

The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir*

II. Modern Period

In the narrative of Kalhaṇa, the modern or the historical period dawns with the rise of the Kārkoṭa dynasty in the early part of the 7th century A.D. (Book IV), and comes into full bloom with the advent of the Utpala dynasty in 855-56 A.D. (Book V). Of the Kārkoṭa kings, Durlabhavardhana, Pratāpāditya II, Lalitāditya and Jayāpīḍa (Vinayāditya) are known from their coins (Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 38; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 268; R. C. Kak, *Handbook to the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sir Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*, p. 133; *J.A.S.B.*, Numismatic Supplement, pp. N. 7-8). The kings Candrāpīḍa, Lalitāditya (Muktāpīḍa), and probably also Durlabhavardhana are mentioned in the valuable Chinese annals. King Cippatajayāpīḍa (otherwise called Brhaspati) is mentioned as his patron by the poet Rājānaka Ratnākara in his *Haraviḥjaya* poem. By checking Kalhaṇa's dates for Candrāpīḍa and Muktāpīḍa with those from the Chinese annals and by considering Kalhaṇa's account of the synchronism of the poet Ratnākara with King Avantivarman of the Utpala dynasty, Stein, (I, *Introd.* pp. 67, 96) has found it necessary to rectify Kalhaṇa's chronology with the addition of twenty-five years. The above correction necessarily applies to Kalhaṇa's first recorded precise date, namely 3889 Laukika Era (813-14 A.D.) for the death of Cippatajayāpīḍa above-mentioned. How much truth and fiction are mingled in this part of Kalhaṇa's narrative is best illustrated by his long and detailed account of the reign of King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. Of the series of conquests attributed to this greatest of the ancient Kashmirian kings, some are rendered certain not only by intrinsic probability, but also by the external evidence. Thus we may well believe with the chronicler that the king extended his authority over the lower hills to the north of the Punjab comprising Jālaṃdhara and Lohara and probably also a few Śāhi principalities along the upper course of the Indus. The account of the defeat of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja, may be

* Continued from vol. XVIII, p. 207.

equally based on fact. Equally historical may be the account of Lalitāditya's victories over the Tuḥkhāras (Turks of Badakhshan and the Upper Oxus valley), the Bhauttas or Tibetans (against whom the Kashmirian king is known from Chinese annals to have sought the support of the Emperor), and lastly the Daradas (or Dards still inhabiting the mountainous regions immediately to the north and north-east of Kashmir). On the other hand the author's description of his hero's victorious march throughout the whole of India from Gauḍa and Kāliṅga in the east along the sea-shore of Karṇāṭa, the Kāverī, Malaya and the islands of the southern Ocean and thence to Dvārakā and Avanti in the west, may be safely dismissed as a repetition of the conventional accounts of *digvijaya* of great Indian kings given by the other poets. Equally unhistorical are the hero's alleged victories over the Uttarakurus ("the hyperborean paradise" of the Indian Epics) and the Strīrajya ("the land of the amazons") in the north. [Kalhaṇa's description of Lalitāditya's *digvijaya* is vague enough, but Stein is hardly correct when he complains, (*Introd.* p. 90), of the absence of "all historical details" in the Chronicle. Kalhaṇa at any rate mentions among Lalitāditya's adversaries a Karṇāṭa princess Raṭṭā who ruled "like Durgā" over Dakṣiṇāpatha and is specially praised for making the roads over the Vindhyaṣ evidently on her northern frontier "adequate and free from obstacles." It is difficult to understand why Stein (Bk. IV, 153n following Wilson) suggested the identification of the Vindhyaṣ here mentioned with the Eastern Ghats]. After this it is no wonder that Kalhaṇa should in all seriousness reproduce some of the popular legends which had gathered around this King Arthur or Emperor Charlemagne of Kashmirian history, including a legend (IV, 277-306) which Alberuni tells of king Kaniṣka. More romantic even than the above is Kalhaṇa's picture (IV, 402 ff.) of Jayāpīḍa, Lalitāditya's grandson and almost as great a hero of Kashmirian popular legend. Based probably on genuine tradition is a notice of his patronage of the grammarian Kṣīra (Kṣīrasvāmin), Udbhaṭa (author of a well-known *Alaṃkāra* work), Dāmodaragupta, (author of the *Kuṭṭanīmata*) and Vāmana. Probably as authentic is the account of Jayāpīḍa's revival of Mahābhāṣya studies in his own country, and his foundation of Jayapura as a new capital. The lurid picture of Jayāpīḍa's tyranny in his later years and the strong Brahmanical reaction following therefrom bears the stamp of truth. On the other hand the stories of the hero's wanderings in the land of an imaginary king of Puṇḍravardhana and of his wars with a king of

Nepal and one of "the eastern regions" otherwise unknown to history as well as of his conquest of "the land of the Amazons" have no pretence to historical truth. [For a full critical account of the Kings of the Fourth Book see Stein, I, *Introd.* pp. 87-97 and the references there given].

From the time of Avantivarman (885/6-883 A.D.), founder of the Utpala dynasty, Kalhaṇa gives for each reign the initial and closing dates recorded in years, months and days of the Laukika era which, as Bühler was the first to show, began in Kali Saṃvat 25 expired, i.e. 3076-75 B.C. The accuracy of these dates has not yet been disproved by independent evidence. Again, the series of successive kings from Saṃkaravarman, son of Avantivarman, onwards is corroborated by the unimpeachable evidence of coins. It has therefore been rightly concluded (Stein, I, *Introduction*, p. 97) that the truly historical period of Kashmirian history begins with the Utpala dynasty above-mentioned. That the tendency to embellish the historical narrative with poetical hyperbole persisted even to these times may be judged from Kalhaṇa's record (V, 136-155) of Saṃkaravarman's foreign expeditions. These were undertaken, if we are to believe the Chronicler, to revive the tradition of "conquest of the world." The king, we are told, issued from "the Gate" of Kashmir with nine lakhs of foot-soldiers, although "the country had through the action of time become reduced in population and wealth." From the Chronicler's subsequent description it follows that the king's warlike operations were confined to the lower hills north of the Punjab and were attended with slight success (Cf. Stein, I, *Introd.*, p. 99). For the half-century preceding his own times, Kalhaṇa's narrative has the advantage of drawing upon the statements of eye-witnesses. Referring to the execution of four young princes by king Harṣa Kalhaṇa quotes (VII, 1066) the impressions of aged men in his own time who "let flow showers of tears while relating their story". In connection with the same reign he quotes (VII, 1123-24) verses sung by wandering poets (*kavīcāraṇas*) ridiculing the folly of the king in seeking the hand of the queen of Vikramāditya VI Cālukya. Kalhaṇa's minute account of the last years of Harṣa's reign must have been largely based on the statements of contemporaries like his own father Caṇpaka who held the high office of 'lord of the gate' at the time and a cook who was the sole surviving eye-witness of the tragedy of the king's death. (Cf. Stein I, *Introd.*, p. 73. Coming to the reign of Bhikṣācara, Kalhaṇa quotes (VIII, 917) the evidence of eye-witnesses about the valour of the king's rival Sussala in "the wonderful battle" near Paṇṇotsa.

It will be seen from the above that not to speak of the ancient times, the historical period alone in Kalhaṇa's chronicle extends over five centuries. Kalhaṇa justifies the claim that he makes in one of his introductory verses (I, 21) of writing a well-arranged work. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, in fact, is divided into eight *tarāṅgas* ("waves"), of very unequal size it is true, each dealing with a single dynasty or a pair of them. Thus Book I consisting of 373 verses deals with the reigns of the "lost" fifty-two kings and their immediate successors of the Gonandīya dynasty. Book II (171 verses) is concerned with some isolated reigns. In Book III (530 verses) we have an account of the restored Gonandīya dynasty. Book IV (720 verses) is occupied with the Kārkoṭa dynasty and Book V (483 verses) with the Uṭpala dynasty. Book VI (368 verses) has for its theme the dynasties of Yaśaskara and Parvagupta. Book VII (1732 verses) is concerned with the first Lohara dynasty and Book VIII (3449 verses), the last and the longest of all, deals with the second Lohara dynasty down to the Chronicler's own time. (See the excellent chronological and genealogical tables in Stein, I, *Introduction*, pp. 134-145).

Political history, court scandals etc.

As a historical composition, the "River of Kings" is not confined in its scope to what is called political history, but is a work of varied contents. Especially in the last two Books which deal with recent and contemporary history the author gives us, as is natural under the circumstances, vivid accounts of the royal court including details of the royal family, the successive appointments to the principal administrative offices as well as court intrigues and scandals. As regards the last point, we may mention that revolting stories of debauchery are recorded of a number of evil Kings such as Cakravarman (V, 392ff.), Kṣemagupta (VI, 158ff.), and Kalaśa (VII, 292ff.). What is quite extraordinary is that lapses from the Brahmanical moral or social code are industriously reported even of admittedly able rulers like Queen Diddā (VI, 189, *ibid.*, 321-22) and king Yaśaskara (VI, 69ff.), as well as of other characters who did not play any important part on the historical stage. These facts would seem to illustrate the completeness—unapproached by the chronicles of any other part of India—with which the pictures of court life have been handed down by the Kashmir Chronicle. We may further take them to illustrate the freedom

which the authors of historical Kāvya, could if they chose, enjoy in recording the uglier aspects of their heroes' characters.

Administration

The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, however, is far from being a mere Court-Gazetteer. With his father occupying a high office (that of 'Lord of the Gate') under King Harṣa, Kalhaṇa could not but feel interested in the past and present administration of his native land. In his First Book (I, 118-120) we find him making a notable attempt to trace the development of administrative institutions in his home-land in the dim past. Even before Jalauka (one of the 52 'lost' kings) when the kingdom according to the chronicler, had not attained its proper development in wealth, judicial administration (*vyavahāra*) and the like, it was reputed to have possessed a staff of seven officials. These were the *Dharmādhyakṣa* (Judge), the *Dhanādhyakṣa* (Revenue Superintendent), the *Koṣādhyakṣa* (Treasurer), the *Camūpati* (Army Commander), the *Dūta* (Envoy), the *Purohita* (Chaplain) and the *Daiyajña* (Astrologer). Jalauka who is credited with clearing the land of *Mlecchas* and settling people of the four castes from Kānyakubja and other conquered countries, is said to have created eighteen offices 'in accordance with traditional usage.' Coming to historical times, Kalhaṇa ascribes (IV, 141-43) a further expansion of the official organisation to Lalitāditya who is said to have created by the side of the eighteen older offices the five new offices (or rather titles) beginning with the word 'the Great'. These were the posts called *mahāpratīhāra*, *mahāsamdhivigraha*, *mahāśvaśālā*, *mahābhāṇḍāgāra* and *mahāśādhanaḥhāga*. Further evidence of the complex bureaucratic organisation is found in connexion with the author's incidental references to a number of administrative posts in later times. Some of these offices like those of the *Nagarādhikṛta* or *Nagarādhipa* (City Prefect), the *Pratīhāra* (Chamberlain), the *Dandanāyaka* (Prefect of Police?) and the *Rājasthānīya* (Chief Justice?) had their counterparts in other parts of India. Common to both also was the office of *Akṣapaṭāla* (Accounts Office), though the Ekāṅgas of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, forming a kind of military police attached to the same are not traceable elsewhere. Other offices like those of the *Pādāgra* (apparently concerned with the collection of the revenue), the *Dvārapati* (Lord of the Gate, i.e. commander of the frontier passes), the *Mahādāleśa* (Governor), the *Kampaneśa* (Commander-in-chief) and the

Sarvādhikārin (Prime Minister) seem more or less to be peculiar to Kashmir. (For references, see Stein II, Index s.v.).

As regards the branches of administration, we find a number of rulers in Kalhaṇa's long record of kings and dynasties being credited with a high sense of justice and exceptional sagacity in the decision of difficult law-suits. Kalhaṇa delights in telling anecdotes of these rulers, which no doubt were sufficiently impressive to be handed down to his own times by authentic tradition. To confine ourselves to the historical period, we may begin with the anecdote (IV, 55 ff.) of king Candrāpīḍa and the tanner, which illustrates the former's anxiety to do justice to the meanest of his subjects. In the course of this story the king is made to utter the following noble words illustrative of the author's sense of his personality. "If we, who are to look after right and wrong, do unlawful acts, who should proceed by the right path?" The same king's desire to do justice even at the risk of his life is illustrated by the following anecdote (IV, 82 ff.) of a Brahman wife bereft of her husband by the witchcraft of an envious Brahman and seeking redress from the ruler. Of the Brahman king Yaśaṣkara (939-948 A.D.) two stories are told (VI, 14 ff.) illustrative of his Solomon-like wisdom in the decision of difficult law-suits. Even of so recent a king as Uccala (1101-1111 A.D.) Kalhaṇa records (VIII, 123 ff.) a similar judgment in a difficult suit between a depositor and a fraudulent merchant. On the other hand Kalhaṇa had only too many occasions, as we shall see presently, to refer to the violations of justice by evil rulers.

In the course of the long and detailed narrative of the history of his native land Kalhaṇa from time to time throws light upon the administration of the finances. Of the seven offices which, according to Kalhaṇa's authorities, existed even before king Jalauka, two were certainly concerned with revenue administration. These were the offices of the *Dhanādhyakṣa* and the *Koṣādhyakṣa* above-mentioned. Of the four new offices said to have been created by Lalitāditya, one viz., the *Mahābhāṇḍāgāra* (Superintendent of the royal store-house) was evidently charged with collection of the royal revenue. Probably the first authentic fact in the revenue history of Kashmir is the reference (IV, 620 ff.) to the cruel exactions (including the appropriation of the whole harvest for three years and confiscation of the *Agrahāras* of Brāhmans) perpetrated by Jayāpīḍa who was, according to Kalhaṇa, the first Kashmirian king to be ruled by the *Kāyasthas* (officials). We find also in the same reign the earliest reference (IV, 589) to the

creation of special funds (*Gaṇjas*) for which separate revenues were assigned and which were worked by separate officers. A later king, Saṃkaravarman (883-902 A.D.), according to Kalhaṇa (V, 167), established two revenue offices namely the *Aṭṭapatibhāga* ('the share of the lord of the market') and the *Gṛhakarṭya* ('domestic affairs'). The former evidently was entrusted with the collection of the royal market dues, which can be traced back to the *Arthasāstra*. The latter, which was in charge of one treasurer and five secretaries (V, 177), was entrusted with raising the revenue, as later references (V, 176; VII, 1428 etc.) indicate, from manipulation of weights and measures, from fines on villagers, from fees levied on domestic occasions and so forth. Saṃkaravarman's exactions extended (V, 167-176) to spoliations of temple-properties and temple-corporations (*paṛṣad*) as well as systematic levy of forced labour and other imposts from the villagers. As the author ruefully complains (V, 179-181), the result of the king's measures was that the Kāyasthas (officials), 'those sons of slaves', alone rose in power, while the learned lost all respect and the kings their royal dignity. Thus, as the author writes severely in his concluding judgment (V, 178), "This foolish [ruler] accepted [residence in] hell for himself, in order to benefit by his sinful acts future kings or the functionaries." Coming to later reigns, Kalhaṇa refers (VI, 136) to financial exactions under king Parvagupta (949-950 A.D.). During the regency of Queen Diddā a low-born upstart holding the office of head of the treasury created a new revenue office and certain new imposts (VI, 266). A later king, Saṃgrāmarāja (1003-1028 A.D.) is spoken of (VII, 110) as fleecing his subjects. King Ananta (1028-1063 A.D.) is mentioned (VII, 144, 147, 189-94) not only as wasting his revenues on his favourites but also as planning the sacrilegious destruction of divine images. In the same reign a wicked minister is said (VII, 203) to have introduced an impost of $1/12$ while his good successor is said (VII, 211-212) to have abolished the royal privilege of marking the gold according to quality and price in order to remove the chance of oppression by later kings. King Kalaśa (1063-1089 A.D.), Ananta's son and successor, is mentioned (VII, 367) as raising a loan from rich persons, when marching against his father. Among Kalaśa's wicked acts immediately before his death are mentioned (VII, 696-97) his sacrilegious destruction of some divine images and confiscation of properties of those who died without issue. These exactions were out-done by Kalaśa's son Harṣa (1089-1101 A.D.) who carried out a wholesale spoliation of

temple-properties as well as defilement and destruction of divine images, and thus earned for himself the epithet of 'the Turuṣka' (VII, 1095). In connection with these exactions the tyrant is said (VII, 1091; 1103-04) to have created a number of new offices like those of the *Devotpātānanāyaka* (prefect for the overthrow of divine images) and the *Arthanāyaka* (prefect of property). In the reign of Kalhaṇa's contemporary king Jayasimha an unruly *Dāmara* is said (VIII, 2010) to have, after imprisoning the king's officers, 'collected the customs at the watch-station and had his own name stamped in red lead on the wares as if he were the king'. This illustrates a method of receiving payment of tolls which has its antecedent in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Reference is made (VIII, 1428) in the same reign to exactions of taxes on various auspicious occasions. (On the above cf. the present writer's *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 249-252).

An interesting sidelight is thrown by Kalhaṇa on municipal administration in his own time. To the credit of a bravo who had earned the office of City Prefect by a political murder at the king's bidding, Kalhaṇa records (VIII, 3334 ff.) that this officer first remedied the long-standing abuses such as the disuse of cash in commercial transactions and the imposition of fines on householders for moral lapses of married women. But afterwards the same official punished many persons on the plea that they had received dancing girls in their households as married wives.

A unique interest belongs to the enlightened reign of Avantivarman (855/6-883 A.D.) because of the extensive drainage and irrigation works constructed under the king's orders by an officer of untutored genius called Suyya. The land of Kashmir, says the chronicler in introducing his account (V, 84-121), was always liable to devastating floods of the Mahāpadma (Volur) lake and the many streams. Volunteering his services for preventing this calamity, Suyya by a very simple but ingenious contrivance deepened the bed of the Vitastā (Jhelam) at its two ends (the village Nandaka in Maḍavarājya and the gorge Yakṣadara or 'the demon's cleft' in Kramarājya), cleaned the river-bed at its bottom after constructing a temporary stone dam, constructed new beds for the river at all threatened points and built protective stone embankments for seven *yojanas* (nearly 42 miles) along the river bank (apparently up its course above the Volur lake). (See Stein's notes on V, 85; 87; 103). With his usual topographic accuracy Kalhaṇa tells us how Suyya in the course of these operations shifted the junction of the Vitastā and the Sindhu from its old to its

existing position. On the land raised from the water by Suyya's efforts he founded many villages protected by circular dykes. These measures were followed up by the construction of extensive irrigation-works according to strictly technical processes described by the chronicler. Well might the enthusiastic author, steeped in Brahmanical lore, appraise Suyya's achievement in a single birth as equalling that of the God Viṣṇu in his four incarnations of Varāha, Paraśurāma, Rāmacandra and Kṛṣṇa. With his usual appreciation of concrete facts the author concludes by quoting the resulting fall in the price of rice, the staple produce of the valley. Formerly the average price of one *kbārī* of rice was 200 *ḍinnāras* in good years and as high as 1050 *ḍinnāras* in times of famine. But it was reduced to 36 *ḍinnāras* after Suyya's changes.

Pious foundations and buildings of cities

With characteristic antiquarian zeal Kalhaṇa records from the earliest times (those of the lost 52 kings) down to his own time innumerable foundations of temples and the like by pious kings, queens, ministers and other officials and their wives. While the oldest references probably rest on popular tradition alone, those from the Kārkoṭa dynasty onwards have undoubtedly a historical basis. In one interesting passage (VIII, 2414) Kalhaṇa singles out Diddā among queens and Sussalā (wife of Jayasiṃha's minister Rihhaṇa) among ministers' wives as occupying the foremost rank for their numerous religious foundations. Foremost among the builders of towns and their shrines are the kings Pravarasena II (2nd half of the 6th century), Lalitāditya (1st half of the 8th century) and Avantivarman (855/6—883 A.D.). The first is credited with the construction of Pravara-pura (on the site of modern Śrīnagar) with its shrines of Viṣṇu Jayasvāmin and Śiva Pravareśvara. The second built the magnificent Mārtaṇḍa temple and the great city of Parihāsapura with its splendid temples of Viṣṇu Muktaśeṣa, Parihāśakeśava and Govardhanadhara as well as the equally famous Buddhist Rājavihāra and the colossal Buddha image. The third built the city of Avantipura with its temples of Viṣṇu Avantisvāmin and Śiva Avantīśvara. (For full archaeological notes on the above see the references quoted in Stein, I, Introd. pp. 84-85, 92, 97. See also *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1914-15, 1916-17, and Ram Chandra Kak, *The Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London 1933, pp. 118-25, 131-35, 146-49).

Charitable endowments

Connected with the above are Kalhaṇa's references to the creation of charitable endowments of various sorts by a number of royal and other donors. From the time of the lost 52 kings onwards Kalhaṇa records numerous instances of the grant of *agrahāras* and *maṭhas* (hospices) by the kings, queens, high officials and their wives and so forth (For references see Stein, II, Index *s.v.* *agrahāra* and *maṭha*). As regards other endowments of a similar nature, king Narendrāditya I (Khinikhila) is said (I, 347) to have founded a permanent endowment (*akṣayinī*) for the feeding of Brahmans. Of the saintly queen of Tuṇjina I we are told (II, 58) that she established a hospice (*sattra*) 'where multitudes of indigent people coming from all parts receive food even at the present day'. A later king, Raṇāditya I, is said (III, 461) to have established a hospital (*ārogyaśālā*) for the healing of sick people. Coming to historical times, a minister of king Jayāpīḍa is mentioned (IV, 494) as the author of a charity foundation (*bhaktāśālā*) while the 'foremost Kāyastha' of king Ananta's time is said (VII, 149) to have built a *maṭha* for the blind (*andhamatḥa*). King Yaśaskara is credited (VI, 87) with the foundation of a *maṭha* "for students from Āryadeśa who were devoting themselves to the acquisition of knowledge." Among the greedy and oppressive officials of king Sussala's reign Kalhaṇa singles out (VIII, 570-71) a Kāyastha who created a permanent endowment for the distribution of food (*avicchinnasattra*) giving relief to famine-stricken people from various foreign lands. Of the minister Rilhaṇa's wife Sussalā above-mentioned we are told (VIII, 2416) that she constructed all kinds of pious works such as water-wheels, wells and halls for students.

It speaks much for Kalhaṇa's honesty as a historian that he faithfully records the pious foundations of admittedly bad rulers and ministers. To take one conspicuous instance, he mentions, though as an example of the inscrutability of the human mind, the foundation of a Śaiva shrine by Mihirakula, a monster of cruelty. From the latter's tainted hands we are told (I, 305-7) *agrahāras* were received by Brahmans from Gandhāra "resembling himself in their habits and verily themselves the lowest of the twice-born". As the instance just quoted shows, Kalhaṇa has no praise for pious acts proceeding from such tainted sources. Especially bitter is his denunciation of those evil rulers of the 'modern' period who despoiled foundations of previous kings for benefiting their own. Thus in denouncing the tyrant Śaṃkaravarman for building his town out of the spoils of Lalitāditya's

capital of Parihāsapura, he speaks (V, 160) with bitter satire of the 'poets and kings of these modern times' who 'augment their own work by plundering the poems or the property of others.' Describing the erection of a Śaiva temple by Kṣemagupta out of the spoils of a famous Buddhist *vihāra* and other decayed temples, Kalhaṇa comments severely (VI, 174) upon the folly of those who feel elated in robbing the property of others but are ignorant of the same fate overtaking their own constructions. When speaking of the pious foundation of a prince of his own time, Kalhaṇa says with bitter irony (VIII, 3351), "This pure-minded man, though he was one of our time, did not proceed to plunder other foundations and to make grants of the property of poor people." On the other hand Kalhaṇa expresses (VII, 122) his appreciation of the good sense of Saṃgrāma-rāja who did not establish even a drinking-place on the ground that 'the wealth he owned was unlawfully acquired.'

References to scholars and poets

As a scholar and poet, it was quite natural for Kalhaṇa to be interested in the growth of learning in his land and the lives and fortunes of his fellow-poets. According to a tradition recorded by him (I, 176) Candragomin and other scholars acting under the orders of king Abhimanyu I (one of the lost kings) revived the study of the Mahābhāṣya which had fallen into disuse through the absence of teachers and texts. (The above follows the reading and translation of Stein in preference to those of Kielhorn *IA.*, V, 107). A similar claim is made (IV, 488) evidently on more authentic grounds on behalf of king Jayāpīḍa. Turning to another point, we find Kalhaṇa mentioning (II, 16) a great poet Candaka, the author of a remarkable but unnamed play, as being the contemporary of king Tuṅjīna I. Coming to the historical period, king Jayāpīḍa is said (IV, 489 ff.) to have achieved enduring fame for his scholarship, while he is said to have bestowed his patronage upon the grammarian Kṣīra (probably identical with the well-known *Amarakośa* commentator), the Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa (author of the famous *Alaṃkāraśāstra*) and the poet Dāmodaragupta (described as the author of the *Kuṭṭanīmata*). King Avantivarman is praised (V, 33 ff.) for his patronage of the poets Ānandavardhana (author of the well-known work called the *Dhvanyāloka*) and Ratnākara (known to be the author of the *Haravijaya* poem). The brilliant and accomplished Harṣa in the early and glorious part of his reign is said (VII, 934-37) to have been such a

lavish patron of scholars that Bilhana, the Kashmirian poet, enjoining high favour of the contemporary Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI thought even his great splendour a deception. On the other hand Kalhana has too much honesty to omit mentioning a number of wicked kings who earned infamy by ignoring men of letters. Under the tyrant Saṃkaravarman, we are told, (V, 204-206) poets like Bhallata had to lead the meanest existence while a load-carrier drew a pay of 2000 *ḍinnāras*. As the chronicler exclaims in indignant language, this boorish king 'who did not speak the language of the gods but used vulgar speech fit for drunkards' proved by his act his descent from a family of spirit-distillers.

Military affairs

Nothing in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is more surprising than Kalhana's accurate and minute descriptions of military operations forming a considerable portion of the troubled history of Kashmir during later times. Again and again the author gives details of the routes of armies (including the distances and the seasons) which Stein's industrious research has proved to fit in exactly with facts. What, however, constitutes his unique merit among the authors of historical *Kāvya*s is that he gives technical details of the marches, battles and sieges befitting a truly military historian. To take a few instances, Kalhana strongly criticises (VII, 48 ff.) through the mouth of 'the illustrious Śāhi Trilocanapāla' (of the Hindu Śāhiya dynasty) the rashness and incompetence of his Kashmirian ally Tuṅga (the minister of king Saṃgrāmarāja) in the fight against 'Hammīra' 'the leader of the Turuṣka army' (i.e. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna). Noticing that Tuṅga 'gave no thought to night-watches, the posting of scouts, to military exercises and other (preparations) proper for an attack', the Śāhi urged him, but in vain, to take up his position on the scarp of a hill till he had become familiar with 'the Turuṣka warfare.' The rejection of this wise advice led to the utter rout of the confederate host, with the result that it 'brought about the descent of the Turuṣkas on the whole surface of the earth.' Again, when speaking (VII, 968 ff.) of an expedition against the hill-state of Rājapuri in Harṣa's reign, Kalhana carefully notes how the royal army delayed on the route 'fearing the heat of the Āṣāḍha month', and he mentions how at last success followed from the royal commander's ingenious contrivance of throwing burning arrows smeared with vegetable oil which made the enemy credit him with the

possession of 'the weapon of fire'. In connection with the siege of Srinagar by the rebellious Dāmaras in Sussala's reign, Kalhana's minute description (VIII, 729 ff. with Stein's notes) enables us to understand how the city was invested by different bodies of rebels from the south (on the bank of the Kṣiptikā stream), the north (by way of Amareśvara) and the east (on the Mahāsarit stream). The roads were kept in uproar with the troops marching out with music, with the return of the wounded, with the flight of routed soldiers and so forth. The king whose courageous defence of the capital is highly praised by the chronicler, personally arranged for the treatment of the wounded, and encouraged his troops with gift of 'marching allowances, gratuities and medicines'. The rebels attacking from the east, being no match for the king's strong cavalry, marched by a narrow path along the embankment across the marshes lining the north of the (Dāl) lake. "As they were strong in archers, they came off best in the fight in the narrow embankment across the lake". The king, disheartened by the treachery and mutiny of his troops and disaffection of his subjects, left the capital for the family stronghold of Lohara by a circuitous route which Stein very aptly explains by a reference to the advanced season. The date of the king's flight is given as 'the 6th day of the dark half of Mārgaśīras in the year of the Laukika era 4196' (i.e. Nov. 13th, 1120 A.D.). Equally admirable is Kalhana's detailed account (for which reference may be made to VIII, 1076 ff. along with Stein's notes) of the fresh siege of Srinagar by the rebels in 1122 A.D., the year following Sussala's restoration. Even more impressive is Kalhana's account (VIII, 2505 ff.) of the siege and capture of the rebel stronghold of Śiraḥśilā situated in a most inhospitable territory on the north-west frontier by king Jayasiṃha's forces in 1140 A.D. Not only is the site of the castle (cf. VIII, 2492) where it is said to be situated between the Sindhu river and the streams of the Madhumatī and the Muktaśrī) as well as the peculiar shape of its hill (cf. VIII, 2528 where it is said to be 'narrow below where it projects into the stream and with a long stretched ridge') described with the author's usual accuracy, but also the physical and climatic conditions of the country around are clearly indicated (cf. VIII, 2510-11 where reference is made to its 'trees of darkness' and its 'terrible' winter owing to the heavy snowfall). These data have enabled Stein to identify the site with the Gaṇeś Ghāṭī ridge situated on the Kiṣāṅgāṅgā about 2½ miles below the ancient shrine of Śārādā now called Sardi. Kalhana's detailed account of the preparations

for the siege made by the royal forces have been shown by Stein to be in complete agreement with the physical and climatic conditions of the site. The 'Lord of the Gate' Udaya, as we learn from the chronicler, posted himself at the Draṅga or frontier watch-station, which has been identified by Stein with the little village of the same name 'situated on the direct route from the Uttar *pargaṇā* to the Śārādā Tīrtha (Śārdi) on the Kiṣaṅgaṅgā'. Stein explains this by reference to the strategic importance of the village which, being the meeting place of several valleys extending down from the water-shed to the Kiṣaṅgaṅgā, forms an excellent position for preventing the enemy's retreat into Kashmir proper. The other royal general Dhanya 'built rows of wooden huts for the besieging forces on the bank of the Madhumatī. This step, according to Stein, was most necessary, as the Kiṣaṅgaṅgā valley has sufficient level ground only near Śārdi above which the land is almost uninhabitable for a considerable distance, while the climate owing to the heavy rain and snowfall and the extensive forests and numerous neighbouring snowy peaks is even colder than what might be expected from its elevation of 6500 ft. above sea-level. The king, Kalhaṇa continues, sent his generals immense supplies, a measure which, Stein says, was rendered necessary by the inhospitable nature of the country around Śārdi. The means of transport was the same oppressive system of forced labour which, as Stein observes, was used for the annual transport of stores for the Gilgit garrison until the building of the Gilgit road a few years before his time. Though the royal troops bravely held their own for three or four months, they were unable to make any impression, as they neglected to cut off the enemy's food supplies. At length they were led by the direct orders of the resolute king to lay a regular siege to the castle. Leaving his camp on the Madhumatī bank, general Dhanya advanced to the main approach to the castle and built a continuous line of block-houses whence at night he kept up fires burning so that 'even an ant could not move about without being noticed'. Dhanya further blocked the enemy's access to the water by keeping boats constantly plying about on the river. Explaining these details with reference to the local topography, Stein says that the high ridge to the south of the castle which was its main approach and must have been occupied by Dhanya would enable him to cut off the enemy's supplies from the neighbouring hamlets and prevent all exits from the fort. Again, the keeping of boats (or rather rafts) for preventing access to the river which flows both to the north and west of the castle, 'would be

practicable in the low water of the winter season when the siege took place by fastening the rafts to ropes fixed on the opposite river-bank north of the castle'. In the result the rebel Dāmara leader was so much afflicted with privations of food and drink that he surrendered two of the pretenders who had taken refuge with him to the royalists. The victorious general raised the siege and returned to the capital in triumph. (On the above, see Stein, II, Appendix, Note I: *The Castle of Śirahśilā*, and his notes on VIII, 2507, 2509-13, and 2583).

Foreign relations

Kalhaṇa's full and detailed narrative of reigns and dynasties throws valuable light from time to time upon the foreign relations of the kingdom during the past centuries. It is indeed to be regretted that he is completely silent about the political power of Kashmir at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit (c. 631-33 A.D.) probably during the reign of Durlabhavardhana, when the kingdom, according to the Chinese pilgrim, exercised sovereignty over all adjacent countries on the west and south down to the Punjab plains. (For references see Stein I, *Introduction*, p. 87). Making all allowance for Kalhaṇa's exaggerations we may say that the Kashmirian power undoubtedly reached its height in the reign of Lalitāditya, who indeed is credited by the chronicler (IV, 146 ff.) with a victorious march all over India as well as extensive conquests of fabled lands on the west and north. The independent evidence of the Annals of the T'ang dynasty shows how Lalitāditya used both arms and diplomacy to curb the menace of the Tibetan power, for the Kashmirian king claimed not only to have won repeated victories over his northern neighbours and made common cause against them with a king of Central India, but also invited the help of a considerable Chinese force against the common enemy (See Stein I, *Introduction*, p. 91). On the other hand the author's account of the foreign expeditions of Jayāpīḍa resolves itself, as Stein well observes (*Introduction*, p. 95), into a mass of mere legendary anecdotes. The expedition of Śaṃkaravarman, in spite of Kalhaṇa's magniloquent description (IV, 136 ff.), appears from his own account to have been confined to the Southern hill-states and the adjoining Punjab plain and to have been attended with indifferent success. But it brought Kashmir at any rate into contact with the powerful Hindu Śāhiya kingdom under its first king Lallīya Śāhi. This contact was renewed in the reign of Gopālavarman (902-904 A.D.) when the powerful minister Prabhākaraśrī (V, 232-33) vanquished the rebel-

lious Śāhi of Udabhāṇḍapura (i.e. Sāmanta, the second Śāhi ruler in Alberuni's list) and bestowed the throne upon Toramāṇa-Kamaluka (i.e. Kamalu, the third king of Alberuni's list). The traditional connection was renewed when Bhīma Śāhi, the next king of the dynasty, had his daughter's daughter Diddā married to king Kṣemagupta and he built a Viṣṇu temple in her adoptive country VI, 177-78. Again, when Trilocanapāla the last independent king of the dynasty sought the help of Saṃgrāmarāja against the forces of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, the minister Tuṅga marched out (VII, 47 ff.) with a large army but shared in the disastrous defeat which, to quote Kalhaṇa's words, 'brought about the descent of the Turuṣkas on the whole surface of the earth' (VII, 70). Ordinarily, however, the political relations, friendly or hostile, of Kashmir were confined to the petty hill-states on its frontiers. Among the more important of such states were the kingdoms of Kāṣṭhavāṭa (modern Kistwar on the upper Chinab) and Campa (modern Chamba on the upper Ravi), the hill-states of the Dārvābhisāra (the lower and middle hills between the Chinab and the Jhelum) including above all Rājapurī (modern Rajauri) and Lohara (modern Loharin on the north-west of Rajauri), the kingdom of Uraśā (modern Hazara district between the Jhelum and the Indus), Daradadeśa or the territory of the Darads on the upper Kiṣangaṅgā, the territory of the Bhautṭas (or Tibetans) comprising as early as in Chinese times the tracts of Baltistan and Ladakh. Of these states Rājapurī, no doubt because of its situation on the most direct route to the Punjab, was often brought into close relations with Kashmir. From the 10th century onwards Rājapurī was practically an independent state, though the Kashmir rulers (as Kalhaṇa tells us) frequently sent expeditions into the country. The adjoining hill-state of Lohara was intimately connected with Kashmir from the beginning of the 11th century when a branch of its ruling family ascended the Kashmir throne. Subsequently this branch succeeded also to Lohara which became the family stronghold of the Kashmirian kings and as such played a conspicuous part in the history of the kingdom. [On the above see Stein II, *Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr*, Ch. IV, Section I.]

Famine, flood and fire

With his characteristic passion for facts Kalhaṇa has several times recorded careful details of natural calamities that overtook his native land in the past. Already in the reign of Tuṅjīna I, one of the ancient kings,

we hear (II, 17-54) of a great famine which was relieved by the noble-hearted king and his saintly queen. Coming down to the historical period, Kalhaṇa mentions (V, 270-78) a dreadful famine, resulting from a devastating flood, to have taken place in 917-18 A.D. during the misrule of the tyrant Pārtha and his wicked ministers. The chronicler vividly illustrates the resulting rise in prices by saying that 1 *khārī* of rice sold for 1000 *dinnāras*. In the reign of Abhimanyu I (958-972 A.D.) a great conflagration broke out at Srinagar, of which the extent is carefully noted by the chronicler (cf. VI, 190-191 where the fire is said to have started from near the Tuṅgeśvara market and spread as far as Bhikṣukīpāraka near the shrine of Viṣṇu Vardhanasvāmin and destroyed the great buildings within the limits of 'Veṭāla's measuring-line'). A great famine caused, as before, by a flood swept over the country in 1099-1100 A.D. (VII, 1219 ff.), when king Harṣa was oppressing his subjects and a plague was raging. The cumulative effect of the people's sufferings is well described by the author in the following words: 'On this land which suffered wounds, as it were, of the king's infliction there fell also another series of calamities which were like caustics thrown (on those wounds)' (VII, 1216). What terrible havoc was caused by this outbreak is illustrated by Kalhaṇa with reference to the famine prices of some principal commodities. These are given as 500 *dinnāras* for 1 *khārī* of rice, 1 *dinnāra* for 2 *palas* (i.e. as Stein calculates, 960 *dinnāras* for 1 *khārī*) of grape juice and 6 *dinnāras* for 1 *pala* (i.e. according to Stein's calculations 11,520 *dinnāras* for 1 *khārī*) of wool. 'Of salt, pepper, assafoetida and other articles it was difficult even to hear the name.' (On the above see Stein II, Appendix, Note H. *The Term Dinnāra and the Monetary System of Kashmir*, esp. pp. 325-26. Comparing these figures with the prices of Moslem times Stein proves the extraordinary cheapness of all indigenous products in Kashmir not only in Hindu times but for centuries thereafter). In 'the terrible year of the Laukika era 4199' i.e. 1123-24 A.D., when Sussala was besieged in his capital by the rebellious Dāmaras, a great fire was started by them which reduced the whole city to ashes. With his usual care Kalhaṇa records the extent of this awful calamity (cf. VIII, 1169 and 1171-72 where we are told that the fire started in the Kāṣṭhila quarter and then spread to Māksikasvāmin and Indradevibhavana Vihāra). This was followed by a terrible famine of which the effects are described by the chronicler with grim vividness (VIII, 1206 ff.)

Miscellaneous affairs

Kalhaṇa's interest in the past history of his native land is not confined to the affairs of finance and justice, pious constructions, peace and war. Among king Kalaśa's good acts during the latter part of his reign is mentioned (VII, 606) the king's introduction of a taste for choral songs (*upāṅga-gīta*) and a careful selection of female dances 'as customary in other lands'. The accomplished Harṣa in the early part of his reign is said to have introduced into his court (VII, 921 ff.) gorgeous fashions of dress and ornament and adopted a new coin-type borrowed from the gold-coinage of Kaṇṇaṭa.

Military usurpation of power

In the course of his work Kalhaṇa has occasion to describe the terrible evils of the usurpation of power by the military forces of the Crown. For nearly 30 years (904-36 A.D.) an organised body of foot-soldiers called Tantrins was so powerful as to make and unmake kings at their will in the fashion of the Praetorian Guard of the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era. The kings who were in the service of the Tantrins ousted one another 'like village officials' by offering greater and greater bribes. As the chronicler writes (V, 266) with patriotic grief and shame, "In this land, the rulers of which had conquered Kānyakubja and other (countries), the kings (now) maintained themselves by giving bills of exchange to the Tantrins". It was during this period that the kingdom was overtaken by the severe famine of 917-18 A.D. to which reference has been made immediately above. The callous indifference shown by the evil king and his ministers is condemned (V, 278) by the chronicler in words of pathetic contrast with the good old times: "Thus demons of kings led to destruction at that time those subjects who had been dear to Tuñjīna [I], Candrāpīḍa and other protectors of the people". The series of short inglorious reigns during this time is compared by the chronicler (V, 279) with 'the bubbles produced in the water by a down-pour of rain on a dull day'. The evil lives of licentious queens (V, 281-286) who competed for the favour of powerful ministers completed the sombre picture. When at last the power of the Tantrins was broken by a great victory won by king Cakravarman in 936 A.D., the chronicler could exultingly say (V, 338-40) that the victor had like a great snake destroyed those evil Tantrins who had like cruel snake-charmers reduced princes

'deserving of respect, unapproachable and of great descent' to helplessness and had wantonly exposed them to public shame.

Feudal anarchy

A potent source of misrule in Kashmir in later times was the rise to power of the *Ḍāmaras*, the landholding barons great and small. Already during the reign of king Avantivarman, reference is made to a powerful member of this class who rendered himself obnoxious by plundering temple endowments and was deservedly put to death in a summary fashion by the king's faithful minister *Śūra*. It was with the help of *Ḍāmaras*, as *Kalhaṇa* informs us, that *Cakravarman* won his great victory over the *Tantrins* to which reference has been made just now. From the accession of the *Lohara* dynasty in 1003 A.D. *Kalhaṇa*'s narrative shows how the *Ḍāmaras* acquired such military and political influence as to become an unending danger to the royal authority. *Harṣa* made a notable attempt to exterminate this turbulent class, but the attempt cost him his throne and his life. The succeeding reigns down to *Kalhaṇa*'s own time form almost a continuous record of struggles between the central authority and the *Ḍāmaras* or else between the different sections of the *Ḍāmaras* themselves, that were aided by the rise of successive pretenders (On the above see Stein II, Appendix, Note G, *The Ḍāmaras*, where full references are given. To Stein belongs the credit of first clearly explaining the meaning of *Ḍāmaras*). We shall see later how *Kalhaṇa*'s painful experience of the habitual lawlessness of the *Ḍāmaras* coloured his judgment on this class as a whole.

Historical portraits

In analysing the contents of *Kalhaṇa*'s great work we have reserved for consideration in the last place his remarkable series of character-sketches. In truth it may be said of *Kalhaṇa* that he stands unique among the known authors of historical *kāvya*s for the individuality of his historical portraits. From the commencement of the historical period and specially for his recent times the throng of characters—kings, queens, ministers and other officials, territorial nobles, courtiers, parasites, pretenders—that fills the stage in *Kalhaṇa*'s narrative appear before us in the reality of their ordinary lives and experiences. Even the groups and classes of people like the Brahman assemblies and the priestly corporations, the native and foreign soldiery, the

merchants and officials, are reproduced before our eyes with all their characteristic weaknesses or strong points. We propose to illustrate this point by giving a brief retrospect of the period from the beginning of the Utpala dynasty onwards. Avantivarman, the founder of the dynasty, is presented before us as an able ruler generous towards his subjects (cf. V, 18: The wise Avantivarman gave away the whole treasure in alms and allowed only the regal *caurīs* and *parasol* to remain of that splendour'), affectionate towards his relations and followers (cf. V, 42: 'Avantivarman who was free from jealousy granted permanent royal prerogatives to his uterine brothers and *Sūra* and the latter's son'), lavish in his pious foundations (V, 23 ff.). A pretty anecdote recorded about him (V, 17) proves him to be above royal conventions and formalities. The king was served with equal zeal and ability by his minister *Sūra* (cf. V, 63: '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'), who is praised (V, 33 ff.) for his patronage of learning and his pious foundations. An anecdote told of him illustrates his deep loyalty to the king and his strict justice awarded without respect for rank or personal relations. This relates to the story of his summary execution of a powerful *Āmāra*, his own favourite, who had roused the king's displeasure by plunder of temple property. The chronicler tells a touching story (V, 43 and 124) relating how the king, although a *Vaiṣṇava*, acted as a *Śaiva* out of deference to his *Śaiva* minister, but at the approach of death confessed with folded hands his *Vaiṣṇava* faith to his minister. The illustrious *Suyya* who shed lustre on the reign by his construction of extensive drainage and irrigation works is fittingly praised by the chronicler for his uncanny skill (cf. V, 102: 'He made the different streams, with their waves, which are like the quivering tongues of snakes, move about according to his will just as a conjurer does with the snakes'). He is also mentioned (V, 120) for his grant of a village called after his own name to the Brahmins. *Samkara-varman*, son and successor of Avantivarman, at first won fame as a conqueror and builder, but afterwards turned into a cruel oppressor of his subjects. Great point is given to the author's condemnation of the tyrant by an imaginary remonstrance put into the mouth of the noble-hearted Prince *Gopālavarman* to which the king replies in a brutally cynical speech ending with the words: 'You yourself should grant me to-day this one boon. May you not after ascending the throne oppress your subjects even

more!' (V, 202). Under the weak successors of Gopālavarman the kingdom fell a prey to the Tantrins, the Praetorian Guard of Kashmirian history, to whom reference has been made above. Cakravarman who crushed the power of the Tantrins by a great victory made himself infamous by raising a Caṇḍāla woman to the rank of Chief Queen and making her relatives and followers his ministers and favourites (cf. V, 391: 'Robbers as ministers, a Śvapāka woman as queen, Śvapākas as friends: What wonders were left for king Cakravarman to achieve?'). The baseness of the ministers who with a few honourable exceptions stooped to flatter the upstarts and of the degraded Brahmins who accepted *agrahāras* from the sinful king is justly condemned (V, 389-393; 403) by Kalhaṇa. The author's injured Brahmanical pride manifests itself in indignant denunciation of the presumption of the Caṇḍāla queen in entering divine temples (V, 394) and bitter satire on the arrogance and boorishness of her father who rebuked a high official in the vernacular for neglecting to carry out the royal orders for granting a village to himself (V, 397-398). When the king at length was justly murdered by some Dāmaras, Kalhaṇa could say that 'the wicked lover of the Śvapāki' was 'killed by robbers like a dog' (V, 413). His successor was 'the evil ruler resembling a demon', justly called the 'mad Avanti'. The evil deeds of 'this most degraded of kings' included indulgence in coarse buffooneries, the brutal murder of his father and other relatives, and atrocious cruelties towards women and labourers (V, 414-48).

Yaśaṣkara who was elected to the throne by a Brahman assembly after the extinction of the Utpala dynasty is described by Kalhaṇa as a king of great wisdom, ability and justice whose rule was an unmixed blessing to the subjects (VI, 6-13). With some inconsistency however, the same king is elsewhere (VI, 70ff.) stigmatised for amassing riches, for treachery in getting rid of Tantrins and for private vices. Kalhaṇa describes with moving pathos the sad end of this king who, afflicted with a painful disease and retiring to a sacred spot to die, was deserted by most of his followers, was robbed by some others and was at length poisoned by those who were anxious to seize the kingdom. Among other characters of this period we may mention the villainous and scheming minister Parvagupta, born in a humble writer's family but filled with the unholy ambition of seizing the throne on seeing 'kings who were like worms' ever since the rise of the Tantrins to power (V, 421). Instigating the tyrant 'the mad Avanti' to destroy his own family, Parvagupta deceived even the good king Yaśaṣkara

into giving him a high office and repayed his benefactor by robbing him on his death-bed (VII, 102-3; 118). Parvagupta found his opportunity after the accession of the child-king Saṃgrāmadeva, Yaśaṣkara's son and successor, when he quickly seized the supreme power and assumed royal honours. Failing to destroy the child by witchcraft, he suddenly attacked the palace and killed the king, and seized the throne (VI, 121-125). Other base acts recorded of him by the chronicler, included his pandering to Avanti's buffooneries and cruelties (V, 420 ff.) and lusting though in vain, for a noble-minded queen of Yaśaṣkara (VI, 138-144). In the following half-century the most outstanding figure of Kashmirian history was Diddā, Queen of Parvagupta's son and successor Kṣemagupta. Descended on her mother's side from the illustrious Śāhi dynasty of Uḍabhāṇḍapura, she gained complete ascendancy over her worthless husband, after whose death she ruled successively as regent for her son and three grandsons and at length by her own right. Cruel and self-indulgent, with a strong touch of feminine inconsistency (cf. VI, 193: 'The king's mother and guardian, confused in her mind and listening to every body, after woman's wont, did not reflect what was true and what not'), of a nature intensely suspicious, not too proud to conciliate disaffected Ḍāmaras (cf. VI, 282: 'The queen, fearing a rebellion, disregarded the shame of humiliation and exerted herself to appease them. How can those who are absorbed by selfishness have a sense of honour?'), with an insatiable thirst for power, she was yet gifted with high political and diplomatic talents, with capacity for firm action (cf. VI, 256-58 where she is said to have exterminated 'those treacherous ministers who during sixty years from the year of the Laukika era 3977, had robbed sixteen kings from king Gopālavarman to Abhimanyu of their dignity, lives and riches'), with a short spell of pious devotion towards deities and tender regard for her subject's welfare (cf. VI, 295, 'From that time forward the wealth which she had acquired by evil acts became purified through her astonishing deeds of piety'; VI, 297: 'From the time that he had roused in her the priceless affection for her people and she had abandoned her evil ways, the queen became esteemed by everyone'). Among Diddā's ministers may be mentioned Phalguna, a faithful counsellor of Yaśaṣkara and Kṣemagupta, 'who out-shone all by his counsel, courage, energy and other good qualities' (VI, 199), and having nobly sought refuge from the queen's unjust persecutions in voluntary exile, returned to her service at her call and served her faithfully till his death. Even the queen

felt such respect for his character that she concealed her cruelty and malignity till his death after which she 'committed hundredfold excesses by open misconduct' (VI, 314). An equally attractive and still more honorable character was 'the faithful Naravāhana, the best of ministers' (VI, 260), who again and again proved his loyalty and valour by singly fighting the rebels but was at last driven to commit suicide by the queen's unjust suspicions. His sad end is said by the chronicler (VI, 278) to be befitting a man with a high sense of honour. Less attractive is the figure of Yaśodhara who deserted the rebels to accept the office of Commander-in-Chief from the queen and afterwards, going over, to the enemy's side was captured and justly punished by his infuriated sovereign (VI, 218 ff.). Of a decidedly evil type are the ministers Rakka and Sindhu who poisoned the queen's ears against her most faithful servants (VI, 233; 267). Sindhu's brother Bhuyya, on the other hand, is praised by the chronicler for encouraging the queen in her pious acts and rousing in her 'the priceless affection for her people'.

Samgrāmarāja, who ascended the Kashmir throne by Diddā's nomination and became the founder of the Lohara dynasty, is described by the chronicler as indolent and pleasure-loving and yet of sufficient spirit to resent the domination of the all-powerful minister Tuṅga (cf. VII, 72: "The king felt annoyed at his dependence on Tuṅga; even an animal's spirit is pained by dependence on others"). The king disgraced himself by causing the assassination of Tuṅga by base treachery and by conferring offices on wicked and incapable men after the latter's death. Tuṅga who was the son of a Khaśa villager from the neighbouring territory of Parṇotsa and was raised by Diddā's favour to the high office of Prime-Minister, is described by Kalhaṇa as a man of great courage and capacity which failed him in his unfamiliar warfare with Hammīra (Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna) and afterwards in his choice of low-born favourites like the Kāyasthas Bhadreśvara and Candramukha to high offices. Harirāja son of Samgrāmarāja who enjoyed a short reign of only 22 days is warmly praised by the chronicler for the efficiency and goodness of his rule (VII, 129: 'He whose orders were never infringed cleared the land of thieves and prohibited the closing of doors in the market-street at night'). On the other hand the queen-mother Śrīlekhā is justly blamed by the chronicler for her licentious character and her unnatural thirst for power (VII, 123 ff. and 133 ff.). Kalhaṇa's description of Ananta, son and successor of Harirāja, shows us a

king possessing high courage in fighting rebellious Dāmaras and tender solicitude for his faithful troops (VII, 156 ff.), but wasteful and extravagant 'like one born on the throne' (cf. VII, 144ff. mentioning the exorbitant salaries of 1½ lakh and 80,000 *dinnāras* daily drawn by two of the king's Śāhi favourites: also cf. VII, 188 ff. describing the king's extravagant gifts to his favourite horse-trainers and two foreigners one of whom took the throne and diadem as the security for his debt). Towards the end of his long reign he fell completely under the influence of his Queen Sūryamatī (cf. VII, 199: 'From that time onwards it was the queen who took the king's business in hand, while the king left off talking about his prowess and did what he was bid to do'), who at first led him to a virtuous life (cf. VII, 201: 'Wise Anantadeva surpassed even the *munis* by his devotion to Śiva, his vows, bathings, liberality, morals and other virtues') and brought him the services of the wise and faithful minister Haladhara and the latter's valiant nephew Bimba (VII, 208 ff.). But the same queen afterwards induced the king against the advice of his wise ministers to abdicate the throne in favour of their unworthy son Kalaśa. Even when Ananta resumed the royal power, he neglected again and again under the evil influence of his Queen to chastise his son in time. Too late the king realised the baneful consequences of his submission to his wife's will (cf. the reproachful words put into Ananta's mouth, VII, 423 ff., beginning with the words, 'Pride, honour, valour, royal dignity, power, intellect, riches—what is it, alas, that I have not lost by following my wife's will') and with her counter-reproaches ringing in his ears, sought relief in suicide (cf. VII, 453 'The king who ought to have been accustomed to ease found at last occasion, freed from the worrying of his wife and son, to stretch out his legs and sleep'). The Queen Sūryamatī is described by Kalhaṇa as a wise and devoted wife (cf. VII, 197 where she is stated to have redeemed out of her own savings the royal throne and diadem taken by a foreign merchant as a security for the king's debt) and a lady of great piety (cf. VII, 180 ff. giving a list of her pious foundations and munificent gifts of *agrahāras* to Brahmins). But all her virtues were brought to naught by her blind love for her unworthy son which landed both herself and the king in endless miseries and at length forced the latter, as told above, to find refuge in suicide. The Queen nobly atoned for her fault by burning herself on the funeral pyre of her husband amid the lamentations of her people. At the last tragic scene her fine womanly qualities were shown by her eager, though vain, wish to see

her son, her sipping the water of the sacred Vitastā for obtaining final deliverance and, last but not the least, her solemn oath attesting to the purity of her moral character. When 'she leapt with a bright smile from the litter into the flaming fire', 'the sky became encircled and reddened with sheets of flame just as if the gods, in order to celebrate her arrival had covered it with minium' (VII, 478-479). Three faithful male and as many female servants whose names are carefully recorded by the chronicler followed their unfortunate mistress to death.

King Kalaśa whose reign is described by the chronicler in great detail, is presented as a mixture of opposites (cf. VII, 534 where Kalhaṇa refers to the king's doings as being of a mixed character). Led by 'the wretched foreigners' and other evil associates in early youth into shameless debauchery (VII, 273 ff.) of which the evil effects were felt even in the king's old age (VII, 519 ff.), behaving with base ingratitude towards his doting parents (VII, 366 ff.), occasional plunderer of temple endowments (VII, 570) and sacrilegious destroyer of divine images (VII, 696), he was yet capable of vigilant watchfulness over state affairs (VII, 507 ff.), of establishing pious foundations (VII, 525 ff.) and of introducing improved fashions of song and dance (VII, 606). The very detailed account (VII, 617 ff.) of the relations between Kalaśa and his eldest son Prince Harṣa in the years immediately preceding the king's death is interesting as illustrating the mixed feelings of tenderness and suspicion which they entertained towards each other. The weak side of Kalaśa's character was shown by his retiring to die in the Mārtaṇḍa shrine, although he had been heretofore a worshipper of Śiva and had performed *tāntric* rites under the direction of Gurus (cf. VII, 712: 'The pride which he had before shown in the instructions of his Gurus was rendered ridiculous by such cowardly submission more befitting miserly wretches and the like'. In connexion with the above, Stein's mention of Kalaśa's late conversion to *Vaiṣṇava* worship (VII 712 n. is a slip). Kalaśa was fortunate enough to be served by a succession of able ministers who made the king's power feared and respected by the neighbouring hill rājās, eight of whom assembled to do him honour at his capital (VII, 587). Among these ministers we have to mention the valiant and faithful *rāja-putra* Bijja who after serving the king with exemplary loyalty sought refuge from the king's unjust suspicion in a voluntary exile, the resourceful Vāmana whose wonderful official acts were remembered even down to Kalhaṇa's day and who alone cared to perform the king's funeral rites after

his death, the brave Malla who won high fame by his successful invasion of Uraśā (VII, 585 ff.), the valiant but irritable Kandarpa whom Kalaśa could only with difficulty persuade to stick to his office (cf. the characteristic anecdote told of him VII, 603-04 which has every appearance of truth) and who lived to distinguish himself by his capture of Rājapurī during Harṣa's reign and being driven to exile by his ungrateful master was remembered by the latter with regret in the last days of his misery. Among the king's parasites was the villainous Viśśavātṭa who first urged Harṣa to kill his father (VII, 617 ff.) and then betrayed the Prince (VII, 629) and was justly executed by the latter after his accession.

Kalhaṇa describes Utkarṣa, son and successor of Kalaśa, as a mean and miserly character whose 'only daily occupation was to inspect the hoards of the treasury and to weigh them' (VII, 756) and who thereby earned the just reprobation of his own stepmothers and his brother as well as all respectable citizens (VII, 758-760; 773-74). Among his ministers was the cruel but faithful Nonaka who advised Harṣa's execution (as he had done in the last reign) and afterwards upbraided the king for his folly in disregarding his advice (VII, 782 ff.). After Utkarṣa's death Nonaka was imprisoned and executed by Harṣa who however regretted the death of 'a man of a large mind and devoted to his master' (VIII, 890).

For sheer mixture of contradictory qualities the character of Harṣa, Utkarṣa's elder brother and successor, stands unrivalled. In an eloquent passage (VII, 868 ff.) prefacing the account of the reign, Kalhaṇa mentions the incomprehensible character of this king which was quite unlike that of other kings dealt with by him. The story of king Harṣa, he explains 'has seen the rise of all enterprises and yet tells of all failures', 'brings to light all kinds of settled plans and yet shows the absence of all policy' 'displays an excessive assertion of the ruling power and yet has witnessed excessive disregard of orders' 'tells of excessive abundance of liberality and of equally excessive persistence in confiscation' 'gives delight by an abundant display of compassion and shocks by the superabundance of murders' 'is rendered charming by the redundancy of pious works and soiled by the superabundance of sins' 'is attractive on all sides and yet repulsive, worthy of praise and deserving of blame'. Even as a Prince, Harṣa is described (VII, 609-611) as 'possessed of exceptional powers', 'knowing all languages, 'a good poet in all tongues', 'a depository of all learning', who patronised distinguished men from other lands. Elsewhere

(VII, 942) he is mentioned as the author of songs of such tender pathos that they were appreciated even during Kalhaṇa's lifetime. (That these encomiums were well deserved is proved by the almost similar terms in which the contemporary Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa writes of Harṣa in his *Vikramāṇkacarita*. See references in Stein, VII, 609-10n. In the same context Stein refers to the quotations of verses ascribed to a certain Harṣadeva in a number of Sanskrit anthologies). Kalhaṇa describes in striking language Harṣa's extraordinary physical frame and commanding presence (VII, 874-878) as well as the splendour and brilliance of the king's court (VII, 881 ff.). We are expressly told that Harṣa introduced new and elegant fashions of dress and ornament (VII, 921 ff.) and that he borrowed a coin-type from the Deccan. (This last statement is supported by the discovery of Harṣa's unique gold coinage imitated from the Deccan models. See Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 34). The author also speaks (VII, 934 ff.) of Harṣa's lavish patronage of men of learning which made even Bilhaṇa enjoying the splendid patronage of the contemporary Cālukya king sigh for his favour. But such high praise was not to be bestowed upon the king for long. With well-deserved severity Kalhaṇa exposes (VII, 1001 ff.) the perversity of the king who led by evil counsellors drove his valiant and faithful Commander-in-Chief Kandarpa into exile, who executed a number of young princes without any cause, whose wholesale confiscation of temple treasures and destruction of divine images earned for him the designation of a Turuṣka, who not content with his accumulated treasures oppressed the people with imposts of all kinds. Other acts of folly mentioned (VII, 1120 ff.) by Kalhaṇa (which, as he himself says, would appear incredible to posterity) included an unholy passion for the beautiful Cālukya Queen, the worship of slave-girls posing as goddesses and so forth. His want of moral sense 'as befitted the son of king Kalaśa' was exhibited (VII, 1147 ff.) by the liberties he took with his step-mothers and sisters, his partaking of pig's flesh etc. The king's cowardice was conspicuously displayed in his failure to take two successive fortresses, while his morbid cruelty was shown by his imposing heavy fines upon the people already afflicted with plague, flood and famine and still more by his ferocious persecution of Ḍāmaras. Well might the chronicler state that some demon had descended in the form of Harṣa 'to destroy this land hallowed by gods, tīrthas and ṛṣhis' (VII, 1243). The chronicler goes on to mention some of the king's peculiar habits including 'cruelty, excessive conduct, meanness and pleasure in

doing things which befitted the god of death' which were 'like those of a goblin'.

The author's moving account of the last days of Harṣa, which is one of the master-pieces of historical description, gives us in studiously simple language the picture of a king whom an unending series of misfortunes had bereft of all resolution and wisdom and even of personal courage (cf. VII, 1454: 'His wisdom, bold resolution and decision vanished all at once in his misfortune, when the time of his ruin had approached') and the tragedy of whose fall was redeemed only by his tender affection for his noble son Bhoja, his belated remorse for the wrong done to his subjects and his loyal servants in former years, and last but not the least, the heroism which he displayed at the time of his death. Kalhaṇa tells us how Harṣa surrounded by his foes and deserted by most of his troops neglected the wise advice of his few faithful ministers to retire to the family strong-hold of Lohara (VII, 1386 ff.), how he failed to muster up courage to seek his own death (VII, 1407), how at the sight of the awful tragedy of his queens and princesses burning themselves in the royal palace after his own defeat at the city bridge-head he continued muttering to himself an ancient verse ('The fire which has risen from the burning pains of the subjects does not go out until it has consumed the king's race, fortune and life' VII, 1581), how he made his last faithful minister Caṇṇpaka leave his side in a vain quest for his departed son (VII, 1587), how when deserted even by the *rājaputras* and denied shelter in every house of note in the capital he failed to remember a faithful Dāmarā who alone had kept faithful 'like a true wife never turning the eyes towards anyone else' (VII, 1630-31), how when he heard the news of the death of his well-beloved son he in his misery fancied that he saw the son 'as a child with his limbs adorned with strings of pearls and resting on his own breast (VII, 1675), how he gently upbraided his faithful attendant who reminded him of the selfish indifference of his subjects in a speech of ineffable tenderness for his lost son (cf. VII, 1687: 'If I myself after hearing that my son, the life of my life, is dead, yet remain here as if all were right, how can anyone else be blamed for showing indifference?'), and how at the last moment, finding himself surrounded by his foes to whom he had been basely betrayed, he sold his life dearly, showing even at the end the magnanimity worthy of a great prince (VII, 1702 and 1705 ff.). At the close of his narrative Kalhaṇa sums up the causes of Harṣa's failure in words which can hardly be regarded as

complete. For Harsa's failure, according to the author (VII, 1715-16) was due to his aversion to battle alone or else only to his want of independent judgment.

Of the members of Harṣa's family we may first mention the bold and resolute Prince Bhoja, 'foremost of the fighters', who repulsed Sussala's attack on the capital (VII, 1525 ff.) and afterwards met a heroic death in fighting against his treacherous servants (VII, 1654 ff.). Mention may also be made of the heroic Śāhi and other Queens who burnt themselves in 'the four-pillared pavilion of the palace of a hundred gates' when Uccala with his Dāmaras burst into the city (VII, 1579). We may, lastly, refer to Harṣa's bold and impetuous brother Prince Vijayamalla who helped his release from prison and accession to the throne by a timely rising and who afterwards, when led into treason by the king's unjust persecution, fought his way with his brave wife through the royal forces only to be killed by an avalanche.

Among the king's ministers we may first speak of the cunning city-prefect Vijayasimha who took the decisive step in raising Harṣa to the throne and putting Utkarṣa under arrest. A very attractive figure is Candrarāja who justified his high descent (cf. VII, 1364: 'He, descended from the illustrious Jindurāja and other ancestors who had not desired to die on a couch, displayed noble conduct') by accepting the dangerous post of Commander-in-Chief which none else of the frightened ministers would accept in the king's last desperate fight with the brothers Uccala and Sussala. Winning the first fight and killing the enemy's general, he afterwards found himself deserted by his troops and maintaining the unequal combat for long, was killed in battle (VII, 1499 ff.). With his death, as Kalhaṇa justly observes, vanished Harṣa's last hopes. An equally attractive personality is Ānanda who, raised to the position of Governor by Harṣa, first distinguished himself, in a successful fight with Uccala and afterwards, being deserted by his troops, was captured and put to death. He was, as Kalhaṇa aptly says (VII, 1376), 'the only one to purchase glory at the expense of his body among king Harṣa's servants who were characterised by treachery and timidity. His mother, 'one of those virtuous women who have borne sons worthy of praise for devotion to their lord's service', found relief for grief for her only son in mounting the funeral pyre (VII, 1580). A touching story told by the chronicler (VII, 1381 ff.) illustrates at once the mother's strong affection for her son and proud acquiescence in his devo-

tion to the State service—both befitting a Roman matron of the early Republican Period—and the king's high appreciation of the son's loyalty. Other attractive figures of the same period are the high minister Caṇpaka, father of Kalhaṇa, who could be persuaded only with great difficulty by the deluded king to leave him (VII, 1587) and the faithful attendant Prayāga who stayed with the king till the end and was killed by his side (VII, 1622 ff.). Among the king's evil ministers was 'the wretch' Loṣṭadhara who put into the king's head the idea of confiscating temple treasures (VII, 1080 ff.), the vile Madana who accepted the post of Chamberlain to the Cālukya Queen in effigy (VII, 1125), and the villainous Sunna, prefect of police, who completed a long career of treachery by bringing Uccala to the capital and deserting the king in his last days (VII, 1597-99). [It will be seen from the above that the history of Kashmir in the tenth and eleventh centuries is by no means wanting in noble and heroic characters as well as commanding talents. It is therefore difficult to agree with the following verdict (Ram Chandra Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London 1933, p. 24) which seems to be more rhetorical than true to fact. 'The state of Kashmir in the tenth and eleventh centuries forms a close parallel with that of Italy under Pope Alexander VI and Caesar Borgias. But the Italian Popes and their satellites often differed from the Kashmir kings in that their evil lives were at any rate relieved by the display of commanding talents'. Further it appears to us that the detailed analysis of Harṣa's character given above does not justify the title of 'the Nero of Kashmir history' given to him by Stein I, Introduction p. 32].

From Kalhaṇa's account of the reign of the next king Uccala, he appears before us as a shrewd, wise and energetic Prince devoted to the welfare of his subjects. Faced at the beginning of his reign with formidable difficulties which Kalhaṇa vividly describes (cf. VIII, 7: 'Robbers as ministers and feudatories, a brother ready to become a pretender, a land without treasure; what difficulties did not beset the king!'), he met them with ability and success. He conciliated his headstrong brother Sussala by crowning him as the king of the family possession of Lohara, while he brought the unruly Ḍāmaras under control by a mixture of force and diplomacy. Kalhaṇa quotes him (VIII, 45-47) as taking for his motto two lessons, namely, accessibility to his people from morning to evening in his palace and constant preparedness for suppressing revolts. It was no doubt

in accordance with the second principle that he showed wonderful energy in repulsing the invasion of Sussala and getting rid of a number of pretenders. When the most formidable of his rivals Bhikṣācara, son of Bhoja and grandson of Harṣa, fled from his court to the protection of the distant king of Malava, Uccala prudently concluded treaties with Princes on the route to prevent the pretender's entry into Kashmir (VIII, 231). Uccala's beneficent measures for the welfare of his subjects, carried out no doubt in accordance with his first principle, are stated, by the chronicler (VIII, 64) to follow from his one great virtue, viz. indifference to wealth. A list of restorations of old temples and images as well as the renovation of the royal throne of Jayāpīḍa (VIII, 77 ff.) attested to the piety and nobility of the king's character. In this connection Kalhaṇa quotes a celebrated judgment of the king in a difficult law-suit to illustrate his uncanny wisdom which he 'must have obtained from the body of Śeṣanāga' (VIII, 122). In an earlier passage (VIII, 85 ff.) Kalhaṇa describes with great relish the king's 'another merit which stood foremost among all his virtues', namely, his humiliation of the hated class of Kāyasthas, those 'plagues of the people.' While allowing so much praise to the king, Kalhaṇa mentions (VIII, 163 ff.) to his discredit, his jealousy of greatness, his rashness of speech, his love of sanguinary combats among his followers and lastly, his arrogant and fickle temper. In describing the king's last days the chronicler dwells on his fatal delusion (cf. VIII, 297: 'The king as if he were anxious to gain Yama's land did not exile those who had been insulted, who were full of aspirations, who had formed a league and lost their subsistence') in trusting himself in the company of some base conspirators who surprised him in his palace and killed him after a resistance worthy of his character.

Of other characters of the reign we may first mention Queen Jayamatī of unknown origin and very questionable antecedents (VII, 1460-62), who secured through the king's favour 'the rare privilege of occupying one-half of his throne'. As queen she distinguished herself by 'kindness, charm of manners, liberality, regard for virtuous people and wisdom and helpfulness for the needy and the distressed' (VIII, 83). She made noble use of her riches by founding a *Vihāra* with a *Maṭha* which she called after the king's name. Superseded in her husband's favour by a younger rival, she yet burnt herself on a funeral pyre after the king's tragic death (VIII, 363).

Kalhaṇa draws a lively picture (VIII, 256 ff.) of the gang of conspirators who took part in Uccala's murder. They consisted of the brothers Chūḍḍa,

Raḍḍa and so forth descended from a common soldier, but filled with the ambition of seizing the throne and stung to fury by the king's insulting words and dismissal of themselves from their offices, the villainous Kāyastha Saḍḍa who put the idea of treason into the heads of the brothers and was driven to desperation by being discharged from office for misconduct, the noble Bhogasena the king's 'best friend', who being insulted by the king and taken into confidence by the conspirators attempted, though in vain, to convey him a friendly warning and remained a passive spectator at the time of the murder. Kalhaṇa takes special delight in narrating how the usurper Raḍḍa with his accomplices met a well-deserved death at the hands of the avenging Dāmara Gargacandra (VIII, 342 ff.).

Salhaṇa the half-brother and successor of Uccala, who was next raised to the throne by 'the king-maker' the powerful Dāmara Gargacandra is described by Kalhaṇa as a thoroughly worthless king (cf. VIII, 417: 'Neither political wisdom nor valour, neither cunning nor straightforwardness, neither liberality nor greed—nothing was prominent in this king's character'). He showed his utter want of judgment in entrusting the important office of Lord of the Gate to a relative 'fitted for assemblies of ascetics', who 'declared that he would ward off the dangers from Sussala by muttering his own magic spell a hundred thousand times at his approach' (VIII, 422-423). The king being a 'mere shadow', the court was dependent on Garga for life and death. Salhaṇa's short inglorious reign, which resembled 'a long evil dream', was closed by deposition at the hands of his half-brother Sussala. (VIII, 449).

Kalhaṇa introduces his account of the next reign by drawing (VIII, 482 ff.) a striking comparison and contrast between the character of the two brothers Uccala and Sussala. Sussala's character, he says, was the same as that of his elder brother with some features more, and some less, strongly marked in himself. The contrast, which extends to minute shades of differences (cf. VIII, 488: "Though their wrath was alike in appearance, yet that of his elder brother resembled the poison of a mad dog and his own that of a bee") is summed up by the author in the statement (VIII, 499) that Sussala 'surpassed his elder brother in all qualities excepting only liberality, disregard of wealth and easy accessibility'. Kalhaṇa's detailed account of the reign which falls into two equal periods divided by the short interval of Bhikṣācara's usurpation, bears out his somewhat partial verdict only in part. In the beginning of his reign Sussala is described as

pacifying the country by a mixture of force and guile, which Kalhaṇa seems to condone, applied against Gargacandra and other powerful subjects. In a short time, however, he employed wicked Kāyasthas to acquire 'sordid gains' which went to swell his hoard of treasure at the Lohara castle (VIII, 560 ff.). The king proceeded to invite fresh troubles for himself by recklessly provoking the hostilities of Ḍāmaras and officers (cf. VIII, 650: 'The action of the king in recklessly rousing these hostilities brought ruin to his subjects and was like the letting loose of a ferocious Vetāla'), while his ingratitude drove even his brave and faithful Commander-in-Chief into disaffection (VIII, 654 ff.). Defeated by the rebellious Ḍāmaras, the king foolishly perpetrated fresh cruelties which are justly censured by the chronicler (cf. VIII, 681). When at length the Ḍāmaras rose in revolt under the pretender Bhikṣācara and defeated the royal forces, Sussala prudently sent his family to the Lohara castle, a step which, as Kalhana notes (VIII, 721), made possible the revival of his fortunes. At the beginning of the rebels' siege of the capital, the king showed such wonderful heroism as to rouse the admiration of the chronicler (cf. VIII, 755:—'Though the king had before invaded the territories of various chiefs, yet the highest reward of his arm's might was the protection of the city'). But the machinations of some 'villainous Brahmins' and Purohitas of sacred places together with the desertion and mutiny of his troops and the indifference of his subjects at length deprived him of all his resolution (cf. VIII, 806) and he sought safety in flight to Lohara.

In 'the wonderful battle' near Parṇotsa on the Kashmir frontier, which was the talk of eye-witnesses in Kalhaṇa's time, Sussala with his few troops gained a glorious victory over the combined Kashmirian, Khaśa and Turuṣka forces of the pretender and thus 'washed off his burning disgrace for the first time' (VIII, 917). After his restoration Sussala in his distrust of his countrymen gave his chief confidence to foreigners, thus driving, according to the chronicler, numbers of his adherents into the enemy's camp. That this censure is a little unmerited is proved by the king's reinstating a brave officer called Yaśorāja (VIII, 1117) whom he had unjustly driven into exile, only to experience his treacherous desertion to the enemys' side. In the following years the king, helped almost alone by his faithful foreigners, displayed such heroism in repulsing his numerous enemies as to extort high praise of the author (cf. VIII, 1199-1200). On one of the critical occasions the king was so much afflicted with sorrow (cf. VIII, 1187)

for the many calamities of his people including a great fire and famine at Śrīnagar that he brought out his son from Lohara and crowned him king, a step which he quickly retracted. A touching anecdote told by the chronicler during this crisis (VIII, 1188 ff.) illustrates at once the king's sublime patriotism and a foreign officer's supreme devotion to his master. Accosted by Kamaliya, son of Lavarāja a chief in the Takka land (Central Punjab), the king told him that he would 'do to-day what king Bhijja, that proud grandfather of yours, did for his country's sake in the battle with Hammīra' (the last term probably stands for one of Sultan Mahmud's successors). Concluding his short and spirited address with words of burning patriotism, the king declared, 'Is there any person holding a place among self-respecting men who would abandon his country at the end without having wetted it with the blood of his body just as the tiger does not leave his skin without having wetted it with his blood?' When the king turned towards the fight, the noble Kamaliya stopped him by saying, 'while there are servants, it is not fit for kings to proceed in front'. In the last crisis of his life Sussala committed the fatal mistake which the chronicler finds inexplicable in a man of such extraordinary vigilance (VIII, 1276-78) of giving his full confidence to a low-born traitor who ended by killing him in the palace when he was completely off his guard. The king's body, shamefully abandoned by his troops and his relatives, was mutilated and carried off by the traitors.

We have a pleasing picture of Sussala's 'beloved consort' Meghamañjarī daughter of king Vijayapāla and daughter's daughter of the Lord of Kālīñjara who had brought her up with tender care in place of a son (VIII, 204-205). 'In her were combined love with tenderness, cheerful speech with dignity and cleverness with experience' (VIII, 1219). She had started to join her husband when he was plunged in a series of misfortunes, but she died on the way worn out by the disastrous news from the king. Four faithful female attendants and a humble cook of her household followed the well-beloved queen to death.

Kalhana introduces his general character-sketch (VIII, 1549 ff.) of the contemporary king Jayasīṃha by justly remarking that the traits of complex characters can only be understood by references to the preceding and following facts and also to the detailed narrative of events. He also notices the opportunity which the study of a contemporary reign affords for impartial judgment. In the immediately following lines he seems to point

out amid some conventional praise that the king's character was a blend of virtues and faults and that it was unfair to forget that the latter were outweighed by the former (cf. VIII, 1554-1555: "How should then the mind of everybody find its way to a right conclusion as regards the nature of his virtues and faults which is so wonderful? Uneven indeed are the features in his character. Not perceiving the excellence of their aggregate result, the people have concluded that there were faults"). Kalhaṇa's lengthy narrative of the reign helps us to fill in the details of the picture sketched so broadly and imperfectly above. At the time of his father's death he found himself destitute of troops, surrounded by half-hearted ministers, with his father's murderers still at large, and with the pretender Bhikṣācara preparing to march on the capital. From this danger he extricated himself by a combination of politic generosity (cf. VIII, 1377-80 mentioning how his unprecedented course of offering general amnesty at once brought him a following), resolute action and cunning diplomacy, so that in four months' time he punished his father's murderers, drove out the pretender and brought the whole kingdom under his rule (cf. VIII, 1544). Yet as Kalhaṇa very properly remarks (VIII, 1545 ff.), the citizens were without means, the land was overrun by numerous Ḍāmaras 'who were like kings', the pretender was firmly established at a short distance, the counsellors and feudatories were seditious and the royal servants were solely bent on perfidy. At this juncture the king, under the influence of evil counsellors which Kalhaṇa strongly condemns (VIII, 1615-16), drove his brave and faithful general Sujji by a series of insults into exile. When, however, Bhikṣācara arrived at a Khasa frontier fort for a fresh invasion of Kashmir, the king and his minister Lakṣmaka used their diplomatic weapons with such effect that the pretender was deserted by his Ḍāmara allies and was at last treacherously murdered by the Khaṣas. No sooner was the king delivered from his most dangerous adversary than he was faced with a new and formidable rebellion, that of his uncle Loṭhana, who had been kept a prisoner, at the Lohara castle, but was now set free and crowned king by the mutinous garrison. The king's extraordinary fortitude on hearing of this great disaster is justly praised by the chronicler (VIII, 1798-1810). But he displayed a singular want of judgment (cf. VIII, 1838-39) in choosing a wrong season for sending the relief expedition with the result that the royal forces were driven in retreat from Lohara and the minister Lakṣmaka was surprised and captured

by the rebels. Wisely recalling Sujji from exile and taking advantage of the rebels' internal dissensions, the king was able with Sujji's help to recover Lohara after it had been abandoned by the cowardly pretender Mallārjuna. In a short time the king showed his weakness for evil counsels and his stupidity (cf. VIII, 2032-33) by turning against the faithful Sujji whom he caused to be assassinated by base treachery—an act for which he is severely, though indirectly, condemned (VIII, 2381) by the chronicler. When the pretender Mallārjuna, aided by the powerful Dāmara Koṣṭheśvara again rose in revolt, the king by his resolute action was able to capture both of them and throw them into prison. At this point Kalhaṇa describes a series of beneficent measures of the king (including the construction and restoration of temples, the encouragement of scholars and the rebuilding of the capital), in terms of somewhat extravagant praise (cf. VIII, 2376: 'The king whose mind is all-pervading and steadfast has obtained the foremost rank among the virtuous by his pious actions': *Ibid* 2400: 'What had not been accomplished in regard to consecration of shrines etc. and other pious works during the time of the illustrious Lalitāditya, Avantivarman and other great monarchs, that has now been achieved'). Summing up the king's achievements, Kalhaṇa says (VIII, 2446): 'He restored to this land which owing to the baseness of the times was like a decayed forest, wealth, population and habitations'. On the other hand, as the chronicler is careful to tell us (VIII, 2480), the want of judgment which the king had shown in driving Sujji into exile was further manifested by his decision, at the advice of a mere boon companion whom he had unwisely raised to the office of prime minister, to send an incompetent commander against the Daradas. The only result of this ill-advised expedition was that the powerful Darada minister fomented a revolt of the pretender Loṭhana which led to a general rising against the king. The pretenders Loṭhana and Vighararāja having taken refuge at the inaccessible castle of Śiraḥśilā already mentioned, the generals sent against them lost heart and pressed for a peace. But the king's splendid resolution (cf. his spirited instructions VIII, 2543 ff. to his general ending with the brave words, 'Therefore cease to remain mere on-lookers and lay siege to the whole castle. Let our life-time pass, as well as theirs, in this enterprise'), in continuing the attack was rewarded with the surrender of the two pretenders by the Dāmara leader. The king showed his generosity by his kind, if contemptuous, treatment of the prisoners.

When the third pretender Bhoja after repeatedly experiencing the defeat of his Ḍāmara and other allies as well as their baseness and treachery made a voluntary surrender, he was treated by the king with the generosity befitting his own rank and high character. The submission of Bhoja was followed by a general pacification of the kingdom, which gives Kalhana an opportunity to mention (VIII, 3316) another list of pious acts of the king. The king's tender regard for his faithful servants is touchingly illustrated by his attending the minister Dhanya on his death-bed (cf. VIII, 3329: 'The grateful king did not leave the sick Dhanya's side when his end approached, but remained even without taking sleep with those who were praying for his well-being'). In the same connection Kalhana mentions (VIII, 3322) how the king appointed Sañjapāla's brave son to his father's office of Commander-in-Chief after his death.

Among the members of Jayasiṃha's family Kalhana mentions with high praise (VIII, 2433 ff., 3382 ff.) Queens Ratnādevī and Raddādevī for their pious foundations. Of the latter he says (VIII, 3388) with evident exaggeration. 'By her numerous sacred foundations and restorations this wise and clever queen has outstepped, O wonder, even the lame Diddā' The Chief Queen Kalhaṇikā who is praised (VIII, 3063 ff.) for her magnanimity and other good qualities distinguished herself by mediating between Prince Bhoja and the king at the time of the formers' surrender.

Among the pretenders for the throne who lived during this period the first place belongs to Bhikṣācara, grandson of king Harṣa. His repeated efforts to gain the throne kept the kingdom in a state of turmoil during the reign of Sussala and the early part of Jayasiṃha's reign. When he temporarily obtained the throne after Sussala's flight from the capital, he proved himself utterly unfit for his high position. A tool in the hands of the powerful Ḍāmaras and ministers, he neglected state affairs and devoted himself to low pleasures 'fit only for a market-slave' (VIII, 870). Driven from his throne by a popular reaction in Sussala's favour, Bhikṣācara showed such unexpected vigour in his subsequent fights with the new king as to earn the chronicler's enthusiastic praise (cf. VIII, 1014: 'In the two armies which counted many strong men, there was not one who could face Bhikṣu when he roamed about in battle; *Ibid.*, 1017: 'There was no other hero anywhere like Bhikṣācara who could protect the troops in critical positions, bear up with fatigues, never feel tired and never boast'). So strongly is Kalhana impressed with this sudden improvement in the pre-

tender's character that he explains the want of opportunity for learning state-craft as the cause of Bhikṣācara's failure as king (cf. VIII, 1030: 'He, however, had seen nothing of his father and grandfather. Thus it came about that when he before had obtained the throne, he was misguided'). After Sussala's assassination the pretender showed his implacable hatred by sending the murdered king's head to Rājapurī, for which reason he is justly censured by the chronicler (VIII, 1463). How nobly Bhikṣācara redeemed the misfortunes due to adverse destiny by his last heroic fight against his treacherous assailants will be told in another place.

Of the other pretenders to the throne Loṭhana who obtained the stronghold of Lohara by an unexpected turn of good fortune, failed to show much worth. Mallārjuna who supplanted Loṭhana is described by the chronicler (VIII, 1979) as possessing not a single good quality. While in possession of Lohara he wasted the accumulated treasures on low favourites. Afterwards he showed his meanness of spirit by agreeing to pay tribute to the king and then by abandoning Lohara without a fight. Captured at length by the royal forces, he made himself thoroughly contemptible by his cowardice. We are told for instance how before surrendering to the Lord of the Gate he made the latter give him to every body's disgust a solemn assurance for his personal safety, how on his way to the capital he behaved 'just like an animal' without any reflection of any kind occupying his mind and how at last he abjectly presented himself to the king and betrayed his former friends (VIII, 2296, 2299, 2311). In sharp contrast with Mallārjuna's character is that of the pretender Bhoja, son of king Salhaṇa, who is described as a brave, wise and high-minded prince. After his voluntary surrender to the king, Bhoja repaid his benefactor's generosity with such devoted service as to win the latter's complete confidence (VIII, 3254 ff.).

Among the ministers of Jayasiṃha Lakṣmaka occupies the first place for shrewd and successful diplomacy. Holding the office of Chamberlain under Bhikṣācara, he narrowly escaped imprisonment to join Sussala (VIII, 911). After Sussala's tragic death he immediately joined Jayasiṃha who made him his chief counsellor because of his skill in winning over the people (VIII, 1382). He occupied the dominant position in the king's Council Chamber because of his address in sowing dissensions among the Dāmaras (VIII, 1483-85). While selfishly driving his rival Sujji into exile by poisoning the king's ears against him, Lakṣmaka by his clever diplomacy prevented

Sujji's projected alliance with Somapāla the chief of Rājapūrī (VIII, 1647). Lakṣmaka's last service was to win back for his master the brave Sujji from exile (VIII, 1982 ff.).

Of the other ministers the Dāmaras Pañcacandra and Saṣṭhacandra (sons of the king-maker Gargacandra), Rilhaṇa, Dhanya, the two Udayas and Sañjapāla are mentioned again and again for acts of conspicuous courage in the king's service. The two Dāmaras fully justified the traditional loyalty of their family to the royal house (cf. VIII, 2780: 'Not one has been born in Sūryavarmacandra's lineage who has not done good service to those born of Malla's race'). Of Rilhaṇa we are told that finding himself deserted by his troops in a fight with a rebel Dāmara leader, he scorned to join in the general flight but boldly flung himself almost alone upon the enemy whom he forced to retire to the forest. The magnificent speech put into the mouth of the general on this occasion does honour to his loyalty and courage (cf. VIII, 2819: "Shame on the life of him who though a servant fails in his tasks"; *Ibid.*, 2823: "Those who give up their lives in battle feel dejection only in the beginning, but subsequently enjoy the highest satisfaction of obtaining that happiness which is called absolute bliss"). Another attractive aspect of the minister's character is presented in the chronicler's enthusiastic description of his pious gifts (VIII, 3364 ff.). Dhanya who had been a faithful adherent of Sussala joined Jayasiṃha at the beginning of his reign and was gradually raised to the high position of Chief Justice. Driven into exile by Sujji's influence, he was recalled by his master after that unfortunate general's death. He continued to serve the king in successive fights with pretenders and rebels till his death. Praising his exceptional worth Kalhaṇa says (VIII, 3326) that he had 'singly borne the weight of the king's affairs during the troubles from Bhikṣu's death to Bhoja's defeat'. Sañjapāla who had taken a leading part in besieging Salhaṇa at the capital and placing Sussala on the throne showed conspicuous courage in fighting the rebel king-maker Gargacandra (VIII, 511). Even after his ungrateful master had sent him into exile Sañjapāla showed his 'high honesty' in going abroad instead of joining the rebels (VIII, 558). Recalled by Jayasiṃha Sañjapāla showed his loyalty as well as his high sense of honour by betraying Sujji's intentions to the king while refusing to kill the latter by treachery (VIII, 2086 ff.). In the course of these operations he is said to have addressed the king with the noble words "I do not pay attention to family relations if affairs of State are in their

way. My attachment is to my Lord, in whose service I count my life as grass". After Sujji's murder Sañjapāla bravely fought against his partisans, losing his right arm in the battle (VIII, 2164-2166). Raised to the rank of Commander-in-Chief by his grateful master, he rendered him excellent service by capturing the Ḍāmara rebel Koṣṭheśvara and by rescuing the general Rilhaṇa from a dangerous position (VIII, 2270; 2839). Rashly attacking another Ḍāmara rebel Trillaka inspite of the desertion of his troops, he displayed conspicuous courage along with his two sons but was completely routed (VIII, 3280). In remembrance of his high services, the king appointed his brave son to his office after his death (VIII, 3322).

(To be continued)

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