CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

1. The maps accompanying this memoir are primarily intended to show the results which a detailed study of Kalhana's राजटारणिनि has furnished regarding the early topography of Kaśmir and the adjacent territories. From the first when engaged in preparing a critical edition of that text,¹ the earliest and most important of the Sanskrit Chronicles of Kaśmir, I had realized that an exact identification of the very numerous old localities mentioned in it was indispensable for a correct understanding of the narrative. This conviction forced itself even more strongly upon me in the course of the labours I devoted to the preparation of the commented translation of the work which is now passing through the press.²

¹ Kalhana's राजटारणिनि or Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmir, Bombay Education Society's Press, 1892, pp. xx and 396, &c.
² To be published, with a Historical Introduction, by Messrs. A. Constable and Co., London, in two volumes, 4to.

J. i. 1
ANCIENT SRINAGAR.
GRUNO.-MAP REPRODUCED FROM SURVEY, 1899-80.
ANCIENT SITES AND NAMES
BY
M. A. STEIN, PH. D.
MDCCXCXVII.
Many of the questions thus raised were so detailed and intricate that it would have been manifestly impossible to attempt their solution without carefully studying on the spot those topographical facts which alone could elucidate them. It was, therefore, fortunate for my researches in this direction that I was able during successive years to make a series of antiquarian tours in Kashmir. These acquainted me not only with the extant ancient remains of the Valley, but also with its actual topography and that of the neighbouring mountain regions. I cannot feel too grateful for the advantage I thus enjoyed. It has allowed me in more than one case to fix with certainty the position of important ancient sites, which no amount of philological acumen would have sufficed to locate correctly.

2. In order to place before the student of the Kashmir Chronicle the results of these researches, as well as the evidence on which they were based, the preparation of maps appeared necessary that would show the modern topography of the country in full detail together with the ancient sites and local names identified. While considering the means for the execution of such maps I received in the autumn of 1896 the generous offer of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to bear the cost connected with their preparation, on the understanding that the maps would be published also in the Society's Journal with a separate explanatory memoir. I accepted this offer all the more readily as it gave me the desired opportunity of treating the subject of the early geography of Kashmir in a connected form and before a larger public. For the liberal assistance thus rendered to me, I wish to record here my sincere thanks. I owe special obligations to Dr. G. A. Grierson, C.S., C.I.E., and Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, C.I.E., whose kind offices were mainly instrumental in securing the above arrangement.

The successful execution of the maps as now published was rendered possible by the ready co-operation of Colonel J. Waterhouse, I.S.C., late Assistant Surveyor General, in charge of the Lithographic and Photographic Office of the Survey of India Department. The preparation of a new ground map to show on a sufficiently large scale the details of the modern topography of Kashmir would have cost much trouble and entailed very heavy, almost prohibitory, expense. At the same time it had to be considered that there were no other materials available for such a map but those supplied by the Trigonometrical

1 The tours referred to occupied the greatest part of my summer vacations in 1888, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1894 and were supplemented by shorter visits to particular sites during the summers of 1895–96.
Survey operations in Kashmir, 1856-60, which had been embodied on the scale of 4 miles to 1 inch in the corresponding sheets of the 'Atlas of India.'

It hence appeared to me the most convenient plan to use as a ground-map a mechanical reproduction of that portion of the 'Atlas of India' which contains Kashmir and the adjacent territories. Over this ground-map the entries relating to the ancient topography of the country could be printed in a distinguishing colour. This plan having received Colonel Waterhouse's approval, the required portions of the engraved plates containing Sheets 27 and 28 of the 'Atlas,' were transferred to the stone and the copies of the larger map reproduced from the latter by lithography. A similar process was used for the smaller map showing the capital, Srinagar, and its environs on the enlarged scale of 1 mile to 1 inch. But in this case the original map which was not engraved but only zincographed, had to be retraced on the stone.1

In the case of either map the entries marking ancient sites and names were printed in red over the ground-map from a separate stone. In order to distinguish at a glance the old local names in the Rājatarāṅgini from those known only to the later Chronicles and other sources, the former were shown in GROTESQUE type and the latter in Italics.

By following the method here briefly explained it was possible to provide maps which exhibit in all needful detail the latest and most authentic survey of Kashmir and at the same time show clearly all important features of the old topography. The success of the technical execution is due mainly to the great care and attention bestowed on it by Colonel Waterhouse and his staff. For this as well as much valuable advice accorded to me in connection with the work I may be allowed to offer here my grateful acknowledgments.

3. It has already been stated that the maps here presented are in the first place intended to illustrate those data of the ancient geography of Kashmir which are contained in Kalhana's Chronicles. But in addition to the old local names and sites taken from this our most important source of information those mentioned in the later Sanskrit Chronicles and other Kashmirian texts have also been inserted as far as they can claim antiquity and interest. These maps may, therefore, equally well serve to illustrate a comprehensive account of the historical topography of Kashmir, such as I shall attempt to give here, up to the close of the Hindu epoch.

1 The original of this smaller ground-map had appeared as an inset in the "Map of Jummu, Kashmir and Adjacent Territories," 4 miles to 1 inch, published by the Survey of India, 1861.
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF KASMIR.

In treating this subject it appears to me most convenient to examine first the sources of information from which our knowledge regarding the ancient topography of Kasimir is drawn. I shall next proceed to notice what we can learn from these sources as to the general physical features of Kasimir geography and their bearing on the historical and economical conditions of the country during the Hindu period. In the last chapter I intend to discuss the political divisions of the territory and to indicate briefly the information available to us regarding the particular places of historical or religious interest.

Most of the data upon which this account of the old topography of Kasimir is based, are contained in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, and have therefore already been explained by me in the notes which accompany my translation of that work. In order to avoid unnecessary repetition I shall refer to these notes for all such detailed evidence as could not conveniently be set forth within the limits of the present paper.

Before, however, closing these preliminary remarks it is necessary to refer briefly to those few publications in which facts bearing on the old topography of Kasimir have received an earlier treatment.

In view of what has been said above we naturally turn first to the works which have dealt directly with the interpretation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī. Dr. Wilson who was the first European to study the Chronicle in the original, published an abstract of the contents of the first six Books as early as 1825. He seems to have fully realized the importance of an accurate and sober examination of the geographical questions connected with the narrative. The textual materials at his disposal were, however, extremely defective, and European knowledge of Kasimir restricted at the time solely to the accounts of Bernier and Forster. He could hence scarcely do more than indicate the more or less corrupt modern equivalents by which the Persian Chronicles render some of the Kasimir local names taken from Kalhaṇa's account. The judgment and accuracy with which Dr. Wilson discussed the Chronicle's notices of countries and places situated outside Kasimir and better known at that time, shows sufficiently that only the defective character of the available materials prevented that distinguished Sanskrit scholar from doing justice to the task.

The elaborate commentary with which Mr. Troyer accompanied his French translation of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, does not represent any material advance beyond the contents of Wilson's Essay. Yet Mr. Troyer

had already the whole text of the Chronicle to refer to, and in the meantime a considerable amount of information about Kaśmir had become available through the works of travellers like Moorcroft, Jacquemont, Vigne, Von Hügel, and others. The serious shortcomings which characterize Mr. Troyer’s labors notwithstanding his patient devotion to the task, have already been fully indicated by Prof. Bühler. Detailed reference to the defects of the topographical notes is hence unnecessary.

The English translation of the Chronicle published in the years 1879-87 by Babu Jogesh Chunder Dutt makes no attempt whatever to elucidate the many points of topographical interest. Though the translation itself is decidedly better than that of Mr. Troyer, yet it necessarily shares the defects arising from the use of the same corrupt text. Both versions strikingly demonstrate the importance of topographical researches by the frequent instances in which the translators have mistaken local names for words of ordinary meaning or vice versa.

The advantages offered for enquiries of this kind by a personal acquaintance with the country were fully illustrated by the valuable contributions which General (then Captain) Cunningham was able to make to our knowledge of ancient Kaśmir in connection with his visit to the Valley in November 1847. Though his stay was short and primarily devoted to a survey of the more conspicuous of the temple-ruins still extant, he succeeded in identifying correctly a number of important ancient sites such as Purāṇādhiṭṭhāna ‘the old capital,’ Jyeṣṭheśvara, Māriṇḍa, Padmapura, Pattana, Khonamūsa.

General Cunningham subsequently had occasion to discuss comprehensively these localities in his Ancient Geography of India, a work which, notwithstanding its deficiencies in detail, amply testifies to the great antiquarian experience and natural acumen of its author. The chapter on the “Kingdom of Kashmir” utilizes the evidence afforded by the Chinese sources and Alberūni, and indicates correctly the old names of the petty hill states to the south and south-east of Kaśmir (Rājapuri, Vallōpura, Campā, Kāśhavāta). It further adds to the identifications already mentioned equally important notes on Pravarpura, the present Srinagar, Vijayēśvara, Huṣkapura, Juṣkapura, Jayāpurā. If General Cunningham was less successful in his attempts at

2 For some of the imaginary territories and places which figure in these translations, see Vienna Oriental Journal, 1898, pp. 67 sqq.
4 See Ancient Geography of India, 1871, pp. 89-103, 128-141.
locating \textit{Parih\text{"a}sapura} and some other ancient sites, this may fairly be attributed to his inability to consult the Sanskrit sources in the original.\footnote{1}

Professor Lassen's "\textit{Indische Alterthumskunde}" gives an extensive analysis of the historical contents of Kalhana's work.\footnote{2} But his explanations as to the ancient localities mentioned are generally only there well-founded where they are based on General Cunningham's researches. Ancient territories and places are often connected with modern localities merely on the ground of a faint resemblance of the names and without sufficient internal evidence. This tendency has frequently led that distinguished scholar to ignore the narrow territorial limits within which most of the local and ethnic names occurring in the later portion of Kalhana's narrative have to be looked for. It is only natural that identifications of real (or imaginary) localities which transferred the scene of contemporary events described by Kalhana to territories so distant as Lahore, Eastern Afghanistan or Ajmir,\footnote{3} have helped to produce a very ill-focused picture of the political power and extent of the Kashmir kingdom in those later times.

The merit of having definitely shown the right methods and means for re-constructing the ancient geography of Kashmir belongs to Professor Bühler. This great scholar by whose lamented death so many branches of Indian research have suffered irreparable loss, had in the masterly

\footnote{1} If particular proof were wanted to show that a through acquaintance with the modern topography of a country is in itself not sufficient to lead to useful results in regard to its historical geography, Mr. Vigne's work, \textit{Travels in Kashmir, Ladak, Iskardo}, (London, 1842, two Vols.) would supply it. This estimable artist and traveller evidently took a great deal of interest in the antiquities of the country which he traversed in many directions. His book, however, as far as the old geography of Kashmir is concerned, furnishes scarcely anything more than a series of amusingly naïve etymologies of local names. Thus \textit{Hürspür} (\textit{Siirnapura}) is "the Diamond City," \textit{Pándréshan} (\textit{Pur\text{"a}n\text{"a}dis\text{"a}th\text{"a}n}) the place of the 'Panda' and Duryodhana', \textit{Sōpur} (\textit{Su\text{"a}napura}) 'the Golden City,' etc.; see i. p. 267, ii. pp. 37, 157.

Mr. Vigne is responsible for the strange derivation of the name of the Kashmir capital, \textit{Srīnagar} (\textit{Srīnagāra}), or as he spells it, 'Siri-Nagar,' from "\textit{Surya Nagur}, the city of the sun" (p. ii. 137). Judging from the persistence with which the error has been copied by a succession of modern writers on Kashmir, this etymology bids fair to establish itself as a piece of orthodox creed with European visitors to the Valley.


\footnote{3} I refer to locations like those of Lohara (\textit{Loherān}) at Lahore; of the [imaginary] province \textit{Kampanā} in eastern Afghanistan; of the \textit{Laranga} tribe near the Sambhar salt lake; of the feudal chief \textit{Koṭheśvara} at Kōṭgarh on the Satlej, etc.; comp. \textit{Ind. Alterth.} iii. pp. 1057, 1041, 1069, 1105, and for the supposed territorial extent of the Kashmir state, iii. p. 1119.
report on his Kaśmir tour lucidly set forth the work that remained to be
done in connection with the Rājataraṅgiṇī. He had there shown that
for a full comprehension of its contents a minute study of the ancient
geography of Kaśmir was indispensable. He was the first to call atten-
tion to the ample materials which are offered for such a study by the
later Sanskrit Chronicles, the Nilamatapurāṇa and other Kaśmirian
texts. But he also realized that “some of the geographical questions
would probably require a final re-examination in Kaśmir.”

Other labors prevented my lamented master from undertaking this
task himself. But the most graphic and accurate notices which his
Report gives of those sites in the Valley he had himself been able to
visit, prove convincingly—if any proof were needed—that no impor-
tant point connected with the old topography of the country could easily
have escaped his attention. The particular identifications first made
by Prof. Bühler will be duly mentioned in their proper places. It was
a source of true satisfaction to me that I was able during my last year’s
visit to Europe to present personally the departed with the first clean
copies of the maps now published. That the results recorded in them
were such as obtained his approval, will always appear to me the
highest reward for the labour their preparation and the preceding re-
searches had cost me.

1 See Report on a tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts made in Kashmir,
Bombay, 1877, p. 58.
2 See loc. cit., pp. 4–18.
CHAPTER II.

ACCOUNTS OF OLD KASMIIR.

SECTION I.—CLASSICAL NOTICES.

5. Our sources for the early geography of Kasmir may be conveniently divided into foreign notices and indigenous records. As the information supplied by the former is on the whole earlier in date though by no means more precise or important, we shall commence our review with them. Having learned what little the outer world knew or recorded of the secluded alpine land, we shall appreciate all the more the imposing array of Kasmirian authorities which offer themselves as our guides in and about the Valley. With the foreign accounts but in a kind of intermediate position we may class those Indian texts the authors of which may have possessed some more detailed information of Kasmir, but have not thought it necessary to vouchsafe it to us.

It is significant for the isolated position which its mountain barriers assured to Kasmir, that we do not find any mention of the country in those accounts to which we are accustomed to look for the first truly historical notices of the North-West of India. I mean the relations of Alexander's invasion. The march from Taxila to the Hydaspes (Jehlam) took the Macedonian forces along a line of route which lay comparatively near to the confines of Kasmir. Yet there is no notice in the accounts of Alexander's expedition which can be shown to imply even a hearsay knowledge of the Kasmir Valley. On the other hand the names of the neighbouring territories on the West and South have long ago been recognized in the names of their rulers Arsakes and
Abisares. These names clearly represent ethnic appellations derived from *Uraia* (Ptolemy's *Oφαρώ*) and *Abhīśāra.*

The only certain reference to Kaśmir which classical literature has preserved for us, is found in Ptolemy's Geography. There can be no doubt that D'Anville was right in recognizing its name in that of the region of *Kaśpeirīa* situated 'below the sources of the Bidaspes· (Vitastā) and of the Sandabal (Candrabhāgā) and of the Adris (Irāvati).* Ptolemy mentions this territory correctly enough between that of the *Daradrai* or Dards on the Indus and *Kylindrīne* or the land of the Kulindas on the Hyphasis (Bīṣa) and eastwards. In his subsequent detailed description of Indian territories, however, he makes the region 'held by the Kaspeireans' extend eastwards from the land of the Pandoouoi on the Bidaspes as far as Mount Ouindion or the Vindhya.

It is clear that the limits here indicated which would embrace a great portion of the present Panjāb with parts of the North-West Provinces and Central India, can have nothing to do with Kaśmir. It has been suggested that Ptolemy's statement refers to a period when the power of the dynasty ruling over Kaśmir actually extended over the wide territories above indicated. The assumption, put into a form more in keeping with historical probability, would be that Kaśmir was then subject to a great foreign dominion the rulers of which, for one reason or the other, were in Ptolemy's source designated from this part of their realm.

However this may be, it is curious to note that we meet with the name *Kaśpeira* also in the long list of cities located within the region belonging to the Kaspeireans. The geographical position assigned to it by Ptolemy's table (or map) would bring Kaśpeira close to the junction of the Hydaspes and Zaradros (Satlej), i.e., the neighbourhood of Multān. Yet it seems difficult to believe that the information originally underlying this entry referred to any other locality but Kaśmir.

2 See Ptolemy vii. i. 42 and pp. 21, 40 sq. in *Antiquité Géographique de l'Inde*, par M. D'Anville. *Premier Géographe du Roi*, etc., Paris, 1775.—The accuracy and sound judgment displayed in this work fully justify the great fame it has enjoyed.
3 Ptolemy, vii. i. 47.
5 See the old map reproduced in Dr. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Bombay, 1885.
6 This had been rightly seen already by D'Anville. He points out, p. 40, that the error in latitude implied by Ptolemy's position of Kaśpeira (if Srinagar
It would be useless to attempt to seek now for an explanation of the erroneous location. The researches of the most competent scholars have amply proved how little reliance can be placed on the apparent exactness of Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes in the Asiatic portion of his work. None of the other city names in the same list can be connected with Kaśmir. Nor is the identification of any one of them certain, except that of Modoupa ἤ τῶν Ὑσων, the sacred Mathurā. This alone suffices to show how far away from Kaśmir we are liable to be taken.

The value of Ptolemy's notice of Kaspeiria lies mainly in the fact that it presents us with an accurate enough transcription of that form of the country's name which on independent phonetic evidence we must assume as an intermediate stage between the Sanskrit Kaśmira and the modern Kaśmiri form Kaśir. The explanations given below (§ 36) will show that a well-established phonetic law presupposes a form *Kaśvīra for the earlier Prakrit stage of Kaśmira. Of this form we have in Kaspeira (pronounced Kaspira) as close a rendering as Greek writing permitted.

The Sanskrit form of the name, Kaśmira, has, as far as we can go back, been always the one in official use. By it the country has been, and is still to this day, generally known abroad (Hindi Kaśmir, Persian Kašmīr.) The preservation of the popular Prakrit *Kaśvīra by Ptolemy deserves hence attention with regard to the original source from which this particular item of information was obtained.

6. It is very probable that we have also to connect with Kaśmir a curious notice which Stephen of Byzance has preserved from the Bassarika, a lost poem of Dionysios of Samos. The passage, first apparently noticed by D'Anville, mentions the Kaspeiroi as a tribe famous among all Indians for their fast feet. We do not know the is really meant) is not greater than that which can plainly be proved in the case of his entry for Barbarei, the port at the mouth of the Indus.

I cannot refrain from quoting here in full the very just remarks of Sir Henry Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, p. cli, which ought ever to be remembered by those who have to deal with Ptolemy on Indian soil. "We see here how Ptolemy's Asiatic Geography was compiled. It is evident that he first drew his maps embodying all information that he had procured, however vague and rough it might be. From these maps he then deduced his tables of latitudes and longitudes and his systematic topography. The result is that everything assumes an appearance of exact definition; and indications on the map which meant no more than (somewhere hereabouts is said to be such a country), became translated into a precision fit for an Act of Parliament."

Thus the tribal name Aspasioi of Arrian (iv. 23) reproduces the Sanskrit Āśvaka; comp. McCrindle, Invasion of India, p. 333.

The text of the passage is reproduced by Troyer, ii. p. 307. Another short quotation from the same text mentions the Ariēni along with the Kaspeiros.
time of this Dionysios. Nor is there any indication as to the source from which he may have taken the reference. That the Kasmiris had abroad the reputation of being good pedestrians may be concluded from a remark of Alberuni. 1 It is clear that the natural conditions of an alpine valley enclosed by difficult mountain ranges are likely to develop the marching powers of its inhabitants. The Rajatarangini gives us in fact several instances of very respectable marching performances. It shows at the same time the scant use made of riding animals in the mountains. 3 There is thus more than the mere name to justify us in referring the notice of Dionysios of Samos to Kasmir.

We meet with the name of the Kaspeiroi also in the Dionysiaka of Nonnos. There they are mentioned among the Indian tribes rising in arms against Bacchos. 8 As Nonnos' list names in the same passage also the Ariénoi whose name we see coupled with that of Kaspeiroi in the fragment of the Bassarika, it is probable that Nonnos has taken his reference either from the latter work or from some common source.

7. We should, indeed, have a far earlier reference to Kasmir in classical literature, and one by no less an authority than the 'Father of history,' if the opinion of those scholars could be accepted who have thought to recognize the name of the Valley in the Kaspatyros of Herodotos. The facts are briefly the following. Herodotos mentions the city of Kaspatyros as the place at which the expedition under Scylax of Koryanda, sent by Darius to explore the course of the Indus, embarked. 4 He distinctly places this city in the Paktyyan land (Πακτυήν γη). This is described as being to the north of the other Indians and apparently bordering on the Baktrian territory. The place meant by Herodotos is evidently the same that Hekataios knew before him by the name of Kaspatyros and as a city of the Gandarians. 6

The notice of Hekataios (circa 549–486 B.C.) makes it clear that Kaspatyros or Kasparyros, whichever form may be more accurate, must have been situated in that territory where the Indus first becomes navigable, i.e., in the ancient Gandhāra, the present Peshawar District. That the designation Paktyikē used by Herodotus refers to the same

1 Indica, transl. Sachau, i. p. 206.
2 Compare Rajat. vii. 140, 1801; viii. 192, 379, 1538, 1796, 1887, 2673 sqq.
3 See Dionysiaka, xxvi. 165 sqq. I take this reference from Toyker, ii. p. 308.
4 See iv. 44, also iii. 102. The points bearing on the interpretation of the passage have been fully discussed by Sir E. H. BURNSBY, History of Ancient Geography, i. pp. 228, 256.
5 See Stephanos Byzant., s.v. ΓΑΝ∆ΑΡΙΚΗ; also Müller's Fragmenta historic. graec., i. p. 12.
territory and represents the earliest mention of the ethnic name Pakhtūn or the modern Indian Pathān, seems also probable. The exact site of Kaspatyros has not been identified. Considering the great changes which local nomenclature in Gandhāra has undergone, it perhaps never will be.

Wilson was the first who distinctly attempted to connect the name of Kaspatyros with Kaśmir. But the idea seems to have occurred earlier. For D'Anville thought it necessary to refer to it and to refute it. Wilson saw clearly enough that the city of Scylax must have been situated close to the Indus and hence far away from Kaśmir. If notwithstanding this important fact he yet proposed to identify its name with that of Kaśmir, on the assumption that the borders of the latter kingdom extended as far as the Indus, the mistake must be traced to a fanciful etymology of the latter name.

Wilson assumed that the name Kaśmir was derived from *Kaśyapa-pura, a name which he supposed to have been given to the country owing to its colonization by the Rṣi Kaśyapa. He supported this strange derivation by a reference to the uniform assertion of 'Oriental writers.' But it is difficult to believe that he could have meant any

1 This identification seems to have been first made simultaneously by Dorn and Lassen; compare V. de St. Martin, Étude sur la géographie grecque de l'Inde, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Sav. Étrang., 1re Série, V., p. 17 sqq. His note on Kaspatyros, ib. pp. 81-86, contains a judicious review of the whole question from the geographical point of view and a detailed account of earlier opinions. For a more recent résumé compare Darémesteter, Chants Populaires des Afghans, pp. clxxx sqq.

2 Proper navigation begins now at Jahāngīra, a place situated on the left bank of the Kābul River, some six miles above the confluence of the latter with the Indus at Attock. The lower part of the Kābul River's course lies in a well-defined single bed which, in view of the natural configuration of the banks, cannot have changed materially in historical times. Above Jahāngīra the current becomes too strong for safe navigation.

I doubt very much whether the Indus immediately above Attock can ever have been suitable for proper navigation. The river is cut up there into many, often very shallow, channels and obstructed by continually shifting sandbanks. On the eastern bank spreads the low plain of Chach, which must have always left a wide scope to the vagaries of the great river. Taking into account these circumstances I should not be surprised if Scylax's expedition had chosen some place near Jahāngīra for the start on their voyage. There are many ruined sites near the latter place, and near Alladhār closely on the Indus.

3 See Essay, p. 117; for a reproduction of the argument, also, Ariana Antiqua, p. 136 sq.

4 "This (the name of Cashimir) was derived, it is uniformly asserted by the Oriental writers, from the colonization of the country by Kaśyapa, the first settlement or city being named after him Kaśyapapur, converted in ordinary pronuncia-
better authorities than the Persian Tārikhs of Kaśmīr, of the 17th and 18th century, which he had occasion to consult in connection with his above-quoted Essay. They, indeed, indulge in whimsical etymologies like Kaśmir, i.e., Kaṣhap (Kaśyapa) + mar (matha), etc. But neither these etymologies nor the name *Kaśyapapura are in any way known to our genuine sources.

Wilson would scarcely have chosen to put forth such a derivation, had the whole of the Chronicle or the other Kaśmirian texts been at the time accessible to him. Extensive as this literature is, it does not furnish any evidence whatever for *Kaśyapapura or a similar name having ever been used as a designation of the country. This fact is all the more significant as allusions to the legendary origin of the country are otherwise so frequent. The philological impossibility of deriving Kaśmīra from *Kaśyapapura need scarcely be specially indicated at the present day.¹ A reference to the theory was, however, here necessary, as it has found its way into works of authorities like Ritter, Lassen and Humboldt, and has hence been reproduced even by recent writers.²

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Section II.—Chinese Records.

8. If classical literature has thus nothing to tell us of Kaśmīr but the bare name, it is very different with the Chinese records. Buddhist pilgrims from China on their way to the sacred sites of the Indian plains visited Kaśmīr and chose it as a resting place. Their itineraries as well as the records of the political relations established with Kaśmīr during a period of Chinese extension to the west, furnish us with a series of interesting data for the old geography of Kaśmīr.

It seems difficult to ascertain from the materials at present accessible in translations or notices of European scholars, which is to be considered the earliest Chinese reference to Kaśmīr. The difficulty is connected with the use of the geographical term Ki-pīn. This name

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¹ It is curious to note that Kaśyapapura was, according to an Indian authority quoted by Albērūni, Indica, transl. Sachau, i. p. 298, one of the old names of Mūltān.

² See Ritter, Erdkunde, ii. p. 1087; Lassen, Ind. Alt., ii. p. 685 (where for *Kaśyapapura > Kaśmīr a equally unfounded derivation from *Kaśyapamira is substituted); Humboldt, Asie Centrale, i. p. 102; for modern works, e.g., McCrindle, Ancient India, p. 108; Beal, Si-yu-ki, i. p. 148.
originally and properly designated the Upper Kabul Valley. It appears, however, at a period when Chinese knowledge of India was less developed, to have been used in a vague and general fashion for a variety of territories on the northern confines of India, among them also Kashmir. However this may be, our loss seems scarcely to be great, as these notices of the Chinese Annalists regarding Ki-pin do not seem to give characteristic local details.

The first clear reference to Kashmir which I can trace at present, is contained in a record dating from 541 A.D. It is taken from the account of an Indian envoy who reached China during the early part of the reign of the T'ang dynasty. The name of Kashmir is not mentioned. Yet it is evident that M. Pauthier who published the extract, was right in referring to Kashmir the description given of the northern portion of India as a country "situated at the foot of the snowy mountains and enveloped by them on all sides like a precious jewel. In the south there is a valley which leads up to it and serves as the gate of the kingdom." The points noticed here are exactly those with which we meet in all Chinese accounts of Kashmir.

9. Ninety years after the date of this notice Kashmir was visited by Hiuen Tsiang. He reached the Valley from Uraśā in the west and resided in it as an honoured guest for fully two years. The records of the great Chinese pilgrim contain by far the fullest and most accurate description of Kashmir that has come down to us from a foreign pen during the period with which we are here concerned.

Hiuen Tsiang must have entered Kashmir by the valley of the Vīśāṭā as he describes his route as leading to the south-east of Uraśā, the present Hazāra District. After 'crossing over mountains and treading along precipices' he arrived at the 'stone gate which is the western entrance of the kingdom.' We shall see below that this gate known also to Ou-k'ong and Albārūni, was the frontier watch-station or Dvāra in the gorge of Bārāmūla (Varāhamūla). He passed the first night on Kashmir soil at Ḥuṣkāpura, the modern Usūrū, opposite Bārāmūla. Thence he proceeded to the capital which he describes


2 These notices are enumerated by Messrs. Lévi and Chavannes, Journal asiat., 1895, vi. pp. 378 sq.


exactly in the position of the present Srinagar. There he was lodged in
the convent known as the Jayendravirāra which is named also in the
Rājataraṅgiṇi. A two years' stay, though chiefly passed in the study of
the Sūtras and Śastras, must have enabled Huen Tsiang to acquaint
himself thoroughly with the Valley.

His description of the kingdom Kāś-ši-mi-lo shows clearly that
the geographical application of the term Kāśmir must have been then,
extactly as now, restricted to the great basin of the Vitastā and the
side valleys drained by its tributaries above the Bārāmāla defile. He
notices that the country is enclosed on all sides by mountains which
are very high. "Although the mountains have passes through them,
these are narrow and contracted." These natural bulwarks protected
the country from neighbouring states 'which had never succeeded in
subduing it.' Though the climate is cold and the snow plentiful, the
soil is fertile and abounds with fruits and flowers. The inhabitants
seem to have changed as little as the soil since Huen Tsiang's days. It
is still easy to recognize in them the people whom he describes as "light
and frivolous, and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition. The people
are handsome in appearance, but they are given to cunning. They love
learning and are well-instructed."

"Since centuries learning had been held in great respect in this
kingdom." Huen Tsiang dwells with evident pleasure on the re-
collection of the learned conferences he had with the Kaśmir doctors
of the sacred law. Kaśmir had in earlier times played a great part in
the traditions of the Buddhist church. Huen Tsiang relates at length
the legends how the Arhat Madhyāntika had first spread the law of
Buddha in the land; how in the time of Aśoka the five hundred Arhats
had taken up their abode there; and how finally under the great
Kaniska, king of Gandhāra, Kaśmir had been the scene of the universal
Council which fixed and expounded the Sacred Canon. Yet he observes
that in his own time the kingdom as a whole was "not much given
to the faith, and that the temples of the heretics were their sole
thought."

It is probably owing to this not very flourishing condition of con-
temporary Buddhism that Huen Tsiang mentions only a comparatively
small number of Vihāras and Stūpas in the Valley. Among the Stūpas
there were four ascribed to Aśoka. Beneath another Kaniska was
believed to have deposited the canonical texts as fixed by his Council,
engraved on sheets of copper. None of these structures have yet been

1 Compare note iii. 355.
2 See Life, p. 71 sq.
3 See Si-yu-ki, i. p. 158.
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF KASMIR.  [Extra No. 2,

identified with any certainty. But in their description the pilgrim furnishes us incidentally with a valuable topographical indication.

Speaking of the convent which prided itself on the possession of a miraculous tooth of Buddha, he indicates its site as being about 10 li (circ. 2 miles) to the south-east of the new city and to the north of the old city.¹ This proves that the capital of Huien Tsiang’s time which corresponds to the present Šrinagar, was then a comparatively new foundation, exactly as the Chronicle’s account has it. At the same time the reference to the ‘old city’ enables us to fix with absolute certainty the earlier capital of Šrinagari at the present Pāndrāthān, the Purāṇa-dhīṭhāna of Kalhaṇa.²

The two full years which Huien Tsiang, according to his own statement spent in Kāsmir,³ represent a longer halt than any which the pious traveller allowed himself during his sixteen year’s wanderings through the whole of India and Central Asia.⁴ With all due respect for the spiritual fervour of the pilgrim and the excellence of his Kāsmirian preceptors, it is difficult to suppress the surmise that the material attractions of the Valley had something to do with his long stay. The cool air of Kāsmir, the northern aspect of its scenery and products, have at all times exercised their powerful charm over those visitors who themselves born in colder climes have come to the Valley from the heat and dust of the Indian plains. Just as these advantages attract in yearly increasing numbers European visitors from India Proper, so the modern Turki pilgrims from Kashgar, Yarkand and other parts of Central Asia, whether on the way to Mecca or on their return, never fail to make a long stay in Kāsmir.

We should undoubtedly find the example of the modern Hajís followed also by Buddhist pilgrims if there were still any from those northern regions to take their way through Kāsmir to the holy places of India. It would be an interesting task to examine to what extent the fame of Kāsmir as the ‘paradis terrestre des Indes,’ is the creation of the Valley’s northern visitors, both European and Asiatic. Here it may suffice to add that Huien Tsiang before he reached Kāsmir, must have had already his experience of the torrid heat and the other amenities of a Panjāb summer.⁵ We shall also see that the example of the other Chinese pilgrim whom we are able to follow on his visit to Kāsmir, points exactly to the same conclusion.

¹ Si-yu-ki, i. p. 158.
² See below §§ 88, 89.
³ See Life, p. 72.
⁴ Compare the table of dates for Huien Tsiang’s itinerary, Cunningham, Ancient Geography, pp. 563 sqq.
⁵ See Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p. 563 sq.

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1 Si-yu-ki, i. p. 158.
2 See below §§ 88, 89.
3 See Life, p. 72.
4 Compare the table of dates for Huien Tsiang's itinerary, Cunningham, Ancient Geography, pp. 563 sqq.
5 See Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p. 563 sq.
Hiuen Tsiang's narrative tells us that he left the Valley going in a south-westerly direction. He reached Pun-nu-tso, the Parvotta of the Chronicle and the modern Pruntg, after crossing mountains and passing precipices. As the Toṣṇ-maidān route is the direct and most frequented route to that territory, it is very probable that Hiuen Tsiang also followed it. Parvotta as well as Rājapuri (Ho-lo-she-pu-lo) to which the pilgrim subsequently proceeded, had at the time of his visit no independent ruler, but were subject to Kaśmir.

10. The next Chinese notice of Kaśmir, and one which is of considerable historical interest, is contained in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty. They inform us that the first embassy from Kaśmir arrived at the imperial court in or shortly after A.D. 713. In the year 720 Tchen-t'u-lo-pi-li, ruler of Kaśmir, the Candrāpiḍa of the Chronicle, was accorded by imperial decree the title of king.

His brother and successor Mou-to-pi in whom Kalhana's Muktāpiḍa or Lalitāditya has long ago been recognised, sent after the first Chinese expedition against Po-lin or Baltistān (between 736 and 747) an envoy called Ou-li-to to the Chinese court. He was to report the alleged victories of his master over the Tibetans but at the same time also to solicit the establishment of a camp of Chinese troops by the banks of the lake Mo-ho-to-mo-loung (the Mahāpadma Nāga or Volhr lake). The Kaśmir king offered to provide all necessary supplies for an auxiliary force of 200,000 men. But the 'Divine Khān' found it more convenient to content himself with issuing decrees for the sumptuous entertainment of the ambassador and for the registration of Muktāpiḍa with the title of king. Since that time the relations of Kaśmir with the celestial empire and the receipts of tribute from the former are said to have continued without interruption.

The description of Kaśmir which is coupled with this record of the T'ang Annals, appears to be in the main copied from Hiuen Tsiang's Si-yu-ki. But in addition it furnishes us with an exact statement as to the Kaśmir capital at that time. In my Notes on Ou-k'long's Account of

1 Si-yu-ki, i. p. 162 Life p. 72.

2 The notice was first made known by A. Rémusat's translation of the corresponding extract in Matuanlin's encyclopedia; see Nouveaux Mélanges asiatiques, Paris, 1829, i. pp. 196 sqq. An abstract of the same notice, but from the original text of the Annals, where the names are more correctly rendered, will be found in Mosser's Lévi and Chavannes' L'itinéraire d'Ou-k'long, Journal asiat., 1899, vi. pp. 354 sqq.

From Reinaud, Mémoire sur l'Inde, pp. 189 sqq. it would appear that the names of Kaśmir kings in this Chinese record and that of the Mahāpadma lake were first correctly identified by Klaproth, Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie, ii. pp. 275 sqq.

This work is at present not accessible to me.

J. i. 3.
Kaśmir\(^1\) I have shown that the *Po-lo-ou-lo-po-lo* of the Annals is a correct reproduction of *Pravarapura*, the old and official name of Śrīnagar. In the same way the name *Mi-na-si-to* given to the great river which flows to the west of the capital, represents a correct enough transcription of *Vilastā*. Both the names are recorded in the form which they bore in the official Sanskrit, and are, therefore, evidently taken from the information given by the Kaśmir envoys.

11. Not many years after Muktāpiḍā's embassy Kaśmir was visited by another Chinese pilgrim, Ou-k'ong. Though greatly inferior to Hiuen Tsiang in learning and power of observation, he has yet left us information regarding the country which is of interest and value. The itinerary of Ou-k'ong the discovery and recent publication of which we owe to Messrs. Lévi and Chavannes,\(^2\) contains the reminiscences of forty years' wanderings, taken down after the pilgrim's return to China and in a form regrettably brief. But whether it be due to Ou-k'ong's long stay in Kaśmir or to other causes, his account is fortunately far more detailed in the case of Kaśmir than in that of any other territory visited by him. His description of the Valley and the several sites mentioned by him have been fully discussed by me in the separate paper already quoted.\(^3\) I need hence indicate here only the main results of this analysis.

Ou-k'ong reached Kaśmir in the year 759 from Gandhāra, presumably by the same route as Hiuen Tsiang had followed. He took there the final vows of a Buddhist monk and spent there fully four years engaged, as his itinerary tells us, in pilgrimages to holy sites and in the study of Sanskrit.\(^4\) Though he is said to have studied from day-break till night-fall, his diligence does not seem to have brought him much literary culture. This is curiously shown by the popular Apabhraṃśa forms in which our pilgrim records the names of the monasteries he specially singles out for notice. Four of these I have been able to identify with Vihaṇas mentioned in the Chronicle,\(^5\) and two of them have left their names to villages which survive to the present day.

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3 See Notes on Ou-k’ong’s Account of Kaśmir, loc. cit.
4 See L’ Itinéraire d’Ou-k’ong, p. 356.
5 Thus the monastery of *Ngo-mi-t’o-p’o-wan* (*Amitabharana*) corresponds to the *Amrabharana* Vihaṇa of Rājat. iii. 9, which has given its name to the present *Anubharan* near Śrīnagar. The ‘monastère du mont Ki-tché, (*Kīcā < Skr. kṛṣṇā)* is no other than the *Kṛṣṇārama* Vihaṇa, at the modern village *Kītśhām*, the legend of which is related at length by Kalhaṇa, i. 131 sqq. The Vihaṇa of the great king *Moung-ti* (*Matti*) was one of Muktāpiḍa’s foundations, probably the *Muktur-
While Hiuen Tsiang mentions only about one hundred convents in the country, Ou-k'ong found more than three hundred and speaks in addition of the number of Stūpas and sacred images as considerable. We may conclude from this that there had been a rise in the popularity of Buddhism in the century intervening between the visits of the two pilgrims.

Ou-k'ong describes the kingdom of Kaśmir correctly enough as enclosed on all sides by mountains which form its natural ramparts. Only three roads have been opened through them, and these again are secured by gates. In the east a road leads to Tou-fan or Tibet; in the north there is a road which reaches into Poliu or Baltistan; the road which starts from 'the western gate' goes to K'ien-l'o-lo or Gandhāra.1

We have here a clear enough description of the great routes through the mountains which since ancient times have formed the main lines of communication between the Valley and the outer world. The road to Tou-fan corresponds undoubtedly to the present route over the Zoji-Lā to Ladākh and hence to Tibet. The road to Po-liu is represented by the present "Gilgit Road," leading into the Upper Kīsangā Valley and thence to Skardo or Astōr on the Indus. The third road can be no other than the route which leaves the Valley by the gorge of Bārāmūla and follows the Vītastā in its course to the west. We have seen already that Hiuen Tsiang followed it when he entered Kaśmir by 'the stone gate, the western entrance of the kingdom.' There can be doubt that in the gates (fermetures) closing these roads we have a reference to the ancient frontier watch-stations of which we find so frequent mention in our Kaśmirian records.

Besides these three roads Ou-k'ong knew yet a fourth. "This, however, is always closed and opens only when an imperial army honours it with a visit." It is probable that this curious notice must be referred to one of the roads leading over the Pir Pāntsāl range to the south. Owing possibly to political causes these routes may have been closed to ordinary traffic at the time of Ou-k'ong's visit.2

The political relations between China and the northern kingdoms of India seem to have ceased soon after the time of Ou-k'ong. This was probably due to the Chinese power under the later T'ang gradually losing ground in Central Asia before the Uigure and the Tibetans. The vihāra at Huṣkāpura: Uśkūr, iv. 188. In the 'monastère du général (tsiaptg-kiun),' it is easy to recognize the Vihāra of the Turk (Tūkhāra) Cūnkusa who was one of Muktāpipā's ministers. He is reported to have founded two monasteries called after his own name (iv. 211, 215).

1 See L' Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong, p. 356.
2 See Notes on Ou-k'ong, p. 24 sq.
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF KASMIK.

12. After the Greeks and the Chinese the early Muhammadan writers are our next foreign informants regarding the historical geography of India. If with one very remarkable exception they have nothing to tell us of Kashmir topography, the explanation is not far to seek. The first rush of Arab invasion in the Indus Valley during the eighth century had carried the Muhammadan armies at times close enough to the confines of Kashmir. No permanent conquest, however, had been effected even in the plains of the Northern Punjab. Protected in the West by the unbroken resistance of the Sâhis of Kabul and in the South by a belt of war-like Hindu hill-states, Kashmir had never been seriously threatened. Even when Islam at last after a long struggle victoriously over-spread the whole of Northern India, Kashmir behind its mountain ramparts remained safe for centuries longer.

Conquest and trade were the factors which brought so large a part of the ancient world within the ken of the early Muhammadan travelers and geographers. Both failed them equally in the case of Kashmir. For a classical witness shows us that a system of seclusion,—ever easy to maintain in a country so well guarded by nature as Kashmir,—hermetically sealed at that time the Valley to all foreigners without exception.

Even the well-informed Al-Mas'ûdî who had personally visited the Indus Valley, is unable to tell us more about Kashmir than that it is a kingdom with many towns and villages enclosed by very high and inaccessible mountains, through which leads a single passage closed by a gate. The notices we find in the works of Al-Qazwîni and Al-Idrisî are practically restricted to the same brief statement. The references in other geographical works are even more succinct and vague.

1 Compare Yule, Cathay, p. ixxxii., and Julien, Journal asiat., 1847, p. 43.
4 The silence of the early Muhammadan geographers as regards Kashmir was duly noticed by Bitter, Asia, ii. p. 1115.—For Al-Qazwîni, see Gildemeister, De rebus Indicis, p. 210; for Al-Idrisî, Elliot, History of India, i. pp. 90 sq.

For the notices of other Arab geographers, see Bibliotheca geographorum
13. Notwithstanding the circumstances above indicated, Arabic literature furnishes us with a very accurate and valuable account of old Kashmir. We owe it to the research and critical penetration of Albërûni, of whom indeed it might be said as of an early British explorer of Afghanistan, that he could look through the mountains. The great Muhammadan scholar had evidently utilized every opportunity during his long stay at Qazna and in the Panjab, (A.D. 1017–30) for collecting information on Kashmir.

His interest in the distant alpine valley is easily understood. He, himself, tells us in the first chapter of his great work on India, how Hindu sciences when the victories of Mahmud had made the Hindus 'like atoms of dust scattered in all directions,' had retired far away from the conquered parts of the country. They 'fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares and other places.'

In another passage he speaks again of Benares and Kashmir as the high schools of Hindu sciences. He repeatedly refers to Kashmirian authors, and from the notices shown below it is evident that among his informants, if not among his actual teachers, there were Kashmirian scholars.

The curious fact that Albërûni himself composed some Sanskrit treatises for circulation among 'the people of Kashmir,' proves beyond all doubt the existence and accuracy of information which we owe to him.


1 Mountstuart Elphinstone.
2 Albërûni's India, transl. Sachau, i. p. 22.
3 India, i. p. 178.

Albërûni, ii. 181, refers particularly to Kashmirian informants with whom he conversed regarding the miracle of the 'Kðaîghahar,' i.e., the Kapaleśvara Tirtha (see below § 112). The way in which the pilgrimage to this spot was described to Albërûni, makes it quite certain that his informants were personally familiar with the Tirtha. The same must be said of his note on the pilgrimage to the temple of Sarasâ (i. 117; see below § 127). The details regarding a local Kashmir festival (ii. p. 178), the anecdote about the propagation of the Sttyahätritli in Kashmir (i. 136), are such as could not well have reached Albërûni otherwise but by verbal communication.

Writing himself in A.D. 1030 he refers to a statement contained in the almanac for the Saka year 951 (A.D. 1029–30) 'which had come from Kashmir' (i. p. 391). He could scarcely have secured such an almanac except through Kashmirian Fakhûts who even at the present day, wherever they may be, make it a point to provide themselves from home with their local Nakpâtrapatârikâ.

For references to Kashmirian authors or texts specially connected with Kashmir, see i. pp. 126, 157, 296, 334, i. p. 54 (Vishñudharma), etc. Compare also the very detailed account of the calendar reckoning current in Kashmir and the conterminous territories, ii. p. 8.

6 See India, Prof. Sachau's preface, p. xxiv., and the introduction to his edition of the text, p. xx.
doubt the existence of special relations between the great Meccan scholar and that jealously guarded country. These relations seem strange considering what Alberuni himself tells us so graphically about the rigid isolation of Kasmir. We can scarcely explain them otherwise than by personal intercourse with Kasmirian Pandits.

In view of these indications we can hardly go wrong in attributing a great portion of Alberuni's detailed knowledge of Kasmir topography to these learned informants. But we also know that the chances of war had given him an opportunity of supplementing this knowledge in part by personal observation. Alberuni refers in two places to his personal acquaintance with the fortress Lauhur (or Lahur) on the confines of Kasmir. In an extract from my commentary on the Rajaatarangini already published,1 I have proved that Alberuni's Lauhur is identical with the castle of Lohara, so frequently mentioned in the Chronicle. Its position is marked by the present Lohrin on the southern slope of the Pir Paukiil range.

'Loharakotta' is undoubtedly the same as the Fort of Loh-kot which according to the uniform report of the Muhammadan historians brought Mahmud's attempt at an invasion of Kasmir to a standstill. It is hence certain that Alberuni had accompanied this unsuccessful expedition. It probably took place in A.D. 1021. Though it failed to reach Kasmir, it must have given Alberuni ample opportunity to collect local information and to acquaint himself with the topography of those mountain regions which formed Kasmir's strongest bulwark to the south. The result is yet clearly traceable in the accuracy with which he describes the relative position of the most prominent points of this territory.

Is it too much to suppose that Alberuni had at one time or the other Kasmirian Pandits in his employ? We know that in preparing the vast materials digested in his book he worked largely with the help of indigenous scholars. Judging from his own description of the state of Hindu sciences in the conquered territories and the bitter enmity prevailing there against the dominant Meccanas, it is doubtful whether he could have secured them such assistance as he required.

Alberuni himself, when describing the difficulties in the way of his Indian studies, tells us (i. p. 24) : "I do not spare either trouble or money in collecting Sanskrit books from places where I supposed they were likely to be found, and in procuring for myself, even from very remote places, Hindu scholars who understand them and are able to teach me."

Kasmir has always been distinguished by an over-production of learning. Its Pandits have been as ready in old days as at present to leave their homes for distant places wherever their learning secured for them a livelihood (compare Bühler, Introd. to the Vikramādityadevavacarita, p. xvii; also Indische Palaeographie, p. 58).

1 See my note on the 'Castle of Lohara,' Indian Antiquary, 1897, pp. 225 sqq., or Note E, on Rājat. iv. 177, §§ 12, 13.
14. Albûrûni's main account of Kašmir is contained in Chapter xviii. which gives 'various notes on the countries of the Hindus, their rivers and their ocean.' Compared with the description of the rest of India, it is disproportionately detailed. Albûrûni first sketches in broad but correct outlines the political division of the mountain region which lies between the great Central Asian watershed and the Panjâb plain. He then refers to the pedestrian habits of the Kašmirians and notes the use by the nobles of palankins carried on the shoulders of men, a custom fully illustrated by the Chronicle and accounted for by the nature of the communications in the mountains.

What follows deserves full quotation. "They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people."

We have here a full and clear statement of that system of guarding all frontier-passes which we have found alluded to already in the Chinese records. It explains the great part which is played in the Kašmir Chronicles by the frontier watch-stations, the Duâras and Draâgas. It is of all the more interest as the last traces of the system, in the form of râhdâri, have disappeared in Kašmir only within quite recent memory.

Albûrûni then proceeds to describe the 'best known entrance to Kašmir.' Though the starting point of his itinerary cannot be identified with absolute certainty, it is clear that he means the route which ascends the Jehlâm Valley. From "the town Babrahân, half way between the rivers Sindh (Indus) and Jailam, 8 farsakh are counted to the bridge over the river where the water of the Kusnâri is joined by that of the Mahâvi, both of which come from the mountains of Shamîlân and fall into the Jailam." Though there seems to be here some slight confusion, I have little doubt that the point meant by 'the bridge over the river' corresponds to the present Mużaffarâbâd, at the confluence

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1 See India, i. pp 206 sqq.

2 Compare e.g. Râjat iv. 407; v. 33, 219; vii. 478; viii. 2298, 2636, 2674, 3165, etc.

The word katt which Albûrûni gives as the indigenous term of the palankin, is perhaps a corrupted Apabrumās form of kargiratha, often named in the Râjat.

3 Compare my Notes on the Ancient Topography of the Pir Panjâl Route, J. A. S. B., 1895, pp. 382 sqq; also below § 40.
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF KASHMIR. [Extra No. 2,

of the Jehlam and Kışangangā. The easiest route to Kāśmir from
the west leads through the open central portion of Hazāra (Urṣā) to
Mansahra; hence across the Kunhār and Kışangangā rivers to Muṣaf-
farābād, and then up by the right side of the Jehlam Valley to Bārāmūla.1 In Kusnāri it is easy to recognize with Prof. Sachau the
present Kunhār River which falls into the Jehlam a few miles below its
great bend at Muṣaffarābād.2 The Mahwi is evidently meant to designate
the Kışangangā.3 If thus interpreted the only error in Alberūni’s de-
scription is that it makes the Kunhār join the Kışangangā whereas
in reality it falls into the Jehlam after the latter’s junction with the
Kışangangā.

I have shown in my note on Rājat. v. 215 that the route here indi-
cated, which was a favorite one until the modern "Jehlam Valley
Tonga Road" was constructed, is distinctly referred to already in
Kalhana’s account of Saṃkaraśvarma’s march to and from Urṣā. The
distance of 8 farsakh corresponds according to Alberūni’s reckoning to
about 39 English miles.4 Referring to the map and the modern route
measurements6 this distance carries us to a point between Mansahra
and the next stage Abbottabad, i.e., exactly into the neighbourhood
where according to the evidence given in the above-quoted note the old
capital of Urṣā must be located. ‘Babraähān’ which cannot be identi-
fied at present, is perhaps intended to represent the name of this old
town which could fairly be described as situated midway between the
Indus and Jehlam.

From Muṣaffarābād onwards,—where there is still a bridge over the
Kışangangā just as at the time (1783) when Forster crossed here on his
way from Kāśmir to Attock,5 and as, if our explanation is right, in the
time of Alberūni,—we can follow the route quite plainly. Alberūni
counts five days of march " to the beginning of the ravine whence the

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1 This route is described, e.g., by Drew, Jummo, p. 528, ‘as the easiest route
from the Panjāb to Kāśmir.’

2 Kunhār represents the regular phonetic derivative of a Skr. *Kuṃārī, medial
¢ becoming always h under a phonetic law common to Kāṃśiri and the related
dialects; for the change ka > nh compare Grierson, Phonology of Indo-Aryan

3 I am unable to account for the name Mahwi. Could it be the corruption of
an Apabhraṁśa derivative of Mahumati? This name, though properly applied
to an affluent of the Kışangangā, is used in a Māhātmya also for the latter river
itself; see Note B, Rājat. i. 87, § 16.

4 Compare Prof. Sachau’s note, India, ii. p. 316. Alberūni values his farsakh
at 4 Arabian miles or approximately 4 x 2186 yards. Hence 1 farsakh = 4+24 English
miles.

5 See Drew, loc. cit.

6 See G. Forster, Journey from Bengal to England, 1808, ii. p. 46.
river Jailam comes,' that is, of the gorge through which the river flows immediately below Bārāmūla. This estimate agrees closely with the actual road distance between Muṣaffarābād and Bārāmūla which is given by Drew as 84 miles. At the other or Kaśmir end of the ravine Albūrūni places quite correctly 'the watch-station Dvār' (Skr. Dvāra) the position of which, as we shall see below, is marked to this day by the site of the old gate known as Drang.

"Thence leaving the ravine you enter the plain, and reach in two more days Addishtān, the capital of Kaśmir, passing on the road the village Uskāra." All this is perfectly accurate. Adhiśṭāna the capital is, of course, meant for Srinagarā and Uskāra for Uskūr, opposite Bārāmūla, the ancient Huṣkapura already mentioned by Huen Tsiang. Albūrūni's mention of Uskūr which is on the left river bank, shows that then as now the ordinary road from the 'Gate of Varāhāmūla' to Srinagarā passed on the left or southern side of the Valley. Two marches are still counted for this part of the journey.

The capital is correctly described as "being built along both banks of the river Jailam which are connected with each other by bridges and ferry boats." It is said to cover 'a space of four farsakh.' This if interpreted to mean 'a space of four Farsakh in circumference,' would not be too far from the truth, assuming that all suburban areas around the city are included in the estimate. The course of the river above and below the capital is traced rightly enough as far as the Valley is concerned. "When the Jailam has left the mountains and has flowed two days' journey, it passes through Addishtān. Four Farsakh farther on it enters a swamp of one square Farsakh." Here, of course, the Volūr lake (Mahāpadma) is meant. "The people have their plantations on the borders of this swamp, and on such parts of it as they manage to

1 See loc. cit. According to Drew's table six marches are counted, but one of them is very short. On the modern route following the opposite side of the river five marches are now reckoned from Domīl, opposite to Muṣaffarābād, to Bārāmūla.

2 Adhiśṭāna, used again ii. p. 181, is a term which indicates that Albūrūni's informant was a Sanskrit-speaking person. The common designation of the capital was Srinagarā or simply Naga; see § 91 below.

3 The text as rendered by Prof. Sachau, speaks of "Uśkāra which lies on both sides of the Valley, in the same manner as Barāmūla." There is either some corruption in the text here or Albūrūni's informant had not made himself sufficiently clear. What he must have meant, is that Uskāra lay on the opposite side of the river in the same manner as Barāmūla, that is at the entrance of the ravine. Varāhmūla as the text spells the name, reproduces an earlier form of the Kaśmirī Varahmul, from Skr. Varāhamūla.
reclaim. Leaving this swamp, the Jailam passes the town of Ūshkārā, and then enters the above-mentioned ravine.”

The only mistake and this one easily explained is contained in the account of the river’s origin. It is described as rising “in the mountains Haramakōṭ where also the Ganges rises; cold, impenetrable regions where the snow never melts nor disappears.” It is easy to recognize here the reference to Mount Haramukūta and the sacred Gaṅgā-lake at the foot of its glacier in which Kaśmirian tradition places the source of the Sindhu river.¹ The latter is the greatest tributary of the Vīstā within Kaśmir and is traditionally identified with the Gaṅgā, as on the other hand the Vīstā with the Yamunā.² The special sanctity of the Sindu (‘Uttaragaṅgā’) and the popularity of its supposed source as a pilgrimage place sufficiently account for the substitution in Albērūnī’s notice.

Entering the open plain of the Kaśmir Valley by the Bārāmūla gorge “you have for a march of two more days, on your left the mountains of Bolor and Shamilān, Turkish tribes who are called Bhāttavaryān. Their king has the title of Bhāttu-Śhāh.” It is clear that Albērūnī’s informant here means the mountain ranges to the north and north-west of the Valley which form its borders towards the Dard country and Baltistān. The latter has been known by the name of Bolor for many centuries.³ I am unable to trace in Kaśmirian or other sources the names of the ‘Shamilān’ and ‘Bhatta.’⁴ But as a subsequent remark mentions ‘Gilgit, Aśvira, and Shītās,’ that is the modern Gilgit, Hasūr (Astōr) and Čilās as their chief places, there can be no doubt that the inhabitants of the Dard territory to the north-west of Kaśmir are meant together with the Baltis.

“Marching on the right side [of the river], you pass through villages, one close to the other, south of the capital and thence you reach the mountain Kulārjūk, which is like a cupola, similar to the

¹ See below, § 57, and Rājat. note i. 57.
² See Rājat. note i. 57. In Haracar. iv. 54 the Vīstā itself is designated as the ‘Gaṅgā of the north’ (Uttaragaṅgā). This renders the location of its source in the lake of Haramukūta still more intelligible from a traditional point of view.
⁴ Albērūnī’s Bhatta may possibly represent the term Bhūfta or Bhaufta (the modern Kā. Būfa) which is applied in the Sanskrit Chronicles to the population of Tibetan descent generally, from Ladākh to Baltistān. (See Rājat. note i. 312). Albērūnī calls their language Turkish, but it must be remembered that he has spoken prevously (i. p. 206) of ‘the Turks of Tibet’ as holding the country to the east of Kaśmir. There the Tibetans in Ladākh and adjacent districts are clearly intended.
mountain Dunbwand (Damawand). The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of Tāskēshar and Laihāwar (Lahore)."

I have already elsewhere shown that the mountain here described is the Taṭakūṭī peak (33° 45' lat. 74° 33' long.).\(^1\) It rises to a height of 15,500 feet in the central part of the Pir Panṣāl range and is the loftiest as well as the most conspicuous point of the mountain chain to the south of Kaśmir. It has the shape described by Albūrūnī, is surrounded by extensive snow-fields and can be seen through the greatest part of the year from the Panjāb districts of Siālkīt and Gujrānwāla corresponding to the old Tāskēshar (Ṭakkadesa). Albūrūnī puts the distance between this peak and the Kaśmir plain at two farsakh. This estimate is somewhat too low, inasmuch as the direct distance on the map between the peak and the nearest point of the open Valley is about 15 miles.

He is, however, quite exact in placing the fortress Lauhūr to the west of it as we have already seen that this stronghold is identical with the Loharakot of the Chronicle, the present Lohrin. The entrance to the Lohrin Valley lies almost due west of Taṭakūṭī. To the south of the peak he places 'the fortress Rājagiri' which is also mentioned by Kalhaṇa, vii. 1270, and must be looked for somewhere in the Upper Śrīran Valley. Albūrūnī speaks of these two hill fortresses as "the strongest places" he had ever seen.

He had personally had an opportunity of judging of their strength when accompanying Maḥmūd’s expedition against Kaśmir. On that occasion he had made the observation of the latitude of Lauhūr (Lohara) to which he refers in another chapter of his work.\(^2\) The result of this observation, 33° 40' lat. as shown in the author’s Canon Masudicus, very closely approaches the real one, which is 33° 48' according to the Survey map. It is very probable that he obtained at the same occasion the very accurate information regarding the distance from Lauhūr to the Kaśmir capital. He gives it as 56 miles, "half the way being rugged country, the other half plain." Albūrūnī’s measurement according to the previously stated valuation represents about 69 English miles. This is but little in excess of the actual road distance via the Taṣmaidan pass as estimated by me on the tour referred to in the above-quoted paper. The description of the road, too, corresponds closely to the actual character of the route.

Albūrūnī closes his account of Kaśmir geography with a reference to the town of Rājawari which is the Rājapuri of the Chronicles, the

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1 See my paper 'The Castle of Lohara,' Ind. Ant., 1897, § 12.
2 See India, i. p. 317, with Prof. Sachau’s note ii. p. 341. In the same passage he quotes the latitude of Srinagar as 34° 9' from the Karayaśāra.
modern Rajauri. In Hindu times it was the capital of a small hill-state situated immediately to the south of the Pir Pantaal range and often tributary to Kashmir. Alberuni distinctly names it as the farthest place to which Muhammadan merchants of his time traded and beyond which they never passed. We have already seen what the connection was which enabled him to collect reliable and detailed information of the region beyond that barrier. As another proof of the accurate knowledge thus acquired, we may finally mention his description of the Kashmir climate which is far more exact than any account available to us previous to the second quarter of this century.

SECTION IV.—INDIAN NOTICES.

15. Nothing, perhaps, can illustrate better the lamentable lack of exact geographical information in general Sanskrit literature than to turn from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims and Alberuni to what Indian authors, not Kashmirians themselves, can tell us of the Valley.

Were we to judge merely from the extreme scantiness of the data to be gleaned from their extant works, we might easily be led to assume that Kashmir was to them a country foreign and remote in every way. However, we observe the same vagueness and insufficiency of local references in the case of territories immediately adjoining the old centres of literary activity. It is hence evident that the conspicuous absence of useful information on Kashmir may equally well be attributed to the general character of that literature.

The name Kashmir, with its derivative Kâsmîrâ, as the designation of the country and its inhabitants, respectively, is found already in the Gapas to Pânini’s grammar and in Patañjali’s comments thereon. The Mahabharata too refers in several passages to the Kâsmîras and their rulers, but in a fashion so general and vague that nothing more but the situation of the country in the hill region to the north can be concluded therefrom.

The Purânas enumerate the Kâsmîras accordingly in their lists of northern nations. But none of the tribal names, partly semi-mythical,

1 See India, i. p. 211, and below, § 77.
2 See the references in the Thesaurus of BÖHLINGK-ROTH, s. v. Kâsmîra, and in supplement V., p. 1273. The references to other texts in this paragraph have also been taken from that work except where otherwise specified.
3 Compare in particular Mahâbh. II. xxvii. 17.
which are mentioned along with them in the Purāṇas examined by me, indicate any more distinct location of the country.¹

Varāhamihira (circa 500 A.D.) in his Brhatsamhitā includes the Kāśmiras curiously enough in the north-eastern division. Among the regions and peoples named under the same heading there are a number of purely legendary character like ‘the kingdom of the dead’ (naśtarāḍyā), the ‘gold region,’ ‘the one-footed people,’ etc. But besides these names and others of a different type which cannot be clearly identified, we recognize the names of tribes which undoubtedly must be located in the immediate neighbourhood of Kāśmir. Thus we have the Abhisāras, Daradas, Dārvas, Khaṇas, Kīras, and somewhat more distant the country of Kula (Kulu) and the Kauśindas or Kaulindras (Ptolemy’s Kulaṇḍrīṇ),²

Perhaps the most specific piece of information regarding Kāśmir that Sanskrit literature outside the Valley can convey to us, is contained in the term Kāṣṭipā or Kāṣṭipāja which designates the saffron and according to the lexicographers also the root of the kuṣṭha or costus speciosus. Both the saffron and the Kuṣṭha have since early times been famous products of Kāśmir.³

SECTION V.—THE KĀŚMĪR CHRONICLES.

16. The want of detailed and exact geographical information just noticed in old Indian literature generally stands in striking contrast to the abundance of data supplied for our knowledge of old Kāśmir by the indigenous sources. The explanation is surely not to be found in the mere fact that Kāśmirian authors naturally knew more of their own country than others for whom that alpine territory was a distant, more or less inaccessible region. For were it so, we might reasonably expect to find ourselves equally well informed about the early topography of other

¹ Compare Vāyu-pur. xliv. 130; xli. 45; Padmapur. I. vi. 48, 62; Bhāgavatapur. XII. i. 39; Vāyu-pur. IV. xxiv. 18.
² See Brhatsamhitā, xiv. 29 sqq., and Ind. Ant., 1898, pp. 172, 181; also ALBERUNI, India, i. p. 303.
³ Regarding the saffron cultivation of Kāśmir, compare LAWRENCE, Valley, p. 343, and below, § 78.

The kuṣṭha, now known in Kāśmir by the name of kuṭh, is the aromatic root of the Sansare Lappa which grows in abundance on the mountains of Kāśmir; see LAWRENCE, p. 77. The kuṭh is still largely exported to China and might be hence one of the medicinal plants which Huen Tsiang particularly notices among Kāśmir products; see SI-yu-ki, i. p. 148.
parts of India which have furnished their contingent to the phalanx of Sanskrit authors. Yet unfortunately this is by no means the case.

The advantageous position we enjoy in Kaśmir is due to a combination of causes of which the most important ones may at once be here indicated. In the first place we owe it to the preservation of connected historical records from a comparatively early date which acquaint us with a large number of particular localities and permit us to trace their connection with the country's history.

Another important advantage results from the fact that Kaśmir, thanks chiefly to its geographical position and the isolation resulting from it, has escaped those great ethnic and political changes which have from time to time swept over the largest portion of India. Local tradition has thus remained undisturbed and still clings to all prominent sites with that tenacity which is characteristic of alpine tracts all over the world. The information preserved by this local tradition in Kaśmir has often proved for our written records a most welcome supplement and commentary.

Finally it must be remembered that in a small mountain country like Kaśmir, where the natural topographical features are so strongly marked and so permanent, the changes possible in historical times as regards routes of communication, sites for important settlements, cultivated area, etc., are necessarily restricted. The clear and detailed evidence which the facts of the country's actual topography thus furnish, enables us to elucidate and to utilize our earlier data, even where they are scanty, with far greater certainty and accuracy than would be possible on another ground. The observations here briefly indicated will be in part illustrated by the review of our Kaśmirian sources.

17. Epigraphical records on stone or copper such as elsewhere in India form the safest basis for the study of local topography, have not yet come to light in Kaśmir. The few fragmentary inscriptions hitherto found are all of a late date and do not furnish any topographical information. In their absence Kalhana's Rājatarangini is not only the ampest but also the most authentic of our sources for the historical geography of Kaśmir. The questions connected with the historical value of the work, its scope and sources, have been fully discussed in the introduction to my translation. Here we have only to consider its character as our chief source of information on the old topography of Kaśmir.

Kalhana's work, composed in the years 1149-49 A.D., is our oldest record of the history of the various dynasties which ruled Kaśmir from the earliest period to the time of the author. The earlier Chronicles
which Kalhana has used and quoted, have all been lost. We are hence unable to judge what he took from each, and how he worked up their contents. Largely legendary in the first three Books, his narrative reaches firm historical ground with the Karkota dynasty in the Fourth Book. From Avantivarman’s reign (A.D. 855-883) onwards which opens the Fifth Taranja, the Chronicle may be considered an accurate and reliable historical record. As the author approaches his own time, his narrative grows more and more detailed.

In illustration of the latter fact it may be mentioned that of the whole work comprising nearly eight thousand Slokas, more than one-half is devoted to the relation of the reigns which fill the century and a half immediately preceding the date of composition. We have certainly no reason to regret the fulness with which Books vii. and viii. relate the events of the author’s own time and of the period that lay near it. From a historical point of view, Kalhana’s detailed account of contemporary history and the near past must always retain its value. We can appreciate its advantages also with special regard to the elucidation of the old topography of the country. This will become at once clear by a brief analysis of the topographical information contained in the Chronicle.

It is doubtful whether Kalhana writing for readers of his own country and time, would have deemed it necessary to give us a connected and matter-of-fact description of the land, even if the literature which he knew and which was his guide, had furnished him with a model or suggestion for such a description. The nearest approach to it is contained in a brief passage of his introduction, i. 25-38. This acquaints us in a poetical form with the legends concerning the creation of Kashmir and its sacred river, the Vitas, and enumerates besides the most famous of the many Tirthas of which Kashmir has ever boasted in abundance. The few panegyric remarks which are added in praise of the land’s spiritual and material comforts, i. 39-43, do credit to the author’s love of his native soil. But they can scarcely be held to raise the above to a real description of the country.

18. Notwithstanding the absence of such a description Kalhana’s Chronicle yet proves by far our richest source of information for the historical geography of Kashmir. This is due to the mass of incidental notices of topographical interest which are spread through the whole length of the narrative. They group themselves conveniently under three main heads.

Considering the great attention which the worship of holy places has at all times claimed in Kashmir, we may well speak first of the
notices which appertain to the Topographia sacra of the Valley. Kāśmir has from early times to the present day been a land abundantly endowed with holy sites and objects of pilgrimages. Kalhāna duly emphasizes this fact when he speaks, in the above-quoted introductory passage, of Kāśmir as a country 'where there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tirtha.'

Time and even the conversion to Islam of the great majority of the population has changed but little in this respect. For besides the great Tirthas which still retain a fair share of their former renown and popularity, there is scarcely a village which has not its sacred spring or grove for the Hindu and its Zia'at for the Muhammadan. Established as the latter shrines almost invariably are, by the side of the Hindu places of worship and often with the very stones taken from them, they plainly attest the abiding nature of local worship in Kāśmir.

This cannot be the place to examine in detail the origin and character of these Tirthas and their importance for the religious history of the country. It will be enough to note that the most frequent objects of such ancient local worship are the springs or Nāgas, the sacred streams and rivers, and finally the so-called svayāshbhū or 'self-created' images of gods which are recognized by the eye of the pious in various natural formations. These several classes of Tirthas can be traced throughout India wherever Hindu religious notions prevail, and particularly in the sub-Himalayan regions (Nepāl, Kumaon, Kāṅgra, Uddyāna or Swāt). Still there can be no doubt that Kāśmir has from old times claimed an exceptionally large share in such manifestations of divine favour.

Nature has indeed endowed the Valley and the neighbouring mountains with an abundance of fine springs. As each of these has its tutelary deity in the form of a Nāga, we can easily realize why popular tradition looks upon Kāśmir as the favourite residence of these deities. Hīuen Tsiang already had ascribed the superiority of Kāśmir over other countries to the protection it received from 'a Nāga.' Kalhāna, too, in his introduction gives due prominence to the distinction which the land

1 i. 38.
2 Compare my note i. 30 on the Nāgas and their worship.
3 The Nilmatoparāśa, 900–972, gives a long list of Kāśmir Nāgas and puts their number at thousands, nay Arbudas (see 971).
4 Si-yu-ki, i. p. 148. Hīuen Tsiang, like other Chinese pilgrims, calls the Nāgas by the term of 'dragon;' no doubt because the popular conception represents them under the form of snakes living in the water of the springs or lakes they protect.
enjoys as the dwelling-place of Nīla, king of Nāgas, and of many other of his tribe.¹

Kalhana's frequent references to sacred springs and other Tirthas are of topographical interest, because they enable us to trace with certainty the earlier history of most of the popular pilgrimage places still visited to the present day. The list already mentioned acquaints us with the miraculous springs of Pūpasūdana and Tri-Saṅkhyā, Saravati's lake on the Bheṣa hill, the 'Self-created Fire' (Svayamabhū), and the holy sites of Nandikṣetra, Sāradā, Uckradhara and Vījyēṣṭa. It shows which were the Tirthas most famous in Kalhana's time. The legends connected with the early semi-mythical kings give the chronicler frequent occasion in the first three Books to speak in detail of particular sacred sites. Almost each one of the stories furnishes evidence for the safe location of the latter.² But also in the subsequent and purely historical portions of the work we read often of pilgrimages to such sacred places or of events which occurred at them.

Kalhana shows more than once so accurate a knowledge of the topography of particular Tirthas that his personal visits to them may be assumed with great probability. This presumption is particularly strong in the case of Nandikṣetra which his father Cāṇḍapa is said to have often visited as a pilgrim and to have richly endowed, and of the neighbouring shrine of Bhūteśvara.³ Also the distant Tirtha of Sāradā in the Kiṣanganga Valley seems to have been known personally to the Chronicler.⁴ Considering the popularity which pilgrimages to sacred sites have always enjoyed among Kāśmirians, the conclusion seems justified that Kalhana owed perhaps no small part of his practical acquaintance with his country's topography, to the tours he had made as a pilgrim.

19. A second fruitful source of valuable topographical notices is contained in those very numerous references which Kalhana makes to the foundation of towns, villages, estates, shrines, and buildings by particular kings. If we leave aside the curious list, i. 86–100, taken by

¹ Rājat. i. 28–31. The Nāgas are supposed to have come to Kāśmir when Kāśyapa, their father, had drained 'the lake of Satī;' and to have found there a refuge from Gaurḍa; comp. Nīlamata, 59 sqq.

² Compare the legends of the Sodara spring, i. 123 sqq.; of the Kṛtyārāma Vihāra, i. 131 sqq.; of the Jyeṣṭhārūḍa at Nandikṣetra and Ānagāri, i. 118, 124; the story of the Suāruvas Nāga, i. 208 sqq.; the description of the pilgrimage to the Taksaka Nāga, i. 220 sqq.; the story of the Itiṣṭhāna temple, ii. 134; of Rājasvarāśvita, iii. 439 sqq., etc.

³ See vii. 954; viii. 2365 and note v. 55 sqq. Compare also below, § 67.

⁴ See Note L, viii. 2492, § 4.

J. i. 5
Kalhaṇa from Padmamihira in which certain local names are by fanciful etymologies connected with seven of the 'lost kings,'¹ it may be safely assumed that these attributions are based either on historical fact or at least on genuine local tradition. Kalhaṇa specially informs us in his introduction² that among the documents he had consulted for his work, there were the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants [of land] by former kings. Such records no doubt supplied a great portion of the numerous notices above referred to. Often such notices may have been taken from less authentic sources. But we may always claim for them the merit of acquainting us with the names of the respective localities and buildings, as used in the official language of Kalhaṇa's time, and with the traditions then current regarding their origin and date.

The system of nomenclature which was regularly followed in Kāśmir in naming new foundations, must have helped to preserve a genuine tradition regarding the founder. In the vast majority of cases the names of new towns and villages are formed by the addition of -pura to the name of the founder, either in its full or abbreviated form.³ Similarly the names of temples, monasteries, Maṭhas and other religious structures show the name of their builder followed by terms indicating the deity or the religious objects to which the building was dedicated.⁴ Many of

¹ See regarding this unhistorical list note i. 86. The local names, like Khonamucya, Godhrā, Samāhīghāṣ, etc., are all genuine enough. What Padmamihira did was to evolve fictitious names of kings out of these by means of popular etymology.

² i. 15.

³ Thus we have, e.g., the well-known localities of Huṣṭkapura, Kanipkapura, Juṣṭkapura (which retain the memory of their Indo-Scythian founders); Pravara-pura (for Pravaranasaṇapura), the old official designation of the present capital; Padmapura, Avantipura, Jayapura (for Jayāpīḍapura) and a host of others. The custom of naming new localities in this fashion, or of renaming earlier ones in honour of the actual ruler, can be traced through successive periods of Muhammadan and Sikh rule down to the present day; comp. e.g., Zainīpūr (named after Zain-ul-ʿabidin); Shahbuddinpūr (now Shādpūr); Muḥammadpur; Raṣbirisīnghpūr (intended to replace Shāhībād), etc.

⁴ Thus in the case of Śiva-temples -īśa or -īśvara is invariably added (comp., e.g., Pravaraśvara, Amṛteśvara, etc.), as in that of Viṣṇu-shrines with equal regularity -svāmin (-keśara); comp. e.g., Muktaśvāmin (built by Mukiṭaśa), Avantteśvāmin, Bhimakēśa (erected by Bhimapāla Sihi), etc.

Buddhist monasteries receive the name of their founder with the addition of -rīhāra or -bhavana; comp. Jayendravīhāra, Carhaṇavīhāra, Amṛtabhavana (founded by Queen Amṛtaprabhā, the present Āntēśava), Skandabhavana (for Skandaguptabhavana), and many more, as shown in my Notes on Ou-k'ong, p. 4.

For Maṭhas compare e.g. Diddāmaṭha (Didēmar); Subhadrāmaṭha, Nandāmaṭha, Loṭhikāmaṭha, Cakramaṭha, etc.
THE KASHMIR CHRONICLES.

these religious structures left their names to the sites at which they were erected. They can thus be traced to the present day in the designations of villages or city quarters.\(^1\)

The topographical interest which Kalhana's notices of town-foundations possess is considerably enhanced by the fact that in more than one case they are accompanied by accurate descriptions of the site chosen and the buildings connected with them. Thus Kalhana's detailed accounts of the foundation of Pravarapura, iii. 336–363, is curiously instructive even in its legendary particulars. It enables us to trace with great precision the original position and limits of the city which was destined to remain thereafter the capital of Kaśmir.\(^2\) Similarly the description given of Purūhāsapura and its great shrines has made it possible for me to fix with accuracy the site of the town which Lalitāditya's fancy elevated for a short time to the rank of a capital, and to identify the remains of the great buildings which once adorned it.\(^3\) Not less valuable from an antiquarian point of view is the account given to us of the twin towns Jayapurā and Dvāravatī which King Jayāpiṇḍa founded as his royal residence near the marshes of Andhrkūṭh.\(^4\) We shall see below to what extent the correct identification of the extant ruins of Kaśmir has been facilitated by these and similar accounts of the Rājarāhāgini.

20. Valuable as the data are which we gather from the two groups of notices just discussed, it may yet be doubted whether by themselves, that is, unsupported by other information, they can throw as much light on the old topography of Kaśmir as the notices which we have yet to consider. I mean the whole mass of incidental references to topographical points which we find interwoven with the historical narrative of the Chronicle.

It is evident that where localities are mentioned in the course of a connected relation of events, the context if studied with due regard to the facts of the actual topography, must help us towards a correct identification of the places meant. In the case of the previous notices the Chronicler has but rarely occasion to give us distinct indications as to the position of the sites or shrines he intended. In our

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1 The name of the Amrtabhāvana, iii. 9, survives in the present Antabhavan; Diddāmatha and Skandabhāvana in the Dīmar and Khandabhavan quarters of Srinagar; similarly Lalitāditya's great temple of Mārtanda left its name to the village and district of Maṭan.

2 See note iii. 339–349 and below, § 92.

3 Compare Note F, iv. 194–204, and below, § 121.

4 See note iv. 506–511; also below, § 122.
attempts to identify the latter we have therefore only too often to depend either on the accidental fact of other texts furnishing the required evidence, or to fall back solely on the comparison of the old with modern local names. That the latter course if not guided and controlled by other evidence, is likely to lead us into mistakes, is a fact which requires no demonstration for the critical student.

It is different with the notices the consideration of which we have left to the last. Here the narrative itself, in the great majority of cases, becomes our guide and either directly points out to us the real locality meant or at least restricts to very narrow limits the area within which our search must proceed. The final identification can then be safely effected with the help of local tradition, by tracing the modern derivative of the old local name, or by other additional evidence of this kind.

For the purpose of such a systematic search it is, of course, a very great advantage if the narrative is closely connected and detailed. And it is on this account that, as already stated above (§ 17), Kalhana's lengthy relation of what was to him recent history, in Books vii. and viii., is for us so valuable. An examination of the topographical notes in my commentary on the Chronicle will show that the correct identification of many of the localities mentioned in the detached notices of the first six Books has become possible only by means of the evidence furnished by the more detailed narrative of the last two.

In this respect the accounts of the endless rebellions and other internal troubles which fill the greater portion of the regius of the Lohara dynasty, have proved particularly useful. The description of the many campaigns, frontier-expeditions and sieges connected with these risings supplies us with a great amount of topographical details mutually illustrating each other. By following up these operations on the map,—or better still on the actual ground, as I was often able to do,—it is possible to fix with precision the site of many old localities which would otherwise never have emerged from the haze of doubt and conjecture.

In order to illustrate these general remarks it will be sufficient to refer to a few typical examples among the many identifications thus arrived at. As the corresponding notes of my commentary fully indicate the evidence on which these identifications are based, as well as the process of reasoning by which they were arrived at, it will not be necessary here to go into details. A very characteristic example is furnished by the important stronghold and territory of Lohara, which was formerly supposed to be Lahore. Its correct location at the present LohPrin and the identification of the several places and routes
mentioned in the same neighbourhood became possible only, as Note E, iv. 177, shows, through the indications contained in Kalhana’s description of the several sieges which this mountain fastness underwent in his own time. Similar instances are the identifications of the Gopādri hill (the present Takht-i Sulaimān), and of the streams Mahāśarit and Kṣiptikā (Mār and Kutikul). Though prominent features in the topography of the capital itself, they could not have been correctly located but for the evidence supplied by the narrative of the last Book. The same is the case, e.g., with the name of the district Holapā (Vular) and the important ethnic designation of Khaśā.

21. It is impossible to read attentively Kalhana’s Chronicle and in particular those portions which give fuller occasion for the notice of localities, without being struck with the exactness of his statements regarding the latter and with, what I may call, his eye for matters topographical.

We must appreciate these qualities all the more if we compare Kalhana’s local references with that vague and loose treatment which topographical points receive at the hands of Sanskrit authors generally. If it has been possible to trace with accuracy the great majority of localities mentioned in the Chronicle, this is largely due to the precision which Kalhana displays in his topographical terminology. It is evident that he had taken care to acquaint himself with the localities which formed the scene of the events he described. Here too I may refer for more detailed evidence to my translation of the work and the notes which accompany it. A few characteristic points may, however, be specified as examples.

Striking evidence for the care with which Kalhana indicates topo-

1 Compare also my paper on the ‘Castle of Lohara,’ Ind Ant. 1897, p. 225 sqq. below, § 49.

2 Compare for Gopādri, notes i. 841; viii. 1104-10; for the Mahāśarit, note iii. 389–349; for the Kṣiptikā, note viii. 732.

3 See notes i. 306 and i. 317.

4 Nor should we forget the difficulty which Kalhana had to face by writing in metrical form. True indeed it is what Albūrūni says of this form as adopted by Hindu scientific writers: “Now it is well-known that in all metrical compositions there is much misty and constrained phraseology merely intended to fill up the metre and serving as a kind of patchwork, and this necessitates a certain kind of verbosity. This is also one of the reasons why a word has sometimes one meaning and sometimes another” (India, i. p. 19).

Fortunately Kalhana has managed to escape these dangers as far as the topographical notices of his work are concerned. We find in his local terminology neither that mistiness nor multiplicity of meaning Albūrūni so justly complains of.
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF KĀŚMIR. [Extra No. 2, graphically details, is furnished by his description of the great operations which were carried out under Avantivarman with a view to regulating the course of the Vitāstā and draining the Valley.\(^1\) Thanks to the exactness with which the relative position of the old and new confluence of the Vitāstā and Sindhu is described, before and after the regulation, respectively, it has been possible even after so many centuries to trace in detail the objects and results of an important change in the hydrography of the Valley.\(^2\)

Equal attention to the topographical details we find in numerous accounts of military operations. Of these it will suffice to quote here the descriptions of the several sieges of Srinagar, under Sussala;\(^3\) the battle on the Gopālāri hill in the same reign;\(^4\) the blockade of Lohara, with the disastrous retreat through the mountains that followed,\(^5\) and, last but not least, the siege of the Siratūlā castle. The topographical accuracy of the latter account as proved in Note L, viii. 2492, almost presupposes on Kāhnapa's part a personal examination of the site. It is all the more noteworthy, because the scene of the events there recorded was a region outside Kāśmīr proper, distant and difficult of access.

There are also smaller points that help to raise our estimate of Kāhnapa's reliability in topographical matters. Of such I may mention for example the close agreement we can trace everywhere between Kāhnapa's statements regarding distances, whether given in road or time-measure, and the actual facts. The number of marches reckoned by him is thus always easily verified by a reference to the stages observed on the corresponding modern routes.\(^6\) Not less gratifying is it to find how careful Kāhnapa is to distinguish between homonymous localities.\(^7\) In addition we must give credit to our author for the just observation of many characteristic features in the climate, ethnography, and economical condition of Kāśmīr and the neighbouring regions.\(^8\) All these notices help to invest with additional interest the data furnished for the old topography of the country.

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1 Compare v. 84-121.
2 Compare Note I, v. 97-100, on the Viṭāstā-sindhuśāṅgama, and below, §§ 69-72.
3 See viii. 729 sqq.; 1060 sqq.
4 Compare viii. 1089-1115.
5 See viii. 1842-80 and Note E, iv. 177, § 10.
6 Compare for distance measurements note i. 264; v. 103; vii. 393; for the reckoning of marches on the Viṭāstā Valley route, v. 225; on the Tūpūmaidān pass, vii. 140; on the route to the Pir Pāṅgūl Pass, vii. 558; on the way to Mārtāṅga, vii. 715, etc.
7 Compare notes i. 118; i. 124; v. 123 on the several Jyeṣṭhā-rudras and the way in which Kāhnapa specifies them.
8 Compare below, §§ 77-79.
If the advantages thus accorded to us are duly weighed there
seems every reason to congratulate ourselves on the fact that the
earliest and fullest record of Kasmir history that has come down to us
was written by a scholar of Kalhaṇa's type. Whatever the short-
comings of his work from a historical point of view may be, we may
well claim for him the merit that he has provided us with a sound and
ample basis for the study of the historical geography of his country.

22. Another point still remains to be considered here in connection
with Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, viz., to what extent
can we accept the Sanskrit forms found in his
text as the genuine local names of the period.
This question deserves attention, because the popular language actually
spoken in Kasmir in Kalhaṇa's time and for many centuries earlier,
was not Sanskrit but undoubtedly an Ṛpabhramśa dialect derived from
it, which has gradually developed into the modern Kasmiri.

Notwithstanding this circumstance I think that Kalhaṇa's local
names can on the whole safely be taken as the genuine designations of
the localities, i.e., those originally given to them. My grounds for this
belief are the following.

We have ample evidence to show that Sanskrit was the official and
sole literary language of the country, not only in Kalhaṇa's own time
but also in those earlier periods from which the records used by
him may have dated. This official use of Sanskrit we know to have
continued in Kasmir even into Muhammadan times. It assures us at
once that the vast majority of village and town names must from the
beginning have been given in Sanskrit. A detailed examination of
Kalhaṇa's local names will easily demonstrate, on the one hand that
these names are of genuinely Sanskrit formation, and on the other,
that their modern Kasmiri representatives are derived from them by a
regular process of phonetic conversion. We look in vain among this
class of old local names for any which would show a foreign, i.e., non-
Aryan origin and might be suspected of having only subsequently been
pressed into a Sanskritic garb.

As Sanskrit was used as the language of all official records for
many centuries previous to Kalhaṇa's time, the Sanskrit names originally
intended for the great mass of inhabited places could be preserved,
in official documents anyhow, without any difficulty or break of tradi-
tion. And from such documents most of Kalhaṇa's notices of places
were undoubtedly derived, directly or indirectly.

Only in rare cases can we suppose that the original form of a local
name of this kind had been lost sight of, and that accordingly the Chro-
icler, or his authority, had to fall back on the expedient of sanskriti-
zing in its stead the Apabhramśa or Kāśmiri form, as well as he could. There are in fact a few instances in which we have indications of such a metamorphosis. Thus we find the same local name spelt either Bhaleruka or Baleruka in the Chronicle, and a village which Kalhana calls Ghoramālaka, referred to by Abhinanda, the author of the Kādambarikathāśāra (first half of 9th century), as Gauramālaka. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that we have here varying attempts to reproduce in a Sanskritic garb original Apabhramśa names. But these cases are very rare indeed, and even in them other explanations of the different spellings are possible.

These observations apply with nearly the same force also to other local names recorded in the Chronicle, such as those of mountains, streams, passes, etc. The great majority of these names must have very early found their place in official documents or, as we shall see below, in the Sanskrit legendaries or Māhātmyas of the numerous Tirthas. If any of them are in reality adaptations of Prakrit or Apabhramśa forms, their quasi-official use is yet likely to have originated a long time before the date of Kalhana.

Even to the present day the local nomenclature of Kāśmir, whether in the Valley or in the mountains, shows throughout an unmistakably Sanskritic character. This is most clearly illustrated by the constant recurrence of such terms as -pūr or pōr (< pura), -mār (< maṭha), -vām (< ārama), -kōṭha (< koṭṭha), -gām or gōm (< grāma), -kuṇḍal (< kuṇḍala), -vār (< vāṭa), in village names; of -sar (< saras), -nāmbul (< naḍvalā), nāg (< nāga) in names of lakes, marshes, etc.; of -van (< vana), -nār (< nāda), -mārg (< maṭhiṅkā), -gul (< galikā), brār (< bhaṭṭārīkā), -vath (< patha) in designations of alpine localities, peaks, passes, etc.; -kul (< kulyā), -khan (< khāni) in names of streams and canals.

The Sanskrit etymology of the specific names preceding these terms, is even in their modern phonetic form very often equally transparent. At an earlier stage of the language the Apabhramśa names must have approached the corresponding Sanskrit forms much more closely. The reproduction of the popular names in a Sanskrit form could have then but rarely been attended with much difficulty or doubt. We may hence safely assume that the Sanskrit forms recorded by Kalhana represent in most cases correctly the original local names, and in the remainder cannot differ much from them.

23. The later Sanskrit Chronicles which were composed with the distinct object of continuing Kalhana's work, furnish valuable supplements to the topographical information contained in the latter.

1 Compare notes viii. 1861, and vii. 1239; viii. 2410.
These Chronicles are the Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Jonarāja who continued the narrative down to the reign of Sultān Zainu-l-ʿābidin and died over his work, A.D. 1459; the Jaina-Rājatarāṅgiṇī composed by Jonarāja's pupil Srīvara which deals in four Books with the period A.D. 1459–86; and finally, the Fourth Chronicle which was begun under the name Rājāvalipatākā by Prājayabhaṭṭa and completed by his pupil Śuka some years after the annexation of Kāsmīr by Akbar, A.D. 1586.

It will be seen from the above dates that the narrative of the last two works falls entirely beyond the period of Hindu rule to which our enquiry is limited, and which may be considered to close finally with the usurpation of Shāh Mir, A.D. 1339. The same holds good of the greater portion of Jonarāja's Chronicle. The reigns of the late Hindu rulers, from Jayasimha to Queen Koṭā, are there disposed of with a brevity corresponding more to their own insignificance than to the intrinsic historical interest of the epoch. Notwithstanding this difference in date the materials supplied by these later Chronicles have often proved of great use in clearing up points of the old topography of Kāsmīr. For the mass of localities mentioned in them goes back to the Hindu period, and the names by which they are referred to, are also still mostly the old ones.

Yet on the whole the inferiority of these later Chronicles when compared with Kalhaṇa's work, is as marked in the matter of topographical information as it is in other respects. In the first place it must be noted that the whole text of these three distinct works does not amount to more than about one-half of Kalhaṇa's work. For references to sacred sites and buildings and other places of religious interest the account of Muhammadan reigns offers naturally but little opportunity. The incidental notices of other localities are also in proportion less numerous and instructive. For these later authors allow considerably more room to episodic descriptions and do by no means show that care for accuracy in topographical statements which we have noticed in Kalhaṇa.

It is curious to note how the gradual decline of Hindu learning in Kāsmīr during the period of troubles and oppression which lasted with short interruptions for two and a half centuries previous to Akbar's conquest, is marked also in the character and contents of these later...
Chronicles. Jōnarāja was a scholar of considerable attainments, but apparently without any originality. He shows himself yet well-acquainted with the old local nomenclature of the Valley, though outside it he too commits himself to forms like Purusavīra (for Peshawar, recte Purusāpura), etc.

Śrīvara is a slavish imitator of Kalhaṇa, not above reproducing whole verses of his predecessor. His text looks often more like a cento from the Rājatarangini than an original composition. Notwithstanding the thorough study of Kalhaṇa's work which this kind of exploitation presupposes, we find Śrīvara more than once betraying ignorance of the old names for well-known Kāśmīr localities. Thus we have the name of the Mahāsūrīt stream transformed into Māri, an evident adaptation of the modern Mār; Śiddapatha, the modern Sidān, represented as Sīdhādesa; the Tirtha of Mārtanda regularly referred to by its modern name Bhavanā (Bavan), etc.

The work of Prājyabhāṭṭa and Śuka is inferior in composition even to Śrīvara's Chronicle, and by the increased number of modern local names proves its authors' scant familiarity with the old topography of Kāśmīr. Thus the ancient Kṛtyahāma, the scene of Kalhaṇa's Buddhist legend, i. 131 sqq., figures repeatedly in their narrative as Kicāhrāma, i.e., by its modern name Kīcāhrām. Even the well-known Rājapuri is metamorphosed into Rājavīra (!), a queer reproduction of the modern Rajaurī. The old castle of Lohara reappears as Luhara, an evident approach to the present Lōhārin; the ancient site of Cakradhara is turned into Cakradhara, etc.

It is evident that when Sanskrit ceased to be the language used for official purposes, the knowledge of the ancient names of localities and of the traditions connected with the latter must have become gradually more and more restricted. In view of this decrease of traditional knowledge we have to exercise some caution when utilizing the evidence of the later historical texts for the elucidation of the old topographical data. At the same time it is easy to realize that their help is often of considerable value when connecting links have to be traced between those earlier data and the facts of modern topography.

1 See Sriv. i. 440; iii. 278; comp. note on Rājat. iii. 389.
2 Sriv. iii. 364; iv. 203, 661.
3 Sriv. i. 376; iii. 372.
4 See Fourth Chron. 234, 240, 384; compare also note on Rājat. i. 147.
5 Fourth Chron. 542, sqq.
6 Ib., 134, 143, sqq.
7 Ib., 380.
It is convenient to refer here briefly to the Persian Tārikhs of Kaśmīr which to some extent may be looked upon as continuing the works of Kalhaṇa and his Paṇḍit successors. Unfortunately they furnish no material assistance for the study of the old topography of the country.

All these works give in their initial portion an account of the Hindu dynasties which pretends to be translated from the Rājatarāṅgini. Yet the abstract so given is in each case very brief and chiefly devoted to a reproduction of the legendary and anecdotal parts of Kalhaṇa’s narrative. We thus look in vain in these abstracts for the modern equivalents of those local names, the identification of which is attended with any difficulty.

In illustration of this it may be mentioned that even the Tārikh of Ḥaidar Malik Cādūra (Tādwr), which is the earliest work of this class accessible to me and the fullest in its account of the Hindu period, compresses the narrative of Jayasimha’s reign, filling about two thousand verses in the Rājatarāṅgini, into two quarto pages. Of the localities mentioned in the original account of this reign not a single one is indicated by the Muhammadan Chronicler.

The later works which all belong to the 18th or the present century, are still more reticent on the Hindu period and seem to have largely copied Ḥaidar Malik’s abstract. Taking into account the endless corruptions to which local names written in Persian characters are exposed, it will be readily understood why reference to these texts on points of topographical interest yields only in the rarest cases some tangible result.

It is a fortunate circumstance that several of the older Kaśmīr poets whose works have been preserved for us, have had the good sense to let us know something about their own persons and homes. The topographical details which can be gleaned from these authors, though comparatively few in number, are yet of distinct value. They enable us to check by independent evidence Kalhaṇa’s local nomenclature, and in some instances acquaint us with localities of which we find no notice in the Chronicles.

The first and most helpful of these Kaśmirian authors is the well-known polyhistor Kṣemendra. His works, composed in the second and third quarter of the 11th century, form important landmarks in various fields of Indian literature. Kṣemendra seems to have felt a genuine

1 Written A.H. 1027, i.e., A.D. 1617, in the twelfth year of Jahāngir’s reign. Ḥaidar Malik takes his epithet Cādūra, recte Tādwr, from the Kaśmīr village of that name situated in the Nāgām Pargāṇa, some 10 miles south of Srinagar, close to the village of Vahīṭōr.
interest, rare enough among Indian scholars, for the realities of his country and the life around him. He does not content himself with informing us of his family, the date of his works and the places where he wrote them.¹

In the *Samayamātrkā*, one of his most original poems, which is intended to describe the snares of courtiers, he gives among other stories an amusing account of the wanderings of his chief heroine, Kaṅkālī, through the length and breadth of Kaśmīr.² The numerous places which form the scene of her exploits, can all easily enough be traced on the map. More than once curious touches of true local colour impart additional interest to these references. To Kaśmendra's poem we owe, *e.g.*, the earliest mention of the Pir Panḍāl Pass (*Paṇḍālahāra*) and its hospice (*maṭha*).³ There too we get a glimpse of the ancient salt trade which still follows that route with preference. Elsewhere we see the heroine smuggling herself as a Buddhist nun into the ancient Vihaṇa of *Kṛtyādrāma*, etc.⁴

A different sketch of topographical interest we owe to the poet Bilhāna. He left his native land early in the reign of King Kalāsa (1063–89 A.D.), and after long wanderings became famous as the court poet of the Cālukya king Trīhuvanamalla Parmādi in the Dekhan. In the last canto of his historical poem, the *Vikramāṅkadevacaritā*, Bilhāna gives us a glowing picture of the beauties of the Kaśmīr capital. Notwithstanding its panegyrical character, this account is laudably exact in its local details.⁵ In another passage the poet describes to us his rural home and its surroundings at the village of Khonamuṇa, south-east of Sṛṇagar. His touching verses attest as much his yearning for his distant home as the faithfulness of his local recollections.⁶

¹ Compare the colophons of the various works first discovered and noticed by Prof. Bühler, *Report*, pp. 45 sqq. and Appendix.

² This humorous peregrination fills the *ii. Samaya* of the work; see *Kāvyamāla* edition, pp. 6–16. The abundance of curious local details makes a commented translation of the little Kavya very desirable, notwithstanding the risky nature of part of its contents. A personal knowledge of Kaśmīr would certainly be required for the task.

³ *Samayam*, *ii*. 90 sqq. The *maṭha* on the pass corresponds to the present `Ādībād Sarai, a short distance below the top of the pass on the Kaśmīr side;*, see below, § 44.

⁴ *Samayam*, *ii*. 61 sqq.

⁵ Prof. Bühler, to whom we owe the discovery of Bilhāna's chief work, has given in his Introduction an admirable analysis of the contents of Sarga xviii. as illustrating the poet's biography. For his description of contemporary Srinagaras, see pp. 7 sqq.

⁶ *Vikram*, xviii. 70 sqq. Prof. Bühler during his Kaśmīr tour, 1875, had the satisfaction of visiting the poet's native place, the present village of Khunmoh.
Similar in character though less ample in detail, is the description of Kashmir and its capital Pravarapura which Manikha, Kalhana's contemporary, inserts in the iii. Canto of his Kavya Srikanthacarita. Here we have the advantages of a commentary written by Jonaraja, the Chronicler, which duly notices and explains the points of local interest.

26. To complete our review of those Kashmirian texts of topographical interest which may be distinguished as secular, we must refer briefly to the curious glossary and manual which goes by the name of Ksemendra's Lokaprakasa. Professor A. Weber has recently published valuable extracts from this text. I myself have had occasion to refer to it frequently in the notes on the Rajatarangini. The work represents a strange mixture of the usual Kosa and a practical handbook dealing with various topics of administration and private life in Kashmir.

A great deal of the information contained in it is decidedly old, and probably from the hand of our well-known Ksemendra. But there are unmistakeable proofs, both in the form and contents of the book, showing that it has undergone considerable alterations and additions down even to the 17th century. This is exactly what we must expect in a work which had remained in the practical use of the Kashmirian 'Karkuna' long after the time when Sanskrit had ceased to be the official language of the country.

The Lokaprakasa supplies us with the earliest list of Kashmir Parganas. It gives besides the names of numerous localities inserted in the forms for bonds, 'Hudis,' contracts, official reports, and the like which form the bulk of Prakasas ii. and iv. The Pargana list as well as these forms exhibit local names of undoubtedly ancient date side by side with comparatively modern ones. Some of the latter belong to places which were only founded during the Muhammadan rule.

He could thus verify on the spot every point of the description which Bilhana gives of that "coquettish embellishment of the bosom of Mount Himlaya;" see Report, pp. 4 sqq.

1 See Srikanthac. iii. 10-24, 68 sqq.
3 See particularly Note H (iv. 495), on the Kashmir monetary system, § 10.
4 Compare, e.g., in Prakasa ii. Jumnanagara, founded by Zainu-l-'Abidin (see Jona. 1153); Alabhadapura (Stiv. iv. 318), etc.
SECTION VI.—THE NILAMATA AND MAHATMYAS.

27. We have already above drawn attention to the fact that Kaśmir has since early times been pre-eminently a country of holy sites and places of pilgrimage of all kinds. These objects of ancient local worship have always played an important part in the historical topography of the Valley and the adjacent mountain regions. It is hence no small advantage that there are abundant materials at our disposal for the special study of this Topographia sacra of Kaśmir.

The oldest extant text which deals in detail with Kaśmirian Tirthas, is the Nilamata-purāṇa. This work which Kalhaṇa used as one of his sources, claims to give the sacred legends regarding the origin of the country and the special ordinances which Nila, the lord of Kaśmir Nāgas, had revealed for the worship and rites to be observed in it. It is unnecessary to refer here to the legends which are related at the commencement of work, and to 'the rites proclaimed by Nila' which together with the former occupy about two-thirds of the extant text. These parts have been fully discussed by Prof. Bühler in his lucid analysis of the Nilamata. The remaining portions, however, deserve here special notice as forming,—to use Prof. Bühler's words—"a real mine of information, regarding the sacred places of Kaśmir and their legends."

In the first place we find there a list of the principal Nāgas or sacred springs of Kaśmir (vv. 900–975). This is followed by the interesting legend regarding the Mahāpadma lake, the present Volur, which is supposed to occupy the place of the submerged city of Candra-pura (vv. 976–1008). The Purāṇa then proceeds to an enumeration of miscellaneous Tirthas chiefly connected with Śiva's worship (vv. 1009–48). To this is attached a very detailed account, designated as Bhūtesvaramahātmya, of the legends connected with the sacred lakes and sites on Mount Haramukha (vv. 1049–1148). Of a similar Mahātmya relating to the Kapaṭēsvāra Tirtha, the present Kōṭhēr, only a fragment is found in our extant text (vv. 1149–68). The list of

1 See Rājat. i. 14.
3 Nilamata, vv. 1–366, contain the legends, v. 367–899 the rites above referred to.
4 See Report, pp. 38 sqq.
5 Compare below, § 74, and Report, p. 10.
6 Compare below, § 57, and Rājat. notes i, 36, 107, 113.
7 See below, § 112, and Rājat. i. 32 note.
Vishnu-Tirthas which succeeds it (vv. 1169-1248), is comparatively short, as indeed the position of this god is a secondary one in the popular worship of Kashmir.

After a miscellaneous list of sacred Samgamas or river-confluences, Nagas and lakes (vv. 1249-78) we are treated to a somewhat more detailed synopsis of the chief Tirthas of Kashmir (vv. 1271-1371). This is of special interest, because an attempt is made here to describe the Tirthas in something like topographical order, and to group with them such localities as are visited on the same pilgrimage. It is thus possible to determine, with more certainty than in the case of other Tirtha lists, the particular holy sites intended by the author.

This synopsis starts in the east with the fountain of the Nilanaga (Varnag), and follows with more or less accuracy the course of the Vitasana and its affluents down to the gorge of Varshamula. A short Vitasanamahatmya, describing the origin and miraculous powers of this the holiest of Kashmir rivers (vv. 1371-1404), closes the text of Nilamata, such as it is found in our Manuscirpts.

This text is unfortunately in a very bad condition owing to numerous lacunae and textual corruptions of all kinds. Prof. Bühler held that the Nilamata in its present form could not be older than the 6th or 7th century of our era. It appears to me by no means improbable that the text has undergone changes and possibly additions at later periods. On the whole, however, the local names found in it bear an ancient look and agree closely with the forms used by Kalhana. The difference in this respect between the Nilamata and the Mahatmyas, in their extant recensions, is very marked and helps to prove the comparatively late date of most of the latter. On the other hand it deserves to be noted that without the more systematic and detailed accounts of the various Tirthas as found in the Mahatmyas, the identification of many of the sacred places referred to in the Nilamata would probably have been impossible.

The fact of all extant copies of the work showing practically the same defective text, seems to indicate that the changes and additions to which I alluded above, cannot be quite recent. If such a revision had been made at a time comparatively near to the date of our oldest MS. we could, after the analogy of other instances, expect an outwardly far more correct, i.e. 'cooked,' text. The operation here suggested was actually performed some thirty years ago by the late Pandit Sahibram. Receiving the orders of Maharaja Ranbir Singh to

1 Compare Report, p. 40. The oldest and best MS. of the Nilamata which I was able to secure and collate, is dated in the Laukika year 81. This date judging from the appearance of the MS. probably corresponds to A.D. 1705-6.
prepare the text of the Nilamata for edition, he ‘revised’ the work with scant respect for its sacred character by filling up the lacunae, expanding obscure passages, removing ungrammatical forms, etc.¹ Fortunately Prof. Bühler reached Kaśmir early enough to learn the origin of this ‘cooked’ text, and to give due warning as to its true character.

The Nilamata seems thus to have escaped in recent times that process of continual adaptation which, as we shall see, must be assumed to have greatly affected all extant Māhātmyas. The reason probably is that it could never have been used, like the latter, as a practical pilgrims’ manual and itinerary by the Purohitas of the various Tīrthas.

28. Among the texts dealing specially with the sacred sites of Kaśmir the Haracaritacintāmaṇī can be placed, perhaps, nearest in date to the Nilamata-purāṇa. It is not like the latter and the Māhātmyas, an anonymous composition, claiming recognition in the wide folds of canonical Purāṇa literature. It owns as its author the poet Jayadratha, of the Kaśmirian family of the Rājānasakas, and a brother of Jayaratha. The pedigree of the family as given in Jayaratha’s Tāntrālokaviveka, a Sāiva treatise, shows that Jayadratha must have lived about the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th century.²

His work which is written in a simple Kavya style, relates in thirty-two Cantos as many legends concerning Śiva and his various Avatāras.³ Eight of these legends are localized at well-known Kaśmirian Tīrthas. They give the author ample opportunity of mentioning other sacred sites of Kaśmir directly or indirectly connected with the former.⁴

Jayadratha’s detailed exposition helps to fix clearly the form which the legends regarding some of the most popular of Kaśmirian Tīrthas had assumed in the time immediately following Kalhaṇa. The local names as recorded by Jayadratha, agree closely with those of the Rājatarangini.⁵ They prove clearly that the forms employed by Kalhaṇa must have been those generally current in the Sanskrit usage of the period. For the interpretation of Nilamata’s brief notices the Hara-

¹ See Report, pp. 33, 38.
² Compare Bühles, Report, pp. 61, 81, cliii.
³ The Haracaritacintāmaṇī has recently been printed as No. 61 of the Kāvyamālā Series, Bombay, (1897), chiefly from the text as contained in my MS. No. 206.
⁵ An index of the Kaśmir local names in the Haracaritacintāmaṇī, with explanatory notes, has been prepared under my supervision by P. Govind Kaul and printed as an Appendix to the Kāvyamālā edition.
caritacintāmaṇi is of great value. Its plain and authentic narrative enables us often to trace the numerous modifications which the various local legends as well as the names of the localities connected with them have undergone in the extant Māhātmyas.

29. Reference has already been made above to the numerous texts known as Māhātmyas which we possess of all the more important Tirthas of Kāśmir.

The Māhātmyas. They claim with few exceptions to be extracted from Purāṇas or Purānic collections (Sāhāhitās). Ordinarily they set forth in detail the legends relating to the particular pilgrimage place, the spiritual and other benefits to be derived from its visit, and the special rites to be gone through by the pilgrims at the various stages of the itinerary. The abstract given of the Sāradāmāhātmya in Note B; on Rājat. i. 37, may serve to indicate the manner in which these subjects are usually treated in the average texts of this class.

Prof. Bühler was the first to recognize the value of the Māhātmyas for a systematic study of the old topography of Kāśmir. Among the Sanskrit Manuscripts which he acquired during his tour in Kāśmir, there are sixteen distinct texts of this kind. My own search in this direction, facilitated by successive visits to the various Tirthas themselves, has enabled me to collect altogether fifty-one separate Māhātmya texts. The list of my collection which has been given in a supplementary Note, may be considered fairly to exhaust the present range of this literature.

In extent the Māhātmyas vary greatly. By the side of texts like the Vītasāmāhātmya with its fifteen hundred Slokas, we have legendaries of more modest dimensions amounting only to a few dozens of verses. Equally marked differences in the matter of age become apparent on closer examination.

Unmistakeable indications prove that many of the Māhātmyas now in actual use are of late composition or redaction. Among the texts so characterized, the Māhātmyas of some of the most popular pilgrimage places, like the Haramukṣa lakes, the cave of Amarasīva, Iṣesvara (Īśvarā), are particularly conspicuous. The indications here referred to are furnished chiefly by the local names which in their very form often betray a modern origin. This may conveniently be illustrated by a

1 Most of the Kāśmir Māhātmyas allege to be portions of the Bṛjjīgītasaṁhitā. Others claim special authority by representing themselves as parts of the Ādi, Brahma, Bṛhmaśaṁvarta, Varāha and Bhavijyat Purāṇas.

2 See Report, pp. iv. sqq. Nos. 48, 51, 52, 55, 62, 75, 82, 84, 99, 100 there quoted as separate texts are only chapters of the Amaranāthamāhātmya.

3 See Supplementary Note AA.

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brief analysis of the most instructive of such names found in the
Vitastamahatmya.

This text claims to furnish an account of all the Tirthas along the
course of the holy river and is designated as a portion of the Bhṛgūśa-
sāṁhitā. Notwithstanding this pretended antiquity we find the famous
Nilanāga introduced to us by the name of Vīranāga (i. 58; ii. 33).
This form is wholly unknown to the Nilamata, Rājataraṅgiṇī or any
old text. It is nothing but a clumsy rendering of the modern name of
the village Vērṇāg near which this fine spring is situated.1 The
ancient site of Jayavana, mentioned by Bilhaṇa and Kalhaṇa, the pre-
sent Zevan, is metamorphosed into Yavanī (vi. 4).2 The village of
Pāndrēthan which derives its name from Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna,3 ‘the old
capital,’ and bears the latter designation even in Śrīvāsa’s Chronicle,
figures as Pāḍadrṣṭika (!), xii. 24. That, Mākṣikaṃśaya (Māyavaham)4
and the Maḥāsaṅī (Mār)5 appear as Māyāsinā and Mār, can after this
specimen of fancy nomenclature scarcely surprise us.

But we must all the same feel somewhat startled when we find that
this text which claims to be revealed by Śiva, refers repeatedly to the
modern village of Shāḍīpūr, at the confluence of the Vitastā and Sind,
by the name of Sāradāpura. Shāḍīpūr, an abbreviation for Shāhābuddin-
pūr, was, as Jonarāja’s Chronicle shows, founded only in the 14th
century by Sultān Shāhāb-ud-din.6 Quite on a level with the knowledge
of old topography here displayed are many other references to local-
ities, e.g., the mention of the modern garden Shālimār, a creation of
the Mughals (Ṣālamāra), xxi. 39; of the ancient Huṣkapura as Uṣa-
karaṇa7 (for Uṣkūr!), xxix. 103, etc.

In several cases these fancy renderings of modern local names
are explained by whimsical etymologies which again in due turn give
rise to new-fangled legends quite in the style of the old nidānakathās.

Similar proofs of modern origin can be traced in several other
popular Māhātmyas, though perhaps not with equal frequency. Thus
we find in the Haramukṣagānḍamāhātmya the name of the sacred
mountain itself transformed from Haramukṣa into Haramukha (the

1 The name Vērṇāg is probably derived from the name of the Pargana Vēr, men-
tioned by Abū-l-Fażl, ii. p. 370.
2 See below, § 105.
3 See Rājat. iii. 99 note and below, § 89; also Śrīv. iv. 290.
4 See Rājat. iv. 88 note and below, § 99.
5 Compare Rājat. iii. 339–341 note and below, § 65.
6 See Jonar. 409. A popular etymology accepted in good faith by more than
one European writer, sees in Shāḍīpūr the ‘village of the marriage,’ soil. between
the Vitastā and Sind Rivers!
7 Compare Rājat. i. 168 note and below, § 124.
present Haranmukh), the ancient site of Bhūtesvara (Buthūśār) so well-known to the Rājatarāṇigī and all old texts, turned into Bodheśvara, etc. In the Amaranāthamāhātmya of which there is a comparatively old copy in the Poona collection, we are also treated to Padṛṣṭi as the Sanskrit name of Pāndrēthan, to Suśramanāga (for Kā. Suśramnāg) as the name of the lake where the Nāga Suśravas of the old legend took up his abode, and the like. Examples of local names similarly perverted in other Māhātmyas will have to be mentioned passim in our account below.

It is important to note that by the side of texts like those just mentioned, there are others which on the whole show close conformity with our genuine old sources both in matter of legend and local names. And even in the Māhātmyas which in their present form we have every reason to consider as recent compositions, there is often abundant evidence of the use of earlier materials and traditions. It will be easier to understand the singular discrepancies in the value and character of these texts on examining the peculiar conditions under which they have originated.

30. The Māhātmyas are in the first place hand-books for the Purohitas of the particular Tirthas who have the privilege of taking charge of the pilgrims. They serve the priests as chief authorities for the claims they put forth on behalf of the holiness of their Tirtha, and for the rewards they promise for its visit. They are also intended to support their directions as to the rites to be observed by the pilgrim, and the route to be taken by him on the journey. It is usual for the Purohitas to recite the Māhātmya for the benefit of their clients in the course of the pilgrimage tour. At the same time its contents are expounded to them by a free verbal rendering in Kāśmiri.

1 See below, § 57. The kh at the end of the modern name is due to a phonetic law of Kāśmiri which requires the aspiration of every final sūni; see J. A. S. B., 1897, p. 183.

2 Compare Rājat. i. 267 note. The modern Kā. form Suśramnāg is the regular phonetic derivative of Suśravanāga by which name the lake is designated in the Nilamata, Haracaritacintāmani, etc.

3 Among such the Māhātmya collection known as the Saruvāvatāra (No. 213 in my list of MSS.), the Mārtāṃḍamāhātmya (No. 219), the Vijayesvaramāhātmya (No. 220), may be particularly mentioned. None of these, however, are now known to the local Purohitas, more recent and inferior texts having taken their place.

4 Thus e.g., the Māhātmya of the present Isāthār (Isēvāra; see Rājat. ii. 134) shows plainly its very recent origin by calling the Tirtha Isāvāra (a garbled reproduction of Isūthār < Isēvāra), and by similar blunders. Yet it knows correctly the sacred spring of Satadhārā already mentioned by Kṣemendra.
As but very few of the priests have enough knowledge of Sanskrit to follow the text intelligently, these translations are more or less learned by heart. Often as my manuscripts show, interlinear Kaśmiri glosses are resorted to in order to assist the reader's memory.

These local priests known now in Kaśmir as thānapati (Skr. sthānapati), are as a rule quite as ignorant and grasping as their confrères, the Pujařis, Bhājkis, etc., of India proper. They are held deservedly in very low estimation by the rest of the Brahman community. That their condition was more or less the same in earlier times too, though their influence and numbers may have been greater, can be safely concluded from more than one ironical allusion of Kalhana. These are the people to whose keeping the Māhatmya texts have always been entrusted. Their peculiar position and calling explain, I think, most of the curious changes which the latter have undergone.

Tenacious as local worship is, there is the evidence of concrete cases to show that not only the route of pilgrimage, but the very site of a Tirtha has sometimes been changed in comparatively recent times. In proof of this it will suffice to refer to the detailed account I have given of the transfers that have taken place in the case of the ancient Tirthas of Bheḍa and Sarada. Minor modifications must naturally have been yet far more frequent. The visit of a principal Tirtha is regularly coupled with bathings, Śrāddhas and other sacrificial functions at a series of other sacred spots. The choice of these subsidiary places of worship must from the beginning have depended on local considerations. As these changed in the course of time, variations in the pilgrimage route must have unavoidably followed.

To bring the text of the Māhatmya into accord with these successive changes was a task which devolved upon the local Purohitas. The texts we have discussed above bear, in fact, only too manifestly the traces of their handiwork. Sound knowledge of Sanskrit and literary culture are likely to have been always as foreign to this class of men as they are at present. When it became necessary for them to introduce the names of new localities into the text of the Māhatmya there was every risk of these names being shown not in their genuine old forms, but in hybrid adaptations of their modern Kaśmiri equivalents. This risk naturally increased when Sanskrit ceased to be the official language of Kaśmir, and the knowledge of the old local names was gradually lost even among those maintaining scholarly traditions in the country.

1 Compare Rājat. ii. 132 note and v. 465 sqq.; vii. 18 sqq.; viii. 700, 900 sqq., 939.
2 Compare Notes A (Rājat. i. 35) and B (Rājat. i. 37).
31. Another potent cause seems to have co-operated in this vitiation of the local nomenclature of the Māhātmyas. I mean 'popular etymology.' We have already referred to the tendency displayed throughout these tracts of making the names of localities, rivers, springs, etc., the starting-point for legendary anecdotes. For men of such very scant knowledge of Sanskrit as the thānepati's invariably are, it was naturally far easier to explain such etymological stories when they were based on the modern local names.

It is undoubtedly this reason which has, e.g., led the compiler of the present Haramukṣagaṅgāmāhātmya to substitute the name Karaṅkanaṇḍi for the old Kanakavāhiṇi. By the latter name the stream coming from the Haramukṣa lakes is designated in all our old texts, as explained in my note on Rājat. i. 149-150. By turning Kāṅkanaṇḍi, the modern derivative of this old name, into Karaṅkanaṇḍi, 'the skeleton-stream,' the compiler of the Māhātmya gets an occasion to treat his readers to a legend likely to appeal to their imagination. The river is supposed to have received this appellation, because Garuḍa had dropped at its Saṅgama with the Sindhu the skeleton (karaṅka) of the Rṣi Dadhici which Indra before had used as his weapon, etc.1 This story, it is true, is wholly unknown to the Nilamata or any other old text. But, on the other hand, it has got the great merit of being easily explained and proved to any Kāśmiri pilgrim. He cannot fail to realize the manifest connection between Karanḍa and his familiar karvan, 'skeleton.'

An exactly similar case of 'popular etymology' has been noticed in the analysis of the Sāradāmāhātmya as contained in my Note B (i. 37). There the name of the village Sun⁹-Draṅga is reproduced as Suvarṇārdhāṅgaka and explained by a legend, how the Muni Śaṅḍilya had at that spot half his body (ardhāṅgaka) turned into gold (suvarṇa), etc. In reality the village name is derived from the old term Draṅga, 'watch-station,' by which the place is mentioned by Kalhana.8 The distinguishing prefix Sun⁹-, meaning 'gold' in Kāśmiri, was given to it, because it lay on the route to the old gold-washing settlements in the Kīṣaṅgāṅgā Valley.9

1 The story is spun out at great length in Pāṭalā iii. of the Haramukṣaṅgāmāhātmya, MS. No. 221.
2 See viii. 2507, 2702.
3 For other examples of local names in Māhātmyas metamorphosed for the above reason, compare my notes Rājat. vi. 177 (Bhimadvipa in the Mārpanḍamāh., for Bumzan); i. 267 (Śeṇanaga in the Amareśvaramāh., for the older Suśrāmanaga, recte Suśravonaga); Note C, i. 124 (Jyeṣṭhēśvara, the present Jyeṣṭhēr, turned into a site of Jyeṣṭhā), etc.
It would be easy to multiply examples showing the strange vicissitudes to which old topographical names are exposed at the hands of the local Purohita. But the explanations already given will suffice to prove that the topographical data found in Māhātmyas can only then be used safely when they are critically sifted and supported by our more reliable sources.

A critical examination of these data is, however, much impeded by the difficulty we experience in fixing the exact age of particular Māhātmyas and their component portions. Even in the case of apparently old texts modern additions and changes may be suspected, while again the most recent concoctions may preserve fragments of genuine tradition. In view of these considerations I have not thought it safe to crowd my maps with hundreds of names of petty Tirthas as found in the Māhātmyas, but have marked only those pilgrimage sites the ancient names of which can be established with certainty.

The difficulty here indicated is increased by the fact that no really old manuscripts of Māhātmyas seem to be preserved in Kasmir. MSS. written on birch-bark, i.e., earlier than the 17th century, are quite unknown at present. Of the numerous paper MSS. I have examined, none seem to me older than two centuries at the utmost. It is probable that this absence of older copies is due to the rough usage to which Māhātmya MSS. are exposed when carried about on the pilgrimage tours.

I am glad that chance gave me an opportunity of gaining some personal experience of the manner in which Māhātmyas are occasionally produced. Some ten years ago the Purohitas or Bāchhaṭṭas of the Ganapatyā quarter in Srinagar recovered an ancient Liṅga from a Mosque and began to erect a small shrine for it near the river Ghāt of Malāyār. Guided by a local tradition which, as far as I can judge, may be genuine, they believed this to have been the site of the shrine of Siva Vardhamānēśa mentioned already in the Bājataraṅgīṇī (see note ii. 123). The Liṅga was re-consecrated accordingly by this name.

In 1891, when examining old sites in this part of the city, I also visited the temple of Vardhamānēśa then under construction. The interest I showed in the old Liṅga and in the tradition regarding it, coupled with an appropriate Dakṣinā, soon secured me the confidence of the head-Purohita of the little shrine. Paṇḍit T.R., a man more intelligent than the average of his fraternity, was not slow to confess to me that the Māhātmya of the Tirtha ās epē was as yet under preparation. Some weeks later when in camp near Srinagar, I received the visit of my Purohita from Vardhamānēśa's shrine. He brought me the draft of the new Māhātmya and asked my assistance in revising it.

I found it to consist chiefly of extracts from the Vitasamāhātmya. The passages dealing with Vardhamānēśa and the neighbouring Tirthas within the city had been suitably amplified with laudatory verses in the usual Māhātmya style culled from other texts. The vested interests of other local shrines had received due recognition by being included in the Pātrē of Vardhamānēśa. I did what I could to indicate the genuine names of these localities. This quasi-antiquarian co-operation does not seem to have detracted from the popularity of the new Māhātmya among the Bāchhaṭṭas of Ganapatyā.
32. It is a curious fact that among our authorities for the Topographia sacra of Kashmir we must allow a conspicuous place to a Muhammadan writer. It is Abū-l-Faṣl, the minister of Akbar, who in the chapter of his Aīn-i Akbari dealing with the 'Sarkār of Kashmir' has left us a very accurate account of many of the holy places in the Valley.1 Abū-l-Faṣl's detailed description of Kashmir is valuable in many respects to the historical student. But it is particularly in connection with our topographical search that we must feel grateful to the author for having like his great master "caught some of the enthusiasm of the Valley" (Rennell).

Abū-l-Faṣl tells us that "the whole country is regarded as holy ground by the Hindu sages." He also refers in general terms to the numerous shrines dedicated to the various deities and to the popular worship of 'snakes,' i.e., the Nāgas, "of whom wonderful stories are told." He then proceeds to describe in detail the most notable sites, giving among these particular prominence to what Dr. Bernier aptly called 'les merveilles' of the country.

This account of Abū-l-Faṣl represents for us an authentic survey of all the Kashmirian Tirthas that were well-known and popular at the end of the 16th century. It serves as a most useful link between our older texts dealing with these pilgrimage places and the modern tradition. It helps us to check the data of the Māhātmya in many particulars of topographical interest. Abū-l-Faṣl's notes have enabled me to trace in more than one instance the position of ancient Tirthas or particular features regarding them which have since his time been wholly forgotten.2 It cannot be doubted that Abū-l-Faṣl's list of sacred sites to which we have to refer so frequently in our subsequent notes, was supplied by competent Brahman informants just as his abstract of the Sanskrit Chronicles.

1 Vol. i. pp. 564–570 in Prof. Blochmann's edition of the Aīn-i Akbari; vol. ii. pp. 354–366 in the Bibliotheca Indica translation of the work (Col. H. S. Jarrett). Abū-l-Faṣl's account of Kashmir would well deserve a fuller commentary than the one which the translator, in the absence of special local studies, was able to give. The account of Mirzā Ḥaidar (in the Tārikh-i Bāshidi) and Bernier's notes could conveniently be discussed on the same occasion.

2 Compare my notes on Bhedaquiri (1. 35), the Sūradātirtha (i. 37), the Tukṣakanaṅga (i. 220); also supplementary note to i. 107.
Section VII.—Local Tradition.

33. It now remains for us only to indicate briefly what help surviving tradition offers for the study of the ancient topography of Kaśmir. The tradition with which we are here concerned, presents itself in two forms. One is the tradition of the ‘learned,’ regarding the ancient sites of the country in general, kept up more or less in connection with written records. The other is that genuine local tradition which is strictly confined in its limits but is kept up equally among literate and illiterate of particular places.

Among those who represent in Kaśmir learned tradition of the former type there must again be distinguished the few Pañḍit families of Srinagar in which the serious study of Sanskrit Śāstras has been maintained, and the great host of ‘Bāchbāṭas.’ With the latter class we have already become partially acquainted in the course of our examination of the Māhātmyas. We have had occasion to note the conspicuous absence of genuine knowledge as regards the ancient topography of the country in those texts which form the characteristic products of this class’ literary activity.

The Purohitas’ knowledge of Sanskrit is ordinarily of the scantiest kind, and their ‘reading’ confined to Māhātmyas and devotional texts learned by heart without proper comprehension. We can hence scarcely expect them to have preserved genuine traditions regarding those historically interesting localities which are mentioned only in the Chronicles. It is only in the matter of those sacred sites, pilgrimage routes and the like which form as it were, their own particular professional domains, that their testimony can claim special attention. Yet even in this limited field the Purohitas’ traditions are, as we have seen, often of a very modern growth. Their statements, therefore, require under all circumstances to be tested with critical caution.

34. ‘Learned’ tradition as represented by the Srinagar Pañḍits of modern times, is best gauged by an examination of what the late Pañḍit Sāhibrām († 1872) has specially recorded on the subject of ancient sites.

P. Sāhibrām who was undoubtedly the foremost among Kaśmirian Sanskrit scholars of the last few generations, had been commissioned by the late Mahārāja Ranbir Singh to prepare a descriptive survey of all ancient Tirthas of Kaśmir. For this purpose a staff of Pañḍits was placed at his disposal whose business it was to collect the necessary
materials in the various parts of the country. The large work which was to be prepared on the basis of these materials, was never completed, and of the latter themselves I was able to recover only small portions. ¹
But some time before his death Paṇḍit Sāhibrām had drawn up abstracts of the information he had collected under the title of Kāsmiratirthasamgraha, and of these I have been also able to obtain copies. The most detailed and apparently latest recension of this Tirthasamgraha is the one contained in No. 61 of Prof. Bühler's collection of MSS. now at Poona.

This little work gives a list of numerous Tirthas with brief indications of their special features and position, arranged in the topographical order of Parganas. It is useful enough as a comprehensive synopsis of such sacred sites as were known at the time to local worship. The references to many obscure little shrines, Nāgas, etc., show that the enquiries of Paṇḍit Sāhibrām's assistants had been extensive. But the work proves at the same time how little help traditional learning in Kāsmir could offer in our days for the serious study of the old topography of the Valley.

Paṇḍit Sāhibrām's plan is to indicate each Tirtha's position by mentioning the territorial division in which it is situated, as well as the nearest village or other well-known locality. It was undoubtedly the learned author's desire to give all local names in their old Sanskrit forms as far as they were known to him. Accordingly we find a number of localities correctly mentioned by their genuine old designations. But unfortunately the number of the latter is truly insignificant when compared with those local names which are plainly recognizable as new fabrications, as worthless as those already mentioned in connection with the topography of the modern Māhātmyas.

In consideration of the fact that P. Sāhibrām deserves to be looked upon as the best representative of modern Kāsmirian scholarship,² it is only just to illustrate the above remarks by a few examples. I take them only from among those local names the genuine forms of which can be easily ascertained from the Rājatarangini. The lake of the Nāga Suṣravas,³ the present Suśram Nāg, is named Suśramanāga in one

¹ The papers acquired by me refer to some of the north-eastern Parganas and contain descriptions (in Sanskrit) of the various Nāgas, Līngas, etc., the miraculous stories relating to them, together with the devotional texts which are supposed to be used at their worship. Quaint illustrations and maps accompany the text. The whole forms a large-sized folio. The critical value of these records is very slight.
² See Prof. Bühler's Report, pp. 4, 38.
³ See Rājat. i. 267 note, and below, § 59.

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recension and Śuṣumnāṅga ( ! ) in the other. The old Paragaṇas of Holaḍā, Lalāhā, Khūyārāma are turned on account of their modern names Vular, Lōlau, Khuyhāom, into the 'Rāṣtras' of Volarā, Lalāva, Khoyahāma. Bānabhāl, the old Bāṇatālā,1 figures as Bāṇatālā; Khruv, the ancient Khadāvī,2 known correctly even so to even a text as the Lokaprakāśā, as Kraṅva. The well-known Khonamuṣā (Khonamoh) appears as Kṣuramogagraṇā ( ! ) The name of the ancient village Jayavana3 which fares badly too, as we have seen, in the Mahaṭmya, is metamorphosed into Jivuna; Rṇyil, the old Hiranyapura,4 is with a flight of historical fancy turned into a foundation of king Raṇāditya (!). Even the sacred Tirtha of Tūlamūlya (Tulomul) does not escape a renaming as Sthūlamūla, though in this case the local Mahaṭmya, with its Tūlamūla, keeps close enough to the old name.5 After this, village names like Ušārava, Rāmārāma, Kicakārāma, as designations of the old Huskapura, Rāmaṣa, Kṛtyārāma can scarcely surprise us.6 The number of districts, towns, villages, streams, lakes and other topographical features (exclusive of Tirthas) mentioned by Paṇḍit Sāhibrām amounts to nearly three hundred. But scarcely two dozens of the names given for them are in accord with our old authorities.

Paṇḍit Sāhibrām was one of the few modern Kāśmirian scholars who have seriously occupied themselves with the Rājataramgini and the later Chronicles. This is shown by the elaborate abstracts he had prepared of these works.7 Hence the indifferent knowledge of ancient topography as displayed in his Tirthasamgraha, must appear all the more striking. Yet in reality it is easily enough accounted for.

What knowledge learned tradition in Kāśmir has retained of ancient sites as distinct from Tirthas and the like, is confined to a few prominent localities which, for one reason or the other, were of special interest to the Paṇḍits. Thus the capital Pravarapura-Srinagar with several of its quarters, Viṣṇuvērsar, Suyyapura, Varāhamūla, Pādamapura, and some other places of importance in the Valley have continued to be known by their ancient names. This was probably because these names never ceased to be employed in colophons of Sanskrit manuscripts, in horoscopes, and similar records. In the case of a

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1 See note viii. 1695, and below, § 41.
2 See note viii. 733; also § 105 below.
3 Compare note vii. 607, and § 105 below.
4 See note i. 287, and § 104 below.
5 Compare note iv. 638.
6 See notes i. 168; ii. 55; i. 147.
7 These abstracts, called Rājataramginiṣaṅgraha, were acquired by Prof. Bühler; see Nos. 176-8 of the Poona collection. It deserves to be noted that in them no attempt whatever is made to explain points of topographical interest.
few other localities again like Jayapura, Damodar's Udar, Cabradhara, there were well-known popular legends which plainly indicated their identity with sites mentioned in the Rajatarangini. But for the great mass of ancient places there were no special reasons of this kind to assure a recollection of their old names. It is hence only natural that all genuine knowledge of their identity and earlier history has gradually disappeared from the Pandits' tradition.

Nothing but systematic enquiry on the lines of modern historical research could help towards a recovery of the knowledge thus lost. But such an enquiry could not be expected either from P. Sahibram or any other indigenous scholar uninfluenced by Western critical methods.

35. Popular local tradition has fortunately in Kashmir proved far more tenacious than the tradition of the learned. I have often derived from it valuable aid in my local search for particular sites. My antiquarian tours have given me ample opportunity to convince myself that when collected with caution and critically sifted, such local traditions can safely be accepted as supplements to the topographical information of our written records. In illustration of this statement I may refer to the evidence gathered from local tradition in reference to the sites of Lohara, Hastivajra, Kramavarta, Jayapura, Skandabhavana, etc.

In more than one instance it can be shown that local legends which Kalhana heard, still cling unchanged to the same sites. As striking examples may be mentioned here the legends concerning Damodar's Udar, the burned city of King Nara, the temple of Pravaresa.

It cannot be doubted that this tenacity of local tradition in Kashmir is due largely to the isolation secured for the country by its alpine position. Nothing is more instructive in this respect than a comparison with the territories of ancient Gandhara and Udyana, or with the Panjab plains. These regions so rich in ancient Hindu sites are particularly devoid of local traditions connected with them. This fact is easily understood if we think of the many and great ethnic changes which

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1 See Bajat. Note E (iv. 177), § 15.
2 See Bajat. note i. 302, and J. A. S. B., 1895, pp. 379 sq.
3 Compare Note D (iii. 227); J. A. S. B., 1895, pp. 384 sq.; also below, § 43.
4 See note iv. 506 sq., and below, § 123.
5 See Note K (vi. 187).
6 See note i. 165; below, § 119.
7 See note i. 202; below, § 108.
8 See note iii. 350; below, § 96.
have passed over the land. Kaśmir, fortunately for antiquarian research, throughout its known history has escaped such great convulsions and the breaks of tradition usually connected with them.

The influence of the geographical position of Kaśmir can be traced here also in another direction. Mountainous surroundings and consequent isolation tend everywhere in alpine countries to develop and foster conservative habits of life and thought. We find these habits most strongly marked in the population of the valley, and may safely ascribe to them a great share in the preservation of local traditions.
CHAPTER III.

GENERAL GEOGRAPHY.

SECTION I.—POSITION AND CONFIGURATION OF KĀŚMĪR VALLEY.

36. Nature itself when creating the great Valley of Kāśmīr and its enclosing wall of mountains, seems to have assured to this territory not only a distinct geographical character but also a historical existence of marked individuality. We see both these facts illustrated by the clearly defined and constant use of the name which the territory has borne from the earliest accessible period.

This name, Kāśmīrā in its original Sanskrit form, has been used as the sole designation of the country throughout its known history. It has uniformly been applied both by the inhabitants and by foreigners. We can trace back its continued use through an unbroken chain of documents for more than twenty-three centuries, while the name itself undoubtedly is far more ancient. Yet notwithstanding this long history the current form of the name down to the present day has changed but slightly in the country itself and scarcely at all outside it.

The Sanskrit Kāśmīra still lives as Kāśmīr (in Persian spelling Kāshmir) all through India and wherever to the West the fame of the Valley has spread. In the language of the inhabitants themselves the name is now pronounced as Kāšir. This form is the direct phonetic derivative of Kāśmīr, with regular loss of the final vowel and assimila-

1 The adjective Kāśur 'Kāśmirian' corresponds to Skr. Kāśmīra. The $u$ of the last syllable is probably due to the $v$ of an intermediate form *Kāśvira; see below.
tion of m to the preceding sibilant. With reference to a phonetic rule, prevalent through all Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, which favours the change of medial Skr. m into v,1 we are led to assume an intermediate Prakrit form *Kaśvīr[a]. In support of this we may point to the striking analogy of the Kaśmir local name Sāngas which, as shown in my note on Rājat. i. 100, goes back through an older recorded form Svāngas to *Smāṅgasā, the Samāṅgasā of the Chronicle. It has already been shown above that we have to recognize in this *Kaśvīra the original Prakrit form which Ptolemy’s Kaśvāpa, Kasvāpla (pronounced Kaspira, Kaspiria) are intended to transcribe.2

Linguistic science can furnish no clue to the origin of the name Kaśmira, nor even analyze its formation.3 This fact, however, has not saved the name from being subjected to various etymological guesses which for curiosity’s sake may receive here a passing notice. It must be held to the credit of Kaśmīri Sanskrit authors that their extant writings are wholly innocent of this display of etymological fancy.

No less illustrious a person than the Emperor Bābār opens the list. His suggestion was that the name may be derived from the hill-tribe ‘Kaś’ living in the neighbourhood of Kaśmīr.4 We easily recognize here the reference to the Khasas of the lower hills. Their name, however, in its true form has, of course, no connection with Kaśmīr. Another etymology, first traceable in the Haidar Malik’s Chronicle and hence reproduced by other Muhammadan writers,5 derives the first part of the name from ‘Kashap,’ i.e., Kaśyapa, and the second either from

1 Compare Dr. Grierson’s remarks, Z. D. M. G., i. p. 16.
2 See above, § 5.
3 If the Uṃkūḍāstra, 472, Kaśer muṣ ca is to be applied to the word Kaśmīra, the latter would have to be dissolved into kaś-m-ira according to the traditional grammatical system.
4 See Memoirs of Baber, transl. by Leyden and Erkine, p. 313. A Persian MS. of the text adds that mir signifies mountain. Erkine, Introduction, p. xxvii., improves upon this etymology by extending it to Kashgar, the Casia regio and Casii Montes of Ptolemy. Bitter, Erdkunde, ii. p. 1127, from whom I take this reference, not unjustly queries why the learned editor should have stopped short of the Caspium mare and other equally manifest affinities.

Bābār’s conjecture figures still seriously in a note of the latest translation of the Ain-i Akbari, ii. p. 381.

Regarding the name and habitation of the Khasas, compare Rājat. i. 317 note.

5 It was first introduced to the European reader by Tiefenthaler’s extract from Haidar Malik’s Chronicle compare Description historique et géographique de l’Inde, ed. Bernouilli (1789), i. p. 79 (also p. 69 as to source). Compare also Wilson, Essay, p. 94, for a similar note from the Wāqī’āt-i Kašmir of Muḥammad ‘Aḡim; here كشف میر is a clerical error for کشف میر.
Kā. mar, i.e., Skr. māṭha ‘habitation,’ or a word mir, supposed to mean ‘mountain.’

It was, perhaps, a belief that this whimsical etymology represented some local tradition, which induced even so great a scholar as Burnouf to risk the conjectural explanation of Kaśmira as *Kaśyapamīra, i.e., ‘the sea of Kaśyapa.’ There is neither linguistic nor any other evidence to support this conjecture. It would hence scarcely have been necessary to refer to it had it not on the authority of a great name found its way also into numerous works of a more general character.

37. Just as the name Kaśmir has practically remained unchanged through the course of so many centuries, so also has the territorial extent of the country which it designated. This has always been confined to the great valley drained by the headwaters of the Vītastā and to the inner slopes of the ring of mountains that surround it.

The natural limits of the territory here indicated are so sharply marked that we have no difficulty in tracing them through all our historical records, whether indigenous or foreign. Hiuen Tsiang, Ou-k'ong and Albārānī's accounts, as we have seen, show them clearly enough. Kalhaṭa's and his successors' Chronicles prove still more in detail that the Kaśmir of Kaśmirian tradition never extended materially beyond the summit-ridges of those great ranges which encircle and protect the Valley.

A detailed description of the geographical position of Kaśmir does not come within the scope of this paper. Nor is it needed since there is an abundant modern literature dealing with the various aspects of the geography of the country. For an accurate and comprehensive account I may refer to the corresponding portion of Mr. Drew's work and to the graphic chapter which Mr. Lawrence devotes to the description of the Valley. It will, however, be useful to allude here briefly to some of the characteristic features in the configuration of the country which have an important bearing on its ancient topography.

Kaśmir owes its historical unity and isolation to the same facts which give to its geographical position a distinct and in some respects

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1 The Kā. word mar < Skr. māṭha, is in common use in the country as the designation of Sarais, shelter-huts on passes, etc. Mir might have been connected by Ḥaidar Malik's Paṇḍit informants with the name of Mount Meru or with mīra, meaning according to a Kośa parvataikādeka, see B. R., s. v.

2 Compare his note in Humboldt, L'Asie centrale, i. p. 92.

3 See, e.g., Lassen, Ind. Alt., i. p. 54 note; McCrindle, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, p. 108; V. de St. Martin, Mémo. de l' Acad. des Inscript., Sav. E'trang., v., ii. p. 83; Kiepert, Alte Geographie, 1878, p. 36.

almost unique character. We have here a fertile plain embedded among high mountain ranges, a single valley large enough to form a kingdom for itself and capable of supporting a highly developed civilization. Its height above the sea, nowhere less than 5000 feet, and its peculiar position assure to it a climate equally free from the heat of India and the rigours of cold, peculiar to the higher mountain regions in the north and east.

The form of the country has been justly likened to a great irregular oval, consisting of a similarly shaped level vale in the centre and a ring of mountains around it. The low and more or less flat part of the country measures about 84 miles in length, from south-east to north-west, while its width varies from 20 to 25 miles. The area comprised in this part has been estimated at 1800 or 1900 square miles. Around this great plain rise mountain ranges which enclose it in an almost unbroken ring. Their summit lines are everywhere but for a short distance at the southernmost point of the oval, more than 10,000 feet above the sea. For the greatest part they rise above 13,000 feet, while the peaks crowning them tower up to altitudes close on 18,000 feet. Reckoned from the summit lines of these ranges, the length of the irregular oval enclosed by them is about 116 miles, with a varying width from 40 to 75 miles. The whole area within these mountain boundaries may be estimated at about 3,900 square miles.

The slopes of the mountains descending towards the central plain are drained by numerous rivers and streams all of which join the Vīstāś within the KāŚmīr plain. The side-valleys in which these tributaries flow, add much ground to the cultivated area of the country several of them being of considerable length and width. But even the higher zones of the mountain-slopes where cultivation ceases, add their share to the economical wealth of the country. They are clothed with a belt of magnificent forests, and above this extend rich alpine pastures, close up to the line of perpetual snow.

In the great mountain-chain which encircles the country, there is but one narrow gap left, near to the north-west end of the Valley. There the Vīstāś after uniting the whole drainage of KāŚmīr flows out by the gorge of Bārāmūla (Varāhamūla) on its course towards the sea. For a distance of nearly 200 miles further this course lies through a very contracted valley which forms a sort of natural gate to KāŚmīr. It is here that we find the old political frontier of KāŚmīr extending beyond the mountain-barriers already described. For about 50 miles below the Varāhamūla gorge the narrow valley of the Vīstāś was held in Hindu times as an outlying frontier tract of KāŚmīr.

1 Compare Dkw, Jummo, p. 162, for this and subsequent statements.
2 See below § 53.
38. The general configuration of the country here indicated in its broadest outlines may be held to account for the ancient legend which represents Kaśmir to have been originally a lake. This legend is mentioned by Kalhaṇa in the Introduction of his Chronicle and is related at great length in the Nilamata.¹

According to this earliest traditional account the lake called Satisaras, 'the lake of Sati (Durgā),' occupied the place of Kaśmir from the beginning of the Kalpa. In the period of the seventh Manu the demon Jalodbhava ('water-born') who resided in this lake, caused great distress to all neighbouring countries by his devastations. The Muni Kaśyapa, the father of all Nāgas, while engaged in a pilgrimage to the Tirthas in the north of India, heard of the cause of this distress from his son Nila, the king of the Kaśmir Nāgas. The sage thereupon promised to punish the evil-doer and proceeded to the seat of Brahma to implore his and the other gods' help for the purpose. His prayer was granted. The whole host of gods by Brahma's command started for Satisaras and took up their position on the lofty peaks of the Naubandhana Tirtha above the lake Kramasaras (Kōnsa r Nāg). The demon who was invincible in his own element, refused to come forth from the lake. Viṣṇu thereupon called upon his brother Balabhadra to drain the lake. This he effected by piercing the mountains with his weapon, the ploughshare. When the lake had become dry, Jalodbhava was attacked by Viṣṇu and after a fierce combat slain with the god's war-disc.

Kaśyapa then settled the land of Kaśmir which had thus been produced. The gods took up their abodes in it as well as the Nāgas, while the various goddesses adorned the land in the shape of rivers. At first men dwelt in it for six months only in the year. This was owing to a curse of Kaśyapa, who angered by the Nāgas had condemned them to dwell for the other six months together with the Piśācas. Accordingly men left Kaśmir for the six months of winter and returned annually in Caitra when the Piśācas withdrew. Ultimately after four Yugas had passed, the Brahman Candradeva through the Nīlanāga's favour acquired a number of rites which freed the country from the Piśācas and excessive cold. Henceforth Kaśmir became inhabitable throughout the year.

The legend of the desiccation of the lake is alluded to also by Huien Tsang, though in another, Buddhistic form.² Its main features as related in the Nilamata, live to this day in popular tradition. They

¹ See Rājat. i. 25-27; Nilamata, vv. 26-237. A detailed extract of the Nilamata's story has been given by Prof. Bühler, Report, p. 39.
² See Si-yu-ki, transl. Beal, i. p. 140.
are also reproduced in all Muhammadan abstracts of the Chronicle.\(^1\) From Ḥādīr Malik’s Tārikh the legend became known to Dr. Bernier who prefaces with it his description of the ‘Paradis terrestre des Indes.’\(^2\) It has since found its way into almost every European account of Kāsrīr.

It is probable that this legend had much to do with drawing from the first the attention of European travellers to certain physical facts apparently supporting the belief that Kāsrīr was in comparatively late geological times wholly or in great part occupied by a vast lake. But few seem to have recognized so clearly as the late Mr. Drew, the true relation between the legend and the above facts. I cannot put his view which from a critical point of view appears to be self-evident, more clearly than by quoting his words: “The traditions of the natives—traditions that can be historically traced as having existed for ages—tend in the same direction, [viz., of the Vale having been occupied by a lake,] and these have usually been considered to corroborate the conclusions drawn from the observed phenomena. Agreeing, as I do, with the conclusion, I cannot count the traditions as perceptibly strengthening it; I have little doubt that they themselves originated in the same physical evidence that later travellers have examined.”\(^3\)

The geological observations upon which modern scientific enquirers like Mr. Drew and Colonel Godwin Austin, have based their belief as to the former existence of a great lake, are mainly concerned with the undoubted ‘lacustrine deposits’ found in the so-called Udars or Karēwa plateaus to be noticed below. But it seems to me very doubtful whether we can reasonably credit the early Kāsrīrians with a correct scientific interpretation of such geological records. It appears far more probable that the legend was suggested by an observation of the general form of the valley and by a kind of natural inference from the historical changes in the country’s hydrography.

We shall see below that great drainage operations took place at various periods of the country’s history which extended the cultivated ground and reduced the area covered by lakes and marshes. To any one, however ignorant of geology, but acquainted with the latter fact, the picture of a vast lake originally covering the whole Valley might naturally suggest itself. It would be enough for him to stand on a hill-side somewhere near the Volur, to look down on the great lake and the adjoining marshes, and to glance then beyond towards that narrow gorge

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1 Compare, e.g., Aīn-i Akb., ii. p. 380; Wilson, Essay, p. 93.
2 See Bernier, Travels in the Mogul Empire, ed. Constable, p. 393.
3 See Jummoo, p. 207.
of Bārāmūla where the mountains scarcely seem to leave an opening. It is necessary to bear in mind here the singular flights of Hindu imagination as displayed in the Purāṇas, Māhātmyas and similar texts. Those acquainted with them, will, I think, be ready to allow that the fact of that remarkable gorge being the single exit for the drainage of the country, might alone have sufficed as a starting-point for the legend.

In respect of the geological theory above referred to it may yet be mentioned that in the opinion of a recent authority "even the presence of true lacustrine deposits does not prove that the whole of the Kaśmir lake basin was ever occupied by a lake." At the present day true lacustrine deposits are still being formed in the hollows of the rock basin represented by the lakes of the north-west portion of the Valley. It is held probable "that the conditions have been much the same as at present, throughout the geological history of the Kaśmir Valley," only a minor area of the latter having at various periods been occupied by lakes.

Whatever view may ultimately recommend itself to geologists, it is certain that the lacustrine deposits of Kaśmir, though of no remote date, speaking by a geological standard, are far older than any monuments of man that have yet been discovered. Mr. Drew was undoubtedly right in denying the existence of lacustrine deposits round any known ancient buildings or other works of man in the Valley.

39. None of the natural features of Kaśmir geography have had a more direct bearing on the history of the country than the great mountain-barriers that surround it. They may hence rightly claim our first consideration.

The importance of the mountains as the country's great protecting wall has at all times been duly recognized both by the inhabitants and foreign observers. Since an early time Kaśmirians have been wont to pride themselves on their country's immunity from foreign invasion, a feeling justified only by the strength of these natural defences. We find it alluded to by Kalhaqa who speaks of Kaśmir as unconquerable by the force of soldiers and of the protection afforded by its mountain walls. The feeling is very clearly reflected in all foreign records. We have already seen what special notice is taken by Hīuen Tsiang and Ou-k'ong of the mountains enclosing the kingdom and of the difficulty of the passes leading through them. The statements of the early Arab

1 See Oldham's Manual of Indian Geology (1893), quoted by Mr. Lawrence, Valley, p. 50.
2 See Drew, Jammu, pp. 207 sq.
3 See Rājat. i. 81, 39.
4 Compare above, §§ 9, 11.
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geographers brief as they are, lay due stress on the inaccessible character of the mountains. Alberuni does the same and shows us besides the anxious care taken in old days to maintain this natural strength of the country by keeping strict watch over the passes.

Even when Kashmir had suffered a partial conquest from the north and had become Muhammadanized, the belief in the invincibility of its bulwarks continued as strong as before. Thus Sharifu-d-din, the historian of Timur, writing apparently from materials collected during the great conqueror’s passage through the Panjáb Kohistán (circ. A.D. 1397), says of Kashmir: “This country is protected naturally by its mountains on every side, so that the inhabitants, without the trouble of fortifying themselves, are safe from the attacks of enemies.” The subsequent account of the routes into Kashmir and other exact details suggest that the author of the Zafarnāma had access to genuine Kashmirian information.

40. It is this defensive character of the mountain ranges to which we owe most of our detailed information regarding their ancient topography. We have already in connection with the accounts of Alberuni and the Chinese pilgrims had occasion to note the system of frontier watch-stations by which a careful guard was kept on the passes leading through the mountains. These fortified posts and the passes they guarded, play an important part in the narrative of Kalhana and his successors. As most of the Chronicle’s references to Kashmir oography are directly connected with these watch-stations it will be useful to premise here a few general remarks regarding their character and purpose.

The small forts which since ancient times closed all regularly used passes leading into the Valley, are designated in the Chronicles by the word dvāra ‘gate’ or by the more specific terms drāṅga or ḍhakka. Numerous passages show that they served at the same time the purposes of defence, customs and police administration. They were garrisoned by troops under special commanders, designated as drāṅgēti or drāṅgādhipa. The control over all these frontier stations and the command of the ‘Marches’ generally was vested in Hindu times in one high state officer, known by the title of ḍvārāpati, ‘lord of the Gate,’ or equivalent terms.

1 See above, §§ 12, 14.
2 See the extract from Sharifu-d-din’s Zafarnāma in Tārīḵ-i-Ražhīdī, transl. by N. Elias and E. D. Ross, p. 432; compare also Ritter, Asien, ii. pp. 1122, sq.
3 For detailed references regarding these stations see my notes, J. A. S. B., 1895, pp. 382 sqq.; Rājat, i. 122; iii. 227 (D).
4 Compare Rājat, note v. 214.
The organization of the system was somewhat changed in Muhammadan times when the guarding of the several routes through the mountains was entrusted to feudal chiefs known as Maliks (Skr. mārgēṣa). These held hereditary charge of specific passes and enjoyed certain privileges in return for this duty. In other respects the system underwent scarcely any change. The fortified posts with their small garrisons survived on all important routes almost to our own days being known as rāḥdārī in the official Persian.

It may be noted that apart from their character as military defences against foreign inroads the Dāraṇgas were also in another respect true 'gates' to the country. Nobody was allowed to pass outside them coming from the Valley without a special permit or pass. The system thus provided an important check on unauthorized emigration which was withdrawn only after the last Kāsmir famine (1878).

In order to appreciate fully the importance of these frontier watch-stations it should be remembered that the mountain regions immediately outside Kāsmir were almost in every direction held by turbulent hill-tribes. To the hardy Dards (Darad) in the north and the restless Khakhas (Khāsa) in the south and west the rich Kāsmir with its weak population has always appeared as a tempting prey. The last inroad of plundering Khakhas occurred not more than half a century ago and will not soon be forgotten. At the same time it is certain that the valour of these hardy mountain clans on the confines of Kāsmir has at all times contributed greatly to the natural strength of the mountain defences. Without this protective belt the latter themselves would scarcely have remained so long proof against foreign invasion.

1 A detailed and interesting account of the Maliks and the routes held by them is given by Baron Högel, Kaschmir, ii., pp. 167 sqq.; i., p. 347.
2 See J. A. S. B., 1895, p. 385; also below, § 49, 52.
3 For an early reference to this system of passports at the Dvāras, see Jonar, 654. For a description of the cruel exactions often connected with 'Rāḥdārī,' compare Lawrence, Valley, p. 215. I have never been able to visit the sites of the old watch-stations at the several passes without thinking of the scenes of human suffering they must have witnessed for centuries.
4 Compare Rājat. i. 317 note.
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Section II.—The Pir Pantsâl Range.

41. In order to understand correctly the data relating to the ancient topography of the mountains around Kašmir, it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with their actual configuration and character. In the following account it will be possible only to indicate the most prominent features of this mountain system, and those directly connected with the historical data under discussion. For detailed information on Kašmir orography a reference to the lucid and instructive account in Mr. Drew's work may be specially recommended.¹

The mountain ring enclosing Kašmir is divided into three main ranges. One of these, usually designated as the Pir Pantsâl Range, forms the boundary of the Kašmir Valley to the south and southwest. It may be considered to begin from the southernmost part of the Valley where the Bānahâl Pass, 9200 feet above the sea, marks the lowest depression in the chain of mountains. After running for about 35 miles from east to west the range turns to the north-northwest. In this direction it continues for about fifty miles more, and after attaining its greatest elevation in the Tatakâti Peak (15,524 feet above the sea), gradually descends towards the Valley of the Vîstā. All important old routes towards the Panjâb cross this great mountain barrier, and this circumstance enables us to trace some interesting information regarding its ancient topography.

The Bānahâl Pass at the eastern extremity of the range must owing to its small elevation have always been a convenient route of communication towards the Upper Cinâb Valley and the eastern of the Panjâb hill-states. It takes its modern name from a village at the south foot of the pass which itself is mentioned in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle by the name of Bânaśālā.² The castle of Bânaśâlā was in Kalhaṇa's own time the scene of a memorable siege (A.D. 1130) in which the pretender Bhikṣâcara was captured and killed. Coming from the Cinâb Valley he had entered Vîsalâtâ,³ the hill district immediately south of the Bānahâl Pass with the view to an invasion of Kašmir. As his move-

¹ See Jummo, pp. 192-206.
² See Râjat. viii. 1665 sqq. and note. Bānahâl is the direct phonetic derivative of Skr. Bânaśâlā, medial Skr. ē being regularly changed into ē in Kašmiri.
³ See Râjat. viii. 177. The name of Vîsalâtâ is probably preserved in that of the river Bichlârī. Vîsalâtâ more than once served as a safe retreat for Kašmirian refugees; comp. Râjat. viii. 177, 697, 1074.
ment fell in the commencement of the winter, he could not have selected a more convenient route. The Bānṣhāl Pass is the only one across the Pir Pāntsāl Range on which communication is never entirely stopped by snowfall. Kalhaṇa’s narrative shows that the political and ethnographic frontier of Kaśmir ran here as elsewhere on the watershed of the range. For the castle of Bāṇaṣālā, though so near as to be visible already from the top of the pass (sāṃkata), was already held by a Khaṣa chief.¹

Proceeding westwards from Bānṣhāl we come to a group of three snowy peaks reaching above 15,000 feet. With their bold pyramidal summits they form conspicuous objects in the panorama of the range as seen from the Valley.² Kaśmir tradition locates on them the seats from which Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmaṇ, according to the legend already related, fought Jalodbhava and desiccated the Satisaras. The westernmost and highest of these peaks (15,523 feet) forms the famous Naubandhana Tirtha. According to the legend related in the Nilamata and other texts and connected with the Indian deluge story, Viṣṇu in his fish Avatāra had bound to this peak the ship (nau) into which Durgā had converted herself to save the seeds of the beings from destruction.³ At the foot of this peak and to the northwest of it, lies a mountain lake over two miles long known now as Kōnestr Nāg, the Kramasaras or Kramasāra of the Nilamata and Māhātmyas.⁴ It is supposed to mark a footstep (krama) of Viṣṇu, and is the proper object of the Naubandhana pilgrimage.

About 8 miles straight to the west of this lake, the range is crossed by a pass, over 14,000 feet high, known now by the name of Sīdau or Bādil. It lies on a route which in an almost straight line connects Sṛṅagar with Akhnūr and Siālkot in the Panjāb plain. Running up and down high ridges it is adapted only for foot traffic, but owing to its shortness was formerly a favourite route with Kaśmiris.⁵ The name Sīdau is given to the pass from the first village reached by it on the

¹ Rājat. viii. 1674, 1683. Sāṃkata is the regular term for ‘pass.’
² Marked on maps as ‘Brama Sakal,’ perhaps a corruption for Brahmaśikāra ‘Brahman’s peak.’
³ See Nilamata, 33 sqq.; Haracar. iv. 27; Sṛuv. i. 474 sqq.; Sarvāvatāra iii. 4, 12; v. 48, etc.
⁴ See Sṛuv. i. 482 sqq. where a visit of Sūljan Zainu-l-ʿabīdin to this lake is related at length; Nilamata, 121, 1272; Naubandhanamāhātmya, passim; Sarvāvatāra iii. 10; v. 174, etc.
⁵ According to DREW, Jummo, p. 524, the distance from Jamma to Sṛṅagar by the Sīdau route is reckoned at 129 miles while via the Bānṣhāl it is 177 miles.

The name Bādil is given to the pass from the hill-district adjoining it on the south; compare my note Rājat. vi. 318.
Kasmir side. It is by this name, in its original form Siddhapatha, that the pass is mentioned in Kalhana's Chronicle as the route chosen for a pretender's irruption in Sussala's reign.1

A snowy peak close to the west of the pass of Siddhapatha marks the point where the main range changes its direction towards north-northwest. From the same point there branches off in a westerly direction the lower Ratan Pir Range to which we shall have to refer below. Beyond this lie the passes of Rāpri and Darhāl, both above 13,000 feet in height. They are not distinctly named in the Chronicles. But as they give most direct access to Rajauri, the ancient Rājapuri, and are crossed without much trouble during the summer months they are likely to have been used from an early time. Near the Darhāl Pass lies the Nandan Sar, one of the numerous tarns which along this portion of the chain mark the rock-ground beds of old glaciers. It is probably the Nandana Nāga of the Nilamata.

42. About five miles due north of the Nandan Sar we reach the lowest dip in the central part of the whole range. It is marked by the pass known as Pir Pantzāl, 11,400 feet high. The route which crosses it has from early days to the present time been the most frequented line of communication from Kasmir to the central part of the Panjāb. The frequent references which the Chronicles make to this route, permit us to follow it with accuracy from the point where it enters the mountains. This is in the valley of the Rembyār* River (Bamanyātavi), a little below the village of Hūr+pōr.

This place, the ancient Sūrapura, is often referred to as the entrance station for those reaching Kasmir from Rājapuri and the neighbouring places, or vice versa as the point of departure for those travelling in the opposite direction.2 Sūrapura was founded by Śūra, the minister of Avantivarman, in the 9th century evidently with the intention of establishing a convenient emporium on this important trade-route.3 He transferred to this locality the watch-station (draṅga) of the pass. Its site, as I have shown in my Notes on the Ancient Topography of the Pir Pantzāl Route,4 can still be traced at the place known as Ilāhī Darwāza (‘the gate of God’), a short distance above the village. We find the

1 See Rājat. viii. 557. In the Chronicles of Sṛivara and his successors the tract about Sidan is repeatedly referred to as Siddhādeva, an evident adaptation of the Kā. form of the name.
2 See Rājat. iii. 227, Note D, § 1.
3 Compare Rājat. v. 39 note.
4 See J. A. S. B., 1895, p. 385. This paper should be compared for all details regarding the other sites along this route.
commanders of this frontier-station more than once engaged in military operations against intending invaders from the other side of the mountains.

Ascending the valley of the Rembyar or Ramanyâtavi for about 7 miles we reach the point where the streams coming from the Pir Pantsâl and Rûpri Passes unite. In the angle formed by them rises a steep rocky hillock which bears on its top a small ruined fort known as Kâmelankôth. These ruins probably go back only to the time of 'Atâ Muhammad Khân, the Afghan Governor of Kaúmer, who, about 1812, fortified the Pir Pantsâl Route against the Sikh invasion then threatening. But I have proved in the above-quoted paper that they mark the original position of the ancient watch-station on this route before its transfer to Surapura.1 Kalhana, iii. 227, calls this site Kramavarta. This name is rendered by a glossator of the 17th century as Kâmelanakotâ and still survives in the present Kâmelanakôth (*Kramavartânâm koṭâ).

43. The old 'Imperial Road' constructed in early Mughal times then ascends the narrow valley, keeping on its left side high above the Pir Pantsâl stream. At a distance of about four miles above Kâmelanakôth and close to the Mughal Sarai of 'Aliabâd, a high mountain-ridge slopes down from the south and falls off towards the valley in a wall of precipitous cliffs. The ridge is known as Hastivañja. This name and the surviving local tradition makes it quite certain that we have here the spot at which a curious legend told by Kalhana was localized from early times.2

The Chronicle, i. 302 sqq. relates of King Mihirakula whose identity with the White Hun ruler of that name (circa 515-550 A.D.) is not doubtful, that when on his return from a tour of conquest through India he reached the 'Gate of Kaêmir,' he heard the death-cry of an elephant which had fallen over the precipice. The gruesome sound so delighted the cruel king that he had a hundred more elephants rolled down at the same spot. The old glossator on the passage informs us that "since that occurrence the route by which Mihirakula returned, is called Hastivañja." The Persian Chroniclers too in reproducing the anecdote give Hastivañja as the name of the locality.

The local tradition of the neighbouring hill tracts still knows the story of a king's elephants having fallen down here into the gorge below. It also maintains that the old route to the Pass, in the times before the construction of the 'Imperial Road', crossed the Hastivañja ridge and followed throughout the right bank of the Pir Pantsâl

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1 J. A. S. B., 1895, pp. 384 sqq.
2 Compare J. A. S. B., 1895, pp. 378 sqq.

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stream. This is fully borne out by a statement of Abū-l-Fażl. Describing the several routes available on the march from Bhimbhar to Kāsmīr, he clearly distinguishes "the route of Hastivanj (MSS. Hastivatār) which was the former route for the march of troops," from the 'Pir Pāntsāl route' which Akbar used on his visit to Kāsmīr.

The name Hastivanj contains in its first part undoubtedly hasti, the Ks. derivative of Skr. hāsini, 'elephant.' The second part is connected by the Persian compilers with the root vaṇj meaning 'to go' in Western Panjābī. The close connection between the name and the local legend already heard by Kalhaṇa is evident enough. But whether the latter had any foundation in fact or merely arose from some 'popular etymology' of the name, cannot be decided.

The story helps in any case to make it quite clear that the ancient route from the Pir Pāntsāl Pass kept to the right or southern side of the valley. My enquiries on the spot showed that this route though neglected for many centuries is passable for laden animals and not unfrequently used by smugglers.

44. 'Aliābad Sarai is a Mughal hospice erected for the shelter of travellers about half a mile above Hastivanj.

Pancālaḍhārāmātha. It is about the highest point on the ascent to the pass where fuel can conveniently be obtained. I think it hence probable that the Maṭha or hospice which Kaṃendra mentions on the Pir Pāntsāl Pass, must have been situated somewhere in this neighbourhood.

1 See Ain-i Akb., ii, pp. 347 sq. The form Hastivatār in the text is a clerical error for Hastivanj, easily explained in Persian characters.

2 Dr. Bernier who in the summer of 1665 accompanied Aurangzeb's court to Kāsmīr, has left us, in his Ninth Letter to M. de Mervielles, an accurate and graphic account of the Pir Pāntsāl Route. While ascending the Pass from the Panjāb side he passed the spot where two days earlier an accident had happened curiously resembling Mīhirkula's story. Fifteen of the elephants carrying ladies of the Imperial seraglio, owing to some confusion in the line of march, fell over the precipice and were lost; see Bernier's Travels, ed. Constable, p. 407. The curious Map of Kāsmīr given in the Amsterdam edition of 1672 shows accordingly the 'Pire Penjale' mountain with a troop of elephants rolling in picturesque confusion over its side.

Former editions of Inc's 'Hand-book' placed the scene of this accident at a spot called Lāl Ghlām just opposite Hastivanj on the 'Imperial Road.' It is evident that this wrong location was due to the original compiler having somehow confused Bernier's account and the local tradition referring to Hastivanj. The edition of 1888, p. 64, rectifies this mistake, but still indicates Lāl Ghlām as the site "of many a dreadful accident" before the causeway of the 'Imperial Road' was made. As a matter of fact, the left side of the valley was not used at all as a route before the construction of the 'Imperial Road' along its cliffs.

Of the accident on Aurangzeb's march no recollection survives.
Kṣemendra makes this interesting reference in that curious portion of the Samayamāṭka already alluded to, which describes the wanderings of the courtezan Kaṅkāli.¹ The heroine of his story after effecting some petty thefts in Kaśmir proceeds to Śūrapura. There she passes herself off as the wife of a load-carrier (bhārika) engaged on the 'salt road.'² By this term the Pir Pāntgāl route is quite correctly designated. It has remained to the present day the chief route by which the produce of the Panjāb salt-mines coming via Jehlam and Bhimbhar enters Kaśmir.³ She keeps up the disguise which is evidently intended to help her through the clutches of the officials at the frontier watch-station, by taking next morning a load on her head and starting with it towards the pass (saṁkṣaṭa). On the way she passes along high mountains by precipitous paths deeply covered with snow. By night-fall she reaches the Pañcāladhārāmāṭha after having in the meantime assumed the guise of a respectable housewife and apparently disposed of her load. It being late in the season, she passes the night there shivering with cold. Thence she finds her way open to India where a career of successful adventures awaits her.

45. Kṣemendra's itinerary is of particular value because it supplies us with the only mention of the old name Pañcāla. The name Pañcāla is the original of the modern Kā. Pāntgāl which is in fact identical with the earlier form except for the regular change of Skr. c into Kā. ⁴ In the Pahāri dialect of the population inhabiting the valleys to the south the name is still pronounced Pañcāl.⁵

¹ See Samaym. ii. 90 sqq., and above, § 25.
² Professional load-carriers or Coolies are found to this day in numbers in Hūrūpūr, Paśīna and other places near the Pir Pāntgāl Pass. Of Zainu-l-ḥābidin it is specially reported that he settled a colony of load-carriers from Abhisāra (i.e., the country about Bhimbhar) at the customs-station of Śūrapura; see Śrīv. i. 408. Coolies are the only means of transport on the Pir Pāntgāl and other passes when the snow lies to any depth.
³ Salt is a considerable article of import into Kaśmir where it is wholly wanting; see Lawrence, Valley, p. 393. I remember vividly the long strings of salt-laden bullocks which I used to meet daily when marching into Kaśmir by the Pir Pāntgāl route.
⁴ I am not certain of the origin of the pronunciation of the name as Pir Panjāl now accepted by Anglo-Indian usage. It is known neither on the Kaśmir nor on the Panjāb side of the range itself. It meets us first in Bernier’s ‘Pire Panjale.’ Tiefenthaler, however writes more correctly Pennal; see Description de l’Ind 1786, pp. 87 sqq.
The term *dhārā* which is added to *Pañcāla*, represents in all probability the equivalent of our 'pass.' Skr. *dhārā* means generally the sharp edge of some object. According to Wilson's Dictionary, as quoted by Böthlingk-Roth, the word also carries the specific meaning of 'edge of a mountain.' It is probable that this meaning was taken by Wilson’s Pandits from some Kośa. In any case it agrees closely with the use of the word *dhār* in the modern Pahāri dialects south of Kaśmir. There it is well-known as the designation of any high mountain ridge above the region of alpine pasture.

We are tempted to see in *Pañcāla* a distinct local name, either of the Pass itself or of the whole mountain chain. But the use of the modern derivative *Pantsāl* presents difficulties in the way of a certain conclusion. The word *Pantsāl* is applied in Kaśmir chiefly to the great mountain chain which forms the boundary of the country to the south, i.e., the range to which conventional European usage gives the name of ‘Pir Pantsāl.’ Yet the meaning now conveyed to a Kaśmiri by the term *Pantsāl*, is scarcely more than that of ‘high mountain range.’

The word is used in combination with specific names for the designation of subordinate branches of the great range towards the Panjāb. Thus the range crossed on the way from the Pir Pantsāl Pass to Rajauri, is known as ‘Ratan Pantsāl,’ and the one crossed by the Hāji Pir Pass between Uri and Prūnts (Pānch) as ‘Hāji Pantsāl.’ Sometimes, but not so generally, the term is applied also to mountains wholly unconnected with the Pir Pantsāl system.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that *Pañcāla* > *Pantsāl* had originally the character of a specific local name. It may have been applied either to the whole of the great southern chain of mountains or its central portion about the Pir Pantsāl Pass. Subsequent usage may then have extended the application of the term just as it has that of the name ‘Alps’ in Europe. Our materials, however, are not sufficient to enable us to trace the history of the word with certainty.¹

⁴⁶. In this connection it will be useful briefly to notice also the word *Pīr* which forms the first part of the modern designation of the Pass. This word is now used more or less frequently for ‘Pass’ both in Kaśmir and the hill-tracts south of it. Mr. Drew who seems to have given more attention to local nomenclature in these hills than other travellers, in his explanation of the term starts from the well-known meaning of *Pīr* in Persian, an ‘old man’ and thence a ‘saint or Faqīr.’²

¹ The main facts regarding the modern use of the word Pantsāl have been quite correctly recognized already by Drew, Jummo, p. 167.
² See Jummo, p. 167 note.
He refers to the common practice of Faqirs establishing themselves on Passes for the sake of refreshing travellers and of receiving their alms. "When any noted holy Faqir died on a Pass, the place became sacred to his memory, and was often called after him, his title of Pir being prefixed; at last it became so common for every important Pass to have a name beginning with Pir that the word acquired the secondary meaning of Mountain Pass." Mr. Drew refers to the fact that Dr. Bernier already found an aged hermit established on the Pass who had resided there since the time of Jahangir. He was supposed "to work miracles, cause strange thunders, and raise storms of wind, hail, snow and rain." From this 'Pir,' Mr. Drew thinks, the Pass acquired the first part of its present name.

I agree with the above explanation as far as the use of the Persian word Pir is concerned. But I suspect that the custom of connecting mountain passes with holy personages rests on a far older foundation. Superstitious belief has at all times and in all mountainous regions peopled the solitary summits and high ridges with spirits and other supernatural beings. To this day Kashmirian Brahmans fully believe in the presence of Devatās and 'Bhūtas' of all sorts on high mountain passes. In those parts of the Himalaya where Hinduism has survived among all classes, this superstition can, no doubt, be found still more fully developed.

On all Kashmir Passes, however rarely visited, stone-heaps are found marking the supposed graves of imaginary 'Pirs.' Every pious Muhammadan on passing adds his stone to them. Yet these little cairns existed there in all probability long before Islam reached the country. Exactly the same custom is observed, e.g., by the Hindu Pilgrims to Amaranātha on crossing the Vāvājan Pass above the lake of Suśrauṇāga, 'to please the Devas' as the Māhātmya says.¹

We can show that almost all famous Ziarats in Kashmir, whether of real or imaginary Muhammadan saints, occupy sites which were sacred in earlier times to one or the other Hindu divinity. We can scarcely go far wrong in concluding by their analogy that the 'Pirs' of the Muhammadan wayfarers have only taken the place of the older Hindu 'Devas.'

This surmise is strikingly corroborated by the only passage of the

¹ See Amaranāthamāhātmya, vii. 1 sqq. The stones placed are supposed to represent mathikēs, 'shelter-huts,' in which the gods can find refuge from the evil wind blowing on the pass (hence its alleged Sanskrit name Vāyuvarjana). The duty of making these Mathikēs is enjoined in vii. 19. Mathikēṃ ye na kuruṇti tatraevā Vāyuvarjana 1 dāruṇaṃ naraṅkāṃ yāṇi kalakatpaṃ na saṁkāyaḥ 1 kṛtvā tu mathikēṃ devi pūjayaṃ vidhipārvakam 1 arṇpayed devapṛśītyartham daśāṇābhīḥ samanvitaṃ.
Sanskrit Chronicles which mentions the Pir Pantğal Pass by its proper name. Srivara iii. 433, when relating the return of a Kaşmir refugee ‘by the route of Şarapura’ in the time of ı Hasan Şāh (circ. A.D. 1472–84), tells us of a fatal chill he caught “on the top of the Paşcâladevā.” It is clear that the name here used corresponds exactly to the modern Pir Pantğal, ‘Pir’ being the nearest Muhammadan equivalent for ‘Deva.’

Dr. Bernier’s account has already shown us that popular superstition had not failed to transfer also the supernatural powers of the ‘Deva’ to the Pir who acted as his representative on the Pass.

47. We may now return to the description of the old route where we left it at ‘Alişābād Sarai and resume our journey towards the Pass. From the Mughal hospice the road ascends in a gently sloping valley westwards until at a distance of about 4½ miles the height of the Pass is reached. Close to the point where the descent towards the Panjabi begins, stands the hut of a Faqir. He has inherited the post of Bernier’s Pir, but little of his spiritual powers and his emoluments. An octagonal watch-tower close by, occupied by a Sepoy post till a few years ago, may mark the site of an earlier outpost.

The descent is here as on all Passes of the range far steeper on the Panjabi side than towards Kaşmir. Puşiğana, the next stage, which is reached by zigzag paths along the rocky slope of the mountain, lies already more than 3000 feet below the Pass. The little village is an ancient place. It is undoubtedly the Puşyânanâda of Kalhanâ who mentions it repeatedly in connection with the civil wars of his own time.1 Puşyânanâda served often as a refuge for rebel leaders for whom Kaşmir had become too hot. They could hence conveniently resume their inroads. We see here again clearly that the Kaşmir frontier ran on the watershed of the range; for of Puşyânanâda it is distinctly said that it belonged already to the territory of Râjspurî.

From Puşiğana the road descends in a westerly direction along the bed of a stream which belongs to the headwaters of the Taşî (Tohi) of Prânts. The next stage is the hill-village of Bahrâmgala, a considerable place which is mentioned already by Srivara under the name of Bhairavâgala.2 From Bahrâmgala the route turns to the south and crosses, by the Pass known as Ratan Pir (8200 feet), the range which has already been mentioned as a branch from the Pir Pantğal chain. There the route enters the region of the middle mountains and descends in an open valley to Rajauri, the ancient Râjspurî, where we may leave it.

1 Compared Râjat. viii. 969 note. The ending nâda is identical with nâla, Anglo-Indic ‘Nullah,’ i.e., ‘valley, ravine.’
2 See Sriv. iv. 539, 589.
Beyond the Pir Pansâl Pass the summit-line of the main range rises again considerably. The Tang-tala Pass which is about five miles due north of the Pir Pansâl Pass and is mentioned by Abû-l-Fazl, 1 is already far higher. The track crossing it is scarcely practicable for animals.

The same is the case, as personal experience showed me, with the next two Passes, known by the Pahâri names of Cittapâni and Côûî Gâli; they are both over 14,000 feet high. The first one was probably used on occasion of the inroad related by Srîvara, iv. 589 sqq. We are told there of a rebel force which coming from Rajauri evaded the troops of Sultân Muḥammad Shâh posted at Sûrapura, by crossing the mountains in the direction of Kâcâgalâ. This place, as shown on the map, corresponds undoubtedly to the alpine plateau or ‘Marg’ of Kâcâgalâ on the northern slope of the Pir Pansâl range.

A short distance to the northwest of the Côûî Gâli Pass the range culminates in its greatest snowy peak, Mount Taṭâkûṭî, which rises to a height of 15,524 feet. Owing to its bold shape and central position this peak is the most conspicuous object in the panorama of the whole range, whether seen from the Kaśmir Valley or from the Panjab plains. To the north it presents a precipitous face of unscaleable rocks. On the south it is surrounded by snowfields which on the occasion of an ascent made late in the season I found still of considerable extent. We have already seen that it is this peak which Albârûnî describes under the name of Kulârjâk. 2 For an observer from the Panjab plain about Gujût the appearance of the peak, with its glittering dome of snow, is very striking, notwithstanding the great distance (about 87 miles as the crow flies). I have sighted it on very clear days even from Lahore Minârs.

From Taṭâkûṭî the chain continues at a great elevation for a considerable distance, the summit ridge keeping an average height between 14,000 and 15,000 feet. We find it crossed first by the Passes of Sangafâd, Nûrpâr and Cörgâli, all difficult routes leading down into the valley of Lohârin, the ancient Lohara. It is only at the Töûsîmaidân Pass that we meet again with an important and ancient line of communication.

This Pass being on the most direct route between the Kaśmir capital and Lohara, was of special importance during the reigns of the later Kaśmirian kings whose original home and safest stronghold was in Lohara. We

1 See Ain-i Akb. ii. p. 343.
2 Compare above, § 14.
find accordingly the route leading over the Töṣmaidän Pass often referred to in the last two Books of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle.

But apart from this historical connection the Töṣmaidän route must have always been prominent among the old lines of communication from Kaśmir owing to its natural advantages. It was the shortest route into the Valley of Pūṇch (Parnotea) and hence to that portion of the western Panjāb which lies between the Jehlam and Indus. It was besides under the old conditions of road and travel probably the easiest and safest route in that direction.¹

This old route started from the present village of Drang, situated at the foot of the mountains in the Biru Pargana, circ. 33° 57' lat. 74° 36' long. The name of the village is, of course, nothing but the old term of draṅga, 'watch-station.' In old times the place was distinguished as Kārkotadraṅga.² It may have received the distinctive first part of its name, Kārkotā, from the mountain-ridge now known as Kākōdaṛ, which is passed higher up on the route. Kā. Kākōdaṛ could well be derived from an earlier Skr. form like Kārkotadhara. The Tirthasamgraha also mentions a Kārkoṭanāga somewhere in this direction.

From Drang where a customs-station exists to this day, the road ascends over an easy forest-clad slope to the edge of the Töṣmaidän. This is, as the name indicates, a large upland plateau of undulating grazing grounds, rising very gradually from a level of about 10,000 feet. At the point where the road strikes the northern edge of the plateau, there are several ruined towers. They seem to have been last repaired on occasion of the Sikh invasion of 1814 to be referred to below, but are probably far older. The spot is known to this day as Barbal which in Kā. means 'the place of the Gate' (Kā. bar < Skr. dvāra). In view of this designation and the commanding position of the place we can safely locate here the proper Dvāra or 'Gate' of this route.³

The route after crossing the Töṣmaidän plateau ascends over gently sloping grassy ridges to the Kākōdaṛ spur and passing along the south foot of the latter reaches the Pass. The ascent is so gradual and easy that though the elevation of the latter is over 13,000 feet, the construction of a cart-road would so far meet with little difficulty. The Pass itself is equally easy.

On its west side two routes are available. One descends in the

¹ The historical references to this route will be found collected in Note E (Rājat. iv. 177) on Lohara, §§ 5–14.
² Compare Rājat. vii. 140; viii. 1596 notes.
³ The term dvāra is actually used by Kalhaṇa, vii. 140, 1301, for a fortified post on this route. The village Drang is a suitable enough position for a customs and police station; the point for military defence, however, is higher up at 'Barbal.'
Gâgrî Valley past the village of Châmbar mentioned in the Râjatâraṅgini by the name of Sârâmbâra. The other leads over a cross-spur in a south-westerly direction straight down into the valley now known as Lohârin. The position of the ancient castle of Lohâra which I was able to trace in the centre of this great and fertile valley, has been fully discussed by me in a separate note. About 8 miles further down the valley and at the point where its waters meet the stream coming from Gâgrî, lies the large village of Maṇḍî. It marks the site of the old ‘market of Aṭṭālikâ,’ repeatedly mentioned by Kalâpa. From Maṇḍî onwards the route passes into the open valley of the Tohi (Tânsi) of Prûnts which offers an easy line of communication down to the plains.

The historical importance of the Tûstacles route is best illustrated by the fact that it was chosen on two occasions for expeditions aiming at the invasion of Kâsmîr. We have already referred to Mahmûd of Ghazna’s expedition, probably of A.D. 1021, which Alberûnî accompanied, and to which we owe the valuable information recorded by him. This attempt at invasion, perhaps the most serious of which we know during Hindu times, was frustrated by the valorous defence of the castle of Lohara and a timely fall of snow. Nor was Mahârája Ranjit Singh more successful when in 1814 he first attempted to invade Kâsmîr by this route. The portion of the Sikh army led by him in person, safely reached the Tûstacles plateau where the Afghân defenders were posted near the towers above mentioned. Difficulties of supplies, however, and the news of a reverse sustained by the column marching by the Pir Panggâl route forced on a retreat. This ended in a complete rout in the mountain defiles about Lohârin.

It may yet be mentioned that the route over the Tûstacles was already in all probability followed by Hîuen Tsiang on his way to Parpotsa or Prûnts. It remained a favourite trade route until the recent Jehlam Valley cart-road was constructed. Owing to the elevation of the Pass, however, this route is always closed by snow longer than, e.g., that of the Pir Panggâl. During the winter, therefore, the road from Lohara to Kâsmîr lay by the lower passes in the west leading into the Vitasâ Valley below Bârâmûla.

1 See Râjat. viii. 1875-77 note.
2 See Note E, iv. 177; also Ind. Ant. 1897, pp. 225 sqq.
3 See Râjat. viii. 581 note.
4 See above, § 14.
5 For a more detailed account of this expedition, see Note E, iv. 177, § 14.
6 Compare above, § 9.
7 See Note E (Râjat. iv. 177), §§ 7, 8, for Kalâpa’s references to the occasions when this more circuitous route was used.

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Not far to the north of the Tosemaidan Pass the range still attains a height of over 15,000 feet in a group of bold snowy peaks. Its summit ridge then gradually descends and is crossed by some lower passes from the neighbourhood of the well-known alpine plateau of Gulmarg. From a summit behind Gulmarg (marked 'Sallar' on the map) several spurs radiate. They form the northern end of the range, and descend very steeply and with faces of rugged cliffs into the narrow valley of the Vitasta.

Section III.—The Vitasta Valley.

50. We have already spoken of the Vitasta Valley as the single outlet for the waters of Kashmir and as the great gate of the country. We may now cast a glance at the old route leading through it and at the defences by which nature has fortified it.

The Vitasta Valley below Baramula is confined between two ranges of mountains. The one to the south is a branch of the Pir Panjal Range separating from the main chain at a point behind Gulmarg. The range to the north belongs to a mountain-system which culminates in the Kajnag Peak (14,400 feet) and is usually designated by the name of the latter. These two ranges accompany the course of the river for some eighty miles westwards down to the point near Muzaффarabad where the Vitasta makes its sudden bend to the south.

Along the whole length of the Valley, cross-ridges, more or less steep and rugged, run from both sides down to the river-bed. This consists from below Baramula of an almost unbroken succession of rapids, the fall in level being nearly 3000 feet in the above distance. The Valley is throughout narrow and wanting in level ground. But for about 50 miles, down to the old Kashmir frontier line, it may more fitly be described as a narrow ravine. Only occasional alluvial terraces high above the river afford room here for settlement and cultivation.

Owing to this extremely confined nature of the Valley, communication on the route leading along it must have always been troublesome and risky in old times. The natural difficulties of this long defile were no doubt considerably increased by the restless disposition of the Khasa tribe which has held it since ancient times. The Sikhs who were the last to fight their way through these passes, suffered more than one disaster at the hand of the hill-men. The line of forts erected by them along the valley attests to this day the trouble they experienced...
in holding the passage. The military difficulties of a march through such a succession of dangerous defiles must have been even greater in old times which knew no fire-arms. The protection of the route against an active enemy who could easily seize and hold all commanding positions, was then, no doubt, a still more difficult task.

51. It is probably on account of the circumstances here briefly indicated that we hear in the Chronicles comparatively little of the route following the Vitastā Valley Route. Being the shortest line of communication to the present Hazāra District and the Indus, it was certainly used from early times. We have seen that Hien Tsiang and Oo-k'ong coming from the ancient Gandhāra and Uraśā followed it on their way to Kaśmir, and that it was well-known to Albārīnī.

But it seems probable that its importance, military and commercial, was then far smaller than that of the Pir Panṭsāl and Tēṣhmaidān routes. It is only in modern times that this western route has attained real prominence. This originated in the time of the Afghan rule over Kaśmir when the route along the Vitastā to Muẓaffarābād and hence though Hazāra afforded the shortest and least exposed line of communication between Kaśmir and Peshawar. Subsequently after the annexation of the Paujāb, the establishment of the hill-station of Murree naturally drew traffic in this direction. The construction of the Tonga Road from Murree to Bārmūla in our own time finally assured to this route its present supremacy.

There is at present a road on each side of the Valley leading down to Muẓaffarābād. But only the route along the right bank of the river can claim any antiquity. The one on the opposite bank has come into general use only within the last few decades since traffic towards Murree and Rawalpindi sprung up. The track chosen for the old road is easily accounted for by topographical facts. We have already noticed that the Vitastā Valley route was of importance chiefly as leading to Hazāra (Uraśā) and hence to the old Gandhāra. A glance at the map will show that the open central portion of Hazāra is most easily gained by crossing the Kishangārgā just above Muẓaffarābād and then passing the comparatively low ridge which separates this river from the Kunhār stream. The route here indicated finds its natural continuation towards

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1 Moorcroft's account of his attempt to use the Muẓaffarābād route in 1823 gives a graphic picture of the obstacles created by the rapacious hill-tribes; see Travels, ii. pp. 281 seq. Compare also Lawrence, Valley, p. 200.

2 Baron Hüel quite correctly notes a Kaśmir tradition that the Bārmula route was properly opened up only about 80 years before his own visit (1885) on the arrival of the Pathāns; see Kaschmir, ii. p. 174.
Kaśmir on the right bank of the Vitastā, the crossing of the latter being wholly avoided. It has already been shown above that this route, now marked by the stages of Abbottabad, Garhi Ḥabibullāh, Muzaffarābād and Bārāmūla, is directly indicated in Alberūnī’s itinerary.1

52. We may now proceed to examine the old notices regarding this route. It started in Kaśmir from the twin towns of Varāhamūla-Huśkapura which occupied the sites of the present Bārāmūla and Uskūr, respectively. Huśkapura on the left river bank, though the more important of the two places in ancient times, has dwindled down to a mere village. Varāhamūla-Bārāmūla, however, on the opposite bank is still a flourishing place and an emporium of trade. It occupies a narrow strip of open ground between the river and the foot of a steep mountain side.

Close to the western end of the town a rocky ridge with a precipitous slope runs down into the river-bed. Only a few yards’ space is left open for the road. At this point there stood till last year (1897) an old ruined gateway known to the people as the Drang or ‘watch-station.’ It had been occupied as a military police post; until the ‘Rāhdārī’ system was abolished, watch was kept here over those who entered or left the Valley. I had examined the gateway in 1892. When revisiting the spot in May, 1898, I could scarcely trace its foundations. The decayed walls had meanwhile been sold by auction, and its materials carried away by a contractor.

Though the structure I had seen, was scarcely older than the time of Sikh rule, there can be little doubt that it marked the site of the ancient ‘Gate’ of Varāhamūla. This is clearly indicated by the situation of the spot which is by far the most convenient in the neighbourhood for the purpose of a watch-station. Moorcroft does not mention the name Drang, but describes the gateway itself accurately enough. Here then, we may assume, stood in ancient times “the stone gate, the western entrance of the kingdom”, through which Hiuen Tsiang had passed before he reached Huśkapura (Hu-se-kia-lo), his first night’s quarter in the Valley. Ou-k’ong too and Albūriū, as we have seen, knew well this watch-station which is also mentioned by Kalhaḍa under the general designation of Dvāra.2

The road keeps close by the bank of the river as it winds in rapid fall through the rock-bound gorge. About two and a half miles below ‘Drang’ the hill sides recede slightly, leaving room for a small village

1 See above, § 14. [The construction of a Tonga road between Abbottabad and Muzaffarābād, recently sanctioned (1899), is sure to make the old route through Haṣāra again popular.]

2 See Rājat. viii. 413 note.
called Nārān Thal. Near it stands a little temple, with a spring close by which is visited by pilgrims and is probably identical with the Nārayana-sthāna of the Nilamata.\(^1\)

About a mile below this point and close to the village of Khādāniyār,\(^2\) the river turns sharply round a steep and narrow spur projecting into the valley from the north-west. A ledge of rocks continues the spur below the river-bed and forms the first serious rapid of the Vitastā below which boats cannot pass (see map). The road crosses the spur by a narrow and deep cut, known as Dyāregul. Kalhana's Chronicle knows this curious cutting by the appropriate name of Yaksadara, 'the demon's cleft.' According to the tradition there recorded the operations by which Suyya, Avantivarman's engineer, lowered the level of the Vitastā, extended to this point of the river bed.\(^3\)

53. Two miles below Dyāregul we pass near the village of Zehenpōr, some ancient site vaguely described by Vigne and Hügel. Still further down near the village of Gingal the map marks the ruins of a temple which I have not been able to visit. But no localities on this route are known to us from our old sources until after about three and a half marches we reach the side valley marked on the map as 'Peliāsa.' This valley and the large village at its entrance are known indeed to the Pahāri population by the name of Peliāsa. But the Kaśmiris settled at several places along the Vitastā Valley call them Buliāsa. This form of the name which I ascertained by local enquiries, enables us to identify this locality with the Boliāsa of the Rājatarāngini.

Kalhana in his account of Śaṅkaravarman's ill-fated expedition towards the Indus (A.D. 902) mentions Bolīṣasa as the place where the Kaśmir army retreating from Uraśā reached the border of their own territory.\(^4\) This reference is of special interest as it shows that Kaśmir authority extended in Hindu times down to this point of the Valley. We can easily reconcile this fact with the existence of the 'Dvāra' at Varāhamūla.

The gorge at the latter place offered a convenient position for establishing a watch-station which was to secure control over the traffic and the collection of customs. But in regard to military defence a frontier-line in the immediate vicinity of the Kaśmir Valley would have been very unsafe. I believe, therefore, that the Vitastā Valley

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\(^1\) See Nilamata, 1179, 1315, 1349. The name occurs also repeatedly in the several Varahasvatramāṭāmyas.

\(^2\) Perhaps the Khādānāvihāra of Rājat. iii. 14.

\(^3\) Compare Rājat. v. 87 note.

\(^4\) See Rājat. v. 228 note.
below Varāhamūla was held as an outlying frontier-tract as far as the present Buliāsa. It is exactly a few miles below this place that ascending the Valley the first serious difficulties are encountered on the road. An advanced frontier-post could scarcely have occupied a strategically more advantageous position.

The conclusion here indicated is fully supported by what Kalhaṇa's narrative tells us of a locality almost exactly opposite to Buliāsa. Kalhaṇa mentions in two places a place called Virānaka in connection with events which make it clear that it lay in the Viśastā Valley and just on the border of Kaśmir territory. I have been able to trace the position of Virānaka at the modern hill-village of Vīran, near the left bank of the Viśastā and only a short distance above Buliāsa. The valley below the old frontier thus marked is now known as Dvārbidi. Its ancient name is given by an old gloss of the Rājataragini which speaks of Bolyāsaka as situated in Dvāravatī. Local enquiries have shown me that even to the present day popular tradition indicates a ridge a short distance above Buliāsa as the eastern limit of Dvārbidi.

In the account of Saṃkaravarman's above-mentioned expedition six marches are reckoned from the capital of Uraśā to Bolyāsaka. This agrees exactly with the present reckoning which also counts six marches from the vicinity of Buliāsa to Abbottabad. Near this place, the modern head-quarter of the Hazāra District, the old capital of Uraśā was in all probability situated.

54. It remains for us to notice briefly what is known of ancient localities on the left side of the Valley. As already explained there was no great line of communication on this side corresponding to the present Murree-Bārāmūla Road. Yet for two marches down the Valley, as far as Ūrī, the route of the left bank is likely to have been much frequented. From Ūrī a convenient route leads over the easy Hāji Pir Pass to Prūṁta or Parṇota. This pass owing to its small elevation, only 8500 feet, is never completely closed by snow. It is hence much used during the winter-months when the more direct routes to Kaśmir via the Pir Panteśāl, Tōṅmaidān or other high Passes are rendered impracticable.

1 See Rājat. v. 214 and viii. 409. In the first passage we hear of an attack made on Virānaka by the chief commander of the frontier posts (dvaṛēsā). In the second Virānaka is referred to as a settlement of Khaṣas which offered the first safe refuge to Sussala when defeated before Varāhamūla, A.D. 1111.

2 See Rājat. v. 225 and note v. 214.

Marching down the valley from Uṣkūr: Huskapura, we first cross the spur which bounds the gorge of Varāhamūla from the south. We then reach a fertile little plain, about two miles broad, charmingly situated in an amphitheatre of high pine-clad mountains and facing the Dyār-gul ridge. It is known as Nārārāṇav and contains at the village of Sir and Futtegarh considerable remains of ancient temples. On a small plateau which forms the western boundary of this plain by the river bank, lies the village of Kṛṣṇāmū. It marks the site of the ancient Buddhist convent of Kṛṣṇasrama, the foundation of which a curious legend related by Kalhaṇa attributes to the son of Aśoka.1 Ou-k'ong refers to it as the 'monastère du mont Kitchê.'

At Būnīār, near the end of the first day's march we pass the well-preserved ruins of an ancient temple which are of considerable antiquarian interest. Its name and date cannot be traced in our extant records. Another similar ruin, but far more decayed, flanks the road about midway between Būnīār and Üri.

From near the latter place the Vitastā Valley is held on the left bank chiefly by the Khakha tribe, on the right by the closely related Bombas. In the former we recognize the ancient Khaśas whose settlements lower down the Valley, at Virānaka, are distinctly mentioned by Kalhaṇa.2 The predatory habits and restless ways of the Khaśas form a frequent theme in the Chronicle. The modern Khakbas and Bombas have up to the middle of the present century done their best to maintain this ancient reputation, just as their seats have remained the old ones.

1 See Rājat. i. 147 note; also my Notes on Ou-k'ong, pp. 13 sqq. Kṛṣṇasrama is mentioned already by Kṣemendra, Samayam. ii. 61.
2 Rājat. viii. 409.
SECTION IV.—NORTHERN MOUNTAIN RANGE.

55. The mountains which enclose the Kashmir Valley in the north-west and north, may be looked upon as one great range. Their chain nowhere shows any marked break though its direction changes considerably. The routes leading through these mountains have never been of such importance in the history of Kashmir as the routes towards India and the west. Hence our information regarding the old topography of this mountain range is also less detailed.

We are least informed about that portion of the range which joins on to the Kajnag Peak north-west of Baramula and then continues in the direction of south to north towards the upper Kishanganga. The water-shed of this portion forms the western boundary of Kashmir towards Karnau, the ancient Karnaha. This territory which may be roughly described as lying between the Kishanganga and the Kajnag Range, seems at times to have been tributary to Kashmir. Yet we hear of it only in the concluding portion of Kalhana's Chronicle, and there too no details are given regarding the routes leading to it. These routes as the map shows, start from the ancient districts of Samala (Hamal) and Uttara (Uttar).

At the point where the summit of the range comes nearest to the Kishanganga, it takes a turn to the east and continues in this direction for more than 100 miles. The summit ridge keeps after this turn at a fairly uniform height of 12,000 to 13,000 feet for a long distance. From the northern parts of the Uttar and Lolan Parganas several routes cross the range in the direction of the Kishanganga.

Kalhana has occasion to refer to these in connection with the expedition which took place in his own time against the Sirahsil castle. This stood on the Kishanganga close to the ancient Tirtha of the goddess Sareda still extant at the present Sardi. One of these routes leads past the village of Druag, situated at 74° 18' 45" long. 34° 33' 30" lat. It is certain that the place took its name from an ancient watch-station here located and is identical with the Dranga mentioned by Kalhana in connection with the above expedition. I have not been able to visit the place in person but was informed in the neighbourhood that remains of

1 Compare Rajat. viii. 2485 note.
2 Compare regarding the Saredatirtha and the castle of Sirahsil, notes i. 36 (B) and viii. 2492 (L), respectively; also below, § 127.
3 See Rajat. viii. 2507 note.
old watch-towers are still found on the path which leads up to the pass behind the village of Drang.

Besides the route marked by this old frontier-station there are others leading in the same direction. One is to the west over the Sitalvan Pass; the other lies in the west and passing through the valley of Króras descends directly to Sardi along the Madhumati stream. The portion of the Kišangāgā Valley into which these routes lead, can never have been of much importance itself though there are indications of gold-washing having been carried on in it. But from Sardi starts a route leading very directly, by the Kankatōri (Sarasvati) River and over a high pass, into Cilās on the Indus; this line of communication may already in old times have brought some traffic to Sardi.

Owing to the inroads made by Cilās and the restless Bomba chiefs of the Kišangāgā Valley, the Pathān Governors found it necessary to settle Afridis at Drang and the neighbouring villages to guard the passes. The presence of these Afghān colonies shows that the conditions which necessitated the maintenance of the old frontier watch-station at Dranga, had altered little in the course of centuries.

56. Above Sardi the course of the Kišangāgā lies for a long distance through an almost inaccessible and uninhabited gorge. Hence for over 30 miles eastwards we find no proper route across the mountain range. Kalhana gives us a vivid and interesting account of the difficulties offered by a winter-march along the latter when he describes the flight of the pretender Bhoja from Sirahbīlī castle to the Darads on the Upper Kišangāgā.

The line of communication we meet next is, however, an important one. It leads from the north shore of the Volur lake into that part of the Upper Kišangāgā Valley which is known as Gurēz, and connects with the routes leading to Astōr and the Balti territory on the Indus. The road used in recent years, and now improved by British engineers into the 'Gilgit Transport Road,' crosses the range by the Trāqbal or RādianGAN Pass, nearly 12,000 feet high. But the route frequented in ancient times lay some eight miles further to the east.

Kalhana refers in several places to the hill fort of DugdhaGHĀTA which guarded the mountain-route leading into Kaśmir territory from inroads of the Darads. The latter can easily be shown to have held

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1 Compare Note B on Sāradā (Rājat. i. 36), §§ 2, 16. To this circumstance the of Drang owes probably the distinguishing designation of Sunṭ-Drang 'the Gold Drang,' by which it is popularly known.
2 See Bates, Gazetteer, p. 400.
3 See Rājat. viii. 2710 sqq.
4 J. i. 12
then as now the Kishangangā Valley about Gurūz and the neighbouring territories to the north. From Kalhana’s description it is evident that this frontier fort stood on, or close to, the summit of a pass. Thanks to the indications of the Chronicle I was able to identify its site on the top of the Dudsakhut Pass.¹ The Pass (shown on the map by its ancient name Dugdaghātā) is approached on the Kasmīr side from the valley of the Bāṇḍpōr stream, still known to the Brahmans by its old name Madhumait. At the small village of Ātavunṭh (map ‘Atawat’) a side valley is entered which is narrow and somewhat difficult below, but higher up widens. Its highest portion which forms the immediate approach to the pass, is an open alpine valley known to the mountain shepherds as Vijje Marg.

The term Marg which denotes any high alpine grazing ground frequented in the summer by herdsmen, is the modern Kasmīrī equivalent, and direct derivative, of Skr. mathikā. It designated originally the small shelter-huts of stone or wood usually erected on such high plateaus or valleys by their summer occupants.² It is probably that Vijje Marg represents the Prājimathikā which Kalhana mentions as the position occupied by the Kasmīr forces during their unsuccessful siege of the fort.

As a characteristic point it may be mentioned that the garrison depended for its water-supply on the storage of snow. This had become exhausted at the late summer season when the siege took place, but, luckily for the Darad defenders, was replaced by a fresh fall of snow. The latter is explained by the elevation of the pass which I estimated at about 11,500 feet. Snow-storms occur sometimes on the neighbouring Trāg-bal Pass so early as September.

From the Dudsakhut Pass an easy track over the ridge marked ‘Kiser’ on the map leads down to Gurūz, the chief place of the Valley. The latter corresponds probably to the Daratpurī of the Rājataranginī. The route over the Dudsakhut, being very direct and comparatively easy during the summer, was much frequented by Dard traders until the recent construction of the ‘Gilgit Transport Road.’ It was used by the Sikhs for military convoys until a disaster caused by an avalanche above Ātavunṭh induced them to change it for the Trāg-bal route. It also seems to have been mentioned to Baron Hūgél.³ In Muhammadan

¹ For detailed evidence regarding this location and a description of the site, see Rājat.—vii. 1171 note.
² Skr. mathikā is the diminutive of mātha ‘hut’, ‘Sarki.’ The Kī. derivative of the latter term, mar, is still used regularly for the rude shelter-huts which are found on the higher passes particularly towards the north.
³ See Kaschmir, ii. p. 109.
times both routes were in charge of a ‘Malik’ who resided in the castle of Bandokoth, not far from the ancient Mātrgrāma shown on the map.

In ancient times there probably existed in the same neighbourhood a watch-station or Draṅga. On-k’ong when speaking of the ‘gate to the north’ through which the road led to Polī or Baltistān, may have meant either this Draṅga or the fort of Dugdhaghāta.

57. To the east of the Dudkhut Pass the summits of the range Mount Haramukuta gradually get higher and higher until we reach the great mountain-mass of the Haramukh Peaks. Rising to close on 17,000 feet and surrounded by glaciers of considerable size, these Peaks dominate the view towards the north from a great part of the Kāsmir Valley. Sacred legends have clustered around them from early times. The lakes below their glaciers belong still to the holiest of Kāsmirian Tirthas. The ancient name of the Peaks is HARAMUKUṬA, ‘Siva’s diadem.’ This is explained by a legend which is related at length in the Haracaritacintāmaṇi.1 Their height is supposed to be Siva’s favourite residence.2 Hence Kāsmirian tradition stoutly maintains that human feet cannot reach the Peaks’ summit.3

The lake which lies at the foot of the north-eastern glacier, at a level of over 13,000 feet, is looked upon as the true source of the Kāsmir Gaṅgā or Sind River. It is hence known as Uttaragāndā or popularly Gangabal.4 It is the final goal of the great ‘Haramuktaṅgaṅgā’ pilgrimage which takes place annually in the month of Bhādrapada and is attended by thousands of pilgrims. The bones of those who have died during the year, are on that occasion deposited in the sacred waters. A short distance below this lake is another also fed by a glacier and now known as Nundkōl. Its old name Kālodaka or Nandisaras is derived from a legend which makes the lake the joint habitation of Kāla, i.e., Siva, and of his faithful attendant Nandin. From the

1 See Haracar. iv. 62 sqq.
2 The legends relating to Siva’s residence on Mount Haramukuta and his connection with the several sacred sites of Nandikṣetra, are given at great length in the Nilamata 1049 sqq.
3 Owing to this superstition I had great difficulty in inducing any of my Kāsmirī Coolies (Muhmadans!) to accompany me on the ascent I made to the Peaks in September, 1894. My Brahman friends could not give credence to my having reached the summit. According to their opinion the very fact of my having reached the Peak was a sufficient proof of this not having been Haramukuta. An argument as simple as incontrovertible to the orthodox mind.
4 See my note Bṛājat. i. 57. Another name often used in the Nilamata and other texts is Uttaramāṇasa; see Bṛājat. iii. 448 note.
latter the whole collection of sacred sites takes the name of Nandikṣetra by which Kalhana usually designates it.1

In the valley of the Kānkānai stream (Skr. KANAKAVĀHINI) which issues from these lakes, lies the sacred site of Śiva Bhūteśvara (now Buthūśra). It is closely connected with the legends of Mount Haramukuṭa and often mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī.2 A series of interesting temple ruins marks the importance of this Tīrtha and that of the ancient Jyeṣṭhēśvara shrine which immediately adjoins it.3 Bhūteśvara is passed by the pilgrims on their way back from the sacred lakes, while on their way up they reach the latter by another route, passing the high ridge known as Bharatagarī and the smaller lake of Brahamasaras.

From the Gāṅgā lake a track passable for ponies leads over the Satsaran Pass to Tīlīl, a Dard district on the Kīṣangāṅgā. It is probably the route by which King Hārho’s rebel brother Vijayamalla escaped from Lahara (Lār) to the Darad territory.4

58. Eastwards from the Haramukuṭa Peaks the range does not overlook on the south the main Valley of Kāsmīr, but that of the Sind River. The general level of the summits rises, and glaciers of fair size become frequent on their northern slopes. Close to the head of the Sind Valley, the range we have been so far following joins on to the great chain of snowy mountains which stretches from Mount Nangā Parvat in a south-easterly direction to the Nankun Peaks in Sūru.5 A few miles south of this junction we arrive at a gap in the mountains which forms the lowest watershed between the Indus and the Vīstāḷ hind lines. It is the Pass known generally by its Lādākhī name of Zōji-Lā. It leads at an elevation of 11,300 feet from Baltal, on the headwaters of the Sind, to a high-level valley draining into the Drās River and hence into the Indus.

The route leading over the Zōji-Lā undoubtedly has been already in ancient times a most important thoroughfare. It connects Kāsmīr with Lādākh and thence with Tibet and China. Here too the natural watershed has in old as in modern times been also the ethnic boundary. Beyond the Pass begins the land of the Bhauttas or Bhūtās, as the Tibetan inhabi-

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1 See Rājat. i. 36 note.
2 See regarding the history and remains of Bhūteśvara, Rājat. i. 107; v. 55 notes. The Tīrtha was rich enough to attract a special expedition of marauding hillmen in Kalhana’s time; see viii. 2756.
3 See Rājat. i. 113 note.
4 See Rājat. viii. 911.
5 Compare regarding this great range which may fitly be called the main range of the mountain system around Kāsmīr, Drew, Jummoo, pp. 194 sqq.
tants of the Indus region are uniformly designated in our Kāshmirian
texts (modern Ks. Bunc).

On-k'ong is the first who refers distinctly to this route when
speaking of the road which leads through the gate in the east to Tou-fan
or Tibet. Kalhana has scarcely occasion to refer to it, as the regions
beyond the Pass lay quite beyond the reach of the political power of
the later Kāshmirian kings. He probably means, however, the Zoji-Lā
when mentioning the route of the Bhūtā-land (Bhūtārāstraḍāvan) by
which the Darads offered to pass the pretender Bhoja into Kāshmir,
while the more direct routes from their own territory were closed by
the winter. An easy pass connects Tilēl at the head of the Kīṣangaṅgā
Valley with the Drās territory to the east. From there Bhoja could
then have entered Kāshmir viād the Zoji-Lā.

This Pass, the ancient name of which is not known to us, has more
than once witnessed successful invasions of Kāshmir. Through it came
early in the 14th century the Turk (?) Dulka and the Bhautṣa Riścana
whose usurpation led to the downfall of Hindu rule in the Valley.
About two centuries later Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaidar with his small
Mughal force successfully fought here his entrance into Kāshmir
(A.D. 1532). The account he gives of this exploit in his Tāriḵ-i-
Rashidi, is not without topographical interest.

59. A high peak situated about 10 miles east-southeast of the
Zoji-Lā, marks the point where the range forming the eastern
boundary of Kāshmir branches off from the main chain. This range
runs in an almost southerly direction until it reaches the southern-
most headwaters of the Vitastā. It then turns to the north-west and
at the Bānāhāl Pass joins on to the Pir Pangūl Range. Through this
range there lead routes connecting Kāshmir with the Madīvādvān
Valley (see § 84) which drains into the Cīnāb, and with Kaṭṭāvār,
the ancient Kāṭavāṭa, on the Cīnāb itself. Both these Valleys are con-
fined, difficult of access, and scantily populated. They have hence never
played an important part either in the foreign relations or trade of
Kāshmir. On this account our notices regarding the old topography
of the dividing range are extremely meagre.

1 Compare Rājat. i. 312-316 note.
2 Compare Rājat. viii. 2897.
3 See Jonar. 142 sqq., and for the stratagem by which Riścana forced his way
into Lahara (Lār), 165 sqq. The Laharakoṭa mentioned in the last passage pro-
ably represents the old watch-station of this route, but its position is un-
certain.
4 See Tāriḵ-i-Rashidi, transl. by Messrs. Elias and Ross, pp. 423 sqq., and
below, § 131.
At its northern end and close to the great snowy peak already mentioned, is the Tirtha of Amareśvara or Amaranātha, known by its Kaśmiri name as Amburnāth. Together with the sacred Gaṅgā-<br>lake on Mount Haramukha, it is now the most popular of Kaśmirian pilgrimage places. Its Yātra in the month of Srāvaṇa attracts many thousands of pilgrims not only from Kaśmir but from all parts of India. Their goal is a cave situated at a considerable altitude and formed by a huge fissure on the south side of a snowy peak, 17,300 feet high (marked 'Ambarnath' on map). In this cave there is a large block of transparent ice formed by the freezing of the water which oozes from the rock. It is worshipped as a self-created (svayaṁabhū) Liṅga, and is considered the embodiment of Śiva-Amareśvara.

Judging from the scanty references made to this Tirtha in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and the Nilamata, it appears doubtful whether it could have enjoyed in old times quite such great celebrity as now. But Jonarāja already relates a visit to this sacred site paid by Sultan Zain-ul-ʿAbidin,5 and in the Māhāmya literature Amareśvara receives its due share of attention. The pilgrims' route described in great detail by the Amaranāthamāhāmya ascends the valley of the eastern branch of the Līdē or Ledarī. There the lake of the Nāga Suśravas, now known as Suśramnāg or (with a popular etymology) Seśanāg, is visited at the north foot of a great glacier descending from the Kohenhār Peak. In this lake and a small rock-bound inlet of it called Jāmāṭrāṇa (Zāmatur Nāg), the local legend, related by Kalhaṇa, i. 267 sqq., and connected with the ancient site of Narapura, has placed the habitation of the Nāga Suśravas and of his son-in-law.8 The route then crosses a high pass, known as Vāvajan (Skr. Vāyuvarjana in the Māhāmya), into a high-level valley drained by five streams which bear the joint designation of Pañcataraṅgiṇī. From there the pilgrims toil up a lofty spur to the northeast and descend into the narrow gloomy valley which lies at the foot of the Amburnāth Peak. It is watered by a stream (Amarāvatī) which comes from the glacier of a still higher peak to the east. Joining the Pañcataaraṅgiṇī it flows through an inaccessible gorge down to the head of the Sind Valley near Baltal.

1 See for the old notices of the Tirthas, Rājat. i. 267 note; for a description of the modern pilgrimage, Vigne, Travels, ii. pp. 10 sqq., and Bates, Gazetteer, pp. 121 sq.
2 Compare Jonar. (Bombay ed.) 1233 sqq.
3 Compare Rājat. i. 267 note.
60. Connected with the eastern range is a mass of mountains which it will be convenient to mention here though it does not form part of the mountain-barriers of Kaśmir. It fills the great triangular space which lies between the Sind Valley and the range in the east we have just noticed, the level ground along the right bank of the Vītastā forming as it were the base. This mass of mountains separates from the eastern ridge between the Kohenhār and Āmburnāth Peaks. Trending westwards it soon culminates in the conspicuous pinnacle of Mount Gātri (map ‘Kolahoi’), close on 18,000 feet in height. From this conspicuous mountain numerous spurs radiate with glaciers in their topmost hollows.

The highest of these ridges runs for about thirty miles along the Sind Valley, of which it forms the southern side. A high cross-spur, now known as Dūrūn Nār, which descends to the north towards Sūrmārg, is probably identical with Mount Dhupāvana, the scene of a siege related in the Rājatañgi. The extremity of this ridge in the west forms the amphitheatre of bold hills which encircle the Dāl lake and Srinagar on the north. Here we have Mount Mahādeva which is much frequented as a Tīrtha.

Facing it from the south is the rocky spur which lines the eastern shores of the Dāl. It bore in old days the name of Śātovāra, and is the site of a series of ancient pilgrimage places, such as Sūrēsvāra, Tripurēsvāra, Harśēsvāra, and Jyeṣṭheśvāra, which will be discussed below. The extreme offshoot of this spur is the ‘Hill of Gopa’ (Gopādri), the present Takh-t-i Sulaimān, which is so conspicuous a feature in the landscape of Srinagar. Other spurs descending into the vale further east form successively the semicircular side-valleys containing the Pargānas of Vīhari and Vular.

We now return once more to the eastern range. South of the Kohenhār Peak which is still over 17,000 feet high, its summit ridge gets gradually lower. It is crossed by the Margan Pass into Mādi-vāḍvan. Of the latter valley I can find no old mention. Still further south we come to the Marbal Pass, at an elevation of 11,500 feet, which forms the usual route towards Kaśṭvār.

This territory which is now partially inhabited by Kaśmiris, is mentioned as an independent hill-state by Kalhana. The valley into

1 See Rājat. viii. 595 note and below, § 131.
2 It is mentioned in the Nilamata, 1824, and frequently in the Sarvēvatāra.
3 See Rājat. viii. 2432 note.
4 Compare regarding the old Kṣṭhavāta note vii. 588-590, where also the references in the later Chronicles are given.
which the route descends immediately after crossing the Marbal Pass, is known now as Khasäal. It is once mentioned as Khaśätī by Kalhaṇa and more frequently referred to in the last Chronicle by the name of Khaśālaya. From the latter source we learn that it was inhabited by Khasas to whose occupation it may have owed also its name. So we note here once more in the east the coincidence of the ethnic boundary with the natural watershed.

SECTION V.—Upper Course of the Vitastā.

61. We have now completed the circuit of the great mountain-barriers which enclose the Kaśmir Valley, and can turn our attention to its interior. This is naturally divided into two great parts. One comprises the plain formed by the alluvium of the Vitastā and its main tributaries; the other consists of plateaus or Karawas elevated above the river flats and largely caused by old lacustrine deposits. We shall first notice the alluvial plain and the river-system which has created it.

The great river which is the recipient of the whole drainage of the country, is now known to Kaśmirīs by the name of Vyath. This modern designation is the direct phonetic derivative of the ancient Sanskrit Vitastā which we meet already among the river-names of the Rigveda. The intermediary Prakrit form *Vidastā underlies the Hydaspes of the Greeks in which we note, as so frequently in Greek renderings of foreign names, the modifying action of popular etymology. In Ptolemy’s Bydaspes we have another rendering which though later in date yet approaches closer to the sound of the Indian original. The name Jehlam which is

1 Compare Rājat. vii. 899 note.


The name Vitastā is still well-known to Kaśmir Brahmanas from the Māhātmyas and similar texts, and is currently used by them. The form ‘Vedasta’ which Drew and other writers indicate as the old name of the river “still used by those who follow Sanskrit literature,” is due to some error of hearing. It is curious to meet a similar form *Vīdastā in the transcription of the Chinese Annals of the 8th century; see my Notes on Ou’k’ong, p. 31.

3 The ending in the form Hydaspes is undoubtedly due to the influence of the numerous Persian names known to the Greeks which end in -ospa (Old Persian aspa). For the rendering of initial Vi- by ‘Y compare Hydaspes: Vishṭāspa.

4 Ptolemy’s Bi (for Vi) is the most exact phonetic reproduction possible in Greek characters. It is evident from Ptolemy’s Panjāb river names that he did not take
now borne by the Vitāta in its course through the Panjāb, is wholly unknown to the genuine usage of Kaśmir. It is apparently of Muhammadan origin and has been brought to Kaśmir only by Europeans and other foreigners.\(^1\)

The river to which the name Vitāta or Vyath is properly applied, is first formed by the meeting of the several streams which drain the south-eastern portion of the Valley. This meeting takes place in the plain close to the present town of Anantnāg or Islāmābād. But sacred tradition has not failed to trace the holiest of Kaśmir rivers to a more specific source.

An ancient legend, related at length in the Nilamata and reproduced by the author of the Haracaritacintāmaṇi,\(^2\) represents the Vitāta as a manifestation of Śiva's consort Pārvatī. After Kaśmir had been created, Śiva at the request of Kaśyapa, prevailed upon the goddess to show herself in the land in the shape of a river, in order to purify its inhabitants from the sinful contact with the Piśācas. The goddess thereupon assumed the form of a river in the underworld, and asked her consort to make an opening by which she might come to the surface. This he did by striking the ground near the habitation of the Nīlanāga with the point of his trident (śūla). Through the fissure thus made which measured one vitāsti or span, the river gushed forth, receiving on account of this origin the name Vitāta. The spring-basin where the goddess first appeared was known by the several designations of Nīlakūṭa, Sūlaghāta ('spear-thrust') or simply Vitāta.\(^3\) It is clear that the spring meant is the famous Nīlanāga, near the village of Vārnāg in the Shāhābād Pargāṇa. It is a magnificent fountain which amply deserves the honour of being thus represented as the traditional source of the great river.\(^4\)

The legend makes Pārvatī-Vitāta subsequently disappear again from fear of defilement by the touch of sinful men. When brought to light a second time by Kaśyapa's prayer the goddess issued from the Nāga of Puñcuhasta. In this locality we easily recognize the present

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1. Albērūni already knows the name Jailam; see above, § 14. Śrīvara when relating an expedition of Sultān Ḥaidar Shāh into the Panjāb, sanskritizes this name into Jyalami; see ii. 162.
2. See Nilamata, 238 sqq.; Haracar. xii. 2–34.
3. See Nilamata, 1290; Haracar. xii. 17.
4. Compare for the Nīlanāga and its round spring-basin (kuṇḍa), Rājat. i. 28 note J. i. 13.
village of Pānzath, situated in the Divsar Pargāna and boasting of a fine spring which is still visited by the pious of the neighbourhood. After another disappearance for a reason similar to the above, the goddess came forth a third time at Narasiṃhārama. This place I am unable to trace with certainty. Finally the goddess was induced to abide permanently in the land when Kaśyapa had secured for her the company of other goddesses, who also embodied themselves in Kaśmir streams, like Lalṣṇi in the Viṣokā, Gaṅgā in the Sindhu, etc.

Another version of the legend which, however, seems of less ancient date, seeks the place of the Vitastā’s second appearance in the spring of the modern Viṭṭāvutur, a small village situated about one mile to the N. W. of Vārnāg. The place is known by the name of Viṭṭastātra to Kalhana who mentions Stāpas erected there by King Asoka. This notice certainly seems to indicate some sacred character attaching to the spot. Yet Kalhana’s direct mention of the Nilakundā as the birthplace of the Vitastā leaves no doubt as to where the tradition prevalent in his own time placed the source of the sacred river.

62. The streams which unite close to Anatnāg and there form the true Vitastā river, are the Sāndraṇ, the Bring, Āraṇaṭh and Līder. Of these the first and southernmost drains the Shāhābād (or Vār) Pargāna and receives the water of the sacred springs mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Its old name I am unable to trace with any certainty. The next affluent, the Bring, comes from the side-valley which forms the Pargāna of the same name. The ancient name of the stream is unknown, the modern Viṭṭastamāhātmya which gives it as Bhrāgī, being but a doubtful authority. The Bring too is fed by the water of some well-known Nāgas, among which the famous Trisāṃdhya fountain and the springs of Ardhanārīśvara (Nāru) may be specially mentioned.

The Āraṇaṭh which comes from the north-east, is mentioned repeatedly in the Nilamata by its ancient name of Vraṇapathā. The

1 Compare Rājat. v. 24 note.
2 This version is found in the Viṭṭastamāhātmya, ii. 37, sqq., which calls the place Viṭṭastāvartikā; see also Vigne, i. p. 325.
3 See Rājat. i. 102 note.
4 Rājat. i. 28. I am unable to account for the mention made in the Mahābh. iii. lxxxii. 90 of the Takṣaka Nāga in Kaśmir as the Vitastā, i.e., its source. No such distinction is claimed for the well-known Takṣaka spring near Zevan (Jayavana); see Rājat. i. 220. The author of the Tirthayātrā in the Mahābh. shows no accurate knowledge of Kaśmir and seems to have made a mistake here.
5 See Nilamata, 232, 1299, etc.
valley it drains is known as the Kothar Pargana and takes its name from the sacred tank of Kapatesvara. At the western end of the spur on the slope of which this Tirtha is situated, issue the magnificent springs of Achabal (Akshavala). They form a small stream by themselves, which flows into the Harshapathā. A short distance below the village of Khanabal (map 'Kanbal') where the three streams hitherto mentioned unite, their waters are joined from the north by those of the Lidā.

This river, the ancient Ledari, receives a number of glacier-fed streams which drain the high range towards the Upper Sind Valley. It is hence in volume more considerable than any of the previously named affluents. The Ledari spreads in several branches through the wide valley forming the Parganas of Dachunpor and Khovurbōr which take their names, 'Right Bank' and 'Left Bank,' respectively, from their position relative to this river. In old days a canal constructed on the hillside to the east carried the water of the Ledari, and with it fertility, to the barren plateau of Mārtāṇḍa or Maṭan.

63. At Khanabal the Vitasā becomes navigable and continues so on its whole course through the valley. There too the great flat plain begins which stretches on both sides of the river down to Bārāmūla in the north-west. In its course to the Volur lake, a direct distance of about 54 miles, the river falls only some 220 feet. The slope in the general level of the plain is equally gentle. The bed of the river lies everywhere in the alluvial soil, the result of the deposition of sediment at flood times when the river overflows its banks. Down to Srinagar the river keeps in a single bed and its islands are but small, in fact mere temporary sandbanks. The course is in parts very winding. But as far we can judge from the position of the old sites along the river, no great changes are likely to have taken place in historical times in this portion of the river's course.

When the river is low as during the winter, the banks rise on an average about 15 feet above the water. But in the spring when the snow melts, the great volume of water brought down from the mountains rises to the top of the banks and often overflows it. Dangerous floods may also follow long and heavy summer-rains, and sometimes

1 See Rājat. i. 87.
2 The construction of this canal by Zainu-l-Abidin is described at length by Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 1232-60. It is probable that there existed earlier irrigation works on the same plateau. See below, § 111.
3 See Drew, Jummao, p. 163.
cause immense damage to the crops over a great portion of the cultivated area of the Valley.¹

Such floods and the famines which are likely to follow, were a danger well-known in old times already and are more than once mentioned by Kalhana.² Against them the villages and riverside towns have always endeavoured to protect themselves by artificially raising the banks. The allusions found in the Chronicle suffice to show that the construction of embankments (setu, now suth), with the accompanying system of floodgates closing lateral drainage channels, has existed since ancient times.³ One great regulation scheme which was directly designed to diminish these risks, and of which we possess a detailed historical account, will be discussed below. The equally elaborate system by which water was secured for the irrigation of the otherwise dry alluvial flats along the river, will also be specially noticed.

The navigable waters of the Vitasta have from ancient times to the present day formed the most important highway of Kashmir. The value of the river and of the numerous canals, lakes, and streams which are also accessible to boats, for the development of internal trade and traffic can hardly be overestimated. Until a couple of years ago there were nowhere in Kashmir, not even in the flattest parts of the Valley, roads fit for wheeled traffic. Carriages were practically things unknown to the population bred in the Valley. As long as the communication with the outer world was restricted to difficult bridle-paths or tracks passable only for load-carrying Coolies, the construction of such roads would have been, in fact, of very slight advantage. The importance of river-traffic in Kashmir may be estimated from the fact that the number of boatmen engaged in it (and their families) amounted according to the census of 1891 to nearly 34,000.⁴ That boats were in old days, just as up to the present time, the ordinary means of travel in the Valley, is shown by the frequent references to river journeys in the Chronicles.⁵

Equally eloquent testimony to the historical importance of river navigation in Kashmir is borne by the position of the ancient sites. We

¹ Compare for data as to modern floods, Lawrence, Valley, pp. 205 sqq.
² See Rjat. vii. 1219; viii. 2449, 2786; also vii. 1624; viii. 1417, 1422; Jomar. 403 sqq.
³ See Rjat. i. 159; iii. 488; v. 91, 103, 120; viii. 2330, etc.; Jomar. 404, 887; Sriv. iii. 191 sqq., etc.
⁴ Compare regarding the Huns³ of Kashmir, Lawrence, Valley, p. 313; also Rjat. v. 101 note.
⁵ See Rjat. v. 84; vii. 347, 714, 1628, etc.
shall see that all the towns which from time to time were the capitals of the country, were built on the banks of the Vitastā, and that the great majority of other important places of ancient date were similarly situated. It is certain that then as now all produce of the country was brought to the great centres by water. Villages even when situated at a great distance, had, no doubt, just as at the present day, their landing places (Kā. yār-bal) on the river or the nearest navigable waterway. Kalhaṇa’s description of the semi-legendary city of Narapura shows how closely the busy “coming and going of ships” was connected in the Kaśmirian mind with the splendour of a large town.¹

64. After these general remarks we may now proceed to follow the Vitastā’s course through the Valley noticing its tributaries in due order as we reach the confluences. Below Khan-bal² the river receives in succession the several branches of the Ledari and then passes the ancient town and Tirtha of Vijayeśvara, the present Vijabār. About a mile lower down, its course lies between high alluvial plateaus or Karēwas. One on the left bank, the Tsakdar Udar, will be noticed below as one of the most ancient sites of the Valley (Cakradhara).

About three miles further down and not far from the village of Marhām (the old Maḍavāśrama), the Vitastā is joined by the Veśau and Rembyār Rivers which meet a short distance above their common confluence with the Vitastā. This river junction is known to the Māhātmyas by the name of Gambhirāsaṁgama (‘the deep confluence’) and is still visited as a Tirtha.³ The short united course of the Veśau and Rembyār bears the old name of Gambhirā and is referred to under this designation repeatedly by Kalhaṇa. The Gambhirā is too deep to be forded at any time of the year, and being on the route from Vijayeśvara to Srinagar, is of military importance. It was twice the scene of decisive actions. King Sussala’s army on its retreat over the Gambhirā (A.D. 1122) suffered a complete rout. Six years later Sujji, his son’s general, gained an equally signal victory by forcing the passage in the face of a rebel army.⁴

¹ See Rājat. i. 201 sq.
² According to a gloss on Nilamata 1307, Khan-bal, the port, so to say, of Anatnāg corresponds to the Khaṇḍapuccha Nāga of that text. This Nāga is elsewhere mentioned, but I have no distinct evidence for its identification.
³ See Rājat. iv. 80 note. Junctions of rivers and streams (saṁgamas) are everywhere in India favourite places for Tirthas.
⁴ See Rājat. viii. 1063 sqq., 1497 sqq.
The Veṣau, frequently mentioned by its ancient name of Viśokā in the Chronicles, the Nilamata and other texts,\(^1\) is a considerable river. It receives all the streams coming from the northern slope of the Pir Panṭgain Range between the Sidau and Bānhāl Passes. Its traditional source is placed in the Kramasaras or Kōṇśr Nāg Lake below the Peak of Nambandhana. The Nilamata, 271 sqq. relates a legend which identifies the Viśokā with Lakṣmi and accounts for its name (‘free from pain’). The fine waterfall which is formed by the stream of the Kōṇśr Nāg not far from the village of Sidan, is now known as Ahrābal. The Nilamata calls it Ākhor bila ‘the mousehole,’ which may possibly be the origin of the modern name.\(^8\) As soon as the Viśokā emerges from the mountains, numerous irrigation canals are drawn from it which overspread the whole of the old Pargaṇas of Karāla (Āḍvin) and Devusarasa (Divsair).

One of these canals is the Sunāmaṇi Kul which is mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī by its ancient name of Suvarṇaṁaṇikulya.\(^8\) If the story of its construction by King Suvarṇa, reproduced from Padmamihira, could be trusted, we should have to ascribe to this canal a high antiquity. It leaves the Viśokā near the village shown as ‘Largoo’ on the map and rejoins it near the village of Āḍvin (map ‘Arvin’). Another old canal, called Nāndī (not shown on the map), leaves the Viśokā near Kaimuh, the ancient Katimnā, and irrigates the land between the lower course of this river and the Viṣṭāḷ. Its name is connected perhaps with that of the village Nandakū which is referred to in connection with Avantiavarman’s drainage operations.\(^9\) The Viśokā is navigable up to Kaimuh.

The Rembyār\(^6\) which joins the Viśokā a little above Gambhira-śamgama, we have met already before as the river uniting the streams from the Pir Panṭgāl and Rūpri Passes. Kalhana mentions it by its ancient name Ramanāṭavī when relating the legend of the burned city of Narpurā.\(^6\) The Rembyār\(^4\) after leaving the mountains below Hūrīpōr flows divided in many channels within a wide and mostly dry bed of rubble and boulders. This strip of stony waste along the river attains a width of over two miles near the village of Tṣūran (map ‘Charran’).

The local legend referred to attributes the creation of this waste to

\(^1\) See Rājat. iv. 5 note.
\(^2\) Compare Nilamata, 271 sqq., and for Ākhor bila, 283.
\(^3\) See Rājat. i. 97.
\(^4\) See Rājat. v. 86 note.
\(^5\) See Rājat. i. 263–265, note.
the Nāgi Ramaṇyā. She had come down from the mountains carrying masses of stone to assist her brother, the Suśravas Nāga, in the destruction of Narapura. When she learnt that he had already completed his task, she dropped the stones ‘more than a Yojana’ from the site of the doomed city. The distance indicated corresponds exactly to that of the village of Litār where the Rembyāra leaves behind its stony bed and passes into alluvial soil. The village land for five Yojanas above that place was buried by the mighty boulders which Ramaṇyā left along her trail. Similar tales regarding the origin of stone-wastes (“Murren”) are well-known to European alpine folk-lore.

65. Below Gambhirasamāgama the Vīstā receives from the right the stream which drains the ancient district of Holaḍā, the present Vular. It then passes close to the foot of the Vastarvan spur, near the old town of Avantipura. No important stream joins the river from the right until we reach Srinagar. The affluents on the left like the Rāmuṣa are also of small volume. Some do not reach the river direct but end in low marshes, communicating with the latter only by gates made in the river embankments. Of the ancient sites situated along the river, the town of Padmapura, the present Pāmpar, is the most considerable. As we approach Srinagar we pass the site of the ancient capital, Purāṇaḍhiṣṭhāna, marked by the present village of Pāndṛēθhan. It lies between the right river bank and the southern foot of the ridge which encircles the Dal. For the streams we have next to notice, a reference to the special map of Ancient Srinagara is necessary.

Just before we reach the area of the city proper, the Vīstā is joined by a stream which drains the lake to the east of the city. This lake, known as Ḍal (Skr. Ḍala), is fed by plentiful springs and by streams which reach it from the north. Its surplus waters flow out towards the Vīstā by a canal which is now called Taṇṭh Kul, but in ancient times bore the name of Mahāṣarit.1 This canal passes through an ancient embankment (setu) which protects the city as well as the low shores of the Ḍal from floods of the river, and already figures in the traditional account of the foundation of Srinagar. The position of the gate which closes the outflow of the Mahāṣarit is marked on the map by the entry ‘Durgāgalikā.’

A small channel from the river—whether artificial or natural cannot

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1 For the identification of the Taṇṭh Kul and the Mār canal in the city with the Mahāṣarit, my note on Rāj. iii. 339-349 should be consulted. In addition to the evidence there recorded, it should be noted that the Mahāṣarit is twice mentioned by its old name also in the Sārvabhatra iii. 74; iv. 129 sq.
be ascertained now—joins the Mahāsarit at this very point and turns the ground between it and the river into an island. This is now known by the name of Māyūsum, derived from the ancient MĀṆIKĀṆVĀMIN. We shall have to refer to it again in our account of the topography of Srinagar. From Durgāgalikā downwards the Mahāsarit or Tsāṅth Kul was in old times the south-eastern boundary for that part of Srinagar which lies on the right bank of the Vitastā. Being a natural line of defence it is frequently referred to in the narrative of the various sieges of the capital.\(^1\)

The confluence of the Mahāsarit and Vitastā which is just opposite to the modern palace, the Shērgarhi, has been a Tirtha from early times and is mentioned by its correct name in Maṅkha's description of Kāśmir.\(^2\) Śrīvara refers to it by a more modern name, MĀṆIKĀṆVĀMIN, where Māri is an evident adaptation from the Kā. form Mār.\(^3\) The latter name, itself a derivative of Mahāsarit, is applied at the present day to another branch of the Dāl outflow. This turning to the west passes through the marsh known as Brāṇāmbal (Bhattāranādvalā) and then enters the city.

This canal is of considerable importance for the internal traffic of the city as it opens a convenient waterway to the Dāl and greatly facilitates the transport of its manifold produce.\(^4\) After passing behind the whole of the city quarters on the right river-bank the Mār issues near the quarter of Narvor (Skr. Nāḍavāna) into the marshes of the Anchār. Through the latter a connection is thus secured with the Sind river delta. This extension of the Mār to the west seems, however, of later date, as Śrīvara attributes the construction of a navigable channel towards the Sind to Zainu-l-ābidin.\(^5\)

66. The lake which supplies the water of the Mahāsarit, is in some respects one of the most favoured spots of the whole Valley. Its limpid water, the imposing aspect of the mountain amphitheatre which encloses it on three sides, and the charming gardens and orchards around it have made the Dāl justly famous.

1 See Rājat. viii. 733, 753, 3181.
2 See Śrīkaṇṭhac. iii. 24, Mahāsaritvītastayoh ... saṅgamaḥ. Here too as in former translations of the Rājatarāṅgīṇī, Mahāsarit has been wrongly taken as an common noun and explained as 'great river.'
3 The term Māri is also elsewhere used in the later Chronicles and the Māhātvuyas; comp., e.g., Śrīv. i. 442; iv. 298; Fourth Chron. 145, etc.
4 It is this narrow canal, more picturesque than sweet-smelling, which has led to the frequent comparisons of Srinagar with Venice. It has not received much attention in recent years and for want of dredging seems in danger of silting up.
5 See Śrīv. i. 440 sq.
The Dal measures about four miles in length and two and a half in width where it is broadest. Its depth nowhere exceeds 30 feet, and in most parts it is far more shallow. At its southern end it is fringed by lagoons, and a great portion of it is covered by the famous floating gardens. Notwithstanding the superabundance of water-plants and vegetable matter, the water everywhere retains an admirable clearness and freshness. This is, no doubt, due to the ampleness of the springs which rise within the lake. Though we find no direct mention of the lake in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, and though it does not claim any particular sanctity, there is no want around its shores of ancient and holy sites.

The earliest reference to the lake itself occurs in the Chronicle of Srivara who describes at length how King Zainu-l-‘ābidin diverted himself on the lake and adorned its vicinity. Srivara calls the lake Ḍālā, while the few Māhātmyas which condescend to mention it, use the form Dala. He also mentions the two small artificial islands called Lāṅkā, and now distinguished as Rupa-lāṅk and Suna-lāṅk ('the Silver Lāṅkā', 'Golden Lāṅkā'). Different names are given to several distinct portions of the lake. But of these only Hastavālikā, the present Astvōl, can be traced in the Chronicles.

The sacred sites of Gopāḍri, Jyeṣṭhēśvara, Thēdā, Śūreśvari, etc., with their numerous Nāgas line the eastern shores of the Dal. They will be mentioned below in the description of the vicinity of the capital. The well-known gardens of Shālimār, Nishāt and Nasim are creations of the Mughal Emperors who did much to enhance the natural beauties of the lake.

Besides the springs of the lake itself the latter is fed also by a stream which comes from the Mār Sar lake, high up in the mountains to the east. The old name of this stream, marked 'Arrah' on the map, is uncertain. The Sarvāvatāra seems to extend to it the name Mahāsarit. In its lower course where it approaches the north shore of the Dal, it now bears the name of Telbal Nāl (stream). An earlier form is furnished by Srivara who calls the stream at this point, by the name of Tilapraṣṭā; the latter is also found in several Māhātmyas.

67. From the junction with the Mahāsarit downwards the Vitasta flows for over three miles between almost unbroken lines of houses raised high above the water on stone embankments. The latter consist now-a-days chiefly of large blocks of stone which belonged to ancient

1 Sriv. i. 418 sqq.
2 See, e.g., Vitastāmāh, xxi. 89.
3 See Sarvā. iii. 75; iv. 129.
4 See Sriv. i. 421; Sarvā. iv. sqq., etc.
J. i. 14
temples and other structures of pre-Muhammadan date. Judging from their size and careful carving we can well picture to our mind the splendid appearance which the river-banks must have here presented in bygone days.

The river within the city flows first in one long reach due north. Near the fourth bridge in the heart of the city, it makes a great bend and turns to the south-west. A canal which leaves the left bank of the river between the Shergarhi palace and the quarter of Kāṭhul (Kāṭhīla), and rejoins the river near the last bridge, allows boats to cut this great bend. It now bears the name Kuṭkul, derived from the ancient designation of Kṣiptikūlā.¹ The Kṣiptikā is often mentioned in the later portions of Kalhana’s Chronicle which relate the sieges of Srinagar witnessed in his own time. It forms to this day the natural line of defence for that part of the city which occupies the left river-bank, and which could be successfully attacked only by crossing the Kṣiptikā.² No information is available to us as to the origin of this canal. Judging from its position it is likely to have been a natural side-channel of the river which was subsequently maintained or improved for the convenience of navigation.

A few hundred yards lower down the Vitastā is joined on its left bank by a considerable river now known as the Dūdgāṅgā, ‘the milk Gāṅgā,’ or Chautākul, ‘the white stream.’ Its ancient name is given as Dūgḍhasindhu in Bilhaṃga’s description of Srinagar.³ The Māhātmāyas know it by the name of Svetagāṅgā, ‘the white Gāṅgā,’ to which the alternative modern designation, Chautākul, exactly corresponds.⁴ Its waters come from the central part of the Pir Pantāl Range round Mount Taṭakāṭi, its chief sources being the mountain-streams marked as ‘Sangsdēd’ (Sangsahrā) and ‘Yecharā’ on the map. The confluence of the Vitastā and Dūdgāṅgā, opposite to the old quarter of Diddamāṭha, is still a Tīrtha of some repute and is probably alluded to already by Bilhaṃga.⁵

¹ Kī. kul < Skr. kulīṇa is the ordinary term for small streams or canals.
² For detailed evidence of this identification, see Rājat. viii. 732 note.
³ Vikramāditya. xvi. 7.
⁴ See Vitastāmahā, xxii; Svetagāṅgāmahā, etc. Skr. śvetā becomes in Kī. by regular phonetic conversion chuth, fem. chūṭāṛa.
⁵ The Nilamata curiously enough does not mention the Dūdgāṅgā unless it is meant by Kīraṇaḍī, 1281. The latter name, meaning ‘the river of milk,’ is given to the Dūdgāṅgā by a passage of the modern Vitastāmahātmya, xxii.
⁶ See Vikram. xvi. 22.
SECTION VI.—LOWER COURSE OF THE VITASTA.

68. Immediately below Srinagar we come to marshes which stretch along both sides of the river for a considerable distance. Those on the left bank, of which the Hukh-sar and Panz-nur Nambal are the nearest, are fed by mountain-streams of smaller volume. The marshes to the north of the river are more extensive and belong to the Delta of the Sind River, the greatest tributary of the Vitasta within the Valley.

Our survey of the northern range of mountains has already taken us to the true headwaters of the Sind near the Zāji-Lā and the Āmburnāth Peak. Its traditional source in the sacred Gāṅgā-lake on Mount Haramukh has also been noticed. This great river has a course of over sixty miles and drains the largest and highest portion of the mountain-chain in the north. Its ancient name, SINDHU, means simply ‘the river’ and is thus identical with the original designation of the Indus. The Rājatarangini mentions the river repeatedly, and it figures largely in the Nilamata, Haracaratitāmāṇi and the Māhāmyas. Everywhere it is identified with the Gaṅgā, as already by Albūrūnī’s informants. The valley of the Sind forms the district of Lār, the ancient Lahara, one of the main subdivisions of Kaśmir territory.

Where this valley debouches into the great Kaśmir plain, near the village of Dūdrāhām, the old Dugdāhrāma, the river spreads out in numerous branches. These form an extensive Delta, covered in its greatest portion by shallow marshes and known as Anchār. Its eastern side extends along the strip of high ground which connects Srinagar with the foot of the spur at the mouth of the Sind Valley. The western

1 It is customary in Kaśmir to distinguish the two rivers by giving the designation of ‘the Great Sind (Būḍ Sind),’ to the Indus. This is found as ‘Byhatsindhu,’ already in the Haracaritaśintāmaṇi, xii. 45.

The identity of the two river names has led to a great deal of confusion in geographical works down to the beginning of the present century. The Sind River of Kaśmir was elevated to the rank of one of the chief sources of the Indus, or else represented as a branch of the great river taking its way through Kaśmir (!). This curious error is traceable, e.g., in the map of ‘L’Empire du Grand Mogol’ reproduced in Bernier’s Travels, ed. Constable, p. 238, from the Paris Edition of 1670, and in the map of Ancient India attached to Trieffenthaler, Description de l’Inde, 1786, p. 60. Compare Hūgel, Kaschmir, i. p. 330. Even Wilson, writing in 1825, says of the Kaśmir Sind that “it is not improbably a branch of the Indus.”

2 See Rājat, i. 57 note; also iv. 391; v. 97 sqq.; viii. 1129; Jomar. 982; Sriv. iv. 110, 227, etc.
side of the delta is marked by an alluvial plateau which continues the right or western side of the lower Sind Valley down to the river's confluence with the Vitastā. The base of the triangle is the Vitastā itself which between Srinagar and this junction flows in a bed separated by artificial banks from the marshes on either side. The waters of the Sind after spreading over this wide Delta leave it in a single channel at its western extremity, opposite to the village of Shādīpur.

The confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu has from early times enjoyed exceptional sanctity as a Tirtha. Kashmir tradition, as recorded already in the Nilamata, identifies the Vitastā and Sindhu, the largest and holiest rivers of the country, with the Yamunā and Gaṅgā, respectively. Their junction represents, therefore, the Kashmirian equivalent of the famous Prayāga at the confluence of the great Indian rivers. The Vitastā-Sindhushāṅgama is often referred to as an important Tirtha in the Rājatarangini, the Nilamata and numerous other texts. It is actually known by the name of Prayāga to the modern tradition and the Māhāmyas. A small island built of solid masonry rises in the river-bed at the point where the waters of the two rivers mingle. It is the object of regular pilgrimages on particular Pārvanas throughout the year. On it stands an old Cinār tree which to the pious Kashmirian represents the far-famed Ficus Indica tree of the real Prayāga.

Notwithstanding the accumulated holiness of this Tirtha there is most explicit evidence to show that its present position dates back only to about a thousand years. We owe the knowledge of this interesting fact to the detailed account which Kalhaṇa has given us of the great regulation of the Vitastā carried out under King Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883). As the change in the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu forms one of the most striking results of this regulation, Kalhaṇa's account of the latter may conveniently be noticed in the present place. I shall restrict myself to an indication of the main facts connected with these operations, referring for all detailed evidence to Note I (v. 97-100) of my translation.

69. Kalhaṇa tells us in his opening notice that the produce of Kashmir had in earlier times been greatly restricted owing to disastrous floods, particularly from the Mahāpadma or Volur lake, and the general water-locked condition of the country. Drainage operations

1 For a detailed account of the references to the Vitastā-Sindhushāṅgama and the ancient remains near it, see Note I (Rājat. v. 97-100), §§ 14, 15; also note iv. 391.
2 See Rājat. v. 68 sqq.
under King Lalitaditya had led to an increase of agricultural produce. But these works were apparently neglected under his feeble successors, and disastrous floods, followed by famines, became again frequent. In Avantivarman's time Suyya, a man of conspicuous talents but low origin, offered to remedy these troubles. Receiving the king's assent for his scheme and the necessary means, he set about regulating the course of the Vitasta with a view to a better drainage of the whole Valley. Omitting legendary details with which evidently popular tradition has embellished Suyya's story, the course adopted was briefly the following.

The operations commenced in Kramarāja at the locality called Yakṣadara where large "rocks which had rolled down from the mountains lining both river banks," obstructed the Vitasta. We have already when describing the Vitasta Valley route, referred to Yakṣadara, the present Dyārgul, as a spur projecting into the river-bed some three miles below the commencement of the Bārāmula gorge. Its rocky foot forms the first rapid of the river. By removing the obstructing rocks the level of the river was lowered. Then a stone-dam was constructed across the bed of the river, and the latter thus blocked up completely for seven days. During this time "the river-bed was cleared at the bottom, and stone walls constructed to protect it against rocks which might roll down." The dam was then removed, and the river flowed forth with increased rapidity through the cleared passage.

I must leave it to competent engineering opinion to decide to what extent and at which point of the Bārāmula gorge the operations so far described were practicable with the technical means of that age. What follows in Kalhana's account is so matter-of-fact and so accurate in topographical points, that a presumption is raised as to the previous statements also resting, partially at least, on historical facts.

Wherever inundation breaches were known to occur in times of flood, new beds were constructed for the river. One of these changes in the river-bed affected the confluence of the Vitasta and Sindhu, and this is specially explained to us in v. 97-100. The topographical indications here given by Kalhana are so detailed and exact that they enabled me to trace with great probability what I believe to have been the main course of the Vitasta before Suyya's regulation.

70. Kalhana describes to us successively the position of the old and new confluence of Vitasta and Sindhu. I have been able to identify, and a close examination of the

1 See v. 87 sqq.
2 Compare v. 92 sq.
general topographical features in their neighbourhood has fully borne out the correctness of Kalhana's account. Without the help of a large-scale map it would, however, be impossible to explain here accurately the topographical evidence collected. I must, therefore, once more refer to the above-quoted detailed note in my forthcoming work, where a special map, on the scale of one inch to the mile, has been inserted for the illustration of this tract. In the present place I must restrict myself to indicating the main results of my enquiries.

These have shown that while the new confluence which Kalhana knew in his own time, is identical with the present junction opposite Shādipūr, the old one lay about two miles to the south-east of it, between the village of Trigam and the Paraspōr plateau. The latter is the site of the great ruins of Parihasapura, first identified by me and shown on the map (see below, § 121.) Trigam marks the position of the ancient Trigamā, and a short distance south of it stands the temple ruin which I identify with the shrine of Viṣṇu Vainyasvāmin.

Kalhana mentions this temple as the point near which "the two rivers, the Sindhu and Vitastā, formerly met flowing to the left and right of Trigrāmi, respectively." Standing on the raised ground before the ruin and turning towards Shādipūr, we have on our left a narrow swamp about a quarter of a mile broad which runs north-east in the direction of Trigam. In this swamp and a shallow Nala continuing it towards Shādipūr, we can yet recognize the old bed of the Sindhu. On the right we have the Badrihel Nala which divides the alluvial plateau of Trigam and Paraspōr. This Nala is clearly marked as an old river-bed by the formation of its banks and is still known as such to the villagers of the neighbourhood.

The Badrihel Nala connects the great swamp to the east known as Pans'nōr Nambal with the extensive marshes stretching west and north-west of Paraspōr towards the Voulr. This channel still serves regularly as an outflow for the Pans'nōr Nambal whenever the latter is flooded from the Vitastā at times of high-water. Were it not for the great embankments which guard the bed of the Vitastā towards the low Pans'nōr Nambal, the latter would still form a regular course of the

1 In the copies of the map accompanying this memoir the faint outlines by which the engraved Atlas of India sheet marks the low alluvial plateaus, the marshes, and similar features of this tract, have become much effaced. A reference to the original groundmap or the larger Survey map (2 miles to the inch) is hence recommended.

2 Shādipūr is a modern contraction for Shahābuddinpūr, the name given to the place by Sultan Shahābu-d-din (A.D. 1354-73) who founded it, as Jonarāja, 409, tells us, at the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu.
river. Even so it is still liable to be invaded by the Vīstā at times of flood. For the swamp as well as the fertile village lands reclaimed around it, lie below the level of the river-bed.¹

The old course of the rivers here briefly indicated explains the curious position of the Nār (map 'Noroo'). This canal which is of importance for navigation leaves the Vīstā on the left bank just opposite to the present junction with the Sindhu and practically continues the southwesterly course of the latter for some distance. Only about ½ mile of low ground divides the Nār from the end of the swamp which marks the bed of the Sindhu at the point of its old junction opposite the Vainyavāmin ruin.

Similarly the position of Parīhāsapura which King Lalitāditya chose for his splendid capital, becomes now intelligible. The plateau or Kārśāva of Parīhāsapura which still preserves its name is now flanked on the east by the Pānz'ānār Nambal and on the west by the marshes of Harstraṭh. Neither of them affords in their present condition the convenient waterway we find invariably near all other Kāsmir capitals. Before Suyya's regulation, however, the Vīstā flowed as we have seen, immediately to the north of the plateau and at the very foot of the great temples erected here by King Lalitāditya.

71. The object and result of the change of the confluence can, I think, also be traced yet. By forcing the Vīstā to pass north of Trīgām instead of south of it, the reclamation of the marshes south of the Volūr lake must have been greatly facilitated. The course thus given to the river carries its waters by the nearest way into that part of the Volūr which by its depth and well-defined boundaries is naturally designed as a great reservoir to receive the surplus water of dangerous floods. The southern shores of the lake are still to this day the scene of a constant struggle between the cultivator and floods. The reclamation of land which has gone on for centuries in these low marshy tracts,² could never have been undertaken if the Vīstā had been allowed to spread itself over them from the south, the direction marked by its old course.

The change in the confluence of the Vīstā and Sindhu was a necessary condition for the subsequent course given to the united rivers. It

¹ See Lawrence, Valley, pp. 210 sq. Kalhana's account shows that the huge embankments guarding the Pānz'ānār tract must be far older than the times of the Mughals to which they are popularly attributed.
² Compare Drew, Jammu, p. 116, for a description of these tracts and the amphibious ways of the inhabitants who get their living as much from the water as the land around.
was thus closely connected with the general scheme of regulation and drainage. Kalhana indicates this by referring immediately after the above passage to stone-embankments constructed along the Vitasta for seven Yojanas (circ. 42 miles) and the damming-in of the Volur lake.\(^1\)

On the land reclaimed new populous villages were founded. From the circular dykes which were built around these villages, they are said to have received the popular designation of \(kundala\), 'ring.' We actually still find two villages on the low ground near the Volur showing in their modern names the ending \(kund\), derived from Skr. \(kundala\). Utka\(^2\)kund\(^2\) (map wrongly \('Watrékoondl\') and Mar\(^3\)kund\(^3\) are situated both close to the left bank of the Vitasta before it enters the marshes at the south-eastern end of the Volur. Their names and position seem to support the assumption that the present northerly course of the river above Trigrāmi and Shād\(^4\)pār is directly due to Suyya's operations.

Kalhana adds that even in his own time, i.e., two and a half centuries later, there were "seen, growing on the banks of the former river-beds, old trees which bore the marks of the boat ropes fastened to them."\(^5\) Similarly the observant Chronicler noted the old pales securing the embankments "which the rivers displayed when low in the autumn."\(^6\) We must be grateful to him for the evident interest with which he ascertained and recorded the details of Avantivarman's operations. For he has thus enabled us even at the present day to trace some of the important changes then effected in the hydrography of the whole Valley.

**72.** Following the course of the Vitasta below its present confluence with the Sindhu we soon pass the village of Sambal where the route from Srinagar to the north of the Volur lake and thence to the Trāg\(^7\)bal Pass, crosses the river. Here at some distance from the left bank is the site of the ancient Jayapura, the capital founded by King Jayāpida in the second half of the eighth century.\(^8\) It is marked by the village of Andrēkōth situated on an island between the Sambal marsh and a branch of the canal known as Nōr. An ancient causeway connects the island with the strip of land separating the marsh from the present course of the Vitasta.

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1 See v. 103 sqq.
2 v. 101.
3 It is still the common belief in Ḫaṁmīr that "no embankment on the riverside is sound unless it has a foundation of piles"; Lawrence, Valley, p. 211. Considering the peaty nature of the soil along the lower course of the river, this belief may be justified by old experience.
4 See for the identification of this site, Rājū. v. 506 note, and below, § 122.
We should have some difficulty in understanding the position chosen for a town which was intended to be a place of importance if we did not know the great change effected in the course of the river by the subsequent regulation of Avantivarman. In King Jayāpida's time one of the main branches of the Vitāstā probably followed the line of the Nār in this neighbourhood. The island of Andhrkōṭh which forms a small alluvial plateau, raised perhaps artificially in parts, was then a convenient site. This is no longer the case since the river flows to the east of Andhrkōṭh and at a considerable distance. We can safely attribute to this change the fact that Jayapura like the similarly situated Parihāsapura had fallen into insignificance already before Kalhaṇa's time.

Close to Sambal the river passes the foot of an isolated hill known as Āhyāyog, rising about a thousand feet above the plain. Under its shelter on the north is the small lake of Mānasbal which is mentioned by the name of Mānasasavar in the Nilamata and by Jonarāja. It is about two miles long, and occupying a rock-basin is deeper than the other lakes of the Kāśmir plains. It is connected with the river by a short channel and partially fed by an irrigation canal carried into it from the Sind River. Its ancient name is derived from the sacred lake on Kailāśa, famous in the Purāṇas and Epics and usually located in the Mansarōvar of the Tibetan highlands.

A short distance lower down the villages of Uṣkundal and Marṇ-kundal already referred to above, are passed on the left bank. There are various indications which make it probable that in old times the Volur lake reached much closer to these villages than it does at present. Kalhaṇa's reference seems to indicate that these villages enclosed by circular dykes were actually reclaimed from the lake, and Jonarāja still places them on the very shore of the lake. In the same way Srivara speaking of the villages stretching from Samudrakoṭa, the present Sudhrkōṭh, to the vicinity of Dvārikā, near Andhrkōṭh, seems to place them along the shore of the Volur.

A glance at the map shows that the land on the left bank of the river below the ‘Kuṇḍala’ villages projects like a peninsula into the lake.

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1 As Jonarāja, 864 sq., makes the ancient name quite certain, the latter could have safely been shown on the map. In some passages of the Nilamata and Māhāmyas it might be doubted whether this lake or the Uttaramānasa on Mount Haramukh is intended; see however Nilamata, 1338, where the Mānasa lake is mentioned after the Vitāstāsindhasamgama.

2 The construction of this canal is ascribed by Jonarāja, 864 sq., to Zainu-l-'Abidin.

3 See Rājat. v. 120, and Jonar. 1230, (Bo. ed.).

4 See Sriv. i. 400 sq.

J. 1. 15
It can be safely assumed that the creation of this strip of land which now accompanies the river-channel for some seven miles farther, is due to the continual deposits of silt. This silting-up process is still going on in this as in other portions of the Volur where streams enter it, and is likely to reduce the expanse of the lake still further in the future.\(^1\)

A striking proof for the gradual change thus effected is afforded by the position of the artificial island known now as Zain\(\text{ālān}kā\). It was constructed by King Zainu-l-\(\text{ābīdīn}\) from whom it took its proper designation of Jainālaṅkā. It was then, according to Jonarāja's description, in the middle of the Volur where the water was deep.\(^2\) It is now situated in a shallow marsh close to the present embouchure of the river.

73. The great lake, with the southern shores of which we have already become acquainted, is a very important feature in the hydrographic system of Kašmīr. It acts as a huge flood-reservoir for the greatest part of the drainage of Kašmīr and gives to the western portion of the Valley its peculiar character. Its dimensions vary at different periods, owing to the low shores to the south being liable to inundation. In normal years the length of the lake may be reckoned at about 12 and its width at 6 miles, with an area of about 78 square miles. In years of flood the lake extends to about 13 miles in length and 8 miles in width.\(^3\) Its depth is nowhere more than about 15 feet and is continually lessening in those parts where the streams debouch into it. Notwithstanding this slight depth navigation on the lake often becomes dangerous when violent storms sweep over it from the mountains in the north. The boundaries of the lake are ill-defined in the south and partly in the east; the marshes and peaty meadows merge almost imperceptibly into the area of the lake. On the north the shores slope up towards an amphitheatre of mountains from which some rocky spurs run down to the water's edge. The fertile tract at the foot of these mountains forms the ancient Khūyārāma, the modern Pargāna of Khūyāhām.

The ancient name of the lake is Mahāpadmaśaras, derived from the 

Mahāpadma Nāga. Nāga Mahāpadma, who is located in the lake as its tutelary deity. This designation is by far the most common in the Chronicles, the Nilamata, and other old

\(^1\) Compare Drew, p. 166, and Lawrence, Valley, p. 20. The latter author is probably reproducing a popular tradition when mentioning that in King Zainu-l-\(\text{ābīdīn}\)’s time the waters of the Volur stretched south to Asam and Šambaļ.

\(^2\) See Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 1227 sqq. The name Jainālaṅkā was mutilated in the Calcutta edition; else it would have been shown on the map.

\(^3\) See Lawrence, p. 20.
It is also used, as we have seen, in the description of Kaśmir given by the T'ang annals.

The name Ullola from which the present Volur (vulgo 'Woolar') seems to be derived, is found only in one passage of Jonarāja's Chronicle and in a single modern Māhātmya. Skr. ullola can be interpreted to mean 'turbulent' or '[the lake] with high-going waves.' Those who have experienced the sensation of crossing the lake with a strong wind, will readily allow the appropriateness of this designation. Yet it is impossible to dismiss altogether the suspicion that the name which seems wholly unknown to the older texts, may be only a clever adaptation of the Kaśmiri name Volur or its earlier representative. It is certainly curious that in modern Māhātmyas we meet with Ullola as a name for the Vulgar Pargana, the genuine ancient designation of which is Holaḍā. Jonarāja in his commentary on Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, iii. 9, uses Ullola as a paraphrase for Mahāpadma.

74. From an early date various legends seem to have clustered around this, the greatest of Kaśmir lakes. The Legends of Mahāpadma Nāga. Nilamata relates at length how the lake became the habitation of the Mahāpadma Nāga. Originally it was occupied by the wicked Nāga Śaḍaṅgula who used to carry off the women of the country. Nila, the lord of Kaśmir Nāgas, banished Śaḍaṅgula to the land of the Dārvas. The site left dry on his departure was occupied by a town called Candrapura under King Viśvagarvva. The Muni Durvāsa not receiving hospitable reception in this town, cursed it and foretold its destruction by water. When subsequently the Nāga Mahāpadma sought a refuge in Kaśmir and asked Nila for the allotment of a suitable habitation, he was granted permission to occupy Candrapura. The Mahāpadma Nāga thereupon approached King Viśvagarvva in the disguise of an old Brahman and asked to be allowed to settle in the town with his family. When his prayer was agreed to he shewed himself in his true form and announced to the King the approaching submersion of his city. At the Nāga's direction the King with his people emigrated and founded two Yojana further west the new town of Viśvagarvavpurā. The Nāga then converted the city into a lake, henceforth his and his family's dwelling place. A recollection of this legend still lives in popular tradition, and the ruins of the doomed city are supposed to be sighted occasionally in the water.

1 For detailed references see Rāja. iv. 593 note.
2 See Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 1227-30; Dhyānesvaramāh. 30, 33.
3 See Bühler, Report, p. 9.
4 See Vitastāmāh. v. 48; Hariḍārgaṇḍāmāh.
5 See Nilamata, 976-1008, and Bühler, Report, p. 10.
Another legend has found a lengthy record in Kalhana's narrative of King Jayāpiḍa's reign, iv. 592 sqq. The Nāga Mahāpadma being threatened with desiccation by a Dravidian sorcerer, appeared to the King in his dream and asked for protection. As a reward he promised to show a gold mine to the King. Jayāpiḍa agreed to the Nāga's prayer. Curiosity, however, induced him to let the Dravidian first try his magic on the lake. When the waters had been dried up so far that the Nāga and his dependents were seen as human-faced snakes wriggling in the mud, the king interfered and caused the lake to be restored. The Nāga, however, resented the insult and showed to the king only a rich copper ore instead of the gold mine.

With reference to a Purānic legend the Mahāpadma is sometimes identified with the Nāga Kāliya who was vanquished by Kṛṣṇa. As the foot of the god when touching the Nāga's head made lotuses (padma) appear on it, Mahāpadma is treated by Kaśmirian poets as another form of Kāliya.¹

75. Of the streams which fall into the Volur lake besides the Vitastā, the stream of the Bandtpōr Nāla is the most considerable. It drains the range between Mount Haramukh and the Trāgbal Pass and forms a small Delta of its own to the north of the lake. Its ancient name is Madhumati.² It is repeatedly mentioned in the Rājatarangini in connection with the route leading to the Dard territory, but must be distinguished from another, smaller Madhumati which flows into the Kaśangaṅgā near the Sāradatīrtha.

The outflow of the lake's waters is at its southwest corner about two miles above the town of Sōpur. The latter is the ancient Suyyapura, founded by Suyya and commemorating his name.³ If we may judge from the position of the town and the words used by Kalhana in another passage,⁴ it appears probable that the operations of Avantivarman's great engineer extended also to the river's bed on this side of the lake.

About four miles below Sōpur the Vitastā which now flows in a winding but well-defined bed, receives its last considerable tributary within Kaśmir. It is the Pohur which before its junction has collected the various streams draining the extreme northwest of the Valley.

¹ Compare Śrikaṇṭhac. iii. 9; Jonar. 933, and my note Rājat. v. 114.
² See Rājat. vii. 1179 and note 1171; also viii. 2883; Nilatnatcl 1259 sqq., 1398, etc.
³ See Rājat. v. 118 note.
⁴ V. 104: "Trained by him, the Vitastā starts rapidly on her way from the basin of the Mahāpadma lake, like an arrow from the bow."
This portion of the country figures but little in Kalhana's narrative; hence we find in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī no reference to the Pohur or any of its affluents. The old name of the river is uncertain. Jonarāja in a passage which is found only in the Bombay edition, calls this river Pahara; the Māhātmyas vary between Prahara and Prahāra. Of the side-streams the Māvūr (map 'Maur') flowing through the Machīpōr Pargaṇa is named in the Nilamata as Māhuri. The name of the Hamal stream is identical with that of the Pargaṇa through which its course lies, the ancient Samālā.

About 18 miles from the point where the Viṣṇu leaves the Volur, it reaches the entrance of the gorge of Bārāmula. Through this defile we have already before followed the course of the river. At Bārāmula navigation ceases. After passing with a violent current the ravine immediately below the town, the river, so placid within the Valley, turns into a large torrent rushing down in falls and rapids.

SECTION VII.—SOIL AND CLIMATE OF THE VALLEY.

76. Our survey of Kaśmir rivers has taken us along that great flat of river alluvium which forms the lowest and most fertile part of the Valley. We must now turn to the higher ground of the Vale which consists of the peculiar plateaus already alluded to.

The genuine Kaśmiri term for these plateaus is udār, found in its Sanskrit form as udāra in the Chronicles. Another modern designation of Persian origin now often used, is karēwa. The word udāra is twice found as an ending of local names in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī, while the latter Chronicles use it frequently in designations of well-known plateaus. An earlier Sanskrit term no longer surviving in use, is sūda, originally meaning 'barren waste ground.' Kalhana employs it when speaking of the well-known Dāmadar Udār.

The Udārs of the Kaśmir Valleys are usually considered by geologists to be due to lacustrine deposits. They appear either isolated by

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1 See Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 1150, 1152; Viṣṇastāmāḥ. xxvii. 2; Svayaṁbhūmāḥ.
2 Nilamata, 1322 sqq.
3 See Rājat. vii. 159 note.
4 Locanoḍḍāra and Dhyānoḍḍāra, Rājat. viii. 1427 note.
5 See Guscikōḍḍāra, the Udār of Gūs near Rāmuh, Sṛiv. iv. 465, 692, 696; Dāmodarṇaḍḍāra, the Dāmadar Udār, Sṛiv. iv. 618; Lalapuroḍḍāra, Fourth Chron. 175, etc.
6 See Rājat. i. 156 note.
lower ground around them or connected by very gentle slopes with spurs descending from the mountains. Often the tops of these plateaus seem almost perfectly flat, forming table lands of varying dimensions. They rise generally from 100 to 300 feet above the level of the ravines and valleys which intersect them, and through which the streams from the mountains and their own drainage find their way to the Vitastā. Most of the Udārs are found on the south-western side of the Valley, stretching from Śuipiyan to Bārāmūla. But they also occur across the river on the north-eastern side of the Valley, and at both extremities of the river-flat in the south-east and north-west.

Owing to the inferiority of the soil and the difficulty of irrigation, the Udārs show a marked difference in point of fertility from other parts of the Valley. Those which slope down from the foot of the mountains have been brought under cultivation with the help of water-courses conducted over them from the higher ground behind. Most of these irrigation-channels are, no doubt, of ancient date, and some are specially mentioned in the Chronicles. To other Udārs, particularly those which are entirely isolated, water could not be brought. These are either barren wastes covered with low jungle or if cultivated, yield only precarious crops owing to the uncertainty of the rainfall.

Some of the Udārs, owing to their position near the Vitastā or for other reasons, are sites of importance in the ancient topography of Kaśmir. Such are the plateaus of Mārtāṇḍa, Cakradhara, Padmapura, Parihāsapura. Another, the 'Udar of Dāmodara,' plays an interesting part in the legendary lore of the country. All these will be duly noticed in the next chapter.

77. Climatic conditions are so closely connected with a country's topography that the few old notices and references which we have regarding those of Kaśmir, may fitly find mention here.

Kaśmir climate. The only distinct account of the Kaśmir climate is given by Albārūnī. He clearly indicates the reason why Kaśmir is exempt from the heavy Monsoon rains of India proper. When the heavy clouds, he explains, reach the mountains which enclose Kaśmir on the south, “the mountain-sides strike against them, and the clouds are pressed like olives or grapes.” In consequence “the rain pours down and the rains never pass beyond the mountains. Therefore Kaśmir has no varṣakāla, but continual snowfall during two and a half months, beginning with Māgha, and shortly after the middle of Caitra continual rain sets in for a few days, melting the snow and cleansing the earth. This rule has seldom an exception; however, a certain amount of extraordinary meteorological occurrences is peculiar to every province in India.”

1 See India, i. p. 211.
That this description is on the whole as accurate as Alberuni's other data regarding Kashmir, will be easily seen by a reference to the detailed statements of Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Eliot. What chiefly characterizes the climate of Kashmir as against that of the Indian plains, is the absence of a rainy season and the equally marked absence of excessive heat. The moderate temperature of the Kashmir summer is ensured by the high elevation of the Valley, and has at all times been duly appreciated by its inhabitants as well as its visitors.

Kalhana already proudly claims this exemption from the torments of a fierce sun as one of the favours accorded to his country by the gods. His enthusiastic description of a Kashmir summer passed "in the regions above the forests" shows that he was no stranger to the charms of that season in the alpine parts of the country. More than once he refers to the sufferings which the heat of an Indian summer outside the Valley inflicts on Kashmirian exiles. Even in the hill regions immediately to the south of Pir Panjāl the hot season with its accompanying fevers has often proved disastrous to the Kashmirian troops employed there.

On the other hand we find also the rigours of a Kashmir winter duly illustrated by the Chronicle's narrative. We may refer to the description of the heavy and continued snowfall which followed Sussala's murder in Phalgunā of 1128 A.D., the freezing of the Vītāsī in the winter of 1087-8 A.D., etc. The graphic account of Bhoja's flight to the Upper Kiṣangāṅgā Valley shows us in full detail the difficulties which attend a winter-march over the snow-covered mountains to the north of the Valley. Nor do we fail to be reminded otherwise of the great differences in climate which are implied by the varying altitudes of Kashmir localities.

Exceptionally early snowfall in the autumn such as saved the garrison of the frontier fort on the Dugdhaṅgāta Pass, has always been known and dreaded even low down in the Valley. The danger it represents for the rice crops is illustrated by Kalhana's account of the famines resulting from such premature snowfalls.

1 See Lawrence, p. 24 sqq.
2 See i. 41.
3 ii. 138.
4 Compare vii. 970; viii. 1684, 1830, 1836, 1865; regarding the fever-season of Rājaṇpur and neighbouring districts, my note viii. 1873.
5 Rājat. viii. 1376 sqq.; 1434 sqq.; vii. 592.
6 See viii. 2710 sqq. It must be remembered that as much as forty to sixty feet of snow falls in a severe winter on the higher ranges around Kashmir; see also viii. 411.
7 Compare vii. 916; viii. 2511; ii. 138.
8 See ii. 18 sqq.; viii. 2449.
In this as in other respects there is nothing to suggest any material change of the climatic conditions during historical times. Kalhana, it is true, in describing the reign of Abhimanu I., speaks of deep snow as "falling each year to cause distress to the Baudhas" and obliging the king to pass six months of the cold season in Dārvābhūṣāra. But the whole story there related is nothing but a mere rechauffé of the ancient legend told in the Nilamata of the annual migrations caused by the presence of the Piśācas. It therefore can claim no historical value whatever.1

78. Cultivation such as appears to have been carried on in Kashmir since the earliest historical period, must necessarily leave its traces in the topography of a country and may hence claim a passing notice.

Rice has as far as we can go back, always been the largest and most important produce of the Valley. Its character as the main cereal is sufficiently emphasized by the fact that it is usually referred to in the Chronicles by the simple term of dhānya 'grain.'2 The conditions of its cultivation presuppose an extensive system of irrigation, and for this the Kashmir Valley with its abundance of streams and springs is admirably adapted by nature. The elaborate arrangements which exist at present for taking water from the streams large and small and distributing it over all the ground capable of irrigation, will be found fully detailed in Mr. Lawrence's valuable and exhaustive account of Kashmir agriculture.3 There is every reason to believe that they have come down with little, if any, change from a very early period.

Many of the larger irrigation channels which intersect the fertile alluvial flats, or skirt the terraced slopes of the Uḍars and mountain-sides, are shown on the map; see, e.g., the tracts on the lower course of the Lidur, Veṣā, Sind, and other rivers. In old times when the population was larger than now, much land which is at present allowed to lie waste on the hill-sides, on the Uḍars and in the low-lying tracts by the marshes, must have been under cultivation.4 I have often come across traces of old irrigation-cuts long ago abandoned, which brought down the water of the melting snows from alpine plateaus high above the forest zone. Their distance from any lands capable of rice-cultivation is so great

1 See i. 180, and note i. 184.
2 "The Kashmiris, so far, have considered no crop worthy of attention save rice;" Lawrence, Valley, p. 319.
3 See Valley, pp. 323 sq.
4 Compare Valley, pp. 239 and 356, as to the extensive areas which were once cultivated and are likely to be so again in future.
and the trouble of their construction must have been so considerable
that only a far greater demand for irrigation than the present one can
account for their existence.

In the earliest traditions recorded by Kalhaṇa the construction of
irrigation canals plays already a significant part. The Suvarṇamaṇi-
kulaṅga which is ascribed to King Suvaṇṇa and which still brings water
to a great part of the Āḍūvin district, has already been noticed.¹ The
reference to the aqueduct by which King Dāmodara is supposed to have
attempted to bring water to the great Uḍar named after him, though
legendary in the main, is also characteristic.² Lalitāditya is credited
with having supplied villages near Cakradhara (Tṣaka-dar) with the
means of irrigation by the construction of a series of water-wheels
(araghūṭa) which raised the water of the Vitastā.³

To Suyya, however, Avantivarman’s engineer, is ascribed the
merit of having on an extensive scale secured river-water for village-
lands. From Kalhaṇa’s detailed description it is evident that Suyya’s
regulation of the Vitastā was accompanied by systematic arrangements
for the construction of irrigation channels. For these the water of
various hill-streams was utilized as well as that of the main-river. The
size and distribution of the water-course for each village was fixed on a
permanent basis. He is thus said “to have embellished all regions
with an abundance of irrigated fields which were distinguished for ex-
cellent produce.” The increase in produce consequent on these measures
and the reclamation of new lands from the river and marshes is said to
have lowered the average price of a Khāri of rice from two hundred to
thirty-six Dināras.⁴

The importance of irrigation from a revenue point of view must
have always been recognized by the rulers of the country. Hence even
in later times we find every respite from internal troubles marked by
repairs of ancient canals or the construction of new ones. The long
and peaceful reign of Zainu-l-‘abīdīn which in many respects revived
the traditions of the earlier Hindu rule, seems in particular to have
been productive of important irrigation works. Jonarāja’s and Srivara’s
Chronicles give a considerable list of canals constructed under this
king.⁵ Among these the canal which distributed the water of the
Polur River over the Zainagir Pargāṇa, and the one by which the

¹ See above, § 64.
² See Rājat. i. 158 sq. note.
³ See Rājat. iv. 191 note.
⁴ See Rājat. v. 109-112 and note.
⁵ See Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 1141-55, 1267 sqq.; Sriv. i. 414 sqq. For repairs of old
canals, see Rājat. viii. 2380.
J. 1. 16
water of the Lidyar was conducted to the arid plateau of Mārtāṇḍa, deserve special mention. In the latter locality some work of this kind must have existed already at a far earlier period. Or else we could scarcely understand how it could have been chosen as the site for Lalitāditya's magnificent temple and the flourishing township which once surrounded it.¹

Of the other products of the Valley only two may be mentioned here, since they have from old times received special attention in all descriptions of the country. Already Kalhaṇa in his introduction designates saffron and grapes among "the things that even in heaven are difficult to find but are common there."² Saffron (kuśkuma) has to the present day remained a famous product of Kaśmir. Its cultivation has apparently from an early time specially flourished about Padmapura, the present Pāmpar, where the Uḍar lands are still chiefly utilized for it. The Fourth Chronicle describes at length the plant and its treatment. Abū-1-Fazl mentions it also in the same locality and devotes to it a long notice.³

The grapes of Kaśmir which Kalhaṇa mentions repeatedly,⁴ have not retained their area of cultivation with equal persistence. They must have enjoyed reputation outside Kaśmir, because the name Kaśmirā is given by Sanskrit Kośas as the designation of a special variety of grapes.⁵ They were once plentiful at Mārtāṇḍa where both Kalhaṇa and the Fourth Chronicle mention them, and at many other localities.⁶

In Akbar's time grapes were abundant in Kaśmir and very cheap; but Abū-1-Fazl notes that the finer qualities were rare.⁷ Since then, viticulture among the people generally has greatly declined. Though vines of remarkable size and age can still be found in many places, they are mostly wild. The produce of grapes is now restricted to a few old gardens at the mouth of the Sind Valley and to the new vineyards established on the Dal shores by the late Mahārāja for the cultivation of French vines.⁸

¹ See Rājat. iv. 192.
² i. 42.
³ See Fourth Chron. 928 sqq.; A'in-i-Akb., i. pp. 357 sq.
⁴ Rājat. i. 42; iv. 192; vii. 408.
⁵ See Böhtlingk-Roth, s. v.
⁶ Fourth Chron. 851, 929.
⁷ A'in-i-Akb., i. p. 349.
⁸ For a detailed account of Kaśmir vineyards, see Lawrence, Valley, pp. 851 sq.
It will be useful to refer here briefly to the data we possess regarding the old ethnography of Kashmir and of Kamir. As far as Kashmir itself is concerned our information does not allow us to connect any particular localities with ethnic divisions. Judging from Kalhana's Chronicle and what other sources of information are available to us, the population of Kashmir has shown already in old times the same homogeneity that it does at present. The physical and ethnic characteristics which so sharply mark off the Kashmiri from all surrounding races, have always struck observant visitors to the Valley and have hence often been described. Hiuen Tsiang's brief sketch reproduced above is the earliest in date and yet applies closely to the modern inhabitants.

That the Kashmiris form a branch of the race which brought the languages of the Indo-Aryan type into India, is a fact established by the evidence of their language and physical appearance. But when their settlement in the country took place, and from which direction they immigrated, are questions beyond the present range of historical research. The purity of race which has often been noted as distinguishing the great mass of the Kashmiri population, may be admitted with a qualification. It is probably due not only to the country's natural isolation but also to a curious faculty for absorbing foreign elements. Colonies of Mughals, Pathans, Panjabis, and Patharis, settled within comparatively recent times in the Valley, are being amalgamated with remarkable rapidity through intermarriage and other means.

The complete absorption of these settlements which is going on under our own eyes as it were, furnishes a likely analogy for the ethnic history of earlier times. We have reason to assume that Kashmir has also in Hindu times been often under foreign rule. It is difficult to believe that the reign of foreign dynasties has not been accompanied also by settlements of immigrants of the same nationality. But it is not likely that these foreign colonies were ever extensive. In any case we find no trace of their having retained a distinct and independent existence.

Various tribal sections of the population are mentioned in Kalhana's narrative, but we have no means of deciding to what extent they were based on race or caste distinctions. The names of the Lavanyas and Tantrins survive in 'Krâms,' or tribal names, still borne by sections of

1 For a general account of the Kashmiri population Drew's remarks, Jammu, pp. 174 sqq., may still be recommended. Fuller details regarding the various classes, castes, etc., will be found in Mr. Lawrence's work, pp. 302 sqq.
the Muhammadan rural population (Lūn̄ and Tān̄). But whatever
distinctions of race or caste may have originally been indicated by these
'Krāms,' they have long ago disappeared.

It is equally certain from an examination of the Chronicle that
these sections were never confined to particular territorial divisions, but
spared all over the Valley. The humblest of these sections is probably
the one which has least changed its character during the course of cen-
turies. The modern Dūmbs, the descendants of the old Domblas, are
still the low-caste watchmen and village-menials as which they figure
in Kalhana's narrative. They, like the still more despised Vatals or
scavengers, cannot intermarry with other Kasmirs. They have thus
retained in their appearance a distinctive type of their own which
points to relationship with the gipsy-tribes of India and Europe.

It is difficult to come to any definite conclusion as regards the
Kī-li-to whom Hiuen Tsiang mentions as a low-born race settled in
Kasmir from early times and opposed to the Baudhas. Their name,
usually transcribed Kritiya, cannot be traced in indigenous records.
There is nothing to support their identification with the Kīras, as
suggested by General Cunningham. The latter seems to have been a
tribe settled somewhere in the vicinity of Kasmir.

80. The ethnography of the territories immediately adjoining
Races on Kasmir Kasmir can be traced quite clearly from the
borders.

In the south and west the adjacent hill-regions were occupied by
Khasas. Their settlements extended, as shown by numerous passages
of the Chronicle, in a wide semi-circle from Kasṭa-vār in the south-east
to the Vitasta Valley in the west. The hill-states of Rājapuri and
Lohara were held by Khasa families; the dynasty of the latter territory
succeeded to the rule of Kasmir in the 11th century. I have shown
elsewhere that the Khasas are identical with the present Khakha tribe
to which most of the petty chiefs in the Vitasta Valley below Kasmir
and in the neighbouring hills belong. We have already seen that the

1 Compare notes v. 248; vii. 1171.
2 See Rājat. note iv. 475; also v. 353 sqq., vi. 84, 182; vii. 964, 1133, viii. 94.
3 These passages show that the Domblas also earned their bread as hunters, fishermen,
buffoons, quacks, etc., and their daughters as singers and dancers. Their occupations
thus closely resembled those of the gipsies whose name, Rom, is undoubtedly
derived from Skr. ḍomba; see P. W. s. v.
4 See Sī-yu-ki, transl. Beal, i. pp. 150, 156 sqq.
5 See Anc. Geogr., p. 93.
6 Compare my note viii. 2767.
7 See Rājat. i. 317 note.
Khakhas have until very recent times worthily maintained the reputation which their forefathers enjoyed as marauders and turbulent hillmen.

North of the Vitastā Valley and as far as the Kiṣangaṅgā we now find the Bombas as the neighbours of the Khakhas to whom they are closely related. It is probable that the Karnāv district was held by them already in old times. Kalhaṇa seems to comprise them, viii. 3088, under the designation of Khaśa.

The upper Kiṣangaṅgā Valley above Sardi was in old days already as at present inhabited by Dards (Skr. Darad, Dārada) who are often referred to by Kalhaṇa as the neighbours of Kaśmir on the north. Their seats extended then too probably much further to the north-west, where they are now found in Citral, Yāsin, Gilgit and the intervening regions towards Kaśmir. Megasthenes already knew them in the Upper Indus regions. Kalhaṇa relating events of his own time speaks of Mlecchas further to the north. These might have been Muhammadanized Dards on the Indus, and beyond.

The regions immediately to the north-east and east of Kaśmir were held by the Bhauftas. We have already seen that these represent the people of Tibetan descent, the modern Buṯ, of Drās, Ladākh and the neighbouring mountain districts.

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1 See Réjat. i. 317 note.
2 See note viii. 2762-64.
3 See above, § 58.
CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL TOPOGRAPHY.

SECTION I.—FRONTIERS OF ANCIENT KASHMIR.

81. Our account of the political topography of ancient Kashmir may conveniently open with a survey of its frontiers. These agree so closely with the natural boundaries of the Valley that we have already had occasion to trace them when dealing with the mountain ranges enclosing the latter. It will however be useful to supplement our information regarding these frontiers by a brief notice of the territories which lay beyond them and formed the neighbours of the Kashmir kingdom in Hindu times.

Beginning in the south-east we have first the Valley of KashtHAVATA, the present Kashtvār (‘Kishtwar’ of the maps) on the upper Cimāb. It is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as a separate hill state in the time of Kalāsa.1 Its Rājas who were Hindus till Aurangzeb’s time, practically retained their independence until the conquest of their territory by Māhrāja Gulāb Singh.

The hill-district of Bhadravah lower down on the Cimāb is once named in the Rājatarangini as Bhadravakāśa.2 Its Rājas were tributary to Cambā in recent centuries. This was probably the case also in earlier times as we do not find a ruler of Bhadravakāśa referred to in Kalhaṇa’s lists of hill Rājas.

1 See Rājat. vii. 590 note.
2 See Rājat. viii. 501 note.
The Rājās of Cambē, the ancient Campā, on the other hand figure often in the Kaśmīr Chronicle. Their territory has since early times comprised the valleys of the sources of the Rāvī between Kāṅgra, the ancient Trigarta, and Kāṭṭhavāṭa. The ancient Rājpūt family which rules this hill state to the present day, often intermarried with the Lohara dynasty which reigned in Kaśmīr.

To the west of Campā and south of Bhadrāvakāśā lay the chiefship of Vallāpura, the modern Ballāvar. Its rulers are repeatedly referred to in Kalhaṇa’s narrative and retained their independence as petty hill-chiefs till the rise of the Jammu family early in this century. ‘Ballāvar’ was known also to Albūrāṇi.

Of the political organization of the hill-territories between Vallāpura in the south-east and Rājapuri in the north-west we have no distinct information. The Hindu inhabitants of this tract including Ballāvar call themselves now Doğrās and their country Doğar. This name is traditionally derived from Skr. *Dvigarta, but this term is nowhere found in our historical texts and has probably been created for the sake of an etymology in analogy of the ancient Trigarta. The original of the name seems to be Durgāra. It is very probable that the region of the lower and middle hills between the limits indicated was already in old times divided into a number of small chiefships. Of these some eleven seem to have existed up to the time of the extension of the Sikh power into the Panjāb Kōhīstān. They were all absorbed in the growing state of Jammu which was originally one of them.

Among these small hill-chiefs of limited territory but ancient descent, we have probably to class the Thakkura Deṅgapāla on the Cīnāb who gave his daughter to the pretender Bhikṣaṇa in marriage. Also the Rājā of Kānda must probably be located in this hill tract. Other Thakkuras in this region are mentioned as levying blackmail on Prince Mallārjuna when on his march to Kaśmīr from the plains. Immediately at the foot of the Bānāhāl Pass in the territory of Viṣalātī we find the castle of a ‘Khaṇḍa lord,’ who gave shelter to Bhikṣaṇa and at the time

1 Compare Rājāt. vii. 218 note, and Cunningham, Anc. Geogr., p. 141.
3 See Drew, Jummo, pp. 48 sq.
5 See Cunningham, Anc. Geogr. pp. 133 sqq., where a useful synopsis of the hill-states in the central portion of the Panjāb Kōhīstān is given.
6 See Rājāt. viii. 554 sqq.
7 See note viii. 590.
8 viii. 1989 sqq.
was evidently independent. Temporarily the Khāsas of the hills immediately south of the Pir Panṭsāl Range may have acknowledged the suzerainty of strong Kaśmir rulers. But during the greatest part of the period which is known to us from historical sources, they appear to have held their own and rather to have levied subsidies, i.e., blackmail from the Kaśmir rulers.

82. Some of the petty hill states here referred to must have been included in the region which by its ancient name was known as Dārvābhīṣāra. I have elsewhere shown that this name, as a geographical term, was applied to the whole tract of the lower and middle hills between the Candrabhāgī and Vītastā. The combined names of the Dārvās and Abhisārās are found already in the ethnographical lists of the Mahābhārata and Bṛhatśaṁhitā. A chief of this region figures by the ethnic appellation of Abīsāres in the accounts of Alexander's Indian campaign.

The most important of the hill-states in this territory was certainly the ancient Rājapuri represented by the modern district of Rajauri. It comprised the valleys drained by the Tohi of Rajauri and its tributaries. Owing to its position on the most direct route to the Panjāb, Rājapuri was necessarily often brought into political relations with Kaśmir. When Hiuen Tsiang passed through it, the 'kingdom of Rājapuri' was subject to Kaśmir. From the 10th century onwards we find the chiefs of Rājapuri as practically independent rulers, though the Chronicle tells us of numerous expeditions undertaken into their territory by the later Kaśmir kings. The upper valley of the Tohi of Prūnts leading to the Pir Panṭsāl Pass, was included in Rājapuri territory. Here lay probably the famous strong-hold of Rājaḍirī known also to Albārūnī.

Rājapuri took its name from its capital which is repeatedly mentioned by Kalhaṇa and undoubtedly occupied the position of the present town of Rajauri. The ruling family belonged to the Khāsa tribe. Its descendants were the Muḥammadanized Rājpūt chiefs who retained this territory down to the present century.

On the north-west Rājapuri was adjoined by the territory of

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1 viii. 1665 sqq.
2 See Rājaṭ. vii. 222 note.
3 See note i. 180.
4 For a detailed account, see Rājaṭ. vi. 286 note.
5 See Rājaṭ. viii. 959 note.
6 See vii. 1270 note.
7 See vii. 973 sqq.
The chief valley belonging to this hill-state was the present Lohara which we have already visited when examining the Toshmaidan route. Lohara became important for Kashmir from the end of the 11th century when a branch of its ruling family acquired the Kashmir throne. Subsequently this branch succeeded also to Lohara which thus became united to Kashmir under the same ruler. As the ancestral home and stronghold of the dynasty, the castle of Lohara has played a great part during the last reigns related by Kalhana. The chiefs of Lohara are distinctly named as belonging to the Khaša tribe.

Lohara seems to have included in those times also the town and district of Parwotisa corresponding to the present Pùntas (the Kashmiri form), in the lower valley of the Tohi (Tausi). In Hiuen Tsiang's time Parwotisa gave its name to the whole hill-state which was then tributary to Kashmir. The Muhammadan Rājās of Pùntas, closely related to the Khakhas of the Vitastā Valley, remained more or less independent till the conquest of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh. Their territory forms now a separate small principality under a branch of the Jammu family. Parwotisa being on the great route to the western Panjāb is often mentioned in the Kashmir Chronicles. The large percentage of the Kashmiri element in the population of Pùntas attests the closeness and ancient date of its relations to Kashmir.

The hills to the south-west of Pùntas were held till early in this century by petty chiefs, known as the Rājās of Kūtli. It is possible that the small hill-state of Kalinjara repeatedly referred to by Kalhana and known also to Ferishta, lay in this direction.

Proceeding to the north-west of Parwotisa we come to the valley of the Vitastā. This, as has already been shown above, was held in old times as an outlying frontier-district of Kashmir as far down as Bolyasa, the present Buleasa. Beyond this point it was occupied by Khāshās. In Muhammadan times the valley was divided between several petty chiefs of the Khakha and Bumbi clans who seem to have acknowledged as their nominal head the Khakha Rājā of Muṣaffarābād. The portion of the valley between Muṣaffarābād and Buleasa bore the old name of Dvāravati from which the modern designation of this tract, Dvarbidi, is derived (see above, § 53).

1 Compare for the history of Lohara and its various localities, Note E, Rājat. iv. 177, reproduced in Ind. Ant., 1897, pp. 225 sqq.
2 See for details note iv. 18. Hiuen Tsiang's reference shows that the town of Parwotisa must be older than the time of Lalitāditya to whom Kalhana ascribes its foundation.
3 See note Rājat. vii. 1256.
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Further to the west and beyond the course of the Vitastā after its great bend, lay the ancient kingdom of Urašā. Its greatest part is comprised in the British district of Hazāra, between the Vitastā and Indus. It is the Ošapna or "Aroa of Ptolemy; its ruler figures as Arsakes in the accounts of Alexander’s campaigns. Huen Tsiang mentions the territory by the name of Wu-la-shi and found it tributary to Kasmir. Though this dependence seems soon to have ceased we find Urašā often referred to in the Rājatarangini. The account of Saṃkaravarmā’s ill-fated expedition in this direction furnishes us with a clue as to the position of the old capital of Urašā. It probably lay between the present Mansahra and Abbottabad. Kalhaṇa’s notice of an expedition undertaken in his own time mentions in Uraša the town of Attyugrapura. I have shown in my note on the passage that this locality is probably represented by the modern Agrā, situated on the border of Hazāra towards the ‘Black Mountains.’ We have an intermediary form of the name in Ptolemy’s Ιθαγοπός, given as the designation of a town in Uarsa or Arsa north of Taxila.

In Muḥammadan times Uraša was included in the region known as Pakhli. This is defined by Abū-l-Faẓl as comprising the whole of the hill territory between Kasmir in the east and the Indus on the west. To Pakhli belonged also the lower valley of the Kiṣangāṅgā and the valleys of the streams which flow into the latter from the Kājnāṅg Range and the mountains to the north-west of Kasmir.

This tract which is now known as Karnāu, bore the old name of Kiṣangāṅgā Valley. It seems to have been held by small chiefs nominally tributary to Kasmir even in later Hindu times. It is but rarely mentioned in the Chronicle. The inhabitants were Brajas, who are represented by the modern Bomba clans still holding Karnāu. Their Rājās were practically independent till the Sikh conquest and often harried the north-western parts of Kasmir. The last irruption of the Karnāu Bombas and their allies, the Khakha chiefs of the Vitastā Valley, occurred as late as 1846.

1 For a detailed synopsis of the old notices, see Ṛjaṭ. v. 217 note.
3 Compare note viii. 3402.
4 See Āin-i-Akb., ii. pp. 390 sq.
5 Compare Ṛjaṭ. viii. 2485 note.
6 See viii. 2756, 3006, 3088.
7 Compare for the modern Karnāu, Bates, Gazetteer, p. 228.
The valley of the Kāṣāṇāṅgā above its junction with the Karnau river and as far as Sārdi, forms a separate tract known as Drāva. This is possibly the Dūrāṇpa mentioned in a passage of Kalhana’s Chronicle. The northernmost portion of the tract seems to have been a dependency of Kāmīr even during the later Hindu reigns. At Sārdi we find the shrine of Sāradā, one of the most sacred Tirthas of old Kāmīr. To this as well as an old feudal stronghold in its neighbourhood we shall have occasion to refer thereafter (§ 127).

Through Sārdi leads a route to Cilās on the Indus. But this territory as well as the other portions of the Upper Indus Valley lay apparently quite beyond the sphere of Kāmīr political influence. Hence we meet nowhere in the Chronicles with their ancient names.

84. Immediately above Sārdi the valley of the Kāṣāṇāṅgā turns, as we have seen, into a narrow uninhabited gorge. At the other end of this gorge we reach the territory of the Darads. Their settlements on the Upper Kāṣāṇāṅgā and its tributaries seem to have formed a separate little kingdom, called by a general name Daradseṣā in the Chronicle. Its inhabitants who bore Hindu names, more than once attempted invasions of Kāmīr. Daratpurī, ‘the town of the Darads,’ which was the capital of their chiefs, may have occupied the position of the modern Gurēz (map ‘Goorais’). The latter is the chief place of the valley where the Nawābs governing it till the Sikh conquest resided. The ‘Mlecha’ chiefs who on two occasions figure as the Darad Rājas’ allies from the north, were perhaps rulers of other Darad tribes further towards the Indus who had early been converted to Islam.

Crossing from the head-waters of the Kāṣāṇāṅgā to those of the Drīs River we arrive in high-level valleys inhabited by people of Tibetan race and language, the Bhauṭṭas of the Chronicles. The Rājataraṅgaṇī tells us nothing of the political organization or topography of the Bhauṭṭa territories. It is, however, possible that we have a reference to Leh, the capital of Ladāk, in the “foreign country called Loḥ,” which Kalhana names in iii. 10.

Nor do the later Chronicles supply us with any details in this direction, though the several invasions which Kāmīr suffered from this side give Joharāja and Śrivara occasion to refer more frequently to the Bhauṭṭas and their rulers. It may, however be noted that Śrivara

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1 See viii. 2709 note.
2 Compare Rājat. vii. 911; for other references to the Darads, i. 312 note.
3 See vii. 911 note.
4 See viii. 2762 note.
already knows the terms 'Little and Great Bhūṭa-land.' They refer to Baltistān (Skardo) and Ladākh which have continued to be known to the present day as 'Little and Great Tibet,' or among Kaśmirīs as Lukh Buṭun and Buṇ Buṭun. These terms are in fact of a far older date, as they are found already in the Chinese Annals as Little and Great Poliu.

The eastern frontier of Kaśmir is, as we have seen, formed by a mountain range which runs from the Zōjl-Lā almost due south towards Kaśṭavār. Along this range on the east lies a long narrow valley marked as Marn-Wardwan on the map (in Kaśmirī Madīvādvans). It is drained by a large river which joins the Cināb near the town of Kaśṭavār. Owing to its high elevation and the rigours of its climate it is inhabited only by a scanty population. According to Mr. Drew's race map and other authorities, this consists now chiefly of Kaśmirīs. Whether this was already the case in old times, is uncertain. The Valley is nowhere mentioned in our old Kaśmirīan texts. It is hence doubtful whether it belonged to Kaśmir territory in Hindu times. Yet Abū-l-Faṣl counts it among the Pargānas of Kaśmir. Beyond it to the east stretches an uninhabited belt of high mountains and glaciers, dividing Madīvādvans from the Tibetan tracts of Sāru and Zanskar. To the south we reach once more the territory of Kaśṭhavāṭa from which our present survey has started.

1 See śiv. iii. 445 (Śūksamabhādhaśaṭaśaṃ).
2 Buṭun (connected with the ethnic term Buṭ < Ḫuṭṭa; see above, § 58), is the Kaśmirī term for Tibet in general.
3 Compare A. Rāmus, Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques, i. p. 194; and Sir H. Yule, Cathay, p. lxx.
4 The Trisatādhyaśātmya which refers to the Valley as Maḍavāṭa, cannot claim any particular antiquity.
ANCIENT POLITICAL DIVISIONS.

88. The Valley of Kaśmir to which we may now return has from early times been divided into two great parts, known by their modern names as Kamrāz and Marāz. These terms are derived from Skr. Kramārājya and Madava-rājya, which are found very frequently in the Rājatarangini as well as the later Chronicles. The original form of the modern Kamrāz was known to the tradition of the Srinagar Paṇḍita generally. With the old name Madavara-jya, however, I found only those few acquainted who, like the late Paṇḍit Dāmodara and Paṇḍit Govind Kaul, had specially studied Kalhana's Chronicle.

According to the generally prevailing notion Marāz comprises the districts on both sides of the Vītarāi above Srinagar, and Kamrāz those below. The present tradition places the boundary of the two great divisions more accurately at the Shārgarhi palace. That the boundary was already in old times indicated by a line drawn through the capital is easily proved by an examination of all passages in the Rājatarangini and other Chronicles naming Madavara-jya and Kramara-jya. They invariably show localities situated above Srinagar in the former and those below in the latter division.

We arrive at the same result on a reference to the Āin-i Akbari. Abū-l-Faṣl distinctly informs us that "the whole kingdom was divided under its ancient rulers into two divisions, Marāj on the east and Kamrāj on the west." He then proceeds to tabulate the thirty-eight Pargānas into which Kaśmir was divided under Akbar's administration, separately under the two main-heads of Marāj and Kamrāj. The city of Srinagar is counted with the former, and so are also all Pargānas above the capital, while those below are shown in Kamrāj.

The term of Kamrāz has in modern times occasionally been used also in a more restricted sense, for the designation of the Pargānas to the west and north-west of the Votur lake. This usage probably arose from the fact that at various periods several of the small Pargānas in this portion of the Valley were for administrative purposes grouped together in one Pargāna, to which the name Kamrāz was given.

1 See my note on Rājat. ii. 15.
2 Compare Āin-i-Abb., ii. p. 369.
3 This Abū-l-Faṣl's table seems to show that in Akbar's time the old Pargānas of Uttar, Lolā, Hamal and Maṣch-pūr were embodied in the large Pargāna of 'Kamrāj'; see Āin-i Abb., ii. p. 371. In Moorcroft's and Baron Hügel's list the Pargāna Kamrāj includes Uttar, Hamal and Maṣch-pūr. Owing to the frequent changes
circumstance explains the different accounts referred to by Prof. Bühler in his note on the term Kramarijya.¹

Though the terms Maḍavarājya and Kramarijya are so often employed in the Chronicles, we have no distinct evidence of the two divisions having in Hindu times formed separate administrative units or provinces. It is possible that this was the case at one or the other period. But Abū-1-Fażl's account as well as the usage traceable from his time to the present day show that the terms in their popular geographical significance could maintain themselves quite independently of actual administrative divisions.²

86. The whole of the Valley has from an early date been subdivided for administrative purposes into a considerable number of small districts known in recent times as ‘Parganas.’ Their ancient designation was viṣaya.³ The number, names and limits of these subdivisions have been subject to considerable variations during the period over which our documents extend.

The great majority of the Parganas known in recent times can be safely assumed to have existed already during the Hindu rule. This is proved by the fact that the names of numerous Parganas are found in their ancient forms already in the Rājatarangini and the other Chronicles. But these texts do not furnish us anywhere with a complete list of the Parganas. It is hence impossible for us to restore in full detail the map of the administrative sub-divisions for any particular epoch of the Pargana divisions (see below) the extent of the ‘Pargana Kaśmir’ has also varied from time to time.

¹ See Report, p. 11.
² The only trace I can find of a general division of Kaśmir other than that into Maḍavarājya and Kramarijya, is contained in an unfortunately corrupt and fragmentary passage of the Lokapprakāśa, iv. It seems to divide the twenty-seven Viṣayās or Parganas of Kaśmir (see below) into three tracts, viz. (i) Kramarijya from Khōyāśrāmika onwards (Khayāhom, the old Khūyārāma is meant); (ii) Madhyamarijya from the Cānulā [river ?] to Lahara or Lār; (iii) Maḍavarājya from Srivantaka (?).

The text is in a deplorable condition and the explanation of Cānulā and Srivantaka quite uncertain. The former may be the river of doubtful name and identity referred to in Rājat. note v. 109. It appears as if at the time to which the Lokapprakāśa’s notice goes back, an intermediate slice of territory had been formed between Kramarijya and Maḍavarājya and dubbed Madhyamarājya ‘the middle province.’ Five thousand villages out of the 66,063 with which the text credits Kaśmir, are attributed to this intermediate division.

³ Compare for the term viṣaya Rājat. v. 51; vii. 1260, 1413, 2697.

The expression Pargana may have been introduced by the Mughal administration. Its Skr. original परगणा is not found in the Chronicles.
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during Hindu times. The Lokaprákása, it is true, tells us of the division of Kásmir into twenty-seven Viśayas and enumerates some nineteen of the latter. But several of the names are so corrupt as to be beyond recognition, while others bear a distinctly modern look. In any case it is impossible to fix the date to which this notice may belong or to judge of its authenticity.¹

Abú-1-Fazl's account is the first which presents us with a systematic statement of Kásmir Pargánas. It is of special interest because it shows us how their list could be increased or re-adjusted within certain limits according to fiscal requirements or administrative fancies. The return of Ásaf Khán reproduced by Abú-1-Fazl shows thirty-eight Pargánas, while the earlier one of Qázi 'Áli contained forty-one. The difference is accounted for by the amalgamation of some and the splitting-up of other Pargánas. The Pargánas varied greatly in size, as shown by the striking contrasts in the revenue-assessments. Thus, e.g., Paṭán was assessed at circ. 5300 Kharwárs, while the revenue from 'Kamráj' amounted to 446,500 Kharwárs.

The number of Pargánas had changed but little during Mughal and Paṭhán times. For the Sikhs on their conquest of the Valley seem to have found thirty-six as the accepted traditional number. But there had been various changes in the names and extent of these Pargánas. These changes became still more frequent under the Sikh administration, as is seen by a comparison of the lists given by Moorecroft (1823), Baron Hügel (1835) and Vigne (circ. 1840). They all show a total of thirty-six Pargánas but vary among themselves in the names of individual Pargánas.

These frequent changes and redistributions of the Pargánas continued during Dográ Rule. The most accurate list I am able to refer to for this most recent period, is that given by Major Bates. It shows a total of forty-three Pargánas for the year 1865.² Subsequent reforms introduced Taḥsils after the fashion of British provinces with a view to reducing the number of sub-divisions. The latest list shows eleven Taḥsils.³ In their constitution little regard was paid to the historical divisions of the country. Fortunately, however, Kásmiris are as con-

¹ Of the Lokaprákása's Viṣayas Khoyárami, Samáli, Lahari, Auládiya, Nilása, Khágáviya correspond clearly to the Khuyášrami, Samáli, Lahara, Holáli, Nilása, Khágávi of the Rájataránigíni. Ekena, Devasúvi may possibly be corruptions for Evenaka and Devasaras. Krodhán, Duviśantí, Bhírgá, Pháguá probably represent the modern Pargánas of Kruhín, Dúns, Bring, Phák. Gáliña, Viśáthá, Sratvá, Svanavári, Nilá, Hári, Jalahádiya, are quite uncertain.

² See Gazetteer, p. 2 sqq.

³ Compare the sketch-map attached to Mr. Lawrence's Valley.
servative in their topographical nomenclature as in many other matters. The old Pargana names are hence still in ordinary use and likely to remain so for some time to come.1

The absence of a complete list of Pargana for an earlier period and the changes in their constitution during more recent times make a systematic exposition of the ancient territorial divisions impracticable. In a separate note I have given a comparative table of the Pargana lists we possess since Akbar's time. There too I have indicated the ancient equivalents of the Pargana names, as far as they can be traced in the Sanskrit Chronicles.2 We shall have occasion to refer to these names and their history in the course of our detailed survey of ancient localities in the Valley.

87. The large number of administrative sub-divisions which as we have seen goes back to an early date, may be taken as an indication of the dense population then occupying the Valley. We have no means of forming any accurate estimate as to the number of the population which the country contained in Hindu times. But there is every reason to believe that even at a later period it was far larger than at the present day. The existence of a very great number of deserted village-sites, in all parts of the country, the remains already alluded to of a far more extended system of irrigation, the number of great temple ruins, and the uniform tradition of the people,—all point to the same conclusion.

The present century has witnessed in Kashmir a series of appalling famines and epidemics, which wrought terrible havoc in the mass of the rural population particularly. The last famine, 1878–79, alone is supposed to have removed three-fifths of the population from the Valley.3 The political vicissitudes of the first half of the century had a baneful influence on the economical condition of Kashmir and brought about an extensive emigration both among the industrial and agriculturist classes. Notwithstanding all these trials the population which in 1835 was estimated at about 200,000 souls, had risen to 814,000 according to the census of 1891.

These figures indicate great powers of recuperation. Yet it is held by competent judges that the present agricultural population is by no means sufficient even for the land actually under cultivation. It would hence manifestly be hazardous to make any guess as to the numbers

1 The Survey of India maps indicates the approximate extent of the Parganas recognized in the fifties.
2 See Supplementary Note BB.
3 Compare for this and other statistical details Mr. Lawrence's Valley, p. 228 sqq.
which the country might have supported in the most prosperous times of Hindu rule.

The fact of Kashmir having possessed a far greater population in ancient times helps to explain the curious traditional verse which puts the number of villages of Kashmir at 66,063. The verse is found twice in the Lokapraśāsa and still lives in the oral tradition of the Brahmans throughout the Valley. It has been reproduced from the latter in Paṇḍit Sāhibrām's Tīrthasamgraha.¹ That it can claim some antiquity is evident from the allusion made to the number in Jonarāja's Chronicle.²

Though that figure must have at all times implied a considerable exaggeration, it is nevertheless characteristic of the popular notion on the subject. Even Sharifuddin's information, collected about A.D. 1400, is generally accurate and matter-of-fact, records: "It is popularly believed that in the whole of the province—plains and mountains together—are comprised 100,000 villages. The land is thickly inhabited."³ It is curious that Mirzā Haidar who had ruled Kashmir himself copies this statement without modification or dissent.

Section III.—The Old and New Capitals.

38. The ancient divisions of Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya are separated by a line drawn through Śrinagar. This fact as well as the great historical interest attaching to Śrinagar as the capital of the country make it the convenient starting-point for our survey. The history of Kashmir has always been reflected as it were in that of its capital. The site of the latter has not changed for more than thirteen centuries. It is thus easy to account for the ample historical data which enable us to restore in great part the ancient topography of Śrinagar and to trace back the city's history to the time of its foundation.

Hiuen Tsiang who visited the Kashmir capital about A.D. 631, and whose record is the earliest we possess, found it already in the position of the present Śrinagar. He describes it as situated along the

¹ Ṣaptir grāmacaharāṇi Ṣaptir grāmaśatāni ca! Ṣaptir grāmās trayo grāmāḥ hyetat Kāṣmīrāmudālam !; comp. Lokapraśāsa, Ind. Studien, xviii. p. 375.
² See Jonar. (Bo. ed.), 153.
³ See Tārīkh-i-Raghīḍī, p. 430. Ritter who reproduces the passage of the Zafarnāma from De la Croix's translation, shows the number of villages as 10,000; see Asien, ii. p. 1128. It may be noted in passing that according to the Census of 1891 the number of villages in Kashmir was then reckoned at 2670.

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east bank of a great river, i.e. the Vitastā, 12 or 13 li long from north to south and 4 or 5 li broad from east to west. About 10 li to the south-east of this, "the new city," the pilgrim notices a Buddhist convent which lay between a high mountain on the north and the site of 'the old city' on the south.

It is the merit of General Cunningham to have first recognized that the situation here indicated for the new capital of Hiuen Tsiang's time corresponds exactly to that of the modern Šrinagar. A glance at the map shows that the position and dimensions ascribed by Hiuen Tsiang to the new city apply closely to that part of Šrinagar which occupies the right or eastern riverbank, and which, as we shall see, forms the older portion of the city. The two and a half miles represented by the 12 or 13 li of the Chinese measurement, agree accurately with the length of the city within its ancient limits along the eastern bank of the Vitastā. The estimate of its breadth at somewhat less than one mile (4 or 5 li) is equally correct.

89. The position of 'the old city' is marked by the present village of Pāndrēthana which derives its name from the appellation Purāṇādiśṭhāna, meaning 'the Old Capital.' It lies to the south-east of Šrinagar just as Hiuen Tsiang says, at the south foot of a mountain spur which rises with bold slopes to a height of about 3000 feet above the village. Measured from the nearest point of old Šrinagar, the distance to the presumptive site of the monastery between Pāndrēthana and the steep hill-side is exactly two miles or 10 li.

The history of 'the Old Capital' is so closely connected with that of Šrinagar that it will be useful to acquaint ourselves first with the data bearing upon it. The name of Purāṇādiśṭhāna meets us first in Kalhaṇ's account of the reign of King Pravarasena I. (or Śreṣṭhasena) who is said to have erected there a shrine known as that of Siva Pravarasena. At the beginning of the tenth century the minister Meruwardhana built at Purāṇādiśṭhāna a Viṣṇu temple called after his own name. This has been rightly identified by General Cunningham with the well-preserved little temple which still stands in the village of Pāndrēthana and has often been described by European travellers.

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1 Gen. Cunningham's identification was first indicated in his paper on the architecture of Kashmir temples, J. A. S. B., 1848, p. 283. For a fuller account, see Anc. Geogr., pp. 93 seqq.
2 See Rājat, iii. 99 note, where detailed references have been given regarding the site.
3 See v. 267 note, also for descriptions of the temple.
Even in Kalhaṇa's own time pious foundations are recorded at this ancient site.

The identity of Pāndrēthan with the site named in the Chronicle as 'the Old Capital' is proved by ample evidence. It is indicated in the old gloss on Rājat. v. 267 and is still known to Paṇḍit tradition. Śrivara in describing the flight of some troops which had been defeated in Śṛnagar and were retiring along the Vīrastā to the east, speaks of the road from the Samudrāmatā (Sudāmar on the right bank of the river near the second bridge) to Pārvādhīsthāna as covered with the corpses of the slain.¹ It is clear that by the latter designation which also means 'the Old Capital,' he refers to our present Pāndrēthan. This name itself is the direct phonetic derivative of Purāṇādhīsthāna.²

90. General Cunningham has assumed that 'the Old Capital' marked by the site of Pāndrēthan was in reality the ancient Śṛnagar which Kalhaṇa mentions as the capital founded by the great Aśoka.³ His assumption was based on another passage of the Chronicle which mentions the foundation of the shrine of Jyeṣṭhārudra at Śṛnagar by Jālanka, the son of Aśoka. General Cunningham thought he could recognize this shrine in the extant temple on the top of the Takht-i Sulaimān hill, below which at a distance of about one and a half miles Pāndrēthan is situated.

I have shown in my note on the passage that no reliance can be placed on the alleged tradition which General Cunningham had adduced as the sole proof of his location of the shrine. Yet at the same time the evidence recorded by me proves that Jyeṣṭhārudra must have been worshipped either on the hill itself or in its close vicinity. Accordingly Aśoka's Śṛnagar may safely be looked for in the same neighbourhood. Our present data do not allow us to decide with absolute certainty whether its site was at Pāndrēthan or elsewhere. But there are at least sufficient indications to make General Cunningham's view appear very tempting and probable.

¹ See Śrīv. iv. 290.
² The Kā. derivative of Skr. Purāṇa is prāṇ 'old'; this forms, with assimilation of the initial double consonant, the first part, Pān-, of the modern name. The elision of the second a in the assumed intermediary form *P[ṇ]rāṇ[a]dēthan is accounted for by the influence of the stress accent which lies on the second syllable of the modern name. The development of the combination nd into ndr is paralleled by similar cases in other Indo-Aryan Vernaculars; comp. Dr. Grierson, Phonology of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, Z.D.M.G., i. p. 37, § 115. The nasalisation of ā may be of recent date, as the old gloss of A2 on Rājat. v. 267 shows the name as Pāmydṛthan, i.e. Pāndrēthan.
³ See Note C, i. 124.
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There is in the first place the significant name Purāṇādiṣṭhāna, 'the Old Capital,' which shows that the site of Pāndrēthan must have once been occupied by an important city. Next it is to be noted that Kalhana's narrative knows nothing of any other capital which might have been founded in this vicinity previous to the new capital built by Pravarasena II. on the site of the present Srinagar. Lastly we have an indication in the very name Srinagara which Pravarasena's city has come to bear in general usage instead of its proper and official designation Pravarapura.

If Asoka's Srinagari actually lay at or near the present Pāndrethan the transfer of its name to the new capital is most readily accounted for. General Cunningham already has rightly pointed out the numerous analogies for such a transfer furnished by the history of other Indian capitals. Pravarasena's city was practically contiguous to the older Srinagari and existed for centuries side by side with it. We can hence easily understand that popular usage retained for the new capital the old familiar designation. Exactly in the same way the several new cities founded by successive kings in the vicinity of Delhi all continued to be known simply by the name "Delhi," though each of them was originally intended to bear the distinctive name of its founder.

Though Purāṇādiṣṭhāna had sunk to small importance already in Hindu times, extensive remains of ancient buildings can still be traced on the terraced slopes rising immediately to the north and north-east of Pāndrethan. Foundations of old walls, carved slabs, and architectural fragments cover the foot of the hill-side for about one and a half miles. Broken Lingas of colossal dimensions are scattered among them. All the remains above ground, however, are far too much decayed to permit of a distinction of individual structures.

The advantages of Pāndrethan as the site for a great city cannot be compared with those offered by the position of Srinagar. Yet the close vicinity of the Vistara, coupled with the security from floods which the near hill-slopes afford, must have been appreciated in an earlier

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1 See Anc. Geogr., pp. 97 sq.

2 The feminine form Srinagari is used also for the new capital; comp. Rājat. i. 104 note. There is thus no difference in the name as applied to both Asoka's and Pravarasena's cities. Srinagara or Srinagari means the "City of Sri", i.e. of Lakṣmi, the Goddess of Fortune. For a whimsical etymology of European growth, which has turned Srinagar into the "City of the Sun," see above § 4, note.

3 Compare for an account of these ruins, Cunningham, J. A. S. B., 1848, pp. 288 sq., Anc. Geogr. 96 sq. [The remarks made in the latter place as to the supposed cause of the desertion of Purāṇādiṣṭhāna rest on a misinterpretation of certain Rājatarangini passages. The reconstruction of an alleged 'Pravaresvara symbol' at Pāndrethan, J. A. S. B., 1848, pp. 324 sq., is also unsupported by evidence.]
period when probably the riverside flats of the valley were less drained. The small semi-circular glens which are formed between projecting spurs both north and east of the present village, with their gentle slopes offer convenient building sites. The fertile shores of the Dal are also within easy reach of Pāndrēthān through the gap in the hill-range which separates the Takht-i Sulaimān hill from the greater heights to the east. It is probably in this direction that we have to look for the Saṅghārāma mentioned by Hiuen Tsang in connection with ‘the old city.’

91. Kalhaṇa’s Chronicle furnishes us with a full account of the origin of the new city which was the capital of the Kaśmir in his time and destined to remain so to the present day. Kalhaṇa attributes the foundation of this capital to King Pravarasena. The topographical details of his description make it clear beyond all doubt that its site was that of the present Srinagar.

The identity of the latter with Pravarasena’s town was duly recognized by General Cunningham who referred to the close agreement between the general features of Kalhaṇa’s description and the situation of the present capital. He also pointed out that Kalhaṇa distinctly mentions as one of the pious buildings founded in Pravarasena’s city that very Jayendra-vihaṇa in which Hiuen Tsang resided during his long stay in the Kaśmir capital. Subsequently Professor Bihler noticed the survival of several old local names for parts of the modern city which also prove its identity with Pravarasena’s capital. The most convincing evidence, however, is contained in the long list of ancient buildings and localities which Kalhaṇa mentions in Pravarasena’s town. In the course of our survey we shall be able to identify many of them within the modern Srinagar and its environs.

The attribution of this new capital to King Pravarasena rests on equally strong proof. Through a chain of references extending over nearly twelve centuries we can trace the use of the name Pravarapura, shortened (bhimanat) for Pravarasenapura, as the official and correct designation of the city occupying the site of the present Srinagar. We have found this appellation already in the record of the T’ang Annals going back to the commencement of the eighth century. It is also found in the works of Bhumendrā, Bilhaṇa, and numerous other Kaśmirian authors. It has continued to be used to the present day in colophons of Sanskrit Manuscripts, in horoscopes and similar documents.

1 See Rājat. iii. 336-368.
2 See Arc. Geogr., p. 97; also Rājat. iii. 355 note.
3 Compare Report, p. 16.
4 For detailed references see my note Rājat. iii., 339-349. Sri-Pravarapura for
The date of King Pravarsena II. whose name the above designation of the new capital was intended to preserve, cannot be fixed with accuracy. Various historical and numismatic indications, however, make it probable that he ruled at some period of the 6th century. Thus we can easily understand that at the time of Hiuen Tsang’s visit (A.D. 631) Srinagara or Pravarapura was still the ‘new city.’

92. The traditional account of the foundation of Pravarapura as recorded by Kalhana is of considerable interest. Legend of foundation of Pravarapura. Though largely interwoven with legendary matter it preserves for us a series of exact topographical data. Kalhana’s story is contained in verses 336-349 of the Third Book, and runs briefly as follows. ¹

When King Pravarsena II. had returned from his victorious expeditions abroad, he desired to found a new capital which was to bear his name. He was then residing in the city of his grandfather Pravarasena I., i.e., in Puranadhisthana.² From there the king went forth at night in order, as the text says, “to ascertain in a supernatural way the proper site and the auspicious time for the foundation of the new city.” On his way he reached a stream which skirted a burning ground, and was illuminated by the glow of funeral pyres. Then on the other bank of the stream there appeared to him a demon of terrible form. Promising him fulfillment of his desire, the demon invited the king to cross over to his own side by the embankment he was preparing for him. Thereupon “the Rakṣasa stretched out his own knee from the other bank, and thus caused the water of the Mahāsārit to be parted by an embankment (Setu).” The courageous Pravarasena drew out his dagger (kṣurikā), cut with it steps into the flesh of the Rakṣasa, and thus crossed over to the place which has since been known as Kṣurikābala. The demon then indicated to him the auspicious time and disappeared, after telling him to build his town where he would see the measuring line laid down in the morning. This line (sūtra) of the Vetāla the king eventually discovered “at the village of Sāritaka at which the goddess Sārikā and the demon Atta resided.” There he built his city in which the first shrine erected was the famous one of Siva Pravareśvara.

Eripravarasenaapure is often written in the abbreviated form Śvīpra in the formulas of the Lokaprakāśa, almanacs, etc. Kalhana often uses the simple Pura for Pravarapura and Nagara for Srinagara.

¹ For all detailed references in connection with this story, note iii. 339-349 should be consulted.

² That Puranadhisthana is meant is proved by iii. 99. There Kalhana, speaking of a foundation of Pravarasena I. in his capital, by a kind of anachronism uses the designation of Puranadhisthana.
Keeping in view the details of the ancient topography of Srinagar, we can still follow up step by step the localities by which the legend here related leads King Pravarasena to the site of his new city. We have already seen that the Mahāsarit is the stream now known as Tśāṁth Kul which flows from the Dal into the Vitastā. Near its confluence with the Vitastā which we have also found already mentioned as a Tirtha, there existed, until the times of Mahārāja Raṇbir Singh, a much frequented Hindu burning Ghāṭ. It was undoubtedly of ancient date. Kalhaṇa relates how the body of King Uccala, murdered in his palace at Srinagar, was hurriedly cremated at the burning place situated on the island at the confluence of the Mahāsarit and Vitastā. It is certain that the island of Māyāsum (Skr. Mākṣikasvāmin) is meant here, at the western end of which the Mahāsarit or Tśāṁth Kul falls into the Vitastā.

The stream flowing from the Dal is bounded on its northern bank by an old embankment which stretches from the west foot of the Takht-i Sulaimān close to the high bank of the Vitastā near the Second Bridge. This embankment which is the most substantial at or around Srinagar and known only by the general designation of Suth (from Skr. setu), ‘dyke,’ is undoubtedly of very early date. It protects the whole of the low-lying portions of the city on the right river-bank as well as the floating gardens and shores of the Dal which would otherwise be exposed to annual inundations from the Vitastā. A tradition still heard by Mr. Vigne ascribed the construction of this embankment to King Pravarasena. It is indeed evident that its construction was a necessary condition for the safety of the newly founded city.

Several topographical indications warrant the conclusion that it was this old dyke in which the popular legend recorded by Kalhaṇa recognized the leg and knee of the demon. A glance at the map shows that the eastern portion of the ‘Suth’ turns sharply at a right angle and thus curiously resembles a bent knee. Kṣurikābala was the name of the place where Pravarasena according to the legend was supposed to have reached firm ground after crossing the stream. I have shown that this name in the form of its Kaśmiri derivative Khudobal still attaches to the city quarter which lies at the western end of the Suth.

Finally it will be seen from the map that Kalhaṇa’s words regarding the ‘Setu’ dividing the waters of the Mahāsarit, describe exactly the present embankment which has on one side the Tśāṁth Kul and on the other side the various marshes and canals fed by the Mär. It

1 See viii. 339.
2 See Vigne, Travels, ii. p. 69.
3 See note iii. 339-349.
has been shown above that this second outflow of the Dal also shared the old name of Mahāsarit.

§ 33. The name of the village Sārijaka where the demon showed to the king the proper site for his city, has long ago disappeared. Its position, however, is sufficiently marked by the mention of the goddess Sārikā. The latter, a form of Durgā, has since ancient times been worshipped on the hill which rises to the north of the central part of Srinagar and is still called after her. The modern name of the hill, Hāra-pavarata, is the regular phonetic derivative of Skr. Sārikā-pavarata. By this name it is designated in the latter Chronicles and Mahāmyas.

Another passage of the Bājataraṇīqi shows that the term Vētāla-sūtrapāta, ‘the demon’s measuring line,’ clearly connected with the above legend, was also in later times applied to the limits of the oldest part of Pravarapura. But our materials do not enable us to ascertain these limits in detail. Kalhaṇa it is true, has not failed to specify them, as he mentions the temples of Vardhanasvāmin and Visvakarman as marking the extreme ends of Pravarasena’s city. Unfortunately the position of neither of these structures can now be traced.

So much, however, is clear that the new city was at first confined to the right bank of the river. Kalhaṇa tells this distinctly, and those sites and structures which he particularly mentions in his description of Pravarasena’s capital, are all found as far as they can be identified, on the right bank. The account of Hiuen Tsang and the T’ang Annals show that even in the 7th century Pravarapura extended mainly along the eastern bank of the river.

Kalhaṇa follows up his account of the foundation of the city with a brief description of its splendours. He notes the extravagant story of its having once counted thirty-six lakhs of houses, and

1 Compare § 65.
2 See note iii. 339–349. Hāra is the Kaśmīrī name of the goddess Sārikā as well as of the Sārikā bird (Maina); comp. Bühler, Report, pp. 16 sq.

Panjābīs and other foreign visitors from India have by a popular etymology turned the ‘Hill of Sārikā’ into the ‘Hill of Hari (Vīṣṇu)’ or the ‘Verdant Hill.’ The latter interpretation could be justified only on the principle of locus a non lucendo; for verdure is scarce indeed on the rocky faces of the Sārikā-pavarata. Dr. Bernier already, Travels, p. 596, was told this popular etymology, probably by his friends from Delhi.

3 See vi. 191 note.
4 iii. 367.
5 iii. 368.
6 See above, §§ 8, 10.
7 iii. 367–369.
refers to the regularly arranged markets with which its founder had provided it. The city of his own time still boasted of “mansions which reached to the clouds” built, no doubt, mostly of wood just as the mass of private houses in modern Srinagar. ¹

When he mentions “the streams meeting, pure and lovely, at pleasure-residences and near market streets,” he means evidently the numerous canals from the Dal and Ančhār lakes which intersect the suburbs and also pass through the heart of the city. They and the river still serve as the main thoroughfares for the market traffic, and all principal Bazars are built along their banks.² The Sārikāparvata receives due mention as “the pleasure-hill from which the splendour of all the houses is visible as if from the sky.” Nor does he forget to praise the cool water of the Viṭāstā which the citizens find before their very houses on hot summer-days.

Finally he refers to the abundance of magnificent temples with which successive kings had adorned Pravarapura, and of which so many are particularly mentioned in his narrative. Of the number and imposing appearance of these structures we can even at the present day form some idea if we examine their massive remains which meet us in every part of modern Srinagar. The high embankments which now line the river’s course within the city, are mainly composed of carved slabs, columns and other ancient stone materials. Their profusion and imposing dimensions must even to a superficial observer suggest an idea of the architectural splendour of ancient Srīnāgar.

¹ Both Mīrzā Ḥaidar and Abū-ḥ-Faṣl speak with admiration of the many lofty houses of Srīnagar, built of pine wood. This material was used, then as now, as being cheap and more secure against earthquakes. According to Mīrzā Ḥaidar “most of these houses are at least five storeys high and each story contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers” (Tārīḵā-i-Raḥḥīdī, p. 425). That the mass of private dwellings in Srīnagar were already in Hindu times constructed of wood, is shown by Rājat. viii. 2390. The many disastrous fires recorded point to the same conclusion.

² Useful and convenient as these canals undoubtedly are, it is rather difficult to concede to them now the epithets of ‘pure and lovely.’ They add, however, greatly to the picturesque quality of the city and certainly make the want of carriage roads less felt.

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and Samkaravarman, had successively endeavoured to effect this object. The great ruins of Parihasapura, Jayapura and Avantipura show sufficiently that the failure of the first three kings was not due in any way to deficient means or want of purpose.

Of Lalitaditya the Chronicle distinctly records that he proposed, Nero-like, to burn down the ancient capital to assure the predominance of his own creation, Parihasapura. And the long list of splendid edifices erected at the latter place during his own reign shows plainly that for a time at least that monarch's pleasure had succeeded. Yet each one of these temporary capitals speedily sank into insignificance, while Pravarapura continued to be the political and cultural centre of Kashmir down to the present day.

We can safely attribute this exceptional position of Srinagar to the great natural advantages of its site. Occupying a place close to the true centre of the Valley, Srinagar enjoys facilities of communication which no other site could offer. The river along which the city is built provides at all seasons the most convenient route for trade and traffic, both up and down the Valley. The two lakes which flank Srinagar, offer the same facilities for the fertile tracts which lie immediately to the north. The lakes themselves furnish an abundant supply of products which materially facilitate the maintenance of a large city population. The great trade route from Central Asia debouches through the Sind Valley only one short march from the capital.

Nor can we underestimate the security which the position of Srinagar assures both against floods and armed attack. Natural defences of Srinagar.

The neck of high ground which from the north stretches towards the Vitasta and separates the two lakes, is safe from all possible risk of flood. It is on this ground, round the foot of the Sārikā hill, that the greatest part of the old Pravarapura was originally built. The ancient embankment which connects this high level ground with the foot of the Takht-i-Sulaimān hill sufficed to secure also the low-lying wards fringing the marshes of the Dal. A considerable area, including the present quarters of Khānayār and Rānvor (Skr. Rājānavātika), was thus added to the available building ground on the right bank and protected against all ordinary floods.

The frequent sieges which Srinagar underwent during the last reigns related by Kalhana, give us ample opportunity to appreciate also the military advantages which the city's position assured to its defenders. With the exception of a comparatively narrow neck of dry ground in the north, the Srinagar of the right river-bank is guarded on all sides by water. On the south the river forms an impassable line of defence.
The east is secured by the Dal and the stream which flows from it. On the west there stretch the broad marches of the Anchär divided from the Vitastä by a narrow strip of firm ground.

From the north, it is true, the city can be approached without passing such natural obstacles. But the map shows that just to the north of the Särikä hill inlets from the two lakes approach each other within a few thousand feet. The narrow passage left between them could at all times easily be guarded. It is curious to note that the successful attacks on the city of which the Uchronicle tells us, were delivered from the north, treachery or the defenders' weakness having opened this passage.1

The later and smaller portion of Srinagar occupying the left riverbank, does not share the same natural advantages as the old one. The present level of the ground on which it stands appears to have been raised gradually by the accumulated débris of centuries. We do not know exactly when the extension of the city in this direction began. The number of ancient sites on this side is comparatively small. The royal residence was transferred to it only in the reign of Ananta (A.D. 1028-63). There too we find a natural line of defence. It is the Këiptikä or Kuṭäkul which flows round the western edge of this part of the city and is also often mentioned in the accounts of the later sieges.

Section IV.—Ancient sites of Srinagara.

95. Having thus reviewed the origin and the general position of the Kaśmir capital, we may proceed to a brief survey of the more important ancient sites which our available materials permit us to trace in it. We can conveniently start on our circuit from the Hill of Särikä to which the legendary account of the city's foundation had taken us.

The goddess Särikä which has given to the hill its name, has been worshipped since ancient times on the north-west side of the hill. Certain natural markings on a large perpendicular rock are taken by the pious to represent that kind of mystical diagram which in the Tantrasästra is known as Sricakra.2 This 'Svayamibhü' Tirtha is still a much frequented pilgrimage place for the Brahmans of the city and has been so probably since early times.3 The Särikämāhätmya now in use relates

1 Compare for Ucaca's entry into Srinagar, vii. 1539 sqq.; that of Sussala, viii. 944 sqq.; compare also note viii. 1104–1110.
2 Compare Rājat. note i. 122, regarding the worship of such diagrams.
3 Compare Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 472, 767.
that the hill was carried to its present position by Durga who had taken the shape of a Sārikā bird. The goddess is supposed to have thus closed a gate of the Daityas dwelling in hell. This legend is alluded to already in the Kathāsaritsāgara.¹

Another ancient designation of the Harṣaparvat is ‘Hill of Pradyumna’ (Pradyumnapitha, giri, sikhara, etc.), often found in the Chronicles and elsewhere.² The Kathāsaritsāgara accounts for the origin of this name by a story which connects the hill with the love of Uṣā and Aniruddha, the son of Pradyumna. Kalhaṇa mentions a Maṭha for Pāṣupata mendicants which King Raṇāditya built on the hill. The eastern slopes of the latter are now occupied by extensive buildings connected with the famous Ziārats of Muqaddam Ṣāhib and Ākhūn Mullā Shāh. It is probable that these Muhammadan shrines have taken the place of Hindu religious buildings, as at so many old sites of Kashmir.

Close to the foot of the southern extremity of the hill lies a rock which has from ancient times received worship as an embodiment of Gaṇeśa, under the name of Bhūmasvāmin. A legend related by Kalhaṇa connects this ‘Svayambhū’ image with Pravarasena’s foundation of Srinagar.³ From regard for the pious king the god is there said to have turned his face from west to east so as to behold the new city. The rock is covered by the worshippers with so thick a layer of red lead that it is not possible to trace now any resemblance to the head of the elephant-faced god, still less to see whether it is turned to the west or east. In fact, if we are to believe Jonarāja, the rock image has subsequently changed its position yet a second time. This Chronicler relates that Bhūmasvāmin from disgust at the iconoclasm of Sikandar Būṭahikast has finally turned his back on the city.⁴ This last turn would, no doubt, most satisfactorily account for the present amorphous look of the sacred rock.

There is nothing in the Chronicles that would lead us to assume that the hill of Sārikā was ever fortified in Hindu times. The great bastioned stone-wall which now encloses the hill and the ground around its foot (Nāgar-nagar), was built by Akbar as an inscription still extant over the main-gate proclaims.⁵ The fort which now crowns the summit of the hill, is of even more modern origin.

¹ See lxxxiii. 107 sqq.
² See Rājat. iii. 460 note.
³ See iii. 352 note.
⁴ See Jonar. (Bo. ed.), 766.
⁵ Compare Fourth Chron. 939 sqq.
96. A short distance to the south-east of the Bhimasvāmin rock, and outside Akbar's fortress, lies the Ziārat of Bahān-d-dīn Šāhib, built undoubtedly with the materials of an ancient temple. The cemetery which surrounds it contains also many ancient remains in its tombs and walls. At the south-west corner of this cemetery rises a ruined gateway built of stone-blocks of remarkable size, and still of considerable height. This structure is traditionally believed by the Srinagar Pandits to have belonged to the temple of Siva Pravara-vara which Kalhana mentions as the first shrine erected by Pravarasena in his new capital.1

An old legend related by Kalhana and before him already by Bilhana, makes the king ascend bodily to heaven from the temple of Pravara-vara. Bilhana speaks of the temple as "showing to this day a gap above, resembling the gate of heaven through which King Pravara bodily ascended to heaven."2 Kalhana, writing a century later, also saw at the temple of Pravara-vara "a gate resembling the gate of heaven." Its broken stone roof was supposed to mark the king's passage on his way to Siva's abode.

This tradition still attaches to the roofless stone-gate above described, which may indeed be the very structure seen by Bilhana and the Chronicler. As far as its architecture is concerned, it might well belong to the earliest monuments of Srinagar. It owes its preservation perhaps to the exceptional solidity of its construction and the massiveness of its stones. Stone-blocks measuring up to sixteen feet in length with a width and thickness equally imposing were no convenient materials for the builders of Muhammadan Ziārāts, Ḥamāms, etc., who have otherwise done so much to efface the remains of ancient structures in Srinagar. The position of the ruin is very central and might well have been chosen by the founder of Pravarapura for a prominent shrine in his new city.

Not far from Bahān-d-dīn Šāhib's Ziārat to the south-west stands the Jāmi' Masjid, the greatest Mosque of Srinagar. Around it numerous ancient remains attest the former existence of Hindu temples. Proceeding still further to the south-west in the midst of a thickly built city quarter, we reach an ancient shrine which has remained in a comparatively fair state of preservation probably owing to its early conversion into a Ziārat. It is now supposed to mark the resting place of the saint styled Pir Ḩāji Muḥammad. It consists of an octa-
gona. Cell of which the high basement and the side walls are still wellpreserved. The quadrangular court in which it stands is enclosed by ancient walls and approached by ornamented gateways.

The position of this shrine has suggested to me its possible identity with the ancient temple of Vīṣṇu Raṇasvāmin which Kālhaṇa mentions as founded by King Raṇāditya. This temple must have enjoyed considerable celebrity till a comparatively late period. Māṇḍhāra refers to it as an object of his father's devotion and Jōnarāja in his comments on the passage speaks of Vīṣṇu Raṇasvāmin as one of the chief shrines of Pravaraṇa.

In his own Chronicle Jōnarāja indicates this temple as the furthest point up to which Zainu-l-Abidin carried the canal flowing through Jainanagar. The latter locality corresponds to the Srinagar quarters of Sangin Darwāza and Naušahr, and the canal itself is the one now known as Lacham Kul. It brings the waters of the Sind River vid Amburhūr to the northern suburbs of Srinagar, and after flowing past the Jāmī' Masjid empties itself into the Mār canal near the bridge called Kālī Kad. In the corner formed by the two canals stands the ruined temple above described. If it could be shown that the present termination of the Lacham Kul is the same which Jōnarāja knew in the middle of the fifteenth century, the identity of those remains with the Raṇasvāmin temple might be considered as certain.

97. Crossing the Mār to the south we reach the city quarter known as Brāḍ'mar, occupying the right bank of the river between the Fourth and Fifth Bridge. It derives its name from the ancient Bhaṭṭārakamātha which is repeatedly referred to in the Rājatarangini as a building of considerable size and strength. Bilhaṇa too notices it specially in his description of Srinagar. Like other Mathas built originally to serve the purposes of a Sarai, it was used on occasion as a place of defence. Queen Diddā sent her infant son there at the time of a dangerous rising.

1 Rājat. iii. 453 sq. note.
2 See Sṛikaṭhacar. iii. 68.
3 See Jōnar. 372.
4 Compare Rājat. iii. 453-454 note. The Lacham Kul is mentioned by Abū-l-Faḍl, ii. p. 355. It probably took its name (equivalent to Lakṣmikulyā) from Lakṣmi, the queen of Shahībū-d-din, in whose honour the quarter of Lakṣminagarī was found in the vicinity of the present Sangin Darwāza; see Jōnar. 407 sq.
5 See Rājat. vi. 240 note; viii. 2426; Vikram. xviii. 11. For the derivation of Brāḍ from Bhaṭṭāraka comp. Brāḍ'nambat < Bhaṭṭāranādvala, below. That Bhaṭṭārakamātha was the old name of this locality, is known to the tradition of the Panḍits; see BÜHLER, Report, p. 16.
The Chronicle shows us often the Maṭhas of Srinagar utilized as places of refuge in the times of internal troubles, occasionally also turned into prisons.\(^1\) We may hence conclude that they were substantially built, probably like modern Sarais in the form of detached quadrangles, and thus better adapted for defence than other city-buildings.

That Maṭhas more than once left their names to the city-quarters in which they stood, is shown by the designation of other wards. Thus the large quarter of Didimār which forms the western end of the city on the right river-bank, retains the name of the Diddāmaṭha.\(^2\) It was built by Queen Diddā for the accommodation of travellers from various parts of India. As a local name Diddāmaṭha meets us often in the later Chronicles. Above Didimār we find near the Sixth Bridge the quarter of Balāḍhyamaṭha.\(^3\) It represents in all probability the Balāḍhyasandra of the later Chronicles which Jonarāja mentions as having been built by Balāḍhyasandra under King Rājadeva in the 13th century.\(^4\)

A little to the north of the Sixth Bridge lies the Mahalla known by the name of Khandabhavan. It has received its appellation from the ancient Vihāra of Skandabhavana, a foundation of Skandagupta whom Kalhaṇa mentions among the ministers of Pravarasena II.'s successor Yudhiśthira.\(^5\) The site of the Vihāra has been traced by me in the close vicinity of the Žiārat of Pir Muḥammad Bāsur. Certain ancient remains there were locally known and worshipped till the middle of the present century as a Tirtha sacred to Skanda.\(^6\)

The ground immediately to the north-east of Khandabhavan is now an open waste space used partly for Muḥammadan graveyards. It seems to have been unoccupied already in old times. For it was chosen as the burning place for the widows of the murdered king Sussala when a rebel force hovering around the capital rendered the usual burning ground on the island of Māksikasvāmin inaccessible.\(^7\)

The quarter of Narvari still further to the north is probably identical with the old Naṇavaṇa, mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the site of a Vihāra built by one of King Meghavāhana's queens. I have shown in my note on the passage that the modern name goes back to a form

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\(^1\) Compare Rājat. vi. 223; viii. 374, 1052, 2309.

\(^2\) See Rājat. vi. 300 note.

\(^3\) Its old name could not be shown on the map owing to want of room.

\(^4\) See Jonar. 82.

\(^5\) See iii. 380.

\(^6\) Compare Note K, vi. 137, also for the temple of Parvayuptēśvara which stood close by.

\(^7\) Rājat. viii. 1441 sq.
*Naḍavāṭa.* The termination रङा ‘garden,’ frequent in Kashmir local names, may safely be taken as the equivalent of vana in Kalhana’s form of the name.

98. Before we continue our survey further up the river, it will be useful to make a brief reference to the bridges which connect the two river-banks within the city. Srinagar has now seven bridges across the Vītāstā. Their number has remained unchanged for at least five hundred years.

Already Šarifud-d-din had heard that of the thirty boat-bridges constructed across the great river of Kashmir, there were seven in the town of Srinagar. The boats were bound together by chains, and through the bridges a way could be opened for the river traffic. Šarifud-d-din’s notice is of interest because it shows clearly that down to the end of the Hindu period permanent bridges across the Vītāstā were unknown in Kashmir.

I had been led to the same conclusion by an examination of the Rājatarangini passages bearing on the subject. Kalhana distinctly says of the two bridges the construction of which he specially records, that they were built with boats. Elsewhere this inference may be drawn from the rapidity with which the bridges are broken at the approach of the enemy or in danger of fire.

The first bridge of this kind is ascribed by Kalhana to Pravarasena II, who built the ‘Great Bridge’ (Brhatsetu) in his new capital. ‘Only since then is such construction of boat-bridges known.’ This ‘Great Bridge’ is subsequently mentioned in connection with a great conflagration which destroyed the city in the time of Sussala (A.D. 1123). This fire arose at the southern end of Srinagar, and Kalhana mentions that the smoke first rising from Mākṣikasvāmin Māyam had scarcely been noticed from the ‘Brhatsetu’ when the fire was already spreading over the whole city. Kalhana evidently refers to the ‘Great Bridge’ as a comparatively distant point from Mākṣikasvāmin. Considering that the river forms an almost straight reach from this locality to the present Fourth Bridge, it appears to me likely that Pravarasena’s bridge was somewhere in the vicinity of the latter. The position is in the

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1 Compare Rājat. iii. 11 note.
2 See Tārikh-i-Rashidi, p. 491.
3 See note iii. 354.
4 See Rājat. vii. 909, 1539; viii. 1182; Śrīv. i. 308, 720; ii. 70, 122.
5 Rājat. iii. 354.
6 Compare Rājat. viii. 1171-72 note.
very heart of the city. It is just here that Zainu-l-‘abidin subsequ-
ently constructed the first permanent bridge over the Vitastā named
after him Zaina Kadālī (Jainakudali).1

Another old boat-bridge had been established by Harṣa just oppo-
site to his palace.2 The latter as we shall see was situated on the left
bank somewhere near the present Second Bridge (Haba Kadālī). The
bridge proved fatal to Harṣa’s fortunes, because it enabled the rebels
to make their final and successful assault on the palace.

There can be little doubt that the first permanent bridge across the
Vitastā was of wood and showed the same peculiar cantilever con-
struction which the Kaśmir bridges have preserved to this day. The
latter have attracted the attention of all modern travellers and have
often been described.3 But it is curious that none of them can be traced
back beyond the time of Zainu-l-‘abidin. The explanation may lie in
the fact that stone-architecture in which the engineers of the
Hindu period were so proficient, did not permit of the construction of
bridges with a sufficient span. For their Muhammadan successors
working chiefly in wood it was easier to overcome this difficulty.

Among the most characteristic features of the river-scene as it
now presents itself within Srinagar, are the numerous wooden bathing
cells moored before all city Ghāṭs. They have been there already in
Hindu times. For Kalhāna mentions more than once the snānas-
koṭha of the river.4 From a humorous sketch of city-life which
Kalhāna draws for us, we can see that they formed, then as now, the
favourite meeting-place of the idle and curious.5

99. Resuming our walk up the river-bank we pass the remains of
Eastern quarters of
Srinagar.

Ziārat of Bad Shāh (Zainu-l-‘abidin), Shāh
Hamadān and elsewhere. But we have no
data for their identification. An old site is marked by the present
Ghāṭ Sūmāyār, below the Second Bridge, which represents the
Somatūrtha of the Rājataraṅgīṇī.6 The place is still visited as a
Tīrtha, and some old Lingas are found by the river-side. The quarter
in which the Somatūrtha lies, is known as Sūdarmar. It owes its name
to the Samudrāmatha built by Samudrā, the queen of Rāmadeva, in

1 See Śrīv. i. 231 sq., 296.
2 Rājat. vii. 1549.
3 See, e.g., Vigne, Travels, ii. 23; Lawrence, Valley, p. 87.
4 Compare Rājat. viii. 706, 1183, 2423. Also Kṣemendra, Samav. ii. 38, know
the term snānakoṭha which lives in the present Kā. trānkuṭh.
5 See Rājat. viii. 706–710.
6 See Rājat. viii. 3360 note.

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the 13th century. The numerous passages in which the Samudrāmaṇṭha is mentioned by the later Chronicles, makes this identification quite certain.¹

A little higher up, if we can trust local tradition, stood the ancient temple of Vardhamānēśa mentioned already in King Samdhimat's reign. The site so designated by the Puρhitas of the adjoining Mahalla is close to the Malāyār Ghāt. I have referred already in a previous note to the curious manner in which an ancient Linga supposed to be that of Vardhamānēśa was recovered a few years ago from a neighbouring Mosque and a Māhātmya composed for the newly established shrine.²

The confluence of the Tṣuṅṭh Kul or Mahāsarit with the Vitastā we have also had occasion to notice.³ It is the Tirtha now known as Mārīṣāmāgama. Beyond it lies the great island of Mākṣikāsvāmin, now chiefly occupied by the houses and camps of European residents and visitors. From the way it is referred to by Kalhaṇa, it appears that it was already partly inhabited in old times.⁴ Following up the right bank of the Mahāsarit above the junction we reach the quarter of Khudobal already identified with the Kṣurikābala of King Pravarasena's story.

Here begins the old embankment or Setu, noticed in connection with the latter.⁵ To the north of this embankment stretches an extensive marsh fed by canals coming from the Ďal and known as Brāriṇambal. It is the Bhaṭṭāranaṇḍvalā of the Chronicle into which the body of one of Harsa's ministers was thrown after his execution.⁶

At the eastern end of the Setu where it joins the rocky foot of the Takht-i Sulaimān hill, there has been for at least a century a gate through which the Tṣuṅṭh Kul flows out from the lake. It is closed at times of flood when the Vitastā rises higher than the level of the Ďal. It is highly probable that this gate is very old and contemporary with the construction of the embankment itself. Beyond it lies the suburb of Drugajan. This is identified in an old gloss of the Rājatarangini with Durgāgalikā, where according to tradition the blind King Yudhīṣṭhira I. was imprisoned after his abdication.⁷

¹ See Jonar. 111; Sriv. iv. 121, 169, 290; Fourth Chron. 504, 618.
² See above, § 31 note 2.
³ See above, § 65.
⁴ See Rājat. iv. 88 note.
⁵ Compare § 92.
⁶ See Rājat. vii. 1038. Nambal, from Skr. naṇḍvalā, is the regular Kā. word for 'marsh.' Brāni is a direct phonetic derivative of Skr. bhaṭṭa 'god.'
⁷ See Rājat. ii. 4.
Leaving the Setu where it makes its great bend and going north across low ground flanked by marshes, we reach the quarter of Nāvpūr. The bridge which leads here over the Mār or Mahāsarit, is repeatedly mentioned as Nauparāsetu by Srīvara, in connection with later sieges of Srināgar.\(^1\) By breaking it, the south-eastern parts of the city were rendered more secure. Continuing our route to the north we come to the great suburb of Rānivār. It is traversed by numerous canals coming from the Dāl. Kalhana mentions it repeatedly by its ancient name of Rājānāvātikā as a place largely inhabited by Brahmans. Their solemn fasts (prāyopaveṣa) gave no small trouble to King Sussala in his worst straights.\(^2\) Rānivār has continued to the present day a favourite place of residence for city Brahmans.

100. We have now completed our circuit of the ancient city as far as it lay on the right bank of the river and may proceed to the smaller and later portion which occupies the left bank. Just opposite to the Mārsāmāgama stands the Shērghari, the modern palace of the Dogrā rulers. Its site was apparently first chosen by the Pāthān governors for their fortified residence.

Immediately below the palace the Knṭakul or Kṣiptikā branches off from the river. We have already noticed its value as a line of defence for this part of the city.\(^3\) The quarter of Kāṭhul which lies next between the Knṭakul and the river is of ancient date. It is mentioned as Kāṭhila by Kalhana and other writers, Bilhaṅga speaking of it particularly as a locality inhabited by Brahmans.\(^4\)

At the northern end of the Kāṭhul quarter and close to the present Second Bridge, we must assume the palace of the later Hindu kings to have stood. Its position is indicated by an interesting passage of the Rājatarangini which informs us that King Ananta (A. D. 1028-63) abandoned the palace of the former dynasties and transferred the royal residence to the vicinity of the shrine of Sādāśiva.\(^5\) The new site was adhered to by subsequent kings probably till long after Kalhana’s time. The mention of the Sādāśiva shrine and the fre-

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\(^1\) See Sriv. iv. 122, 243.

\(^2\) See Rājat. viii. 756, 768, 899. For the phonetic relation of Rānī < Skr. Rājāna, see viii. 756 note; vār is common in Kā. local names and derived from Skr. vājika ‘garden.’

\(^3\) See above, § 67.

\(^4\) See Rājat. viii. 1169 note, and Vikram. xviii. 25.

\(^5\) Compare Rājat. viii. 186-187, and for detailed proof of the identification, the note thereon.
quent references to the Kaśiptika, as flowing near to the royal palace (rājadāhāni) enable us to fix the position of the latter with fair accuracy. In the note on the above passage I have shown that the Sadāśiva temple stood opposite to the Samudrāmaṭha which occupies the right river bank just below the Second Bridge. Exactly in the position thus indicated we find now an ancient Līnga, on the river Ghāṭ of Purua-yār, which the tradition of the local Purohitās knows by the name of Sadāśiva.

It is in this neighbourhood, then, that the palace stood which had witnessed so many tragic scenes related in the last two Books of Kalhaṇa’s Chronicle. Its great height is specially referred to by Bihāṇa. This suggests that it was in part at least built of wood, just like a later palace described by Mirzā Ḥaidar.1 “Sūltān Zainu-l-ʿabidīn built himself a palace in the town which in the dialect of Kashmir is called Rājdān [i.e., Skr. rājadāhāni]. It has twelve stories, some of which contain fifty rooms, halls and corridors. The whole of this lofty structure is built of wood.” This construction of the palace would well explain the rapidity with which it was burned down by the pretender Uccala on his final attack upon Harṣa.2 We can thus also understand why there are no particularly striking remains at the site which could be attributed to the ruins of this royal residence.

The last-named incident gives Kalhaṇa occasion to mention also some other data regarding the royal palace. Close to it was a garden in which Harṣa and his ill-fated son Bhoja enjoyed a deceptive rest before the rebels’ last assault.3 The gardens near the palace are also elsewhere mentioned. Harṣa had their trees cut down because they obstructed the view, and at a later time the besieging Dāmaras fed their camp-fires with wood brought from the same gardens.4 Even at the present day there are numerous old gardens across the Kapiṭika close to the site where the palace once stood. In front of the palace was the boat-bridge already mentioned which the king had himself constructed, and which was the scene of his last desperate struggle.5

Where the old palace stood which was abandoned by King Ananta, we cannot say with accuracy. It is, however, probable that its site was in the old part of Pravarapura on the right bank. Kalhaṇa mentions it twice as purāṇarājadāhāni (‘the old palace’), but gives no particulars.6 Its deserted ground was built over with a Māṭha in Kalhaṇa’s own time.

1 See Tāriḵ-i-Raghiḍi, p. 429.
2 See Rājat. vii. 1585 sq., 1583.
3 Rājat. vii. 1588 sqq.
4 Rājat. vii. 1223; viii. 1056.
5 See Rājat. vii. 1589, 1549.
6 See Rājat. viii. 887, 2417.
The embankments on the left side of the river as well as the walls of Ziārats show ample remains of ancient buildings. But we have no means of identifying any particular sites. At the western extremity of this part of the city, however, we may locate with some probability the temple of Kṣemagaurīśvara, built by Queen Diddā's weak husband Kṣemagupta. Bihāna in his description of Srinagar mentions it as an imposing building, the 'Maṇḍapās' of which extended to a 'Samgama' of the Vītāstā. I have shown elsewhere that the confluence meant is probably that of the Vītāstā with the Dugdīsindhu or Chaṭakul which lies opposite to the quarter of Diddāmahā.

SECTION V. THE ENVIRONS OF SRIÑAGARA.

101. Having completed our survey of old Srinagara we may now proceed to examine the ancient sites of its environs. They are almost all situated to the north of the Vītāstā within the Pargaṇa now known as Phākh, and designated as Phākhunā in Sūvara's Chronicle. It comprises the tract lying between the east shore of the Anchār, the range towards the Sind Valley and the hills which enclose the Dal on the east and south. Owing to the facility of communication across the lake and the manifold attractions of its shores, Phākh seems to have always been a favourite resort for the inhabitants of the capital. This fact is fully illustrated by the numerous places of ancient date which we find dotted around the lake.

Starting from its southernmost corner in the immediate vicinity of the city we come first to the hill popularly known as Takht-i-Sulaimān. Its bold pyramidal form and the old temple which crowns its summit, make this hill a most conspicuous object in the landscape of Srinagar. The present name of the hill, meaning 'Solomon's throne,' is undoubtedly of Muhammadan origin. Its alleged derivation from Śāmāsint, the saintly hero of a well-known legend recorded in the Bājārāngāpī, is nothing but an invention of the Bāchbaṭtas of Srinagar.

1 Vikram. xviii. 23.
2 Compare Rājat. vi. 172-173 note.
3 Sūvara iv. 306. The Lokaprajās writes Pāguvā while the modern Māhātmyas of Isālaya or Isābār and Sūravāri affect the form Phālaka.
4 The name Takht-i-Sulaimān is common enough in the local nomenclature of Muhammadan countries; compare, e.g., the peak of this name in the Sulaimān...
That the ancient designation of the hill was Gopādri is shown beyond all doubt by an interesting passage of Kalhana's Chronicle. It relates how the troops of the pretender Bhikṣācara when thrown back from the city which they had endeavoured to enter after crossing the Mahāsarit, i.e., from the south-east, took refuge on the 'Gopa hill' or Gopādri. There they were besieged by the royal troops until a diversion made by Bhikṣācara enable them to retreat to the higher hills in the east by the low neck which connects these with the Takht-i Sulaimān.

Kalhana in the First Book of his Chronicle informs us that King Gopāditya built a shrine of Śiva Jyeṣṭhāvara on the Gopādri. It is difficult not to connect this notice in some way with the extant temple which occupies so prominent a position on the summit of the hill. General Cunningham, it is true, on the strength of an alleged tradition had proposed to identify this temple with the Jyeṣṭhradāra shrine which Kalhana mentions as a foundation of Jalanka, Aśoka's son, in the ancient Srinagar. But Prof. Bühler has already shown that there is no genuine tradition regarding the temple among the Srinagar Brahmins.

It is certain that the superstructures of the present temple belong to a late period. But the massive and high base on which this temple is raised, and certain parts of the structure are no doubt of a far earlier date. These may well have formed part of a building which in Kalhana's time,—rightly or wrongly, we have no means to judge,—was looked upon as a shrine of Jyeṣṭhāvara erected by King Gopāditya. There is no other ancient ruin on the hill. Nor would the configuration of the latter have admitted at any other point but the summit, of the construction of a shrine of any dimensions. It is of interest to note that the tradition of Abū-l-Fażl's time distinctly attributed the temple standing on 'Solomon's hill' to the time of Gopāditya.

Kāh, S. of the Gumal Pass. The derivation from Saḍhīmat, referred to by Prof. Bühler, Report, p. 17, is not supported by any evidence whatever and unknown even to the most modern Māhāmyas.

1 See Rājat. viii. 1104–10 note. That the Takht-i-Sulaimān was called by its ancient name Gopādri, had been surmised already by Pt. Govind Kaul at the time of Prof. Bühler's visit; see Report, p. 17. But the decisive evidence of this passage was not known to him.

2 See i. 341 and note.

3 Rājat. i. 124; Anc. Geogr., p. 95; also above, § 90.

4 See Report, p. 17.

5 See the remarks of Fergusson, History of Indian Archit., p. 282, against Gen. Cunningham's and Major Cole's assumptions who represented the extant temple as one of the earliest buildings in Kāsmir.

6 An-i-Ābh., ii. p. 363.
102. In my note on Rajat. i. 124 I have shown that an old tradition which can be traced back to at least the sixteenth century, connected the Takht hill with the worship of Siva Jyeṣṭhārūḍra, or, by another form of the name, Jyeṣṭhāsvara (Jyeṣṭhēṣa). And we find in fact a Liṅga known by this name worshipped even at the present day at the Tirtha of Jyēṣṭhār, scarcely more than one mile from the east foot of the hill.

This Tirtha which undoubtedly derives its name from Jyeṣṭhāsvara, lies in a glen of the hill-side, a short distance from the east shore of the Gagri Bal portion of the Ḍal. Its sacred spring, designated in the comparatively modern Māhātmya as Jyeṣṭhānāga, forms a favorite object of pilgrimage for the Brahmanas of Srinagar. Fragments of colossal Liṅgas are found in the vicinity of Jyēṣṭhār and show with some other ancient remains now built into the Zīrāts of Jyēṣṭhār and Gupākār, that the site had been held sacred from an early time.

It is in this vicinity that we may look for the ancient shrine of Jyeṣṭhārūḍra, which Jalauka is said to have erected at Srinagar. But in the absence of distinct archeological evidence its exact position cannot be determined. It is highly probable that whatever the origin and the date of the temple on the Takht hill may be, it was connected with the worship of Jyeṣṭhārūḍra at Jyēṣṭhār. No other Tirtha is known in the immediate neighbourhood.

The distance of the shrine from the Tirtha is scarcely greater than that of Lalitāditya's temple at Māṛtaṇḍ from the sacred spring in honour of which it was erected. And in both places the distance of the temple is easily accounted for by the more prominent position which was thus secured for it. There is yet another analogy in the case of the two shrines. Both have long ago ceased to be places of popular worship. But the sacred springs, to the presiding deity of which they were dedicated, continue to attract pilgrims though shorn of all splendour of temples and images.

Kalhana in the same passage which mentions the erection of King Gopādiṭyā's shrine on the 'Gopa hill' makes that prince bestow the 'Gopa Agrahāra' on Brahman settlers from Aryadesā.

The combination of the two local names suggests that by the Gopā-

1 Compare Fourth Chron. 592, 853, 806.
2 For Jyeṣṭhāsvara > Jyeṣṭhār we have exact analogies in Kapāṭeṣvara > Kāṭhār, Amareṣvara > Amburār, etc.
3 See i. 341. Agrahāra is the regular term designating a Jāgīr or piece of land bestowed on individuals or religious corporations, etc.; see note i. 87.
Grahāras are meant the fertile lands of the present Gupākār, between the north foot of the Takht hill and the Dal. The name Gupākār may be, in fact, the direct phonetic derivative of the term used by Kalhana.

Our surmise is supported by the reference which Kalhana in the verse immediately following makes to the village Bhūksiravāṭikā. This place is identified by the old glossator A₂ with Bhūktvār, a small hamlet situated on the narrow strip of land at the rocky north-west foot of the Takht hill. The modern name is clearly derived from Kalhana's form. Gopāditya is said to have removed to this confined and secluded spot Brahmanas who had given offence by eating garlic.

The combined mention of Gopātri, Gopāgrahāra and Bhūksiravāṭikā in Rājat. i. 341 sq. suggests that Kalhana has reproduced here local traditions collected from the sites immediately adjoining the hill. Whether the connection of these localities with King Gopāditya's reign was based on historical fact, or only an old popular etymology working upon the word Gopa found in the first two names, can no longer be decided.

Continuing our route along the eastern shore of the Dal we come, at a distance of about one mile from Gupākār, to the large village of Thid, prettily situated amid vineyards and orchards. It is the Thēdā of the Rājatarāgīṇī, mentioned as one of the places which the pious King Sambhitmat or Āryarāja adorned with Mathas, divine images, and Liṅgas. Abū-l-Faḍl speaks of Thid as "a delightful spot where seven springs unite; around them are stone buildings, memorials of by-gone times." The remains here alluded to can no longer be traced, but the seven springs (Saptapuṣkariṇī) which are also referred to in the Haracarita-cintāmaṇī (iv. 40 sqq.), are still pointed out.

The cluster of villages which we reach about one and a half miles beyond Thid, and which jointly bear the name Brān, can be safely identified with Bhīmādevī which Kalhana notices along with Thēdā. The Nilamata knows the sacred site of Bhīmādevī in conjunction with the Sureśvarī Tirtha which we shall next visit, and in the Haracaritacintāmaṇī it is named with the seven springs of Thēdā. The Tirtha of Bhīmādevī is no longer known, but may be located with some probability at the fine spring near Dāmpōr marked now by a Muhammadan shrine.

1 Gupākār may go back to a form * Gupagār, with assimilation of g to the preceding tenuis. In Kā the hardening of g to k is by no means unknown, see Dr. Grierson's remarks, Z.D.M.G., i., p. 3. * Gupagār could easily be traced back to Gopāgrukāra through Pr. forms like * Gupagrār.

3 See Rājat. ii. 186 note.

8 Ain-i-Akb., ii. p. 861.
1899.]

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103. A sacred site of far greater fame and importance is that of
the present village of Isbbr which lies about
two miles further north on the Dal shore and
a little beyond the Mughal garden of Nishat. The site was known in
ancient times as Suresvariksetra ('the field of Suresvari'). 1 It was sacred
to Durgā-Suresvari who is still worshipped on a high crag rising from
the mountain range to the east of Isbbr village. The seat of the
goddess is on a rugged rock some 3000 feet above the village, offering no
possible room for any building. The numerous shrines erected in her
honour were hence built on the gently sloping shore of the lake below.
The Tirtha of Suresvari is often referred to in Kalhana's Chron-
icle and other Kashmirian texts as a spot of exceptional holiness. It
was particularly sought by the pious as a place to die at. The pilgrim-
age to Suresvari is connected with visits to several sacred springs in
and about Isbbr. One of them, Satadhara, is already mentioned by
Ksemendra. 3 It is passed in a narrow gorge some 1500 feet below the
rock of Suresvari.

Isbbr derives its present name from the shrine of Isesvara which
King Samdhimat-Aryaraja according to the Rājatarāgaṇi erected in
honour of his Guru Isāna. 4 An earlier form, Isbr, which is found in
an old gloss of the Chronicle and evidently was heard also by Abū-l-Fażl,
helps to connect Isbbr and Isesvara. 4

Isbbr is still much frequented as a pilgrimage place. The chief
attraction is a sacred spring known as Guptaganyā which fills an ancient
stone-lined tank in the centre of the village. This conveniently acces-
sible Tirtha is the scene of a very popular pilgrimage on the Vaisākhi
day and has fairly obscured the importance of the mountain seat of
Suresvari. A ruined mound immediately behind the tank is popularly
believed to mark the site of the Iesvara shrine. Numerous remains
of ancient buildings are found around the sacred springs and elsewhere
in the village. They probably belong to the various other temples
the erection of which is mentioned by Kalhana at the site of Suresvari. 5

Passing round the foot of the ridge on which Suresvari is
worshipped, we come to the small village of

Sadharadvana;
Tripuresvara.

Hārvan which the old glossator of the Rājata-
raṇgaṇi identifies with Sadharadvana ('the

1 Compare for Suresvari and the site of Isbbr, note v. 37.
2 See Samay. ii. 29.
3 See Rājat. ii. 134 note.
4 -br is a modern contraction for -br, from Skr. bhaṭṭāraka, which in Kashmir local names has often taken the place of its synonym -īvara ; comp. e.g., Skr. Vijayēvara > Kā. Vījbr̥r̥.
5 See Rājat. v. 37, 40 sq.; viii. 3366.
J. i. 21
wood of the six Arhats'). This place is mentioned by Kalhana as the residence of the great Buddhist teacher Nāgarjuna. The name Hārvan may well be derived from Śaḍaradvana, but in the absence of other evidence the identification cannot be considered as certain. On the hill-side south of the village I observed already in 1888 fragments of ornamented bricks. Since then remarkable remains of ancient brick-pavements have come to light on occasion of excavations made for the new Srinagar waterworks.

Proceeding further up the valley of the stream which comes from the Mār Sar lake, we reach, at a distance of about three miles from the Dal, the village of Triphār. Evidence I have discussed elsewhere, makes it quite certain that it is the ancient TRIPURĀVĀRA (Tripurāvā). The latter is repeatedly mentioned as a site of great sanctity by Kalhana as well as in the Nilamata and some Māhāmyas. But it has long ago ceased to be a separate pilgrimage place. A little stream known as the Tripuraśāsna near Triphār is, however, still visited as one of the stations on the Mahādeva pilgrimage.

Kṣemendra in the colophon of his Daśāvatāracarita refers to the hill above Tripurēśa as the place where he was wont to find repose and where he composed his work. In Zain-ul-ʿābidin's time Tripurēśa seems yet to have been a Tirtha much frequented by mendicants. Tripurēśa too possessed its shrine of Jyeṣṭhēśa, and to this King Avantivarman retired on the approach of death. A legend related by the Sarvāvatāra connected the site of Tripurēśa with the defeat of the demon Tripura by Śiva and with the latter's worship on the neighbouring peak of Mahādeva. I have not been able to examine the site and am hence unable to state whether there are any ancient ruins near it.

The whole mountain-ridge which stretches to the south of Triphār and along the Dal, bore in ancient times the name of ŚRĪDĪVĀRA. On the opposite side of the Valley rises the great peak of MAHĀDEVA to a height of over 13,000 feet. Numerous references to it in the Nilamata, Sarvāvatāra, and other texts, show that it was in old times just as now frequented as a Tirtha.

We may now again descend the valley towards the north shore of the Dal. On our way we pass close to Hārvan the village of Tīrātga where the convenience of modern worshippers has located a substitute for the

1 See Rājat. i. 173 note.
2 Compare Rājat. v. 46 note.
3 See Śriv. i. 402.
4 See Rājat. v. 123 note.
5 See Rājat. viii. 2423.
ancient Tirtha of the goddess Sāradā (see below § 127). Leaving aside the famous garden of Sālimār of which our old texts know nothing, we come to a marshy extension of the Dal known as Tēlabal. The stream which flows through it and which forms a branch of the river coming from the Mār Sar, bore the old name of Tilaprasadhā. The road which takes us from Tēlabal to the mouth of the Sind Valley is the same which was followed by the pretender Bhikṣācara and his rebel allies on a march to Sureśvarī described in the Rājatarangini. The narrow embankment on which they fought and defeated the royal troops, leads across the Tēlabal marshes.

At the south foot of the ridge which runs down to the opening of the Sind Valley, we find the village of Rānyil, the ancient Hiranyapura. The place is said by Kalhaṇa to have been founded by King Hiranyākṣa. As it lies on the high-road from the Sind Valley to Srinagar it is repeatedly mentioned also in connection with military operations directed from that side against the capital. The victorious Uccala when marching upon Srinagar, had the Abhiṣeka ceremony performed en route by the Brahmans of Hiranyapura. It seems to have been a place of importance, since it figures in a fairy-tale related in the Kathāsaritasāgara as the capital of Kaśmir. A spring a little to the south of the village is visited by the pilgrims to the Hāramkuṭaṅgaṇā and bears in Māhāmyas the name of Hiranyākṣanāga.

From near Rānyil several old water-courses radiate which carry the water of the Sind River to the village lying between the Anchār and the Dal lakes. One of these canals passes the village of Zuktur.

Juskapura; Amareśvara.

A tradition recorded already by General Cunningham identifies this place with the ancient Juskapura. Kalhaṇa names the place as a foundation of the Turuṣka (i.e. Kaśana) King Juṣka who also built a Vihāra there. The Muhammedan shrines and tombs of the village contain considerable remains of ancient buildings.

1 The first reference to this somewhat over-praised locality which I can find, is in Abū-1-Fażl who mentions the waterfall or rather the cascades of 'Sālamār'; see ii. p. 361. The Vīśatā-, Italaya-, and Māhādeva-Māhāmyas which are of very modern origin, show this fact also by their references to 'Sālamāra' and the whimsical etymologies which they give for the name (Māratāla, etc.). We might reasonably expect that Jonarāja and Śrīvara in their detailed accounts of the Dal would have mentioned the place if it had then claimed any importance.

2 See Rājat. v. 48 note; Sīv. i. 421.

3 See Rājat. viii. 744 note.

4 For detailed references see Rājat. i. 287 note.

5 See Kathāsar. lxv. 215 sqq.

To the west of Juškapura and on the shore of the Anchār lies the large village of Amburhār. It is the ancient Amareśvara often mentioned in the Rājatarangini in connection with military operations to the north of Srinagar. This is easily accounted for by the fact that the place lay then as now on the high road connecting the Sind Valley with the capital. It took its name from a temple of Śiva Amareśvara which Sūryamati, Ananta's queen, endowed with Agrahāras and a Matha. The ancient slabs and sculptured fragments which I found in 1895 in and around the Zīrāt of Farrukhzād Śāhib, may possibly have belonged to this temple.

Continuing on the road towards Srinagar for about two miles further we come to the large village of Vicār Nāg prettily situated in extensive walnut groves. A fine Nāga near the village forms the object of a popular Yāstrā in the month of Caitra. It is supposed to be an epiphany of the Ailapattra Nāga who is mentioned also in the Nilamata. An earlier designation seems to be Muktāmālakānāga which is given to the locality by Śrīvara and in the Tirthasanāgraha. To the west of the village and near an inlet of the Anchār are the ruins of three ancient temples now converted into Zīrāts and tombs.

Only a quarter of a mile to the east of Vicār Nāg and on the other side of the old canal called Lachāṅm Kula (*Lakṣmikulyā) stands the hamlet of Āntabavan. In my "Notes on Ou-k'ong's account of Kaśmir" I have proved that Āntabavan derives its name from the ancient Vihāra of Amratabhavana which Amṛaprabha, a queen of Meghamāna, is said to have erected. Ou-k'ong mentions the Vihāra by the name of Nyo-mi-t'o-po-wan which represents a transcribed Prakrit form *Amitabhavam or Amitabhavana. An ancient mound with traces of a square enclosure around it, which is found between the canal and the hamlet, may possibly belong to the remains of this Vihāra.

Proceeding to the east of Āntabavan for about a mile we come to the large village of Sudarśbal situated on a deep inlet of the Dal, known as Sudarśkun. The name of the village and the neighbouring portion of the lake make it very probable that we have to place here the sacred spring of Sodara. It formed the subject of an ancient legend related by

1 See Rājat. vii. 183 note.
2 See Siv. iv. 65. On his authority the name Muktāmālakānāga ought to have been shown on the map.
3 Compare for a view of these remains, Cole, Ancient Buildings, p. 31.
4 See Rājat. iii. 9 note, and Notes on Ou-k'ong, pp. 9 sqq.
5 See Rājat. i. 125-126 note. Kā. -bal in Sudarś-bal means merely 'place.'
Kalhana. King Jalauka had built at Srinagar his shrine of Jyeṣṭha-rudra whose original place of worship was at Bhūteśvara, below Mount Haramukuta. He then wished to have by the side of the new shrine also the Sodara spring which adjoins the site of Bhūteśvara. To fulfil the king’s pious desire “there broke forth from a waterless spot a spring which was alike to Sodara in colour, taste and other respects.” A golden cup thrown into the original Sodara spring appeared after two and half days in its Avatāra near Srinagar. This miracle removed all doubts as to their identity.

Close to the mosque of Sudarśabal and by the lake shore are two pools fed by perennial springs. These according to a local tradition were in old times visited by numerous pilgrims. Now all recollection of this Tirtha has been lost among the Brahmins of Srinagar. But the name of a portion of the village area, Bāṭṭāpūr, points to a former settlement of Bāṭṭas or Purohitas. It is curious, too, that we find only half a mile from the village the Zārāt of Ḥazrat Bal, perhaps the most popular of all Muhammadan shrines in the Valley. It is supposed to be built over the remains of the miracle-working Pir Dastagir Sāhib. Is it possible that the presence of this rather ubiquitous saint at this particular spot had something to do with the earlier Hindu Tirtha?

SECTION VI.—NORTHERN DISTRICTS OF MAḌAVARĀJYA.

105. Our circuit through the Phākh Pargāṇā has brought us back to the purilcs of the capital. We must leave them now once more and start on our tour through the outlying districts. We may direct it first to the upper half of the Valley, the ancient Maḍavarājya. This again is divided by the Vitastā into two portions, one to the north and east, the other to the south and west of the river. We shall begin with the Pargāṇas on the right bank, starting from Srinagar.

The Pargāṇa which adjoins Srinagar from the south-east, is now known as Vīhi. It extends from near Purāṇā-dhiṣṭhāna to the spur of Vastārvan, near Vāntipūr (Avantipura), and comprises a wide semi-circular tract of fertile Karēwa lands. In ancient times the district took its name from the village of Khaḍūvi, the present Khrūv. The Dāmaras of the Khaḍūvi district are repeatedly mentioned by Kalhana along with those of Holadā, the modern Vular Pargāṇa.

1 For Sodara, the present Nārān Nāg, see notes i. 123; v. 55-59.
2 Compare Rājat. viii. 733 note.
The site of Pāndrēthan or Purāṇādhīṣṭhāna has already been fully noticed. About two miles higher up the river lies Pāṇḍvchuk village, with some ancient remains and the traces of a stone bridge-head, probably of late date. The old name of the place is unknown. We pass next by the river the village of Simpôr. This may retain the name of Simhapura, founded by King Jayasimha in Kalhaça’s time.

Less than two miles to the north-west of Simpôr lies the village of Zevan, the ancient Jayavana. It was correctly identified already by Prof. Bühler on the basis of the happy and exact description given of it by Bilhaṇa. The poet mentions in this "place of high-rising monuments" the "pool filled with pure water, sacred to Taṅkṣaṇa, lord of snakes." This pool still exists in the Taṅkṣaṇa Nāga which is visited annually by the pilgrims to Harṣēsvara.

The mention made by Kalhaṇa in his history of Narapura of the pilgrimage to the Taṅkṣaṇa spring proves that in old times it must have enjoyed great reputation as a separate Tirtha. It is in fact the only Kāśmir Nāga which is distinctly mentioned in the Tirtha list of the Mahābhārata (iii. lxxii. 90). Abū-1-Fażl records the interesting fact that this spring was popularly held to be the place whence the cultivation of saffron flourishing in this neighbourhood originated. In Akbar’s time the cultivators, undoubtedly Muhammadans, still worshipped at this fountain at spring time. It was customary to pour cow’s milk into it to secure a good omen for the success of the crop. We see that the Taṅkṣaṇa Nāga long retained his importance with the cultivators as a local divinity.

About two miles to the north-east of Zevan we come on gently rising ground to the village of Khonamoh. It is, as already stated above, the ancient Khona-muṣa, famous as the birthplace of Bilhaṇa. The latter in the Vikramāṇa-kadevacarita gives an enthusiastic description of the charms of his rural home. The saffron fields which Bilhaṇa mentions extend close to the lower of the two separate hamlets which form the village. In the upper hamlet is a sacred spring called Dāmodaranāga with some sculptured funeral Stelēs and a few fragmentary inscriptions.

On the hill-side above the village issues another Nāga which under

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1 See Rājat. viii. 2443 note.
2 Compare Report, pp. 6 sq.; Rājat. vii. 607 note; Vikram. xviii. 70.
3 See Rājat. i. 220 note.
4 See Ain-i-Akb., ii. p. 368.
5 For a detailed and accurate account of the position and remains of Khonamuṣa, see Prof. Bühler’s Report, pp. 6 sq. The identity of Khunmoh with the Khonamuṣa of Rājat. i. 90, was first pointed out by Gen. Cunningham, Anc. Geogr., p. 98.
the name of Bhuvanesvari is visited on the pilgrimage to Harshesvara. The latter Tirtha lies on the summit of the high ridge which rises to the north of the village. It consists of a 'Swayambhu' Linga situated in a small cave and enjoys considerable popularity. I have not been able to trace its name except in the local Mahatmya and the Tirthasamgraha.

The chief place of the Vihi Pargana is now the town of Pampar, the ancient Padmapura, about four miles southwest of Khunsmoh. It was founded in the beginning of the 9th century by Padma, the powerful uncle of the puppet king Cippata-Jayapida. Padma is said by the Chronicle to have also built a temple of Viṣṇu Padmavāmin. To this may possibly belong the scanty remains of an ancient temple which have been described by General Cunningham. Close by is the Ziarat of Mir Muḥammad Hamadāni, with some fine ancient columns and ornamented slabs which are likely to have been taken from this temple. Also the other Ziarats of the town show similar remains. Padmapura, owing to its central position in a fertile tract, seems to have always been a place of importance and is often mentioned by Kalhana and the later Chroniclers.

Proceeding north-eastwards of Padmapura we pass first Bālshom, a large village, which in the Lokapraša and Tirthasamgraha figures as Bālāsrama. Under a large Deodar near it Bālādevi is now worshipped in the form of an old stone-image. Numerous ancient Stelès, showing miniature reproductions of temples, are found in the neighbouring rivulets and canals; they were apparently used in recent times as stepping-stones which would account for their preservation. At the foot of a rocky spur which descends from the mountain-range to the north, lies the picturesque village of Uyana, once mentioned by Kalhana under the name of Ovanā. It has a large sulphurous spring visited by the sick.

About two miles further east we reach the large village of Khruv, the ancient Khapūvī which, as we have seen, gave to the district its former name. There is an abundance of fine springs in and about Khruv; Abū-l-Fazl mentions them as objects of worship and estimates their number at 360. Above the village a so-called Swayamhū-cakra or mystical diagram is shown on a rock. It is held sacred to Jvala.

1 For a detailed notice see Rājat. iv. 695 note. The old name of the place is well-known to Srinagar Padīs; Vigna too, Travels, ii. p. 31, recognized it correctly.
2 See J. A. S. E., 1848, p. 274.
3 See Rājat. vii. 295.
4 Ain-i-Akb., ii. p. 358.
5 Compare for such diagrams, also designated Devicakra or Mātracakra, Rājat. i. 122 note.
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mukhi-Durgā and largely visited by pilgrims. I am, however, unable to trace any old reference to this Tirtha.

Only a mile to the south-east of Khruv is the village of Sār, until recently the seat of a flourishing iron-industry.

Sanāra. Kalhana mentions it by the name of Sanāra as an Agrahāra founded by King Sacinara. Whatever the historical value of this notice may be, which Kalhana took from Padmamahira, the evidence detailed in my note on the passage proves that the present Sār is intended. An intermediate form of the name is preserved in the Sār of an old gloss. The Ziaarat of Khwaja Khizr which stands here near several small springs, is built with remains of a Hindu temple; among them is a Linga-base some six feet square.

About two miles south-west of Sār are found the well-preserved ruins of a temple near the village of Lādu (not marked on Survey map). They have been described by Bishop Cowie, but I am unable to trace any old reference to this shrine in the texts I have examined. It is remarkable for having a circular cella, the only one known to me in Kashmir. A small square cella to the east of this temple has been annexed to a neighbouring Ziaarat.

Near the south end of the Vihi Pargana and on the river lies the village of Lātipūr. An old gloss of the Rājatarāngini identifies it with Lalitapura, a place founded in honour of King Lalitādiya by his architect. The King according to the Chronicle was not pleased with the attention; in any case no importance seems to have attached to this place. There are no old remains above ground, but the local tradition still tells of King Lalitādiya as the founder of a large town on the neighbouring Uśar.

106. Passing round the foot of Mount Vastryan we enter the Pargana of Vular, the ancient Holapā. This identification is supported, apart from the clear phonetic evidence, by all passages of the Rājatarāngini which mention Holādā. Its feudal barons played a great part in the troubled times of the later Hindu reigns.

Its most important place in old times was undoubtedly the town of Avantipura, founded by King Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883). Its position is marked by the present village of Vāntipūr on the Vitasta. The

1 See note i. 100.
2 See J. A. S. B., 1866, pp. 97 sqq.
3 See Rājat. iv. 186.
4 See Rājat. i. 306 note.
5 See Rājat. v. 45 sq. note. Its identity with Vāntipūr was first pointed out by Dr. Wilson in his note on Moorcroft, Travels, ii. p. 244.
The conspicuous ruins of this place attracted already the attention of the early European visitors. General Cunningham did not fail to recognize in them the remains of the two great temples of Avantisvāmin and Avantīśvara which Avantivarman had built here. Of the two great ruins one is at Vāntipūr itself, the other and larger one half a mile further down the river close to the hamlet of Jambir (map 'Jabsir'.) Owing to the complete destruction of the central shrines it is impossible to ascertain now which was dedicated to Viṣṇu and which to Śiva. The fine enclosing quadrangles of the temples have also suffered badly. That of Avantisvāmin was used as a temporary fortification in Kulhaṇa's own time and underwent a severe siege.

The site on which Avantivarman’s town was built, had apparently enjoyed some sanctity before these temples were founded, and bore the old name Vīśvākacāra. The great extent of the town is indicated by the traces of ruined buildings which cover the foot of the hills east of Vāntipūr for a considerable distance. The frequent references to Avantipura in the Chronicles show that the town retained some importance long after the death of its founder.

We hear but little of other old sites in Holāḍā. The great town of Mihiṇāpurā which King Mihiṇakula is said to have founded in it, can no longer be traced. Khuli, a village situated a short distance to the south-west of Trāl, the modern headquarters of the district, may possibly be the Khola of the Chronicle, one of Gopāditya’s Agrahāras.

Of Trāl I am unable to trace any old notice.

The identification of the village of Būka, about two miles south of Khuli, with the old Bhavaścanda is also uncertain. It is based on a gloss of Rājānaka Ratnakarapātha, the writer of the Codex Archetypus of the Rājatarangini. Still further south lies the village of Kāi, probably the old Katika named by Kulhaṇa as a foundation of Tuṣjina. This identification is made in the old gloss on the passage and supported by the phonetic evidence of the modern name.

Of old remains in Vular the interesting temple of Nārastān at the northern extremity of the district (34° 3' lat. 75° 10' long.) deserves notice. Unfortunately I am unable to find any clue as to its old name.

1 See for a full description J. A. S. B., 1843, pp. 275 sqq.; also ib., 1866, 121 sqq.
2 See Rājat. viii. 1429 sqq., 1474 sqq.
3 See Rājat. i. 306.
4 See Rājat. i. 340.
5 Compare ill. 381 note.
6 Rājat. ii. 14.
7 See Mr. Lawrence’s notice, Valley, p. 172. The attached photograph shows the site after my excavations. Regarding the result of the latter, see Vienna Oriental Journal, 1891, p. 346 sqq.

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or history. Excavations made by me at the site in 1891 brought to light interesting sculptures, but no evidence as to its name. The large village of Sutur (map 'Sootoor') to the south-west of Narmastân may possibly account for the entry of Satrava in the Lokaprákása's list of Parganas.

107. The eastern boundary of Vular is marked by the high spur which descends from the north towards the confluence of the Vitastã and Gambhirã. The adjoining district to the east is one of considerable extent. It comprises besides the whole right or western side of the Lidãr Valley also the low-lying tract between the Vitastã and the lower course of the Viśokã. The modern name of this great Pargaña is Dachünpôr which appears in Srívara's Chronicle as Dakṣiṇapãrã. This clearly means 'the right bank' [of the Ledãr or Lidãr]. Another form, of the same significance, is Dakṣiṇapârā found in the Lokaprákása and MârtandaMâhâmya. To this designation corresponds the term Vâmapârâ, now Khôvupôr, which as we shall see, is applied to the left side of the Lidãr Valley.¹

The junction of the Vitastã with the Gambhirã, i.e., the united Viśokã and Ramaṇyâtavi, has already been mentioned above as a Tirtha.² Not far from it lies the village of Marhôm, on the Vitastã, mentioned by Jonarâja under its old name of Maḍavâtârâ.³ The first part of the name is identical with that of Maḍavarâjya.

About two miles south-east of Marhôm and not far from the Vitastã, we find the village Vâghhôm, with a sacred spring known by the name of Hastikarûa. This name seems to have applied formerly to the place itself which we find twice thus referred to by Kalhaṇa.⁴ It is possibly the Hastikarûa, where Bhoja, Harṣa's son, was treacherously murdered.

About one mile to the south of Hastikarûa the Vitastã makes a great bend. The peninsula thus formed is occupied by a small Udãr or alluvial plateau which owing to its height and isolated position is a very conspicuous object in the landscape. It was once the site of

¹ General Cunningham, Anc. Geogr., p. 94 assumes that Kõ. dachûn 'right' is now used to denote the "north," and kâvar, (recte khôvar) or "left," to denote the "south." This assumption, however, as well as the explanation given for the alleged change of meaning are based on some misunderstanding.
² See § 64.
³ See Jonar. (Bo. ed.), 138.
⁴ See Rajat. v. 23 note; also vii. 1650. Another Hastikarûa, mentioned by Srívara, i. 441, seems to have been near Srinagar on the west.
one of the oldest and most famous shrines of the Valley, the temple of Viṣṇu Cakrādhara.

The plateau is still known as Tṛṅkāra Uḍar.1 Brahman tradition is aware of the derivation of this name from Cakrādhara. It was first brought to the notice of European scholars by Prof. Bühler who had duly recognized the antiquarian importance of the site.2 The shrine of Cakrādhara is often mentioned as a Tirtha of great sanctity.3 It was also closely connected with the legends regarding the burned city of Narapura, localized as we shall see in its close vicinity. But the only detailed notice of the temple we owe to a historical incident which occurred there during the civil wars of Sussala's reign.4

The royal troops having been forced to evacuate the neighbouring town of Vījāyaśvara or Vījāyaśrī, the inhabitants of the latter place and the neighbouring villages took refuge in the temple of Cakrādhara. This, by its position on the high and steep Uḍar, was naturally well-adapted for defence. The temple filled by the crowd of fugitives and routed soldiers, was soon besieged by the rebel troops of Bhīkṣaṇa. The temple courtyard was protected by massive wooden ramparts and gates. When these had been set on fire by the assailants a mighty conflagration ensued in which the whole mass of people inside perished. Kalbapa vividly describes this great catastrophe which he believes to have provoked divine vengeance and thus to have brought about the downfall of the pretender.

The account here given is of topographical interest. It shows that the temple actually stood on the flat top of the Uḍar, and also explains the scarcity of stone-remains in this locality. The absence of conspicuous ruins had already been noticed by Prof. Bühler. When visiting in 1895 the Tṛṅkāra Uḍar, I found only traces of a quadrangular enclosure, about forty yards square. They are marked by hollows at the northern end of the Uḍar which is separated from the rest by a dip in the ground. These hollows may possibly be the last indications of the wooden ramparts which enclosed the shrine.

The temple seems to have been subsequently restored, and Jonarāja mentions the statue of Cakrādhara among those chief divine images which Sikandar Būtikāst destroyed.5 Jayadratha in his

1 See Rājat. i. 38, 201 notes.
2 See Report, p. 18.
3 See Rājat. vii. 258, 261, 269; Jonar. (Bo. ed.), 763; Śrīkaṇṭha. iii. 12; Nila- mata, 1170.
4 See Rājat. viii. 971–995. The date of the burning of Cakrādhara seems to have been the 12th Śrīvāsa śuddha, a.d. 1121.
5 See Jonar. (Bo. ed.), 763.
Haracaritá-cintāmaní devotes a separate canto, vii., to the relation of the legend which localized the disc-wielding god at the Tirtha of Cakradhara. The latter is still referred to in a general way in the old Vijayēśvaramāhātmya (No. 87, Poona MSS.). Now, however, Cakradhara is no longer visited by the pilgrims to Vijayēśvara though the Purohitas of the latter place still retain a recollection of the former sanctity of the site.

108. There can be no doubt that at the foot of the Cakradhara Legend of Narapura. Uḍar there stood once an ancient town of considerable importance. From the low ground towards the river on the east and from the river-bed itself, ancient coins going back to Greek and Indo-Scythian rule are annually extracted in considerable quantities. Popular tradition still asserts that this site was once occupied by a great town. This tradition existed already in the time of Kalhaṇa who records it in the interesting legend of the burned city of Narapura. This is told at great length in a poetic episode of the First Book.

King Nara is said to have founded a splendid capital, called after himself Narapura, on the sandy bank of the Vitastā close to the shrine of Cakradhara. "There in a grove was a pond of limpid water, the habitation of the Nāga Suśravas." A young Brahman who had found occasion to assist the Nāga and his two daughters when in distress, was allowed to marry in reward one of the latter. He lived in happiness at Narapura until the beauty of the Nāga lady excited the passion of the wicked king. When Nara found his advances rejected with scorn, he endeavoured to seize the beautiful Candralekā by force. The couple fled for protection to their father's habitation.

The Nāga then rose in fury from his pool and "burned the king with his town in a rain of fearful thunderbolts." Thousands of people were burned before the image of Viṣṇu Cakradhara to which they had fled for protection. Ramaṇyā, the Nāga's sister, came down from the mountains carrying along masses of rocks and boulders. These she dropped, as we have seen, along the bed of the Ramapīyā or Rembyār, when she found that Suśravas had already wreaked his vengeance. The Nāga himself feeling remorse at the carnage he had caused, removed to a lake on a far-off mountain. There "he is to the present day seen by the people on the pilgrimage to Amaresvara." "To this day," thus closes Kalhaṇa's narration, "that tale is remembered by the people when they behold close to Cakradhara that town destroyed by fire and that pond which has become a dry hollow."

1 See Rājat. i. 201-274.
2 Compare regarding the lake of the Nāga Suśravas on the route to Amburnāth, above, § 59.
Whatever the origin of the legend here told may have been, it is clear that popular tradition in Kalhaṇa’s time looked upon the barren ground which stretches along the river between Śrakēdar and the present Viśvbrōr as the site of an ancient city. The ruins which in the 12th century were pointed out as the remains of the burned Narapura, may have supplied the immediate starting point of the legend.

What these remains were we cannot say. As the ground referred to is subject to annual inundation it is possible that the remains meant have since disappeared under alluvial deposits. The habitation of the ‘Sūrām’ Nāga was still shown to me in a hollow, generally dry, close to the south-east foot of the Udār. The name of Narapura and its king are no longer remembered. But the main features of the legend as heard by Kalhaṇa, still live in the local tradition.

109. The ancient town which once stood in the position indicated, was evidently succeeded by Viṣṇyēśvara, the present Viśvbrōr. The latter place, situated less than two miles above Oarkadham, received its name from the ancient shrine of Śiva Viṣṇyēśvara (Viṣṇyēśa, Viṣṇyēśāna).1 This deity is worshipped to the present day at Viśvbrōr. The site has evidently from early times been one of the most famous Tīrthas of Kaśmir. It is mentioned as such in the Rājataraṅgini and many old Kaśmirian texts.2 The tradition regarding Aśoka’s connection with it supplies historical proof for its antiquity. According to Kalhaṇa’s account which may well have been based on genuine local tradition or even inscriptional evidence, Aśoka had replaced the old stuccoed enclosure of the temple by one of stone. The great king was also credited with having erected within this enclosure two temples called Aśokeśvara.

This old temple which is often mentioned by Kalhaṇa and was the scene of many a historical incident, has now completely disappeared. According to the tradition of the local Purohitas it stood at a site close the river-bank and nearly opposite to the bridge over the Viṭasa. When I first visited Viśvbrōr in 1889 I still found some ancient slabs and fragments at this spot. It was then some 15 feet below the level of the surrounding ground,3 and has since been partly built over. Stone materials are said to have been removed from here for the new temple

1 Compare for detailed references, Rājat. i. 86, 106 notes.

2 The legend of the Tīrtha is given at length in the x. Prakīṭa of the Haracaritācintāmaṇi.

3 General Cunningham who saw these remains in 1847, rightly attributes them to the temple of Viṣṇyēśa, but calls the place ‘Viṣṇyēśa’; he justly points to the difference of level as an indication of the antiquity of the structure; see Anc. Geogr., p. 98.
of Vijayesvara which was built by Maharaja Rabir Singh some thirty years ago higher up on the river-bank.

It is probable that a temple so much frequented had undergone more than one restoration in the course of the fifteen centuries which lie between the time of Asoka and the end of Hindu reign in Kashmir. Some time before A.D. 1081, while King Ananta was residing at the Tirtha of Vijayesvara, the temple was burned down in a general conflagration, caused by his son Kalaśa. The latter, however, subsequently restored the shrine. The old Linga of Siva Vijayesvara seems to have fallen a victim to the iconoclasm of Sikandar Butshikast.  

The town of Vijayesvara is ascribed by Kalhana to King Vijaya. But nothing else is recorded of this ruler, and this may cause a doubt as to his historical existence. It is significant that the town is designated either simply Vijayesvara or as Vijayakestra, which is abbreviated from Vijayesvarakestra. The modern name Vijbror is the Kāśi equivalent of Vijayesvara, -bror (from Skr. bhattaraka 'god') having replaced the more specific -iśvara, the usual designation of Siva.  

That the town had acquired importance at a comparatively early date, is indicated by the mention of a thousand Agrahāras said to have been granted here by King Mihirakula to a settlement of Gánídhra Brāhmans. It was large enough to accommodate the whole court and army of King Ananta when the latter removed his residence to Vijayesvara. The narrative of the civil wars which fills the last Book of Kalhana's Chronicle shows the importance of the town by frequent references to the military operations of which it was the object. One of these passages proves that there was a bridge over the Vitastā here already in the twelfth century, just as there is one still.

Vijbror has remained a town of some importance and still boasts of a considerable number of Brāhmans, mostly Purohits of the Tirtha. The latter being conveniently situated on the pilgrims' way to Mārtanda

1 See Jonar. (Bo. ed.), 782; for an earlier mention of this emblem see ib., 127.
2 Rājat. ii. 39.
3 Compare Rājat. i. 38 note; also ii. 134. In the same way Íśuvr represents Írśvara; with the feminine-br̥r for bhattaraka we have Sundbr̥r for Sañdhayādevi, Bud̥br̥r for Bheñādevi, etc.
4 The forms 'Bijbihara,' 'Bijbihara,' 'Bijbehara,' etc., under which the local name figures in European books, are all based on a faulty Panjābi pronunciation. A fanciful etymology of the name which sees in the first part of the word vidiśa 'learning' and in the second 'Viśara,' has found favour in the guide-books and may be mentioned here for curiosity's sake.
5 See Rājat. i. 317.
6 See Rājat. vii. 836 sqq.
7 Rājat. viii. 746 sqq., 999 sqq., 1140, 1509 sqq., etc.
and Amaranātha is much frequented even at the present day. The Māhāmyas of Vijayēvara do not fail to name a considerable number of minor Tirthas to be visited along with the main site now marked by the new temple above referred to. But apart from Oakradhara and Gambhirasangama I am unable to trace any of these in the older texts.

Turning to that portion of the Dachūnpūr district which lies in the Līdr Valley we have but few old localities to notice. The village of Livār, some ten miles to the north-west of Vijayēvara, is the LEVARA of the Rājataranāgini, mentioned as an Agrahāra established by King Lava.1 Kular, about four miles higher up the Valley, is identified by an old gloss with KURUHĀRA, said to have been an Agrahāra of Lava's son Kuśa.2

Close to Pahālgām where the Līdr Valley divides into two branches, lies the hamlet of Māmal. A small temple of the usual Kaśmir style built by the side of a fine spring is visited by the pilgrims to Amaranātha. It is designated in the Māhāmya called Amarasvarakalpa as MAMMESVARA. It is in all probability identical with the shrine of this name mentioned in the Rājataranāgini.3

110. As we have already before noticed the several sacred sites of the Amaranātha pilgrimage, we may now turn back and descend to the left or eastern portion of the Līdr Valley. It forms the modern Pargāṇa of Khovurpūr. The latter name meaning 'left side' reproduces the earlier designation VĀMAPĀRŚVA, of the same significance, found in Jonarāja's Chronicle, the Lokapraṃśa and elsewhere.4 In the upper portion of the Pargāṇa I am not able to identify any particular old locality, though ancient remains in the form of sculptures of some interest are found near several Nāgas of this tract, e.g., at Lokutipūr and Sāli (Pāpaharanāṇa). The large village of Hutmar is undoubtedly an old site. Its modern name seems to identify it with the SĀTAMĀTHA which Kṣemendra names as one of the stations in the peregrinations of his heroine Kaṅkāli. The chief mosque of the place is built with the remains of a Hindu temple and preserves in its walls some sculptured fragments of remarkable beauty.5

1 See Rājat. i. 87.
2 Rājat. i. 88.
3 See viii. 3360.
4 Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 79,1332.
5 See Samay. ii. 43. The change of Sākta > Huta is in accordance with the phonetic laws of Kaśmiri; mar is the regular derivative of maṭha, see above, § 86. [When preparing my map, I had not noticed the local name of Kṣemendra's text; it is hence not shown on the map].
About one mile below Hutmar and on the bank of a branch of the Lidar, lies the hamlet of Bumzu, which contains an ancient structure of considerable historical interest. The Ziaarat of Baba Bamdin Sahib is nothing but a well-preserved temple, converted, with a liberal use of plaster, into the supposed resting place of a Muhammadan saint. I have shown elsewhere that there is good reason to identify this shrine with the Bhimakesava temple which Bhima Sahi, king of Kabul, the maternal grandfather of Queen Didda, is said to have erected during the rule of her husband Kasmagupta (A.D. 950-958).1

The legendary of the Ziaarat relates that the saint was originally a Hindu and bore before his conversion to Islam the name of Bhima Sahi. It is easy to recognize in this name an adaptation of Bhima Sahi. Also the name of the locality Bumzu which the MArtnada-maha-mys renders by Bhimadeipa, is clearly derived from the old name of the shrine. Bhima is an abbreviation of Bhimakesava to which K. su, ‘island,’ has been added with reference to the several islands formed here by the Lidar immediately in front of the hamlet.

Kalhana tells us a curious anecdote regarding the fate of Bhima Sahi’s temple in King Harsha’s time who confiscated the great treasures, with which it was endowed.3 Close to the present Ziaarat of Bamdin Sahib is a small cave in the cliff containing a well-preserved little temple which is still used for Hindu worship. Another smaller shrine outside has been turned into the tomb of Rishi Ruknu-din Sahib.

About one mile south of Bumzu we reach the Tirtha sacred to Martanda which has from early times to the present day enjoyed a prominent position among the sacred sites of Kashmir. It is marked by a magnificent spring traditionally represented as two, Vimala and Kamala. An ancient legend connects them with the birth of the sun-god Martanda.5 The Tirtha is visited at frequent intervals by crowds of pilgrims and is well-known also in India proper.

The popular name of the Tirtha, Baavan, is derived from Skr. bhavana, ‘[sacred] habitation.’ This somewhat general appellative seems to have come into use already at an early date, as Srivara employs it, and is in itself an indication of the great popularity of the Tirtha. A

1 See Rajaat, vi. 178 note. For an accurate description of the temple, see Bishop Cowers paper, J. A. S. B., 1866, pp. 100 sq.
2 See Rajaat, vii. 1081 sqq.
3 Compare for a detailed account of the Tirthas, Rajaat, iv. 192 note. The Vimala Niga is named by the Nilamata, 963 ; Sriv. i. 377, etc.
4 Sriv. i. 376, 387.
more specific designation is *Matyabhavana*, Skr. *Matyaabhavana*; this owes its origin to the abundance of sacred fish which swarm in the large basins filled by the spring.1

The ancient remains at the sacred spring itself are very scanty. All the more imposing are the ruins of the great temple which King Lalitāditya erected at a short distance in honour of the presiding deity of the Tirtha.2

They are situated a little over a mile to the south-east of *Bavan*, near the northern edge of the Udār which stretches towards Anaṭnāg. It can scarcely be doubted that the site was chosen with a view to the prominent position it assured to the great temple. Kalhaṇa duly praises "the wonderful shrine of Mārtandā with its massive walls of stone, within a lofty enclosure." Its ruins though much injured by the ravages of time and earthquakes, form still the most impressive specimen of ancient Kaśmir architecture. They have been much admired by European travellers and often described. They are the earliest ruins in Kaśmir the date of which is fixed with approximate accuracy.3

The name Mārtandā, in the form of Mārtand or Matan, still attaches to the ruins though they have long ago ceased to be an object of religious interest. King Kaḷaśa had sought this great fane at the approach of death and expired at the feet of the sacred image (A.D. 1089). Harṣa, his son, respected this temple in the course of the ruthless confiscations to which he subjected the other rich shrines of the country. Subsequently in Kaḷhaṇa's time the great quadrangular courtyard of the temple with its lofty walls and colonnades was used as a fortification. The destruction of the sacred image is ascribed to Siḱandar Butshikast.

Kaḷhaṇa distinctly mentions the town "swelling with grapes" which Lalitāditya founded near his temple; but of this no trace remains now. It is probable that at that time a canal supplied water from the Līḍa-r to the naturally arid plateau on which the temple stands. This canal seems to have been repaired by Zainu-l-Ābidin whose irrigation works on the Mārtand Udār are described at length by Jōnarāja.4 The

1 Comp. *Ajn-i-Akh.*, ii. p. 358.
3 Lalitāditya's rule falls in the first half of the eighth century. Gen. Cunningham's assumption that the temple was built by the earlier King Raḍāditya, and only the enclosure by Lalitāditya, rests on a misinterpretation of the *Rajatar. passages* iv. 192 and iii. 462.
4 See *Jonar.* 1245 sqq.

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plateau has since become once more an arid waste though the course of the old canal can still be traced above Hutmar.

The town of Mārtānda had left its name to the small Pargana of Matan which comprised this plateau as well as the villages situated along the foot of the hills further east. It is referred to as Mārtāndadeśa by Jonarāja. Abū-l-Fażl notices the large temple of Matan and the well or pit close by, which a Muhammadan legend represents as the place of captivity of the 'angels Hārūt and Mārūt.'

SECTION VII.—SOUTHERN DISTRICTS OF MAṆAVARĀṆA.

112. At the foot of the western extremity of the Mārtānda plateau lies the town of Islāmābād or by its Hindu name Anānag. The latter is derived from the great spring of the Anānagā which issues at the southern end of the town. The Nāga, though no Tirtha of particular repute, is mentioned in the Nilamata, Haracaritacintāmaṇi and some Māhātmyas. Of the town, however, I cannot find any old notice, and it is in all probability, as its Muhammadan name implies, a later foundation. To the north of the town and on the way to Bavan is the Gautamanāga, named by the Nilamata and the Mārtāndamāhātmya.

The modern name of the small district which comprised besides Anānag the tract immediately south and west of it, is Anyech. This is represented in some Māhātmyas of recent composition by Anekākṣa. This name occurs also once in Śrīvara's Chronicle, but the locality there meant is not certain.

The valley of the Ār¬path or Harsapathā which opens to the east of Islāmābād, forms the Pargana of Kushtēr. This name is in all probability connected with that of the ancient Tirtha of Kapateśvara, situated on the southern side of the valley close to the village of Kōṭhēr. The name of the latter is undoubtedly a derivative of Kapateśvara, as the analogy of Jyeṣṭhēr < Jyeṣṭhēśvara, Triphār < Tripureśvara, etc., clearly shows.
The place of pilgrimage is the sacred spring of Pāpasudana (‘sin-removing’), situated a short distance above Kothār. In it Śiva is believed to have shown himself in the disguise (kapata) of pieces of wood floating on the water. The legend is related at length in the Nilamata, and the author of the Haracaritacintamani devotes to it a separate canto which has now become the official Māhātmya of the Tirtha. The importance of the latter is shown by the fact that Kalhana mentions it in his Introduction first among the sacred sites of Kaśmir.

Before him already Albirūni had heard of the story that pieces of wood sent by Mahādeva appear annually “in a pond called Kudaisahr to the left of the source of the Vitasta, in the middle of the month of Vaisākha.” Kudaisahr (کودیشاهر), is an easily explained corruption for i.e., Kavadesvar, a prakritized form of the name. The map shows that the description of the position of the Tirtha is accurate enough with reference to the Nilanāga as the Vitasta’s traditional source. The date named by Albirūni is identical with that prescribed for the Kapatesvara Yatra.

The sacred spring rises in a large circular tank, enclosed by an ancient stone-wall with steps leading into the water. According to Kalhana’s account this enclosure was constructed about a century before his own time at the expense of the well-known King Bhoja of Mālava. The latter is said to have taken a vow to always wash his face in the water of the Pāpasudana spring which he caused to be regularly supplied to him in jars of glass. In my note on the passage I have shown that local tradition at Kothār still retains a recollection of this story though in a rather legendary form. A small temple which stands to the east of the tank, and some other remains probably belong to the period of Bhoja. Abāl-Fażl too knows, “in the village of Kothār, a deep spring surrounded by stone temples. When its water decreases an image of Mahādeva in sandal wood appears.”

About four miles to the north-east of Kothār and on a branch of the Ārāpath river lies the populous village of Sāngas, the ancient Samāṅgāśa. The modern name can be traced back to Samāṅgāśa through a course of regular phonetic conversion, one stage of which is preserved in the form Svāṅgas supplied by the old glossator of the Chronicle. Some old

1 Haracar. xiv.
2 See India, ii. p. 181.
3 See Rājat. vii. 190 sqq.
4 See Rājat. i. 100; viii. 651.
5 Compare Rājat. i. 100 note and the analogy of Sāṅra > Sār.
carved slabs built into the chief Ziarat of the place attest its antiquity. A short distance above Sanges we come to another old place. It is the present village of Vufrus which on the authority of the same glossator and the name itself we can safely identify with Kalhana’s Utrasa.¹ Uccala and Sussala in their flight from Harša’s court found a temporary refuge with the Dāmara who resided there.

Turning back to the west we find in the middle of the valley the village of Khondur. An old gloss enables us to identify it with the ancient Skandapura mentioned by Kalhana as an Agrahāra of King Gopāditiya.² More important is Achabal, a large village at the west foot of the ridge which lines the Kuṭahār Pargana from the south. It is mentioned in the Chronicle under the name of Akšavaṇa. The beautiful springs of the place have often been described since Abū-l-Faḻ’s time, also by Bernier.³ The park around them was a favourite camping ground of the Mughal court. The Nilamata calls the spring Akṣipalavāṇa.

113. The Kuṭahār Pargana is adjoined on the south by the district of Bring which coincides with the valley of the Bring stream. Its old name cannot be traced; the Lokapakṣa transcribes the modern designation by Bhrāga.

At the western end of the Pargana and about 5 miles to the southwest of Achabal is the village of Lokavān which an old gloss identifies with the Lokapūṇya of the Rājatarangini.⁴ The numerous passages which mention the place agree with this location. The name Lokavān applies also to the fine Nāga adjoining the village, and this explains the second part of the present name -bāvan (Skr. bhavana).⁵ King Lalitāditya is said to have built a town here. A small garden-palace erected in Mughal times near the spring is partly constructed of old materials.

Ascending the Bring valley we come again to an old site at the large village of Bidur. It is certainly the Bhepura of Kalhana who notices here a wealthy Agrahāra of King Bālāditya.⁶ A ruined mound in the village and some old sculptures at the neighbouring Brahman village of Hāngalgūnd are the only ancient remains now above ground.

¹ Compare vii. 1254.
² See Rājat. i. 340.
³ Compare Rājat. i. 338. In the translation of the Aīn-i-Akb. the name appears as ‘Achh Dal’, ii. p. 358; see Bernier, Travels, p. 413.
⁴ See Rājat. iv. 193 note.
⁵ See above, § 111.
⁶ Rājat. iii. 481.
From Bidsr we may pay a passing visit to a small Tirtha which though I cannot find it mentioned in any old text, may yet claim some antiquity. About 1½ miles to the south-east of Bidsr lies the village of Nāru in the low hills flanking the valley. It contains a small temple of ancient date which was restored forty years ago by a pious Dogrā official. It stands by the side of a small Nāga at which, according to the local Māhātmya I acquired from the resident Purohita, Śiva is worshipped as Ardhanārīśvara, that is, in conjunction with his consort Pārvatī. Inside the temple is an ancient image of Viṣṇu with a short Sanskrit inscription said to have been found in a miraculous way at the restoration of the temple. About half a mile to the south-west is a sacred spring known as Svedanāga which seems to have risen originally within a large temple. The remains of the latter lie in shapeless heaps around the spring. The latter is still visited by pilgrims.

It appears to me likely that it is this spot which Abū-l-Faḍl wishes to describe in the following notice. After mentioning the Kukār Nāg and Sundhrā (see below) among the sacred places of Brīṅg, he says: "At a little distance in the midst of a beautiful temple, seven fountains excite the wonderment of the beholder. In the summer-time self-immolating ascetics here heap up a large fire around themselves and with the utmost fortitude suffer themselves to be burned to death." He then mentions a lofty hill containing an iron mine to the north of this spot. This can only be the hill above Sāp, on the northern side of the Valley and nearly opposite Nāru, from which iron is still extracted at the present time. There is no other Nāga within Brīṅg to which Abū-l-Faḍl's description would apply so closely as to the Svedanāga.

The Kukār Nāg, mentioned by Abū-l-Faḍl for its good water inciting a healthy appetite, lies about a mile above Bidsr. It is a spring of very great volume, referred to in the Trisāṃdhīya-māhātmya as Kukruṣāvāra.

Brīṅg contains one of the holiest of Kaśmir Tirthas in the sacred Tirtha of Trisāṃdhīya. The spring of the goddess Śāmīthī, also called Trisāṃdhīya, the modern Sundhrār. It is situated in a side valley opening to the south of the village of Devalgōm, circ. 75° 22' long. 33° 32' lat. The spring of Śāmīthī derives its fame as well as its appellation from the fact that during uncertain periods in the early summer it flows, or is supposed to flow, intermittently, three times in the day and three times in the night. Owing to the analogy thus presented to the three-fold recitation of the Gāyatrī

1 See Ain-i-Akhb., ii. p. 356.
2 See Rājat. i. 33 note.
(Samdhya), it is held sacred to the goddess Samdhya. At the season indicated it is visited by a considerable concourse of people.

The small spring, which is usually dry for the greater part of the year, has owing to the curious phenomenon above indicated always enjoyed great fame as one of the ‘wonders’ of the valley. Kalhana duly mentions it immediately after Kapatzevara. The Nilamata too knows it. Abü-l-Fazl describes it in detail, and Dr. Bernier made it a special point to visit this ‘merveille de Cachemire.’ He has observed the phenomenon with his usual accuracy. The ingenious explanation he has recorded of it, shows how closely he had examined the topographical features of the little valley.

Close to the Trisamdhya spring there is another Nāga, sacred to the Seven Rṣis, but not sharing the former’s peculiar nature. There are no ancient remains in the neighbourhood deserving special notice.

114. To the south of Bring lies the valley of the Sāndran River which forms the Pargana of Shāhābād. This name is of comparatively modern origin, as Abü-l-Fazl still knows the tract as Vēr. This designation still survives in the designation Vērnāg, i.e., ‘the Nāga of Vēr,’ popularly given to the fine spring which we have already noticed as the habitation of the Nilanāga and the traditional source of the Vītastā.

Abü-l-Fazl saw still to the east of it ‘temples of stone.’ These have now disappeared, their materials having been used probably for the construction of the fine stone-enclosure which Jahāngir built round the spring. The deep blue colour of the water which collects in the spring-basin, may possibly account for the location of the Nilanea in this particular fountain. Kalhana’s reference to the “circular pond” from which the Vītastā rises, shows that the spring had also in ancient times an artificial enclosure similar to the present one.

Reference has already been made to the sacred spring of Vithwutur only about one mile to the north-west of Vērnāg. The small village near by is mentioned by Kalhana as a town under the name of Vītastātra. Aśoka is said to have erected there numerous Stūpas. Within the Dharmāranya Vihāra there stood a lofty Caitya built by him, but of these structures no remains can now be traced above ground. Vītastātra could never have been a large town as the ground is too confined. But some importance is assured to the site by the Bānāhāl route which leads past

2 See Aīn-i-Akb., ii. pp. 361, 370.
3 See Rājat. i. 28.
4 See Rājat. i. 102 note.
it. This pass and its ancient name Bānasālā we have already spoken of.¹

Of other old localities Pānchāstā, the present Pānzdath, has already been referred to as the site of one of the traditional sources of the Vitāstā. Kalhapa mentions it in connection with a Maṭha which Sūravarman, Avantivarman's minister, built here.² A pretty valley which opens to the south of Pānzdath, is now known by the name of its chief village Buzul. The latter is mentioned by Jōnara as Rājolako.³ About three miles higher up this valley is the Nāga of Vāsuki. It is mentioned in the Nilamata and other old texts, but does not appear to have ever been an important Tirtha.⁴

115. The Pargāna of Divasar which adjoins Shāhābād-Vēr on the west, may be roughly described as comprising the tract of alluvial plain drained by the Veśāna (Viṣokā). By its ancient name of DEVASARASA it is often mentioned in the Rājatarangini and other Chronicles.⁵ Being extensively irrigated by canals drawn from the Viṣokā it is very fertile. This accounts for the great part which the Dāmaras or feudal landholders of Devasarasa played during the weak reigns of the latter kings. No certain reference to a specific locality within this tract can be traced in our old texts. But it seems probable that Pāreviśoka, repeatedly named in Kalhapa's Chronicle, must be looked for within Devasarasa; the name means literally 'beyond the Viṣokā.'⁶

The fertile valleys descending to the right bank of the Viṣokā from that portion of the Pir Pānsāl Range which lies between the Könsr Peak and the Mohi Pass, form a small district of their own, known in recent times by the double name Khur-Nārātav. The first part of this name is taken from the large village of Khur situated about two miles from the Viṣokā, circ. 74° 56' 45" long. 33° 37' lat. It is marked as 'Koori' on the larger Survey map. The name Kheri which we find used by Kalhapa and Śrīvara for the designation of the tract, is in all probability the older form of Khur.⁷ It seems that in later Hindu times the administration of Kheri, perhaps as a royal allodial domain, formed a special charge. Kalhapa often refers to the Kherikārya as a high state-office. The Sikhs and Dogrās who established Jāgirs for members

¹ Compare above, § 41.
² See Rājat. v. 24.
³ See Jōnara, (Bo. ed.), 90.
⁴ See Nilamata, 901.
⁵ Compare Rājat. viii. 504 note.
⁶ Compare Rājat. iv. 5 note.
⁷ Compare regarding the identification of Kheri, Rājat. i. 335 note.
of the reigning family in Khur-Nāravāv, may thus have followed an earlier arrangement.

The only localities in this little district that are known to us by their old names, are Godharā and Hastiśālā, the present Gudar and Asthāl. These two villages are situated close together, on a branch of the Viśokā near the eastern limits of Khur-Nāravāv. Kalhaṇa mentions the 'Agrahāra of Godharā-Hastiśālā' as a foundation of King Godhara. The old gloss which transcribes these local names by Godhar-Asthihil enabled me to identify the places intended.

A small stream which falls into the Viśokā at Gudar is known by the name of Godavari and forms a Tirtha of some repute among the Brahmans of the neighbouring districts. In the Māhātmya of the Tirtha the site of the village is called Godara, and its name connected with the legend of the appearance of the Godāvari. The local tradition heard by me on the spot tells of a town which King Gudar is supposed to have founded here. It is possible that the name of King Godhara, which we know Kalhaṇa took indirectly from Helaraja's 'List of Kings,' rests on no better foundation than this long-surviving local tradition. There are no ancient remains traceable above ground at Gudar, and the locality is far too confined for a larger settlement.

The Nanbandhana Tirtha and the Kramasaras or Könagar Nāg south of this district have already been previously noticed.

116. To the north of Divšar lies the considerable district of Adšvin extending from the western end of Khur-Nāravāv to the lower course of the Viśokā. Its present name is derived from that of the large village of Adšvin, which lies on the left bank of the Viśokā, about three miles south-west of Vijebror. In the form of Ardhavana this name is found already in a passage of Jonaraja's Chronicle, supplied by the new edition. The ancient designation of the district, however, was Karāla. This is used by Kalhaṇa when speaking of the Suvarṇamaśikulyā, the present Sunšman Kul, which has already been referred to as irrigating part of Adšvin.

In the lower portion of the district and on the left bank of the Viśokā, we have the ancient Kalimūsa, the present village of Kaimuh.

1 For details compare Rājat. i. 96 note.
2 Regarding the unhistorical character of the royal names which Kalhaṇa inserted on Helaraja's authority, see Rājat. i. 86 note. They seem to be all of an eponymic character.
3 See Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 1330.
4 See Rājat. i. 97 note, and above, § 78.
The place is mentioned by Kalhana as an Agrahāra founded by Tuñjina I., and contains some old remains built into its chief Ziārat.\(^1\)

Part of Ādīvin lies on an alluvial plateau. The northernmost portion of this Udar seems to have been formed into a separate Pargāna after Zainul-ābidin had constructed there extensive irrigation channels. From the small town of Jainapur\(^2\) founded by him the new subdivision took the name of Zainpūr or Jainapura.\(^3\) At the east foot of the Zainpūr Udar lies the village of Vach\(^4\) (map ‘Woochi’) which on the authority of an old gloss may be identified with Vaścika (or Vaścika), an Agrahāra founded by Gopiiditya.\(^5\)

The Pargāna which joins on to Ādīvin in the north-east, is now known as Būt (map ‘Batoo’). Its ancient name is unknown. The only old locality I can trace in it is the village of Sīdau, 74° 51’ long, 33° 41’ lat., the ancient Siddhapatha.\(^6\) It has given its name to the route previously mentioned which leads to the Būtil and Kōnsār Nāg Passes.

It is curious that we find no old mention whatever of Supiyān, a considerable town, which is now the trade emporium for the Pir Pantsāl route. In this character Supiyān has replaced the ancient Sūrāpura or Hūrpūr, but the change must be a comparatively recent one.

Sūrāpura which we have already noticed as the Kāsmir terminus of the Pir Pantsāl route, lies some seven miles higher up on the Rembyār.\(^7\) It received its name from the minister Sūravarman who built it in the time of Avantivarman and transferred to it the watch-station or ‘Draṅga’ of the route. The position of the latter is marked by a spot known as Iāhi Darwāza, a short distance above Hūrpūr.\(^8\) Sūrāpura must have been a place of considerable extent as ruins of old habitations can be traced on the river banks for over two miles below the present Hūrpūr. It evidently retained its importance down to Akbar’s time. For it is regularly mentioned by all the later Chronicles in connection with marches and traffic by the Pir Pantsāl route. The ancient remains of the place have been described by me in my notes on the latter.\(^9\)

Our previous account of the old localities on the way to the Pir

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\(^1\) Compare Rājat. ii. 55 note.

\(^2\) See Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 1144 sq.; Sriv. iii. 194; Fourth Chron. 360, 383.

\(^3\) Compare Rājat. i. 343 note.

\(^4\) See Rājat. viii. 557.

\(^5\) Regarding Sūrāpura and its old sites, compare Rājat. Note D (iii. 227); v. 39 note; also J. A. S. B., 1895, pp. 381 sqq.

\(^6\) See above, § 42.

\(^7\) See J. A. S. B., 1895, p. 385.

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Panīgāl Pass makes it unnecessary for us to proceed now further in this direction. Descending, then, by the Rembālā we come on its left bank to the village of Degām situated about one and a half miles to the west of Supiyaṇ. It is the Degāmā of the Rājatārugīṇī and the site of the Kapālāmocana Tirtha. At the spring of the latter Siva is supposed to have cleaned himself from the sin attaching to him after the cutting-off of Brahman's head (kapālu). The Tirtha is old, because the Haracaritācintāmaṇi mentions it twice. There are but few ancient remains at the sacred site, and the extant Mahāmya is evidently not of old date. It calls the village by the name of Dvīgrāma and knows the modern Supiyaṇ by the name of Sūrpyāṇa.

117. The villages which lie at the foot of the pine-clad spurs descending into the valley west and north-west of Supiyaṇ, formed until recent times a small distinct Pargāṇa known as Sūparsamāṇ. Abū-l-Fazl mentions it (Sūparsamāṇ), but I am not able to trace it in our older texts.

To the north of this tract and of Bōt extends the Pargāṇa of Sukru.

**Kalyāṇapura.** Its old name is unknown. Here at the foot of the hills, we have the ancient Kalyāṇapura, represented by the present village of Kalampōr, situated 74° 54' long. 33° 48' lat. It was founded by Kalyāṇadevi, a queen of Jayāpiṇa. Being on the high road from the Pir Panīgāl Pass to Srinagar, it was repeatedly the scene of battles fought with invaders from that direction.

At Kalyāṇapura there was in Kalhaṇa's time the splendid country-seat of a powerful Dāmara. The large village of Drābāgām, some three miles north of Kalampōr, is mentioned as Drāhagrāma by Śrīvara, along with Kalyāṇapura, in the description of a battle which was fought between the two places.

High up in the valley of the Birnai stream which debouches at Tirtha of Bheḍā. Drābāgām from the south-west, is the site of an ancient Tirtha which though now completely forgotten must have ranked once amongst the most popular in Kāsmir. In Kalhaṇa's introduction there is named, along with Trisāmidhyā, Svayambhū, Śāradā and other famous sites, "the hill of Bheḍa (Bheḍagīri) sanctified by the Gangebdheda spring." There the goddess Sarasvati

1 Compare Rājat. vii. 266.
2 See Haracar. x. 249 ; xiv. 111.
3 See Rājat. iv. 483 note.
4 See Rājat. viii. 1261 sqq. ; Śrīv. iv. 466 sqq.
5 See Rājat. viii. 2348 sqq.
6 See Śrīv. iv. 467. For a miniature temple extant at Drābāgām, compare Bishop Cowie's note, J. A. S. B., 1866, p. 117.
was believed to have shown herself as a swan in a lake situated on the summit of the hill. This Tirtha has long ago ceased to be visited by pilgrims, and all recollection regarding its position has been lost to Pāṇḍit tradition. Fortunately the old Māhātmya of the sacred lake has survived in a single copy. With the help of some indications furnished by it and an opportune notice of Abū-1-Fażl, I was able to make a search for this ancient Tirtha which ultimately led to its discovery at the present Budbhr in the valley above indicated.

For the detailed evidence regarding this identification I must refer to my note on Kalhana’s passage.1 Here a brief reference to the topographical peculiarity of the site will suffice. The Māhātmya describes the lake sacred to the goddess Sarasvati-Bhedā as situated on the summit of a hill, and Gangodbheda as a spring flowing from it. At Budbhr, a small Gujar hamlet, which occupies the position marked by Bhepāgiri on the map, I found an ancient stone-lined tank fed by a spring on the top of a small hillock. The latter rises about seventy feet above the level of the narrow valley in which it is situated. From the side of the hillock issues a spring which is the natural outflow of the tank and exactly corresponds to the description given of Gangodbheda. The name Budbhr is the direct derivative of Bhedādevi, ‘the goddess Bhedā,’ the popular designation of the Tirtha found in the Māhātmya; -bhr < Skr. bhattārikā is the equivalent of devi as in Sundhr, Harhr and other names.

The water of the spring which fills the tank, is said to keep warm in the winter. This accounts evidently for the story told in the Māhātmya that snow never lies on the ground around the sacred tank. Also Abū-1-Fażl’s notice of the Tirtha mentions this particular feature: “Near Shukroh (Sukru) is a low hill on the summit of which is a fountain which flows throughout the year and is a place of pilgrimage for the devout. The snow does not fall on this spur.”

Also Śrīvara helped to guide my search in the direction of Budbhr and to confirm the subsequent identification. He mentions the route through Bheḍāvana, ‘the forest of Bheḍā,’ as the line of retreat taken by the troops who after their defeat in the above-mentioned engagement near Drabaṃ were fleeing towards Rajauri.2 A glance at the map shows that the thickly wooded valley of Budbhr is meant here. For a force beaten near Drabaṃ it affords the most direct and safest retreat to the Pir Pangal Pass and hence to Rajauri. The route leading through the valley joins the ‘Imperial Road’ at Dubji and is shown on the map.

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1 See Rājat. i. 35, Note A.
3 Compare Śrīv. iv. 496 and the preceding narrative.
Returning once more to the plain we have yet to notice two other old localities of Sükru. Bilau (map ‘Belloh’) about four miles north-east of Dräbgäm is probably the ‘village of Bília’ once mentioned by Kalhana. Within a mile of it lies the village Sunbámil which we may safely identify with the Suväranäsänāra of the Räjataraṅgiṇī, in view of the resemblance of the names and the repeated mention of the latter place together with Kalyānapura.

118. East of Sükru towards the Vitastā stretches the Pargana of Sāvur (map ‘Showra’). The earlier form of its name cannot be traced. Its northern part is formed by the alluvial plateau known as the Naunagar Udar. This latter is twice referred to as Naunagara in Kalhana’s Chronicle. The village of Pāyer which lies at the foot of the Udar at its north-western end contains a well-preserved little temple often described by European travellers. Nothing is known regarding the original name of the locality.

To the north of Sükru we have the district of Chṛāth (shown by name on the larger survey map). It extends from the hills above Rāmuh in a north-easterly direction to the left bank of the Vitastā. Its old name is restored in Paḍit Sāhibrām’s Tirthaśamgraha as ĀSrirāstra, but I do not know on what authority. Rāmuh, first correctly identified by Prof. Bühler with Kalhana’s Rāmusā, is a considerable village on the high road from Sūpiyan to Srinagar. It is first mentioned as an Agrahāra, founded by a queen of Tuñjina I. A small spring at the northern end of the village, called Dhananāga, is visited as a Tirtha and contains some fragments of ancient sculptures. The temple erected by the Brahman family of the Dars which now holds Rāmuh as a Jāgīr, does not seem to mark an old site.

A short distance to the north of Rāmuh rises an alluvial plateau which is crossed by the road to Srinagar. It is known as Gūs Uḍar, from the village of Gūs situated at its eastern foot, about two miles from Rāmuh. The place is mentioned as Gūsikā in Srivara’s
Chronicle which also knows the plateau by the name Gusikoddāra. At the other end of Chṛṣṭh towards the Vitastā lies the large village of Ratanpūr, 75° 1' long, 33° 55' lat., which in all probability represents the Rātnāpura of the Rājatarāṇī. The latter was founded in Kalhaṇa's time by Queen Ratnādevī who also constructed there a fine Mathā.

With Chṛṣṭh may be mentioned two localities on the left bank of the Vitastā though in recent times they were counted with the riveraine Pārgaṇa of Sāiru-l-Mawāzi Bālā. Gūṛpūr, a small village opposite to the foot of Mount Vastarvan, is identified by an old gloss with Gopālapura which, according to Kalhaṇa, was founded by Queen Sugandhā (A.D. 904-6).

Lower down on the river is the large village Kākṣpūr which forms as it were the riverside station or port for Sūpiyā. A note from the hand of Paṇḍit Rājānaka Rātnaṅgṭha who wrote about the middle of the 17th century the Codex Archetypus of the Rājatarāṇī, identifies Utpalapura with Kākṣpūr. Utpalapura was founded by Utpala, an uncle of King Cippata-Jayāpiḍa, in the early part of the 9th century. If this identification is correct, one of the ruined temples extant at Kākṣpūr and noticed already by Gen. Cunningham, may be the shrine of Viṣṇu Utpalasvāmin mentioned by Kalhaṇa in connection with the foundation of Utpalapura. Jonarāja also knows the latter place and records a late restoration of its Viṣṇu temple.

119. North of Chṛṣṭh we come to the district of Nāgām which is one of considerable extent. Its old name Nāgrāma is often mentioned in the later Chronicles. The only old locality which I can trace in it, is the village of Aṛgām, situated 74° 45' long, 33° 56' lat. It is the Ḡāpīgrāma of Kalhaṇa, mentioned as an Agrahāra of Gopāditya and as the scene of several fights in the Chronicler's own time.

1 Sriv. iv. 532, 465, 592 sqq.; -uddāru is the Skr. original of the Kś. term uḍāra, see Rājat. note viii. 1427.
2 See Rājat. viii. 2434.
3 See Rājat. v. 244 note.
4 See Rājat. iv. 695 note. The learned copyist's note is in a copy of the Kṣetrupālapaddhati seen by me in 1896 in the possession of a Kaśmīr Brahman resident at Lahore.
5 See Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 111 sqq., 369, 1142.
6 Compare Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 661; Sriv. ii. 10; iii. 24, 430; iv. 349; Fourth Chron. 258, etc.
7 See Rājat. i. 340 note. The old glossator on this passage renders Ḡāpīgrāma correctly by Aḍeṣgrām.
Some remains of old buildings are reported to exist at this place; I have not seen it myself.

About five miles due south of Ārinjām we find a small lake known as Nilānāgā, situated in a valley between low spurs descending from the Pir Panhāl Range. It appears to have been formed by an old landslip which blocked a narrow defile in the Valley. This lake does not appear ever to have enjoyed any particular sanctity. But Abū-l-Fazl by some curious misapprehension transfers to it the legends of the famous Nilanāgā (at Vārnāgā). He adds to them what appears like a garbled version of the story of the city submerged in the Mahāpadma or Volur lake.¹

Nāgām is adjoined on the north by the Pargāna of Yečh which extends to the immediate vicinity of Śrīnagar. Its old name is given as Ikṣikā by Śrīvāra.² In the centre of the tract lies an arid alluvial plateau known as Dāmodar Uḍār, where an ancient popular tradition surviving to the present day has localized the legend of King Dāmodara.

The story as related by Kalhāna, represents the king as having built a town on the Uḍār which latter was called after him Dāmodara-Sūḍā.³ In order to bring water to it he had a great dam, called Guḍdasēṭuv, constructed by supernatural agency. Once hungry Brahmins asked the king for food, just as he was going to bathe. The king refused to comply with their request until he had taken his bath. The Brahmins thereupon cursed him so that he became a snake. Ever since the unfortunate king is seen by people in the form of a snake “rushing about in search of water far and wide on the Dāmodara-Sūḍa.” He is not to be delivered from the curse until he hears the whole Rāmāyaṇa recited to him in a single day, a task which renders his release hopeless.

The modern name Dāmodar Uḍār is the exact equivalent of Kalhaṇa’s Dāmodara-Sūḍā, the old Skr. term sūḍa meaning a ‘place where the soil is barren.’ The local name Guḍdasēṭu still lives in that of the small village Guḍḍasēṭu situated at the south foot of the Uḍār. Just at this point the latter shows its greatest relative elevation and falls off towards the valley with a steep bank over one hundred feet high. The wall-like appearance of this bank probably suggested the story of an embankment which was to bring water to the plateau. In view of the configuration of the ground no serious attempt at irrigation by means of an aqueduct could ever have been made in this locality.

¹ Compare Aḥn-i-Aḥk., ii. p. 363. It is possible that of the two Nilanāgās which the Nilamata, 903, mentions besides the famous spring of that name, one was located in the Nāgām lake.

² Śrīv. iii. 25.

³ Compare for detailed references, Raṣjat. i. 156 note.
The Udär stretches in a north-westerly direction, for about six miles from the village of Vahstör, with a breadth varying from two to three miles. It bears only scanty crops of Indian corn in patches. Being entirely devoid of water, it is a dry and barren waste, a haunt of jackals as in the days when King Kṣemagupta hunted over the 'Dāmodaraśana.' The main features of the legend regarding it are well known to popular tradition throughout Kāsmīr. The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages also point to a spot on the Udär known as Sāt-rās Tēng, as the site of Dāmodara’s palace. A spring called Dāmodar-Nāg in the village of Lālgām, is believed to have served for the king’s ablutions.

To Yech belongs also the small village of Somarābug on the left bank of the Vitastá which according to the note of the old glossator Aś marks the site of the temple of Viṣṇu Śamarasvāmin mentioned by Kalhana. Another old locality in Yech is probably marked by the hamlet of Halṭhal to which Abū-l-Faẓl refers. It is not shown on the Survey map, and I have not been able to ascertain its exact position. Halṭhal is evidently a derivative of Sālāsthala, the name given by Kālaṇa to a locality where a fight took place in the time of King Ananta. Abū-l-Faẓl mentions ‘Halṭhal’ for its quivering tree. “If the smallest branch of it be shaken, the whole tree becomes tremulous.”

SECTION VIII.—SOUTHERN DISTRICTS OF KRAMARĀJYA.

120.—To the west of Yech and reaching close up to the capital, lies the Pargāṇa now called Dūṅgā (map Districts of Dūṅgā, ‘Doonsoo’). Its ancient name is uncertain; possibly it is intended by the name Dvāvīṁśati in the Lokapraṅkṣa’s list of ‘Viṣayas.’ In Abū-l-Faẓl’s table of Pargāṇas Dūṅgā (‘Dūnsū’) is already counted with Kamrāz. An old locality in it is Śiḷpōr, a large village situated circ. 74° 45’ long. 34° 1’ lat. (map ‘Shalipoor’). We may safely recognize in it the Selyapura of the Rājataraṅgini which is referred to as a place on the direct route from the Tōg+rāṇiden Pass and the Kārkotadraṅga to Srinagar.

Hukhālitā (map ‘Haklitri’) can safely be identified, in view of the name and the evidence of an old gloss, with Suskaletra mentioned in the

1 Compare Rājat. vi. 188.
2 See note v. 26.—The ending -bug is not rare in Kāsmīr village names. According to Paṇḍit tradition, it is derived from Skr. bhoga in the sense of ‘property granted for the usufruct [of a temple].’
3 See note vii. 159; Ain-i-Akb., ii. p. 363.
4 See Rājat. vii. 494 note; viii. 200.
Rājataśāngini as a place where Stūpas were erected by King Aśoka.¹ I have not visited the village myself and am hence unable to say whether there are any remains in the vicinity which could be attributed to Stūpas. Kalhaṇa locates at Śuṣkaletra the fierce battle in which King Jayāpiṇa recovered his kingdom.

West of Dūnta and towards the mountains of the Pir Pānšāl lies the Pargana of Bīru. Its old designation Bāhurūpa is derived from the spring of that name which is situated at the present village of Bīru, 74° 39' long. 34° 1' lat., and is already referred to as a Tirtha in the Nilamata.³ Abū-l-Faẓl knows the village and spring by an intermediate form of the name, Bīruwā, and mentions the miraculous power of the spring to heal leprosy.⁵ Close to the village of Bīru is Sunspāh in which we may, with an old glossator of the Rājataśāngini, recognize Suvarṇapārśva, an Agrahāra of Lalitāditya.⁴

About four miles to the south-west of Bīru we reach Khāg, a considerable place. It is undoubtedly the Khāgī or Khāgikā mentioned by Kalhaṇa as an Agrahāra both of King Khagendra and of Gopāditya.⁶

Some miles north of Khāg an isolated spur known as Pūskar projects into the level plain from the slopes of the Pir Pānšāl Range. At its eastern foot is the Pūskaranaṇa, referred to as a Tirtha in the Nilamata and several older Māhātmyas, and still the object of a regular pilgrimage.⁶ Of the route which leads down into Bīru from the Tōsāmaidān Pass, and of Kārkotadraṅga, the watch station on it, we have already spoken above.

Bīru and Dūnta are adjoined on the north by the Pargana of Māṇcheshōm which extends eastwards as far as the VitasṬa. It is probably intended by the name of Mākṣārama found in a single passage of Śrīvarā and in the Lokaprakāśa.⁷ The village of Ratsun, situated 74° 38' long. 34° 4' lat., is probably, as indicated by an old gloss, the

¹ Compare Rājat. notes i. 102; iv. 473; Kṣ. Hukhlitor is the direct phonetic derivative of the Skr. form.
² See Nilamata, 948, 1180, 1341 sq. The name Bahurūpa is given to the tract by Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 286, 840; Śrīv. ii. 19, iii. 159; iv. 620, and ought to have been shown on the map.
³ Ain-i-Akb., ii. p. 363.
⁴ See Rājat. iv. 673.
⁵ Compare Rājat. i. 90, 340.
⁶ See Nilamata, 1021, 1347. There were several other Pūskara Tirthas in Kāsmīr. One was connected with the Sureśvari pilgrimage and probably situated in Phākh; see Śrīvā. v. 56 sqq.
⁷ See Śrīv. iv. 351.
ARISTOTLEANA of the Rājatarāṅgini. From this form the modern name of the village can be derived without difficulty. A temple is said to have been erected there by a queen of Bālāditya.

On the Vitastā some six miles below Srinagar is the small village of Malur which on the authority of Rājānaka Rātuṇakaṅṭha may be identified with Malhāṇapura, a foundation of King Jayāpiḍa. Zainkūṭh, situated near marshy ground about two miles south-east of it, preserves the name of Zainubābūdīn, its founder, and is mentioned as JAINAKOTTA by Jonarāja.

121. The Pargāṇa of Paraspūr (map 'Paraspoor') which lies next to Mānchōm, is one of small extent, but contains a site of great historical interest. It has received its name from the ancient Parihāṣapura, which King Lalitāditya had built as his capital. The identity of the name Paraspūr and Parihāṣapura is evident on phonetic grounds and was well-known to the authors of the Persian abstracts of the Rājatarāṅgini. Yet curiously enough the site of Parihāṣapura had remained unidentified until I visited the spot in 1892 and traced the ruins of Lalitāditya's great structures as described by Kalhāṇa, on the plateau known as the 'Paraspūr Udar'.

This plateau rises south-east of Shādīpur, between the marshes of Pānzānār on the east and those of Hārstraṭh on the west. Its length is about two miles from north to south, and its greatest breadth not much over a mile. On the north this plateau is separated from the higher ground of Trigām by the Badrihel Nāla which, as I have shown above, represents the old bed of the Vitastā previous to Suyya's regulation. On the other sides it is surrounded by marshes which for a great part of the year are still accessible by boats. Its general elevation is about one hundred feet.

A broad ravine which cuts into the plateau from the south, and in which the village of Divar (map 'Diara') nestles, divides it into two parts. On the south-western portion are the ruins of two large temples, much decayed, but still showing dimensions which considerably exceed those of the great temple of Mārtāṇḍa. On that part of the Udar which lies to the north-east and towards the Badrihel Nāla, there is a whole

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1 Rājat. iii. 482.
2 Compare Rājat. iv. 484.
3 Jonar. (Bo. ed.), 1248.
4 For a detailed account of the site of Parihāṣapura and its identification, compare Note F, Rājat. iv. 194-204. The large scale map added to Note I shows the position of the several ruins in detail.
5 See § 70.

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series of ruined structures. Among these three great buildings attract attention. As an indication of their size it may be mentioned that the ruined mound which marks the central shrine of the northernmost building has a diameter of nearly 300 feet. Though it consists now only of a confused heap of massive blocks it still rises to a height of over 30 feet from the ground. The enclosing quadrangle which can also be traced, measures about 410 feet square. At some distance from this group of ruins there is another smaller one at the southeastern extremity of the plateau now known as Gurdan.

I must refer for a more detailed account of these ruins and their relative position to the Note on Parihkāsapura, F, appended to my translation of the Chronicle. Here it will suffice to point out that the four great temples of Vīṣṇu Parihkāsakaśāva, Muktakesava, Mahāvarāha, Govardhanadhara as well as the Rājavihāra with its colossal image of Buddha, which Kālana mentions as Lalitāditya’s chief structures at Parihkāsapura, must all be looked for among these ruins. Their extremely decayed condition makes an attempt at detailed identification difficult.

Still less we can hope to trace now the position of the numerous shrines, Liṅgas, Vihāras, etc., which are mentioned by Kālana as having been erected at the king’s favourite residence by his queens and court. One of the great ruins of the northern group shows features characteristic of a Vihāra and may be the Rājavihāra. Some clue is also furnished by the name Gurdan attaching to the isolated ruins above mentioned. Gurdan is the common Kāsmini form of the name Govardhana, and hence points to these ruins being the remains of the temple called Govardhanadhara.

The state of utter destruction in which the ruins of Parihkāsapura, are now found, is easily accounted for by the history of the site. Parihkāsapura ceased to be the royal residence already under the son of its founder. The Chronicle distinctly records of King Vajrāditya that he withdrew the various foundations which his father Lalitāditya had made there. When a century later King Avantivarman effected his great regulation of the Vitāta, the bed of the river and its junction with the Sindhu was diverted to Shādīpur, nearly three miles away from Parihkāsapura. This change must have still more seriously diminished the importance of the latter. The ruinous condition into which Parihkāsapura must have fallen only one and a half centuries after its foundation,

1 See Rājat. iv. 207-216.
2 Rājat. iv. 395.
3 See above, §§ 70, 71.
is shown by the fact that Samkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) carried away from it materials for the construction of his new town and temples at Patana (Patan). 1

Some of the shrines of Paribhasapura, however, survived to a later period. Thus we find the colossal copper statue of Buddha at the Rājavihāra mentioned as one of the few sacred images which escaped being melted down in the reign of King Harṣa (A.D. 1089-1101). Also a great religious festival established at Paribhasapura by Lalitāditya seems to have been held still in Kalhaṇa's time. 3 In the rising which led to the downfall of Harṣa, Paribhasapura was occupied by the pretender Uccala. 8 The steep slopes of the plateau and the marshes around made it a position of military value. When Uccala had suffered a defeat some of the routed rebels threw themselves into the Rājavihāra, which was subsequently burned down. After this, Harṣa carried away and broke up the famous silver statue of Viṣṇu which had been placed by Lalitāditya in the temple of Paribhasakesava.

The final destruction of the temples is attributed by Abū-l-Fażl and the Muhammadan chroniclers to Sikandar Būtghikast. The former records the tradition that after the destruction of the lofty temple of 'Paraspuṛ' a copper tablet with a Sanskrit inscription was discovered which predicted its destruction 'after the lapse of eleven hundred years' by one Sikandar 4 This prophecy post factum shows that its author, whoever he may have been, was rather weak in historical chronology. Paribhasapura had been founded only about six and a half centuries before Sikandar Butghikast's time. 6 At the beginning of the eighteenth century the ruins seem still to have been in a somewhat better condition than now. Both Muhammad 'Azīm and Nārāyaṇ Kaul mention them and speak particularly of fragments of a large monolithic column. Tradition seems to have connected these fragments with the pillar of Garuḍa which Kalhaṇa mentions as having been set up by Lalitāditya. 5 The huge square block of stone still visible on the top of the northernmost mound is perhaps one of them.

1 See Rājat. v. 161.
2 See Rājat. iv. 242 sq. For the temple of Rāmaśīvīmaṇ which was seen empty in Kalhaṇa's time, compare iv. 275, 334 sq.
3 Rājat. vii. 1326 sqq.
4 See Ains-i-Akb., i. p. 364.
5 Exactly the same tradition is now current among the Purohitas of Vijēbrör about the destruction of the Vijayeśvara image. This alleged inscription is said to have run: Ekādaśakālaṁ vartamāni Śikendaramahābalaṁ bhiṣmilla iti māntreṇa nāpyante Vijayeśvaraṁ. The curious Sanskrit of this doggerel is an indication that its author may probably have belonged to the noble guild of the Bārbatās.
6 Compare Wilson, Essay, p. 50; also footnote 16 to Note F, on Paribhasapura.
The ruins of Paribhasapura have served ever since Sahkarsavarn’s
time as quarries for stone-material. Their position near to navig-
able water-channels made them particularly convenient for this
purpose. Since 1892 when I first saw the ruins, till 1896 many large
stone-blocks have found their way as road metal into the new Tonga
Road which passes the plateau on the south. On my report steps were
subsequently taken by the Darbar to stop this vandalism and prevent
its recurrence.

122. We have already above when describing the old bed of the
Vitasta near Paribhasapura, had occasion to
referring to the village of Trigam, the ancient Trig-
Gram. It lies about one and a half miles to
the north-east of the Parihspur ruins. The place is mentioned already in
Lalitaditya’s time in connection with an affray which took place at
Paribhasapura.1 The Bunsar (Bhavanasaras?) lake to the west of
Trigam is visited as a subsidiary Tirtha on the Kapalamocana pilgrimage.
The ruined temple south of Trigam which I believe may be identified
with the Vainyasvamin temple, has already been mentioned in our
remarks on the site of the old confluence.

A ruined site which lies opposite to Vainyasvamin on the western
side of the Trigam swamp, may for reasons set forth elsewhere be taken
for the old Viṣṇusvāmin temple.2 This is named by Kalapa as having
been situated opposite to the Vainyasvāmin shrine on the other side of
the old confluence. The passage of the Chronicle describes the temple
of Viṣṇusvāmin as belonging already to Phalapura, while Vainyasvāmin
was counted with Paribhasapura.

From this and some other indications I conclude that Phalapura
was the designation of a small territorial subdivision which probably
extended along the present left bank of the Vitasta near Shādpur.3
The site at which I locate the Viṣṇusvāmin temple, was included in
recent times in the riverside Pargana of Sārū-l-mawāzi4 Pāyīn (map
‘Salmozapaiesen’). This, we know from Abū-l-Faṣl, was created
already before Akbar’s time and probably absorbed Phalapura as well
as other minor tracts.5 Phalapura had received its designation from
a locality of that name which Lalitaditya had founded apparently before
Paribhasapura, just as the latter gave its name to the Parihspur Pargana.

1 See Rājat. iv. 323 sqq.
4 See Ain-i-Akb., ii. p. 367.
5 Compare Rājat. iv. 184, 673.
Descending by the left bank of the Vitastā for about five miles below Shādīpūr, we approach the site of king Jayapura. Jayāpīḍa's capital, the ancient Jayapura. It is marked by the present village of Andrākoth. This consists of two distinct parts. One lies on an island in the marshes opposite Sambal and the other facing the former on the strip of land which separates these marshes from the Vitastā. On the island there are conspicuous remains of ancient temples which have been first examined and described by Prof. Bühler. They are attributed by the local tradition to King Jayāpīḍa. The identity of Andrākoth with King Jayāpīḍa's town is also well-known to the Srinagar Paṇḍita. As Śrīvara still uses the term Jayapura or Jayāpīḍapura for the designation of the present Andrākoth, we can easily understand the survival of the tradition.

Kalhaṇa's description of the town indicates clearly the situation of the latter and also accounts for its modern name. Jayāpīḍa according to this notice had the castle (kotta) of Jayapura built in the middle of a lake, after having the ground required for it filled up, as the legend asserts, by the help of Bākṣasas. There he constructed a large Vihaṇa with Buddha images, a temple of Kesava (Viṣṇu), and several other shrines; other sacred structures were erected by his ministers. Besides Jayapura the king built on ground recovered from the lake another place, called Dvāravatī, in imitation of Kaṇṣa's famous town by the sea-shore. Kalhaṇa notes that in his own time Jayapura was popularly designated as the 'Inner Castle' (ābhyaṇtara kotta) while Dvāravatī was known as the 'Outer Castle' (śāhya kotta).

The present name Andrākoth (from Skr. Antarākotta) is the direct derivative of this popular designation of Jayapura. It has in the course of time been extended also to the site on which originally Dvāravatī stood. In my note on the passage I have shown that Jayapura must be identified with the island portion of Andrākoth, while the remains in that part of the village which lies on the lake shore opposite, belong to Dvāravatī. These remains are far less extensive than those on the island. This is in full agreement with the fact that Kalhaṇa men-

1 For a detailed note on the position of the twin towns Jayapura-Dvāravatī, see Rājaṭ, iv. 501-611. For a map showing the site on a larger scale refer to Note I, v. 97-100.

2 See Report, pp. 18 sqq. where the topography and ruins of Andrākoth are described in detail. General Cunningham had already heard of the identity of Andrākoth with Jayāpīḍa's town but he does not seem to have visited the place; Anc. Geogr., p. 101. Owing to the erroneous location of Pariṇāsaṇapura on the right bank of the Vitastā opposite Sambal, there is a good deal of confusion in his notes on the two capitals.
tions great religious buildings only in Jayapura and not in Dvāravatī. The latter is, indeed, referred to only in connection with the foundation of Jayapura and does not appear ever to have been a place of importance. We can thus understand why its original name Dvāravatī and its subsequent designation ‘Outer Castle’ have both completely disappeared. The distance between the island and the opposite lake shore being only about four hundred yards at the narrowest point, the name of the far more important ‘Inner Castle’ was naturally extended also to this outlying suburb.

The term kotta which Kalhana repeatedly applies to Jayapura, and which is contained also in its popular designation, is justified by its position surrounded on all sides by water. The limited extent of the island precludes the belief of Jayapura ever having been a populous place. But it retained a certain importance far longer than Parihāśapura and served occasionally as a royal residence even in late times. Queen Koṭā, the last of the Hindu rulers of Kāśmir, retired to Jayapura, and there she was murdered by her husband, the adventurer Şāhāmir (A.D. 1339). Zainn-l-ʿAbidin restored the town which had fallen into decay and built there a new palace on the lake-shore.

We have no distinct information as to the old course which the Vitāśa followed in the neighbourhood of Jayapura previous to Avanti-varman’s regulation. If our views on the subject as above indicated are right, the main channel of the river must then have passed through the marshes west of Jayapura. Notwithstanding the change subsequently effected, Jayāpiḍa’s town did not lose its convenient access to river communication. The great canal known as Nóṛ which, as we saw, is in reality nothing but an old river-bed, runs but a short distance to the south-west of Andhrkōṭ. A branch of it which is much used by boats even at the present day though not shown on the map, passes still actually along the old Ghāṭa on the south side of the Andhrkōṭ island. It seems probable that Jayapura owed its preservation from the fate of Parihāśapura in part at least to the retention of a convenient waterway.

In Abū-l-Fazl’s time Andhrkōṭ gave its name to a separate small Pargana.

123. From the marshy tracts south of the Vorur which we have approached at Andhrkōṭ, we may return once more to Parśpur. Crossing the swamps formed west of the Parśpur plateau by the

1 Rājat. iv. 566, 512; vii. 1625. Śrivara, iv. 540, 545, applies to Jayapura the expression durga, ‘fort.’
2 See Jonar. 300.
3 See Śriv. i. 256 seqq.
Sukhnaag and other hill streams, we come to the considerable district of Bangil. It is often referred in the Rajatarangini and the other Chronicles by its ancient name of Bhanga.

No old localities belonging to it are mentioned in our texts, unless we may count with Bangil the closely adjacent Patan situated on the shore of the Pambasar marsh, cire. 74° 37' long. 34° 10' lat.

This large village occupies the site chosen by King Samkaravarman (A.D. 883-902) for the town which was to bear his name. Kalhana, however, informs us that Samkarapura "subsequently lost its proper appellation and became known only by the name Pattana, 'the town.'" This somewhat general designation still survives in the present Patan. Kalhana sees in this disappearance of the original appellation the just retribution of fate for the king's cruelty and other bad qualities. Yet the old name must have long lingered on by the side of the popular 'Pattana.' For Ksemendra mentions Samkarapura, and Kalhana himself speaks of the 'town of Samkaravarman' when subsequently referring to events of his own time. Paident tradition too has retained a recollection of the founder of Pattana and its original name.

Samkaravarman is said to have carried off "whatever was of value at Parihasapura," in order to raise the fame of his own town. At the same time Kalhana plainly tells us that "what gave fame to that town was only what is still to be found at Pattana,—manufacture of woollen cloths, trade in cattle, and the like."

The only ancient remains of any pretension which can now be found at Patan, are, in fact, the ruins of the two temples which were erected there by Samkaravarman and his queen Sugandha. These shrines which bore the names of Samkaragauri and Sugandheya are structures of no great dimensions and are without the fine quadrangular courts which enclose all more important Kaamirian temples. They have been fully described by General Cunningham and others. Kalhana when mentioning these buildings ironically alludes to kings who like bad poets take the materials for their works from others' property. This combined with the immediately following mention of Samkaravarman's exploitation of Parihasapura, makes it probable that the building materials for these very temples were taken from the ruins of Parihasapura. This could have easily been done, owing to the convenient water-

1 See Rajat. vii. 498 note.
2 See Rajat. v. 156 note.
3 Compare v. 213.
4 Compare Samay. ii. 13; Rajat. viii. 2450, 3130.
5 Rajat. v. 161 sq.
6 Compare Rajat. v. 158 note.
route offered by the marshes which stretch between Paraspôr and Paṭan, a distance of only seven miles.

Though Sāṅkarapura owed thus to its founder but little that could secure distinction, yet the site he had chosen for it was one likely to retain some importance. Paṭan still lies on the direct road between Sṛinagar and Bārāmūla, reckoned at two daily marches, and has probably always just as now been the half-way station between the two places. Considering that Bārāmūla is the starting point of the route to the west, traffic and trade were thus sure to be attracted to Sāṅkaravaman’s town. We find it referred to as a local centre still in Kalhana’s time, and it has remained to the present day a large and thriving place.

Paṭan figures as a separate Pargana in Abū-l-Fażl’s list. A popular tradition has it that when Tōdar Mal, Akbār’s minister, was arranging for the redistribution of Parganas, he inadvertently omitted the Paṭan village at which he was just then encamped. To remedy the mistake Paṭan with its immediate vicinity was made into an additional Pargana. However this may be, we find Paṭan subsequently named as the chief place of the Tīlāgām Pargana. At the last settlement it became the headquarters of one of the new Taḫsils.

The Pambāsar lake which stretches to the east of Paṭan as far as the ‘Gond Ibrahim’ and ‘Adin River’ of the map, is referred to by Kalhana under the name of Pampāsaras. King Harṣa seems to have extended or regulated it. The Karēwa ground to the west of Paṭan with the deep valleys which intersect it, forms the Pargana of Tīlāgām. It is mentioned in the Fourth Chronicle, 780, by the name of Tailagrama.

About four miles to the north-west of Paṭan and on the high road to Bārāmūla lies Tāpar, a considerable village. On the evidence of an old gloss and several passages of the Chronicles, it can be safely identified with the ancient Pratāpadpura. The latter was founded by King Pratāpaditya-Durlabhaka, the father of Lalitāditya, probably in the second half of the seventh century. When visiting the place in 1892 I found close to the road two ruined mounds covered with large slabs and architectural fragments evidently marking the sites of old temples. Since then, I am informed, most of these remains have been turned into road metal by the native contractors employed in the construction of the new cart-road to Sṛinagar.

1 See Bates, Gazetteer, p. 2.
2 See Moorcroft, ii. p. 113; Vigne, ii. 166.
3 See Rājat. vii. 940 note.
4 Compare Rājat. iv. 10 note.
124. The district through which the Vitastā flows immediately before leaving the Valley, bears now the name of Kruhin. The ancient form of this name is unknown unless the Lokaprakāśa’s ‘Krodhanaviṣaya’ may be connected with the tract. Kruhin extends along both sides of the river, but its greater portion lies on the left bank.

Proceeding on the road towards Bāramūla and at a distance of about six miles from the latter place, we pass on our right the village of Kānispōr. It is identified by an old glossator of the Rājatarāgni and by the Persian Chroniclers with the ancient Kaniśkapura. The latter is mentioned in the Rājatarāgni as a town founded by the Turuṣka king Kaniska, whom we know as the great Indo-Scythian or Kuṣana ruler from the coins and Buddhist tradition. There are no conspicuous remains above ground at Kānispōr, but old coins and carved stones are occasionally extracted from an old mound near the village.

We have already had occasion to speak of the important position occupied by the ancient twin towns Huṣkāpurā and Varāhamūla. Built on the banks of the Vitastā immediately above the gorge through which the river leaves the Valley, they form the starting-point on the great route of communication to the west. It is unnecessary to refer here again to the commercial and other advantages which have made this site one of great importance from ancient times to the present day.

Varāhamūla, situated on the right river-bank, has left its name to the present town of Varāhamul, usually called Bāramūla by Panjābis and other foreigners. The name Varāhamūla or Varāhamūla—both forms occur in our texts—is itself derived from the ancient Tirtha of Viṣṇu Adi-Varāha who was worshipped here evidently since early times. From it the site of the town and its whole neighbourhood received also the designation of Varāhaksetra. Various legends related at length in the Varāhaksetramahāhāmya and often alluded to in the Nilamata and the other Māhāmyas, connect this sacred site and the Tirthas of the immediate neighbourhood with the Varāha or Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. An abstract of these legends as well as an accurate description of the scanty remains of ancient date to be found at the several Tirthas, has been given by Prof. Bühler.

1 Compare Rājat. i. 168 note. General Cunningham’s suggested identification of Kaniśkapura with ‘Kāmpōr,’ on the road from Srinagar to Supiyan, is unsupported by any evidence. The place is really called Khāmpōr and has no ancient remains whatever.

2 For detailed references regarding Varāhamūla and Varāhaksetra, see Rājat. vi. 186 note.

3 See Report, pp. 11 sqq.
The ancient temple of Varāha which seems to have been one of the most famous shrines of Kaśmir, is repeatedly mentioned by Kalhaṇa. According to the tradition of the local Purohitas it stood near the site of the present Koṭitirtha, at the western extremity of the town and close to the river-bank. Some ancient Lingas and sculptures found at the Koṭitirtha may have originally belonged to the temple. The destruction of its sacred image is noted by Jonarāja in the reign of Sikandar Bāṭānikast. A short distance below this site where a steep spur runs down to the river-bed, stood the ancient watch-station, still known as Drang, which has already been described. A bridge over the Vitastā existed at Varāhamūla already in old times.

It cannot be doubted that Varāhamūla is a very ancient place. It enjoyed the advantage of being on the right river-bank, which is followed by the old route down the Vitastā Valley. But on the other hand the contracted nature of the ground which it occupies, between the hill-side and the river, did not favour the development of a large town. On this account we find that the twin town of Huṣkapura built on the open plain of the opposite bank was in ancient times the larger of the two places.

Huṣkapura is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the town built by King Huṣka, the Turnāka, and is often referred to in his subsequent narrative. Its name survives in that of the small village of Uśkūr, situated about two miles to the south-east of the present Bārāmūla. The identity of Uśkūr and Huṣkapura, correctly noted already by General Cunningham, is well-known to Srinagar Paṇḍits, and is indicated also by an old glossator of the Rājatarāṅgini. Kalhaṇa in one passage distinctly includes Huṣkapura within Varāha-ksetra, i.e., the sacred environs of the Varāha Tirtha, and the same location is implied by numerous other references in the Chronicle.

King Huṣka of the Rājatarāṅgini has long ago been identified with the Indo-Scythian ruler who succeeded Kaniṣka, the Huviṣka of the inscriptions and the OOHPKI of the coins. The foundation of Huṣkapura falls thus probably within the first century of our era. Hiuen Tsiang, as we saw, spent his first night after passing through the western entrance of the kingdom, in a convent of Hu-se-kia-lo or Huṣkapura. Alberuni too knows 'Uśkārā' opposite to Bārāmūla.

1 Compare Jonar. 600.
2 See Rājat. viii. 413.
3 For detailed references as to Huṣkapura: Uśkūr, see Rājat, i. 168 note.
5 See vi. 186.
Kalhaṇa mentions Huṣkapura far more frequently than Varāhamūla. The conclusion to be drawn herefrom as to the relative importance of the two places in Hindu times, is confirmed by the frequent references which the Chronicle makes to religious buildings erected in Huṣkapura. Of King Lalitāditya-Muktāpiḍa it is recorded that he built there the great temple of Viṣṇu Muktasvāmin and a large Vihāra with a Stūpa.1 Kṛṣṇagupta, who sought the sacred soil of Vārāhaśeṭra in his fatal illness, had founded two Mathas at Huṣkapura.2

At present foundations of ancient buildings can be traced at numerous points of the plain which stretches from the left river-bank towards the low hills behind Uśkūr. These remains as well as two colossal Liṅgas still in situ have already been noted by Bishop Cowie.3 About 400 yards to the west of the village are the much-damaged remains of a Stūpa, which had been found still intact by Bishop Cowie and photographed in that condition by Major Cole (1870). Subsequently it was dug into and partly levelled down “by some Śāhib’s order,” as the villagers told me. Of this excavation I have not been able to trace a report. But General Cunningham refers to an ancient coin of the Taxila type which was found in this Stūpa and had come into his possession.4

It is possible that this Stūpa was identical with the one which King Lalitāditya erected at Huṣkapura. Of the Vihāra which Kalhaṇa mentions in connection with the king’s Stūpa, I have shown elsewhere that it was in all probability the same convent which Ou-k’ong refers to under the name of Moung-ti Vihāra.5 The Moung-ti of the Chinese transcription seems to represent a prakritized form of the shortened name Muktā or Mukti. The latter forms which are abbreviations (bhīmavat) for Muktāpiḍa, occur also in the designations of other religious buildings erected by that king (Muktākeśava, Muktasvāmin).

As we do not meet with the name of Huṣkapura in any of the later Chronicles it may be assumed that its importance did not survive the time of Hindu rule.

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1 See Bājat. ir. 183.
2 Bājat. vi. 183.
3 See J. A. S. B., 1866, p. 123.
4 See Coins of Anc. India, p. 62.
5 Compare Notes on Ou-k’ong, pp. 5 sqq.; Bājat. iv. 188 note.
SECTION IX.—THE NORTHERN DISTRICTS OF KRAMARĀJYA.

125. The ancient localities in the Vitastā Valley below Varāhamūla have been noted by us already in connection with the route which leads through it. We may therefore proceed now to those Pargañas of the ancient Kramarājya which lie to the north of the river and the Volnr lake.

The district which adjoins Kruhin in this direction, is known as Hamal (map ‘Hummel’). Its ancient name was Samālā from which the former designation is the direct phonetic derivative.1 Samālā is very frequently mentioned in the last two Books of the Rājataraṅgini, particularly on account of its feudal chiefs or Dāmaras who played a prominent part in all the civil wars of the later reigns. The pretender Bhikṣācara in particular had his most powerful adherents in Samālā and often took refuge with them. The village of Vanagrāma which is mentioned on one of these occasions, is probably identical with the present Vangām, situated circ. 74° 25' long. 34° 19' lat.2 Kākaruha, another place in Samālā, referred to in connection with Bhikṣācara’s campaigns, can no longer be traced.

To the north of Hamal we reach the Pargañ of Māchpūr (map ‘Mochipoora.’) Its ancient name is nowhere mentioned. In it lies the sacred site of Svayāmbhū which owing to the apparently volcanic phenomenon there observed has from early times been renowned as a Tīrtha. Kalhaṇa in his introduction duly notes the ‘Self-created Fire’ (Svayāmabhū), which “rising from the womb of the earth, receives with numerous arms of flame the offerings of the sacrificers.”

The spot meant is still known as Svayāmabhū, or to the villagers as Suyam. It lies on a low ridge about half a mile south-west of the village of Nichāhōm (not shown on map) and about one and a half miles north of Tsakvadar (map ‘Sheikwada.’) Visiting it in 1892 I found there in a shallow hollow the soil bright red like burned clay and furrowed by narrow fissures. In certain years steam has been known to issue from these fissures. The ground then becomes sufficiently hot to boil the Svṛddā offerings of the pilgrims who at such times flock to the site in great numbers. The phenomenon which may be either truly volcanic or, according to a modern authority, be caused by hidden seams of coal taking fire, was last observed in the year 1876. Occurrences at

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1 See Rājat. vii. 159 note.
2 See Rājat. viii. 1438.
3 See Rājat. i. 34, and for further references the note thereon.
the beginning of the present century are referred to by Mr. Vigne and
Dr. Falconer.\textsuperscript{1} Abü-\textit{\textbf{\textit{I}}}-Fazl too mentions the phenomenon at ‘Soyam.’\textsuperscript{2}

Considering the rarity of the occasions when this manifestation of
the ‘Self-created Fire’ is observed and the pilgrimage performed, the
total absence of ancient remains cannot surprise us. There is, however, a
Māhātmya of the Tirthas, and the latter is also referred to in the
Nīlamāta. A pilgrimage which King Uccala (A.D. 1101-11) made to
Svayāmbhū gives Kalhaṇa occasion to acquaint us with some localities
of the neighbourhood.\textsuperscript{3} The king who was stopping in Kramarājya,
is said to have started for the village of \textit{Vahratacakra} with a small
retinue to see the miracle there. On his way which took him past the
village of \textit{Kambalesvara}, he was set upon in a deep mountain gorge by
robbers from whom he escaped only with difficulty.

I believe, the places mentioned in connection with this adventure,
can still be identified without difficulty. \textit{Vahratacakra} is probably the
present \textit{Tsak̐vadar}, \textit{tsak̐} being the ordinary Kā. form for Skr. \textit{cakra} and
\textit{vadar} the phonetic derivative of \textit{Vahrata}.\textsuperscript{4} Cases of village names in
which the two component parts, being originally distinct names, can
alternate in their position, are by no means unfrequent in Kāṣmīr.
Thus we have now \textit{Dārā-Sādīpōr} and \textit{Sādīpōr-Dārā}, etc.

In \textit{Kambalesvara} we may safely recognize the present village of
Krambhar, situated about six miles north-east of Svayaṁbhū; for the
ending -\textit{har} as the derivative of Skr. -\textit{śvara}, compare \textit{Triphar}\textless \textit{Tripureśvara}, etc.\textsuperscript{5} The way from Krambhar to Svayaṁbhū leads through the
valley of the Panjṭar stream. The latter as I convinced myself by
personal inspection on a tour in 1892, passes above Rājpōr a narrow
thickly-wooded gorge. The path which follows the tortuous course of
the stream at the bottom of the gorge, offers excellent opportunities for
an ambuscade such as described by Kalhaṇa.

\textit{Badrikāl}, a small village, about four miles south-east of Krambhar,
has a small local Tirtha marked by a spring and some old Lingas. It
is visited on the pilgrimage to Svayaṁbhū and mentioned by the name
of \textit{Bhadrakālī} in the Māhātmya of the latter.

\textbf{128. The Pargana of Uttar stretching along the foot of the range
District of Uttar.} towards the Kiṣaṅganga, forms the extreme
north-west of the Kāṣmīr Valley. A passage

\textsuperscript{1} See Vigne, \textit{Travels}, ii. p. 280; Lawrence, \textit{Valley}, p. 42.
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Ain-i-Akb.}, ii. p. 365.
\textsuperscript{3} Compare \textit{Rajat}. viii. 250 sq. note.
\textsuperscript{4} For medial Skr. \textit{r} \textgreater \textit{k}. \textit{d}, compare e.g., \textit{Bhaṭṭāraka}[\textit{mātha} > Bragd̐[\textit{mar}
\textit{for} t \textgreater \textit{r}, e.g. Kāṭṭhavāḷa > Kaśṭi\textit{var}.
\textsuperscript{5} For detailed evidence on the phonetic points alluded to, see \textit{Rajat}. viii. 250 note.
of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī records its ancient name Uttarā, and refers also to Ghoṣa as a locality situated in it. The place meant is undoubtedly the present Gus situated in the centre of Uttar, near the confluence of the Kāmil River and the stream coming from Lōlan. It is the starting-point for the Sāradā pilgrimage and is mentioned correctly as Ghoṣa in the Sāradāmāhātmya.

About ten miles higher up the Kāmil river lies the village of Pāṇḍīgām, circ. 74° 7' long. 34° 29' lat. I take its position from Major Bates' Gazetteer; the 'Atlas of India' map does not show the place. It is in all probability identical with Pāṇḍīgām, mentioned by Kalhāpa in connection with the surrender of the pretender Bhoja. I have not been able to visit this portion of the district, and Major Bates' reference to Pāṇḍīgām attracted my attention only after the preparation of my map.

In the extreme north-east of Uttar and within a mile of each other, we have the old villages of Draṅga and Ḥāyāśrama, referred to by Kalhāpa under their ancient designations of Draṅga and Ḥāyāśrama. The latter place, as its name shows, marks the position of an old frontier watch-station towards the Kiṣangāṅgā. We have already seen that there is a route leading past it to Sārdi, the ancient Tirtha of Sāradā situated on that river.

Draṅga and Ḥāyāśrama are both mentioned by Kalhāpa in connection with the siege of the Sīrāhsilā castle which took place in his own time. A brief reference may therefore be made here both to this stronghold and the neighbouring shrine of Sāradā, though they are both situated outside the limits of the Kaśmir Valley.

137. The introduction of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī mentions the temple of the goddess Sāradā amongst the foremost Tirthas of Kaśmir. It was well known even far beyond the frontiers of Kaśmir. Albūrūni had heard of it, and a story recorded in a Jaina life of the great grammarian Hemacandra proves that its fame had spread even to far-off Gujrat.

1 See Rājat. vi. 281.
2 See Rājat. viii. 3124.
3 There seems to be good reason to suspect that Tārāmulaka, a place repeatedly referred to in connection with Bhoja's last campaign, lay somewhere in or near Uttar. Unfortunately this locality which is of importance also for other portions of Kalhāpa's narrative, has not yet been identified; see note vii. 1807.
4 For Ḥāyāśrama, see Rājat. viii. 2937 note; for Draṅga, viii. 2507 note, also Note B, i. 37.
5 The position and history of the temple of Sāradā have been fully discussed in Note B, i. 37.
6 See India, i. p. 117.
Notwithstanding this former celebrity the Sāradā shrine is now almost completely forgotten by the Pāṇḍits of Srinagar and the great mass of the Brahman population of the Valley. Fortunately, however, tradition had been more tenacious in the immediately adjoining tracts of Kāmrāz. Guided by it I was able to ascertain the position of the ancient Tirtha at the present Sardi, situated circ. 74° 15' long. 34° 48' lat., on the right bank of the Kiṣangāṅgā.

My note on Rājat. i. 37 (B) gives a detailed account of the tour which in 1892 led me to the Tirtha as well as a description of the ancient temple still extant at the site. The situation of the shrine corresponds exactly to Kalhana's description. Immediately in front of it the sacred stream of the Madhumati falls into the Kiṣangāṅgā, while another confluence, that with the Sarasvati river coming from the north, is also visible from the temple.

In Jonarāja's time the shrine was still sufficiently popular to attract a visit even from Sultān Zainu-l-ābidīn. Soon afterwards apparently the miracle-working image of the goddess was destroyed. Abū-l-Faţl, however, still notes the sanctity of the site and correctly indicates its position on the bank of the Madhumati.

The subsequent neglect of this Tirtha must be ascribed chiefly to the obstacles to the pilgrimage which arose from the troubled political condition of the Upper Kiṣangāṅgā Valley. The Bomā chiefs of the latter had made themselves independent in the later Mughal and Pathān times. Their predatory inroads often threatened the adjacent tracts of Kāsmīr while their own territory became practically inaccessible to peaceful pilgrims. It is only since the advent of the Sikhs that the pilgrimage to Sāradā's seat was revived. It is probable that the difficulties here briefly indicated must be held to account for the several substitute Tirthas of Sāradā which are now to be found in various parts of Kāsmīr proper.

My visit to the old 'Sāradāsthāna' also enabled me to identify with certainty the site of the Sīrāhālī Castle. The latter had been the scene of a memorable siege by King Jayasimha's troops which Kalhana describes at length. The accurate topographical data furnished in this account prove clearly that the castle occupied the top of the steep ridge which projects into the Kiṣangāṅgā valley about two and a half miles below the Sāradā temple.

1 Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 1066-71. This visit apparently took place A.D. 1422.
2 Ain-i-Akb., ii. pp. 365 sq. Abū-l-Faţl places Sāradā's stone temple "at two days' distance from Hāshāmūn," i.e. Hāyṭhōm.
3 Rājat. viii. 2492-2709. The position of Sīrāhālī and the evidence for its identity with the 'Gaţē Ghāţī' hill have been fully discussed in my Note L, viii. 2492.
The several incidents of the siege, in particular those connected with the attempted escape of the pretender Bhoja, became at once easily intelligible on a close inspection of this site. The ridge bears now the name of Gañé Gáži, from a curious rock formation on its side which resembles the head of an elephant and is accordingly worshipped as a ‘Svayāmabhū’ representation of the elephant-faced god. It is very probable that the older name Sirājīlā which means literally ‘the rock of the head,’ owed its origin also to this very rock.

128. Returning from our excursion to the Kišangaṅgā and the confines of the Dard country, we enter immediately to the east of Drang-Hāyšhōm the Pargāna usually called Lōlāb. Its proper Kaśmiri name is Lōlau, derived from Skr. Lαιuada.1 In the picturesque valley which forms this district, no old localities can be specified. Lōlau is adjoined on the south by the Pargāna of Zaināgīr which comprises the fertile Karēwa tract between the Volur and the left bank of the Pohnur River. It received its present name from Zainu-l-ʿābidin who is credited with having carried irrigation canals from the Pohnur to the Udgar ground of Jaināgīr.2 The earlier name of this tract can no longer be traced.

The chief place in it is the town of Sōpūr, the ancient Suyyapura, the foundation of which by Suya, Avantivarman’s engineer, has already been mentioned.3 Sōpūr which lies a short distance below the point where the Vitasta leaves the Volur, has retained its importance to this day, and is still a town of over 8000 inhabitants. It has during recent times been the official head-quarters for the whole of Kamrāz. From a passage of Sṛivara it appears that this had been the case already at an earlier period.4 Relating a great conflagration which destroyed Suyyapura in Zainu-l-ʿābidin’s time, this Chronicler tells us that in it perished the whole of the official archives relating to Kramārājya. The royal residence, however, escaped and the town itself was again built up by the king in great splendour. Of this, however, nothing has remained; nor does the town now show older remains of any interest.

The suggested identity of the village Zōlur (map ‘Zohlar’) in the north-west part of Zaināgīr with Jālora once mentioned as a foundation of King Janaka,5 is doubtful, resting only on the resemblance of

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1 Compare Rājat. vii. 1241 note.
2 See Jonar. (Bo. ed.) 1449-56; also Sṛiv. i. 562 sq.; iii. 59, 78.
3 Compare for Suyyapura, Rājat. v. 118 note.
4 Compare Sṛiv. i. 560 sqq.
5 See Rājat. i. 98.
the names. The large village of Bumai (map ‘Bamhai’), situated 74° 30’ long. 34° 22’ lat., may be Kalhaṇa’s Bhimati. The name Bumai can be traced back without difficulty to the older form; but the context of the single passage in which Bhimati is mentioned, does not supply any evidence as to its location.1

Round the north shore of the Volur lake there stretches in a semi-circle the district of Khuyśhōm. Its ancient name is given by Kalhaṇa as Khūyāśrama while Śrivara and the Lokaprakāsa, with a slight variation, call it Khoyāśrama.2 The old route which led up to the Madhumati stream and over the Pass of Duṇḍahāta or Dūndakhut into the Darad territory on the Kiṣangāṇa, has been already fully described.3

In connection with a Darad invasion which was directed into Kaśmir by this route, we read of Māṭṛgrāma as the place where the invading force encamped.4 This is certainly the present village of Māṭṛgōm situated close to the foot of the Trāg-bal Pass, circ. 74° 43’ long. 34° 28’ lat. It lies just at the point where the route along the Madhumati debouches into an open valley, and is the first place where a larger camp could conveniently be formed.

The tract on the north-east shore of the Volur appears in old times to have formed a separate small sub-division called Evenaka. It is once mentioned by Kalhaṇa, and also referred to in the Tirthasasmgraha.5 But the evidence is not sufficient for a certain location. To it may possibly have belonged also the village of Sudvṛkōṭa, circ. 74° 43’ long. 34° 18’ lat., which Śrivara refers to by the name of Samudrakoṭa.6

129. We have now reached the vicinity of the Sind Valley which forms the largest of the Parganās of Kaśmir.

District of Lahara. The district now known as Lār comprises the whole of the valleys drained by the Sind and its tributaries as well as the alluvial tract on the right bank of that river after its entry into the great Kaśmir plain.

Its ancient name was Lahara, and by this it is mentioned in very

1 Compare Rejat. vii. 6; as to the relation of Bumai < Bhimati comp. Bumā.
[Su : Bhima[keśava.

2 See Rejat. viii. 2695–98 note.
3 See above, § 56.
4 See Rejat. viii. 2775.
5 Compare Rejat. viii. 2695–98 note.
6 See Śiv. i. 400.

J. i. 27.
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numerous passages of the Rājatarāgīpi and the later Chronicles. The 
lands of the district seem to have been from early times in the hands of 
great territorial nobles. One family of Dāmaras resident in Lahara was 
powerful enough for its members to play the part of true kingmakers 
during a succession of reigns following after Harṣa. It is probable 
that the great trade-route to Lādākh and Central Asia which passes 
through the district, added already in old times to its wealth and 
importance.

In the midst of the wide water-logged tract of the Sind Delta we 
find the ancient Tirtha of Tūlamūlya at the village now known as 
Tulmub, situated 74° 48' long. 34° 13' lat. The Purohita corporation 
of Tūlamūlya is represented as a well-to-do and influential body already 
under King Jayāpiḍa. The large spring of Tūlamūlya is sacred to 
Mahārājī, a form of Durgā, and is still held in great veneration by the 
Brahman population of Srinagar. It is supposed to exhibit from time 
to time miraculous changes in the colour of its water, which are 
ascribed to the manifestation of the goddess. Owing to its convenient 
position the Tirtha attracts large numbers of pilgrims from the capital. 
Abū-l-Faṣl notices the place and its marshy surroundings. About two 
and a half miles to the east of Tulmub lies the village of Dūdrāmā, on 
the main branch of the Sind which becomes here navigable. It is 
repeatedly spoken of by S'rivara under its old name of Dūrdhāśrama.

Ascending the valley we come to the large village of Maṅgām, 
situated a short distance from the right bank of the river, 74° 52' long. 
34° 17' lat. It is the Mayagrāma of Kalhaṇa's Chronicle, mentioned in 
connection with a campaign of Bhikṣācara in Lahara. In the time of 
King Samgrāmarāja (a.d. 1003-28) Mayagrāma gave its name to a 
separate fund (Muyagrāmīṇagaṇjā) which Queen Srilekhā had estab-
lished evidently with the revenue assigned from this village. Maṅgā-
m-Mayagrāma still owns a large area of excellent rice-fields. The 
village itself contains no ancient remains; but a short distance above 
it, at the foot of the spur which descends from a high alp known as

1 Compare for the identification of Lār and Lahara, note Rājat. v. 51. The 
authors of the St. Petersburg Dictionary were already aware of it; see P. W. 
s. v. LAHARA.

2 Compare regarding the political part played by Janakacandra, Gargacandra 
and their descendents, Rājat. viii. 15 sqq., 354 sqq., 502 sqq., etc. For an earlier 
instance of Dāmar power in Lahara, see v. 51 sqq.

3 See Rājat. iv. 638 note.

4 Ain-i-Akb., ii. p. 364.

5 S'riv. iv. 110, 138, 263.

6 See Rājat. viii. 729.

7 Compare Rājat. viii. 126.
Mohand Marg, there is an ancient stone-lined tank filled by a fine spring known as Vṝ̄ṣṇī Nāg. This is visited as a Tīrtha by the Brahmans of the neighbourhood and is also mentioned under the name of Uccāśīhīrṇa Nāg in the Haramukṭa and several other Māhātmayas. About a mile above the village the high-road leading up the valley passes a shapeless mound of large slabs which undoubtedly belonged to an ancient temple.

130. About four miles above Maṅgām on the left bank of the Tīrtha of Ciramocana. Sind we reach a site which has enjoyed sanctity from an early period. Close to the village of Prang (not shown on map) situated circ. 74° 55' 30'' long, 34° 16' 45'' lat., a small branch of the Kāṅkṣā Nai River (Kanakavāhini) flows into the Sind. This confluence is now visited by the pilgrims proceeding to the Haramukṭa lakes as one of the chief Tīrthas on the route. In the modern Haramukṭa Māhātmaya it is designated as Karāṅkatīrtha. But I have shown that it is in reality identical with the ancient Tīrtha of Ciramocana mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the Nilamata and the old Nandikṣetramāhātmaya.¹

The Kāṅkṣā or Kanakavāhini which is always named together with Ciramocana, is a sacred river as it carries down the waters of the holy Gaṅgā-lake below the Haramukṭa Peaks.² This explains the importance attached to this ‘Samgama.’ The Haramukṭa Māhātmaya which shows its comparatively recent origin by many of its local names, metamorphoses the old Kanavāhini into Karāṅkanadī and consequently also changes the name of its confluence into Karāṅkatīrtha.³ King Jalusa, the son of Aśoka, whom the Chronicle represents as a fervent worshipper of Śiva Bhūtesa and of Nandiśa, is said to have ended his days at Ciramocana.

Our survey has already taken us to the sacred sites of Bhūtesa and Tīrthas of Bhūtesa, Jyeṣṭharudra marked by the ruined temples at the present Buthšēr high up in the Kāṅkṣā Nai Valley. They are closely connected with the Tīrthas of Nandikṣetra below the Haramukṭa glaciers which have also been described.⁴ The village of Vāṅgath, which is the highest permanently inhabited place in the valley, lies about two miles below Buthšēr. It is named Vasiṣṭhārama in the Māhātmayas and believed to mark the residence of the Rāj Vasiṣṭha. Allusions in the Rājataraṅgiṇī and Nilamata show that this legendary location is of old date.⁵

¹ See Rājat. i. 149-150 note.
² See above, § 57.
³ Regarding the local nomenclature of this Māhātmaya, see above, § 31.
⁴ See above, § 57; also Rājat. notes i. 36, 107, 113; v. 55-59.
⁵ Compare Rājat. viii. 2430 note.
At the mouth of Kānkānai Valley, and about two miles to the north-east of Ciramocana, is the hamlet of Bārāvul which Kalhana mentions as an Agrahāra of King Jalauka under the name of Vārabāla. A large sculptured Liṅga base which I found here in 1891, shows the antiquity of the place.

131. Returning to the main valley we come, about three miles above Ciramocana, to the large village of Upper Sind Valley. Kangən situated on the right bank on the Sind. It is, perhaps, identical with Kankaṇapura which Queen Diddā is said to have founded in commemoration of her husband Kṣemagupta, known by the epithet of ‘Kankaṇavarṣa.’ No old localities can be identified with certainty in the Sind Valley until we reach the village of Gaganagiri, situated two marches above Kangən, circ. 75° 15' long, 34° 18' lat. This is undoubtedly the Gaganagiri of Jonarāja, and the Fourth Chronicle. The place is mentioned in both texts in connection with invasions which were made into Kāsmir over the Zōji-Lā Pass. The first was that of the Bhaūtta Riċciā, the second the famous inroad of the Mughal leader Mirzā Ḥaidar (A.D. 1532). The account which the latter himself has left us of his exploit, fully explains the special reference made to Gaganagiri by the Hindu Chronicler.

About three miles above Gaganagiri two rocky spurs descend from opposite sides into the valley and reduce it to a narrow gorge (see map). The passage of this defile was until recent improvements of the road distinctly difficult, as large fallen rocks blocked the narrow space between the right bank of the river and the high cliffs rising above it. It is at this point of the valley which Mirzā Ḥaidar calls ‘the narrow defile of Lār,’ that the Kāsmir chiefs vainly attempted to stop the brave Turks of the invader’s advanced guard.

Kalhana’s Chronicles shows that the defile here indicated had witnessed fighting already at an earlier epoch. When King Sussala’s forces had driven Gargacandra, the great feudal chief, from his seats in Lahara, we are told that the Dāmara with his followers retired to the mountain called Dhuḍāvana. There he was long besieged by the troops...

1 See Rājat. i. 121 note.
2 See Rājat. vi. 301.
3 Compare Jonar. (Bo. ed.), 197, and Fourth Chron. 316. The old name of the locality ought to have been entered in the map. The Bombay edition of the Fourth Chron. wrongly reads gamananiryaṇta for gaganagiryaṇta of the MSS.
4 See Tārikh-i Ṭūhā, p. 423. Mr. Elias in his note on the passage has quite correctly identified the defile meant by his author. The Fourth Chronicle names the autumn of the Lankėsa year [460] as the date of the event which agrees exactly with Mirzā Ḥaidar’s A.H. 939 Jamād II (December, 1532 A.D.).
of the king who was encamped at the foot of the mountain." In my note on the passage I have shown that the name Dhudâvana survives in Dûrûn Nar (map 'Darnar'), the appellation of the high spur which descends into the Sind Valley from the south between Gagangir and Sunmarg. It is exactly at the foot of this spur that the river passes through the gorge above described. The position taken up by the king's opponent is thus fully explained.

Gagangir being already 7400 feet above the sea, is the last permanently inhabited place in the valley. Some twenty-five miles higher up we arrive at the Zoji-Lâ Pass. Here we have reached the limits of Kâsmir as well as the end of our survey.

1 See Râjat. viii. 595 sqq.—Dûrûn is the direct phonetic derivative of Dhudâvana. Nar, the Kâ. equivalent of Skr. nāda, the Anglo-Indian 'Nullah,' is often found as the second part in names of high hill-ranges in Kâsmir; compare, e.g., the 'Soornar' and 'Baibnar' of the map, east of the Haramukh Peaks.
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE AA.—§ 29.

MĀHĀṬMYAS OF KAŚMĪRIAN TĪRTHAS.

The following is a complete list of the MĀHĀṬMYA texts acquired by me in Kaśmir. The numbers in the fourth column refer to the manuscripts representing these texts in my collection. Where the same text is found in several Manuscripts, the number of the best copy has been shown first. In the column of Remarks the Tirtha to which the MĀHĀṬMYA refers has also been indicated, as well as the paragraph of the present Memoir in which it has been discussed.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE BB.—§ 86.

THE LISTS OF KĀŚMĪR PARGĀNAS.

The following table shows the names of Kāśmir Parganas as contained in the lists of Abūl-Faḻl, Moorcroft, Von Hügel, Vigne and Major Bates. The list of the latter (Gazetteer, p. 2) is the fullest and also indicates the division of the Parganas between Marāz and Kamrāz as shown in the table.

The arrangement of the Pargana names conforms to the topographical order followed in Chapter IV. of this Memoir. The second column gives the Pargana names according to their present Kāśmiri pronunciation, without regard to the often curiously distorted forms in which these names are presented by the earlier lists. The third column shows the authorities in whose lists each particular name is found. In the fourth column the Sanskrit name of the district has been indicated, whenever known, together with the text in which it first occurs. In the last column references have been given to the paragraphs of the Memoir specially dealing with the historical topography of the several districts.

Besides the Parganas shown in the table, Abūl-Faḻl counts with Kāśmir the Parganas of ‘Maru Aḍwīn’ (Māḍivāḍvan), ‘Bānthāl’ (Bānspāl), and ‘Dachhin Khāwarah’ (i.e., Dachūn-Khōvur, the valley on both banks of the Viṭastā below Bārāmūla). In the same way Moorcroft adds the Parganas of ‘Durbīd’ (i.e., Dvārbīdi in the Viṭastā Valley, comp. § 53), ‘Karnāo’ and ‘Tuhirabād’; of the position of the last-named tract I am not certain.

[The list of Kāśmir Parganas given by P. JOSEPH TIEFFENTHALER, Description de l’Inde, p. 77, is only a defective reproduction of Abūl-Faḻl’s list. RITTER, Asien, ii. pp. 1136 sq., has endeavoured to elucidate
Tieffenthaler's queer names with whatever materials were then available.

List of Abbreviations.

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[Extra No. 2,

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—§ 14.

Mr. W. Merk, c.s.i., c.s., at present Deputy Commissioner of the Hazāra District, to whom I submitted the above-printed remarks on Albērūnī's route to Kaśmir (p. 23) and on the town of Babrahān mentioned by him, has kindly supplied me in a letter, dated 25th April, 1899, with the interesting information that "the basin formed by the three Nullahs which unite at Chamhad is called the 'Babarhan' tract." Chamhad is shown on the map as a village in the Mian Khaki Nullah, south-west of Abbottabad, circ. 34° 7' lat., 73° 7' long.

Mr. Merk believes that the position of Albērūnī's "town Babrahān, half-way between the rivers Sindh and Jailam" is marked by the present 'Babarhān' which practically retains the same name. There is much to support this identification. The Nullah called Mian Khaki on the Survey map forms a convenient route from the central plain of Hazāra, about Mirpur, towards the Siran Valley through which the Indus could conveniently be gained at Torbela. The latter has remained a favourite crossing place to the present day, being situated just where the Indus debouches from the mountains.

The 8 Farsakh or about 39 miles which Albērūnī counts from Babrahān to "the bridge over the river," i.e., according to my explanation, the present Mużaffarābād, would well agree with the actual distance between the latter place and Babrahān. In calculating this distance it must be kept in view that the old road from the Indus to Kaśmir, according to Mr. Merk's information, descended to Garhi Habibullā, on the Kunhār River, through the Doga Nullah, i.e., by a more direct route than that followed by the modern cart-road via Mansahra.

I am further indebted to Mr. Merk for the very interesting notice that the plain near Mirpur, about 5 miles north-northwest of Abbottabad, is popularly known by the name of Urash or Orašh. There can be no doubt as to this local name being the modern representative of the ancient Urašā. Its survival in that particular locality strikingly confirms the conclusion indicated above in § 83, and also in my note on Rājat. v. 217, as to the position of the old capital of Urašā. The designation of this capital was undoubtedly Urašā.
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Fourth Chron. Rājāvalīpātaka of Prājyabhāṣṭa and Sūka. [Fourth Sanskrit Chronicle of Kaśmir. Quoted according to the editio princeps, Calcutta, 1835; compare below, p. 41].

Harucar. The Haracaritacintāmaṇi of Rājīśuṣka Jayadratha. Kavya-māla, Bombay, 1897 [compare below, p. 48].
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF KASHMIR. [Extra No. 2,


Jonar. The Rajatarângî of Jonarâja. [Compare below, p. 41. Quoted according to Calcutta edition, 1885, except for additional verses found in Prof. Peterson's edition, Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1896].


Lawrence, Valley. The Valley of Kashmir, by Walter R. Lawrence, i.c.s., c.i.e., Settlement Commissioner, Kashmir and Jammu State. London, 1885.


Mdh. Māhâyâna [compare below, p. 49. The several texts are quoted from MSS.].


Nilamata. The Nilamata-purâṇa. [Compare below, p. 46. Quoted from MSS.].


Samayam. The Samayamâṭhâ of Kṣemendra. Kâvyamâlâ, Bombay, 1888. [Compare below, p. 44].


Srikanṭhacara. The Śrīkāṇṭhacarita of Mañkha. Kâvyamâlâ, Bombay, 1887.

Sriv. The Jaina-Rājatarângini of Śrivara. [Compare below, p. 43. Quoted according to the editio princeps, Calcutta, 1885].


LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

TROYER.

Vigne, Travels.

Vikram.
The Vikramâṅkadevacharita. Life of King Vikramâdiya of Kalyâna, composed by his Vidyapati Bilhana. Edited, with an Introduction, by Dr. G. Bühler. Bombay, 1875.

Wilson, Essay.

Yule, Cathay.

NOTE.
The transcription of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic words in the present Memoir conforms to the system approved by the International Oriental Congress of 1894. In the phonetic rendering of Kaśmirī words the lines adopted by Dr. G. A. Grierson, in his analysis of Pañcit Iśvara Kaula's Kaśmirī Grammar (J. A. S. B., 1897-98) have been closely followed.
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