

TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY.

I.

An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE only Sanscrit composition yet discovered, to which the title of History, can with any propriety be applied, is the *Rájá Taringíni*, a history of Cashmir. This work was first introduced to the knowledge of the Mohammedans by the learned minister of ACBER, ABULFAZL, but the summary which he has given of its contents, was taken as he informs us from a Persian translation of the Hindu original, prepared by order of ACBER. The example set by that liberal Monarch, introduced amongst his successors, and the literary men of their reigns, a fashion of remodelling, or retranslating the same work, and continuing the History of the Province, to the periods at which they wrote.

The earliest work of this description, after that which was prepared by order of ACBER, is one mentioned by BERNIER, who states an abridged translation of the *Rájá Taringíni* into Persian, to have been made, by command of JEHANGIR; he adds, that he was engaged upon rendering this into French, but we have never heard any thing more of his translation: at a subsequent period, mention is made in a later composition, of two similar works, by MULLA HUSEIN, *Kári*, or the *reader*, and by HYDER MALEC, *C'hadwaria*,* whilst the work, in which this notice occurs, the *Wakiat-i-Cashmir* was written in the time of MOHAMMED SHAH, as was another History of the Province, entitled the *Nawádir-ul-Akhbár*. The fashion seems to have continued to a very recent date, as GHULAM HUSEIN† notices the composition of a History of *Cashmir* having been entrusted to various learned men, by order of JIVANA the *Sic'h*, then Governor of the Province, and we shall have occasion to specify one History of as recent a date, as the reign of SHAH-ALEM.

The ill directed and limited enquiries of the first European settlers in India, were not likely to have traced the original of these Mohammedan compositions, and its existence was little adverted to, until the translation of the *Ayin Acberi* by the late MR. GLADWIN was published. The abstract then given naturally excited curiosity, and stimulated enquiry, but the result was unsatisfactory, and a long period intervened before the original work was discovered.‡ SIR WM. JONES was unable to meet with it, although the history of India from the *Sanscrit-Cashmir* authorities, was amongst the tasks his undaunted and indefatigable intellect had planned, and it was not until the year 1805, that MR. COLEBROOKE§ was successful in his search. At that time he procured a copy of the work from the heirs of a *Brahman*, who died in Calcutta, and about the same time, or shortly afterwards, another transcript of the *Rájá Taringíni* was obtained by the late MR. SPEKE from

* A summary taken from this work, and which appears to have been the one alluded to by BERNIER, is given in the *Description de l'Inde* from TIEFFENTHALER (1. 89.)

† *Seir Mutakherin*—3. 210.

‡ A. R. i. 431; and iv. 188.

§ A. R. ix. 294.

Lucknow. To these two copies I have been able to add a third, which was brought for sale in Calcutta ; and I have only to add, that both in that city and at Benares, I have been hitherto unable to meet with any other transcript of this curious work.

The *Rāja Taringīñī* has hitherto been regarded as one entire composition : it is however in fact a series of compositions, written by different authors, and at different periods ; a circumstance that gives greater value to its contents, as with the exception of the early periods of the history, the several authors may be regarded almost as the chroniclers of their own times. The first of the series is the *Rāja Taringīñī* of CALHAÑA PAÑDIT, the son of CHAMPACA, who states his having made use of earlier authorities, and gives an interesting enumeration of several which he had employed. The list includes the general works of SUVRATA and NARÉNDRA ; the History of GONERDA and his three successors, by HÉLA RÁJÁ, an *Ascetic* ; of LAVA, and his successors to AŚOCA, by PADMA MIHIRA ; and of AŚOCA and the four next princes by ŚRÍ CH'HAVILLACÁRA. He also cites the authority of NILA MUNI, meaning probably the *Nila Purána*, a Purana known only in CASHMIR ; the whole forming a remarkable proof of the attention bestowed by Cashmirian writers upon the history of their native country : an attention the more extraordinary, from the contrast it affords, to the total want of historical enquiry in any other part of the extensive countries peopled by the Hindus. The history of CALHAÑA commences with the fabulous ages, and comes down to the reign of SANGRÁMA DÉVA, the nephew of DIDDÁ RÁNÍ, in *Śaca* 949 or A. D. 1027, approaching to what appears to have been his own date, *Śaca* 1070 or A. D. 1148.

The next work is the *Rájavall* of JONA RÁJÁ, of which I regret to state I have not yet been able to meet with a copy. It probably begins where CALHAÑA stops, and it closes about the time of ZEIN UL ÁB-AD-DÍN, or the year of the *Hijra* 815, as we know from the next of the series.

The *Śrī Jaina Rāja Taringīñī* is the work of ŚRÍ VARA PAÑDITA, the pu-

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pil of *Jona Rájá*, whose work it professes to continue, so as to form with it, and the history of *CALHAÑA*, a complete record of the Kingdom of *Cashmir*. It begins with *ZEIN UL ÁB-ED-DÍN*, whose name the unprepared reader would scarcely recognise, in its *Nágari* transfiguration, of *Śrī Jaina Ollábha Dína*, and closes with the accession of *Fatteh Shah*, in the year of the Hijra 882, or A. D. 1477. The name which the author has chosen to give his work of *Jaina Taringíni* has led to a very mistaken notion of its character: it has been included amongst the productions of *Jaina* literature, whilst in truth the author is an orthodox worshipper of *ŚIVA*, and evidently intends the epithet he has adopted as complimentary to the memory of *ZEIN UL ÁB-ED-DÍN*, a prince who was a great friend to his Hindu subjects, and a liberal patron of Hindu letters, and literary men.

The fourth work, which completes the aggregate current under the name of *Rájá Taringíni*, was written in the time of *ACBER*, expressly to continue to the latest date, the productions of the author's predecessors, and to bring the history down to the time at which *Cashmir* became a province of *ACBER*'s empire. It begins accordingly where *ŚRÍ VARA* ended, or with *FATTEH SHAH*, and closes with *NAZEK-SHAH*; the historian apparently, and judiciously, avoiding to notice the fate of the kingdom during *HAMAYUN*'s retreat into *Persia*. The work is called the *Rájá valí Patácá*, and is the production of *PUÑYA* or *PRÁJNYA BHATTA*.

Of the works thus described, the manuscript of *MR. SPEKE*, containing the compositions of *CALHAÑA* and *ŚRÍ VARA*, came into my possession at the sale of that gentleman's effects. Of *MR. COLEBROOKE*'s manuscript, containing also the work of *PUÑYA BHATTA*, I was permitted by that gentleman, with the liberality I have had former occasion to acknowledge, to have a transcript made; and the third manuscript, containing the same three works, I have already stated I procured by accidental purchase. Neither of the three comprises the work of *JONA RÁJÁ*, and but one of them, the transcript of *MR. COLEBROOKE*'s manuscript, has the third *Tarang* or section of *CALHAÑA*'s history.

The three manuscripts are all very inaccurate ; so far so indeed, that a close translation of them, if desirable, would be impracticable. The leading points, however, may be depended upon, agreeing not only in the different copies, but with the circumstances narrated in the Compendium of **ABULFAZL**, and in the Mohammedan or Persian histories which I have been able to procure.

The Persian works which I have consulted are the following : the *Nawá-dir-ul Akhbar*, the work of **REFIUDDÍN MOHAMMED**, the *Wakiat-i-Cashmir* by **MOHAMMED AZIM**, the *Tarikh Cashmir* of **NARAYAN CUL**, and the *Goheri Alem Tohfet us shahi*, by **BADIA UD-DIN**. The first of these authors has the advantage of being a *Cashmirian* by birth, although descended of a *Balkh* family. He alludes to the work of **CALHAÑA PAÑDIT**, which he avows his purpose of correcting where at variance with the true faith ; and it must be acknowledged, that he has altered without remorse, although it may be questioned, whether he has corrected. His chief disagreements are those of omission however, as in the Hindu portion of his history, he occasionally passes over whole dynasties, and connects the disjuncta membra of his original, with very little regard to accuracy of time or descent. The date of his work is 1133 of the Hijra, in the reign of **MOHAMMED SHAH**.

The *Wakiat-i-Cashmir* contains a much fuller account of the Province, and is a closer approximation to the Hindu original. The History follows the order of the Sanscrit work very regularly, but the work is not confined to the History of *Cashmir*, two of the three portions into which it is divided being appropriated to the description of the country, its natural and artificial curiosities, and the religious and literary characters it has given birth to since the establishment of *Islam*. **MOHAMMED AZIM**, the author, calls himself the son of **KHEIR-UZ-ZEMAN KHAN**, and writes in the year of the Hijra 1140 : living therefore, as well as **RAFI-AD-DIN**, in the Reign of **MOHAMMED SHAH**. The same reign produced the third work, which is professedly a translation of the *Rájá Taringíni*. It has all the usual defects of oriental translation, and follows the original with a whimsical interchange of fidelity and variation ;

some passages, especially those of a legendary character, being minutely given, whilst others of more historical importance are imperfectly rendered or altogether omitted. The author, NÁRÁYAN CUL, was a Hindu *Brahman*, and a native of *Cashmir*.

The last work enumerated is of very modern date, having been written in the time of the last SHÁH ALEM: the author BEDIA-UD-DIN was the son of MOHAMMED AZIM, the author of the *Wakiat*, whose omissions he purposes to supply, from authorities peculiarly his own, and of which he had subsequently become possessed. He particularly specifies the *Núr Námah*, an ancient history of Cashmir, written by SHEIKH NÚR-AD-DIN WALI in the Cashmirian language, and rendered into Persian by MOULAVI AHMED ALMEH, in the reign of ZEIN UL AB-AD-DIN. A copy of this the author had procured from one of the descendants of the last independant princes of *Cashmir*; who were settled as private individuals in *Akberabad* or *Agra*; and it is to be presumed that to this work BEDIA-UD-DIN owes the extraordinary additions which he has made occasionally to the labours of his predecessors, and their common original. None of the works above particularised, offer much valuable illustration of the Sanscrit original history; nor do they furnish any additions of historical importance. As well as the summary of ABULFAZL however they are very useful in corroborating or explaining many parts of the Sanscrit text, whilst they do comprise a few additional circumstances, which are curious at least in their origin and character, although very questionable in point of probability or truth. The chief value of these works, however, is the notice they take, of the comparatively modern condition of many towns and temples, the foundation of which is commemorated by the Hindu writers, and the existence of which at all, cannot perhaps now be verified, except upon the testimony of these *Mohammedan* authors; the short interval that has elapsed since their days, having been sufficient to sweep away the vestiges of antiquity, which in their time continued to bear witness to the public spirit, and munificence, of the Hindu Sovereigns of *Cashmir*.

In the utter darkness which envelopes the history of India previous to the

Musselman invasion, the appearance of such a record as that furnished us by the Cashmirian writers acquires an importance, not otherwise derived from the value of the record itself, nor the character of the transactions it commemorates. Its being the sole luminary, however, of the gloomy interval alluded to, renders us naturally curious to follow the track it singly serves to light, and the history of Cashmir, has accordingly attracted the attention of those best competent to have prosecuted the investigation. I have already stated it to be one of the *Desiderata* of SIR WM. JONES; and at the time that MR. COLEBROOKE announced the discovery of the manuscript, he also declared his intention of giving to the public an account of its contents. The execution of his purpose has probably been impeded by other more important labours, and the too contracted term of SIR WM. JONES's splendid career, disappointed his hope of performing this, and greater undertakings. A more satisfactory account of the contents of the *Rāja Taringiñi* than that furnished by ABULFAZL is therefore still a desideratum, and in the little probability that now exists of the task being undertaken by living talent more adequate to its accomplishment, I have been induced to prepare, from it chiefly, the following sketch of the Hindu history of Cashmir.

The want of a copy of the connecting series of JONA RÁJÁ, and the occupation of the works of ŚRÍ VARA and PUÑYA BHARĪA by *Musselman* transactions, will prevent me, at present at least, from extending the limits of my essay, beyond those of CALHAÑA PANDIT, or following any other Hindu guide. His work as a historical composition is clear and consistent, and contains fewer extravagancies than most of the works to which the name of History has been assigned, by the unphilosophical and credulous natives of the East. Like the mass of the Hindu compositions on all subjects, it is written in verse, and as a poem, it contains many passages of merit, both in sentiment and style. The summary of its contents given by ABULFAZL is too concise to be of much service, and in the transformation of names occasioned by the difficulty of expressing the *Nagari* alphabet in Persian characters, excites not unfrequently a doubt, whether the persons named were possessed of

Hindu appellations. Farther, it is in many places inaccurate, and it does not therefore preclude a necessity, for some such fuller account of the *Rájá Taríngíní* and its contents, as is attempted in the essay now submitted to the Society, and which, whilst it follows the order and authority of CALHAÑA PANDIT, proposes to comprehend such occasional illustration of his history of *Cashmir*, as may be derived from the Mohammedan writers above mentioned, or from classical authorities, or more modern investigation.

AN ESSAY ON THE HINDU HISTORY OF CASHMIR.

THE Hindu History of *Cashmir* commences with the statement, that the beautiful valley forming that kingdom was originally a vast Lake, called *Satísaras*,* and this assertion has not only been copied by the Mohammedan writers, but it agrees with the local traditions of the Country, and as

* सती, a virtuous woman, and सरस, a Lake; the original does not give the etymology, but *Abulfazl* makes it the Lake of *UMA*, the wife of *MAHÁDÉO*, one of whose names, it is true, is *SATI* in the character of a virtuous spouse.

کشیرنش از عمارت سستی سر نام داشت سستی نام زن است و سر نام حوض کلان

Wak. C. so *Abulfazl*, Gladwin's translation, ii. 169. *Bernier* says, les Histoires des anciens rois de Cachemire, veulent que tout ce pays n'ait été autrefois qu'un grand Lac. And, according to *Forster*, the Legends of the country assert that *Solomon* visited the valley, and finding it covered, except one eminence, with a noxious water, which had no outlet, he opened a passage in the mountains, and gave to *Cashmir* its beautiful plains.

From the general concurrence of the Persian writers, with the account of the Hindu historians, must be excepted *Bedia ud-din*: he begins with the creation, and brings *Adam* from *Serandip*, where all Musselman authorities place him after the fall, to *Cashmir*. The sovereignty of *Cashmir* continued in the Line of *Seth* for 1110 years, when the Hindus conquered the Province under *Harinand Rájá*, and his family ruled it till the period of the deluge. After the flood, *Cashmir* was peopled by a tribe from *Turkestan*. The inhabitants were taught the worship of one God, by *Moses*, who died there, and whose tomb or place of sepulture is still to be seen in *Cashmir*. The relapse of the *Cashmirians* into the Hindu idolatry was punished by the local inundation of the province, and the solitary supremacy of the *Afrit*, *Jaladeo*, as described in the *Wakiat-i-Cashmir*. See *Appendix* No. I. These details are sufficient to give an idea of *Bedia ud-din's*, or probably of the *Sheikh Nur-ad-din's*, historical merits.

far as probability is regarded, has received the sanction of that able geographer Major Rennel.*

The draining of the water from the valley is ascribed, by the Hindu Historians to the Saint *Caśyapa*, the son of *Marichi*, the son of *Brahmá*, the *Cashef* or *Kasheb* of the Mohammedans, according to some of whom, he was not the *Hindu Seer*, but a *Deo* or *Genie*, the servant of *Suliman*, by whose orders he effected the desiccation of Cashmir. The method of doing this was opening a passage through the mountain at *Baramouleh*,† by which the water passed off; but the Hindu accounts do not specify the channel by which *CAŚYAPA* originally drained the Valley. As however it is not improbable that the Valley was really submerged, it is equally possible, as *Bernier* supposes;‡ that some natural convulsion rent the confining mountainous barrier, and opened to the waters, an outlet to the plains of the Punjab.

The district thus recovered by *CAŚYAPA*, was also it is said peopled by him, with the assistance of the superior deities, whom he brought from heaven for that purpose, at the beginning of the seventh or present *Manwantara*. We must of course subject *Cashmir* to the same periods of destruction and renovation, as the other parts of the universe, if we wish to reconcile this date with the usual chronology, but as this is not very indispensable, it has

* "So far am I from doubting the tradition respecting the existence of the Lake that covered *Cashmir*, that appearances alone would serve to convince me without either the tradition or the history."—*Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, 107.

† The *Wakiat-i-Cashmir* has another legend relative to the opening on this occasion of the *Baramouleh* pass, which is ascribed to *VISHNU*: the story is not worth quoting, except as a curious specimen of a Mohammedan disposition to enlarge upon Hindu fable: not a syllable of the legend is to be found in the *Rájá Taringiní*. See Appendix, No. 1.

‡ "Pour moi Je ne voudrois nier que toute cette terre néut autrefois été couverte d'eaux: on le dit bien de la Thessalie, et de quelques autres pays, mais J' ai de la peine a croire que cette ouverture soit l' ouvrage d'un homme parceque la montagne est tres large et tres haute. Je croirois plutot que quelque grand tremblement de terre, comme ces lieux y sont assez sujets, auroit fait ouvrir quelque caverne souterraine, ou la montagne se seroit enfoncée."—*Voyage de Kachemir*. The remark made by *Bernier* continues applicable to the neighbouring and analogous districts: during the labours of *Capt. Hodgson* in *Gerwhal*, in 1817, he noticed forty shocks.

been overlooked by the original authority. We also have nothing in the Sanscrit text here, respecting the colony of Brahmins, whom ABULFAZL says, he introduced into the province, and from which it might be inferred that he then introduced the Brahmanical religion, an event that probably occurred, as we shall see, at a subsequent period; the worship in Cashmir, being in the mean time apparently that of the *Nágas* or snake Gods;* a superstition of very obvious occurrence, amongst the rude inhabitants of a country, recently recovered from the waters, and consequently abounding with the venomous reptiles common to slimy and marshy places.†

From the period of the first settlement of *Cashmir* to the reign of GONERDA, the first prince whose name has been recorded, the country was governed by a succession of 52 kings of the *Caurava* family, whose reigns formed a period of 1266 years:‡ these princes were not worthy of record, says our *Hindu* author, on account of their disregard of the precepts of the Vedas, and their impure and vicious lives; and he assigns a better reason for their being forgotten, did they ever indeed exist, in this expression, कर्त्तारः कीर्तिनायस्य जाम्बूद्वीपविषयतः which we may employ *Horace* to translate, *Illacrymabiles urgentur ignotique longa nocte, carent quia vate sacro.*

The blank thus left in the history by the Hindu writer, is partly filled up by Mohammedan authority, and we may therefore here desert our usual

* See Appendix, No. 2.

† With respect to the Leader of the colony, Dr. Hamilton correctly observes, much confusion prevails, arising probably from different persons being designated by the name *CASYAPA*. He has endeavoured to distinguish three of the names. 1st. "*CASYAPA MUNI* son of *MARICHI*; 2nd. *KASYAPA* married to the daughter of *DACSHA*, also named *TÁRKSHYA*, who led a colony of civilized people into *Cashmir*. And 3d. *KASYAPA* married to the daughters of *VAISWANARA*, grandson of the preceding."—*Genealogies of the Hindus*. There is reason to fear however that this distinction can scarcely be made out on original authority. Dr. Hamilton's chronology would rather confirm the assertion of the text that it was the son of *Marichi* who colonised *Cashmir*, for he places this sage in the 20th century before the Christian *Æra*, and it appears not unlikely that *Cashmir* was colonised about that period.

‡ So also the *Ayin Acberi*: the author of the *Wakiat Cashmir* cites Hindu authority, for a Series of 55 Princes and a period of 1919 years.

guide, to contemplate the series of monarchs, derived from another source. According to **BEDIA AD-DIN**, after the settlement of the country by *Suliman*, he left the sovereignty to his cousin, **ISAUN**, who reigned over *Cashmir* twenty-five years, and was succeeded by his son

2. **CASSALGHAN**, who fixed his capital at *Islamabad* and reigned nineteen years.

3. **MAHERKAZ** his son succeeded and reigned thirty years ; being childless, he adopted for his son and successor

4. **BÁNDU** or **PÁNDU-KHAN**. The birth of this prince was miraculously effected, his mother becoming pregnant from bathing in a reservoir or tank : his death was equally marvellous, as upon bathing himself in the same reservoir, he dissolved, and returned to the element whence he sprang : he is said to have had a most numerous offspring, and to have seen in his life time, no fewer than fifteen thousand descendants : these were the *Pańlavas*, afterwards so celebrated in Indian History.

We may here pause to notice the concurrence of this account, with that which we have already extracted from Hindu authority, of the subjection of *Cashmir* to a long series of *Caurava* princes, as these are in the estimation of the Hindus, the offspring of a common ancestor, and virtually the same with the *Páńdava* race. This position of the family in the north west of India, is referred to in many works, and the chief scene of their early exploits is the *Punjab*, and its vicinity ; and these traditions therefore although much embarrassed by uncertainty and fiction, seem to support the idea that this part of India was the native seat of the *Páńdavas*. Besides the positive assertions to this effect in the history of *Cashmir*, I find, that in an unfinished manuscript essay by **COLONEL WILFORD**, and liberally put into my hands by that eminent scholar, he has also particularised *Cashmir* as the birth place of the *Páńdavas* upon Hindu authority, and we find in classical authors* the realm or city of *Panda*, or of the *Pandavas*, in a similar direction, although not precisely the same position : at the same time, it is true, that

* Appendix, No. 3.

CURU the progenitor of the *Caurava* and *Pandava* races is placed by the *Pauranic* writers in a more central part of India, and made king of *Hastinapur* : the five supposititious sons of *Pándu* were however according to the same authorities actually born in the *Himàlaya* mountains,* whither *PÁNDU* with his wife *CUNTI* had accompanied the *Rishis*, and where the Gods descended to rear posterity for the prince: there can be little doubt therefore, that either the original *Caurava* family, or a very important branch of it, came from the northwest and mountainous parts of India.†

To return however to the series of princes enumerated by *BEDIA AD-DIN*; we have

5. *LÁDI-KHAN*, SON OF *PANDU-KHAN*.

6. *LEDDER-KHAN*, HIS SON.

7. *SUNDER-KHAN* in whose reign the idolatry of the Hindu worship again made its appearance: the prince was slain in endeavouring to obstruct its progress, and was succeeded by

8. *CUNDER-KHAN* his son, who reigned thirty-five years.

* एवं पाण्डोः सुताः पञ्च देवदत्ता महावलाः । सम्भूताः कीर्तिमन्तश्च कुर्वन्विवर्धनाः ।
शुभलक्षणसम्पन्नाः सोमवर्त्रियदर्शनाः । सिंहदर्पा महेशास्राः सिंहविज्ञान्तगामिनः ।
सिंहयोवा मनुव्येन्द्रा वदधुर्देवविज्रमाः । विवर्द्धमानास्त्रे वन्न पुरा हिमवतो गिरौ ।

Mahábhárat Ádi Parva (2. 64.) " Thus the five God-given sons of *PANDU* grew up in the holy mountain of *Himávat*, endowed with divine force, with the strength, the gait and prowess of lions, expert archers, lovely as the moon, and graced with every auspicious mark, renowned through the world, and honouring the race of *CURU*." In the first or *Anucramanic* portion of the *Mahábhárat* a curious passage occurs relative to the spurious descent of the *Pándúvas*, for when the boys are brought to *Hastinapur* by the *Rishis*, their preceptors, some of the citizens say, they cannot be the sons of *Pándu*, for he has long been dead; यदा चिरमृतः पाण्डु कथं तस्य ते चापरे । the passage is not the less remarkable from its being singular, that is to say, it is not adverted to in the subsequent part of the poem which details the event at length. The *Anucramanicá* is a summary of the whole work, and not impossibly the original, the bulk of the poem being merely a repetition and expansion of the brief narration, which it contains.

† As one additional argument, the complexion of *PÁNDU* may be mentioned; it is said in the *MAHÁBHÁRAT* that he was named *Pándu*, *pale*, from the paleness of his colour. *VYÁSA* says to the younger widow of his late brother यस्मात्पाण्डुसमापन्ना विरूपं प्रेक्ष्य मामिह । तस्माद्देव सुतस्त्रे वै पाण्डुरेव भविष्यति । नाम चाकौतदेवे ह भविष्यति शुभानने ॥ *Mahá. Ad. P.*

9. **SUNDER-KHAN, the second.** Idolatry was now the national religion, and the king erected a temple to *Sadasiva*.

10. **TUNDU-KHAN.**

11. **BEDDU-KHAN**, who reigned 115 years.

12. **MAHAND-KHAN.**

13. **DURBINASH-KHAN.**

14. **DEOSIR-KHAN.**

15. **TENAB-KHAN.** This prince was attacked and slain by his neighbour and relation, the king of *Cabul*, who seized upon the throne of *Cashmir*, and reigned under the name of

16. **CALJU-KHAN**; after a reign of seven years he was driven out by his *Pákdava* relatives, who raised to the throne

17. **SURKHÁB-KHAN**; his reign lasted 191 years.

18. **SHERMABARAM-KHAN.**

19. **NAURENG-KHAN**; this prince was a great conqueror and extended his dominions to the kingdom of China.

20. **BARIGH-KHAN.**

21. **GAWASHEH-KHAN.**

22. **PANDU-KHAN the second**; he recovered the provinces that had been subject to the crown of *Cashmir*, and which extended to the shores of the Indian sea.

23. **HARIS-KHAN**; his reign lasted 23 years.

24. **SANZIL-KHAN.**

25. **AKBER-KHAN.**

26. **JABER-KHAN.**

27. **NAUDER-KHAN**, he introduced the worship of fire.

28. **ŠANKER-KHAN**, who was attacked and slain by **BAKRA-RAJ**, a neighbouring chief who headed the *Cashmirian* nobles driven into rebellion by the tyranny of their king.

The six sons of **ŠANKER-KHAN** succeeded in due order to their father's sovereignty, and also to his fate. Their accession and deaths were the work of a few hours, whence originated the proverb, said to be still current in *Cashmir*;

یک دیک طعام در دیکوان تا محکم بختن هفت بادشاهی دید

“ One Caldron, on one fire, saw seven kings before the flesh was boiled ;” a proverb, which though not of literal, has been in a general sense, of not inappropriate application, to events of eastern history, of a more authentic character, than the one to which its origin is here ascribed.

29. **BACRA-RAJ** then took possession of *Cashmir*, and bequeathed it to his descendants: their names are however unknown, and a blank interval precedes the succession of **AUGNAND** the first monarch, with whom all the authorities are agreed to commence, what may be regarded, as the dawn of legitimate historical record.

The list above inserted, although of an obviously fabulous construction, still contains matter to excite curiosity, and awaken some speculation as to the possibility of any part of it being true ; it seems very probable that it originates with tradition, and is not altogether unfounded, although no doubt much disfigured, and most probably misplaced : the title of **Khan** attached to the names, few of which too appear to be *Hindu*, indicates a race of **Tartar** princes, and we shall have occasion to notice the presence of **Tartar** rulers in *Cashmir*, accompanied with something like chasms in the history, which **BEDIA AD-DIN**'s catalogue would enable us to fill, conveniently enough : if we might conjecture from the names of several princes on the west of India, the invasion of Alexander was the period of **Tartar** rule in this direction, as **OXYCANUS** and **MUSICANUS** might easily be resolved into **Tartar** appellations with the designation *Khan* attached : * it may be resting too much on conjecture only, however, to give a period of existence to what

* I am not disposed to attach any importance to etymological conjectures in general, and merely adduce such analogies, as possible identifications in the absence of better guides ; at the same time I am very much disposed to think with the learned **DR. VINCENT**, that “ most, if not all of the Indian names, which occur in classical authors, are capable of being traced to native appellations, existing at this day among the *Hindoos*, at least, if not the *Moguls*.” (*Voyage of Nearchus*, 120.) *Lieut. Pottinger* finds a similarity between *Musicanus* and *Moo-Schwan*, the names of two contiguous districts in *Sind*, and usually connected in utterance. They lie exactly, where we are told, the *Greeks* found that chief's territories. *Travels in Biloohistan*.

are perhaps after all but phantoms, and we must remain satisfied with the possibility, that they were real personages, who ruled *Cashmir* as foreigners, and that as foreigners, they were extruded from the Hindu annals, and were preserved only by undefined traditions, which have been embodied into the Mohammedan history of SHEIK NURADDIN with little regard to chronology, or truth.

As the first named sovereign of the Hindu history of *Cashmir*, succeeded to the princes who had governed the country for nearly thirteen centuries, there should have been little or no chronological difficulty about the period of his accession : the introduction of *Manwantaras* and *Calpas*, has however obscured a system, otherwise clear at least, if not unexceptionable, and has left it doubtful, whether these princes, as well as the first settlement of the country, come within the limits of the *Cali*-age, and consequently at what date in that age, *Gonerda*, the *Augnand*,* of the Mohammedan writers, was king of *Cashmir* : there are other chronological points, connected with his history, that have received the notice of the Hindu historian.

The passage of the original is however here not very distinct, and refers evidently to computations of an uncommon character. GONERDA as appears from the transactions of his reign, was contemporary with CRISHNA and YUDHISHTHIR, who according to the generally received notions, lived at the end of the *Dwápar* age : this however the author observes is irreconcilable with the series of *Gonerda*'s successors, which agrees better with the opinion, that places the existence of the CAURAVA and PÁNDAVA princes about the middle of the seventh century of the *Cali Yug* ; a computation it may be remarked which is at variance with GONERDA's succeeding to the throne, after that had been occupied for 1266 years, unless some of those years be carried into the preceding age : it is of very little use however to attempt to reconcile these discrepancies, as the different statements are all probably equally incorrect ;

* In Nagari गोनर्द or in some copies गोनन्द *Gonerda* or *Gonanda*; the Persian is اوگند Augnand and the author of the *Wahati Cashmir* as well as BEDIA-AD-DIN leave no doubt of the intention of the Musselman writers as they detail the letters of this and other names, in the manner, common in Arabic and Persian Lexicons.

and it is only of importance to observe, the disagreement between this author and the popular belief, as to the age of YUDHISHŪHIR and CRĪSHŪĀ, and the reduction of the antiquity usually assigned to them, which is thus derivable from Hindu authority : any other conclusions, we shall be better prepared to make when we have gone through the different dynasties of princes, and the events recorded to have happened during their reigns.* If we may trust the Hindu historian, GONERDA the first was a relation of JARASANDHA, king of *Magadhá*, to whose assistance he led an army from *Cashmir* : the confederates were opposed to CRĪSHŪĀ, in the province of *Mat'hurá*, and were defeated in an engagement upon the banks of the YAMUNÁ by that chief, and his brother BALARÁMA, by whose hands GONERDA was slain, whilst attempting to rally his flying troops :† the prince was succeeded by his son DÁMODARA who in his impatience to revenge his father's death, attacked a party of the friends of CRĪSHŪĀ on their return from a marriage in *Gandhár* on the Indus ;‡ the bride was killed in the affray ; but the rage of the bridegroom and his friends was irresistible, and the followers of the prince were defeated, and himself slain ; the whole transaction being such as was probably of not unfrequent occurrence, in the history of these mountainous regions, in a state of society much more advanced, than that of which it is narrated. DÁMODARA left his wife YASOVATÍ pregnant, and ill able to resist the victorious *Yádava*. CRĪSHŪĀ however sent Brahmans to appease her anxiety, and establish her in the kingdom, silencing the remonstrances of his friends by this quotation from the *Purána's* कश्मीरः पार्वती तत्र राजा त्रयो हरिश्चक्रः नवज्ञेयः स दुष्टैरपि विदुषा भूतिमिहता “ *Cashmir* is as PÁRVATÍ,§ and the king is a portion of HARÁ : if even vicious therefore, he is not to be disrespected by the sage who hopes for heaven.”

In due time YASOVATÍ was delivered of a son, who was immediately anointed king,|| the minister of his father conducting the affairs of the state

* Appendix No. 4.

† Appendix No. 5.

‡ Appendix No. 6.

§ This appears to be a pun, *Párvati* meaning both mountainous and the wife of SIVA.

|| There is no other word that can be used to express the *Abhishec*, considered an essential part of the ceremony of coronation ; the word means in fact sprinkling, and implies in these cases, the sprinkling of the king with water from some sacred stream, as the Ganges, &c.

during his minority : he was named GONERDA* after his grand-father : his tender years prevented him from taking any part in the war that continued during his youth, to rage between the *Caurava* and *Pandava* families.

A dark period follows the reign of this prince, and the chasm is filled by a nameless troop of thirty-five kings, who deviating from the precepts of the *Vedas* were consequently immersed in the waters of oblivion : † to them succeeded a monarch of some celebrity, LAVA, the Loo or *Looloo* of the Moham-medan historians, of whom the only action recorded is the foundation of the city *Lolora* ‡, a city which, according to the extravagant accounts of all parties, contained originally an incredible number of stone edifices, § and which in modern times, continued to be a celebrated and populous *Tappa* or village. LAVA is also said to have been a benefactor of the Brahmanical tribe.

CUSÉSAYA, || the son of Lava, succeeded his father, whom he resembled in conferring endowments of land upon the Brahmanical priesthood. ** He was followed in habits and sovereignty by his son KHAGÉNDRA, †† of whom it is recorded that he constructed the towns *Khagi* and *Ehanmusha*. †† SURÉNDRA, §§ the son of this prince succeeded him, and was actively employed in founding

* *Abulfazl* has *Bala* ; the designation of the infant monarch, or *Bála*, a child, having been mistaken for his own appellation.

† According to *Bedia-ad-din* they were all of the *Pandava* race.

‡ Perhaps the *Durroo* or *Lurroo* of *Forster*, ii. 5.

§ *Abulfazl* has 80 Crore ; the original, one *Crore* minus 16 *Lacs* or 84,00,000 : both *Refud-deen* and *Mahommed Azim* say, that *Looloo* or *Lolot* was a populous place in the Pergannah of *Camraj*, or the western division of *Cashmir*. *Ayeen Acberi*, ii. 162.

|| *Kishn. Abulfazl*, &c.

** The term used on these occasions is *Agrahára*, which imports a portion of land, or a village, given to the *Brahmans*, with or without a temple or dwelling.

†† *Khagunder. Abulfazl*.

‡‡ *Cacapur* and *Gowmoha* in the time of the Moham-medan writers,

§§ *Serendair. Abulfazl*.

towns and building temples and palaces : one city of his construction was *Suraca* situated near the *Dárada* country, or at the foot of the mountains.

According to the Mohammedan writers, this prince had a daughter named *Catapan Bhanu* of great beauty and accomplishments; the reputation of which induced *Bahman*, the son of *Isfendiar*, who afterwards governed Persia under the name of *Ardisheer Dirazdest*, to solicit and obtain the princess in marriage. It does not appear from what source they have derived this story, as it is not found in the Hindu records, nor in the historical romance of *Firdausi*, unless we suppose it to have originated in the adventures of *Gush-tasp*, the grandfather of *Bahman*, who whilst in exile in the west married *Kattyoon*, the daughter of the Emperor of *Room*. (*Malcolm's Persia* 56.) Had there been any foundation for the tradition, it might have been of some chronological utility, but it is probably either an idle invention, or it is a misrepresentation of the fables which relate to the adventures of *Behram Gor*, who according to *Firdausi*, visited *India*, and there married *Sipanud* the daughter of SHANCAL king of Canouj.*

As SURENDRA however had no son, he was succeeded by a prince of ano-

* Or rather of the whole tract of country from *Canouj* to *Khorasan*, according to the Persian poet. Thus *Bahram*, he says, sends an embassy to Shancal, who is sovereign of India from the river of *Canouj* to the borders of *Sind* پنزدیک شنکل نکهدار هند ز دریای قنوج تا مرز سند the king in his reply tells him, that the region he rules is full of mountains and streams, and extends from *Canouj* to *Iran* in one direction, and in the other from *Siclab* (*Sclavonia* or *Tartary*) to *China*.

بهر بوم راکوه و دریاست راه نیابد برین بحاک بردیوکاه
وزان روی سهلاب تا مرز چین ز قنوج تا مرز ایران زمین

The SHANCAL here mentioned is probably the *Shincal* of *Meerkhond* and *Ferishta*; they have however added to his history, and have made him contemporary with AFRASIAB. The union noticed in the text terminated according to *Bedia-ad-din* unhappily, and *Behman* was murdered by the attendants of the princess at her instigation, in resentment of his contemptuous mention of her father; and he did not perish, he observes, as said by other reports, of the bite of a snake.

ther family named GODHARA;* whose successors SUVERNA, JANACA and SACHINARA† followed him in regular descent, and continued to build cities, and construct and endow temples for the advantage of the *Brahmans*, and chiefly it would seem for the worship of SIVA. JANACA the second of these princes is said by *Bedia-ad-din* to have sent one of his sons into Persia, with a hostile force during the reign of *Homai*: the invader however was repelled and slain by the Persians under *Darab*, the son of *Bahman*.

The last of these princes being childless, the crown of *Cashmir* reverted to the family of its former rulers, and devolved on ASOCA who was descended from the paternal great uncle of KHAGÉNDRA. This prince, it is said in the *Ayin Acberri*, abolished the Brahmanical rites, and substituted those of *Jina*: from the original however it appears, that he by no means attempted the former of these heinous acts, and that on the contrary, he was a pious worshipper of SIVA, an ancient temple of whom in the character of *Vijayésa*‡ he repaired. With respect to the second charge, there is better foundation for it, although it appears that this prince did not introduce, but invented or originated the *Jina Sasana*.§ He is said to have founded a city called *Srinagar*, a different place however from the present capital, which is attributed to a much later monarch || In the reign of ASOCA, *Cashmir* was overrun by the *Mlech'has*, for

* Gowdher, *Ayin Acberri*.

† SUREN, JENEK and SEIJUNER. *Ibid*,

‡ There are a *Vijayésa* and *Vijaya chetra* at Benares. The *Vijaya Linga* adjoined, or in other words, his worship was brought, according to the *Casi Chand from Cashmir*. Sec. 69. काशीरादिह सम्राप्तं लिङ्गं विजयसञ्चितं । सदा विजयदं पुंसां प्राच्यांशालाकटं कटात् ॥

§ *Bedia-ad-din* says, the new faith was brought from *Ajem*, in which case it must have been the worship of fire that was introduced, a circumstance of no unlikely occurrence, but which at this period of our history is utterly irreconcilable with the chronology of the original, as if it took place after *Darab* the son of *Homai*—it very little preceded Alexander's invasion of India—but we have not yet come to the second *Gonerda*, who lived, agreeably to the assertion of CALHANA PANDIT, 1182 B. C.—It must not be forgotten that these Persian transactions are taken from the Mohammedan writers, and are not hinted at in the *Rhjá Taringiní*.

|| RAFI-AD-DEEN calls it *Babara*; the *Wakiat-i-Cashmir* and *Narayan Cul* call it *Sir*, and the latter states that it was in *Miraj*, or the eastern division of *Cashmir*, and that traces of its site were visible in his time.

whose expulsion the king obtained from ŚIVA a pious and valiant son, as a reward for the austerities he had practised.*

JALOCA, the son and successor of ASOCA, was a prince of great prowess: he overcame the assertors of the *Bauddha* heresies, and quickly expelled the *Mlech'has* from the country, thence named *Ujjhita dimba*: he then carried his victorious arms to foreign regions, and amongst others to the North of Persia, which he subjugated in the reign of *Darab*,† and then proceeding in an opposite direction he subdued the country of Canouj.

The conquest of *Canyacubja* by this prince, is connected with an event not improbable in itself, and which possibly marks the introduction of the *Brahmanical* creed, in its more perfect form, into this kingdom. JALOCA is said to have adopted thence the distinction of casts, and the practices which

* The faith of ASOCA is a matter of very little moment, as the prince himself is possibly an ideal personage: as however the comparative antiquity of the *Bauddha* and *Brahmanical* creeds in *Cashmir* has been supposed to be affected by it, and the events subsequently recorded, it may be advisable to give the passages of the original, which shew that ASOCA was a worshipper of SIVA: it is not improbable however, if we are to attach credit to any part of this portion of the *Cashmirian* history, that he permitted heretical, possibly *Bauddha* doctrines, to be introduced into the kingdom during his reign from his Tartar neighbours.

अथावहदशोकाख्यस्यसन्धो वसुधरा । यः शान्तदृजिनो राजा प्रपन्नो जिनशासनं ।

“Then the prince ASOCA, the lover of truth, obtained the earth; who sinning in subdued affections, produced the *Jina Sasana*.” This may mean possibly something very different from the received idea, and may imply his neglect of affairs of state through excess of devotion, and his consequently omitting to prevent the intrusion of a foreign power, rather than a foreign faith, into the kingdom, the expulsion of which was the object of his son's birth.

क्षेत्रैः संक्रादिते देशे स तदुच्छ्रितये तपः तपःसंतोषिताक्षेभे भुतेशात् सुहृतीसुतं ॥

“The country being overspread with *Mlech'has*, the king for their expulsion obtained from *Bhutésa* (*Siva* as the Lord of the elements) pleased with his *Tapas*, an excellent son.”—DR. BUCHANAN has made a strange misquotation from ABULFAZL; (A. R. vi. 165.) He calls ASOCA Raja *Jennet*, and says he *established* in his reign the *Brahmany* rites, instead of *abolished* them as it occurs in the *Ayin Acberi*; an error which justly drew down the angry censures of the Oriental Critics in the *Edinburgh Review* for October, 1802, and the *Asiatic Annual Register* of the same year; the *Mlech'has* might have been Scythians or Tartars. See the observations on the Tartar princes.

† *Bedia-ad-din*.

were at that time established in the neighbouring districts : he also introduced into the Government the forms and offices elsewhere prevalent, and first assigned titles and duties to the following seven officers of state, the *Dhermādhyacsha*, the justiciary, or chancellor ; *Dhana-adhyacsha*, treasurer ; *Cosha-adhyacsha*, master of the military stores ; *Chamupati*, commander in chief ; *Dūta*, messenger or ambassador ; *Purodhá*, the royal chaplain or almoner, and the *Dairvajnya* or chief astrologer. The eighteen offices, and their duties, were also defined by this prince, who appears to have been the first of the *Cashmir* kings who introduced religion and government into that kingdom. He is said to have particularly worshipped *SIVA* as *NANDÉSA* in consequence of having had read to him the *Nandipurána* by one of *VYÁSA*'s scholars : he also erected temples to the same deity as *JYÉSHA* *RUDRA*. This prince was possessed of supernatural powers, and several marvellous stories are narrated of him, which we need not pause to extract : he was also a prince of a generous disposition, and a rigid observer of his word : although devoted to *SIVA*, he forbore in the latter part of his reign from molesting the followers of the *Bauddha* schism, and even bestowed on them some endowments as the *Vihar** called *Crityúsrana*, in honor of one of their female divinities, or spirits named *Crityádevi*, by whom he had been addressed as a *Bodhisatwa* himself.† After a long and glorious reign, he went on a pilgri-

* *Vihár* is a common Sanscrit word usually employed to designate a *Bauddha* temple as well as an establishment or College of *Bauddha* priests. It seems to have been also used by the old Persians in a similar sense, and to have been applied to their fire temples. See *Ouseley's Persia* 126, and note. In the work before us, it has frequently an extended meaning, and also signifies a Royal pleasure house or garden.

† The divinity who appeared to the prince to intercede for the *Bauddhists* explains the term *Bodhisatwa* ;

बोधिसत्वैकधरणाः कांक्षन्त्यसमसः क्षयं लोके भगवतो लोकनाथादारभ्य केचन । ये
जन्तव गतक्षेत्रान् बोधिसत्वाववेदि तान् । सागसेऽपि न कुप्यन्ति क्षमया चोपकुर्वन्ते । बोधिं
स्वप्नैव धेव्यन्ति ते विश्वधरयोद्यताः ॥

‘Those who are *Bodhisatwas* trusting to the one great refuge, are desirous of the destruction of darkness ; they proceed in the universe of the Lord, from the Lord of the universe, and are not
wroth

mage to *Chiramochana Tirtha*, where after worshipping *Jyēshtha Rudra*, the prince and his queen were both identified with that deity.

The successor of this celebrated monarch was *DAMODARA*, of whose descent various opinions were entertained ; some deducing him from *ASOCA* and others considering him as sprung from a different family ; he was a devout worshipper of *SIVA* : this prince constructed several stone bridges and causeways, the remains of which were visible in modern times ; and there were also two remarkable places, which in the time of *Mohammed Azim* were connected with the legendary history of this prince ; the one a set of small irregular springs, and the other a spot of uneven and marshy ground near the city,

On one occasion as *DAMODARA* was proceeding to perform his customary ablutions in the *Vitastā*, he was importuned for food by some hungry Brahmans ; he deferred complying with their solicitations till he had bathed in the river, then at some distance : to shorten the interval they proposed to bring the river to him, and immediately the water of the *Vitastā* bubbled up from different places near them, forming the springs that are still to be seen ; the king was unmoved by this miracle, and being still determined to bathe in the genuine stream, the Brahmans denounced a curse upon him, and transformed him into a snake, in which shape he haunts the ground near

wroth sinfully at the distresses inflicted on animal nature unpervaded by waking truth, but alleviate them by patience. Those who seek to understand themselves, they are strenuous in bearing all." A *BODHISATWA* is therefore nothing but a man of patience and piety, and may be regarded as a living type, and figuratively as a lineal descendant of *BUDDHA* : his origin from the Lord of the universe (*Locanat'h*, an epithet of *BUDDHA*) in this passage, may be so intended : at the same time it appears that *BODHISATWA* is sometimes considered literally as the son of *BUDDHA* ; On verra dans la suite de cet ouvrage que Phou sa ou Boudhisatoua, les fils de Boudha, &c. *Mons. Remusat*, on the polyglot Chinese vocabulary. Mines de l'orient vol. iv. 198, note. The continuation he refers to has not yet been received. The term, as a generic appellation of a living *Buddha*, is common in all Bauddha countries : one of the *Bourkhans* of the Calmucks is named Khomschin *Bodi-Sada* (Pallas. Fr. Trans. Oct. ii. 222.) An Indian teacher of Boudhism, who was invited into Tibet, is named *Pothi satho* (Giorgi. 240), and according to *Louberé* one of the names of *Sommono Codom* (Samana Gotama) amongst the Siamese, is *Pouti Sat*, or *Seigneur Pouti*. (*Vie de Thevetat*.)

the Capital, and is often to be seen : this spot is called *Damodar-uder* according to the Musselman accounts.*

DAMODARA was succeeded by three princes who divided the country, and severally founded capital cities named after themselves. These princes were called HUSHCA, JUSHCA, and CANISHCA,† and these appellations are strongly corroborative of an assertion of our author, that they were of *Turushca*, that is, of *Turc* or *Tartar* extraction : they are considered as synchronous, but may possibly be all that are preserved of some series of Tartar princes, who, it is very likely, at various periods, established themselves in *Cashmir*. The chief event recorded of their reign is the foundation of the three several capitals, named after themselves,‡ but another and more important consequence of their Sovereignty is said to have been the almost entire change of the national faith, and the nearly exclusive prevalence of the doctrines of the *Bauddhas* under a *Bodhisatwa* or hierarch named NĀGĀRJUNA. The period at which this took place is said to have been 150 years before the death of *Sacaysinha*.§ The presence of the *Turushca* princes in *Cashmir*, we may observe, is in harmony with Tartar traditions ; according to these, *Oghuz* their patriarch is represented to have subdued that country, and introduced the religion of *Japhet* there, so long back as 2800 years before the Christian æra.¶ A second Scythian irruption and subjugation of India, bordering on

* I understand from some natives of *Cashmir* that this superstition still exists, and that DAMODARA, transformed to a serpent, still haunts a lake about seven *cos* from the Capital, and is still occasionally visible : no doubt, in *that form*.

† BEYSHEK, RESHEK, KINSHEK. *Abulfazl*. Brothers according to the same authority, but not so termed in the original.

‡ Hushcapur, said by the modern writers to be the modern *Shcroh* in the *Pergannah of Lar*, and a town of some extent : *Jushcapur* and *Canishcapur* are identified with *Dahimpur* and *Cansapur*, two inconsiderable villages in the time of *Mohammed Shah*.

§ Appendix, No. VII.

¶ OGHUZ conquit ainsi toute la *Bukharie*, *Balkh*, *Khor*, *Kaboul*, *Ghazna* et le *Kaschmir* ou il y avoit un prince fort puissant nommé *Jagma*. *Des Guignes Tome prem. Partie seconde p. 10*. We cannot find in the text any name resembling the *Jagma* of the Tartar tradition, but it is apparently a Hindu appellative, and the omission of its original is easily accounted for ; we have an evident chasm in the history here, and the accession or expulsion of the *Turushca* princes is equally unexplained.

the *Sind* is also said to have occurred about the middle of the 7th century before Christ :* neither of these dates will correspond precisely with that of the reigns above described, but they are all perhaps equally of little value, and only corroborate the general fact, that at some remote period the Tartars or Scythians did govern *Cashmir*, and render it probable, that *they* first gave the sanction of authority to their national religion, or that of BUDHA, in India.

The Tartar princes were succeeded by ABHIMANYU, a monarch evidently of a Hindu appellation, and a follower of the orthodox faith, which he re-established in *Cashmir*. The chief instrument in this reform was CHANDRA, a Brahmin celebrated as the author of a grammar, and a teacher of the *Mahabhashya*.† In consequence of the disuse of the prescribed institutes, the abolition of every form of sacrifice, and a departure from the lessons of the *Nila Purána*,‡ the *Nágas* were particularly incensed, and visited the offences of the people with severe and unseasonable storms of rain and snow, in which those especially perished who had adopted the *Bauddha* heresy :§ in this situation of the kingdom, CHANDRA, descended it is said from CAŚYAPA, addressed his prayers to MAHÉŚWARA as NÍLA NÁGA, the tutelary deity of the country, and obtained from him a termination of what our author calls, the double plague of *Cashmir*, the severity of the seasons, and the predominance of the *Bauddhas*.

The reign of ABHIMANYU closes the first series of princes, and introduces us to a period in which the author of the *Rájá Taring íní* affects greater pre-

* *Maurice's Ancient History of India*, ii. 224; according to Blair, B. C. 624 in the reign of Cyaxares or Kaikaos. A subsequent irruption took place in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, if he be, as he probably is, the same with *Gushtasp*: this last was of a decidedly religious character. *Malcolm's Persia*, i. 62.

† The name of CHANDRA occurs amongst the eight ancient Grammarians of the *Hindus*. *Colebrooke on the Sanscrit and Pracrit Languages*, A. R. vii. 204 and 5.

‡ The *Purána* of the *Nága* or Serpent god, named *Nila*.

§ Appendix, No. VIII.

cision than before, and specifies the term of each prince's reign : it is evident however that the reigns of the earliest sovereigns are much too protracted, and they must be considerably reduced to be brought within the limits of probability : the object of the author is evidently to reconcile the details with the gross amount of years, which he has stated to extend, from the first prince of the new series, the third GONERDA, to 1070 of *Saca*, and which he has made 2330 : how far this postulate is correct we are not yet prepared to determine ; and must refer its discussion to the close of the history, when we shall have the whole subject before us : in the mean time the chronology of our author may be admitted, and the dates of the various reigns assigned to them on the principles of his computation ; commencing accordingly with the year before Christ 1182 corresponding with 2330 years before *Saca* 1070 or A. D. 1148.

GONERDA* the third, succeeded ABHIMANYU, and prosecuted the reform which that prince had commenced ; the ancient ritual agreeably to the *Nila* precepts, was restored, and the worship of the *Nágas* and the offering of sacrifices re-established : by acts of this description, the fame of monarchs is perpetuated, and this prince gave the same lustre to his family, as RÁGHAVA diffused upon the race of RAGHU. He reigned 35 years.

GONERDA was succeeded by several princes of whom we have only recorded the dry list of names, and the duration of their reigns. These were

VIBHÍSHAÑA, who reigned 53 years ; INDRAJITA, 35 years and 6 months ; RÁVAÑA, 30 years ; VIBHÍSHAÑA 2d, 35 years and 6 months ;

Making an aggregate of 154 years. Of RÁVAÑA, it is said, that he extended the worship of *SIVA* as the *Linga Vatéśwara*, and of the second VIBHÍSHAÑA that he was both a Patron and Cultivator of the art of Music ; the Moham-

* According to *Bedia-ad-din* he was not born but elevated to the throne ; how, is not mentioned ; the same authority makes him subdue, by means of his general *Nand Ram*, the whole of *Hindustan*, as far as the *Nermada*.

medan writers say, that in their days *Tiránehs* ascribed to this prince were current in *Cashmir*.*

B. C. 908
or 490.

NARA† the son of VIBHÍSHAÑA succeeded his father ; this prince began his reign virtuously, but one of his wives having been seduced from her fidelity by a Bauddha ascetic, the king committed a thousand *Vihárs* to the flames, and gave the lands attached to them to the *Brahmans* ; the only measure, which seems to authorise the account of ABULFAZL, that in this reign the *Brahmans* got the better of the followers of *Buddha*, and burnt down their temples : in fact, however this prince seems to have been as little disposed to regard one sect as the other with complacency, and finally fell a victim, it is said, to the resentment of one of the orthodox priesthood.

The legend which introduces this catastrophe is not without poetical merit, although too purely poetical to be here transcribed at length. A Brahman had become the son-in-law of *Susravas*, the *Nága*, whose palace was in a lake, near the borders of the *Vitastá*, and in a city founded by NARA near that river. The wife of the Brahman, *Chandrabáhá*, residing there with her husband, attracted the illicit affection of the King, and having resisted all his solicitations, obliged him at length to attempt to carry her off by force : the attempt failed : the *Brahman* invoked the aid of his father-in-law, who rising from the lake in wrath, excited a violent storm which destroyed the guilty monarch and his people. The sister of the snake God aided him in his attack upon the city with a shower of large stones brought from the *Ramañya* mountain, the cavities whence they were taken are still, says our author, to be seen. The *Nága*, a little ashamed of his cruelty, deserted the country, taking with him his son-in-law and his daughter ; the waters of the lake he formerly inhabited, he changed to the whiteness of milk, as may be seen at the *Amaréswara yatra* ; this lake is sometimes called *Jamátrísar* :

* *Bedia-ad-din* here inserts another prince *Inderáyan*, who was a magician and tyrant, and therefore put to death by his brother *Callás Síuh*.

† Written *Booz* by the Mohammedan writers.

the story is recalled to the minds of men, when they visit *Upachakra Dhāra*.^{*} We may observe however that the destruction of the city, and death of this prince, are ascribed by *Bedia-ad-din* to a popular tumult, excited by the conduct which is here stated to have produced the catastrophe.

NARA was succeeded by his son SIDDHA, who had escaped the late calamity by having been sent with his nurse to *Vijayacshetra* some time before. He collected the dispersed and frightened people, and restored prosperity to the kingdom : he reigned sixty years.

We have again a barren series of successive princes, whose names and reigns alone are recorded :—

	Years.	Months.
Utpalácsha, who reigned	30	6
Hiranyácsha,	37	7
Hiranyacula,	60	0
Vamacula,	60	0

The last of these was succeeded by his son MIHIRA CULA, † a prince of vio-

^{*} *Chacder* near *Mabrah*, according to the author of the *Wakiat-i-Cashmir* : *Narayana Cul* says, there are two fountains, one of the snake and the other of his son-in-law, on the borders of *Dutchenpara*, and their united water runs to *Laidar*. *Abulfazl* speaks of a rivulet with a bed of white clay in this situation (*Ayin Acberi*, ii. 133). The origin of this and similar fables is very obvious : they are invented to account for the various phenomena, especially with regard to lakes and springs, with which *Cashmir* so plentifully abounds. *Abulfazl* has a long list of the *Ajaibwa Gharab* of this district, and is far from having exhausted the subject, if we may depend upon other authorities. We know less of *Cashmir* from European enquiry than of almost any other district in the East : it would no doubt amply reward more minute investigation.

B. C.
705 or 810.

† These names are strangely transformed in the *Ayin Acberi* to
 Adutbulabeh.
 Hernya.
 Herenkul.
 Ebeshek, and
 Mirkhul.

The first prince appears to be intended by the name of PUSHCARÁCSHA, which means the same thing, 'the lotus-eyed,' who is mentioned in the *Mudrá Rácshasa*, as the king of *Cashmir*, who was one of the princes confederated against *Chandragupta* or *Sandrocottus*. The second of the series HIRANYÁCSHA is the hero of a marvellous story in the *Vrikat Cathá*, which leads to

his

lent and cruel propensities ; the kingdom upon his accession was crowded with *Mlech'has*, although whether as attached to the king, or as enemies, does not appear. The violent disposition of this monarch led him to an attack upon *Lanca*. The cloth of *Sinhalá* was stamped with a golden foot as the seal of its prince ; the wife of *MHIRACULA* wearing a jacket of *Sinhalá* cloth, the impression of the seal came off upon her bosom, and the king happening to observe it, was filled with unappeasable indignation, at the idea of the foot of a stranger being impressed upon the bosom of his wife. To revenge the fancied insult, he led his army to *Lanca*, deposed the king, and placed another on the throne, stipulating that the *Sinhalá* cloths called *Yamushadeva* should in future bear his own seal, a golden sun. On his way back to *Cashmir*, he subdued the sovereigns of *Chola*, *Carnáta*, *Láta*, and other monarchs of the *Decshin*. Arrived in *Cashmir*, he founded the temple of *Mihiréswara* in the capitál, and built the city *Mihirapur* in the district of *Holorá*, in which the *Gañdhár** Brahman's, a low race, and therefore the more highly esteemed by this iniquitous monarch, were permitted to seize upon the endowments of the more respectable orders of the priesthood. According to *Mahommed Azim*, he also constructed in the purgunah of *Ouder* the *Chandracul* canal, which existed in that writer's time.

Two instances of this monarch's ferocious disposition are recorded by the original authority, and have both been transcribed with some alteration by *ABULFAZL* and the other Mohammedan authors : on the return of *MHIRACULA* to his own kingdom, one of his elephants fell, whilst proceeding along a narrow defile, and was crushed to pieces by the fall : the cries of the dying animal were music to the ears of the prince, and so delighted was he with the sound, that he ordered 100 elephants to be precipitated in a similar manner, that his entertainment might be protracted ; according to *Abulfazl* the pass was thence called *Hasti Wuttar*; *Hasti* signifying an elephant and *Wuttar* meaning injury ; the latter part of which etymology is scarcely

his marriage with a *Vidhyádhari*, a Hindu goddess of an inferior order. The prince is called in the *Vrihat Cathá*, the son of *Cámac'ha* : in other respects there is no question of the identity.

* The *Mahábhárat* mentions the Brahman's of this country as of an inferior tribe, as is noticed in Appendix, No. VI.

of Sanscrit origin: besides which, that author is a little at variance with himself, as he had previously separated the two words, and told us that they were different portions of the Bember road, through both of which an army might pass. The other anecdote has been supposed to account for the title by which this prince was known of *Tricotihá*, the slayer of three millions: amongst the ruins of *Narapur*, destroyed as we have seen in the reign of NARA by the *Nága* SUSRAVAS, some *Khasa* tribes had taken up their abode: to drive them from the prohibited residence, a large stone fell into the bed of the *Chandracula* river, and completely obstructed the current: the prince was instructed in a dream that its removal could only be effected by a female of unsullied virtue, and he accordingly commanded women of respectable birth and station, to perform the task: their efforts were unavailing: women of the first families and supposed irreproachable conduct, attempted in vain to remove the stone, and its removal was at last effected by a female of a low class, the wife of a potter: the king incensed by this divine proof of the corrupt lives of the female part of his subjects, ordered them to be put to death, together with their husbands, children, and brothers, as implicated in their disgrace.* The blood shed by the commands of this sanguinary sovereign, was expiated by his death: suffering under a painful disease and awakened to some sense of his past cruelty, he determined to put a voluntary term to his existence and end his days upon the funeral pile. He found it impossible, however, to meet with persons qualified to conduct the ceremonies of his cremation, as his kingdom was crowded with the impure tribes of *Dáradas*, † *Bhoteas* and *Mlech'has*. Revoking therefore his grants to the *Gándhára* Brahmans, he invited those of *Aryadéśa*, on whom he bestowed a thousand *Agraharas* in *Vijayésvara*. The pile was constructed of military weapons, and the king having seated himself on the summit, the fire was applied, and quickly put a period to his sufferings and his crimes. The duration of his reign is said to have been 70 years.

* The point of this story is the same as of that related of PHERON by HERODOTUS, ii. 111. and *Ancient Universal History*, i. 294.

† A. R. vi. 417. *Daward*, the mountainous range north west of *Cashmír*, and the present residence of the *Durds*.

VACA* the son of MIHIRA CULA succeeded his father: he founded the city *Lavanotsa* on the banks of *Vacavati* river: he was prevailed upon to assist a *Yogtsvari* at a rite, which enabled her to traverse the air at a spot where the impression of her knees is still visible on a rock.† He was accompanied by a hundred of his descendants, and the legend of *Śatacapléśa* and the *Matrichakra* stone is still commemorated at *Khira Matha* or *Khira College*: VACA reigned 63 years and 13 days. The names and reigns of his immediate successors are all that has been recorded of them :

CSHITINANDA, ruled	30 years.
VASUNANDA,	52 years and 2 months,
BARA,	60 years.
ACSHA, †	60 years.

B. C.
370 or 130.

A *Cāma Sastra* is ascribed to the second of these princes. ACSHA was succeeded by his son GOPÁDITYA, § a prince of eminent piety, whose virtue brought back the *Satya* or golden age: he enforced a strict observance of the ritual and distinctions of cast, removed those Brahmans who had adopted impure practices from their endowments, and invited others from distant countries to replace them, and finally he forbade the killing of any animal except for the purpose of sacrifice. According to the Mohammedan authorities, he built a temple, or the mound near the capital of *Cashmir*, called the *Takht Suliman* :|| it was destroyed with other places of Hindu worship by Secander, ¶ one of the first Mohammedan kings of *Cashmir*, and who, on account of the bigoted assiduity with which he demolished the vestiges of Hindu superstition, is constantly alluded to by the title *But Skeken*, the idol breaker,

* *Beck. Ayin Acheri.*

† At *Beren* or *Meren* according to NARÁYAN CUL, who adds that she killed the king: the subsequent allusion is not further explained by CALHANA PUNDIT.

‡ *Kutnund. Vistnund. Nir. Aj. Ayin Acheri.*

§ *Kulvarit.—Ibid.*

|| *Bedia-ad-din* notices a tradition that the tomb in this building was said to enshrine the remains of a christian apostle.

¶ This is from *Refiaddin*, but NARAYAN CUL asserts that it was still standing in his time. *Forster* does not notice any ruins or buildings on this spot, but we have mention made of them

by

GOPÁDITYA, after a reign of 60 years, was succeeded by his son GOKERNA,* of whom it is merely stated that he erected a temple to GOKERNÉSWARA.†

NARENDRÁDITYA, † his son, succeeded him, after a reign of 57 years: he reigned 31 years and a few months, and left the crown to his son YUDHISHŪHRA§ surnamed the *blind*, from the smallness of his eyes.

The commencement of this monarch's reign was influenced by the same attention to virtue and propriety, as had governed the conduct of his pious predecessors. As fortune had however decreed that he should be the last of his dynasty, he gradually ceased to regard the lessons of prudence and piety, and addicted himself to sensual pleasures and disgraceful society: he was constantly inebriated with wine: his companions were harlots and buffoons, and he treated with levity and scorn the admonition of his counsellors: the administration of affairs was neglected: the chief nobles defied the royal authority, and foreign princes encroached upon the confines of the kingdom. To prevent the ruin of the state, and to revenge upon the prince the insults they had received or prevent those which they anticipated, the ministers approached the palace with a numerous and well appointed force: as resistance was hopeless, the king precipitately fled from *Srinagar*, and secreted himself in the woods and mountains with his women and a few followers, doomed now to exchange luxury for privation, the downy couch for the sharp rock, and the harmony of minstrels for the wild dashing of cascades, or the wilder horns of the mountaineers: he at last found a refuge in

B. C.
216 or 40.

by BERNIER. A l'opposite de cette montagne il en paorit une aussi avec une petite mosquée avec unjardin et un tres ancien batiment qui marque avoir été un temple d' Idoles, quoiqou l'appelle *Tact Souleman*, Le trone de Souleman ii. 274.

* Kurren.—*Ay. Ac.*

† The lord of GOKERNA, being in fact a LINGA, as whenever that emblem of SIVA is set up, it receives the appellation of ISWARA compounded with some word expressive of the divine attributes, as VISWÉSWARA, the Lord of all; of the locality of its site, as *Gangenwara*. *Cadama wara*, &c. or of the person by whom it is erected, as in the text.

‡ *Nurundrawut*.—*Ay. Ac.*

§ *Jewdishter*.—*Ibid.*

the courts of some compassionate princes, where, according to general belief he died in exile; according to other accounts, he engaged in unsuccessful attempts to recover his kingdom, in one of which he was taken prisoner by the nobles and thrown into captivity, from which he was released only by his death. The term of his reign was 48 years.

B. C.
168 or 10.

The successor of YUDHISHTHÍR was PRATÁPÁDITYA,* who was invited from another country: he was a kinsman of the king VICRAMÁDITYA; a different monarch, says our author, from the *Sacátri Vicramáditya*, although sometimes identified erroneously with that prince:† he was a virtuous monarch and enjoyed a prosperous reign of 32 years, leaving his crown to his son,

JALAUCA,‡ who also reigned 32 years, and was succeeded by his son,

TUNJÍNA,§ who with his queen VACPUSHTÁ, erected the temple of TUNGÉS-WARA, and founded the city *Haravasanticá*, in a district watered by the *Satáhradá*, and *Payovahá* like the bow of *Indra*, and its string.¶ In their time existed CHANDACA a portion of DWÁIPAYANA, whose *Nátya* is well known.

In the reign of this prince an unseasonable fall of snow in the month *Bhádra* destroyed the crops, and caused a famine, in which great numbers of people perished: such was the general distress, that all the ties of society were dissolved, and all the duties of life disregarded: modesty and pride, family honor, and public respect were all forgotten: the love of parent and child, of husband and wife, no longer prevailed: every individual sought alone for self-preservation, and although reduced to bones and tendons, the famished skeletons fought with fury for the carcases of the dead;

* *Pertaudat.—Ay. Ac.*

† Notwithstanding our author's assertion, it seems probable that the identification is right, *Narayan Cul* and *Bedia-ad-din* state that *Pratápáditya* was related to *Vicramáditya*, the celebrated prince of Malwa: we shall have occasion to advert hereafter to this subject more fully.

‡ *Juggook.—Ay. Ac.*

§ *Bunjir.—Ay. Ac.*

¶ The first is the *Setlej*, the second must be the *Beyah*, to which the name in the text sufficiently approaches.

The king exerted himself to relieve the distresses of his subjects, and exhausted his own treasures, as well as those of his ministers, in procuring supplies of grain: the jewels of his court and queen were appropriated to the same purpose, but the famine still continuing, the monarch, despairing of relieving his afflicted people, and unable to witness their sufferings, determined to put a period to his existence by committing his body to the flames: from this purpose he was dissuaded by his queen, and once more addressing their earnest supplications to the gods, they obtained by their divine interposition, a miraculous shower of pigeons, who fell dead in the streets of the capital every day for a considerable period, and furnished the inhabitants with food until the products of the earth once more supplied them with subsistence. This prince died after a reign of 36 years: his wife accompanied him on the funeral pile at a place thence called *Vaapushitāni*, and to which it was customary, in our author's time, for persons to bring the dead bodies of those husbands to be burnt, whose wives had the virtue to emulate the example of this pious princess.

As the pure piety of this couple did not permit their having posterity, a prince of another family ascended the throne: he was named *Vijaya*,* and built the temple of *Vijayeshwara* in the capital. He reigned 8 years, and was succeeded by his son

Jayendra,† who was distinguished by the length of his arms, his hands touching his knees: this prince was fortunate at first in a minister of great integrity and talent, named *Sandhimati*, but influenced by the advice of those who envied the minister's superiority, the king conceived an aversion for him, and dismissed him from his employments: the poverty to which he was thus reduced served only to heighten his reputation: he devoted all his thoughts to religion, but a report, of heavenly origin, soon prevailed, that he was yet destined to wear a crown: when the report reached the king, his fears were excited, and seizing the person of *Sandhimati* he threw him into prison, and kept him several years in close confinement; at the expiration of that term, the king, feeling his end approach, was determined before his death

* *Bejery*.—*Abulfazl*.

† *Chunder*.—*Ibid*.

to frustrate the decrees of fate, and to carry with him into a future state the spirit of his obnoxious minister : accordingly, on the same night on which the monarch's body was burnt, the executioners put SANDHIMATI to death upon a stake.* JAYÉNDRA reigned 37 years.

When ISÁNA, the *Guru* of SANDHIMATI, heard of his death, he repaired to the place of execution, to recover the body, and secure for it funeral rites. On taking the body from the stake, and fastening the feet and head together, in order to remove the corpse more commodiously, he was struck by an inscription on the forehead, which his knowledge enabled him to decypher; it was to this effect, "a life of poverty, ten years' imprisonment, death on a stake, and accession to a throne;" predictions of which three had come to pass, and the fourth was yet to be fulfilled. For the accomplishment of the splendid part of our hero's fate, the *Brahman* performed those rites which compel the attendance of the ministers of *Siva*, the *Yoginis*; who accordingly appeared, and restored animation to the lifeless body of SANDHIMATI, whom they endowed with singular beauty and supernatural powers, and hailed as future king by the title of ÁRYA RÁJA.† The news of this miraculous restoration spread through the kingdom, and all classes of people, impelled by resistless destiny, hastened to salute him as king: they led him in triumph to the capital, and he commenced his pious reign.

Whoever might have been the person, thus made the subject of miraculous tradition, it appears from our author's account, supported by him by reference to local corroboration, that he was an active promoter of the worship of *SIVA* as the *Linga*, with the usual accompaniments of the Trident and the Bull. Many temples of this description, continued at a long subsequent period, to be ascribed to this reign, and particularly one called *Sa-*

* झूरेः वधकर्माधिकारिभिः सन्धिमतिः शूले समारोप्य विपादितः।

"SANDHIMATI being elevated by the savage executioners on the *Sula* was killed." He was perhaps impaled. Major Wilford however considers the instrument to be a cross.—See *A. R. x.* But the punishment of impaling has always prevailed in the east: accounts of it in Ceylon, Java, the Burman Empire, &c. are numerous and authentic.

† Ariraj.—*Abulfazi*.

kasralingam, from its containing a thousand *Lingas*, constructed of stone, the remains of which were visible in the time of CALHAÑA PAÑDIT.

After reigning 47 years, ÁRYA, the pious monarch, whose court was like the palace of *Mahéswara*, where the articles of fashionable dress were ashes of burnt cowdung, rosaries of the *Eleocarpus*, and matted locks of hair, and the favorites and companions of the prince were mendicants and ascetics, grew weary of the cares of state, and determined to retire into the seclusion, better suited to his apparently fanatical propensities : having found that a descendant of *Yudhisht'hir* still lived, he recommended the youth as his successor, and delivering the government into the hands of the nobles, he divested himself of his royal ornaments, and with no other garment than the *Dhoti*, bare-footed, and without his turban, carrying with him the *Archalinga*,* and observing a strict silence, he came out from the city, followed by an immense concourse of people : at the end of about two miles, he sat down under a tree, and addressed his followers, whom he prevailed upon to disperse : he then resumed his route to the *Tirt'ha* of NANDÍŚA or NANDÍCSHÉTRA, where he ended his days in ascetic mortification, and the assiduous worship of the god whom the three worlds obey.

MÉGHAVÁHANA,† who was invited to succeed to the throne of his ancestors, was the third in descent from YUDHISHT'HIR, being his great grandson : his father had found an asylum at the court of GOPÁDITYA, king of *Gandhár*, whose assistance had restored him to some degree of opulence and consequence : his son MÉGHAVÁHANA was thence enabled to present himself amongst the candidates for the hand of the princess of *Pragjyotish* or *Asam*, and to obtain her election.‡ With his wife, and a suitable dower, he had rejoined his father,

* The *Jungum* profess the exclusive worship of ŚIVA, and an appropriate emblem of that deity, in its most obscene form, inclosed in a diminutive silver or copper shrine or temple, is suspended from the neck of every votary as a sort of personal god.—*Wilks's Mysore*, i. 501. This is probably the *Archalingam* of our original, *archá* meaning worship. The introduction of this sect into the *Decshin* in the eleventh century must have been long subsequent to its establishment in the north of India, by any calculation that may be adopted.

† Megdahen.—*Abulfazl*.

‡ According to *Bedia-ad-din* the lady was the princess of *Khota*,

when the Nobles of Cashmir sent a deputation to solicit and accompany his return to that kingdom, to which he immediately hastened, and of which he assumed the sovereignty.

MÉGHAVÁHANA, although a worshipper of the orthodox divinities, was inclined to adopt the *Bauddha* doctrine: he encouraged the professors of that heresy to settle in his dominions, and particularly prohibited the destruction of animal life, granting from the public revenue a maintenance to such individuals as followed the business of hunters or butchers, whom his enactments deprived of their accustomed means of support.

Although thus careful of brute existence, he seems to have been less scrupulous about human life; being a warlike and victorious sovereign, and engaging in remote and hostile expeditions he is said to have led his armies to the sea shore, and by the aid of *Varuṇa*, who opened a dry path through the waters for his army, to have crossed over to *Lancá* or Ceylon, where he ascended, with his troops, the *Gem-enshrining* peak of the mountain *Rohaṇa*.* Whilst encamped on the mountain, the king of the island, the *Rácshasa VIBHÍSHANA*,† came voluntarily, and submitted to his invader, in consequence of which he was confirmed in his sovereignty, on condition of his no longer permitting in his island the expenditure of animal life.‡ MÉ-

* *Abám's* peak the *Raha* (راه) and *Rahm* (رحم) of the Mohammedans, according to whom also it contained mines of precious gems. *Rohaṇa* implies the act or instrument of ascending as steps, a ladder, &c. and may refer to the rude steps and links of iron chain work, described by *Valentyn*, and more recently by *Mr. Perceval*, and *Sir William Gussely*, i. 69.

† After the defeat and death of *BAVANA*, *RAMA* conferred the sovereignty of *Lancá* upon *BAVANA's* younger brother *VIBHÍSHANA*, who is generally supposed to be still the monarch of *Lancá*.

‡ In other words, he introduced or enforced the *Bauddha* faith. Whatever credit it may be thought, that these *Cashmirian* tales of a conquest of Ceylon by one of their kings deserve, they are curiously connected with the *Sinhalese* traditions of foreign invasion, and consequent introduction of the *Bauddha* faith. *VIJAYA RAJA*, the first monarch of that island, and who introduced the present religion, invaded it, it is said either 534 years before Christ, or A. D. 77 or 166 or 260. A. R. vii. 51 and 421. *Molony* and *Joinville's* accounts of *Ceylon*. Discordancies that admit perhaps of some explanation, the first referring to the period at which *Gautama* the founder of the *Bauddha* faith existed, and the others to the date of its introduction in the Island, an event to which foreign conquest was chiefly conducive.

GHAVÁHANA then returned to *Cashmir*, where the memory of his transmarine expedition, says our Sanscrit guide, is still preserved on the banners, which on particular occasions, are carried before the kings of *Cashmir*.

The son of the last prince, *SRESHTASÉNA*,* also called *PRAVARASÉNA*, succeeded his father: the Hindu record only commemorates his founding a temple of *PRAVARÉSA*; but *Bedia-ad-din* makes considerable additions to his history: according to him, this prince established his mother on the vacant throne of *Khota*, and extended his own authority to *Khaddi*, *Chin* and *Muchin*. He reigned 30 years, and left his kingdom to his two sons *Hanfyaf* and *Toramána*; the former holding the superior station of the *Simerjiya*, and the latter that of the *Vauvarjiya*, or being respectively Emperor and Cæsar, a division of power of considerable antiquity amongst the Hindus, and one which, with them, as well as with the Latin, Greek, or German princes, was often a source of public contention: it proved to be so in the instance before us; the latter having proceeded to strike coins in his own name, the elder brother took offence at the measure, and deposed the *Vauvarjiya*, and kept him in close confinement. The wife of *TORAMÁNA*, who was pregnant at the time, effected her escape, and found shelter and privacy in a potter's cottage; where she was delivered of a son: the boy was brought up by the potter as his own, but his high birth betrayed itself, and he was a prince in all his sports and amongst his play-fellows; his juvenile imperiousness having caught the attention of *JAYÉNDRA*, his maternal uncle, then searching for his sister, led to

* Sereshsain.—*Abulfazl*.

† Heren.—*Ibid*.

‡ *Dinars*: the word is Sanscrit, and although generally signifying a certain weight of gold, also means as above, a gold coin perhaps of the weight of 32 rettis or about 40 grains. The *Dinar* must have been common in Persia and Syria at the time of the Arabic invasion, as the Arabs to whom an original coinage, was then unknown, adopted both it and the *Dirhem* or *Drachma*. According to the *Ayin Acberi*, the *Dinar* weighs one *miscal*, and is equal to 1 and 3-7th of a *Dirhem*, which weighs from 10 to 5 *miscal*s, or, at 7½, the average giving a proportion of gold and silver, as 1 to 10. According to *Ferishta* the *Dinar* was worth 2 Rupees, which will give us about the same proportion. There is an evident etymological affinity between the *Dinar* of the Hindus and the *Denarius* of the Romans: the latter, though originally a silver coin, was also of gold, and the author of the *Periplus* named *Adrian's*, states, that *Denarii*, both gold and silver, were amongst the articles exported from Europe and carried to *Barygaza* or *Baroach*: the Sanscrit, *Dinár*, may therefore be derived from the Roman coin,

their discovery, and that nobleman privately took home his sister and her son. In the mean time TORAMĀNA died in captivity; on which event the princess, to divert her grief, went, accompanied by her son upon a pilgrimage to the south: during her absence the king died, after a reign of thirty years and two months. He left no posterity, and the claims of his nephew being unknown, the throne of Cashmir was vacant, and continued so for a short period.

The ruler of *Ujayini* at that time was *Srimān Hersha Vicramāditya*, who after expelling the *Mléchch'has*, and destroying the *Sacas*, had established his power and influence throughout India.* In his train was a Brahman named MĀTRIGUPTA, to whom he was much attached: upon hearing of the vacant situation of the Cashmir throne, and the indecision of the nobles with regard to a successor, he sent the Brahman to them, with a letter from himself, recommending him to their election: they complied with the recommendations of a sovereign, whose commands they felt themselves unable to resist, and crowned MĀTRIGUPTA† as their king,

The reign of the Brahman was of limited duration: the death of his powerful protector exposed him to the disaffection of his chief subjects,

* Who was this prince? As the enemy of the *Sacas*, and also from our author's chronology, he is synchronous with *Sālivāhana*, with whom indeed, notwithstanding a difference in date of 135 years, all the Hindu accounts represent him to have been engaged in hostility. We have had a *Vicramāditya* before him in this history, not the *Sacāri* as expressly remarked by the historian, and therefore we cannot doubt our author's meaning, although we may question his chronological correctness, as I shall hereafter endeavour to shew: it is singular that in a very long eulogium on this prince, which I have not thought it necessary to translate, the author never alludes to *Sālivāhana*, nor to any of the literary ornaments usually assigned to *Vicrama's* court. The name *HERSHA* appears to bearsome affinity to *Hersha Mégha* (A. R. ix. 175) father of the *Vicrama* of the fifth century, in which indeed he may not very improbably be placed. We must however leave these points for the present, as we are not yet prepared for their due discussion. The Mohammedan writers are of no assistance here, as they repeat the name of *Bicramajit* without any comment on its again occurring.

† *Mater kunt.*—*Abulfazl.*

and to the arms of the lawful heir PRAVARA SÉNA, who with a small but resolute band of friends, was approaching *Cashmir*: he seems to have surprised the Brahman by an unexpected attack upon his camp, or at least to have encountered him upon a journey when unprepared for a contest, and although no serious engagement ensued, the issue was MÁTRIGUPTA's abdication of the throne and his departure to Benares, where he passed the rest of his life in religious duties: he reigned four years and nine months.

PRAVARASÉNA,* so named after his grandfather, to whose dominion he had succeeded, was an active and enterprising prince: he invaded the kingdoms of the south, and turned his arms against the son and successor of *Vicramáditya*, named PRATÁPA ŚÍLA or ŚÍLÁDITYA,† whom he drove from his capital, and took prisoner. He seems to have been contented with this expression of his resentment, and not only to have spared the life of the prince, but put him again in possession of his hereditary kingdom, carrying off however the throne of the *Apsarasas*; which he transferred to his own capital.‡ After his

A. D.
123—476

* Pirwirsein.—*Abulfazl*.

† I have not been able yet to trace this son of VICRAMA in any other works with much success. Col. Wilford informs me that in the CSHÉTRA SAMÁSA it is stated that *Vicramáditya* had a son named NAT'HA ŚÍLA whom he is disposed to regard as the grandson of VICRAMA, and the son of this ŚÍLÁDITYA. A Jain work of some celebrity, the *Satrunjaya Mahátmya*, is said to have been written by order of ŚÍLÁDITYA, king of SURAT: the author DHANÉSWARA SURI, according to a marginal note in the copy I consulted, and which agrees with the traditionary opinion of the Jains, wrote his work in the Samvat year 477. The same work cites a prophetic announcement, that the famous VICRAMÁDITYA would appear after 466 years of his era had elapsed (A. R. ix. 142), which scarcely agrees with the date assigned for the work, as, if ŚÍLÁDITYA, the son of VICRAMÁDITYA, succeeded his father, it allows but ten years for the reign of the latter. We must revert to this hereafter.

‡ The famous throne supported by thirty-two female images, animated ones, if we are to believe the legend. Accounts agree of its being lost after VICRAMA's death, although it is generally thought to have been found again by BHOJA. We have no further notice of it in our history. *Bedia-ad-dia* carries PRAVARA SÉNA to Bengal also, where he subdues *Behar Sinh*, ruler of *Dhacca*, and gives the Government to *Palás Sinh*, son of ŚÍLÁDITYA, a son of the author's, making apparently the words *Palas* and *Dhac*, implying the same thing, a sort of tree.

return he determined to found a city which should be the capital of his kingdom, and he accordingly constructed the city of *Srinagar*,* on the banks of the *Vitasta*, and embellished it with many palaces and temples; he also threw a bridge across the river. His being the founder of this city is confirmed by the Mohammedan writers, although, as one of them observes, it has undergone many vicissitudes since the period of its foundation. PRAVARA SENA reigned 63 years.

A. D.
186—499

The successors of this prince were his son YUDHISHTHIR, who reigned thirty-nine years and three months, and his son NARÉNDRÁDITYA, or LACSHMAÑA,† who ruled thirteen years; he was succeeded by his younger brother, to whose reign the extravagant period of 300 years is assigned; an extravagance the more remarkable, as it is without a parallel in our author's chronology,‡ and which must therefore have been suggested, either by a necessity for filling up some dark chasm in the annals of *Cashmir*, or to compensate for an error in the dates of the preceding monarchs, who may have been placed two or three centuries too soon: both causes may perhaps have united for this extraordinary departure from those bounds of possibility, which in all other reigns have been preserved.

A. D.
297—545

The length of RAÑÁDITYA'S reign is not the only marvel attached to that prince; he had been in fact, in his former life, a man of dissipated habits, but at last, by his devotion to *Bhramaravásiní*, a form of DURGÁ, obtained, as a reward, his resuscitation in a royal race, and the goddess herself as a consort, incarnate as *Rañarambhá*, the daughter of RATISÉNA, king of *Chola*.§

* "The city, which in the ancient annals of India was known by the name of *Srinagar*, but now by that of the province at large, extends about three miles on each side of the river *Jelum*, over which are four or five wooden bridges."—*Forster* ii, 9.

† Jewdishter. Lekhmen. Zebadut.—*Abulfazl*.

‡ Unlike the early periods of the Persian Chronicles, in which such a term is far from uncommon.

§ The traditions of the South intimate occasional connexions of a like character between the *Chola* and *Cashmir* princes. One of the former entitled in one account *Sasi Sakhya* and in another, *Rajadi Raja Chola* was married, it is said, to a daughter of the King of *Cashmir*.

The divine nature of his queen was the immediate cause of the king's protracted reign, as she conferred upon him the *Pátála Siddha Mantra*, by which he was enabled to extend his life as long as he pleased. At last, however, satiated with this world, he entered the cave of *Namuchi*, in the bed of the *Chandrabhágá* river, through which he passed to *Pátála*, and acquired a kingdom in the infernal regions: his wife, regarded rather inconsistently as a *Sacti* of *Vishnu*, went upon her husband's death to *Swétadwipa*. The claims of the next monarch to the throne of Cashmir are not stated by our original, and the enumeration of his genealogical progenitors warrants a suggestion that he might have not been the immediate successor of *RAJÁDITYA*; he was the son of *Vicramésivara* the son of *Vicramácranta Viswa*, and is named himself *Vicramáditya*, a strange series of appellations, and a further proof of some unaccountable blank in the *Cashmirian* records: *VICRAMÁDITYA* reigned 42 years, and was succeeded by his younger brother *BÁLÁDITYA*.*

A. D.
537-508A. D.
579-508

BÁLÁDITYA was a prince of a warlike character, and erected his pillars† of victory on the shores of the eastern sea:‡ one result of his victorious excursions was his compelling the subjugated monarchs to beautify *CASHMIR*, and

* *Beckermadut*.—*Baladut*.—*Abulfazl*. The Mohammedan writers agree with the text except *BEDIA-AD-DIN*: he assigns a life of 165 years to this monarch, and a reign of no more than 40 years: he places also the 30th year of his reign as contemporary with the first of the *Hijra*, and describes his sending an ambassador to *Mohammed*.

† *Jayastambha*, the Pillars of *Sesac* and the Trophies of the Greeks and Romans: that it was the custom of Hindu princes to erect these pillars is established by concurrent testimonies, and it is probable that it is to this practice we are to ascribe the origin of several solitary stone columns still met with in India, as the *Lat* of *Firoz-shah*, the *Cuttab minar*, the pillar at *Allahabad*, and those in *Tirbut*, and other places: in general however they were constructed, like the wooden trophies of the Greeks, of less durable materials, and as observed by *Plutarch*, "Time has gradually effaced these memorials of national hostility."

‡ I am especially afraid of my manuscript here: it is alone, in this section of the history, and is very inaccurate. It is said that this prince conquered *Bancala* or *Bengal*, a very uncommon name, however, in Hindu books of any period, *Gaur* or *Banga* being the usual term.

to construct temples and edifices for the accommodation of such of their subjects, as might visit that kingdom.*

It was foretold to this prince by an astrologer, that he should be the last of the race of *Gonerda*, and his only daughter should transfer the kingdom to a different dynasty of princes.† The monarch was not well pleased with this prediction, and resolved to prevent its fulfilment, by refusing to grant his daughter in marriage at all: his precautions were unavailing: a descendant of *CARCOTA NÁGA* and protégé of the monarch, succeeded in obtaining privately the affections and person of the princess, and the assistance of the chief officers of state secured his accession to the throne, upon the death of the king, which happened shortly afterwards.

SECTION II.

A. D. 616.

DURLABHA VERDDHANA,‡ the descendant of *Carcota*,§ thus obtained the princess and the kingdom, and founded a new and powerful dynasty: his reign was chiefly distinguished by his encouragement of religion, and the temples he founded, or the endowments he bestowed upon the Brahmins. He reigned 36 years, and was succeeded by his son.

* Consistently with the former chronology *Bedia-ad-din* makes this prince contemporary with *Yezdejird*, from whom he wrested the north eastern districts of Persia, but he confounds *Báláditya* with *Pratápáditya* here, and passes over the intermediate monarch altogether.

† We have seen however the crown repeatedly pass into different families, and therefore our author nods; unless indeed he considered the princes so described, as members, not of a different race, but of other branches of the *Gonerdiya* stock.

‡ *Dirleyir Dirwun*.—*Abulfazl*.

§ *Carcota* is one of the *Nágas* or Serpent demigods: the name occurs, as well as *Nilá*, in the list of them in the *Mahábhárata*: a temple at *Benares* is also dedicated to this serpent deity.

PRATÁPÁDITYA* was the founder of PRATÁPAPUR, converted by local pronounciation into *Tapar*, according to the Mohammedan authorities. In this new city a merchant named NONA, of the *Rauhitya* race, took up his abode, and founded a college for the residence of *Rauhitya Brahmans*. Of the wealth of the trader it is stated as a proof, that on one occasion he lighted up his house with diamonds to receive the king, whom he had heard formerly complain of being inconvenienced by the smoke of the ordinary lamps. The familiarity between the prince and merchant led to some unexpected results : the former fell deeply in love with one of the merchant's women, and being unwilling either to commit a breach of hospitality, or to forfeit his fair name by a vicious act, he struggled with his passion and endeavoured to subdue it ; the contest induced a fever, which threatened his life ; he was saved however by the generosity of his friend, who learning the cause of his disease, not only yielded up the woman to the king, but exerted no small ingenuity in argument to persuade him to accept her : his logic however, made a due impression, and *Naréन्द्रa Prabhá* was elevated to the royal bed : it was a fruitful one, as she bore the king seven sons, *Chandrápíra*, *Tárápíra*, *Abhimuctápíra*, *Amuctápíra*, *Vajráditya*, *Udayáditya*, and *Lalitáditya* ; several of whom succeeded in time to the crown. PRATÁPÁDITYA died after a reign of 50 years,

A. D. 662.

CHANDRÁPÍRA, † the eldest son and successor of the last monarch, was a prince of exemplary mildness and equity. He punished his own officers, for encroaching on the tenements of a *Chamar*, ‡ or worker in leather, in preparing the site of a temple which he wished to erect, and which design he was prepared to abandon if the consent of the leather-worker could not be obtained. A liberal reward and his personal solicitation obtained the acquiescence of the *Chamar* ; his ground was duly made over to the king, and the temple was completed. We have another legend of his equity, and dis-

A. D. 702

* Pertaubadut.—*Abulfazl*.† Chandranund.—*Abulfazl*.

‡ Who as an out-cast could have no rights under a strict Hindu administration.

crimination respecting the means employed by him, to detect the murderer of a Brahman, but it need not be here repeated, as the story has been told by *Abulfazl*.* **CHANDRÁPÍRA** enjoyed the short reign of no more than eight years and eight months, and was succeeded by his brother **TÁRÁPÍRA**, † a violent and oppressive sovereign, and an enemy of the priesthood; his reign was fortunately a limited one, and extended to no more than four years and a few days.

A third brother **LALITÁDITYA** ‡ succeeded to the crown: he was a prince of great celebrity, and established by the vigour and success of his arms, his

* *Ay. Ac. ii. 175.* I do not find in my copies, the description of the punishment awarded. *Abulfazl* says the murderer was branded in the forehead with the figure of a headless man, and that something of the kind was inflicted appears from the context, from which a stanza has been probably omitted: the punishment is according to law, which on no account permits the infliction of capital punishment on the person of a Brahman, but substitutes brands, exile and disgrace.

In the *Danda Vistara* the Law is thus laid down from ancient authorities.

महापातक युक्तोऽपि न मित्रो वधमर्हति । निर्वासनात्क मौर्यं तस्य कुर्यात्प्रसाधियः ॥
दृश्यति ॥

A Brahman guilty of the greatest crimes is not to be put to death; let the king have him shaven, branded, or exiled.—*Vrihaspati*,

ब्रह्मचर्यं ब्रह्मचर्या गुरुसत्त्व सुवर्षस्त्रेय सुश्रुतानेषु कवच भय मपाद ध्वजास्त्रेनावसेन
खलाटे ऽग्निस्त्र खविद्यमानो निर्वासनम् ॥ वैशायनः ॥

A Brahman who causes abortion, defiles the bed of his teacher, steals gold, or drinks spirits, must be branded with a hot iron on the forehead, with a headless figure, the vulva, the foot of a dog, or a flag, (the vintner's sign) and then be banished.—*Baudháyana*.

अशिराः पुरुषः कार्यो खलाटे विजघातिनः । गुरुसत्त्वे भय कार्यः सुरापाने सुराध्वजा
स्त्रेयेषु मयदं सत्त्रा षिद्धिपित्तेन पूरयेत् ॥ नारदः ॥

A headless man is to be stamped on the forehead (of a Brahman) who kills a Brahman; the vulva on his who defiles his Guru's bed; a flag on his who drinks wine, and the foot of a dog on his who commits theft; filling the scar with *Sichhipitta* (Peacock's bile, or possibly some caustic substance.)—*Nareda*.

† Taraund.—*Abulfazl*,

‡ Lalitadut.—*Ibid*.

claims to the supreme sovereignty of India, having made with his victorious armies the triumphant circuit of Hindustan. His first scene of action was in the *Andarvāli* country, the diadem of which he placed upon his own head. He then turned his arms against YAŚOVERMĀ, at that time sovereign of *Canouj*; a prince distinguished for his literary accomplishments, and the patronage extended by him to such eminent Poets, as CAVIVĀCPATI, RĀJĀ ŚRĪ and BHAVABHĪTĪ.* A peace was soon agreed upon between the monarchs but as speedily violated: some informality in the address of a dispatch from YAŚOVERMĀ to LAHITĀDITYA having excited the latter's resentment, led to a renewal of hostilities, and the total subversion of the kingdom of *Canouj*.

Although thus occupied in foreign war, the prince appears to have devoted some attention to the details of domestic administration; and to have made a new arrangement of the great offices of his court: over the eighteen branches of the government, he instituted five principal departments, the *Mahāpratikharāpāra*, or office of high-chamberlain; *Mahāsandhivigraha*, that of chief minister, or supreme administrator of peace and war; *Mahāsvasālā*, of the Royal stables, or of master of the horse; *Mahābhāndāgāra*, of the high-keeper of the treasury or arsenal, or perhaps both; and the *Mahāsā-dhanabhāga*, an office of which the nature is not fully conveyed by the nomenclature, but which may perhaps be the supreme directorial or executive administration. *Sāhi* and others were the officers invested with these high functions.

*The two former of these are unknown. The third is celebrated as the author of the *Mālatī Mādhava*, and the *Uttara Rāma charitra*. He might have been at the court of *Canouj*, but he was of a *Berār* or *Vidarbha* family: he is usually considered as contemporary with *Cālidāsa*, and in the *Bhoja Prabandha* is brought to *Bhoja's* court. His own works however afford no reason to suppose he was cotemporary with either *CĀLIDĀSA*, or *BHOJA*, and with respect to the latter, furnish grounds for inferring the prior date of the Poet. The *Rāja Taranginī* is therefore probably correct in placing him about A. D. 705 or nearly two centuries before the probable period of *BHOJA's* reign. YAŚOVERMĀ himself is not known, unless he be the same with *KIRTIVERMĀ*, an appellation of like import, and a prince who is mentioned in the opening of the *Prabodha Chandrodaya*.

YASOVERMÁ, after the subjugation of his kingdom, fled across the *Yamuna*, and nothing more is mentioned of his history : his victorious antagonist followed up his success by an expedition to the shores of the eastern sea : thence marching through *Calinga*, the Royal Elephants advanced upon the kingdom of *Gaur*, and effected its subjugation. LALITÁDITYA thence proceeded southwards, and invaded *Carnáta*, then subject to a queen named RÁFFÁ, who submitted to the invader, after having seen her strong holds in the *Vindhya* mountains unavailing to resist him : her submission having disarmed the king's resentment, her beauty secured his favour, and she was restored to her dominions. The army then marched to the banks of the *Cáveri*, whence crossing the *Sandal* mountains, the king subdued the coast and the Islands opposite : having reduced the seven *Cramucas*, and seven *Concanas*, LALITÁDITYA continued to follow the shores of the western sea to *Dwáracá*, which he entered to the delight of his soldiers : he then crossed the *Vindhya* mountains, and occupied *Avanti*, whence having made the circuit of India, and received the homage of its numerous princes, he now directed his steps to the north : his march was a series of conflicts and triumphs : he was successively assailed by the princes of the country, like another *Indra* engaged in clipping the wings of the hostile hills : the studs of *Cámboja* were vacated at his approach, and *Bukhara* was deserted by its high-crested steeds : after three successful battles in as many days, he respected the *Musselmans*, and directed his attention to other quarters.* The pale-faced *Bhottas* scarcely attracted his regard, as the cold wind, impregnated with the blossoms of the safflower, and the secretion of the Musk deer, fanned the tresses of his soldiers : the city of *Pragjyotish* was empty on his arrival, and he turned thence to the *Stri Rájya*, where the queen and her subjects triumphed over the monarch and his soldiers, by other weapons than those of war : after a short delay in that country, he

* *Bedia-ad-din* carries him into *Khorasan* to aid *Yezdejird*, but he retreats before the fame of the Arab invaders.

advanced to the realms of *Uttara Curu*, whence satiate with glory, and laden with plunder he returned to his own dominions.*

On his return to *Cashmir* LALITÁDITYA rewarded his principal officers by bestowing upon them subordinate kingdoms: in this way he conferred upon his dependants the principal cities of *Jalandhara* and *Lahora* (Lahore:) he also devised particular marks to be borne by the different tribes, as characteristic of their submission to his power. Thus the *Turushcas* were obliged to shave half the head, and the *Dekhinis* to let the ends of their waist cloth hang down like a tail behind, and these distinctions are still

* Whatever may be the truth of the military excursion of this Prince, the account of it given in the original, which has been here followed as closely as the state of the manuscript would admit, is a very curious specimen of the author's geographical accuracy and knowledge, and throws some light upon the state of India at the period at which he wrote: it may therefore be worth while to revise his track: from *Canouj* through the eastern districts of the present Company's possessions, *Lalitáditya* may be supposed to have marched to the delta of the *Ganges*, and *Berhamputra*, where we have what our author calls the Eastern Sea; and the coast along the upper part of the bay of Bengal, therefore, constitutes the country that he calls *Calinga*, whence a slight deviation to the right brings him easily to *Gaur*, equivalent in its widest sense, to the greater part of the modern Bengal. The transit hence to *Carnátá* is rather a considerable stride, although it is obvious that the upper part of the Peninsula is intended, by reference to the *Durgas* of the *Vindhya* chain of mountains, unless indeed we extend the term to the eastern Ghauts, which may be considered as lateral processes from the main ridge; as indeed the next stage is the *Caveri* river, we come then to the southern limits usually assigned to the ancient *Carnátá* kingdom. The *Sandal* or *Malaya* mountains are the western Ghauts, over which as the king marched from *Mysore* he would necessarily come into the *Concan*: the seven divisions of which, as well as the seven *Cramucas*, are something new to us, although from the voyages of the two Arabians, and of the early Portuguese and Dutch adventurers, we know, that that part of the Malabar coast was divided amongst a great number of petty sovereigns. The seven *Concanas* are indeed known in the *Dekhin* still, and comprehend the whole of the *Parasu Rama* Cshetra, or the greater part of the Malabar coast: they are named *Kérala* (Malabar), *Tulumga* or *Tuluwa*, *Gova Ráshtra* or *Goa*, *Concana* proper, *Kerátaha*, *Varalatta* and *Berbera*; the seven *Cramucas*, it might have been conjectured, were connected with the term *Cranganore*, but the original name of that province is properly written *Corangalur* कोरङ्गलूर, and they possibly signify some of the groupes of islands off the coast of Malabar; the island of *Dudracá*, in *Guzerat*, the kingdom of *Crishná*, is the next stage, and was visited more in veneration than enmity: from hence across the *Vindhya* mountains the king comes to *Oujein*: his march to the north, or rather northwest, brings him to *Camboja*; according to *Wilford* (A. R. viii.

observed: * if he thus treated the vanquished with some contumely, he made amends by his munificence, for there was no part of India, where

336.) the ancient *Arachosia*, and unquestionably a country in that direction, a country bordering on India, to the northwest, and inhabited by impure or foreign tribes, famous also for its breed of horses, a large strong breed of which is still reared in the countries between Persia and India. *Bhukhara* is the Persian *Bokhara* or *Bucharia*; the word rendered in the text *Mussulman* is written in the original *Mussuni* or *Mussuli*; it is intended by our author as the name of a person, for it occurs again in the reign of LALITÁDITYA'S grandson JAYÁPÍRA, who is said in the original to have had *Mussuni* and others as chiefs of his nocturnal guard: at the same time the recurrence of the name after such an interval, indicates rather more than one individual, and is an argument in favor of its being a generic appellation: according to *Narain Cul* it should be *Momunkhan*, Governor or Prince of *Bokhara*: if he is right, it should be *Al-maimun* of the house of *Abbas* that is intended, and who long resided in *Khorasan*, but about a century after the reign of *Lalitáditya*, according to the chronology of our text: the correction that would thus be required does not however seem to be indispensable, as our author's history here, allowing for national partialities, is very strongly supported by the general histories of the Mohammedan writers. At this very period, or from 697 to 712, the generals of *Hijaz*, the Governor of *Khorasan*, were engaged in active hostilities with their neighbours, both to the north and east, or in *Bokhara* and *Cabul*, the Hindu prince of which latter makes a distinguished figure in several transactions, (*Prioe's Mohammedan History*, i. 454, &c.) Such a general coincidence is as much as can be expected, for names are most deplorably disfigured by both Hindu and Mohammedan writers, and events, especially when remote in place and time, are not investigated by either with much accuracy or care. LALITÁDITYA'S next route through *Butan* is rather a remote one, except we suppose the name *Bhotcas* to be applied to the hill tribes on the northern side of the *Himalaya*: the route is practicable enough, and would be much the same as that followed by the Lamas in 1712, and by which a considerable intercourse between Cashmir and Chinese Tartary is still maintained, (*see Moorcroft's Travels*): that the Bhot eas are scattered through this line we know from late authorities. Hamilton observes that the Bhot eas occupy every where between the hills and the Tista the Alpine region on both sides of the Indus, (*Hamilton's Nepal*, 58); and Fraser mentions that *Hymap*, a valley, containing a great number of Bhotea villages, is only four day's journey from the Capital of Cashmir (*Fraser's Himala*, 308); however our author evidently intends to carry his hero into *Bostan* proper, a journey of considerable extent although probably not so much so as it appears by the maps we yet possess; *Præggyotish* is considered to be *Gohati* in Asam, (A. R. viii. 336.) the *Stri Rajya* is probably *Tibet*, where customs similar to those of the *Malabar Nairs* prevail, (*Turner's Embassy*, 310); it may however be *Nepal* or almost any portion of the *Himalaya*, (*Kirkpatrick*, 187, *Fraser*, 70, &c.) where the same practice exists, but as the march leads off from Asam apparently to the north, we may regard this region to be *Tibet*. Of *Uttara Curu* we shall have further occasion to speak.

* The neighbouring Mussulmans like most Mohammedans indeed, do shave the centre of the head still, and the people of the coast wear their lower garments long: that these habits were

he did not erect statues and temples of the Gods : a very long enumeration ensues of these proofs of his liberality, of which it will here be necessary only to particularize a few. He founded the cities of *Sunisshitapura*, *Derpitapura*, *Phalapura*, *Lalitápura* and *Parihásapura* : in *Hushcapur* he erected an image of *Mucta Swamí*, and one of *Nrihari* in the *Stri Rájya*. In the *Bhumi Gráma*, he built the temple of *Jyéshta Rudra*, and over and along the *Vitastá* he built bridges and stone ghats. *Parihásapura* was his favorite work ; in this city, he built a palace of unhewn stone, and a variety of royal and religious edifices : he raised a column of one stone, 24 cubits long, and bearing on the summit an image of *Garuda* : he placed in the temples images of metal ; one of *VISHNÚ* as *PARIHÁSA CÉSÁVA* was made of pure silver, weighing 1000 palas, and another colossal figure of *BUDDHA* was constructed of 1000 *Prast'has* of brass ; a figure of *HARI* with flowing hair, was set up of gold, and another golden image was made by him of the same deity in the *Varáha Avatár*. His example was imitated by his queens, by tributary princes, and by his ministers, one of whom, a second *Jina*, named *CHANCUNA*, a native of *Bokhára*, erected a *Vihar*, and set up in it an image, made in *Magadha* or *Behar*, called indifferently by our author *Jina Vimba* and *Sugata Vimba*, and therefore of undetermined character as to its being of *Bauddha* or *Jaina* manufacture, although most probably the former : the foundation of *Parihásapur** or *Parrisipur* and its embellishment by this prince are recorded by the Mohammedan writers, of whom *MOHAMMED AZIM* adds,

imposed by the kings of *Cashmír* may be denied even on Hindu authority. In the *Hari Vansa*, a portion of the *Mahabharata*, and certainly much older than the work before us, the following account is given of the imposition, of the distinguishing modes of wearing the hair, upon the tribes of *Mléchch'has* or foreigners : "The king *Sagara* in obedience to the orders of his *Guru*, *Vasishta*, deprived the *Mléchch'has* of their institutes, and imposed upon them these marks : the *Sacas* had half the head shaved, the *Yavanas* and *Cambojas* the whole of their hair taken off, the *Paradas* were ordered to wear beards." These customs might perhaps admit of verification, and might enable us to identify the tribes. Some of the Greeks were from a remote period accustomed to shave the fore part of the head : the mountaineers of the Himalaya shave the crown, as do the people of *Casferistan* with the exception of a single tuft, and some of these people, which is a curious coincidence, are called *Caumojees*, (*Elphinstone's Cabul*, 819 and 825) ; they also some of them wear beards five or six inches long. The Persians also wore long beards in the time of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, as they do still.

* *Parrisipoor* is mentioned in the *Ay. Ac. ii. 159*, with the addition that a lofty idolatrous temple stood there, which was destroyed by *SECANDER*. *Reft-ad-din* also converts the column into the minarets of a temple.

that the fragments of the pillar of *Garudā* were visible in his time : the statue of *SUGATA* also remained to the period in which our author wrote.

LALITÁDITYA is the subject of many marvellous stories, one of which reminds us of the exploit of *Zopyrus* : the minister of the king of *Sicata Sindhu*, probably of *Tattu*, presented himself in a wounded and deplorable state before the king, upon one of his expeditions. *LALITÁDITYA* took him into favor ; in return for which he offered to lead the army across the desert, against his native country, and his offer being accepted, he directed the king to provide water for a fortnight's march ; at the expiration of the fortnight the army was still in the midst of the sands, and the men were perishing with thirst, the guide acknowledging that he had been employed by his sovereign to effect the destruction of the king and his host : the attempt of the enemy was foiled, however, by the discovery of some springs, and the king returned in safety to *Cashmir*, after punishing his treacherous guide ; the springs then opened were said to exist in our author's time, and to form a considerable stream running to the north called *Kuntaváhini*.*

LALITÁDITYA, although the substantial proofs of his devotion left no doubt of his piety, was yet not free from faults : amongst other defects he was addicted to wine, and in one of his drunken fits he ordered the city *Pravara-pur* founded by *Pravara Séna* to be burnt, that it might no longer emulate the splendour of his own capital. His orders were carried rigidly into effect, to his own deep regret when sobered—and as one proof of the sense he entertained of the transaction, he immediately issued positive commands, for his officers to disregard any mandates whatever, that he should promulgate, whilst under the influence of wine.†

We have an account, in this part of *LALITÁDITYA*'s reign, of some tu-

* The story is but imperfectly told here, but the text is so corrupt, I should scarcely have ventured to select even the above, had I not been countenanced by *Narain Cul*, who translates the story in much the same way, altering the name of the country to *Maruca* (that is, a desert tract) on the ocean.

† So it was related of *Trajan*, who indulged in a similar propensity. *Vinolentiam prudentiā molliverat, cuari vetans jussa post longiores epulas.*—*Aurelius Victor*.

multinous affray having taken place in his capital, between the followers of different deities: the exact nature of it does not satisfactorily appear from the imperfect condition of the manuscripts, but there seems to have been a conflict between a number of *Bengali* pilgrims, who had come with their prince to *Cashmir* to visit a temple of *Saraswati*, and the people of the city: the former had made an image of *Parihása Hari*, and broken one of *Râma Swâmi*, and to punish the latter act the citizens assailed them: the *Bengalis* appear to have had the advantage, as the desolated temple of *Râma Swâmi* continued to bear witness to their success, and the world was filled with the fame of the exploit: the author of the *Wakiat-i-Cashmir* calls the king of *Gaur*, GOŚĀLA, without however assigning any authority for the appellation.*

The death of LALITĀDITYA was worthy of his active reign: he resolved to explore the uttermost limits of *Uttara Curu*, the regions inhabited by the followers of CUVĒRA, and equally inaccessible to the steps of man, and the rays of the sun: † he accordingly marched northwards, crossing the mountains inhabited by the *Dâmaras*, whom he describes in a letter to his ministers as a fierce intractable race, lurking in caves and fortified passes, possessed of considerable wealth, and equally devoid of government or religion: in the same dispatch he announces the probability of his not returning, for, he observes,

* The same work speaks of it as a hostile incursion of the *Bengalis*, and *Narain Cui* has the same, ascribing that event to the design of revenging the death of their king, who had been invited publicly, and privately put to death by LALITĀDITYA, one of whose faults, he says, was that of disregarding oaths and agreements: a not uncommon failing in princes of LALITĀDITYA'S ambition. *Bedia-ad-din* agrees with the latter author. There may possibly be some connection between this transaction and what is recorded in the *Sancara Digvijaya* of the reformer SANCARA ĀCHĀRYA, who, it is said, visited *Cashmir*, and in despite of strenuous opposition, seated himself on the throne dedicated to the Most Learned, in the temple of SARASWATĪ. The place corresponds, so probably does the date: names only may have been changed.

† This Hindu *Cimmeria* is of course the land of fable, but as far as it may be supposed to have a real prototype *Uttara Curu* seems to imply the northern portion of Russian and Chinese Tartary. The name however appears to have been known nearer home, and to have been applied to the North Eastern portion of the *Himāla* mountains. Ptolemy places in that position a nation called the *Ottorocorœ* amongst mountains of the same name, and *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls the same mountain *Opurocarra*. It is not impossible however that they intend the northern part of *Asam* called *Uttaracora*, *Uttaracola* or *Uttaracul*. LALITĀDITYA probably perished amongst the chasms and snows of the *Himālaya*.

there are no limits to the advance of the ambitious, as there is no return of the water, which the rivers, running into foreign countries, bear far away from its native springs. In consequence of this expectation, he directed the ministers to crown his son, CUVALAYÁDITYA, with which order they sorrowfully complied. The king's anticipations were realized : neither he nor his army ever returned, and their fate was never exactly known. Some reports say, that he was slain in battle; others that he and his host were overwhelmed and lost in a heavy fall of snow in *Aryúnaca*. Some persons believe that he burnt himself, whilst others credit the tales that carry him to the farthest north, to those climes that are easily accessible to the immortals only, and speak of the wonders there seen and performed by him, and the final destruction of him and his troops. LALITÁDITYA reigned 36 years and eight months : he was a popular prince, and much beloved by those about his person : his chief ministers were all deeply afflicted by his loss, and one of them, MITRA ŚERMÁ, disdaining to survive his master, drowned himself at the confluence of the *Sindhu* and *Vitastá*.

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CUVALAYÁPÍRA,* the son of LALITÁDITYA by CAMALÁDÉVÍ, succeeded to his father ; in the first days of his reign, apprehending the rebellion of his brother, a prince of a more active and violent temper, he put him and his mother *Chacramerdicá* into confinement : thus relieved from the fear of domestic disturbances he began to contemplate foreign acquisitions, when he was diverted from his purpose by a change in the tenor of his reflections : having been thrown into a paroxysm of fury by an act of unimportant disobedience, in one of his ministers, he reflected, when he became calm, upon the folly of yielding to the impulses of passion : his meditations extended farther, and convincing him of the futility of human power, and the shortness of human existence, he determined to exchange his kingly throne for the cell of an ascetic. Having adopted this determination, he withdrew to the mountain *Dricpat'ha*, leaving, after a short reign of little more than a year, the crown to his brother VAJRÁDITYA.†

* Kulyanund.—*Abulfazl*.

† Bijradut.—*Ibid*.

This prince was of a cruel and abandoned character: he expended his paternal treasures upon sensual gratifications, and drained *Parikásapur* of its valuables and money, to purchase women for his haram: to raise money also he sold great numbers of his subjects to the *Mléchch'has*, and propagated through the country, tenets and practices, fit for them alone: fortunately his reign was a short one, lasting only seven years.

PRITHIVYÁPÍRA,* the elder son of VAJRÁDITYA, by the queen *Manjáricá*, succeeded his father, both in the throne and in his habits of life: at the end of four years, however, he was dethroned by his brother SANGRÁMÁPÍRA, the son of MAMMÁ, one of VAJRÁDITYA'S concubines apparently; this prince reigned seven years, and was succeeded by his younger brother,

JAYÁPÍRA,† a monarch who was emulous of his grand-father's, LALITÁDITYA'S, renown. Shortly after his accession, this prince marched upon an expedition against his neighbours: his army was numerous and well appointed, but not equally so with those which LALITÁDITYA had commanded, as a proof of which some of the elderly citizens observed to the king, who had questioned them on the subject, that he had but 80,000 litters with his army, whilst his grand-father had 125,000. He proceeded however on his expedition, and when he had marched some distance, JAJJA‡ his wife's brother, availed himself of the opportunity to usurp the throne, and prepared for the maintenancè of his unjust pretensions. JAYÁPÍRA'S first determination, on receiving intelligence of the usurpation, was to march back to *Cashmir*, but on taking a review of his army, he found so many soldiers had deserted him, that he was not in a condition to vindicate his rights; he therefore disbanded the troops yet adhering to him, and with a few faithful followers retired to *Prayága*; arrived here, he gave to the Brahmans, the horses lately belonging to his army, amounting to 100,000 all but one, the grant declaring that whoever should give an entire *lac*, might efface the seal of JAYÁPÍRA, and substitute his own: this grant he committed to the Ganges, the

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* *Pertooanund. Sungranund.—Abulfazl.*

† *Jeyanund.—Ibid.*

‡ *Jujnund.—Ibid.*

waters of which were rendered purer by the ingredient : after a short residence at *Allahabad* he dismissed his attendants, and determined to seek his fortune by himself.

The adventures of JAYÁPÍRA at *Paundraverdhana** then the residence of JAYANTA, king of Gaur, are the next subjects of our original, and are narrated with a prolixity that we need not emulate ; he arrived alone and in humble attire at the city, where his dignified person and manner, attracted the notice of one of the female dancers of a temple, by whom he was taken home and supported : whilst in this situation he killed in private encounter a lion that had alarmed the whole city, and having in the conflict lost one of his bracelets, on which his name was inscribed, he was thence discovered by the emissaries of JAYANTA, and carried before that monarch ; his reception was highly favourable. JAYANTA gave him his daughter in marriage, and furnished him with an army for the recovery of his paternal dominions, to which he was also invited by DÉVA ŚERMÁ, the son of MITRA ŚERMÁ, deputed for that purpose by the nobles of *Cashmir* : he accordingly set forth on his return, the goddess of victory in his van ; and in his rear, the two terrestrial goddesses, *Calyánundá*, the princess his wife, and *Camalá* the dancer, whom out of gratitude he had also espoused : at a village called *Susticala* on the borders of *Cashmir*, he was opposed by the usurper, and a series of conflicts ensued without being attended, for several days, with any decisive result ; at last *Sridéva*, a *Chandála*, the head-man of a village, who had joined the king, made his way to the spot where JAJJA was stationed, and struck him from off his horse with a stone. *Jajja* fell dead upon the field, his followers fled, and JAYÁPÍRA after an interval of three years was again acknowledged as monarch of *Cashmir*.

The cares of JAYÁPÍRA were now directed to the cultivation of letters, and the improvement of his kingdom : he devoted much of his time to study, and made himself a proficient in Sanscrit Grammar, under CSHÍRA, a learn-

* A city in Behar, it is believed, but *Magadha*, in that case, must have been subject to the kings of *Bengal*, whose power about the time in question, the beginning of the ninth century, does appear to have been so extensive, (see the Mongir Grant, A. R. i. 123, and Mr. Colebrooke's remarks on it, ix. 427.) JAYANTA however does not occur amongst the *Pála* princes, in those authorities, nor in Abulfazl's list, (Ay. Ac.) unless in the latter some of the names are erroneous ; a circumstance very probable,

ed teacher.* He invited scholars from foreign countries and so many flocked to him as to occasion a dearth of *Panditas* every where, except in *Cashmir*: the chief of the assembly was *Bhatta*, and he was assisted by *DÁMODARAGUPTA*; the principal poets were *MANORATHA*, *SANC'HADENTA*, *CHÁTACA* and *SANDHIMÁN*, whilst *VÁMANA* and others were amongst his ministers.† The principal foundation of his reign was the fort of *Jayápura*, in the construction of which he was assisted by artists sent him by *VIBHÍSHAÑA*, the *Ráshasa* monarch of *Lanca*, whilst *ACHU*, the son-in-law of *PRAMODA* king of *MATHURA*, and *JAYADATTA* one of the king's principal ministers, contributed to its embellishment; the one by a temple of *SIVA*, and the other by a Brahminical college: besides this, *JAYÁPÍRA* built *Malhanapur* in *Cashmir*, and his wives founded the cities *Calyánapur* and *Camalápur*, places named after themselves.

After a short period of tranquillity, *JAYÁPÍRA* resumed his military enterprises: his first exploit was the reduction of a strong fort belonging to *BHÍMA SÉNA*, king of the eastern region, and he thence proceeded against *ARAMURI*, the magician, king of *Nipal*,‡ whom, at the end of two or three days march, he found posted with his forces on the southern bank of a river: the appearance of the enemy inflamed the courage of the king to temerity; without a previous knowledge of the country, he rushed into the river, and left his bravest warriors behind him; the stream at first was no

* This name is not known unless *Cakira Swámi*, the commentator on *Amers*, be intended; the conjecture is supported by the nature of his instruction, and qualifications, the author calling him शब्दविद्योपाध्यायः or teacher of the science of words.

† It is not practicable to ascertain with any degree of certainty, any further particulars relating to the individuals named in the text. *BHATÍA* is a title rather than a name, and is applied to several authors known to be natives of *Cashmir*, as *MAMMATA Bhatta*, the author of the *Kavya Prakása*, and others. *DÁMODARA* may be the author of the musical work called *Sangita Dámodara* and there is a *VÁMANA Ácharya*, who is the author of a set of poetical *Sútras* and of a *Vritti* or gloss upon them. The poetical propensities of the prince accord with the character of these writings: the other names offer nothing even for conjecture.

‡ There is no such name however in *Kirkpatrick's* list of the *Nepal* kings.

more than knee deep, but it suddenly rose, and swept away the king and his army: the greater part of the soldiers were drowned. The king, continuing to struggle with the waves, was carried down the stream: the cries of one army were echoed by the shouts of the other, and some soldiers of the enemy mounted on inflated skins, rushed into the torrent, and captured the drowning prince: he was dragged to the shore, and confined in a strong castle on the banks of the *Gandicá*,* his broken and dismayed army retreating hastily to Cashmir.

The return of the troops, carrying the news of their discomfiture, and of the captivity of the king, spread consternation throughout *Cashmir*: the ministers immediately assembled to deliberate on what was to be done, when DEVA ŚERMÁ, the son of the faithful MITRA SARMÁ, undertook to effect the liberation of the monarch: for this purpose he wrote to ARAMURI, holding out promises of securing to him both the kingdom and treasures of JAYÁPÍRA, if admitted to his presence. The terms were readily accepted, and the minister attended by a considerable body of forces, entered *Nipal*; his army he led to the banks of the *Gandicá*, opposite to the fort which held his master captive, whilst he himself repaired to the court of ARAMURI: at a private conference with the king of *Nipal*, DEVA ŚERMÁ represented to him, that the treasures of *Jayápíra* were with the army, but their amount and distribution were known to JAYÁPÍRA alone; that it would be advisable therefore for him to have an interview with that prince, and learn from him under some plausible pretence, these particulars, as otherwise the money might be lost or embezzled, and ARAMURI be disappointed of a valuable prize. The *Nipalese* was deceived: orders were given for DEVA ŚERMÁ to be admitted privately to JAYÁPÍRA, and the minister thus found himself in his master's presence.

In the interview that followed, DEVA ŚERMÁ urged the king to let him-

* Possibly the *Gandaci* or *Ganduck* river: if however the fort of *Bhinasena* should be *Bime* near *Nagracot*, this appellation must be applied to some other river.

self down from the window of his prison, and swim over the river to his troops, but JAYÁPÍRA urged its impracticability, not only on account of the height of the window from the ground, but the impossibility of crossing the torrent without assistance: after some discussion, the minister withdrew, purposing professedly to return, but as a considerable interval elapsed during which he did not appear, the king went to seek him, and found him dead on the floor of an adjoining chamber, strangled with his own turban: beside him lay a leaf, on which he had written these words with his nail; "You must effect your escape; I die to enable you: my body inflated with your breath will serve you as a float, tie yourself with my turban, and quickly cross the river." Penetrated with admiration at the proof of attachment, and with grief for the loss of so faithful a friend, the king obeyed his posthumous counsel, and safely effected a junction with his troops: eager to wipe off his disgrace he fell upon the unprepared and astonished Nepalese, killed their king, and left their country a depopulated waste.

Returning to *Cashmir* JAYÁPÍRA spent some time in the enjoyment of the treasures he had acquired by the late expedition, when an extraordinary occurrence gave a new complexion to his character, and changed him into an oppressive and extortionary prince. MAHÁPADMA the *Nága* appeared to him in a dream, and implored his aid against a magician of *Drávyira*, whose enchantments sought to secure the person of the *Nága*, and carry him off. MAHÁPADMA promised the king as a reward for his protection, that he would reveal to him the existence of a gold mine, and then disappeared. In the morning, the king not quite satisfied of the veracity of the *Nága*, sent for the magician, and desired him to shew him the person of the snake God: this the magician effected; the waters of a lake retiring at his command, exposed the *Nága* and his serpent train. JAYÁPÍRA however would not allow the magician to seize his prey, but ordering him to recall the waters of the lake, gave him a liberal recompense, and sent him to his own country. The *Nága* soon visited him again in his slumbers, but instead of a mine of gold, he punished him for his want of faith, by discovering to him the site of a copper mine, a source of considerable though infe-

rior wealth: the mine was accordingly wrought, and in the course of his reign the king coined 100 crore of Dinars* less one, challenging all the princes of the world to exceed this coinage, and complete the 100 crore;

The taste for wealth acquired by the king, became fatal to his subjects; to accumulate treasure he levied heavy exactions on all ranks of people, and particularly oppressed the brahmans, by resuming the endowments, which he or his predecessors had bestowed upon them: their complaints and remonstrances were unavailing with the king and his ministers, SIVA DASA and others, a set of *Cáyast'has*, incapable of any generous feelings, whose extortion drove a hundred brahmans of *Túlamúla* to drown themselves in the *Chandrabhágá*: to the supplications of the sacredotal order, the king shewing entire indifference, he at last attracted their menaces: these he ridiculed, but was finally punished for his impiety: in consequence of a curse denounced upon him by one of the order, he met with an accidental fall; a wound ensued in one of his legs, and this breeding a number of worms, which preyed upon the king's body, he died in the greatest agony, after a reign of thirty-one years.† LALITÁPÍRA, who succeeded JAYÁPÍRA was his son, by *Durgá Déví*; he was a dissolute prince, who lavished his fa-

* These were copper *Dinars* it is to be supposed.

† The fate of this prince, as told with great exultation in the original, is a curious specimen of Brahminical arrogance and superstition: it is not without a parallel however in the writers of Europe, during the ascendancy of monkish authority; the conversation between the prince and priests, narrated in a somewhat dramatic form, is not without spirit: we may easily put it into dialogue.

A Brahman. MENU, MANDHÁTÁ, RÁMA, and other sovereigns, mighty as they were, treated with reverence and awe the Brahmanical order, whose resistless wrath consumes earth and its mountains, hell and its serpent brood, and even *Swerga* and its gods, and king.

The King. Here's a big mouth, that fed upon a beggar's crumbs, and drunk with pride, talks of its power with all the confidence of a holy seer.

Ittila, a Brahman. The revolutions of time have worked some change, but it is by submitting to a master, that we have ceased to be *Rishis*.

The King. Who art thou? VISWÁMITRA perhaps, or VASISHT'HA, or AGASTYA? I crave your pardon.

Ittila. And thou—thou art HARISCHANDRA, TRISANCU or NAHUSHA; if so, I am VISWÁMITRA, or who I please.

The King. By the anger of VISWÁMITRA, HARISCHANDRA was destroyed: what am I to dread from your mighty indignation.

ther's ill-gotten treasures on parasites and prostitutes, and instead of pan-dits and heroes, made buffoons and catamites his companions. He died after a reign of twelve years, of the grossest and lowest debauchery.

SANGRÁMÁPÍRA, his brother by another mother, the princess CALYÁNA DÉVÍ next ascended the throne: he was also known by the name of PRITHIVYÁ-PÍRA; he reigned seven years.* The next monarch of *Cashmir* was CHIPPA-TAJAYA, a son of LALITÁPÍRA, by a prostitute, named JÁYA DÉVÍ, otherwise CALYÁPÁLÍ, as the daughter of a *Calyapála* or distiller, of *Acha* village: the brothers of this woman had been brought to court by the king, and their nephew, being yet a minor, they took the government into their own hands: they were five in number, named PADMA, UTPALA, CALYÁNA, MAMMA, and DHERMA, and their ambition opens a scene of domestic discord and calamity, to which we have yet been strangers in the history of *Cashmir*.

The uncles of the young king divided amongst themselves the places and profits of the government, and assumed the supreme authority in the kingdom: the power they thus enjoyed they were not disposed to relinquish, and when the young prince exhibited a disposition to assert his independence, they deposed and put him to death, having suffered him to enjoy a nominal reign of twelve years: as they were too jealous of each other to suffer the ascendancy of either, they found it expedient to raise another prince to the throne, and they elevated to the titular rank of king, TRIBHUVANÁPÍRA, also called AJITÁPÍRA,† the grandson of LALITÁDITYA, and son of an elder brother of

Ittila. (Rubbing his hand on the ground,) Lord of all time, at my just indignation, let the punishment due to the insulter of a Brahman, fall upon this prince.

The King. Let it fall; why does it delay! (The king's golden staff slips and he tumbles.)

The Brahman. Há! Babbler, has it not fallen on thee!!

* My manuscript has seven; ABULFAZL has thirty-seven; which is an evident error as is shewn by the aggregate of the reigns of the Dynasty which he calls 257 years, 5 months, and 20 days; but which according to the addition of the several dates is 287—5. There being just the thirty years too much; the names in the translated Ay. Ac. here are written successively, *Lultanund, Sungramanund, Brisput.*

† *Ajeyanand.*—Ay. Ac.

the last monarch. Under the name of AJITÁPÍRA, the five usurpers continued for a period of thirty-six years,* to possess the real sovereignty of *Cashmir*, and they veiled their violence and injustice by a liberal distribution of the public treasures, and the foundation of splendid temples, and rich endowments. It was not likely that the brothers should always continue on friendly terms, and a dispute arose between MAMMA and UTPALA, which occasioned a furious battle† on the borders of the *Vitastá*. UTPALA, it should seem, was defeated and killed, chiefly through the valour of YAŚOVERMÁ, the son of MAMMA: the victor proceeded to dethrone and kill the king, his accession having been principally the work of UTPALA, and place ANAN-GÁPÍRA,‡ a son of SANGRÁMÁPÍRA, on the throne.

The principal actors in the turbulent period of the last reign, now disappear from the history, and are succeeded by their sons, without our being informed further of the fortunes of the usurping fraternity. The princes became mere pageants in the hands of these enterprising chiefs, with the unenviable distinction of being the first victims to the resentment of the conquerors. AJITÁPÍRA, we have seen, was put to death by the son of MAMMA: his successor was not more fortunate; as after a short reign of three years, he suffered a similar fate from the hands of SUC'HA VERMÁ, the now triumphant son of UTPALA. This chief, created king, the son of AJITÁPÍRA, the predecessor of the last monarch; his name was UTPALÁPÍRA,§ and he was to be the last of the *Carcota* dynasty, for SUC'HA VERMÁ being slain by a kinsman, his friends and followers, determined to place his son, AVANTI

* Reckoning, says our author, from the death of their nephew which happened in the year 89, starting us at once with a new computation, familiar of course to the Cashmirians, but to others requiring an explanation, which he has not given of it: the kind of date frequently recurs, and it is observable that it always stops short of 100, as if a cycle of 100 years had been adopted in *Cashmir*: sometimes, as in the present instance, the date nearly corresponds with the odd years of the centuries of the *Hijra*, but the approximation is not always near enough to make it probable that reference to the *Hijra* is intended.

† It has been narrated, according to ČALHANA, by *Sancaca*, a poet, in a poem named *Bhuvanabhuydays*.

‡ *Anand.*—Ay. Ac.

§ *Atbalanurg* H. Ay. Ac.

VERMÁ on the throne. UTPALÁPÍRÁ was accordingly deposed, and the son of SUC'HA VERMÁ, the founder of the UTPALA* dynasty, succeeded.

SECTION III.

THE accession of AVANTI VERMÁ† was not suffered to take place without opposition, and he had to undergo many conflicts with his own cousins, and even with his brothers, before his dominion was established. By his valour and prudence, however, aided by the sage counsel of SURA the minister, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his crown, he overcame all opposition, and remained the undisputed sovereign of *Cashmir*.

A. D.
876

Having restored order and tranquillity, the king nominated SURAVERMÁ his brother by a different mother, *Yuvarāja*, and the two brothers were both distinguished for their liberal and public spirit: the king gave large presents to the Brahmans, and the *Yuvarāja* bestowed upon them the *Agra-háras*, *K'haduya* and *Hastikerna*, constructing a temple and statue of *Gocula*. Their example was followed by the younger brothers, and the ministers of the two princes, and a variety of towns, temples and images embellished the kingdom. Amongst these we may specify the following; *Avantipura*, a city founded by the king at *Viswakéswara Cshétra*, in which he also erected a temple to AVANTIŚWAR, or ŚIVA, whose worship he had now adopted, in place of the *Vaishnava* tenets in which he had been educated. He also erected

* His grand-father: it is difficult here to keep the narrative clear, amidst the rapid succession of so many uncommon names. The deposition of *Utpalápíra* happened, according to the author of the *Wakiat-i-Cashmir*, in the year of the *Hijra* 209; he is not quite right in his computation, as agreeably to our author's series of dates it must be placed about A. D. 862. It may be here observed that *Abulfazl* has altered what may be called the family designation of most of the *Carcota* princes, and has changed the terminating name *Apíra* to *Anandá*. In the next list we have another change but that is a mere misreading, the family name *Vermá* is converted into *Derma* the *Vau* and *Dal* being easily mistaken for each other. VERMÁ is an adjunct expressing a *Cshetriya* or military descent; the present possessors however seem to have assumed it, as the founder of the family, UTPALA, and his brothers were apparently of a less respectable origin.

† *Admiderma*.—*Abulfazl*.

here three statues of the same deity, under the names of **TRIPURÉSWARA**, **BHUTÉSA** and **VIJAYÉSA**, with bathing vessels and stools of silver:

Surapur, a city founded by the minister; also a temple of the associated *Sivas*, and a college for Ascetics at *Surésuari cshétra*. His son also established a *Mat'ha*, and his wife built the temple of *Sada Siva* at *Surapur*, a city which has since changed its name to *Dhacca*.*

The minister who was thus the founder of cities, was also a munificent patron of the learned, and the names of **MUCTACÁNA**, **SIVA SWÁMÍ**, **ANANDA-VERDHANA**, **RETNÁCARA** and **RAMAJA** are enumerated as illustrious objects of his patronage.†

The reign of **AVANTIVERMÁ** was rendered remarkable by a severe famine, occasioned it is said by the rivers deserting their customary beds, and deluging the surrounding country, destroying the crops and submerging from time to time whole villages: the dearth was so excessive that many perished, amongst whom were *Callatta Bháttá*, and other eminent men. A khari‡ of grain sold for a thousand and fifty dinars.

This impoverished state of the country continued for ten years, till **SUJYA** remedied the evil: the birth of this person was regarded as mysterious; he was found exposed in an earthen vessel by a *Chandáli*, by whom he was suckled and brought up: hearing the causes of the irregular swelling of the river discussed, he expressed his conviction that he could apply a remedy, and his words having been reported to the king, he was brought before **AVANTIVERMÁ**. The mode, he proposed to adopt, he declined explaining,

* Not the modern Dhacca of course. There is a place so called in *Cashmir* upon the Jelum, southwest of *Bijore*. At present indeed it is scarcely within the limits of the province, and must be comprised in the states, said in Elphinstone's map, to be subject to independent Rajas, immediately south of *Cashmir*.

† They are names however not now known. ‡ The Khari is equal to two bushels, two pecks, one gallon and two-thirds (A. R. v. 98,) or about the third of a quarter. The *Dinars*, it may be suspected were of copper.

and he was looked upon by the ministers as an idiot or a cheat: the king notwithstanding determined to give him a trial, and allowed him at his request to take from the treasury several bags of *Dinars*: with these in his possession, SUJJYA retired to the site of a village named *Anandaca*, where, getting into a boat, he advanced into the water: when in the centre of the pool he threw into it a bag of *Dinars*, and he repeated this wherever the water was collected: the villagers tempted by the hope of obtaining the money, combined to effect its recovery: they first blocked up with large stones, the channel of the *Vitastá* where it issues from the mountains, the banks being there contiguous: they then drained the country of the accumulated water, by cleaning the canals and outlets, through which it was accustomed to run: the passages being cleared by this contrivance, the dyke was broken down, and the *Vitastá* rushing forth with an impetus, proportioned to the obstruction it had encountered for several days, hurried away every obstacle, and flowed in a rapid and fertilising torrent through its old, and through many new channels, to its junction with the *Sindhu*.* These two streams formerly met near the temple of *Vainya Swámí*, but they now unite, observes our author, between that place and *Viṣṇuswámí* or the towns of *Parihásapur* and *Phalapur*† and he adds, that some old trees existed in his time, bearing the marks of the ropes which the *Nishádas*‡ had fastened there. Having collected massive stones to confine the *Vitastá*, SUJJYA constructed the *Mahapadma Saras*; springing from which receptacle, the *Vitastá* darts forward with the rapidity of an arrow from a bow.§

SUJJYA was not contented with remedying the evil: he also provided.

* This cannot be the *Indus*, but must be the *Sind* river, which has its source in great Tibet.—*Ay. Ac.* ii. 158. It is not improbably a branch however of the *Indus*.

† The last must be *Shehabedínpur* where the *Behut* and *Sind* unite their streams.—*Ay. Ac.* ii. 158.

‡ The low casts of villagers, he means, it may be supposed, and the ropes may have been part of a *Jhula* or swinging bridge.

§ This should be the reservoir or basin at *Vira Nag* noticed by *Forster*, ii. 4, and, according to the report which he repeats, constructed by *Jahangir*: this is an evident error however, as the same basin is thus mentioned by *Ahulfazl*: "at *Weersir* is the source of the river *Behut*, with a basin measuring a *jereeb*, whence the water rushes out with an astonishing noise. The spring is called *Wirnag*; it has a stone border and on the east side are temples."—*Ay. Ac.* ii. 155.

against its recurrence, by the construction of dykes and canals, by which without fear of a deluge, the waters were distributed equally and plentifully to all parts of the kingdom; such was the beneficial result of his measures, that a *khari* of grain, which before the late dearth, sold for 200 *Dinars* has ever since been restricted to no more than thirty-six.* **SUJJYA** was bountifully rewarded for his labors, and was enabled to perpetuate his name by founding *Sujjapur* on the banks of the *Vitastá*, where it issues from the reservoir.

After enabling the ingenuity of **SUJJYA** to execute the beneficial arrangements above described, and witnessing the improving condition of his kingdom, **AVANTIVERMÁ** being taken ill, determined to end his days at *Tripura Cshétra*, and accordingly proceeded thither, where he resumed the *Vaishnava* faith, and listening to the perusal of the *Bhágavat Gitá*, he terminated his career in the year 59, after a reign of 28 years and 3 months.

A. D.
905

As **AVANTIVERMÁ** was not succeeded by his brother, and not only a new king, but a new *Yuvarája* was appointed upon his death, we are left to conclude, either that **SURAVERMÁ** was dead, or the office of *Yuvarája* conferred no title to the succession, and was held at pleasure: it appears too, that at this time, the great officers of the state continued to exercise the authoritative interference they had obtained under the last dynasty, and disposed at will of the functions of royalty. It is said accordingly that the son of **AVANTIVERMÁ**, **SANCAVERMÁ**† was made king, by the power of the chamberlain **RETNAVERDHANA**, whilst **KERNAPA**, sprung from one of the late king's brothers, procured the nomination of **SUC'HA VERMÁ**, the son of **SURAVERMÁ**, to succeed his father in the *Yauvarája*, in opposition to the chamberlain and the king, a circumstance which led to a civil war between

* This confirms what I have hinted that these *Dinars* were copper. The *Khari* is probably *Abulfazl's Kheros* in which he says every thing is estimated in *Cashmir*: the average price of this, ascertained when fixing the revenue of the province, turned out to be twenty-nine dams or pyce.—*Ay. Ac. ii. 161.*

† *Sunkerderma*.—*Abulfazl*.

the superior and subordinate princes. In the contest, many distinguished chieftains were slain, as ŚIVASACTI and others, but the king, with the aid of SAMARA VERMĀ, and other leaders of note, finally prevailed, and established his authority in the kingdom.

Having thus secured himself at home, he directed his views to foreign conquest, and being joined by the king of *Darvābhisāra* and other princes, he led into the plains an army said to consist of nine lacs of foot, one of horse, and three hundred elephants: he first subdued PRITHIVĪ CHANDRA king of *Traigerta*,* who having left his son in his capital, advanced to do him homage, but upon beholding the immense host collected by the king, he was alarmed for his personal safety, and suddenly made his escape. ŚANCARA VERMĀ then rooted up the power of *Alak'hāna*† king of *Gurjara*, seizing his treasures, and kingdom, and leaving him only *Tacca Dēsa*. He entirely subverted the universal supremacy which had been seized by BHOJA,‡ and made himself formidable to his neighbours on either side of him, the kings of *Darat* and *Turushea*§ placed between them like *Āryaverta* between the *Himalaya* and *Vindhya* mountains: on his return to *Cashmir* he founded in *Panchasatra*, a city named after himself: it was constructed chiefly of materials furnished by the ruins of *Parihāsapur*, and was distinguished by a temple dedicated to *Siva* as *Sancara Gaurisa*, and *Sugandhēsa*, the latter named after the queen ŚEGANDHĀ, the daughter of the king of the North.

The disposition of ŚANCARA VERMĀ to accumulate wealth, degenerated

* Part of Lahore.

† This is a strange name: it should be that of a Musselman but the Musselman princes could not have been then established in *Guzerat*. There is however a *Guzerat* in the *Punjab*, to which the *Mohammedans* were beginning to extend themselves, and which may be the state intended.

‡ Not in his life time it may be supposed, but ŚANCARA VERMĀ flourished about half a century earlier than has hitherto been assigned as BHOJA's date.

§ We still have the *Dards* north-west of *Cashmir*; the *Turusheas* should be therefore to the south-east, and they were the *Ghiznian* Governors, probably, then dependant on the *Samanian* princes of *Bokhara*; the simile is applicable to such a position.

into the most insatiable avarice, and subjected his people to every kind of extortion: he levied heavy tolls and taxes, exacted undue proportions of the produce of land, and let out to farm those lands which were the property of the temples: he cheated his cultivators in the weight of the seed corn, and expected a full return, and he seems to have established a monopoly of sandal, incense, oil, and many other articles of trade: his chief instruments in these oppressions were the *Cayast'has*, and especially one named LAVATA, who received from the king a stipend of 3000 *Dinars*, whilst BHALLATA and other eminent poets about the court, were kept without any pay: the chief minister represented the harshness of his commands in vain to the monarch; to his son who had expatiated to him on the afflictions of his people, he replied by desiring him to wait till he was king, when he might, if he pleased, relieve them, and he was equally insensible to the lesson he might have learnt from the neighbouring country of *Darvábhisara*, the king of which, with all his sons, had been lately killed in a popular commotion, occasioned by his oppressive government.

ŚANCARA VERMÁ possibly thought he should divert the attention of his subjects to less unpopular occurrences, by engaging them in military expeditions; for he is said now to have led an army to the north,* where he subdued the people along the *Indus*,† and entered the *Urasa* country, where he was shot in the neck with an arrow by a mountaineer; he was immediately put into a litter, and his death, which took place shortly afterwards, concealed from the troops, who were immediately marched back to *Cashmir*

* *Bedia-ad-din* says, against the Mohammedans of *Khorasan*; the followers of Islam having according to him spread their empire even to the Punjab in the preceding reign.

† The *Sindhu*, here the large river, as the other or smaller was already in his possession; the invasion took place into little *Thibet*, but the invaders could not have proceeded far, as they reached on their return the frontiers of *Cashmir* in six days. Who the *Aurasas*, the people of *Urasa*, were, is not easily conjectured: they could scarcely have been the Russians, called in the east *Urus*, whose power at this period, was first making its appearance in a different direction, and it is only in the absence of more satisfactory illustration, that I venture to suggest a connexion, between this word and the *Ooloos*, the hordes of the Tatars, and clans of the Afghans: the derivative name, applied to the people, is in favor of the conjecture, as it means children, whom the Hindoos consider legitimate, being born of a man and woman of the same cast or tribe.

with all possible expedition; they reached *Holyásaca*, a place on the frontier, in six days, where, being now out of danger, they halted to perform the funeral obsequies of the monarch: he was consumed on a stately pile: three of his queens, a pandit, named JAYA SINHA, and two of his servants, burning themselves with the body.*

The son and successor of the last king, GOPÁLA VERMÁ, being yet an infant, was placed under the tutelage of his mother SUGANDHÁ: she became regent during his minority, and her ascendancy involved the country in a series of intestine disorders, as she seems to have been a woman of a weak, if not vicious character; the minister and chief treasurer PRABHÁCARA DÉVA was her favorite, and engrossed the whole power of the state. This man made CAMALACA, also named *Sahi*, Governor of *Bhúndapur*, but he proving disobedient, it was taken from him, not without a conflict apparently, and given to TORÁMÁNA, the son of LALITA.

A. D
911.

The reign of GOPÁLA was short; he was carried off by magical incantations, it is said, by the contrivance apparently of PRABHÁCARA, who was afraid of being called to account for the great deficiencies in the public treasury, which were ascribable to his own peculations; RÁMA DÉVA, the person employed by him, afterwards confessed the fact, and as the minister disappears from the history, we may suppose he paid the penalty of his crime. SUGANDHÁ, in the midst of her faults, appearing to entertain no ambitious views for herself, and to have cherished the memory of her son.

A brother of GOPÁLA succeeded him, but he expired after the short term

* These accompaniments of his cremation find an analogy in many parts of the south of India, as noticed by early travellers; they are not however directed by the *Sastras*, any more than the self-immolation on account of sorrow or sickness, of which we have had several instances; the latter indeed in the present age is prohibited at any place except *Prayaga*. Several instances of suicide occur in the Hindu books, as *Bhishma* in the *Mahabharata*, and the father and the mother of the young ascetic killed accidentally by *Dasaratha*, who mounted the funeral pile with their son, as told in the *Raghuvansa*, see A. R. x. These cases however are referred to former periods.

of ten days; and as with him the race of ŚANCARA VERMĀ ended, the kingdom was now without a legal occupant: SUGANDHĀ seated herself on the throne, but either at her own desire, or compelled by the military leaders of the kingdom, she soon made way for another prince.

In this stage of *Cashmirian* history we are introduced rather abruptly to some new actors in the scene, who continued for a long period to influence very materially the disposal of the crown: they are of a military character evidently; it is only doubtful, whether they were part of the native forces, or whether they were mercenary bands of foreign adventurers. They are denominated *Tatris* and *Ecdngus*, and it is perhaps not straining probability overmuch, to conjecture that our author intends these words to represent what we should write *Tatars* and *Afghans*; men, who at all times have sold their services to the princes of India, and have not unfrequently become the masters of those whom they originally obeyed.*

Whatever may have been her inducements, SUGANDHĀ, after holding the reins of government for two years, recommended to the ministers and officers to chuse as king NIRJITA VERMĀ the grand-son of SURA VERMĀ: it was objected to him however that he was a cripple, and therefore not fit to rule, but as his family descent was highly respectable, the chiefs determin-

* The word *Tatar*, for *Tatri*, is an obvious conjecture: *Ecdnga* for *Afghan*, is not so satisfactory. *Eca* means one, and *Anga* limb or body figuratively as well as literally, and *Ecdnga* may refer to some peculiarity of discipline, as to troops, fighting in a body. The origin of the word *Afghan*, says *Elphinstone*, is entirely uncertain, but it is probably modern: it is known to the Afghans themselves only through the medium of the Persian language; it has no meaning however in Persian, and they therefore probably borrowed it from some other quarter transmuting it in their ordinary manner: there is some probability therefore about the Etymology suggested: the Afghans it is asserted inhabited the mountains of *Ghor* at a very remote period, and seem to have been established in the north eastern mountains of *Afghanistan* in the ninth century, (*Elphinstone's Ghor*, 107,) compelling thence, probably about that time, the *Dāmaras*, who from our history appear to have occupied, till the ninth century, that part of the vicinity of *Cashmir*: the mercenary character of the *Tatri* is repeatedly alluded to: they are said to have been attracted into the country by the *Minister* of the King of *Ganraj*, and they are compared in one place to prostitutes who saw no merit in a man but his money.

ed to nominate his son, and PÁRTHA^s was accordingly crowned king of *Cashmir*.

At the end of ten years, the leaders of the *Boángas* dissatisfied with the prince, and jealous of the greater share which the *Tatri* foot had in his nomination, determined to replace SUGANDHÁ in the government: they accordingly proceeded to her residence at *Husácupur*, and placing her at their head returned to the capital: they were met by the *Tatris* in the pay of the king, and after a severe conflict were totally routed: the queen was taken prisoner and put to death at *Nishpalacahar*.

The victorious troops now considered the kingdom at their disposal, and yielded reluctant obedience to their prince for a further period of five years; at last their insubordination broke out with ungovernable force, and their avarice, which was insatiable, led them to accept the offers of the father of PÁRTHA, and to place the cripple on the throne. The revolution was facilitated by a period of general distress, occasioned by a famine, consequent upon the unseasonable inclemency of the weather.

The reign of this prince lasted but one year: his throne and life were assailed by various enemies; his son PÁRTHA was endeavouring to recover his supremacy; his ministers SANCARA VERDHANA and SUGANDHÁDITYA were plotting for their own accession, and his queen was engaged in a criminal intercourse with the latter, and prepared to commit any atrocity to secure the undisturbed gratification of her libidinous passion: it is not at all extraordinary therefore, that he should have been crowned one year, and deposed and slain the next.

The successor of the cripple was an infant son, named CHACRA VERMÁ who under the protection of his maternal grand-father, enjoyed the sovereignty ten years: at the expiration of this time however, the sons of *MHAR VERDHA-*

A. D. 918

C. Y. 67

* *Bareth.—Ay. Ac.*

NA, the elder of whom, ŚANCARA VERDHANA, was minister to the late king, set up another of his sons, SURA VERMÁ, and expelled the reigning prince : a most turbulent period now ensues, and the several princes rise and fall, sometimes repeatedly, in rapid succession.

A. D.
953-9

C. Y.
7.

SURA VERMÁ, after a nominal reign of one year, was deposed by the discontented *Tatri* troops, and PÁRTHA again crowned king ; he soon made way for CHACRA VERMÁ, once more, whose bribes had won these venal soldiers to his interest : unable however to satisfy their repeated demands, he was obliged to abdicate, and seek safety in flight, whilst ŚANCARA VERDHANA endeavoured to effect a purchase of the crown from the mercenary troops ; in this he was foiled ; his ambassador to them, his own brother SAMBHU VERDHANA, making the bargain for himself, and being elevated by them to the throne : a measure however that appears to have contributed to check, if it did not annihilate the power, of the pretorian *Tatris*.

CHACRA VERMÁ in his flight had found an asylum near *Dhacca*,* at the house of a *Dámara*, and one it may be presumed who was possessed of powerful influence with the mountain tribes : induced by the liberal promises of the king, and his reiterated assurances of eternal gratitude, he collected a considerable number of his countrymen, and advanced with CHACRA VERMÁ once more towards the capital,

The entrance of the king into *Srinagar* was effected without opposition : indignant at the fraud practised on him by his brother, ŚANCARA VERDHANA had assembled an army, and advanced from *Maruwa*,† where he was stationed at the period of his negotiation for the crown : to maintain the

* See the note on *Surapur*, the city itself must have been in the quarter of Cashmir peopled by the *Dámaras*.

† Any dry or desert soil, of which we have several extensive tracts to the south-west of Cashmir.

kingdom, **SAMBHU VERDHANA** had marched to oppose him with the troops in his interest, and the capital of *Cashmir*, being thus left without defenders, fell an easy prey to the invader: the approach of **CHACRA VERMÁ** appears to have reunited the two brothers, as we find them both present in a furious conflict fought near *Padmapur* between their forces, and the *Dámaras* under **CHACRA VERMÁ**, in which the latter obtained a most decisive victory: five or six thousand of the *Tatris* were slain, **ŚANCARA VERDHANA** graced the bed of heroes, and **SAMBHU VERDHANA** attempting to reassemble the scattered fugitives of his army, was shortly afterwards taken prisoner and put to death: the power of the *Tatris* appears to have been completely broken by their defeat, as although mention of them does recur in the course of the history, no important part in the revolutions of the crown, is henceforward assigned to them.

CHACRA VERMÁ returned to the capital in triumph: mounted on a superb charger, in the centre of his victorious cavalry, holding in his left hand his helmet, and touching his turban in courtesy to the crowd with his right, he entered the city, amidst the clamour of kettle drums and the shouts of the multitude; he soon however forfeited his popularity; being fascinated by the attractions of two daughters of a *Dombha** who, as public singers, appeared before the king, he took them into his haram, and devoted his whole time to their impure society; the consequences were obvious; he incurred the reprehension of the wise and respectable, and what was of more importance to him, by promoting the low connexions of his favorites, above his former ministers of the military and sacerdotal orders, he roused their indignation and resentment.

Amongst those who felt aggrieved by the preference thus shewn to an out-cast tribe, the *Dámaras* were particularly distinguished. They who had been the chief instruments of the king's triumph, were now neglected with the rest of his adherents, and compelled to make way for those, whose birth and services gave them no claim to pre-eminence. They felt the neglect of

* A man of the lowest class, by whom all impure offices are performed.

the king the more severely, as contrasted with his past assurances of favor, and they determined to make him suffer the effects of their vindictive spirit: a party of them accordingly contrived to gain by night, admission into the palace, and falling upon the king, in the apartment of his favorite mistress, unarmed and unprepared, they easily sacrificed him to their fury: he was slain after a reign of nearly fourteen years, interrupted from time to time, by the temporary rule of his occasionally successful competitors.

UNMATTI VARTI, a son of PÁRT'HA, was now placed upon the throne, in preference to his father, who was still alive; his claims to this election cannot be easily conceived, especially, as in the grovelling tastes of this prince, as well as in ferocity of temper, he exceeded all who reigned before or after his time; his associates were dancers, singers, and buffoons; his favorite pastime, fighting birds or beasts, in which PÁRVAGUPTA, by his superior skill, was his principal minister and friend; notwithstanding which, he engaged in treasonable designs, aided by BHUBHÁŪA, SERVATA, SAJA, CUMUDA and AMRITÁCARA: these individuals divided amongst themselves the chief offices of profit and power, whilst RACCASA, a *Dámara*, commanded the army. By the advice of these miscreants, and the suggestion of his own sanguinary disposition, the king commanded a general slaughter to be made of all whom he thought he had occasion to hate or fear, and did not spare the members of his own family; his brothers he shut up in a dungeon, and starved to death, and his own father was dragged from his retirement, and murdered by order of this unnatural son: his barbarity did not stop there, he went to view his father's corpse, and made the murderers shew the wounds, that each had inflicted: they hesitated to do this in the king's presence, when PÁRVAGUPTA, to reprove the backwardness of one of them, his own son, DÉVAGUPTA, struck his dagger into the lifeless body, to the great mirth and satisfaction, it is said, of the king: in farther proof of this prince's atrocious character it is related that upon its becoming necessary to oppose the *Dámaras*, who pillaged the country with impunity, the king used to amuse himself with cutting off the heads of his attendants and subjects and the breasts of the women, in order to try the temper of his sword, and perfect himself, he said,

in the use of his weapons. Death put a stop to his ferocious practices, and released *Cashmir* from his tyranny, after it had endured it little more than two years.

The son of the Parricide, **SURA VERMA*** succeeded him: he was yet an infant, under the management of his mother, and his nominal reign was of short duration. **CAMALA VERDHANA**, who had been employed to clear the country of the *Dámaras*, had succeeded in the undertaking, and had made peace and alliance with the chiefs of *Campana* and *Marawa*. He now returned accompanied by all the leaders, and the *Tatris* and *Ecángas*, and displayed all the pomp of royalty, although he had not assumed the name of king: doubtful of his purpose, and deserted by all her late adherents, the queen fled with her infant, unattended, into the forests.

CAMALA VERDHANA although now in possession of the military power, and consequently of the kingdom, hesitated to mount the throne: a piece of folly our author observes, only ascribable to the treacherous counsels of unfaithful ministers or to the adumbration of his intellect, as a punishment of evil done in a former life. His moderation did not proceed from indifference to royalty, as he collected the brahmans, and desiring them to nominate a king, attempted to win them over to his interests. The opportunity was lost; the brahmans desirous of selecting a suitable person, or instigated by other motives, deliberated for some time about the choice, and dispatched emissaries to ascertain the merits and claims of various candidates.

Amongst others, the widow of **UNMATTIVERTI** sent messengers to the brahmans to solicit their support of her son. On their road, they were encountered by a youth, who was just returning to his own country, and who accompanied them to the capital, where the brahmans, unable to re-

* Abulfazi confounds this with the former prince of the same name.

sist what our author thinks the impulse of destiny, proclaimed him, as soon as they beheld him, sovereign of Cashmir.

The person thus suddenly elevated to the throne was **YASASCARA DÉVA**: he was the son of **CÁMADÉVA**, born of *Viradéva*, an inhabitant of the village of *Pisáchapur*. **CÁMADÉVA** in his youth had been brought up by **MÉRUVÉRDHANA**, and being a lad of abilities, rose with the patronage of that minister to the *Ganjádhicarya*, the command of the guards, which he held under the reign of **ŚANCARA VERMÁ**. Having occasion to dread the hostility of **PRABHÁCARA**, the favourite of **SUGANDHA**, he determined to place his son out of danger, and sent him into another country with a young friend named **P'HALGUNA**. They had resided abroad for some time: at length his father being dead, and propitious dreams exciting his hopes, *Yasascara* resolved to return to his native country, and it was upon this occasion that he encountered the agents of the queen, and learning from them the object of their journey, accompanied them to the capital, where he so unaccountably gained the unsolicited choice of the sacerdotal electors.

A. D.
961.

The vigour and equity of the new king fully justified his election; he re-established order and security, and gave to *Cashmir* a period of repose which had been long unknown: theft and murder were abolished; the roads were perfectly safe, and the shops were left open throughout the night without a guard; the distinction of classes was rigidly maintained, and the *Ehandalas* no longer administered the affairs of state, nor did the Brahmins carry arms; we have several anecdotes of this king's acumen and justice: one of them is narrated by *Abulfazl*, a reference to whom will perhaps be sufficient to satisfy any curiosity that may be excited on this head.

After promoting the happiness of his subjects for several years, **YASASCARA** was doomed to suffer the loss of his own: one of his wives was detected in an intrigue with a watchman of the palace, a man of low cast, and it appears that the king was more afflicted by this latter circumstance, than any thing else, as it had prophaned the purity of his birth: to expi-

ate the stain thus contracted, he made liberal donations to the *Brahmans*, and founded a *Mat'ha*, but continuing to dwell upon his disgrace, his health became affected, and he retired to the college of his own foundation to expire.

Before leaving the palace, the king directed the nobles and leaders to elect as his successor, his kinsman VERNÁTA, the son of RÁMADÉVA, passing over his own son SANGRÁMADÉVA, of whose legitimacy he entertained some doubts : the arrangement thus made was far from agreeable to the men in power, for VERNÁTA was a prince in the vigour of life, whilst SANGRÁMADÉVA was an infant, during whose feeble administration they flattered themselves they should be able to appropriate the wealth and influence of the government to themselves and their adherents : by their intrigues, therefore, VERNÁTA was thrown into prison, and although he appears to have escaped at the time, he shortly afterwards fell a victim to the jealousy and ambition of the strongest party, by whom SANGRÁMADÉVA was established in the government.

The old king lingered some time after he had made the fruitless disposition of the succession, but he was surrounded by the creatures of the intriguers, and there is reason to suppose that they accelerated his death by poison ; PÁRVAGUPTA and his partizans had now obtained what was still but a secondary object of their ambition, and their past success encouraged them to elevate their views to royalty itself: the seasons befriended their designs, and the discontent of the people occasioned by the pressure of a general scarcity, afforded them a ready instrument for effecting their purpose: an insurrection was speedily excited: a tumultuary mob, chiefly composed of the military, and headed by PÁRVAGUPTA and his confederates, attacked the palace; they slew RÁMA VERDHANA, the chief minister, who had attempted in vain to defend it, and penetrated to the presence of the king. Seizing his person they bound him with fetters of flowers, drag-

ged him to another apartment, and put him to death ; after which, they tied a stone to his neck, and threw the body into the *Vitastá*. PÁRVAGUPTA then in complete armour, and with his sword drawn, seated himself on the throne, and received the homage of his accomplices and of the terrified citizens.

After a short reign of little more than a year, this prince suffered the fate due to his crimes ; he was slain by a party of enemies at *Surésvarí Cshétra* and left the crown to his son.

CshémAGUPTA was a prince of depraved habits, and spent his time in low and sensual indulgence ; wine and women occupied his whole attention, and profligate characters engrossed his company ; it was not at all extraordinary therefore that the kingdom should become a prey to civil dissension and foreign inroad, as the affairs of state were entirely neglected, and the ministers alone fit to conduct them, were obliged to abandon the court in order to avoid the ridicule and abuse, or even personal contumely which they were compelled to receive from the prince and the companions of his revels : consequently, besides private hostilities between P'HALGUNA, and some of the king's friends, the ruler of *Campana* engaging in a contest with the *Dámaras*, burnt and destroyed the *Vihar* of *Jayéndra*, and demolished a brass image of *Sugata*, and the king of the *C'hasas* compelled CshémAGUPTA to cede to him six and thirty villages, after burning many *Vihars*.*

The ruler of Lahore, SINHA RAJA, now gave CshémAGUPTA in marriage his daughter DIDDÁ, the grand-daughter by the mother's side of *Sahi* ; a princess destined to bear an important part in the subsequent revolutions of *Cashmir* : her charms seem to have had little effect upon her husband, for after his marriage he adopted a new amusement, and devoted all his time to the pleasures of the chace. They were the occasion of his death, for

* These broils which are very obscurely and confusedly narrated in the original, were perhaps of a religious complexion, and may be connected with the persecution of the *Bouldhas*, of which so much is said and so little is known, by the *Hindus*.

having pursued a jackall for a considerable distance, and urged the beast to the pangs of death, the prince observed flame issuing from the mouth of the animal as it expired; struck with alarm at this portent, he was instantly seized with a fit of trembling which terminated in the *Lutamaya** fever, a fever that is invariably fatal: he was carried to *Cshéma Mat'ha* near *Hushcapur*, where he died, after a reign of eight years and six months.

ABHIMANYU, the son of CSHÉMAGUPTA, succeeded his father; at first his early age, and afterwards his tranquil temper, left the reins of administration in the hands of his mother, whose defective character was far from equal to the task, and whose supremacy introduces us consequently to a scene of unprecedented tumult and disorder.

The queen's first impulse was to burn herself with her husband, from no better motive the Hindu writer admits, than the pride of birth, and fear of P'HALGUNA, the late king's minister, and father-in-law, by another of the monarch's wives, and who on that account had always been hostile to DIDDÁ: she was also embarrassed at the outset of her career, by a conflagration of a most alarming nature, which broke out at the fair of *Tungtara*, and extended to *Vitala Sutrapátá*, consuming an immense number of villages, and many large palaces and temples. This added to the dread of P'HALGUNA, now all powerful, would certainly have given her a claim to the honors of a *Sati*, had she not been dissuaded from it by NARAVÁHANA, a man of great merit and fidelity, attached to her service. The return of one of the king's sons, KERDAMA, contributed also to the consolidation of her authority: he had been to the *Ganges* with the bones of CSHÉMAGUPTA, attended by a select body of troops, and as he was no friend to the usurping P'HALGUNA, that minister thought it politic to come to an accommodation with the queen, and upon the reconciliation taking place, he withdrew for a season from public affairs.

* We have here two strange subjects; in the superstitious idea of flames issuing from the jackall's mouth, and the nature of the *Lutamaya* disease: the first is common; it is the current belief in India that any animal urged to death by a chase emits flames from his mouth before he expires.

The next opponent of the regent's authority, and she appears to have encountered opposition in rapid succession, were MAHIMÁN and PATALA, the sons of SUJA and BHUBHAIÁ, two of PÁRVAGUPTA'S friends and coadjutors: these youths had been brought up in the palace, but jointly resenting some personal affronts offered by the queen regent to MAHIMÁN, they plotted a conspiracy for his elevation to the throne. In this they were joined by several of the leading men of *Parihásapur*, and *Lalitapur* and succeeded in levying a respectable force, and leading it against the *Ráni DIDDÁ*, with the assistance of NARAVÁHANA, prepared to engage them, but unwilling to trust the decision to the chance of war, she engaged by large presents, the Brahmans of *Lalitapur* to come forward as mediators: their mediation was irresistible, and MAHIMÁN and his confederates were compelled, although reluctantly, to abandon their design, and submit to the forgiveness of the queen: a curious proof of the influence of the sacerdotal order in *Cashmir* in comparatively modern times.

One of the chief leaders of the late conspiracy was YASODHARA, to whom the queen gave the government of *Campana*, to bind him more firmly to her interests: a war now arose between him and *Sáhi*, governor or king of *Dhacca*, and the latter was defeated, and compelled to pay tribute: proud of his success, and instigated by evil counsellors, YASODHARA soon found cause of complaint against the regent, and led his army against her, supported by NARAVÁHANA. The regent resolved to encounter him in the field, and a battle accordingly ensued, in which YASODHARA was defeated: he was taken prisoner, and thrown into confinement with all his family, whilst many of his adherents, also captives, were thrown into the *Vitastá*, with large stones fastened to their necks.

It would be useless to prosecute the story of civil discord further: the nobles and governors had in fact all become more or less independant of a monarchy, long feebly administered, and were ready on every slight pretext to lead their military followers to the field. By the counsels and conduct of NARAVÁHANA, the regent uniformly triumphed, and appears to have

deserved the success she enjoyed: his death however was the ruin of her credit, if not of her power, and she appears hereafter in the character only of a cruel, libidinous, and ambitious woman.

At this period ABHIMANYU died, our author says of a consumption: *Mohammed Azim* asserts that he was poisoned by his mother. The former account, however, is most trust-worthy, especially as corroborated by the sequel, which represents her as engaged for a year afterwards, in laying the foundations of cities, and pious and public edifices, in order to dispel her grief. In this way she is said to have founded *Cancanapur* and *Diddapur Mat'has*, for the *Saura* and *Láta* Brahmans, and the temples of *Abhimanyu Swámi* and *Didda Swámi*; several *Chatur Sálas* or *Serais*, and many *Vihárs*, and to have made the conflux of the *Sindh* and *Vitastá* a place of great sanctity. At the end of twelve months, however, her ambition revived, and upon reassuming the administration she thought it advisable to rid herself of her grandson NÁNDIGUPTA, who had succeeded his father, and whom she put to death.

TRIBHUVANA, another grandson, was next placed upon the throne, but speedily shared the fate of his brother, and a third named BHÍMAGUPTA was elevated to the dangerous distinction. DIDDÁ now chose a new favorite, and a *C'hasa* named TUNGA, originally a keeper of buffaloes, and subsequently a courier in the service of the minister, enjoyed her affection and favours. He soon acquired the ascendancy at court, and thrust himself and his five brothers into all the most important posts. The intrusion of this upstart race, was warmly resented by the Cashmirian nobles, who called to their assistance VIGRAHA VÁGA, a nephew of the queen's, and a man of high spirit and great power: TUNGA was obliged to resign his newly acquired authority, and preserved his life only by the interference of the Brahmans, whom the bribes of the queen had induced to intercede. VIGRAHA, finding it impracticable therefore to afford that redress to the Cashmirians which they had solicited, retired to his own territory, and left the ascendancy to be recovered by the favorite of the queen, who notwithstanding

ing his low origin, appears to have been a man of firmness and activity. The young prince BHÍMAGUPTA betraying, as he advanced in years, some indications of an independent spirit, was now removed from the throne, and privately put to death. KIRDAMA RÁJÁ and several of the leading men, suffered the same fate, and the Brahmans who had saved the life of TUNGA were thrown by him into prison, probably to compel them to refund the reward of their late mediation. Seriously alarmed for their safety, the nobles now called to their aid the Prince PRITHIVIPÁLA, who marched with his troops to their aid, and occupied the capital. TUNGA, however, foiled his adversaries : advancing upon the city with a large force, he set the suburbs on fire, and cutting off the retreat of the enemy, effected the destruction of a great part of their army. PRITHIVIPÁLA* was compelled to submit to TUNGA, and to purchase his safety by engaging to pay tribute to the sovereign of Cashmir

The transaction thus described, is the last instance of civil dissension that seems to have occurred under the reign of DIDDÁ RÁNÍ : triumphant over both foreign and domestic foes, she was now at leisure to regulate the succession to the kingdom, and adopted SANGRÁMADÉVA, the son of her brother UDAYA RÁJÁ, as her associate in the government, and as the future supreme ruler of *Cashmir*. This was the last act of her life, and is the last event recorded by our author, whose history closes with the death of DIDDÁ RÁNÍ, and accession of SANGRÁMADÉVA in the 79th year of the *Cashmirian* cycle, or the year of our Lord 1025, and after the queen had held the sole sovereignty of the country for three and twenty years.

A. D.
1025.

C. Y.
79.

* The territory governed by this prince is not named : he might in fact have not yet been in possession of any, as the son only of the sovereign of *Lahore*, *Anandapala*, whose successor about the date of the above events, is named by *Ferishta*, *Pitterugepal*. *Dow*, i. 58. It must be observed however that if the dates of our history and the Mahomedan history accorded, we should have had in the former, some notice of the repeated visits to Cashmir paid by *Mahmed* in 1005, 1015 and 1018 ; the history of *Cathana* coming down to 1025 : one or other however may err by a few years, if indeed the error is not as much of facts as of dates. The author of the *Tadcat Achebi* states indeed that *Mahmed* was repeatedly foiled in his attempts to penetrate into Cashmir.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

FIRST PERIOD, <i>(In which the duration of the several reigns is not specified.)</i>		Date according to the original.	Adjusted date.	SECOND OR ADITYA DYNASTY.			
Cashmir colonised by Casyapa		B.C.3714	B.C.2666	Pratápáditya	32	B.C. 168-9	BC. 10
Fifty-three Princes; names unknown; reigned ..		yrs. 1266	1266	Jalaucas	32	136-9	AD. 22
Gonerda 1st. Cali. 653 or ..		B.C.2448	1400	Tunjina	36	104-9	54
Dámodara 1st.				Vijaya	8	66-9	90
Gonerda 2nd.				Jayéndra	37	60-9	98
Thirty-five Princes; names forgotten.				Árya	47	23-9	136
Lava				Six Princes reigned		192 years.	
Cusésaya				Average		32 years.	
Khagéndra				THIRD OR GONERDÍYA DYNASTY AGAIN.			
Surendra				Méghaváhana ..	34	A.D. 23-3	—
Godhara				Sréshtaséna ..	30	57-9	—
Suverna				Hiranya	30-2	87-3	—
Jamaca				Mátrigupta	4-9	117-5	471
Sachinara				Pravaraséna ..	63	122-2	476
Asoca				Yudhisht'hir 2d..	39 3	185-2	499
Jaloca				Nan drávat ..	13	224-5	522
Dámodara 2nd.				Ranáditya ..	300	237-5	545
Hushca } Partar Princes.				Vicramáditya ..	42	537-5	568
Jushca }				Báláditya ..	36	579-5	592
Canishca }				Ten Princes reigned 592 years and 2 months, according to the original computation; 433 according to the adjusted one, furnishing in either case an inadmissible average.			
Abhimanyu				FOURTH OR CARCOTÁ DYNASTY.			
Fifty-one reigns ending		B.C.118	388	Durlabhaverddhana	Reign. 36	Date A. D. 615-	5
The grounds on which the adjustments are made are explained in the following remarks.				Pratápáditya	50	651-	5
SECOND PERIOD, <i>In which the duration of the several reigns is specified.</i>				Chandrápíra	8 8	701-	5
FIRST OR GONERDÍYA DYNASTY.				Tárápíra	4	710-	1
Gonerda 3d.	35	BC. 1182	BC. 388	Lalitáditya	36 7	714	1
Vibhishána	53	1147	370	Cuvalayáditya	1	750-	8
Indrajít	35 6	1096	352	Vajráditya	7	751-	8
Rávana	30	1060-6	334	Prithivyápíra	4 2	756-	8
Vibhishána 2nd..	35 6	1030-6	316	Sangramápíra	7	762-	10
Nara	39 9	993	298	Jajja	3	769-	10
Siddha	60	953-3	280	Jayápíra	31	772-	10
Utpalácsha	30 6	893-3	262	Lalitápíra	12	803-	10
Hiranyácsha ...	37 7	862-9	244	Sangramápíra 2nd.	7	815-	10
Hiranyácula	60	825-2	226	Vrihaspati	12	822-	10
Vámácula	60	765-2	218	Ajitápíra	36	834-	10
Mihir ácula	70	705-2	200	Ananrápíra	3	870-	10
Vaca	63	635-2	182	Utpalapíra	2	873-	10
Cshitinanda	30	572-2	164	Seventeen Princes reigned 260 years and five months, averaging little more than fifteen years to a reign: from the commencement of this dynasty therefore the chronology of the original requires no modification.			
Vasunanda	52 2	542-2	146	FIFTH. THE UTPALA OR VERMÁ DYNASTY.			
Nara 2d.	60	490	128	Aditya Vermá	Reign. 28 3	Date A. D. 875-10	Date in Cashmir yrs. —
Acsha	60	430	100	Sancara Vermá ..	18 8	904- 1	59
Gopáditya	60	370	82	Gopála Vermá ..	2	922- 9	77
Gokerna	57	310	64	Sancatá	10 dys.		
Narendráditya ..	36 3	253	46	Sugandhá Ráni ..	2	924- 9	79
Yudhisht'hir	48	218-9	28	Párt'ha	15	926- 9	81
Twenty-one Princes reigned	1013	3 or 578 years.		Nirjita Vermá, also called Pangw or the Cripple	1	941- 9	96
Average	48	or 45 years.					



HISTORY OF CASHMIR.

				LAST OR MIXED DYNASTIES.			
	Reign.	Date A. D.	Cashmir years.		Reign.	Date A. D.	Cashmir years.
Chacra Vermá ..	10	942-9	97	Yasasara Déva ..	9	960-3	14 6
Sura Vermá	1	952-9	7	Sangrama Déva ..	0 6	969-3	23 6
Párt'ha, a second time	0 6	953-9	8	Párvagupta	1 6	969-9	24
Chacra Vermá do.	0 6	954-3	8 6	Cshémagupta	8 6	971-3	25 6
Sancara Verdhana	1 6	954-9	9	Abhimányu	14 0	979-9	34
Chacra Vermá, a third time, ..	1 4	956-3	10 6	Nandigupta	1 1	993-9	48
Unmatti Vermá ..	2 2	957-7	11 10	Tribhuvana	2 0	994-10	49 1
Sura Vermá 2d. ..	0 6	959-9	14	Bhimagupta	4 3	996-10	51 1
				Didda Rani	23 6	1001-1	55 4
				Sangrama Déva ..	—	1024-7	78 10

Twelve Princes reigned 84 years and five months, averaging little more than eight years to a reign. Besides the *Sálináhana* æra, the original introduces with this dynasty a new method of computing, by a cycle of 100 years.

Nine Princes reigned to the accession of SANGRAMA DEVA 64 years and four months, averaging rather more than seven years to a reign.

Remarks on the History and Chronology of Cashmir.

HAVING now completed the sketch of Cashmirian History, it may be expected that we should revert to it for a moment, for the purpose of taking a concise view of the light which it reflects upon the General History and Chronology of the Hindus; objects of more interest than the local transactions which it details, and which, circumscribed within the narrow limits of a petty state, of remote site and difficult access, are neither in themselves, nor in their effects upon their neighbours, of any magnitude or importance: it may be added however that they are of the same general character, as the events which make up History in all countries, and may not be therefore devoid of interest, to the mind that can be contented to contemplate man, in so sequestered a region, as the valley of *Cashmir*.

It appears very evident that *Cashmir* has been a regular kingdom for a period, that transcends the limits of legitimate history, and even if we feel disposed to contest the accounts of our author, and to dispute his series of Dynasties and Princes, we must still rest satisfied with the proof of its existence either under the names of *Caspapyrus* or *Abisarus*,* as early as the days of HERODOTUS and ALEXANDER: there can be no doubt however of the regular organization of this state at a period, much antecedent, and it is probable that in remote times it exercised a more decided interference in the concerns of India, than it has done for many centuries past: it seems

* See Appendix, No. VIII.

highly probable also that it was the original dominion of the *Páñdava* princes, and that it furnished in them, Sovereigns to the plains of Hindustan.

The religion of Cashmir has in like manner been Hindu from a very remote date. Originally no doubt it was the Ophite or snake worship, but this is a part of the Hindu ritual, and the *Négas* are included in the orthodox pantheon: the adoration of Siva was soon ingrafted upon this, even if the two rites were not originally identified.

It appears that the Bauddha schism was known in Cashmir at a very early period, and possibly preceded the introduction of a fully organized Brahmanical priesthood: it probably in short preceded the introduction of the Brahmanical *caste*. *Aśoca*, although a worshipper of *Siva*, is said to have countenanced this new faith. His son *JALOCA* commenced his reign with serious efforts to suppress it, and it was possibly partly with this view, that he introduced the colony of Brahmans from Ganouj. Towards the close of his reign however he relaxed in his hostility to the Bauddhists, and his successor, although a pious worshipper of *Siva*, appears to have participated in the same feeling. The legend of *DÁMODARA*'s transformation, indicates his having incurred the enmity of the Brahmanical order.

The period that immediately ensues, is of great interest in the religious History of India. *Cashmir* became a Bauddha country under Tartar princes, shortly after the death of *Sácya Sinha*, according to our author, and he agrees nearly with the *Chinese* authorities, as to the period at which that legislator flourished, and according to them, in this very country. The latter seems to be an error; it may however indicate the direction where the birth of the elder *Buddha* happened, and in connexion with the circumstances narrated by the Sanscrit writer, seems to point out an extra-In-

dian origin for this religion :* its predominance in *Cashmir* was of short duration, as although not extirpated, it speedily and finally gave way before the preponderance of the Brahmanical faith. If any conclusion might be drawn from such imperfect premises, it might be supposed, that the inhabitants of *Cashmir* originally followed an idolatrous system of their own, to which they superadded a few ill defined Gods and ceremonies, borrowed from the Brahmans of the plains ; that whilst they were yet open to conversion, an attempt was made from the other side, or from Tartary, to introduce Buddhism amongst them, which was combated and finally frustrated by southern assistance : the national faith of *Cashmir* has ever since continued Hindu, and the almost exclusive form of adoration has been that addressed to *Siva* and his *Sacti*.

The chronology of the *Rájá Taringiñi* is not without its interest. The dates are regular, and for a long time both probable and consistent, and as they may enable us to determine the dates of persons and events, in other parts of India ; as well as in *Cashmir*, a short review of them may not be wholly unprofitable.

The more recent the period, the more likely it is that its chronology will be correct ; and it will be therefore advisable to commence with the most

* SIR WILLIAM JONES alludes to the white and ruddy complexion of BUDDHA as calculated to convince MONS. BAILLY of the Tartar origin of this legislator. MONS. REMUSAT (in the *Journal Des Savans*, Octre. 1819,) commenting on some of the epithets descriptive of BUDDHA, contained in a Polyglot *Buddha* vocabulary compiled in *China* (or rather translated from some Indian work, one of the languages being Sanscrit,) notices this epithet *Suvernachhavi* (सुवर्ण इति) the golden hued, but without being inclined to draw such a conclusion from it as MONS. BAILLY might have drawn. The description of this *Buddha* however, as contained in the Vocabulary described by MONS. REMUSAT, *Mines de L'Orient*, vol. iv. connected with the circumstances we have had occasion to notice in the text, tends very much to confirm the idea of the original Baudha schism having been imported from Tartary. The name of this legislator, *Saeya*, is further evidence to the same effect : its Sanscrit etymologies are very unsatisfactory, and it was not improbably connected with the national name *Sacæ* by which the Eastern Scythians or Tartars were formerly known both in Europe and India. The distinction between the different Buddhas of whom GAUTAMA, prince of *Behar*, was one, must always be borne in mind

modern, and recede gradually to the most remote dates. The Table prefixed was necessarily constructed on a different principle, and depends upon the date of Gonerda the 3rd, which, as I have previously explained, is established according to the Chronology of the text. GONERDA 3rd lived, according to CALHAÑA *Pañdit*, 2330 years before the year of Śaca 1070, or A.D. 1148, and consequently his accession is placed B. C. 1182: the periods of each reign are then regularly deduced till the close of the history, which is thus placed in the year of Christ 1025, or about 120 years before the author's own time. That the reign of the last sovereign did terminate about the period assigned, we may naturally infer, not only from its proximity to what we may conclude was the date at which the work was written, but from the absence of any mention of Mahmud's invasions, and the introduction of a PRITHIVI PÁLA, who is very possibly the same with the PITTEBUGE PAL of *Lakore*, mentioned in the *Mohammedan* histories.

Taking therefore the date of *Didda Rání*, as being at least very near the truth, we may go up the list with some confidence through three dynasties at least. The three last series present an aggregate of thirty-eight princes, and but 409 years, giving us less than eleven years to a reign, an average rate, with which the most cautious chronologist may be contented. The first of the three series, which presents the longest average, gives us less than 16 years to a reign, which is equally unexceptionable, and we have therefore every reason to conclude that the chronology of our author is perfectly accurate, as far back as the year 616 of the Christian æra.

The History of *Cashmir* is too purely domestic during the period comprised within these limits, for us to be able to apply the chronology of the author to the establishment of dates, for incidents or persons of interest in the records of Hindustan. ŚANCARA VERMÁ is said to have subverted the extensive empire acquired by BHOJA, and he may be supposed therefore to have been nearly contemporary with that prince. ŚANCARA VERMÁ reigned from 904 to 922. The date of Bhoja is now fixed with tolerable certainty within the limits of the beginning of the tenth and that of the eleventh cen-

ture. The *Rájá Taringiñi* however would throw him farther back, if he preceded ŚANCARA VERMÁ, and place him in the close of the ninth century. We need not expect however extreme accuracy in this matter, and may rest satisfied with considering it as an approximation to the truth, and generally as an additional testimony of BHOJA'S having flourished early in the tenth century.

The reign of JAYÁPÍRA from 772 to 803 may hereafter throw some light upon the literary history of the Hindus, when the writings of the authors patronized by him shall be met with. It is highly probable that CSHÍRA is the commentator on AMERA, in which case, we have advanced one step in the antiquity of that philologist. What author is meant by *Bhatta* is not ascertained; it cannot be MAMMAĪĀ BHAIĪĀ, the Cashmirian author of the *Cávyá Pracása*, as that writer must have been subsequent to SRÍ HERSHA, a king of Cashmir, who reigned about 40 years after our history closes, and to whom, or to whose works, frequent reference is made in the *Cávyá Pracása*.

Another set of names of literary interest occurs in the reign of LALITÁDITYA, from A.D. 714 to 750. Two of the three are yet to be ascertained, but it is highly satisfactory to have fixed the date of so eminent a writer as BHAVABHUTI. If YAŚOVERMÁ, king of *Canouj*, should elsewhere appear to be the same as KÍRTI VERMÁ, it would tend to some important conclusions in this branch of literary enquiry. The state of India at the period of LALITÁDITYA'S reign is tolerably well detailed by our author, but it is unnecessary to examine the subject here, as it has been dwelt upon at some length in the note relating to his supposed military marches.

After passing the limits of the year 616, the character of our author's chronology undergoes an unfavourable change. Thirty-seven princes in three dynasties reign 1797 years, or on an average more than 48 years each, an average term which very much exceeds possibility, and which can only be explained by supposing either, that the number of princes is defective, and that the reigns of those who have disappeared from the record,

have been added to those of the princes lucky enough to have escaped oblivion, or that the whole are carried too far back into antiquity, and the date of GONERDA from which it starts, having been made much too remote, it was necessary to elongate the respective reigns to fill up the protracted interval: both these sources of error most probably exist, but there seems reason to suppose, that the first is more particularly the cause of the objectionable duration assigned to several reigns.

The Third Dynasty embraces ten princes, and a period of 592 years, but as one of them RANÁDITYA engrosses three centuries, the remaining 292 years are to be divided amongst nine kings, giving an average of little more than 32 years to a reign. The most remarkable person alluded to as connected with general history, is VICRAMÁDITYA, the second king of that appellation introduced by our author: he is placed in a period new to the many enquiries regarding his date, or in the year A. D. 117, shortly after which he must have died, according to CALHAÑA *Pañdit*. We have no clue therefore to the identification of this prince, and, in the absence of better grounds of conjecture, may attempt it by adverting to the erroneous reign of RANÁDITYA of three centuries, as well as the long reigns of almost all the princes of the dynasty. It seems likely, that the VICRAMÁDITYA, who put the brahman MÁTRIGUPTA on the throne of *Cashmir*, was the prince of that name who lived in the 5th century, or in 441:* that CALHAÑA, or preceding writers, confounding him with the *Sacári* prince, although they did not make him exactly contemporary even with ŚÁLIVÁHAN, placed him fully three centuries too early: that when they came to the *Cárcota* dynasty, they found out their mistake, and could devise no other method of correcting it, than by adding the deficient years to the reign of RANÁDITYA, and thus embellishing their history with a marvel. The defeat of ŚILÁDITYA by PRAVARASÉNA, as has been noticed, confirms this view of the subject. The VICRAMÁDITYA of the 5th century reigned, it is said, 100 years, dying in A.D. 541 but according to the *Satrunjaya Mahátmaya*, ŚILÁDITYA was king in 447; we may therefore restrict the father to a sufficiently probable reign of about 35 years, when we shall have PRAVARASÉNA, king of *Cashmir*, in 476. Between his accession, and that of DURLABHA VERDDHANA, we shall then have an

* A. R. ix. 175.

interval of 139 years, to be divided amongst six princes, and although this will give us a little more than the probable average reign, or 23 years for each prince, yet it still is not extravagant, and the excess may either go to form an unusually long reign for **RAÑÁDITYA**, whence arose the tradition of its lasting for three centuries, or it may be required for the apparent chasm that exists between his reign, and the unconnected succession of the Cashmirian prince, named also **VICRAMÁDITYA**.

By bringing the reign of **PRAVARASÉNA** so low as A. D. 476, we are involved in some perplexity, as to the propriety of subjecting the preceding dynasties to a proportionate reduction. If the series of the princes were accurately stated, this would seem to be a necessary consequence, and if besides this we should restrict the duration of each reign to the highest possible average or 20 years, we shall then effect a very material modification of our author's chronology, and reduce his first date from 1182 B. C. to no more than 144 years before that æra. There are however some difficulties in the way of this computation :—

The first is the reign of **PRATÁPÁDITYA**, a kinsman of **VICRAMÁDITYA**, placed however by our author 168 B. C. and consequently, according to him, not connected with the *Vicramáditya*, from whose time the *Samvat* æra is dated. This inference so obviously arises from the system of our author's chronology, that it is entitled to but little weight, unless that can be proved unexceptionable. We may therefore conclude that **PRATÁPÁDITYA** was connected with the family of the **SACÁRI VICRAMÁDITYA**, and that he lived about the commencement of the christian æra: it does not appear that he was contemporary with his illustrious kinsman. From **PRATÁPÁDITYA**, to *Pravaraséna*, we have ten princes, and 486 years, which gives us consequently the inadmissible duration of 48 years to a reign. The original chronology is less extravagant, but equally improbable, as that gives us an average of 29 years to a reign: there is an error therefore somewhere in this part of the history, and either the chronology is wrong, or the series of princes is inaccurate. It is worthy of remark, that the course of succession is a very interrupted one throughout the whole period: **PRATÁPÁDITYA** himself ascends the throne

without any apparent cause. VIJAYA who succeeds TUNJINA seems to have had an equally undefined claim. ARYA or the resuscitated *Sandhimati*, was evidently an impostor, who succeeded JAYENDRA, after an interval, which is not specified. MÉGHAVÁHANA, though called the great grandson of YUDHISHTHIR might have been a more remote descendant, and the period assigned for the foreigner Matrigupta's election and government, appears to be much too contracted : it is not unlikely therefore that the transactions of the period are imperfectly narrated, and that the blank intervals created by the omission, have been distributed amongst such portions of the record as have been preserved.

The farther back we proceed, the more likely it becomes, that such omissions have extensively and frequently occurred, and accordingly we find the reigns increase very materially in their assigned duration. The average of the 21 reigns of the first dynasty, exceeds 48 years ; there are however several chasms in the history, which have been noticed at the time of their occurrence, and it is difficult to admit any very material reduction of the date of the first of the series, in consequence of our author's near agreement with the Chinese and Tibetan writers as to the existence of ŚÁCYA about ten centuries anterior to the Christian era. We have only one clue to a reduction of this date : it is possible, that the text has confounded the original *Buddha*, with the ŚÁCYA of the 6th century before Christ. This is the more probable, because from earlier events it appears that, *Bauddhism* preceded in *Cashmir* the *Śácya* alluded to ; consequently he could not have been the primitive *Buddha*, the founder of the faith : if this be the case, we shall reduce the date of the 3rd Gonarda to something more than a century and a half subsequent to the GAUTAMA, who flourished about 542 A. C. or to about B. C. 388 and this will leave us an average of no more than 18 years for the reigns of this dynasty.

That the third GONARDA reigned about the beginning of the fourth century before Christ, derives some support from the possible connexion between

some of the Transactions recorded in the history of Cashmir, and those which took place in the neighbouring countries in collateral periods, especially the Turushka or Scythian invasions of Persia.

The temporary occupation of Media by the Scythians, took place according to the most approved computations about the end of the seventh century before the christian æra and they were defeated and expelled about the beginning of the 6th.* This period should correspond in Cashmirian history, on the principles we have adopted for its chronology, with the reign of *Asoka* the third prince anterior to the Tartar rulers, and we find it particularly noticed in his reign that Cashmir was over-run with *Mlech'chhas* or barbarians, possibly some of the fugitives from the power of the Persian monarch, who endeavoured in their retreat to establish themselves in Cashmir.

The Scythian subjugation of Media appears as a single and transitory revolution as recorded by Herodotus, but in the pages of the Persian writers it occurs, only as one of various vicissitudes, in the long struggle for superiority between the sovereigns of Iran and Turan. This war began it appears with Feridun, whom modern writers agree to place about 748 B. C. † Kai Kaus according to the Persians, and Cyrus according to the Greeks, invaded the Massagetæ and was defeated if not slain in the engagement. It was in the reign of this prince and that of his successor, KAI KHOSRU, that the prowess of RUSTEM was displayed so fatally in opposition to AFRASIAB, and the armies of Turan, and whatever Grecian princes may be regarded as the representative of his masters, it is unquestionable that the periods in which they reigned approach to those of the Tartar conquest of Cashmir. Perhaps however it may be still more satisfactorily associated, with events, undoubtedly posterior to the wars, in which Rustem's celebrity

* According to *Larcher* (Traduction D'Herodote) The first 633 B.C. and the second 606 B.C. According to *Valney* (Chronologie D'Herodote.) The Scythian invasion occurred B.C. 626 and their expulsion in 598.

† Malcolm, i. 213. 220. Kennedy, (Bombay Transactions,) ii. 120.

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was first acquired, and may have formed an Episode in the furious and for a time triumphant invasion of Persia, by the Tartar king ARJASP; when Khorasan was plundered, Balkh was taken, and the old king of Persia LOHRASP was included in the general massacre of the priests and followers of Zoroaster.* If the king of Persia, GUSHTASP, the object of these hostilities, be the same with DARIUS HYSTASPES, as seems probable, these events should have occurred between the years B.C. 521 and 485—By the computation of the Sanscrit text, the Turushka princes must have reigned some time subsequent to *Śácyá Sinha*, who as Gautama dates B.C. 542, but it is not at all clear that the three princes were cotemporary, and we have no guide to the duration of their authority, beyond the inferences already alluded to, derived from its ceasing within a century and a half after the death of the legislator: supposing them then to have been half a century later, they will be cotemporary with the war between the Persian and Tartar monarchs, and may have been individual adventurers who took advantage of the temporary confusion to establish themselves in Cashmir: it is also worthy of observation, that as they brought with them a new impulse to the Bauddha religion, so the war between ARJASP and GUSHTASP was entirely religious, arising out of the attempt of the former to compel the latter to revert to the common faith of their ancestors, very probably the *Bauddha* or *Śákyan*, that of the *Sacæ* or *Scythians*, which GUSHTASP had abandoned for the religion of the Medes, the worship of Fire.†

If the Tartar princes then governed Cashmir through the greater part of

* Malcolm's Persia, i. 62.

† In the days of Cyrus, as well observed by Volney, the Persians did not worship the elements: this opinion is founded on the account given by Nicolas Damascenus of the pile prepared to burn Croesus, which Volney infers he derived from Xanthus who wrote a history of the kings of Lydia 40 years before Herodotus: it was on that occasion the historian states, that the Persians established the law, conformably to the oracles of Zoroaster, that Fire should be no more contaminated with the carcases of the dead. *Chronologia D'Herodote*, 251. In the code of the Parsis however the other elements receive equal veneration. *Elementa enim omnia tenentur servari pura. Hyde Hist. Relig. vet. Per.* 414. *Persæ nolentes Terram polluere defunctorum corpora non humant, &c. Ibid.* Yet the *Tomb of Cyrus* was very celebrated, and even *Darius Hystaspes* himself is said by Ktesias to have had his *tomb* prepared whilst living—how are these contradictions to be reconciled.

the fifth century before the Christian æra, as appears likely, the accession of Gonerda the third must of course be assigned to the commencement of the fourth, and as the year 150 of Śácya or B. C. 392, fell according to the original within the reign of ABHIMANYU, we may place it a few years subsequent or B. C. 388.

Without venturing to place much reliance on the coincidence of names adverted to in the note (p. 27), we may observe that both it, and the frequent mention of the *Mlech'chhas* which occurs in the succeeding reigns, are favourable to our hypothetical adjustment of the dates, if the barbarians and foreigners alluded to, can be considered to bear any relation to the Macedonian invasion or Bactrian kingdom.

It were too wild an attempt to carry the investigation of our author's chronology beyond the period at which we have now arrived. He pretends not to precision himself. Of the fifty-three princes with whom he has peopled the years that elapse between the first and third GONERDA, thirty-five are without names, and the rest without dates. The singular view he has taken of the æra of CRĪSHNA will be fully commented on, but it is still too far remote to bear any historical character. We may perhaps however derive from the *Rájá Tarānginī*, a confirmation of the theories, that place the *Yádava* and *Páñdava* associates within the limits of the 14th century before the Christian æra.

The eighteen Princes whose names occur in the list will give us, upon the average of 20 years to a reign, 360 years. There are however but sixteen reigns particularised, and supposing these to be the whole number, the computation is but 320 years, which, being added to the date of GONERDA the third, as above conjecturally fixed at B.C. 388, gives us 708 B.C. for the date of CRĪSHNA and YUDHISHĪR. But it is admitted that the first BUDDHA, whose date may be considered at least 1000 B.C.* was something pos-

* BUDDHA, according to Abul-fazi, B. C. 1366
Couplet, 1036

De Guignes, 1027
Giorgi, 959
Bailly, 1031

Jones, 1027
Rentley, 1081
Ditto, 1004

The later date assigned to this legislator undoubtedly refers to a different person.

terior to the heroes of the great war,* and we require therefore a considerable addition to the years that elapsed between the first and third GONERDA. This addition we may derive from the thirty-five nameless kings, whose insertion probably was designed to fill up the chasm, and will allow two or three centuries to be added to the interval: we shall then perhaps, as a matter of chronological, though not historical accuracy, be near the truth, if we admit the 51 reigns, and give them an average length of 20 years, as we shall then have CRÍSHNA alive about 1400 B. C. a computation which will agree well enough with those which have been made by our most eminent scholars.†

The period that intervenes between the first GONERDA and the colonization of the country under CASYAPA is stated in the original to be 1266 years: that the precise extent of this interval has not been recorded with that precision which the author affects, may easily be granted, but there is some reason to suspect that it is very near the truth, and in that case it is of no small importance, as it gives probability to the whole scheme of our conjectural chronology for the Hindu history, and furnishes an additional testimony to the veracity of the Mosaic record.

If GONERDA the first lived about 1400 years before Christ, and 1266 years intervened between his reign and the desiccation of Cashmir, we place that event 2666 years before the Christian æra, and in fact within a near ap-

* SIR WM. JONES says 200 years, according to the Cashmirians, who boast of his (Buddha's) descent in their kingdom, (A. R. i. 425.) If he alluded to the *Rájá Taringiní*, and there is no other Cashmirian authority yet in the possession of Europeans, he must have been misinformed, as far as regards the latter part of this statement; the birth of *Buddha*, either the first or second, being nowhere mentioned in the work of *Kalhana*, to have occurred within the limits of Cashmir.

† Mr. Colebrooke supposes the *Vedas* were not arranged in their present form earlier than the 14th century before the Christian æra, (A. R. vii. 24;) but VYASA the compiler was contemporary with the heroes of the *Mahábharat*, consequently they flourished about the period assigned in the text. Major Wilford computes the close of the great war, as having taken place B.C. 1370 (A. R. ix.) Dr. Hamilton considers *Sri Krishna* to have lived somewhat later; or in the 12th century before our æra, (*Genealogies of the Hindus, Introduction, p. 24.*)

proximation to the period at which the Deluge may be supposed to have occurred,* and to which event therefore the tradition really relates.

* The ordinary computations place this event A. C. 2349, but late writers of equal research and various sentiments agree in considering this too recent.—*Dom Clement*. “*L’Art de verifier les dates*,” make its date A. C. 3310. (*Journal Des Savans*, Fevrier, 1820). A writer in the *Classical Journal* (*Sir Wm. Drummond*, apparently) estimates the date 3128 years before the birth of Christ (*C. J.* 24. 153) and the *Rev. G. C. Faber*, following the chronology of the Samaritan Pentateuch, places the Deluge A. C. 2933. (*Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, vol. iii. 669.) Even then if we admit the original chronology without alteration, it will not be very far beyond the first of these periods, and it comes within the limits of the two hundred theories of Christian writers, which have taken a range of from 6984 to 3616, for the number of years that elapsed between the creation and the commencement of our æra.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Legend of the drying of the Valley of Cashmir, from the Wakiat-i-Cashmir.

گویا که عالم آب بود و جای برآمدن نداشت و در میان اب جلدیو نام دیوی ادم خورد سکونت ورزیده علم تسلط و تغلب بر افراشت اطراف و جوانب انرا سیر کرده هر جا چیزی می یافت برده و خورده و ویران کرده می آمد مدتی برین منوال گذشت اتفاقا کشف نام هابدی پسر ماریچ که بعقیده اکثر هندو نمیره برهماست وقتی بزینارت معابد می رفت بگوهی سمیر نام رسیده ان ولایت را خراب یافت و در تحقیق و تفتیش سبب ان شتافت مردم اطراف گفتند که جلدیو نام دیوی است میان سستی سر از انجا برآمده مردم را می کشد و باز باب می رود دل کشف بر حال مردم بدرد آمد و هزار سال در موضع نویدن که مکان مشهور نزدیک هیروه پور است عبادت کرد و مهادیو که باصطلاح هندو پروردگار را کوبند از کثرت عبادت دریافت او برحم آمد و مدعای او را بر رسید او استدعای دفع شر جلدیو کرد مهادیو بشن و برهما را که از کارکنان مهادیو اند بدفعش فرستاد بشن تا صد سال با جلدیو جنگ کرد بنا بر شدت اب و کثرت سیلاب دست بر و نیافت امر الامر حمله انکیخت در نواحی باره موله لغتی از کوه کنده بدر رو اب بهم رسانید و زمین مسطح گشت ان دیورا بدست آورده کشت و مکان وسیع از اب ظاهر گردید و بکشف سر مسمی کشت کشف سر کوه را کوبند یعنی کوه کشف

The country was entirely covered with water, in the midst of which a demon, *Jaladeo*, resided, who preyed upon mankind, and seized on every thing and person he could meet with in the neighbouring regions. It happened at length that *CASHEP*, the son of *MARICHI*, and according to some accounts the grandson of *BRAHMÁ*, visited this country, and having spent some time in pious abstraction on mount *Sumer*, turned his attention to the desolated appearance of the earth, and enquired its cause: the people told him of the abode of *Jaludeo* in *Sati Sur*, and his predatory incursions upon them. The heart of *Cashef* was moved to compassion, and he took up his residence in *Noubadan*, near *Hirapur*, for a thousand years, employing that period in religious austerities; in consequence of which, MA-

HÁDEO appeared to him, and assented to his prayers for the extirpation of *Jaladeo*. MAHÁDEO accordingly sent his servants VISHNU and BRAHMÁ to expel the demon. VISHNU was engaged in the conflict 100 years, when finding that the mud and water afforded a secure retreat to the *Deo*, he at last made the chasm at *Baramouleh*, by which the waters were drained off, the demon exposed, taken and slain, and the country recovered and rendered habitable; being thence called *Cashef-Sir*, or the mountain of *Cashef*.

No. II.

Snake worship in Cashmir.

WE have frequent occasion to notice the important figure which snakes and snake deities make in the worship and traditionary history of *Cashmir*. The extent and permanence of the superstition we may learn from *Abulfazl*, who observes, that in seven hundred places there are carved figures of snakes, which they worship. *Ay. Ac. ii. 148*. His statement is in fact taken from the text of PUNYA BHATTA: for its being as old as the age of ALEXANDER, we have what may be regarded as sufficient, though indirect testimony; for ONESICRITUS, as quoted by STRABO, avers, that ABISARUS, who we shall hereafter see is a misnomer for *Cashmir*, or a part of it, is said by his ambassadors to cherish two enormous dragons, *παρ' ἃ δύο δράκοντας ἀπήγγελλον οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ πρῆσσεις τρέφειν τὸν μὲν ὀγδοήκοντα πηχῶν, τὸν δὲ τετραράκοντα, πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν, ὡς ἔφηκεν Ὀνησικρίτος.*

Apud quem, *Abisarum*, legati ab eo missi, nunciaverunt, duos dracones nutriri, alterum octoginta cubitorum longitudine, alterum centum et quadriginta, ut Onesicritus refert. The Oxford editor judiciously observes on this passage; "Serpentes in India nonnulli pedes 30 longitudine æquant; nulli autem superant. Quo circa hæc legatorum relatio, ad cultum Idolatricum referre videtur, nam Idola esse magnitudinis vere mirabilis, in templis Indorum constat. Exinde Dracones esse ingentes figuras in templis suspicor, et legati vel vivos existire finxerunt, vel *Macedones* eorum Lin-

guam minus intellexerunt. Page 994 and note.—*Mr. R. P. Knight*, in his inquiry into the Symbolical language of ancient Art and Mythology, (*Classical Journal*, vol. xxiii. p. 14) states, upon the authority of *Maximin of Tyre*, that when *Alexander* entered India, “*TAXILUS*, a powerful prince of the country” (he was raja of the *Tacshasilas*) “showed him a serpent of enormous size, which he nourished with great care, and revered as the image of the God whom the Greek writers from the similitude of his attributes called *Dionysus* or *Bacchus*.” Whether the Cashmirian worship of snakes was mystical, at least in the earliest ages, may be questioned. There is likewise reason to suppose that this worship was diffused throughout the whole of India, as besides the numerous fables and traditions relating to the *Nágas* or snake gods, scattered through the *Puránas*, vestiges of it still remain in the actual observances of the Hindus. It seems not improbable that the destruction of the whole serpent race by *JANAMÉJAYA*, the son of *PARICSHIT*, recorded in the *Puránas* as a historical fact, may in reality imply the subversion of the local and original superstition, and the erection of the system of the Vedas upon its ruins.

No. III.

Of the Pandæa Regio of the Classical Writers.

IN this as in several instances we may trace apparently very different places, some not very far remote, however, and all not improbably resolvable into the same, or at least in some manner connected. We have in the first place a city of the Sogdians, called *Panda*, as *PLINY*, vi. 16, Ultra Sogdiani, oppidum *Panda*: and *SOLINUS* (c. 49) Ultra hos (*Bactros*) *Panda*, oppidum Sogdianorum. The same authorities mention a Gens *Panda* or *Pandæa* gens, whom *Pliny* (vi. 20) places low down on the Indus, near its mouths. *SOLINUS* (c. 52) probably intends to assign them a similar site. *ARRIAN* says the Pandæan region was denominated after *Pandæa*, the daughter of *Hercules*, it being the country in which she was born, and

which he governed καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐν ᾗ ἐγένετο καὶ Ἡσίωνος ἐπέτρεψεν αἰθὴν ἀρχεῖν Ἡρακλέης, Πανδαίην, τῆς παιδὸς ἐπαύνομον, but he does not indicate its locality beyond the remark that *Hercules* was particularly venerated by the *Suraseni*, the people on the *Jobares*, whose chief cities were *Methora* and *Kleisobora*, these being in fact the *Surasenas* on the *Jamuna*, one of whose capital cities was *Mat'hura*, and we might consequently suppose he meant by the *Pandæa regio*, the country along the western bank of the *Jamuna*. The next authority, and who first speaks with precision of the situation of the northern Pandians, (for we need not here advert to the *Pandion* of the Peninsula) is *PTOLEMY*; he fixes them at once in the Punjab, about the *Hydaspes*, the *Vitasta*, or river of Cashmir; Περί δὲ τὸν Βυδάσπην ἢ ΠΑΝΔΩΟΥ (πονδοοῦων) χώρα, Circa autem Bydaspum, *Pandovororum regio*; a place, where, agreeably to the views of the text, we might expect at the period of the history of the *Mahābhārat* to find them. That they came originally from *Sogdiana* would be also in harmony with our view of the subject, and their occupation of the upper part of the Doab is matter of fact. It is also probable that the same race extended themselves southward to *Cambay* and *Guzerat*, and ultimately to *Madura*, in the south, known to the classical Geographers as *Madura Pandionis*, the various positions being all correct at various epochs, and marking the migratory course of the descendants of *PANDU*. The accounts gathered by *MEGASTHENES*, which are adopted by *ARRIAN* and *PLINY*, of the customs of this country, and its traditionary history, are obviously to be traced to Indian sources, and are connected with the history of the *Pāndavas*. It was the only Indian country governed by Queens they observe. We have a *Stri Rājyam*, or feminine government, frequently noticed in the text, but this lay to the east. The notion seems really to have originated in the practice of one woman being married to several husbands, a practice prevailing still throughout the Himalaya, and of an antiquity prior to the marriage of the five *Pandava* brethren to *DRAPADI*; *YUDHISHTHIR* observing, in answer to the objection urged by her father *DRUPADA*, that they only follow in this polyandrian marriage, the path trod by other princes, पूर्व्ववामानु पूर्व्ववयातं वक्रानुयामहे ॥ (*Mahubh. Adi. p.*) We have seen above that the Pandean country, according to Me-

GASTHENES was denominated after a Queen who was the daughter of *Hercules*, a demigod, especially venerated by the *Suraseni*, and these ideas are of Indian origin although corrupted and disfigured, for PRIT'HÁ or CUNTI wife of PÁNDU and mother of the PAÑDAVAS, was the daughter of ŚÚRA, king of the *Surasénas*. शूरोनाम यदुश्रेष्ठो वसुदेवपिताभवत् । तस्यकन्या एथा नाम रूपेणाप्रविमा भुवि ॥ "ŚÚRA the most illustrious of the *Yadus*, was the father of VASUDEVA; his daughter named PRIT'HÁ was of unequalled beauty." (*Mahabh. Adi. P.*) The identity of place and persons is therefore unquestionable: as to HERCULES he may have been readily fabricated out of ŚÚRA which, in its usual import means "a Hero," or the Herculean exploits of BALARÁMA may have given to the *Greek* a reasonable pretext for assigning to him a Grecian appellation,

No. IV.

On the date of Yudhisht'hir, &c.

THE original passage is here subjoined together with its most obvious translation, and the chronological results which it appears to authorize.

अष्टमशतिकात्तद्वत्तदाविंशतिं तृयाः । अयोपजंसे काशोरान् गोनर्दाद्याः कलौ युगे ।
 भारतं द्वापरान्ते भूदार्त्तयेति विमोहिताः । केचिदेतां स्रष्टा तेषां कालसंख्यां प्रचक्षिरे ।
 लब्धाधिपत्यसंख्यानां वर्षान् संख्याय भूभुजां । भुक्त्वात्कालात्कलेः शेषेनाख्येन वपिर्निर्गतान् ।
 इत्येव वदसु सार्धेनैव लघिकेषु च भूवले । कलेर्गणेषु वर्षाणांभवन् क्रुद्रप्रादराः ।
 कैत्रिमेदे चतुर्विंशे शक्रकालस्य सांप्रतं । सप्तत्यामधिकं यत्नं सद्यश्च परिवसरात् ।
 यगोनर्दादारभ्य शरदान्महा । से तद्वत्ते गये त्रिंशदधिकश्च शतत्रयं ।
 वर्षाणां प्रादश्र शतो वष्टिः षड्भिश्च संयुता । भूभुजां कालसंख्यायां तद्द्वार्यं चाशतो मता ।
 अष्टादशं शतेनाद्वैद्यास्तु पितृशिशुंदिषु । उच्यते संहिताकारैरेवं दत्तोत्र निर्णयः ।
 आसन्नघासु मु नयः शासति एषीं युधिष्ठिरे तृपतौ । षड्दिकपयंशदियुतः शक्रकालस्य राज्यस्य ।

Gonerda and other kings governed Cashmir in the *Cali yug* 2268 years. Misled by the *Bhárata* (war) being said to take place at the end of the *Dwapara* age, some consider these computations as incorrect. Taking the

number of princes, and the aggregate of their reigns, and deducting it from the portion of the *Cali* (that has past) the remainder does not agree with that (that should be left:) abandoning that (computation,) the year of *Cali* 653, being passed, the *Curus* and *Pandus* existed. In the current year the 24th (of the Cashmirian cycle) of the present æra or Saca 1070, from the 3rd *Gonerda* 2330 years have elapsed; the sum of the reigns of the fifty-two princes was 1266. Confirmation of the date is derivable from the calculation made by astronomical writers of the motion of the seven *Rishis*, which goes from star to star (i. e. performs a complete revolution,) in 100 years, and the *Munis* being in *Magha*, the earth was governed by *Yudhishtir*, the æra of whose Government is 2526,

The 3rd *Gonerda* is the *Kenund* who succeeds ABHIMUN, the first prince, whose term of ruling is particularized in the *Ayin-Acberi*, and in the original: the preceding series of princes in both is without specific dates, but as the number of reigns in that series may be considered as either 50 or 52, it so far agrees with that of the first fifty-two monarchs whose names are not recorded, and the aggregate of their reigns although not mentioned, may probably be considered the same, or 1266 years. I am not quite sure indeed that the 1266 years do not belong to the series of which the names are specified, and that *Abulfazl* or his guide have not erred in placing them opposite to the fifty-two unknown sovereigns: however, be that as it may, if we allow 1266 years from *Gonerda* the first, to *Gonerda* the third, and 2330 years from *Gonerda* the third to the years of *Sáliváhana* 1070=A. D. 1148, we shall come pretty near to the æra of the *Curus* and *Pandavas* as given in the above extract. *Sáliváhana* 1070+78. A. D. 1148

A. D. 1820

Years 672 ago.

Present year of the *Cali* 4920—672=4248 years.

From <i>Gonerda</i> 3rd, - - -	2330	
<i>Gonerda</i> 1st - - - -	1266	
		3596
Unaccounted for years of the <i>Cali</i> , -	652	

being the period that preceded GONERDA 1st, but he was contemporary with *Yudhishtir* and consequently that prince was alive in the year of *Cali* 652, which sufficiently corresponds with the notion mentioned by our author, of the *Curus* and the *Pándus* existing after the year of the *Cali Yug* 653.

A different mode of calculation will come much to the same thing, making however the period close in the *Saca* year 1073 instead of 1070 as above: what the author means by the *Laukika* or current year 24, is explained in the close of the history, and refers to the year of a particular cycle peculiar to *Cashmir*.

	Years.
From the 3rd <i>Gonerda</i> , - - - - -	2330
From the 1st to the 3rd, - - - - -	1266
	3596
Years of the <i>Cali</i> to the 1st <i>Gonerda</i> , - - - - -	653
	4249
Deduct from the present <i>Cali</i> year - - - - -	4920
	671 years ago.
Deduct the same from the present <i>Saca</i> year 1744—671 1073	
Year of <i>Saca</i> referred to - - - - -	1073=A. D. 1151

A third calculation turns upon the time specified on the authority in fact of VARÁHAMIHIRA, as the duration of *Yudhishtir's* æra, which according to the opinion of most *Pandits* ceased with the institution of *Vicrama's*. This period comprehends - - - - - 2526 years.
 Added of *Saca* years - - - - - 1070
3596

The *Saca* year 1070 (1744—1070) was 674 years ago and 4920—674=4246

of the *Cali*. But by this only 3596 years are accounted for, and there is remaining of the *Cali* 650: however our author here brings *Yudhisht'hir*'s æra to the *Sáliváhana* æra, as otherwise the difference between that and *Vicrama*'s or 134 years, must be added to the 650; he also computes the difference between *Vicrama* and *Sáliváhana* to be 135 years; we are then quite in possession of his meaning, for;

Years of the <i>Cali</i> to the æra of <i>Yudhisht'hir</i> ,	653
Year from <i>Yudhisht'hir</i> to <i>Sáliváhana</i> ,	2526
Years from <i>Sáliváhana</i> to our author's own date,	1070

Total of the *Cali* 4249.

being nearly the same as the result of our first calculation, and but three years more than in our last calculation being the difference required in confirmation of our author's theory. *Major WILFORD* makes the years of *YUDHISHTHIR* extend to the *Sáliváhana* æra (A. R. ix. 211.) Mr. Colebrooke has given the passage relating to the revolution of the seven *Rishis*, and has described the theory which states it; as has *Major WILFORD* in the first pages of the same volume (87, 88, &c.) With respect to the period of the commencement of the *Cali* age our author's notions are the same as those commonly received.

No. V.

On the War between JARASANDHA and CRISHNA.

ALTHOUGH the name of *GONERDA* does not appear in the *Mahábhárat*, yet there is an account of an inveterate and sanguinary war between *JARASANDHA* and *CRISHNA*, in the course of which a battle on the *Yamuná* took place, when *HAMSA* and *DIMBICA* two princes in alliance with the former, were killed. *HAMSA* was defeated by *BALARÁMA*, driven into the *Yamuná* and drowned. The cause and course of this war are narrated in the *Mahábhárat* with great appearance of probability, and throw considerable

light on the history of CRISHNA and of India, in his time: its substance may therefore be not unacceptable. JARASANDHA, king of *Magadhá*, is described as a powerful prince: he held in alliance or subjection, SIÁUPÁLA, king of *Chedi*; VACRA or VACRADANTA, king of *Cárusá*; the powerful prince of the *Yavanas*; BHAGADATTA, king of the south and west; the kings of *Banga* and *Puñdra*, of the *Surasénas*, *Bhadracáras*, *Bodhas*, *Sálwas*, *Paráwáras*, *Sust'halas*, *Mucutas*, *Pulindas*, *Sálwáyanas*, *Cuntyas*, Southern *Pánchallas* and Eastern *Cośalas*, and he had driven eighteen families of the Northern *Bhójás* to the westward, and the *Mátsyas* to the south. CANSA, king of *Mat'hurá* was married to the daughter of JARASANDHA, and it was to revenge the murder of his son-in-law, that the latter levied war upon CRISHNA. According to the *Mahábhárat* this war continued for three years, and in the *Bhágavat* it is said, that JARASANDHA besieged *Mat'hurá* eighteen times. Both authorities agree in the result. CRISHNA was obliged to fly, and take refuge with his family and followers, in a strong place on the west coast of India, where he built the city of *Dwáracá*. JARASANDHA'S power was an insuperable obstacle to YUDHISHTHIR'S performance of the *Rájasúya* sacrifice, or in other words to his pretensions to be considered supreme monarch of India. This impediment was sagaciously interwoven by CRISHNA with his own quarrel, and induced the *Pándava* princes to arm in his behalf. Accompanied by BHÍMA and ARJUNA, CRISHNA entered *Behar* by a circuitous route, passing under the hills through Gorackpore and Tirhut, and he thence appears to have taken JARASANDHA unprepared for defence; the text when reduced to common sense, importing, that the monarch was surprised in his capital, and after a conflict of some days killed in single combat by BHÍMA. The occurrence does not appear to have produced the expected consequence, as it was undoubtedly one of the causes of the great war between the *Pándava* and *Caurava* princes, one of the effects of which was to prevent CRISHNA from recovering the territory, he had murdered his uncle to obtain. KERNA, the illegitimate son of CUNTI, the daughter of SÚRA king of *Mat'hurá*, who appears to have held that territory after JARASANDHA'S death, being probably placed, and undoubtedly maintained in it, by the

Caurava princes, to whom he was a faithful and valuable ally. These occurrences furnish a satisfactory clue to the close confederacy that subsisted between CRISHNA and the *Pándava* brethren; his expulsion from *Mat'hurá*, and foundation of a city on the Malabar coast. Before closing the note, we may advert to the mention of the powerful *Yavanádhípa*, amongst JARASANDHA'S allies or tributaries: he is said to possess boundless authority, and to reign over the west like another *Varuna*. From this passage, and others not unfrequent, in which respectful mention of the *Yavana* power is made in the *Mahábhárat*, we may at least infer that the date of its composition was posterior to the Macedonian invasion of India. By the time of the composition of the *Sri Bhágavat*, the *Yavanas* had assumed a new shape, the name being applied to the *Mohammedans*, and the feelings of the author have evidently influenced his narration. The prince, who in the *Mahábhárat* is a powerful king, and is no otherwise distinguished than as one of JARASANDHA'S many allies, becomes in the *Bhágavat*, *Yavanásur*, a titan or fiend who attacks CRISHNA of his own accord, and whose assault, combined with the approach of *Jarasandha*, with which however it is not connected in the way of confederacy or alliance, causes the Demi-god to remove his family to *Dwáracá*; he himself leads the Demon into a snare, and destroys him. The whole story of the war and the character of CRISHNA indeed are changed from history to legend in this work, which is manifestly the most modern of the *Puráñas*. The precise dominion of the *Yavanádhípa*, said to comprise *Maru* or *Muru* and *Naraca*, is not easily identified, although many traces of the former name present themselves, as in the *Maruca* of *Ptolemy*, a city of Sogdiana, and in the two *Merus*, *Meru al Rud* and *Meru Shajehanabad* of Khorasan, of which, the latter is an antient city, its foundation being ascribed to *Tahmuras*, or in later times, to *Alexander*, whilst, as the same with *Antiochia* or *Seleucia*, it was at one period the capital of the Bactrian kingdom. If the *Maru* of the *Mahábhárat* be either of these, therefore, the king of the *Yavanas* is the Bactrian monarch: indeed the same prince is most probably intended even if we carry the application of the terms to a more southerly latitude to which they very legitimately appertain. *Maru* (मरु) properly means a desert and ill-watered region; hence it is applied to the sandy

desert along the Indus, extending westward to *Kirman* and *Mukran*; *Maryu* and *Naraca* may then imply the *Sindhic* provinces, and these were reduced under the authority of the Bactrian monarch, if we may trust to *Strabo* and his guides, who state that that sovereign not only held *Pattalene*, but the territories of *Tessariostus* and *Sigertis* along the sea coast. οὐ μόνον τῆς Πατταλήνης κατέσχον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίης τὴν τε Τισσαρίου καλουμένην καὶ τὴν Σιγέρτιδος βασιλείαν.

No. VI.

On the Gandhāras or Gandarii and other Nations of the Panjab and North West of India.

Sindhu Gandhar, सिन्धुगन्धार, is the phrase of the original—the *Gandhar* of the Hindu writers has been always regarded by them as the *Candahar* of the Mohammedans, and the text here not only corroborates the notion, but by connecting the *Indus* with the province, shews, that at least a subdivision of it extended beyond the limits now assigned to *Candahar*, and carries it across the southern portion of *Afghanistan*; the Hindu name was known to the ancients, and *Herodotus*, enumerates the *Gandarii*, as a people of one of the twenty satrapies of the Persian Empire under *Darius Hystaspis*, and subsequently as serving in the army of *XERXES Σατταγύδαι δὲ καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ Ἀπαρύται ἐς ταυτο ἰεταγμένοι ἐβδόκησια καὶ ἐκ αἰὼν τάλαντα προσέφερον. νομὸς δὲ ὅσος ἐβδομος.*

Tha. 91. "The *Sattagydæ*, *Gandarii*, *Dadicæ* and *Aparytæ*, were classed together and contributed 170 talents, and this was the seventh prefecture."

Again, Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμοι καὶ Σογδοὶ τε καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι ἐστράτευον. The *Purthi*, *Chorasmi*, *Sogdii*, *Gandarii*, and *Dadicæ* served in the army.

Pol. 66. The two last it appears were united under one command Γανδαριῶν δὲ καὶ Δαδίκειων, Ἀρτύφιος ὁ Ἀρταβάνου. " *Artyphius*, the son of *Artabanus*, commanded the *Gandarii* and *Dadicæ*."—*Ibid.* By the *Dadicæ* were no doubt intended the *Daradas* or *Daradacæ* (दरदः or दरदकाः) with whom we often meet in the text, as the inhabitants of the rugged tract lying west

of Cashmir, or the site of the modern *Dards*: the term however is applicable to any of the tribes inhabiting that portion of the great Indian chain, as its import is merely, mountaineers, and the *Dadicæ* as the contiguous neighbours of the *Gandarii* were therefore probably the mountaineers of *Ghizni* and *Ghaur*. In Ptolemy's time the position of the *Durds*, or as he calls them almost correctly, *Daradræ*, was pretty accurately known: he says Ὑπὸ δὲ τὰς τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ πηγὰς ΔΕΡΑΔΡΑΙ, καὶ ἡ οὐρανὴ αὐτῶν ὑπέροκειται. sub fontibus *Indi*, *Daradræ*, et horum montana supereminet. Who the *Sattagyde* and *Aparitæ* were, is not so satisfactorily traceable: if we may take etymology as a guide they were *Hindu* tribes: *Sattagyde*, may be resolved into *Sâtgerhi*, the district of the seven strong holds, a sort of nomenclature very common in India; and the *Aparitæ* may be derived from *Apara*, ulterior or western, or if *Aparbartica*, the reading of *Isidore* of *Charax* be applied to the same people, as suggested by *Major Rennell*, we may refer this to *Apârbatata*, a low-lander, one not a mountaineer, in opposition to the *Dâradacas* or *Dadicæ* before mentioned: a more satisfactory evidence of *Hindu* identity may be derived from the lists of countries extracted from original Sanscrit works, and published by *Major Wilford* in the 8th volume of the *Researches*: amongst the northern countries (p. 340,) and in a series including *Gandhâr*, we have the *Sâtacas* who may be the same as *Sattagyde*, and in another groupe of a miscellaneous character, but comprehending *Balkh*, *Arachosia*, &c. we have the *Aparitas*, a very close approximation to the *Aparytæ* of *Herodotus*. In short from these considerations it appears that there is some reason to doubt the accuracy of the opinion entertained by the able geographer of *Herodotus*, that the 7th *Satrapy* consisting of the above tribes, lay to the west of *Bactriana* and *Aria*, and that the *Gandarii* may be traced to a town called *Caendar* on the frontiers of *Khowarezm*. (*Geography of Herodotus* 295 et seq) there does not appear any occasion to seek for this Satrapy in so westerly a position and as far as the *Gandarii* are concerned, their easterly situation rests not only on Hindu but classical authorities.

The *Gandaritis* of STRABO which furnishes an approximation to the

Gandarii of Herodotus is placed nearer even to the Indus than the modern city of *Candahar*: he observes, it was watered by the *Choaspes* which falls into the *Cophenes*: he has also a *Gandaris* which he places between the *Hydraotis* (the Ravi) and the Hydaspis, (the Beyah) and consequently towards the eastern part of the Punjab. *Ptolemy* only notices the first position, bringing it rather more to the west, unless as *Salmasius* conjectures, his *Suastus* is the *Cophenes* of *Strabo*, and making the Indus the eastern boundary of the *Gandarii*. "Inter *Suastum* et *Indum* sunt *Gandarae*." The Hindu system agrees with, and reconciles these different accounts, for according to the *Mahabharat*, the *Gandhari* are not only met with upon crossing the *Belej*, and proceeding towards the *Airavati* (Ravi) or where *STRABO* places *Gandaris*, but they are scattered along with other tribes throughout the Punjab, as far as to the Indus, when we approach *Gandaritis*. According also to our text, one body of the *Gandhari* appear to occupy a division of their town, on the last river, which is named after that very circumstance, *Sindhu Gandhar*, and these may have extended westward as far as the modern *Candahar*. *PLINY* and *POMPONIUS MELA* evidently intend a different people by their *Gandari*, or more properly *Candari*, who were a *Sogdian* not an *Indian* tribe, as *Salmasius* observes, and as is stated by *Ptolemy*. These may perhaps be referred to the *Caender* of Major *Rennell*, but analogies resting on a supposed similarity of sound, are very fallacious, as *D'Anville* has shewn, when he criticises *De Barros* for inferring that *Candahar* was one of the cities built by *Alexander*, of whose name its appellation was a corruption: the city being called corruptamente Candar, havendo de dizer Scandar, nome per que os Persas chamam Alexandre (Decadé iv. lvi. c. i.) when at the same time he falls into a like error, and derives *Candahar* from *Kond* ou *Kand* qui dans le Persan designe une Fortresse (Antiquité géographique de L'Inde;) a meaning which كند, the word being written كند no where possesses. *De Barros* is not singular, for *D'Herbelot* has the same conjecture, respecting the origin of *Candahar*, and he is followed by *Meninski*, but the name of *Alexander* كندر is never written by the orientals with the Arabic ك, the initial of *Candahar*, and it was no doubt

employed to express the harder sound of the ग in the Hindi name गन्धार; the aspirate also is preserved in both these words whilst none is to be found in Alexander's name.

The confusion arising from an inaccurate mode of writing or reading names, prevailed as much amongst ancient as modern writers, and in classical authors much unnecessary perplexity has been occasioned, by their erroneously confounding the *Gandaritæ* or *Gandaridæ* of the Punjab, with the *Gangaridæ* or the nations along the river Ganges. They seem indeed to have gathered scattered notices of places and nations from different sources, perhaps originally tolerably accurate, but which were distracted and confounded in the hands of the writers themselves. Something of this nature occurs in the Periplus of *Arrian*. Between *Barygazæ*, unquestionably as has been shewn by Dr. Vincent, *Baroach*, and *Bactria*, he places various nations as *το τε των Αρατρίων και Ραχύσαν και Τανθαραγών και της Προκλίδος εν δισ 'η Βασιφαιλος Αλεξάνδρεια και τε των εν άνω έθνος Βακτριάνων*. The author as Dr. Vincent observes is a better merchant than a historian, and it may be added, than a geographer, beyond the maritime districts: his meaning however is clear enough, and he passes from Guzerat to the Punjab, as appears by the situation he has given Alexandria Bucephalos, which according to *Strabo* was built upon the Hydaspes. Proclis is possibly the same with the Proclais of Ptolemy and Peucolais of *Strabo*, supposed by Major Rennell to be the modern Pekheli (*Memoir of a Map of Hindostan*, 171). The *Tanharagi*, SALMASIUS conjectures with probability to be an error for *Gandaridæ*. The *Rac'hosi* inhabit most probably the *Roh Cuj* of the *Purákas* identified by Col. Wilford with Arachosia (*A. R.* vol. viii. 336.) and it only remains to dispose of the *Aratri*, which we are able to do most satisfactorily, the *Mahábhárat* declaring that the countries situated upon the *Satadru* (Setlej), *Vipasa* (Beyah), *Airávati* (Ravi), *Chandrabhaga* (Chinab), *Vitastá* (Jelum), and the *Sindhu* (Indus), and without the range of the *Himálaya*, are all called *Arattás*, अतदुच्च विपाशा च हतीशैरवतो तथा । चक्रभागावित स्त्राप सिन्धुवहो नदिगिरेः ॥ अरट्टा नाम ते देशानद्यमैः प्रताव्रजेत् । *Mahábhárat*

Kerna Par. One of their cities, *Sácala*, is palpably the same with one of the *Pándava* cities of PTOLEMY, or *Sagala*.

We have in the *Mahábhárat* another people of the Punjab, intimately connected with these tribes, the *Madrás*, and whom we may endeavour to trace in classical writers. They are sometimes confounded with the *Gandháras*, but are really distinct, having a different sovereign, and being both separately mentioned in various lists of the northern countries: the nearest classical approximation to them is the *Mardi* of Pliny, the mountaineers bordering on Bactria, who, MAJOR RENNELL supposes were the mountaineers of Gaur. (Geography of Herodotus 283). Major Rennell following Monsr. D'Anville infers from the repeated occurrence of this name to designate various fierce intractable tribes, that it was the generic name of such nations. Monsr. D'Anville too derives it from the Persian (مرد) *mard*, a man, "un terme qui appartient a plusieurs idiomes de l'orient et entre autres le Persan, pour designer au propre ce que *vir* designe en Latin, se prenant aussi pour l'equivalent de *Bellator*, et meme dans une qualification injurieuse comme celle de *Rebelli*:" he connects also the character of these people with the old stories of *Martichora*, the man-eaters of KTESIAS, to whom THEVENOT found a modern parallel in some Indian tribes of the Dekhan, and who were denominated *Mardi Coura* ou mangeurs d'hommes by their neighbours. It might be inferred that *Ktesias* intends *Μαρτιχορα* which he explains *Anthropophagos*, to be the Indian denomination of his man-eating monster, but as he received his fables through a Persian medium, he has retained the Persian not the Indian name (مردخور), from *Mard*, a man, and *Khor*, who eats: for this particular notion, a source is easily found in the *Rácsahasas* or fiends of the Hindus, and the legend relating to the sons of VASISHT'HA, who were all devoured by CALMÁSHAPÁDA, which is told in the *Mahábhárat*, and the scene of which lies in the Punjab, might have furnished KTESIAS with the fiction in question.

Monsr. D'Anville observes " n'est on pas fort etonné que dans un pays ou par un principe de religion tres ancien, l'abstinence en nourriture de toute

chair d'animal est recommandée, il y ait des anthropophages;" and the incongruity of several Indian customs as described by the historians and geographers of antiquity is in many other instances no less surprising. The incompatibility of their accounts with our received notions, has reflected some discredit upon the veracity of the authors, but making due allowance for imperfect information, and a leaning to the marvellous, inseparable from our nature, we have no reason to accuse MEGASTHENES particularly of untruth; of this the *Madri* or *Mardi* will furnish us with an illustration: they are described along with the other people of the Punjab by Sanscrit authorities, in terms which fully justify the classical writers, and which prove that the various restraints of Hindu polity were either unknown to the north western tribes, or were very little regarded by them: a few passages from the *KERNA Parva* of the *Mahābhārat* will afford to the scholars of Europe an opportunity of instituting a more particular comparison. *KARNA* addresses *Salya*, king of *Madra*, to the following effect:

"An old and excellent Brahman, reviling the countries *Bāhica* and *Madra* in the dwelling of *DHRITARĀSHTRA*, related facts long known, and thus described those nations. External to the *Himavān*, and beyond the Ganges, beyond the *Saraswati* and *Yamuna* rivers and *Curushetra*, between five rivers, and the *Sindhu* as the sixth, are situated the *Bāhicas*; devoid of ritual or observance and therefore to be shunned. Their fig-tree is named *Goberdhana*, (i. e. the place of Cow-killing,) their market place is *Subhadram*, (the place of vending liquor: at least so say the commentators) and these give titles to the door-way of the royal palace. A business of great importance compelled me to dwell amongst the *Bāhicas* and their customs are therefore well known to me. The chief city is called *Sācāla* and the river *Apagā*: the people are also named *Jartticar* and their customs are shameful: they drink spirits made from sugar and grain, and eat meat seasoned with garlic, and live on flesh and wine: their women intoxicated appear in public places, with no other garb than garlands and perfumes, dancing and singing, and vociferating indecencies in tones more harsh than those of the camel or the ass: they indulge in promiscuous intercourse, and are under no

restraint. They clothe themselves in skins and blankets, and, sound the cymbal and drum and conch, and cry aloud with hoarse voices ; “ We will hasten to delight, in thick forests and in pleasant places ; we will feast and sport ; and gathering on the high ways spring upon the travellers, and spoil, and scourge them.” In *Śácála*, a female demon (*a Rácshasi*) on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight sings aloud “ I will feast on the flesh of kine, and quaff the inebriating spirit, attended by fair and graceful females.” The *Sudra*-like *Báhicas* have no institutes nor sacrifices, and neither Deities, *Manes*, nor Brahmans accept their offerings. They eat out of wooden or earthen plates, nor heed their being smeared with wine or viands, or licked by dogs, and they use equally in its various preparations the milk of ewes, of camels, and of asses. Who that has drank milk in the city *Yugandhara* can hope to enter *Swerga*. *Bahi* and *Hica* were the names of two fiends in the *Vipása* river ; the *Báhicas* are their descendants, and not of the creation of *Brahmá* : some say the *Arattas* are the name of the people, and *Báhica* of the waters. The Vedas are not known there, nor oblation, nor sacrifice, and the Gods will not partake their food. The *Prasthalas*, (perhaps borderers,) *Madras*, *Gandháras*, *Arattas*, *Khasas*, *Básas*, *Atisindhus*, (or those beyond the Indus) *Sauviras*, are all equally infamous. There one who is by birth a *Brahman*, becomes a *Cshetriya*, or a *Vaisya*, or a *Súdra*, or a *Barber*, and having been a Barber, becomes a Brahman again. A virtuous woman was once violated by *Aratta* ruffians, and she cursed the race, and their women have ever since been unchaste, on this account their heirs are their sister's children not their own. All countries have their laws and Gods : the *Yávanas* are wise, and pre-eminently brave : the *Mlechch'has* observe their own ritual, but the *Madras* are worthless. *Madra* is the ordure of the earth : it is the region of ebriety, unchastity, robbery and murder : fie on the *Pánchanada* people ! fie on the *Aratta* race !” —MAHABHÁRAT. KERÁA PARVA.

No. VII.

Of the Bauddha Religion in Cashmir.

THE passage in the text adverted to, page 23, requires a little consideration, both as to its meaning, and the chronological views to which it has already given rise. The text of the original runs thus :

ते तु रुष्कान्वयोद्भूता अपि पुण्याश्रया नृपाः । शुष्कक्षेत्रादिदेशेषु मठचैत्यादि चक्रिरे ।
प्राञ्चे राज्यक्षये तेषां प्रायक्क्षीरमण्डलं । भोज्यमास्ते सर्वैकानां प्रवर्ज्यैर्जिततेजसां । ततो
भगवतः प्राक्सिंहस्य पुरनिर्घते । अस्मिन् सहलोकधातौ सार्द्धं वर्षशतं समात् । वेदि
सप्तच देहे ऽस्मिन्नेकभूमौ चरो ऽभूत् । स च नागार्जुनः श्रीमान् षडर्हलनसंजयो ।

There are in this passage some obvious inaccuracies, and some compounds of a purport absolutely unknown to the most learned Brahmins. Taking it as it stood, it appeared to involve the position that the *Turushka* princes preceded *Sákya Sinha* by above a century and a half, and concluding the *Gautama* of the sixth century before the Christian æra to be intended; by the name *Sákya Sinha*, which is always enumerated as a synonyme, the date of Gonerda the third was adjusted accordingly in the preceding pages and placed 640 B. C. an opportunity having subsequently occurred of consulting a Burma priest, and a man of some learning, on the subject, there appeared good grounds for revising the passage, and altering the results, in consequence of which several pages previously printed off have been cancelled, and it is only in the marginal dates of the first dynasty that any traces of the error have been suffered to remain. These are of comparative unimportance, and will be readily rectified by adverting to the table. We have now then to offer a translation of the passage, premising that the term *Puranivrite* should be *Parinivrite*, the sixth case of *Parinivriti* or in PALI, *Parinibbuti*, the ordinary term used by the Bauddhas, to express

the final *Nirvritti* or emancipation of their *Buddhas* or Saints in its fullest sense. *Pari* being added as an intensitive prefix. The use of this and some other peculiar expressions, which are at present quite unintelligible to the ablest scholars among the Brahmans of Hindostan, but are familiar to the Rahans of the Burman empire, proves that *Calhana* the author of the Cashmirian history, or at least his guides, were well acquainted with the language, and probably, with the system, of the Bauddhas.

“They (*Hushca*, &c.) of *Turushca* descent, were Princes, asylums of virtue, and they founded Colleges, and planted sacred trees, in *Sushca* and other places. During the period of their reign the whole of Cashmir was the enjoyment of Bauddhas, eminent for austerity. After them, when 150 years had elapsed from the emancipation of the Lord SÁCYA SINHA in this essence of the world, a *Bodhisatwa* in this country named NÁGÁRJUNA, was *Bhumiswara* (Lord of the earth), and he was the asylum of the six *Arhatwas*.”

As the prevalence of the Bauddhas and consequence of Nágárjuna, if not subverted, were at least checked in the ensuing reign of *Abhimanyu*, and as the passage expressly states that the circumstance occurred after the *Turushka* princes, the 150 years subsequent to *Sákya Sinha* must fall within the limits of *Abhimanyu's* reign: it is therefore necessary only to fix the date of *Sákya Sinha* to determine that of the several reigns occurring in this portion of our history.

In a late work, *Hamilton's Nepal*, it is asserted on the authority of local tradition, that “*Sákya Sinha*, the well-known apostle of the nations still attached to the Buddha faith, existed about the beginning of the Christian æra, he being considered the *fifth* Buddha Legislator, and distinct from *Gautama*, who lived in the sixth century before it.” Whatever may be the accuracy of this opinion, it may be safely asserted, that it is diametrically opposed to the notions prevalent in all other regions, Brahmanical or Bauddha. In the lexicons of *Amera* and *Hemachandra*, *Sákya Sinha* occurs as a synonyme of *Gautama*, *Saudodhani*, and *Mayádevísuta* or *Gautama*, the son of *Sudhodhana* and of *Mayádevi*. A similar string of *Pati*

synonimes is used by the priests of the Burma Empire *Sudhodani-cha Gotama, Sákya-siha, ta'ha, Sakyamuni ch' Adikkheh bandhu cha*. The Baud-dhas of Ceylon also consider the fifth Buddha whom they name *Maitri* as yet to come.—*As. Res.* vii. 32 and 414.

Sákya Sinha, as observed, is always identified with Gautama. The concurring traditions of the Bauddha nations establish the existence of that prince of *Magadha* in the middle of the sixth century before Christianity. There is little reason therefore to call that fact in question. It is very unaccountable however why Gautama should bear such a synonyme as *Sákya Sinha*,* and no satisfactory explanation of the appellation has yet been traced: it is equally inexplicable also how a prince of central India, should have borne so prominent a share, in the introduction of a religious innovation, the earliest vestiges of which are so clearly referable to the North West of India, to Bactria or even to Tartary. That the Bauddha religion did not originate in Cashmir with *Sákya Sinha* is evident from the whole course of the history, and all tradition points to a period long antecedent to his, for the date of the invention and its author. At the same time *Kalhana*, well informed as he is in these respects, has evidently confounded the two periods, and hence assigned to *Sákya Sinha* a date corresponding to at least 1352 B. C. although apparently designating the person who flourished B. C. 542. We may therefore venture to correct his chronology with reference to this latter date, although until we can be satisfied that the *Sákya Sinha* of the North West was one individual with the *Gautama* of *Magadhá*, we cannot venture to attach any thing like certainty to this emendation. Some

* According to the *Burma* Bauddhas *Sákya* is the family name of GAUTAMA'S ancestry. In the *Parajika Attha Katha* is a very curious account of the four *Sangayanas* or Missions, by which the Bauddha religion was propagated to distant regions. The fourth was of a miscellaneous nature, and included both Ceylon and Cashmir, about 286 years it is said after the disappearance of GAUTAMA: a *Gátha* or text is cited on this subject which alludes to some legends, that appear not improbably connected with the statements of our history. *Gantwa Kásmira Gándharam, isi Majjantiko tadá; Duttha nágán pasáditwa moch s'ú bandhianá bahúti. Majjantika* then having proceeded to Kashmir and Gandhar, and subdued the evil Serpent genius, liberated numbers from bondage.

circumstances in favour of the date laid down are adverted to in the concluding observations, and we may here add, that there seems to be a strange connexion between the circumstances and dates of the Zerdushts of Persia and the Buddhas of India, which deserves a more particular investigation than we have hitherto had materials to undertake.

The passage relating to the prevalence of the Bauddha faith in Cashmir includes the mention of an individual, whose history is fully as obscure, if not as important as that of Buddha.

NÁGÁRJUNA as a *Bodhisatwa* (see note in page 21) may be either a religious or a secular character: he was probably the former, as a hierarch, the prototype of the modern *Lama* of Tibet; his other title however, *Bhumi-swara* may mean a Prince, and has probably induced Mr. *Colebrooke* to translate the text generally thus;

“DÁMÓDARA was succeeded by three kings, of the race of *Turushca*, and they were followed by a *Bodhisatwa*, who wrested the empire from them by the aid of *Sácyu Sinha*, and introduced the religion of Buddha into Cashmir. He reigned a hundred years, and was followed by ABHIMANYU,—*As. Res.* ix. 295,

In differing from Mr. *Colebrooke*, there is great probability of committing error, but in this case, the state of the Manuscripts, full of obscurities and mistakes, is a sufficient vindication of a difference of interpretation, and until we can ascertain what the reading of the original should be, we may alledge in support of the translation above preferred, the following considerations:

1. The ascendancy of the Bauddhas according to the original, continues some time after ABHIMANYU's accession, as well as the superintendance of NÁGÁRJUNA; he could not therefore have been at that time king of

Cashmir. तस्मिन्सवरे वैदा ऽपि प्रवर्षितं वयुः । नागार्जुनेन सुधिया बोधिसत्त्वेष
यासिताः ।

Their superiority is assigned also to argument, not to authority ; ते वादिनः
यराजिय वादेन निखिलान् बुधान् । ज्ञियाभोजयु राबोहानश्चिदत्रागमदिवः ।

“ In that time (ABHIMANYU'S reign,) the *Bauddhas*, cherished by the learn-
ed *Bodhisatwa*, NÁGÁRJUNA, maintained the ascendancy: they, the enemies
of the *Ágama* (*Vedas*,) and disputatious, overcame all the wise men in ar-
gument, and demolished the practices, prescribed in the *Nila Purána*.”

2. That the *Raja Tarangíní* does not mean to include NÁGÁRJUNA,
amongst the kings of Cashmir, may be also inferred from his omission in
ABULFAZL'S lists, prepared, as those were no doubt, from correct copies, and
by able Pundits, and corresponding exactly with the Sanscrit text in every
other instance.

3. The length of NÁGÁRJUNA'S supposed reign, 150 years, or in fact its
specification at all in this part of the history, is also hostile to its occurrence,
as precision in this respect, is affected by the author, only from the reign
of GONERDA the third.

4. We have the authority of the *Vrihat Kat'há*, the author of which was
a Cashmirian, and lived about the same time with CALHANA, for denying the
title of king to NÁGÁRJUNA; his work is a compilation of fables, it is true,
and his account of NÁGÁRJUNA is evidently consistent with that character;
but it still may serve to shew in what light that personage was usually
considered by the Hindus. In the 7th section of the book entitled *Retna
prabhá Lambaca*, NÁGÁRJUNA, is called the minister of CHIRÁYU, king of
Chiraya pur; a *Bodhisatwa*; a man of singular virtue and charity, and great
medical and chemical knowledge. He allows his head to be cut off to save
the king's life, whose days his knowledge of the elixir of immortality had
preserved beyond the natural limits, and the enmity of whose son and

successor, he had consequently provoked : his death however being really brought about, observes the author, by the Deities, who could not bear his beginning to render men immortal : एवं नागार्जुनारब्धं मर्त्यानां मय्युत्थानं ।
 नसोऽद्वैतैर्यावत्सापि सत्यवशं गतः ।

5. Whoever NÁGÁRJUNA might have been, he was undoubtedly once a person of great celebrity, for a large portion of the *Kali Yug*, or present age, 400,000 years yet to come, is denominated after him, the *Nágárjuniya Śaca* or æra : it is singular therefore that there seem to be few or no legends respecting him, and all are but little satisfactory. A *Tantra* named *Cacsha Pata* is ascribed to him, but his name does not occur in its pages. A work on medicine is named after him, and a *Canara* work the *Pujyapáda Charitra* makes mention of him, in a similar character as the *Vrihat Catha*, and alludes to him as possessing some magical means of perpetuating his existence, and transmuting ordinary substances to gold.

In none of these cases, except perhaps as the *Śacádhira*, does he seem to be considered as a king.

No. VIII.

On the Ancient Names of Cashmir in Classical Writers.

IT is said in the original (see page 24) that in consequence of the excessive cold, the King resided six months in *Dárvábhísáradí* or in *Dárva*, *Abhisára* and other places ; of a more temperate clime it may be presumed. *Dárva*, has not been identified, although the *Dárvas* are in the list of outcast tribes, and were no doubt a people bordering on Cashmir. *Abhisára* as well as *Dárva*, must be contiguous to *Cashmir*, and at the time mentioned, must have been a part of the same kingdom. It is sometimes used, (As. Res. viii. 340)

though not very accurately, as appears from the text, as a synonyme of Cashmir, and in that sense it might have been employed by the ancients. *Strabo*, *Quintus Curtius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Arrian*, with some varieties of nomenclature, mention, Biasarus or Abiosarus, Abisares or Abissares, Embisares and Abissares, as a Prince, whose dominions lay to the north of the Punjab, confounding the name of the king with that of his country ; an error much to be regretted, as it deprives us of the possibility of verifying some of the Monarchs in the Sanscrit text. Abissares as he is called, was the neighbour and ally of *Porus*, but after the defeat of that Prince, he sent ambassadors to Alexander. His dominions lay immediately above the country between the Indus and Hydaspes, or Vitasta, the Behut or Jelum : it would have been more correctly placed between the Jelum and the Chinab or Acesines, but the difference is not very considerable. Abhisara as a part of Cashmir, of a milder temperature, is likely to have been the most southerly portion of it, or possibly a tract below the mountains, and approaching the level of the Punjab : a situation, which will correspond very nearly with the site of the Regio Abissari of the classical writers. Monsr. D'Anville finds an analogy to Abissares in Peshawer (*Antiq. Geogr.* 14). Major Rennell considers Ambisares as king of the Indian mountaineers, the predecessors of the Ghickers, who occupied the hilly tract immediately west of Cashmir (*Memoir* 109 and 122) and Tieffenthaler calls the Bisari les habitans des Montagnes de Jambou : either of the two first positions is sufficiently near, to what seems to be the truth. Although *Abhisára* appears in the text, in this place, as a part of Cashmir, yet in a subsequent portion of the history, it is mentioned as an independent state, and it might have held that rank at the time of *Alexander's* invasion : its interposition between the Greek invaders and Cashmir, and finally the southern deflection of *Alexander's* route, may explain why no notice was taken of that kingdom, in the details of that conqueror's marches, an omission which D'Anville justly regards as unaccountable, particularly as the country appears to have been known by its proper appellation to the Greek writers before the Macedonian invasion of Persia.

Herodotus (Thal. 102) describes the northern Indians as dwelling near a city which he names Caspatyrus, and again, (Melp. 44) he states that *Scylax* when sent by *Darius Hystaspes* to explore the mouth of the Indus, commenced his course from that city. That by *Caspatyrus* is meant *Cashmir* seems highly probable from the analogies both of name and locality.

1. With respect to the name, it is first to be observed, that there are very adequate grounds for a slight alteration, which will bring the resemblance to absolute identification, with what is asserted to have been, and most probably was, the origin of the term, *Cashmir*: this was derived, it is uniformly asserted by the oriental writers, from the colonization of the country by *Casyapa*, the first settlement or city being named after him *Casyapa pur* (कश्यपपुर) converted in ordinary pronunciation, into *Cashappur* or *Caspapur*, the latter of which forms, independent of the termination of the case, is the proper reading of the Greek text. Thus *Stephanus Byzantinus* has *Κασπάπυρος πόλις Γανδαρίκτ*, and *Dodwell* (*De Periplus Scylacis ætate*) considers this as the same with the *Κασπαύρος* of *Herodotus*. *Wesseling* regards it also as a various reading of the same, and although he prefers retaining the latter, he assigns no reasons for the preference. *D'Anville* also concurs in considering the *Kaspapyrus* of *Stephanus Byzantinus*, and the *Kaspatyrus* of *Herodotus*, as the same, and it seems most likely therefore that the variety of reading is accidental, and originates with an error in the manuscript: as far therefore as a precise coincidence of name is a proof of identity, we have every reason to conclude, that the *Kaspapyrus* of the Greeks, is the *Kasyapapur*, or *Cashmir*, of the Hindus, which therefore was known by the original of its present denomination, as early as the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, or above five centuries before the Christian æra.

2. The next question is as to the situation of *Caspapyrus*, according to the Greek authorities, and its correspondence with that of *Cashmir*, and here it must be admitted, there are some difficulties in the way of extreme precision. The general concurrence is satisfactory enough. *Herodotus* (Thal. 102) states it to be in the vicinity of the Northern Indians, and associates

it with Pactyaca; Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατύρω τε πόλι καὶ τῇ Πακλιικῇ χώρῃ εἰσι πρόσθρυι, πρὸς ἀρκίου τε καὶ Βορέω ἀνεμου καλοικημένοι. τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οἱ Βακτρίοισι παραπλησίην ἔχουσι διάστασιν, and in the second, he in like manner connects it with Pactyaca οἰδὲ ὄρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρω τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακλιικῆς γῆς. They (Scylax and his companions) setting out from the city Caspatyrus, and the country of Pactyaca, sailed, he proceeds to say, towards the east and rising sun into the ocean πρὸς ἠῶ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς εἰς θάλασσαν; a course, which with reference to its commencement in Cashmir, its progress down the Indus, and its termination in the Indian Ocean, is so far from being accurately described, as to have thrown a suspicion upon the voyage itself, and which consequently requires some examination.

We may infer from several passages in the text, that the limits of Cashmir were formerly by no means confined to the mountainous belt, which now incloses it, but comprehended other districts, to the south and west, amongst which was *Paklee* or *Pakhoi*, the *Pactyica* of Herodotus, a tract immediately contiguous to Cashmir on the West, and lying towards the upper part of the navigable course of the Indus, and hence, as Major Rennell (Memoir of a Map of India, 146,) infers, the country from which Scylax set out to explore the course of the river. It is by no means necessary therefore to question the general accuracy of the account left us of the commencement of the voyage. Having embarked on the Indus, the course however should have been rather west than east, and this part of the narration is clearly erroneous: at the same time, as the navigators could only estimate their *southern* course with any thing like accuracy, and as they conceived themselves advancing upon the whole to regions lying farther east, than any yet known to them, the mistake was not unnatural, and need not affect the general credibility of the story. It is to be observed also that we have not the original narrative, and *Herodotus*, may have substituted the popular notion of the eastern course of the river to the sea, for the more correct account of the navigator himself: such is *Monsr. Larcher's* opinion and it seems well founded; “Herodote qui n’avoit pas lu la relation de Scylax, et qui avoit entendu dire, qu’il avoit descendu l’Indus jusqu’à

la mer, s' imagine que cette mer etoit a l'est, parce que c' etoit l' opinion de son siecle. Dans un temps posterieur, Hipparque pretendit que l'embouchure De l' Indus etoit a l'est equinoctial." (Larcher. Histoire de Herodote. Melpomene, note 95). We may therefore safely conclude that the Caspatyrus known to the Persians and Greeks was at least part of the modern *Cashmir*.

In the progress of time the name had undergone some change, but the situation was perhaps more accurately known. Cashmir appears in Ptolemy as *Κασπηρια* and is placed with great accuracy "Ἐπὶ τὰς τὴν Βιδάσπην (the Vitasta or Jelum) καὶ τὴν Σονδάβαλ (Chandra-bhaga) καὶ τὴν Ροαδιοῦ (Ravi) πηγῶν the two first rivers actually rising within the present province, and the third on the confines of *Jambu*, once in all probability a part of Cashmir. Ptolemy has also a people called *Κασπειραῖοι*, one of whose cities *Κασπειρα* lies lower down, and apparently corresponds with Multan (Vincent's Periplus, i. 12.) The Caspiræi however occupy the country as far as the Vindyan mountains, and the Yamuna. D'Anville appears to have considered these names alone, when he declares there is nothing in common with the Caspîra of Ptolémy, and Caspatyrus of Herodotus, for as he justly observes the position of a city on the lower part of the course of the Hydaspes, ne peut convenir, a Cashmir: as mentioned above, however this is distinct from the *Casperia* which lies at the sources of the same river, and the position of which is precisely that of Cashmir. Whence Ptolemy got his *Casperia*, is not very clear. It is a singular geographical arrangement, that places the same people on the Hydaspes, at Modura or Muttra, and in the Vindyan mountains: the Caspiræi of Ptolemy seem to be the same as the Catheri of Diodorus, and the Cathir of Arrian, who were allied with the Malli and Oxdracæ or people of Multan, and Outch, against Alexander, or in a word the *Cshetryas* or Rajaputs of Western India—Hence perhaps the error he has committed in assigning such remote places to the same state, for in the Punjab, and Doab, the various cities he specifies, were no doubt governed by *Cshetriya*, or Rajaput princes, although they were not subjected to one common sway, nor constituted the territory of any one peculiar tribe.