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THE BRAHMINS OF KASHMIR

*vedaiḥ +ṣaḍaṅgaiḥ¹ padakramayutair vedāntasiddhāntakais
tarkavyākaraṇaiḥ purāṇapaṭhanair mantraiḥ ṣaḍaṅgāgamaiḥ ...
paurāṇaśrutitarkaśāstranicayaiḥ kiṃ cāgnihotrāṅkitair
viprair dhyānatapojapādinirataiḥ snānārcanādyutsukaiḥ
... kāśmīrabhūr uttamā ||* (Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Jonarāja, B 747)

With the Vedas, the six appendices, with the Pada and Krama (texts), with Vedānta and Siddhānta, logic and grammar, Purāṇa recitation, with (Tantric) Mantras and the six traditional sects ... with its masses of Purāṇic, Vedic (*śruti*) and logic disciplines (*tarkaśāstra*), and, moreover, marked by Agnihottrins, with Brahmins devoted to meditation, asceticism, recitation and so on, and zealeaously engaged with ablutions, worship, and the like, ... the land of Kashmir is the best.

Introduction

The Kashmiri Brahmins, usually called *Paṇḍits*, constitute one single group, the *Kāśmīra Brāhmaṇas*, without any real subdivisions. They form, according to Bühler,² the first Indologist to visit the Valley, one unified community: they 'interdine' (*annavyavahāra*) and they also teach each other (*vidyāvyavahāra*, *vidyāsambandha*). But not all of them intermarry (*kanyāvyavahāra*, *yonisambandha*), which is the real test of belonging or not belonging to a single community. This is confirmed by Lawrence,³ who distinguishes "the astrologer class (*Jotish*), the priest class (*Guru* or *Bāchabat*) and the working class (*Kārkun*). The priest class do not intermarry with either of the other classes. But the Jotish and Kārkun intermarry. The Jotish Pundits are learned in the Shastras and expound them to the Hindus, and they draw up the *calendars* in which prophecies are made about the events of the coming year. The priest class perform the rites and ceremonies of the Hindu religion. The vast majority of the Pandits belong to the Kārkun class and have usually made their livelihood in the employment of the state."

This division is believed to have taken place after the country turned to Islam in the fourteenth century, and especially after the initial persecution of Brahmins at around 1400 A.D. As the Paṇḍits then had to earn their living as scribes and other government officials,

1 Kaul's edition reads *vedaiḥ ṣaṭṣvaraiḥ* with no variant; while the Bombay ed. has *ṣaḍaṅgaiḥ*. Since both *ṣ* and *ṣ* look very similar in Śāradā, a simple writing mistake may be involved; Kaul's text also does not fit the meter.

2 Georg Bühler, Report on a tour in search of Sanskrit MSS to ... Kashmir, JBBRAS, extra number 1877, p.19.

3 The Valley of Kashmir, p. 302-303.

there was no longer any need, and actually, no possibility, for the majority of them to do priestly work. Therefore, at an unknown time during Muslim rule, they resorted to a "division of labor": only very few Paṇḍits would continue to perform the rituals for their more affluent Brahmin brothers.⁴

A Short History of the Kashmiri Paṇḍits.

The *Paṇḍits* now are the only Hindus of the Valley, apart from a few fairly recent newcomers. All other Hindu castes embraced Islam during the Muslim period, which lasted for nearly 500 years, from 1339 to 1819 A.D. Muslim rule brought frequently varying political situations for the Paṇḍits, and also intermittent periods of hardships, especially under King Sikandar and his Brahmin minister Saif ud Din (Sūha Bhaṭṭa), during the period from 1389 until c. 1416 A.D. and, again, during the Afghani period (1752-1812). Local tradition has it that during Sikandar's reign only eleven Brahmin families remained in the Valley while all the others were forced to become Muslim, fled or were killed.⁵

Under more enlightened successors, however, Brahmins were able to retain their comparatively high social status as government officials, and in fact so many of them worked for the early Sultans that Sanskrit remained the language of administration until the middle of the 15th century, - a fact illustrated by the current interpolated versions of Kṣemendra's *Lokaprakāśa* with its many Persian and Arabic loanwords.⁶

A comparatively calm and prosperous period under some of the later Kashmiri Muslim kings, notably Zain ul Abidin, Hassan, and the earlier Moghuls was interlaced by more or less severe harrassment or actual persecution under some later (Cak) Sultāns and under Aurangzeb. It was followed by yet another severe persecution during the Afghani occupation, which caused many Paṇḍits to emigrate to Northern India, so that even until today many Kashmiri Brahmins colonies are to be found at Jammu, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Allahabad and other North Indian towns.⁷ A strong colony also existed at Lahore before the partition.⁸ During the

4 Another major division made today is according to the calendars they use: the *bhānamāsin* who are said to have immigrated or re-immigrated under King Zain ul Abidin (1420-1470 A.D.), and the "original" local *malamāsin*. For example, the Kaulas are said to come from Mithilāpura in North Bihar.

5 See Kilam, *History of the Kashmiri Pandit*, and Jonarāja, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* vss. 591-680.

6 See ed. A. Weber, *Ind Stud.* and in *KSTS*, and note that a shorter version, presumably without the medieval Persian loan words, is preserved in the University Library Tübingen birch bark MS. MaI 399, part C., see L. v. Schoeder in *SB Akad. Wien* 1898, XI Abh., p. 37.

7 Indication is the *Catalogue of Oudh Skt. Mss* which lists Śāradā MSS in many UP towns; cf. also the description by T. N. Madan, *Family and Kinship*, p. 17 - This part of the population and its history have been studied in detail by Henny Sender, *The Kashmiri Pandits. A Study of Cultural Choice in North India*, Delhi (OUP), 1988.

8 See the ed. by Sūrya Kānta: *Kāṭhakaśaṃkalanam*, for Lahore MSS.

recent unrest in the Valley most Kashmiri Brahmins have again fled the Valley and have settled at Jammu and elsewhere.⁹

When oppression by the Afghani governors became unbearable, the Paṇḍits appealed to the Sikhs for help in 1819. Kashmir subsequently became part of the Sikh kingdom, and after its annexation by the British, the country was sold by the British to the Mahārāja of Jammu in 1846. Under the rule of the Dogra Mahārājas the Paṇḍits fared well and held many responsible posts in government and administration -- many more than their comparatively small number would suggest. This situation basically continued after the last Mahārāja took Jammu and Kashmir into the Indian Union in 1947; most of the Kashmiri speaking part of the state was included into the portion administrated by India. During the last hundred years, and until the recent unrest, the Paṇḍits have constituted not more than 5% of the population of the state of Jammu and Kashmir.¹⁰

The origins of the Kashmiri Brahmins : Early history.

They all belong to the *Sārasvata* division of North Indian Brahmins, who also are found in some areas on the Western rims of present India, in the Panjab, in Rajasthan, and also in the Konkan.¹¹ This feature alone provides a first hint of their ultimate origin, at least during the last thousand years or so. They were regarded as belonging to the westernmost Brahmanical group of Northern India, the *Sārasvata*, and are thought to originally have come from the *Sarasvatī* area in Kurukṣetra (now in Haryana State). Most Brahmins of this group show rather conservative traits, at least as far as their Vaidika background is concerned.¹²

However, when and how the Paṇḍits first settled in Kashmir is shrouded in mystery. The early books of Kalhaṇa's history of Kashmir, the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, give some legendary stories about their settlement. These accounts usually stress the role of a new king or governor or of a new royal family in carrying out the import of non-Kashmiri Brahmins.¹³ They are

9 During the last one or two years more than one hundred thousand, that is almost all of them, are said to have left the Valley for Jammu and other parts of India. It is feared by some that means the end of several thousand years of Hinduism and of Brahmin culture in the Valley.

10 Madan p. 16; Bühler, in 1875, estimated their number at 40,000 to 50,000. Lawrence, p. 296, quotes 52 576 Hindus in Kashmir, 28 695 of whom lived in Srinagar and the small towns, and 23 881 are rural Hindus, "scattered far and wide in the Valley". Outside the capital, they are prominent in the larger towns such as Islāmābād (Anantnāg), Bijbrūr, Vantipur, Pāmpur, Sopur, Bāramūla, and in many villages such as Khunmoh, Yechgām, Utrusu (which has been studied by T.N. Madan). The Census of 1921 counted Srinagar : 21.635 (literate 14,749), in the Muffasils: 33,417 (lit. in English 5,154), all together 55,052 Brahmins.

11 See Hist. Atlas by Schwartzberg; cf. also T. N. Madan, Family and Kinship, p.16.

12 For example the Pañcagaṇḍa-mahāparśad (*Sārasvata*, etc.) in the Konkan, attested in an inscription at Sanjan, 928 A.D. (see J.N. Banerjea Vol. p.96 sqq.), belonged to the Maitrāyaṇīyas, a fairly rare YV school close to that of the Kāṭhas (found only in Kashmir). The inscription is, as far as I see, one of the first that mentions the division of the North and South Indian Brahmins into the 5 Gauḍa and 5 Drāviḍa groups.

13 For the immigration of Brahmins see author, Regionale und überregionale Faktoren... in: Regionale Tradition in Südasien, ed. by H. Kulke and D. Rothermund (= Beiträge zur Südasienforschung 104), Heidelberg 1986, pp.

represented as ordering the affairs of the country and the state and as (re-)establishing Hindu customs, notably after some intervals with outside, non-Hindu rulers such as the Huns. It is to such new Hindu kings, especially those of the Gonanda and Kārkoṭa dynasties, that Kalhaṇa ascribes the introduction of Brahmins from outside the Valley and the founding of settlements (*agrahāras*¹⁴) for such newcomers as well as for already resident Brahmins. Many of these early accounts are altogether mythical and rather reflect the wish of the occupants of a particular *agrahāra* to establish a long, fanciful history of their village. In fact, the history of the Kashmiri Brahmins may go back much beyond what Kalhaṇa reports, all the way to the Vedic period.

There are some indications that the Valley and its surrounding territories was already known in Vedic times.¹⁵ The river Rasā mentioned in the list of rivers in the the Nadistuti hymn (RV 10.75) was indeed a small tributary somewhere high up on the Upper Indus, and the mountain **Mūjavant*,¹⁶ from where the best Soma (*maujavata*) was brought by foreign people, was located elsewhere in the Himalayas. In the Atharvaveda, we find the *Kairāta/Kailāta*¹⁷ girls on the Himalayan mountains, as collecting herbs, though probably in an area more to the East than Kashmir. Such data rather point to a non-Indo-Aryan population of the Himalayan regions, a fact reflected in later Nīlamata Purāṇa mythology, which speaks of earlier *Pisāca* and *Nāga* 'populations' of the Valley. A clear indication of earlier, pre-Indo-Aryan populations could be shown by a study of the names of local Nāgas and place names which has not yet been undertaken.¹⁸

Then, there is a reference both in the Paippalāda and the Śāunaka version of the Atharvaveda which gives the location of the place where Manu's boat got stuck¹⁹ after the great flood. This site is otherwise called "Manu's descent" (*manor avasarpaṇa*) in ŚB 1.8.1.6, (part of) a mountain in the Himalayas, the location of which obviously still was known to the authors of ŚB living in Northern Bihar and to the bards of the Epic as *Naubandhana* (Mbh.

37-76, and the review of Swati Datta, *Migrant Brāhmaṇas in Northern India. Their Settlement and General Impact c. A.D. 475-1030*. Delhi 1989, in JAOS (forthc.)

14 *Agrahāras* are defined by Stein, transl. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, p. 16, n.86.

15 Cf. Henri Frei, *Véda et Kashmir*, CFS 17 (1960), p. 47-53; and Georg Buddruss, *Veda und Kashmir*, KZ 77 (1961), p. 235-245 (which deal with the linguistic connections between Dardic/Kafiri and Vedic).

16 Cf. the Avestan name Muza, probably located somewhere in the Pamir area.

17 *kairātikā kumarikā* PS 16.16.4a, AVŚ 10.14.5; cf. 5.13.5; cf. also *kailāta* PS 8.2.5a; Also in VS 30.16; the Asura priests *Kilātākuli*- ŚB 1.1.4.14; JB §190. -- Cf. author, Notes on Vedic dialects, 1., in: Zimbun Gakuho, *Journal of Humanities*, Vol. 67, Kyoto 1991.

18 Cf. below, on early Brahmin and Buddhist *agrahāras*, and cf. the chapter on the Nāgas.

19 PS 7.10.7-8 *hiraṇyayai naur acarad dhirāṇyabandhanā divi ... yatra nāvamṇi prabhraṇśanamṇi yatra himavataḥ śiraḥ tatrāmṛtasya cakṣaṇam*.

3.187.12795). The *Nīlamata*²⁰ identifies "Manu's descent" as the mountain *Naubandha-śikhara*, a prominent mountain on the Pīr Panjāl range,²¹ one of the high mountains (15523 ft.) of the Brahma Sakal group on the Pir Panjal Range, above the Konsar Lake. The designation *Naubandha-śikhara* may reflect, as so often in Kashmir and its surroundings, a genuine old tradition. This is clearly visible in the persistence of such old names as those of the Ṛgvedic *Pūru*²² and the Epic *Abhisāra*²³ or the *Plakṣa-Prasravaṇa* forest²⁴ which recalls the Vedic world tree *Plakṣa Prāsravaṇa* of JB and VādhPiS,²⁵ situated at the source of the Sarasvatī river²⁶ in the foothills of the Himalayas.

Towards the end of the Vedic period, Kashmir indeed seems to appear in the texts: it may be indicated by the name *Uttara-Madra*, which occurs in the later part of AB 8.14 in a list of Vedic kingdoms and the titles of their kings. The country mentioned along with it, *Uttara-Kuru*²⁷, should, however, be sought in Himachal Pradesh, for example in an area including the Kulu Valley, the ancient *Kulūta*. Indeed, *Madra* was still known, even to the later Rājatarāṅgiṇī,²⁸ as the land immediately south of Kashmir. People speaking Vedic Sanskrit in the Valley would, of course, presuppose Kashmiri Brahmins already at that time.

20 See NM 41c, 146c, 161a, 163c, 164a, 178c as *naubandha* and as *naubandha-śikhara* 164.

21 Where, according to NM 163-64, Rudra, Hari, and Brahma reside: 164a *naubandha-śikhare rudro dakṣiṇe śikhare harir uttare śikhare brahmā*. Is this the Trikakubh of the RV, which also has three peaks. The mountain is visible from the Panjab plains.

22 Alexander fought, in the eastern Panjab with king *Poros*, which obviously, is a Greek transcription of the Ṛgvedic tribal name *Pūru*; the king is named after the tribe, as taught in Pāṇini's grammar, 4.1.175 (*Kamboja*, in E. Afghanistan); cf. in the Pāli Canon, a king *Mahākosala*, and his country, *Kosala*.

23 Mbh. 7.93.3380 *Darvābhisāra*; 8.73.3652; 6.9.361.

24 Rājatarāṅgiṇī 4.387: king Kuvalayāpīḍa (c.737- 738) left his kingdom and went to the Plakṣaprasravaṇa forest; Mbh. 9.54.3945; *Plakṣavataṛaṇa* 3.90.8375; 3.129.10515.

25 For details, see author, Sur le chemin du ciel, Bulletin des Etudes indiennes (BEI), Vol. 2 (1984), pp. 213-279.

26 The modern Sarsuti, more commonly known as Ghagghar, cf. BEI 2.

27 Called "behind the Himalaya" (*pareṇa himavatam janapadā Uttarakuruva Uttaramadrā iti*); usually one thinks of Kashmir as Uttara-Kuru, cf. Macdonell-Keith, Vedic Index I,84 -- The name of the mountain range at the Southern rim of the Valley, the *Pīr Panjāl*, attested by Kṣemendra as *Pañcāladhāra*, and of the smaller mountains ranges in Kashmir (*panṣāl*, cf. Grierson, Dict. of Kashm. III p.744; cf. Nep. *himāl*), reminds of another post-Ṛgvedic tribe, the *Pañcāla*, by then settled in Uttar Pradesh. Just as we have *Uttara-Madras* and *Uttara-Kurus*, there may also have been *Uttara-Pañcālas*. Note also the *Pūrus* of the RV, and Alexander's *Poros*, as well as his *AbisarŚs* and (Darva-) *Abhisāra* of the Epic and the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. By the time of the Mahābhārata 6.254 sqq. and of Kalhaṇa (4.175), the *Uttarakuru* were a mythical people beyond Kashmir.

28 See, e.g. Jonarāja, Rājatarāṅgiṇī 857; cf. also Kāśīkā 6.2.13 *mādra-vānija, kāśmīra°*, *gāndhāra°*.

Indeed, the modern distribution of languages in the area shows, that all the territories from Swat up to the eastern fringes of Kashmir must have been settled fairly early by speakers of Dardic, one of the major groups of Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-Iranian.²⁹ Swat (*suvāstu*) is already prominent in the RV, but nothing can be made out from those early references as to its language. Archaeology, however, presents a good record of the settlement and development of the Swat area and its surroundings in the plains.³⁰

All of these early notices merely indicate that the area was in the purview of Vedic civilization and that parts of it, probably Uttara-Madra (the Kashmir Valley) was settled by Indo-Aryan speaking tribes that were recognized in the plains as such, and were known even to the authors of the later parts of the AB, who lived far away in Bihar.³¹

Other early sources, notably those of the writers of Classical Greco-Roman antiquity, do not help much. Herodotos, Histories 3.102; 4.44, mentions the town of *Kaspáturos*, in the country *Paktuikē*, which may be connected with that of Kashmir as a rough approximation of the local pronunciation: an original **Kasφīr(a)* appears *Kaśmīra* and modern *Kəśīr*: *sφ* goes back to *ś + consonant*³², such as *śφ*, *śm*, etc. The Latin form *Casiri* (Pliny) may already be based on the local form without *-m-*, like modern Kashmiri *Kəśīr*, *Kāśīru*.³³

The Persians (519 B.C.+) apparently took note only of the Gandhāra (*Gandāra*) and the Indus region (*Handuš* [Hənduš]).³⁴ The name of Kashmir also is missing in the earlier Pali texts and this might very well reflect the remoteness of early, third century Kashmir to authors and compilers of the Pāli texts living in the North Indian plains. However, a later Pāli text, the *Milindapañhō*,³⁵ mentions of Kashmir in a list of countries.³⁶ Asoka is thought to

29 Dardic has to be distinguished, as is well known now, from Kafiri, which, especially as in G. Grierson's "The Piśāca languages of North-Western India", London 1906, often is confounded with it. Also, other than in some local Kashmiri publications, Kashmiri is not a separate Indian language but part of the Dardic group which comprises the largely still unwritten languages Kohistani, Shina, those of Dir, Swat etc; see now the books and articles of G. Buddruss, e.g. MSS 42, 5-21; Festschr. K. Jettmar, ed. P. Snoy, Wiesbaden 1983; and in: A.u.J. Assmann et al., Schrift u. Gedächtnis, München, 231-243.

30 See, e.g., G. Stacul, East and West 25, 1975, 323-333, etc. The country was first settled by this civilization at well before 1000 B.C. (copper, and after c. 1000 B.C. iron objects).

31 See author, Tracing the Vedic dialects. In: Colette Caillat, Dialects dans les littératures indo-aryennes. Paris 1989, pp. 97-264.

32 Cf. the chapter on pronunciation and MSS, below.

33 See Grierson, in ZDMG 66, 49-86 (on the Piśācī language).

34 But cf. Cameron, Persian Treasury tablets, II, p. 696, s.v. *Hi(n)dukka*, *Hi(n)duś*, *Hi(n)du(pe)*.

35 SBE XXXVI p. 204; cf. Persica 9, p. 206 note 26; cf. there on other schemes (*pradakṣiṇa*, *apasalavi*).

36 which is organized in a rare arrangement, in spiral form: *Yavana* and *Saka* (Panjab) in the center, then clockwise, *Cīna* (W. Tibet), *Vilāta* (Virāṭa, M.P.), *Alasanda* (Alexandria, on the Indus or in Arachosia), *Kāsi* (Benares), *Kosala* (N. Bihar), and *Kaśmīra-Gandhāra*. On such lists, see below, in the chapter on Nāgas.

have brought Buddhism to Kashmir. Kalhaṇa, in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī, make him the descendant of the Kashmiri king, Śacīnara, 8.3411)³⁷ and tells that Aśoka's son otherwise unknown son Jalauka was heavily involved with the Nāga and Śaiva cults.³⁸ This is, again, only legendary information.³⁹ In addition, it is likely that this Jalauka and the Jalaukas in book 2 were confused and that we have to take the information given by Kalhaṇa on the first, Jalauka, as pertaining to the second, Jalaukas (see below).

Patañjali,⁴⁰ who probably was a native of the Mathurā area, lived about 150 B.C. His mentioning of Kaśmīra (Mahābhāṣya 4.1.1:193.18) is probably the oldest actually datable one in Indian literature and it already has the typical Skt. form of the name, with *-śm-*. He already refers the king and the queen of Kashmir (*Kaśmīra-rāja*, *-rājñī*), next to "the king of the Madras". The combination of *Madra* and *Kaśmīra* recalls Milindapañhō's *Kasmīra-Gandhāra*. Kashmir occurs a few more times in the Mahābhāṣya,⁴¹ always mentioning the southern neighbors, the *Madras*, as well.⁴² In these cases, just as in the Vedas, the plural of the tribal name is still used to indicate the name of a territory, obviously of a tribal status.⁴³ The next passages are from Manu and the Mahābhārata.

The early centuries of our era.

Strangely, *Kaśmīra* or *Kāśmīra* are not found in Manu, who singles out the Khaśa, along with other half-Hindu tribes, for their lack of orthopraxy.⁴⁴ The *Khaśas* still inhabited

³⁷ great-grand uncle and a great-grandson of Śakuni, which would point, just as in the case of the Guptas (see below), to intermarriage with the dominating royal family of the Indian plains, going back for 5 generations. Kalhaṇa reports at 1.111, 148

³⁸ Note that early Śaiva cult is attested by the *ūrdhvaliṅga* figure of Śiva at Guḍimallam (1st. c. B.C.), and the Śiva figures on the coins of Kaniṣka, cf. also Bamzai, History p.84.

³⁹ See author, On Indian historical writing: The case of the Vaiśāvalīs. Journal of the Japanese Association for South Asian Studies (JJASAS), No. 2, 1990, p. 1-57.

⁴⁰ For Mahābhāṣya tradition see Scharfe, JAOS 96.2, 274-276; Candrācārya restored it from the "mountain" = Citrakūṭa, South of Allahabad, acc. to Vākyapadīya by Bhartṛhari, vs. 482-3.

⁴¹ At 1.1.44:109.17-19; 3.2.114:9-17 with sentences like: *abhiṅānāsi*, *Devadatta*, *yat Kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmaḥ / avasāma viz. Kaśmīrān gamiṣyāmaḥ / agacchāma*.

⁴² It comes close to BAU 3.3.1, *madreṣu carakāṅṅ paryavrajāma*, or BAU 3.7.1: *madreṣv avasāma*. Cf. also Kāśikā 3.2.112-114 *abhiṅānāsi*, *devadatta*, *kaśmīreṣu vasāmaḥ / avasāma / vatsyāmaḥ*; note that Kashmir is always always given as the major example; cf. Fs. U. Schneider, ed. H.Falk, Freiburg 1987, passim, and cf. Tracing the Vedic dialects, in: Colette Caillat, Dialects dans les littératures indo-aryennes. Paris 1989, p.144 sqq.

⁴³ But note that other countries as well still occur in the plural, such as Videha 4.1.168:268.22 sqq.: *Pañcālānām*, *Videhānām*, *Kṣaudrakāṅām*, *Mālavānām apatyam*; *Kurūn*, *Pañcālān* 1.4..51:336.5, etc.; cf., Kosala 4.1.155:263.3: *kausalyāyani*.

⁴⁴ Manu 10.44: *puṅḍrakāś co ḍa-dravidāḥ kāmbojā yavanāḥ śakāḥ | pārādā-pahlavāś cīnāḥ kīrātā daradāḥ khaśāḥ ||*

the Southern and South-Eastern rims of Kashmir even in Kalhaṇa's time (1149 A.D.) when they also moved eastwards to Nepal.⁴⁵ These and other half-orthoprax peoples among Manu's "mixed castes"⁴⁶ are neighbors of Kashmir. The Kashmiris themselves were already apparently reckoned among the proper Hindus.⁴⁷ The absence of the Kashmiris themselves in this list of half-orthoprax peoples may mean that they were reckoned among the proper Hindus already.⁴⁸

For the period covering the last few centuries B.C. and A.D., we have, some additional information from the Mahābhārata.⁴⁹ The references to Kashmir and her people, however, are neither very numerous nor very informative. Kāśmīramaṇḍala, 13.25.1695 is a land with many rivers which fall into the Indus. Kāśmīra, pl., 3.82.5032 (*tīrthayātra*), is the country of the Nāga Takṣaka, living in the spring of the Vitastā called *sarvapāpamocana*, -- a genuine piece of information on Kashmir.⁵⁰ Kāśmīra, pl., the people, brought tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira, the ruler of the Kuru, 2.52.1870. At 3.51.1991, the *Kāśmīraka* people were present at his *rājasūya*. At 7.11.397, the *Kāśmīraka* people were vanquished by Kṛṣṇa. In the Kāśmīramaṇḍala, (3.130.10545) a conference took place between Agni and Kāśyapa, and between Nahuṣas' son and the Ṛṣis of the North.⁵¹ Kashmir apparently was largely beyond the horizon of the authors and compilers of the Epic. This point has not escaped the Kashmiris' attention. Already Nīlamata Purāṇa 4-5 and 10 comments on this, and so does Kalhaṇa at Rājatarāṅgiṇī 1.82.

Even when taking into account these references from the Epic,⁵² and in spite of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, though, data from this period must largely remain uncertain. We have to

45 See Stein ad 1.317; II 365,430 etc. Note that he identifies the modern *Odil* area in the SE of the Valley with Khaśālī (see 7.399). The Khaśa, or parts of this group of mountain tribes who speak a separate, non-Dardic Indo-Aryan language (Pāhāḍī), later on moved further East, that is to Western Nepal, by the 13th century, and via Gorkha, to the Kathmandu Valley (1769), the whole of present Nepal and even areas further east, such as Sikkim, Bhutan, and Assam. Until fairly recently, their language, Nepālī, was called *Khas kurā* by the speakers of the language itself.

46 See H. Brinkhaus, *Die altindischen Mischkastensysteme*, Wiesbaden 1978.

47 This is, of course, a dangerous *argumentum e silentio*.

48 This is, of course, a dangerous *argumentum e silentio*.

49 We have to take into account that the final redaction of the Epic is much later. It knows of such late-comers to Northern India as the Huns (*Hārahūṇa*, *Hūṇa* in Mbh 1-3).

50 Cf. the chapter on Kashmirian Nāgas.

51 Cf. the NM etymology of the name of the country, from Kaśyapa (NM 218). -- Cf. also: 6.9.361 *Ṣoḍaśarāj.*, v. Rāma Jāmadagnya (§574, 595); 7.70.2435 next to the Darada, both as vanquished by Rāma Jāmadagnya. Kāśmīra, adj. 4.9.254 *°īva turaṅgamī*.

52 Cf. Rāmāyaṇa 4.43

eliminate, for example, from his account of the political history of Kashmir the purely Epic figures. In addition, the first three books are very confused in their chronology. For this reason, all information on the Kashmiri Brahmins and some of the general religious environment of the period must be treated against a historical background which first has to be reconstructed. I have described elsewhere⁵³ that, in these books of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the enormous discrepancies between his narrated time and attested historical time are due to Kalhaṇa's inability to use and understand correctly three or more separate dynastic lists (*vaṃśāvalī*) of the early kings of Kashmir.

Instead of intermeshing these lists, as has been done in the scheme given below, he arranged them consecutively, one after each other, and he thus "gains" a certain number of centuries.⁵⁴ That he confused the few notes on early history at his disposal, even as late as some 600 years before his own time is clear by the repetition of the names of the Huns in books 1 and 3.⁵⁵ A reconstructed list of the post-Kuṣāṇa kings might look like this:⁵⁶

book 1	book 2	book 3

<c. 262/360 A.D.>		
Gonanda III		
Vibhīṣaṇa I		
Indrajit		
Rāvaṇa		
Vibhīṣaṇa II		
Nara I (Kiṃnara)		
Siddha		
< Pratāpāditya, mistaken for being <i>Vikramāditya</i> though only a relative,		
enemy of Śaka) 2. 5., but subject to <u>Harṣa</u> and other foreign kings' i.e. = Candragupta II, who		
conquered Ujjain, Gujarat, in 386 A.D.; thus c. 390/400 A.D.> (Aśoka)		
	<Gonanda dyn.>	
^		
	<Yudhiṣṭhira I>	
	<c. 400 A.D.>	

53 See author, *JIASAS*, vol. 2.

54 He may even have done so intentionally in order to add more than a thousand years to his account, as to fill the large gap between the Kārkoṭa and earlier dynasties and the time of the Mahābhārata war.

55 In the same way, Jalauka, the alleged son of Aśoka, is repeated in book 2 (*Rāj.* 2.9) as *Jalaukas*, the son of Pratāpaditya, brought in from a foreign country and supposed to be a relative of the well-known fighter against the Śakas, the legendary Vikramāditya (who is supposed to have founded the Śaka era, 77 A.D.). But Vikramāditya re-appears later (3.125) with the poet Mātṛgupta, who was sent to Kashmir by Harṣa Vikramāditya, the Gupta king of Ujjain (376-413 A.D.).

56 Here I merely give the results of an investigation carried out beyond what has been discussed in *JIASAS* 2. Details will be published in *The Veda in Kashmir*, ch. I.

Utpalākṣa | Pratāpāditya <Gopāditya> ----|
 Hiraṇyākṣa |----- Jalaukas Meghavāhana |
 | | | |
 | | | | Śreṣṭhasena- v
 | | Pravarasena I
 | TUṅJINA I (TUṅJINA II)
 | | Vijaya <Panjab?> |
 | Jayendra --- <daughter Añjanā> ----->|
 | Sandhimati- |
	Āryarāja	
	Attested are:	
#Hiraṇyakula Hiranya, #Toramāṇa		
TORAMāṇA \ (3.102)		
Vasukula father of: \		
MIHIRAKULA \		
#Mihirakula <c. 530 A.D.> \		
Baka \		
Kṣitinanda Mātṛgupta		
Vasunanda ^ <c.570 A.D.> #Pravarasena II <-		
Nara II -----	^ cf. above:	
Akṣa -----	^ < Yudhiṣṭhira I >	
Gopāditya -----	< Gopāditya >	
#Gokarṇa ^ Yudhiṣṭhira II		
Khinkila-	Laḥkhaṇa-	
#Narendrāditya #Narendrāditya	
Yudhiṣṭhira I		
(Andha-Y°) ?----- Ranāditya (300 ys)		
(TU ṆJINA III)		
 ? ----- Vikramāditya
 Balāditya
 (Kārkoṭa dynasty)
 626/7 A.D. +

(Note the son of another Vikramāditya of Malwa: Pratāpāditya-Śīlāditya, see 3.330, who was helped by Pravarasena II which puts him at c. 570 A.D.)

(# attested by coins)⁵⁷

Kalhaṇa's information about the political history before the Kuṣāṇa was severely limited and has avowedly been taken from his predecessors who themselves were depending on older, lost chronicles. It is this light that we have to evaluate the information provided by Kalhaṇa on early Brahmanical settlements.

Early Brahmanic settlements

In any evaluation of the early land grants and monastic foundations reported by Kalhaṇa, we have first to discard, the purely Epic figures such as Yudhiṣṭhira of the Mahābhārata, as well as Lava and Kuśa, the sons of Rāma; interestingly, their father, the mythical king *par excellence*, is absent in Kalhaṇa's account. The background, however, of these accounts may be an intentional one: Neither Rāma nor the actual Mahābhārata hero Yudhiṣṭhira and other Kuru kings were regarded as kings of Kashmir. This becomes evident already in the account of the Nīlamata Purāṇa which seeks an relation with the Mahābhārata but keeps the country apart from India proper.⁵⁸ From the beginning of Kashmiri mythological history, this is a sign of the Kashmiri preoccupation with their ethnicity and separate existence from the rest of the subcontinent, which the Kashmiris pursued through most of their history.⁵⁹ The description of Albīrūnī, *Tarīkh al Hind*, I, 206, stresses this point as well.

Due to the uncertain nature of the early accounts in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the Hindu establishments attributed to the early kings are to be regarded as attempts by the local Brahmins to enhance their claims on land in a period many hundred years after the "event"

57 Hirāṇyakula is attested on some coins, see Stein ad 1.288, and Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, p.114, and pl. VIII, fig. 9,10 -- Toramāṇa: see Stein, ad 3.103 -- Mihirakula is attested on coins as Mihirakula/Mihiragula; see Stein ad 1.289; his coins contain the image of a bull and trident and the legends *jayatu vṛṣa*, *jayatu vṛṣadhvaja*, see Stein ad 1.289. --- Note that coins of a king Gokarṇa and Narendra (as well as of a Pravarasena) exist, see Stein, tr. II, p. 319 § 17; on Gokarṇa, however, cf. Stein p. 65 n. 12; coins of Kuṣāṇa type and belonging to the 4th century, with the name Sena, Seṇa have been found in the Panjab, see Majumdar, *The Classical Age*, p. 53. Do they represent the Kṣatrapa kings whose names often send in *-sena*? ---- There is a coin of the type of the White Huns in India, which has the inscription *Khiṅgila*, see Stein, tr. *Introd.* p. 65, attributed to the fifth or sixth century A.D. --- Stein, *introd.* p.66, identifies Laḥkhaṇa-Narendrāditya with a Rāja Laḥkhaṇa-Udayāditya found on coins of White Hun type (see p. 85) which closely resemble those of Khiṅkila-Narendrāditya. As Stein wants to bring this king into close contact with the White Hun kings, and regards him as an "Ephtalite prince" he has to understand the name Laḥkhaṇa as "curious and thoroughly un-Indian" and fails to see that it represents a local Prakrit form of *Lakṣ(m)ana*, cf. similar names such as *Lakkaṇa-candra*, *Su-lakkana*, *Lakkaka*, etc., and *Bhiḥkha-rāja* next to *Bhiḥṣa-ācara*, (see the chapter on the Kashmiri script and pronunciation).

58 For example, the explanation given by him at Rāj. 1.82 that Kashmir did not take part in the Mahābhārata war, cf. NM 4-5, 10. It obviously irked the Kashmiris that they did not make out part of "primordial" India (*bhāratavarṣa*), as recorded in Mbh. (except for occasional references).

59 See NM 835 sqq., *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 4.344 sqq. -- It remains debatable how far they were part of the Maurya and Gupta empires; after this, they were a separate province loosely attached to Kabul under the Moghuls, and similarly under the Afghans. Even under the Sikh and Jammu kingdoms they constituted a separately administered part; it is only now that the Valley is officially regarded by Delhi as being a part of India.

supposedly had taken place. The following early foundations are attributed to very early rulers⁶⁰ that cannot be substantiated so far from other sources:

- 1.87 Levāra on the Ledarī (mod. Lid^ar, on R. Lid^ar) founded by king Lava
- 1.88 Kuruhāra by king Kuśa, (modern Kular, on the R. Liv^ar)
- 1.90 Khāgi, Khonamuṣa by king Khagendra (mod. Khun^amoh, near Pāmpar)
- 1.96 Godharā-Hastiśālā by king Godhara
- 1.98 Jālorā (and a Vihāra) by king Janaka
- 1.100 Śamāṅgāsā, Śanāra by king Śacīnara.

The names of these *agrahāras* deserve a more detailed investigation.⁶¹ For example, the following two names seem to have obvious etymologies:

Levāra < **Ledarī-agrahāra*

Kuruhāra < **Kuru-agrahāra*

Are these short (*allegro*) forms of **Ledary-agrahāra*, or rather **Lava / Lāva-agrahāra*, and of **Kurv-agrahāra* or rather **Kuśa/Kauśa-agrahāra*? This would be remarkable for the time of Kalhaṇa, who still had a good knowledge of the older Sanskrit as well as the non-Prākṛtic place names. - *Khonamuṣa*, which also was founded by Khagendra, is of special interest, as it represents, together with names such as *Katīmuṣa* (2.55.) and *Rāmuṣa* an apparently older level of place names that is not readily explained by Sanskrit or Middle Indian etymologies. The following names also are enigmatic, though most of them seem to have been built on a *vṛddhi* form of the founder's name, as is common also in other place names:

Khāgi of king Khagendra < **khāgendrī*, or °*dra-purī*⁶²

Godharā-Hastiśālā of king Godhara < **godharā-hastiśālā*

Jālorā of king Janaka < **jānaka-pura*

*Śamāṅgāsā, Śanāra*⁶³ of king Śacīnara < **śā/acīnara-pura*

The situation is not very different in the case of Buddhist foundations attributed to these early kings:

60 Who are, theoretically, possible: note Patañjali's statement on the king and queen of Kashmir (see above), at c.150 B.C.

61 Cf. already Stein ad Rājatarāṅgiṇī 1.86 and Hultsch, Ind. Ant. 18, 69. Both stress the popular etymology which led to the identification of certain place names with that of early kings.

62 Cf. a foundation of *Khāgikā* made by Gopāditya, 1.340, see below, n. 86. Note that there also is a Khaga Nāga at NM. 959.

63 Cf. the similar shortenings in the names above.

1.93 Surendra:⁶⁴ *Narendra-Bhavana*,⁶⁵ *Saurasa-Vihāra*⁶⁶

1.96 Godhara: *Godhara-Hastīśālā agrahāra*⁶⁷

1.98 Janaka: *Jālorā-Agrahāra and Vihāra*⁶⁸

1.100 Śacīnara: *Śamāṅgāsā*⁶⁹ and *Śanarā*⁷⁰ *agrahāras*

The Saurasa-Vihāra may have got its name in the same way as the establishments mentioned above, < ^{*}*Saurendra-Vihāra*, with the usual Vṛddhi formation; the exact development again is enigmatic.⁷¹ The more recent development of *Śamāṅgāsā* and *Śanarā* has been explained in detail by Stein,⁷² but the original naming process remains unclear at least in the case of *Śamāṅgāsā*; on the other hand, *Śana2ā* can be derived, in a similar fashion as that of the names mentioned above, from the name of the king, Śacīnara: One has to suppose a form such as ^{*}*Śacīnara-agrahāra*, and continue, without Vṛddhi, to something like ^{*}*Śanara-hār* > *Śanarā*. However, *Jālorā*, founded by Janaka, is a clear-cut case: it must be derived, in the usual Indian pattern, from a Vṛddhi form ^{*}*jānaka-pura*.

What surprises is the early onset of Prākṛt forms. While Kalhaṇa still reports both Sanskrit and Prākṛit forms such as *Laḥkhana* for *Lakṣ(m)aṇa*, or *Gagga* for *Garga*, the complete loss of one or more syllables in the case of the place names surprises. The only viable explanation is to assume *allegro* forms.⁷³ This then necessitates to postulate a fairly early age of the name, before Sanskrit was made the official language in the Valley sometime during the first few

64 He also is reported to have founded the town of *Soraka* near the Darad country, 1.93. The name obviously is a Prakrit form based on ^{*}*Saura-ka*, as the manuscript L indeed reads.

65 If not altogether fictitious, the name may have been taken from one of his relatives or ministers, or a writing mistake ^{*}*saurendra* > *narendra*.

66 Perhaps = Suras, on the Sangdāśd (Chatskanⁱ) River, in Nāgām Pargaṇa, see Stein ad 1.94 who regards this as another example of popular etymology.

67 Modern Gudar and Astⁱhel, on the right bank of the Veśau River, see Stein ad 1.96

68 Perhaps modern Zōlur (Zohlir) in Zain^a girⁱ Pargaṇa, see Stein *ad loc.*

69 Mod. Śāngas on the right bank of the Ar^apath River in Kuṭ^ahār Pargaṇa, see Stein *ad loc.*

70 Mod. Śnār in Vihī Pargaṇa, see Stein *ad loc.*

71 Of course, it could simply be derived from *su-rasa-vihāra*.

72 *Śamāṅgāsā* > ^{*}*śmāṅgāsā* > ^{*}*śvāṅgās* (in a gloss) > mod. Śāngas; *Śanarā* > ^{*}*śnarā* > *śnār* (gloss) > mod. Śār. For similar 'telescopic' forms see Stein on Atyugrapura > Agrōr, at 8.3402.

73 Cf. the similar assumption made by Stein in the explanation of *Śamāṅgāsā* > mod. Śāngas, above.

centuries A.D.⁷⁴ Otherwise, Kalhaṇa would still have reported the name in its proper Skt. form, e.g. *Jānaka-pura*; it was, after all, his aim to connect this place name with King Janaka. That he no longer could do so but had to use the contemporary form *Jālorā* shows that centuries of development lay behind this form. It also is not very likely that he or someone else would have invented a "popular etymology", as Stein and Hultsch maintain, such as *Janaka-* ° for a form like *Jalora*. This seems too far fetched;⁷⁵ rather, the identification with king Janaka must have been old⁷⁶ and that that these names were coined in Prakrit or, at least, automatically underwent Prakrit developments.⁷⁷

These and many other place names therefore deserve a detailed study, especially those that cannot be traced back to royal foundations. They may indicate an earlier level of settlement,⁷⁸ and some of them may reflect the original language of the Valley, that of the "Nāgas" and "Piśācas" of the *Nilamata Purāṇa*.

From Aśoka to the Kuṣāṇas

The expectation is that we should be on firmer ground with the well-known Buddhist king Aśoka. However, it is entirely unclear whether Kashmir made out part of his empire. The Buddhist literature, on the other hand, takes note of him and makes him a great supporter of Buddhism in the Valley. On the other hand, Kalhaṇa at *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 1.101 only reports Aśoka's building activities (many *stūpas*, etc.). However, Aśoka's alleged son, Jalauka, figures as a proper Hindu, who should be identified with Jalaukas in book 2, at c. 400 A.D. (see below). He and his successor Dāmodara II, "from Aśoka's family *or from another one*", are immediately followed by the Kuṣāṇas. This long interval obviously is not filled by any hard information,

74 In correspondence to the development in the rest of India, cf. the Sanskrit inscription of Rudradāman (c. 130-150 A.D.), the Guptas, etc.

75 Something like *jala/jāla-* and perhaps a connection with Jalauka(s) would have been more likely in that case. -- The only explanation along Stein's terms of "popular etymology" could have been an observation by Kalhaṇa that certain syllables disappear in the changes made from Skt. to Pkt. forms and that he therefore was free to connect any vaguely similar name of a settlement with one of the (early) kings.

76 Though, it cannot be proved beyond doubt that it was the historically correct one.

77 Which should then occur in Buddhist records of the time which originally were written in Gāndhārī language. This would also provide a means to find out whether the official names of such monasteries were given in the church language, in Gāndhārī, or in the local Kashmiri Prakrit form, and as such they would offer valuable materials for the development of the local, so far unattested Kāśmīrī Prakrit which preceded the language of such texts as the *Mahāparinaya* (see below, chapter on pronunciation and writing), or perhaps, as far as Buddhist names are concerned, its Gāndhārī form. -- For Kashmiri we only have the early sentence quoted by Kalhaṇa: *raṅgassa helu diṅṅa* (5.397), theoretically of the 10th century but probably of Kalhaṇa's time.

78 Most of the river names are so thoroughly Sanskritized that their original names no longer are discernable. The situation is quite different in neighboring Nepal, see author, *Nepalese Hydronomy*, in: *Proceedings of the Franco-German conference on Nepal*, June 1990, forthc.

and the single post-Maurya king, Dāmodara, seems to signify nothing more than a "revival" of the indigenous Kashmiri Gonanda dynasty. What Kalhaṇa has to say about him, fits the general pattern of a revivalist Hindu reign: "royal fortune was restored again" (1.161) and he is described as a great builder of irrigation dams. Nevertheless, he was cursed and since then has been roaming the Dāmodar Karewa as a Nāga.⁷⁹

Kalhaṇa knows only of the three Kuṣāṇa⁸⁰ kings Huṣka, Juṣka,⁸¹ Kaniṣka, whom he calls to stem "from the Turuṣka race." At 1.171, 177 he sums up their attitude towards religion in stating that Kashmir was a stronghold of Buddhism, "in the possession of the Bauddhas". In any case, it is clear that Buddhism was (re-)established in Kashmir under the Kuṣāṇas. To this general period belongs the notice that King Abhimanyu founded, according to Rāj. 1.174, the Brahmanical *agrahāra* Kaṇḍakotsa, (modern Kaṇḍur in Bīru Pargaṇa). Under this king, the famous grammarian Candra (Candrācārya), obviously the author of the Cāndravyākaraṇa, is supposed to have brought the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali into the Valley (1.176).⁸² It is unclear whether the grammarian Candra is confounded with another Brahmin called Candradeva who appears in Kalhaṇa's narrative as the liberator of Kashmir from Buddhist domination. For the Buddhist influence and predominance are described in terms of calamity and disaster, a

79 There is a Dāmodar Nāg at Lālgām, see Stein ad loc. Cf. the chapter on Nāgas.

80 As is well-known the history of the Kuṣāṇas is largely unsolved so far. I merely give an overview here, taken from K.-H. Golzio, *Kings, Khans and other rulers of early Central Asia*, Köln (Brill), 1984, p. 122:

Eggermont Narain

Göbl

circa:

25 BC. 30-80 A.D. Kujūla Kadphises

c.35 A.D. 80-101 Vīma Kadphises

78-106 103-125 Kaniṣka I

106-138 126-130 Vāsiṣka

138-170 130-162 Huviṣka I/II

c.151 143 Kaniṣka II ? Kujūla Kad.

166/69-200 Vāsudeva II c. 166-c. 230

200-230 Kaniṣka III Vīma Kad.

230-262 Vāsudeva II 232-260 Kaniṣka I

260-292 Huviṣka I

292-312? Vāsudeva I

312? -c.332/50

Vāsudeva II

350-360 Vāsiṣka

c. 360- Vāsudeva III

Magra

Yosu

Samudra

81 That is Vāsiṣka/Vajheṣka, cf. G. v. Mitterwallner, *Münzen der spatēn Kuṣāṇas*, München 1983, p. 55, 59, 119, 159

82 Cf. materials in author, *On the Archetype of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya*, IJ 29 (1986), p. 255, and n. 27, Scharfe, *JAOS* 96, p. 274; Candra's own grammar has been popular in Buddhist countries, such as medieval Nepal where some old MSS are found, e.g. in the Kesar Library at Kathmandu and in the National Archives. Cf. already Liebich, *Cāndravyākaraṇa*.

type of characterization echoed later, in Jonarāja's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, by that poet's description of the influence of Islam on Kashmiri society.

"At the period the Bauddhas, whom the wise Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna protected, obtained preponderance in the land. After defeating in disputation all learned opponents, these enemies of tradition brought to an end the [observance of the] rites prescribed in the Nīla[mata]purāṇa.⁸³ When the traditional customs were broken in the land, the Nāgas, who had lost their [accustomed] oblations, sent down excessive snow, and thus destroyed the people. As the snow was falling every year to cause distress to the Bauddhas, the king resided for six months in the cold season in Dārvābhisāra and in other [neighboring regions]...⁸⁴ Then a Brahman named Candradeva, who as descended from Kaśyapa, practised austerities to please Nīla, the lord of the [Kaśmīr] Nāgas, and protector of the land... Nīla having manifested himself to him, removed the excessive snowfall, and revealed anew the rites prescribed in his own Purāṇa." (Stein, 1.178-183)

The Post-Kuṣāṇa Period.

The next verse cleverly connects this period of post-Kuṣāṇa kings with a new beginning under Gonanda III, whose name, of course, recalls the mythical founders of the Kashmiri kingdom, Gonanda I, and II.

"Just as the first Candradeva had stopped the plague of the Yakṣas, the second brought to an end in the land the intolerable plague of the Bhikṣus.⁸⁵ King Gonanda the Third, who ascended the throne at that time, reintroduced the pilgrimages, sacrifices and other [worship] in honour of the Nāgas, as they had been before." (Stein 1.184-185).

Gonanda III thus serves, in Kalhaṇa's account, as a sort of (second) founder figure of the Kashmiri kingdom, after the "ravages" brought about by Buddhism. It is not surprising therefore that Gonanda III, who heads the list of actually recorded kings,⁸⁶ is described as a typical Hindu monarch who re-established the proper rites and rituals in his country (1.185). These are described as those of Nīla, in a direct statement that refers to the Nīla(mata)-Purāṇa. The early occurrence of this name, according to the chronology given above, in the 3rd

83 Note that Kalhaṇa here uses the designation *-Purāṇa* which otherwise is rarely seen in the name of this text!

84 Note that this echoes the legend of the Piśācas who reside in Kashmir for one half of the year, during the colder seasons. It is during this period that the king had to go, as many Kashmiris still prefer to do, to the North Indian plains (Jammu etc.).

85 Note that the Piśācas are called Yakṣa here, obviously a pun on Bhikṣu!

86 It is here that Kalhaṇa's list of kings begins, while earlier kings had been "restored" from earlier authors and the NM. From here onwards he also gives the number of regnal years for each king. -- The mythical founder of Kashmir, Gonanda I, may have been reduplicated at the beginning of the book 1 of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, just as the Gopālas have been reduplicated in the Nepalese Gopālarājavaṃśāvalī, see author, JJASAS 2.

century, might indicate a possible date for the composition of the bulk of the texts now found in the *Nīlamata Purāṇa*. The establishment of a Hindu realm under Gonanda III is, as usual, presented as a re-introduction of old customs, while in reality, it may very well have been the first time these rituals were properly applied by a deliberately Hindu king.⁸⁷ Typically, after describing this founder figure in some detail,⁸⁸ Kalhaṇa has little to say about Gonanda's immediate successors. They were Hindus and, occasionally, fierce opponents of Buddhism, such as Nara who -- angered by a solitary Buddhist ascetic (*śramaṇa*) monk who had seduced his wife -- took revenge for this and "burned thousands of Vihāras and granted the villages which had belonged to them, to Brahmans residing in Madhyamaṭha" (1.200). This presupposes a strong settlement of Brahmans with their own meeting place in a *maṭha*.

If we now turn directly to Kalhaṇa's book 2, for reasons that have been explained above, we note that very little is said about Pratāpāditya and his alleged son Jalaukas. But if we identify Pratāpāditya with Gopāditya of book 1, or at least regard them as contemporaries, we notice a re-establishment of the customs and traditions of the country under Gopāditya. Typically, his measures include the import of Brahmans from the homeland of the Vedic tradition, Āryadeśa. About Gopāditya, Kalhaṇa reports that he "cared for [all] castes and orders brought back the first Yuga before the eyes [of men]." (Stein, 1.339). He established the Agrahāras of Khola, Khāgikā, Hāḍigrāma, Skandhapura, and Samājāsā, Vaścikā.⁸⁹ He also founded the shrine on the Gopa Hill (*gopādri* = Śaṅkarācārya Hill), and established another *agrahāra* there, the Gopāgrahāra, for "brahmans born in Āryadeśa", as well as the one called Vaścikā for those "from auspicious countries" (*deśebhyaḥ puṇyebhyaḥ*, 1.343). In the same vein, he transferred some garlic-eating Brahmans to another place (1.342).

After the long proponderance of Buddhism in the Valley under the Kuṣāṇas and in the 5th century, this import of Brahmanism from the homeland of *śiṣṭa*⁹⁰ conduct, Āryadeśa (Madhyadeśa, U.P.), is a clear reactionist measure. The 'reform' enacted, according to 1.343, against garlic-eating Brahmans falls into the same category. Eating of garlic and onions is

87 Note that the same takes place in Nepal at c. 350 A.D., as recorded in the first preserved inscription, of Mānadeva, 464 A.D. - Kalhaṇa might have inferred that Gonanda III used the text of the *Nīlamata* in the form existing in his time.

88 This feature, which always stresses the founder or re-establisher of a Hindu rule, is based on contemporary dynastic lists, see author, JJASAS 2.

89 See Stein ad loc.: *Khola* = mod. Kooli, I believe, in Khur-Nār^avāv, in Kherī, south of the Viśokā River (Veśau); Stein thinks of mod. Khuli in Vular Pargaṇa, at 75° 10' / 33° 55'. Note also this is the Nepali (Khas) word for "river" (*khola/ā*), which actually occurs in the south-eastern approaches to the Valley in the Odil (= Skt. Khaśālī) area, about 32° 25'N / 75° 40' E; -- *Khāgikā* (see above, on 1.90: note that this place has two founding legends, the first of which is relegated to very early, mythical times!) = Khāgi; cf. also the Khaga Nāga NM 905. -- *Hāḍigrāma* = mod. Ār.gōm in Nāgām Pargaṇa; Skandhapura = Khondur, (gloss: *Khandōr*) in Kuṭāhar Pargaṇa, at 75° 19' / 33° 42' (mod. *kh* < Skt. *sk*); -- *Samājāsā* remains untraced (gloss: *Śmin-Jāsav*).

90 See P. Thieme, *Kleine Schriften*

forbidden by the *dharma* texts (such as Manu).⁹¹ His son Gokarṇa is attested by a Kidāra type (Hunnid) coin.⁹²

If we further identify the successor of Pratāpāditya, the Jalaukas of book 2 with Jalauka, the son of Aśoka (in book 1), a large store of information becomes available. He is described as a Śaiva who also has close relations with the local Nāgas of Kashmir. Interestingly, Jalauka's queen Īśānadevī has a Śaiva name as well: she put up the *māṭṛcakras* at the "gates" of the Valley and at other places (1.122, see above).

Such actions, usually undertaken by the king himself, aim at the ritual establishment of the boundaries of the town or country. They indicate the ritual demarcation and ritual establishment of a particular region or a settlement according to Hindu ritual. This has been studied, in its occurrences in medieval Nepal, in great detail.⁹³ Such a ritual demarcation includes the setting up of various Gaṇeśa,⁹⁴ Viṣṇu and Śiva temples and statues as well as a demarcation of the boundaries by the (eight) Māṭṛkās. The mentioning of the "gates" of the Valley in this connection indicates the major directions of the sky, mostly marked by mountain passes, which lead out of the Valley (Baramula, Pir Panjal, Tosha Maidan, Zoji La, Banihal, etc.).⁹⁵ In the Nīlamata Purāṇa the four directions are marked by four great Nāgas, as the protectors of the Valley.⁹⁶ They are not neglected in this account either. Rājatarāṅgiṇī 1.111 says that the king entered the lakes of the Nāgas and Nāginīs. His Śaiva predilection is clear from his foundation and from the fact that his instructor was the *siddha* Avadhūta, who is said to have overcome the Buddhists in discussions (1.112).⁹⁷ However, while he is described as being accused of damaging Buddhism, he still built the Kṛtyāśrama-Vihāra.⁹⁸ For the Brahmins, he established the *agrahāra* Vārabāla, mod. Bāravul, on R. Kānk^anai (1.121).

91 5.4 *an-abhyāsena vedānām ācārasya ca varjanāt | alasyād anna-doṣāc ca mṛtyur viprān jighāṃsati || 5.5 laśunaṃ gr̥hjanam caiva palāṇḍum kavakāni ca | a-bhakṣyāṇi dvi-jātīnām a-medhya-prabhavāni ca ||*

92 See Stein ad loc.; Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, pl. III.6

93 For details see N. Gutschow and B. Köhler, *Ordered space. Concepts and functions in a town of Nepal*, Wiesbaden 1975, and : N.Gutschow, *Stadtraum und Ritual der newarischen Städte im Kathmandu-Tal*, Stuttgart 1982.

94 Cf. below, for king Pravarasena II, at Rājatarāṅgiṇī 3.352.

95 For a study of these passes, see Stein, Rājatarāṅgiṇī, II, p. 397 sq. and elsewhere in this volume ""

96 See below, in the chapter on Nāgas.

97 A fact unlikely for the early period after Aśoka at which Jalauka is put by Kalhaṇa. Note that the mentioning of the Nandi-Purāṇa at 1.123 is as unlikely at 200 B.C. as the Buddhist-Śaiva debate mentioned above.

98 Mod. Kits^ahōm, near Varāhamūla, on the left bank of the Vitastā, see Stein ad loc.: popular etymology.

These accounts of Jalauka(s) present him as the typical Hindu monarch who "reformed" the country after driving out the foreign invaders and who established a proper Hindu government with 18 offices (*karmasthāna*, 1. 118-120) instead of, formerly, only 7 offices. This reform, too, fits much better a timeframe of c. 400 A.D. than the early one of c. 200 B.C.⁹⁹

Jalaukas' successor Tuñjīna I was a *śaiva* as well, who built the town of Katikā (2.14).¹⁰⁰ He founded the Katīmūṣa and Rāmuṣa *agrahāras* (2.55).¹⁰¹ Such detailed information again points to more reliable sources for these post-Kuṣāṇas kings. If we identify, as has been suggested above, Tuñjīna I with Tuñjīna II *Śreṣṭhasena* (= Pravarasena I), we can add even more information: Just as Jalaukas, the alleged son of Aśoka, Pravarasena set up *māṭṛcakras* at the "gates" of the Valley, in order to ritually establish and strengthen the *maṇḍala* of Kashmir.

King Meghavāhana, however, is reported to have come from Gandhāra. This may be the reason that he, along with his Assamese queen, heavily favors Buddhism or Buddhist attitudes. He thus forbade "like a Jina" the killing of animals, even in offerings where *piṣṭapaśus* were used (3.4-7, 3.79 sqq.). At 3.60-61 he is contrasted with his supposed ancestor, the murderous Hun king Mihirakula. Nevertheless, he established the Mayuṣṭagrāma and the Meghavāhana *agrahāra* and *maṭha* (3.8). His queen Amṛtaprabhā built the Amṛtabhavana,¹⁰² interestingly, for foreign Bhikṣus (3.9). A foreign, central Asian connection is also indicated by the fact that the foreign *guru* of her father, *Stūnpa* from the country of Loḥ, built a *stūpa*, called Loḥstonpa 3.10. The king also campaigned outside Kashmir, in a *digvijaya* (3.27 sqq.), during which he is reported to have met with the god Varuṇa.¹⁰³

The play Pādatāḍitaka, written in the fifth century (c. 455-510 A.D.)¹⁰⁴ by the Kashmiri¹⁰⁵ author Śyāmilaka, provides much detailed description of contemporary Kashmir, though the

99 See Stein ad loc. (Mahābhārata 2.5.38), and cf. Stein ad 4.141.

100 Identified by Stein as the village of Kai, near the right bank of the Vitastā in Vular Pargaṇa, near Chachpōr.

101 Identified by Stein as Kaimoh and Ramuh, in Āḍ^avin Pargaṇa, on the left bank of the Veśau River, viz. a village between Srinagar and Śupiyān. The meaning of the "suffix" *muśa/muṣa* is unclear, a connection with Skt. *muṣ* 'steal' is unlikely; it may represent a pre-Indo-Aryan substrate; cf. also Khonamuṣ/śa in Kalhaṇa, Bilhaṇa, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's Nyāyamañjari. Note that there also is a Katikā (2.14) and Katīmūṣa (2.55) which underlines the suffix nature of *muśa*.

102 Modern Ānt^abavan, see Stein ad loc. The word is, like many other foundations mentioned above, based on a Prakrit word, ^{*}Amitabhavana, as is attested by Ou-k'ong's *Ngo-mi-t'o-p'o-wan*.

103 Tuñjīna's successor Vijaya (again, "from another family") executed his minister Sandhimat, who, however, is said to have been revived by his guru Īśāna and a circle of witches (2.99 sqq.). He then became king (2.117), and took the *abhiṣeka* ceremony of "coronation": "To the sounds of music made him take the bath of the inauguration ceremony" (*snāpāyām āsur abhiṣekāmbhubhiḥ*) (2.117). -- This is one of the few mentionings of the ceremony by Kalhaṇa, after the initial one under the first Gonandas I and II; cf. below, on this ritual.

poet presents the play as if it were taking place at Sarvabhauma, a pseudonym for Ujjain and Malwa.¹⁰⁶ It takes place in the prostitute quarter but contains much information on the social life beyond this, and also on the contemporary Buddhists¹⁰⁷ and Brahmins, who are called "gods on earth" (*bhūmidēva*). They are described as learned in the *three Vedas* (*traividyaṛddha*) and students of grammar (*śabda*)¹⁰⁸ and logic. The law books of Manu, Yama, Vasiṣṭha, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Śaṅkha, Likhita, Āpastamba, Hārīta, Pracetas, Devala, Vṛddhagārgya are mentioned.¹⁰⁹ A teacher he is described as "well-grounded in the administration of justice, philosophy and the other sciences, who had achieved the highest proficiency, in all the arts, was well-spoken, surrounded by a multitude of students, and possessed a humorous character (*parihāsaprakṛti*)."

All of this allows to draw the conclusion that the Hindu organization of the social system, as typical for Gupta time Northern India, was well established in Kashmir by the late 5th century, and that the efforts of the Kashmiri kings, such as Gonanda III, as described earlier by Kalhaṇa, had taken fruit. This is in contrast to the Buddhist ambience under the Kuṣāṇas and to the still earlier tribal picture emerging from the Epic and the classical Greek and Latin authors, as well as the depiction of a still aboriginal population (Nāgas, Piśācas/Yakṣas), described in the introductory passages of the Nīlamata Purāṇa.

The Huns.

Mihirakula conquered Kashmir around 530 A.D. His aversion to Buddhism is well-known from Indian and Chinese sources.¹¹⁰ Song Yun's description of the Gandhāra area¹¹¹ in 520 A.D. is now translated by S. Kuwayama as follows:¹¹²

104 The Pādātāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka. A text-critical edition, part I, The Hague 1966, p. VIII, 19 sqq.

105 The MSS also come from Kerala but show many instances of ultimately Kashmiri origin, such as the frequent writing mistakes typical for Śāradā MSS, see de Vreese in IJ 13, p.44-47.

106 But note that *Sarvabhauma* is the name of the Northern 'world elephant' (Nāga) in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa (cf. the chapter on Nāgas in this volume). The name thus clearly indicates a northern territory as well.

107 Buddhists also feature in his play, see 63-4 with a long exposition and a section ridiculing Jātaka tales in 65.

108 Cf. the roughly contemporaneous statement about Aṃśuvarman of Nepal, c. 600 A.D. by Hsüan Ts'ang, and cf. M.R. Panta, Śabdānuśāna, Kathmandu 1985, and Schokker, Pād., p. 158, from Daśakumāracarita.

109 This must be one of the earliest mentionings of all these Smṛti texts in literature and inscriptions. Nepalese MSS of the early 11th c. show that they by then largely agreed with their present form.

110 See the discussion by Stein ad 1.289; J.Marshall, Taxila, Cambridge 1951

111 In: Loyang Gielan-ji (A record of Buddhist Monasteries in Loyang).

112 Shoshin Kuwayama, Tapa Shotor and Lalma: Aspects of Stupa Court at Hadda, Annali, Vol. 47, Istituto Universitario Orientale, <Napoli 1967>, p.153 sqq.

"In the middle of the fourth month in the first year of the Zhengguang era (520 A.D.) they entered Gandhāra (...), previously known as the state of Yeboluo... The nature (of the present king) is violent and cruel, and he often conducts massacres. He does not believe in Buddhist faith but devotes himself to non-Buddhist creeds. As all the inhabitants are Brahmans who respect Buddhist teaching and enjoy reading *sūtras*, so it is deeply against their wishes that they suddenly have such a king. ... All the inhabitants sigh with resentment."

Some points in this account agree clearly with Kalhaṇa and Hsüan Ts'ang,¹¹³ especially the murderous nature of the king. Kalhaṇa clearly describes Mihirakula as atrocious (1.289 sqq.). However, the nature of his religious orientation remains unclear. Kuwayama thinks that he followed his own (Turkish) religion. That he, as a Turkish ruler, should have favored Brahmans and Śaivism, is somewhat unexpected, indeed. Kalhaṇa reports this particular view only as the opinion of some and as a popular tradition (1.311-316).¹¹⁴ Yet, his coins show a bull and a trident and the legends *jayatu vṛṣa*, *jayatu vṛṣadhvaja*,¹¹⁵ which confirms the leaning towards Śaivism. Therefore, Song Yun's contention that the local Gandhāra Brahmans were all in favor of Buddhism and disliked the king's attitude towards that religion must be colored by his own Buddhist background.

Kalhaṇa's description (1.307) of the Gandhāra Brahmans as "the lowest of the twice-born" does not speak very much in the favor of these Brahmans.¹¹⁶ It may be, however, that Mihirakula wanted to import Brahmans from his own core area (in Gandhāra) into Kashmir to buttress his rule. This might also have been intended as a counter-measure against the strong position of Buddhism in the Valley. That Brahmans from Gandhāra actually accepted *agrahāras* from Mihirakula (1.307, 1.311) has to be understood as a criticism of these Brahmans who accepted gifts even from such a depraved king. It is well-known that accepting gifts always lowers one's status, and it necessarily means taking over some of the evil of the donor. These Brahmans thus turn themselves into something like outcastes by accepting Mihirakula's gifts. At 1.314 Kalhaṇa reports that he established a thousand *agrahāras* for Brahmans from Gandhāra at Vijayeśvara. - About Baka, Mihirakula's son, we only hear that set up a *mātrkā* circle (1.325).¹¹⁷ Again, we notice the establishment of Hindu concepts after a period of foreign domination.

Mātṛgupta was sent to Kashmir from Ujjain (3.207 sqq.) as a sort of vice-roy for the Gupta emperor. His *abhiṣeka* is mentioned in detail 3.237:

113 Not treated by Kuwayama; cf. Stein ad Rājatarāṅgiṇī 1.289

114 Cf. also Hsüan Ts'ang, Siyuki, p.167 sqq.

115 Stein, note ad 1. 289.

116 They are regarded as such also in the Mahābhārata, Karṇa Parvan, see Stein ad 1.307 (Lassen, Pentapot. Ind. 67 sqq.)

117 There is a curious inscription in the Gilgit area which shows a round, bearded face, labeled as "*Bakasya mukham*", see O. v. Hinüber, Antiquities of Northern Pakistan, Vol. 1, Mainz 1989, sqq.

"Then was heard the cry: 'Who is present among the officials on duty?' and there was seen the apparatus for the inauguration of a king (*abhiṣeka*) already prepared. Then that place became in a moment thronged by crowds of people indulging in confused cries, and resembled the agitated sea. Placed with his face turned eastwards on a golden throne (*sauvarṇabhadrapīṭha*), Mātṛgupta received then the bath of inauguration (*abhyāṣicyata*) from the assembled high officers of the state. The water of the *abhiṣeka*-[ceremony] (*abhiṣekāmbu*) which flowed down with a loud sound from his chest, broad like the slope of the Vindhya-[range], resembled the stream of the Revā. Then after his body had been bathed and anointed (*snātānuliptāṅga*) and all the limbs dressed with ornaments, he stepped on to the royal throne (*rājāsana*), and the subjects thus addressed him as their king..." (3.237-241). He made the day festive by bountiful gifts suited to his new royal power and spent that day of highest luck at the same place. When he was then asked by the ministers on the following day to proceed to the city... (3.247-8, transl. Stein)"¹¹⁸

Kalhaṇa here as well as in later instances¹¹⁹ does not speak clearly about the *rājyābhiṣeka* as containing a *mṛttikāsnāna*, an anointment with mud, as described both by the NM (807-833) and the the Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa 2.18 sq., though this might be implied by the expression *snātānuliptāṅga*. This militates against a the development of this of this ritual by the great emperors of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, as contended by Inden.¹²⁰

118 *rājyābhiṣeka-sambhāro dṛṣyate sma ca sambhṛtaḥ* ... Cf. also ad 3.528: "performed according to usage high above the head of the king's son-in-law the holy and desired coronation rite (*abhiṣeka*) with sacred water poured from golden jars." -- Tuñjīna's successor Vijaya: "to the sounds of music [the Brahmins] made him take the bath of the inauguration ceremony" (*snāpāyām āsur abhiṣekāmbhubhiḥ*, 2.117).

119 Cf. 4.720: "Under the guise of the two ornamental earrings the moon and the sun... and under the guise of the royal parasol, the splendour of that lotus seemed to rise over him, which is the seat of the goddess of fortune." (Stein)

120 A test case could be the mantra used in the final great *abhiṣeka*, from the vessel with kuśa grass and water, where ViDhP 2.18.17, AgP 218.25 where the mantra used differs from the North Indian tradition and follows that of the Kaṭhas (Kashmir) and Maitrāyaṇīyas (Gujarat/ N.Mahārāṣṭra). It was already W. Caland who has noticed that certain Purāṇas, the ViDhP among them follow the Kaṭha/Kāpiṣṭhala tradition closely. In the present case, apparently, a Kashmiri Brahmin has used the Kaṭha form of the mantra.

It is interesting to note that ViDhP does not follow here the Taittirīya tradition (TS 1.8.7.2). This fact seems to contradict the occurrence of a *Taittirīya-īśvara* at NM 1152, and the presence of South Indian Brahmins, who are also attested in the neighboring country of Nepal at the time, see the *Taittirīya-goṣṭhī-śālā* in the 8th cent., presumably of priests employed, as until now, at the Paśupati shrine, (inscr. of Jayadeva, Gnoli no. 83, Bajracharya no. 149, see author, Mat. zu den Ved. Schulen, StII 7, p. 129 sq.) and as *Taittiri-śālā* in the Nepalese MS of 1036 A.D. (As.Soc. 4077), with the colophon *Śri Taitiriyasalayadhivāsina kulaputra Ratnasimhena likhitam Śri Yambukramāyām* (= Kathmandu; sic, Regmi, Med. Nepal I, p.118), cf. even nowadays, Nambudiris in Badrinath. - Taitt. are otherwise found in N.India only in Assam at c. 600 A.D. (Bhāskaravarman's Nidhanpur inscr., see StII 7, p.130). -- Unfortunately the Nīlamata Purāṇa does not mention the number of verses used in the final *abhiṣeka* carried out with various sorts of waters. We thus do not know how far the ritual had developed by this time from the shorter one found in Varāhamihira, while ViDhP. 2.18 sqq. has a list of some 200 mantras. -- If the information about a Gupta(?) vice-roy Mātṛgupta is correct, we might detect a Central Indian or rather a South Indian relation. Next to other religious foundations, he built a Viṣṇu (Madhusūdana) temple, called Mātṛguptasvāmin (apparently the first Viṣṇu temple mentioned, 3.259).

The re-establishment of the Kashmiri Kingdom.

Pravarasena II is to be dated around 580 A.D. He founded present day Srinagar (see 3.349-363), by an embankment (*setu*, Mod. *Suth*),¹²¹ cut from the body of a local Rakṣasa, near the village of Śārīlaka, near the hill of the goddess Śārikā¹²² (mod. *Hār^a* = Hari Parbat). The description is typical of all that of all foundations of new towns or re-establishments of towns from a congregation of several villages.¹²³ As Pravarasena was a Śaiva, a *yantra* was laid out for the central new *liṅga* of Pravareśvara, which however, miraculously was occupied by a Viṣṇu image, Jayasvāmin¹²⁴. This clearly indicates a struggle between the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects and the preponderance of Vaiṣṇavism in this period. A Gaṇeśa, Bhīmasvāmin Vināyaka,¹²⁵ is also mentioned (3.352); he is an equally essential part of all 'new' towns.¹²⁶ The same applies to the five Goddesses ending in *-śrī*, as Subhāva-śrī, etc. who apparently stand in for the Eight Mātṛkās.¹²⁷

It is interesting to note that the following entry on *agrahāra* foundations by Kalhaṇa can already speak of endowments not made by a king but by a Brahmin, the several Jayanta-Agrahāras by the Kashmirian Brahmin Jayanta (3.376). Such an action can only have been possible when the general level of economic wellbeing of the Brahmin caste was adequate or, as probable in the present case, even exceptional. This endowment under Pravarasena II agrees, for the first time in the recorded history of Kashmir, with the statement of the Chinese pilgrims that others than the king could found monasteries, etc.

Kalhaṇa's report on Raṇāditya (Tuñjīna III), who is said to have reigned 300 years, may as well be spurious; there are no coins of his mint. The legends indicate a struggle between the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects. He finally crossed the Candrabhāgā (Chenab River), and disappeared

121 See Stein ad 339-349, p. 100.

122 Regarded as closing a gateway to hell, see Stein ad 339, p.101.

123 As is well known, for example, from medieval Nepal. For example, a 'measuring line' from Śārīlaka to the Vitastā(?) is mentioned, which probably refers to the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* around the new settlement.

124 See Stein ad 3.350.

125 The same Gaṇeśa is also mentioned by Śuka, Rājatarāṅgiṇī 3.203 sqq. (new stone temple built at c. 1485 A.D. under Hassan) and even in Stein's time, as worshiped under the same name, at the foot of the southern extremity of the Hari Parbat, see Stein ad 3.352.

126 Nowadays Srinagar has 8 Gaṇeśas, see The Veda in Kashmir, ch. II.

127 Perhaps there was a scheme of 5 Mother goddess in this time? A set of 7 is normal, and there also are 8 or 9 *mātṛkās*. -- Another establishment of the *mātṛkās* is reported by Kalhaṇa 1.346, carried out by Pravarasena's grandson Narendrāditya, who is also called *Khiṅkhila*.

(3.470), in a cave of Daitya women, becoming lord of the netherworld.¹²⁸ The ministers of his son, Vikramāditya, were Brahman and Galūna. The last pre-Kārkoṭa king, Balāditya, built a *maṭha* for the Kashmiris in the territory of the Vaṅkalas, of unknown location (3.480). At Bheḍara (mod. Biḍar¹²⁹), he established an *agrahāra* for Brahmins (3.481). A low grade official, Durlabhavardhana, under the new name Prajñāditya, married his daughter. He was regarded (3.490) as the son of Kārkoṭa *nāga*, doubtless a fabrication *post factum*, after his taking over power in the Valley upon the king's death. His royal consecration (*abhiṣeka*) is mentioned at 3.528.¹³⁰

Summing up, the whole period before the Kārkoṭa can be described as politically rather unstable, but it is clear that several attempts were made, especially after the Kuṣāṇas, about 400 A.D., to (re-)establish 'proper' Hindu rule in the whole of the Kaśmīramaṇḍala. The period also is characterized by a certain amount of struggle of the Śaiva (*kapālika*) and Vaiṣṇava sects. From Nilamata Purāṇa 420 we know that (next to the Bhāgavatas, NM 431, some of) the Vaiṣṇavas of this period were the Pañcarātrins.¹³¹ Brahmins immigrated during the whole period, and were especially called in by the Hun king Mihirakula and by Gopāditya (1.343). They joined the group of already resident, no doubt Sārasvata Brahmins, and quickly merged with them (cf. below).

The Kārkoṭa dynasty.

This period is, except for the slight difference in dates as recorded by Kalhaṇa and as attested by Chinese sources, much more accessible to study. Kalhaṇa obviously had a good dynastic list at his disposal for this period of the Kārkoṭa kings, though one without actual dates of accession and death. By the time he wrote, in 1149 A.D., it apparently had been "cleaned". That means only the essentials were retained¹³² for the description of this dynasty, which was separated from Kalhaṇa's time by several others, that of Utpala (856-939), those of Varṇata and Parvagupta (939-980, including queen Diddā), and the two Lohara dynasties (1003-, 1101- A.D.). It is necessary only to mention the salient features interesting for the present investigation.

128 Cf. the interesting discussion on this Tantric type of sorcery by A.M. Shastri, India as seen in the Kuṭṭanī-mata of Dāmodaragupta, Delhi 1975, on *asura-vivara*, p.83; cf. also Stein ad 2.57 (and Jonarāja's Rājatar. 343), cf. also Alexis Sanderson, Purity and power among the Brahmans of Kashmir, in: The category of the person. Anthropology, philosophy, history, ed. M. Carrithers, S. Collins, S. Lukes, Cambridge, CUP 1985, p. 213 n. 91.

129 In Bring Pargaṇa, in Maḍavarājya, mod. Maraz; etymology from the Kashmiri pronunciation of the name? mod. Biḍ^ar < * Bāla(āditya)-agrahāra > MIA * bālāgrahāra > telescoped: * bālāra > hypersanskritism *Bheḍava*?

130 "Performed according to usage high above the head of the king's son-in-law the holy and desired coronation rite (*abhiṣeka*) with sacred water poured from golden jars." (Stein).

131 Pañcarātra ritual is prescribed for the worship of Viṣṇu (420) and Bhāgavata Brahmins, obviously the priests carrying out this ritual, occur at NM 431. cf. Alexis Sanderson, Purity and power, for a later period, the the 9-11th centuries. -- Nārāyaṇa and four *vyūhas* of Viṣṇu are among the list of in NM 890-1, 888. See Ved Kumari, NM I, p. 156.

132 Cf. author, JJASAS 2 and R.Thapar, Ancient Indian Social History. Some Interpretations, Delhi 1978.

During this period, there also are the Chinese pilgrims who attest the state of political and religious affairs, for the late 6th and the following centuries.¹³³ Hsüan Ts'ang's account, in which he reports that there were 5000 monks and 100 monasteries (but 300 by the time of Ou khong), stresses that the Kashmiris care more for the Deva temples, obviously due to the strong influence of the new Hindu Karkoṭa dynasty (Rājatarāṅgiṇī 4.5 sqq.). In general, this information also agrees with that of the NM: There is no doubt that by the time of the Nīlamata Purāṇa and even as late as the time of Kalhaṇa, Buddhism flourished in the Valley. It is notable, however, that Kalhaṇa mentions married monks living separately from unmarried ones already at 3.12, under the king Meghavāhana, who regulated Buddhist affairs and built many *vihāras*. Nīlamata Purāṇa gives a detailed description of the festivities occurring at Buddha's birthday.¹³⁴ However, the incompatibility of Buddhism with Vedic *śakhās* is seen at Kuṭṭ. 266.¹³⁵

Buddhism survived well for several hundred years after the compilation of the Nīlamata. For example, Kṣemendra (11th c.) still found it necessary or interesting to write a Sanskrit gist of the Avadāna stories.¹³⁶ Kalhaṇa mentions Buddhism, and Buddhists at many instances, also those close to his time. Even after 1323 A.D., the time of the early Islamization of the country,

133 The accounts of the following ones have been translated so far. Naturally, their records stress the situation of Buddhism in the Valley:

520 A.D. Sung-Yun: cf. Stein ad 1.289;

631-633 A.D. Hsüan Ts'ang: S. Beal, Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western world, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D.629), by Samuel Beal, Popular ed., London; see now the detailed translation and commentary by S. Mizutani; cf. also Th. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's travels, London 1904; S. Beal, The life of Hiuen-Tsiang (Hwi Li and Yen Tsung), London 1888; see also Stein, Rājatarāṅgiṇī, Memoir § 9;

673-685 A.D. I Tsing: Takakusu, A record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695), by I-Tsing, transl. by J.Takakusu, Oxford 1896; Chavannes, Mémoire ..sur les Religieux Eminents ... par I-Tsing. Paris 1894;

759-763 A.D. Wu k'ung (Ou khong) (751-790): Lévi-Chavannes, L'Iténaire d'Ou-K'ong, J.As. 1895, p.341-384;-- cf. Stein, Rāj.Tar. and Notes on Ou Kh'ong's account of Kashmir, SB Akad. Wien, 135, Vienna 1896; his stay in Kashmir, 759-763 A.D. acc. to Naudou, The Buddhists of Kaśmīr, Delhi 1980, p. 56

720 A.D. Ambassador U-li-to: T'ang Shu, transl.: Naudou, p.50: story of Mahāpadma (*mohopotomo*);

747 A.D. Kao Sien-che (Kao Sien-tche, a Korean): See Naudou, Engl. tr. p. 51; he crossed the Pamirs and got as far as Gilgit; did Muktāpīḍa help him?

cf. Naudou, p., 51

134 The birthday celebration lasts for three days in Vaiśākha. The description reads like a description of present day Buddha's Birthday (*buddhajanma*) celebrations in Nepal (cf. on present Nepal, G.Roth, StII 5/6 p. 181 sqq.). According to Stein, introd. p. 9, n. 31, the festival was even retained in the Brahmins' calenders in his time, one hundred years ago.

135 *abhimata-sugatāvasthitir abhinandita-caraṇa-yugalaracanā ca*. Cf. Subandhu, Vāsavadatta, ed. with Engl. transl. by H. Gray, repr. Delhi 1962, p. 194

136 Though he is not always favorably disposed towards the Buddhists, see Deśopadeśa 2.6.

Buddhism still seems to have survived in the valley.¹³⁷ Even the appendix¹³⁸ to the later Rājatarāṅgiṅīs written by Jonarāja and Śrīvara in the 15th century, still describe Kashmir in this way: "The good country of Kāshmira is adorned by the Vedas,... by the followers of Śiva and Viṣṇu, by the worshippers of the sun, by the Buddhists with their paintings, and Vihāra and Maṭhas."¹³⁹ Under king Zain-ul-Abīdīn (1420-1470), a Buddhist minister, Tilakācārya,¹⁴⁰ received, together with Jonarāja, the writer of the later Rājatarāṅgiṅī, a high position in government.¹⁴¹ He probably is the last Buddhist attested by name in Kashmiri history. The disappearance of the religion was so complete that no Buddhist ms. has been found in the Valley so far.

If we place the Nilamatapurāṇa in this general period, at least as far as the compilation of the bulk of the text is concerned,¹⁴² we can add a large body of information on the Brahmins¹⁴³ of the period. Mostly, however, they refer to the Brahmins' participation in the customs and many festivals of the Valley in which the local Brahmins take part, most often by performing a fire ritual (*homa*) or by receiving gifts.¹⁴⁴ These items are described elsewhere in this volume. The special position of some of the Brahmins, described as Pañcarātrins in temple (NM 420) as well as in royal rituals (NM 804-5) such as the Lakṣahoma and Koṭihoma, and in the royal consecration (NM 807 sqq.), and especially the stress on immigration (NM 839) perhaps points to a connection with South India, which is confirmed for later periods, (see below).

137 The great Buddha figure at Śrīnagar (Śrīvara, Rājatarāṅgiṅī 1.430 sqq.) was saved from destruction by the early Muslim king Śihāb ud Dīn. In 1304/6 A.D., Buddhism is attested by Rashīd al Dīn's in his History of India (ed. by Karl Jahn, The Hague 1965; review JRAS 1967, p.44. He still had a Buddhist informant, Kamalaśrī. Marco Polo mentions a Kashmiri monk as the head of the Buddhists in the Mongolian empire, in ch. 48, he refers to Kashmirian witchcraft, and in ch. 41 to Buddh. monks.

138 App. H in ed. S. Kaul, Hoshiarpur 1966, and vs. 473 in ed. Bombay.

139 Transl. Dutt; text: *bauddha-sahitair citrair vihāra-maṭhair ...*

140 It is notable even at this time, Buddhism still survived, if feebly, in Kashmir, note also the mentionings of Vihāra in the later Rājatarāṅgiṅīs of Śrīvara, e.g. 1.5.41 next to *agrahāra*, *maṭha*, 1.5.62 at Mārī in Srinagar, or at 3.195 next to *maṭha*, *agarahāra*, *masjeda* (mosque), and the explicit mentioning of a *vihāra* and of Buddhism (*bauddhamārga*) at 3.203. - For late Buddhism see also: Lokaprakāśa, ed. A. Weber, Ind.Stud. XVIII, 357, with Naudou, Buddhists of Kashmir, Delhi 1980, p. 263. -

141 vs. 823 sqq.: *saugatas Tilakācāryo mahattamapade kṛtaḥ*.

142 Important is the mentioning of the Pañcarātrins and Bhāgavatas are mentioned, along with a Taittirīya śaiva shrine (NM 1157), as well as the description of the royal consecration between that of Varāhamihira (6th c.) and of the Viṣṇudharmottara, and finally, the absence of typical Śaiva (Tantric, Trika) rites. This tends to date the NM in the early Kārkoṭa period, if not, as is pointed out in n. 275, at the time of Gonanda III, after the Kuṣāṇas and their successor Abhimanyu (Rājatarāṅgiṅī 1.131).

143 The NM reports in great detail about the customs, festivals in which the local Brahmins take part, see Ved Kumari, NM I pp. 7, 9, 24, 77, 78-80, 81-85, 87,92, 98, 119-121, 124, 132, 137, 139, 146, 172, 173, 190-96, 198-99, 201-203, 205, 206, 208, 209, 211, 214, 226, 237, 242. 152, and p. 79 on *brahmaghoṣa*.

144 See the chapter on Festivals, and cf. Ved Kumari, NM I, p. 78, NM 385, 431, 474, 475, 490, 808, etc.

After this general overview of early Kashmiri history, lacuneous and hypothetical as it must be in parts, we can now turn to the history of the Brahmins in medieval period under the Kārkoṭa and Lohara dynasties, as it is well described by Kalhaṇa in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī, book 4 sqq.

The Brahmins under the Kārkoṭas.

It is here that reliable historical accounts starts, with the Kārkoṭas (c. 625/26 A.D.), if the calculation mistake by 24/25 years inherent in Kalhaṇa's chronology for this period is corrected.¹⁴⁵ He provides, at various instances, the following notes¹⁴⁶ on other agrahāra foundations, until the time he writes (1149/1150 A.D.).

4.5 Durlabhavardhana, the first king of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, (625-637 A.D.¹⁴⁷) gave the Village of Candragrāma, in the Pārevisōka-Koṭa¹⁴⁸ and other places to the Brahmins.

4.9 Several *agrahāras* were founded by Hanumant, son of Īḍa (Oḍā, Aiḍa?), minister of king Durlabha-Pratāpāditya, (637-87 A.D.)

4.12 Noṇa from the Rauhītaka country built the Noṇamaṭha for Brahmins born in Rauhītaka (in Multan, or mod. Rohtak in Haryāṇa).¹⁴⁹ This is remarkable as it is a private foundation by a foreigner.

4.190 Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa (725- A.D.) built a temple for Jyeṣṭharudra¹⁵⁰ and added a land grant of villages for Brahmins, among so many other grants, and he erected so many buildings that Kalhaṇa, in despair, asks: who could count all of them (4.206). His Brahmin minister Mitraśarman built a liṅga (as several other persons did in their own interest and name), and the Lāṭa king Kayya built the Viṣṇu temple Kayyasvāmin (4.209). Notable, again, is the connection with Gujarat.¹⁵¹

145 See author, JJASAS 2. The discrepancy had already been noted by Cunningham, Bühler and Stein, see transl. introd. p. 67, but had not been given an explanation. The reason simply is that Kalhaṇa apparently had a list with dates in the Kali Samvat era but mistook it for one in the Laukika era which starts 24/25 years later.

146 There are many more notes on foundations of *Maṭhas* and temples which are not included here.

147 According to the revised chronology of Kalhaṇa (24/24 years added, see above).

148 East of the R. Viśau in the SE corner of the Valley.

149 Cf. Rohitaka in Alberuni, I p. 308, 316 (cf. Vedic *Rohītakakūla* PB 14.3.12, LŚS 6.11.4), see Stein ad loc.; and Ep. Ind. I p. 10 sq.

150 Cf. see Stein ad loc. and ad 1.113.

151 See above on Candragupta II (c. 386 A.D.), 4.209, 6.304, and cf. Rājatarāṅgiṇī for water brought to Gujarat, cf. Albiruni II 104 on daily offerings of flowers brought from Kashmir to Somnath in Gujarat, and also, Śyāmilaka

4.639 Jayāpīḍa (c. 776-807 A.D.) confiscated various sorts of land grants, but not the *agrahāras* at Tūlamūlya on the Candrabhāga.

4.673 Lalitāpīḍa granted [*agrahāras*] of Suvarṇapārśva, Phalapura, Locanotsa to the Brahmins.

5.23 Khādhūya, Hastikarṇa were founded by king Avantivarman, 855/6-883 A.D., as well as (5.24) Pañcahastā.

5.170 King Śaṅkaravarman (883-902 A.D.) also rescinded some *agrahāras*.

5.397 (The village Helu was given to Raṅga, a low caste person, by king Cakravarman, 936-937 A.D.)

5.403 Brahmins accepted *agrahāras* from king Cakravarman.

5.442 Brahmins accepted *agrahāras* from king Unmattāvanti (937-39 A.D.)

6.87 King Yaśaskara (939-948 A.D.) built a Maṭha for students from Āryadeśa (*chāttrāṇām āryadeśāṇām*). This is the first indication, as far as I see, of the popularity of Kashmir for foreign students, as is attested independently by Albiruni and by Kṣemendra who wrote a satire on a student from Bengal in his Deśopadeśa; cf. below at 6.304.

6.89 Another 55 *agrahāras* were given by king Yaśaskara.

6.300 A Maṭha for persons from Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa and Suḍotra¹⁵² was built by Queen Diḍḍā, the grandmother of king Nandigupta (972-73 A.D.); this is the modern Didmar.

6.304 A Maṭha for foreign (*daiśika*) Brahmins was built by Nandigupta.

6.336 Brahmins holding the chief *agrahāras* held a fast (*prāyopaveśa*), under Queen Diddā (980/1-1003 A.D.)

7.182 The Āśācandra-Maṭha, provided with an *agrahāra*, was built by Sūryamatī, queen of king Ananta (1028-1063 A.D.) in the name of her brother Kallana also called Āśācandra; she also built Maṭhas in the name of her brother Sillana and king Ananata.

7.184 At Vijayeshvara she gave away 108 *agrahāras* to the Brahmins.

7.185 In the name of king Ananta, she established *agrahāras* at Amareśvara¹⁵³

7.214 The king built some temples at the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu, with Maṭhas and *agrahāra*. Bilhaṇa confirms this: at this confluence there were landgrants to Brahmins made by Haladhara (a minister of King Ananta, vs. 19). Also, he adds, there were at Candrasīma, next to the temple built by king Saṃgrāmarāja on the banks of the Jhelum, land grants made by king Ananta (vs.24). Others were located at Vijayakṣetra (vs. 39), a place

depicting Ujjain as the scene of his drama Pādatāḍitaka; cf. also below n. 180, and, later on Bilhaṇa, Vikr. 18.97) see n. 285).

152 Of unclear location.

153 Cf. also Bilhaṇa on *agrahāras* founded by Haladhara, a minister of King Ananta and Queen Sūryamati, Vikr. 18.19.

already mentioned for an earlier period by Kalhaṇa. Anantadeva's wife Subhāḷā "proclaimed the free acceptance of land by Brāhmaṇas" (vs. 45).

7.608 Many *Maṭhas*, *agrahāras*, etc. were built by king Kalaśa (1063-1089 A.D.)

8.898 Akṣosuva was plundered by Tilaka, the army chief, under king Bhikṣācara (1120-21 A.D.)

8.899-908 The Brahmins holding *agrahāras* and *pariṣādyas* held a fast in their assembly place, the Gokula,¹⁵⁴ and at Rājānavāṭikā, mod. Rānivōr in Srinagar.

8.2408 Numerous *agrahāras* in Purāṇadhiṣṭhāna (Pandreṭhān) and Pravarapura (Srinagar) were given by king Jayasiṃha (1128-) for the upkeep of Maṭhas built there.

8.2419 Maṭhas and *agrahāras* were established by minister Dhanya, and ditto,

8.2420 other Maṭhas and *agrahāras* by minister Udaya.

8.3355 Some *agrahāras* were granted by Sumanas, the younger brother of Rilhaṇa, a former minister of king Sussala, under the reign of king Jayasiṃha.

These notes of Kalhaṇa which end in c. 1149 A.D. can be divided into several classes. General grants by kings are numerous. Here belong 3.481, 5.23-24, 5.403, 5.442, 5.448, 6.89, 7.608, 8.2408.

The Brahmins thus settled and richly endowed, quickly gained considerable power. This development has been described and characterized by Kalhaṇa and summed up by Stein.¹⁵⁵ The effects can be seen at 6.336, 8.899, 8.908 where the Brahmins holding such grants organize a fast to put pressure on the King. Gandhi's "*satyāgraha*" and some others of his coercive methods have their predecessors. This kind of fast was often held at or in the Gokula, apparently a *maṭha*-like place where the Brahmins always assembled to discuss important religious and political issues.¹⁵⁶

Grants can also be made by the queen (7.182, 7.184-185)¹⁵⁷ or by ministers (4.9, 8.2419, 8.2420, 8.335), that means, throughout the medieval period described by Kalhaṇa. One case is of special interest: Noṇa from the Rauhītaka country built the Noṇamaṭha for Brahmins born in Rauhītaka. Stein identifies this country either with Multan or with modern Rohtak in Haryāṇa, which had been known since Vedic times as *Rohītakakula*. It is remarkable that a foreigner took the interest and was wealthy enough to execute a donation of this kind in

154 See Rājatarāṅgiṇī 5.23, 5.461, and cf. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, *Āgamaḍambara*.

155 Note Kalhaṇa 5.461-466, and cf. Stein, introd. p.19-20.

156 See Stein, Rājatarāṅgiṇī, p. ad 5.23.461, 8.900; at 8.24.36-37, it is nothing more than a grazing ground for cows. -- Cf. the council of the various representatives of all religious denominations of Kashmir, described by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa in his *Āgamaḍambara*.

157 Sūryamatī founded even 100 *agrahāras*!

another country. In any case, the action points to the close links between the two countries at this comparatively early period (4.12, c. 625-660 A.D.)

This is not the only grant made on behalf of non-Kashmiris: there are those (6.87) for students (from the area of modern U.P.),¹⁵⁸ and at 6.300 for U.P., Lāṭa (Southern Gujarat) and Suḍotra people, or at 6.304, a more generally defined grant "for foreign Brahmins".¹⁵⁹

The wording of these items shows that immigration was not, or, rather, that it was no longer involved in such cases of land grants. Individual immigration, however, continued but large scale imports as had been reported from the period before 600 A.D. are no longer met with. This development must have coincided with the stabilization of Hindu rule in the Valley under the Kārkoṭas. Similar developments are known from other outlying areas of India.¹⁶⁰ Rather, the *agrahāras*, given to such *maṭhas* for their upkeep, seem to be meant for the temporary accomodation of foreigners during pilgrimages and periods of study.¹⁶¹ That such travel took place regularly indeed is known from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī: the famous Malwa king Bhoja commissioned a building at Kapaṭeśvara (7.190-193) and regularly received water from its pond at Dhāra, through a commercial relay service; the Bengali students in Kashmir have been well described by Kṣemendra in his Deśopadeśa; the popularity of Kashmir for Hindu studies is also (indirectly) testified by Albīrūnī when he says that Hindu learning had retreated, in his time, to Benares and Kashmir (1.22).

In spite of the general generosity of the kings, which was, often enough, motivated by acute political interests, there also loomed a threat of confiscation of *agrahāra* land by certain kings and their generals. This contradicts the general rule that such donations are made "as long as the sun and moon last." On the other hand, the inclusion of this phrase, in conjunction with the adhortation to future kings not to encroach on the grant is, taken by itself, already evidence enough that such actions were committed more or less regularly, particularly under new dynasties who re-distributed older *agrahāras* to Brahmins of their choice. Examples of such threats in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī are: 4.639 by Jayāpīḍa, or 5.170 by Śaṅkaravarman. He resumed villages belonging to temples (see below). Again, *agrahāras* were plundered by the king's general (8.898).¹⁶² This violates the common rule which forbids the entry of soldiers (*cāṭa-bhaṭa*) into the area of such grants.

158 Yaśaskara (939-48) built *Maṭhas* for non-Kashmiris, see J. Naudou, *Buddhists*, p. 118.

159 Cf. also those for foreign Bhikṣus (3.9), Noṇa from the Rauhītaka country built the Noṇamaṭha for Brahmins born in Rauhītaka (in Multan, or mod. Rohtak in Haryāṇa) 4.12; a *Maṭha* for foreign (*daiśika*) Brahmins was built by Nandiguṇa, 6.304.

160 Cf. for example Orissa, which knows of large scale imports of Brahmins under the early dynasties until c. 1000 A.D.; but this is no longer reported in later inscriptions, cf. author, *Prolegomena on AV tradition*, (forthc.)

161 This is especially clear in the case of the *Maṭha* on the *Pañcāladhārā* pass (Pir Panjāl), described by Kṣemendra in his *Samayamātrikā* 2.90 ff., see Stein II p. 375 n. 14.

162 5.397 does not really belong here as it concerns a gift to a low caste man, Raṅga, with the oldest specimen of Kashmiri language in his complaint. Such grants were made to Kṣatriyas etc. to recompensate them for their efforts in war, administration, etc.

Kalhaṇa's knowledge about all these *agrahāras* surprises. Apart from legendary information (see the first few entries) he must have gained definite data from copper plate inscriptions recording such donations,¹⁶³ as he indeed mentions in his program of study for the execution of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, at 1.15. In one case, they are apparently referred to.¹⁶⁴

While most of these donations deal with Brahmins who were already present in the Valley, some of Kalhaṇa's notes mentioned above indicate the immigration and re-settlement of foreign Brahmins in the Valley.

Immigration.

Thus, an early wave of immigration is mentioned by Kalhaṇa at the beginning of what he calls the restored Gonanda dynasty. It is typical that a new dynasty such as the (restored) Gonanda,¹⁶⁵ stresses their legality or the attempt to (re-)inforce Hinduism by the settlement of Brahmins from highly regarded areas such as Madhyadeśa, modern Haryana and Uttar Pradesh. We find this phenomenon in various outlying parts of India, such as Orissa, Assam, etc.,¹⁶⁶ but even in old and rich centers such as the Cośamaṇḍala, we can observe the import of foreign Brahmins, for example under the Cośa kings, around 1000 A.D.¹⁶⁷

This historically earliest reference to immigration, if the identifications made above are accepted, typically comes from the center of Brahmanical culture and learning in Manu's Āryadeśa. It takes place under King Gopāditya, who was the in all probability, already a predecessor to the Hun kings. He founded the Gopāgrahāra (1.341, according to Stein, modern Gup^akar, on the Dal Lake, near the so-called Śaṅkarācārya Hill).

Another early wave of immigration is of a quite different sort. It is clearly mentioned by Kalhaṇa at 1.307,311 as having occurred under the Hūṇa king Mihirakula: Brahmins from Gandhāra, "the lowest of the twice-born," (*dvijādharma*) as he calls them, accepted *agrahāras* from Mihirakula. At 1.314, Kalhaṇa even speaks of one thousand *agrahāras* (*sahasram agraḥārāṇām*) for these Brahmins from Gandhāra that were founded at Vijayeśvara.¹⁶⁸ This is

163 It is a curious fact that so far none of these copper plates has been found in Kashmir, see author, *The Veda in Kashmir*, ch. I and II; cf. B.K. Kaul Deambi, *Corpus of Śāradā Inscriptions of Kashmir*, Delhi 1982, p.95.

164 The laudatory verses contained in such grants are mentioned at 1.344, cf. Stein ad 1.15.3.

165 Note that Gopāditya occurs in Kalhaṇa's treatment under the restored Gonanda dynasty preceding the Kārkoṭās, see author, *JASAS* 2. Cf. also the anti-Buddhist activities of Gonanda III, who restored the Nāga cult.

166 See author, *Regionale und überregionale Faktoren...*, in: H. Kulke u. D. Rothermund, *Regionale Tradition in Südasiens*, Heidelberg 1986, p. 37-76.

167 *Regionale ...*, op. cit. p. 49

168 Cf. below, the statement by Bilhaṇa on this *agrahāra*.

difficult to understand unless he means that 1000 shares of a large *agrahāra* were given to each one of 1000 Brahmins sharing the land grant.¹⁶⁹

Immigration is expressively referred to by NM 839, and in a positive way: *āgataś ca janaḥ sarvaḥ pūjanīyo digantarāt*. Interestingly, this occurs in a discussion appended to the rules concerning the royal consecration.¹⁷⁰ Such immigrations usually were well recalled by the descendants of the new-comers and were present in the general historical awareness of the learned people as well. Good examples are Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (9th century) who remembered his Bengali ancestors of several centuries ago¹⁷¹, or Bilhaṇa whose family belonged to the Kauśika-gotra and had supposedly been brought from Madhyadeśa by king Gopāditya. Thus, even around 1100 A.D., one still could recollect the origin of one's family in Uttar Pradesh, more than half a millenium ago. Bühler even met Brahmins in 1875 who had kept family records reaching back for more than a thousand years.¹⁷²

Immigration is also known to Albiruni, see vol. I, 22; 173 as occurring both to Benares and to Kashmir; these movements continued even down to the Afghan period, 1756-1819. Even under their fiercely anti-Hindu governors, immigration to Kashmir took place from the Panjab; this continued in the following short period of Sikh rule (1819-1846).

However, newcomers always were quickly absorbed, perhaps until the period of the the Jammu Rājās in the last century, - just as they were integrated, for example, among the Newari speaking Brahmins in Nepal, or among the Brahmins of Orissa. The manifold geographical and various ethnic origins of the Kashmiri Brahmins are still reflected in the nearly 200 *gotras* they are divided in today.¹⁷³ This is similar to the situation Gujarat where

169 Or, if the number was less, more shares to certain important Brahmins, as frequently is the case.

170 In connection with the mentioning of Pañcarātra Brahmins (NM 420, 431) and the Taittirīyeśvara (NM 1157), this might even point to early immigration from South India as by this time, as only Brahmins in S. India did belong to this Yajurveda school at the time. The only exception known to me is from Assam, (see author, *Materialien zu den vedischen Schulen: I. über die Caraka-Schule*, StII 7 (1981), pp. 129), and the obvious immigration from the South into Nepal, as priests of the Paśupati temple of Kathmandu, attested from c. 750 A.D. onwards, (just as more recently, the Nambudiri Brahmins at Badrinath), cf. above, n.118.

171 They originally had immigrated from Gauḍa five generations before him, about 650 A.D., cf. Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* I p.124, note 24. The complete family line of descent is given by Jayanta's son Abhinanda. Jayanta's grandfather had obtained the village Gauramūlaka (tr. p. 567, Vizianagara ed. p. 274); see K.S. Nagarajan, *Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature*, Bangalore 1970, p. 204; cf. also J.S. Bhattacharya, transl. of the *Nyāyamañjarī*, p. xxxiii. For the name of the village, see the chapter on script and pronunciation below.

172 His collaborator, Paṇḍit Cāndrām's pedigree went back to Ratnākara Rājānaka, the famous poet living under King Avantivarman (855-884 A.D.). (For a similar case from Nepal, see author, *Zur Geschichte der Rājopādhyāyas von Bhaktapur*, in: *Folia Rara*, ed. by H. Franke et al., Wiesbaden 1976, pp. 155-175). The study of such pedigrees, will shed much light on the literary history of Kashmir, if combined with the frequent autobiographical remarks in medieval works written by Kashmiris, and similar materials.

173 See the list in Anand Kaul, 1924, p.86 sqq.; in his appendix, however, he gives only 189 names. Originally there were, he reports, only 6 gotras which later multiplied to 199: Dhattātreyā, Bharadvāja, Pāladeva, Aupamanyava, Maudgalya, and Dhaumyāyana (sic).

we also find some 100 different groups among the Brahmins, some with such revealing names as *Udīcyā*.¹⁷⁴

While sporadic, and sometimes more massive immigration to Kashmir took place throughout its recorded history, the Kashmiri Brahmins more often than not, were also eager to see the rest of the subcontinent. They travelled¹⁷⁵ to various parts and also settled outside their country.

Emigration of Kashmiri Brahmins

Kashmirian Brahmins are seen leaving their country at any stage in her history. Exceptionally, we even hear of a reason, and not an unlikely one, when Kalhaṇa reports that the Brahmins were threatened by King Jayāpīḍa (4.631) so that some of them emigrated. Or, at 6.45, a Brahmin, under Yaśaskara (939-948 A.D.), says that "after wandering about abroad, I have returned to my country on hearing of its good government (*saṁrājya*)". At 8.2227 sq. Vijayarāja, a descendent of the famous Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa, "having great problems (*gāḍhadurgata*), was preparing to go abroad", which clearly shows the economic motive of emigration.¹⁷⁶ At 4.632, Kalhaṇa reports that many people, including Brahmins, left Kashmir under king Jayāpīḍa, due to his heavy taxation; those who remained behind, complained loudly about their fate or committed suicide by fasting to death and by drowning (4.639). They also composed quite involved Sanskrit verses secretly criticising the king under the mum of grammatical discussion (4.635-7).

Evidence for Kashmiri emigration also comes from the inscriptions at the Tiruvalleśvara temple, South of Madurai in Tamil Nadu, which were made under the Pallavas and which clearly state that Kashmiri Brahmins had come and settled there.¹⁷⁷ This movement was connected with the spread of Śaivism and the interrelations of Śaiva centers in the various parts of the subcontinent.

It is notable, for example, that the ritual handbook of the Śaivas, the *Karmakāṇḍakramāvalī*, is used both in Tamil Nadu and in Kashmir. Its author, Somaśambhu, is believed to have been a Kashmirian. The text is, however, also thought to have been composed in South India, at c. 1073 A.D. or in the second half of the 12th cent.¹⁷⁸ The earliest manuscript of this text,

174 For a list of Gujarati Brahmin groups see Yajnik, JBRAS X (1870-74, pp. 93-110.

175 Cf. the case of the *a Brahmin* from Kashmir in Nepal (c. 1200 A.D.). Cf. also a royal priest, *śaivarājaguru*, 1184 A.D., see D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal I*, p.192 -- cf. below, on Bilhaṇa, etc.

176 For these reasons cf. author, review of Swati Datta, *Migrant Brāhmaṇas in Northern India*, Delhi 1989, in *JAOS* (forthc.)

177 Diss. London by K.D. Swaminathan: *Tiruvallisvaram. A study of its history and inscriptions*, School of Oriental and African Studies, London 1964, cf. *Hist. Zeitschr., Sonderheft 10*, München 1982..

178 Or 1096 A.D., see H. Brunner-Lachaux, transl. *Somaśambhupaddati I*, p. xl sq. but see below n. 176, 266 for Somaśambhu as a Kashmiri.

however, comes from Nepal, as far as I remember to have seen myself. It was written there, if I remember correctly, only shortly after the time of the author. This is not entirely surprising, for Nepal, too, has been a strong Śaiva center and its main Śiva shrine, Paśupati-nātha, has been in existence since Licchavi times (c.300-750 A.D). Indeed, we find a *Kāśmirian Brahmin* in the colophon of a manuscript from Nepal, c. 1200 A.D.,¹⁷⁹ cf. a Nepalese MS. which names a *śaivācārya*¹⁸⁰ The relationship with South India was kept up or taken up again under the Vijayanagara kings. We have a number of inscriptions made by one of the Vijayanagar generals which state that he settled 60 Kashmirian Brahmins in his territory.

Occasionally, we hear of a Kashmiri emigrant who had found a certain measure of success outside his homeland. A well known case is that of the poet Bilhaṇa who lived at the end of the 11th and in the first part of the 12th century. He had travelled widely in Northern and Western India before finding a position with Vikramāditya, the Cālukya ruler of Kalyāṇa (reigned until 1126 A.D.)¹⁸¹ Another successful emigrant who gained a high position at a foreign court was Soṭhala, the son of Bhāskara, a Kashmirian Brahmin, was the chief of the royal chancellery (*śrīkaraṇādhipā*) under the kings Jaitrapāla and Bhillana of the Yādava dynasty at Devagiri (Daulatabad) in c. 1200 A.D.¹⁸²

Larger groups of Brahmins emigrated under some of the Sultans,¹⁸³ notably Sikandar, (1489-1413), and especially also during the Afghan occupation (1752-1819)¹⁸⁴ when they spread, as for example the Nehru family, all over Northern India.

Cultural Contacts

179 In addition, Alexis Sanderson has recently discovered quite a number of Kashmirian Śaiva texts in the National Archives of Nepal, (NAN, formerly the Bīr Library) and in the Kesar Library of Kathmandu which were believed lost in Kashmir herself, see his paper: Purity and power, p. 206 sqq.

180 And a *śaivarājaguru*, Vasudha p. 38 n. 20 (1184 AD., see Regmi, Med. Nepal I p. 192). cf. author, On the history and the present state of Vedic tradition in Nepal. Vasudha, Vol. XV, No. 12, Kathmandu 1976, pp. 17-24, 35-39; and cf. author, Regionale... p. 71 n. 92. - There also is a close connection of Nepal with Gujarat, see ditto, and cf. Bender, The Nepal connection, Proceedings of the Stockholm Conference on Nepal, 1988 (forthc.)

181 On Bilhaṇa, see below; Stein thought he lived at c. 1080 A.D., see Intro., p. 10; K.S. Nagarajan, Contrib, p. 215, dates him at approximately 1025-1075 A.D.

182 Soṭhala's son Śārṅgadeva (c. 1210-1247 A.D.) is the author of a book on music, the Saṅgītaratnākara, see Simon, Kl.Schriften p. 938. -- For more possible Kashmiris in foreign service, see The Veda in Kashmir, ch. II (Uvaṭa, at Bhoja's court in Dhāra, etc.).

183 Such as the famous Dhar family who claim that they originally emigrated under Sultan Sikandar, were employed by the Bahmanis and later worked for the Moghuls, for example under Jahangir. Chander Bhan served as a *munshi* in the office of the unfortunate Moghul prince Dara Shukoh.

184 See author, The Veda in Kashmir, ch.I (forthc.).

Other sources for close cultural contacts with countries south of Kashmir are such as the reference of the Rājataranṅiṇī to a donation made by the Malwa king Bhoja who built at the sacred Pāpasūdana spring of Kapateśvara. He also employed Padmarāja, a betel merchant, to regularly send him the water of this spring to Malwa. (7.190-193). This took place early in the 11th century. Earlier, as Kalhaṇa¹⁸⁵ specifies, Kayya, the King of Lāṭa (S.Gujarat, 4.209), built the Viṣṇu temple of Kayyasvāmin (under Lalitāpīḍa, c. 804-819), and under Nandigupta (972-973), a Maṭha for people from Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa and Saudotra was built.¹⁸⁶

Indeed, there seem to have been some quite early contacts between Kashmir and Gujarat/Mālwa, as can be seen in the selection of the Kashmirian poet Śyāmilaka, of Ujjain¹⁸⁷ as the scene of his drama Pādātāḍitaka (see above) and the detailed description he gives of some of the local characters, especially of the Lāṭa people.

Other evidence for the emigration of Kashmiri Brahmins, or perhaps rather for intensive cultural relations can be seen in the several links established by exchanges of manuscripts. A whole stream of traditions seems to connect Kashmir and Gujarat, and further down on the coast, even Kerala. There is, for example, the evidence gained from a study of the manuscript traditions of such texts as the Pādātāḍitaka,¹⁸⁸ or the Caurapañcāśikā.¹⁸⁹ Other evidence comes from Nepal.¹⁹⁰ A Nepalese MS. mentions a this: *śaivācārya* from Kashmir.¹⁹¹

Such "streams of tradition", linking often distant areas of the subcontinent, have been little studied so far but deserve much more attention in order to establish certain traits of the cultural history of India.

Brahmins in Kashmiri Sanskrit Texts

185 And cf. J. Naudou, *Buddhists*, p. 56.

186 Indeed, there are more indications of a closer contact between Kashmir and Gujarat. Already Bühler pointed out the use in Gujarati MSS of a verse, written by an otherwise little known Kashmiri poet, Amṛtadatta, who had lived under King Śāhāb ud-Dīn (A.D. 1354-1373).

187 Nevertheless, the name hints at a northern location, that is Kashmir herself, as Sarvabhauma is the northern 'world elephant' (Nāga), see the chapter on Nāgas.

188 Ed. and transl. by G. Schokker, *The Hague 1966 sqq.*, cf. critique de Vreese in III, who shows that many of the mistakes in the Malayalam MS go back to misreadings of Śāradā letters and ligatures.

189 See Barbara Stoler Miller, *Phantasies of a love thief (Caurapañcāśika)* New York (Columbia) 1971; cf. also W. Solf, *Die Kāśmīr-Recension der Pañcāśikā*, Diss. Halle 1886.

190 See above for important Kashmiri Śaiva texts, and where we also find such early copies of Kashmiri texts such as the Somaśambhu Paddhati (? if I remember correctly) and the Kuṭṭānīmata. Now A. Sanderson has discovered a number of other Kashmiri texts in Kathmandu, see above, n. 177.

191 See author, *On the history and the present state of Vedic tradition in Nepal*. Vasudha, Vol. XV, No. 12, Kathmandu 1976, pp. 17-24; 35-39; cf. also a *śaivarājaguru*, 1184 AD., see Regmi, *Med. Nepal I* p. 192 (cf. n. 268).

For more detailed accounts of the Brahmins in the middle ages we now turn to the Sanskrit texts themselves. There are but a few texts which may be as old or nearly as old as the Nīlamata Purāṇa.

Pādatāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka.

This monologue play was written by the Kashmiri¹⁹² author Śyāmilaka, son of Viśveśvaradatta, in the fifth century.¹⁹³ It takes place at Sarvabhauma, a pseudonym for contemporary Ujjain (which, nevertheless allows to understand it as indicating a northern country, i.e. Kashmir.)¹⁹⁴ Just as in the later text, the Kuṭṭanīmata, the author mixes his local Kashmiri background with a description some famous places of Northern and Western India. Nevertheless, the Kashmiri background is visible often enough (see below). And just like the later texts of a somewhat similar genre, such as the Kuṭṭanīmata, Sayamamāṭṛkā, etc.¹⁹⁵ it takes place in the prostitute quarter of the town but it contains much information on the social life beyond this, even on Brahmins and Buddhists.

Dāmodaragupta, Kuṭṭanīmata.

Another relatively early texts written by a Kashmiri is the Kuṭṭanīmata, written by Dāmodaragupta.¹⁹⁶ The text¹⁹⁷ might still fall into the general period of the Nīlamata Purāṇa¹⁹⁸ and will therefore be excerpted here in detail. "Although there is no direct reference to Kashmir, ... the poem gives a fairly accurate account of contemporary Kashmiri life."¹⁹⁹ This has to be contrasted, however, with what is specifically said about the main location of the story, that is Benares, and also Pāṭaliputra, Mt. Abu.

192 The MSS also come from Kerala but show many instance of ultimately Kashmiri origin, such as the frequent writing mistakes typical for Śaradā MSS, see de Vreese in IJ 13, 44-47.

193 The Hūṇa are mentioned, at 41.15, see comm. by Schokker p. 206. As the White Huns entered India in the 5th century, and Kashmir at c. 530 A.D. (see above), the Pad. should be dated after these events. However, as the sentence quoted above speaks only of horse ornaments, which could easily be copied from neighboring or invading tribes, a slightly earlier date could be imagined. In fact, horse trappings could easily be imported, along with the usual yearly import of horses from the Sindhu, Afghanistan, Bactria, and Sogdia areas.

194 See above: Sarvabhauma is the Nāga of the north.

195 Cf. also the exploits of the Bengali student in Kṣemendra's Deśopadeśa.

196 Perhaps its title is a deliberate a pun on the sacred rules of conduct of Kashmir, the Nīla-mata :: *Kuṭṭa-nī<la>-mata*, in the tradition of Kashmiri humor, emerging with Śyāmilaka. -- For a detailed study of the text, see A. M. Shastri, India as seen in the Kuṭṭanī-mata of Dāmodaragupta, Delhi 1975.

197 Transl. J.J. Meyer, Leipzig 1913; a Newari ms. of the text, already of NS 292 = 1172 A.D.; The text was written ca. 750/780 or 800 AD. (see p. 5-6), "second half of the 8th century."

198 Nagarajan assumes 650-700 A.D., see Contrib. p. 608 sq.

199 A.M. Shastri, p. 41.

The more or less contemporary Nyāyamañjari of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa²⁰⁰ who is described by his son Abhinanda as a Vedic scholar, contains little that is of direct importance for a description of the social conditions of the Brahmins of his period. It furnishes us, however, with quite a lot of details on the Vedic and philosophical texts actually studied in Kashmir at the time. Occasionally it also provides a sidelight on the actual religious conditions, such as the commotion created by the arrival of a new Tantric sect, that of the Nīlambaras. This is elaborated in his philosophical, allegoric drama, the Āgamaḍambara,²⁰¹ - which indicates his involvement in the political discussion of the time.

For detailed information on the Brahmins of Kashmir which comes from a period definitely later than the Nīlamata Purāṇa, but still one of interest for a general picture of medieval Kashmir, one can turn, with profit, to a foreign and to two local accounts of Kashmir: those of Albīrūnī, Bilhaṇa and Kalhaṇa.

Albīrūnī, a Khvarezmian Iranian writing in Arabic, provides a lot of detailed information in his "India" (*Tarīkh al Hind*), which was concluded in 1030 A.D. His data were mostly collected, in a way not unlike that of present day anthropological field workers, from his local Panjabi and some Kashmiri collaborators,²⁰² and from wherever else he could get information, be it from learned Brahmins or from books, often acquired with difficulty. His statements on Kashmir generally have proved to be correct.²⁰³

Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*.²⁰⁴
Canto 18 of this work describes the life of the Cālukya king Vikramāṅka or Vikramāditya VI, whose court poet Bilhaṇa was for some time.²⁰⁵ In the last quarter of the canto Bilhaṇa describes his travels outside Kashmir and towards the end, apparently, his wish to return to

200 For his ancestry etc., see above: his ancestors had immigrated from Gauḍa five generations before him, cf. Stein, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* I p.124, note 24.²⁰⁰

201 Mithila Institute Series, Ancient Text No. 7; see A. Wezler, Zur Proklamation religiös-weltanschaulicher Toleranz bei dem indischen Philosophen Jayanatabhaṭṭa, *Saeculum* 27, p. 329-347, cf. Ph. Granoff (forthc.), and cf. Alexis Sanderson, Purity and power, p. 208 n. 3 sqq.

202 Quoted according to Edward C. Sachau's translation, in 2 volumes, London 1888, and reprinted Delhi 1964. - For Albīrūnī's experiences -- and frustrations -- with his Indian collaborators and the general populace, see his introduction, and p. 179 sqq. (Cf. now see review by R.Rocher, in *JAOS* 111, 1991, p. 442, of: A.T. Embree, *Imagining India*, Delhi 1989).

203 See for example, Stein's estimation, *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* II 360, etc.

204 Ed. by G.Bühler, Bombay 1875; translated by Sures Chandra Banerji and Amal Kumar Gupt, *Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadeva Caritam. Glimpses of the history of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa*. First English rendering. Calcutta (Sambodh Publications Pvt. Ltd.); cf. also B.N. Misra, *Studies on Bilhana and his Vikramankadevacarita*, (Thesis Tübingen 1972 =) New Delhi 1976. -- Bilhaṇa must have lived at the end of the 11th and in the first part of the 12th century, see Stein, intr., p. 10; cf. Bühler, ed. Bombay 1875, introd.

205 Cf. the colophons, and canto 18, 101, sqq.

Kashmir to spend his old age in Śaiva meditation. This is followed by a detailed description of his homeland, his village, and his family.

Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī

was completed in 1070 Śaka / 1147 A.D.; the introduction was written in 1148/49; he completed work in following year. It must not be forgotten, however, that book 8 of the text has come down in two versions, the Vulgate representing Kalhaṇa's final version which was meant to be agreeable to the contemporary king, Jayasiṃha. An older version has been preserved in a single ms., now kept at Berlin.²⁰⁶ The evidence from his Rājatarāṅgiṇī, which, in any case, is a little late for the period dealt with in this investigation, must be divided into two sections: (1) Kalhaṇa's report of distant and more recent historical facts, and (2a) what he has to say about his own time and (2b) what he says, by way of describing earlier times, about his own period, for example in similes and metaphors.

The Brahmins and their customs.

In the following discussion, drawing from the said texts, I always begin with the Kuṭṭanīmata, in which the Brahmins play a conspicuous role though this text rather deals with the seamy side of city life. Though some of the descriptions given about them are fairly traditional, it still is possible to assemble a lot of information on their status at this comparatively early time in Kashmiri literary history.

Traditional descriptions are: The Brahmins adhere to the six duties, that is: study, teaching, performing sacrifices for themselves, officiating for others, making gifts, and accepting gifts. Similarly, according to Albiruni, a brahmin's continuous duties are described as: "he must continuously read, perform the sacrifices, take care of the fire which he lights, offer before it, worship it, and preserve it from being extinguished, that he may be burned by it after his death. It is called *homa*." (II, 133).

The Brahmins, according to the Kuṭṭanīmata, receive the traditional designations *vipra*,²⁰⁷ *dvija*,²⁰⁸ *dvijanman*,²⁰⁹ *agrajanman*,²¹⁰ *bhūmideva*,²¹¹ *vasudhādeva*;²¹² and they are highly

206 See B. Köppler, Textkritische und philologische Untersuchungen zur Rājatarāṅgiṇī des Kalhaṇa, Wiesbaden 1971.

207 vs. 101, see A.M. Shastri, p. 128 sqq.

208 vs. 14

209 vs. 183

210 vs. 412

211 vs. 99

212 vs. 763

respected.²¹³ They also are called "earthly gods" (*bhūmideva*) at Pād. 12.3. Brahmin's names end in *-sena*,²¹⁴ *svāmin*;²¹⁵ they carry the titles: *-dīkṣita*, the title of one initiated to 4he solemn Vedic sacrifices such as the Soma ritual,²¹⁶ *-miśra*,²¹⁷ *bhaṭṭa* (originally the title of a Veda teacher)²¹⁸ or *bhāva*,²¹⁹ the title of a Śaiva teacher. -- Bhaṭṭa also occurs in compounds indicating their sons (*bhaṭṭa-putra*, *bhaṭṭa-suta*, *bhaṭṭa-taneya*, *bhaṭṭa-dāyada*).²²⁰ At Pād. 14.1, Śāṇḍilya Bhavasvāmin is mentioned. Note that Bhava is a common Kashmiri name.²²¹ According to Albirunī, a brahmin is called in various ways. "When he is busy with the service of one fire, he is called *iṣṭin*, if he serves three fires, he is called *agnihotrin*, if he besides offers an offering to the fire, he is called *dīkṣita*."²²²

On the Veda, Albirunī reports that it was allowed to be learnt only by the Brahmins and Kṣatriyas²²³ (I,104, 125). The latter, however, do not teach it (II, 125,136). It was learnt by rote and recited by heart by the Brahmins (I,125) after having undergone the initiation. Albiruni expressively mentions the girdle (= *mekhalā*) next to two kinds of *yajñopavīta*,²²⁴ details the knowledge of which might point to Kashmiri informants or to those who followed prescriptions of the Gṛhyasūtra of their school (II,130). The *mekhalā* still is worn today.²²⁵

213 Cf. A.M. Shastri, p.101

214 vs. 538, 540, 745, Shastri p. 128-9

215 vs. 530, 541

216 vs. 38

217 vs. 566

218 vss. 365, 529, 563, 565; According to Shastri, first attested in the Yūpa inscr. from Barṇāla, EI 26, 176 line 1. (A.D. 279).

219 vs. 538

220 vss. 37, 75, 79; 59, 60, 80, 88, 138.

221 Cf. The Veda in Kashmir, ch. II.-- There are many *bhava* Gotras, such as Kāpiṣṭhala, etc., see The Veda in Kashmir, ch.II. This may make Bhavasvāmin a Kashmiri, after all.

222 For Brahmins' names cf. also Mañkha, Śrīkaṇṭhacarita (1128-44 A.D.), in his last canto, the list of his listeners and critics.

223 It is unclear why the *vaiśyas* are left out; if a *śūdra* or *vaiśya* dared to recite the Veda, their tongue was cut out (II 125, 136).

224 One consisting of 9 strings, twisted together (II,130) and one of a simple cloth. This cloth is also worn by the *śūdra* (II,136).

225 Bühler says: "The Paṇḍits wear both the brahminical cord as well as the *mekhalā*, which they both receive at the Upanayana ceremony." This is a remnant of a very ancient tradition, otherwise unknown in India. The

The study period extends until the 25th year for a young brahmin (II 131), which again reminds of Kashmiri conceptions.²²⁶

Though Dāmodaragupta especially describes one person, the Brahmin Purandhara of Pāṭaliputra (103-200, 411-424), we may take him as typical for the contemporaneous Kashmiri Brahmin as well, though the descriptions are, again, largely traditional.

As in all Vaidika families (420), Purandhara studied with his teacher, wearing the deer skin and the (typical Kashmiri) girdle (*mekhalikā*)²²⁷ at the time of his *brahmacārin* vow (197). When its breaks it is replaced (198). A Veda student is called *vaṭuka* (198).²²⁸ He cuts fire wood for his teacher (414 sqq.) and *samidhs*, a work that Vaidika Brahmins learn early in their childhood (400, cf. 200). Pupils have to serve their teacher (421,436) with whom they usually reside (433).

Some Brahmins (and that means: "only some") were skilled reciters of the Veda (414,422).²²⁹ However, Pād. 12.3 describes the local Brahmins as learned in the *three* Vedas (*traividyaṅvṛddha*), probably a traditional attribute. Kashmir, later on always has had Brahmins who studied all *four* Vedas. However, the expression it may very well reflect the typically Kashmirian (i.e. Kāṭha school) practice of beginning and ending the study of the Veda with the *traividyaṅka vrata*.²³⁰ Vedic recitation is also occurs at Pād. 22.

At Pād. 14.1, Śāṅḍilya Bhavasvamin is mentioned.²³¹ He is the son of a teacher, who is described in the usual fashion as very learned: "who himself was a teacher well-grounded in the administration of justice, philosophy and the other sciences, who had achieved the highest proficiency, in all the arts, was well-spoken, surrounded by a multitude of students, and possessed a humorous character (*parihāsaprakṛti*)." This last characterization is well adaptable to the author of the play. Just like Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa half a millenium later, he is a close observer of the follies and foibles of his countrymen.

Bilhaṇa's describes his ancestors as learned people in similar words: Muktikalaśa was "the abode of the four beloved Vedas" (vss. 75-56). His son Rājakalaśa and Rājakalaśa's son Jyeṣṭhakalaśa

mekhalā is mentioned in the Gṛhyasūtra of the Kāṭhas (Kāṭhaka-Gṛhyasūtra), and in a small Brāhmaṇa on it (in the Kāṭhakaśaṃkalana, ed. Sūrya Kanta).

226 See The Veda in Kashmir, ch. II.

227 The use of the word *mekhal(ik)ā* clearly indicates a Kashmiri background, see preceding notes.

228 Shastri, p. 104.

229 Shastri, p.174.

230 See *The Veda in Kashmir*, ch. V; cf. Schokker p. 157 for further evidence from MBh., Manu etc.

231 Schokker, p.160, identifies him, tentatively, with the commentator on the Nārada Smṛti, see now R. Lariviere, *The Nārada Smṛti*, Part Two, Philadelphia 1989, p. xxviii sq.

also were learnt in the Vedas. Bilhaṇa depicts himself as having studied the Vedas and its Aṅgas, among other topics. --

The Vedic texts studied in Kashmir at the time are known from the quotations contained in Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's Nyāyamañjarī.²³² They include texts from all the four Vedas. The Ṛgveda was studied in the Śākalya version, but in slightly different sub-resension, including a special rescension of the Ṛgveda Khilas, which only here were collected in a single text.²³³ The Yajurveda of Kashmir is represented by the Kāṭha School which still possessed, at the time, fragments of its Śatādhyāya-Brahmaṇa, the Śrautasūtra and other texts now lost. The Gṛhyasūtra, under its alternate²³⁴ name of Laugākṣi-Sūtra, has become the mainstay of Kashmiri ritual until today. (It has also influenced Śaiva ritual). There are several commentaries and numerous Paddhatis of this text. The Sāmaveda seems to have followed the usual Kauthuma tradition, traditionally linked with the Kāṭhas. The Atharvaveda was very well known at the time, not in the Vulgate form but in the Paippalāda version. Apparently it still was recited with *svaras* at the time. Some of its later texts were also studied, and the Atharvavedins were proud to have a special initiation; only someone having undergone it, was allowed to study their texts.

In contrast to this mine of information in the Nyāyamañjarī, the only passage in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī which refers to Vedic learning is, as far as I see, the interesting stanza 5.159, which in rather conventional terms states: "In [charge of] these two temples of the lord of Gaurī, he placed the Brahman Nāyaka, who was versed in the four Vedas, and who was like a familiar dwelling-place to Sarasvatī."²³⁵ Even in the last century, at the time of Hügel's and Bühler's visits, the Kashmiri Brahmins still claimed to be Cāturvedins, though little of the texts outside the YV was actually studied.

However, already in the fifth century, at Pād. 22, the law books of Manu, Yama, Vasiṣṭha, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Śaṅkha, Likhita, Āpastamba, Hārīta, Pracetas, Devala, Vṛddhagārgya are mentioned. Similarly, NM knows of text from all four Vedas. In the NM recitation from the RV (809-811), SV (714), YV (809-811), and AV (805) is referred to, though not always by name. Of special interest is the mentioning of the Ātharvaṇa Kalpas,²³⁶ as it confirms the evidence gleaned from Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. The *kalpas* and the various *śākhās* of the Veda are also referred to at NM 853.²³⁷ The mantras occurring in the royal consecration and its anniversary

232 See author, The Veda in Kashmir, ch.IV, forthc.

233 Ed. by I. Scheftelowitz, Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda, Breslau 1906.

234 Otherwise called Kāṭhaka-Gṛhyasūtra; for details see The Veda in Kashmir, ch. VIII.

235 Stein, note, compares Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, an author on Alaṃkāra.

236 In connection with the performance of the Lakṣa- and Koṭihoma, that is referring to AV-Pariśiṣṭa 30-31. For details see The Veda in Kashmir, ch. III and IV.

237 This is not very surprising as the bathing of the statue is directly referred to, at NM 856, as being patterned on the *rājābhīṣeka* of the king. The same applies, e.g., to the present royal consecration in Nepal, in the case of a Viṣṇu

are: the *gaṇa*, *pratiratha*, *śabda*, *varṣa*, *āyusya*, *abhaya*, *svastyayana* Mantras (NM 808-809), as well as Viṣṇu, Śakra, Savitā, Brahmā, Rudra, and Varuṇa sections (NM 809-11). At NM 412, 750 *brahmaghoṣa* occurs, which means, as in modern Kerala, the recitation of Vedic texts by a group of Brahmins. Similarly, the singing of Sāmans at NM 714 is mentioned as *sāmadhvani*.

Life cycle and other rituals.

The Kuṭṭanīmata describes the life of a Brahmin as follows: After completing his studies, Purandhara settled down as a householder and performed sacrifices (193), which include *japa*, and the customary rites for the ancestors (197). A detailed description of life in his family is given at 193-200, which stresses the carrying out of sacrifices, keeping to truth and restraint, good conduct, avoiding weapons and destruction of life.²³⁸ The solemn *śrauta* rituals are alluded to: The eyes are filled by tears caused by the smoke of the three sacred fires (180-2, 416). Vedic mantras are recited (414, vaṣaṭ 417, 422), and sacrificial posts (*kratuyūpa*) are referred to at vs. 180.²³⁹ Vedic texts are also mentioned. They are popularly studied (419) and include many *vratas* (419). Manu is an author of the past (719).

An interesting passage (Kuṭ. 14) describes the scanning of a text (of which sort?) with marks indicating long and short syllables:²⁴⁰ *chandaḥ-prastāraividhau guravo yasyām anārjavasthitayah* "In the rule of 'spreading out the meter' (enumeration of all possible combinations of short and long syllables in a meter) in which the heavy ones (long syllables) are crooked." This must mean that the marks employed to indicate long syllables are bent.²⁴¹

Bilhaṇa mentions the traditional Vedic and other rituals (e.g.) at Kāṣṭhāla²⁴² which is "resonant with the exposition of the Śāstras" (vs.25); the heads of its inhabitants are "grey by the smoke of the fire in which sacrifices are performed in the evening and in the morning," referring to Agnihotra or *sāndhya* type *homas* (vs.25). His home village of Khonamuṣa is described as "having many sacrificial posts" (vs.71). His family was "renowned and ... inclined to Vedic studies (or meditation on Brahman)." They also were eager sacrificers whose "column of sacrificial smoke was filling the sky." (74) Among his ancestors, Muktikalaśa's family is described as "perspiring, as it were, generated from the constant practice of Agnihotra

figure, see author, The coronation rituals of Nepal, in: Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley, ed. by N. Gutschow and A. Michaels, St. Augustin 1987, 417-467.

238 See A.M. Shastri, p. 102.

239 See A.M. Shastri, p. 85. Kalhaṇa also mentions a "drinker of Soma" in a simile, at 5.393.

240 Shastri, p. 176.

241 Note that those in Albiruni, transl. Sachau I, 138 sqq. look different (| long, > short syllable); perhaps those indicated here looked like the marks, used later on, in Śatapatha Br. mss. to indicate the tone preceding the Svarita. Only these accent marks are bent, vaguely *u*-shaped. All other Vedic accent marks are straight, either horizontal or vertical; in addition we find some hooks. Cf. author, On some unknown systems of marking the Vedic accents, Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Vol. XII, 1974, pp. 472-508.

242 Cf. Rājatarāṅgiṇī, the place name *Kāṣṭhīla* 8.1169, in the gloss *Kāṣṭhela* 6.89, modern *Kāṭhūl*, a quarter of Srinagar, cf. Stein II 451.

sacrifices". Rājakalaśa was learned in the Vedas and a great sacrificer; his son Jyeṣṭhakalaśa also was "preoccupied in the performance of religious ceremonies" (80).

Among the Vedic or rather, the post-Vedic elaborate rituals, the ceremonies of the consecration of the king (*abhiṣeka*) plays a special role, which is described in great detail at NM 807-833, in a form intermediate between that of the various rites referred to by Varāhamihira in the sixth century and, later on, the more elaborate rituals of the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa.²⁴³ The NM mentions a number of solemn Vedic rituals²⁴⁴ -- but only in comparisons with the immediate benefit of the *darśana* of a god, or certain pilgrimages. By the time of the NM, just as today, it is rather the post-Vedic solemn rituals of Lakṣahoma and Koṭihoma (NM 805) that are actually performed.²⁴⁵

In the Kuṭṭanīmata, among the rites of passage, marriage is mentioned as *pariṇāya* (792), *pāṇigraha* (167).²⁴⁶ (Kalhaṇa mentions a *jātakarman* for Gonanda II's son at 1.759.) In connection with the funeral rituals, Agni is called *hutavahana* (489), *hutāśana* (491), *bhagavat* (489);²⁴⁷ the pyre of wood for cremation is mentioned at 490. The *śrāddha* rituals are referred to in connection with the prescription of securing rhinoceros meat, skin and horns (198).²⁴⁸ Purification with earth and water, like a Brahmin, a Vaidika, is mentioned by Kalhaṇa at 6.69; this still is the custom in Kashmir today.

Local customs.

The Kuṭṭanīmata already mentions as a *deśaguṇa* of Kashmir, the permission of consuming meat; we find *mamśarasa*²⁴⁹ and also fish consumption.²⁵⁰ This custom is also brought up by Kṣemendra in his Deśopadesa: he describes how a Bengalī student is gradually enticed to eat meat and then becomes so fat that he takes away all too much room at the feet of his teacher,

243 See author, The coronation rituals of Nepal, in: Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley, ed. by N. Gutschow and A. Michaels, St. Augustin 1987, 417-467.

244 Such as the Agniṣṭoma (1152, 1335), Vahniṣṭoma (1153, 1230, 1334, 1343, 1357), Atirātra (1343), Rājasūya (1242, 1244, 1251, 1264, 1296, 1300, 1324, 1326, 1331, 1358), Vājapeya (1239, 1281, 1294, 1310, 1335), Gosava (1282), Puṇḍarika (1163), 1224, 1305, 1326, 1333), Devasattra (1280), Aśvamedha (128, 1264, 1324, 1332, 1336).

245 See Ved Kumari, NM I, p. 210-11.

246 vs. 167.

247 A. M. Shastri, p. 91, cf. also 480.

248 For an interesting discussion on this custom, its Vedic sources, and its modern practice in Nepal, see A. M. Shastri, p. 88 sq.

249 vs. 307.

250 vss. 734-35.

to the detriment of his fellow students. The custom of consuming meat and of offering it in *śrāddha*²⁵¹ ceremonies, continues (as I witnessed in 1979), until today.²⁵²

Wine, however, is not drunken by Brahmins, which surprises, taking into account its frequent mentioning in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, in Nīlamata Purāṇa, and in the Kuṭṭ.,²⁵³ and the modern occurrence of such ritual drinks as *pāṇaka*.²⁵⁴ Newly made alcohol (*nava madya*) was to be drunken, according to NM 465, by alcohol drinkers (*madyapa*) on the day of the first snow fall. However, it remains unclear in how far Brahmins actually were wine drinkers.²⁵⁵ A later text, the Deśopadeśa by Kṣemendra, describes, in a humorous way, the drunken excesses of a Śaivite Tantric teacher (*śaivaguru*), who regularly gets drunk at the nightly *kaula* sessions. But this, of course, refers to the consumption of alcohol in a ritual context.²⁵⁶

Even if Kashmir has, from the point of view of the Brahmins of the plains, some lax customs, the Kashmiris of this early period as well as those of more recent times did not regard staying in the Kāśmīramaṇḍala but rather *leaving* their country as polluting, and as necessitating the performance of certain *prāyaścittas*. Even in the last century, this is reported to have been done until "recently" when someone returned from a place outside the Valley.²⁵⁷

Interestingly, local *ācāra* customs are referred to already by Śyāmilaka in his Pād., who takes recourse to the customary law in deciding a case of pollution, at 14.6. This is described as a law "based on an agreement between respectable persons of land, class and family," a definition also known to GautDhS.²⁵⁸

Popular Religion and Tantra.

251 Bühler, p. 28: "A natural consequence of the practice of eating meat is that at the annual *vārṣika śrāddha*, the anniversary funeral sacrifice, the *piṇḍas* offered consist of meat."

252 Bühler: "Another peculiarity of the *ācāra* of the Pandits is the universal consumption of meat. [This continues until today]. All eat mutton, goats' flesh and fish. But they obey the usual restrictions of the Śāstras as to beef, pork and the meat of other forbidden animals. They usually declare that the custom of eating meat is based on a *deśaguṇa*, "a virtue of the country," and that they leave it off as soon as they descend into the plains." [This also is true today].

253 There even is a *pānaka-goṣṭhi* and a *surata-goṣṭhi*, and drinking association, see A. M. Sharma, p. 159.

254 Cf. author, the Veda in Kashmir, forthc.

255 Cf. Kuṭṭ. 795, 1013 and NM 465, 675 (made from *irā* flowers); Bühler: "My Kashmirian acquaintances most solemnly denied that they took any wine or liquor." But cf. the *pānaka-* and *surata-goṣṭhīs*, A.M. Shastri p. 159.

256 See now A. Sanderson, Power and purity, p. 203, n. 111.

257 See Stein, Rājatarāṅgiṇī I, p. 140 note *ad* 4.189.

258 11.20, see Schokker p. 160.

Kalhaṇa, here and there, provides some reliable information about the popular religion of this time and of the last few centuries preceding it. The mentioning of the "circles of mother goddesses", referred to above, in the process of the establishment of a Hindu state in Kashmir, can be viewed also from the point of view of popular religion: it certifies the presence of these deities and their rituals.²⁵⁹

Kalhaṇa also mentions Tantric gurus²⁶⁰ and their rituals under king Yaśaskara (939-948 A.D.), for example a *gurudīkṣā* 6.12, 6.135 and a *matsyāpūpa-yāga*, a complicated Tantric rite²⁶¹, at 6.11. This information on the prominence of certain Tantric rituals is counterbalanced by the uproar the introduction of the new Nīlambara sect into the Valley created a little earlier, in the 9th century. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa briefly refers to this in his Nyāyamañjari and more detailedly in his allegoric drama, the Āgamaḍambara.²⁶²

Tantric ritual already makes its appearance in the early parts of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, see for example the mentioning of *māṭṛkacakra*, *devīcakra*, right from the earliest times of Kashmiri history; the first ones are said to have been founded by the wife of Jalauka, the alleged son of Aśoka.²⁶³ But it is not clear in how far Kalhaṇa extrapolates from the usages of his own times in ascribing some of these rites to such early periods. Tantric ritual is also mentioned later on: *samaya* as a ritual, *samayācāra* 7.279-280. Kalhaṇa, just as Kṣemendra, and much earlier, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, does not always speak favorably of Tantric adepts.

Kalhaṇa, however, does speak respectfully of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, the expounder of Śiva Sūtras, but he derides the *Kaula gurus*, probably thinking of those in his time (7.278 ff., 7.295 ff., 7.523, 7.712). Thus, he praises King Yaśaskara under whose reign "the Brahman Gurus did not drink spirits while singing their chants" (6.10). This is echoed by the earlier poet, Kṣemendra, in his Deśopadeśa 8,11-13:²⁶⁴

madhupāne kṛtabuddhiḥ kaulakathānaṣṭajātisamkocaḥ
matsyaśaravakahasto gurugṛham āyāti dīkṣito bhaṭṭaḥ || 11 ||
ghaṭagalagalagalaśabdair galapūra bhairavaṃ piban bhaṭṭaḥ
saṃlekṣyate pravāhe luḥhati ivāmbhobharāt khinnaḥ || 12 ||

259 The setting up of groups of Tantric goddesses, the *Māṭṛcakra* or *Devīcakra*, is reported right from the beginning of Kashmirian history, see Rājatarāṅgiṇī 1.122, 348, 3.99, 5.55; 1.33, 1.335; on this topic cf. below, chapter on Nāgas.

260 For a discussion of the religious situation of the period, with its various Hindu sects and new Tantric (Kaula) movements, see now A. Sanderson, Purity and power, p. 190-216.

261 Connected with Tantric *śrāddha*, acc. to Stein ad loc.; he also refers to "newly concocted Paddhatis" in his time, a hundred years ago.

262 Mithila Institute Series, Ancient Text No. 7; see A. Wezler, Saeculum 27, Ph. Granoff (forthc.), and cf. Alexis Sanderson, Purity and power, p. 208, n. 3 sqq.

263 See Stein, note ad 1.121; 1.333-335, 1.348, 3.99, 5.55. Cf. below, the chapter on the Nāgas.

264 Cf. Sanderson, op.cit., n. 111; cf. also Kṣemendra, Narmamālā, 92-116 on various *gurus*.

*nītvā nikhilam rātriṃ kṣīvo vāntā savah śvalīdhāsyam
abhivādanapariśuddham prātar bhaṭṭo 'nyabhaṭṭeṣu || 13 ||*

"Alcohol in both hands, resolved, humbled by the loss of caste due to the talk of "Kaula" (about him), with a plate full of fish in his hand, the initiated Bhaṭṭa goes to the house of his (Śaiva) teacher (11). Busy with gargling sounds, the Bhaṭṭa drinks, his throat full of "Bhairava" (recitation) [*or*: terrible (alcohol)]; in continuity [*or*: at a "pond"] (alcohol) is licked up; he rolls about, as he holds heavenly water, uneasily. (12) Having spent a whole night (thus), drunken, he has vomited the liquor, his mouth licked by dogs; (but next morning,) completely cleansed, with respectful greetings, he (walks) a Bhaṭṭa among the other Bhaṭṭas." (13)

Even in the last century, Bühler (1875) could still refer to the dominance of this form of locally practised Śaivism and its occasional similarities with Vedic ritual: ... "As regards their *bhakti*, or worship, nearly all Kashmirians are Śaivas. A few families only are Śāktas and adherents of the left-handed or evil path, *vāmapanthīs*. There also are a small number of Vaiṣṇavas, descendants, I was told, of people who were converted in the Panjāb. In ancient times, too, the prevalent faith in Kaśmīr was Śaivism, but Bauddhas and Bhāgavata-Vaiṣṇavas too flourished."

"Kāśmīrian Śaivism did not, and does not, contend itself simply with the worship of Śiva emblems, as is the case among the Smārta Brahmins in Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarāt. It is a real separate religion, with peculiar ceremonies and transcendental doctrines. There exists, for those who are willing to enter it, a regular order for which a special initiation, both by *mantra* and a *dīkṣā* consisting of complicated rituals, is required. The *mantra* is frequently given first, and the *dīkṣā* years afterwards. The rites to be performed are very numerous, and are described in the Kalādīkṣās of the Government collection [now at the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute]. They are Tantric imitations of the Vedic rites.²⁶⁵ The *gurus* are those Sanskrit-speaking Pandits who have been initiated.²⁶⁶ Śaivas appear to modify their Vedic daily and occasional rites by adding new Tantric ones,²⁶⁷ for which the *Kriyākāṇḍa* of *Somaśambhu*²⁶⁸ is the guiding authority. My acquaintances were either unable or unwilling to tell me the

265 This is a little bit over-simplified, but see below, on Karmakāṇḍa. Nevertheless, the modern Paddhatis always have a *vaidika* and a *tāntrika* version of a rite, the Tantric one being modelled on the Vedic one.

266 For a humorous description of a *śaivaguru*, some 900 years earlier, see Kṣemendra's Deśopadeśa, 8.11-13; cf. Alexis Sanderson, Purity and power, p. 214 n. 111.

267 See the examples in the printed Karmakāṇḍa handbooks (by Keśava Bhaṭṭa, et al., Bombay), in The Veda in Kashmir (forthc.) ch. II, appendix.

268 See now the ed. in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies and the transl. by H. Brunner-Lachaux (cf. above n. 176), and see the evidence quoted by Alexis Sanderson, Purity and power among the Brahmins of Kashmir, p. 215 n. 125 on his being a Kashmiri, born at Padmapura. -- I may add that I remember to have noticed the probably oldest Somaśambhu ms. in Nepal, dated in the 11th c. (in the Kesar Library?). -- Nepalese mss. also mention knows of an itinerant Śaivaguru from Kashmir in c. 1200 A.D. see author, Regionale und überregionale Faktoren... in: Regionale Tradition in Südasien, ed. by H. Kulke and D. Rothermund (= Beiträge zur Südasienforschung 104), Heidelberg 1986, p. 71 n. 92, and a *śaivarājaguru* (see above, n. 189).

purpose /f their Śaiva mysteries. They said that they did not consider them to be a special road to heaven or to final liberation, nor particularly to add to their sanctity. But they thought that it was better to be initiated, as it had been the custom of the country from time immemorial."

Alexis Sanderson²⁶⁹ analyzes and describes the medieval origins of this state of affairs in the well-documented period from the 9-11th centuries, characterized by the waning Vaiṣṇava influence of the 'official' Pañcarātrin sect, next to the dominating factor of the milder Tantric form of Śaivism (Śaiva-Siddhānta),²⁷⁰ with inroads being made, from c. 900 A.D. onwards, by the popular, ferocious and esoteric Trika system with its secret Kaula ceremonies, and balanced by the traditional Mīmāṃsaka attitudes of the Brahmins with their Vedic rituals, as well as the various forms of late Buddhism on the other: "one could be internally a Kaula, externally a Śaiva [a worshipper of Svachchandaḥairava in the Kashmirian context] while remaining Vedic in one's social practise."²⁷¹

In an appendix²⁷² to the later Rājatarāṅgiṇī occurs the passage: "And now, there are forty-five Śiva (*giriśa*), sixty Viṣṇu (*cakrāyudha*), three Brahmā (statues), one says, and twenty-two Śakti (images) having residences with no beginnings; seven hundred serpents, with Nīla at their head, who have their home in the Tīrthas, and there are more than fourteen well-known (ones) in the country of Kashmir." This sums up the main deities of Kashmir quite aptly. Indeed, while the passage is a late interpolation, probably made at the time of the translation made for Akbar in 1588 A.D., Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī and already NM 1026 sqq., 1162 sqq. mention many Viṣṇu and Śiva temples by name, often with detailed information on their foundation and on grants made by certain kings. Some of them, notably the early ones, have been referred to above.

Nāga worship²⁷³ is mentioned by Kalhaṇa several times: Gonanda III revives the cult (1.185) after a period of Buddhist dominance in the Valley. A Takṣaka Nāga festival is held at the village of Zevan.²⁷⁴ NM prescribes their worship at 837, 846, and elsewhere in some detail.

269 Alexis Sanderson, Purity and power among the Brahmins of Kashmir, in: The category of the person. Anthropology, philosophy, history, ed. M. Carrithers, S. Collins, S. Lukes, Cambridge, CUP 1985, p. 190-216.

270 Cf. the founding of a Sadāśiva temple, by Sūryamatī, the queen of king Annata (1028-63), Rāj. 7.181, cf. its mentioning 7.186, 673, 8.934, 1125.

271 Sanderson, Purity and power, p.205; for an example of such a Brahmin (*bhaṭṭa*), ridiculed by Kṣemendra see Deśopadeśa 8.11-13, quoted above.

272 Ed. Kaul, app. H, Bombay ed. 473 sqq.: *catvāriṃśad athāpi pañca giriśāṃ ṣaṣṭiś ca cakrāyudhā brahmāṇas traya ity anādi-nidhanā dvāvīṃśatiḥ śaktayaḥ | nīlādīni śatāni sapta phaṇināṃ tīrthaukasāṃ koṭayo vikhyātās ca caturdaśottama-tarāṃ kāśmīra-maṇḍale* (B 475)

273 Vaiṣṇava cult is connected, according to Ved Kumari, with the cult of the Nāgas, p. 185; Nārāyaṇa and four *vyūhas* of Viṣṇu are among the list of Nāgas in NM 890-1, 888.

274 Kṣemendra, Samayamātrikā 2.88 and cf. the later texts.

According to the later Rājatarāṅgiṇī, even a Muslim king, Zain ul Abidīn (1420-1470 A.D.), provided food for the visitors (*yogin, bhogin*) at the Nāga festival and the Gaṇacakra for five days (1.3.46-52).²⁷⁵

Kalhaṇa also reports, from the Nīlamata, at 1.182: a Brāhmaṇa, Candradeva, practised austerities to please Nīla and stopped the snowfall of the Buddhist perished when one had given up practising the rites prescribed in the Nīlamata Purāṇa. According to this story, the present Nīlamata, here called a Purāṇa (!) was revealed anew (1.131) under king Abhimanyu I, or rather Gonanda III, whose date, unfortunately cannot be ascertained exactly.²⁷⁶ In Kalhaṇa's time, thus, the Nīlamata was regarded as being of considerable antiquity.²⁷⁷

According to the later Rājatarāṅgiṇī, in the year LS '39 (1463 A.D.) the Muslim King Zain ul Abidīn went, after the Nāga festival, on a (Hindu) pilgrimage (*tīrthayātra*), together with Śrīvara and Siṃhabhaṭṭa, after listening to the *Ādipurāṇa*.²⁷⁸ He visits Vijayeśvara at the end of the Pitṛpakṣa, then proceeds to see Viṣṇu's feet marks at the Krama lake, near the mountains of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Mahādeva; in a boat on the lake, he listens to the Gītagovinda and goes three times around the lake at Naubandhana (104); he visits the Sukumāra shrine (106) and the Sukumāra lake.

Brahmanical Learning.

In the Kuṭṭanīmata, both Pāṭaliputra, Benares and Kashmir are regarded as centers of learning.²⁷⁹ One travels for the sake of study.²⁸⁰ The eminence of Kashmir emerged, apparently, already under some early kings who build Maṭhas for foreign students²⁸¹ and is due to the patronage given to local and foreign scholars by the Kashmiri Kings of the period (see above, n.157). The Kashmirian Brahmins are called Vedavedāṅgapārāga at NM 15, and NM 342 even describes them, probably in traditional terms, as *vedārthavid*. This, nevertheless,

275 The festival is described in some detail (*Nāgayātra*, vs. 46, transl. p.123; people get drunk at such festivals; it lasts 12 days.

276 He is the last of Kalhaṇa's "restored kings" and follows, aptly, the Kuṣāṇas Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniṣka; cf. above.

277 For more information on the Nāgas, see the chapter on Nāgas.

278 1.5.91 sqq., transl. p.146.

279 vs. 172.

280 vs.173; cf. the discussion by A. M. Shastri, p.172 sqq.

281 For foreign Bhikṣus (3.9)., Noṇa from the Rauhītaka country built the Noṇamaṭha for Brahmins born in Rauhītaka (4.12); King Yaśaskara (939-948 A.D.) built a Maṭha for students from Āryadeśa (*chātrāṇām āryadeśāṇām*, 6.87); a Maṭha for foreign (*daiśika*) Brahmins was built by Nandigupta, (6.304); there are those (6.87) for students from the area of modern U.P., and at 6.300, for U.P., Lāṭa (Southern Gujarat) and Suḍotra people, or at 6.304, there is a more generally defined grant "for foreign Brahmins".

agrees with Albiruni (I.126) who heard, a few centuries later, that shortly before his time (1030 A.D.) the Kashmiri Vasukra had first written down the Veda and had composed a commentary.

It is notable that the standard study of grammar (*śabda*)²⁸² and logic is already mentioned by Śyāmilaka at Pād. 13. Grammar always has been a focal point of study in Kashmir, (cf.above). In the same vein, Rājatarāṅgiṇī 1.176, informs about the grammatical studies of Candra and the re-introduction of the Mahābhāṣya. The NM refers to the study of *jyautiṣa* sciences (476, 631-2, 714). -- Among the early scholars and poets mentioned by Kalhaṇa we find the following:²⁸³ 1.177, Nagārjuna, who was already regarded as "Bodhisattva" by the time of Kalhaṇa; 1.176, Candrācārya, and others brought the Mahābhāṣya; 2.16, Kavi Candaka who composed a play; 3.260, the poet Meṅṭha; 3.129, the poet Mātr̥gupta; 4.144 Bhartṛhari; Vākpatirāja, the poet of Yaśovarman.

Albīrūnī notes that in his time, about 1030 A.D., "Hindu sciences have retired from those parts of the country conquered by us [the Muslims] and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmīr, Benares and other places" (I, 22). From the description by Bilhaṇa of the capital of Kashmir, Pravarapura, and the surrounding villages we learn that Kashmir indeed was a center of learning: "In every house Sanskrit and Prakrit words sound charming like the mother tongue of even women" (vs. 6); "the unparalleled glory of the educational institution is cause for fame" (21); there also is praise of theater performances (29). Kashmir is the home of Brahmins "of high scintillating spirit" (vs. 3) They live, e.g., at Kāṣṭhāla which is "resonant with the exposition of the Śāstras" (25). One of Bilhaṇa's ancestors built "houses for the exposition (of Śāstras)".²⁸⁴ Another one, Jyeṣṭhakalaśa, wrote "a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya applauded by all" and consequently his estate "was always adorned by pupils" (79).

Bilhaṇa describes himself, not without pride, as one "in whose mouth lived the goddess of speech with the tinkle of her anklets inaudible ever since his *upanayana*" (81). He studied the Vedas, and its *Aṅgas*, and grammar in the tradition of Patañjali (82). His eldest brother Iṣṭarāma and his younger brother Ānanda are called poets, too (84-85). In vss. 86 sqq., Bilhaṇa describes his travels to Mathurā, Kānyakubja, Vārāṇasi, Ḍāhala,²⁸⁵ Dhāra,²⁸⁶ Somanātha,²⁸⁷ after which he "slowly proceeded in the southern direction" to King Vikramānka's court.

282 Cf. the roughly contemporaneous statement about Aṃśuvarman of Nepal, c. 600 A.D. by Hsüan Ts'ang, and cf. M.R. Panta, *Sabdānuśāsana*, Kathmandu 1985, and G. Schokker, Pād., p. 158, from *Daśakumāracarita*.

283 Cf. also Stein, p. 11.

284 Cf. the establishment of Maṭhas by ministers etc., see above.

285 Where he defeated the poet Gaṅgādhara.

286 Unfortunately, as he laments, after the death of king Bhoja, the great patron of learning.

287 Again, like his predecessors Śyāmilaka and Dāmodaragupta, he did not like Gujarāt: "those people of Gujarāt who always impure as they are, do not tie the *kaṅṣā*, and speak something which is contemptible" (vs. 97).

A similar description of learned people can already be found in the Pād.: At 14.1, Śāṇḍilya Bhavasvāmin,²⁸⁸ is described as the son of a very learned teacher, "who himself was a teacher well-grounded in the administration of justice, philosophy and the other sciences, who had achieved the highest proficiency, in all the arts, was well-spoken, surrounded by a multitude of students, and possessed a humorous character (*parihāsaprakṛti*)." This last description is well adaptable to the author of the play as well. Just like Kṣemendra and Kalhaṇa half a millenium later, he is a close observer of the follies and foibles of his countrymen.

The social position of the Brahmins.

It is Kalhaṇa who provides much, and tenable material since he is, unlike Dāmodaragupta in his Kuṭṭanīmata, interested in recording historical events, or at least, legends that have come down to his time.

As for the various social levels at which the Kashmiri Brahmins were active in the past few centuries before his time, Kalhaṇa reports that some them had received high positions in Government: Mitraśarman was the chief minister (*sarvādhikāra*) of Lalitāditya, and Devaśarman, his grandson, the chief minister of Jayāpīḍa. A little more than a hundred years later, Bhaṭṭa Phalguṇa was the chief minister of queen Diddā.

Normally,- as everywhere in India - Brahmins were not to be killed, (cf. Rāj. 4.96, 103). Jonarāja in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī²⁸⁹ refers to an incident in King Saṅgrāma's time (1236-1252). The sons of one Kalhaṇa where were spared the death penalty by Saṅgrāma, in spite of their rebellion. However, they later on murdered the king, and therefore were, after all, executed by Saṅgrāma's son, king Rāmadeva (1252-86). However, Lakṣmaṇadeva, the adopted son of Rāmadeva, again was a Brahmin.

Some of the Brahmins have always functioned as royal priests, whether in Kashmir or elsewhere in Hindu realms.²⁹⁰ In the Rājatarāṅgiṇī they appear, for example, at the coronation and *jātakarman* of Gonanda II, at 1.75; in a special case, they even chose a new king, Yaśaskara (5.462) and then were to provide the water for his inauguration (5.463). They habitually carried out the *abhiṣeka* of new kings, for example those of Vijaya (2.117), Durlabhavardhana 3.528,²⁹¹ Mātṛgupta 3.237-248, Avantivarman 4.720, Varṇaṭa, the

288 Schokker, p.160, identifies him, tentatively, with the commentator on the Nārada Smṛti, see now Lariviere, NārSm II, p.xviii sq.

289 vs.98, transl. p. 11.

290 It is known that Brahmins also served as royal priests in Theravāda countries, such as Sri Lanka, Burma, Cambodia and still do so in Thailand, see Quaritch-Wales, Siamese State Ceremonies, London 1931; cf. author, The coronation rituals of Nepal, in: Heritage of the Kathmandu Valley, ed. by N. Gutschow and A. Michaels. St. Augustin 1987, 417-467.

291 "Performed according to usage high above the head of the king's son-in-law the holy and desired coronation rite (*abhiṣeka*) with sacred water poured from golden jars." (Stein)

sucessor of Yaśaskara (6.90-91); again, the local Brahmins of Hiranyapura assembled and quickly consecrated Uccala as king (7.1385). The position as royal priests is stressed by NM (840 sqq.) as well, interestingly in connection with the royal consecration (*abhiṣeka*) and its yearly repetition, and while mentioning immigration (NM 872).

Other high government offices held by Brahmins were those of ministers as for example in the case of Keśava, a Brahmin from Trigarta (Jammu), the country South of Kashmir, who became a minister under Ananta (1028-63 A.D.), at Rāj. 7.204.²⁹² They also became chief justice (*rājasthāna[-adhikāra]*).

However, the relationship between Brahmins and the king always has been ambiguous. When the Brahmins felt threatened or disturbed by royal politics, they took to various sorts of measures: Usually they put pressure on the king by mass fasting, often in the *Gokula*; or the *pāriṣādyā* and *purohitas* first tried to destroy king Tuṅga by a fast 7.13 sqq.; then, they even "began", according to Kalhaṇa, to employ sorcery against the kings, after a clash with Candrāpīḍa, and in fact are said to have killed several kings by magic.²⁹³

The Brahmins thus held considerable power; this often is exercised, as in the example just mentioned, through fasts (*prayogopaveśana*). At 6.85, the king bestows the royal insignia on a Brahmin (to keep their purity). Such land holding Brahmins and temple priests were organized in *parṣads*, about which Kalhaṇa repeatedly speaks: at 5.171, or at 5.461-477, they and other *Pāriṣadyas* of temples met, with music, in the Gokula for 5-6 days to elect the new king (in 939 A.D., after the end of the Utpala dynasty). These meetings continued into Kalhaṇa's time. At 8.898 ff. he gives a most lively description: When the Akṣosuva *agrahāra* had been plundered by the army, the local Brahmins began a fast against the king and were quickly joined by other *agrahāra* holding Brahmins who all assembled at Vijayeśvara and those of Rājānvāṭikā and others:

292 This is a typical policy; to appoint an outsider makes him more dependent on the king and less likely to favor relatives inside the Valley, see author, Regionale ... Faktoren, in: Regionale Tradition in Südasien, ed. by H.Kulke and D. Rothermund, Heidelberg 1986, pp. 37-76

293 On Magic in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī see 4.94; further: Brahmins as sorceres 4.112; they begin to kill kings by witchcraft after 4.114 (Candrāpīḍa); therefore they were persecuted by Tārāpīḍa, 4.122 sqq. He was later killed by magic, 4.124, see Stein, Rājatarāṅgiṇī, I p. 88 and cf. his note ad 4.94; cf. further 4.88, 4.868, 5.239, 6.108-112, 121,310, 312, 7.133. - A strange word for 'sorcery' is *khārkhoda*, *khaḥkhorda* in the Bower MS., (with the typical Kashmir replacement of ḥ+Cons. for C+C., see below on the chapter on script); cf. also 5.239. - A Dravidian sorcerer who wanted to exorcise the great Nāga Mahapadma appears at 4.594. - For the Kashmiri preference for sorcery see also Albiruni, Marco Polo, chapter 48, and Bühler, Report. -- A witches' meeting (not unlike the German *Hexensabbath*), taking place on the burial ground, is found at 2.99-111; their male leader is called *cakranayaka* "hexenmeister". Witches and similar persons also occur elsewhere in Kalhaṇa's and the later Rājatarāṅgiṇīs, such as Jonarāja, Rāj. 343 (cf. Stein, ad 2.57 and see 1.137, 1.40-44). -- cf. Sanderson, Purity and power, p.201 and n. 91.

Thereupon the Purohita-corporations (*parṣad*) of the temples incited by Ojānana²⁹⁴ and other leading Brahmins held a solemn fast also in the *Gokula*. Such an assembly of Purohitas of sacred shrines (*pāriṣadya*) had never been seen before. The courtyard [of the *Gokula*] was thronged everywhere with glittering parasols, dresses and Chowries, and all the quarters were kept in an uproar with the din of the big drums, cymbals and other [musical instruments]. ... While the king's messengers were trying to pacify them, they replied with arrogant words: "Without the Long-beard (*lambakūrca*) [king Sussala] we cannot go on." They thought of him as a puppet. Upon what plans did this host of Purohita-corporations not debate day after day with the citizens who came to watch the solemn fast? (8.899-905) ... [When attacked by the army] "the Brahmins of the Purohita-corporations (*pāriṣadya*) and the rest left off their solemn fast, put the divine images quickly under their arms and ran away in fright. The few that [remained behind] guarding the empty litters of the divine [images] were not troubled by [King] Bhikṣu, as they had declared that they renounced their fast. (9.939-940).

The institution of a Brahmins' gathering place may have been quite old. Already in the Pād., the gathering place of Brahmins is called *brāhmaṇapīṭhika* (12.3), which reminds of Kalhaṇa's *gokula* which is attested somewhat later.²⁹⁵ Such *parṣads* existed until Stein's time,²⁹⁶ for example at Śārikā Devī; such priests are called *thān^apati* (Skt. *sthānapati*).

But in spite of the power their assemblies exercised and the power which some Brahmins held individually, they were in for bad times occasionally, under a strong king. Brahmins were suppressed, for example, under Tarāpīḍa (4.122) so that they subsequently killed him by magic. Again, they were threatened by Jayāpīḍa (4.631 sqq.), and to such an extent that some emigrate. Again, they were suppressed by king Śaṅkaravarman (889-902 A.D.): He resumed villages belonging to temples, however, not without compensation (*pratikara*); he also reduced the *parṣad*'s allowances (5.170-171) and took over the direct management of the respective villages. Such suppression was later on resumed by other kings, especially under some of the Muslim Sultans, and Kalhaṇa's description set the stage for the narration of such instances by the authors of the later Rājatarāṅgiṇī.

Otherwise, apart from holding offices connected with the court, the Brahmins were landholders, especially of personal *agrahāras* and of land attached to temples, as described above. Kalhaṇa speaks of *purohitas* with great endowments, but they were at the mercy of the

294 Should this stand for ^{*}*Ojhānanda*? Kashmiri does not have aspirated voiced consonants (see below, chapter on pronunciation). If correct, the person in case would be a Bihari, belonging to the Ojhā Brahmins (who also immigrated to Nepal).

295 See Rājatarāṅgiṇī 8.899 sq. (see n. 152); one may compare, the Nepalese evidence: In the Jayadeva inscription (c. 750 A.D.), a *Taittirīya-goṣṭhika-śālā* is mentioned, a building devoted to one Brahmin group only; see author, On the location of the Licchavi Capital of Nepal. StII 5/6, 1980, pp. 311-337; --cf., incidentally, the Taittirīyeśvara at NM 1157.

296 Rājatarāṅgiṇī, I, 67 note ad 2.132. Cf. his assessment, Introd. p. 19 sq.; compare regarding Purohitas and their 'Prāyas' 5.465 sqq., 7.13 sqq., 7.400, 8.901 sqq., 939 sqq.

landholding gentry, the Dāmaras.²⁹⁷ Kalhaṇa as well as Bilhaṇa mention several of the Brahmins' land grants, e.g., both agree in locating some of them at the confluence of the holy rivers (Vitastā and Sindhu), where there were landgrants to Brahmins made by Haladhara, a minister of King Ananta.²⁹⁸ Bilhaṇa also mentions, just as Kalhaṇa occasionally does,²⁹⁹ a foundation made by Brahmins themselves, in this case, his ancestor Muktikalaśa, who is described as "munificent and powerful" (77) and as having built "houses for the exposition (of Śāstras)".

It is remarkable that the copper plates usually given to the recipients of such land grants have not been found so far.³⁰⁰ The reason might be that in Kashmir such grants were often issued on birchbark, just as they were, in Nepal, on small rolled-up palm leaf strips.³⁰¹ For Kashmir, the use of birch bark is well attested, for example in the story in Jonarāja of the forging of a document in the time of Zain ul Abidin. On the other hand, Kalhaṇa mentions, in his introduction at Rājatarāṅgiṇī 1.15, that the study of such land grants, inscriptions etc. made him "overcome the trouble arising from many errors."

Another source of income for the Brahmins was through the clerical offices in Government they frequently held. Kalhaṇa often refers to the *kāyasthas* and their oppression of the king's subjects,³⁰² only occasionally curbed, as under king Uccala (8.85-114). Often they were Brahmins (8.2383), and these were later on, during the Muslim period, called the *kārkun* Brahmins. Kalhaṇa even compares king Kalaśa to a clerk who "kept always by his side birch bark (*bhūrja*) and chalk" (7.508).

The Brahmins' extra-ordinary income is shown, for example, in Jonarāja's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, by an incident under King Siṃhadeva (1286-1301). The king performed an elaborate bathing ceremony of Vijayeśvara with an expense of one *lakh* of gold *niṣkas*, under the guidance of the king's preceptor Śaṅkarasvāmī (vs. 133), who then received the income of 18 *maṭhas* from the king. In the same way, king Uccala (1101-1111) gave thousands of cows, horses, gold, and other gifts to Brahmins who officiated at *śrāddhas* and at propitiatory rites in connection with bad omens, eclipses, comets, etc. (Rāj. 8.76)

297 Stein, transl. I, p. 19; Rājatarāṅgiṇī 8.768 sqq., 1207 sq.

298 vs. 19, cf. above, Rājatarāṅgiṇī 7.214.

299 See above, on 3.376, 4.9, 4.209.

300 This also surprised Deambi, Paleography, p.95, who compares the wealth of copper plate inscriptions from neighboring Chamba.

301 So far no actual land grants on copper plates have been found in the Kathmandu Valley (though they are mentioned in Licchavi inscriptions); on the other hand, we have hundreds of small palm leaf land sale and mortgage documents, the oldest of which go back to 983 A.D., see B. K. Ölver and H. Śākya, Documents from the Rudravarṇa-Mahāvihāra, St. Augustin 1985.

302 According to Kalhaṇa, begun under king Jayāpīḍa, see Rāj. 4.621, 629; cf. 8. 131 (*kāyastha* vs. *divira*). For a general description of such unsavory characters, including the merchant and the Kirāta, see 8.128-134.

Kalhaṇa mentions learned *purohitas* under king Yaśaskara, or such occupations as that of astrologer (6.13), and of a village astrologer practising slights of hand (7.295-7); he details income gained from recitations at a temple, as *vyākhyātr* (5.28-29), which is reported of Ramaṭa, a grammarian. (The NM, too, reports the recitation, of Purāṇas, at several instances) . The Brahmins could also gain income, as some still do, from selling *pūjā* articles at temples (5.168).

Brahmins even joined the army quite frequently, which might surprise in other areas of India. For example, Rakka, a Brahmin living in the house of a local feudatory, was a mere foot soldier but was made chief minister (*mukhyamantrī*) because of his valor (5.424-5). Bhujāṅga, son of the Brahmin Samanta, was a commander in Saṅgrāmarāja's army (7.91). Caṅpaka, Kalhaṇa's father, was commander of forts under King Harṣa (7.1177). Ajaka, a Brahmin minister of Salhaṇa, died in battle; the Brahmin soldiers Lavarāja and Yāśorāja found their end in the same way.³⁰³ It was only during such peaceful times as that of Yaśaskara (939-948 A.D.) that Brahmins laid down their arms, Kalhaṇa claims (6.9).

The role of the Brahmins as Government officials continued even under the early Muslim kings. Actually, they continued to play a prominent role in state affairs. Things were to change only after more than half a century of Muslim rule, and from then onwards, the Brahmins experienced periods of calm and even prosperous employment by the government with periods of harrassment and a few stretches of actual persecution which caused many of them to flee the Valley, just as they have done in mass during the last year or two.

Especially persecution under the Brahmin convert minister Saif ud-Din (Sūha Bhaṭṭa, c. 1389-1416) has left a deep impression on the historical memory of the Brahmins. This zealot tried to force conversion to Islam by various coercive means. One of his ploys of persecution was the destruction of the Brahmins' economic basis, especially their tax-free landholdings, and of their learning, for example by destroying Sanskr̥t books. Zain ul Abidin (1420-1470), in contrast, brought the Sanskrit books back to the Valley from outside Kashmir and distributed them to the Brahmins. He also ordered the translation of a number of texts into Kashmiri and Persian³⁰⁴ such as Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, the Daśavatāra, Bṛhatkathāsāra, Hāṭakeśvara-Saihitā, and the Purāṇas. Sanskrit had remained the language of the court until this time. Zain ul Abidin changed it to Persian³⁰⁵ which the Paṇḍits quickly took up and which they cultivated into this century.

303 Rājatarāṅgiṇī 8.1345, under Sussala (1112-28); on Brahmins as soldiers, cf. S.C. Ray, Early History and Culture of Kashmir, Calcutta 1957, pp. 84-85.

304 Jonarāja 1.5.80-85, transl. p.146.

305 For the use of Sanskrit under the Muslims, see Stein, Rājatarāṅgiṇī tr. p.130 n. 2; note H; Memoir § 26; cf. also a 15th c. grave in Śrīnagar, ZDMG 40 p.9; IA 20 p.153.

By the time of Mahamad Śāh (1484-1486 A.D) the customs had changed so far that proper Hindu behavior disappeared (*nāṣṭācare 'tra maṇḍāle*).³⁰⁶ "Some people are now fond of the customs of the Muslims (Mausula) and are ashamed to follow the *śāstras* which were followed by their fathers and grand-fathers. Men of the four castes had graced the kingdom in former days, but latterly the people had gradually adopted blameable practices, and the ceremonies prescribed for special days in the Purāṇas [i.e. in the Nīlamata Purāṇa] came to be forgotten year by year. Why should not the people whose customs are bad suffer calamities?"³⁰⁷ The continuing Islamization of the country is described by Śuka quite tellingly by his complaint about the disappearance of (caste) ranks: "All men became equal through the influences of Kali, be of good or evil habits, learned or Bhaṭṭas, actors or wicked! ... Only one percent of the Brahmins has spirit in them."³⁰⁸

Nevertheless, even in these difficult times, and under the Afghans, the Kashmiri Brahmins have kept to their customs and rituals, and to whatever scribal or government position they could cling, and it is only now, again under the stewardship of one of their own, the Nehru family, that they were forced to leave the country, in a great exodus.

Esteem and Appreciation of the Kashmiri Brahmins.

In general, Kalhaṇa has high regard for his fellow Brahmins; he praises their courage in relation with the king (4.631 sqq.); similarly, at 5.16 ff., a Brahmin addresses the king unceremoniously; at 5.48 ff. some temple Brahmins cleverly and daringly show their need for money or land to the visiting king by some very meager offering they make to the gods. At 6.2 ff., the Brahmins elected Yaśaskara as new king but are kept away from him immediately after his taking office. His reign is described as ideal, with the following interesting details (6.9-13): "Brahmins did not carry arms and only studied; Brahmin *gurus* did not drink spirits while chanting; ascetics did not get children, wives and crops; ignorant *gurus* did not perform the *matsyāpūpa* sacrifices³⁰⁹; and they did not, by texts of their own composition, revise traditional doctrines."³¹⁰ Housewives did not figure as divinities at the (Tantric) *gurudīkṣā*; and finally, minister, Purohita, ambassador, judge and clerk were not without learning."

Of special interest also is the note, inserted into a direct speech of a young Brahmin in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī: "with the indiscretion not unusual in a Brahman he wishes to question you (the

306 Śuka's Rājatarāṅgiṇī 4.503.

307 *yenaiva pitaro yātā, yena yātāḥ pitāmahāḥ | taddarśāne 'tra tatputrās trapante mausulapriyāḥ (505) pratyabadaḥ tithikāryāṇi purāṇoktāni kāni cit | vismṛtāni durācārāt kathaḥ na syur durāpadaḥ ? (506) maṇḍāle 'smin purācāra-caturvarṇya-virājite | prasaṅga-patitācāra-viparyāsādi tīritam (507)*

308 Śuka 36, transl. p.340: *śatakīyo 'vasan ko 'pi brāhmaṇo brahmavarcaśā.*

309 Connected with *śrāddhas*, see Stein ad 5.11.

310 A point also criticized by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa in his Nyāyamañjarī and Āgamaḍambara; Stein, in his note says the Bhāch^a bhaṭṭas (*purohitas*) still 'concocted new *paddhatis*' in his days. This must also have been the case with the Tantric priests of Kalhaṇa's time; cf. also Sanderson, Purity and power, p. 215 n. 125.

king)" -- which indicates a large degree of psychological insight and self-criticism of his caste by Kālhaṇa. Śyāmilaka describes the brahmins of his time not only as learned but also as humorous,³¹¹ a fact shown by many of his successors in *kāvya* style writing. All of them excelled in criticizing the habits of their countrymen in a humorous way, while the population loved to coin nick-names for their fellow citizens and especially for their rulers.³¹²

311 See above, on Pād. 14.1.

312 Such as Rājatar. 8.903: [The Brahmins] replied with arrogant words: "Without the Long-beard (*lambakūrca*) [king Sussala] we cannot go on."