Vitasta Annual Number

The Publication of Kashmir Sabha, Calcutta

"Cultural Heritage of India - Kashmiri Pandit Contribution"

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1 Editorial

Putting together an issue of the ANNUAL VITASTA and that too with a research based theme "CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA - KASHMIRI PANDIT CONTRIBUTION" is by itself a daunting task for a novice like me. When I was asked to do this work by Dr. B. K. Moza, I refused outright - the only reason being my inexperience. I have been editing the monthly Vitasta for about two years now but even that has not given me the confidence levels required for executing such a task. However, refusing Dr. Moza is something I have not as yet perfected as an art and therefore I reluctantly acquiesced with prayers on my lips.

Kashmir as we all know is rich in culture and tradition. But to a native cut off from the valley as I am, it is difficult to perceive the richness and variance of this culture and tradition and its impact on the overall cultural heritage of India. While putting together this issue of the Annual Vitasta, it has been of primary concern to pick out relevant, important and authentic information which would give a correct picture of this tremendous contribution of Kashmiris to Indian culture. Here it will be relevant to add that the contribution of some non-Pandits has also been highlighted as we felt that our theme should not restrict and prevent us from throwing light on some geniuses who (though non-Pandits), have also made path breaking contributions. On the whole, an effort has been made to pick and choose from amongst the best available documented material on Kashmir, without restricting ourselves to contributed articles only. In this context, I may add that we have received a number of articles on various topics but only those pertinent to our theme, and keeping in mind constraints of space, have been published. This in no way would mean that the contributed unpublished articles are in any way inferior. In fact, I must put on record that I have been encouraged by the swift and overwhelming response to my request for articles on the current year's theme. For the purpose of comprehension I have segregated the English portion of this issue into three main sections:

1. Contribution to Language and Literature.
2. Contribution to Art, Culture and Archaeology.
3. Contribution to Religion and Philosophy.

The three sections are preceded by three articles, the first (Kashmir - A Glimpse In Time) was necessary as it gives a historical background of Kashmir. In order to be able to grasp the contribution of Kashmir to Indian culture, it is essential to have some idea about Kashmir's history which I have tried to provide in the above named article, the next titled "Descent from Kashmir" by Pt. J. L. Nehru is an extract from Jawaharlal Nehru An Autobiography and describes Pt Nehru's Kashmiri background in detail. The third article "On the importance of Cultural Heritage" by Prof. Surendra Munshi, who is by himself an authority on Sociology in the country and is well known both in India and abroad, throws light on the importance of cultural heritage in our lives. If we are examining the contribution of a section of society, (in this case Kashmiris), it is necessary to first understand the importance or relevance of this exercise and therefore the need for this piece by Prof. Munshi. The sections as they go along highlight various facets of their main topics and have been chosen carefully with an eye on detail, accuracy and authenticity. Of course it is not possible to cover all the aspects and areas of contribution and at best a reasonable effort has been made. At the end of the three sections is an overview "On the importance of Kashmiri Cultural Heritage" by Starika Munshi who is a young, hardworking and promising writer as well as tremendous potential for our Sabha.

I would like to thank Dr. B. K. Moza for asking me to take up the job and making tremendous and major contributions to this issue, without his help and support this issue may have not taken the shape it has. My thanks are also due to all the contributors of articles, to all the advertisers who continue to shower their generous patronage year after year, to our printer Shri Sengupta who shares my sense of

working to schedules and to my wife and daughter for being patient with me. Of course, I have also to thank the Almighty and my parents for making me what I am today, being able to make an effort to edit this magazine.

Namaskar
Rajiv Sapru
March 1999

2 FROM THE PRESIDENT'S DESK

Dr. B. K. Moza

It is a pleasure and privilege to present the XXXIInd Annual Number of the Vitasta on the theme, "CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA - KASHMIRI PANDIT CONTRIBUTION". Kashmir Sabha, Calcutta was established on February the 19th in 1956 and in 1959 its News Letter was started. On the 15th August 1960 the 1st Annual Number of this monthly was brought out; very thoughtfully christened as the VITASTA. Since then it is in circulation, like the overflowing Vitasta river in Kashmir, as the official organ of our Sabha. With some hiccups of course! the Annual Numbers of this publication have been brought out almost regularly. I have had the privilege of being associated with this publication right from the beginning except for some years when I was abroad. All through efforts have been made so that each Annual Number conveys some meaningful message concerning Kashmir and Kashmiri Pandits. For about last two and half decades I have been very closely and emotionally involved with it. The Vitasta Annual Numbers have taken a direction, which have imbued it with some personality, poise and purpose; a built in thematic design and dimension. The themes and thematic contents have kept pace with the exigencies as deemed necessary for us as Kashmiri Pandits, with roots in our homeland, Kashmir. Vitasta Numbers are representing a socio-cultural movement about ourselves. Cultures get developed with the conditions and circumstances of a particular time; evolving some flexibility, devolving some rigidity and balancing at an equilibrium that becomes the requirement of the prevailing pressures of time to sustain and preserve the integrity of the concerned social community or a society. The Vitasta has followed this pattern. It is gratifying to note that the Vitasta has kept up its forward march in space and time. It has had its own constraints, failures and shortcomings. Yet it has not been without outstanding achievements; the major one being that it has maintained a consistent momentum.

Kashmir and Kashmiris have received a great set back in last one decade. This set back and its concern are equally reflected in the themes and contents of earlier Vitasta Numbers. Way back in 1981, Kashmir Sabha, brought out a thoughtful Vitasta Number on the theme, "Kashmir in 2000 A.D.", which to keep pace with the momentum of that period delved on a futuristic proposition. The purpose was to give a perspective of the developments which were obtained at that time and to take some lead, from these, to express concern and caution on some developments, encourage what was appropriate for a fast moving society and draw conclusions on these prevailing assumptions, for the millennium that was to set in. At that time, therefore, future of our fast developing community was the concern. In 1989-90 Kashmir had an unexpected and consequential turmoil which led to a great distress. This, for all intents and purposes, completely changed the course of these developments of fast growth and prosperity in the then Kashmir to massacre and misfortune which followed thereafter, reducing us to the status of refugees in our own country. With this back to zero situation, the priorities demanded attention to this distress, internal displacement, diaspora, disintegration, Kashmir Bhawan refuges, rehabilitation and preservation of our identity under changed circumstances. There has been complete somersault which got duly reflected from the themes and contents of our respective Vitasta Numbers.

This year there has been a purpose in bringing out this publication on the above stated theme. In some quarters Kashmir is still misquoted as a disputed territory which is consequential for Kashmiri Pandits - the original inhabitants of that place. Kashmiri Pandits continue to be displaced and have still no assurance, feeling of security and respectful prospects of rehabilitation in their own homeland. There is so much disinformation and dilution of facts. There is a need of awareness for the members of this community as also more critically for others, who matter in polity of decision making, to know what Kashmir was historically, that ashmiri Pandits were its original inhabitants and that it was the cradle from where Indian thought, culture and civilization received not only nourishment but also a great impetus. Factualisation of this, therefore, establishes, beyond any dispute, the integrality of Kashmir with India not only as a geographic reality but also as a fountain-head of philosophy, religion, culture and all that constitutes this civilization. Awareness of this becomes a strength if taken in right perspective and not with a feeling of over-complacency which is a danger point. With our global dissipation and being

deprived of natural cultural fountain-head, homeland, it was considered necessary to evolve this knowledge about our roots in a handy manner for preserving our cultural identity.

With this in view this XXXIInd Vitasta Number is brought out with this self explaining and presently appropriate theme. National Library, Culcutta and the library of Asiatic Society over here have been my inspirations in providing me some education on my heritage as a Kashmiri Pandit and in conceptualizing this theme. It is undoubtedly, as will be revealed through the contents of this publication, a great heritage, of which we can be proud and feel concerned to deserve the same. As soon as this theme was discussed in our Sabha's meeting, it became a commitment to bring out this thematic Number. Having done so and taken responsibility for the same, the real problems started surfacing, This is a theme which is highly research oriented; a topic for historians and scholars to collate facts as required for this subject. Initially and as usual, we approached for articles but the response was not upto our expectations for one or the other reason or upto those that our Sabha was given to. However, thanks to our own Kashmir Bhawan library, that we have been able to attempt bringing out this publication. Surprisingly, having taken this self-reliant approach, the problem took another shape. Now it was regarding what we should publish and what not because there is so much material available on this subject from different authorities giving us detailed and vivid descriptions of Kashmiri Pandit contribution to Indian cultural heritage. In some cases we observed diverse opinion having been recorded in some details and we are not the experts to judge these finer aspects. Often some prejudices provoke inaccuracies and result in misinformation. We tried to build in the most essential transparency in highlighting the facts and attempted to so design our publication as not to allow any prejudices to creep in and yet restricted ourselves to the theme as far as possible. As such, we made certain determining assumptions which guided us in our selection of the matter that was in abundance available. We had as well as received few scholarly articles on this subject from the veteran scholars of our community. We decided to refer to original contributions of researchers who had almost lifelong worked on such topics. We also considered it purposeful and necessary to have contributions from non-Kashmiri sources because that provides a wider cross section of view points, supposedly an unbiased presentation and definitely a professional and comparative appraisal. Besides, this knowledge from non-Kashmiri experts ascertains as to how the contributions of Kashmiri Pandits have been recognized, recorded and evaluated in the annals of cultural history of India and related literature. We also considered necessary to refer to recognized works on this subject so that our younger generation in particular have some knowledge on these valuable reference texts. Is was a revelation that some scholars in Calcutta have written volumes on this subject. Considerations of a limited volume of this publication, the extent of cost that could be imposed on Kashmir Sabha, Calcutta in bringing out this publication and the desirability to provide a handy material to our readers, made us to pick only few and reserve the rest for future publications. We had no expertise and time to bring out quintessential knowledge from different available literature on selected topics from various authors. So, we have referred to original works of concerned authorities on the subject and reproduced the selected topics as such or taken relevant excerpts from these. Having selected the best works and retained their originality in reproduction, the merit and authenticity of the viewpoints stands out and the responsibility for the same rests with the authors themselves. We are thankful to these great authors of these works and their publishers for having taken this indulgence in reproducing these topics which have enriched our subject matter and its authenticity.

India is recognized as an ancient civilization. Rich in its natural resources, mountain ranges, forests, deserts, network of rivers, fertile plains and vast seas, rare fauna, flora; animal, plant, and mineral wealths, it has been country of great human resource. Given these diverse resources it has produced great people; seers, sages, thinkers, astronomers, mathematicians, physicians, philosophers and litterateurs who have reacted to every aspect of nature and natural stimulii available to them from thousands of years back. This has evolved into a way of life, a thought process, philosophy, different faiths and religions, Upanishads, Vedas, diversity of tribes, languages and dialects; yet, maintained unity of philosophical thinking based on Sanskrit contributions. So it developed its own culture and civilization which may be called Sanskrit Civilization. This received wide acceptance in neighbouring countries also. In fact

Sanskrit is recognized as the mother of Euro-Asian languages. Kashmir being surrounded by vast mountain ranges, seized by inclement weathers and hazardous communication routes in ancient times, it had reasons to be cut off for most of the time; therefore it remained isolated. But, it had a miniature replica of many facets that were available in the total subcontinent, the Bharat Mata. Though isolated, the Kashmiri seers named some rivers as Kishen Ganga or Dudh Ganga, after the Ganges, the confluence of rivers like Vitasta and Sindhu as Prayaga for religious rite performances to be in tune with the observances followed in rest of India; created Sharda-Peeth to contribute to Indian thought process as was the case in Taxilla, Gandhara, Patliputra, Kashi, Sarnath and so on and so forth. Earlier territorial integration by some brave kings from outside like Ashoka and Kanishka and ambitious conquests, with the same purpose, by local kings like Lalita Ditya, Avanti Verman, Jayapida etc. not only extended the territorial alliances but also enabled exchanges of people, matrimonial alliances, knowledge, religions, literature, art, architecture and all essential ingredients which go in developing a culture. Though circumstantially isolated most of the time, there were frequent exchanges and influences. These provided windows for isolated intellectual minds to see through and evolve more elaborate intellectual exercises, which resulted in revolutionary thoughts, philosophies and literature extending horizons of our languages, religions, art, architecture and chronicalization and documentation of observations and events from ancient to recent times. This pattern continued from ancient through medieval to recent times making their impact felt on all aspects of cultural activity; from Nilmata Purana to Kalhan's Rajtarangni days, which represents the glorious period when Kashmir made its profound impact on the Sanskrit culture, Shaivism, Ayurveda and other aspects of knowledge. Since I am a casual learner of this subject I would not like to go into details and bring inaccuracies about the Kashmiri Pandit contributions. I would like to share with you all the wealth of knowledge on this subject which is presented in this Annual Number.

Whilst providing this Foreword to the XXXIInd Annual Number of the Vitasta, I express my appreciation of the sincere hard work and love of labour which Shri Rajiv Sapru has put in to make this dream come true. I have no words to express my feelings of appreciation and gratitude to him and to Smt. Jyoti Sapru for their editing English section and to Smt. Niva Kaul for editing Hindi section. I am grateful to Jt. Conveners, Shri M. K. Ogra and Shri U. Kaul for leadership role in organizing financial resources for this publication, to those members who have contributed to actual securing financial donations through advertisement bookings; to advertisers for their helpful contributions, particularly this year being worst affected by recession and to Kashmir Sabha Calcutta for encouragement & financial support. I acknowledge gratitude to Shri A. Sengupta of Jyoti for prompt action and assistance in printing this publication. I repeat my indebtedness to authors and the publishers of original works from where some articles have been reproduced or excerpted. I crave indulgence of your time and patience for going through this publication to achieve the objective for which this has been brought out. *Shubham Astho!*

3 KASHMIR - A GLIMPSE IN TIME

Rajiv Sapru

3.1 EARLY ACCOUNTS

The oldest written account of Kashmir is found in the sixth century Sanskrit Classic, the Nilmatpurana. It begins with a legend: a vast lake, Satisar (Lake of Sati, the consort of Shiva), surrounded by towering snow - bound mountains, was inhabited by a demon, Jalodbhava (Born of Water). His victims, the Nags, inhabitants of the mountainous region, appealed to the sage Kashyap, for deliverance. Since the demon was invincible within water, his element, the sage did great penance and was thus able to secure divine intervention. The mountain to the west of the lake was pierced with a trident and water drained away through this gorge. The demon, deprived of his elements, was easily slain by Vishnu. The valley that emerged from under the water was Kashmir, a name said to be the corrupt form of Kashyappur or Kashyap Mar or stretching a point, Ka (water) shimir (desiccated).

Whatever be the truth of these legends, geological findings confirm that the valley, with its fossil remains of aquatic animals & plants, was once submerged in water. Scientific opinion based on the valley's physical features holds a major volcanic convulsion responsible for draining away the great lake. Another proof of the valley having lain submerged under water for countless years is the peculiar formations karewas (wudar in Kashmiri) found here. These are raised, plateau-like formations with sloping sides separated by ravines, some of these stand like islands, others cling to the sides of mountains like smooth, flat-topped outgrowths suggestive of their long under-water existence.

Nags (Sanskrit for serpent), the earliest inhabitants of Kashmir, are sometimes imagined as human-bodied snake worshippers, sometimes as snake-tailed deities who could assume human form. It is interesting to note that the Kashmiri name for a spring - that delightful natural phenomenon of water bursting out from subterranean passages in the mountain spurs, ridges or downs that Kashmir is so rich in - is nag. It is believed that these springs were the abodes of the Nags. The springs and fountains, all popular tourist resorts now, are thus associated with individual serpent-deities celebrated in legend: Nilnag, Verinag, Anantnag, Vicharanag, Sukhnag, Kokarnag, and Vaishakhnag (a distortion of Vasuki, the mythical serpent with whom Garuda, the divine bird, is in eternal conflict). Even the great lake, Wular, the largest natural fresh water lake in Asia, was the abode of Mahapadma, the serpent deity that could grant even impossible wishes.

The Nags were followed by settlers from the plains, chiefly Brahmins who are supposed to have had to subdue the Pisachas and Yakshas (beings in a lower state of evolution than the human) before they could live in peace in Kashmir. Other inhabitants included Nishads, Khashas, Dards, and Bhotta (present-day Ladakhis and Zanskaris).

According to another myth Kashmiris are believed to be the lost tribe of Israel, and Kashmir the promised land that Moses should have found but did not! This theory suggests that Jesus Christ, alive after being taken off the cross, was brought here by his disciples to recover at Aishmuqam near Pahalgam. Aish is the local name for Isa (Jesus), and muqam means "the place of stay", but aish also means 'enjoyment', and is quite appropriate as a name for this pretty spot on the banks of the Lidder stream. It is believed that Christ was finally buried at Rozabal Khanyar in Srinagar. The name recorded on the shrine at Rozabal is Yuz Asaf, which according to the believers of this theory means Jesus, son of Joseph. Though this theory is a matter of some debate, there is no doubt that in spite of its mountainous terrain Kashmir has been remarkably accessible to outsiders. There is evidence of intercourse with the ancient Greek, Roman, and Persian civilizations, as well as those from other parts of India.

Some Kashmiris believe that the Pandavas of the great Hindu epic the Mahabharata lived and ruled here. In fact, the gigantic ruins of old temples in Kashmir are known as Pandav-Lari or the Houses of the Pandavas. In the third century BC, Kashmir came under Buddhist influence when Ashoka, the great Mauryan king, made Srinagar his capital. The zenith of Buddhist power in Kashmir was reached in the

reign of king Kanishka, convertor of the fourth Great Buddhist Council which was attended by a large number of scholars, theoreticians and commentators.

Buddhism was followed by a revival of Hinduism and Kashmir was ruled by Hindu rulers till AD 1320. One of the most remarkable Hindu kings was Lalitaditya Muktapida of the Karkota dynasty who ruled from AD 724 to 761. A great warrior, he is often compared to Alexander in his ambitions and successful military campaigns. The sweep of his conquests was such that his empire extended from Tibet in the north to the Deccan in the south and from Gujarat in the west to Bengal in the east. Vast areas of Central Asia were also annexed by him.

Apart from being a military genius, Lalitaditya was a great builder. His most glorious legacy is the sun temple at Martand, 8 kilometres from Anantnag, which even as a ruin stands magnificent and aweinspiring. The temple has a trefoil arched doorway, surrounded by a rectangular colonnade of eighty - four pillars and seems to have been conjured up, like the walls of Ilium, by a miracle. Martand itself commands one of the finest views to be found anywhere in the world, with its sunny prospect overlooking the vast expanse of the valley on the one hand and tall, snowy mountain peaks on the other, Lalitaditya's imagination, architectural and artistic vision, and style left an undying stamp on all later building craft in Kashmir.

About 75 kilometres away to the north-west, on the commanding site of Karewa, near the present village of Divar, Lalitaditya built a new capital for his kingdom. Situated near the confluence of the Veth (Jhelum) and the Indus, he called this city Parihaspura ('fun' or 'humour' in Sanskrit) because its sublime grandeur excelled the divine city of Indra, the King of the gods, and thus seemed to mock it. Of this celebrated city of magnificent limestone edifices embellished with rich and lavish decorations, which the historian Kalhana describes with awe, alas, only three crumbled ruins remain. These are all Buddhist: a *stupa* (a dome-shaped relic structure), a *rajvihara* (royal monastery) and a *chaitya* (a relic structure within an assembly hall).

Raja Avantivarman (855-83) of the same dynasty was an equally enthusiastic builder with a grand vision. He laid out the city of Avantipur, about 25 kilometres from Srinagar on the Srinagar-Jammu road on the bank of the Veth, and built the magnificent temple of Avantiswami from huge blocks of limestone, installing a gigantic idol of Vishnu there. Today only the topless ruins of the temple and colonnade remain, poignant reminders, like other monuments scattered all over the valley, of the glorious building skills of ancient Kashmiris. Avantivarmans's reign was one of peace and consolidation. He was also a patron of the arts. Many writers and philosophers graced his court, but the brightest of his jewels was a remarkable man, Suyya, whose name has been bequeathed to the modern town of Sopore (old Suyyapur) in north Kashmir. He was an engineering genius who caught the attention of the king by volunteering to rid the country of famine brought about by floods. While the people watched in puzzlement, Suyya dropped pots of gold coins into the river Veth at certain specific points where its choked current overflowed its banks. Excited at the thought of gold-prospecting, people dived into the river, rummaging its bed, pulling out in the process boulders that impeded its flow, and piling up masses of mud, slush, and stone on the banks. Thus was the river bed dredged, its muck drained and bands built. Liberated, the river flowed out in a faster current to the Wular lake. Suyya also altered the course of the Veth, preventing it from meeting the Sindh at Trigom, thus saving a large area from turning into a swamp.

3.2 ISLAMIC INFLUENCE

When Islam came to the valley in the twelfth century, it did so in a quietly persuasive manner rather than through the power of a strong arm or a royal commandment. The first Islamic preachers who set foot in the valley were Sufis, the mystic poet-saints of Islam. They won converts to the new faith even before the beginning of the rule of the first Muslim king Rinchen in 1320. the meditative religion of these Muslim mystics was a product of the influence of the austere, inward-looking, non-violent Mahayana Buddhism of Central Asia on Islam. In 1320, the most enlightened of the Sufis, Bulbul Shah came to Kashmir. He is the one who through his piety and remarkable life converted Rinchen to Islam. The interaction of Sufism, Buddhism and Hinduism gave rise to a distinctive form of Sufism the practitioners of which were called

rishis in Kashmir. A similar process overtook Hindu Shaivism (the worship of Shiva), making it evolve into its own specifically Kashmiri form known as Trikasastra.

The rishi cult of Kashmir emphasized celibacy, austerity, penance and a strict vegetarianism that even entailed not eating freshly-plucked vegetables. It accepted with perfect religious tolerance many humanistic practices of the faiths which had influenced it. The greatest of these rishis was Sheikh Nuruddin, born in 1377, the patron saint of Kashmiris, also known simply as Nund Rishi. His *ziarat* (shrine) at Chrar-i-Sharief is a highly venerated place, and supplicants include believers of all religions. His counterpart, born in the middle of the fourteenth century, was Lalla, popularly known as Lal Ded, the great mystic poetess and Shaiva philosopher whose observation transcended all organized religions. Their sayings, highly philosophical and abstract yet most practical, have become maxims that Kashmiris live by and frequently quote. Nund Rishi's adage, An *poshi teli yeli van poshan,* meaning 'Food [grains] will last only as long as the forests' could very well serve as the slogan of modern conservationists! Lal Ded is believed to have suckled Nund Rishi at her breast, recognizing in the infant the latent saint.

Many theories are advanced to explain the destruction of the massive, megalithic Kashmiri temple structures. Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413), one of the Kashmiri Muslim rulers, has come in for most of the blame. Later historians have given the sultan the title of the Butshikan (Iconoclast) in the traditions of Mahmud of Ghazni, the Muslim invader who made the breaking of idols and the destruction of temples the mission of his life. But all the devastation is certainly not Sikandar's handiwork. There were Hindu kings also who revelled in the destruction of their predecessors' work. Some were prompted by jealousy, others by sheer fits of madness and still others by plain greed for the gold, silver, land, and property attached to the temples. Sankarvarman (883-901), for instance, was a narrow-minded zealot who uprooted the Buddhist complex at Parihaspura and, removing the vast material from there, built a whole new city close by at Sankarpura (modern Pattan on the road to Baramulla from Srinagar). Harsh (1089-1101), another Hindu king, was comparable to Nero in the cruel delight he took in watching marvels of workmanship go up in flames, or huge structures crumble down, demolished by a giant hammer blow. Many Brahmin priests also took advantage of the prevailing confusion, aiding in the vandalization of richly-endowed temples so that they fell into disuse and could conveniently be usurped. Sadly, all this was later attributed to religious bigotry alone.

Sultan Sikandar was, in fact, a great patron of scholars and gave refuge to many Muslim theologians and Sayyids from Iran who were fleeing from the persecution of Timur (Tamburlaine). He is the builder of the beautiful hospice at Srinagar, the Khanqah Moulla, which through many vicissitudes still stands in all the glory of its intricate, stylish wooden architecture and artistically painted interior. His prime minister, Suha Bhatt, a Brahmin, converted to Islam and, with the zeal of a new convert, embarked not only upon a denunciation of his old faith but also the violent destruction of all its symbols and adherents.

The most glorious chapter in the history of ancient and medieval Kashmir was written by Sultan Sikardar's son Shahi Khan (1420-70) who assumed the title of Zain-ul-Abidin. Such was his popularity that he came to be known as Budshah (Great King). It is his name that boatmen and load carrying labourers even now chant reverentially whenever they need to haul with all their might, or force themselves to the maximum physical effort. All historians agree that his reign of fifty years was a golden period in the history of Kashmir.

Budshah's religious tolerance is legendary. Such was the catholicity and breadth of his vision that, though a devout Muslim, he actively participated in the festivals of his Hindu subjects. In fact, most of these festivals became cultural rather than sectarian events. This tradition was continued by later rulers like Hussain Shah Chak who reigned from 1563 to 1570 by which date majority of the population had embraced Islam. An important occasion was the 'birthday' of Nilnag, the source of the river Veth, when the whole populace, including Budshah and his court, stood on the richly illuminated ghats *(Yarbal* in Kashmiri) and lowered earthen lamps with their quivering little flames into the river, asking for the blessings of the mother river. The Veth festival, however, is no longer celebrated. The Hindus reciprocated by not eating meat during Ramadan. In the spring festival too, celebrated in the month of April, there was royal participation with fireworks and general revelry. Though its traditional venue

Badamwari (the Almond orchards), around the Hari Parbat, with lovely pinkish-white blossoms lining the slender leafless almond branches in March and April, is fast disappearing under the onslaught of the construction boom, the spring festival is still very much a part of Kashmiri cultural life. People picnic under almond blossoms, a *samovar* steaming before them, and a good time is had by all, with hearty feasting to the accompaniment of song and dance by folk musicians.

Budshah would also personally assist at the most sacred Hindu-festival of the Kashmiris, Shivratri, which under the local name of *Herath* is celebrated a day before the festival of Mahashivratri. The festival extends over several days, being an exact replay of the marriage of Lord Shiva to his consort Parvati, with all the elaborate religious and cultural ceremonies of a traditional wedding, performed with earthenware pots and objects as symbols of the divine personages. The offerings include mutton and fish which never cease to astound, indeed horrify, strictly vegetarian Hindus from outside Kashmir!

Native rule came to an end in 1586 with the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar, the great Mughal king of India, who appointed governors to rule over Kashmir. With their eye for natural beauty and their passion to enhance it through man's artistic skills, the Mughals were quick to respond to the enhancement of Kashmir. Akbar built the fort a Hari Parbat, the walls and fortifications of which survive to this day. Jahangir, with his celebrated queen Nur Jahan, loved Kashmir and would not go far from it even in the winter months, when he would shift to Lahore. The splendid gardens around the Dal lake in Srinagar - Chashma Shahi (Royal Spring), Nishat(joy), Shalimar (the Abode of Love) and Harwan - are his legacy. Jahangir also laid out gardens around some of the most exquisite springs at Achhabal and Verinag. The Mughal road, which was wide enough for huge royal processions of elephants, horses and men, passed over the Pir Panjal mountains near the present-day town of Rajouri. The Mughals built huge serais(inns) at intervals for royal caravans, and these serais are worth seeing even now. The Mughals are also credited with planting the glorious *chinar* (Platinus orientalis) on a large scale all over the valley, particularly on the west bank of the Dal lake at Naseem Bagh (the Garden of Breezes).

As Mughal power declined Ahmed Shah Abdali, the Afghan conqueror, invaded and annexed Kashmir in 1753, leading to its colonization and enslavement and its consequent decay and degeneration. Fed up with the cruel, tyrannical and exploitative Afghan rule, Kashmiris secretly sought the intervention of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of Punjab. The Afghans were defeated in 1819 and Sikh rule established in the state. With the break-up of the Sikh empire in 1846, Gulab Singh, Ranjit Singh's emissary in Jammu, Ladakh and Baltistan, negotiated a separate treaty with the British at Amritsar. Apart from the territories already in his possession, the valley of Kashmir was handed over to him for Rs. 750,000.

3.3 MODERN HISTORY

The year 1846 is the date, therefore, when all the territories that constitute the present state of Jammu and Kashmir were welded into one political unit under Dogra rule. This rule, lasting about a hundred years, saw the stirrings of modernism in the state. The Dogra rulers, particularly Pratap Singh, built many palaces and temples, beautifying the landscape. Schools and a college each at Srinagar and Jammu were established to impart modern education with far-reaching consequences. Houseboats appeared on the Dal and Nagin lakes and on the river in Srinagar. These were initially for the British as, under a state law which is still in force, only permanent hereditary residents of the state could own landed property here. The presence of the British Resident (whose graceful official mansion, the Residency, now houses the Government Arts Emporium in Srinagar) encouraged an influx of British and foreign tourist as well as the development of Gulmarg as a hill and ski resort. In fact all the other famous resorts-Pahalgam, Sonamarg, Achhabal, Kokarnag Yusmarg, Verinag, Lolab valley - became very popular. Camping sites at Ganderbal, Manasba and Naseem Bagh, and treks to the glaciers and mountains and to Ladakh and Gilgit became fashionable. The bund on the Veth and the Boulevard around the Dal lake became promenade for the rich. The picturesque location of the palace in Srinagar (one of which is a well-known hotel now) in the downs of the Zabarwan hills on the Dal lake, between the Pari Mahal and the Shankaracharya hill temple, are a tribute to the aesthetic sense of the Dogra rulers.

In spite of its pomp and glory, however autocratic rule and the feudalism it spawned were oppressive and despotic. Forced and unpaid labour illiteracy, poverty and exploitation of all kinds stalked the lives of the masses. Whole families of the world famous *kani* shawl weavers were wiped out, some in famines. Others, unable to keep pace in an unequal race with the machine-made paisley shawls from England and Europe, gave up their work, with the result that this fine craft died out. The discontent of the people grew till in 1931, the Muslims of the state rose in open revolt against the autocratic rule of Maharaja Hari Singh.

That was also the year when Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah appeared on the political scene. Coming back to Kashmir after getting Master's degree in Chemistry from Aligarh Muslim University, he found the vast majority of the Kashmiri people submerged in a 'culture of silence without any awareness of the depths of the ignorance, poverty, and bondage. Their politic economic, and social emancipation became his dream, and he embarked on the long struggle to restore to the state its lost glory, and to its people the dignity and pride in their own unique culture which centuries of subjugation and cultural domination had wrenched from them.

The National Conference, the party launched by Sheikh Abdullah, represented all three regions and worked in tune with national leaders like Gandhi, Nehru and Azad. Popularly known as Sher-i-Kashmir (Lion of Kashmir) Sheikh Abdullah rallied all Kashmiris behind his demand for the unity of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. Even during the communal convulsions of 1947 when the country was dismembered into India and Pakistan, no blood-bath took place in Kashmir as it did in the rest of north India. Today, the state is progressive and prosperous and the basic necessities of life are available to all.

3.4 LANDMARKS OF SRINAGAR

Srinagar, the summer capital, is an ancient city believed to have been originally built by Ashoka, the Mauryan king (third century BC), as his capital. Successive tides of history have left their imprint upon its architecture. Built upon the banks of the Veth its picturesquely named nine bridges are reminders of its history in their style and material used in construction. The city as it stands today is at once old and new. There is quite a contrast between the interior of the city on the river with its closely packed houses of old brick and timber, quaint medieval bazaars full of rich, burnished copper-ware, gracefully shaped *samovars* and pots, the heavy aroma of tobacco sticky with molasses formed into neat little heaps for the hookah and the comparatively new residential complexes of concrete and glass fanning out loosely around it. Then there are the Dal and the Nagin lakes and their population of houseboats. The Hari Parbat fort on Sharika hill was constructed in the eighteenth century by Atta Mohammed Khan but the walls surrounding the fort were built much earlier, during Akbar's time. A complete panoramic view of the city with its river, lakes and winding canals can be had from the top of the Hari Parbat and Shankaracharya hills, two graceful eminences harmoniously poised at either end of the Dal lake. The original temple atop the Shankaracharya hill is believed to have been built by Ashoka's son Jaluka around 200 BC, on the site of the Takht-i-Suleiman or the throne of Solomon. The present temple, on the same site, however, was built during Jahangir's reign. A real feel of the city, however, is provided by a leisurely boat ride from the Zero Bridge to Safa Kadal, the last bridge. Boating through the narrow, willow-lined channels that link the Dal and the Nagin lakes - an unforgettable experience - is not only extremely relaxing but offers a close look at the almost amphibian life of Hanjis, the boat people. The once floating gardens, approachable only by boat, are now rooted to one mace and only grow vegetables but still remain divided into islands by cries-crossing currents. The gardens of Chashma Shahi, Nishat, Shalimar and Harwan are laid out around the Dal lake. The first three are perfect examples of the Mughal style of garden: terraced lawns, evergreen cypresses, flowering bushes and fruit trees and a channel of sportive water taking a break into a pool of spouting fountains, suddenly falling in a sheet to finally flow out of the garden in a stream to be utilized for irrigating the fields.

Another Mughal legacy is the Pari Mahal of the Palace of Fairies, a series of arched terraces picturesquely perched on the slope of the Zabarwan hill facing the Dal lake. It was built by Dara Shikoh, Shah Jahan's

son, as an observatory and library for his tutor Akhoon Mullah Shah. Akhoon Mulla's tomb, at the foot of Hari Parbat, next to the shrine of Maqdoom Saheb, is well worth a visit too.

3.5 HOLY SHRINES

The holiest place for the Muslim of Kashmir is not a mosque but a shrine, Hazaratbal, which houses one of the holiest relics, a sacred hair of the Prophet Mohammed. With its exquisite location on the western bank of the Dal lake, it is a graceful structure in white marble. A shimmering dome balanced by a minaret, it is a most harmonious sight, visually and spiritually. One can see other shrines at the most enchanting locations, with latticed or (in modern renovation) barred windows choked with multi-coloured strips of cloths tied as pledges by believers who importune the presiding saints and deities to grant their wishes.

Amarnath, the holy cave with its huge ice *lingam*, a miracle of nature, is situated at the towering height of 3880 metres, 142 kilometers north-east of Srinagar, It is one of the most exciting treks in Kashmir as far as a dazzling variety of landscape is concerned. For the Shiva-worshiping pilgrim it is, of course, a spiritual experience par excellence. The 46 kilometres route from Pahalgam, winding along the Lidder stream for the first day's trek, soon leaves the forests and the beeline behind in its climb, and adventures into wild-flower meadows field with such intense, intoxicating scents that trekkers are warned not to linger there too long. The route passes along torrential streams, ice-bridges, frozen glaciers and deep-blue mountain lake, Sheshnag (associated with the seven-headed mythical snake on which Vishnu is supposed to recline). The cave is reached after a four day march. It is possible to do it from the Baltal side (15 kilometres south-east of Sonamarg), a shorter route

certainly, but tougher and without the constantly unfolding surprises of the much more beautiful Pahalgam route. Twenty-one kilometres from Srinagar, set in a grove of ancient Chinars is the shrine of Khir Bhawani. The temple rises from the surrounding waters of a spring, the colours of which are supposed to change according to the moods of the Goddess, thus predicting the fortunes of the state!

3.6 LANGUAGE

The Kashmiri language itself has a Dardic base, modified considerably by the superstructure of Sanskrit and Persian vocabulary acquired through hundreds of years of interaction with immigrants from other cultures, though it did not have a script of its own, from the fourteenth century onward it had a lively oral poetic tradition. The earliest mystic poets, Lal Ded and Nund Rishi, used the four-line stanza without rhyme called the *vaakh* and the *shrukh*. But the poetess who broke new ground and transposed Kashmiri poetry from mystical heights to the human level, lending a tragic dimension to it, was Habba-Khatoon (1551-1606), the village girl from Pampora who became the queen of the last king of Kashmir, Yusuf Shah. When Akbar defeated Yusuf Shah and had him exiled to Patna (Bihar), Habba suffered the torments of separation. Not only did the content of poetry change with her, but she also gave it a new verse form: the *vatsun*, which is like a *ghazal* in its exquisite lyrical quality and therefore perfect for love poetry. The charm of these vatsuns is that they can be sung very effectively, music enhancing the inherent melody of their alliterative and repetitive rhymes.

3.7 MUSIC, DANCE AND THEATRE

The classical music of Kashmir is Sufiana Kalam, a blend of Iranian and Hindustani classical music some of its *muqams* are similar to *ragas.* The leading musician sings as well as plays upon the santoor, the 100-stringed instruments . which is played upon by two small curved sticks. Other instruments are the *tumbakhnaar, sazi-i-Kahmiri, sarangi, rabab* and *tabla.* The songs are in Persian and Kashmiri. The compositions have a sweet, soothing melody, gradually increasing in tempo but never too loud.

Up to the beginning of the twentieth century, dancing girls known as *hafizas* were also a part of a Sufiana music performance. They would sing and dance on marriages and other celebrations. Their dances were not robust or fast-paced but gentle and graceful, the face acting out in sharp detail the emotional content of the song. Today they have disappeared from the scene. A substitute has appeared in the folk form, *chhakri*, in which a boy, dressed in a long skirt and blouse, with a veil draped round the neck, sings in a

high-pitched voice and dances to a vigorous beat. This performer is known as a *bachcha* (child), and the programme *bachcha naghma* - as against the old hafiza naghma - but the two are worlds apart as far as grace and charm are concerned. The instruments used in a *chhakri* are the *tumbakhnaar, sarangi,* not and *rabab*. A harmonium too is used now.

The *roff* or rov is a simple form of dance accompanied by songs with recurring rhythms, the refrains emphasizing alliterations and assonances. This dance performed only by women, irrespective of age, on the Muslim festival of Id and on marriages and other celebrations, is indicative of the participatory nature of all festivities.

The *pather* is Kashmiri folk theatre performed by troupes known as the *bhands.* Having portrayed the concerns, hopes, fears and problems of the common man from time immemorial, this folk medium possesses remarkable vitality. Its topical themes, its wit and earthy humour have helped it to evolve into a stylized form, using the age-old devices of humour, irony and full-blooded satire, bordering sometimes on the crude. Even today, thanks to television and the radio, the *bhands* have a great fan following.

3.8 FOOD

Kashmiri cooking blends the best of Indian, Iranian, Afghan and Central Asian *haute cuisine.* The traditional *wazwan*, served by Muslims at weddings, is an unimaginably elaborate affair. As many as two dozen mutton and chicken dishes, including *goshtaba*, the famed mincemeat balls, are served with mounds of rice and pilau to four people on one platter. There are in addition chutnies, vegetables, cheese, curds and sweets.

Another culinary area in which Kashmiris excel in sheer variety of form and taste is bread-making. Not for the ordinary bread; every locality has its own baker to whom customers flock in the morning and afternoon, buying freshly-baked large or small, crisp or soft, flat or fluffy, round or oval, *tsot, kulcha, girda, tsochvor, qatlam, lavaus, sheermal, khatai* and several other varieties.

3.9 ARTS AND CRAFTS

The arts and crafts of Kashmir are distinctive too. Back-breaking effort goes into the intricate weave of each inch of a Kashmiri silk or wool carpet. The art has a simple mechanical principle to it. The design, as in the case of shawl embroidery, is created by the artist, known as a *naqash*, and then reproduced on graph with all the delicate shades that blend, contrast or stand out in harmony. The graph is then translated into symbols, coded messages on sheets of rough paper. The unlettered craftsman who actually transfers these fantasies of colour and texture onto cotton warp in knots of wool or silk is given these yellow-brown lengths of paper to work from. Generally the 'master', the head craftsman, chants a rhythm of his own coded messages: three ripe cherries, two rust, two snuff, one turquoise, five pomegranates'- and as if by magic the vibrant colours appear on the surface of the warp. The left-hand fingers pull a length of yarn hanging above in little balls, deftly twist and firmly knot it around the thread of the warp, a flash of the curved knife held in the right hand snips the 7 yarn and the knot is the place. These fingers of the carpet weavers echo the rhythm of the chanted instructions. Once a whole row is done and iron comb presses it down firmly. The fineness of knotting can reach the dizzy miniaturization of squeezing in as many as 1200 knots per square inch. Pure-silk yarn spun so perfectly that not even a microscopic variation in thickness can be detected goes to create the perfect texture and 'shot' effect of the carpet. The shimmering silk plays tricks with one's vision and the carpet seems to change hues when seen from different angles.

There are other floor-coverings that are uniquely Kashmiri. The numdah is brightly embroidered in 'leaf fringed legends'. It is generally small, ranging from a 6 to 3 square metro rectangle to small round ones which can be scattered all over a room to lend it warmth and colour. Innovative designs include small nursery items that can carry the whole English alphabet charmingly illustrated. Sometimes a complete fairy tale is inscribed in crewel embroidery, tapestry-fashion. But what makes this floor-covering interesting is its base. One man spreads fluffy cotton in a thick pile to the required measurements. Another, meanwhile, neatly arranges sheep's wool in its natural form to make a fringe of thick wool

strands all round the edges of the pile, A third sprinkles water on the pile till it is soaked and then gives it a generous rubbing of locally manufactured soap, pressing it down into a felted sheet. More cotton and more soap is added till it is the thickness of a comfortable rug. Then begins the beating and pressing down with a long wooden-handled mallet-like contraption, squeezing the water out. These firm rugs are then washed in plenty of water and hung out to dry, after which they receive their decorative embroidery usually done by girls. The natural creamy-white base can also be dyed in vivid colours.

The *gabba* is another variety of floor-covering. Generally old blankets worn thin are soaked in soap and water and then actually trampled upon to give them a matted look. Once dry, they are cut into little squares, wavy patterns, rounds or other shapes, depending upon the design in mind and then dyed in different colours. As in quilting, these bits are stitched, but here the stitching is actually crewel embroidery which completely hides the stitching and fashions the whole thing into an exotic, multi-coloured and geometrically patterned rug. The stitching mirrors the intricacy of the miniature patterns of a *khatam band* ceiling.

Most Kashmiri households still posses heirloom mattresses, the genuine *gabba*, with its painstakingly joined bits and pieces in warm rich tones of orange and maroon to make a bed cosy in winter. Anantnag, the prosperous town in the south of Kashmir, is the seat of this craft. This area also boasts of a woodcraft which is fast dying out in this age of electric whisks, plastic toys and metal walkers. These are traditional wooden toys, little three-wheeled walkers for toddlers, beautifully painted in bright colours, with softly rattling wooden rings attached for a child to play with. Hard, seasoned walnut-wood lends itself well to the artistry of the Kashmiri wood-carver's hand. Three-dimensional scenes from nature, wavy floral patterns, recurrent motifs of the iris, poppy, lotus, the chinar leaf amid intertwining bunches of grape and vines, slowly emerge from the gently chisel. Apart from fashioning elegant furniture, the walnut-wood carvers also produce decorative boxes, salad bowls, trays and cigarette-boxes.

Nearly every visitor to Kashmir carries back a papier mache souvenir. Apart from table-lamps and jewellery boxes, there are exquisite candlesticks, coasters, bangles, napkin-rings, cigarette and powder boxes, even decorative eggs and bells that will retain their beauty as long as they do not get too wet. The processing of papier mache is long and painstaking. Waste paper and even cotton rags are soaked till they become a soft mess, which is then pounded together with a starchy paste or a gelatinous mixture to make a soft dough, pliable enough to be moulded into the desired shape. When dry, floral or other dainty designs are painted on with the extremely fine, delicate strokes of a brush. What is amazing is not only the sharpness of the eye nor the steadiness of the hand, nor even the speed with which these lovely miniature designs are executed, but the highly sophisticated taste of the craftsman, which does not allow a single stroke of inharmonious colouring to mar the aesthetic beauty of even the lowest priced of papier mache items.

4 ON THE IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Surendra Munshi

Culture is usually understood to mean improvements that result from the refinement of thought and action. Just as one cultivates a garden, one may also cultivate one's abilities, including physical abilities. A cultured person is typically an educated person with refined ways of thinking, talking and acting. A social group is considered to be cultured in the same manner. An important consideration here is whether the members of a social group have acquired the ability to live together harmoniously, a skill most needed among the inhabitants of a city who by necessity live in larger numbers and in closer physical proximity than people living in rural areas. Culture is often understood for this reason to be the 'city' of human beings. If the city is the centre of culture as compared with the village, a nation may be viewed as more cultured than other nations. This was the view that dominated the world in the era of colonialism when the 'white man's burden' as Rudyard Kipling put it was to 'better' the rest of the world. Culture thus created a divide between nations, groups and persons in terms of the presence or absence of culture of at least in terms of the level of culture that had been achieved.

This view is unacceptable in the current social scientific usage. Culture now means the way of life of a people, a whole society or a particular group within it. It includes not only beliefs, values and rules of conduct but also the material resources of a society or a group. The emphasis now is on differentiating human beings from animals, for much of our behaviour is supposed to be socially learned. Culture is socially acquired and is passed from one generation to the next. It is thus our social rather than biological inheritance. A Kashmiri boy or girl, for example, if taken away at the time or birth and brought up by different parents in an alien culture will grow up acquiring that culture, including the language of that society. There will be nothing to show by way of Kashmiri culture in that child. Language plays a significant role in our attempt to communicate with each other. What is not noticed often is that language organises our experiences. If a word does not exist for an object in a language it is likely that the object does not exist in that society or if it does it is not given any importance in the cultural world of the people speaking the language. Bengalis do not have a differentiated vocabulary for snow in their language, and Kashmiris do not have such a differentiated vocabulary for snow as exists among Eskimos. Eskimos are thus in a position to share understanding and communicate with each other in a differentiated manner about snow, something relevant to their physical existence.

It is now recognised that all societies are cultured and not just those who claim superiority for themselves. Culture has thus become a descriptive term, not evaluative as it was earlier. It becomes the task of a researcher then to study the culture of a society or a group in a descriptive manner. Each culture has its own inner principles that govern it. To eat in the Western style then is not to be considered superior to the way we in India usually eat without such tools as knife and fork. To uphold the standards of one's own culture in relation to the culture of others is to be guilty of ethnocentrism which is not acceptable any longer. What provides then the standard of evaluation for a culture? The standard is provided by the principles of values internal to a culture. This allows for greater tolerance.

The modern concept of culture in the social sciences takes into account several principles for understanding social behaviour. One of them has already been identified. This is the principle of social learning. Not all of this learning though takes place consciously. A good example once again is language. The best way to learn a language is at the knees of one's parents as a child. This learning takes place naturally, with lasting impact. It is also recognised that culture patterns our perception and also our thoughts. To behave 'naturally' or 'honourably' may mean different things in different societies. Beauty does not lie only in the eye of the beholder but also in the eye of the culture to which the beholder belongs. All of us take over the ways of our culture to a large extent, consciously or unconsciously. Is a woman beautiful if she is slim or if she has a more rounded form? Different cultures give different answers to this question. We are often so tuned to the positions of our culture that it becomes difficult to even recognise that others may have different preferences. It should be understandable to us that those who are not used to salted tea may not quite be able to relish the *shir chai* of which we are so fond.

Culture is inherited and that makes it our heritage. Every society or group lays claim to its heritage. Even though in principle it is possible to think of heritage as inherited circumstances which may include benefits as well as burdens, it is usual to emphasise positive aspects when cultural heritage is discussed. Why do we need this heritage? We need this heritage as our shared resource for communication and for common identity. Something needs to be said now on the issue of identity. Sociologists have shown that identity is socially bestowed, and many lament the growth of self-absorbed selfishness in the modern world that has arisen due to the weakening of common cultural bonds. Can there be a celebration of the self in this situation? Many plays and novels show the breakdown of the self in a world of fragmentation and homelessness. Culture is a resource that provides us with our home that is more secure than the one provided by a house of four walls. It helps us to stabilise our identity by establishing our links with our forefathers from whom we inherited it and also with our successors on whom we are going to bestow it. This is not all. Culture helps us to channelise our desires in the form of values and also to regulate them by prescribing acceptable norms. It has given us abilities that have been developed over generations to live and live well in our surroundings.

Does it mean that all we have to do about culture is to acquire it and pass it on? Are we passive recipients of our cultural heritage? To answer these questions in the affirmative will be misleading. It is now recognised that culture is best viewed as a process which involves the active participation of every generation in creating and recreating it. The way a particular cultural heritage is interpreted, accentuated or even neglected depends on the attitude of the generation that has a central role to play during a particular period. We have a real problem here that needs to be seriously considered. We are losing our language, for our children are not learning it. We need to take care of this problem as a task. Each generation sets for itself an agenda and a course of action suitable for it, even if implicitly or without clarity. A wise generation does it consciously. Yet another point that needs to be kept in mind is that a country like India has not one but many sources of its rich tradition. A decision then has to be taken on the tradition that we reject and the heritage that we carry forward. The task is to relate with different sources of tradition in a creative and positive manner. This has to be done in an informed manner, for unthinking rejection is as lamentable as unthinking acceptance.

It was Toynbee who propounded the thesis that cultures develop in societies in response to challenges. This old-fashioned view acquires significance for us. It is for us to turn the challenge facing our community and our country into an opportunity for significant advance. It is for us to prove that no matter how great the challenge is we are capable of meeting it together with resolve and resourcefulness.

5 DESCENT FROM KASHMIR

J. L. Nehru

Excerpts: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

"It is a hard and nice subject for a man to write of himself: it grates his own heart to say anything of disparagement, and the reader's ears to hear anything of praise for him." - ABRAHAM COWLEY

An only son of prosperous parents is apt to be spoilt, especially so in India. And when that son happens to have been an only child for the first eleven years of his existence there is little hope for him to escape this spoiling. My two sisters are very much younger than I am, and between each two of us there is a long stretch of years. And so I grew up and spent my early years as a somewhat lonely child with no companions of my age. I did not even have the companionship of children at school for I was not sent to any kindergarten or primary school. Governesses or private tutors were supposed to be in charge of my education.

Our house itself was far from being a lonely place, for it sheltered a large family of cousins and near relations, after the manner of Hindu families. But all my cousins were much older than I was and were students at the high school or the university and considered me far too young for their work or their play. And so in the midst of that big family I felt rather lonely and was left a great deal to my own fancies and solitary games.

We were Kashmiris. Over two hundred years ago, early in the eighteenth century, our ancestor came down from that mountain valley to seek fame and fortune in the rich plains below. Those were the days of the decline of the Moghal Empire after the death of Aurungzeb, and Farrukhsiar was the Emperor. Raj Kaul was the name of that ancestor of ours and he had gained eminence as a Sanskrit and Persian scholar in Kashmir. He attracted the notice of Farrukhsiar during the latter's visit to Kashmir, and, probably at the Emperor's instance, the family migrated to Delhi, the imperial capital, about the year 1716. A *jagir* with a house situated on the banks of a canal had been granted to Raj Kaul, and, from the fact of this residence, 'Nehru' (from *nahar*, a canal) came to be attached to his name. Kaul had been the family name; this changed to Kaul-Nehru; and, in later years, Kaul dropped out and we became simply Nehrus.

The family experienced many vicissitudes of fortune during the unsettled times that followed and the *jagir* dwindled and vanished away. My great grandfather, Lakshmi Narayan Nehru, became the first Vakil of the 'Sarkar Company' at the shadow court of the Emperor of Delhi. My grandfather, Ganga Dhar Nehru, was Kotwal of Delhi for some time before the great Revolt of 1857. He died at the early age of 34 in 1861.

The revolt of 1857 put an end to our family's connection with Delhi, and all our old family papers and documents were destroyed in the course of it. The family, having lost nearly all it possessed, joined the numerous fugitives who were leaving the old imperial city and went to Agra. My father was not born then but my two uncles were already young men and possessed some knowledge of English. This knowledge saved the younger of the two uncles, as well as some other members of the family, from a sudden and ignominious end. He was journeying from Delhi with some family members, among whom was his young sister, a little girl who was very fair, as some Kashmiri children are. Some English soldiers met them on the way and they suspected this little aunt of mine to be an English girl and accused my uncle of kidnapping her. From an accusation, to summary justice and punishment, was usually a matter of minutes in those days, and my uncle and others of the family might well have found themselves hanging on the nearest tree. Fortunately for them, my uncle's knowledge of English delayed matters a little and then some one who knew him passed that way and rescued him and the others.

For some years the family lived in Agra, and it was in Agra on the sixth of May 1861 that my father was born. [A curious and interesting coincidence: The poet Rabindranath Tagore was also born on this very day, month and year.] But he was a posthumous child as my grandfather had died three months earlier. In

a little painting that we have of my grandfather, he wears the Moghal court dress with a curved sword in his hand, and might well be taken for a Moghal nobleman, although his features are distinctly Kashmiri.

The burden of the family then fell on my two uncles who were very much older than my father. The elder uncle, Bansi Dhar Nehru, soon after entered the judicial department of the British Government and, being appointed successively to various places, was partly cut off from the rest of the family. The younger uncle, Nand Lal Nehru, entered the service of an Indian State and was Diwan of Khetri State in Ralputana for ten years. Later he studied law and settled down as a practicing lawyer in Agra.

My father lived with him and grew up under his sheltering care. The two were greatly attached to each other and their relation with each other was a strange mixture of the brotherly and the paternal and filial. My father, being the last comer, was of course my grandmother's favorite son, and she was an old lady with a tremendous will of her own who was not accustomed to be ignored. It is now nearly half a century since her death but she is still remembered amongst old Kashmiri ladies as a most dominating old woman and quite a terror if her will was flouted.

My uncle attached himself to the newly established High Court and when this court moved to Allahabad from Agra, the family moved with it. Since then Allahabad has been our home and it was there, may years later, that I was born. My uncle gradually developed an extensive practice and became one of the leaders of the High Court Bar. Meanwhile my father was going through school and college in Cawnpore and Allahabad. His early education was confined entirely to Persian and Arabic and he only began learning English in his early 'teens. But at that age he was considered to be a good Persian scholar, and knew some Arabic also, and because of this knowledge was treated with respect by much older people. But in spite of this early precocity his school and college career was chiefly notable for his numerous pranks and escapades. He was very far from being a model pupil and took more interest in games and novel adventures than in study. He was looked upon as one of the leaders of the rowdy element in the college. He was attracted to Western dress and other Western ways at a time when it was uncommon for Indians to take to them except in big cities like Calcutta and Bombay. Though he was a little wild in his behaviour, his England professors were fond of him and often got him out of a scrape. They liked his spirit and he was intelligent, and with an occasional spurt he managed to do fairly well even in class. In later years, long afterwards, he used to talk to us of one of these professors, Mr. Harrison, the principal of the Muir Central College at Allahabad, with affection, and had carefully preserved a letter of his, dating from the old student days.

He got through his various university examinations without any special distinction, and then he appeared for his final, the B.A. He had not taken the trouble to work much for it and he was greatly dissatisfied with the way he had done the first paper. Not expecting to pass the examination, as he thought he had spoiled the first paper, he decided to boycott the rest of the examination and he spent his time instead at the Taj Mahal. (The university examinations were held then at Agra.) Subsequently his professor sent for him and was very angry with him for he said that he (my father) had done the first paper fairly well and he had been a fool for not appearing for the other papers. Anyhow this ended my father's university career. He never graduated.

He was keen on getting on in life and establishing himself in a profession. Naturally he looked to the law as that was the only profession then, in India, which offered any opening for talent and prizes for the successful. He also had his brother's example before him. He appeared for the High Court Vakils' examination and not only passed it but topped the list and got a gold medal for it. He had found the subject after his own heart, or rather, he was intent on success in the profession of his choice.

He started practice in the district courts of Cawnpore and, being eager to succeed, worked hard at it and soon got on well. But his love for games and other amusements and diversions continued and still took up part of his time. In particular, he was keen on wrestling and *dangals*. Cawnpore was famous for these public wrestling matches in those days.

After serving his apprenticeship for three years at Cawnpore, father moved to Allahabad to work in the High Court. Not long after this his brother, Pandit Nand Lal, suddenly died. That was a terrible blow for

my father; it was a personal loss of a dearly loved brother who had almost been a father to him, and the removal of the head and principal earning member of the family. Henceforward the burden of carrying on a large family mainly fell on his young shoulders.

He plunged into his work, bent on success, and for many months cut himself off from everything else. Nearly all of my uncle's briefs came to him, and as he happened to do well in them the professional success that he so ardently desired soon came his way and brought him both additional work and money. At an early age he had established himself as a successful lawyer and he paid the price for this by becoming more and more a slave to his jealous mistress - the law. He had no time for any other activity, public or private, and even his vacations and holidays were devoted to his legal practice. The National Congress was just then attracting the attention of the English-knowing middle classes and he visited some of its early sessions and gave it a theoretical allegiance. But in those days he took no great interest in its work. He was too busy with his profession. Besides, he felt unsure of his ground in politics and public affairs; he had paid no great attention to these subjects till then and knew little about them. He had no wish to join any movement or organization where he would have to play second fiddle. The aggressive spirit of his childhood and early youth had been outwardly curbed, but it had taken a new form, a new will to power. Directed to his profession it brought success and increased his pride and self-reliance. He loved a fight, a struggle against odds and yet, curiously, in those days he avoided the political field. It is true that there was little of fight then in the politics of the National Congress. However, the ground was unfamiliar, and his mind was full of the hard work that his profession involved. He had taken firm grip of the ladder of success and rung by rung he mounted higher, not by anyone's favour, as he felt, not by any service of another, but by his own will and intellect.

He was, of course, a nationalist in a vague sense of the word, but he admired Englishmen and their ways. He had a feeling that his own countrymen had fallen low and almost deserved what they had got. And there was just a trace of contempt in his mind for the politicians who talked and talked without doing anything, though he had no idea at all as to what else they could do. Also there was the thought, born in the pride of his own success, that many - certainly not all - of those who took to politics had been failures in life.

An ever-increasing income brought many changes in our ways of living, for an increasing income meant increasing expenditure. The idea of hoarding money seemed to my father a slight on his own capacity to earn whenever he liked and as much as he desired. Full of the spirit of play and fond of good living in every way, he found no difficulty in spending what he earned. And gradually our ways became more and more Westernized.

Such was our home in the early days of my childhood. I was born in Allahabad on the 14th November 1889, or, according to the Samvat calendar. Margshirsh Badi 7, 1946.

6 KASHMIR - THE HOME OF SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

P. N. K Bamzai

The most outstanding contribution of Kashmir to the rich and varied cultural heritage of India has been the development and spread of the Sanskrit language and literature. Besides, it was through this medium that humanities, philosophy, religion, medicine, history, law and polity, in which Kashmiris made a mark, were propagated not only in the rest of India, but in Central and Southeast Asia too. With the development of Mahayan through the efforts of Kashmiri Brahmans under the rule of Asoka and Kaniska, Kashmiri Buddhist monks, missionaries and philosophers travelled in their hundreds over China, Korea, Japan and Tibet to propagate Mahayan Buddhism and Indian culture among nearly half the population of the world.

It is not possible to pierce the veil of time to trace the origin of this ancient language. However the word Aryan which appears in the Vedas perhaps gives a clue. The term Vedas embraces a body of writings the origin of which is ascribed to divine revelation and surpass in antiquity every other literary document belonging to the Aryans.

How and when Kashmir became the centre of Sanskrit learning may be traced to the Aryans settled for ages on the banks of the mighty Vedic river Saraswati in the Punjab which branched off to Rajasthan and Saurashtra. With Sanskrit as their mother-tongue their society comprised the four Varnas or Castes - Brahman, Khashtriya, Vaisas and Sudras.

About five thousand years ago the mighty Saraswati changed its course and finally dried up. The Aryan settlements on its banks got dispersed to different regions of India. One enterprising batch under the leadership of the Brahmans went to nearby Kashmir and sought shelter from the Naga ruler of Kashmir who allowed them to settle in the delectable Valley on condition they adopted some of the festivals and usages of the Nagas.

Carrying with them Sanskrit, the repository of their cultural heritage, they passionately devoted themselves to its study, enriching it further through the writings of poets, dramatists and Vedic philosophers. Sanskrit became the language of religion and polite literature and in the words of Bilhana who lived as late as the 9th century A.D., even women in Kashmir spoke Sanskrit fluently.

Kashmiri Pandits took pains "in keeping the Sanskrit language pure and perfect." The Brahmanical religion finds its practical expression in sacrificial performance. And the sacred obligation incumbent on the Brahmans of rendering correctly the letter and sense of their Vedic texts necessarily involved a good deal of serious grammatical and etymological study.

They believed that grammar was the only instrument which could take care of adhering to these texts and holding the entire Sanskrit language and literature in their firm grip.

Hence Panini's monumental work on Sanskrit grammar, the Ashtadhyayi became the object of their special study. This great work marks the culminating point of grammatical research and besides treats chiefly the post-Vedic or classical speech. Ashtadhyayi came ultimately to be looked upon as the representative of grammatical science, and has ever since remained the standard authority for Sanskrit grammar. For comprehensive grasp of linguistic facts, and a penetrating insight into the structure of the language, this work stands probably unrivalled in the literature of any nation.

An equally important contribution to Sanskrit grammar was Mahabhasya, a commentary written in the second century B. C. by a Kashmiri grammarian Patanjali. According to the Kashmiri tradition upheld by several scholars, he was born in the village of Godra in the South of the Valley.

The Mahabhasya too has been commented upon by Kayatta in his Bhasyapradipa.

That Kashmiris were keen to remain masters of Sanskrit grammar is shown by the number of works authored by them on this subject. Candracarya for instance founded through his work Candra-Vyakarna, a school of Sanskrit grammar called Candra, second in importance to that of Panini.

Another commentary on Panini's work, Kasikavriti, written jointly by Jayadata and Vamana, two Brahman grammarians, has been mentioned by I-tsing in the seventh century A.D.

Kalhana refers to the study of Patanjali's grammatical work Mahabhasaya under Jayapida towards the end of the eighth century A.D. His teacher in grammar, Kshiraswamin, wrote his well-known commentary on Dhatupatha or the study of verbs. That Kshiraswamin was a Kashmiri Pandit is proved by a passage in the Vamastuty appended by Rajanaka Ananda to his commentary on Naisadcarita, where he is claimed to be one of the great scholars produced by the Rajanaka family of Kashmir.

In PROSODY and METRICS Kashmiri authors have made valuable contribution to Sanskrit language and literature. Pinglacarya, the author of the well-known work on METRICS, Pingala, was a Kashmiri and so was KEDARA BHATTA who wrote Vrittaratnakara, used widely after Pingala. Tradition makes the Chhanda-Sutra of Pingala, the starting point of Prosody. Another work on Metrics was Suvritta-tilaka of the well-known Kashmiri author, Kshemendra. Mamatta, his later contemporary, wrote a book entitled Savdavyaparacaraca. In the field of LEXICOGRAPHY also Kashmiri Pandits' contribution is considerable. The Anekarthakosa of Mankha is of special importance and is an improvement Amarasimha.

6.1 ALANKARA SASTRA OR POETICS

Both according to their own account and according to the admission of the learned in India, the Kashmiri Pandits were formerly as distinguished in the 'Alankara-Sastra', or poetics, as in poetry and produced a long series of writers on this subject.

There is nothing surprising about it for, in a beautiful valley like Kashmir, the account must necessarily have been on the pursuit of beauty in all its aspects. The Kashmirian writers did not only develop some of the earlier schools of poetics that were born in other parts of India such as a Rasa, Alankara, Riti, Vakroti and Aucatya but made original contribution to this art with their theory of Dhvani.

The first propounder of this theory was Anandavardhana who in his Dhvanyaloka asserts that it is Dhvani that is the soul of poetry. According to Kane, "the Dhvanyaloka is an epoch-making work in the history of Alankara literature. It occupies the same position in poetics as Panini's Ashadhyayi in grammar and Sankracarya's commentary on Vedanta".

Anandavardhana's literary activity falls within the years 860-890 AD, which almost coincides with the reign of King Avantivarman. It may well be described as the most prosperous age in the political and cultural history of ancient Kashmir. It was in this atmosphere of creative endeavour when sculpture, music, architecture and poetry reached new heights, that Anandavardhana found the inspiration for his epoch-making theory. His works reveal the vast range of his studies. His interests were varied - poetry, drama, philosophy, theology, ancient lore, Buddhist classics, he was equally familiar with them all.

Anandavardhana's masterpiece, Dhvanyalok or the "Light of suggestion" marks the beginning of a new age in aesthetics. During the hundred years between his exposition of the theory and its final establishment by Abhinavagupta, writers on aesthetics continued to devote their attention to it. Inspite of the geographical isolation of Kashmir, the theory was quickly noted by scholarly circles all over India, and we hardly come across any important writer on aesthetics who could ignore it.

The first among the Kashmiri successors of Anandavardhana in aesthetics proper was Mukla Bhatta. Apart from other problems, his book on Dhvani contains a discussion on the use of words in their various primary and secondary senses, a branch of speculation that has today come in for a good deal of emphasis at the hands of European writers on "Semantics".

6.2 ABHINAVAGUPTA

It was, however, Abhinavagupta, the famous poet, critic, philosopher and saint of Kashmir who wrote profusely on aesthetics. Like a drama moving to its climax, aesthetic thought in Kashmir moved to its highest pitch in the writings of Abhinavagupta, undoubtedly the greatest figure in the history of Indian aesthetics.

In a family full of traditions of scholarship, Abhinavagupta was born some time between 950 and 960 A.D. In his childhood he faced a calamity in the death of his mother and then renunciation of this world by his father. But being gifted with a strong will, he pursued studies with uncommon zeal.

Then began his own creative activity. He studied all the Tantric texts from the point of view of Kashmir Saivism and the result of his labours was his famous work, Tantraloka. In his second phase he made a study of all the schools of poetics and produced his famous work on aesthetics, Abhinavabharati and Locana a commentary on Anandavardhana's Dhvanyaloka. In the third and final phase he was drawn towards metaphysical problems and made his own important formulations which raised Kashmir Saiva philosophy to its highest level and secured for it a permanent place in the history of human thought.

Apart from this, his own contribution is the enunciation of Shanta Rasa, the mood of serenity and peace, as the ultimate end of art. In his own words, "all emotions, when their exciting conditions are present, emerge from Shanta, and when these conditions are withdrawn they again merge into Shanta".

6.2.1 HIS SUCCESSORS

Mamattacarya, his disciple also made considerable contribution to poetics. He took his early education at Banaras. His famous Kavyapraksa possesses such merit that it has been commented upon by more than seventy ancient and modern scholars. It covers the whole ground of rhetoric, deals with the merits and demerits of poetry, the functions of different words and their sources and the figures of speech.

The tenth chapter of his Kavyaprakasa has been continued by his pupil Manikyacandra. He has written the first and most reliable commentary on Kavyaprakasa. Rajanaka Kuyaka, who lived in the twelfth century A.D. wrote among several books Alankarasavasav and summarised the views of the early writers.

This does not, however, exhaust the list of Kashmirian writers on poetics which would run into hundreds. It is obvious that the whole literature of Sanskrit poetics has been permeated by their contributions of original works in this field.

6.2.2 POETRY AND PROSE

Kashmiri writers have produced a galaxy of poets and dramatists in Sanskrit. Influenced by the natural beauty of their homeland, its lofty mountains, lakes, waterfalls and charming flowers of multitudinous colours, they wrote dramas, epics, lyrical as well as dialectical poems, essays, fiction and anthologies.

It would not be out of place here to say that writers on Poetics and Saiva and other philosophical schools wrote both in prose and verse. Although poetry is more closely related to music than to any of the other arts, yet the power over verbal melody at its very highest is so self-satisfying that absolute music becomes a superfluity. This is a common feature of all the Sanskrit writers in Kashmir who have attained such mastery over prose and poetry as to achieve this rarest miracle of art.

It is indeed a pity that Sanskrit compositions of Kashmirian poets and authors prior to the sixth century A.D. have not been so far discovered. The Rajatarangini mentions a number of poets and dramatists who flourished long before the beginning of the Christian era.

One, named Chandaka is said to have been a great poet. Kalhana records that he flourished in the reign of Tunjina (C-319 A.D.) and his plays attracted large audiences.

Another poet mentioned by Kalhana is Bharatrmenth who was honoured by Matrigupta, himself a poet, for writing the famous poem Hayagrivavadha by "placing below the volume a golden dish, lest its flavour might escape". This famous poem is lost but is mentioned by Kshemendra and by Mankha in Srikanthacarita. The latter places him by the side of Subhandu and Banal

That Matrigupta who ruled Kashmir for some time as the nominee of Vikramaditya of Ujjain was a poet and a historical character is proved by his commentary on Bharata's Natyasastra which is referred to in Sundarasimha's Natyapradipa.

It would fill a volume to even record the names of writers in Sanskrit after the sixth century A.D. To mention the names of a few outstanding writers would suffice to bring out the deep interest in literary activities of Kashmiri Brahmans.

The first name would be of Damodargupta a famous poet and moralist and the chief councilor of Jayapida. Most of his poetical compositions are lost, but he is quoted in several anthologies.

King Jayapida was also the patron of Bhatta Udbhatta, his court poet known chiefly for his writings on aesthetics. He also wrote the poem Kumarasambhava.

Kalhana mentions the names of Manoratha, Sankhdatta, Cataka and Samdhimat who also flourished at his court.

Another famous poet of the eighth century A.D. was Sankuka who composed a historical poem depicting the fierce battle between Mamma and Utpala, the maternal uncles of Cipatta Jayapida.

Some of the Karkota Kings were poets themselves. We find fragments of poems written by Muktapida and Jayapida preserved in Subhasitavali.

Against the background of royal patronage and deep interest in literary activities of Kashmiri Brahmans, it is not difficult to believe Bilhana's remark that "in Kashmir poetry grew as luxuriantly as Kumkum (Saffron)".

Having achieved a high distinction in Sanskrit language and literature, some of the poets and writers made a mark in the rest of India where they were welcomed with honour, For instance BILHANA who left Kashmir in the reign of Kalasa (1063-89) rose to great prominence at the "court of the Calukya King Parmadi Vikramaditya Tribhavanmala who appointed him as the chief pandit and when travelling on elephants through the hill country of Karnataka, his parasol was borne aloft before the King". He has immortalised his patron in his Vikramankadeva Carita which is perhaps one of the first Sanskrit poems having a historical approach.

MANKHA the renowned poet who served under Jayasimha is known by his poem Srikanthacarita written between the years 1135 and 1145 A.D.. The subject of the poem is the Puranic legend of Siva's overthrow of Tripura. When he completed the poem he put it before an assembly of thirty contemporary scholars, poets and officials where it was publicly read. The list of poets and scholars given by Mankha shows that Kashmir of twelfth century continued to be a centre of Sanskrit learning.

6.3 KSHEMENDRA - FATHER OF SOCIAL SATIRE

Kshemendra's contribution to Sanskrit literature is unique in one respect. He introduces social satire, mixed with humour and sarcasm. His Samayamatrika is a poem of eight chapters narrating the story of the wanderings of a courtesan in the Valley. It is an interesting specimen of satire rarely found in Sanskrit literature, on strolling musicians, women beggars, shopgirls, saints, thieves and other classes of people. His kalavilasa depics various occupations and follies of the people of the time, such as physicians, traders, astrologers, goldsmiths, harlots and saints. His Darpadalama condemns pride which is said to spring from birth in a good and rich family, wealth, learning, beauty, valour, charity and asceticism.

Kshmendra's Desopadesa exposes all kinds of sham in society through the caricatures of the life of various depraved sections of the community, such as cheats, misers, prostitutes, bawds, voluptuaries, students from Gauda (Bengal), old men married to young girls, degraded Saiva Gurus, etc.

Sanskrit poetry continued to flourish in Kashmir even in the thirteen century, Jonaraja mentions a poet Saka who flourished at the court of Samgramadeva (A.D. 1235-52).

The deep religions tendency among Kashmiris inspired them to write devotional songs. Some of the famous poems of this category are Vakratipancasika of Ratnakara, Devisataka of Anandavardhana, Stutravali of Utpala, Sivamahimah of Pushpadanta and Stutikusmanjali of Jagadhar Bhatta.

6.4 FABLE LITERATURE

Kashmir has a long tradition of story - telling that goes back to dim antiquity. One may speculate as to why such a tradition should have developed in the Valley to an almost incredible extent. Is it because a peaceful atmosphere and secluded existence encouraged talent in this direction? Was this talent further strengthened by the long winter months of inactivity, with men having the leisure to weave fact and fancy together?

Whatever the reason might be, many of the world's best-known tales have originated in Kashmir. Apart from Gunadhya's legendary Brihatkatha, which is no longer extant, and

SOMADEVA's Kathasaritasagara, many other collections of stories were produced.

Written in flowing narrative style which makes delightful reading, Kathasaritasagara has reached the remotest corners of the world in one form or another. Somadeva wrote it for edification of queen Suryamati, the wife of King Ananta (1028-63 AD). Without doubt it is the largest collection of stories in the world, the number of stanzas alone being more than 22,000. It is twice as big as the Iliad and Odyssey put together.

The huge mass of Sanskrit manuscripts found all over the state in recent years, shows the extent of the scope and variety of Sanskrit texts and studies and their diffusion among the people.

George Buhler who toured the state in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in 1875 when Sanskrit was at its low ebb after the earlier destruction of huge masses of manuscripts by unscrupulous conquerors and tyrannical rulers, found an incredibly large number of works on Vedas, Puranas, Mahatmyas, Poetry, Plays, Fables, Poetics, Grammar, Kusas, Law and Polity, Saiva Philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology, Vaidya Sastras, etc. The discovery of manuscripts on such varied subjects left him amazed. "I must premise", he records, "that I do not pretend to give all that is valuable in them, and I even doubt if any man can sufficiently become master of all the Sastras represented, in order to estimate the books at their proper value".

Another feature of Sanskrit learning in Kashmir was special and exclusive recenssions of some famous and important classics like the Mahabharata and Kalidasa's Sakuntala. Similarly with regard to Bhagwadgita many Kashmiri Pandits wrote commentaries on it. It was in 1930 that Dr. Sherader published a paper on the Kashmirian recenssion of the Gita which evoked considerable interest among scholars. The controversy has in the words of Kunhan Raja, "assumed in the region of Indological studies an importance too big in dimension to be ignored by any serious student. The problem has come to stay".

Not only did the Kashmiri Scholars comment upon the classical works like those of Kalidasa, but they also studied, and wrote commentaries on, important works produced in Sanskrit in the rest of India. For instance the Yudhishtiravijaya, the premier 'Kavya' of Vasudev Bhattatiri of distant Kerala was commented upon by Ramakantha of Kashmir.

No wonder the learned Pandits of Kashmir and their works were in demand at the courts of several enlightened princes in India, at important assemblies of thinkers and writers and at the Sanskrit Universities in the rest of India. And it was the ambition of every student and lover of Sanskrit language and literature and Indian philosophy to go to Kashmir to drink deep at the fountain of knowledge and wisdom that gushed forth from the "Land of Sarada, the Goddess of Learning".

7 CONTRIBUTION TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray

7.1 FOREWORD

DR. S. C. RAY'S History of Kashmir is an outstanding piece of research on a very important region of India. From at least the third century B. C. Kashmir played a very important part in Indian historical developments. Situated on the borders of Central Asia and always in close contact with the steppe civilisations of Turkestan, it became early in its history, the organised base from which Indian civilisation penetrated into the vast territories lying between China and the Caspian. Notably in the great work of spreading Buddhism, and Sanskrit literature on which Mahayann Buddhism was based, the part played by Kashmir was decisive. The conversion of intermediate kingdom of Kuchi seems to have been the work of Kashmirian scholars. We know from the life of Kumarajiva that it was customary for youngmen of Kuchi to be sent to Kashmir for higher learning. Through Kuchi and Khotan the influence of Kashmirian scholars spread to China and in the list of learned monks from India preserved in the records of China, those from Kashmir hold a high place.

Walled off by high mountains and endowed with unequalled natural beauty, Kashmir remained an inviolate sanctuary of Indian Culture, till at least the 14th century. Buddhism, Saivism and Sanskrit learning flourished in the valley and produced a remarkably rich culture till the Muslim conquest overturned the social structure of Kashmir. The integration of Kashmir life was so complete that one of his most remarkable books that Kshemendra, who was himself a Saivaite, produced was on the Avadanas of the Buddha, a classic in later Buddhist literature.

So far as Sanskrit literature is concerned, apart from alankara sastra in which Kashmirians seem to have excelled, the names of Somadeva, Kshemendra, Damodaragupta, Bilhana and Kalhana stand out as a brilliant galaxy of genius adding lustre to the history of Sanskrit literature. Somadeva's Kathasaritsagara, one of the undisputed masterpieces of the world may well be claimed to be the epic of the middle classes, a unique work which almost compensates us for the loss of Gunadhya's original. Of the later poets of Sanskrit the only one who could be compared with him is Hemachandra Suri. Kshemendra was perhaps the most comprehensive mind of his time, who wandered into every field including satire, with distinction. Of Kalhana's Rajatarangini it is unnecessary to say anything as the present Volume bears ample witness to his merit as a historical document. Thus at least till the Muslim conquest of the valley, Kashmir could claim to have been in the vanguard of Indian culture, with notable contributions to every aspect of Indian life

- K. M. Panikkar

OF THE EARLIEST SANSKRIT compositions of Kashmir, not a single has survived which may be dated with certainty to a period prior to the 6th century A.D. But the highly developed literary style found in the works of the eighth century and onwards must have been the product of a long period of culture. In fact, the *Rajatarangini* speaks of many of these poets who flourished long before and who thought and wrote with ability on different branches of literature. One of them, Vasunanda, a ruler of the valley, is said to have composed a well-known work on erotics *(smarashastra).* No work of Vasunanda is, however, extant. Another Kashmirian named Candaka is said to have been a great poet, though no specific work is attributed to him. It is not unlikely that he is the same Candaka to whom some verses are ascribed in Ballabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*. Perhaps, he may be also identical with the writer Candra, mentioned by the Chinese traveller It-sing.

Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* deals at some length with the career and activities of one Matrgupta who ruled Kashmir for a while. He was a poet and a contemporary of Pravarasena II (c. A.D. 580) of Kashmir and Vikarmaditya Harsha of Ujjayini (c. 6th century A.D.). Some scholars have endeavoured to prove his

identity with the great Kalidasa. The arguments put forward by them may be summed up in the following points:

(1) 'Matr' is same as 'Kali' and 'Gupta' is same as 'Dasa'.

(2) Tradition says that Vikramaditya bestowed half of his kingdom on Kalidasa. This agrees very well with the fact narrated by Kalhana that king Vikramaditya of Ujjain made a gift of Kashmir to Matrgupta.

(3) The *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana speaks of a large number of poets, some of whom like Vakpatiraja and Bhavabhuti lived beyond the borders of Kashmir, but it never makes any reference to Kalidasa, who was undoubtedly the most famous of all.

(4) The illustrations of Kalidasa are chiefly derived from the natural beauty of Kashmir; we may presume that he was an inhabitant of that province.

(5) Like Kalidasa, who made a faithful potrayal of his sorrowful feelings of separation from his beloved in the *Meghaduta*, Matrgupta is also known to have lived away from his wife and home.

(6) The verse No. 252 in Book III of the Rajatarangini, the composition of which is ascribed by Kalhana to Matrgupta, runs as follows:

> ***Nakaramudvahasi naiva vikatthase tvain:***
>
> ***ditsam na sucayasi muncasi satphalani /***
> ***nih sabdavarsana bhivambudharasya rajan:***
> ***samlaksyate phalata eve tava prasadah //***

The verse is very similar to verse No. 113 of the *Meghaduta* and conveys the same meaning.

(7) According to tradition, Kalidasa wrote a poem called Setukavya in Prakrt at the request of Pravarasena. Tradition also says that Pravarasena II of Kashmir constructed a bridge of boats across the Vitasta. It is possible that Matrgupta wrote the poem at the request of the Kashmirian king Pravarasena II who occupied the throne of Kashmir, when Matrgupta retired to Banaras.

(8) By astronomical calculations, some writers have tried to prove that Kalidasa lived in the middle of the 6th century A.D. This is in conformity with the date of Matrgupta who, being a contemporary of Vikarmaditya Harsa of Malwa and Pravarasena II of Kashmir, must be assigned to the end of the 6th century.

The reasons in favour of the identification of Matrgupta with Kalidasa, however, are not convincing. It is inexplicable why the Rajatarangini should' refer to Kalidasa by the pseudonym Matrgupta. Anandavardhana and several other Kashmirian writers quote verses from Kalidasa, but never identify him with Matrgupta. In none of the works of Kalidasa there is any mention of Matrgupta. Secondly, Kalhana refers only to such poets as had some connection with the affairs of Kashmir Bhavabhuti and Vakpati are mentioned, as they were court poets of an antagonist of a Kashmirian king. On the other hand, such great poets as Valmiki and Vedavyasa have not been mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*. Probably, Kalidasa had never anything to do with the kings of Kashmir and this may be the reason of Kalhana's silence over him. The subject matter of Meghaduta does not invariably indicate that its author lived in separation from his wife. It is not always safe to attribute the events of the life of the hero to the life of the author. The mere similarity in the subject matter of two verses also cannot indicate the identity of their authors. Kalidasa might have written a poem entitled *Setuvandhakavya* at the request of Pravarsena, but this Pravarsena might be the Vakataka king of that name and that would make Kalidasa a contemporary of Vikramaditya Candragupta II. Lastly, the method of reaching at a specified date of history by means of astronomical calculations has not been generally successful. Even if it be a fact that Kalidasa flourished in the middle of the 6th century A.D., that is no sure reason for identifying him with Matrgupta. Matrgupta, however, appears to have been a historical character, who lived in Kashmir, if not at the end of the 6th century A.D., at least in an earlier period. His commentary on Bharata's *Natyasastra* is referred to in Sundaramisra's *Natyapradipa*. Ksemendra quotes the opinions of Matrgupta in one of his works. Some of the verses have also found place in Vallabhadeva's anthology.

In the *Rajatarangini*, Kalhana tells his readers that king Matrgupta honoured the poet Mentha, for composing the poem *Hayagrivavadha*, by presenting a golden dish to be placed below it, lest its flavour might escape. Honoured by such an appreciation Bhartrmentha thought richer rewards needless. The poem Hayagrivavdha is lost. The date of Mentha is also not known for certain. But Mentha or Bhartrmentha seems to have been a person of fame. He receives the honour of being placed second in the spiritual lineage of Valmiki. The Kashmirian writer Mankha places him with Subandhu, Bharavi and Bana. The first verse of his great poem *Hayagrivavadha* which runs as

asiddaityo hayagrivah suhrdvesmasu yasya tah /
prathayanti valam vahyoh sitacchatramitah sriyah //

is quoted by Rajasekhara in his *Kavyamimamsa* and by Ksemendra in his *Suvrttatilaka*. Some verses are extracted under Mentha or Hastipaka's name in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali* and other anthologies. Dr. Bhau Daji finds one of his verses occuring in Raghava's commentary of *Sakuntala*.

Some verses are attributed to Gonanda, Gopaditya and Ranaditya in the *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* and in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*. Are they to be identified with the Kashmirian kings of their names mentioned in Kalhana's Rajatarangini ? Unfortunately, we have nothing against which we can check the evidence and prove or reject such a theory.

Candragomin, the founder of the Candra school of Sanskrit grammar, probably lived in Kashmir. According to Kalhana's evidence, Candracarya revived the study of the *Mahabhasya* and composed his own grammar during the reign of king Abhimanyu. Bhartrhari mentions Baiji, Sauva and Haryaksa, who lived before Candracarya and who by their uncritical methods did much to push the *Mahabhasya* to the background. A later Tibetan work records the censure of Patanjali's work by Candragomin. It is thus quite likely that Candracarya and Candragomin are identical persons.

Kalhana's testimony does not give any clue regarding the date of Candragomin. But it is clear from his statement that the grammarian flourished long before the advent of the Karkotas. His Buddhistic title 'gamin' and the *Mangalasloka* of his *vrtti* in which he pays reverence to Sarvajna, tend to prove that Candragomin was a follower of Buddha. This literature recasts the work of Panini and reduces the master's eight chapters into six of four sections each. He often rearranges and simplifies Panini. But excepting thirty-five new *sutras*, there is nothing much original in his work.

Kalhana says that while writing the *Rajatarangini*, he received considerable informations regarding the earlier periods from a work entitled the *Nilamatapurana*. The date of the *Nilamatapurana* is uncertain. But Kalhana's reference to it as a work of high antiquity may suggest a date earlier than the accession of the Karkotas. The mention of Buddha in the work as an incarnation of Visnu has led some scholars to assign the book not much earlier than the 7th century A.D.

The *Nilamatapurana* describes at great length how Kashmir was created out of water and left to the care of the Nagas of whom Nila was the chief. Kashmir, according to this work, was Sati transformed into land. At Vasuki's request, Visnu agreed to apportion the great lake of the land of Sati as a dwelling place for the Nagas, where they would be safe from Garuda. Visnu further ordered Garuda to make Nila, the chief of all Nagas.

At that time, a water demon named Jalodbhava was causing great trouble by killing the inhabitants of Darvabhisa, Gandhara, Jalamdhara and other neighbouring regions. Nila went to his father Kasyapa and asked him to devise means by which the wicked demon could be got rid of. At the request of Kasyapa, the gods came down to Kashmir to fight the water demon and Visnu ultimately slew him.

Next the *Nilamatapurana* relates how Kashmir came to be inhabited by human beings. After the valley was recovered, people could at first live for only six months and during the rest of the year, the country was occupied by the Pisacas under their king Nikumbha. Nikumbha left the valley with the whole of his army at the beginning of spring to fight the goblins of the ocean of sands. Then the men came to Kashmir, lived during the summer and after gathering their harvest left the valley before the advent of the winter when the Pisaca king returned and when no human being could live in the valley due to excessive cold.

This continued for four yugas. Then a Brahmana, Candradeva by name, did not leave the valley during the winter and spent the season in the sub-terranean palace of Nila, the king of the Nagas. Candradeva prayed before Nila that in future people should be allowed to live in Kashmir during the winter also, to which the Naga king agreed. Nila furthermore declared to the Brahmana the rites which were to be observed by the future inhabitants. Henceforth, there was no more any excessive snow-fall or trouble from the Pisacas and slowly men came to live in the valley throughout the year.

The rites proclaimed by Nila are very similar to the socio-religious ceremonies and festivals observed in the plains of India. There can be little doubt that the *Nilamatapurana* is a handbook of rites and ceremonies which were observed by the people of ancient Kashmir. But besides being a handbook of rites and ceremonies, it is also 'a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends which are required in order to explain the *Rajatarangini* and that it shows how Kalhana used his sources' and it is here that the greatest importance of the work lies.

In addition to the *Nilamatapurana*, there are other texts of a somewhat similar pattern, known as *mahatmyas*, which also are useful for the interpretation of various legends connected with the sacred sites of Kashmir. The exact date of composition of the numerous *Sthanamahatmyas* that put forward the false claim that they were extracted from the *Puranas* cannot be determined with certainty. But though they use many old materials, in their present form they seem to belong to a comparatively later period. At least there is nothing to prove that this bulk of literary works were composed in the pre-Muslim Kashmir.

Kalhana's very frequent references to numerous Kashmirian authors and their works enable us to follow the history of Sanskrit literature of Kashmir with tolerable accuracy from the 8th century onwards. The works of many of the writers themselves have also survived and some of these contain valuable informations about other foregoing and contemporary writers and their compositions. Vallabhadeva's (15th century A.D.) *Subhasitavali* which is an anthology of verses compiled from the writings of various poets of ancient India and particularly of Kashmir, is also a very valuable work which helps a lot to trace the early literary history of the valley.

Of the poets of the Karkota period, Kalhana mentions Damodaragupta, Manoratha, Sankhadatta, Cataka and Samdhimat who flourished in the court of king Jayapida. Damodaragupta is said to have written a book called *Kuttanimata* Kavya. This work has survived. It is a practical treatise on erotica. Full of interesting stories, the book incidentally throws a flood of light on the contemporary social life. Several verses of Manoratha seem to occur in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*. About the other three poets Sankhadatta, Cataka and Samdhimat, nothing is known. In the reign of the Karkota king Ajitapida, there lived a poet named Sankuka who composed a poem called *Bhuvanabhyudaya*. The theme of the book was centred round the conflict between the regents Mamma and Utpalaka. The work has not come down but quotations from it are presented in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*. Sankuka's verse has also been quoted in *Sarngadharapaddhati* and *Suktimaktavali*, and there his father's name has been given as Mayura. Further, the name of Sankuka has been referred to in the fourth chapter of the *Kavynprakasa* and his opinion on a point of poetics is considered authoritative.

It is quite likely that some of the Karkota kings themselves cultivated the art of poetry; fragments of poems written by Muktapida and Jayapida are presentedin *Subhnsitavali.*

The early Kashmirians were as distinguished in the field of poetics as in poetry and the Karkota period produced some great writers on the subject. The oldest of them is Bhamaha, son of Rakrilagomin. Probably he lived in the beginning of the 8th century. Bhamaha's *Kavyalamkara* is the earliest work of poetics which has come down to us. It contains 398 verses and is divided into six chapters which deal with such topics as *kavyasarira, alamkara, dosa, nyaya* and *sabdasuddhi*.

Whether Bhamaha was a Buddhist or not, has been a matter of much controversy among historians. The *Kamadhenu* and the *Vrttaratnakarn* quote some verses from Bhamaha which are not found in the *Kavyalamkara*. Some of these verses indicate that Bhamaha wrote a book on metrics also. Bhamaha's views and writings have been quoted by Anandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Mammata, and Vamana.

Udbhata, the court poet of Jayapida appears to have written a gloss on his *Kavyalamkara-samgraha* named *Bhamahavivarna,* but the work is not extant.

Udbhata was a reputed writer on *alamkara*. Besides *Bhamahavivarna*, he wrote an independent treatise, the *Alamkarasamgraha*. In six chapters and in seventy nine *karikas*, it defines forty-one types of figures of speech. Udbhata wrote a poem too, entitled the Kumarasambhava. The work has not survived, but some verses from it are found in his Alamkarasamgraha.

Udbhata's contemporary was Vamana, another writer on poetics, who also adorned the court of Jayapida. His *Kavyalamkarasutra* is divided into five chapters and deals with the whole sphere of *alamkara-sastra*. According to Vamana, the soul of the poetry is the style *(riti).*

Lollata, who according to the evidence of Abhinavagupta, controverted the view of Udbhata, might have lived in the beginning of the 9th century. He seems to have championed the theory of *rasa*. None of his works has come down, but he is credited by Abhinavagupta and other later writers with the authorship of a commentary on Bharata. Some of his verses are quoted by Mammata and Hemacandra. From quotations preserved by Abhinavagupta it appears that Sankuka criticized his theories on *rasa*. It is not clear whether this Sankuka is the author who wrote *Bhuvanabhyndaya* composed during the reign of Ajitapida.

The Karkota rule was supplanted by that of the Utpalas. Among the poets of this age, Kalhana mentions Muktakana, Sivasvamin, Anandavardhana and Ratnakara who obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/ 56-883).

Sivasvamin, also known as Bhatta Sivasvamin, was an ardent follower of Buddha. He wrote a poem named *Kapphinabhyudaya*, describing the expedition of Kapphina, king of Daksinapatha against Prasenajit of Sravasti. At the end of the war, which resulted in his victory, Kapphina accepted Buddhism and renounced his worldly attachments. Some of the verses of Sivasvamin are quoted in Ksemendra's *Kavikanthabharana* and Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali*. Otherwise, Muktakana is known only from quotations preserved in Ksemendra's *Kavikanthabharana* and *Suvrttatilaka*. Ratnakara has been identified with the author of the great *Kavya* named *Haravijaya*, an enormous epic in fifty cantos which describes the defeat of demon Andhaka in the hands of Siva. From the colophon of the work, it seems that Ratnakara whose full name is given as Rajanaka Ratnakara Vagisvara composed the poem during the reign of king Brhaspati Cippata Jayapida, who, according to Kalhana, died forty years before the accession of Avantivarman. It is possible that Ratnakara started his career under Cippata Jayapida but was patronised also by Avantivarman. Besides the *Haravijaya Kavya*, Ratnakara is credited with the composition of two smaller poems, *Vakroktipancasika* and *Dhavnigatha pancika*. Some of his verses have found place in Ksemendra's *Suvrttatilaka*, in Vallabhadeva's *Subhasitavali* and in the *Sarngadharapaddhati*. The fame of Ratnakara seems to have spread outside and the poet Rajasekhara praises him for his vast learning and wealth of imagery.

The fame of Anandavardhana rests principally on his treatise on the science of poetics. His great work *Dhvanyaloka*, Kavyaloka or *Sahrdayaloka* is a commentary in four chapters on certain verses treating *dhvani* as the soul of poetry. Abbinavagupta's elucidation on it, the *Locana*, has given the work a wide reputation. Besides *Dhvanyaloka*, Anandavardhna composed several poems in Sanskrit and in Prakrt. His *Devisataka* is a lyric written in praise of Parvati. The other poetical compositions are *Arjunacaritamahakavya* (Sanskrit), *Visamavanalila, Harivijaya* (both Prakrt) and *Matapariksa*.

In the same period as Anandavardhna, seem to have lived three other reputed rhetoricians of Kashmir, Rudrata, Mukula and Induraja.

Rudrata, also called Satananda was the son of Vamana. His *Kavyalamkara* in 16 chapters deals with the figures of speech depending on sound and sense. He represents the *alamkara* school and is opposed to the theory of Vamana that *riti* is the soul of poetry.

According to Jacobi, Rudrata lived during Avantivarman's reign and the example of Vakrokti given by Rudrata (II, 15) was prompted by Ratnakara in his *Vakroktipancasika*. Rudrata was not the author of the *Srngaratilaka* as some scholars have presumed; the book was written by Rudrabhatta.

Mukula was the son of the famous Saiva philosopher Bhatta Kallata who lived in the time of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883). His *Abhidhavrttimatrka* deals with the theory of various rhetoricians on *abhidha*, the 'appellative power' residing in words.

Induraja, also known as Pratiharenduraja, was a pupil of Mukula. He was born in Konkan, but afterwards migrated to Kashmir. Only one work, written by him, has come to us. It is a commentary on Udbhata's *Kavyalamkara* and is entitled the *Kavyalamkarasaralaghuvrtti*.

We learn from Kalhana that a poet named Bhallata lived in the reign of Samkaravarman. An extant work named *Bhallatasataka* evidently belongs to him. Verses from this work have been quoted by Abhinavagupta, Ksemendra and Mammata. Some passages from this work also occur in the *Sarngadharapaddhati* and in the Subhasitavali.

Another contemporary litteratuer of Samkaravarman was Jayanta Bhatta. Three books of Jayanta Bhatta have so far been recovered. They are the *Nyayamanjari*, the *Nyayakalika* and the *Agamadambara*. All of them are standard works on *nyayasastra*. In the *Nyayamanjari* and *Agamadambara*, Jayanta Bhatta mentions the name of king Samkaravarman. So he can not be placed earlier than that monarch (A.D. 88.3-902). Then, the author of the *Kadambari*, Abhinanda, who was Jayanta's son, says that Jayanta's great grandfather was a minister of Lalitaditya. Lalitaditya reigned about the middle of the 8th century A.D. Jayanta, being four generations removed from Lalitaditya, could not possibly have lived much later than the last quarter of the 9th century A.D.

It is not unlikely that king Samkaravarman himself also composed several poems. In the chapters on coinage it has been noted that another name of Samkaravarman was Yasovarman. A lost drama entitled *Ramabhyndaya*, written by one Yasovarman, which is cited by Anandavardhana in his *Dhvanyaloka,* perhaps belongs to him. Some verses, written by a poet called Yasovarman are also preserved in the *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* and *Subhasitavali*. Possibly they were written by Samkaravarman alias Yasovarman.

The poet who comes next is Abhinanda, son of Jayanta Bhatta, whose *Kadambari-kathasara* isa metrical summary of Bana's prose romance. Abhinanda traces his ancestry from Sakti, who was originally an inhabitant of the Gauda country but afterwards migrated from his native province and settled in Kashmir. From Abhinavagupta's mention of poet Abhinanda, son of Jayanta at the end of the 10th century and from the fact that Abhinanda's father Jayanta was a contemporary of Samkaravarman (A.D. 883-902), it may be inferred that Abhinanda lived in the first part of the 10th century. Although Abhinanda mentions one of his ancestors as an inhabitant of Gauda, it is not clear whether he is the same as Gauda-Abhinanda, whose verses are quoted in the *Sarngadharapaddhati*. Some of the anthologies such as *Sarngadharapaddhati*, Kavindravacanasamuccaya, Saduktikarnamrta and *Suktimuktavali* quote verses written by an Abhinanda and not Gauda-Abhinanda. The *Kavindravacanasamuccaya* which refers to him can not be assigned to a period later than the 10th century. So Abhinanda of the anthologies could not have been much removed from the author of the *Kathasara*. But it is not known whether this Abhinanda of the anthologies is identical with Gauda Abhinanda or with Abhinanda, son of Jayanta. The author of the *Kathasara*, however, must be distinguished from another Abhinanda, the son of Satananda and the writer of an epic called *Ramacarita.* The name of Abhinanda has been mentioned and his poem *Kadambari-kathasara* has been held in high esteem by some later Kashmirian writers.

As already noted in the chapter on religion, Kashmir was a land par excellence of the Saiva faith and it had developed a particular system of Sivaite philosophy based on the principle of idealistic monism *(advaita).* The earliest writers, who propounded and expanded this doctrine, belonged to the Utpala period. The exact date of Vasugupta, the founder of the Kashmir Saivism is not known for certain. But as his disciple Kallata lived at the end of the 9th century A.D., he also may be placed near about the same period. Most of his works are now lost. His *Spandamrta* has probably been incorporated in the *Spandakarikas* and his commentary on the *Bhagavad Gita* called the *Vasavi-Tika* may perhaps be traced in the first six chapters of another *Tika* on the *Bhagavad Gita* called *Lasaki*, by Rajanaka Lasakaka.

About the personality and lineage of Vasugupta, all that we learn from his pupils is that he lived in his retirement as a holy sage in the Sadarhadvana (Harwan).

According to Kalhana's evidence, Bhatta Kallata 'descended to the earth for the benefit of the people' at the time of Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883). He was a pupil of Vasugupta and wrote a commentary called *Spandasarvasva*, on his teacher's *Spandamrta*. It is still extant. He was also the author of the *Spandakarikas*, an exposition on the work of Vasugupta. His two other books, the *Tatvartha-Cintamani* and the *Madhuvahini*, are now lost. Both of them were commentaries on the Siva Sutras.

The next author on Saiva philosophy was Somananda. He wrote *Sivadrsti* and a *Vrtti* on it in which he marshalled philosophical reasonings in support of Vasugupta's teachings. Abhinavagupta, who lived towards the end of the 10th and the first part of the 11th century, was fourth in succession from Somananda in a line of spiritual tutelage. Somananda, therefore, might have flourished towards the end of the 9th century. Somananda was most probably a pupil of Vasugupta.

Somananda's disciple Utpala was the author of as many as six works. These were *Pratyabhijuakarikas, Vrtti* on it, *Tika* on it (lost), *Isvara-siddhi, Ajadapramatr-siddhi* and *Stotravali*. He possibly flourished in the first quarter of the 10th century.

Utpalacarya's pupil Ramakantha (c. A.D. 925) wrote a work entitled the *Spandavivrti*. He is also credited with the composition of two commentaries, one on the Matanga Tantra and the other on the *Bhagavad Gita*. None of the commentaries, however, has come down to us.

In the later part of the 10th century, comes Mahamahesvara Abhinavagupta. A prolific writer, he obtained as great a reputation in the field of poetics as in *Saivadarsana*. From a study of the concluding portions of his two works, *Tantraloka* and *Paratrimsikavivarana*, we learn that he was born in a reputed Brahmana family. His grandfather was Varahagupta, his father was Narasimhagupta alias Cukhala, and his younger brother was Manorathagupta. In quest of learning, he travelled over various parts of Kashmir and also visited many places outside the valley. Among his teachers were Bhattenduraja, Laksmanagupta and Bhatta Tauta.

Abhinavagupta wrote as many as forty one books, some of which exist, while several are known only by name. His *Locana is* an extremely profound and difficult commentary on Anandavardhana's *Dhranyaloka*. His *Natyalocana* and *Abhinavabharati* are commentaries on Bharata's *Natyasastra*. Among works other than those of Saiva philosophy, he composed *Bhairavastotra*, Mohopadesavimsati, Kramastotra and *Ghatakarparavivrti*. His more important works on Saiva philosophy include *Para-Trimsikavivarana, Siva-Drstyalocana, Pratyabhijnavimarsini, Pratyabhijnavivrti Vimarsini, Tantraloka, Tantrasara, Paramarthasara* and *Malinivijayavaritika.*

Abhinava's literary career extended over a quarter of a century from the year 4066 (the date of composition of *Kramastotra*) to the year 4090 (the date of composition of the *Brhat Pratyabhijnavimarsini)* of the Laukika era, i.e. A.D. 990-1014. In view of the fact that his literary career started in a fairly mature age, his date of birth may be placed sometime between A.D. 950 and 960.

Not long after Abhinavagupta, came Mahimabhatta, the rhetorician. In his Vyakitiviveka, he controverted the *Dhvani* theory of Abhinavagupta. He was a champion of the *Anumana* theory of *Rasa* and according to him all that pass by the name of *Dhvani* are really cases of inference. Mahimabhatta's attempt to kill the theory of *Dhvani,* however, seems to have apparently failed as it could not convince the later writers who often quote him but only to refute his theory.

Mahimabhatta quotes Abhinavagupta who lived at least upto A.D. 1014. His own works have been reviewed by Mammata, whose approximate date is the middle of the 11th century. Mahima thus flourished between the two. Mahimabhatta's preceptor Syamala has been referred to by Ksemendra, who lived between 1014 and 1066. This also agrees well with the view that Mahimabhatta lived in the first half of the 11th century.

Mahimabhatta wrote another book, the *Tattvoktikosa*, in which he discussed the nature of *Pratibha*.

Ksemendra, the next great litterateur 'was not a man to hide his light under a bushel, and he has taken care to let us know a good deal about himself and his time'. He was born in a well-to-do family. His father's name was Prakasendra and grandfather's name Sindhu. By birth he was a Saiva but laterly, under the teachings of Somacarya Bhagavata, he became Vaisnava.

His course of studies seems to have comprised all the sciences and arts then known in Kashmir. He had a thorough knowledge of mathematics, astrology, medicine, surgery, politics, erotica, and Buddhist philosophy. Ksemendra says that he left the company of dry logicians and grammarians but studied all the lexicons of his time. He was particularly fond of songs, *gathas*, novels and interesting conceits of poetry.

Ksemendra is silent about the date of his birth. But he says in his *Bharata-Manjari* that he studied literature with Abhinavagupta, author of the *Vidyavivrti* of the *Pratyabhijna- Vrhativimarsini*. As Abhinavagupta composed his famous commentary on *Pratayabhijna* philosophy in A.D. 1014 it is apparent that Ksemendra was born much earlier. His *Dasavataracarita* was composed in the Laukika year 4141 or A.D. 1066. Probably he lived a littler longer.

Ksemendra was a versatile genius. He wrote poems, narratives, didactic and satiric sketches and treatises on rhetoric and prosody. His *Bharatamanjari, Ramayanamanjari, Brhathathamanjari, Padyakadambari* (lost) and *Avadanakalpalat*a are, respectively, the abstracts of the two great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, Gunadhya *Brhatkatha*, Bana's Kadambari and the Buddhist *Avadanas*. All these were written in verse. Among his other works, known only by name, are *Sasivamsamahakavya, Amrtarangakavya, Avasarasara, Muktavali Vatsyayana-sutra-sara, Lalitaratnamale, Kanakajanaki, Nrpavali, Lavanyavati* and *Pavanapancasika*. His known and printed works include *Nitikalpataru, Carucarya, Desopadesa, Narmamala, Nitilata, Vinayavalli. Darpadalana, Sevyasevakopadesa, Munimatamimamsa, Caturvarga-Samgraha Aucityavicaracarca Kavikanthabharana* and *Dasavataracarita.*

In *Samayamatrka*, one of his most original poems, he describes the arts and trickeries of the harlot. The merit of the work lies in its vivid description of droll life painted with great sharpness of phrasing and characterisation. His *Sevyasevakopadesa* contains shrewd reflection on the relation between master and servant. The *Carucarya*, a century of moral aphorisms, gives a pleasing picture of virtue's ways of pleasantness in contemporary Kashmir. The *Caturvargasamgraha* deals with the four objects of human life, *dharma, arthal, kama* and *moksa*. The *Darpadalana* is a denunciatory harrangue against human pride which is said to have sprung from birth, wealth, learning, beauty, velour, charity and asceticism. They are dealt separately in each chapter with illustrations on each type of boaster. The *Kalavilasa* is a satirical poem of ten cantos in which Muladeva, the legendary master of trickery instructs his young disciple in the arts of roguery. Ksemendra's *Desopadesa* and *Narmamala*, like *Kalavilasa*, also represent his satirical proclivity of mind. In the former, he dilates upon the daily life of different depraved sections of people inhabiting the valley such as cheat, miser, prostitute, bawd, ostentatious voluptuary students of Gauda, old man marrying young wives, degraded Saiva Guru, the ignorant grammarians etc. The *Narmamala* is a sharp satire on the misrule and oppression of the Kayasthas, before the time of Ananta. In his *Aucityavicaracarca,* Ksemendra tries to propound that propriety or *aucitya is* the soul of poetry and the figures of speech, if they overstep their proper limits, hurt the *rasa*. In the *Kavikanthabharana* he discuses with the subjects of *kavitvaprapti, siksa, camatkrti, gunadosabodha* and *paricayaprapti*. Ksemendra's *Dasavataracarita* gives in regular *Kavya* style, an account of the ten incarnations of Visnu, viz., Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Nrsimha, Vamana, Parasurama, Rama, Krsna, Buddha and Karkya, which is nothing but an abstraction of the Puranic stories.

Mammatabhatta, the rhetorician, seems to have been a later contemporary of Ksemendra. He refers to Abhinavagupta, Mahimabhatta and king Bhoja and as such must have lived in or about A.D. 1050. Though a native of Kashmir, he took his early education at Benaras. He was a Saiva by faith and was also a staunch supporter of the grammarian school. His *Kavyaprakasa*, a superb work of compilation is divided into ten sections *(ullasa).* It covers the whole ground of rhetoric, deals with the merits and demerits of poetry, the junctions of different words and their sources and the figures of speech. But

Mammata was not only a compiler, he was a critic too. He champions the theory of *dhvani* and attacks the views of Bhamaha, Bhattodbhata, Vamana, Rudrata, Mahimabhatta and others.

Ruyyaka, in his *Samketa* commentary says that Mammata could not finish his work, and it was completed by somebody else. This view receives support from other commentators as well and Rajanaka Ananda, in his commentary, says that Mammata wrote up to *parikara alamkara* and the remaining portion was written by Allata. The *Kavyaprakasa* has two parts *karikas* and *vrtti.* According to some authorities, the *karikas* were written by Bharata and the *vrtti* by Mammata. Mammata wrote another book entitled the *Savdavyaparacarca*, on the derivation and functions of words.

Somadeva, the author of the *Kathasaritsagara*, was another later contemporary of Ksemendra. He composed his work for the amusement of Suryamati, the mother of king Kalasa and grandmother of Harsa. Evidently, it was written sometime between A.D. 1063 and 1089 when Kalasa was on the throne and Suryamati was still alive. The main theme of Somadeva's work, like Ksemendra's *Brhatkathmanjari*, seems to be the adventures of Naravahanadatta, son of Udayana and his final attainment of Madanamanjarika as his wife and the land of the Vidyadharas as his kingdom. A large number of tales, legends and witty stories is dovetailed into the principal narrative, which indeed make the collection an ocean of the streams of stories. It consists of 18 books of 124 chapters and more than 21,000 verses. Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagara* is generally said to have been adopted from Gunadhya's *Brhatkatha* written in Paisaci dialect. But the Kashmirian *Brhatkatha,* from which both Ksemendra and Somadeva drew their inspiration, was most probably not the *Brhatkatha* of Gunadhya. It seems to have been an old Kashmirian version of the same, which had undergone many changes. This is apparent from the comparative evidence of the contents of the two Kashmirian versions, and from their divergency with the Nepal edition of the *Brhatkatha,* the *Brhatkathaslokasamgraha* of Buddhasvamin.

About the same period as Ksemendra, also lived Ksemaraja, the writer on Shaiva philosophy. Both of them were pupils of Abhinavagupta and as such Ksemaraja seems to have flourished about the beginning of the 11th century. Continuing the labours of his master, Ksemaraja wrote a number of works on Kashmir Shaivism. The chief extant works of his are *Pratyabhijna-Hrdaya, Spanda Sandaha, Spanda Nirnaya, Svacchandoddyota, Netradyota, Vijnana-Bhairavaddvota, Siva-Sutra*-Vrtti, *Siva-Sutra Vimarsini, Stava-Cintamanitika, Utpalastotravalitika, Para-Pravesika* and *Tattva Sandoha.*

Another Shaivaite writer, Bhaskara, who was five generations removed from Kallata in a direct line of spiritual descent, was probably a contemporary of Ksemaraja. He embodied in his *Shiva Sutra-Varttika* the teachings of Vasugupta. Ksemendra's pupil Yogaraja may be assigned to the second half of the 11th century. He started his studies with Abhinavagupta and wrote a commentary on his *Paramarthasara*.

The poet who followed next was Bilhana. From the last canto of his *Vikramankadevacarita* we learn that he was born at Khonamusa, near Pravarapura, of a pious and learned Madbyadesi Brahmana family. His father was Jyesthakalasa and mother was Nagadevi. Bilhana received his early education at Kashmir and obtained proficiency in grammar and poetics. At the time of the nominal accession of Kalasa, when Ananta was still alive, he left Kashmir and set out on his wanderings in quest of fame and fortune. The places which he visited were Mathura, Kanyakabja, Prayaga, and Varanasi. At the court of Krsna of Dahala, he stayed for sometime and probably w rote a poem in honour of Rama. On leaving Dahala the poet visited Western India, attracted by the fame of the courts of Dhara and Anhilwad and the sanctity of Somnath Pathan. For some reason not stated, he did not go to Bhoja of Dhara. After spending sometime at Anhilwad, Bilhana embarked from there for southern India and visited Ramesvara. On his way back, he reached the court of Kalyana, where the Calukya king Vikramaditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (A.D. 1076-1127) admired him and made him his Vidyapati. From the last verses of the *Vikramankadevacarita*, it appears that latterly he fell into disfavour with Vikramaditya VI and had to leave his kingdom. Does it account for the incomplete narrative of Bilhana which stops with Vikramadiya's Chola war and never refers to his activities beyond the Narmada in 1088?

The *Vikramankadevsacarita* is a poem of 18 cantos which glorifies king Vikramaditya Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyana. It opens with an eulogistic account of the Calukya dynasty. Then the exploits of king

Vikramaditya's father are described at some length. At the end the poet comes to Vikramaditya VI and depicts with usual amplifications 'the conquests of Vikramaditya before his accession to the throne, his dethronement of his elder brother Somesvara II, his defeat and capture of his younger brother and his numerous wars with the faithless Cholas.' Though Bilhana has taken a historical theme for his subject matter, his work, in all its essentials, is a *kavya* and not a history.

His *Karnasundari* was written as a compliment to the Calukya Karnadeva of Anhilwad whose marriage with a princess it delineates, under the guise of a romantic tale.

Another poem, *Cauri* or *Cauru-Surata-Pancasika*, which is of unknown date and authorship is generally ascribed to Bilhana. The poem consists of fifty amatory verses, sung in the first person, on the topic of secret love. In one of the South Indian versions, a text called *Bilhana Kavya* is attached to the poem, which says that Bilhana repeated these verses when, caught in a secret intrigue with the daughter of a king, he was going to be executed. These glowing verses uttered by the poet moved the king who ordered his release and gave his daughter in marriage with him. But the story differs widely in different versions. Similar tales are told about other poets and the place of occurrence of the alleged incident also varies. Under these circumstances, it seems that the *Caura Kavi* was not identical with Bilhana. The stanzas of *Caurapancasika* were probably some floating verses of unknown authorship which were ascribed to' different writers in different periods.

Not long after Bilhana, came the poet Sambhu,, who lived in the court of king Harsa. His *Rajendra Karnapura* is a high flown panegyric eulogising his patron and his *Anyokti-maktalata* is a collection of, verses on various topics indicating indirect meaning.

The First Lohara dynasty came to an end with the death of Harsa and the second year of the 12th century marked the accession of the Second Lohara dynasty on Kashmir throne. Among the litterateurs who received patronage of this court, were the celebrated poets Jalhana, Mankha and Kalhana.

Jalhana was a contemporary of Uccala. We learn from Mankha that when Sussala acceded to the throne after Uccala's death, he left the valley and went to the court of Rajapuri. There he wrote a poem called *Somapalavilasa* on the history of the king Somapala. His *Mugdhopadesa* is a poem ethical in character.

Mankha or Mankhaka wrote his poem *Srikanthacarita* between the years A.D. 1135 and A.D. 1145. The theme of the work is the Puranic legend of Shiva's overthrow of Tripura. But besides the story of Tripura's defeat, several cantos are employed in describing the usual accessories allowed in *kavyas*, the seasons, the sunsets, the sunrises, court scenes, amusements etc. In the third canto the author gives an account of his family from which we learn that his grandfather's name was Manmatha and his father was Visvavrata. He had three other brothers Srngara, Bhanga and Alamkara, all employed as state officials. Mankha himself held high office under Jayasimha but it is unknown what his designation was. The twenty-fifth or last canto of the *Srikanthacarita* is particularly interesting as it gives the names of thirty contemporary scholars, poets and officials who assembled at the house of Alamkara on the occasion of the completion and public reading of the poem. Though as a pupil of the famous rhetorician Ruyyaka, Mankha shows some cleverness in the rhetorical ornaments, it must be admitted that his work lacks lucidity of expression, freshness and variety.

A dictionary called *Mankhakosa* is current in Kashmir. It is not known whether the writer of the *Srikanthacarita* is also the author of this lexicon.

As already noted, Mankha mentions some of his contemporary poets in the last canto of his book. They are Ananda (XXV, 84), Kalyana (XXV, 80), Garga (XXV, 50), Govinda (XXV, 77), Jalhana (XXV, 75), Patu (XXV, 131), Padmaraja (XXV, 86), Bhudda (XXV, 82), Losthadeva (XXV, 36), Vagisvara (XXV, 127), Srigarbha (XXV, 50) and Srivatsa (XXV, 82). Jalhana has been already referred to. About the rest, nothing else is known from any other source.

Kalhana, the celebrated poet-historian of Kashmir was the son of a high functionary of the State. His father Canpaka was the *'dvarapati'* or 'Commandant of the frontier passes' during the reign of king Harsa (A.D. 1089-1101). Kalhana's ambition of life was to write a chronicle of the kings of Kashmir. When

Jayasimha became king after the death of Sussala (A.D. 1127), Kalhana became his court-poet. He composed his *Rajatarangini* between the years 1149-50.

According to tradition. Kalhana wrote another poem *Jayasimhabhyudaya*, probably an eulogy of his patron, king Jayasimha of Kashmir. The book has not yet been discovered but a verse from this poem has been quoted in *Ratnakathasarasamuccaya*

Though Kalhana does not say anything about his own caste, he seems to be a Brahmana. His vast learning as expressed in the *Rajatarangini* accords well with the reputation generally enjoyed by the Brahmin *pandits* of Kashmir. Kalhana's sympathy towards the Brahmanas, as revealed in the pages of the *Rajatarangini*, also tends to show that he was probably a Brahmana. Every doubt in this regard is dispelled by Jonaraja, the writer of the *Dvitiya Rajatarangini*, who calls Kalhana clearly as *'dvija'*. Kalhana was a Shaiva in his religious belief. In the *Rajatarangini,* he pays his devotion in the opening verse of each *taranga* to the Lord Shiva and his consort Gauri.

The *Rajatarangini* consists of eight books or *tarangas*. The first book deals with the Gonanda dynasty, several local rulers, Ashoka and his successors, the Turuskas i.e. the Kusanas and the Hunas. Book II treats of a line of Kashmir rulers, unconnected with Gonanda's dynasty. The third book begins with the restoration of the Gonanda dynasty and mentions several rulers among whom Pravarasena and perhaps Toramana may be recognized as historical figures. Book IV starts with the accession of the Karkota dynasty. Some of the kings belonging to this dynasty, are also known from other sources. The Karkota dynasty was overthrown by the Utpalas. The history of the Utpala dynasty occupies the fifth book of Kalhana. The sixth *taranga* of the *Rajatarangini* describes Kashmir under the descendants of Viradeva and Abhinava. The seventh book opens with the accession of Samgramaraja of the Lohara kingdom to the throne of Kashmir and ends with the dethronement and death of Harsa. The dynasty to which these rulers belonged is regarded as the First Lohara dynasty. The eighth book starts with the accession of the second Lohara dynasty and gives a long account of the reigns of Uccala, Sussala and Sussala's son Jayasimha, the reigning sovereign of Kalhana's time. Though the *Rajatarangini* is a literary production of high merit, it will not be doing justice to Kalhana, if we regard his poem simply as a *mahakavya*. It is an admirable collection of historical facts presented in an illuminating garb of poetry and soars in the region of fine art. History takes wings from the inimitable pen of Kalhana.

Kalhana generally indicates the materials which he used for his narrative. He mentions several previous writers on the history of Kashmir. Among these were Suvrata 'whose work', he says, 'was made difficult by misplaced learning; Ksemendra who drew up a list of kings, *Nrpavali*, of which however, no part was free from mistakes; Nilamuni, who wrote the *Nilamatapurana*; Helaraja, who composed a list of kings, in twelve thousand verses; and Srimihira or Padmamihira, and the author *Sri* Chavillakara'. His own work was based on eleven collections of Rajakathas or stories about kings and on the works of Nilamuni. He further tells us that he took the help of many inscriptions, grants and manuscripts to write his book.

Some of the sources mentioned above, which Kalhana used for his narrative, were themselves of uncertain historical character. Hence the early part of his work, especially the first-three books of the *Rajatarangini* have become a conglomeration of history and vague legends. The poet-historian, however, shows more precision from the fourth book onwards for which he had probably at his disposal, materials of a truly historical character, presumably coins and inscriptions, as well as other indigenous sources. The seventh and eighth books of the *Rajatarangini* are graphic and full of facts. The reason is not far to seek, Kalhana was a contemporary of the monarchs of the eighth book and for the history of Harsha and other immediately preceding rulers, he has most probably informations from his father and other older contemporaries.

Inspite of the lack of historical materials in the early portions of his work, Kalhana's splendour of imagination, depth and range of thought and above all the power of centralizing many talents to a single purpose, had given his *Rajatarangini* a literary immortality. Among the special merits of Kalhana as a historian, Stein mentions his impartiality and independence, individuality of his characters, accuracy of geneological statements, high sense of historical truthfulness in later parts of the Chronicle and exactness

of topographical details. To these may be added his rare sense of appreciation of the philosophy of history, a quality rare among the writers of the past. Kalhana's account is not written to enforce an particular lesson. He lets his tale tell itself in the deeds and words of those who act it out. This of course does not mean that he confines himself to a mere report. Beside the narrator stands the thinker, explaining the facts by causes and reasons, exposing the principles which underlie them. But he does not use the facts to illustrate his thesis, much less does he manipulate them to fit a doctrine of his own; his philosophy waits upon the facts and does not govern them.

We realise the qualities of Kalhana more fully as we pass from him to his continuator, Jonaraja. Jonaraja's account also is clear and authentic, but in it, one misses, the mind of a great historian.

The rhetorician Ruyyaka seems to have been a contemporary of Kalhana. He quotes from Mankha's *Srikanthacarita* which is said to have been composed between A.D. 1135 and 1145. On the other hand the *Kavyaprakasasamketa* of Manikyacandra written between A.D. 1159-60 refers to Ruyyaka's *Alamkarasarvasva*. It is thus evident that Ruyyaka flourished between A.D. 1135 and 1160. *His Alamkarasarvasva* isa standard work on figures of speech. His other works include *Sahrdayalila,* 'a short prose-poetic discourse on the qualities of a fashionable gentleman, a charming formula in four chapters', and *Alamkaranusarini*, a commentary on Jalhana's *Somapalavilasa*.

Among the minor works which were composed during the last days of the Hindu rule, mention may be made of *Haracaritacintamani* of Jayadratha. It was probably written in the 12th or 13th century. In a simple *kavya* style, the book relates in 32 cantos many legends connected with Shiva and his incarnations. Some of these legends are placed in famous Kashmirian *tirthas* and afford the author a chance to describe the sacred sites of Kashmir.

Another writer, Jayaratha composed a commentary on the *Tantraloka*. He appears to have lived in the 12th century.

If Jonaraja is to be believed, during the reign of Samgramadeva (A.D. 1235-52), a poet named Shaka lived in his court and made the king the hero of his compositions. Unfortunately nothing more is known of this poet and his writings.

8 CONTRIBUTION TO POETICS AND DRAMATURGY

Sures Chandra Banerji

The early Vedic Indians, like the people of man, other ancient lands, preferred poetry to prose as the medium of expressing their thoughts. Figures of speech and sentiments of various kinds constitute the very life-blood of poetry. This can be said in a general way without entering into the niceties of academic discussions about the soul *(atma) of* Kavya. The Rgvedic hymns contain figures of speech like Upama (simile), Rupaka (metaphor) etc and sentiments like the erotic pervade many of them. The hymns,for aught we know, were the spontaneous outpourings of the Vedic Rsi (seer) who was, therefore, unconscious of the figures of speech and Rasas employed in the hymns. The conscious employment of these poetic devices presumably took a long time. The beginnings of poetics as a discipline are shrouded in obscurity. To Kashmir, however, belongs the credit of systematizing the ideas of poetics into a coherent form. In the present state of our knowledge, we can safely make this assertion in view of the fact that, of the writers on poetics known hitherto, the Kashmirian Bhamaha is the earliest.

It is noteworthy that all the schools of poetics, viz. Alankara, Riti Rasa and Dhvani, originated and developed in Kashmir. It was the scholars of Kashmir again who propounded different theories of Rasa by independent exposition of the celebrated Rasa-Sutra of Bharata. It is a matter of no mean credit that Kashmir was not only the cradle of the schools of poetics, but it also nurtured generations of poeticians through four centuries or more. The valley saw the different systems in their formative, creative, definitive and scholastic stages. No evidence is available to us for determining the date of Bhamaha with absolute certainty. The testimony of Pratiharenduraja and Abhinavagupta is clear that Udbhata wrote a commentary on Bhamaha's work. In Udbhata's *Kavyalankara*-samgraha there are evidences of borrowing from Bhamaha's rhetorical work. The rhetorician Vamana also appears to have been acquainted with Bhamaha's text. Udbhata and Vamana flourished in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. which, therefore, is the lower limit to the date of Bhamaha.

The upper terminus of his date is more difficult to determine. The mention of *Nyasakara* in Bhamaha leads some scholars to suppose that Bhamaha was later than Jinendrabuddhi, author of the *Nyasa*, and exposition of the Kasika commentary on the *Astadhyayi*. Even if this conjecture is correct, it does not help us materially, because the date of Jinendrabuddhi himself is controversial. While some scholars believe that he lived about 700 A.D., others would place him later than 878 A.D.

The supposed reference, in Bhamaha's work, to the *Megha-duta* is of no consequence in this respect. Kalidasa is placed at different times from the first century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. - a space of five hundred years! In chapter v, Bhamaha appears to have utilised some philosophical doctrines of the Buddhist philosopher, Dharmakirti, who is believed to have lived in the middle of the seventh century A.D.

From the foregoing evidences Bhamaha may, perhaps, be placed between the last quarter of the seventh century and the middle of the eighth.

The question of the chronological relationship between Bhamaha and Bhatti, author of the *Ravana-Vadha*, popularly known as *Bhattikavya*, is difficult. Some scholars believe that the *Prasannakanda* of the *Bhattikavya* was designed to illustrate the figures of speech dealt with by Bhamaha. But, the date of Bhatti himself has not been fixed with certainty. Bhatti mentions Sridharasena as his patron. The fact of the existence of four persons of this name makes it difficult to associate Bhatti with the right person. Again Bhamaha's couplet in ii. 20 appears to be a dig at Bhatti's boastful reference to his pedantry. A comparison of Bhamaha's poetic figures with the *alankaras* illustrated by Bhatti, while revealing close resemblance, betrays some discrepancies too. The conclusion seems reasonable that both Bhatti and Bhamaha used independent sources which had close correspondence with one another and also minor differences.

Of Bhamaha's personal history we know nothing excepting the fact, as he himself states, that he was the son of Rakrilagomin.

Bhamaha's work, called *Kavyalankara* or *Bhamahalankara*, consists of six Paricchedas or chapters and about 400 verses. The contents of the chapters are: I Object, definition and classification of Kavya, reference to the Vaidarbhi and Gaudi modes of composition, some blemishes of Kavya; II-III. The three Gunas of Madhurya, Prasada, Ojas and Alankaras; IV Eleven blemishes with illustrations; V Eleven blemishes arising from a faulty Pratijua, Hetu or Drstanta; IV Grammatical correctness of words used in Kavya.

The object of Kavya, according to Bhamaha, is chiefly twofold, viz. acquisition of fame on the part of the poet and delight for the reader. Like most other theorists Bhamaha deals with the equipment of a poet or the qualities that are necessary for the making of a poet. The first essential is genius. Coupled with this is the knowledge of various arts and sciences. While defining Kavya, Bhamaha says - *sabdarthau sahitau kavyam*; word and sense together constitute Kavya. This definition obviously takes cognisance of the external element or the body of Kavya, and is silent about its innermost element or its soul. From his treatment of the subject it is implied that word and sense in order to rank as Kavya must be free from blemishes *(nirdosa)* and embellished with poetic figures *(salankara).* On poetic figures Bhamaha lays the greatest stress. In his opinion, a literary composition, however laudable, does not become attractive if it is devoid of embellishments. He gives a happy analogy by saying that the face of a beloved woman, though lovely, does not look radiant without ornaments. *Alankara* is, according to him, indispensable for a composition to merit the designation of Kavya. Bhamaha is, therefore, the earliest exponent, if not the founder, of the Alankara school of Sanskrit Poetics. Even so, he ignores the *atma* (soul) of poetry of which later rhetoricians make so much; because *alankaras* are nothing but extraneous elements like ornaments to human beings.

In Bhamaha's work we get a fourfold classification of Kavya. A Kavya may be in prose or verse. It may be written in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Apabhramsa. The subject-matter of a Kavya may be human or divine; it may be imaginary or based on the various arts and sciences. Coming to the conventional classification, he divides Kavya into the following classes: *Sargabandha* mahakavya(anepic poem in cantos), *Abhineyartha* (drama) Akhyayika (a historical narrative), *Katha* (romantic tale) and *Anibaddha kavya* (detached verses).

Unlike the advocates of the Riti school, Bhamaha does not attach much importance to Riti or mode of composition; because, in his opinion, the distinction between the Vaidarbhi and the Gaudi Riti is of no consequence. This attitude to Riti perhaps accounts for his comparative indifference to Gunas of which he mentions only *Madhurya, Ojas* and *Prasada*.

It is the subject of Alankaras that receives the most detailed treatment at the hands of Bhamaha, and it is quite in the fitness of things because he considers Alankara to be the essential element of Kavya. It should be added that, of the Alankaras, Bhamaha thinks that *Vakrokti* is an essential principle. *Vakrokti* of Bhamaha is strikingness or charm of expression and not a particular poet figure as we find it in later rhetorical works. It is interesting to note that Bhamaha was not ignorant or incognisant of Rasa in Kavya; indeed he mentions a poetic figure called *Rasavat* (lit. that which possesses Rasa). The suggested sense *(vyangyartha),* which is at the root of Rasa, is implicit in the *vakrokti* of Bhamaha so that the germs of the later Rasa of Dhvani school of poetics are there in Bhamaha's work of so remote an antiquity.

The next Kashmirian poetician of note is Udbhata. Apart front his typically Kashmirian name, he is stated by Kalhana to have adorned the court of king Jayapida (C. 779-813 A.D.) *of* Kashmir. Anandavardhana, in the middle of the 9th century, mentions Udbhata. Thus, Udthata may be placed in the period between the close of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th.

Besides the lost *Bhamaha-vivarana* (also called *Kavyalankaravivrti*), a commentary on Bhamaha's work, Udbhata appears, on the tesimony of Pratiharenduraja, to have composed a poem entitled *Kumarasambhava* which is no longer extant. Udbhata probably wrote also a commentary on Bharata's *Natya-sastra*.

Udbhata's fame, however, rests on his *Kavyalankarasamgraha*. It is written in six Vargas, or chapters. This work has two commentaries, viz one by Pratiharenduraja and the other by an unknown author.

Rajanaka Tilaka, who was probably father of Ruyyaka, is mentioned by Jayaratha, in his commentary on Ruyyaka's *Alankarasarvasva*, as author of an *Udbhata-viveka.* or *Udbhata-vicara.*

From the extant work of Udbhata, which is only a short treatise on poetic figures, it is difficult to ascertain his views on the general principles, e.g. the essential constituent of Kavya and such other questions. In his brief work Udbhata follows Bhamaha in the number and even order of the poetic figures. Bhamaha's definitions of some of the figures have been taken verbatim by Udbhata. Udbhata's originality, however, lies in the analysis and distinctions of the different *alankaras*. For example, whereas Bhamaha mentions one kind of *atisayokti* Udbhata distinguishes four varieties of it. In place of Bhamaha's two forms of *anuprasa*, Udbhata gives four. In connexion with the varieties of *anuprasa*, Udbhata for the first time recognises three different *Vrttis* or modes of expression. In Udbhata's work again, we find a clear statement of the grammatical basis of the divisions of Upama according as the idea of resemblance is expressed by suffixes like *-vat, -kyac, -kalpap* etc. A comparison of the characterization of the poetic figures by Bhamaha and Udbhata reveals also the fact that the latter differs from the former on some minor points. What is most noteworthy is that Udbhata's notion of Rasa is more developed than that of his predecessor, so much so that he even uses the terms *bhava* and *anubhava* which are the elements that give rise to Rasa. Thus by his advanced ideas and critical analysis he threw Bhamaha into background; later theorists recognise Udbhata as the highest authority, and follow in his footsteps in matters relating to poetic figures. The seeds of the *Alankara* doctrine, which we find in Bhamaha's work, grow into a flowering tree in that of his successor.

Mukula is the author of the short work entitled *Abhidhavrttimatrka*. In fifteen Karikas, with Vrtti on them, he discusses the functions of words called Abhidha (denotation) and Laksana (indication) from the grammatical and rhetorical standpoints. We learn from the concluding verse of this work that Mukula was the son of Bhatta Kallata who, Kalhana informs us, lived during the reign of Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-884 A.D.).

With Vamana we reach a towering personality in the realm of Sanskrit poetics. Vamana's quotations from Bhavabhuti's works fix the upper limit of his date at the first quarter of the 8th. century when Bhavabhuti is known to have flourished. The lower limit is suggested by Rajasekhara's (9th-l0th century) quotation from Vamana's work. According to Kalhana (R. T. IV. 497), Vamana was a minister of king Jayapida of Kashmir (779-813 A.D.).

The *Kavyalankara-sutra-vrtti* of Vamana consists of aphorisms and a commentary called *Kavi-Priya* thereon. Both the text and the commentary appear to have been written by Vamana who says that some of the illustrative verses are taken from others. Of the commentaries on this work, the *Kamadhenu* by Gopendra Bhupala is the most well-known.

The *Kavyalankara-Sutra-Vrtti* is divided into five sections *(adhikarana)* each of which consists of some chapters *(adhyaya).* The titles of the Adhikaranas are in order: Sarira, Dosa-Darsana, Gunavivecana, Alankarika and Prayogika. The titles of the Adhikaranas hint at their contents.

In consonance with the views of his predecessors, Vamana holds that the body of Kavya is constituted by word and sense. It is in the conception of the soul of Kavya that he clearly expresses an independent view. None of his predecessors is explicit on the point. For the first time, Vamana declares *ritir-atma kavyasya*, i.e. Riti is the soul of Kavya. 'Riti' is not a new concept with Vamana, but the idea of its constituting the soul of Kavya is his contribution to poetical speculations. Riti, according to him, is *Visista pada-racana* or a particular arrangement of words. Of Ritis he distinguishes three varieties, viz. Gaudi, Vaidarbhi and Pancali which obviously took their names from the regions in which they originated and had been standardised in the period preceding Vamana. Riti is closely associated with Gunas or qualities. According to Vamana, Vaidarbhi, the Riti par excellence, possesses all the ten conventional Gunas; to Gaudi belong *Ojas* and *Kanti* and the Pancali has *Madhurya* and *Saukumarya*. As Riti, according to Vamana, is the essence of Kavya so Gunas are the essential elements of the Riti. Vamana's idea of Riti as the life-force of Kavya naturally led him to relegate the *alankaras* to a subservient position. In his opinion, a Kavya cannot be so called without Gunas which underline Ritis, but it can be so without

alankaras which, therefore, are extraneous elements. His remark *kavyam grahyam alankarat* may, at first sight, seem contradictory to what we have just said about his attitude to *alankaras*. But, the immediately following words clarify his position. He says *saundaryam alankarah*, i.e. the charm or beauty is *alankara*; this makes it clear that it is the charm of expression, but not *alankara* in its technical sense of poetic figure, that imparts the status of Kavya to a literary composition. Vamana, for the first time, makes a clear distinction between *sabda-gunas* (verbal qualities) and *artha-gunas* (ideal qualities). While accepting the ten traditional Gunas, Vamana brings out the meaning of each as applied to *sabda* and *artha*. For example, Prasada as a *sabda-guna*, according to him, means looseness *(saithilya)* of structure; as an *artha-guna* it means propriety of sense.

Coming to Rasa we find that his idea about it is more advanced than that of his predecessors. While the writers preceding him recognise Rasa as an element of a certain poetic figure, Vamana takes it as a constituent of *Kanti* which is an *artha-guna*, and, as such, an essential element of Kavya written in particular Ritis.

Rudrata bears a typically Kashmirian name. His date cannot be ascertained with certainty. The mention of Rudrata or reference to his text or views by Rajasekhara and Vallabhadeva fixes the lower terminus of Rudrata's date at the end of the ninth century or beginning of the tenth. Rudrata's treatment of *Vakrokti* as a poetic figure, rather than as strikingness of expression underlying all poetic figures or as the collective name of almost all poetic figures or as a metaphorical expression based on transferred sense, makes it probable that he was later than Bhamaha, Dandin and Vamana. Coupled with this fact the absence of any indication of Anandavardhana's acquaintance with his work tends to establish that Rudrata flourished between the first quarter of the ninth century and its close.

From V. 12-14 of the *Kavyalankara*, as interpreted by Namisadhu, Rudrata, also called Satananda, appears to have been son of Bhatta Vamakha. Rudrata is sometimes identified, on no more convincing ground than the similarity of names, with Rudra or Rudrabhatta, author of the *Srngaratilaka*.

The *Kavyalankara* of Rudrata is written in sixteen chapters *(adhyayas)* and has been commented upon by Vallabhadeva, Namisadhu and Asadhara.

As the title of his work suggests, Rudrata lays the greatest stress on *alankara* as the principal element in Kavya. Indeed, he devotes the bulk of his work to this topic. In comparison with his predecessors he mentions more poetic figures and a larger number of the sub-divisions of many of them. For the first time he clearly distinguishes between figures of words *(sabdalankara)* and figures of sense *(arthalankara)*. Rudrata no doubt mentions Rasas which find a fairly lengthy treatment in his work: but the Rasas are still considered as extrinsic elements. He mentions as many as four Ritis, viz.

Pancali, Latiya, Gaudiya and *Vaidarbhi,* but these do not, in his opinion, dominate Kavya. He does not mention *Dhvani*, although he makes the suggested sense an accessory to the expressed one in some poetic figures.

The work of Dhvanikara and Anandavardhana stand as a prominent landmark in the literature of Indian poetics. The *Dhvanyaloka*, also called *Kavyaloka* or *Sahrdyaloka*, is the last great monument to the sound judgment and critical scholarship of the Kashmirian school of poeticians. It was succeeded by learned works produced in Kashmir, but none surpassed it in the original and systematic treatment of the subject.

The *Dhvanyaloka* consists of two parts, the text and its running commentary with illustrations. A keen controversy has been raging on the question as to whether or not the text *(Karikas)* and the commentary *(vrtti)* of this work were written by one and the same person, i.e. Anandavardhana who is known to have composed the *vrtti*. We have the authority of Abhinavagupta and Mammata for the assumption that the authors of the two portions were different persons. But, the name of the author of the *Karikas* is not known so that he is generally referred to as Dhvanikrt or Dhvanikara which appellation is sometimes used to refer to Anandavardhana also. Some scholars have suggested that the author of the *Karikas* was named Sahrdaya, but they have not succeeded in adducing conclusive evidence in support of their contention. We have no means of determining the date of Dhvanikara or the region to which he belonged Anandavardhana, however, is known to have been a Kashmirian who is assigned to the middle of the

ninth century on the authority of Kalhana who states (R.T.V. 34) that this great poetician adorne the court of King Avantivarman (885-84 A.D.) of Kashmir. This date is corroborated by Raja Sekhara (9th -10th Century) who clearly cities him by name in the Kavya-Mimansa. From the colophon to chapter III of the *Dhvanyaloka* Anandavardhana's father appears to have been known as Nonopadhyaya. Anandavardhana appears to have composed the following works too: -

Devi-sataka, Visamabana-lila, Arjuna-carita, Dharmottama, Mata-Pariksa, Tattvaloka and *Hari-vijaya.* Of these, the *Devi-sataka*, a lyric on Parvati, exists while the others are referred to either by Anandavardhana himself or by later writers. The *Visamabana-lila* appears to be a Prakrit poem which, judging from the title, perhaps dealt with an erotic theme. The *Arjuna-carita* was a Mahakavya in Sanskrit. The *Dharmottama* was a commentary on the *Pramana-viniscaya* of Dharmakirti. The *Tattvaloka* is stated by Abhinavagupta, in his *Locana*, to have discussed, *inter alia*, the relation between *Kavya-nyaya* (method of instruction in Kavya) and *Sastra-nyaya* (method of instruction is scriptures); the former, according to writers on poetics, is *Kanta-sammita* (likethe wife) and the latter *Prabhu-sammita* (like the master). The *Harivijaya* was a Prakrit poem.

In assessing the contribution of Dhvanikara and Anandavardhana we must bear in mind that the Dhvanikara (lit. the maker of Dhvani) was not the founder of the concept of Dhvani. This is evident from the very first Karika of the *Dhvanyaloka* it mentions a tradition *(samamnata-purva)* of this concept. Thus, it appears that long before the author of the Karikas, the concept of Dhvani as the essence of Kavya not only originated, but also enlisted a considerable number of adherents. It was the work of the Dhvanikara to systematise, perhaps for the first time, the speculations of this school and to present them in the orderly manner of memorial verses. The *Karikas* being mnemonic naturally left much to be cleared up by an exposition. It was Anandavardhana's task to write such an exposition, and to set the seal of his erudition and authority in establishing the doctrine of this school.

We may now proceed briefly to take stock of the contribution made by the Dhvanikara and Anandavardhana to poetical speculations. The object of the *Dhvanyaloka* is twofold, viz. (1) to establish, by arguments and counter-arguments, that *dhvani* or suggested sense is the 'soul' or essence of Kavya *(dhoanir-atma kavyasya);* (2) to examine the existing ideas of Rasa, Alankar, Riti, Guna and Dosa with a view to correlating them to the Dhvani doctrine propounded in it.

In trying to establish their standpoint the Dhvani-theorists had to combat three antagonistic schools, viz. (1) the school that totally denied the existence of the suggested sense in Kavya; (2) the school that recognised it not as an entity conveyed by words but as something that can be comprehended by the connoisseur *(sahrdaya*); (3) the school that recognised the suggested sense, but believed that it was conveyed by the already accepted word-functions of Abhidha, Laksana, Tatparya or by Anumana and not by Vyanjana as the Dhvani theorists would have us believe. After establishing the existence of suggested sense and of the word-function called Vyanjana conveying it, the *Dhvanyaloka* proceeds to classify Kavyas in relation to Dhvani. According to it, Kavyas are divided into three classes, viz.

(i) Dhvani-kavya - in it the suggested sense *(vyangartha)* predominates over the expressed sense *(vacyartha);* this is Kavya par excellence.

(ii) Gunibhuta-vyangya-kavya - in it the suggested sense is subordinated *(gunibhuta)* to the expressed one.

(iii) Citra-kavya - in it, the worst of Kavyas, there is no suggested sense at all, and there is either Sabda-citra (pictorial words) or Artha-citra (pictorial sense).

These three broad classes of Kavya have again been divided and subdivided with great minuteness. The subdivisions of suggestive Kavya reach the stupendous number of five thousand, three hundred and fifty-five! In this connexion, it may be added that the Dhvani or suggested sense may be threefold; it may suggest a matter or idea *(vastu),* a poetic figure *(alankara)* or a feeling or mood *(rasa).*

From what we have said it is clear that the *Dhvanyaloka* recognises Rasa, but not as an entity divorced from Dhvani. Similarly, the other recognized concepts of Riti, Guna, Dosa and Alankara are accepted in so far as they are related to Dhvani. Riti is recognized not as an independent factor, but only in so far as it

suggests Rasa. The characteristics of Ritis are not dealt with by Anandavardhana because, as Abhinavagupta points out, Ritis ultimately merge into Gunas. The Dhvanitheorists recognise Gunas as helping the development of Rasa, and accept only three Gunas instead of the conventional ten. These three are *Madhurya* (sweetness), *Ojas* (energy) and *Prasada* (perspecuity). The Dosas or blemishes are recognised by them in so far as they detract from the Rasa. The Dhvani-theorists do recognise the importance of Alankara in a Kavya, but they would not regard it as a distinct entity. Alankara is necessary to embellish the principal element, mostly the Rasa, in a Kavya. But, an *alankara* for its own sake is relegated by these theorists to an inferior position. A literary composition having an *alankara*, but no suggested sense, is not a Kavya properly so called but its counterfeit.

This in brief is the contribution of the Dhvani school to the poetical speculations. The treatment of the subject by the writers of this school was so logical and thorough that it survived through centuries influencing the later writers of this school and throwing the antagonists into the background.

One cannot think of the *Dhvanyaloka* without its celebrated commentary called *Kavyaloka-locana* or simply *Locana* written by Abhinavagupta. He tells us, in his *Paratrimsika-vivarana*, that he was son of the Kasmiraka Cukhala, grandson of Varahagupta and brother of Manorathagupta. From the dates of composition, stated by himself in some of his works, we can assign him to a period between the last quarter of the tenth century and first quarter of the eleventh. Abhinavagupta was a profound scholar and a prolific writer. Besides the *Locana*, he composed also an authoritative commentary called *Abhinavabharati* on Bharata's *Natya-sastra*. In his *Locana*, he refers to his commentary, now lost, on the *Kavya-kautaka* of Bhatta Tauta who was his Guru. A commentary on the *Ghatakarpara-kavya*, called *Ghatakarpara-vivrti*, is attributed to Abhinava. This commentary is interesting from the point of view of literary history; it supports the tradition that the Kavya, on which it comments, was from the pen of Kalidasa. Abbinava was not a mere commentator. His several philosophical works have immortalized him in the domain of Kashmir Shaivism.

Much of the popularity of the *Dhvanyaloka* is accounted for by its masterly exposition by Abhinavagupta. The most striking feature of the exposition is that in it Abhinavagupta carries the idea of Rasa to its logical conclusion. In the *Dhvanyaloka*, Rasa is recognised in relation to Dhvani as Alankara and Vastu are also recognised in relation to this concept. But, Abhinavagupta unequivocally declared that Rasa was really the soul of Kavya and that Vastu-dhvani in the final analysis, merged into Rasa-dhvani. The emphasis laid by Abhinavagupta on the element of Rasa in Kavya, earned the acceptance of his views by the later writers.

In this connexion, mention should be made of the contribution of Abhinavagupta to the interpretation of the basic concept of Rasa propounded by Bharata. Before doing so we shall examine the views of the predecessors of Abhinava in this matter in explaining the process by which Rasa comes into being in a drama, Bharata declares:

vibhavanubhava-vyabhicari-samyogad rasa mspattih.

This means that Rasa originates out of a combination of *Vibhavas* (excitants), *Anubhavas* (ensuants) and *Vyabhicaribhavas* (accessory feelings) with the *sthayi-bhava* (permanent feeling). The word *nispatti* in Bharata's formula touched off a keen controversy as to its real significance.

Abhinavagupta refers to the view of Bhatta Nayaka on the above Rasa-sutra of Bharata. From the testimony of Mahimabhatta and others Bhatta Nayaka appears to have been the author of a work entitled *Hrdaya-darpana* which is lost. It appears to have been a metrical treatise with running prose commentary. From Bhatta Nayaka's supposed familiarity with a Dhvani theory he may be assigned to period later than Anandavardhana who flourished about the middle of the ninth century A.D. Abhinavagupta is the earliest writer to mention Bhatta Nayaka who, therefore, cannot be later than the first quarter of the eleventh century. The above limits of his date accord well with the evidence of the RT. (v. 159) to the effect that Bhatta Nayaka flourished during the reign of Sankaravarman (883-902 A.D.), son and successor of Avantivarman, king of Kashmir. Bhatta Nayaka's theory of Rasa, as explained by Abhinava and

Mammata, is known as Bhukti-vada. It means that Rasa is enjoyed with reference to *vibhavas* (excitants) through the relation of the enjoyer and the enjoyed.

In his commentary on Bharata's *Natya-sastra*, Abhinavagupta refers to one Lollata and his views on certain topics of Dramaturgy. From this fact we may suppose that Lollata also wrote a commentary on Bharata's work. The name of Lollata is typically Kashmirian. As he is mentioned as rejecting Udbhata's views on certain matters he must have been either his contemporary or a later writer, Udbhata cannot be later than 813 A.D. Lollata's theory *(Utpattivada)* on Rasa has been mentioned ' by Mammata in his *Kavyaprakasa*. According to this theory, *vibhavas* or excitants are the direct cause *(karana)* of Rasa which is, therefore an effect *(karya).*

Abhinavagupta and some other writers refer to Sankuka as an authoritative commentator of Bharata's *Natya-shastra*. In fact, Abbinava often refers to Sankuka's opinion on various topics of Dramaturgy. By the time of Mammata, Sankuka's theory *(Anumitivada)* of Rasa being *inferred* must have been recognized widely enough to merit a reference in the *Kavya-prakasa*. This Sankuka is generally supposed to be identical with the poet of the same name whose verses are quoted in the authologies of Sarngadhara, Jalhana and Vallabhadeva. The poet is perhaps to be identified with Sankuka who is mentioned in the R.T. (IV. 703-5) as author of the poem called *Bhuvanabhyudaya* which is said to have centred round the fierce fight between the regents Mamma and Utpalaka, the incident referring to the reign of the Kashmirian king Ajitapida of the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. This poem has not yet been discovered.

Abhinava proposed a novel interpretation of the word 'Nispatti' in Bharata's aforesaid dictum. His theory is known as *Abhivyaktivada* in which he lays down that Rasa is not an effect, and it is neither enjoyed nor inferred, but it is manifested.

The interpretations, suggested by these scholars, had a tremendous significance in view of the fact that Bharata's Natyarasa came to be adopted by later theorists as Kavyarasa.

Kuntaka, author of the *Vakroktijivita*, and hence better known as Vakrokti-jivita-kara, was in all probability a Kashmirian; he had the title Rajanaka which is used with the names of Kashmirian scholars. Kuntaka's quotation from Rajasekhara, the dramatist, and Mahimabhatta's reference to Kuntaka and his work make it likely that he flourished in a period between the middle of the tenth century and the middle of the eleventh. Abhinavagupta's silence about Kuntaka, whose word acquired considerable prominence, may be explained by conjecturing that both these writers were contemporaneous.

The entire work of Kuntaka has not yet been recovered. From the incomplete Ms., on the basis of which editions have been prepared, it appears that Kuntaka tries to establish Vakrokti as the soul or essential element of Kavya. In this respect the *Vakroktijivita* is unique in the whole range of the literature on poetics. Kuntaka's idea of Vakrokti as the soul of the poetry has been derived from Bhamaha who took it in the sense of peculiar charm. Kuntaka analyses also a poetical figure on the basis of Vakrokti, and it has been accepted by later writers.

It is interesting to note that Kuntaka takes into consideration all the earlier speculations with regard to the soul of Kavya, but makes Rasa, Alankara, Riti and Dhvani subservient to Vakrokti. In the general name of Vakrokti are included Rasa and Dhvani; Rasa or Dhvani makes a composition enjoyable by imparting a peculiar charm to it. Alankara heightens the beauty of a composition in so far as it contributes to the peculiar charm in it. Riti, for which Kuntaka uses the term Marga, is not, as earlier theorists thought, a regional characteristic of a literary composition; it is a diction which owes its existence to the genius and skill of the poet, and, as such, various Ritis should be differentiated with reference to the poet's Sakti (capacity), Vyutpatti (proficiency) and Abhyasa (practice). Ritis, according to him, may be threefold: - (i) Sukumara, (ii) Vicitra and (iii) Madhyama. Each of the first two Ritis has certain Gunas or excellences; the third Riti combines the excellences of both. According to him, Aucitya (propriety of words and ideas) and Saubhagya are common to all the three Margas. By Saubhagbya is meant 'the realisation of all the resources of a composition'. Indeed his Vakrokti is *vaidagdhya-bhangi-bhaniti*, that is to say, it is a peculiar expression by one who *is Vidagdha,* i.e. not merely learned but versed in *belles-letters*.

Ksemendra Vyasadasa, whose identity with Ksemaraja, author of works on Shaiva philosophy, is advocated by some without conclusive evidence, is a prominent figure in the history not only of poetics but also of Sanskrit literature as a whole. Endowed with a master mind he had a variety of interests, and wrote quite a number of treatises on diverse subjects. He is truly described as a polymath. Happily for us, he gives an account of his personal history, and records the dates of the composition of some of his works. Son of Prakasendra and grandson of Sindhu, he was a disciple of one Gangaka. Father of Somendra, he was preceptor of Udayasimha and prince Laksanaditya. Ksemendra wrote his works in the reign of the Kashimirian king Ananta and his son Kalasa; a s such, he may be assigned to the second and third quarters of the eleventh century A.D.

His works on poetics are two, viz. the *Aucityavicara-carca* and the *Kavi-kanthabharana*. A *Kavikarnika* by the author is referred to by himself in his *Aucitya-vicara-carca* (verse 2).

The *Aucitya-vicara-carca* of Ksemendra is a unique work in the sense that it deals with the question of Aucitya or propriety in Kavya most exhaustively, and declares it as the very soul *(jivitabhuta)* of Kavya. Aucitya, in his opinion, relates to twenty-seven items, viz. word, sentence, sense of the composition, literary excellences *(gunas),* poetic figures, employment of grammatical matters like verb, preposition, etc., time, place and so on. What renders his work more valuable is the collection of verses culled from a wide range of classical Sanskrit literature. Some of these verses are given as conforming to Aucitya while others are examples of compositions devoid of it. Ksemendra follows in the footsteps of Anandavardhana who holds Aucitya as the highest secret *(para upanisat*) of Rasa. The idea of Aucitya, anticipated by Bharata in connexion with dramaturgy, and explicitly dealt with by writers of the Dhvani school and discussed by most post-Dhvani writers in connexion with Rasa-dosa, found the strongest exponent in Ksemendra. He considers it to be founded on the aesthetic pleasure *(camatkara)* that underlies the delectation of Rasa. No Guna or Alankara, devoid of Aucitya, has any significance in Kavya according to Ksemendra.

In the *Kavi-kanthabharana*, Ksemendra deals with the making of a poet, his defects, the peculiar charm (*camatkara*) of a poetical composition, the Gunas and Dosas of words, sense and sentiment *(rasa*). There are, according to Ksemendra, two things that engender in a person the capacity for producing Kavya. The first one is Divyaprayatna (divine effort) and the second is Paurusa or individual effort. Divya-prayatna is the name given to prayer, incantation and the like. In discussing Paurusa-prayatna, he states that there are three kinds of persons according as they require little effort, strenuous effort or as they are incapable of poetic power despite effort. A poet, in his opinion, must possess knowledge of the various arts and sciences a list of which is given by him. The various branches of knowledge include, *inter alla*, (grammar, Logic, Dramaturgy, Erotics, Astronomy etc. While discussing the question of one poet borrowing from another, he mentions different kinds of borrowers or plagiarists. Of them, some borrow an idea, a word or the foot of a verse while others copy an entire composition. He mentions, apparently with approval, the practice of borrowing from sources like the work of Vyasa. Incidentally Ksemendra dwells on the training of a poet and the moulding of his life and character. An important part of the work is devoted to discussion on camatkara or the peculiar charm which is an essential requisite of a poetical composition. *Camatkara* has been divided into ten varieties in accordance with its nature and substratum. It may be readily comprehensible or realisable after much thought. It may reside in the whole of a composition or in a part of it and belong to *sabda, artha* or both, to *alankara, rasa* or may relate to the nature of a famous subject-matter.

Mahimabhatta, whose title Rajanaka, appears a hint at his Kashmirian origin. tells us that he was son of Sri Dhairya and disciple of Mahakavi Syamala. His work, the *Vyakti-viveka*, betrays his familiarity with Anandavardhana and even Abhinavagupta. He quotes certain views of Kuntaka to criticise them, and quotes from some works of Rajasekhara. Ruyyaka is the earliest of the later writers to quote and criticise Mahimabhatta's views. These evidences would lead us to assign Mahimabhatta to the close of the eleventh century. In the said work he refers to another work of his, entitled *Tattvokti-kosa*, dealing with *pratibhatattva,* which no longer exists. On the *Vyaktiviveka* there is an anonymous commentary generally attributed to Ruyyaka.

The *Vyakti-viveka* is written in three chapters called Vimarsas. The work, as its very title indicates, has as its subject the critical consideration of Vyakti or Vyanjana, i.e. suggestion in Kavya. His chief target of attack is the concept of Dhvani. The definition of Dhvani, given in the *Dhvanyaloka*, applies, in his opinion, more fittingly to Anuman or inference which had already been recognised in poetics.

The importance, attached by him to Anumana, led him to recognise a twofold sense of the word, *viz. Vacya* (expressed or denoted) and *anumeya* (inferred). The latter includes the *laksyartha* (indicated sense) and the *vyangyartha* (suggested sense). The *anumeyartha* is threefold according as it is a matter *(vastu),* a poetic figure *(alankara)* or *a* sentiment *(rasa).* Thus, the threefold Dhvani of the earlier theorists has been taken by Mahimabhatta as the threefold *anumeyartha*. He differs from the earlier writers in the process by which the expressed sense leads to the unexpressed. He quotes som verses, given by Anandavardhana as examples of Dhvani, to demonstrate that the unexpressed sense is comprehended not by anything like suggestior but by inference.

Mammata is the last great figure in the galaxy of the poeticians of Kashmir. Those who followed him in this field are not so renowned. His Kashmirian origin is vouchasafed by his title Rajanaka and by his name. Manikyacandra's commentary on the *Kavyaprakasa* is dated Samvat 1216 (1159-60 A.D.). Ruyyaka of the second-third quarters of the twelfth century commented upon the *Kavyaprakasa*. The earliest of the extant Mss. of the *Kavya-prakasa* appears to have been copied in 1158 A.D. All this makes it probable that Mammata flourished in the beginning of the twelfth century at the latest.

On certain evidences of an inconclusive nature some scholars would make him a contemporary of king Bhoja. Mammata's reference to Bhoja in a verse (under X. 26 of the *Kavya-prakasa*) proves his posteriority to that king, but does not give any clue as to his precise date. If this Bhoja was the Paramara king of the same name of Dhara, then Mammata may be placed approximately in the last quarter of the eleventh century. This date is made probable by the fact that Mammata mentions Abhinavagupta.

The Kavya-prakasa is the *magnum opus* of Mammata; on it rests his fame. His other work is called *Sabda-vyayara-paricaya* (or, *Sabdavyapara-vicara* or Sabda-vyapara-carca) in which he discusses the nature of the different functions of words. The *Kavya-prakasa* has quite a number of commentaries; this is a pointer to its immense popularity. Among the commentators Rajanaka Ruyyaka, Somesvara, Rajanaka Ananda, and Rajanaka Ratnakantha were probably Kashmirian.

The *Kavya-prakasa* consists of 143 Karikas with *vrtti* thereon and illustrative verses. It has ten chapters called Ullasas. The topics, discussed chapterwise, are: -

I. Object, definition, source and division of Kavyas.
II. Functions of words.
III. Power of suggestion of all kinds of senses.
IV. Divisions of Dhvani and nature of Rasa.
V. Gunibhuta-vyangya.
VI. Citra-kavya.
VII. Dosas.
VIII. Differentiation of Guna and Alankara.
IX. Sabdalankaras.
X. Arthalankaras.

There is a controversy as to whether or not the Karikas and the Vrtti of the *Kavya-prakasa* are of common authorship. There is a view that the former were composed by Bharata while the latter was the work of Mammata. Some have expressed the view that the Karikas are the work of Mammata and the Vrtti was written by some other person. It is now proved, on good grounds, that almost the entire work was written by Mammata and that a small portion was composed by one Alata or Alaka.

The reason of Mammata's popularity is that his *Kavya-prakasa* combines the merits . of completeness and lucidity within a brief compass. A glance at the contents shows that it traverses the entire field of poetics with the exception, of course, of dramaturgy. This work is like a place where all the streams of divergent speculations of the earlier writers have converged. Mammata, while accepting the main thesis of the

Dhvanikara and Anandavardhana, sums up the other doctrines in an easily intelligible manner. He defines Kavya in the following words: -

tad adosau sabdarthau sagunav-analankrti punah kvapi.

Kavya, according to him, consists of Sabda and Artha which are free from blemishes, possessed of excellences and sometimes devoid of embellishments. This definition reveals that he accepts the time-honoured constituents of Kavya, viz. Sabda and Artha. The qualification *sagunau* implies the acceptance of Riti. By *analankrti* he admits *alankaras* of Sabda and Artha as necessary attributes for a composition in order to be designated as Kavya, but denies their essentiality as urged by the writers of the Alankara school. There is no direct mention, in the definition of Kavya, of Dhvani and Rasa. But, his threefold classification of Kavya into Dhvani (that in which the suggested sense predominates over the expressed one), Gunibhuta-vyangya (that in which the suggested sense is subordinate to the expressed one) and Citra (that which is merely pictorial having no suggested sense at all), clearly demonstrates his acceptance of Dhvani with reference to which Kavyas have been classified.

Rasa, according to Mamata, is included in his *asamlaksya*-kramavyangya or the suggestion of imperceptible process. He refers to the different views on Rasa-nispatti put forward by Lollata, Sankuka, Bhatta Nayaka and Abhinavagupta, and discards the views of the first three agreeing with Abhinavagupta.

He defines Guna and Dosa in relation to Rasa which he considers as essential in Kavya. A Guna owes its existence in so far as it conduces to the excellence of Rasa. A Dosa is so called because it detracts from Rasa.

Of Alankaras which, in his opinion, are extraneous to Kavya as ornaments to human body, he enumerates as many as sixty-seven independent varieties.

Alata or Allata or Rajanaka Alaka, the supposed author of the portion left unfinished by Mammata in his *Kavya-prakasa*, was perhaps son of Rajanaka Jayanaka. He commented upon Ruyyaka's commentary on the *Kavya-prakasa*.

Judging from the epithet Rajanaka, prefixed to his name, Ananda, author of the commentary called *Sitikantha-vibodhana* or *Kavyaprakasa-nidarsana* on Mammata's *Kavya-prakasa*, seems to have been a Kashmirian.

Ruyyaka or Rucaka has the Kashmirian title Rajanaka. He was son of Rajanaka Tilaka, and is supposed to have flourished in the second and third quarters of the 12th. century.

The *Alankara-sarvasva* of Ruyyaka is his most well-known work. It consists of Sutras and Vrtti. Some think that the Vrtti was written by one Mankhuka or Mankhaka described as Sandhivigrahika (minister for peace and war) to a Kashmirian king. According to some, the Sutras of Ruyyaka were known as *Alankara-sutra* while the Vrtti was entitled *Alankarasarvasra*.

Ruyyaka's work concerns itself with poetic figures which he analyses meticulously, and of which he mentions about eighty independent varieties. He begins with the suggested sense which, he believes, embellishes the expressed meaning which in its turn predominates in the poetic figures. Thus, ultimately the suggested sense falls within the scope of *alankaras*. Ruyyaka considers *vicchittivisesa* (peculiar charm) born of Kavi-pratibha to be the foundation of Alankaras. In this respect, he appears to have accepted Kuntaka's conception of Vakrokti.

Ruyyaka's prose-poetic work, entitled *Sahrdayalila*, is composed in four chapters called Ullekhas. In the first chapter on Guna he describes the ten attractions of a woman, viz. Rupa, Varna, Prabha and so on. In the second chapter, entitled, Alankara, the author speaks of the ornaments of gold, pearls etc., unguents and flowers used by women. In the third chapter on Jivita he dwells on youth as the source of feminine charm. In the last chapter, entitled Parikara, Ruyyaka deals with the paraphernalia of beauty.

Ruyyaka appears to have written also the following words on poetics and dramaturgy: -

(1) Kavya-prakasa-sanketa - comm. on Mammata's *Kavya-prakasa*. This is referred to by Jayaratha and Ratnakantha.

(2) Alankara-manjari - referred to by Ruyyaka himself
(3) *Sahitya-mimamsa* - it is published.
(4) Alankara-nusarini - mentioned Jayaratha.
(5) Vyakti-viveka-vicara (or - *vyakhyana*) - comm. on Mahimabhatta's *Vyakti-viveka*. It is referred to by Jayaratha.
(6) *Nataka-mimamsa* - referred to by himself.
(7) Alankara-vartika - cited by Jayaratha.

Ruyyaka himself mentions his *Srikantha-stava*. Obviously a hymn in honour of *Shiva*, in his *Alankara-sarvasra*. In the same work on poetics, as well as in his *Vyaktiviveka-vyakhyana*, he refers to the *Harsa-carita-vartika* as his own work.

Jayaratha figures in the domains of poetics philosophy and poetical compositions. In poetics, however, he does not appear to have written any original work. He is well-known as a commentator of Ruyyaka's *Alankara-sarvasva*, the name of his commentary being *Alankara-vimarsini*. From the commentary, as well as from that on Abhinavagupta's *Tantraloka*, we learn that his father was Srngaranatha whose other son was named Jayadratha. From the latter we learn that his great-grand-father's brother, Shivaratha, was a minister of king Uccala of Kashmir (1101-1111 A.D.) Jayaratha is believed to have flourished in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Jayaratha's other work on poetics is the *Alankarodaharana* which appears to be intended mainly for supplying illustrations to Ruyyaka's work.

9 CLASSIFIED LIST OF THE SANSKRIT WORKS OF KASHMIR

Sures Chandra Banerji

The Sanskrit works, written by Kashmirians, may be broadly classified as follows:

A. Works on Poetics and Dramaturgy (including commentaries).
B. Poetical Compositions (including commentaries).
C. Philosophical and religious works (including commentaries).
D. Miscellaneous works.

The titles of the works of each class, along with their respective authors, are given below in the Sanskri alphabetical order. This list includes also titles known by names only.

[A]
WORKS ON POETICS AND DRAMATURGY (INCLUDING COMMENTARIES)

Title	Author
Abhidha-vrtti-matrka	Mukula
Abhinava-bharati	Abhinavagupta
Alankara-sarvasva	Ruyyaka
Alankara-sutra	Ruyyaka
Alankara-manjari	Ruyyaka
Alankara-vartika	Ruyyaka
Alankara-virnarsini	Jayaratha
Alankarodaharana	Jayaratha
Udbhata-viveka(or,-vicara)	Tilaka
Aucitya-vicara-carca	Ksemendra
Kavi-kamika	Ksemendra
Kavi-kanthabharana	Ksemendra
Kavya-Kautuka	Bhatta Tauta
Kavya-prakasa	Mammata
Kavya-prakasa-nidarsana *(Same as Sitikantha-vibodhana)*	Ananda
Kavya-prakasa-sanketa	Ruyyaka
Kavyalankara -samgraha	Udbhata
Kavyalankara *(Same as Bhamahalankara)*	Bhamaha

Kavyalankara	Rudrata
Kavyalankara-vivrti *(Same as Bhamaha-vivarana)*	Udbhata
Kavyalankara-sutra-vrtti	Vamana
Kavyaloka *(Same as Dhvanyaloka or Sahrdayaloka)*	Anandavardhana
Kavyaloka-locana *(Briefly called Locana)*	Abhinavagupta
Tattvaloka	Anandavardhana
Tattvokti-kosa	Mahimabhatta
Dhvanyaloka *(Also callers Kavyaloka or Sahrdayaloka)*	Anandavardhana
Nataka-mimamsa	Ruyyaka
Bhamaha-vivarana *(Same as Kavynlankara-vivrti)*	Udbhata
Bhamahalankara *(Same as Kavyalankara)*	Bhamaha
Mata-pariksa	Anandavardhana
Locana *(Same as Kavyaloka-locana)*	Abhinavagupta
Vakrokti-jivita	Kuntaka
Vyakti-viveka	Mahimabhatta
Vyakti-viveka-vicara (or, - vyakhyana)	Ruyyaka
Sabda-vyapara-paricaya (or, - vicara, or, - carca)	Mammata
Sitikantha-vibodhana *(Same as Kavya-prakasa-nidarsana)*	Ananda
Srngara-tilaka	Rudra
Sahrdaya-lila	Ruyyaka
Sahrdayaloka *(Same as Dhoanyaloka or Kavyaloka)*	Anandavardhana

Sahitya-mimamsa	Ruyyaka
Hrdaya-darpana	Bhatta Nayaka

[B]
POETICAL COMPOSITIONS
(INCLUDING COMMENTARIES)

Title	Author
Anyokti-muktalata	Sambhu
Arjuna-carita	Anandavardhana
Arjuna-ravaniya *(Same as Ravanarjuniya)*	Bhatta Bhima or Bhaumaka
Ardhanarisvara-stotra	Kalhana
Alankaranusarini	Ruyyaka
Avadana-kalpalata *(Same as Bodhisattva-vadana-kalpalata)*	Ksemendra
Ananda-kavya	Ananda
Isvara-sataka	Avatara
Katha-kautuka	Srivara
Katha-sarit-sagara	Somadeva
Kapphinabhyudaya	Sivasvamin
Kala-vilasa	Ksemendra
Kadambari-kathasara	Abhinanda
Kuttani-mata	Damodaragupta
Kumara-sambhava	Udbhata
Ghatakarpara-vivrti	Abhinavagupta
Caturvarga-samgraha	Ksemendra
Caru-carya	Ksemendra
Caura-pancasika *(Same as Cauri* (or, Caura) *- surata-pancasika)*	Bilhana
Jayasimhabhyudaya	Kalhana

Jaina-rajatarangini	Srivardra
Darpa-dalana	Ksemendra
Dasavatara-carita	Ksemendra
Devinama-vilasa Sahib	Kaula
Devi-sataka	Anandavardhana
Desopadesa	Ksemendra
Dvitiya-rajatarangini	Jonaraja
Dhvani-gatha-pancika	Ratnakara
Narma-mala	Ksemendra
Niti-kalpataru	Ksemendra
Prthviraja-vijaya	?
Bilhana-kavya	Bilhana
Brhatkatha-manjari	Ksemendra
Bodhisattva-vadana-kalpalata *(Same as Avadana-Kalpalata)*	Ksemendra
Bhallata-sataka	Bhallata
Bharata-manjari	Ksemendra
Bhavopahara	Cakarapaninatha
Bhovanabhyudaya	Sankuka
Mugdhopadesa	Jahlana
Raja-tarangini	Kalhana
Rajavali (or, Nrpavali)	Ksemendra
Ramayana-manjari	Ksemendra
Ravanarjuniya Bhatta Bhima or *(Same as Arjuna-ravaniya)*	Bhaumaka
Vakrokti-pancasika	Ratnakara
Vikramankadeva-carita	Bilhana
Visama-padoddyota	Alaka

Santi-sataka	Silhana
Samba-pancasika	?
Srikantha-stava	Ruyyaka
Srikantha-carita	Mankha
Samanya-matrka	Ksemendra
Subhasita-muktavali *(Same as Sukti-muktavali)*	Jalhana
Subhasitavali	Vallabhadeva
Sukti-muktavali *(same as Subhasita-muktavali)*	Jalhana
Sevya-sevako-padesa	Ksemendra
Somapala-vilasa	Jahlana
Stava-cintamani	Bhattanarayan
Stuti-kusumanjali	Jagaddhara
Stotravali	Utapaladeva
Hara-vijaya	Ratnakara
Harsa-carita-vartika	Ruyyaka
Rajavali-pataka	Prajya Bhatta
Rajendra-karnapura	Sambhu

[C]
PHILOSOPHICAL AND RELIGIOUS WORKS (INCLUDING COMMENTARIES)

Title	**Author**
Ajada-pramatr-siddhi	Utpala
Isvara-pratyabbijna *(Same as Pratyabhijua-sutra or Pratyabhijua-karika)*	Utpala
Isvara-pratyabhijna-vimarsini *(Same as Laghvi Vrtti)*	Abhinavagupta
Isvara-pratyabhijnavivrti-vimarsini	Abhinavagupta
Isvara-siddhi	Utpala

Kamakala -vilasa	Punyanandacarya
Tattvartha-cintamani	Kallata
Tattva-samdoha	Ksemaraja
Tantra-sara	Abhinavagupta
Tantra-vatadhanika	Abhinavagupta
Tantraloka	Abhinavagupta
Dharmottama	Anandavardhana
Naresvara-pariksa	Sadyojyoti
Nyaya-kalika	Jayanta Bhatta
Nyaya-manjari	Jayanta Bhatta
Para-pravesika	Ksemaraja
Paratrimsika-vivrti	Abhinavagupta
Paramartha- sara	Abhinavagupta
Pratyabhijna-karika (Same as *Isvarn-prntyabhijna)*	Utpala
Pratyabhijna-sutra *(Same as Isvara-pratyabhijna)*	Utpala
Pratyabhijna-hrdaya	Ksemaraja
Pradipika	Utpala
Bodha-pancadasika	Abhinavagupta
Madhuvahini	Kallata
Malini-vijaya-vartika	Abhinavagupta
Laghvi Vrtti *(Same as lsvara-pratyabhijna-vimarsini)*	Abhinavagupta
Siva-sutra	Believed to have been revealed to Vasugupta
Siva-sutra-vrtti	Ksemaraja
Siva-sutra-vimarsini	Ksemaraja
Siva-sutra-vartika	Bhaskara

Siva-drsti	Somananda
Spanda-sutra	Vasugupta
Spanda-vrtti	Kallata
Spanda-sarvasva (Spanda-sutra and Kallata's Vrtti thereon are together so called)	
Spanda-samdoha	Ksemaraja
Spanda-nirnaya	Ksemaraja
Spanda-pradipika	Utpala Vaisnava
Spandamtra	Vasugupta

[D]
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

Title	**Class to which the work belongs**	**Author**
Anekatha-kosa *(Same as Mankha-kosa)*	Lexicon	Mankha
Agamadambara	Drama	Jayanta Bhatta
Karnasundari	Drama	Bilhana
Kasika-vrtti	Grammar	Vamana-Jayaditya
Candra-vyakarana	Grammar	Candragomin
Tantrakhyayika	Fable	?
Nilamata- purana	Purana	?
Pradipa	Grammar	Kaiyata
Mankha-kosa *(Same as Anekartha-kosa)*	Lexicon	Mankha
Ratnakara-purana	Purana	?
Ramabhyudaya	Drama	Yasovarman
Lasaki	Commentary on the *Bhagavadgita*	Lasakaka
Lokaprakasa	Lexicon (?)	Ksemendra

Lokananda	Drama	Candragomin
Visnudharmottara	Purana	?
Sangita-ratnakara	Music	Sarngadeva
Suvrtta-tilaka	Prosody	Ksemendra

ADDENDUM

We set forth here information about certain authors and works, believed to be of Kashmir, that escaped our notice while this brochure was prepared.

Titles of works and names of authors have been given in the alphabetical order.

Ahirbudhnya-samhita.

A Tantra of the Visnuite Pancaratra sect. It is believed to have originated in Kashmir not long after the fourth century A.D. As it knows the three great schools of Buddhism and as the astrological term *hora* occurs in it, it cannot have possibly originated before the 4th century A.D. It is believed, on good grounds, to have been contemporaneous with, or a little earlier than, the *Samkhya-karika* of Isvarakrsna.

It is in the form of a conversation between Ahirbudhnya (Shiva) and Narada, and deals partly with philosophy and largely with occultism. The philosophical portion includes some chapters on Creation. In connection with creation, it gives an interesting survey of the various systems of religion and philosophy. It is followed by rules for the castes and Asramas. Several chapters deal with the mystic significance of the letters of the alphabet. There is a fine description of the ideal Vaisnava teacher and there are rules about Diksa. The usual topics of Tantra, viz., Mantra. Yantra etc. are described in the work. Some chapters describe diagrams which are to be used as amulets too. In a few chapters are described the cult, the theory and practice of Yoga, secret powers by which might can be attained. Ceremonies to be performed by a king to ensure victory in war form the subject-matter of some chapters. Several chapters are devoted to sorcery. An appendix contains a hymn of the thousand names of the divine Sudarsana.

Alamkara-ratnakara of Sobhakara.

From Peterson *(Report. i, p.* 12) we learn that the Kashmirian poet Yasaskara extracted some *sutras* on Alamkara from a work entitled *Alamkararatnakara* by Sobhakaramitra. The *Ratnakara* of Jagannatha refers to this *Alamkara-ratnakara* of Sobhakara. Jayaratha criticises the Kashmirian Sobhakara wlio deviates from Ruyyaka. Jagannatha says that Appayya Diksita follows the *Alamkararatnakara.*

Chiku Bhatta

A grammarian believed to have been a Kashmirian.

***Devi-stotra* of Yasaskara**

According to Peterson, the Kashmirian poet Yasaskara extracted some *sutras* on Alamkara from the *Alamkara-ratnakara* by Sobhakaramitra, and illustrated them in his *Devistotra* by composing verses in praise of Devil

Drdhabala

Son of Kapilabala, he appears to have been a Kashmirian, and is assigned to the eighth or ninth century A.D. The extant *Caraka-samhita*, believed to be the earliest available text on Ayurveda, is stated to have been revised by Drdhabala. Drdhabala himself admits to having added the last two chapters of the work and to having written 17 out of 28 or 30 chapters of book vi.

Jagaddhara

Author of the grammatical work *Balabodhini* (1475 A.D.), and believed to have been a Kashmirian. A Stuti-kusumanjali (1450 A.D.) is also ascribed to him.

Jejjata

Commentator on the *Caraka-samhita*, and perhaps belonged to Kashmir.

Ksirasvamin

The famous commentator on the *Namalinganusasana* of Amara, he is supposed by some to have flourished in Kashmir. Others, however, think that he was an inhabitant of Central India. He is generally assigned to the second half of the 11th century A.D.

Mahesa Daivajna.

The work on astrology, entitled Ranavira -jyotirmahanibandha, is stated to have been written by Mahesa under the patronage of Ranavirasimha, king of Kashmir.

Medhatithi

The oldest commentator on the Manu-smrti. He is supposed by some to have been a Kashmirian. The main reasons for this assumption are as follows :_

(i) He introduces Kashmir in explaining such word: as *svarastre* and *Janapadah* (Manu-smrti, VII. 32 and VIII. 42). .

(ii) He states (on Manu VIII. 400) that the monopoly of the sale of elephants is a privilege of the kings of Kashmir where saffron is available in plenty.

(iii) He says (on Manu IV. 59) that the rainbow is called *vijnana-chaya* in Kashmir.

(iv) He says (on Manu II. 24) that in the Himalayas in Kashmir it is not possible to perform daily *Samdhya* (prayer) in the open nor is it possible to bathe every day in a river in Hemanta and Sisira.

Later writers like Kamalakarabhatta, author the Smrti digest *Nirnaya-sindhu,* however, regard Madhatithi as a southerner.

Patanjali

Author of the *Mahabhasya*, traditionally known a Kashmirian.

Pingala

Author of the *Chandahsutra*, and believed to have been a Kashmirian.

Ratirahasya

A work on erotica, dealing with biological and psychological problems of sex, by Koka, son of. Tejoka, believed to have been a Kashmirian.

(Rajanaka) Ratnakantha

The title Rajanaka indicates that he was a Kashmirian. Son of Samkarakantha and grandson of Anantakavi of the Dhaumyayana family. He wrote the *Sara-samuccaya*, a commentary on thh *Kavyaprakasa* of Mammata. He wrote also *Stuti-kusumanjali*-tika (called *Sisyahita*) in 1611 A.11 and a *Yudhisthiravijaya*-kavya-tika in 1672 A.D Besides, he copied the *codex* archetypus of the *Rajatarangini*, mentioned by Stein (introduction, p. vii f), and also transcribed Mss. of the *Samketa* a Ruyyaka in 1648, of Rayamukatu's commentary on the *Namalinganusasana* of Amara in 1655, and of Trilocanadasa's *Katantra*-panjika in 1673 A.D. To him are ascribed also the *Ratna-sataka*, 100 versed in praise of sun, the *Surya-stuti-rahasya* and the *Laghu-pancika*, a commentary on the *Haravijayn*

Vrttaratnakara

A work on prosody, by Kedarabhatta who is supposed to have been a Kashmirian.

10 FOREWORD TO SOMADEVA'S KATHASARITSAGARA

(THE OCEAN OF STORY BY N. M. PENZER)

Sir Richard Carnac Temple

With these preliminary remarks let me start upon my own observations on the subject of Mr. Penzer's great work. I judge from the Invocation that Somadeva, the author of the original book, was a Saiva Brahman of Kashmir. His real name was Soma, deva being a mere suffix to the names of Brahmans, royalties and the like. Mr. Penzer shows that he must have composed his verses about A.D. 1070, or about two hundred and fifty years after Vasugupta introduced into Kashmir the Saiva form of the Hindu religion peculiar to Kashmir, which was subsequently spread widely by his pupil Kallata Bhattra. Later on, but still one hundred years before Somadeva, it was further spread by Bhaskara, and then in Somadeva' own time made popular by Abhinava Gupta, the great Saiva writer, and his pupils Kshemarja and Yogaraja. The last three, how must have been Somadeva's contemporaries, were much influenced by the philosophic teaching of another Soma - Somananda, to give him his full name - who with his pupil Utpalacharya created the Advaita (Monistic) Saiva Philosophy, known as the Trika, about two hundred years before Somadeva. Other important Kashmiri philosophic writers before Somadeva's date were Utpala Vaishnava and Rama-kantha. So while Somadeva was composing his distichs for the delectation of Suryavati, the Queen of King Ananta of Kashmir, at a time when the political situation was "one of discontent, intrigue, bloodshed and despair," it was also - as has often, happened in Eastern history - a time of great religious activity. The religion and its philosophy were Aryan in form, meaning by the term "religion" a doctrine claiming to be revealed, and by "philosophy" a doctrine claiming to be reasoned out.

There is plenty of evidence of the Brahmanic nature of the *Katha Sarit Sagara*. Here is a strong instance. The story of the birth and early days of Vararuchi (p. 11 ff.) is not only Indian but also typically Brahmanical. *Inter alia* he exhibits his wonderful memory to Kanabhuti, the Yaksha, turned Pisacha, king of the Vindhya wilds, telling the king how his mother had said to some Brahmans that "this boy will remember by heart everything that he has once heard." And then he relates that they "recited to me a *Pratisakhya*," a peculiarly difficult and uninviting grammatical treatise, and that he immediately repeated it back to them. The same class of memory is claimed by Gunadhya in his account (p. 75) of how the *Katantra* or *Kalapaka* grammar was revealed to him by the god Skanda (Karttikeya). Now, though the claim put forward by Vararuchi is extravagant, the extraordinary accuracy of memory cultivated by the ancient Brahman and Bardic classes in India still exists, and has been taken advantage of by Sir Aurel Stein and Sir George Grierson in reproducing from word of many mouths the text of the *Lalla-vakyani* six centuries after the date of the authoress Lal Ded with an accuracy which the *written* word does not possess. Accurate memory is not a monopoly of the Brahmans and Bards of India, but it is no doubt specifically characteristic of them.

The point of the Brahmanic character of Somadeva's collection of tales is of importance to the present argument. The author of the *Katha Sarit Sagara* isa Brahman, and he gives the work a Brahmanic - *i.e.* an Aryan - form, giving rise, prima facie, to the assumption that the origin of the tales is to be sought in the land whence the Aryans came, somewhere to the west of India proper. But it is clear that the author purported to make a general collection of tales current in India about A.D. 1000, or rather he claims to have made a selection, as did his contemporary Kashmiri Brahman Kshemendra in his *Brihat Katha Manjari* out of a much older, but now lost, work, Gunadhya's *Brihat Katha* or *Great Tale*. This general collection contains to my mind certain tales, customs and folk-lore which do not appear to be Aryan in origin. The writer or his original has in fact drawn on popular Indian folklore, whether Aryan or non-Aryan, connecting his tales by rather simple literary devices, so that they are all made to run together as parts or one general story.

The Aryan invasions of India were spread over a long period and the progress about the country was very slow. The Aryans came across at least one race, the Dravidians, equal to themselves in mental capacity, and across many others whose minds they could more or less easily dominate. Neither the Dravidians nor

the others were of their form of civilization and traditions, but they all mingled with them in some degree or other, at any rate to the extent of social contact, generally as master and servant. The consequent development was on the recognised lines of evolution as far as the author of the Katha Sarit Sagara and his hearers were concerned. That is to say, it was fundamentally Aryan, with accretions from every race with which the Aryans had come in close contact for, say, three thousand years by Somadeva's time. These races were Dravidians, "Kolarians" or, shall we say, "aborigines," and people across the Northern and lantern frontiers - all very different in origin from the Aryans. They all carried their religious, folktales and folk-lore with them, and cannot but have infected the indigenous corresponding nations of the Aryans of India with alien ideas and folk-tales.

Here then it seems that we have a line, as it were, given us for research: whence did the various non-Aryan tales and ideas come? It is not an easy line to follow, as the period is so late and the whole matter by that time already so complicated. Suppose a custom or tale is non-Aryan Indian - *i.e.* Dravidian or "Kolarian" - or Farther Indian (Mon, Shan, Tibeto-Burman) by origin: by Somadeva's date it had plenty of time to be assimilated and take on an Aryan form. Suppose it to date back before the Aryan irruption into India: its existence in principle now or at some ancient date in Western Asia or Europe would not prove that is arose either in India or in Europe or Western Asia. Suppose research to show a tale or idea to be of general occurrence in India, Asia, Europe, Africa, and even in America and the Pacific Islands: recent works show so much and so ancient communication all the world over as to make one very careful as to asserting origin. Suppose we find a story in Siam, in Indonesia, in Persia, in Europe, in South Africa, as well as in India: it might well have gone thence out of India or gone through or even round India in either direction. To show how this kind of thing can happen I printed in 1901 a tale told in the Nicobars in Nicobarese form to a European officer who was a Dane by nationality, Mr. A. de Roepstorff, which turned out to be a Norse tale he had himself told the people some years before. Wherever, then, a civilization or a people travels, there go also folklore and custom. Take as an example the recent travel westwards in Europe of the Christmas Tree and the Easter Egg. The whole question is very difficult. Even if we trace a tale or an idea to the *Jatakas*, to the earliest part of the *Mahabharata* or the *Ramayana*, to the oldest *Puranas* to the *Brahmanas*, to the very Vedas themselves - that does not make it Indian or Aryan in origin.

However, I do not personally feel inclined to despair. Work like that of Mr. Penzer will, I feel sure, if continued seriously, go far to solve this principles of the puzzle - to help to unlock the secret of the actual line that the progress of civilization has taken to the past. I take it that a tab or idea in the *Katha Sarit Sagara* may be found to be by origin:

1. Aryan, with analogies among Asiatic and European Aryan peoples.
2. Semitic, with analogies in Western Asiatic countries and elsewhere among Semitic peoples.
3. Asiatic with analogies among Mongolian peoples.
4. Non-Aryan Indian with analogies among Dravidian, "Kolarian", Farther Indian or other Indian peoples.
5. General, with analogies spread widely over the world perhaps from an ascertainable source.
6. A merely literary invention of Indian Aryans, such as the origin of the town name Pataliputra, or of the personal name of Gunadhya, Malyavan and other celebrities of old. Folk etymology of that kind has never died down in India as the (Revenue) *Settlement Reports* of the middle nineteenth century show - *e.g.* one such *Report* soberly stated that "the Malee (mall, gardener) Caste" had an origin in a river - born boy foundling of Rajput descent, taken over by a low-class woman who mothered him; so he afterwards became known as the *ma lee* (as the *Report* spelt it) or his "mother took him." It is a case of the old Indian widely and persistently used effort to raise caste status by an etymological legend. It was used in the earliest European days in India when the Malayalam washermen claimed to Barbosa a Nayar descent, which an ancestor was said to have forfeited "by a mistake" - and there are signs of it in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*....

11 KSEMENDRA - A PEOPLE'S POET

Pradeep Kaul (Khodballi)

Kashmir has since very early times been called "Sharda Desha" or the Land of Goddess Saraswati. Kashmir's contribution to the Indian thought has been of immense artistic, esoteric and aesthetic value. In the field of poetry Kashmir produced great Savants who were not only revered in Kashmir but accepted as authorities outside as well. Mammat's 'Kavya Prakash' still remains the most authentic and authoritative work on poetics in the whole gamut of Sanskrit literature. Whereas Kashmir produced people of great eminence it also gave to us a poet par excellence in Ksemendra.

Ksemendra flourished in the last quarter of tenth and first half of the eleventh century. He was a near contemporary of the great Abhinava Gupta. Ksemendra himself acknowledges to have been instructed in 'Alankar Shastras' by the great Acharya. 'Alankar Shastra' pertains to ornamentation of poetry. Ksemendra is a poet of excellence blat what makes him even more important and relevant is his concern for the downtrodden, the common man, the unlettered, the courtesan etc. In a bold but lucid way he lays bare the social evils and rampant corruption in those times. The exploitation of the oppressed by the elite, exploitation of the scribes ('Kayasthas') and bureaucracy finds ample space in all his works. His heart seems to cry in pain upon seeing degeneration acid exploitation all around.

Ksemendra's works and literary activities are spread over many diverse fields. He is a summariser of the great epics Ramayana and Mahabharata. He is an adopter of 'Brahatkatha' of Gunnadiya. He is a commentator on 'Dashavtarcharita' and author of 'Baudvandana Kalaplata'. In depiciting his family tree with an exact sense of chronology so lamentably absent in majority of Indian and his contemporaneous writers makes him very valuable. He is a tireless satirist. He also wrote important works on poetics and rhetorics.

Ksemendra's important contribution to the Sanskrit literature has been his rendition of Gunnaday's 'Brahatkatha' in Sanskrit. Gunnaday was an author from Frontier provinces who had originally written 'Brhatkatha' in 'Paischashi' language. It is highly probable that 'Paischashi' was the early corns of modern Pushto language now spoken in North West Pakistan and Western Afghanistan. Some scholars are of the, view that Gunnaday wrote in Paishachi of Vindhyas. By rendering 'Brahatkatha' into Sanskrit as 'Brahatkatha Manjri' he helped to save 'Brahatkatha' for posterity. 'Brahatkatha Manjri' is in verse and describes the lives, campaigns and amorous dalliances of various kings especially of King Udyana. He summarised Ramayana as 'Ramayana Manjari' and Mahabharta as 'Mahabharta Manjari'. The thing of curious interest in 'Mahabharta Manjari' is that the author has not included 'Shanti Parva which forms an important part in the present rendering of Mahabharta. How could a poet of such high merit and eminence make such serious omission is a matter to be pondered upon. Ksemendra was not only author of Hindu lore. He also wrote many works on Buddhism. In 'Baudvandana Kalaplata' he compiled Jataka tales. This work is a collection of 107 chapters (Pallavas). 'Baudvandana Kalaplata', it may be added is still considered an important work by Buddhists. In Tibet it is available in an interesting form of Tibetian woodcuts. This work has been translated in Dogri and other languages also.

What makes Ksemendra a poet of different class and calibre is his work 'Kalavilas'. This work is divided into ten chapters or cantos. Each canto is devoted to a person who is present in every society and every epoch. In 'Kalavilas' a super cheat Muldeva instructs his pupil Chandergupta in all subtle and salient traits which a super cheat is supposed to master. Ksemendra with wit and wisdom describes the inner weakness of man and society. With wonderful insight he describes the courtesan, the clerk, the gold-smith etc. Kalavilas makes him a total poet. This is why it seems that Ksemendra is as relevant today as he was in his times. He uses Parihas (jokes) to depict the various characters of his times in his work 'Narma Mala'. In 'Narma Mala' he vehemently attacks the clerk (Kayastha). Kayasthas, were in those times very powerful and in a way represented the corrupt official machinery of those times. Kayasthas were sucking the blood of the ignorant, poor people. The role of Kayasthas has attracted the attention of Kalhana also who has written about their dirty role in the society. He says that Kayasthas sit on files like coiled serpents. His handwriting is crooked and deliberately illegible to escape the notice or inquiry of any

person of consequence. After amassing illgotten wealth Kayastha's wife drinks wine scented with rare musk who previously would relish to drink scum, with equal intensity.

Ksemendra is critical of misers. It seems that our people's poet had an intimate knowledge and understanding of human psychology. He has with sheer penetrating insight portrayed the decadent values and human failings of his times in simple but effective words. With heavy heart he describes the fallen virtues of 'Bhatta' (Pandit). He describes him as a liquor addict who though initiated (with Yagnopavit) is now completely overpowered by Vamachara. Unabashedly the 'Bhatta' proceeds towards the house of his Guru with a plate of fish to learn scriptures.

From the fertile pen of Ksemendra has come up an interesting work of 'Samaya Matrika'. Literally 'Samaya Matrika' means the mother of the times. A cursory peep into the title would suggest that by 'Samaya Matrika' our author points towards Goddess Shakti or her various forms. In this case it is not so. Here by 'Samaya Matrika' the author means the all powerful, disarming courtesan or harlot. With rare and vivid description he describes the super seductress 'Kankali'. Ksemendra described Kankali's heroics and triumphs over men of all classes and inclinations. 'Kankali' the courtesan has studied the psychologies of her prey and with relish prays upon hunt. She has been immortalized by the author for she is no ordinary vamp but one who is not only a subtle wooer but a patient psychologist. By depicting these characters Ksemendra earnestly wishes to reform the degradation in the society. He wishes every member of the society to behave in an upright manner. This seems to be one of the compelling reason why he wrote another work 'Auchitya Vicharcharcha' which is a work on propriety. The author was bestowed upon with a great sense of history. After reading his works one is able to know everything about the period he lived in. He has preserved some thing novel and precious for us which would have been wiped out otherwise. In a way Kshemendra was a bright social scientist of his time. He was a perfectionist who with his immense talents wrote on diverse subjects with equal authority and finesse. Ksemendra was a poet who belonged to the people We all should read the works of this peerles ancestor of ours so that we understand his works and through them get a glimpse of his turbulent times (which seem so similar to the present times) and benefit from their study.

12 ON KASHMIRI LANGUAGE

Professor Omkar N. Kaul

Excerpts: 'KASHMIRI PANDITS: A CULTURAL HERITAGE'

Edited by Prof. S. Bhatt

12.1 Kashmiri and its dialects

The Kashmiri language is primarily spoken in the Kashmir valley of the state of Jammu and Kashmir in India. It is called *ke:shur* or *ke:shir* zaba:n-by its native speakers and the valley of Kashmir is called *keshir*. The Kashmiri language is called *kashmi:ri:* or *ka:shi:ri:* in other language. As per the census figures of 1981 there are 30, 76,398 native speakers of the language.

There is no consensus of opinion regarding the origin or genealogical classification of Kashmiri. There are basically two schools of thought one places Kashmiri under the Dardic group of languages and the other places it under the Indo-Aryan group of languages. Grierson (1919) has placed Kashmiri under the 'Dardic or Pisacha' family of languages. He has classified the Dardic language under three major groups: 1. The Kafir Group, 2. The Khowar or Chitrali Group and 3. The Dard Group. According to his classification the Dard Group includes Shina, Kashmiri, Kashtawari, Poguli, Siraji, Rambani, and Kohistani- the last comprising Garwi, Torwali and Maiya.

Grierson considered the Dardic language a subfamily of the Aryan languages "neither of Indian nor of Iranian origin, but (forming) a third branch of the Aryan stock, which separated from the parent stem after the branching forth of the original of the Indian languages, but before the Eranian language had developed all their peculiar characteristics" (1906: 4). He has further observed that"Dardic" was only a geographical convention. Morgenstierne (1961) also places Kashmiri under the Dardic Group of languages along with Kashtawari and other dialects which are strongly influenced by Dogri. Fussman (1972) has based his work on Morgenstierne's classification. He has also emphasised that the Dardic is a geographic and not a linguistic expression. It is only in the absence of reliable comparative data about Dardic languages, a geographic or ethnographic label is frequently applied to a group of languages or dialects.

According to Chatterjee (1963: 256) Kashmiri has developed like other Indo-Aryan languages out of the Indo-European family of languages and is to be considered as a branch of Indo-Aryan like Hindi, Punjabi etc.

The classification of Dardic language has been reviewed in some works (Kachru 1969, Strand 1973, Koul and Schmidt, 1984) with different purposes in mind. Kachru laid stress on the linguistic characteristics of Kashmiri. Strand presents his observations on Kafir languages. Koul and Schmidt have reviewed the literature on the classification of Dardic languages and have investigated the linguistic characteristics or features of these languages with special references to Kashmiri and Shina. The classification of Kashmir under the Dardic group of languages needs further elaborate investigation.

There has been no serious linguistically oriented dialect research on Kashmiri. There are two types of dialects- (a) regional dialects and (b) social dialects. Regional dialects are of two types- (1) those regional dialects or variations which are spoken within the valley of Kashmir and (2) those which are spoken in the regions outside the valley of Kashmir.

Kashmiri speaking area in the valley of Kashmir is ethnosementically divided into three regions: (1) Maraz (southern and south eastern region), (2) Kamraz (northern and north-western region) and (3) Srinagar and its neighbouring areas. There are some minor linguistic variations in Kashmiri spoken in these areas. The main variations being phonological, and in the use of certain vocabulary items. Some of the main characteristics of these speech variations are as follows:

(1) Kashmiri spoken in Maraz area retains the flap /R/ which is replaced by /r/ in Kashmiri spoken in Kamraz area and Srinagar.

(2) The progressive or Indefinite aspect suffix *an is* added to the verb roots in the Kashmiri spoken in Mara:z which is replaced by *a:n* in other two varieties.

(3) Kashmiri spoken in Kamraz distinguishes itself from the variety spoken in the Maraz as well as Srinagar mainly in the use of peculiar intonation and stress.

(4) A number of vocabulary items are different in Kashmiri spoken in the above three regions.

All the above linguistic variations are not very significant. Kashmiri spoken in the three regions is not only mutually intelligible but quite homogeneous. These dialectical variations can be termed as different styles of the same speech. Since Kashmiri spoken in Srinagar has gained some social prestige, very frequent "style switching" takes place from *Marazi* or *Kamrazi* styles to the style of speech spoken in Srinagar. This phenomena of "Style switching" is very common among the educated speakers of Kashmiri. Kashmiri spoken in Srinagar and surrounding areas continues to hold the prestige of being the standard variety which is used in mass media and literature. In the literature available on Kashmir (Grierson 1919, Kachru 1969, including the census reports, following regional dialects of Kashmiri spoken outside the valley of Kashmir have been listed:

(1) Kashtawari,
(2) Poguli,
(3) Rambani,
(4) Siraji, and
(5) Kohistani.

Out of these dialects indicated above, Rambani and Siraji do not share any of the typically linguistic characteristics with Kashmiri. Rambani and Siraji are closely related dialects which share features with Dogri and other Pahari group of language. They do share some features such as the semantic dimensions of the pronominal system, some morphology and a substantial portion of their vocabulary (mostly borrowed from common sources) with Kashmiri. The term "Kohistani" has no precise linguistic significance. It probably refers to languages of the Shina group. It cannot be therefore recognised as a dialect of Kashmiri. This leaves our Kashtawari and Poguli as the only two regional dialects of Kashmiri which are spoken outside the valleys of Kashmir.

Poguli is spoken in the Pogul and Paristan valleys bordered on the east by Kashtawari, on the south by Rambani and Siraji, and on the west by mixed dialects of Lahanda and Pahari. The speakers of Pogul are found mainly to the south, south-east and south-west of Banihal. Poguli shares many linguistic features including 70% vocabulary with Kashmiri. Literate Poguli speakers of Pogul and Paristan valleys speak standard Kashmiri as well.

Kashtawari is spoken in the Koshtawar valley lying to the south-east of Kashmir. It is bordered on the south by Bhadarwahi, on the west by Chibbali and Punchi, and on the east by the Tibetan speaking region of Zanskar. According to Grierson (1919: 233) Kashtawari is "one true dialect" o Kashmiri. It shares most linguistic features of standard Kashmiri but retains some archaic features which have disappeared from the latter. It shares about 80 per cent vocabulary with Kashmiri (Koul and Schmidt 1984).

No detailed sociolinguistic research work has been conducted to study different speech variations of Kashmiri spoken by different communities and people who belong to different professions and occupations. In some earlier works beginning with Grierson (1919: 234) distinction has been pointed out in the speech variations of Hindus and Muslims - the two major communities who speak Kashmiri natively. Kachru (1969) has used the terms *Sanskritized Kashmiri* and *Persianized Kashmiri* to denote the two "style differences" on the grounds of some variation in pronunciation morphology and vocabulary common among Hindus and Muslims. It is true that most of the distinct vocabulary is common among Hindus and Muslims. It is true that most of the distinct vocabulary used by Hindus is derived from Sanskrit and that used by Muslims is derived from Perso-Arabic sources. On considering the phonological and morphological variation (besides vocabulary) between these two dialects, the terms used by Kachru do not appear to be appropriate or adequate enough to represent the two socio dialectical variations of styles of speech. The dichotomy of these social dialects is not always significant. One can notice a process of style switching between the speakers of these two dialects in terms of different situations and participants. The frequency of this "style switching" process between the speakers of these two

communities mainly depends on different situations and periods of contact between the participants of the two communities at various social, educational and other levels.

12.2 Linguistic Characteristics

Some of the important phonological and grammatical characteristics of Kashmiri are pointed out in this section.

Kashmiri has following vowel phonemes:

(1) Front Vowels: / i, i:, e and e:/ (2) Central Vowels / 1, 1: e, e:, a and a: /: and back vowels / u, u:, o, o: and c /. The nasalization is phonemic in Kashmir. All the nasals can be nasalized. The high and mid central vowels in Kashmiri / 1,1:, e and e: / are not found in any other Indian languages. Kashmiri has also developed unrounded back vowels / U. U: and 0: / which are not found in any other lndo-Aryan or Dravidian Language.

Kashmiri has following consonant phonemes:

(1) Stops: Bibabial / p, ph and b /, dental / t, th and d /, retroflex / T. Th and D/, Velar / K kh and g /;
(2) Affricates: dental / ts and tsh /, Palato-al veolar / c, ch and j ;
(3) Nasals / m n and N /
(4) Fricatives, / s, z, sh and h / ,
(5) Lateral /1 /, (6) Trill /r/ and (7) Semi-vowels / v and y/.

It may be observed that Kashmiri does not have voiced aspirated stops. Palatalization is an important feature of Kashmiri. All the consonants excepts the palatals, can be palatalized. The denial affricates / ts and tsh / are not found in Hindi-Urdu and many other Indian Languages.

Kashmiri has borrowed, with adaptation, a large number of vocabulary items from Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic sources and most recently from English. These borrowings have resulted in various phonological changes and the development of certain morphological characteristics and registers as well (Knul 19Sf.).

Kashmiri shares a number of grammatical features with other Dardic languages (Koul and Schmidt 1984), but it also shares some characteristics with modern Indo-Aryan languages. Some of the peculiar morphological and syntactic characteristics are pointed out here. Nouns are declined for number, gender and case. There are four cases : a direct or nominative and three oblique cases - a dative, an ergative and an ablative. Different case markers are added to the nouns in oblique cases. Various postpositions govern two different oblique cases : dative and ablative.

Pronouns are declined for person, number gender and case. There is a three term distinction in the demonstrativec pronouns: (1) proximate (2) remote (within sight) and (3) remote (out of sight). Pronominal suffixes are very frequently suffixed to finite verbal forms to indicate personal pronouns. The usage of pronominal suffixes is optional in the case of first and third person but their use is obligatory in the second person.

There are two sets of adjectives (1) declinable and (2) indeclinable. Declinable adjectives are declined for number, gender and case, and indeclinable adjectives do not decline for number and gender. A distinction is being maintained between the base adjectives and derived adjectives.

Verbs are inflected for person, number, gender and tense. All verbs are conjugated and can be classified in different sets according to the sentence patterns. All but seven verb roots end in consonant.

In the conjugation of past tense, three distinctions are made:

(1) simple or proximate past,
(2) indefinite past and
(3) remote past.

They are formed by adding different past participles to the verbs.

Main verbs are classified into copulative, intransitive and transitive. Verbs are causativized by adding causative suffixes to the verb stems. Conjunct and compound verbs are very frequently used in Kashmiri. Compound verbs have their own characteristics.

Kashmiri has a different word order from other Indian languages at the surface level. The verb in Kashmiri always comes in the second position in a sentence. Kashmiri is therefore characterized as a verb 2 language.

12.3 Script

Various scripts have been used for Kashmiri. The main scripts are: Sharda, Devanagri, Roman and Persio-Arabic. The Sharda script, developed around the 10th century, is the oldest script used for Kashmiri. It is now being used for very restricted purposes (for writing horoscopes etc.) by the priestly class of the Kashmiri Pandit community. The Devanagri script with additional diacritical marks has also been used for Kashmiri and is still being used by some writers. The Roman script has also been used for Kashmiri but could not become popular. The Persio-Arabic script with additional diacritical marks has been recognized as the official script for Kashmiri by the Jammu and Kashmir Government and is now being widely used. Most of the books are being printed in this script.

13 POETRY OF SHAIK-UL-AALAM

Moti Lal Saqi

In the realm of Kashmiri Literature Shaik-ul-Aalam is second to Lal Ded only. His poetry is considered sacred by the common people. Mussalmans of the valley have great respect for his *Shruks*. His *Shruks* and other longer poems are quoted from the pulpit in the religious sermons enjoyed and adored by the literate and illiterate equally, irrespective of their faith or religion. A number of his verses are quoted in day-to-day conversation by the common people and such verses have attained the status of proverbs, wise sayings and parables.

Shaik-ul-Aalam's poetry is the spontaneous expression of his spiritual experiences and observations. He, in fact, has poured his very soul in his verses. His poetry reveals the grandeur of the saint as a great soul and poet of high order. There is no contradiction between the patron saint and poet Shaikh. When we examine his poetry in detail and depth, it is impossible to understand the saint and his Rishi order unless and until his poetry is understood. He made his poetry the message of his faith, love and brotherhood, peace and respect for all creeds and beliefs, but his message has not injured or diminished the quality and grace of his Shruks and longer narratives. Here we come across a perfect blend between his gospel and poetry. Such complete blend is hardly witnessed, which speaks of his poetic genius and complete grip on the art of versification. Like a master mind he has converted his feelings, experiences and observations in living images and word pictures.

His poetry is the harbinger of a new mystic order the neo-Rishi order of Kashmir which has hardly any parallel. This mystic order has absorbed all the good and noble principles of different prevailing faiths. As regards his 'Rishi Order' there is no recorded evidence or source other than his poetry available to understand its basic principles or tenets.

Junior contemporary of Lal Ded, Shaik-ul-Aalam was in many ways very close to her. His sources of inspiration remained almost the same which nourished the ideal world of Lal Ded. He too preached non-violence, and adopted the way of asceticism. There is much more resemblance evident in their poetry; difference if any is in thought content, presentation and execution of the theme. But form is the same. The poetry of Lal Ded and Shaik-ul-Aalam is complimentary to each other.

The poetry of Lal Ded is termed as Vakh and that of Shaik-ul-Aalam as 'Shruks' in Kashmiri. The Vakh owes its origin to Sanskrit 'Vakhya' and the Shruk, is, in fact the Prakrit form of Sanskrit 'Sholok'. In Sanskrit both these words have nothing particular to denote as independent forms of poetry. In Kashmiri both the words refer to particular genres used for rendering the mystic experiences in poetry.

Like Vakh most of the Shraks are four line stanzas and their rhyme scheme is as follows :

Though independent of foreign influence Vakhs and Shruks have of-course something in common with Hindi Doha and Chau-Paei and Rubai. How and why our ancestors classed and divided the poetry of these two epoch making personalities as 'Vakh' and 'Shruk' is still a problem to be resolved

The poetry of Lal Ded and Shaikh represent the phases of Kashmiri language when it was thriving in the lap of Sanskrit culture. It belongs to that bright period of our language when Kashmiri could easily bear the burden of philosophy and communicate its essence to the readers. It was not the beginning of a glorious chapter of Kashmiri language and literature, but the end.

After Shaikh and his contemporary Avtar Bhat there is a complete break for a long period. It is worthwhile to say that while Shaikh-ul-Aalam's *Shruks* represents the language of the common man, Avtar Bhat's verses represent the language of the elite of that period. There are references in books at some literature was produced in the intervening period also but nothing has come down to us. Actually this period of Kashmiri History was a period of chaos and civil unrest. Every now and then kings were installed and deposed. Later on when Habba-Khatoon (16th Century A.D.) appears on the scene we see a complete, rather drastic change in the form as well as thought content of Kashmiri poetry.

In Persian Rishi Namas it is recorded that one of the disciples of the Shaikh, Kati Pandita compiled his poetry in the form of a book but this manuscript is not traceable. Historians have written that court poet of

Budshah - Milla Ahmed translated the poetry of Shaik-ul-Aalam in Persian but this version too is not available now. It was the result of reverence of the people for Lal Ded and Shaik-ulAalam and established sacred oral tone of their poetry that some people had committed it to memory and this tradition continued for centuries together. Finally the 'Vakhs' of Lal Ded were written down with their Sanskrit commentary in late 18th Century. The Shruks of Shaik-ul-Aalam were collected and written down in 19th century by Baba Kamal-Ud-Din, Mir Abdullah and Baba Khalid in their respective Rishi Namas; Rishi Nama of Baba Nasib-Ud-Din Gazi was written only 190 years after the death of the saint and contains only a few *Shruks*.

Baba Davood Muskavati's 'Asrar-ul-Abrar' provides the reader with some details about the wanderings of the Shaikh. So far as his poetry is concerned Muskavati has provided nothing to satisfy our craving.

The compilers of Rishi Namas have rendered a great service to Kashmiri language and literature by recording the *Shruks* of the Shaikh for the posterity. Otherwise Shaikhs' poetry must have been wiped out for ever, but at the same time they have left out a sizeable portion of Shaik's poetry which they refer to as Shamskriti (poetry in Sanskrit) and 'Gouri' (poetry in the idiom of Pandits) because all such poetry was beyond their comprehension. As such the poetry of Shaikh is invaluable linguistically also. The study of his *'Shruks'* proves beyond any doubt that Sanskrit was a dominating force in the 14th Century A.D. in Kashmir. It enjoyed the royal patronage of some Mussalman kings also and was replaced by Persian in 15th century during the kingship of Budshah (1420-1470). The word hoard of *Shruks* owes much to Sanskrit. Most of the spiritual and technical terms, besides some, 'Tatsam' and 'Tad Bhav' words have been borrowed from Sanskrit besides, a host of words and technical terms in their Prakrit form. He has enriched his poetry with epic and Puranic allusions and mythology. We frequently see words and terms 'Giana Dhyana', 'Krodha', 'Bal', 'Bhag', 'Lobha', 'Siva', 'Chitta', 'Kivala', 'Panthan', 'Punya', 'Diva', 'Bandhana' etc. used in their original meaning in his poetry. We rarely come across a Persian word or phrase in his real *Shruks* which is enough to prove that during his life Persian had yet to make a mark on the life and culture of Kashmir.

Thus we come to the conclusion that Shaik-ulAalam's poetry thrived in such a background which was illuminated by Sanskrit culture and thought. It is close to the Sanskrit Kavya tradition and has a direct link with Sanskrit. His 'Shamskriti' and 'Gouri' poems would certainly open new vistas of understanding and would unfold many hidden realities about 15th century Kashmiri but all the poems of this class are lost for ever.

Shaik-ul-Aalam is the father of narrative (Nazam) in Kashmiri. He enriched the Vatsun also, which we for the first time come across in the poetry of Lal Ded. Some of the longer poems of the Shaik are more revealing than his *Shruks*. It is he who paved the way for the forthcoming mystic poets and provided them with the fund of words and technical terms which served them as chariots for the revelation of their mystic experiences. From Souch Kral (19th century A.D.) to Ab. Ahad Zargar (died 1984) all our Sufi poets have derived inspiration from him and have been influenced by him. He has recorded almost all the details of migration of his great grandfather and his settlement in Kashmir. He has openly recorded that he is a Mussalman as his father embraced Islam at the hands of Syed Hussain Simnani at Kulgam.

He craves for that what was attained by Lal Ded and cries :-

> ***"That Lalla of Padmanpora drank ambrosia in gulps. ' She saw Shiva all around her, in each and every object, oh God bestow me with such eminence."***

His poetry has a cooling and soothing effect, with something deep, something peculiar to communicate. It has a glow of spirituality around it and a keen reader gets lost and is absorbed in it. One feels refreshed after reading or listening to it. Every time its recitation has something new and novel to convey. The spontaneity of the Shaik's poetry is like that of a mountain stream which has a powerful gush-and makes its way through the stone beds and hard rocks. The saint has used the languages in such a creative way that every word and phrase bears a fresh look, attains new dimensions of grace and meaning. His poetry is not confined to the mystic experiences alone. Sometimes he comes out of his mystic world also and talks

of life. His longer poems are the word picture of the society of the age and unveil the inequality, injustice, tyranny and social disorder in such a way that a sensitive person can hardly control his tears.

In one of his longer poems 'God has nothing to do with all this' he reveals :

"There are people who have hoarded enormous quantity of food grains.
Food grains of various tastes and colours.
There are people who long for a morsel of food.
Their infants wail and weep of hunger.
This state of affairs is man made and man created. God has nothing to do with all this."

Commenting on the cruel behaviour of men Shaikul-Aalam says :

"They will cut the throat of that very cock.
Who calls them to prayers.
They will simply weigh him for their own ends. I beseech I may not be born among such people Oh! God."

At the same time we witness the all pervading dread of death in his poetry :

"One can not escape death and its blows.
Noble souls are being swept away every now and then."

Shaik-ul-Aalam always stressed the unity of man. Man in his eyes was the symbol of the divine. To serve the mankind is the noblest service and way to God :

"Why are you bent upon to create hatred amongst them.
They are the descendants of one and the same mother,
serve to the best of your capacity Mussalmans and Hindus.
If you follow this path God will bestow his grace on thee."

Throughout his pious life Shaik-ul-Aalam fought against the bigots and bigotry; because in his opinion bigotry was the very negation of truth, and was against the fundamental dictums of evey religion. Bigots have nothing to do with the real nature of religion because all the religions teach tolerance and respect for other's creeds. Bigots simply create an atmosphere of hatred and

disagreement and thus pave the way for their ends. They pretend to be learned but their attitude exposes them at every step. They learn only to attain worldly fame and have no liking for attaining the divine. Addressing the bigots the Shaik says :

"You have crammed the books only for worldly ends.
Your learning never prevents you from your bad deeds.
You always think in terms of trapping each-other
Your contention is wrong, for you consider.
Yourselves to be amongst the chosen.
I foretell with authority that you will not reach the goal."

In the poetry of Shaik-ul-Aalam there is no dearth such *Shruks* which contain the essence of Vedanta. In one of the Shlokas of 'Bhagvat Gita' Lord Krishna says :

"It is desire, it is anger
Born of Rajujana
All consuming and most evil.
Know this to be the enemy on earth" (Gita A-3 S-37)

Shaik-ul-Aalam says :

"Desire, pride and greed overwhelmed you.
It is the burning inferno before your very eyes."

At another place he says :

"If you are under the fury of God.
Do not try to avoid it.
If he puts you to a hard and fast test.
Consider it to be the source of comfort.
If you do this you are sure to be a chosen one."

In Gita Lord says :

"Satisfied with whatever comes unshaked,
beyond the pairs of opposites.
Free from envy, balanced in success and failure.
Acting he is not bound" (Gita A-2 S.12).

Shaik-ul-Aalam reveals the nature of ultimate thus :

"It was there from the very beginning.
It will always remain there.
Meditate upon the ultimate.
All your doubts will fade away.
My inner self, beware."

The dictum of Gita runs thus

"Never the spirit was born,
The spirit shall cease never,
Never was time it was not.
End, beginning are dreams."

Shaik-ul-Aalam says :

"Who saw him face to face,
Who follow his path,
Those who concentrate and meditate upon the ultimate.
They alone find an easy path to him."

Addressing Arjuna, the Lord says :

"Oh! Arjuna, He who acts me,
depends upon me.
Devoted to me,
gives up attachment,
is without hatred towards any being,
reaches me."

Great personalities are mirrors and in a mirror everybody is bound to see his reflection. Shaik-ulAalam one of the noblest of Kashmiris is one, in the fraternity of great Indian sages and saints like Tulsi Dass, Tuka Ram, Sur Mass, Mira Bai, Guru Nanak, Nama Deva, Bhagvat Kabir and others. Shaik-ul-Aalam commands a place of respect and reverence as a great saint and a great poet. In fact Shaik-ul-Aalam is one of the foremost makers of our language and literature.

14 KASHMIRIS IN THE SERVICE OF URDU

D. K. Kachru

Excerpts: 'KASHMIRI PANDITS: A CULTURAL HERITAGE'

Edited by Prof. S. Bhatt

Kashmiris can jusifiably be proud of their great contribution to the development and enrichment of Persian in India from the fourteenth century of the Christian era onwards. Earlier they had already carved out a special place for themselves in the realms, among others, of Sanskrit language and literature.

The Persian poetical works of some of them had been adjudged, in their times, to be as good as those of the best poets of Iran itself. Habib Ullah Ghanai, 'Hubbi' (1556-1617), Mulla Muhammad Tahir, 'Ghani' (d. 1669), Mirza Darab Beg, 'Juya' (d.1707) and Mirza Beg Akmal, 'Kamil' (1645-1719) of the Mughal period are in the opinion of Dr. G. L. Tikku of the University of *Illinois* (U.S.A.) only four poets who are, so as to say, landmarks of Persian poetry in Kashmir. Their name and fame travelled as far as Iran in their day.

During almost a century of Afghan and Sikh rule from about the middle of 1700 A.D. to about the middle of 1800 A.D., Mulla Ashraf, 'Bulbul', Abdul Vahab, 'Shaiq', Daya Ram Kachru, 'Khushdil', Mulla Hamid Ullah, 'Hamid', Birbal Kachru, 'Varasta' were equally outstanding and far-famed. One could with apologies to chronlogy, add the distinguished name of Bhawani Dass Kachru 'Neku', Raja Kaul Arzabegi, Chandra Bhan 'Brahmin', Lachi Ram 'Saroor', Narain Dass 'Zamir' and a host of others.

Some of these distinguished men of letters rose of sublime heights of accomplishment which won them deserved acclaim. To those friends who would like to know a little more on the subject I would recommend a study of *"Persian Poetry in Kashmir"* by Dr. G. L. Tikku. He has called it only "an Introduction". But it is much more than that, and provides educative and excellent reading. Dr. Tikku has rendered a signal service to his old, home-land and to all lovers of Persian by bringing out this excellent "introduction".

Persian, however, slowly ceased to be the language of the court and of the elite with the eclipse of the Moghuls. Urdu took its place steadily and step by step. The part that Kashmiris played in its development and enrichment has again been historic and all-important. In point of that fact Kashmiris, whether Hindu or Muslim, who migrated to various parts of India from the middle of the seveteenth century onwards and settled down in Punjab, Delhi, Rajasthan,Central India, U.P. and even Eastern India, slowly forgot their mother tongue, Kashmiri and used Urdu as such. They ultimately, came to regard Urdu as their mother-tongue. In Kashmir itself, Urdu was the court language and therefore in full bloom.

It would be no exaggeration to say that the very foundations of the Urdu novel and of its fiction were laid by that great but tragic genius, Rattn Nath Dhar 'Sarshar'. His classic *"Fasanai Azad"* was universally acclaimed as a great work of art and charted new paths in virgin soil. He was followed by others. These included in recent days Prem Nath Sadhu 'Pardesi', and my dear old class mate, Prem Nath 'Dhar' who wrote *"Kagaz-Ka-Vasudeva"* among others.

In the field of Urdu prose stalwarts like Tribhuwan Nath 'Hajar', Shiv Narain 'Shamim', Si Tej Bahadur Sapru to name only a few, rendered yeomen's service. In Urdu drama Agha Hashar Kashmiri was the path finder and pioneer. His *"Yahudi-Ki-Beti"* has not lost any of its lustre even yet. I will not talk of later day men of letters in these fields.

Again in the development of Urdu journalisr Kashmiris have played a significant role. In th Kashmir State itself the legendary Har Gopal Kaul 'Khasta', was almost the father of Urdu journalism. In Lahore, others apart, the name of Gopinath Gurtu of *"Akhbar-i-am"* fame was one to conjure with to be followed, with passage of time, by Dina Nath Chikan *'Mast's'* "Subeh-i-Kashmir". "Kashmir Darpan" of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, *"Morasala-i-Kashmir"* and *"Subeh-i-Umed"* of Brij Narain 'Chakbast' and *"Bahar-i-Kashmir"* could again well be mentioned in this connection as specimens from U.P. and Lahore.

Urdu poetry owes a significant debt to Kashmiri genius, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, a migrant Kashmiri whose family had left Kashmir and settled in Sialkot. The *"Masnavi"* of Daya Shankar Tikku, 'Nasim', holds its own even today. Brij Narain Chakbast - a great poet who died young touched the very heights of poetic genius. His *"Khak-i-Hind"* anti poems of the same genre should be read with Iqbal's *"Mera Wattan Wohi Hai"* and *"Naya Shawab"* written very much later. His mastery of Urdu prose was equally superb. The diction, repart and thrust of *"Maarika-i-Chakbast-o-Sharar"* are a delight, Pandit Brij Mohan Dattatriy, 'Kaifi', was till recently - he died full of years and honours - a venerable name in Urdu literary and cultural circles all over India. My old and revered teacher in S. P. Colleges Sirinagar, Pandit Nand Lal Kaul "Talib" and his friend and contemporary, Pandit Dina Nath Chikan, "Mast", my earlier and very revered teacher at School, Pandit Nand Lal Din 'Begaraz' - again to name only a few-also made their valuable contributions to both prose and poetry in Urdu and Persian. My old collegemate, that great shining star ot Kashmir poetic, literary and cultural firmament, Mali Dina Nath 'Nadim', initially wrote his poetry in Urdu. Some at least of these, which he sweetly recited decades ago, seemed to me then to nearly touch the stars. Again the great Kashmiri seer and Savant 'Masterji'. Pandit Zinda Kaul, also started as an Urdu poet. Some of his Urdu poems won the applause of old masters. That great nightingale of Kashmir, Ghulam Ahmed 'Mahjur' also started with Urdu and made a brilliant success of it. Among living Urdu poets today Pandit Anand Narain Mulla is still acknowledged as the unchallenged high-priest.

Many Kashmiris had invaluable treasures of Persian and Urdu manuscripts with them. They were loath to part with these and unable to preserve them either tragic consequence. I remember - and this is a child-hood memory - that my grand-father, Pandit Nanak Chand, he had a lovely hand, had copied two rare and lengthy Persian manuscripts on fine Kashmir paper with illuminated margins which were kept in a small wooden box. He died in the prime of life and these could subsequently never be traced.

Most Kashmiris were aware of this continued and wanton loss of a valuable heritage but seemed either helpless or indifferent. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and some other distinguished Kashmiris of Allahabad, however, decided to cry a halt, to the extent possible to further ravages of this nature. They, therefore, organized with a rare missionary zeal, a collection drive in the fields of Persian and Urdu poetry by Kashmiris in Northern India. This was indeed a Herculean task.

The dedication and self-less enthusiasm of this small band of lovers of Urdu poetry and of Kashmiris, headed in the field by Pandit Jagmohan Nath Raina, "Shauk", resulted in the publication finally by 1932 of two excellently brought out volumes of a classic in Urdu, *"Bahar-i-Gulshan-i-Kashmir"*. It is a monumental work and received a most enthusiastic reception. It earned for Kashmiris not only numberless bouquets, but also warm admiration for their great literary contributions to both Persian and Urdu poetry in a most outstanding manner. Extracts from the *"Kalam"* of over three hundred twenty-five Kashmiri poets in Persian and Urdu figured in these two volumes. Peer Pandit Padshah and Rup Bhawani are included amongst a host of others. There are also photographs of the Poets/Poetesses in plenty - a great labour of love. Prose, drama and fiction could not be covered. The canvass would have been too vast. Nearly half a century has elapsed since many Kashmiri flowers have bloomed in the interval in the enchanting gardens of Urdu literature in prose, poetry and drama. But most of us are unaware of this scattered treasure of beauty and this cultural legacy. A fresh band of re-incarnated Jagmohan Nath Rainas has to be born to take up the thread and bring out another volume to span the uncovered interregnum. This is a labour of love which could again be resumed at Allahabad or at Delhi before it is too late. Lovers of Kashmir, of Kashmiri culture, and of Urdu ought surely to spare some thought for this and put their heads together to evolve an effective plan of action. Surely what some of us could do and achieve in this direction more than fifty years ago can be attempted by some more of us again with equal success given the spirit and the dedication.

15 KASHMIRIS IN THE SERVICE OF URDU

Z. L. Kaul

Excerpts: 'KASHMIRI PANDITS: A CULTURAL HERITAGE'

Edited by Prof. S. Bhatt

In early forties, at an all-India gathering of Urdu scholars, the delegates were asked to draw a panel of names of people, who wrote correct idiomatic Urdu. Surprisingly, the panel which consisted of four names, included three Kashmiri Pandits. The panel consisted of Maulvi Abdul Huq, of the Anjuman-i-Tarqi-i-Urdu, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Raja Narendra Nath and Pandit Brij Mohan Datatriya 'Kaifi'. That was the measure of proficiency achieved by the Kashmiri Brahmins in Urdu language.

15.1 Court Language

When Islam was introduced in Kashmir in early fourteenth century, Persian became the court language. The Kashmiri Brahmin, with a remarkable flair for adjusting himself to the changed scenario, switched over from Sanskrit to Persian. The speed with which Kashmiris mastered this foreign language was extraordinary. Overnight, the court circulars, the *firmans* and the judicial pronouncements were written in chaste Persian by Kashmiri Brahmins with the same ease with which they wrote Sanskrit.

But Kashmiris not only mastered the art of the official language, they also tried their hand at literary forms, notably poetry. Scores of local poets sprang overnight, but their literary output never won any recognition outside the valley. The only exception was Ghani, whose fame transcended India and reached Iran. Even today Ghani is regarded as a greater Persian poet in Iran than Iqbal. Kashmiri Brahmins, continuing the tradition of Kalhana, wrote history of Kashmir in Persian. They are Anand Kaul Ajaz and Birbal Kachroo, whose Persian chronicles are a valuable source of Kashmir history.

When the Mughul empire decayed, Urdu was born in the ovilight of the decadent Mughul culture. It was in Urdu that the literary genius of Kashmiris flowered and attained heights never before achieved in Persian.

15.2 Mother Tongue

Kashmiris, who migrated to India in the wake of Pathan repression, made Urdu their mother-tongue and soon forgot Kashmiri. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru once proudly declared: "Urdu is my mother-tongue and I am proud of it". Almost every town in India had minor Kashmiri poets, especially in Indian States where they enjoyed royal patronage.

The four Kashmiris who have earned for themselves a niche in the history of Urdu literature are Mohammad Iqbal, Ratan Nath Dhar 'Sarshar' Daya Shankar Kaul 'Nasim', and Brij Narain 'Chakbast'.

There can be no two opinions that Iqbal is one of the greatest Urdu poets of all time. His forefather came from Kulgam from the family of Saprus. Iqbal was proud of being a Kashmiri.

15.3 Literary Giant

The first and foremost Kashmiri to win recognition as a literary giant in Urdu was Pandit Daya Shankar Kaul 'Nasim' of Lucknow. He was born in Lucknow in 1811 and died in 1845 at the young age of 34. He was a disciple of the great Urdu poet, 'Atish Nasim's 'Gul Bakawali', a versified version of the famed love story, made him immortal. His fame caused envy to many Urdu novelists. Sharar came out with a fantastic story that Nasim was not the real author of the book, but Atish, but Chakbast wrote a spirited defence of Nasim and silenced Sharar and his supporters. This controversy, which has now been settled once for all, was an event of great literary battle in the early part of this century.

Ratan Nath Dhar was the celebrated author *Fasana Azad*, which is regarded as the forerunner of the Urdu novel. He died in Hyderabad in 1904 under mysterious circumstances. The story of his coming to literary prominence is as fascinating as his works. He was a school teacher and wrote a piece for the famous Urdu paper *Oudh Punch.* The editor at once realized the potential of the writer and invited him to write regularly for his paper. Ratan Nath, with prosperity coming to him, became an alcoholic. According to

tradition he was paid not in cash but in bottles of whisky for each piece. The messenger of *Oudh Punch* used to come to him with a bottle of whisky and Ratan Nath Dhar used to write while sipping pegs. He wrote four volumes of *Fasana Azad*, and the amount of alcohol he must have consumed is anybody's guess. His mastery of the Urdu idiom and dialogues of butlers, begums and courtiers is remarkable for its authenticity. His humour anti wit is there for all to see. His characters are as well drawn as of Dickens and *Fasana Azad* is akin to *Pickwick Papers*.

The last great Kashmiri poet was Brij Narain Chakbast, who died at the young age of 44, in 1926. His poetry is full of patriotic fervour, and is devoid of love and romance. Chakbast was an ascetic and a liberal in politics like Sir Tej. But Chakbast was master of diction, idioms and the classical Luknavi Urdu.

15.4 Our Own Time

In our own day Pandit Anand Narain Mulla, a former judge of the Allahabad High Court and an M.P., is a poet of standing.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's services to the cause of Urdu literature are too well known. Raja Sir Kishen Prasad Kaul, of the erstwhile State of Hyderabad, was a great patron of the Urdu poets. Among the lesser known poets one can mention Amar Nath Madan 'Sahir' and Tribhuvan Nath 'Hijar'.

In the valley itself, Kashmiris have served the cause of Urdu literature well. Nand Lal Kaul Talib, Dina Nath Mast and Nand Lal 'Begarz' are well known names, among many.

16 CHAKBAST: THE POET OF PATRIOTISM

A. N. D. Haksar

Few remember today the remarkable contribution of Kashmiri Pandits to the development of Urdu literature. Ratan Nath Sarshar was the pioneering novelist of Urdu, and Daya Shankar Naseem a famous composer of masnavi poetry. But the foremost Kashmiri name in Urdu letters is that of Brij Narayan Chakbast, the firey poet of patriotism. Considered in his lifetime a compeer of Iqbal, Chakbast died young before he could attain the celebrity of his great contemporary.

Chakbast was among the founders of a new school of Urdu poetry which blossomed in the first quarter of the 20th century. In his obituary published on 24 February 1926, the daily Leader of Allahabad called him "one of that small band who have helped to revolutionise the ideals of Urdu poetry."

Traditional Urdu poets at the turn of the century, the Leader wrote, "were content to play with words and compose sugary verses of lady-like prettiness." But Iqbal and Chakbast "treated their muse like a queen, not like a tinseled courtesan." Under the influence of nationalism they "transfigured patriotism into song."

Apart from its nationalist inspiration and break from the tradition of stylised ghazals and qasidas, the new school also reflected a deep understanding of Western thought. A contemporary connoisseur, the distinguished jurist Tej Bahadur Sapru, described Iqbal and Chakbast as "men who have tasted of the best that English literature has to give us, and yet retained their love for their own literature" in expressing "some of the deepest thoughts and the subtlest of emotions which have stirred the minds of their countrymen during their times."

Comparing the two poets, Sapru wrote, "if Iqbal is more spiritual and mystical than Chakbast, that is probably due to his philosophy of life - on the other hand if Chakbast is more elegant in form, and shows greater pathos, if he appeals more to human feelings than to intellect, it is because of his environments in Lucknow."

Nationalism was a potent factor in moulding both poets, apart from the inspiration of natural beauty and the impress of faith and philosophy. The Hindi poet-historian R. S. Dinkar later wrote that Iqbal's poetry evolved from nationalism to pan-Islamism, but Chakbast remained a poet of patriotism to the end.

The resounding strains of Chakbast's hymn to the nation Khak-i-Hind (Dust of India) evoke the same mood as Iqbal's well known Tarana-i-Hindi (Song of India):

> ***Hubbe watan samaaye, aankhon men noor hokar***
> ***Sar men khumaar hokar, dil men suroor hokar.***
>
> ***(May love for country pervade you, becoming light of the eyes, exhilarating the mind a intoxicating the heart.)***
>
> ***But the hymn was also a stern warning:***
> ***Kuchh kam nahin ajal se khwabe garaan hamara,***
> ***Ek leash bekafan hai Hindostan hamara.***
>
> ***(Our deep slumber is no less than death. Our India has become a corpse without a shroud.)***

Chakbast's patriotic fervour found its finest expression in his elegies on the deaths of national leaders. The marsia or elegaic ode was a speciality, of Lucknow steeped in the Shia Muslim tradition of mourning the martyrs of the historic battle of Karbala. The cadences of the classical compositions, of Anees and Dabeer found a secular resonanance in Chakbast. He wrote on the death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak:

> ***Shor-i-maatam na ho, jhankar ho zanjeeron ki,***
> ***Chaahiye quam ke Bheesham ko chitaa teeron ki.***
>
> ***(This is no time for loud lament. Let there be the clash of chains. Like Bhishma, the patriarch of the nation deserves a funeral pyre of arrows.)***

It is hard to imagine an Urdu poet writing with such passion about a leader from Maharashtra today. But the liberation struggle had given a burning sense of unity to Indians of those times. On the death of another great Indian from Maharashtra Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Chakbast wrote:

Janaazaa Hind ka tere dar se nikalta hai,
Suhaag qaum ka teri chitaa pe jalta hai.

(It is India's funeral procession which goes forth from your door. It is the nation's fortune which burns upon your pyre.)

Chakbast also dedicated a poem to Mahatma Gandhi who was still working in South Africa at the time:

Fida watan pe jo ho, admi diler hai woh,
Jo yeh nahin to faqat haddiyon ka dher hai woh.

(The brave man is one who is devoted to his homeland. Otherwise he is only a pile of bones.)

Nationalism was only one theme of Chakbast's poetry. It equally drew inspiration from human sensibilities. His dirge on the demise of a young relative contains the oft quoted lines on youth snatched away by death:

Khil ke gut kuchh to bahaare jaanfizaan dikhlaa gaye,
Hasrat un ghunchon pe hai jo bin khile murjhaa gaye.

(Some flowers blossomed and displayed the living splendour of Spring. But we long for those buds which have withered without blooming.)

Chakbast's talent was already in full bloom when he died at the age of 43, felled by a paralytic stroke in a railway compartment while travelling to his home in Lucknow. Though he had eloquently mourned others, his own view of death was deeply Philosophical, as expressed in another much quoted verse:

Zindagi kya hai, anaasir men zahoore tarteeb,
Maut kya hai, inhin ajazaan ka parishaan hone.

(What is lift but a manifestation of order in the elements. What is death but the very same elements scattering once again?)

It was a view derived from India's ancient philosophy, which has never been interpreted in Urdu poetry as appositely as by Chakbast:

Ain kasrat men yeh wahdat ka sabaq Ved men hai,
Ek hi noor hai in zarra-o-khursqhed men hai.

(In essence this is the lesson of unity in the Vedas. There is but one light which manifests in the sun as well as in the atom.)

A successful lawyer in professional life, Chakbast was born in the small Kashmiri Pandit community settled in Uttar Pradesh. Though he lived and worked for most of his life in Lucknow, he recalled his ancestral land with passionate pride. In a poem on Kashmir, he wrote:

Chhoote huey is baagh ko guzra hat zamana,
Taaza hai magar iski muhabbat ka fasana.
Aalam ne sharaf jinki buzurgi ka hai maana,
Utthe they isi khaak se woh aalime daana.
Tan jinka hat payvand ab is pak zameen ka,
Rug rug men hamaari hai ravaan khoon unhi ka.
Haan, main bhi boon bulbul usi shadaab chaman ka,
Kis tarah na sarsabz ho gulzaar sukhan ka.

(Much time has passed since we left this garden. Yet our love for it is fresh as ever. From its dust arose men of learning and thought whose wisdom was esteemed by the world.

Their bodies are now joined to this sacred soil, but their blood courses through our every vein. I too am a nightingale from that garden full of blossoms: how can the flowers of my poetry not bloom?)

Chakbast's path breaking poetry was published after his death in a collection entitled Subah Watan, which deserves to be brought out again in these days of fading national fervour. So does Bahaar Gulshan Kashmir, the monumental anthology of Urdu and Hindi poetry by Kashmiri Pandits, which is also a testament of their contribution to the literary life of India.

Note: *A. N. D. Haksar is a former diplomat who was Ambassador of India to various countries in Europe and Africa. Now devoted to writing on foreign affairs and literary topics, he has also translated various Sanskrit classics, the latest being a new rendition of thefamous Hitopadesa in prose and verse (Penguin, 1998)*

17 SHANKAR RAMAYANA BY SWAMI SHANKAR RAZDAN

M. K. Raina

Over the ages Kashmir has had its compliment of Rishi, Munis, Saints and Sufis who helped common people discover the truth. Among them lived in the middle of the last century, Swami Shankar Razdan, who was revered by all for his spiritual attainments. Swamiji was not only a saint, but also had great literary attainments. One of his more important contributions to the Kashmiri literature is his Ramayana in Kashmiri verse which he wrote in Sharada script. He has left behind many Vakyas, Leelas which are a source of inspiration to the faithful.

It is unfortunate that his Ramayana has not been printed. It should not be difficult at present to transcribe the text from Sharda into Devanagari script for the benefit of the readers. After some time this task may become impossible with the passing away of those people who know the Sharda script.

17.1 VAAKH SIDHI

Born in a middle class family at Kania Kadal, Srinagar, Shankar, even in his childhood, had displayed a remarkable Vaakh Siddhi i.e. what he said would come true. As a child he would be absorbed in contemplation. As such he had not much attachment to the family. His father a revenue official, was posted in Kulgam, an area abounding in natural beauty. Shankar spent his early days there which brought him closer to nature. The surroundings were in tune with his spiritual make-up and he started his Tapasya in Uttarsu, at a shrine of Umma Bhagwati. He later wanted to shift his place of contemplation to Khirbhavani shrine in Manzgam (Kulgam).

On his way to Manzgarn, Swamiji encountered a strange phenomenon. All of a sudden dark clouds started gathering overhead and there followed lighting and thunderstorms which uprooted trees. Rocks started rolling down the Vishaw river and along with it was swept away Shankar Razdan. Being a man of presence, Swamiji was not afraid of this extraordinary phenomenon. On the contrary, he took it as an indication of some supernatural happening. In a flash he saw the Devi on a rock beckoning to him. The Devi extended a corner of Her 'Longi' to the Swami; he caught hold of it and the Devi pulled him to herself, applied Tilak on the forehead of the Swami and gave him Khir and other Prashad with Her own hands. The Devi admonished him for frittering away his energies in search of the Divine without a Guru. He should go to one of Her devotees, Swami Zanardan Dhar of Srinagar, to whose care, she had given him for future. "He will give you Updesh," said the Devi, and disappeared.

In a short while the storm subsided, the sky cleared, the sun shone and the Swami found his way to safety. This was a clear indication to the Swami that the Devite whom he was going had met him half way, given him Darshan and confined him to the care of Swami Zanardan. No sooner did Shankar Razdan reach Srinagar, Swami Zanardai came out to greet him and since then Shankar Razdan continued to be a Shishya of Swami Zanardan.

A few instances of the miracles that were performed by the Swami may be narrated here. Once he, along with his other fellow students, was studying at night. There being no other means of lighting those days they were studying under an oil lamp. The oil of the lamp dried up and the lamp started to flicker. The students felt disappointed because it was not possible to go out to fetch oil at that late hour to refill the lamp. Shanker told them not to mind and the lamp started to light up brightly to the wonder of his fellow-students. It went on well beyond their requirement. It is possible that it was in rememberance of this event that when a Samadhi was built in the memory of the Swami, it was named the temple of Ratanjot.

Swami Shankar Razdan used to carry axe with him and worship it. Once on Sawan Poornmashi thousands of people were on pilgrimage to the holy Amarnath Cave. The Swai was at his home. He had not gone on pilgrirmage. At Amarnath there was a thunderstorm. People were in distress and there was danger of large scale death and devastation. All of a sudden Swamiji appeared near the cave deep in Tapasya. The sky cleared and the people were happy at the sight of the Swami. On their return from the cave they did not find the Swami at his place. When they reached Srinagar and narrated their tribulations and mentioned the

presence of the Swami there , his disciples were puzzled and asserted that the Swami had never stepped out of his hut. He had twelve years Tapsya.

17.2 ADOPTS CHILD

Swamiji was a celibate and had no family. Once a widow came to him with the limp body of a child stricken with small pox in her arms who, she thought had breathed his last. She cried and wailed.

before the Swami and told him that it was her only child who was no more. She implored him to do something to bring the child back to life. Everyone present was moved by the pleadings of the widow And implored the Mahatma to grant her a boon. After some contemplation Swami Shankar Razdan told the widow that her son might return to life but she should have to part with him. He offered to adopt the child. The widow, for the sake of the life of her child, agreed readily to have nothing to do with him if he came back to life and the Mahatma could adopt him if he liked.

The Mahatma sprinkled some holy water from his Puja on the child who started opening his eyes and making movements. There was great excitement and happiness among the devotees and they fell at the feet of Mahatma. The child recovered and was named Ramjoo by the Mahatma and adopted by him. He brought up Ramjoo with great care, gave him good education, secular as well as religious.

17.3 SPURNED

The Maharaja of Kashmir out of consideration for Mahatma wanted to give a prize post to young Ramjoo but Swami Shankar Razdan would have none of it. Aftcr grrat persuasion, he allowed his adopted son to take Government service which was the only means of livelihood for Kashmiri Pandits those days. Shri Ramjoo rose step by step to become Military Secretary in the Government and later adviser to Raja Amar Singh, father of late Maharaja Hari Singh.

Sawmi Shankar Razdan lived and died in his humble Kutia. The Swami was a man of learning. He wrote extensively, and, as mentioned above, his Ramayana in Kashmiri is a unique piece of religious literature which awaits publication. When he attained Mukhti the Maharaja got a Samadhi built in his name. It was named Mandir Ratanjot. Though the Mandir is in private hands, it is open to, all - Hindus, Muslims, Christians and othersEveryone in Chattahal reveres the memory of Swami Shanker Razdan. In the temple are placed the personal effects of the Mahatma, the axe which he worshipped and the offerings made by the Maharajas and other humbler folk. There are mazy books in the temple, some in Kashmiri Sharda which need to be researched upon.

It is the first Ramayana written by Swami Ji when Maharaja Ranbir Singh was ruling the state who was devotee of Swamiji. This Ramayana is written in Sharda lipi and the language is Kashmiri. Some Sanskrit words are also used. This Ramayana has been written in Saptrishi Samwat 4945 in 18 century. It is also unpublished. Its original Manuscript copy is with me. It is in verse. Some events are depicted in art colours. The colours are not chemical but are prepared from original flowers. These paintings resemble the Basholi Art Printers. As per one verse, the said date of completion of Ramayana is Samwat 4945. So it is safe to consider it as the first Ramayana of the century and not the second one as mentioned by some writers.

The original manuscript is lying safe and is in Sharda Script. I am trying my best to get it translated into Devnagri from Sharda, but I am not able to find any person who knows Sharda written in Kashmiri. My friend late Dr. Pushap Ji had promised to do the job, unfortunately he was snatched away from us. I appeal to any Sharda knowing personality in getting this Ramayana translated. I am even prepared to pay for this job. The complete life of the saint has been published in book form in Hindi, Urdu and articles in English from time to time by me. It will not be out of place to mention here that there are seven Ramayanas in Kashmiri Sharda and Persian in 19th Century by different saints and poets. This was the period of Dogra Rule in the J&K State from 1846 to 1947 A.D.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh and Partap Singh were ruling the state from 1856 to 1940 A.D. It is believed that many more Ramayanas have been written by learned saints and poets before the 11th century, but there is only one Ramayana of this century available which is written by Acharya Khemander. It is also believed

that after the spread of Islamic culture in Kashmir such literature appears to have been destroyed in this period due to Islamic rule since 1914 and thereafter no one might have tried to compose further Ramayanas. If any one had tried, that too appears to have been destroyed. It is in Dogra period that there are seven Ramayanas written. They are:

1. Parkash Ramayana by Pt. Parkash Ram Tarigami who lived from 1819 to 1886. This Ramayana was published in 1910 in Persian at Partap Steam press in Srinagar and has been translated by Dr. Shiban Krishan Raina in Devnagri and has been published by Bhawani trust in Lucknow in 1975.
2. Anand Ramayana, written by Anand Razdan in 1888 and this has not seen the light of day as yet.
3. Partap Ramayana by Vishva Kaul in 1930.
4. Sharma Ramayana written by Pt. Nitkant Sharma written in 1919 and completed in 1926. This too is unpublished.
5. Tarachand Ramayana written by Pt. Tarachand in 1926 AD. It is also not published as yet.
6. Amar Ramayana, written by Pt. Amar Nath in 1940. This too is unpublished.

18 CONTRIBUTION OF KASHMIR TO INDIAN LITERATURE

Raghunath Safaya

Excerpts: 'KASHMIRI PANDITS: A CULTURAL HERITAGE'

Edited by Prof. S. Bhatt

18.1 Introduction

The beautiful valley of Kashmir has always been a cynosure of all eyes for its peculiar climatic conditions and abundant bounties of nature. Kashmir deserves to be given the highest position in Indian Republic not merely because of its natural resources, and sensitive political boundaries, but chiefly due to the remarkable contributions made by the people of Kashmir to the Indian culture.

The high mountainous barriers around the valley, the peculiar climatic conditions, the natural wealth and the cheap resources of living, afforded a Kashmirian, a pleasant calm and quiet atmosphere to ponder over the problems of life and to strive for higher, intellectual pursuits. Kashmiris have played an important role in the development of intellectual, moral, religious, spiritual and social life of Indians. They had made contributions in the field of various sciences, literature, fine arts and philosophy, and in short, accelerated march of culture.

18.2 Historical Literature

A peculiar characteristic of the Indian mind as described by Western writers is that Indians lacked historical sense. There are, in fact, no works, to be called truly historical except Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. This deficiency cannot be overlooked when we find Indian history shrouded in mystery and wrapped in darkness, in spite of the critical researches and hard labours of Oriental scholars. Only Kashmirians possessed a developed historical sense from very early times. Even before Kalhana many historians had written extensive works which formed the basis of *Raja-tarangini*. The assiduity, faithfulness and accuracy of narrating the events in Kashmir's history as found in Raja-tarangini make the work comparable to any of the historical works written by Western Scholars. The so-called historical works in India can never be compared with this work. Puranas are more mythological than historical. Bana's *Harsa-Charita* is more a novel than a history. *Kumarapala-carita* of Hemachandra (1088-1172) is more a work on grammar than on history. All other historical works are written by Kashmirians; Kashmir thus occupies a unique position in the historical literature of India.

The predecessors of Kalhana are many, as he himself tells us that he consulted eleven works of former scholars as well as still existent *Nilamata- purana*. Nothing definite is known about the author and date of this ancient historical work, but this is a rich source of history of Kashmir in the earlier times.

Kalhana mentions Ksemendra, the author of *Nripavali* but at the same time censures it for carelessness. Padmamihira Pasupata, Helaraja, Chavaillakara and Suvrata were other historians who preceded Kalhana, but their works are not available.

Bilhana, the son of Jyasthakalasa, a veteran scholar of grammar, was a Vedic scholar, had mastered Mahabhasya and poetics. He left his home, and as a wandering Pandita, travelled from country to country till he established himself at the court of King Vikramaditya VI, the Calukya king of Kalyana (1076-1127) where he was received and honoured as Vidyapati. He wrote *Vikramankadeva-carita* which is regarded as an important contribution to history. This work begins with the origin of Calukya family and eulogises the king. It contains eighteen cantos and in the last he gives an account of his own family and a short account of the kings of Kashmir. Keith dates his work before 1088 A.D. *'Vikramaditya'*, the famous play of Hindi Poet Udayasankra Bhatta is based on the same work. Bilhana's poetry is of no mean order. He is a model of simplicity and clarity which are essential requisites of a historical work.

Kalhana, born about 1100 A.D. was the son of Campaka, a minister of King Harsa of Kashmir (1089-1101) and was a resident of Parihasapura modern Paraspore, a village near Srinagar. King Harsa was assassinated through conspiracy and Kalhana's family had to leave the royal court.He was a follower of Saivism but did not believe in Tantras. He retained his great love for Buddhism.

Kalhana inspected inscriptions of temples, memorials, records of land grants, eulogies (prasastis), coins, manuscripts of literary works, and consulted all his predecessors in the historical field. He even corrected the mistakes of earlier historians. Thus, as an antiquarian and a historian with true historical judgement and faculty, he wrote the chronicle of events in Kashmir's history. Though the earlier part is confused and does not tally with the dates confirmed by our present historians, yet it is most accurate from 596 to 1151 A.D. Some of the outstanding features of his work are: -

(i) "His accuracy in genealogical information is conspicuous, and his topography most favourably distinguishes him from such a historian as Livy, who apparently never looked at one of the battlefields he described", remarks Keith.

(ii) He was free from prejudice and partiality. He did not spare even the then ruling King Harsa. He fearlessly exposes his treacherous conduct and narrates distress under his rule. His description of Kashmirians as 'fair, false and fickle' testifies the same thing. He condemned the activities of the priests as well as the courtiers with whom fidelity was unknown. The city populace is presented as idle, pleasure lousily ancl utterly callous, acclaiming a king today and welcoming another tomorrow.
(iii) Like a modern historian he gives the source of his information which he finds unsatisfactory. He admits his own limitations and states that he simply records contradictory statements which he cannot believe.
(iv) He was a man of intellect and gives his definite contribution to the art of administration. He places his own contribution to the art of governing Kashmir in the mouth of Lalitaditya.
(v) His style is poetic and simple. It is possessed of easy flow. The use of dialogues lends variety and dramatic power. He is fond of similes.

(vi) It is no wonder if due to the geographical isolation of Kashmir he suffered from certain limitations. He had no relationship with the outside world. But this has to be attributed to the geographical location, and not to the historian's inability to open to the outside world. In short, Kalhana is the first and the foremost historian of India.

Jalhana, another historian was a member of the court of King Alankara of Kashmir. He gives an account of King Somapala, king of Rajapuri, conqucred to King Sussala. His work is titled *Somapala-vilasa*. Sambhu wrote a panegyric of Harsadeva titled Rajendra Karnapura. He flourished in the 11th century. Jonaraja (who died in 1659 A.D.) and his pupil Srivara continued the Raja-taranaini of Kalhana upto the time of King Zain-ul-Abdin. Srivara's pupil Suka carried the story down to the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar. Prajabhatta wrote *Rajavali-Pataka*.

A number of ancient historians appearing on Kashmir's stage is a sufficient proof of a highly developed historical sense among the Kashmiris. A greater testimony of this fact is that each and every Kashmiri inherits even upto the present day this faculty, while he records and remembers faithfully the past events, ancedotes, legends and also preserves the documents. Even the present generation include some good historians as Mohammed-ud-Din Faq, A. Kaul, Gwash Lal and many others. The latest in the field are P. N. Kaul's works: *Tasvir-e-Kashmir, Kashmir Speaks* and *Kashmir-darsana* which give the factual narration of the history of modern Kashmir even to this date and also *Buddhism in Kashmir* and *Ladakh* written by J. N. Ganhar.

18.3 Medicine

The origin of Indian medicine can be traced back to Atharvaveda. In Carka, the writer of *Carakasamhita*, we find a definite and masterly contribution to this science. In fact history of the development of Indian medicine begins from this physician.

There was much controversy about the birth-place of Caraka. But the Buddhist literature discovered by Professor Sylavan Levi in China showed that Caraka was the court poet of Kaniska (1st century A.D.) and his birth-place was Kashmir. With Charaka begins the dawn of Indian medicine and surgery, as all the later works are either based on Caraka or are mere extensions of the same work.

Caraka-samhita has not come to us in the original form. It has been revised and improved by Drdhabala who was son of Kapilaba (9th century A.D.) and was born in village Pantsinor the confluence of rivers Jhelum and Sindhu. This conclusion about his birth place has been arrived at by Hoernle in his *'Authorship of Caraka-samhita'*. Udbhata wrote a commentary on Sushruta Samhita in the 12th century A.D.

The abundance of forests containing various kinds of herbs gave Kashmirians the favourable position to be conversant with the science of herbs. Surgery was, however, not cultivated in Kashmir. Carak and his followers thus place Kashmir as the chief contributor to Indian medicine.

Mention may also be made of Rati-rahasya of Koka (before 1200 A.D.) son of Tejoka and grandson of Paribhadra. This book gives a scientific and elaborate description of sex with its biological and psychological phases, and is considered to be an authoritative work on the subject. After *Kama-sutra* of Vatsayana, this is the first and the foremost work on this subject.

18.4 Grammar and Philology

(a) *Paninian School*:

Panini's Astadhyayi consisting of 3,965 short sutras and embodying the whole science of grammar and language is already known to us. This work was commented upon and supplemented by Kartayana, in his Vartikas. It is due to the great Kashmirian Patanjali that the Vartikas are preserved, as he wrote his Mahabhasya an elaborate commentary on Vartikas. There has been controversy over Patanjali's place of birth. But these are numerous proofs to show that his birth-place was Gudra, a village in Kashmir. Kashmiri tradition upholds it. Some of the sounds which are found only in Kashmiri language have influenced his treatment of the subject. Panini, Katyayana and Patanjali are called the munitraya 'the three architects' of Sanskrit grammar.

The significance of Mahabhasya lies in the philosophical analysis of the sentence. What is the relation between word and meaning? This and such other questions he has solved in a charming and interesting manner. His method of discussion is conversational, and in the whole range of Sanskrit literature there is none parallel to him except Sankaracarya.

One of the foremost commentaries on Panini is *Kasika-Vritti* jointly written by the Kashmiri grammarians Jayaditya (perhaps king Jayapida) and Vamana. The former wrote first five chapters and latter the last three chapters. The Chinese traveller Itsing mentions this work, and so it can safely be dated not later than the 7th century A.D. This work was popular in the whole length and breadth of India. There is an edict eulogising King Indravarma of Camba (911 A.D.) which mentions that one of the qualities of the king was that he had mastered grammar with Kasika-vritti.

Kaiyata, son of Jaiyata and brother of famous critic Manimata, flourished between 11th and 12th century, and wrote *Mahabhasya-pradipa*, a running commentary on Patanjali's Mahabhasya. He presents this work in the light of different schools that preceded him.

The Dhatupatha of Panini was commented upon by Kshirasvamin. All the above four Kashmiri grammarians made a significant contribution to the Paninian School of grammar, but there were other schools of grammar too.

(b) Candra School:

The second important school after Panini was Candra school. Candragemin, the founder of Candra school of grammar flourished during the reign of king Abhmanyu (400 A.D.) His work Candravyakarana consisting of eight chapters (the last two being lost) enjoyed great circulation and reputation during the Buddhist period as warranted by the discovery of this work in the Tibetan and Ceylonese languages.

(c) Katantra School:

Another school known as Katantra school and established outside Kashmir flourished after 12th century in Kashmir. Two authors of this system born in Kashmir were Bhatta Jagaddhara who wrote Bala-bodhini, and the second Chiku Bhatta who wrote Laghu-vrtti.

18.5 Poetics

The development of the science of poetics in India is unparallelled in the history of world literature.The science of poetics in India was known for its inductive faculty, subtle and analytical mind and a definitely scientific outlook. A remarkable contribution has been made by Kashmirians, who not only developed some of the earlier schools of poetics that flourished in India, but, also established some of the new schools. This was perhaps one of the chief subjects of study and research in Kashmir as all the major works on the subject (excluding of course, the works of Bhamaha, Dandin, Visvanatha and Rajasekhara) have been written by Kashmiris. According to Professor Sushil Kumar in South India, no doubt, this study was kept alive by a succession of brilliant, if not very original writers, but these contributions of the later times though greater in bulk and sometimes superior in a certain acuteness never superseded the volume of origina work done in Kashmir which may fittingly be regarded as the homeland, if not birthplace of *Alankara Sastra'*. Kashmiris have always been considered as the authorities on this subject. I give below in chronological order a brief account of the various schools of poetics with special reference to Kashmirian contributions:

(a) Rasa School:

This school it as founded by Bharata, the author of *Natya Sastra*. The central point of this system is Rasa or the dominant mood of human mind. Poetry according to this system appeals to human emotions and sentiments. This Rasa belongs to both the reader or spectator as well the hero of the work. Lolluta, contemporary of King Jayapida (779-813) treats Rasa as belonging to the hero only and not as a matter of spectator's feeling.

Sankuka Clown to Kalhana also, lived under Ajitpada (816 A.D.) He improves upon Lolluta's theory by calling Rasa not only in relation to spectators but also as a matter of inference.

Bhattanayaka explains Rasa in a third different way by calling it, in its final state, as communion with the highest spirit (Paramatma) while Abhinavagupta the exponent of Dhvani theory explains Rasa as manifestation (Abbivyakti).

(b) Alankara School:

The adherents of this school, Bhamaha, Dandin, Udbhata and Rudrata considered poetic embellishments or figures of speech (Alankaras) the most important part of the poetry, the Rasa being subordinate, to it. Bhamaha was the first to propound this theory in his *Kavyalankara-sutra*. But soon the Kashmirians elaborated this system and wrote commentaries.

Udbhata, a courtier of King Jayapida (779-813) wrote Kavyalankara-vrtti which is now lost, and also Alankara-sangraha which defines forty one Alankaras with illustrations from his own work *Kumara-sengraha* while he adds a number of Alankaras to Bhamaha's work, and thus supersedes the latte. He exercised profound influence over the Alankara Sastra.

Rudrata who flourished during the reign of king Sankaravarman (900 A.D.) is the author of Kavyalankara, an extensive work divided into sixteen Adhyayas, reviewing the whole field of politics. He makes Rasa and Riti subordinate to Alankara. This work has been commented upon by a host of eminent writers such as Vallabhadeva, Asadhara, etc.

(c) Riti School:

Vamana of Kashmir and Dandin are the chief representatives of this school. This school maintains that Riti or the special arrangement or combination of words with constituent excellence is the soul of poetry.

It was Vamana, a minister of King Jayapida of Kashmir (779-813) and contemporary of Udbhata who boldly asserted in his work *Kavyalankarasutra* that Riti is the soul of poetry (ritir alma kavyasya). His work is divided into three Adhyayas comprising of 319 Sutras, each Sutra followed by the author's own Vrtti and examples. He is the first to distinguish between Gunas and Alankara, and his work is an improvement upon Dandin.

(d) Dhvani School:

After Alankara School, Rasa School and Riti School, the Dhvani School of poetics came into existence. According to this school Rasa theory is important as it is inapplicable to single stanzas. The charm of poetry, therefore, lies in suggestion (vyangya). This theory is in a way an extension of Rasa theory. It was for the first time expounded in Kashmir and also perpetuated by later Kashmirian critics till Abhinavagupta and Mammata to such an extent that it became a settled doctrine at the time of Panditaraja Jagannatha. Again, it is Kashmirians who deserve credit here in discovering this new theory, so popular even upto this day. The first propounder of this school was Anandavaradhana, a Kashmirian. Later writers followed implicitly all the propositions laid down by him in his Dhvanyaloka. His theory, no doubt, came under fierce criticism at the hands of Patiharenduraja, Kuntala, Bhattanayaka and Mahimobhatta. The essence of Anandvardhana's theory *is 'dhvanir atma kavyasya'* i.e. Dhvani is the soul of poetry. So Dhvani-kavya, Gunibbutavyangya and Citra-kavya are the three varieties of poetry in respect of merit. The Ritis are contained in Gunas.

Anandavardhana, the author of *Dhvanyaloka* was a contemporary of king Avantivarman of Kashmir (857-884 A.D.) He is quoted by Rajasekhara, commented upon by Abbinavagupta, and quotes Udbhata. He dates, therefore, definitely in the middle of the 9th century A.D. Besides Dhvanyaloka, he has written Kavyas as Arjunacaritra and Visamavana-Lila and also Devi-sataka which is gnomic poetry. He has also commented upon *Pramana-vin scaya* of Dharamkirti.

It appears from his Dhvanyaloka that this theory of Dhvani was already started by some scholars, but he was the first to incorporate all the ideas in a regular book form. The book is divided into four parts called *Udyotas*. The first part expresses views about Dhvani and its nature. The second part gives sub-divisions of Dhvani.The third part deals with divisions of poetry on the basis of Dhvani, and the fourth part explains aims and objects and the ideals of charming poetry. Kane in his *Introduction* to Sahitya-darpana says, the Dhanyaloka is an epochmaking work in the history of Alankara literature. It occupies the same position in poetics as Panini's Astadhyayi in grammar, and Sankaracarya's *Saririka-mimamsa* in Vedanta. The work shows great erudition and critical insight. It is written in lucid and forcible style and bears the stamp of originality. Bhattatanta was the author of *Kavyakautuka*. He was the preceptor of Abhinavagupta, as acclaimed by the latter in his work Locana. He has also been quoted by the prolific writer Ksemendra.

One of his doctrines was that Santa Rasa was the head of all Rasas and it led to salvation. He flourished between 960 and 990 A.D.

Bhattenduraja was also the follower of Dhvani school of poetics. He deserves credit for imparting his knowledge to his disciple Abhinavagupta who later on expounded this theory on his lines.

Abbinavagupta, the famous poet, critic, philosopher and saint of Kashmir is the author of numerous brilliant works. His *Abhinavabharati* is the best commentary on *Natya-sastra* of Bharata. His Tantraloka is the famous work on Kashmiri Saivism. His Paramarthasara, a poem of 100 Arya verses, is again a philosophical treatise. *IsvarapratyabhijnaKarika* is a commentary on *Pratyabhijna sastra* of Somananda. He commented upon *The Bhagavadgita* and he wrote a commentary upon Anandvardhan's Dhvanyaloka entitled, *Dhvanyaloka-locana or Locana* in its abbreviated form. His Locana is an exhaustive commentary incorporating in it the author's original views regarding the sentiments (rasas) and Sadharikarna and Dhvani. The Dhvani School received greater impetus in his hands than in the hands of the originator. He further transmitted this system to his disciple Mammatacarya, the famous author of *Kavyaprakasa*. He was not only a profound philosopher, but also an acute critic and successful poet. He lived in the later part of the 10th century A.D. He wrote more than forty works.

Candraka, who belonged to the same family as of Abhinavagupta also wrote a commentary on *Dhoanyaloka*. It is a minor work on the subject and stands no comparison with *Locana*.

Acarya Rajanka Mammata is know to the whole Sanskrit world through his world famous work on poetics, viz. *Kavya-prakasa*. Mammata was a Kashmirian Brahamana who lived in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. He belonged to a family of scholars, as is apparent from Bhimasena's *Sudhasagara-tika*, according to which he was elder brother of Kaiyata, the author of *Mahavhasyapradipa*, and of Uvata

the commentator of Rkpratisakhya, the son of Jaiyata, and also the maternal uncle of famous Sanskrit poet Srinarsa, the author of *Naisadha-carita*. His birth place was Balahom village near Pampore.

His *Kavya-prakasa*, comprising ten chapters, is an all comprehensive work on poetics, which holds such a unique position in the field of poetics that it is studied as a text book in almost all the postgraduate courses in Sanskrit literature in the Indian Universities. About seventy commentaries on the same work by ancient and modern scholars is again a proof of its popularity. The merit of the book won for the author the title 'avatara' of goddess Sarsvati. The author deals with all the topics except dramaturgy. He quotes profusely from other poets. He possesses independent judgement and is mostly original in his thoughts. In South India, Narayana Bhattatir has written a famous stotra work *Narayaniyam*. God Vishnu came to him in disguise and asked him to correct the work on the basis of the principles of rhetorics as given by Mammata in Kavya Prakasha.

Allata was another Kashmirian, to whom credit goes in continuing the tenth chapter of Mammata's *Kavya-prakasa-alankara* which had remained incomplete on account of the author's death. He also wrote commentary on *Harvijaya-Kavya* of Ratnkara who was a Kashmirian poet during the reign of Avantivarman according to Kalhana. He is said to be the son of Rajanaka Jayanaka.

Manikyacandra was another Kashmirian, who wrote the first, and the most reliable commentary on *Kavya-prakasa*. He lived in the later part of the 12th century A.D. and his work dates 1159 A.D.

Rajanka Ruyyaka belonged to the same Rajanka family of Kashmiri Pandits. His Alankara-sarvasva is a standard work on Dhvani-vad. His work briefly summarises the views of his predecessors Bhamaha, Udbhata, Rudrata, Vamana and Anandavardhana. Ruyyaka was son of Rajanka Tilaka. He quotes Bilhana and Mammata, and is quoted by Manikyacandra, and therefore,dates in the second half fo the 12th century A.D.

Vakrokti School

The fifth School of Sansklit poetics is the Vakrokti school. Vakrokti is a striking mode of speech based on Slesh and differing from the plain matter of fact, and an ordinary mode of speech. Kuntaka (or Kuntali,) was the originator of his school. He probable flourished in the later part of the 10th century. Later, Rajanaka Mahimabhatta, the author of *Vyaleti Viveka* (belonging to the second half of 11th century), continued this school. He is commented upon by Ryyaka in his Vyakti-VivekaVichar.' Ruyyaka demolished the theory of Dhvani by his strong arguments and logical criticism. Kane calls it fine of the master-pieces of Sanskrit poetics.

18.6 Other Critics

Kshemendra, the polyhistor of Kashmir, son of Prakashendra, disciple of the famous critic Abhinavagupta, and a courtier of king Anantaraja of Kashmir (1028-1080 A.D.) is the author of a score of literary works on different subjects such as poetry, epics, history, morals, philosophy, religion, sociology, Prosody, besides two important works on rhetorics, namely *Auchitya Vichara* and *Kavi-Kanthabhasna.* The other works of Kshemendra are Dashavatara-Charita, Padya-Kadambari, BharataManjari, Ramayana-Manjari, Brihatkatha-Manjari, Avadana-Kalpalata, Nripavali, Darpa-Dalana, Charucharya-Shalaka, Sevya-Sevaka-Upadesha, Chaturvarga-Sangraha, Kala-Vilasa, Samaya-Matrika etc.

Utpaladeva, Rajanaka Ratnakantha, Khira and Jayaratha are other Kashmirian critics worth mentioning.

It is thus obvious that the whole literature of Sanskrit poetics has been made rich and abundant by Kashmirian critics, who have contributed the major portion through their original discoveries in the field.

18.7 Metrics and Prosody

The originator of the the science of metrics was Pingala, the author of *Pingala Sutra,* who was most probably a Kashmirian, as proved by Ramaprapanna Shastri, the editor of Vritta-Ratnakara of Kedarabhatta Ramachandra Banddha, a resident of Bijbihara (Kashmir), who later became chief minister of King Mauryaparakramabahu of Ceylon has written a commentary upon Vrittaratnakara.

18.8 Lexicography

Mankha of Mankhaka, the disciple of Ryyaka, has written besides some poetical works a lexicon entitled *Anekarthn Kasha* which deals with homonyms, and makes a good improvement on the works of his predecessors Amarasimha, Shashvata, Halayadha and Dhanvantari.

18.9 Music

Sarangadena, the author of Sangita-Rahlakara, belonging to the 13th century was probably a Kashmirian. His erudition in music, medicine and philosophy, all in combination is revealed in this work.

18.10 Epics

Poetry has been a special theme with the Kashmiri Pandits. Kashmir has produced a host of master poets whose celebrated works in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Kashmiri, Persian and Urdu have remained unparallelled. The natural bounty of Kashmir elevated their souls and turned them into poets, scholars and saints.

Bhartrimentha, a contemporary of King Matrigupta of Kashmir (430 A.D.) wrote an epic entitled *Hayagrivavadha* of which only quotations are traceable. Bhatta Bhanmaka, a courtier of king Sridharsena II of Vallabhi (600 A.D.) wrote *Ravanarjuniya* on the model of Bhatti-Kavya, in 27 cantos, narrating the strife between Arjuna Kartavirya and Ravana as found in the Ramayana. Shri Harsha, the author of *Naishadha-charita* was himself not a Kashmirian, but his mother belonged to Kashmir, and the celebrated critic Mammatacharya (the author of world famous work Kavya Prakasha) was his maternal uncle.

Rajanaka Vagishvara Ratnakara, son of Amritabhanu, who flourished under King Jayapida (832-844 A.D.) and King Avantivarman (855-884), has written a stupendous work of 50 cantos and 4321 verses entitled Hara-Vijaya, relating the story of Shiva, slaying by Shiva of the demon Andhaka. The epic was commented upon by Alaka. Poet Kshemendra has praised this work for command of Vasantatilaka metre.

Sivasvamin, son of Arkasvyamin, during the reign of king Avantivaraman, and a contemporary of poet Ratnakara has written in 20 cantos an epic entitled *Kapphinabhyudaya*, relating the Avadana story of King Kapphina of Daksinapatha, who invaded the territory of King Prasenajit of Sravasti, but becomes a Buddhist miraculously. The story is based on a tale on Avadana-sataka. The poet imitates Bharavi and Magha. Kalkhana mentions him as a contemporary of Rathakara and Anandavardhana. He dedicates his poem to Siva, but at the same time glorifies Buddha. This should not look odd to a modern reader, for he should bear in mind that Kashmir was a great Buddhist centre with a composite culture of Buddhism and Saivism. In fact Buddhism was so incorporated, that Ksemendra included Buddha among the ten Hindu Avataras in his *Dasavatar-carita*.

Abhinanda, son of Jayantabhatta, the logician, who flourished in the 19th century A.D. wrote Kadambari-katha-sara, an epitome of Bana's Kadambari in epic form. He has been quoted by Abhinavagupta, Ksemendra and Bhoja.

Mankha, son of Visvavarta, a minister of King Jayasimha of Kashmir (1127-1150 A.D.), wrote the famous epic *Srikantha-carita*. He was a pupil of the critic Ruyyaka, and his three brothers Srinagar, Bhanga and Alankara were all scholars and state officials. He is the same lexicographer who wrote *Anekartha-kosa*. The epic in 25 cantos narrates the story of overthrow of the demon Tripura by Siva. The author gives an account of himself and his family. He was a contemporary of historian Kalhana, who mentions him as a minister (sandhivigrahika) of King Jayasinha.

Mankha also mentions Kalhana's elegant style and names him as Kalyana. Srikantha-carita, is an epic in elegant style, and is a faithful example of the rules of poetics regarding the composition of a phenomena of nature (e.g. sunset, moonrise and morning) reminding the reader of the rich scenery of Kashmir. This work has been commented upon by Jonaraja, the historian.

Rajanaka Jayartha, who flourished in the 13th century A.D. under King Rajdeva of Kashmir, has composed an extensive poem *Hara-carita-cintamani* based on Saiva myths and practices. This work describes some of the pilgrimages of Kashmir connected with Saivism. It can well be called an abridged Siva-Purana.

Ksemendra, the polymath, whose account has been given earlier, has written a number of epics, viz Dasavatara-carita, Bharatamanjari, Ramayana manjari, Brhatkatha-manjari, and Padya-kadambari. Dasa-vatara-carita glorifies ten incarnations of Visnu, including Gautama Buddha as one of the incarnations. The incarnations are Matsya, Kurma Varaha, Narsimha, Vamana, Parasurama, Rama, Krishna, Buddha, and Kalki. It was composed in 1066 A.D.

Unlike other Sanskrit epic writers, Ksemendra's style is simple and flowing. He has not endeavoured to bring in artificialities and intricacies of style. He made a good blending of morals and poetry.

Mention has already been made of Vikramakadeva-carita of Bilhana, as a historical work. This work has as much poetical merit as it has historical significance. It is not out of place to summarise the poetical significance of this historical Mahakavya. Having been educated thoroughly in his native village Khonamukha (near Rampur town in Kashmir) by his father who was himself a learned scholar, and also outside Kashmir at Mathura, Kanyakubja, Prayaga and Varanasi which he visited as a wandering scholar, he had accomplished himself as a perfect poet with mastery over Vaidarbha style of Sanskrit poetry. 'His style is not easy, but elegant and normally attractive; it is doubtless studied, but not overdone with subtleness of thought and expression; it is fully embellished, but reasonable, clear and effective in its verbal and metrical skill The epic has got eighteen cantos and the description of the death of Ahavamalla in canto IV is his masterpiece.

As says Keith, he is more of a poet than a historian. He could not be an authentic historian since he was under royal patronage which influenced his objectivity and writing a faithful Mahakavya, for which he had to blend a love theme with history, he had to digress from mere historical narrative.

Kalidasa, the Shakespeare of India, the master-mind and admittedly the greatest poet of Sanskrit, is believed to be a Kashmirian by some Sanskrit scholars. The rich knowledge that the poet possessed about flora and fauna of mountain regions, his knowledge of saffron (which is a product of Kashmir) his personal philosophy relating to Saivism of Kashmir, the suggestiveness of the title *abhijnana* (in Sakuntalam) with

Pratbhijna Sastra of Kashmir, and such suggestive facts may lead us to conjecture that he was a Kashmirian. This point is, however, not conclusive and requires active research and investigation in comparison with other historical evidences. But in case the above theory comes true, Kashmir wins the trophy. In that case his two epics, Kumara-Sambhava and *Raghu-Vanmsa*, and his three dramas, *Malavkagnimitra, Vikrama Lorvashiya, Abhijana-sakuntala,* and his two lyrics *Megha*duta and *Ritu-samhara* are the best contributions of Kashmir. Dr. Lakshmi Dhar former Head of Sanskrit Deptt., Delhi University, has proved Kalidasa as a Kashmirian

18.11 Shorter Poems (Khanda Kavyas)

Besides Mahakavyas, we find a number of short poems-narrative or lyrical-written by Kashmirians.

Bilhana, has written a beautiful erotic poem *Caurapanchsika* in fifty stanzas, depicting secret love of a robber chief and a princess, in Vasantalata metre, each stanza beginning with the phrase *'adyapi tam'*. Each star is a masterpiece, depicting vividly and minutely the past scenes of happy love.

"If I could see once again towards evening, that beloved with fawn-like eyes and milk-white rounded pitcher like breasts, gladly would I forego the pleasure of kingdom, paradise and salvation".

The intense feelings and deep emotions aroused here are definitely the proof of his master-skill. The poem has got two recensions viz. South India recision and Kashmiri recension The latter is more authentic.

Matrgupta, the illustrious King of Kashmir who patronised poet Bhartmentha, was himself a poet, though none of his works is extant. He is said to have written a commentary on the Natya-sastra of Bharata of which quotations remain. He has been sometimes confused with Kalidasa.

Silhana, another Kashmirian poet wrote *Santisataka*. He probably dates 12th century A.D. This work reveals profound influence of Buddhism upon him. His poetry resembles that of Bhartrihari in his Vairagya-sataka.

Sambu another Kashmirian who flourished during the reign of King Harsa of Kashmir (1089-1101) wrote a poem of 108 verses titled *Anyoktimuktalata-sataka,* Rajendra-karnapura has been mentioned earlier as a historical, narrative and panegyric, eulogising King Harsa. Jonaraja, the historian, has commented upon Prthviraja-vijaya, a work of an unknown Kashmirian author. Hiracanda Ojha and Belevelkar conjecture its author to be Jayanka. Its composition may date between 1178 and 1193 A.D.

Sankuka who flourished in the reign of Ajitpida of Kashmir (8th century A.D.) has been referred to by Kalhana to have written Bhuvanabhudaya in which he had described a fierce battle between Mammata and Utpala. The work is lost. Anthologies also ascribe some verses to Sankuka.

18.12 Gnomic and Didactic Poetry

A lot of poetical works written by Kashmirians falls under the head of didactic poetry, due to the peculiar nature and theme of the poems. Ksemendra, the polymath is acclaimed to be the greatest moralist in Sanskrit poetical literature.

His *Samaya-matrka* is a poem of eight chapters in Sloka metre, narrating the story of a young courtesan Kalavti introduced by a barber to an old expert lady Kankali for detailed instruction in her profession. There is an exact picture of wandering singers, beggars, beggar women, shop-girls, holy saints, thieves and such classes of people, with a lofty satire. It is inspite of its obvious coarseness, an interesting specimen of an approach to satirical writing, which is so rarely cultivated in Sanskrit His *Kala-vilasa* depicts, in ten chapters, various occupations and follies of the people of the time. In this poem a fraudulent Muladev instructs his young disciple Candragupta in the art of roguery practiced by doctors, harlots, traders, goldsmiths, actors, astrologers, beggars, singers and saints. His Darpa-Dalana condemns pride which usually springs from seven sources, namely birth, wealth, knowledge, beauty, courage, generosity and asceticism. His Sevya-sevakopadesa discusses the relation between servants and their masters. His Carucarya-sataka lays down rules of good conduct, illustrated by myths and legends. His Caturvarga-sangraha deals with four objects of human life, namely, virtue, wealth, love and salvation. In his *Desopadesa*, he describes all types of people living in Kashmir during his days, namely the cheat, the miser, the prostitute, old men, the degraded Saiva teacher, the false ascetic, crafty merchant and the like, *Narmamala* also contains similar series of pen-pictures. Ksemendra is perfect in his humorous and satirical style. Throughout his works, there is, nevertheless, a moral aim. In satire and painting of pen-pictures, he reigns supreme in Sanskrit literature.

Bhallata, who flourished under King Sankaravarman (883-902) of Kashmir, has written *Beellata-sataka* in 108 stanzas, dealing with morality and conduct. The work is cited by Abhinavagupta, Ksemendra, Kuntala and Mammata.

Jalhana, similarly has written *Mugdopadesa* in 65 verses dealing with deception of courtesans

Damodaragupta, minister of Jayapida of Kashmir (779-813) wrote *Kuttani-mata* dealing with advice of a courtesan

18.13 Devotional Poetry

A good number of devotional songs or stories have been inspired by the deep religious tendencies among Kashmirians. Often weighted with theological and philosophical ideas, their literary merit is beyond question. A long tradition of chanting devotional songs continues even upto the present day in Hindu homes and temples. Some of the songs are very popular and have been uttered by the Kashmirian devout minds from generations. Majority of the songs are Saivite poems, which is natural in a land where Saivism flourished. The Buddhist hymns will be discussed elsewhere under 'Buddhist Literature'. The hymns based on Hinduism are mentioned below.

Ratnakara, the writer of *Hara-Vijaya*, has written *Vakrokti-pancasika* dealing with love of Siva and Parvati in fifty stanzas, and illustrating side by side clever use of punning ambiguities. *Anandavardhana*, the founder of Dhvani of poetics, has composed *Devi-sataka* in hundred verses eulogising and glorifying the goddess Parvati. It reveals more of ornamentation than devotion. But it has, no doubt, inspired his successors in writing similar stotras Utpaladeva the great Saivite, who was son of Udayakara and pupil of

Somananda (the founder of Pratyabhijna school of Saivism) has written *Paramesa-stotravali* of Pratyabbijna which enlogises Siva in twenty devotional songs. Avatara has composed *Israra-sataka*, which *is* similar to Stotravali,

Puspadanta's *Siva-mahimnah-stotra* has received high popularity among the Kashmirians Jayantabhatta mentions it in his *Nyaya-manjari*, and therefore, it belongs to not later than the 9th century A.D. and, hence, it has inspired other writers to write *mahimnah stotras* in praise of other gods.

Jagaddharabhatta has composed *Stuti-kusumanjuli* and Kalhana, the historian, composed a short poem of eighteen stanzas, titled *'Ardhanarisavara-stotra'*. An unknown Kashmirian author composed *Sambapancasika*, an eulogy in praise of the sun God, in fifty verses in Mandakranta metre. It has Saiva background, even though it is in praise of the sun. It has been commented upon by Ksemaraja in 13th century A.D Sambha son of Krsna, whom it has referred to is a mythical name.

18.14 Anthologies (Subhasitavali)

Preparation of anthologies among the Kashmiris was quite common. Vallabhadeva' (11th century A.D.) compiled *Subhasitavali* containing 3527 verses in 101 sections quoting about 360 authors. The topics included are varied e.g. love, nature, conduct, wordly wisdom and witty sayings.

Jalhana, the author of *Somapala-vilasa* and *Mugdhopadesa*, composed *Sakti-Muktavali* or *Subhashita Muktavali* containing 2790 verses,in 133 sections on the model of Vallabhadeva's work. One of its sections is very valuable from the point of view of literary history, as it contains traditional verses on Sanskrit poets.

Srivaras the historian, pupil of Jonaraja who continued *Rajatarangini* has compiled Subhasitavali quoting 380 poets. It dates about 1480 A D.

18.15 Popular Tales

An enormous literature on folk-tales of India was compiled by a South Indian writer named Gunadhya in the form of *Brhat-kata* Unfortunately this work which worked as a store house of popular tales to be drawn upon freely by later writers for poetical composition was lost, and it exist only in the form of the three abridged versions, two of which have come from Kashmir *viz. Brhatkatha-manjari* of Ksemendra and *Kathasarit-sagara* of Somadeva and the third version from Nepal viz B*rhatkatha-slokasangraha* of Buddhasvamin, which is not so important as it contains only a fragment of the original and only a fragment of the work is available. It again differs from the two Kashmirian versions, in matter and spirit.

Ksemendra's *Brhatkatha-manjari* written in 1063-66 A.D. is a faithful summary of the original Brhatkatha which appears to have been written in Paisaci Rose. It contains 7500 stanzas. The author has been a mere condenser, but has interpolated elegant description in frequent occasions, which has made the narrative truly charming. The work is divided into 18 chapters called Nambhakas with subdivisions called Gucchas.

Somadeva, son of Rama wrote *Kathasarit-sagara*, containing 21388 stanzas in 18 books (Lambhakas) and 124 chapters (Tarangas) in the years 1063-81 A.D. The writer's aim was to divert the mind of unhappy Suryamati, a princess of Jalandhara, wife of King Ananta and mother of Kalasa. It bears close resemblance with Ksemendra's work.

In comparison with Brhatkatha-manjari its style is simple and it has maintained rapid flow of a simple narrative. Some stories have a Buddhist influence. Again it reflects the life of the people of Kashmir of his times.

18.16 Drama

Ksemendra wrote a number of plays. These are lost and are known only from his citations in his works on rhetorics. *Citra-bharata* and *Kanaka-janaki* appear to be his two prominent plays based on the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. His Lalitaratnamala is another play mentioned by him.

Bilhana has written *Karna-sundari* dealing with marriage of Karndeva Trailokymalla of Anhilvad (1064-94 A.D).) with a Princess Miyanalla Devi of Karnataka,

The famous dramatist Visakhadatta, writer of Mudraraksasa might have been a Kashmirian if his reference to King Avantivarman in his *Bharatavakya* is cofirmed by authentic text and other evidences. Similar confirmation is needed about Kalidasa as a Kashmirian.

18.17 Buddhist Literature

That Kashmir has been an important centre for the development and spread of Buddhism, has been discovered and confirmed by recent researches. It convoyed high reputation for Buddhist learning, and carried the Buddhist doctrine from India to Tibet, China and Central Asia. A host of Kashmirian Buddhist scholars translated Sanskrit and Prakrit works into foreign languages, wrote commentaries on older works, and travelled to distant countries in order to propagate the faith. A brief account of some known Buddhist poets and philosophers is given below.

A Kashmirian Matrcata has written two devotional poems; *Satpancasatka-stotra* and *Catus-satakastotra*, which have recently been discovered in Central Asia. The most important Buddhist devotional poem is Sarvajnamitra's *Sragdharastotra*, written in praise of Buddhist goddess Tara, the female counterpart of Avalokitesvata. The poem containing 37 verses is written in Sragdhara metre. He flourished during the time of King Lalitaditya. Kalhana mentions him, and praises him to the extent of comparing him with Buddha himself. The author has written several other stotras.

It was Kumarajiva, probably a Kashmirian monk, who was invited by the Emperor of China in 401 A.D. to his capital, where he wrote and translated into Chinese a number of Buddhist works, including Tattvasidhi of Harivarman, a Kashmiri scholar. Other Kashmirians who contributed to Buddhism and spread it in China in the 5th century A.D. are: Buddhayana, Gunavarma, and Dharamitra.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who visited Kashmir in the 7th century A.D. and stayed there for two years has mentioned a number of Kashmiri scholars, viz. Skandila, the writer of *Vibhasaprakarana-pada-Sastra*, Purna, the commentator on the above work, Bodhila, the writer of *Tattvasancaya-sastra*; Visuddhasimha, Jinabandhu, Sagalamitra, Vasumitra, Jinatara, Suryadeva and Vimalmitra.

There is a reference of Ratna-cinta a Kashmirian Buddhist who worked in China front 693 to 706 A.D. and translated *Ekaksara-dharani* and many other texts. Amoghavajra, Prajnabala, Tabuta and Ganuta were other Kashmirians who visited China. Ananta worked similarly in Tibet in the middle of the 8th century A.D. Jinamitra, Dhanshila, and Santigarbha also revised Buddhist works. A great Kashmiri scholar, who worked in Tibet, and who is even now remembered by Tibetans is Subhati Sri Santi. Mention must be made of another Kashmirian Buddhist scholar Smrtyakara Siddha, who was one of the eight great Panditas in Vikramasila University in the middle of the 11th century A.D. and also of Ratnavajra another honoured Pandit of the University, and lastly of Sakya Sri Bhadra who was the Chancellor of the University at the close of the 12th Century A.D. who later on went to Tibet when Baktiar Khilli destroyed the University.

Kashmir has, thus, made no less contribution to Buddhism. The whole period from 273 B.C. to 600 A.D. in Kashmir's history is Buddhist period. Ashoka brought in Kashmir Buddhism in 273 B.C. Buddhism was a mature religion when it entered Kashmir. It had introduced systematized education, taught equality of all, and given full status to women. Kashmir welcomed this religion. Later Emperor Kaniska held his fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir, wherein 100,000 stanzas of commentaries on each of the three classes of canonical literature, viz. Sutra, Vinaya and Abhidharma were composed. A huge number of Viharas and monasteries were established in every nook and corner of the valley, the remains of which are existent even now. Buddhism in Kashmir incidentally gave impetus to Gandhara or the IndoGreek art. During Ashoka's rule Kashmir and Gandhara came close together. In recent time, a good number of Buddhist sculptures have been found in Kashmir which represent Gandhara art.

Buddhism again had profound influence upon the life and culture of Kashmirians, and this influence still continues even after its decay upto the present day. The Buddhist Tantric rites are retained in Saivism. But more important than this from the cultural point of view, is the leading part that Kashmir took in spreading it to the neighbouring countries e.g. China and Tibet. 'Kashmir' says P. C. Bagchi, 'takes the leading part in transmission of Buddhist traditions directly to China'. The number of Buddhist scholars

who went to China from Kashmir is larger than that of those who went from other parts of India. Kashmir was the most flourishing centre of Buddhist learning in India in this period. It was the centre of the most powerful Buddhist sect of Northern India, the Sarvastivada.

18.18 Kashmirian Saivism

The greatest contribution of Kashmir to Indian culture is the development of a new philosophy, more rational than other philosophies of India, and a definite improvement upon Vedanta philosophy. Unlike Vedanta which regards the physical world a trap and delusion (Maya) and creates a tendency of withdrawing from the wordly life, Kashmiri Saivism accepts the reality of the phenomenal world as a manifestation of the Universal mind. It is synthesis of the realism of the West and idealism of the East, welding the science (of the material world) and religion in a devotional monotheism. A Kashmirian could not afford to shut his eyes from the enchanting beauty of nature revealed in his homeland, and call it unreal. But instead he calls it manifestation of the divinity, or the divine energy (Sakti) which is the source of the whole movement of the universe, and Siva-Universal mind. It is this divine energy that acts as central fire, stirring each and every atom (Anu) with its sparks.

Jiva is nothing but the atom with the divine spark. Siva, Sakti and Anu are thus the three fundamental principles of Saivism. It is, therefore, named as Trika philosophy. It gave Kashmir a revelation of life as real dynamic endowed with creative possibilities, and not as a deception or illusion. It retorted that maya of Sankara had a defeatist tone, symptomatic of disillusionment and loss to the individual and the nation.

Vasugupta (825 A.D.) the author of *Siva-sutra* was the first to discover and explain the Agamic teaching of Saivism in a systematic form. It is said that this knowledge was revealed to him in the Harvan Valley. He explained these sutras in the form of Spanda-Karika. Bhatta Kallata, a pupil of Vasugupta, gave publicity to his master's work and wrote *Spanda-sarvasva*.

Somananda (850 A.D.) who was a younger contemporary of Vasugupta, made a little departure from Vasugupta, and founded the Pratyabhijna school of Saivism as opposed to the Spanda school of Vasugupta. Both these branches developed side by side, but the latter received more popularity. Somananda says that the Ultimate can be realized through recognition (Pratyabhinjana) of it by the individual in himself in practical life. This principal of recognition is absent in Spanda. Somananda's work is entitled *Sivadrsti*.

The Spanda branch received further exposition at the hands of Utpala, the pupil of Bhatta Kallata who wrote *Spanda-pradipika* (a commentary) and of Ksemaraja who wrote *Spanda-nirnaya* in the 11th century A.D.

The Pratyabbijna system was further elaborately discussed by Utpalacarya, a pupil of Somananda who wrote *Isvarapratyabhijna-karika* and *Israrasiddhi* with his own Vrtti, in about 930 A.D.

Abbinavagupta, grand pupil of Utpalacarya, is an authority on Pratyabhijna system. *Isvarapratyabhijua-karika* and his own *tika* are two commentaries on Utpalacarya's work. Besides, he wrote a number of such works, out of which

Paramarthasara, Tantriloka, Tantrasara, Sivadretilocana deserve special mention. Abhinavagupta related the monastic Saivism to the recognized Sivagamas, the Indian aesthetic theory on the basis of this system.

Ksemaraja (1040 A.D.) summarised the system in the form of Pratyabhijna-hrdaya.

Yogaraja (1060 A.D.) wrote a commentary of *Paramarthasara*.

Jayaratha (1180 A.D.) commented upon Tantraloka.

Bhaskaranatha (18th century A.D.) commented upon Isvara-pratyabhijna-vimarsini, Varadaraja wrote *Siva-sutra-vartika.*

A host of other writers developed upon this system. Pradyumna Bhatta, Mahadeva Bhatta and Jayaratha deserves special mention. The last Saiva writer was Sivopadbyaya during 9th century A.D.

Saivism remained, thus, a living and active faith of the Kashmirians from the 9th century onwards. The rite of Saivism was responsible for the progress in all the sciences and arts. It helped them to cultivate a scientific and rational attitude of life. It is this philosophy that helped them to bear the brunt of foreign invasions and fierce onslaughts of the Muslims from thirteenth century onwards. It became the basis of the Tantric religion which was the practical and the ritual side of this system.

It is not out of place to mention here that, although Saivism was the dominating philosophy, other philosophies also were being studied keenly. Jayantabhatta wrote *Nyaya-manjari* in about 910 A.D. This work is an independent treatise on the Nyaya system and at the same time a commentary on a number of Nyaya-sutras.

Tradition says that Mandana-misra, the famous *Mimmsaka*, who had philosophical discussion with Sankara, belonged to Kashmir. It is yet to be proved on the basis of other evidences. He wrote three important works on Vedanta viz. *Brahma-siddhi*, Sphota-siddhi and *Vibhrama-viveka*. His three works on Mimamsa are *Vidhi-viveka*, Bhavana-viveka, and *Mumamsanukramanika*.

19 ART, CULTURE AND FOOD

Dr. Ved Kumari

Excerpts: 'NILAMATA PURANA' by Dr. Ved Kumari

19.1 Means of recreation

Amusements - music, dancing, drama and other means of recreation - are the true mirror in which the unrestricted mind of Kashmiris is reflected. The Nilamata says that the land of Kasmira was thronged with ever-sportive and joyful people enjoying continuous festivities. Living amidst scenes of sylvan beauty they played, danced and sang to express their joys, to mitigate their pains, to please their gods and to appease their demons. One thing deserves to be noted at the outset that there being hardly any distinguishing line between the secular and the religious in India, the Nilamata describes all the forms of recreation in a religious setting.

19.2 Music

No myth about the divine origin of music is found in the Nilamata, but the injunction for the worship of seven metres may be taken as suggestive of its divine origin. The tune of Samas - the hymns with the musical notes - is referred to and one verse suggests the association of music with the Gandharvas.

On each and every festive occasion, whether it is purely religious like the Sleep and Awakening of god Visnu or semi-religious as the advent and the departure of Nikumbha, or seasonal like the New Snowfall day or agricultural like the day of sowing the seeds, the chief item of the celebrations is music - vocal as well as instrumental. The sound of the musical instruments is regarded as extremely sweet and heart-captivating.

19.2.1 Varieties of vocal music

We do not get reference to different varieties of the vocal music but the use of the terms 'vacana' 'prakirtana' end 'ghosa' [vacana is simple recitation, ~rakirtana is singing in chorus and ghosa is the enchanting of vedic mantras or making some other loud sound.] in connection with Purana, Stotra and l~rahma respectively, indicates that the mode of singing varied with different types of texts.

19.2.2 Professional singers

The Nilamata refers to four classes of professional singers viz. Suta, Magada, Vandi and Carana who, according to the Dharmasastras, maintained themselves by lauding the deeds of others. Their mention in one and the same line indicates that some difference, may be minute, was believed to be existing in these different types of singers.

19.2.3 Musical instruments

The general terms in the Nilamata for the musical instruments are vadya, vaditra and vadya-bhanda. As regards the different types, out of 'ghana' (cymbal), 'vitata' (percussion), 'tata' (stringed instruments), and 'susira' (wind instruments), made of brass, skin, strings and reed respectively and mentioned in the Visnudharmottara Pu. and Jayamangala commentary on the Kamasutra, only two namely, anaddha-vadya' (corresponding to 'vitata') and 'tantri-vadya' (corresponding to 'tata') have been mentioned in the Nilamata. Of the others we have venu and sankha belonging to 'susira' type and ghanta to 'ghana' type, though the terms 'susira' end 'ghana' are not mentioned. Here follows a historical account of all the musical instruments referred to in the Nilamata.

(1) Vina

The Rgveda does not mention it. The Aitareya Aranyaka describes it in detail with its parts - siras (head), udara (cavity), ambhana (sounding board), tantra (string) and vadana (plectrum). The Epics, the Jatakas, the Samyutta Nikaya and the Arthasastra testify to its high popularity. Sangita Makaranda refers to its nineteen varieties. The Nilamata refers to it thrice only but if the references to Tantri-vadya be taken as referring to vina, it will yield that vina was resorted to most by the musicians of Kasmira. The modern

hundred-stringed santoor of Kasmira is probably satatantrivina or vana referred to in the Taittiriya Samhita.

(2) Venu

The Rgveda does not mention it. A.C. Das's view that venu may be taken as a later corruption of vana is not sound, because vana is not a wind instrument like venu. Roth takes venu of R.V. VIII. 55.3 as a flute of reed but scholars do not agree on this point. The Jatakas and the Epics know it. The Nilamata refers to it once only in connection with the celebrations of the Awakening of god Visnu.

(3) Sankha

We find no mention of sankha in the Rgveda. The Epics mention it many a time in connection with the music of war. The Nilamata mentions it twice.

(4) Pataha

Pataha, a sort of drum, is mentioned neither in the Vedas nor in the Jatakas. The Mahabharata also refers to it rarely. The Ramayana mentions it many a time. The Nilamata refers to it twice in association with lute. Probably the drum was played upon generally in accompaniment to the lute.

(5) Muraja

Muraja is also not mentioned in the Vedic literature. Bharata groups it with percussion instruments and refers to its three varieties 'alingya', 'urdhva' and 'ankika'. Originally different from 'mrdanga', it became later on identified with mrdanga.

19.3 Dancing

Dancing, going hand in hand with music, is mentioned frequently in the Nilamata. There must have existed various types of dances in ancient Kasmira but as the Nilamata does not mention particular steps or movements characterizing different types, we may classify them on the basis of the occasions on which they were performed. Thus, the Nilamata speaks of dances performed on religious occasions, dances performed in social gatherings held in honour of seasons, and dances performed on agricultural festivals.

Dances are prescribed at the time of ripening of grapes, so horticulture, too, seems to have had some dances to its credit.

19.4 Popularity of music and dancing in Kasmira

The earliest definite corroboration regarding the popularity of music and dancing in Kasmira is provided by archaeology. A tile from Harwan, with Kharosthi letters which cannot be later than 4th century A.D., shows three musicians. "The one to left plays a flute; the centre one, cymbals; the third, a pair of drums." Another tile represents a female musician playing on a drum. One more shows a female dancer. The statue of a female dancer was also obtained from the courtyard of Kotisar temple. As regards the literacy evidence, Kalhana's Rajatarangini is full of references to 'gitanrtta'. Music, we are informed, had become popular even with the Buddhist monks. Reference is made to two female musicians songs which expanded in one melodious tone in harmony. Further, Kalhana informs about the existence of the custom of dancing girls associated with temples. King Jalauka dedicated hundred ladies of his seraglio to the temple of Jyestharudra. The two dancing girls whom Lalitaditya met in a forest informed him that dancing at that particular place was an ancient custom of their family. Kalasa's liking for the dancing girls is well described by Kalhana. Harsa had gone so far as to instruct personally the dancing girls to act. Ksemendra sarcastically refers to a singer who sings the songs of departure at the time of invoking a god. Bilhana testifies to the high skill of ladies of Kasmira in dancing. Even the philosophical sutras of Vasugupta take similes from this art, comparing Atma with a dancer, Antaratma with theatre and Indriyas with spectators.

19.5 Nature of music and dancing

As regards the nature of music and dancing referred to in the Nilamata, the major part of the former belonged probably to the category of spontaneously flowing folk-music. Of dances, those which were

performed on religious occasions depicted probably the life histories of the gods. Such dances have been quite popular with various nations of the world. Robertson has described how the dances in the neighbourhood of Kasmira, among the Kafirs of Hindukush, are accompanied by chants in praise of the heroes in whose honour they are performed. The dim memories of such religious dances are still preserved by the Hindu ladies of Kasmira, who, at the time of Sivaratri-visarjana ceremony at the bank of some river, go round seven times with their hands lifted above their heads.

Coming to the agricultural dances, we find that these are confined to no race or country. Frazer describes such dances prevalent in various countries of Europe and Asia and regards them as "intended both to stimulate the growth of vegetation in spring and to expel demoniac or other evil influences". The dances performed at the great festival of the Bopfau or Barley Seed-sowing, in Hunza in the neighbourhood of Kasmira, have been regarded by Mrs. Lorimer as imitating the actual agricultural process. Similar dances might have been performed at the Seed-sowing ceremony referred to in the Nilamata. Of course, it is a mere speculation, though not an improbable one.

19.6 Theatrical performances

The words 'Preksa' and 'Preksanaka' - mentioned in the Nilamata refer to theatrical performances. The terms have been used in this sense in the Sanskrit literature. The Nilamata mentions also a peculiar phrase "Preksadana". Literally meaning 'the gift of a dramatic performance', it seems to have denoted 'a gift made for the arrangement of a dramatic show.' there may have existed some dramatic clubs which gave such shows on demand and the injunction of 'Yathavidhi Preksadana' i.e. the gift for the arrangement of a dramatic show made in the proper procedure, may have been made with reference to them. These gifts of various types are not, however, defined separately. The Kasmiri poet Bilhana extols the ladies of his native land for the excellent dramatic performances which excelled the acting of heavenly damsels Rambha, Citralekha and Urvasi. The simultaneous use of the terms 'nartaka' and 'nata' in the Nilamata indicates the difference between the two: the former was used for a dancer, the latter for an actor. These people received honours from the public on various occasions and were not regarded as degraded.

The presence of theatre-halls in ancient Kasmira has been suggested on the basis of Damodaragupta's reference to a theatre-hall provided with cushioned couches, but we should not forget that the place referred to by him is Varanasi. Kalhana, on the other hand, compares the fleeing armies with people caught by a downpour while watching a theatrical performance. Most of the functions referred to in the Nilamata were performed either in the vicinity of bonfire outside the houses or in open fields. So it appears that the functions of the general public, in ancient Kasmira, were mostly held under the open sky.

19.7 Other sports

The Nilamata gives us an idea of other games and sports also resorted to by the people of Kasmira.

19.7.1 Garden-sports

Garden-sports have been popular in India since early times. The Ramayana refers to girls going to the gardens in the evening for play. Panini - an inhabitant of Gandhara in the neighbourhood of Kasmira - was familiar with such sports. The land of Kasmira being full of gardens and parks, her people, naturally, accepted Nature's invitation to sing, dance and play in her company. The Nilamata points out their intimacy with Nature expressed in joyful dances performed at the arrival of Spring. Kasmiri women enriched their natural beauty on such occasions with garlands of Ira flowers. The Nilamata probably described a few garden-sports in connection with Asokikastami, but unfortunately the verses are lost now. The Harwan tiles showing ladies carrying flower-vases indicate Kasmiris love for flowers. The pose of the queen-mother in the scene of Siddhartha's birth, with her right hand holding a branch of the Asoka tree and the left placed on the shoulder of her sister Prajapati, is just a replica of a lady plucking flowers from a tree or just swinging with the help of a branch of a tree.

Special meals, taken in the gardens in the company of friends and the members of the family, were a part of such garden-sports. We have reference to such feasts in the Bhagavata Purana also.

19.7.2 Water-sports

The Nilamata prescribes water-sports for the maidens on Sravani festival. An idea of such sports can be had from the Kamasutra and Harivamsa.

19.7.3 Wrestling

Wrestlers are mentioned in the Nilamata as being honoured by the people and it is reasonable to suppose that the Kasmiris did enjoy the shows put forth by them.

19.7.4 Gambling

Chance plays a great part in human life and no wonder if man tried to gain some knowledge of future events through games of chance and also adopted them as means of recreation. Giving instances from many ancient and modern races, E. S. Hartland has rightly pointed out: "Gambling is a passion confined to no race or country, to no rank of society, to no plane of civilisation". Beginning from the famous hymn of the R. V., Indian literature provides innumerable instances of gambling. The Nilamata prescribes gambling on Dipavali, to know the goodness or otherwise of the coming year for the players. The belief still exists in various provinces of India but has gone away from Kasmira. The neighbouring land of Tibet has it in the form of annual gambling ceremony wherein the Grand Lama at Lhasa plays dice with the demon and by defeating him announces good luck for the coming year.

19.7.5 Hunting

The Nilamata describes the land as filled with the sound of bow. On some Harwan tiles also we find huntsmen with bows and we may state on this basis that hunting was also an amusement for the Kasmiris.

19.7.6 Playing with toys

Playing with toys must have been a form of entertainment for children. Toy has been mentioned once in the Nilamata in connection with the worship of Skanda - the presiding deity of the children. Playing with birds tied to strings was another amusement for children.

19.8 Arts and Crafts

The Nilamata contains some information about the different branches of art, namely, architecture, sculpture and painting, and refers to some handicrafts also.

19.8.1 Architecture

The terms - bhavana, grha, nivesana, alaya, vesma, ayantana, attalaka etc. have been used in the Nilamata for buildings but it is not possible to distinguish between the significance of one term and the other. The place of Buddhist worship is mentioned as Caitya and the dwelling place of the Buddhist monks as Sakyavasa. As archaeology has revealed, the former consisted of a chamber surrounded by a circumambulatory passage and containing the object of worship, while the latter usually had cells surrounding an open courtyard. No example of the period of the Nilamata has been preserved. Of Brahmanical temples the Nilamata gives hundreds of names but architectural details of none are given therein. It may be inferred, however, from the ruins of the apsidal temple of Harwan that the temple of early Kasmira consisted of an antechamber (mandapa) with a cell (garbhagrha) behind,

The Nilamata says nothing about the building-materials. All that is known about the houses mentioned in the Nilamata is that those had doors and ventilators and were whitewashed. The decoration of houses with fruits, leaves and garlands of rice-plants is also referred to. About town-planning the Nilamata gives no information. There is reference to roads which were even and to catuspathas (squares where four roads meet). The Vitasta Mahatmya contained in the Nilamata refers to bridges over the Vitasta but does not elucidate their formation.

19.8.2 Image-making

The Nilamata refers to images made of stone, earth, gold, silver, copper, brass, wood, sand, straw and ghee. Instructions for making Sayanamurti images of Visnu with his feet placed in the lap of Laksmi are given in vv. 409-10. Reference is also made to Caturmurti Visnu with four faces, four arms and

Ayudhapurusas. The Visnudharmottara Pu. describes this form in detail and J. N. Banerjea rightly takes it as an illustration of the Vyuha doctrine of the Pancaratras.

19.8.3 Painting

The Nilamata testifies to the existence of the art of painting in ancient Kashmira. In connection with the celebrations of Buddha's birthday festival, the people are directed to decorate the Caityas with beautiful paintings. References are made to paintings painted on the cloth, the wall and the ground. Bhumisobha or decoration of the ground with paintings seems to have been a necessary item of most of the religious and secular functions. Viug - a circular pattern drawn on the ground on which a Kasmiri bridegroom has to stand before entering, for his marriage, the house of the bride - is a direct descendant of 'bhumisobha' mentioned in the Nilamata. Damodaragupta refers to courtesans practicing the art of painting for advertising their trade. Somadeva refers to portrait painters carrying out confidential missions of their masters.

19.8.4 Handicrafts

Craftsmen and their tools are referred to in the Nilamata which enjoins upon the inhabitants of Kasmira the worship of Visvakarma - the originator of all crafts. The industries in which these craftsmen were engaged, have to be inferred only from the stray references to finished products. Thus, the articles of dress point to the art of spinning, weaving, dyeing and washing. The ornaments, the pitchers made of gold and silver and the silver-stools presuppose jewellery. Weapons of war, probably, made of iron or some other hard metal, indicate smithery. Similarly pottery, wood work and leather-work are pointed to by earthen-pitchers, wooden pitchers, wooden seats and leather shoes. Probably, wood was used also for structural purposes and for making kutagaras, umbrellas and walking sticks.

19.9 Dress and Ornaments

The terms used in the Nilamata for clothing in general are vastra, ambara, vasas, vasana and samvita. Cinamsuka is used for silk imported from China. Kambala is woollen blanket and pravarana - referred to in connection with the festival of the New Snow-fall - seems to be the same as pravara mentioned in the Mahabharata as a cloth offering protection against cold Panini also knows it. Kautilya mentions it as pravaraka and says that it is made of the wool of wild animals.

References to a pair of clothes worn by Visnu, a pair of clothes (one shining like the lightning and the other China-silk resembling the rays of the moon) worn by Nila, a pair of clothes to be offered to a Brahmani and a pair of clothes to be given in charity on Atyantamahati indicates that the male as well as the female dress in Kasmira comprised of two garments, the upper one and the lower one. Mention is made of white as well as coloured clothes. The term 'ahata' is used for new clothes. The word 'civara', which occurs often in Buddhist literature for a monk's robe, is used in this sense in the Nilamata. Bed-sheet is also referred to once.

As regards ornaments, we have reference to earrings, bracelets, diadem and jewels.

19.10 Cosmetics and other requisites of personal decoration

Personal decoration is recommended often in the Nilamata. The garlands and perfumes which seem to have been necessary materials for the worship of the deities are no less essential for the worshippers who, too, are enjoined upon to be well-anointed and well-decorated at the time of worship. Reference is made to various sorts of scents, perfumes, unguents, flowers and garlands. Some processes of decoration like rubbing the body with emollient unguents (udvartana), anointing it with unguents (utsadana) and applying sandal-paste etc. after bath (anulepana) are referred to. Other requisites of personal decoration are collyrium, comb, staff and shoe-wear.

19.11 Food and drinks

Most of the references to the articles of diet occur in the Nilamata in connection with the offerings made to the gods but it is not difficult to infer from them the food and drink of the common people because "what a man eats his gods eat."

The term 'anna' from ad 'to eat' used for food in the Nilamata, includes all sorts of eatables. 'Sasya' represents all cereals and pulses and 'saka' all green vegetables. References are made to cooked, dry and lasting food which in their turn suggest uncooked, watery and perishable food. Spices, sweetmeats, fruits, roots and medicinal herbs are also mentioned.

Meat also seems to have been a popular item of diet, otherwise there would have been no necessity of prohibiting strongly the eating of meat for five days dedicated to the worship of Visnu. Even Visnu's image at one place is stated to be worshipped with animal sacrifices. The offerings enjoined to be made to the Pisacas, Chandodeva and the goddess Bhadrakali include non-vegetarian dishes.

Pana includes both alcoholic and non-alcoholic drinks.

20 AYURVEDA

Maurice Winternitz

Excerpts: HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE' - Vol. III

by Maurice Winternitz

The beginning of medicinal sciences go back to the age of the Vedas. In the magical strophes of the Atharvaveda and in the magical rites of ritualistic literature described in particular in the Kausikasutra, belonging to the Atharvaveda, we find the early beginnings of an art of healing and of a knowledge of healing herbs. As in other countries, so in India too, the magic-doctors were the first physicians. And this association with magical craft is still not wholly forgotten in India. Even till recent days we find in scientific medicinal treatises demons being mentioned as promoters of diseases and charms being prescribed as remedies. Further even in the Vedic texts we find the beginning of a science of anatomy, of an embryology and of a hygiene. In the Satapatha-Brahmana (X and XII) and in the Atharvaveda (X, 2) we find an accurate enumeration of bones of the human-skeleton. The ancient names of the science of medicine is Ayurveda, "the Veda for (lengthening of) the span of life", that is considered an **upanga** (subsidiary) to the Atharvaveda. The science of medicine is also called Vaidyasastra "the Science of Physicians". The physician is called **vaidya,** "possessing knowledge (vidya), in the same way as in the West a physician is called "doctor". In respect of the high antiquity of the science of medicine it is noteworthy that Patanjali in the Mahabhasya mentions among the science in which Sanskrit is used, in addition to the Veda, the Vedangas, and the literature that pass by the names **itihasa, purana** and **vakovakya,** that are related to the Veda, the only secular science, the **vaidyakam.** Even long before Patanjali, Panini had used a number of names of diseases and remedies that prove existence of a system of medicine - nay even in the Vedas we find references to medicines and physicians. According to tradition Ayurveda originally consisted of eight parts (**astanga**), in which major surgery (**salya**), minor surgery (**salakyn**), treatment of disease of the body (**kayacikitsa**), demonology (teachings on the diseases caused by demons), (**bhutavidya**), healing of diseases of children (**kaumarabhartya**), toxicolgy (agadatantra), elixir (**rasayana**), and aphrodisiacs (**vajikarana**). Like other sciences, medicine too has a divine origin. It was created by Brahman, and one after the other it went to Prajapati, Asvins and Indra, and it was transmitted by these gods to the sages (rsis). Among the ancient scholars, who are named by tradition in this connection, are those like Atreya, Harita, Kasyapa, Agnivesa, Bheda. They might have been individual authors of treatises on medicine whose writings are lost to us. In particular Atreya or Krsna Atreya is mentioned as the first teacher of the science of healing. Atreya, Harita and Kasyapa are already cited in ancient medical texts. But the works that now go under the titles Atreya-Samhita, Harita-Samhita and Kasyapa-Samhita are at least cases of recent adaptations of earlier texts, and as a rule they are simply modern works that are decorated with ancient names. [The Kasyapasamhita also called Vrddhajivakiyam Tantram is said have been taught by Marica Kasyapa to his disciple Vrddhajivaka, who is said to be its author.]

Frequent references to the Indian system of medicine in old Buddhist literature also proves its high antiquity. In Buddhist legends we meet with the boy-physician Jivaka. It is said that he had studied medicine under Atreya at Taxila. It is probable that the famous "four noble truths" of the science of medicine may be going back to him. In the Vinayapitaka medicaments in a good number are enumerated and things like vapour-bath, bloodletting, surgical instruments, emetics, purgatives etc. are also mentioned. The comparisons of the surgeon in the Mahjhimanikaya (discourse Nos. 101 and 105) point to an intensive development of surgery. Some works on medicine are attributed to famous Nagarjuna. In later ages too the Buddhists had devoted themselves to the study of medicine with predilection. The detailed report of I-tsing about his tour in India on the medical system of India as well as the fact that so many treatises on medicine were translated into Tibetan prove the same thing.

[We might be tempted to begin our description of the available treatises on Ayurveda with the Ayurvedasutra that is attributed to an unknown author. But unfortunately it is a work that was written not

before the 16th century A.D. It is divided into 16 chapters, called prasnas and is in form of sutras. It has none of the merits of the sutras of other well known branches of learning.]

The oldest dated medical texts that have come down to us in the Bower-manuscripts were written by Buddhist authors. These are old Indian manuscripts (written in incorrect Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit that were found by British Lt. H. Bower in the year 1890 in a Buddhist stupa in Kutcha in Kashgar - (Chinese Turkistan) and had been deciphered by R. Hoernle. On palaeographical grounds these manuscripts are considered to be of the second half of the fourth century A.D. Of the seven texts contained in them there are three that deal with topics concerning medicine. One of these texts is on the origin of garlic [**lasuna**] that cures several diseases and may let life last up to one hundred years, on digestion, on an elixir for span of life of one thousand years, on proper way of mixing of ingredients, on remedies that make one strong, on eye-lotions, ophthalmic ointments, etc. The second fragment contains formulas for 14 remedies for internal and external maladies. The most voluminous fragment is the Navanitaka ("The Butter", i.e. an extract from the best of all earlier manuals), that in 16 sectors deals with powder, decoction, oil, enema, elixir, aphrodisiacs, children's tendencies, preparation of compounds etc. Since the concluding portion of the work is missing, the name of the author is not known to us. All these works are written in verses, and partly they are composed in meters of ornate poetry, as is usual in later-day compilations of prescriptions. But the prescriptions have throughout an antiquarian appearance. Their language is Prakrit mixed up with Sanskrit. In the Navanitaka many medicinal authorities have been quoted, in particular Agnivesa, Bheda, Harita, Jatukarana, Ksarapani and Parasara, all of whom may have been disciples of Punarvasu Atreya; but from among the authors known to us only the name of Susruta occurs here.

[In Central Asia, in the region of Kutcha, have been found three leaves of a MS of a work entitled Yogasataka by the mission conducted by Pelliot. Here the Sanskrit text is accompanied with a translation in the dialect of Kutch. The age of the MS concerned appears to be about the 7th century A.D. This Yogasataka is extant in its Tibetan translation and its manuscripts are available in Nepal and India. It is a work written in different meters, viz. Vasantatilaka, Upajati, Dandaka, Sardulavikridita etc. and is meant to be learnt by heart. Its authorship is attributed to Nagarjuna in Ceylon and Tibet and in most of the MSS. Possibly this Nagarjuna is the same scholar who completed the Susrutasamhita and to whom are attributed several other medical treatises.

The Chinese pilgrim Yi-tsing, at the end of the 7th century, says that recently a writer has put the 8 chapters into one volume, and this is a thing that may have reference to the Yogasataka.]

Susruta is one of the 'three ancients' (as the Indians say) of medicinal literature: Caraka, Susruta and Vagbhata. Under these three names we possess Samhitas, great compendia of medicine, that in all probability go back to some Tantra and Kalpa literature that is now lost to us and in which certain topics of medical sciences were treated.

The Carakasamhita, according to its own testimony, is not an original work, but merely an adaptation of a Tantra by Agnivesa, a disciple of Punarvasu Atreya and a fellow student of Bheda (or Bhela). The Carakasamhita is closely connected with the little known Bhedasamhita. According to the Chinese Tripitaka (translated in 472 A.D.) Caraka was the personal physician of Kaniska whose wife was once assisted by him in case of an abortion. Apparently there is nothing that may stand in the way of assuming this report to go to make Caraka a contemporary of Kaniska (therefore, to fix his age probably in the 2nd century A.D.). But there is no definite proof in support of this. As against this it is certain that we do not possess that text of the Carakasamhita in its original form. The text is preserved wholly in a delapidated condition and the manuscripts and the editions differ strongly. About one-third of the work was completed in the 8th or 9th century A.D. by Drdhabala, son of Kapilabala. Drdhabala, however, was not satisfied with this alone, and he revised the text of the whole Samhita and prepared an appendix. Drdhabala is a Kashmirian and the commentators speak about a "Kashmirian recension" of the Caraka-Samhita. However, the basic part of the work, that like the KautiliyaArthasastra, is written in prose mixed with verses at the end of each chapter, is certainly old and probably the oldest of the extant medical manuals.

The Carakasamhita consists of 8 chapters (sthanas); 1. Sutrasthana, that in general describes means of healing, diet, duties of a physician etc.; 2. Nidanasthana, on the 8 principal ailments; 3. Vimanasthana, on tastes, food, general pathology, medical studium; 4. Sarirasthana, on anatomy and embryology; 5. Indriyasthana, on diagnosis and prognosis; 6. Cikitsasthana, on special therapy; 7.8. Kalpa- and Siddhanta-sthana, on general therapy.

Caraka is not only a physician, but also a moralist and philosopher. He prescribes even a number of religious and moral instructions with reference to hygienic rules as well as in connection with the theory of sin being the primary cause of a malady. With all force Caraka says that man should strive for attainment of the three objectives: preservation of vitality, gaining of wealth and peace in the world to come. Then there are discussions about the soul etc. in which the standpoint of the Sankhya philosophy is admitted, just as in the Sarirasthana that begins with an analysis of the theory of Purusa and Prakrti. Further Caraka is fully conversant with the Nyaya-theories about syllogisms and the categories of Vaisesika. In connection with the passage: The three sustainers of the body are: food, sleep and patience. And he adds an interesting discourse on the importance of sleep for health.

According to the Vimanasthana, the initiation of a student into the medical study takes place after religious ceremonies of the type of Upanayana for beginning of the Vedic studies. A junior physician is expected to possess a high sense of responsibility and discipline.

"Whole-heartedly he must try for healing the maladies; even when he has to play with his own life, he must not cause any inconvenience to the patient; he must never even once think of approaching the wife of another person, nor his property.... When he is in the company of a known person, authorized for ingress and enters into the house of an ailing person, he must be properly dressed and should proceed in a pensive manner with absolutely strict control, while taking all possible cares. In case he is inside, his words, thought and mind must not to go to anything other than the treatment of the patient and what is associated with his condition. The events of the house must not be disclosed and he must not communicate the apprehension, the possible approach of early death of the patient that may cause discomfort either to the patient or to anybody else.

The oldest extant commentary on the Carakasamhita is the one by Cakrapanidatta of the 11th century A.D. But before this the work had already been translated into Persian and from it into Arabic. The name of the commentary of Cakrapanidatta is Ayurvedadipika as well as Carakatatparyatika. One Carakasambita has its authorship attributed to Agnivesa.

The most famous Indian medical treatise is the Susrutasmhita that likewise is written in verses mixed up with prose, but in respect of language and the subject-matter it must have been younger than the primary stock of the Carakasamhita. In the Mahabharata (13, 4, 55) Susruta is included among the sons of Visvamitra. Nagarjuna probably had prepared a new redaction of the work of Susruta. In the Bower manuscripts he is mentioned by the side of Atreya and Harita. In the 9th and 10th centuries the name of Susruta had been well known as a famous physician equally well in Combodia and in Indo-China as also in Arabia in the West. So it is certain that Susruta was an ancient author who might have been a little younger than Caraka and might have lived in the early centuries of the Christian era, and equally uncertain is the antiquity of the text of the Samhita, that in its, extant form is attested first in a commentary of the 11th century A.D.

Exactly as the Caraka-Samhita, the Susruta-Samhita begins with a mythological introduction on the origin of Ayurveda. King Divodasa of Varanasi is named here as the teacher of Susruta, who is said to have been an incarnation of Dhanvantari, the divine surgeon. This myth in associated with the fact that, as against Caraka, Susruta is essentially a surgeon and deals in detail with surgery, that in the Caraka-Samhita is almost wanting. Susruta too begins with the Sutrasthana, in which common problems are treated. The second main division (Nidanasthana) deals with pathology, the third the (Sarirasthana) is devoted to. anatomy and embryology, the fourth (Cikitsasthana) is on therapy, the fifth (Kalpasthana) is on toxicology. The concluding part forms the Uttaratantra "the supplementary book", that was added early. It is devoted to eye-diseases and to topics not mentioned in the old part.

Susruta too demands the strictest discipline and the highest morality in respect of qualities of the body and the mind from young physicians. At the time of initiation of a disciple (upanayana), the student is taken about the holy fire and he is solemnly instructed to give up voluptuousness and to abstain from anger, greed for money, pride, vanity, grudge, vulgarism, idleness, falsehood, deception, etc. They must always have their nails and hairs cut short; they should always remain clean; they should be dressed in reddish garment and should lead a straightforward, pure and respectable life. A physician should treat holy men, friends and neighbours, widows and orphans, poor and tourists not differently from if they were his relatives. On the other hand he must not render any medical aid to hunters, bird-catchers, excommunicated persons and sinners.

The oldest commentaries on the Susruta-Samhita written by Jaiyyata (or Jaijjata or Jajjata) and Gayadasa have not come down to us. Of the available commentaries the oldest are the Bhanumati of Cakradatta and the Nibandhasamgraha of Dallana of the 11th and 12th centuries respectively.

The third of the "three ancients" is Vagbhata. When Harita says that Atri thought for the Krta-, Susruta for the Dvapara- and Vagbhata for the Kaliage, he probably means rightly that Vagbhata was by several centuries separated from Atri, (on whose teachings are based those of Caraka) and Susruta. There are two famous works that go under the name of Vagbhata : Astanga-Samgraha, "Compilation of the Eight Parts (of medical science)" and the Astangahrdaya-Samhita "Compendium of the essentials of the Eight Parts (of medical science)." In respect of form the Astangasamgraha, that is written in mixture of prose and verses, is older than the AstangahrLiayasambita, that is written only in verses. In respect of the subject-matter as well the former work is older of the two. The quotations in later-day medical treaties appear to refer to the former as "Vrddha-Vagbhata", whilst the second one is simply called Vagbhata. Since in the composition of the Astangahrdayasamhita, the Astangasamgraha was utlized there can hardly be any doubt that we must distinguish between an older and a younger Vagbhata. Apparently the older Vagbhata lived in the beginning of the 7th and the younger in the 8th century A.D. Probably the older Vagbhata is the person about whom Itsing has said, without mentioning his name, that he had "in brief" collected together the 8 parts of medical science. Since undoubtedly he was a Buddhist, as probably was also the younger Vagabhata, whose Astangahradayasamhta had been translated into Tibetan. The older as well as the younger Vagbhata cites from Caraka, Susruta and indeed from the Uttaratantra too.

A not much later or perhaps written contemporaneously with the Astangahrdayasamhita, therefore, in the 8th or 9th century, A.D. is the Rugvaniscaya, "Research into Maladies" of Madhavakara, son of Indukara. The work is usually called Madhavanidana or briefly Nidana. It is outright the chief work on pathology, in which most important diseases have been treated in detail, and this work has served as the standard for all subsequent works. The fame of the work is proved by existence of the large number of its commentaries. The existence of this work is presupposed by the Siddhiyoga or the Vrndamadhava of Vrnda, in which prescriptions and recipes for all diseases from fever to poisoning are laid down. Vrnda himself admits that he follows the Rugviniscaya in respect of sequence of maladies. In any case the two treatises are closely connected and they were written shortly after oneanother, if not, as conjectured by Hoernle, Vrnda is only a second name of Madhavakara and if the two treatises have one and the same author.

Cakrapanidatta of Bengal, whom we already know as a commentator of Susruta, was a successful medicinal author and he wrote one Cikitsasarasangraha, a great compedium on therapy that might have been written in about 1060 A.D. As his main source the author mentions one Siddhiyoga that he has actually almost copied. [He was the author of a work Dravyaguna too.] In the 11th or 12th century A.D. Vangasena, son of Gadadhara, wrote a voluminous work under the same title the Cikitsasarasangraha, in which the descriptions of diseases given in the Madhavanidana have been copied outright, and Susruta too has been unsparingly utlized. At the latest in the 13th century A.D. was written the Sarngadharasamhita by Sarngadhara, since in about 1300 A.D. Vopadeva had already written a commentary on it. The fact that it has been a popular and much read work on therapy is proved by the large number of its extant manuscripts. Opium and quick silver preparations are mentioned in this work, in which Vrnda has in addition been abundantly utlized, and in which remedies and the method of diagnosis are accurately laid

down - things that do not occur in earlier works and probably that were introduced under I'ersian or Arabic influence. Vopadeva, the famous grammarian, who is already known to us, was a son of Physician Kesava of Berar and a protegee of Minister Hemadri. He is also the author of one Satasloki, 100 verses on the exposition of powders, pills etc., with the author's commentary. To the same age belongs apparently also the Cikitsakalika or Tisatacarya, a work that is already quoted in the 14th century. Tisata's son Candrata, known also elsewhere as a medicinal authority, has written a commentary on it. Down upto the most recent times have been written often and again big and voluminous manuals of the science of medicine as a whole or on its different aspects. We may here mention the name of the Bhavaprakasa of Bhavamisra of the 16th century A.D. in which is mentioned syphilis, a disease brought to India by the Portuguese and the Sarsaparilli as the remedy against it. In the 17th century A.D. Lolimbaraja, who is known also as an epical ornate poet, wrote a popular manual on therapy the Vaidyajivana in ornate metros.

Probably there have existed from a very early period monographs on individual topics of medicine; but we possess only recently written works on several diseases, like fever, infantile sickness, ophthalmic ailments, etc. as well as monographs on aphrodisiacs, on feeling the pulse etc. To the medical literature belong also the works that encroach partly into the regions of Religion and partly into that of Astrology in which the diseases are considered to be consequences of the sins committed in former lives. One such monograph is Jnanabhaskara ("Sun of Knowledge"), in which diseases have been considered from the stand-point of the theory of Kansan and penances and sacrifices have been prescribed as therapy in the form of a dialogue between the Sun-god and his charioteer.

There is a very voluminous literature on witchcraft and alchemy, a derived branch of medicine, that is devoted to the wonderful healing power of metallic preparation called rasa. Mercury is considered to be rasendra, rasesrara "king of rasas", that is prescribed as an elixir for life, as a rejuvinator and as a medicine that can cure all possible ailments. Since mercury is one of the things that are considered to have the potency to change ordinary metals into gold, the works that deal with rasa come also within the sphere of alchemy. In about 1330 A.D. Alberuni read in India such rasayana-works as are named by him. Approximately one hundred years before him there lived a famous especialist of this art, Nagarjuna of Daihaka, near Somanatha, who wrote a great comprehensive work on these topics. Alberuni speaks with great contempt about this pseudo scientific work and says that it would be best if this costly science of rasayana were banished into such farthest away regions of the world, where nobody could read it." In the Sarvadarshnasangraha, in its chapter IX, "the mercury system"... (rasesvaradarsana) has been described. The adherents of this system are Saivas, who belive in oneness of the soul with Siva, but admit that emancipation during lifetime depends upon stoutness of the body that must be made strong through use of mercury. And here the works Rasarnava, Rasahrdaya and Rasesvarasindhanta are cited. This work, therefore, must have been written in about at least 1300 A.D. The Rasarnava, is a comprehensive work of 18 patalas in verses and has been cited also in the Rasaratnakara of Nityanatha and in the Rasendracintamani of Ramacandra. The Jaina Merutunga wrote in 1386 a commentary on one Rasadhyaya of Sirnhagupta, ascribed in several commentaries to Nityanatha or to Asvinikumara too.

Medico-botanical glossaries, that bear the ancient name "Nighantu", were perhaps existent from a very early period; but the extant dictionaries , of this type are not very old. Indeed the Dhavantarinighantu must be older than the Amarakosa. Since in our text mercury too is mentioned, it has not come down to us in its original form. In 1075 Suresvara or Surapala, the court-physician of King Bhimapala of Bengal, wrote the Sabdapradipa, a dictionary of medical botany. In between 1235 A.D. and 1250 A.D. Kashmirian Narahari wrote his meteria medica, the Rajanighantu or the Nighanturaja or Abbidhanacudamani. In the year 1374 Madanapala wrote one Madanavinodanighantu, a comprehensive dictionary - materia medica of (enumeration of plants, animals, herbs and a remedies of all sorts). To this class of treatises belong the dietical dictionaries like the Pathyapathyanighantu of Trimalla and medicinal books on cookery. All the medical dictionaries are composed in verses. Further in the 19th century of quite a large number of works on materia medica lie in Sanskrit as well as in English have come to light. [The Hrdayapriya of Paramesvara is also an important work that may be mentioned here.]

[We may make a mention here of some of the authors of medical treatises who are considered to be Buddhists, although in their treatment of the subject they follow the lint of the Brahrmana authors. Such are Nagarjuna and Vagbhata. the Bhesajjamanjusa, "Basket of Remedies", is a work written in Pall, that is still in use in Ceylon and conforms strictly to the teaching of Ayurveda.

Although in the most ancient Buddhist schools practice in medicine was prohibited for the monks, later they were permitted to study it and they practised it at Cast in their own circles. The Mahavagga-Pali contains a chapter on medicines, remedies and hygiene. Besides there exist certain works in Chinese and Tibetan translations only.

Like the Buddhist texts, the Jaina-texts too contain allusions to medicine and treatment of diseases. A work like Kalyanakaraka, "Doer of Good", of an unknown date written by one Ugraditya, who was a Jaina, is based on Ayurveda, but it prohibits completely use of all the animal products on religious grounds.]

The similarities between Indian and Greek medicines are very numerous, and at least some of these similarities are necessarily to be explained on the basis of borrowings of Greek teachings, although there can be no doubt that the origin of the Indian medical science is to be searched for only in the indigenous region. This must particularly have been the case with Surgery. Many remedies, like opium and mercury, the Indian learnt from Persians and Arabians, to whom they also owe their knowledge of the diagnostic of pulse-feeling. On the other hand Indian treatises were translated early into Persian and Arabic. The medical system of Tibet, Ceylon and of the East Indies are dependent upon the Indian system.

21 POSITION OF WOMEN IN ANCIENT KASHMIR

Dr. Ved Kumari

Excerpts from: *Nilmata Purana*

The most relieving feature of the family-life of Kasmira as seen in the Nilmata, is the position of women. Nowhere is she considered 'the living torch illuminating the way to hell' or 'the devourer of the intellect of men'. There is no reference to any veil worn by her and she moves quite freely in the society, emulating as it were the free-going sparkling waters of the springs of her country. The **Nilmata** allows her to participate in almost all the festivals and religious ceremonies. In the moonlit night of Kaumudi Mahotsava, we find her sitting beside the sacred fire in the company of her husband, children, servants and husband's friends. It is not clear, however, as whether she is merely a silent spectator or takes active part in the musical and dramatic performances performed during this night. She is present in the common feast which takes place on the next day.

Not only on the festivals celebrated at home but also in the outdoor festivals, she is seen freely enjoying herself. Thus, on the ceremonial day for ploughing the fields and sowing the seed, characterized by music, dancing and feasting, the peasant's wife is not behind the walls of her home. She is lucky enough to participate in the joyous festival celebrated in the refreshing open fields of Nature.

On the day of Iramanjari-pujana - a festival of flowers - the ladies are honoured with presents of flowers and garlands. In another verse we find reference to the women going to fruit-gardens to worship the fruit-giving trees.

In the happy valley of lakes, rivers and fountains, water-sports could bring the highest pleasures to the society and the Nilamata does not deny this means of merriment to the ladies of Kasmira. "The young maidens" it says, "should specially play in the waters" during the celebrations of Sravani festival.

Playing with men is allowed to women. We find the joyful ladies dressed in their best attire, perfumed with scents and decorated with ornaments, sporting in the company of men on the last day of Mahimana celebrations.

The ladies of the house are honoured on various occasions. The householder is enjoined upon to honorer them on the New Snow-fall day. The sisters etc. and the ladies whose husbands are alive are honoured on the 4th of the bright half of Magha. Similar honour is given to them on the 4th days of Asvayuj and Jyestha. On the full moon day of Margasirsa, the gift of a pair of red clothes is prescribed for a Brahmana lady whose husband and son are living. Sister, paternal aunt and friend's wife are also invited and given clothes. The mention of the presentation of gifts to friend's wife is quite significant as it could have been possible only in a free atmosphere where women were allowed to move freely with no restrictions on their receipt of gifts from their husband's friends.

On Madana Trayodasi - a festival in honour of the god of love - the wife receives bath with the sacred water from the hands of her husband as an indication of his love for her.

Wife is the charm of the decorated bedroom in the night of Dipamala (Sukha-suptika) festival.

Charming beauty and the life-long happiness of married life are the things highly prized by the ladies of Kasmira. They are often asked to be well-dressed and decorated, the special term for such act being 'pratikarma'. As regards their place in the religious life, they are not only allowed to accompany their husbands in the performance of various rites and ceremonies but are also enjoined upon to perform singly some rites specially prescribed for them. Thus, the god Chandah is to be worshipped and rajasvala Kasmira is to be bathed by the women only. The triad of the 4th days (Caturthi-tritaya) is to be observed specially by ladies.

Another factor which points to the high position of women is the prominence of the goddesses in the religion depicted in the Nilamata. The gods are mentioned often with their consorts. Shakra plays with Shaci; Visnu's feet rest in the lap of Laksmi; Parvati accompanies Shiva; Sita is worshipped during the celebrations of Rama's birth-day and Krsna's wife receives worship on the birth-day of her lord. The

mothers of the gods are also referred to. Besides these we come across various other female deities. The goddesses Asokika, Syama, Durga, Sri, Karisini, Bhadrakali, I3heda, Kapinjali, Suresvari, Bhadresvari, Gautamesi, Kalasila, Udyogasri, Gavaksi, Candika, Gauri, Suvijaya,

Sakuni, Brahmacarini, Chakresvari and Grhadevi form the shining galaxy of female deities worshipped by the people of Kasmira. The rivers of Kasmira are also personified as goddesses. Urna transforms herself into the Vitasta, Aditi becomes the Trikoti, Shaci assumes the form of the Harspatha, Diti becomes the Candravati and Laksmi turns into the river Visoka. The very land of Kasmira is the mother goddess Kasmira - a form of Uma.

On the whole the Nilamata offers a pleasant picture of the woman of Kasmira. As a daughter she was trained in fine arts etc. and was allowed to move freely in the society. By giving her in marriage, the father obtained religious merit. As a wife she was loved and honoured by her husband and as a mother she shone with her sons who prized her highly. A would-be mother could even be installed on the throne on the demise of her sonless husband-king.

This account of the women of Kasmira - respected in the home and esteemed highly outside - is quite different from the account available in other Puranas and so gives distinctive character to the Nilmata. The other Puranas generally despise and deprecate the ladies as seducers of men. To quote R.C. Hazra "As a matter of fact, in the Puranas, women have not been allowed full freedom in the social and religious life under any circumstances and conjugal fidelity and devoted service to their husbands have been stressed as the highest duties for them. The statement, evidently, does not apply to the Nilamata which gives a somewhat different and unconventional picture of the female-life. The genuineness of the account given by the Nilmata is

proved by the corroboration it receives from the works of many Kasmiri writers. Bilhana gives a testimony to the literary efficiency of the women of Kasmira who could fluently speak Sanskrta and Prakrta. Damodara Gupta in his Kuttanimata gives a list of the subjects which they learnt and Kalhana's Rajatarangini is full of instances showing the high status of women in the fields of religion and politics.

21.1 WOMEN OUTSIDE MARRIAGE

A few words may be now added about prostitutes and dancing girls attached to temples. The numerous references to courtesans in connection with the description of festivals indicated that prostitution was freely allowed in the society of the days of the Nilamata. The Nilmata does not decry the courtesans. The prominent ones of them, on the other hand, are enjoined upon to visit the king on his coronation day and take due part in the ceremonies - a fact proving evidently their high political status.

The use of a simile comparing Kasmira with a temple due to the presence of tender ladies, indicates the popularity of the institution of 'devadasis' or temple dancers, as then alone the hearers or readers of the Nilamata could have recognized the idea underlying the simile.

A significant and rather unusual point is that the Nilmata attaches importance to the singing and dancing of courtesans and not to the sexual intercourse with them, indicating thus less moral laxity among the people than what is shown in the works of Kalhana, Ksemendra and Somadava.

22 KASHMIRI PANDIT MARRIAGES - MAIN FEATURES

Pt. Moti Lal Pushkar

22.1 BRAHAMDEVA

This word denotes 'The Pandit marriage system' by way of selection of a groom by a would be brides' parents in consultation with their daughter on the basis of a would be groom's academic achievement, moral character, personality, young age and health besides emotional attachment of a couple towards each other. An invitation is extended to the groom by his father-in-law to attend the marriage Mona. This letter of invitation mentions the day and date, exact auspicious hour (Lagna), number of participants in the marriage party and the number of Brahmans for recitation of the 'Vedas' on this occasion. Bride's hand is offered to her life partner while 'Agni Deva' shines bright. This invitation letter is known as the 'LAGANCHIRI'. Now-a-days the 'Kulguru' of the brides' parents discharges this fatherly responsibility. This system of marriage is prevalent in the Kashmiri Pandit society wherever they are.

The marriage is based on morality, parental responsibility, social organization, spiritualization of human behaviour and responsive attitude. It avoids vulgarity.

22.2 KANYA-DAAN

At the exact auspicious hour i.e. the hour of lagna, the bride and her father face the east and the groom faces the west. Relatives from both sides also witness the ceremony. The father of the bride addresses his would be son-in-law thus "Sir, I offer you my daughter in marriage." Thrice repeated.

The groom shows his inclination thus, "Sir, I accept this offer sincerely." He thrice repeats his acceptance. Both the parties express together the following statement:

"This our statement is true. We adhere to it with all sincerely."

The father of the bride again addresses his son-in-law thus:

"Sir, you have to share your Dharma (social contact, Artha, earnings, and Kaama) the pious act of keeping God's creation unhindered, with your lifepartner without fail."

This is agreed upon by the groom and the bride takes her seat now by the left side of her husband.

Both pray that Agni Deva be pleased to bless us both.

The mantras recited here mean that desires, thoughts and endeavour of ours to establish an ideal household be based on commonality of interests. Our minds, heart and conscious being the same and serene.

22.3 VIVAAHA SANSKARA

Offerings, are made to the Holy Fire with the recitation of the Vedic mantes. The essence of these mantras is given here:

God alone is the bestower of everything. He sustains this our mother earth and the space above. He is the giver and protector. He is the real father and creator.

The groom prays to God while addressing his better half thus:

"The unfavourable forces that are bent upon to cause widowhood to a woman may prove the agents of longevity for the husband.

The forces that try against having cattle and other wealth may help us to have all types of wealth.

The natural agents that cause barrenness to a woman may turn as the agents for fertility."

22.4 HUSBAND THEORY - FOUR FACTORS

The husband further states thus,

"My clear, it is the Moon god that entered thee first causing m.c.t. The Sungod came the next to develop fertility. The fire god came in its turn to generate heat in thee. I, the human agent, am the fourth factor to sow the human seed."

22.5 A PIECE OF STONE AS A SEAT

It is a symbolic offering of a seat to the bride by her husband to sit on. He prays that this marriage of two souls may prove as permanent as this rocky seat. He further prays that she be freed from parental bondage to live her future life with me.

In return the bride prays for the groom's long life and prosperity. The groom reciprocates with the same spirit for her longevity.

22.6 SAPTAPADI

The husband suggests to his bride to take seven symbolic steps towards her new home. She takes these seven steps while praying.

1. "I take this first step with my inner desire to become life-partner of my husband.
2. This second step I take to acquire energy to discharge my household duties.
3. Third I take to have health and fitness.
4. The fourth step I take to have fine sentiments in me.
5. Fifth I take to get ideal progeny.
6. This sixth I take to enjoy my future life happily during all the seasons of the year.
7. This seventh, to have longevity."

The husband repeats at every step thus, "May Almighty fulfil all thy wishes."

22.7 THE DESIRE TO HAVE IDEAL PROGENY

The Groom further ashes: "Do you see full span of life."

Bride: "Yes I see." "Do you desire to have Dhrava and Arundhati like ideal children?" "Yes Sir."

22.8 SARASWATI VANDANA

The Saraswati hymn from the Vedas is recited by the couple. It reminds them that their original home had been the banks of the river Saraswati, hence the community came to be known as the Saraswati Brahman.

Their (the Saraswat Brahman's) life mission had been Saraswati i.e. learning of Arts, Crafts, Sciences and Scriptures. It is also to remind them that they had been devotees of Saraswati i.e. the Cosmic

22.9 RECITATION OF SURYAVARGA

One more hymn from the Vedas known as the Suryavarga is recited. It reminds the couple of their new responsibilities that await them as householders. It says that this universe is like a chariot. The Sun and the Moon are its two wheels. It keeps functioning by mutual agreement, patience and psychological approach.

22.10 OFFERING OF PRASAAD

At the end of Vivahahoma prasaad is offered to the couple which they partake gladly. They offer a few morsels to each other. All the dishes offered to the guests are also offered to the bride and the groom in one plate. It is known in Kashmir is Daibat (Deiva Bhakta in Sanskrit) i.e. God's gift to the couple.

22.11 POSHPUJA

Parents of the groom shower flowers on the couple. Other relatives also participate in this flower showering. The couple sit under the cover of a small canopy, symbolic of a bedroom. Actually, it is the preparation for Garbhaadhaan Sanskara i.e. the couple invites attention of each other to have ideal Progeny

The parents and relatives from both the sides remind them names of ideal children from the Vedic heritage. This recitation covers names of sages and seers, the incarnations, great warriors, heroic mothers, famous kings and queens of the whole Vedic lore.

With this ritual, the Pandit marriage celebrations come to an end.

This system is based on the Vedic Mantras and has been presented to the society by Rishi Lougaaksha of Kashmir.

23 THE FLAVOUR OF KASHMIR

FESTIVALS AND RITUALS

Anju Munshi

All festivals apart from their religious and communal connotations have one more thought behind them. That is to unite the people with a thread of oneness and bind the people morally and spiritually, in an attempt to transfer the ethos of a community from one generation to another. Another very important aspect of these festivals is to ensure a full presence at one's home, by way of some rituals that necessitate the members to take part in the activities, and thus celebrate the auspicious days with the entire family. The same holds true of the Kashmiri festivals, the spirit reigns high and the general mood is upbeat, there is gaiety and fervour that penetrates the sensibilities of young and old alike.

The most important festivals that are celebrated with a zeal are 'Maha-Shivratri', 'Janamashtami', 'Jyesht Ashtami' and 'Navreh'. This is talking about a few ones that have stood the onslaught of time. These four festivals are a collection of various rituals and myths, reading and knowing of which becomes quite interesting. In its real essence, these festivals inculcate certain disciplines, that are instrumental in getting the whole family together and also paving the way for an opportunity for the youngsters to imbibe some important traits like comradeship, obedience and also a sense of tradition.

23.1 SHIVRATRI

Generally most of the people in Kashmir take 'Herath' as the marriage day of Lord Shiva with 'Uma' while outside Kashmir it is taken as the day when Lord Shiva manifested in His human form on the earth to bless His devotees and redeem them. Shivratri in Kashmir is popularly known as 'Herath'. All through the ages people have given various meanings to 'Herath'. Some trace it back to the times of the Pathan occupation of the valley, when alien rulers forced the people to celebrate the festival in the summer month of 'Asada', instead of 'Phalguna'. The forced alteration in the timings of these celebrations brought a lot of misery upon the valley. There were inexplicable changes, snowfall in the summer months that resulted in crop failure and consequent famine. The Pathans called it 'Hairath', a Persian word for utter surprise. The word has ever since clung on to the memories of the Kashmiri people.

The main important festival. It starts from the first day of 'Phalgun', dark fortnight [Hur Okdoh] and ends on 'Tela ashtami', lunar fortnight of Phalgun, which as the common belief goes, the cold and wintry days are on way to bid goodbye and are heralding the approach of summers. From this day i.e. the first day, the entire house is cleaned and washed - the walls, the floors, linen, utensils, everything receives a face lift and is made to look wonderfully perfect. On 'Hur Ashtami' that comes in-between, on the eighth day people organise religious kirtans, jagran originally at 'Hari Parvat', 'Pokhribal' and 'Khirbhawani'. Fish is a very important item to be cooked on all these days of fun and merrymaking. On 'Dyara Daham' the day of the Laxmi, the new krides come wearing new clothes and bring with them 'Herath' Bhog' [Shivratri Kharcha] i.e. presents-in kind and cash for her inlaws. Besides the new brides, all ladies who come back from their parent's homes bring presents and 'Atagat', and also 'Kangri', symbolic of goodluck and prosperity. This small gesture pleasantly enough still carries on and is treated as a very good omen.

'Gad Kah' comes soon after on the eleventh day. This day fish is bought home and cleaned and fried for the main day, followed by 'Wager Bah', the day when new earthenware, specially prepared for the occasion is installed in the 'Puja room'. This marks the beginning of 'Herath'. Walnuts have a very important role to play in this festival. The shape represents the universe. They are filled in earthen pots covered with water up to the top. This water has to be changed every day. The 'Watuk' consists of a big earthen pitcher, two small ones and two smaller ones, one elephant trunk shaped figure, seven bowls decorated with flowers and 'Sindoor'. They represent Shiva Parvati, Ram Brahmin, Seven Rishis, Ganesa and some other Rishis. These walnuts are washed and placed into the pitchers of and seven bowls. Then these are filled with water and some milk and Mishri is poured into each one of them. Pooja is started at 'Pradosh Kala' [dusk] and all the family members take part in it and the same carries on till late in the night. The fast is broken and boiled rice with a variety of cooked vegetables is taken. The Shivratri comes

to a close in the evening of 'Amavasya'. The walnuts in the pitchers are taken out and washed. Pooja is once again performed, signifying the culmination of the Festival. The 'Samgri' and the flowers used are immersed in the river. Walnuts are used as Prashad and distributed amongst the neighbours and friends.

23.2 NAVREH [NAVSAMVATSARA]

According to the lunar calendar, it is the first day of the New Year. It is also the beginning of Navratras. As per the custom, a thali is filled with rice, and some articles are placed on top of rice - like milk-pot, flowers, walnut, pen, coins or a currency note, Jantri [panchang of the new lunar calendar], boiled rice, sugar, salt, baked rice flour bread or any bread, and pictures of Vishnu and Parvati. This plate is filled on the eve of 'Navreh'. Early in the morning the grandnZother or any elderly lady or the mother gets up and brings this Thali for darshan to every member of the family. It is considered a good omen for the New Year. The rice of the Thali is cooked into 'tahar'. Navratras are celebrated with great devotion and faith. New clothes are worn on this day and people generally make merry. People in Kashmir used to go to 'Hari-Parbat' for a picnic, usually to the Mughal gardens.

23.3 JANAMASHTAMI

Lord Krishna's birthday is celebrated on the eighth day of Bhadrapada with great devotion and faith. Fast is kept and broken at the rise of the moon. This festival is important in case of a recent wedding at home. The new bride gets gifts in kind and cash for her in-laws. The gift hamper usually consists of seasonal fruits and sweetmeats. Because of the perishable nature of these goodies, the modern gifts have undergone a slight change in the sense that dry fruits have slowly replaced the tradition of fresh fruits. Temples are decorated and people in large numbers perform Pooja.

23.4 JYESHTA ASHTAMI

The day of the goddess sees many people fasting and praying, and seeking her blessings. Back home, people visit the holy shrine at Khirbhawani. The entire day is spent in prayers and for the children it is a sort of a picnic. People coming to the holy place from long distance would come a day before, with an idea to grab the vantage places, well shaded by the mighty Chinar trees and close to the sacred spring. A scene of total devotion and a spirit of a gay abandon prevailed.

23.5 MAHANAVMI

In olden days, arms and ammunition were I worshipped, along with Goddess Durga. Now the practice of worshipping arms and ammunitions is gone and only Goddess Durga is worshipped at 'Hari Parvat', 'Durganag' and 'Akingam'.

23.6 CHAITRA NAVMI

What is celebrated as Ramnavmi in Northern India is the ninth bright day of Chaitra, when Goddess Bhadrakali is worshipped. Navratras come to an end on this day and fast is also kept. Bhadra Kali is a famous temple on a hilltop in Kupwara district. There is a statue of Bhadra Kali which is worshipped on Chaitra Navmi.

23.7 VASTA POOJA

Another auspicious day in the month of Chaitra, when 'Graha-devta' [god of the house] is worshipped and offerings are made to him for the well-being and protection of the whole family. Today this festival is celebrated only on Tuesdays or Saturdays, in the month of 'Pausha'. 'Gaddabatta', i.e. fish cooked with rice is offered to the house deity after performing Pooja.

23.8 KHICH-MAWAS

This falls on the fifteenth day of the moon's waning in Poh, and it is a day for the propitiation of evil spirits, who are conciliated by an offering of rice and pulses.

Apart from these main days of festivity, there are some rituals that have overtones of a festive spirit and cannot just be left out. Some rituals like 'Marghashirsha Poornima', a day when rice boiled with turmeric

along with Pooja is offered to the house deity, 'Kah Nethar', 'Mekhal' or the thread ceremony, marriage rituals and as a grand finale to everything, 'Tile Dwadashi' - when Shradh of the dead is performed with oil and sesame seeds, 'Shradha Paksha' etc.

The observance of these rituals and festivals speaks of a highly civilised and cultured Kashmiri society. Nilmata Purana describes in detail which rituals and festivals are to be celebrated on a particular day of the year. Both men and women participated in them. They kept fasts and prayed to different Gods and Goddesses. In fact these festivals were started for the need to have an outlet by way of providing some days of fun and frolic and eventually lead to prosperity, health and happiness of the people. Mr. Walter R. Lawrence, the then settlement commissioner of Jammu and Kashmir in the British period has given a lucid detail of the rituals and ceremonies of Kashmiri Pandits in the state. In one of the references, he talks about the ritual cycle of a Kashmiri Pandit right from the day of his birth to his end moments and also the Shradh ceremonies.

23.9 A JOURNEY OF LIFE AND DEATH - BEGINNING TO END

A Hindu child is ushered in to this world by noting down the exact time of the birth, a job done by the astrologer. The mother is known as a 'rosa' and if this is her first child, then she is called a 'sadh piai'. On the ninth day after the birth, called 'sunder' the mother and the child are bathed at an auspicious hour and after bathing, seven vessels either of clay or bronze are filled with food. These vessels represent seven deities, and as some are flesh eating deities and some vegetarian, the food chosen has to be selected with care. Seven women of the household must be present to represent the seven deities. After the food has been made holy, the midwife lights a torch of birch bark and waves it around the heads of the mother and child and finally flings it into an earthen bowl filled with water. When a child is a month old, the day is celebrated in the name of 'mas-nethar' and in the third year the ceremony of shaving the child's head takes place - 'zar-kasay', a very joyous occasion. The food on this occasion is known as 'wari' end for her services the paternal aunt receives congratulatory gifts - 'zany' of rice, salt and cash and all the relatives and friends feast heartily on the 'warts'. In the case of the girl, there is no shaving of the head and the hair of the boy is buried carefully under a tree. When the boy has attained the age of seven years as per the ancient Kashmiri belief, and before he reaches his thirteenth year, he must become a true Brahmin - the Yagneopavit ceremony. On the day, after the ritual of the sacred thread being put around the boy's neck, coins and shells are thrown over his head, and he is then carried in state down to the river to perform his first prayer ceremonies.

Then the next important thing in the life of the boy is his marriage. 'Mehendiraat' and 'Devgon' are performed and decked out in the same brave fashion as the groom is another boy - 'the pot maharaja' or the best man. Before the bridegroom is allowed to enter his house, he must pay money to his maternal and paternal aunt or sister who bars the door. The gifts to the bride from her father are numerous but noteworthy are two - 'Dijhuru', and the 'Chandanhar'. The 'Dijhuru' are ear ornaments of pure gold, of a mystic shape and the 'Chandanhaar' is a gold ornament worn around the neck, and it is given to the bride by her father-in-law. Overall, marriage in a Kashmiri society is a joyous ceremony.

Death has its own ways, by way of rituals that are observed quite rigidly. When a person breathes his last, his body is laid on the straw bed, and a lamp is kept alight by his head, day and night. Near it is placed a tray full of sesame seeds with a coin. The son of the deceased lights the funeral pyre, but the work of cremation is done by the Musalmans called Kawji. For ten days the house where the death has taken place is unclean and no one eats food cooked in there, and for ten days, while the soul of the deceased is on its journey, rites for the dead are performed on the river bank.

We are indebted to our ancestors for laying out the rules so clearly before us. There is more freedom when you know your limits, and to set the boundaries is a mammoth job which is already done.

24 THE VALLEY OF KASHMIR - ARCHAEOLOGY

Walter R. Lawrence

Excerpts: THE VALLEY OF KASHMIR' by Walter R. Lawrence

The Valley of Kashmir is the 'holy land' of the Hindus, and l have rarely been in any village which cannot shove some relic of antiquity. Curious stone miniatures of the old Kashmiri temples (Kulr-Muru), huge stone seats of Mahadeo (Badrpith) inverted by pious Musalmans, Phallic emblems imlumerable, and carved images heaped in grotesque confusion by some clear spring, have met me at every turn. The villagers can give no information as to the history of these remains, save the value guess that they were the works of the Buddhists or of the Pandus. The Pandits of the city care nothing for archaeological research, and know little about the past glories of their country in the old Hindu times. When one comes to the more recent period of the Mughals, tradition becomes more definite, and I have seen curious mosques built in a style unlike the present, of wooden beams with stones between, mostly raised by Aurangzeb. He built religious edifices, while the other Mughals devoted themselves to stately pleasure-domes, gardens, terraces, waterfalls, and pretty summer houses. While the old Hindu buildings defy time and weather the Musalman shrines and mosques crumble away and have little now of their pristine grandeur. Here and there the excellent masonry of Jehangir has withstood the great destroyer, but unless money is spent quickly and judiciously there will be little left, save the wild roses of the valley, to remind posterity of the pleasure-haunts of Selim and Naurmahal. It is to be hoped that the Kashmir State will never allow the beautiful pleasaunces of Achabal and Vernag, Shalamar and Nishat to pass away, but unless early steps are taken these fair places will become sad and unsightly ruins. As regards the older buildings of ancient Kashmir it is hard to say whether it would be possible to protect these monuments from further damage. I have often looked at Martand and noticed with sorrow that the temple to the north, supposed by Cunningham to be the fan of Ranesa, is sloping sway from the main temple, and the push of an earth-quake would send it crashing into the mass of mighty stones beneath. But if Martand - 'Precious specimen of ancient art, deserving a foremost place among the remains of antiquity' - is to be preserved, not only money but artistic skill would be required. A brick buttress would be an act of desecration. If the State ever takes up the work of conservation of ancient monuments, I think that the two relics of the old Hindus most worthy of preservation would be Martand and Payech. The former is the grandest of the ancient buildings, the latter the most perfect. Earthquakes will always render the future of the Kashmir temples uncertain, and the shock of 1885 caused great damage to the buildings at Pattan. I have made extracts from the greatest authority on the archaeology of Kashmir, and have quoted descriptions of the most important of the buildings of the old Hindus, but a rich field awaits explorers in the valley. Chance excavations, for irrigation and other works, reveal curious sculptures and interesting relics of ancient history, and any one with money and leisure might find profitable employment in tracing the old cities on the hill slopes and the karewas of Kashmir. In 1882 Mr. Garrick, late of the Archaeological Survey of India, carried out extensive excavations at Ushkpur near Baramula. He excavated a lope or stupa of squared stones, held together with iron clamps, in the hope of finding certain copper plates which, according to the Chinese pilgrim, Hwen Thsang, were deposited therein. On the copper plates were engraved the proceedings of a Buddhist synod held in the reign of Kanishka. Mr. Garrick's excavations were thorough, but unsuccessful. It was at Ushkpur that Lalitaditya is said to have built an image of the Mukhtswami and a large monastery with a stupa of the Buddhists. Along the eastern side of the valley one sees everywhere on the slopes of the mountains remains of ancient cities. I do not know how far these have been examined, but am under the impression that explorers, owing to the short time of their stay in the valley, have chiefly confined their attention to the well-known temples. I am also under the impression, founded on what the people say, that many valuable relics have been carried away from Kashmir, while the State itself has removed several sculptures and thousands of lingams from their old sites to Srinagar. The island on the Wular is a notable example of this. To the explorer I would recommend the eastern side of the valley. Tradition assigns Sumbal, on the Jhelum as the site of the ancient Jayapura, and the people say that excavation at Sumbal would reveal great treasures. Hardly a

year passes without rumours of fabulous treasure being discovered in Kashmir. Official measures are at once taken to secure the State's interests, but since I have been in the valley all such rumours have proved to be unfounded. It is quite possible, however, that treasure is found, and it is very possible that systematic exploration might discover some of the w earth with which Lalitaditya, and other conquerors endowed the valley.

My duties left me no leisure to investigate the history of the ruined forts and the little palaces (kutraj) which occur so frequently on the western side of the valley. The forts are recent, of Mughal or Pathan times, but the little palaces carry one back to the prehistoric ages when Kashmir was parcelled out among a number of princelings. The forts and palaces are now mere heaps of stones, the abode of snakes and jackals, 'the populous city is deserted, and thorns and briers have come up upon the land.' A curious antiquity known as Raman Kan, not described in previous accounts of the valley, may be mentioned here.

On the Kutraj karewa, near the village of Khushipura, the arrows of Ram Chandr and Lachman are to be found. The arrows are of cut stone, octagonal is section, stand about four feet out of the ground, and the depth to which they have penetrated the soil after their long flight is unknown. The karewa also has a number of depressions, varying in size and depth and containing water and weeds. This table-land was once the abode of the Rakshas, devils in human form, who lessened the tediousness of time by wrestlillg-matches among themselves and by devouring men. The depressions were made by the rubbing of giant elbows and knees against the ground during the wrestling-bouts. The avatars at last took compassion on the people thus oppressed, and preyed upon, and fired arrows from Ram Koond and Lachman Koond, sacred places in Machipura, where Hindus go to bathe, and the Rakshas were slain. The legend is interesting in that it points to a time when the Kutraj country was inhabited by a lawless people who made periodical inroads on the peace lovulg and better-favoured lowlander. I have visited all the buildings which are now to be described, and have debated with myself whether anything of interest could be added by me to the excellent and accurate descriptions which expert writers have already given. I have decided that it would be presumptuous and useless, and just as in the chapter on geology I have availed myself of Lydekker's researches, so in this chapter I repeat the words of the greatest of Indian antiquarians, the late Sir Alexander Cunningham. I first give his general remarks on the architectural remains of Kashmir, and in the detailed description of each temple I reproduce the notices contained in Bates' Gazetteer.

'The architectural remains of Kashmir are perhaps the most remarkable of the existing monuments of India, as they exhibit undoubted traces of the influence of Grecian art. The Hindu temple is generally a sort of architectural pasty, a huge collection of ornamental fritters huddled together, either with or without keeping, while the Jain temple is usually a vast forest of pillars, made to look as unlike one another as possible by some paltry differences in their petty details. On the other hand the Kashmirian fans are distinguished by the graceful elegance of their outlines, by the massive boldness of their parts, and by the happy propriety of their decorations. They cannot, indeed, vie with the severe simplicity of the Parthenon nor with the luxuriant gracefulness of the monument of Lysicrates, but they possess great beauty, different indeed, yet quite their own.

The characteristic features of the Kashmirian architecture are its lofty pyramidal roofs, its trefoiled doorways, covered by pyramidal pediments, and the great width of its intercolumniations. The Grecian pediment is very low, and its roof exceedingly flat, the Kashmirian pediment, on the contrary, is extremely lofty, and its roof high. The former is adapted for a sunny and almost rainless climate, while the latter is equally well suited to a rainy and snowy climate. But besides the difference of climate, there was perhaps another reason for the form of roofing peculiar to the two countries in the kind of material most readily procurable for buildings. In Greece it was stone, in Kashmir it was timber. The former imposed low flat roofs with small intercolumniations, the latter suggested lofty roofs and wide intercolumniations.

In the Kashmirian architecture the great width of the interval between the columns (which is constant) is perhaps the most characteristic feature of the order. Indeed I have suspicion that the distinctive mark of the Kashmirian style was well known to the Greeks; for an intercolumination of four diameters, an interval seldom, if ever, used by themselves, was called Araiostyle, a name which would appear to refer

to the intercolumniation common amongst the Hindus or Eastern Aryas, the 'APEIOI of Herodotus. The vulgar etymology of Araiostyle from 'APAIO, "rare," seems extremely far-fetched if not absurd; while the etymology of the "Arian columnar interval" appears both natural and appropriate, as the intercolumniation followed by the Aryas of Kashmir was never less than four diameters.

Now the interval between the Kashmirian pillars being always Araiostyle, I feel inclined to call the style of architecture used by the Aryas of Kashmir the "Arian Order." This name it fully merits, for it is as much a distinct order of architecture as any one of the more celebrated classic orders. Like them it is subject to known rules, which confine the genius of its architects within certain limits. A Kashmirian pillar is indeed distinguished from all Indian pillars by having a base, a shaft, and a capital, and each, besides, bearing a certain proportion to the diameter. How unlike is this to the columnar vagaries of the Hindus, which are of all shapes and of all dimensions A favourite Hindu pillar has the lowest fourth of its height square, the next eight-sided, and the third sixteen-sided, and the upper part round; another has a double capital with a low flat base; whilst a third has a shaft of only one-fourth of its height, the remaining three-fourths being all base and capital, and yet these three pillars may be neighbouring columns of the same temple.

The superiority of the Kashmirian architecture over all other Indian buildings would appear to have been known to the Hindus themselves, for one of their names of the people of Kashmir is Shastra-Sllilpina, or "architects," a term which could only have been applied to them on account of their well-known skill in building. Even now the Kashmiris are the most expert handicraftsmen of the East; and it is not difficult to believe that the same people, who at present excel all other orientals as weavers, gun-smiths, and as calligraphers, must once have been the most eminent of the Indian architects.

Before entering upon any details of the Arian order of architecture, and upon the comparisons naturally suggested between it and some of the classical orders, I will first describe the present state and appearance of the principal buildings that still exist in Kashmir, all of which were accurately measured by myself in November, 1847. They are

entirely composed of a blue limestone which is capable of taking the highest polish, a property to which I mainly attribute the present beautiful state of preservation of most of the Kashmirian buildings; not one of these temples has a name, excepting that of Martand, which is called in the corrupt Kashmirian pronunciation, Matan, but they are all Flown by the general name of Pandavanki lard or "Pandus-house," a title to which they have no claim whatever, unless indeed the statement of Ptolemy can be considered of sufficient authority upon such a subject. He says "circa autem Bidaspum Pandovorum regio" - the Kingdom of the Pandus is upon the Betasta of (Behat), that is, it corresponded with Kashmir. This passage would seem to prove that the Pandavas still inhabited Kashmir so late as the second century of our era. Granting the correctness of this point there may be some truth in the universal attribution of the Kashmirian temples to the race of Pandus, for some of these buildings date as high as the end of the fifth century, and there are others that must undoubtedly be much more ancient, perhaps even as old as the beginning of the Christian era. One of them dates from 220 B.C.

Most of the Kashmirian temples are more or less injured, but more particularly those at Awantipura, which are mere heaps of ruins. Speaking of these temples, Trebeck says, " It is scarcely possible to imagine that the state of ruin to which they have been reduced has been the work of time or even of men, as their solidity is fully equal to that of the most massive monuments of Egypt; earthquakes must have been the chief agents in their overthrow." I have quoted this passage to show the utter confusion that characterizes the ruins of the Awantipura temples. In my opinion their overthrow is too complete to have been the result of an earthquake, which would have simply prostrated the buildings in large masses. But the whole of the superstructure of these temples is now lying in one confused heap of stones totally disjoined from one another. I believe, therefore, that I am fully justified in saying, from my own experience, that such a complete and disruptive overturn could only have been produced by gunpowder. I have myself blown up a fort, besides several buildings, both of stone and of brick, and I have observed that the result has always been the entire sundering of all parts one from another, and the capsizing or

bouleversement of many of them. Neither of these effects can be produced by an earthquake. It seems also that Trebeck and

Moorcroft would most likely have attributed their to destruction to the same agency, had Hey not believed that the use of gunpowder was unknown at the time; for in speaking of a traditional attempt made by Shah Hamdan to destroy Martand, they say, "It is fortunate he was not acquainted with the use of gunpowder." I admit that this destructive it agent was most probably unheard of in Kashmir so early as the reign of Shah Mirshah of Hamdan; but the destruction of the Kashmirian temples is universally attributed, both by history and by a tradition, to the bigoted Sikander, whose idol breaking zeal procured him the title of But-Shikan, or "Iconoclast." He was reigning at the period of Timur's invasion of India, with whom he exchanged friendly presents, and from whom I suppose he may have received a present of the "villainous saltpetre." This is not at all unlikely, for the furious Tamerlane was as great an idol-breaker as Sikandar himself. Gibbon, it is true, denies that either the Mughals or Ottomans in 1402 were acquainted with gunpowder, but as he points out that the Turks had metal cannon at the siege of Constantinople in A. D. 1422, I think it is no great stretch of probability to suppose that gunpowder itself had been carried into the East, even as far as Kashmir, at least ten or twenty years earlier, that is about A. D. 1400 to 1420, or certainly during the reign of Sikandar, who died in 1416.

Even if this be not admitted, I still adhere to my opinion that the complete ruin of Awantipura temples could only have been effected by gunpowder, and I would then ascribe their overthrow to the bigotted Aurangzeb. Ferishta attributed to Sikandar the demolition of all the Kashmirian temples save one which was dedicated to Mahadeo, and which only escaped "in consequence of its foundation being below the surface of the neighbouring water." In A. D. 158090, however, Abulfazal mentions that some of the idolatrous temples were in "perfect preservation;" and Ferishta himself describes many of these being in existence in his own item, or about A. D. 1600. Besides, as several of them are still standing, although more or less injured, it is quite certain that Sikandar could not have destroyed them all. He most likely gave orders that they should all be overturned; and I have no doubt that many of the principal temples were thrown down during his reign. For instance, the tomb of his own queen in Srinagar is built upon the foundation, and with the materials of a Hindu temple; likewise the wall which surrounds the tomb of his son, Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din, was once the enclosure of a Hindu temple; and lastly, the entrance of a Masjid in Nawashahra of Srinagar, which, according to its inscription, was built during the reign of his son Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din, is formed of two fluted pillars of a Hindu peristyle. These instances prove that at least three different temples, in He capital alone, must have been overthrown either by Sikandar or by one of his predecessors. But as the demolition of idol temples is not attributed to any one of the earlier kings, we may safely ascribe the destruction of the three above mentioned to Sikandar himself. But besides the ruthless hand of the destroyer another agency, less immediate, but equally certain in its ultimate effects, must have been at work upon the large temples of Kashmir. The silent ravages of the destroyer who carries away pillars and stones for the erection of other edifices have been going on for centuries. Pillars from which the architraves have been thus removed have been thrown down by earthquakes, ready to be set up again for the decoration of the first masjid or tomb that might be erected in their neighbourhood. Thus every Muhammadan building in Kashmir is constructed either entirely or in part of the ruins of Hindu temples.

Even at first sight, one is immediately struck by the strong resemblance which the Kashmirian columnades bear to the classical peristyle of Greece. This first impression is undoubtedly due to the distinct division of the pillars into the three members - base, shaft and capital, as well as to the fluting of the shafts. On further inspection the first impression is confirmed by the recognition that some of the principal mouldings are also peculiar to the Grecian orders, but more especially to the Doric. Thus the echinos, which is the leading feature of the Kashmirian capital, is also the chief member of the Doric capital. A still closer examination reveals the fact that the width of the capital is subject exactly to the same rules as that of all the classical orders excepting the Corinthian.

Even the temples themselves, with their porches and pediments, remind one more of Greece than of India; and it is difficult to believe that a style of architecture which differs so much from all Indian examples,

and which has so much in common with those of Greece, could have been indebted to chance alone for this striking resemblance. in Professor Willis admits the probability that the Kashmirian pediments may have been borrowed from those of the Syrian Greeks, and he founds his opinion upon the fact that the trefoiled arch of the Kashmirian temple rises high into the tympanum of the pediment; a practice which was not introduced into the classical architecture until after the commencement of the Christian era. But the l'rofessor had not, I believe, seen any examples of the older Kashmirian buildings, such as the enclosing walls of the temple on the Takht-iSuliman and of the tomb of Zain-ul-Ab-ul-din, as well as the perfect little cave temple of Bhumju. Of these specimens the first dates as early as 220 B.C., at which time the Kabul valley, and even the western Panjab, were occupied by the Bactrin Greeks, under Euthydemus and his son Demetrius. If, therefore, it is admitted that the Kashmirian architects have been indebted to those of Greece, for their pediments, for their fluted columns, or even for any of their minor details, I think that they must certainly have borrowed them from the temples of their immediate neighbours the Bactrian Greeks, and not from the buildings of distant Syrian Greeks; I think also that had these pediments been imitated from the latter Romanized examples the copyist would scarcely have overlooked the structural arches which occupy their pediments. In fact the forms of the principal Kashmirian mouldings, which are all quirked ovolos, or echni, could only have been borrowed from the pure Greek style of an earlier period than the Roman innovation of circular segmental mouldings.

Another striking resemblance between the Kashmirian architecture and that of the various Grecian orders is its stereotyped style, which during the long flourishing period of several centuries remained unchanged. In this respect it is so widely different from the ever-varying forms and plastic vagaries of the Hindu architecture, that it is impossible to conceive their evolution from a common origin. I feel convinced myself that several of the Kashmirian forms, and many of the details, were borrowed from the temples of the Kabulian Greeks, while the arrangement of the interior, arid the relative proportions of the different parts, were of Hindu origin. Such, in fact, must necessarily have been the case with imitations by Indian workmen, which would naturally have been engrafted upon the indigenous architecture. The general arrangement would therefore still remain Infirm, while many of the details, and even some of the larger forms, might be of foreign origin.

As a whole, I think that the Kashmirian architecture, with it noble fluted pillars, its vast colonnades, its lofty pediments and its elegant trefoiled arches, is fully entitled to be classed as a distinct style. I have therefore ventured to call it the "Arian order", a name to which it has a double right: firstly, because it was the style of the Aryas, for Arians of Kashmir; and secondly, because its intercolumniations are always of four diameters, an interval which the Greeks called Araiostyle.

Bhumju or Bumzu or Bhaumajo lies at the mouth of the Liddar valley, and is easily reached from Islamabad.

These caves are situated on the left bank of the Liddar river about a mile north of the village of Bawan, the largest is dedicated to Kaladeva. The cave temple stands at the far end of a natural but artificially enlarged fissure in the limestone cliff. The entrance to the cavern, which is more than 60 feet above the level of the river, is carved into an architectural doorway, and a gloomy passage, 50 feet in length, leads from it to the door of the temple. It is a simple cella, 10 feet square, exterior dimensions, raised on a badly moulded plinth, and approached by a short flight of steps. The square doorway in flanked by two round-headed niches despoiled of their statues, and is surmounted by a high, triangular pediment, reaching to the apex of the roof, with a trefoiled tympanum, There is no record nor tradition as to the time of erection; but from absence of all ornamentation, and the simple character of the roof, which appears to be a rudimentary copy in stone of the ordinary sloping timber roof of the country, it may with great probability be inferred that this is the earliest perfect specimen of a Kashmir temple, and dates from the first or second century of the Christian era. Close by is another cave of still greater extent, but with no architectural accesories; and about half a mile further up the valley, at the foot of the cliff, are two temples, the larger of which has been converted into a Muhammadan tomb. Both are, to a considerable extent, copies of the cave-temple, but may be of much later date.

The shrine of Baba Ramdin Rishi and the tomb of his disciple Ruku din Rishi are also close by. Hugel states that the Bhumju caves occupy a very conspicuous place in the fables of the timid Kashmiris, and are supposed to have originated from the following causes. In the year Kali 2108 (933 B.C.) Raja Nara succeeded his father. Vibishana; during his reign a certain Brahman espoused Chandrasaha, the daughter of Susravas, a serpent-god, whose place was in a lake near the Vitusta, and near a city built and inhabited by Nara. One day, as Raja Nara beheld the beautiful daughter of the serpent on the shore of the lake, moving gracefully through the calm waters, he was struck with the deepest admiration, and endeavoured vainly to inspire the same sentiments he himself felt. At length he resolved to carry her off from her husband, but the plan failed, and the enraged Brahman called on her father to avenge the insult. A storm was accordingly called up, and the earth opened and swallowed up the king and his whole court. The sister of the serpent-god assisted him, and hurled on the city huge stones from the Bawan mountain. The caverns of Bhumju are said to be on the spot where these rocks were uptorn (Huger, Growse).

Awantipura lies on the right bank of the Jhelum and is distant about 18 miles by land from Srinagar.

The ancient capital of Awantipura was called after its founder, the famous king Awanti-Varma, who reigned from A. D. 854 to 883. The whole neighbourhood is strewn with ruins, but the only traces that remain of its former greatness are the two temples which he founded - one before his accession to the throne, and the other and larger one subsequently. Both were dedicated to Mahadeva, the former under the title of AwantiSwami, the latter under that of Awantiswara. These two temples are situated on the bank of the river, one at Awantipura and the other about three quarters of a mile to the north, near the village of Janbior. They are now shapeless masses of ruins, but the gateways of both are standing, and the colonnade of the smaller temple, which had been completely 'buried underground, has recently been partially excavated. The style corresponds with that of the Martand quadrangle; but the semi-attached pillars of the arched recesses are enriched with elaborate carving of very varied character, while the large detached columns are somewhat less elegantly proportioned.

The writer in the Calcutta Review, from whose description the above account has been extracted, is of opinion that the silting up of the Awantipura quadrangle can only be explained by the supposition that all the Kashmiri temples were originally surrounded by artificial lakes. Forster, who visited Awantipura in May, 1783, calls the place Bhyteepour.

Martand lies on the karewa above Islamabad, and is easily reached from Islamabad, Bawan and Athabal.

The ruins of the Hindu temple of Martand, or, as it is commonly called, the Pandu-Koru, or the house of the Pandus and Korus - the Cyclopes of the East - are situated on the highest part of a karewa, where it commences to rise to its juncture with the mountains, about 3 miles east of Islamabad. Occupying, undoubtedly, the finest position in Kashmir, this noble ruin is the most striking in size and situation of all the existing remains of Kashmir grandeur. The temple itself is not now more that 40 feet in height, but its solid walls and bold outlines, towering over the fluted pillars of the surrounding colonnade, give it a most imposing appearance. There are no petty confused details, but all are distinct and massive, and most admirably suited to the general character of the building. Many vain speculations have been hazarded regarding the date of erection of this temple, and the worship to which it was appropriated. It is usually called the House of the Pandus by the Brahmins, and by the people "Martand", or the sun, to which the temple was dedicated. The true date of the erection of this temple - the wonder of Kashmir - is a disputed point of chronology; but the period of its foundation can be determined within the limits of one century, or between A.D. 370 and 500. The mass of building now known by the name of Martand consists of one lofty central edifice, with a small detached with on each side of the entrance, the whole standing in a large quadrangle, surrounded by a colonnade of fluted pillars with intervening, trefoil-headed recesses. The length of the outer side of the wall, which is blank, is about 90 yards; that of the front is about 56. There are in all eighty-four columns - a singularly appropriate number in a temple of the sun, if, as is supposed, the number eighty-four is accounted sacred by the Hindus in consequence of its being the multiple of the number of days in the week with the number of signs in the zodiac. The colonnade is recorded in the Rajatarangini as the work of the famous king Laltaditya, who reigned from A.D. 693 to 729. Frorn the same authority we gather - though the interpretation of the verses is considerably disputed - that the

temple itself was built by Ranaditya, and the side chapels, or at least one of them, by his queen, Amritaprakha. The date of Ranaditya's reign is involved in some obscurity, but it may safely be conjectured that he died in the first half of the fifth century after Christ. The remains of three gateways opening into the court are now standing. The principal of these fronts due west towards Islamabad. It is also rectangular in its details and built with enormous blocks of limestone, 6 or 8 feet in length, and one of 9, and of proportionate solidity, cemented with an excellent mortar.

The central building is 63 feet in length by 36 in width, and, alone of all the temples of Kashmir possesses, in addition to the cella or sanctuary, a choir and nave, termed in Sandkrit the antarala and arddhamandapa; the nave is 18 feet square. The sanctuary alone is left entirely bare, the two other compartments being lined with rich panellings and sculptured niches. As the main building is at present entirely uncovered, the original form of the roof can only be determined by a reference to other temples and to the general form and character of the various parts of the Martand temple itself. It has been conjectured that the roof was of pyramidal form, and that the entrance chamber and wings were similarly covered. There would thus have been four distinct pyramids, of which that over the inner chamber must have been the loftiest, the height of its pinnacle above the ground being about 75 feet.

The interior must have been as imposing as the exterior. On ascending the flight of steps, now covered by ruins, the votary of the sun entered a highly decorated chamber, with a doorway on each side covered by a pediment, with a trefoil-headed niche containing a bust of the Hindu triad, and on the flanks of the main entrance, as well as on those of the side doorways, were pointed and trefoil niches, each of which held a statue of a Hindu deity. The interior decorations of the roof can only be conjecturally determined, as there do not appear to be any ornamented stones that could with certainty be assigned to it. Baron Hugel doubts that Martand ever had a roof, but as the walls of the temple are still standing the numerous heaps of large stones that are scattered about on all sides can only have belonged to the roof.

Cunningham thinks that the erection of this sun-temple was suggested by the magnificent sunny prospect which its position commands. It overlooks the finest view in Kashmir, and perhaps in the known world. Beneath it lies the paradise of the east, with its sacred streams and glens, it orchards and green fields, surrounded on all sides by vast snowy mountains, whose lofty peaks seem to smile upon the beautiful valley below. The vast extent of the scene makes it sublime; for this magnificent view of Kashmir is no petty peer in a half mile glen, but the full display of a valley 60 miles in breadth and upwards of 100 miles in length, the whole of which lies beneath the "ken of the wonderful Martand."

Narastan. In the east of the valley about 35 miles from Srinagar, via Trahat.

This is one of the most interesting ruins in Kashmir. Its situation is very picturesque, looking down the narrow valley, while behind it the ground slopes up towards the lofty mountains of the Brariangan range. The cella stands in a walled enclosure about 65 feet square. This wall, which is about 5 feet thick and 8 feet high to the top of the coping stone, has in some places fallen to the ground. The main entrance is on the west side, through and imposing portico; the outer portal is arched, the pediment possessing the usual characteristics of the Arian order of architecture. It was supported by two columns about 8 feet high, the width of the entrance between the pillars being about 4.5 feet. The outer vestibule measured about 8 feet by 4; in the middle is a square gateway opening into a second vestibule of rather larger dimensions.

In the middle of each of the other three sides of the wall within the enclosure there is a blank arched recess, and on the north side there is also a small square pastern measuring about 3 feet by 2, and a similar one on the west side seems to have led into a square chamber which occupied the south-west corner of the enclosure; this chamber was lighted by a small arched window. Projecting into the enclosure from the southern wall is a small cell about 5 feet square, with a pyramidal roof.

The cella of the temple which occupies the centre of the enclosure is similar in general appearance to those of Payech and Pandrathan, but more imposing in its proportion and elaborate in its details. Each side measures about 15 feet above the plinth. The porch, which is on the west side, projects rather more than 3 feet from the face of the wall.

In the middle of each of the other three sides is a blank trefoil archway corresponding in proportions to the portal. On either side of the vestibule the figure of a Hindu god is carved in bold relief on the panel contained within a trefoil-arched recess.

The inner entrance is a square gateway about 6.5 feet high by 3.5 feet wide supported by pillars; both this and the middle gateway of the north seem to have been fitted with stone doors. The inside chamber is about 8.5 feet square, the walls are blank with the exception of a small arched recess on the south side of the entrance. The flooring is of stone, which has given way in the centre, where probably the lingam stood. About 8.5 feet from the ground there is a cornice, from which the roof seems to have tapered to a point; the walls

are now standing to a height of about 24 feet, and the pinnacle was probably about 10 feet higher. In each side of the roof was a lancet'.

Pandrathan lies on the Srinagar-Islamabad road, and is easily reached from Srinagar.

The place is remarkable for a very old and interesting Hindu temple, standing in the middle of the tank, about 50 yards from the river bank, surrounded by a grove of willows and chenars. The tank is about 40 yards square, and in ordinary seasons 4 feet deep; it is filled with reeds growing in a bed of soft mud; the water is derived from it small springs on its northern side.

Access to the interior is therefore a matter of some difficulty, which is unfortunate, since the domed roof is well worth inspection, being covered with sculpture of such purely classic design that any uninitiated person who saw a copy of it on paper would at once take it for a sketch from Greek or Roman original.

The temple is 18 feet square, with a projecting portico on each side, and displays in a confused exuberance of decoration, more especially the repetition of pediment within pediment and trefoil within trefoil, clear indications of having been built at a later date than other existing ruins; it is probably the most modern example of the true Kashmir style extant. It was erected during the reign of king Partha, who governed Kashmir from A.D. 921 to 931, by his prime minister, Meru, who dedicated it to Mahadeva under the title of Meru Vardhama Swami.

The ground about it was then occupied by the original city of Srinagar, the modem name of Pandrathan being a corruption of the Sanskrit Puranadhishthana, i. e. "the old capital." Dr. Elmslie, however, supposes the name to be derived from Pandu and Durendun, the father of the Pandus. The seat of government had been transferred to the present site by king Pravarasena II nearly 500 years before the foundation of this temple; but the old city was not entirely deserted until its destruction by fire in the reign of Abhimanyum about the year A.D. 960. The conflagration was so violent that, excepting the temple which was protected by the water about it, no other building escaped. There are in the neighbourhood some few fragmentary remains, consisting of two large lingams, one 6 feet high, erect and entire, the other broken into the pieces, the lower part polygonal, the upper round with conical top, which together made up a height of 16 feet. Near these, which are separated from each other by a short interval, is a huge mass of stone, being the feet and legs as high as the knees of a colossal seated figure, probably a Buddhist image. At some little distance beyond this an isolated crag has been cut, as it stood, into some sculptured form, apparently a Chaumukbi, i. e. a square pillar with a figure on each face. But the rock has been overthrown, broken into three pieces, and so defaced by the action of fire that it is impossible to speak positively as to the original design. Of there fragments, one the base is still attached to and forms part of the natural rock. Baron Hugel calls the Pandrathan edifice a "Buddhist temple," and states that there are some well-preserved Buddhist figures in the interior. But he is doubly mistaken, for the temple was dedicated to Mahadeva, and the figures in the inside have no connection with Buddhism.

Trebeck, Moorcroft's companion, swam into the interior, and could discover no figures of any kind, but as the whole ceiling was formerly hidden by a coating of plaster, his statement was at that time perfectly correct.

The object of erecting the temples in the midst of water was doubtless to place them immediately under the protection of the Nagas or human bodied and snake-tailed gods who were zealously worshipped for ages throughout Kashmir (Moorcroft, Hugel, Vigne, Cunningham, Growse). Dr. Stein in his "Tours

Archaeological and Topographical in and about Kashmir" - read before the Royal Asiatic Society, London, November 13.

1894 - speaking of his recent examination of ruins of in Kashmir says. 'In every case where a thorough rat examination of the ruins is still possible, I have found the Naga in a separate, larger or smaller walled basin in front or by the side of the temple irrespective of Pandrathan, which now stands in a en morass, I have come across nowhere a trace of that arrangement, according to which, as has been his frequently assumed, all Kashmirian temples were placed in the middle of tanks."

Patan lies on the Srinagar-Baramula road about the half-way between these places.

It is recorded in the Rajatarangini that Sankaravarma, who succeeded Awantivarma, and reigned from A.D. 883 to 901, in conjunction with his queen. Sugandha, dedicated to Mahadeva. under the title of Sankara Gauresa and Sugandhesvara, two temples at his new capital of Sankarapura. This town is identified with the modern Patan, where beside the highway on the south-east side of the village two stately temples are still standing. Each is a simple cella; but in the larger one, the projection of the closed porches al the sides is so considerable that they form deep niches, or rather shallow chambers, in each of which was once a lingam. In both the architecture is of the same character as at Martand, and of equa] excellence. Here and there the carving is as sharp and fresh as if executed yesterday, but there are many ominous cracks in the walls, and if the forest trees which have taken root in these crevices are allowed to remain and spread, the destruction of both buildings is imminent.

By the wayside to the north of the village, near the hamlet of Gasipur, are two very curious stone pillars which the natives call Gurmat, and believe to have been mortals who for their misdeeds suffered a fate similar to that which befell Lot's wife. These pillars are, however, nothing more than the miniature models of temples which occur here and there throughout the country, but they posses this peculiarity that they are not hollowed out in the interior, the place of the open doorway being occupied by a sculptured panel.

A few letters also remain of an old inscription which Vigne copied and sent to Calcutta, but they were found to be illegible, although bearing some resemblance to Sanskrit (Vigne, Growse)'.

Payech lies about 19 miles from Srinagar, under the Naunagri karewa, about 6 miles from the Jhelum river.

On the south side of this village, situated in a small green space near the bank of the stream, surrounded by a few walnut and willow trees, is an ancient temple, which in intrinsic beauty and elegance of outline is superior to all the existing remains in Kashmir of similar dimensions. Its excellent preservation may probably be explained by its retired situation at the foot of the high tableland, which separates it by an interval of 5 or 6 miles from the bank of the Jhelum, and by the marvelous solidity of its construction. The cella, which is 8 feet square, and has an open doorway on each of the four sides is composed of only ten

stones, the four corners being each a single stone, the sculptured tympanums over the doorways four others, while two more compose the pyramid roof, the lower of these being an enormous mass 8 feet square by 4 feet in height. It has been ascribed by General Cunningham, on grounds which in the absence of any positive authority either way may be taken as adequate, to king Narendraditya, who reigned from A.D. 483 to 490. The sculptures over the doorways are coarsely executed in comparison with the artistic finish of the purely architectural details, and are much defaced, but apparently represent Brahma, Vishnu, Siva and the goddess Durga. The building is said to be dedicated to Vishnu as Surya or the sun-god.

Inside the cupola is radiated so as to represent the sun, and at each corner of the square the space intervening between the angle and the line of the circle is filled up with a gin or attendant, who seems to be sporting at the edge of its rays. It will be observed that the roof has been partly displaced, which is said to have been the result of an attempt made by the Patans to take it down and remove it to the city.

The interior is still occupied by a large stone lingam, and from the water-drain and the bulls carved on the smaller pilasters of the doorways it is evident that this was the original intention (Vigne, Growse).

Takht-i-Suliman. The temple crowning the Takht-i-Suliman is stated to be the earliest of all the temples in Kashmir. Baron Hugel records that its erection is ascribed to Gopiditya of the Gonerdya dynasty, 370 B. C., but later authorities seem to agree that the first religious edifice on this commanding site was built by Jaloka. the son of the great Buddhist convert Asoka, about 20 B.C. In all probability there is not a fragment of this now remaining. The temple was subsequently rebuilt and dedicated to Jyeshtesvara, a title of Mahadeva, by Raja Gopiditya, who reigned from A. D. 253 to 328. To this date may be ascribed the low enclosing wall and the plinth of the existing temple, but all the superstructure is evidently modem or greatly modernized. Its summit has been damaged, but its general figure has been that of a cone, with four sides formed by the rectangular adjustment of eight gable-shaped slabs of masonry, the surface of the outer slab being much less than that of the inner one. The cone, which is about 25 feet in height with proportionate base, rests upon an octagonal raised platform, whose wall is about 10 or 12 feet above the rock on which it is built, and whose circumference may be about 100 feet. A handsome flight of steps, formed, as the whole building is, of limestone, leads from the ground to the door of the temple. At a little distance below the latter building, which rises on the very summit of the Takht, are some ruins that indicate the existence of another edifice of the same material.

The interior is circular, and 14 feet in diameter; the roof is flat and 11 feet high; the walls, which are 8 feet thick, are covered with white plaster composed of gypsum, and the roof is supported by four octagonal limestone pillars. In the centre of the floor there is a quadrangular stone platform; it supports a lingam of black stone, around which is carved a coiled serpent. Upon the hinder of the two pillars on the left there are two Persian inscriptions; that upon the front of it states that the but or idol was made by Haji Hushti, a Soukar, in the year 54 of the Samvat or Hindu era, or about 1,870 years, ago, while that at the foot of the back part of the same pillar states that "he who raised up this idol was Kwaja Rukm, son or Mir Jan, in the year….. "

The remainder of the inscription is below the pavement, and cannot be made out.' Fergusson is convinced that the temple as it now stands was commenced by some nameless Hindus in honour of Siva, during the tolerant reign of Jehangir, and that the building was stopped at the date engraved on the staircase, A.H. 1069 (A.D. 1659), the first year of the reign of the bigot Aurungzeb.

Wangat. About three miles north of Wangat, at the head of the glen, far from all human habitations, are some ruined temples. They are situated high up on the precipitous mountain side, in the midst of dense jungle and towering pinetrees, which lend a more than religious gloom to their crumbling walls.

In antiquity these ruins are supposed to rank next after those on the Takht-i-Suliman, at Bhumju and at Payech. They are in two groups, situated at a distance of a hundred yards from each other, and consisting respectively of six and eleven distinct buildings. The luxuriant forest growth has overthrown and buried almost completely several of the smaller temples; on the summit of the largest a tall pine has taken root and rises straight from the centre, in rivalry of the original finial. The architecture is of a slightly more advanced type than at Payech, the most striking feature being the bold projection and lofty trefoiled arches of the lateral porches.

In close proximity is a sacred spring called Nagbal, and by it the footpath leads up the height of Haramak to the mountain-lake of Gangabal, a celebrated place of pilgrimage. A great festival held annually about August 20, which is attended by thousands of Hindus from all parts of Kashmir. By this footpath the Tilail valley may also be reached.

It is probable that the Wangat temples were erected at different times by returning pilgrims as votive offerings after successful accomplishment of the hazardous ascent.'

25 THE VALLEY OF KASHMIR - RACES AND TRIBES (MAIN)

Walter R. Lawrence

Excerpt: 'THE VALLEY OF KASHMIR' by Walter R. Lawrence

(***Editor's Note***: The population numbers quotes herein are not current and no longer accurate).

It is a generally accepted fact that up to about the beginning of the fourteenth century the population of the valley was Hindu, and that about the middle and end of the century the mass of the people was converted to Islam, through the efforts of Shah-i-Hamadan and his followers and the violent bigotry and persecution of king Sikandar the Iconoclast. Tradition affirms that the persecution of the Hindus was so keen that only eleven families of Hindus remained in the valley. Their descendants are known by the name of Malmas, as distinguished from the fugitives and the Hindus of the Deccan, who came to Kashmir later on and are known as the Banamas. Some historians, however, state the Malmas Hindus to be the descendants of Kashaf, the saviour of the valley, and that the Banamas Brahmans were foreigners, who came from other countries. The Hindus who now live in Kashmir are, with a few exceptions, of the Brahman caste, and though tradition points to the fact that the Levite Brahmans were a powerful and numerous body, exerting great influence over the country and its rulers, there is frequent mention of the fighting class, and it is obvious that a large majority of the old Hindus must have been agricultural Jats of the Vaisya division. There are now no traces of the Jats among the Hindus of Kashmir. But there are still Khattris in Srinagar, known as Bohras and engaged in trade, who are cut off from communion with the Khattris of the Panjab, and there are certain Musalman tribes who trace their origin to Khattri ancestors.

25.1 BRAHMANS

The Brahmans of Kashmir, commonly known as Pandits, are 60,316 in number, of whom 28,695 live in Srinagar and the towns. The rest are scattered about in the villages and are for the most part engaged in agriculture. The Pandits divide themselves into three classes in Kashmir: the astrologer class (Jotish), the priest class (Guru or *Bachabat),* and the working class *(Karkun).* The priest class do not intermarry with either of the other classes, partly because they are regarded as divine and cut off from mankind, and partly because the laity abhor their practice of accepting the apparel of deceased Hindus. But the Jotish and Karkun Pandits intermarry. The Jotish Pandits are learned in the Shastras and expound them to the Hindus, and they draw up the *calendars* in which prophecies are made as to the events of the coming year. The priest class perform the rites and ceremonies of the Hindu religion. The vast majority of the Pandits belong to the *Karkun* class and have usually made their livelihood in the employment of the State. But as State employment became harder to obtain and the numbers of the Pandits increased, the Brahmans of Kashmir sought other occupations, and many of them are in business, while others work as cooks, bakers, confectioners, and tailors. Briefly, it may be said that a Pandit may follow any trade or occupation except those of the cobbler, potter, corn-friar, porter, boatman, carpenter, mason, or fruit-seller. Pandits have been known to adopt the profession of acting and music, and a Pandit now in my employment was once a cavalry soldier in the army of His Highness the Maharana of Oodeypore. In 1894 many pandits were working as daily labourers on the river embankments. As time goes on these intelligent and quick-witted people will no doubt take to new occupations. But at present the Karkun Pandit regards the pen as his natural destiny, and though many have taken to agriculture and many more are looking to land as a means of employment and subsistence, they would infinitely prefer to spend their lives as clerks in some office. The Pandits of the villages consider it no degradation to follow the plough and to carry manure; but the city Pandit, who has not severed himself from the literary atmosphere of the capital, is inclined to look down upon the Brahman agriculturist, and though he will take a wife from the villages he will not, if a man of any position, permit his daughter to marry into a village family. At the present time no Pandit serving out of Srinagar would dream of taking his wife and family with him. In Kashmir, as in other countries, a man's occupation is the chief test of his social position, and it is quite possible that as agriculture becomes more profitable and popular, and as life in the city becomes harder and meaner, posterity may see the position reversed, and the Brahman of the village declining to give his

daughter in marriage to the Srinagar Pandit. The future of the city Pandits is a matter of some anxiety. They have not the keen trading instinct of the natives of the Panjab, and may neglect the chances of commerce which easier communications with India should now offer. They are extremely conservative and short-sighted, and cannot believe that the old system, under which every adult Pandit had a finger in the collection of revenue, has passed away. They are deeply attached to their country, and though Kashmiri Pandits have risen to distinction in India, the large number of unemployed Brahmans of Srinagar will not seek service in the Panjab while it is possible to eke out a bare subsistence in the valley. Every city Pandit is sedulous for the education of his children, and in Srinagar this, thanks to the free schools of the State and the church of England Mission, can be easily acquired. I have had over 500 Pandits trained in mensuration, and the men who have taught them state that they are much quicker than the Panjabis. Their weak point is arithmetic. The Pandits are a handsome race of men, with fine, well-cut features, small hands and feet, and graceful figures. Their women are fairer than those of the Panjab, they are distinctly good-looking, and show more signs of refinement and breeding than the Musalmanis. The Hindu children are extremely pretty.

The Pandits are broken up into numerous *gotras,* or tribal divisions, and though the name of the *gotra is* repeated seven times by the Pandit as he performs his daily ablutions, the outside world rarely hears it mentioned, and the Pandits are known by their *Gram,* or family appellation. There are eighteen known *gotras* among the Levite Brahmans and 103 among the other Brahmans in Kashmir. In one *gotra* there may be many *Krams,* as the following instance will show. Among the Malmas *gotras is* one known as Paldeo Waasgarge, and this *gotra* embraces families belonging to the following *Grams,* or tribal subdivisions: - SopuriPandit, Mala, Poot, Mirakhur, Kadlabauj, Kokru, Bangru, Bakaya, Khashu, Kichlu, Misri, Khar, and Mam. Marriage is forbidden within the gotra, and a man of the Sopuri-Pandit subdivision cannot take a wife from the maidens of the Paldeo Wasgarge *gotra,* nor can he marry into the gotras of his mother, grandmother, or great-grandmother. Among the Banamas Pandits there is a gotra known as the Dattatrye, and from this gotra have sprung the great families of Kol and others less

known, such as the Nagari, Jinse, Jalali, Watal, Neka, Sultan, Ogra, Amin, Moja, Bamjai, Dont, Tota, Sabin, Kissu, Manslal, Singari, Rafij, Balu and Darabi. As will be afterwards shown when discussing the tribes of the Musalmans, the Kram is often the relic of a nickname applied to the ancestor of the subdivision. Thus Sopuri-Pandit points to the fact that the ancestor came from Sopur; Kokru means fowl; Bakaya signifies that the ancestor formed one of a very numerous class in Kashmir, t he revenue defaulter; Khar suggests that the ancestor was connected with the iron trade; Sultan, that the family had close relations with one of the first line of Musalman kings, and so on.

Among the leading Krams may be mentioned the following names: -

Tikku, Razdan, Kak, Munshi, Mathu, Kachru, Pandit, Sipru, Bhan, Zitshu, Raina, Dar, Fotadar, Madan, Thusu, Wangnu, Muju, Hokhu, and Dulu. Of these the members of the Dar family have probably been the most influential, though proverbs suggest that their influence has not been beneficial. The Kashmiri Pandits will not intermarry with the Brahmans of India. It is said that in Raja Seh Dev's time a Musalman in the disguise of a Pandit mixed with the Kashmiri Brahmans and learnt their Sanskrit lore. On this being discovered the Pandits, in order to guard against similar frauds, decided to have no intercourse with foreign Brahmans. The village people always speak of the Pandits as 'Bat'.

The other Hindus of the valley are not numerous. The Bohras or Khattris of Srinagar intermarry among themselves and are engaged in trade and shop-keeping. It is said that in former days some of them were admitted to caste among the Pandits, but at present, though they have adopted the customs and rites of the Brahmans, they enjoy no caste fellowship with them. With the two exceptions that the Bohra woman wears noserings and discards the girdle round her waist, a Bohra of either sex cannot be distinguished from the city Brahman.

The Sikhs of the valley, who were originally Brahmans from the Panjab, have been described in another chapter. They can be distinguished at once from the Brahmans of Kashmir by their method of wearing the hair, by the absence of the effeminate gown among the men, and by their accent, which it always conveys

the impression of being less refined and educated than that of the Pandits. The Sikhs are chiefly found in the Trahal Pargana, Krihun, and Hamal. They are fair cultivators of dry crops, but are far behind the Kashmiri Musalmans in rice cultivation. They look to service as their chief means of livelihood, and in former days were enlisted in the Nizamat regiment, which was maintained for the collection of revenue. At present they obtain service in the State as chaprasis, but they are likely to find the Pandits awkward rivals. They are men of slight build, not bad-looking, and often have light grey eyes. Very ignorant and troublesome tenants, they invariably quarrel with the Musalman Kashmiris, and not infrequently among themselves.

The Mian Rajputs, to which tribe the rulers of Kashmir belong, are found chiefly in the Deosar Tahsil, around the foot of the mountains to the south of the valley, where they have been granted jagirs, or land free of revenue. Formerly they rendered service to the State, but of late years they have remained idle, and this idleness in telling on their character and appearance. Though they still look smart and clean in comparison with the Kashmiri Musalman, there is a great difference between the Mian Rajput of Deosar and his brethren in the Dogra country, and it is to be hoped that the State will find this fine race of men some congenial employment. It is doubtful whether they really like Kashmir, but they seem able to stand the rigour of the winter climate, and some of the Mians have attained to a great age. They have adopted the Kashmir style of architecture, but the house and courtyard are screened from the public view, as the Rajputs are very careful about the privacy of their women.

25.2 MUSALMANS

Of the 883,099 Musalmans of Kashmir 93,575 reside in Srinagar. The rest may roughly be said to form the rural population of Kashmir, as the Musalman inhabitants of the smaller towns are for the most part engaged in agriculture. The census of 1891 does not show the divisions into which the Musalmans of the valley fall but it may be stated that the great mass of the village people come under the head Shekh, and are descendants of the original Hindus, and that though the Saiyads are a numerous community, both they and the Mughals and Pathans are, when compared with the Shekhs, in a great minority.

The Shekh Musalmans of the valley may have retained, for some time after their conversion to Islam, some of the Hindu customs of endogamy within the caste and of exogamy outside the gotra. But there is no trace now of these *customs,* and the different tribal names or Krams are names and nothing more. There is no restriction on mariage, and a Musalman of the Tantre Kram can either marry a Tantre girl or any other maiden of the villages, provided she be one of the agricultural families. The only line drawn is that one must not marry into Saiyad families on the one hand, nor into families of market-gardeners and menials on the other. It would be interesting to trace the origin of the Kram names, although by intermarriage the Krams have ceased to have any individuality or distinction, and to inquire whether the various Krams sprang from a Brahman, Khattri or Vaisya origin. It is supposed by many that Musalmans of the Pandit, Kol, But, Aitu, Rishi, Mantu, and Ganai Kram are descendants of Brahmans who were forcibly converted to Islam in the fourteenth century, and I have tried to trace in the features of the men of these Krams something *of* the clean-cut physiognomy which is associated with the Brahman caste. But I find that the Musalman of the Pandit Kram is exactly like the other Musalmans. Other Krams are believed to have sprung from Khattri origin, as ancient history mentions that the bearers of these names in Hindu times were a military and warlike people. Among these Krams may be mentioned the Magres, Tantres, Dars, Dangars, Rainas, Rahtors, Thakurs, and Naiks. Only one Kram, the Lon, is generally assigned a Vaisya origin, and the Oamars are said to be descendants of Sudras, the lowest of the four Hindu castes.

The whole subject of the Kashmir Krams is fraught with difficulty, and this is increased by the fact that men of low occupations are arrogating high-sounding names. Thus of late years the Dums of Kashmir have steadily assumed the Kram of Ganai, much to the annoyance of the original Ganais. To make matters worse, the gardeners and butchers have also taken a fancy to the Kram name Ganai. The boatmen of Kashmir have seized on the name Dar as a patent of respectability, and Musalmans of the other Krams are now annoying the Ganais and the Dars by asserting that they were originally Dums and boatmen. Some Krams are, however, restricted to men of lowly pursuits, and the Kram name Sufi, which is said by

some to be of Brahman origin is chiefly found among marketgardeners, bakers, and servants. Pal is another such Kram. The barbers of the valley do not aim so high as the butchers and boatmen, and have contented themselves with appropriating the Kram of Thakur; but there is nothing to prevent Abdulla, the Dum, calling himself Abdulla Pandit if he chose. At first the people would laugh, but after a time, if Abdulla Pandit prospered, his descendants would exhibit a lengthy pedigree table tracing their family back to one of the petty Rajas, lord of three villages and possessor of a fort the ruins of which still stand in Abdulla Pandit's village. In making inquiries as to the descent of leading men of villages I have found several such cases, and in one instance went back generations until confronted with the inevitable Raja. But the Raja's descendant, in spite of his wealth and influence, puzzled me, as he was extremely dark-skinned, and it was some time after that I found that the pedigree table was fictitious, and that the man of royal descent was a Dum, who had ingratiated himself with the authorities and had gradually established himself as an agriculturist of the bluest blood. The social system in Kashmir is delightfully plastic, and I know one or two instances of boatmen who have within recent times abandoned their boats and taken to agriculture. These men are now on an equality with the agricultural families and can intermarry with them. Similarly I know of an agriculturist who has degraded himself by taking up the work of a market-gardener, in which the use of poudrette is essential. This man must now contract marriage alliances with other market-gardeners, for he is cut off from the families of the agricultural Musalmans. Again new Krams are springing up. In Zainigir I found a large number of families rejoicing in the Kram 'Chang'. Their ancestor was a man who played on the Jew's harp (chang). Azad, the Pathan tyrant, sliced off the ears of an old an faithful servant because he was slow, and banished him to the Lolab. His descendants are numerous, and their K-ram is Kanachattu, the 'crop-eared'. In the Lolab a young Kram is arising known as Dogra. Two generations have been in the service of the Dogra rulers of the country.

Among the Shekhs must be mentioned the following classes who are more or less connected with the religion of Islam. The Pirzadas, who are descendants of zealous converts to Islam, consider themselves equal to the Saiyads and intermarry with them. The Babas, also descended from zealous converts, are now chiefly religious mendicants. The Rishis are the attendants at shrines established by the old ascetic recluses of Kashmir who were called Rishi, a corruption of the Sanskrit word Rikhi. The Mullahs or priesthood of Kashmir are Shekhs, and may be divided into two classes. The first class includes Mullahs learned in the law, and variously designated as Maulvi, Kazi, Akhund, or Mufti, and Mullahs less learned, who lead the prayers in the mosque, teach children the Koran, and live upon the offerings of the faithful. The second class consists of Mullahs who have fallen in social position and are known as Mals. These wash and prepare the bodies of the dead for burial and dig graves, and they are not allowed to intermarry with the Mullahs or with the villagers. Many Dums and Hanjis have adopted the Kram'Mal', but the Hanjis regard the name as a corruption of the Panjabi word for boatmen *(Malah).*

There is some doubt as to the origin of the Tsak of Chak tribe, which played so prominent a part in the history of Kashmir in the sixteenth century, and it is believed that they were not descendants of the Kashmir Hindus but Musalman Dards from Chilas. There are many families in the valley of the Tsak Kram, but they are in no way distinguished from the other Musalmans. The Kakru families, who are settled in Baramula, are said to be descendants of the Ghakkar tribe, and like the Tsak have no connexion with the original Hindus of Kashmir. The small Musalman traders of the villages all belong to the Wani Kram, and are said to be descendants of Khattri Hindus. About the origin of the Pare, Parar, War and Kambe Krams, nothing is known. Their name is nor mentioned in old histories, and inasmuch as Kram names are very easily manufactured, it is probable that these names were introduced after the conversion to Islam.

25.3 SAIYADS

The Saiyads may be divided into those who follow the profession of religion *(Pir Muridi)* and those who have taken to agriculture and other pursuits. As compared with the Shekh Musalmans they may be regarded as foreigners, though there is practically nothing in their appearance, manners or language which distinguishes them from other Kashmiri Musalmans. Some Saiyad families are much looked up to in the villages, but those who have taken to agriculture are practically on a level with the other villagers, and

intermarry with them. No villager would think of marrying into a Saiyad family of the Pir profession, as such presumption would bring bad luck.

26 RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray

Excerpts - 'EARLY HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KASHMIR' by Dr. Sunil Chandra Ray

26.1 RELIGION

The earliest inhabitants of Kashmir probably cherished some aboriginal beliefs, the details of which are not traceable now. The snake-cult or Naga-worship seems to have been established in the valley from a remote period and undoubtedly had been one of the earliest religions of the land. In the third century B.C., Buddhism seems to have made some headway, converted a large number of people and overshadowed the Naga cult which ultimately sunk into oblivion. Among Hindu gods, Siva either originated or entered the valley sometime before the faith of the Sakya prince made its entrance and was later followed by Visnu, Surya and other Brahminical gods and goddesses. A brief history of the different types of religious cults and beliefs of early Kashmir, may be sketched as follows.

26.2 NAGA-WORSHIP

Kashmir was one of the principal centres of serpent-worship in India. Though detailed evidence is lacking, there is no doubt that snake-worship prevailed in the valley from a very early period.

Regarding the exact date when the snake-cult was prevalent in the land, no direct testimony is available. But there are reasons to believe that in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., it might have been the principal religion of Kashmir. In the *Mahavamsa,* it is said that Asoka's adviser Moggaliputta Tissa sent Majjhantika to preach Buddhism in Kashmir. When the *sramana* reached the valley, he found that Aravala, the king of the Nagas, was ruling over it. Aravala was destroying the corns of the country by hail storm. Majjhantika, however, due to his divine powers remained unaffected from rains and storms. This made the Naga king furious who sent lightning and struck rocks against the Buddhist monk in herder to kill him. But all these went in vain. Then convinced of the great powers of Majjhantika, the Naga king Aravala together with his followers submitted before the monk and accepted Buddhism. This was followed by the conversion into Buddhism a large number of Naga worshippers of KasmiraGandhara.

Hiuen Tsang, who visited Kashmir in the 7th century A.D. relates that according to the native records, Kashmir was originally a dragon lake. A very detailed and vivid account of how the arhat Madhyantika (apparently Majjhantika) rescued the valley of Kashmir from the Nagas, established there the religion of Buddha and settled 500 *arhats* in the country, has been preserved in the Chinese *Vinaya* of the Mula-Sarvasti-vadin sect. The Tibetan scholar Bu-ston, who composed his famous history of Buddhism in the 14th century A.D., points out that when Madhyanti went to Kashmir to preach Buddhism, he found the Nagas presiding in the valley. They at first gave a tough opposition to Madhyantika, but at the end, the Buddhist monk succeeded in subduing the troublesome Nagas.

That Naga-worship prevailed in early Kashmir receives confirmation not only from the accounts of Ceylon, China and Tibet but also from native literatures.

The *Nilamatapurana,* probably a work of the 7th or 8th century A.D., records at great length how Kashmir was created out of water and left to the care of The Nagas of whom Nila, the son of Kasyapa, was the chief. According to this work, in the beginning, human beings could dwell in the valley for six months of the year, i.e., during the summer. In winter, the land was occupied by the Pisacas and human beings had to leave the valley due to excessive cold. Once Nila was satisfied with a Brahmana called Candradeva and agreed at his prayer that men should be allowed to live in Kashmir during the winter also. The Naga king also disclosed to him the rites which were to be observed by the future human inhabitants if they were to live permanently in the valley.

Most of the rites prescribed by Nila are concerned with the nature of worship of popular deities. But there are some festivals which are particularly connected with the worship of Naga or serpent. Thus Nila was worshipped on the festival of the first snowfall. Nila and the Nagas were also 'propitiated on the

Iramanjaripuja festivity which took place in the month of *Caitra.* Another ceremony called Varunapancami was held on the fifth day of *Bhadra* and was connected with the worship of serpent king Nila.

The *Nilamatapurana* also records the names of B the principal Nagas worshipped in Kashmir, the total number of which was 527. The four *dikpalas* of Kashmir, mentioned by the author of the *Nilamatapurana* were four Nagas - Bindusara in the east, Srimadaka in the south, Elapatra in the west and Uttaramanasa in the north. From a remote period, great importance must have been attached to the worship of the Nagas as is shown by the long account of them given in the *Nilamatapurana. A* large number of temples, built near some of the famous springs and undoubtedly early origin of the pilgrimages directed to them, clearly pointed out the popularity of the Naga-cult in ancient Kashmir. The Nagas were supposed, according to the *Nilamatapurana,* to reside in the lakes and springs of the valley. Even now names of places like Vernag, Anantanag, Sernag, etc. show traces of ancient Naga beliefs. That the Nagas were eminently popular deities in the happy valley, is also testified to by Kalhana's Chronicle. According to the *Rajatarangini,* Kashmir was a land protected by Nila, the lord of all Nagas. Even when Buddhism had undermined the Naga beliefs, one of its early kings Gonanda III is said to have reintroduced the pilgrimages, sacrifices and other worship in honour of the Nagas, as they had been before. There is also a story of Susravas Naga, and his alliance with a Brahmana is depicted with much details. King Durlabhavardhana and his scions are ascribed to a family which, according to Kalhana, was Naga in its origin. Naga Mahapadma, the tutelary deity of the Vular lake, is said to have showed king Jayapida, a mountain which yielded copper. Another Naga called Pindaraka deluded the Darad chieftain Acalamangala, who attacked the happy valley during the reign of Ananta. Among the festivals connected with the Naga-cult, Kalhana speaks of the annual festival in honour of the great serpent king Taksaka 'frequented by dances and strolling players and thronged by crowds of spectators' which was celebrated on the 12th day of the dark half of *Jyaistha.* Ksemendra also refers to a Taksakavatra festival in his *Samayamatrka (Samayamatrka,* ii, 88).

That the Naga-cult prevailed in the valley throughout the Hindu rule and even afterwards, seems to be corroborated by the account of Abul Fazal. He tells us that during the reign of Akbar (A.D. 1556-1605) there were in Kashmir 45 places dedicated to the worship of Siva, 64 to Visnu, 3 to Brahma and 22 to Durga, but there were 700 places in the valley where there were carved images of snakes which the inhabitants worshipped.

26.3 BUDDHISM

Buddhism seems to have obtained a footing in Kashmir as early as the 3rd century B.C. The Ceylonese chronicle *Mahavamsa* preserves an account of the introduction of Buddhism in the valley by Majjhantika which has been already noted. That Buddhism was first preached in Kashmir by Madhyantika and that he succeeded in making a large number of converts also receives confirmation from traditions recorded in the Tibetan work *Dul-va* and the account of Hiuen Tsang.

We learn from Kalhana that Kashmir formed a part of the empire of Asoka, who was a follower of Jina, i.e., Buddha. The emperor built in the valley numerous *stupas,* some of which were existing as late as the time of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang's visit. The great emperor, who was zealous always in preaching and disseminating the religion of Buddha throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom and even beyond, seems to have tried his best to spread it in the secluded vale of Kashmir too.

What happened to the state of Buddhism in Kashmir, after the death of Asoka, we do not know. Probably in the 1st century B.C., Kashmir came under the occupation of the Greek king Menander. He was first a lay devotee of Buddha but afterwards left his throne, joined the Sangha and at last became an *arhant.* He created a *vihara* for his co-religionists which came to be known as Milindavihara, after the name of its founder.

The Buddhism of Kashmir entered its golden phase under the patronage of the Kusana king Kaniska and his successors who came to occupy the valley about the end of the 1st century A.D. Kalhana mentions that three Turuska, i.e., Kusana kings, Huska, Juska and Kaniska ruled over Kashmir and founded three

towns called Huskapura (mod. Huskur), Juskapura (mod. Juskar) and Kaniskapura (mod. Kanespur). These Kusana kings were given to acts of piety and built many *viharas, mathas, caityas* and similar other structures. During their powerful rule, the land of Kashmir was, to a great extent, under the possession of the Bauddhas, who, by practicing the law of religious mendicancy, had acquired great renown.

That Kashmir was a great centre of Buddhism under the Kusanas receives further corroboration to from the fact that the fourth Buddhist council took place in Kashmir under the auspices of Kaniska. At the end of the council, Hiuen Tsang informs us, several expository commentaries were written on the *Sutra, Vinaya,* and *Abhidharma.* The original text and its explanation came to be known as Upadesa-sastra and *Vibhasa-sastra.* Kaniska had these treatises engraved on copper plates and deposited them at a *stupa,* apparently situated in Kashmir.

Many great Buddhist scholars resided in Kashmir during the reign of the Kusanas. Of these, Kalhana mentions the name of Nagarjuna who resided at Sadarhadvana, i.e. Harwan. According to Chinese evidence Asvaghosa, Vasuvandhu, Vasumitra, Dharmatrata, Sanghabhadra, Jinatrata and many other scholars lived in Kashmir from the time of Kaniska onwards.

The flourishing state of Buddhism in Kashmir at the end of the Kusana period and afterwards is testified to by archaeological evidence. The site of Harwan yields Buddhist *stupas,* bases of chapels, inscriptions containing the celebrated Buddhist creed *Ye dharma,* etc. From the appearance of Kharosthi numerals on the brick tiles and from the Buddhist inscriptions written in Brahmi characters of about the 4th century A.D., the Buddhist antiquarian objects of Harwan may be assigned to a period round about A.D. 300. A number of terracotta figures, mainly busts or heads of Buddha, Bodhisattva and Buddhist monks have been recovered from another ancient site. Uskur (Huviskapura) and are assignable stylistically to the 4th or 5th century A.D.

Not only the Kusana kings, but local rulers of Kashmir also seem to have patronized the faith of Buddha in the early centuries of the Christian era. One of its early kings, Meghavahana, prohibited the slaughter of animals in his kingdom. He also stopped the killing of animals in sacrifices. Amrtaprabha, the wife of the king, erected a *vihara* for Buddhist monks, which was called Amrtabhavana. Many *viharas* of renown were built by other queens. Kalhana compares the king with Jina, i.e., Buddha and also with Bodhisattvas. All these probably indicate Meghavahana's attachment to the faith of the Sakya prince.

During the reign of Pravarasena (c. 6th century A.D.) his maternal uncle Jayendra built a *vihara* and erected a statue of the 'Great Buddha'. Pravarasena, according to Kalhana, was succeeded by his son Yudhisthira II. Several ministers of his, who bore the names of Sarvaratna, Jaya and Skandagupta obtained distinction by erecting *vihara* and *caityas.* In the *vihara* built by a queen of king Meghavahana, a fine statue of Buddha was placed by Amrtaprabha, the wife of king Ranaditya.

Inspite of the legendary character of the early portions of the *Rajatarangini,* Kalhana's main contention that Buddhism received patronage from the local rulers of Kashmir during the early centuries of the Christian era, seems on the whole, to be based on facts. The Jayendravihara, said to have been founded by Pravarasena's maternal uncle Jayendra, was visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century and Ou-kong about the middle of the next century saw the *vihara* of Amrtabhavana, built by Amrtaprabha, queen of Meghavahana, in a flourishing condition.

A fairly reliable account of the condition of Buddhism in Kashmir from the 7th century onward has been furnished by the accounts of the Chinese travellers Hiuen Tsang and Ou-kong, the Chronicle of Kalhana and some archaeological discoveries made at Gilgit, Pandrethan and Paraspor.

Several Buddhist manuscripts were found out from a *stupa* at Gilgit. The script used in the manuscripts may be assigned to the 6th or 7th century A.D. One of the manuscripts reveals the name of a Sahi king Srideva Sahi Surendra Vikramaditya Nanda who was apparently ruling over the Gilgit region when the manuscripts were deposited. Buddhism was thus flourishing on the northern part of Kashmir sometime about the end of the 6th century A.D. or in the early part of the next under the patronage of Sahi rulers.

To about the same period as the manuscripts of Gilgit, may probably be assigned also a large number of Buddhist sculptures hailing from the village of Pandrethan (ancient Puranadhisthana). Puranadhisthana

was the capital of Kashmir from a very early date. It enjoyed the privilege of being the metropolis until about the end of the 6th century, A.D. when Pravarasena built a new city called Pravarasenapura (mod. Srinagar), which henceforth became the new capital of the valley. From stylistic consideration, the sculptural remains discovered at Pandrethan seem to have belonged to a period when the old city was finally abandoned in favour of the new. Besides two Buddhist *stupas* and the courtyard of a monastery, the objects of Buddhist antiquities found at Pandrethan include two standing figures of Buddha, a seated statue of Buddha, one diademed and ornamented image of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, another fragmentary sculptured relief of Buddha or Bodhisattiva and lastly a relief representation of the birth of Siddhartha.

Hiuen Tsang paid a visit to Kashmir in A.D. 631. He saw in the valley about one hundred *sangharamas* and five thousand Buddhist priests. There were four *stupas* built by Asoka, each of which contained relics of Tathagata. Among the Buddhist *viharas* visited by him specific mention is made of the Juskavihara (mod. Uskur, near Baraarnula) and Jayendra vihara (founded by Jayendra, the maternal uncle of Pravarasana II). The Chinese pilgrim stayed in the court of Kashmir for a couple of years, during which period (with the help of the local clerks) he took copies of a large number of Buddhist scriptures. Evidently, Kashmir was a great centre of Buddhism when Hiuen Tsang visited it.

Hiuen Tsang entered Kashmir during the period of the Karkotas. The kings of the Karkota dynasty were followers of Hinduism and worshipped in general gods like Visnu, Siva and Surya, all belonging to the Hindu pantheon. Nonetheless, some of the monarchs of the dynasty also gave liberal patronage to the religion of Tathagata. Hiuen Tsang was received with favour by one of its early kings, presumably Durlabhavardhana. Durlabha's queen Anangalekha built a Buddhist *vihara,* which came to be known as Anangabhavanavihara. Lalitaditya Muktapida founded one Rajavihara with a large quadrangle and a large *caitya* at Parihasapura. At Huskapura, the noble minded king built another large *vihara* with a *stupa.* A colossal copper image of Buddha was made by him, which is said to have reached up to the sky. At Parihasapura Cankuna, a Tukhara minister of the king erected the Cankunavihara, built a *stupa* and placed there a golden image of Jina. i.e., Buddha. A second *vihara,* together with a *caitya* was built by the minister at *adhisthanantare,* evidently at Srinagara and in this *vihara,* the minister put a brownish image of Buddha Sugata which was brought from Magadha on the shoulders of an elephant. Jayapida Vinayaditya, another celebrated monarch of the Karkota family, set up three images of Buddha and a large *vihara* at his newly founded town Jayapura.

Archaeological excavations carried on at Parihasapura, the city founded by Lalitaditya, have brought to light Buddhist structures - a *stupa,* a mona$tery and a *caitya.* The *stupa* has been identified as the *stupa* of Cankuna, the monastery with the Rajavihara built by Lalitaditya and the *caitya* with a large *caitya* said to have been founded by the same monarch. Among the sculptures discovered at Parihasapura, there are two images of Bodhisattva and one of Buddha. All these, prove to the hilt the popularity of Buddhism in the days of the Karkotas.

The thriving state of Buddhism during the reign of the Karkotas, i.e., during the 7th or 8th centuries A.D. is also attested to by the evidence of the Chinese traveller Ou-kong. Ou-kong came to Kashmir in A.D. 759. He spent four years in the valley in pilgrimages to holy sites and in studying Sanskrit. He learnt the *Silas* and the *Vinayas* of the Mulasarvastivadins at the *Moung-ti-vihara.* The other *viharas referred* to by him are *Ngo-mi-to-po-wan, Ngo-nan-i, Ki-tche, Nago-ye-le, Je-je, Ye-li-te-le* and *Ko-toan.* While Hiuen Tsang saw about one hundred *viharas, Ou*kong noticed more than three hundred *viharas* in Kashmir and innumerable *stupas* and sacred images. This undoubtedly indicates a rise in the popularity of Buddhism in the valley during the Karkotas.

Buddhism seems to have been overshadowed by the growing Vaisnava and Saiva faith which became predominant in the valley in the centuries following the Karkota period. The dynasty of Utpala supplanted the Karkotas about the middle of the 9th century A.D. The founder of this dynasty, Avantivarman, (A.D. 855/56-883) was a staunch follower of Siva and Visnu and the architectural remains which have been discovered from the site of Avantipura, the town founded by the monarch, include some images of Visnu, Siva, and other Brahminical gods, but not a single figure of Buddha or Bodhisattva. But though Buddhism

was in the background, the opinion cherished by some scholars that from the middle of the 9th century on till the advent of the 11th century, the Buddhists fell on evil days and all the kings were anti-Buddhistic in spirit seems to be an extreme view yet to be established beyond doubt. Except Ksemagupta (A.D. 950-958) and Harsa (A.D. 1089-1101), no king of this period is known to have cherished any anti-Buddhistic feeling in their heart. As for Ksemagupta, we learn from Kalhana that he burnt down a Buddhist monastery named Jayendravihara. From this decaying *vihara,* he took away the brass image of Buddha Sugata. The stones of the temple, he utilized for a Siva temple in his own rame. Ksemagupta further confiscated thirty-two villages which belonged to the burnt *vihara* and gave them to Khasa ruler. But the wrath of a cruel eccentric king against a single particular Buddhist monastery should not be taken as an instance of systematic policy of religious persecution adopted by the State against the Buddhists. Moreover, it may be noted, that if Ksemagupta had followed an anti-Buddhist policy, he would have destroyed many of the Buddhist viharas of Kashmir. But as we learn from Kalhana, the king burnt only a solitary Buddhist monastery; and this incident may suggest at most the king's ill-feelings towards a particular monastery which might have been guilty of some gross misdemeanour. It is unfair to infer from this single instance, that the king pursued a policy of anti-Buddhism, when we have no other information to support the view. A remarkably fine statue of the Bodhisattva Padmapani is now preserved in the Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. An inscription engraved at the base mentions its consecration in the reign of queen Didda (A.D. 980-1003). That Buddha was not looked with disapproval in the 11th century A.D. receives further corroboration from the writings of Ksemendra who says that during his time, the birth day of Buddha was observed with great ceremony in the valley.

As for Harsa, it may be said that the king was not merely an anti-Buddhist, but a man having no sympathy, for any religion whatsoever. If he plundered the statues of Buddha, he confiscated alike the images of the Brahminical gods and goddesses. And for all these works of plunder, spoliation and confiscation, the king was actuated not by his enmity towards any particular sect, but by his greed or rather need for money.

Buddhism received patronage from king Jayasimha, who ascended the throne of Kashmir in A.V. 1128. Many Buddhist *viharas* were built or repaired during this period. Pie completed the construction of the Sullavihara, which was started by his uncle, Uccala. Another *vihara,* built by the queen Ratnadevi, also received the king's care. The king's minister Rilhana constructed a *vihara* in memory of his deceased wife Sussala. Sussala was indeed a sincere follower of Buddha, as she is said to have built at the site of the Cankunavihara, of which nothing but the name remained, a stone shrine, residences and other structures. Cinta, the wife of Jayasimha's commander Udaya, built a *vihara*, which included within it, five buildings. One of the ministers of Jayasimha, Dhanya by name, commenced the construction of a *vihara,* but could not complete the structure, due to his premature death. Then Jayasimha, the king himself, made arrangements for the completion of the building and for a permanent endowment.

It is almost definite that Buddha was held in high honour in Kashmir upto the last days of the Hindu rule. A stone inscription, generally taken to have been dated A.D. 1197 has been discovered at Arigon (anc. Hadigrama), about 15 miles south west of Srinagara. The inscription opens with a salutation to Buddha Avalokitesvara and exalts him with glorious titles.

Marco Polo (13th century) states that in his time Kashmir was pre-eminent among the idolatrous countries and it was the very original source from which idolatry had spread around. There were also a number of idolatrous abbeys and monasteries. The superiors who exercised the functions of the abbots in these monasteries were held in great reverence by the mass of the people. If Yule's interpretation that the word 'Idolatry' is an expression meaning Buddhism be accepted, then, we are to admit that the Buddhism enjoyed wide popularity in the valley as late as the end of the 13th century.

The place of Kashmir in the history of Buddhism was great indeed. From the moment Buddhism was preached in the valley. Kashmir became mistress of the Buddhist doctrine and particularly the citadel of the Sarvastivada school. She played a great role in the spread of Buddhism beyond India, to Kandahar and Kabul and Bactria and thence to Central Asia and China. Tibetan Buddhism also drew its inspiration from Kashmir.

26.4 SAIVISM

Detailed separately.

26.5 VAISNAVISM

The cult of Visnu seems to have existed in Kashmir from a very early period. Lack of material, however, prevents us from tracing its origin and early character.

The earliest historical reference to the worship of Visnu occurs in the pages of the *Rajatarangini* where it is said that an image of Visnu Jayasvamin was consecrated by king Pravarasena II. Pravarasena II might have lived about the end of the 6th century A.D. Another image of Visnu Ranasvamin was consecrated by king Ranaditya at or near his capital Pravarapura. Ranaditya, who is credited with a reign of three hundred years is undoubtedly a legendary figure in Kalhana's Chronicle. But the historicity of the temple of Visnu Ranasvamin is amply proved by Jayanta Bhatta's mention of it in the *Agamadambara* and Kalhana's reference to it in his fifth book where he speaks of a visit paid to Ranasvamin by Cakravarman's queen. Mankha (12th century A.D.) in his *Srikanthacarita* refers to his father's worship of Ranasvamin. Jonaraja also mentions Ranasvamin Visnu in his commentary and describes it as *Sripravarapurapradhanadevata.*

With the accession of the Karkotas to the throne of Kashmir in the 7th century A.D., Visnu, the adored deity of the family, came to occupy a prominent position in the Kashmir pantheon. A son of king Durlabhavardhana, called Malhana, built the shrine of Visnu Malhanasvamin, while the king himself consecrated at Srinagari the shrine of Visnu Durlabhasvamin. Durlabhavardhana's grandson Candrapida, who lived in the early part of the 8th century A.D., consecrated the shrine of Visnu Tribhuvanasvamin. His preceptor, Mihiradatta, built a temple of Visnu Gambhirasvamin and his city-prefect Calitaka founded a temple of Visnu Calitasvamin.

The illustrious Lalitaditya came to the throne of Kashmir not long after the death of Candrapida Vajraditya. He too was a great devotee of lord Visnu. Resolved upon the conquest of the world, he built a shrine of KesavaVisnu in the early part of his reign. At Huskapura, he built a splendid shrine of Visnu Muktasvamin and of the town of Lokapunya with some villages he made an offering to Visnu. In the town of Parihasapura, which the monarch constructed in honour of his adored deity, he built the glorious silver statue of Visnu Parihasakesava. At Huskapura, another famous image of Visnu Muktakesava, was made out of gold. A fourth one, that of boar incarnation of Lord Visnu, was founded by him under the name of Visnu Mahavaraha. Lalitaditya consecrated two other silver images of his beloved god, one under the title of Govardhanadhara, and the other under the name of Ramasvamin. The latter image was placed in a stone temple which stood by the temple of Visnu Parihasakesava. Garuda, the *vahana* of Visnu was also a great favourite of Lalitaditya.

Lalitaditya's zeal for Vaisnavism must have shed its light upon those who were near him and who were driven to the same spiritual inclinations. His queen Kamalavati put up a large silver image of Kamalakesava and the king of Lata, named Kayya who was probably a feudatory of Lalitaditya, founded a shrine of Visnu Kayyasvamin.

Some of the later Karkota kings also adhered to the faith of Visnu. Jayapida, the grandson of Lalitaditya built the town of Jayapura, where as Kalhana poetically describes, Kesava showing his quadruple form as well as reclining on the serpent Sesa, has truly taken up his abode, abandoning his residence in Visnu's world. Jayapida's mother Amrtaprabha built a temple of Amrtakesava for the deliverance of her dead son. During the reign of Ajitapida, the ministers Utpala, Padma, Dharma, Kalyana and Mamma built temples of Visnu under the names of Utpalasvamin, Padmasvamin, Dharmasvamin, Kalyanasvamin and Mammasvamin, respectively.

Visnu was also worshipped by the members of the Utpala dynasty who succeeded the Karkotas. Avantivarman (A.D. 855/56-883), the first king of the dynasty built the shrines of Visnu Avantisvamin, even before he became a king. His brother, Suravarman founded a temple of Suravarmasvamin and a *gakula.* Another brother of the king, Samara founded for Kesava in his quadruple form a temple called

Samarasvamin. Mahodaya, the chief door keeper of Sura consecrated a shrine of Visnu Mahodayasvamin, while the king's minister Prabhakaravarman built a temple of Visnu Prabhakarasvamin. Lastly, Suyya, the irrigation minister of Avantivarman built at the new confluence of Sindhu and Vitasta a temple of Hrsikesa Yogasayin.

The popularity of the cult of Visnu in the happy valley during the 8th and 9th centuries is further attested to by a number of images discovered from various ancient ruins. These include a few busts and heads of Visnu which have been recovered from Vijabror, three-faced Visnu figures carved on the walls of the Martanda temple, relief sculptures of Caturbhuja Visnu and Visnu seated between consorts hailing from the.ruins of Andarkoth and four-headed Visnu images from Avantipura and the surroundings.

The development of Vaisnavism in Kashmir, from the 10th century onwards, is evidenced from Kalhana's *Rajatarangini.* Queen Sugandha (a.d. 904-906) built a temple of Visnu Gopala Kesava and her daughter-in-law Nanda founded a temple of Nandikesava. A temple of Visnu Meruvardhandasvami was built by Partha's (A.D. 906-921) minister, Meruvardhana. Yasaskara (A.D. 939-948) started the construction of a temple of Visnu Yasaskarasvamin, which when he died, was left incomplete. The construction, however, was completed by Parvagupta (A.D. 949-950). Bhatta Phalguna, a councillor of Ksemagupta (A.D. 950-958), founded the shrine of Visnu Phalgunasvamin. About the same time, Bhima, the illustrious monarch of the Sahi dynasty, who was the maternal grandfather of Ksemagupta's queen Didda, built a high temple of Bhimakesava. About the end of the third quarter of the 10th century A.D. queen Didda, founded a series of Visnu shrines. The temple of Abhimanyusvamin, she built to increase her deceased son Abhimanyu's merit, while the shrine of Visnu Simhasvamin was erected by her, under the name of her father Simharaja. The queen further built two temples under the name of Visnu Diddasvamin.

The iconoclast Harsa (A.D. 1089-1101) destroyed a large number of Hindu and Buddhist images. The Visnu images desecrated by the dissolute king included the famous Parihasakesava. But king Uccala, who stepped into his shoes in the early years of the 12th century A.D., put up a new image of Parihasakesava. He also adorned the shrine of Visnu Tribhuvanasvamin with *sukavali,* which Harsa had carried off. Lastly, he restored the decayed temple of the ancient shrine of Visnu Cakradhara. All these are indications enough of the king's love and admiration for Vaisnavism.

Vaisnavism was popular even after Uccala's death. Ratnavali, the queen of Jayasimha established Vaikuntllamatlla and other pious buildings. The *gok"`la,* erected by her, far excelled the *gakulas* erected previously. Alamkara, the superintendent of Jayasimba's great treasury *(vrhadganja)* was also a worshipper of Visnu. Amont the later Hindu kings who professed Vainavism, Jonaraja mentions Ramadeva, who renewed the Visnu temple at Utpalapura and Udayanadeva who gave all golden armaments in his treasury to Visnu.

In the Vaisnavism of Kashmir, we find a synthesis of the different Vaisnava cults, which were current in ancient India. In it seems to have mingled, the faith of the Vedic Visnu, the system of the Pancaratra school, the religion of the Satvats and the faith in the cowherd god Gopala Krsna. Rama was worshipped as an incarnation of Visnu, but there is no definite evidence of the existence of Rama-cult in early Kashmir.

Among the various incarnations of Visnu, Varaha (boar), Krsna and Nrsimha (man-lion) were most popular. Lalitaditya built a temple of Mahavaraha ~lnd iconograhic representations of boar, man and lion-faced Visnu come from the temple of Martanda (8th century A.D.) as well as from the ruins of Avantipira (9th century A.D.). Rama, as an incarnation of Visnu seems to have been worshipped in the 8th century A.D. The Nilamatapurana refers to the celebration of Buddha's birthday festival, and this was a step towards the Buddha becoming an *avatara* of Visnu. The *avataravada* of Kashmir was, however, thoroughly systematised by the 11th century A.D. and in Ksemendra's *Dasavataracarita,* we find a list of the ten incarnations of Visnu under the names of Matsya, Kurma, Buddha and Karkya.

Varaha, Narasimha, Vamana, Parasurama, Srirama, Srikrsna.

26.6 Minor gods and goddesses of the Hindu Religion

Besides Visnu and Siva, there were many other minor Hindu gods and goddesses in the early Kashmirian pantheon. The most important of them include Surya, Karttikeya, Ganesa, Agni, Laksmi, Durga, Ganga, Yamuna and Kamadeva, of whose worship we have real literary evidence; some of their images too have survived.

The worship of Surya was probably brought into the valley from Iran at an early period. The Sakas and the Kusanas who ruled over Kashmir in the early centuries of the Christian era, seem to have been responsible for its introduction. Paucity of evidence, however, prevents us from making any definite assertion on the point or from tracing the early character of the cult.

Ranaditya, a king of ancient Kashmir, is said in the *Rajatarangini* to have built at the village of Simharotsika a temple of Martanda, which became famous everywhere under the name of Ranapurasvamin. But Ranaditya is a legendary character in the ancient history of Kashmir and the village Simharotsika or the Martanda temple, said to have been founded by him, cannot be located. In the 8th century A.D., Lalitaditya erected the shrine of Aditya at the town of Lalitapura. He built another massive stone temple of Surya under the name of Martanda, the ruins of which have survived.

The sun worship continued to be in vogue in Kashmir long after the death of Lalitaditya. King Suravarman II (A.D. 939) paid homage to the temple of the Sun-god Jayasvamin. The copper image of Surya, called Tamrasvamin, was one of the most celebrated shrines of the valley in the 11th century A.D. Kalhana's remarks that Kashmirian king Kalasa (A.D. 1063-1089) sought refuge with Martanda to have his life and presented a gold statue at the god's feet, prove the popularity of Sun-worship at that time. Kalasa's son Harsa (A.D. 1089-1101), who destroyed a large number of divine images, spared the image of Martanda, either out of respect or out of fear.

The ruins of the temple of Martanda clearly show with what grandeur and pomp, love and devotion, the god was worshipped. No image of the Sun-god has yet been recovered from any part of the valley. There is however, in the right panel of the eastern wall of the ante-chamber of the temple of Martanda, a representation of Aruna, the charioteer of Surya, holding the reins of his seven horses.

Karttikeya worship in early Kashmir is borne out by the discovery of a fine six armed image of the generallisimo. Though the image can not be ascribed to any definite chronological setting, its bold execution indicates a Deriod round about the

9th century A.D. Another standing figure of Kumara, along with an Ardhanarisvara image, has been found among the ruins of Avantipura and may be dated to the period of Avantivarman's rule (A.D. 855/56-883). The *Nilamatapurana,* which was probably composed in the 8th century A.D. refers that the worship of Karttikeya was performed on the 6th of lunar Caitra every year and this was supposed to ensure the welfare and safety of the children of Kashmir. In the *Rajatarangini,* there is mention of the foundation of one Skandabhavanavihara by a Kashmirian minister Skandagupta. Though at a comparatively modern period the place was associated with the worship of Karrtikeya. Stein is probably correct In nits assumption that in early times it was a Buddhist *vihara,* seems to suggest his personal association with the god.

Ganesa, the brother of Skanda according to the Hindu mythology, was one of the popular gods of the valley of Kashmir. According to Kalhana an image of Vinayaka Bhimasvamin existed as early as the days of Pravarasena II (c. 6th century A.D.) and received regular worship. A stone image of Ganesa, along with an Ardhanarisvara image, mention of which has already been made, was found amidst the ruins of Avantipura and may be dated to the second half of the 9th century A.D. Several terracotta plaques, containing the figure of the elephantheaded god, evidently works of local craftsmanship have also been recovered from the site of Avantipura. That Avantipura was a centre of Ganesa-worship receives further corroboration from Ksemendra who says that bowls of sweets offered to Lord Ganesa were resold in the town of Avantipura. We learn from the *Nilamatapurana* that the 8th of the darker Asadha of every year was dedicated to the worship of Ganesa and went by the name of Vinayaka-Astami. The worship of Vinayaka had also to be performed on the eve of the anointing ceremony of the king.

No sculptural representation of Agni or Fire god has yet been discovered from Kashmir. A passage from the *Rajatarangini,* however, refers to the worship of the Fire god and records that king Uccala's father Malla, observed from his earliest time the cult of a sacred fire. As Stein has pointed out, there was probably a shrine of the god of Fire SvayambLu at Suyam, a place situated about half a mile from the present village of Nichhom. The temple of fire god Svayambhu was destroyed, it may be presumed, by Harsa and the decayed building was restored by Uccala. King Uccala is also said to have started once on a pilgrimage to Svayambhu.

Laksmi, the goddess of wealth, was quite a popular deity. King Pravarasena II (6th century A.D.) is credited with the establishment of five shrines of the goddess Sri. An image of Laksmi has come from the historic town of Vijabror, modern Brar. From stylistic consideration, the sculpture may be assigned to about the 6th century A.D. Another beautiful stone figure of the goddess seated on a throne, supported by a pair of lions, with elephants on each side pouring water over her head, has been discovered from the Avantisvami temple, and is apparently of the 9th century A.D. Kalhana records that during the reign of Unmattavanti (A.D. 937-939), a Brahmana of well-known velour, named Rakka, raised an image of the goddess Sri under the appellation of Rakkajayadevi.

Worship of Sakti, the energetic principle, seems to have been widely prevalent. In the worship of goddess Durga, who is but an embodiment of Sakti, animal sacrifices played an important part. Goddess Sarada was one of the most celebrated deities of the valley in early times and she was nothing but Sakti embodying three separate manifestations. References to 'Matrcakra' are frequently met with in the *Rajatarangini* and sculptured images of *sapta matrkas,* such as Brahmani, Mahesvar, Kaumari, Indrani, Vaisnavi, Varahi and Camundi have been recovered from Pandrethan. A lifesize separate sculpture of Varahi, representing a young woman with the face of Varahi, discovered among the ruins of Kashmir, is now preserved in the Lalmandi Museum, Srinagara. Though the *sapta matrkas* were originally Sivaite in origin, there is no doubt that afterwards they became the actual cult emblems of the devout Saktas.

Representations of the goddess Ganga, sometimes accompanied by the goddess Yamuna, are found among the old sculptures of the valley, but they do not seem to have any particular cult associated with them.

Two similarly sculptured relief found in the Avantisvami temple have been generally interpreted as representations of the god Visnu accompanied by Laksmi and another goddess (Bhumi?). But according to Vogel, the amorons attitude of the central personage and his attributes, a bow and an arrow ending in a flower, indicate that here we have an inconographic representation of Kamadeva seated between his wives Rati and Priti. There is literary evidence to Kamadeva's popularity in ancient Kashmir. According to the *Nilamatapurana* the 13th of lunar Caitra was devoted to the worship of Kamadeva.

27 RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

P. N. K. Bamzai

Excerpts: 'CULTURE AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF KASHMIR: Volume 2 - by P.N.K. Bamzai

While the fascinating valley of Kashmir was yet under the rule of the Hindu Lohara dynasty and Kalhana was giving his final touches to his monumental history, the Rajatarangini, North-West India was witnessing the end of an era. The old order was changing rapidly with the advent of Muhammadan rule. Though the Islamic movement was of relatively recent growth, it was yet powerfully forcing itself on the ancient and firmly established social and religious institutions of the country. There was "a clashing of fundamental convictions, a conflict of realism with idealism, of the material with the visionary, of the concrete with the abstract." New values were being set up in art and literature and a chain of action and reaction resulted in a slow and imperceptible synthesis of the two fundamentally opposite cultures.

27.1 Spread of Islam

Perhaps the best example of this synthesis is provided by medieval Kashmir which, as mentioned earlier, came under the influence of the new religion peacefully and was spared the violent birthpangs that ushered in the new order in the rest of the country. For over two centuries following Mahmud Ghazni's expeditions to north and west of India, Kashmir sealed itself up behind its mountain ramparts, secure against the attacks of the zealous armies of Mohammadan invaders. But cultural influences and ideas could not be shut out, howsoever high the enclosing walls might be. Islamic missionaries and adventurers carried the teachings of the new religion into the Valley. Most of these missonaries belonged to one or the other of the Order of Sufis from Persia and Bukhara. How these saints and their teachings influenced the already rich cultural heritage of Kashmir will be clear from a reference to the development of Sufism and its propagation in the Valley by devoted and selfless missionaries.

27.2 Islamic Mystics

Islam on coming into contact with Mahayana Buddhism in Central Asia and in some parts of Persia, could not but be influenced by its philosophic thought, and the devotion and ardour of its monks. The religious tolerance and harmlessness to all life as taught by its scriptures had a moderating effect on a good proportion of the followers of the new faith. It was, therefore, a matter of time when in the process of the synthesis of the two religions, there should evolve a new school of Islamic mystics - the Sufis.

By the end of the ninth century, Islam had begun to ossify itself into a system of formulas and observances and Sufism appeared as a reaction of the spirit against the letter. There was felt a need for a 'heart' religion and the Brahmanic Pantheism and Buddhistic Nihilism alike teaching the unreality of the seeming world, attracted the attention of the Sub doctors, although their mysticism is less intense and practical but more airy and literary in character.

Mysticism, therefore, made great progress in Persia and assumed the character of a sect there. A certain Abu Sayyid was the first who advised his disciples to forsake the world and embrace a monastic life in order to devote themselves exclusively to meditation and contemplation; a practice borrowed from the Hindu and Buddhist religions. The disciples of Abu Sayyid wore a garment of wool (suf) whence they received the name of Sufis.

Sufism spread more and more in Persia, the home of a people imbibed with the teachings of various Asiatic religions and was enthusiastically embraced by those who wished to give themselves up undisturbed to philosophical speculation. In its first form Sufism was quite compatible with Muslim dogma. It was satisfied to profess a contempt for life and an exclusive love of God, and to extol ascetic practices, as the fittest means of procuring those states of ecstasy during which the soul was supposed to contemplate the Supreme being face to face. But by degrees, thanks to the adepts whom it drew from the ranks of heterodoxy, Sufism departed from its original purpose and entered upon discussions respecting the Divine nature which finally led to Pantheism. The increasing tendency towards Pantheism and ascetic

practices are thus the main scope of Sufism. The former was the result of contacts and discussions with the followers of Hindu philosophy and the latter was borrowed from Buddhist monkery in Central Asia. "The great movement of mysticism, in spite of the Greek and Indian origin of much of its philosophical skeleton and terminology, is the most significant genuinely Islamic contribution to the religious experience of mankind."

Its principal argument was that God being one, the creation must make a part of His being, since otherwise it would exist externally to Him and would form a principal distinct from Him, which would be equal to looking on the universe as a deity opposed to God. In their view, God is immanent in all things and is the essence of every human soul. There is not only no God but God, but no being, life or spirit except the being, life and spirit of God. These doctrines shocked the orthodox Muslim opinion and in the reign of Moktadir, a Persian Sufi named Haltaj, who taught publicly that every man is God, was tortured and put to death.

Several of the chief dervish orders took their birth from various accomplished Sufis - Abdul-al-Jilani, who founded the Qadirya Order; Ahmad-ul-Rifai, the Rifaiya; Jalal-ud-din Rumi, the Mawaliya; etc. Rumi who was the most uncompromising Sufi was the greatest Pantheistic writer of all ages. Of the later Order may be named the Naqshbandya, which has been the most important in the Khanates of Turkistan.

There were too among the Naqshbandyas exercises in the restraint of breathing, strongly remniscent of the yoga exercises of the Hindus. There is much in common between the Saiva philosophy and Sufism. The cardinal doctrine of Sufis that all forms of religion are equal appealed to intellectuals of the age.

27.3 Sayyid Bulbul Shah

It was thus fortunate that Islam entered Kashmir from Central Asia, the land which owed so much to Kashmir in the realm of art and philosophy. The first name associated with the propagation of the new faith of whom we find a record in the annals of Kashmir, was Bulbul Shah. He appears to have deeply impressed the people by his personal example, his methods of preaching and persuasion, at a time when the fortunes of the ruling dynasty were in the melting pot and the people were passing through a period of political instability, heavy taxation, and crushing burdens of feudalism. Above all, he was responsible of initiating the new ruler into the fold of Islam and thus elevating it to the status of State religion.

Bulbul Shah or Sayyid Bilal Shah is said to have visited Kashmir first in the time of King Sahadeva, the predecessor of Rinchin. He was a widely travelled Musavi Sayyid from Turkistan, and was a "disciple of Shah Niamatullah Wali Farsi, Khalifa of the Suhrawardi Tariq or school of Sufis founded originally by Sheikh Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardi. The circumstances which led to the conversion of Rinchin to Islam have already been mentioned. Suffice it to say here that with this first success of his mission, Bulbul Shah acquired great influence in the Valley and very soon he effected the conversion of Rinchin's brother-in-law and commander-in-chief and several others to his creed. The first mosque was built at the place now called Bulbul Lankar, below the fifth bridge in Srinagar. Bulbul Shah died in 1327 AD and lies buried near the mosque. His lieutenant, Mulla Ahmed, carried on the mission till his death in the reign of Sultan Shihab-ud-din and is buried near the grave of his preceptor. The Mulla was made the first Sheikh-ul-Islam and is the author of two books, Fataw-i-Shihabi and Shihab-i-Saqib.

27.4 Sayyid Ali Hamadani

After Bulbul Shah came other Sufis, like Sayyid Jalal-ud-din of Bukhara; and Sayyid Taj-ud-din who arrived in the reign of Sultan Shihab-ud-din (1354-73 AD) and was accompanied by Sayyid Mas'ud and Sayyid Yusuf, his disciples. But the most prominent among the Sufi missionares was Sayyid Ali Hamadani who "by his learning, piety and devotion is said to have made 37,000 converts to Islam." Known in Kashmir as Shah Hamadan he may well be said to have practically established Islam in Kashmir and laid its foundations well and true.

The great Sayyid, also known as Amir-i-Kabir or the great Amir was born at Hamadan in 1314 A.D. His geneology can be traced to Hazrat Ali through Imam Husain. Born in a family with traditions of scholarship and piety, Sayyid Ali learnt the holy Quran by heart while in his teens. He studied Islamic

theology and learnt the secrets of Sufi doctrines and practices under the tuition of his learned uncle, Sayyid Alau-ud-din Simnani. Later he became the spiritual disciple of Sheikh Sharaf-ud-din Muzdaqani who advised him to complete his education by extensive travels in foreign countries. For 21 years Sayyid Ali journeyed from one country to the other and came in contact with contemporary scholars and saints of note. When he returned in 1370 AD he found that the political conditions in Persia had undergone a change during his absence and Timur who ruled Persia had unleashed a policy of repression against the Sayyids, forcing most of them out of the country. Sayyid Ali Hamadani accompanied by 700 more Sayyids, left Persia to escape the tyrannical rule of Timur and entered Kashmir in 1372 AD. Sultan Shihab-ud-din was the reigning king. The Sultan was at that time on one of his military expeditions against the ruler of Kabul and his brother, Qutb-ud-din had the honour of receiving the party of Sayyids and waiting upon them for four months, after which they left on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Seven years later (in 1379) Shah Hamadan again visited the Valley and stayed there for over two and a half years. He paid a third visit to Kashmir in 1387, but had to leave early on account of ill-health. While at Pakhli in Hazara district, he had a relapse and passed away in 1384. His disciples carried the dead body to Khutlan where it lies buried. A monument to the Sayyid stands at Pakhli, of which, writes Babar in his Diary," I made the circuit (tawaf) when I came and took Chaghan-Sarai in 920 AH (1514 AD)".

Sayyid Ali Hamadani was a versatile genius, a great saint and a scholar. He wrote profusely on Sufism and elucidated several earlier works on the subject. Although a great authority on theology and philosophy, he did not disdain to write on such varied secular subjects as jurisprudence, political science and the science of physiognomy. Author of more than a hundred works on logic, ethics, and other subjects in prose, Sayyid Ali also wrote Persian poetry of no mean order. His odes are naturally Sufistic and his mystical poems illustrate his broad humanistic outlook on life and religion.

Sayyid Ali's visits to Kashmir, particularly the one in 1372 when he was accompanied by 700 Sayyids who had to leave Persia following Timur's invasion of that country and his decision to exterminate the Alavi Sayyids of Hamadan, had a profound influence on the spread of Islam in the Valley. A leader of the great Naqshbandya Order of Sufis, founded by his contemporary Khwaja Muhammad Bahau-u-din Naqshband (1319-89) of Bukhara, Sayyid Ali Hamadani obtained great influence over the ruler, Sultan Qutb-ud-din. He was received with great warmth and respect and lodged along with his followers in a hospice in the Alaudinpura quarter of Srinagar. Some of his learned followers visited the remote corners of the Valley and by their religious discourses effected the conversion of a large number of people to Islam.

Till then the new religion had not made any appreciable headway in the Valley, even though the Sultans had been its followers. The majority of the people being still Hindu, the Muslims had nothing to distinguish them in dress, manners and customs from their compatriots. In Alaudinpura, for instance there was a temple which was visited every morning both by the Sultan and his Muslim subjects. To avert the recurrence of famines "the king performed a Yagna in the month of Bhadra, and distributed large gifts." In contravention of the Islamic teachings he had two wives who were sisters. Sayyid Ali disapproved of these practices and in accordance with his advice, Qutb-ud-din divorced one of the sisters and retained the other. He also advised the Sultan to adopt the dress common in Muslim countries. However, "anxious not to antagonise his non-Muslim subjects, Qutbud-din did not follow every advice of the Sayyid, but he held him in great reverence and visited him every day. Sayyid Ali gave him a cap which, out of respect, the Sultan always wore under his crown. The subsequent Sultans followed the same practice until the cap was buried along with the body of Fateh Shah according to the latter's will."

That Sayyid Ali Hamadani's deep scholarship and his spiritual attainments were responsible for the furtherance of the conversion of the Valley to Islam, goes without saying. He came in contact with the popular Saiva teacher Lalleswari and the great Sufi Saint Sheikh Nur-ud-din, and had long disourses with them on spiritual and philosophic subjects. Lallewari's association with Shah Hamadan was due to an identity of the faith of Sufis and Hindu mendicants and saints in Kashmir. The Sufis had charm of manners and attractive personalities and treating all religions alike they naturally preferred the faith to which they themselves belonged and which their patrons favoured. It was, therefore, natural that they

should have influenced the people among whom they lived and worked and thus facilitated the peaceful propagation of Islam among the people in Kashmir.

27.5 Mir Muhammad Hamadani

Sayyid Ali Hamadani's work was continued with greater vigour by his disciples and more particularly by Mir Muhammad Hamadani. Born in 1372, Mir Muhammad was only 12 years old at the time of his father's death, and his education in theology and Sufism was conducted under the prominent admirers and followers of his father - Khwaja Ishaq of Khutlan and Maulana Nur-ud-din Jafar of Badakhshan. He soon attained preeminence as a scholar and saint and arrrived in Kashmir with 300 Sayyids when only 22 years of age. This influx of a large number of Sayyids into Kashmir was no doubt the direct result of the tyranny and self-assertion of first the Mongols and then of Timur. "They were attracted to the Valley owing to the peace that prevailed there compared to the social and political upheavals that were characteristic of Central Asia and Persia during this period. Moreover; they also came on account of the patronage that was extended to them by the Sultans."

Mir Muhammad stayed in the Valley for about 22 years and then left to perform the Hadj pilgrimage. The presence of a large number of Sayyids, imbued deeply with the Sufistic doctrines and practices stimulated the tendency to mysticism among Kashmiris for which Saivism and Buddhism had already laid a foundation. This was mainly responsible for not only the adoption of Muslim faith by the general mass of people, but moulding their character and outlook on life on a humanistic and tolerant plane.

But not all the Sayyids who entered Kashmir during this time were devout Sufis. Many of them upheld the orthodox and puritanic views on Islam. In order to gain favours and privileges from the Sultans, they actively interfered with the politics of the State. This culminated in the narrow-minded religious policies adopted by Sultan Sikandar and his minister, Malik Suha Bhatt, who embraced Islam at the hands of Mir Hamadani. In contrast to the peaceful propagation of Islam by the earlier Sufis, throughout example and precept, Malik Suha Bhatt, with the active support of Sultan Sikandar, indulged in forcible conversion of Brahmins and wholesale destruction of their temples. A strong reaction during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-abidin against this policy resulted in the proclamation of complete freedom of conscience and tolerance to all beliefs.

But the mode of conversion adopted by Suha Bhatt and Sikandar naturally brought about its own revenge, and reacted on their concept of Islam. The converts, and through them their leaders, were unable to resist the Hindu philosophy and trend of thought. This resulted in the emergence of a remarkable School or Order of Sufis in Kashmir - the Rishis - who wielded enormous influence on the religious and philosophical beliefs of the people, and moulded their mind and set up the ideal of religious tolerance and abiding faith in the grace of God.

27.6 Sheikh Nur-ud-din alias Nand Rishi

Foremost among them was Sheikh Nur-ud-din, the patron-saint of Kashmir. Revered alike by the Hindus and Muslims of Kashmir, Sheikh Nur-ud-din alias Nand Rishi, or Sahazanand, was born in 1377 AD at Kaimah, a village two miles to the west of the important town of Bijbihara (ancient Vijayesa), 26 miles from Srinagar on the Jammu road. His ancestors belonged to a noble family of Kishtwar and had emigrated to the valley. His father, Salar Sanz, was a pious man and came under the spiritual influence of a Sufi saint, Yasman Rishi, who arranged his marriage to Sadra Maji. The child of their union was Nand Rishi, the great founder of the Order of the Rishis of Kashmir.

In his very childhood Nand Rishi gave proof of his saintly nature. He held himself aloof from the daily affairs of the family and though apprenticed to several trades, showed no inclination for any of them. Finally he gave up the world, lived in a cave for 12 years practicing penances which reduced him almost to a skeleton. His fame as a saint and the glory of his spiritual attainments travelled far and wide, attracting to him a great number of followers. Though unable to read and write, he gave utterance to hundreds of beautiful Sayings which furnish the Kashmiri literature with gems having both a terrestrial as well as celestial meaning. Concise, and objective in their approach, they have been stamped in people's

memories. They are collected and preserved in two volumes called the Rishi Nama and Nur Nama; but because of the transliteration in the Persian alphabet, many of them are not easily deciphered.

Nand Rishi exhorted his followers to perform good actions. That he said, was the secret of happiness in this world as well as in the life to come;

The dog is barking in the compound,
O Brothers! give ear and listen to (what he says):
"As one sowed, so did he reap;
Thou, Nand, sow, sow, sow !"

Of his experiences in a lonely cave where he led an austere life, he says:

The cave seems to me to be a celestial castle;
The quilt seems to me to be a silken garment.
I play with the rats as if they were creatures of good omen to me.
One year seems to me to be one single hour.

He preached that all men should lead disciplined lives and none should fall a prey to worldly desires:

Desire is like the knotted wood of the forest,
It cannot be made into planks, beams or into cradles;
He who cut and felled it,
Will burn it into ashes.

Religious schisms were raising their head in his time and Nand Rishi warns the Kashmiris against the snares of false prophets in the following terms:

I saw a priest blowing out fire (and)
Beating a drum to others:
The priests have nice big turbans on their heads;
They walk about daintily dressed.
Dressed in priestly robes they indulge in mutton,
They run away with cooking pots under their arms.

He ridicules the pretentious nature of a priest, addressing him thus:

The rosary is like a snake;
Thou bendest it on seeing the disciples;
Thou hast eaten six platefuls, one like another;
If thou art a priest then who are robbers.

Nand Rishi also left what might be called a note on the state of the world to come:

During this Iron Age I found liars prospering;
In the house of the pious I found grief born of poverty.

He constantly advised the seeking of good company and shunning the bad, contrasting the two in forceful terms. He showed that rogues will always wrong the good, attacking them with dishonest words if one lacked in care and gave them such opportunities:

Spend thy days with the good -
The shah-wulga (one of the best kinds of rice) will get pounded,
Never go about with the wicked -

Do riot walk close to pots covered with
soot (else thou shalt get soiled.)

He also held that devotion to God lay in leading a disciplined life. It availed men nothing to carry out the rites and rituals of religion in a cold and mechanical manner.

Having washed thy face, thou host called the believers to prayer;
How can I know, 0 Rishi, what thou feelest in thy heart,
or what thy vows are for?
Thou host lived a life without seeing (God);
Tell me to whom didst thou offer prayer.
by thou listeneth to truth, thou oughtest to subdue the five (senses)
If thou lowereth only the fleshy body, the fleshy body will not save thee;
If thou maketh union witli Siva,
Then only, O Rishi Mali, will prayer avail thee.

Of true worship he says:

Do not go to Sheikh and priest and Mullah;
Do not feed the cattle on arkhor (poisonous) leaves;
Do not shut thyself up in mosques or forests;
Enter shine own body with breath controlled in communion with God.

Sheikh Nur-ud-din acquired enormous influence over the people of Kashmir and when he passed away at an advanced age, King Zain-ul-Abidin himself was the chief mourner at his funeral. His grave at Tsrar Sharif is an object of pilgrimage, Kashmiris of all religions and communities flocking to it every year. The extent of the veneration in which his memory has been cherished may be gauged from the fact that nearly four centuries after his death, Atta Muhammad Khan, an Afghan governor, in order to win the sympathy and support of the people of Kashmir, struck coins in the name of Sheikh Nur-ud-din. No other saint perhaps in human history has ever had coins struck in his honour.

27.7 The Order of Rishis of Kashmir

During his lifetime Nand Rishi founded an Order of Rishis, and it is noteworthy that this Order had members from amongst Hindus and Muslims and commanded the respect and homage of all Kashmiris, irrespective of their caste or creed. Janak Rishi of Aishmuqam, Rishi Mol of Anantnag, Bata Mol. Rishi Pir, Thagababa Sahib of Srinagar, belonged to the same Order. The political, social and economic travail and suffering through which the land had to pass, was considerably lightened by the comforting words and kind acts of these highly advanced souls. To them goes the credit of keeping the people firm to the ideals of love and toleration. They lived among the common people, shared their troubles and pains. No better tribute can be paid to them than that recorded by Abut Fazal:

"The most respectable people of Kashmir are the Rishis who, although they do not suffer themselves to be fettered by traditions, are doubtless true worshippers of God. They revile not any other sect and ask nothing of anyone; they plant the roads with fruit trees to furnish the traveller with refreshments; they abstain from flesh and have no intercourse with the other sex. There are two thousand of these Rishis in Kashmir."

Jehangir was also impressed with their piety and utter self-abnegation. In his *Memoirs* TUZK-I-JEHANGIRI he speaks of these Rishis as possessing simplicity and though not having religious knowledge or learning, being without presence. "They restrain the tongue of desire and the foot of seeking," continues he in his florid style," and eat no flesh. They have no wives, and always plant fruit-bearing trees in the fields so that men may benefit by them, themselves desiring no advantage."

Every district and village had its *Asthan* where a Rishi took his abode and practiced meditation. Their graves and relics are objects of respect and veneration to this day. The shrines attest to their founders' austerities and virtues. "Associated as they are with acts of piety and self-denial," observes Lawrence, "the *Ziarat* are pleasant places of meeting at fair time, and the natural beauty of their position and surroundings afford additional attraction. Noble brotherhood of venerable trees, of chinar, elms and poplar with its white bark and shimmer of silver leaves, gives a pleasant shade, and there is always some spring of water for the thirsty."

27.8 Mir Sham-ud-din-Iraqi

An event of great importance in the spread of Islam in Kashmir was the arrival in about 1492 AD of a preacher from Talish on the shores of the Caspian, named Shams-ud-din Iraqi, who described himself as the disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh of Khorasan. His father was a Musavi Sayyid and it appears that he was converted to Nurbakhshi beliefs early in his life. He entered the service of Sultan Hussain Mirza Baiqara (1469-1506) of Herat and was sent by him as his envoy in 1481 to the court of Sultan Hassan Shah of Kashmir. For eight years he stayed in Kashmir and though prevented by the nature of his post to take an active part in the religious or political movements in Kashmir, nevertheless made a keen study of the people and their leaders. He even converted secretly two preachers to his faith, and having aroused suspicion among the orthodox Ulama, he was forced to leave Kashmir.

But it was in 1492 itself that he came back to Kashmir to carry on his religious mission.

Shams-ud-din, however, professed to be an orthodox Sunni like most of the inhabitants of the Valley, but the doctrine he preached was "conforming neither to the Sunni nor to the Shia creeds." The way that ultimately led to the preachings among, and converts from the people of Kashmir to the Shia sect, is the story of a constant struggle and strife among Sunnis and followers ofMir Shams-ud-din.

In fact, the Nurbakhshi movement was an offshoot of the Sufi cult prevailing in Persia, and its founder, Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh claimed to have seen the Divine Light and to have received the esoteric teachings of All through the Imam Jafar-i-Sadiq. Naturally the teachings of Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh had a tendency towards the Shia tenets, and Shams-ud-din Iraqi who was his follower reflected these while conducting his proselytizing mission in Kashmir. With his eloquence and learning, he soon succeeded in converting a number of people to the Nurbakhshi sect, the most important person being Musa Raina, a powerful noble, who gave him money to carry on his work and also land at Zadibal, a suburb to the north of Srinagar, to build a Khanaqah on.

But in spite of the initial success, Mir Shams-uddin had to face great obstacles. His patron, Musa Raina, soon fell from power and the influential Sayyid noble, Muhammad Baihaqi, the chief minister of Sultan Muhammad Shah drove him out of the Valley to Baltistan. There he continued his misionary activities and converted nearly the whole population to the Shia creed. After sometime when Musa Raina returned to power, he was recalled by the latter to Srinagar. As long as his patron enjoyed power, Shams-ud-din had the fullest support and cooperation from the government in his activities and it was then that he converted the turbulent Chak tribe too, thus giving a religious character to the subsequent race for power between the Shahmir Sultans and the Chaks.

The first severe setback that the Nurbakhshis had was at the hands of Mirza Haider Dughlat. He was an orthodox Sunni and looked with disfavour on any departure from the letter of Islamic tradition or dogma. Besides it served his political ends to bring down his heavy hand on the Nurbakhshis and other Sufi sects, hoping thus to gain the support and goodwill of the orthodox Sunnis. He was thus able for some time to easily impose his rule and his Mughal officials on the people of the Valley. Writes he in great wrath and venom:

"At the present time in Kashmir, the Sufis have legitimatized so many heresies that they know nothing of what is lawful or unlawful. They consider that piety and purity consist in night watching and abstinence in food. They are for ever interpreting information regarding either the future or the past. They prostrate themselves before another and, together with such disgraceful acts observe the forty days (of retirement). In short nowhere else in such a band of heretics to be found. May the most High God defend all the people of Islam from such misfortune and calamities as this, and turn them all into the true path of righteousness….."

"Thanks be to God that at the present time no one in Kashmir dares openly profess this faith; but all deny it, and give themselves out as good Sunnis. They are aware of my severity towards them, and know that if any one of the sect appears, he will not escape the punishment of death."

But the spirit which animated the religious beliefs of Kashmir asserted itself soon and with the death of Mirza Haider Dughlat, several Sufi saints and Rishis carried on openly their activities all over the Valley. A noted saint who wielded a powerful influence on the masses was Sheikh Hamza Makhdum. Born in 1494 AD Sheikh Hamza studied under a well known scholar of his time, Baba Ismail Qubravi, whose school stood at the foot of the Hari Parbat hill.

Sheith Hamza was, however, forced by the Shia ruler, Ghazi Shah Chak to leave Srinagar. He established his seat in the village of Biru (about 20 miles from Srinagar on the road to Magam) and won a large number of disciples. In course of time he became unbearable, he blessed the mission of Baba Daud Khaki, his disciple, and Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi, the learned theologian and poet, to Akbar's court to induce him to annex Kashmir to his expanding empire.

Both Sheikh Hamza and Baba Daud Khaki were responsible for converting a large number of people to Islam and also in setting up mosques in the Valley. Sheikh Hamza dies in 1586 at an advanced age and lies buried on the south-eastern spur of the Hari Parbat hill in Srinagar. The tomb attracts large crowds who offer *Fatiha* to the Sheikh and some of his disciples who lie buried nearby.

27.9 Use of Force

It would, however, be wrong to assert that the spread of Islam in the Valley was throughout effected peacefully and without the use of force. Though the Valley had no conqueror like Mahmud, nor a warrior like Shihab-ud-din Ghori, nor a general like Muhammad bin Qasim, it had yet religious zealots like Sultan Sikandar, Sultan All Shah, Mirza Haider Dughlat, Yaqub Shah Chak, Mughal governors Itqad Khan and Ibrahim Khan, and most of the Afghan rulers. A close and careful study of the history of medieval Kashmir, however, reveals that persecution of non-Muslims by these zealots was resented by the majority of their Muslim subjects, who used to give shelter and solace to their compatriots in trouble. The people were conscious of the fact that in most cases this policy was born of political exigencies of these rulers who were experiencing difficulties in their carrer, and it did not reflect their respect for, or devotion to, the faith they professed. That the various religious communities bore no ill-will to one another, is proved by the political unrest in Kashmir during the 15th century when all the people, Hindu and Muslim, combined to give a fight to the Sayyids who had come from Iran and Turan and established their settlements in the Valley. Likewise the cruelties perpetrated by the Afghan rulers on Hindus to forcibly convert them to Islam, did not win them the sympathy or support of the Muslims of the Valley; instead they joined the Hindus in exending an invitation to Ranjit Singh to invade Kashmir and rid them of the tyrannical rule of the Afghans. Religious fanaticism and persecution of communities professing a creed other than the religion of the king, seems to have been the general trend in medieval times: witness, for example, the wholesale extirpation of Sayyids from Persia by Timur, the suppression of Sufis and

Nurbakhshis in Kashmir by Mirza Haider Dughlat, and the constant feuds in Afghanistan between the Shia and Sunni sects. That the masses in Kashmir did not fall victim to this malady of the times is apparent from the tolerant reigns of Sultans like Qutb-ud-din, Zain-ul-Abidin, and Hussain Shah Chak.

Kashmir was the meeting place of two mighty traditions - the heart of India's monistic Wisdom-Religion, which was Kashmir Saivism, and Erfan, the "Wisdom of the Quran." The geographical situation of the Valley and the rich cultural heritage of its people were responsible for this unique development. In what manner the two religions acted and reacted on one another is an interesting study.

27.10 Hinduism

As mentioned earlier the Hindu religion ant society before the advent of Islam, had been affected by Buddhism. If Kashmir Saivism was responsible for the development of Mahayana Hinduism was no less influenced by the heterodox dogma of Buddhism and its denunciation of caste. The social fabric was thus loosened and man, undesirable practices, like those of *Devadasi* and *sati,* became common. The religious beliefs were petrified into rigid Saiva rites and rituals conducted under the supervision of Brahmins. The tatters influence through their *parishads* or societies was being increasingly felt not only in religion but alsc in the policies of the State. Devaswamin the head of the Saiva sect, for instance, refused to admit Rinchin to the Hindu fold.

The Saiva cult became the predominant religion of the people and replaced the Vedic rites and rituals connected with birth, marriage and death of a Hindu. All the religious and philosophical books were in Sanskrit which, with the emergence of the popular Kashmiri language, became the domain of the privileged few, mostly of Brahmin caste. Since the latter also carried on the civil administration, there grew up slowly a stiff though silent opposition to this class among the general mass of the people. This was reflected in the bid for gaining popular support through the persecution of the Kayasthas and Brahmins by several Hindu kings.

No wonder the teachings of Islam as carried to Kashmir by the Suns found a ready response from the general populace. By the time Shah Mir ascended the throne, there seems to have been a fairly strong Muslim community in Kashmir, and by the end of the 14th century the "adoption of Islam by the great mass of the population became an accomplished fact."

But the Brahmins did not actively oppose the expansion of Muslim influence in the Valley, since "the administration remained as before in the hands of the traditional official class, the Brahmins, for whom a change of religion presented no advantage and who accordingly retained their inherited status, together with its literary traditions."

With the growing influence of Iranian and Turanian Sayyids at the Kashmir Court, and the consequent encouragement of Persian language by the Sultans, the Brahmins were faced with the prospect of losing their privileged position. But with their quick adaptability they switched over to the study of the Persian language and literature in which they soon outshone the Sayyids. They had, however, to suffer persecution at the hands of Sultans Sikandar and All Shah who adopted this policy at the bidding of the Sayyid nobles. Most of the temples were destroyed by Suha Bhatt the newly converted minister of Sikandar and he," with the leaders of the army, tried to destroy the caste of the people." The Brahmins resisted forcible conversion by death, by flight to places in the rest of India, more particularly to the South. "The difficult country through which they passed," laments Srivara, "the scanty food, painful illness, and the torments of hell during lifetime, removed from the minds of the Brahmins the fear of hell. Oppressed by various calamities such as encounter with the enemy, fear of snakes, fierce heat and scanty food, many Brahmins perished on the way, and thus obtained relief." Those, however, who could not leave the Valley "wandered about in Kashmira wearing the dress of the malechas."

Under Zain-ul-Abidin's tolerant rule the Brahmins regained their power and prestige and occupied positions of trust and responsibility in his government. They took an active part in reviving the literary traditions of the land enriching it with the influences from Perisian and Arabic science and literature.

The Mughal emperors treated the Brahmins of Kashmir with great respect and with the opening up of the Valley, they found a wider field for their talent. Many Kashmiri Brahmins rose to high political posts, as for instance Pandit Mahadeo and Chaudhri Mahesh in Kashmir and Jai Ram Bhan at Delhi. The Brahmins were no doubt victims of religious persecution during the time of some Mughal governors, Itqad Khan for instance, but by and large they had a peaceful time throughout the Mughal period.

The Afghan rule was particularly harsh on them, but with their literary and political acumen, they produced several eminent administrators who won the confidence of even the most tyrannous of governors For instance Dila Ram Quli was the chief minister of both Haji Karim Dad Khan and his son, Azad Khan, and "possessed a more liberal disposition than is usually round in an Indian……. His deportment seemed uniformly benevolent to all classes of people. With his companions he was affable and good humoured. He was humane to his domestics and exercised with a reasonable temperance the duties of his office."

All this shows that though the Brahmins had to face very rough times, they weathered the storm with their courage and faith. But this was made possible by the affection and solace they received from the general mass of the population who were Muslims. We have it on the authority of a Brahmin historian that many Muslims gave shelter to a large number of Hindus and kept them concealed in their houses till the dawn of better days."

The most potent reason, however, for their survival as a distinct community was the preaching of the philosophy of Kashmir Saivism in Kashmiri by the great hermitess, Lalleswari.

27.11 Lalleswari - Forerunner of Medieval Reformers

As in the rest of India, the middle of the 14th century was a period of religious and moral fermentation in Kashmir. Buddhism had practically disappeared from the Valley, though we find mention of Buddhist priests and viharas in the later Rajataranginis. Tilakacharya, described as a Buddhist, was a minister of Zain-ul-Abidin. Most of the Buddhist theologians and saints finding the Valley uncongenial, had left for Ladakh and Tibet. The long period of political instability which followed the peaceful and enlightened reign of Avantivarman (855-83 A.D.) was responsible for the ossification of the predominant religion, Shaivism, into elaborate and complicated rituals which dominated all social and cultural activities. Shaktism, born of the love for Durga worship, had degenerated into grotesque forms of rites and ceremonies. Vaishnavism was not a strong element in the religious fabric of the Valley, but in the 11th century it received further nourishment from the teachings of Ramanuja who travelled all the way from Madras to Kashmir to fight Shaivism at its fountain-head. And with the destruction of temples and images by several Hindu kings like Harsha, as well as by Muslim zealots, Hindu worship was driven to the seclusion of the home or of 'natural' (Svayambhu) images - rocks, or ice formations, or springs. Sanskrit became the domain of the learned few, the common man having taken to a form of Prakrit which though retaining its essentials, was yet wholly different from the 'Language of the Gods'.

In this troubled period of political uncertainty and changing social values, the people of the Valley were subjected to the impact of Islam. From a close contact between the two religions and their deep influence on each other, there resulted the evolution of what may be called Medieval Reformers or Mystics.

For more than two hundred years Islam had, in central Asia and Persia, been similarly influenced by the teachings and dogmas of Mahayana Buddhism and Upanishadic philosophy, resulting in the emergence of a cult of Islamic mystics. Fortunately, the new religion entered the Valley in this form, being carried there by enlightened Sufis like Bulbul Shah. With their humanistic approach to religion, they found a ready and sympathetic response from the Kashmiris, already permeated with the teachings of mystic saints and "seers".

For, it was during this period of religious fermentation that a need had been felt for a new approach to religion embracing all creeds and castes appealing to the 'heart' rather than the 'head'. Thanks to its rich religious and philosophic traditions, Kashmir rose to the occasion and produced a number of mystics and saints who by their teachings and their lives of complete self- abnegation were the living embodiments of true religion and morality.

Foremost among them was the great mystic "seer", Lalleshwari, popularly known as Lal Ded (Mother Lalla), who profoundly influenced the thought and life of her contemporaries and whose sayings still touch the Kashmiri's ear, as well as the chords of his heart, and are freely quoted by him as maxims on appropriate occasions. She was born in about the middle of the 14th century of the Christian Era in the time of Sultan Ala-ud-din. Lall's parents lived at Pandrenthan (ancient Puranadhisthana) some four and a half miles to the south-east of Srinagar. She was married at an early age, but was cruelly treated by her mother-in-law who nearly starved her. This story is preserved in a Kashmiri proverb: Whether they killed a big sheep or a small one, Lalla had always a stone for her dinner - an allusion to her mother-in-law's practice of putting a lumpy stone on her platter and covering it thinly with rice, to make it look quite a big heap to others. And yet she never murmured.

Her father-in-law accidentally found out the truth. He got annoyed with his wife and scolded her. This incident invited more curses on Lalla. Her mother-in-law poisoned the ears of her son with all sorts of stories. Ultimately, the anomalies and cruelties of wordly life led her to renunciation and she discovered liberty in the life of the spirit.

She found her guru in Sidh Srikanth, whom she ultimately excelled in spiritual attainments:

Gav Tsatha guras Khasithay
Tyuth var ditam Diva
The disciple surpassed the Guru:
God grant me a similar boon

She pursued Yoga under Sidh Srikanth, until she succeeded in reaching the 'abode of nectar'. But she did not stop there. All around her was conflict and chaos. Her countrymen and women needed her guidance. She had a mission to perform, and well and effectively she did it. Her life and sayings were mainly responsible in moulding the character of her people and setting up tradition of love and tolerance which characterises them even today.

Eventually she gave up her secluded life and became a wandering preacher. She led a severely ascetic life, clad in the bareness of one who had forsaken comforts, and by example and precept conveyed her teachings to the masses. Like Mira she sang of Siva, the great beloved, and thousands of her followers, Hindus as well as Muslims, committed to memory her famous Vakyas.

There is a high moral teaching which Lalla demonstrated when during her nude state a gang of youthful rowdies were mocking her. A sober-minded cloth vendor intervened and chastised them. On this she asked the vendor for two pieces of ordinary cloth, equal in weight. She put them on either shoulder and continued her wandering. On the way some had salutations for her and some had gibes. For every such greeting she had a knot in the cloth, for the salutations in the piece on the right, and for the gibes in the piece on the left. In the evening after her round, she returned the pieces to the vendor and had them weighed. Neither had, of course, gained or lost by the knots. She thus brought home to the vendor, and her disciples, that mental equipoise should not be shaken by the manner people greeted or treated a person.

So that her teachings and spiritual experiences might reach the masses, she propagated them in their own language. She thus laid the foundations of the rich Kashmiri literature and folklore. More than thirty per cent of the Kashmiri idioms and proverbs derive their origin from her Vakyas.

These Vakyas or sayings are an aggregate of Yoga philosophy and Saivism, expressive of high thought and spiritual truth, precise, apt and sweet. Her quatrains are now rather difficult to understand as the language has undergone so many changes, and references to special Yogic and philosophic terms are numerous therein.

Some of these sayings have been collected and published by Dr. Grierson, Dr. Barnett, Sir Richard Temple and Pandit Anand Koul and apart from the consideration that they explain the Saiva philosophy

of Kashmir through the Kashmiri language, they exemplify the synthesis of cultures for which Kashmir has always been noted.

Lalla fills her teachings with many truths that are common to all religious philosophy. There are in it many touches of Vaishnavism, the great rival of Saivism, much that is strongly reminiscent of the doctrines and methods of the Muhammadan Sufis who were in India and Kashmir well before her day, and teachings that might be Christian with Biblical analogies, though Indian's knowledge of Christianity must have been very remote and indirect at her date.

Lalla is no believer in good work in this or in former lives, in pilgrimages or austerities. In one of her sayings she criticises the cold and meaningless way in which religious rituals are performed:

God does not want meditations and austerities
Through love alone canst though reach the Abode of Bliss.
Thou mayst be lost like salt in water
Still it is difficult for thee to know God.

All labour, to be effective, must be undertaken without thought of profit and dedicated to Him. Exhorting her followers to stick fast to ideals of love and service to humanity, paying no thought to the praise or condemnation that might follow from their observance, she says:

Let them jeer or cheer me;
Let anybody say what he likes;
Let good persons worship me with flowers;
What can any one of them gain I being pure?
If the world talks ill of me
My heart shall harbour no ill-will:
If am a true worshipper of God
Can ashes leave a stain on a mirror?

She is a strong critic of idolatory as a useless and even silly "work" and adjures the worshippers of stocks and stones to turn to Yogic doctrines and exercises for salvation:

Idol is of stone temple is of stone;
Above (temple) and below (idol) are one;
Which of them wilt thou worship O foolish Pandit?
Cause thou the union of mind with Soul.

She further castigates the fanatical followers of the so-called "religions" in the following apt saying:

O Mind, why hast thou become intoxicated at another's expense?
Why hast thou mistaken true for untrue?
Thy little understanding hath made thee attached to other's religion;
Subdued to coming and going; to birth and death.

But Lalla is not a bigot; she constantly preaches wide and even eclectic doctrines; witness the following and many other instances: "it matters nothing by what name the Supreme is called. He is still the Supreme;" "Be all Lhings to all men;" "the true saint is the servant of all mankind through his humility and loving kindness," "It matters nothing what a man is or what his work of gaining his livelihood may be, so long as he sees the Supreme properly."

She puts no value on anything done without the saving belief in Yogic doctrine and practice, one of the results of which is the destruction of the fruits of all work, good or bad. The aspirant should try to auain perfection in this life. He only requires faith and perseverance:

Siva is with a fine net spread out
He permeath the mortal coils
If thou whilst living canst not see
Him, how canst thou when dead
Take out Self from Self after pondering over it

She is a firm believer in herself. She has become famous and talks of the "wine of her sayings" as something obviously precious, and alludes often to her own mode of life, fully believing she has obtained Release:

I saw and found I am in everything
I saw God effulgent in everything.
After hearing and pausing see Siva
The House is His alone; Who am I, Lalla.

The removal of confusion caused among the masses by the preachings of zealots was the most important object of her mission. Having realised the Absolute Truth, all religions were to her merely paths leading to the same goal:

Shiv chuy thali thali rozan;
Mo zan Hindu to Musalman.
Truk ay chuk pan panun parzanav,
Soy chay Sahivas sati zaniy zan.
Siva pervades every place and thing;
Do not differentiate between Hindu and Musalman.
you art intelligent recognise thine own self;
That is the true acquaintance with God.

The greatness of Lalla lies in giving the essence of her experiences in the course of her Yoga practices through the language of the common man. She has shown very clearly the evolution of the human being, theory of nada, the worries and miseries of a jiva and the way to keep them off. The different stages of Yoga with the awakening of the Kundalini and the experiences at the six plexi have been elucidated by her.

Much can, indeed, be said on her work as a poet and more, perhaps, on her work in the spiritual realm. But at a time when the world was suffering from conflict - social, political and economic - her efforts in removing the differences between man and man need to be emphasised.

The composite culture and thought she preached and the Orders she founded was an admixture of the non-dualistic philosophy of Saivism and Islamic Sufism. As long back as the 13th century she preached non-violence, simple living and high thinking and became thus Lalla Arifa for Muhammadans and Lalleshwari for Hindus.

She was thus the first among the long list of saints who preached medieval mysticism which later enwrapped the whole of India. It must be remembered that Ramananda's teaching and that of those that came after him could not have affected Lalla, because Ramananda flourished between 1400 and 1470,

while Kabir sang his famous Dohas between 1440 and 1518, and Guru Nanak between 1469 and 1538. Tulsidasa did not come on the scene till 1532 whereas Mira flourished much later.

27.12 Later Mystics

The traditions set up by Lalla were kept alive by numerous mystic saints both Hindu and Muslim, in the centuries following her death. In the 17th century, during the reign of Aurangzeb, there flourished two whose memory is still cherished by the general populace and still command reverence from a large number of Kashmiri Brahmins.

The first is the famous hermitess, Rupa Bhawani alias Alakeswari ('the lady of the lock of hair') so called because she used to leave the hair loose and undone, or Alak-Iswari (incarnation of the Invisible). She was born in 1625 AD. Her father, Pandit Madhav Dhar, a saintly person, lived in Srinagar. He used to have philosophical discussions with a Muslim Faqir, Sayyid Kamal alias Thag Baba, who lived just near his house across the river.

Like Lalleswari, Rupa Bhawani also got married at a young age, and like her again she had to give up the world and live an ascetic's life. Her spiritual preceptor was her father who initiated her into the mysteries of yoga. While living as an ascetic at a village near Srinagar, she came in contact with a Muhammadan mystic, Shah Sadiq Qalandar, with whom she used to have long philosophical discussions.

Her Verses and Sayings composed in the Kashmiri language of her times, have a profound mystic significance. They reveal the influence of both Kashmir Saivism and Islamic Sufism: some explaining her spiritual experiences and teachings of yoga. According to her, non-attachment and dissolution of 'serf' or ego (fana of the Sufis) are the essentials of Realisation:

Selflessness is the sign of the Selfless;
Bow down at the door of the Selfless.
The selfless are of the highest authority

The kings of the time and the wearers of the crest and crown. Allowing a glimpse into her own spiritual experiences, she says:

I dashed down into the nether regions (of the body)
and brought the vital breath up;
I got its close oust of earth and stones;
They my Kundalini woke up with nada (loud noise);
I drank wine by the mouth.
I got the vital breath (and) gathered it within myself.

Rupa Bhawani introduced a very important social reform, which is still respected and strictly followed. She tabooed bigamy and polygamy in the family of her father, the Dhars. This reform has greater force and higher sanction than a statutory law, and has now nearly become universal among the Hindus of Kashmir.

Rupa Bhawani passed away at a ripe old age of 96 years in the year 1721 AD. Shah Sadiq Qalandar recorded the year in a Persian chronogram, meaning,

That holy-natured incarnation of the Unseen
Bmke her coil of four elements (i.e. quitted her lady);
Flew to tile highest heaven;
With a good-natured heart united with Bliss.

While Aurangzeb was enforcing his puritanism and orthodoxy at his court, Sufism and mysticism were still being preached among the general populace by mystics like Sarmad in Delhi and Rishi Pir in Kashmir. Born in 1637 AD of a family of orthodox; Brahmins, Rishi Pir had a religious turn of mind from his very childhood. He found a "spiritual guide" in a famous hermit, Pandit Krishna Kar.

Rishi Pir on account of his saintly nature soon became famous and was revered by all classes of people. He had long sessions of discussions and discourses with Akhund Mullah Shah, the learned tutor of Dara Shikoh who had built his monastery on the southern slope of the Hari Parbat hill.

Rishi Pir was called by his followers *"padshah har du jehan"* the "Emperor of two worlds". This, Shikoh's tutor, alarmed Aurangzeb, particularly when he had to face revolts raised by religious leaders in different parts of the country. He, therefore, sent order to his governor, Saif Khan, to put him under arrest.

Whereas the Hindus claim that he appeared in a dream to Aurangzeb the same night demanding the annulment of the imperial order, the Muslim version is that some of his ministers assured the emperor that Rishi Pir had no political axe to grind but was simply a holy man to whom worldly power was repugnant. Howsoever it may be, the emperor cancelled his orders and thenceforth Rishi Pir carried on his religious mission peacefully.

Aurangzeb seems to have been struck with remorse at his cruel action in condemning Sarmad, the famous Sufi of his time, to the gallows. When in 1665 he visited Kashmir, Rishi Pir comforted him by his assurance that exalted souls like that of Sarmad did neither care for death, nor bear any sense of grievance against those who harmed them.

Many miracles are attributed to Rishi Pir. But this was sharply criticised by his contemporary, Rupa Bhawani, who viewed them with disfavour as tending to show personal and wordly aggrandizement. Rishi Pir was humbled and desisted thenceforth from indulging in this cheap way of winning popular applause. He died at the age of 60 in the year 1697. His son also turned a recluse and was affectionately known among the people as Rahnawab.

During the Afghan rule too, Kashmir had a number of Muslim and Hindus saints, who with their comforting words and sometimes even by their active intercession with the governors on behalf of the people reduced the pitch of fury of many an unscrupulous ruler. Jiwan Sahib, for instance, cast a spell of devotion on the hardhearted tyrant, Azad Khan. The latter had a superstitious awe of the *faqir,* who many a time admonished him not to indulge in wanton cruelty. Jiwan Sahib lived at Rainawari, the eastern suburb of Srinagar, and led a life of austere meditation and penance. Thousands of people used to flock to him for solace and listen attentively to his discourses, the burden of which was simple living and high thinking.

27.13 Influence of Islam on Hinduism and Vice Versa

We have now a fair picture of the deep influence that Islam had on orthodox Hinduism. Long before a Kashmir had a Muslim ruler the new religion had penetrated into the Valley, its missionaries having effected the conversion of most of the lower castes. The denunciation of idolatory and caste system by Islam was no doubt a major factor in making an accomplished king like Harsa to spoliate temples and desecrate the images. Hindus, particularly of lower castes. also seem to have discarded many of the rigid rituals and practices preached by orthodox Brahmins. Bemoans Jonaraja: "As the wind destroys the trees and the locusts the *shali* crop, so did the Yavanas destroy the usages of Kashmira." And again, "the kingdom of Kashmira was polluted by the evil practices of the malechas." Srivara, the historian who followed him, speaks in the same strain. He complains that many of the misfortunes of Kashmir were due to the changes in customs and manners of the people. In course of time, the lower castes gave up the performance of prescribed ceremonies, and accepted Islam.

Even the Brahmins, who retained the Hindu religion and caste, could not escape the influence of the new religion. A majority of them in order to retain the government jobs, took to the study of Persian which in

a few centuries became so popular with the Pandit class that they composed hymns and prayers to their deities in the Persian language rather that in Sanskrit. There were changes in dress and manners.

Lalla, for instance, was critical of the caste system and idol worship.

But if Islam was responsible in effecting profound changes in the Hindu rites, rituals, and belief in caste and idol worship, it could not escape a transformation in several of its own beliefs and practices. The new converts could not make a complete break with the past, and continued to follow some of their old rites and rituals. Even though Islam, for instance, denounced the caste system, they carried on with their old caste rites in marriage and other social customs. They also continued to celebrate their festivals of *Gana-chakra, Chaitra, Vyathtruwah, Sri Panchami.* Many of them did not totally give up idol worship and continued to have reverence for their old places of worship and pilgrimage.

This had also a profound effect on the rulers, particularly the Sultans, who in deference to the wishes of the people, adopted some of the practices of their former religion. Most of these Sultans had Hindu wives who, though converted to Islam, could not fail to influence their husbands and children with their former religious beliefs. It is, therefore, no wonder that some Sultans had faith in the efficacy of *havens* or sacrificial ceremonies of the Hindus; in visiting Hindu *tirthas,* and in allowing Brahmin priests to officiate at several functions, fair example, the time of coronation, or birth of the heir-apparent.

A unique practice among the Kashmiri Muslims is the singing in chorus "Darood" or praises of the various aspects of God in Persian after offering *namaz* in the mosque. Singing hymns in chorus is prohibited in mosques, but the converts prevailed upon Shah Hamadan to waive this prohibition in their case as they were used to offer worship in this manner in temples before conversion. The Rishis of Kashmir had been greatly influenced by the Hindu religion. Like the Hindu Rishis or recluses, they believed in withdrawing from the world, practicing celebacy, undergoing penances in caves and jungles, refraining from killing birds and animals for food or eating even freshly picked vegetables and fruits. They lived on wild vegetables and endeavoured to follow the Yogic practices of the Hindus.

"Popular Islam in Kashmir thus became diluted with foreign elements, and this character it has retained until today."

28 KASHMIR SAIVISM

Arabinda Basu

Excerpts: THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF INDIA' - Volume IV

28.1 DIFFERENT NAMES OF THE SYSTEM

In this article we shall essay a brief exposition of the vision of Reality, the destiny of man, and the way and discipline leading to that destiny, as formulated in the system of spiritual philosophy known as Trika-sasana or Trika-sastra or simply Trika, and, more rarely, also as Rahasya-sampradaya and Tryambaka-sampradaya. It must have been an important system at the time of Madhavacarya to merit an inclusion as Pratyabhijna-darsana in his compendium *Sarva-darsana-sangraha.* The Trika is a virgin field of research, and will repay the most conscientious labour of philosophers for many years to come.

The Trika is so called either because it accepts as most important the triad, *Siddha, Namaka,* and *Malini,* out of the ninety-two Agamas recognized by it; or because the triad consisting of Siva, Sakti, and Anu, or, again, of Siva, Sakti, and Nara, or, lastly, of the goddesses Para, Apara, and Paratpara is recognized; or because it explains three modes of knowledge of Reality, viz. non-dual *(abheda),* nondual-cum-dual *(bhedabheda),* and dual *(bheda).*

The system has two main branches, Spanda and Pratyabhijna. Many classics of the school include the word Spanda or Pratyabhijna in their very titles. The Trika is also known as Svatantryavada, Svatantrya and Spanda expressing the same concepts. Abhasavada is another name of the system. It is called Kashmir Saivism, because the writers who enriched its literature belonged to and flourished in this area.

28.2 A SPIRITUAL PHILOSOPHY

The Trika is a spiritual philosophy, because its doctrines regarding Reality, the world, and man are derived from a wealth of spiritual experiences, and are not constructions based upon an analysis of the ordinary experiences of man. Its concepts are, to borrow a phrase from Sri Aurobindo, experienceconcepts. Its greatest exponents were *yogins* of high stature who showed wonderful insight into abstruse points of philosophy. The substance of their teaching is not arrived at by an analysis of the ordinary cognitive, affective, and conative experiences of man, but embodies the findings of yogic ways of apprehension, enjoyment, and action.

Means of apprehension and action, other than sensory and intellectual, have always been recognized in India and other countries as being perfectly possible, indeed as within the reach of man. Various kinds of discipline, which may be generally called *yoga,* give the science of the inner being and nature of man, and the art of using the powers of knowledge and action hidden at present in unknown regions of our being and nature. The Trika, in short, is a rational exposition of a view of Reality obtained primarily through more-thannormal experiences.

28.3 LITERATURE

The system being both a statement about the nature of Reality and a way of life, the orthodox classification of its literature is into *para, apara,* and *paratpara,* according as the works set forth, respectively, the metaphysics, the rituals, and both the philosophy and the practical discipline enjoined by the system. We shall however, for the sake of convenience, divide it into (i) Agama-sastra, (ii) Spanda-sastra, and (iii) Pratyabhijna-sastra. Of these the first, the Saiva Agamas or Sastras, is said to have eternal existence and to have been revealed to the sage Durvasas by Siva as Srikantha. Durvasas is said to have ordered his three 'mind-born' sons, Tryambaka, Amardaka, and Srikantha, to teach the eternal Saiva philosophy (and faith), respectively, in its three aspects of *abheda, bheda,* and *bhedabheda.*

28.4 AGAMA-SASTRA

Among the Agamas the chief ones are *Malinivijaya, Svacchanda, Vijnana-bhairava, Ucchusmabhairava, Ananda-bhairava, Mrgendra, Matanga, Netra, Naisvasa, Svayambhuva,* and *Rudra Yamala.* These were i~iterpreted mostly as teaching a dualistic doctrine, to stop the propagation of which the *Siva-Sutra,*

expounding a purely Advaitic metaphysic, was revealed to a sage called Vasugupta (c. ninth century). This work is also called *Sivo,uanisad-sangraha* and *Sivarahasyagamasastra-sangraha.* On the *sutras* of this work there are (i) the *Vrtti* (the authorship of which is doubtful), (ii) the *Varttika* by Bhaskara, and (iii) the commentary called *Vimarsini* by Ksemaraja.

Some of the Agamas had commentaries written on them, the chief among which are the *Uddyota* on *Svaccharrda, Netra,* and *Vijuarra-bhairava,* and the *Vrtti* on *Matanga.* These commentaries and attempts to show that Agamas, even prior to the Siva-Sutra, taught an Advaitic doctrine.

28.5 SPANDA-SASTRA

Of the Spanda-Sastra, which only elaborated the principles of the *Siva-Sutra,* without, however, giving much logical reason in support of them, the first and foremost is the *Spanda-Sutra* or the *Synuda-karikli,* attributed to Vasugupta himself; and it is called a *Sangraha-grantha* of a compendium. His pupil Kallata wrote a *Vrtti* on this Sutra, and the two together are called *Spandasarvasva.* On the *Spanda-Sutra* we have also the *Spanda-nirnaya* and the *Spanda-sandeha* by Ksemaraja (who also wrote *Siva-Sutra-vimarsini),* the *Vivrti* by Ramakantha, and the *Pradipika* by Utpala Vaisnava.

28.6 PRATYABHIJNA-SASTRA

The Pratyabhijna-sastra is really the philosophical branch of the Trika. Siddha Somananda, probably a pupil of Vasugupta, is credited with adopting the method of giving an elaborated treatment of his own views and refuting his opponents's doctrines, and is also praised as the founder of the logic of the system. On his work *Siva-drsti,* which is the foundation of this branch, the author vvrote a *Vrtti,* now lost, quotations from which are found in other works. The *Isvara-pratyabhijna* or the *Pratyabhijna-Sutra* by Utpala, a pupil of Somananda, is a summary of the philosophy of his master. This shorter work became so important that the entire system came to be known by its name even outside Kashmir. Commentaries on it, still available, are the *Vrtti* by Utpala himself, and the *Pratyabhijna-virnarsini (Laghvi Vrtti)* and the Pratyabhijna-vivrti-vimarsini *(Brhati Vrtti)* by Abhinavagupta. *Bhaskari is* a lucid and very helpful *tika* on Abbinavagupta's commentary. Paramarthasara and Tantrasara, both by Abhinavagupta, and *Pratyabhijunhrdaya* by Ksemaraja are three small but important works of the school. *Tantraloka* by Abhinavagupta with Jayaratha's commentary on it is a veritable encyclopaedia of the system.

28.7 WHAT IS SASTRA?

According to the Trika, the Sastras have eternal existence. The first thing to remember is that Sastra does not originally mean a book, it means wisdom, self-existent and impersonal. It is also known as *sabda* and *vac. Sabda* in the Agamic philosophies indicates a slight stir, throb, or vibration in Reality, and the eternal self-revelation of Reality is this primal and original vibration. *Vac* or word expresses something, and the self-expression of Reality is called *para vac* or the supreme Word. This self-expression of Reality is wisdom, Reality's awareness of itself. This is, from one point of view, the knowledge which descends through various levels to the intelligence of man; from another, it is the universe as the self-manifestation of Reality, not as we know it, but as it is in its original condition in Reality. This is what is meant by saying that *sabda* creates or manifests everything. It follows that there is the most intimate connection between *sabda* and *artha,* word and the object. Indeed in the original condition, the subtlest speech, the *para vac, is* the universe. It is there existent as Reality's knowledge of Itself as the universe, it is there *vanmaya,* constituted of words. But the *para vac* reveals itself as the *pasyanti vac,* the seeing word; from the side of the universe, it may be described as the universe to be, still existing in an undifferentiated condition. Further objectification reveals it as the *rnadhyama vac,* the middle word, which may be said to be *cittavrttis,* which are expressed through words as we speak them, and on the cosmic side, as inarticulate differentiation that waits to develop into particularization of objects. *Madhyama vac, is* the link between the *pasyarrti* and the *vaikhari vac,* that is, word of speech as uttered by the human vocal organ and referring to differentiated objects of the world. It will be noted that the more the objectification of *vac,* the less intimate is the relation between the word and the object. In the *para* or transcendent state they are identical, and it is not possible to say much about their relation. But while in the *pasyanti,* the

name and the object are undifferentiated (which is not the same as identical, because the universe to be has now at least ideally emerged, though it has not as yet been alienated from the vision), the relation between them in the *rnadhyrna is* notional, involving ideal separation only; and in the *vaikhari,* or the human level of speech, the relation between the word and the object is only conventional, i.e. we just give a name to a thing vvithout any reason inherent in it.

The Agamas of Sastras exist originally and eternally as the *para vac* and then as *pasyanti.* Human sages and seers only receive them from the *madhyama* level. The Sastras come to them from the m*adhyama vac,* flowing out from the five faces *(pancanana)* of the Deity (representing the five aspects of His power and glory, viz. *cit. ananda, iccha, juana,* and *kriya)* called Isana, Tatpurusa, Sadyojata, Aghora, and Vama. Thus the wisdom set forth in the Trika philosophy is originally the selfknowledge of Reality expressing itself, though distorted and deformed, as the Sastras as we know them. Reality must be aware of Itself or Himself, which is the same as saying that the true knowledge of Reality exists in Reality and is not built up by the human brain. And this basic or original knowledge is obtainable by men only through revelation, which means that it is self-manifest *(sveyarnprakasa).* That which exists can alone be revealed, and the revelation takes place only when some spiritual genius makes himself fit to receive it, as the result of the development of the proper faculty or faculties.

28.8 METAPHYSICAL BACKGROUND

The ultimate Reality is variously designated as Anuttara, Cit. Caitanya, Purna or Para Samvid, Siva, Paramasiva, Paramesvara, and Atman; that is, it is the Supreme, higher than which there is nothing, ineffable and indescribable as this or that or as not this or not that, pure Consciousness, Selfconsciousness, integral or supreme Experience, the benign One, the highest Good and Bliss, the supreme Lord, the Self of everything, formless and, yet, informed with all forms, and free from all limitations in space and time.

Reality is ineffable and beyond any descriptions, yet the Trika tries to formulate a philosophy about Its nature. It is to be understood that this formulation is regarding Reality as the creator or manifestor of the universe and not as It is in Itself. Thus Reality is conceived both as transcendent and immanent. As transcendent, it is described as Siva, as immanent as Sakti. Siva and Sakti are not two separate realities, but two phases or (conceptual) aspects of the same Reality. Sakti is always in the state of perfect identity with Siva, but for the purpose of clear understanding the two are distinguished in thought only. Like fire and its burning power, Siva and Sakti are the same identical fact, though they are spoken of as distinct. Considered as purely transcendent, Siva *is save,* dead as it were; but in truth there is perfect equilibrium, *samarasya,* between Siva and Sakti, and, as such, the integrality is designated Paramasiva. It is due to the limitation of language that we have to use phrases like *'between* Siva *and* Sakti' and 'Siva is the supreme Lord *of* Sakti'. But it must be understood that the Lord and His lordliness, the Isvara and His *aisvarya,* which is another name of Sakti, are one and the same. Sakti is described as the *hrdaya* (heart), the *sara* (essence) of Siva.

Cit. pure Consciousness, Illumination, cannot be without self-consciousness, without selfillumination. Cit is also Caitanya. Caitanya is the Sakti aspect of Reality and is compared to a clear mirror in which Reality sees Itself. Caitanya is regarded as femine, though Reality in Itself is neither masculine nor feminine. Thus Consciousness is self-consciousness. Sakti is Siva's power of turning upon Himself. We say 'Himself', because, at this stage of consideration, we are not regarding Reality as It is in Itself, but as the Lord of the universe-to-be. This is called *cit-sakti,* the power of Cit to reveal Itself and to know Itself. The Trika makes a fivefold distinction of the fundamental modes of Sakti. These aspects of Sakti are *cit. ananda, iccha, jnana,* and *kriya. Cit* is the power of self-awareness; *ananda is* the power of absolute bliss, or self-enjoying, without having to depend on anything extraneous; *iccha is* the power of absolute will to manifest the universe out of Himself. *Jnana is* the power of knowing the inherent relations of all manifested or manifestable things among themselves and with His own self; and *kriya is* the power to assume any form. It must not for a moment be forgotten that these five are only aspects of the selfsame Sakti and not five different entities.

Sakti is also known as *svatantrya,* independence or freedom, because Her existence does not depend on anything extraneous to Herself. She is also *vimarsa,* which means various things at the same time. *Vimarsa is* vibration; it is Siva's awareness of Himself as the integral and all-comprehensive ego. When there is the reflection of Siva in Sakti, there emerges in the heart of Reality the sense of 'I' which is described as *aham-vimarsa.* This is the original *bimba or* reflection, of which everything in the universe is *pratibimba* or *abhasa,* a secondary reflection or shadow. It is at this stage that we can first speak of the universe. For the universe in the Trika conception is a system of subjects and objects, *grahakas* and *grahyas.* All subjects or knowers are reflections of the original subject, the integral 'I', which Siva is by virtue of *vimarsa.* Now the emergence of the I, aham, is not intelligible without the corresponding emergence of the 'it', *idam;* the *grahaka,* the apprehender, must have *grahya,* the apprehensible. That is why *vimarsa is* also described as the throb of the 'I' hording within itself and visioning within itself the world of objects. Thus the 'I' or supreme *aham is* the whole universe, not, however, as we understand it in common parlance, but in its ideal state as a 'vision' in Siva.

Once the conceptual distinction between Siva and Sakti is made, the latter is regarded as a *dharma,* an attribute, of the former. The relation between the two is one of *tadahnya* (identity). Sometimes it is said to be *samarasya* (perfect equilibrium) also, and while they are regarded as two in one, or rather one in, or one as, two, the relation of substance and attribute holds between them. Only we should understand that the implication is that the substance, by virtue of its ovvn inherent power, becomes the attributes. Now Sakti, in Her turn, is also regarded as a substance, because all manifestable objects are taken to be inherent and latent in Her womb. They have no existence apart from Sakti, and as such are like attributes of this substance.

Sakti is *prakasa-vimarsamaya.* At the background *is prakasa* or illumination, in the foreground is *vimarsa* or vibration of *prakasa* as the sense of 'I'. *Prakasa* can be taken to be Siva, placid and transcendent, *vimarsa* or Sakti as dynamic and immanent. Keeping in mind the concept of *vimarsa* as not only Sakti in general, but also specifically as the sense of 'I', we can cay that things are the same as *prakasa,* their difference being due to having or lacking in *vimarsa.* The more of self-consciousness one has, the more of *vimarsa* also one has, and is thus the nearer to Siva or pure Consciousness. Thus, while *vimarsa is* taken to be the cause of the manifestation and dissolution of the universe, it is so only in the wider sense of being Sakti and not as the reflection as 'I'. Or, in other words, while everything is a manifestation out *of vimarsa,* everything does not have *vimarsa.* A jar or a pot has no *vimarsa,* no sense of 'I', no self-awareness; that is why it is material. *Vimarsa* is defined as the *camatkrti,* wonderment of the integral 'I', and that is why the practical discipline of the system enjoins the development of the sense of the 'I' as being the whole, as identical with the universe. The individual self is also said to be *prakasa-vimarsamaya.* That is to say, the individual self is also of the nature of consciousness and has self-consciousness also. Analogically speaking, we can say *prakasa,* in the case of the individual, is the shining intelligence and also the ideas, desires, memories, etc. which are its manifestations; and *vimarsa is* the individual's awareness that 'those are mine'.

28.9 SAKTI AS THE PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSAL MANIFESTATION

Sakti in its fivefold aspect therefore is the principle of the universal manifestation. *Cit-sakti,* the power of self-consciousness, entails *ananda,* enjoyment and wonderment, on the part of Siva; bliss gives rise to *iccha,* desire, to create; desire to create cannot be fulfilled unless there is *juana,* knowledge, of what is to be created and how it is to be created; this knowledge is followed by the actual creation or manifestation, the power of which is *kriya-sakti.* Sometimes, however, *cit-* and *ananda-saktis* are kept in the background, and *iccha, juana,* and *kriya* are taken to be the principal powers.

The universe originally exists in identity with Reality, which is simultaneously static and dynamic, being and becoming at the same time. The dynamic aspect or Sakti, when slightly 'swollen' as it were, manifests the universe out of Herself, as the seed does the banyan tree *(vatadhanikavat).* Thus Sakti or Siva considered not as transcendent identity, but I as immanent unity, is both the material and the instrumental cause of the universe. When there is the self-reflection of Siva, Sakti serving as a mirror, there emerges

the 'ego' or the 'I' in Siva. From here starts the universal manifestation, as has been said above. Since there is nothing apart from, independent of, Siva, the elements of the universe can be nothing but Siva Himself. These constituent elements of the universe, which are 'constants' ; through *srsti* and *pralaya,* are called *tattvas or* categories. *Srsti,* which is nothing but self manifestation, is described as opening out *(unmesa),* and *pralaya* as closing down *(nimesa),* like a bud opening out as a flower, and the petals of the blooming flower closing down as the bud. *Srsti* and *' pralava* follow each other in a never-ending process, each successive universe being determined in its character by its predecessor by a kind of causal necessity.

28.10 SIVA'S ANUTVA THROUGH SELF-LIMITATION

This *unmesa* or opening out is in one sense a limitation of Siva, His disappearance *(tirodhana).* Siva is said to have five eternal functions They are *tirodhana, srsti, sthiti, samhara* or *pralaya,* and *anugraha,* that is, limitation or disappearance, creation, preservation, dissolution, and compassion or grace. The universe, which is the collective name of the system of limited subjects and objects, cannot come into manifestation unless Siva assumes limitation. It is only by coercing His infinitude and transcendent character that Siva can manifest the universe out of Himself. This power of obscuration or self-limitation is called *tirodhana,* and the limitation takes the form of *anutva* or atomicity. It is also called *sankoca,* contraction. Because of this contraction, there is effected a dichotomy in Siva, who is consciousness-power. The dichotomy is that of *bodha* or consciousness on the one side, and svatantrya or power or independence on the other. *Bodily* tends to become devoid of *svatantrya,* and *svatantrya* of *bodha.* Though neither of them is completely devoid or empty of the other, still, for all practical purposes, we can say that there is a separation between consciousness and power. The aspect of consciousness loses the integral selfconsciousness. Siva does not see the universe to be identical with Himself. And since the universe is Sakti originally, we can say consciousness becomes static and sterile of His creative power, and power becomes blind without awareness of Her being truly consciousness. The situation is well described as 'an inert soul and a somnambulist force'. Atomicity therefore is the condition of powerless awareness and senseless power.

After the primary limitation of *anutva* or atomicity, Siva undergoes a secondary limitation with the help of Maya, and then is described as Purusa. Though Siva in His own nature is eternal, all-pervasive, omnipotent, omniscient, and allenjoying consciousness, as Purusa He is limited in time and space, and has limited knowledge, authorship, and interest or enjoyment. This fivefold limitation is derived from Maya which also provides both location and object to the Purusa by evolving the physical universe. We have said above that along with the emergence of the 'ego' or the 'I', that of the object or the 'it' has also to be conceived. In Siva this dichotomy is absent, because He is the integral Reality and beyond the distinction of subject and object. But because of self-limitation of Siva, there emerges, against the background of the distictionless pure consciousness of Siva, a polarity of 'subject' and 'object', *aham* and *idam.* At the outset, the dichotomy is only ideal. But as the process of opening out or manifestation of Sakti proceeds, the distance between the two increases till they are sundered apart.

28.11 THE FIVE KANCUKAS AND THREE MALAS

It is in *asuddha-maya* that the atomic Siva is shrouded by the five *kancukas* or covers of Maya, *viz. kala, vidva, raga,* and *niyati.* This Maya is *vedyapratha,* the knowledge of difference, the creatrix of the divorce between the subject and the object, while Prakrti, which comes simultaneously into existence with Purusa, is the pots er that actually manifests the universe down to material things. Maya (which is itself sometimes regarded as a *kancuka)* and the five *kancukas,* together with the twenty-five *tattvas* (including Purusa) of the Samkhya, make up the thirty-one categories that constitute the empirical world of finites. The recognition by the Purusa or the *pasu* as being in truth Siva Himself presupposes not only the transcendence of the sense of difference, but also the realization of identity with everything. It implies not only the piercing of Maya, but the progressive unification of the self with the whole universe. The five higher categories of *suddha-maya* represent the stages of this progressive unification and make up the total of thirty-six categories of the system. The atomic limitation or impurity of the bound self, *anutva* or *anavamala, is* responsible for the nonintuition, *akhyati,* of the true nature of the self, and is twofold. First,

there is the rise of the non-self, or rather that of the idea of non-self in the self, leading to the false sense of the self in the non-self. Once Siva has become self-limited, He is the *pasu* who is not the Lord of everything. As limited, *pasu is* not everything, and yet, because of non-intuition, the *pasu* falsely identifies himself with what he is not. The basic limitation, *anavamala, is* reinforced by two other impurities, viz. *mayiyamala* and *karmamala. Mayiyamala* represents the whole I series of categories, beginning from the covers or *' kancukas,* that create the physical organism on the r subjective side, and evolves the physical world down to earth, the last of the *mahabRutas,* on the objective side. *Karmamala* is responsible for continuing the fetters of embodiment, and it is due to this impurity or *Gala* that the Purusa becomes subject to good and bad acts, and becomes entangled in repeated births and deaths.

All souls suffer from one or more of these three kinds of impurities. Three types of soul in bondage are recognized in the Trika: when a soul has only the *anavamala,* it is called *vijuanakala;* when it has both the *anava-* and *kanna-malas,* it is known as *pralayakala;* and when it has all the three *males,* it is designated *sakala.* The *sakala* souls are embodied, and include both gods and men. All of them have bodies differing according to their planes is of existence within the sphere of Maya, technically , called *mayanda,* the 'Maya egg'. The Trika accepts *mahapralaya* or great dissolution, during which all the *tatters* or categories lower than Maya are absorbed into Maya, their cause. In this state all bound souls become disembodied and without organs, and are known as *pralayakalas* or 'become disembodied during *pralaya',* but because of the persistence of the *kannamala* they may become embodied again. Souls free from both *kanna-* and *mayiya-inalas* transcend *asuddha-maya,* but do not, because of that, realize their identity with Siva. Though they have ascended to the realm of *suddhamaya* and are known as *vijnanakalas,* they still have the *anavamala* to get rid of to lose their finitude. They are free from the sense of duality, but they do not achieve the perfect integration of consciousness and power, which is the nature of Siva. This is why, it is said, the *vijnanakala* does not realize his identity with the universe, does not experience the fact that 'I am all this'. It is not possible for these souls to attain to Sivahood unless and until their impurity of atomicity is removed.

28.12 REMOVAL OF THE ANUTVA - ITS FIVE STAGES

Since atomicity is due to the self-contraction, *atmasankoca,* of Siva Himself, it can be removed not by the soul's own effort, but by some function of Him who imposed the limitation. This function of Siva is *anugraha,* compassion or grace. As a result of grace, the soul, already delivered from Maya, that is, from the false sense of duality between itself and the object, progresses towards the perfect integration of the object into itself. The *'idam'* must be absorbed into the *'aham',* for, so long as they are separate, there is no attainment of the complete 'I'ness, the *purnahanta*, by the soul, and without that there is no bliss. Thus, the soul remains limited in various ways, until the atomic impurity is removed.

The stages of the removal of atomicity are the five *tatters* are categories belonging to *suddhamaya* which, counted from below, are *sad-* or *suddha-vidya, israra, sadakhya* or *sadasiva, sakti,* and *siva.* From another point of view they represent, as said above, the progressive union of consciousness and power, of *bodha* and *svatantrya.*

In these *tatters,* the 'I' and the 'it' have a common substratum, *samanadhikarana,* while in Maya and below that they have different *adhikaranas* or substrata. In other words, when the soul is in any of these *tatters, it* regards the 'it' or the object to be within itself. There is the 'idea' or the sense of the object, but it is not regarded as separate in actuality. The bound soul, however, cannot regard the 'object' to be within itself. Since Siva has the inherent awareness of the universe being within His own being, the liberated soul, who attains identity with Siva, must have the same awareness. It is by the power of Maya that Siva shows whatever is within Himself as being external and separate. That is why souls, even when subject to *suddha-maya,* cannot have the sense of identity with everything. When Siva, as a result of selflimitation, regards the object as not His own manifestation, but as separate and independent, He becomes a bound soul subject to Maya. But before this actual separation is effected, there is an ideal emergence of the 'it' or the object, though it is regarded as being within oneself as the subject or *'sham'.*

In *sad-vidya* or *suddha-vidya,* though the 'I' end the 'it' are not separate, still the 'it' is more prominent. In other words, in this category there is greater ideal separation between the subject and object than in the other four higher categories. *Suddha-vidya* represents a greater emergence of the 'it' or the object. The experience in this stage, expressed as 'I am I and this is this', is like the pointing by the finger at head of a newly born baby. Truly speaking, the head is an integral part of the body, but still it is distinguished from the body. Here the diversity and difference of objective consciousness are not annulled, though they are now recognized as an experience of the subject and therefore in some way identical with it. In the *isvara-tattva,* there is perfect balance between the two, neither being more prominent than the other. The experience that the soul has in this stage is 'I am this', while that in the former may be expressed in the form 'I am I and this is this'. *Sadasiva* represents the stage where there is the sense of 'being' in the subject. But 'being' means 'being something'. Thus it is in this stage that the idea of the *idam* or 'it' first emerges. The experience of the soul in the *sadasiva* stage may be formulated as 'I am this'. Its difference from the experience in the *isvara* stage may be described as follows. In *sadasiva, purnahanta* or the attainment of perfect subjecthood takes the form of the complete identification of the subject and the object, while in the *isvara* stage they are not identified but held in equipoise.

The emergence of the object in the *sadasiva* stage is only nominal, it is like the faint outline of a picture, or even like the initial desire in the mind of the artist to paint a picture. Applying this analogy to the *isvara-tattva,* it may be said that there the faint outline becomes somewhat clear. In the *sakti-tattva,* again, there is merely the idea or experience of being what may be expressed as 'I am'. We cannot say that in this stage the object or the *idam* has made an appearance. *Sakti-tattva is* described as the seed of the universe, the *bija-bhumi* of all ideas or *bhavas* in the consciousness of Siva. It is also described as void *(sunya)* or great void (mallas1lnya), because nothing has manifested itself in this stage, or because in negates the 'ideal' universe in Siva; whence its name *nisedhavyapararupa* (process of negating). Or, it might be said that it negates or suppresses the unitary character of the *siva-tattva,* without which process the universe of manifoldness cannot be manifested.

In the five higher or pure *(Buddha) tattoos* just described, *cit-, ananda-, iccha-, jnana-,* and *kriyasaktis* are respectively predominant. The first throb or stir *(spanda)* of Siva is *siva-tattva,* which is only Siva's awareness of Himself as 'I'. That is why cit*sakti is* said to be predominant in the *siva-tattva.* When the 'I' has the sense of being, when there is the experience of 'I am', there is bliss; in other words, *ananda-sakti* predominates in the *saktitattva.* In *sadasiva* there is the predominance of *iccha-sakti,* because there is a will in Siva to create in order to fill the void due to the *sakti-tattva. Jnana-sakti* is said to be predominant in the *iscaratattva,* because there is in this stage the clear identification of the subject and the object, the experience being 'I am this'. In the *suddha-vidya, kriya-sakti* is predominant. Here the object or the idam has clearly emerged, and there is separation between subject the object, between *bodha* and *svatantrya.* The stage in which the objective element, the power aspect, becomes predominant as distinct from the self or consciousness is justifiably said to have *kriya-sakti* prominent in it.

Be ginning from *suddh a* - or *sad-vidya* up to *siva-tattva,* the endeavour of the aspirant soul is to absorb and integrate the object progressively into itself. The complete identification results in the realization of *purnahanta* or complete subjecthood, which means nothing but the experience of identity between the self and the universe. Subjecthood eats up objecthood, that is, it destroys the sense of separation. This, however, does not imply that the manifold variety of the universe is abrogated, but only that the sense of separation between 'I' and the 'it', the self and the universe, is completely overcome. This has been described as 'selling' or the process of *atmasat,* that is, making the other one's own. But even in *siva-tattva* there is the taint of atomicity, at least its *samskara* or trace remains.

The souls in the different *tativas* are given different names as knowers or *pramatrs.* Apart from *sakala, pralayakala,* and *vijnanakala* mentioned above, the *pramatrs* or experiencers in the five higher *tattvas,* counting from below, are respectively called *mantra' mantresrara, mantramahesvara, saktya,* and *sambhava.* But there is some difference of opinion on the subject.

28.13 UNIVERSE AS SIVA'S KRIDA OR PLAY

Thus, the universe is manifested with Siva Himself as the basis or foundation. And it is manifested on the basis of identity. The manifestation is compared to the sleeping of Siva. And when some spiritual aspirant recognizes himself as Siva, it is symbolically expressed as the awakening of Siva. When Siva is awake, there is no sense of a separate universe. The emergence of the universe is also called descent of Siva, and the spiritual self's journey towards Siva is called ascent. If it is asked why Siva should manifest Himself, the answer is that it is natural for consciousness to assume many forms. It is also said that Siva's self imposition of limitation upon Himself and also His breaking the fetters and returning to His own native glory are both *krida* or play.

28.14 BONDAGE AND LIBERATION

Siva as Sakti manifests Himself as a correlated order of knowers, knowables, and means of knowledge. This threefold self-division of Siva appears on the background provided by Siva Himself. It presupposes, however, a limitation imposed by Siva upon Himself. The self-limited Siva is designated the Pasu or the 'animal', Jiva, *samsarin,* etc. The signs of the *pasu* are false identifiation of the self with the not-self, ascribing the not-self to the self, having limited authorship, knowledge, interest, pervasion, and duration, and being subject to causality. To realise the unfettered condition, to recognise oneself as that which has become, or even is, everything, to have unlimited power to know, enjoy, and manifest self-bliss, to be infinite and eternal, to be completely free from and independent of *niyati,* that is, regulation or causality, - this is the destiny of the *pasu.* To be, or rather to recognise oneself as, Siva is the goal of the Jiva.

Obviously, the limited individual is subject to ignorance *(ajnana),* which, according to our system, is twofold, viz. *paurusa* and *bauddha. Paurusa ajnana is* the innate ignorance in the very soul of man. It is the primal limitation, the original impurity of *nnavamala.* It signifies the sense of the self in the not-self and vice versa and the separation of *prakasa* and *vimarsa,* of *bodha* and *sratantrya.* This is the consequence of the limitation taken willingly and playfully by Siva upon Himself, and is not removable by the bound soul's own efforts. Siva alone can liquidate it. *Anugraha* or dispensation of grace, technically called *saktipata,* or the descent of Siva's force, breaks this limitation. How and why and when this force will descend cannot be indicated, because His nature is freedom and spontaneity.

The descent of the force of grace achieves two purposes: first, *pasa-ksaya,* the destruction of fetters, and secondly, *Sivatva-yojana,* the restoration of Sivahood, which in effect means the removal of the atomic impurity. But, in spite of this great spiritual gain coming to the soul, the Jiva may not know it. For he is not only a soul or spiritual sUstance, but has his ordinary Mayic nature attached to him. He has to know things through the instrument of his *buddhi,* his intelligence, which is gross and impure. Thus, in spite of obtaining *Sivatva,* he cannot enjoy it, for his normal consciousness is not affected by what happens to his inner soul. In those on whom the *sakti* or grace descends in great force *(drdha-saktipata-viddha),* the purification of *buddhi* may also occur immediately. But it is a rare phenomenon; so, actually speaking, the Jiva has to adopt other means to know and enjoy his newly won spiritual gain.

Thus, in spite of the restoration of *Sivatva,* the soul has still a lot to accomplish. *Sivah~a-yojana* only means that the soul is given by its own higher self, i.e. Siva, its lost or hidden essence of divinity. But to have the essence of divinity is not to be the supreme and integral Divine. It remains for the soul to develop in himself all the aspects of Sakti which really make Siva all that He is. The becoming of Siva in essence is accomplished by the removal of the atomic impurity, which alone can achieve full Sivahood. Here the soul achieves likenes to Siva and becomes qualified to know Reality fully and completely.

Now let us recall for a moment that the fall of the soul from the *parardha,* the higher region of the five pure *(suddha) tattvas,* where the separation of the subject and the object is ideal, into the sphere of *asuddhamaya,* in which the separation is actual, is due to the fact that the soul loses its integral subjecthood, *purnahanta.* The Jiva has a sense of 'I' or subjecthood even in the sphere of Maya, and that distinguishes him from material things. Indeed the Trika says that even in the condition of bondage, the Jiva fulfils the five eternal functions of concealment or disappearance, creation, preservation, dissolution, and grace, though in a very small and restricted measure. Unless it were so, the identity of the limited

bound soul and the infinite free Siva could not be asserted. But in the sphere of Maya, which may be described as the region of the *idanta* or objecthood, any sense of *ahanta* or subjecthood is derived from the object or the *idam* which has separated itself from the true subject. The true subject has not the sense of distinction from anybody or anything, but the subject of the Jivas in Maya is an instrument of perpetuating distinctions and not resolving them. It is *ahankara* and not *ahanta,* egoism and not real subjecthood, that is a product of Maya which is the great *idam* in relation to the real and genuine *aham.* To attain integral Sivahood, the Jiva must recapture the all-inclusive pure 'I', which has no idea of the object, by adopting appropriate means.

The most important of these is *diksa* or initiation. The Trika says that as a result of *saktipata* one is brought to a real *guru. Diksa* awakens the *kriyasakti* in the limited soul which is devoid of *svatantrya.* The development of *kriya-sakti* ultimately means the soul's ability to absorb and integrate the 'it' or the object, seemingly separate from itself, within its own self. The consummation of this development is the soul's recognition and realisation of itself as the integral 'I', the enjoyment of the rapture and bliss of *purnahanta.* This is the dawning of *paurusojnana,* the true knowledge about the real and ultimate nature of the Purusa. To be able to enjoy in life this inherent, reawakened Sivahood, which was so long veiled, *bauddhajuana,* or knowledge of this internal liberated condition through *buddhi,* must be attained also. This depends on the purification of *buddhi* the means of which are the study of the Sastra, *vicara,* etc. *Bauddhajnana* does not mean scholarship or intellectual understanding of the scriptures or philosophy. It is a deeper discipline than a mere mental understanding. When with the rise of *bauddhagnana, bauddha-ajnana* is removed, there dawns knowledge, even in *ouddhi,* of the state of liberation. This is *jivanmukti* (liberation during lifetime). Even without *jivanmukti* the soul's liberation is accomplished with the liquidation of the innate ignorance of the atomic impurity. Only so long as *buddhi is* not purified and does not reflect the inner condition of freedom, the embodied being is not able to know and enjoy it.

The removal of *paurusa-ajnana is* followed by the rise of spiritual knowledge, *paurusagnana.* It is spiritual knowledge for two reasons: it is the knowledge of the spirit in all its aspects and integrality, it is also a knowledge obtained by the spiritual element in the Jiva. Though it is described in terms of knowledge, it is, to be precise, the realization of perfect and supreme *Sivatva,* that is, the state of Paramasiva, which is the condition of equilibrium, also called *yamala,* of Siva and Sakti. It is the state in which neither *prakasa* nor *vimarsa is* predominant over the other, and it is timeless eternity holding in itself endless succession. *Krama* and *akrama,* sequence and simultaneity, are both one and the same, according to the Trika; they are only two phases of the same perfect Reality. The attainment of the state of Paramasiva is also to become the Lord of *sakti-cakra,* the circle of powers. Between the intial rise of spiritual knowledge and its fullest development, when all the modes of Sakti are perfectly developed, there is such a thing as progress towards the consummation. One reason of this is that the *samskara* of the atomic impurity persists, though the taint itself is liquidated.

28.15 THE FOUR UVAYAS

There are four *upayas* or means of attaining the supreme goal. They are *anupaya, sambhava, sakta,* and *anava-upaya.* Of these the first *anupaya* (nomeans) or *anandopaya* (blissful means) does not really involve any process. Due to *saktipata* or descent of grace in a very intense degree, everything needed for the realization, beginning from the liquidation of the atomic impurity down to the recognition of the state of Paramasiva, may be achieved by the aspirant immediately and without going through any *sadhana* or discipline. Here the direct means is Sakti Herself, and a word from the *guru,* the spiritual teacher, regarding the identity of the individual with the ultimate Reality is sufficient to reveal the truth. The soul immediately realises its own transcendent nature along with the realization of the whole universe as its own glory reflected in its own integral 'I'.

Before taking up the exposition of the other means, a word about the Trika conception of *vikalpa* and *nirvikalpa* will be helpful. Our system conceives Siva as *nirvikalpa,* free from *vikalpa* or determination consisting of conceptual unification of the 'many' into the 'one', distinguishing between one object of cognition and another, and between 'this' and 'not-this', and accepting one among many stimuli received

from outside. But since Paramasiva is the perfect inalienable identity, there is nothing from which it can be distinguished. Hence there is no *vikalpa* in Paramasiva who is *ninvikalpa.* In the *sambhava-upaya,* the *nirvikalpa* knowledge is awakened in the aspirant through *diksa* itself, and all *vikalpas* are immediately destroyecl. Through *nirvikalpa* knowledge, the limited 'I' of the individual is united with the unlimited 'I' of its own higher self, as a result of which the 'this' or the object, so long apprehended separately from the soul, is absorbed into and unified with the '1', which was so long limited and exclusive. This means is also called *icchopaya,* because the element of will plays a great part in it.

In the *saktopaya,* conceptual determinations or *vikalpas* have to be purified before the soul can attain to the *ninvikapla* illumination. For this purification are needed pure intuition *(sattarka),* knowledge of the right scriptures *(sadagama),* and a genuine *guru (sadguru).* Getting instruction in the Agamas from a true guru gives rise to a succession of *vikalpas* of the same nature *(sojatiya-vikalpa).* This is *sattarka* and is the gateway to *ninvikalpaparamarsa* (apprehension devoid of determination, because determinations of the same nature form a step towards unity or oneness. It is asserted that meditation, concentration, etc. do not help the rousing of *samvid,* or consciousness. The purpose of these practices or disciplines is to wrest the *samvid* which is involved and diffused, from the body, vital airs, and *buddhi.* But since *samvid is* the only Reality, knowledge of duality is nothing in itself, and it is removed through the rise of *suddha vikalpa* or *ninvikalpa.* Through its own spontaneous freedom, *samvid* becomes its own *akhyati,* non-intuition, resulting in the denial of its own self-nature, and then, of its own accord, it blooms out as the true knowledge. The process is natural and due to *svatantrya,* and, as such, the practice of *yoga is* not a direct means towards its blooming. The right means therefore is *sattarka,*pure intuition, which can be attained through yaga (sacrifice), *homa (oblation* in fire), *vrata* (solemn *vow), japa* (repetition of holy word), and *yoga* (spiritual discipline).

The main point about *anava-upaya is* that personal effort, *pun~sakara, is* needed for the purification of *vikalpa.* Personal effort takes the form of certain definite disciplines. They are *dhyana, uccara, varna,* and observance of *baRya'idhi* or external injunctions. *Buddhi, prank (vital* force), and the body are the means of these disciplines.

Dhyana means meditation in the heart-space *(hrdayakasa)* on the supreme Reality inherent in all the *tattvas,* and also on the unification, in the supreme Consciousness, of the knower, means of knowledge, and the knowables, technically called *vahni, arka,* and *some* respectively. By this process of meditation the whole field of knowables is swallowed up and absorbed into the knower. Once the universe has been absorbed into one's own conscious self, it has to be manifested and externalized again, and one has to feel one's identity with the very highest, the *anuttara;* this will mean his control and mastery of the powers involved in the function of manifestation. With that achieved and without losing it, he has to have the experience of manifesting the universe, a world of objects, just as Siva does. The re-manifestation of the universe, along with the realization of one's identity with it and with its ground, viz. Siva, destroys all sense of duality. *Uccara* essentially means the directing of *prana,* the vital force, upwards. Here also the goal is the swallowing up or the destruction of the discrete knowable and also of the universe as a whole, and thus, ultimately, the destruction of the sense of duality. The recognition of the inherent identity with the Highest, *samavesa* in *samvid,* is the ultimate aim. *Varna is* a discipline in which the suksma or subtle *prana is* the means of *sadhana.* In the practice of *uccara,* a kind of undifferentiated sound or *dhvani* spontaneously emerges and is called *varna.* Its form is the *bija* or seed-word of creation and destruction. Constant repetition of the *bija* results in the attainment of supreme *sambid.*

Through any of these means, the limited individual, poor in powers *(sakti-daridrah),* attains to the rich treasure of his own true Self. In point of fact, the individual all the time experience nothing but Siva, but being limited does not give any attention to his constant apprehension of Siva. When the much desired attention falls on the apprehension of the Self, which is no other than Siva; there *is pratyabhijna* or recognition of the fact that 'I am everything and simultaneously transcendent of everything, that is, nothing in particular and yet all things together'. In the state of Paramasiva, there is no emergence, nor any absorption of the universe. To recognise oneself as the *sthiti-samya,* the perfect harmony of being and becoming, is what the soul should seek after and realise.

28.16 HARMONY IS THE WATCHWORD OF TRIKA

The Trika does not stop with the deliverance of the soul from Maya, from, the delusion of duality; it goes further to the concept of divinisation of the soul, which means the recognition of its own identity with Paramasiva, with Paramesvara. This recognition is the same as realising identity with everything and also freedom from everything. Thus, in a sense, harmony is the watchword of the practical spiritual discipline of the Trika.

The Trika philosophy promises to satisfy almost all siLies of human nature, of knowledge, love, and will. Siva being unitary consciousness as such, the realisation of Siva gives knowledge of everything by identity with everything; and Siva being at constant play with His own Sakti, there is ample scope for *bhakti,* devotion or love; also to recognise oneself as Paramasiva means mastery and lordship of *sakti* and thus implies sovereign and unrestricted will.

Two points remain to be noticed. The Trika does not give an independent reality to Prakrti as the Samkhya does, for according to it, Praktri represents a stage in the evolution of the universe out of Paran-rasiva. At the same time, it does not reduce the universe to a mere illusion out of Maya, as the Advaita Vedanta seems to do. In its Abhasavada, it reduces the universe to an experience of Paramasiva appearing to Him, not in the form in which it appears to a bound soul, but as if it were distinct like an object seen in a mirror. The theistic element, again, is brought out by the rejection of the Yoga view that release is attained by the unaided effort of the spiritual aspirant, and by the admission that the final step of liberation is provided by the grace of Siva.

29 ON THE IMPORTANCE OF KASHMIRI CULTURAL HERITAGE

Sharika Munshi

Elements of culture of the Indian civilisation have spread to other parts of the world. India has deeply affected in particular the religious life of most of Asia. No land has such a long history of cultural continuity as India where the Hindus still repeat Vedic hymns composed about 3000 years ago. In respect of these cultural achievements, Kashmiri Pandits have played a significant role. Their contributions have made the cultural heritage of India richer over the ages.

To start with the religious heritage, the Buddhist influence on Kashmir has been strong. Kashmiri Pandits' contribution to Buddhism is generally not recognised. Though their influence on Hindu thought and philosophy has been discussed very little is known about their impact on Buddhism. S. L. Shali's book 'Kashmir History and Archaeology Through the Ages' is in this respect an eye-opener.

The Sarvastivadin school of Buddhism is said to have flourished in Kashmir during the reign of Kanishka. The view of this school of thought originated in the 3rd century B.C.; indeed it may even go back to the time of the Buddha. For this realist school of thought the external world and its constituents have a real existence. In Kanishka's time a great council was held and a lakh of stanzas were written on the Sutra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. Shali says that Kashmir's contribution to Buddhist literature was immense and that this literature was very popular in China. According to him the first Chinese translation of gathas was made by Dharmatrata, a Kashmiri scholar in 221 A.D. Vinayapitaka was translated by Sanghabuti who himself visited China in 381 A.D. Several Kashmiri Buddhist scholars like Gautama Sanghdeva Dharmayasal and Buddhajiva visited China just as Chinese scholars Hiuen Tsang in 631 A.D. and OuKong in 759 A.D. visited Kashmir.

From the 5th century to the 14th century A.D. Kashmir was ruled by several Hindu dynasties. Their rule saw the flowering of Kashmiri Shavism, classical Sanskrit literature and hymnal literature. Ahribudhnaya Samhita which received a lot of attention in the early 5th century is believed to have originated in Kashmir in this period. The major part of it is devoted to *'kriya'* and *'karya'* as opposed to *'jnana'* and *'yoga'*. In one section, however, it presents interesting aspects on religion and philosophy.

Agamas or the Tantric texts belonging to the Shaiva sect originated in Kashmir around the 7th Century A.D. The twenty-eight Shaiva Agamas are believed to have emanated from the five mouths of Shiva. These texts were carefully preserved in the families of gurukuls who used them for their religious rites. The tradition of temple architecture and iconography as taught in the Shaiva Agamas is still living. The Agamas exercised a great influence in the ancient kingdoms of Southeast Asia.

Kashmiris like to believe that Patanjali, Charaka and Kalidasa were Kashmiris, though this is yet to be established. Patanjali is believed to have been born in Gudan in the 2nd century B.C. He was a Sanskrit grammarian. In his work Mahabhasya, Patanjali wrote commentaries on Panini who had brought together the phonetical and grammatical material relating to all the different Vedic schools. Patanjali was better known for his important work on the Yoga Sutras. His treatise on the Yoga Sutras has been translated in many languages across the world. It is said that no person can pursue yoga without a comprehensive knowledge of Patanjali's Yoga Sutras.

Charaka was the court physician to Kanishka. He had a marked influence on Arabic medical writers like Avicenna whose works in Latin translations were the standard authorities in medieval Europe. Charaka carried out extensive work on the respiratory system, the vascular system, diseases - their diagnosis and treatment, all of which have been included in the Charaka Samhita. Charaka was a highly respected member of society in the 1st and 2nd century A.D. He also laid down rules of professional behaviour for physicians to follow. These rules are found to be applicable to modern doctors as well.

Kalisasa (5th century A.D.) was essentially a lyric poet who also wrote epics and dramas. He was appreciated for the Vaidarbha style of composition and especially for the sweetness of his lines. His most quoted work is the lyric poem Megllasanciesha. His epics include Kumarasambhava which is a short epic and Raghavamsha which is comparatively longer. Malavikagnimitra is his best dramatic play.

Abhijnanashakuntala has been admired for its lyricism while Vikramorvashiya is essentially musical. In 1789 Sir William Jones (1740-94), the pioneer of Sanskrit studies, translated Abhijnanashakuntala and astonished the western world. Wilson's translation of Meghaduta in 1813 influenced Goethe who made conscious allusions to the poem in his work. Goethe's enthusiastic admiration of Abhijnanashakuntala is well known: 'Wouldst thou the heaven and earth in one sole name combine? I name thee Shakuntala, and all at once is said!' Kalidasa's dramas, especially Abhijnanashakuntala, have been translated into every European language including Czech and Rumanian.

The Kashmiri king who enriched the country's culture most was Lalitaditya. Early in the 8th century an upstart named Yashovarman established an empire at Kanyakubja which for a while controlled much of the north, but which soon fell to Lalitaditya, the son of Pratapaditya. During his heyday (700-750 A.D.) Kashmiri Shaivism sprouted in the valley. He brought many poets and philosophers to Kashmir and turned Kashmir into a land of Sanskrit literature and learning. Attriya Gupt, the Brahmin scholar of Kanauj, was brought to and settled in Kashmir. Lalitaditya built many shrines including the Martanda shrine and the Muktaswamin shrine in Baramullah. He also built a Buddhist Chaitya.

During his reign a school of Shaivism arose in Kashmir known as Trika or triad from the fact that the sect has three chief scriptures. This school unlike the Tamil Shaivasiddhanta was idealistic and monistic and shared Shankara's doctrine of the unreality of the phenomenal world which, it is declared, only existed because the soul failed to recognise its true nature. Vasogupt may be said to have formded this school of thought with his work *Spand Karikai* or 'Verses of Activity' in the Sth -9th centuries. Kallata Bhat wrote the *Spanda Vritti* in the 9th century which was discussed in detail by Shaivites later. Siddha Somananda, probably a student of Vasogupt, is credited with an elaborated treatment of his views and is known to be the founder of the logic of the Pratyabhijna Shastra ('Manual on Recognition') or the philosophical branch of the Trika. He wrote the *Shivadrishti* which serves as the foundation of this branch. His pupil Utpala wrote a summary of the philosophy of his master in his work *Pratyabhijua.* He also wrote the *Shivastotravali* and a commentary on his own work in the Vritti.

The greatest name in Kashmiri Shaivism is, however, that of Abhinava Gupt (lOth C. A.D.). He was a brilliant theorist both in theology and in poetics. He taught his twelve hundred disciples various subjects. He also contributed to Sanskrit literature by introducing the concept of ecstasy in poetry and drama, whether comedy or tragedy. Its works include Tantraloka or 'Lights on the Doctrine' (10th century) and Pratyabhijnavimarshini or 'Reflections on Recognition'.

Khemendra (990 A.D.) was a Kashmiri literary figure in the time of the king Anant Raja. His works dealt with various topics such as the life of various avataras aspects of human behaviour, rhetoric, and the social and economic problems of his time. He abridged classical works, discussed the Sanskrit alphabet, metre and symbols in detail. While educating new poets he gave them a code of conduct which was followed by poets across the country. He wrote the *Shiva-Sutravimarshini* or 'Reflections on the Aphorisms on Shiva'.

In Kashmiri Shaivism, Shiva is seen as the sole reality and his power is known in five aspects: *'chit'* or 'consciousness', *'ananda'* or 'bliss', *'ichha'* or desire, *'juana'* or knowledge, and *'kriya'* or 'action'. For the adherents of Kashmiri Shaivism, liberation comes about through intense meditation on the Lord and recognition of the identical nature of the individual soul and the Lord.

It is believed that many folktales of the world have come from India. Indeed they have and have found a place in the Arabian Nights Boccaccio's Decameron and other such works down to the fairy tales of Hans Christian Anderson and fables of Jean de la Fontaine. It is well known that the tales from the Panchatantra found their way into the West through translations into Persian, Arabic, Syrian, Hebrew and Latin - most medieval literature possessed their own versions of it. It is now recognized that the principal work done in this tradition is the Brhatkatha which found its important Sanskrit version in the Katha-sarit-sagar.

Two metrical Sanskrit adaptations of the Brhatkatha were written in Kashmir - Brhatkathamanjari (Khemendra) and Katha-sarit sagar written in 1050 A.D. by Somadeva. Somadeva's Katha-sarit-sagar or 'Ocean of Stories' is a piece of narrative poetry written in simple but polished verse. There are countless

stories in the collection yet Somadeva retains the continuity of the main story to a great extent. Somadeva has incorporated a large variety of stories, justifying the title 'River of Stories Forming an Ocean'. These stories combine simplicity with many touches of humour and pathos. The book is an unrivalled repository of stories of extraordianary quality and vigour, attractive, elegant and unpretentious. It has 124 sections called 'Taranga' or waves. Folktale writers have adopted the stories across the world.

Two literary figures of classical Sanskrit became famous in the 11th and 12th centuries - Bilhana and Kalhana. Bilhana, the poet, wrote Vikramadevacharita on a Chalukya emperor. This piece has been admired as a purely literary classic. His piece Chaurapanchashika or 'Fifty Stanzas of the Thief, is a beautiful elegy. It describes the secret love of a bold housekeeper and a princess. As Basham says, the piece is 'full of intense emotion recollected without tranquility' it is supposedly autobiographical, about a liaison with a princess that almost cost the lover his life.

Kalhana born around 1148 A.D., utilised the Nila Purana's contents in writing the ancient history of Kashmir in Sanskrit. He thought it fit to write the history of his native land in verse, Rajtarangini. This work is highly interesting from the point of view of the history, legendary lore and topography of Kashmir. Rajatarangini is divided into eight chapters. The first three cover fifty-two fabulous kings of whom there is no previous record. The next two cover the Naga and Utpala dynasties. The rest discuss the Lohara dynasties. In those days, a poet was supposed to be adept in several arts and sciences. Kalhana was a good poet. He vvas well versed in the Mahakavyas, historical kavyas, astrology, administration, law, poetics, geography, economics, epics, and legendary lore. He drew upon literary texts, living traditions, folkore, coins, inscriptions, and records of land grants. The Rajatarangini provides us with valuable data for reconstructing the cultural life of Kashmir. Kalhana's pupils and their pupils in turn continued to write accounts of Kashmir till 1586, when Kashmir was annexed by Akbar. Ancient Indians were poor historians but Kalhana's great chronicle of Kashmir is an important source of history.

Udbhata and Mammat were two other Kashmiris who made a mark on the cultural history of India. Udbhata, who lived earlier on (774-813 A.D.) was the teacher of the theory of the three vrittis. He worked on the Bhasyas of the Vedas and the Pratishakhas. Udbhata developed the Rasa aesthetics by adding to it the ninth rasa with calm as its basic emotion. Mammat who was born in the beginning of the 12th century A.D. came from Galandar near Pamper. He wrote the Kavya Prakasha on which eighty-seven commentaries have been written. He also wrote the Shabdavyapara-vichara where the usage of words has been discussed. He too was an upholder of the Rasa theory.

Hymnal literature produced by the Kashmiri poets include: Stava Chintamani of Bhatta Narayan (9th century), Shiva Stotravali of Utpala Deva (10th century), Bhavopahara of Chakraparinantha (11th century), and the Ardhanarishwarastotra of Kalhana (12th century). The Samba-panchashika hymn to the Sun God, traditionally attributed to Krishna's son Samba, is also probably the work of a Kashmiri poet. Exceptional among bhaktahymnodists, Kashmiri poetess Lal Ded was a Shaivite mystic belonging to the 14th century. Lalleshwari, reverentially and affectionately called 'Lal Ded' or 'Lalmoj' by Hindus and Muslims, preached through *vakhs.* She preached love, equality of all men and women, non-violence and most of all search for the ultimate truth. Lal Ded was a Shaiva woman-saint. She was born in 1335 during the reign of the last Hindu king Udayana Deva. She probably died either in 1383 or in 1385. She had a very unhappy married life and took to 'sanyas' at a young age. Having become a sannyasini she moved about the country singing little poems of her mystic perception of Shiva, the Supreme. It is believed that she met Shah Hamdani, who was the first Sufi saint and preacher of Islam in Kashmir. Lal Ded and Shah Hamdani were mutually appreciative of one another's mystic qualities. The Hindus called Lal Ded 'Lal Yogeshwari' and the Muslims called her 'Lal Arifa'. In her verse there is a fervent appeal for human brotherhood, social equality, and spiritual oneness, cutting across all dogma, caste and creed.

A curious fact of Kashmiri literature is that the three greatest poets were women - Lal Ded of the 14th century, Hubb Khotun of the 16th and Arnimal of the 18th.

Hubb Khotun (1551-1606) was educated in Persian. Although she was not born into a Kashmiri Pandit family, no discussion of Kashmiri poetry is complete without a mention of her name. She was a good

singer and she composed 'lot' or songs of yearning. Fler first marriage to an ordinary villager was unhappy. Later Yusuf Shah Chak, Sultan of Kashmir, captivated by her beauty had her divorced and married her. He changed her name from 'Zun' meaning 'moonlight' to Hubb meaning love. After Akbar's conquest, Yusuf Shah was taken away and not allowed to return. Hubb Khotun passed the rest of her life in separation from her husband. During this period she composed exquisite lyrics of love and life.

Arnimal and Hubb Khotun had similar tragedies in life. Their outpourings in verse projected the feelings and the ethos of Kashmiri women in general - yearning for freedom, equality and intellectual liberty. Arnimal was born in the second half of the 18th century. She was the wife of Munshi Bhavanidas Kachru, a Persian scholar and writer. Her married life was unhappy. She poured forth her heart in a series of poignant but exquisite poems of love in Kashmiri. These are comparable with the finest love poems in any language.

This article has dealt with the contributions of Kashmiri Pandits up to the late eighteenth century. It is only an overview of what they have achieved, not a full detailed account. There are others who have played important roles, among them, notably, Parmananda (1791-1879) and Dinanath Nadim. Kashmiri scholars of Persian and Urdu settled in Delhi, Lucknow and Allahabad have made significant contributions, especially Brij Narayan 'Chakbast' (1882-1926) who has an important place in Urdu poetry and criticism. It is believed that no less an Urdu poet than lqbal himself had Kashmiri Pandits as his ancestors who had converted to Islam and settled in Punjab. It can be clearly seen thus that the cultural history of Kashmir is ancient and rich. Of late the state has been going through trouble and turmoil due to political reasons. History tells us that the Kashmiris were never isolated from the rest of India. It is remarkable how such a small community has made such a lasting impression on the country's cultural heritage. It is for us to learn from our predecessors and continue along these lines. I would like to close this article with these words from 'Chakbast'.

bulbul ko gulmubarak gul ko chaman mubarak
hum bekason ko apna pyara watan mubarak

(Original in Hindi/Urdu)