ERA ABERRATIONS BY KALHAN IN RAJATARANGINI

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{A gift to my dearest toddler Grandson; TRISHAY}

Rajatarangini – Style, Sources and General Contents

From an early date ancient historical themes, whether in Bharatvarsha or in Kashmir, were mainly a framework for the display of all subtle poetic art and rhetoric’s, which constituted the characteristic object of ancient Kavya’s {Sanskrit Poetry}. Almost all the historical Kavya’s {Caritas} which have been found deal with the exploits of the poet’s princely patrons or latter’s immediate predecessors, the contents and style depended on courtly patronage. Kalhan’s Rajatarangini, for history of Bharatvarsha in general and of Kashmir in particular, represents a class of Sanskrit composition, Kavya, in form but with a scope and aim widely different from that of the Caritas. It offers a connected narrative of various Kings, dynasties, which ruled or presumed to have ruled Kashmir from the earliest possible period down to his own time. The narrative begins with invoking of Hara (Shiva) in the form of Ardhanarishvara, representing Shiva’s union with Parvati {Verse 1 and 2 Book {Taranga} 1}, legends representing earliest popular traditions, history and beliefs of Aryan Saraswat Brahmins of Kashmir, followed by narrative of later Kings, in chronological order, taken from old records, manuscripts, treatises and details recorded with personal experience as living witnesses of his own time. Many events, details, anecdotes before composition of Rajatarangini would have definitely come from relations, word of mouth and as Kalhan himself accepts from {Translated}; “ Eleven works of former scholars containing the chronicles of Kings, I have inspected, as well as the opinions of the Sage Nila {Verse 14 Taranga 1}”. In the same breath he mentions that oldest works containing royal chronicles had become fragmentary, including that of Suvrata, who had condensed them in a booklet from called “Suvrata’s Poem {Booklet}”. This booklet did not show dexterity and was troublesome reading by ‘misplaced learning’ {Verse 12 Taranga 1} {Suvrata was a poet chronicler much before Kalhan’s time. Exact dates/ era cannot be traced. It is doubtful that this booklet was available to Kalhan while writing Rajatarangini}. Though accepting Ksemendria’s; “List of Kings” as work of a poet” dismisses it ‘not a single part in Ksemendra’s ‘List of Kings’ {Nrpavali} free from mistakes {Verse 13 Taranga 1}”. About his sources of information {Translated}; “By looking at the inscriptions recording the temples and grants by former kings, at the laudatory inscriptions and at written works, the troubling arising from many errors has been overcome {Verse 15 Taranga 1}.” In the next five verses {16 to 20} the sources of various Kings Chronology is attributed to Nilm Puranam and other compositions for ‘fifty two’ rulers listed in the beginning of Rajatarangini. Actually this list names nineteen Kings and places another thirty five as ‘lost Kings’ in the “Chronological and Dynastic Tables of Kasmir Kings”. Kalhan accepts having read Pasupata Brahman Helaraja’s ‘List of Kings’ {Parthivaivali} of twelve thousand Shaloka’s, work of another poet Padamamihira, who had listed eight kings in his work, probably taken from Helaraja’s work. {Helaraja, a Kashmiri ascetic probably lived in 9th/10th Century AD and had written a commentary on the Vakyapadiya, of which fragments were available till later part of 19th Century AD in Kashmir. Nothing much is known about scholar Padamamihira}. Recovery of details of another five Kings from Ashoka, The Great to the last on the first list {Abhimanyu} including Turuska Kings {Kushan Kings Huska , Juska and Kanishka} are attributed to another scholar; Chavillakara.

Rajatarangini contains 8 Taranga’s {Books} containing 7826 Verses and was started in the 24th year of Laukika Era {Sapatrishi Samvat}. In medieval times century was not mentioned. Rajatarangini was composed in forty second century of the Laukika Era, thus the year in which writing started is 4224 Laukika Era {Sapatrishi Samvat}, 1070 Saka Era {Saka Samvat; Saka Samvat began in 78 AD}; both corresponding to 1148- 49 AD {Verse 52 Taranga 1}. In verse 3404 Taranga 8, Kalhan, talks of 25th year of Laukika {4225 Laukika Era corresponding to 1149-50 AD}, when Rajatarangini was completed. Rest of forty five verses in 8th Taranga are devoted to concluding remarks and synopsis {Two Verses {3405 and 3406} as concluding remarks, followed by forty three verses as synopsis of the reigns}. In the beginning of Rajatarangini he poetically insists {Translated}; “Imbibe, therefore, straight with the folds of your ear shells this ‘River of Kings’ {Rajatarangini} which is rendered pleasant by under-currents of powerful sentiments {Verse 24 Taranga 1}”, Rajatarangini is concluded thus {Translated}; “Just as the Godavari river after flowing rapidly with its seven tumultuous mouths falls into the ocean to repose {There}, thus verily this ‘River of Kings {Rajatarangini} after proceeding rapidly with its (first) seven sonorous waves {Taranga} falls into the ocean of the mighty race of the illustrious Kantiraja to find its end {there} {Verse 3449 Taranga 8}”. Kantiraja was the ancestor of Kings Sussala {1112 –1120, 1122 - 1128 AD} and Jai Simha {1128 AD- 1155 AD}. Apparently this verse is meant to refer to generalised account in the first seven Taranga’s, followed by detailed account in the eighth Taranga.
Translated version of Rajatarangini by Sir Auriel Stein (1900 Print) in addition contains “Chronological and Dynastic Tables of Kalhan’s Record of Kas’mir Kings”, tabulated from the era’s given in each Taranga {Book.}. In first three ‘Taranga’s and major portion of Taranga 4 of Rajatarangini, no chronological data has been given in the text and dates have been tabulated form the stated length of reigns, few general dates and figures in the Taranga’s. Except for Taranga 1 wherein total aggregate length of reigns of initial fifty four Kings has been calculated, this table gives Laukika Era {Sapatrishi Samvat} year/dates of accession. From later part of Taranga 4 dates of accession, political events or important events have been indicated with Laukika Era with month and day.

Era’s mentioned By Kalhan

Narration of reign of the Kings in Taranga 1 starts from Kaliyuga, also called Kali Samvat, and gives total duration of initial Kings mentioned in Taranga 1 to 2268 years in Kaliyuga. Verse 51 Taranga 1 mentions that {Translated}; “when 653 years of Kaliyuga had passed away, the Kurus {Kuravs} and Pandava’s lived on the earth.” The year of starting Rajatarangini is in Laukika and Saka Era and Saka Samvat is repeated in Verse 56 {Translated}; “When King Yudishthira ruled the earth, the Munis {the Great Bear – Sapatrishi’s} stood in the Nakshatra Maghah. The date of his reign was 2526 years {before} the Saka Era”. Thus three era’s; Kali Samvat, Laukika Era {Sapatrishi Samvat} and Saka Era, have been used, though Laukika Era has been frequently quoted. Laukika Era has been extensively used in the medieval age in Kashmir together with Saka Samvat, in addition to Vikrami Samvat, and continued till middle of 19th Century. While Saka Samvat fell off the radar of Kashmir’s in the beginning of 20th Century {current year 2008 AD being 1930 Saka Samvat}, Vikrami Samvat {started in 56 BC, current year 2008 AD being 2064 Vikrami Samvat} was used till early fifties of 20th Century, before being replaced by Christian era. Laukika Era is still used in Panchangs and our New Year {Navreh} starts from the first day of Laukika Era with Thal Barun; current year 2008 AD being 5083 Sapatrishi Samvat. Vikrami Samvat had relevance in Kashmir till it was official calendar of Jammu and Kashmir Government and the first day of the month called Sankrath related to Sankrathi Vrat {Fast}. There was one important event of Vikrami Samvat; of Thal Barun on the last day of the month of Phalgun and the first day of Chaitra, called Sonth, connoting the onset of spring. Kalhan also talks of Brhatasamhita {Verse 55 Taranga 1}, another treatise on the Kashmiri calendar {More of it later}.

Scope of the Paper

Rajatarangini is a master piece by itself and authentic available history of the Kings of Kashmir from ancient times to Kalhan’s time’s i.e 1150 AD. The style of writing, the lucid contents and the way an event has been poetically framed itself is unique. It has made a place for itself in the history of Kashmir and Bharatvarsha and it is ‘nearly blasphemous’ to find errors or faults or aberrations in the book. Kalhan wanted the book to be {Translated}; “Worthy of praise is that power of true poets, whatever it may be, which surpasses even the stream of nectar, in as much as by it their own bodies of glory as well as those of others obtain immortality.” {Verse 3 Taranga 1}. Acceptance of the fact that {Translated}; “Men in later time should supplement the narrative of events in the works of those who died after composing each the history of those Kings whose contemporaries they were? Verse 9-10 Taranga 1”. Availability of material to Kalhan for reference are; eleven works of scholars; Nilmat Puranam: Suvarata’s poem, fragmentary though; Ksemendra’s Nrpvali, opinion of Helaraja’s Parthiavali {9th/10th Century}, works of Padmamihira, Chavillakara and Brhatasamhita by Varaha Mihir. Some of the works are, however, dismissed as fragmentary, troublesome and not even a single part being free from mistakes {Verses 11 -13 Taranga 1}. Mention of “inspection only” of work of eleven scholars {Verse 14 Taranga 1}, gives an impression that their contents were not fully accepted as authentic or details contained therein not included. Details from Nilmat Puranam, works of Padmamihira and Chavillakara, even though included, connected contents have been framed differently; both in names as well as chronology. For example significant deviation can be observed on comparison of the contents of Verses 59 – 73 Taranga 1, dealing with first King of Kashmir, with the contents of Nilmat Puranam { Verses 1-10 Book 1 Nilmat Puranam}, which are claimed as the base for composition thus; {Translated}; “Gonanda and {his successors} have been taken from Nilmata. Verse 16 Taranga 1”. Sir Auriel Stein in his translation of Rajatarangini has commented on the chronology of the Kings in his book “Kalhana’s Rajatarangini- A Chronicle of the Kings of Kasmir”. Sir Stein based his comments on his own observation, analysis, plethora of books, reports, explanation, interpretation by his Kashmiri scholar friends and various papers. Sir Stein comments on the Chronology of initial Kings viz 653 to 1919 Kali Samvat, thereafter thirty seven princes of first three dynasties reigning for 1784 years with high or low average reigns or 300 years allotted to King Ranaditya {Verse 470 Taranga 3}. He also points out that the average dates of some of the known Kings like Ashoka, Kanishka and many others have been antedated ranging from 1000 years {Ashoka}, Kanishka and other Kings {1100 years} to 1200 Years {Mihirkula {Mihir Kul} 550 AD}. Even popular founder of Pravarpura {Srinagar}, King Pravarsena II, has been antedated by nearly 500 years in the chronology. Rajatarangini, however, narrows the gap in later Taranga’s closer to Kalhan’s era. These gaps, however, continue to exist till quoting of Laukika Era begins {Verses 703 and 716 Taranga 4}. 
The aim of this paper is not to repeat variation already in public domain, but concentrate on other specific spheres, not touched so far by any writer/scholar. These aberrations are basis of certain fresh chronology, contradictions, which would have otherwise been known to Aryan Saraswat Brahmin Kalhan during his time. These aberrations are something like glow of light to Aryan Saraswat Brahmins of Kashmir, which may give them somewhat correct era and chronology of the earliest Kings of Kashmir, as scholars/writers including Sir Stein have so far gone strictly by dates mentioned by Kalhan.

**Origin of Various Era’s/Calendars**

As a result of various surveys, carbon dating, archaeological finds, artefacts, common usage of the era in Bharatvarsha, Indus Valley excavations, excavations and survey results in Kashmir, it has been proved that Sapatrishi Samvat is indigenous to Bharatvarsha, connected with pre Harapan civilisation in the Indian subcontinent {Bharatvarsha}, tracing back to the Palaeolithic period; about 6000 BC ±. Apparently as the time elapsed, this period was taken as the base for Laukika Era {Sapatrishi Samvat}. Arya Bhatta, an ancient Brahmin writer on Astronomy, born in Kusuma-Pura (Modern Patna : 476 – 550 BC), author of Aryabhattiya, which is somewhat amendment to earlier work of Sage Maya {Surya Siddhanta}, is the calculator of this era, which was widely accepted and used in Bharatvarsha and Kashmir. Earlier calendar in Bharatvarsha was with 60 cycles of 60 years each, 27 Nakshatra's and twelve months. Notices by the Greek historians Pliny and Arrian suggest that, during the Mauryan Dynasty {322 – 185 BC}, the calendar used in Bharatvarsha began in 6676 BC. It is very likely that this was earlier Saptarishi calendar, with a beginning of 6676 BC. Arya Bhatta's (476-550 BC) calculations and tradition places Mahabharata war to 3137 BC; 35 years before the transition of Dwapar Yug to Kaliyug. Arya Bhatta, stated that Kaliyug started 3600 years before, when he was 23 years old, making the start of Kali Samvat as 3102 BC. Surya Siddhanta, a document evolved earlier than Aryabhattiya, states that sun was 54 degrees away from vernal equinox when Kali Samvat started on a new moon day; 1st Day of Chaitra Shukla Paksh {Bright Half} corresponding to February 17/18, 3102 BC, at Ujjain. It is said that Kali Samvat could not begin as long as Lord Krishna was touching Earth with His holy feet and it was only after He left this world, it marked the end of Dwapar Yug and commencement of Kaliyug and Kali Samvat. There are some minor differences; 20 February 3102 BC or 18th February 3102 is also talked about. From all confirmatory astronomical calculations Kali Samvat is believed to have begun when Krishna "died" at the age of 125 on Friday 17/18 February 3102 BC at 14:27:30 hours. The commencement of Laukika Era or Sapatrishi Samvat has indirect connection with Kali Samvat. Sapatrishi's were in Mahagah Nakshatra, 75 years prior to Kali Samvat and remained so for next 25 years after Kali Samvat had commenced. It is on 1st Chaitra Shukla Paksh {Bright Half} of 3076 BC Sapatrishi's {Ursa Major} moved into Poorva Nakshatra in 3076 BC and Laukika Era or Sapatrishi Samvat commenced.

The difference in what was being adopted before Arya Bhatta’s calculation has connection with the present Laukika Era or Sapatrishi Samvat and a remarkable coincidence of 60 years cycle for 60 years totalling 3600 years. Earlier Sapatrishi Samvat was a repetitive i.e 6676 BC less 3600 years coinciding with commencement of current Sapatrishi Samvat. Around 500 AD, another major review of the Indian calendar was ‘attempted’. Varaha Mihir, a Kashmiri Aryan Saraswat Brahmin {505- 587 AD; some scholars state that he was born at Ujjain} and others used Nakshatra references and that Sapatrishi’s {Ursa Major} were indeed in Maghah Nakshatra, 75 years prior to Kali Samvat and remained so for next 25 years after Kali Samvat had commenced. It is on 1st Chaitra Sudi 1 {First day of Bright Half of Chaitra; also the New Year {Nawreh} of Aryan Saraswat Brahmins of Kashmir} of Kali Samvat 25 (expired) or the year 3076 BC. Current Laukika Era is 5082{2008 BC}. One wonders as to why a new era was started immediately after Kali Samvat in the form of Laukika Era (Sapatrishi Samvat). One of the explanations was that on Chaitra Sudi 1 {First day of Bright Half of Chaitra} Sapatrishi’s moved from Maghah Nakshatra to Poorva Nakshatra; a phenomenon once in hundred years. One would ask why on move to Poorva Nakshatra only. While Poorva Nakshatra is considered somewhat auspicious, why not more auspicious Nakshatra’s or the first auspicious Nakshatra of the calendar i.e Ashwin. Apart from wait for the next Nakshatra, start of a new era barely twenty five years after Kali Samvat is curious. It is evident from these facts that the new era became due, after the ancient calendar of 60 by 60 years cycle. Aryan Saraswat Brahmins of Kashmir for long have been associating the commencement of Laukika Era with that of the entry of Aryan Saraswat Brahmins into Kashmir. Laukika Calendar came into being in Bharatvarsha as a result of the revision of major astronomical calendars by Arya Bhatta’s in 550 BC. With Kali Samvat having been established, 25 years gap surprisingly coincides with probable date of Swargaroahanam {Entry into heaven} of Pandava’s. It is also said that Sage Vyasa dictated the epic to Ganapathi only after
Swargarohanam of Pandava’s. Thus possibly, to my mind, commencement of Laukika Era {Sapatrishi Samvat} can be attributed to the dates of Swargarohanam of Pandava’s, which would have done so on an auspicious day. Pandava’s left for their last journey on Aswayuja Bright {Shukla Paksh} 12th Day {Dwadashi} when Yudhishthir was 128 Years old {3102 BC} and their Swargarohanam is dated about 25 years later.

Laukika Era reckoning is to be found in all handbooks of Indian chronology. Two other prevalent Samvat’s also were in use in Kashmir; Vikrami Samvat and Sakabda or Saka Samvat {Also called Shalivahana Saka}, difference between the two being 135 years. In 2008 AD, Vikrami Samvat is 2064 while Saka Samvat is 1930. Saka Samvat commenced in 78 AD and is related to the coronation of famous Kushan King Kanishka. Present Christian calendar came into vogue in 7 AD in Bharatvarsha, which since ancient times has been following lunar calendar.

Relevant Acceptance of Kali, Laukika and Saka Samvat’s by Kalhan

As mentioned above, Taranga 1 of Rajatarangini starts quoting three era’s {Samvat’s}; Kaliyug {Kali Samvat}, Laukika Era {Sapatrishi Samvat} and Saka Samvat {Also called Shalivahana Saka}. Kalhan has rightly accepted beginning dates of these Samvat’s and these can be tabulated from his verses also; Kali Samvat to 3102 BC, Laukika Era to 3076 BC and Saka Samvat 79 AD. Certain other accepted facts connected with these era’s, directly or indirectly are; acceptance that Great Bear {Sapatrishi’s} moving from one Nakshatra to another in hundred years; Yudishthira of Mahabharata fame ruled when Sapatrishi’s were in Maghah Nakshatra. However there is doubt that Mahabharata War {Also called Bharata War} took place at the end of the Dvapara Yug {Verse 48-49 Taranga 1}, indirectly meaning that it took place much later in Kaliyug.

Kalhan, from all accounts, was very well conversant with Sage Ved Vyasa’s epic Mahabharata, as can be noted from this verse {Translated}; “With tears in their eyes they devoted themselves to reciting hymns {stotras} such as Stavrajas in the Mahabharatha….. Verse 106 Taranga 8”. The epic is also mentioned in Verse 1728 Taranga 7. It has been endeavour and argument in Rajatarangini to prove Kali Samvat 653 as the starting point of Kashmir Kings Chronology, corresponding with coronation of Yudishthira. Till the time of Kalhan, Kashmir had renaissance of religious fervour from 5th Century onwards; Sangam Aditya propagating Shaivism with earnest around 800 AD. Somananda {8th Century AD}, Vasu Gupta, Eraka Natha, Sumati Natha and Bhatta Kallata {9th Century}, Upptal Deva and Abinav Gupta {10th Century} added to this religious fervour. It is also a fact that apart from Shaivism, Veda’s, Mahabharata, Nilmat Puranam and scores of religious scriptures had been composed during this period. Contents of Mahabharata, its chronology, beginning of Kaliyug {Kali Samvat} after the war would have been in the common domain of the people of Kashmir, more so known to scholars of the calibre of Billhana and Kalhan. It was also fully known that Dvapar Yug had finished with the death of Lord Krishna and Kali Samvat could not begin as long as Lord Sri Krishna was alive. He left this mundane world marking the end of Yug and the commencement of Kali Samvat on 17/18th Century of Kali Samvat, assuming that Mahabharata War {Also called Bharata War} took place at the end of Abhijit Muhurata, a lost work on astronomical computations based on the older Surya Siddhanta, which used midnight-day-reckoning, as opposed to sunrise in Aryabhattiya of Arya Bhatta. Thus overall the documents available to Kalhan were all indicators of the commencement of Kaliyug, 25 years prior to Laukika Era.

Dates of Mahabharata War

Nowhere dates of Mahabharata War have been directly indicated in Rajatarangini, which were available to scholars throughout Bharatvarsha and Kashmir from around 400 BC onwards, when pioneering works on astronomy were available. It is mentioned in Rajatarangini that Bharata War {Mahabharata} did not take place at the end of Dvapar Yug {Verse 48-49 Taranga 1}, indicating Kalhan’s assertion that it took place in Kaliyug. Indirectly Bharata War is placed to Kali Samvat 653 {Laukika Era 628}; 7th Century of Kali Samvat, assuming that Yudhishthiran coronation {second time} occurred in 653 Kali Samvat, which actually happened, for the second time, at the end of Mahabharata War in Dvapar Yug. There were certain astronomically connected indicators of the Bharata War available to scholars during Kalhan’s time. These are; Yudhishthir was born on Ashwin {Asuj} Bright {Shukla Paksh} 5th {Panchami} in Jeyshita Star in Sagittarius {Dhanu} Lagna at midday in Abhijit Muhurata, which was 127 years five months and twenty five days prior to Kali Samvat {Roughly 15th August 3229 BC}. Lord Krishna was born on Shravan Dark{Krishna Paksh} 8th {Ashtami}, just after midnight in Taurus {Mithun Lagna} and was approximately 4 years younger to Yudhishthir { August 3225 BC; Roughly 125 years before Kali Samvat}. Yudhishthir was coronated for the first time on Aswayuja Bright {Shukla Paksh} 10th {Dashmi} when he was 46 years old {August 3183 BC}. Yudhishthir was again coronated on Pausha Full Moon Day {Puranamashi}, when he was 91 years 3 months and 10 days old {January 3136 BC}. Apart from glossing over this information,
Kalhan’s Assertion Sapatrishi’s {Great Bear} moved from one Nakshatra’s at the time of Kali Samvat 653 and Laukika Era 628 were in Maghah Nakshatra, when Yudishthir was 91 years old {December 3137 BC}. Just the previous day, when opposing armies were rehearsing Vyuhas, Arjuna fell into gloom occasioning Lord Krishna’s famous Bhagvad Geeta discourse {Marghshira Shukla Paksh Ekadashi also called Geeta Jayanti Day till this day}. It may be argued that the present calculations, after nearly 1500 years after Varaha Mihir, have been possible due to advancement in astronomy etc. However, it is known fact that various astronomical calculations and calendars from Arya Bhatta’s time were available from 400 BC onwards; Lagadha’s Vedanga Jyotisha {1st Century BC}, other astronomical works of Brhamagupta, Bhaskara I {disciple of Arya Bhatta}, Bhaskara II, Varaha Mihir’s Brhatsamhita {6th Century AD} and many more papers. This single aberration resulted in complete distortion in the initial chronological history of Kings of Kashmir.

Yudishthir’s Coronation Dates by Kalhan

As is known Yudishthir was made crown prince on Ashwayuja Bright {Shukla Paksh} 10th {Dashmi} when he was 31 years and five days old {Roughly 96 years 7 months pre Kali Samvat era corresponding to August 3198 BC}. Yudishthir was crowned for the first time on Ashwayuja Bright {Shukla Paksh} 10th {Dashmi} when he was 46 years old {August 3183 BC}. Yudishthir’s second time coronation took place after the Bharata War {Mahabarata}. The war was followed by twelve days mourning, Pandav’s return to Hastinapur and thereafter coronation of Yudishthira on Pausa Full Moon Day {Puranmashi} {Roughly 35 pre Kali Samvat, 60 years Pre Laukika Era, corresponding to Jan 3136 BC}. There were certain astronomically connected indicators available to scholars, including Kalhan, during his time. These are Yudishthir’s birth dates {Roughly 15th August 3229 BC}, first coronation, second coronation etc {Read above}. As per Rajatarangini calculation Yudishthir took over as King 2526 years before Saka Era {Verse 56 Taranga 1}, corresponding to 653 Kali Samvat, 628 Laukika Era, 2439 BC. This makes Yudishthir 780 years old when he was coronated. The verse quoted is silent as to whether this was Yudishthir’s first or second coronation. If it pertains to first coronation, then as per Mahabharata Chronology, coronation took place in 81 Years Pre Kali Samvat, 106 Years Pre Laukika Era corresponding to August 3183 BC and Yudishthira being 699 Years old. Even by the Mahabharata Standards, this age is beyond comprehension as Yudishthira, as per the astronomical calculations/chronology, was 128 years old when he coronated his grandson Parikshit at Hastinapur {Kali Samvat 1 Pre Laukika Era 24, corresponding to Jan/Feb 3101 BC}. The date Yudishthir died is not known but their {Pandav’s} Swaraarohanam {Death} may have been 25/26 years later {Roughly around Kali Samvat 25-26/ Laukika Era 1-2, corresponding to 3076 BC}.
Erroneous Dating of Gonanda I and Chronology

Verse 16 Taranga 1 mentions that the details of four Kings of Kashmir viz Gonanda I and his successors have been taken from Nilmat Puranam; a sacred composition dated around 600 Century AD. First 10 Verses of Nilmat Puranam mentions Gonanda and his successors, as an enquiry conversation between King Janmejaya {Great Grandson of Yudishthir} and Vaisampayana {Pupil of Sage Vyasa}. Though characters from Mahabharata are quoted, like Madhava, Vasudeva etc, no names of Kings of Kashmir except male child Gonanda are quoted. This conversation briefly wants to find as to why ‘Kings of Kas’mira’ did not participate in Bharata War of Janmejaya’s forefathers and why Pandu’s or Dhratshtara did not chose King of Kashmir for their support’. This query follows with an explanation that ‘King of Kas’mir’ went to Suyamvara to fight Madhava, son of Vasudeva. A fight took place between Vasudeva and the King of Kas’mir, in which latter was defeated. Out of respect Vasudev coronated pregnant queen, so that the posthumous son might rule and was named Gonanda. Being a child, he was not asked for either by Kaurava’s or Pandav’s for participation in Bharata War. The query is about non participation of ‘King of Kas’mir’ in Bharata War {Mahabharata}, assuming Kings name was Gonanda, Nilmat Puranam indicates this event of Pre Bharata War. It also talks of coronation of pregnant queen being coronated and Gonanda {II} being a child at the time of Bharata War and that is the reason his support was not asked for by either side. Damodara as King and son of King Gonanda {I} and father of Gonanda {II} and listed by Kalhan, is not talked about.

Immediately after mentioning coronation of Yudishthir, Kalhan talks of glory of ‘King Of Kas’mir {Verse 57 Taranga 1}’ and gives the details of the event as enumerated in Nilmat Puranam but with different contents and characters {Verses 59 to 70 Taranga 1 and 3407-3409 Taranga 8}. These verses state that King Gonanda of Kashmir had been invited by his relative Jarasamdha, King of Maghada, father-in-law of Kamsa {Krishna’s maternal uncle}, to help him in a war against Krishna {Krnsa}. Gonanda complied and was slain on the battle field by Balabhadara. Gonanda’s son Damodara then ruled earth {Kashmir} and later went to Gandhara, when he comes to know that Vrsnis {Yadava’s} had been invited to attend Suyamvara on the banks of Indus {Sindhu}. Damodara was killed by Krishna, but taking into consideration the high sanctity of ‘Kas’mir’, Krishna coronated his rival's pregnant widow Yasovati {Verse 70} ‘till her child is born and then takes over the throne’. The child takes the name of Gonanda after his grandfather. Kalhan in Verse 82 Taranga 1 too confirms that Gonanda II’s being a child, his support was not sought in Bharata War {Mahabharata}.

In Nilmat Puranam as well as Rajatarangini, these events are pre Bharata War, including Gonanda II being a child at the time of War. Assuming Gonanda II was roughly ten years old at the time of Bharata War {Mahabharata}, Gonanda I being roughly around 60 years old when killed and his son Damodara around 30 years old on taking over. This would date Gonanda I going to Mathura around 12-13 years before Bharata War {47/48 years Pre Kali Samvat, 72/73 Years Pre Laukika Era and around 3149/50 BC}. Assuming that Gonanda I had been King roughly for 30 years at the time of his death, Gonanda’s reign would start around 77/78 years Pre Kali Samvat {3179/3180 BC, 3258 Pre Saka} as against 2526 Saka Samvat {2449 BC } given by Kalhan; a difference of around 730 years, from quoted era of 653 Kali Samvat. The miscalculated dates from Gonanda I could be as under:-

- Gonanda I Coronation Roughly 77/78 Years Pre Kali Samvat, 102/103 years Pre Laukika Era {Sapatrishi Samvat} {3257/58 Saka Samvat; 3179/3180 BC}.
- Gonanda I killed and Damodar’s Coronation roughly 48 Years pre Kali Samvat, 73 Years Pre Laukika Era {Roughly 3149 BC; 3227 Pre Saka Samvat}. Yasovati also coronated around the same time. It can be assumed Damodar’s death took place 2-3 years after his coronation.
- Gonanda II assumed to be around 10 years old at the time of Bharata War can be dated as coronated around as 6 years old in 40 years pre Kali Samvat, 65 Years pre Laukika Era (3142 BC and 3220 Pre Saka Samvat).
• Even if Rajatarangini reference taking 653 Kali Samvat as base, dates of King Gonanda I would be at least 42-43 years before the era mentioned (Around 611/610 Kali Samvat).

Thus the Chronology of the Kings of Kashmir should have started from 77/78 Years Pre Kali Samvat, 102/103 years Pre Laukika Era (Sapatriishi Samvat) {3179/3180 BC ; 3257/58 Pre Saka Samvat}. Historical narrations by our scholars have so far been quoting 653 Kali Samvat of Kalhan in all references to the Kings of Kashmir; out by nearly 730 years.

Bharata War (Mahabharata) Dates Mix Up

Mahabharata War lasted a fortnight plus but has been quoted differently in the verses. When Yudishthir’s coronation is mentioned, it is assumed that it was Yudishthir’s second coronation after the Bharata War. Gonanda I’s rule is also placed around same time after Bharata War (Verses 56/57). Rajatarangini goes along with the narration of ‘Gonanda’s help’ to ‘Damodar’s coronation’ followed by his killing, Yasovati’s coronation and finally her son Gonanda II being a child at the time of Bharata War (Mahabharata). These are contradictory with the dates/timings and sequence of events connected with the King’s of Kashmir. Kalhan does not recognise the time elapse between the four rulers and brackets it at the same time and that too with the coronation of Yudishthir, which happens immediately after the war. Is there a mix up?

Lost Kings – King Ashoka and Kanishka

Kalhan quotes that fifty two rulers from Gonanda I up to Gonanda III have not been recorded. Nineteen names of Kings in the narration in Taranga I are given and thirty five Kings after Gonanda II placed in lost kings, whose record of names and deeds have perished {Verse 83 Taranga 1}. Rajatarangini, counts Huska, Juska and Kanishka as one entity, actually making the total to fifty four Kings. As per narration in initial parts of Taranga 1, these fifty four Kings reign for a total of 1266 years, starting from Kali Samvat 653 {Laukika Era 628}. From Gonanda III onwards the number of years of the rule of the Kings {Verse 191 Taranga 1} is given {The era details have been calculated backwards from the Laukika Era given in Verse 703 Taranga 4}. With this calculation, Gonanda III’s reign begins in Laukika Era 1894 {1182 BC, Pre Saka Samvat 1204}. Taking revised calculated dates of Gonanda I {3179/3180 BC {77/78 Years Pre Kali Samvat, 102/103 years Pre Laukika), total years of reign of these Kings, up to Gonanda III, totals to around 2000 years as against 1266 years given by Kalhan. We also know for sure that King Ashoka {304 -232 BC} ruled from 273 – 232 BC and taking the average of these fifty four Kings and working on Kalhan’s dates, Ashoka’s rule is placed fully thousand years before his real known date. Similarly Kanishka’s reign is dated as 78- 144 AD and as per Rajatarangini calculation Kanishka’s rule has chronological error of about eleven hundred antedated years. If we take the Kashmir Kings chronology from 3179/3180 BC, as deduced, this gap increases to seventeen hundred years plus in case of Ashoka and nearly eighteen hundred thirty years in case of Kanishka. Also as per reworked chronology, the reign of fifty four Kings spans nearly three thousand one hundred years up to Kanishka, at an average of fifty eight years plus per King, which is very high as compared to normal averages in the complete book. The difference between actual dates of rule of Ashoka and Kanishka is one hundred fifty four years, in which only two Kings have been shown {Jaluka son of Ashoka and Damodara II} at an average of more than seventy years. This average too is rather very high. Damodara II’s name akin to Damodara I appears to be from a different dynasty than those listed prior to him {Mauryan Dynasty}, possibly this King could be from the same old Gonanda dynasty {restored}. This could also indicate that after the rule of Kushans {Kanishka, Huska, and Juska} the same dynasty was restored in the form of King Abhimanyu I, a known name from Mahabharta {Son of Pandav’s, killed during the Bharata War during Chakravyuh}. Even after Abhimanyu I, the Gonandiya Dynasty, whether it is the same as initial Gonanda Dynasty is difficult to assert and as per Kalhan’s Rajatarangini rules Kashmir till about 2861 Laukika Era {180 BC} It is known that dynasties, after coming to power again, named King’s on the lines of earlier ones. It is also known that Ashoka and reign of his successors in the region continued till 185 BC, when last in the line of Maurya Dynasty, King Brhadrata, was killed.

The period after Mauryan Dynasty up to Kushan King Kanishka {Coronation 78 AD} was known to be part of Indo Greek Kingdom, which has not been listed. Even after Kanishka, the line of successors as listed in History of Bharatvarsha are Huviska, Vasudeva {Juska}, Kanishka I and Vasishka; in that order. Except Huviska {Huska} and Juska, who have been identified from places named after them in Kashmir. Kanishkupura named after Kanishka is Kanispur, a village between Vitasta and road from Baramulla {Varhamulla}. The locals treat it as a Tirath and attribute its founding to King Kanistharaaja {King Kanishka}. Husakpura {Ushkar} in Varahakshetra {Baramulla} is named after Huviska. As far as Juska is concerned, founding of Jusakpura {Zukur} a large village North of Srinagar {6.5 Kilometres from Hari Parvar} is attributed to him. No connecting artefacts or coins of later Kushan Kings other than mentioned have been found in Kashmir and it is impossible to clearly define whether any of the other Kushan rulers reigned over Kashmir.
As per mythology Harandev, second son of Parikshit {Yudshithir’s grandson} is termed as first Pandav King of Kashmir, after Gonanda II, followed by another twenty three in the line. This may well fit into the Kalhan’s assertion {Verse 51} that ‘653 years of the Kaliyuga had passed away when the ‘Kurus and Pandav’ s lived on the earth’. On a fair estimate names and deeds of nearly other fifty Kings, totalling nearly eighty five Kings has been lost. These could well be distributed; more than thirty five Kings after Damodara II {including Harandev and twenty three of Pandav lineage}, between Kings Surendra and Godhara {later belonging to another family indicating change in dynasty}, in the list of Kings recorded by Helaraja, Chavillakara and finally Indo Greek rulers after Ashoka’s Maruya Dynasty and before Kushan rule.

Reign and Era - Kings Abhimanyu to Baladitya and Thereafter

In the initial part of Taranga I, after Kanishka, King Abhimanyu I is listed at the end of the list in the calculation of total of 1266 Years {Laukika Era 628-1894}. Narrative is Thereafter resumed the with Gonandiya Dynasty from Laukika Era 1894 to 2896, giving a total of twenty one Kings totalling 1002 years duration of their reign, averaging more than fifty years per King; from about 1182 BC to 180 BC {Verse 191 Taranga 1 onwards}. Actually these dates should have been in AD era, since King listed earlier {Kanishka} was known to have ruled in 78-144 AD. Taranga 2 lists six Kings for a total of 192 years; Laukika Era 2896 to 3088 corresponding to 180 BC-12 AD. Again these dates are out of tune with certain known names of Kings and their actual dates of reign. In Taranga 3, ten Kings are listed for five hundred and eighty nine years; averaging nearly sixty years per King {Laukika Era 3088 to 3677 {Corresponding to 12 – 601 AD}}; abnormally high average and in one case unbelievable three hundred years {Ranadiya {Tunjana III}}. It is only at the end of Taranga 4 {Verse 703} records of exact dates for the various reigns in Laukika Era {3889 Laukika corresponding to 813 /4 AD onwards} are given. By this time gap between actual and stated narrows down to approximately twenty five years. Dates up to Taranga 3 give an impression of overstated duration of reigns of Gonandiya Dynasty {Taranga 1} and ‘Restored Gonandiya Dynasty’ {Taranga 3} . The names from Gonanda III, apart being heavily antedated, also gives an impression that some of the Kings may have ruled for very short period or they did not exist. However, historical evidences of some of the listed Kings exist like Nara {Destroyer of Vijayesvara {Vijbroor} and founder of Narapur}, Hiranyaksha {Founder of Hiranyapura}, Mihirkula {Mihir Kul}, Nara II, Gopaditya {Gopadiri Agrahara fame; present day Shankrarachaya}, Khnhihila-Narendraaditya, Meghavahan, Hiranya-Toramana {Established with help of coins of his era}, Matra Gupta, Pravarsena I and II {Pravarsena II founder of Pravarpura {Srinagar}}, Vikramaditya - Harsa of Ujjain, Lakhana-Narendraaditya {Established from silver coins with the inscriptions which bears the legend Raja Lakhana Udayaditya} and to a certain extent Baladitya. In Taranga 4 from King Durlabvardhana {Karkota Dynasty} onwards the details are closer to dates confirmed by other chronicles, coins or foreign notices, travelogues of Chinese and other travellers etc. However, even after giving the dates of Karkota Dynasty Kings, there is a difference of twenty five years {more about this in next paragraph}.

Mystery of 25 Years Difference in Taranga 4

Up to King Abhimanyu I, generally whole era from Gonanda I is given in total number of years. It is only from Gonanda III {Verse 191 Taranga 1} till Verse 703 Taranga 4, total number of years of reign of each King are given. In this verse {Verse 703 Taranga 4} Laukika Era {3889} beginning of the reign to the end of King Ajitpada reign {Laukika Era 3926} is given. Taranga 4 starts with King Durlabhavardhana of Karkota Dynasty and the calculated date of his accession is marginally antedated by twenty five years from the actual dates calculated from other sources, mostly Chinese, which were recorded much earlier than the composition dates of Rajatarangini and have been proved to be more authentic dates. During the time of Gonandiya Dynasty the first Chinese reference to Kashmir was traced to a record dated 541 AD, based on the account of an ‘Indian Envoy’ who reached China during the early part of the reign of T’ang Dynasty {541 AD}. Ninety years later Hieun Tsang {631 AD}, Chinese Pilgrim, gives vivid account of various places including Pravarpura and the Kings of Kashmir. We have also reference in Chinese Annals to Durlabhavardhana, the founder of Karkota Dynasty, who as per Rajatarangini ruled from around 600/601 – 636 AD. Another Chinese notice of Kashmir contained in the Chinese Annals of the above T’ang Dynasty, records embassy from Kashmir King in China {in or shortly after 713 AD}. Chinese pilgrim Ou-K’ng {759 AD} had also extensively covered Kashmir, its surrounding areas and recorded details of Kashmir. From the comparison of dated found in Chinese and other records, more closer to actual dates of Karkota Dynasty, Kings in this Taranga {4} are antedated by around twenty five years including Lalitaditya Muktapida. This aberration, which occurs in dates of reign closer to the date of composition of Rajatarangini, when author would have had access to recent past records of the Kings and can best be explained that Kalhan, while calculation, possibly mixed up the dates with Kali Samvat years, which is antedated by twenty five years to Laukika era. This is also confirmed by the fact that the book suddenly gives beginning year of reign of King Ajitpada in Laukika Era, followed by end era of his reign; again in Laukika Era.
Other Points of Misinterpretation

Kalhan holds an iconic position, very learned and Rajatarangini being unique chronicle of 12th Century in Kayya style. He apparently had studied lot of material available at that time; Ramayana, Mahabharata, Nilmat Puranam, works of Helaraja, Parthivavali {List of Kings}, Suvrata’s composition, Ksemendra’s Nrtpavali, Billhan, works of Arya Bhatta, Bhaskara, Varaha Mihir and other astronomers and many more chronicles and scriptures. **It is nearly impossible to find faults or mistakes in the work but to err is human.** We do not know the personal circumstances under which Kalhan completed Rajatarangini; **did he revise it, was he correct in not accepting the historic works of earlier times or were they really not up to standard.** Nearly nine centuries later it is difficult to sit in judgement of his work but with plethora of material available over the centuries, more reliable and correct information can be formed of the era’s, Kings and events. Kalhan had thoroughly read various scriptures and it is but natural that his work should have been free of any errors or somewhat ambiguous references. There are few in addition to what have been enumerated above as under:-

- **Wrong Reference to Kamsa.** In Verse 59 Taranga 1 while referring to call for help by Jarasandhda, father in law of Kamsa, of Mathura town of the enemy Kamsa instead of Krsna {Krishna}. **It is apparent that he did not get time to revise the chronicle.**

- **Rule of Kurus {Kuravs} and Pandavas.** Verse 51 Taranga 1 refers to the rule of Kurus and Pandavas till about 653 Kali Samvat. Again Verse 44 Taranga 1 refers to Gonanda III {As per Kalhan’s reckoning Gonanda III Kali Year 1919 {1182 BC} but possibly 2 Century AD} to be “contemporaries of Kuru’s and sons of Kunti”. The way events, quotes, characters from Mahabharata have been quoted in the chronicle; there is no doubt about Kalhan’s mastery over the epic. However, the verse and few more give an impression that Kuru’s {Kuravs} and Pandav’s were two different dynasties from the beginning and both continued to rule Bharatvarsha after the Bharata War. As per the mythology and scriptures, origin of Kuru’s starts from Dushyant and Shankuntala, whose son is Bharata. King Hastina, who established Hastinapur, was son of King Bharata and Kuru was King Hastina’s son and the dynasty was called Kuru’s {Kuravs}. Later in the line three brothers Dhritarashtra, Pandu, and Vidura were born. Dhritarashtra was blind, Pandu "the pale one", called as such as he was pale at the time of birth and Vidura, reincarnation of Sage Vyasa thought to be of humble birth. Pandu was set on the throne as the King and this became the bone of contention and finally resulted in Bharata War {Mahabharata}. From here the distinction of Kuru’s {Kuravs} and Pandu’s {Pandav’s} starts. Sons of Dhritarashtra{Kuravs} fought in the Bharata War. Durodhana had twenty nine sons of which few survived. Upon the death of all, Ashwathhama crowned Durmukha, youngest son of Durvyodhana as next King and continued struggle. After the war the defeated Kuras migrated to west and formed the Kulti tribe, now living in Kutch. Pandav’s line after Yudhishthir is carried on by his grandson Parikshit, who after sixty years rule coronate’s his twenty five year old son Janamejaya and died. **Parikshit had another son, Harandev, and he is termed as the first Pandav King of Kashmir, roughly 30 years after Gonanda II {Also read above}. The date of Kuravs and Pandav’s thus pegged to 653 Kali Samvat is ambiguous.**

- **Reference to Jina – Buddha?** In Verse 102 King Ashoka is referred to; “embraced the doctrine of Jina, covered Susalaletra {Village of Hukhlitr} and Vitasastru {Vithvutur village near Verinag} with numerous Stupas” during the reign of Ashoka. The reference of referring by term Jina to Buddha is different as Kalhan refers to Buddha Gautam Buddha {May 623 – 547 BC} in the book as Mahasakya {Verse 140-144 Taranga 1}, Sakyasimha {Verse 172 Taranga 1} and at many other places. Kalhan used ‘Buddha’ term in Taranga’s 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 while referring to Gautam Buddha. Generally when reference is to Jina, it refers to abhorring of killing, which is also associated with Lord Mahavira {575 BC} and who used to be also called Jaina {Jina}. **Hopefully the words Jina referred have not been used out of context in the chronicle by Kalhan.**

- **150 years to Buddha from the reign of Kushan Kings {Verse 172 Taranga 1}.** In this verse Sakyasimha {Buddha} is placed just 150 years before Kushan Kings. **In the table of chronology Ashoka is placed five rulers above Kushan Kings, which also comes to about 150 years.** Actually Ashoka {304 -232 BC} ruled from 273 – 232 BC, nearly 300 years before Kushan Kings {Kanishka, Huviska, Juska}. Gautam Buddha {May 623 – 547 BC} antedated Ashoka by nearly three centuries, making Buddha 600 years before the Kushan Kings. **One cannot find any answer to this aberration as mentioned in the verse.**

- **Rajatarangini closing in the middle of the reign of the King {Jai Simha; 1128 AD- 1155 AD} may surprise many scholars. Was it that Kalhan knew that he could not cope up, physically, with the task or is it that he had sensed his death in near future. No one can really tell but there is enough indication that much he would have loved to include complete reign of Jai Simha, he possibly could not do so because of circumstances beyond his control.**
Yasovati is named as the widow of slain King Damodara and on his death pregnant Yasovati is coronated as the regent till her child is born and fit to rule Kashmir (Gonanda II). The event is around Mahabharata War and revolves around Krishna (Krsna). Yasovati name is not found in Nilmat Puranam nor any other scripture or chronicle. The name has got similarity with the foster mother of Krishna (Krsna); Yasovati, Yasmati. Did this make Kalhan to select name of Yasovati (Yasomati) as the name of mother to be and queen for his Rajatarangini?

Acknowledgements

The main source has been Rajatarangini codex archetypus by Rajanaka Ratanakantha {1648-9 AD or 1685-86 AD} translated by Sir Auriel Stein {1900 AD} and Mahabharata. The other sources are; Vedas, Nilmat Puranam, reports and papers {Al - Beruni (India), Dr Buheler (Report), Major General Alexander Cunningham (Ancient Geography, Coins of Ancient India, Coins of Medieval India, Temples), Life of Hieun Tsang, The Valley of Kashmir by Walter R Lawrence, commentary and translated extracts of Aryabhattiya of Arya Bhatta, translated extracts of Varaha Mihir’s Brhatmihita and Sage Maya’s Surya Siddhanta, Chronology of Ancient India, Chinese Travellers/Pilgrims notes {Fahian, Ou Kong}. Translated extracts of Suvarata’s poem, Ksemendra’s Nrapavali, Helaraja’s Parthivavali (9th/10th Century), Ksemendra’s Lokapr and Tirthas by Pandit Sahibram. In addition papers on Mahabharata Chronology and Dating of Mahabharata War {Dr Patnaik, Dr Kak and Dr Bala Krishna NASA}, papers on Ashoka, Gautam Buddha, Mahavira, Kushan King Kanishka and his successors, connected papers with Bharata War, Indian Calendars and papers on ancient astronomy.

Last but not the least it is easier for me to sit in judgment of classic chronicle composed nearly nine Centuries earlier by Kalhan, who is revered as an icon by Aryan Saraswat Brahmins of Kashmir. I felt convinced that there seem to be era aberrations in Kalhan’s Rajatarangini, as I see and analysed them.

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