



BUDDHISM IN KASHMIR AS DEPICTED IN KALHANA'S RĀJATARANĠINĪ

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ABSTRACT

Kalhana's Rājataranḡinī and its Sanskrit continuations are usually regarded as exclusively, unique historical compositions in an otherwise barren landscape of historical production in Kashmir and South Asia. Kalhana's Rājataranḡinī occupies an iconic place in the literary history of the Indian subcontinent, in part because of its designation by nineteenth-century Indologists as the sole Sanskrit text that was worthy of being considered a history. Rājataranḡinī has not only come to stand in for India's past perception, although it has also served as a base to make the tale of Indian history. This has had the effect of rendering it into a single and singular text not just within the Indian narrative tradition but also within Kashmir's literary tradition, thereby effectively deracinating the text from its regional moorings as well as rendering invisible its Sanskrit continuations and the Kashmiri Persian historical tradition that followed. **Kalhana** displays a beautiful account of Buddhism throughout the whole of his Chronicle. A long series of kings, from Surrender down to his own time, also gave detailed information of development, patronage to Buddhism and decline of Buddhism by different Kings who built Vihāras and Stūpas for the benefit of the Buddhist creed and similar foundations by private individuals were recorded with the same attention.

Key Words: Buddhism, Kashmir, Rājataranḡinī.

INTRODUCTION

Kalhana's Rājataranḡinī occupies an iconic place in the literary history of the Indian subcontinent, in part because of its description by the Indologists of 19th century as the sole Sanskrit text that was worthy of being considered a history. Since then, Rājataranḡinī has not only come to stand in for India's historical consciousness, but it has also served as a source to construct the narrative of Indian history. It is considered as a single and singular text not just within the Indian narrative tradition but also within Kashmir's literary tradition. Authored by the great Kashmiri poet Kalhana, the Rājataranḡinī, a primary treatise on the past of ancient Kashmir mandala also details the history, development and decline of the Buddhism in the Valley. Kalhana, a contemporary of Raja Jaya Simha (1128-55 CE), commenced writing of Rājataranḡinī, his magnum opus in 1148 CE and concluded in 1149 CE.¹

In his introduction of the Rājataranḡinī, Kalhana says about the Kashmir Valley that the things which are rare in heaven are common here and further praises it by saying that Kailāśa is the best place in the three Worlds, Himalaya the best part of Kailāśa and Kashmir the best place in Himalaya.

विद्यावेशमानि तुङ्गानि कुङ्कुमं सहिमं पयः।
द्राक्षेति यत्र सामान्यमस्ति त्रिदिवदुर्लभम्॥
त्रिलोक्यां रत्नभूः श्लाघ्या तस्यां धनपतेर्हरित्।
तत्र गौरीगुरुः शैलो यत्स्मिन्नपि मण्डलम्॥²

Kashmir as a geo-political area enjoyed great importance as it lay near the trade routes which connected it with its neighbours in the north and the north-west. Some of these routes actually passed through the Kashmir valley. It is also pertinent to note that the Tathagata (the Buddha) also bade his disciples: “Go into all lands and preach this gospel. Tell them that the poor and the lowly, the rich and the high, are all one and that all castes unite in this religion as do the rivers in the sea.” Since Kashmir had intimate relations with Magadha and other States in mid-India from remote antiquity it is only reasonable to assume that a number of Buddhist monks had round their way into Kashmir long before the arrival of Aśoka and his missionaries had succeeded in establishing Buddhism as one of the living faiths in the Valley.

KING SURENDRA’S REIGN

It is generally supposed that Buddhism appeared to Kashmir during the reign of King Aśoka. But Kalhana’s Rājatarāṅgī has mentioned Surendra was the foremost Buddhist monarch of Kashmir. He was son of Khagendra and the first royal patron and propagator of the new faith of Buddhism in the Valley before Aśoka. Surendra erected two vihāras in Kashmir. One of these vihāra or monastery was known as Narendrabhavana in the city of Sauraka/Soraka (corresponding to Suru beyond the Zojila) which he built near the country of the Darada/Dards. The other one vihāra erected by him was called Saurasa, which was distinguished by religious merit parallel to the village Sowur situated to the north of Srinagar on the coast of Lake Anchar.

दरदेशान्तिके कृत्वा सोरकाख्यं स पत्तनम्।
श्रीमान्विहारं विदधे नरेन्द्रभवनाभिधम्॥
तेन स्वमण्डलेखण्डयशसा पुण्यकर्मणा।
विहारः सुकृतोदारो निर्मितः सौरसा भिधः॥³

But it is untoward that both the vihāras and towns have not been identified so far. Kalhana pays a high tribute to Surendra’s personal character that the King remained to have been a bachelor all his life which confirms that he was a strong follower of the Buddha and his way of life was wondrous and he ‘kept himself from sinfulness’.

KING JANAKA

Another vihāra called as Jāloravihāra was erected by the King Janka son of Surrendra. Jālorā is identified as the village Zōhur in Zaingir paragona by the Stein.

तत्सूनुर्जनको नाम प्रजानां जनकोपमः।
विहारमग्रहारं च जालोराख्यं च निर्ममे॥⁴

KING AŚOKA

After Surendra, the propagation of Buddhism in Kashmir region got a fillip during the Mauryan ruler Aśoka in 3rd Century BCE. Who after the conclusion of third Buddhist

Council at Pattliputra, sent Buddhist missionaries on the instruction of Mogullaputta Tissa, Majjihantika Thera and his team to Kashmir which was already under the influence of Naga cult. It was not an easy task for Majjihantika to convince the people of Kashmir, however after tough resistance from Nāgas they succeeded and thus Buddhism was able to assume a status of strong faith in Kashmir and adjacent territories. Aśoka built several mathas and vihāras and gifted the Valley to the Sangha. According to Kalhana's Rājataranṅī, Aśoka built Buddhist stūpas and caityas in Kashmir. A lofty and high 'Dharmaranya Vihāra' was built by King Aśoka in the town of Vitastatra. Stūpas are also built by Aśoka at Suskaetra. Both the towns have been identified as Vethavutur and Hukalitar, situated in Verinag and Badgam. The Gatha runs as follows:

यः शान्तवृजिनो राजा प्रपन्नो जिनशासनम्।
शुष्कलेत्रचितस्तात्रौ तस्तार स्तूपमण्डलैः॥
धर्माण्यविहारान्तर्वितस्तात्र पुरेभवत्।
यत्कृतं चैत्यमुत्सेधावधिप्राप्त्यक्षमेक्षणम्॥
स षण्णवत्या गेहानां लक्षैर्लक्ष्मीसमुज्ज्वलैः।
गरीयसीं पुरीं श्रीमांश्चक्रे श्रीनगरीं नृपः॥⁵

KING JALAUKA REIGN

After Aśoka his son Jalauka became king. He built the Krtyāśramavihāra and worshipped there the divine sorceress (Krtyā) who had been freed from the darkness. It was known as Krtyāśrama. This village has been identified with the village Kitsahm, near Baramulla in Kashmir.

कृतप्रतिश्रवे राज्ञि विहारकृतये पुनः।
प्रहर्षोत्फुल्लनयना कृत्यादेवी तिरोदधे॥
अथ कृत्याश्रमे कृत्वा विहारं वसुधाधिपः।
तत्रैव क्षीणतमसं कृत्यादेवीमसंधयत्॥⁶

Ou-Kong also mentioned this Vihāra. He mentioned it as Ki-tche. It was identified by M.A Stein, who opined that the name of the Vihāra survives in the name of the village Kitshom situated on the left bank of the Vitasta.

KING HUSKA, JUSKA ANDKANISKA REIGN

Kalhana in his Rājataranṅī narrates that Juskapura Vihāra was built by the king Juska at Juskapur modern Zukur, a large village to the north of Srinagar nearly four miles from Hari Parbat.⁷ King Huska has been considered by the Kalhana as to have constructed a vihāra at Huskapura. It is also mentioned as Hu-Se-Kia-lo by Huein Tsang. It is now known as Uskur and is located near Baramulla. Huska, Juska and Kanishka also built mathaschaityas and similar structure at Suskaetra.

Buddhism in Kashmir entered its golden stage under the royal patronage of the Kuṣāṇas kingdom especially by the great King Kaniska. As a result, Kashmir became one of the most significant centers of Buddhist conviction and practice. Several eminent Buddhist Scholars also resided in Kashmir during the Kuṣāṇa period. Of

these Kalhana mentioned the name of Nagarjuna (founder of the Mādhyamika School of Buddhism) who dwelled at Sadarhadvana.

अथाभवन्स्वनामाङ्कपुरत्रयविधायिनः।
हुष्कजुष्ककनिष्का ख्यास्त्रयस्तत्रैव पार्थिवाः॥
स विहारस्य निर्माता जुष्को जुष्कपुरस्य यः।
जयस्वामिपुरस्या पि शुद्धधीः संविधायकः॥
ते तुरुष्कान्वयो ूता अपि पुण्याश्रया नृपाः।
शुष्कलेवा दिदेशेषु मटचैत्यादि चक्रिरे॥
प्राज्ये राज्यक्षणे तेषां प्रायः कश्मीरमण्डलम्।
भोज्यमास्ते स्म बौद्धानां प्रव्रज्यो र्जिततेजसाम्॥
तदा भगवतः शाक्यसिंहस्य परनिर्वृतेः।
अस्मिन्महीलोकधातौ सार्धं वर्षशतं ह्यगात्॥
बोधिसत्त्वश्च देशेस्मिन्नेको भूमी श्वरोभवत्।
स च नागार्जुनः श्रीमान्षडर्हद्वन संश्रयी॥⁸

DURING THE REIGN OF KING NARA

It was King Nara who started the process which resulted in the extinction of Buddhism in Kashmir. Kalhana's Rājataranginī also mention that a Buddhist ascetic who was living alone in a Vihāra, situated at *Kimnaragrama*, seduced the king's wife through his supernatural supremacy. The king Naragot burnt thousands of vihāras of Kashmir in this act of anger over it and bestowed the villages which were belonged to the Buddhists to Brahmans residing in Madhyamatha region.

विहारे निवसन्नेकः किंनरग्राम वर्तिनि।
तस्य योगबलात्कोपि श्रमणो पाहरत्प्रियाम्॥
विहाराणां सहस्राणि तत्कोपान्निर्ददाह सः।
अजिग्रहच्च तद्ग्रामान्द्विजैर्मध्यमठाश्रयैः॥⁹

KING MEGHAHAHANA REIGN (438 CE)

King Meghavahana who came to the throne of Kashmir in 438 CE was a follower of Buddhist philosophy. Not only the Kusāna kings but local monarchs of Kashmir also seem to have patronized the Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era. One of the most celebrated kings, Meghavahana prohibited in his kingdom the slaughter of animals. He also stopped the killing of animals in the name of sacrifices. Amrtaprabha, the wife of the king erected a vihāra for Buddhist monks, which was called Amrtabhavana. It has to be constructed for the benefit of foreign Bhikshus. It is mentioned by Ou-Kong as Ngo-mi-to-po-wan. It has been identified at Antabhavana, Vicārnag, which is 5 miles to the north of Srinagar. Remains of a vihāra have been found at this place. The guru of queen's father also built the stūpa called as the *Lo-Stonpā*. Another structure at Nandavana, a wonderful appearance of renowned vihāra was built by *Yukadevi*, another queen of the king. Another wife of the king called

Indradevi, built a vihāra called as Indradevibhavana, together with a quadrangle and a Stūpa. Many vihāras of renown were built by other queens of King, such as Khadana and Samma under their own names. Kalhana compares the king with Jina i.e.; Buddha and also with Bodhisattvas. All these probably indicate Meghavahan's attachment to the faith of the Śākya Prince.

भोगाय देश्य भिक्षूणां वल्लभास्यामृतप्रभा।
विहारमुच्चैरमृतभवनाख्यमकारयत्॥
देशैक देशाल्लोर्नाम्नः प्राप्तस्तस्याः पितुर्गुरुः।
स्तुन्पा त् ाषया प्रोक्तो लोस्तोन्पास्तूपकार्यकृत्॥
चक्रे नडवने राज्ञो यूक देव्यभिधा वधूः।
विहारमृताकारं सपत्नीस्पर्धयोद्यता॥
अर्धे यक्षिवः शिक्षाचारास्तवार्पितास्तया।
अर्धे गार्हस्थ्यगह्याश्च सस्त्रीपुत्रपशुस्त्रियः॥
अथेन्द्रदेवीभवनमिन्द्रद्रव्यभिधा व्यधात्।
विहारं सचतुः शालं स्तूपं भूप्रियापरा॥¹⁰

DURING THE REIGN OF PRAVARASENA II

In 6th century CE during the reign of Pravarasena II there is mention of the construction of a big vihāra, his maternal uncle Jayendra constructed a famous vihāra known as Jayendravihāra and housed a very big statue of the Gautama Buddha. It is also mentioned as Che-Ye-in-to-lo by Hiuen Tsang who on his arrival to Kashmir in 631 CE, had stayed in that very same vihāra.

श्रीजयेन्द्रविहारस्य बृहदवुद्धस्य च व्यधात्।
मातुलः स नरेन्द्रस्य जयेन्द्रो विनिवेशनम्॥¹¹

DURING THE REIGN OF YUDHISTRA II

Great historian Kalhana also mentions in his Rajtarangini that King Pravarasena was succeeded by his son Yudhistra II. Several ministers of the King who bore the names like Sarvaranta, Jaya and Skandagupta obtained divergent status by erecting vihāra and caityas like Skandavhavana vihāra. Its location has been determined as somewhere in the modern mohalla of Khandabhavan at Srinagar in Kashmir. The son of his uncle Jayendra, named as Vajendra who was also a minister in his reign made the village of Bhavaccheda famous by constructed caityas and other sacred buildings. The same conclusion can be derived from the statement of Hiuen-Tsang: who visited the capital in 631 CE founded by Pravarasena, and who speaks of it as 'the new city' in distinction from the earlier capital (Puranadhisthana).

सर्वरत्नजयस्कन्दगुप्तशब्दाङ्किताभिधाः।
आसन्विहारचैत्यादिकृत्यैस्तत्सचिवा वराः॥
भवच्छेदा भिधं ग्रामं स्तुत्यं चैत्यादिसिद्धिभिः।
यो व्यधात्सोस्य वज्रेन्द्रोप्यासीन्मन्त्री जयेन्द्रजः॥¹²

KING RANĀDITYA REIGN

Queen Amritaprabha wife of King Ranaditya's installed a beautiful and fine statue of Buddha in a vihāra which was built by Meghavahana's wife Bhinna.

मेघवाहनभूर्भर्तृपत्न्या भिन्नाख्यया कृते।
विहारेपि तया बुद्धबिम्बं साधु निवेशितम्।¹³

KING VIKRAMADITIYA REGIN

The great poet Kalhana also narrates about the reign of King Vikramaditya, whose minister Galūna also built a Vihāra and named it as after the name of his wife Ratnavali.

चक्रे ब्रह्ममठं ब्रह्मा गलूनो लूनदुष्कृतः।
रत्नावल्याख्यया बध्वा विहारं निरमापयत्।¹⁴

KING LALITADITYA MUKTAPIDA REGIN

The next ruler of Kashmir was Lalitaditya Muktapida (725-753 CE), one of the powerful rulers of Kashmir founded Rajvihāra with a large quadrangle and a large Caitya at Parihaspura. A beautiful statue of Buddha was also housed in that Caitya with other relics of gold and silver. Rajavihāra was a quadrangle (Catuhśala) of 26 cells around a square courtyard paved with stones. These cells were used by the monks. These cells are located on the bases of other Vihāras. Parihaspura was the new capital built by the king. The capital and the Rajavihāra are now in ruins. At Huskapura, the noble minded king built another large vihāra with a stūpa. A colossal copper image of Buddha was made by him. Archaeological excavations carried on at Parihaspura, the city founded by Lalitaditya, have brought to light Buddhist structures, a stupa, a monastery and a caitya. Among the sculptures discovered at Parihaspura, 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. Kridarama vihāra was constructed by Lalitaditya but position of the Vihāra is unknown.

फलं गृहणन्फलपुरं पर्णोत्सं पर्णमाददत्।
क्रीडारामविहारं च क्रीडन्नाजा विनिर्ममे।।
तेन हुष्कपुरे श्रीमान्मुक्तस्वामी व्यधीयत्।
बृहद्विहारो भूपेन सस्तूपश्च महात्मा।।
चक्रे बृहच्चतुःशालावृहच्चैत्यबृहज्जिनैः।
राजा राजविहारं स विरजाः सततोर्जितम्।।
रीतिप्रस्थसहस्रैस्तु तेन तावतिरेव सः।
व्योमव्यापिवपुः श्रीमान्बृहद्वुद्धो व्यधीयत्।।
चतुःशालां च चैत्यं च तावता तावता व्यधात्।
धनेनैवेति तस्यासन्पञ्च निर्मितयः समाः।¹⁵

The king of Lāta known as Kayya also built Kayyavihāra where Bhikshu Sarvajnamitra lived there and had attained the purity of Buddha. The Tukkarar Cankuna chief minister of King Lalitaditya founded the Cankunavihāra and a stūpa

loftier even than the mind of the king, and golden images of the Buddha (*Jinas*). Cankuna also built a vihāra in Srinagar together with a Caitya. The physician Isanacandra a son-in-law of the Cankuna built a vihāra after obtaining wealth through the favor of Taksaka. Cankuna built a Vihāra in which he placed golden statues of Buddha.

श्रीमान्कय्यविहारोपि तेनैव विदधे ुतः।
भिक्षुः सर्वजमित्रोभूत्क्रमाद्यत्र जिनोपमः॥
तुःखारं शचङ्कुणशचक्रे स चङ्कुणविहारकृत्।
भूपचितोन्नतं स्तूपं जिनान्हेममयांस्तथा॥
अधिष्ठानान्तरेप्यत्र चङ्कुणेनाप्यमन्त्रिणा।
सचैत्यः सुकृतोदारो विहारो निरमीयत।
भिषगीशानचन्द्राख्यः स्यात्तश्चङ्कुणमन्त्रिणः।
विहारमकरोल्लब्ध्वा तक्षकानुग्रहाच्छ्रियम्॥¹⁶

The thriving state of Buddhism during the reign of the Karkotas (7th and 8th) centuries CE is also attested to by the evidence of the Chinese traveler Ou-Kong, who came to Kashmir in 759 CE. 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 Moun-g-ti-vihara. The other Vihāras referred 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 vihāras, Ou-Kong noticed more than three hundred vihāras in Kashmir and innumerable stūpas and sacred images.

KING JIYADIPA

Jiyapida vihāra was built by King Jiyadipa. The virtuous King setup three Buddha images and a large vihāra was placed in the town named as Jayādevī by him. This place has been identified as Anderkots near Sumbal in Kashmir.

बुद्धं त्रयं महाकारं विहारं च विधाय सः।
नगरान्तर्जयादेवीं पुण्यकर्मा स निर्ममे॥¹⁷

DURING THE REIGN OF KING KSEMA GUPTA (950-958 CE)

The King Ksema Gupta burnt the most magnificent Buddhist vihāra of Jayendravihāra. He also collected stones blocks too from the vihāra and erected a Shiva temple. The brass statue of Sugata (Buddha) was melted down by him to make a statue of Shiva. The generous king Ksemagupta tookaway thirty-six village attached to the burnt Vihāra and gave them over into the tenure of Khaśa ruler.

तीक्ष्णाक्षेपे संप्रविष्टं हन्तुं संग्रामडामरम्।
श्रीजयेन्द्रविहारं स निर्घृणो निरदाहयत्॥
सुगतप्रतिमारीति हत्वा दुग्धात्ततो खिलात्।
जरद्देवगृहेभ्यश्च संगृह्य गावसंचयम्॥
सुरप्रतिष्ठया दाढर्यं मूढः स्वयशसो विदन्।

नगरापणवीथ्यन्तः क्षेमगौरीश्वरं व्यधात्।¹⁸

DURING THE REGIN OF HARSA (1089-1101 CE)

Among colossal images, two statues of Buddha were saved through requests addressed by chance to the king at a time when he was free with his favors, namely the one at Parihāsapura by the singer *Kanaka*, who was born there, and the other in the City by the Shramana Kuśalasri.

द्वौ महाप्रतिमामध्याद्वुद्धविम्बावरक्षताम्।
दानप्रसङ्गे तं जातु याचित्वा त्यागिनं नृपम्॥
परिहासपुरे जन्ममेदिन्यां कनकाभिधः।
गायनः कुशलश्रीश्च श्रमणो नगरोन्तरे॥¹⁹

DURING THE REIGN OF JAYASIMHA (1228-49)

Ratnade Vihāra was built by Queen Ratnadevi. It was a magnificent vihāra at Ratanpur now it is known as Ratinpora.

रत्नदेव्या दृढारूढभर्तृवल्लभताभुवः।
सर्वप्रतिष्ठाप्रष्ठत्वं विहारः प्रथमं गतः॥
लोकान्तरगतां कान्तां कृतिनोद्दिश्य सुस्सलाम्।
भलेरकप्रपास्थाने विहारस्तेन कारितः॥
मार्जार्यास्तिर्यगुचितस्नेहविस्मृत्यपोहतः।
मृतामनुमृतायास्तन्नाम्ना यः ख्यातिमागतः॥
श्रीचङ्कुणविहारं या यातं नामावशेषताम्।
अश्मप्रासादवेश्मादिकर्मणा निर्ममेधुना।²⁰

In 12th century CE Buddhism received patronage from king Jayasimha who ascended the throne of Kashmir. Many Buddhist vihāras were built and also repaired during this period, like Sullavihara. It is almost definite that Buddha was held in high honor in Kashmir up to the last days of Hindu rule. A stone inscription generally taken to have been dated 1197 CE has been discovered at Arigon (ancient Hadigrama) about 15 miles South-West of Srinagar. The inscription opens with a salutation to Buddha, Avalokitesvara and exalts him with glorious title:

“**NamoBhagvateAryavalokitesvarayaTrailokyalekabhutaya
LokabhavacuideJagadanandaCandrayaLokanathayatenamah**”.

CONCLUSION

Buddhism seems to have been overshadowed by the growing **Vaisnava** and **Śaiva** faith which became predominant in the Valley in the centuries following the 9th century period of Karkotas who were staunch follower of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and the architectural remains which have been discovered from the site of Avantipura, the town founded by the monarch, include some images of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other Brahmanic Gods, but not a single figure of Buddha or Bodhisattva. Except Ksema Gupta (950-58 CE) and Harsa (1089-1101CE), no king of this period is known to have cherished any anti-Buddhist feeling in their heart. The instance of anger of a cruel unusual king against a single particular Buddhist monastery should not be taken

as an instance of systematic policy of religious discrimination adopted by the state against the Buddhists. A remarkably fine statue of the Bodhisattva Padmapāni is now preserved in the Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. An inscription engraved at the base mentions its dedication in the reign of Queen Didda (980-1003 CE). That Buddha was not looked with disapproval in the 11th century CE receives further corroboration from the writings of Ksemendra who says that during his time, birth day of Buddha was observed with great ceremony in the valley. A fairly reliable account of the condition of Buddhism in Kashmir from the 7th century onwards 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, Pandrathan and Parihaspur. Several Buddhist manuscripts were found out from a stūpa at Gilgit and the script used in the manuscripts may be assigned to the 6th or 7th century CE. Buddhism was thus flourishing in the northern part of Kashmir sometime about the end of the 6th century CE 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). Purunadhisthana was the capital of Kashmir from a very early date. From stylistic consideration, the sculptural remains discovered at Pandrethan seem to have belonged to a period when the old city was finally abandoned in favor of the new. Besides two Buddhist stupās 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 Bodhisattva and lastly a relief representation of the birth of Siddhartha.

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1. Stein, M.A (ed.). (1988). Kalhan's Rājatarangīni: Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir Vol- III. Delhi, Motilal Bannarsidass, p.6.
 2. Ibid. I: vv. 42-43.
 3. Ibid. I: vv. 93-94
 4. Ibid. I: vv. 98.
 5. Ibid. I: vv. 102-104.
 6. Ibid. I: vv. 146-147.
 7. Ibid. I: vv. 168, p.30
 8. Ibid. I: vv. 168-173.
 9. Ibid. I: vv. 199-200.
 10. Ibid. III: vv. 9-14 3rd book
 11. Ibid. III: vv. 355 3rd book
 12. Ibid. III: vv. 378, 380, 381 3rd book
 13. Ibid. III: vv. 464
 14. Ibid. III: vv. 476
 15. Ibid. IV: vv. 184, 188, 200, 203, 204
 16. Ibid. IV: vv. 210, 211, 215, 216.
 17. Ibid. IV: vv. 507.
 18. Ibid. VI: vv. 171-173, 175.
 19. Ibid. VII: vv. 1097-98.
 20. Ibid. VIII: vv. 2402, 2410-11, 2515.