

# KALHAṆA'S RĀJATARANGINĪ,

## A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF KAŚMĪR.

TRANSLATED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY, AND APPENDICES,

BY

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VOL. I.

INTRODUCTION. BOOKS I.—VII.

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KALHANA'S RĀJATARANĠINĪ.

TO THE MEMORY  
OF  
GEORGE BÜHLER.

## PREFACE.

It was in the summer of 1888, on my first visit to Kaśmīr, that I was attracted to the task which the present work is intended to complete.

Amidst the ancient remains and traditions which the Valley has preserved in such abundance, I could not fail to become impressed with the importance of KALHAṆA'S Chronicle, our oldest and fullest record of Kaśmīr history. I realized that in order to render its contents fully accessible for research it was necessary, on the one hand, to obtain a critically correct text, and on the other, to collect for its elucidation whatever data a close study of the country and its old remains could furnish.

My subsequent visits to Kaśmīr offered valuable opportunities in both directions. In 1889 I succeeded in securing the codex archetypus of all extant manuscripts of the *Rājataranṅiṇī*, and with its help I was able to publish in 1892 my critical edition of the text of the Chronicle. In its preface I expressed my intention of embodying the materials I had collected for the interpretation of the work in the form of a commentary to be published as a second volume.

Heavy official labours and another literary duty did not allow me to approach this portion of my task until the summer of 1895, when an arrangement between the Kashmir Darbar and the Punjab University, adopted on the recommendation of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, secured to me the necessary facilities. Availing myself of the two months' periods of 'special duty' granted to me in extension of the summer vacations of 1895, 1896, and 1898, I was able to expand the plan of my labours and ultimately to complete the present annotated translation of the Chronicle which, together with its Introduction and various Appendices, is now offered in place of the commentary originally contemplated.

The detailed analysis of the RĀJATARANṂIṆĪ contained in the initial chapters of my Introduction will explain the reasons which make the Rājataranṅiṇī so important for the study of ancient Kaśmīr and for Indian historical research generally. This importance and the exceptional interest which attaches to Kalhaṇa's "River of Kings" as practically the sole extant product of Sanskrit

literature possessing the character of a true Chronicle, account for the efforts which have been directed towards the elucidation of the work ever since European scholarship became aware of its existence. A brief review of these earlier efforts will help to indicate more clearly the object of the present publication and the nature of the labours it has involved.

As early as the seventeenth century Dr. BERNIER, to whose visit to Kāśmīr in the summer of 1664 we owe the first European account of the Valley, and one as accurate as it is attractive, had turned his attention to the 'histories of the ancient Kings of Kachemire.' The Chronicle, of which he possessed a copy, and of which, as he tells us, he was preparing a French translation, was, however, not Kalhaṇa's work, but a Persian compilation, by Ḥaidar Malik, Cādura, prepared in Jahāngīr's time avowedly with the help of the Rājatarangīnī.<sup>1</sup> Also the summary of Kāśmīr rulers which Father TIEFFENTHALEB a century later reproduced in his "Description de l'Inde," was still derived from that abridged rendering.<sup>2</sup>

Even before, however, the work of the Tyrolese missionary appeared in print, Mr. Gladwin had published his translation of the *Āin-i Akbarī* of Abū-l-Fazl, and as the latter distinctly quotes Kalhaṇa's Chronicle as the authority for his own abstract of early Kāśmīr history, the Sanskrit original could no longer escape attention. We accordingly find the "history of India from the Sanscrit Cashmir authorities" prominently included among the tasks which SIR WILLIAM JONES had contemplated.<sup>3</sup> The life of the pioneer of European Sanskrit studies was cut short before he could obtain access to these authorities. It was not until the year 1805 that Mr. COLEBROOKE secured in Calcutta an incomplete copy of Kalhaṇa's work, and even then twenty more years passed before his intention of giving an account of its contents was realized.

To Dr. HORACE HAYMAN WILSON's justly famous "Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir" belongs the merit of having first acquainted European students with the general character of Kalhaṇa's work and of having furnished them with a critical abstract of the contents of its first six cantos.<sup>4</sup> The sound judgment and thoroughness displayed in this publication of the distinguished Sanskrit scholar deserve all the more credit, as the three incomplete Devanāgarī manuscripts at his disposal were so defective "that a close translation of them, if desirable, would have been impracticable." This serious difficulty accounts for

<sup>1</sup> See BERNIER, *Travels*, ed. A. Constable, p. 394. The translation on which Bernier seems to have been actually engaged for a time has never been published. Is it possible that it still lies with other papers of that learned and most observant traveller in one of the archives of his native country, where

he spent so many years after his return from the Great Moghul's Court?

<sup>2</sup> See *Description de l'Inde*, i. p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, i. p. 431.

<sup>4</sup> Published in 1825, in Vol. xv. of the *Asiatic Researches*, Calcutta.

most of the mistakes which Professor Wilson's article undoubtedly contains, and which in some instances have been reproduced also in subsequent accounts of Kāśmīrian history.<sup>5</sup>

Even before Professor Wilson's Essay was published Mr. MOORCROFT, the traveller, had made a successful endeavour in Kāśmīr itself to obtain better textual materials. During his sojourn in S'rīnagar, in 1823, he had a Devanāgarī transcript prepared from an old S'aradā manuscript which, as I have shown elsewhere, was no other than the codex archetypus of all extant Kāśmīrian manuscripts. Nevertheless, the *editio princeps* of the Rājatarangīnī, which appeared in 1835 under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, and which was mainly based on Mr. Moorcroft's transcript, failed to furnish a critically reliable text of the Chronicle. The corruptions of all kinds which appear through the whole of the Calcutta edition, and which render its text wholly unintelligible in many passages, can easily be traced to two main causes. The numerous mistakes plainly due to faulty transcription from S'aradā into Devanāgarī characters show that Mr. Moorcroft's copy shared the usual defects of all Devanāgarī manuscripts prepared in Kāśmīr. But it is equally evident also that the Calcutta Paṇḍits, unable to follow in many places the details of Kalhaṇa's narrative owing to want of familiarity with the topography, traditions, and other local lore of Kāśmīr, had frequently altered the text in an unscrupulous manner.

In 1840 Mr. A. TROYER, who, while Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College had occasion to become acquainted with the labours preceding the issue of the *editio princeps*, began the publication of a new edition of the text and of a French translation under the auspices of the Société Asiatique at Paris. This edition was prepared practically from the same materials as those used at Calcutta, and was not carried beyond the first six Books. His translation, however, accompanied by elaborate historical and geographical dissertations, was completed in 1852.

It is unnecessary to discuss at length the grave defects which characterize this, the main portion, of Mr. Troyer's work; for they have long ago been recognized by all qualified Sanskritists. Though the patient industry and perseverance of the aged scholar may justly claim our admiration, we must acknowledge with Professor Bühler, the most competent and fairest of judges, that Mr. Troyer who "has seldom been able to make out the meaning of the text except where Kalhaṇa uses the simplest, plainest language," had undertaken a task very much beyond his strength.<sup>6</sup> The most striking of the translator's shortcomings directly result from a want of proper preparation, easily intelligible in view of the peculiar

<sup>5</sup> See BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 55.

See BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 55.

circumstances connected with Mr. Troyer's personal career and his literary labours.<sup>7</sup> But his failure is largely due also to the insufficiency of the materials then available to European scholars. This observation applies with particular force to the materials required for the proper comprehension of all those points in Kalhana's narrative which are connected with the history, topography, economic conditions and other local features of Kāśmīr.

The difficulty in dealing with these points without the materials which only local research could furnish, is illustrated by the results of the labours which two Indologists of the first rank bestowed upon the Kāśmīr Chronicle soon after the Valley became fully accessible to Europeans. General (then Captain) A. CUNNINGHAM, whom political duty had brought to Kāśmīr after the first Sikh war and the establishment of Dogrā rule in the Valley, was able to elucidate with remarkable success a series of important questions bearing on the chronological system of the Rajatarāṅgīnī and on the numismatic history of the country. With the help of the information obtained through local inquiries he correctly ascertained the era

<sup>7</sup> Mr. TROYER appears to have been born in the Tyrol about the year 1769, and to have been educated at an Austrian military academy. The wars of the French Revolution found him as a young artillery officer in Flanders, where the accidental discovery of a polyglot Bible in an abandoned convent which his battery occupied, first directed his attention to the study of Arabic. Transferred to the army operating in Italy, and employed during the siege of Genoa as Austrian commissioner at the British headquarters, he made the acquaintance of Lord William Bentinck, who formed a firm friendship for him.

When Lord W. Bentinck proceeded in 1803 to Madras as Governor of the Presidency, he offered to his friend an appointment on his personal staff, which Troyer readily accepted. A commission as captain in some native regiment provided Troyer at the same time with the requisite military rank. He remained in Madras after the recall of his patron, ultimately occupying the post of Principal of the local Muhammadan College. He seems subsequently to have retired to Paris, from where he once more followed Lord W. Bentinck's fortunes to India when the latter became Governor-General in 1827. Made Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, he remained in India until 1835, when he finally returned to Paris.

It is only during his residence at Calcutta that he seems to have seriously taken up Sanskrit studies, a fact which in view of his advanced age indicates no small amount of

vigour and scholarly zeal. The thirty years which Troyer spent in complete retirement after his return to Europe, were devoted to the same interests which had originally attracted him to India. He died in 1866, nearly a centenarian, after having preserved to the last a remarkable freshness of mind. Among the many literary labours which he planned or began during the later portion of his life, only two had been brought to completion, his Rajatarāṅgīnī work and the annotated translation of that curious Persian text, the Dabistan.

I take the above from an interesting obituary notice which is contained in M. MOHL's *Rapport Annuel* to the Société Asiatique for the year 1866 (*Journal asiat.*, 1866, Extrait No. 9, pp. 13-18). I owe the reference to this publication as well as a manuscript copy of it to the kindness of my lamented teacher, Professor R. VON ROTHS, who had known Mr. Troyer during his own student's days at Paris (1845-46), and who in 1894 still vividly remembered some quaint features of his character and habits.

According to Prof. von Roth's recollection the old gentleman put his birth at an even earlier date than that indicated in M. Mohl's notice. It seems probable that a search in the archives of the Vienna war office would lead to more accurate information about Troyer's early life and his career in the Austrian army. I regret not to have found an opportunity to make the necessary inquiries.

employed in Kalhana's chronological reckoning, and thus succeeded in fixing with fair accuracy the dates for almost all the kings from the advent of the Kārkoṭa dynasty onwards. In the same paper, published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1846, he communicated the results of his search for ancient Kāsmīrian coins, and proved by their analysis the great value of numismatic evidence for the critical control of Kalhana's records.<sup>8</sup> Equally useful for the study of Kāsmīrian antiquities was his rapid survey of the most conspicuous architectural remains of the Hindu period still extant in the Valley.<sup>9</sup> It threw light on the history of interesting temple-buildings mentioned in the *Chronicle*, and also enabled General Cunningham to identify a number of localities which are important for the ancient topography of the country.

Professor LASSEN, who in his great encyclopædia, the *Indische Alterthumskunde*, gave an exhaustive analysis of Kalhana's *Chronicle*,<sup>10</sup> had no original materials of any kind at his disposal. We can, therefore, scarcely feel surprised if even his learning and acumen failed to extend materially the store of trustworthy historical data already gathered by Professor Wilson and General Cunningham. The conjectural attempts to establish synchronisms between the semi-legendary portion of Kalhana's record and the earlier epochs of general Indian history could not be expected to furnish useful results at a time when the reliable data regarding the latter were yet so scanty. Similarly I have been obliged to point out elsewhere that the tendency towards purely conjectural identifications of local names displayed in this analysis has often caused the narrow territorial limits to be ignored to which the events recorded in the later and historically most valuable portion of Kalhana's narrative are in reality restricted.<sup>11</sup>

All these labours had clearly proved that trustworthy materials were required before the contents of the *Chronicle* could be made fully available for historical and antiquarian study. Yet no attempt was made to secure them until Professor G. BÜHLER, then of the Bombay Education Department, during the summer of 1875, visited Kāsmīr in search of Sanskrit manuscripts. Many important results rewarded his brilliant researches and render this tour a memorable one in the annals of Sanskrit philology. But none among them, perhaps, show more clearly the keen historical sense and the sure perception of the departed great scholar than

<sup>8</sup> *The ancient coinage of Kashmir, with chronological and historical notes*, in "The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society," 1846, No. xx. pp. 1 sqq.

<sup>9</sup> *An Essay on the Arian Order of Archi-*

*itecture as exhibited in the Temples of Kashmir*, in *J.A.S.B.*, 1848.

<sup>10</sup> See in particular *Indische Alterthumskunde*, ii. pp. 18 sqq., 753-781, 886-914; iii. pp. 984-1128.

<sup>11</sup> See below, Vol. II., p. 350.



the lucidity with which he indicated the task concerning the Rājatarāṅgiṇī and the materials that were at hand for it.<sup>12</sup>

By the examination of good though modern S'aradā copies of the Chronicle, Professor BÜHLER was able to prove the absolute superiority of the Kaśmīr manuscripts over the Devanāgarī transcripts. He also ascertained that the former were all derived from a single old S'aradā manuscript. Though unable himself to obtain more than a glimpse of this jealously-guarded *codex archetypus*, he thus showed the way for the critical reconstitution of the genuine text. He recognized clearly the importance of a minute study of the ancient geography of Kaśmīr for the correct comprehension of Kalhaṇa's narrative, and pointed out the most valuable help which could be obtained for such researches from the Nilamatapurāṇa, the legendaries (Māhātmyas) of Kaśmīr Tīrthas, and other Kaśmīrian texts he had discovered. As regards the difficulties arising from the peculiarities of the Chronicler's diction and style, he showed how they might be overcome by close attention to the form of composition adopted by Kaśmīrian poets who immediately preceded and followed Kalhaṇa. The long discussion on the Rājatarāṅgiṇī embodied in his famous *Report* finally gave Professor Bühler also an opportunity to trace some of the critical principles which must guide us in regard to the use of Kalhaṇa's work for the history of Kaśmīr and of India.

He thus expressed his conclusion as to the task that remained to be done. "A new attempt to translate and to explain the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, and to use its contents for the history of India, ought to be made. But it is a work of very considerable difficulty, and will require much time and patience." The manner in which he contemplated this new translation was illustrated by a specimen given in the Appendix of his *Report* and containing a masterly exposition of verses 1-107 of Kalhaṇa's First Book.<sup>13</sup> Professor Bühler had himself at one time planned to undertake the work which had attracted so much of his interest. But other tasks and probably also the conviction that further local researches were indispensable for its satisfactory execution, prevented him from following up this plan after his return to Europe, in 1881.

Subsequently Dr. E. HULTZSCH utilized the manuscript materials which Professor Bühler had collected, and others obtained during his own visit to Kaśmīr in 1885, for a series of articles which appeared in Volumes xviii. and xix. of the *Indian Antiquary*. They were intended to supply an abstract translation and historical summary of the Chronicle. Though these articles were not continued

<sup>12</sup> *Detailed Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. in Kaśmīr (J. B. Br. R.A.S., Extra No., 1877), pp. 52 sqq.*

<sup>13</sup> See *Report*, pp. lxvi.-lxxxii.

beyond the commencement of Book iii., they have yet furnished a considerable number of useful critical observations, particularly in regard to Kalhana's system of chronology.

Before concluding this review of previous labours, reference must be made to Mr. Yogesh Chunder DUTT's English version which appeared at Calcutta, 1879-87, under the title: *Kings of Káshmira : being a translation of the Sanskrita work Rájataranginí of Kahlana (sic) Pandita*. This translation though published some time after Professor Bühler's researches, is based exclusively on the corrupt text of the Calcutta edition of 1835, and was manifestly prepared without reference to any of the Káshmirian sources of information which are indispensable for the correct comprehension of Kalhana's narrative. Exegetical puzzles are passed over without any notice, and practically no attempt is made to grapple with the difficulties arising from Kalhana's constant references to local topography, institutions, and other *realia* of ancient Káshmir.<sup>14</sup> Though the rendering of those portions of the text which are not altogether obscured in sense by the defects of the Calcutta edition, is distinctly superior to Mr. Troyer's version, and though the patient labour of the Bengali translator deserves commendation, it is yet evident that a publication of this kind could scarcely help towards the solution of the real difficulties in Kalhana's work and towards the elucidation of those points which mainly interest the critical student.

It would be impossible to enumerate here all the works in which European and Indian Sanskrit scholars have incidentally discussed particular portions or passages of the Rájataranginí, and have thus in varying degrees contributed towards the interpretation of the Chronicle. Referring for the most prominent among them to the note below,<sup>15</sup> I may now turn to the labours which have led to the production of the present work.

I have already in my opening remarks indicated the reasons which induced me

<sup>14</sup> Regarding the confusion resulting from the disregard of topographical matters, see below Vol. II., p. 349.

<sup>15</sup> Geheimrath O. VON BÖHLINGK, in his great florilegium of Indian proverbial wisdom, the *Indische Sprüche*, has translated many of those didactic and descriptive verses of the Rájataranginí which form so characteristic a feature in Kalhana's poetic style; see below *Introd.*, § 38. The same venerable scholar together with Prof. KERN, of Leyden, has also, in vol. vii. of the *Mélanges asiatiques* of the St. Petersburg Academy, proposed a considerable number of textual emendations for the Chronicle. Many of them have

subsequently been confirmed by the readings of the codex archetypus as recorded in my edition.

General CUNNINGHAM, nearly half a century after his first important contribution, resumed the discussion of interesting numismatic points connected with Kalhana's narrative in his posthumous book, "The Coins of Medieval India," 1894. Prof. J. JOLLY in his paper "Rechts-historisches aus der Rájataranginí" (*Weber-Festgabe*, 1895) has given a very instructive synopsis of the data furnished by the Chronicle for the study of legal and social lore in Káshmir, etc.

during my first visit to Kāśmīr to form the plan of a critical edition of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. My first endeavour was to secure the use of the *codex archetypus* of all extant manuscripts of the Chronicle, of which Professor Bühler had not been allowed more than a glimpse and which subsequently to his visit had been divided between the three heirs of the former owner. In this I succeeded during my second visit in 1889, notwithstanding the additional obstacles created by the above division. I was then able to ascertain that the codex had been written by a well-known Kāśmīrian scholar, Paṇḍit Rājānaka Ratnakaṅṭha, probably about the third quarter of the seventeenth century, and that it contains besides a wealth of various readings and corrections from several old hands, a great number of important glosses. The features which make that codex so valuable for critical and exegetical purposes, have been fully set forth both in the preface of my edition and in the *résumé* contained in Chapter III. of the Introduction to the present work.<sup>16</sup>

A series of antiquarian tours in Kāśmīr for which I utilized my summer vacations during the years following my first visit, allowed me to acquaint myself on the spot with the topography, archaeological remains, local customs, and other *realia* of the country. They also furnished opportunities for the acquisition of manuscripts of those products of Kāśmīrian Sanskrit literature, which like the Nilamata, the Māhātmyas of the numerous sacred sites, the poetical compositions of Kalhaṇa's period, have carefully to be consulted by the interpreter of the Chronicle. With the assistance of the materials thus collected and on the basis of the *codex archetypus* I was able to prepare my edition of the Sanskrit text of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, which together with the complete *apparatus criticus* was published in 1892 under the patronage of the Kashmir Darbar.<sup>17</sup>

In the preface of this Edition I had promised,—as soon as the scanty leisure I could spare from teaching and office duties would permit,—to give in a second volume exegetical notes on the text together with a running commentary on those points of Kalhaṇa's narrative which are of interest for the history, archæology, and topography of Kāśmīr. It was impossible for me to take up this task in earnest until the arrangement already above alluded to had secured to me the leisure of two summer seasons in Kāśmīr.

Already previously I had convinced myself that the only way of testing my comprehension of Kalhaṇa's text was for me to write down a close translation of it. I soon found that such a continuous rendering provided far simpler means of explaining and justifying my interpretation of the text than elaborate exegetical

<sup>16</sup> See *Introd.*, §§ 44-48.

<sup>17</sup> *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, or Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir.* Edited by M. A. Stein.

Vol. I. Sanskrit Text with Critical Notes. Bombay: Education Society's Press. 1892, pp. xx., 1-296, folio.

notes on all difficult or doubtful passages. There seemed also good reason to assume that a complete English version would not only bring the contents of the Chronicle within easier reach of all students interested in Kāsmir and in Indian history generally, but would render reference to them also far more convenient to fellow-Sanskritists. I accordingly decided to offer in place of the promised commentary the present annotated translation which in view of its bulk and for other practical reasons had to take the form of a distinct publication.

The object which, as just indicated, led me to the preparation of a full translation, accounts also for the form given to the latter. It appeared to me that a close and as far as possible literal version was required in order to convey accurately the interpretation adopted for a text which combines with the intricacies of the florid rhetoric of the Sanskrit Kāvya so many obscurities due to the subject-matter, the local allusions, and other peculiarities of Kalhana's form of narration. In that section of my Introduction which deals with Kalhana's style, I have discussed at length the various causes which have made it often so difficult to ascertain exactly the meaning of particular expressions and also of whole passages.<sup>18</sup> Without referring to these here in detail, it will be evident that in the case of such a text where the interpreter can proceed only cautiously, and has often, as it were, to clear his way step by step, a freer form of rendering would be useful only for the purpose of giving an adequate conception of the work as a literary product to readers unable to study the original. Notwithstanding the poetical merit which we may allow to various features of Kalhana's work, if judged as a Kāvya,<sup>19</sup> it appears to me doubtful whether the interest of that class of readers would ever justify more than comparatively small selections from the Chronicle being treated in the manner indicated.

These considerations have induced me to follow the example set by Professor Bühler in his above-mentioned specimen-translation, and to adopt a form of rendering that allows the interpreter not only to reproduce plainly the meaning of the text, but also indirectly to indicate often the construction or other exegetical reason underlying his version. Thin square brackets have been employed throughout to distinguish words which are not actually found in the original, but require to be added in order to make the context intelligible in English, while round brackets denote additions having more the nature of glosses. Pedantic as this device may appear, it has often saved lengthy explanatory notes, and its advantages will be readily appreciated wherever reference to the exact words of the Chronicle is essential.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See *Introd.*, §§ 38-40.

<sup>19</sup> Compare *ib.*, § 37.

<sup>20</sup> From the method of translation here in-

dicated I have departed only in regard to a small number of passages, amounting, in the aggregate, to not more than a hundred

The addition of Marginalia to indicate the reigns and more important events dealt with in particular portions of the text will, I trust, make reference easier, and to some extent remedy the defect arising from the want of proper division in Kalhana's narrative.

I am fully aware that notwithstanding the standard of close verbal accuracy aimed at it would have been possible to give to this translation a form more attractive to the general reader. But even if I could have claimed the literary skill and command of language required for such a task, I doubt whether I could have attempted it without the risk of seeing my labours protracted far beyond the limits of the leisure assured for them. Any shortcomings in this direction will, I hope, be the more readily pardoned as the time thus saved has permitted me to follow up all the more carefully the many philological and antiquarian questions connected with the interpretation of the Chronicle.

In the course of these inquiries I have endeavoured to utilize to the best of my ability the special advantages I have enjoyed for the study of ancient Kaśmīr. The antiquarian tours to which I have already referred, and which I was able to supplement by others in 1894-96, have enabled me not only to examine most of the ancient ruins and sites of Kaśmīr, but also to gain a thorough personal acquaintance with the topography of the country and its economic and ethnic conditions. The great geographical barriers which separate Kaśmīr from the rest of India, coupled with the marked difference of climatic conditions, have from early times assured to the alpine land a distinct character of its own which manifests itself strongly in all matters of culture, customs, and social organization. It scarcely needs a detailed explanation to prove that closest attention to all these peculiarities of modern Kaśmīr is required, if we desire to arrive at a correct comprehension of Kalhana's narrative, and of the historical events of which it treats.

But it is not alone in the unaltered features of topography and climate, in ruined structures and other antiquarian remains, that so much of ancient Kaśmīr has survived to this day. The historical isolation of the country, directly due to its alpine position, and fully noticed in my Introduction,<sup>21</sup> has saved Kaśmīr from many changes which have elsewhere in India effaced the conditions of earlier periods. To this seclusion we owe in Kaśmīr that remarkable tenacity of tradition which, whether in matters of local lore, in religious practice, or in social custom,

S'lokas, which contain rhetoric descriptions or didactic matter of a wholly conventional type, practically unconnected with the narrative proper. As these passages do not offer any points which are of interest, or in need

of comment, I have contented myself with reproducing their purport by means of brief summaries.

<sup>21</sup> Compare below, pp. 30, 181 sq.

has often proved a most welcome help for the interpretation of the Chronicle. In evidence of the value of this source of information it will suffice to refer here only to my inquiry into the ancient monetary system of Kāśmīr, and to the numerous instances where local tradition has assisted me materially in tracing interesting ancient sites.<sup>22</sup> I need scarcely add that in collecting traditions of this kind I have always endeavoured to exercise due critical caution.

It was fortunate that I was able to conduct many of these inquiries, and in particular those connected with Paṇḍit traditions and the customs and manners of the Brahman population, with the help of my lamented friend, Paṇḍit GOVIND KAUL, of S'rinagar. Thoroughly imbued himself with the traditional spirit of his class and country, and at the same time, like some other distinguished Kāśmīrian scholars of earlier days, possessed of a keen eye for the realities of life, Paṇḍit Govind Kaul held his store-house of old-world lore and learning ever open to me. The advantages I derived from it were not restricted to the ample information on traditions and customs I gathered through him. They were equally great in another direction. All those who have had opportunities to study more closely Hindu thought in its products, as well as in its living inheritors, know how deep the differences reach that separate it from Western thought, whether classic or modern. It is a direct result of these differences that the Western interpreter of a text like the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, which treats of so many aspects and relations of life, is only too frequently liable to misapprehend the drift of the author's thought, even where his words are plain, and the subject-matter sufficiently elucidated. In the absence of an indigenous commentary on the work it was no small assurance to me that I was able to test my interpretation wherever such doubts could arise, by consulting a scholar so thoroughly versed in the traditional notions of Kalhaṇa's country.

If a Sanskrit commentary on the Chronicle had ever been written by a countryman of Kalhaṇa, not too far removed from his own time, it would in all probability have made the task of proving the exact significance of many local terms and references far more simple. In the absence of such a convenient guide their meaning had only too frequently to be established in my notes by an exhaustive comparison of parallel passages, references to other Kāśmīrian texts, and other independent evidence. A very great portion of the materials used was obtained from texts hitherto unpublished, and scarcely any of the questions raised had previously formed the subject of systematic inquiry. These considerations have rendered it necessary to make in each case the exposition of the available evidence detailed and exhaustive; they must mainly be held to account if

<sup>22</sup> See Note H, §§ 8, 9, 35, sqq.; *Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kāśmīr*, § 35.

some of these notes, e.g. on the terms *Dāmara* (Note *G*), *dvāra* (v. 214), on the Dinnāra reckoning, and the monetary system of old Kaśmīr (Note *H*), have grown into little monographs. Wherever the comments on a particular subject were too long to be conveniently printed as footnotes they have been placed in the APPENDIX found after Book viii.

The detailed study of the historical geography of Kaśmīr and the neighbouring hill-regions was from the first recognized by me as a condition of primary importance for my task, and as these researches had also otherwise a special attraction for me I have spared no effort to make my survey of the sites and tracts which form the scene of Kalhaṇa's narrative, as thorough and accurate as possible. The Memoir to be mentioned below has given me an opportunity to explain in detail the methods and means which have enabled me to identify with certainty the vast majority of the old localities, in and about Kaśmīr, referred to by the Chronicler, and very often to trace also the remains of particular structures, etc.<sup>23</sup> A reference to notes like those on the Castle of *Lohara* (Note *E*), on the re-discovery of the long-forgotten Tirtha of *Bhedā* (Note *A*), on the old confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu (Note *I*), etc., will help to realize the interest attaching to this search, as well as the time and trouble it has frequently cost me.

It has been a source of special satisfaction to me that I was able to illustrate the results of my researches into the ancient topography of Kaśmīr by the MAPS attached to this work. I am indebted for the publication of the two larger ones, of ancient Kaśmīr and its capital S'rinagar, to the help of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, which, through the kind offices of Drs. GRIERSON and HOERNLE, very liberally agreed to bear the cost of their preparation on the understanding that they would be published also separately in its *Journal*. The plan which I followed in preparing these maps and the system by which they were reproduced at the Offices of the Survey of India, will be found fully explained elsewhere.<sup>24</sup> The successful technical execution of the maps was mainly due to the ready co-operation of Major-General J. WATERHOUSE, late Assistant Surveyor-General, in charge of the Lithographic and Photographic Office of the Survey of India. The third map showing the site of Parihāsapura and the ancient confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu was subsequently reproduced at the well-known establishment of Mr. W. Griggs, of Peckham.

I am too well aware of the value of graphic reproduction as an important aid of the commentator, not to have wished that it might have been practicable for me to provide, apart from these maps, other illustrations that would help to bring

<sup>23</sup> See below, *Memoir*, §§ 16-35

<sup>24</sup> See below, *Memoir*, § 2.

the scenes of Kalhana's story closer before the eye of the reader. The materials are ample in Kāsmīr, where the sites to which the Chronicler's narrative takes us, can mostly be traced with such accuracy, and where so many objects of antiquarian interest have survived from the periods he deals with. But Kalhana is neither a Pausanias nor a Marco Polo, and hence the wish of an illustrated translation such as the efforts of two distinguished scholars have provided for the antiquarian of classical Greece and for the great traveller of the Middle Ages, must remain a *pium desiderium* which even the most enterprising publisher might well hesitate to realize.

My translation and the notes which accompany it were finished in manuscript in October, 1896. With the scanty leisure available to me at Lahore it would have been impossible to attempt to complete my task by a historical introduction such as I had originally promised. Yet my recent labours had convinced me more than ever how necessary it was from the point of view of the critical student that the many important questions relating to the personality of the author, the character and scope of his Chronicle, and its value as a source of historical information, should be examined systematically and in a connected form. A recommendation of the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists, 1897, induced the Kashmir Darbar and the Punjab University jointly to grant me once more a two months' period of special duty for the purpose of completing my work in the manner indicated. I was thus able to prepare during the summer, 1898, the critical Introduction which precedes my translation of Kalhana's text, and in addition also the "Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kāsmīr" which follows it.

In the INTRODUCTION I have endeavoured to elucidate in the first place the data which can be gathered as regards the person of Kalhana, his family, and the *milieu* in that he lived. The discovery of a curious and hitherto unnoticed reference to Kalhana by his countryman and contemporary, the poet Mankha, may perhaps claim special interest, as confirming in a striking manner the conclusions derived from the Chronicler's own work as regards his literary training and interests.<sup>25</sup> In the second Chapter I have examined as closely as our available materials would permit, the objects and methods which guided Kalhana in the composition of his work, the sources he used for it, and the form which he gave to his narrative. The condition in which the text of the Chronicle has been handed down to us, and the materials I have used for its reconstitution, are discussed in the third Chapter, while the next contains an exposition of Kalhana's system of Chronology.

<sup>25</sup> See *Introd.*, §§ 9, 10.



In the concluding and longest Chapter of the Introduction it has been my object to present a critical summary of Kalhana's narrative and of the historical data contained in it. For the purposes of this analysis it was necessary to scrutinize with special care all independent evidence on Kaśmīrian history that we can at present gather from the coins, foreign notices and similar records.

It is only by the discovery of fresh materials of this kind that we can hope to obtain true light regarding the earlier periods for which the first three Books of Kalhana's work do not furnish us with a critically reliable account. Conjectural "adjustments" of Kalhana's statements, as proposed by some of my predecessors, cannot take the place of such materials, and I hope, therefore, I shall not be blamed for having strictly avoided them. On the other hand, I trust, the analysis of the subsequent portions of the Chronicle will show that from the advent of the Karkoṭa dynasty onwards we possess in it a truly historical record which grows more and more accurate as we approach the time of the author, and which by its wealth of information on all aspects of old Kaśmīr amply repays the attention of the student of Indian history and culture.

The Chronological and Genealogical Tables attached to the Introduction are intended to present in a condensed form the information furnished by the Rājatarāṅgiṇī regarding the date and descent of successive rulers of Kaśmīr.

The MEMOIR which follows the translation and Notes, presents a connected and detailed account of the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr. The importance of the latter for the comprehension of the Chronicle and for the critical study of Kaśmīr history generally needs, in view of my previous remarks, scarcely to be emphasized here. The preparation of this Memoir, which, with certain modifications, was intended also to accompany the separate issue of the maps of Ancient Kaśmīr and Śrīnagar, has enabled me to treat the subject as a whole and in a systematic manner. It gave me an opportunity to utilize fully the valuable topographical information available from other sources apart from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, and at the same time to bring out the true bearing and interest of Kalhana's data far more clearly than it was possible in the scattered notes of the translation.

I have spared no labour to make the INDEX which concludes the work full and accurate. It will, I trust, be found helpful not only for purposes of ready reference, but also for supplying the reader with the abstract biographies he needs in order to follow intelligently the fortunes of all the personages which flit through the later portion of Kalhana's narrative in such a bewildering fashion.<sup>26</sup>

The Index is also intended to rectify a certain want of uniformity which, I regret, will be noticeable in the spelling of some Kaśmīri words, particularly local

<sup>26</sup> Compare regarding this serious difficulty of the interpreter, *Introd.*, § 40.

names. The correct reproduction of Kāsmīri words presents often unusual difficulties. This is due to the variety and peculiarity of the sounds of the language, particularly its vowels, as well as to the want of a system of spelling recognized in the country itself and to other causes which need not be detailed here. The lines adopted by Dr. GRIERSON for the phonetic rendering of Kāsmīri in his admirable analysis of Paṇḍit Īsvara Kaula's Grammar undoubtedly represent the nearest approach to an exact transcription, and I have endeavoured to follow them closely.<sup>27</sup> A great portion of my commentary was, however, written before I received, through Dr. Grierson's kindness, the proofs of his publication and before I myself had begun to make a closer study of Kāsmīri phonetics. Many of the local names had been recorded by me long before in notes collected during earlier antiquarian tours, and though I took care to test afresh their pronunciation wherever possible before embodying them in my commentary, complete uniformity in their spelling could for the reasons above indicated, not be secured from the beginning. In the cases of names where slight variations of this kind have occurred a reference to the Index will show the form definitely adopted by me.<sup>28</sup>

Such a reference will be useful also in those instances where the accidental breaking of diacritical types in the course of printing has produced apparent variations of spelling in Sanskrit and other Oriental words. In the transcription of these the system approved by the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, 1894, has been uniformly followed.

From the time when I first began my study of the Kāsmīr Chronicle the advice and ready help of Professor BÜHLER had accompanied my labours. His own researches in Kāsmīr were my best guide to the materials that were needed for the task, and nothing encouraged me more in its execution than the unflagging interest with which he followed it. Realizing from his own Indian

<sup>27</sup> See Dr. GRIERSON's several papers on Kāsmīri phonetics and inflection in the *J.A.S.B.*, 1897-98.

It may be useful to mention here that the vowel-signs raised above the line (°, °, °, °) which I have adopted in accordance with Dr. Grierson's system, represent the exceptionally short, so-called "broken" vowel-sounds peculiar to Kāsmīri.

<sup>28</sup> The variations referred to concern mostly certain vowel-sounds, the modifications of which through epenthesis have in my earlier notes not always received sufficient attention; hence *Buḍ°brār* for *Buḍ°brār*, *Sun°man° Kul* for *Sun°man° Kul*, *Ar°gom* for *Ar°gōm*, etc.

A change due to purely typographical

reasons is the substitution of *ā* for *ā̇*, to represent the Kāsmīri sound approaching in pronunciation the vowel of the English word *aunt*.

It may be mentioned here that the distinction of the letters *ś*, *ṣh*, *ṣ* as renderings of the Kāsmīri sound corresponding to English *sh*, is made on purely etymological grounds. I have used *ś* where the modern consonant is undoubtedly the derivative of Sanskrit *ś*; *ṣh* in words of Persian and Arabic origin, and *ṣ* in all other cases,—the last character being employed as the representative of the lingual sibilant in conformity with the general system of transcription followed.

experience the practical difficulties with which I had to contend, he readily helped to secure to me the leisure indispensable for the work. When the facilities obtained largely through the weight of his recommendation had enabled me to complete my translation and commentary for the press he generously offered his assistance in revising the proofs. This most valuable help to which I owe besides improvements in the form of my translation a number of interesting suggestions separately acknowledged in my notes, extended over the greater portion of the text contained in the first Volume and only ceased with Professor Bühler's lamented death, in the spring of 1898.

The irreparable loss which the study of ancient India has suffered in so many directions by the untimely end of the departed great scholar, has been felt too widely to need my comments here. The results which he achieved in his unceasing endeavours to lay open the true sources of early Indian history, would alone suffice to make his name for ever memorable in the records of Indologist research. In Kaśmīr it was he who first showed the right way to a critical study of the history of the country, and the very task which I have here endeavoured to solve, had long before been planned by himself. Fate has denied me the hoped-for satisfaction of placing the completed work in the hands of the master who would have been its most competent judge. But assured of his opinion regarding the parts that I was able to submit, I may at least without hesitation dedicate these volumes to his memory as a token of the gratitude and admiration I shall ever cherish for him.

I have already above had occasion to refer to the advantage I enjoyed by being able to gather valuable information on many points of the traditional and local lore of Kaśmīr through Paṇḍit GOVIND KAUL, of S'rīnagar. This accomplished Kaśmīrian scholar, who had already assisted me in collecting some of the critical materials embodied in my edition of the Sanskrit text of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, continued to act as my amanuensis during the years which I spent over the preparation of my translation and commentary. By arranging under my directions provisional Sanskrit indices for the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, the later Chronicles and other Kaśmīrian texts requiring constant reference, and by similar labours he lightened for me the great burden of mechanical work which is inseparable from such a task. The identification of Kalhaṇa's numerous allusions to stories contained in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas is mainly his work. I am also indebted to his aid for a preliminary collation of the Lahore manuscript of the Chronicle which has enabled me to improve the critical constitution of the text underlying my translation.

It is a source of true sorrow to me that this faithful assistant of my labours is no longer among the living. Paṇḍit Govind Kaul died at S'rīnagar in the summer of 1899, separated from me at the time by the whole breadth of India. But

I hope this public acknowledgment of his services will help to preserve the memory of a scholar who was worthy to maintain the learned traditions of the land of S'aradā.

It would have been impossible for me to prepare the work now completed without the leisure granted to me in addition to my vacation, in the years 1895, 1896, and 1898. I owe this important concession to the liberality of the Kashmir Darbar and the Punjab University which jointly bore the cost involved by my 'deputation.' For the material assistance thus rendered to me I wish to record here the expression of my sincere gratitude.

His Highness the Maharaja and the State Council of Jammu and Kashmir had already given a proof of their generous interest in my labours by sanctioning in 1891 a grant towards the publication of the Chronicle which had materially facilitated the issue of my edition of the text, and the collection of the materials required for the commentary. In connection with the help I have received on the part of the Darbar, I must record my sincere thanks to Colonel D. W. K. BARR, C.S.I., Mr. H. S. BARNES, C.S.I., and Colonel Sir A. TALBOT, K.C.I.E., successive Residents in Kashmir, who were all equally ready to grant me the benefit of their support. To Mr. W. R. LAWRENCE, C.I.E., late Settlement-Commissioner of Kashmir and the author of the best account of the modern conditions of the Valley, I offer my grateful acknowledgments for his kind help and advice in regard to the steps which first led to my deputation.

I owe a similar debt of gratitude to the late Vice-Chancellors of the Punjab University, Sir W. H. RATTIGAN, KT., Q.C., and Sir CHARLES A. ROE, KT., LL.D., who by their recommendations materially aided me in obtaining the concession already referred to.

Owing to my distance from the printers and for other reasons the passing of the work through the press has involved a heavy amount of labour. I, therefore, feel particularly grateful for the good offices of those who at various stages of the work have lent me a helping hand in the revision of proofs. Apart from Professor Bühler's help already mentioned I received for portions of the first volume the assistance of Miss TOULMIN-SMITH, Librarian of Manchester College, Oxford, and Dr. J. MORISON. For the whole of the second volume and the Introduction I benefited by the help and advice of my friend, Professor T. W. ARNOLD, of the Government College, Lahore, who has generously sacrificed to the task much hard-earned leisure. As it was impossible to arrange that more than single proofs should reach me in India, my friend Dr. M. WINTERITZ, with the publishers' assent, kindly undertook the reading of all final revisions. I owe it largely to his care if the number of misprints proves smaller than might be anticipated from the difficulties with which I had often to contend in reading proofs while on tour or in the midst of official business.

Last, but not least, I feel obliged to express my thanks to my publishers and printers. To the former they are due for the spirit of enterprise they have shown in undertaking, unaided, a publication of this kind, and for the free scope they have allowed me as regards its extent.

From Messrs. GILBERT AND RIVINGTON I have received every assistance in carrying out the typographical arrangements which seemed to me to be best adapted to the purposes of the work, notwithstanding the extra difficulties which the use of a large variety of special types has necessarily involved.

\* \* \*

The alpine surroundings amidst which I write these lines, and with which I shall always associate the recollection of the greatest part of my labours, help forcibly to draw my thought to the local bearing of the work now concluded.

From the high mountain plateau which my camp once more occupies, almost the whole of Kaśmīr lies before me, from the ice-capped peaks of the northern range to the long snowy line of the Pir Panṭsāl,—a little world of its own, enclosed by mighty mountain ramparts. Small indeed the country may seem, by the side of the great plains that extend in the south, and confined the history of which it was the scene. And yet, just as the natural attractions of the Valley have won it fame far beyond the frontiers of India, thus too the interest attaching to its history far exceeds the narrow geographical limits.

The favours with which Nature has so lavishly endowed “the land in the womb of Himālaya,” are not likely to fade or vanish. But those manifold remains of antiquity which the isolation of the country has preserved, and which help us to resuscitate the life and conditions of earlier times, are bound to disappear more and more with the rapid advance of Western influences.

Great are the changes which the last few decennia have brought over Kaśmīr, greater, perhaps, than any which the country has experienced since the close of the Hindu period. It is easy to foresee that much of what is of value to the historical student will before long be destroyed or obliterated. It is time to collect as carefully as possible the materials still left for the study of old Kaśmīr and its earliest records. I have spared no efforts to serve this end, and in the result of my labours, I hope, there will be found some return for the boons which I owe to Kaśmīr.

M. A. STEIN.

MOHAND MARG :

18th May, 1900.

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- Māh.** Māhātmya [compare regarding Māhātmyas of Kāśmīr Tirthas, below, ii. pp. 378 sqq., 491 sq.]
- Mahābh.** The Mahābhārata. [Quoted from Bombay Edition, 1885-88.]
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*N.B.*—In addition to the above the usual abbreviations have been used in references to Orientalist periodicals; thus *J.R.A.S.* (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society), *Ind. Ant.* (Indian Antiquary), *Z.D.M.G.* (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft), &c.

Quotations by book and verso, *without* a preceding title or abbreviation, refer to passages of the Rājatarangiṇī in the present translation.