Throughout its history Kashmir has experienced an art life very much its own.1 There was a time early in the first millennium when it came into contact with the wide spread eastern conquests of the Sassanid empire with its neoPersian culture, to be followed not long afterwards by a period in which its own territories extended far beyond their natural geographical limits. Of all the arts practiced by the people of the valley in the pre-Islamic period, the greater part of which corresponds to what is ordinarily termed as the early medieval period, the building art and architecture was one in which they were notably proficient, as the remains of their large monuments in stone are a standing proof. The architectural remains can be divided in three phases of which only the first two fall under the purview of the present study. The first was an early or primitive form which developed about CE 200, the records of which are merely foundational remains. The second one is an epoch of building on such a grand scale that it may be defined as the classical period of their building art, and lasted from about 700 CE to the beginning of the fourteenth century, after which date the country came under the influence of Islam. This long period is itself resolved into two phases, during the earlier of which the buildings were mainly of Buddhist attribution, while later they were entirely Brahmanical. Along with the architecture the sculptural art also occupy a special place in the history of Kashmir and is known for its distinct features and style that it gave to its neighbouring area of the present day Himachal Pradesh and also to the western region in the present day Pakistan. One can easily notice a free exchange of ideas in sculpture between Gandhāra and Kashmir in the masterpieces that have survived in the valley. The metal images from the land are well known and have attracted the attention of art-historians and the scholars in the allied disciplines from time to time and have always been praised for their fine workmanship and iconographic features. On one hand we find copious references to metal images made of copper, silver and gold in the *Rājatara gi ī* of Kalha a and other literary works of the land and on the other numerous images in bronze and other metals have been found till today despite of large scale destruction due to several reasons besides natural wear and tear. The stone sculpture too was equally well developed and prevalent as examples from the ruins of old temples and even independent pieces are available in large number. In the softer medium in plastic art, the terracotta art of the region also made a mark in history as the carved tiles from Harwan and terracotta figurines from Akhnoor occupy a distinguished place by themselves in the annals of Kashmir art. Painting too was well developed though not many early examples have survived to this day. However, the tradition of Kashmiri painting can be glimpsed in the illustrated manuscripts from the valley and other painted miniatures so beautifully done though belonging to somewhat later period outside the scope of this study.2

## PAINTING & TERRACOTTA

The story of art in Kashmir opens with a pre-historic rock drawing discovered at the Neolithic site of Burzahom depicting a hunting scene. A subsequent stage of development is represented by master-pieces of art in the shape of Harwan tiles and UKkar (UKkar) stucco figures. The *Nīlamatapurā a* makes clear reference to the existence of painting in ancient Kashmir3. It refers to paintings made on cloth, the wall and the floor in connection with the festival to celebrate the Buddha’s birthday4. The *ViC udharmottarapurā a*, which is generally accepted to be a product of Kashmir and is assigned to c. 6th century CE, provides details of the prevalence of the art of painting. It contains a full section devoted to painting called *Citrasūtra* wherein various aspects of painting have been discussed5. The very existence of such a work shows that the art of painting was well established in Kashmir in ancient times. Kalha a gives just one passing reference to painting on cloth with gold when he describes the sacking of the royal palace during the rule of HarKa and the flight of Bhoja6. Here he tells how the low-caste people burnt the precious cloth painted with gold in order to obtain gold from the ashes. Though specific references in the *Rājatara gi ī* to this art, except the one mentioned above, are wanting, perhaps because Kalha a had no occasion to refer to them, but ample testimony from other sources clearly establishes its prevalence. In the *KuDDanīmata*, Damodaragupta says that the art of painting was practiced by courtezens7. Somadeva, the author of the *Kathāsaritasāgara*, also refers to portrait painters during the period of our study8.

Although there is no direct example of Kashmir painting of this period survived, the characteristic features of the Kashmir style can be clearly seen in the Gilgit manuscript paintings assigned to the 6th-7th century. The murals of the Buddhist monasteries of Alchi in Ladākh, Mang Nang in Western Tibet and Spiti in Himachal Pradesh present a successive stage of the development of the tradition of painting in Kashmir. These mural paintings appear to be a pictorial translation of the exquisite Kashmir bronzes dated to 9th to 11th century. Kalha a himself has said that people of Kashmir loved art. King HarKa had special liking for art and art people9. It seems that we don’t have any sample of this period’s painting style because the early artists used a make their paintings on cloth. We have, for instance, a remarkable set of twenty four large paintings on cotton, preserved in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which though painted in the middle of the 16th century, yet shows the material that the early painters had at their disposal. The colures were all vegetable and mineral, which lasted longer and also produced a better effect. Kashmir is appear to have been adepts at painting designs on dress material also, which looked so real that when king HarKa’s palace was looted after his defeat at the hands of rebel forces, "some low-caste people eager to get gold, burned clothes which were painted with gold, and then anxiously searched the ashes”10.

Kalha a makes no reference to the terracotta art in his celebrated work probably because it did not fit in his scheme of narrative. However, the archaeological evidence through the finds of some exquisite specimens of terracotta tiles and figurines indicate their prevalence from an early period. Though very little has survived of this Kashmir art, we have from the excavated ruins at Harwan, beautifully carved terracotta tiles belonging to the 4th century CE. Harwan brick tiles are unique in their pattern and style because that they do not deal with religious, but with secular themes. We find life and nature as the artist found around him. The pictures, apparently taken from realities of daily life and they represent the entire flora and fauna of the reality. The motifs consist of leaves of aquatic plants which grow in abundance in the lakes of Kashmir, leaves of lotus flower and other flowers of the locality in full-bloom forms, geese flying or running in rows holding stalks of half bloomed lotuses in their bills, cock fighting, rams fighting, cow suckling the calves, elephants, deer looking at the moon with head turned back-wards, archers on horseback chasing deer and shooting arrows at them etc. There are figures of men wearing Central Asian costumes and curiously enough the relief figures of Parthian horse men and women side by side with early Gupta motifs. The mouldings on Harwan terracotta tiles cannot, however, be the work of folk-artists. The art seems to have attained a high degree of sophistication and the moulded tiles depict life of the upper class, in as much as we find figures of hunting horsemen, men and women sitting on a balcony and enjoying perhaps the beautiful landscape and listening to music from female musicians and recitals of dancers. The physiognomy of the persons depicted on these tiles leaves no doubt of their Central Asian origin - their prominent cheek bones, small· eyes, receding forehead and heavy features, all point to the same conclusion. From some letters in the KharoKNhī script which went into disuse before the 4th century CE, and also from a small passage on Buddhist creed written in the Brāhmī characters, it seems the tiles belong to the 3rd-4th century CE.

Whereas the Harwan tiles are flat, hardly rising out of the background, and are made from a mould and therefore repetitive, the terracotta heads and relieves found at UKkur are each a single masterpiece produced from moulds carved by hand. These "later GaRdhāra" terracotta have been variously put from the 4th to the 8th centuries CE. The figurines depict true Hellenistic influence. Hellenistic art was the dominant cultural force for about a thousand years from circa 3rd century BCE to 700 CE in what is now called

Afghanistan, and its final echoes lasted in Kashmir until the 10th century CE.

Relics similar to UKkur have recently been unearthed at Akhnoor. Situated on the right bank of the Chenab, where the river· first enters the plains of the Punjab. Akhnur lay in ancient times on the route between Jammu and Srinagar via the Budil Pass, as well as on the road to Rajauri (ancient Rājapurī). It was thus an important centre of trade and commerce and the headquarters of a flourishing timber industry. Both in treatment and the material used in the lovely terracotta beads with their somber lines and the serene and peaceful poses, we notice a close affinity to the "Later GaRdhāra School" on the one hand and to the Gupta art on the other. The fragments collected both at UKkur and Akhnur consist of pieces of bodies, covered with drapery or partly covered, or even nude; broken bodies of princes, princesses, attendants, holy men, Buddhist mendicants in their draped robes; elaborate decorations that once might have been personal ornaments, such as crowns, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, ear-rings and the like; architectural fragments of a highly ornamental style, including pillar capitals with vine ornaments, volutes, etc. Stylistically they seem to inherit two different aesthetics: the mongrel Indo-Roman school of GaRdhāra as testified by the treatment of the hair, head-dresses and jewellery, as well as the diminutive sizes, while a prominent nose (and the heavy fleshy cheeks with almond-eyes seem to indicate the influence of the KuKā a and Gupta art of Mathura.

It is not difficult to trace the origin of the terracotta figurine art. With the decline of the GaRdhāra School, when there was a shift of artistic activity to areas where schist was not available, a school of sculpture took to working in stucco. Here, gradually, they developed a sensitive or romantic style, but later they found that burnt clay (terracotta) lasted longer and was not destroyed like stucco by rain and sun. Patronage of these artists fell low in Taxila and adjoining areas when Buddhism was dying out, and they crossed the Pir Panjal range into Kashmir where, from towards the end of the 5th century CE, the building trade was very brisk and flourishing. Kashmir became under the KārkoNa dynasty the leading power in north-western India. The empire of

Lalitāditya reached from Mysore to Mongolia, from Bengal and Orissa to Afghanistan. At the end of the eighth century JayāpīLa perished as a result of a fruitless effort to keep at least northern India. Later, under the Utpala dynasty (855-939 CE), Kashmir had a period of peace and consolidation, but thereafter, weakened by internal strife; it became an unimportant kingdom in the Himalayan region of India. The terracotta art during the KārkoNa rule was thus affected by two waves of art-from Central Asia and from Mathura. This art seems to have continued in the centuries following the period under discussion without royal patronage and dwindled gradually.

## SCULPTURE

The practice of the sculptural art in Kashmir is attributed to divine iconographic tenets as laid down in various texts and practiced through the ages. The large number of exquisite images in stone, metal and other media of plastic art, discovered from various parts of Kashmir, testify the strict adherence to the laid down principles of iconography while expressing the artist’s independent thinking innovations within the permissible sphere thus giving rise to a unique style of its own. Its attribution to the divine inspiration has been beautifully expressed in the *ViC udharmottarapurā a*, when it says “Oh, virtuous, tell me how to make the image of a deity, in order that this making may ever conform to the canonical prescriptions.”11

The earliest glimpses of the sculptural art of Kashmir may be had from the pre-historic period but it seems to have been inspired by the magicodynamism and naturalism. As such it stands out in contrast from the sculpture of the later periods. During the historic period we start getting the examples of sculptural art from the beginning of the Common Era as is indicated by two stone images of Vāsudeva and Balarāma from the region of Chilas in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir12. The inscribed image with KharoKNhī inscription clearly has a Scythian style of the KuKā a period. The geo-political situation of Kashmir had effect on its sculptural art as well as can easily be discerned from the extant pieces of various periods. The Central Asia, Afghanistan, Persia and GaRdhāra in the north and west, China and Tibet in the north-east besides the main land traditions that travelled continuously from northern plains of India mingled into harmonious synthesis to give a new form. As such a fine blend of the GaRdhāra and Mathura schools can be found in the sculptural art of Kashmir. It has been rightly observed that the master sculptors of Kashmir created various types of images in response to the religious needs of the people within the framework of Indian tradition. Yet their study requires an intensive research in view of the intermingling of different art motifs and fusion of various religious doctrines in the valley from Central Asia and other directions13. The sculpture of Kashmir followed its own independent style by combining the local ethos with borrowings from more established traditions outside the valley. Its iconography developed accordingly and as a result, by the end of the 5th century CE, a great variety of forms of the brahamanical deities had emerged. From 7th-8th century CE onwards the school of Kashmir art acquired distinct features, even as it was absorbing GaRdhāran and Gupta influences reaching its pinnacle of glory in the times of Lalitāditya. The movement sustained till the 10th-11th century CE when its fame spread throughout the Himalayan region and its style was borrowed not only in the adjoining but also in far off lands of Nepal and Tibet. Kashmir has still preserved some good specimens of sculpture and it is not difficult to reconstruct a succinct history of the development of plastic art.

As the *stūpa* of CaRku a (Lalitāditya's minister of Chinese descent) at Parihāsapura shows, there are T'ang Chinese models found in the Bodhisatva statues there. But then the king's Indian expeditions resulted in a considerable influx of sculptors trained in the late Gupta tradition. There must have been a surplus of sculptors in Central India at that time because in those years Indian prosperity was dwindling. Whether they came voluntarily or were forced to come by Lalitāditya, we cannot ascertain. But in any case we find at Mārta La reliefs in the best late Gupta style around the plinth of the great central shrine, and likewise on those of the subsidiary temples flanking it on both sides. "They are very elegant, mannered, somewhat sensuous, fashionable, often even sophisticated. Their costume, on the other hand, generally goes back to GaRdhāra and Sassanian fashions, which then must still have prevailed in Kashmir.

But most of the sculptures found on the walls, on the entrance to the temple and on staircases, depicting the Sun-god, goddesses, or king Lalitāditya with his queens and priest, are the work of local artists, trained no doubt by the late Gupta masters. Their modeling is no doubt less sensitive, and more static, but instead they have a vitality and strength which for the next two hundred years was the hall-mark of Kashmir sculpture. Also iconographically they are interesting; for they have preserved quite a number of types which otherwise are rare in India but which are well known to us from Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia and Campa as imports from India-e.g., many 'Tantric' types, or ViK u riding on GaruLa, etc.

Sculptural art of Kashmir with distinct characteristics by a real synthesis of the influences from GaRdhāra and Gupta schools plus the elegance in details and symmetrical proportions in body and look stamped by the Kashmir artists- reached its apogee under the rule of the Utpala dynasty. The four-headed ViK u (ViK u-Vaiku Nha), heavily ornamented and clad in dhoti with a dagger attached to the jeweled girdle at his waist is the most popular figure of the period. The powerful frame of the body exhibits vigor and discipline and the emotional expression of the face is in sharp contrast to the passionless, calm features of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas of the earlier sculptures found at Pandrenthan and Parihāsapura. Other sculptures too, for example, Kāmadeva seated between his consorts, Ratī and Prīti, KPK a amid his Gopīs, GaRgā , Yamunā, Trimurti, Ardhanārīśvara, Ga eśa and LakKmī, icons so much varied, reveal the same innate emotion, depth of feeling and above all vigor.

After the Utpalas the history of plastic art in Kashmir is written in decay. With the continued internecine warfare in the valley, and the fall in the material and moral standards of the kings and the court (the patrons of art and letters), sculpture and iconography touched a low level. We have, however, echoes of the Kashmir art in the sculptures in the later temples of Babor and Kirmchi in Jammu. In the Valley building in stone was abandoned in favor of the cheaper material-timber. Wooden temples were built at that time in great numbers, whose blockhouse construction seems to survive in the peculiar type of Kashmir mosques. Examples of their richly carved decoration survive only outside Kashmir Valley, at Marol in Lahaul, and in some early Buddhist monasteries in Ladakh, Spiti and Guge. They reveal the same facade design, but elaborated into fragile filigree thronged with delicate figures in chapel niches or on lotus flowers.

Kalha a makes copious reference to the consecration of images of various gods and goddesses made of copper, silver, gold and stone by kings, members of their family, nobles and individuals. Referring to a story of the bygone days he talks of an image of Śatakapāleśa and the ‘circle of the Mothers’14. The latter was perhaps a prototype of the *ChaunsaDhayoginīs* or the *SaptamātAkās* of the later period. Our author again refers to the erection of statues of gods and ŚivaliRgas at Thedā and Bhīmādevī, located on the banks of Dal Lake by the king SaHdhimat Āryarāja15. During the rule of Pravarasena II, who was a devout worshipper of Śiva, we are told that the king wanted to erect a LiRga called Pravareśvara at the village ŚārīNaka, an image of ViK u Jayasvāmin is said to have miraculously occupied that place on the base with the sacred diagram16. Again Pravarsena is said to have consecrated the image of Vināyaka named Bhīmasvāmin17. As an indication of the co-existence of various religious faiths we are told that Pravarsena’s maternal uncle named Jayaendra installed an image of the Buddha named BPhadbuddha18. Another image of the Buddha is said to have been erected by AmPtaprabha, a wife of king Ra āditya19. The same king, in an interesting story related by Kalha a, is said to have installed two statues one each of Hari and Hara20. They were named as Ra asvāmin and Ra eśvara respectively.

Lalitāditya MuktāpīLa’s rule has been described by Kalha a as a period of great building activity for religious purpose as it was famous for the political glory of the king. He talks of an image of NPhari form of ViK u that was suspended in the air with the help of magnets. Though the material used for it is not specified, it appears to be made of metal21. The chronicle tells us that this king got an image of ViK u named Muktakeśava made of eighty-four thousand *tolakas* of gold installed at Parihāsapura22. Another image named Parihāsakeśava that weighed eighty four thousand *palas* of silver was also installed. It was probably in the form of ViK u-ŚeKaśāyin and adorned with pearls23. Another silver image of the same god in Govarhanadhara (KPK a) form was also installed24. Yet another image of the Boar incarnation of ViK u called Mahāvarāha, which had golden armour was also installed by the same king25. Another image of ViK u named Rāmasvāmin was also consecrated by the same king26Lalitāditya’s queen Kamalavatī also put up a large silver image of ViK u named Kamalākeśava and his minister Mitraśarman put up a

ŚivaliRga27 He is said to have erected a fifty-four *hasta* tall stone-pillar, in front of these, topped with an image of GaruLa28. We have the famous examples of such GaruLa-pillars at Besnagar (2nd cenruty BCE) and Eran (5th century CE) amongst others. This shows that the tradition of erecting *GaruQadhvaja* continued till this period even in Kashmir. Queen Diddā (980-1003CE) is said to have placed Vaiku Nha images of ViK u in shrines as acts of her piousness29, may be cover up her evil deeds. But it shows the popularity of this form of ViK u images in the valley, a large number of which have survived to this day.

Even a Vaiku NhamaNha is mentioned in the 12th century30 Unfortunately

Kalha a does not provide any details of the iconography, for the obvious reason of that falling beyond the scope of his work, but the description clearly shows that images of various incarnations of the god as well as of other deities like the Buddha were quite popular in Kashmir and were made of various metals and stone.

Lalitāditya is said to have erected a giant copper image of the Buddha called BPhadbuddha that weighed eightyfour thousand *Prasthas* of copper. It is difficult to say whether this image was an incarnation of ViK u or the Buddha, though the latter possibility is greater. His Tuhkhāra minister CaRku a also installed lofty golden images of the Jinas (the Buddha)31. Later on the king KKemagupta (950-958 CE) is said to have taken away a brass image of Sugata (the Buddha) from Jayendravihāra32. However, two Buddha images are said to have been spared by king HarKa (1089-1101 CE) on request when the king was in good mood33. The strife that hit Kashmir in the later times of our study show a large scale destruction. There is a reference to a great fire in Srinagar in the time of Sussala (1121-28 CE). In the rubble of the burnt down religious buildings is said to have remained a blackened image of the Buddha34. These references tell us about sculptural activity on one hand and their destruction on the other. The large number of beautifully carved images from Kashmir stands a living testimony to the existence of numerous exquisite images mentioned by Kalha a in his work as a tribute to the sculptural art of the valley.

## ARCHITECTURE

Kalha a’s account is replete with references to the construction of temples, *maDhas, vihāras, stūpas* and other religious buildings as also references to a large number of secular buildings including the palaces that were constructed in the valley from remote times. Almost every king, members of the royal household, ministers and nobles are said to have constructed one or more religious edifices. However, besides the Neolithic-Megalithic culture, hardly any material remains prior to 2nd-3rd century CE have survived. The earliest remains of the historical period are assignable, at Harwan, to 3rd to 6th century CE and at UKkur to 2nd- 5th century CE. Such remarkable absence cannot be ascribed solely to the vandalism of later times. Probably the building methods adopted in the constructions of this period were not adequate to make the buildings survive for any considerable length of time35. the *Rājatara gi ī* records the erection of Buddhist and Brahmanical buildings by Mauryan kings but no remains of that period, clearly recognizable, have so far been found. The only structural remains which have so far been noticed before the KārkoNa period are the structural remains of Gha Namūla stūpa in the Jhelum valley near Uri hydel project and *stūpas* and monastic remains at Harwan. The *stūpa* built on the right bank of the river Jhelum appear to be pre-KārkoNa period and possibly patronized by the rulers of the later Gonandīya dynasty of Kashmir36 . As the *Rājatara gi ī* tells, Ra āditya’s queen AmPtaprabhā, in the third quarter of the sixth century CE extended patronage to Buddhists37 and possibly the *stūpas* were built during her time. Some of the other remains are likely to have been superimposed by later accretions. The remains of buildings which represent the ancient architectural style may conveniently be divided into two classes— namely the Buddhist and the Brahmanical. In point of materials, ornament and technique, there is practically no difference between the two, but the religious needs of the two communities being, in certain essentials, different, they differ widely in plan and elevation.

## BUDDHIST MONUMENTS

An attempt has been made to link the beginnings of the architectural trends in Kashmir to the Buddhist *stūpa* and the *caitya*, foundations of which were the excavation at Harwan and UKkar respectively. But it is not accepted by all. In the work of Kalha a we get the information that the foundation of beautiful structures was laid by kings and queens long before the date of Harwan and UKkar. We have a definite assertion in the *Rājatara gi ī* that Aśoka founded the city of Srinagar38 and also Buddhist settlements with a number of *stūpas* in the valley at ŚuKkaletra (modern village of Hukhlitr) and Vitastātra (modern village named Vithvutur)39.No traces of any Buddhist monuments are now left at these places located near Verinag, but we have glimpse of the grandeur of Srinagar in the account of Hsuen Tsang who refers to it as ‘old capital’40. It is, therefore, not improbable that the stone architecture as depicted in the monuments still extent, had a much earlier tradition. So Harwan and UKkar can neither, by any stretch of imagination, be considered early specimens of Kashmir stone architecture, nor do they explain the origin of building art in Kashmir41.At Harwan, the excavations have revealed the foundation of a monastic establishment with a *stūpa* and a *caitya*. The *stūpa* was square in plan with its base in three tiers and approached by a flight of steps on its western side, the whole being contained within an open quadrangle. If the terracotta plaques found on the site are any indicator, it had a several tiered pyramidal umbrella on the top. The *caitya* or the temple occupied a more prominent position and had a hall with an apsidal end.

## PARIHĀSAPURA

Parihāsapura is situated on a *Karewa* plateau at a distance of 28 km from Srinagar on the Srinagar-Baramulla highway. Alexander Cunningham42 placed Parihāsapura on the right or eastern bank of the Behat near the village of Samba1. But his identification is not supported by any evidence. According to Stein, ancient Parihāsapura lay in the present *parganā* of Paraspor and comprised the little tract lying between the marches of the Manymor and Hartrath on the left bank of the Vitastā, immediately to the south-west of Shādipūr43. The site of Parihāsapura was chosen by king Lalitāditya for founding his capital. Amongst the towns that were founded by him are Par otsa44 (modern Poonch) and Lalitapura (modern Latpura45on SrinagarJammu highway). Lalitāditya chose Parihāsapura46 as his capital in preference to the larger and more conveniently situated Pravarapura and embellished it with a group of temples, *caityas* and monasteries. Kalha a mentions in the *Rājatara gi ī* that Lalitāditya built at HuviKkapura a large *vihāra* with a *stūpa47*. The plateau is studded with heaps of ruins. The *Rājatara gi ī* tells that Lalitāditya MuktāpīLa confronted local problems by putting disorderly administration into a shape48. He realized that his elder brothers (CandrāpīLa and TārāpīLa) did not manage the affairs of the state efficiently and there was total bankruptcy. To put things in order, he organized an expedition with a view to strengthen his political superiority over his contemporaries and to collect wealth for putting his disorderly house in order.

In this expedition Lalitāditya received many tributes and also collected a large booty. This large booty of Lalitāditya had golden and silver images, jewellery and treasures of every type. Such economic prosperity encouraged Lalitāditya to embellish his capital with permanent religious foundations for the well being of his subjects. The varieties of buildings viz. temples, *stūpas*, *caityas* and *vihāras* which were built during Lalitāditya’s reign have been termed as the monuments of Lalitāditya and represent the early mediaeval art of Kashmir. These monumental ruins after identification were first put to systematic excavation by Daya Ram Sahni in 1914-15. During the course of this excavation, Sahni salvaged a good number of monolithic sculptures and also traced out the plans of the structures. Amongst all the structures exposed, the important were a *stūpa*, a monastery and a *caitya49*.

The first monument which was constructed during Lalitāditya’s period is the *stūpa* of Parihāsapura. It is recorded by Kalha a that this *stūpa* was founded by Canku a; the Tukhāra minister of Llitāditya50. The identity of this *stūpa*, the only building of this kind to be found at this place, with the lofty structure of Canku a is likely. When Daya Ram Sahni undertook the excavation in 1914, he encountered massive piles of stones covering huge bases of a massive structure and it appeared as though a massive structure had been completely razed to the ground by the destroyer, and with the passage of time the debris became a hill of stones. After excavation, what came to his notice was a big basement in an excellent state of preservation, besides numerous carved architectural members and structural fragments. The basement of the *stūpa* consists of a double platform providing passage, one above the other for circumambulation around the *stūpa*. The upper platform is

3.65m high and the lower 2.65 m. These platforms are grim and stark in character and built with cyclopean blocks of stones. The only decorated elements apparently visible are simple bands over the stones and the mouldings. The base of the *stūpa* is square in plan and measures 74.50 x 74.50 m including projections on each side. The stairways which are on the cardinal points are placed in the middle of the projections. Much of these steps have completely withered away but the side walls are fairly intact. The front of each of these flank walls is occupied by a square panel containing a figure of an Atlantes sated cross-legged and ornamented with garlands and jewellery. The upper stairs are almost missing and even the flank walls have not survived at many places. The drum of the *stūpa* must have been ornamented with niches containing standing and seated figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas. The Buddha figures found during the clearance of fallen parts of *stūpa* in 1988-89, indicated a late Gupta tradition of Sārnath. It appeared that the entire structure was surrounded by an enclosure wall which, according to Sahni, must have been from north to south 400 ft. (120m) and east to west 300 ft. (90m)51.

By the side of the *stūpa*, the other structure built during Lalitāditya’s time, is a square structure which has been termed as Rājavihāra, or the royal monastery. Kalha a says that Lalitāditya built a large monastery in the town of Parihāsapura, called Rājavihāra52. Much of the details of the structure have disappeared and at many places it is difficult to reconstruct even its plan. On the basis of the traces available at the site it appears to be a quadrangle with an open courtyard in the middle surrounded by twenty-six cells on all sides. The cells were preceded by verandahs supported by columns. However, none of the columns have survived and of the twenty-six cells only the foundations remain. The basement of this monastery is 3.05 m high and it faces east. The central cell on the east is somewhat larger than the others. The inner courtyard was probably paved with stone slabs, the traces of which however, could not be found in the excavations. But Daya Ram Sahni claimed to have seen such slabs when he exposed the structures in 1914-15. The rain and used water was carried away by two stone-built drains which pass through the cells. A stone trough cut in a single block of a stone is embedded in the courtyard which, it appears, was intended for storage of water. For bringing water to the monastery, probably, a covered aqueduct was used through cell No.1

Who patronized the construction of this monastery is always a matter of dispute. Daya Ram Sahni during the course of excavation encountered an earthen jar in front of cell No.25 containing 44 silver coins of Durlabhadeva, grandfather of Lalitāditya MuktāpīLa, JayāpīLa, Vinayāditya, and VigrahatuRga. During the excavation we encountered two copper coins minted on the pattern of Kidāra KuKā as and probably belonging to Durlabhadeva’s time. It indicates that the currency of the grandfather of Lalitāditya was also under circulation during his reign and the occurrence of the coins appears as though somebody had left those coins or they were lying with some monks residing in the monastery. As no coins of Lalitāditya’s period are found there, it is quite possible that either he didnot issue coins or he continued to use the currency of his predecessors.

The third structure built at Parihāsapura is a *caitya* temple. It is a square chamber on a raised plinth and measures 8.23 x 8.23 m. it is surrounded by a circumambulatory passage and supported at the corners by a set of four stone columns. Today only the bases of these columns have survived and from the remnants of the architectural members and the position of the pillar bases it appeared that the roof of the *caitya* was of pyramidal type. The plinth of the *caitya* is built with massive stones and many of the fine architectural fragments of the plinth have also disappeared leaving behind a disjointed structure. When excavation was done in 1987 a serious problem of its layout was faced, which due to recurring damage and neglect was in a mess. With careful examination of the huge blocks of stones it became possible to trace out the orientation of the structure and it appeared that the whole *caitya* was conceived on a huge plinth with massive pillars and a pyramidal roof. The traces of *Kīrtimukhas* on the stone slabs and trefoil arches indicated a stage of ornamental development at Parihāsapura, which probably paved way for the construction of the Parihāsakeśava and the Muktakeśava temples dedicated to ViK u on the opposite *karewas* of the capital town of Lalitāditya MuktāpīLa53.

## STŪPA OF USHKAR

The village of Ushkar is situated at a distance of half a mile from the

Baramula Dak Bungalow. According to Kalha a this name is a corruption of HuviKkapura, which was originally the name of a city founded by HuviKka54, who was a great KuKā a king of the second century CE. Lalitāditya built here a shrine of ViK u named Muktaśvāmin and a large *vihāra* with a *stūpa55*. General Cunningham found an ancient coin of the Taxila type in this *stūpa*. According to Stein it is quite possible that this large *vihāra* with a *stūpa* was identical with the one which King Lalitāditya erected at HuKkapura. Hsuan-Tsang, the famous Chinese pilgrim who visited Kashmir in CE 631, entered the valley by the Baramula pass, and spent his first night at one of the monasteries here. Of the monasteries and the temples which Hsuan-Tsang saw and which are mentioned by Kalha a , none now remain above ground, except the ruins of *stūpa* and its surrounding walls, a few yards to the west of the village. Only the lowest courses of its base are now in position. An interesting fact about this *stūpa* is that it seems to have been built over an older structure of nearly the same type, stones of which were found *in situ* when the silt round the base was removed some years ago. That structure may have belonged to the KuKā a times56. This surmise is strengthened by the discovery, outside the north-eastern corner of the surrounding wall, of eleven terracotta heads beside a number of fragmentary limbs of images which display the unmistakable influence of the Gandhāra School of the third and fourth century CE.

Kalha a refers to several other *caityas*, *stūpas*, *vihāras* and *maDhas*, the traces of which are not available at present. They seem to have vanished forever. Mention must be made at least some of them. The most popular amongst these was perhaps Jayendravihāra, constructed by Jayendra the maternal uncle of the king Pravarsena II57. A great image of the Buddha was installed here by the former. The place was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang who mentions it as the convent of *Che-ye-in-to-lo58.* Partha (906921 CE), the son of Nirjitavarman, during the last days of his reign took shelter in the monastery and was provided for by the monks living there59. The famous *Vihāra* was ultimately burnt down by the wicked king KKemagupta and the statue of the Buddha was melted down for it metal60. Likewise, Bhadreśvara is said to have built a *vihāra61.* Ministers of Pravarasena II, namely Sarvaratna, Jaya and Skanda are also said to have constructed several *vihāras* and *caityas62.*

Lalitāditya is said to have built a *vihāra* named KrīLārāma63. Vajrendra son of Jayendra also constructed a *caitya* at Bhavaccheda64. These and several other references by Kalha a clearly depict a flourishing state of Buddhist architectural monuments.

## HINDU TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

The second and far most numerous groups of buildings belonging to Kashmir style are Hindu temples. The *Rājatara gi ī* is full of references to the shrines of various Hindu gods and goddesses being constructed almost throughout the narrative of Kalha a, though a very few examples have survived to this day due to several reasons. The natural decay, the possibility of several shrines being wooden as is common in the hill architecture and above all the itching fingers of the iconoclasts, especially after the establishment of the Muslim rule in the valley and mass conversion of the Hindus to Islam. Of the surviving examples of the stone temples, the earliest of this class, the date of which can be fixed through archaeological as well as literary evidence, is the temple of Mārta La, which is also the greatest and one of the most finished of all the Kashmir temples. From this, however, it must not be inferred that the early medieval Hindu architecture of Kashmir was born like Athena in panoply fully accoutered and complete to the last detail; that, in other words, it was evolved by a single brain or set of brains at a specified point of time. It is true that, owing to the great dearth of early dated examples, we are reduced to mere conjecture as to what was the prototype, and what were the stages of evolution which resulted in such magnificent products of the builder’s art as the Mārta La and Avantisvami temples. But it seems reasonable to presume that the earlier examples were simpler, and that art progressed step by step, up to a certain point, from the simple to the more elaborate.

## MĀRTA "A TEMPLE

The Sun temple of Mārta La, commonly called ‘the house of the Pā Lus’ is situated at a distance of five miles from the town of Anantnag. Being on the top of a lofty plateau called *karewa*, at whose feet stretch the broad verdant plains of Kashmir intersected by a network of rivers, lakes and canals, thickly dotted with clusters of busy villages nestling like beehives in closely planted groves of trees, and encircled by snow-clad mountain ramparts, the temple of the Sun, as Mārta La originally was, commands a superb view, such as the eye rarely lights upon Mārta La, the most impressive and grandest of all the ancient temples, occupies undoubtedly the finest situation in Kashmir65. The remains of this grand temple are the most striking in size and position of all the existing remains. It is this beauty of situation that contributes so largely to the sense of grandeur with which the sight of these ruins always inspires even the most unimaginative visitors.

There is a controversy regarding the date of construction of this temple. It is usually called “the house of the pā Lus” by the nearby people. Cunningham attributed the central edifice to King Ra āditya and to his predecessor and the colonnade to Lalitāditya MuktāpīLa66. The two annexes on the north and the south of the *ma Qapa* were built by Ra āditya and his queen AmPtaprabhā. According to Cunningham these three structures were built between CE 370 and 500.According to Stein the Mārta La temple was built along with its enclosure walls by Lalitāditya MuktāpīLa67. Stein’s view has generally been accepted by all the scholars. Kalha a refers to the Mārta La in connection with the death of King Kalaśa (CE 1063-89) of the last Lohara dynasty. This dissolute king, notorious for his wicked ways, once destroyed the copper image of Sūrya called Tāmrasvāmin. In the last days of his life being ill and filled with remorse for his past deeds, he went to the temple of Mārta La where he offered a gold image of the ‘god’ for prolongation of his life68. Mārta La is also referred to by Kalha a in connection with the robbery of temple treasures and the divine image during the period of greedy HarKa (CE 1089-1101), son of Kalaśa69. Kalha a says that only two divine images were respected by him, the illustrious Ra asvāmin in the city and Mārta La [among the images] in the township. This shows that the image of Mārta La was of metal. The last reference of Mārta La temple is made by Kalha a related to his own time, during the reign of JayasiHha (CE 1128-55), when the place became the scene of a fierce battle between the royal troops under Sañjapāla and the forces of Trillaka. It is stated that Sañjapāla had become unconscious due to shock of fall on the hard ground and was brought by his two warrior sons into the courtyard of Mārta La temple70.

Thus it can be conclude that this monument was built by King Lalitāditya MuktāpīLa of the KārkoNa dynasty. Amongst the temple construction, Mārta La forms a landmark in the history of Kashmir architecture, which represents the very apogee of the typical Kashmir architectural style, the noblest architecture of Mārta La temple, like most medieval temples of Kashmir. The design of the Mārta La consists of a central structure composed of the *garbhagAha*, the *antarāla* and the *ma Qapa* with a small chapel on either side of the half temple, standing with the rectangular courtyard surrounded by a cellular quadrangle with an imposing gateway for the entrance with the principal shrine in the middle and a colonnaded peristyle. The latter is 220' long by 142' broad and contains eighty four fluted columns facing the courtyard. The peristyle is externally plain, except on the west side, which originally had a row of columns similar to that of the Avantipur temples71.

Cunningham described the features of the temple as “The entrance, or gateway, stands in the middle of the western side of the quadrangle, and is of the same width as the temple itself. This proportion is in accordance with the ideas of Hindu architectural grandeur; for the rules laid down by them, give different proportions from six-sevenths to ten-elevenths of the width of the temple, for each different style of gateway from the most simple to the most magnificent. Outwardly the Mārta La gateway resembles the temple itself in the disposition of its parts and in the decoration of its pediments and pilasters. It was open to west and east, and was divided into distinct portions forming an inner and outer portico, by a cross wall with a doorway in the centre, which was no doubt closed with a wooden door. On each flank of the gateway, the pediment was supported by massive fluted pillars, I7’ in height, or 8' higher than those in the quadrangle. One of these is still standing to the south of the entrance; and the style to the architrave and entablature which connected these pillars with the gateway must have been the same as that of the architrave in the Avantisvāmi temple. I surmise that the front and back pediments of the gateway were supported on similar large pillars; but it is possible that the square foundations, which I observed in the front, may have been only the remains of the wing-walls of a flight of steps. The roof was pyramidal; for a portion of the sloping moldings of its pediment was still to be seen on one side.”72 The walls of the gateway are profusely decorated internally and externally, the chief motif of decoration being rows of double regimented niches alternating with rectangular panels. Most of the regimented niches contained single standing figures of gods; occasionally they also contained an amorous group similar to those at Avantipur. The rectangular panels contained sitting groups, floral scrolls, pairs of geese, etc. Each of the two large niches in the side-walls of the inner chamber of the gateway contains the tall figure of a three-headed ViK u standing between two attendants. Immediately below is the long rectangular panel decorated with a row of dancing urchins striking a variety of attitudes? The temple proper "is 6 3' in length by 3 6' in width at the eastern end and only 2 7' in width at the western or entrance end. It contains three distinct chambers, of which the outermost, named *ardhama Qapa* or ‘ half temple,’ answering to the front porch of classical fanes, is 18' 10" square;· the middle one, called *antarāla* or ' mid temple,' corresponding to the pronaos of the Greeks, is 18' by 4' ; and the innermost, named *garbhagriha*,or ‘ womb of the edifice,' the naos of the Greeks and the cella of the Romans, is 18' 5" by 13' 10"73. What has been called as *ardhama Qapa* by Kak actually should be *ma Qapa* as the former term is technically applied to the entrance porch in front of the *ma Qapa74*. It is open and highly decorated in accordance with its name, *ma Qapa,* literally meaning ‘ornamented’. The middle chamber is decorated in the same style; but the inner chamber is plain and is closed on three sides. The walls of the temple itself are 9' thick and of its entrance chamber only 4' thick, being respectively one half and one fourth of the interior width of the building75.

Among the images carved on the walls of the *antarāla* or the

antechamber, on the left wall of the former a well executed image of the rivergoddess GaRgā , standing upon her vehicle, the crocodile, which is looking up towards her is noticed. A female attendant on her right holds an umbrella over her head, and a *caurī*-beareris on her left. She holds her usual emblems, a water pot in her left hand and the stalk of a lotus flower in her right. She is crowned with a double conical tiara. On the opposite side of the *antarāla* or on the right sideis the river-goddess Yamunā, with her vehicle, the tortoise. Above the niche in the north wall is a relief consisting of a pair of Gandharvas in flight with an umbrella over them. The statues on the western walls of the antechamber are undoubtedly representations of ViK u (Vaiku Nha). Each of them is three-faced, like the ViK u image found in the Avantīśvamī temple, the left face being that of a boar (*Varāha*) and the right one that of a lion (*SiLha*). Both are eight-armed, and their lower hands are placed on the heads of *cauriī* bearers, as in other images of ViK u found in the valley. Furthermore, they wear the garland *(vanamāla)* and the bust of the earth-goddess PPthivī (Bhū Devī) between the feet of the statue on the north wall. Unfortunately most of the hands of the images are broken and weather-worn, and the emblems they hold can no longer be identified. Nor can the fourteen seated figures which occur on the walls of the antechamber below the cornice be identified with certainty. Twelve of them occur in the north and south walls, i.e.six on each, and two on the east wall. Of the two panels on the east wall, the one on the right seems to represent Aru a, the charioteer of Sūrya, holding the reins of his seven horses. The pilasters of the great trefoil arch of the antechamber contain images which cannot yet be identified. The chapels to the· north and south of the antechamber each contain two niches 5' 9"by 4' internally, which face to the east and west respectively, possibly an allusion to the rising and setting of the sun. The roof seems to have been of the pyramidal type which is very common in the Temples of Kashmir.

## TEMPLES AT PATAN

The *Rājatara gi ī* mentions the erection of three temples at Patan, which in ancient days was called ŚaHkarapura (Pattana)76, after the name of its founder, the king ŚaHkaravaman (CE 883-902). Perhaps it would be well to remark here that vandalism of a serious kind had already begun in pre-Muslim times, as some of the materials used in the construction of these temples were removed from the older site of Parihāsapura described above. The three temples named by the Kashmir chronicle are (1) ŚaHkaragaurīśvara (2) Sugandheśa, and (3) Ratnavardhaneśa. The first, identified with the large temple near Patan, was built by the king himself, the second, which is the one nearer ‘Srinagar, is named after Sugandhā, his queen, and the third, of which no trace has so far been found, if we exclude the architectural fragments near the spring outside the Dak Bungalow, was built by Ratnavardhana, his minister.

All three were dedicated to Śiva.

## SUGANDHEŚA TEMPLE

The Sugandheśa temple was built at the initiative of queen Sugandhā77. It is situated less than a one Km away from another temple Gaurīśvara towards the south of GaurīśaHkara temple. This temple was buried under debris and it was excavated by Daya Ram Sahni. Kalha a in his chronicle tells that King ŚaHkarvarman in the company of his queen Sugandhā built this temple in that fine town called ŚaHkarapura. The Sugandheśa temple does not differ materially from other temples of Kashmir. The shrine is 12' 7" square and has, as usual, a portico in front. It is open on one side only, and has trefoil niches externally on the other sides. These niches contained images which are now missing. The temple stands on a double base, but it seems probable from the flank-walls of the lower stair and the frieze of the lower base, in which the panels intended for sculptural decoration have been merely blocked out, but not carved, that the temple was never completed.

The entrance to the courtyard is in the middle of the eastern wall of peristyle. It consists of two chambers with a partition wall and a doorway in the middle which leading to the entrance of the sanctum is well preserved. The excavation of this site has unearthed many architectural fragments, the most noteworthy are *(a)* two fragments of fluted columns with their capitals, *(b)* two bracket capitals with volute ends and carved figures of atlantes supporting the frieze above, *(c)* a huge stone belonging to the cornice of the temple, bearing rows of *kīrtimukhas,* amid rosettes, and *(d)* a stone probably belonging to the partition wall of the entrance, having (1) two small., trefoil niches in which stand female figures wearing long garlands and (2) below them two rectangular niches, in one of which is an atlant seated between two lions facing the spectator, and in the other are two human-headed birds78.

The cornice of the base of the peristyle is similar to that of the Avantisvāmi temple. The cells were preceded by a row of fluted columns, bases of some of which· are *in situ* while those of others are scattered about in the courtyard. The attention of the visitor is called to the slots in the lower stones of the jambs of the cells. These are mortises for iron clamps which held pairs of stones together. Pieces of much-corroded iron are still extant in some of the mortises.

## ŚA+KARAGAURĪŚVARA TEMPLE

ŚaHkargaurīśvara temple appears to be more an arrangement of the carved stones rather than an architectural creation. Kalha a in his *Rājatara gi ī* tells that śaHkaravarman robbed foreign lands and with the extraction from these he and his wife Sugandhā constructed temple at Pattan79. Lower down this larger temple called ŚaHkargaurīśvara was built by the king ŚaHkaravarman himself. It is only an enlarged copy of the queen's temple. On account of the lack of proper facilities for drainage of rain water it has not been deemed advisable to excavate its courtyard. Because this temple is built in a low lying area and the rain water which flows through it has deposited a thick amount of silt and many of the segments like the peristyle, the temple-plinth, and a smaller shrine in the north-east corner, is therefore still underground. The rectangular path around the temple marks the position of the peristyle, tops of some columns of which are seen peeping out of the earth in the south-west corner. The square flower-bed with a projection on one side in the north-east corner of the courtyard coincides with the small shrine below. The square space in the middle of the eastern path marks the position of the entrance.

The temple itself is an imposing pile, though a great deal of its grandeur has been taken away by the concealment of its plinth. The cella is 17' square and the central stone of the floor measures 12' 6” by 10’. It has nine circular holes arranged in three rows. It is possible that these were mortises of tenons which held in position the pedestal of the idol. The left wall of the portico has a trefoil niche which is divided into two panels. The lower and larger one contains a number of figures, of which the principal seems to be Śiva. Above it, in the upper foil, is the squatting figure of the elephant-headed god, Ga eśa, whose presence here would conclusively prove, even if there were any doubt about it, that the temple was dedicated to Śiva. The jambs of the recesses on the exterior of the temple have half-engaged columns which are decorated with well-executed geometrical and other patterns. Their capitals are surmounted by human-headed birds.

A few yards to the north of the Patan Dak Bungalow has recently been excavated an old *baoli* whose waters are confined in three rectangular reservoirs which are connected with each other. The one in the middle contains a miniature temple constructed originally of three stones80. The top-stone is missing. It is 2'8*"* square externally and is open on all four sides. The openings seem to have been closed originally with wooden doors. These little shrines belong to the time when the prosperity of the Hindus had waned, and they were not capable of devoting so much wealth to the glorification of this religion81.

## TEMPLES AT AVANTIPUR

The village of Avantipur, situated at a distance of 18 miles from Srinagar on the Anantnag cart-road, represents the ancient town of Avantipura.

According to Kalha a this town was founded by the king of Utpala dynasty, Avantivarman82, who reigned from CE 855 to 883. This view is fully supported by Cunningham83. The site still retains its ancient name Avantipur. The narration of Kalha a shows that the place called Viśvaikasāra was already a sacred centre before the town was established by Avantivarman. Its chief interest centers in two magnificent temples with which its founder embellished it84. During the reign of King Kalaśa, the temple of Avantisvāmin was deprived of the villages which formed its endowments85. Its courtyard served as a fortification when shortly after the accession of King JayasiHha (CE1128), Bhāsa, a commander of the royal troops, was besieged at Avantipura by the rebel \_āmaras of the Holada (Vular) district86. At this site two temples are excavated namely Avantīśvara and Avantisvāmi.

## AVANTĪŚVARA TEMPLE

The first and larger is the temple of Śiva-Avantīśvara, whose massive walls rise in forlorn grandeur outside the village of Jaubror, half a mile below Avantipur, which was built by Avantivarman after his accession and second one is the temple of Avantīsvāmi87, half a mile up. It is smaller but much more ornate and better preserved. This temple was excavated by Daya Ram Sahni but even after the excavation of the temple the general plan and layout of the temple were still hidden and the part which is excavated is mutilated. So it was quite difficult to visualize anything in proper perspective. But the extensive courtyard enclosed by a massive stone wall of the temple indicates that it must have been one of the best achievements in the field of architecture. The western face of the courtyard is adorned externally with a row of fluted columns, but without any recesses behind. The gateway is in the middle of this wall, and is divided into two chambers by a cross wall. Its walls are not decorated with figure sculpture. The niches and the panels are quite plain.

The base on which the shrine· in the centre of the courtyard stands is 57'

4" square and 10' high. To each of its corners was attached a platform about 16' square, which must originally have supported a small subsidiary shrine. It has a stair on each of its four sides like the temple of Pandrethan. The stairs have a width of 281', and are supported on either side by flank walls 171' in length. The sanctum has been reduced to a "confused mass of ruins." The platforms seem to have originally been attached to the plinth of the temple at one point only, but afterwards they were co·niplete1y joined with it by means of a· connecting wall built of architectural fragments which had fallen from the temple. This arrangement can best be seen at the south-eastern corner of the base. The sole exterior decoration of the temple base, the only part of the building that exists, is a series of projecting facets, the larger of which were originally surmounted by plain rectangular capitals. In the two rear corners of the courtyard are two subsidiary shrines.

There is a large assortment of architectural fragments strewn about in the courtyard, the most interesting of which are (1) the spandrel of an arch in front of the southern stair, (2) the flower-and vase capital of a dodecagonal pilaster, (3) the spandrel of another arch -by its side, and (4) the base of a pilaster decorated with two seated rams and a dancing girl who plays upon a Lamaru (small hand-drum) standing on a throne ornamented with two lions- at the sides and an elephant, facing, in the middle.

## AVANTIŚVĀMI TEMPLE

Half a mile farther up is the small but much more ornate and better preserved temple of Avantīśvamī-ViK u . It is excavated by Dara Ram Sahni and he has done deep research on this temple.40 According to Kalha a , It is the work of Avantivarman's youth, before he came to the throne and it indicates that by this time the architectural and artistic trends of the KārkoNa period had reached a logical culmination in the next generation under the Utpalas88. It has been reclaimed by the removal of an enormous mass of silt and debris which during a thousand years of neglect (for the temple had already silted up when it suffered from the iconoclasts) had accumulated to a height of about I5' and buried the whole structure except the upper part of the walls of the gateway and a shapeless heap of stones in the centre. It is a temple of the *Pancāyatana* type, with an independent replica structure of the central shrine in each of the four corners of the courtyard.

The edifice comprises a colonnaded peristyle enclosing a paved courtyard 174' by 148' 8", in the centre of which is the main shrine, built on a double base with four smaller shrines at the four corners. The peristyle is comparatively plain externally except on the west side, which has a row of fluted columns. The only decoration on the other three sides is a rectangular string-course and pilasters enclosing rectangular spaces, corresponding respectively with the cyma recta cornice of the plinth and the cells inside. The entrance, which is in the middle of the west wall, is divided by a cross-wall into two chambers, and is approached by a flight of steps bounded on either side by a plain rail and a side-wall. The front pilasters of the side-walls bear figures of ViK u and of his consorts carved in relief. On either side of it was a portico supported on tall massive advanced columns, one of which exists to this day, though in a precarious condition89.

The wall surface of the entrance is both externally and internally ornamented profusely with sculptured reliefs. The larger female figures on the right and left hand walls of the outer chamber represent the goddesses GaRgā and Yamunā, along with their respective vehicles, the crocodile (*makara*) and the tortoise (*kacchapa*). The scenes in the rectangular panel, on the right-hand pilaster of the wall represent probably a king and his two queens seated in "sportive fashion" on a *siLhāsana* (lion throne), here symbolized by two lions facing, one on each side of the panel. On the two external sides of this pilaster the scenes are the same with slight variations. In the scene in front the lions have been replaced by two standing females. In the southern panel the king has his right hand in the *abhayamudrā* (attitude of granting immunity from fear), and the lady on his right is admiring her own charms, reflected in a round pocket-mirror which she holds in her right hand. In the other two panels .the figures are seated on separate cushions; here all three occupy a single long cushion90.

The other panels too have beautiful carvings and it appears that the walls were also decorated with groups of figures. The view of the courtyard from the inner chamber of the gateway is charming. There are picturesque ruins of a beautiful range of cells, preceded by a noble row of fluted columns. Another flight of steps similar to that on the outside leads down to the stone-paved courtyard. The side-walls of this stair are plain, but the pilasters are covered with sculptured reliefs. Each of the smaller panels facing the courtyard depicts an erotic scene. In the middle of the space between the gateway and the main shrine is a stepped stone which appears to be the base of a *GaruQa*-*dhvaja*. The central shrine is built on a double base, the only decoration of which is a torus moulding and a cyma recta cornice. The base is intact, but the sanctum, which measured 33' square externally, has almost disappeared. In fact the only fragments remaining are some parts of the lowest courses and a few stones of the north wall91. Though this temple has only one stair yet it has profusely carved reliefs and pilasters. The water trough in the courtyard on the north side of the main shrine was intended to hold the sacred washings of the deity inside the sanctum. The cellular colonnade of the temple is remarkable for its workmanship.It comprises sixty-nine cells, each of which measures on the average 3' 8" by 4' I0”, the cell in the centre on each side being larger than the rest and advanced slightly forwards. Probably it contained the replica of the image of chief deity. In one or two of them in the eastern wall of the peristyle the pedestals of these images are still found *in situ*.

A large assortment of antiquities has been unearthed during the excavation of this temple. The most valuable are a series· of sculptures which have been placed in the Srinagar Museum. The large jars arranged in a row on the lawn above the excavations were, doubtless, used for the storage of grain and foodstuffs. Among those that have been brought to the Museum is one which bears an inscription mentioning the name of Avantivarman92. This record is of interest as being the only independent evidence of the correct identification of the site.

Kalha a states that the Avantisvāmi temple was occasionally subjected to sacrilegious treatment even in Hindu times. The tyrannical Kalaśa (CE 10631089) confiscated the villages which formed its endowments93. Its military possibilities do not seem to have escaped the notice of the ancients, for "its courtyard served as a fortification when, shortly after the accession of King JayasiHha (CE 1128), Bhāsa, a commander of the royal troops, was besieged at Avantipura by the rebel \_āmaras of the Holada (Vular) district." In the fourteenth century Sikandar But-shikan completed the destruction which had already begun in the troublous times that followed the reign of Avantivarman.

## UTPALAPURA

According to the *Rājatara gi ī* of Kalha a the flourishing town of Utpalapura was founded in the beginning of the ninth century CE by Padma94 and who, though the son of a spirit distiller had through the influence of his sister, a concubine of King Lalitāditya and mother of the minor ChippaNaJayāpīLa, raised to the position of an all-powerful minister. He also built the temple of ViK u, Padmasvāmin and another town Padmapura. Utpalapura is also mentioned by Jonrāja95 but no distinct indication as to the location of the place is furnished. According to M. Aurel Stein Utapalapura is identified with Kakapura, the modern town on the bank of Vitasta and remains of the cella of a temple are still in existence near the shrine of Shah Hamadan96, which has appropriated two of its fluted columns and other carved stones. Probably these fragments are all that remain of Padma's temple. The mosque of Pampur is an inferior imitation of the *ziarat* (shrine) of Shah Hamadan in Srinagar.

## TEMPLE OF PANDRETHAN

The small village of Pandrethan is situated 3 miles above Srinagar on the Anantnag cart-road. The nomenclature Pandrethan appears to be a corrupt form of Purā ādhiKNhāna, a capital town founded by king Pravarasena I who is also said to have erected there a shrine of Śiva known Pravareśvara97.It is also favored by the fact that it having been the site of the old capital Srinagar, founded by King Aśoka98. The name Purā ādhiKNhāna must have already been in use in the first half of the seventh century, as Hsuen- Tsang evidently referred it when he speaks of the ‘old city’ situated about two miles of the south- east of the ‘new city’. At present its only attraction is the well-preserved mediaeval temple on the left-hand side of the road. The temple measures 17'6" square externally, and belongs to the *ma Qapa* type i.e., it is open on all the four sides99. The unusually bold projection of the pilasters which support the pediments of the porches is a great improvement upon the earlier stage, as the boldness of the projection and the retirement of the connecting walls afford a great and pleasing variety of light and shade which is altogether wanting in some parts of the more ancient buildings100. The roof is of the usual pyramidal type, but its monotony is relieved by an ornamental band of dentils which divides it horizontally into two stores. In the upper section of the pyramid are four trefoil ventilation apertures which remind one forcibly of similar niches in the architecture of GaRdhāra. The interior of the cella is plain, except for the ceiling, which is one of the best examples of carving on stone extant in Kashmir101 . It consists of nine stones arranged in three overlapping squares, each of which cuts off the angles of the square below it, and thus reduces the extent of the space to be covered. The twelve triangles so formed have been utilized for figure decoration. Each triangle in the lowest square contains a pair of flying YakKas, facing each other and holding a garland in their hands, which falls in swags about their bodies and between their knees. . The second group of triangles contains only four figures, each holding a disc in his right hand and a lotus stalk in his left. Underneath his right arm is seen the outstretched end of flying drapery. The uppermost set of triangles contains a similar group of flying figures. The whole is crowned by a square slab decorated with an exquisitely carved full-blown lotus within a beaded circle. The convention by which the peculiarly graceful floating motion of the body, somewhat similar to that of a swimmer, is made to represent the flight of human figures without the appendage of wings, is noteworthy. The floor of the cella is paved with stone flags. In the centre is the depression about 7’ square which must have held the pedestal of the image worshipped in the temple.

The plinth of the temple remains submerged for the greater part of the year, but it is certain that it is well preserved. A remarkable feature of it is the string course of elephants which runs round the temple and upon which the walls of the sanctum rest. The springs which have arisen round the structure do not seem to have been there when the temple was originally built, for it is impossible to believe, now that Cunningham's theory of the Kashmiri temple being placed in the centre of tank no longer holds good, that the temple was built in the midst of an extensive marsh, which has only lately been drained.

Cunningham, and after him Cowie, Cole, etc., believed that the temple was "ViK u-meruvardhanasvāmi," built by Meruvardhana, the minister of Pārtha102 who flourished in the beginning of the tenth century CE. He bases his identification on the statement of the *Rājatara gi ī* coupled with absence of other temples in Pandrethan. But this theory is considerably weakened by the presence, in the trefoil niche above the northern entrance, of a seated figure which is believed to be the Lakulīśa form of Śiva, and by the internal arrangement of the floor of the cella which "can only admit of a Śiva image. The *Rājatara gi ī* mentions in another passage the erection of the temple of

Śiva-Rilhaneśvara by Rilhana, the minister of JayasiHha, about the year CE 1135103. There is nothing in the architectural style against the identification of our temple with Rilhana's foundation. Around this site a number of late Brahmanical images have been found.

## KOTHER

The village of Kother is situated two miles above Achhabal, a little off the Achhabal-Kashtwar road. The name is derived from PāpasūdanaKapaNeśvara-Śiva, to whom the spring here is considered to be sacred. The place has for many centuries past enjoyed a great reputation for sanctity. King Bhoja of Mālava, who was a contemporary of King Ananta (CE 1028-1063) of Kashmir , "had the round tank (*ku Qa*) constructed at KapaNeśvara with heaps of gold that he sent104.King Bhoja vowed that he would always wash his face in the water from the Pāpasūdana *tīrtha*, and this (man Padmarāja) made the fulfillment of his difficult vow (possible) by regularly dispatching from this (*tīrtha*) large numbers of glass jars filled with that water." The tank is circular. The stone basin built by Bhoja is still partially extant. The flights of steps flanked by side-walls which are surmounted by the cornices usual in Kashmir temples, facing north and south respectively, lead down to the water level. By the side of the spring are two small temples which seem to be contemporaneous with the stone wall of the spring. The larger temple measures 8' 4" internally and faces south-west. Its roof seems to have been destroyed by fire. The entrance is 3' 8" by 6', and it is noteworthy that the recesses on the exterior of the other three sides, which in most other temples are of about the same dimensions as the open doorway, are in this instance much smaller.

The smaller temple measures 6' 4" internally. It faces west. Its lower part is buried underground. . There is a long stretch of wall 246' long and about 12' wide, on the north side of the .area, which originally formed part of the enclosure wall round the temples and the tank. The fragment that is above ground on the east side shows that this surrounding wall is in reality a cellular peristyle. The top stones of the cells are visible.

## MAMAL

The small temple of Mamal (ancient Mamalaka) is situated Close to Pahalgam where the Lidar River divides in to two branches and it is situated on the right bank.

The temple is 8' square internally, and has in front a porch supported on two fluted columns, one of which is missing. The superstructure has fallen down. No remnants of the ceiling are left. The walls are straight and vertical above the string course, and it is probable that originally there was no ceiling, as at Narastan.

It may well be that this temple is the same as that of Mammeśvara, which the *Rājatara gi ī* mentions that King JayasiHha (CE 1128-1155)105 adorned with a golden *āmalaka* and embellished the surrounding by improving and making a water reservoir. Its architecture also shows certain features which are undoubtedly decadent. One of these is the absence of projection in the corner pilasters. The temple was externally covered with a thick coat of lime plaster. It contains an old pedestal and' a probably modern ŚivaliRga. A spring of remarkably pure water rises under the site of the temple. Its waters are enclosed in a basin in front of the stairs. The whole was originally surrounded by a rubble-stone wall, of which the foundations are still visible on the north side.

## TAMPLES OF NARANĀG

Naranāga is the modern name of ancient Sodara *tīrtha*. The sacred spring of Naranāga is the reputed source of the river Vitastā. In Hindu times it was known as the Nīla-Nāga, and was sacred to the snake-deity of that name. The *Nīlamatapurā a* tells us that when Pārvatī had obtained the consent of her consort Śiva to incarnate in Kashmir as the river Vitastā in order to purify the country which had become defiled by the touch of *piśācas*, who appear to have been some outlandish barbarians, he struck the earth at the site of the spring and thus cleared the way for the issue of the water of the Pārvatī-vitastā106. Hence the *Tīrtha* also bore the alternative name of Śūlaghāta. Locally it is also known as lower and upper group of temples.

The principal temple in the eastern group or in the upper group is dedicated to Śiva and has been identified with the temple of Bhūteśvara. The main and the largest temple in the western group or in the lower group is also dedicated to Śiva and Stein has been identified this temple with JyeKNheśvara temple of Lalitāditya107. Around these two main temples several smaller temples were also built. The principal temple is a square of 2 5’, and, except in a few particulars, does not differ from other temples of Kashmir. This temple has only two entrances opposite each other in the north-east and south-west sides. The roof of the temple was evidently pyramidal. A large quantity of lime has been used in the masonry of the temple. The ceiling is built of circular courses of *kanjur* stone, and is crowned at the apex by a full-blown lotus. The dome springs from four large corner stones. On two sides of the string-course upon which the dome rests are eight rectangular slots (four on each side), which seem to have been intended to hold the rafters of a canopy over the image. The interior measures 17' square. In the centre of the floor is a square space which is unpaved. It marks the site of the pedestal of the image. The mortises of the tenons of the doors can still be seen in both entrances. The two sides which are closed are decorated externally with square-topped recesses, each of which contains the pedestal of an image. The core of the roof consists of rubble-stone masonry in lime. The small temple to the left possesses niches on three sides intended for images. Of the two temples which are behind the main temple, one has its entrance facing north-east, and the other faces southeast.Immediately to the left of the latter is the ruined plinth of another temple, smaller than any of those described above.

Between the two groups of temples are a number of structures which in themselves deserve to be classed into a third group. All of them have fallen down, but one, the base only of which is in existence, is unique in Kashmir. It appears to have been a spacious pillared hall or *bārāhdarī* about 100’ long by 67' broad. The bases of the columns are *in situ*. They are eight in number on the longer side and four on the shorter. The staircase is built between the central pair of columns facing the first group of temples. The slots in the landing on the top of the stairs seem to have been intended for holding the posts of screens108.

There is massive retaining wall of stone in this group of temples. The granite blocks are of so extraordinary in size and are so beautifully dressed and finely joined as to give the impression that their carvers regarded them more in the light of wooden beams than as close-grained intractable boulders to be chipped into shape with vigilant care and inexhaustible patience. It is probable that this wall served the double purpose of protecting the temple enclosure from being overwhelmed by the debris of the hill above, and also as the back wall of the range of cells on this side. The temples were endowed with extensive estates, and the priests in charge seem to have been a particularly influential body. In the later medieval period, after the death of Avantivarman, these temples shared the misfortunes which came upon Kashmir with everincreasing violence. The temple treasury was plundered by Bhadreśvara, the prime minister of SaHgrāmarāja (CE1003-1028)109; a conflagration in the reign of Uccala (CE 1101-1111) inflicted much damage upon the buildings; during the reign of JayasiHha (CE 1128-1155), Hayavadana, a rebel baron, had the temples sacked by marauding hillmen. Sumanas, a brother of Rilhana, the minister of JayasiHha, who built several *maDhas* and *agrahāras* etc.*110* built a congregation hall here. It is possible that the pillared hall is this same *maDha*.

Further excavations may throw light upon the question.

## ANDARKOTH

Near the entrance of the lake, on the left bank of the Vitastā, about five miles below Shadpur is situated Andarkoth, known originally by the name of Jayapura, the capital of King JayāpīLa111.The site selected for the capital was in the midst of an extensive marsh, the drainage of which was so difficult that in Kalha a's time it was believed that in the execution of his design the king had employed the services of *rākCasas* "demons," whom his friend, King VibhīKa a of Sri Lanka, had placed at his disposal. The ancient causeway which connects the island with the mainland of the nearby village of Sumbal is still the only means of communication in the rainy season, when the lowlands round about are covered with water.

There is not much left today of the Buddhist *vihāras* and the Hindu temples which are said to have been built here by JayāpīLa. Practically everything has been destroyed. The temple of Keśava is represented by a large heap of scorched and shapeless boulders. The only objects of interest are a couple of sculptured reliefs on two faces of the pilaster of the stair; and they too are woefully defaced. The relief on the flank depicts a four-armed ViK u seated on a cushioned throne in what is technically known as the *lalitāsana* (sportive attitude), while an attendant, probably a female, is standing on his left. The left foot of the god rests upon a small footstool. His upper right hand holds a mace, and the lower one is placed in *abhayamudrā* (pose of granting immunity from fear). He is profusely ornamented, and wears the *mandaramālā* (garland of celestial flowers). Under his throne are an atlant and some other indistinct figures. The relief on the front panel contains a group of three figures: ViK u seated between his two consorts. The sculptures belong to about the seventh or eighth century CE.

## TEMPLE OF ŚIVA PRVAREŚVARA

Kalha a refers to the temple of Pravareśvara112 and further describes it as “a gate resembling the gate of heaven.”113 Even before Kalha a, Bilhana makes the king ascend bodily to heaven from the temple of Pravareśvara. M.A. Stein has located this temple near to the south-east of the Bhimasvamin rock.

Outside Akbar fort, there is a Ziarat of Bahau-d-din Sahib. Stein says that this Ziarat is made with the material of an ancient temple; the cemetery which surrounds it also contains many ancient remains in its tombs and walls. At the South-west corner of this cemetery rises a ruined gateway, built of stone blocks of remarkable size, and still of considerable height. This structure is traditionally believed by the Pandits of Srinagar to have belonged to the temple of Śiva Pravareśvara which Kalha a mentions as the first shrine erected by Pravarasena in his new capital114. As far as its architecture is concerned it might well belongs to the earliest monuments of Srinagar. It owes its preservation probably to the exceptional solidity of its construction and the massiveness of its stone. The largest block’s length is sixteen feet, with a width and thickness equally imposing, were no convenient material for the builders of the Muhammadan Ziarats. The position of the ruins is very central and might well have been chosen by the founder of Pravarapura for a prominent shrine in his new city115.

## TEMPLE OF RA ASVĀMIN

Around the greatest mosque of Srinagar, Jama Masjid, number of ancient remains that attest the former existence of Hindu temple, have been found. M.A. Stein116 says that these remains belong to the temple of ViK u Ra asvāmin which Kalha a mentions as founded by King Ra āditya117. At present the place and material of this temple is owned by the resting place of the saint styled Pir Haji Muhammad. It consists of an octagonal cella of which the high basement and the side walls are still well-preserved. The quadrangular court in which it stands is enclosed by ancient walls and approached by ornamented gateways. This temple must have enjoyed considerable celebrity up to a comparatively late period.

## BHA$$ĀRAKAMA$HA

At presently this *MaDha* is located at Bradimar. This *MaDha* derived its name from the ancient BhaNNārakamaNha, which is referred by Kalha a in his chronicle not once but repeatedly again and again118. Bilha a, too, noticed it especially in his description of Srinagar. Originally this *MaDha* was built to serve the purpose of a *Sarai*. It was used on san occasion as a place of defiance. The chronicle tells that often the *MaDha* of Srinagar, served as place of refuge in the time of internal troubles and prisons. Queen Diddā sent her infant son there at the time of a dangerous rising119.

## DIDDĀ MA$HA

This *MaDha* is located at Didamar, which forms a western end of the city Srinagar on the right river-bank, retains the name of the DiddāmaNha120. It was built by Queen Diddā for the accommodation of travelers from various parts of India121. As a local name DiddāmaNha meets us often in the later chronicles. It takes its name in all probability from the BaladhyaMaNha of the later chronicled built by Baladhyacandra under king Rajadeva in the thirteenth century.

## NA"AVANA VIHĀRA

NaLavana mentioned by Kalha a as the site of a *vihāra* built by one of King Meghavāhana’s queen122. Stein says that the modern name goes back to a form NadavāNa. The termination *vāDa*, ‘garden’ frequent in the old local terminology of Kashmir, may safely be taken as the equivalent of vana in Kalha a’s form of the name123.

## TEMPLE OF GOPĀDRĪ

Kalha a in the first book of his chronicle tells us that King Gopāditya built a shrine of Śiva JyeKNheśvara on the Gopadari124. General Cunningham also agreed on the strength of an alleged tradition had proposed to identify this temple with the JyeKNheśvara shrine which Kalha a mentions as a foundation of Jalauka, Aśoka’s son, in the ancient Srinagarī.125 But George Buhler has already shown that there is no genuine tradition regarding the temple among the Srinagar Brahmanas. M.Aurel Stein says that it is certain that the superstructure of the present temple belong to a very late period. But the massive and high base on which this temple is raised, and certain parts of the structure are no doubt of a far earlier date. These may well have formed part of a building which in Kalha a time was built by king Gopāditya. There are no other ancient ruins on the hill126.

## TEMPLE OF ĪŚEŚVARA

This temple is situated in present village of Isabar, which is about two miles further north on the Dal shore and a little beyond the Mughal garden of Nishat. In the *Rājatara gi ī,* Kalha a tells that king SaHdhimat Āryarāja erected a shrine of Īśeśvara in honor of his Guru Īśāna127.M.A. Stein says that this village has derived its present name from the shrine of Īśeśvara. This site has a sacred spring known as Gupta GaRga which fills an ancient stone-lined tank in the centre of the village. There is a ruined mound immediately behind the tank and it is popularly believed to mark the site of the Īśeśvara shrine.

## TĪRTHA OF VIJAYEŚVARA

The ancient town has been identified with the present town of Vijabror. Which is situated less than two miles above Cakradhara temple. This site received its name from the ancient shrine of Śiva Vijayeśvara128. The credit for the foundation of this site of Vijayeśvara round the ancient shrine of Śiva Vijayeśvara goes to a king named Vijaya129. Stein found some ancient slabs and fragments at this site. The *Rājatara gi ī* tells while king Ananta was residing at this place130. The temple was burned down in a general conflagration, caused by his son Kalaśa131. Later, however, Kalaśa restored the shrine. Jonarāja says that old LiRga of Śiva Vijayeśvara was destroyed by Sikandar Butshikast132.

## SKANDABHAVANA

At present this monument Skandabhavana is known as Khandabavan, a quarter of Srinagar, situated on the right bank of the river, between the Nau Kadal or Sixth Bridge, and the ldgah on the western outskirts of the city. This Vihāra was founded by king Skandagupta133. Kalha a in his chronicle mentioned it as the place where Sussala's queens burned themselves when the rebels hovering round the city' made the usual burning-ground'134.

Stein has fixed the position of the Vihāra of Skandabhavana with great probability at a spot situated near the southern end of the Khandabavan MahalIa, which Brahman tradition of the neighboring quarters knows to this day as a sacred site by the name of Skandabavan, the Ziarat of Mullah Muhammad Basur. It contains within a walled enclosure, partly built of old carved stones, a number of tombs, for the construction of which also materials from some Hindu structure seem to have been utilized. Immediately adjoining this enclosure on the west is a waste piece of ground surrounded by a mud wall. In its centre rises a mound now about 12 feet high with traces of a square stone wall enclosing its base. The mound, which consists of earth mixed with fragments of bricks. The wall or basement at its foot which can best be traced on the north and east sides, seems to have formed a square of about 38 feet. Close to the south-east corner of this square there is a hollow in the ground about 10 feet square which clearly marks the place of an old well or tank135.

Besides the examples of art and architecture discussed above, Kalha a makes numerous references to the construction of shrines, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, foundation of cities and towns, and installation of images throughout the eventful history of the land. For example, the shrines of Vardhanasvāmi and Viśvakarmā are mentioned in the third book of the *Rājatar gi ī136* and temples of Śri and Sadbhāvaśrī are referred to in the same book137. Amongst several works of Ra āditya, two temples constructed by him are mentioned138 and one by his queen that was named as Ra arambhāsvāmi139. Shrines of ViK u are repeatedly mentioned in the work140. This explains the existence of a very large number meal and stone images of the god even today. Several of the shrines mentioned by the chronicler have disappeared for ever due to large scale destruction not only by iconoclast Muhammadans but also by the wicked Hindu rulers and militia. Examples of king HarKa and Kalaśa are described in interesting details by Kalha a. But at the same time we get references to the renovations or *jīr oddhāra* of the old shrines by rulers like Diddā141. Many of the shrines must have disappeared due to natural wear and tear also. Another factor must have been the extensive use of wood in Kashmiri monuments. As wood is not as lasting as stone and is also falls easy prey to fire, the destruction can be well imagined. Not withstanding all these, what has survived, even as ruins, like the temples of Avantipura and Mārta La, present living testimony to the account of the celebrated Kashmiri historian on one hand and to the highly developed state of art in Kashmir on the other. There can not be an iota of doubt that Kashmiri people appear to have known the science and laws of mechanics then, as they used *yantras* or machines, in lifting up enormously bulky and heavy stones to give beautiful shape to their gigantic edifices.

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24. *RT*. III.11.
25. *Ibid*., I, pp. 73-74.
26. *Ibid*. I.341.
27. *Ibid*. I.124.
28. *Ibid*., II, p. 453.
29. *Ibid*., II.134.
30. *RT*. I, 38, 105.
31. *Ibid*. II.62.
32. *Ibid*. VII.336.
33. *Ibid*. VII.408-409.
34. Jonaraja, *RT*.762.
35. *RT*. III.380
36. *RT*. VIII.1442
37. Stein, M.A., II, p.339.
38. *RT*. III.357.
39. *RT*. III.353.
40. *RT*. III.439.
41. *RT*. III.460.
42. *E. g., RT*. III.350-51, III, 451, IV.183, 188, 209, 275, VI.172 etc.
43. *RT*. VI.307.