HIMACHAL ART & ARCHAEOLOGY

SOME ASPECTS

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DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGES & CULTURE
HIMACHAL PRADESH

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Editor

VISHWA CHANDER OHRI

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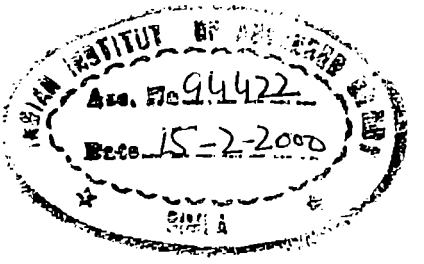
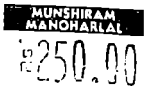


Price 

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Foreword

J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel had done admirable work in the opening years of this century by writing the history of this hilly region. The results of their patient work were published in various *Gazetteers* and the *Journals of the Punjab Historical Society*. Later on these were published in two volumes under the title, *History of the Panjab Hill States*. It is an outstanding and authentic work. Some other scholars had written the history of the erst-while States situated at the south-eastern parts of Himachal Pradesh. The emphasis in these works is on the political history. Study of the cultural heritage of this region, at that time, was, still, in infancy and this important material, thus, could not be used. Moreover the early Indian literature in Sanskrit, except the famous *Rajatarangini* by Kalhan, was not referred to by those writers. The latter evidence for the reconstruction of history has in recent years been published in stray articles and publications. While some aspects of the cultural heritage of this region have been dealt with comprehensively, no systematic effort has been made to use it for writing the history of Himachal Pradesh. The cultural history will be more revealing by bringing into light the social conditions and life of the people in the past which can help us to understand the present better. It is now realized more and more that approach in writing the history should be by giving more emphasis on the people and their culture. Political history, in itself, is very important but it is one part of the history of the people of the region.

This interesting collection of research articles on art and archaeology of Himachal Pradesh, though a modest effort towards the reconstruction of the history of this region, is important. It can be used as reference material and the articles provide ample direction for further research.

The study of the regional history is important and has an healthy influence on the mind of the reader. It does not in any way foster parochial feelings. These articles amply demonstrate the fact that how closely this region has been linked with the trends and events of the mainland. It is a pleasing fact to learn that this region was known to be

a separate entity from the times of Panini (fifth century B.C.) and how the cross cultural currents from various parts of India have been influencing this region. There are several common cultural affinities with other parts of the country. One gets a feeling about the oft-quoted fact 'unity in diversity' in the rich culture of this vast country by going through the pages of this publication.

I hope the Himachal State Museum, will continue to bring out more publications on the cultural aspects of Himachal Pradesh for making available the source material to be used for writing the cultural history of the State.

Shiv Kumar Upmanyu

Editor's Note

A Seminar on "Himachal Art and Archaeology" was held in the State Museum, Simla, in October, 1975. Nine papers on different topics were read in the Seminar. Prof. R.V. Joshi's paper "Stone Age Environment and Cultural Sequence in the Kangra Valley, Himachal Pradesh" was printed in a separate publication of the museum, *Prehistory of Himachal Pradesh—Some Latest Findings* (1979). The remaining eight papers of the participating scholars are included in this publication. It also includes an article by Shri R. C. Agrawal, Director of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan.

In the Seminar Shri B. K. Thapar, Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India and Dr. P Banerjee, Assistant Director, National Museum, New Delhi, gave talks on the subjects (i) Proto--history of Himachal Pradesh, and (ii) Art styles in Himachal Pradesh —their origin and development (600 to 1200 A.D.), respectively but in spite of our requests their papers were not received.

On account of certain difficulties and tardy procedures the publication of these papers was delayed. I am grateful to Shri J. C. Datta, Director, Languages and Culture, Himachal Pradesh for without his help and interest it would not have been possible to bring out this publication. I also thank Shri Ajit Singh and Shri Nandesh Kumar for their assistance and Smt. Godavari Bhardwaj for carefully typing the manuscript in which many words are with diacritical marks. I am grateful to Shri K. K. Bhargava of the Caxton Press who took personal interest in the printing of this publication.

Vishwa Chander Ohri

Excerpts from the Inaugural address of Shri S. Chakravarti, the then Governor, Himachal Pradesh, at Seminar on 'Himachal Art and Archaeology' at the State Museum, Simla, on October 5, 1975.

I am happy that the Himachal State Museum which I inaugurated on 26th January 1974, has led to a revival of scholarly interest in the art, archaeology and culture of Himachal Pradesh.

We do not yet fully know the riches we own—those above ground for lack of complete documentation and study and those underground for lack of a comprehensive programme of excavations. To explore our hidden riches, to assess their regional significance and to establish their relationship with the national artistic tradition is a continuous voyage of discovery.

Many problems of Indology remain yet unsolved. Regional studies which have enriched our historical knowledge have yet to cover more comprehensively art, archaeology and our rich and varied cultural life. Only such studies of the life of the people can throw critical light on the various forces which have contributed to the process of social change, provide a better insight into the history and culture of the region, and indeed contributed to national understanding by establishing the relationship between the regional arts and the national artistic tradition. In this relationship a golden thread runs unbroken — amidst all the change and diversity there is an underlying unity and continuity.

The study of sculpture is still in its infancy in Himachal. I understand that hardly any book on art and architecture so far produced in our country refers to any stone sculpture in Himachal.

There are.....many challenging fields for further study and research. I hope that the deliberations of the Seminar, and the publications series we are embarking upon will lead to greater public awareness and increased scholarly interest in our artistic heritage where so much yet remains to be analysed, studied or explored.

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Early History of Himachal Pradesh

M.C. Joshi

Tradition and names

Himachal Pradesh, although a recently carved state of the Indian Union, corresponds to Jālandhara-Khaṇḍa one of the five traditional divisions of the Himalayas as recorded in the following verse.[1]

Khaṇḍāḥ-pañcha Himālayasya-kathitā Nepāla-Kumārchalau I
Kedārotha Jalandharotha rūchiraḥ Kāśmīra-sañjntimaḥ II

The above verse does not seem to date earlier than the Mughal period, yet it probably preserves an earlier tradition, for, Hemachandra, the great Jaina scholar of the twelfth century[2] mentions the term Jālandhara as a synonym of Trigarta (central and western Himachal Pradesh). According to the undernoted verse from *Brahmāstra-Kalpa*[3] Jālandhara-pīṭha, identified with the shrine of goddess Jvālāmukhī in district Kangra (H.P), is amongst the three important Śākta-pīthas of upper India:

Uḍḍiyāna-pītha nilayā Jālandhara pītha-saṁasthitā II
Kāmarupe tathā saṁsthā Devī-tritaycnveva cha I

The *Yoginī-tantra* includes in Jālandhara region Chamba, on one side, Mandi and Suket on the other with Sutlej on the south[4]. Perhaps the earliest references to Jālandhara group of *janapadas* is found in Panini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* in the term *Jālandharāyaṇa* mentioned under Rājanyādi group[5]. In ancient context, the territory now included in Himachal Pradesh is covered by general term, Himvān, Himavat or Himavanta and other similar names.

Early historical background

These references, however, do not help much in reconstructing the early history of Himachal Pradesh as the source material itself, whether literary or archaeolcgical, is meagre. With this limitation it is difficult to build a proper sequence of early political and cultural developments of this region. Hence the attempts made in the following pages may appear to be sketchy and speculative.

The early history in Himachal Pradesh could be detected in Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*, generally dated to *circa* fifth century B.C. Many geographical names pertaining to Himachal Pradesh, are mentioned in this text. Significant amongst them are Trigarta (region between the Ravi and the Sutlej), Mandamati, identified as Mandi, Kalakūṭa and Kuluna.[6]

Pāṇini refers to Trigarta as a confederation (*sangha* of six units called Trigarta-Shashṭha (V.3. 116). The country known by the name Trigarta (i.e. three valleys) denoted the hilly region drained by three important rivers of Himachal Pradesh, viz. Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. The Puranic tradition regards Trigartas as natives of the mountains. According to the Kāśika the six constituents of the confederacy were Kauṇḍoparatha, Dāndakī, Kraushtakī, Jālamāni, Brāhmagupta and Jānaki, V. S. Agrawala[7] identifies Brāhmagupta with Brahmor (Distt. Chamba). The *Bhargāttraigarte* (IV 1.3) *sūtra* of Pāṇini suggests the presence of Bharga-gotrins amongst the Trigartas. In the *Mahābhārata* there is a reference to the *saṁsaptaka-gaṇas* of Trigarta which may be taken to represent seven constituent units of this tribal obligarchy. Pāṇini classes them as *āyudbajīvī-saṅgha*. The central portion of Trigarta in the Beas valley was Kulūta or Ulūka (Kulu) with its capital at Nagara included in the *Katryādi gaṇa*[8]. To the east of Trigarta was Kalakūṭa-Janapada ruled during Pāṇini's time by a chieftain. In the opinion of Agrawala Kalakūṭa may have formed a part of the kingdom of Kulindas who may be taken to be the same as the Kulunas of the *Ashṭādhyāyī*. Kalakūta is possibly modern Kalka near Simla hills[9].

An interesting feature relating to *āyudhajīvins* including Trigartas, was the emergence of organized political units in them about the time of Pāṇini. This could be observed from the *sūtra*: '*aśreṇayaḥ śreṇayaḥ kṛitāḥ śreṇikṛitaḥ*'[10]. The political consolidation of the tribal people was perhaps necessitated by economic developments under the impact of Iron Age which included emergence of trade based on monetary-exchange and urbanization besides political expansion in certain areas of north India The economy of *āyudhajīvin saṅghas* was, perhaps, mainly based on mercinary services offered by majority of its members to traders and kings in groups, whereas normal guild economy was dependant on craftsmanship, agriculture and trade.

During the Mauryan period

The political set up, described by the great grammarian appears to have continued in ancient Himachal region till the establishment of the Mauryan empire in 324 B.C. If we accept the Jaina and Brahmanical tradition (as contained in the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* of Viśakhadatta), we cannot ignore the part played by Himalayan chieftains under king Parvataka in the foundation of Chandragupta Maurya's kingdom. The Jaina sources[11] clearly state that when Chāṇakya's initial attempts to uproot king Nanda did not succeed he went to Himvat-Kūṭa (*Himavanta Kūḍaṁ*) and made alliance (*mettikayā*) with its ruler named Parvata (*Pavvo rāya*) and promised to divide the Magadhan kingdom between him and Chandragupta after the defeat of the Nanda-rāja. Parvata agreed to this condition and rendered military help. The combined forces of Parvata and Chandragupta later on besieged Pāṭaliputra and forced the Nanda ruler to surrender. Unfortunately, Parvata did not remain alive to share half of the Nanda kingdom as he was slain by a poison-girl (*visha-kanyā*) as a result of Chāṇakya's intrigues. Parvata's own territory was annexed to the Mauryan dominion.

The story with some variations is also narrated in the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* and some other texts as pointed out by Chatterjee.[12] Viśākhadatta, who names Parvata as Parvataka, Parvatendra or Parvateśa, mentions his brother Vairochaka and his son as Malayaketu. Consequent to the death of his father and uncle, Malayaketu joined Nanda's old loyal minister Rākshasa against Chandragupta along with a number of other north-western rulers[13] including the king Chitravarmā of Kuluta or Kulu valley. Dhuṇḍirāja, the commentator of the *Mudrā Rākshasa* states that the kingdom of Parvataka was situated at a distance of hundred *yojanas* (900 miles according to C. D. Chatterjee)[14] to the north (*udīchī*) of Pāṭaliputra. If *udīchī* is to be taken as the traditional northern division of India, Parvataka's state could be located between Sutlej and Yamunā or Gaṅgā within the hilly region of modern Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Garhwal in the ancient Kulinda country which was later on associated with Khasas included in the combined forces of Rākshasa and Malayaketu[15]. Himavatkuta region of the Jaina writers seems to correspond to the Haimavata region of the *Mahābhārata* which, according to the great Epic itself, mainly consisted of Kulinda-Vishaya.[16]

The Mauryan empire appears to have included within it the Himalayan kingdoms of both Kulūta king Chitravarmā and Parvatak. Viśākhadatta's drama shows that the kingdom of Parvataka was later on given back to his son, probably as a subordinate ruler.[17] Subsequently, as preserved in a tradition[18] recorded by Hiuen Tsang, Aśoka built a stupa at Kulūta (Kiu-lu-to). Perhaps this may have been done as a step to propogate Buddhism in the Himalayan country. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Dipavaṁsa*, the monks who were deputed to preach Buddhism in the Himalayan region at the instance of Moggaliputta Tissa included Majjhima, Kasapagota, Dundubhissara, Sahadeva and Mūladeva. This tradition partly finds support from relic casket inscriptions discovered at Sonarinear Sanchi wherein occur the names of Mjjhima and Kassapagota. In these epigraphs it is, in fact, the latter who is mentioned as the teacher (*āchārya*) of the entire Himavanta (*sava Hemavata*) which must not have excluded the regions of Trigarta and Kulinda *janapadas*. The Hemavata school[19] of the Theravadins may have had its origin in the Himalayan country where Buddhism gained foothold as a result of the missions sent during the time of Aśoka.

Some idea of the early material culture of Trigarta and its neighbourhood can be had from remains and antiquities associated with Period III of the excavations at Ropar[20], a place at the foot-hills of Siwaliks on the Sutlej. The Period III dated between 600 B.C. to 200 B.C. shows evidence of the use of the Northern Black Polished Ware., Punch-marked and uninscribed cast coins and copper and iron objects. Amongst interesting antiquities mention may be made of a seal of ivory in Mauryan Brahmi and polished ringstone associated with the cult of Mother Goddess. The structural relics showed the employment of bricks, *kankar* blocks and river pebbles set in mortar as building material. Some ring-wells were also associated with the settlement in this period.

Yet to what extent these features of the material culture represented the life of the actual people of the hills during the period in question is something which requires furthet investigation.

Post-Mauryan developments

Following the disintegration of the Mauryan empire several tribes and chieftains in Trigarta and neighbouring areas declared their independence as elsewhere in India, around the beginning of the second century B.C. Of these the Trigartas, Audumbaras, Kunindas and others stressed their political authority by issuing silver and copper coins for the purpose of trade, as and when it became possible for them. The coins bearing legends in Brāhmī as well as Kharoṣṭhī have square and circular shapes and the former variety is thought to be of an earlier date than the latter. It appears that in the early post-Mauryan period the economy of these tribal states was based mainly on trade and commerce and not on mercinary service as in the pre-Mauryan times. This is evident from the bilingual coins.

In the first half of the second century B.C. itself the Trigarta-gaṇa attempted to revive its political character by issuing coins bearing the name of the *Trikata* (Trigarta) *janapada*. On these coins the storeyed building (described as a stupa by Allan) may represent *saṁthāgāra* (assembly hall) of the tribal republic. The next to strike coins were Audumbaras in the later half of the second century B.C. under their rulers named Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa. These were followed in the first century B.C. by the coins of Mahādava and Dharaghosha, as point out by Dasgupta.[21]

According to Allan[22] the Audumbara territory comprised the valley of Beas or perhaps the wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Ravi. Pāṇini calls the Audumbaras as Rājanyas and a later *vṛitti* on Ashṭādhyāyī[22] includes them amongst Sālvas who were the people of plains. Hence, it is not impossible that the Audumbaras occupied the hills of Himachal Pradesh after defeating the Trigarta people sometime during the second century B.C. This postulate is further supported by the availability of only one variety of Trigarta coins. The Audumbara coins indicate that their issuers followed Śaiva faith. The temples depicted on the coins show a pillared interior with wagon-vaulted (*śāla-śikhara*) and other types of roofs and *triśūlaṅkuśa-dvaja* in front. The figure of Viśvāmitra the mythical sage of the tribe[23] on the coins of Dharagosha is significant. The title *rājarāja* (king of kings) on the issues of Mahādeva suggests that he enjoyed the position of an overlord. He might have defeated some local chieftains. Dasgupta[24] after an examination of all the issues of Dharaghosha concludes that they bear Indo-Greek influence to a considerable degree and could be dated to the closing decades of the first century B.C.

The third important class of coins of ancient Himachal Pradesh are those of the Kunindas especially the earlier series issued by king Amoghabhuti around the later half of the first century B.C. The habitat of the Kunindas tribe was between Sutlej and Yamuna and

beyond in the Himalayan region[25]. These neatly executed coins have the figure of Lakshmī, with three auspicious symbols and a stage. The reverse has seven symbols including an arched hill and tree within railing. The issues bearing both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī legends in silver may have been for trade and commerce and those in copper with only Brāhmī inscription may have been struck for circulation within the territory. Around the last quarter of the first century B. C. Amoghabhuti, who had the title of Mahārāja, was possibly a powerful ruler of the country called Kulinda-vishaya which seems to have included some areas of Garhwal as well.

Lower levels of the Period IV at Ropar also yielded coins detable to the second and first century B.C. of Audumbaras, Kunindas, Antialcidas, Apollodotus II and others. Some fine terracotta figurines in Śuṅga style were also associated with this period.

There is no positive evidence to show whether between 200 B.C. and the beginning of the Christian era any part of ancient Himachal Pradesh was under the alien rulers of Punjab and N.W.F.P.? Yet, the possibility of close contact between Indo-Greeks, who ruled from Śākala (modern Sialkot), about the second century B.C. is not ruled out. During the period between the sixth or the fifth century B.C. and end of first century B.C. the population of Himachal Pradesh seems to have largely consisted of Indo-Aryan speakers, originally migrants from plains of the Punjab or Haryana. Yet there must have lived in isolated areas of this region the aboriginal Kirātas so intimately associated with Himalayas in the *Purānic* literature.

What has been stated above, we admit, presents only a broken outline of the early history of Himachal Pradesh but it cannot be improved unless more data, archaeological and literary, are brought to light.

Shri M.C. Joshi
Director (Antiquities),
Arch. Survey of India.

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Kāśmīra Pushkarākshah Kṣhatarīpu-mahimā Saindhava-Sundhuseṇaḥ
Meghākshah Pañchamo S smin Pṛithu turagabalaḥ Pārāsīkadhīrājah

Mudrā Rākshasa, Act I, 20.

14. Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p. 601 n.
15. *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, Act V, 11.
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17. of.....'*āmātya-Rākshasa-vijñāpito deva Chandraguptaḥ prayachchhati Malayaketavo Pitryāmeva Vishayam; ate gachchhantu bhavantaḥ sahānena, praṭishṭhṭechāsmin punarāgantavyam.*

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Gleanings from Tribal Coins of Himachal Pradesh

(C. 2nd century B.C.—5th century A.D.)

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal

Lack of proper communications in Himachal Pradesh, particularly in its hilly terrain, helped the region develop itself in relative isolation. Naturally, therefore, conditions there were more suited to the development of a tribal form of government. Literary evidence, both indigenous and foreign, attests to the hoary antiquity of the republican tribes; however, coins of these date from *circa* second century B.C. It is a unique coincidence in the history of India that at least from the sixth century B.C. republican organisations flourished mainly in the north-west and north-eastern India[1]. Those inhabiting the latter regions gradually lost their entity in the rising tide of Magadhan imperialism. But the tribes inhabiting the north-western regions (which figure prominently in the accounts of Alexander's historians and also in the *Pāṇinīya*) suffered only a temporary set-back with the expansion of Mauryan imperialism. They again rose to power and regained their political importance when Mauryan empire showed signs of decline.

Foreign settlers and power-wielders, particularly the Śakas and the Kushāṇas, seem to have extended their sway over parts of Himachal Pradesh and, again for some time, the tribes were subdued. But with the weakening of the Kushāṇa hold, a few tribes, like the Kunindas and the Yaudheyas, retrieved their political power and prestige. It was mainly due to the expansionist policy of Samudragupta, the mighty Gupta ruler, that the political significance of these tribes was ultimately lost for ever.

Prior to an assessment of the numismatic finds from Himachal Pradesh[2], it would be worthwhile referring to the limitations and difficulties that are to be faced in reconstructing the history of that region with the help of numismatic evidence.

It is unfortunate that the provenance of the coins has not been properly recorded and the types found have not been specifically mentioned; also, the exact number of coins brought to light has not been stated by the early coin collectors. Not unoften, numismatists have merely stated that the coins were found in the Punjab, and it is difficult to escertain whether the find-spot lay within the bounds of present day Himachal Pradesh.

Coins from Himachal Pradesh are merely chance finds and none has been obtained in scientific archaeological excavations; hence typology and palaeographic similarities are

the only means of guidance for dating purposes Being small, coins are easily portable, and can, for various reasons, travel to distant lands to be used as media of exchange even outside the territory of the issiung authority[3]. Fortunately Indian coins are generally local in character and the find-spots of the tribal coins help in locating the areas occupied by the tribes[4].

Legends on coins are like *sūtras* and generally contain the names of the issuing authorities, sometimes together with some epithets pertaining to the particular authority. The devices include symbols, human, deity as well as animal figures, either alone or in combinations. Such data are insufficient for a reconstruction of a coherent historical account; very often the legend and the device are open to different interpretations, more so when they are defaced or mutilated. Yet we have to bear in mind that numismatics is the main source for reconstructing the history of many of the republics. Scarcely do we know for certain race or races of these tribes and scholars have held divergent views regarding their parent stock—some taking them to be of the Aryan stock while others treating them otherwise.

The area covered by the tribal kingdoms varied in dimensions from time to time. Some tribes had their seat of government in Himachal Pradesh, while others ruled over some of its parts from outside. In some cases rulers assigned to the same tribe were perhaps ruling contemporaneously over adjoining districts[5].

In many parts of Himachal Pradesh, not well connected with the rest of the country (*e.g.* Lahaul Spiti area), money economy does not seem to have played a vital role and barter system was the normal means of transactions. Naturally therefore, coin-finds have not been reported from many of the present-day districts of Himachal Pradesh. Infact, numismatic finds are confined mainly to Kangra and Hamirpur districts and their adjoining areas, which provided better avenues for intercourse with the rest of the country.

In the present context, we have confined ourselves mainly to the history of tribes whose coins, datable to 2nd century B.C. to 4th century A.D., have been found within Himachal Pradesh, but for the sake of continuity reference has also been made about the areas adjoining Himachal Pradesh and having some bearing on the history of that region.

The Audumbaras

Audumbara coins have been found at Jwalamukhi[6] and Irippal[7]—both in Kangra district. While only a few were found at the former site, 103 coins bearing variously the names of Dharaghosha, Śivadāsa and Rudradāsa were found in a hoard of 363 coins at the latter site[8]. Some coins of the same tribe were found at Pathankot in Gurdaspur district and also in Hoshiarpur[9] district—both being border districts outside Himachal Pradesh. Thus Audumbaras seem to have occupied eastern Kangra,Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur districts[10].

The Audumbaras, stated to have been a section of the Śālvas, find their earliest mention in the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and seem to have continued their distinct tribal (though not political) entity till a very late date, as is proved by several literary references[11].

Rudradāsa, Śivadāsa, Dharaghosha, and Mahādeva of copper coins—the four rulers so far known belonging to this tribe have been referred to as Audumbaras[12]. Mahādeva is mentioned as a regal title on the coins of the first three kings and some scholars have suggested that the coins attributed to Mahādeva could belong to other rulers, with incomplete legends[13], Mahādeva being a title rather than a name. From their point of view, if it were a name then, on the analogy of Dharaghosha's coins, Mahādeva should have been written twice—first as a name and then as an epithet. Others hold that *Mahādeva* served a dual purpose; the chief Mahādeva was regarded as the personification of the diety having the same name[14]. Quite likely it served both as a title and name and was therefore not repeated.

The name of the tribe (Audumbara) is absent on silver coins bearing *Mahādeva* as part of legend, and the titles *bhāgavata* and *rājarāja* are added[15]. There is a good deal of controversy over the attribution of Mahādeva (of silver coins) to the Audumbara tribe. Such silver coins were found along with the Audumbara ones and, like them, bear the device of elephant-and-human figure together with the legend both in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī scripts. Hence he is generally included in the list of the Audumbara rulers, though some are inclined to exclude him from that category[16]. One scholar, on typological and provenance considerations, is inclined to treat him as a Vemaki ruler[17]. But the epithets *Bhāgavata* (*Bhagavata* according to some) and *rājarāja* are not to be met with on Vemak coins. Chakraborty takes *bhagavata* (as he reads it), as an appellation of gods, and *rājarāja* too is suggested by him to have been used for a god rather than for a chieftain[18]. P. L. Gupta, too, held a similar view.[19] Gupta[20], Sircar[21] and Lahiri[22] treat these coins at dedicatory issues. It may, however, be pointed out that on the dedicatory issues of the Yaudheyas and the Kuṇindas neither does the name of the king or his title occur; moreover the reading seems to be intended for *bhāgavata*[23]. Literally *bhāgavata* stands for a devotee of *bhagavān* (god) and, though in later period the term generally stands for a devotee of Vishṇu, in the earlier period it was used for a devotee of any particular god. In the present context the device shows that it stands for god Śiva[24]. A single copper coin bears the legend *Bhagavata Mahādevasa* together with a *liṅga*-like symbol[25] This *Bhagavata* Mahādeva and the homonym bearing same title; of silver coins are no doubt identical. The fact that this very device is counter-marked on a coin of Uttamadatta of Mathura has led some scholars to think that Mahādeva won a victory over that ruler.[26]

Audumbara coins are noteworthy for their representation of a doble-domed and pointed roofed temple[27] with multiple pillars (identified as a *stūpa* by Allan[28] and a mote-hall by Jayaswal)[29], this being one of the earliest representations of a well developed

temple model in any medium. The trident-battle-axe device in the field would favour its identification with a Śaiva temple.

The clue to the identification of the bearded figure occurring on some Audumbara coins is given by the legend *Viśpāmitrasya* (Skt. *Viśvāmitrasya*). Allan[30] felt that the connection of sage Viśvāmitra with the Audumbaras is unknown. Taking into consideration the Prominent Śaiva devices, Banerjea[31] is inclined to identify the figure as that of Śiva-Viśvāmitra. But Dasgupta has since brought forth significant ancient literary evidence to establish convincingly the association of the Audumbara tribe with sage Viśvāmitra[32]. The figure, as such, should be identified with that sage.

The coins of Rudradāsa and Śivadasa are distinctly Indian in type without any foreign influence and may be dated to the first century B.C.[33] Those of Dharaghosha and Mahādeva betray foreign influences and may be dated to the first half of the first century[34] while the *mitra*-ending coins (referred to below) may be ascribed to the second half of the same century. Tarn's view that both Audumbaras and Kuṇindas, were under Menander in the second century B.C.-is difficult to believe as there is no positive evidence for concluding that Menander's rule extended up to Mathura.

The mention of the name of the tribe along with that of the ruler on earlier issues suggests that the Audumbaras had an elective kingship;[35] the absence of the name of the tribe on Mahādeva's silver coins[36] would indicate that he was an autocrat. It is far less likely that, like the Yaudheyas and Kuṇindas, the Audumbaras dedicated their state to their tutelar deity or that the ruler Mahādeva identified himself with god Śiva[37].

The following symbols and devices occur on Audumbara coins; tree (Udumbara), elephant, bull (*nandī*), an undulating line (snake or more probably a river), trident, battle-axe, *jayadhvaja*(?), *nandipada*, *chakra*, lotus, temple structure and sage Viśvāmitra. Some of these devices (as also names of kings) are typically Śaivite suggesting that the Audumbara rulers were Śaiva by faith. The view that they were Buddhists[38] is therefore, untenable.

Both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī scripts have been used and, in language, as *Sivadāsa Rudradasa*, *Odu(m)bari* for *Śivadāsa*, *Rudradāsa and Audumbari*, would show, long vowels, like *a* and *au* have been avoided.

The standard weight of the silver coins, weighing 31.5 to 43.7 grains, appears to have been approximately half the weight of Indo-Greek drachms of 86.45 grains. The figure of Viśvāmitra on Dharaghosha's coins resembles Heracles as seen on the hemidrachms of Lysias. Like the figure of Heracles, Viśvāmitra is shown wearing a lion's skin, but there is no club in his hand. The pose of the figure (of Viśvāmitra) resembles that of Pallas on the coin of Azilises[39]. The title *rājarājas* is also in Greek style.

The Audumbara territory was situated on the trunk route from Takshaśilā to the Gangetic valley via Śākala, Agrodaka and Rohītaka[40]. Thus the Audumbaras were intermediaries between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Przyluski infers from references in ancient Buddhist texts that the Audumbaras traded in precious clothes. The area occupied by them is even today well known for a type of fine cloth (known as *pashmina*)[40]a. The issue of silver coinage indicates that the Audumbaras traded with areas outside their own territory, where silver standard was in vogue.

The coins of the Audumbaras belong to pre-Kushāṇa, at least pre-Kanishka, phase of Indian history, none of them belonging to the post-Kushāṇa-age. This would suggest that the Kunindas could not emerge as a political power after the Kushāṇa sway over their region. Altekar is of the view that the Audumbaras finally merged with the Madra republic.[41]

The Vemakis

Only two coins of the Vemakis are known so far. The one found at Jwalamukhi and in the Lahore Museum[42] shows on one side an elephant with upraised trunk and the trident-battle-axe device and the legend *V(e)makisa Rudravarma vijayata* in Brāhmī characters. The other side has the device of a bull and the Kharoshṭhī legend *Raña Vemakisa Rudravarmasa vijayo'a.*

Cunningham[43] ascribed Rudravarman to the Audumbara tribe and whitehead followed him[44]. R. D. Banerji and many others, however , do not accept this view and treat him as a chief of the Vemaki tribe[45]. R. C. Kar[46] pointed out that Vaimakas (Vemakis) are named in a quotation of Pārāśara cited by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in a commentary on Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. It has, however, also been suggested that the name Audumbara possibly covered other allied tribes as well, including the Vemakis[47].

The coin of Rudravarman resembles the elephant-bull type drachms of the Indo-Greek ruler Apollodotus apparently being modelled on the same[48]. The use of silver metal and Kharoshṭhī legend also betray Indo-Greek influence.

The other coin, a square copper one and now in the British Museum, is described by Allan[49] as showing on the obverse an elephant, a *triratna* and the legend *Rāja*[50] *V-mak*(-)(-)*napapasa Vemaka* in Brāhmī, and, on the reverse, a bull, a *triratna* and *svastika*. Kar's[51] probable reconstruction of the legend as *Vamaka janapadasa* would suggest that the Vaimakis formed a *janapada*. Hoshiarpur, the provenance of the coin, which is not very far from Jwalamukhi where the other Vaimaka coin was found,[52] supports the attribution of the coin to that tribe.

Coins with mitra-ending names

A few coins with *mitra*-ending names[53], viz., Ajamitra, Mahīmitra, Bhānumitra and Mahābhūtimitra, have been found along with Audumbara coins and are also typologically

(they too bear elephant and standing deity device) close to them. Some scholars include these in the Audumbara series[54] while others hold a contrary view.[55] Those holding the former view explain the absence of the tribal name as indicative of changed circumstances. Typologically, these have been placed after known Audumbara coinage.[56] The standing figure of Mahādeva resembles the one on *Mitra* coins and trident-battle-axe device occurs on both *Mitra* and Audumbara coins.

Kāḍa coins

Some coins[57] bear the legend *Kāḍasa* in c. second century B. C. characters. *Kāḍa* has been taken by some as the name of a tribe.[58] Cunningham found one Kāḍa coin along with those of the Kunindas and described it along with the issues of that tribe[59]. The symbols on the Kāḍa coins include *chakra*, tree in railing, undulating line (snake or river), deity figure, *svastika*, *kalaśa*, elephant and taurine symbol.

The Kuṇindas

Fifty-four coins of the Kuṇindas with twenty one silver ones of Apollodotus were found at Tappa Mewa in Hamirpur district[60]. Three silver coins of Amoghabhūti Kuninda were found along with about thirty coins of Apollodotus[61], near Jwalamukhi. Cunningham noted that Kuninda coins were found mainly between Ambala and Saharanpur[62].

The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*[63], *Vishṇu Purāṇa*[64], *Mahābhārata* and a few other ancient texts refer to the Kuṇindas in various forms like *Kulinda*, *Kaulinda*, *Kuninda* etc. Certain references in the *Mahābhārata* speak of them as hilly people and neighbours of the Trigartas.[65] The *Kulindrene* of Ptolemy is also taken to refer to the Kuninda country[66]. The Kunets of the Kulu valley, and even the Katyurs of Kumaon, according to some, are to be taken as the descendants of the Kunindas.

Kuninda coins fall in two groups—The *Amoghabhūti* and the *Chhatreśvara* type.[67] The former bears the Brāhmī legend *Rajñah Kuṇindasya Amoghabhūtisya mahārajasya* together with Lakshmī, deer and a few symbols on one side, and the Kharoshṭhī legend *Rāña Kuṇindasa Amoghabhūtisa mahārājasa* together with some symbols on the other.[68]

Smith was of the view that coins bearing the name Amoghabhūti were issued over a considerable period and by more than one ruler[69]. Jayaswal[70] suggested that Amoghabhūti ('of unfailing prosperity') was probably an official title. Allan, however, saw uniformity in style and fabric of the silver pieces without any sign of progressive degeneration, but acceded to the possibility of some copper pieces having been issued by the Kushāṇa conquerors in imitation of Kuninda silver coins.

These copper coins seem to have been meant for local circulation only. The silver ones with Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī legends and modelled after the Greek hemidrachm, served mainly as medium in trade transactions with regions outside the Kuninda territory

where Greek weight-standard was in vogue and would have competed with the later Indo-Greek silver coinage[71].

The other *Chhatreśvara* type is attributed to the Kuṇindas on the basis of its similarity on reverse with that of *Amoghabhūti* type. It shows Śiva with *Jaṭājūṭa*, holding trident-battle-axe. The legend in Brāhmī reads *Bhagavato chatreśvara mahātmanah* while the reverse bears some symbols and devices. The-legend is generally taken to indicate that the tribal state of the Kunindas was dedicated to lord Śiva (referred to as *Mahātman* and *Chhatreśvara* in the legend) and the coins were issued in his name as their temporal sovereign ruler.[72]

Of the devices, deer has been identified by Banerjea as the theriomorphic representation of Lakshmī on the testimony of the *Śrīsūkta* of *Rigveda*.[73] Other devices include *śrivatsa*[74], hill symbol[75], *jayadhvaja* (?) and *Indradhvaja* (described by some as pine or *deodar* tree).[76]

The *Amoghabhūti* type of coins are generally ascribed to first century B.C. and *Chhatreśvara* type to the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D.[77] It seems that the Kunindas owed allegiance to the Kushāṇas during the intervening period. They seem to have regained their independence in 2nd century A.D., when Kushāṇa power was on the way to decline.[78]

There is a close resemblance in type, fabric and size between the *Chhatreśvara* type and the Yaudheya coins showing Kārttikeya on the obverse. This would suggest geographical nearness and contemporaneity of the two tribes. Altekar's[79] view that the Kuninda formed a successful alliance with the Yaudheyas and the Ārjunayanas against the Kushāṇas, is ingenious but in the absence of any corroborative evidence should be considered as tentative. No Kuninda coins seem to have been issued after *c.* 200 A.D.; nor do the Kunindas find mention in the list of tribes mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*c.* 350 A.D.). Thus the suggestion that the Kunindas eventually coalesced with the Yaudheyas after *c.* 250 A.D. gains considerable weight.[80]

The Yaudheyas

The Yaudheyas said to have been descendents of Yaudheya, son of Yudhishṭhira of the *Mahābhārata* fame[81], are mentioned by Pāṇini[82], but they are not directly mentioned in the classical accounts dealing with Alexander's invasion.[83]

Though quite a large number of Yaudheya coins have seen the light of the day, yet only a few have been recorded from Himachal Pradesh. Four copper coins of the Yaudheyas were obtained from the Kangra district and a good number at Jagadhari in eastern Punjab[84]. Among find-spots and areas outside Himachal Pradesh, Rohtak (where besides coins a large number of coin-moulds have been found and which seems to be the

central seat of the Yaudheyas), Delhi, Saharanpur, Dehradun and Garhwal[85], may be mentioned. From the list of these find-spots of coins it appears that the heart of the Yaudheya territory may have been eastern Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, but they dominated over the adjoining tracts of U.P. and Northern Rajasthan[86] as well. The whole area was perhaps not under their control at any one time but in different epochs, though a large part of it could have been under them in their hey-days. It is also possible that different sections of the tribe ruled in different areas and in different epochs.

One of the earliest Yaudheya coin types[87] datable to the close of the first century B.C. bears the legend *bahudhañake Yaudheyanaṁ* (*i.e.*, Yaudheyas of the Bahudhānyaka). *Bahudhānyaka* is identified with the Rohtak region. Another type issued in the name of Brahmaṇyadeva Kumāra (Kārttikeya) bear the figure of that six-headed deity on the obverse, with some showing six-headed *Shashṭhī* on the reverse. The third type datable to 3rd or 4th century A.D. is typologically close to Kushāṇa coins and bears the legend *Yaudheya gaṇasya jayaḥ*. The legend has been taken by some to indicate the victory of the Yaudheyas over the Kushāṇas.[88] But it should better be interpreted as a benedictory formula which occurs on coins of other tribes (cf. *Ārjunayanam jaya* and *Mālavagaṇa jaya*) as well. In some cases such Yaudheya coins bear the letters *dvi* and *tri* in addition. According to some, the letters *dvi* and *tri* are meant for the Kunindas and the Ārjunāyanas who (it is surmised) confederated with the Yaudheyas for the avowed purpose of ousting the Kushāṇas;[89] while, according to others, they may refer to two or three sections of the Yaudheya tribe itself[90] or three administrative units of the tribe[90a]. The coalition of tribes, though not quite common, is not unknown in ancient Indian history.[91] But if that would be the case in the present context then we should have expected the letters '*eka*' indicative of the first section. Moreover if the separate entity of the section was maintained in issuing coins, then even the names of the tribes forming the second and third sections should have been mentioned along with the name of the parent Yaudheya tribe—taking it to have been more powerful partner of the coalition.

The legend *Yaudheyānāṁ jayan:antradharāṇāṁ* on a seal might mean that the Yaudheyas considered themselves as possessing the victory charm[92] or that the seal belonged to their jôint cabinet, members of the cabinet being the upholders of their secret policies (*mantras*) leading to victory.[93]

It seems that the Yaudheyas had in earlier times an elected executive committee, but in course of time they adopted quasi monarchical form of the government as the chief of the tribe has been referred to as *mahārāja* and *mahāsenāpati* cf. the evidence of Bijaigadh Ins.[94] and some seals).[95] Either the exigency of circumstances led the Yaudheyas to hand over power to some elected leader or the elected leader himself became an autocrat with his successors following in his footsteps.

Legends like *Yaudheya svāmino Brahmaṇyasya* and *Bhagavata svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kuṇārasya* together with the representation of *Kārttikeya* and his wife *Shashṭhī*[96]

clearly show the deep veneration of the Yaudheyas for Karttikey (both Brahmaṇya and Kumāra being his names).[97] Śiva and Lakshmī are also represented though not prominently. The bull before *yūpa* has been taken as suggestive of the *śūlagava* sacrifice.[98] Among other symbols met with on the Yaudheya coins, are the elephant, deer, peacock, hill symbol, *triśūla*, *nandipada*, *śaṇkha*, *svastika*, vase and the Ujjain symbol.

The Yaudheyas had to face defeat at the hands of the Śakas and Kushāṇas and forced to migrate to Western Rajputana. Defeat at the hands of Rudradaman[99] in *c.* 145 A.D. did not daunt their ardour, as after Huvishka, when Kushāṇa power had declined, they became quite powerful, and an important factor in outsting the Kushāṇas.[100] The absence of the coins of Kanishka III (*c.* 180-210 A.D.) and Vāsudeva II (c. 210-240 A.D.) in regions to the east of the Sutlej and Jamuna and the proverance of the Yaudheya coins datable to third-forth centuries between the two rivers, show that the Yaudheyas and regained their former fertile lands from the Kushāṇas.[101]

On some coins the word *darma* (or *drama*) has been read by some scholars, and it has been taken as the Sanskrit form of drachm.[102] It has been suggested that this should be taken as part of the legend and the whole legend—*Yaudheya bhagavata svāmino darma* should mean that the coin was dedicated to the tutelary deity of the Yaudheyas. [102]a.

Yaudheyas used both Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī scripts for coin-legends and their coins are closely related with those of the northern Kshatrapas, the Ārjunayanas, the Audumbaras and the Rājanyas.

The allegiance of the Yaudheyas to Samudragupta towards the middle of fourth century A.D. marked a decline in their power, though even afterwards they lingered on as an unimportant political entity for a few centuries.

As regards the nature of these republican states we have to bear in mind that the term tribal republics' is convenient label as these could not be republics in the modern sense of the term. Ladies of these tribes do not seem to have enjoyed any voting rights, nor even all adults would have enjoyed the same. Nevertheless, it has to be understood that a fairly large portion of adult male population had this privilege. The evidence of Buddhist literature regarding some republics indicates that the members of the central assembly of those republics consisted of Kshatriya aristocrats. Greek accounts dealing with Alexander's invasion would indicate more or less a similar state of affairs.

No gold coin of the tribes is known. All tribes issued coins in copper. However, tribes like the Audumbaras, Kunindas, Vemakis, and the Yaudheyas also issued silver coins which seem to have been based on the weight-standard of the Indo-Greek coins and were mainly meant for trade outside their own territory. Some tribal coins bear the name of the tribe and also the tribal chief together with his title *rājan*. On others the tribal chief alone is mentioned and he is attributed royal epithets. The Yaudheya coins

were issued in the name of the tribal organisation. The *Pāṇinīya* refers to the Yaudheyas as a *saṁgha* while the coins refer to them as a *gaṇa*.[103] Both the terms have republican connotations but their exact difference is difficult to determine. It has been suggested[104] that the *gaṇa* denotes some sort of federation and the Yaudheyas according to some scholars, have been referred to as a *gaṇa* as they had federated with some other tribes, probably the Ārjunayanas and the Kunindas, particularly with a view to oust the Kushāṇas. The Yaudheyas and the Kunindas are known to have issued coins in the name of their tutular deity. Some early tribal coins, *e.g.* those of the Audumbaras, Kunindas and the Vemakis, bear legends both in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhi scrpts. On later tribal coins, generally Brāhmī script alone occurs. Uusually, the legends are in Prākṛit but attempts were also made to Sanskritize them (cf. *Yodheyan* (*āṁ*) for *Yaudheyānāṁ*, *Amoghabhūtisya* for *Amoghabhūteḥ*).

There is definite foreign influence on some tribal coins but it is principally in weight standard, model or technique while the devices and symbols are Indian. In rare cases (eg. the representation of safe Viśvāmitra) are the figures represented on Greek models. Titles like *trātāra*, *rājarāja* are based on Greek titles (of Soteros and Basileon). No triba chief introduced his portrait figure on coins.

Appendix

In passing, we may also refer to coin-finds. Of numerous tribal organisations like those of the Mālvas, Sibis, Rājanyas, Agras, etc., who seem to have flourished in and around the areas included in the ancient Punjab and its borders, but perhaps outside the present boundaries of Himachal Pradesh. These are to be ascribed to a period ranging from the 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D. and are noted for their migratory tendencies—as is well known in the cases of the Mālavas, Sibis, etc. Quite different is the case with the Kulūtas and Trigartas. They were the people inhabiting the Kulu valley. though the Kulūta coins have not been reported from Himacha Pradesh. Of the twelve Kulūta coins known so far, eleven have come from Taxila and nothing is known about the provenance of the twelfth. Trigarta coins also have been found outside Himachal Pradesh, though they were positively a people of that state. The find spot of the single Vṛishi coin is not known, though there is a possibility that they ruled in some parts of Himachal Pradesh.

It is not certain with coins bearing legend *Upagodasa*, *Upatikya*, etc. are tribal or local (see Lahiri, A.H., in *Early Indian Indigenous Coins*, ed. by D.C. Sircar. p. 62.

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Notes and References

1. In fact except a couple of monarchies, all the powers encountered by Alexander during his compaign in India were republican.
2. For the ancient name of the area roughly comprising Himachal Pradesh, see M.C. Joshi's paper in this Volume.
3. E.g. Kulūta coins have not been found in the Kulu valley; they have been found at Taxlia.
4. Sometimes the find spots of coins show that some of the tribes migrated to a new place from its original habitat.
5. See D.C. Sircar in *AIU*, p. 162.
6. Allan, *CCAI*, p. lxxxvii.
7. Banerji, R.D., *JASB*, Numismatic Supplement xxiii (not xxii as reported by Allan ir *CCAI*, p. lxxxiii) and J.N. Banerjea in *Compr. Hist. of Ind.*, p. 797) pp. 247-50.
8. Banerji (*op.-cit.*) has described 8 coins, only 3 of Dharaghosha, 2 of Śivadāsa and 3 of Rudradāsa.
9. Prof. Jagannath thinks that Hoshiarpur district was within the territory of the Kunindas (*Compr. Hist. of Ind.*, II, p. 109).
10. Altekar in *VGA*, p. 33. Cunningham points out that the ancient name of Nurpur district *was Dahmeri* or *Damhari* which is a derivative from Audumbara (*ASR*, XIV, 136). Rapson (*JRAS*, 1900, p. 540) doubts this identification. Pliny (*Natural History* as quoted in Allan *CCAI*, lxxxvii) mentions Odeonbares, who lived in Kacch. (See also Cunningham, *ASR*, XIV, p. 136). This seems to be a branch different from the one known from coins. According to Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, 4th ed., 1967, p. 54) the Audumbara Brahmins of Gujarat are their descendants, while others take them as the Admera section of Johiya Rajputs. (Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 69).
11. For detailed literary references including those referring to the Audumbaras as a section of the Sālvas, see K.K. Dasgupta *THAI*, pp. 38-42.
12. Allan, J., *CCAI*, pp. 122-24.
13. *Ibid.*, p. lxxxiii.
14. See K.K. Dasgupta, *JNSI*, XXXII, 151. Ajay Mitra Shastri, however, points out that if it were the case then Rudradāsa and Śivadāsa would also have adopted the same recourse (*JNSI*, XXXIV, 18). But it should be noted that while *Mahādeva* is the name of the god, *Rudradāsa and Śivadāsa* mean servants of the same god.
15. See Allan, *CCAI*, p. 123.
16. Amongst younger generation of numismatists K.K. Dasgupta forcefully argues in retaining him under the Audumbara series (*THAI*, pp. 47-50), while A.M. Shastri is vehemently opposed to it (*JNSI*, XXXII, pp. 14-18).
17. Bela Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXX, pp. 61 ff.
18. Chakraborty, *An. Ind. Num.*, p. 161.
19. P.L. Gupta, *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 204.
20. *Ibid*, p. 205.
21. D.C. Sircar in *AIU*, p. 161, n.1.
22. Bela Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXX, p. 67.
23. A.M. Shastri, *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 89.
24. A.M. Shastri rightly cites the examples of *Śiva Bhāgavatas* from Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* (*JNSI*, XXXII, p. 18).
25. Rapson, *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 112 ff.
26. K.K. Dasgupta, *IHQ*, XXXVIII, pp. 75-79.

27. See Cunningham. A., *CAI*, p. 68; Banerji, R.D., *JASB, NS*, XXIII, p. 247; Banerjea, J.N., *DHI*, p. 118; Sohoni, *JNSI*, IV, pp. 55-57; Shastri, A.M., *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 89.
28. Allan, J., *CCAI*, p. lxxxiii.
29. Jayaswal, K.P., *Hindu Polity*, p. 154.
30. Allan, J. *CCAI*, p. lxxxiv.
31. *DHI*, pp. 120-121.
32. Dasgupta points to the evidence of *Kalikā Purāṇa* (Chap. 82 or Vangavasi ed. and chap. 85 of Venkateshwar II ed.) which gives the story that Viśvāmitra's mother had embraced the Udumbara tree with a desire to have a child; as a result Viśvāmitra was born in course of time. This would incidentally explain the connection of the tribe with the Udumbara tree. He also points out that the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṁśa* corroborate the sages' connection with the Audumbaras (*THAI*, pp. 43-44).
33. R.D. Banerji, *JASB, NS*, xxiii, p. 249. Dasgupta would place them in the second half of the second century B.C. (*THAI*, p. 56).
34. R.D. Banerji, *op. cit.*
35. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*. p. 154.
36. For the view that he was not an Audumbara ruler, see above.
37. As suggested by K.K. Dasgupta, *THAI*, p. 67.
38. For this view see *Compr. Hist. of Ind.*, II. p. 136-
39. See Rapson, *IC*, VI, p. 11.
40. Cf also *Compr. Hist. of Ind.* II, p. 136.
40.a *Ibid.*
41. Altekar in *VGA*, p. 33.
42. Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 167, no. 137, pl. xvi.
43. Cunningham, A., *CAI*, pp. 68 ff.
44. Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 167.
45. See Banerji, R.D. *JASB, NS*, XXIII, p. 248. See also Chakraborty, S.K. *AIN*, 214-15; Kar, R.C., *IHQ*, XX, pp. 59-62; Bela Lahiri, *JNSI*, XXX, p. 61, ff; Dasgupta, K.K., *JNSI*, XXXII, p. 152; Ahmad, N., *JNSI*, XXXIV, pp. 176 ff. Allan groups Rudravarman with the Audumbaras (*CCAI*, p. 125).
46. Kar, R.C., *IHQ*, XX, (1949), p. 60.
47. Allan, *CCAI*, p. lxxxvi; Banerjea, J.N., in *Compr. Hist* of *Ind.* II, p. 135).
48. Rapson, *IC*, p. 11. N. Ahmad points out that the upraised trunk of elephant is nearer to similar representation of Maues' coins than on the coins of Apollodotus (*JNSI*, XXXIV, p. 184).
49. *CCAI*, p. cliv.
50. Allan says that this may, however, be a *nandipada*, *ibid.*
51. *IHQ*, XX, 62, fn. 14.
52. Cunningham, A., *CAI*, p, 67; cf. also *IHQ*, XX, p. 62, n. 14. Nisar Ahmad, however, thinks that the provenance (Jawalamukhi) is mentioned by Cunningham for Dharaghosha's coin rather than that of Rudravarman. (*JNSI*, XXXIV, p, 185).
53. Allan, *CCAI*, pp. lxxxvi and 125-29.
54. Cunningham (*CAI*, pp. 69-70) was the first to suggest this. K.K. Dasgupta forcefully supports Cunningham's attribution (*THAI*, pp. 57-58).
55. For the first time R.D. Banerji suggested that these belonged to a different dynasty. A.M. Shastri (*JNSI*, XXVI, 161) is strongly opposed to their ascription to the Audumbara series. P.L. Gupta (*IHQ*, XXVII, 205) connects these rulers with Pañchāla *Mitra* kings; but this is not acceptable to most of the scholars.
56. P.L. Gupta, *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 205.

57. Allan, *CCAI*, p. xcii.

58. *Kāḍa* has been equated with *Kāla* by Allan (*CCAI*, p. xcii) and *Kādrava* by Cunningham (*ASR*, III 10). Elsewhere (*CAI*, p. 71) the latter points out that a subdivision of Kunets is named *Kadaik*. A.N. Lahiri is not certain whether the *Kāḍa* coins are local or tribal (in *Early Indigenous Coins*, ed. by D.C. Sircar, p. 62).

59. Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 71.

60. *Proc. ASB*, 1893, pp. 11-12.

61. Cunningham, *ASR*, XIV, p. 134.

62. Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 71,

63. vide Cunningham, *ASR*, XIV, p. 134.

64. It has *Kulindopatyaka* (Kulindas dwelling at the foot of hills, vide Cunningham, *ASR*, XIV, p. 135).

65. See Wilson in *Vishṇupurāṇa*, Halls ed. vol. II, p. 180 as cited in *ASR*, XIV, 135.

66. Ptolemy, however, takes *Kulindrene* as a country in which the river Beas, Sutlej and Jamuna rise (*vide* Allan, *CCAI*, p. civ).

67. See Allan, *CCAI*, pp. ci and 159 ff.

68. The various symbols, both on the obverse and reverse, have been enumerated below. According to Allan (*CCAI*, p. ci) a border of dots replaces the Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse of the copper coins and there are no symbols on the obverse. Cunningham (*ASR*, xiv. p. 138), however, reports certain copper coins of this ruler inscribed on both the faces.

69. Smith, *CCIM*, 161.

70. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 70 n.

71. Allan, *CCAI*, pp. cii-ciii.

72. Banerjea J.N., *DHI*, 2nd ed., p. 118, fn.1. Some take Chhatreśvara as name of king (A.S. Altekar, *VGA*, p. 28) while some take Chhatra to be the name of the capital (Sircar in *ASU*, p. 161. n).

73. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 134.

74. Some described it as *nāga* symbol; see, however, Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 189-90.

75. Described as *chaitya* by some.

76. Banerjea who identifies the symbol as *Indradhvaja Sampata*, says that the depiction does not conform to the shape of tree and the so-called branches are infact banners.

77. Dr. D C. Sircar considers this a likely postulate but says that even coins of Amoghabhūti can be placed to second or third century A.D. on palaeographic evidence (in *AIU*, p. 161, nl).

78. There is a good deal of controversy regarding the date of Kanishka. We have followed the view that he ascended the throne in 78 A.D.

79. Altekar in *VGA*, pp. 31-32.

80. Altekar, *VGA*, p. 32; D.C. Sircar says that the Kunindas were overcome by the Kulūtas (*AIU*, 161. no. 1).

81. Vide, Raychaudhuri. H.C., *Political History of Ancient India*, VIth ed, p. 545.

82. *Aṣṭadhyayī*, IV.1.178 and V.3.117.

83. According to Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity* p. 57), the unnamed prosperous republic adjoining the Beas about which Strabo reports that its government consisted of five thousand councillors, each of whom furnished the state with an elephant. Cunningham (*CAI*, p. 76) takes them to be the Sambracae (or Sabracae referred to by Quintus Curtius) who had no king and were lead by three generals. Orosius calls them Sambagre which Cunningham (*CAI*, p. 76) renders into Sanskrit *Sambagre i.e.* 'United Warrior' and includes the possibility of the Yohiyas, Bagṭis and Bhatis as members of this tribe.

84. See Smith, *CCIM*, p. 165. The four copper coins from the Kangra district bear on the obverse the figure of six-headed Kārttikeya and the legend *Bhagavato Swāmino Brahmaṇasya*, and on the reverse a female deity (*CAI*, pp. 78-79.

85. On some coins from Lansdowne (Garhwal) the legend is *Rāvaṇasya* (Kala, S.C., *JNSI*, XVII, p. 46).

86. D.C. Sircar, *AIU*, p. 166.

87. Bajpai excludes the coins described by Allan as class I and earliest in date, from the Yaudheya series (*JNSI*, XXXV, 91-92).

88. Altekar in *VGA*, p.

89. Altekar in *VGA*, pp. 31-32,

90. See *e.g.* Sircar, D.C. in *AIU*, p. 167.

90A. See *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 139.

91. Cf. the case of the Vriji *Saṅgha* which is said to have included eight confederate clans (Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 118).

92. Altekar suggests that this notion was developed after the Yaudheyas defeated the Kushānas (in *VGA*, p. 30).

93. J.P. Singh in *JNSI*, XXVII, pp. 137-38.

94. *CII*, III, pp. 252-53.

95. *JNSI*, XXXII, p. 154.

96. See Agrawal, V.S., *JNSI*, V, pp. 30-32. D.B. Pandey identified the figure with *Kṛittikā* (*JNSI*, XXIX, (pp. 6-8). For a criticism of Pandey's view see Agrawal, R.C., *JNSI* XXX, p. 182).

97. Earlier Smith (*CCIM*, p. 165) believed that *Brahmaṇya deva* was the name of the Yaudheya king.

98. See Banerjea, J.N., *IHQ*, XVI, pp. 500-01.

99. Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman (*EI*, VIII, pp. 36 ff)

100. See Altekar in *VGA*, p. 28.

101. Altekar in *ibid.* p. 29. He suggests the coins with the legend *Yaudheyagaṇasya Jaya* (apparently a benedictory formula) were issued to mark their victory.

102. See Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 78; Chakraborty *An. Ind. Num.*, p. 223. R.C. Agrawal (*JNSI*, XVII, (II), 65) has doubted this reading.

102A. *JNSI*, XVII, (ii), p. 65.

103. cf. the case of the *janapada* coins, *e.g.* Sibi janapada, Malāva janapada, etc.

104. P.L. Gupta, *IHQ*, XXVII, p. 200.

Abbreviations

1.	*AIU*	*The Age of Imperial Unity* (*The History and Culture of Indian People*, vol. II) ed. by R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker (Bombay, 1953).
5.	*CCAI*	*Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India in British Museum* by J. Allan (London, 1936).
10.	*JASL*	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
14.	*VCA*	*The Vakataka Gupta Age, A New History of Indian People*, vol. VI, ed. by R.C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar (Lahore, 1946).
3.	*ASR*	*Archaeological Survey of India*, Reports (ed.) by Alexander Cunningham.
11.	*IRAS*	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
13.	*TTHAI*	*Tribal History of Ancient India*, by K.K. Dasgupta, Calcutta, 1974.
9.	*IHQ*	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*

4.	*CAI*	Coins of Ancient India from the Earliest Times down to the Seventh Centuy A.D. (reprint) Varanasi, 1963.
7.	*DHI*	*Development of Hindu Iconography*, by J.N. Banerjea, 2nd ed.
8.	*IC*	*Indian Culture.*
12.	*PMC*	*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I (Indo-Greek Coins) Oxford, 1914.
4.	*CCIM*	*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, including the Cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1906). *by* V.A. Smith.
5.	*CII*	*Corous Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III ed. by F.J. Flut.
6.	*Compr. Hist. of Ind. II*	*Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II ed. by K.A.N. Shastri (Calcutta, 1957).
2.	*An Ind. Num.*	*A Study of Ancient Indian Numesmatics* by S.K. Chakraborty (Calcutta, 1931).

An Outline of the History of Himachal Pradesh
First to Seventh Century A.D.

L.P. Pandey

The early history of Himachal Pradesh is rather unknown. It is mainly due to the dearth of the source-material which could help us in its reconstruction. Literary sources related to the early period or even those belonging to the later period do not help us much in this respect. They, however, throw some indirect light on the cultural conditions of this region and its relation to the history of the mainland. These are supplemented by the accounts of Hiuen Tsang who had visited this part of India after A.D. 629. The chronicles of some local ruling dynasties of this region provide some help in reconstruction of its history. But they deal with the history of only some parts of Himachal Pradesh and that too of the post-Gupta period. Archaeological sources include some inscriptions, coins and art-objects. However, their number is very small.

The available numismatic evidence helps in writing the history of Himachal Pradesh pertaining to the early centuries of the Christian era. The Kushāṇas seem to have extended their empire upto this region. Their coins have been discovered in Kangra and Simla areas.[1] Kushāṇas had conquered the whole of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh appears to have been within their sphere of influence, if not under direct control. After the downfall of the Kushāṇas, this region saw the rise and growth of some tribal republics. Some were monarchical in their nature and some were republics. The silver coin of Kulu-king named Virayasha, has been discovered from there. On paleographic grounds Allan[2] is inclined to ascribe it to the first or second century A.D. We believe that it belongs to the later part of the second century when the power of the Kushāṇas had started to decline. It is, in fact, during this period that Himachal saw the rise of the later Audumbaras, Yaudheyas and the Kunindas about whom we know from the coins issued by them.

Following Cunningham, Allan has ascribed to Audumbaras a group of coins[3] of kings whose names end with the suffix 'mitra'. But in our opinion this was a new dynasty which may have been related with the Pañchāla rulers of Mathura whose names also end with the suffix 'mitra'. Moreover their coins have been found in Hoshiarpur district; so they may not have ruled this region at all.

The coins of the Yaudheyas and the Kunindas discovered from this region speak about their republics which were established after the fall of the Kushāṇas. Kunindas

seem to have occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of Siwalik hills between the Sutlej and Jamuna rivers and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and the Sutlej. Thus they seem to have occupied the districts of Simla and Sirmur and parts of Kinnaur district. They may be associated with the Kanets and the Kinnauris of the present time. They had issued some copper coins[4] which are assigned to the end of the second century A.D. or to the beginning of the third. They have copied the Kushāṇa type in their coins which bear the legend *Bhagavato Chhatreśvara Mahātmanāḥ* in Brāhmī. This shows that the state had been surrendered to god Śiva. This deity appears on their coins. However their state did not survive long and it was probably captured by yaudheyas who were more powerful.

The tribal republic of Yaudheyas is known from their copper coins which have been classified by Allan into early and later groups.[5] The first group is closely connected in style and type with the coinage of the Kushāṇas. They bear the mark of six-headed god Kārttikeya on the obverse and the figure of Laskhmī on the reverse. The legend written in Brāhmī shows that the state had been dedicated to god Kārttikeya. Such coins are ascribed to the second century A.D. Their coins of the second group which are well executed are ascribed to the third and fourth centuries A.D. when they had established themselves securely. The legend found on them reads '*Yaudheya gaṇasya jayah*'. This shows that their republic flourished upto the middle of the fourth century A.D. when it was subjugated by Samundra-Gupta.[6] The Yaudheyas lived in the plains of the Punjab between the Sutlej and the Jamuna rivers and their tributaries included some principalities and *janapadas* in the hills. Some of their coins have been discovered in Kangra district.

With the defeat of the Yaudheyas by Samudra-Gupta, Punjab and the hills naturally became part of the Gupta empire. Thus a new chapter was opened in the history of Himachal Pradesh. Now only literary and epigraphic sources help us in its reconstruction. The *Purāṇas* and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* mention only a few tribes of this region and they do not throw any light on its political history. The *Brahmāṇd-Purāṇa* has a chapter called *Kulanta-pitha Mahātmya* which throws some light on the religious faith and places of the Parbati valley in Kulu.

The *Arya-manju-Śri-mūla Kalpa* a Buddhist work of the post-Harsha period informs us about the conquest of this region by the younger brother of Samundra-Gupta who seems to be Kacha-Gupta ,also known from his coins. According to it he conquered the territories leading to the door of Kashmir[7] which may mean the areas of Kangra, Chamba and Jammu. Samudra-Gupta made many conquests in various parts of India in his short career.[8] His coins[9] describe him as a great conqueror and the extripator of all the kings of his times, In fact he prepared the ground for more conquests to be made by his successors.[10]

Rama-Gupta his successor ruled for a very short period before Chandra-Gupta-II Vikramāditya. Unfortunately he proved to be a weak ruler. We are told by the *Kāvya-mīmansa* of Rajasekhara (10th century A.D.) that a king named Sharma-Gupta who is taken as the corrupt reading for the Gupta king Rama-Gupta was defeated and imprisoned by the king of Khashas of the Himalayas. We also know from the same evidence that after having lost his courage and morale, Rama-Gupta promised to give his queen named Dhruvasvaminī to the victor.[11] This is mentioned in many other works[12] though in a different way. The *Devī Chandraguptam*[13] of Vasakhadatta, and the *Harshacharitā*[14] of Baṇabhatta describe that Chandra-Gupta, the younger brother of Rama-Gupta, could not tolerate this insult, he went in the court of the enemy in guise of Dhruvasvāminī whom the Saka ruler had been waiting to meet. There he killed the enemy and saved the royal queen, the prestige of the family and the empire and conquered the territory of the Saka ruler. This piece of evidence has been interpreted variously by historians. Most of them regard it as a true historical event and hold the view that it was Saka ruler of Saurastra-Kathiawar[15] who had defeated Rama-Gupta and wanted the royal queen but later on had been killed by Chandra-Gupta. Some historians regard him as the ruler of Almora region of Uttra Pradesh where Rama-Gupta had been defeated and imprisoned at the place called Kārttikeyanagar.[16] But the suggestion made by some[17] that the event occurred in the Kangra region of Himachal Pradesh seems to be more plausible because it is in this region where Alipur the place of imprisonment of the Gupta monarch is situated. Visa-khadatta as quoted in the *Śringara-Prakasha*, gives the name of the camping place of the Khasha ruler as Alipur[18], a place situated in Kangra district. This place has some ruins of an ancient fort.[19] This identification appears more plausible though not definite.

It appears that Chandra-Gupta Vikramaditya brought under his sway the whole of Himachal Pradesh as the circumstantial evidences suggest. He undertook systematic measures for extension of the empire on all sides. The Meharauli pillar inscription informs that he crossed the seven rivers of the Punjab, and conquered even the Bahlikas living somewhere in Afganistan or nearby it.[20] Certainly he must have done so after conquering the Punjab and parts of Himachal Pradesh and extending direct control over these areas. It seems probable that he got some military help from the hill chiefs. The evidence-found in the Salri rock inscription of Kulu of the fifth century supports such an assum ption. According to it *Mahārāja* Śri Chandreśvara-Hastin who was the son of *Mahārāja* Isvarm-Hastin belonging to the Vatsa family (*gotra*) defeated one Rajjilabala (?) in a battle-field and founded a town called Salpuri which can be identified with the Salri village of present times.[21] These persons describe as *Mahārājās* are not known to us. It may be assumed that they were subordinate local rulers bearing allegiance to the Gupta emperors who used big titles like *Mahārājādhirāja*. It may be that Isvaram-Hastin had been sent by Samudra-Gupta or his successors to make further conquests in this region and administer the hilly region of the Gupta empire. The conquered chief named Rajjilabala is not known to us; presumably he was a local ruler belonging to Kulu Mandi region

of Himachal Pradesh, who had succeeded in carving out a principality for himself after the downfall of the Kushāṇas in this region.

This political position seems to have continued during the reign of Kumar-Gupta who had probably directed his military establishment to make some conquests in this region. This surmise is based on the archaeological and literary sources. The verse found in the *Kavyamīmansa* of Rajashekhara which praises Kārttikeya for making new conquests and introducing good administration in Himalayas where the Kinnaras lived at different places.[22] It may be mentioned here that Kārttikeya is a synonym for Kumara and its aim was to praise the Gupta emperor named Kumara-Gupta. His coins mention his name only as Kumara, but it is necessary to mention that some scholars do not agree with this identification and hold the view that Kārttikeya mentioned by Rajashekhara stands for Mahipala,[23] the Gurjura-Pratihara emperor who had conquered the Kulūtas.[24]

The conquests of some parts of Himachal Pradesh by Kumara-Gupta, the Gupta monarch, is also suggested by one of the types[25] of his coins which depict god Kārttikeya and his mount peacock. Here it is to be noted that god Kārttikeya figures on the coins of the Yaudheyas, Audumbaras and the Kunindas who were in possession of this region. This motif was borrowed from the tribal coins by the Guptas after they had conquered these tribes. For administrative expendiency coin types and art motifs of the conquered region are adopted by the conqueror.

This situation seems to have continued in Himachal Pradesh for sometime. After Kumara-Gupta's death, Skanda-Gupta defended well the frontiers of the empire and crushed the invaders and rebels.[26] It is possible that some local rulers tried to be independent in this region as well. During the reign of Skanda-Gupta, Hunas[27] invaded India and threatened the political integrity of the Gupta empire, but the invaders were repulsed.[28] After Skanda-Gupta, Hunas again invaded India and occupied the Punjab. Mihirakula and Toramana who became very active in Kashmir and the Punjab must have invaded some parts of Himachal Pradesh also because some parts of this region were situated on the important trade routes connecting Central Asia, China, Tibet, Ladakh and Kashmir. Hunas who came from Central Asia must have realised the importance of controlling all the trade routes in the north-west. Moeover it seems quite probable because Hunas boast to have conquered even those territories of the Himalayas which had not been conquered by the Gupta emperors.[29]

This invasion by the Hunas created a crisis which hastened the decline and downfall of the Guptas. This created a political uncertainty in this hilly region. Means of transport and communication were extremely difficult and these became unsafe as well. Consequently it remained cut off from the cultural trends of the mainland. Like some other parts of India, this region, too, saw the rise of local rulers and thus small princi-

palities came into existence. The birth of dynastic pattern of regional political power in Himachal can be attributed to these conditions. Probably, Chamba was the first state to have come into existence during this period. The chronicles of Chamba rulers inform that a small state was carved out sometime during the sixth century A.D. Originally it included the present Tehsil of Brahmor, the upper valley of the Ravi and its tributaries, the Budhal and the Tundahen as far down as Chhatrarhi.[30] The first ruler of this dynasty was probably a king named Maru whose rule was only nominal, for the chronicle says that having founded the state, he made it over to his son. After him the chronicle informs, Jaistambha Jalastambha and Mahastambha ruled for some time. Kulu also regained its independence during this period. Kalhana informs that Kulūta had a distinct existence aud it was a separate state in the sixth century A.D.[31] Other parts of Himachal Pradesh, however, seem to have still been linked politically with northern India.

In the plains Prabhakara Vardhana carved out a small kingdom for himself on the ruins of the Gupta empire. Thanesvara, modern Kurukshetra, being its capital. With his rise the political instability in this region came to an end. The *Harshacharita* of Banabhatta informs that Prabhakara Vardhana soon launched offensive wars in different directions including Himachal Pradesh. The Hunas were defeated and thrown back. This task was further completed by his son Harsha Vardhana who had taken an oath to make many conquests in every direction of the earth. Destiny was favourable for him and soon he moved to Kannauj getting control over the Maukhari kingdom. Kannauj became the capital of northern India and enjoyed that position for centuries. In the beginning years of his reign, Harsha was required to crush the rebels in north-west of India. He was successful in giving good administration to this region[32] including Himachal Pradesh which seems to have enjoyed peace and prosperity. Harsha appointed provincial governors and ruled through them. Samudra-Sena was probably one such governor who was appointed for the Kulu region. In the Nirmand inscription[33] (seventh century) he is described as *Mahāsamanta*, a title being used by feudatories under a sovereign authority. Most probably there were many other small feudal rulers subordinate to him governing various parts of this region.

Harsha's control of the different parts of Himachal Pradesh is also suggested by the accounts Hiuen Tsang. His travel accounts[34] show that he had visited Jālandhara. Its king had been asked by Harsha to look after the comforts and security of the traveller. Hiuen Tsang went to Tamasavana, a place which may be identified with a site near Kangra town where according to Hiuen Tsang Buddhist monks lived in *viharas*. Some Buddhist remains have been discovered there. He then went to Kulu and from there came to Srughana, Brahmapura and Suvaranagotra, the places situated probably in Simla, Sirmur and Kumaon districts. His accounts are not clear, but suggest that these places were under Harsha. A description found in *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhatta informs that Kulu which

appears to be a separate kingdom.[95] had been conquered by the great king Tarapida of Ujjayini who took captive the princess Patralekha, the daughter of the king of that country who was appointed by the queen Vilasvati as the betel-bearer of her son Chandrapida. Here it is to be noted that Bāṇabhatta calls Tarapida as the king of Ujjayini who is not known otherwise. It appears that the description in the *Kādambarī* refers to the conflict occurring between Kulu and Kashmir. Tarapida and Chandrapida were the predecessors of Lalitadity Muktapida of Kashmir who at one time had succeeded in conquering some parts of Kulu when Kannauj became weak after Harsha. It seems Kulu, situated on an important trade route, usually remained under the control of one or the other political power in northern India though maintaining separate entity of its own. Kulu became a powerful tributary during the reign of Harsha and it included Mandi and Lahaul areas as is suggested in the accounts of Hiuen Tsang. Central part of the Kulu kingdom was the upper Beas and the Sutlej valleys and it then expanded to the other parts of Himachal Pradesh. It became a centre of Buddhist and Brahmanic religions and art and also a trade market. Several temples were constructed at various places in the Kulu region from the early mediaeval period. Similarly, Chamba experienced prosperity at that period and there were great cultural activities which is evidenced by several temples existing at Brahmor and Chhatrarhi.

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Notes and References

1. Baldev Kumar, *The Early Kushanas* (New Delhi, 1973) p. 42.
2. J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, Introduction, P.C.
3. *Ibid*, p. Ixxxvi.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 159-168 and 288.
5. *Ibid*, p.cl.
6. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Book III, No. 2, pp. 268-69.
7. *Arya Manju Sri Mula Kalpa*, Verses 700-707.

कश्मीरद्वारपर्यन्तं उत्तरांदिशिमाश्रित :
तत्रापिजित संग्रामो राज्यं कृत्वा तु वैतदा ॥ 706 ॥

8. L.P. Pandey, 'Gupta Vansha mein Samrata Kacha Gupta Ka Sthan', *Gorakhpur Pniversity Fatrika*, 1970-71, pp: 15-24.
9. *Ibid*, See also Allan, *Cataloque of Indian Coins in British Museum*, Vol. II.
10. L.P. Pandey, *op. cit.* pp. 15-24.
11. *Kavyamimansa* of Rajashekhra quoted by U.N. Roy, *Gupta Samrata Aur Unka Kala*, Allahabad, 1971, p. 149.
12. A.S. Altekar, *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. 14 pp. 228-53, and Vol. 15 pp. 135-42; U.N. Roy *op. cit.* 149-78.
13. *Ibid*.

14. *Ibid.* See also U.N. Roy, *op. cit.* pp. 152-53

अरिपुरे च परकलत्र कामुंक कामिनी
वेषगुप्त 2 चन्द्रगुप्त : शकपतिमशातयत् ।। हर्षचरित ।।

15. A.S. Altekar, *op. cit.* pp. 228-53.
16. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Malviya Commemoration Volume* pp. 193-96, See also U.N. Roy, *op. cit.* 166-67.
17. A.S. Altetar, *op. cit.* Vol. 14, pp. 252-54.
18.

स्त्रीवेष निहुत्तश्चन्द्रगुप्त: शत्रो स्कन्धावास्मालिपुरं शकपति वधायागमत्

Devichandraguptam as quoted by Bhoja in his *Sringara Prakasha.*

19. A. Rangaswamy Sarasvati, *Indian Antiquary,* 1923, p. 183, K.P, Jayaswal, places the field of battle in the Jalandhara Doab in a village named Alivala, See U.N. Roy, *op. cit,* p. 165.
20. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* Book III No. 14, pp. 283-84,

तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिजता वाहिलका :

21. *Annual Progress Report, Panjab and United Provinces,* 1904-05 (No. 66) p. 14; See also H. N. Sastri. *Archaeological Survey of India: Aunual Report,* 1907-08, p. 265.
22. *Kavyamimansa* of Rajashekhra. :

तास्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहः कोण क्वणित्किन्नरे
गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेय नगरस्त्रीणां गणै कीर्तय :

23. V.V. Mirashi, *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. 62, 1933 p. 201.
24. Rajashekhra, *Prachanda Pandava,* (Ajanejita Kuluutah); vide aiso V.V. Mirashi, *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. 62, 1933, p. 202.
25. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum,* Vol. II.
26. Junagarh rock inscription of Skanda-Gupta, D.C. Sircar, *Select inscriptions,* Book III, No. 25, pp. 307-15.
27. *Ibid.*
    Vide also Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda-Gupta, D.C. Sircar. *Select Inscriptions,* Book III No. 28 pp. 321-25.
28. *Ibid.*

विचलित कुललक्ष्मी स्तम्भनायोद्यतेन क्षितितल शयनीमे येन नीता त्रियामा

29. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions,* Book III, No, 57 pp. 424-25.
30. J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States,* Vol. I, pp. 77 ff.
31. *Rajatarangini,* II 435-36.
32. Samuel Beal, pp. 210-11.
33. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarm,* Vol. III, pp. 286-91.
34. Samuel Beal, *op. cit.* pp. 209-218.
35. *Kādambarī,* Bombay ed. 1896, p. 204.

LAKSHAṆĀ DEVĪ BRONZE
From Brahmor and Allied Problems

R. C. Agrawala

The famous Lakshaṇā Devī temple at Brahmor, in Chamba region of Himachal Pradesh, still preserves a superb brass statue of goddess Mahishamardinī. Measuring about 3 feet 4 inches in height, it is under worship as *Lakshaṇā*. The inscription on the pedestal (9 inches in height) states that "the illustrious lord Meruvarman has caused the holy image of the goddess Lakshaṇā to be made by the workman Gugga". According to Dr. H. Goetz[1], it goes back to the second half of the seventh century, while Sivaramamurti[2] dates it to 8th century and Mrs. O. Viennot[3] to 9-10th century. On stylistic grounds, it is, of course, not plausible to assign this interesting Brahmor bronze after the 8th century.

Dr. Goetz (*ibid*, p. 70) remarks that the Brahmor image also follows the iconographic concept of the high Chālukya period (*i.e.* 7th century) *i.e.* goddess puts her right foot on the head of the killed buffalo demon; with her left hand she catches the animals tail and lifts body up almost vertically. In every other respect, however, the Brahmor image belongs to late Gupta art, in the proportions of the figure, the anatomical treatment, hair style, costume and emblems..... In her four arms, she holds a trident in upper right hand, sword in lower right, a bell in upper left and the tail of Mahisha demon in lower left.

The iconography of this bronze calls for some comparisons and comments. None of the Kushāṇa sculptures and terracottas from different parts of the country presents the above posture of the goddess. It was during the Gupta period that we come across the Devī in two forms:

(a) Catching the tail of the animal and trampling as in the Lakshaṇā bronze under study. The famous Udayagiri panel of 400 A.D. bears close affinity but the number of hands of Devī therein is more than four. Besides this, there is no bell to be seen, probably due to some damage to her weapons. The *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* does associate a 'bell' with 10 armed Mahishamardinī called as *Kātyāyanī*[4], a term which may be given to Udayagiri Devī as well. It is equally interesting to note that this work does not refer to 4 or 8 armed Mahishamardinī for which some other test has to be traced.

The famous Gupta relief from Bhumara (M.P.) also bears close affinity with the Lakshaṇā Devī bronze but for the presence of a 'shield' in her upper left hand; the Brahmor statute depicts a 'bell'.

(b) Twisting the neck of the demon as in the Gupta terracotta plaque from Bhadrākālī and now preserved in the Government Museum at Bikaner.[5] The upper left arm of the goddess in damaged and hence it is not possible to identify the weapon held therein.

Both these devices were very well handled by the Chalukyan sculptors subsequently, during the 6-7th centuries at Aihole and Badami, so much so that they even associated a 'bell' with goddess Mahishamardinī, though of eight armed variety. Dr. J. N. Banerjea illustrates the famous Aihole[6] sculpture wherein the bell is raised up on the upper left hand of eight-armed Devī as in the Lakshaṇā bronze. The exact iconographic inspiration for a bell with four and eight armed Mahishamardinī is therefore to be thoroughly searched out though we have noticed a reference to ten armed goddess in the Gupta text Vishṇudharmottara-Purāṇa quoted above. It is equally interesting to note the presence of this weapon (*i.e.* a bell) in the eight armed mediaeval statute of Mahishamardinī in the Bajaura[7] (Kulu) relief from Himachal and in the neighbouring U.P. hills during the 8-9th centuries A.D. as is quite evident from the famous statue from Baijnath[8], in district Almora of Kumaon region.

It is equally interesting to come across the 'bell' in the hands of Durgā in the Pallava reliefs from South India, and datable to the 7th century, so also in the 8th century panel at paṭṭadakal[9]. In fact the motif of associating a bell with Mahishamardinī appears to have become quite popular in U.P., Rajasthan, Himachal etc., during the ealy Pratihara period. Besides the above bronze from Brahmor and elegant stone image from Baijnath[10] (Almora), we have come accross several such specimens from Rajasthan as well. The famous 8th century stone relief from Ābānerī[11] (district Jaipur) bears full affinity with the order of weapons of Lakshaṇā Devī image under reference, but for the fact that the head of buffalo demon is severed in the Ābānerī statue. The Brahmor specimen, therefore, seems to be slightly earlier in date in comparison to the one from Ābānerī.

During my exploratory tours in Rajasthan, I was able to discover at Āmjhara (district Dungapur) an early mediaeval life-size statue of Karel Mātā who is none else but four armed *devī* twisting the neck of Mahisha demon; she carries all the weapons including a bell, besides a trident and a sword. The same feature is also available on the exterior niche of the *Tirthodaka* shrine of Ambikā temple at Jagat,[12] near Udaipur. The exterior niches of the main shrine, datable to early 10th century, still preserve images of eight armed Mahishamardinī, all carrying a bell in the left hand. The principal back niche also preserves the Mahishamardinī and may therefore be identified as Ambikā as recorded in the inscription of V.S. 1017 on the pillar of Sabhāmaṇḍapa inside. It is equally interesting to locate a parallel of Brahmor bronze in the early Pratihāra (8-9th century)

Mahishamardinī from Kannauj itself.[13] We have to find out a literary text in support of a bell[14] with four and eight armed Mahishamardinī Pratihāra statues which bear testimony to the popularity of this motif in Rajasthan, Himachal and U.P., during the early-mediaeval period.

All these facts suggest that late Gupta and early Chalukyan traditions might have inspired the artists of Chamba region in carving their Mahishamardinī images to some extent. At the same time, there was not only one way traffic; the art traditions from Panjab and Kashmir hills had also their own impact on early North Indian iconography such as carving of Mahishamardinī and Vaikuṇṭha (Nrisiṃha-Varāha-Vishṇu) images in North India during the 8--9th centuries A.D. It was probably under such art impulses from Himachal and Kashmir that the aforesaid sculptures came to be prepared in Rajasthan as well. Besides this, early western Chalukyan art motifs seem to have created some influence on the exteriors of 7th century Śītaleśvara temple at Jhalarapatan, near Jhalawar and on the door jambs of 8th century Sun temple at Osian, just adjacent to Sachiyā Mātā temple at Osian, both in Rajasthan. All this bears ample testimony to the fact that Panjab hills, Rajasthan, U.P. and early western Chalukyan territories had sufficient artistic contacts with each other between 7th and 9th centuries A.D. The Lakshaṇā Devi bronze from Brahmor thus calls for further study in terms of its interesting iconography and artistic importance; the standing attitude of the goddess therein, of course, answers to the *Devīmāhātmya* description (III. 37 as cited by J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 498).

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Notes and References

1. H. Goetz, *Early Wooden Temples of Chamba*, Leiden, 1955, pp. 78-80, plate VI.
2. C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Bronzes*, Bombay, 1962, p. 27, fig. 17.
3. O. Viennot, *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, New Series, No. 4, 1971-72, p. 75.
4. D.N. Shukla, *Vastu Śāstra*, II., p. 226 of Text.
5. R.C. Agrawala, *The Researcher*, Jaipur, Vol. V-VI, 1964-65, pp. 11-12, plate II.
6. J.N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, plate XIII, fig. 3, p. 499.
7. Madanjeet Singh, *Himalayan Art*, 1971, UNESCO Art Books, New York, figure on p. 133.
8. K.R. Srinivasan, *Cave Temples of the Pallavas*, (Delhi) p. 171, plate 54 B.
9. R.C. Agrawala, *East and West*, Italy. XVI (1-2), 1966, pp. 109-111, figure 5 where the animal Mahisha is in human form and has got only the horns of a buffalo.
10. K.P.Nāutiyal, *The Archaeology of Kumaon*, 1969, Varanasi, Figure 73.
11. R.C. Agrawala, *Lalit Kala* Nos. 1-2, 1955-56, p. 131 and plate LIII, fig. 3.
12. R.C. Agrawala, *Arts Asiatique*, Paris, X, 1964, pp. 44 to 65 and plates.
13. O. Viennot, *op. cit.*, p. 71, plate XII, figure 7.
14. A passing reference may also be made to an octo alloy image of 8 armed devi standing on a lion from Bengal wherein the 7th century inscription on the pedestal calls the goddess as Sarvvani. She has also got a bell in one of her left hands ; N.K. Bhattasali. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical images in Dacca Museum*, 1929, p. 204, plate LXX.

Extension of the Pratihara Style of Art in Himachal Pradesh

Eighth Century to Eleventh Century A.D.

(See illustrations Fig. 3 to 6)

Vishwa Chander Ohri

Several monuments and remains of the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods have been discovered in Himachal Pradesh and the adjoining regions. This distribution is wide spread, right from Kumaon to Jammu region. No noteworthy sculpture or monument, earlier than the Gupta period, has so far come to light in this area. This period in the history of India experienced a high literary and artistic fervour setting new standards. These standards became classic and no region, not even the remotest, remained uninfluenced by the tradition. From the second half of the eighth century the sculptures, discovered in Himachal Pradesh can be classified into two broad types. The sculptures of Chamba, Kangra and the western parts of Mandi and Kulu districts are different and they appear to be a class by themselves. Most of the characteristics of the Gupta sculpture continue to remain in practice for a longer period in these districts. The sculptures of this region possess some traits of the Pratihara and Pala styles of art and only a few works possessing certain characteristics of these styles have come to notice. Possibly these areas were not within the Pratihara empire. Here we may take note of the remarks of Dr. Goetz who suggested that Raja Sahila-Varman of Chamba was probably a provincial governor in the early tenth century under the Pratiharas. No evidence has so far come to light in support of this assumption and also the study of artistic tradition does not bear out the hypothesis of direct rule of the Pratiharas in the proper Beas and the Ravi valleys.

Compared to the sculpture and temple architecture of this region (Chamba, Kangra and some parts of Mandi and Kulu), the sculpture and temples belonging to the period from the eighth to eleventh centuries seen in the Jamuna and the Sutlej valleys of Himachal Pradesh are different and they are in the typical Pratihara style. Sculpture in the beginning for a few decades of the Pratihara period is somewhat heavy in appearance. Gradually their proportions and forms became graceful and we find a feeling of softness and flexibility in the figures. The figures attending the deity with their curved bodies appear full of life but in the later period such curves are excessively emphasised. Pratihara

hara sculpture of the nineth and first half of the tenth centuries though linear in treatment is different from the mediaeval sculpture which is characterised by sharpness of features and prominent angularity. During the Pratihara period the use of *torana* behind the deity becomes very popular. Number of figures of vidyadharas holding flowers increases. A full blown lotus serves as a halo behind the head of the god. With the introduction of more figures composition in the later sculptures is overcrowded. In architectural pieces, such as door-jambs and lintels, the motif of interlacing snakes appears commonly.

The area of Himachal Pradesh falling in the valleys of the Jamuna, the Sutlej and the upper Beas rivers, where we find sculptures and temples in the typical Pratihara style, was under the direct rule of the Pratiharas. Before discussing this aspect of history, it will not be out of place to examine the political conditions of the earlier period. An important rock inscription, one of the major edicts of Asoka, exists at Kalsi which lies at the confluence of the rivers Jamuna and Tons. The selection of the place could not have been without consideration. Most probably it was a place of religious merit attracting many pilgrims. Many routes from different valleys converge towards Kalsi and from here the routes lead to other important centres of pilgrimage and trade in the plains. The reigon around Kalsi was probably within the republic of the Kunindas. A large number of copper and silver coins of Kunindas bearing the name of the tribe have been discovered in the region from Kumaon to the Sutlej valley. After this we have the evidence of an inscription of the third century A.D. According to it, Raja Sila-Varman performed the fourth *aśvamedha-yajña* at Kalsi. Emergence of a big kingdom at Kalsi probably caused the migration of the Kunindas. We do not know how long the successors of Sila-Varman ruled as a sovereign power. However, their rule could not last for more than a century or so as this region was integrated into the Gupta empire in the fourth century. The Allahabad inscription of Saumdra-Gupta relating the accounts of his conquests of Arya-varta mentions his victories over king Bala-Varman and Kartipure which most of the scholars believe was the territory of Kumaon, Garhwal and Rohillkhand. Emperor Harsha and later on Pratiharas were ruling over this region. We have no evidence that any kingdom flourished in the valleys of Jamuna and Sutlej during the early mediaeval period. The area might have been under the petty chiefs who were known as *ranas* or *samantas*. We know of a copper plate of the seventh century A.D. from Nirmand issued by Samudra-Sena who calls himself Mahasamanta in the grant. The copper-plate does not indicate the paramount power whose feudatory Samudra-Sena was. Could the suzerain king be emperor Harsha? The travel accounts of Hiuen Tsang in respect of Kulūtah, Takkadesha and western kingdoms, if considered together, clearly suggest that king of Kulu recognised the supremacy of Harsha. Harsha later ruled from Kannauj, but his patrimony, the eastern Panjab including the hills originally ruled from Thaneswar. remained within his empire. The king of Jalandhara was probably not a feudatory of Harsha, but the latter was certainly exercising some sort of control like a paramount power over the Jalandhara kingdom. Harsha had asked the king of Jalandhara to look to the safe return journey of

the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang.

We also know of an interesting fact from the accounts of Farishta. He mentions that king Rama-deva of Kannauj invaded and conquered Kumaon and overran the Siwalik hills as far west as Jammu. The expedition is said to have lasted for five months, during which five hundred petty chiefs were subdued among whom the Rajas of Nagarkot and Jammu are specially mentioned. Farishta must have obtained this information from some old document which might have perished now. There is some confusion about the period of this event, but the account is very significant as it indicates the political conditions in the hills. We know of Pratihara king Ramabhadra who is also known as Rama-deva. He ruled from Kannauj in the early nineth century. He was a weak person and after losing some territory of his empire on the eastern side to Devapala, he might have thought of conquest towards the west. However the areas in the lower Beas valley and to the west of it do not seem to have been held long by the Pratiharas.

Now we come to the evidence of an inscription discovered at Hat-Koti, deep inside the hills, situated beside the river Prabbar, a tributary of the Jamuna. Here in a temple a magnificient bronze image of Mahishasuramardini (Plate II, fig. 2) is enshrined. The height of the idol including the *torana* is about six feet. Existence of many big temples (Plate III fig. 4) there suggests that their patron could not be a local chieftain. The following inscription is incised on the two sides of the *torana* of the idol (Plate II, fig. 3a & 3b).

left *Bhaṭṭa Sri Sthanen Karpitam Kayastha*—(illegible)

right *Dahila Pūtra Padmanabha Raghavan vadhitya ghatitam*

The inscription is in *siddhamātṛika* script. It was deciphered by Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India who ascribed it to the eighth-nineth centuries on the paleographic grounds. Mistakes appear in this small inscription, but its meaning is clear. Only one word *vadhitaya* poses difficulty in interpretation. It most probably means guidance or suggestion. The inscription informs that:

> "the image was caused to be made by Bhaṭṭa Sri Sthan and mentions that Padmanabha Raghavan son of Dahila indicated (or guided) the making of the image."

The inscription is of great significance and has a bearing on the history of the place. It has yielded many antiquities. The composor of the inscription uses the title Bhatta with the name of the patron. It is a mark of respect or denotes an office as is well known. This title has not been used in other inscriptions discovered in the hills. The inscription suggests that Sri Sthan was not a feudatory, but a governor in that region on behalf of some imperial power which at that period could not be other than the Pratiharas. The direct administration of the Pratiharas was, thus, responsible for the extension of the

Pratihara style of sculpture and architecture in that region. Before discussing details of the image it will be of interest to note that the members of the ruling dynasty of the erst-while Jubbal State believe themselves to be the descendants of the rulers whose capital was at Hat-Koti. They are the Rathor Rajput and the family has a tradition that their ancestors had come from Kannauj.

The ornamental *torana* of the image is of extra-ordinary iconographic interest. At the top is shown Śiva holding *vīna* enshrined in a small chapel. Below this appear Sapta-matṛikas with Ganesh and again Śiva as *viṇadhar*. In the small chapels at the sides of the *torana* are shown goddess Chāmuṇdā and Varāhī with a child in her lap. Vidyādharas holding lotus stalks are also shown at the sides in a semi-circle. Other motifs show the continuation of the post-Gupta characteristics. Only other known panel of Saptamātṛikas from the hills is at the rock-cut temple at Masrur in Kangra district which belongs to the eignth century. The face of the Hat-Koti goddess is roundish and appears different from the earlier tradition in the hills. This image of goddess was made for the patron who had come from outside and had been appointed as governor of the hilly region by the Pratiharas. This caused the import of an art style from outside, most probably from western Uttar Pradesh.

In the recent years several structures of bricks have been discovered in the Jamuna and the Sutlej valleys. Although these have not been properly studied, but these are considered to be of the period 9th or 10th century. The remains of brick structures have been discovered at Sivapuri in Dehradun district, just beside the Jamuna river and also opposite Sivapuri across the river in Sirmur district of Himachal Pradesh. Some sculptures from the latter site, belonging to the nineth and tenth centuries. had also been discovered and are preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Similar remains of brick structures have been found at Rohru which, too, is situated beside the river Pabbar at a distance of only eight kilometers from Hat-Koti. Brick structures of the mediaeval period have also been found in the Sutlej valley at Nirmand and in the adjoining districts of Kumaon and Garhwal in Uttar Pradesh. This indicates the new settlements coming up in that area in the nineth-tenth centuries.

It is necessary to take note of an important route in that region which was in use at that time. The western districts of Uttar Pradesh were the centre of cultural life and political activity during that period. This area is watered by the Jamuna and the Ganges. The major tributary of the Jamuna is Tons which is joined by another river Pabbar near Tuni. Between the river Jamuna and Tons lies Chakrata tehsil from where many bridle paths lead towards Tuni where river Tons is crossed and we enter into the Jubbal tehsil. Village Hat-Koti which is extremely rich in archaeological remains and equally important as Lakhamandal in Chakrata. lies beside the Pabbar. Beyond village Hat-Koti lies Rohru in the same valley. Hanol another place of great archaeological importance in

Uttar Pradesh hills is situated eastwards at a distance of only twelve kilometers from Hat-Koti, as the crow flies. From Hat-Koti or Rohru, Sutlej valley is only two days' march crossing a range about eight thousand feet high. Here in the Sutlej valley two important sites are Dattnagar and Nirath where in temples, we have many sculptures in Pratihara style. From these places is visible another important ancient site Nirmand on the other side of river Sutlej. There are numerous temples at Nirmand. It has also yielded two ancient inscriptions, one of the Mahasamanta Samudra-Sena has been discussed above. Nirmand is situated in Kulu district. Nearby it stands the mountain range which is crossed at the Jalori or Baseleo pass to enter into the upper Beas valley falling in Kulu district. There are numerous monuments in that area as well. A typical Pratihara temple of late nineth century stands at Jagatsukh. Hiuen Tsang visited Kulu in the seventh century. His travel accounts indicate that he entered there through the Jalandhara kingdom. He writes there were about twenty sangharamas and fifteen Deva temples, that is, Brahmanic temples, which indicate the importance of the place at that period. On return journey, he had to cross a great mountain which could not be other than the Baseleo pass and a wide river, none other than the river Sutlej, to reach Satadru modern Sirhind. The route from western Uttar Pradesh to Kulu passing through Tuni, Hatkoti, Sungri, Dattnagar, Nirmand and over the Baseleo pass, was the shortest and was commonly used. One could enter Lahaul, Laddakh, Kashmir and Central Asia and also the western part of Tibet from there. Control of this hilly region near Uttar Pradesh was, therefore, necessary for the Pratiharas for strategic reasons. The route and the settlements near it are dotted with temples belonging to this period. There are typical Pratihara temples in the Kulu valley, particularly on the left bank of the Beas *e.g.* Jagatsukh, Nagara, etc. all situated on the route described above

The sculptures discovered in the region are important, but the study of the temple architectural styles possesses more significance in view of the fact that from their study we may be able to ascertain the movements in temple architecture of northern India where evidence has been lost completely due to the damage caused by the invaders.

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Note :

Survey of the sculpture of Himachal Pradesh with references will appear in the next volume of *Arts of Himachal*

Sculpture from the Lower Siwaliks

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Siwaliks are the foot-hills of the Himalayas situated along the Panjab plains. Some tracts of land in this region are very fertile and were comparatively peaceful and secure. The people living there had contact both with the plains and the upper areas of the Himalayas. They were carrying out active trade between the mountainous area and the plains which to some extent is still going on. These conditions were responsible for the prosperity of the region and in the growth of cultural activities which accounted for the construction of many temples. These areas have very easy communication with the plains making access of cultural influences easy.

Some sculptures from Pinjore, a place of great archaeological importance in the lower Siwalik region are discussed in this paper. No sculpture of early period has so far been discovered in this area and their absence cannot be explained definitely. The Pratihara empire extended upto east Punjab (now known as Haryana) which we know from the Karnal copper plate of Mahendra Pala. The sculptural remains discovered in Pinjore pertain to the Pratihara period. Al-biruni-a famous historian who travelled in North India in the 11th century has made a reference about this place in his accounts. It was a flourishing town known as Panchpur. A place close to it is known as Panchkula. There were probably five Devi temples in this region. Remains of one huge temple have recently been discovered at Pinjore. The place had suffered some destructions at the hands of the foreign invaders and Muslims. In the year 1399 Temur with his forces had passed through this area and possibly the place suffered some damage at that time. The place experienced devastation caused deliberately and methodically by Fidai Khan, Governor of Sirhind in the Aurangzeb period. He built a mosque on the ruins of the Hindu shrines.

The following are some of the important sculptures discovered in Pinjore.

Plate IV, Fig. (6),
Mahishasuramardini (Stone),
c. 9th Century A.D.,
Prov; Morni hills.

The goddess has four arms and the sculpture is characterised by vigour and movement.

Plate V, Fig. 8
Surya (Stone),
c. 10th Century,
Prov: Pinjore.

The deity is standing on a lotus and wears long boots. The protective robe at the chest is conspicuous. There is a place named Surajpur quite near Pinjore. It must have derived its name from the Surya temple.

Plate V, Fig. 9,
Ganesh (Stone),
c. 10th-11th Century,
Prov: Pinjore.

The sculpture is monumental and the head is full of vitality. The crown of pearls and flowers is decorative. The basket in the left front hand is of an uncommon type.

Plate VI, Fig. 10 and 11.

Architectural pieces showing erotic carvings from Pinjore; Period: 11th-12th Century.

Plate VII, Fig. 12
Vishnu head (Stone),
c. 12th-13th Century.
Prov: Pinjore.

Miniature figures of Brahma and Siva are shown at the sides which had become a common trend in the Pratihara period.

Plate VIII, Fig. 13
A seated deity with four arms (Stone)
c. 13th Century,
Prov: Pinjore.

Elongated form emphasises linear treatment which was a characteristic of the later period providing evidence that the artistic activity continued for a long period at the place.

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Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra : The Patron of Pahari Painting

Chandramani Singh

The history of Pahari painting in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was dominated by Kangra. The distinct advance made in Pahari painting in these years is perhaps due, in large measure, to Raja Sansar Chand. The brilliance of his court and a renewed activity in great projects of building and decoration did much to promote the art of painting. Kangra paintings show a mature stage of the Pahari style. Its artists achieved technical perfection through which they could express the pomp and luxury of the court.

Sansar Chand came to the throne in A.D. 1775 at the age of nine. He was born in 1766 at Bijapur, a village near Lambagraon and became the best known patron of Pahari painting. He ruled for thirty years as the paramount chief of the hills. But the later part of his career was marred with defeats and the loss of power. Finally, he was forced to pay tribute to the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh.

Kangra was famous for the strength of its fort. There is a proverb "he who holds the Kangra fort holds the hills." Such was the political importance which this fort enjoyed. According to *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*[1] Kangra fort was captured during the reign of Jahangir on November 20, 1620. It remained in the hands of the Mughals till the end of eighteenth century. Sansar Chand took it in 1786.

Before discussing the detail of Sansar Chand period, we should have a glance of the paintings at Kangra in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The real mode of patronizing the art of painting in the pre-Sansar Chand period is still obscure. Ghamand Chand (1751-1774), grandfather of Sansar Chand, may have been too busy with political affairs and therefore, was not able to encourage the art of painting. Only a few portraits of this ruler are known, which are later in date. Stylistically they are mediocre works of art. A portrait of this Raja was shown to J. C. French when he visited Kangra in 1930[2]. The crude drawing of this miniature made him to think that this was "a copy of an earlier work." Another likeness of Ghamand Chand is in the collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It is also an inferior work.

It is pertinent here to mention a portrait[3] (Coll. Government Museum, Chandigarh), which shows Raja Ghamand Chand worshipping; he is counting beads of his rosary in this painting. A group of men stand in front of him with folded hands while four musicians attend him on the other side. Among the group is a young man shown with a small beard who resembles Raja Sansar Chand. Is it a contemporary likeness of Raja Ghamand Chand? Probably not. We know that Raja Sansar Chand came to the throne at the age of nine and the Raja Ghamand Chand, his illustrious grand-father, died in 1774 when he was merely an eight years old child. However, in this picture Sansar Chand is shown as an adolescent. Thus it might be a posthumous painting of Raja Ghamand Chand and therefore cannot be accepted as an example of the Kangra style of Ghamand Chand period but a later work ordered by Sansar Chand. If the fat man with the tiny beard is Sansar Chand, its date would have to be *circa* 1785. The other possibility for dating could be that it was a copy of an earlier study of Ghamand Chand in which the figure of Sansar Chand was introduced.

A formal portrait of Sansar Chand's father Tegh Chand is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan collection. The colour scheme of this miniature shows a close relationship to Mandi portraits. It bears an inscription on the left margin which reads, "Tegh Chand Katoch". Certainly this is not a work of Kangra artists, as its dull colour scheme and drawing suggest.

A painting again from the Bharat Kala Bhavan collection[4] can stylistically be attributed to early Pahari art. The line drawing of this painting is in the collection of Mr. Jean Daridan of France and bears an inscription in Nagari characters in black ink reading, "Prabh Chand Katoch". This name could not be traced in the chronicles of the hills but because of the suffix 'Katoch' this painting must be a portrait of a Kangra prince. There can be two possibilities: either this inscription in Nagari characters is a later and arbitrary addition or the painting and drawing represent a phase earlier than the advent of the Sansar Chand style in Kangra. The finished version looks like a work done in the hills in 1760-70 which stylistically is close to Balwant Singh's portraits.[5] Human figures are painted in a naturalistic manner: two friends play chess, while one of them puffs the *huqqa*. The treatment of beard also shows a close similarity with figures in Balwant Singh's portraits, although this patch-like treatment of beard was quite common in the third quarter of eighteenth century.

On the basis of historical records it is obvious that Raja Sansar Chand was a great patron of art, both of painting and architecture. His summer residence at Alampur is a good example of the developed taste which he showed in building palaces and planting gardens. He was also responsible for building new temples and repairing old ones. The temple of Gaurī Shankara with its life-size images of Śiva and Pārvatī was built by him; another shrine dedicated to Radha and Krishna, known as Murli Manohar temple was

also erected by him. The Narbadeshwara temple, which contains beautiful frescoes was dedicated by his Rani from Suket.

Raja Sansar Chand had a big collection of paintings. William Moorcraft, an English traveller, has left an interesting account of Sansar Chand's Collection of Paintings. He says, "Sansar Chand is fond of drawing and has many artists in his employ; he has a large collection of pictures, but the greater part represents the feats of Krishna and Balarama, the adventures of Arjuna and subjects from the *Mal:ābhārata*; it also includes portraits of the many of the neighbouring Rajas, and of their predecessors. Amongst these latter were two portraits of Alexander the Great, of which Rai Anirudha gave me one. It represents him with prominent features and auburn hair flowing over his shoulders; he wears a helmet on his head begirt with a string of pearls, but the rest of his costume is Asiatic. The Raja could not tell me whence the portrait came; he had become possessed of it by inheritance.[6]

Ghulam Muhai-ud-Din describes the prosperity of Sansar Chand in following words, "For many years he passed his days in great felicity. He was generous in conduct, kind to his subjects, just as Nushirvan and a second Akbar in the recognition of men's good qualities. Crowds of people of skill and talent, professional soldiers and others, resorted to Kangra and gained happiness from his gifts and favours[7]."

This does not give a complete picture. The art of his time, especially his portraits, the most authentic examples of his court art, display a rather poor quality of work. At the same time he seems to have taken a deep interest in this art and had a large number of likenesses painted. It is necessary to examine the stylistic difference between the portraits of Sansar Chand and other series of paintings attributed to Kangra in the fourth quarter of eighteenth century.

More than thirty portraits of the prince himself are known; these likenesses show him engaged in various activities. It is the largest number of portraits known of a single prince in the Pahari style; each and every important incident in the court seems to have been recorded. One can feel the role the art of painting played in court life of the eighteenth century. The hierarchical place of the Raja or nobles as well as the customs of the time are well depicted in these social records- celebrations of *Janmashṭami* and *holi*, etc.

The portraits of Sansar Chand range from the period of his childhood to possibly the last year of his reign. Thus a chronological sequence can be evolved. Although dated examples have not been found, a rough estimate of their antiquity can be determined from the features of the maturing prince. His physical condition is carefully painted in many cases, presenting almost a continuous history of development both of the prince and the style of his court painting. Two of his portraits could be from the period prior to his coming to the throne, suggesting that he probably inherited both the fondness for

portraiture and the style from his father's court. The style appears to have remained static for the entire range of his portraits which suggests an established style. Sansar Chand's contribution to the style of portraiture seems to have been limited, to have only continued the established style which extended into the short reign of his son Anirudha Chand also.

The portraits are in the Mughal and Rajasthani conventions but have a limited appeal. If we compare them to the portraits of Balwant Singh, we can see the obvious points of difference. The freshness of style, variety in subjects and the creativity in the expression of Nainsukh's works are practically absent here. The stylized treatment by the painters of Sansar Chand, of form, colour and landscape makes these works dull at times. Colours are limited to oranges and strident yellows, and in some cases appear meaningless; human figures are dull in expression and often lack warmth. The treatment of nature is highly stylized and devoid of feeling. Such paintings are not rare in India in the late eighteenth century, as can be seen in those from Rajasthan and the Mughal schools. Thus Sansar Chand was no exception to this class of portrait painting which often verged on dull expression. Nevertheless, in the recording of many festivals in which the prince and his court participated or wedding and other ceremonies the atmosphere is recreated in some examples. The portraits of Sansar Chand are more of archival character than successful works of art.

The portraits of Sansar Chand can be divided into three groups on the basis of their subject matter: those which show him engaged in his daily life—for example, the painting showing Sansar Chand eating pomegranates or worshipping his favourite deities such as Śiva-Parvati and Rama-Sita; the second group which consists of pictures depicting him watching dance performances, and listening to music concerts; and the third, which is largest in number shows his glamorous court engaged in festival celebrations or the marriages of Sansar Chand and Anirudha Chand.

Two portraits of Sansar Chand from the collection of Lambagraon palace bearing the inscription "*Sri Miyan Sansar Chand*" were probably painted before he came to the throne in 1755. "*Miyan*" is a prefix used for princes in the hills before they attained the full title of Raja. One of these portraits shows the prince seated in a way which was a popular composition among Pahari painters; the main figure sits on a carpet leaning against a pillow (a convention of Basohli painting). A hawk perches on a parapet, looking at him while an attendant holding a *morchhal* stands behind him. The picture is set in an oval format. Scalloped clouds roll above an arched strip indicating the sky. The other inscribed portrait depicts him eating a pomegranate.[8] Both these portraits are in the style which prevailed during the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century in the hills, technically assured but lacking in liveliness. At this stage the style of painting appears to be static. The artist was lost in the expression of the court's grandeur and had lost contact with nature.

Other portraits depict Sansar Chand with courtiers, for example, Sansar Chand receiving tribute[9] with his kinsmen and courtiers[10] the marriage procession of Sansar Chand,[11] watching a dance performance,[12] worshipping Rama and Sita[13] and in another painting Śiva and Parvati.[14] All these illustrations show him as a young man with the slight distinction of age. Yet taking all of the portraits together they show certain stylistic changes. Some can be placed among the most appropriate examples of the period. In a miniature showing the Raja worshipping Rama and Sita,[15] Tulsidasa, the poet, is also introduced in the shrine in the company of *Sadhus* and princes. Stylistically, it shows maturity of the style in its enamel like colours and firm drawing.

A portrait of Sansar Chand probably with his *Wazir*[16] and Anirudha Chand with a servant in the foreground shows a close affinity to a portrait of Prakash Chand of Guler with Avatar, a Brahmin[17] It is interesting to note here that the foreground is done in the same type of composition, showing a child playing with an older boy. Thus we can assume that painters of Sansar Chand's atelier were familiar with Guler miniatures and may have been inspired by Guler portraits. It is even possible that some painters were recruited from Guler.

Many series of paintings—Modi *Bhāgavata*, Garhwal *Gita Govinda*, Lambagraon *Bārāmāsā* and hundreds of loose miniatures have been attributed to Sansar Chand's Court but before accepting this attribution, I believe, it would not be out of place to discuss a few questions often put by art historians: What was the art style of Sansar Chand's atelier and who were the painters? These questions are of great importance as the style we see in Sansar Chand's portraits is quite different from the style we find in the subject paintings attributed to the Kangra style of the Sansar Chand period. The portraits are formal and static while the paintings of the Modi *Bhāgavata* and Garhwal *Gita-Govinda* series are so lively that one feels a difficulty in accepting these paintings as works by the same painters. Karl Khandalavala also agrees that "these large size paintings from Sansar Chand's atelier such as Sansar Chand celebrates Gokul Ashtami.....present several problems. They are impressive in composition and bold in colouring, but the drawing is often indifferent and brush work lacks real refinement.[18]

A plausible explanation may be that Sansar Chand, who attained the most powerful position in the hills, was a great collector and because of his political supremacy could possess the most beautiful miniatures of the region. Karl Khandalavala also suggests that "the Kangra prince's atelier acquired fame not because of any high aesthetic achievement but as a result of the political ascendency of its patron."[19] The style seen in his portraits follows the taste of the late eighteenth century and the painters working for Sansar Chand too, followed the mannerism which prevailed at the time.

The problem that who were the painters at Sansar Chand's court is not, yet, fully solved since there is no known portrait of Sansar Chand bearing painters name. On the

basis of local tradition and archival sources we can form an idea about the mode of patronage at Sansar Chand's court. J. C. French recorded in 1929 on the bssis of a living tradition that one 'Kushan Lall' was an advanced painter at Sansar Chand's court.[20]

Local traditions inform us that the painters Fattu and Sajnu who migrated to Mandi, had earlier worked for Sansar Chand.

In 1929, when J.C. French visited Kangra, he saw the painters Nandu, Huzuri, Galabu Ram and Lachman Dass working. Nandu painted frescoes in the Lakshmi Narayana temple. He had painted small pictures, too, but French liked his frescoes more. This painter's ancestor, Suraj, came to Kangra in 1563, according to his geneological table.[21]

Thanks to the research of Professor B. N. Goswamy, we know a letter by the painter Shiba addressed to Raja Sansar Chand.[22] Prof. Goswamy has published some very interesting facts from British Land settlement records which inform us that two painter's families were given land grant by Raja Sansar Chand.[23]

The Sansar Chand period is represented by several sub-styles. Artists were very active during this phase and produced a large number of illustrations, but not of great quality. They also worked on a variety of themes. Qualitatively the paintings of the Sansar Chand period show varying degrees of craftsmanship, some of them are highly finished while the others are rough-surfaced, with bright colours. Probably both types were in demand and, thus were produced in large number.

A few representative examples will be discussed here to illustrate the different sub-styles of Sansar Chand's court: a painting illustrating *Minaketan Kāmadeva* with his consort Rati in the Bharat Kala Bhavan collection represents a style favoured by Sansar Chand's painters. This miniature shows soft tones dominated by light pink. Kāmadeva is depicted sitting with his spouse Rati against a pillow on a throne. The female facial type with long narrow eyes and nose is closer to the faces of dancing figures in Sansar Chand's portraits. The treatment of flowers in this example also shows similarity with the treatment of garlands in Sansar Chand's portraits. Another good example, also from the Bharat Kala Bhavan collection, illustrates the *Abhisārika Nāyika*, it is painted in very light green tones.

A painting, reproduced in *Pahari Miniature Painting*, shows Krishna peeping at Radha[24] and might be attributed to this stage of Kangra painting. It represents the *Māninī Nāyika* who is shown seated on a bed. The *Sakhi* is trying to reconcile the lovers while Krishna peeps through a window.

This painting is beyond doubt a product of Sansar Chand's atelier. The female faces are directly taken after the faces of dancing girls portrayed in Sansar Chand's

portraits. The closeness of the treatment of *pagari* worn by Krishna to that of Sansar Chand, clearly suggests that the painting belongs to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Two paintings discussed in the *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*[25] were ascribed to the Kangra atelier and appear indeed to be by one of the masters of Sansar Chand's court, because they look very close to Sansar Chand's portraits stylistically as well as in colour tones. Delicate and fluent lines are seen in treatment of the figures of Radha and her *sakhi*. The lush foliage in the background makes these paintings more charming. This series is certainly based on the Garhwal *Gita Govinda* set because the compositions are strikingly alike at times.

It is noteworthy that while painters showed limited interest in human figures and their expression, they developed an evolved sense for the depiction of nature. This seems a new trend in Sansar Chand's atelier which is almost absent in his portraits and court scenes. The situation can be explained by following the mental attitude of the artist; the portraits and the court atmosphere did not permit him such a lavish use of rich landscape. He found an emancipation in the illustration of poetic scenes like those of *Gita Govinda*, *Rasikpriyā*, *Nāyikābheda*, etc. We can refer to a parallel in the Shah Jahan school of painting in which the Durbar scenes were monotonous and dull, with little landscape. However, the painters of Shah Jahan period could show their love of nature in detailed and intimate studies of landscape, in the hermitage scenes. In addition some of these themes were of traditional nature and therefore Sansar Chand's artists must have been acquainted with prototypes in the Rajasthani, Basohli, Jammu and Guler styles. There is another peculiarity of this style: all important figures are labelled in Nagari characters, a custom unknown in early Pahari miniatures. This style, with its tall slender figures and slightly elongated female faces with protruding chins, may have been favoured in the last quarter of the eighteenth century at Kangra court. In other words we can call it the official style of Sansar Chand's court. Artists showed a great interest in forest scenes. Lush vegetation is always emphasized, even in the palace garden scenes, which contributes richness to the scenes.

There is a possibility that a *Ramayana* series was painted following the same trend. A few leaves from that series are in the Bharat Kala Bhavan collection. These paintings show a feeling for landscape, which is elaborately rendered. Human figures are rather short but the pleasing colours make them attractive.

An extensive series illustrating the *Rasikpriyā* of Keshavadāsa[26] is also a probable creation of Sansar Chand's atelier in the last decade of eighteenth century. The female faces bespeak their origin, showing a striking similarity with faces of dancing girls in Sansar Chand's court scenes. The elongated format of the paintings shows a change in style. This series must have run into hundreds of illustrations since the folios bear numbers such as 281 on a painting in the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd.[27] The costume type

features the high waisted *pairahan* with along narrow *odhani* also painted after the dress of dancing girls in the court of Sansar Chand.

In his later years, Sansar Chand mustered the help of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh chief, against the Gurkha invaders who had confederated with the other hill chiefs. The Sikhs saved Sansar Chand from the Gurkha peril but this cost him the mastery of the Kangra fort which the Sikhs occupied in 1809. Sansar Chand was allowed to remain in Kangra as a tributary chief. However, the production of paintings remained unruffled by his discomfiture and loss of prestige, power and wealth, as W. Moorcraft observed in 1820 "Sansar Chand.....has many artists in employ."[28]

During this period portraits and court scenes were produced, of which at least ten examples have been discovered so far. These show slight change in spirit and expression as distinguished from the earlier group. This only reconfirms the traditional nature of the style of Sansar Chand's period which had little scope left for any modification. It has been suggested that the loss of power and wealth crippled the art activity but even in his adversity Sansar Chand could afford his atelier of artists. It is significant to note that even in this period the Narbadeshwar temple at Sujanpur-Tira decorated with murals, was dedicated by his queen from Suket.

In the first decade of nineteenth century, Kangra style tends to be more formal and lifeless. These paintings are typified by elongated faces with pointed beards. The costume type has also been changing into tight fitting *pyjama* and high waisted *jama*. Both male and female facial types are pinched. All of these characteristics can be observed in a portrait of Sansar Chand[29] in which he is shown witnessing a dance performance, with his courtiers. This portrait has another interest for us as it contains a portrait of the artist Purkhu, whose name is mentioned by Baden Powell.[30]

A landmark in the Kangra style is a portrait of Raja Sansar Chand in the private collection of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bombay.[31] The importance of this picture lies in the depiction of guards dressed in western costume.[32] This costume was introduced by the Irish General O' Brien in the Kangra court. This is probably the first instance when guards are shown in painting dressed in western manner. This part of the portrait, which was certainly painted after the arrival of O' Brien, also makes it easier to date this painting. Although the definite date of his arrival in Kangra is not known he presumably came to Sansar Chand's court sometime around 1809[33] It must have taken a few years for guards to adopt this foreign costume, thus the date, 1815 suggested by Karl Khandalavala, seems correct in this case. The Raja is portrayed here watching a dance performance. He looks like a middle-aged man, smoking a *huqqa* and is sitting against a pillow, with his courtiers. A dance is being performed in front of him by female dancers while three male musicians accompany them on instruments. In the foreground appear five guards with spears, dressed like "John Company's sepoys", as J.C. French suggests. This

painting displays the formal atmosphere of the court in the early nineteenth century style squat figures are painted in dry colours. Artists have emphasized faces but neglected the treatment of hands and legs, resulting in giving them a wooden effect. The centre of interest is the Raja and the rest portion of the painting seems neglected. Male musicians in the picture show movement but the dancers appear static.

A painting showing a *nāyikā* beside a lotus pond in Bharat Kala Bhavan collection[34] is also a good work of this period, first quarter of nineteenth century. With all its colourfulness the drawing appears weak. A considerable number of examples can be attributed to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In a colourful example of this period, we feel the artists' taste for greenery and the natural setting of the hills although the linear stylizations of features and draperies are unusually hard and metallic.[35]

A large number of paintings could be assigned to the Sansar Chand period. They share the above qualities or shortcomings but show the continuing popularity of the style. In fact, the art of Pahari painting in general was dying out, probably as a result of lack of interest in traditional painting. It was also true in Mughal provincial centres, in Rajasthan and the Deccan. It appears that a change of taste and outlook was gaining ground. Moreover, traditional themes and expressions were already spent and artists were generally not producing works on new themes. It is significant that wherever new themes were introduced style also shows freshness. We may take here the examples of Jodhpur during the reign of Man Singh and the period of Ram Singh II at Kota.

Although Kangra artists failed to inject vivacity into human figures surprisingly their treatment of trees and leaves is very successful. They developed a rare sense of colour, using waves of greens, one against the other, to create a pleasant ambiance. The tender swaying branches show rhythmic movement and make a fitting background for love scenes. Trees and creepers are overladen with white, pink or yellow blossoms which appear in festoons with an interplay of colour. The background is so thick that sometimes human figures are made subordinate to it. The density of landscape is relieved by patches of colour where human figures appear.

The importance of the Sansar Chand period in the history of Pahari painting lies primarily in the quantity of work. They are interesting as far as their subject matter is concerned but they do not attain the quality of early Pahari paintings: they are dazzling but not appealing. Discussing a "typical example" of "Art associated with the name of Sansar Chand at the end of the eighteenth century", J. C. French observed, "compared with the earlier drawings it will be found to lack a certain freedom in the flow of the line."

With the rise of Kangra during the Sansar Chand period his court style was imitated in many other centres with some modifications, for example Mandi, Basohli, Garhwal,

Jammu, Lahore etc. The influence of Kangra style can be observed in centres where artists were more active in the mid. nineteenth century. We may take the example of a portrait of Sansar Chand at Lakshmi Narain's shrine. This theme was popular among the other Rajput centres in Rajasthan and the Hills. It is curious to find a slightly later painting showing Ishwari Sen of Mandi, painted by Sajnu in 1880,[37] which is almost a copy of the Sansar Chand painting, suggesting that his taste was accepted by his contemporaries. Stylistically the differences are only minor. Human worshippers are changed while the subject is the same. We know that Raja Ishwari Sen was a captive of Sansar Chand's court for twelve years. During that period he must have come into contact with Sansar Chand's painters and their style. Painters like Fattu and Sajnu moved to Mandi from Kangra probably after the downfall of Sansar Chand. With these painters, spread the style of Kangra which could be evidenced in the art of Mandi from the first decade of the nineteenth century onwards.

Another instance of the influence of Kangra painting on Basohli can be seen in the extensive *Rāmāyana* drawings of 1816 in the Bharat Kala Bhavan collection.

Similarly we find the Kangra school of Sansar Chand was the model for Garhwal painters in the mid. nineteenth century. This is evident from the *Rukminī Haraṇa* series of 1843 now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan collection. Thus ,even though the Sansar Chand school was not developed, in terms of aesthetic acceptance its style had a wide appeal in neighbouring states. The style continued to be in practice in the Punjab plains during the Sikh period as well.

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Notes and References

1. Jahangir, The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangirl* or *Memoirs of Jahangir* (trans.), Alexander Rogers and edited by Henry Beveridge, Second edition, Delhi-1968, p. 283.
2. J.C. French, *Himalayan Art*. 1930, London, p. 67.
3. Karl Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, No. 271, Ghamand Chand of Kangra (1751-1774), in the Kangra Kalam, *Circa* 1774.
4. Karl Khandalavala, *Pahari Miniature Painting*, No. 77, "A Game of Chess", Pre-Kangra Kalam in type, personages unidentified, Probably third quarter of the 18th century.
5. Karl Khandalavala, "Balvant Singh of Jammu : a Patron of Pahari Painting", *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 2, pp. 71-81.
6. W. Moorcraft, *Travels*, Lond, 1841, pp. 142-154.

7. J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Panjab Hill States*, Vol. I, p. 181 Ghulam Muhai-ud-Din, *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, fourth Daftar.
8. M.S. Randhawa, "Maharaja Sansar Chand the patron of Kangra Painting", *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, December 1961, Fig. 1 and 2.
9. *Ibid.* Fig. 3.
10. *Ibid.* Fig. 4.
11. *Ibid.* Fig. 5.
12. *Ibid.* Fig. 6.
13. *Ibid.* Fig. 27.
14. *Ibid.* Fig. 19.
15. A portrait of Raja Iswari Sen of Mandi, dated 1808 of very similar composition is in Bharat Kala Bhavan collection. This particular painting is helpful in deciding the characteristics of that period in the court of Sansar Chand as Iswari Sen of Mandi was a captive at Kangra from 1792 to 1804 and the sudden change in the Mandi style in the first decade of 19th century shows the influence of Kangra.
16. M.S. Randhawa, "Maharaja Sansar Chand the patron of Kangra painting", *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, Fig. 16.
17. Karl Khandalavala, *op. cit.*, Fig. 85.
18. Karl Khandalavala, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
19. *Ibid.*
20. J.C. French, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
21. J.C. French, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
22. B.N. Goswami, "A Painter's Letter to His Royal Patron: An old Takri Document", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 86, Number 2, April-June 1966.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Karl Khandalavala, *op. cit.* No. 207, "Krishna peeping at Radha", Kangra Kalam, idiom probably Garhwal, first quarter of 19th century, Bharat Kala Bhavan collection, Banaras.
25. A catalogue of the Rajput collection of Edwin Binney 3rd on show in several museums in United States. 92; Two leaves from the "Lambagraon" *Gita Govinda* series, *c.* 1820-25, 11-1/16 X 14-3/16. ex collection Raja Dhruv Dev Chand of Lambagraon, Kangra, Punjab Hills.
Several leaves from this series are known. J.C. French saw one in the collection of Raja Sir Jai Chand of Kangra and Photographed it, (See J.C. French, *Himalayan Art*, pl. 22) and another painting is published by Karl Khandalavala, *op. cit.*. No. 263).
26. *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binnev 3rd*, No. 93, "A friend tries to console the lonely Radha" from a *Rasikpriya* series, Ca 1820-25, 12-7/16 x 8-3/4. Another miniature of this style is, *Khandita Nayika* in Bharat Kala Bhavan.
27. *Rajput Miniatures from the Collection of Edwin Binney 3rd*, No. 93.
28. W. Moorcraft, *Travels*, pp. 142-145.
29 M.S. Randhawa, "Maharaja Sansar Chand the patron of Kangra Painting", *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, December 1962, Fig. 29.
30. "Purkhu, an artist in the services of Raja Sansar Chand Katoch..... "M.S. Randhawa", Kangra Artists", *Art and Letters*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, 1955, pp. 1-9. Also see B.H. Beden Powell, *Handbook of the Economic Products of the Punjab*, 1872, Vol. 2, p. 355.
31. Karl Khandalavala, *op. cit.*, No. 297, "Sansar Chand watching dancers" Kangra Kalam, Late Sansar Chand period, Ca 1815, Note the markedly squat figures during the decline of Kangra painting as also seen in No. 298, Sir Cowasji Jehangir collection, Bombay.
32. J.C. French also saw "pictures of men" in uniform that he calls "something like that of John

Company's Sepoys", J.C. French, *op. cit.* p. 81.

33. A.C. Eastman, *The Nala Damayanti Drawings Boston*, 1959, p. 14.
34. *Chhavi* : *Golden Jubilee Volume, 1972*, Banaras Colour Plate in advertisement section.
35. Karl Khandalavala, *op. cit.* No. 285 "Varsha Vihara", Kangra Kalam, probably Sansar Chand atelier, *Circa* 1800. Also reproduced in *Art of India and Pakistan*, Colour Plate D, J.C. French collection.
36. J.C. French, *op. cit.*, p. 69
37. Karl Khandalavala, *op. cit.* No. 187.

"Not with a Bang but with a Whimper"

Aspects of Pahari Painting in the 19th Century

B.N. Goswamy

There is a curious reluctance on the part of scholars of Indian painting to look at it intently enough in the periods of its decline. The developments in the 19th century do not find more than a courteous mention in books, and the reasons for this are not difficult to understand. For one thing, no glossy volumes can be devoted to Indian painting produced in the 19th century, no best sellers written on it, for not many people are interested in the faint glow that lingers in the hour of dusk. For another, those moved by the intensity of the work of the earlier phases develop a marked hesitation in contemplating this sad, effete period. Surrounding it, there is an air of gloom, as it were, and one's earlier pleasure in the art tends to get somewhat dimmed.

But perhaps this reluctance is to be regretted, for this is one of the better documented periods of Indian art. Certain aspects of the art emerge in this period which help us grasp the problems of Indian Art-history better. Our appreciation of the forces at work not only then but also, reading backwards into time, in the earlier periods becomes keener. If only one is able to retain a degree of detachment in the contemplation of a vanishing spectacle, one should be able to derive from it much profit if not pleasure.

This is exactly what I propose doing in this brief paper. I am making an attempt here to examine what happened in one area of Indian art, Pahari painting, in the 19th century[1], and to do it without joining in the doleful chorus. Hopefully, the enquiry is not without a point.

One of the first facts that gets firmly established in this period of time is the closeness of connection between royal patronage and Pahari painting This is something that we take for granted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on the strength of the evidence that the paintings seem to lead us to.[2] But it is really only in the 19th century that we get the clearest possible 'statements', both direct and indirect, on the subject. The old pattern of rulers continuing virtually undisturbed in their possessions and thus continuing to provide patronage to artists and craftsmen attached to their courts, no longer holds good and new relationships become necessary to strike. The first ten years of the century see dramatic political changes in the area. In the eastern hills, when the century

opens, we find Sansar Chand of Kangra keeping a firm grip over a large number of states. But within five years, the Gurkhas from Nepal are here and succeed in shattering, first, the confidence of the Katoch overlord of these parts and then becoming the instrument of the breaking of his power. The year 1809 sees the repulsion of the Grukha attack but this is not achieved without the aid (for an enormous price) of a major power from the plains, the Sikhs..[3] Sikh chiefs had already started playing a considerable role in the affairs of the hill states in the last quarter of the 18th century; but Sikh authority was now under the most formidable of such men, Ranjit Singh of Lahore. He plays his cards extremely shrewdly and succeeds in reducing the most powerful kingdom in the hills to impotence. He follows this up by starting on a systematic course of subduing the hill chiefs and virtually annexing them, state by state, to the kingdom of Lahore. Some pockets remain out side the Sikh kindgom though not outside its orbit of influence: one thinks of Mandi and Chamba in the eastern hills in particular; there were others east of the Sutlej, which had already passed under British suzerainty by the Anglo-Sikh understanding. But in the areas associated with some of the best work done in Pahari painting, Kangra, Guler, Nurpur, Jammu, Basohli, the Sikhs establish a firm hold. With this happening, as far as the situation of the painters is concerned, several changes come about. We see artists settled since generations in Kangra town migrating to villages across the Baner stream in order to be able to move into the territory still held by their patron, Sansar Chand. We have clear documented evidence to this effect, for land revenue records of the villages of Samloti and Ustehar mention this fact.[4] In other words, we see here, in sharp focus, one instance of the painters moving, like flowers following the course of the sun, to where the patron goes. One can infer that these painters, being the retained artists of Sansar Chand, had been living on grants of land in Kangra town or its immediate neighbourhood. But now that the ruler, after 1809, is not in a position to continue to allow them the enjoyment of these lands, the painters take a decision to move, to the considerably reduced domains of the patron. It is of interest to notice that the fresh grants of land in these villages across the Baner, given to them in the new situation, are extremely small: a few, piteous *kanals* of land which was uncultivated. What must have brought them to this area to accept this situation, then, was either extreme devotion to the patron, or uncertainty about their future under the new masters of their former homes in Kangra town, the Sikhs.

Simultaneously with this, we see another development which is also very well-documented for us. One major grant of painters, the branch of the distinguished Pandit Seu's family settled at Rajol, takes a decision different from that of the three families of painters which moved across the Baner to work for Sansar Chand. The members of this family decide to stay on in their family home by transferring their allegiance to the new masters. A group of Persian documents,[5] which we have had fortunate access to, show with remarkable clarity how these painters attach themselves to the Sikh royal family at Lahore and, even more firmly, to the family of the powerful Sandhanwalia Sardars who were

related to the Maharaja and generally in high favour with him. The members of the artist-family: Nikka, Gokul, Harkhu, Chhajju, serve at Lahore, but retain their family lands in Rajol to which they take apparently frequent trips. Yet another branch of this very family which, though somewhat removed from it over the years, retained the memory of the family-tie, was the branch headed by Ranjha. He had settled at Basohli and his descendants remained attached to the Balauria rulers of that state.[6] With the sequestration of that state, however, also by the Sikhs, royal patronage there seems to dry up and a younger member of the family, Devi Ditta, moves on to Lahore apparently in search of patronage. The different entries in his hand in the records of the *Pandas* at pilgrim centres are wholly self-consistent, as they tell us first of his stay at Lahore and then after the breaking of the Sikh power there, in the mid-19th century, his migration to Patiala where another royal house was still in a position to provide work and patronage.

All these are facts fairly well-known to us by now. But the point to be emphasised is that in terms of stating the need of the painters to work not on their own but only for given patrons, they are highly revealing. It may have been a matter of long habit; perhaps it was sheer lack of enterprise. But one clearly gets the feeling that the painters felt a sense of comfort only when they could feel permanently settled in royal service, preferably on a piece of land on which they could keep their family home. This was to be their steady source of sustenance and, thus reasonably secure, they were willing to move about in a limited way from one place to another. We have no knowledge of migrations of artists over long distances; and at this point we see no attempt on their part at doing something different for different sets of people once royal patronage, for obviously economic reasons, is withdrawn. The conclusions are easy to draw: this art, at this point of time as much as in the earlier periods, clings desperately to royal patronage or seeks it out afresh.

Another area to our understanding of which the developments in the 19th century contribute, is the manner in which the painters adjust to the changed needs of new patrons. One can take up the situation under the Sikh patrons as an instance in question. There is very little doubt that the Pahari painters working for the Sikh rulers and nobility continued to do, in considerable measure, the kind of work they had been doing for their Rajput patrons. Sets of mythological themes were painted; to their repertoire must have been added paintings of the *Janam Sakhis*; poetic themes were continued; and paintings of frankly erotic content were done in large numbers. But an increased amount of interest was taken in portraiture.[7] We have seen it stated several times that portraiture is the most characteristic part of the work done for the Sikhs and, for the Sikh preference for portraits several reasons, not all of them equally valid, have been advanced. There seems to be no gainsaying the fact, in any case, that the Sikh rulers and nobles were interested in themselves in a very extrovert manner. What is interesting for us is the response that the Pahari painters produced to this situation. Portraiture was not unknown to them and

some very remarkable work in this genre in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century had been produced.[8] But over the years, especially towards the end of the 18th century, portraiture in the Pahari area had lost some of its vitality. There was still considerable competence, and occasional portraits rise to high levels of excellence. But when we regard a set of portraits, done for example for Sansar Chand of Kangra, recording not only the appearances of members of his family and the dignitaries of his court, but also of the rulers and nobles of many states in the neighbourhood, we find the art going through the motions of producing reasonable likeness without really coming to grips with the problems that portraiture raises.[9] Even in the great and colourful darbar scenes of Sansar Chand, one misses that incisive quality, that capacity to penetrate the appearances of men which we find in the earlier work, say, by a Nainsukh or by a Mankot painter. There may be many reasons for this: one can speculate that the patron's interest had shifted: he found generalised depictions of this royal grandeur or lyrical and romantic themes more absorbing. With the new interest of the Sikhs in portraits, however, the Pahari painter found himself facing a kind of challenge, and the work he produced by way of response to it commands great respect. It is as if he decided to dip into his creative reserves at this point of time in order to bring to the surface skills that he had all but lost. In short period of about 25 years, say from 1825 to 1850, he turned out a body of portraits which must rank truly high as achievement in the history of Indian art. The move that the artist made was in the direction of producing keenly observed, sensitively rendered records not only of the appearances of men but of their psychological states.[10] What we have from this period is a singular gallery of portraits, perceptive, economical and yet eloquent. From this period itself we have portraits also of men of considerably low rank, sometimes of no rank at all. The painter paints, or at least draws informal pictures of people all around him. It is as if he was doing this in order to keep himself in trim, to give his eye and his hand constant practice. Occasionally, the painter was called upon even to draw pictures of men whose features were by no means familiar to him: those strange Europeans whom he met either at the court in Lahore or flitting about as adventurers in the hills and plains of Panjab. His response to them was by no means always enthusiastic, but occasionally he produced little sketches of such intensity and insight that they leave us breathless with admiration.[11]

Finally, developments in the 19th century afford us a glimpse of a fascinating facet of painting when we find the painter being required to bend his skills to meet radically different demands. The reference here is not to those large and mostly dreary sets of painted sketches which were produced in fulfilment of the need of the English in India to keep a visual record of the new milieu in the midst of which they had landed. The *dhobis*, the *kahars*, the water-carrier the rat-catchers, the recluses of varying hue, that appear ubiquitously in Indian painting of this period in different regions were drawn in clear response to the need for these "sets of trades, professions and callings."[12] But these form for the most part of a chapter of 'Company painting' so-called to which, at least in the

Panjab area, the major contribution came not so much from painters of the Rajput tradition as from those who came from the plains: it was men like Kehar Singh, Kapur Singh, and Kishan Singh who addressed themselves to this kind of task, with varying degrees of skill.[13] The reference that I am making is to the work done from the middle of the century onwards at different centres where interest in traditional art seemingly continued. In Patiala or Kapurthala, even in some of the hill states like Mandi and Chamba where rulers of the old Rajput houses continued to enjoy a semblance of power, the taste of the patrons was undergoing a major change. European painters working in oil on large canvases meant for hanging on walls produced pictures which dazzled many an eye and became a dominant influence on an already diluted taste. Along with this appeared photography and an interest in "seeing things as they are." In terms of portraits at these centres, then, we begin to see at this point those theatrical-looking paintings of rulers and princes dressed in all their regalia sitting on decorative chairs and staring at the painter full in the eye while a flower vase stands on a draped table at one side and a curtain with gathered folds is tied on the other side at the back. Journeyman artists drawn from the European tradition and travelling from court to court must have had a field day doing this kind of work. This is what pleased the patrons who apparently did not have the same taste as their forbears or who decided now to emulate what the "Sahibs" liked. Where this concerns us as students of Pahari painting is when the royal patrons decided to ask the few pliers of the brush trade who were still with them to copy the effect of these oil paintings in their own work. We can see some artists like Narottam of Mandi, resolving to do what the European artists were doing by studiously learning their technique.[14] For the most part, however, the miniature painter decided not to alter his scale nor to change his medium. He made only an attempt to create those realistic, and somewhat theatrical effects in his miniatures. He also decided (or was persuaded to do this) to look more closely at the European male and female costumes in imported fashion magazines which were apparently accessible to the royalty of these few states.[15] We find, thus, the artist Kehar Chand of the Rajol family working at Patiala trying to grapple with the new problems in his work very late in the 19th century.[16] We also catch fascinating glimpses of this new world in the remnants of the family collections of 19th century artists. In these drawings and papers we have a curious assortment of what we might call the sources of this new art: stencils of old Pahari drawings, fragments of lithographs, pages torn from French fashion journals, notes on costumes, half-finished sketches of Sikh princesses in European dresses.[17]

Quite clearly, the experiments did not come off. There may have been many reasons. The artist taking to oils found the scale too difficult to manage or the medium too strange to master. Perhaps what the miniature painter was producing was not liked by the patron any more than by the artist himself. The competition from the European painters or from itinerant photographers was possibly too keen. But in this group of pictures we find a last attempt on the part of the Pahari painter to survive his changed conditions. In this,

without doubt, he failed but if he survived at all into the 20th century, it was through minor commissions he used to get from local English civil servants or from 'memsahibs' like the lady doctors of newly sprung missionary hospitals whose interest in the old tradition of Pahari painting had somehow revived.[18] Whatever taste they had, however, had to be content with the stiff work of these painters who had allowed their idle skills to become rusty. Some of their works were obviously satisfactory enough to earn the Pahari painters 'certificates' from these new-found patrons but the revival of an art which had struggled for nearly a whole century without regenerating itself is of course another matter, and needs different conditions.

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Notes and References

1. In general, historians of Pahari painting do not take this century seriously at all. The better part of the work done for a major ruler like Sansar Chand of Kangra in the first quarter of the century is taken to be an extension of 18th century work, and what is produced a little later in the hills is facilely described as 'decadent' or static. From the middle of the century, in fact, Pahari painting is not even spoken of anymore for it has been pronounced dead. The only attention in this area in the 19th century goes to 'Sikh' painting.
2. Even though inscriptional or documentary evidence from these centuries is very limited, there is every indication of this connection being there because of the preponderance of royal figures in portraits, and whole sets of pictures being prepared to meet royal needs. Our inference, therefore, that activity of painting orbited around rulers like Sidh Sen of Mandi. Kirpal Pāl or Amrit Pal of Basohli, Goverdhan Chand of Guler, Dayadhata of Nurpur, Raj Singh of Chamba, or Ghamand Chand and Sansar Chand of Kangra seems to be wholly warranted. For a reconstruction of work under these and other rulers, see W.G. Archer, *Indian Painting from the Punjab Hills*, 2 Vols. (London 1973).
3. This, being a turning point, is among the best known episodes in the history of the hill states. For a detailed account, see J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hills States*, 2 Vols. (Lahore, 1933), Vol. I pp. 174-188.
4. I have drawn attention earlier to this evidence from the British revenue records in "Of Patronage and Pahāri Painting." in *Aspects of Indian Art*, ed. by P. Pal (Leiden, 1972), pp. 132-133. There were at least three families that were settled in these villages.
5. These documents I found in the family collection of papers of Shri Chandu Lal Raina of Rajol and have been published, *in extenso*, with English translations and notes, in my *Painters at the Sikh Court* (Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1975.)
6. For more details of this branch of the Nainsukh family, see my "Pahari Painting: The family as the basis of style," *Marg*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, September 1968. I have also published some information about this family and its migrations in my article on patronage in Proceedings of the conference on *Medieval Indian State* held at Chandigarh.

7. Dr. W.G. Archer treats this theme at lenght in his *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London, 1966), and attention to this aspect of Sikh painting has been drawn repeatedly by Dr. M.S. Randhawa and Dr. Mulk Raj Anand in their writings. Also see my "Sikh painting: An analysis of some aspects of patronage". *Oriental Art*, Vol. XV, No. 1, Sept., 1969.
8. The great body of portraits done in Mandi, Mankot and Basohli in the late 17th and early 18th century is only too well known. Apart from this stylised, 'ideal' portraiture, however, there is, in the more naturalistic vein, the remarkable work by a great artist like Nainsukh.
9. The vast body of portraiture consisting of 'portrait sets' of rulers of neighbouring states and their brothers and heirs etc. shows very little interest really in personalities. The portraits in what is roughly described as the 'Journalistic' 'Kangra' style bear Persian inscriptions identifying the subjects and great quantities of them were once in the collection of the art-dealer, Mr. B.R. Sharma of Delhi.
10. Unfortunately, very few of these have, as yet, been published, for most of the attention has gone to the 'sumptuous' portraits. It is in the half-finished paintings and drawings of which a large number exist in private and public collections, that we see great penetration of the Pahari artist who had turned his hand to this kind of work.
11. Many of these portraits are uninscribed so that we cannot link them with definite persons whom we know from history, but there can be little doubt that the painter had observed these men, who generally look so uneasy, from very close quarters. If many of the portraits make them out to be unsympathetic characters, this may well be due to the painter's personal response to his subjects.
12. The chapter of Company painting in Indian art is well-known and has been treated of with ability and seriousness, thus, in a work like Mildred Archer's *Company Drawings in the India Office Library* (London 1972).
13. These artists, despite the fact that their names are quite familiar to us by now, generally remain little studied. An article like Dr. M.S. Randhawa's "Two Punjabi Artists of the Ninteenth Century," in *Chhavi: Bharat Kala Bhavan Golden Jubilee Volume* (Banares, 1971), points out the possibilities of further work on the subject.
14. Shri Jawala Prasad of Mandi, son of the ārtist Narottam, tells the story of how Pandit Narottam used to watch a European artist who had been commissioned to do some work by the Raja of Mandi, through a crack in the wall. This, in order to get some idea of how the oil medium was handled. Apparently, Pandit Narottam's request to be allowed to observe him at work openly had been turned down by the European painter. For a short article on Narottam, see O.C. Handa, "The Last of the Pahari Masters," in *Times of India*, April 4, 1976.
15. I saw leaves from fashion magazines like Le Monde *Elegant* and *Modes Parisiennes* in the collection belonging to of an old family of artists at Patiala which had passed into the possission of Shri Ramji Das. For a very interesting but more recent account of Kiran, the Kulu Princess, who was photographed in 1965 wearing "a mauve taffeta dress copied from a photograph of *Gone with the Wind*, in a film magazine," see Penelope Chetwode, *Kulu* (London, 1971), pp. 98-109.
16. Kehar Chand, son of Mahesh and *grandson* of Saudagar, lived into the 20th century. He did some work at Patiala according to the members of his family. There were also notes in his hand on some drawings in the collection reffered to in note 15 above.
17. It is unfortunate that much of the late material found in the collection of artist families has been allowed to scatter, for neither the dealers nor the private collectors found it of sufficient interest.

18. Shri Lachhaman Das of Rajol and Shri Gulabu Ram of Samloti, two of the last surviving artists of the Pahari tradition (both now dead), had carefully preserved many 'testimonials' from these European collectors. Accounts like Constance M. Villiers-Stuarts', "The Last of the Rajput Court Painters," *Burlington Magazine*, No. 274, Jan 1926, and J.C. French's *Himalayan Art* (London, 1931) give one some idea of the revival of interest in the work of these late artists.

Ancient Tribes of Himachal Pradesh

Tej Ram Sharma

A tribe may mean a social, ethnic or cultural distinct group not liable to change but here we are concerned with the ethnic settlements in Himachal Pradesh of the ancient period. It cannot be said definitely whether the tribes gave their names to the settlements or derived their names from the geographical units they inhabited. The tribal settlements were conditioned by the dictates of geography and conformed to the natural divisions of the country,and that tribal expansion always followed the most natural routes. In the course of time, the territory in which a *Jana* (tribe) had settled came to be known as its *Janapada*, and birth or domicile in a *Janapada*, began to be considered a greater bond than the original kinship of the tribe.[1]

It has been commonly assumed by historians, archaeologists and anthropologists that early settlers lived in the mountains in the vicinity of rivers for easy availability of necessities of life. The mountainous regions were easy to clear in comparison with the dense forests in the plains. The republics tended to occupy the less fertile, hilly areas, which may suggest that "the establishment of the republics pre-dated the monarchies."[2] In the opinion of Dr. Romila Thapar, it is equally plausible, however, that the more independent-minded Aryan settlers of the plains, rebelling against the increasing strength of orthodoxy in the monarchies, moved up towards the hills and established communities which were more in keeping with tribal traditions, such as the early settlements in the Panjab. The nature of their reaction to Vedic orthodoxy indicates that the people of the republics were maintaining an older and continuous tradition.[3] Their revolt against the Vedic orthodoxy may be revealed in the *Dharmashastras* which describe certain tribal people as degenerate Kshatriyas and even Shudras, because they had ceased to honour the Brahmans and to observe Vedic ritual. In the monarchies tribal loyalty weakened and gave way to caste loyalties. The political expansion of the kingdoms over large areas also weakened the popular assemblies, since the great distances prevented frequent meetings. Tribal organization was based on a smaller geographical area which permitted the functioning of a popular government more effectively.[4]

Himachal is the abode of a great variety of colourful people. Some of them are still living as semi-nomads. With the development of roads contacts with other people have increased, opportunities of education are also becoming common and thus they are slowly

changing. Amongst the tribes discussed by Stephen Fuchs[5] and T. S. Negi,[6] many tribes, *e.g.*, the Gaddies, the Lahulis, the Bhotias, the Pangwalas, etc. do not find their mention in the historical list except the Kinnaras and the Gujjaras. We may say that through the centuries the historical tribes lost their identity and got submerged either in the general mainstream of Indian social milieu or got mixed up with the people in the territories they settled. One thing, however, may be pointed out that the tribes generally keep up the grammar of their language though the changes in vocabulary occur. Thus the linguists after a detailed linguistic analysis can help in identifying the aboriginal settlers.

It has been pointed out that the earliest immigrants of whom we have an historical information were the Khasas widely mentioned in the Sanskrit literature,[7] a race probably hailing from Central Asia and originally speaking an Aryan but not necessarily an Indo-Aryan language.[8] They were closely connected with the group of tribes known as Pishachas by Indian writers and before the sixth century they were stated to be speaking the same language as the people of Balkh[9] which is supported by a statement in the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata in the chapter on dialects (xvii, 52) that "the Bāhliki language is the native tongue of northerners and Khasas". Grierson classifies the language of Himachal Pradesh as group of western Pahari languages spoken in Jaunsar-Bawar (District Dehradun) the Simla Hill states, Kulu, Mandi, Suket, Chamba and Western Kashmir[10] while the Lahauli and the Spiti belong to the Tibeto-Burman group as pointed out by him elsewhere.[11] We have no literary records of the Khaśas and hence it cannot be said for certain that to what extent western Pahari is derived from their language. Grierson points out that the traces of the old Khaśa language became stronger as we go westwards and in western Pahari they are stronger still. Both in phonology and in vocabulary we come across numerous instances of affinities in the language of North-Western India called 'Paishachi' languages, of which Kashmiri is the best example.[12] The Khaśas may have originally settled near the Kinnaras. In the Varāha Saṁhitā the Khaśas occur after Kunahas or people of Kunaor, the Conae of Pliny.[13] The Kunets of Kulu are divided into two classes-Khasiyas and Raos.[14] The indigenous word for what used to be regarded as a higher caste is Khaushia which may be a corrupt form of Khaśa.[15] Looking at the Khaśas from the Brāhmaṇical point of view, Manu[16] says that Khaśas are the descendents of outcaste Kshatriyas, and again after mentioning some south Indian tribes he says that Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pāhlavas, Chînas, Kirātas, Daradas, and Khaśas are those who became outcastes because they neglected their religious duties, and, whether they speak a barbarous (Mlecchha) or Aryan language, are called Dasyus.[17] Having described the Khaśas we shall discuss the other tribes which are mentioned in literature or history.

(2) *Kim-Puruṣas or Kinnaras* :—There is no mention of the Kim-Puruṣas or Kinnaras in the Vedas. Kim-Puruṣa literally meaning 'what sort of man' Roth assumes it to refer to a contemptible man,[18] Max Muller[19] renders it 'savage'. They were apparently a semi-mythical tribe as it is indicated by the passage of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtras.[20] The

Kimpuruṣas were born out of Brahma's shadow.[21] They lived on the mountain Kailāsa The Kinnaras were born of Ariṣṭa and Kaśyapa and they lived in the Himalayas.[23] They were sons of Aśvamukhas, had a number of Gaṇas, horse-faced and human-faced.[24] The *Vāyu Purāṇa*[25] refers to the hundred cities of Kinnaras, situated near Kailāsa. They also lived in Mahānilla hill.[26] At present the Kinnaras live in the district of Kinnaur in the east of Himachal, near the Tibetan border.

S. M. Ali[27] writes that the inhabitants of the Himalayas are 'Kinnaras' (of Kinnarādeśa) and Mahādeva appeared there in the garb of a Kirāta. He gives a narration from a Purāṇa where it is mentioned that great grand-son of Swāyambhuva Manu was named as Kimpuruṣa whom his father Agnidhara while apportioning Jambrū-dwipa into nine parts assigned the kingdom of Hemakūṭa.[28] The *Bhuvanakośa* section of the *Matsya Purāṇa* (chapter 114) gives a description of Kiṁpurusa-Varṣa along with Bhāratavarsa ,Hari-Varṣa and Ilāvarta-Varsa.[29] Alberuni quotes the commentator of Patañjali while describing the kingdom of Kimpuruṣa along with Bhāratavarṣa and Harivarsa. He describes the dimensions of Meru and says, "On the South are Mrāvarta (?), Nishadha, Hemakūṭa, Himagiri and the ocean, and between them the kingdoms Bhāratvarsha, Kiṁpuruṣha, and Harivarsha".[30] Further he mentions that the two rivers Sāṇḍi(?) and Maddyandā(?) flow to Kiṁpurusha.[31]

Kinnaras have been widely mentioned in the Sanskrit literature—the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābharata*, the *Purāṇas* and later literature; the Buddhist *Jātakas*, the Jain theology and have been shown in sculptures in India, Burma and Ceylon.[32] They are described as celestial beings, semi-divine beings, musicians, cave-dwellers and fruit-gatherers in the mountains.[33] Judged by sculptural and inscriptional indications, "Gandharvas, Kinnaras, and other godlings were to attend on the principal deity central figure, doing dancing, waving fly whisks, offering garlands of flowers, etc."[34]

M. D. Mamgain, the editor of the district Gazetteer of Kinnaur, rightly establishes that the country of Kinnauras or Kiṁpuruṣas was positively to the west of Kailas and lake Manasa.[35] He identifies it with the present day Kinnaur district in the upper valley of the Sutluj.

The question arises that whether the Kinnaras and the Kiṁpuruṣas were two distinct tribes or one and the same. Alberuni quotes from the *Matsya Purāṇa* wherein both the Kinnaras and the Kiṁpurushas are separately mentioned.[36] But the *Amarakoṣa* clearly mentions them as synonyms.[37] *Amarakoṣa* also describes them as one among the devayonis, i.e., godly beings the Vidyadharas, the Apsarasas, the Yakshas, the Rakshasas, the Gandharavas, the Kinnaras, Pishachas the Guhyakas, the Siddhas and the Bhūtas.[38] It may be noted that leaving aside the Rakshas, the Pishachas and the Bhūtas all the remaining are supposed to be disposed towards good.

Alberuni while enumerating the eight classes of spiritual beings describes the Kinnaras as having human shapes but horses' heads being the contrary of the Centaurs of the Greek, of whom the lower half has the shape of a horse, the upper half that of a man.[39] The basis of this knowledge of Alberuni were certainly the Purāṇas.[40] According to Dr. D. C. Sircar, these names originally indicated certain tribal peoples, although later they came to imply classes of mythical beings. "They Kinnaras and Takṣas were probably names applied to some Himalayan tribes while gandharvas appear to have been the original name of the people, later called Gaṅdhāra (of Rāmāyana, vii, 101, 11).[41]

Dr. Banski Ram Sharma[42] conjectures the possibility of the word 'Kima' meaning 'mountain' and explains 'Kinnara' as the 'Mountain-dweller' and that since they reared the horses they were adopted in mythology as horse-mouthed semi-celestial beings. This view does not appear to be correct.

J. Przyluski[43] explains the Kinnaras as 'horse-mouthed' as based on Austro-Asiatic beliefs and describes in the ceremony of Aśvamedha a fusion of Indo-Aryan and the Austro-Asiatic beliefs quoting the legend of Ṛsyaśriṅga as a example. He explains the Nāgas, serpent-men, Kinnaras, the bird-men are the Vestiges of non-Aryan totemism. In certain cases, nāga, Kinnara, etc., represent the primitive totems. Often, the hero born of a nāga or a legendary animal receives marvellous gifts from the ancestor and becomes a genuine god.[44]

(3) Kalāpagrāmkas: M. R. Singh[45] on the basis of the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* locates Kalāpagrāma at the eastern side of Kailāsa on the Himavata, where the sages viz. Mrkaṇḍa, Vasiṣṭha, Bharata, Nala, Viśvāmitra, Uddāḷaka and others and had their hermitages. Manu, a descendant of Ikṣvāku-line, is also said to have resided in Kalāpagrāma.[46] Alberuni on the basis of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* describes them along with Kimpuruṣa, and Khasa and explains Kalāpagrāma as the city of the most virtuous.[47] According to Lexicographers Kalāpa means a clever and intelligent man.[48] -- a meaning which tallies with Alberuni's rendering meaning thereby an abode of intelligent people which is supported by the above-mentioned description of the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*.

(4) *Kohalas*: The Kohalas occur in the text of the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* group and belonged to the Northern Division.[49] They are evidently the Kohils, a Kulu tribe who had given their name to the Kulu Valley. Kohil or Koli (kulu) as a territorial name denotes the Kulu Valley.[50]

(5) *Maṇahalas*: The Maṇhalas also occur in the Northern Division of the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* list. They were presumably another people allied to the Kohalas or Kolis, whose name survives in the Lahaul region.[51]

(6) *Dandapiṅgalakas*: S.B. Chaudhuri associates the *Daṇḍapiṅgalckas* of the *Bṛhat. Samhitā* list also with the people of Kulu Valley.[52]

(7) *Kulūtas*: The Kulūtas also find their mention twice in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* list[59] They are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purānas* and the *Kāvyamīmāṃsa* of Rājaśekhara.[54] In the *Gaṇapāṭha*, the name occurs as Kuluna,[55] the chief city Nagar is included in the *Kaṭryādi-gaṇa*.[56] According to the *Viśṇu-Dharmottara Mahāpurāṇa*, Bharata, while going to Kekaya from Ayodhyā met Kulūtādhipati Jaya between the Vipāśā and the Irāvatī.[57] We also know of a king Chitravarman of the Kulūtas from the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta.[58] We know of another king named Virayaśas from their coins assigned to the first-second centuries A.D.[59] Megasthanes also mentions a people named Colubae identified with the Kulūtas.[60] S. B. Chaudhuri on the basis of numismatic evidence and the evidence of Hiuen Tsang points out that the Kulutas occupied the Kulu valley and also included the little principalities of Suket and Mandi.[61]

(8) *Māṇḍavyās*: The Māṇḍavyās occur twice in the *Bṛaht-samhitā* list.[62] The word Māṇḍavyā is mentioned separately in a verse in another chapter of the *Samhitā* as the name of a sage.[63] According to Macdonell and Keith[64] Māṇḍavyā 'descendant of Manḍu' is mentioned as a teacher in the *Śatapatha Brāhmāṇa* in the *Śaṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* and in the *Sūtras*. He is also mentioned as a pupil of Kautsa in the last Vaṅśa (list of teachers) of the *Bṛhadāraṇyakā Upaniṣad*.

Possibly the people of Maṇḍī are referred to as the Māṇḍavyas as the grouping in the *Bṛhat-Samhitā* list indicates. Maṇḍī is the same as the Maṇḍamatī of the Yavādigaṇa of Pāṇini.[65]

(9) *Sātakas*: They are also mentioned in the *Bṛhat-samhitā* list of the names of the countries in the north.[66] On the South, Maṇḍī adjoins Suket, wihch lies along the north bank of the Sutlej river, the river separating Suket from the Simla hill States. Suket is written as Seokoṭ in earlier records. The Sātakas plainly refer to Seokot by a slight transposition of one letter.[67]

(10) *Kunindas or Kulindas*: They are mentioned in the *Brhatsamhita* list as kaunidas[68] They are also mentioned in the *Puranas* and the *Mahābhārata*,[69] Atkinson quotes Ptolemy, "At the sources of the Bias, Satlaj, Jamna and Ganges (reside the Kulindas) whose country was called Kylindrine *i.e.*, the people of the hills between the Satlaj and the Ganges."[70] The ethnic name Kulinda may have been obtained from the river Kalindi or the Yumuna and they are not to be confused with the people of Kulu valley who are separately mentioned. From the references in the *Mahābhārata* it is clear that they were scattered in many territories or their settlements extended over a wide area which belief is also supported by the numismatic evidence.[71] From their coins[72] we know that they followed a monarchical organization. They submitted to the rule of the Kushāṇas and probably joined the Yaudheyas to regain their independence and perhaps merged into the larger confederation of the Yāudheyas before the rise of the Guptas[73].

(11) *Trigartas*: They are also mentioned in the Northern Division of the *Bṛhat Saṁhita* list.[74] They also find their mention in the *Purāṇas*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* of Pāṇinī. They are also known to us from their coins and later inscriptions.[75]

Trigarta literally means the land watered by three rivers which are the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej. From the *Astādhyāyī* of Pāṇinī we know that they were a confederation of six tribes which are enumerated by the Kaśikā as Kauṇḍoprastha, Dāṇḍakī, Kraustaki, Jālmānī, Brahmagupta and Jānakī. Out of which Brahmagupta has been identified with Brahmor the Bhramaras of the *Purāṇas*[76] It may be the same as the Brahmapura mentioned in *Bṛhat-saṁhita* list.[77] The Kauṇḍoprastha may be related with the people living on the bank of the river Kaṇḍukā-bindukā which flows in the Kīragrāma (Baijnath), a part of Trigarta.[78] The other four names are difficult to identify.

On the basis of the evidence from Hemachandra, the *Rajatarangini*, Hiuen Tsang as well as the inscriptions it has been pointed out that the kingdom of Jullundur (Trigarta as Hemachandra, treates the two as synonyms) also included the modern districts of Hoshiarpur and the hill district of Kangra. Further that the people of the country though rich looked rustic and were pitiless.[79]

(12) *Audambaras or Udumbaras*: We find at least three place names known as Audumbara-one in Kutch, the country of the Odomborae of ptolemy; Nurpur and part of Gurdaspur district which was anciently called Dahmeri or Dehmbeori, the capital of which was at Pathankot (Pratishthana) on the Ravi in the Punjab was also, callled Udumvara there was another Udumbara to the east of Kannauj.[80] Here we are concerned with the second one which is by mistake mentioned as Ambara in the *Bṛhat-Saṁhita* list.[81]

It is certain that the Udumbara plant known as *Ficus glomerata* gave its name to the place and the tribe. It is one of the series of words borrowed by the Indo-Aryan from the Austro-Asiatic.[82] The name of this tree does not occur in the *Rigveda* but is often found from the *Atharvaveda* onwards and its wood was variously used for sacrificial purposes.[83]

The provenance of the Audumbra coins assigned to the first century B.C. suggests that the eastern portion of the modern districts of Kangra, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur, roughly speaking the valley of the Beas, or even wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Rāvi, corresponded to the ancient Audumbara country.[84] The Audumbaras issued several types of coins where we come across the names of four kings, namely—Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Mahādeva and Dharaghosha.

The *Kāśika* refers to six branches of the Śalvas[85] as well as the Chandravṛtti on Candra Grammar viz. Udumbara, Tilakhala, Madrakāra, Yugandhara, Bhulinga and Saradaṇḍa. The formation of this confederation of the śalvas as well as the Trigarta—ṣaṣṭa referred to above in the discussion of the Trigartas leads us to conclude that there was no powerful

monarchical state in the Punjab in the time of Pāṇini which could control all these petty states.[86] They might have formed these confederations for protection against their enemies.

(13) *Tilakhalas*: They have been referred to by the *Kāśika* as one of the six branches of the Salvas and have been identified with Tilabhara of the great epic and located in Hoshiarpur district.[87]

Our discussion will be incomplete if we do not refer to the *Pāṇḍavas* who according to a popular traditions, lived in Himachal region during the period of their exile as well as the evidence that Arjuna, in the course of his *digvijaya* had defeated the Kulutas.[88] We may also refer to the Gurjaras or Gujjaras who invaded India about the 6th century A.D and occupied the same tract, then known as Sapadalaksha (Śivālika Hills).[89] Of these Gurjaras the bulk followed pastoral pursuits and became merged in and identified with the earlier Khaśa population. Others were fighting men and were identified by the Brāhmaṇas with Kshatriyas. In this guise they invaded eastern Rajputana from Sapādalaksha, and possibly, western Rajputana from Sindh, and founded, as Rajputs, the great Rajput states of Rajputana.[90] Grierson also remarks that Pahārî language has manifold traces of intimate relationship with the languages of Rajputana.[91] Later came the *Rajputs* who established their principalities here. It may be noted that most of the rulers of the esrtwhile Himachal States trace their origin from the Suryavamsi or Chandravamsi Rajputs.[22]

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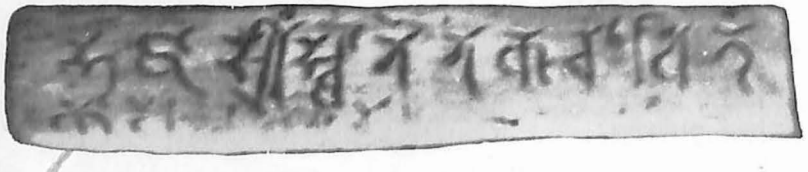
1

Fig. 1. Idol of Lakshṇā Devi (Bronze) at Brahmor ; Early 8th Century.

Plate II

2

Fig. 2. Idol of Mahishasuramardinī (Bronze) at Hat-Koti ;
Early 9th Century.



3a

Fig. 3a & 3b, Inscription on the left and right side of the *toraṇa*, of bronze Fig. 2.

3b

Fig. 4. A temple of the 9th or early 10th century at Hat-Koti, the Pabbar valley.

4

Fig. 5. A temple at village Jagatsukh in the upper Beas valley, Kulu district.

5

Plate IV

Fig. 6. Vishṇu with Lakshmī (Stone); South-eastern part of Mandi district;
c. 10th Century,
Coll. Himachal State Museum, Simla.

6

Fig. 7. Mahishasuramardinī (Stone),
c. 9th Century
Morni Hills.

7

Fig. 8. Surya (Stone); *c.* 10th Century, Pinjore.

8

Fig. 9. Ganesh (Stone); *c.* 10th—11th Century Pinjore.

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11

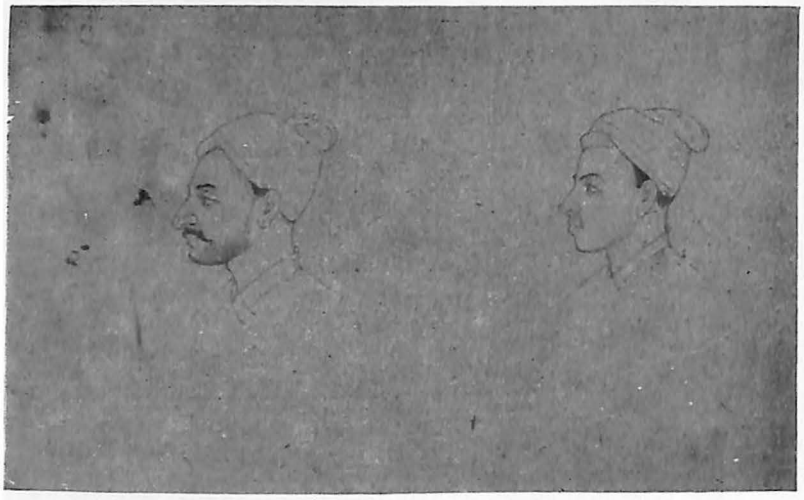
Fig. 10 and 11,
Architectural pieces from
Pinjore.

12

Fig. 12. Vishṇu Head (Stone);
c. 13th Century,
Pinjore.

13

Fig. 13. A Seated Deity (Stone);
c. 13th Century,
Pinjore.



14

Fig. 14. Portrait heads from an artist's sketch book; Mid. eighteenth Century; Style of the Nainsukh family.

Fig. 15. Portrait of an unidentified person with only the head fully finished; Pahari, *c.* 1825 A.D.

Fig. 16. Sketch with the head fully finished. By a Pahari Artist working in the Punjab plains; *c.* 1840 A.D. One sees water-colour effect in the treatment of colour in the turban and the sash.

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Fig. 17. Portrait of an unidentified European with only the head and collar fully painted, By a Pahari artist working in the plains; *c.* 1850 A.D.

18

Fig. 18. Copy of a European engraving by a Pahari artist. The drawing is inscribed below, in a late hand, with the words; "Old English drawing by Shri Kehar Chand artist". Last quarter of the 19th Century.

Fig. 19. Page from the French fashion magazine, Le Monde Elegant found in the collection of papers of a family of artists working in Patiala; Lithograph dated A.D. 1863.

19

Fig. 20. An Indian princess in a European costume seen reading from a book in a garden. By a Pahari painter working at Patiala; Last quarter of the 19th Century.

20

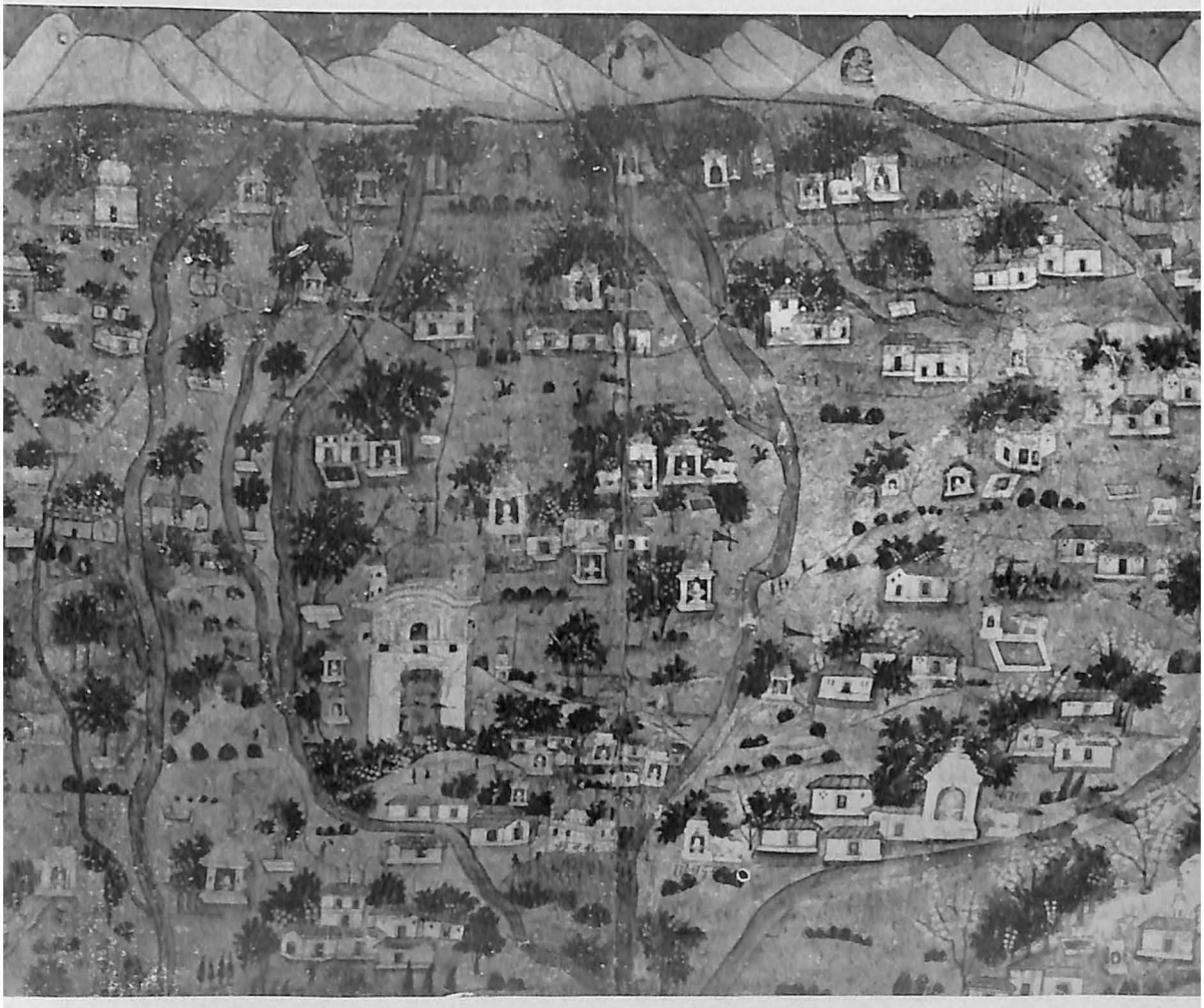

Fig. 21. Kangra painting showing topography of the Jālandhara-*pīṭha*: *c*. 1840. A.D.

Fig. 22. Demon Jālandhara falling prostrate on his chest, when slain by the Devi ; Stone sculpture ; *c.* 10th Century.