Notes on the ancient topography of the Pir Pansāl Route.—By
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The following notes on an ancient mountain-route of Kaśmir have been collected by me while engaged in the preparation of an annotated translation of Kalhana's Rājatarangini which is to follow my edition of the Sanskrit text of that Chronicle. Their publication in the present form may, perhaps, be acceptable as an illustration of the aid which a search for the surviving local traditions of Kaśmir and a study of its topography afford for the elucidation of Kalhana's narrative.1

The Pass of the Pir Pansāl,8 11,400 feet above the sea, forms the lowest point in the central part of the mountain-range which, reaching with its snowy peaks a height of more than 15,000 feet, encloses the Valley of Kaśmir on the south and south-west. The pass gives access to the valleys of the two Tōhis (Skr. Tausī) of Rajaurī (Rā japuri) and Prunț (Parṇōtā) from which easy and direct routes of communication lead to the central and western Panjāb.

These natural advantages evidently influenced Akbar when he chose after the conquest of the Valley the route viā Blimbhar and Rajaurī and over the Pir Pansāl for the construction of his 'Imperial Road' (rāh-i shāhī) which was to connect Lahore with his summer residence Kaśmir. Along this road passed in the reigns of Akbar's

1 An abbreviated translation of these notes, has been contributed to the 'Festgabe, offered to Professor Albrecht Weber on occasion of his Fifty Years' Doctor Jubilee (18th December, 1895).

2 I write the name according to its usual Kaśmirī pronunciation. The latter we find already, with the transcription required by the Sanskrit alphabet, attested in the form Pāṇcāla dēva of Çrivara's Chronicle, iii. 433. The Pahārī population of the valleys to the south calls the pass Pir Pansāl. This is also the form recorded by the accurate Moorcroft. Anglo-Indicè the form Pir Pansāl has been generally accepted. The name Pansāl is used for the whole mountain range. The word Pir, probably of Muhammadan origin, serves in Kaśmir as the designation of e v e r y pass; comp. Drew, Jummo and Kashmir Territories, London, 1875, p. 157.
immediate successors the almost annual migrations of the Mughal Court to Kaşmir.

We owe to this circumstance the first European description of the pass, written by one of the best observers who ever travelled in India. Dr. Bernier, then in the service of Dānishmand Khān, one of Aurangzēb's Omras, followed this route to Kaşmir in the spring of 1665, in the train of the Imperial Court. The account he has left us in the Ninth Letter to Monsieur de Merveilles of his observations and experiences, is as attractive as it is accurate.¹

The old Imperial Road, though reduced in the course of time to the condition of a mere bridle-path,—bad at that in many places,—has remained a favorite route for trade and traffic until the recent construction of the Jhelam Valley Road. It has accordingly been often described in the works of modern travellers, such as Moorcroft, Von Hügel, Vigne, Drew and others,—not to mention the various guide-books. Referring to these works for more detailed information, I may hope that the following brief indications regarding the topography of the route will be found sufficient for the comprehension of the historical notices to be discussed below from Kalhana's Rājatarangini and the later Sanskrit Chronicles of Kaşmir.

The ascent to the Pir Pangsāl Pass begins for the traveller from the south at the village of Bahranggalla, the Bhairavgalla of Črivara's Chronicle, and follows in an easterly direction the bed of a mountain stream as far as the hamlet of Puṣāna, which is inhabited only in the summer months and is mentioned under the name of Puṣānānāda in several passages of the Chronicles. From the latter place the road rises in steep zigzags to the pass which lies about 3,000 feet higher; it then descends on the Kaşmir side in a gently sloping valley to the Mughal Sarāi of 'Alīābād which lies about 4½ miles further to the east. At this point steep transverse ridges, descending from the mountain ranges on the north and south, approach close to the bed of the stream which flows from the pass, and narrow the valley into a gorge. The 'Imperial Road,' cut into the precipitous cliffs of the left or northern side and carried in parts on a masonry foundation, leads down the valley, keeping high above the stream.

Opposite to the point where the Pir Pangsāl stream is joined by the Rūpri river from the south, the road passes the old watch-towers of Inganārī. A short distance further down it crosses to the right

bank of the united stream which from here bears the name of Rembyāra (Skr. Ramaṇyāṭavi). The valley which is clothed with luxuriant fir forest, gradually widens, and after a march of about 11 miles from 'Aliśād Sarāi we reach Hōr-pōr, the Čūrapura of the Chronicles, which is the first permanently inhabited place in the valley and the end station of the route through the mountains. Some four miles below Hōr-pōr the Rembyāra enters the open valley of Kaśmir.

Kalhana's first reference to this mountain-route is connected with a local legend which he relates to us in the account of King Mihirakula's reign. Notwithstanding the wholly erroneous date which the artificial chronology adopted in the first three cantos of the Rājatarangini assigns to this prince, modern research could not fail to recognize in the latter the White Hun ruler of that name whose reign, according to the epigraphical evidence first collected by Mr. Fleet, must be placed at about 515-550 A.D., and of whom we know from Hinen Tsiang's account that his rule extended also over Kaśmir.

In full agreement with the accounts given of Mihirakula's character by the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun who personally met the king in Gandhāra, and a century later by Hinen Tsiang, the Kaśmirian Chronicle represents him as a ruler of extreme cruelty. Among other legendary anecdotes which are intended to illustrate this feature in Mihirakula's character, it is related of him (Rājatarangini, i. 302-303) that, when he reached on his return from a tour of conquest through the whole of India the 'Gate of Kaśmir' (Kaśmirasa dvāram) and heard there the death cry of an elephant which had fallen down a precipice, he was so delighted by these gruesome sounds that he had a hundred other elephants forcibly rolled down at the same spot.

The locality here meant is in the text only generally indicated by the term dvāra, which is uniformly applied in the Chronicle to all mountain-passes leading into Kaśmir. In order to identify it, we have to turn to the notice of the old glossator Aṇ in Rājānaka Ratanakāntha's Codex (see note on i. 302 in my Edition) which says: 'From that time onwards the route by which Mihirakula returned, bears the name of Hastivaṇja.'

That this notice is old appears from Abū-l-fażl's Rājatarangini excerpts in the Āin-i Akbari (transl. by Col. Jarrett, Bibl. Ind., ii., p. 383), in which the place of the event related by Kalhana is referred to under the name of 'Hastivatar'. That the latter form is only a clerical error for Hastivanj, easily explained in Persian writing, can clearly be seen from a comparison of the Persian Chronicles of Nārāyan Kōl and Birbal Kāṭger*

1 Compare his paper 'On the history and date of Mihirakula,' Indian Antiquary xv., pp. 245 sqq.
These two compilers who, though of a far more modern date, can be shown to have derived their information from the same sources, reproduce Kalhana's anecdote with a remark to the effect that the locality was in their days still known by the name of Hastivânâ and was situated on the Pir Panâl route.

The repeated enquiries which I made with reference to these notices among my Pandit friends at Çrinagar, did not yield any result; neither they themselves or any of their acquaintances had ever heard the name 'Hastivânâ.' I accordingly resolved in October 1891 to visit the Pass myself. Already at Hîr-pûr I found that the name was known to the Kûmrî cultivators settled there. When subsequently I reached 'Ali-âbûd Sarâi I had no difficulty in ascertaining, by a successive cross-examination of such travellers as hailed from the valleys on both sides of the Pass, that the high mountain-ridge which stretches from the south towards the valley of Pir Panâl stream and ends just opposite to the Sarâi in a precipitous wall of rocks rising about 2,000 feet above the river bed, bears to this day the name of Hastivânâ.

All the hillmen who passed by, had heard the story that once upon a time the elephants of some king had fallen over this precipice down into the gorge of the Pir Panâl stream. Whether this had happened by accident or otherwise, they could not tell me; nor could they name the king: 'it was so long ago since it had happened.'

But when I asked the older men, and among them my own guide, Pir Bakhsh from Bahramgalla, what reason there could have been for bringing elephants to that height, they did not hesitate with their answer: it was the old mute, they said, which passed over the ridge of Hastivûnî and along the south side of the valley, before the Emperor Akbar had made his road.

That this tradition is old, can be shown by reference to another passage of Abû-l-faṣl (l.c., Vol. ii. p. 347) which specifies in the direction from Bhimbar to Kûmrî, besides the route of the Pir Panâl, two other 'good routes'. Of these he names in the first place that of Hastivatâr (read Hastivânâ), 'which was the former route for the march of troops'.

A glance at the configuration of the mountains or at the maps published by the Survey of India, is sufficient to explain fully the

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1 By Abû-l-faṣl's third route, Tangtalâh, is meant a mountain track of that name which crosses the range about 5 miles to the north of the Pir Panâl Pass and is to this day often resorted to by smugglers.--The explanations of a Kûmrî informant which are quoted in the translator's note on this passage, are based on insufficient local knowledge and hence misleading.

2 Comp. 'Map of Jammoo, Kashmir and Adjacent Districts,' 1861, 4 miles to 1 inch; Map of Kashmir (surveyed 1855-57), 1877, 2 miles to 1 inch; also Sheets 28, 29 of the 'Atlas of India.'
direction followed by this earlier route. Opposite to ‘Aliábád Saráí there opens towards the south-west a high alpine valley through which a path, perfectly practicable for loaded animals, leads to the mountain lake of Nándan Sar and thence over the Dúrháí Pass to the sources of the Tóhí of Rájáuri. This route which was used with advantage in the years 1814 and 1819 by strong columns of the Sikh army, when advancing on Hór*pór, finds its natural continuation on the south or right side of the Pir Páníśál valley, i.e., viá Hastívañí. Only by keeping to this side is it possible to avoid wholly the crossing of the Pir Páníśál stream. The latter, as personal experience showed me in the further course of my tour, is not easy to ford even late in the year and would undoubtedly in the time of the melting snows form a still more serious obstacle.

The mountain-ridge of Hastívañí which in the north, where it falls off towards the stream, forms a precipitous wall of rock, descends to the west and east with grassy slopes of a comparatively easy gradient. I could not retain any doubt as to the practicability of this route when honest Pir Bákhañ confessed to me that he, in company with friends from Báhrámgalá, had often taken over Hastívañí ponies heavily laden with rice. On all these occasions he had successfully evaded the police post of ‘Aliábád Saráí and—the Káçmír export-prohibition. Additional evidence for the old route here indicated is furnished by the position of the ancient frontier fort of Kramavarta which will be discussed below.

The name Hastívañí contains in its first part undoubtedly the Káçmírí stem hasti ‘elephant,’ derived from Skr. hastín; for the second part -vañí I am unable at present to find any clear etymology.¹ In the absence of all indications as to the earlier history or original meaning of the

¹ Abú-l-faqíl explains according to Col. Jarrett's translation vátar (recte vañí) by ‘injury;’ but the word is not found with this meaning in modern Káçmírí. The above quoted Persian compilers render vañí by raftan. The inhabitants of the neighbouring valleys know themselves, as far as I could ascertain, of no explanation of the name. The derivation from Skr. bhagga, suggested in the note of the translation, is based on an erroneously supposed form of the name (hastibhágá) and is untenable.

[While these pages were passing through the press, the learned Editor of this Journal has favored me with an interesting note pointing out that a root √vañí meaning ‘to go’ occurs in Western Panjábi. As Káçmírí, Western Panjábi and Sindhi belong to one group of Indo-Aryan-Vernaculars, the North-Western, this root might have been used in Káçmírí too at an earlier stage of the language. The √vañí might not be found in modern Káçmírí, and if the information given to me by my friends from Báhrámgalá is correct, it is unknown also to the Páhári dialects spoken in the valleys immediately to the south of the Pir Páníśál—For Western Panjábi forms of this root see Bhai Maya Singh's Panjábi Dictionary, Lahore 1895, p. 1194, and O'Brien's Glossary of the Multáni Language, Lahore, 1881, p. 276.]
name, we cannot speak with any certainty of the relation it bears to the
legend above recorded. Still, it will be well to remember the numerous
legends of the West which modern research has traced back in their
origin to ‘popular etymologies’ of old local names, and accordingly to
keep in view the possibility that in the case of Husti'vanī, too, the name
may have given rise to the story or at least to its localization at that
particular spot. Whatever our views on this point may be, it will be
clear from the evidence collected above that Kalhana has preserved for
us here, as in many other instances, an old local tradition. ¹

The other references of the Chronicle to this route through the
mountains may be discussed conveniently in connection with the pas-
sages iii. 227 and v. 39. In the first named passage Kalhana relates to
us how the poet Mātrgypta, whom the great Vikramāditya-Harṣa of
Ujjainī had nominated regent of Kaśmir, found, after crossing the
mountains, the Kaśmirian ministers waiting for him on the border of
the Kingdom. As the place of meeting Kalhana indicates the ‘dhakka’
called Kāmbuva, ‘which was then situated in the locality called Krama-
carta, but is now (i.e., in Kalhana’s own time) at Ćūrapura.’

From the second passage we learn that it was Ćūra, the powerful
minister of king Avantivarman (circa 855-883 A. D.), who transferred
the ‘dhakka’ from Kramavarta to the town of Ćūrapura which he had
founded himself.

The general direction in which we have to look for the localities
here referred to, is sufficiently indicated by the mention of Ćūrapura,
which is undoubtedly identical with the present Hōr pōr, the end
station of the Pir Panjal route, as shown above. This is proved, apart
from the identity of the names (which is clearly established by the
phonetic laws of Kaśmirī),² by the numerous passages of the
Rājatarangini and the later Chronicles which mention Ćūrapura either as

¹ Bernier witnessed on the Pir Panjal an accident which forms a curious
counterpart to the legend above discussed. It occurred on the ascent from Paśiāna
and must, therefore, be located on the opposite (Panjāb) side of the Pass. The long
line of elephants which carried the ladies of Aurangzēb’s seraglio, got into con-
fusion on the steep road, with the result that fifteen elephants fell down the
precipice and were lost. The curious map of Kaśmir which is reproduced in Con-
stable’s translation, p. 408, from the Amsterdam Edition of 1672, shows graphically
the ‘Pirr Penjok’ mountain with the troop of elephants rolling down its slopes.

² In Ćūrapura > Hōrsprōr we have the regular phonetic change of Skr.
ζ > Kaśm. h, as illustrated, e.g., by Skr. ćata, Kaśm. hath ‘hundred’; Ćumālā, Hamal
(name of Pargaṇa); ćarād, harad ‘autumn’. For the shortening of the ọ of the
first syllable compare Skr. tāla, Kaśm. töl ‘mulberry’; sindūra, sindōr ‘red lead’;
sūc[i], sūṣan ‘needle’. –pura at the end of local names appears in Kaśmirī al-
ways as –pōr; compare Kalyāṇapura, Kalampōr; Suḥṣapura, Ṣōyōr; Parihāsapura,
Paraspōr, etc.
the entrance station for those arriving in Kašmir from Rājapuri (Rajauri), Bhairavaqala (Bahramgalla), Pusaṇā (Puṣavā), or vice versa as the starting place for travellers leaving Kašmir in that direction.¹

For the identification of Krama-varta, however, and for the elucidation of the otherwise unknown term ‘dhakka’ we have to turn again to the glossator A₂ who in his note on v. 39 has explained Krama-varta by Kāmelanakōṭṭa and dhakka by draγga.

The word draγga (or draγgā) is used everywhere by Kalhanā and the later Chroniclers (as I hope to prove fully in the second volume of my Rāja-tarāṅgini Edition) for the designation of those frontier forts or watch-stations which closed in old times all passes leading into the Valley. Serving at once the purposes of defence, customs and police administration, these fortified posts have survived on most of the routes until quite recent days.²

¹ Compare Rāja-t. vii. 1348. 1352; viii. 1051. 1266. 1577 sqq.; Črīvora, i. 109 iii. 453; iv. 531. 589. 611, etc.

² Apart from the frontier watch-station discussed above we find mention in Rāja-t. vii. 1596. 1997. 2010 of another draγga, bearing the name of Kātāta, which closed the Tīrthanāidāṅ route leading to Lōhara, the modern Lohurān. On a tour undertaken in the autumn of 1892, which led me to the identification of Lōhara, I was able to trace also the position of this watch-station, as indicated by the old towers still found above the village of Drang (eiseiter 74° 36′ E. Long., 33° 57′ N. Lat.).

Another frontier-post which is mentioned under the designation of draγga in Rāja-t. viii. 2507. 2702, has left its name to a high valley of the Lōlāb Pargana still known as Drang, through which a difficult mountain-path leads to the ancient shrine of the goddess Čārādā in the Kīrtanagārgā Valley. See the abstract of my paper ‘Tours archaeological and topographical in and about Kašmir,’ ACADEMY, November 25, 1893.

The famous gate in the gorge of the Vītastā below Varīhamālā (Bārāmülā) which already Huen Tsang knew as the western entrance of the kingdom (see Life of Huen Tsang, transl. Beal, p. 63), must also have once borne the name of draγga, though Kalhanā, viii. 413. 451,—as already Alberūnī before him (see Professor Sachau’s translation, I., p. 207)—mentions it only under the general designation of dvāra ‘gate.’ This is proved by the fact that the ruined old gateway, situated on the right river bank just below the town, is known by the people to the present day under the name of Drang. Moorcroft does not mention this name which I myself have heard used on repeated visits; but he describes the place with his usual accuracy: ‘Below the town the whole space between the river and the mountain is closed by a wooden rampart and folding gates. In the time of the Afghans a strong guard was posted at this place, and the gateway was kept in good repair’ (Travels, II., p. 280).

‘Roads and draγgaś’ in general are referred to in the passage Rājat. viii. 1991 and custom revenue from draγgaś in verse 258 of the Fourth Chronicle.

The terms draγgika, draγgin, draγgika which frequently recur as technical designations of certain officials in the copper-plate grants of the Valabhi dynasty (comp. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III., p. 169), are in all probability to be
We are all the more justified in accepting the glossator's statement as to the identical meaning of the term dhakka, as the same frontier-post after its transfer to Cūrapura is directly mentioned by Kāhāṇā under the name of Cūrapuradrāṇga. We find this designation in vii. 1352 and in the interesting passage viii. 1577-1580, which relates, how the commander of this frontier-station (drāṇgādhīpa, drāṇgeṇa) caught and executed in July-August 1128 A.D., the rebel Utpala, King Sussala's murderer, who was passing through the mountains on a roving expedition from Pusyāṇanāda (Pūṣāṇa).¹

Even later yet, about the end of the fifteenth century, Črīvara knows the drāṇga of Čūrapura, iv. 582, and refers evidently to the same place when relating, i. 408, of Sultan Zainu-l-ābidin that the latter established on the route of Čūrapura a hospice for travellers and settled at the customs station (pulkāsthāna) of the same route load-carriers from Abhisāra (i.e., the country about Bhimāhār).

explained according to the above interpretation of drāṇga. The form drāṇga is found in my MS. of the Kačmirian commentary on Maṇḍhāra's Kōcā as the equivalent of raṭahānā 'watch-station,' s. v. gula.

[Since this paper was sent to the press, Messrs. Lévi and Chavannes' important publication, L'Itinéraire d'Ou-K'ong (Journal Asiatique, Septembre-Octobre 1895) has reached me. The Chinese traveller, whose life and wanderings it records, passed four years (759-763 A.D.) in Kačmir in study and pilgrimages. We owe to him besides interesting notices of the sacred buildings he visited there, the following curious account of the "Gates" of the Valley (i.e., p. 356).

'Le royaume (de Cachemire) est entouré des quatre côtés par des montagnes qui lui font un rempart extérieur; on y a ouvert en tout trois chemins sur lesquels on a établi des fermetures.' In the routes which lead in the east towards Tou-fon (Tibet) and in the north towards Po-liu (Baltistān), we can easily recognize the passes of the Zojī-lā and the Trāgabal (of Gilgit Transport notoriety), respectively. The third route, 'le chemin qui part de la porte de l'ouest,' leading towards Gandhāra, can be no other but the road which passes through the Varāhamūla gorge. The Pir Pantažīl route may possibly be intended in the following description of a fourth route closed in Ou-K'ong's days: 'Il y a encore un autre chemin; mais il est toujours fermé et ne s'ouvre pas pour un instant que lorsque une armée impériale fait l'honneur de venir.]

¹ The commanders of these frontier-posts play under the title of māṛgēṇa, māṛgapati, a great part in the narratives of the later chroniclers. Their duties were entrusted in Mughal times to hereditary 'Maliks,' true "Lords of the Marches" who retained considerable power and revenues until the time of the Sikh conquest. Their descendants, though deprived long ago of their privileges and most of their Jāgirs, are found residing to this day at the entrance of the valleys leading to the more important passes, e.g., at Čupiyon on the way to Hörāpōr. For interesting information regarding the Maliks and the routes in their charge, see the detailed account given by Baron Von Hügel, Kaschmir und das Reich der Sick, Stuttgart, 1840 ii., pp. 167 sqq.; i., p. 347.
The above mentioned tour enabled me to identify the position of Kramavarta as well as the later site of the guard-station after its transfer to Çurapura. The name Kämélanköṭṭa by which the gloss of A₂ renders Kramavarta, has survived to the present day in the form of Kämélanköṭ, as the designation of a rocky hillock which occupies, on the right side of the valley and just opposite to the towers of Ingañârî, the angle formed by the uniting streams from the Pir Pankhîl and Rûpri Passes. This hillock which rises with steep and in parts precipitous slopes to a height of about 200 feet above the bottom of the valley, is the last isolated off-shoot of a high mountain-range descending from the south-west. Another branch of the same range, running in a more northerly direction, we have met with already in the ridge of Hâstâvañj.

The top of the hillock forms a small plateau about 200 feet long and 50 feet broad. At its ends stand two octagonal watch-towers, built of massive though coarse masonry and connected by a double stone parapet. This little fort, along with other towers of a similar construction found along the route, does not probably, in its present form, date back beyond the years immediately preceding the Sikh conquest of Kaçmîr, when the Pathâns endeavoured on successive occasions to hold the pass against the troops of Fatteh Khân and Ranjit Singh advancing from Rajauri¹. Still it is evident that the military importance of the position must have been recognized at a far earlier period.

Kämélanköṭ commands completely the paths which lead between its foot and the near river beds toward Hâstâvañj-Pir Pântsâl to the west and the Rûpri Pass to the south. The existence of an earlier fortification in this locality is attested by the fact that we find the name already in the gloss of A₂ with the appended designation köṭṭa ‘fort,’ Kaçmîri köṭ. The form Kâmél shows the stem Kâm with the addition of the Kaçmîri suffix of the plural genitive (objective), -an <skr. -ānām.

As Kâmel itself may be traced back on the evidence of cases of

¹ Baron Von Hügel who passed the little fort in the autumn 1835, describes correctly its shape and situation (l. c., i., p. 198), but calls it ‘the castle of Inganâli Killah,’ evidently confusing its name with that of the towers opposite on the northern bank of the Pir Pântsâl stream. Moorcroft who followed this route in 1823, mentions in the same locality two towers named Kamîl Koth and states that they were erected with other defences by ‘Ata Muḥammad Khân, Afghân governor of Kaçmîr, against the invading force of the Afghân Wazir Fatteh Khân (Travels, ii, p. 295). The encounter in which ‘Ata Muḥammad Khân was defeated, was fought close to Kämélanköṭ. As this event took place only 11 years before Moorcroft’s visit, the information given to the latter as regards the towers, may be assumed to have been correct.
analogous phonetic change to Skr. Kramavarta, Kämelanköt corresponds to a Skr. *Kramavartāṇām kōṭṭa.¹

The evidence here indicated enables us to recognize with certainty in Kämelanköt the Kramavarta of Kalhana and thus the earlier position of the frontier-station guarding the Pir Pantešāl route. As regards the name Kāmbuvā which this station bore according to iii. 227, I am unable to give any information. As the name is not found again in the Rājatarangini or the later Chronicles the assumption seems justified that it was forgotten at an early period on account of the transfer of the watch-station to Čūrapura and the consequent employment of the new designation Čūrapuradraγga.

The later position of the frontier-post is indicated by a local tradition still surviving at Hōrāpōr, which relates that at a spot situated about 1½ miles above the village, where rocky spurs projecting from the hill sides reduce the level ground of the valley to a narrow defile, there stood once an ancient gate. This place which is covered by dense fir-forest, bears now the name of Ilāhi Darwīzā, 'the Gate of God'; but the father of the present Muqaddam (or Lambardār), a safēdrēsh of very advanced age, remembered to have heard in his youth the name Drang also.

Old coins are often found at this spot, and in the under-growth the remains of ruined walls can still be traced. A monument of ancient art is seen about 330 yards higher up the valley, where a large rock, lying close to the river bank, shows in three richly decorated niches, over 4 feet high, well-carved relief representations of temples of the Kašmirian style.

Hōrāpōr which until the recent construction of the Jhelam Valley Road saw a considerable amount of trade and is still the seat of a customs-station, is traditionally believed to have once extended for nearly three miles along the banks of the Rembyāra. Until some 15 years ago all subjects of the Mahāraja who wished to leave Kašmir by this route, had to show permits and to pay a small poll-tax at the police posts which were stationed at Hōrāpōr, Ingañārī and 'Aliābād Sarāī.

These posts were known in the official Persian by the name of

¹ For the phonetic change of Skr. Krama- > Kačm. Kām- we have the evidence of an exact parallel in the well-known name for the western portion of the Kačmir Valley, Kāmrās < Skr. Kramavartaṇā (Rāj.). The length of the vowel in Kām[el] is easily accounted for by the assimilation of v to the preceding m (in the intermediate form *Kramavartā reduced from *Kramavarta under the action of the stress-accent which falls on the first syllable) and by subsequent 'supplementary lengthening'; for the latter comp. Kačm. Dānōtār < Skr. Dhanvantari. Examples for Kačm. l being the phonetic derivative of Skr. r + dental are Kačm. āvallvāč: Skr. āvarta 'whirlpool,' mull[mut]: Skr. mardita 'rubbed.'
rāḥdārī and have been frequently noticed in the accounts of European travellers since the early part of the present century. An interesting passage of Alberuni (transl. by Sachau, L., 206) shows that in old times strict control was also exercised at such places over those who wished to enter the country.

The historical data which we have endeavoured to elucidate in connection with this ancient mountain-route, can claim, perhaps, only a locally limited interest. Yet their detailed discussion here may have been of some use as showing that we can expect mutatis mutandis in the mountains of Kaçmir that tenacity in clinging to local traditions and local names which characterizes the population of so many parts of Alpine Europe.