



that in his own time the kingdom, as a whole, was "not much given to the faith, and that the temples of the heretics were their sole thought."<sup>25</sup>

It is probably owing to this not very flourishing condition of contemporary Buddhism that Hiuen Tsiang mentions only a comparatively small number of Vihāras and Stūpas in the Valley. Among the Stūpas there were four ascribed to Aśoka, and one beneath which Kaniska was believed to have deposited the canonical texts as fixed by his Council, engraved on sheets of copper. None of these structures has yet been identified with any certainty. But in their description the pilgrim furnishes us incidentally with a valuable topographical indication.

Speaking of the convent which prided itself on the possession of a miraculous tooth of Buddha, he indicates its site as being about 10 li or circ. 2 miles 'to the south-east of the new city, and to the north of the old city.'<sup>26</sup> This proves that the capital of Hiuen Tsiang's time, which corresponds to the present Srinagar, was then a comparatively new foundation, exactly as the Chronicle's account has it. At the same time the reference to the 'old city' enables us to fix with absolute certainty the site of the earlier capital, Aśoka's S'rinagarī, at the present Pāndrēthan, the *Purānādhiṣṭhāna* of Kalhana.<sup>27</sup>

Hiuen Tsiang's  
stay in Kāśmīr.

The two full years which Hiuen Tsiang, according to his own statement, spent in Kāśmīr,<sup>28</sup> represent a longer halt than any which the pious traveller allowed himself elsewhere during his sixteen years' wanderings through the whole length of India and Central Asia.<sup>29</sup> With all due respect for the spiritual fervour of the pilgrim and the excellence of his Kāśmīrian preceptors, it is difficult to suppress the surmise that the material attractions of the Valley had something to do with this long stay. The cool air of Kāśmīr, the northern aspect of its scenery and products, have at all times exercised a powerful charm over those visitors who, themselves born in colder climes, have come to the Valley from the heat and dust of the Indian plains. Just as these advantages attract in yearly increasing numbers European visitors from India proper, so the modern Turkī pilgrims from Kashgar, Yarkand, and other parts of Central Asia, whether on their way to Mecca or on their return, never fail to make a long stay in Kāśmīr.

We should undoubtedly find the example of the modern Hajīs followed also by Buddhist pilgrims if there were still any to take their way from those northern regions through Kāśmīr to the holy places of India. It would be an interesting task to examine to what extent the fame of Kāśmīr as the 'paradis terrestre des Indes,'—a fame unknown to genuine Indian tradition,—is the creation of northern visitors, both European and Asiatic. Here it may suffice to add that Hiuen Tsiang before he reached Kāśmīr, must have had already his experience of the torrid heat and the other amenities of a Panjāb summer.<sup>30</sup> We shall also see that the example of the other Chinese pilgrim whom we are able to follow on his visit to Kāśmīr, points exactly to the same conclusion.

Hiuen Tsiang's narrative tells us that he left the Valley going in a south-westerly direction. He reached *Pun-nu-tso*, the *PANJOTSA* of the Chronicle and the modern Prūnts, after crossing mountains and passing precipices.<sup>31</sup> As the *Tōsmaidān* route is the direct and most frequented route to that territory, it is very probable that

<sup>25</sup> See *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 158.

<sup>26</sup> *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 158.

<sup>27</sup> See below, §§ 88, 89.

<sup>28</sup> *Vie de H. T.*, p. 96.

<sup>29</sup> Compare the table of dates for Hiuen-

Tsiang's itinerary in CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 563 sqq.

<sup>30</sup> See CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 563 sq.

<sup>31</sup> *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 162; *Vie de H. T.*, p. 96.





Hsien Tsiang also followed it. Parnotsa as well as RAJAPURI (Ho-lo-she-pu-lo) to which the pilgrim subsequently proceeded had, at the time of his visit, no independent ruler, but were subject to Kāśmīr.

10. The next Chinese notice of Kāśmīr, and one which is of considerable historical interest, is contained in the Annals of the T'ANG dynasty. These mention the arrival at the imperial court of the first embassy from Kāśmīr, sent by King Tchen-t'o-lo-pi-li (in or shortly after A.D. 713), and that of another embassy sent by his brother and successor Mu-to-pi. We have had already occasion to note the identity of these two kings with the Candrapīḍa and Muktapīḍa (Lalitāditya) of the Rajatarāṅgīnī.<sup>32</sup>

Kāśmīr in T'ang  
Annals.

The description of Kāśmīr, which is coupled with this record of the T'ang Annals, appears to be in the main copied from Hsien Tsiang's Si-yu-ki. But in addition it furnishes us with a reference to the Mo-ho-to-mo-loung or Mahāpadma lake, i.e. the Volur, and an exact statement as to the Kāśmīr capital at the time. In my *Notes on Ou-k'ong's account of Kāśmīr*,<sup>33</sup> I have shown that the *Po-lo-ou-lo-po-lo* of the Annals is a correct reproduction of Pravarapura, the old and official name of Srinagar. In the same way the name *Mi-na-si-to* given to the great river which flows to the west of the capital, represents a correct enough transcription of Vitastā. Both names are recorded in the form which they bore in the official Sanskrit, and are, therefore, evidently taken from the information given by the Kāśmīr envoys.

11. Not many years after Muktapīḍa's embassy, Kāśmīr was visited by another Chinese pilgrim, OU-K'ONG. Though greatly inferior to Hsien Tsiang in learning or power of observation, he has yet left us information regarding the country which is of interest and value. The itinerary of Ou-k'ong, the discovery and recent publication of which we owe to Messrs. Lévi and Chavannes,<sup>34</sup> contains the reminiscences of forty years' wanderings, taken down after the pilgrim's return to China, and in a form regrettably brief. But whether it be due to Ou-k'ong's long stay in Kāśmīr or to other causes, his account is fortunately far more detailed in the case of Kāśmīr than in that of any other territory visited by him. His description of the Valley and the several sites mentioned by him have been fully discussed by me in the separate paper already quoted. I need hence indicate here only the main results of this analysis.

OU-K'ONG.

Ou-k'ong reached Kāśmīr in the year 759 from Gandhāra, presumably by the same route as Hsien Tsiang had followed. He took there the final vows of a Buddhist monk and spent there fully four years engaged, as his itinerary tells us, in pilgrimages to holy sites, and in the study of Sanskrit.<sup>35</sup> Though he is said to have studied from daybreak to night-fall his diligence does not seem to have brought him much literary culture. This is curiously shown by the popular Apabhraṃśa forms in which our pilgrim records the names of the monasteries he specially singles out for notice. Four of these I have been able to identify with Vihāras mentioned in the Chronicle, and two of them have left their names to villages which survive to the present day.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Compare notes iv. 45, 126.

From REINAUD, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 189 sqq., it appears that the names of the Kāśmīr kings in this Chinese record, and that of the Mahāpadma lake were first correctly identified by KLAPROTH, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, ii. pp. 275 sqq., a work which is at present not accessible to me.

<sup>33</sup> See pp. 26 sqq. in the above-quoted paper published in the Proceedings of the Imperial Academy, Vienna (Philos.-histor. Class), 1896, vol. cxxxv.

<sup>34</sup> See *L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong*, *Journal asiat.*, 1895, vi. pp. 341 sqq.

<sup>35</sup> See *L'Itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong*, p. 356.

<sup>36</sup> See above, notes i. 147; iii. 9; iv. 188, 211.





While Hiuen Tsiang mentions only about one hundred convents in the country, Ou-k'ong found more than three hundred, and speaks in addition of the number of Stūpas and sacred images as considerable. We may conclude from this that there had been a rise in the popularity of Buddhism in the period intervening between the visits of the two pilgrims.

Routes from  
Kas'mir.

Ou-k'ong describes the kingdom of Kas'mir correctly enough as enclosed on all sides by mountains which form its natural ramparts. Only three roads have been opened through them, and these again are secured by gates. In the east a road leads to *T'ou-fan* or Tibet; in the north there is a road which reaches into *Po-liu* or Baltistān; the road which starts from 'the western gate' goes to *K'ien-t'o-lo* or Gandhāra.<sup>37</sup>

We have here a clear enough description of the great routes through the mountains which since ancient times have formed the main lines of communication between the Valley and the outer world. The road to *T'ou-fan* corresponds undoubtedly to the present route over the Zoji-Lā to Ladākh and hence to Tibet. The road to *Po-liu* is represented by the present 'Gilgit Road,' leading into the Upper Kisangaṅgā Valley and from there to Skardo or Astōr on the Indus. The third road can be no other than the route which leaves the Valley by the gorge of Bārāmūla and follows the Vitastā in its course to the west. We have seen already that Hiuen Tsiang followed it when he entered Kas'mir by 'the stone gate, the western entrance of the kingdom.' There can be no doubt that in the gates ('fermetures' of the French translation) closing these roads we have a reference to the ancient frontier watch-stations or *Dvāras*, which we shall have occasion to discuss below.

Besides these three roads, Ou-k'ong knew yet a fourth: "this, however, is always closed, and opens only when an imperial army honours it with a visit." It is probable that this curious notice must be referred to one of the routes leading over the Pir Pāntsal range to the south. Owing possibly to political causes these routes may have been closed to ordinary traffic at the time of Ou-k'ong's visit.<sup>38</sup>

The political relations between China and the northern kingdoms of India seem to have ceased soon after the time of Ou-k'ong. This was probably due to the Chinese power under the later Tang gradually losing ground in Central Asia before the Uigurs and the Tibetans. The pilgrimages of Chinese Buddhists, however, to India continued during the next two centuries. Of one at least of these pilgrim parties it is recorded that it took the route through Kas'mir.<sup>39</sup> But no detailed account bearing on Kas'mir has yet come to light of these later pilgrimages.

#### SECTION III.—MUHAMMADAN NOTICES.

Kas'mir closed to  
Arabs.

12. After the Greeks and the Chinese the early Muhammadan writers are our next foreign informants regarding the historical geography of India. If, with one very remarkable exception, they have nothing to tell us in detail regarding Kas'mir topography, the explanation is not far to seek. The first rush of Arab invasion in the Indus Valley during the eighth century had carried the Muham-

<sup>37</sup> See *L'itinéraire d'Ou-k'ong*, p. 356.

<sup>38</sup> See *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 24 sq.

<sup>39</sup> Compare YULE, *Cathay*, p. lxxi., and JULIEN, *Journal Asiat.*, 1847, p. 43.





madan arms at times close enough to the confines of Kāśmīr.<sup>40</sup> No permanent conquest, however, had been effected even in the plains of the Northern Panjāb. Protected in the west by the unbroken resistance of the S'ābis of Kabul and in the south by a belt of war-like Hindu hill-states, Kāśmīr had never been seriously threatened. Even when Islām at last, after a long struggle, victoriously overspread the whole of Northern India, Kāśmīr behind its mountain ramparts remained safe for centuries longer.

Conquest and trade were the factors which brought so large a part of the ancient world within the ken of the early Muhammadan travellers and geographers. Both failed them equally in the case of Kāśmīr. For a classical witness shows us how the system of seclusion, ever easy to maintain in a country so well guarded by nature as Kāśmīr, had been developed and strengthened at the approach of danger until it hermetically sealed the Valley to all foreigners without exception.

We can thus scarcely be surprised at seeing that even the well-informed Al-Mas'ūdī who had personally visited the Indus Valley, is unable to tell us anything more exact about Kāśmīr than that it is a kingdom with many towns and villages enclosed by very high and inaccessible mountains, through which leads a single passage closed by a gate.<sup>41</sup> The notices we find in the works of Al-Qazwīnī and Al-Idrīsī are practically restricted to the same statement. The references of other Arab geographers are even more succinct and vague.<sup>42</sup>

13. Notwithstanding the circumstances above indicated, Arabic literature furnishes us with a very accurate and valuable account of old Kāśmīr. We owe it to the research and critical penetration of ALBĒRŪNĪ of whom, indeed, it may be said as of an early British explorer of Afghānistān,<sup>43</sup> that he could look through the mountains. The great Muhammadan scholar had evidently utilized every opportunity during this long stay at Ghazna and in the Panjāb (A.D. 1017-30) to collect information on Kāśmīr.

ALBĒRŪNĪ's interest in Kāśmīr.

His interest in the distant alpine valley is easily understood. He, himself, tells us in the first chapter of his great work on India, how Hindu sciences, when the victories of Maḥmūd had made the Hindus 'like atoms of dust scattered in all directions,' had retired far away from the conquered parts of the country. They "fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kāśmīr, Benares and other places."<sup>44</sup> In another passage he speaks again of Benares and Kāśmīr as the high schools of Hindu sciences.<sup>45</sup> He repeatedly refers to Kāśmīrian authors, and from the notices shown below it is evident that among his informants, if not among his actual teachers, there were Kāśmīrian scholars.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> See REINAUD, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 195 sqq.; ALBĒRŪNĪ, *India*, i. p. 21.

<sup>41</sup> See Al-Mas'ūdī's "Meadows of Gold," transl. Sprenger, i. p. 382. The number of towns and villages is estimated at from sixty to seventy thousand; regarding the traditional number here given see below, § 87.

<sup>42</sup> The silence of the early Muhammadan geographers as regards Kāśmīr was duly noticed by RITTER, *Asien*, ii. p. 1115.

For Al-Qazwīnī, see GILDEMEISTER, *De rebus Indicis*, p. 210; for Al-Idrīsī, ELLIOT, *History of India*, i. pp. 90, sq.

For the notices of other Arabic geographers,

see *Bibliotheca geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. De Goeje, i. p. 4; ii. pp. 9, 445; v. p. 364; vi. pp. 5, 18, 68; vii. pp. 89, 687; also *Abū-l-Fida*, ed. Reinaud, pp. 361, 506.

<sup>43</sup> Mount Stuart Elphinstone.

<sup>44</sup> *India*, transl. Sachau, i. p. 22.

<sup>45</sup> *India*, i. p. 173.

<sup>46</sup> ALBĒRŪNĪ, ii. 181, refers particularly to Kāśmīrian informants with whom he conversed regarding the miracle of the 'Kudāishahr,' i.e. the Kapatesvara Tirtha (see note i. 32). The way in which the pilgrimage to this spot was described to AlbĒrūnī, makes it quite certain that his informants were personally familiar





The curious fact that Albēruni, himself, composed certain Sanskrit treatises for circulation among 'the people of Kashmir,' proves beyond all doubt the existence of special relations between the great *Mleccha* scholar and that jealously guarded country. These relations seem strange considering what Albēruni himself tells us so graphically about the rigid isolation of Kashmir. We can scarcely explain them otherwise than by personal intercourse with Kashmirian Pandits.<sup>47</sup>

In view of these indications we can hardly go wrong in attributing a great portion of Albēruni's detailed knowledge of Kashmir topography to these learned informants. But we also know that the chances of war had given him an opportunity of supplementing his knowledge in part by personal observation. Albēruni refers in two places to his personal acquaintance with the fortress LAUHŪR (or Lahūr) on the confines of Kashmir.<sup>48</sup> I have proved that Albēruni's Lauhūr is identical with the castle of *Lohara*, so frequently mentioned in the Chronicle, the position of which is marked by the present Loharin on the southern slope of the Pir Panthāl range. 'Loharakotta' is undoubtedly the same as the Fort of *Lōhkōt* before which, according to the uniform report of the Muhammadan historians, Mahmūd's attempt at an invasion of Kashmir was brought to a standstill. It is hence certain that Albēruni had accompanied this unsuccessful expedition, which probably took place in A.D. 1021. Though it failed to reach Kashmir, it must have given Albēruni ample opportunity to collect local information and to acquaint himself with the topography of those mountain regions which formed Kashmir's strongest bulwark to the south.

ALBĒRUNI'S description of Kashmir.

14. Albēruni's main account of Kashmir is contained in Chapter xviii. which gives 'various notes on the countries of the Hindus, their rivers and their ocean.'<sup>49</sup>

with the Tirtha. The same must be said of his note on the pilgrimage to the temple of Śārada (see Note B, i. 37, § 13). The details regarding a local Kashmir festival (ii. p. 178), the anecdote about the propagation of the *Śiṣyabhāṣṭyā* in Kashmir (i. p. 135) are such as could not well have reached Albēruni otherwise but by verbal communication.

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

For references to Kashmirian authors or texts specially connected with Kashmir, see i. pp. 126, 157, 298, 334; i. p. 54 (Viṣṇudharma), etc. Compare also the very detailed account of the calendar reckonings current in Kashmir and the conterminous territories, ii. p. 8.

<sup>47</sup> See *India*, Preface, p. xxiv.; and Prof. Sachau's introduction to his edition of the text of Albēruni's *India*, p. xx.

Is it too much to suppose that Albēruni had at one time or the other Kashmirian Pandits in his employ? We know that in preparing

the vast materials digested in his book he worked largely with the help of indigenous scholars. Judging from his own description of the state of Hindu sciences in the conquered territories and the bitter enmity prevailing amongst their Hindu inhabitants against the dominant Mlecchas, it is doubtful whether he could have secured there such assistance as he required.

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

Kashmir has always had an over-production of intellect. Bilhana's classical example, amongst other evidence, shows that Kashmirian scholars have been as ready in old days as at present to leave their homes for distant places, wherever their learning could secure for them a livelihood (compare BÜHLER, *Introd.* to the *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita*, p. xvii.; also *Indische Paläographie*, p. 56).

<sup>48</sup> See above, Note E, iv. 177, §§ 12, 13.

<sup>49</sup> See *India*, i. pp. 206 sqq.





Compared with the description of the rest of India, it is disproportionately detailed.

Albēruni first sketches in broad outlines but correctly enough the political division of the mountain region which lies between the great Central Asian watershed and the Panjāb plain. He then refers to the pedestrian habits of the Kāsmīrians, and notes the use by the nobles of palankins carried on the shoulders of men, a custom fully illustrated by the Chronicle and accounted for by the nature of the communications in the mountains.<sup>50</sup>

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

We have here a full and clear statement of that system of guarding all frontier-passes which we have found alluded to already in the Chinese records. It explains the great part which is played in the Chronicles by the frontier watch-stations, the *Dvāras* and *Draṅgas*, and is of all the more interest as the last traces of the system, in the form of *rāhdārī*, have disappeared in Kāsmir only within quite recent memory.<sup>51</sup>

Albēruni next proceeds to describe the 'best known entrance to Kāsmir.' Route into Kāsmir. Though the starting point of his itinerary cannot be identified with absolute certainty, it is clear that he means the route which ascends the Jehlam Valley. From 'the town *Babrahān*, half-way between the rivers Sindh (Indus) and Jailam,' eight Farsakh are counted 'to the bridge over the river, where the water of the *Kusnārī* is joined by that of the *Mahwī*, both of which come from the mountains of *Shamīlān* and fall into the Jailam.' Though there seems to be here some slight confusion I have little doubt that the point meant 'by the bridge over the river' corresponds to the present Muzaffarābād, at the confluence of the Jehlam and Kisangaṅgā.

The easiest route to Kāsmir from the west leads through the open central portion of Hazāra (Urasā) to Mansuhra, hence across the Kunhār and Kisangaṅgā rivers to Muzaffarābād, and then up by the right side of the Jehlam Valley to Bāramūla.<sup>52</sup> In *Kusnārī* it is easy to recognize with Prof. Sachau the present Kunhār River which falls into the Jehlam a few miles below its great bend at Muzaffarābād.<sup>53</sup> The *Mahwī* is evidently meant to designate the Kisangaṅgā.<sup>54</sup> If thus interpreted the only error in Albēruni's description is that it makes the

<sup>50</sup> Compare, e.g. *Rājat*. iv. 407; v. 33, 219; vii. 478; viii. 2298, 2636, 2674, 3165, etc.

Regarding the word *katt*, which Albēruni gives as the indigenous term of the palankin, see note iv. 407.

<sup>51</sup> Compare my *Notes on the ancient topography of the Pir Pāntāl Route*, J.A.S.B., 1895, pp. 382 sqq.; also below, § 40.

<sup>52</sup> This route is described, e.g. by DREW, *Jummo*, p. 528, 'as the easiest route from the Panjāb to Kāsmir.'

<sup>53</sup> *Kunhār* represents the regular phonetic

derivative of a Skr. \**Kusnārī*, medial *s* becoming always *h* under a phonetic law common to Kāsmiri and the related dialects; for the change *hn* > *nh* compare Dr. GRIERSON, *Phonology of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, Z.D.M.G., 1896, p. 33.

<sup>54</sup> I am unable to account for the name *Mahwī*. Could it be the corruption of an Apabhraṃśa derivative of *Madhamati*, a name of an affluent of the Kisangaṅgā, used also in a *Māhatmya* for the latter river itself? See Note B, i. 37, § 16.





Kunhār join the Kīṣangāṅgā, whereas in reality the former falls into the Jehlam after its junction with the Kīṣangāṅgā.

I have shown above, in note v. 215, that the route here indicated, which was a favourite one until a few years ago the "Jehlam Valley Tonga Road" was constructed, is distinctly referred to already in Kalhana's account of Śaṅkaravarman's march to and from Uraśā. The distance of eight Farsakh corresponds according to Albēruṇi's reckoning to about thirty-nine English miles.<sup>55</sup>

Referring to the map and the modern route measurements,<sup>56</sup> this distance carries us to a point between Mansahra and the next stage, Abbottabad. It is just in this neighbourhood that according to the evidence given in the above-quoted note, the old capital of Uraśā must be located. 'Babrahān' cannot be identified at present. It is, perhaps, intended to represent the name of this old town which could fairly be described as situated midway between the Indus and Jehlam. From Muzaffarābād onwards—where there is still a bridge over the Kīṣangāṅgā, just as at the time (1783) when Forster crossed here on his way from Kasmīr to Attock,<sup>57</sup>—we can follow the route quite plainly.

Albēruṇi counts five days of march 'to the beginning of the ravine whence the river Jailam comes,' that is to the entrance of the gorge through which the river flows immediately below Bārāmūla. This estimate agrees closely with the actual road distance between Muzaffarābād and Bārāmūla which is given by Mr. Drew as eighty-four miles.<sup>58</sup> At the other or Kasmīr end of the ravine Albēruṇi places quite correctly 'the watch-station *Dvār*' (Skr. *Dvāra*), the position of which, as we shall see below, is marked to this day by the site of the old gate known as *Drang*.

Valley of Kasmīr.

"Thence, leaving the ravine you enter the plain, and reach in two more days *Addishtān*, the capital of Kasmīr, passing on the road the village *Ushkāra*." All this is perfectly accurate. *Adhiṣṭhāna*, 'the capital,' is, of course, meant for S'rinagara,<sup>59</sup> and *Ushkāra* for *Uškūr*, opposite Bārāmūla, the ancient Huskapura already mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.<sup>60</sup> Albēruṇi's mention of *Uškūr* which is on the left river bank, shows that then as now the ordinary road from the 'Gate of Varāhamūla' to S'rinagara passed on the left or southern side of the Valley. Two marches are still counted for this part of the journey.

The capital is correctly described as "being built along both banks of the river Jailam, which are connected with each other by bridges and ferry boats." It

<sup>55</sup> Compare Prof. Sachau's note, *India*, ii. p. 316. Albēruṇi values his *farsakh* at 4 Arabian miles or approximately  $4 \times 2186$  yards. Hence 1 *farsakh* =  $4179\frac{2}{3}$  English miles.

<sup>56</sup> See DREW, *loc. cit.*

<sup>57</sup> See G. FORSTER, *Journey from Bengal to England*, 1808, ii. p. 46.

<sup>58</sup> See *loc. cit.*

According to Mr. Drew's table six marches are counted, but one of them is very short. On the modern route following the opposite side of the river, five marches are now reckoned from Domel, opposite to Muzaffarābād, to Bārāmūla.

<sup>59</sup> *Adhiṣṭhāna*, used again ii. p. 181, is a term which indicates that Albēruṇi's infor-

mant was a Sanskrit-speaking person. The common designation of the capital was S'rinagara or simply *Nagara*; see § 91 below.

<sup>60</sup> The text as rendered by Prof. Sachau, speaks of "*Ushkāra* which lies on both sides of the Valley, in the same manner as *Bārāmūla*." There is either some corruption in the text here, or Albēruṇi's informant has not made himself sufficiently clear. What he must have meant is that *Ushkarālay* on the opposite side of the river in the same manner as *Bārāmūla*, that is, at the entrance of the ravine. *Bārāmūla* as the text spells the word, reproduces an earlier form of the Kasmīri *Varāhamul*, from Skr. *Varāhamūla*.





is said to cover 'a space of four Farsakh.' This, if interpreted to mean 'a space of four Farsakh in circumference,' would not be too far from the truth, assuming that all suburban areas around the city are included in the estimate. The course of the river above and below the capital is rightly enough traced as far as the Valley is concerned. "When the Jailam has left the mountains, and has flowed two days' journey, it passes through Addishtān. Four Farsakh farther on it enters a swamp of one square Farsakh." Here, of course, the Volur lake (Mahā-padma) is meant. "The people have their plantations on the borders of this swamp, and on such parts of it as they manage to reclaim. Leaving this swamp, the Jailam passes the town Ūshkāra, and then enters the above-mentioned ravine."

The only mistake, and this one easily explained, is contained in the account of the river's origin. It is described as rising "in the mountains *Haramakōt*, where also the Ganges rises; cold, impenetrable regions where the snow never melts nor disappears." It is easy to recognize here the reference to Mount *Haramukuta*, and the sacred Gaṅgā-lake at the foot of its glacier in which Kāśmīrian tradition places the source of the Sindhu river.<sup>61</sup> The latter is the greatest tributary of the Vitastā within Kāśmīr and is traditionally identified with the Gaṅgā, as on the other hand the Vitastā with the Yamunā.<sup>62</sup> The special sanctity of the Sindhu ('Uttaragaṅgā') and the popularity of its supposed source as a pilgrimage place, sufficiently account for the substitution in Albērūnī's notice.

Entering the open plain of the Kāśmīr Valley from the Bārāmūla gorge, 'you have for a march of two more days on your left the mountains of Bolor and *Shamīlān*, Turkish tribes who are called *Bhattavaryān*. Their king has the title of *Bhatta-Shāh*.' It is clear that Albērūnī's informant here means the mountain-ranges to the north and north-west of the Valley which form its confines towards the Dard country and Baltistān. The latter has been known by the name of Bolor for many centuries.<sup>63</sup> I am unable to trace in Kāśmīrian or other sources the names of '*Shamīlān*' and '*Bhatta*.'<sup>64</sup> But as a subsequent remark mentions '*Gilgit*, *Aswira*, and *Shillās*,' that is the modern Gilgit, Hasōr (Astōr), and Cilās, as their chief places, there can be no doubt that the inhabitants of the Dard territory to the north-west of Kāśmīr are meant, together with the Baltis.

"Marching on the right side [of the river], you pass through villages, one close to the other, south of the capital, and thence you reach the mountain *Kulārjak*, which is like a cupola, similar to the mountain *Dunbāwand* (Damāwand). The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of *Takeshar* and *Lauhāwar* (Lahore)."

Mount *Kulārjak*.

I have already shown<sup>65</sup> that the mountain here described is the Tatakūti Peak

<sup>61</sup> See note i. 57.

<sup>62</sup> See below, § 68.

In *Haracar*, iv. 54, the Vitastā itself is designated as the 'Gaṅgā of the North' (*Uttaragaṅgā*) which would render the location of its source in the lake of *Haramukuta* still more intelligible from a traditional point of view.

<sup>63</sup> Compare YULE, *Marco Polo*, i. p. 187 sq.; CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.* p. 83.

<sup>64</sup> Albērūnī's *Bhatta* may possibly represent the term *Bhutta* or *Bhauṭṭa* (the modern

Ks. But\*) which is applied in the Sanskrit Chronicles to the population of Tibetan descent generally, from Ladakh to Baltistān (see note i. 312). Albērūnī calls their language Turkish, but it must be remembered that he has spoken previously (i. p. 206) of 'the Turks of Tibet' as holding the country to the east of Kāśmīr. There the Tibetans in Ladakh and adjacent districts are clearly intended.

<sup>65</sup> See Note E, iv. 177, § 12.





( $33^{\circ} 45'$  lat.  $74^{\circ} 33'$  long.) in the central part of the Pir Pantsāl range. Albērūnī puts the distance between this peak and the Kāsmīr plain at two Farsakh. This estimate is somewhat too low, inasmuch as the direct distance on the map between the peak and the nearest point of the level ground in the Valley is about fifteen miles.

The fortress  
Lauhūr.

He is, however, quite exact in placing the fortress *Lauhūr*, i.e. the present Loh'rīn to the west of it. The entrance to the Loh'rīn Valley lies almost due west of Tatakūtī. To the south of the peak was 'the fortress Rājagiri' which is also mentioned by Kalhana, vii. 1270; it lay probably somewhere in the upper Sūran Valley. Albērūnī speaks of these two hill fortresses as 'the strongest places' he had ever seen.

He had personally had an opportunity of judging of their strength when accompanying Mahmūd's expedition against Kāsmīr. On that occasion he had made the observation of the latitude of Lauhūr: Lohara to which he refers in another chapter of his work.<sup>65</sup> The result of this observation,  $33^{\circ} 40'$ , as shown in the author's *Canon Masudicus*, very closely approaches the real one, which is  $33^{\circ} 48'$  according to the Survey map.

It is very probable that he obtained at the same occasion the very accurate information regarding the distance from Lauhūr to the Kāsmīr capital. He gives it as fifty-six miles, "half the way being rugged country, the other half plain." Albērūnī's measurement according to the previously stated valuation, represents about sixty-nine English miles. This is but little in excess of the actual road distance *viâ* the Tōs'maidān Pass as estimated by me, on the tour referred to in the above note. The description of the road, too, corresponds closely with the actual character of the route.

Albērūnī closes his account of Kāsmīr geography with a reference to the town of *Rājāwari* which is the Rājapuri of the Chronicles, the modern Rajauri.<sup>67</sup> In Hindu times it was the capital of a small hill-state, situated immediately to the south of the Pir Pantsāl range and often tributary to Kāsmīr. Albērūnī distinctly names it as the farthest place to which Muhammadan merchants of his time traded, and beyond which they never passed. We have already seen what the connection was which enabled him to collect reliable and detailed information of the region beyond that barrier. As another proof of the accurate knowledge thus acquired, we may finally mention his description of the Kāsmīr climate and its explanation, which is far more exact than any account available to us previous to the second quarter of this century.<sup>68</sup>

#### SECTION IV.—INDIAN NOTICES.

Deficiency of  
non-Kāsmīrian  
notices.

15. Nothing, perhaps, can illustrate better the lamentable lack of exact geographical information in general Sanskrit literature than to turn from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims and Albērūnī, to what Indian authors, not Kāsmīrians themselves, can tell us of the Valley. Were we to judge merely from the extreme scantiness of the data to be gleaned from their extant works, we might easily be led to assume that Kāsmīr was to them a country foreign and remote in

<sup>65</sup> See *India*, i. p. 317, with Prof. Sachau's note ii. p. 341, and above, Note E, iv. 177, § 12.

<sup>67</sup> See note vi. 286.

<sup>68</sup> See *India*, i. p. 211, and below, § 77.





every way. However, we observe the same vagueness and insufficiency of local references in the case of territories immediately adjoining the old centres of literary activity. It is hence evident that the conspicuous absence of useful information on Kāśmīr may be attributed equally well to the general character of that literature.

The name *Kāśmīra*, with its derivative *Kāśmīra*, as the designation of the country and its inhabitants respectively, is found already in the *Gaṇas* to Pāṇini's great grammatical work, and in Patañjali's comments thereon.<sup>69</sup> The *Mahābhārata*, too, refers in several passages to the *Kāśmīras* and their rulers, but in a fashion so general and vague that nothing more but the situation of the country in the hill region to the north can be concluded therefrom.<sup>70</sup> The *Purāṇas* enumerate the *Kāśmīras* accordingly in their lists of northern nations. But none of the tribal names, partly semi-mythical, mentioned along with them in the *Purāṇas* examined by me, indicate any more distinct location of the country.<sup>71</sup>

Varāhamihira (cira. 500 A.D.) in his *Brhatsaṃhitā* includes the *Kāśmīras* curiously enough in the north-eastern division. Among the regions and peoples named under the same heading there are a number of purely legendary character like 'the kingdom of the dead' (*naṣṭarājya*), the 'gold region,' 'the one-footed people,' etc. But besides these names and others of a different type which cannot be clearly identified, we recognize the names of tribes which undoubtedly must be located in the immediate neighbourhood of Kāśmīr. Thus we have the *Abhisāras*, *Daradas*, *Dārvas*, *Khaśas*, *Kīras*, and somewhat more distant the country of *Kulūta* (*Kulu*) and the *Kaunindas* or *Kaulindrās* (Ptolemy's *Κυλινδρίων*).<sup>72</sup>

Perhaps the most specific piece of information regarding Kāśmīr that Sanskrit literature outside the Valley can furnish, is conveyed in the term *Kāśmīra* or *Kāśmīraja* which designates the saffron, and according to the lexicographers also the root of the *kushtha* or *costus speciosus*. As both the saffron and the *Kushtha* are since early times famous products of Kāśmīr, the origin of the term is clear enough.<sup>73</sup>

VARĀHAMIHIRA.

## SECTION V.—THE KAS'MIR CHRONICLES.

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

Abundance of  
Kāśmīrian sources.

<sup>69</sup> See the references in *P.W.*, s.v. *Kāśmīra*, and in supplement, v. p. 1273. The references to other texts quoted in this paragraph have also been taken from that work except where otherwise specified.

<sup>70</sup> Compare in particular *Mahābh.* II. xxvii. 17.

<sup>71</sup> Compare *Vāyupur.* xiv. 120; xlvii. 45; *Padmapur.* I. vi. 48, 62; *Bhāgavatapur.* XII. i. 39; *Viṣṇupur.* iv. xxiv. 18.

<sup>72</sup> See *Brhatsaṃhitā*, xiv. 29 sqq. and *Ind. Ant.* 1893, pp. 172, 181; also ALBERUNI, *India*, i. p. 303.

<sup>73</sup> Regarding the saffron cultivation of Kāśmīr, compare LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 342, and below, § 78.

The *kushtha*, now known in Kāśmīr by the name of *kuth*, is the aromatic root of the *Saussurea Lappa* which grows in abundance on the mountains of Kāśmīr; see LAWRENCE, p. 77. The *kuth* is still largely exported to China. It was, perhaps, one of the medicinal plants which Hiuen Tsiang particularly notices among the Kāśmīr products; see *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 148.





reasonably expect to find ourselves equally well informed about the early topography of other parts of India, which have furnished their contingent to the phalanx of Sanskrit authors. Yet unfortunately this is by no means the case.

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

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

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

KALHAṆA'S  
topographical data.

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

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

Notwithstanding the absence of such a description, Kalhaṇa's Chronicle yet proves by far our richest source of information for the historical geography of Kāśmīr. This is due to the mass of incidental notices of topographical interest





which are spread through the whole length of the narrative. They group themselves conveniently under three main heads.

18. Considering the great attention which the worship of holy places has at all times claimed in Kāśmīr, we may well speak first of the notices which appertain to the *Topographia sacra* of the Valley. Kāśmīr has from early times to the present day been a land abundantly endowed with holy sites and objects of pilgrimages. Kalhana duly emphasizes this fact when he speaks, in the above-quoted introductory passage,<sup>74</sup> of Kāśmīr as a country "where there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tirtha." Time and even the conversion to Islām of the greatest portion of the population, has changed but little in this respect. For besides the great Tirthas which still retain a fair share of their former renown and popularity, there is scarcely a village which has not its sacred spring or grove for the Hindu and its Zīarat for the Muhammadan. Established as the latter shrines almost invariably are, by the side of the Hindu places of worship and often with the very stones taken from them, they plainly attest the abiding nature of local worship in Kāśmīr.

KALHANA'S  
*Topographia sacra*.

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

Nature has, indeed, endowed the Valley and the neighbouring mountains with an abundance of fine springs. As each of these has its tutelary deity in the form of a NĀGA,<sup>75</sup> we can realize why popular tradition looks upon Kāśmīr as the favourite residence of these deities.<sup>76</sup> Hiuen Tsiang already had ascribed the superiority of Kāśmīr over other countries to the protection it received from a Nāga.<sup>77</sup> Kalhana, too, in the introductory passage already referred to, gives due prominence to the distinction which the land enjoys as the dwelling-place of Nila, king of Nāgas, and many others of his tribe.<sup>78</sup>

Kalhana's frequent references to sacred springs and other Tirthas are of topographical interest, because they enable us to trace with certainty the earlier history of most of the popular pilgrimage places still visited to the present day. The introduction of the Chronicle names specially the miraculous springs of Pāpasūdana and Tri-Saṁdhyā, Sarasvatī's lake on the Bheḍa hill, the 'Self-created Fire' (*Svayambhū*), and the holy sites of Nandikṣetra, Śārādā, Cakra-dhara and Vijayesa. We see here which were the Tirthas most famous in Kalhana's

<sup>74</sup> i. 38.

<sup>75</sup> Compare my note i. 30 on the Nāgas and their worship.

<sup>76</sup> The *Nilamata-purāṇa*, 900-972, gives a long list of Kāśmīr Nāgas, and puts their number at thousands, nay Arbudas (see 971).

<sup>77</sup> *Si-yu-ki*, i. p. 148.

Hiuen Tsiang, like other Chinese pilgrims, calls the Nāgas by the term of 'dragon,' no

doubt because the popular conception represents them under the form of snakes living in the water of the springs or lakes they protect.

<sup>78</sup> i. 28-31.

The Nāgas are supposed to have come to Kāśmīr when Kāśyapa, their father, had drained 'the lake of Sati,' and to have found there a refuge from Garuḍa; comp. *Nilamata*, 59 sqq.





time. The legends connected with the early semi-mythical kings give him frequent occasion in the first three Books to speak in detail of particular sacred sites. Almost each one of the stories furnishes evidence for the safe location of the latter.<sup>79</sup> But even in the subsequent and purely historical portions of the work we read often of pilgrimages to such sacred places, or of events which occurred at them.

Kalhana shows more than once so accurate a knowledge of the topography of particular Tirthas that we may reasonably infer his having personally visited them. This presumption is particularly strong in the case of Nandiksetra, and of the neighbouring shrine of Bhūtesvara.<sup>80</sup> The former, his father Cappaka is said to have often visited in pilgrimage, and to have richly endowed. Also the distant Tirtha of S'aradā in the Kisangaṅgā Valley seems to have been known personally to the Chronicler.<sup>81</sup> Pilgrimages to sacred sites, even when approached only with serious trouble, have always enjoyed great popularity among Kāśmīrians. And Kalhana owed perhaps no small part of his practical acquaintance with his country's topography, to the tours he had made as a pilgrim.

Foundation of  
towns, etc.,  
recorded.

19. Specially valuable from a topographical point of view are those numerous references which Kalhana makes to the foundation of towns, villages, estates, shrines, and buildings by particular kings. Leaving aside the curious list, i. 86-100, taken by Kalhana from Padmamiḥira, in which certain local names are by fanciful etymologies connected with seven of the 'lost kings,'<sup>82</sup> it may be safely assumed that these attributions are based either on historical fact, or at least on genuine local tradition.

Kalhana specially informs us in his introduction<sup>83</sup> that among the documents he had consulted for his work, there were 'the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples and grants [of land] by former kings.' Such records, no doubt, supplied a great portion of the numerous notices above referred to. But even where such notices were taken from less authentic sources, they may always claim the merit of acquainting us with the names of the respective localities and buildings as used in the official language of Kalhana's time, and with the traditions then current regarding their origin and date.

The system of nomenclature which was regularly followed in Kāśmīr in naming new foundations, must have helped to preserve a genuine tradition regarding the founder. In the vast majority of cases the names of new towns and villages are formed by the addition of *-pura* to the name of the founder, either in its full or abbreviated form.<sup>84</sup> Similarly the names of temples, monasteries, Maṭhas, and

<sup>79</sup> Compare the legends of the *Sodara* spring, i. 123 sqq.; of the *Kṛtyāśrama* Vihāra, i. 131 sqq.; of the *Jyestharūdra* at *Nandiksetra* and *S'rinagari*, i. 113, 124; the story of the *Suśravas* Nāga, i. 203 sqq.; the description of the pilgrimage to the *Takṣaka* Nāga, i. 220 sqq.; the story of the *Iśeśvara* temple, ii. 134; of *Raṇasvāmin*, iii. 439 sqq., etc.

<sup>80</sup> See vii. 954; viii. 2365, and note v. 55 sqq. Compare also below, § 57.

<sup>81</sup> See Note L, viii. 2492, § 4.

<sup>82</sup> See regarding this unhistorical list, note i. 86. The local names, like *Khonamuṣa*, *Go-dharā*, *S'amāṅgāsā*, etc., are all genuine enough. What Padmamiḥira did, was to evolve fictitious names of kings out of these by means of popular etymology.

<sup>83</sup> i. 15.

<sup>84</sup> Thus we have, e.g. the well-known localities of *Huṣkapura*, *Kanīṣkapura*, *Juṣkapura* (which retain the memory of their Indo-Scythian founders); *Pravarapura* (for *Pravarasenapura*), the old official designation of the present capital; *Padmapura*, *Avantipura*, *Jayapura* (for *Jayapīḍapura*), and a host of others. The custom of naming new localities in this fashion, or of re-naming earlier ones in honour of the actual ruler, can be traced through successive periods of Muhammadan and Sikh rule down to the present day; comp. e.g. *Zainpūr* (named after *Zainu-l-'ābidin*); *Shahābuddīnpūr* (the present *Shād'pūr*); *Muḥammadpūr*; *Ranbīrīsinghpūr* (intended to replace *Shāhābād*), etc.





other religious structures show the name of their builder, followed by terms indicating the deity or the religious object to which the building was dedicated.<sup>85</sup> Many of these religious structures left their names to the sites at which they were erected. They can thus be traced to the present day in the designations of villages or city quarters.<sup>86</sup>

The topographical interest which Kalhana's notices of town foundations possess, is considerably enhanced by the fact that in more than one case they are accompanied by accurate descriptions of the sites chosen and the buildings connected with them. Thus Kalhana's detailed account of the foundation of *Pravarapura*, iii. 336-363, is curiously instructive even in its legendary particulars, and enables us to trace with great precision the original position and limits of the city which was destined to remain thereafter the capital of Kaśmīr.<sup>87</sup> Similarly the description given of *Parihāsapura* and its great shrines, has made it possible for me to fix with accuracy the site of the town which Lalitaditya's fancy elevated for a short time to the rank of a capital, and to identify the remains of the great buildings which once adorned it.<sup>88</sup> Not less valuable from an antiquarian point of view is the account given to us of the twin towns *Jayapura* and *Dvāravatī* which King Jayāpīda founded as his royal residence near the marshes of Andṛkōṭh.<sup>89</sup>

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

KALHANA'S incidental references.

It is evident that where localities are mentioned in close connection with a pragmatic relation of events, the context, if studied with due regard to the facts of the actual topography, must help us considerably towards a correct identification of the places meant. In the case of the previous notices the Chronicler has but rarely occasion to give us distinct indications as to the position of the sites or shrines he intended. In our attempts to identify the latter we have therefore only too often to depend either on the accidental fact of other texts furnishing the required evidence or to fall back solely on the comparison of the old with modern local names. That the latter course if not guided and controlled by other safer evidence, is likely to lead us into mistakes, is a fact which requires no demonstration for the critical student.

It is different with the notices, the consideration of which we have left to the last. Here the narrative itself, in the great majority of cases, becomes our guide.

<sup>85</sup> Thus in the case of S'iva-temples *-īśa* or *-īśvara* is invariably added (comp. e.g. *Pravarasvara*, etc.), as in that of Viṣṇu-shrines with equal regularity *-svāmīn* (keśava); comp. e.g. *Muktasvāmīn* (built by Muktāpīda), *Avantisvāmīn*, *Bhīmakeśava* (erected by Bhīmāpāla S'āhi), etc.

Buddhist monasteries receive the name of their founder with the addition of *-vihāra* or *-bhavana*; comp. *Jayendravihāra*, *Caukṇavihāra*, *Amṛtabhavana* (founded by the queen Amṛtabrahmā, the present Āntābhavan), *Skand*

*ābhavana* (for *Skandaguptabhavana*), and many more.

For Mathas, compare e.g. *Diddāmatha*, (*Didamar*); *Subhāṭmatha*, *Nandāmātha*, *Lothikāmātha*, *Cakramātha*, etc. For details on the nomenclature of sacred buildings in Kaśmīr, compare *Notes on Ou-k'ong*, pp. 4 sqq.

<sup>86</sup> Compare e.g. notes iii. 9; iv. 192; vi. 137, 300, etc.

<sup>87</sup> See note iii. 339-349, and below, § 92.

<sup>88</sup> Compare Note F, iv. 194-204 and below, § 121.

<sup>89</sup> See note iv. 506-511.





It either directly points out to us the locality meant or at least restricts to very narrow limits the area within which our search must proceed. The final identification can then be safely effected with the help of local tradition, by tracing the modern derivative of the old local name or through other additional evidence of this kind.

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

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

A reference to the notes in which important sites and local names like Lohara, Gopātri, Mahāsarit, Kṣiptikā, Holadā, have been identified, will suffice to illustrate the above remarks.<sup>90</sup>

KALHANA'S  
topographical  
accuracy.

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

We must appreciate these qualities all the more if we compare Kalhana's local references with that vague and loose treatment which topographical points receive at the hands of Sanskrit authors generally.<sup>91</sup> If it has been possible to trace with accuracy the vast majority of localities mentioned in the Chronicle, this is largely due to the precision which Kalhana displays in his topographical terminology. It is evident that he had taken care to acquaint himself with the localities which formed the scene of the events he described.

Striking evidence for this is furnished by his description of the great operations which were carried out under Avantivarman with a view to regulating the course of the Vitastā and draining the Valley.<sup>92</sup> Thanks to the exactness with which the relative position of the old and new confluence of the Vitastā and

<sup>90</sup> Compare notes *E* (iv. 177); i. 341, and viii. 1104-10; iii. 339-349; viii. 732; i. 306.

<sup>91</sup> Nor should we forget the difficulty which Kalhana had to face by writing in metrical form. True indeed it is what Al-Bērūnī says of this form as adopted by Hindu scientific writers: "Now it is well known that in all metrical compositions there is much misty and constrained phraseology merely intended to fill up the metre and serving as a kind of patchwork, and this necessitates a certain

amount of verbosity. This is also one of the reasons why a word has sometimes one meaning and sometimes another" (*India*, i. p. 19).

Fortunately Kalhana has managed to escape these dangers as far as the topographical notices of his work are concerned. We find in his local terminology neither that mistiness nor multiplicity of meaning Al-Bērūnī so justly complains of.

<sup>92</sup> Compare v. 84-121.





Sindhu is described, before and after the regulation, respectively, it has been possible, even after so many centuries, to trace in detail the objects and results of an important change in the hydrography of the Valley.<sup>93</sup> Equal attention to topographical details we find in numerous accounts of military operations. Of these it will suffice to quote here the descriptions of the several sieges of Srinagar, under Sussala;<sup>94</sup> the battle on the *Gopādrī* hill in the same reign;<sup>95</sup> the blockade of *Lohara*, with the disastrous retreat through the mountains that followed;<sup>96</sup> and—last but not least—the siege of the *S'irahsilā* castle. The topographical accuracy of the latter account, as proved in Note L, viii. 2492, almost presupposes a personal examination of the site and is all the more noteworthy, because the scene of the events there recorded was a region outside Kāśmīr proper, distant, and difficult of access.

There are also smaller points that help to raise our estimate of Kalhana's reliability in topographical matters. Of such I may mention for example the general accuracy of his statements regarding distances, whether given in road or time-measure. The number of marches reckoned by him is thus always easily verified by a reference to the stages counted on the corresponding modern routes.<sup>97</sup> Not less gratifying is it to find how careful Kalhana is to distinguish between homonymous localities.<sup>98</sup>

In addition to all this, we must give credit to our author for the just observation of many characteristic features in the climate, ethnography, and economical condition of Kāśmīr and the neighbouring regions. If the advantages thus accorded to us are duly weighed, there seems every reason to congratulate ourselves on the fact that the earliest and fullest record of Kāśmīr history that has come down to us, was written by a scholar of Kalhana's type. Whatever the shortcomings of his work may be from the critical historian's point of view, we must accord it the merit of supplying a safe and ample basis for the study of the historical geography of Kāśmīr.

22. Another point still remains to be considered here in connection with Kalhana's Chronicle, viz. to what extent can we accept the Sanskrit forms found in his text as the genuine local names of the period? This question must naturally arise in view of the fact that the popular language actually spoken in Kāśmīr in Kalhana's time and for many centuries earlier, was not Sanskrit, but undoubtedly an Apabhraṃśa dialect derived from it, which has gradually developed into the modern Kāśmīrī.

Sanskrit local  
names in  
*Rājataranginī*.

Notwithstanding this circumstance I think that Kalhana's local names can, on the whole, be safely accepted as representing the genuine designations of the localities, i.e. as those originally given to them. My grounds for this belief are the following. We have ample evidence to show that Sanskrit was the official and sole literary language of the country, not only in Kalhana's own time, but also in those earlier periods from which any of the records used by him may have dated. This official use of Sanskrit we know to have continued in Kāśmīr even into Muhammadan times. It assures us at once that the vast majority of village and town

<sup>93</sup> Compare Note I, v. 97-100.

<sup>94</sup> See viii. 729 sqq., 1060 sqq.

<sup>95</sup> Compare viii. 1099-1115.

<sup>96</sup> See viii. 1842-80 and Note E, iv. 177, § 10.

<sup>97</sup> Compare for distance measurements, note i. 264; v. 103; vii. 393; for reckoning of marches on the Vitastā Valley route, v. 225;

on Vighraharāja's irruption over the Tōś'maidān Pass, vii. 140; on the route to the Pir Pantāl Pass, vii. 558; on the way to Martāṇḍa, vii. 715, etc.

<sup>98</sup> Compare notes i. 113; i. 124; v. 123 on the several *Jyēsthārudras*, and the way in which Kalhana specifies them.





names must from the beginning have been given in Sanskrit. A detailed examination of them will easily demonstrate, on the one hand, that these names are of genuinely Sanskritic formation, and on the other, that their modern Kāśmīrī representatives are derived from them by a regular process of phonetic conversion. We look in vain among this class of old local names for any which would show a foreign, i.e. non-Aryan origin, and might be suspected of having only subsequently been pressed into a Sanskritic garb.

Official names of  
localities.

The fact of Sanskrit having been in use as the language of all official records for many centuries previous to Kalhana's time is enough to demonstrate that the Sanskrit names originally intended for the great mass of inhabited places could be preserved, in official documents anyhow, without any difficulty or break of tradition. And from such documents most of Kalhana's notices of places were undoubtedly derived, directly or indirectly.

Only in rare cases can we suppose that the original form of a local name of this kind had been lost sight of, and that accordingly the Chronicler, or his authority, had to fall back on the expedient of Sanskritizing in its stead the Apabhraṃśa or Kāśmīrī form as well as he could. There are, in fact, a few instances in which we have indications of such a metamorphosis. When we find the same local name spelt either *Bhāleraka* or *Bāleraka* in the Chronicle, or a village which Kalhana calls *Ghoramūlaka*, referred to by Abhinanda, the author of the *Kādambarikathāsāra* (first half of ninth century), as *Gauramūlaka*,<sup>99</sup> it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that we have here varying attempts to reproduce in a Sanskritic garb original Apabhraṃśa names. But these cases are very rare indeed, and even in them other explanations of the different spellings are possible.

These observations apply with nearly the same force also to other local names recorded in the Chronicle, such as those of mountains, streams, passes, etc. The great majority of these names must have very early found their place in official documents or, as we shall see below, in the Sanskrit legends or *Māhātmyas* of the numerous Tirthas. If any of them are in reality adaptations of Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa forms, their quasi-official use is yet likely to have originated a long time before the date of Kalhana. Even to the present day the local nomenclature of Kāśmīr, whether in the Valley or in the mountains, shows throughout an unmistakably Sanskritic character.

Local nomenclature in Kas'mir.

This is most clearly illustrated by the constant recurrence of such terms as *-pūr* or *pōr* (< pura), *-mar* (< maṭha), *-hōm* (< āśrama), *-hām* (< śālā), *-kōṭh* (< koṭṭa), *-gām* or *gōm* (< grāma), *-kuṇḍ*<sup>l</sup> (< kuṇḍala), *-vōr* (< vāṭa) in village names; of *-sar* (< saras), *-nambal* (< naḍvalā), *-nāg* (< nāga) in names of lakes, marshes, etc.; of *-van* (< vana), *-nār* (< nāda), *-marg* (< maṭhikā), *-gul* (< galikā), *-brār* (< bhāṭṭārikā), *-vath* (< patha), in designations of alpine localities, peaks, passes, etc.; *-kul* (< kulyā), *-khan* (< khani) in names of streams and canals. The Sanskrit etymology of the specific names preceding these terms, is, even in their modern phonetic form, very often equally transparent. At an earlier stage of the language the Apabhraṃśa names must have approached the corresponding Sanskrit forms much more closely. The reproduction of the popular names in a Sanskrit form could have then but rarely been attended with much difficulty or doubt. We may hence safely assume that the Sanskrit forms recorded by Kalhana represent in most cases correctly the original local names or else do not differ much from them.

<sup>99</sup> Compare notes viii. 1861, and vii. 1239; viii. 2410.





23. The later Sanskrit Chronicles which were composed with the distinct object of continuing Kalhana's work, furnish valuable supplements to the topographical information contained in the latter. These Chronicles are: the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja who continued the narrative down to the reign of Sultan Zaiuu-l-'ābidin, and died over his work, A.D. 1459;<sup>100</sup> the *Jaina-Rājatarāṅgiṇī* composed by Jonarāja's pupil S'rivara which deals in four Books with the period A.D. 1459-86;<sup>101</sup> and finally, the Fourth Chronicle which was begun under the name *Rājāvalipatākā* by Prājyabhatta, and completed by his pupil S'uka some years after the annexation of Kāśmīr by Akbar, A.D. 1586.<sup>102</sup>

Later Kāśmīr  
Chronicles.

It will be seen from the above dates that the narrative of the last two works falls entirely beyond the period of Hindu rule to which our inquiry is limited, and which may be considered to close finally with the usurpation of Shāh Mīr, A.D. 1339. The same holds good of the greater portion of Jonarāja's Chronicle, in which the reigns of the late Hindu rulers, from Jayasimha to Queen Koṭā, are disposed of with a brevity corresponding more to their own insignificance than to the intrinsic historical interest of the epoch.<sup>103</sup> Notwithstanding this difference in date, the materials supplied by these later Chronicles have often proved of great use in clearing up points of the old topography of Kāśmīr. For the mass of the localities mentioned in them goes back to the Hindu period. Also the names by which they are referred to, are still mostly the old ones.

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

Hindu learning in Kāśmīr suffered considerably during the period of troubles and oppression which lasted with short interruptions for two and a half centuries previous to Akbar's conquest. It is curious to note this gradual decline also in the character and contents of these later Chronicles. JONARĀJA was a scholar of considerable attainments, but apparently without any originality. With the old nomenclature of the Valley he shows himself yet well-acquainted. But outside it he commits himself to forms like *Puruṣavīra* (*recte* Puruṣapura, the present Peshawar), etc.

JONARĀJA.

S'RIVARA is a slavish imitator of Kalhana, not above reproducing whole verses of his predecessor. His text looks in a great portion more like a *canto* from the *Rajatarāṅgiṇī*, than an original composition. Notwithstanding the thorough study of Kalhana's work which this kind of exploitation presupposes, we find S'rivara more than once betraying ignorance of the old names for well-known Kāśmīr localities. Thus we have the name of the Mahāsarit stream transformed into *Mārī*, an evident adaptation of the modern *Mār*; <sup>104</sup> Siddhapatha, the present

S'RIVARA.

<sup>100</sup> See *S'riv.* i. 6.

<sup>101</sup> See Fourth Chron. 6.

<sup>102</sup> Compare Fourth Chron. 8 sqq.

Prājyabhatta's composition ended with the year A.D. 1513-14 and the reign of Fatah Shāh (verses 14-64).

<sup>103</sup> The narrative of the period A.D. 1149-1339 fills only 305 verses in Jonarāja's Chronicle (347 according to the Bombay edition).

<sup>104</sup> See *S'riv.* i. 440; iii. 273; compare note *Rājet.* iii. 339-349.





The Fourth  
Chronicle.

Sedau, represented as *Siddhādeśa*; <sup>105</sup> the Tirtha of Mārtāṇḍa regularly referred to by its modern name *Bhavana* (Bavan), <sup>106</sup> etc.

The work of PRĀJYABHATTA and SŪKA, inferior even to S'rivara's Chronicle, proves by the increased number of modern local names its authors' scant familiarity with the old topography of Kāśmīr. Thus the ancient Kṛtyāśrama, the scene of Kalhana's Buddhist legend, figures repeatedly in their narrative as *Kicāśrama*, i.e. by its modern name Kits<sup>h</sup>hēm; <sup>107</sup> even the well-known Rājapuri is metamorphosed into *Rājavira* (!), a queer reproduction of the modern *Rajauri*; <sup>108</sup> the old castle of Lohara reappears as *Luhara*, an evident approach to the present Lōh<sup>\*</sup>rin; <sup>109</sup> the ancient site of Cakradhara is turned into *Cakrādhāra*, <sup>110</sup> etc.

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

Persian Tarikhs  
of Kāśmīr.

24. We may refer here briefly to the Persian *Tarikhs* of Kāśmīr which, to some extent, can be looked upon as continuing the labours of Kalhana and his Pandit successors. Unfortunately they furnish no material assistance for the study of the old topography of the country. All these works contain in their initial portion an account of the Hindu dynasties which pretends to be translated from the *Rajatarāṅgīnī*. Yet the abstract there given is in each case very short, and chiefly devoted to a reproduction of the legendary and anecdotal parts of Kalhana's narrative. We thus look there in vain for the modern equivalents of those local names, the identification of which is attended with any difficulty.

In illustration of this it may be mentioned that even the *Tārikh* of HAIDAR MALIK CĀDURA (Tsād<sup>r</sup>), <sup>111</sup> which is the earliest work of this class accessible to me and the fullest in its account of the Hindu period, compresses the narrative of Jayasimha's reign, filling about 2000 verses in the *Rajatarāṅgīnī* into two quarto pages. Of the localities mentioned in the original account of this reign not a single one is indicated by the Muhammadan Chronicler. The later works, which all belong to the eighteenth or the present century, are still more reticent on the Hindu period, and seem to have largely copied Haidar Malik's abstract. Taking into account the endless corruptions to which local names written in Persian characters are exposed, it will be readily understood why reference to these texts on points of topographical interest yields only in rare cases some tangible result.

Kāśmīr poets.

25. It is a fortunate circumstance that several of the older Kāśmīr poets whose works have been preserved for us, have had the good sense to let us know something about their own persons and homes. The topographical details which can be gleaned from these authors, though comparatively few, are yet of distinct

<sup>105</sup> *S'riv.* iii. 354; iv. 203, 661.

<sup>106</sup> *S'riv.* i. 376; iii. 372.

<sup>107</sup> See Fourth Chronicle, 234, 240, 384; compare also note on *Rājat.* i. 147.

<sup>108</sup> Fourth Chron. 542 sqq.

<sup>109</sup> *Ib.* 134, 143 sqq.

<sup>110</sup> *Ib.* 330.

<sup>111</sup> Written A.H. 1027, i.e. A.D. 1617, in the twelfth year of Jahāngir's reign.

Haidar Malik takes his epithet *Cādura*, recte *Tsād<sup>r</sup>*, from the Kāśmīr village of that name situated in the Nāgām Pargāna, some ten miles south of Srinagar, close to the village of Vah<sup>\*</sup>tōr.



value. They enable us to check by independent evidence Kalhana's local nomenclature, and in some instances acquaint us with localities of which we find no notice in the Chronicles.

The first and most helpful of these Kāśmīrian authors is the well-known polyhistor KSEMENDRA. His works, composed in the second and third quarter of the eleventh century, form important landmarks in several fields of Indian literature. Ksemendra seems to have had a genuine interest, rare enough among Indian scholars, for the realities of his country and the life around him. He does not content himself with informing us of his family, the date of his works and the places where he wrote them.<sup>112</sup>

KSEMENDRA.

In the *Samayamātrkā*, one of his most original poems which is intended to describe the snares of courtesans, he gives us among other stories an amusing account of the wanderings of his chief heroine, Kaikālī, through the length and breadth of Kāśmīr.<sup>113</sup> The numerous places which form the scene of her exploits can all easily enough be traced on the map. More than once curious touches of true local colour impart additional interest to these references. To Ksemendra's poem we owe, e.g., the earliest mention of the Pir Pāntāl Pass (*Pañcālādhārā*) and its hospice (*maṭha*).<sup>114</sup> There, too, we get a glimpse of the ancient salt trade which still follows that route with preference. Elsewhere we are taken into an ancient Buddhist convent, the *Kṛtyāśrama* Vihāra, where Kaikālī's conduct as a nun is the cause of no small scandal,<sup>115</sup> etc.

A different sketch of topographical interest we owe to the poet BILHANA. He left his native land early in the reign of King Kalāśa (A.D. 1063-89), and after long wanderings became famous as the court-poet of the Cālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Parmādi in the Dekhan. In the last Canto of his historical poem, the *Vikramāṇ-kadevacarita*, Bilhana gives us a glowing picture of the beauties of the Kāśmīr capital. Notwithstanding its panegyrical character, this description is laudably exact in its local details.<sup>116</sup> In another passage the poet then describes to us his rural home and its surroundings at the village of *Khenamuṣa*, south-east of S'rinagar. His touching verses attest as much his yearning for his distant home as the faithfulness of his local recollections.<sup>117</sup>

BILHANA.

Similar in character though less ample in detail is the description of Kāśmīr and Pravarapura, its capital, which MAṆKHA, Kalhana's contemporary, inserts in the iii. Canto of his *Kāvya S'rikanṭhacarita*.<sup>118</sup> Here we have the advantage of

MAṆKHA.

<sup>112</sup> Compare the colophons of the various works first discovered and noticed by Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, pp. 45 sqq. and Appendix.

<sup>113</sup> This humorous peregrination fills the ii. *Samaya* of the work; see *Kāvyamālā* edition, pp. 6-16.

The abundance of curious local details makes a commented translation of the little *Kāvya* very desirable, notwithstanding the risky nature of parts of its contents. A personal knowledge of Kāśmīr would certainly be required for the task.

<sup>114</sup> See *Samayam*, ii. 90 sqq.

The *maṭha* on the pass corresponds to the present 'Alisābād Serai, a short distance below the top of the pass on the Kāśmīr side. See below, § 44.

<sup>115</sup> *Samayam*, ii. 61 sqq.; compare note *Rājat.* i. 147.

<sup>116</sup> Prof. BÜHLER, to whom we owe the discovery of Bilhana's chief work, has given in his Introduction an admirable analysis of the contents of Sarga xviii. as illustrating the poet's biography. For his description of contemporary S'rinagara, see pp. 7 sqq.

<sup>117</sup> *Vikram*, xviii. 70 sqq.

Prof. Bühler during his Kāśmīr tour, 1875, had the satisfaction of visiting the poet's native place, the present village of *Khun'moh*, and verifying on the spot every point of the description which Bilhana gives of that "coquettish embellishment of the bosom of Mount Himālaya"; see *Report*, pp. 4 sqq.

<sup>118</sup> See *S'rikanṭhac.* iii. 10-24, 68 sqq.





a commentary written by Jonarāja the Chronicler, which duly notices and explains the points of local interest.

The Lokaprakāśa.

26. To complete our review of those Kāśmīrian texts of topographical interest which may be distinguished as secular, we must refer briefly to the curious glossary and manual which goes by the name of *Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa*. Professor A. Weber has recently published valuable extracts from this text.<sup>119</sup> I myself have had frequent occasion to refer to it in my notes on the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.<sup>120</sup> The work represents a strange mixture of the usual *Kośa* and a practical handbook dealing with various topics of administration and private life in Kāśmīr. Though a great deal of the information given in it is decidedly old, and probably from the hand of our well-known Kṣemendra, there are unmistakable proofs both in the form and contents of the book, showing that it has undergone considerable alterations and additions down even to the seventeenth century. This is exactly what we must expect in a work which had remained in the practical use of the Kāśmīrian 'Kārkuns' long after the time when Sanskrit had ceased to be the official language of the country.

The *Lokaprakāśa* supplies us with the earliest list of Kāśmīr Parganas. Besides this we find there the names of numerous localities inserted in the forms for bonds, *Huṇḍis*, contracts, official reports, and the like which form the bulk of *Prakāśas* ii. and iv. The Pargana list as well as these forms contain local names of undoubtedly ancient date, side by side with comparatively modern ones. Some of the latter in fact belong to places which were only founded during the Muhammadan rule.<sup>121</sup>

#### SECTION VI.—THE NĪLAMATA AND MĀHĀTMYAS.

The Nīlamatapuruṣa.  
# rāṇa.

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

The oldest extant text which deals in detail with Kāśmīrian Tirthas, is the *Nīlamatapuruṣa*. This work which Kalhaṇa used as one of his sources of information,<sup>122</sup> claims to give the sacred legends regarding the origin of the country, and the special ordinances which Nīla, the lord of Kāśmīr Nāgas, had revealed for the worship and rites to be observed in it.<sup>123</sup> It is unnecessary to refer here to the legends which are related at the commencement of the work, and to 'the rites proclaimed by Nīla' which are next detailed, and with the former occupy about two-thirds of the extant text.<sup>124</sup> These parts have been fully discussed by Prof. Bühler in his lucid analysis of the *Nīlamata*.<sup>125</sup> The remaining portions, however,

<sup>119</sup> See *Zu Kṣemendra's Lokaprakāśa* in *Indische Studien*, xviii. pp. 289-412.

<sup>120</sup> See particularly Note H (iv. 495) on the Kāśmīr Monetary System, § 10.

<sup>121</sup> Compare, e.g., in *Prakāśa* ii. *Jainanagara*, founded by Zaiṇu-l-'abidin (see *Jonar.* 1155); *Alābhadenapura* (*S'riv.* iv. 318), etc.

<sup>122</sup> *Rājat.* i. 14.

<sup>123</sup> *Rājat.* i. 178-184.

<sup>124</sup> *Nīlamata*, vv. 1-366, contains the legends, vv. 367-899 the rites above referred to.

<sup>125</sup> See *Report*, pp. 38 sqq.





deserve special notice. For, to use Prof. Bühler's words, "they form a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kāśmīr and their legends."

In the first place we find there a list of the principal Nāgas or sacred springs of Kāśmīr (vv. 900-975). This is followed by the interesting legend regarding the *Mahāpadma* lake, the present Volur, which is supposed to occupy the place of the submerged city of Candrapura (vv. 976-1008).<sup>126</sup> The Purāṇa then proceeds to an enumeration of miscellaneous Tirthas chiefly connected with Śiva's worship (vv. 1009-48). To this is attached a very detailed account, designated as *Bhūteśvaramāhātmya*, of the legends connected with the numerous lakes and sites on Mount Haramukuta sacred to Śiva and Pārvatī (vv. 1049-1148).<sup>127</sup> Of a similar Māhātmya relating to the Kapateśvara Tirtha, the present Kōthēr,<sup>128</sup> only a fragment is found in our extant text (vv. 1149-68). The list of Viṣṇu-Tirthas which succeeds it (vv. 1169-1248), is comparatively short, as indeed the position of this god is a secondary one in the popular worship of Kāśmīr.

After a miscellaneous list of sacred Saṅgamas or river confluences, Nāgas and lakes (vv. 1249-78), we are treated to a somewhat more detailed synopsis of the chief Tirthas of Kāśmīr (vv. 1271-1371). This is of special interest, because an attempt is made here to describe these Tirthas in something like topographical order, and to group with them such localities as are visited along with them on the same pilgrimage. It is thus possible to determine, with more certainty than in the case of other Tirtha lists, the particular holy sites really intended by the author. This synopsis starts in the east with the fountain of the Nilanaga (Vērṇāg), and follows with more or less accuracy the course of the Vitastā and its tributaries down to the gorge of Varāhamūla. A short *Vitastāmāhātmya*, describing the original and miraculous powers of this holiest of Kāśmīr rivers (vv. 1371-1404), closes the text of the Nilamata, such as it is found in our manuscripts.

This text is unfortunately in a very bad condition, owing to numerous lacunæ and textual corruptions of all kinds. Prof. Bühler held that the Nilamata in its present form could not be older than the sixth or seventh century of our era.<sup>129</sup> It appears to me by no means improbable that the text has undergone changes and possibly additions at later periods. On the whole, however, the local names found in it bear an ancient look, and agree closely with the forms used by Kalhana.

The fact of all extant copies of the work showing practically the same defective state of text, seems to indicate that the changes and additions to which I alluded above, cannot be quite recent. If such a revision had been made at a time comparatively near to the date of our oldest MS. we could, after the analogy of other instances, expect an outwardly far more correct, i.e. 'cooked,' text. The operation here suggested was actually performed some thirty years ago by the late Pandit Sahibram. Receiving the orders of Mahārāja Ranbir Singh to prepare the text of the Nilamata for edition, he 'revised' the work, with scant respect for its sacred character, by filling up the lacunæ, expanding obscure passages, removing ungrammatical forms, etc.<sup>130</sup> Fortunately, Prof. Bühler reached

Text of the  
Nilamata.

<sup>126</sup> Compare below, § 74, and *Report*, p. 10.

<sup>127</sup> Compare below, § 57, and notes i. 36, 107, 118.

<sup>128</sup> See below, § 112, and note i. 32.

<sup>129</sup> Compare *Report*, p. 40.

The oldest and best MS. of the Nilamata

which I was able to secure and collate, is dated in the Laukika year 81 which, judging from the appearance of the MS., probably corresponds to A.D. 1705-6.

<sup>130</sup> See *Report*, pp. 33, 38.





The Haracaritā-  
cintāmaṇi.

Kaśmīr early enough to learn the origin of this 'cooked' text, and to give due warning as to its true character.

28. Among the texts dealing specially with the sacred sites of Kaśmīr the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* can be placed, perhaps, nearest in date to the *Nilamata-purāṇa*. It is not like the latter and the *Māhātmyas*, an anonymous composition, claiming recognition in the wide folds of canonical Purāṇa literature. It owns as its author the poet JAYADRATHA, of the Kaśmīrian family of the Rājānakas, and a brother of Jayaratha. The pedigree of the family as given in Jayaratha's *Tantrā-lokaviveka*, a Śaiva treatise, shows that Jayadratha must have lived about the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>131</sup>

His work, written in a simple Kāvya style, relates in thirty-two Cantos as many legends connected with Śiva and his various Avatāras.<sup>132</sup> Eight of these legends are localized at well-known Kaśmīrian Tirthas, and give the author ample opportunity of mentioning sacred sites of Kaśmīr directly or indirectly connected with the former.<sup>133</sup>

Jayadratha's detailed exposition helps to fix clearly the form which the legends regarding some of the most popular of Kaśmīrian Tirthas had assumed in the time immediately following Kalhana. The local names as recorded by Jayadratha,<sup>134</sup> agree closely with those of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. They prove clearly that the forms employed by Kalhana must have been those generally current in the Sanskrit usage of the period. For the interpretation of the *Nilamata*'s brief notices the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* is of great value. Its plain and authentic narrative of the various local legends enables us often to trace the numerous modifications which the latter as well as the names of localities connected with them have undergone in the extant *Māhātmyas*. Jayadratha has well earned the honour unwittingly bestowed upon him by those who brought his fourteenth Canto which deals with the story of Kapateśvara, into general circulation as the authoritative *Māhātmya* of that Tirtha at the present day.

The Māhātmyas.

29. Reference has already been made above to the numerous texts known as *Māhātmyas* which we possess of all the more important Tirthas of Kaśmīr. They claim with few exceptions to be extracted from Purāṇas or Purāṇic collections (*Samhitās*).<sup>135</sup> Ordinarily they set forth in detail the legends relating to the particular pilgrimage place, the spiritual and other benefits to be derived from its visit, and the special rites to be gone through by the pilgrims at the various stages of the itinerary. The abstract given in Note B (i. 37) of the *S'aradāmāhātmya* may serve to indicate the manner in which these subjects are usually treated in the average texts of this class.

Prof. Bühler was the first to recognize the value of the *Māhātmyas* for a systematic study of the old topography of Kaśmīr. Among the Sanskrit manuscripts which he acquired during his tour in Kaśmīr, there are sixteen distinct

<sup>131</sup> Compare BÜHLER, *Report*, pp. 61, 81, clii.

<sup>132</sup> The *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* has recently been printed as No. 61 of the *Kāvya-mālā* Series, Bombay (1897), chiefly from the text as contained in my MS. No. 206.

<sup>133</sup> The cantos containing these legends are i., iv., vii., x-xiv.

<sup>134</sup> An index of the Kaśmīr local names in the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, with explanatory

notes, has been prepared under my supervision by P. Govind Kaul, and printed as an Appendix to the *Kāvya-mālā* Edition.

<sup>135</sup> Most of the Kaśmīr *Māhātmyas* allege to be portions of the *Bhāgīśasamhitā*. Others claim special authority by representing themselves as parts of the Ādi, Brahma, Brahmaparvata, Varāha, and Bhaviṣyat Purāṇas.





texts of this kind.<sup>136</sup> My own search in this direction, facilitated by successive visits to the various Tirthas themselves, has enabled me to collect altogether fifty-one separate Māhātmya texts. A list of my collection has been given in a supplementary Note,<sup>137</sup> and may be considered fairly to exhaust the present range of this literature.

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

Unmistakable indications prove that many of the Māhātmyas now in actual use are of late composition or redaction. Among the texts so characterized, the Māhātmyas of some of the most popular pilgrimage places, like the Haramukūṭa-lakes, the cave of Amaranātha, Īśvara (Īś'bar), are particularly conspicuous. The indications here referred to are furnished chiefly by the local names which in their very form often betray a modern origin. This may conveniently be illustrated by a brief analysis of the most instructive of such names found in the Vitastāmāhātmya.

Date of  
Māhātmyas.

This text claims to furnish an account of all the Tirthas along the course of the holy river, and is designated as a portion of the *Bhṛṅgīśasamhitā*. Notwithstanding this pretended antiquity we find the famous Nilanāga introduced to us by the name of *Viranāga* (i. 58; ii. 33). This form is wholly unknown to the Nīlamata, Rājatarāṅgiṇī, or any old text. It is nothing more than a clumsy rendering of the modern name of the village *Vērṇāg*, near which this fine spring is situated.<sup>138</sup> The ancient site of Jayavana, mentioned by Bilhana and Kalhana, the present Zevan, is metamorphosed into *Yavanī* (vi. 4).<sup>139</sup> The village of Pāndrēthan which derives its name from Purānādhisthāna,<sup>140</sup> 'the old capital,' and bears the latter designation even in S'rīvara's Chronicle, figures as *Pādadr̥ṣṭika* (!), xii. 24. That Māksikasvāmin (Māy'sum)<sup>141</sup> and the Mahāsarit (Mār)<sup>142</sup> appear as *Māyāsīmā* and *Mārī*, can after this specimen of fancy nomenclature scarcely surprise us.

But we may all the same feel somewhat startled to find that a text which claims to be revealed by S'iva, refers repeatedly to the modern village of *Shād'pūr* at the confluence of the Vitastā and Sindhu, by the name of *S'ārādāpura*. *Shād'pūr*, an abbreviation for *Shahābuddīnpura*, was, as Jonarāja's Chronicle shows, founded only in the fourteenth century by Sultān Shahābu-d-dīn.<sup>143</sup> Quite on a level with the knowledge of old topography here displayed are many other references to localities, e.g. the mention of the modern garden of Shālīmār, a creation of the Mughals (*S'ālamāra*, xxi. 39), of the ancient Huskapura as *Uṣākharana*<sup>144</sup> (for *Uṣkūr*!), xxix. 103, etc.

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

<sup>136</sup> See *Report*, pp. iv. sqq.—Nos. 48, 51, 52, 55, 62, 75, 82, 84, 99, 100, there quoted as separate texts are only chapters of the *Amaranāthamāhātmya*.

<sup>137</sup> See Supplementary Note A.A.

<sup>138</sup> The name *Vērṇāg* is probably derived from the name of Pargana *Vēr*, mentioned by Abū-l-Fazl, ii. p. 370.

<sup>139</sup> See below, § 105, also *S'riv.* iv. 290.

<sup>140</sup> See iii. 99 note and below, § 89.

<sup>141</sup> See iv. 88 note and below, § 99.

<sup>142</sup> Compare note iii. 339-349.

<sup>143</sup> See *Jonar.* 409.

A popular etymology accepted in good faith by more than one European writer sees in *Shād'pūr* the 'village of the marriage,' scil. between the Vitastā and Sind Rivers.

<sup>144</sup> Compare note i. 168 and below, § 124.





Similar proofs of modern origin can be traced in several other popular Māhātmyas though, perhaps, not with equal frequency. Thus we find in the *Haramukutagāṃmāhātmya* the name of the sacred mountain itself transformed from Haramukuta into *Haramukha*<sup>145</sup> (the present Haramukh); the ancient site of Bhūteśvara (Buthīśēr) so well known to the Rājatarāṅgini and all old texts, turned into *Bodheśvara*, etc. In the *Amaraṇāthamāhātmya* of which there is a comparatively old copy in the Poona collection, we are also treated to *Padrīśī* as the Sanskrit name of Pāndrēthan; to *Suśramanāga* (for Kś. Suśramnāg) as the name of the lake where the Nāga Suśravaś of the old legend took up his abode,<sup>146</sup> and the like.

It is important to note that by the side of texts like those just mentioned, there are others which on the whole show close conformity with our genuine old sources, both in matter of legend and local names.<sup>147</sup> And even in the Māhātmyas which in their present form we have every reason to consider as recent compositions, there is often abundant evidence of the use of earlier materials and traditions. It will be easier to understand the singular discrepancies in the value and character of these texts if we take into account the peculiar conditions under which the latter have originated.

Origin of  
Māhātmyas.

30. The Māhātmyas are in the first place handbooks for the Purohitas of the particular Tirthas, who have the privilege of taking charge of the pilgrims. They are intended to support the claims put forth on behalf of the holiness of the Tirtha, and the spiritual rewards promised for its visit. The Māhātmyas prescribe the rites to be observed by the pilgrim, and the route to be taken by him on the journey. It is usual for the Purohitas to recite the Māhātmya for the benefit of their clients in the course of the pilgrimage tour. At the same time its contents are expounded to them by a free verbal rendering in Kāśmīrī. As but very few of the priests have enough knowledge of Sanskrit to follow the text intelligently these translations are more or less learned by heart. Often, as my manuscripts show, interlinear Kāśmīrī glosses are resorted to in order to assist the reader's memory.

The local  
Purohitas.

These local priests known now in Kāśmīr as *thān\*pat* (Skr. *sthānapati*), are as a rule quite as ignorant and grasping as their confrères, the Pujārīs, Bhōjkīs, etc., of India proper. They are held deservedly in very low estimation by the rest of the Brahman community. That their condition was more or less the same in earlier times too, though their influence and numbers were probably greater, can be safely concluded from more than one ironical allusion of Kalhana.<sup>148</sup> These are the people to whose keeping the Māhātmya texts have always been entrusted. Their peculiar position and calling explain, I think, most of the curious changes which the latter have undergone.

Changes of Tirthas.

Tenacious as local worship is, there is yet the evidence of concrete cases to

<sup>145</sup> See below, § 57.

The *kh* at the end of the modern name is due to a phonetic law of Kāśmīrī which requires the aspiration of every final tenuis; see *J.A.S.B.*, 1897, p. 183.

<sup>146</sup> Compare note i. 267.

The modern Kś. form *Suśramnāg* is the regular phonetic derivative of *Suśramanāga* by which name the lake is designated in the *Nilamata*, *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, etc.

<sup>147</sup> Among such the Māhātmya collection known as the *Sarvātāra* (No. 213), the *Mārtāṇḍamāhātmya* (No. 219), the *Vijayēśvarāmāhātmya* (No. 220) may be particularly mentioned. None of these, however, are now known to the local Purohitas, more recent and inferior texts having taken their place.

<sup>148</sup> Compare note ii. 132 and v. 465 sqq.; vii. 13 sqq.; 1082 sqq.; viii. 709, 900 sqq., 939.





show that not only the route of pilgrimage, but the very site of a Tirtha has sometimes been changed in comparatively recent times. In proof of this it will suffice to refer to the detailed account I have given of the transfers that have taken place in the case of the ancient Tirthas of *Bheḍā* and *S'ārādā*.<sup>149</sup> Minor modifications must naturally have been yet far more frequent. The visit of a principal Tirtha is regularly coupled with bathings, S'rāddhas and other sacrificial functions at a series of other sacred spots. The choice of these subsidiary places of worship must from the very beginning have depended on local considerations. As these changed in the course of time, variations in the pilgrimage route must have unavoidably followed.

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

31. Another potent cause seems to have co-operated in this vitiation of the Māhātmyas' local nomenclature. I mean 'popular etymology.' We have already referred to the tendency displayed throughout these tracts of making the names of localities, rivers, springs, etc., the starting point for legendary anecdotes. For men of such very scant knowledge of Sanskrit as the Thān<sup>ap</sup>at's invariably are, it was naturally far easier to explain such etymological stories when they were based on the modern local names.

Local names of  
Māhātmyas and  
'popular etymo-  
logy.'

It is undoubtedly this reason which has, e.g., led the author of the present Haramukuta-gāṅgāmāhātmya to substitute the name *Karaṅkanadī* for the old *Kanakavāhīnī*. By the latter name the stream coming from the Haramukuta lakes is designated in all our old texts, as explained in my note on Rājat. i. 149, 150. By turning *Kāṅk<sup>n</sup>nai*, the modern derivative of this old name, into *Karaṅkanadī*, 'the skeleton-stream,' the compiler of the Māhātmya got an occasion to treat his readers to a legend likely to appeal to their imagination. The river is supposed to have received this appellation because Garuḍa had dropped at its Saṅgama with the Sindhu the skeleton (*karaṅka*) of the Rṣi Dadhīci which Indra before had used as his weapon, etc.<sup>150</sup>

This story, it is true, is wholly unknown to the Nilamata or any other old text. But, on the other hand, it has the great merit of being easily explained and proved to any Kāśmīri pilgrim. The latter cannot fail to realize the manifest connection between *Karaṅka* and his familiar *k<sup>r</sup>anz*, 'skeleton.' An exactly similar case of 'popular etymology' has been noticed above in the name *Suvarṇārdhāṅgaka* by which the S'ārādāmāhātmya renders the village name *Sun<sup>a</sup>-Drang*.<sup>151</sup>

It would be easy to multiply examples showing the strange vicissitudes to

<sup>149</sup> Compare Notes A (i. 35) and B (i. 37).

Paṭala iii. of the *Haramukuta-gāṅgāmāhātmya*, No. 221.

<sup>150</sup> The story is spun out at great length in

<sup>151</sup> Compare Note B (i. 37), § 2.





which old topographical names are exposed at the hands of the local Purohita. But the explanations already given will suffice to prove that the topographical data found in *Māhātmyas* can only then be used safely when they are critically sifted and supported by our more reliable sources.

A critical examination of these data is, however, much impeded by the difficulty we experience in fixing the exact age of particular *Māhātmyas* and their component portions.<sup>152</sup> Even in the case of apparently old texts modern additions and changes may be suspected, while again the most recent concoctions may preserve fragments of genuine tradition.<sup>153</sup> In view of these considerations I have not thought it safe to crowd my maps with hundreds of names of petty Tirthas as found in the *Māhātmyas*, but have restricted myself to marking only those pilgrimage sites the ancient names of which can be established with certainty.

ABŪ-L-FAZL.

32. It is a curious fact that among our authorities for the *Topographia sacra* of Kashmir, we must allow a conspicuous place to a Muhammadan writer. It is ABŪ-L-FAZL, the minister of Akbar, who in the chapter of his *Āin-i Akbarī* dealing with the 'Sarkār of Kashmir,' has left us a very accurate account of many of the holy places in the Valley.<sup>154</sup> Abū-l-Fazl's detailed description of Kashmir is in many respects valuable to the historical student. But it is particularly in connection with our topographical search that we must feel grateful to the author for having like his great master "caught some of the enthusiasm of the Valley" (Rennell).

<sup>152</sup> The difficulty here indicated is increased by the fact that no really old manuscripts of *Māhātmyas* seem to be preserved in Kashmir. MSS. written on birch-bark, i.e. earlier than the seventeenth century, are quite unknown at present. And of the numerous paper MSS. I have examined, none seem to me older than two centuries at the utmost. It is probable that this absence of older copies is due to the rough usage to which the *Māhātmyas* are exposed when carried about on the pilgrimage tours.

<sup>153</sup> I am glad that chance gave me an opportunity of gaining some personal experience of the manner in which *Māhātmyas* are occasionally produced. Some ten years ago the Purohitas or Bāchbāttas of the Gan'patyār quarter in Srinagar recovered an ancient Līnga from a mosque and began to erect a small shrine for it near the river Ghāt of Mal'yār. Guided by a local tradition which, as far as I can judge, may be genuine, they believed this to have been the site of the shrine of Śiva *Vardhamānēśa*, mentioned already in the *Rajataranginī* (see note ii. 123). The Līnga was re-consecrated accordingly by this name.

In 1891 when examining old sites in this part of the city, I also visited the temple of *Vardhamānēśa* then under construction. The interest I showed in the old Līnga and the tradition regarding it, coupled with an appropriate *Dakṣiṇa*, soon secured me the confidence of the head-Purohita of the little shrine. Pandit T. R., a man more intelligent

than the average of his fraternity, was not slow to confess to me that the *Māhātmya* of the Tirtha *in spē* was as yet under preparation. Some weeks later, when in camp near Srinagar, I received the visit of my Purohita from *Vardhamānēśa*'s shrine. He brought me the draft of the new *Māhātmya* and asked my assistance in revising it.

I found it consisting chiefly of extracts from the *Vitastāmāhātmya*. The passages dealing with *Vardhamānēśa* and the neighbouring Tirthas within the city had been suitably interlarded with laudatory verses in the usual *Māhātmya* style culled from other texts. The vested interests of other local shrines had received due recognition by being included in the *Yātrā* of *Vardhamānēśa*. I did what I could to indicate the genuine old names of these localities. This quasi-antiquarian co-operation does not seem to have detracted from the popularity of the new *Māhātmya* among the Bāchbāttas of Gan'patyār.

<sup>154</sup> Vol. i. pp. 564-570 in Prof. Blochmann's edition of the *Āin-i Akbarī*; vol. ii. pp. 35, 366 in Col. H. S. Jarrett's translation (*Bibliotheca Indica*). Abū-l-Fazl's account of Kashmir would well deserve a fuller and more exact commentary than the one which the translator, in the absence of special local studies, was able to give. The account of Mirzā Haidar (in the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*) and Bernier's notes could be conveniently discussed on the same occasion.





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

This account of Abū-l-Fazl represents for us an authentic survey of all the Kāśmīrian Tirthas that were well-known and popular at the end of the sixteenth century. It serves as a most useful link between our older texts regarding these pilgrimage places and the modern tradition. It helps us to check the data of the Mahātmyas in many particulars of topographical interest. Abū-l-Fazl's notes have enabled me to trace in more than one instance the position of ancient Tirthas or particular features regarding them which have since his time been wholly forgotten.<sup>155</sup> It cannot be doubted that Abū-l-Fazl's list of sacred sites was supplied by competent Brahman informants just as his abstract of the Sanskrit Chronicles.

#### SECTION VII.—LOCAL TRADITION.

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

Tradition of the  
learned.

Among those who represent in Kāśmīr learned tradition of the above type, there must again be distinguished the few Paṇḍit families of S'rīnagar in which the serious study of Sanskrit S'āstras has been maintained, and the great host of Bāchbāttas. With the latter class we have already become partially acquainted. We have had occasion to note the conspicuous absence of genuine knowledge as regards the ancient topography of the country in those texts which form the characteristic products of this class' literary activity in recent times.

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

**34.** 'Learned' tradition as represented by the S'rīnagar Paṇḍits of modern times, is best gauged by an examination of what the late Paṇḍit SĀHIBRĀM (+1872) has specially recorded on the subject of ancient sites. P. Sāhibrām, who was undoubtedly the foremost among Kāśmīrian Sanskrit scholars of the last

The Tirthasānī-  
graha.

<sup>155</sup> Compare Notes A (i. 35), B (i. 37); i. 220; also supplementary note to i. 107.





few generations, had been commissioned by Mahārāja Ranbir Singh to prepare a descriptive survey of all ancient Tirthas of Kāśmīr. For this purpose a staff of Pandits was placed at his disposal, whose business it was to collect the necessary materials in the various parts of the country. The large work which was to be prepared on the basis of these materials, was never completed, and of the latter I was able to recover only small portions.<sup>156</sup> But some time before his death Pandit Sāhibrām had drawn up abstracts of the information he had collected, under the title of *Kāśmīratīrthasaṅgraha*, and of these I have been able to obtain copies. The most detailed and apparently latest recension of this Tīrthasaṅgraha is that contained in No. 61 of Prof. Bühler's collection of manuscripts.

This little work gives a list of numerous Tirthas with brief indications of their special features and position, arranged in the topographical order of Parganas. It is useful enough as a comprehensive synopsis of such sacred sites as were known at the time to local worship. But it proves at the same time how little help traditional learning in Kāśmīr can offer in our days for the serious study of the old topography of the Valley.

P. SĀHIBRĀM'S  
local names.

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

In consideration of the fact that P. Sāhibrām deserves to be looked upon as the best representative of modern Kāśmīrian scholarship,<sup>157</sup> it is only just to illustrate the above remarks by a few examples. I take them from among those local names, the genuine forms of which can be easily ascertained from the *Rājatarāṅgīnī*. The lake of the Nāga Suśravas,<sup>158</sup> the present Suśram Nāg, is named *Suśramanāga* in one recension, and *Suśumnanāga* (I) in the other. The old Parganas of Holadā, Laulāha, Khūyāśrama are turned on account of their modern names Vular, Lōlau, Khuy'hōm, into the 'Rāstras' of Volara, Lalava, Khoyahāma. Bān'hāl, the old Bānasālā,<sup>159</sup> figures as *Bhāmūśālā*; Khruv, the ancient Khadūvī,<sup>160</sup> known correctly even to so late a text as the Lokaprakāśa, as *Khrāva*. The name of the ancient village Jayavana,<sup>161</sup> which fares badly too, as we have seen, in the Māhātmyas, is metamorphosed into *Jīvana*; Ranyil, the old *Hiranyapura*,<sup>162</sup> is with a flight of historical fancy turned into a foundation of King Rānāditya.

After this, village names like Uskara, Rānāśrama, Kicakāśrama, as designations of the old Huskapura, Rāmuṣa, Kṛtyāśrama<sup>163</sup> can scarcely surprise us. The number of districts, towns, villages, streams, lakes and other topographical features

<sup>156</sup> The portions acquired by me refer to some of the north-eastern Parganas and contain descriptions (in Sanskrit) of the various Nāgas, Lingas, etc., the miraculous stories relating to them, together with the devotional texts which are supposed to be used at their worship. Quaint illustrations and maps accompany the text. The whole forms a

large-sized folio. The critical value of these records is very slight.

<sup>157</sup> See *Report*, pp. 4, 38.

<sup>158</sup> See note i. 287.

<sup>159</sup> See note viii. 1665 and below, § 41.

<sup>160</sup> See below, § 105.

<sup>161</sup> Compare note vii. 607.

<sup>162</sup> See note i. 287.

<sup>163</sup> See notes i. 168; ii. 55; i. 147.





(exclusive of Tirthas) mentioned by Paṇḍit Sāhibrām amounts to nearly three hundred. But scarcely two dozen of the names given for them are in accord with our old authorities.

P. Sāhibrām was one of the few modern Kāśmīrian scholars who have seriously occupied themselves with the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and the later Chronicles.<sup>164</sup> Hence the indifferent knowledge of ancient topography as displayed in his *Tirthasaṅgraha*, must appear all the more striking. Yet in reality it is easily enough accounted for.

What knowledge learned tradition in Kāśmīr has retained of ancient sites as distinct from Tirthas and the like, is confined to a few prominent localities which for one reason or the other were of special interest for the Paṇḍits. Thus the capital, Pravarapura-S'rinagara, with several of its quarters, the towns of Vijayeśvara, Suyyapura-Vaśhamūla and some other places of importance in the Valley, have continued to be known by their ancient names. These names probably never ceased to be employed in colophons of Sanskrit manuscripts, in horoscopes, and similar records. In the case of a few other localities again like Jayapura, Dāmodara's Uḍar, Cakradhara, there were well-known popular legends which plainly indicated their identity with sites mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. But for the great mass of ancient places there were no special reasons of this kind to assure a recollection of their old names. It is hence only natural that all genuine knowledge of their identity and earlier history has gradually disappeared from the Paṇḍits' tradition.

Nothing but systematic inquiry on the lines of modern historical research could help towards a recovery of the knowledge thus lost.

35. Popular local tradition has fortunately in Kāśmīr proved far more tenacious than the tradition of the learned. I have often derived from it very valuable aid in my local search for particular sites. The experience gained on my antiquarian tours has convinced me that when collected with caution and critically sifted, such local traditions can safely be accepted as supplements to the topographical information of our written records. In illustration of this statement, I may refer to the evidence gathered from local tradition in reference to the sites of Lohara, Hastivaṅja Kramavarta, Jayapura, Skandabhavana, etc.<sup>165</sup>

Popular local  
tradition.

In more than one instance it can be shown that local legends which Kalhana heard, still cling unchanged to the same sites. As striking examples may be mentioned here, the legends concerning Dāmodara's Uḍar, the burned city of King Nara, the temple of Pravareśa.<sup>166</sup>

It cannot be doubted that this tenacity of local tradition in Kāśmīr is due largely to the country's seclusion. Mountain barriers and consequent isolation tend everywhere in alpine countries to develop and foster conservative habits of life and thought. We find these habits most strongly marked the population of the Valley, and can safely ascribe to them a great share in the preservation of local traditions.

<sup>164</sup> See his abstracts of the Chronicles in the *Rājatarāṅgīnī-saṅgraha* acquired by Prof. Bühler (Nos. 176-8 of the Poona collection). It deserves to be noted that in them no

attempt whatever is made to explain points of topographical interest.

<sup>165</sup> Compare Note E (iv. 177); i. 302; iii. 227 (D); iv. 506 sqq.; vi. 137 (K).

<sup>166</sup> See notes i. 156, 202; iii. 350.





## CHAPTER III.

## GENERAL GEOGRAPHY.

## SECTION I.—POSITION AND CONFIGURATION OF KAS'MIR VALLEY.

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

Name KAS'MIRA.

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

The Sanskrit *Kāsmīra* still lives as *Kāsmīr* (in Persian spelling *Kashmīr*) all through India and wherever to the west the fame of the Valley has spread. In the language of the inhabitants themselves the name is now pronounced as *Kāśīr*.<sup>1</sup> This form is the direct phonetic derivative of *Kāsmīra*, with the regular loss of the final vowel and assimilation of *m* to the preceding sibilant. A phonetic rule prevalent through all Indo-Aryan Vernaculars which favours the change of medial Skr. *m* into *v*,<sup>2</sup> leads us to assume an intermediate Prakrit form \**Kāśvīr*[a]. In support of this we may point to the striking analogy of the Kas'mir local name *S'āngas* which (as shown in note i. 100) goes back through an older recorded form *S'vāngas* to \**S'māngāsā*, the *S'amāngāsā* of the Chronicle. It has been already shown above that we have to recognize in this *Kāśvīra* the original Prakrit form which Ptolemy's *Κασπεῖρα*, *Κασπεῖρα* (pronounced *Kaspīra*, *Kaspīra*) are intended to transcribe.<sup>3</sup>

Etymologies of name.

Linguistic science can furnish no clue to the origin of the name nor even analyze its formation.<sup>4</sup> This fact, however, has not saved the name from being subjected to various etymological guesses which for curiosity's sake may receive here a passing notice. It must be held to the credit of Kas'mirian Sanskrit authors that their extant writings are wholly innocent of this display of etymological fancy.

No less illustrious a person than the emperor Bābar opens the list. His suggestion was that the name may be derived from the hill-tribe '*Kās*' living in

<sup>1</sup> The adjective *Kāśīr* 'Kas'mirian' corresponds to Skr. *Kāsmīra*. The *u* of the last syllable is probably due to the *v* of an intermediate form *Kāśvīra*; see below.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Dr. GRIERSON'S remarks, *Z.D.M.G.*, l. p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Compare § 5 above.

<sup>4</sup> If the *Upādisūtra*, 472, *Kāśīr mut ca* is to be applied to the word *Kāsmīra*, the latter would have to be dissolved into *Kāsm-ira* according to the traditional grammatical system.





the neighbourhood of Kāsmīr.<sup>5</sup> We easily recognize here the reference to the *Khaśas* of the lower hills. Their name, however, in its true form has, of course, no connection with Kāsmīr.

Another etymology, first traceable in Haidar Malik's Chronicle and hence reproduced by other Muhammadan writers,<sup>6</sup> derives the first part of the name from '*Kashap*,' i.e. Kāśyapa, and the second either from *Ks. mar*, i.e. *maṭha*, 'habitation,' or a word *mīr*, supposed to mean 'mountain.'<sup>7</sup> It was, perhaps, a belief that this whimsical etymology represented some local tradition, which induced even so great a scholar as Burnouf to risk the conjectural explanation of Kāsmīra as *Kāśyapamīra*, i.e. 'the sea of Kāśyapa.'<sup>8</sup> There is neither linguistic nor any other evidence to support this conjecture. It would hence scarcely have been necessary to refer to it had it not, on the authority of a great name, found its way also into numerous works of a more general character.<sup>9</sup>

37. Just as the name Kāsmīr has practically remained unchanged through the course of so many centuries, so also has the territorial extent of the country which it designated. This has always been confined to the great valley drained by the headwaters of the Vitastā, and to the inner slopes of the ring of mountains that surround it. The natural limits of the territory here indicated are so sharply marked that we have no difficulty in tracing them through all our historical records, whether indigenous or foreign. Hiuen Tsiang, Ou-k'ong and Albērūnī's accounts, as we have seen, show them clearly enough. Kalhana's and his successors' Chronicles prove still more in detail that the Kāsmīr of Kāsmīrian tradition never extended materially beyond the summit-ridges of those great ranges which encircle and protect the Valley.

Extent of Kāsmīr.

A detailed description of the geographical position of Kāsmīr is not needed here, as there is an abundant modern literature dealing with the various aspects of the geography of the country. For an accurate and comprehensive account I may refer to the corresponding portion of Mr. DREW's work and to the graphic chapter which Mr. LAWRENCE devotes to the description of the Valley.<sup>10</sup> It will, however, be useful to allude here briefly to some of the characteristic features in the configuration of the country which have an important bearing on its ancient topography.

<sup>5</sup> See *Babar's Memoirs*, transl. by Leyden and Erskine, p. 313. A Persian MS. of the text adds that *mīr* signifies 'mountain.' ERSKINE, *Introduction*, p. xxvii, improves upon this etymology by extending it to Kashgar, the Casia regio and Casii Montes of Ptolemy. RITTER, *Asien*, ii. p. 1127, from whom I take this reference, not unjustly queries why 'the learned editor should have stopped short of the *Caspium mare* and other equally manifest affinities!

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

Regarding the name and habitation of the *Khaśas*, compare note i. 317.

<sup>6</sup> It was first introduced to the European reader by TREFFENTHALER's extract from Haidar Malik's Chronicle; compare *Description historique et géographique de l'Inde*, ed. Bernoulli, 1786, i. p. 79 (also p. 89 as to sources).

Compare WILSON, *Essay*, p. 94, for a similar note from the *Waqiāt-i Kāsmīr* of Muḥammad 'Azīm; here *کشف* is a clerical error for *کشف*.

<sup>7</sup> The *Ks.* word *mar* < *Sk.* *maṭha* is in common use in the country as the designation of Sarais, shelter-huts on passes, etc.; *mīr* might have been connected by Haidar Malik's Pandit informants with the name of Mount *Meru* or with *mīra*, meaning according to a *Kośa parvataikadeśa*; see *P.W.*, s.v.

<sup>8</sup> Compare his note in HUMBOLDT, *L'Asie centrale*, i. p. 92.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. LASSEN, *Ind. Alt.*, i. p. 51 note; McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 108; V. DE ST.-MARTIN, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript., Sav. Étrang.*, v. ii. p. 83; KIEPERT, *Alte Geographie*, 1878, p. 36.

<sup>10</sup> See DREW, *Jummoo*, Chapters viii.-x.; LAWRENCE, *Valley*, pp. 12-39.





Geographical position of Kashmir.

Kashmir owes its historical unity and isolation to the same facts which give to its geographical position a distinct, and in some respects almost unique character. We find here a fertile plain embedded among high mountain ranges, a valley large enough to form a kingdom for itself and capable of supporting a highly-developed civilization. Its height above the sea, nowhere less than 5000 feet, and its peculiar position assure to it a climate equally free from the heat of India and the rigours of cold peculiar to the higher mountain regions in the north and east.

The form of the country has been justly likened to a great irregular oval consisting of a similarly shaped level vale in the centre and a ring of mountains around it. The low and more or less flat part of the country measures about eighty-four miles in length, from south-east to north-west, while its width varies from twenty to twenty-five miles. The area comprised in this part has been estimated at 1800 or 1900 square miles.<sup>11</sup> Around this great plain rise mountain-ranges which enclose it in an almost unbroken ring. Their summit-lines are everywhere but for a short distance at the southernmost point of the oval, more than 10,000 feet above the sea. For the greatest part they rise to about 13,000 feet, while the peaks crowning them tower up to altitudes close on 18,000 feet. Reckoned from the summit-lines of these ranges the length of the irregular oval enclosed by them is about 116 miles, with a varying width from forty to seventy-five miles. The whole area within these mountain-boundaries may be estimated at about 3900 square miles.

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

In the great mountain-chain which encircles the country, there is but one narrow gap left, near the north-west end of the Valley. There the Vitastā after uniting the whole drainage of Kashmir, flows out by the gorge of Bāramūla (Varāhamūla) on its course towards the sea. For a distance of nearly 200 miles further this course lies through a very contracted valley which forms a sort of natural gate to Kashmir. It is here that we find the old political frontier of Kashmir extending beyond the mountain-barriers already described. For about fifty miles below the Varāhamūla gorge the narrow valley of the Vitastā was held in Hindu times as an outlying frontier-tract of Kashmir.<sup>12</sup>

Legend of Satisaras.

38. The general configuration of the country here sketched in its broadest outlines may be held to account for the ancient legend which represents Kashmir to have been originally a lake. This legend is mentioned by Kalhana in the Introduction of his Chronicle and is related at great length in the Nilamata.<sup>13</sup> According to this earliest traditional account the lake called *Satisaras*, 'the lake of Sati (Durgā),' occupied the place of Kashmir from the beginning of the Kalpa. In the period of the seventh Manu the demon Jalodbhava ('water-born') who resided in this lake, caused great distress to all neighbouring countries by his devastations.

<sup>11</sup> Compare DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 162, for this and subsequent statements.

<sup>12</sup> See below, § 53.

<sup>13</sup> See *Rājat.* i. 25-27; *Nilamata*, vv. 26-237.

A detailed extract of the Nilamata's story has been given by Prof. BÜHLER, *Report*, p. 39.





The Muni Kaśyapa, the father of all Nāgas, while engaged in a pilgrimage to the Tirthas in the north of India, heard of the cause of this distress from his son Nila, the king of the Kaśmīr Nāgas. The sage thereupon promised to punish the evil-doer, and proceeded to the seat of Brahman to implore his and the other gods' help for the purpose. His prayer was granted. The whole host of gods by Brahman's command started for the Satīśaras and took up their position on the lofty peaks of the *Naubandhana Tīrtha*, above the lake Kramasaras (Kōns'rnāg). The demon who was invincible in his own element, refused to come forth from the lake. Viṣṇu thereupon called upon his brother Balabhadra to drain the lake. This he effected by piercing the mountains with his weapon, the plough-share. When the lake had become dry, Jalodhava was attacked by Viṣṇu, and after a fierce combat slain with the god's war-disc.

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

The legend of the desiccation of the lake is alluded to also by Hiuen Tsiang, though in another, Buddhistic form.<sup>14</sup> Its main features as related in the *Nīlāmata*, live to this day in popular tradition. They are also reproduced in all Muhammadan abstracts of the *Chronicles*.<sup>15</sup> From Haidar Malik's *Tārīkh*, the legend became known to Dr. Bernier who prefaces with it his description of the 'paradis terrestre des Indes.'<sup>16</sup> It has since found its way into almost every European account of Kaśmīr.

It is probable that this legend had much to do with drawing from the first the attention of European travellers to those physical facts which seem to support the belief that Kaśmīr was in comparatively late geological times wholly or in great part occupied by a vast lake. But few seem to have recognized so clearly as the late Mr. Drew the true relation between the legend and the above facts. I cannot put this view which from a critical point of view appears self-evident, more precisely than by quoting his words. "The traditions of the natives—traditions that can be historically traced as having existed for ages—tend in the same direction [viz. of the Vale having been occupied by a lake], and these have usually been considered to corroborate the conclusions drawn from the observed phenomena. Agreeing, as I do, with the conclusion, I cannot count the traditions as perceptibly strengthening it; I have little doubt that they themselves originated in the same physical evidence that later travellers have examined."<sup>17</sup>

The geological observations upon which modern scientific inquirers like Mr. Drew and Colonel Godwin Austin have based their belief as to the former existence of a great lake, are mainly concerned with the undoubted 'lacustrine deposits' found in the so-called Uḍars or Karēwa plateaus to be noticed below.

Lacustrine features  
of Valley.

<sup>14</sup> See *Si-yu-ki*, transl. Beal, i. p. 149.

<sup>15</sup> See BERNIER, *Travels*, ed. Constable,

<sup>16</sup> Compare e.g. *Ain-i Akb.*, ii. p. 380; p. 393.

<sup>17</sup> See *Jummoo*, p. 207.





But it seems to me very doubtful whether we can reasonably credit the early Kashmīrians with a correct scientific interpretation of such geological records. It appears far more probable that the legend was suggested by an observation of the general form of the Valley, and by a kind of natural inference from the historical changes in the hydrography of the country.

We shall see below that great drainage operations took place at various periods of Kashmīr history which extended the cultivable ground and reduced the area covered by lakes and marshes. To any one, however ignorant of geology, but acquainted with the latter fact, the picture of a vast lake originally covering the whole Valley might naturally suggest itself. It would be enough for him to stand on a hillside somewhere near the Volur, to look down on the great lake and the adjoining marshes, and to glance then beyond towards that narrow gorge of Bārāmūla where the mountains scarcely seem to leave an opening. It is necessary to bear in mind here the singular flights of Hindu imagination as displayed in the Purāṇas, Māhātmyas and similar texts. Those acquainted with them will, I think, be ready to allow that the fact of that remarkable gorge being the single exit for the drainage of the country might alone even have sufficed as a starting-point for the legend.

In respect of the geological theory above referred to, it may yet be mentioned that in the opinion of a recent authority, "even the presence of true lacustrine deposits does not prove that the whole of the Kashmīr lake basin was ever occupied by a lake."<sup>18</sup> At the present day true lacustrine deposits are still being formed in the hollows of the rock basin, represented by the lakes of the north-west portion of the Valley. It is held probable "that the conditions have been much the same as at present, throughout the geological history of the Kashmīr Valley," only a minor area of the latter having at various periods been occupied by lakes.

Whatever view may ultimately recommend itself to geologists, it is certain that the lacustrine deposits of Kashmīr, though of no remote date, speaking by a geological standard, are far older than any monuments of man that have yet been discovered.<sup>19</sup>

Kashmīr defended  
by mountains.

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

The importance of the mountains as the country's great protecting wall has at all times been duly recognized both by the inhabitants and foreign observers. Since an early period Kashmīrians have been wont to pride themselves on their country's safety from foreign invasion, a feeling justified only by the strength of these natural defences. We find it alluded to by Kalhana, who speaks of Kashmīr as unconquerable by the force of soldiers, and of the protection afforded by its mountain walls.<sup>20</sup> The feeling is very clearly reflected in all foreign records of the country. We have already seen what special notice is taken by Hiuen Tsiang and Ou-k'ong of the mountains enclosing the kingdom, and the difficulty of the passes leading through them.<sup>21</sup> The statements of the early Arab geographers, brief as they are, lay due stress on the inaccessible character of the mountains. Albēruni does the same, and shows us besides the anxious care taken in old days to maintain this natural strength of the country by keeping strict watch over the passes.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See Mr. R. D. OLDHAM'S *Manual of Indian Geology* (1893), quoted by Mr. Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 50.

<sup>19</sup> See DREW, *Jummoo*, pp. 207 sq.

<sup>20</sup> See i. 31, 39.

<sup>21</sup> Compare above, §§ 9, 11.

<sup>22</sup> See above, §§ 12, 14.





Even when Kāśmīr had suffered a partial conquest from the north and had become Muhammadanized, the belief in the invincibility of its bulwarks continued as strong as before. Thus Sharāfu-d-dīn, the historian of Timūr, writing apparently from materials collected during the great conqueror's passage through the Panjāb Kohistān (circ. A.D. 1397), says of Kāśmīr: "This country is protected naturally by its mountains on every side, so that the inhabitants, without the trouble of fortifying themselves, are safe from the attacks of enemies." The subsequent account of the routes into Kāśmīr and other exact details, suggest that the author of the *Zafarnāma* had access to genuine Kāśmīrian information.<sup>23</sup>

40. It is this defensive character of the mountain-ranges to which we owe most of our detailed information regarding their ancient topography. We have already in connection with the accounts of Albērūnī and the Chinese pilgrims, had occasion to note the system of frontier watch-stations by which a careful guard was kept over the passes leading through the mountains. These fortified posts and the passes they guarded play an important part in the narrative of Kalhāna and his successors. As most of the Chronicles' references to Kāśmīr orography are directly connected with these watch-stations, it will be useful to premise here a few general remarks regarding their character and purpose.<sup>24</sup>

Watch-stations on mountain passes.

The small forts which since ancient times closed all regularly used passes leading into the Valley, are designated in the Chronicles by the word *DVĀRA*, 'gate,' or by the more specific terms *draṅga* or *dhakka*. Numerous passages show that they served at the same time the purposes of defence, customs and police administration. They were garrisoned by troops under special commanders, designated as *draṅgeśa* or *draṅgādhipa*. The control over all these frontier-stations and the command of the 'Marches' generally, was vested in Hindu times in one high state officer, known by the title of *Dvārapati*, 'lord of the Gate,' or equivalent terms.<sup>25</sup>

Guarding of 'Gates.'

The organization of the system was somewhat changed in Muhammadan times, when the guarding of the several routes through the mountains was entrusted to feudal chiefs known as *Maliks* (Skr. *mārgeśa*). These held hereditary charge of specific passes, and enjoyed certain privileges in return for this duty. In other respects the system underwent scarcely any change. The fortified posts with their small garrisons survived on all important routes almost to our own days, and were known as *rāhdārī* in the official Persian.<sup>26</sup> It may be noted that apart from their character as military defences against inroads from foreign territories the *Draṅgas* were also in another respect true 'gates' to the country. Nobody was allowed to pass outside them coming from the Valley without a special permit or pass. The system thus served as an important check on unauthorized emigration, and was withdrawn only after the last Kāśmīr famine (1878).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See the extract from Sharāfu-d-dīn's *Zafarnāma* in *Tārīkh-i Rāshidī*, transl. by Messrs. N. Elias and E. D. Ross, p. 432; compare also RITTER, *Asien*, ii. pp. 1122 sq.

<sup>24</sup> For detailed references regarding these stations see my notes, *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 382 sqq.; *Rājat*, i. 123; iii. 227 (D).

<sup>25</sup> Compare note v. 214.

<sup>26</sup> See *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 385; also below, §§ 49, 52.

<sup>27</sup> For an early reference to this system of passports at the *Dvāras*, see *Jonar*, 654. For a description of the cruel exactions often connected with *rāhdārī*, compare LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 215.

I have never been able to visit the sites of the old watch-stations at the several passes without thinking of the scenes of human suffering they must have witnessed for centuries.





In order to appreciate fully the importance of these frontier watch-stations, it should be remembered that the mountain regions immediately outside Kas'mir were almost in every direction held by turbulent hill-tribes. To the hardy Dards (*Darad*) in the north, and the restless Khakhas (*Khasa*) in the south and west the rich Kas'mir with its weak population, has always appeared as a tempting prey. The last inroad of the plundering Khakhas occurred not more than half a century ago, and will not be soon forgotten.<sup>28</sup> At the same time it is certain that the valour of these hardy mountain-clans on the confines of Kas'mir has at all times contributed greatly to the natural strength of the mountain defences. Without this protective belt the latter themselves would scarcely have remained so long proof against foreign invasion.

## SECTION II.—THE PĪR PANTSĀL RANGE.

Kas'mir orography.

41. In order to understand correctly the data relating to the ancient topography of the mountains around Kas'mir it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with their actual configuration and character. In the following account it will be possible only to indicate the most prominent features of this mountain-system, and those directly connected with the historical data under discussion. For detailed information on Kas'mir orography a reference to the lucid and instructive account in Mr. DREW's work may be specially recommended.<sup>29</sup>

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

Pass of BĀṆĀSĀLĀ.

The Bān'hāl Pass at the eastern extremity of the range must, owing to its small elevation, have always been a convenient route of communication towards the Upper Cināb Valley and the eastern of the Panjāb hill states. It takes its modern name from a village at the south foot of the pass which itself is mentioned in Kalhana's Chronicle by the name of BĀṆĀSĀLĀ.<sup>30</sup> The castle of Bānāsālā was in Kalhana's own time the scene of a memorable siege (A.D. 1130) in which the pretender Bhikṣācara was captured and killed. Coming from the Cināb Valley he had entered *Viśalāṭā*,<sup>31</sup> the hill-district immediately south of the Bān'hāl Pass, with the view to an invasion of Kas'mir. As his movement fell in the commencement of the winter, he could not have selected a more convenient route. The Bān'hāl Pass is the only route across the Pir Pantsāl Range on which communication is never

<sup>28</sup> Compare for the Khakhas, note i. 317.<sup>29</sup> See *Jummoo*, pp. 192-206.<sup>30</sup> See note viii. 1665 sq.<sup>31</sup> See note viii. 177.





entirely stopped by snow-fall. Kalhana's narrative shows that the political and ethnographic frontier ran here as elsewhere on the watershed of the range. For the castle of Banaśālā, though so near as to be visible from the top of the pass (*samkātā*), was already held by a Khasā chief.<sup>32</sup>

Proceeding westwards from Bān'hāl we come to a group of three snowy peaks reaching above 15,000 feet. With their bold pyramidal summits they form conspicuous objects in the panorama of the range as seen from the Valley.<sup>33</sup> Kāśmīr tradition locates on them the seats from which Viṣṇu, Ś'iva, and Brahman according to the legend already related, fought Jalodbhava and desiccated the Satisaras. The westernmost and highest of these peaks (15,523 feet) forms the famous NAUBANDHANA Tirtha. According to the legend related in the Nilamata and other texts and connected with the Indian deluge story, Viṣṇu in his fish Avatāra had bound to this peak the ship (*nau*) into which Durgā had converted herself to save the seeds of the beings from destruction.<sup>34</sup> At the foot of this peak and to the north-west of it, lies a mountain lake over two miles long, known now as *Kōns'r Nāg*, the *Kramasaras* or *Kramasūra* of the Nilamata and Māhātmyas.<sup>35</sup> It is supposed to mark a footstep (*lerama*) of Viṣṇu and is the proper object of the Naubandhana pilgrimage.

Naubandhana  
Tirtha.

About eight miles straight to the west of this lake the range is crossed by a pass over 14,000 feet high, known now by the name of *Sidau* or *Būdil*. It lies on a route which in an almost straight line connects Srinagar with Akhnūr and Siālkōt in the Panjāb plain. Running up and down high ridges it is adapted only for foot-traffic. But owing to its shortness it was formerly a favourite route with Kāśmīris.<sup>36</sup> The name *Sidau* is given to the pass from the first village reached by it on the Kāśmīr side. It is by this name, in its original form SIDDHAPATHA, that the pass is mentioned in Kalhana's Chronicle as the route chosen for a pretender's irruption in Sussala's reign.<sup>37</sup>

Pass of Siddha-  
patha.

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

<sup>32</sup> See viii. 1674, 1683.

*Samkātā* is the regular term for 'pass.'

<sup>33</sup> Marked on the map as 'Brama Sakal,' perhaps a corruption for 'Brahmasikhara,' Brahman's peak.

<sup>34</sup> See *Nilamata*, 33 sqq.; *Haracar.* iv. 27; *S'riv.* i. 474 sqq.; *S'arvātāra*, iii. 4, 12; v. 43, etc.

<sup>35</sup> See *S'riv.* i. 482 sqq. where a visit of Sultan Zainu-l-'ābidin to this lake is related at length; *Nilamata*, 121, 1272; *Naubandhana-māhātmya*, passim; *S'arvātāra*, iii. 10; v. 174, etc.

<sup>36</sup> According to DREW, *Jammoo*, p. 524, the distance from Jammu to Srinagar by the Sidau route is reckoned at 129 miles, whereas *via* the Bān'hāl it is 177 miles.

The name Būdil is given to the pass from the hill district adjoining it from the south; compare my note vi. 318.

<sup>37</sup> See viii. 557.

In the Chronicles of S'rivara and his successors the tract about Sidau is repeatedly referred to as *Siddhādeśa*, an evident adaptation of the Kś. form of the name.





Pir Pantsal Route.

42. About five miles due north of the Nandan Sar we reach the lowest dip in the central part of the whole range. It is marked by the pass known as *Pir Pantsāl*, 11,400 feet high. The route which crosses it, has from early days to the present time been the most frequented line of communication from Kāsmīr to the central part of the Panjāb. The frequent references which the Chronicles make to this route, permit us to follow it with accuracy from the point where it enters the mountains. This is in the valley of the Rembyār<sup>38</sup> River (*Ramanyāṭavī*) a little below the village of *Hūr-pōr*.

S'urapura.

This place, the ancient S'URAPURA, is often referred to as the entrance station for those reaching Kāsmīr from Rājapuri and the neighbouring places, or *vice versa* as the point of departure for those travelling in the opposite direction.<sup>39</sup> S'urapura was founded by S'ura, the minister of Avantivarman, in the ninth century, evidently with the intention of establishing a convenient emporium on this important trade route.<sup>39</sup> He transferred to this locality the watch-station (*draṅga*) of the pass. Its site can still be traced at the place known as *Ilāhī Darwāza* ('the gate of God') a short distance above the village.<sup>40</sup> We see the commanders of this frontier-station more than once engaged in military operations against intending invaders from the other side of the mountains.

Ascending the valley of the Rembyār<sup>38</sup> or Ramanyāṭavī for about seven miles we reach the point where the streams coming from the Pir Pantsāl and Rūpri Passes unite. In the angle formed by them rises a steep rocky hillock which bears on its top a small ruined fort known as *Kāmelankōth*. These ruins probably go back only to the time of the Afghān Governor of Kāsmīr, 'Atā Muḥammad Khān, who, about 1812, fortified the Pir Pantsāl route against the Sikh invasion then threatening. But I have proved in the above-quoted paper that they mark the original position occupied by the ancient watch-station on this route before its transfer to S'urapura.<sup>41</sup> Kalhana, iii. 227, calls this site KRAMAVARTA, which name is rendered by a glossator of the seventeenth century as *Kāmelanakōṭṭa* and still survives in the present *Kāmelankōth* (\**Kramavartānām kōṭṭa*).

Hastivāñja.

43. The old 'Imperial Road' constructed by Akbar, then ascends the narrow valley, keeping on its left side high above the Pir Pantsāl stream. At a distance of about four miles above Kāmelankōth and close to the Mughal Sarai of 'Aliābad, we arrive at a point where a high mountain-ridge sloping down from the south falls off towards the valley in a wall of precipitous cliffs. The ridge is known as *Hastvāñj*. This name and the surviving local tradition makes it quite certain that we have here the spot at which a curious legend told by Kalhana was localized from early times.<sup>42</sup>

The Chronicle, i. 302 sqq., relates of king *Mihirakula*, whose identity with the White Hun ruler of that name (c. 515-50) is not doubtful, that when on his return from a tour of conquest through India he reached the 'Gate of Kāsmīr,' he heard the death-cry of an elephant which had fallen over the precipice. The gruesome sound so delighted the cruel king that he had a hundred more elephants rolled down at the same spot. The old glossator on the passage informs us that "since that occurrence the route by which Mihirakula returned is called *Hastvāñja*." The Persian Chroniclers, too, in reproducing the anecdote give *Hastivāñj* as the name of the locality.

<sup>38</sup> See Note D, iii. 227, § 1.

<sup>39</sup> Compare note v. 39.

<sup>40</sup> See *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, p. 385. This paper should be compared for all details regarding the other old sites along this route.

<sup>41</sup> *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 384 sq.

<sup>42</sup> Compare *J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 378 sqq., and note i. 302.





The local tradition of the neighbouring hill-tracts still retains the story of a king's elephants having fallen down here into the gorge below. It also maintains that the old route to the Pass, in the times before the construction of the 'Imperial Road,' crossed the *Hastvañj* ridge and followed throughout the right bank of the Pir Pantsal stream. This is fully borne out by a statement of Abū-l-Fazl.<sup>43</sup> Describing the several routes available on the march from Bhimbhar to Kāśmīr, he clearly distinguishes "the route of Hastivañj (MSS. *Hastivatar*) which was the former route for the march of troops," from the 'Pir Pantsal route' which Akbar used on his visits to Kāśmīr.

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

The story helps in any case to make it quite clear that the ancient route from the Pir Pantsal Pass kept to the right or southern side of the Valley. My inquiries on the spot showed that this route though neglected for many centuries is passable for laden animals and not unfrequently used by smugglers.<sup>44</sup>

44. 'Aliābād Sarai is a Mughal hospice erected for the shelter of travellers about half a mile above *Hastvañj*. It is about the highest point on the ascent to the pass where fuel can be conveniently obtained. I think it hence probable that the *Maṭha* or hospice which Kṣemendra mentions on the Pir Pantsal Pass, must have been situated somewhere in this neighbourhood.

*Pañcāladhūrā-  
maṭha.*

Kṣemendra makes this interesting reference in that curious portion of the *Samayamātkā* already alluded to above, which describes the wanderings of the courtesan Kaikālī.<sup>45</sup> The heroine of his story after effecting some petty thefts in Kāśmīr proceeds to *S'ūrapura*. There she passes herself off as the wife of a load-carrier (*bhārika*) engaged on the 'salt-road.'<sup>46</sup> By this term the Pir Pantsal route is quite correctly designated. It has remained to the present day the chief route by which the produce of the Panjāb salt mines coming *viā* Jehlām and Bhimbhar enters Kāśmīr.<sup>47</sup> She keeps up the disguise which is evidently intended to help

<sup>43</sup> See *Āin-i Akb.*, ii. pp. 347 sq. The form *Hastivatar* in the text is a clerical error for *Hastivañj*, easily explained in Persian characters; see note i. 302.

<sup>44</sup> Dr. BERNIER, who in the summer of 1665 accompanied Aurangzeb's court to Kāśmīr, has left us in his Ninth Letter to M. de Merveilles, an accurate and graphic account of the Pir Pantsal route. While ascending the Pass from the Panjāb side, he passed the spot where two days earlier an accident had happened curiously resembling Mihirakula's story. Fifteen of the elephants carrying ladies of the Imperial seraglio, owing to some confusion in the line of march, fell over the precipice and were lost; see Bernier's *Travels*, ed. Constable, p. 407. The curious map of Kāśmīr given in the Amsterdam edition of 1672, shows accordingly the '*Pir Penjale*' mountain with a troop of elephants

rolling in picturesque confusion over its side.

<sup>45</sup> See *Samayam*, ii. 90 sqq., and above, § 25.

<sup>46</sup> Professional load-carriers or Coolies are found to this day in numbers in Hūr-pōr, Puṣiāna, and other places near the Pir Pantsal Pass. Of Zainu-l-'ābidin it is specially reported that he settled a colony of load-carriers from *Abhisāra* (i.e. the country about Bhimbhar) at the customs-station of *S'ūrapura*; see *S'riv.* i. 408. Coolies are the only means of transport on the Pir Pantsal and other passes when the snow lies to any depth.

<sup>47</sup> Salt is a considerable article of import into Kāśmīr where it is wholly wanting; see LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 393. I remember vividly the long strings of salt-laden bullocks which I used to meet daily when marching into Kāśmīr by the Pir Pantsal route.





her through the clutches of the officials at the frontier guard-station, by taking next morning a good load on her head and starting with it towards the pass (*saṅkata*).

On the way she passes along high mountains by precipitous paths, deeply covered with snow. By nightfall she reaches the PAÑCĀLADHĀRAMATHA, after having, in the meantime, assumed the guise of a respectable housewife, and apparently disposed of her load. It being late in the season, she passes the night there shivering with cold, though wrapped up in thick woollen cloaks. Thence she finds her way open to India where a career of successful adventures awaits her.

The name *Pañcāla*.

45. Ksemendra's itinerary is of particular value, because it supplies us with the only mention of the old name of the pass I can trace. It is certain that with him *Pañcālādhārā* designates the highest portion of the route, i.e. the Pass of Pir Pāntsāl. It is equally obvious that *Pañcāla* is the original of the modern Ks. *Pāntsāl*, which is in fact identical with the earlier form except for the regular change of Skr. *c* into Ks. *ts*. In the Pahāri dialect of the population inhabiting the valleys to the south the name is still pronounced *Pañcāl*.<sup>45</sup>

The term *-dhārā* which is added to *Pañcāla*, represents in all probability the equivalent of our 'pass.' Skr. *-dhārā* means generally the sharp edge of some object. According to Wilson's Dictionary, as quoted by Böhtlingk-Roth, the word also carries the specific meaning of 'edge of a mountain.' It is probable that this meaning was taken by Wilson's Paṇḍits from some earlier Kōśa. In any case it agrees closely with the use of the word *dhār* in the modern Pahāri dialects south of Kāśmīr. There it is well known as the designation of any high mountain-ridge above the region of alpine pasture.

We are tempted to see in *Pañcāla* a distinct local name either of the Pass itself or of the whole mountain chain. But the use of the modern derivative *Pāntsāl* presents difficulties in the way of a certain conclusion. The word *Pāntsāl* is now applied in Kāśmīr chiefly to the great mountain-chain which forms the boundary of the country to the south, i.e. the range to which conventional European usage gives the name of 'Pir Pāntsāl.' Yet the meaning conveyed now to a Kāśmīrī by the term *Pāntsāl*, is scarcely more than that of 'high mountain-range.' The word is used in combination with specific names for the designation of subordinate branches of the great range towards the Panjāb. Thus the range crossed on the way from the Pir Pāntsāl Pass to Rajaurī, is known as '*Ratan Pāntsāl*,' and the one crossed by the Hāji Pir Pass between Ūrī and Prūṅts (Pūnch) as '*Hāji Pāntsāl*.' Sometimes, but not so generally, the term is employed also with reference to mountains wholly unconnected with the 'Pir Pāntsāl' system.

On the whole I am inclined to the belief that *Pañcāla* > *Pāntsāl* had originally the character of a specific local name. It may have been applied either to the whole of the great southern chain of mountains or its central portion about the Pir Pāntsāl Pass. Subsequent usage may then have extended the application of the term just as it has in Europe that of the name 'Alps.' Our materials, however, are not sufficient to enable us to trace the history of the word with absolute certainty.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup> I am not certain of the origin of the pronunciation of the name as *Pir Panjāl*, now accepted in Anglo-Indian usage. It is known neither on the Kāśmīr, nor on the Panjāb side of the range itself. It meets us first in Bernier's *Pire Penjale*. Tieffenthaler, how-

ever, writes more correctly *Pensal*; see *Description de l'Inde*, 1786, pp. 87 sq.

<sup>46</sup> The main facts regarding the modern use of the word *Pāntsāl* have been quite correctly recognized already by Mr. DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 167.





46. In this connection it will be useful briefly to notice also the word *Pir* which forms the first part of the modern designation of the Pass. This word is now used more or less generally for 'Pass' both in Kāśmīr and the hill-tracts south of it. Mr. DREW, who seems to have given more attention to local nomenclature in these hills than other travellers, in his explanation of the term starts from the well-known meaning of *pir* in Persian, an 'old man' and thence 'a saint or Faqīr.'<sup>50</sup>

*Pir* as a term for Pass.

He refers to the common practice of Faqirs establishing themselves on Passes for the sake of refreshing travellers and of receiving their alms. "When any noted holy Faqīr died on a Pass, the place became sacred to his memory, and was often called after him, his title of *Pir* being prefixed; at last it became so common for every important Pass to have a name beginning with *Pir* that the word acquired the secondary meaning of Mountain Pass." Mr. DREW refers to the fact that Dr. Bernier already found an aged hermit established on the Pass who had resided there since the time of Jahāngīr. He was supposed "to work miracles, cause strange thunders, and raise storms of wind, hail, snow, and rain." From this '*Pir*,' Mr. Drew thinks, the Pass acquired the first part of its present name.

I agree with the above explanation as far as the use of the Persian word *Pir* is concerned. But I suspect that the custom of connecting mountain passes with holy personages rests on a far older foundation. Superstitious belief has at all times and in all mountainous regions peopled the solitary summits and high ridges with spirits and other supernatural beings. To this day Kāśmīrian Brahmans fully believe in the presence of *Devatās* and *Bhūtas* of all sorts on high mountain passes. In those parts of the Hīmalāya where Hinduism has survived among all classes, this superstition can, no doubt, be found still more fully developed.<sup>51</sup>

On all Kāśmīr passes, however rarely visited, stone-heaps are found marking the supposed graves of imaginary '*Pirs*,' and every pious Muhammadan on passing adds his stone to them. Yet these little cairns existed there in all probability long before Islām reached the country. Exactly the same custom is observed, e.g., by the Hindu pilgrims to Amaranātha on crossing the Vāṇ'jan Pass above the lake of Sūravonāga, 'to please the Devas' as the *Mahātmya* says.<sup>52</sup> We can show that all famous Zīārats in Kāśmīr, whether of real or imaginary Muhammadan Saints, occupy sites which were sacred in earlier times to one or the other Hindu divinity. We can scarcely go far wrong in concluding by their analogy that the '*Pirs*' of the Muhammadan wayfarers have only taken the places of the older Hindu '*Devas*.'

A striking confirmation of this surmise is afforded by the only passage of the Sanskrit Chronicles which mentions the *Pir Pantsāl* Pass by its proper name. Śrīvara, iii. 433, when relating the return of a Kāśmīr refugee 'by the route of Sūrapura' in the time of Hassan Shāh (cir. A.D. 1472-84), tells us of a fatal chill he caught 'on the top of the *Pañcāladeva*.' It is clear that the name here used corresponds exactly to the modern *Pir Pantsāl*, '*Pir*' being the nearest Muhammadan equivalent

*Pañcāladeva*.

<sup>50</sup> See *Jummoo*, p. 157, note.

<sup>51</sup> Compare, e.g. for such superstitions in Kumaun, Sir W. Hunter's *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, p. 54.

<sup>52</sup> See *Amaranāthamahātmya*, vii. 1 sqq. The stones placed are supposed to represent *mathikās*, 'shelter-huts,' in which the gods can find refuge from the evil wind blowing on the

pass (hence its alleged Skr. name *Vāyu-varjana*). The duty of making these *Mathikās* is enjoined in vii. 19. *Mathikām ye na kurvanti tattraiva Vāyuvārjane | dāruṇam narakam yānti śatakalpam na saṁśayaḥ || kṛtvā tu mathikām devī pūjayed vidhīpūrvakam | arpayed devapṛityartham dakṣiṇābhīḥ samanvītam ||*





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

Pass of Pir Pantsāl.

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

*Pusyānanāḍa.*

The descent is here as on all Passes of the range far steeper on the Panjāb side than towards Kāśmīr. *Pusiāna*, the next stage, which is reached by zigzag paths along the rocky slope of the mountain, lies already more than 3000 feet below the Pass. The little village is an ancient place. It is undoubtedly the *Pusyānanāḍa* of Kalhana who mentions it repeatedly in connection with the civil wars of his own time.<sup>53</sup> *Pusyānanāḍa* served as a refuge for rebel leaders for whom Kāśmīr had become too hot. They could thence conveniently resume their inroads. We see here again clearly that the Kāśmīr frontier ran on the watershed of the range. For of *Pusyānanāḍa*, it is distinctly said that it belonged already to the territory of *Rājapuri*.

From *Pusiāna* the road descends in a westerly direction along the bed of a stream which belongs to the headwaters of the *Taūṣī* (Tohī) of Prūṭṣ. The next stage is the hill-village of *Bahrāmgala*, a considerable place, which is mentioned already by *Srīvara* under the name of *BHAIRAVAGALA*.<sup>54</sup> From *Bahrāmgala* the route turns to the south and crosses, by the Pass known as *Ratan Pir* (8200 feet), the range which has already been referred to as a branch from the *Pir Pantsāl* chain. Here the route enters the region of the middle mountains and descends in an open valley to *Rajauri*, the ancient *Rājapuri*, where we may leave it.

Central part of Pir  
Pantsāl.

48. Beyond the *Pir Pantsāl* Pass the summit-line of the main range rises again considerably. The *Tanqtala* Pass, which is about five miles due north of the *Pir Pantsāl* Pass, and is mentioned by *Abū-l-Faḍl*,<sup>55</sup> is already far higher. The track crossing it is scarcely practicable for laden animals.

The same is the case, as personal experience showed me, with the next two Passes, known by the *Pahārī* names of *Cittapānī* and *Cōṭī Gālī*; they are both over 14,000 feet in height. The first-named one was probably used on occasion of the inroad related by *Srīvara*, iv. 589 sqq. We are told there of a rebel force which coming from *Rajauri* got round the troops of *Sultān Muḥammad Shāh* posted at *Sūrapura* by crossing the mountains in the direction of *Kācagala*. This place, as shown on the map, corresponds undoubtedly to the alpine plateau or 'Marg' of *Kāc'gul* on the northern slope of the *Pir Pantsāl* range.

Mount *Tatakūṭī*.

A short distance to the north-west of the *Cōṭī Gālī* Pass the range culminates in its greatest snowy peak, Mount *Tatakūṭī*, which rises to a height of 15,524 feet. Owing to its bold shape and central position this peak is the most conspicuous in the panorama of the whole range, whether seen from the Kāśmīr Valley or from

<sup>53</sup> Compare note viii. 959. The ending *-nāḍa* is identical with *nāḍa*, Anglo-Indice, 'Nullah,' i.e. 'valley, ravine.'

<sup>54</sup> See *Srīva*, iv. 529, 589.

<sup>55</sup> See *Ain-i Akbari*, ii. p. 348.





the Panjāb plains. To the north it presents a precipitous face of unscaleable rocks. On the south it is surrounded by snowfields which on occasion of an ascent made late in the season I found still of considerable extent. We have already seen that it is this peak which Alberūnī describes under the name of *Kulārjak*.<sup>56</sup> For an observer from the Panjāb plains about Gujrāt, the appearance of the peak, with its glittering dome of snow, is very striking, notwithstanding the great distance (about eighty-seven miles as the crow flies). I have sighted it on clear days even from Lahore Minārs.

From Tatakūṭi the chain continues at a great elevation for a considerable distance, the summit-ridge keeping an average height between 14,000 and 15,000 feet. We find it crossed first by the passes of *Sangsafēd*, *Nūrpūr*, and *Cōrgalī*, all difficult routes leading down into the Valley of Loharīn, the ancient Lohara. It is only at the Tōṣmaīdān Pass that we meet again with an important and ancient line of communication.

49. This Pass being on the most direct route between the Kāśmīr capital and Lohara, was of special importance during the reigns of the later Kāśmīrian kings whose original home and safest stronghold was in Lohara. We find accordingly the route leading over the Tōṣmaīdān Pass often referred to in the last two Books of Kalhana's *Chronicles*. But apart from this historical connection, the Tōṣmaīdān route must have always been prominent among the old lines of communication from Kāśmīr, owing to its natural advantages. It was the shortest route into the valley of Pūnch (Parnotsa) and hence to that portion of the Western Panjāb which lies between the Jehlam and Indus. It was, besides, under the old conditions of road and travel, probably the easiest and safest route in that direction.<sup>57</sup>

Tōṣmaīdān Pass.

This old route started from the present village of *Drang*, situated at the foot of the mountains in the Bīru Pargana, circ. 33° 57' lat. 74° 36' long. The name of the village is, of course, nothing but the old term of *draṅga*, 'watch-station.' In old times the place was distinguished as *Kārkotadrāṅga*.<sup>58</sup> It may have received the distinctive first part of its name, *Kārkota*, from the mountain-ridge now known as *Kākodar*, which is passed higher up on the route. Kś. *Kākodar* could well be derived from an earlier Skr. form like \**Kārkotadhara*. The *Tirthasaṁgraha* also mentions a *Kārkotanāga* somewhere in this direction.

*Kārkotadrāṅga*.

From *Drang*, where a customs-station exists to the present day, the road ascends over an easy forest-clad slope to the edge of the Tōṣmaīdān. This is, as the name indicates, a large upland plateau of undulating grazing grounds, rising very gradually from a level of about 10,000 feet. At the point where the road strikes the northern edge of the plateau there are several ruined towers. They seem to have been last repaired on occasion of the Sikh invasion of 1814, to be referred to below, but are probably far older. The spot is known to this day as *Barbal*, which in Kś. means 'the place of the Gate' (Kś. *bar* < Skr. *dvāra*). In view of this designation and the commanding position of the place we can safely locate here the proper *Dvāra* or 'Gate' of this route.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Compare above, § 14.

<sup>57</sup> The historical references to this route will be found collected in Note E (iv. 177), §§ 5-14.

<sup>58</sup> Compare notes vii. 140; viii. 1596.

<sup>59</sup> The term *Dvāra* is actually used by

Kalhana, vii. 140, 1301, for a fortified post on this route. The village *Drang* is a suitable enough position for a customs and police-station; the natural point for military defence, however, is higher up at 'Barbal.'





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

On its west side two routes are available. One descends in the Gāgrī Valley past the village of *Chāmbār*, mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* by the name of *S'ARAMBARA*.<sup>60</sup> The other leads over a cross-spur in a south-westerly direction straight down into the valley now known as *Loharīn*.

*Lohara.*

The position of the ancient castle of *LOHARA*, which I was able to trace in the centre of this great and fertile valley, has been fully discussed above in Note *E*.<sup>61</sup> About eight miles further down the valley and at the point where its waters meet the stream coming from *Gāgrī*, lies the large village of *Maṇḍī*. It marks the site of the old 'Market of *ATṬALIKĀ*', repeatedly mentioned by *Kaḥṇa*.<sup>62</sup> From *Maṇḍī* onwards the route passes into the open valley of the *Tohī* (*Tauṣī*) of *Prūṇṭs* which offers an easy line of communication down to the plains.

Importance of  
Tōṣmaidaṇ Route.

The historical importance of the Tōṣmaidaṇ route is best illustrated by the fact that it was chosen on two occasions for serious attempts at invading Kaśmīr. We have already referred to *Mahmūd* of *Ghazna's* expedition, probably of A.D. 1021, which *Albērūnī* accompanied and to which we owe the valuable information already detailed.<sup>63</sup> This attempt at invasion, perhaps the most serious of which we know during Hindu times, was brought to a standstill by the valorous defence of the castle of *Lohara* and a timely fall of snow. Nor was *Mahārāja Ranjit Singh* more successful when in 1814 he first attempted to invade Kaśmīr by this route.<sup>64</sup> The portion of the Sikh army led by him in person, safely reached the Tōṣmaidaṇ plateau where the Afghan defenders were posted near the towers above mentioned. Difficulties of supplies, however, and the news of a defeat of the column marching by the *Pir Pantaṣāl* route forced on a retreat which in the mountain defiles about *Loharīn* ended in a complete rout.

It may yet be mentioned that the route over the Tōṣmaidaṇ was already in all probability followed by *Hsuen Tsiang* on his way to *Paruṇṭsa* or *Prūṇṭs*.<sup>65</sup> It remained a favourite trade route until the recent *Jehlam Valley* cart-road was constructed. Owing to the elevation of the Pass, however, this route is always closed by snow longer than, e.g., that of the *Pir Pantaṣāl*. During the winter, therefore, the road from *Lohara* to Kaśmīr lay by the lower passes in the west leading into the *Vitastā Valley* below *Bārāmūla*.<sup>66</sup>

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

<sup>60</sup> See note viii. 1875-77.

<sup>61</sup> See Note *E*, iv. 177.

<sup>62</sup> See note viii. 581.

<sup>63</sup> See above, § 14.

<sup>64</sup> For a more detailed account of this expedition, see Note *E*, iv. 177, § 14.

<sup>65</sup> Compare above, § 9.

<sup>66</sup> See Note *E* (iv. 177), §§ 7, 8, for *Kaḥṇa's* references to the occasions when this more circuitous route was used.





## SECTION III.—THE VITASTĀ VALLEY.

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

Valley of the  
Vitasta.

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

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

Owing to this extremely confined nature of the Valley communication on the route leading along it must have always been troublesome and risky in old times. The natural difficulties of this long defile were, no doubt, considerably increased by the restless disposition of the Khaśa tribe, which has held it since ancient times. The Sikhs, who were the last to fight their way through these passes, suffered here more than one disaster at the hands of the hillmen. The line of forts erected by them along the valley, attests to this day the trouble they experienced in holding the passage.<sup>1</sup> The military difficulties of a march through such a succession of dangerous defiles must have been even greater in old times which knew no firearms. The protection of the route against an active enemy who could easily seize and hold all commanding positions, was then, no doubt, a still more difficult task.

51. It is probably on account of the circumstances here briefly indicated, that we hear in the *Chronicles* comparatively little of the route following the Vitastā. Being the shortest line of communication to the present Hazāra district and the Indus, it was certainly used from early times.

Vitastā Valley  
Route.

We have seen that Hiuen Tsiang and Ou-k'ong coming from the ancient Gandhāra and Uraśā, followed it on their way to Kaśmīr, and that it was well known to Albēruni. But it seems probable that its importance, military and commercial, was then far smaller than that of the Pir Pāntsal and Tōṣmaīdān routes. It is only in modern times that this western route has attained real prominence. This originated in the time of the Afghān rule over Kaśmīr, when the route along the Vitastā to Muzaffarābād and hence through Hazāra, afforded the shortest and least

<sup>1</sup> Moorcroft's account of his attempt to use the Muzaffarābād route in 1823, gives a graphic picture of the obstacles created by

the rapacious hill-tribes; see *Travels*, ii. pp. 281 sqq. Compare also LAWRENCE, *Valley*, p. 200.





exposed line of communication between Kāsmīr and Peshawar.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently after the annexation of the Panjāb, the establishment of the hill-station of Murree naturally drew traffic in this direction. The construction of the Tonga Road from Murree to Bārāmūla in our own time, finally assured to this route its present supremacy.

There is at present a road on each side of the valley leading down to Muzaffarābād. But only the road along the right bank of the river can claim any antiquity. The one on the opposite bank which is now represented by the new carriage road, has come into general use only within the last few decades since traffic towards Murree and Rawalpindi sprung up. The track chosen for the old road is easily accounted for by topographical facts.

Connection with  
Uraśā.

We have already noticed that the Vitastā Valley route was of importance chiefly as leading to Hazāra (Uraśā), and hence to the old Gandhāra. A glance at the map will show that the open central portion of Hazāra is most easily gained by crossing the Kīśāngā just above Muzaffarābād, and then passing the comparatively low ridge which separates this river from the Kunhār stream. The route here indicated finds its natural continuation towards Kāsmīr on the right bank of the Vitastā, the crossing of the latter being wholly avoided. It has already been shown above that this route, now marked by Abbottabad, Garhi Habibulla, Muzaffarābād and Bārāmūla as the chief stages, is directly indicated in Albērūnī's itinerary.<sup>3</sup>

Gate of Varāha-  
mūla.

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

Drang at Varāha-  
mūla.

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

Though the structure I had seen, was scarcely older than the time of Sikh rule, there can be little doubt that it marked the site of the ancient 'Gate' of Varāhamūla. This is clearly indicated by the situation of the spot which is by far the most convenient in the neighbourhood for the purpose of a watch-station. Moorcroft does not mention the name *Drang*, but describes the gateway accurately enough.

Here then, we may assume, stood in ancient times "the stone gate, the western entrance of the kingdom," through which Hiuen Tsiang had passed before

<sup>2</sup> Baron Hügel quite correctly notes a Kāsmīr tradition that the Bārāmūla route was properly opened up only about eighty

years before his own visit (1835), on the arrival of the Pathāns; see KASCHMIR, ii. p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> See above, § 14.





he reached Huskapura (*Hu-se-kia-lo*), his first night's quarter in the Valley.<sup>4</sup> On-k'ong, too, and Albērūnī, as we have seen, knew well this watch-station, which is also mentioned by Kalhaṇa under the general designation of *Dvāra*.<sup>5</sup>

The road keeps close by the bank of the river as it winds in rapid fall through the rock-bound gorge. About two and a half miles below 'Drang' the hillsides recede slightly, leaving room for a small village called *Nārān Thal*. Near it stands a little temple, with a spring close by which is visited by pilgrims and is probably identical with the *Nārāyanasthāna* of the *Nilamata*.<sup>6</sup>

About a mile below this point, and close to the little village of Khād'niyār,<sup>7</sup> the river is forced to a sharp bend by a steep and narrow spur projecting into the valley from the north-west. A ledge of rocks running below the river-bed forms the first serious rapids of the Vitastā, below which boats cannot pass (see map). The road crosses the spur by a narrow and deep cut known as *Dyār'gul*. Kalhaṇa's Chronicle knows this curious cutting by the appropriate name of YAKṢADARA, 'the demon's eleft.' According to the tradition there recorded, the operations by which Suyya, Avantivarman's engineer, lowered the level of the Vitastā, extended to this point of the river-bed.<sup>8</sup>

Yakṣadara.

53. Two miles below Dyār'gul we pass near the village of Zehenpōr some ancient sites vaguely described by Vigne and Von Hügel. Still further down near the village of Gīngal the map marks the ruins of a temple which I have not been able to visit. But no localities on this route are known to us from our old sources until after about three and a half daily marches we reach the side valley marked on the map as 'Peliāsa.' This valley and the large village at its entrance are known indeed to the Pahārī population by the name of *Peliāsa*. But the Kāśmīris settled at several places along the Vitastā Valley call them *Buliāsa*. This form of the name which I ascertained by local inquiries, has enabled me to identify this locality with the BOLIYĀSAKA of the *Rājatarāṅgīnī*.

Old frontier in  
Vitastā Valley.

Kalhaṇa in his account of Śaṃkaravarman's ill-fated expedition towards the Indus (A.D. 902), mentions Bolyāsaka as the place where the Kāśmīr army retreating from Uraśā reached the border of their own territory.<sup>9</sup> The reference is of special interest as it shows that Kāśmīr authority extended in Hindu times down to this point of the Valley. We can easily reconcile this fact with the existence of the 'Dvāra' at Varāhamūla.

The gorge at the latter place offered a convenient position for establishing a watch-station which was to secure control over the traffic and the collection of customs. But in regard to military defence a frontier line in the immediate vicinity of the Kāśmīr Valley would have been very unsafe. I believe, therefore, that the Vitastā Valley below Varāhamūla was held as an outlying frontier-tract as far as the present Buliāsa. It is exactly a few miles below this place that ascending the valley the first serious difficulties are encountered on the road. An advanced frontier-post could scarcely have occupied a strategically more advantageous position.

The conclusion here indicated is fully supported by what Kalhaṇa's narrative tells us of a locality almost exactly opposite to Buliāsa. Kalhaṇa mentions in two places a place called VĪRĀNAKA in connection with events which make it clear that

Virānaka.

<sup>4</sup> See *Vie de Hiouen-thsang*, p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> See note viii. 413.

<sup>6</sup> See *Nilamata*, 1179, 1315, 1349. The name occurs also repeatedly in the several Varāhakṣetramāhatmyas.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the *Khādunāvihāra* of iii. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Compare note v. 87.

<sup>9</sup> See note v. 225.





it lay in the Vitastā Valley and just on the border of Kāśmīr territory.<sup>10</sup> I have been able to trace the position of Virānaka at the modern hill-village of *Viran*, near the left bank of the Vitastā and only a short distance above Buliāsa.

Frontier-tract of  
*Dvāravati*.

The valley below the old frontier thus marked is now known as *Dvārvidi*. Its ancient name is supplied to us by an old gloss of the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* which speaks of Bolyāsaka as situated in DVĀRAYATĪ. Local inquiries have shown me that even to the present day popular tradition indicates a ridge a short distance above Buliāsa as the eastern limit of Dvārvidi.<sup>11</sup> In the account of S'amkara-varman's above-mentioned expedition six marches are counted from the capital of Uraśā to Bolyāsaka. This agrees exactly with the present reckoning which also counts six marches from the vicinity of Buliāsa to Abbottabad.<sup>12</sup> Near this place, the modern headquarters of the Hazāra District, the old capital of Uraśā was in all probability situated.

Left bank of  
Vitastā.

54. It remains to notice briefly what we know of ancient localities on the left side of the Valley. As already explained, there was no great line of communication on this side corresponding to the present Murree-Bāramūla Road. Yet for two marches down the Valley, as far as Ūri, the route of the left bank is likely to have been much frequented. From Ūri a convenient route leads over the easy Hāji Pīr Pass to Prūnts or Parnotsa. This pass, owing to its small elevation, only 8500 feet, is never completely closed by snow. It is hence much used by the inhabitants of all the higher valleys draining into the Prūnts Tohī, during the winter months when the more direct routes to Kāśmīr via the Pīr Pāntsāl, Tōśmaidān, or other high passes are rendered impassable.

Marching down the valley from Uškūr: Huṣkapura, we first cross the spur which bounds the gorge of Varāhamūla from the south. We then reach a fertile little plain, about two miles broad, charmingly situated in an amphitheatre of high pine-clad mountains and facing the Dyār'gūl ridge. It is known as *Nār'vāo* and contains, at the villages of S'ir and Fattegarh, considerable remains of ancient temples. On a small plateau which forms the western boundary of this plain by the riverbank, lies the village of *Kityāshōm*. It marks the site of the ancient Buddhist convent of KRTYĀŚRAMA, the foundation of which a curious legend related by Kalhana attributes to the son of Aśoka.<sup>13</sup>

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

From near the latter place the Vitastā Valley is held on the left bank chiefly by the Khakha tribe, on the right by the closely related Bombas. In the former we recognize the ancient *Khaśas* whose settlements, lower down the valley at Virānaka, are distinctly mentioned by Kalhana.<sup>14</sup> The predatory habits and restless ways of the Khaśas form a frequent theme in the *Chronicle*. The modern Khakhas and Bombas have up to the middle of the present century done their best to maintain this ancient reputation, just as their seats have remained the old ones.

<sup>10</sup> See v. 214 and viii. 409. In the first passage we hear of an attack made on Virānaka by the chief commander of the frontier posts (*dvāreśa*). In the second Virānaka is referred to as a settlement of Khaśas which offered the first safe refuge to Sussala when driven from Varāhamūla, A.D. 1111.

<sup>11</sup> See v. 225, and note v. 214.

<sup>12</sup> Compare note v. 217; CUNNINGHAM, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 104, and DREW, *Jummoo*, p. 528.

<sup>13</sup> See note i. 147; also *Notes on Ou-K'ong*, pp. 13 sqq. Krtiyāśrama is mentioned already by Ksemendra, *Samayam*, ii. 61.

<sup>14</sup> viii. 409.





## SECTION IV.—THE NORTHERN AND EASTERN MOUNTAIN-RANGES.

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

Range towards  
Kisangaṅgā.

We are least informed about that portion of the range which joins on to the Kājnāg Peak north-west of Bāramūla and then continues in the direction of south to north towards the upper Kisangaṅgā. The watershed of this portion forms the western boundary of Kāśmīr towards Kārnāv, the ancient KARNĀHA.<sup>1</sup> This territory which may be roughly described as lying between the Kisangaṅgā and the Kājnāg Range, seems at times to have been tributary to Kāśmīr. We hear of it only in the concluding portion of Kalhana's Chronicle. There, too, no details are given to us regarding the routes leading to it. These routes, as the map shows, start from the ancient districts of *S'amālā* (Hamal) and *Uttara* (Uttar).

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

Kalhana has occasion to refer to these in connection with the expedition which was directed in his own time against the *S'irāṅsilā* castle. This stood on the Kisangaṅgā close to the ancient Tirtha of the goddess S'aradā still extant at the present S'ardi.<sup>2</sup> One of these routes, still followed at the present day by the pilgrims to the shrine, leads past the village of *Drang*, situated at 74° 18' 45" long. 43° 33' 30" lat. It is certain that the place took its name from an ancient watch-station here located and is identical with the *DRĀṅGA* mentioned by Kalhana in connection with the above expedition.<sup>3</sup>

Route to S'ardi.

Besides the route marked by this old frontier-station there are others leading in the same direction. One is to the west over the Sitalvan Pass. The other lies in the east and passing through the valley of Krōras descends directly upon S'ardi along the Madhumatī stream. The portion of the Kisangaṅgā Valley into which these routes lead, can never have been of much importance itself, though there are indications of gold-washing having been carried on in it.<sup>4</sup> But from S'ardi starts a route leading very directly by the Kankatōri (Sarasvatī) River and over a high pass into Cilās on the Indus.<sup>5</sup> This line of communication may already in old times have brought some traffic to S'ardi.

Owing to the inroads made by the Cilāsīs and the restless Bomba chiefs of the Kisangaṅgā Valley, the Pāthān governors found it necessary to settle Afridis at

<sup>1</sup> Compare note viii. 2485.

<sup>2</sup> Compare regarding the *S'aradātirtha* and the castle of *S'irāṅsilā*, Notes i. 36 (B), and viii. 2492 (L), respectively.

<sup>3</sup> See note viii. 2507.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Note B (i. 36), §§ 2, 16. To this

circumstance the village of *Drang* owes probably the distinguishing designation of *Sun-Drang*, 'the Gold-Drang,' by which it is popularly known.

<sup>5</sup> See BATES, *Gazetteer*, p. 490.





Drang and in the neighbouring villages to guard the passes. The presence of these Pathan colonies shows that the conditions which necessitated the maintenance of the old watch-station at Drāṅga, had altered little in the course of centuries.

Upper Kisangāṅgā  
Valley.

56. Above S'ardi the course of the Kisangāṅgā lies for a long distance through an almost inaccessible and uninhabited gorge. Hence for over thirty miles eastwards we find no proper route across the mountain-range. Kalhana gives us a vivid and interesting account of the difficulties offered by a winter-march along the latter, where he describes the escape of the pretender Bhoja from the S'irahsīlā castle to the Darads on the upper Kisangāṅgā.<sup>6</sup>

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

Pass of  
*Dugdhaḡhātā*.

Kalhana refers in several passages to the hill-fort of DUGDHAḡHĀTĀ, which guarded the mountain-route leading into Kāśmīr territory from inroads of the Darads. The latter can easily be shown to have held then as now the Kisangāṅgā Valley about Gurēz and the neighbouring territories to the north. From Kalhana's description it is evident that this frontier-fort which was first occupied by a Kāśmīr baron, but subsequently fell into the Darads' hands, stood on, or close to, the summit of a pass. With the help of the indications of the Chronicle, I was able to identify the site of this fort on the top of the *Dud'khut* Pass.<sup>7</sup>

The Pass is approached on the Kāśmīr side from the valley of the Baṇḍāpōr stream, still known to the Brahmans by its old name *Madhumatī*. At the small village of Atavuth (map 'Atawat') a side valley is entered which is narrow and somewhat difficult below, but higher up widens. Its highest portion which forms the immediate approach to the Pass, is an open alpine valley ascending very gradually with a grassy slope. This is known to the mountain shepherds as *Vijje Marg*.

*Marg* < *Maṭhikā*.

The term *Marg* which denotes any high alpine grazing ground frequented in the summer by herdsmen, is the modern Kāśmīr equivalent and direct derivative of Skr. *maṭhikā*. It designated originally the small huts of stone or wood, usually erected on such high plateaus or valleys for the shelter of the herdsmen.<sup>8</sup> It is probable that *Vijje Marg* represents the PRĀJIMATHIKĀ which Kalhana mentions as the position of the Kāśmīr forces during their unsuccessful siege of the fort.

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

From the Dud'khut Pass, an easy track over the ridge marked 'Kiser' on the

<sup>6</sup> See viii. 2710 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> For detailed evidence regarding this location and a description of the site, see note vii. 1171.

<sup>8</sup> Skr. *maṭhikā* is the diminutive of *maṭha*,

'hut, Sarai.' The Ks. derivative of the latter term, *mar*, is still used regularly for the rude shelter-huts which are found on the higher passes, particularly towards the north.