An Attempt to identify some of the places mentioned in the Itinerary of HIUAN THSANG. By Major WILLIAM ANDERSON, C. B. Bengal Artillery.

In the work, "For Koue Ki," or an Account of the Buddhist countries, translated from the Chinese original, by Remusat, revised and edited by Klaproth and Landresse, is given as an appendix the Itinerary of another Chinese traveller, HIUAN THSANG. These travels are concluded to have been undertaken in the 7th century; and the particulars narrated are made use of to verify the various places mentioned by Fa Hian, who is supposed to have travelled on his mission nearly two centuries earlier.

A desire to investigate the ancient accounts of North West India, led me to examine the itinerary of Hiuan Thsang with some attention. After no little trouble, I arrived at a theory which I have endeavoured to work into the present form.

We receive the original Chinese in the shape of a French translation made under circumstances of much difficulty.

The original work appears not to have been in the hands of the translators; who were necessitated to pick out the portions of it which existed in modern Chinese Encyclopedias; when to this difficulty we add the abstruse nature of the religious basis of the original, and couple with these the intricacies of the Chinese language, only commencing now to be studied and understood in Europe; we shall not be astonished if the translation be not perfect; but rather be compelled to admire the labour, study, patience and perseverance of the translators which have given to Europe this wonderful production.

No. XII.—New Series.

70
In attempting to reach the identity of some of the places mentioned, after many failures I was induced to try the substitution of the Arabic and Persian alphabet for the French readings of the Chinese original names; and my labours appear to me to have been rewarded with a success I had little anticipated.

My attention has been solely directed to the work in its geographical character. I have entirely abstained from any mention of those portions of the work which relate to the Buddhist religion; entire ignorance forbids my touching on these topics, which I leave to those better qualified for such an undertaking—but to me it appears, that if my identifications will stand the test of further examination and criticism, they must destroy the antiquity claimed for the original, and in some degree shake the authority which is now being given to these Chinese books.

The French translator's appendix runs thus:—

**Itinerary of “Hiuan Thsang.”**

“Hiuan Thsang visited the same countries as Chy fa Hian, but he extended his pilgrimage much farther than the latter. He traversed Tokharestan, Affghanistan, Scinde and almost every part of Hindustan: and his narrative, entitled Si iu ki, or descriptions of the countries of the West, offers to us a complete picture of the state of India in the first half of the 7th century of our era. Unfortunately it is not possessed at Paris in its original and primitive forms; it is only found in garbled fragments, though almost entire in the great Historical and Geographical compilation, which under the name of Pian i tian, contains the History of foreign nations, classed according to the epochs when they were first known to the Chinese, so that it was found necessary entirely to subvert the order which travellers have preserved in their recitals. It is this order I have endeavored to re-establish in as far as concerns Hiuan Thsang, in the resumé which follows, by the help of some indications lately published by M. Klaproth, and I believe I have accomplished it with exactness. The narrative of Hiuan Thsang has been so often cited in the notes to the Foe koue ki, and furnished so much useful knowledge, that a comparison embracing the travels of the two travellers cannot be considered as superfluous. I have indicated by a line this route thus restored upon the Chinese Japanese Map that accompanies the present volume.”
7. **Sou tou li se na** (Osrouchna) touche à l’orient au fleuve Ye, qui sort des monts Tsoung Ling et coule au nord-ouest. Au nord-ouest on entre dans le grand désert de Sable.

**Osrooshunuh** is a large district lying between Sumurkund and Khokan; Zezuk of the maps is one of its chief towns. We find it mentioned in Edrisi, Vol. ii. p. 205-6. It is also entered in the Geographical lists of the Ayeen Akbaree, and Sadek Esfuhane; but with the errors usual to all Latitudes and Longitudes written in the Abjud numeration. We may remark, the usual elision of the initial vowel, with the substitution of the **Chinese L** for **Arabic R**. The Sehoon or Jaxartes is known to the Chinese as the Ye.

The Tsoung Ling or blue mountains, constitute the chain, marked in our maps as the Pameer, Boloor and Kara Korum ranges; of which the Himalaya or Snow mountains are considered as branches.

Après 500 li on vient à

8. **So mo kian**, ou **Khang kiu**, ou **Khang**.

(Samarkand).

**Sumurkund** is the well known capital; we may note the absorption of the **R**.

9. **Mi mo ho** (Meimorg).

**Mimoho**, is a city known as Maemorgh, placed by Edrisi, Vol. i. p. 485, at one day’s march from Nesuf or Nukhshub, lying to the east of Kesh or Shuhre Subz.

De là au nord

10. **Kieu pou tan na**, ou **Tsao**.

**Kieu Poutanna**, or **Tsao**. In Edrisi, Vol. i. p. 480, we find **Soorun**, two journeys from Termiz; a large town with a smaller one depending on it, called **Soorun**. Now, here I note a particular point which appears to run through the whole of these transformations; either the sound of **w** has fallen on the Chinese ears as **r**, and hence been transmuted into **r**—or in reading from an Arabic or Persian copy in a hurried **Shukustuk** handwriting the tail of the **waw**, has been turned up, and joining with the **alef** has taken the form of **r**, **f** and been so read and accepted by the Chinese translator as **fa**; he has...
read the word Kosadeyan, Kieú poutan.—By dropping the final ن and the $r$, as usual to the Chinese authors—we have Tsao for Soorun.

De là 300 li ouest.

11. Kiou chouang ni kia, ou Kouei chouang no.

Kiou Chóuangle, I conclude to be a reading of Khojund.
De là 200 li ouest.


Kohan is clearly Kookhan or Khokan.
De là 400 li ouest.

13. Pou ho (Boukhara) Tchoung'an.

Pou ho, Boukhara; is a fair example of the theory I am induced to propose.—Pouho is no identification of the sound, Boukhara,—the stress of the sound lies in the penultimate $kh$; that the Chinese can receive and transmit this sound, we have proof in the two preceding places,—Khojund and Khokan; of disappearance or change in initial or final letters we are constantly made aware—hence we need not pause on the usual change of $p$ for $b$. But, if we suppose a Chinese author to be making up a geographical work, and consulting an Arabic or Persian book, for his guide—let the work be a Shukustah copy without diacritical points, and we shall be at no loss to understand his reading $p$ for $b$—and $h$ for $kh$—in خارا—and hence ignorant of the real sounds—to have transcribed letter for letter and inserted the name as Pou ho.

The reading $h$ for $kh$ runs through the whole work. It may be remarked, that in reading from manuscript proper names, with no assistance from the meaning of the terms—that it will be invariably found, that one formation of letters being once in the beginning accepted for certain letters and certain sounds, the same, right or wrong, will be carried through the whole work; thus we shall find $h$ substituted for $kh$—and $pa$ for $wa$—or $p$ or $b$ or $f$ for $w$.

De là 400 li ouest.

14. Fa ti Si'an.

Fatt Sian—is clearly Budukhshan—the kh being read as $h$; as an aspirate it has disappeared.

De là 500 li sud-ouest,
15. Ho li si mi kia ou Ho tsoin. De So mo kian.

Holismi kia, is almost letter for letter Kharism, the well known country to the North of the Oxus; of which Kheva is now the capital. The word is but a transcript of the ancient Greek term.

A 300 li sud-ouest,

16. Ko chouang na ou Sse à 300 li sud-est la Porte de fer,

Kochouangna or Sse, is probably the modern city of Kesh or Shuhr e Subz. We have a large district of Kushaneyuh—associated with Sogd by Ferdoosec.

While in Edrisi, Vol. ii. p. 203, we find Kushaneyuh on the north of the river of Sogd—27 miles from Ustejan, to the west of Sumurkund—this is probably the Kushaneyuh of Ferdoosec—and might be the original of the Kochouangna of the Chinese author. But the indication of 300 li. S. E. to Durban or Kuhluga—(100 miles) is rather conclusive that the place pointed at is Kesh—or Shuhr e Subz.

De la à

17. Tau ho lo : à l'orient, les monts Tsoung Ling ; à l'occident, Pho la sse (la Perse:) au midi, les grandes montagnes de Neige ; au nord, la porte de fer. Ce pays est au nord du fleuve Fa tsou (l'Oxus).

Touholo—Tokhara—the same interchange of h for hh. According to Ptolemy once a considerable nation, Tóxapoi, (Thocarorum magnagens; "Cluverius") Constantly mentioned in the Moslem histories. The country extended on both sides of the Oxus, from the confines of Bokhara to Kabul; from Budukhshan to the limits of Persia. But the nation who held this district appears to have possessed dominant power over more extended limits at different periods.

We may remark here the introduction of the mode of description usual to Moslem authors. They first give a general outline of the country, with its bounding districts, and a list of its chief towns, then they enter upon particulars of each. Thus having a general outline of Touholo, our Chinese author proceeds to particulars.

En le descendant ou vient à
1188

Hiuan Thsang's Itinerary.

[Dec.

18. *Tan mi, au nord du fleuve. Fou see tsou; 10 kia lan.*

**Tanmi**—Termiz, a well known ferry on the Oxus.

De là à l'est

19. *Tchhi'ao yan na; 10 kia lan.*

Tchhi ăoyanna, Sueghaneyan, where the diacritical point of the  غ being omitted it has been read ع ăo. ꙶ is the type of Oxus.

The map to the Memoirs of the emperor Babur places Cheghanian a little east of Termiz. Edrisi has a district of this name near Sumur-kund, and also a town 4 journeys from Termiz. The table in the Ayeen Akbaree places it a little west and north of Talkan.

De là à l'est

20. *Hou lou mo; 2 kia lan.*

**Houloumo**, Kholum—the well known town.

De là à l'est


**Iuman**—Huzurut Eman, on the Oxus—as stated.

De là à

22. *Kiou ho yan na; 3 kia lan.*

**Kiou ho yanna**, may be Kurghan tuppu; or one of those numerous districts inhabited by scattered tribes of Goorchees—whence the many Goors on our maps.

De là à l'est—

23. *Hou cha.*

**Houcha**—Kookhchu; given on the maps as the name of the river of Budukhshan—mentioned also as 4 days from Cashmeer, and 8 from Eskardoo. By Bernier, Cal. ed. p. 142.

De là à l'est—

24. *Ko tou lo; à l'est, les monts Tsoung Ling.*

**Kotoulo** is clearly Kutoor; mentioned by all Moslem historians, as the country of the Seyah Poosh Kafirs.

De là à

_**KIU MI THO**.—Kundoz I suppose._

*CIRIKHINI* ; Cherkez, Circassia. From Kundoz the natural step is to Indurab and Ghoor. I have no doubt that a leaf has here taken its wrong place—for all the Chinese books, or perhaps Tibet and Monghonian, are written on separate single leaves—rather boards. It is most probable the misplaced portion commences at “au sud**” and ends with “du retour.”

An attempt is made at the end to identify these places.

*Howo*—Ghoor. Of all the countries and places known to Europeans by this name, I believe, the *Ghoor* to lie west of Bulkh, east of Meroo—and north of Kunduhur and Herat—but we find a Ghoree well defined on our maps east of Kholum—visited by Izzutallah, who calls it a well known town depending on Kundoz. *Howo si to*, Ghooristan, will be its district.

*AN THA LO FO*—Indurab. We have mention of this place in almost all the histories of any movements between Tooran and Hindoo- tan; it is given as a halting place of Temoor; stands recorded in the Ayeen Akbaree as east of Talkan; Izzutallah places Indurab one journey S. E. from Naruen. Sadek Esfahanee mentions it as a town of Budukhshan, rather Tokharistan.

Au sud-ouest on vient à


*Po kia lan*—Buklan—placed by Izzutallah at two journeys from Ghoreee. A halting-place of Temoor before he marched to the attack of the Siyuh Posh Kaîrs.

De là au sud
27. *Ke lou si min kian.*

KELOU SI MINGAN—Kulu Sumungan. Here we have clearly and distinctly the Arabic word قلع Kulu, for a fort. This situation is made by Ferdoossee the scene of the amour of Rostum with the daughter of the chief of the tribe; from which adventure arises the affecting story of Soohrab. The Ayeen Akbaree tables also furnish the locality near Talighan; while Sadek Esfuhanee places the fort in Tokharesstan; so that all agree.

De là au nord-ouest.


HOU PIN.—Old classical associations would almost persuade me to read this word Koofin, the κωφην of the Alexandrian expedition. And here I pause to ask a question; Where are the most ancient works which contain this word of κωφην κωφής Koofen, Koofees? Between the Greek capitals Ρ for R, Φ for f ph, there is only the half circle to the left to discriminate between the letters; a slight blot or flourish would cause the P to become Φ, so that perhaps the original word was Goores—and hence many difficulties may be cleared up, but the analogy of my former readings compels me to adopt Ghorbund. The r dropt with other interchanges quite common.*

De là à l'ouest.

29. *Fo ko* (Badakchan :), au nord, il touche à la rivière. Fa tsoou ; la capitale s'appelle la petite Ville Royale; 100 kia lan. Au sud-ouest de la capitale est le Na fo seng kia lan (Nouveau monastère). Ou entre dans les montagnes de Neige,

FOKO—Bulh—not Budukhshan.

The capital of this latter can hardly be considered to stand on the Oxus; the river on which it is built is known by the name of the

* Lassen (Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskithischen Könige, page 150) identifies Hou pin with the pass Upidn or Hupidn of Baber. According to a note to the passage referred to in the English version of Baber's Memoirs, this pass is situated a few miles north of Charikar on the way to Perwan. The Cophen is designated Ki pin by Chinese writers; and Arrian's description—Κωφην κωφής έν Πεινοελάντοι, ένω οτ τυμον Μαλαντον τε και Σάπατον, καὶ Παρροταν, ένηδοις των 'ινδών, places its identity with the Cabul river beyond question.—Eds.
Budukhshan or Kook-chuh river; while Balk clearly has the Oxus to its north. There was a celebrated Fire temple at Bulkh called Noo Buhar.

30. Youei mi tho.

YOUEI MI THO—Hoormuz, "c'est une ville de moyenne grandeur;" in the district of Merve near Talkan, according to Edrisi, Vol. I. p. 467 = 1 without the lower mark clearly readable for ي ي.

Au sud-ouest, on vient à

31. Hou chi kian.

HOU CHI KIAN—Gorjegan, Goor being the district between Bulkh and Merve.

Au nord-ouest, on vient à

32. Ta la kian (Talkan) : à l'ouest il touche à Pho la sse.

TALA KIAN—The Talkan near Merve—"une ville dont l'importance égale a peu près celle de Merve ol Roud."—Edrisi. This is the Talkan usually indicated by Moslem writers,—of which the description is often affiliated on the Talkan of Budukhshan. There is also I believe a third Talkan still nearer to Persia.

De Fo ko, à 100 li au sud,

33. Ko tcche: au sud-est, on entre dans les montagnes de Neige.

KOTCHE—Koorjee.

34. Fan yan na (Bamiyan)—à l'est, on entre dans les montagnes de Neige, on passe les Picas noirs.

FAN YAN NA—Bameeyan, the celebrated town of this name, well known; it was destroyed, with every kind of cruelty on the inhabitants, by Chungees Khan. Here we notice, م م, read as نن ن.

On vient à

35. Kia pi che (Cahoul).—La ville est adossée aux monts Tsoung Ling. Au sud de la ville, à 40 li, ville de Si pi to Fa la sse.—De là à 30 li
Hiuan Thang's Itinerary.

sud, mont A lou nao. Royaume de Tsao kiu tho; mont See na see lo (Sse na, nomdim Diva).

Au nord-ouest de la ville royale à 200 li les grandes montagnes de la Neige: là était l'ancien royaume de Kian tha lo. Au sud-ouest de la même ville, le mont Pi lo so lo (solide comme un éléphant). De là au nord, le Kia lan Pi to kie ou de l'alisier mordu.

Kia pi che. Clearly Kabul; why خ is substituted for ج is a question determinable probably by Chinese orthography.* The particulars mentioned of this place are not so clear. Sipi to palasse may be Estalif, a well known town to the north of Kabul. Mont Aounao, has an appearance of Aornus, and would almost point to the assistance of European writers in this Chinese Geography; or, it may be an attempt to transcribe Lulundur. Tsao kiu tho is Lhogurd; the پر Lho having been read نسر Tso.

Kian thalo. —200 li to the north-west, would point to the direction of modern Kundahar—here designated the ancient location of the tribe; thus proving the knowledge of the existence of two places of the name.

Pi lo so lo—Clearly Peelzoor, as interpreted;† which may be a Persian name for the celebrated defiles called in Arabic Khuebur; or may have a reference to Bajoor—or Khord Kabul. Hardly a Peak in these countries is without a name.

Pi to kieu. I suspect Butkhakh.

De là à l'est, à 600 li, par les defilés impraticables des Pice noirs, ou vient à la frontière de l'Inde du nord, et à

36. Lan pho,—adossé au pics noirs.

Lan pho. Lumghan; we shall find خ gh constantly transcribed as ف ph.

De là au sud est, à 100 li passant la grande chaine and traversant le grand fleuve ou vient à

* Identified by Lassen with the Capissa of Pliny, the Kawura of Ptolemy. It is placed by the latter two degrees and a half North of Kabura, otherwise called Ortopena. In the former word we have the probable etymology of the modern Kabul; the latter Wilson conjecturally amends to Ortostana, in Sanskrit Urddhastana, 'the high place,' in reference to the elevated plain on which Kabul is situated. See Ariana antiqua, p. 176.—Eds.
† چیت pilla چار सारा agrees better with the Chinese transcript; 'strong as an elephant.'—Eds.

NA KO LO HO—Nungnuhar, the old name of the modern district of Julalabad.* So mentioned in the Ayeen Akbaree. In the Journal of the Asiatic Society for January 1837, is given from the London Asiatic Journal, the Chinese account of India,—it mentions:—“In the year A.D. 983, the arrival of a Buddha priest in China, with a letter, who stated it was from the kingdom of Woo Tēn Nang, (Oudyana!) that this kingdom belonged to Yintos of the north, (Northern India) that in 12 days from the west you arrive at the kingdom of Khantolo, Gundhara; twenty days further to the west you reach the kingdom of Nang Go Lo Ho (Nungnuhar); ten days further to the west you come to the kingdom Langho, (Lumghian;) 12 days more to the west is the kingdom of Gojennang, (Guznee;) further to the west that of Posze, (Persia.) A simple statement of the chief towns on the grand road from Cashmeer to Persia.

Au sud-est 500 li au travers des montagnes, on vient à


* This is the Chinese transcription of Nāgarā, a town; Lassen first pointed out its identity with the Nāyapa of Ptolemy.—Eds.
lien de la naissance de l'ermite Pho ni ni fondateur de la musique.

Kian tolo. This is the Ghundara of the Sanskrit, the Kundara Gandaridae of Strabo, and other ancient Greek Geographers. We find it constantly mentioned in the history of Cashmeer, as a neighbouring country at war or at peace with Cashmeer; we have a notice of it in the Ayeen Akbaree, Vol. ii. p. 151, in the days of the first Moslem conquests; Seenuhdeo being the last Hindu king of Cashmeer. In the Ayeen Akbaree it forms the district of Puckely, lying between Cashmeer and Utok; on the north, Suwad and Bajoor. The modern districts of Peishawur constitutes a portion of what formed the Kundhara district. The Ayeen Akbaree says, "Tooman Bekram, commonly called Peeshore, enjoys a delightful climate. Here is a temple called Gorekehtary, a place of religious resort particularly for Jowgies." But in the Geographical tables we have Pershawur commonly called Peeshawur. And so I find in most copies, the word to be Pershawur called Begram, with the r. We have also the high range called Purushnath, at no great distance. Kundhara is also enumerated long east of Ghuznee, while a former one has been alluded to though not placed, in "Muemund, now a dependent on Kundahar,"—the modern city. A difference of longitude of 26 degrees exists thus between the two places of the same names.

In Pou lou chu Foulo; with the interchange of f for w we have clearly Pershawur.*

At 150 li S. E. or 50 miles, Outo kia han tchha—Utok; something to correspond with the usual discriminative "Benarus," commonly added to Utok; may be Gunj or Khan Surae. That this identification is correct, is proved by the next word, Pho lo tou lo, clearly the ruins placed a few miles S. W. as "Pertore ruins," on our maps; one simple proof superior to an accumulation of several weaker points of evidence.

De là passant au nord les montagnes and les rivières à 600 li on vient à


* It is more probably the Chinese transcript of Purushapāra, a name common in the Purāṇas. Akber is said to have built, or improved this town and to have imposed its present name, Peshawur, in reference to its position on the frontiers.—Eds.

Outchangna—Sanskrit, Oudyana.*

This country stands in the Ayecn Akbarea as Suwad and Bajoor, I have no trace of it to exhibit, except that our map-makers have placed two towns called Ooch in this district above Bajoor. I am inclined to read the word as Ooghah—the origin and not the corruption of the word Affghan. In some of the best and clearest written copies of the most classical works, the term used is Ooghan. On the other hand, if Outchang, in Oudyana its Sanskrit prototype, can stand the test of examination, I believe in it we may find the oft sought origin of the Affghan nation; for the Arabs would no doubt gutturize the Indian radical Oodyan or Oojan, and hence the rise of Ooghan, Afghan, Putan. Mungloor we know as the capital of this country, which has been visited by no European that I am aware of, hence the details cannot be

* According to Professor Wilson this should be Ujjana.—Eos.
followed. MAHA FANA is a direct transcription of Maha vana, grandeforêt, while I am almost tempted to read LOUYI TA KIA as Lal tukeyuh? THALILO may have relation to Darduh, Durbund, and Dhar on the Indus. It may be borne in mind, that the Dorrane kings had but little influence in these parts. That the remnant of the ancient population, probably Hindus, asserted not to be Moslem in the present day, now exist in the Siyuh Posh Kafirs,—that in the days of Akbar constant invasions of these parts were carried on; that Babur boasts of his forays on the lands of these semi-Hindus; while in the days of Timoor and previously it was considered a work of religious merit to exterminate these Kafirs—then as now, almost unknown.

De là à l’est, passant les montagnes à 500 li ou vient à

40. Po lou lo entre les montagnes de Neige.

POLOULO—Beloor.—The district of the high range known by this name; placed by the Ayeen Akbaree tables close to Cashmeer.

OUTOKIA—Utok, the river made one mile wide!

Retour à Ou to kia han tchha (voyez No. 38). Passant au midi le Sind, qui est large de 3 or 4 li and coule au sud-ouest, ou vient à


TAN TCHA CHI LO.* Punch—Punjal; one of the celebrated passes into Cashmeer. These various Khonds or tanks can only be identified on the spot, being local myths. “Pays du roi Chundur——.” Something connected with lumière. The history of Cashmeer is interwoven with stories of these wonderful dragons.

De ce pays, au sud-est à 700 li à travers les montagnes,

* This is no doubt the Takshasila of the Vayu Purânà, mentioned in a note to Wilson’s valuable translation of the Vishnu Purânà, page 386, and identical with the Taxila of the historians of Alexander. It is evidently the same place which Fa Hian names Tcha cha chi lo, and could not be far from the site of Manikyala.—Ecc.
42. *Seng ho pou lo* (limite de l'Inde du nord) dépendant du Cachemire à l'ouest il s'appuie sur le fleuve Sind. Au sud de la capitale, stoupa fondé par Asoka. Au sud-est à 40 or 50 li un autre fondé par le même.


*Seng ho pou lo.* — Senghpour. I have no doubt there are several places of this name.

De là an sud-est, par les montagnes, 500 li à


*Oulachi.* — May be Ooch.

De là an sud-est, montagnes, ponts de fer ; apris 1000 li, ou arrive à

44. *Kia chi mi lo* (Cachemire) limite de l'Inde du nord. Fondé 50 ans apris le Nirvâna par *Mo tian ti kia* disciple d'Ananda. La capitale s'appuie à l'ouest sur un grand fleuve. Il ya quatre stoupas bâtis par Asoka.

Asoka, roi de Magadha 100 ans apris *li* Nirbân'a.

Kia nî sse kia roi de Gandhara 400 ans après le Nirvâna.

Sse ma tsiu lo, roi de *Tou ho lo* 600* ans après le Nirvân'a.

Au sud est de la nouvelle ville, à 10 li ancien-ne ville.

*Kia che mi lo.* — Kashmeer, *Kashmir,* me che kia. In all instances we find the Chinese author to repudiate final quiescent consonants; almost every letter is vowelized, as if inherent to the letter: the long quiescent Arabic vowels are generally treated as consonants.

Au sud ouest, passant par les montagnes, 700 li, on vient à.
45. *Pan nou tcha* (Pendjab) dépendant du Cachemire.

**Pan nou tcha.** - Punjab, dependent on Cashmeer: the period when this was a fact, might give a clue to the date of this work in its original.

De là an sudest, 400 ńi à,

46. *Ko lo tche pou lo* (dépendant du Cachemire.)

Tous les pays, depuis Lan pho jusqu’à celuici, sont sauvages, les habitants grossiers, les langues barbares. Ce n’est pas la veritable limite de l’Inde, mais une civilisation détournée de ses frontieres.

**Ko lo tche poulo.** - Goorukpoor; no doubt there are several places of this name.

**Lanpho.** - Lumghan, already noticed. The author has followed almost a straight easterly route.

De là au sud-est, passant la riviere à 700 ńi,


**Thee kia,** - Shekarpoor, no doubt a boundary of N. W. India, towards India proper. I find no early mention of this place even in the Ayeen Akbaree. It, as a large district, is bounded by the waters *(Run)* of Boojh. Pi po tche *tche ko lo,* Sukur—

we have mention of Mehr kul in the history of Cashmeer, a “shameless tyrant, but heaven permitted him to make considerable conquests.”

De là à l’est 500 ńi à

48. **Tchi na pou ti** (èrigè par les Chinois): limite de l’Inde du nord. Lieu où était le domaine du roi Kia ni see kia. Les pêches et les poires y ont été introduites par un prince Chinois; d’où les poires ont reçu le nom de Tchi na ni (venues de Chine), et les pêches celui de Tchi na lo tche fe ta lo (fils du roi de la Chine.)
Low ridge of Chobhur in the valley of Nepal with the desiccating cleft therein and the river nearing it.

The great range of Chandragiri in the distance.
An sudost de la grande ville à 500 li, monastère de Tha mo sou fa na (forêt obscure). Là a vu le docteur Kia to yan na, 300 ans après le Nirvân'a. Monastère fondé par Asoka.

Tchi na pou ti.—Cheenwat, reading the wa—as pa—clearly the Cheenyout of our maps on the Chinâb. In Tchi na lo tche fe ta lo, we have the simple Persian words Cheene shuftaloo, China peaches, as the interpretation indicates; this was one of the first readings which led me to the present attempt.

De là an nord-est à 140 an 150 li à

49. Tche lan tha lo (limite de l'Inde du nord) anciennement brahmanique.

Tche lan tha lo.—Clearly Julundur.

De là au nord-est, franchissant des montagnes escarpées, 700 li à


De là au nord, 2000 li, au travers des montagnes, on arrive an royaume de Mo lo pho, aussi nommè San pho ho.

Khiou lou to.—Kulate Gulzee or Kulate Nuseer. The former I suspect. A boundary of the north-west. and touching the snow ranges.

Mo lo pho.—Morghab; the gh read as usual ph ʰ, Sanphoh may be an attempt at Surrukh. سرخس

De Khion lou to, au sud 700 li passant de grandes montagnes et un grand fleuve, on vient à.

51. Che to thou lou, limite de l'Inde du nord; borné à l'ouest par un grand fleuve. Au sud-est de la ville à 3 au 4 li stoupa bâti par Asoka.

Chetothoulo.—Khoozdar.

De là au sud-est, à 800 li à

52. Pho li ye tha lo, limite de l'Inde du milieu. Le roi est de la race de Feï che.

Pho li ye tha lo.

De là à l'est, 500 li à
53. **Mo thou lo:** [Matoura] Inde Moyenne.

Trois stoupas bâtis par Asoka. Maison de pierre où *Ou pho kieou to* a prêché.

**MO THOU LO.—** Muthra.

I have not the knowledge to enable me to follow our author into central India.

108. **Ma yi che fa lo pou lo.** [Inde moyenne] 3000 li.

Hérétiques ne croyant pas à la loi de Foë.

**MAYACHEFOLOPOLO.—** Macheewaruh; *wa read fa* as usual. The well known place Macheewaluh.

De là retournant à Kiu tche lo, au nord, traversant un désert, passant le Sin tou, on arrive au royaume de.

109. **Sin tou (Sind)** (Inde occidentale), 7000 li de tour. La capitale *Pi tchen pho pou lo.* Le roi est de la race *Chou to lo.* Asoka y a bâti beaucoup de stoupas. *Ou pho kieou to* a parcouru ce royaume.

**SINTOU.**—Sindab, Scinde; the capital *PITCHEN PHO POU LO,* perhaps Bheekumpoor, near Bhekaneer, Soobuh Ajmeer; the *mim* taken for *f* or *g* as before remarked.

King of the race of *CHOU TO LO; Chutoor,* a celebrated tribe of Rajpoots. *OUGHO KUOU TO,* overran the whole of this country.

De là à l'est, 900 li, passant sur la rive orientale de l'Indus.

110. **Meou lo san pou lo.** (Inde occidentale), 4000 li de tour. Beaucoup d'adorateurs des dieux, peu de Bouddhistes.

**MEOU LO SAN POU LO.—** Moltanpoor.

De là au nord-est à 700 li,

111. **Po fa to** (5000 li de tour) Quatre stoupas d'Asoka; vingt temples d'hérétiques. Lieu où le maître *Tchin na fe tha lo* (très vainqueur) a composé son livre.

**PO FA TO.**—Bahawilpoor. I am not satisfied with the reading.
1847.

Hiuan Thsang’s Itinerary.

De Sin tou, au sud-ouest à 15 au 1600 li,


A THIAN PHO CHI LO.—Adeenuh, Gujerat. The place indicated is clearly a district on the sea coast. Adeenuh is a large town in the Sircar of Surat, Soobuh Gujerat; mentioned in the Ayeen Akbaree, with a harbour for ships. The capital KO TCH CHE FA LO.—Kurachee poor!? I should almost doubt this reading, for a capital of Guzerat, but the loose connection between other established and identified places leaves us ample room for even such a jump. Kurache is clearly on the coast and on the west of the Indus.

De là à l’ouest à moins de 2000 li,

113. Lang ko lo (Inde occidentale) plusieurs milliers de li en tous sens. La capitale s’appelle Sou tou li che fa lo. Ce pays est sur le bord de la grande mer. Il y faut passer pour aller chez les Femmes d’occident. Pas de roi: il dépend de Pho la sse. Les caractères sont semblables à ceux des Indiens. La langue est un peu différente. Dans la ville, un temple de Maha Iswara.

LANG KOLO.—This district on the sea, possessing ports for Zungebar, and depending on Persia, must be either Kerman or Mukran. The word reads as Lungoor, which I almost think I have seen in relation with this coast. It may be Punjgoor, which is a large town of Kuch Mukran. We have Rajahs of Sundul mentioned by Ferdoossee in the direction of Kerman. I suspect the Chinese author read of some port of embarkation for Zungebar, he seized with alacrity on the known word sun, for women, and manufactured the translation of western from some fancied form derived of عرف, west, or any similar root.

De là au nord-ouest.

114. Pho la sse. (Persé) (non compris dans l’Inde) plusieurs fois dix mille li de tour. La

PHOLA sse فارس, Persia. The capital Sou la sa tang na—Sherazistan; Thi na pa may have a reference to fire worship. Palace of the kings Houmo, Kom, the ancient town of this name, where the kings of Persia were buried. This country, at the north-west, touching Felin, may have some general reference to Ferung or Europe.

De A thian pho tchi lo, au nord à 700 li,


Pi to chi lo.—Buhkur; there are two places of this name, Buhkur at Roree, which may be the place here indicated; or Bukur in the Doabuh, between the Jheelum and Chenab rivers.

De là au nord-est à 300 li,

A pan tchia (Inde occidentale) 2400 ou 2500 li de tour. Pas de grand roi : il dépend du Sin tou stoupa bâti par Asoka.

A PAN TCHIA اراچ : Ooch. The read as f or p. Rather a questionable reading.

De là au nord-est à 900 li,

117. Fa la nou. (Inde occidentale) 4000 li de tour. Ce pays dépend de celui de Kia pi che. La langue a peu d'analogie avec celle de l'Inde.
moyenne. Ou dit que ce pays touche, à l’ouest, à Khi kiant na dans les montagnes.

FALANOU.—Analog would point to Baran, Bolan. Perhaps Daman; for there is no saying what may be the reading given to Shukustuh nay Nustalikh writing without points, on the absence of any sense to guide to the proper word. It must be some place dependent on Kabul, and touching Khi kiang na, which perhaps is Guznee, Guzneen. Daman will fulfill both these conditions, but the identification is not happy.

De là au nord-ouest on passe de grandes montagnes et de larges courants, on traverse de petites villes, et après 2000 li on sort des limites de l’Inde, et on arrive à


THSARO KIU THO.—Already given as Lhogurd.

De là au nord à 500. li,


FOE LI CHI SA TANG NA.—Balochistan, the capital HOU PHINA, Kharan. To the north-east, over rivers and mountains, skirting the boundaries of Kabul, would reach the range of GHORESTAN, which is the name for the Koh Baba summit, whence issues the Helmund according to all Moslem Geographical works; now Koh baba is the highest point of the chain.

De là au nord est, passant les montagnes, franchissant les rivières et sortant des limites de Kia pi che, après dix petites villes, on atteint les grandes montagnes de Neige et la chaîne Pho lo si na. C’est le plus grand pic du Djambou dwipa. Pendant 3 jours on descend et on arrive à
120. *An tha lo pho,* (ancien pays de Tou ho lo). 3000 *li* de tour.

Pas de grand roi; il est soumis aux Thou kiouei.

Stoupa bâti par Asoka.

*An tha lofo.*—Indurab, as before. But there is also a most fertile Canton of this name in the country of Ran on the Araxes. Edrisi, Vol. ii. p. 321.

De là au nord-ouest en entrant dans les vallées, en franchissant les chaînes et passant par plusieurs petites villes, à 400 *li*.

121. *Houo si to,* (anciennement pays de Tou ho lo.) 3000 *li* de tour. Pas de grand roi, soumis aux Thou kiouei.

*Houo si to.*—Ghoristan of Tokhara. But this may be Kuristan, the districts on the Kur, west of the Caspian.

De là au nord-ouest en passant les montagnes, les vallées et plusieurs villes, on arrive à.


*Houo.*—Ghoor or may be Khooee near the Araxes.

*Tsoung Ling.*—The Blue mountains, extending from the Merchaude, to the Himalaya of snow, from this Ghoor on the west to Ouchai on the east. We have here some repetition of what is formerly given subsequently to the district Chikhuii. This latter belongs in my opinion to another portion of the work; at such interchange and con-
fusion we are not to wonder, when we bear in mind that the French Editor had not the entire work before him; but was forced to collect the places named from various different books. I suspect the leaves have become transposed and wrongly placed—for from Ghoor of B坞dukhshan we find ourselves carried suddenly to the west side of the Caspian, and to this cause we may attribute the repetition just passed of Indurab, Ghoristan for Kurestan, Ghoor for Khooei. Our Chinese author having fallen on these names west of the Caspian, and affiliated them on those he had already described east of the same sea. In truth this is the grand error of all Moslem Geographical works. Making no allowance for two places under the same name, always considering them as identical; and carrying routes to and from the one, which in reality belong to the other; of this I could give many proofs.

Vers l'est, à 100 li on vient à

123. *Meng kian,* (anciennement pays de Tou ho lo). Pas de grand roi: il est soumis aux Thou kiouei.

*Meng kian.*—Moghan near Salian; on the Kur, the celebrated plain where Nadir Shah before the assembled tribes assumed the crown of Persia. Placed by Edrisi as a dependent district on Azerbeyujan. By Sadek Esfuhane near the Caspian; it is also entered in the tables of the Ayeen Akbarea.

An nord on vient à


*A li ni.*—Arran, on the Nuhr ulras, Araxes. *Arran, اران,* a tract of country situated between the provinces of Azerbaejan, Shervan and Armeneyuh. To Arran belong the cities Mooghan, مراغه, and others.—Sadek Esfuhane.

*Lying on both banks of the Fatsou,* or Oxus; this is but a portion of an old and far extended Geographical error, which connected, first the Oxus with the Uturuk or river of the Torks, and then with or without intervention of the Caspian, made the Araxes also a continuation of the same river. The Chinese author may have found in some works the Arran lying on both banks of a river, and from his own idea
given the name. This supposed identity of the Uturuk and the Oxus is the real cause of all the stories of the Oxus having once fallen into the Caspian.

A l'est on vient à

125. Ko lo hou, (anciennement pays de Tou ho lo) touche au nord, le Fa tsou.

Kolo hou.—Goorgan? The old mistake of the Uturuk for the Oxus—Joorjan of our maps.

A l'est on vient à

126. Ke li se mo, (anciennement pays de Tou ho lo). 100 li de l'est à l'ouest, 300 du nord au sud.

Kelisemo.—Khorasan, the well known district of the Sun.

Allant an nord-est on vient à

127. Po li ho, (anciennement pays de Tou ho lo), 100 li de l'est à l'ouest, 300 li du sud au nord.

Polihou. Reads like Balkh; which lies in a north-east direction from Khorasan, might stand for Bulghar.

Ke li se mo. Kharism; in the former part we had Holisemikia as Kharism.

De Ke li se mo passant les montagnes, à l'est à 300 li, on vient à

128. Se mo tha lo, (anciennement pays de Tou ho lo), 3000 li de tour. A l'ouest des monts Tsoung Ling, la domination des Thou khioüei a beaucoup altéré les mœurs et déplacé les peuples. Ce pays touche à l'ouest, à celui de Ke li se mo.

Sse me thu lo.—Semundus.—Edrisi, Vol. ii. p. 336. "De Babel Abwab, باب الإبواب، Samandar, سماندر, on compte 4 Journées par un pays habité; et de Samandar a Athil, اندل 7 Journées," "Samandar, مدينةسماندر, était autrefois une ville importante et très peuplée Fondée pur Noucherewan, elle était entourée de Jardins et d' inom-
brable vignobles: mais elle était attaquée par une tribu de Rous قبيلة الروس, que s’en empara, et sa prospérité evanouit; can this last sentence and “la domination des Thou Khiouee a beaucoup altéré les meurs et déplacé les peuples,” be the same?

We know that the Kubeelatal-roos of those days, would have been considered Turks; hence it is not a very presumptive question to ask, if the archetype of these two translations may not from the similarity of the translations, be almost pronounced identical. The description of Edrisi is itself a quotation. We have thus

Edrisi.


French retranslation by Klaproth and Landresse.

De là vers l’est 200 li à

129. Po tho tsang na (anciennement pays de Tou ho lo), 2000 li de tour. Le roi est fermement attaché à la croyance des trois Précieux.

Po tho tsangna.—Mazundurestan?

De là au sud-est, à 200 li au travers des montagnes,

130. Yin po kian (anciennement pays de Tou ho lo), 1000 li de tour. La langue est un peu différente de celle de Po tho tsang na.

Yin po kian, is not so clear, unless we can establish the zal, ذ connected by its damun, with the r, and read إبر Eu, the r dropt, or read ن, as we have remarked before of the r.

De là au sud-est, franchissant la chaîne par un chemin périlleux, à 300 li,


Kioulang nou.—Geelan?

De là au nord-est, gravissant les montagnes par une route difficile, à 500 li,
132. Tha mo si thiet ti, ou Thian pin, ou Hou mi (anciennement pays de Ton ho lo), 15 ou 1600 li de l’est à l’ouest, 4 ou 5 li (sic) du sud au nord. Entre deux montagnes, sur le fleuve Fa tsou.

Les habitants ont des yeux verts, différents de ceux de tous les autres pays.

Tha mo si thi eto.—Daghestan ; we have already had gh transcribed as m. Thian pin Durbund, pin beng bund as we remarked in Ghorbund ; Durbund lies on the west coast of the Caspian. The Arabic name being باب الإبراب Babul abwab. Can some story of Green-eyes be traced to this country.


Che khi ni.—Cherkes, or Cherkes, the modern Circassia. The r has been absorbed, and the final ze z read as before, nun w n.

Julius Von Klaproth visited in 1808, the Tartar tribes lying on the borders of Russia. He found the Lamian religion to prevail among all of them ; the priests considering Tebut as the source of their creed—that intercourse was maintained with the parent country by missions.

He mentions also from an original Mongol work called the “Spring of the Heart,” that the earliest traces of this Lamian religion among the Moguls are met with at the time of Zungees Khan, who sent for to his capital, the Lama high priest “to establish a system of religion and unite it with the monarchy;” that the Moguls term this date the period of “the first respect for religion.” The people of this country, called Circassians by nations of Europe, are named Tscherkessi by the Russians ; but denominate themselves Adeg; the word Cherkeez is considered Tartar or Mongol, from Cher, a road, and Kez to cut!!! the people who held this position in the days of Strabo being called Zukor. The result which I am compelled to adopt by my own readings and identifications is, that the introduction of the Arabic word قلع, Kulu for fort, in Kulu Sumungan: of the word Emam for Huzurut Emam, a place sacred to some Moslem saint, prove the names used in the Chinese original to be those of an age posterior to the Moslem
invasion of Afghanistan; that if my identification of Utok, Shekarpoor and Buhawilpore stand the test of criticism, that the present nomenclature cannot claim for the work of the Chinese author, in its present form, an antiquity of one hundred years. I say in its present form, under the names now given to the world, by the French translators. Nay, some of the transcriptions are such as would almost warrant the supposition, of the presence of European Maps, as in the case of Tchilna Pouti, for Chinyout. The bases of the work are in my opinion clearly Arabic and Persian Geographical publications, many of the words are literal transcripts from the Arabic; and the similarity between the two French translations given under the head of Sumandur, almost warrant the assertion that the Arabic of Edrisi, or perhaps a step higher, his authority, have not been absent. Many a literary position has been established on weaker evidence. Such being facts, we may suppose for the sake of argument two or three modes, in which the present work has been got up.

There may have existed old travels of this Hiuan Thsang either in books or in popular tradition; which some learned Chinese author may have modernized by the introducing the present names of places, drawn from Tibetan sources as regards the confines of that country; or from Persian and Arabic works, as relating to districts more removed from this centre of the Lamian religion; thus finding local habitations and names for various adventures and miracles of the sainted Superiors of his creed.

Or, like the Abbé Barthélemy, some talented scholar of the Chinese empire may have embodied the results of many years of study and reading in the travels of a fancied Hiuan Thsang, as the "Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis Chinois," tracing out the travels not of one Lama, "Asoka," but of many members of this religion, so as to bring within its scope and reach, nearly all the portions of Asia, in which this religion ever had footing.

Or the whole of it may be a modern compilation of some book-maker, with Geographical information for its end, while the various religious anecdotes have been introduced as relief to a dry discourse. The spoliation of western Asia, the plunder of the celebrated libraries of Bokhara, Sumurkund and Baghdad, by the Mogul armies under Zungees Khan and his sons, must have carried to China numerous valuable
Persian and Arabic works, whence much of this information may have been obtained. These books may have been read by Molás of Kashgar or any other Moslem province of China.

But above all, we must not forget the information which may have been imported to the learned of the celestial empire by the Jesuit Missions of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. Nay, much earlier; for, from the travels of Marco Polo, and from the Persian histories of Monka Khan, we know that Europeans had great influence in China, at a much earlier age; we all understand that the Jesuit Missions always considered instruction as one of their most powerful means. The followers of Loyola improved the Chinese Almanacs, and hence it may be inferred were not entirely neglectful of the sister science of Geography. Nor should we forget the connection even now existing with Russia. With these sources of information open we need not be so much astonished at the identifications which are here discovered. I am inclined to give a very recent date to the whole compilation.*

I would remark, that particulars appear more minute round Kabul, as a centre; that the distances and directions are utterly worthless, being the combined results of misreadings, misunderstandings and guess work. Meridians of Latitude and Longitude have been followed in some instances, routes of marches and caravans in others, that the places are less distinctly delineated as more distant from Kabul; that the points of the compass have been strangely perverted, often reversed. The Chinese measure of Li may be taken in gross measurements as \( \frac{1}{3} \) of a mile.

The Geographical work of Edrisi was compiled H. 548, A. D. 1154, for Roger king of Naples and Sicily.—By Abou Abdallah, Mohummub-bin Mohummud el Edrisi; from numerous older books, chiefly Arabic.

The Sadek Esfuhanee, is a Geographical table of Latitudes and Longitudes translated for the Oriental Translation; Fund but the errors are endless, the Latitudes and Longitudes being copied with no attention to their correctness; in other respects the work is useful. Of the author few particulars are known, except that he lived about A. D. 1635.

The Ayeen Akbaree is the great work of the celebrated Abul Fuzl, one of the Ministers of Akbar, emperor of Hindoostan. The work

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* The great geographical compilation entitled Pian i tian, is quite a modern work we believe. We are happy to learn by a letter from Col. Sykes, that the whole is about to be translated from the Chinese by a young French savant.—Eds.
was translated by Gladwin in a mode, considering the age and the limited knowledge of Persian which then prevailed, that reflects much credit on the translator. But it is a work which if several manuscripts could be obtained would well repay a modern translation. The original work was finished of the close at the 15th century.

A couple of hours' Herborization at Aden. By M. P. Edgeworth, Esq. C. S.

On my way back to India I touched at Aden in October 1846, and while the steamer was coaling was able to make a short herborization in the little ravine behind the hotel and on the very bare rocky sides of the hill adjoining. As very little seems to be known regarding the flora of this terrestrial paradise, I think that the results of my two hours' stroll may prove not uninteresting, as there are some curious forms and new genera and species to be noted among the few flowers I collected.* The soil in which I found them was gravelly or rocky, the rocks all of volcanic origin. Of several species, which I believe I have identified with the description given in De Candolles Prodromus, I subjoin more detailed characters.

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Capparidaceae.

**Cleome droserifolia**, De C. No. 23, p. 239, to which description may be added—

*It is probable that most of these plants are to be found in the collection made by M. Botta, but I have only seen the first part of the description of that collection, consisting only of Algae.