Varnāśrama - The Castes and the Orders

Our inscriptions do not throw much light on the castes and the orders as they existed in ancient Chamba, Kangra, Kashmir and Gandhāra. The copper plate inscriptions of Chamba which comparatively give more details than other records, only mention the names of the four castes but do not furnish any details about all of them. It is only about the Brāhmaṇas that we get some detailed information.

The Brāhmaṇas occupied an honoured place in the social hierarchy in ancient Chamba. They received royal patronage in the form of land, grants which bestowed on them several rights and privileges. They were granted the ownership of grazing and pasture grounds, kitchen gardens, fruit trees, water courses, channels, the fallow and the cultivable lands which lay within the specified boundaries. The grants were free from all kinds of taxes. The subjects living in the granted area were to pay to the grantee the tax in cash and kind and bring to him every other tribute due to the king. The district and the local officers were ordered not to encamp at the house of the donee nor to demand from him milk, corn, fuel, chaff, furniture, etc., and not to cause vexation to his ploughmen, cowherds, maids and servants. The donations of lands given to them were considered as the means of acquiring religious merit and

1 These are given in detail in the Sungal Copper plate inscription of king Vidagdha, Antiquities, I, No.15, ll. 16-25, p.167.
glory. Thus king Vidagdha granted lands to a Brāhmaṇa, named Nanduka for acquiring religious merit, for the increase of the glory of his parents and himself, for the sake of the bliss of the next world and in order to cross the ocean of existence.\(^2\)

While the Brāhmaṇas were the recipients of royal charity, they also made gifts for works of public utility. Thus we hear of a Brāhmaṇa constructing a fountain of water at Dadvar.\(^3\)

As in Chamba, so also in the adjoining hill tract of Kangra, the Brāhmaṇas were piously and charitably disposed. In the Baijnath Praśāstis,\(^4\) we hear of two Brāhmaṇas making donations to a Śiva temple, erected by the merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka. While the former donated two dronas of grain from his lands at Navagrāma,\(^5\) the latter contributed half a plough of land, from the lands he occupied at the same place.\(^6\)

The inscriptions from Chamba do not make it clear if Brāhmaṇas occupied high offices in the government in ancient Chamba. Their continued holding of high offices in Kashmir in the 15th century is, however, attested to by a 15th century document\(^7\) where we hear of a Brāhmaṇa, named Chindaka holding the office of 'district officer' (desādhipati) in Khonamuh during the reign of King Zain-ul-Abidin (A.D. 1420-70).

\(^2\) *Antiquities*, I, No.15, 11.18-20, p.167.
\(^3\) Ibid., No.20, p.177.
\(^4\) El., I, pp.97 ff.
\(^5\) Prasasti No.1, 1.27
\(^6\) Ibid., 1.28
\(^7\) Khonamuh stone slab inscription, Marshall, *N. t.e.*, p.19.
The Brahmanas in ancient Chamba were known, as in other parts of India, by their particular sākhas and gotras. Thus the recipients of King Vidagdha's and Somavarman's grants were of the Vāyasneyī sākha and of Kaśyapa gotra, and that of King Āsaṭa's grant belonged to the Kaśyapa gotra.

In Gandhāra we find the existence of a distinct class of Brāhmaṇas in the 8th century A.D., called the Sūryadvijas. The term Sūrya-dvija is not known from any other source. D.R. Sahni quoting the opinions of Dr. R.G.K. Bhandarkar and Dr. N.P. Chakravarty suggests that the term may be taken in the sense of the Maiga or Sākadvipī Brāhmaṇas who were the priests of the Sun-god and are supposed to have sprung from the Sun.

Besides the Brāhmaṇas and the other three known castes, we find mention of such low castes as the Medas, the Āndhrakas, the Dīvaras and the Cāndalas in a 10th century copper plate charter, issued by King Vidagdha of Chamba.

The Medas are mentioned in the Mahābhārata. According to the commentator Nilakaṇṭha, they ate the flesh of dead cattle. Manu describes Meda as an offspring of a Viadehaka male and a Niṣāda woman, who dwelt outside the village and whose main business was to kill wild beasts.

9 Ibid., No.26, 1.15, p.199.
10 Two Brāhmaṇas with this designation are mentioned in a Sarada inscription from Hund, dated (Harṣa) saṃvat 168-169, and edited by D.R. Sahni, El., XXII, pp.97 ff.
11 Ibid., p.98.
13 Anuśasana Parvan, XXII, 22.
14 Manu Smṛti, X.36.
The Andhrakas, according to Manu, were a mixed caste born of Vaidehi father and Karavara mother. The functions of the Andhrakas were the same as those of the Medas.

The Dhivaras according to Gautam were a prati-loma caste born of Vaisya male and Ksatriya female. Their main business was to catch fish.

The Candalas are widely mentioned in Smriti and Kavya literature and in such early works as Taittiriya Brâhma, Chândogya Upanisada, Brhatâranyaka Upanisada and the Astâdhyâyâ. In the Chândogya Upanisada they are ranked with the dog and the boar. In Smriti works, the Candalas are described as a mixed caste born of a Sûdra from a Brâhma woman. According to Manu, the Cândâlas were to live outside the village, use garments and dead bodies as their clothes and were to act as hangmen when the king so ordered.

The Cândâlas are also described by the Chinese traveller Fa-hein (A.D. 405-11). According to him, they had to live outside and give notice of their approach when entering a town or a market place by striking a piece of wood so that others might not get polluted by their contact. According to Alberuni, the business of the Cândâlas was to hang persons when they were sentenced to death by the judicial authority.

The Cândâlas are also mentioned by Kalhana in his

15 Manusmrti, X.36, 48.
16 Gautam-Dharma-Sûtra, IV.17.
17 V. 10.7.
18 Manusmrti, V.131; X, 12, 16; XI,175, etc.; Yajñavalkya Smrti, I.93.
19 Manusmrti, X. 51, 56.
20 Record of Buddhist Kingdoms, Trans. Legge, p.43.
21 India, Trans. Sachau, I, p.102.
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**TABLE NO. 4B**

**THE SĀRAḌĀ ALPHABET**

**14th - 16th Centuries**

**CONSONANTS**

- **Kotriher Ins. (L.145)** (AD 1269)
- **Khonamuk Ins. (Kal).** (AD 1348)
- **Peshawar Museum Inscription.** (L.538 = AD 1461)
- **Haripar Bat.** (L.2192) (AD 1484)
- **Uskur Relief Inscription.** (L.7390)**
- **S. P. S. Museum Inscription.** (AD 1506)
- **Wular Haia Inscription.** (AD 1589)
- **Zati-Mai Ins.** (16th Cent.)
# TABLE NO. 4C
## THE SARADA ALPHABET
### 14th - 16th Centuries
#### MEDIAL VOWELS

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*Notes:*
- **AOTHIR INS. (L. 45):** Kasgar Inscription from A.D. 1369.
- **KHOYANIH INS. (A.D. 1428):** Inscription from A.D. 1428.
- **PESHAWAR MUSEUM:** Inscription from Peshawar Museum.
- **HARIPARGHAT:** Inscription from Hariparghath.
- **BR. SOTHEB YONI INS.:** Inscription from Sotheb Yoni.
- **S. P. S. MUSEUM:** Inscription from S.P.S. Museum.
- **VARASH TRADITION:** Tradition from Varasah.
- **WULAR-HAMA INS.:** Inscription from Wular-Hama.
- **ZAJI-NAI INS.:** Inscription from Zaji-Nai.

*Symbols:*
- \( \mathbb{A} \)
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- \( \mathbb{C} \)
- \( \mathbb{D} \)
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# THE SENDER ALPHABET IN MANUSCRIPTS

## 12-16th Centuries

### CONSONANTS

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*Notes:*
- The table compares consonants from different manuscripts: Bakhshali (c. 12th Cent.), MS of Muni-Mitra-Mana-Mala (c. 14th Cent.), MS of Sakuntala (c. 16th Cent.), MS of Adi-Sabha of Paryan of Mahabharata (c. 16th Cent.), and MS of Katha-Sarit-Sagara (c. 16th Cent.).
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**TABLE NO. 50**

THE SĀRAJĀ ALPHABET IN MANUSCRIPTS

12-16th Centuries

MEDIAL VOWELS

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<th>BAKKSHALI MS.</th>
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**Note:** The table represents the 'Sarada Alphabet in Manuscripts' with ligatures. The entries list different manuscripts with their respective centurial information.
Rājatarāṅgini. According to him, though Cāndālas were 
booted down upon by the people they also served as royal 
body-guards or as watchmen and at times they were engaged 
by the selfish conspirators as agents for killing their 
political rivals.

The mention of these low castes in a 10th century 
document, referred to above, would show that they continued 
to form part of the social community in ancient Chamba or 
more generally, of the Indian population even as late as the 
10th century A.D.

POSITION OF WOMEN

As regards the position of women in ancient Chamba, 
Kangra, Kashmir and Gandhāra, the information to be gleaned 
from our inscriptions is very scanty. While the records from 
Chamba and Kangra throw some light on the position and status 
of women in ancient Chamba and Kangra, those from Kashmir 
and Gandhāra refer to them only casually.

Women in ancient Chamba occupied an honoured posi-
tion in society. They were the object of highest devotion 
and love of their husbands who often gave expression to their 
conjugal devotion by constructing fountains for the attainment 
of religious merit by their wives in the next world. Thus 
Rājānaka Goga feeling deeply afflicted at the passing away of 
his wife Sūramati had a cistern of clear water constructed to 
ensure bliss for her in the next world. Similarly Rājānaka 
Devaprasāda erected a fountain for the attainment of heavenly 
bliss by his consort Keshālā. The husband's sincerity

22 ibid., V.77; VI, 76, 138.
23 Ibid., IV.516, VII,209.
24 Ibid., VIII, 304, 325, 1103.
26 Ibid., No.22, p.130.
of love for his wife is also proved by the Sarahan Prāsasti which records the erection of a Śiva temple by Sātyaki to perpetuate the memory of his spouse Somaprabhā.

The conjugal fidelity of Indian women is proverbial and we find women in ancient Chamba never failing in their duty to reciprocate the love and devotion of their husbands by building religious institutions and donating liberally for works of public utility, for ensuring the heavenly bliss of their lords in the next world. Thus we hear of queen Kāmśhē having constructed a Śiva temple for the attainment of religious merit by her husband Sālimaravarman. Another queen Ballā erected a fountain for the sake of the bliss of her lord in the next world.

The women of the age represented by our records, seen to have a pious outlook and were charitably disposed. While many of them erected temples and water fountains in Chamba, we have evidence of their dedication of religious institutions in Kashmir and Gandhāra as well. Thus we hear of a certain Gangadevi of Kashmir joining her four brothers in the consecration of an image of Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi. Similarly queen Kamesvarīdevī of Gandhāra is stated in an 8th century record to have erected a temple obviously to increase her religious merit.

As regards the custom of satī our records indicate that though it was in vogue it was not universally practised. Thus Nājānaka Nāgapāla of Chamba at the death of his father

28 Ibid., No.25, p.104.
29 Ibid., No.32, p.92.
30 Cf. Ibid., No.14, p.162; No.23, p.223.
31 S.P.S. Museum (Srinagar) Bronze Image Inscription.
32 A Śāradā Inscription from Hund, XXI., XXII., pr.93-99.
prevented his mother from becoming satī. Queen Rādhā of Chamba and Laksana of Kīragrāma survived their husbands respectively.

Widows after the death of their husbands lead a life of austerity and piety and took part in religious donations. Thus the widowed queen Bahlī after being dissuaded from consigning herself to flames, emaciated herself by prolonged fasting and increased her charity, her compassion to the poor and devotion to Kṛṣṇa. The widowed queen Laksana of Kīragrāma donated one plough of land to the Siva temple.

There are indications that widows in Chamba and Kangra had right to property as is indicated by the references to possession of estates by the widowed queen Rādhā of Chamba and Laksana of Kīragrāma.

In certain parts of Kangra, the plight of women was miserable. Even their chastity was not secure at the hands of the feudal lords. For example, it is stated in the Baijnath Prāsastis that the rulers thought the sovereignty over a town to yield its legitimate result only by the rape of the wives of their subjects. There were noble exceptions too, as we learn that the ruling chief Laksana-candra of Kīragrāma took a vow after his pilgrimage to Kedāranātha that thenceforth he would treat the wives of

33 Antiquities, I, No.32, 1.8, p.211.
34 Ibid., I, No.25, p.194; also cf. Vogel, ibid., p.102; Baijnath Prāsastis, No.II, 1.28.
35 Antiquities, I, No.32, 11.10-12.
36 Baijnath Prāsastis, No.II, 1.22.
37 Antiquities, I, No.25, 1.16.
38 Baijnath Prāsastis, No.II, 1.23.
39 Ibid., No. I, 1.20.
others as his own sisters. 40

While we have no evidence of women participating in the acts of Government in ancient Gandhāra, Chamba and Kangra, in Kashmir they not only took leading part in the political activities of the State but actually held the reins of government at times. They were efficient administrators and astute politicians. Thus queen Diddā guided the destinies of Kashmir for more than half a century, ably and with firmness, in very troubled times. It seems to be due to her political acumen, power and essentially masculine traits of character that she is mentioned in the two epigraphic records of her reign with the masculine epithets of deva 41 and rājan. 42

Food and Drinks

Among the popular foods and drinks we find mention of dhānya and goksira. The former is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-Varman and Āsaṭa and in the Baijnath Prāsastis, 44 and the latter in the Sungal copper plate grant of Vidagdha. 45

Dhānya of which we find the earliest mention in the Rgveda 46 denotes grain in general. The Brhadārānyaka Upaniṣada 47 mentions as many as ten kinds of grain. However, in the hill regions of Kangra, Chamba and Kashmir dhānya...
usually denotes paddy.  

Goksīra means cows milk which from Vedic times has been a favourite diet of Indians and also a source of income for a villager.

It would thus seem that the staple food of people in ancient Chamba and Kangra was rice and that milk was a favourite drink in ancient Chamba as in other parts of India.

Houses and Furniture

Regarding houses, only one of our records from Kashmir, viz., the Arigom stone slab inscription of A.D. 1197 mentions wood (kāṣṭa) and burnt bricks (pakvestikā) as building materials. Bricks as building material are known from the Vedic period when they were used in the construction of sacrificial altars. Our record, which describes the replacement of an old wooden structure by one of burnt bricks, would show that wood and bricks were used as building material in Kashmir in the 12th century.

As regards furniture, our records do not furnish any important information. The Sungal copper plate grant of king Vidagdha of Chamba, however, mentions three articles of furniture, viz., ṗitha, ṗithikā and khaṭvā.

The word ṗitha, of which we find the earliest mention in the Gṛhya Sūtras is explained in the Amarakosa.

48 Dhānya is mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgini and denotes paddy or rice, cf. Stein, RT., trans. i.246 n. The modern Kashmiri derivative of dhānya is danya which means paddy. In Chamba and Kangra, dhan, evidently derived from Sanskrit dhānya, means paddy or rice.

49 El., IX, p.301; also cf. Sten Konow, Note., p.8

50 Antiquities., I, No.15, 11.23, 24, p.167.

51 Vaikhāṃsa Gṛhya Sūtra, 4.13, 10.11.

52 II.6.138
as "seat" (āsanam, uravaśanadhārah) made of metal, stone or wood. Pītha would thus indicate, a stool or a chair.

Pīthā, which also occurs in the Mahāyana, 53 is explained by Honnor Williams 54 as stool or a bench. It is represented by modern nídā in Punjabi, which denotes a smaller stool with wooden legs and with seat made of strings, cane or wooden planks.

Khatvā, which is mentioned in such early works as the Āṣṭadhyāyī, Mahābhārata, Kāthasthā, etc., is explained in the lexicons as Khatvā kāntakvāte nīdā kṛthībhīṣ. 55 That which is derived or sought by the persons going to sleep. 56 In the Amarakosa it is described as synonym of nāryahka,

nalyāhka meaning couch. It would thus denote a bedstead, a couch or a cot. The modern Hindi derivative of it, viz., khat, means a cot.

It would thus appear that in the 10th century, the common articles of furniture that a villager possessed in Chamba were stool, bench or a smaller stool and cot, all probably made of wood as that alone was the easily and the cheaply available material.

54 Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 629.
55 II. 1.126.
56 V 1474.
57 VIII. 357.
58 Vācaspatya, , vol III, p. 2457
59 II. 6.138, māña-nāryahka-nalyahkah khatvā samah.
CHAPTER VIII, SECTION B

ECONOMICS CONDITIONS

I. Agriculture

Agriculture has been the principal means of livelihood of Indian people from early Vedic times to this day. Among the extant Sāradā inscriptions, it is, however, the copper plate inscriptions of Chamba alone which furnish an encouraging information of the land system as it prevailed in ancient Chamba during 10th, 11th and 12th centuries.

Lands known by their Names

In the first instance, we find that the lands in ancient Chamba were given proper names. Thus the two pieces of land donated by king Vidagdha bore the names Śeri and Īavāla. Besides the cultivated lands, the fields and the pasture grounds also bore special names. Thus we find the mention of Śabdabagga, Prāhabagga and Khanibagga as the names of fields and Puṣkāri as the name of a pasture ground.

Types of land

The two principal types of land were khila and ṛācyā. Khila lands were the waste lands which were not under cultivation. The modern derivative of the term, viz., khili in

1 Antiquities., I, No.15, 11.11, 12, p.167.
2 Śabdabagga is mentioned in the Brahmi grant of Yugākara-varman, Antiquities., I, No.14, 11.7.8, p.163, and Prāhabagga and Khanibagga in the Sungal grant of Vidagdha, Ibid., No.15, 1.13, p.167. Bagga is obviously a vernacular term, bag meaning "a field".
3 Antiquities., I, No.15, 1.15, p.167.
4 Ibid., No.15, 1.17, p.167; No.24, 1.21, p.185; No.25, 1.20, p.193, No.26, 1.13, p.199.
5 Ibid., No.15,1.17, p.167.
Chamba denotes the same. The term khila occurs in such early works as Ati Aryaveda and Satapatha Brāhmaṇa and is explained in the Amarakosa as uncultivated land. The Naradasmṛti explains it as a tract of land which has not been under cultivation for three years.

Polācyā were the cultivated lands. According to Vogel, the term is preserved in the modern Hindi word polāca which means land under constant cultivation. So far as cultivated lands are concerned, they must have been at least of two types- one used for the cultivation of rice and the other for the cultivation of wheat, maize, sugarcane and such other crops. The former is mentioned in the Brahmr copper plate grant as kolīka. Even today in Chamba an irrigated piece of land used for the cultivation of rice is called kolīka. The word kolīka is obviously derived from the vernacular Kohl which is the corrupt form of Sanskrit kulya meaning a channel used for irrigation.

Besides the two named above, we find mention of a third type of land called Unakhila. This term as compared to khila would denote semi or partially waste land.

Ownership of Land

Before we discuss the question of ownership of land in ancient Chamba, it would be worthwhile to have a clear idea as to what ownership in its legal sense implies.

6 VII.115,4.
7 VIII.3, 4, 1.
8 II.1, 5.
9 XI.26.
10 Antiquities., I, p.168, fn.2.
11 Ibid., No.14, 1.7, p.162.
12 MW., p.296.
The earlier authors of Smrtis make a clear distinction between ownership and possession. Thus Yajñavalkya states that the possession acquires validity when it is accompanied by a clear title (āgama visuddhena) and is not valid without the same. According to Brhaspati, possession becomes valid when it is accompanied with a legitimate title (āgama). Nārada, whose view is more explicit, states that where there is enjoyment but no title of any sort, a title is required in order to produce proprietary right. A clear title having been established, possession acquires validity. But possession without a clear title does not constitute evidence of ownership. The distinction between the two terms is made even in respect of terminology. Thus ownership is indicated by the pronoun svam and the abstract terms svatva, svārtha, svānitya, etc., while possession is usually indicated by the verb 'bhuj' (to enjoy) and its derivatives.

The authors of the great medieval Digests of the Sacred Law give clearer and more precise definitions of ownership. Thus according to Jīmūtavāhana, the author of the Dayabhaga, "ownership implies the quality in the object owned, of being used by the owner according to his pleasure."

13 Ibid., No. 24, 1.21: No. 25, 1.20; No. 26, 1.13.
15 Brhaspatī Smrti, VII, 24-25, 30: also see SBE., IX, pp. 2 ff.
17 Dayabhaga quoted in Yvavahāra, trans., V.N. Handlik, p. 31 n. Also see Ghoshal, The Agrarian System in Ancient India, p. 85 and fn. 21.
According to Mitranāira ownership is an "attribute indicative of the quality in the object owned by being used according to pleasure."

The essential qualities associated with ownership as referred to by Gautam and Hanu are sale, gift and mortgage.

Thus it is clear from the definitions quoted above that ownership constitutes a proprietary right according to which the owner can use the object according to his will. He may put it on sale, give away as gift or make it over as mortgage. Possession, on the other hand, does not include any such right. Here it may be mentioned that the Sārtis make it clear that like other objects, movable or immovable, land also can be owned. The Sārtis and the Arthaśāstra also permit the sale, gift and mortgage of owned lands.

The copper plate grants of Chamba record grants of land of kings Yugākara-varman, Vidagdha, Soma-varman and Āsata. In the grants of Yugākara-varman, Soma-varman and Āsata, the names are mentioned of persons occupying the lands at the time of the grants. From what has been said above about the ownership, it is clear that the kings held proprietary rights over the donated lands. The term 'bhujyamāna' 'satka', and 'sthita', in this connection would denote that these lands at the time of donations, were in the temporary possession of the named individuals.

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18 Viramitrodava, quoted in Vyavaharamayukha, p.39; also see Ghoshal, op. cit., p.36 and ibid. 33.
19 X, 39.
20 VIII, 199.
21 Cf., e.g., Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsata, 11.15-19, Antiquities, 1, p.193.
22 Satka which is frequently mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions, is explained by D.C. Sircar (Indian Epigraphical Glossary, p.306) as sanskritised form of Prakrit santaka, meaning 'the holding of......' 'belong to......'. 
Though on the basis of these few instances, it would be rash to suggest that the ownership of the entire soil in Chamba vested in the king, it would be far more reasonable to suggest that there did exist some royal fields in ancient Chamba which were owned by the rulers themselves and which were, at times, given by them on lease to tenants.

That kings in ancient India owned lands as personal property is shown by the references to the royal farms in the Arthasastra. Moreover, there is evidence of the existence of royal farms and allotments in the villages from the Maurya up to the Gupta period.

In the Baijnath Prāṣasti, we have evidence of the private ownership of land in ancient Kangra in the 13th century. Among a number of donations made to the Śiva temple of Vaidyanātha, they mention the following gifts made by private individuals.

1. Half a plough of land in Nāvagrāma, donated by Ganesvara.

2. The self-owned land (nija-bhūḥ) presented by the merchant Jīvaka for the courtyard of the temple.

3. Four ploughs of land in Nāvagrāma denoted by the merchant brothers Kanyuka and Āhuuka, the builders of the Śiva temple.

Among our copper plate inscriptions it is mentioned only in the Chamba grant on cit., and has been translated by Vogel as 'held by', on cit., p.196. One of the meanings of the word given in MM., (p.1264) is 'belonging to'. Both satka and stūita would in our case denote temporary belonging or possession.

24 II.15.

25 Cf. Ghoshal, on cit., p.95.

26 El., I, 97 ff.

27 Baijnath Prāṣasti No.1, 1.23.

28 Ibid., 1.29.

29 Ibid., No.II, 1.30.
These gifts of land evidently show that the land in Kangra in the 13th century was owned by the private individuals. We have also evidence of some tracts of land being owned by the queens. For example, we find that queen Laksāma, the mother of the ruling chief, donated half a plough out of her estate in Pralamba-grama (modern Palampur).

Agricultural Products

The principal crops sown in ancient Chamba were paddy and sugarcane, referred to as dhānya and iksu. Dhānya usually denotes grain in general. As pointed out above, in the hill regions of Jammu, Chamba and Kangra, the term is used only for paddy. Iksu denotes sugarcane which is even now grown in some parts of Chamba.

The Sungal copper plate grant of Vidagha mentions rocika and citola, the exact meaning of which is uncertain. Vogel takes them to be the names of some agricultural products. According to D.C. Sircar, they denote certain obligations or levies the exact nature of which is not known. However, both the terms are mentioned along with sasva (corn), carana (fodder for cattle) and iksu (sugarcane) and judged from the context, the suggestion of Vogel seems more plausible. The two terms are not known from any literary source and it is difficult to establish their identity.

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30 Baijnath Praśasti, No.1, 1.28.
31 Antiquities., I, No.25, 1.21; Dhānya is also mentioned in the Baijnath Praśasti, No.1, 1.27 which would show that this crop was grown in ancient Kangra as well.
32 Antiquities., I, No.15, 1.23.
33 VI.13.4.
34 Antiquities., I, No.15, 1.23.
36 IEG., pp.75, 281.
Methods of Irrigation

The cultivation of paddy presupposed the existence of a proper system of irrigation. Though from our records, we do not get evidence of any large scale irrigation works yet the occurrence of certain words, such as kolhika, kullaka, kuppatta, pāṇiya and udakāsihāra enables us to form some idea of the methods of irrigation employed in ancient Chamba.

The word kolhika is derived from kohl which is the present name for a channel drawn from the hill stream and used for irrigating the rice fields.

Kullaka is derived from kulla or Sanskrit kulva and denotes a canal.

Kuppatta according to Vogel probably denotes a rivulet.

Udakāsihāra is not known from any other source and its exact meaning is doubtful. According to Vogel it means a water course, but it is not possible to explain it etymologically.

Pāṇiya appears to be the same as pāna which denotes a canal.

It would thus seem that in ancient Chamba, irrigation was effected mainly by channels, canals or miniature cuts drawn from the hill streams and rivulets. Even now, the channels drawn from the hill streams and generally known as kuhl form the main source of artificial irrigation in Chamba.

37 Locika may be the same as rocaka, one of the meanings of which given in EI., p.328 is 'a kind of onion, grantha-parpa-bheda'.
38 Antiquities., I, No.14, 1.7.
39 Ibid., No.15, 1.16.
40 Ibid., 1.15.
41 Ibid., 1.16.
42 Ibid.
Land Survey

Land being the main source of subsistence of the people in ancient Chamba, need seems to have been keenly felt for the proper survey of lands and the demarcation of their boundaries. This avoided the quarrels arising out of land disputes, besides facilitating the location of different pieces of land situated in different localities.

Thus in order to give specific location of two pieces of land named **Serī** and **Lavāla** donated by King Vidagdha, the Sungal copper plate grant gives the following detailed description of their boundaries. (The boundaries of Serī), "on the east the limit of the rent free land (agrahāra) of (the village) of Pātala, on the south the limit known as 'the great slope', on the west, the limit of the slope of the Khanibagga (field), on the north the limit known as Prāhabagga".

(The boundaries of Lavāla): "on the east side the precipice, on the south side the large rock, on the west side the rivulēt (?) Majvalīkā by name, on the north side the limit of the path to the pasture ground of Puskari."

Besides, the cultivated lands had their own limits or **simas**. These limits usually consisted of (1) **tirmi** (2) **govūthi**, and (3) **gocara**.

**Tirmi** which literary means grass seems to stand for stretches of grass near the cultivated fields. The meaning of **govūthi** is not definite. The word **yūtha** is often met with in Sanskrit literature and denotes 'a herd'. Therefore, **govūthi** can be explained as, 'the meeting place

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43 Ibid., p.168. **Alaka** in Sanskrit means a small pit or a hole dug in the dry bed of a rivulet for the collection of water, **MW.**, p.300. It is possible that **kappattā** also may stand for such a pool or depression where water is collected.

44 Ibid.

45 **MW.**, p.613.


47 Ibid., No.15, 1.16; No.24, 1.21; No.25, 1.20; No.26, 1.13.
of the herds of cattle." Vogel\textsuperscript{48} equates it with 'gavyūti' frequently met with in the copper plate inscriptions and renders it as 'grazing ground for cattle.'

\textbf{Gocara} which occurs in the \textit{Āpastambīya Śrautasūtra}\textsuperscript{49} and the \textit{Rāmāyana}\textsuperscript{50} and which is commonly met with in the copper plate grants means a pasture.

Besides the limits noted above, a cultivated field was bounded by two passages, one for entrance and the other for exit. \textit{Nirgama} and \textit{pravesa} are mentioned in this connection.\textsuperscript{51} It had also a kitchen garden or a \textit{sāka-vāṭika}\textsuperscript{52} attached to it, which was used for producing vegetables. The mention of \textit{ārama}\textsuperscript{53} and \textit{viśrāma} within the boundaries of the cultivated fields would show that they also contained parks and dwellings, which were used by villagers as meeting and resting places.

\textbf{Land Measures}

The standard land measure in ancient Chamba

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., pp.167, 168.
\textsuperscript{49} I.2.4.
\textsuperscript{50} IV.44, 80.
\textsuperscript{51} Antiquities, I, No.15, 1.17; No.24, 1.22; No.25, 1.20; No.26, 1.14.
\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., also see No.14, 1.9 where \textit{sāka-vāṭika} is mentioned with its proper name \textit{Yamalika}.
\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Ārama}, which also occurs in the Aśokan inscriptions denotes a park. In our title deeds it is generally accompanied by the word \textit{vrksa} and is, as such, variously rendered by Vogel as 'garden' and 'orchard' (\textit{op. cit.}, pp.187, 196, 200). However, it may denote a grassy plot of land surrounded by trees and used by villagers as a meeting place. Cf., \textit{Mī.}, p.150.
was bhu or bhumi. The land measure bhu was in vogue in several other parts of India as well as is indicated by its frequent mention in the copper plate inscriptions. Its value, however, differed in different localities. In Chamba its value was equivalent to 17 acres. Vogel calculating the measure of land donated by King Āsata, remarks, "The land granted in Āsata's charter, which is stated to be 1 bhu 6 bhumāskas in other words $2\frac{1}{2}$ bhu, has an area of 14 lahris or 42 acres. From which it would follow that one bhu of land corresponds with nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ lahris or nearly 17 acres."56

The area of land was also determined according to the quantity of seed required for sowing it. We find the mention of pitaka in this connection. It is mentioned in the Brahmor copper plate grant of Yugasākara-varman57 where the area of the granted land is expressed in pitakas. The land measure pitaka is also mentioned in the Sankheda plate of Dadda II of the (Kalchūri) year 392,58 but its exact significance

54 Antiquities, I, No.14, 11.12, 13; No.24, 1.21; No.28, 11. 16-20; No.26, 1.12.

55 This is indicated by the Chamba copper plate grant, op. cit. No.25, which records the total grant of 15 bhu of land, divided into two portions, one consisting of 2 bhumāskas and the other of 14 bhu and 2 bhumāskas.

56 op. cit., p.131.

57 Ibid., No.14, 11.9, 10.

58 CII., IV, (Inscriptions of the Kalachūri-Chedi Era) No.19, 1. 10, p.77.
is uncertain. Vogel suggests that it may be equated with modern pīrā which is equal to 40 seers. In the Gupta age also, we find that the area of land was determined according to the measure of grain with which it could be sown. Thus we have references to adhavāna, dronavāna, kulyavāpa in the Damodarpur copper plates.

In the Gunaigarh Plate of Vainyagupta, dated A.D. 507-8, we find the area of land measured in terms of pātakas. According to the calculations of Dr. Sircar, one pātaka is equal to 40 dronavāpas and according to the references given by him, one dronavāpa is equal to 48 acres in certain cases and 25 in others which thus gives the value of one pātaka as 1920 acres and 1000 acres respectively. Dr. Maitrey, on the other hand, calculates the area of one pātaka as varying between 72 to 88 acres.

It seems likely though not quite definite that the pītaka of our record is the same as pātaka of Gunaigarh plate. The modern Bāngali term for pātaka is 'para' which closely agrees with pīrā the modern equivalent of pītaka in Chamba.

In Kangra land was sometimes measured in halas. The measures of land donated to the Siva temple

59 Antiquities., I, p.160.
60 EI, XV, pp.130f. and 133 f, Select Inscriptions, pp.283 f. and 285 f.
61 IHQ., (1930), pp.45 ff.
62 Select Inscriptions., p.342, fn.7.
63 Economic Life of Northern India., pp.40-41.
of Vaidyanātha by various individuals are indicated in the Baijnath Prasastis in terms of halas. A hala signified as much land as could be ploughed by a single pair of bullocks. Its exact value is not known. According to Dr. D.C. Sircar it differed in different localities. V.V. Mirashi points out that one hala of land is said to be equivalent to five acres.

Besides the pitaka noted above, other grain measures mentioned in our records are khāri and drona. The former is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate grant where Soma-varman is stated to have granted annually one khāri of grain from the granary (Koṣṭhā-gāra) of Bhadravarma (modern Bhadrama) to a Visnu temple. The latter is mentioned in the Baijnath Prasastis where a certain Brahmana, named Ralhaṇa, is stated to have donated two dronas of grain to the Śiva temple.

Khāri of which we find the earliest mention in the Rgveda is explained in the Arthasastra as equivalent to 16 dronas. D.C. Sircar, quoting Bengali authors remarks that the value of one drona lies between one maund fourteen seers and two maunds.
is also mentioned in the Rājatarangini and this grain measure has been in use in Kashmir from early times to this day. It consists of 16 traks or 83 pacca seers corresponding to 117 1/2 lbs. Since the value of khāri and drona differed in different localities in ancient India, it is not known what exact value did the two measures have in ancient Chamba and Kangra. They are no longer used now in the two hill districts.

REVENUE SYSTEM

The copper plate inscriptions do not furnish any direct evidence of taxation in ancient Chamba but the indirect reference in the Sungal copper plate grant to certain royal dues which the 'subjects, resident in the enjoyed land' were to deliver to the grantee, enable us to form some idea of revenue system as it was in practice in ancient Chamba.

The royal dues mentioned in this connection are: (1) bhāga, (2) bhoga, (3) kara and (4) hiranya.

The terms bhāga and bhoga, frequently met with in copper plate inscriptions were at first taken by Fleet and Kielhorn as one fiscal expression and translated as 'enjoyment of taxes' and "share of

72 V.71; also Cf. Stein, trans, RT., T, p.196n.
73 Modern Kashmiri equivalent of khāri is khar.
74 Antiquities., No.15, 1.22.
75 CII, III, p.254, fn.4.
the produce" by the two scholars respectively. But now they are taken as two distinct fiscal terms and are explained as such.

*Phāga* is mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* along with *sitā, balī, kara, vanik*, etc. T. Ganpati Shastri commenting on the term explains it as 'dhānyasād-bhāga', i.e., share of produce amounting to one-sixth. Maittāy, however, points out that the king's share of the produce did not universally amount to one-sixth. He refers to Bhattasvāmin who commenting on the above cited passage of *Arthaśāstra* explains *sadbhāga* in the general sense of royal share (*rāja-bhāga*) and adds that the term one-sixth includes by implication other rates, such as, one-third and one-fourth prevailing in different tracts. According to Dr. U.N. Ghoshal, *bhāga* may be taken to be the king's customary share of the produce levied on the ordinary revenue paying lands which normally though not universally amounted to one-sixth.

It would thus seem that in ancient Chamba, the cultivators had to pay a regular share of their produce to the king, as was the custom in other parts of India. Whether the royal share amounted to normal

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76 *ELI.*, VII, p.160.
77 *AG.*, II.6.
79 *ELI.*, p.57.
80 Ibid.
81 *History of Revenue System*, pp.34-35.
one-sixth of the produce or less, we do not know. It seems to have been also paid in kind and stored in the royal store houses called kosthāgaras stationed at the district headquarters. This is indicated by the mention of kosthagara in the Chamba copper plate grant, from which one khāri of paddy was to be delivered to the grantee annually in addition to the other privileges connected with the grant.

Bhoga is explained by Medhātithi as phalabhara nikadyupāyanaṁ or the presents of fruits, firewood, etc. Büihler, evidently on the basis of Medhātithi's rendering of the term explains it as, "the periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers and the like which the villagers had to furnish to the king." 84

Kara as a term of revenue is frequently mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions and it also occurs in the Girnar rock inscription of Rudradāman. It is a familiar term in the Dharmashastras and in the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya. In the Manu, its significance is interpreted differently by different commentators. Thus Medhātithi renders it as 'gift of commodities' (dravyadānam). Sarvajñanarāyaṇa interprets it as a 'fixed gold payment on land' (bhumi-niyatam deyam hiranyam). Ramacandra explains it as 'contri-
tion in the form of grass, wood etc.' (gulmadevādhi-
kam). Kullūka renders it as 'contribution from villa-
gers and townsmen either monthly or at Bhādrapada and 
Pauṣa.' Rāghavānanda interprets it similarly as mon-
thly payment by villagers. Bhāttasvāmin, a com-
mentator of Arthasastra, explains it as the royal due pay-
able annually during the month of Bhādrapada, Pasanta 
and the like. On the basis of these 
interpretations Dr. Maittey explains the term as 'a 
periodical tax levied more or less universally on 
villagers' while Dr. Ghoshal takes it to be a 
'general property tax levied periodically.' Ghoshal 
also refers to a passage of Arthasastra where the 
term seems to have been used in the specific sense of 
an emergency tax levied upon dealers, artisans and the 
like.

However, the exact nature of this tax or 
royal due does not become quite clear from the inter-
pretations cited above. It is not definitely known 
whether it was a monthly, annual or an emergency tax. 
But that it was oppressive in nature is indicated by

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87 Karah prativarsa-deyah bhādra-padika-vasantikādy-
pādānam vide, Bhāttasvāmin commentary on AS., 11.5
88 pratyekam sthāvara-jāngamādi-deyah karah.
89 ELI., p.59. Maittey's explanation is the same as 
given by Ghoshal in his Historiography p.173.
90 HRS., p.36.
91 V.2.
the Girnar rock inscription of Rudradāman where the term occurs along with visti or forced labour and pranava or emergency levy and where it is stated that the king constructed the dam of Sudarshan lake without oppressing the people by means of kara, visti and pranava. 93

Hiranya which literary means gold occurs with such fiscal terms as bhāga, bhoga, kara in the copper plate inscriptions and evidently denotes some tax. Being mentioned along with bhāga and dhānya 94 usually interpreted as the king's share of produce paid in kind, the term may be taken to denote tax in cash levied upon certain crops where assessment in kind was not possible. According to Dr. Ghoshal, "In the medieval period of Indian history, while the land revenue, before the revenue reforms of Todarmal, was paid mostly in kind, there were certain classes of crops called zabti, the levy of which was always assessed in cash since it was very difficult to divide it into shares and, as such, hiranya may be taken to denote a levy or tax of this nature." 95

Another important source of revenue was Sulka, the officer responsible for the collection of which was called Saulkika, frequently mentioned in our copper plate grants. Sulka as a fiscal term occurs in such early works as Atharvaveda, 96 Dharamasūtras 97 and

93 Apidavitya kara-visti-pranava-kriyabhīh paur-janapadam. EI., VIII, p.44.
94 EI., I, p.13; IV, p.8; VI, p.22, etc.
95 HRS., pp.60-61.
96 III.29.3.
97 Gaut., X.25; Apast., II.26, 9; Vg., XIX.37.
the Astādhyāyi. In the Amarakosa it is explained as ghattadideya, i.e., duties paid at the ferries, etc. Kśirasvamin commenting on the expression ghattādideya takes sulka to denote the ferry duties, the tolls paid at the military or police stations and the transit duties paid by the merchants. The term also occurs in Manu and is explained by the commentators as duties paid by the merchants. The Arthasastra mentions the term quite frequently and from several references to it in the said text it may be explained as custom or toll duties levied on merchants and collected at the ferries, at the custom houses or octroi posts stationed at the main gate of the town, at the ports and at the frontier stations.

From what has been said above, it would appear that the main sources of revenue in ancient Chamba were (1) land-revenue paid in kind or cash (2) custom and toll duties and (3) certain periodical taxes called kara. Besides, the villagers were expected to make frequent supplies of flowers, fruits, firewood and the like to the king.

In the Baijnath Prāsasti No. 2 (1.27), we have an interesting statement that the ruling Chief

98 V.1.47.
99 II. 8.27.
100 Ghatto naditaratthanamadi-sabdat gula-pratolyadā praveśya-naśkrāmya-drayabhyo rajagrāhyah bhagah sulkaḥ.
101 VIII.307.
102 II.6, 16, 21, 28, 35, etc.
103 El., I, p.115.
Laksmanacandra allotted to the Siva temple daily six drammas of money collected at the mandapika. Bühler, on the analogy of the modern Gujarati and Marathi word māndavī which he believes to be the modern representative of ancient mandapika and which means a 'custom house', renders mandapika as 'custom house'. The term is also mentioned in the form of mandabika in the Pallava grant of Siva-skandavarman where also according to Bühler it denotes a custom house. It also occurs in the Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarajadeva II, where it denotes a market pavilion in the town where various articles bought for sale were assessed and taxed. It is mentioned along with Sulka, in one of the Bhavanagar inscriptions. We may on the basis of references cited above, assume that reference mandapika in ancient Kīragrāma was a sort of an octroi or custom post situated near the market place in the town, where the articles brought for sale were charged octroi or custom duties according to their nature.

104 El., I, p.117n.
105 Ibid., pp.2 ff.
106 Ibid., p.7 n.
107 CII.IV, No.45, p.204 ff.
108 Ibid, p.223, fn.2 and p. clxx. According to V.V. Mirashi, 'mandapika (from which the Marathi word mandai, a 'market place', is derived) seems to have been a pavilion in the market place where things brought to the market for sale were taxed.' op.cit.
109 Bhavanagar Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscriptions, p.159 where we have mention of Sulka-mandapika.
It would thus appear that the custom and the octroi duties were a source of revenue in ancient Kangra as well and the same were collected at the custom houses or octroi posts called mandapikas.

**COINS**

The coin denomination prevalent in Chamba and Kangra in the 12th and the 13th century A.D. was dramma. It is mentioned in the Luj fountain inscription of the first year of Jāsata dated A.D.1105-6\(^{110}\) and in the Baijnath Praśasti No.2, dated 1204 A.D.\(^{111}\) In the former, owing to the language being extremely corrupt, it is not exactly known as to in what connection it is mentioned. Vogel thinks that the expression mūla (mūlya) 20 dramma occurring in the record denotes the cost of grain (mentioned as dhānīka or dhānīya), supplied by the donor for a feast held on the occasion of the erection of the fountain slab.\(^{112}\) In the Baijnath Praśastis it is mentioned in connection with the donations made to the Śiva temple. It is stated that the ruling Chief Lakṣamaṇacandra allotted daily 6 drammās collected at the custom house or mandapikā.\(^{113}\)

The term dramma which is generally believed to be the derivative of Greek drachma, was according to D.R. Bhandarkar, a coin denomination prevalent all

\(^{110}\) *Antiquities.*, I, p.205.

\(^{111}\) El., I, p.115.

\(^{112}\) Op. cit., p.204.

over Northern India 'in the late mediaval period, that is from 9th to the 13th century.' 114 In his opinion, 'the earliest record where this word has been traced is the Gwaliar inscription of Bhojadeva of the Imperial Pratihara dynasty and dated 875 A.D. 115 However, the term occurs even earlier in a Yaudheya coin of 3rd century A.D. 116 which bears the legend 'devasya drama Brahma) na' which according to S.K. Chakraborty 117 may be construed as "Brahmanyadeva devasya drama" meaning the coin dedicated to Brahmanyadeva or Karttikeya the tutelary deity of the Yaudheya tribe. The name drama according to Bhandarkar 118 signified only the coins in silver and it would thus appear that the coinage used in ancient Chamba and Kangra was of silver. This also reflects the prosperous economic conditions prevailing in the two hill districts in the 12th and the 13th centuries.

**TRADE AND COMMERCE**

Trade in ancient Kangra was carried on by a class of people called Vanik 119 or merchants. They were comparatively a wealthier section in the society and carried on trade in the neighbouring districts as

114 *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p.206
117 *IHQ.* (1939), Vol.XV, p.70.
119 The term is mentioned frequently in the Baijnath Prasasti No.I, 11.23, 26, 29.
The articles were offered for sale at the stalls called *panyashālas*.\textsuperscript{121} The articles imported from outside were charged custom duties at the custom posts called *mandapikas*.\textsuperscript{122} The duty was paid in terms of silver coins called *drammas*.\textsuperscript{123} There were oil mills for extracting oil from the oilseeds.\textsuperscript{124} The Baijnath Prāsastis would give us an impression that *Kiragrama* was a flourishing town in Kangra in the 13th century. The very size, design and the architecture of the Baijnath temple, as also the number of donations paid to it by the private individuals testify the richness of the resources of the people of this ancient town.

**INDUSTRY**

The only industry of which we get ample evidence in our records is stone-work. Stone work appears to have been a very popular industry in ancient Chamba and Kangra. People engaged in this

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\textsuperscript{121} *Ibid.*, No.II, 1.30.

\textsuperscript{122} *Ibid*. 1.27, and *supra*. p.161.

\textsuperscript{123} *Ibid*.

\textsuperscript{124} *Ibid.*, 1.29, Oil Mill is described as *tailotpidana-yantram*.
industry were called Sūtradhāra. Though this term is intimately associated with the ancient Indian Dramatic literature, denoting a person in charge of the stage performance, it is also met with frequently in the inscriptions and usually signifies persons engaged in the construction of stone temples or images. In the inscriptions of Chamba, however, they mostly figure as the builders of water fountains. Their extraordinary skill in stone work in Chamba is amply testified by a number of extant profusely carved fountain slabs which display craftsmanship of unique character, and in Kangra by the Baijnath temple which with its massive mandapa and superb carvings evokes highest admiration for the artistic skill of its builders.

125 The term occurs at the end of most of the fountain inscriptions of Chamba, and figures as the designation of a person who prepared the fountain slab. It is also mentioned in the Baijnath Prāṣasti No.1 (1.30) where certain Nāyaka is described as, vasansūtradhārādhūri, who along with certain Thodduka is stated to have 'fashioned with the chisel' - tankita, the Siva temple along with its mandapāg. The Lodū (Kashmir) cave inscription and the Peshawar Museum inscription of Vanhadaka (El. X, p.80) mention Sthāpati which is probably the synonym of Sūtradhāra, see Visṇudharmottara, II.24.39.
Among the extant Sândâ epigraphic records, only three title deeds of Chamba, which contain lists of the State Officers addressed by the kings at the time of the land grants,\(^1\) convey some idea of the administrative structure as it obtained in that hill State in the 10th, 11th and the 12th centuries. Our present account, as such, would be confined mainly to these records though occasionally references will be made to a few of our other inscriptions too, which furnish some information in this regard.

**MONARCHY AND POSITION OF THE KING**

The type of government which prevailed in ancient Chamba, Kangra, Kashmir and Gandhâra was monarchy and it was generally hereditary. We have only one instance of King Asata's succession to his brother Soma-varman\(^2\) which has to be attributed to the absence

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\(^1\) Antiquities, I, No.15, 11. 6-9; No.25, 11. 13-15; No.26, 11. 7-10. The list is comparatively longer in the Sungal grant, No.15, where the total number of officials mentioned is 36. The lists of officials contained in the Chamba title deeds present a striking similarity to those contained in the Amagachi and Bhagalpur grants of Vîgrahapâla and Nârayanapâla both of the Pâla dynasty of Bengal, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p.167, and Vol.XV, p.306. This has led Dr. Vogel to conclude that the lists of the Chamba title deeds cannot be regarded as authentic for ancient Chamba op. cit., pp. 120-21. He doubts if all the officials enumerated in these documents can be regarded to have actually existed in ancient Chamba. However, it cannot be taken for granted that the lists have been simply "copied from certain fixed forms in use all over India" and are not based on actual reality. The majority of officials can be, as will be seen in the sequel, regarded to have actually existed in ancient Chamba though regarding some of them nothing definite can be said as their individual functions are not yet definitely known.

\(^2\) Cf. Antiquities, I, No.24, 11.18, 19 where Somavarman is described as the son of Sâlavahana and queen Kârûdhâdevi, and No.26, 11.5, 6 where Asata also is described as the son of Sâlavahana and queen Kârûdhâ.
of any legitimate heir on the part of the latter. The rulers of the hill State of Chamba and of Gandhāra assumed the sovereign titles of Mahārajadhīrāja, Paramabhūttāraka and Paramēśvara. The kings of Kashmir and Kangra (ancient Trigarta), on the other hand, are often given in our records the simple titles of Śrīmat and Śrī, despite the fact that they had comparatively larger dominions under their sway.

The kings of Chamba were pious and generous too. Not only did they build temples but also made donations of land. In their charters they are sometimes styled as Paramavaishnava and Paramāhāesvara which shows that they were great worshippers of Vīṣṇu and Śiva. They are also described as Paramabrahmya which may either mean greatly devoted to sacred knowledge or devout worshippers of God Karttikeya. They also sometimes conferred titles on their feudatories for meritorious service. Thus, king Lalita-varman conferred the title of Rājanaka on his vassal Nāgapāla.

The Queens

Throughout the area of our inscriptions we

3 Cf., e.g., op. cit., No.4, 11.3, 4, No.15, 11.4, 5; No.24, 1.19; No.25, 1.13 etc. and El, XXI pp.298 and 301.

4 Cf., e.g., S.P.S. Museum inscriptions of Jayasimha and Paramandadeva Bijbehara inscriptions of Rājadeva, Marshall, Note., p.21 and Bajnath Prasasti No.1, 1.32.

5 Cf., Antiquities., No.24, 1.18 where Somavarman is described as Paramāhāesvara and Paramavaishnava.

6 Antiquities., No.32, 11.12, 13. Regarding the title Rājanaka, which is generally borne by the feudatory Chiefs of Chamba in their inscriptions and which occurs in the beginning of the lists of officers in our title deeds see Vogel, Antiquities., pp.110 ff., for a detailed discussion.
find that queens bore, generally, the title of Māhā-rājñī. Like kings, they were piously disposed and built religious institutions. The queens of Chamba, Kangra and Gandhāra do not seem to have taken any active part in the administration. But those of Kashmir actually participated in the State administration and even ruled the country at times. Thus, queen Dīḍā held the sceptre of the Kashmir throne for twenty years. As pointed out above, it is interesting to find her described in the two inscriptions of her reign with the masculine epithets of Ṛeva and Ṛājan. This evidently speaks of her king-like energy and political astuteness which enabled her to rule over Kashmir with firmness in very troubled times.

The Princes

We get very meagre information about the position and status of princes from our records. In three Chamba copper plate grants the term Rājaputra occurs in the beginning of the list of officials, which would show that princes were given high administrative posts in the government.

The Ministry

The kings of Chamba did not act by themselves, but had also ministers to advise them. This is indicated by the mention of Rājamātya in the list of officials. This term, which is often met with

7 See above pp.105-6.
8 Antiquities., I, Nos.15, 1.6; No.25, 1.14; No.26, 1.7.
9 Ibid.
in the copper plate inscriptions, denotes a minister or a councillor to the king. The dūta of Kulaīt grant of Soma-varman\textsuperscript{10} bears the title Mahāmātya which would indicate that besides the ministers there was also a Prime Minister or a Chief Councillor.

DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT

Judicial

It appears that administration of justice in ancient Chamba vested in an officer called Rajasthaniya.\textsuperscript{11} The office rajasthāna and its holder the Rajasthaniya are also mentioned in the Rajatarāṅgini\textsuperscript{12} and according to Stein\textsuperscript{13} the officer, holding the office of Rajasthāna, was analogous to that of Rajagṛhya and it was connected with the administration of justice. He adds, it may be assumed that Rajasthaniya discharged duties equivalent to those of Chief Justice.\textsuperscript{14}

Another officer associated with the judicial department was Dandika.\textsuperscript{15} He was probably a magistrate who administered punishment (danda).

Revenue

The officers connected with the Revenue

\textsuperscript{10} Ibid. No.24, l.24. Dūta often mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions denotes a high officer who conveyed the royal order regarding the grant of a village or land, see Fleet, Cll. III, p.100, n.3; Sircar, IE., p.143.

\textsuperscript{11} See fn. 8 supra; op. cit., No.14, l.10.

\textsuperscript{12} RT., VII, 601, VIII, 2557.

\textsuperscript{13} RT., ytans. p.316 n.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{15} Antiquities., I, No.15, l.9; No.25, l.15; No.26, l.10.
department were Pramātar, Mahāksapatalika, Ksetrapa, Saulkika, Bhagika and Tarapati.

The term pramātar is obviously derived from pra + /ma 'to measure' and it seems that the functions of Pramātar were measuring or the surveying of land and, also, possibly, the assessment of land revenue.

The Mahāksapatalika, who figures as duta 'messenger' in our two copper plate grants, was an officer in charge of land records, who kept an accurate record of different fields and their boundaries. His office was known as aksapatala and as a passage in the Rājatarangini would show, it was from this office that the sasanas or the charters certifying grants of land were issued.

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16 Ibid., No.15, 1.7. It is also mentioned in the Baijnath Prasasti No.II, 1.27, where Rama, the poet of the Prasastis states that his father Bhīmaka was a pramātar of the king of Kashmir.

17 Cf., CII.IV, p. cxli. Vogel refers to a passage in Śrivara's Rājatarangini (I.70) where Pramātar appears to denote an officer entrusted with the administration of justice, Antiquities., pp. 122-23.

18 Antiquities., I, Nos.24, 25.

19 The details of the functions carried on by this office are described in Śr., II.7 under gana-dhikāra. These include the maintaining of the records of (1) the income and expenditure of the State, (2) the lands in general, (3) the lands in the personal possession of the king, queen and the princes, and so on.

20 RT., V. 391, also Stein's trans., I, p.328 n.

21 These charters were written by officials called Karana-Kavasthas or simply Kavastha in our records. Kavastha, a familiar term in the inscriptions and literature denotes a scribe. Karana according to MS. VIII. 51, 52, means a document. So Karana-Kavastha would denote 'writer of documents'. Vogel renders both the terms as 'writer of legal documents', Antiquities., I. pp.164, 187, 200.
Ksetrapa was an officer in charge of cultivated lands or of royal farms. 22

Śaulkika, as seen above, 23 was a customs officer responsible for the assessment and the collection of custom, octroi and the excise duties.

Bhāgika 24 was probably the revenue officer responsible for the assessment and the collection of bhāga or the State share of land produce. 25

Tarapati 26 was the officer in charge of ferries. Tara or ferry is mentioned in the Arthasastra 27 as a source of revenue, along with sitā, bhāga, bāli, kaka, etc. It is, thus, possible that ferries were a source of revenue in ancient Chamba as well and that Tarapati was in charge of the collection of ferry duties, and also of the proper maintenance of the ferry service. Vogel points out that the ferries are non-existent in Chamba and it is doubtful if the office Tarapati at all existed in ancient Chamba. 28

It may, however, be pointed out here that tara does not include only the boats, but any device

22 Ksetra, is defined in the Amarakosa, I.5.6; I.10.13, as a special type of land capable of producing all kinds of crops. In the Arthasastra, II.15 it denotes 'royal farms'.

23 For detailed discussion of śulka and Śaulakika, see above p.160.

24 This officer is mentioned only in the Sungal grant of Vidagdha, Antiquities., I, p.166.

25 Cf., Sircar, IEG., p.49.

26 Antiquities., I. No.15, 1.3; No.25, 1.14; No.26, 1.9.

27 AS., II.6.

used to cross the river. In Chamba, the swiftly flowing streams are crossed by a technical device locally called garūra. It consists of a small planquin suspended from a long rope or wire with its two ends tied to two poles pitched at the two river banks. The planquin, which carries the passengers, is controlled by the ferrymen at the two banks with the help of a long rope tied to its two upper ends. It would seem that some such devices also existed in ancient Chamba and officer in charge of their maintenance and control was known as Tarapati. Ferries in ancient Chamba must have been a source of revenue as well, as they are now.

MILITARY AND POLICE DEPARTMENTS

The army of ancient Chamba consisted of four corps, viz., elephant, camel, cavalry and infantry with each corps under the charge of an officer. Camels were, most probably, used for carrying loads and ammunition. The Sungal grant mentions two officers who seem to be connected with the army. They are Gaulmika and Virayātrika. Gaulmika appears to have been an officer in charge of a gulma. The word gulma occurs in such early works as Mahābhārata, Manusmṛti and Amarakosa. In the Mahābhārata, it is described as division of an

29 This is indicated by the mention of hastvāśvostra-bala-vyāpārātaka (rendered by Vogel as "those occupied with elephants, horses, camels and forces) in the Sungal grant, op. cit., No.15, p.7, pp.166, 168.

army. In the Manusmrti, it occurs as a guard station which a king is advised to place after every second, third or fourth village in order to protect his dominion. In the Amarakosa a gulma is stated to consist of three senāmukhās 'van-guards'. The term also occurs at several places in the Arthasastra and is taken by Dr. Ghoshal to mean a police station where a kind of cess called gulmadeya was collected.

Some more information is furnished by the Mudrarāksa which mentions Gulmadhikāri and gulmasthāna. It would seem from the references given from the text in the footnote below, that gulmasthāna was the military check post where all egresses and ingresses were checked and the officers in charge of those stations were obviously known as Gulmadhikāris. It would thus seem that Gaulmika in ancient Chamba was an army officer in charge of military police station which controlled the movements of the people in the cantonment area.

31 MBh., I.290.
32 MS., VII.114.
33 Amar. II.80.
34 II.16, 35; III. 20 etc.
35 HRS., p.292.
36 Mudrarāksa, Act V.
37 In Mudrarāksa Act. V, Kṣapaṇaka cautions Siddharthaka lest he be arrested by the Gulmadhikāris for entering into Malayaketu's camp without a passport. Again, in the same Act, Dirgharakṣa, officer in charge of Gulmasthāna, sends a message to Malayaketu that they had arrested a man with a letter while about to leave the camp without a permit.
As regards Viravāṭrika, we cannot put forth any exact interpretation. One of the meanings of Ṛṭrika given in Monier-Williams's dictionary is campaign, expedition and we may, as such, suggest that Viravāṭrika was an officer who was expected to play the leading role in a military campaign.

The mention of tribes Khaśa and Kulika in the list of officers would show that their heads or chiefs were employed in the Chamba army and were given high posts.

The Khaśas are mentioned in the Brhaspamita along with Kasмирā, Abhisāras, Darvas, Kīras, Kulūtas and Kaulindas. They are also mentioned in the Rājatarangini and regarding their position Stein remarks, "Their settlement extended as shown by the numerous passages of the chronicle in a vide semi-circle from Kaśṭavar in the south east to the Vitasta valley in the west." Khaśas are also mentioned in the Markandeya Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata. In the Markandeya Purāṇa they are described as parvataśreṇīyāḥ or dwelling along the mountains. In the Mahābhārata, they are included in the army of Duryodhana along with other tribes like the Daradas, the

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38 MW., p.849.
39 XIV.29-31.
40 I.317, VII.217, VIII.177, 1074, etc.
41 RT., trans. II, p.430.
42 Mar-Pu (ed. by Pargiter) p.346.
It would thus seem that Khasas in our case were fight-loving tribal people who inhabited the hill tracts somewhere in the vicinity of Chamba and whose heads were employed in the Chamba army and given responsible posts.

The term Kulika which means the 'chief of a guild' is, perhaps, used in our lists in tribal sense like the immediately preceding word Khasa. Kulikas are mentioned in the Nalanda copper plate of Devapala-deva along with the Malavas, the Khasas, the Karanatas and the Hunas. It would seem that Kulikas, like the Khasas, were a tribal people who were employed as mercenary soldiers in the army of ancient Chamba. Their exact position is, however, not known. In Chamba, their main settlement was, probably, at Kulikagostha, mentioned in the Kulait copper plate grant of Soma-varman and identified by Vogel with the modern village of Kulait.

Connected with the Police department was Chaurodharanika who, as the name indicates, was a police officer specially charged with the investigation of thefts and apprehension of thieves and other

43 MBh., (Sabhāparvan, 1859).
44 Mā., p.295.
45 EI., XVIII, p.321.
46 Antiquities., I, p.185.
47 Ibid., pp.6, 127.
GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

The State of Chamba appears to have been divided into provinces which were governed by provincial governors called Uparikas. The term Uparika occurs in several inscriptions of the Gupta period, but its exact significance remained obscure for a long time. Thus, Dr. Fleet, while editing the Bihar Pillar inscription, remarked, "Uparika is a technical official title, the exact purport of which is not known and a suitable rendering of which cannot be offered at present." Similarly, Dr. Bloch, while editing the Basarh Seal No.20, remarked, "Uparika means a class of officials whose functions are not known." The occurrence of the word in the Damodarpur copper plate inscriptions of Kumāragupta, however, has given some clue as to the exact significance and the purport of the term. In the Damodarpur copper plate inscription of Kumāragupta of the year 128, an Uparika Citradatta is described as governing the province (bhukti) of Pundrabhukti. In the same inscription, Vetravarman, an officer appointed by Citradatta and bearing the title Kumārāmatya is described as administering the district of Kotivarsa. From this it can be inferred that Uparika was an officer, higher in status than the District officer and in charge of

48 Fleet, CII., III, p.52, fn.1.
50 EI., XV., p.133f., text lines 3-4.
51 Ibid.
provincial administration. The same inference can be drawn from Bloch’s Basarh seal Nos. 20 and 22 which read Tirabhuktya-Uparika-adhikaranapasya and Tira-Kumārāmatya-adhikaranapasya and which on the analogy of Damodarpur plates can be interpreted as, "The seal of the Uparika in charge of Tirabhukti province and of the Kumārāmatya stationed at the district headquarters called Tira."53

Dr. Chabbra, however, points out that the office of Uparika existed even in the remote past and the earliest definition of the term has been given by Brhaspati which has been quoted by Viśvarūpācārya in his commentary on the Vaiṣṇavalkvamsārti.54 On the basis of this definition Dr. Chabbra opines that an Uparika was an officer invested with two-fold authority, namely, judicial as well as administrative and his high office might, therefore, correspond to that of a magistrate.55

However, as has been pointed out by Saleatore, the status of Uparika was much higher than that of a magistrate as can be seen from the fact that in several inscriptions he is styled as Mahārāja and Mahāsāmanta.

52 See fn. 47, supra.
54 Dr. Chabbra, 'Office of Uparika', D.R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 231-32.
55 Ibid., p. 232.
Moreover, the usual term for magistrate in the inscriptions in Dandika.\textsuperscript{56}

We may, as such, conclude that Uparika was an officer of high status who in ancient Chamba, as in other parts of India, was in charge of the provincial administration.

The provinces were divided into districts called mandalas and the latter into villages called grāmas. The names of several mandalas and grāmas are mentioned in our copper plates and the same have been discussed below in detail in chapter X. The mention of the officer Visavanati in the Sungal grant of Vidagdha\textsuperscript{57} would suggest that the officer responsible for district administration was known as Visavanati. But Dr. Vogel points out that since the term visaya is not met with in the inscriptions of Chamba, there is good reason to doubt whether the office of Visavanati was known in that State.\textsuperscript{58} He remarks that Chamba appears to be the only place in the whole of India, where the ancient term cāta is still extant in the modern form Cār meaning 'head of a pargana.'\textsuperscript{60} However, as has rightly been pointed out by Dr. Sircar,\textsuperscript{61} it is doubtful if Cāta in ancient Chamba carried on the same functions

\textsuperscript{56} Salebore, \textit{Life in the Gupta Age}, pp.260-61.
\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Antiquities.}, No.15, p.166.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., p.124.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., p.130 ff.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., p.130.
\textsuperscript{61} \textit{IEG.}, p.362.
as were done till recently by Cār. The Cāta along with Bhatta is mentioned in our copper plates as belonging to the lowest rank of the State officials and it is doubtful if the meaning of Cār, as prevalent at present in Chamba, can be applied to Cāta in our inscriptions. Thus, in the absence of the mention of any such terms as mandalesa or mandalādhīpatī in our title deeds, we are left to assume that the district administration in ancient Chamba as in several other parts of India was in the charge of an officer called Visavapati.

The districts were divided into villages. The names of several villages are mentioned in our records, but unfortunately, they do not furnish any definite information regarding the village administration. The usual terms grāmika, grāmapati, grāmama-hattara, denoting village officers and met with in the copper plate inscriptions, do not occur in the title deeds of Chamba. We have, however, the mention of a term Bhogika in the Sungal grant, one of the meanings of which given in the Monier William's Dictionary is 'chief of a village'. This meaning of the term is corroborated by the Navasari copper plate inscription of Pulakesiraja, where we find a mention of grāmahogika, which V. V. Mirashi renders as 'headman of a village'. Thus, it would seem that the village administration in ancient Chamba was carried on by the village headmen, called Bhogikas.

62 Antiquities., I, No.15, 1.9, p.166.
63 MW., p.767.
64 CII., IV, No.30, p.137 ff.
65 Ibid., p.141. The term is mentioned immediately after Visavapati.
66 Ibid., p.144.
The other officials mentioned in our charters who seem to be connected with the district or village administration are: Ṣegāna, Cāta, Bhata, Pratihāra, Gamāgamika, Abhitvaramāṇa, Pandavāśīka.

Ṣegāna is mentioned in the Salhi fountain inscription of A.D. 1170 as the designation of a local official of Pangi. The term is not known from any other source. It is, obviously, not Sanskrit. According to a suggestion of Mr. A.H. Francke, quoted by Dr. Vogel, the word is, perhaps, a corruption of Tibetan Šogampa meaning 'a custom house officer or tax-collector.' Dr. Vogel, commenting on the term, remarks, "We may assume that the functions of the Ṣegāna were substantially the same as those of the head official of Pangi, who until recent times bore the title of Pālsara." He adds, "This term, which is not found in other parts of Chamba, is the designation of the head of a pargana in Mandi State and is known to have existed in Kulu also, where it has been replaced by the term Negī."

Thus, though the exact functions of Ṣegāna are not quite clear, it may be assumed that the distant

67 Antiquities., I, No.33, p.222.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid., p.135
70 Ibid.
districts, like Pangi, in ancient Chamba were placed under the charge of the officers who bore the designation Ṛṣā. It would seem that these officers were not only responsible for the internal administration of their districts, but they were also required to collect customs and other royal dues.

Cāta and Bhata are often mentioned together in the copper plate inscriptions. Bhata, which literally means a soldier, probably, denotes a village constable and Cāta the chief or the head constable. According to D.C. Sircar, Bhata means a Paiq, Barkandaz or Piada, i.e., a constable and Cāta, the leader of the groups of Bhata. In the Surat copper plate inscription of Vyagrasena, the Cātas and the Bhata are advised not to enter the village donated as an agrahāra except for arresting thieves and rebels. This would show that the duty of the Cātas and the Bhata was to maintain peace and order in the villages and to apprehend criminals. They were often harsh and exacting in their ways and were a source of constant oppression and vexation to the poor farmer. In the Sungal grant we have an interesting passage which gives an idea of the amount of vexation and oppression that the poor villagers in ancient Chamba were subjected to by the Cātas and Bhata.

The passage reads, "And of our Cātas and Bhata no one will be allowed to enter his (i.e., grantee's) house to cut or crush his corn, sugarcane or pasture (?),


72 CII., IV, p.27, cor-rujāpattivakāri-varij (vārijau-â) cāta-bhata-pravesya, also cf., III., VIII, p.257, where we have a-cāta-bhata-pravesyam coradhakā-vañjan.
whether green or ripe, nor to take ročika (?) or citola (?) or cows-milk, nor to carry off stools, banche or couches, nor to seize his wood, fuel, grass, chaff, and so on. Not even the slightest oppression or vexation should be inflicted (on him), nor on his ploughmen, cow-herds, servants, maid servants, and all other people that are dependent on him."\(^{73}\)

Pratihāra is mentioned in the Salhi,\(^ {74}\) Sai\(^ {75}\) and Naï\(^ {76}\) fountain inscriptions as the designation of a local official. In the Salhi inscription he is mentioned immediately after Segan and it would seem that he was subordinate to Segan. His functions as a district official are, however, not exactly known. The inscriptions referred to above, do not furnish any information on this point. Pratihāra which literally means 'door keeper', is frequently mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions and denotes a 'palace guard' who guarded the entry into the royal palace and was responsible for its defence.\(^ {77}\) But this meaning cannot, obviously, apply to Pratihāra in our case. Dr. Vogel remarks, "We may perhaps conjecture that the Pratihāra of the three fountain inscriptions held the same position as modern Likhnihara who is the deputy of the Car, keeps the revenue accounts and does the clerical work."\(^ {78}\)

\(^{73}\) Antiquities., I, No.15, 11.23-25, pp.167 and 169.

\(^{74}\) Antiquities., I, p.222. In this inscription Pratihāra is described as an official of Pangati (modern Pangi).

\(^{75}\) Ibid., p.234.

\(^{76}\) Ibid., p.241.

\(^{77}\) Cf. IEG., p.259.

\(^{78}\) Antiquities., I, p.135.
However, he points out that he does not assume any etymological connection between the two words.\textsuperscript{79} Pratihāra is also mentioned in the \textit{Ṣukranītisāra}, among the six officers which a king is advised to appoint in every town and village.\textsuperscript{80} But, unfortunately, it does not specifically mention the functions of the official. According to V.V. Mirashi, he was probably the head of the town or village police.\textsuperscript{81} However, all that we can say is, that Pratihāra in all probability was an official lower in status to that of Segāna and connected with village or town administration.

\textit{Gamāgamika} according to V.V. Mirashi was an official common to both the town and village, whose function was to keep a watch on persons coming into or going out of the town or the village.\textsuperscript{82} He refers to the \textit{Ṣukranītisāra} which mentions a similar officer, 'who was specially in charge of the panthaśāla or sarai of the village, who made inquiries about the caste, family, name and residence of the traveller, the places he came from and was going to and after taking away his arms, if he had any, made arrangements for guarding the sarai at night, and in the morning returned the arms to the traveller and escorted him to the limit of the village.'\textsuperscript{83}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{79} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{80} SNS., II, 120-21.
  \item \textsuperscript{81} CII., IV, p. cxliv.
  \item \textsuperscript{82} Ibid., p. cxlv.
  \item \textsuperscript{83} SNS., I, 270-71; CII., IV, p.cxlv.
\end{itemize}
Abhitvaramāṇa, which literally means, 'one who hurries,' was probably a subordinate officer responsible for the expeditious despatch of the urgent messages from the district headquarters to the towns and village.

**Dandavāsika**

Three Chamba copper plate inscriptions, viz., the Sungal grant of Vidagdha, the Chamba grant of Somavarman and Āṣatā and the Thundu grant of Āṣatā, and the Salhi fountain inscription mention an official with the designation Dandavāsika. In the last named inscription it occurs immediately after Segāna and Pratibhāra, noted above. Vogel feels inclined to take Dandavāsika as a variant of Dandapasika, meaning a 'police officer.' However, it may be mentioned here that in all the four inscriptions referred to above, the word occurs in the same form and there does not seem to be any apparent justification for taking it as a variant of dandapasika. The word dandavāsika is explained in the St. Petersburg and Monier William's dictionaries as a 'door keeper.' However, it is

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84 The word is derived from abhi + tvar, which means 'to be in haste', Cf. MW., p.62.
85 D.C. Sircar renders the term as, "the letter carrier of a special kind of messenger," IEG., p.2.
86 Antiquities., I, No.15, l.9, p.166.
87 Ibid., No.25, l.15, p.193.
88 Ibid., No.26, l.10, p.199.
89 Ibid., No.33, l.2, p.222.
90 Ibid., pp.129-30.
91 Petersburg., s.v., MW., p.467.
doubtful if this meaning can be applied to the term in our case, especially when it is mentioned as a designation of a district officer in Pangi, in the above noted fountain inscription. The word seems to be represented by the modern Oriya 'dandvāsi' which means a 'village watchman'. We may, as such, assume that Dandavāsika was a subordinate district official who was mainly charged with the duty of looking after the towns and villages in his jurisdiction during nights.

We may now turn our attention to the officials who are mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions of Chamba, but the individual functions of whom in the administration of ancient Chamba are not clearly known. These include Kumārāmātya, Sarobhaṅga, Khandaraksa or Kṛdgaraksa, Bhogapati, Nihilapati, Prāntapāla, Vetakila, Chattrachāvyika, Parikara, Sanniyuktaka and Viniyuktaka.

Kumārāmātya is an official title frequently

92 Cf. IEG., p.81.
93 Antiquities., I, No.15, 1.7, p.166.
94 Ibid.
95 Ibid., 1.8; No.26, 1.9, p.199.
96 Ibid., No.25, 1.14, p.193.
97 Ibid., No.15, 1.9, p.166.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid., 1.7.
100 Ibid., 1.8.
101 Ibid.
102 Ibid., No.25, 1.14, p.193; No.26, 1.8, p.199.
103 Ibid.
104 Ibid. No.15, 1.9, p.166; No.25, 1.14, p.193; No.26, 1.8, p.199.
mentioned in the inscriptions. It was, at first, taken as a Tatpurusa compound and explained as 'minister to the prince or the heir apparent.' 105 Dr. Bloch took the expression as Karmadhāraya and explained it as Kaumaratārabhya amatyah 'one who has been in service of the king from the time when he was a boy.' 106 But Dr. Ghoshal rightly pointed out that the exact purport and significance of the term could be understood only from the context in which it occurred in the inscriptions. 107

The term is first mentioned in the Allahabad Praśasti of Samudragupta, where Harisena, the author of the Praśasti, describes himself as Sandhivigrāhika, Kumārāmātya, Mahādandaṇāyaka and as servant of the king. 108 This shows that the officer with the title Kumārāmātya also held other high posts of foreign-minister and the commander-in-chief.

In the Karamadanda inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta, the donor Prthivisena describes himself as mantrin (minister) and as Kumārāmātya, who afterwards became the Mahābālādhikrta (Supreme Commander of forces). 109 This indicates that Kumārāmātya was a minister or a state councillor who could also rise to the high office of Supreme Commander.

105 Fleet, CII., III, p.16n.
106 EI., X, p.50, fn.2.
108 CII., III, No.1 l. 32 , p.10.
109 EI., X, No.15, 11.7-8, p.72.
In the Damodarpur plates Nos. I and II, belonging to the reign of Kumāragupta, it is stated that the bhukti or province of Pundravardhana was governed by an officer called Uparika while the district of Kotivarsa was administered by a subordinate officer Kumāramātya. This would show that Kumāramātya was an officer in charge of district administration who worked directly under the provincial governor - Uparika.

The same inference can be drawn from the two seals discovered at Basarh which read: Tirabhukty-Uparika-adhikaranasya and Tīra-Kumāramātya-adhikaran, which, as pointed out by Dr. ghoshal, can be, on the analogy of the Damodarpur plates referred to above, taken to refer respectively to the Uparika in charge of Tirabhukti province and Kumāramātya stationed at the district head quarters.

It would, thus, seem that Kumāramātya was, in reality, a title of a class of officers who sometimes worked as state councillors, sometimes as district officers and who by dint of their efficiency and competence rose to the high position of ministers and commanders-in-chief.

To what particular class of officers did the title apply in ancient Chamba, we have no means to ascertain.

Sarobhanga is a term of uncertain meaning. According to D.C. Sircar, Sarobhanga is the same as

110 E.I., XV, p.130, and p.133.
Sarabhanga or Sarbhaṅga, mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions. According to a suggestion offered by Dr. R.G. Basak, Sarabhanga, may have been a designation applied to superior military officers in the army equipped with bows and arrows. Dr. B.C. Sen remarks, "Sarabhanga may have been an officer whose usual function was to accompany the king on his hunting expedition, if the use of arrows was the characteristic mark of his service and to look after business relating to such activities of his matter." Dr. Sircar equates the term with Persian Sarhang and Hindi Sərəngə, meaning a military governor or a leader of forces.

If the proposed connection of our Sarabhanga with Sarabhanga be true, and if the explanations of the terms referred to above be correct, it may be assumed that Sarabhanga in ancient Chamba was a superior army officer skilled in the use of bow and arrow and responsible for the command and control of the royal forces.

Khandaraksa is mentioned in the Sungal and the Thundu copper plate grants, whereas the Chamba grant

113 IEG., p.300.
114 Quoted by B.C. Sen, IC., VII, p.309.
115 Ibid.
116 IEG., p.300. Sircar's explanation is evidently based on the mention of the term saramgha in the Hatun inscription of Patoladeva, El., XXX, p.230, text line 4, which Dr. N.P. Chakravarti (Ibid., p.228) takes to be of non Sanskrit origin and connects with Persian Sar-hang, meaning 'Head of the army of gathering.'
mentions Khadgaraksa in place of Khandaraksa. It is not clear if Khandaraksa and Khadgaraksa are the separate designations of two officials or if one is a mistake for the other and both denote the same official. Khandaraksa which is mentioned in several Pala grants is explained by Monier Williams as 'Superintendents of wards'. We may assume that Khandaraksa was an officer in charge of a section of a town and had the same status as of the modern Ward officer. Khadgaraksa which literally means a 'swords man' was probably the king's body-guard.

Bhogapati, frequently mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions, denotes an officer in charge of a territorial unit called bhoga. It is, however, not clear as to what particular territorial division did the word signify in ancient Chamba.

The term nihelapati is of uncertain meaning. It is mentioned among our title deeds only in the Sungal grant. It immediately follows Visayapati and we may, as suggested by Vogel, assume that nihela is a subdivision of a visaya and Nihelapati, the officer in charge of such a sub-division. The term nihelapati appears to be identical with nihilapati found in the Nirmand copper plate as the designation of the dūta.

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117 Fns. 93-94, supra.

118 Vogel feels inclined to regard Khandaraksa as a corruption, under vernacular influence of Khadgaraksa which he considers to be the correct form, Antiquities, I, p.127.

119 History of Dharmasāstra, III, p.144, p.767; ECG, p.55. The term also occurs in the Mitaksara on the Vaiśnavalkyasārti, I.320; in EI, IX, p.298; also cf. CII, IV, pp. cxxxiv-xxxv.

120 Antiquities, I, p.124.
of the grant. It would seem that the office of Nihelapati was peculiar to the Panjab hills.

Prantapala, as the name suggests, was probably an army officer, in charge of the border areas or the frontiers of the kingdom.

The functions of Vetakila are uncertain. Vogel proposes to derive the word from Sanskrit vītiṅa, a diminutive of vita meaning a little 'ball', but used as an abbreviation of tambūla-vītiṅa in the sense of 'a preparation of the areca nut enveloped in a leaf of the betel plant.' Vetakila may, as such, denote a 'betel carrier', who was a satellite of the king, no less important than the 'parosal bearer'.

Chatrachyika is mentioned only in the Sungal grant. The term is not known from any other source. Literally it means 'parosal shadower'. Chattra, as is well known, was an important emblem of royalty in ancient India. As an official title, Chatrachāyika would denote a 'parosal bearer', who was an important attendant of the king.

Parikara, which literally means a servant, does not, according to Vogel, appear to be the designation of an official. However, parikara, as also the sevaka mentioned in our title deeds, probably denote the menials in the State employ.

The exact functions of Sanniyuktaka and Viniyuktaka are not known. In the Maliya copper plate of

122 CII., III, p.289 and 291.
123 Antiquities., I, p.128.
124 Ibid., p.130.
Dharasena II\textsuperscript{125} and in the Amgachi and Bhagalpur grants,\textsuperscript{126} the term \textit{vinivukta} is preceded by \textit{Ayuktaka} which is generally rendered as an officer.\textsuperscript{127} Sanniyuktaka and Viniyuktaka would, as such, seem to be the subordinates or the deputies of \textit{Ayuktaka},\textsuperscript{128} but the exact functions of all the three are not known.

We have discussed above in detail the official titles mentioned in the inscriptions of Chamba. We may now turn to discuss the official designations mentioned in some of our other records.

The \textit{Sarada} inscription from 

\textit{(Harṣa)} year 168, mentions three officials with the designations, \textit{Navakarmapati}, \textit{Pancakula} and \textit{Khvastha}, in connection with the consecration of the temple by \textit{Maharajāni Kāmesvari-devī}.\textsuperscript{129}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{125} CII., II, No.38, p.164.
\item \textsuperscript{126} Ind. Ant., XIV, p.167 and XV, p.306.
\item \textsuperscript{127} \textit{Ayuktaka} is mentioned in the \textit{Aṣṭadhyāyī}, II, 3, 40, and according to V.S. Agrawal, it is a general term for Government servants engaged in routine work, \textit{India as Known to Panini}, p.408. In the Allahabad pillar inscription (CII., III, 1) we find mention of \textit{Ayukta-purusas} who were entrusted with the task of restoring the wealth of the kings conquered by the Emperor (op. cit. p.8). \textit{Ayukta}s are connected with the \textit{Yuktas} of \textit{Arthasastra} II, 15 and \textit{Yutas} of \textit{Asokan} inscriptions and explained as subordinate officials, cf. E.W. Thomas, \textit{JRAS.} (1909), pp.466-67; (1914), 387-91.
\item \textsuperscript{128} In Sanskrit \textit{ni + yuj} means 'to employ'. So \textit{niyukta} would mean 'employed, appointed'. Cf. Junagar rock-inscription of Skandagupta, CII., III, No.14, p.59 for \textit{niyuj} used in the sense of 'to appoint, to commission'. The term \textit{niyukta} also occurs in the \textit{Aṣṭadhyāyī}, IV, 4, 69 and according to V.S. Agrawal, it was the title given to \textit{Ayuktas}, when they were assigned special jobs, op. cit.
\item \textsuperscript{129} EL., XXII, p.99, text lines 2-4.
\end{itemize}

The stone inscription from Dacchan near Kishtawar (Kak, \textit{Antiquities of Merav-Wadwan}, pp.24f) which records the construction of a bridge by certain Mahimagupta, mentions certain \textit{Mahim}. - (the name is only partly preserved) with the designation \textit{Karmapati}. This \textit{Karmapati} is, obviously, the same
Navakarmapati denotes an officer in charge of new constructions. He was probably an architect who not only designed the temples and buildings, but also supervised their construction. In the present case also, he appears to have been an architect who supervised the construction of the temple founded by the queen.

Pañcakula which literally means an assembly of five was probably the same as modern Panchayat Board, which managed the affairs of a village. As an official title Pañcakula would denote, the head or chief of this assembly or board, who had the same status as the modern Sarpanch.

Śavastha, a familiar term in the inscriptions, denotes a scribe or a clerk who drafted and composed the inscriptions.

The Khonamuh inscription of the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin mentions certain Chindaka as Deśadhīпатi of Khoramusa or Khonamuh. Desa, frequently mentioned in the inscriptions, signifies a territorial division. Since Khonamuh is too small a village to be called either a province or a district and since districts in Kashmir were generally known as visayas, we may assume that desa was a sub-division of a district corresponding probably to the modern pargana and Deśadhīпатi was an officer-in-charge of such a sub-division.
We shall now proceed to consider the state of religion as depicted in our records.

BUDDHISM

KASHMIR

Buddhism gained a footing in Kashmir as early as the 3rd century B.C. According to the Ceylonese Chronicle Mahāvamsa, Buddhism was first introduced in Kashmir by a Buddhist missionary Majjhantika (Madhyantika) during the rule of the Maurya king Aśoka. Kalhana mentions Aśoka as king of Kashmir and follower of Jina i.e. Buddha and attributes to him the foundation of a large number of stūpas and vihāras in the Valley.

Buddhism enjoyed considerable popularity in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. during the rule of the Kusāṇa king Kaniska and his successors. Kaniska was a great patron of Buddhism. He convened the fourth Buddhist Council in order to prepare an authentic version of the Buddhist doctrine. According to Hiuen Tsang, this Council was held in Kashmir. As a result of the deliberations of this Council, commentaries were written on the disputed passages of Buddhist scriptures. These came to be known as the Vibhāṣāsāstras.

In the subsequent centuries Kashmir became a

1 XII.3
2 RT., I, 101-2
centre of Buddhist learning and attracted scholars from distant places. Kashmir produced great scholars who not only made valuable contributions to the Buddhist philosophy but also disseminated and expounded the same in other parts of Asia. Among such scholars, special mention may be made of Kumarajiva. He came from Kuchi to Kashmir to study Buddhist scriptures and having attained proficiency in all branches of Buddhist philosophy, he went to China and translated a large number of Buddhist texts into Chinese.

The flourishing state of Buddhism in Kashmir in the 7th and 8th centuries is testified by the evidence of the Chinese pilgrims Hiuen-Tsang and O'Kong and by the Gilgit manuscripts. The two pilgrims studied Buddhist literature and philosophy in Kashmir and obtained copies of the authentic texts of the Buddhist scriptures. While Hiuen Tsang saw in the Valley one hundred samghārāmas and five thousand Buddhist priests, O'Kong noticed more than three hundred samghārāmas and a large number of stūpas and sacred images. The Gilgit manuscripts which on palaeographic grounds can be assigned to the 7th century A.D., have revealed the predominance of Buddhism in the distant north of Kashmir.

In the following centuries, Buddhism in Kashmir was overshadowed by the wide upsurge of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva faiths. However, in spite of the overwhelming

4 Ibid., pp.76-77.
5 The Classical Age, pp.598-99.
6 Watters, On Yuan Chwang, I, p.261.
7 JA (1895), p.341.
predominance of the Brahmanic faith and the shifting of the royal patronage from Buddhism to Vaisnava and Saiva faiths, Buddhism continued to flourish even as late as the 13th century. This is supported by the epigraphic evidence.

An inscription of the reign of queen Diddā, preserved in the S.P.S. Museum Srinagar, records the gift of a fine bronze image of the Bodhisattva Padmapāni. Another inscription of probably the same or somewhat later period incised on the back of a Buddhist image, contains the famous Buddhist creed ve dharma etc. The Arigom stone slab inscription of A.D. 1197 records the construction of a brick shrine by certain Rāmadeva for installing an image of the Bodhisattva Avalokitēśvara. Similarly in the reign of Rājadeva (A.D. 1213-1235) a particular cult object called mandalaka was consecrated by the (Buddhist) teacher Kamalaśriya in honour of Bodhisattva Lokesvara (Avalokitēśvara). To the same or somewhat earlier period probably belong the two inscriptions discovered by Cunningham at Dras in Ladakh, which contain the mention of the Bodhisattvas Maitreya and Lokesvara.

As is well known, the concept of Bodhisattva was first introduced in the Buddhist faith by the Mahāyāna school. The epigraphs, referred to above,

8 The inscription is incised on the pedestal of the Bodhisattva’s image, now lying in the S.P.S. Museum Srinagar.

9 The inscription now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum Srinagar, is written in the early Sāradā characters of 10th or 11th century.

10 E.I., I, pp.300ff.

11 The Bijbehara inscription of the reign of Rājadeva, vide Marshall, Note, p.21. The exact significance of mandalaka is not known. Judged from the object on which the inscription is incised, it may be presumed, as pointed by Sh. K.N. Shastri supra p.108, fn.10, that mandalaka denoted a particular cult object, consisting of a large stone disc with a convex top, the dedication of which was considered a meritorious act by the Buddhists of Kashmir.
would show that Mahāyāna had some following in the Valley in the 10th and the subsequent centuries and the worship of the Bodhisattvas was prevalent. This is particularly significant since Kashmir had remained for long a great stronghold of the Sarvāstivādins and the Vaibhāṣikas.

It is not known when Mahāyāna first gained a footing in Kashmir. Its existence in the periods preceding our records is, however, proved by the discovery of a large number of Bodhisattva images from Paraspor (ancient Parihasapura)\(^{13}\) and Pandrethan\(^{14}\) and by the testimony of Hiuen-Tsang who noticed in the capital a monastery which was a centre of Mahāyāna philosophy, and saw a huge image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara devoutly worshipped by the earnest believers.\(^{15}\)

The predominant Brahmanic faith appears to have exercised great influence on the contemporary Buddhist religion. An evidence to this effect is furnished by the image of the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇī, referred to above, which represents the Bodhisattva as wearing a sacred thread in the fashion of the Brahmans.

**GANDHĀRA**

Our records from Gandhara do not throw any light on the state of Buddhism in this region during the periods represented by them. Gandhāra, as is well known, remained a flourishing seat of Buddhism for a long period, since the time, this faith was first introduced there by Madhyāntika in B.C.300.\(^{16}\)

16 *Mahāvamsa*, XII.3.
CHAMBA AND KANGRA

Both Chamba and Kangra seem to have formed part of the empires of Asoka and Kaniska and Buddhism must have enjoyed popularity in these territories during the rule of the two Buddhist patrons. Owing to the paucity of material it is not possible to give a connected account of Buddhism in these regions in the subsequent periods.

The discovery of the Buddhist antiquarian remains consisting of the stūpas, images and inscriptions at Chari, Chodru and Fatehpur have revealed the popularity of Buddhist faith in Kangra in the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. The archaeological evidence is supported by the testimony of Hiuen-Tsang who saw in the kingdom of Jālandhara, of which Kangra formed a part, as many as 50 monasteries with 2000 monks.

It is not clear if Buddhism enjoyed popularity in Chamba and Kangra during the periods represented by our records. The inscriptions discovered so far do not furnish any information on this point. But that the other heterodox sect, viz. the Jainism had some followers in Kangra in the 13th century is indicated by the Kangra Bazar inscription which records the installation of an image of the Jain Tirthānkara Pārśvanātha, by two brothers Kundalaka and Kumara (?), who were "devoted to the law, taught by the Jīna", (Jaina-dharma-parāyanau).

SAIVAISM

Kashmir

The worship of Śiva appears to have been popular.

18 Watters, On Yuan Chwang, I.p.296.
19 EL., I.p.120.
in Kashmir from a pretty remote period. Its popularity in the pre-Asokan days is attested to by the evidence of Kalhana who refers to an old Śiva temple of Vijayesvara which was renovated by the Maurya king Asoka.\(^{20}\) Asoka, though a Buddhist, extended his patronage to Saivism in Kashmir and founded two Śiva temples, both named after his own name as Asokesvara.\(^{21}\) His son Jalauka was an ardent devotee of Śiva and built two shrines of Śiva, named Jyeṣṭharudra and Bhutesā at Śrīnagarī and Nandikṣetra respectively.\(^{22}\) Damodara II, the successor of Jalauka was according to Kalhana, a crest jewel of the worshippers of Śiva.\(^{23}\)

The cult of Śiva continued to flourish in the subsequent periods and in the c. 4th century A.D. it was patronised by king Siddha, who himself was a devout worshipper of Śiva and who passed his time in constant meditation of Śiva.\(^{24}\)

In the 6th century, Saivism flourished under the patronage of the Huna king Mihirkula who though evil-minded\(^{25}\) and persecutor of Buddhist institutions,\(^{26}\) patronised Saivism in Kashmir and founded a Śiva temple of Mihireśvara at Śrīnagarī.\(^{27}\)

With the accession of the Karkotas in the 7th century, Saivism came to enjoy a very vide popularity

20 RT., I.105-6.
21 Ibid, I.106.
22 Ibid., I.124, 128.
23 Ibid., I.154.
24 Ibid., I.279.
25 RT., I.306.
26 Watters, On Yuan Chwang, I, p.262.
27 RT., I.306.
in the Valley. The illustrious Kārkota ruler Lalitāditya was devout worshipper of Śiva. He founded the temple of Jyestharudra and granted lands and villages for its maintenance.28 He also denoted a large sum of money to the Śiva temple of Bhutesa.29 His mother Narendraprabhā built a shrine of Narendresvara,30 while his minister Mitrasarman founded a Śiva temple of Mitresvara.31 The Śaivite propensities of the king were also shared by the common people who put up a large number of Śiva liṅgas called Rakchateśa.32

In the 9th and 10th centuries during the rule of the kings of Utpala dynasty, Śaivaism continued to enjoy popularity. King Avantivarman, though himself a Vaiṣṇava founded the Śiva temple of Avantiśvara at his newly founded town Avantipura33 and had at the shrines of Tripuresvara, Bhutesa and Vijayesa three pedestals made with silver conduits.34 His successor Śāṅkaravarman founded two temples of Śāṅkaragaurīśa and Sugandhesa at the town of Śāṅkarapura founded by him.35

In the following 11th and 12th centuries, the predominance of Śaivaism continued unabated. Quite a large number of Śaiva shrines was consecrated by the

28 Ibid., IV.190.
29 Ibid., IV.189.
30 Ibid., IV.43.
31 Ibid., IV.209.
32 Ibid., IV.214.
33 Ibid., V.45.
34 RT., V.46.
35 Ibid., V.158.
rulers, their kinsmen and the ministers. King Saṅgrāmarāja increased his spiritual merit by restoring the famous Śiva temple of Rāmeśvara. Queen Suryamātī founded two Śiva shrines and consecrated Trisūlas, Banalingas and other sacred emblems. King Kālasā was a staunch follower of Śiva. He renewed the stone temple of Vijayeśa and built three Śiva temples adorning them with golden parosals.

During the rule of king Jayasiṁha in the 12th century, the shrines of Śiva were consecrated by the two ministers Rilhana and Bhūṭṭa, by queen Rārdhā (wife of Jayasiṁha) and by Mankha, the brother of Sandhivigrahika Alaṅkāra.

In the 14th century, Śaivaism enjoyed popularity under the patronage of king Sīmhadeva who was a great worshipper of Śiva and who caused Vijayeśvara to be bathed in milk, purchased with one lakh pieces of gold.

The cult of Śiva continued to flourish in the 15th century during the rule of the Muhammadan king Zain-ul-Abidin. This is attested to by the epigraphic evidence. A stone inscription discovered from Khonamuh and belonging

36 Ibid., VII.115.
37 Ibid., VII.180-81.
38 Ibid., VII.185.
39 Ibid., VII.525.
40 Ibid., VII.526-27.
41 Ibid., VIII.2409.
42 Ibid., VIII.2432.
43 Ibid., VIII.3389-91.
44 Ibid., VIII.3354.
45 'Jonaraja, Dvitiyā Rajatarangini (Bombay, ed.) Vs.127.
to the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, begins with an invocation of Śiva, praised as a Supreme spirit, and refers to a certain devotee of Śiva named Gammatisodaka who engaged himself in meditation at a hermitage (āśrama) in Khonamuh, founded by certain Pūrṇaka, and found his way to Śiva.\footnote{46}

\textbf{ŚAIVA-PHILOSOPHY}

In the 9th century A.D. when Śaiva faith was predominant in Kashmir, there appeared a new system of Śaiva philosophy in the Valley which came to be known as Trikāsāsana or Trikāśāstra. This system was a type of idealistic monism (advaita) and differed in fundamental principles from other forms of Śaiva thought, for instance from the Saiva-dārsāna of Mādhvācārya, as incorporated in his Sarva-dārsāna-samgraha.\footnote{47}

The beginnings of this school are to be traced to the Śivasūtras, the authorship of which is attributed to Śiva himself and which are said to have been revealed to the sage Vasugupta who lived in the 9th century.

The chief exponents of this school were Kallata and Somānanda, the two disciples of Vasugupta.

Kallata was contemporary of Avantivarman.\footnote{48} He wrote Spandasūtras generally called Spandakārikas in which he first explained the Śivasūtras.

Somānanda provided the Advaita Śaivaism of Kashmir with a philosophy of its own and laid the foundation of a branch of Trikā-dārsāna call Pratibhijñāstra. The doctrine of Pratibhijña laid stress on

\footnote{46 Marshall, \textit{Note.}, pp.18ff.}
\footnote{47 J.C. Chatterjee, \textit{Kashmir Saivism}, pp.2-3.}
\footnote{48 RT., V.66.}
recognition as the way for the perception of the identity with the Supreme Soul or the ultimate reality.

Somananda was followed by the famous Kashmir philosopher Utpala who made a valuable contribution to the Pratibhiṇā-śāstra by writing a philosophic treatise called Īśvara-Pratibhiṇā in which he lucidly summarised the teachings of his master Somananda.

The prologic writer Abhinava-gupta, who flourished in the 11th century, wrote two philosophic commentaries on the Īśvara-pratibhiṇā known as Isvarapratibhiṇā-vimāsini and the Īśvarapratibhiṇā-viśvīti-vimāsini. He also composed other works on Śaiva doctrine which include Parātrimsikā-vivarana, Tantrāloka, Tantrāśa, Parmārthaśa and Mālinī-vijaya-vārtika.

In the subsequent centuries, the work of the earlier exponents of Śaiva doctrine was carried further by the philosophers like Kṣemarāja, Yogarāja, Jayaratha and Śivo-pādhyāya, the last of whom wrote a Śaiva treatise in as late as the 18th century.

Our inscriptions, however, do not throw any light on any aspect of Saivadārśana, expounded in detail by the Śaiva-ācaryas referred to above.

CHAMBA

The cult of Śiva appears to be of ancient origin in Chamba though the earliest Śaiva foundations discovered so far date only from the time of king Meruvarman,49 who

Meruvarman appears to have been a great worshipper of Śiva. This is testified, besides his own foundations, (Ibid.) by an inscription of his feudatory Aśadhadeva (op. cit, pp.146-47) where he has been described as para-ma-Śiva-nata....(text broken) or the great devotee of Śiva.
ruled in the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century A.D.

The vide popularity of Śaivaism in this hill state in the 9th and the subsequent centuries is attested to by the evidence of our inscriptions.

The Sarahan Praśāti which on paleographic grounds can be assigned to the 9th century, records the construction of a Śiva temple by a certain chieftain Śātyaki.  

The early rulers of Chamba were well disposed towards the worship of Śiva. The copper plate grant issued by king Yūgākaravarma begins with an invocation to lord Hara or Śiva. His successor king Vidagdha describes himself as Paramamahēśvara or the supreme devotee of Śiva. King Soma-Varman who succeeded to the Chamba throne sometime in the 11th century was also a great devotee of Śiva and the donated lands to a Śiva temple built by the queen mother Rārdhā.

Śaivaism continued to enjoy popularity in the 13th century when an image of Mahādeva was installed by two individuals Ganga and Kisaṇu at Harsara (modern Aḍsara).

The vide prevalence of the worship of Śiva in Chamba in the 11th and the subsequent centuries is also testified by the evidence of number of carved fountain slabs

50 Ibid., No.13, pp.157 and 159.
51 Ibid., No.14, p.162. Śiva is mentioned here under various names, such as, Śiva, Sārva, Tryambaka, Isāna, Audra, Trinayana and Vṛṣabhāṅka.
52 Ibid., No.15 1.4; p.166.
53 Ibid., No.25, 11.23-24; p.194.
54 Ibid., No.49, p.251.
which have been discovered from several places in this ancient hill State and which usually contain the figures of Śiva and of the other gods of Śaiva cult.\footnote{Kangra Gazetteer, p.74.}

**KANGRA**

The early history of Šaivaism in Kangra is shrouded in mystery. The earliest Śiva temples discovered so far are the cave temples of Masur which on the basis of styles are assignable to the 8th century A.D.\footnote{Kangra Gazetteer, p.74.}

The predominance of the Śaiva faith in Kangra in the 13th century is attested to by the evidence of the Baijnath Praśastis.\footnote{El., I, p.97ff.}

The two Praśastis begin with an invocation of Śiva and his spouse Parvati. The first contains a long hymn or stotra in praise of Śiva and describes him as the supreme lord who is praised by Viṣṇu, Brahmā and other gods.\footnote{Ibid., Praśasti No.I, Vs.2, l.3.} It refers to two merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka who out of great devotion to Śiva constructed a huge temple at Kiragrāma (modern Baijnath) to house a linga of Siva called Vaidyanātha.\footnote{Ibid., Vs.29, l.25; No.II, Vs.25, l.23.}

The Praśastis throw light on the Śaivite propensities of the members of the royal family and of the common people who made a large number of donations to the Śiva temple.

\footnote{Cf., e.g., Salhi fountain slab, \textit{Ibid.}, p.217 and Sai fountain slab \textit{Ibid.}, p.234.}

\footnote{Ibid., Praśasti No.I, Vs.2, I.3.}

\footnote{Ibid., Vs.29, I.25; No.II, Vs.25, l.23.}
Thus, the ruling chief Laksamanacandra allotted daily six drammas of money collected in the custom house and his mother Laksana granted one plough of land from her estates at Pralamba-grama (modern Palampur). A Brahmana astrologer Ralhana gave two dronas of grain from his lands at Navagrāma while Gañesvara, an inhabitant of Kiragrama, donated half a plough of land to the Śiva temple. A wealthy merchant Jīvaka presented his own land for the courtyard of the shrine. The builders of the temple, the two merchant brothers donated their oil mill to provide for the lamps of the temples, a snop for the bhoga of Śiva and flour ploughs of cultivated land.

VAISNAVAISM

GANDHĀRA

The worship of Viṣṇu was popular in Gandhāra as early as the 5th century B.C. in the time of the great grammarian Pāṇini. Pāṇini in his Astādhvāyi gives a rule for the formation of the word vasudevaka in the sense of "a person whose object of bhakti (devotion) is Vasudeva."

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60 Ibid., No.II, Vs.30,I.27.
61 Ibid., Vs.31,I.28.
62 Ibid., No.I,Vs.31,I.27.
63 Ibid., Vs.33,I.28.
64 Ibid., Vs.34,I.29.
65 Ibid., No.II,Vs.33,I.29.
66 Ibid., Vs.34,I.30.
67 IV.3.98.
The term *vasudeva* is interpreted by Patanjali to stand for *Vasudeva-krṣṇa* or *Viṣṇu*.  

The prevalence of Vaisnava faith in the 2nd century B.C. is testified by the evidence of an inscription of a Greek ambassador Heliodorus in which he describes himself as a resident of Taxila and a Bhāgavata or worshipper of Viṣṇu.

Vaisnavaism enjoyed popularity in the 2nd century A.D. under the patronage of the Kuṣāṇa king Huviśka. Huviśka, despite his leanings towards Buddhism was well disposed towards the Vaiṣṇava faith. Some of his coins bear figures of Viṣṇu and in a seal matrix attributed to him, he is represented as kneeling reverentially before Viṣṇu with his hands in anjali pose.

Owing to the paucity of material it is not possible to trace the history of Vaiṣṇavaism in Gandhāra in the subsequent periods.

However, an inscription of the Laukika year 538 corresponding to A.D. 1461 which is preserved in the Peshawar museum and which records the construction of a tank by a certain individual Vañhadaka, begins with an invocation of Viṣṇu. The find spot of the inscription is not definitely known but it is said to hail from the Hazara district. If this be true, this record which

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68 V.S. Agrawal, *India as known to Panini*, p.359.
70 *Age of Imperial Unity*, p.439.
71 *EI.*, X, pp.80-81.
contains an eulogy of Viśnu, would furnish evidence of the popularity of the Viśnu worship in certain areas in Gandhāra even as late as the 15th century.

KASHMIR

It is not known when Vaisnavism was first introduced in Kashmir. Its popularity in the 6th century A.D. is, however, attested to by the evidence of the Ṛājatarangini, which refers to the foundation of the shrines of Viśnu by kings Raṇāditya and Pravarasena II.

In the subsequent 7th and 8th centuries Vaisnavism flourished in the Valley under the patronage of the Kārkotas rulers who were devout worshippers of Viśnu. Kālhana refers to a large number of Viṣṇu temples and images that were consecrated during this period not only by the kings but also by their kinsmen and high ranking officers. Amongst these pious foundations mention may be made of the Viṣṇu temples and images consecrated after their own names, by king Durlabhavardhana, Candrapīḍa, Calitaka (city prefect of Candrapīḍa), Lalitāditya, Kamalāvatī (queen of Lalitāditya), Jayāpīḍa and

73 RT., III.144-158.
74 Ibid., III.350-51.
75 Ibid., IV.6.
76 Ibid., IV.79.
77 Ibid., IV.81.
78 Ibid., IV.183,188.
79 Ibid., IV.208.
80 Ibid., IV.508.
Amṛtaprabhā (mother of Jayāpīḍa). 81

Vaiṣṇavaism continued to be a popular religion in the 9th century during the rule of king Avantīvarman who was great worshipper of Viṣṇu from his very childhood. 82 He built a Viṣṇu temple of Avantīsvāmī 83 and his famous irrigation minister Suyyā founded a Viṣṇu shrine of Hṛṣikesā Yogāśayin at the new confluence of the Sindhu and the Vitastā. 84

The wide popularity of Vaiṣṇava faith in the 8th and the 9th centuries is also proved by the discovery of large number of Vaiṣṇava antiquarian remains consisting of busts and heads of Viṣṇu, relief sculptures of Caturbhujā Viṣṇu and four headed Viṣṇu images, at Bijbehara, Andarkot and Avantipur. 85

Viṣṇu worship continued to flourish during the 10th and the 11th centuries. Pretty large number of Viṣṇu temples were founded both by the rulers and their relatives. Queen Sugandhā built a Viṣṇu temple of Gopālakesāva 86 while her daughter-in-law Nandā founded a Viṣṇu temple of Nandikesāva. 87 The Shāhī king Bhīma, the maternal grand father of queen Diddā built in the Capital a shrine of Bhīmakesāva, 88 while the queen herself founded a series of Viṣṇu temples amongst which mention may be made of

81 Ibid.. IV.659.
82 Ibid.. V.43.
83 Ibid.. V.45.
84 Ibid.. V.100.
86 RT., V.244.
87 Ibid., V.245.
88 Ibid., VI.178.
Abhimanyusvāmin built for the increase of the spiritual merit of her deceased son Abhimanyu, Simhasvāni erected after the name of her father Simgarāja and Diddā-svāmin which she founded after her own name.

The popularity of Viṣṇu worship in the Valley in the 10th and the following centuries is also attested to by the epigraphic evidence. The Srinagar stone inscription of the reign of queen Diddā, dated 992 A.D. mentions Kṛṣṇa under the name of Narakabhid (slayer of Naraka) and describes him as son of Devakī. This would show that in the 10th century Viṣṇu was also worshipped in the Valley in the form of his incarnations. Again a large sized image of fourarmed Viṣṇu seated on his Vāhana garuda was unearthed at Bijbehara which bears on its pedestal the inscription, tvam namami janardanam, "worship thee Janārdana, i.e., Viṣṇu" in the Śāradā characters of the 11th and 12th centuries.

**CHAMBA**

The early history of Vaiṣṇavaism in Chamba is shrouded in mystery. The worship of Viṣṇu appears to have been popular in the 9th century during the rule of king Sāhillavarman who founded the temple of Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa in his newly established capital.

89 Ibid., VI.299.
90 Ibid., VI.304.
91 Ibid., VI.300-2.
92 El., XXVII, p.154.
93 Sten K&now, Note., p.15.
94 Chamba Gazetteer, p.179.
Our epigraphic records furnish evidence of the flourishing condition of Vaishnavism in the subsequent centuries under the patronage of the successors of Sāhīllavarman who though staunch followers of Saiva cult were well disposed towards the Vaishnava faith.

Thus during the rule of king Yugākaravarman, a shrine of God Narasimha or the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu was founded by queen Tribhuvanarekha, for which the king himself granted some lands. This would indicate that in the 10th century A.D. Viṣṇu was also worshipped in Chamba in the form of his incarnations.

In the reign of the succeeding king Vidagdha, a Viṣṇu image of Thakkikasvāmi was installed by his feudatory chief Thakkika.

In the 11th century, Vaishnavism flourished under the patronage of king Somavarman who was a Parama-Vaishnava or a great devotee of Viṣṇu. He donated lands to two temples of God Hari which were built by Laksamanavarman and the Mahārāja-putra Pāṣāta.

95 Brahmr copper plate grant of Vidagdha, Antiquities, I, No.14, p.163.
96 Antiquities, I, pp.172-173.
97 Ibid., p.185.
98 Ibid., p.194.
Vaisnavafait continued to prevail in the 12th century during the rule of king Lalitavarma, in the 17th year of whose reign an image of Narayana was put up by his feudatory Nagapala. Similarly an image of Viṣṇu was installed probably in the same century, by certain Ukukana and named after his own name as Ukukānasvāmi. The image which still exists at the village Saho represents God Viṣṇu with three faces, the side ones being those of a lion and a boar apparently alluding to the Narasimha and Varāha incarnations of Viṣṇu. The image of Viṣṇu is accompanied by the figures of his ten incarnations amongst which the fish, the tortoise, Rāma, Buddha, Parsurāma and Kalki alone are discernible, others having got defaced.

This inscribed statuette would show that the worship of the Avatāras or the incarnations of Viṣṇu, of which we find an earlier evidence in the Yugākaravarman's grant, referred to above, continued to be popular in Chamba in the 12th century and constituted an important feature of the Vaiṣṇava cult in this region as in other parts of India.

The wide popularity of the worship of Viṣṇu and his incarnations in 10th, 11th and the 12th centuries is also testified by a large number of inscribed fountain slabs which have been discovered from various places in Chamba and which usually contain the figures of Viṣṇu and

99 Ibid., p.208.
100 Antiquities., I, No.47,p.248f.
101 Ibid.
his incarnations, along with those of the other deities.\textsuperscript{102}

**KANGRA**

Our inscriptions from Kangra do not throw much light on the Viṣṇu worship in this area. The Baijnath Prasasti No.1 only mentions the name of Viṣṇu, and describes him as lower in status to that of Śiva.\textsuperscript{103} The popularity of the cult of Viṣṇu in Kangra in the 13th or somewhat later period is attested by the inscribed brass statuette of Viṣṇu which has been discovered from Fatehpur in the Kangra District.\textsuperscript{104}

While, as seen above, Śiva and Viṣṇu were popularly worshipped gods in ancient Chamba and Kangra, the other god of the Hindu Trinity, viz., Brahmā, claimed equal popularity in ancient Chamba. He is invoked in the copper plate inscriptions as the Creator of the Universe, along with Śiva, the Destroyer, and Viṣṇu, the Preserver,\textsuperscript{105} and occupies prominent position in the fountain slabs along with Śiva, Viṣṇu and Varuṇa.\textsuperscript{106} In the Baijnath Prasasti No.1, he is mentioned once (1.27) and like Viṣṇu, described as lower in rank to that of Śiva.\textsuperscript{107}

**OTHER GODS AND GODDESSES**

**Varuṇa**

Besides Śiva and Viṣṇu, Varuṇa was a popular

\textsuperscript{102} Cf., e.g., Salhi fountain slab, *Antiquities*, I, No.33, pp.216ff.; Also Vogel's remarks on the inscribed fountain slabs of the Ravi Valley, *op.cit.*, pp.31-32.

\textsuperscript{103} *ASI.*, I,p.115.


\textsuperscript{105} Cf. *Antiquities*, No.24,p.184; No.25,p.192.

\textsuperscript{106} Cf.,e.g., Salhi fountain slab, *op.cit.*, No.33, p.216ff. & Vogel, *ibid.*,p.31.

\textsuperscript{107} *ASI.*, I,p.115.
god in ancient Chamba. He figures prominently in the fountain slab inscriptions which have been discovered in large numbers from several parts of Chamba. The inscribed fountain slabs generally contain an image of god Varuna and in the inscriptions incised on them they are invariably designated after the name of the god, as Varuna-deva. The association of god Varuna with the water fountains would indicate that Varuna who held such a prominent position in the Vedic literature as the 'patron of waters' continued to be regarded as the overload of waters even so late a time as the period of our records, viz., 11th and 12th centuries A.D.

In the Rgveda, though Varuna mainly figures as a god presiding over the moral order, he is also described as regulator of waters who made the rivers flow and which run unceasingly according to his commandments. In the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda also he figures as the overload of waters.

In our inscriptions Varuna is described as a Supreme God who is "higher than any other god known in the three worlds." The setting up of a water fountain in his honour is regarded as a means of acquiring highest religious merit and is considered to accrue the same merit

108 RV., II.284.
109 Taitriya Samhita., VI.4.3.2, AV., V.24.4.
as the gift of ten million cows on the occasion of lunar
or solar eclipse.\footnote{111}

The fountain slabs which are usually carved with
figures of deities, represent Varuṇa as occupying a prominent
place among them. He is usually represented as squatting on
his \textit{Vahana} Makara (crocodile), sometimes with two and some-
times with four hands. Thus in the Siya fountain slab,
he has two hands, holding a cobra in his right and a full
blown lotus flower in his left hand.\footnote{112} In the Salhi
fountain slab he is represented as a deity with four hands
provided with an elephant hook (āṅkuśa) and a lotus flower
(Padma) to the right and with a club (gadā) and a conch
shell (śaṅkha) to the left.\footnote{113} In the Sai fountain slab
his four arms support a makara staff and a rosary on
the right and the snake and a water vessel on the left.\footnote{114}

Varuṇa's great popularity in Chamba as the god
of waters during the period represented by our records,
appears at first sight surprising especially when he was but
little known in the neighbouring hill regions of Kashmir
and Kangra. It appears that Chamba suffered from the
scarcity of water especially in the far flung areas of
Curah and Pangi, where these fountain slabs exist in
large numbers, and the fountains were set up at the steep
hill slopes in order to ensure easy flow of drinkable
water from the underground hill streams. They thus served

\footnote{111} Ibid., No.23, p.182; No.29, p.206; No.36, p.238; No.41,
p.243, No.43, p.245.
\footnote{112} Ibid., No.27, p.201.
\footnote{113} Ibid., No.33, p.217.
\footnote{114} Ibid., No.35, p.233.
the two fold purpose. Besides being of general utility to the neighbouring population, they won the donor much cherished spiritual merit of highest order.

Among other gods and goddesses, who were worshiped in ancient Kashmir, Chamba and Kangra mention may be made of Bhavani or Śiva's spouse, Ganesā and Kārttikeya, and two river goddesses Gângâ and Yamuna.

Bhavâni of whom we find the earliest mention in Pâñini's Astâdhyâyî, is mentioned in a few of our records and is described as an affectionate and ever devoted wife of Śiva, who saves men from the impending misfortunes. She is the mother of the world and her greatness knows no limit. She is compassionate and cuts the bonds of existence of those who worship her. She is able to protect from delusion any one who complains of great pain caused by the Concourse of a crowd of misfortunes. She is mentioned under various names in our inscriptions and the oft repeated ones are Gauri, the reple...
The image represents her as a standing four-armed goddess with a trident in one of her right hands and a snake in one of her left hands and with a lion, the vehicle of the goddess resting at her feet.123

Ganesha, popularly known as the god who removes all obstacles, figures in the beginning of most of our epigraphs especially the copper plate charters, where an obeisance is paid to him. He is praised as a god who removes all impediments and by whose favour the whole calamity of a host of obstacles ceases.124 He is usually mentioned in our records under his two most popular names Ganadhhipati or the lord of Ganas (who attend upon Siva) and Gajavakra or the elephant faced one. In the Koteher inscription,125 he is mentioned under his another popular name Herambha and here also he is praised as a god who swallows up all Vighnas just as fire destroys in a moment the heaps of dry grass.

The worship of Karttikeya or the god of war must have been extensively practised in our areas in ancient times. His early worship in Kashmir is attested to by the discovery of a fine six armed image of Karttikeya or Skanda, which on account of its resemblance with the Gandhâra images of the Bodhisattvas may be ascribed to the

123 Ibid. Another inscribed image of the goddess was discovered couple of years back from Chamba and is now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. The image represents the goddess in her fierce form called Bhairavi. The same form of the goddess is beautifully illustrated in the two inscribed images belonging to the 8th century and discovered from Bramhor and Chattrari in Chamba, Antiquities., I, pp.138ff. The wide popularity of the worship of Sakti or Durga in Chamba in the 8th century is also testified by the Svaim inscription of Rajanaka Bhoga^a, Antiquities.I, pp.150f, which records the installation of an image of Bhagavati i.e. goddess Durga by Rajanaka Bhogata. The image represents the goddess in her act of slaying the demons Sumbha and Nisumbha, the extinction of whose menace is extolled as one of the greatest deeds of goddess Durga, cf. Durga-saptas'ati ch.IX-X.

124 Antiquities., I, No.25, p.192.
125 It is now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.
5th century A.D.\textsuperscript{126} Accordingly to the \textit{Nilamatpurāna} a work of probably 8th century A.D., the worship of Karttikeya was performed on the 6th of Lunar Caitra every year to ensure the welfare and safety of the children of Kashmir.\textsuperscript{127}

One of our earliest records from Kashmir, viz., the Srinagar stone inscription of queen Diddā, mentions Karttikeya under the name of Saktidhara and describes him as the son of Jahnāvi.\textsuperscript{128}

The wide diffusion of the cult of Skanda in Chamba is attested to by the erection of images in his honour. Thus king Dodaka erected an image of his at Tur in the Basu Fargana.\textsuperscript{129} His figure is usually carved in the fountain slabs where he is represented as a six faced god seated on his vehicle, the peacock, with a trident and a rosary in his two right hands and another trident of different shape (evidently standing for a spear) and a bird in his two left hands.\textsuperscript{130} The early rulers of Chamba style themselves in their charters as Paramabrahmanva,\textsuperscript{131} which shows that besides Siva and Viṣṇu, they were worshippers of Karttikeya as well.\textsuperscript{132}

\textsuperscript{126} Kak, Handbook, p.66.

\textsuperscript{127} \textit{Nilamatpurāna} (ed.De Vreese) Vss.647-649.

\textsuperscript{128} \textit{EI.}, XXVII, p.154. Karttikeya is called Saktidhara because of his bearing Sakti or spear as his special weapon. It is said that Siva cast his seed into the fire and it was afterwards received by the Ganges and the result was Karttikeya. Hence his being called the son of Jahnāvi.

\textsuperscript{129} \textit{Antiquities.}, No.18, p.174.

\textsuperscript{130} Cf. \textit{Ibid.}, No.33, p.218.


\textsuperscript{132} \textit{Ibid.}, No.33, p.218. brahmanva which literary means devoted to sacred knowledge (\textit{Mū.}, p.741) occures as synonym of Karttikeya in the \textit{Mahābhārata}. 
The worship of the sacred rivers the Gāṅgā and the Yamunā as goddesses was prevalent in Kashmir and Chamba in the 8th century A.D. This is testified by the Martand temple in Kashmir built by Lalitāditya, and by the Śiva temple at Brahmar in Chamba built by Meruvarman, both of which have carved on both sides of the entrance, the figures of the two river goddesses with their respective vehicles or vahanas, the crocodile and the tortoise. The continued worship of the twin river goddesses in Chamba in the 12th century is attested to by the Salhi fountain slab which was erected in 1170 A.D. and which bears the figures of the Gāṅgā and the Yamunā with their vehicles and with their names Gāṅgā and Jamunā (Yamunā) incised below them. The worship of the sacred twin rivers appears to have been popular in ancient Kangra as well. Its prevalence in the 13th century in this region is attested to by the evidence of the Baijnath Prāśasti No.1 (1.25) which distinctly states that the Śiva temple of Vaidyanath, built at Kiragrāma (Baijnath) by merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka, had the figures of the river goddesses carved at the entrance.

134 Antiquities, I, No. 33, p. 219.
135 El., I, p. 108.
An analysis of our records throws an interesting light on the religious tendencies of the age. People believed in the existence of world beyond death. They viewed the mundane world or \textit{Samsāra} as a place of misery and sufferings and the next world or \textit{Paraloka} as an abode of eternal joy and bliss. They consecrated temples, built images of gods and set up fountain slabs to secure for themselves and for their relatives, mostly deceased, relief from the miseries of the mundane world and bliss in the world beyond.

Thus in Chamba a certain chieftain named Sātyakī built a Śiva temple to ensure "unshaken friendship between his spouse Somaprabhā and the mountain born goddess Durgā." The two individuals Bhoja and Paripūrṇa and the two brothers Ranasiha and Dhanasiha, fearing the sufferings of this world, erected fountain slabs in order to open the way to heaven, the former for themselves and the latter for their brother Canika. Queen Balhā considering at every step the world of the living to be unstable, had a fountain slab set up for the sake of the bliss of deceased lord, Rājānaka Nāgapāla. Queen Delhā erected a fountain slab to attain the heaven of Śiva and Viṣṇu and for the sake of the joy of paradise. The queen Kamesvarīdevī of the Hund inscription had perhaps

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{Antiquities.}, No.13, p.157.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, No.20, p.177; No.21, p.178, No.27, p.202.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, No.32, p.212.
\item \textit{Ibid.}, No.33, pp.222-223.
\end{itemize}
the same object in view when she constructed a temple devakula.\textsuperscript{140} The two merchant brothers in Kīragrāma, named Manyuka and Āhuka built a massive Śiva temple and made large donations to it with a pious wish of never being born again in this world.\textsuperscript{141}

Donation of lands to temples and Brāhmans, was likewise, regarded an act of piety designed to seek relief from the sufferings of the world and to ensure permanent happiness in the world beyond. Thus king Vidagdha of Chamba donated lands to a Brāhmaṇa Nanduka in order to cross the ocean of existence to increase his religious merit and secure bliss in the future world.\textsuperscript{142}

The lands were usually donated on some auspicious occasion. The days of the lunar or solar eclipse or the hibernal solstice, 'makara sahkrāntie', were generally regarded auspicious for this purpose. Thus, the donations of lands by Vidagdha and Somavarman were made on the occasions of hibernal solstice and the solar eclipse respectively.\textsuperscript{143} The lands granted were honoured by all and their confiscation was considered a great sin. This perhaps is the reason that some donations of land have been preserved even now and the lands granted nearly a thousand years ago are still enjoyed by the descendants of the original donee.

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\item \textsuperscript{140} El.XXII.p.98 (A Sāradā Inscription from Hund, 1.2)
\item \textsuperscript{141} El.I., p.113 (Baijnath Prāṣasti, No.II, 11.24.25)
\item \textsuperscript{142} Antiquities., I, p.167.
\item \textsuperscript{143} Ibid., pp.167,185.
\end{thebibliography}
People performed pilgrimages to the sacred tīrthas of Kurukṣetra and Kedāra. Though performed mainly as a meritorious act they were also made with a view to propitiate the god Sun or Śiva and secure the fulfilment of desires through their favour. Thus Sāhillavarma performed a pilgrimage to Kurukṣetra with a view to propitiate god Bhāskara and seek progeny through his favour.\textsuperscript{144} Strict vows were sometimes taken on such occasions. Thus when the ruling Chief Laksmaṇa-candra of Kāragrama made a pilgrimage to Kedāra, he took a solemn vow that, "henceforth the wives of others shall be sisters for me."\textsuperscript{145}

\textsuperscript{144} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.184, 183.

\textsuperscript{145} \textit{El.}, p.107 (Baijnath Praśasti, No.1, 1.18).
The Sarada inscriptions, though small in number and generally brief in content, throw interesting light on the contemporary state of Sanskrit learning in the places of their origin. The inscriptions from Kashmir, it is true, do not add much to what we already know about the vast Sanskrit literature of the Valley, but those from Chamba and Kangra are particularly important since they, in the absence of any extant literary record, form the only means of studying the nature and the development of the Sanskrit literature in the two ancient Hill States. We shall discuss below the literary content of the important inscriptions of each region, viz., Kashmir, Chamba, Kangra and Gandhāra, and see what light do they throw on the contemporary literary activities.

KASHMIR

Kashmir also called the Sarada-mandala or the land of Sarasvatī, has been the home of Sanskrit learning and has made valuable contribution to the Sanskrit literature in all its branches. Besides the works on poetry, it has had unique distinction of producing much valued historical Kāvya, authoritative treatises on rhetorics and some notable expository works on the native Śaiva philosophy. Before we come to study the literary aspect of the Sarada inscriptions from Kashmir it would be worthwhile to trace in outline the history of the Sanskrit literature produced
in the Valley from the earliest times to the 16th century.

The earliest known Sanskrit compositions date back to the 6th century A.D. when Candraka, who wrote under Tunjina composed a few dramas and Megha, the protege of Matragupta wrote his celebrated poem Hayagrīvavādha. None of the works of these authors has come down to us, but a few extracts from their compositions are preserved in Srivara's Subhāṣitāvalī. To the 7th or the 8th century belongs the Nilamata-purāṇa which while giving in detail the legendary account of the creation of Kashmir, furnished important information about the ancient geography of the Valley. To the same period belongs Dāmodargaṇḍa's Kṣatrapatī-kāvya, which though dealing with the subject on erotics sheds interesting light on the contemporary social life.

The rule of the Kārṇaṇas and the Utpalas extending over a period of three centuries saw a rare outburst of literary activity and a large number of works on poetry, rhetorics and philosophy was composed. Among these specially notable are, Dāmodargaṇḍa's Kṣatrapatī-kāvya (noted above), Bhamapa's Kāvyālaṃkāra, Ratnakara's Haraviśaya (a Mahakāvya of 50 cantos), Anandavardhana's Dhvanyāloka, a celebrated work on poetics, and Vasuṣṭa's Spandāmṛta, Gālata's Spandaśarvasva and Spandakārikas, Somānanda's Śivāstra, Utpala's Śivastotrāvalī and Abhinavaṃṣtakāvivaraṇa, all Śaiva texts.

To the 11th century belongs the polyhistor Kaśmendra who wrote several works, amongst which the Kalavilāsa, the Samayamūtrakā, and the Brhatkathāmañjarī
stand pre-eminent. To the same century belong the celebrites like Mammata, the well-known writer of *Kavvaparakāsa*, Somadeva, the author of *Kathāsaritasāgar* and Bilhana who eulogised his patron Vikramāditya Tribhuwanamalla of Kalyāna in his famous *Mahākavya Vikramāṇkadevacarita*.

In the 12th century flourished Mankha, the author of *Śrīkānthacarita*, Kalhana, the well-known writer of *Ājñātaraṅginī* and Ruuyaka who composed a work on rhetorics called *Alankārasarvasya*.

Among the later writers mention may be made of Jayaratha who wrote *Haracaritacintāmani*, Jonaraja, Śuka and Śrīvara, who continued the thread of historical narrative left by Kalhana, in their chronicles called *Dritiṇā, Tritiṇā* and *CaturthiĀjñātaraṅginīs*, down to the 16th century; and Śrīvara who composed an anthology called *Subhāṣitavālī* which is of great interest for the history of Indian literature and contains extracts from more than 350 poets.

It is singularly unfortunate that Kashmir which produced such a vast and rich literature should have yielded a very few Śāradā epigraphs and those also mostly brief and fragmentary in character. The extant records, which are generally dedicatory in nature, do not furnish name of any poet or a literary work, but they are, nevertheless, important in as much as they furnish proof of the common names commendable knowledge of Sanskrit language. Written in correct Sanskrit except for a few mistakes here and there, they bear testimony to the average writers sound knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. The two brief records from the remote territory of Madwan near Kishtawar are particularly noteworthy as they would show that even the common herdsmen
living in the far flung areas of Kashmir possessed reasonable knowledge of Sanskrit.

Among the extant records, only the Arigom stone inscription,\(^1\) the Kotihar slab inscription and the Khunmoh stone inscription are somewhat detailed in content. The Arigom inscription consists of two verses, one in \textit{sloka} and the other in \textit{sārdūlavikrīdita} metre. Being dedicatory in nature, it possesses little literary value. The Kotihar stone slab inscription is written in verse and consists of 11 stanzas of which 6 are only partly preserved. Besides, it is written in highly cursory handwriting and most of the letters being difficult to evaluate, the inscription does not permit of a detailed literary study. The decipherable portion contains the eulogy of Shihab-ud-Din in a conventional \textit{Āvya} style with little of poetic merit. It appears to have been written by some Bhaṭṭasimha.

The Khunmoh inscription\(^2\) consists of 9 verses mostly narrative in character. Except the verse 7 which describes the austerities performed by certain ascetic Gammatisodaka, the inscription does not possess any literary interest. The verse is written in the \textit{sārdūlavikrīdita} metre and a beautiful instance of the figure \textit{Arthāntaranyāsa}. The verse reads:-

\begin{quote}
किला गरे प्रकटतत्तम लक्षणरूपालय -
स्वृत्ता ध्यानमुदयंतरकिर्तिश्याम
कारे तेनेद्वेष कृत्यम् लक्षणरूपालय
सर्वसाधारं किन्यापि न धर्म सिद्धप्रसंवर्तते सर्वतोऽ॥
\end{quote}

\(^1\) \textit{El.}, IX, pp 300ff.

\(^2\) Marshall, \textit{Note.}, pp 18ff.
"Having conquered Mara (Satan) of powerful darkness, seated in firm Padmāsana posture, he engaged himself in meditation, desirous of attaining that state of imperishableness, which knows no fall, and in fulness of time, he found his way to Siva in the Kali Yuga by means even of that (contemplation). For, what position is there in the whole universe which cannot be achieved by firmness in truth?"  

CHAMBA  

Chamba has yielded a good number of Āradā records but only a few of these are detailed and well preserved. Among the extant inscriptions, only three are in verse and the rest in prose. Those in verse include (1) the Sarahan Prasasti, (2) Devi-ri-kothi fountain inscription of Kājānaka Nāgapāla and (3) the Mul-Kihar fountain inscription.  

The Sarahan Prasasti 4  

It is written in elegant Sanskrit poetry and consists of 22 stanzas. Except the first three and the last stanzas which are benedictory, and the 21st, which records the erection of a Siva temple by a certain ruling chief Sātyaki in memory of his beloved wife Somaprabhā, the rest are devoted to the praise and the description of the beauty of Somaprabhā in the traditional Kāvyā style. The language is simple and refined. The whole poem is written in a variety of metres. The diversity of metres, however, is not due to the poet's fondness for the display of his knowledge of Sanskrit prosody, but has a close connection with the nature of the contents of the poem.  

3 Ibid., p.19.  
4 Antiquities., pp.152ff.
Thus, for the benedictory stanzas, Ārya metre has been used while for the bulk of the poem, describing the beauty of the limbs of the queen, the most appropriate Upajāti has been chosen. Other metres used in one stanza each, are Indravajrā and Upendravajrā. Besides, the poet has sought to embellish his poem by the dextrous use of figures of speech both of word and sense. Among the figures of sound, Anuprāsa has been freely used. An illustration of this figure may be noted in the following verse where the repetition of bha, la, ka and ra produces sweet melodious effect.

Anurādhapatī-guhṇaţī-śruta-guhṇa-पुरुषोद्भवगतितिरङ्गायनसबूिधः।
श्री भोगात्तो मुनि-भूषण-गूढ़-पृवत्तिसुवाच्छय-कौशिक-गोप-प्रतिकाः पुंश्चिवाः ।

"There was on the earth, illustrious Bhogāta, endowed with laudable virtues, dignity and department, pure like the sickle of the shining moon (lit. like the sickle of the glittering shedder of brightness), whose form was an ornament of the world and who resembled a jewel of very clear pearls."\(^5\)

Among the figures of sense or the Arthālahāras, Upāta and Utpreksa and predominant. A beautiful instance of Śīstāpamā is noticed in the following verse, where the comparison of Soma-prabhā with the Muse of a good poet is most striking and the epithets chosen can be applied to both the Muse and the queen.

नानौविष्णुर-सान्त-सर्व-भोग-धोप-श्या पुष्कालिनी था ।
मनोहरत्वं भूलतंयाय सबूतं सलिल-वाल्लेच। ॥

\(^5\) Antiquities., I pp.156-57.
"She exceeding lovely and rich in virtues, attained, by the cunning disposition of various ornaments still greater charm in the eyes of the men of taste, like the Muse of a good poet, which exceedingly lovely and rich in the (three āvya) gunas attains by the skilful use of various figures of speech (alāṅkāra) still greater charm in the eyes of the men of taste". 6

As an illustration of Utprekaṇā may be quoted the following verse which contains a novel description of trivalī, a mark of female beauty.

यस्यां शर्म रत्न-बाल-मुख्या मा भूतिवर्गेण्यक्षात्ततुष्टय ।
सम्पत्ति श्रीरविकोटि विचित्रेषु चतुर्भुजम्येन चरदयु ॥

"The Creator, who was afraid that, by carrying the burden of her breasts, her slender waist might break, has bound it with a girdle of multitudinous folds". 7

The other figures of speech used are Ṛpaṅka, Atiśayokti and Sambhāvanā.

The Praśasti contains the following a few uncommon words which make important additions to the vocabulary.

1. Vimalimākara (vimalimāna-ākara), and 2. Sudhā-sūti both meaning "moon"; and 3. ātuṣa 10 used in the sense of 'love', apparently on the analogy of manasthita, manobhava etc.

With the exception of the frequent use of some burdensome adjectives like Ṛtiḥnyabhajā, 11

6 Ibid.
8 Ibid., p.156, text line 2.
9 Ibid., p.157, text line 17.
10 Ibid., p.156, text line 13.
11 Ibid., text line 11.
arunabhāvābhāj,12 subratvabhāj,13 kṛṣataṅkula14 and vyākrosa-tā-sālin,15 which convey no more sense than kathina, aruna, subhura, kṛṣa and vyākrosa,16 the language of the inscription is elegant, simple and grammatically correct.

Thus, 'Sarahan Prasasti' can rightly be regarded as a specimen of good Sanskrit poetry.

The Devi-ri-Kothi Fountain Inscription17

This inscription, though possessing great literary merit is, unfortunately, sadly mutilated. Of the 17 verses the first 9 are completely lost while the rest are preserved in part, but the missing portions have been admirably restored by Dr. Vogel. The extant portion contains (1) a brief eulogy of certain Rājānaka Nāgapāla, (2) a pathetic description of the Rājānaka's mother Balhā who was prevented by her son from becoming Satī after the death of her husband, (3) an interesting statement that Balhā sought to ensure the future bliss of her deceased lord by erecting a fountain slab and (4) the date and the writer's name. The inscription is particularly remarkable for verses 12 and 13 which contain fine description of the austerities and the acts of piety performed by Balhā after she was prevented by her son from following her husband into death, and also for verse

12 Ibid. text line 13.
13 Ibid., p.157, text line 14.
14 Ibid., text line 15.
15 Ibid., text line 17-18.
17 Ibid., pp.209ff.
15 which artistically describes the instability of the human world. The three verses are quoted below:

"After his father had gone to the next world, he - that abode of good department and modesty - overwhelmed with brief, with difficulty and through his younger brother (who was still) an infant held back from following him (into death) his mother, instantly fainting at the separation from her lord. She recovered her consciousness and henceforth, whilst by rigid vows of constant fasts she reduced her body to meagreness, she brought up her sons and increased her charity, her compassion for the poor and her devotion to Krsna."

"By Balhā, who at every step had conceived
the world of the living to be unstable like the crescent reflected in a garland of waves restless and trembling with the fleeting breeze, had this cistern made for the sake of the bliss of her lord."

As regards versification, we find each verse written in a separate metre. Thus, while the 10th verse is in Śikharini, 11th in Uṇalatī, the 12th is in Mālinī. The other metres used are Vasantarilakā (Vs.13), Uṇalatī (Vs.14), Mālinī (Vs.15), Prthiśī (Vs.16) and Ārvā (Vs.17).

The figures of speech have been skilfully used. An instance of the śabdālaṅkāra Yamaka may be noted in the following verse where we have the repetition of the word śāla.

"She bore him (a son) the illustrious Nāgapāla, the sole abode of grace, great by his virtues, the destroyer of his foes, he who by his righteous works had swept away the web of sin, not (acting) like a child in the forefront of the battle."

The poem has all the qualities of an ornate Kāvya and Kamalālaṃchana, its writer, can rightly be regarded a good poet with sound knowledge of Sanskrit language and rhetorics.

19 Ibid., p.212.
20 Ibid.
The Mulkhar Fountain Inscription.

This inscription, too, like the one noted above, is badly defaced and only a few verses are preserved completely. The mutilated condition of the inscription is much to be regretted as it appears to have contained a poem of considerable poetic merit. The inscription, which originally must have contained 31 stanzas, may be roughly divided into three parts. The first part contains three benidictory stanzas where in we have invocation to various deities. The second contains the genealogy of Rajanaka Gayapala, and the third gives an account of the setting up of a fountain slab by the Rajanaka. Of the three parts, the second is the most important as it contains a few specimens of beautiful Sanskrit poetry. Thus, for example, the following description of the beauty of queen Bhappika followed by the pathetic account of her passing away is very exquisite.

He had also a daughter, Bhappika by name, with teeth like jasmine buds, a slender waist, a face like a full-blown lotus, the voice of a cuckoo and eyes resembling dark blue water-lilies. She passed away. Certainly, having attained her wish and conquered the

21 Ibid., No.34, pp.224ff.
world of men, she left the earth and reached the abode of heaven, to transcend in beauty, loveliness and manners the women of the Chief of the gods."

The cruelty of fate in separating the two lovers is equisitely portrayed in the following partly preserved verse.

"----- neither affection, nor faithfulness, nor the nectar-juice of sweet words-alas (none of these things) ever dwells in the mind of Fate, that churl, who leads the righteous and unrighteous in the same manner to Yama's town."

Again, the following pathetic description of Rājānaka's grief's over the passing away of his beloved is equally worth admiring.

"... neither affection, nor faithfulness, nor the nectar-juice of sweet words-alas (none of these things) ever dwells in the mind of Fate, that churl, who leads the righteous and unrighteous in the same manner to Yama's town."

22 Ibid., pp.229 and 231.
23 Ibid.
"----- thus hostile Fate separated her- his most beloved, seated on his lap, the delight of his eyes, praised by all manking- from her husband, even as the passing of the parvan (separates) the Moon-sickle from the hot-rayed (Sun) ___ the fire (of grief) of her dear relation ---- was slowly allayed besprinkled with the stream of the water of his eyes."

The poem is written in a variety of metres, but the selection of metres speaks of the chaste moderation of the writer. The long metre like Jārdūlavikridita has been used only once, while the graceful Vasantatilaka and simple and small Anustubh have been used in as many as 14 verses, each in 7 verses. Other metres used are, Kālinī, Upaśati and Madākraṇtā.

The figures of speech, of which Upamā and Upaka have been more frequently used, have been judiciously used and they make the sense more clear than obscure it. The entire poem is couched in a simple, lucid and elegant language which is remarkably free from mistakes.

Thus, the three inscriptions in verse, noted above, impress us most as beautiful love poems with predominant sentiment of pious conjugal devotion, eloquently expressed in a poetic language which is simple and refined and embellished with rhetorical ornaments. Possessed as they are, with all the requisites of a good Kāvyā, the Praśastis prove the existence of a developed Kāvyā literature in ancient Chamba, of which, unfortunately, only three specimens have been bequeathed to us.

We next come to the prose compositions of which the copper plate inscriptions furnish best examples.

24 Ibid.
The prose employed in these title deeds is generally simple and chaste and the long compounds are resorted to only occasionally in the genealogical portions. The only exception is the Brahmar grant of Yugakaravarman which owing to prepondering vernacular terms and looseness of syntactical connection lacks precision and clarity. The only thing that impairs the value of these inscriptions as good prose compositions is the abundance of grammatical mistakes which betray the writers' poor knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. This, however, is not much to be regretted as these documents were written not by the talented men of letters, but by the ordinary clerks who cannot be supposed to have scholar-like command over Sanskrit language and grammar. We may quote below a few lines from the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Asata (11th century) as illustrative of the contemporary prose composition of the 11th century in ancient Chamba.

While the prose employed in the Chamba title deeds is generally of a standard type, the prose of the
fountain inscriptions which form the bulk of our records from this ancient hill State, is highly corrupt and full of Vernacular influence. As an illustration may be cited the following a few lines from the Luj fountain inscription which is comparatively better preserved and carefully incised.

Kangra has yielded only a few Sāradā records leaving aside those written in Devāśāsa or hill Tākari. Of the extant records only the two Praśastis of Baijnath are more detailed and important from literary point of view. We shall discuss the literary merit of these inscriptions in detail below.

The Praśastis are written by a poet named Rāma who appears to have been a good poet despite his youth. He was the son of Bhrāgaka and Śṛṅgāra. Bhrāgaka was himself a poet and also held the office of Pramāṭr in Kashmir. It may be that Bhrāgaka owed his talent to Kashmir which was a flourishing centre of Sanskrit learning at the time and Rāma inherited the same from his father.

The Praśasti No. I consists of 39 verses. Its contents may be described under the following sections:

26 Ibid. p. 193.
27 Ibid., No. 28, pp. 202ff.
28 El., I, pp. 37ff.
29 In Praśasti No. II, Vs. 37, Rāma describes himself to have composed the Praśastis in his first youth (Prathama-vayasi).
30 Ibid.
1. A long hymn called *Gaurisvarastotram*, addressed to Śiva and Pārvatī, Vss. 1-19.
3. An account of the ruling chief of Kīragrāma, Laksamana-candra, Vss. 21-26.
4. A brief description of the two merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka, the founders of a Śiva temple at Kīragrāma, Vss. 27-30.
5. An account of the donations made to the Śiva temple by various private individuals, Vss. 31-35.
6. A notice of the masons or architects who constructed the temple Vss. 36-37.
7. A brief notice of the poet Ḫāma, who composed the Prasasti, Vs. 38.
8. The date and the mention of the over lord Jayaccandra to whom Laksamana-candra owed allegiance, Vs. 39.

The Prasasti No. II consists of 37 verses. Its contents may be described as follows:-

1. A *mangala* of five verses.
2. The mention of the king of Jālandhara, Vs. 6.
3. An account of the two builders of the Śiva temple Vss. 7-9.
5. A detailed genealogy of Laksamana-candra, Vss. 11-12.
6. A fuller description of the two merchant brothers, their piety and the cause which led to the founding of the Śiva temple, Vss. 23-29.
7. An account of the donations made to the Śiva temple by the Rājānaka Lakṣamana-candra, by his mother Lakṣana and by the two builders of the Śiva temple, together with the blessings on those who honour the grants and curses against those who seize them, Vss. 30-35.

8. An account of the author of the Prasasti Vss. 36-37.

9. A notice probably of an additional donation in prose.

10. The date.

Now coming to the literary merit of the Prasāstis we find that the whole composition speaks of a great poetic skill on the part of the author, Rama. The fourteen verses (2-17) out of the nineteen verses of the hymn addressed to Śiva and Gaurī, are notable for poetic ingenuity as they can be applied to both Śiva and Gaurī. As an illustration may be quoted the following verse in which the epithets used can be applied both to Śiva and his spouse.

गुहस्कुर्दितं रथ पुयक्षे निन्द्वातुपुरुस्तत्तथाय।
सव सत्यस्य विश्वम वार्तालाका निम्नावर्धिन गानः।

(In case of Śiva) "Thou alone standest, indeed, even above Hari, who again and again takes repose in the ocean, who drank the stream (of blood) from (the body of) the demon slain in a playful fight and who possesses a brilliance of fierce strength."
(In case of Gaurī) "Thou alone ridest, indeed, even on a lion, who again and again is lying (curled up) like a ring, who drinks the streams of the blood of those slain (by thee) in the battle play and who possesses force power."

The following verse which describes the eight forms of Śiva in four accessory sentences, testifies the poet's commendable hold over language.

"May the lord of Bhavani grant you happiness through those light bodies (of his) viz., that which in this world is active in kindling wood (Agni and Yajamāna) that which is active in illuminating the quarters (of the) world (Sūrya and Candramā), that on which the strong (finned) fish endowed with never twinkling eyes, subsist (Ana) that on which the gods live, whose adherents are virtuous (Ākāśa), that which is praised as maintaining twice born men (Prthvī) that which is praised as carrying the birds, that through which the duty, greedy of offerings attains the highest growth (Vāyu).

The following exquisite description of Kiragrāma is worth admiring:
"There is in Trigarta the pleasant village of Kiragrama, the home of numerous virtues, where that river called Kandukabinduka, leaping from the lap of the mountain with glittering broad waves sportively plays, thus resembling a bright maiden in the first bloom of youth (who jumping from the lap of her nurse gracefully sports). That (village) is protected by the strong-armed Rājānaka Laksamana."

As regards versification, we find frequent change of metres which betrays the poet's sound knowledge of Sanskrit prosody. Thus in the Prasasti No. 1, the following metres have been used.


In the Prasasti No. 2, we find Āryā metre used more frequently. It has been used in as many as 24 verses. The other metres used are (1) Anustubh, Vss. 2, 8, 20-21; (2) Sārdulavikridita, 4, 14-15, Śraddhārā, 1, 3, 10, Upajāti, 18 Svāgata, 32.

As regards Alankāras, or the figures of speech, we find the poet's conscious effort to display his knowledge of rhetorics. In a single verse more than one Alankāra has been used. Thus the following verse contains as many as four alankaras, viz., Avajña, Arthāparistha, Slesa and Parisāmkhyā.

33 Prasasti No. II, Vs. 10.
34 Prasasti No. I, Vs. 6.
"Thou O Isa, art able, indeed to fulfil the wish of men who approaching the hour of death, do not care for the towns of the gods, (but) desire (eternal) bliss."

"Bhājanī, indeed, is able to fulfil the wish of those who, approaching the hour of death, do not care for the town of the gods, (but) seek (her) protection."

Poet's fondness for the display of his knowledge of Alāṅkāras and the skill in the use of long compounds is manifest in the following verse in which the first pada consists of a single compound and in which four Alāṅkāras, viz. Paryāvokti, Purāṇa, Yamaka and Ananyaya, have been simultaneously used.

"And that happy man obtained a son called Dombaka, who reflected his (father's) nature, who supported by the hand those falling from high places who worshipped Tryambaka, who kissed the fortune of his enemies, who was deeply engrossed with the care of catching (those) fish-his foes-who together with (other) princes took many villages, who was the head of a family of worthy relatives."

It will be seen that the Prāśastis while betraying poet's sound knowledge of prosody and rhetorics and his commendable hold on language and grammar contain very little of genuine poetic interest. Even a few verses which could otherwise be regarded as specimens of good poetry are overlaiden with rhetorical ornaments which more obscure the sense than make it clear. K Prāśastis, 35 Prāśasti No. II, Vs.14.
however, contain all the qualities of artificial Sanskrit poetry which aims more at form than at the spirit of \textit{kavya}, and deserve to be ranked among the great \textit{prasasti}s of this type.

\textbf{GANDHARA}

Gandhara has yielded a few Sarada epigraphs which hardly contain anything of literary merit. Even the two well preserved inscriptions, viz., the Hund inscription and the Peshawar museum inscription, being purely dedicatory in nature, hardly present anything that may be of some literary value. The following mangala of the Peshawar museum I. inscription written in ārā" metre may be quoted below:

अत्तीनकुलस(सूच)वर्म मन्दरद्वारितविचरितम् ।
अपरहरु दुर्वितमयत्व गद्युकुमकिलिवा(बा) हुँगम् ।।

"May the pair of arms of the enemy of Madhu, Muru and Nāraka (i.e. Visnu) turn away all evil, that which is like a fresh atasi- flower (and) the bracelets of which were rubbed at the turning of (the mountain) Mandara (in the churning of ocean)."

The language of the inscription is full of mistakes which shows that the author was not well versed in Sanskrit language and grammar. Thus Kusma for Kusuma, trimśādhike for trimśādhike, Kārtika for Kārtika, Īśvaram Uddīṣya for Īśvaram = Uddīṣya bhavat for bhavatu betray the author's lack of sound knowledge of language and grammar.

\begin{itemize}
\item \text{36} \textit{EB.}, XXII, pp.97ff.
\item \text{37} \textit{EB.}, X, p.79ff.
\item \text{38} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.80-81.
\end{itemize}