośa). If then splendour attaches itself to the lotus, be it for the day only, there is no reason whatever to be

\textsuperscript{1}Manu, VII, 111-112.
\textsuperscript{2}Arthaśāstra, I, 5 and 6.
\textsuperscript{3}Arthaśāstra, I, 19.
\textsuperscript{4}R.T., I, 190; III, 16-26; VIII, 2639.
\textsuperscript{5}R.T., I, 279; VI, 153-154; cf. Manu, VII. 140.
astonished at splendour attaching itself to the king.\footnote{R.T., VI, 154.}
Continuing in the same breath Kalhaṇa sagely records that '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\footnote{R.T., VIII, 334.} of the flowers and please themselves with a multitude of various blossoms. Alas they somehow disappear as soon as they are seen; those kings are thrown down by their destiny set in motion by fate, and these bees by the creeper\footnote{R.T., VIII, 2083-2084.} set in motion by the wind.'\footnote{R.T., VIII, 334.} Desiring a king to be a sound judge of things Kalhaṇa remarks: 'That king who with dull senses mistakes a falsehood for the truth and truth for a falsehood, foregoes his aims and is put to sufferings by misfortune. Persons without judgement abandon a glittering jewel because they take it for fire, and think that the glance of brown-eyed maids which is directed towards another, is intended for themselves. Why should they not then thus take everything here that is true for false, and that is false for true?' The king should possess intellect and shrewdness and it is a great fault and the source of disgrace to him if he, like a Yogin, sees
the same in every person.¹ Kalhana prescribes very high qualifications for a king and wants him to be diplomatic, a shrewd judge of men and situations, virtuous, clever, kind and polite.² According to him those kings who praise a person's good qualities in public and discuss his faults behind his back, are fickle in their attachments, become an object of hatred to their servants.³ According to Santiparvan, the king should be an expression of all virtues, beneficence and heroism.⁴ Manu prescribes that the king should exert all his efforts, day and night, to conquer the senses and to avoid the ten vices which are enunciated in the Manu Smrti.

Some kings of Kashmir followed the type of paternalism followed by king Aśoka. King Janaka of the legendary period is compared to a father (Janaka) of his subjects.⁵ King Kalaśa's (A.D. 1063-1089) early years were marked by sinful acts, licentiousness and greediness. But later on, Kalhana records that 'through a rise in the subject's fortune caused by their previous merits

¹ R.T., I, 355.
² R.T., VIII, 48, 122, 599, 2083, 2663.
³ R.T., I, 358.
⁴ Santiparvan, 57, 21-22, 30-36; 69, 3-4; 80, 2-113; 120, 40-43.
⁵ R.T., I, 98, 21-22, 30-36; 69, 3-4; 80, 2-113; 120, 40-43.
Kalaśa's mind was ever profitably occupied, just like that of a father, with plans for the kindly protection of the people'.\(^1\)

King Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111) who overhauled the administrative machinery of the state by curbing the power of the cruel Dāmaras and oppressive kasyasthas, was so ambitious for the public welfare that 'when he heard of any trouble of the inhabitants, he left off his other occupations and relieved their distress, just as a father [relieves that] of his sons'.\(^2\) King Uccala, who was ever watchful and wise like Manu, became famous for the care [which he bestowed] on his subjects, and which required no stimulation'.\(^3\)

Sussala, the brother of Uccala, who occupied the throne of Kashmir in A.D. 1112, was almost of the same character as his elder brother. Kalhaṇa writes that 'no one else was like him in knowing the [suitable] times, liberal on the [right] occasion, resolute, brilliant in his conceptions, a judge of signs and far-sighted'.\(^4\) He, too, was a well-doer to his subjects and 'when great calamities arose he would leave nothing untouched in his anxiety to overcome and to allay them, and would pour forth his

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\(^1\) R.T., VII, 506.
\(^2\) R.T., VIII, 60.
\(^3\) R.T., VIII, 160.
\(^4\) R.T., VIII, 486.
riches'. But in contrast to his elder brother 'he was generally just as difficult to see for his servants, as king Uccala before had been easy to approach and affable to his attendants'. King Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-1149) also looked after the welfare of his subjects pretty well. In conclusion we should say that the kings of Kashmir followed these ideals according to their taste and preference.

The succession in the Valley is not without interest, in so far as we notice in the pages of the Rajatarangini certain features which are also noticeable in the history of Ceylon. The narrative of Kalhaṇa reveals that the succession in Kashmir was, in general, hereditary and was based upon the principle of primogeniture. This practice is strictly followed in the legendary period (up to the third canto of the Rajatarangini). The Karkoṭa dynasty was instrumental in bringing about this break-age in the royal succession, a breakage which after the extinction of the Karkoṭa lineage, is occasionally visible until the time of Kalhaṇa, when the throne in some cases passed from the older brother to the younger brother.

Kalhaṇa, who was thoroughly versed in the Kavya literature and possessed an intimate knowledge of the Rāmāyāna and the

1 R.T., VIII, 494.
2 R.T., VIII, 496.
Mahābhārata, records in the following passage, while using king Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa as his mouthpiece, the following advice in connection with succession: 'The elder should be placed on the throne, and when he should prove of violent nature, then you must need resist his commands...... Do not make the younger king. If however through a fault of judgement, this should happen, then his commands should be obeyed and he himself protected, though he may be of bad character.'¹ This passage, which is a part of the political testament of king Lalitāditya, whether it be his own dictation evincing the practice of the Valley, or might he be speaking on behalf of Kalhaṇa, clearly shows that after the death of the father, the throne went to the eldest son, and grants the right to the subjects to object to the violent king. We learn that when Kṣitiraja renounced the throne of Lohara which was under the suzerainty of Kashmir, Utkarṣa the second eldest son of Kalaśa was installed there though he was a child, thereby the right of the eldest son Harṣa to the throne of Kashmir was secured.² No doubt, later, even though king Kalaśa wanted his eldest son Harṣa to succeed him, he had to crown the younger son Utkarṣa as his successor in the face of opposition from the discontented ministers and other intriguers

¹ R.T., IV, 356-358.
² R.T., VII, 256 sqq.
who were evilly disposed towards Harṣa. The long history of Kashmir shows that the succession was, in general, hereditary and passed from father to son according to primogeniture. It is important to note in this context that the acceptance of succession, due to misjudgement or other reasons, of the younger brother even, may he be of bad character, is advised and, no doubt, we come across such cases of bad-conducted king in the history of the Valley.

It is worth noticing that the change from the general practice to that of succession from brother to brother is visible even in the reigns of some of the last kings chronicled in the third Canto. We see that the reign of king Yudhisṭhira II is followed in succession by his two sons Lāhkhāṇa-Narendraḍītya and Rājadītya-Tukījina III. After the death of the latter, Kashmir was ruled in succession by his two sons namely Vikramādītya and Bālavādītya. But it is with the advent of the Karkoṭas to the throne of Kashmir that the change becomes more pronounced. The Genealogical Table of this dynasty shows that the founder of the Karkoṭa dynasty is followed by his younger son (the elder son Malhana by name seems to have died in young age, IV, 4) Durlabhaka-Pratāpādiya II. He is said to have been followed in succession by his three sons, viz. Candrāḍīga, Tāḍāḍīga and Lalitādītya-Muktāḍīga. King Lalitādītya is followed in succession by his son Kuvalayāḍīga and Vajrāḍītya-Bappiyaka. The latter is followed

\[\text{R.T., VII, 646-647, 703.}\]
in succession by his sons Prthivyapida, Samgramapida I and Jayapida. King Jayapida's rule is again succeeded by his sons Lalitapida and Samgramapida II. The next king who ruled Kashmir was Cippatajayapida, son of Lalitapida, and who was destroyed by his maternal uncles. They further put on the throne of Kashmir Ajitapida, a grand-son of king Vajraditya-Bappiyaka. Kashmir was further ruled by Anangapida, a son of Samgramapida II and Utpalapida, a son of Ajitapida.

Before forming any view it is necessary to determine the forces acting behind this change. Did this change become the practice for future kings of Kashmir superseding the old traditional ones? Was it a permanent change or short-lived? And did this change take place peacefully? The account of Kalhaṇa supplies answers to these questions. We can glean from his detailed narration that the change to the succession from brother to brother was certainly not a lasting one and hence should not be taken to have supplanted the prevalent traditional system according to prono-geniture. This deviation worked out peacefully and in its entirety only during the Karkoṭa dynasty when the succession passed over to the next younger brother. Combining these facts we should infer that in agreement with Medieval Ceylon, the succession in Kashmir during the Karkoṭa dynasty only was from brother to brother. Writing on the law of succession in Medieval Ceylon Geiger observes: 'As to the right of succession, the rule was that the
next youngest brother of the king succeeded him on the throne. Only when no other brother existed did the crown pass to the next generation, and here again to the eldest son of the eldest brother of the preceding generation'.\(^1\) It is not unimportant to note here that the second part of Geiger's observation regarding succession in medieval Ceylon, does not apply to Kashmir in the Karkoṭa period. Whereas in Ceylon as said above, at the non-existence of other brothers, the crown passed to the eldest son of the eldest brother, in Kashmir during the Karkoṭa time, the crown, as noticed above, passed to the eldest son of the last ruling brother.

During the period under survey, Kashmir was ruled on the whole, as the Genealogical Tables show, according to heredity and primogeniture. A change from this practice in few cases during this long period, resulting in a succession from brother to brother, was not regular and continuous as in the Karkoṭa period. This occasional change did not carry with it any marked principle but was a result of the rising influence of the Tantrins and Ekaṅgas, the ever-increasing power of the Āparajitas, the treason ever-ready at the imperial court, treacherous conduct of the mantraṅgas, the ambitious designs of the queens and, specially, the lust for the

\(^1\) CV, vol. I, Introduction, p.XX.
For most of this period the country was in the grip of civil war and such a deviation during the troubled time is but natural. The feeble character of some of the kings, especially the latter kings of the Utpala dynasty, and the absence of a natural heir to the throne, were no less important factors contributing towards this end.

The fact remains that royal succession in Kashmir was, as a general practice, in accordance with heredity and primogeniture, though physical fitness and noble character of the succeeding king seem to be essential conditions. Should we infer from the accounts of Partha and Utkarśa, whom, in the face of opposition of the people and the ministers, Queen Sugandha and King Kalaśa respectively had to crown against their wishes and the usual practice, that the rulers of Kashmir were not omnipotent in deciding their successors? The practice is echoed in the Jātaka, epic and the Smṛti literature.

The accommodating nature of the Kashmirians is seen in the general absence of serious revolt or outburst of active and stormy opposition against the change from the usual practice of succession.

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1 R.T., V, 250 sqq. Queen Sugandha's wish to crown Nirjitatavarna who was nicknamed Pānju 'the lame' and was of feeble character, was overruled by the combined opposition of the ministers and the Tantric who put Partha, the child-son of Nirjitatavarna on the throne.

2 R.T., V, 251 sqq; VII, 703.

But this should not be taken to imply that the people were
dumb-founded and not alive to their as well as the state's
interests. They rose to the occasion to oppose any kind of
succession that might seem injurious to the interests of
their country. In agreement with the well known cases of oppo-
sition recorded in the Mahābhārata,¹ the Rajatarangini also
furnishes instances when the people were opposed to unusual
succession. The earliest example is recorded in the legendary
period. We learn that after the death of king Dāmodara I
'Kṛṣṇa, the descendant of Yadu, had the king's pregnant
widow Yaśovati installed on the throne by the Brahmāṇas'.

When some Brahmāṇas grumbled at the coronation of a woman,
writes Kalhana, 'the slayer of Madhu Kṛṣṇa appeased them
by reciting this verse from the Nīlamata-purāṇa: 'Kaśmīr-land
is Pārvati; know that its king is a portion of Śiva. Though
he be wicked, a wise man who desires his own prosperity,
will not despise him.'²

The remonstrations and opposition offered by the ministers
against the decisions of queen Sugandhā (A.D. 904-906) and
king Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089), to install their respective candi-
dates have already been referred to. In these cases the ministers

¹Mahābhārata, I, 85, 17-35; V, 149, 14-29.
²R.T., I, 72.
and the discontented section succeeded in imposing their will on the ruling monarchs.

The arguments advanced by A.S. Altekar\(^1\) to refute the view of R.C. Majumdar that the monarchy continued to be elective in certain states of India down to the 8th century A.D. do not appear convincing. His further contention that the elective principle was unknown in the Valley of Kashmir and that the historians of the twelfth century, i.e. Kalhana, had strange feelings for it, shows that he has misunderstood the Chronicle. Admittedly the principle of hereditary succession in tune with primogeniture had taken a deep root in the Valley as elsewhere in India, but this does not completely exclude some form of elective principle. Whenever the situation demanded it as the following pages will show, the people responded and elected a king although there was, of course, no question of a modern type of election. In a state practising the rule of heredity in accordance with primogeniture, the occasion for some sort of election can only arise as a consequence of the absence of a natural heir, the premature death of the heir-apparent or of the ruling monarch, by sharp divisions within the state and other such allied occasions.

\(^1\) State and Government in Ancient India, pp. 80-84.

\(^2\) Corporate Life in Ancient India, pp. 107-113.
The *Rajataṅgini* refers to such instances when the people, in collaboration with the ministers, elected a king in response to the needs of the time. The examples will show that the Kashmirians had some voice in the choice of a king. We gather that Yudhiṣṭhir I, nicknamed Andha-Yudhiṣṭhir, the last king of the first Gondanda dynasty of the legendary period, was forced to abandon his kingdom in view of the serious rising of the subjects and ministers, a rising caused by his capricious conduct. After the departure of the king along with his household the choice of the people and ministers fell on Pratāpāditya I.

The abdication of king Śaṅdhimatāryāja which closes the second *Tārāṅga* of the *Rajataṅgini*, offered another occasion to the people and the ministers to instal their selection on the throne of Kashmir. 'Then the subjects, guided by the ministers,' writes Kalhaṭa, 'proceeded to the land of Gandhāra and brought Meghavāhana whose fame shone afar'.

Coming to the rule of the Utpala dynasty, we find that, after the extinction of the lineage of king Śaṅkaravarman (A.D. 883-902), his queen Sugandhā assumed royal power at the bidding of the subjects'. In her keenness to have the family continued,

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3. *R.T.*, III. 2. Meghavāhana is recorded (*R.T.*II, 144 sqq) as the son of Gopāditya and a great-grandson of Yudhiṣṭhir who was living in banishment at the court of the ruler of Gandhāra.
she placed her hope on her daughter-in-law, Jayalakṣmi, a wife of Gopalavarman (A.D. 902-904), who was pregnant. But to her grief, the child died after its birth. What is of constitutional importance is the fact that queen Sugandhā, who was having the reins of the Government in her hand, convened an assembly of the ministers (mantriśas), feudal chiefs (śamantās), Tantrins and Ekāngas, in order to select a suitable successor. ¹

There arose a conflict between the queen and all the others. Consequently, as against her wish to instal Nirjītavarman, they raised Pārtha, ² the son of Nirjītavarman, to the throne. This clearly shows that the people, ministers, feudal chiefs and others had influence in the selection of a king. King Daśratha is also recorded to have summoned such an assemblage to announce the installation of Rāma, the obedient. ³ The fact is that the people did have some say in the selection of a king in Kashmir. Not long after this, we notice another such instance of election. King Umattavanti (A.D. 937-939), on

¹R.T., V, 250.

²Here is a case of a son ruling before the father. Pārtha ruled from A.D. 906-921, and after his overthrow his father Nirjītavarman ruled from A.D. 921 to 923.

³Rāmāyana, II, I, 46-48. There is a difference of opinion on this point. Whereas Altekar (State and Government in Ancient India, pp. 82-83) and N.N.Law (Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, pp. 51'sqq.) do not find any germs of elective principle, R.C. Majumdar (Corporate Life in Ancient India, pp. 107-110) scents the same in the passage.
his death, crowned Suravarman II, a supposititious son. But
this child-king enjoyed the realm only for a few days.
Kamalavardhana, the commander-in-chief (kampanadhipati), on
receiving the news through the spies, hastened to the capital
from Naḍavarāja. He defeated the royal troops, whereupon the
child-king was taken away by his mother. Kamalavardhana foolishly
did not occupy the throne, but collecting all the Brahmapas
addressed them thus: 'Make a countryman of yours, strong and
full-grown king'.
1 Sympathising with him, and issuing a note
of advice, Kalhaṇa writes: 'Who is more to be pitied than he,
who, having found a coy young woman alone in a solitary place
and intoxicated, does not enjoy her owing to timorousness, but
solicits her favours the next day through a messenger - or than
he, who, having gained the power by force, lets it slide from
his hands that moment, and strives for it on the next day
through diplomacy?'
2 A. S. Altakar has interpreted the sympa-
thetic feelings of Kalhaṇa differently and holds that he considers
strangely the procedure of election, which Kamalavardhana had
suggested to the Brahmapa community to resort to. Kalhaṇa does

1 R.T., V, 458.
2 R.T., V, 459-460.
3 State and Government in Ancient India, p.84.
not seem to regard the election procedure as strange but he attributes the action of Kamalavardhana to his political inability. It is only at the failure of Kamalavardhana to win the minds of the Brahmāpas that Kālhana has given such a simile in which the Chronicler is adept. If the commander-in-chief had been successful in acceding to the throne, the narrative of Kālhana would have been quite different. Kālhana describes humourously the assembly of the Brahmāpas in the following way: 'Long lasted the discussion as to the disposal of the crown, while those [Brahmapas] whose beards were scorched by smoke, wished to raise this man or that to the throne. While they disputed with each other, nobody received the water of inauguration. Only their own beards [were wetted] by the spittings they ejected in their rough talk.'

As the debate of the Brahmaṇas lasting for five or six days yielded no results, the Purohites of sacred places (parisadāya) began a solemn fast to enforce a decision. In the end, the Brahmaṇas selected a Brahmaṇa Yaśaskara and not Suravarman as A.S.Altekar has pointed out. The prevalence of the will of the ministers, in the suc-

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1 R.T., V, 462-463.
2 R.T., V, 476-477.
3 State and Government in Ancient India, p.84.
cession of a successor is further noticed in King Kalasa's change of decision at the time of nominating his successor.¹

This case of succession of a younger brother (Utkarṣa) in preference to the elder one (Harṣa), raises another question. Could a prince ascend the throne by mere hereditary rights or was he required to possess qualifications befitting a king?

It so seems that personal qualification was also an important factor in attaining kingship in Kashmir. M.B.Ariyapala, quoting similar cases of succession of a younger brother in preference to an elder one from the Medieval history of Ceylon, remarks:

'This example shows that a prince could not ascend the throne merely by right, but that he had to possess certain necessary qualifications demanded of a king'.² R. Mehta writes on this point thus: 'But we have instances which show that heredity was often not the sole support by which a prince could get on to the throne. He was thoroughly examined by the ministers, and if found worthy and capable, then only was he declared fit for kingship.'³

¹R.T., VII, 703.

²M.B.Ariyapala, Society in Medieval Ceylon, p.55.

³R. Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, p.101.
The foregoing instances from the history of Kashmir tend to prove some popular voice in the election of a king, at least in special cases. Nothing would be more wrong than the inference that the idea of election was completely absent in the Valley. It existed side by side with that of hereditary monarchy. R.C. Majumdar, quoting the examples of election in cases of king Rudradāman, Gopāla, and Harṣavarman, has shown the existence of the elective principle in Ancient India as late as the eighth century A.D. Discussing the subject as a whole, V.R.R. Dikshitar writes: 'Even where the character of monarchy is hereditary, the principle of election appears in one form or other. In the very ceremony of consecration, we notice how the principle of election is an underlying factor... whatever it may be, election of a monarch was a settled idea and prevailed side by side with the hereditary notions of monarchy.... the office of the king was a creation of the people and the king held the throne conditionally, that is, under definite terms. Any violation of these agreed terms would lead to the banishment or deposition of the ruler.'

If we peep into the history of Ceylon, we shall notice the prevalence of elective principle like that in Kashmir, side by side with that

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1 R.C. Majumdar, Corporate Life in Ancient India, pp. 112-113.
2 Hindu Administrative Institutions, pp. 64-68.
of hereditary succession. M. B. Ariyapala\(^1\) proves the hypothesis by quoting the cases from the history of Medieval Ceylon. Codrington\(^2\) writes that 'where the succession was doubtful, the selection of the new monarch in practice lay with the principal ministers'. P.C.Dharma records his opinion on Ancient Indian Kingship thus: 'Kings were hereditary, as a rule. But the new kings could not succeed as a matter of right. They had to be formally elected by the people's Assembly. The kings succeeded one another by the law of primogeniture...... The succession of the eldest son to the throne of the father, unless he was disqualified, was the recognised rule...... The son must be a prince qualified to succeed, by his virtue and education...... Though it was the rule for the eldest son (unless disqualified) to succeed, d the consent and approval...... was necessary before he could be crowned.'\(^3\)

The Kashmirian king wielded absolute powers as elsewhere in India. Divinity was attached to him. He was considered a part of Śiva. 'Kashmir-land is Pārvatī; know that its king is a portion of Śiva. Though he be wicked, a wise man who desires his own prosperity, will not despise him.'\(^4\) This verse from

\(^1\)Society in Medieval Ceylon, pp. 54-56.

\(^2\)A Short History of Ceylon, p. 179.

\(^3\)The Rāmāyana Polity, pp. 14, 15.
the *Nilamata* was recited by Kṣṇa to appease some discontented Brahmāṇas at the installation of Yaśovati, the pregnant widow of Daśādara I. This would make Kashmir-land as an embodiment of Parvati a very part of Śiva in his ardhanāriśvara form. In other words there is complete oneness in Śiva, Parvati, the land of Kashmir and its King.

The usual custom was to appoint the eldest son of the king as *Yuvrāja* and on the death of the king he received the water of inauguration (*abhiseka*), poured out from golden jars with face turned eastwards on a golden throne, in the presence of ministers (*māṇtrīs*), feudal chiefs (*śāmantas*), high-ranking officials and the Brahmāṇas. During the infancy, the queen mothers, if they didn't become sāti, or some elderly relative acted as regent. With the object of assuring the safety of the infant heir and his subsequent reign, it was customary to place the child in the arms of an elderly relative and to perform the abhiseka for both together. The Kashmirian king received a very high education in politics, history, Sāstras etc.

Kalhana acquaints us through a conversation which he in his

1. R. T., III, 102, 328, 529; V, 129-134; VI, 355; VII, 1385, VIII, 539.
2. R. T., V, 220-222, 228.
4. R. T., IV, 489-490; VI, 290; VII, 941.
Chronicle\(^1\) arranges between king Śaṅkaravarnā (A.D. 883-902) and his son Gopālavarnā, that a very hard training was imparted to the prince in weapons (sastrās) and horse-riding enabling him to face the problems of kingship bravely and successfully.

Women continued to be respected during our period, rather there seems to have been an improvement in her position. We had occasions to refer to the recognition of the right of women to rule Kashmir in the case of queen Yaśovarī of the legendary period which clearly shows that the Kashmirians had started looking at women, as Kalhaṇa informs us, with great respect and not merely as an 'object of enjoyment' since very early period. Coming to our times we see that queen Sugandhā, after being entrusted with the young son Gopālavarnā by her husband Śaṅkaravarnā (A.D. 883-902) ruled Kashmir as guardian from A.D. 902-904 and after the death of Gopālavarnā caused by witchcraft, when the lineage of Śaṅkaravarnā died out, she assumed the royal power (A.D. 904-906) at the bidding of the subjects.\(^2\) Queen Duddā, after the death of her husband Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-953), managed the affairs of the state for close on half

\(^1\)R.T., V, 182-203.
\(^2\)R.T., V, 220-262.
a century, first as a regent to his sons and grandsons and then as a real ruler (A.D. 980/1-1003) and eventually raised Saṃgrāmarāja, the son of her brother Uḍayarāja, the ruler of Lohara, to the rank of yuvarāja. Thus started the rule of the Loharas in Kashmir when in A.D. 1003, after the death of Dīḍa, Saṃgrāmarāja ascended the throne. Kalhaṇa refers to the domination of queen Sūryamati over king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) and consequently her taking over the king's business in hand. She, using her good offices, brought peace and stability to the country. Jayamati, the queen of king Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111) secured, through the king's fond attachment, the rare privilege of occupying one half of his throne. The Kāṭaṭarāgini also abounds in instances referring to ladies of the king's seraglio playing an important role in state affairs especially in matters of succession. But Kalhaṇa shuns their part played in palace intrigues. The crowning of Lōthāṇa, Sussala's brother, to the throne of Lōhara in A.D. 1130 was the result of a successful conspiracy which carried important support from some royal ladies. Kalhaṇikā, the queen of Jayasimha

1 R.T., VI, 188 sqq.
2 R.T., VII, 144 sqq.
3 R.T., VIII, 82.
4 R.T., VIII, 1820 sqq.
(A.D. 1128-1149), who also acted as a mediator in settling the quarrel between Jayasimha and Bhoja, contributed enough to the prosperity of the land. Queen Raḍḍadevi, a pious lady, had enormous influence on king Jayasimha and Kālhaṇa records that 'owing to the constant attachment of the king, the punishment or reward even of princes depends immediately and without fail upon her will'. The mother of king Jayasimha and Mallārjuna is recorded to have gone on a political mission in an endeavour to bring about reconciliation between the two brothers.

We do not read of any woman occupying any ministerial post during our period. But earlier the Karkoṭa king Jayapiḍa is recorded to have appointed his queen Kalyāṇadevi to the office of chief chamberlain (māhāpratihārapīḍa). Sometimes women held by their right estates independantly as Kalhaṇa records of a Dāmara lady from Nilaśva who remained faithful to king Jayasimha at the time of Bhoja's revolt.

1 R.T., VIII, 3063-71, 3096-3106, 3118.  
2 R.T., VIII, 3393.  
3 R.T., VIII, 1968-70.  
4 R.T., IV, 485.  
5 R.T., VIII, 3115.
Women, in general, do not seem to have entered military professions. But the wives of the Āmaras are recorded to have been proficient in warfare and fought at the head of their troops. In addition to the Āmara lady from Mīlasva already referred to, we have examples of Chuddā the wife of Āmara Gargacandra and Silla the mother of Āmara Vijaya who lost their lives while fighting.1

But on the whole, women were confined to home and were required to lead a role of a chaste and faithful wife. Like every Indian woman, the Kashmiri woman's early life was spent under the guardianship of the parents, after marriage she was supposed to live under obedience and complete control of her husband and her in-laws, at least she had the satisfaction of controlling home affairs when she herself became the head of the house (mother or mother-in-law). In a joint family system, she as a mother had complete control over household and claimed obedience. Kṣemendra goes as far as to say that the mother's position is superior to that of a guru.2 Highest respect was given to a mother in the Gahaḍvala kingdom as well, as Lakṣmīdhara quoting Baudhayana and Gautama recommends that a son may abandon the father who imparts instructions to Sudras and accepts money

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1 R.T., VIII, 1137, 1069.
2 Bodhisattvavādanakalpalata (Ed. Das.), p.761.
from them for observing his own sacrifices or of the Sudras, who kills the king and embryos and lives with low caste people or cohabits with a low caste female, but not the mother even if she is excommunicated.1 In Kashmir, under the joint family system, many members including grand-mother, grand-father, mother, father, sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, grand-sons and daughters and perhaps some others lived under the same roof. The Sukranitisara records: 'The chaste wife, step-mother, mother, daughter, father, widowed daughter or sister who has no offspring, aunt, brother's wife, sister, father or mother, grandfather, preceptor who has no son, father-in-law, uncles, grandson who is young and orphan, brother, sister's son - these must be maintained carefully to the best of one's ability even under adverse circumstances.'2 Sukra's list of the members is too comprehensive to maintain and may cause frequent quarrels and bitter feelings among the members. Sometimes the mothers took undue advantage of their position as Kalkapa records that Suryamati, the queen of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) had deep feelings of love for her son Kalaça but later became disaffected and embittered and in her jealousy she made the son's wives constantly do the work of a slave-girl,

1 Gṛhasthakānda, p.421.

until 'they did not refuse to do even the smearing of the
house-floor with cow-dung etc." King Kalasa (A.D. 1063-1089)
is described as very sexy and licentious and Kalhapa records the
story of how the king once went to the house of Jinduraja where
the latter's daughter-in-law, living in a joint family, had given
an appointment to the king.2

Women were supposed to lead a chaste life. Devotion to
their husbands is the duty of wives.3 It was desired of her to
remain faithful to a single man.4 Bilhapa gives a print of the
housewife who has strong feelings of devotion and attachment
for her husband, respect for the superiors and love for the young
ones, dependants and other relatives. She is friendly to her co-
wives and scrupulously observes the vratas.5 Kalhapa looks
contemptuously towards unchaste and unfaithful wives and records
stories of such wives with great regret and scorn. Referring to
the secret love affair which Anaéaleka, the wife of king Durlabh-
vardhana had developed with the minister Khakha, he says; For
a wife who has sold her mind to illicit love, generally betrays
the change brought about by the intrusion of the demon of immorality. Among her companions she smiles secretly; her colour
changes when she sees her husband; getting up quite unexpectedly

1R.T., VII, 248-250.
4R.T., V, 8.
5Quoted, B.P. Mazumdar, Socio-Economic History of Northern India, p.142.
she looks with a smile on the roads; when her husband is angry she indicates contempt by movement of her brows, eyes and chin; when he uses harsh words, she looks down with a smile; she cares nothing for those whose character is like his, but enjoys the praise of his opponents; when noticing that he wishes to enjoy himself with her, she engages in a conversation with her companions; when he kisses her she bends down her neck; she does not yield her body to his arms; in his love-embrace she shows no pleasure, and on his bed she feigns to be asleep'.

Durlabhavardhana caught them red-handed one night and found his wife overpowered by sleep which was brought on by the exertions of the game of sex, and fixed on the body of her parnour. He wished to strike her but checked his fury and acting as a mouthpiece of Kalhapa thought thus: 'Fie on these miserable women who are the slaves of their active passions and devoid of reflection, and who quickly drag men down to hell. That thing which is called "women" is the object of sense, like the other objects of senses (indriyartha). As such they are common to all. Why should self-controlled persons feel angry about them?'

At another place Kalhapa makes the following stinging attack: 'The Creator has, as it were, because there is no room in the heart of women for good conduct (suvrta), put outside

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1 R.T., III, 501-505.
2 R.T., III, 513-514.
them their well-rounded (suvṛta) breasts. The Creator has made women who are pure in their outward appearance, women, because he knew that their conduct was the same whether they attached themselves to the highest or the lowest.¹

Elsewhere we have referred to different subjects which were taught to the girls. Bilhaṇa proudly refers to the women of his native land as proficient in Sanskrit and Prākrit.² Perhaps, girls were married in their teenage though we do not possess any reliable information on the subject. Inappropriate union such as the marriage of a young girl with an old man was considered highly objectionable. Kṣemendra ridicules such a marriage and in the seventh Upadeśa of his Deśopadeśa, he, with sarcastic humour, gives an interesting but life-like description of an old man's marriage with a young damsel, which results in the sad condition of the former. 'His wooing of the young girl is as useless as the craving of a miser for gold.' She being put to shame at the sight of that old hag reproaches him saying that he really deserves the epithet of her grand-papa. The old man partakes of highly efficacious medicines in order to rejuvenate himself. As chance would have it, his wife begets a child which is suspected by all to be natural. The relatives and the neighbouring ladies are

¹R.T., VI, 75-76.
²Vikramaṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 6.
invited at the celebration of the child-birth. All present give their blessings to her and with sarcastic smiles admire the unusual strength of the dotard husband and sing thus:

'Come at once, O God, to see
What wonders are brought by Thee
Withered and leafless tree doth yield
Unexpected fruit in field.'

As the practice of Sati was widespread in Kashmir during the period under question, for a woman the death of a husband meant the end of the world. The prevalence of the practice of Sati in Kashmir can be traced to an early period though it does not appear to have been universally practised then. Kalhaṇa records that after the death of Tūfajīna I, the pious king of the legendary period, his noble-minded queen freed herself 'in the flames of the pyre which to her were like a bed-cover formed of lotus-fibres'. Kalhaṇa records a story of a Brāhmaṇa woman whose husband's life had been taken by someone by the use of witchcraft. She approached king Candrapīḍa to get the suspected culprit punished and tells the king that she did not follow her husband to death as she is anxious for retaliation on the murderer. This shows that the practice was followed by the Brāhmaṇa ladies also at an early date.

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1 _R.T._, II, 56.
2 _R.T._, IV, 82 sqq.
From the ninth century onwards the institution of sati received much momentum in Kashmir as elsewhere in India, and the practice became widespread. A comparative study of all the cases of sati furnished in the Rajatarangini, tends to show that it was voluntary on the part of women and no physical force was applied to make them become sati. The only fear that pressured them to burn themselves along with their husbands was the reproaches and contempt of society, as also the miserable condition of a widow who was required to lead a very simple life of complete chastity with no ornaments or good dress. She must relinquish


2 Alberuni (Sachau, vol. II, p.155) was well-informed about the position of Indian widows and his statement is in accord with the conditions in Kashmir. He writes: 'If a wife loses her 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 eventually 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 them, 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.'

all her previous enjoyments and is not supposed to indulge in sensual pleasures. Kalhana pours down much contempt and scorn on queens Sugandha and Didda who did not become sati and enjoyed sensual pleasures with ministers. Kalhana does not forget to mention an honourable way by which a woman could be saved from becoming sati and that is by putting pressure on her by the relatives not to do so and the Chronicler does not hide the fact that sometimes the queens bribed the ministers to come to the burning ground to pressure them against becoming sati.

The death of a king when the heir to the throne is infant put the chief favourite queen in an advantageous position, thus giving her a good excuse to live to look after the child king. Sometimes when a woman failed to burn herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, a separate pyre was arranged for her for the purpose. It is difficult to measure the exact extent of the prevalence of the practice of sati in Kashmir during the period under survey. Judging from its wide acceptance by the royal families, households of the ministers and from other scattered references in the Rajatarangini, it can be guessed with fair certainty that the practice was followed by the Kashmirians of all rank and file.

After the death of king Sankararman (A.D. 883-902), Surendravati and two other queens became sati. Queen Sugandha lived for the

1 R.T., VIII, 363-364.
2 R.T., V, 226.
protection of her son Gopalavarman who was yet a child. It is interesting to read that two servants named Lāga and Vajrasāra
and one Jayasimha, a favourite (velavitta) followed the king to
death. King Yaśakara (A.D. 939-948) was followed to death by
his single queen Trailokyadevi.¹ Kalhana refers praisingly to
the noble conduct of another queen of Yaśakara's seraglio, who
did not become sati. When the minister Parvagupta became king
and asked her favours she practising a pious fraud said: 'When
the construction of this temple of Vīggu Yaśaskaraśāvāmin, which
my husband left on his death half-finished, is completed, I shall
for certain and without fail accord your desire.'² When Parva-
agupta completed the temple in a few days she sacrificed her body
in a sacrificial fire which made Kalhana remark: 'Upon her who
had sacrificed her life, there fell in abundance showers of
flowers, and upon him who lusted after her, there fell words pouring
forth reproach.'³ Kalhana informs us how queen Diddā who wished
to become sati but felt regret in front of the funeral pyre and
was saved from seeking death by persistent remonstrances of the
minister Naravāhana.⁴

¹R.T., V, 227.
²R.T., VI, 107.
³R.T., VI, 140-141.
⁴R.T., VI, 144.
⁵R.T., VI, 195-196.
With the Khaśas of Lohara coming to rule over Kashmir, the cases of *sati* become legion. Queen Sūryamatī became *sati* after the death of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063).\(^1\) Gaṅgadhara, Takkibuddha, and the litter-carrier Daṇḍaka; and Uddā, Nonika and Valgā among the female servants followed the queen.\(^2\) At the death of King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089), Mammanikā and six other queens together with a concubine Jayamatī became *sati*.\(^3\) Whereas Kalhaṇa praises the conduct of Jayamatī, he ridicules that of a favourite concubine Kayya. If she forgot that King Kalaśa had given her the foremost position in the whole seraglio, no matter, let her forget it, as she was of low origin. 'But what causes us pain', writes Kalhaṇa complainingly, 'that she, subsequently residing near Vijayakṣetra, became the concubine of a village official. Her body, which a king had enjoyed, and which continued comforts had beautified, she yielded up to a villager. Shame upon women of lowly mind!'\(^4\) But the Chronicler showers all kinds of praise on her other classmate, the concubine Sahaja of king Utkaraśa, who after the latter's death 'made her

\(^1\)R.T., VII, 471-480.
\(^2\)R.T., VII, 481.
\(^3\)R.T., VII, 724.
\(^4\)R.T., VII, 726-728.
love shine forth brilliantly, just as if it were gold, by entering the pyre after smearing thickly over her limbs the blood of her lover, which resembled liquified red chalk (gairika).¹

Queens Bijjalē and Jayamati became satī after the death of king Uccala (A.D. 1101)llll).²

The practice of satī was not only confined to the royal household but was followed by the families of ministers and other officials. We learn that Bimhā who belonged to the Sāhī family and was married to the son of Tuṅga, the commander-in-chief of king Samgramarāja (A.D. 1003 to 1028) became satī after the death of her husband.³ At the death of Malla, the father of Uccala and Sussala, his princely consort Kumudalekha and his wife's sister Vallabhā became satī. Other members of the family who immolated themselves on the same pyre, mention may be made of two daughters-in-law of Malla named Asamatī and Sahajā and six female attendants of the household.⁴ Nandā, the wife of Malla and mother of future kings Uccala and Sussala, also became satī along with her nurse Cāndri.⁵ Bhogosena, the chief justice

¹R.T., VII, 859.
²R.T., VIII, 367-368.
³R.T., VII, 103.
⁴R.T., VII, 1487-1488.
⁵R.T., VII, 1490-1494.
(rajastraṇādhikāra) of king Uccala (A.D.1101-1111) was followed to death by his wife Mallā.⁴

In Kashmir, sometimes proud mothers and sisters² im-molated themselves as satī. Kalhaṇa pleasurably records that after the death of Ananda, the governor (mandalesa) under king Hṛṣṇa (A.D.1089-1111), 'Gajja, his mother, ascended the pyre and thereby paid homage to her own noble character as one of those virtuous women who have borne sons worthy of praise for devotion to their lord's service'.³

The practice of satī does not appear to have been prevalent among the Dāmara class. In a passage Kalhaṇa praises the wife of the Dāmara Koprthaka who becomes satī, and contrasts her conduct with other Dāmara women who did not pay much regard for their character as widows. Kalhaṇa very clearly attributes her exceptional act of becoming satī, to her noble descent from a Rajput family.⁴

Elsewhere, we have discussed the institution of devadāsī and the class of prostitutes which formed a distinct social unit in Kashmir of our period.

¹R.T., VIII, 445.
²R.T., VIII, 448.
³R.T., VII, 1380.
⁴R.T., VIII, 2334 sqq.
Kashmir has been a seat of great learning since ancient times. It was regarded as an abode of Sarasvati, the goddess of learning. In his description of Pravarapura (Srinagar) Bilhana writes: 'What shall I say about that city, the native place of the goddess of learning, which is a repository of curiosities and provides nectar to ears by many stories of strange merits, where in every house Sanskrit and Prakrit words sound charming like the mother-tongue of even women, not to speak of others.' Kalhana writes with patriotic pride: 'Learning, lofty houses, saffron, icy water and grapes: things that even in heaven are difficult to find, are common there.' Kashmir was so famed for its learning that scholars and students from China, Central Asia, Tibet and Ladakh visited Kashmir to take lessons in Buddhist lore. The names of Huien Tsang and Ou-K'ong stand foremost and their accounts evidently mention Kashmir as a place where learning is held in great respect and that the people are well instructed. Huien Tsang in his account recollects with evident relish the learned conferences he had with the Kashmirian doctors of the sacred law. The leading part played by the Kashmirians in the

1 Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 6.
2 R.T., I, 42.
transmission of the Buddhist literature and traditions to Central Asia, China and to the Far East is well known to the students of history. Not only during the early centuries of the Christian era but also during the period under review, scores of Kashmirian Buddhist Masters went to China in the task of disseminating Buddhist culture. These Kashmirians 'served as the torch-bearers of Indian culture, preached Buddhism, translated Buddhist canons into foreign languages, performed religious ceremonies and prayed for the good of those countries'. Of those who went in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era reference may be made of Saṅgabhūti, Gautama Saṅghadeva, Dharma-priya, Saṅgharākṣa, Dharmayāśas, Pupyatārā, Vimalākṣa, Buddha-yaśas, Buddhajīva, Dharmanītra, GunaVARman and so forth. Those who went in the seventh century A.D., we may mention the names of Budhaṇāla (A.D. 676), Ratnacintā and Arjuna (A.D. 635-713).

The Kashmirian scholars of our period kept the torch burning. A Kashmirian Master T'ien-hsi-tsai, renamed as Dharṇabhadra

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1 Jan Yuan Hua, 'Kashmir's Contribution to the Expansion of Buddhism in the Far East', Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. XXXVII, No. 1, p.194.
4 H.Ob, p.139a.
5 C.B.C., II, p.528.
(A.D. 1000) went to K'ai-feng, the capital of the Sung empire and translated one hundred and odd canons into Chinese, and was highly honoured by the ruler of the Sung dynasty. Another Kashmirian monk Dharmapāla (A.D. 963-1058) went to China and worked there in 1003-1058.\(^1\) We may include Mu-lo-shih-chi who went to China with presentation of Sanskrit manuscripts and the leaf of Bodhi-tree.\(^2\)

The works of the Kashmirian Masters in China and Far Eastern countries involved both translations and religious practices. Jan Yun Hua writes that 'the activities of Kashmirian Buddhist Masters in China flourished during the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. Their mission was once again revived in the seventh and early decades of the eighth century. After another interruption of two hundred and odd years, their activities once again came into the picture during the last quarter of the tenth and first half of the eleventh century. Their contribution on translation of Buddhist canons was mainly in the fields of Agama. They were also responsible for transmission of Buddhist metaphysical philosophy as found in Abhidharma collection to China and the Far East. Their contribution in translation of Vinaya-piṭaka was outstanding. Besides these, they also

\(^{1}\) I.H.Q., vol. XXXVII, No. 1, p.98.

\(^{2}\) F.T.C.C., 44. T49, p.402c.
translated other works of different categories. Their translation of Tantric texts during the tenth and eleventh centuries are very significant. Their contribution on religious practices was mainly concentrated on monastic discipline and on Buddhist meditation.¹

Some of the Kashmirian kings were good scholars and they patronised learning. The Karkota king Jayapīḍa was learned (pañcita) and by receiving instructions from a master of grammatical science, called Kṣira, he gained distinction with the wise.² Kalhaṇa informs us that by bringing from abroad competent expositors, King Jayapīḍa restored in Kashmir the study of the Mahābhasya which had been interrupted.³ The learned Bhaṭṭa Udbhana was Sabhāpati (chief paṇḍit) of this king.⁴ He appointed Damodara gupta, the author of the Kutṭanimata-kāvyā as his chief councillor.⁵ Manoratha, Saṅkadanta, Cañaka and Saṃdhimat were some of the poets that lent charm to his court.⁶

King Avangardavarman (A.D. 855/6–883) highly patronised learning and it is said that the scholars who were highly honoured

¹Jan Yun Hua, I.H.Q., vol. XXXVII, No. 1, p.10.
²R.T., IV, 489 sqq.
³R.T., IV, 488.
⁴R.T., IV, 495.
⁵R.T., IV, 496.
⁶R.T., IV, 497.
proceeded to his sabhās litters worthy of kings. The poets who received great favours from this king, Kalhaṇa mentions, Muktakaṇa, Sivasvāmin, Anandavaridhana and Ratnakara. Anandavaridhana is the author of two extant works, the Dhvanyāloka and Devisālaka. Ratnakara is identified with the author of the kavya Haravijaya. Two other smaller compositions are attached to Ratnakara. Muktakaṇa is known from quotations in Kṣemendra's two treatises. Sivasvāmin may perhaps be identified with the poet whose verses occur in Kṣemendra's Kavikāntābharana.

At this time Bhatt Kallata, a pupil of Vasugupta, the founder of the Spandaśāstra branch of the Kashmirian Saiva philosophy 'descended to the earth for the benefit of the people'. He wrote a commentary called Spandasarvasva on his teacher's Spandakārīka which is extant. He seems to have written another exegetical

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1R.T., V, 32-33.
2R.T., V, 34.
3Report, p. 65.
4Report, p. 42 sqq.
5Report, p. 66.
6Cat.Catalog., p. 459.
8R.T., V, 66.
9Report, pp. 78 sqq.
work on the Śivasūtra of Vasugupta.\footnote{Report, p.clxviii; Stein, Catalogue of Jammu Manuscripts, p.361.} Of other great poets and Śaiva philosophers who flourished before the Lohara dynasty mention may be made of Jayanta Bhatta, Abhinanda, the author of Kadambri Kathāsāra, a summary of Śaṅka's prose romance, Somananda and Mahāmaheśvara Abhinavagupta, the teacher of Kṣemendra. Abhinavagupta was a great philosopher teacher and is said to have written as many as forty one books.\footnote{For complete list, K.C.Pande, Abhinavagupta, An Historical and Philosophical study.} In the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. there flourished in Kashmir such reputable poets as Kṣemendra, Bilhaṇa, Maṅkha and Kalhaṇa. Kṣemendra flourished and wrote most of his works during the reign of king Ananta (A.D.1028-1063). Bilhaṇa's literary career covers the reign of king Ananta, Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) and Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101). And Maṅkha and Kalhaṇa flourished during the reign of king Jayasiṃha (A.D. 1128-1149).

The kings of the Lohara dynasty were learned and they encouraged learning. Bilhaṇa describes Ananta and Kalaśa as good scholars and of fine taste.\footnote{Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 48, 56.} But king Harṣa who surpassed all was a prolific scholar, a great poet, lover of music and a great patron of men of learning. Bilhaṇa writes that who was not delighted
by king Harṣa who 'possessed of greater poetical ability than even Śrīharṣa, who in battles whetted his sword, blunted by friction of the crest-jewels of kings, on his own golden bracelit. He had a peculiar maturity in the use of words in the deliberation relating to Yogic practices, his cleverness of speech being displayed silence was the resort of the rival scholars; again, that poetical ability of his in all the languages is renowned in the three worlds; which being tasted even sugar becomes coarse like sand'. Kalhaṇa also describes king Harṣa as a master of different languages, a good poet in all tongues and a depository of all learning. He was the crest-jewel of the learned and Kalhaṇa informs us that he adorned men of learning with jewels and bestowed upon them the privileges of using litters, horses, parasols etc. Bilhaṇa who had been made chief Paṇḍit (vidyāpati) by the lord of Kārṇaṇa, when travelling on elephants through the hill country of Kārṇaṇa, his parasol was borne aloft before the king, even he when he heard that the liberal Harṣa was like a kinsman to true poets, thought his own great

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1 Vikramāṇkadevacarīta, XVIII, 64-65.
2 R.T., VII, 610.
3 R.T., VII, 934.
splendour a deception.\textsuperscript{1} King Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-1149) was also a great patron of learning and is said to have established a permanent endowment for all the temples and the mathas which were raised in his own time.\textsuperscript{2} He highly honoured men of learning and granted them houses and villages possessing an abundance of unimpaired fields.\textsuperscript{3} On the king's piousness Kalhana remarks: 'Safe is the journey for scholars who follow him as their caravan-leaders on the path on which his intuition guides, and which has been found by his knowledge'.\textsuperscript{4}

As everywhere in India, the Vihāras and Mathas of Kashmir imparted education. A study of the Rājarājāgīśi shows that not only the kings but some queens and the ministers as well constructed numerous vihāras and mathas. The vihāras of Kashmir imparted lessons in Buddhist learning both to the Kashmirians and foreign students. They were great centres of Buddhist learning and attracted foreign students in great number. Huien Tsang's stay of two years in Kashmir was passed in the study of 'the Sūtras and Sāstras'. He was lodged in the Jayendravihāra. Ou-K'ong who reached Kashmir in A.D.759, spent four years in the Valley, undertaking pilgrimages to holy sites and studying Sanskrit.

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{R.T.}, VII, 935-37.
\textsuperscript{2}\textit{R.T.}, VIII, 2401.
\textsuperscript{3}\textit{R.T.}, VIII, 395.
\textsuperscript{4}\textit{R.T.}, VIII, 2397.
The number of such foreign students can be multiplied.

Many vihāras were constructed during our period. These Buddhist monasteries received the name of the founder with the addition of -vihāra or -bhavana. Of the notable vihāras, reference may be made of Diddāvihāra, Cankupavihāra, Jayendravihāra, Amṛtabhavana, Skandabhavana, Indrādevībhavana, Ratnadevīvihāra, Sullavihāra, Bijjavihāra etc. etc. The Amṛtabhavana was said to have been constructed for the benefit of foreign Bhikṣus. The Diddāvihāra served as an abode for the Kashmirians and foreigners (dāśīka).

These Buddhist educational institutions were maintained by royal patronage extended in the form of endowments and the agrahāras. In addition to teaching work, many texts were written in these vihāras. Kumāndra informs us that he wrote Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā in a cave convent. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries many Mahāyāna works were translated into Tibetan in the Ratnasūtra and Ratnaraśmi vihāras of Kashmir. Some learned Kashmirian teachers served outside Kashmir. We learn that the university of Vikramasila had learned teachers like Śākyaśrī from Kashmir, Ratnakirti, Vairochana, Kanakāśrī and Buddhaśrī from Nepal. Many Kashmirian scholars went to Tibet and China. Dīpaṃkara

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1 R.T., III, 9, 13, 355, 380; IV, 211, 215; VI, 303, VII, 121; VIII, 246, 580, 1172, 2402, 2410, 2415, 2417, 2431, 3318, 3343, 3344, 3352.

2 R.T., III, 9.

3 R.T., VI, 303.
Srijñana, Pandit Somanāth, Lakṣmiśkara, Dānaśrī, Chandrasekha, Gayādharma, Pha-dam-pa-sangs-gyars, Mitrayogī, Sākyaśrī and many other scholars went to Tibet between A.D. 1027-1223. Of these Somanāth and Sākyaśrī hailed from Kashmir.  

We learn that between 958 and 1055 A.D. about twenty one Tibetan students studied in Kashmir. The Tibetan scholar Blo-Idamsa-rab (A.D. 1059-1108) studied at Kashmir under the well-known teachers Parahitabhadra and Bhavyarāja. Recognising the great educative and cultural values of travelling, Dāmodaragupta calls those who are not travelled and are ignorant of the customs, manners and character of foreign people, bulls without horns.

The mathas imparted knowledge in Hindu learning. The practice of founding the mathas is very old in Kashmir but it received a great fillip during the period under survey when the kings founded mathas in great numbers and granted agrahāras for their maintenance or established permanent endowments. It is noteworthy that numerous mathas were founded and endowed by queens, princesses, ministers and kayasthas as well. In most of

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4 Struggle for Empire, p.420.
1 Rahula Sankrityayana, Tibbat me Bauddhadharma, pp. 25-30.
2 Rahula Sankrityayana, Tibbat me Bauddhadharma, pp. 22-23, 29.
3 Kujānīmatakavya, 211.
these *mathas* there seems to have been residential arrangements for teachers and students whose expenses were met by the *agrāhāra* lands. A perusal of the *Rājarājaśīpi* reveals that *mathas* of Kashmir not only served as schools but also as guest houses and residences for the Brahmans and ascetics. A passage occurring in the *Rājarājaśīpi* is instructive. It says that king Yāsaśkara (A.D. 939-948) founded a *matha* for students from Aryadeśa, and gave to the superintendent (*mathādipati*) the royal insignia resplendent with umbrellas and chowries and almost all his wealth.¹ This shows that the *mathas* were administered by a preceptor and he was a sole master of the whole trust of the *matha*, incurring expenditure in furtherance of the object of the institution in his own way. Perhaps during his lifetime the *mathādipati* selected one of his competent affiliated disciples to succeed him after his demise, or after the death of the *mathādipati* the students elected one from among themselves or the king appointed the successor.

As the temples and *mathas* were both founded with the same religious motive, we find that *mathas* accompanied the establishment of temples. We hardly find any donor who founded a temple and not a *matha* along with it. Sometimes the temples were con-

¹ *R.T.*, VI, 87-88.
structured within mathas. The matha founded by minister Manikha of king Jayasimha, had many Siva lingas and images. It is seen that temples and mathas have been supplementary to each other, both ministering to the religious and spiritual needs of the people. Kalhana records that in the time of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) the post of a reciter in the temple of Mahodyasvarmin was given to a teacher called Ramata who specialised in grammatical science. This was so in some mathas outside Kashmir as well. Bapa points to the recitation of the Mahabharta in the temple of Mahakala at Ujjayini. In this connection the Agnipurana avers that one, by reading a book in a temple of Vignu, Siva or the Sun, may earn the merit of the imparting of all knowledge.

The mathas of Kashmir attracted students from distant lands. We have referred to a matha founded by king Yasaskara for students from Aryadesa. King Jayasimha founded a matha of great merit named Simhapura and endowed it with many villages. It accommodated Brahmansas from the Indus region and numerous Dravidas.
Diddā founded under her own name a matha for the residence of people from Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa etc.¹ Under the name of her father Simharāja, she established another matha for the residence of foreign Brahmāṇas.² The mathas of Kashmir became so reputed for its learning as to attract students from distant Gaṇḍā becomes evident from the account of Kṣemendra who curiously enough, draws a satiric picture of a Gaṇḍāya student in Kashmir and exposes his sins and evil manners. He is described as lean and weak at his arrival but gathers strength and becomes fattish under the genial climate of Kashmir. Though he cannot pronounce the word Ṣm, he tries to engage in contests with the learned Kashmirians and pretends to undertake the study of the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. He wears variegated dress and fashionable peacock shoes that produce a cracking noise. He is a man of loose conduct and frequents houses of prostitutes and looks with lust at other's wives. After wearing triple made golden ear rings and large finger rings he thinks himself not less than kuvera. His five spoilers are the gamblers, the bawd, the prostitute, the leatherworker and the barber. Strangely enough, the Gaṇḍā student figures in the list of rogues and cheats satirized by Kṣemendra in his Desopatdesa. It is hard to believe

¹R.T., VI, 300.
²R.T., VI, 304.
that every student behaved like the one Kṣemendra portrays.
Perhaps Kṣemendra had a personal knowledge of such a student
and wants to serve a reminder to the readers that at all times
and in every country the educational institutions were full of
good and bad students - if some made mark by their scholarship
and good conduct in foreign lands, there were others who
squandered the money of their parents.

Judging from the liberal grant of agrahāras and permanent
endowments attached to the majhas we can reasonably infer that
the economic condition of the teachers was good in Kashmir.
The main subjects of study were the Vedas, Epics, Sastras,
Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali, Tarka, Mīmāṃsā work of Prabhakara,
grammar, history, astrology etc. Giving a description of his
home village, Bilhaṇa highly praises his ancestors as being
versed in the four Vedas and Sastras and credits his father
Jyeṣṭhakalaśa with the compilation of a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya.¹
The children started their study, most probably at the age of five
after the Upanayana ceremony.² The knowledge of Sanskrit was
considered highly desirable as Kalhaṇa ridicules king Saṅkara-
varman (A.D.883-902 who did not speak the language of the gods

¹Vikramaṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 79.
²Vikramaṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 81.
among men i.e. Sanskrit but used vulgar speech (apabhramśa) fit for drunkards.¹

In Kashmir, the term matha was sometimes used in the sense of a hospice. There were mathas which were exclusively meant for the Paśupatas.² We have already mentioned certain mathas which were specially founded for the residence of the foreigners. During the reign of king Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) a kāyastha Utpāla is said to have founded a matha for the blind.³ The matha which king Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128-1149) founded in honour of his queen Chandala, was provided with ample means, from whose door no guest was turned back.⁴ Udaya, the lord of the gate of king Jayasiṁha constructed a splendid matha along with numerous Brahmapuris.⁵ Alamkara, the superintendent of the great treasury (brhadgaṇja) is recorded to have founded mathas and Brahmapuris.⁶ The term Brahmapuri designates some pious foundation and perhaps corresponds to modern Dhamasāla.

¹R.T., V, 206.
²R.T., III, 460.
³R.T., VII, 149.
⁴R.T., VIII, 3320.
⁵R.T., VIII, 2421.
⁶R.T., VIII, 2423.
or place of residence of Brahmāpas. It is also the name of Brahman's city where the wise and pious assemble.¹ We also read of other mathas which were founded for the residence of ascetics and Brahmāpas. According to Skandapurāṇa,² quoted in the Dana candrika, a man gets all his desires fulfilled and if he has no desires he earns release from samsara, if he grants at some auspicious time to Brahmāpas or ascetics, a matha which is equipped with cots, platform and seats and is thatched with grass.

Side by side, the old institution of the Brahmāpa guru teaching the students at his residence or in the house of one of the householders continued during our period. Tracing the ancestry of king Yaśaskara Kalhaṇa records that his grandfather Kamadeva was distinguished by good qualities and having acquired a knowledge of the Aggaras had become a boy's teacher in the house of Meruvardhana and later on treasurer (gaṇjādhikārin).³ This shows that teachers used to hold classes in the house of one of the householders. However, the information is incomplete and does not convey the idea about the remuneration of the teacher and whether in those classes only the children of the householder participated or whether the children of the locality were included.

²Skandapurāṇa quoted in Dana candrika, p.152.
³R.T., V, 4690475.
as well. In all likelihood, in such classes the children of the locality participated and the parents of these children contributed towards the fee of the teacher. Surely the ministers, influential kayasthas and others of means employed teachers exclusively for their own children. Kṣemendra refers to a teacher teaching in the house of an influential kayastha but here also it is not clear whether the children belonged to the kayastha only or to the neighbouring families as well. It appears that the teaching profession was not confined to the Brahmāsas alone but was of anybody's affair. Anybody having intelligence and learning could become a teacher. The origin of Suyya, the irrigation minister of king Avantivarman is not known. He was found by a caṇḍāla woman while sweeping, in an earthen vessel fitted with a cover. She arranged for his upkeep in the house of a Sudra nurse. He received the name Suyya and grew into an intelligent youth, 'and having learned his letters became a teacher of small boys in the house of some householder'. The children who neglected their duties received some kind of punishment and the presence of the teacher much dreaded as Kalhaṇa referring to the dismissal of prime minister Phalgunā of king Abhimanyu records that after he left Kashmir for Parnotsa, the ministers rejoiced as boys when

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1 Narayamanāla; II, 45.
2 R.T., V, 78.
left by their teacher.\(^1\) According to Vijñāneśvara and Aparākara, the teacher should beat the student only for correction. It should not be resorted to with the hand but with rope or a split bamboo, and it should come on the lower part of the body and not to the head.\(^2\)

In the Darpadalana Kṣemendra writes that a real scholar should not give instruction in lieu of money nor should he attend royal courts.\(^3\) At another place he avers that a real scholar is one who devotes his life for the benefit of humanity, distinguishes between right and wrong, saucha and asvachha and does not sell his learning and resort to magic and spells.\(^4\)

We do not possess any direct evidence on which to form a correct estimate of the number of the population in Hindu times. Sir Aurel Stein, basing his arguments on the great number of deserted village sites, the remains of a far extended system of irrigation, temple ruins, administrative divisions and on the traditional verse occurring in the Lokapraśāa and

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\(^1\)R.T., VI, 209.

\(^2\)On Yajñavalkya, I, 155.

\(^3\)Darpadalana, III, 72-74.

\(^4\)Darpadalana, III, 28-50.
alluded to in Jonarāja's Chronicle which puts the number of villages in Kashmir at 66,063, concludes that it was far larger than at the present time.¹ We agree that the population in Hindu times appears to have been large but, with due regard to the great scholar, we doubt its far greater strength than present times.

Most of the towns were situated near the banks of the river Vitastā and other waters. That the importance of water was fully realised by the texts is evidenced by the prescription of Agnipurāṇa,² that towns should be situated where plenty of water is available. According to the Sāmarāṅgasūtradhāra,³ the capital towns should possess temples, forts, houses of merchants and have easy access to water. Many towns were founded during the period under review. Generally the names of new towns and villages were formed by the addition of pura to the name of the founder, e.g., the towns of Avantipura and Sāmkarapura bear the names of their founders king Avantivarman and Sāmkaravarman. In these and many other small towns and villages the people were engaged in all sorts of activities. Kalhaṇa's description of Narapura and Pravarapura in particular, as well as Bilhaṇa's description of Pravarapura in the

³Sāmarāṅgasūtradhāra, XVIII, 1–6.
Vikramādīkakādevacarita reveal that the important towns in Kashmir were provided with regularly arranged markets, temples, gardens, tanks, mathas, viharas, hospices, and other amenities of life. About the town Narapura, founded by king Nara of the legendary period, Kalhaṇa writes: 'On the sandy bank of the Vitastā he built a town where the markets were kept full of supplies by the high roads leading to it, and where the coming and going of ships gave splendour to the river. With its gardens full of swelling flowers and fruits it was, as it were, a synonym for heaven, and it surpassed even Kubera's town by the riches amassed there through the conquest of the world.'¹ This town which bore the name Kimnaraṇapura also, was encircled as Kalhaṇa records, by walls and battlements. In the absence of further evidence it is difficult to conjecture whether all the towns in Kashmir were defended by walls. Kalhaṇa's description of Pravarapura is equally interesting and important from the historical point of view. He records the construction of numerous temples and viharas in the city by the king, his relatives and the ministers. He also records the construction of the great bridge (brhatsetu) on the Vitastā by this king and informs us that the city was once famous as

¹R.T., I, 201-202.
containing thirty-six lakhs of houses. The city was provided with regularly arranged markets.... There are mansions which reach to the clouds, and ascending which one sees the earth, glistening in the rain at the close of the summer and covered with flowers in the month of Caitra. Apart from that city, where else on earth can one find easily streams meeting, pure and lovely, at pleasure-residences and near market streets? Nowhere else is seen in the centre of a city a pleasure-hill from which the splendour of all the houses is visible as if from the sky. Where else do the inhabitants on a hot summer day find before their houses water like that of the Vitasta cooled by large lumps of snow?¹ Samkarapura is described as a lively market town, famous for the weaving of woollen cloth, purchase and sale of cattle and the like.² The small town of Apiālikā (modern Apiōli) has repeatedly been mentioned as a great market town, situated below Lohara at the point where the Valley of Loharin meets that of GAgrī, some eight miles below Loharin proper.³

¹R.T., III, 358-362.
²R.T., V, 162.
The rich and well-to-do people like ministers, nobles, influential kāyasthas, Dēmaras and the rich merchants lived a comfortable life in their mansion. The Dēmaras had fortified castles and Kenneth in his Samayamātrikā describes the Dēmaras named Samarasiṃha as a wealthy citizen having a comfortable and luxuriously furnished residence.¹ That some of the merchants really led a luxurious life like lords is evidenced by a reference to the presence of lamps decorated with jewels (manidīpika)² in the house of a merchant. King Durlabhaka-Pratapāditya II, who had caught the fancy of the wife of this merchant, is said to have been astonished at the richness of the merchant when, at the invitation of the merchant, he stayed in his richly furnished house for some time. Damodaragupta also knows of money lenders (geśthin) and merchants (vāpika), leading very comfortable lives.³

The dimensions of the houses depended solely on the social and economic conditions of the individuals. Kalhana's reference to 'mansions which reach to the clouds', and Bilhana's to 'towering jewelled houses' show that the rich and well-placed people lived in habitations which had several storeys and were

¹Samayamātrikā, II, 21 sqq.
²R.T., IV, 15 sqq.
³Kuttanimbatakāvya, 68.
provided with various rooms and apartments. Kalhaṇa takes pride in the lofty houses of his land which have been admired by writers like Abul-Fazl and Mirza Haider. The latter writes that 'most of these houses are at least five stories high, and each storey contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers'. Bilhaṇa refers to the house compounds paved with crystal and stone slabs. Whereas ordinary Kashmirians seem to have lived in a comparatively small house with reed-matting over its umbrella-shaped roof, the poorer people lived like the leather tanner in 'the hut in which the window is formed by the mouth of a pot'. Not only the houses of the rich but sometimes the huts of the poor even, had compounds and courtyards with gates. Kalhaṇa's narration of the story of king Kalaśa's visit to the house of the minister Jinduraja to enjoy the illicit love of his daughter-in-law who had given an appointment to the king demonstrates that the rich citizens such as ministers kept watchmen and watchdogs as safeguard against thieves. It is likely that the poor had no locks on their doors, which were however protected with the help of a bar,
a piece of string or a fence but the story of Harṣa's refuge in the hut of a mendicant reveals that even some of the huts were provided with regular locks.¹ The houses of the rich seem to have had large windows and balconies as Bilhaṇa mentions the free sport of the couples in them and some tiles discovered from Harwan also depict couples sitting on balconies.² Wood was extensively used as it is now, for the construction of houses, palaces, market places and public buildings and the sale of wood from the forests formed an important source of fiscal revenue.³ The rapidity with which the palace was burned down by the pretender Uccala and the complete destruction by fire of the cities of Vijayeśvara and Srinagar in a little time on other occasions points to the same fact.⁴ It is not improbable that in ancient times too, the boatmen of the Valley, like their modern counterparts, used to live in their boats by making a dwelling-place in the afterpart of the boat. The towns and villages of Kashmir are very picturesque. Later writers like Moorcroft, Frederic Drew and Lawrence have drawn a very pleasant picture of them. Frederic Drew records the villages of Kashmir as 'very picturesque. 

¹ R.T., VII, 1644.
² Vikramañkadevacarita, XVIII, 9. R.C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plates XXII, XXIII.
³ R.T., VIII, 2390.
⁴ R.T., VII, 1565 sq., 1583.
The cottages are two storied; in some parts they have mud walls, with a low sloping gable-roof of thatch or of rough shingle; in others, where wood is more plentiful, they are entirely of timber, made like a log-hut. They are sure to have some rooms warm and cosy, to live in in winter time; and a balcony sheltered by the overhanging eaves makes a good sitting-place in summer. The lower storey of the cottages is used in winter for stabling the cattle; their animal heat sensibly warms the house, and partly counteracts the coldness of the season, .... The cottages are not clumped and crowded....., but are commonly detached. By the village grow, unenclosed, numerous fruit-trees--- apple, cheery, mulberry, and walnut - which form a wood or grove around and hide from view the dwellings..... In the early summer, when the fields are flooded for rice cultivation, there is the appearance of a chain of lakes and straits, the parts occupied by the villages themselves being the only dry land.¹

The Kangar and the bathing-huts played a very important part in the daily life of the people of Kashmir since ancient times. Elsewhere we have referred to the necessity and the use of the Kangar in the cold country of Kashmir.² Wooden bathing huts

¹Frederic Drew, The Northern Barrier of India, pp. 126-127.
²Infra, p. 267-269.
(ṣanakostha, saritṣanagrha, sogsmaṇanagrha, mājjanavasa)\(^1\) are mentioned both by Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa. They lined parts of the banks of the river Vitasta and other water-ways, where they could easily be supplied with water. The removal of these bathing huts along with boat bridges at the time of the great fire in Srinagar in the reign of king Sussala shows that these cells, which were moored on the river, were of wood.\(^2\) From the vivid description of the city life which Kalhaṇa portrays in the eighth Canto of his chronicle, it follows that these cells were used not only for ablutions but served also as a favourite meeting-place, providing the best opportunity to exchange gossip of every kind.\(^3\)

The cities were governed by the city prefects (nagaraṭhipa, nageradhikṛta) who must have been assisted in the discharge of their various duties by a large team of kāyasthas. There appears to have been a steady increase in the duties of the city prefects who, by the time of the Lohara dynasty, were charged with the collection of revenue, police, defense and maintenance of law and order. There seems to have been only one prefect in the city

\(^1\) R.T., I, 40; V, 106, 462; VIII, 706, 1182, 2423. Samayamatrka, II, 38.

\(^2\) R.T., VIII, 1182.

\(^3\) R.T., VIII, 706-710.
of Srinagar, but king Yasáskara (A.D. 939-948) is said to have appointed four city prefects (nagaradhikra) with the object of amassing more riches.¹ King Yasáskara's policy of appointing more officials to get more revenue hit the citizens very hard as the four prefects exacted more and more revenue in a competitive spirit. In the capacity of a revenue officer it was the duty of a prefect to levy fines 'on the householders in the case of immoral conduct on the part of a married woman.'² He had to punish those who were alleged to have 'carnal intercourse with dancing girls who had been received into households as wedded wives'.³ The passages reveal that the city prefects worked for the moral upliftment of the citizens and tried to check the immorality prevalent in the society. Earlier, Dāmodaragupta, who flourished during the reign of Jayapīṣa, the Karkoṭa king, records that in addition to the duty of the collection of fines from those prostitutes who violated the prescribed moral code, the nagaraprabhus also acted as censors of morals.⁴ Vijayasimha, the able and distinguished city-prefect under king Kalasa (A.D. 1063-1089), maintained

¹ R.T., VI, 70.
² R.T., VIII, 3336.
³ R.T., VIII, 3338.
⁴ Kuttanīmatakāvya, 400.
proper law and order in the city by destroying all thieves.¹
That the town-prefects performed also military functions at
critical junctures becomes evident when we notice how Nāga,
the town-prefect during the reign of king Harga (A.D.1089-
1101), was entrusted with the defence of Srinagara when the
king was attacked by Uccala and Sussala.² Later, in the reign
of king Sussala (A.D.1112-1120), when there was a rising of
the troops, the city prefects Janaka was ordered by the king
to move about the city in an effort to allay the tumult, so
that the king could escape from the city.³

The life of the villagers was governed by the village
headman (skandaka), who was aided by a number of village officials
(grāma-kāyasṭhas). The term skandaka which is mentioned in the
chronicle of Kṣemendra⁴ and Kalhaṇa,⁵ designates in all pro-
bability the headman of a village, though the chroniclers do
not shed any light on the functions of the official. He seems
to have been in overall charge of the village administration.
The term designated according to M.A. Stein, 'the village headman,

¹R.T., VII, 580.
²R.T., VII, 1542.
³R.T., V, 814.
⁴Samayamatiśka, VI, 15.
the modern Muqaddam or Lambardar, who as the person directly responsible for the payment of the revenues, has since old days been an important factor in rural administration'. And 'the gramakāyatān̄a', according to the same author, 'is in all probability the official ancestor of the present Patwari. The latter is the village accountant who keeps the papers showing the area of the holdings of the villagers, with their revenue assessment, etc.' The office of the headman and the Patwari, which played an important part in the ancient Indian village-administration since early times, held also a position of esteem in the village life of the Valley. It appears that before the time of king Saṁkaravarn (A.D. 883-902), these officials were paid from the state treasury as this king, as Kalhaṇa records, levied, presumably for the first time, contributions for the monthly pay of the skandakas and gramakāyatānah, thereby driving the villagers into poverty. It is difficult to conjecture how long this practice as introduced by king Saṁkaravarn continued in the Hindu period. But as late as the last quarter

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3 R.T., V, 175.
of the nineteenth century, we come across such taxes being
levied on the Kashmiri villager, as Patwari tax, a Kanungo
tax and a tax on account of establishment.¹ That the offices
of these village officials were not secure and that they custed
each other by offering bribes to the appointing authority, is
hinted at in a passage by Kalhaṇa, when the chronicler while
describing the impotency of the kings of Kashmir in the beginning
of the tenth century and in consequence the supremacy of the
Tantrins records that 'the kings were in the service of the
Tantrins, and, custed each other, like village officials, by
offering greater and greater bribes'.² This is supported by
the statement of Kṣemendra that the mārgapati — the head of the
visaya, who not only supervised the visaya and the villages
lying within its jurisdiction, but inspected the roads and de-
cided civil and criminal cases also, could appoint or dismiss
the grāmadeviṣra at his will.³

Kalhaṇa cautions a ruler against the vices and oppression
of officials (kāyaśṭha). He deplores the attitude of kings like
Jayapīṇa and Harga who in their greed for more treasures introduced

¹W.R. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, London 1895, p.415.
²R.T., V, 265.
³Narmamāla, I, 97, 127-128, 140.
fresh taxes and oppressed their subjects through the *kayasthas*,
as well as described with evident relish their suppression by
king Uccala. Recollecting their greed and tyranny Kalhana con-
temptuously writes: 'Officials in truth are eager to kill, de-
sirous of evil, robbers of other's property, rogues and demons;
he [the king] should protect his subjects from them'.

The *kayasthas*, Kalhana goes on, 'are plagues for the people, and not
only cholara, colic, and exhaustion, rapidly destroying everybody.
The crab kills its father, and the white ant destroys her
mother, but the ungrateful *kayastha* when he has become powerful
destroyes everything. If ever a man of mark raises up the
*kayastha* and gives him distinction, the rogue, just as if he
were? a *Vetala* slays him without scruple'.

Ksemendra also in
his *Desopadesa* and *Narmamala* treats the *kayasthas* with biting
satire, unveiling their vices and evil and corrupt ways. In the
*Narmamala*, Ksemendra describes that the highest office that
could be bagged by a *kayastha* was the *prakrtasadhipati* and it is
the ambition of every *kayastha* to achieve that coveted position
for which he resorts to different evil ways. He goes on to narrate

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1 R.T., VIII, 87.
2 R.T., VIII, 88-90.
3 *Narmamala*, I, 32ff.
in a diatribe the various offices of a kayastha such as paripālaka, lekhakopādhyaya, ganja-divira, Niyogi etc.

Though Kṣemendra 'offers an unmixed condemnation for the past villainous administration of the kayastha cabinet, his chief intention is to warn his contemporaries against the adoption of this course of life'.

Passingly it may briefly be mentioned that the valley of Kashmir has since ancient times been divided for administrative purposes into two parts, viz., Kramaśājya (kamrāz) and Maďavarajya (marāz). Aurel Stein dilates upon the subject and concludes that Maďavarajya comprised the districts on both sides of the Vitasta above Srinagar and Kramarajya those below. For the convenience of administration the Valley was divided into numerous viṣayas or rastras and viṣyas into gramas. Kalhana also shares the traditional belief that the king should carry on his multifarious duties with the help of a team of ministers and whereas he ridicules the dishonest, corrupt and selfish ministers (mantrins, sachiva) he showers tremendous praise on wise and loyal ones and writes at one place that the royal dignity without a good minister did not spread lustre, as little as the night without the moon or

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speech without truth.\footnote{R.T., VI, 279.} Referring to the harmonious relations between king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) and his minister Śūra Kālhaṇa praisingly writes: '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'.\footnote{R.T., V, 63.}

A study of the Rājatarangini shows that the important ministers during the period under survey were:

a) Commander-in-chief (kampanādhīpa, kampanādpita, kampanādhīsa, kampanēṣa, kampanāpati).

b) Prime minister (sarvādhiśa, mukha-mañtrita).

c) Chief justice (rājasthānādhiśa).

d) Foreign minister (sānḍhivigrahika).

e) Lord of the gate (dvarādhiśa, dvarādhīpa, dvarapati, dvarādhiśvara).

f) Chief of police (dāṇḍanāyaka, dāṇḍādhikrta).

g) Head of the revenue administration (grhakṛtyādhiśa, grhakṛtyādhiśbara, grhakṛtyādhiśvarī, grhakṛtyamahattama).

h) Governor (maṇḍaleśa, maṇḍaleśvara).

In Kashmir, there does not appear to have existed any system of banking as in modern times and the people deposited their amounts...
with the merchants. No evidence is forthcoming as to the rate of interest which the merchants as bankers used to pay to their customers. Under this system, the merchants often turned dishonest causing trouble to the depositors. Kalhana records an anecdote of such a merchant with whom a customer had deposited one lakh Dinaras. The depositor took from time to time, small sums of money (arthamātra) for meeting his expenditure. After a period of twenty or thirty years when the customer asked the holder of the deposit (nyāsadharin) to give him back what remained after what he had taken. The wicked merchant who wanted to embezzle the deposit, made different pretexts but on persistent demands from the customer angrily showed the account book (gana-pattrika) and said: 'That word śreyase [to profit] which was put at the opening of the account has turned into asreyase [to loss].' Then he made a fraudulent bill of the amount the customer took from time to time which in full is given elsewhere. The total of these sums, in accordance with his reckoning exceeded the amount of the original deposit. The merchant demanded this advanced amount (ujjamdhana) together with its interest. When, after the judges failed to arrive at any decision, the case was taken over by king Uccala who asked the merchant to produce a portion of the

1R.T., VIII, 123-158.
deposited money. Looking at it which bore his Uccala name the king said how come on money deposited in king Kalaśa's time, also coin types which show my name. From this, said the king, it followed that the merchant has used for his purposes the whole of deposited lakh just as also the customer the goods which he took periodically from the merchant. 'Therefore,' wisely said Uccala, 'if the plaintiff has to pay to this merchant interest on what he has taken from him, from that time to the present day, then this merchant too ought to pay to him interest on the full lakh from the time of its being deposited. What need be said of the original amount? The combined testimony of the Rajanahapati and the Kuttanimatakaśya suggests that the practice of borrowing money periodically on a deposit made earlier was of common occurrence. Dāmodaragupta records a maid servant of a courtesan who deposited her pearl necklace with a merchant and got thirty kedaras. She received another thirty kedaras from the merchant a second time. Then from time to time she is recorded to have taken from the merchant certain articles such as saffron, camphor, sandal and incense. These references lead Lallanji Gopal to believe rightly that generally the merchant bankers accepted deposits as pledges or trusts and were expected

1R.T., VIII, 155-156.
2Kuttanimatakaśya, 605-609.
3Lallanji Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, p.175.
neither to use them for their own purposes nor pay interest on them. But in case the merchants used the deposit as the merchant connected with the anecdote recorded in the Rajataramigni did, they had to pay interest on it if their guilt was proved.

The Kashmirian texts use the terms nyāsa and nikṣepa for deposits. In the anecdote of the merchant and the depositor, the Rajataramigni mentions the word nyāsa for the deposit and the merchant as the holder of the deposit is called nyāsadharin.\(^1\) The Samayamātrkā\(^2\) of Kṣemendra uses the words nyāsa and nikṣepa indiscriminately while referring to a deposit of jewels in a sealed box. The term nyāsa was meant to be a pious trust to be safeguarded but not supposed to be enjoyed.\(^3\) In the law books different explanations have been given for these terms. Vijnānanesvara\(^4\) in his commentary Mitakṣara, explains nyāsa as a deposit made in the absence of the chief of the family, nikṣepa as a deposit counted before the depository, and upanidhi as a kind of deposit sealed before the depository without being checked and counted. On the other hand Viśvarupa\(^5\) describes nyāsa as an

\(^1\)R.T., VIII, 126.

\(^2\)Samayamātrkā, VIII, 65, 87.

\(^3\)Kutṭānimatakavya, 455.

\(^4\)On Yajñavalkya, II, 67.

\(^5\)On Yajñavalkya, II, 69.
open deposit for safe protection and nikṣepa as the delivery of one's article to be handed over to someone. Kaśyappāmin defines nyāsa and upanidhi as open deposits and nikṣepa as the delivery of goods to artisans to be worked up. Both Kṛemendra and Kalhaṇa who appear to have personal knowledge of such dishonest merchants existing in the Kashmirian society, make stinging attack on this class. Regarding the character of these indigenous bankers Kalhaṇa sadly remarks: 'The water which has been carried down to the ocean by the streams is received back from the clouds; but a thing deposited in a merchant's hands is never again recovered. A merchant in a law-suit relating to the embezzlement of a deposit is more to be dreaded than a tiger; because he shows a face smooth as oil, uses his voice but very little, and shows a gentle appearance. A merchant does not to his life's end abandon his deceit, though in a law-suit one might think each moment that he has abandoned it, judging from his smiles and protestations of former friendship.' 2 Kalhaṇa goes on in the same breath: 'Courtezans, the official (kāvastha), the clerk (divira) and the merchant, being all deceitful by nature, are in this respect superior to a poisoned arrow that they have been trained under a teacher's advice...

1On Amarakośa, II, 9.81.
2R.T., VIII, 128-130.
The merchant draws up blood and flesh, just like a gourd, and resembles it, being white and black in colour, sweating from the smoke of the fire, having a mouth narrow like a needle and a very capacious belly. Elsewhere in his chronicle Kalhapa exposing their hypocrisy says that after embezzling deposits they show themselves ever eager to listen to the recital of sacred texts. Kgemendra bowls a similar biting delivery and remarks that they turn deaf when approached for the recovery of sums deposited with them, and become opulent by seizing property deposited with them.

We learn from Kgemendra and Kalhapa that the Kashmirians used hundika (hundi) for transactions. Sir Aurel Stein quotes from Kgemendra's Lokaprakaśa, a document relating to a transaction for a sum of 10,000 dinaras to be paid at the village of Jayavana (Zevan) within a year. This work acquaints us with different kinds of documents, official terms, formulae and the like. We read terms like dinnarojjāmacirika denoting a 'bond of

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1 R.T., VIII, 131-134.  
2 R.T., VIII, 706-710.  
3 Samayamātrika, V, 53-58.  
4 Kalvilāsa, II, 4, 23-24; Narmamāla, III, 71; Deśopadeśa, VIII, 14.  
5 R.T., V, 266, 275.  
debt for cash' and dhānyojjamacirikā, denoting a 'bond of debt in rice'. Similarly the list of hundikas open with dinṇaraḥundikā and dhanyahundikā. In the Samayamatṛka of Kṣemendra also, we read such terms as Ujjasapattrikā, meaning a document acknowledging the receipt of debt or loan. It is not known what procedure was adopted by the creditor for the part payment received by him from the debtor. Perhaps they made separate receipts. In this connection Narada and Yājñavalkya aver that the creditor should either issue a separate receipt or write so on the reverse of the document.2

In the foregoing pages of this chapter and in the chapter on Tirthas and Religious Foundations, we have referred to the state activity in the form of foundation of temples, mathas, viharas, hospices, arogyaśālas, and ānasattras, carried out not only by the royalty but the private individuals as well. The Samayamatṛka refers to a woman who kept an inn (pānthāvasathapalika) at the town of Parihasapura.3 The Kavikaṭṭhabharana of Kṣemendra refers to public supplies of water on the road-side. Agrayaṣas to Brahmaṇgas were granted on a liberal scale by the kings and

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1 Samayamatṛka, VIII, 96.
2 Narada, IV, 114; Yājñavalkya, II, 93.
3 Samayamatṛka, II, 3.
4 Kavikaṭṭhabharana, V, p.22.
officials alike. Kings like Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) improved the condition of the people by undertaking irrigation schemes. Bridges, tanks, wells, gardens, drinking places (prāpa) and bathing cells were constructed for public use. We read of kings like Uccala who not only protected his subjects from the oppression of the kāyasthas by taking strict action against the latter, but he in his desire to look to the welfare of the subjects, sold his own grain stores at cheap rates and checked the famines in their initial stages. Kings like Jayasimha are recorded as having provided the proper paraphernalia to the citizens on the occasion of marriages of their sons, consecration of images and similar occasions.

But the Kashmirians experienced some anxious moments also when their economic conditions must have suffered a set back. The rule of most of the kings of our period was of mixed character and not without blemish. The subjects were oppressed on many occasions by the imposition of new taxes and their exaction through corrupt and greedy kāyasthas. King Avantivarman's (A.D.855/6-883) peaceful and prosperous reign was followed by his tyrannical son Sāmkara-varman (A.D. 883-902), who was averse to the learned. He plundered the property of as many as sixty-four temples by establishing new revenue offices, viz., the office, charged with the collection of
the royal share of the market dues (āṭṭapatibhāga) and the office connected with domestic affairs (grhakṛtya). The officer in charge of the domestic affairs had under him one treasurer and five secretaries. He is said to have introduced the system of forced carriage of loads (rūḍhabharodhi), fined those villagers who did not carry their share of load and drove the villagers into poverty by such other exactions. Under his oppressive rule, writes Kalhaṇa, the kāvasthas were brought to power 'who by abstracting the wealth of honest people destroy the king's renown'.¹

The period following the death of king Sāṃkaravarmā was marked by insecurity when corruption and oppression became common. King Yaśasīkara, whose mild rule of nine years (A.D. 939-948) had given some respite to the people, fell in evil ways and 'amassed riches through four city prefects (nagarādhikṛta) who helped themselves in turn to money and were hanging about each other's back'.² Kalhaṇa records that king Sāṃgramarāja (A.D. 1003-1028) appointed Matāṅga 'an expert in the science of fleecing the subjects' who filled the treasury.³  

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¹ R.T., V, 165-181.
² R.T., VI, 70.
³ R.T., VII, 110.
by levying an impost dvādāsabhāga on the people.\(^1\) Elsewhere, we have discussed the excesses committed by kings Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) and Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101). The rule of Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111) gave some breathing time to the people. But in the reign of king Sussala oppressions again started. He is said to have collected 'great treasure'.\(^2\) Even the wise rule of king Jayasiṁha was not unblemished. Taxes were levied on auspicious occasions (maṅgalyadanda).\(^3\) Chitraratha, the lord of the gate, oppressed the people by ever increasing imposts.\(^4\) His servants even confiscated the grazing land and the sacred cows.\(^5\) Kalhaṇa painfully remarks: 'Look, how the subjects are ruined in their helplessness by a rogue of a minister, while the king imperturbable in his kindness to him pays no heed to them'.\(^6\)

In a place like Kashmir, fitted with a network of rivers, streams and lakes which were accessible to boats, the importance

\(^1\) R.T., VII, 203.
\(^2\) R.T., VIII, 492.
\(^3\) R.T., VIII, 1426.
\(^4\) R.T., VIII, 2224.
\(^5\) R.T., VIII, 2226.
\(^6\) R.T., VIII, 2229.
of river navigation for traffic and internal trade can hardly be overestimated. All the capital and many other important towns were situated on the banks of Vitastā which formed the most important highway of Kashmir. The pages of the Rajatarangini show that boats formed in ancient times as they do now, to sufficient extent, the ordinary means of travel in the Valley and Kalhaṇa does not fail to record many river journeys through boats. The produce of the Valley as also wood from great forests and other merchandise was brought to market centres through boats. Even for external trade the boats carried all goods to the points so far as navigation was possible, from where the hardy load-carrying coolies of Kashmir carried that luggage through difficult bridle-paths. Referring to the foundation of Naraputa, Kalhaṇa writes: 'On the sandy bank of the Vitastā he built a town where the markets were kept full of supplies by the high roads leading to it, and where the coming and going of ships gave splendour to the river.'

Permanent bridges were unknown in ancient Kashmir. The banks of the river were joined by boat-bridges which consisted in joining the boats goether by chains with an open passage left for river traffic. While referring to the bridges Kalhaṇa is very cautious in telling us that they were made of boats. Kalhaṇa

1R.T., VII, 347, 714.
2R.T., I, 201.
ascribes the first bridge of this kind to Pravarsena II who
is recorded to have built the 'Great Bridge' (brhatsetu) on
the Vitastā in his newly founded capital. He goes on to say
that 'only since then is such construction of boat-bridges
known'. This bridge is again mentioned in connection with a
conflagration which burnt the city in the reign of king Sussala.²
King Harṣa is said to have constructed another boat-bridge in
the capital.³ The temporary character of these bridges is il-
lustrated by the quickness with which they were broken at the
approach of an enemy or on danger of fire.⁴ The account of
Sharīfu-d-dīn⁵ which records that of the thirty boat-bridges
consisted across Vitastā, seven were in Śrīnagar, clearly shows
that permanent bridges were unknown in Hindu times. The first
permanent bridge over the Vitastā is attributed to Zainu-l-ābidīn
which bore the name Zaina Kadal (jainakadali) after the name of
the founder.⁶ At present there are seven bridges in Śrīnagar.

¹R.T., III, 354.
²R.T., VIII, 1171-1172.
³R.T., VII, 1549.
⁴R.T., VII, 909, 1539; VIII, 1182. Śrīnara, I, 308.
⁵Tarīkh-i Rashīdī, p.431.
The configuration of the mountainous country of Kashmir having difficult bridle paths and not good roads for wheeled traffic has made the Kashmirians hardy and good walkers. Alberuni refers to the Kashmirians as good pedestrians and notices the use by the nobles of the palankins carried by men on their shoulders. But he is totally wrong in stating that they don't have riding animals as well as elephants. ¹ The litters (karpī-ratha, yuṣya) formed a privileged conveyance of the kings and nobles and the aristocrats and Kalhāra records many journeys carried on the litters by kings, queens, ministers and other officials.² Kings like Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) and Harsa (A.D. 1039-1101) granted the same privilege of using the litters to learned scholars.³ The litter (yuṣya) is also mentioned in the Samayamātya⁴ of Kåsmanda. A perusal of the Rājatarangini reveals that the karpīratha formed an important part of the Kashmirian army. The army of Lalitaditya-Muktāpīḍa is said to have contained one lakh and a quarter of litters (karpīratha) and that of Jayāpīḍa, eighty thousand.⁵ But during our period

²R.T., IV, 407; V, 219; VII, 478; VIII, 367, 940, 1572, 2298, 2306, 2636, 2673, 3165, 3168.
³R.T., V, 33; VII, 934.
⁴Samayamātya, VI, 26.
⁵R.T., IV, 407.
it does not appear to have formed fighting strength of the army. Referring to the strength of the army at the command of king Sāmkaravamāna (A.D. 883-902) when he started for foreign expeditions, Kaḻhaṇa mentions that he had nine lakhs of footsoldiers, three hundred elephants and a lakh of horsemen but does not say anything about kāmrirathas.¹ All the later references point to its use as an aristocratic conveyance.

Kaḻhaṇa refers to stables of the elephants and the great animal is also depicted on some tiles discovered at Harwan.² Horse was a prized animal,³ and formed an important means of conveyance in the Valley. The Rājatarāṅgini refers to infantry, cavalry and elephants as important units of Kashmirian army. The Kashmirians were good horse-riders (aśvāroha baharoḥa) and while narrating the fighting scenes Kaḻhaṇa specially mentions mounted soldiers (aśvavāra). In the Rājatarāṅgini we find references to cavalry commanders (hayasanapati, aśvapati), officer for the supply of fodder for the horses (aśvaghasakṣayastha) and a writer connected with the stables of horses (aśvasalādīvīra).⁴

¹R.T., V, 143-144.
²R.T., VII, 772. R.C.Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, Plate XXXIX.
³R.T., VIII, 2093-2094.
⁴R.T., III, 489; VII, 766-69.
The importance of the horse was fully appreciated in the Valley and some kings are described as spending huge sums in purchasing excellent horses.¹ There are many references to horse dealers.² From the pages of Kalhaṇa's chronicle it appears that the elephant which formed an important fighting unit of the army under early Hindu kings,³ was not preferred during the period under question. We do not find it mentioned numerically as a part of the army after the ninth century A.D. It looks from the description of a fight between king Harṣa and Uccala and Sussala, in which only Harṣa is described as riding an elephant, that its use in battle was restricted to the king only.⁴ In the literature of the Valley we have references to the Brāhmaṇas as receiving gifts of cows and other material but in a curious solitary passage Kalhaṇa records king Jayapiṇḍa as granting one lakh horses to Brāhmaṇas.⁵

In ancient Kashmir, in the absence of good roads fit for wheeled traffic and the labour class, the task of carrying loads

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¹R.T., VIII, 1094.
²R.T., VII, 168, 213; VIII, 1493.
³R.T., III, 327; IV, 147-148, 162, 277.
⁴R.T., VII, 1553-1555.
⁵R.T., IV, 415.
fell on the population. The term mentioned for such labour tax is ṛūghabharoghi. Expeditions undertaken in and about Kashmir by the kings were greatly dreaded by the villagers as they were compelled to work as load-carriers and Kalhaṇa refers to the wailing of the villagers on the occasion of an expedition when they were forced to carry loads at the command of the commissariat. ¹ The first reference to the ṛūghabharoghi occurs in the time of king Saṃkaravarman (A.D.882-902), who does not appear to have started it but reorganised it systematically as a means of fiscal exactions. Kalhaṇa does not dilate upon the thirteen kinds of bēgar he mentions. King Saṃkaravarman levied it so strictly that those villagers who did not turn up to carry their stipulated load were fined by the value of the load at increased rates and the same fine was levied during the following year a second time from the whole village.² At another place we read that after King Harga (A.D.1089-1101) had plundered the temple of Bhimaśeṣaśava, the members of the local Purohita corporation induced the king by a solemn fast (prāya) to grant them in compensation exemption from the forced carriage of loads (ṛūghabharoghi).³

¹R.T., VIII, 2153.
³R.T., VII, 1086.
These references favour the suggestion that sometimes the forced labour was commuted for payment in cash or kind.\(^1\) The material at our disposal does not permit us to ascertain the conditions for such labour, that is whether food and clothes were given to the labourers on the day and such other consolatory provisions. Many texts\(^2\) empower the king to exact forced or unpaid labour from artisans and labourers. Whereas Manu\(^3\) prescribes that such labour should be levied regularly for one day in a month from artisans, mechanics and Sudras etc., the Sukranitisara,\(^4\) a nineteenth century text,\(^5\) recommends the same once in a fortnight from the artists and artisans. The latter text goes much further and requires the king to get the roads repaired from the prisoners. But we read a liberal recommendation in the Agnipurana\(^6\) which advises the king to provide food to those people from whom forced labour is exacted.


\(^2\)Gautama, X, 31-32; *Vaisu Dharmastru*, III, 32.

\(^3\)Manu, VII, 138.

\(^4\)Sukranitisara (Ed. Cal.), IV, 2.121.

\(^5\)Published in the *B.S.O.A.S.*, XXV, part 3.

\(^6\)Agnipurana, 223.33.
Chapter IV

FOOD AND DRINK

The villagers, being wholly engaged in agriculture,\(^1\) the small country of Kashmir always supplied its inhabitants with the necessary food since ancient times. The valley of Kashmir abounds in streams and springs which could distribute water to most of the ground fit for cultivation. The country seems to have been self-sufficient in food during the Hindu period. The food consisted mainly of rice, barley, pulses, vegetables, fish, meat and milk preparations. All the people in the Valley did not consume the same kind of food. The contents of a diet depended on the economic condition of the individual - the rich and well-to-do definitely took a more sumptuous and varied diet than the poor. And the utensils used by the kings and the rich people were many and different from those of the poor. Whereas the kings and the well-placed used cups, bowls, and jars of gold and silver,\(^2\) the poor seem to have contented themselves with earthen vessels,\(^3\) and those of iron and copper.

\(^1\)R.T., VI, 9.
\(^2\)R.T., I, 182; III, 528; IV, 477; V, 12; VII, 1217; VIII, 265, 1455.
\(^3\)R.T., V, 74; VII, 2308.
The literature of the Valley provides some information about the food of the people and the most frequent references to rice (ḍhānya, sāli, tandula, vṛihi, kālama)\(^1\) show that rice was the main food of the Kashmirians. Sāli is one of the seventeen varieties of grain mentioned by Hemacandra.\(^2\) As late as the nineteenth century W.R. Lawrence records that 'the Kashmiris, so far, have considered no crop worthy of attention save rice'.\(^3\)

It is quite obvious that in Kashmir, cooked rice was taken along with various kinds of cooked vegetables, fish and meat. We learn from the Nilamatapurāṇa that rice was consumed in different ways such as, rice mixed with sugar and sugar-cane, boiled rice and cakes of rice. A meal of rice, sugar and sugar-cane is specially prescribed for the celebration of the ninth day of the bright half of Bhadun and the Aśokika festival.\(^4\) Kṣemendra and Kalhana refer to rice flour\(^5\) which must have been used in the preparation of rice cakes in addition to its use in other ways. In the thirteenth century, Marco Polo\(^6\) records that the

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\(^2\) Vide A.K. Majumdar, Chalukyas of Gujarat, p.258.

\(^3\) The Valley of Kashmir, p.319.

\(^4\) Infra, p. 401-402.

\(^5\) Narmamāla, III, 3; R.T., VIII, 140.

\(^6\) Yule, Marco Polo, Vol. I, p.166.
people of Kashmir take meat with rice and other grain. *Khiccari,* prepared by cooking rice with various pulses, was known to the Kashmirs and was particularly served on certain festive days, such as the 14th day of the dark half of Pauṣa when the Brahmaṇas were honoured with a meal of *Khiccari* and the full moon day of Magha when the crows (*kāka*) were given this food. Even now the *Khiccari* of rice and *Gana* is cooked on certain festival days.

In Kashmir, the *Krṣyāraṁbha* festival was celebrated in the month of Caitra with great rejoicings when worship was offered to Prithivi, Baladeva, Mahādeva, Vāmadeva, Divākara, Niṣāṇātha, Indra, Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Śītā, Brahmaṇ, Kaśyapa, Vāyu, Gagana etc. and people wearing gay clothes began ploughing and sowing seeds. Oxen were used for tilling the soil. In the month of Bhadra the Kashmirians were delighted to see their fields covered with the autumnal rice crops which just start ripening. In the month of Āsvina, at the ripening of the rice crop (*dhānya*), the festival of *Navānāvidhana* was celebrated amidst great festivities.

We learn from Kalhaṇa that the valley of Kashmir was entirely dependent on rice crops and its failure due to natural calamities such as excessive snowfall and floods resulted in famine.

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4. R.T., IV, 347.
5. R.T., II, 18; V, 270; VIII, 770, 795.
Identifying the heavy snowfall which fell in the time of king Tuṣjina of the legendary period with 'the grim laughter of Death bent on the destruction of all beings', Kalhana records pathetically that 'there sank (and perished) the rice-crops, together with the people's hope of existence'.

Kashmir was afflicted by a heavy flood in A.D. 917 under the reign of king Partha (A.D. 906-921), when the whole autumn rice crop was destroyed. Severe floods caused great havoc and a heavy loss to life and property during the later Karkoṭa rulers and in the time of king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101). We have discussed in the following pages that in ancient Kashmir the usual price of a Khari of rice in times of great abundance was two hundred Dinārās. How much the Kashmirians were dependent on the rice crop can be gauged from the tremendous rise in prices as a result of famine caused by the floods. As a result of the floods the price of a Khari of rice went up alarmingly high – 1050 dinārās during the rule of the later Karkoṭa kings, 1000 dinārās in the time of king Partha and 500 dinārās in the time of king Harṣa.

1 R.T., II, 19.
2 R.T., V, 270.
3 R.T., V, 70; VII, 1219.
4 R.T., V, 71, 271; VII, 1220.
As floods in the Valley were of frequent occurrence some kings of Kashmir recognized the necessity to take steps against this catastrophic danger. The earliest reference credits king Damodara with the construction of long stone-lined dykes.\textsuperscript{1} The erection of an embankment (setu) is attributed to king Baladitya's minister.\textsuperscript{2} In the time of king Lalitaditya, an arrangement was made for conducting the water of the Vitasta at Cakradora (modern Tsakadar), perhaps by means of an embankment, and distributing the water to the villages by the construction of water-wheels (ambhapratarama).\textsuperscript{3} But a systematic large-scale irrigational scheme to regulate the river Vitasta and to drain the whole Valley was carried out by Suyya, the minister of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883). Surprisingly, at Yakṣadara in Kramarājya, he threw ample money (dīnara) into the water. Here the rocks which had rolled down from the mountains lining both river banks obstructed the Vitasta. The famine-stricken villagers in their greed to search for the money removed the rocks from the river and consequently the bed of the river became clear and the level of the water was appreciably lowered.

\textsuperscript{1}R.T., I, 159.
\textsuperscript{2}R.T., III, 483.
\textsuperscript{3}R.T., IV, 191.
Next, after blocking the river for seven days by the construction of a stone dam, he cleared the bed at the bottom and constructed stone walls to protect against rocks which might roll down again. The dam was removed and the river flowed merrily through the clear passage. Wherever breaches occurred during floods, he constructed new beds for the Vitasta. As a result of this, the rivers Sindhu and Vitasta, which formerly met between Trigam and the Paraspor plateau, now came to have their junction at Shadipur in the vicinity of Srinagar. Next he dammed in the water of the Mahapadma or Volur lake by constructing stone embankments and founded various villages on the land thus raised. 'After examining the different classes of land, he procured a supply of river water for the villages, which thus were no (longer) dependent only on the rainfall. After watering all village (lands), he took from (each) village (some) soil, and ascertained, by (observing) the time it took to dry up, the period within which irrigation would be required (for each soil, respectively). He (then) arranged (accordingly) on a permanent basis for the size and distribution of the watercourse for each village, and by (using for irrigation) the Anulā and other streams, embellished all regions with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for excellent produce.' As a result of this wonderful scheme, a kharic of rice came to be bought for 36 Dināras only.

1R.T., V, 84-112.
2R.T., V, i6-117.
Unfortunately, the good work started by Suyya was not continued during the later period. Had there been some continuation in the policy pursued by Suyya, many of the troubles faced by the people could have been averted.

Barley (yava)\(^1\) constituted another item of food, particularly of the poor classes. We agree with M.A. Stein who taking in view the context in which the barley grain is referred to in a passage in the Rajatarangini, records that 'barley is eaten in Kaśmir only by the poorest, and then only on the road or wherever else proper food cannot be prepared'.\(^2\) A kind of bread (apūpa) and cake (pistaka) were prepared out of barley,\(^3\) which seems to have been taken with vegetables and meat. Porridge (saktu)\(^4\) was known to the Kashmiris. At the time of the ripening of barley at the end of Jyaistha, the Yavagrāvan festival was celebrated.\(^5\) On the day of the Aṣāya Tṛtiya festival Viṣṇu was worshipped by offering barley (yava) to the consecrated fire.\(^6\)

The literature shows that different varieties of pulse were consumed by the people in ancient times as at present. 

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1. R.T., I, 205; VII, 1261; VIII, 1864.
4. R.T., I, 205.
masura and kulajjhe are some which find mention in the work of Dēmodaragupta. The Nilmatapurēga refers to māśa and masura.

Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa add mudga to the list and from the passage in which it is mentioned in the Rājatarāṅginī we learn that it was mostly taken by the poor. The Rājatarāṅginī often mentions parched grain in connection with auspicious days. The preparation of parpata or pāpara from various types of pulse, a thin sort of spiced cake which is now taken along with the food to make it more tasty, was also known to the Kashmirians, and has been specially prescribed for the celebration of the full moon day of Falgūṇa.

The Rājatarāṅginī mentions utpalasaka, a wild-growing and cheap vegetable of bitter taste, as an offering of no value on the god's image in the temple. The passage alludes that this vegetable was taken by the people. According to a traditional belief recorded by M. A. Stein, the plant 'formed the diet of the ancient Rṣis in the forest'. He writes that 'the plant, now known by the name of upalhākh, forms still one of the commonest

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1 Kuttanīmatakeśva, 228.
2 Nilmatapurēga, 422.
3 Narmamālā, I, 124; R.T., VII, 748.
4 R.T., I, 367; II, 119.
5 Infra, p. 397.
6 R.T., V, 48-49.
vegetables of the Kaśmirī cuisine. It grows abundantly on
the mountain slopes at an elevation of 7,000-11,000 feet, and
its leaves are collected in large quantities by the villagers. The
bitter taste of the leaves is removed by repeated boiling.¹
Lotus-roots (bisa) constituted another important vegetable in
Kashmir which was mostly eaten with meat.²

The Kashmirians relished food cooked in spices. Chilli
(marica), turmeric, pepper and asafoetida (hiṅgu) were known in
the Valley.³ Ginger (ardraka) appears to have been a prized
substance and along with honey (māksika)⁴ was used for medical
purposes. As salt was imported from Pañjab and Ladakh, it was
costly in Kashmir. It is even possible that the poor could not
afford it as Kṣemendra refers to a miser as eating his food
without salt.⁵ Salt was imported from the Pañjab through the
Pīr Pantsal route and Kṣemendra refers to the salt road (lavana-
sarāqi).⁶ When passes leading to Kashmir were closed owing to
excessive snowfall, the price of salt and other articles of im-
port like pepper and asafoetida etc., went exceptionally high. We

¹Ibid.
²R.T., VIII, 676.
³Kuṭṭānīmatakāvya, 228; Narmamāla, I, 123; R.T., VII, 1221.
⁴Narmamāla, I, 123.
⁵Deśopadesa, II, 8, 9, 15; Narmamāla, I,124, 127.
⁶Samayamātikā, II, 91.
are informed by Śrīvara that when the passes to the south were closed owing to political troubles, the price of salt in the capital rose to 25 Dinnaras for 1½ Palas.¹ The famines which brought extreme scarcity of all foodstuffs axed particularly the salt, pepper and hingu.² Onions (palaqā) and garlic (laguna) are mentioned as aphrodisiacs.³ It appears that the use of garlic was not often favoured. It seems to have been particularly forbidden for the Brāhmaṇas as Kalhaṇa referring to king Gopāditya of the legendary period records that he dismissed those Brāhmaṇas who ate garlic to a place called Bhūkṣira-vātika which according to Stein lies outside the capital, between the foot of the rocky N. W. face of the Takht hill and the Gagribal portion of the Dal.⁴ Huien Tsang was well acquainted with this subject and referring to the Indian people in general records: 'Onions and garlic are little grown; and few persons eat them; if anyone uses them for food, they are expelled beyond the walls of the town.'⁵ Kalhaṇa includes onions among the articles which were offered to the Tantric gurus whom he treats with contempt.⁶ Also elsewhere in India, onions and garlic were

¹Śrīvara, IV, 584.
²R.T., VII, 1221.
³Samayamatika, II, 26.
⁴R.T., I, 342-343.
⁶R.T., VIII, 143.
not favoured as Lakṣmīdhara and Candesvāra include them among the list of forbidden food.¹ The gurus are mentioned as receiving offerings of dhupa, onions and the roots of the Sandā plant, the 'latter is found growing wild all over the valley, and is valued as a vegetable and for its medical properties'.²

The botanical name of Sandā (modern hand) is Cichorium intybus.³

The Kashmirians consumed much meat especially that of different animals, birds and fish. The forests provided a good hunting ground and plenty of fish could be procured from numerous lakes and streams. That the slaughter of animals was fairly common in Kashmir is evidenced by the promulgation of a law, prohibiting the killing of living creatures, by king Meghavāhana, the virtuous king of the legendary period.⁴ It is not known how long this law remained in force during the succeeding period. It certainly did not last long as Kalhaṇa, while narrating the events of the reign of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) records that 'for ten years in the reign of Avantivarman the killing of all living creatures was prohibited just as it was in that

³ Dr. Elmslie, Kashmiri Vocabulary, p.130.
⁴ R.T., III, 6.
of the illustrious Meghavahana. We further hear that Suyya, the minister of this king, after having carried out some irrigational reforms 'established by his own authority a prohibition against the killing of fish and birds' on the Mahāpadma (Vulu) lake. Later, Sultan Zain-ul-Ābidin is said to have prohibited such killing of fish and birds on the lakes. There might have been tremendous decrease in the consumption of meat during the periods of such promulgations, but otherwise meat continued to be consumed in large quantities. There is much difference of opinion in ancient literature on the question of eating of meat.

Numerous rules have been recorded about the forbidden and permitted flesh of different beasts, birds and fishes. Apastamba-dharmasūtra rewards one with the merit equivalent to the performance of the Dwadasaḥa sacrifice, who entertains a guest with meat. According to the Vasisthādharmaśūtra, an ascetic who refuses to partake of flesh when requested in a Śraddha or a rite for the gods, will fall into hell for numberless years. Manu at one place

1 R.T., V, 64.
2 R.T., V, 119.
3 Jonarāja, 958.
4 Apastamba-dharmasūtra, 1.5.17.35; Gautama-dharmasūtra, 17.27-31; Vasisthā-dharmasūtra, 14.39-40; Viṣṇu-dharmasūtra, 51.6; Yajñavalkyaśrīmṛtī, 1.177; Ramayana (Kīśkindha XVII), 39. Markandeyapurāṇa, XXXV, 2-4.
5 Apastamba-dharmasūtra, II.3; VII.4.
6 Vasisthā-dharmasūtra, 11.34.
prescribes the killing of animals on no other occasion than
in madhu parka, in sacrifices and in rites for gods and manes.\(^1\)
But further he\(^2\) expresses his opinion which is shared by \textit{Yajña-
valkya},\(^3\) that one does not incur any sin, in flesh-eating at
the time of emergency (owing to famine or disease) when one is
at stake, taking a part of flesh cooked for offering to gods
and manes and offered by another or takes the flesh of an animal
reared or purchased by him. \textit{Manu}, on the whole, appears to be an
exponent of the principle of \textit{ahimśa}, a principle which is upheld
by \textit{Vigśu} and \textit{Yāsīśṭha}, when he says that indulgence in accordance
with the dictates of the \textit{Sastra}, in wine-drinking, flesh-eating
and sexual gratification which are resultant of natural appet-
ites, is no sin, but putting constraint upon these things even
on occasions when they are allowed by the \textit{Sastra} bring great
rewards.\(^4\)

But the \textit{Brāhmaṇas} of Kashmir, who respected and obeyed more
for the injunctions contained in their own \textit{Purāṇa} which forbids
the use of meat only on certain days, have been used to eating
meat since ancient times. The \textit{Nilamata-purāṇa}\(^5\) prescribes that for

\(^{1}\textit{Manu}, \textit{V}, 41; \textit{Yāsīśṭha-dhamasūtra}, 6, 5-6. At the same time \textit{Manu}
prescribes (\textit{V}, 46-55) complete abstention from killing animals even
in sacrifices. \textit{Vigśu-dharmasūtra}, 51. 69-78.\)

\(^{2}\textit{Manu}, \textit{V}, 27 and 32.\)

\(^{3}\textit{Yajña-valkya}, 1. 179.\)

\(^{4}\textit{Manu}, \textit{V}, 56.\)

\(^{5}\textit{Nilamata-purāṇa}, 469.\)
the celebration of Magha-pratipada, the śrāddha should also contain meat. Yajñavalkya records that entertainment to the Brahmaṇa invitees in a śrāddha, with flesh of various animals, satisfies the Manes for long periods. But the Nilamata-purāṇa forbids the eating of meat during the Kṛttika-Pancarātra and on the full moon day of Āśvina.

In Kashmir, the flesh of fowl (kūkūta), ram (meṣa) and goat (chāga) seems to have been consumed frequently. It appears from Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa that spiced fried meat was much relished which was only under the purview of the rich to afford. We learn from a passage occurring in the Rajata-rāngini that lotus-root (bīsa) mixed with fried meat was considered a delicious dish. Aurel Stein writes on the point: 'The roots of the lotus (bīsa) are used as a favourite vegetable in Kaśmir, and generally stewed with meat. Large quantities of these roots, which are known as nadur, are brought daily into Srinagar from the neighbouring lakes.' The Kashmiris paid due regard to the

4. R.T., VII, 1510; VIII, 1866-1867.
5. R.T., VIII, 676.
Sastric injunction and fully recognised the holiness of the cow and the eating of beef was strictly forbidden. Cow-slaughter (gavahatya) and Brahmnicide (Brahmahatya) were considered as most heinous crimes in the Valley. It was common for the kings to present to the Brahmans, cows with calves, skins of black antelopes, horses, gold and other things. The list given by Śaṅkha, of the animals which are fit to be eaten, include goats, rams, ruru deer, buffaloes, ordinary deer and spotted deer. Of the animals which are forbidden by Devala quoted in the Gṛhaustharatākara of Gāndēśvara, the medieval Mithila writer, mention may be made of cows, camels, asses, horses, elephants, tigers, lions, bears, snakes, rats and mice, cats, mongoose, dog, village hog, jackal, cheetas, monkeys, and human beings. The list as furnished by Alberuni, of the animals whose meat is not allowed to be taken, is in close resemblance to that of Gāhaḍvala minister writer Lakṣmīdhara and includes cows, horses, mules, camels, asses, elephants, tame poultry, crows, parrots, and nightingales. The above list seems to have been respected in most parts of India. Kalhaṇa looks with contempt on those who

\[1\] Narmanāla, I, 57.

\[2\] R.T., VII, 955; VIII, 76, 2405.

\[3\] Saṅkha quoted by Aparārka, p.1167.

\[4\] Sachau, II, p.151; Niyatakālaṅkāra, pp. 304-308.
ate beef in the land of the Mlecchas. There is mention of the sale of mice in the market and of its purchase to feed the kittens of the cat, but it is doubtful if the same was taken by the people. It is not known if the flesh of the jackal and deer, which were hunted in Kashmir, served the dishes - perhaps not. King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) is recorded to have eaten the meat of domesticated pigs (grāmyasūkara) but the contempt with which Kalhana looks at this attitude of the king in addition to his various other perverted actions, indicates that pig was not eaten then.

As noticed above, the promulgations against the killing of birds do not mention the names of different birds which attracted the tongue of the Kashmirians. From the accounts of modern writers who have given a list of the birds that frequent the Valley, we learn that water-fowl and geese are the most common visitors to the lakes where they are shot by the people. Aurel Stein writes: 'In the winter months vast flocks of wild geese and other water-fowl frequent the Vulur lake, where large numbers of them are shot by boatmen and others for sale in the

\[1^R.T., \text{VII, 789; VIII, 75.}\]
\[2^R.T., \text{VIII, 139.}\]
\[3^R.T., \text{VI, 181-183; VII, 171; VIII, 699.}\]
\[4^R.T., \text{VII, 1149.}\]
city. The lake is also rich in fish, and the population dwelling in the villages near the lake live largely by fishing.\(^1\) Moorcroft, during the course of his travels found thousands of water-fowl sporting on the lake and while describing them as shy has recorded an interesting mode of their hunt by the people of Kashmir. He writes: 'In shooting them, the Kashmirian sportsman employs a matchlock, the barrel of which is at least ten feet long. When rowed near to the game, he and the single boatman who accompanies him, lie down in the boat so as to be seen as little of as possible by the birds, and then with small paddles and their hands over the sides, gently push the boat onwards until within range: two or three birds generally fall at each discharge.'\(^2\) Of the birds the flesh of which was either allowed or prohibited in the Sūtra and Smṛti literature,\(^3\) reference may be made of wild cocks and peacocks as belonging to the first category while birds like the parrot, hānsa, cātaka, pigeon, heron and those, which search their food in dunghills, fall in the second category. Pigeons in particular are known to have been considered forbidden food in Kashmir.\(^4\) The Kashmiris like

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\(^4\) R.T., II, 50-52.
the Ladakhis do not eat eggs. Some tiles recovered from Harwan represent cock-fighting. It is difficult to know whether the meat of cocks was eaten.

Fish formed another very important type of food in Kashmir since ancient times. As it can be procured in abundance from the rivers and the lakes, it can reasonably be said that owing to its cheapness it was taken in large proportion both by rich and poor and in particular by boatmen and those who dwelled near the lakes and rivers. Fish seems to have been usually fried in oil and perhaps sometimes in ghee and taken along with the rice. Fried fish (matsyayūga) and fish juice (matsyāsūpa) are known as a strength-infusing food particularly to those who indulge too much in sexual intercourse, and Kalhaṇa records that king Kalaśa (A.D., 063-1089) who 'disported himself daily with many women, his strength did not fail him, on account of the use of fish-broth and other aphrodisiacs'. In the third upadeśa on the prostitute, Kṣemendra informs us how she is wakeful to maintain her youth (yauvana) by consuming matsyayūga and other nutritious victuals like ghee (ghṛta), keīra and onion (paḷαṇḍu). Meat and fish are among the five tattvas in which

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3 *Desopadesa*, III, 31-32.
the Śakti worshippers believed. In the eleventh century A.D., in Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, the influence of the Śaktas was great and fish must have been consumed in large quantities, particularly in Kashmir. Fish-juice seems to have been very cheap in Kashmir as it is strangely recorded that some used to feed the kittens of their cats with fish-juice and mice.¹ Fish was particularly used on certain parvāṇa days.² Modern writers have recorded more than half a dozen kinds of fish living in the lakes and rivers in Kashmir. Of various kinds of fish the one with snake-like heads, the makara, the ceta, fish that live on dead flesh, those that have strange forms like the heads of men or have looks like elephants, are forbidden by Apastamba.³ Manu is against all fish (V, 14-15) but allows Pāṭhīṇa and Rohita if used in rites for gods and Manes and others like reśiva, lion-faced and one having scales.⁴ Pāṭhīṇa was found in Kashmir as Kalhaṇa, in consequence of the promulgation against all living beings by king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/6-883) records praisingly 'that at that time the shad fish (Pāṭhīṇa) left the cold water without fear, and coming to the

¹R.T., VIII, 139.
²Infra, p. 378, 388.
³Apastambe-dharmasutra, 1.5; 17.36-37.
⁴Manu, V, 16; Vaiśeṣika-dharmasutra, 14.41-42. Gaëtana-dharmasutra, 17.36. Yajñavealkyasmṛti, 1. 177-178.
river-banks sunned their backs in the autumn sun'.\(^1\) Stein writes: 'The Kashmir Pandits give this name to the Ramagad, a kind of small fish generally eaten at śrāddhas'.\(^2\) W. R. Lawrence describes the Ramah Gad as of 'Average weight, a chittak; sold at 2 pice a seer, colour dark green. This fish is taken in the Jhelum in June; when the water becomes cold, it retires to the lakes and morasses.'\(^3\)

There was regular use of oil in ancient Kashmir. It appears that mustard oil\(^4\) and other vegetable oils were used for cooking and for lamps. It is likely that sesame oil was used in some of the preparations. Sesame grain (tila) was eaten and particularly offered in sacrifice on the occasion of the Tiladvādāsī festival.\(^5\) We come across references to pastry cakes and oil cakes in the chronicle of Kalhapā.

The people of Kashmir who cared strongly for the cow, consumed its milk perhaps together with that of the buffaloes. It is likely that some of the poor and especially the herdsmen

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\(^1\) R.T., V, 65.


\(^3\) W.R. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p.158.

\(^4\) R.T., III, 338.

\(^5\) R.T., III, 426; V, 395.
took the milk of the goats also. Many preparations from milk were known such as butter (sarpis), ¹ milk-pudding (kṣira), ² ghee (śhṛte) ³, and curd (dadhi) ⁴. Ghee was also known as an ointment. ⁵ The use of ghee on festive occasions was very common.

Sugar (śarkara) ⁶ was used for sweetening purposes. Rice and sugar was a common dish. White sugar seems to have been used by the rich as Kalhaṇa records that during the stampede due to the sacking of a palace by the forces of Uccala during the reign of king Haraṇa, someone put camphor into his mouth taking it as white sugar but when it burned his mouth he threw it into the river. ⁷ Honey (māksika) ⁸ constituted an important part of the diet and was particularly used on festive occasions. Its use for medicinal purposes was known in the Valley. ⁹

A perusal of the Rajata-rāṅgini reveals that the practice of chewing betel (tāmbula, parga) was prevalent among the kings

¹ R.T., VI, 143; VIII, 138; Narmacāla, II, 57.
² Samavatṛka, II, 6; Deśopadeśā, III, 32. Nilamalapurāṇa, 588.
³ Narmacāla, I, 123, 127; Samavatṛka, II, 79; Deśopadeśā, III, 32. Nilamalapurāṇa, R.T., II, 78; VI, 143; VII, 306; VIII, 137,140.
⁴ Nilamalapurāṇa, 588; Narmacāla, II, 80; III, 8.
⁵ R.T., VIII, 140. Infra, p. 381.
⁶ Narmacāla, II, 80.
⁷ R.T., VII, 1474.
⁹ Supra, p. 217.
and aristocrats. It is not clear whether the betel which was an item of expensive luxury in Kashmir was taken only after meals or at all times. But it is definite that the kings who had betel-bearers chewed it all the time. The costliness of betel can be best gauged by the story narrated by Kalhana. King Ananta (A.D. 1028-1068) who was very fond of the habit of taking betel is described as having given almost the whole revenue of the country to a foreigner, Padmaraja, who used to supply betel to the king. As the king's creditor Padmaraja took from the king "a diadem which was adorned with five resplendent crescents, and the throne, as a security for more money which was due to him." Each month on the day of solemn reception, "these emblems of regal dignity were brought from his house to be used in the royal assembly." It was considered a mark of honour if the visitor to the king was offered betel by the king himself. Chewing of betel by the officials brought splendour to king Harsha's court. In his description of an ostentatious voluptuary (vīja) who is a regular visitor to prostitutes (vēśya), Kṣemendra informs us how the chewing of betel leaves (tamula) accompanied with a zigzag speech full of dentals, make him a conspicuous figure

1 R.T., IV, 427; VII, 787; VIII, 1304, 2054.
2 R.T., VII, 190-197.
3 R.T., VIII, 2054.
4 R.T., VII, 945.
in brothels. The material at our disposal does not permit us to say more on the subject. In all likelihood, betel which was very costly owing to its importation, must have been used only by the rich particularly on occasion of marriages and other important functions. Nowadays its use is common among all classes. We do not know much about the ingredients that were used with betel in Kashmir. Kalhaga incidentally mentions two ingredients, i.e. Nāgarakhaṇḍa and Potasa. In most likelihood, various other ingredients which were commonly used by their brethren in India proper were known to the Kashmirians. Kṣemendra's references to tambula also reveal that it was an expensive luxury in Kashmir.

Kashmir has always been, by nature, very rich in fruit. Some of the Hindu kings laid out beautiful gardens in the Valley. The foremost of the fruits about which both Bilhaṇa and Kalhaṇa are proud and which has been mentioned in glowing lines was grapes (drakṣa). The fruit is of excellent quality and is very common in Kashmir and such a thing is difficult to find in heaven, writes Kalhaṇa. Bilhaṇa extols the grapes of Kashmir as 'having the

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1 Desopadesa, V, 15, 17.
2 R.T., VII, 194, 1124.
4 R.T., I, 42.
best wonderful sweetness in the world', and 'as white as a piece of juicy sugarcane grown on the banks of the River Sarayu' (Drakeśamanyah sarasasarayu pundrakacchedapandum). He further writes about the forests of his land yielding the excellent fruit thus: 'The forests whereof, which have creeper-bowers with bunches of grapes yellowish white like the cheeks, washed with sandal-water, of the ladies of Murula, and are the essence of all wonder, are not forgotten even by those who, by dint of merit, attain the status of embellishments in the garden of gods'. The fruit was found in plenty, particularly grown at Martanda. Grapes were also predominant and cheap in Akbar's time but there is rarity of finer qualities, according to Abul Fazl. Apple (palevata) was another important fruit of the Valley. Srivara records in addition to apple, such fruits as pear (tanka) and apricot (cirā). The pear (li), the wild plum (nei), the peach (t'an), the apricot (hang or mui) and the grape (po-tau) are some of the fruits mentioned by Huien

1 Vikramakadevacarita, XVIII, 2.
2 Ibid., XVIII, 72.
3 Vikramakadevacarita (Tr. Banerji), XVIII, 18.
4 R.T., IV, 192; Fourth Chronicle, 851, 928.
5 In-i Akbari, I, pp. 65, 349.
6 R.T., VI, 356.
7 Srivara, I, 196.
Tsang. The *Rajatarangini* mentions Kapittha, a fruit which is 'produced for a few days on the approach of the clouds' in Kashmir and apart from the region of the North-West Himalaya, is unknown in India. The dictionaries identify Kapittha with 'Elephant-apple' which is not grown in Kashmir. Stein suggests on the basis of Kalhaṇa's description that the fruit which the latter really meant was cherry. According to Watt, both the qualities of the fruit, namely the 'Prunus Avium' and 'Prunus Cerasus' are grown in Kashmir 'where it flowers in April-May and the fruit ripens in June'.

Drinking of wine (madyapāṇa) was fairly common among the Kashmirians. The *Nilamatapurāṇa* specially recommends the drinking of wine on festive occasions. Kamendra informs us that on the occasion of Takṣakayatra, the sale of intoxicant liquors was open for three days during twenty-four hours. In Kashmir, the celebration of great rites (mahāsamaya) was accompanied by heavy drinking as Kalhaṇa records that king Kalaśa (A.D.1063-

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4 *Watt, Dict. of Econ. Prod.*, VI, p.346.
6 *Samayamātikā*, II, 88.
used to drink heavily in the company of his gurus on such occasions.  
Kāśmir Śaktas indulged freely in wine, flesh, fish, mudrā and sexual intercourse which are declared to be the five mārakas in the procedure of the worship of Sakti.  
Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa seem to be in favour of moderate drinking and do not want that the affairs of the state should suffer due to the king's indulgence in wine and women. Many regulations about wine-drinking have been prescribed in our ancient texts. But the general tenor seems to be in favour of abstention from drinking of intoxicants, and sura or madya drinking is regarded as one of the grave sins (mahāpātakas). It is stated in the Santiparvan that one who avoids meat, honey and intoxicants from one's birth overpowers all difficulties. Gautama, Apastamba and Manu totally prohibit the Brāhmaṇas from all sorts of intoxicants at all stages. But the Kashmiri Brāhmaṇa who cared more for their Nīlamatapurāṇa which prescribes wine drinking (madyapāṇa), took wine prepared from grapes and sugar-cane.  

1 R.T., VII, 523.  
2 Infra, p. 346-47  
4 Santiparvan, 110, 22.  
6 R.T., II, 60; III, 362; IV, 501; VII, 1863.
It is not unlikely that they drank wine prepared from rice, barley and honey. The richer section of the community used to drink delightful light wine with fried meat, which was cooled and scented with flowers. \(^1\) Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958), a sensuous king, had given himself too much to drinking, dice and women. \(^2\) King Lalitāditya Muktāpiṣa used to drink very heavily and once when drunk ordered the burning of the town of Pravarapura. When his intoxication had gone away he realised his mistake and felt sorrow. Having been told by the ministers that his order had not been carried out, he felt pleased and warned his ministers not to carry out an order in future, which he might impart while intoxicated. \(^3\) Manu, with reference to kings, writes that eight vices are produced by wrath and ten by love of pleasure and among the latter drinking, dice and women are the worst vices of kings. \(^4\)

Of the soft drinks, the Rajatarangini mentions a cold (cooled by lumps of snow) sweet drink (tuhina śarkara) which formed a very delightful beverage on a hot summer day in Kashmir. \(^5\)

\(^1\) R.T., VIII, 1866-67.
\(^2\) R.T., VI, 150-153.
\(^3\) R.T., IV, 310-320.
\(^4\) Manu, VII, 47-52.
\(^5\) R.T., VII, 362; VIII, 1863.
As milk was much consumed the Kashmirians must have experimented with some drinks from it. Gorasa (milk and water which has been churned and from which the butter has been taken) has quite often been mentioned in connection with festive occasions. A cold drink prepared by mixing water with saktu and sugar must have formed then as now, a summer-time drink of the Kashmirians.
Chapter V

COINS AND WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Scattered references in the account of Kalhaṇa, Kṣemendra, Jonarāja and Śrivara help us in reconstructing briefly the monetary system as also the value of the prices and weights and measures of ancient Kashmir.

To evaluate the term Dīnāra\(^1\) we have to examine the various passages of the Rajatarangini in which it is spoken of under two heads. Firstly, the Dīnāras are mentioned in a general way without specification of any particular amount.\(^2\) In this case, judging from the passage,\(^3\) which states under king Hārsha (A.D. 1089-1101), 'Dīnāras of gold, silver and copper', the term has to be sensed in the general sense of 'coin' or money. Secondly and more frequently, in statements of cash amounts\(^4\) the term Dīnāra

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1 The term Dīnāra is derived from the Latin term Denarius and is usually taken as the designation of a gold coin, usually spelt Dīnāra. In the Rajatarangini it is mentioned as Dīnāra. The total impossibility of accepting this meaning for figures given in two passages of the Rajatarangini as they would be incredibly large if calculated in terms of gold. H.H. Wilson (Essay, pp. 58, 62 notes) suggested that the Dīnāra mentioned might have been of copper.

2 R.T., III, 103; V, 84 sq., 87, 89, 108; VII, 496 sq., 500, 950; VIII, 151 sqq., 883, 3335.

3 R.T., VII, 950.

4 R.T., IV, 495, 617, 698; V, 71, 116 sq., 205; VI, 163, 1118, 1220 sq.; VIII, 124, 1918.
is expressed in figures which with very few noted exceptions always go in round hundreds, thousands, lakhs and crores. In this case the term Dīnāra 'is not the designation of any particular monetary value, but a term of much more general significance, corresponding somewhat to our "cash" or "currency"'.¹ In agreement with this interpretation, we find that in numerous passages of the Rajatarangini, the money amounts are meant to be expressed with plain figures without the addition of the word Dīnāra. A comparison of two passages² referring to amounts of salaries shows that whereas the one mentions 'one lakh Dīnāras' as the daily pay of king Jayāpatī's Sabhāpati Udbhata, the other passage refers to the daily pay of Rudrapāla Sāhi simply as 'one lakh and a half' without the addition of the term Dīnāra. In both the cases the currency meant cannot but be the same. Similarly, in the anecdote³ of the merchant and the

¹M.A. Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p. 309. It is believed that in the Post-Gupta period, the word Dīnāra was used 'in the sense of any kind of coined money or even cash, thus ceasing to be the designation of any particular monetary value'. Bhandarkar, Indian Numismatics, p. 204 ff.

²Compare IV, 495 with VII, 145.

³R.T., VIII, 124 sqq.
depositor, the sum originally deposited is mentioned as 'a lakh Dînāras' (dînāralakṣa), but the items of expenditure received by the depositor from the merchant are mentioned in round hundreds to which the word Dînāra is not added. No other monetary value but the Dînāra is meant by these figures.

Judging from the sums of 100 Dînāras for the repair of a shoe and whip, 50 Dînāras for ghee as an ointment, 100 Dînāras for honey and ginger, 300 Dînāras for a load of broken pots and similar other figures in round hundreds for trifling expenses, mentioned in the anecdote referred to above, we cannot but form the impression that the basis of currency must have been a small one. It is only on this basis that we can justify the statements of such big amounts as the daily allowance of 1,50,000 and 80,000 Dînāras,¹ assignment of 96,00,00,000 Dînāras to the faithful Ekaṅgasa,² the evaluation of a jewel at 7,00,000 Dînāras and the payment of 36,00,000 Dînāras,³ in compensation to a court favourite.⁴

The credit of first recognizing the great value of Abul Fazl's account of the Kashmir currency in the time of Akbar and

¹ R.T., VII, 145 sq.
² R.T., VII, 163.
³ R.T., VII, 418.
⁴ R.T., VIII, 1918.
its bearing on the monetary system of Hindu times belongs to General Cunningham. He noticed the decimal basis of the system and a close connection between Abul Fazl's account and the coinage of the Hindu period. His labours were carried further by Sir Aurel Stein who after a comparison of Abul Fazl's account, and of the surviving tradition with the data furnished in the "Rajataraṅgini" and the later Kashmirian texts, observes that 'the currency of Kaśmīr, at least from the ninth century onwards, was based on a decimal system of values starting from a very small unit'.\(^1\) He gives the following table of the values actually used in reckoning:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Decimal Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 Dīmmāras</td>
<td>1 Dvādaśa (Bahgani)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Dvādaśa</td>
<td>25 Dīmmāras (Pañcaviṃśatika)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Pañcaviṃśatika</td>
<td>100 Dīmmāras (Śata, Hāth)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Śata</td>
<td>1000 Dīmmāras (Sahasra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 Sahasra</td>
<td>100,000 Dīmmāras (Lakṣa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 Lakṣa</td>
<td>10,000,000 Dīmmāras (Koṭi, Crore)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following table shows the coins which can be assumed to have represented monetary values of the above description at successive periods, together with their metal and weight.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value in Dināras</th>
<th>Designation</th>
<th>Early Hindu Coins (up to A.D. 855)</th>
<th>Later Hindu Coins (from A.D. 855 onwards)</th>
<th>Muhammadan Coins</th>
<th>Equivalent Values on Abu-l-Fazl's estimate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Dvādaśa (Bahagani)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>AE 45 grs.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>( \frac{1}{8} ) Dam or ( \frac{1}{320} ) Rupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Paṅcavimśatika (Punthu)</td>
<td>AE 110 grs. (?)</td>
<td>AE 91 grs.</td>
<td>AE 83 grs.</td>
<td>( \frac{1}{4} ) Dam or ( \frac{1}{160} ) Rupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Śata (Hath)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>( 1 ) Dam or ( \frac{1}{40} ) Rupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>AR 23.5 grs.</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>( 5 ) Dams or ( \frac{1}{8} ) Rupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>Sahasra (Sārṇa)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>( 10 ) Dams or ( \frac{1}{4} ) Rupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>AE 94 grs.</td>
<td>20 Dams or ( \frac{1}{2} ) Rupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>AR 120 grs. (?)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>25 Dams or ( \frac{25}{40} ) Rupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,500</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>AN 73 grs. (?)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>125 Dams or ( \frac{1}{8} ) Rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>Lakṣa (Lakh)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>25 Rupees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000,000</td>
<td>Koṭi (crore)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2500 Rupees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table shows that the only denomination of coins which can be traced throughout, is the copper coin representing 25 रिमार. Taking into consideration also the vast preponderance of these coins in quantity, the old currency of Kashmir must be described as one in copper.¹

What was the unit underlying the system of monetary account? Looking at the only passage of the राजनारायणिक which mentions a single रिमार, it is not clear whether it relates to a separate monetary token or whether it is meant as the subdivision of a larger figure convenient for reckoning. On this point Sir Aurel Stein writes: "If the रिमार was more than a mere abstract unit of account, it could not well have been represented by any other token than the cowrie. For the weight of copper which would correspond to the twenty-fifth part of a Panavimsatika, viz \( \frac{91}{25} \), or 3.64 grs., is manifestly too small for a real coin. No copper pieces of this diminutive size are actually ever found in Kashmir."²

The view of Sir Aurel Stein has been quoted with approval by modern writers of economic history of our period, such as Puspa Niyogi,³ B. P. Mazumdar⁴ and Lalanji Gopal.⁵ This suggests that

²Ibid.
³Puspa Niyogi, Contributions to the Economic History of Northern India, p.270.
⁴B. P. Mazumdar, Socio-Economic History of Northern India, p.218.
⁵Lalanji Gopal, The Economic Life of Northern India, p.209.
the Kashmirian Dīnāra and the cowrie were very small units of account but the representation of the Dīnāra by the cowrie particularly in fractional payments should not be interpreted to mean, in the absence of any reliable evidence, that they were exactly equal in value. If a Dīnāra had exactly the same value as a cowrie they would have indiscriminately been mentioned in the Kashmirian Chronicles. Speaking of the traditional systems of counting Aurel Stein writes that the popular reckoning in Kaśmir as surviving to the present day, counts the Bahagani as equal to 8 cowrees, and the Puntshu as equal to 16 cowrees. He further mentions that a Pandit Isvārakaula by name, in his Kaśmiṃreśvarakośa (MS.) renders bahagān correctly by aśṭau varājakāh (8 cowrees) and Puntshu by Ṣoḍaśakapardikāh (16 cowrees). In all likelihood, this system of counting was prevalent during our period or even before that though nothing can be said with certainty. After quoting this reckoning, B. P. Mazumdar remarks: 'It may be noted here that the Kashmirian Dīnāra was lower in value than the Cowrie as 8 Cowries were equal to 12 Dīnāras. It was difficult to import and transport Cowries to Kashmir and this is why its price was higher there.'

The Kashmirian texts reveal that the monetary terms and

2 Socio-Economic History of Northern India, p.218.
the system of reckoning followed in Akbar's time and the succeeding centuries, were already in use during the period under review and probably earlier. In the terms Pañcaviṃśatika,¹ Sata,² Sahasra,³ Lakṣa⁴ and Koti,⁵ so often mentioned in statements of money with or without the addition of the word Dīnāra, we may recognize the Pūshu, Ḍāth, Sāsun, Lakh and Goare of Abul Fazl and later times.

Sir Alexander Cunningham has shown that the standard coin type of Kashmir, the standing king and the sitting goddess, which was based upon the Kuṣāna coinage, remained unchanged from the time of Kanîkâ in A.D. 78 down to the Muhammadan conquest in A.D. 1339 or for 1261 years. The Kashmir coinage therefore offers an almost unique example of a coin type remaining un­changed for upwards of twelve centuries.⁶ In addition to the

¹Srîvara (III, 214) mentions Pañcaviṃśatika as an old copper coin which was reissued by Sultan Hasan Shāh (A.D. 1472-1484), in a debased form due to financial troubles.


⁴R.T., IV, 495; VII, 145, 414, 1118; VIII, 124, 1918.


⁶G. Cunningham, Coins of Mediavel India, pp. 36-37.
uniformity of type, a great deal of constancy in metal and
weight is also noticeable from king Śaṅkaravarmā (A.D. 883-
902) onwards. The coins we are dealing with consist ex-
clusively almost of copper. The greater number of copper coins
of our period which Cunningham considered range from 85 to 95
grains each, the average of about 30 good specimens of 30
different kings being 91 grains. He gives the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Obverse Seated Goddess</th>
<th>Reverse Standing Raja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Aditya Varma</td>
<td>Adi ...</td>
<td>..njita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Sankara Varma</td>
<td>Sangkara</td>
<td>Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Gopāla Varma</td>
<td>Gopāla</td>
<td>Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Sugandha Rāṇī</td>
<td>Sri Sugandhā</td>
<td>Devya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Parthā Varma</td>
<td>Parthā</td>
<td>Varma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Chakra Varma</td>
<td>Cha...</td>
<td>(Va)ma Deva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Unmatti Varma</td>
<td>Sri</td>
<td>Unma Śtī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mixed Dynasty**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Metal</th>
<th>Names</th>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Yaśaskara</td>
<td>Yaskara</td>
<td>Deva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Parvva Gupta</td>
<td>Sri Parvva</td>
<td>Gupta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Kshema Gupta</td>
<td>Kshema Gupta</td>
<td>pta De-Śva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Names</td>
<td>Obverse Seated Goddess</td>
<td>Reverse Standing Raja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Diddakshema Gupta</td>
<td>Di Kshema Gupta-pta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Abhimanyu Gupta</td>
<td>Abhimanyu Gupta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Nandi Gupta</td>
<td>Nandi Gu-pta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Tribhuvana Gupta</td>
<td>Tribhuvana Gupta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Bhima Gupta</td>
<td>Bhima Gu-pta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Didda Rani</td>
<td>Sri Didda Devya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Sangrama Deva</td>
<td>Sangrama Ra-ja Deva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Ananta Deva</td>
<td>Ananta Ra-ja Deva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Kalasa</td>
<td>Kalasa Ra-ja Deva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>BiL</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Kalasa</td>
<td>Prama...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Harsha, 73 grains</td>
<td>Horseman with lance to r. Harsha Deva</td>
<td>Goddess seated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Ditto, 72 grains</td>
<td>Elephant to right</td>
<td>Sri Harsha Deva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>Ditto, 23.5 grains</td>
<td>Same as 22</td>
<td>Sri Harsha Deva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Harsha Raja Deva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Uchchala</td>
<td>Uchchala Deva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Sussala</td>
<td>Sri Sussala Deva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Salla</td>
<td>Salla Ra-[3] Deva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Names</td>
<td>Obverse Seated Goddess</td>
<td>Reverse Standing Raja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Jaya Sinha Deva I</td>
<td>Sri Jaya Sinha</td>
<td>Deva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Some coins have</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jaya Sinha Raja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Jaya Sinha Deva II</td>
<td>Sri Vijaya Suta</td>
<td>Sinha Deva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29A</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Sri Jaya Siratna Deva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Paramanak</td>
<td>Sri Para/manaka/</td>
<td>Deva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Avanti Deva</td>
<td>Avanti</td>
<td>Deva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Jaga Deva</td>
<td>Jaga</td>
<td>Deva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Raja Deva</td>
<td>Sri Raja</td>
<td>Deva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first coin of this table which is ascribed to Adityavarman (probably meant for Avantivarman) belongs in reality to Nirjitavarman.¹ We attach here the plates bearing these coins.

Sir Aurel Stein agrees with Cunningham's above estimate of average weight and states that the issues of Samkaravarman, Kṣemagupta, Diddā and her successors were extremely common in his time. He also shares the view in taking these coins to correspond to the Punṣumu of Abul Fazl's account.² The lighter weight

of the Muhammadan copper coins, the average being 83 grains,\(^1\)
is due to the debasement caused by financial stringency experi-
enced often in the history of Kashmir.\(^2\) Stein is in agree-
ment with Cunningham in recognizing Kaṭemagupta's two half coins
weighing 45 grains each, as Bahaganis.\(^3\)

In this connection we may make mention of the copper coins
bearing the name Toramaṇa which, according to General Cunningham,
were the first independent coinage of Kashmir, or at least the
commencement of a new system of coinage,\(^5\) and have been the direct
models for the copper coinage of our period. A passage of the
Rajatarāṅgini\(^6\) refers to these coins and connects them with
a historical tradition. Though the several varieties of these
coins show differences in execution and in the characters of the

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\(^1\)General Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p.32.

\(^2\)Financial stringency forced Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) to resort to
breaking up and melting down divine images (R.T., VII, 1091 sqq;
1344). Jōnaraṇa records that Sultan Shahabu-d-din (A.D.1355-
1375) was advised to issue coins out of the copper images of
Śiva Vijayaśēvara and the Bṛhadbuddha (Jōnaraṇa, 427 sqq.). We
have already referred to Śrivara's reference to King Hasan Shah
(A.D. 1472-1484) who owing to financial troubles reduced in weight
the old copper Pānicaviṃśatika (Śrivara, III, 214).

\(^3\)Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p.32. Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.),
vol. II, p.315.

\(^4\)Coins of Medieval India, p.37.


\(^6\)R.T., III, 103.
legend, the general type is preserved all along. These coins which are believed to have served as a model for the coinage of the later Hindu rulers appear to have remained in circulation for a long time. That the coins known by the name of Toramaṇa were in circulation as late as the fifteenth century is evidenced by the chronicle of Srīvara. The chronicler informs us that Sultān Hasan Shāh, knowing that the coins of the Toramaṇa were no longer in circulation, introduced a new coin Dвидиннари made of lead. \(^1\) He further records that the Sultān, being in financial straits, reduced in weight the old copper Paṇcavimsatika. \(^2\) On this point Aurel Stein remarks: 'The fact of a circulation prolonged through at least eight centuries, the actual abundance of the coins and the variety of dies used for them – all these point to the conclusion that "Toramaṇas" were struck, not only by the king who bore this king, but by a succession of rulers after him.' \(^3\)

The average weight of the Toramaṇas is put at 110 grains and as the barbarous coins of the later Kushan princes vary from 100 to 125 grains, Cunningham \(^4\) believes that Toramaṇa had collected

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\(^1\)Srīvara, III, 213; Srītoramapadinnarāṁ nippracārāṁ avetya ca 1 dvidinnari nāgamayi nava tena pravartita 11

\(^2\)Srīvara, III, 214.


\(^4\)Later Indo-Scythians, p.63.
them and recoined in his own name.

There is extreme rareness of silver and gold coins of our period which made Aurel Stein to conclude that 'gold and silver cannot have formed in Hindu times an important part of the actual coined currency of Kāśmir'.¹ Prior to those of Hargā (A.D. 1089-1101), we do not read of any king of our period having introduced any gold and silver coins.² Whereas Hargā's copper coins bear the usual goddess and king,³ some new devices are noticeable in his silver and gold coinage. One gold type replaces the standing king by a horseman, the other both in gold and silver, bears on the obverse a standing elephant and on the reverse the king's inscription.⁴ Possibly the horseman is borrowed from the device of the Sāhi dynasty.⁵ According to Rapson, the elephant type was


²Narrating an anecdote Kalhaṇa (VI, 45 sqq.) refers to gold coins called Suvaṛgarupakas but these have no relation with the coinage of Kashmir as they are recorded to have been brought from abroad by a Brahmaṇa.

Before proceeding to his kathe to breathe his last, king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948) is recorded to have left two and a half thousand pieces of gold bound up in the hem of his dress (dve sahasre suvaṛṣasya śārdhe). But the general sense of the expression makes it uncertain whether real coins are meant.


⁴Cunningham, Coins of Medieval India, p.45.

⁵Rapson, Indian Coins (Grundriss, II, 3), Strassburg, 1897, p.32.
borrowed from Koṅgudeśa (West Mysore).

Aurel Stein is in accord with Cunningham's assumption that the silver coin of Hārṣa which weighs 23.5 grains was intended to represent 5 Hāths 'Five Hundreds'. Cunningham gives the weight of two gold coins he includes in his list as 73 and 72 grains and assuming the ratio of 1:8 between gold and silver, he believes that king Hārṣa's gold coin was intended for 12 1/2 sāsuns.

In addition to metallic currency, the cowree was used in ancient Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, as another medium of exchange. Reference is made to the cowree as the lowest monetary value in a passage of the Rajatarangini which refers to a favourite of king Saṃgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028), who started with a cowrie (vāraṭaka) but later amassed crores. Kṣemendra gives a description of a miserly trader who, after plundering his customers throughout the day, sends only three cowrees every evening for his household expenses. His Samavatika refers to another such character who sends his contribution to a dinner party, only one tola of oil, two of salt, and two cowrees (śvetikā) for veget-

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1 Ibid., p.36.
3 Coins of Medieval India, p.33.
4 R.T., VII, 112. Jonarāja (588) also contrasts cowree and crore.
5 Kalavilāsa, II, 5, 7.
6 Samavatika, VIII, 80.
able. Śrīvara refers to soldiers who did not own a cowree but later made fortunes and decked themselves in golden bracelets.¹ This presumably shows 'that the unit of Kaśmīr monetary system was originally the cowree'.²

Before examining the prices in ancient Kashmir, it is important to mention that the measure of Khāri was often used in the sense of a weight for grain and has remained, until quite recently, the standard of weight in Kashmir.³ Scattered references in the Kashmirian literature are not helpful in forming a clear idea of the system on which it was based in regard to its relation with other measures such as Droṇa (not mentioned in the Kashmirian texts), Tola and Pala. In the Arthasastra,⁴ we read that 16 Droṇas = 1 Khāri. Droṇa is also referred to as a measure of weight for gains such as wheat, barley, muṅg etc. as also for salt, rāla etc.⁵ The Arthasastra refers to four kinds of Droṇas, those containing 16²/₂, 17⁵, 18⁷/₂ and 200 Palaś respectively. The difference of 1²/₂ Palaś between these figures must have carried some significance. On this point Prannath writes:

¹Śrīvara, IV, 100.
³The Khāri, mentioned in the Rgveda (IV. 32. 17), was also used as a weight for grain in some regions outside Kaśmīr (ASR, 1902-3, p. 258 ff.)
⁴Arthasastra, II, 19.
⁵EI, I, p.97 ff; cf. EI, X, p.17 ff.
'The uniform difference of 12 1/2 palas between each of these dropas is very remarkable, and was no doubt intended to serve some definite purpose. The use of the different varieties of the same (nominal) measures of weight has evidently been established from ancient times in India; and perhaps we find a perpetuation of such a system in the different sections of the same market at the present day.'1 Though the measure of Dropa does not appear to have been known in Kashmir and was valued differently in different parts of India, still some idea can be formed from these references. Following the Arthasastra equation that 16 Dropas = 1 Khāri, and taking into account all the four values of Dropa (162 1/2, 175, 187 1/2, 200 Palas), we see that a Khāri shall have 2600, 2800, 3000 and 3200 Palas. These figures of values in Palas of a Khāri come sufficiently high to the one (1920 Palas) supposed to have been reckoned in Kashmir. It is seen from a comparison of Abul Fazl's2 account of the weights and measures and the table of weights used in the last century as given by W.R.Lawrence,3 that the weights and the divisions of a Khāri (Khar, Kharwar) continued to be the same since the time of Akbar. 1920 Palas are reckoned in a Khāri. Taking the Pala as equal to

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1 Pranmath, A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India, p.75.
to $3^{3/5}$ Tolas, the **Khāri** corresponds to $177^{129}/175$ lbs. avoirdupois. The *Rajatarangini* mentions the weight **Pala** as a measure of grape-juice and wool. In some parts of India, the **Pala** denoted a weight for saffron and betel-nuts, in others as a measure of oil. In the *Sāmkta* of Manu and Ṣājñavalkya, the **Pala** is referred to as a weight for gold and copper.

Looking back to the prices we have mentioned, it would seem that in normal times the price of rice in Kashmir, during the period under review and in former times, was fairly cheap. We have noticed that before the ninth century A.D. the usual price of a **Khāri** of rice was 200 **Dīnāras**, which would mean that one could buy with 4,000 **Dīnāras** or one rupee, 20 **Khāris** of rice, an incredibly low price. Even if we consider 1050 or 1000 **Dīnāras**, the rising prices of a **Khāri** of rice in times of famine already referred to, and which meant a five times rise from the usual price of a **Khāri** in peaceful times, we come to a measure of 4 **Khāris** or approximately 710 lbs. for 4,000 **Dīnāras** or one rupee. And in the year of famine under king Harṣa

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(A.D. 1089-1101), the price of a Khāri of rice rose to 500 Dināras which means about 10 Khāris of rice could be bought for 4,000 Dināras or one rupee. The account of Srīvara reveals that during the reign of king Zainu-l-ābidīn (A.D. 1420-1470), the price of a Khāri of rice in ordinary years was 300 Dināras while 1,500 Dināras were spent in a famine. This shows that during the Hindu period, the average rate for the Khāri of rice remained around 200 Dināras, which reflects the cheapness of rice in ancient Kashmir. In this context we should remember the wonderful irrigational reforms carried out during the reign of king Avantivarman as a result of which a Khāri of rice came to be bought for merely 36 Dināras, a fantastically low price. This forces us to admit that the reign of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) was the cheapest period in the history of Kashmir under review, so far as the price of rice the staple food of the Valley is concerned. And the strong possibility that the rates of other commodities also underwent some reduction cannot altogether be ruled out. If his successor had channelled their attention in this field, the necessity of levying fresh taxation, which deeply oppressed the people, might not have arisen.

1 Srīvara, I, 202.
2 Supra, p.f. 199-200...
The literature provides some, though very little, information about the prices of other victuals and the use of other weights and measures. Referring to the sad condition that followed the famine under king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101), Kalhaṇa records that the Pala of wool came to be bought for 6 Dīnāras. As 1920 Palas are reckoned in a Khāri, the price of a khāri of wool was then 11,520 Dīnāras or less than three rupees. The price of two Palas of grapes (mārdvika) was one Dīnāra which implies a price of 960 Dīnāras or about 1/4 rupee for a Khāri. So we notice that during this famine the price of rice went up about double the usual price in peace time. If we apply similar increase to the price of wool and grapes it would look that a Khāri of wool could be bought in normal times for only 5,760 Dīnāras or 1 1/2 rupees and grapes for 480 Dīnāras or about 1/8 rupee. This shows that the prices of rice, wool and grapes were astonishingly cheap in Kashmir in our times. This can be said in the case of other indigenous produce also though admittedly the prices of salt, pepper, tāmbula and hingu and other articles of import were comparatively very high. A fair idea can be had of the extreme cheapness of foodstuffs and other articles of daily use during the period under review from the merchant's account which Kalhaṇa records in con-

1 R.T., VII, 1221.

2 R.T., VII, 1220.
nection with the story of the law-suit shrewdly and wisely decided by king Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111). The items counted by the fraudulent merchant are: 600 Dinārās for bridge tolls; 100 Dinārās for the repair of a shoe and whip; 50 Dinārās for ghee as an ointment; 300 Dinārās as compensation for a load of broken pots; 100 Dinārās for mice and fish juice bought in the market to feed the kittens; 700 Dinārās for an ointment and quantities of rice, ghee and honey for a śrāddha; 100 Dinārās for honey and ginger for a sick child; 300 Dinārās for a beggar; 100-200 Dinārās for scent and other offerings to tantric gurus.\(^1\) This shows that about a dozen different items of expenditure covering the necessities of life of a Kashmiri were covered with only half a rupee. We must not forget that these represent the grossly exaggerated charges of a deceitful merchant. Winding up the discussion we are led to say that the prices of food and drinks and other articles of daily use, during the period under question were on the whole fairly cheap.

There are reasons to believe, and there is fair ground for doing so, that Khāris of rice (dānyakharī) formed quite often a means of payment of wages, rents\(^2\) etc. and of the collection

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\(^1\) R.T., VIII, 136-144.

\(^2\) In Kṣemendra's Lokenrakṣasa quoted by M.A. Stein R.T. (Eng. Tr.), vol. II, p.328, 'Khāris of rice (dānyakharī) are stated in
of the greatest part of the land revenues.\(^1\) That this system of revenue administration continued all along the centuries after the Hindu rule becomes evident from the account of Abul Fazl\(^2\). M. A. Stein remarks that 'such a system has survived in Kaśmir to the present day. As by far the greatest part of the land revenue was until quite recently collected in kind, it was the regular system for the state to pay all salaries, grants, etc., in grain or other produce taken from the state stores. Since the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh, the amounts payable to servants of the state were nominally fixed in rupees. These sums were then converted into "Sali" (rice) or other produce available in the state granaries according to the established commutation rates. Previously, however, even these nominal cash rates were unknown in official use, and all salaries, etc., were actually fixed in Khāris of rice. The custom thus established extended to the wages of all sorts of private servants, and has in this sphere been maintained to the present day.'\(^3\) The

\[^1\] R.T., V, 171 sqq.; VIII,
account of W.R. Lawrence is also valuable in this context. He writes: 'In 1889, when I commenced work, it might be said that money prices did not exist. Salaries were paid in grain, and I remember that in 1889, I was requested to take oil-seeds, in lieu of cash, in payment of the salary of myself and my department. Oil-seeds were looked upon as an appreciated currency. Not only did the state pay its officials in grain, but private persons paid their servants in the same fashion, and 16 to 20 Kharwars of Shali was the ordinary wages of a domestic servant. The currency was to a great extent Shali, and silver played a subsidiary part in the business of the country.'

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1W.R. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, p. 243.
Chapter VI

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

A comparative study of the archaeological findings and the literary works suggests that the dress of the inhabitants of Kashmir in the early centuries of the Christian era underwent some influence of Central Asian dress. Discussing the representations on the tiles that have been recovered from Harwan and have been dated by him to about A.D. 300, R. C. Kak writes that 'the physiognomy and, to some extent, the dress of the men and women are wholly unlike that of any of the races at present residing in Kashmir, or for the matter of that in India. Their facial characteristics bear close resemblance to those of inhabitants of the regions round about Yarkand and Kashgar, whose heavy features, prominent cheekbones, narrow, sunk and slanting eyes and receding foreheads, are faithfully represented on the tiles. Some of the figures are dressed in trousers and Turkoman caps. The only period when Kashmir had any intimate connection with Central Asia was during the supremacy of the Kushans in the early centuries of the Christian era, when Kashmir formed part of the Kushan empire, which extended from Mathūra in India to Yarkand in Central Asia.....

Among the other decorative motifs which reveal foreign influence
are the figures of mailed horsemen with flying scarves tied
to their heads, which are strongly reminiscent of the contem-
porary Sassanian art of Persia. In one of the tiles from
Harwan, a female dancer is represented as wearing a loose
robe reaching down to the knees and trousers. She holds a
long scarf in her hands, waving over her head. In another
tile a female musician who plays on a drum is dressed in
trousers. Under Central Asian influence a section of the
female population appears to have dressed in loose robes and
trousers. In addition to this kind of dress, a loose garment,
hemmed in at the middle and reaching the ankles formed another
dress of the few, as the tiles show. A figure of common oc-
currence in some tiles from Harwan represents a lady, dressed
in transparent robe which in all cases starts at the middle
and reaches the ankle. But what about the upper garment?

2Plate I, figure a.
3Plate I, figure b.
4Plate II.
It appears that some ladies used to cover the upper part of their body with a stole, as a lady is shown in one of the tiles wearing a thin robe and stole which hangs down in front from the back of the neck.\textsuperscript{1} It is curious to note that among the terracotta heads and a number of other pieces of art which have been found at Huskapura or modern Ushkar and have been placed at about the same period as that of Harwan by R. C. Kak,\textsuperscript{2} there is a broken pair of swelling breasts. Kak describes the breasts as 'large, round, closely pressed, and supported on a cloth (kucabandha) with wavy edge'.\textsuperscript{3} Perhaps some women used to cover their breasts with similar breastbinders. This dress, copied from the plains, seems to us to be a forerunner of the sāri. And the menfolk may have dressed in a robe and loose fitting trousers and Turkoman caps. The obvious inference that can be drawn from a curious fragmentary limb of a man, discovered from Ushkar, which reveals the lower part totally nude and the upper part dressed in ornamented jacket\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1}R. C. Kak, \textit{Ancient Monuments of Kashmir}, Plate XXV, figure 8.

\textsuperscript{2}\textit{Ancient Monuments of Kashmir}, pp. 152-153.

\textsuperscript{3}R. C. Kak, \textit{Handbook}, p.23.

that the jacket was also worn by some, especially the kings, princes and the rich.

But the outside influences do not seem to have captured the imagination of a large section of the people and hence lost its popularity as we do not find these types of dresses being mentioned in the literature of the Valley. In addition to the patriotic feelings for their dress, the severe cold weather of the Valley begged of them to remain loyal to their national dress which has been a long cloak reaching the ankles. A perusal of the Kashmirian literature tends to show that with the exception of a few changes here and there, the usual dress of the Kashmirians, both men and women, has since ancient times been a long cloak (prāvarā). A visitor to the Valley can still find the majority of the Pandit class dressed in their age-old dress - a long cloak.

Whereas, during the period under survey, the usual type of dress for both men and women remained the long cloak, we find an introduction of certain changes in fashion. Starting with the account of innovations under King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), Kalhaṇa writes: 'Formerly people in this country had, with the single exception of the king, worn their hair loose, had carried no head-dress and no ear-ornaments'.¹ This passage is a little

¹R.T., VII, 922.
confusing as earlier Dāmodaragupta and Kṣemendra refer to head-dress and ear-ornaments. Even Kalhaṇa in his earlier narrative mentioned head-dress and ear-ornaments. It so appears that he perhaps wants to tell his readers that formerly people had not appeared before the king dressed in head-dress and ear-ornaments as a mark of respect. In the next passage he writes: 'In this land where the commander-in-chief Madana, by dressing his hair in braids, and the prime minister Jayānanda, by wearing a short coat of bright colour, had incurred the king's displeasure, there this ruler introduced for general wear a dress which was fit for a king.' The passage points to the time of king Kalāśa (A.D. 1063-1089). What we get is that he introduced for general wear the dressing of hair in braids, a short coat, gorgeous head-dress and ear-ornaments. Looking at the recruitment of Muslim mercenaries in his army, we back M. A. Stein's hesitant presumption that the introduction of a short coat was in imitation of Muslim custom. We learn from the Rājarāṣṭrāṅgini that king Harṣa was greatly influenced by the customs of the south. Kalhaṇa says: 'As he was fond in his amusements of the Dākṣiṇātya (Dekkan) fashion, he intro-

\[^1\] R.T., VII, 923-924.
duced a coin-type (tanka) copied from that of Karpata.\(^1\) He further writes: 'His ladies of restless brows wore long garlands formed by their hair-braids into which were woven golden Kataka-lead ornaments; the pendants which they wore over their forehead-marks made the latter unsteady; they joined the corners of their eyes with their ears by a line drawn with collyrium; into the ends of their locks which were not veiled, were twined golden strings; with the hanging-down train of their lower garments they kissed the ground; their breasts were dressed in jackets which covered but half the length of their arms.'\(^2\) The garments of the ladies here referred to point to the modern sari. Even now the wife of a Pandit in Kashmir uses sari particularly in summer, in addition to the long cloak. During this period rich women in Gujarat also wore coloured and highly ornamented sari, petticoat and tight-fitting half sleeves and full-sleeved jackets. They perhaps also used a kind of brassiere under the bodice or jacket.\(^3\)

Martin Wickramasinghe, discussing the dress in ancient Ceylon,

\(^1\)R.T., VII, 926.
\(^2\)R.T., VII, 928-931.
\(^3\)A. K. Majumdar, Chalukyas of Gujarat, pp. 356-357.
observes that usually the women did not cover the upper part of their bodies except when they went out of their homes, when they cover their shoulders with a piece of cloth (uturusalu). Though the jacket seems to have been known, it was not worn as a regular custom.¹ Perhaps in Kashmir too, in summer the ladies did not cover the upper part of their body whereas they used to dress their breasts with jackets when appearing in public. We may conclude by saying that before and during the period under survey, the principle type of dress, of both men and women, has been a long cloak (pravāra). Under the fashions introduced by king Harṣa, some ladies, particularly those belonging to the royal household and very rich families, came to dress themselves in garments broadly spoken of as sari and men started wearing a short coat. The new fashions do not appear to have been widely adopted, were restricted to royalty and a few rich, while the majority stuck to their usual long cloak. We know from Kṣemendra who, giving a description of the prostitute, described her face as half-covered, that to cover their faces, the ladies perhaps sometimes used a veil.²

The long woollen cloak (pravāra) which both sexes wore was

¹ Martin Wickramasinghe, *Dress and ornament in Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 35-41.
² Desopadesa, III, 32-34.
not sufficient to combat the bitter winds, freezing rains and biting hail to which the Kashmiri was exposed. To protect himself against the severe cold, the Kashmiris invented the **kāngar** which has been in use since ancient times to the present day. The **kāngar** or brazier consists of two parts: *the inner earthenware vessel called kūṇḍal, wherein the fire is placed, and its encasement of wicker-work, which is sometimes very pretty, being tastefully ornamented with rings and brilliantly coloured. A little wooden or silver spoon (tshālan), tied to the handle (kānjih) completes this oriental brazier*. 1 It is a very nice and warm companion to a Kashmiri and whether he is at work or play, awake or asleep, sitting down or walking, he has the **kāngar** worn on the breast beneath his long cloak. According to M. A. Stein the Kashmiri name **kāngar** is derived from Sanskrit *kāsthāngarika*. 2 Rev. J. Hinton Knowles 3 thinks that the word **kāngar** comes direct from Sanskrit **kū** (kad and kā) as a prefix implying deterioration, depreciation, littleness and **aṅgāra** means charcoal heated or not heated. Hence **kū** + **aṅgāra** would mean a little heated charcoal, or a small portable


fireplace.

Rev. Hinton Knowles writes that 'it has been suggested that the Kaśmiris learnt the use of the kāngar from the Italians in the retinue of the Mughal Emperors who frequently visited the valley, during the summer months A.D. 1587-1753'.  

But the references in the Rajatarāṅgini and Sīkāntacarita of Maṅkha prove that it was their own invention and is being used in Kashmir since centuries past. Maṅkha writes: 'There (viz. in Pravarapura or Šrīnagar) at the approach of winter, the brazier (hasantika) which possesses many blazing holes, is flashing in the zenānas like a row of eyes of fire, which Love has adopted in order to conquer Śiva (who had burned up Love by his only eye of fire).'  

The word hasantika occurs also in the Rajatarāṅgini, where the sleeping room of Vikramāditya of Ujjainī is called lasad-dīptahasantika or 'shining with the blazing brazier'. In another passage Kalhaṇa, giving a description of the Brahmaṇas who had assembled to select a king, refers to their beards scorched by smoke (evidently from the kāngar).  

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1 Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIV, 1885, pp.265-266.  
2 Sīkāntacarita, III, 29.  
4 R.T., V, 462.
is further corroborated by the findings of कंघरा along with various earthen vessels from the site of Avantipura datable to the ninth century A.D.¹ Now, many songs and sayings in its praise are extant in the Valley. Two of them are: 'O कंघरा, O कंघरा, offerings for thee. Thou art a virgin of paradise, thou art a fairy.' The other is 'If there is not the heat of the fire in the bosom, one's precious life will undoubtedly come out'.² The Kashmiris were skilled in making pottery and made round earthen vessels for the कंघरा in which they excelled and varieties of other useful utensils such as जुग, जर, गहरे, बॉल, हांडी, incense burner, earthen lamp, etc. which have been recovered from the site of Avantipura dated to the ninth century A.D. They made not only figures of gods and goddesses and other pieces of decoration for the temples and houses but earthen ornaments also for personal decoration as कश्मीरिमेंद्र refers to earthen ear-rings used by poor ladies.³ The basket-makers of the Valley made the necessary baskets for the कंघरा and baskets for agricultural and other household purposes. Kashmir appears to have exported कंघरा to neighbouring regions particularly to

³Narmamāla, I, 75.
the Ladakhis.

The material employed in the preparation of clothing depended on the economic and social standing of the individuals. Whereas the rich used fine woollen, silken and linen clothing according to the weather, the poor had to content themselves with coarse material. Bilhaṇa refers to the use of bark garments by the people of his native land.¹ Some had to satisfy themselves with bhāṅga or hemp-made garments which were also supplied to the prisoners in the jail.² Kalhaṇa records that the common people in Kashmir used to wear cloaks made of coarse woollen shawls or fabric (sthūlakambala).³ Repeated references to the distribution of cows with calves and black antelope skin to the Brāhmaṇas by the kings of our period testify to the latter being utilised in the preparation of garments in addition to other purposes.⁴ Hīuen Tsang also observed the Kashmiris, wearing leather doublets and clothes of white linen.⁵ It looks from the description of a close-fisted miser who in

¹Vikramaśīkadevacarita, XVIII, 27.
²R.T., VII, 300; VIII, 93.
³R.T., V, 461.
⁴R.T., VII, 955; VIII, 2405.
order to curtail the expenditure, dresses himself in leather, that leather garments cost less than other materials.\(^1\) Kalhaṇa records the use of fine woollen blankets (kuthā) by the townsfolk.\(^2\) The rich also went in for blankets of hairs of the Raṅku deer which emitted the smell of musk.\(^3\) Kṣemendra refers to tūga blankets.\(^4\) King Sussala (A.D. 1121-1128) was wearing a warm woollen cloak (prāvāra) when he was murdered by the conspirators.\(^5\) Dāmodaragupta describes Cintamāṇi, the son of an officer, as wearing a yellow coloured gold embroidered cloth.\(^6\) A prostitute is described as receiving Chinese silk (Cinaṃśuka)\(^7\) from one of her admirers. During our period the use of the turban (śirahśata) was much in vogue.\(^8\) Whereas the common people wore turbans of ordinary material, the rich seem to have adorned themselves with nice-looking silky head-dresses. Head-dresses of white colour seem to have been much favoured

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1 R.T., IV, 349.
2 Deśopadeśa, II, 8-16.
3 Vikramaṅkadeva-carita, XVIII, 31.
4 Samayavatikā, VIII, 124.
5 R.T., VIII, 1310.
6 Kuttanitamata-kavya, 66.
7 Kuttanitamata-kavya, 344.
8 Narmamanā, I, 72. R.T., V, 356.
and Kalhara records that white head-dresses shed lustre on
the assembly of king Cakravarman.¹ The kings used to wear
heavily-ornamented and crescented crowns. We gather from the
Rajatarangini that a high diadem was fixed on king Harsa's
round, broad head-dress.² King Ananta's diadem 'was adorned
with five resplendent crescents'.³ A sculpture of Avalokiteś-
vara found at Pandrethen is crowned with a three-peaked diadem.⁴
A Viṣṇu image from Avantipura is wearing an elaborately jewelled
three-peaked tiara.⁵ The soldiers in Kashmir wore on their
heads the hero's band (vīrapatta).⁶

The necessity to protect the body with warm clothes
throughout the year encouraged the wool industry in Kashmir.
The history of 'Kashmir wool' for shawls and other fabrics
for which there arose a strong demand in the whole world in
more recent times can be traced back to our period. The popular
tradition in Kashmir as recorded by Charles Hugel⁷ has been
that the shawl industry in Kashmir was established by sultan
Zainul-Ābidīn (A.D. 1420-1470) who invited weavers from Turkestan

¹R.T., V, 356.
²R.T., VII, 876.
³R.T., VII, 195.
⁴R. C. Kak, Handbook, p.32.
⁵Ibid., p.50.
⁷Charles Hugel, Travels in Kashmir, pp. 118-119. Irwin, The
for this purpose. The account of Śrīvara describes Zainul-Abidin as a great lover of literature and art. The stories of the sultan's fine tastes spread to other regions and, appreciating his interests in textiles, Rāṇa Kumbhā (A.D. 1433-1468) of Chitor sent him as a present printed cloth called nārikufijara and sultan Māḥmūd Beghā (A.D. 1458-1511) presented him with cloths such as katepha, saglata and sopha. Śrīvara leaves on record that numerous skilled artisans considering him as the wishing tree flocked from distant places like swarming black bees. As a result the Kashmiris, becoming masters of the intricacies of the shuttles (turī) and looms (vema) now weave beautiful and costly silks. They also weave special woollen textiles (aurpa, sopha) of foreign origin which are worthy of kings. Looking at the patterns (citra) and creeper designs (lakākrta) achieved by intricate weaving process (vicitravayana), the painters get silenced as the figures in the painting. The king's costumes and the country


1. Śrīvara, VI, 137.
2. Śrīvara, VI, 25.
3. Śrīvara, VI, 27.
4. Śrīvara, VI, 29.
5. Śrīvara, VI, 30.
of Kashmir have become famous on account of the silks made of endless yarns, and carefully dyed (varnevakchittī).\(^{1}\)

Undoubtedly, the account of Śrīvara is indicative of the great development that took place in the field of weaving in the time of Zainul-Ābīdin. But on the evidence of Kṣemendra and Kalhapa it can safely be said that there existed in Kashmir a fine weaving industry much earlier than the fifteenth century. Kṣemendra refers tuṣa-pravāra\(^{2}\) and paryenta-tustaka.\(^{3}\) The woollen shawls were manufactured from the wool of the tug goat and we find tug shawls mentioned in later accounts\(^{4}\) which refer to the great strides that the shawl industry of Kashmir made in modern times. Kāśmirī and Bhōṣa (Tibetan) shawls find a prominent place in the list of shawls mentioned by Keśava, a seventeenth century Sanskrit lexicon.\(^{5}\)

At another place Kṣemendra refers to lohitakambala.\(^{6}\) As in ancient texts,\(^{7}\) the Kashmirian literature also uses kambala

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\(^{1}\) Śrīvara, VI, 31.
\(^{2}\) Deśopadesa, V, 21.
\(^{3}\) Narmamāla, I, 72.
\(^{5}\) Kalpadrumaśa (ed. Sharma), 280-282.
\(^{6}\) Narmamalā, I, 111.
\(^{7}\) A.V., XIV, 2, 66-67; Divyavadāna, p.316.
as a generic term for shawl and woollen fabric. Kṣemendra describes
the heroine Kaṅkālī while serving as a nurse to a rich man's son,
as dressed in a shawl (kambala) reaching to her ankles. Kṣe-
mendra seems to have been fully acquainted with weaving business
as he refers to the teacher employed in the house of a kāvastha
to teach the children but who, neglecting his duties, whiles away
his time in spinning (kastana), drawing out the patterns (likhana)
and weaving the patterns on the strips with tujis or eyeless
wooden needles (sucīpattikāvāna). This reference is very
instructive and shows the process of shawl-weaving in Kashmir
during the period under review. We learn from Kalhaṇa that Saṃ-
karapura or Pattana, the town founded by king Saṃkaravarman (A.D.
883-902) was famous for the weaving of woollen cloth and pur-
chase and sale of cattle. All this proves the existence of
a good shawl industry in Kashmir during the period under survey.
That Kashmir supplied shawls and other woollen goods not only to
the neighbouring regions but as far as Western India becomes
evident from the account of Udayaprabha Śūri who in his Dharmabh-

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1 Samayamātrkā, II, 70.
2 Narmamālā, II, 45.
3 R.T., V, 162.
yudaya (written c. 1233) mentions that Kashmir shawls (Kāsmira-vasana) were used for worship in the saṅghas and caityas.\(^1\)

Sarīr-us-sudūr, a work composed in the time of Muhammad Bin Tughlaq containing the sayings of Shaykh Farīd-ud-Dīn, records that in the time of Alāuddin (A.D. 1296-1316) Kashmir shawls could be bought in Delhi and that Shaykh Nizāmuddin Auliya possessed one such shawl.\(^2\)

Shoes were an indispensable part of the dress in Kashmir and leather seems to have been chiefly employed for the manufacture of different kinds of shoes.\(^3\) Perhaps black antelope skin, which the Brahmānas usually received as gifts from the kings, was used for preparing shoes.\(^4\) The poor, who also used to wear bark garments, perhaps wore shoes of bark which was available in abundance in forests.\(^5\) Wooden sandals were also known to the Kashmirians.\(^6\) The shoes of the rich and of the aristocrats were decorated, as Damodaragupta refers to shoes having steel soles and floral decorations outside.\(^7\)

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\(^1\)Dharmeśhrayudaya, I, 71.

\(^2\)Indian History Congress Proceedings of the 13th Session, Nagpur, p.168.

\(^3\)R.T., VIII, 137.

\(^4\)Sūtra, p.61.

\(^5\)Vikramāndikāvya, XVIII, 27.

\(^6\)Narmamālā, I, 110.

\(^7\)Kuttinimatākāvya, 64.
mentions a peacock shoe (mayūropāna) and many other articles sent home by the Kayastha while he is on a tour, which perhaps points to shoes having peacock feathers outside. The leather-tanner occupied a low position in society and lived in poor huts. 

The urge of men and women to adorn themselves with various kinds of ornaments is reflected in ancient Indian literature. As in other parts of India, in Kashmir also, men and women, rich and poor, wore different types of ornaments of different material. The information which we glean from the literary sources is corroborated by the archaeological findings. Some ornaments were common to both the sexes. Of the important ones worn by the women mention may be made of ear rings (valayayugalam, taḍiyugalam, taḍidala, karpīkā, karpakundala), wristlets (kaṇkana), armlets (keyūra), bracelets (pārihāra), necklaces or chains (hāra, ārākha, sūtikā, mālīka), girāles (kānci, mekhala) and anklets (mahājira). Damodaragupta refers to a particular

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1 Narmamāla, I, 124.
2 R.T., IV, 55.
3 Samavatārakā, II, 70; III, 326; IV, 720; V, 356, 373.
4 R.T., V, 359.
6 Samavatārakā, I, 14; II, 37; VI, 6.
7 R.T., I, 206-209, 257.
kind of ear ring known as kanakanādi and armelet called
valayakalāpi. 1 Bilhāpa particularly refers to the necklaces
as worn by the couples of his native land who 'were ebullient
with free sports in the windows of the host of houses on
either bank of Vītāśa'. 2 Bilhāpa takes pride in the jingling
girdles of the women of his native country. 3 In Medieval
Ceylon where ornaments were as extensively used as in Kashmir,
the sound of the girdle-band and the anklets is compared to
the music of Anāṅga. 4 At another place the Kāv-śilumina says:
'Because of the sound produced by the girdle-band, the waist
seemed to roar being unable to bear the weight of the breasts,
and because of the sound produced by the anklets, the legs
seem to roar being unable to bear up the weight of both.' 5
Kalhaṇa also refers to the jingling of a lady with her graceful
anklets. 6 All these and many other kinds of ornaments were
commonly used all over ancient India. 7

1 Kuttānimata-kāvya, 342, 358.

2 Vikramaṅka-devacarita. XVIII, 9.

3 Vikramaṅka-devacarita. XVIII, 17, 21.

4 Kāv-śilumina, 293.

5 Ibid., 205.

6 R.T., I, 247.

7 Rāmacarita, III, 33–34. Naṣaḍhacarita, I, 38; VII, 80,
IX, 104; X, 116; XV, 53.
In the Trisastisalakapurusacarita\(^1\) of Hemacandra, tilaka is mentioned as the fourteenth ornament for a woman. Kalhaṇa records that in the time of king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), the ladies wore pendants (tilaka) over their forehead-marks. In addition, they wove their hair-braids with golden ketaka-leaf ornaments (suvaramketakapatraṇaka). The ends of their locks were twined with golden strings (kēṣantabaddha-hemopavītakāh).\(^2\) It may again be mentioned that these fashions introduced by king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) seem to have been confined only to the royal ladies and those belonging to rich families. We know from Kṣemendra that whereas the rich ladies adorned themselves with ornaments of silver, shell etc., the poor had to content themselves with those of earthen-ware (ladenmytkarpabhūṣane).\(^3\)

The kings of Kashmir adorned themselves with profusely jewelled ornaments such as necklaces, bracelets, finger rings, pearl strings and ear rings.\(^4\) Writing on the ornaments worn

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\(^1\)Trisastisalakapurusacarita, I, 229.

\(^2\)R.T., VII, 928-931.

\(^3\)Narmamalā, I, 75.

\(^4\)R.T., III, 241; IV, 69, 440, 458.
by the kings, Abu Zaid says: 'They [i.e. the kings of the Indies] wear also collars of great price, adorned with precious stones of diverse colours, but especially green and red; yet pearls are what they most esteem; and their value surpasses that of all other jewels .... The grandees of their court, the great officers and captains wear the like jewels in their colours.' In Kashmir, whereas the ministers, influential kṣesthas, rich merchants and others of sound means used precious ornaments, the poor had to satisfy themselves with those of cheap and coarse material. Whereas Cintāmaṇi, the son of an officer, is recorded in the Kuttānīmatakāvya of Damodaragupta as wearing gold necklaces, finger rings and two kinds of ear rings viz. dalabītsaka and sisapatraka, his attendant is wearing round his neck cheap kācavartakamalā and bangles of conch shell. Kṛṣṇendrā describes a saffron merchant's son as wearing an ear ornament (karpabharagakāmcana) and gold finger rings (hemaavālakavālikā). Ornamental ear rings known as kundala like those of women and gold chains (śrīkhala) were worn by the male population.

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1 Ancient Accounts of India and China, pp. 98-99.
2 Kuttānīmatakāvya 63-65, 67.
3 Samayamatrākā, II, 10-11; VII, 13 ff.
4 Samayamatrākā, II, 51. R.T., IV, 720; V, 373.
In Kashmir, various ornaments were not only studded with various kinds of gems and stones but bore different designs. Besides, in some cases the ornaments bore the name of the wearer as the story of king Jayāpīḍa reveals. Jayanta, the king of Pundravardhana in Bengal, learnt about the presence in his territory of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir by a bracelet bearing the latter's name, which had been found between the teeth of a lion killed by Jayāpīḍa.\(^1\) It may passingly be mentioned that, as in Kashmir, in Medieval Ceylon also, the ornaments besides being studded with various kinds of stones, bore different figures also.\(^2\)

The archaeological material corroborates the information derived from the literature. Some tiles from Harwan portray men and women seated on a balcony. They show large ear rings, necklaces, armlets and wristlets.\(^3\) Another tile represents a standing woman, holding a vase of flowers on upraised right hand. She also wears the same kind of ornaments.\(^4\) Other tiles have a

\(^1\) *R.T.*, IV, 456-458.

\(^2\) *Saddharmarātaṇavāliya*, 337.

\(^3\) R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, plate XX; pl. XXII, figures 1 and 2; pl. XXIII, figures 3 and 4.

\(^4\) *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV, figures 5 and 6; pl. XXV, figure 7.
standing female musician and a female dancer respectively. Both wear large ear rings.\(^1\) Another tile shows a standing soldier with different weapons. He, too, wears large ear rings.\(^2\) The sculptural fragments from Ushkur also say much in this direction. Of a shoulder piece, 'the upper arm is adorned with a beaded armlet which seems to have been connected by a similar band with the necklace'.\(^3\) A fore-arm piece has a bangle round the wrist.\(^4\) Two other fragments of a fore-arm are dressed in beautiful wristlets.\(^5\) Another fragmentary piece of left hand wears a ring on the little finger.\(^6\) The Bōdhisattva Avalokitēśvara from Pandrethan is wearing 'heavy jewelled wristlets, an elaborate jewelled necklace, a garland disposed in the manner of the Brahmanical thread, a jewelled girdle to fasten the short dhōthī with, and a long and loose flower garland which almost frames in the body on all sides'.\(^7\)

\(^1\)Ibid., pl. XXVII, figures 11 and 12.
\(^2\)Ibid., pl. XXIV, figure 6.
\(^3\)R. C. Kak, Handbook, p. 26, BC. 52.
\(^4\)Ibid., p. 26, BC. 63.
\(^5\)Ibid., p. 26, BC. 64 and 66.
\(^6\)Ibid., p. 26, BC. 68.
\(^7\)Ibid., pp. 31 and 32.
flying Gandharvas. They are profusely ornamented with necklaces, ear rings and strings of pearls. Other fragments from the site also show the same kind of ornaments. In an upper part of a relief representing the birth of Siddhartha, the queen-mother Maya and her sister are adorned with various kinds of necklaces, armlets, wristlets, ear rings and other head ornaments. The two sculptures of Bodhisattvas from Parihāsapura wear low-hanging necklaces. A Yakṣa from Parihāsapura is elaborately ornamented with various types of low-hanging necklaces, armlets, wristlets and waist bands. Three Vijaya images from Avantipura are very much alike and are heavily ornamented in jewelled necklaces, armlets, bangles and waist bands. In a piece of sculpture representing Ardhanārīśvara, the hand of the goddess is profusely ornamented with wristlets. A mutilated sculpture of Śrī, the goddess of Fortune, from Vijabror, wears large ear rings, a different set of necklaces

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4 *Ibid.*, pp. 43 and 44.
and armlets.\(^1\) A Vigna from the same site has a necklace and armlets on his body.\(^2\)

It is interesting to note that on a pair of swelling breasts found at Ushkur there appears not only a pearl necklace but also another chain of pearls running over the breasts.\(^3\) From this it follows that the ladies of Kashmir used to wear chains of pearls on the breasts. This ornament seems to have been in vogue in Medieval Ceylon also as Wickramasinghe conjectures. Explaining this, he writes that this chain was connected with the pearl necklace, and further fell between the breasts and then round the breasts.\(^4\)

There appears to have been a well developed industry in jewellery in Kashmir during the period under survey. The Kashmirian goldsmiths were experts in jewellery making. Kgemendra, who appears to have been zealously fond of jewellery and possessed first-hand knowledge about it, gives in his Kalavilása some very valuable information about the technical processes and implements employed by the Kashmirian goldsmiths as also

\(^1\) R. C. Kak, Handbook, p. 59.
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 61.
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 23.
\(^4\) Martin Wickramasinghe, Dress and Ornament in Ancient Ceylon, pp. 52, 53.
their methods of cheating the customers. He informs us that the goldsmiths used hard and soft touch-stones to test the quality of gold and also to deceive the customer.¹ Their stone-weights (tulotpala), oily, sweaty, sandy, waxy and hot, were meant for false weighing.² For the dishonest, the crucibles (musha) were double-sided (dviputa), liable to break after absorbing gold (suvargarasapavini) or enabled the dishonest goldsmith to mix stealthily with it copper, lead etc.³ The cheating goldsmiths also manipulated the scales by making them uneven, hollow, crooked, soft, knotted and heavy. They used mercury to make the pans heavier. Cut edges were also kept. Weighing in heavy wind when the dust accumulated in the pans gave them an opportunity to falsify the weight.⁴ It appears as if Kgemendra had visited the goldsmith's shop when writing about his fire he says that the flames were ringed, smoky, crackling and slow. Those dishonest goldsmiths purposefully put copper powder in it in order to mix it with the molten gold.⁵ Kgemendra does not forget to tell us the technique employed by the goldsmiths

¹Kalavilasa, VIII, 4.
²Kalavilasa, VIII, 5.
³Kalavilasa, VIII, 6.
⁴Kalavilasa, VIII, 7-8.
⁵Kalavilasa, VIII, 10.
to impart false shine to ornaments. For this they put soda
and salt in a slow cowdung fire and heated the ornaments in it. 1
Another method employed by the dishonest goldsmiths was to
secrete particles of gold in repoussé ornaments which were
to be provided with the lac cores so that the gold particles
could be easily removed at the time of providing the lac cores. 2
Ujjavalena was the process of polishing or burnishing, and
asmakala the process of fixing gold plate on the stone mould to
obtain the desired design in repoussé after heating it into
the required design. 3 The account of Kṣemendra demonstrates
the technical process involved in jewellery making in eleventh-
century Kashmir.

In this connection we may mention that gold washing in
Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, seems to have been a profession
for some of the Kashmirians, particularly carried out in the
upper Kīṣangāṅga Valley. Gold washing in ancient times by the
Dards of the Kīṣangāṅga Valley is referred to in the classical
notices. 4 Presumably, Bilhana 5 knew of gold carried by the

1Kālāvilāsa, VIII, 13.
2Kālāvilāsa, VIII, 15.
3Kālāvilāsa, VIII, 16.
5Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVII, 5.
Kiśangāṅga River and its tributaries. The frontier watchstation or the Drahga referred to by Kalhaṇa 'situated on the direct route from the Uttar Pargāṇa to the Sarada Tīrtha (Sardi) on the Kiśangāṅga is known to the local Brahmanas as Sunadrang, the "Gold-Drang", and hence its names appears in the Mahātmya as Suvardhāṅgaka'. It is not certain whether there was duty of any kind on the river gold during the Hindu period as Kalhaṇa is silent on the subject. But Sultan Zainul-ābidīn (A.D. 1420-1470) is said to have levied a tax on the gold washers according to which they had to give to the state one sixth of the gold they collected. Most probably Jonārāja's reference to gold washing points to the Kiśangāṅga Valley.

Ivory was much used in ancient Kashmir in the manufacture of ornaments and other articles and medieval Kashmir seems to have been a centre of ivory carving. Damodamagupta records Cintāmanī, the son of an officer, as wearing in his pendulous ear an ornament of ivory (dantapāṅkṭi) which had a swordlike (karpāṭra) end. Kṣemendra describes the Niyogi as wearing a

2 Jonārāja, 885 seq.
4 Kuttenimatakāvya, 62.
cap made of tiny strips and peaked (susūkshmadalavinyāsanavidhagonnataṭippikam). The Deśopadesa of Kṣemendra refers to ivory figures. Kṣemendra asserts in a double entendre that 'the wealth of a miser lives in his dirty teeth and the blanket browned with smoke in the same way as the goddess Śrī of the untouchable Chandāla lives in the figures made of dirty ivory (dantesu malapūrneṣu) which are wrapped in their dirty blankets'. Similar figures are referred to in the Harṣacarita as well. Rajyavardhana expresses his desire to relinquish the royalty thus: 'I want to give up Rajyalakṣmī in the same way as the untouchables throw away the ṛṣeṇ figures decorated with variegated rags obtained from the shrouds, pleasing to people and stuck to the bamboo top.'

In Kashmir, men like women, were in the habit of keeping long hair. They kept long beards and moustaches. The usual style of dressing the hair appears to have been brushing it upwards and perhaps gathering it in a knot at the back. One of the terracotta heads from Ushkur depicts a Brahman ascetic. He has a shaggy beard and 'the hair is neatly brushed upwards and

1Narmamālā, I, 47; tuppika in I, 110.
2Deśopadesa, II, 30.
3Agarwala, Harshacharita, p.117.
was probably gathered in a knot at the back of the head where it was kept in position by an ornamental band.\(^1\) Another terracotta head of Bōdhisattva from Ushkur shows an ornamental treatment of the hair. The twisted dandified locks are secured by a beaded fillet placed sidewise.\(^2\) The rich fashionable Kashmiris appear to have treated their hair in such ornamental ways.

Dāmodaragupta informs us that fashionable people attached combs to their long hair.\(^3\) He also records that their hair was, at times, joined with tassels of various colours.\(^4\) The Rājatarangini\(^5\) refers to hair braids (jutasraj).\(^6\) The hair of a Viṣṇu image from Avantipura, crowned with jewelled three-peaked tiara, is 'arranged in very neatly frizzled curly braids which fall regularly upon his shoulders'.\(^7\) To the same place belongs heads of a three-headed Śiva whose hair is 'gathered in an ornamental coiled knot on the top'.\(^8\) And the hair of Śrī, the goddess of Fortune, from Vījābror 'is brushed back and gathered in a two-horned knot on the top of the head'.\(^9\) Such a style might

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\(^2\) Ibid., p.15.

\(^3\) Kuṭṭänimatakāvya, 62.

\(^4\) Kuṭṭänimatakāvya, 65.

\(^5\) R.T., VII, 928.


\(^7\) Ibid., p.56.

\(^8\) Ibid., p.59.
have been practised by some. But the most common style of
dressing the hair, for both male and female, was to brush it
upwards and collect it sometimes in a knot at the back of the
head, and sometimes falling in tresses on the shoulders. The
hair of both men and women who have been depicted in different
postures on the tiles from Harwan, is dressed in this fashion.¹
The hair of an Upāsika head from Ushkur is 'smoothly combed
back and falling in curly tresses on the shoulders'.² The
royal ladies had braids of hair.³ At times the women wore
different kinds of flowers in their locks.⁴

The literature of the Valley makes constant reference to
the application of various unguents by both the sexes. The im-
portance of various kinds of cosmetics was fully realised in
Kashmir and the most frequent reference is to anointing the
body with saffron paste since saffron (kunkuma), being an import-
ant product of Kashmir since ancient times, was available in
abundance. But it is seen that the narrative of Kalhapa re-
peatedly refers to the use of saffron as an unguent as a royal

¹R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, pls. XX, XXII, XXIII.
³R.T., VII, 928.
⁴R. T., VII, 928-931.
prerogative. Bilhaṇa refers to gracious breasts of 'the women of Kashmir, warm with a smear of smooth saffron-paste'. Kalhaṇa refers to its application by the male population and his narrative reveals that it was mostly applied on the forehead. Sometimes the Kashmirian kings, who kept long beards, are said to have painted them with saffron ointment. Kalhaṇa points out that it was considered a mark of honour if one was bestowed with saffron ointment and other such things by the king. In addition, the ladies applied sandal-wood paste and camphor. They 'joined the corners of their eyes with their ears by a line drawn with collyrium'. In order to look more attractive and gay, some reddened their lips and feet with lac. We have already referred to the prevalence of the practice of chewing the betel as a luxury in Kashmir. It seems to have formed an important part of the toilet and an aid to beauty for the rich and aristocrats. The betel struck an observant eye of some of the foreigners. In the eighteenth century Careri

1R.T., VIII, 1119, 1897, 3166.
2Vikramāṇaṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 31. 3R.T., VIII, 3100.
4R.T., VI, 120.
5R.T., VIII, 1119.
6R.T., VII, 928-931.
7Kuttanānimataśākya, 7.113.
enthusiastically remarks: 'The betal makes the lips so Fine, Red and Beautiful, that if the Italian Ladies could, they would purchase it for the weight of gold.'

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

In Kashmir, which is a place of enjoyment on account of its natural beauty with its picturesque and magnificent mountains, lakes, springs, forests, glens, streams, beautiful flowers, chattering birds and pleasing gardens, the people amused themselves in their leisure time by many kinds of sport, singing, dancing, music and drama. Though the literature acquaints us with the names of a number of games, we do not obtain detailed information on this subject. Some tiles discovered at Harwan bespeak indeed about some of the games. Both the literary and the archaeological sources reveal that music, dancing, singing and theatre were widely cultivated in ancient Kashmir.

The most popular forms of amusement both for the kings and the people seem to have been water sports and park amusements. The kings of Kashmir being fond of sport and amusements, not only had royal gardens and tanks but some of them and some ministers as well had gardens and ponds made for the common people. The gardens of Kashmir, records Bilhana, 'have a wonderful arrangement on account of the closeness of the sport-trees dark with swarms of hovering bees; there the women awaken with their glances the flower-bowed one (i.e. Cupid) asleep in the myriad twigs which are like the burning wrath of the unrestrained Siva'.

1Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 13.
historian further records that 'there is no pleasure-garden where there is no tank for amorous sports; there is no tank where there is no lady who is the alluring instrument of Cupid, and there is no such lady into whose amorous snare of deep love young men, overpowered by strokes of erotic discourse, do not certainly fall'. ¹ Kalhaṇa records that with the exception of the wishing tree (kalpadruma), all other trees were found in the Nandana grove of king Hārṣa (A.D. 1089-1101).² King Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-1149) is said to have had a passion for restorations (jirmodhdhrti), and we are told that under his careful direction many gardens, tanks, temples and mathas were restored.³ Referring to the foundations of some ministers of king Jayasimha Kalhaṇa writes that Śṛiṅgāra (the eldest brother of the poet Maṅkha), who was holding the post of tantrapati, got constructed a matha, a garden and an oblong tank by the hill of Śrīdvara.⁴ In the royal gardens the kings of Kashmir seem to have sported with their queens, enjoying nature and amusing themselves with singing and dancing. Park amusements constituted an

¹Vikramaṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 20.
²R.T., VII, 939.
³R.T., VIII, 2376-2380.
⁴R.T., VIII, 2422.
important diversion of Indian kings since ancient times and we find Jataka stories mentioning the special seat of the king in the park 'from where he watches the girls sing and dance while resting on the lap of one of his favourite queens'.¹ The gardens in Kashmir provided amusement also to the common people in their leisure time.

In Kashmir water sports appear to have been popular though we do not get any detailed description of them. Bilhaṇa writes that in Kashmir, 'having wiped off saffron paste from the slopes of breasts of women during their passionate bathing sports and holding the lover on the lap, the Jhelum, as if out of infinite anger due to jealousy, every moment pulls their locks, black like bees, with hands in the shape of waves.'² Bilhaṇa's reference to amorous sports in the tanks shows that water sports provided more sensual pleasure than anything else. The kings and queens, men and women, all amused themselves with water sports in tanks and rivers but we do not glean definite information how exactly they played. It appears that Bilhaṇa who earlier in the tenth canto of his Vikramaṅkadevacarita, describes in some detail the practice of water sports in Karpāṭaka, did not think it proper to repeat again the detailed information of their mode

¹R. Mehta, Pre-Buddhist India, p.114.
²Vikramaṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 10.
of play while referring to the same played in his native land. As he fully knew the scenes of water sports and other pleasures of pleasure-gardens enjoyed by the Kashmirians, it was easy for him to mix this information with the one he wanted to describe about the people of Karnatak. To get some information on the subject we will fall back on the tenth canto where Bilhaṇa starts with the poetic description of the pleasantness of Caitra and describes how his hero Vikramāṅkadeva takes the hand of his beloved mistress Candralekha and enters the beautiful pleasure-gardens. Vikramāditya is made to say words of praise to her beautiful queen but the verse is instructive in which he says: 'O fawn-eyed one, you having come to witness dancing the creeper-ladies with the falling flowers, are as if throwing handfuls of flowers on the stage of the pleasure-garden.'\(^\text{1}\) The passage reveals that the gardens were equipped with stages where were staged dancing and musical performances watched by the kings in company with their queens. Then the king places his mistress on a pleasure-swing. Describing the scene of the swing Bilhaṇa writes at one place: 'Whenever the swing creaked loudly under the weight of her buttock, Cupid, with the twang of his bow-string unperceived pierced the king.'\(^\text{2}\) There is an elaborate description of the

\(^{1}\text{Vikramāṅkadevacarita, X, 23.}\)

\(^{2}\text{Vikramāṅkadevacarita, X, 34.}\)
pleasures achieved by the queens in the plucking of flowers.
The king enjoys the kisses and embraces of his queens and ties
their locks with garlands of flowers. Finally Bilhaṇṇa gives a
life-like description of the water sports in the tank when
the king enters 'with those women the pleasure-tank, decked
with lotuses, like a lord of elephants in the company of female
elephants'.¹ Bilhaṇṇa describes the sport scenes thus:

'The tank having washed with its wave-hands, the feet
of the ladies of the king as if saluted the water of their
feet with water-drops splashing upwards.'²

'The shower of water, thrown with the hand by the king
on the couple of breasts, which vanquished the temples of ele-
phants of the lady of charming eye-brows assumed the likeness
of sharp arrows discharged by the five arrowed god (i.e. Cupid).³

'The showers of water, thrown by the king at the tip of
the earring-jewel of the lady whose eye-brows were charming
and whose neck was curved, were reduced to minute particles
and assumed the beauty of pearls there.'⁴

¹Vikramaṅkadevacarita, X, 70.
²Vikramaṅkadevacarita, X, 74.
³Vikramaṅkadevacarita, X, 84.
⁴Vikramaṅkadevacarita, X, 85.
'The water, playfully thrown by the king, rolled on the pitcher-like breasts of the queen. It is surprising that the creeper of the anger of her rival women had its leaves upturned.  

It is seen that enjoyment was derived from nature, games of swing, dance and music and water-sports which constituted diving, swimming and splashing. It can be said without any fear of contradiction that all this was practised in ancient Kashmir with equal zeal if not with more enthusiasm than anywhere else. It may be mentioned that in Ceylon also park amusements (udvēna-kṛīḍā) and water sports (diyakeli) were very popular and the common bathing scenes mentioned were swimming, diving from one another's shoulders and splashing of water at each other. The Kashmirians specially indulged in water sports on certain festival days.

The game of swinging was another means of diversion with the ladies of Kashmir. The game which was also very popular among the ladies of Kalyāṇa has been described by Kashmirian Bilhaṇa in these lines which fit the practice in Kashmir: 'The

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swing-sport of the ladies with beautiful eyes looked beautiful like the aerial car of Lord Cupid, a series of palaces of the king of erotic sentiment and the signs of all the seasons in the month of Caitra.... The sportive women, on account of the pleasure of swinging, going high up and then returning assumed half the charm of divine women who were in the firmament.... Young men could see that, which is inaccessible even to desires, of the beautiful-eyed women who sat on the swings spreading out their legs and whose cloths were falling off. The ladies, with the immobility of their buttocks slackened, repeatedly going high up and coming down, owing to their fatigue being overcome by the swing sport, acquired proficiency in the acts of men.  

Surrounded as he is with nature, a Kashmiri would go to some lake and enjoy the lovely surroundings enlivened by the chattering birds and swimming swans. He would hire a boat if he likes and enjoy the journey in the water of a river or a lake refreshing himself with the picturesque mountains and lovely trees. He would be extra-delighted if his boatman runs a race with another of his classmates. Boat racing appears to have formed in ancient times as now, a very popular form of amusement. The ancient Kashmirian would enjoy the songs sung by the boatman in the middle

\[^{1}\text{Vikramāṅkadevacarita, VII, 15-23.}\]
of the water. Rowing appears to have constituted another lively form of amusement. Fishing is another way to get amused. As the Kashmirians are surrounded by sheets of water, not only the professional fishermen but the common man would go in his leisure time to a river bank or a lake with fishing paraphernalia and would kill two birds with one stone - nature bathing as well as fish present. Archaeological findings from Harwan depicting on the tiles scenes of the couples sitting on the balcony of their houses¹ supplement the literary account that Kashmirians, housed on the banks of the rivers² or lakes, amused themselves looking at the lovely clear water with waves of different tides, plying boats and distant mountains. The nicely decked ladies participated in the Charchari dance and made merry by sprinkling water at each other.³ In Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, quite a popular and favourite game was playing with a ball (kandakarida).⁴ The ladies also amused themselves by playing with dolls and sometimes with strings attached to them.⁵

Horse was the animal par excellence and the popularity of horse-riding and hunting in ancient Kashmir is testified to

¹R.C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plates XX, XXII, XXIII.

²Vikramakadevacarita, XVIII, 9. Giving a description of Pravarapura, Bilhana writes: 'On the side of which that principal river (viz. Vitasta), born of Siva, strewn with the necklaces torn by the couples who were ebullient with free sports in the windows of the host of houses on either bank of it, assumed the likeness of the Ganges in the sky decorated with stars.'

³Kuttanimatavarvya, 886.
both by archaeological and literary sources. A tile from Harwan depicts a horseman in armour, riding at full gallop a fully accoutred horse and drawing his bow. Other tiles represent a mounted hunter who is aiming an arrow at a fleeing deer. Quite a number of references to the horse in the Raja
tarańgini reveal that Kalhaṇa himself must have been a horseman. 'With difficulty I get my song to proceed, since from fear of touching the evil of this king's story it keeps back like a frightened mare.' He belonged to a horse-riding family and informs us that his father Cappaka once had a quarrel with prince Bhoja over a mare. Kalhaṇa informs us that 'no other king was so passionately fond of riding as Uccala, and no one was more renowned for his skill in this respect than Sussala.' In the Raja
tarańgini we get a reference to a horse called 'sovereign of the stable' (manduracakravartin). In Kashmir as elsewhere,

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1R.T., VI 158; VIII, 582.
2R.C.Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plate XXIII.
3Ibid., plates XXVIII and XXIX.
4R.T., VII, 416
5R.T., VII, 1591.
6R.T., VIII, 497.
7R.T., VIII, 1285-1286.
the horse played an important part in the military operations and the Rajatarangini is full of references to the march of mounted troops (āśvavārā). The royal stables appear to have been lusted by horses of different breeds. Among the various presents that King Zain-ul-ābidin (A.D.1420-1470) received in recognition of great interest he showed in various arts, Srīvāra mentions from the ruler of Pañcanada (Panjab), presents of horses of tājika breed bearing auspicious marks (kalyāṇa-pāṃchaka) on their bodies. ¹

In Kashmir deer and jackal-hunting appears to have been very popular. ² Kalhaṇa informs us that king Kṣemagupta (A.D.950-958) spent much time in the enjoyment of jackal hunting. 'The people saw him ever roaming about with dogs and surrounded by bands of Dombas carrying nets and jungle folk.'³

A study of the tiles discovered at the site of Harwan reveals that cock-fighting (tēmrachūdavinoda) was popular in Kashmir. Some tiles represent two cocks fighting with each other over what appears to be a flower.⁴ Despite cock-fighting, the display of snake dances by the snake-charmer,⁵ gave delight to the man

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¹Srīvāra, VI, 4.
²R.T., VI, 181; VII, 171; VIII, 699.
³R.T., VI, 182-183.
⁴R.C.Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plates XXIX and XXX.
⁵R.T., V, 338-340; VIII, 3027.
in the street.

A perusal of the Rajatarangini reveals that duels were encouraged by some of the kings of Kashmir. Kalhana records that king Uccala (A.D.1101-1111) used to take excessive pleasure in duels by arranging them on festive occasions, particularly on the monthly reception-days and at Indra festivals. The participants were rewarded with rich presents.\(^1\) The cruel king used to amuse himself when he watched warriors killed who had 'glistening black hair, fine beards and splendid apparel'.\(^2\) The chronicler writes pathetically: 'There was not at that time any festival when the ground in the court of the palace was not drenched with blood, and lamentation not heard. Soldiers of noble race, as if in exultation, were carried away mutilated from the palace court by their relatives..... The women, when their husbands returned alive after going to the royal palace, thought that they had gained a day, but otherwise never felt safe.'\(^3\) It is to be noted that the enjoyment he took in arranging these bloody fights between those who excited his jealousy and anger was as much to his pleasure as to his cunning and shrewd policy. He wanted to eliminate those who were a danger to his throne. Duels were known in other parts

\(^1\) R.T., VIII, 169-170.
\(^2\) R.T., VIII, 173.
\(^3\) R.T., VIII, 171-174.
of India as well, as we learn that the Calukya king Someśvara allowed such fights on Saturdays or when the rival parties refused to settle their claim peacefully. The Manasollasa classifies the duels under eight heads in accordance with the occasion.

Among indoor games Kalhana mentions dice and chess as those most in favour but does not inform us about the manner in which these games were played. But in two passages of the eighth taraṅga Kalhana gives similes viz., kings, horsemen, peons and the rest from the game of chess, known in Sanskrit as caturāṅga (hastin - aśva - ratha - padatī). Alberuni describes in great detail how the game of chess was played in Northern India which in all probability was followed in Kashmir. Gambling was prevalent in ancient Kashmir but it was considered reprehensible. In spite of its prohibition by most of the Śrauta writers the Indians resorted to it. Whereas Lakṣmīdhara, the Gāhavāla minister, allowed the play with dice particularly at the time of the festival of Lakṣmī on the first day of the bright half of the month of Karttika, the Kashmirian Purāṇa prescribes the game particularly

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1 R.T., VI, 153; VII, 1003; VIII, 1740.
2 R.T., VIII, 2969-2970.
4 R.T., VIII, 2357-2360.
5 Niyatākalakanda, p.422.
on the dark fortnight of Karttika, i.e. Dipamāla festival.¹

Even now many people throughout India specially gamble on the Dipamāla festival. U. N. Ghosal, with reference to Maharāja-parājaya, mentions five varieties of gambling with appropriate titles such as that played by kings dressed only in a loin-cloth in courtyards, that by sons of merchants and the one played with cowries by small boys.²

Music, song, dance and drama played an important part in the daily life of the people of ancient Kashmir, as everybody from the common man to the king was fond of them and while patronising these arts some of the kings became skilled in singing and music. As elsewhere in India, in Kashmir also most of the festive occasions were celebrated with vocal (gīta), instrumental (vādyā) music and dancing (nṛtya) and among the musical instruments as known to ancient Kashmir reference may be made of lute, flute, drums, gongs and cymbals.³ A tile from Harwan depicts three musicians. They are playing on flute, cymbals and a pair of drums respectively.⁴ There are references to making music, perhaps by strolling players in particular, by beating earthen pots and brass

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¹Infra, p. 376.
²The Struggle for Empire, pp. 489-490.
³R.T., VIII, 901-902, 1538, 2398-2399.
⁴R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plate XXVIII.
vessels. In Kashmir, as elsewhere in India, the precepts of Bharata's \textit{Natyashastra} were followed and Kalhaṇa informs us that king Jayāpipāda was fully acquainted with this sastra.²

The dancers, singers, musicians and strolling players were there not only to amuse the common man but also the kings in the palace.³ The venue of these performances were the palaces, temples, houses of prostitutes and other private houses. The presence in the palace of a dancing hall (\textit{nātyamandapa})⁴ and an assembly hall⁵ where the dancing, singing, drama and music performances could be watched tends to show their importance as kings' diversions. According to the \textit{Samarāṅgana-sūtradhāra},⁶ the king's palace should include a dancing hall, a theatre, a hall for music, a gymnasium and a picture gallery. The Kashmirian palaces do not appear to have contained all these chambers but Kalhaṇa repeatedly refers to dancing and assembly hall at least being used for dancing, singing and music. We learn that king Cakravarman was so strongly fascinated by the singing and acting

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¹\textit{R.T.}, VIII, 98, 891.
²\textit{Kuṭṭanimitakāvyā}, 75-123; \textit{R.T.}, IV, 423.
⁵\textit{R.T.}, VII, 944.
⁶\textit{Samarāṅgana-sūtradhāra}, XV, 18f.
of sweet-eyed daughters of a Domba singer Rāṅga whom the king had given an audience in the assembly hall, that he took both Hāmsī and Nāgalatā into his seraglio and raised the former to the rank of chief queen. And the chronicler pathetically mentions the appointment of the Domba singer Rāṅga and his relatives to the position of consequence by the unwise king.\textsuperscript{1} King Kāḷaśa (A.D.1063-1089) was a patron of arts and we are told that he introduced into Kashmir the taste for choral songs (upāṅgagītā) and a careful selection of female dancers as customary in other lands.\textsuperscript{2} But the development of arts reached its zenith in the time of King Hāṛga (A.D.1009-1101) who was passionately fond of music, singing and dancing, and besides patronising these he introduced new fashions in dress and manners. 'By the favours of this liberal king who showered gold about,' writes Kalhaṇa, 'all bands of singers came to vie with kings.'\textsuperscript{3} He was so adept in composing songs that 'even to this day' records Kalhaṇa, 'if one of the songs which he composed for the voice is heard, tears roll on the eye-lashes even of his enemies'.\textsuperscript{4} He was so fond of amusements that he used to sleep for two watches of the day and

\textsuperscript{1}R.T., V, 354 sqq.
\textsuperscript{2}R.T., VII, 606.
\textsuperscript{3}R.T., VII, 933.
\textsuperscript{4}R.T., VII, 942.
keep awake at night when in the assembly-hall, illuminated by a thousand lamps he attended the meetings of learned men, musical performances and dances.\textsuperscript{1} The grandeur of king Harṣa's court is described by Kalhaṇa in these words: 'What Bṛhaspati could fully describe the nightly court held by this king whose splendour surpassed that of Indra? The canopies were like clouds, the lights like a wall of fire; the golden sticks resembled the lightning and the multitudes of swords were like smoke; lovely ladies took the place of the Apsaras and ministers that of the stars; its scholars were like an assembly of Rṣis and its singers like Gandharvas; it was the fixed meeting place of Kuśera and Yama and the one common pleasure-grove of liberality and terror.'\textsuperscript{2} The fondness for singing was so great with this king that he rewarded one Bhīmanāyaka, when pleased by his display on a drum, with an elephant together with a female elephant.\textsuperscript{3} Kanaka, Kalhaṇa's own uncle is described as having been handsomely rewarded by Harṣa for taking singing lessons from him.\textsuperscript{4} Kings Sussala and Jayasiṃha were also fond of singing, dancing and music and the latter, before going to bed, listened to flutes,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1}R.T., VII, 943-944.
  \item \textsuperscript{2}R.T., VII, 946-949.
  \item \textsuperscript{3}R.T., VII, 1116.
  \item \textsuperscript{4}R.T., VII, 1117-1118.
\end{itemize}
lutes and other music. Sultan Zain-ul-ābidin (1420-1470) is described as having revived Sanskrit learning again in Kashmir. He was a great patron of art and architecture and fostered various arts (akhanda kalakala). He received various presents from different rulers. Śrīvara mentions that king Dugaresena (Dugarasimha) of Gopālapura (Gwalior) sent him the present of a text on the science of music named Saṁgītā-Chudāmani which deals with gīta, tāla, kalāvadya, and natya.  

In addition to palaces the venues of singing, dancing, music and dramatic performances were the temples and other public theatres where the ordinary man spent his leisure in delight and comfort. If Dāmodaragupta is to be believed, there were luxuriously furnished theatres in Kashmir provided with leather-cushioned couches. Whereas these theatres of comfort and ease seem to have been visited by rich and aristocrats, the men of ordinary means witnessed the theatrical performances in open-air theatres. Giving a life-life description of such performances in the open air Kalhagā records that in the event of a downpour the people dispersed in all directions.  

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1 R.T., VIII, 1294, 2398-2399.  
2 Śrīvara, VI, 14.  
3 Kujjtanīmatakāvya, 68.  
4 R.T., VII, 1606.
In Kashmir both men and women acted in these performances. The ladies of Kashmir were very proficient in the art of dancing, singing and music. The subjects of studies during the period under review included Bharata's Natyasāstra, Visakhila's treatise on art, Dantila's work on music, sexual texts of Vatsyayana, Dattaka, Vijaputra and Rajputra, vṛṣṇayurveda, painting, woodwork, metal work, clay modelling, cookery, needlework as well as practical training in instrumental music, dancing and singing. Bilhaṇa is all proud of the ladies of his native land and writes that there 'having witnessed in dramatic performances the skill in histrionic art in which there is movement of the limbs of gay-eyed women in connexion with charming plays, Rambha becomes motionless, Citralekha does not have the right position of the limbs in dancing, and certainly Urvasi does not become proud in a dramatic performance for a long time.' King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) was so well-read and proficient in arts that he used to teach in person the dancing girls how to act in the illuminated hall of his palace. Some tiles discovered at Harwan depict ladies in dancing posture and playing on musical instruments.

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2 Vikramāṅkadevacarita, Rattanimatsagavya, 122-124.
2 Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 29.
3 R.T., VII, 1140-1141.
4 R.C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, plate XXVII.
In ancient Kashmir as in other parts of India, temples were a source of amusement where the devadasis skilled in dancing, singing and music display their performances. The temples were provided with dancing halls where dancing, singing and dramatic performances could be witnessed. Describing the dancing hall of the Kṣemagaurīśvara temple constructed by king Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958) Bilhaṇa writes that 'in the dramatic performances in that temple women in acting beautifully cause horripilation to the body even of those who are absorbed in meditation'. The institution of devadāsi in Kashmir can be traced back to an early period. Kalhaṇa informs us that king Jalaṇaka presented a hundred among the ladies of his seraglio, who were adept in singing and dancing to the temple of Jyeṣṭharudra. We learn that king Lalitāditya-Muktāpiḍa once, during the course of his outing undertaken to train an untrained horse, met two girls who were singing and dancing and on questioning who they were the girls replied: 'We are dancing-girls belonging to a temple. Here in the village of Śūravardhamāna is our home. By the direction of our mothers, who got their living here, we perform at this spot the dancing, which our descent makes incumbent. This custom, handed down by tradition, has become fixed in our family. Its reason we cannot

1Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 23.

2R.T., I, 151.
know, nor can anyone else.¹ This shows that in many cases
the profession was received in heredity. The account of Abū
Zeid al Ḥasan, an Arab traveller of the ninth century A.D.,
about the dancing girls runs thus: 'In the Indies they have
public women called Women of the idol, the origin of whose
institution is such: when a woman has laid herself under a
vow, that she may have children, if it happens that she brings
forth a handsome daughter, she carries the child to the Bod,
so they call the idol they worship, and there leaves her. When
the girl has attained a proper age, she takes an apartment in
this public place, and spreads a curtain before her door, and
awaits the arrival of strangers as well Indians as men of other
sects, to whom this debauchery is made lawful. She prostitutes
herself at a certain rate, and delivers her gains into the hands
of the idol's priest, to be by him disposed of for the use and
support of the temple.'² In the Rājatarahgīnī there are numer-
ous references to these dancing girls (nartaki) being taken away
by the kings, which cannot rule out the possibility that they were
available for enjoyment to ministers and rich gentry as well.
Kalhaṇa records that king Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II took a fancy
to Narendraprabhā the wife of a merchant, but on account of his

¹ R.T., IV, 269-271.
² E. Renaudot, Ancient Accounts of India and China by two
Mohammedan Travellers, p.88.
noble-mindedness he could not openly take her away reflecting: 'If the king himself take away the wives of the subjects, who else should punish trespass of the law.' When the merchant learnt this he requested the king in many words to accept her as queen, failing which he finally said to the king: 'If even after this declaration you do not accept her, then you should take her from a temple as a dancing girl put there by me on account of her skill in dancing.'\(^1\) The king finally accepted her. Kayyā and Sahajjā were two dancing girls attached to a temple and after being witnessed on the stage were taken away respectively by king Kalaśa and Utkarṣa.\(^2\) Sahajjā is said to have become sati after the death of her lover Utkarṣa, which earned her great praise from Kalhaṇa.\(^3\)

If the kings, who practised polygamy, kept a huge seraglio full of concubines, most of whom skilled in dancing and singing, amused the kings with their performances as well as supplying sensuous pleasure, which can also be said of aristocrats, the houses of prostitutes were there to provide amusement to a section of society. The class of prostitutes which formed a distinct social unit in ancient Kashmir not only provided sexual pleasure to their visitors but many of them, being adept in singing, dancing, music and other arts, kept an arrangement for such display. As in

\(^1\)\textit{R.T.}, IV, 36.  
\(^2\)\textit{R.T.}, VII, 725, 856-858.  
modern times, many of them must have been displaying their performances to the accompaniment of instrumental music played by a party of male members kept by them who in many cases happened to be their relatives. The description of the prostitutes as given by Kṣemendra is complete and he does not forget to mention the procuress (kuttārī) as a vital companion to a prostitute who instructs her in the tricks and snares of the profession and helps her in entrapping young men. Though Kṣemendra looks with contempt at this class of women, nevertheless his reference to the sad condition of Kalavati that followed the death of the old bawd (mātrkā), points to the indispensability of a procuress in the house of a courtesan. ¹ The parasite (vita) who was a regular pilgrim to the prostitutes has been described by Kṣemendra in his Desopadeśa. ²

In the Kalavilāsa and in the Samayamātrkā Kṣemendra furnishes a list of sixty-four arts on erotics (kamaśāstra) ³ with which the prostitutes must have been fully acquainted. The works such as the Deśopadeśa, Narmamāla, Kalavilāsa and the Samayamātrkā of Kṣemendra as also the Kuttanimatākavya of Damodaragupta, give a life picture of many of these prostitutes, their various tricks

¹Samayamātrkā, I, 27 ff; IV, 1-8, 40-45. Deśopadeśa, IV Passim.
²Deśopadeśa, V Passim.
³Kalavilāsa, IV, 3-11; Samayamātrkā, V Passim.
and snares for entrapping innocent young men and doing away with unwanted parasites. In the Samayamātrīka, Kṣemendra refers to various occupations which her heroine Kaikāli adopts in order to seduce temple priests (prasadāla), merchants' sons, Dāmaras, horsemen, diviras, and the keepers of the royal prisons. To gain her objectives she becomes a Buddhist nun, a nurse in the house of a minister, the wife of a shepherd, the seller of flowers and garlands, the seller of wine at the time of Takṣakanāga festival, the wife of a load-carrier and finally she crosses the Kashmir frontier by applying some soporific flower to the keeper of the watch station (drāṇa). Both Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa talk contemptuously about these courtesans who are only concerned with money rather than good qualities of their lovers and give them favours so long as they receive rich presents. In show of their feigned love some even pretend to die at the funeral pyres of their lovers.¹ Kalhaṇa records that during the time of king Lalitapiṭa, the son of Jayapiṭa, who was a slave to his passions, the palace fell to prostitution and immorality.² Some charming and proficient courtesans were not only sometimes taken and admitted into the seraglios but some kings made them their queens as well.³ Kṣemendra gives an interesting list of

¹ Kalavilāsa, IV, 19; X, 23. Deśopadesa, III. R.T., IV, 481; V, 294.
² R.T., IV, 661 sqq.
³ R.T., VII, 1460-1462.
persons who visited these prostitutes who were like Kalpa trees. They were: the only son of a rich man, a young man whose father had died, the minister, the kavyastha, cooks, flower sellers, son of a merchant, physician who treats the ailing minister for a long time, son of a guru, sexy ascetic, rich musician, irresponsible prince, merchant who visits the city for the first time, a learned scholar and a drunkard.  

Some passages in the Rajataranga relating to clown's tricks show that the clown was not only a source of enjoyment to the king in the palace but perhaps provided amusement to the audience with his tricks in the performances of comedies outside the palace. He also seems to have gathered round him passers by and was showered with money as a reward for his labour. The tricks referred to are music with noses and shoulders, banging of skulls with knocks and blows, pantomimic movements of the head and the like. They also seem to have created laughter by binding both knees and thighs together, wearing an extravagant headdress, bound up beard, bound naked to a cart and with half their head shaved and the remaining hair covered with lumps of vermillion.

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1 Samayamātuka, V, 63-67.
2 R.T., V, 418; VIII, 96.
3 R.T., VIII, 95-97.
The beard bound up under the headdress, the forefinger at the point of the nose, the look fixed in abstraction and such other habits are recorded to have been mimicked on the stage. The Trisastisalakapurusacarita of Hemacandra also describes the town and village folk laughing on watching 'fat men, men with projecting teeth, lame men, hunchbacks, flat-nosed men, men with dishevelled hair, bald men, one-eyed men, and other deformed men; by ash-coloured men; by men with buttock bells, by musicians of the arm-pit and the nose, by dancers of the ear and brow, by imitators of other people'.

Kashmir produced in Bilhaṇa and Kṣemendra two great dramatists and it appears from their writings that the themes of dramatic performances were mainly drawn from epic and purāṇa stories, court life, love stories, as well as depicting characters like prostitutes, misers, rogues, bawds, merchants, astrologers, physicians, kavyasthaa, gurus and many others.

Though the actors, singers and musicians, as a class, were looked down upon everywhere in India, they were honoured with presents by the kings and the people in Kashmir. A perusal of the Kashmirian literature has shown that a celebrant on most of the

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1 R.T., V, 207-208.
2 Trisastisalakapurusacarita, III, 239.
festivals is enjoined to witness the dance, acting and listen to gīta and vādya as also to honour the actors (ṛaṅgajīvino-nātadayah) and prostitutes (pumācalī) with rich presents.
Chapter VIII

POPULAR BELIEFS AND SUPERSTITIONS

The literature furnishes some data on the superstitions and popular beliefs of the Kashmirians, viz., their belief in good and evil omens, in dreams, in auspicious and inauspicious times, in astrology, in lucky and unlucky names and stars, in auspicious marks, in ominous signs, in spells and witchcraft. In the secluded valley of Kashmir, the popular tradition has since ancient times attached strong belief in sacred diagrams (yantra, cakra), engraved on stones on the mountain passes and along the temples, which formed a form of popular worship. The Kashmirians held great belief in the sanctity of the mountains, forests, rivers and springs and in the supernatural power of the Nāgas. No less strong was the belief in the Piśācas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Bhūtas, Pretas and other such malevolent spirits. Their mind was fully conscious of the doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of souls. Most of such beliefs have taken a deep root in the society and have, since ancient times, played an important role in the daily life of the people.

Numerous references to astrologers and astrology reveal the influential position enjoyed by the astrologer in court as well as in public life. Hardly anything important was done without the advice of an astrologer, as at present. In Kashmir, as
in other parts of India, any new expedition or a scheme undertaken, the start of a new venture, the arrangement of marriages and other ceremonies, indeed every important undertaking had to have due consent of the astrologer. The Kashmirians appreciated the necessity of an astrologer advocated by ancient texts.\(^1\) The Saravali avers that nothing save astrology will help men in the acquisition of wealth, serve as a boat in the ocean of disasters and will act as a councillor (mantrin) at the time of the start of a journey or an invasion.\(^2\) Varahamihira vaingloriously states:

'Even those who have resorted to a forest \(^2\) i.e. who have become forest hermits\(^2\), who are free from worldly attachments and are without property, ask questions of one who knows the movements of heavenly luminaries. As the night without a lamp or the sky without the Sun, so a king without an astrologer \(^\sim\) with him\(^\sim\) wanders about \(^\sim\) or wavers\(^\sim\) as a blind man on a road. If there be no astronomer and astrologer, auspicious times, tithis, nakshatras, seasons and the ayanas \(^\sim\) northward and southward passages of the Sun\(^\sim\) - these would all become confused. What a single astrologer knowing the country and time can effect, that even a thousand elephants or four thousand horsemen cannot accomplish.'\(^3\)


\(^2\) Saravali, II, 5.

\(^3\) Prhatsemhita, II, 8-22.
Astrology seems to have had a firm hold on the minds of kings as well as of the common man. At times the astrologers interpreted bodily signs and marks the people believed in. Kalhaṇa informs us that a learned astrologer, looking at the marks of the beautiful daughter of king Balāditya, predicted that her husband would obtain the throne of Kashmir and despite king Balāditya's precautions against this, the prophecy came true.\(^1\) During his struggle for the throne, Uccala, on capturing a mare of auspicious marks belonging to the enemy force, became sure of his victory.\(^2\) It was the mark of greatness on the foot of Jayasimha that brought about reconciliation between his father Sussala and his uncle Uccala.\(^3\) King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), saw the truth about the rumour of his son's death in noticing an ominous sign on his body.\(^4\) The astrologers also predicted whether one would lead a long or a short life.\(^5\) Uccala, and Sussala were correctly told by an astrologer that they would seize the throne one day.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) R.T., III, 485 sqq.  
\(^2\) R.T., VII, 1309.  
\(^3\) R.T., VIII, 241-242.  
\(^4\) R.T., VII, 1671.  
\(^5\) R.T., IV, 4.  
\(^6\) R.T., VII, 1183-1184.
But Kalhaṇa reserves his contempt for the quacks in astrology and medical profession. He refers to a silly Brahman village-astrologer Loṣṭaka, who used to go begging for handfuls of rice, but later became well-known for guessing the things hidden in people's fists (mustī) which earned him the surname of Mustilostaka, and to a merchant who, deceitful in his ignorance and vaunting his learning as a physician and guru, had gradually made a position for himself as a guru of dyers and other craftsmen.¹ Kṣemendra in his Samayamātrika and Kalavilāsa hits at many of these quacks. An ignorant astrologer is capable of telling the time when the star Vaisākha approaches the Moon but is unaware that behind his back his lady enjoys the company of different lovers.² A palmist reads the palm of a young woman belonging to a noble family and declares that she possesses a long line of prosperity whereas her husband is fickle-minded. In this way he enjoys himself by squeezing her hand, delicate as a lotus (kamalakomala).³ Kṣemendra, who was a humorist and witty, humbly refers to a seller of medicines with his head bald as a copper vessel (tamrāghatopāmēra), who in order to attract customers assuredly says that his medicine is an infallible cure for baldness, but is not questioned for his

¹ R.T., VII, 281-283, 295-297.
² Kalavilāsa, IX, 6.
³ Kalavilāsa, IX, 16.
own bald head.¹

The Kashmirians paid much regard to the auspicious time and place. Kalhaṇa records a legendary account of King Pravarasena's (II) adventurous search for an auspicious time (lagna) and place (kaṣṭra) for the foundation of a new town after his own name.² Varahamihira³ describes in detail various actions to be performed on different nakṣatras, i.e. Dhruva, tikṣṇa, ugra, kṣipra (or laghu), mṛdu, mṛdu-tikṣṇa (or sādhāraṇa) and cara. The act of founding a city, performing the king's coronation, planting of trees, carrying out śānti rites and charitable works etc. should, according to him, be performed on Dhruva nakṣatra. We should not expect minutest details about every-day life of his countrymen from Kalhaṇa, who undertook a big task of writing the history of his land from the earliest time to his own. In all likelihood, the people of Kashmir fully recognized, then as now, the importance of auspiciousness of time or nakṣatras, particularly in matters of sacrifices, marriages, other domestic rites, ceremonies such as Jatakarmā,⁴ Namakarmā,⁵ Upanayana,⁶ etc., the start of a journey,

¹Kalāvilāsa, IX, 9.
²R.T., I, 75.
³Bṛhaspātihīta, 98. 6-11.
⁴Vikramaṅkardevacarita, XVIII, 81.
invasion or some undertaking and other day-to-day activities as laid down in the ancient texts. Vedic passages\textsuperscript{1} make frequent references to auspiciousness of days. In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,\textsuperscript{2} people are said to plough on Anurādha nakṣatra – Mitra being its presiding deity. We find a prescription in the same Brāhmaṇa that if a father wishes that his daughter should be loved by her husband and that she should not come back to his house, he should give her hand when the Moon is in Niṣṭīya (Svāti) nakṣatra.\textsuperscript{3} Different provisions are set forth about marriage, cauḷa (tonsure) and other ceremonies. In the Āśvalāyana gṛhyasūtra we find a generalisation of auspicious times for some noted śaṁskāras in the following: 'the rites for Cauḷa, Upanayana, godāna and marriage are to be performed in the northward passage of the Sun, in the fortnight of the waxing moon and on an auspicious nakṣatra; some sages hold that marriage may be performed at all times.'\textsuperscript{4}

There was a practice which is still followed in Kashmir that 'if the auspicious time for the commencement of a journey astrologically falls earlier than the time by which the person concerned finds it convenient to start, he may pro forma leave his

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Rgveda, III, 8.5; III, 23.4; VII, 88.4; X, 70.1; IV, 37.1; IV, 4.7; V, 60.5; VII, 11.2; VII, 18.21.
\item Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, I, 8.4.2.
\item Ibid., I.5.2.
\item Āśvalāyana-gṛhyasūtra, I.4.1-2.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
own residence and proceed to the house of a friend or other conveniently situated building in the same place. He can then begin his real journey whenever convenient.¹ In pursuance of this practice, Dhammaṭa, who had been appointed an envoy to Rajapurī by king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), stopped at the house of Sahasramaṅgaḷa for the sake of an auspicious day.² The digest writers lay down several rules on the question of vātra, i.e. going on pilgrimages, setting out for an invasion by the king or undertaking a journey for important purposes. Under the circumstances when one, owing to certain reasons, cannot leave on the auspicious day, an arrangement of prasthāna, i.e. to start but coming back after travelling some distance or despatching forward some article³ on the auspicious day and leaving some days later, is recommended. The Kashmirian custom of staying in someone's house is also suggested. It is interesting to read the opinions of sages. Gargya expresses that one should go on from his house to some near one's house, Bhṛgu goes a step further in recommending that one leave one's village and stay in another. Vasiṣṭha holds that one must go out of the city

² R.T., VIII, 1017-1018.
³ Though men of different vāras could despatch forward anything of their choice, a sacred thread, a weapon, honey and a fruit are recommended for a Brahmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śudra respectively.
and Bharadvaja avers that one should go as distant as an arrow is discharged.¹

A passage of the third taraṅga of the Rajatarangini² clearly demonstrates that in Kashmir, as in other parts of India, prognostications were derived from the sight and presumably from the flight and cry of birds. The passage tells us how Matragupta during the course of his yātra towards Kashmir, predicts success looking at a wagtail sitting on the top of the hood of a snake. He is recorded to have been sent by king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, with a decree containing his appointment as the lord of Kashmir, to be handed over to the state officers of Kashmir. His prediction came true. The idea of prognosticating future events, auspicious or inauspicious, from the cry of the birds goes as far back as the Vedic period.³ The Sakuna (prognostications from the sight, flight or cries of birds and other animals) are dealt with at length in the Yogavātra of Varahamihira⁴ and Adbhutasāgara.⁵ His Yogavātra, writing about the direction of certain birds and animals, says that good results are indicated if they happen to be on the right or southern side of one starting on a journey. Indication of good is received also

²R.T., III, 221.
³Ṛgveda, II, 42, 1 and 3.
from the flight of the āśa bird with something in its mouth, on the right side of an individual. ¹

After a study of the Rājatarāṣṭī, it so appears that astrology in all its branches had Kashmirians under its grip. They seem to have had a knowledge of the planets, nakṣatras, raśis and their relations to each other. Horoscopic astrology with the system of 'houses' (bhāvas) was known to them. They believed in the efficacy of horoscopes cast at the time of birth, by the astrologers or family priests conversant with astrology. Great importance was attached to the nakṣatras and zodiacal signs at a person's birth. Kālhaṇa describes the horoscope of king Harṣa (A.D.1089-1101), who was born under the sign of Cancer, when Mars and Saturn stood in the fifth house, Jupiter and Mercury in the sixth, Venus and the Sun in the seventh and the Moon in the tenth, that like Duryodhana by the conjunction of planets at his nativity which intended the extinction of his dynasty, he caused the extinction of his family, as the learned author of the Saṃhitā has declared the Kauravas and others who were born when the Moon, Venus and the malignant planets stood in the tenth, seventh and fifth astrological houses, to be the destroyers of their own families. ²

¹Yogayātra, 14, 2 and 26.
²R.T., VII, 1718-1720.
We find the digest-makers not only referring to the planets, auspicious and inauspicious, but offering devices against the latter. To quote Yajnavalkya: 'One should sedulously worship that planet that is badly affected (in a person's horoscope). Brahma conferred a boon on them (planets). When worshipped you should honour the worshipper (with favours). The rise and fall of kings is dependent on the planets, as also the emergence and the disappearance of the world; therefore planets are to be worshipped most.'¹ Undoubtedly, this part of the lesson was known to the Kashmirians.

In the Narmamā, Kṣemendra gives a description of an astrologer, who is consulted by the Niyogi to cure his sick wife. Though it is a satirical account of a quack in astrology, nevertheless the narrative is very instructive and life-like. He is described as carrying a hand-bag full of sundry diagrams to pass for a soothsayer. He does not trouble himself to learn the rudiments of astrology. He consults the boatmen for the forecast of weather.² He often commits himself to such generalities: During the course of three years, you will incur a huge expenditure and suffer from fever and eye-trouble (netrapīda). You may earn also some unforeseen profit. You have numerous enemies but you should

¹Yajnavalkya, I, 307-308.
²Narmamā, II, 82-83.
not be afraid of them and protect yourself from them. Brother! you look very weak. Why don't you go in for a tonic? Surely, you are suffering from jaundice and I shall free you from this by means of an incantation (mantra).\(^1\) Although he gets acquainted with the story of Niyogi's wife from hearsay, he sketches a zodiacal diagram (rāsicakra) on the dust spread on a piece of cloth (dhūlipata).\(^2\) On being presented with a heap of money (dināra) by the Niyogi, he observes silence for some time, counting his fingers (savānguligana).\(^3\) Then slowly he starts revealing the results of his enquiry, raising up his eyebrows quite often: This woman suffers from love-fever (ratikāma). The demon of love is too powerful in the female sex. She too, as indicated by the conjunction of Venus (sukra) in the diagram, is possessed of a ghost (pisaca) who has made entry in her naked body in the bathroom.\(^4\)

The Kashmirians believed in the doctrine of Karma and the transmigration of souls. A good action bears its fruit and the bad action leads to retribution. And if the results of good or bad actions are not borne in this life, the soul which transmigrates

\(^1\)Narmamāla, II, 84-87.
\(^2\)Narmamāla, II, 88.
\(^3\)Narmamāla, II, 89.
\(^4\)Narmamāla, II, 90-91.
in next births receives the remaining quota. Kalhaṇa plainly
demonstrates in many passages that no one can escape from the
consequences of good or bad action. He shares the belief ex-
pressed in the Sūtra, Upaniṣad and Purāṇa \(^1\) that the deeds do
not perish and inevitably bear fruit. Kalhaṇa and his coun-
try-men were fully conscious of the power of fate (deiva, vidhī)
which is really the good or bad action of previous births that
bear fruit in this life. Kalhaṇa acknowledges its working in all
spheres. To take a few instances, the overthrow of the powerful
House of Sahis is attributed to fate (vidhī) which 'effects
with ease what even in dreams appears incredible, what fancy
fails to reach'. \(^2\) It was due to the will of fate that Utkarṣa
committed the fatal mistake of exchanging the ring which was to
be the signal for prince Harṣa's murder. \(^3\) A certain bazaar-cook
who was an expert intriguer, passing himself off as belonging
to royal blood, had received great honours from the neighbouring
chiefs, on being recognised his nose was cut off and put into his
old profession of selling articles of food which made Kalhaṇa
say: 'In vain do people use cunning and deceptions to raise their
positions; the will of fate cannot be altered. Man's effort
resembles a fire in the grass, which by the wind of fate is made

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\(^1\) Markandeyapurāṇa, 14.17; Bhāv igpurāṇa, I, 19.27.
Gautamadharmaṇasūtra, 19.5. Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, IV, 4 and VI, 2.
Chandogypaminiṣad, III, 14 and V, 3-10.

\(^2\) R.T., VII, 67.

\(^3\) R.T., VII, 803.
to flame up in one place even when subdued, and to go out in
another even if kindled. Man cannot get away by running from
his fixed destiny, as little as the bird by flying from
the fire bound to its tail. The life of a person, whose breath
is destined to last until he has enjoyed what he is to enjoy,
cannot be destroyed by adversaries, neither by the employment
of continuous fire, poison, the sword and arrows, nor by a viol-
ent throw over a precipice, nor by sorcery. 1 The defeat of
king Sussala at the hands of rebels made Kalhaṇa remark: "'He
Sussala, the foremost of the all-powerful, who, assisted only
by his arm in his attack, had ousted even King Harṣa; who by
his prowess had several times conquered this land, and whose
bold enterprises can as little be counted as those of Jamadagni's
son Parśurāma), the might of fate diminished his valour, and
broken in his strength he was suddenly separated there from the
goddess of victory.' 2 In connection with certain other events
Kalhaṇa writes thus:

'Everybody while engaged on various tasks, strives eagerly,
dependent as he is on fate, to frustrate its obstinate resolve.
It is under these conditions that the most wonderful power of fate
manifests itself, whose greatness knows no obstacles to the accomplish-

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1 R.T., VIII, 220-223.
2 R.T., VIII, 669-671.
ment of its designs.  

'The lightning of fortune, the crane of glory, the thunder of courage and the rainbow of fame, they all follow the cloud of fate.'

'The lightning of fortune, the crane of glory, the thunder of courage and the rainbow of fame, they all follow the cloud of fate.  

'The lightning of fortune, the crane of glory, the thunder of courage and the rainbow of fame, they all follow the cloud of fate.'

'Fate whose most wonderful power cannot even be imagined, in a moment makes a man to fall who stands firmly, and raises another who is about to fall, just as the current of the waters washes away one river bank and raises another.'

Kalhaṇa shares the traditional Indian belief expressed in the Dharmasastras and other texts that fate is really human actions (good or bad) of previous births that bear fruit in this life. For example, to quote Yājñavalkya: 'Success in undertakings is dependent upon daiva [luck] and human effort [also].' The Brhadājñātaka of Varāhamihira also inculcates the doctrine of karma and holds horoscopes to be maps which contain futures of individuals arising from their acts of previous life or lives. Kalhaṇa dilates upon this belief at other places in his chronicle, to which

1 R.T., II, 93.
2 R.T., III, 491.
3 R.T., VII, 1455.
4 R.T., VIII, 1401.
5 Yājñavalkya, I, 349, 351.
he ascribes not only the success or failure of an individual but the fortune or misfortune of the kingdom and the country of Kashmir. 'The wonderful diversity of the results of former actions produces astonishing phenomena, such as are unknown to dreams, magic, or imagination,' writes so Kalhaṇa at one place. The foolishness of the minister Kamalavardhana in not ascending the throne of Kashmir after the deposition of King Śravavarman II (A.D. 939) is ascribed to his confused state of mind caused 'by acts done in a previous existence'. It was due to the merits of former births that the cruel king Parvagupta (A.D. 949-950) died in the precincts of the Sureśvarī Tīrtha. In the reign of king Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-972) the plundering of the land by oppressive officials is attributed to the 'sins which this land had accumulated'. The appointment by Tuṅga of the low-born mean Kayastha Bhadreśvara to the post of his assistant is said to have taken place 'when the merits of his previous existence were exhausted'. King Kalaśa's (A.D. 1063-1089) sudden change from a voluptuary and oppressor to a guardian for the welfare of

1. R.T., VIII, 235.
3. R.T., VI, 288.
4. R.T., VI, 288.
5. R.T., VII, 37.
his subjects is ascribed to 'a rise in the subjects' fortune caused by their previous merits'.

While recording the murder of king Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111) at the hands of his official conspirators, Kalhana writes that 'it is curious and due to the people's sins that this secret design was not betrayed, though it was planned for a long time and by many persons who were much divided amongst themselves'.

All this shows the Kashmirian mind cherished the belief that one reaps good or bad in present life in accordance with good or bad actions done in former births. Even the medieval writer Raghunandana is in full agreement with Dipika that the planets convey the sinful acts that were committed in former lives and quotes the Matsyapuran that: 'evil actions done in former lives bear fruit in the present life in the form of diseases, distress and the death of those dear to one'.

Looking at the instances of human effort which receive tremendous appreciation from Kalhana, it is difficult to draw a sharp line of demarcation and say which of the two, i.e. daiva or human effort was considered superior. What we can say is that the Kashmirians fully recognized the power of daiva and human effort and believed

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1 R.T., VII, 506.
2 R.T., VIII, 281.
3 Udavahatattva, p.125.
in their simultaneous working.

The relative importance of human effort (purusakāra) and fate or destiny (daiva) has been discussed at length in the Dharma-
śāstra literature.\(^1\) The Mahābhārata contains a long disquisition
providing three views, i.e. fate (daiva) is all powerful,\(^2\) human
effort is superior to daiva\(^3\) and thirdly a combination of the two
is needed in all actions.\(^4\) Though the writers like Manu, Kautilya
and Yājñavalkya and the Purāṇas like the Matsya and other above
referred texts agree to the necessity of both, put more emphasis
on human effort. Medhatithi on Manu writes that 'those devoid
of effort are engaged in calculating the aspects of planets; there
is nothing impossible of accomplishment for those who are deter-
mìned and who are able to put forth spirited efforts'.\(^5\)

The Rājakarṇašāstra\(^6\) abounds in references to an oath by
sacred libation (kośapāna), in which the Kashmirians held strong
belief. A close examination of the passages referring to Kośa show
that the oath by sacred libation was resorted to for assuring the

Vishudharmottara, II, 66. Matsyapurāṇa, 221, 1-12; Yavūpurāṇa, 9,
V, 11; XIII, 3-11.

\(^2\)Adiparva, I, 246-247; 89, 7-10. Sabhāparvan, 46, 16; 47, 36; 58, 14.
Venaparvan, 179, 27-38. Udyogaparvan, 8, 52; 40, 32; 159, 4; 186, 13.

\(^3\)Dronaparvan, 152, 27. Śāntiparvan, 27, 32; 58, 13-16; 153, 50.
Anusanaparvan, 6, lff.

\(^4\)Adiparva, 123, 21; Sabhāparvan, 16, 12. Udyogaparvan, 79, 5-6.
Śāntiparvan, 56, 14-15.

\(^5\)Medhatithi on Manu, IV, 137.

\(^6\)R.T., IV, 559; V, 422-423; VI, 211, 225; VII, 459, 492, 747;
friendship and faithfulness of the members involved. It was taken simply to assure another person of one's allegiance and loyalty, in other cases on occasions of a reconciliation between former enemies who promised their good faith for the future, and in many cases Kalhana informs us of its employment for forming secret conspiracies mostly for evil designs. The Kashmirians believed in the sanctity of the oath which was taken before a deity. Perhaps the water which was drunk by the persons to whom the oath was administered had been in contact with a sacred image, which may have prevented the individuals from any breach of the solemn promise.

But two passages of the *Rajatarangini* illustrate a ceremony peculiar to Kashmir. We are told that king Cakravarman, who first reigned from A.D. 923 to 933, and then regained power in A.D. 935 and lost it again, went to the house of a *Dhāmara* Samgrama to seek his help in his endeavour to regain the throne. The *Dhāmara* agreed to back the cause of the king but on the plea that after being restored he would treat the *Dhāmara* class with kindness. The agreement being reached, both the king and *Dhāmara* placed their foot on a sheepskin sprinkled with blood, and mutually took an oath by sacred libation (*kośa*) sword in hand.¹ Another passage informs

VIII, 230, 1656, 2091, 2222, 3006, 3095.

¹R.T., V, 326.
us that the Khaṣas, in order to remove the suspicion of distrust in the minds of Bhoja (cousin brother of king Jayasimha) who was in flight, 'took an oath by sacred libation placing their feet on a blood-sprinkled skin'. The passages are instructive and show that in the first instance one of the party was a Damara and in the second case the khaṣas, which perhaps shows that the ceremony of placing the foot on a blood-sprinkled sheep-skin was carried out by the tribal people only and was not associated with the ordinary Kashmiri.

This ceremony was, however, peculiar to Kashmir and does not appear to have been known elsewhere in India. The 'great oath' of the Tibetans includes the eating of a portinn of an ox's heart. In N.W. India a cock is killed and, as the blood is poured on the ground, the oath is taken 'over it'. The Naga of Assam stands within a circle of rope, praying that he may rot as a rope rots, or he holds a gun-barrel, a spear, or a tiger's tooth, saying, 'If I do not faithfully perform any promise, may I fall by this!' In Malaya, water is drunk in which daggers, spears, or bullets have been dipped; May I be eaten

1 R.T., VIII, 3006.
2 L. A. Waddell, The Buddhism of Tibet, p.569 note.
3 Crooke, Tribes and Castes, IV, 281.
4 J.A.S.B., 1875, p.316.
up by this dagger or spear' is the formula.\footnote{R.T., VII, 742-743.}

Kalhaṇa has left us a record of some of the omens that were in vogue in Kashmir. We have discussed the question of formation of omens, good or bad by the Kashmirian from the sight, flight and cry of certain birds and possibly animals. We have seen a good omen formed by Matra-gupta after seeing a wagtail seated on a snake's hood. We are informed that Utkarṣa succeeded king Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) to the throne of Kashmir. He had been chosen in preference to Harṣa, the eldest son, in the face of the opposition of the ministers who wanted Utkarṣa to succeed. Prince Harṣa was thrown into prison in the life-time of Kalaśa. After the death of Kalaśa, Utkarṣa, who had come from Lohara, entered the city. Whilst Harṣa, in his grief over the death of his father Kalaśa, was offering water as an oblation to the Pitṛs, he got a message from Utkarṣa to bathe. 'While he took his bath, the king (Utkarṣa) was preparing for the coronation ceremony, and there arose the sound of the music accompanying the Abhiṣeka, together with shouts: "Be Victorious". He (Harṣa) being versed in interpreting omens, came to know by this good omen that he would obtain the regal dignity, just as by the flash of lightning one knows the coming of thunder.\footnote{R.T., VII, 742-743.} Omens also guided the military expeditions
of the adventurers. Kalhaṇa informs us that when Uccala set out to attack Harṣa, he met somebody carrying a slain hare. 'By this good omen he thought he had already won his enemy's royal fortune.' Encouraged by this omen, he continued his march from Rajapuri towards Sṛṇagar and Kalhaṇa remarks that 'though he had only on the full-moon day of Caitra been exposed to dangers, yet he started without fear on his expedition on the fifth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha'. Further, as he was marching to Varāḥamūla, 'upon his head fell a garland from the head of the image of Mahāvarāha, just as if the earth, which rested on the shoulders of that god, had bestowed it upon him as the man of her choice! Ultimately Uccala's ambitions were crowned with success. During his flight from Sṛṇagar, Harṣa took his last refuge in the hut of a mendicant. 'As he entered his right foot struck against a stone and bled; by this evil omen he knew that his death was nigh.' Harṣa gave his life in this very hut when attacked by the followers of Uccala.

The astrologers were not only approached by the people for the interpretation of the nakṣatras during births, omens and auspicious or inauspicious marks but also their dreams. Dreams

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1R.T., VII, 1291.
2R.T., VII, 1297.
3R.T., VII, 1310.
4R.T., VII, 1643.
are regarded as a forecast of what is in store for an individual but the most common belief is that of contraries. If one dreams of a festive occasion like a wedding, it is supposed to mean some evil but on the other hand the dream of death portends some good. This belief was very common in ancient India and Ceylon. King Jayapida, seeing the Sun rise in the West in his dream, thought that some learned teacher of law had entered the land of Kashmir. The dreams dreamt in the early hours of the morning are considered more reliable and trustworthy. About Indian practices, L. D. Barnett remarks: 'No less important in Indian life is secular magic - astrology, divination, necromancy, and every variety of the black art..... Astrology is still a prosperous and crowded profession, to which the whole population looks for guidance in its daily affairs; and there is even now a good market for the kindred, if less reputable, trade of the magician. Dreams naturally offered a fertile field for the ingenuity of diviners.'

In this connection it may be proper to add a few words on Tantrism, which includes some forms of popular worship. Popular tradition has since ancient times attached great sanctity and supernatural powers fo the 'Circles sacred to the Mothers'

1R.T., IV, 498.
2Antiquities of India, pp. 183-184.
(Matrcakra) which were not only constructed along with the
temples but also at the passes (āvarā) on the Kashmir frontiers.
The worship of the Mothers, which is identical with that of
the Sāktis, plays a great part in the Tantra ritual flourishing
in Kāśmīr from ancient times. The mystical diagrams may be
supposed to have been carved in stone like the Śricakras and
Rājñīcakras, which are prepared and worshipped to this day
in Kāśmīr according to the rules of the Tantrastra, both in
private houses and temples. Of supposed natural (śvabhāvika)
cakras of this kind the Śricakra on the Śarikaparvata in Śrīnagar
and the Jvalāmukhīcakra on the rocky hill above Uyen (Skr. Ovana)
in the Vihīr Pargapa receive special reverence.1 About a dozen
life-like sculptures, representing Indrāni, Cāmuḍī, Varāhi,
and other goddesses, known as the Aṣṭa-mātrīka, have been dis-
covered from Pandrethān.2 Goddess Sarada is one of the celebrated
deities of the Kashmirians who is nothing but 'Sakti embodying
three separate manifestations'.

Writing on the Saktas or Sakti worshippers in India, R.G.
Bhandarkar traces the origin of Durgā in her seven Saktis; Brahmī,

Maheśvari, Kaumāri, Vaiṣṇavi, Varāhi, Narasimha and Aindri, 'which are the powers or spirits of the gods from whom their names are derived, are called, her excellent forms (Vibhūtis).'

There took place development in her forms which brought her in the minds of the worshippers in three forms. First we have the ordinary bland form, in which the goddess was worshipped. Then we have the fierce form, in which she is associated with the schools of Kapālikas and Kālāmukhas, and animals and human beings are sacrificed. And the third is the sensual form, in which she is the object of worship with the school of the Saktas, who are so called because they are worshippers of Sakti. In Kashmir she was believed to be worshipped in these forms.

The school of the Saktas follows strange doctrines and practices. The ambition of every pious follower of the system is to become a woman. The Mahānirvāṇatantra conveys a fair idea of the general principles of Tantric beliefs. It is conceived that all life proceeds from the womb of a woman; so we should think of the ultimate creative principle in terms of the 'mother' and not of the 'father'. Philosophical concepts like Prakṛiti and Maya, and mythological figures like Parvati, Durga,

1Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems, p.143.
3Ibid., p.146.
Lakshmi and Radha constitute the female principle of creation, and are merely different names of the Jagannātā (Mother of the World). All gods, including Brahmā, Vishnu, and Siva, are contained in and issue out of the Divine Mother. This sect, therefore, looks upon every woman as an incarnation of the Universal Mother to whom proper respect should be paid. ¹

Tripurasundarī is propitiated and eventually attained by assuming the vow (Dikṣā) of a devoted worship of her. This vow is of three kinds. The first consists in fully concentrating the mind on the Devī as sitting on the lap of Śiva in the Mahā-padmavana (a garden of lotuses), as possessed of a body which is pure joy and is the original cause of all, and as identical with one's own self. The second is the Cakrapūja, the worship by means of the mystic circles, which is a Bhāyayāga, or material worship, and the third consists in studying and knowing the true doctrine. The second is the proper Sakti ceremonial. It consists in the worship of a picture 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. ² Śrīcakra is the most noted of all the cakras and it contains in all

¹The Age of Imperial Kanauj, p. 317.
43 angles.¹

The first reference to the cakrapu*j comes in the reign of Jalañka. His queen Īśanadevi placed 'circles sacred to the Mothers' (mātyacakra) which were distinguished by their spiritual power, at the 'Gates' of Kashmir and other places.² This reference to the Matyacakras at the frontier passes demands us to believe that in the popular mind there was a strong belief in their power and Kalha*a seems to have had this in mind amongst other supernatural agencies when he writes that his country 'may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits, but not by forces of soldiers. Hence its inhabitants are afraid only of the world beyond.'³

We are informed by Kalha*a that a certain sorceress, Bha*j by name, once approached king Baka of the Mihirakula lineage and made him agree to visit her sacrificial feast. When the king with his hundred sons and grandsons visited her, she made of him a sacrificial offering to the "Circle of the goddess".

¹Vide Sir John Woodroffe, Shakti and Shakta, pp. 399 ff.

²R.T., I, 122.

³R.T., I, 39.
Even in the time of Kālhaṇa one could see 'on a rock the double impression of her knees showing /where/, on attaining by that act supernatural power, she had risen to the sky'. 'Even to this day,' writes Kalhaṇa, 'the recollection of this story is kept alive in the Mathas of Kheri by /the image of/ the god Satakāpāleśa, the "circle of the Mothers", and by that rock.'¹

Human and animal sacrifice to Durgā is referred to in another story.² Matrocākra³ were also worshipped along the temple of Bhairava, in Nandikāpetra. This presents us a picture of the tantric practices in early centuries in Kashmir and the worship of the goddess in her fierce form, 'in which she is associated with the schools of Kapālikas and Kalāmukhas, and animals and human beings are sacrificed. After quoting Bāṇabhāṭṭa's Kādambari and Harṣacarita for similar practices, P.V. Kane remarks:

'These descriptions from the works of Bāṇa (first half of the seventh century) show how even long before the 7th century A.D. the worship of Cāṇḍi with flesh and the Sākta or Tantrik paraphernalia of mantras, siddhis, mandalas and yantras had gripped the minds of all Indian people, great and small, rich and poor.'⁴

¹R.T., I, 331-335.
²R.T., III, 82-93.
³R.T., V, 55.
to the two corresponding legends recorded in the *Rajatarangiśi*,¹ special diagrams (*yantra*) were traced on the ground for consecrating images of gods.

In Kashmir, the prevalence of the *Kaula* school of Tantras is attested to by Kṣemendra. Abhinavagupta, the Kashmirian philosopher, is said to have received perfect satisfaction and peace from the *Kula* system, and it is because of this that we find in his works a more glowing tribute paid to Sambhunātha, his Kaucic teacher, than to any one else.² The Tantra works shower great praise on the doctrine of Kaula. For example, the states *Kulamāva Tantra*¹⁰ one who has studied the four Vedas but is ignorant of Kuladharma is inferior to a caṇḍāla, while a caṇḍāla who knows *kuladharmas* is superior to a brahmaṇa. If all dharmas such as sacrifices, pilgrimages and vrataś are put on one side and Kuladharma on the other, Kaula (dharmā) is superior".³ God Sāṅkara declared five tattvas, viz., wine, flesh, fish, mudrā (hand and finger poses or the woman helper of a yogin) and sexual intercourse, that are acts that become the means for the attainment of the position of a vīra and that the mantra of Sakti does not confer perfection unless one follows the practices of Kula; therefore a person should be devoted to the Kula.

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¹ *R.T.*, III, 350, 454.


³ *Kulāṃvatuṭṭa*, II, 11 and 67. *Vide Mahānirvāṇatantra*, IV, 42 for almost the same words.
practices whereby he would attain to the sadhana of Sakti; wine, flesh, fish, mudra and sexual intercourse - these are declared to be the five tattvas in the procedure of the worship of Sakti.¹

In Kashmir as elsewhere in India, the belief in the teaching of Tantric practices had led to great moral debasement and revolting orgies in the name of religion which has been bewailed by Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa. Kṣemendra informs us how the Gurus declare that liberation follows by the drinking of wine from the same goblet by various craftsmen such as washermen, weavers, workers in hides, kāpālikas, in the procedure of cakrapuja, and by dalliance with women without the least scruple and by always leading a life of festivities.² He writes about a clerk (niyogī) who was first a Buddhist but later changed his allegiance to Vaigāvā faith. This Kāyastha resorted to Kālacāra and instituted a yāga for the sake of restoration of health of his wife. The Guru officiating the ceremony is said to have been a spiritual teacher not only of the Kāyastha and his widowed sister, but also of a prostitute, an old trader and of a surgeon.³ Kalhaṇa looks with hatred at these tantric

¹Mahānirvāṇatantra, I, 57.
²Dasevatararacarita, p.162.
³Narayanaśāstra, 100-116; Samayamātrikā, VI, 25.
gurus and their ceremonies which in the eleventh century had embraced obscenity and debauchery. He writes that in the reign of king Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) many siddhas like Bhājā Kalāṭā descended to the earth for the benefit of the world.\(^1\) Showering praise at the results of the good rule of king Yaśakara (A.D. 939-945), Kalhaṇa remarks that during his time the Brahman Gurus did not drink spirits while singing their chants, the ignorant Gurus did not perform Mātsya-pūpa sacrifices and did not by texts of their own composition revise traditional doctrines and there were not seen housewives figuring as divinities at the Guru-consecration (Gurudīkṣa), and by shakes of their heads detracting from the distinguished character of their husbands.\(^2\) King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) was greatly influenced by tantric gurus. We are informed that Pramadakaṭṭha, the teacher (guru) who instructed king Kalaśa, was evil disposed and made the king 'ignore the distinction between those whom are are approachable and those who are not'. It is said of this guru that he 'lived in incest even with his own daughter'.\(^3\) Another guru of king Kalaśa was a merchant who from the peculiarity of keeping a

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\(^1\) R.T., V, 66.

\(^2\) R.T., VI, 10-12.

\(^3\) R.T., VII, 276-278.
black cat had received the nickname of "the cat-merchant". Deceitful in his ignorance and vaunting his learning as a physician and Guru, he had gradually established a position for himself as a Guru of dyers and other craftsmen. This merchant gave relief to honourable and learned men by putting his hand, which smelt strongly of cat's droppings and Assafoetida (hinga) on their heads. Under the influence of these and many other Gurus and procurers, Kalaśa took to debauchery and used to lust after the wives of others. Without shame he used to enjoy even his aunt Kallana and her daughter Naga. At the celebration of great rites (mahāsoma) Kalaśa used to take great cups in the company of his gurus. King Harga (A.D. 1089-1101) follows immoral practices, in all likelihood under the influence of tantric gurus. His father's wives, writes Kalhaṇa, 'who had brought him up on their arms, he took in his arms, kissed them, and continually disported himself with them.' He had carnal intercourse even with his sisters. This

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1 R.T., VII, 279-283.
2 R.T., VII, 293.
3 R.T., VII, 523.
4 R.T., VII, 1147.
5 R.T., VII, 1148.
shows that the Kashmiri gurus were practising what the Guhyasamajatántra\(^1\) recommends to Buddhist Yogis, viz., intercourse with women including incest with their mother, sister and daughter etc.

Numerous references to magic and spells tend to show that the Kashmirians were well aware of the knowledge of witchcraft (\textit{abhicāra, khārkhodavidya}), which was widely practised in the Valley. In the thirteenth century Marco Polo writes about the people of Kashmir. 'They have an astonishing acquaintance with the devilries of enchantment; in so much that they make their idols speak. They can also by their sorceries bring on changes of weather and produce darkness, and do a number of things so extraordinary that no one without seeing them would believe them.'\(^2\) In the last century G. Bühler found the germs of this practice. He writes: 'From a story told to me it would seem that some of the rites which the Kashmirian sorcerers used to practise closely resemble those formerly known in Europe. A Pandit stated that he had once found amongst some old lumber a small wooden statue, through the neck of which a pin had been driven. On showing it to the elders

\(^1\) Guhyasamajatántra, p.120.

\(^2\) Yule, \textit{Marco Polo}, vol. I, p.175.
of his family and inquiring about its purpose, he had been informed that it had been made by a sorcerer, and was the representation of some enemy, who had been killed with its aid. The pin driven into the neck under the recitation of the proper mantras had caused headaches, and aspeedy death by apoplexy. I suppose nobody will read this story without being reminded of the Leech of Folkestone in the Ingoldsby Legends, where the sorcerer and the wicked wife try to destroy Thomas Marsh by exactly the same means. It may be that witchcraft is now not much practised in Kaśmir, but the belief in its efficacy, in yoginis who celebrate their foul rites on the desert mountain sides, and in Bhūts, is perhaps stronger and more universal in Kaśmir than in India proper. The Kaśmirian Pandits gave me the impression that they were a gens religiosissima.¹

Kalhaṇa records many cases of death caused by the use of witchcraft. We are told that in the court of king Candrapiḍa a Brahman woman demanded justice against a Brahman sorcerer who took the life of her husband by witchcraft. The Brahman sorcerer being found guilty was duly punished.² Later king Candrapiḍa is said to have breathed his last as a result of witchcraft

²R.T., IV, 82 sqq.
(abhiśīrā) which this angry Brahman sorcerer used against the king at the instigation of Ṭarāpiḍā, the younger brother of Candrapiḍā. Kalhaṇa woefully remarks: 'From that time onwards, princes lusting for the throne in this kingdom began to use witchcraft and other evil practices against their elder relatives.' But Kalhaṇa reserves his praise for king Candrapiḍā and writes: 'Who does not feel a thrill when he remembers that extreme (or last) act of forbearance on the part of the illustrious king Candrapiḍā? — namely, that, when at the point of death, he did not destroy that Brahman sorcerer (kṛtyādhayin), though he had got him in his power, saying — What sin is there in this poor fellow whom another has instigated!' Tarāpiḍā himself was destroyed by witchcraft used by the Brahmins whom he ill-treated. Of the Karkoṭa kings, another case of death by sorcery was that of king Cippajayāpiḍā who was destroyed by his treacherous uncles. King Gopālavaman (A.D.902-904) of the Utpala dynasty died as a result of witchcraft which the treasurer

1 R.T., IV, 112.
2 R.T. IV, 114.
3 R.T., IV, 115-116.
4 R.T. IV, 124.
5 R.T., IV, 686.
Prabhākaradeva used against him through his relative who was versed in this knowledge. 'Through this bewitchment, king Gopālavarman fell into a hot fever and died after a rule of two years.'\(^1\) The death of king Yaśaskara (A.D. 939-948), according to one version, is attributed to witchcraft used against him by his magician minister named Vīranātha.\(^2\) Saṁgrāmadeva (A.D. 948-949), the son of Yaśaskara also met with the same fate. The cruel and treacherous minister Parvagupta employed witchcraft against him but before Saṁgrāmadeva breathed his last as a result of it, he was murdered by the impatient minister.\(^3\) Queen Diddā, an ambitious and lascivious woman, is recorded to have destroyed her grandsons Nandigupta (A.D. 972-973) and Tribhuvana (A.D. 973-975) by employing witchcraft.\(^4\) Another queen who behaved like Diddā is Śrīlakā, the queen of king Saṁgrāmarāja (A.D. 1003-1028), the first ruler of the first Lohara dynasty. The licentious queen used witchcraft against her son Harirāja (A.D. 1028) who ruled distinctly for only twenty-two days.\(^5\)

\(^1\)R.T., V, 240.
\(^3\)R.T., VI, 121-129.
\(^4\)R.T., VI, 310-312.
\(^5\)R.T., VII, 131-133.
The foregoing account discloses that the practice of witchcraft was widespread in ancient Kashmir. Looking at the cases of kings and queens using this method to destroy their sons, grandsons and others to fulfil their selfish motives, we can hardly expect any state measures issued aimed at stopping this dirty and horrifying practice. Kautilya recommends the employment of spies whose duty should be to detect and banish those who use charms and witchcraft to secure illicit love and injury to others. Whereas in the Manasmṛti and Matsyapurāṇa, we read of the imposition of very light punishment, viz. fines of 200 panas only for magic rites, incantations employed to take life and for raising ghosts and goblins, Medhatithi and Kullūka recommend punishment as that of murder for all successful magic rites. But Kashmir produced such kind-hearted kings as Candrapiḍa who did not take any action against the Brahman sorcerer who used witchcraft against him, declaring that he had followed this course at other's instigation. But for strict measures against this practice taken by Kashmirian kings, it might have been checked.

1Arthasastra, IV, 4.
2Manu, IX, 290.
3Matsyapurāṇa, 227, 183.
The राजताराणिगी conveys the belief in divine retribution that falls on evil and oppressive government. Kalhaṇa emphatically declares that the avaricious and oppressive kings are duly punished. 'The splendour of a ruler who practices avarice, causes no one pleasure, as little as that of a flower out of season, which does not promise a fruit. Liberality and kind speech bring everything under the power of the king. Avarice is bent with force upon destroying in the first place these two qualities. As the cloud destroys the lustre, duration and splendour of a winter day, so does avarice that of a king.' Again he writes: 'Those kings who do evil to their subjects, have their family, their glory, their life, their wives, nay, even their name, destroyed in a moment.' In the eighth Tārāṅga Kalhaṇa furnishes a chronological list of the kings of Kashmir whose rich treasures they amassed by oppressing the subjects were destroyed by one agency or the other. He believes that 'the wealth which lords of the earth acquire by oppressing the people, must fall a prey of rivals, or of enemies, or else of fire.' He also expresses the belief that violation of the sanctity of the sacred shrines

1 R.T., V, 188-190.
2 R.T., V, 211.
3 R.T., VIII, 1951.
meets with divine vengeance. The misfortunes of king Harga (A.D. 1089-1101) and his grandson Bhikṣacara (A.D. 1120-1121) were the result of desecration of temples which they cruelly carried out.¹

Equally strong was the belief in supernatural power of the Nāgas or spring deities.² Superstitious respect has been attached from early times to the worship of the Nāgas, the tutelary deities and their power much dreaded. They are represented as snakes inhabiting the springs protected by them.³ At times they appear in human form and sometimes send down snow and darkness. J. Ph. Vogel discusses the form of the Nāgas and writes: 'The distinguished German indologist, the late Professor Hermann Oldenberg, reckons the Nāgas to belong to that class of demonical beings which is best represented by werewolves. They appear, indeed, often in human shape, as is also the case with... were-wolves, tiger-men and swan-maidens....

The conception of a substantial unity between animal and man, which during the Vedic period is met with only in certain survivals, finds an expression in the beliefs in the beings like were-wolves. Presumably, the "tiger-men" belong to this class.

¹R.T., VII, 1344 sqq; VIII, 993.
²Infra, pp. 413-419.
³R.T., IV, 601; VII, 171.
and certainly do the Nāgas, which seem to be men, but in reality are snakes. According to an ancient Buddhist text, their serpent nature manifests itself on two occasions, namely, during sexual intercourse and in sleep.\(^1\)

We read a legendary account of the destruction of Nara-pura of King Nara, by the Nāga Suṟavas. King Nara aroused the wrath of the Nāga by trying to seduce his daughter of infinite charm whereupon 'casting about dense darkness by thundering clouds of sinister look, he burned the king with his town in a rain of fearful thunderbolts'.\(^2\) In historical times, in the reign of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063), we know of another story relating how the Dard ruler played with his life by arousing the fury of the Nāga called Pindaraka.\(^3\) Sometimes the Nāgas send down heavy snow, hail and assume the form of clouds.\(^4\) It is due to the protection the Valley has received from the Nāgas that Kashmir is considered superior to other countries.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Indian Serpent Lore, Introduction, p.2.

\(^2\) R.T., I, 259.

\(^3\) R.T., VII, 169 sqq.

\(^4\) R.T., I, 179, 239; II, 16 sqq.

A deep-rooted semi-religious belief provided the Brahmans an esteemed position in the social hierarchy. The belief that disrespect shown to the Brahmans would bring terrible results made them super human. Their threats of committing suicide by voluntary starvation were much awed lest they bring miraculous consequences and by this belief they had a strong hold in the social order. 'For the Brahmans, if enraged, are able to destroy in a single moment heaven with Indra, the earth and its mountains, hell and its Naga-princes.' At another place Kalhaqa writes: 'Beyond conception is the power which austerities gain for those mighty Brahmans, who are capable of reversing the fortune of even great rulers. One has seen the royal fortune when it had been lost through the power of rival heirs and others, restored again; but when once lost in consequence of disrespect shown to Brahmans, it never returns.'

We have referred to the legend narrated in the Nalamaṇḍa-purana and the Rajatarāṇī regarding the creation of Kashmir

1 R.T., IV, 642.
2 R.T., I, 160-161.
3 Infra, p. 443 sqq.
and the subsequent freeing of the land from the Pisācas who
under the curse of Kāśyapa occupied Kashmir during six months
of winter. There was a superstitious awe for the Pisācas, in
the minds of the Kashmirians who in accordance with the custom
prescribed in the Nilamatapurāṇa made amusement on the
Āśvayujī day by joking and abusing each other and by throwing
mud on one another in an attempt to frighten away the Pisācas
who were believed to enter the houses on that day. Many festive
rites were connected with the Pisācas. We see that Kalhaya
in his description of the legend curiously substitutes the
Yakṣas for the Pisācas. Other references in the Rājatarangini
mention the Yakṣas as dwelling in rocks and mountains. Kesemendra
refers to Yakṣas as infesting public tanks visited by the people.
We read that the legendary king Dāmodara II got long stone-
lined dykes constructed by the Yakṣas. Of the sculptures found
at Parihaśapura one is believed to be that of a Yakṣa whose
both hands and the head support the entablature above. He is

1. Infra, p. 369-370.
2. R.T., I, 184.
5. R.T., I, 159.
fashionably dressed and neatly combed. His erect posture, elaborate ornaments and imposing flower wreath seem to indicate that he, not only makes light of the inconvenience of his painful situation, but probably does not even feel any trouble.¹

The Kathasaritsāgara narrates numerous stories about the Yakṣas and the Yakṣinis who are described as givers of food and drink, inhabiting trees, specially the banyan, guardians of trees and so on. The works of Kṣemendra also make frequent references to the Yakṣas mentioning them at times to possess people as one of their functions. In the Narmamalā it is said that a lady was possessed of a Yakṣa while taking a bath in an empty house.² A Yakṣa proficient in the art of returning home refuses though forced to go.³ Kṣemendra looks with contempt at the malpractices and the superstition of the Yakṣa cult and discloses the false pretences of the medium. He sarcastically writes that 'a rogue talking incoherently, invoking a Yakṣa by the foot blows of the people and without the help of charmed incense enjoyed good food and drinks'.⁴ In the seventh upadeśa

¹R.C.Kak, Handbook, p.45.
²Narmamalā, II,91.
³Samayamātrikā, V, 49.
⁴Kalāvilāsa, IX, 18, 20.
of the Desopadeśa, Kṣemendra, while ridiculing an old man's marriage with a young lady, compares the former with an old Yakṣa who due to his old age, keeps a serpent to guard his treasure. In the eighth upadeśa which deals with different characters, Kṣemendra compares the cheating merchant with a nocturnal Yakṣa.

The Rajatarāṅgini abounds in references to the Rākṣasas and Bhūtas dwelling in the mountains, rocks and cremation grounds; who are believed to do harm to human beings. M.A. Stein writes: 'Superstitious belief has at all times and in all mountainous regions peopled the solitary summits and high ridges with spirits and other supernatural beings. To this day Kāśmirian Brahmans fully believe in the presence of Devatas and Bhūtas of all sorts on high mountain passes.' In the pages of the Rajatarāṅgini we read a lengthy legendary account of the foundation of Pravarapura (Srinagara). Kalhaṭa narrates that king Pravarasena II, in his attempt to find an auspicious time (lagna) and place (kaśtra) for the foundation of a new town, reached during the course of his wanderings, the stream Mahāsārit in the vicinity of a cremation field. A ferocious roaring Bhūta is said to have

1 Desopadeśa, VII, 31.

appeared on the other bank of the stream and inviting the king to his side helped him cross over the stream by making an embankment with his limb and later disappeared by telling the king an auspicious time and saying: 'Build your town where tomorrow you see the measuring line laid down by me.' The line being discovered another day, the desired task was fulfilled. In this legend Kalhapa uses the words bhūta, rākṣasa and yētāla indiscriminately for the demon. Five rākṣasas whom king Jayāpiḍa of Kashmir received from the king of Lāṅkā through an envoy (āṇita) despatched to the latter, are believed to have helped the Kashmirian king in filling a deep lake and perhaps in the foundation of the castle (koṭṭa) of Jayapura. 

A popular belief that we can glean from the chronicle of Kalhapa, is the idea of possession by a demon and it is in agreement with this belief that the excessive cruelties committed by king Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) and Sussala (A.D. 1112-28) during the later part of their reigns, are ascribed to their being possessed by demons. The terrifying character of the rākṣasa was also maintained in the sculptures of the Valley. We have

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1 R.T., III, 337 sqq.
2 R.T., IV, 503-506.
3 R.T., VII, 1243 sqq; VIII, 1460 sqq.
discovered a head of a rakṣasa from the remains at Pandrethun.
The features convey a ferocious look. He is shown having a
'grinning mouth, the wide-open glaring eyes, the matted hair
which seems to spring upwards in tongues of flame, and the
short, thick and straight beard'.

Mountains and burial grounds (śmasāṇa) were believed also
to have been haunted by the witches (kṛtyakā, kṛtyā, yogini).
Kalhaṇa acquaints us with a legend bearing Buddhist colouring,
regarding the foundation of Kṛṣṇārama Vihāra. It is said that
once on his way to Vijayesvara, king Jalauka met a woman who
begged food from him and at his readiness to provide her the de-
sired food she changed her form and demanded human flesh. The
pious king who had renounced the killing of living beings offered
his own body whereupon the witch being impressed at the king's
compassion addressed him as Bodhisattva and told him that 'We
witches (kṛtyakā) living by the side of Mount Lokāloka which
divides light and darkness, belong to the darkness. Putting
our whole trust in the Bodhisattvas we long for liberation from
the darkness.' The witches further told the king that 'when you
had lately been kept from sleep by the noise of the music of
a Vihāra, you had at the instigation of wicked persons caused in

your anger the destruction of the Vihāra. The excited Baudhās
thought of me and sent me forth to kill you. But then the
Bodhisattvas called me and gave me the following direction:
'That king is a great Sakya (Mahāsākyā). You cannot hurt him;
but in his presence, O good one, you will obtain liberation
from darkness (sin). In our name you shall exhort him who
has been led into guilt by wicked people, to give up his hoarded
gold and to build a Vihāra. If he does so, no misfortune shall
befall him in consequence of the destruction of the Vihāra,
and atonement shall thus be made for him and his instigators.'
Therefore, I have tasted in that (former) disguise your abundant
goodness. Today I have been freed from sin. Farewell. I depart.¹

After the disappearance of the divine sorceress (Kṛtya),
king Jalauka built the Kṛtyāśrama Vihāra. The witches (yoginī)
are believed to be in a position to put life into a dead body.
Kalhaṇa narrates such an anecdote. We learn from him about the
piety and devotion of Śaṃdhitmati, a minister of king Jayendra
of the legendary period. King's ears being poisoned by
the wicked men against this sage minister, the latter was re-
duced to poverty, imprisoned and finally executed. Hearing this
sad news, Isāna, the guru of the minister, reached the burial

¹R.T., I, 131-147.
ground (śmaśana) to perform the funeral rites. As he was about to perform the rites, he read the following verse on his forehead. 'He will have a life of poverty, ten years' imprisonment, death on the stake, and still thereafter a throne.' The account continues that in his anxiety to find the last prediction of the verse fulfilled, he kept an anxious eye on the spot when one night he 'smelt a heavenly perfume of incense and found on the burial ground witches (yogini) enveloped by a halo of light'. And to his surprise Isana found 'each one of them put upon the skeleton one of their limbs, and then procuring from somewhere a membrum virile, they quickly completed his body'.

There is also clear evidence for the belief in the spirits of the dead (preta) who, suffering from thirst and hunger, are believed to move about.  

Numerous measures seem to have been taken as a protection against evil spirits. In Kashmir where the belief in the idea of possession by evil spirits was strong, the Kashmirians were well acquainted with mantravidya, the deployment of which helped to relieve the afflicted from malevolent spirits and from sickness. Kṣemendra refers to astrologers as resorting to incantation

1 R.T., II, 104.
(mantra) to free people from diseases and evil spirits.¹

A spell called Durgottaripīvidyā² is mentioned by Kalhana and the context in which it is referred to, it appears that the chanting of this spell helped across dangers. In addition the Kashmirians believed in the efficacy of amulets which they wore on their bodies as a protection against evil spirits. In the third upadeśa on the prostitute (veṣyā), Kṣemendra describes her as wearing one hundred and one amulets as a protection against evil spirits.³ The frog motif appears to have occupied a prominent place in Kashmir. In the Atharvaveda, the frog charm is particularly described as efficacious against fever.⁴

In the Kalavilāsa, Kṣemendra refers to a popular belief that by applying frog's fat a man becomes the beloved of heavenly maidens.⁵ In Kashmir as elsewhere in India, other types of amulets might have constituted fish, tortoise, bull, elephant, horse, hare and shapes of different birds. Seeds such as those of mustard,⁶ were also used as a protection against evil spirits. Sewing of caps of children with grains of mustard seed as a protection against

¹Narmamāla, II, 84-87.
²R.T., VIII, 106.
⁵Kalavilāsa, IX, 12.
⁶R.T., III, 338.
evil spirits was noticed by M.A. Stein.¹

The Kashmirians believed not only in the invincibility of the mountains which surround their land but also attached to them great sanctity as being the residence of gods and goddesses. They took pride in their country's security from foreign invasion, afforded by the mountain-walls and believed that their 'Country may be conquered by the force of spiritual merits, but not by forces of soldiers'.² The mountains have since ancient times received worship as an embodiment of different gods and goddesses who have given their names to the hills. Certain hills received reverence as Svayambhu images and for the miraculous phenomena they produced. We have discussed the subject in detail in the chapter on Tirthas.

¹R.T., I, 31, 39.
Chapter IX

FESTIVALS

A study of the Kashmirian texts shows that the valley of Kashmir was in no way behind the rest of India in the celebration of festivals. Many of these were accompanied by dancing, singing, music and theatre and were occasions for great fun and amusement which enlivened the everyday life of the people. Fairs were held on some and bands of strolling players, jugglers, actors and musicians went from street to street amusing people with their performance. The celebrants fasted on many of these festivals, performed the Sraddha, kept awake during the night and offered worship to the deities with flowers, incense, lamps and varieties of food products in highly decorated temples and houses. The Brähmapas earned special gifts, feasts arranged for relatives and friends, presents exchanged and the high-light of some of these festivals was the display of tournaments. A comparative study has shown that many festival rites as described in the Nilmatapurāṇa and observed in the Valley tally closely with other Paurāṇic rites and festivals celebrated in India proper. Some were peculiar to Kashmir. We have tried to check and compare the information provided in the Kashmirian literature, in the case of important festivals, with medieval North, East and South Indian digests dealing with kāla such as the Rajamārtanda.
of Bhoja, Miṣṭakalakanda section of Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmidhara, Kalaviveka of Jñūtavahana, Vratakhaṇḍa of Chaturvarga-Cintamani of Hemādri, Kṛtyaratnakara of Cāṇḍeśvara etc. Though the life of the people of Kashmir from the tenth century onwards was marked with insecurity and fear due to treason, palace intrigues and rising power of the troublesome Bāmaras, the celebration of festive days provided some relief. And the possibility of partial breakdown in the observance of many festivals during this troubled period cannot be ruled out.

The Nīlamatapurāṇa, which provides first-hand information on the subject, starts with the full-moon day of Aśvayuja. The importance of this festival is illustrated at another place, where we read at length about the story of the creation of Kashmir by Kaśyapa. Kaśyapa wanted to introduce men into the country, but at the refusal of the Nagas to have the company of men, he angrily cursed the Nagas in consequence of which the country was made over to the Pīṣacās for six months in each year, viz., from the full-moon day of Aśvayuja to that of Caitra. In Caitra the country was inhabited again by men for the remaining six months. The story continues how the people once strictly observed the rites as enjoined by Nīla Nāga, who delivered their land from the Pīṣacās. From then on the country became the permanent residence of the people throughout the year. The full-moon day of Aśvina or Aśvayuja was an important day for the Kashmirians.
and was devoted to the worship of Nikumbha, the king of Pisacas, as on this day men were supposed to be possessed by the Pisacas. On the next day, people indulged themselves in singing, dancing and throwing abuse, jokes and muddy water at each other in an attempt to drive away the Pisacas supposed to enter their houses. The day also brought with it festivities in honour of Kaumudi (moonlight). Kaumudi was worshipped and all with the exception of children and convalescent, underwent a fast which was broken at night at the appearance of the moon. Offerings were made to the fire in the name of Rudra, Candra, Uma, Skanda, the Nasatyas and Nāḍin. Eating of meat was forbidden and the night was spent around the sacred fire. Among other rites, the devotees are enjoined to keep the fire burning during the six months of the winter and place an oil lamp outside their houses during the nights of the month of Karttiika.1 Kalhana informs us that the display of horse-play and fights of men lent charm to the festival of Asvayuji.2 The day seems

1 Nilamata-purāṇa, 376-397.

2 Asvayujiyaṃ Nikumbhas tu nityāṃ ayati kaśyapa 1

Hatvā Ṛṣisacan saṃgrame valukāravagāna bahum 11 376

Puṣṭhartam tasya kartaavya kaumudi tam nibodha me 11 377

Rudrāṃ Candraṃ Umāṃ Skandaṃ Nasatyau Nandinaṃ tathā 1

Pujayitvārghemālyadinaivedyaiś ca pṛthak pṛthak 11 381

Asīlāṃ vadamaniś ca hy akrośadhis tathāvija 11 391

tatāḥ prabhūti āyamanaṃ vṛṣeṣu veṣeṣaṃ manavaḥ 11 395

Agniḥ saṃnīhitaḥ kārya ratrāṃ viprair viśeṣataḥ 1
to have been observed in a similar fashion in India in the time of the Gahaḍavālas as Lakṣmīdhara the minister of Peace and War of king Govindachandra Gahaḍavala of Kanauj (C.1114-1154 A.D.), quoting the Brahmapūrāṇa, refers to it prescribing the same rites as enjoined in the Kashmirian Purāṇa. But in Bengal this tithi was celebrated as a Kojāgara or Kaumudī Mahotsava. Jimūtavāhana in his Kalaviveka prescribes the worship of Lakṣmī and Indra riding Airāvata. At night people lighted lamps of ghee or sesame oil on roads, in temples, parks and houses. The game of dice was played. Next morning after the bath worship was offered to Indra. Brāhmaṇas were served with delicious dishes. Jimūtavāhana, quoting the Liṅgapurāṇa, writes that Lakṣmī is on the move at night in the world saying who is awake and the celebrants should drink coconut juice and play with numerals.² Probably, Alberuni meant this festival of the Kashmirians when he wrote that the people (of India) celebrate the festival of Puhai (?) on the 15th of Ashvayuja,

²R.T., VII, 1551.

¹Niyatakālakāṇḍa, pp. 411-413.

²Kalaviveka, p.403.
when the moon stands in the last of her stations, Revati. 'They wrangle with each other and play with the animals. It is holy to Vasudeva, because his uncle Kamśa had ordered him into his presence for the purpose of wrangling.' The popularity of the Āsvayuji day in Kashmir can hardly be overestimated. This, being related to their permanent settlement in the Valley, was celebrated with great consciousness by all and sundry.

In the bright half of the month of Āsvina, the festival of Navāna Vidyā is observed at the time of the ripening of rice (dhānya). Rice being the staple food of the Kashmirians, this occasion was spent amidst great rejoicings. Offerings of fresh rice were made to the devas and the pitras. The Brāhmaṇas were honoured and there took place a loud recitation of Vedic texts. People dressed in new clothes and carried out vocal and instrumental music performances. A meal of gur and dried rice was taken in the company of relatives and friends. The fourth of the bright half of Āsvina along with the fourth of Jyaistha and Magha was called the triad of 4ths (caturthi-ṛtya).

2 Nilamata-purāṇa, 748-754.
when Durga was propitiated and pativratas honoured. In the bright half of Aśvina when the Moon was in Svati, worship was offered to Uccaiḥśravas and in the case of the tithi being the ninth, one's own horses were honoured. Santi rites were performed and threads of five colours (pañcarāṅga) were tied round the necks of horses. They should not be whipped (tañana) nor ridden (vahana). The following two verses refer to Hastidikṣa:

This festival which is mentioned earlier by Kautilya and Varahamihira appears to have attained popularity in later times and has been referred to by Bhoja, Lakṣmīdhara and Gaṇḍesāvara.

The eighth day of the bright half of Aśvina was sacred to Bhadra-kālī. The festivities of this festival entered the ensuing day.

Worship was offered to the goddess and the devotees took meat, pāṇaka and other vegetables and offered the same to the Brahmāṇas.

The celebrants dressed gaily, observed the jagara at night and

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1 Nilamatapurāṇa, 776-778.

2 Nilamatapurāṇa, 779-783.

worshipped the books, weapons and musical instruments in the temple of Durga.¹ The celebration of this festive day in honour of Bhadrakāli was quite popular and known in Bengal, Bihar and other parts of Northern India where the celebrations extended till the tenth day.²

The dark half of Āsvina was observed as Śraddha-pakṣa. Special importance was attached to the sanctity of the thirteenth day (trayodāsī) which was not left without the performance of aśādha. And the speciality of the fourteenth day was the offering of pinda to those who had been killed by weapons (astra). The offerings of rice flour, ghee and honey are obligatory.³

The fourth day of the dark half of Āsvina was observed in honour of Dikpālas i.e. Bindusāra-nāga in the East, Śrīmadaka in the South, Uttarāmanasa in the North and Ailapatra in the West. Worship was offered to them and by observing the day with proper rites one's desires were said to be fulfilled.⁴ The ninth day was sacred to Gaurī and Durgā. The goddess Durgā and the weapons

¹Nilamata-purāṇa, 786-795.
³Nilamata-purāṇa, 732-737.
were worshipped during the night and the next morning was spent in the performance of Nirūjaśānti. The ensuing verses of the Nilamatapurāṇa recommend worship at night after seeing the star Agastya when the sun is in the middle of Virgo (Agastyadarśanapujane).

The first day of the month of Kṛttika when the country of Kashmir is supposed to have been created by Kāśyapa, is observed as the New Year's day festival in Kashmir. People dressed in new clothes and made merry by listening to songs and music and taking sumptuous food and drink in the company of near and dear ones. Worship was offered to the home-deity (grhadevi) and offerings were made in one's own house and not on a tree.

The festivities of the New Year's day extended for seven days i.e. from the first to the seventh darker half in which all and sundry took part. Vināyaka was worshipped on the first day, on the second Gṛhāśānti was performed and the Gandharvas, Piśācas, Nāgas, Brāhmaṇas and the poor were worshipped on the third, fourth, fifth, sixth and the seventh respectively. Houses were

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1. Nilamatapurāṇa, 739-741.
4. Nilamatapurāṇa, 796-797.
cleaned and white-washed and decorated and scented with incense. Dancing, singing and musical performances high-lighted the occasion. An image of Kaśyapa was anointed and profusely decorated and installed in a highly decorated car which was taken around the city in a big procession followed by the king and the people. The dancers, actors and the poor were given food and money according to one's capacity.¹

The festival of lamps (Dīpamālā) was celebrated in Kashmir as in the rest of India, with great mirth and gaiety on the darker 15th of Kārttiκa. The Kashmirian Purāṇa gives a long description of its celebration. The day was marked with the observance of Sukhasuptika. The devotees, with the exception of children and convalescents, did not eat in the morning and the evening was devoted to the worship of Lakṣmī. People put on new clothes and decked themselves with flowers and ornaments. The Brahmāṇas earned special gifts on the occasion. Illumination was carried out on the trees, in temples, by waysides, cremation grounds (śmaśāna), river banks, hill tops, roots of trees and houses. Friends and guests were honoured and the occasion was spent amidst singing and music and sports (an allusion to gambling seems to have been made). Houses were scented with dhūpa and

¹Nilamata-purāṇa, 847-865.
decorated with lamps.\(^1\) Dipamāla festival was then, as now, most widely observed throughout India and has been referred to by many medieval writers\(^2\) like Bhoja, Jīmutavāhana, Lakṣmīdhara, Hemacandra, Caṅđēśvara etc, under different synonymous names (sukhasuptikā, Sukharātri, Dipalikā, Dipotsava etc.).

In the bright half of Karttika the period from the eleventh to the full moon day was celebrated as Karttika Pācaratāra. An elaborate description of the various rites to be observed has been given in the Nīlamatapurāṇa. The eleventh and the twelfth were devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu who after his sleep from the month of Aśādha is supposed to get up then. The celebrants observed jāgara on the eleventh night and engaged themselves in songs and dance. Kirtana was performed and there took place a loud chanting of texts. The premises were decorated with flowers and scented with dhūpa. Lamps were lit on the trees and the devotees took vegetables, fruits and apupa. On the twelfth night the image of the deity was bathed in the sacred water of the river and after being decorated was nicely installed and worship was offered. Vedic texts were recited to

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\(^1\) Nīlamatapurāṇa, 398-407.
the accompaniment of musical instruments such as the vīnā.

Many charitable gifts were made. The bards, mallas and bhattas were honoured on the thirteenth day. A fast was kept on the fourteenth and the fifteenth and Jānārdhana was worshipped. At the rise of the full moon of Kṛttika, Kṛttikas, Kṛttikīeya, Varuṇa etc. were propitiated. Lamps were put on the trees. Gorasa constituted one of the vegetarian foods taken on the occasion. The Brāhmaṇas earned a special gift of fish of sand with pearls substituted for its eyes.\(^1\)

The seventh of the bright half of the month of Mārgasīrṣa was observed in honour of Bhāskara (Sun). The image of Mītra was bathed and installed on the sixth. A representation of the wheel of a chariot (rathacakra) was made and profusely adorned. A fast was observed on the seventh but the celebrants were allowed to take fruits. They kept jāgara and the night was spent amidst songs and dances. Worship was offered to Bhāskara with various kinds of flowers (kusuma). Honey and a preparation of powdered rice (pīṭa) was taken. After feeding the Brāhmaṇas, the poor and the orphans were attended to. On the eighth, money was given to the actors and the dancers.\(^2\) It is noticeable that the Nil-

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\(^1\) Dvyaśāraya, II, verse 106; Deśinamamāla, III, 43. Niyatakalakanda, pp. 421-422. Kṛtaratnakara, pp. 410-411.

maṭapurāṇa, also enjoins the observance of similar rites on the lunar sevenths of Magha and Asāḍha. The festival of Mitrasaptami was also popular among the Gahāḍavāla and the Mithila people and has been mentioned with identical rites by Lakṣṇidhara and Cānḍesvara. Paurṇamasivrata was kept on the full-moon day of Mārgasīrṣa, which was broken at night after offering worship to the moon and the Brahmāṇas. The moon was worshipped along with nakṣatras on a circle made of salt and pasted with sandalwood paste. Clothes of red colour were given in charity to a beautiful Brahmāṇa lady, a sister or aunt or to the wife of a friend. The devotees took vegetarian foods and donated garments coloured with gold as a daksīṇā. Those women whose husbands were alive were honoured with presents.

In Kashmir, the first fall of snow was observed with great festivities. On the first snow-fall day worship was offered to snow (hima) as also to the Nāgas with flowers, perfumes and fruits. On the occasion people took and gave to the Brahmāṇas ghee and kulmaśa. Special feasts were arranged and the singing and dancing performances highlighted the festival. We are further informed that on the day people took new wine

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1 Niyatakalakanda, p. 432.
2 Kṛtyaratnakara, pp. 460-461.
3 Nilamatapurāṇa, 456-460.
(navam madyam), a peculiar custom of the Kashmirians. Syāmādevī was worshipped with flowers, fruits and perfumes. People took special dishes and made merry in the company of relatives, friends and servants. They listened to songs and music and witnessed the dancing of harlots (puṣṭaci).\textsuperscript{1} We gather from Lakṣmīdhara,\textsuperscript{2} who, quoting the Brahmapurāṇa, records many rites and festivities as those described in the Nilamatapurāṇa in connection with the festival of first snow-fall, that this festival was not only celebrated in Kashmir surrounded by snow-clad mountains, but was known in the plains as well. Later, in the fourteenth century, the Mithila writer Gaṅgāśvara\textsuperscript{3} refers to the festival of himapūja. The date for the celebration of himapūja has been prescribed by these authors as the fourteenth of the bright half or the full moon day of Mārgaśīrṣa.

Most of the holy days of Pauṣa fell in the dark half. On the eighth day, śrāddhas were offered to the pitṛs. The celebrants are also enjoined to hold śrāddhas on the eighth day

\textsuperscript{1}Nilamatapurāṇa, 461-468.
\textsuperscript{2}Niyatakalakāndā, pp. 432-434.
\textsuperscript{3}Krtyaratnakāndā, pp. 471-472.
of the dark of the months of Magha and Phālguṇa as also on the ninth of the dark half of Pauṣa, Magha and Phālguṇa.\(^1\)

After the eighth darker of Pauṣa, the Nīlamatapurāṇa refers to the rites connected with the full-moon day of Pauṣa (Paurāmasi). On this day of Paurāmasi, the devotees anointed themselves in ghee (ahṛtena snāpanam kuryāt svaśarīrasya mānavaḥ), dressed in new clothes and worshipped Nārāyaṇa, Sukra, Soma, Puṣya and Bṛhaspati. The observance of the day with proper rites was supposed to bring health, wealth (dhanadhānya) and deliverance from sins (papanaśanam).\(^2\) Then the Kashmirian Puraṇa refers to the Uttarāyana ceremony according to which the devotees were required to anoint with ghee the images of Viṣṇu and Śiva during the following three months.\(^3\) Of the remaining days of the dark half of Pauṣa, tīla homa was performed on the twelfth.\(^4\)

Kalhaṇa mentions a festival called Tiladvādaśī but does not mention the month of its celebration. In all likelihood, the festival of Tiladvādaśī of Kalhaṇa is identical with the festival of Niladvādaśī of the Nīlamatapurāṇa, fixed for the twelfth of the dark half of Pauṣa. Viṣṇu was worshipped and the temples of the deity were thronged by both the elite and the common people.\(^5\)

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5. R.T., V, 395.
the Gāhādaṇḍa minister, quoting the Brahma-purāṇa refers to the festival of tīlas on the dvādāsi of the dark half of Magha. Dīpas of tīla oil were lit in the temples (devagrha). The devotees ate tīla seed and made offerings of it. The fourteenth day of the dark half of the month of Pauṣa was dedicated to the God of Death. Seven amijala of sacred water of the river Vitāṣṭa, Sindhu or Kanakavāhinī were offered to each name of the God of death, i.e. Yama, Dharmarāja, Mṛtyu, Antaka, Vaiśvasvata, Kāla and Sarvapraṇaḥar. Dharmarāja was worshipped with flowers, perfumes, tīlas, ghee etc. Khichari (kṛṣara) was given to the Brahmāṇas as a dāksīṇa. The observance of the day accordingly brought to the observer purity and deliverance from mahāpātaka.¹

When the conjunction of Śrāvāṇa took place with the fifteenth of the dark-half of Pauṣa, it was known as Paūṣa Śrāvāṇa Pañcadasī and was observed as a holy day.²

Two festive days in the month of Magha have been recorded. The fourth day of the bright half was dedicated to Uma. Worship

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¹ *Nilematapuranā, 484-491.
   Yamasya nammi datavyah saptasaptajalāmjalih 1
   ekaikasmin dvijasrestha tani namani me śṛṣṭu ll 487
   Yamasya Dharmarājya Mṛtyave Cāntakāya ca 1
   Vaiśvasvatayā kalaya Sarvapraṇaḥaraya ca ll 488
   snatva ca pujā kartavya Dharmarājasya vai tada 1
   puspair dhupaiś tatha gandharīṣv kṛṣareṇa ca bhūriṇa ll 489

² *Nilematapuranā, 492.
was offered to the goddess with lamps, dhūpa, flowers, gur etc. As a mark of honour to the goddess those faithful ladies whose husbands and fathers-in-law were alive also received homage on the occasion. The observant is enjoined to go through this ceremony on the fourth of the bright half of the months of Āśvayuja and Jyaistha. This was known as triad of fourths (caturthi tritya). The full moon day of Magha was celebrated by the offerings of cooked food to the crows. Tilaśraddha was also performed on this day.

The month of Phālguṇa included two very important festivals of the Valley, the festival of Mahimā and that of Śivarātri. When the twelfth of the dark half of Phālguṇa had Śravaṇa-nakṣatra (Phālguṇaśravaṇadvādaśi), a fast was kept and worship was offered to Hari. The fourteenth day of the dark half

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1 Nilamata-purāṇa, 493-497.

2 Nilamata-purāṇa, 498.

3 Nilamata-purāṇa, 506-507.
of Phālguṇa was one of the holiest days of the Kashmirians (as elsewhere in India). It is the festival of Śivarātrī of which there are elaborate descriptions in the Nīlamatapurāṇa and the Rajatarangini. People fasted and worshipped Maheśa. Animals such as a ram made of flour were offered to the liṅga and pūjā was offered with perfume, incense, coloured clothes (sampūjya gandhamālyādiraktavastrān ulepanaiḥ). The Brāhmaṇas were accorded all honour. The night was spent amidst songs (cītā) and dances (nrtya). The stories of Śiva were listened to (ārotavyā śivadharmāś) and animals were decorated as a mark of respect to Śaṃkara as paśupati (paistāś ca paśavaḥ kārya naivedya Śaṃkarasya ca). On the next day, Brāhmaṇas were honoured with sumptuous dishes especially kalmaśa. The Gaṇas were presented with fish on the preceding Ekādāsi day. It was a national festival of the Kashmiris and was celebrated with great pomp by the king's as well. Symposia of learned scholars and poets were held and the participants richly rewarded. Kalhaṇa informs us that king Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111) used to celebrate the festival of Śivarātrī with magnanimity and 'flooded his people with presents, just as Indra floods the earth with rain at the conjunctions of planets'.

1 Nīlamatapurāṇa, 503-514.
2 R.T., VIII, 110-111.
3 R.T., VIII, 70.
Alberuni includes the festival of Śivarātrī in his long list of festivals but puts wrongly the date of its celebration by the people of India. He records that on the day following the full moon day in the month of Phālguna, i.e. sixteenth, the people 'worship Mahādeva during the whole night, they remain awake, and offer to him perfumes and flowers'. Paramount importance has been attached to Śivarātrī-vrata in ancient texts. Some Purāṇas go as far as stating that a man becomes like Śiva himself and is rescued from hell and attains bliss and mokṣa, if he, while observing a fast on the day, worships Śiva with bilva leaves and observes jāgara the whole night. Gifts (āṇa), sacrifices (vaiśṇa), austerities (tapas), pilgrimages (tīrthas) and observances (vrūtas) are not equivalent to even one-ten-millionth part of Śivarātrī.

The festivities of Mahīmā, also a very important festival, are still observed in Kashmir. It extended from the eighth to the tenth day of the bright half of Phālguna and has been referred to both in the Mālamatapurāṇa and the Rajatarangini. People fasted on the eighth day. The lamps were lit on the snow in honour of the gods and pījrs. The next day was devoted to the worship of Sītā.


and other deities with perfumes and incense. Sumptuous dishes were taken and the time was spent amidst dancing and singing performances. Offerings were made to the Brahmāpas and the poor. Presents were exchanged between friends and relatives. Wine was taken on the occasion and given to the Brahmāpas as well. Houses were cleaned and perfumed. Women decorated themselves with ornaments and perfumes and sported with men.\(^1\) The kings observed the festival of Mahīmāna with celebrity by holding assemblies\(^2\) which must have been highlighted by playing and singing of music and poetic and dramatic contests. In the Gahaḍavāla kingdom, the eighth day of the bright half of the Phālguna was celebrated to commemorate the creation of the earth by Kṛśava when the houses were profusely illuminated. On the next day people made merry by eating rich dishes and holding singing and dancing performances. As in Kashmir, here also the festivities spread to the next two days when Sītādevī and Lākṣmi were worshipped, money and dishes were given to the Brahmāpas, houses were decorated and costly dresses were worn.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Nīlamatapurāṇa, 515–525.

\(^2\) R.T., VIII, 2072:

\(^3\) Niyatakalakārā, pp. 441–442.
We find that the *Nilamata Purana* records another *Mahima* ceremony to be observed on the eighth, ninth and tenth days of the bright half of Magha. On the eighth day, cakes were made from all crops and distributed among Brähmaṇas and relatives. Worship was offered to Rāma and his wife Sītā. On the ninth day, food of *piṣṭa* and honey was taken and Brähmaṇas were honoured with it. The tenth day was devoted to the worship of Vigrn and other kinds of merriment like songs and music. On the *Phalgunapaurna*, Aryaman was worshipped at night at the rise of Moon and the performer resorted to songs and dancing activities. The next day, the dancers and actors were honoured. The activities continued till the fifth dark half of Caiṭra and we notice that a diet of *parpaṭas* (*papar*) was a speciality.

The month of Caiṭra was the busiest month in Kashmir so far as the festive days are concerned. The land of Kaśmīra was believed to have menses (*rajasvāla*) like a woman on the fifth of the dark half of Caiṭra. The ladies made stone images of Kaśmīra and worshipped them for three days. The disabled were given clothes

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1 *Nilamata Purana*, 499-505.
2 *Nilamata Purana*, 526-529.
as dāna. Flowers and incense were forbidden. On the eighth day, the ladies worshipped the images which had first been bathed by Brahmins. They put on gay clothes and used perfumes and comforted themselves by listening to songs and taking sumptuous dishes. The period from the fifth to the tenth signalled the beginning of ploughing and sowing of land (kṛṣṇa-rambha). Worship was offered to Prthivi, Baladeva, Mahadeva, Vāmadeva, Divākara, Niśanātha (Moon), Indra, Rāma, Lākṣmī, Sītā, Brahma, Kaśyapa, Vāyu, Gagapa etc. with incense, flowers etc. Brāhmaṇas were worshipped and given daksinas according to one's means. People wore gay clothes and ploughed the land with ploughs (hala) and sowed seeds (bijā) from a golden plate to the accompaniment of loud sacred recitation and engaged themselves in songs, music and dance. The eleventh day of dark half was a festive day for the ladies only. They celebrated this day in honour of Chandodeva to whom puja was offered with flesh of aquatic animals (jalodbhavaṇam māṃsena), delicious eatables and fragrant saffron² etc. On the twelfth day they took out of their doors into the compound an image of the deity which was later taken in through a window and was installed according to one's

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¹ Milamatapurana (Lahore Edition), 651-669.
² Milamatapurana (Ed. De Vresse), 530-547.

¹ Milamatapurana, 548-551.
jañalodbhavaṁ māṃsena bhaksair uccavacais tathā 1 mālyair dhupaīś ca vividhaīḥ kuśkumena svaśāmena 11 550 evaṁ sampujanam kṛtvā dvādasyaṁ pujayed budhaḥ 1 dvāreṇādau vinīṣkalya gāvāṃṣena praveśayet 1 svaśeṣānena yathākṣaṇam sthapayeta tado dvīja 11 551.
liking. The fourteenth day was called the *Pisācacaturdasa* when people were supposed to protect their children from the Pisācas. They worshipped Śaṅkara and Nikumbha, the lord of Pisācas (*Pisācādhipati*). As Nikumbha worshipped Śiva on this day so the offerings were made to him at the roots and holes of trees, pasture lands, deserted houses, junctions of roads, peaks, rivers, temples, gardens, cremation grounds, ṛajamarga etc. The devotees remained awake at night in order to provide protection to the children against the Pisācas and indulged in songs and dances. They indulged in sports and witnessed the dance of harlots (*pumācalī*). On the fifteenth, a śraddha

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1 *Nilamatapurāṇa*, 552-559.

*tānaś caturdasiṁ prapya tāṁ eva dvijapunagava 1
samyajya Śaṅkaraṁ karyan rātrau tu mahād utsavam 11 552
tasym vipra caturda śyaṁ Nikumbhaṁ śaṅkaraṁ tada 1
sampujayati dharmatma samuyatro mahābalah 11 553
tasyam tada prakartavyam niśi nityam prajagaram 1
puja ca devadevasya Śambhoṁ karya prayatnatah 11 554
pujaniyam Nikumbhas tu Piśācādhipatir balī 1
Piśācanāṁ ca datavya balayaṁ ca susam kṛtah 11 555
palalopikāmiśrā matsyamāmsamiśair yutah 1
vīkṣamuleṣu goṣṭheṣu grheṣu vividheṣu api 1 556
catupathēṣu rathyasu catvareṣu nadīṣu ca 1
śunyalayeṣu mukhyeṣu girināṃ śikhareṣu ca 11 557
ajñalakṣaṇasaneṣu rajamargesa Kasyapa 1
tāṁ ṛatrīṁ laksanāṁ karyam bālakāṁ grhe grhe 11 558
pumācalīśaḥitaṁ nēya kriṣamāṇaṁ nīśa tu sa 1
brahmacaryeṇa gītena nṛttair vadyair manoharaṁ 11 559*
was held and dogs were offered food after the ceremony.\(^1\)

More than half of the days of the bright half of Caitra were sacred to the Kashmirians. The first day was believed, as elsewhere in India, to be the day of creation by Kaśyapa. The \textit{Nilamatapurāṇa},\(^2\) like other texts,\(^3\) provides a lengthy account of about a hundred verses referring to numerous rites to be observed. Propitiation was given to Brahma, Hārī, Mahēśa, the rivers, seas, Nāgas, Yāgas, mountains etc. and mahaśanti rites were performed. New costly clothes were worn, feasts arranged and friends and relatives were invited. The Brāhmaṇas received gifts on the occasion. The festive day of the fifth lunar day of Caitra was known as Śripañcami and was devoted to the worship of Lakṣmī.\(^4\) In South India, the fifth day of the bright half of Caitra was dedicated to the worship of Lakṣmī as Hemādri avers that by worshipping Lakṣmī on this day one earns all rewards that one could obtain in a year.\(^5\) The sixth day was dedicated to the worship of Śkaṇḍa, with perfumes, incense, saffron etc. The

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textit{Nilamatapurāṇa} (Ed. D. Vreese), 560.}
\footnote{\textit{Nilamatapurāṇa}, 561-643.}
\footnote{\textit{Niyatākalakāndā}, pp. 377-382. \textit{Kṛtyaratnakāra}, pp. 103-103.}
\footnote{\textit{Nilamatapurāṇa} (Lahore Edition), 766-768.}
\footnote{\textit{Caturvargacintanādī}, vol. II, p5. I, Vratakhaṇḍa, ch. XII, p.875.}
\end{footnotes}
day was observed to secure safety and immunity from diseases for the children. The ninth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth day of this half were devoted to the worship of Bhadrakāli, Vāstu (home deity), Vāsudeva and Kāmadeva respectively. The worship of Skanda and Kāmadeva was also popular among the Gāhada-vaḷa and Mithila people. As in Kashmir, there too the sixth, twelfth and thirteenth day of the bright half of Caitra were celebrated in honour of Skanda, Viṣṇu and Kāmadeva respectively. On the full-moon day fell the festival of Nikumbhauṇḍa. It was believed that on this day Nikumbha undertakes an expedition with his followers against the inhabitants of the ocean of sand. An image of his was made of clay or grass and worship was paid to him at noon in houses with perfume, incense, clothes etc. At moonrise worship was again offered and singing and dancing performances were arranged. Next day people ascended a hillock to say goodbye to the spirit of Nikumbha.

1 Nilamatapurāṇa, 647-649.
2 Ibid., 650-651.
3 Ibid., 652-653.
4 Ibid., 654-
5 Ibid., 655-658.
7 Nilamatapurāṇa, 659-667.
There were not many festivals in the month of Vaiśākha. The third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha was celebrated as Akṣayatṛtiyā. It was a day of dedication to Viṣṇu. Fire was consecrated and barley (yava) was offered to the god. Viṣṇu is supposed to have brought Gaṅgā on Earth from the Brahmaloka, so Gaṅgā was worshipped. Barley was eaten on this day. It was a day to worship, perform śrāddha, japa, homa and give presents.  

The festival of Akṣayatṛtiyā appears to have been fairly popular in Medieval India. Lākṣmīdhara, quoting Bhārmatprana also enjoins a celebrant to offer barley to Viṣṇu and worship Śaṅkara, Gaṅgā and Kailāsa. Dāna, japa, and śrāddha are also recommended. The day has also been recorded by other medieval writers like Jīmatavahana and Gaṇḍēsvāra. But strangely enough Alberuni puts the festival of Gaurī-tritiyā on the third Vaiśākha. It is a festival for the women, writes Alberuni, when 'they wash and dress gaily, worship the image of Gaurī and light lamps before

1Nilaṃatapuraṇa, 679-683.
2Niyaatakalakāṇḍa, p. 387.
Vaiśākh māsi śukleyam ṭṛtiyayām janardana l
yavanupadāyasāsā yugem cărdhvānā kṛteś l l
brahmaloka tripathāgem prthivyamavtaryata l
ṭasyaṃ karo yavaichhomo yavairviṣṇum samarcayet l l
yavan dadhadhījatibhya pṛyeta prasyedhvaṃ l
pujyeś saṅkara gāṅgā kailāsaṃ tu himācalaṃ l l

3Kalaviveka, pp. 408-409.
it, they offer perfumes, abstain from eating and play with swings. On the following day they give alms and eat.¹ Alberuni seems to have confused this day with the fourth bright half of the following month Jyaiśtha which, according to the Brahmapurāṇa as quoted by Lekṣāmihara,² was a festival celebrated in honour of Uma, or the Gaurīvrata³ of the third day of the bright half of Caitra.

Great value has been attached to the Aṃśavatītyā in the Paūraṇic literature. The Matsya-purāṇa records that vrata on this tithi yields inexhaustible results, that what ever is given in donations, sacrifices or recited on this day becomes indestructible.⁴ The Bhavisyottara-purāṇa avers that everything performed on this day, i.e. śāna, dāna, japa, homa, svādhyāya, pitṛtāpāya, becomes inexhaustible. Umbrellas, jars of water and footwear should be given (to the Brahma-pās). All that done on this day never finishes and therefore the day has been termed aṃśaya (indestructible) by the munis. This tithi is one of the yugaṇḍi tithis because the kṛta age began on it.⁵

²Niyata kalākāra, 389-390.
⁴Matsya-purāṇa, 65. 1-7.
⁵Bhavisyottara-purāṇa, 30. 2-3, and 19.
A remarkable feature of the religious life of the Kashmiris was the peaceful existence of Buddhism and other religious sects side by side. In the Nilamata purāṇa Buddha is described as an avatāra of Viṣṇu in Kaliyuga, and the celebration of the birthday of Buddha (Buddhajāmamahotsava) is prescribed on Vaiśākha Sukla when the moon is in Pūgya-nakṣatra. An image of Buddha was bathed with water containing herbs, jewels and scents and installed with recitation by the Sākyas and was worshipped in accordance with the rites of the Sākyas. The Caityas were decorated and coated with honey and the Sākyas worshipped and honoured with presents like cows, clothes (cīvara), food and books. For three days, offerings of eatables (naivedya), clothes, flowers, etc. were given to the poor (dīnajana). Kṛṣṇendra in his Daśavatāraracita, devotes a Canto to the Buddhavatāra. On the Vaiśākha pūrṇima, tilāsvraddha and tilahoma were performed. Tila was eaten and given.

The full-moon day of the month of Jyaiṣṭha was dedicated to Yama. Gifts of umbrellas, shoes and clothes were made on this day. The Brāhmaṇas were fed with rich dishes. By observing the day with proper rites one's sins were supposed to be removed.

1 Nilamata purāṇa, 684-690.
2 Nilamata purāṇa, 691.
3 Nilamata purāṇa (Lahore Edition), 822-825.
At the ripening of yava, the festival of Yavagrayana was celebrated in Kashmir with great rejoicings.¹

On the eighth day of the dark half of Asadha was celebrated the festival of Vinayaka Astami. Prayers were made to Vinayaka and fragrant rice (kalmasa) was eaten. Offerings were made to the Brahmagas and the day was spent amidst songs and music.² The festival of Vinayaka Astami seems to have been unknown in Bengal but in the Mithila region and among the Gahadavala inhabitants, Vinayaka Astami was celebrated when people took barley and masa and spent the occasion with vocal and instrumental music.³ When the tithi is in conjunction with the Svati-nakṣatra worship was paid to the Wind-God (Yāyu).⁴

The period from the eleventh to the fifteenth of the bright half of Asadha was dedicated to the worship of Vigu. This is the time when Vigu is supposed to sleep to get up during the Karttika Panaśatra. A statue of Vigu having his emblems i.e. Śikha, Chakra and Gada, was installed. On the Ekādasi, home was performed and the devotees observed jāgara. The activities from the twelfth to the fifteenth included worship, honouring of Brahmagas

¹ Nilamata Purāṇa, 696-697.
² Nilamata Purāṇa, 698-700.
⁴ Nilamata Purāṇa, 700-702.
and the distribution of money among the poor and the actors (rengajivina). There is voluminous literature dealing with the holiness of Asadha Ekādaśī. The medieval Indian writers like Bhoja, Laksānīdhara, Jīmutavāhana and Gaṇḍēṣvara, dealing with kāla, by quoting various Purāṇas, have also described various rites connected with the ceremony of Vigyū going to sleep for four months from Asadha bright Ekādaśī to Karttika bright Ekādaśī.

The Purāṇas attach exaggerated importance to the efficacy of Ekādaśivrata. According to a passage of Naradapurana which also occurs in the Padmapurana, 'by the fire arising from the observance of ekādaśī, fuel in the form of sins committed in hundreds of past lives is reduced to ashes. Thousands of Asvamedha sacrifices and hundreds of Vajapeya sacrifices do not reach even up to the sixteenth part of the merit of the fast on ekādaśī. This ekādaśī bestows heaven and mokṣa, confers a kingdom and sons on a man and a good spouse and the health of the body. The Ganges, Gaya, Kaśi, Puṣkara, Kurukṣetra, the Namā, the Devīka, the Yamuna, the Candrabhaga are none of them equal to the day of Hari.'

At another place the Padmapurana records that on hearing


the word ekādaśī, the messengers of yama become afraid; having fasted on ekādaśī which is the best among all vrataś, one should keep awake in the night for propitiating Viṣṇu and should sumptuously decorate the temple or maṇḍapa of Viṣṇu. The man who worships Hari with basil leaves secureś by each single leaf the reward of a crore of sacrifices.\(^1\) The texts impose numerous restrictions on the day of fast and the most common amongst them is that one should avoid speaking with persons guilty of grave sins, antyajas (untouchables), woman in her monthly illness or recently delivered, sleep during the day, play with dice and sexual intercourse.\(^2\)

The Nilamata-purāṇa refers to the festival of Dakṣināvayaṇa when people cooked and ate different kinds of dishes. The Brahmāṇas received special gifts such as powdered barley (saktu), gorasa, sugar (śarkara) and vegetables.\(^3\)

In the month of Śrāvaṇa when the tithi is in conjunction with the Rohiṇi nakṣatra kāṣyapa, the creator of the land of Kashmir, was worshipped. The Brahmāṇas were honoured and the cows with their calves were given grass and other food.\(^4\) The Śrāvaṇa festival

\(^1\) Padmapurāṇa, Brahmakhaṇḍa, 15. 2-4.


\(^3\) Nilamata-purāṇa, 708-709.

\(^4\) Nilamata-purāṇa (Lahore Edition), 847-851.
appears to have been celebrated with great éclat. Vishnu was worshipped at the junction of Vitastā and Sindhu (Vitastā-sindhu-saṅgama). The Brahmāpas and the disabled were fed on this occasion. The water-sports in which young men and girls participated highlighted the festival which provided them with an opportunity to select good companions.¹

Many holy days fell in the month of Bhādra. The birth of Kṛṣṇa was celebrated on the eighth of the dark half of Bhādra. P. V. Kane² discusses at length the time of the celebration of Kṛṣṇajayantī celebrated almost all over India with great zeal, i.e. eighth of Śrāvana dark half (Bhadrāpada dark, if the month is Pūrṇimānta) and its relation with the festival of Jayantī (celebrated when on the eighth of the dark half of Śrāvana there is Rohini-nakṣatra. He has shown that there were two separate festivals and records from texts various rituals connected with both. The Nilamata-purāṇa records that worship was made to Kṛṣṇa as also to Devakī and Yaśodā and to the Brahmāpas with incense, sandalwood paste, various fruits and foods and the devotee observed the jāgara. On the ninth, the ladies, dressed in showy dresses, took the images of Kṛṣṇa, Devakī and Yaśodā to the bank of a holy river or a charming lake. They bathed the images and busied themselves in songs

¹Nilamata-purāṇa (Lahore Edition), 852-856.
and music. Returning home they took food of barley, ghee, pepper etc. The fifteenth of the dark half was known as Magha-māvāsa and was sacred to the manes. Pitras were worshipped and tila-śrāddha was performed in their honour.

The fourth day of the bright half of Bhādra was sacred to Śiva and was known as Dhanada Caturthī. The Brahmāyas were honoured with sumptuous food. Ganesa was worshipped to whom sweetmeats were offered. The celebrants engaged in dāna, śnāna, japa, pātha etc. One is enjoined not to see the Moon on this night; if one did see it by mistake, one was supposed to be guilty of theft. But the guilty can clear himself of the false accusation by uttering the verse: 'A lion killed Prasenajit, the lion was killed by Jambavat; don't cry, O Sulunāraka, this is your Syamantaka jewel.' This prescription has also been suggested by many Purāṇas.

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1. Nīlamatapurāṇa, 716-722.
referred to also in the Mausalaparva,\(^1\) goes that once Prasena's brother Sātrājit was granted by the Sun, the jewel Syamantaka that gave eight bharas of gold every day. Kṛṣṇa fell for this jewel but failed to secure it. Once Prasena, being decked with the jewel, went out hunting and was killed by a lion. The lion was killed by Jāmbavat who took the jewel. Suspicion fell on Kṛṣṇa that he caused the death of Prasena for the sake of the jewel. This could not be tolerated by Kṛṣṇa who entered the cave of Jāmbavat after hearing the above verse said by the nurse from inside the cave. Kṛṣṇa defeated Jāmbavat after twenty one days struggle, secured the jewel and on his return to Dvāraka handed over that jewel to Sātrājit, Prasena's brother, and freed himself of the false charge. The remedy provided in the Tīhitattva is that the guilty person should utter the verse over some water, drink it and listen to the story of the Syamantaka jewel.\(^2\)

This festival day of the bright half of Bhādra was also observed in other parts of India. The women of Bengal, according to Jīmutavāhana,\(^3\) undertook a fast and offered worship to Śiva and his wife. They honoured their in-laws by offering them gur, salt, pūpa

\(^{1}\)Mausalaparva, 3.23.

\(^{2}\)Tīhitattva, p.32.

\(^{3}\)Kalavivika, p.411.
etc. The day has been recorded by Bhoja, as Haritalikā sacred to Parvati. ¹

The fifth day of the bright half of Bhādra was known as Varuṇapañcami and was dedicated to the worship of Milanāga, Umadevi, Sati, Dhanada, Varuṇa, Lakṣmi etc. ² The festivities in connection with the Aśokakāśṭami festival extended from the sixth to the eighth day of bright half of Bhādra. The Asoka tree is described as Dovi herself to whom worship was made. The festival earned propitiation for women and children and the goddess Uma was worshipped. The devotees engaged in sports, singing and dancing and ate rice and gur in a charmingly decorated garden. ³

It looks certain that the festival of Aśokakāśṭami of the Kashmirians was identical with the Aśokaśṭami referred to by Bhoja Jīmutavahana, Hemadri and Campāśvara. But in Eastern and Southern India, Aśokaśṭami festival was celebrated on the eighth bright half of Cāitra as these writers prescribe that on this day, one should worship Durgā with Aśoka flowers and drink water mixed with eight Aśoka buds. The devotee is enjoined to worship the Aśoka tree with the mantra. ⁴ Alberuni puts the festival of Dhurvasriha (?) on

²Nilamata-purana (Lahore Edition), 896-901.
³Ibid., 902-907.
the eighth day. The people of India, according to him, 'wash and eat well-growing grain-fruit so that their children may be healthy. The women celebrate this festival when they are pregnant (and desire to have children)'\(^1\). We should agree with B.P.Mazumdar's\(^2\) identification of the festival of Dhravagriha (?) of Alberuni with the Durvaśṭami of Gaggāśvara, the Mithila writer of the fourteenth century who prescribes that on the day if men and particularly the women observe a fast and offer worship to Śāṅkara and Ganeśa with grass, date palms, coconuts etc., the devotee would get in return learning, progeny and wealth.\(^3\) Nandā or Nandikā was worshipped with gur, a pūpa etc. on the ninth bright half of Bhādra. The day was spent amidst dancing, singing and musical performances and partaking of food consisting of gur, rice and sugar cane.\(^4\) The twelfth day was famous for the celebration of Bhādravādaśī. The day was known as Mahāvādaśī when this tithi conjoined with Śrāvana. Hari was worshipped and the day was devoted to japa, śāna, dāna and śraddhas.\(^5\) M.A.Stein and now B.P.Mazumdar identify the festival of Indravādaśī, which according


\(^2\) Socio-Economic History of Northern India, p.287.

\(^3\) Krityaratnakara, pp. 233-235.

\(^4\) Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore Edition), 908-911.

\(^5\) Nīlamatapurāṇa (Lahore edition), 918-927.
to Kalhaṇa was celebrated with great éclat and enthusiasm by Kashmirian kings, with the festival of Mahādvādasī. We would also agree with B. P. Mazumdar's indentification of the festival of Indradvādasī of the Rājatarangini with the festival of Indrādvajochchrāya which was celebrated in India on the eighth bright half of Bhādra or around this date according to the constellation. What is more convincing is the close resemblance of Indradvādasī with Indrādvajochchrāya, in so far as all the ancient and medieval literature declares the latter as a political one to be celebrated by the king with special care and jubilation, a fact shared by Kalhaṇa. He writes that king Uccala (A.D. 1101-1111) used to hold combatants' duels on the occasion of Indradvādasī, festival and richly rewarded the participants. King Sussala (A.D. 1112-1120) surpassed even his brother Uccala in the celebration of this festival, as Kalhaṇa records that 'the Indradvādasī festival was celebrated by no other king so brillianty as by him who gave away plenty of dresses and other [presents]' 2. The thirteenth day of the bright half of Bhādra was observed as the birthday of Vitastā, the manifestation of Pārvatī. Much devotion was attached to the river and its junction with the Sindhu river (Vitastasindhu saṁgama). The day was devoted to the worship of

1R.T., VIII, 170, 182.
2R.T., VIII, 495.
The river Vitasta.\(^1\) The *Nilamatapurāṇa* refers to Devayātrotsava and prescribes certain tithis on which the Yatrot-sava should be performed, viz. on the fourth in the temple of Vināyaka, on the sixth in the temple of Skanda, on the seventh in the temple of Sun, on the ninth in Durgā's temple, on the fifth in Lakṣmī's temple, on the eighth or fourteenth in Śiva's temple, on the fifth, twelfth or the full moon in the temples of Nāgas and on the Sukla fifteenth in temples of all gods.\(^2\)

The foregoing account of festivals tends to show that the Kashmiris like their brethren in India spent a fair amount of time in religious pursuits and hardly was there a week in which there did not occur one of these festivals. Āśvayujya, Karttika, Pauṣa, Phālguṇa, Caiṭra and Māgha were the busy months having a festival after every second or third day. The narrative unveils the fact that the Śaiva festivals outnumbered the

\(^1\) *Nilamatapurāṇa* (Lahore Edition), 912-917.

\(^2\) *Nilamayapurāṇa*, 842-846.

Vinayākagṛhe yatra caturthyāṁ samprasāsyaite 1
ṣaṭṭamāyāṁ Kumarasya gṛhe saṭṭamāyāṁ Savitus tathā 11 842
Durgāgṛhe navamyām ca paṁcamām Śṛigṛhe tathā 1
aṣṭāyām va caturthyām va Mahadevanivesāne 11 843
Sa[kravastami] caṣṭamāyāṁ paurāṃmāyāṁ kalabhṛtaḥ 1
Dhanadasya caturthyām tu paṁcamām Varuṇasya tu 11 844
paṁcami dvādaśi caiva paurāṃmaśi tathai[va ca 1
sarveṣaṁ eva naganāṁ yatraśakrmaṁ pujitaḥ 11 845
Suklapaṇḍadaśi śaṣṭa sarvadeveśu Kaśyapa 1
sarvasa kṛyāṁ tithiṁ tathā Tithinivesāne 11 846.
Vaiṣṇava, Buddhist and others connected with minor gods and goddesses. We observe that the dates and celebrations of many of the festivals observed in Kashmir, were in uniformity with other parts of India, and in some cases a different picture is noticeable. Festivals like the New Snow-fall when new wine was taken in the company of dancing girls, the birthday of Buddha, the first day of Kārttika when the land of Kashmir was supposed to have been produced by Kāśyapa, the full moon day of Āśvayuja which is connected with the full time permanent settlement of the Kashmirians in the Valley, and those celebrated in honour of Nīlanāga, the protector of the land of Kashmir and the Pīșācas were peculiar to Kashmir and celebrated with the greatest zeal.

Only a keen observer who is acquainted with the topography of Kashmir and has personally visited the Valley can truly appreciate the distinction in the observance of festivals between these hill people and their brethren in the plains. The celebrations here had different charm and appearance than those in the plains. We should not turn our back on the fact that the land of Kashmir was holy, encircled by the mountains where the gods and goddesses reside, scores of sacred rivers which are manifestations of goddesses run in merriment, it is dotted with holy springs which had their tutelary deities in the Nāgas, and there existed many Svayambhu holy sites. Under these sacred
environmental conditions here the festival rites were observed more strictly and in their entirety than in other parts of India. The land of Kashmir provided to its devotees all the paraphernalia they needed. The celebrants adhering to different cults could find sacred sites of their faith at an arm's length within the sacred country of Kashmir. For example, if a devotee, in accordance with the festival rite enjoined in the Nilamatapurana wants to light lamps on the snow, mountains, river banks, forests, springs, temples etc., he can do so easily. On the other hand, for a similar rite his brethren in India would either be devoid of all this completely or even if some of these requirements are available, will be so distantly situated and so difficult of access that he will prefer to avoid this rite rather than undertake a troublesome journey. Also the Kashmirian celebrant being in custody of numerous Tirthas was better placed and could reap additional reward by taking an easy pilgrimage to the Tirtha of the deity in honour of which a particular festival is being celebrated.

The other reason for the strict observance of these festival rites in Kashmir was that they came from Nilanaga, the protector of the land of Kashmir, through the Nilamatapurana, the only ancient holy scripture on Hinduism for the Kashmirians and which was and still is to them what the holy Bible is to the Christians.
The *Nilamata Purāṇa* was and is authoritative and its rites obligatory and binding on the Kashmirians. It was difficult for them to disobey its prescriptions. Kalhaṇa records that after the death of king Damodara I, the god Kṛṣṇa installed the king's pregnant widow Yaśovati on the throne. When there was an uproar of anxiety among the people at this installation, Lord Kṛṣṇa had to appease them by reciting this verse from the *Nilamata Purāṇa*: "Kaśmīr-land is Parvati; know that its king is a portion of Śiva. Though he be wicked, a wise man who desires his own prosperity, will not despise him." The Kashmirians accepted this rendering from the *Nilamata Purāṇa* and accepted Yaśovati as their mother and goddess. Similarly, referring to the flourishing state of Buddhism in Kashmir under the leadership of Bodhiṣattva Nagarjuna, Kalhaṇa writes deplorably that 'these enemies of tradition brought to an end the observance of the rites prescribed in the *Nilamata Purāṇa*'. There fell excessive snow 'when the traditional customs were broken in the land'. At this time when people were perishing, the Brahmāṇa Candrađeva, a descendant from Kaśyapa, practised severe austerities and pleased Nilañagna, the protector of the land, who manifested himself to the Brahmāṇa, removed the sufferings of the

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1 R.T., I, 72.
people from snow and revealed anew the rites prescribed in his own Purāṇa. All troubles ceased after the re-establishment of the rites originating from the Kashmirian Purāṇa. This shows the authority and the efficacy of the rites enjoined in the Nilamata Purāṇa.
The whole vale of Kashmir is sacred. The literature of the Valley, especially the *Nilamatapurāṇa* and the *Rajatarangini*, give a strong flavour to its holiness and these texts are richly perfumed with the holy sites. The lake which occupied this space is called 'the lake of Sati' (*Satiśaras*) and the land that was created after the desiccation of the lake is described as the land of Parvati and its king a portion of Śiva. After the creation of the land, Brahma, Śiva, Viṣṇu and the host of gods who joined the Prajāpati Kaśyapa to subdue the demon Jalodbhava, took up their residence on the mountains and the goddesses in the rivers. As the following account will show, the mountains, rivers and springs with which the Valley is richly endowed, are the manifestations of different gods, goddesses and the nāgas.

The sacredness of his land is best illustrated by Kalhaṇa who writes: 'In that country which Keśava (Viṣṇu) and Isana (Śiva) adorn as Cakrabhūpta and Vijāyesa, as well as in other forms, there

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1. *Vanaparva*, 130, 10; Lakṣmidhara, the Minister of War and Peace of King Govindachandra Gāhāḍavāla (c.1114-1154 A.D.) recognises in his *Tīrthavivechanakāṇḍa* of Kalpataru the holiness of Kashmir.

2. *Nilamatapurāṇa*, 9; *R.T.* I, 72: *antarvatnīṁ tasya patniṁ Vasudevo bhyaśeṣcayat | bhavīṣyaḥputraraj yarthaṁ tasya deśasya gauravat |
is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tīrtha.\textsuperscript{1}

The holy places which were worshipped with great devotion and reverence are the self-created images of gods, sacred rivers and streams, confluences of rivers, mountains, springs and the forests. The ancient texts,\textsuperscript{2} amply echo the holiness of the mountains, rivers and their confluences. A sūtra in the Gautama and Vasistha Dharmasūtra states that the 'deśas (localities) that are holy and hence destroyers of sin are all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of sages (ṛṣis), cowpens and temples of the gods'.\textsuperscript{3} These objects of worship were conducive to meditation and spiritual life and the Rajatavargī acquaints us with ample cases of retirement to tīrthas by the kings and people alike, to lead a peaceful and spiritual life. This retirement to the tīrthas, with a wish to die there and the cases of actual death or suicide at certain tīrthas seem to suggest that the Kashmirians were well aware of this promise contained in literary works,\textsuperscript{4} that death at tīrthas

\textsuperscript{1}R.T., I, 72.


\textsuperscript{3}Gautama Dharmasūtra, 19, 14. Vasistha Dharmasūtra, 22, 12.

leads to Mokṣa. Of the deep-felt importance of tīrthayātras in Kashmir, Sir Aurel Stein remarks: 'Time and even the conversion to Islam of the greatest portion of the population, has changed but little in this respect. For besides the great Tīrthas which still retain a fair share of their former renown and popularity there is scarcely a village which has not its sacred spring or grove for the Hindu and its Ziarat for the Muhammadan. Established as the latter shrines almost invariably are, by the side of the Hindu places of worship and often with the very stones taken from them, they plainly attest the abiding nature of local worship in Kashmir.'

Kalhaṇḍa devotes enough space to the importance of Tīrthayātra in the life of an individual and his Chronicle and the Nilamata-puṇḍara breathe the recognition of the deep faith by the Kashmirians that tīrthayātra is an easy and popular means for redemption of sins. Much has been said on this score in ancient literature, which requires an individual to cultivate high moral qualities in order to reap full merit of pilgrimages. The Vanaprava states: 'He whose hands, feet and mind are well controlled and who possesses knowledge, austerities and a good reputation derives the /full/ reward of pilgrimages. He who

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turns his face away from receiving gifts and is content with what little he gets and is free from vanity retains the rewards of pilgrimages. He, who is free from hypocrisy (or deceit), is not engaged in various undertakings for earning money, is not a heavy eater, has subdued his senses and is therefore free from all sins; so also he who does not fly into a rage, who always speaks the truth, who is firm in his observances, and acts towards all beings by treating them like himself, obtains the full reward of pilgrimages. The Vayupurana says: 'A steadfast (or wise) man visiting tirthas with faith and controlling his senses would be purified even if he has been guilty of sins; what need is there to say about him whose actions have been pure? One who has no faith, who is full of sins, whose mind is not free from doubts about the rewards of pilgrimages and the rites there, who is an atheist and who is bent on bad reasoning - these five do not reap the rewards of pilgrimages.'

The Vayupurana records: 'When resort is made to a tirtha, it removes the sins of the sinful and tends to the increase of merit in the case of the good and that a holy place yields fruit to men of all vargas and asramas.'

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1 Vasanaparva, 82, 9-12.
2 Vayupurana, 77, 125, 127.
3 Vayupurana, III, 273, 7 and 9.
The Kashmirians were zealously devoted to tirthayātras and we learn from Kalhaṇa about their visits to other places of pilgrimage outside Kashmir, such as Kurukṣetra and Varāṇaṣā. Similarly the tirthas of Kashmir have attracted people from other parts of India, speaking different languages, wearing different dresses and observing different manners on the occasion and thus served as a meeting ground for cultural exchange between the Kashmirians and the outsiders. And Kashmir must have experienced localisation in some of the industries, as the artisans had to meet the demand of the people to take back something from every tirtha as a memorial of their yātra.

Kalhaṇa who admits to have derived his information from the Nīlamatapurāṇa gives in his chronicle a list of the important holy sites. It may reasonably be inferred, from the accuracy he displays about the topography of some of the popular tirthas, that the chronicler has personally visited them. This holds true particularly in the case of Nandikṣetra — the favourite place of pilgrimage of his father Cappaka, shrine of Bhūteśvara and the tirtha of Sarada. We shall briefly take into account some of the most popular and frequently visited tirthas as the detailed description of every single tirtha will fill volumes.

Nature has endowed the Valley with numerous springs and lakes which, according to the ancient traditional belief, are
believed to be the residence of Nāgas. Every spring has its deity in the form of a Nāga and much respect and devotion has, since ancient times, been attached to their worship. The Nilamata Purāṇa gives a lengthy account of these Nāgas. It narrates how the Nāgas, the children of Kaśyapa from his wife Kadru, being persecuted by Garuḍa, the son of Kaśyapa from another wife Vināta, approached Vīṣṇu who gave them asylum in the Sātisaras.¹ Kalhaṇa does not forget this story when he writes: 'To protect, forsooth, the Nāgas who came to seek shelter afraid of Garuḍa, it has stretched out its arms high above in the guise of mountain walls.'²

Kalhaṇa starts his account of the tīrthas with the Nilanāga - the lord of the Nāgas. The land of Kashmir 'is protected by Nīla, the lord of all Nāgas, whose regnal parasol is formed by the circular pond of the Nilakūḍa with the Vitāsta's newly rising stream as its stick'.³ The passage communicates the great respect and reverence in which the sacred Nilakūḍa and its deity Nilanāga has, since ancient times, been held, also as the source of the river Vitāsta. Kalhaṇa compares the Nilakūḍa with the regal parasol and the river Vitāsta which is traditionally

¹ Nilamata Purāṇa, 51 seq.
² R.T., I, 31.
³ R.T., I, 28.
taken as issuing from this kuṇḍa to the stick supporting the parasol. The legend recorded in the Nilamata Purāṇa and reproduced in the Haracaritacintāmani narrates how Śiva brought to earth his consort Parvati in the form of the river Vīstā by striking the earth with his trident.¹ The tīrtha bore the name of Nilakuḍa (Nilakantha in the Haracaritacintāmani), Vīstā and Sulaghāta² and was one of the most popular tīrthas of Kashmir, particularly visited on the occasion of the first fall of snow and the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Bhadrapada etc.³ The other popular Nāgas mentioned by Kalkīhaṇa are Śākha and Padma.⁴ Sir Aurel Stein agrees with G. Buhler’s⁵ identification of Padma Nāga with Mahapadma Nāga of the later passages in the Raijataraṅgiṇī, who is regarded as the tutelary deity of the Mahapadmasaras or Volur lake. The Nilamata Purāṇa records an interesting story about the Mahapadma Nāga. The lake is said once to have been the dwelling of a wicked and cruel Nāga, Śaḍāṅgula by name. He was a source of trouble and used to

¹ Nilamata Purāṇa, 247 seq. Haracaritacintāmani, XII, 2-34.
² Nilamata Purāṇa, 1288.
³ Supra, pp. 379-380.
⁴ R.T., I, 30.
⁵ Report, pp. 9-10.
abduct the women of the neighbouring tracks. This excited the wrath of the Nilanaga who turned him out to a distant mountain Usiraka. As a consequence the lake became a land over which was founded a town Candrapura. Once the town was visited by the Muni Durvāsas who got annoyed with the reigning king and passed a curse (śāpatha) effecting its destruction by water. At this time, Nilanaga who was in the know of this curse was approached by Mahāpadma Naga asking refuge in Kashmir. As all other places were occupied by different nāgas, the Nilanaga told Mahāpadma to occupy Chandrapura. Guised as an old Brahma the Mahāpadma Naga went to the King Viśvagaśva ruling over Chandrapura and was granted habitation. Throwing off his disguise the Nāga Mahāpadma apprised the king with the curse of Durvāsa Muni as a consequence of which the town was to be transformed into water. Viśvagaśva left the town and founded another one two yojanas further west and named it Viśvagaśvapura. The lake became a permanent abode of Mahāpadma Naga.¹ The Rājatarāgini connects another legend with the Nāga Mahāpadma who appeared in a dream to King Jayāpiṭa and invoked his help against a Dravīḍian sorcerer who threatened his existence by leading him away from his lake. In return the Nāga promised to show to the king a mountain containing gold ores. The king agreed but before

¹Nīlmatapurāṇa, 952 seq.
actually helping allowed the sorcerer to dry up the lake. The Nāga could not stomach this insult and against his promise showed to the king a copper mine.\(^1\) The tīrtha of Mahāpadma was very popular and has been referred to by other Kashmirian authors.\(^2\) G. Buhler\(^3\) and M. A. Stein\(^4\) show that the modern name Vulur is a derivation of Sanskrit Ullola 'a lake with high-going waves' mentioned first by Jonarāja.\(^5\)

The Kashmirian texts refer to the Takṣakayatra festival which was held on the twelfth dark half of Jyaigṛha.\(^6\) The festival connected with the Takṣaka Nāga pilgrimage appears to have been celebrated with great enthusiasm and was as Kalhaṇa informs us, 'frequented by dancers and strolling players and thronged by crowds of spectators'.\(^7\) The Nāga was worshipped in a pool of limpid water which lay near the village of Jayavana or modern Zevan,\(^8\) a neighbouring village of Khonamuṣa - the birthplace of

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\(^1\) R.T., IV, 592 seq.
\(^3\) Report, p.9.
\(^5\) Jonarāja, 938 seq.
\(^6\) R.T., I, 220.
\(^7\) R.T., I, 222.
Bilhaṇa. The poet Bilhaṇa who must have paid many pilgrimages to this tīrtha, situated as it is near his village, gives the following information: 'Only a Gavyūti and a half away from that Pravarapura there is a place called Jayavana, with towering monuments, where a well of pure water serves as a disc of Takṣaka King of serpents, for beheading Kali intent on destroying Dharma [righteousness].'¹ We learn from Kṣemendra that during the Takṣakayatra festival the sale of liquors continued for three days during all the twenty-four hours.² The tīrtha of Takṣaka Nāga was extremely popular in ancient times and finds a popular place in the list of the tīrthas mentioned in the Mahābhārata. The cultivation of saffron in the Valley, which grows in the vicinity of the tīrtha, is said to have originated from the Takṣaka Nāga.³ The tempo of the Takṣakayatra appears to have been greatly enhanced by its coincidence with the commencement of the saffron cultivation in Jyaiṣṭha. The account of Abul Fazl is not without interest. He records that 'In the village of Zewan are a spring and a reservoir which are considered sacred, and it is thought that the saffron seed came from this spring.

¹Vikramaṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 70.
²Samayamatrāka, II, 88.
³Fourth Chronicle, 931 seq.
When the cultivation begins they worship at this fount and pour cow's milk into it. If as it falls it sinks into the water, it is accounted a good omen and the saffron crop will be plentiful, but if it floats on the surface, it will be otherwise.\(^1\) The devotee is also recommended to visit the Takṣaka Nāga on the Jyaiṣṭha Pūrṇima in connection with the pilgrimage to Harṣeśvara Tīrtha.\(^2\) As the village of Jayavana or Zevan falls on the way to Khonamuṣa having the Harṣeśvara Tīrtha, the pilgrims conveniently visited the Takṣaka Nāga.

The most numerous were the tīrthas connected with the worship of Śiva. We are informed that in the village of Kapateśvara or modern Koṭhīr, was the Tīrtha of Pāpasūdana (sīn removing) where Śiva was worshipped under the name of Kapateśvara. The object of yātra was the holy spring of Pāpasūdana situated close above the village of Kapateśvara. The devotees 'touching the wooden image of the husband of Umā at the Tīrtha of Pāpasūdana, obtain comfort in life and find liberation there-after as their rewards',\(^3\) writes Kalhaṇa. The legend of the Tīrtha as narrated in the Nīlamalapurāṇa states that \(\text{sūris}\) number ing a crore, once commenced their journey from the banks of


\(^3\) R.T., I, 32.
Drshadvati at Kurukṣetra, in a jealous bid to have the sight of Siva. Siva appeared to them in a dream and guided them to turn to the abode of Nīla in Kashmir. When they reached it they could only find the pieces of wood which they did not care for and threw them here and there. After some time, to their surprise, water gushed forth from these logs of wood. They all with the exception of one Gauraparasara, bathed in these waters and were changed bodily into the Rudras. Siva appeared in a dream to Gauraparasara who had gone on hunger strike and asked the latter to beg a boon. The ṛṣi demanded of Siva his permanent residence under the disguise (kapata) of logs of wood floating on the water near the abode of the Naga so that people of Kali could rid themselves of their sins at their sight. The boon was granted which resulted in the formation of the Tīrtha. The fame of this Tīrtha was widespread outside Kashmir as Kalhaga tells us that in the reign of King Ananta (A.D. 1028-1063) Bhoja the king of Malava had a round tank (kunda) constructed around this sacred spring with heaps of gold that he despatched. The lord of Malava is recorded to have taken a vow that he would ever wash his face with the water from the Tīrtha of Papasūdana and the fulfilment of the vow was made possible by Padmarāja, a supplier

1. Nilamatapurāṇa, 1127 seq.
of betel to King Ananta, who regularly sent jars of water from this spring to King Bhoja. Sir Aurel Stein who visited this Tirtha describes the then extant remains of the enclosure constructed by King Bhoja. According to him the sacred spring now rises in a circular tank of at least sixty yards in diameter, which is enclosed by a solid stone wall, and by steps leading down to the water .... From the formation of the ground, it is evident that this tank has been formed by closing artificially the gulf in which the spring rises on the hillside'. The story of Bhoja's daily washing lingered over the time as the tradition told to Stein by an old Sadhu named Mahādev Kaul, a resident at the spring, asserted that 'the tank and its stone enclosure were constructed by a Rāja from the Dekhan, called Mutsukund [Mucukunda]. This king was disfigured by horns which had grown on his head, and had in vain sought relief by visits to numerous sacred sites. When near Kapāleśvara he noticed that a wounded dog was healed by entering the water of the sacred spring. The king followed his example and got rid of his horns. Thereupon he testified his gratitude by the construction of the tank.' Alberuni records

1 R.T., VII, 190-193.
what he gathered from the people of Kashmir that every year certain pieces of wood despatched by Mahādeva are visible 'in a pond called Kūdaishahr to the left of the source of the Vitāstā in the middle of the month Vaisākha'.¹ The time given for the miraculous phenomenon coincides with that prescribed for the pilgrimage.² The tīrtha is one of the many sacred sites mentioned by Abul Fazl. He records that 'in the village of Kotihār is a deep spring surrounded by stone temples. When its water decreases, an image of Mahādeva in sandal-wood appears'.³ Despite very slight variation, the accounts of the Muslim writers agree with each other and with the ancient traditional phenomenon the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated.

The place chiefly associated with the worship of Śiva and Pārvatī is the Mount Karamukūṭa, forming the northern mountain range enclosing the Valley. The Haramukūṭa or Haramukh peaks which are encompassed by sizable glaciers, rise to about 17,000 feet and command the view to the north side from the great part of the Kashmir valley. The Nīlamatapurāṇa treats at length the legends relating the residence of Śiva on Mount Haramukūṭa.

²Haracāritacintāmani, XIV, 122.
The lakes below the glaciers of these peaks form the most holy tirthas of Kashmir and the whole group of these sacred sites bear the popular name of Nandiksetra.

The lake which is fed by an eastern glacier of the Haramukṭa peaks at an altitude of about 13,000 feet, is known as the Kalodaka or Nandisaras or Nundköl and forms one of the stations on the way to the pilgrimage of the sacred Uttaragāṅa or Uttaramanasa or Gaṅga Lake, which being fed by another glacier lies a short distance above the Kalodaka Lake. The Kalodaka and the Uttaramanasa are also mentioned as sacred sites in the Anusāsanaparva,¹ Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra² and in the accounts of Lakṣmidhara³ and Vallālasena.⁴

According to the legend recorded in the Nilematapurāṇa, an issueless Brāhmaṇa named Śilāda propitiating Hara undertook a severe penance for one hundred years during which time he lived only on pebbles and stones. This melted the heart of Śiva who asked Nandin to become the son of Brāhmaṇa Śilāda. When Nandin showed his reluctance for this he was reminded of Bhṛgu's curse according to which he is to be born on earth. Looking at the unwillingness of Nandin to be born through a mother's womb,

¹Anuṣasānaparva, 26, 60.
²Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra, 85, 35.
³Tirthavivechanakanda, p.248.
⁴Danasagara, p.37.
Siva delivered him to Silada in a cleft of a stone when the Brahmana was breaking it. Happily the Brahmana picked up the son and brought him up. Silada summoned the astrologers and Brahmanas to forecast the auspiciousness of his son's horoscope. But to his dismay he was told of the shortness of his son's life. He bewailed and wept. This aggrieved state of the Brahmana was unbearable for Nandin who in a bid to win long life for himself undertook a severe penance at Kalodaka. He stood in water for one hundred years observing japas of Rudra. This was enough to attract the attention of Siva who on foot came from Benaras to Haramukha. He granted long life to Nandin and settled himself at Haramukha near him. Sir Aurel Stein who made a visit to the site writes: 'The inner portion of the lake, showing a deep blue colour, is supposed to mark the residence of Kala or Siva; the outer portion of a light green colour that of Nandin.' In the Kalodaka Siva is worshipped under the name Nandin or Nandisa and hence the name Nandiksetra or Nandisaksetra given to the site.

1 Nilamata Purana, 1031 seq.
3 R.T., I, 113, 123 seq., 130, 150; II, 170.
We learn from Kalhaṇa that at Nandikṣeṭra Śiva was also worshipped under the name of Jyeṣṭhēśa or Jyeṣṭhēśvara or Jyeṣṭharaudra. The passages of the Nīlamata-purāṇa and the Rajatarangini tell us that under these names Śiva was worshipped somewhere in the neighbourhood of Nandiśa and Bhutesvara.\(^1\)

Similarly in the Nandikṣetramahātmya Śiva Jyeṣṭhēśvara or Jyeṣṭhānātha is mentioned as being worshipped in the neighbourhood of Nandiśa and Bhutesvara.\(^2\) In the story of Śiva and Nandin already referred to,\(^3\) Śiva Jyeṣṭhēśa is mentioned as situated at the abode of Śiva Bhutesvara.

In addition to the kṣetra of Nandin, Śiva Jyeṣṭhēśa was also worshipped at Tripureśa or Tripuresvara.\(^4\) The site has been located by Stein\(^5\) in close proximity to the modern village of Tripurār which lies 'in the valley opening to the East from North-East corner of the Dal, and at a distance of about three miles from the latter'. It was quite a popular place of pilgrimage and repose in Hindu times and Kalhaṇa records of King

\(^1\) R.T., I, 113, 151; IV, 190; VIII, 243.


\(^3\) Supra, pp. 423-424.

\(^4\) R.T., V, 123.

Avantivarman's (A.D. 855/6-883) retirement near his death to this site of great sanctity.\(^1\) Tripurēśāśailaśikha is mentioned in the colophon of the Daśavatāraracarita as a favourite place of resort of poet Kṣemendra. We can safely gauge from a brief incidental story referred to in the Rajataraṅgini\(^2\) that the holy site was a fancied settlement for the ascetics and the mendicants. In the time of Lohara kings we hear of the foundation of Śiva temples, mathas and permanent endowments at this site.\(^3\) The site maintained its sanctity even after the Hindu rule as King Zainul-ābidīn is recorded to have founded here a perpetual endowment for the feeding of beggars (annasattra).\(^4\)

In Hindu times foundation of perpetual endowment (avicchinna-sattra, akgāyini) by the kings and rich people were common in Kashmir.\(^5\)

Śiva was also worshipped under the name of Jyeṣṭharudra and Jyeṣṭheśvara at the old Śrīnagarī\(^6\) of Ashoka either on the

\(^1\)R.T., V, 123.
\(^2\)R.T., VI, 135.
\(^3\)R.T., VII, 151, 526, 956.
\(^4\)Srīvara, I, 402.
\(^5\)R.T., I, 347; II, 58; VIII, 571.
\(^6\)R.T., I, 124.
Gopa-hill (Gopāḍrī), i.e. modern Takht Hill, or in its close vicinity. Sir Aurel Stein searched the site in the tract to the south of the Dal Lake, marked by the village Jyeṣṭhār in the east and the Takht hill in the west.¹

Nandikṣetra included the famous Tīrtha of Śiva Bhūteśvara² now called Buthiser, situated below Nundköl in the valley of the Kanakavāhini or Kānkni stream which issues from the lakes of the Mount Haramukha. The tradition recorded in the Nandikṣetra and Haramukṣagaṅga Māhātmyas, and still current among Kaśmirians had located Śiva Bhuteśa's residence on the mountain spur which stretches south-east from the Haramkūh Peaks. This spur bears to the present day the name of Buthiser, i.e. Bhūteśvara.³ The Tīrtha of Bhūteśvara enjoyed much renown in ancient times and the Nīlamata-pūrṇa records the legend about Śiva's making his abode there in the form of Bhūteśa, which is connected with Nandin referred to above.⁴

The kings of Kashmir are known to have constructed maṭhas temples with generous endowments and made gifts and grants to Śiva

² R.T., I, 107.
⁴ Supra, pp. 423-424.
Bhuteśa. The pilgrims also visited the temple of Bhairava and the 'Circle of the Mothers' (Matycakra) situated close to Bhuteśa. Reference may be made here to the holy Tīrtha of Sodara or Nāran Nag spring situated in the environs of Bhuteśvara. Kalhaṇa's knowledge of minutest detail of the topography of his land was fantastic and in the case of Sodara Tīrtha also his correctness is proved by a study of the Nilamatapurāṇa which mentions the Sodara with regard to the Bhuteśvara and Kanakavahini and enjoins the pilgrims to offer ablutions in the Sodara when they are on a Tīrthavattra to Bhuteśvara, Jyeṣṭhēśa and Nandin. Kalhaṇa leaves on record the legend regarding the reappearance of Sodara spring near Śrinagarī (old Śrinagar). According to it King Jalaṅka erected a shrine of Jyeṣṭharudra at Śrinagarī but 'recognized that without the Sodara (spring) it could not rival Nandiśa'. One day when 'he had forgotten his daily observance in the distraction of business, and accordingly felt dismayed at not being able to take his bath in the waters of the far-off Sodara spring, he

1R.T., I, 148, 347; IV, 189; V, 46; VIII, 356.
2R.T., V, 55-58.
3R.T., I, 123 seq.
4Nilamatapurāṇa, 1124.
noticed that from a waterless spot a spring was suddenly breaking forth, which was alike to Sodara in colour, taste, and other respects'.

Aurel Stein places this newly-formed Tirtha, an incarnation of the original Sodara, at Bhuteśvara, at the village of Sudarabal on Dal Lake.

This would be an appropriate place to record the sanctity of the Tirtha of Cīramocana. The passages of the Nilamata Purāṇa and the Rajatarangini referring to this tirtha reveal that the sacred site was located in the precincts of the Kanakavāhini River. An instructive passage of the Rajatarangini helps us to identify the Kanakavāhini River with the one flowing past Bhuteśvara and fed by the waters of the lakes issuing from the glaciers of Mount Haramukhā. The name Cīramocana originates from the bark-clothes (cīrāni) left there by the Seven Rāis before ascending to heaven. The same legend is recorded in the Nandiksetramahātvya which also connects the Kanakavāhini with the Tirtha of Cīramocana. M. A. Stein has shown that

1R.T., I, 125-126.
3R.T., I, 149-150.
4R.T., VIII, 3356.
5Nilamata Purāṇa, 1327-29.
the Kanakavahini River is known in the *Haramukhyagamamahatmya* as Karaṅkanadi or Karaṅkika and the tīrtha as Karaṅka. He identifies the Karaṅkatīrtha with the Tīrtha of Gīramočana and places this holy site close by the village of Praṅg where a branch of the Kanakavahini River falls into the Sind.¹ This *sāngama* is listed among the holiest *sāngamas* of Kashmir.

The Tīrtha of the goddess Saradā ranked among the reputed and holiest tīrthas of Kashmir. The sanctity of the tīrtha is mentioned in the *Matsyapurāṇa*.² But the tīrtha seems to have lost its former renown it enjoyed during the Hindu rule as M. A. Stein had to search for its location with great difficulty. He writes: 'The politically disturbed condition of the Upper Kiśangaṅgā Valley during the later Mughal and Pāñhan rule, has had much to do with the neglect into which the shrine of Saradā had fallen..... Conditions improved but little during the Sikh rule, and even as late as 1846 Kaśmīr was raided as far as Srinagar by bands of the restless Bombas. It is evident that during this long period the pilgrimage to the distant shrine on the Kiśangaṅgā could have no attractions for peaceful Brahmans of Kaśmīr. According to the traditions of the Gōthēng Purohitas it was only since the establishment of the Dogra rule

² *Matsyapurāṇa,* 22, 74.
and the suppression of the Bomba troubles that the route to Sardi became once more open for regular pilgrim-visits.\(^1\) His researches have traced the tīrtha, the ancient shrine of the goddess Saradā, at the village of Sardi, in the Upper Kīṣāṅgaṅa Valley.\(^2\) Kalhaṇa's statement that by taking a visit to the shrine of the goddess Saradā, 'one reaches at once the river Madhumati and the river of Sarasvatī worshipped by poets',\(^3\) gives the exact location of the tīrtha as we notice the temple of Saradā as being situated on a hill, 'above the junction of the Kīṣāṅgaṅa River with a small stream known to this day as Madhumati, which flows from the mountain range to the S.E. Almost opposite to Sardi a large stream, coming from the snowy range towards Gilas, meets the Kīṣāṅgaṅa from the N.'.\(^4\) M. A. Stein gives a lengthy legendary account as contained in the Saradāmahātmya, of the origin of the tīrtha as also the religious merits acquired from its yātra.\(^5\) The tīrtha seems to have been fairly popular and widely known even outside


\(^{3}\) *R.T., I*, 37.


Kashmir. Kalhaṇa pays a glowing tribute to the heroism and patriotism of the followers of the king of Gauḍa, who entered Kashmir under the pretext of visiting the Tīrtha of Sāradā but in fact to avenge the death of their lord at the hands of King Lalitāditya Mukhtapīḍa.¹ The goddess receives a fairly respectful treatment from the pens of the Kashmirian writers,² who describe their land as beloved by Sarasvatī-Sāradā. Bilhaṇa proudly ascribes the gift of learning to his native land to the favour of goddess Sāradā. The goddess is described 'to resemble a swan, carrying as her diadem the glittering gold washed from the sand of the Madhumati stream which is bent on rivalling Gāṅgā. Spreading lustre by her fame, brilliant like crystal, she makes even Mount Himalaya, the preceptor of Gaurī, raise higher his head [his peaks] in pride of her residence there.'³ The fame of the tīrtha reached the ears of Alberuni who includes it in his description of the famous idols of the Hindus. He writes that 'in inner Kashmir, about two or three days journey from the capital in the direction towards the mountains of Bolor, there is a wooden idol called Sāradā, which is much venerated and frequented by pilgrims'.⁴ That the

¹R.T., IV, 325 seq.
³Vikramaṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 5.
tīrtha continued to earn much esteem during the centuries following the Hindu rule becomes evident from the account of Abul Fazl who records: 'At two days' distance from Hashamun is the river named Padmati which flows from the Dardu country. Gold is also found in this river. On its bank is a stone temple called Saradā dedicated to Durgā, and regarded with great veneration. On every eighth tithi of Shuklapachch, it begins to shake and produces the most extraordinary effect.'1 Earlier Jonaraja records a visit which the Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (A.D.1420-1470) paid to the shrine and the miraculous manifestations of the goddess mentioned by him are the shaking of the arm, the appearance of sweat on her face and the feelings of heat on a mere touch of the feet.2

Difficulties involved in the yātra to the distant tīrtha of Saradā on the Kīgangāṅga coupled with the political vicissitudes during the past centuries have led to the emergence of substitute tīrthas for the Tīrtha of the goddess Saradā. 'The best known and most popular among these,' writes Sir Aurel Stein, 'is the spring called Saradākuṇḍa, at the village of Tsatsu, close to Hārwan, and about one and a half miles from the north-east corner of the Dal lake. Owing to the place being so near

2Jonaraja (Bombay Edition), 1056-1071.
to the city and easily approached by boats large crowds of pilgrims assemble from Srinagar to pay their devotion to Sarada thus brought within convenient reach. The spring is visited exactly on the day prescribed for the real Sarada pilgrimage, and only in the years when the yatra to the Gaṅga-lakes on the Haramukuṭa does not take place. Another substitute tīrtha is noticed by M. A. Stein in the vicinity of the ancient Saradatīrtha. He writes: 'Immediately adjoining the grove at Guṣ, known as Rangavor, is a small walled enclosure in which a few fragments of ancient relievo images are kept. This place is locally considered a shrine of Sarada, and is visited, instead of the Sardi temple, on occasion of the Saradayatra, by Brahmins of the neighbourhood who are anxious to pay respect to the goddess and are yet unwilling to face the hardships of the real pilgrimage.'

In ancient times the Tīrtha of Bheṣa was counted among the chief tīrthas of Kashmir. The tīrtha is also referred to as a site of great sanctity in the Vanaparvan, the Purāṇas.

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2 Ibid.
3 Vanaparvan, 84, 65.
and the Sarngadharapaddhati. Introducing his land Kalhana writes: 'There the goddess Sarayati herself is seen in the form of a swan in a lake situated on the summit of the Bhega-hill [Bheṣagiri] which is sanctified by the Ganga-source [Gangodheda]. The discoveries of Sir Aurel Stein trace the tirtha at the present Buḍbrār in Sukru pargana in the valley of the Birnai stream. He mentions a long legend referred to in the Gangodbhedamahātmya about the creation of the Tīrtha as a result of long penance performed by the Rṣi Pulastya.

The goddess Sarasvatī receives worship on the 8th, 9th, 14th and 15th of the bright half of Caitra. The Nilamatapurāṇa makes a passing reference to the Tīrtha of Bheṣadevi. It describes the Rṣi Pulastya as being its creator and attaches great importance to its tīrthayātra. The Tīrtha also finds an important place in the account of Abul Fazl. He writes: 'Near Shukroh is a low hill on the summit of which is a fountain which flows throughout the year and is a place of pilgrimage

1Sarngadharapaddhati, 628.
2R.T., I, 35.
5Nilamatapurāṇa; 1010, 1309.
Gangobhede naraḥ snātva Bheṣadevisamipataḥ 1
Gangasnanaphalen prāpya svargaloke mahiyate 11 1309
for the devout. The snow does not fall on this spur.\(^1^\) It is interesting to find that the Mahatmya of the Tirtha also mentions that snow does not fall near the neighbouring shrine of Govardhanadhara Vīṣṇu for a distance of 125 hastas.\(^2^\)

The Nīlamatapurāṇa and the Rajatāragini attach great sanctity to the Tirtha of goddess Sādhya.\(^3^\) Sir Aurel Stein has traced the sacred spring of the goddess 'Sādhya' - the modern Sundabrār, in the Brīṅ district in Maṭavarāja.\(^4^\) Kalhaṇa proudly writes that in his country 'the goddess Sādhya produces on an arid hill side water which serves as an indication of the presence of merit and the absence of sin'.\(^5^\) It seems that Kalhaṇa makes an illusion here that the miracle does not take place if some sinful person visits the spring, a belief which has been referred to in the Haracaritacintamani.\(^6^\) M. A. Stein writes: 'The spring of Sādhya derives its fame as well as its appellation from the fact that for uncertain periods in the early summer it flows, or is supposed to flow, intermittently, three times in the day and three times during the night. Owing


\(^{3}\)Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1252, 1286, 1287.


\(^{5}\)R.T., I, 33.

\(^{6}\)Haracaritacintamani, IV, 50.
to the analogy thus presented to the threefold recitation of the Gayatri (Samdhya) it is held sacred to the goddess Samdhya. At the season indicated it is visited by a considerable concourse of pilgrims.¹

The Tirtha of Svayambhu, another wonder of the land of Kashmir has been mentioned in the Kashmirian texts.² Kalhana writes that in his land 'the self-created fire Svayambhu, rising from the womb of the earth, receives with numerous arms of flame the offerings of the sacrificers'.³ The sacred site of Svayambhu or modern Suyam is situated in the Machipur Pargana of Kramarājya. Undoubtedly, the Tirtha owing to the volcanic phenomenon must have been very popular. King Uccala (A.D. 1101–1111) undertook a pilgrimage to the sacred site.⁴ Abul Fazl knew about the phenomenon and writes: 'Near Kargon is a defile called Soyam where an area of ten jaribs of land becomes so hot at the time of the conjunction of Jupiter and Leo that trees are burnt up and a vessel of water if left on the ground will boil.'⁵ The phenomenon is said to have occurred

²Nilamata purāṇa, 1021, 1160.
³R.T., I, 34.
⁴R.T., VIII, 250.
all along the centuries. Vigne\(^1\) records one to have occurred at the beginning of the 19th century. Pandit Govind Kaul, a learned Brahmaṇa from Kashmir who helped M. A. Stein in his researches tells the latter about his pilgrimage to the site of Svayambhu in 1876 'when the symptoms were noticeable for about ten months'.\(^2\) At the time of his own visit which he says to have made in September, 1892, 'the phenomenon was said not to have taken place for the last fifteen years. But the soil of the hollow appeared even then bright red, like burned clay, and was furrowed by narrow fissures'.\(^3\)

The Tīrtha of Amareśvara or Amaṇāth has attained much renown and celebrity in modern times and is visited by thousands of people from all parts of India. The passing references\(^4\) made to this Tīrtha both in the Nīlamatapurāṇa and the Rājatarangini suggest that it did not carry with it much popularity in ancient times perhaps due to the hardships attached to the pilgrimage. Śiva Amareśvara is worshipped as a self-created (Svayambhu) Liṅga in a block of ice formed by the freezing of the water,

\(^1\) Travels, Vol. II, p.280.
\(^4\) Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1321. R.T., I, 267.
in a cave situated on a snowy peak 17,300 feet high. Omkāra
at Amaresāvara is one of the twelve Jyotirlingas mentioned in
the Sivapurāṇa.1 Jonarāja informs us that Sultan Zainu-l-
‘abidin undertook a pilgrimage to the Tirtha of Amaresāvara.2
The modern writers3 have given a happy account of this Tirtha
which has gained fame with the time. We may mention here the
legend recorded in the Rājarābhange, according to which the
Suṣramanāga after destroying the town of Narapura moved his
habitation from there to a lake of dazzling whiteness which
he created for himself on a far-off mountain. Suṣramanāga
along with Jamatnāga 'his son-in-law' who was situated near
him, was visited by the pilgrims bound for the Amaresāvara Tirtha.4

The Kashmirians paid exceptional reverence to the Saṅgas of
the rivers and the most important Saṅga Tirthas were the
Vitastāsiṇḍhusaṁgama, Sarada5 (Madhumatī stream and Kuṇṇagaṅga
river), Ciṟamocana6 (Kanakavāhini and Kuṇṇagaṅga) and the

1Sivapurāṇa, I, 14-33; IV, 1-18, 21-24.
2Jonarāja (Bombay Edition), 1233 seq.
4Bates, Gazetteer, pp. 121 seq.
5Supra, pp. 430-434.
6Supra, pp. 429-430.
Sanāgama of Vītāsṭa and Mahāsarīt stream (Mārīsaṅgama).

The Kashmirian literature\(^1\) mentions the Vītāsṭa and the Sindhu as the most sacred rivers of Kashmir. The holiness of the rivers is also echoed by non-Kashmirian writers like Lakṣmīdharā\(^2\) and Vallālasena.\(^3\) The former quoting the Anuśāsanaparvan says that by having a bath in Satadru, Chandrabhāga, Vītāsṭa and Ormimalīṇī one becomes like a sage. And by bathing or worshipping the River Sindhu and the great rivers that receive the smaller rivers of Kashmir, one can go to heaven.

The well-known legend narrated in the Nīlamatapurāṇa and reproduced in the Haracaritacintamani, represents the river Vītāsṭa as a manifestation of Pārvatī. After the creation of the land of Kashmir, Kaśyapa requested Śiva that he should ask his consort to appear in the land as a river to purify its inhabitants who were said to have been defiled by contact with the Pīsācas. Thereupon Pārvatī appeared in the form of a river in the underworld and asked Śiva to make an opening for her, which the latter did by striking the earth with his trident near the abode of Nīlanāga. The river gushed forth through this

\(^1\)R. T., I, 28, 51; IV, 321, 391; V, 97 seq; VIII, 1129. Jonarāja, 982; Srivara, IV, 110, 227. Haracaritacintamani, XII, 2-34.

\(^2\)Tirthāvivechana-kānda, p.245.

\(^3\)Danasāgarā, p.37.
cleavage which measured one Vitasti or span and thus received the name Vitasta.\(^1\) Other Purāṇas and the Vanaparvan also refer to the sanctity of the river Vitasta.\(^2\)

In the Nīlmatapurāṇa\(^3\) the Vitasta and the Sindhu are identified with the Yamuna and Gaṅgā respectively and the Prayāga as the saṅgama of the two is known as, has since ancient times enjoyed tremendous reputation as a place of pilgrimage. The Rājatarangini attaches great sanctity to the Vitastā-Sindhu-saṅgama and we learn from Kalhaṇa that many kings of Kashmir constructed maṭhas and temples by its side.\(^4\) The poet Maṅkha, Kalhaṇa's contemporary, recognises this sacred confluence as a place loved by Śiva.\(^5\) In the Rājatarangini, we read about the transfer of the original saṅgama at Trigrām or Trigrāma to Shādipūr carried out by Suyya the engineer minister of King Avantivarman (A.D.855/56-883) and all the references with regard to the erection of maṭhas and temples at the saṅgama relate to this transfer.\(^6\) Stein who visited the saṅgama observes:

\(^1\) Nīlmatapurāṇa, 14, 64.
Haracaritacintamani, XII, 2-34.

\(^2\) Kurmapuraṇa, II, 44; Vamanapurāṇa, 90, 7; Vanaparva, 82, 88-90.

\(^3\) Nīlmatapurāṇa, 295-296.
Gaṅgā Sindhus tu vijēya Vitasta Yamuna tatha sa prayagasamo deśas tayor yātra tu saṃgamah

\(^4\) R.T., VI, 305; VII, 214, 909, 1595; VIII, 506, 3149.

\(^5\) Śrīkanthacarita, III, 20.

\(^6\) R.T., V, 97-100.
'A small island built of solid masonry rises in the river bed at the point where the waters of the two rivers mingle. It is the object of regular pilgrimages on particular parvans throughout the year. On it stands an old cinar tree which to the pious Kasmirian represents the far-famed Ficus Indica tree of the real Prayaga.'

'We have referred to certain festive days when a pilgrimage to this samgama brought special merits and rewards.

The shrines of Vīśnu-Cakradhara and Śiva-Vijayeśa or Vijayeśvara, situated less than two miles distant from each other, are counted among the oldest places of sanctity and the Tīrthas of great fame. Śiva Vijayeśa or Vijayeśvara gives its name to the town in which it was situated, Vijayeśvara the modern Vijabrār and the shrine of Vīśnu-Cakradhara lies on the alluvial plateau now called Tsakadar, more than a mile below the town of Vijabrār. The holiness of these Tīrthas is echoed in the Kashmirian texts. That the shrine of Śiva Vijayeśvara and Vīśnu Cakradhara are of great antiquity becomes evident from

2Supra, p. 403.
3Nilematamārga, 1056, 1303, 900, 1149.
R.T., I, 38; VII, 258, 261, 269. Srikṣaṇthacarita, III, 12; Ch. X.
Jonaraja (Bombay Edition), 162, 763.
the legend recorded by Kalhaṇa. King Aśoka is credited with
the replacement of old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine of
Vijayesvara, by one of stone. He also erected within the
enclosure of Vijayaśa, and near it, two temples which were
called Aśokesvara'. The shrine of Cakradhara is mentioned
in connection with the foundation and destruction of Narapura. Both the shrines were scenes of military operations and fire
to which both were subjected at different periods of Kashmir
history. Both the shrines appear to have undergone restorations
but not very long after were destroyed by Sikander Būshikast.

Kashmir boasts of another site of exceptional sanctity in
the Tīrtha of sun-god Martanda which enjoyed a position of
esteem in the list of the holy sites and is mentioned in the
Nilamatapurāṇa among the sites sacred to Sūrya. The Tīrtha
of Martanda is marked by holy springs lying about a mile to the
north-west of the temple of Martanda built by the liberal king
Lalitāditya Muktapaṇa. M.A. Stein mentions the legend contained

1 R.T., I, 105-106.
2 R.T., I, 203. seq.
3 R.T., VII, 336 seq; VIII, 746 seq; 969 seq., 971-995, 509 seq.,
   1140.
4 Jonarāja (Bombay Edition), 762, 763.
5 Nilamatapurāṇa, 1017.
6 R.T., IV, 192.
in the Martandamahatmya which 'connects the springs with the
story of the production of the Sun from the lifeless egg
Martanda, which Aditi the wife of Kaśyapa, had brought forth
as her thirteenth child'. The site containing the tīrtha and
the shrine of Martanda is now known to the Kashmirians as Matan
(from Martanda), earlier mentioned by Abul Fazl who writes:
'Matan stands upon a hill and once possessed a large temple.
There is a small pool on the summit, the water of which never
decreases.... On the slope of the hill is a spring at the
head of which a reservoir has been constructed, full of fish.
The sanctity of the place preserves them from being touched.'
The tīrtha is popularly known as Bavan which is derived from
bhavana (sacred habitation). Another designation of the tīrtha
is Matsyabavan, Sanskrit Matsyabhavana, which Stein ascribes
to 'the abundance of sacred fish which swarm in the large
basins filled by the spring'.

The worship of the Sun god seems to have been quite popular
in Kashmir. Kalhaṇa's reference to the temple of Martanda which
King Rāṇāditya built at Simharotsika under the name of Raṇapura-

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{1}} \text{R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.141.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{2}} \text{Ain-i Akbari, Vol. II, p.358.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. II, p.466.} \]
svāmin,¹ suggest that the worship of Viṣṇu-Sūrya was prevalent in Kashmir before the eighth century A.D. Sūrya continued to be an important deity in the following centuries becomes evident from the pages of the Rajataraṅgini. King Śravarman II (A.D. 939) was a devotee of Sūrya.² Kalhapa informs us that as a result of a sudden change for the worse in his character, King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) destroyed the bronze image of Sūrya called Tamrasvāmin. Kalaśa fell ill and thinking that the god Sūrya got angered by his destruction of the image of Tamrasvāmin, started to take refuge at the temple to save his life and offered there a gold image of the god. Finally he breathed his last at the feet of the image of Mārtanda.³ Sūrya also received special regards from King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) and the temple of Mārtanda was among the two Hindu temples (the other being that of Raṇasvāmin) that escaped from being desecrated.⁴ The temple of Mārtanda was a scene of battle and was used as a fortified position in the time of King Jayasimha

¹R.T., III, 462.
²R.T., V, 449.
³R.T., VII, 695 seq.
⁴R.T., VII, 1096.
The temple of Martanda could not escape the iconoclasm of Sikander.²

Situated some five miles from Srinagar on the eastern shore of the Dal lake, are the holy sites of Theda or modern Thid and Bhimadevi or modern Bran where King Sañähimat erected mathas, statues of gods and lingas.³ Theda claimed holiness for the seven springs which are connected, by a legend narrated in the Haracaritacintamani,⁴ with the austerities undergone by Parvatî at the Tirtha of Bhimadevi. Abul Fazl⁵ refers to these springs. The kṣetra of Bhimadevi or modern Bran is about one and a half miles further north along the Dal lake shore and gives its name to a group of villages (Krūr, Dampôr etc.). The Tirtha of Bhimadevi is located at the five springs issuing from the hill side near the hamlet of Dampôr.⁶

Continuing about two miles further north on the Dal lake we reach the site of enormous sanctity known as Suresvaraikṣetra. In the Nila-matapurâṇa⁷ the Suresvarī Tirtha is mentioned along

¹ R.T., VIII, 3261 seq.
² Jana-rāja, 599.
³ R.T., II, 135.
⁴ Haracaritacintamani, IV, 40 seq.
⁷ Nila-matapurâṇa, 1013, 1318.
with the Tīrtha of Bhumādevī. The site of Sureśvari is marked by the present village of Isabar which is a derivation of Iśeśvara temple which the legendary king Saṃdhimat-Aryarāja built in honour of his teacher Iśāna.  

Kalhaṇa informs us that Sūra, the minister of King Āvantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) erected a temple at Sureśvaraikṣetra, in honour of Siva and his consort conjoined (Śivayor misrayos). Sūra's son Ratnavardhana and wife Kāvyadevi built at Sureśvari the temples of Siva Bhūteśvara and Sadaśiva called Kāvyadeviśvara respectively.  

Sir Aurel Stein refers to the legend narrated in the Sureśvarī-mahātmya which links the habitation at this place of the goddess and her consort with the killing of the demon Ruru. He writes: 'Durgā is worshipped to this day under the name of Sureśvari (queen of the gods) on a high crag rising above the village of Isabar from the range which encloses the Dal lake on the E. A natural rock on the top of the crag is looked upon as representation of Durgā's husband.' The pilgrim to the Tīrtha concentrates on several holy springs at the site, Satadhāra.

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1R.T., II, 134.
2R.T., V, 37.
3R.T., V, 40-41.
5Ibid.
is one of them mentioned by Kṣemendra. The Tīrtha of Sures-vari which is mentioned by Jonaraja and Śrīvara as well, was too sacred to be sought by the devotees to die in. The temple of Śiva and Pārvatī in communion (Śivayoh Śamavetavoh) erected by Śūra maintained its sanctity and Kalhaṇa credits Rilhaṇa, the minister of King Jayasiṇha (A.D. 1128-49) with the putting up of the gilt parasol along with small bells on this temple.

The Kashmirian literature echoes the sanctity of Varāha-keśa where Viṣṇu was worshipped in his incarnation of Adi-Varāha. The site of Viṣṇu Adi-Varāha Tīrtha by the town of Varāhamula, Varāhamula or modern Bāramula, situated on the right bank of the River Vitasta above the gorge through which the holy river leaves the Valley. Professor Buhler records from the Varāhamahātmya, an abstract of the legend relating to the origin of the Tīrtha and its adjoining sacred places. First it says Viṣṇu assumed the form of a boar to slay the Daitya Hiraṇyāksha, and raised the earth with his tusks. Next, the

1Śamavatītrakā, II, 29.
2Jonarāja, 52, 874.
3Śrīvara, I, 419, 426.
4R.T., VI, 147; VIII, 2344, 2418.
5R.T., VIII, 3365.
6Nilamatapurāṇa, 1358; R.T., VII, 204. Śrīvara, I, 403. Fourth Chronicle, 520. Haracaritacintamāni, XII, 43.
7Report, p.12.
mountains being "burnt" by ice and snow, praised the god and sought his protection. Thereupon Vishnu created the Himalaya, and put all the ice on that. Then he fashioned in the flanks of that mountain, by Rudra's command, the Varahakshetra, and dwelt there in his boar-shape. In the field of Varaha flows the Vitasta, originally produced from the tears of joy shed by the immortals; there dwell Śāmkara, Nārāyaṇa, and Viśvakarma; there are the river called Vishṇupadī, which flows for one month only, the Varaha hill, the Koṭitīrtha, and the Aurgāshrama.' The town of Varahamūla has often been mentioned in the texts and the shrine of Varaha appears to have been counted among the famous shrines of Kashmir in ancient period.  

The temple of Varaha was among the shrines destroyed by Sultān Sikander. 2 A perusal of the Rajatarangini shows that the neighbouring town of Hūskapura, situated opposite Varahamūla on the other side of the river Vitasta fell within the jurisdiction of Varahaksetra. King Kṣemagupta is recorded to have constructed two maṭhas called Kṣemamāṭha and Śrikanṭhamaṭha at Varahaksetra close to the town of Hūskapura, the modern Usākar. This king retired to the holy site of Varahaksetra to breathe his last. 3

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1 R.T., VI, 206; VII, 1309, 1310; VIII, 452. Fourth Chronicle, 77.
2 Jonaraja, 600.
3 R.T., VI, 186.
Earlier King Lalitaditya-Muktāpiṭa got constructed at Hūkapura, the shrine of Viṣṇu Muktasvāmin and a Buddhist Vihāra with a Stūpa. In addition to their holiness, these towns occupied a very important position at the Western entrance of the Valley and their formation as the starting point of the great route of communication to the West accounts for their commercial value. Huien Tsang refers to this 'Western entrance of the kingdom' through which he entered Kashmir and spent his first night in a convent at Hūkapura. Alberuni was also conscious of their importance. Varahamūla or Bārāmūla still retains its old popularity but the town of Hūkapura has gone into oblivion.

On the site of the village of Saritaka, the abode of the goddess Sarika, which according to the legend recorded in the Rājatarangini, represents the auspicious place shown by the demon to King Pravarasena II for the foundation of his new town, was built Pravarapura or modern Srinagar. Sarikaparvata or modern Haraparvata which lies in the city of Srinagar immediately

1 R.T., IV, 188.
2 Life, p. 69.
4 R.T., III, 336 seq.
to the north of its central part, took its name from the goddess Śarikā and was visited in great numbers by the pilgrims. Śarikāparvata has been mentioned by the later Chronicles also. 1

It has also been named as the hill of Pradyumna (Pradyumna-
mūrdhan, pītha, giri, Śikhara). 2 Sir Aurel Stein records an abstract of the legend told in the Śarikāmāhātmya which relates that Durgā, taking the shape of a Śarikā bird (Māna), carried in her beak the hill from Mount Meru to its present place in order to close a gate of the Daityas dwelling in hell. Subsequently she took up her abode on the hill to make sure of their not escaping. 3 In the Kathāsarītsaṅgara the origin of the name Pradyumna is connected with the love of Uṣā and Aniruddha, the son of Pradyumna. 4 King Pravarasena II is described as the worshipper of Gāṇeśa and it was as Kalhaṇa informs us, due to his pious devotion that the image of Viṇāyaka called Bhīmavēmin turned its face from west to east to tell that he was not averse to the city (Pravarapura i.e. Śrīnagar) founded by him. 5 Gāṇeśa worship has also been referred to by

1 Jonarāja, 408; Fourth Chronicle, 944.
4 Kathāsarītsaṅgara, XXIII, 109 seq.
5 R.T., III, 352.
Kṣemendra who informs us that the sweets offered to the deity were resold at Avantipura. The site of Avantipura has yielded some terracotta plaques containing the figure of elephant-headed Gaṇeśa, which also points to the popularity of Vināyaka in the Valley of Kashmir. M. A. Stein noticed the god Gaṇeśa (Vināyaka) being worshipped under the name of Bhimasvāmin in a rock lying at the foot of the southern extremity of the Haraparvat (Śarikāparvata). It is interesting to find Jonarāja recording that the god Bhimasvāmin, being shocked at the iconoclasm of Sultan Sikander turned his back on the city. His continuator Śrīvara refers to the construction of a new temple of Bhimasvāmin in a rock lying at the foot of the southern extremity of the Haraparvat (Śarikāparvata). When Stein visited the rock sacred to Vināyaka, he found it so thickly stained with red paint that it was impossible for him to notice 'any resemblance to the head of the elephant-faced God, still less to see whether it is turned West or East'.

5. Śrīvara, III, 207.
Svayambhu Tirthas at Sarikāparvata must have been frequented in great number.

We have referred to the legend recorded in the Nilamata-purāṇa and the Rājatarāṅgini about the desiccation of the lake of Sati (Satisaras) and the consequent creation of the land of Kashmir. We are told that the gods Brahmā, Siva, Viṣṇu and their team mates took their residence on the Peaks of the Naubandhana Tirtha in the successful endeavour to kill the demon Jalodbhava. These three peaks are on the Tir Pantsāl Range and the highest of these is said to form the Naubandhana Tirtha. The lake Kramasaras or Kramasara or modern Konsarnāg which lies at the foot of this peak is supposed to mark a foot-step (krama) of Viṣṇu and is the object of Naubandhana Tirtha. Srīvara records a visit which Sultan Zain-ul-Abidīn paid to this Tirtha. According to the legend attached to this Tirtha Viṣṇu on his fish incarnation fastened to this peak the ship (nau) into which goddess Durgā had changed herself in order to rescue the seeds of the beings from the danger of destruction.

The texts refer to the sanctity of Somatīrtha. The Tirtha seems to have been popular as Kalhaṇa credits King Jayasimha's

2. Srīvara, I, 482 seq.
3. Nilamata-purāṇa, 39 seq.
minister Rilhaṇa's brother Sumanas with the adornment of its surroundings by bringing there water and laying out a garden. Stein finds its application to a sacred spot in Srinagar on the right bank of the Vitasta below the second bridge. The Tīrthaka was frequented in his time and he found some liṅgas on the site.

The Kashmirian Purāṇa refers to the sanctity of Bahurūpa Tīrthaka which has been identified by Stein with the district of Biru. The fine spring which is situated at the village of Biru was the object of pilgrimage of this Tīrthaka.

All these Tīrthas and scores of others with which the Valley of Kashmir was pervaded, were not enough to quench the thirst of the Kashmirians and their visit to holy sites outside Kashmir accounts for their craze for tīrthayātra and its great importance in their lives. King Kṣagyupta after his abdication of the throne of Kashmir became a yati and retired to the holy Varāṇaśī in the hope of finding happiness in quietism. In order to patch up his differences with his son Harṣa who had gone on rebellion King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089) tells his son that he would hand over the country to him and retire as an ascetic either to Varāṇaśī or Nandikṣetra. This speaks of the sanctity of the

1 Nīlamatapurāṇa, 1159, 1337.
2 R.T., III, 297, 320.
3 R.T., VII, 646.
Nandikṣṭra, which was considered as holy as Vāraṇāsi. We learn that Kandarpa, the Lord of the Gate under King Hārṣa (A.D. 1089-1101), after getting dissatisfied with the king retired along with his family to Vāraṇāsi.\(^1\) Kanaka, the uncle of Kalhaṇa, after the death of his patron Hārṣa, is said to have retired to Vāraṇāsi and spent his days in pious resignation.\(^2\) Pilgrimages undertaken to the holy Tīrtha of Kurukṣetra are also referred to in the Rajatarāṅgini.\(^3\)

With the material at our disposal it is difficult to judge whether the pilgrimage tax was levied in the Valley. In the time of King Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-972) Brāmantaka is credited with freeing the Kashmirians from certain tax which the pilgrims had to pay while performing Śrāddhas at the Tīrtha of Gaya near Śādiapur.\(^4\) The tax seems to have been reimposed as we again hear of its exemption for the Kashmirians in the reign of Hārṣa.\(^5\) It follows from these passages, where there is a special mention of Kashmirians only being freed, that the foreigners from across the frontier of Kashmir continued to pay this

\(^1\) R.T., VII, 1007, 1010.
\(^2\) R.T., VIII, 12 seq.
\(^3\) R.T., VIII, 540, 2220.
\(^4\) R.T., VI, 254-255.
\(^5\) R.T., VII, 1008.
Srāddha tax at the Tīrtha of Gayā. Otherwise the literature is silent on this subject and it appears that unlike other parts of India, in general there was no pilgrimage tax in Kashmir. Had there been such a tax, Kalhaṇa who has taken great pains to record the holiness of his land, would have referred to it. It is likely that Gayā earned exceptional holiness for performing Srāddhas and its overwhelming busyness tempted some Kashmirian Kings to levy a tax.

It can reasonably be said that the Kashmirians were more devoted to tīrthayātra than their brethren in India proper. Pilgrimages formed an essential part of their lives. No part of India with the size of the Valley of Kashmir is better equipped with holy sites. In fact the whole land of Kashmir is claimed as holy. It is encircled by high mountains where the gods reside. Numerous rivers and streams, big and small, flow throughout the Valley, which are considered manifestations of different goddesses. It is dotted with innumerable springs and lakes which have their tutelary deities in Nāgas. And above all the Valley is endowed with numerous svāyambhū Tīrthas showing some sort of miracle. And all this within easy reach. The Tīrthas could be covered within hours. No doubt in the case of certain Tīrthas situated on the high mountains, the Kashmirians had to undertake difficult journeys but we should not forget they are known as good walkers. If desired a pilgrim could cover dozens
of tīrthas in hours even in those days when means of communication were not so fast.

Another special feature of the Kashmir Valley was that it contained Tīrthas of all sorts. There were Nāga Tīrthas, there were Tīrthas sacred to Kaśyapa the Prajāpati, there could be found Tīrthas of Brahmā, Śiva and Vīṣṇu in their various forms, there could be traced Tīrthas of Nandin, Vīnāyaka, Kumāra and Sūrya and there could be visited Tīrthas of Durgā in her various forms of Sarasvatī Śarada, Śarīka, Śureśvari, Kāli etc. In the rocks could be found mystic symbols of various gods and goddesses. In fact the Valley is gifted with such a great variety of Tīrthas that it meets the demands not of Kashmirians but worshippers from all parts of India.

The foregoing account of festivals and tīrthas in Kashmir has presented us with a fairly good picture of different gods and goddesses worshipped in the Valley. A further insight into the pages of the Kashmirian literature helps us to reconstruct the existence of different faiths and trace their brief history. The accounts of foreign writers and the archaeological findings, particularly from the sites of Avantipura, Parihasapura, Ruṣkapura, Harwan etc., corroborate the data we glean from literary sources.
Looking back to the legends referring to the creation of the land of Kashmir, its settlement and various holy sites, we get reliable indications that before the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir the Kashmirians worshipped the Nāgas and the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu in some form. The Rājarāṣṭrīyāmaṇḍana comes to our aid in making a survey of the history of these religions right up to the time of its author i.e. middle of the 12th century A.D. We notice that all through the centuries the three principal religions, i.e. Śaivism, Vaishnavism and Buddhism continued to be practised with utmost tolerance though after the 8th century A.D. we notice a turn in the tide with Śaivism and Vaishnavism going great guns and Buddhism losing old fire. It would be wrong to conclude that Buddhism disappeared from the Valley after the 9th century A.D. though we see that Śaivism was the principal religion of Kashmir with Vaishnavism and Buddhism as second and third favourite respectively but the gap between Śaivism and Vaishnavism appears to have been rather narrow. These were followed by minor gods and goddesses like the Sūrya, Viṇāyaka, Kumāra, Agni, Vāyu, Kāmadeva, Śrī, Durgā etc. etc.

Much has been said in previous pages about the Nāgas, i.e. their settlement, their worship and propitiation as tutelary deities with Nīlanāga as their head, belief in their supernatural powers, various festivals connected with their worship, many pilgrimages directed to them as also legendary stories re-
corded by Kalhaṇa about the most popular Nāgas like Nīla, Mahāpadma, Suśrava, and Takṣaka. The Chinese, Tibetans, Ceylonese and the Muslim sources point to the prevalence of Nāga worship in Kashmir.¹

The introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir is generally regarded to have taken place in the time of Aśoka. But Kalhaṇa points to its early introduction. He credits King Surendra with the foundation of a town called Soraka in the neighbourhood of the Dard country as also a vihāra called Narendraḥbhavana.² The construction of a vihāra is also attributed to King Janaka.³

The lion's share of King Aśoka and the Kuśana Kings in the promulgation of Buddhism in Kashmir is well known to the students of history. The fresh impetus drawn by Buddhism during the Kar-kotā dynasty deserves special attention. The period from Aśoka to the 8th century may be regarded as the heyday of Buddhism in Kashmir. We learn from Kalhaṇa that during this period there was a boom in the construction of Vihāras and Stūpas which boosted the popularity of Buddhism. Aśoka is recorded to have embellished

Suṣkaletra and Vītāstrā with many stupas. Also at Vītāstrā he built a caitya within the precincts of the Dharmārāya Vihāra. His son Jalauka, a devout worshipper of Śiva, is recorded to have built, according to the legend narrated by Kālhaṇa, the Kṛtyārāma Vihāra. This vihāra meaning the abode of the witch (kṛtya) gives its name to the present village of Kīṣaghom situated about five miles below Varāhamula near the left bank of the Vītāsta. Kālhaṇa records that three Kūsana Kings namely Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka who ruled Kashmir built three towns after their names – i.e. Huṣkapura, Juṣkapura and Kaniṣkapura, as also some Caityas and Vihāras. At this period Buddhism was at its prime in Kashmir as Kālhaṇa writes: 'During the powerful reign of these kings the land of Kaśmīr was, to a great extent, in the possession of the Bauddhas, who by practising the law of religious mendicancy (pravrajya) had acquired

1 R.T., I, 102. Suṣkaletra and Vītāstrā have been identified with modern villages of Huṣkalitgar and Vithavtur in the Pargāpas of Dants and Shāhbad respectively - Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.19.

2 R.T., I, 103.

3 R.T., I, 140-147.

4 R.T., I, 168-170. M.A. Stein agrees with G. Cunningham's identification of Huṣkapura with modern Uṣkur situated about two miles south-east of Varāhamula and Juṣkapura with modern Zakur a village situated to the north of Śrīnagar at a distance of about four miles from Haraparvata. He rejects Cunningham's identification of Kaniṣkapura with Kāmpur and identifies the latter with Kanepur 'situated between the Vītāsta and the high road leading from Varāhamula to Śrīnagar' - M.A. Stein, R.T. (Eng. Tr.), Vol. I, p.30 note.
great renown. It is well known that Kashmir was chosen as the venue for a Buddhist Council of the Sarvāstivādins which speaks for its popularity in the Buddhist world. Kalhaṇa proudly records that at this time there lived in Kashmir the glorious Bodhisattva Nagarjuna 'as the sole lord of the land'.

The story of seduction of King Nara's wife by magic by a Buddhist ascetic (Śramaṇa) suggests that the Buddhists like the Brahmaṇas were well conversant with magic practices. In his wrath King Nara is recorded to have burned thousands of Vihāras and transferred the villages belonging to those vihāras to the Brahmaṇas.

King Meghavāhana was a staunch Buddhist who had prohibited the killing of animals in the land. The king and his wives caused the construction of many Vihāras and Stūpas. The passages referring to this architectural activity are instructive. It is known that Kashmir was a great centre of Buddhist learning in the early centuries of the Christian Era and foreign students and missionaries from China and Central Asia used to come to Kashmir to get instructions in Buddhist lore. King Meghavāhana

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1 R.T., I, 171.
2 R.T., I, 173.
3 R.T., I, 199-200.
4 R.T., III, 6 seq.
5 Supra, pp. 161 sqq.
took special care for foreign students of Buddhist law. His wife Amṛtaprabhā is recorded to have constructed a lofty Vihāra called after her name Amṛtabhavana for the benefit of foreign Bhikṣus'. We also learn that Kashmir had cultural exchanges with the kingdom of Ladakh. The spiritual guide (guru) of the father of queen Amṛtaprabhā had come from Lop which in all probability¹ represents Leh, the capital of Ladakh. This queen is said to have built a Stūpa called Lo-stonpā.²

Referring to the Vihāra built by queen Yūkadevi Kalhāṇa writes that one half of this Vihāra was allotted to those Bhikṣus 'whose conduct conformed to the precepts' and the other half to 'those who being in possession of wives, children, cattle and property, deserved blame for their life as householders'.³

This sarcastic remark of Kalhāṇa tells the tale of married Bhikṣus in Kashmir.

Jayendra, the maternal uncle of King Pravarasena II the founder of Śrinagar, built the Jayendravihāra and a statue of the 'Great Buddha' (Bṛhadbuddha).⁴ M. A. Stein agrees with

²R.T., III, 10.
³R.T., III, 12.
⁴R.T., III, 355.
Dr. Bhau Daji's identification of Che-yen-to-lo with Jayendra, the Vihāra where Huien Tsang stopped on his arrival in Kashmir. The Rājarājanaṇī refers to the erection of Vihāras and Caityas by the ministers of King Juddhīstra II, the son of Pravarasena II. Amṛtaprabha, the wife of King Rapāditāya is said to have placed a statue of Buddha in the Vihāra erected by Bhinna the wife of an earlier king Meghavahana. We also hear of the construction of a Vihāra by a minister of King Vikramāditya.

Anāṅgalekha, the wife of the first Karkota king Durlabhavardhana, built the Anāṅgabhavana Vihāra. The erection of a Vihāra is also attributed to the wife of Candrapāṇa the grandson of Durlabhavardhana. Buddhism received much patronage from the great king, Lalitoditya-Muktāpiḍa. He embellished Huskapura by erecting there a large Vihāra with a Stupa. Stein identifies this Vihāra with the Moung-ti Vihāra mentioned

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2. Life, p.69.
5. R. T., III, 476.
6. R. T., IV, 3.
7. R. T., IV, 79.
8. R. T., IV, 188.
9. Notes on Ou-Kiang, pp. 3 seq.
by Ou-Kong. In his newly-founded town Parihasapura he built the Rajavihara with a large quadrangle (Catupśāla), a large Caitya and a colossal image of the Jina (Buddha), the glorious statue of the 'Great Buddha' (Bṛhadbuddha) and the Kayyavihara.\(^1\)

His minister Caṇkuṇa from Tuhkharā country erected the Caṇkuṇavihara, a lofty Stūpa and golden images of the Jinas. In this Vihāra he later placed the image of Buddha.\(^2\) This minister is also said to have founded at Šrīnagar, a Vihāra together with a Caitya.\(^3\) The son-in-law of this minister also erected a Vihāra.\(^4\)

The magic powers which this Buddhist minister Caṇkuṇa possessed and surprised the King Lalitāditya by their display perhaps point to some forms of Tantric Buddhism in Kashmir in the eighth century A.D. Among many foundations carried out by King Jayāpīga in his newly-founded town Jayapura, mention may be made of three Buddha images and a large Vihāra.\(^5\)

Hsiu en Tsang's account of the state of Buddhism in Kashmir at the time when he visited the Valley is not very favourable.

\(^1\)R.T., IV, 200, 203, 210.

\(^2\)R.T., IV, 211, 262. M.A. Stein identifies the Caṇkuṇavihara with tsiang-kiun of Ou-K'ong. M.A. Stein, Notes on Ou-K'ong, pp. 19 seq.

\(^3\)R.T., IV, 215.

\(^4\)R.T., IV, 216.

\(^5\)R.T., IV, 507.
Whereas he describes Buddhism being in a flourishing state in the time of Aśoka and Kaniska, in his own time the kingdom of Kashmir he says was 'not much given to the faith, and that the temples of the heretics were their sole thought'. His stay in Kashmir coincides with one of the early Karkoṭa kings and if Ou-K'ong, who visited the Valley about a century and a half after Hiuen Tsang, notices the number of Viharas as three times more than Hiuen Tsang it is all due to the patronage extended to Buddhism by the Karkoṭa kings in the period intervening between the visits of two Chinese pilgrims. The Buddhist remains discovered at the site of Parihaspura - the stronghold of Buddhism, corroborate the literary references.

Buddhism received a severe setback after the eighth century A.D. The kings of this period who were mainly devoted to Śiva and Viṣṇu, did very little for the cause of Buddhism. If Kalhaṇa is to be believed little more than half a dozen of new Viharas were constructed during the course of about three centuries, i.e. from the time of accession of King Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56) to that of King Jayasimha (A.D. 1128). Though Śaivism and Vaishnavism got a thick edge over Buddhism, the latter cannot be said to have

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1Si-yu-ki, Vol. I, p.158.
2R. C. Kak, Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, pp. 146-149.
disappeared altogether from the Valley.

Kalhaṇa painfully informs us that King Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950–958) burned down the Jayendravihāra and utilized the brass of the image of Sugata (Buddha) in the construction of the Siva temple Kṣemagaureśvara. He also confiscated thirty-six villages from this burnt Vihāra. But this was due to political reasons rather than any anti-Buddhist feelings on the part of the king as Kalhaṇa informs us that the king had to burn the Vihāra in order to kill Dāmara Sāmgrama who when attacked had entered this Vihāra. During the period of her regency Queen Didda built a Vihāra with a high quadrangle for the Kashmirians and foreigners (daiśika). During his last days King Kalāsa (A.D. 1063–1089) in whom there occurred 'an unheard of change for the worse' in his conduct, he is said to have seized the brass images from the Viharas and destroyed also the copper image of Sūrya called Tamravāmin. Similarly the policy of religious persecution pursued by King Harṣa (A.D. 1089–1101) which is discussed in detail in the following account was directed towards Hinduism and Buddhism alike. King Uccala

1 R.T., VI, 171-175.
2 R.T., VI, 303.
3 R.T., VII, 695 seq.
(A.D. 1101-1111) and his wife Jayamatī erected each a Vihāra.¹

Though very dim, the torch of Buddhism kept on burning during this period. Buddhism found in King Jayasiṃha (A.D. 1128-1149) a great patron of its faith. During his time many Vihāras were not only repaired but built anew. He patronized the Vihāra built by the Queen Ratnādevī.² He completed his uncle Uccala's Sullāvihāra which had remained unfinished.³ Jayasiṃha's ministers also did a lot for the revival of Buddhism. A Vihāra was constructed by a minister Rilhaṇa,⁴ in honour of his deceased wife Sussalā. Sussalā herself before her death, 'built afresh the illustrious Caṅku-ṇavihāra of which nothing but the name remained, by erecting a stone shrine (prāśāda).⁵ We are told that King Jayasiṃha arranged for the completion of a Vihāra of his minister Dhanya who died without completing it.⁶ The erection of a beautiful Vihāra with five buildings within it is associated with Cintā, the wife of commander-in-chief Udaya.⁷ Though the erection of

¹R.T., VIII, 246, 248.
²R.T., VIII, 2402, 2433.
³R.T., VIII, 3318.
⁴R.T., VIII, 2410.
⁵R.T., VIII, 2415.
⁶R.T., VIII, 3343-44.
⁷R.T., VIII, 3362-53.
Viharas appears insignificant before the large number of foundations in honour of Śiva and Viṣṇu, still it points to the existence of Buddhism as late as the time of Kalhana.¹

The gods Śiva and Viṣṇu have been worshipped since ancient times long before Buddhism made its foothold in Kashmir. Simultaneously, we propose to trace their brief history and patronage extended to them by the kings by way of consecrating temples in their honour and by other means.

Śiva Vijayeśa and Viṣṇu Cakradhara are the oldest and most popular temples of Kashmir.² A perusal of Kashmirian literature shows that these temples kept their prominence throughout the Hindu rule. Aśoka is recorded to have replaced the old stuccoed enclosure of the shrine of Vijayeśvara by one of stone. After the replacement Aśoka built within the enclosure of Vijayeśa and near it, two temples called Asokeśvara.³ Aśoka is described as an ardent devotee of Śiva Bhūteśa. Aśoka's son Jalaśaka was also a staunch worshipper of Śiva⁴ and is said to have erected shrines of Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra and Bhūteśa at Srinagar.

¹Supra, pp. 167 sqq.
²R.T., I, 38.
³R.T., I, 105-106.
and Nandiksetra respectively.\(^1\) King Ravaṇa is described as
the worshipper of Linga called Vaṭeśvara which was shining
even in the time of Kalhaṇa.\(^2\) The violent Huṇa King Mihirakula
who is described as 'the god of death' built in order to earn
religious merit, the shrine of Śiva Mihireśvara at Śrīnagarī
(old Śrīnagar).\(^3\) King Gokarna and his son Narendraditya I
consecrated respectively the shrines of Śiva Gokarṇeśvara and
Śiva Bhūteśvara.\(^4\) Ugra, the teacher of Narendraditya, built
the shrine of Śiva Ugreśa.\(^5\) King Tūjīna erected the temple
of Śiva Tūngeśvara.\(^6\) King Sāmdhimat Āryaṇa was greatly de-
voted to Śiva and is credited with the construction of numerous
Śiva lingas, trisūlas and the images of the bull of Śiva as
also the shrines of Śiva Sāmdhiśvara and Iśesvara.\(^7\) King
Pravarasena I constructed the shrine of Pravareśvara.\(^8\) Pravara-
sena II was zealously devoted to Śiva and is described, according

\(^1\) R. T., I, 124 seq., 148.
\(^2\) R. T., I, 194-195.
\(^3\) R. T., I, 306.
\(^4\) R. T., I, 346-347.
\(^5\) R. T., I, 348.
\(^6\) R. T., II, 14.
\(^7\) R. T., II, 123-141.
\(^8\) R. T., III, 99.
to a story related by Kalhana, to have consecrated the linga of Pravareśvara as also the image of Viṣṇu Jayasvāmin. He also established in his newly founded city Pravarapura (modern Srinagar) shrines of five goddesses, 'who were designated by the word Śrī as Sadbhavaśrī and so on.' King Raḍāditya consecrated after his name, the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu, under the name of Rāgeśvara and Ranasvāmin. Two temples namely the Rāgāvambhasvāmin and Rāparambhadeva were built after his wife's name Rāparambha. Another wife of this king, built the shrine of Aṃteśvara near the temple of RāgESA. Vikramaditya, the son of Raḍāditya, built the shrine of Śiva Vikrameśvara. Bimba, the wife of King Baladitya, built the shrine of Śiva Bimbesvara.

The Gonanda dynasty was succeeded by the Karkotha dynasty. Of the Karkotha kings, Durlabhavardhana the founder of the dynasty

1. R.T., III, 350-351.
2. R.T., III, 353.
4. R.T., III, 460.
5. R.T., III, 463.
7. R.T., III, 482.
built at Srinagar (old capital), the shrine of Viṣṇu Durlabhaśvamin.¹ His son Malhaṇa erected the shrine of Viṣṇu Malhaṇasvamin;² Narendraprabha, the queen of King Durlabhaka-Pratapaditya II erected the shrine of Narendreshvara.³ The virtuous guru of King Candrapīda built the temple of Viṣṇu Gambhirasvamin.⁴ The city prefect of King Candrapīda named Chalitaka built the temple of Viṣṇu Chalitasvamin.⁵ Hinduism got liberal patronage from the great Karkota King Lalitaditya-Muktapīda. Of the shrines consecrated in honour of Viṣṇu, we may refer to the shrine of Keśava Viṣṇu at Darpitapura,⁶ the shrine of Viṣṇu Muktasvamin at Huskapura⁷ and the silver image of Viṣṇu Parihasakēśvara, the golden image of Viṣṇu Parihasakēśvara, the golden image of Viṣṇu Mahāvarāha, the silver image of Govardhanadhara, all these images set up at his newly-founded town Parihasapura.⁸ Lalitāditya's queen

¹ R.T., IV, 6.  
² R.T., IV, 4.  
³ R.T., IV, 38.  
⁴ R.T., IV, 80.  
⁵ R.T., IV, 81.  
⁶ R.T., IV, 183.  
⁷ R.T., IV, 188.  
Kamalavati put up the large silver image of Kamalākeśava. To the shrine of Śiva Bhūteśa he offered a huge sum as an expiatory offering. He also built a lofty temple of stone for Śiva Jyeṣṭharudra. His minister Mitraśarman made the Śiva linga called Mitreśvara. A teacher called Bhappāja put up the Linga at Bhappateśvara and numerous other Lingas called Rakchaṭeśa were made by people. Of the two images of Kesava attributed to Rāma and Lakṣmana, which King Lalita-tāditya found according to a fanciful story narrated in the Rajatarangini, he consecrated them under the name of Rāmasvāmin and Lakṣmānasvāmin. These references coupled with those in the Nilamatapurāṇa where reference is also made to the Rāmatīrtha, convey that Rāma was worshipped in Kashmir as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Srirama is one of the ten incarnations dealt with in the Desāvatāraracarita of Kṣemendra. The other avatāras referred to

1 R.T., IV, 208.  
2 R.T., IV, 189.  
3 R.T., IV, 190.  
4 R.T., IV, 209.  
5 R.T., IV, 214.  
6 R.T., IV, 265-276.  
7 Nilamatapurāṇa, 1157, 913, 1312, 1352.
are Śrīkṛṣṇa, Parasūrāma, Buddha, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Kurma, Matsya, and Karkya.

King Jayāpiḍa built the shrine of Vīpulakesava. Kings, the chamberlain of King Jayāpiḍa, erected a shrine of Śiva Āceśvara. To deliver Jayāpiḍa from sinfulness he committed in the later part of his reign, the mother of the king built the temple of Amṛtakeśvara. Jayadevi, the mother of King Cippajayāpiḍa, constructed the shrine of Śiva Jayēśvara. Utpala, Padma, Dharma, Kalyaṇa and Mamma, the five ministers of king Ajitāpiḍa, built temples of Vīṣṇu under their names, i.e. Utpalasvāmin, Padmasvāmin, Dharmasvāmin, Kalyāṇasvāmin and Mammasvāmin.

Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism made great strides from the ninth century onwards, overshadowing completely the religion of the Buddha. Śūravarman, the brother of King Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883) from a different mother, built the temple of Vīṣṇu Śūravarmasvāmin. Samara, another brother of King Avantivarman, erected

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1. R.T., IV, 484.
2. R.T., IV, 513.
3. R.T., IV, 659.
4. R.T., IV, 681.
5. R.T., IV, 695-698.
6. R.T., V, 23.
for Kesava in his quadruple form the temple called Samarasa-vāmin.  
Mahodaya, the chief door-keeper of minister Sura, built the 
shrine of Viṣṇu Mahodayasvāmin. The minister Prabhākara-varman 
erected the shrine of Viṣṇu Prabhākara-svāmin. Sura, the il-
lustrious minister of King Avantivarman, built at Sureśvariksetra, 
the shrine of Śiva in the form of Ardhanārīśvāra. He also built 
the temple of Sureśvara. The wife and a son of Sura built at 
Sureśvari the temple of Kavyadeviśvara and Śiva Bhūteśvara re-
respectively. King Avantivarman built in his newly-founded town 
of Avantipura, the temples of Viṣṇu Avantisvāmin and Śiva Avantiśvāra. 
Śāmkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) founded the town Śāmkarapura and 
erected there in company with his wife Sugandhā, the temples of 
Śiva Śāmkaragauriśa and Sugandhesā. His minister Ratnavardhana 
built the temple of Sadaśiva called Ratnavardhanesā. Queen 

1 R.T., V, 25. 
2 R.T., V, 28. 
3 R.T., V, 30. 
4 R.T., V, 37, supra, p. 447. 
5 R.T., V, 38. 
6 R.T., V, 40-41. 
7 R.T., V, 45. 
8 R.T., V, 158. 
9 R.T., V, 163.
Sugandha founded the temple of Viṣṇu Gopālakesvara after her son Gopālavarman (A.D. 902-904).¹ Nandā, the wife of King Gopālavarman, built the shrine of Nandakesvara.² Meruvardhana, the minister of King Partha (A.D. 906-921), built the shrine of Viṣṇu Meruvardhanasvāmin.³

King Yaśakara (A.D. 939-948), the founder of the next dynasty, died without completing the shrine of Viṣṇu Yaśaskarasvāmin. It was completed by King Parvagupta (A.D. 949-950) who also built the shrine of Siva Parvaguptesvāra.⁴ Bhāṭṭa Phalguna, a courtier of King Kṣemagupta (A.D. 950-958), built the temple of Viṣṇu Phalgūnasvāmin.⁵ King Kṣemagupta founded the temple of Siva Kṣemagaurīsvara.⁶ Bhima Śahi, the maternal grandfather of Diddā the queen of Kṣemagupta, built the temple of Viṣṇu Bhimakesava.⁷ Diddā founded the temple of Viṣṇu Abhimanyusvāmin in the memory of her son Abhimanyu.⁸ She also erected the temples

¹ R.T., V, 244.  
² R.T., V, 245.  
³ R.T., V, 267-268.  
⁴ R.T., VI, 137, 140-141.  
⁵ R.T., VI, 169.  
⁷ R.T., VI, 178.  
⁸ R.T., VI, 299.
of Viṣṇu Diddasvāmin and Viṣṇu Simhasvāmin, the latter under the name of her father.¹

The temple of Śiva Rāpeśvara underwent restoration in the time of King Samgrāmarāja (A.D.1003-28) the first ruler of the first Lohara dynasty.² Suryamati, the queen of King Ananta (A.D.1023-1063) built the temple of Śiva Gaurīśvara and Sadasīvā.³ Many Bānalingas and Trīśulas were also consecrated under her patronage.⁴ King Kalaśa (A.D.1063-1089) founded at Tripureśvara a temple of Śiva 'the Āmalaka ornament (āmalspāra) of which was of gold'.⁵ He also built the shrine of Śiva Kalaśeśvara, 'the stone temple of which had a roof adorned with innumerable golden cups (ghatī)'.⁶

Harga (A.D. 1089-1101) despoiled the temples of its images. The only images that escaped spoliation were those of Raṇasvāmin, Mārtaṇḍa and the two statues of Buddha, the latter as a result of special requests made by a favourite singer Kanaka the uncle of Kalhana and by a śramaṇa kuśalaśrī.⁷ This action of his which

¹R.T., VI, 300, 304.
²R.T., VII, 115.
³R.T., VII, 180-181.
⁴R.T., VII, 185.
⁵R.T., VII, 526.
⁶R.T., VII, 527.
⁷R.T., VII, 1097-1098.
brought him the epithet Turuṣka from Kalhaṇa, has been attributed by scholars like Sir Aurel Stein¹ to his leanings towards Islam. But a perusal of the Rajatarāṅgini shows that the idea to plunder the temples was incidental and not a creation of his mind. Before he started on his plundering expedition he, under the influence of parasites, executed some of his relatives thereby Kalhaṇa writes: 'The king, whose mind was perverted by the most sinful perfidies against his relatives, came then to be exploited by rogues to such an extent as would be incredible even of simpletons'.² This Kalhaṇa explains by a story. He informs us that a parasite Logṣhadhara, the grandson of Haladhara a minister under King Ananta (A.D. 1028-63), informs Harṣa that in the time of King Kalaśa (A.D. 1063-1089), the temple of Bhimakesava³ was locked up on account of a quarrel among the members of the purohita corporation (parisādyā). After the settlement of the quarrel when the temple was opened the silver armour of the god's image was found to be missing whence they locked it up again from fear of such theft. 'Let, therefore, the treasures of this shrine, which cause the fear of theft, be taken away' thus addressed

²R.T., VII, 1072.
³Supra, p. 207.
Logjadhara to King Harṣa. Harṣa acted accordingly and found rich treasury and 'reflected upon what riches there might be in other wealthy temples, when there was such wealth in this deserted shrine'. This natural greed to acquire treasures from other temples overpowered him at a time when he was under financial pressure. Kalhaṇa emphatically writes thus: 'As he was addicted to extravagant expenditure upon various corps of his army, his thoughts in consequence of the above assumption became in time firmly fixed upon the spoliation of temples'.

This follows that spoliation of temples was necessitated by financial reasons rather than by leanings towards Islam. Luxurious court, huge expenditure on army and the costly presents to flattering courtiers all put him in financial straits. Harṣa seemed to have been in great financial troubles as he tried to secure more wealth by oppressing the people. Kalhaṇa sarcastically writes: 'O shame! Though he possessed his grandfather's and father's treasures and those which Utkarṣa at the commencement of his reign had brought from Lohara, and though he had confiscated from the temples the riches bestowed by former kings, yet he endeavoured to secure more wealth by oppressing the householders'.

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1 R.T., VII, 1087.
2 R.T., VII, 1089.
3 R.T., VII, 1100-1101.
New officers were appointed for this purpose who received their designation from new imposts. One of these was the office of 'prefect of property' (arthanāyaka) accompanying the task of plundering the property of all temples and villages. Kalhana writes painfully: 'What more? As he was seizing the property of all by all sorts of prefects (nāyaka), he appointed also "a prefect of night soil" to raise revenue.' As for King Hārsha's motives in seizing the statues of gods for which he appointed Udayarāja 'prefect for the overthrow of divine images (devotpātanāyaka) and desecrating them by getting poured over them excrements and urine by naked mendicants (nagavata) he was, as A. L. Basham opines, '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'.

King Uccala (A.D. 1111-1128) was known to have been passionately fond of restoring the decayed buildings. He put in order the sites of Cakradhara, Yogėśa and Svayambhū and put up afresh

1 R.T., VII, 1103-1104.
2 R.T., VII, 1107.
at Parihasapura the image of Vigu Parihasakesava, which had been carried off by Harsha. He is also praised for his adornment of the temple of Vigu Tribhuvanasvamin with parrot house (Sukavali) which Harsha carried off. In the time of King Jayasimha (A.D. 1128-1149) many temples were erected not only by the king but by his queens and ministers. Ragda, the queen of Jayasimha, founded the shrine of Siva Rudresvara. Another queen Ratnavati founded Vaikunjhatama and many other pious buildings. The image of the Death-vanquisher (Siva) which she put up 'shines forth amidst buildings resplendent with stucco'. The wonderful Gokula which she erected put to shame the existing Gokulas. She is also famed for the erection of the image of Vigu Govardhana-dhara. A minister Rilha by name founded the shrine of Siva Rilhanesvara at Puranadhihana (old capital Srinagar). Alaikara,

1 R.T., VIII, 78, 79.
2 R.T., VIII, 80.
3 R.T., VIII, 3389-3391.
4 R.T., VIII, 2433.
5 R.T., VIII, 2435.
6 R.T., VIII, 2436.
7 R.T., VIII, 2438.
8 R.T., VIII, 2409.
the superintendent of the great treasury (brhadgaśija) was a pious devotee of Vīṣṇu and used to present cows at the festival of Vīṣṇu AdiVyāha. The minister Bhujja consecrated a Liṅga of Siva Bhujjēśvara. Maṅkha or Maṅkhaka, the brother of Alamkara the minister of foreign affairs (Saṁdhivigrahika) and the author of Śrikanthacarīta, constructed a shrine of Śrikantha (Siva). Sumanas, the younger brother of Rilhaṇa, built at Srinagar a shrine of Siva, named after himself.

We had frequent occasion to notice the important role which the secondary gods and goddesses like the Bhairava, Nandin, Vināyaka, Karttikeya, Sūrya, Moon, Agni, Wind, Kamadeva, Śrī, Durgā, Sarada Sarasvatī, Matycakras (circles of the mothers) etc., played in the worship of the Kashmirians.

H. H. Wilson writes that the religion of Kashmir has been Hindu from a very remote date. Originally no doubt it was the Ophite or snake worship, but this is a part of the Hindu ritual, and the Nagas are included in the orthodox pantheon: the adoration of Siva was soon ingrafted upon this, even if the two rites were not originally identified.

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1 R.T., VIII, 2425.
2 R.T., VIII, 2432.
3 R.T., VIII, 3354.
4 R.T., VIII, 3359.
It appears that the Bauddha schism was known in Cashmir at a very early period, and possibly preceded the introduction of a fully organized Brahmanical priesthood; it probably in short preceded the introduction of the Brahmanical caste.... If any conclusion might be drawn from such imperfect premises, it might be supposed, that the inhabitants of Cashmir originally followed an idolatrous system of their own, to which they superadded a few ill defined Gods and ceremonies, borrowed from the Brahmons of the plains; that whilst they were yet open to conversion, an attempt was made from the other side, or from Tartary, to introduce Buddhāism amongst them, which was combated and finally frustrated by southern assistance: the national faith of Cashmir has ever since continued Hindu, and the almost exclusive form of adoration has been that addressed to Śiva and his Śacti.\(^1\)

Agreeing with the truth this statement carries, the characteristic features of the religion of Kashmir should not be lost sight of, i.e. the peaceful existence of different creeds side by side. In the long history of Kashmir we do not come across any incident when a king adhering to a particular faith took measures against other creeds. Nor do we notice any ill-feeling

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and animosity among the laity so far as the observance of different faiths is concerned. On the other hand the accommodat-
ing nature of the Kings and the Kashmirians deserves to be praised. The foregoing account has shown that numerous kings, queens, ministers and other individuals who founded shrines for Śiva, Viṣṇu and other Hindu gods constructed with equal devotion Stūpas and Vihāras as well. In this regard reference may partic-
ularly be made to important rulers like Asoka, Lalitāditya, Jayāpida, Queen Dīḍā, Uccala (A.D.1101-1111), Sussala (A.D.1111-28), Jayāśimha (A.D. 1128-1149), Queen Ratnadevi of Jayāśimha, ministers Bhujja, Dhanya, Udaya and Rilha of King Jayāśimha etc. Buddha had received a place in orthodox pantheon as an avatar of Viṣṇu. Kṣemendra in his Dasavatāraracita described Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. And the Nilamatapurāṇa, the Kashmirian Bible and the most important scripture of Kashmirian Hinduism, enjoins the celebration of the birthday of Buddha as a great festival.1 Buddha or the Bodhisattvas were not only considered as 'the comforters of all beings', 'the embodiments of perfect charity and nobility of eeling', and 'beings of absolute goodness (sattava) who do not feel anger even towards the sinner, but in patience render him kindness', but some of their doctrines were en-
forced by even those kings who followed Hinduism. Not only King Megha-

1Supra, p. 394.
vahana who was a devout Buddhist, but kings like Matyagupta and Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-83) prohibited the slaughter of living creatures. The doctrines of Buddhism were alive even in the twelfth century. The striking example of the peaceful existence of different creeds and the accommodating nature of the Kashmirians can be explained by the fact that Kalhaṇa's father Cāppaka was an ardent worshipper of Śiva and a regular pilgrim of Nandikṣetra, his uncle Kanaka was a Buddhist and Kalhaṇa himself seems to have given both to Hinduism and Buddhism.

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1 *R.T.*, III, 4-7, 27 seq., 256; V, 64, 119.

2 *R.T.*, VIII, 2234, 2574.
Chapter XI

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that the period under study witnessed tremendous activity in Kashmir. Whereas vast parts of India were gradually folding in the face of Muslim invasion, the land of Kashmir, enjoying immunity from such danger as it was protected by the mountain-ramparts, provided its inhabitants with an independent life of their own. But this should not lead us to think that all was well with the Kashmirians. They had to sort out troubles in their own house. A perusal of the Rājatarangini gives us a strong impression that much of our period was afflicted with civil war, caused by court intrigues, disloyal ministers and the near relatives of the ruling monarch and, above all, the feudal landlords whose power and influence had flowered by this time. The incompetence of some of the rulers, particularly of the tenth century, was an important factor leading to these conditions. Sometimes Kalhana seems to exaggerate the sufferings resulting from such troubles and if we believe him blindly it would appear that the conditions were rather dismal. It is unlikely that during such troubled times, the common man should always have been affected. When some drama was being played against the king in and around the palace or in a certain part of the Valley, the king was hard-pressed
at the hands of pretenders or some Damara chief, the common man was not influenced by it. But certainly there occurred many sad occasions, as the account of Kalhana demonstrates, when the whole population was hard-hit by the sackings and burnings of their property coupled with fiscal oppression. We may say without any fear of contradiction that there have been ups and downs and Kashmir of our period witnessed sunny, cloudy and showery intervals.

Tolerance characterized the Kashmirian life before and during the period under question. We do not read of discrimination of any sort and different varāgas had a happy passage though admittedly the Brāhmaṇas who constituted an important part of the population held an upper edge and like their brethren in India proper, enjoyed a certain privilege and immunities. Complete freedom and tolerance is discernible in the worship of different gods and goddesses and the observance of different rites and ceremonies on the festive occasions. The Kashmirians appear to have been very strict in the observance of utsevas prescribed in the Nyēmatapurāṇa. Many of these festivals were similar to those observed elsewhere in India, some were peculiar to them. The holy land of Kashmir being pervaded with all sorts of Tīrthas, zealous devotion for and the realisation of great importance of tīrthayatra by the Kashmirians can hardly be over-estimated. There was a remarkable development in the field of architecture. Numerous temples, mathas
and viharas were founded by the kings, queens and private individuals alike. The mathas and viharas of the 'land of Sarasvati', as Kashmir was known as, were great centres of Hindu and Buddhist learning and attracted foreign students in great number. The literature speaks of mathas and viharas which were founded exclusively for foreign students. Our period witnessed great literary activity and tons of texts in all branches of learning were composed, which enjoy a very prominent place in the literary world. Of the men of letters of this period we mention specially the names of Abhinavagupta, Kṣemendra, Somadeva, Bilhaṇa, Maṅkha and Kalhaṇa who shed lustre on the Sanskrit literature by their writings and won laurels for their land.

The kings, ministers, influential kāvasthas, big landlords and such merchants led a luxurious life in their palatial buildings. The Kashmirian palace comprised many storeys and an apartment having a hundred gates (satadvāra) must have been a beauty and excited wonder. To tell us about the life of landed aristocrats, rich merchants and state officers, we hand over to Dāmodaragupta, who in his Kuttanimatكار्यa\(^1\) gives a description of a son of an officer under king's service. He is depicted as wearing finger rings and ear rings of a distinctive variety and thin golden threads around his neck. He wears shoes having ornamental

\(^1\)Kuttanimatكار्यa, 61-70.
designs. His limbs as well as clothes are yellowish with saffron (kumkama). His clothes have a gold border and while appearing in public, he is accompanied by attendants. The houses of rich merchants were decorated with lamps of jewels (manidipika). We get indications of differences in the standard of living. Kalhaṇa informs us that whereas the courtiers ate fried meat and drank wine cooled and perfumed with flowers, the common Kashmiri contented himself with rice and utpalasāka, a vegetable of bitter taste. Luxurious theatre-halls equipped with leather-cushioned couches were meant only for the rich and the common man could only afford to witness theatrical performances under an open sky. As noticed above, Damodargupta describes the son of an officer as decked in costly gold ornaments and the betel-casket bearer who accompanies him is mentioned as wearing around his neck a garland of glass beads and conch-shell bangles on his wrist. Kṣemendra also portrays such differences in the standard of living - the rich ladies are said to have adorned themselves with ornaments of gold whereas the poor could afford only earthen (ladenmytkarnabhīṣaṇa).

Ancient Kashmir was self-sufficient in food and drink. Rice was the principle product and the staple food of the Kashmirians.

1R.T., IV, 15.
As elsewhere in India, in Kashmir too, the prices of commodities in peaceful times were fairly low though the victuals of import such as salt, pepper and hing etc. were pretty dear and were not within the orbit of the poor to go in for. Grapes were fruits par excellence. Meat-eating and wine drinking (madyanā) were fairly common. But as we move along our period of study to the times of Kalhaṇa, we gauge signs of economic decay and it looks as if the lower classes, particularly in the villages, and the cultivators were poor and had to be satisfied with basic necessities only. Kaśmendra who is unrivalled and adept in sketching representative characters of his time describes a peasant as the veritable embodiment of poverty and misery who toils hard in his field and in the process his hands and feet get cracked, his hair becomes tawny with dust and he suffers not only from hunger and thirst but from the cuts he receives while at work. 1 Elsewhere, he refers to the sons of householders who, being compelled by poverty, work hard in the fields, and suffer pangs of hunger and thirst. 2 The poor, having limited means, cannot fully enjoy a festival. 3 In the Aucitṣavīcaracarca,

1 Avadānakalpalata, XXIV, 94-96.
2 Avadānakalpalata, XVII, 14.
3 Suvṛttatilaka, III, 26.
Kṣemendra points to an uninvited stranger who sits in the line of people taking food but being found out, is put to shame. Grammar cannot fill a hungry stomach, nor can the juice of poetry be drunk by thirsty mouths. Nobody ever could rescue his family by learning. All the arts are fruitless, therefore one should earn gold alone. A study of the Rajatarangini shows that the causes of poverty and misery were the increasing power of the feudal landlords who very often resorted to sacking and burning, enacting ways of the kāvastha and the merchant-creditors, occasional fresh taxation and the famines. That conditions can become shocking and disgusting during a famine if the ruling monarchs are weak and cruel may be explained by reference to two famines which afflicted Kashmir during our period. Referring to the famine of A.D.917-918, Kalhana informs us that the ministers and the Tantrins made fortunes by selling stores of rice at exorbitant prices and king Partha would take that person as minister who would raise money by selling the subjects. Kalhana ridicules Harsha for not taking any relief measures at the time of the famine of A.D.1099-1100. Harsha continued with his policy of taxation and imposed heavy fines which led Kalhana to say: 'While the people were thus distressed, the king threw upon them heavy fines which took away their breath, just as if a

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1. Aucityavicārācarca, p.22.
boulder were thrown on an old bullock which has become worn out by dragging the plough.' How such sad occasions encouraged black-marketing is illustrated by Kṣemendra. He refers to an avaricious and greedy merchant who hoards paddy and other grains but does not sell them though he has kept them for sixty years. He looks forward to a famine so that he may sell his stores at high prices. Giving an all round look, we would say that the conditions, in general, were good.

Normally, the succession was in accordance with the law of primogeniture. Women continued to be held in great respect, rather than there had been an improvement in their position. Queens Sugandhā and Didda ruled Kashmir in their own names. Ananta's queen Suryamati had great influence in the administration of the affairs. The institution of sati gained ground during this period and came to be practised on a wide scale. The accounts of Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇḍa show that prostitution was a regular feature of the society. The institution of devadāsi was prevalent. The women of Kashmir were proficient in dance and drama. Instrumental and vocal music was widely cultivated in the Valley and the Kashmirians followed the precepts of Bharata's Nātakastra. Dice and chess were the favourite games.

1 R.T., VII, 1225.
2 Desopadeśa, II, 33f.
The cold weather of the country requires its inhabitants
to wear woollen clothes almost the whole year and the principle
type of dress, both for men and women, has, since ancient times,
been a long cloak (prāvara). Under south Indian influence, a
section of the female population, particularly belonging to
rich families, came to use a kind of dress broadly spoken of as
sari. Both men and women had a keen liking for the ornaments,
the most common were the ear rings, wristlets, necklaces, brace-
lets, armlets and anklets.

The Kashmirians held strong beliefs in astrology, different
omens and superstitions and in the power of Nāgas, Piśacas,
Bhūtas, Rākṣaras etc. Witchcraft was widely practised in the
Valley.

In a place like Kashmir, dotted with rivers and lakes, the
importance of river-navigation can hardly be over-estimated. Boats
formed the most important means of communication. Horses and carriages
formed other important conveyances. Elephants and palanquins were
used by the kings and the aristocrats. Besides, the physical
features go a long way in making the Kashmirians hardy and ath-
etic and, being good walkers, they covered long journeys on foot.
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(Continued on next page)
PLATE V

KASHMIR.
which she waves over her head, and has a long, scarlet head-dress in both hands. A dance wearing large ear-rings and dressed in loose robe.

on either side:
apparently shown over her left shoulder. Floral motifs wearning houesses. She plays on a drum, which is above: row of lions medallions. Below: female musician.
Guile frame of parts.

Round by circle of roundels the whole within rectangle. In central circle a cock, register with flourish motif. When appears in the face bud.

Circular motif was on a tripod. Below: cock, fighting, over.
