CHAPTER VIII
POLITICAL HISTORY
A. GANDHARA

Gandhāra has yielded very small number of Sāradā inscriptions most of which are either fragmentary or defaced. Only a few of these possess some historical value in as much as they contain mention of some well known kings who ruled Gandhāra in the 9th, 10th and the 11th centuries A.D. Before we discuss the historical content of these records, it would be worthwhile to trace in outline the early history of this famous kingdom of North-Western India.

Gandhāra is the later form of Gandhārī mentioned in the Rgveda and Atharvaveda as the name of the people in the north-west of India. In the Rgveda the good wool of the sheep of the Gandharis is referred to. In the Atharvaveda the Gandharis are mentioned along with the Mujāvants, Āṅgas and Magadhas. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa Gandhāra figures as the name of a country ruled by certain Nagnajit.

In the Buddhist text Āṅguttara Nikāya Gandhāra is mentioned among the sixteen great kingdoms.

1 Vedic Index, I, 219.
2 I.126.7.
3 V.22.14.
4 VII.34.
5 I, 213; IV, 252, 256, 260.
(solas) that existed in Northern India in the 6th century B.C. At the time when the Buddhist cannon was formulated, the territory of Gandhāra lay on both sides of the Indus and included the districts of Rawalpindi and Attock to the east of the Indus and those of Peshawar, Bannu and Kohat to its west.

In the middle of the sixth century B.C. Gandhāra was ruled by King Pukkusati who was contemporary of the king Bimbśāra of Magadhā. In the later half of the 6th century B.C. Gandhāra seems to have passed under the domination of the Achemanian rulers, since in the Bahistūn inscription of Darius, a country or a people named Gandhāra is mentioned among the possessions of that ruler.

At the time of the Macedonian invasion, the eastern part of Gandhāra was ruled by Omphis or Ambi where as the Western portion with its capital at Būskārāvāti or Greek Peukelaotes was ruled by Astes or Astākarājā. The invasion of the Macedonian conqueror Alexander did not result in any permanent Macedonian occupation of this region and within a few years of his departure the whole area was brought by the Maurya king Candragupta under his sway. The Maurya rule in Gandhāra continued under Asoka whose inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī and Aramaic characters have been found in this region.

---

6 Buddhist India, p.28; Essays on Gūpādhyāya, p.176.
7 Sircar, Select Inscriptions, p.171f.
8 Chincock's Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander and Indica, p.28.
9 CII. I, pp.50-84.
The Maurya rule in Gandhāra was supplanted by that of the Indo-Greeks. The coins of almost all the Indo-Greek rulers except those of the Agathocles and Pantaleon bear legends in the Kharoṣṭhī characters on the reverse besides the Greek on the obverse.

Shortly before the commencing of the Christian era, Gandhāra was conquered by Sakas under Maues. The Sakas were supplanted by the Pārthians under Gondophrernes whose inscription in the Kharoṣṭhī characters has been discovered at Takht-i-Bahi in the Peshawar district.¹⁰

The Saka and the Pārthian rule in Gandhāra was followed by that of the Kuśāṇas. The greatest king of this dynasty named Kaṇiśka ruled with Puruṣpura or Peshawar as his capital.

The early imperial Kuśāṇas employed Greek script on their coins. However, in the inscriptions of their regime, Kharoṣṭhī is exclusively used. During the time of the later Kuśāṇas, usually called the Kidāra Kuśāṇas, Brāhmī appears on their coinage. We have also a Brāhmī inscription of certain Kadambesvara-dāsa discovered at Abbottabad in the Hazara district.¹¹ It is dated in the year 25 which according to D.C. Sircar¹² refers to the Gupta era and corresponds to A.D. 344.

The Kuśāṇa rule in Gandhāra seems to have

---

10 CII.II,pp.57-62.
11 EI XXX,pp.59ff.
12 Ibid.
continued till the middle of the 5th century A.D., when it was followed by that of the Hunas. The Ephthalite coins found in Gandhāra bear legends in a modified form of the Greek alphabet called the Sassanian Pahlavi.\(^{13}\)

The Huna power in North-Western India collapsed about the middle of the 6th century A.D. Soon after Gandhāra came under the sway of the Turkish Shāhī dynasty which flourished in Kabul and Gandhāra and ruled till the middle of the 9th century A.D. It is to the period of this dynasty that the earliest known Sarada inscription from Gandhāra belongs. The inscription engraved on white stone was discovered at Hund (ancient Udabhāṇḍa) in the Attock district.\(^{14}\) The inscription is dated in the years 168-169 presumably of the Harṣa era and corresponding to A.D. 774-75. It mentions a certain queen Kamesvari-devī with the title Mahārājī. Nothing of historical importance about the queen is recorded in the inscription except that she built a temple (deva-kula), the consecration of which took place between the years 168 and 169.

The last ruler of the Turkish Shāhī dynasty, Laghutarman was imprisoned by his Brahman Wazir Kallar who founded an independent dynasty called the Hindu Shāhī dynasty.\(^{15}\) The rule of this dynasty in Gandhāra

---

13 Rapson, *Coins of India*, pp30,33.
14 *El. XXII*, pp.97f.
continued under Sāmanta and Kamaluka and about the middle of the 10th century it was ruled by a king named Bhīma of whose reign a brief record in the Sāradā characters has been discovered at Dewai in the Gadun territory in the Peshawar district. The inscription describes Bhīma with the title Sāhī and mentions the name of his father Ka(ma) lavarman as Kalavarman which may be identified with Kamalu of Alberuni and Kamaluka of the Rājatarahginī. No other details about Bhīma are furnished by the record.

Bhīma was followed by Jayapāla of whose reign a fragmentary inscription in the Sāradā characters has been found on a hill north of Barikot in upper Swat. It records that some person founded something at Vajirāsthana modern Waziristan. The record gives no details about Jayapāla but points to the extension of his dominions up to the Swat valley.

The rule of the Hindu Shāhī dynasty in Gandhāra came to an end in A.D. 1021 when Trilochanpāla the last ruler of this family was killed by Mahmud of Ghazni.

16 The coins of Sāmanta are found all over Panjab. But since this name was used by many rulers including some of the early Muslim Sultans, it is very difficult to be sure about their date.

17 El. XX, p.298f. Bhīma was the maternal grandfather of queen Didda of Kashmir whose husband ruled between A.D.950 and 958. So Bhīma’s accession must have taken place a few years before A.D.950 and he must have been on the throne of Gandhāra in the middle of the 10th century A.D.


19 V.223.

20 El, XX, p.301f.
Mahmud was followed by his son Masud of whose reign a rock inscription in Sarada characters has been discovered from Gagai, north-west of Badwan in Swat. This inscription is dated in the Sastra year 9 which corresponds to A.D. 1033. The name of the ruling king given in the record is Hammira which is the Sanskritised form of Persian Amir, a title borne by the rulers of Ghazni. Since Mahmud died in A.D. 1030 it is evident that the Muslim ruler mentioned in the record with the title Hammira is Mahmud’s son and successor, Masud who ascended the throne of Ghazni in A.D. 1031.

B. KASHMIR

While enough is known about the history of Kashmir from various literary sources, the information gleaned from the Sarada inscriptions of the Valley in this behalf, is much limited in scope and is mostly of a corroborative nature. It is only occasionally that we get some information not known from other sources.

Queen Diddã (A.D. 980/1-1003)

The two earliest Sarada epigraphic records discovered in Kashmir so far belong to the reign of queen Diddã. One of them is incised on the base of an image of the Bodhisattva Padmapani, preserved in

21 Antiquities I, Appendix, p.259. The inscription is now preserved in the Lahore Museum.
22 Struggle for Empire, p.92.
the S.P.S. Museum Srinagar and the other is engraved on a stone slab discovered from a private house in Srinagar and now lying in the Lahore Museum. The former is dated in the year 65, obviously of the Laukika era, corresponding to A.D.989 and the latter in the year 68 corresponding to A.D.992. Both these dates fall well within the reign of queen Diddā and thus attest to the correctness of Kalhana's chronology.

The point of some historical importance in the two records is the mention of queen Diddā with the masculine epithets of deva and rājan. These epithets for the queen sound rather queer but they as pointed out above, would show how she was looked upon by people of her times more as a powerful king than as a mere queen apparently because of her energy, political acumen and essentially masculine traits of character which enabled her to guide the destiny of Kashmir with firmness far more than half a century in very hard times.

Anantadeva (A.D.1028-1063)

A small Sarada inscription incised on a big hard grained granite boulder was discovered by R.C. Kak at Decchan, near Kishtawar, in the Doda district of Jammu. The inscription is dated saṃ 12 in the reign of Śrī Nantadeva. This king appears

---

23 EI. XXVII, pp.153ff.
24 The image inscription reads Diddā-deva-rājye 1.1) while the stone inscription reads Diddā-nampi-
rañī (1.9).
25 Antiquities of Māvy-Wādyan pp.24-25.
to be identical with the king Ananta who ruled Kashmir from A.D. 1028 to A.D. 1063. The year 12, presumably of the Laukika era, corresponds to A.D. 1036 which well falls within the reign of the king. The inscription does not provide any details about the king except the bare mention of his name. The find spot of the inscription would, however, show that Kishtawar lay well within his empire. This seems all the more likely since Ananta's conquest of Chamba as recounted by Kalhana, could not have been effected without the previous possession of Kishtawar which lay on the direct route to it.

**Jayasimha (A.D.1128-55).**

Our next inscription from Kashmir belongs to the reign of king Jayasimha. It is preserved in the S.P.S. Museum Srinagar and is dated in the year 25 which referred to the Laukika era corresponds to A.D. 1149. Except the bare mention of the name of Jayasimha, inscription does not furnish any information of historical importance about him. He, however, seems to be identical with the king Simha mentioned in the Arigom stone slab inscription of the (Laukika) year 73 corresponding to A.D. 1197, which contains an interesting information of king Simha's having

---

26 *Kak* refers the date to the Vikrama era. However, it is more plausible to refer the date to the more commonly used era in our inscriptions, viz., the Laukika era.

27 *El*, VIII, 218.

burnt down a wooden shrine consecrated by certain Ulhṇdeva to house an image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara near Gaṅgesvar temple. The identification seems all the more plausible since the burning of Arigom (ancient Hādigrāma) in Jayasimha's reign is also referred to by Kalhana who attributes the burning of the town to Jayasimha's powerful minister Sujji. It would seem that the shrine was burnt along with the village itself.

Paramananda

A stone slab inscription discovered from Tapar, ancient Pratapapura, and now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum Srinagar, mentions Paramananda as the king in whose reign the record was put up.

The inscription is dated in the year 33. Since the characters of this inscription agree with those of the Arigom stone slab inscription of 1197 A.D. referred to above, we may assign the inscription to the 12th century A.D. and refer the year 33 to Laukika (42) 33 corresponding to A.D.1157. According to Jonaraja the king ruling this time in Kashmir was Paramanuka, the son and successor of Jayasimha. It is likely that Paramananda of our inscription is the same as Paramanuka of Jonaraja. Kalhana

---

29The name of the temple is now preserved in the place name Ganesvara—a small hamlet in Arigom.
30 RT, VIII, 1586.
31 Dvitīyā Rājātaraṅgini, 39.
32 RT, VIII, 1608.
mentions Paramândi as a son of Jayasimha and it would seem that Paramândi, Paramândadeva and Paramanuka signify the same person.

Râjadeva (A.D.1213-36)

A brief record belonging to the reign of king Râjadeva was discovered by John Marshall from the house of a Brahman at Bijbehara during his tour of the Valley in 1908-9. The inscription records the consecration by Acârya Kamalaśriya, of lokesvara-bhattaraka-mandalakam. Except the bare mention of Râjadeva as the ruling prince, the record tells nothing of his reign. A brief account of the reign of Râjadeva is, however, given by Jonarâja who describes him as the son and successor of Jagadeva (A.D. 1199-1213) and who ruled Kashmir from Laukika (42) 89 or A.D. 1213 to Laukika (43) 12 or A.D. 1236.

The inscription is dated sam 58 Vaisākha sû. ti.7. The year 58, if, as usual referred to the Laukika era of corresponds to A.D. 1284 which, however, does not fall within the reign of Râjadeva. Marshall suggests that the date of the inscription should be referred to the Śaka era which was also sometimes used in Kashmir. The date of the inscrip-

33 Note p.21.
34 Dvitiya Rajatarangini, 79-91.
36 Note, p.21.
tion would in this case correspond to Laukika 12 वै.
sū. ti.7 which precedes the date of Rājadeva's death
viz., Laukika 12 स्रा. sū. ti. 11 as given by Jonarāja,
by three months and four days.

To the reign of Rājadeva belongs another
small inscription incised on a memorial tablet of cer­
tain Prithivīgiri and now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum
Srinagar. The record is dated sam. 54 which as in the
case of the date of the inscription noted above, has to.
be referred to the Sāka era and corresponds to Laukika
8 or A.D. 1232 which well falls within the reign of the
king.

Rāmadeva (A.D. 1252-73)

Marshall discovered from the same town of
Bijbehara another inscribed polished square slab from
the house of a Pandit. The slab is no longer trace­
able now. Marshall found the writing of the inscrip­
tion almost completely defaced, only the words Rāma­
deva-rajye being visible. This Rāmadeva is apparently
the king Rāmadeva, the son of Saṅgramadeva who ruled
Kashmir from A.D. 1252 to A.D. 1273.

Yaskaradeva.

The town of Bijbehara has yielded another
small Sāradā inscription which is incised on a stone

37 Dvitiya Rājatarangini, 78, 91.
38 Note., pp.20,21.
built in the wall of a mosque attached to the Ziarat of Nasibu-d-din Auliya. The inscription is dated in the reign of king Yaskaradeva, the exact identification of whom is difficult. As pointed out by Marshall, the king of this name is not traceable in the list of the kings of Kashmir. Among the sons of king Jayasimha, Kalhana mentions one with the name Yasaskara. Yasaskara of our inscription could be identified with this Yasaskara of Kalhana, but the later does not appear to have ascended the throne of Kashmir. He is not mentioned by Jonaraja, nor is he known from any other source to have ruled Kashmir. The inscription is dated sam. 54 and shows characters which agree closely with those of the Tapar stone slab inscription of Paramananda-deva dated A.D.1159 and of Arigom stone inscription dated 1197 referred to above. It may, as such, be assigned on paleographic grounds to the 12th Century A.D. The year 54 if referred to the Laukika era would correspond to A.D. 1178, i.e., about the time when according to Jonaraja Jassaka ascended the throne of Kashmir. It is tempting to identify Yaskaradeva of our inscription with Jassaka of Jonaraja, since Jassaka seems to be the corruption of Yaskara or more correctly Yasaskara.

39 Ibid., p.22.
40 Note, p.22 n.
41 RT, VIII, 3374.
42 Rājatarāṅgini, 58-59.
Shihab-ud-Din (A.D.1354/55-1373)

The Kotiher fragmentary stone slab inscription which records the construction of some charitable work, probably a well from the wall of which the epigraph was discovered, by certain lady named Jodha, is dated in the year 45 in the reign of Sahhabadena. This Sahhabadena is undoubtedly the Sultan ruler Shihab-ud-Din who ruled over Kashmir from A.D.1354/55 to A.D.1373. The year 45 probably refers to the Lankika era and corresponds to A.D. 1369 which falls well within the reign of the king. The inscription consists of partly preserved 17 lines of which the lines 8-17 are specially important as they contain a brief ecology of Shihab-ud-Din. The praise though purely conventional is of importance as it contains some interesting facts not known from the literary sources. Since the epigraph has not been edited so far, we may give below in detail the ecology of Shihab-ud-Din as contained in the record.

"In the sacred country of Kashmir, a land of prosperity, rules the king of kings, Shihab-ud-Din, a scion of the house of Pandavas; scorched by the blazing fire of whose unrivalled prowess, the enemies retired to the distant lands; the fame of whose victories filled the four quarters with the flood of whitening lustre of a thousand moons as it were; by hearing the high pitched deafening twang of whose powerful bow the enemies ran away disheartened; by whom was conquered the land of the Madras....."

The rest of the text is broken and badly scribbled in incorrect Sanskrit and it is difficult to make any sense out of the preserved portion.
Leaving aside the conventional portion of the praise, we notice two points in the above cited ecology which are important from historical point of view. First is the mention of Shihab-ud-Din as a scion of Pándava house. This apparently sounds queer, for, a Muhammadan king could hardly claim descent from the Pándavas. It, nonetheless, reflects the pious wish on the part of the eulogiser to connect the contemporary ruler to an illustrious and celebrated Kṣatriya family. Second, is Shihab-ud-Din's victory over the Madras which is of great importance as the same is not mentioned in the Kashmir chronicles which otherwise give detailed account of the victories of Sultan.

The Madras are an ancient Kṣatriya tribe whose history dates back to the Vedic times. In the Vedic literature they figure as a people who appear to have been divided into two sections, viz. the southern Madras who lived in the Panjab and the Uttara or Northern Madras who probably lived as Zimmer conjectures in the land of Kashmir not far distant from the Kambojas (Vedic Index, I, pp.84-85). In the Aitareya Bṛāhmaṇa (VIII, 14.3) the Madras are mentioned as living beyond the Himālayas (parena Himavantam). In the Aṣṭādvāyī (IV.2.131) Madra or the land of Madras, is mentioned as a janapada or a kingdom along with Kamboja, Gandhāra etc. In the Mahābhārata, Madras are mentioned as allies of the Kaurvas and their king Salya figures as the commander-in-chief of the Kaurava army. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (CII. III, No.1) the
Madras are mentioned in the form of the Madrakas, as an autonomous frontier tribe "giving all kinds of taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeissance". A detailed account of the early history of Madras has been given by B.C. Law in his Some Ksatriva Tribes of Ancient India pp. 214ff. and by H.C. Ray in JASB (1922), pp. 257 ff. and it would be little use to repeat the same here.

The country of Madras, as has been discussed in detail in Chapter X below, lay in central Panjab, with its capital at Sakala or modern Sialkot.

Shihab-ud-Din is credited with the conquest of a large number of countries and towns in the Kashmir chronicles. Thus Jonarāja (Dvitiyā Viśjatarāṅgini, Vss. 425-47) gives the following list of the countries and towns conquered by Shihab-ud-Din:

I. Northern Region: (1) Udabhāṇḍapura, (2) Sindhu,
   (3) Gandhāra, (4) Siṅga, (5) Gajini, (6) Aṣṭanagara,
   (7) Puruṣavīra, (8) Nagaragrahāra, (9) Hindughosa,
   (10) Susārmapura.
II. Southern Region, Satadru.
III. Bhāṭta or Ladakh.

It will be seen that this list does not include the Madra country. The Persian chronicles which add a few more names to the list cited above, are also silent on this point. It would seem that Shihab-ud-Din, while annexing Gandhāra, western Punjab and some parts of eastern Panjab including Susārmapura or Kot-Kangra, also traversed the central Panjab and conquered the Sialkot region or the Madra-deśa as it was called then.
Zain-ul-Abidin (A.D. 1420-70)

To the reign of king Zain-ul-Abidin belongs a long and well preserved inscription incised on a large stone lying at the mouth of Bhuvaneswari spring at Khonamuh. The inscription is dated in the Laukika year 4 and the Kali year 4530 which correspond to A.D. 1428.

The name of the king as given in the inscription is Jayanolabadena (1.2) which is the Sanskritised form of Zain-ul-Abidin. The record does not supply any historical details except describing Zain-ul-Abidin as the son of Sakandara, who is the same as Sikandar who ruled over Kashmir from A.D. 1389 to A.D. 1413.

Marasana

A fragmentary inscription discovered at Parepura, a small hamlet 7 miles from Kupwara in the Baramula district is dated in the year 52 in the reign of king Marasana, mentioned with the title Devamathana. This king appears to be identical with Sultan Masan Shah who ruled over Kashmir from A.D. 1472 to A.D. 1484. The year 52, probably a Laukika year (42) 52 corresponds to A.D. 1476. The inscription which originally must have consisted of thirteen lines is now almost in a defaced condition and it is not possible to read something more about the king. However, the mention of the title is of interest as the same is not known from any other source. Literally it would mean 'Destroyer of gods' but it is

43 Marshall, Note pp.18-20.
difficult to understand why this title has been applied to the king. Masan's history is dealt with in Śrīvara's Rañ̃atarangini Tarāha III where he is described as the great patron of Sanskrit learning and of the Hindu religions institutions (see J.C. Dutt, Kings of Kashmir pp.224-27).

Muḥammad Shah

Of the reign of Muḥammad Shah we have an important inscription engraved on a grave in the cemetery surrounding the Ziarat of Baha-ud-din in the vicinity of Srinagar. The inscription which is defaced at two places is dated in the reign of Muhammad Shah and commemorates the death of certain Said-Khan, son of Aibrahm who fell in the battle near Jiṣṭhaludra.

There can be no doubt that the battle referred to in the inscription is the same battle which was fought at Srinagar between the Saidas and the Kashmirians in the time of the minor king Muḥammad Shah. The date of the inscription sam. 60 Śrā. va. ti.1 corresponding to July 9, 1484 coincides with the date of the termination of the battle as given by Śrīvara.

45 Jiṣṭhaludra, in the Persian inscription which accompanies the inscription under reference, is referred to as Takhtgah-i-Ṣulaiman which denotes the present hill of Sankaracārya situated within the precincts of the city. The detailed description of the battle has been given by Śrīvara in his Rañ̃atarangini, Tarāha IV, Vss. 238-336.
47 Rañ̃atarangini, IV, 334.
Said-Khan mentioned in the inscription seems to be identical with Said-Khan described by Srīvara as one of the great soldiers who fought on the side of the Saidas. Unfortunately Srīvara gives no details about Said-Khan and the identification of his father Aibrahm is as such difficult. In the Persian inscription accompanying our inscription, the name given is Ibrahim Shah. Marshall suggests that he may be identified with Ibrahim Shah Sharqi, king of Jaunpur from 1401-1440 who along with his son Said-Khan seem to have fled to Kashmir on the annexation of Jaunpur by Bahlol Lodhi in 1474 A.D. 49

C. CHAMBA

Chamba has yielded a large number of Saradā records. Though these records are essentially religious in nature and, therefore, do not furnish much historical information, yet they have provided a sound base for the reconstruction of the ancient history of Chamba. "They do not, it is true", remarks Vogel, "help us to solve any of the great Problems of Indian history but they enable us to write a more detailed and more coherent story of Chamba than any of the other Himalayan States, excluding Kashmir and Nepal". 50

48 Ibid., IV, 265.
49 Note, p.17.
Early History

The history of Chamba from the earliest times to the 8th century A.D. is shrouded in mystery. We may, however, assume that Chamba formed part of the great empires of the Mauryas, the Kašāṇas, and the Guptas which successively rose and fell in Northern India. It is doubtful if Chamba was included in the dominions of the Hunas whose sway extended over Kashmir and Gandhāra. From 8th century A.D. however, we begin to tread on much surer grounds. From now onwards we get almost unbroken succession of epigraphic records which supplemented by the Chamba Vamsāvalī and the Rājatarangini enable us to trace the history of this hill state from 8th century downwards in an almost continuous strain.

Meru-varman

The first king of whom we possess definite historical evidence is Meru-varman who belonged to the solar rājē and flourished probably in the beginning of the 8th century. A.D. His capital was Baramaor where still extant temples and inscribed images consecrated by him, bear eloquent testimony to his piety, power and resources. Three of his own inscriptions incised on the brass images and one

51 Cf., Vogel, Ibid. p.96.
52 Antiquities I, Nos.5-8, pp.138-145.
rock inscription of his feudatory Chief Aśādha-Deva, have been discovered so far, which furnish some information about him. He was the son of Deva-varman, or Divākara-varman, grandson of Bāla-varman and great grandson of Āditya-varman. He was a scion of the house of Māśūṇa who is also mentioned in the successive records of the Chamba rulers as their distinguished progenitor. Meru-varman assumed the sovereign title of the Mahārajadharmā and was actually a liege lord of the feudatory Chief (Śāmanṭa) Aśādha whose inscription dated in the reign of Meru-varman has been referred to above. According to the Chittrahi image inscription, Meru-varman conquered the enemies in their invincible castles and dedicated an image of Śaktidevi to celebrate his victory.

According to the Chamba Vaṃśāvalī, Meru-varman was followed by several kings who included Lakṣamaṇa-varman during whose reign there broke out an epidemic in Brahmor taking advantage of which the Kiras (see below) invaded Brahmor, killed the king and took possession of the country; and his son

53 Ibid., No.9, pp.145-147.
54 Ibid., Nos.5, 6, p.142. The Chittrahi image inscription (Ibid. No.8, p.145) gives the name of Meruvarman's father as Deva-varman.
55 Ibid. Nos.5, 6, p.142.
56 Antiquities I, No.15, pp.164ff; No.24, pp.182ff; No.25, pp.187ff; No.26, pp.197ff. The name is variously given as Moṣaṇa, Moṣina and Pausana.
57 Ibid. No.6, p.142.
58 Ibid. No.8, p.145. It is not known who the enemies of Meruvarman were. Probably they were small Rajput Chiefs or Ranas who ruled over small principalities in ancient Chamba.
59 They were Suvarṇa-varman, Laksamaṇa-varman, Maṇḍa-varman, Haṁsa-varman, Śāra-varman, Sanya-varman, Sujana-varman and Sahilla-varman; Antiquities I, pp.85, 86 and 91, 92. It is doubtful if all these names are historical.
60 Vaṃśāva
Mūsāna-varman who drove out the Kīras and recovered the throne.\textsuperscript{61} No epigraphic record of these kings has yet been discovered.

Mrtyunjaya-varman

Sometime in the 8th century, Chamba appears to have been ruled by a king named Mrtyunjaya-varman, a rock inscription of whose reign has been discovered at Proli-ra-gala.\textsuperscript{62} Although this king is not mentioned in the Vamsāvālī, yet the cognomen varman and the sovereign titles of Mahārājādhīrāja Paramesvara which he assumes in his inscription indicate that belonged to the Varman line of Chamba rulers.

Śāhilla-varman

In the early 10th century, we meet with another great historical personality of ancient Chamba, named Śāhilla-varman who after Meru-varman holds conspicuous position in the annals of this Hill State. Though no record contemporaneous with him has yet come to light, he is known to us from the Chamba Vamsāvālī and the copper plate grants of his successors.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid., Vss.59, 60; Antiquities I, pp.86 and 92.

\textsuperscript{62} Antiquities I, No.II, pp.148-150. The inscription is not dated. Its script shows the last phase of the acute angled or the post-Gupta alphabet and as such it may be assigned to the first half of the 8th century A.D. (See above, p.22).

\textsuperscript{63} Vamsāvālī, Vss.63-82; Antiquities I, pp.86,92; No.14, pp.159ff; No.24,pp.182ff; No.25,187ff; No.26,197ff.
The Vamsāvalī credits him with the founding of the new capital of Chamba which seems to be based on fact since the charters of his son Yugākara-varman and grandson Vidagdha were issued from Campā (Chamba) as the seat of Government.

The copper plate grants of Yugākara-varman and Vidagdha do not furnish any details about Sāhilla but those of Soma-varman and Asha-varman who ruled in the 11th century contain some interesting references to a few historical events of his reign. He is stated to have subdued the lord of Trigarta (Kangra) who sought his alliance. He made his influence felt in the country of Kulūta (Kullu) whose rulers waited upon him and solicited his favour. He is further stated to have vanquished the Kīra forces excited by the lord of Durgara and assisted by the Saumātikas. The Saumātikas, not known from any other source, have been identified by Vogel with the people

---

64 Vs.69; Ibid., pp.86,92.
65 Ibid., No.14pp. 159ff; No.15, pp.164ff.
66 Evidently Campā of the Vamsāvalī.
67 Antiquities I, No.24, pp.182ff; No.25, pp.187ff. The two inscriptions have an almost identical passage devoted to the praise of Sāhilla.
68 Ibid., 1.4.
69 Ibid., 1.5.
70 Ibid., 1.4.
of Sumarta, a tract in the former hill state of Basohli or Balor mentioned by Kalhana under the name of Valla-pura. Durgara evidently denotes modern Dufgar or Jammu. The Kiras who are mentioned in several epigraphic and literary records are generally believed to be a people of ancient Kangra which has its main settlement at Kiragrāma or modern Baijnath.

However, it would seem that the Kiras in the present case were distinct from the Kiras of Trigarta, since Trigarta was an ally rather than an enemy of Chamba as noted above. Vogel and Kielhorn, on the evidence of the Rājarājagīni and Brhatśamhitā which mention Kiras along with the Kashmirians, identified Kiras with a tribe or people who were settled in the neighbourhood of Kashmir. According to Vogel,

72 RT, VII, 220, 270 etc.
73 a, The Khalmipur copper plate grant, EI. IV, pp. 248 ff.; the Nagpur stone inscription of V.S. 1161, EI. II, pp. 134 ff.; the Khajuraho inscription of Yasovarman, EI. I, pp. 122 ff.; the Goharwa copper plate inscription of Karna, CII. IV, pp. 252 ff.; the Bheraghat stone inscription of Narasimha, CII. IV, pp. 312 ff.; the Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasimha CII. IV, Appendix, pp. 636 ff.

b, RT., VIII, 2767; Brhat-Samhitā XIV, 29. For references in the Persian texts see IHQ, Vol. IX, p. 7.
74 Mentioned in the Baijnath Praśastis, EI. I, pp. 97 ff.
75 Antiquities I, p. 99.
77 VIII, 2767.
78 XIV, 29.
79 Antiquities I, p. 99.
Kiras in the present case, seem to have acted as mercenaries in the service of the Chief of Durgara and were sent by him to the assistance of Saumāṭikas in their fight against Sāhilla who appears to have come into collision with them while extending his dominions down the Ravi valley.

The Kiras seem to have been a fight loving people who probably occupied a mountainous tract in the vicinity of Sumarta or Basohli. They seem to have carried frequent inroads into the territory of Chamba. An earlier invasion by them sometime in the 8th century during the reign of Lakṣamaṇa-varman has been referred to above. It would seem that they made another attack on Chamba during the reign of Sāhilla-varman, this time with the combined assistance of Saumāṭikas and the lord of Durgara, but failed to achieve any success since the attack, as the epigraphic evidence referred to above shows, was successfully repulsed by Sāhilla who seems to have been assisted in the conflict by the lords of Trigarta and Kulūta.

Another achievement of Sāhilla-varman is described in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āṣaṭa-varman where he is stated to have routed the forces of Turuṣkas in a battle.

The term Turuṣkas was earlier applied to all foreigners who invaded India from the north-west. It was used to denote Scythians in the Purāṇas in

the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. and a few centuries later the term is used by Kalhana to describe the enemies of the Shāhī King Lalliya. The Turuskas of Kalhana here denote the Muhammadans who under Saffarid Yaqub-ibn-Layth took possession of Kabul in 870 A.D.\(^2\)

At the time when Sāhilla-varman ruled Chamba i.e. sometime in the first half of the 10th century, the kingdom of Gandhāra was ruled by the Hindu Shāhī dynasty established about 840 A.D. by the Brahman Wazir Kallar who is identified with Lalliya referred to above.\(^3\) From the Hājataraṅgini we learn that the Shāhī rulers were in alliance with the rulers of Kashmir. Since Kangra or Nagarkot as it was then called, was the second capital of Shāhis, it is not unlikely that they had some sort of military alliance with the rulers of Chamba as well.

In the second quarter of the 10th century, the Turks under Alptigin invaded the Kabul Valley.\(^4\) In their venture to resist the advance of the Turks,

\(^1\) RT., V,152.


Shāhis would appear to have been assisted by their allies, the rulers of Kashmir, Panjab and Chamba. It appears that it was during this fight against the Turuṣkas or Turks that Sāhilla appeared on the side of the Shāhis and fought bravely against the Turks.

Yugākara-varman

Shāhilla-varman was followed by his son and successor Yugākaravarman who issued a copper plate charter from his capital Cannakā in the tenth year of his reign. By means of this, he granted certain lands in the Brahmapura mandala to the temple of God Narasīṁha built by queen Tribhuvana-rekha-devī who probably was his wife. He is stated to have increased his glory by uprooting a multitude of foes. It is not known who his enemies actually were. It seems that he assisted his father Sāhilla-varman in the consolidation of the empire and in the subjugation of the Ranas who ruled independently in some parts of Chamba. Evidence to this effect is furnished by the Vamsāvali where Yugākara-varman is stated to have helped his father in reducing the Kṣatriyas and in founding the town of Chamba. The Kṣatriyas evidently denotes Rajput Chiefs or Ranas who ruled over some parts of Chamba prior to the consolidation of the State by Sāhilla-varman.

86 Antiquities I, No.14, pp.159ff.
87 Vs.69; Antiquities I, pp.86,93.
Vidagdha-varman

Yugākara-varman was succeeded by his son Vidagdha-varman who is known to us from two epigraphic records of his reign. One is the copper plate charter issued by him in the 4th year of his reign to record his grant of land in the village Sumāṅgala (modern Sungal) to a certain Brāhmaṇ Nanduka and the other is a small image inscription discovered at Tur in the Basu pargana and belonging to his feudatory Chief Thakkika.

The copper plate inscription describes Vidagdha as the son of Yugākaravarman and queen Bhogamati-devī. He was the scion of the house of Mosana, who is evidently the Musāna of the inscriptions of Meru-varman referred to above. Except describing Vidagdha with the usual landatory epithets, the grant does not furnish any detailed historical information about him. The Tur image inscription of Thakkiha referred to above which is dated in the first year of Vidagdha and which describes Thakkika as having found favour with Vidagdha would sow that Vidagdha's sovereignty was acknowledged by Thakkika (styled as Mahārajadhīrāja) who held some part of the lower Ravi Valley in the Basu pargana.

Dodaka

Vidagdha-varman was followed by Dodaka-varman, an inscription of whose reign incised on the image of Karttikeya has been discovered at Tur near Antiquities I.No.15,pp.164ff;No.17,pp.172ff. 

88 Antiquities I.No.15,pp.164ff;No.17,pp.172ff.
Basu. This brief record of three lines does not contain any significant historical information about Dodaka except that he was the successor of Vidagdha. Dodaka is not mentioned in the Vamśāvalī which, however, mentions a king named Dogdha as the father and predecessor of Vidagdha. Vogel identifies Dodaka with Dogdha of the Vamśāvalī. If the identification be correct, it would follow that Dogdha's name in the Vamśāvalī is out of place for he was not the predecessor but successor of Vidagdha as is shown by the inscription referred to above.

Dhairya-varman and Vicitra-varman

The Vamśāvalī mentions two more kings after Vidagdha, viz., Dhairya-varman and Vicitra-varman, but they are not known from any epigraphic records discovered so far.

Sālavahana

Sometime in the middle of the 11th century, Chamba was ruled by Sālavahana who is mentioned in the three copper plate inscriptions of the 11th century. One of these was issued by his son and successor Soma-varman, the second jointly by

89 Antiquities I, pp. 174ff.
90 Vs. 82, Antiquities I, pp. 87, 93.
91 Ibid. p. 102.
92 Vs. 83 Ibid. pp. 87, 93.
93 Antiquities I, No. 24, pp. 182ff.
Soma-varman and by his younger brother Āsata\textsuperscript{94} and the third by Āsata alone.\textsuperscript{95}

The name of Sālavāhana does not occur in the Vamśāvalī. However, the Rājatarāṅgini\textsuperscript{96} mentions a king named Sāla as ruler of Ghamba who was deposed by king Ananta of Kashmir (A.D.1028-63) and replaced by a new ruler. Kielhorn\textsuperscript{97} was the first to identify the king Sāla of the Rājatarāṅgini\textsuperscript{98} with Sālavāhana of our inscriptions. The identification has been upheld by Stein\textsuperscript{99} and Vogel\textsuperscript{100} and appears to be correct from point of view of time also.

Ananta's campaign against Chamba appears to have taken place in the last years of his reign as at the time of his coronation he was only a minor and the major part of his subsequent reign was spent in stabilising his position at home.\textsuperscript{100}

It may be presumed that his campaign against Chamba took place in the fifties of the 11th Century. Now, the year of accession of Jāsaṭa who was fourth in succession from Sālavāhana, has, on the evidence

\textsuperscript{94} Ibid., No. 25, pp. 187ff.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid., No. 26, pp. 197ff.
\textsuperscript{96} VII, 218.
\textsuperscript{97} Ind. Ant. XVII, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{98} RT. trans, I, pp. 286-87n.
\textsuperscript{99} Antiquities I, p. 102.
\textsuperscript{100} RT. VII, 135; trans, Stein, I, p. 278.
of the Luj fountain inscription, \(^{101}\) been fixed as 1105-6 A.D. \(^{102}\) Allowing a period of fifty years for the intervening reigns, Sālavahana would appear to have ruled in the fifties of the 11th century which well agrees with the probable date of Ananta's expedition against Chamba and the deposition by him of the Chamba ruler named Sāla.

No more information is available about Sālavahana but his sign-manuals still traceable in the Kulait copper plate grant of his son and successor Soma-varman referred to above, would indicate that he intended to make the grant himself but could not do so owing to his sudden end.

**Soma-varman**

Sālavahana was succeeded by his son Soma-varman. He is not mentioned in the *Vamsāvalī* but is known to us from two records of his reign, (I) the Kulait copper plate grant which was issued in the seventh year of his reign\(^{103}\) and (2) the Bahnota (Curah) fountain inscription, which records the construction of a fountain by a private individual\(^{104}\). The Kulait copper plate grant describes him as the son of Sālavāhana and the queen Rādhā-devī. The Bahnota

---

102 Vogel, *ibid.*, p. 73.
inscription furnishes evidence of Curah forming part of his empire. This is specially of interest as in the second quarter of the 11th century, Curah was ruled by a Balor king Trailokya-deva\(^{105}\) of whose reign three fountain inscriptions have been discovered at Dadvar, Bhakund and Naghai which are all at situated in Curah.\(^{106}\) It would seem that sometime in the second half of the 11th century, Curah was wrested from Trailokya-deva by Somavarman or may be by his father Sālavāhana and annexed to Chamba.

Somavarman was charitably disposed as would appear from his donation of lands to a Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭarahaṇa. His great interest in the advancement of religious institutions is evidenced by his donations of land to the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu. In a passage devoted to his praise in the Kulait grant, he is described as a king of faultless knowledge, spotless virtues and of courage full of manliness. He is praised for subduing the power of his enemies and for "fulfilling the wishes of his favoured ones by profusely granting to them their desired objects".

\[\bar{\text{Asaṭa}-\text{varman}}\]

The year of Somavarman's death is not known. He was succeeded by his younger brother Asaṭa sometime between A.D.1070 and A.D.1080.\(^{107}\)

---

107 *Antiquities* I, p.192.
Three records of his reign have come to light so far, viz., the Chamba copper plate grant\textsuperscript{108} and the Siya fountain inscription\textsuperscript{109} dated in his first regnal year and the Thundu copper plate inscription issued in the fifth year from his accession.\textsuperscript{110}

The three inscriptions noted above furnish no details of Āṣata’s reign. The Thundu grant describes him as the son of Sālavāhana and queen Rādhā-devī and records his grant of lands in the Bhattāraka-mandala (Hol-Gudyal pargana) to a Brāhmaṇa Māca, son of Purṇarāja.

Āṣata appears to be identical with the ruler of that name mentioned in the Rajatarangini\textsuperscript{111} who attended the court of king Kalaśa (1063-1089 A.D.) of Kashmir evidently to pay him homage. It would appear that Āṣata acknowledged the suzerainty of Kalaśa. As stated before, the supremacy of Kashmir over Chamba had been established earlier by Ananta’s successful expedition against the State.

The two royal houses of Kashmir and Chamba were also connected by matrimonial ties. According to Kalhan, Āṣata’s sister Bāppikā was married to king Kalaśa of Kashmir.\textsuperscript{112} During the troubles in which Kalaśa’s son Harsa was involved, the ruler

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{108} Ibid. No.25, pp.187ff.
\item \textsuperscript{109} Ibid. No.27, pp.200-2.
\item \textsuperscript{110} Ibid. No.26, pp.197ff.
\item \textsuperscript{111} VII, 588.
\item \textsuperscript{112} RT. VII, 319, also cf. VIII, 1512.
\end{enumerate}
of Chamba played a conspicuous role.

Jāsata

Asata was succeeded by his son Jāsata-varman in A.D.1104/5. Two fountain inscriptions of his reign\textsuperscript{113} have been discovered at Luj in Pangī and Loh-Tikri in Curah.

No historical information about Jāsata is forthcoming from the two records. The inscription from Luj, is, however, important in as much as it contains the earliest definite instance of the use of the Śāstra Samvat in Chamba and has as such provided a clue to the year of the accession of Jāsata. The inscription is dated in the first regnal year of Jāsata and in the Śāstra year 81. It gives A.D.1104/5 as the year of Jāsata's accession. The date of the Loh-Tikri inscription which is dated in Jāsata's ninth year would as such correspond to A.D. 1114.

The two records would show that Chamba's supremacy over Curah established earlier in the reign of Somavarman, continued during the reign of Jāsata, and that Jāsata's dominions also included Pangī, the northern most part of Chamba.

\textsuperscript{113} Antiquities, I, No.18 pp.202; No.29, pp.205-6.
For further information about Jāśatā we are indebted to Kalhana's Rājatarangini. Kalhana describes Jāśatā as the son of Hārṣa's maternal uncle. It appears from Kalhana's narrative that Jāśatā even before his accession took part in the civil war that broke out in Kashmir during the reign of Hārṣa (A.D. 1089-1101) and helped his kinsman in his struggle against the rival pretenders, the Lohara brothers Uccala and Sussala.

Kalhana next mentions Jāśatā among the five hill chiefs who met Bhikṣācara, the grandson of Hārṣa at Kurukṣetra while the latter was on his way to Kashmir to claim the ancestral throne. When Bhikṣācara proceeded to Vallapura, Jāśatā played a significant role in arranging his marriage with the daughter of the king of that State.

Bhikṣācara stayed at Vallapura for a few years but when his own resources became exhausted, his father-in-law began to treat him with scant courtesy. Jāśatā then called him to his own capital and entertained him for four or five years. Bhikṣācara left Chamba soon after and it is not known if Jāśatā rendered him any assistance in his attempt to regain his hereditary throne.

114 RT., VII, 1513.
115 Ibid. VIII, 538-41.
116 Ibid. VIII, 547.
117 Ibid. VIII, 552.
118 Ibid. VIII, 553.
The year of Jāṣaṭa's death is not known. The names of the following successors of Jāṣaṭa are known to us from the Vamsāvalī. Dhāla-varman, Ajita, Daityārī and Prthividhī-varman. No information about any of them is available.

Udaya-varman

Prthividhī-varman was succeeded by Udaya-varman. He may be identified with king Udaya mentioned in the Rājatarangini as the king of Campā and as one of the chief supporters of Sussala, who helped the latter in defending the capital city Śrīnagarī against Bhikṣacara and in defeating the pretender at Gopādri hill in A.D. 1122.

It is interesting to find the Chamba prince deserting his kinsman Bhikṣacara and rendering support to Sussala who only a few years back was opposed by Jāṣaṭa. It seems that ever since Bhikṣacara's stay at the court of Jāṣaṭa with his entire resources exhausted, Chamba lost interest in Bhikṣacara and the successors of Jāṣaṭa chose to side with the more powerful and resourceful Sussala. They also seem to have entered into matrimonial relations with Sussala since Sussala is stated in the Rājatarangini to have married

119 Vss.83,84; Antiquities pp.87,93.
120 Vamsāvalī Vs.85, Ibid.
121 VIII, 1083.
122 VIII, 1443.
two princesses from Campā (Chamba) namely, Devalekhā and Taralekhā.

Lalita-varman

Udaya-varman was followed by his son Lalita-varman, of whose reign we possess two epigraphic records. One is the fountain inscription of Rājānaka Nāgapāla discovered from Devi-ri-Kothi in Curah,123 and the other is a fountain inscription of Rājānaka Nāgapāla discovered from the village Salhi in Pangi.124

From the Devi-ri-Kothi inscription, we learn that Lalita-varman conferred on Nāgapāla the title of Rājanaka. It also gives a brief conventional account of Lalita-varman's virtues. The Salhi record only supplies the king's name in connection with the mention of the date, without giving any details about him. It, however, provides a clue to the year of the accession of Lalita-varman. It is dated in the 27th year of Lalita-varman and in the Sāstra year 46 which corresponds to A.D. 1170. The year of Lalita-varman's accession would as such be A.D. 1143-44.

No further details of Lalita-varman's reign are known. He is not mentioned in the Rājatarangini. The two records, noted above, would,

124 Ibid. No.33, pp.216ff.
however, show that during the reign of Lalita-varman, the distant regions of Curah and Pangi were ruled by the local Chiefs who owed allegiance to the Chamba ruler.

**Vijaya-varman**

Lalita-varman was followed by his son and successor Vijaya-varman. A fragmentary fountain inscription belonging to the Rājānaka Gayāpāla (?) and discovered at Mul-Kihar has been attributed to his reign. Since Lalita-varman was still ruling to A.D. 1170, the reign of Vijaya-varman must fall in the last quarter of the 12th century.

The *Vāṃśāvalī* credits Vijaya-varman with victories over the Kāśmīras, the Kīras and the Mudgalas. His victory over the Kāśmīras, however, is open to doubt as it is not corroborated by any independent evidence. The name of Vijaya-varman figures nowhere in the Kashmir Chronicles. The mention of Kīras is of interest as we have already met them during the reigns of Lakṣamaṇa-varman and Sāhilla-varman. It would seem that they made another attack on Chamba during the reign of Vijaya-

125 *Vāṃśāvalī* Vs.85, *Antiquities*,I, pp.87,93.
126 *Antiquities*,I No.34 pp.224ff.
128 Vs.86,*ibid*. pp.87,93.
varman, which, according to the *Vamśavali*, was, however, successfully repulsed by the Chamba ruler. Mūdgalas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* along with the hill people of Kāśmīras, Auraskas, Piśācas etc. who were vanquished by Kṛṣṇa. It would seem that Mūdgalas like the Kīras were a hill tribe occupying some mountainous tract in the vicinity of Chamba. They seem to have carried an inroad into the territory of Chamba during the reign of Vijaya-varman which was, however, successfully foiled by the Chamba ruler.

Vijaya-varman is further stated to have granted villages and lands to Brāhmaṇas but till now no copper plate charter issued by him has been recovered.

With Vijaya-varman our present account of the political history of Chamba comes to an end. The successors of Vijaya-varman are known, besides, the *Vamśavali*, from their copper plate charters, which, however, are written in the Devāseṣa and not in the Sāradā proper and hence fall outside the purview of our present study. But before we close the present account, it would be worthwhile to give an account of the following rulers who are mentioned in some of our records from Chamba but who are not known for certain to

130 *Drona-parvan*, VII, 397.
131 *Vamśavali* Vs. 97, *Antiquities I*, pp. 87, 93.
132 Edited by Dr. B. Ch. Chabra, *Antiquities of the Chamba State* Part II.
belong to the famous Varman line of the Chamba rulers.

I. Satyaki

Satyaki is known to us from the Sarahan Prasasti, 133 the earliest known Sarada record from Chamba. The Prasasti is in the Praise of Satyaki's wife Somaprabha and records the construction of a Siva temple by Satyaki in honour of his beloved wife. No details about Satyaki are furnished by this long and well preserved record except that he was the son of virtuous Bhogata. He is, however, described with such epithets as 'narendra' (vs.21) and 'vijita-cakra' (vs.3) which would show that he belonged to the ruling class. But as pointed out by Vogel, 134 the names of Satyaki and his father Bhogata do not figure in the Chamba Vamsavali, nor is there any evidence in the inscription itself that they belonged to illustrious Varman line of the Chamba rulers. The identification of Satyaki is, as such, difficult. It is, however, not unlikely that he was one of those Chieftains who, as pointed out above, appear to have ruled over small principalities in Chamba prior to the consoli-

133 Antiquities, I, No.13, pp.152ff.
dation of the state by Sāhilla-varman in the 10th century. Sātyaki appears to have been a powerful Chief who held independent sway in his principality. This is indicated, both by his being designated as narendra and not as Rājānaka, the popular designation of the feudatory Chiefs in Chamba, and by the absence of any reference to a liege-lord in his inscription.

2. Trailokya-deva

Trailokya-deva is mentioned in the three fountain inscriptions discovered at the villages Dadvar, Bhakund and Naghai in Curah. In the Naghai inscription belonging to Rājānaka Deva-prasāda, he is mentioned with the sovereign titles of Paramabhāttāraka and Mahārājayadhīra, which would show that he was a liege lord of the Chieftains of Curah.

The name of Trailokya does not figure in the Chamba Vamsāvalī but is mentioned twice in the Vamsāvalī of the rulers of the neighbouring hill state of Balor, ancient Vallāpura. At one place, he figures as the immediate predecessor of Kalaśa-pāla, the contemporary of Ananta (A.D. 1028-63) and

---

136 Ibid., No.22, pp.178-180.
137 Ibid., p.71.
Ka.lasa (1063-1089 A.D.) of Kashmir and at another place he is separated from the latter by two reigns. Vogel feels inclined to identify Trailokya-deva of our inscriptions with Trailokya-deva of Balor VamsŚāvalī, who ruled sometime before Ka.lasa-pāla in the first half of the 11th century A.D. The Dadvar fountain inscription is dated in the Sāstra year 17 corresponding to A.D. 1041 which shows that Trailokya-deva was on the throne in the second quarter of the 11th Century A.D. If Vogel's identification be correct, it would follow that Curah was held by the ruler of Balor in the second quarter of the 11th century A.D. However, as pointed out above it did not remain long in the possession of the Balor king and was soon after wrested by Soma-varman of Chamba and annexed to his own empire.

3. Rana-pāla

In the stone inscription discovered at the village Devi-ri-kothi in Curah, Rana-pāla figures as the king in whose reign the image was consecrated. Rana-pāla is not mentioned in the VamsŚāvalī of the Chamba rulers but the name ending 'pāla' suggests

138 Ibid.
139 Ibid. No. 20, p. 176f.
140 Ibid. No. 31, p. 208f.
that he belonged to the line of the Balor kings, whose names generally end in 'pāla'. The Vamsāvalī of the Balor rulers mentions three names Raṇa-malla, Rājā Raṇūl and Aruṇ-malla which Vogel¹⁴¹ thinks to be all corruptions of Raṇa-pāla. However, there is some difficulty in accepting the proposed identification. The inscription referred to above is contained in a fountain enclosure which was set up by Nāga-pāla, a feudatory of king Lalita-varman of Chamba, referred to above. It is difficult to explain how the name of a Balor king can occur in a fountain slab which was set up by a feudatory of a ruler of Chamba. Again, the date of the inscription Samvat 2 Āśva. va. ti. 8 according to Vogel¹⁴² probably corresponds to 16th August 1161, i.e. about the time when Curah was ruled by the Chamba ruler Lalita-varman, as is evidenced by the Devi-ri-kothi inscription of Rājānaka Nāga-pāla referred to above. Both these facts render Vogel's proposed identification of Raṇa-pāla of our inscription with Raṇa-malla, Rājā Raṇūl or Aruṇ-malla of Balor Vamsāvalī somewhat improbable. This identification of Raṇa-pāla must in the light of our present knowledge remain, as such, open to question.

¹⁴¹ Antiquities I p.75.
¹⁴² Ibid.
3. Ajaya-pāla

The village Sai in Curah has yielded a fountain inscription which is dated in the reign of Ajaya-pāla. From the inscription it is not clear whether Ajaya-pāla was the king of Chamba or of the neighbouring state of Balor. While the name Ajaya-pāla does not occur in the Chamba Vamsāvalī, a king of that name is mentioned in the Vamsāvalī of Balor kings, as the son and successor of Aruna-malla. Vogel proposes to identify Ajaya-pāla of our inscription with the Balor king Ajaya-pāla and takes the name of his father Aruna-malla to be the corruption of Rana-pāla mentioned in the Devi-ri-kothi stone inscription referred to above. The inscription is dated in the Kali year 4270 and the Sāstra year I, one of which is evidently wrongly recorded. Vogel takes the latter date to be the more probable one and on account of the script of the inscription refers it to Sāstra year 4301 corresponding to A.D.1225. If Vogel's suggestions are accepted, it follows that in the first half of the 13th century, Curah lay in the temporary sway of the Balor Chiefs.

143 Antiquities, I No.35, pp.232ff.
144 Ibid. p.77.
145 Ibid.
What is now known as Kangra, originally formed part of the kingdom of Trigarta also called Jalandhara. This kingdom at the time of its greatest expansion comprised all the territory between the Satlej and the Ravi in the outer hills and the Jalandhara Doab in the plains. The two names Trigarta and Jalandhara appear to have been used as synonyms for the whole kingdom. At a later period, however, the name Trigarta came to be applied to Kangra only and as Trigadh was in use for the Kangra State till early 19th century.

Trigarta is frequently mentioned in the Sanskrit literature. In the Astadhyayi of Panini it is mentioned as an Ayudha-jivi Sangha or a Kshatriya tribal republic depending mainly on arms. It is described as a confederation of six States known as Trigarta Sastha. According to the Kasika the six States are: (i) Kaundopratha, (ii) Dandaki (iii) Kraustaki, (iv) Jalamani, (v) Brahmagupta (vi) Janaki.

---

146 Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, p.156.
147 V.3.116.
148 HPS., I,p.103.
149 V.3.116.
150 Agarwal, India as Known to Panini, p.53.
151 Ibid.,p.445.
None of these has been identified. In the Mahābhārata, Trigarta is mentioned several times and its king Susārman figures prominently as an ally of the Kaurvas.

**Early History**

According to the evidence furnished by the Astādiyāyī of Pāṇini, Trigarta was a republican state like several others of this type in Northern India in the 6th century B.C. Pāṇini refers to Trigarta as Samgha or a republic. Soon after, the republican form of Government appears to have been abolished in favour of the monarchical regime and we find a king named Susārman ruling over Trigarta at the time of the Great War. Susārman as pointed out above, is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as a Trigarta Chief who took part in the great war and fought on the side of the Kauryas. He is mentioned in the Vamśávalī of the Katoch family of Kangra as Susārmacandra and figures as 234th king from its mythical founder named Bhūma-candra. The name Susarmapur for Kangra appears to be due to this king.

The history of Trigarta in the immediately following period is not known. In the 2nd century B.C. the republican constitution was again revived in

---

152 For severences references of Trigarta in the M.Bh. See Sorencen's Index to Mahābhārata, p.687.

153 Pāṇini refers to the Republics as Samghas, as compared to kingdoms which are designated by him as Janapadas. For the dynastic name Katoch, see HPS I, p.207.

154 HPS, p.III.
this hill state, as is attested to by the numismatic evidence. Coins bearing the legend traka-jaṇapa-
dasya have been discovered which on palaeographic grounds can be assigned to the 2nd century B.C. The legend 'traka-jaṇapadasya' has been translated as 'of the Trigarta republic.' It would thus follow that Trigarta was a republic in the 2nd century B.C. and the coinage was issued in the name of the republic.

The history of Trigarta in the following periods is again veiled in obscurity. In the absence of any literary or epigraphical evidence, it may be presumed that Trigarta acknowledged the supremacy of the imperial Kuśāṇas whose sway extended over Jālandhara where, as is believed by some, the third Buddhist council was convened by the great Kuśāna emperor Kaṇiṣka.

The Kuśāna empire declined in the 3rd century A.D. and several republics which had ruled in the Punjab independently in the centuries preceding the Christian era and had to submit to the Kuśāna influence during the intervening period, again asserted their independence and some of them as far example the Yaudheyas and the Kunindas again struck coins as independent powers. A large number of coins of these republics belonging to the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. has been discovered. It

155 Allan, Coins of Ancient India, p.cxxxix
156 Allan, Ibid., pp.ciii,cli,clii.
is not known if like these republics, Trigartas also asserted independence after the collapse of the Kuśāna empire. No coins of the Trigartas in the post Kuśāna period have come to light so far. On the other hand, the district of Kangra has yielded a few coins of Yaudheva currency having legends in the characters of 3rd or 4th centuries A.D.\textsuperscript{157} This has led Dr. Altekar\textsuperscript{158} to conclude that the district of Kangra along with those of Ludhiana, Rohtak, Karnal, Delhi, Saharanpur etc. which have yielded large hoards of Yaudheya coinage, was ruled by the Yaudheyas from the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. However, the discovery of a few Yaudheya coins from Kangra does not constitute the proof of the political domination of the Yaudheyas over the Trigartas as suggested by Dr. Altekar.

Yaudheyas submitted to the political might of Samudragupta in the 4th century A.D. It is, however, doubtful if Trigarta lay within the Gupta empire which extended up to the eastern part of the Panjab. There is no evidence to this effect either in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta or in the records of his successors. The history of Trigarta during the Gupta period is thus a blank. Nor is anything known of this hill State in the

\textsuperscript{157} Ibid.\textsuperscript{p.101, Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p.79.}

\textsuperscript{158} Vākātaka Gupta Age, p.29.
immediately following period till we come to the first half of the 7th century when Jālandhara was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang. He describes the kingdom of Jālandhara about 100 li or 167 miles in length from east to west and 800 li or 133 miles in breadth from north to south. If these dimensions are correct, the kingdom of Jālandhara as pointed out by Cunningham must then have included the state of Chamba on the north with Mandi and Sukhet on the east and Satadru on the south-east. It would seem that Jālandhara after the disintegration of the Gupta empire had grown into a big State which also included Trigarta in the outer hills. This State was ruled by a king named Udito who has been identified by Cunningham with the king Ādima or Ādita of the Vamsāvalī of the Katoch family.

The paucity of material prevents us from tracing the history of Trigarta in the subsequent periods in a continuous strain. However, it is likely that this hill State continued to be ruled by the successors of Ādita, the scions of the Katoch family. The Katoch Chiefs seem to have acknowledged the supremacy of the powerful Karkota rulers of Kashmir.

162 Anc. Geo., p.159.
in the 8th century A.D. Jālandhara of which Trigarta formed a part, is included in the Rājatarangini among the territories conquered by the famous Karkota ruler Lalitāditya.

About the end of the 9th century A.D., Trigarta was ruled by a king named Prthivī-candra who probably was a Katoch. He was the protege of the Utpala ruler Sānkaraavarman of Kashmir (883-902 A.D.) and is referred to in the Rājatarangini to have sent his son as a hostage to the Kashmir ruler. The name of Prthivī-candra does not appear in the Vamsāvalli of the Katoch family of Kangra but the cognomen candra which is borne by all the rulers of the Katoch family right from its founder Bhūmacandra makes it highly probable that Prthivī-candra also belonged to the famous Katoch line.

In the beginning of the 10th century A.D., Trigarta was subdued by the founder of the neighbouring hill state of Chamba, named Sāhilla-varman. In the copper plate inscriptions of the Chamba rulers Soma-varman and Āsāta (11th century) Sāhilla-varman is stated to have forcibly reduced the lord
of Trigarta into submission. The Trigarta Chief, however, later became a friend and an ally of Sāhilla-varman and is stated to have assisted the latter in his fight against the confederate forces of the Kīras, Saumātikas and the Durgaras.\textsuperscript{167}

In the beginning of the 11th century Trigarta is said to have been ruled by the Katoch king Jagadīś-candra who was 436th in descent from Bhūma-candra, the mythical founder of the State.\textsuperscript{168} During his rule in 1009 A.D. the fort of Kangra, famous all over India on account of its fabulous wealth, was besieged by Mahmud of Ghazni who after capturing the fort seized the entire wealth stored therein. Cunningham attributes the vast accumulation of wealth in the fort to the Shāhī rulers of Kabul. "It is almost impossible", remarks he, "that such a vast amount of treasure could have been accumulated by the petty Rajas of the Kangra valley, but it is quite conceivable that it may have been the hoard of the Hindu princes of Kabul".\textsuperscript{169} There is evidence of the close connection of the Shāhīs with Nagarkot or Kangra. According to Alberuni the fort of Kangra preserved the genealogical roll of the Turkish Shāhī princes of Kabul—the immediate

\textsuperscript{167} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{168} HPS. I,p.120.
\textsuperscript{169} ASR., V,pp.155-6.
predecessors of Hindu Shāhi princes—for sixty
generations.\textsuperscript{170} The Khajuraho inscription of
Yaso-varman Candela\textsuperscript{171} mentions a king of Kīra
or Kangra with the title Shāhi. Besides, large
hoards of dirhams or silver coins of the Shāhis have been
discovered at several places in the Kangra valley. This
points to the connection of Shāhis with this hill State.

The conquest of Panjab by Mahmud was only
partial and we find Trigarta or Jālandhara still
ruled by a Katoch king named Indu-candra in the 2nd
quarter of the 11th century.\textsuperscript{172} The king was the
contemporary of Ananta-deva of Kashmir (A.D.1028–63)
and is referred to in the Rājatarangini\textsuperscript{173} to have
given his two daughters in marriage to the Kashmir
ruler. The name Indu-candra is not traceable in
the local Vamsāvali but the name ending candra
indicates that he was a Katoch.

The details of the history of this hill
state in the immediately following period are not
known. However, it is likely that the Katoch rule
continued uninterrupted in the state, as in the
beginning of the 13th century we find it ruled
by a king named Jaya-candra who most probably was
a Katoch. Jaya-candra is mentioned in the two

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{170} \textit{India.}, Trans. Sachau, II, p. II.
\item \textsuperscript{171} EL, I, pp. 122ff.
\item \textsuperscript{172} ASR., V, pp. 155–56.
\item \textsuperscript{173} VII, 150, 152.
\end{itemize}
Baijnath Prāśastis dated Śaka 1126 or A.D. 1204\textsuperscript{174} as the ruling Chief of Trigarta or Jālandhara. He was first identified by Cunningham\textsuperscript{175} with Jaya-Mala-Candra of the Vamsāvalī. This identification based on the erroneous reading of the date of the Prāśastis was later repudiated by Vogel and Hutchison\textsuperscript{176} who identified the king with the Katoch Chief Jaya-simha-candra of Vamsāvalī.

Nothing worthy of note is recorded in the Prāśastis about Jaya-candra except that he was the sovereign of a baronial house that was ruling this time at Kīragrāma identified with the modern town of Baijnath in Kangra.

The Prāśastis introduce us to a baronial house which ruled for eight generations at Kīragrāma under the supremacy of the kings of Trigarta. Since last of them ruled in A.D. 1204, we may place the ten Chiefs between A.D. 1030 and 1210 allowing an average reign of 20 years to each generation. It would thus follow that this line of Ranas established its power at Kīragrāma shortly after the invasion of Sultan Mahmud and the overthrow of the Shāhī dynasty. No historical details of these Chiefs of Kīragrāma are known. The Prāśastis contain a brief description of each of them but the descriptions are purely conventional and it is only occasionally that

\textsuperscript{174} E.I., I. pp. 97ff.
\textsuperscript{175} ASR., V, pp. 178ff.
\textsuperscript{176} HPS., II, p. 125.
we meet with information that may be of some real historical import.

**Kanda (c.1030-1050 A.D.)**

The founder of this baronial house was Kanda. He is described as the root of the matchless family, vanquisher of foes, conqueror of towns and a servant of the lotus feet of the king of Trigarta, which would indicate that he was a powerful ruler who established a barony at Kārgrāma and who owed allegiance to the Raja of Trigarta.

**Buddha (c.1050-1070 A.D.) and Vigraha (c.1070-1090 A.D.)**

Kanda was followed by his son Buddha, a man of pure intellect who in turn was succeeded by his son Vigraha who true to his name "caused the separation of the wives of his enemies (from their husbands) and who possessed power to crush his foes."178

**Dombaka (c.1090-1110 A.D.)**

Vigraha was succeeded by his son Dombaka about whom it is stated that he supported with his hands those falling from high places and together with other princes captured many villages.179 This may indicate that Dombaka rendered assistance to the

178 Ibid., 1.13.
neighbouring princes when in distress, and in return obtained their help in annexing a number of the surrounding villages. This would also show that Dombaka did not rule over a single village of Kiragrāma but was the master of several villages. Dombaka professed Śaiva faith and worshipped Śiva.

**Bhuvana (c.1110-1130 A.D.)**

Dombaka was followed by his son Bhuvana who like his father was a Śaiva and offered great sacrifices to Lord Śiva. He protected his subjects well and also showed devotion to his sovereign, the lord of Trigarta.\(^{180}\)

**Kalhana (c.1130-1150 A.D.) and Bilhana (c.1150-1170 A.D.)**

Bhuvana had a son named Kalhana who is stated to have been a virtuous and powerful ruler. Kalhana was followed by Bilhana who was a faithful vassal of his over lord Hridaya-candra and married the latters daughter named Lakṣāṇikā.\(^{181}\)

**Rāma (c.1170-1190 A.D.) and Lakṣāmana (c.1190 A.D.)**

Bilhana had two sons from Lakṣāṇikā, Rāma and Lakṣāmana, the former of whom died early. Lakṣāmana was the ruling Chief in A.D.1204 when the

---

180 Ibid.11.15.16.

181 Ibid.11.17,18.
Prasásīs were composed. He was a powerful ruler who kept intact the territories held by his ancestors. He was a worshipper of Śiva and allotted daily six drammas of money collected in the customs house at Kiragrāma to the Śiva temple erected by the two merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka.

182 Ibid. 11.20,21.
183 Ibid. 1.27.
Our inscriptions do not furnish geographical information of outstanding importance. However, some of them do contain names of some ancient villages and districts and occasionally of rivers which are of considerable geographical importance. We discuss below these names in the alphabetical order.

Ada sara

It is mentioned in the Harsar (District Chamba) image inscription, as the place where a Siva temple was erected by two private individuals Gangu and Elsanu. It is identical with the modern 'village of Harsar in the Baramaor pargana of district Chamba in Himachal Pradesh, situated 10 miles from Baramaor on the road which leads to Lahul by the Kiski pass.

Avanti

It is mentioned in the Sāradā inscription from Hund (District Attock) of (Harṣa) sam 168=A.D.774, where an architect (navakarṣapati) Jayantarāja is described as Avantika or belonging to Avanti. Avanti, frequently mentioned in literature, is the ancient name of Malwa in Madhya Pradesh. Its ancient capital was Ujjayini, modern Ujjain.

2. EI., XXII,p.98, text lines 2-3.
Bhadravarma

It is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa as the village where a piece of land donated by king Soma-varman was situated. Its name is preserved in the modern village of Bhadrama in the Rajnagar pargana of district Chamba, situated 6 miles by road and 2½ miles by a bridle-path to the north of Chamba town on the Chamba-Tisa Road. In the 11th century, it belonged to the Tāvasaka-māndala (discussed below) and seems to have been a district head-quarter as it contained a state granary from which one khārī of grain was allotted annually by Soma-Varman to the Viṣṇu temple founded by Mahārāja-putra Pāsaṭa.

Bhadāvakāsa

It is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa. A portion of land donated by king Soma-varman and situated at Bhadravarma noted above, is stated to have been previously occupied by certain Vijjaula who belonged to Bhadravakāsa. Bhadravakāsa is the ancient name of the hill district now known as Bhadravah, in the Jammu province of the Jammu and Kashmir State. It is situated 60 miles to the north-east of Jammu and 64 miles to the north west of the present town of Chamba.

3 Antiquities I, No.25, p.193, text line 17.
4 Ibid.
It is mentioned only once in the *Rājatarangini* as the place of retreat of an exiled noble Sahasramangala during the reign of king Sussala. According to Stein it appears to have been a dependency of Chamba in ancient days, as it was in the recent centuries, since the ruler of Bhadravah is no where referred to in Kalhana's lists of hill Rajas.

**Bhattāra**

It is mentioned as the name of a mandala or district, in the Thundu (hol-gudyal pargana, Chama) copper plate inscription of āsāṭa. It was here that king āsāṭa donated some lands. According to Vogel Bhattāra corresponds to the present Hol-gudyal pargana of district Chamba where some fifteen villages are said to be still indicated by the ancient name. The local goddess is known as Bhattāra-devi-Sitalā and a pilgrimage to her shrine is called Bhattāra-yātra (yātra).

**Bhuvanesā**

It is mentioned in the Khanamuh stone slab inscription of the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin. It is described as a place situated half a yojana below Harsēsvara, where certain ascetic named Gammati-

---

5 VIII.501.
7 *Antiquities I*, No.26, p.199 text line 11.
sodaka practiced penance. This place is now known as Bhuvanesvarī situated on the slope of the hill of Harṣesvara, about 1½ miles to the north of the village of Khonamuh and visited on way to the sacred tīrtha of Harṣesvara. It derives its name from a locally flowing underground spring called Bhuvanesvarī and described in the inscription as svarṇadī or a divine stream.

Bindukā

It figures in the Baijnath Prasasti No.II (I.10) as the name of a river flowing in the village Kiragrama. It is identical with the modern Binnu, a tributary of the Bias, a hill stream and flowing to the east of the present town of Baijnath (ancient Kiragrama) in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh.

Brahmapura

It is mentioned in the copper plate charter of King Yugākaravarman of Chamba as a mandala or district in which the lands granted by him were situated. It is identified with the modern village of Baramaor situated 42 miles to the south-east of Chamba town. It lies on a ridge which rises to the north of the river Budhal. It was the ancient capital of Chamba and remained the

10 El. I,p.111.

11 Antiquities. I,No.14, p.162, text line 6. Also see Ibid., p.173.
seat of government of the early rulers of Chamba till
the 10th century A.D., when the new capital of Chamba
was founded by king Sāhillavarman. It is a place of
considerable archaeological interest and has yielded
a few brass images of exquisite craftsmanship which
according to the inscriptions incised on them were
erected by king Meru-varman who ruled over Chamba in
the beginning of the 8th century.

Brahmapura is also mentioned in the litera-
ture. In the Brhat-Samhitā it is mentioned among
the countries of the north-eastern region alongwith
Kīra, Kasīra, Abhisāra, Darada, Kulīta, Dārva,
Dāmara and others. It is very likely, as pointed
out by Vogel, that here the ancient principality
of Baramaor is meant. In the Mārkandeya Purāṇa,
the Brahmapurakas are mentioned in the same connec-
tion.

Canpaka

The name occurs in the Brahmo (Baramaor
of the maps) copper plate grant of Yugākara-varman,
the Sungal copper plate inscription of Vidagdhara,
the Kulait copper plate grant of Somavarman,
the Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsata
and Thundu copper plate grant of Āsata. These

12 Ibid. Nos. 5-8 pp. 141ff.
13 XIV, 29-30.
14 Antiquities., I, p. 7.
15 MP., 55, 48-53; see Vogel, Antiquities., I, p. 7.
16 Antiquities., I No. 14, p. 162, tent line 3.
17 Ibid. No. 15, p. 166, tent line 1.
18 Ibid. No. 24, p. 184, tent line 2.
19 Ibid. No. 25, p. 192, tent line 3.
20 Ibid. No. 26, v. 38.
charters describe Canpakā as the royal residence from where they were issued. It is to be inferred that it was the capital during the rule of the Varman dynasty of Chamba from Yugākara-varman onwards. The capital of the earlier rulers of this dynasty, as pointed out above, was Brahmapura or modern Barmaor. This new capital of Canpakā is traditionally believed to have been founded by king Sāhilla-varman of Chamba who ruled in the 10th century. The tradition seems to be based on fact since the copper plate grants of the immediate successors of Sāhilla, viz, Yugākara-varman and Vidagdha were issued from Canpakā as the seat of government. The name is preserved in that of the modern town of Chamba, the headquarter of the district of the same name in Himachal Pradesh.

A country names Campā is mentioned by Kalhana in his Rajatarangini.²¹ That this Campā is the same as Canpaka of our copper plate grants is proved by the following evidence.

In Rajatarangini VII. 218, it is stated that king Ananta of Kashmir uprooted king Sāla of Campā and placed a new ruler on the throne. This king Sāla of Campā is identified, as seen above,²² with the king Sālavāhana of Canpaka mentioned in

²¹ VII, 218, 588; VIII, 323, 538, 1083, 1443, 1531.
²² Supra p.273.
the Aulait copper plate grant of Soma-varman, and Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsata, as the father and predecessor of king Soma-varman and in the Thundu copper plate grant as the father and predecessor of king Āsata (brother of Soma-varman)

This shows Ĉanpaka and Ĉampa are identical.

Again in the Bājātarāṅgini VII, 588, Āsata, king of Ĉampa is mentioned among the eight hill Chiefs who appeared in the court of king Kalaśa of Kashmir (A.D.1063-1089) to pay him tribute. This king is identical with Āsata of Ĉanpaka mentioned in the Chamba and Thundu copper plate grants referred to above. This also shows that Ĉampa and Ĉanpaka are the same.

In the copper plate grants of Chamba belonging to the 13th and the subsequent centuries, the name Ĉanpaka occurs in the form Ĉampaka, h having changed into m owing to the Vernacular influence. This form accounts for the form Ĉampa of the Bājātarāṅgini and it is from the latter from that the modern form Chamba is derived.

Dhaullika

It is mentioned in the Chamba grant of Soma-varman and Āsata as the place where Soma-varman granted lands to a Viśṇu temple. Its name is preserved in the modern hamlet of Dhuli in the Sach pargana of

23 Antiquities, I, p.135, text line 18.
24 Ibid., p.193, text line 12.
25 op. cit., p.198, text line 5.
26 Published in Antiquities of Chamba State Part II.
27 Ibid., I, No.25, p.193, text line 19.
district Chamba. It is situated quite opposite the Chamba town on the left steep bank of the Ravi.

**Durgara**

This name occurs in the Khulait copper plate grant of Somavarman\(^2\) and the Chamba copper plate grant of Somavarman and Āsaṭavarman.\(^2\) It is mentioned in connection with the campaign of Sāhillavarman of Chamba against the confedrate forces of the Saumatiṅkas, the Kīras and the lord of Durgara. Durgar is the modern land of Dugar also called Jammu situated between the two rivers, the Jehlum and the Ravi. According to Dr. Gauri Shankar,\(^3\) Durgara or Ǳugar was originally the name of an indigenous clan or tribe which inhabited the submounainous region comprising that part of the state of Jammu which is situated between the river Ravi and the Chinab to the south of the Pir Panchal range and to the north of Sialkot and Jehlum districts of the Panjab, now in Pakistan.

Drew\(^3\) takes the traditional Sanskrit word *DVIGARTA* as the original form of the modern name Ǳugar. But as pointed out by Stein\(^3\) it is nowhere found in the historical texts and seems to have been concocted on the analogy of the

---

\(^1\) *Antiquities*, I.No.24, p.184, text line 3.
\(^3\) *Some Aspects of Dogri Linguistics*- Paper read at the XXII Session of All India Oriental conference held at Gauhati (Assam).
\(^4\) *Jummao and Kashmir Territories*, pp.43,44.
\(^5\) RT, Trans, II, p.432.
ancient name Trigarta. The original form of the name appears to be Durgara as mentioned in our inscriptions.

Gangesvara

This name figures in the Arigom (Kashmir) stone slab inscription as the site of a wooden shrine erected by certain Vaidya Ulhānadeva to house an image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. This name is preserved in modern Ganisvar, a small locality in the Arigom village of Nagan pargana in Kashmir. That the ancient name too was known to the local Pandits as late as A.D. 1862-63 is shown by the mention of it in a horoscope issued by certain Ganesa Khusrao in A.D. 1862-63 to a resident of Arigom who is there described as "living in Arigom at the feet of Gangesvara." Sten Konow remarks that Gangesvara must have originally been the name of a Siva temple which must have stood here.

Ghalahana

It is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate grant of Somavarman and Āsata. It is described as a village which belonged to the Pānthila mandala and where a portion of land donated by Somavarman was situated. It appears to be the ancient name of the

33 El. IX p.301, text line 2.
34 Sten Konow, Notes, p.8.
35 Ibid.
36 Antiquities, I, No.25 p.194, text line 31.
modern village of Ghalun belonging to the Panjila pargana and situated 5 miles east of the town of Chamba on a ridge on the left bank of the Soho stream. It is a 2 miles trek from Miredi, a village, situated 3 miles to the east of Chamba town on the Chamba-Saho road.

Grina

It figures as the name of a village in the Brahmor (Chamba) copper plate grant of Yugākara-varman, where the lands granted by Yugākara-varman were situated. It belonged to Brahmapura-mandala. It is identical with the modern village of the same name, belonging to the Baramaor pargana of district Chamba and situated above the village of Barei on the ridge which separates the valleys of the Ravi and the Budhal. It is passed by the mule road which leads from Baramaor to Trehta, a tract on the left bank of the upper Ravi.

Harṣesvara

It is mentioned in the Khonamuh stone slab inscription, referred to above. Its name is preserved in modern Harishvar, a famous place of pilgrimage lying on the summit of a ridge to the north of the village Khonamuh. The object

37 Ibid., No.14 p.162, text line 8.
of worship here is a **Soyambhū linga** enshrined in a small cave and the pilgrimage to the sacred shrine is performed annually on the fullmoon day of the month of Sravana. The place is fully described in the *Hārseśvara Mahātmya*.

**Jālandhara.**

It is mentioned in the *Baijnath Praśasti*\(^{40}\) No. II as a kingdom the sovereignty of whose kings was acknowledged by the local chiefs of Kīragrāma. Its name is now preserved in the present town and district of Jullundur in Punjab. It has been used in the Praśastis as a synonym of Trigarta and will be discussed in detail subsequently.

**Jīsthaludra**

It is described in the *Hariparbat (Srinagar)* grave stone inscription of the reign of Muhammad Shah,\(^{41}\) as the place, where certain Said-Khan son of Aibrahm fell in a battle. In the Persian epigraph accompanying the present record, containing the same contents, the name given is Takht-i-Sulaiman which would show that Jīsthaludra and Takht-i-Sulaiman are the same. The latter is the persian designation of the modern hill of Śaṅkarācārya situated to the south-east of Srinagar, and Jīsthaludra of our inscription would evidently

\(^{40}\) **EL.**, I, p.112, text line 7.

\(^{41}\) Marshall, *Note*, p.18, text line 2.
denote the same. The place is mentioned in the form of Jyestharudra in the Rājatarangini and described as a shrine erected by king Jalauka at Srinagar. This shrine has not yet been definitely identified. Stein points out that the shrine is to be located somewhere near the present hill of Śaṅkarācārya. Our inscription would show how in the 16th century (the date of the inscription is A.D.1484), the name Jyesthaludra or Jyestharudra was applied to the hill itself. The same is corroborated by the Mahadevamahātmya where Jyestharudra has been used in two passages to denote the present hill of Śaṅkarācārya.

In the same inscription, we find mention of another place name Hajara. But owing to the fragmentary condition of the inscription, it is not clear as to in what connection it is mentioned. Its identification is as such difficult. Marshall (Note, p.18, fn.4) feels inclined to identify it with Hazara in the Peshawar district of west Pakistan.

Kasyapādri

It is mentioned in the Parepur (district Barahmulla, Kashmir) fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Hasan Shah. Owing to the fragmentary and the defective condition of the inscription it is not known in what connection it is mentioned. Its identi-

43 Ibid.
45 Stein Konow, Note, p.13.
ofication is, as such, difficult. This name is not known from any other source. Literary it would mean Kaśyapa hill. It is likely that it denotes the very hill on the slope of which the inscribed stone is now lying.

Kedāra

It is mentioned in the Baijnath Prāṣasti No.1 as a place of pilgrimage visited by Lalṣamaṇa- candra, the chief of Kiragrāma (modern Baijnath). It is undoubtely the celebrated śāh of Kedārāṇātha widely mentioned in literature and situated in the Garhwal district of Uttar Pradesh. It lies below the peak of Mahāpantha on the west of Badrinath. The object of worship here is an image of Mahādeva Kedārnath which is said to have been established by Arjuna, the famous Pāṇḍava. The river Kali-Ganga takes its rise from this place and joins the Alakānanda at the Rudra-prayag.

Khāni

It occurs in the Brahmr (Baramaor of the maps) copper plate grant of Yugākaravarman as the name of a hospice (māṭha) belonging to the village of Viḍvika in the Brahmapura district. This name is now preserved in modern Khāni a village in the Baramaor (ancient Brahmapura)

46 El. I, p.107, text line 19.
48 Antiquities, I, p.162, text line 7.
pargana of district Chamba in Himachal Pradesh. It is a short distance from Barei, ancient Vidvika, described below, and is situated on a ridge to the east of the confluence of the Ravi and the Budhal on the Durghathi Baramaor road.

Khonamosa

It is mentioned in the Khonamuh stone slab inscription of 1428 A.D. It is described as an agrahāra, donated by king Khagendra, where a hermitage was constructed by certain Pūrṇaka. Its name is now preserved in the modern village of Khonamuh situated nine miles to the north-east of Srinagar 75° 1' longitude and 35° 1' latitude. This place is also mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgini and described as an agrahāra established by king Khagendra. It shows that even in the 15th century, the place continued to be regarded as an agrahāra donated by Khagendra. The form of the name given in the Rājatarāṅgini is 'Khonamusa' which appears to be the correct form from which the modern Khonamuh is derived. Khonamuh is the famous birth place of Kashmiri poet Bilhana, author of the Vikramāṅkadevcarita, who enthusiastically sings the charms of his home village in his celebrated work and describes it as situated in the vicinity of Jayavana, modern Zevan (one mile to the west of

49 Marshall, Note., p.19, text line 2.
50 RT., I.90.
Khonamuh) and famous for its grape and saffron cultivation.\footnote{Cf. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 70-72. The form of the name given in this work is Khonamukha. \textit{kh} for \textit{s} is according to Bühler, due to the Jain copyist who pronounced \textit{s} and \textit{kh} alike see \textit{Kashmir Report} p.6. For an admirable description of the place and its topography as given by Bühler, see \textit{Ibid.} pp.4-7.}

\textbf{Kīrgrāma}

It is mentioned in the Baijnath Praśasti No.II and described as a village belonging to the Kingdom of Trigarta and where flows a river named Bindukā.\footnote{\textit{EI.}, I, p.114, text line 10.} It is the ancient name of the modern town of Baijnath in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh, situated on the south bank of the Binnu stream which represents the Bindukā of the inscription. The ancient name is lost and the modern name is due to the chief temple of Vaidyanātha(now called Baijnath) which according to the Praśastis, was erected here in the 13th century by two merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka, who belonged to the same village. Kīrgrāma seems to have been a settlement of the famous Kīra tribe frequently mentioned in literature.\footnote{See above p.267.} In the 13th century, it was the seat of a Rana named Laksanācandra who owed allegiance to the king of Trigarta. His predecessors had earlier held it for seven generations as vassals of the kings of Trigarta or Jālandhara.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}, pp.297f.}

\textbf{Кіспособіка}

It is mentioned in the Sarahan Praśasti as the seat of a Rana whose daughter Soma-prabhā

\footnote{\textit{EI.}, I, p.114, text line 10.}

\footnote{Cf. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 70-72. The form of the name given in this work is Khonamukha. \textit{kh} for \textit{s} is according to Bühler, due to the Jain copyist who pronounced \textit{s} and \textit{kh} alike see \textit{Kashmir Report} p.6. For an admirable description of the place and its topography as given by Bühler, see \textit{Ibid.} pp.4-7.}

\footnote{\textit{EI.}, I, p.114, text line 10.}

\footnote{Cf. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 70-72. The form of the name given in this work is Khonamukha. \textit{kh} for \textit{s} is according to Bühler, due to the Jain copyist who pronounced \textit{s} and \textit{kh} alike see \textit{Kashmir Report} p.6. For an admirable description of the place and its topography as given by Bühler, see \textit{Ibid.} pp.4-7.}

\footnote{\textit{EI.}, I, p.114, text line 10.}

\footnote{Cf. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 70-72. The form of the name given in this work is Khonamukha. \textit{kh} for \textit{s} is according to Bühler, due to the Jain copyist who pronounced \textit{s} and \textit{kh} alike see \textit{Kashmir Report} p.6. For an admirable description of the place and its topography as given by Bühler, see \textit{Ibid.} pp.4-7.}

\footnote{\textit{EI.}, I, p.114, text line 10.}

\footnote{Cf. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 70-72. The form of the name given in this work is Khonamukha. \textit{kh} for \textit{s} is according to Bühler, due to the Jain copyist who pronounced \textit{s} and \textit{kh} alike see \textit{Kashmir Report} p.6. For an admirable description of the place and its topography as given by Bühler, see \textit{Ibid.} pp.4-7.}

\footnote{\textit{EI.}, I, p.114, text line 10.}

\footnote{Cf. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 70-72. The form of the name given in this work is Khonamukha. \textit{kh} for \textit{s} is according to Bühler, due to the Jain copyist who pronounced \textit{s} and \textit{kh} alike see \textit{Kashmir Report} p.6. For an admirable description of the place and its topography as given by Bühler, see \textit{Ibid.} pp.4-7.}

\footnote{\textit{EI.}, I, p.114, text line 10.}

\footnote{Cf. Vikramāṅkadevacarita, XVIII, 70-72. The form of the name given in this work is Khonamukha. \textit{kh} for \textit{s} is according to Bühler, due to the Jain copyist who pronounced \textit{s} and \textit{kh} alike see \textit{Kashmir Report} p.6. For an admirable description of the place and its topography as given by Bühler, see \textit{Ibid.} pp.4-7.}
was married to a ruling chief named Satyaki. The identification of this place name is uncertain. Vogel feels inclined to identify it with Keskindhā mentioned in the Svaim inscription of Rājanaka Bhogāṭa, as the name of a district where Bhogāṭa was born. This inscription records the erection of an image of goddess Pārvatī, on which it is incised, by Rājānaka Bhogāṭa. The image is still preserved in the village temple of Svaim in the erstwhile Himgiri pargana. It would seem that the principality of Bhogāṭa comprised the tract round Svaim, corresponding roughly to the Himgiri pargana. Vogel proposes to identify Keskindhā of the Svaim inscription and Keskindhikā of our inscription with this pargana of Himgiri. If this identification be true, it would seem that the Rana of Himgiri married his daughter Somaprabha to Satyaki who ruled over the neighbouring principality of Saho of which Sarahan, a small village, forms a part. Himgiri is now a small village which belongs to the Curah subdivision of district Chamba in the Himachal Pradesh.

Kulikagostha

It occurs in the Kulait (District Chamba) copper plate inscription of Soma-varman as the name of

55 Antiquities., I,p.156, text lines 3-4.
56 Ibid. p.152.
57 Ibid.
a village where the lands donated by Soma-varman were situated, and which belonged to the district or mandala of Trighattaka. Vogel identified it with the modern village of Kulait (Kolait of the maps) situated in the Trehta pargana (Trighattaka of the inscription) 2½ miles below the modern village of Dyol. The name would suggest that it was a settlement (gostha) of Kulikas a tribe often mentioned in the copper plate inscriptions along with the Khasas.

Kulūta

It is mentioned in the Kulait copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and the Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsata. Its ruler figures in these inscriptions as an ally of king Sāhillavarman of Chamba. It is the ancient name of the modern hill district of Kullu in the Himachal Pradesh. It is referred to by Hiuen-Tsang in his itinerary and is placed by him at 700 li or 117 miles to the northeast of Jālandhar which exactly corresponds with its present position. It is widely mentioned in

58 Antiquities. I, p.185, text line 20.
59 Ibid. pp.6, 182.
60 See above p.177.
61 Antiquities. I, pp.184, text line 4, and 193 text line 8.
literature as an ancient kingdom which is said to have included, besides the present district, Mandi and Sukhet on the west and a large tract of territory to the south of the Satlej. In the 10th century, its king according to the inscriptions referred to above, owed allegiance to the Sāhilla-varman of Chamba and was an ally of the latter in his fight against the confederate forces for the Kīras, the Saumāṭikas and of the lord of Durgara. This ancient hill district has yielded a few inscriptions, one of which probably belongs to the Gupta period and all others to the 16th and the following centuries.

Kuruksētra

This name occurs in the Sungal (district Chamba) copper plate grant of Vidagdha, the Kulait copper plate grant of Somavarman and the Chamba copper plate inscription of Somavarman and Isata. In the Sungal copper plate grant it is described as a sacred place of pilgrimage (tīrtha) from where the donee of the grant hailed. In the two other charters it figures as a sacred place where king Sāhilla-varman donated a large number of elephants on the occasion of solar eclipse in order to pro-

64 For references in literature see B.C.Law, Historical Geography, p.101.
67 Antiquities., I, No.14, p.167, text line 19; No.24, p.184, text line 5. No.25, p133, text line 5.
pitiate God Bhāskara. It is identical with the famous place of Kurukṣetra connected with the Mahābhārata War, still known by its ancient name and situated in the Thanesar tehsil of the Karnal district in the Haryana State. It still continues to be a famous place of pilgrimage and attracts large number of pilgrims on the occasion of the solar eclipse to have a dip in the holy lake situated to the south of present town. It is widely mentioned in literature68 and according to the Mahābhārata69 it was situated between the Sarasvati on the north and the Dṛḍadvatī on the south.70

Madra

It occurs in the Kotiher stone slab inscription71 as the name of a people whose country was conquered by Sultan Shihab-ud-Din. Madras are mentioned in the Mahābhārata as allies of Kaurvas and their king Śalya figures as the commander-in-chief of the Kaurava army.72 The Madra-dea or the country of the Madras lay in the central Panjab, extending according to some, from the Beas to the Jhelum and according to others from the Beas to the Chinab.73 Madra-dea seems to have extended

69 Vana Parvan, 5071-78, 7073-76.
70 For a detailed report of the place see James Duncels Gazetteer of Ambala District (1892) pp.42, 189ff.
71 Now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum Srinagar.
72 Text reads Madrān̄nam mahi jīta, 1.12.
73 See Sorence's Index to the Mahābhārata, p.451.
74 Cunningham, Anc. Geo., p.212.
in north southerly direction from the foot hills between the Beas and the Chinab upto Multan dis­trict in West Pakistan. In the Karna-parva of
the Mahābhārata the country of the Madras is
described as full of forests of ārī, pilu and
karīra. The forests of these trees are fairly
common in the belt in which the districts of
Multan, Montgomery, Lyallpur etc. lie. This
implies that these districts were included in
the Madra territory. The capital of Madra-deśa
was Sākala, identified with modern Sialkot, which stood on the bank of the Apagā stream
identified with modern Aik, a small stream which
has its rise in the Jammu hills to the north-east
of Sialkot. During the rule of the Sultanās in
the 13th and the subsequent centuries, Madra-deśa
was a feudatory state of the Kashmir kings, some
of whom married the daughters of the Hindu Chiefs
of this State.

Mukuta

It is mentioned in the Tur (district
Chamba) image inscription of Rājānaka Thakkika. It is described as a seat of a feudatory chief
(sāmānta) named Dhara, the progenitor of the house

---

75 ārī-pilu karīranam vanesu sukha-vartmasu.
76 Dey, Geographical Dictionary., p.49; Cunningham, op.cit., Sircar, Studies in the Geography of
Ancient and Medieval India, p.234n.
77 Sākalam-nāma nasaram-aparā rāma nimmara MBh.,
Ka.ča., 44.10. Cunningham, op.cit.p.212.
78 See Śrīvara's Rājatarāṅgini.
79 Antiquities., I., No.17, p.173, text line 2.
to which the donor of the image Thakkika belonged. Its identification is uncertain. It may be, as pointed out by Vogel, its the ancient name of the modern village of Tur- the find spot of the inscription- in the Basu pargana of Chamba district in Himachal Pradesh.

Mungala

It occurs in the Chamba copper plate grant of Somavarman and Asata as the name of a village where a portion of land donated by Somavarman was situated. Its name is preserved in the modern village of Mugal in the Panjila pargana of district Chamba, situated two miles south east of Chamba town on the Chamba-Baramaor road.

Naagal

It is mentioned in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Somavarman and Asata along with Mugal noted above and in the same connection. It is undoubtedly the modern village of the same name situated on the road which leads from Chamba town to Khajar in the Kangra district. It lies opposite the present town of Chamba on the left bank of the Ravi and is included in the Sach pargana of district Chamba in the Himachal Pradesh.

80 Ibid. p.173.
81 Ibid. No.25, p.193, text line 16.
82 Ibid.
Navagrāma-draṅga

It is mentioned in the Peshawar Museum inscription of Vañhadaka as the place to which the architect (Sthāpatī) Śingāli Kargī belonged. The find spot of the inscription is not known and Sten Konow, who has edited the inscription, observes, "So long as the origin of the inscription is not known, it is hopeless to identify Navagrāma-draṅga." However, it may be pointed out in this connection that the term draṅga occurs several times in the Rājatarahgīnī with the names of several localities and in all cases signifies a watch station established near mountain passes for the double purpose of guarding the approaches to the Valley (Kashmir) and the collecting the customs revenue. It seems likely that Nava-grāma-draṅga of our inscription also signifies such a watch station which lay near some mountain pass.

Navagrāma

It is mentioned in the Baijnath Praśasti No.I. It figures as the name of a village where a certain Brāhmaṇanamed Gañēvara and resident of

83 El., XXII p.80, text line 6.
84 Ibid.
86 El., I, p.106, text line 28.
Kiragrama possessed some lands out of which he denoted half a plough to the Śiva temple. It is still known by its ancient name and is situated to the south of the modern town of Baijnath.

Pāṅgatī

It is mentioned in the Salhi fountain inscription of Ājānaka Ludrapāla and in the Bento Puhali fountain inscription. In the former it is mentioned in connection with the mention of some officials who were in charge of Pāṅgatī at the time a fountain slab was put up by Rani Delhā, the wife of Rana Ludrapāla. In the latter, its significance is not clear, the inscription being written in very corrupt Sanskrit. It is evidently the ancient name of the modern division of Pangi to the north-east of Chamba. It is a famous summer tourist resort of the Himachal Pradesh and has yielded the largest number of inscribed fountain slabs.

Pānthila

The Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āśaṭā mentions Pānthila as the name of a district or mandala to which belonged the villages Kuloti (unidentified), Mūṅgalā (identified with Mugala see above) and Vāṭa (identified with Bat, see below) where the lands donated by Soma-

87 Antiquities., I, No.33, p.222, text line 2.
88 Ibid., No.42, p.244, text line 12.
varman were situated.\textsuperscript{39} It is the ancient name of the modern pargana of Panjila in Chamba district, comprising the hill tract between the right bank of the Ravi and the left bank of the Sal river. The present town of Chamba is included in this pargana.

\textbf{Pāramatā}

It occurs in the Chamba copper plate inscription of Soma-varman and Āsāta as the name of a district or mandala to which belonged the villages Maṅgalā, (identified above with the modern village of the same name) and Dhaullikā (identified with Dholi), where some lands donated by Soma-varman were situated.\textsuperscript{90} Its exact identification is difficult. Vogel,\textsuperscript{91} taking the first part of the word in its literal sense meaning 'on the other side' identifies it with the modern pargana of Sach situated on the opposite side of the present town of Chamba and to which both Maṅgalā and Dholi now belong. However, there is a small village of Paraunta above the village Maṅgalā and it is not unlikely that it represents the ancient district of Pāramatā just as the modern village of Tausa represents the ancient district of Tāvasaka (see below).

\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., No.25, p.193, text line 16.
\textsuperscript{90} Antiquities., I, No.25, pp.193-94, text lines 19, 21, 29.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., p.12.
Pralamba-gyāma

A village of this name is mentioned in the Baijnath Prasastī No.II (1.27)\(^2\) in connection with the donations made by various individuals to the Śiva temple. It is stated that the queen mother Lakṣaṇā held an estate here out of which she donated half a plough to the Śiva temple. It seems to be the ancient name of the modern town of Palampur in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh, famous for its tea cultivation.

Sālhi

It is mentioned in the Sālhi fountain inscription of Rājānaka Ludrapala as the latter's place of residence.\(^3\) It is still known by its ancient name and is situated in Pangi in Himachal Pradesh, seven miles from Sāch where the Sechu stream flows into the Chinab.

Sarahula

It occurs in the Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa as the name of a village which belonged to the Tāvasaka mandala, (discussed below) and which contained a portion of lands donated by Soma-varman.\(^4\) Its name is

92 El., I, pp.115, 118.
93 Antiquities., I, No.33.p.222, text line 2.
94 Ibid., No.25p.193, 1.17.
preserved in the modern village of Sārol situated 6 miles by road and 2 miles by ancient bridle path to the north of Chamba town on the Chamba-Tisa road. It is now included in the Rajanagar pargana.

Śrīchiri

It is mentioned in the Dacchan (district Doda, Jammu) inscription of the reign of Nantadeva (Anantadeva) as the place of residence of certain Mahimagupta who got constructed a bridge (setu) in Dacchan. The bridge is now represented by modern cantilever bridge which spans the Marev-send, on the left bank of which Dacchan is situated. The identification of the locality Śrīchiri is uncertain. Mr. R.C. Kak tentatively identifies it with modern Kiar, a nai or glen in the immediate vicinity of Dacchan.

Sumangala

It is mentioned in Sungal copper plate grant of Vidagdha as the name of a village which belonged to Tavasaka-mandala and where some lands were granted by king Vidagdha to a certain Brahmana Nanduka. It is apparently the ancient name of modern village of Sungala situated two and a half miles to the north-east of Chamba town on the slope of a hill above the village Ludera on the

95 Antiquities of Marev Wadwan., p.24.
96 Ibid., p.25.
97 Ibid., No.14, p.167, text line 1.
Chamba-Saho road. It is a short distance from the village Tausa situated on the other side of the hill, which probably as will be seen below, represents the ancient mandala or district of Tāvasaka.

Susarmapura

In the Baijnath Prasasti No.1 (11.27-28) we read of a certain astrologer named Ralhaṇa who donated two dronas of land to the Śiva temple erected by the two merchant brothers Manyuka and Āhuka and who belonged to the Susarmapura. In the same Prasasti (11.30-31) we again read of an architect named Nāyaka who came to Kīrāgrāma from Susarmangara and fashioned and constructed the Śiva temple. It would seem that Susarmapura and Susarmangara denote the same place.

(see next page)

98 EL., I, pp.107-8.

99 Ibid., p.111.
Susarmapura is mentioned in a passage in the Rājrātarangini of Jonarāja100 which relates that during an expedition of Shihab-ud-Din of Kashmir (A.D. 1354/55-73) "the Raja of Susarmapur out of fear forsook the pride of his fort and found a refuge with the goddess." The Persian chronicles mention Nagar-kot in place of Susarmapura in the same context.101 Since Nagar-kot is the ancient name of modern Kangra, famous for its fort, it would appear that Susarmapura is identical with the present town of Kangra and owes its name to Susarma-candra who, as seen above, figures as the famous ancestor of the Katoch family of Trigarta or Jalandhara, who fought on the side of the Kaurvas in the Great War.102

Tāvasaka

It is mentioned in the Sungal copper plate grant of king Vidagdha and the Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsāta as the name of a district or mandala to which belonged the villages Sumangala, Bhadravarma and Sarāhula.103 Bhadravarma and Sarāhula have been identified above with Bhadram and Sarol respectively, situated to the north of the Chamba town on the right bank of the Ravi. Sumangala, as seen above, is modern Sungal lying to the east of the Chamba town on the right bank of the Sal river. It would follow, that the ancient district of Tāvasaka comprised an extensive tract between the right bank of the Ravi and the right bank of the Sal river. Some portions of this ancient

100 Vs. 443.
102 See above p.287.
103 Antiquities, I, no.14, p.167, text lines 5-7; no.25, p.193, text line 17.
ancient district are now included in the Hajnagar pargana and some in the Oudyal pargana. The ancient name seems to be preserved in the modern village of Lusa situated on the slope of the hill, facing the Navi, above the villages of Singhram and Sarol. Sungal is a short distance from it and is situated on the other side of the hill facing the sal. Lusa is conveniently reached by a hill tract which starts from Kani, a village 9 miles to the north of Chamoa town on the Chamoa-Tisa road.

The Chamoa copper plate grant mentions three more villages (?) as belonging to the Jayasaka mandala. They are: Pralpaka, Lartuka and Yaudraka. None of these is traceable now. Lartuka may be modern Laddi, a small hamlet in the vicinity of Lusa.

Trigatpaka

A mandala or district of this name is mentioned in the Kulait (district Chamoa) copper plate grant of Soma-varman, to which belonged the village Julika-postha where some lands were donated by King Soma-varman to a certain Brahman matharamasa. It has been identified by Vogel with the Trenta pargana on the upper Navi. The village Julikagostra is identified with Kulait situated in the same pargana 2½ miles below Dyol. The name Trigatpaka, according to Vogel, points to the existence of three ghat takas or passes. "There are in reality", remarks he,

104 Antiquities., 1, No.24, p.185, text line 20.
105 Ibid., p.6.
106 Ibid.
three roads which lead from this part of the Havi valley across the Dhaula Dhar into Kangra. Their names are Alaka-da-gnat, Surai-da-gnat and Sarali-da-gnat. The one first mentioned leads to Magus-Dharamsala, the other two to Palampur."107

Trigarta

It is mentioned in the Rajanath Praśastis as the name of a kingdom which was ruled in the 13th century by king Jayacandra (Jaya-candra) whose over lordship was acknowledged by the ruling chief of Kīragrāma (rajana) named Laksamana-candra.108 It has been used as a synonym of Jālandhara. In the praśasti No. II (1.6) Jayacandra is called "the supreme king of Jālandhara" whereas further on in the same Praśasti (11.20-21) the suzerains of Kiragrama are designated "kings of Trigarta." It thus follows that in the 13th century when the Praśastis were composed, both Trigarta and Jālandhara were used as names of the same country. Trigarta as pointed out above, was great kingdom which at the time of its greatest expansion comprised all the territory between the Satlej and the Havi in the outer hills and the Jālandhara Doab in the plains.109 At a later period, however, it came to denote only the Kangra region and as Trigadn was in use for the Kangra State till early 19th century.110 A detailed history of Trigarta has already been discussed above and we may here quote the opinions of Vogel and Hutchison regarding the name Trigarta.

107 Ibid.
108 Praśasti No. II, 11.11-7.
109 Anc. Geo., p.156.
110 HPS., I, p.103.
"The name Trigarta", remark the said scholars, "may be translated the three Valleys, the word "garta" meaning a "hole" or "pit" or "deep hollow place" with or without water and therefore a very appropriate term to apply to the deeply cut Valleys of the tributaries of the Bias. Thus probably the State came to be called Trigarta".  

**Vajiristhāna**

It is mentioned in the Barikot (upper Swat) stone inscription of the reign of Jayapala.  

The stone being broken at places it is not clear as to in what connection the place is mentioned. It seems from the extant portion of the inscription, that some three individuals whose names are lost erected something here. It is probably represented by modern Waziristan in the Peshawar district of West Pakistan.

**Vāta**

It figures in the Chamba copper plate grant of Soma-varman and Āsaṭa as the name of a village where king Soma-varman donated some lands. It appears to be identical with the modern village of Bat situated 4½ miles east of Chamba town on a ridge on the left bank of the Sal river and 1½ miles above the village Miredi, situated 3 miles to the east of Chamba on the Chamba-Saho road.

**Vidyākā**

It is described in the Brahmor copper plant of Yugakara-varman as a village belonging to Brahmmapura (identified with Baramaor) mandala. It seems to be the

111 Ibid., fn.1.
112 EI., XX, p.301 text line 4.
113 Ibid. No.25, p.185, text line 17.
114 Ibid. No.14, p.162, text line 6.
ancient name of the modern village of Barei situated 1 mile below the village Grim, noted above, on the Durgathi-Baramaor road.