by coolies who have been in those places, so far as separate apartments, remains of musical instruments, arms, &c. having been found in them, but from the way in which those tombs are opened, generally by a narrow shaft from the top, and the hurried way in which they have been explored, the foul air preventing them from being searched far from the opening of the shaft, it is very difficult to gain any correct information regarding the interior. In my rough sketch I have assumed the space occupied by the elephant to be $10' \times 5'$, and for the horse $10' \times 3'$, with a partition wall of 2 feet, which would give a square apartment of $10' \times 10'$ inside, and allowing the outer rooms to have been all of one size, the partition walls 2 feet thick and the outer walls 3', the outside dimensions of the whole building would be a square of 88 feet, and the size of the mound said to contain the tomb of Rajah Gadhadarra Sing at the Cherceai or Seereai Dieuw, is sufficient to cover a building of much larger dimensions; this however I need scarcely say is at present little better than supposition.

Some system of embalming is said to have been practised for the royal family; but if so, it must have been a very imperfect one, as I have ascertained that nothing more than scraps of bones have ever been found in any of the tombs, although I have met with several men who have asserted that the remains of more than one human being have been found in them.

I trust that you will kindly excuse my having trespassed so very far on your patience with what I am aware must for the most part be already more correctly known to you; but I have been induced to do so in hope that some apparently trifling matter might serve as a clue or connecting link to more important information previously in your possession.

Verification of the Itinerary of Hwan Thsang through Ariana and India, with reference to Major Anderson's hypothesis of its modern compilation. By Capt. Alex. Cunningham, Bengal Engineers.

The Itinerary of Hwán Thsáng* is the most valuable document that we possess for the history and geography of Ariana and India

* See Appendix to the Foe-kue-ki.
prior to the Mahomedan conquests. The minute accuracy of its details and the faithful transcription of the native names of men and places, give it a vast superiority over all the Mussalmán works that I have seen, excepting only that of Abu Rihán. And yet this invaluable account has been impugned by Major Anderson of the Bengal Artillery, who states his conviction that in its present form the nomenclature of Hwán Thásáng cannot claim an antiquity of one hundred years: and he afterwards remarks that "the distances and directions are utterly worthless, being the combined results of misreadings, misunderstandings and guess-work." This is a sweeping condemnation of one of the most accurate of all ancient works, but I am happy to say that I can prove beyond all doubt that Hwán Thásáng is nearly always right in his "distances and directions," and that the Major is generally wrong in his conclusions, they being the combined results of his own "misreadings, misunderstandings and guess work."

In the first place, Major Anderson has used the wrong key, and he has consequently failed in unlocking the treasure of Hwán Thásáng's Itinerary. Having fallen upon the word CHI-NA-LO-CHE-FE-LO, which Hwán Thásáng says was the name given to the peaches introduced into the Panjáb from China, the Major's Persian reading immediately suggested that it was derived from the Persian term shafátalu (a peach), with the name of China prefixed to designate the country from whence the fruit had been imported. But a partial similarity of sound cannot be admitted as a proof of identity, when we have the direct testimony of Hwán Thásáng himself that the name bore a very different meaning. Chini-shafátalu means simply "China peaches," whereas the meaning of the original name was "son of the king of China." These translations, added to the transcriptions, enable us to identify the names in Hwán Thásáng's Itinerary beyond all possibility of doubt. Thus CHI-NA-LO-CHE-FE-TA-LO, is only a transcript in Chinese syllables of China-raja-putra, "sons of the China Raja." The Chinese alphabet possesses no R, and consequently this letter, as in the present instance, is always replaced by L. I have stated that Chini-shafátalu bears only a partial similarity to Hwán Thásáng's name: for it will be remarked that the third syllable of the original is altogether omitted in the Major's proposed reading; whereas my rendering of the term gives an
equivalent for each syllable, and at the same time possesses the exact meaning attributed to the appellation by Hwan Thsang.

Having thus started with the erroneous idea that all the names in Hwan Thsang's itinerary could be identified by rendering them into Persian and Arabic characters, the Major proceeds to an examination of those mentioned in Northern India and Afghanistan: and believing in the fancied identification of Kelu-si-min-kian with Kilah-semangdn, of Thsekia, with Shikarpur, of Po-fa-to, with Bhawalpur, of U-to-kian-han-cha with Attok, and of Tu-man with Hasrat-Imam, he comes to the conclusion that the work of Hwan Thsang is of an age posterior to the Moslem invasion of Afghanistan. I will now examine these identifications in detail; merely premising that, by the same style of reasoning, we may bring down the date of the composition of one part of the Bible to the reign of Queen Elizabeth, because Satan is therein named Abaddon, which in the English tongue is an appropriate name for the Devil.*

1st. Kelu-si-min-kian.—Hwan Thsang particularly specifies that this place was to the south of Fo-kia-lang, or Baghalan. Now Semengan was the ancient name of Heibuk, which lies to the North of West from Baghalan, instead of to the South. Of course Major Anderson will say that this is one of Hwan Thsang's misdirections, but I will hereafter show from numerous instances that it is the Major himself who is wrong in his directions; he having been led astray by the ignis-fatuus of Arabic and Persian. Now his identification of Kelu-si-min-kian, with Semengan, rests only on similarity of sound, for he had not proved that Semengan was ever called Kilah Semengan, which is a very necessary desideratum before we can admit the identity of the

* In like manner we might bring down the date of Pomponius Mela to the period of British supremacy in India, as amongst the ugly Scythian tribes, he mentions the Riphaces (Wry-faces), a name which could only have been derived from us Britishers. An amusing squib might be written in this style against all the ancient geographers; more especially if it was combined with Mr. Vigne's ingenious system of etymologies. According to him, Hem-babs, the Tibetan name of Drbs, is derived from Hima (snow, in Sanskrit), and Bab (a pass, in Arabic.) In humble imitation of this style I would suggest the possible derivation of the name of London, or Londinium, from Lon (salt, in Sanskrit) and Donna (a lady, in Spanish.) From this natural combination, we find that London means "the place of the salt lady," in which we have perhaps an allusion to Lot's wife. Mr. Thornton in his Gazetteer innocently quotes several of Vigne's etymologies as if they were correct.
two places. So far from its being a fort, we know from Edrisi that it was only a good sized town with "mud walls" (murs en terre). It could not therefore have been called Kilah Semengán; and the consequent deduction that the Chinese syllables Kelu represent the Arabic word Kilah (fort) must be abandoned.

2nd. THSE-KIA. Major Anderson identifies this place with Shikárpur, but Hwán Thsáng’s distances and directions give it a very different position. On the west was the river Sin-Tu, the Sindhu or Indus; and on the east was the river Pi-po-che, the Vipása or Byás. As there is no river to the eastward of the Indus at Shikárpur, the Major has prudently passed over the Pi-po-che in silence. But Hwán Thsáng adds another important particular regarding the position of THSE-KIA; namely, that at 14 or 15 li (about 2½ miles) to the South-West of it stood the ancient town of CHE-KO-LO, with a stupa or tope which had been built by Asoka. This is no doubt the Sákala of the Mahabhárat, and the Sangala of Arrian and Q. Curtius. Its position to the Westward of the Byás agrees precisely with that assigned to the others; and the fact that Asoka built a Stupa there, proves that it was a place of consequence within 50 years of Alexander’s death. And now for the first proof of the accuracy of Hwán Thsáng’s distances and directions. Hwán Thsáng states that to the Eastward of THSE-KIA at 500 li (about 83 miles) stood the monastery of THA-MO-SU-FA-NA, (foret obscure) and at 140, or 150 li (24 or 25 miles) to the North-Eastward from the monastery, was the town of CHE-LAN-THA-LO, or Jālandhara. The monastery must therefore have been near the present Dakhani Serai, on the Káli-véhi river, and THSE-KIA, and CHE-KO-LO must have been in the neighborhood of Lahore and Amritsar. Now from Dakhani Serai and Sultánpur, the whole of the Western Doab-i-Jálandhara-pita is covered with a thick jungle, from which the monastery no doubt took its name of THA-MO-SEER-FA-NA, or "foret obscure," from तमास् tāmas, darkness, and वन, van, a jangal. The actual position of CHE-KO-LO, Ságala or Sangala, I cannot at present determine, but we have no less than three distinct authorities, all of whom agree in placing it to the westward of the Byás, and on or near the high road leading across the Paujáb.

But the position of this place furnishes a second proof of the accura-
cy of Hwán Thsáng's distances and directions, and the consequent inaccuracy of the Major's identifications. The Chinese pilgrim states that to the South-Westward of KIA-SHE-MI-LO, or Kashmir, and across the mountains at 700 li (about 117 miles) was PAN-NU-CHA, which all the continental savans have identified with the Panjáb, in spite of the assigned distance and direction. Major Anderson does the same, and remarks that the mention made by Hwán Thsáng that PAN-NU-CHA, was a dependency of Kashmir would, if the time could be ascertained, give a clue to the period when the work was composed. But PAN-NU-CHA is certainly Panuch or Punach, the Púñch of the maps, which was always a dependency of Kashmir during the Hindu rule. Hwán Thsáng's distance and direction are therefore again correct. Hwán Thsáng further states that to the South-Eastward of PAN-NU-CHA, at 400 li (about 66 miles) was KO-LO-CHE-PU-LO, and at 700 li (about 117 miles) more to the South-Eastward, was THSE-KIA; or in other words, that THSE-KIA was situated about 183 miles to the south-eastward of Punach. This brings us again to the neighborhood of Lahore and Amritsar, the very position already obtained by working Westward from Jálándhara. As Amritsar was originally called Chek, it seems probable that the holy city of the Sikhs, stands in the actual position of the Sūkala of the Mahabharata, and the Sangala of Arrian.

These detailed distances and directions, from two such well ascertained places as Kashmir and Jálándhara, fully establish the accuracy of Hwán Thsáng's Itinerary in this part, and the incorrectness of Major Anderson's identification of THSE-KIA with Shikárpur; more particularly as Shikárpur is to the west of India, and not to the north, as THSE-KIA is stated to be by Hwán Thsáng.

3rd. PO-FA-TO. This is placed by Hwán Thsáng at 700 li (about 117 miles) to the North-Eastward of MEI-LO-SAN-PU-LO, or Mallis-thánpura, the present Multán. Major Anderson identifies PO-FA-TO with Baháwalpúr to the South-Eastward of Multán, a direction contrary to that indicated by Hwán Thsáng. As the town possessed no less than 4 topes built by Asoka, its antiquity may be placed as high as the period of Alexander. As the town possessed no less than 4 topes built by Asoka, its antiquity may be placed as high as the period of Alexander. Now the distance and direction bring us to the banks of the Ravee, and to the neighborhood of Harapa, an ancient city now in ruins, which both from tradition and position, must have been one of the large fortified towns taken by Alexander. The Major
has been particularly unfortunate in his selection of Baháwalpur as the representative of Po-FA-TO, as that place was founded by Baháwal Khan within the last century. Chicha-watni may perhaps be the actual position of Po-FA-TO, as the second and third syllables are identical.

4th. U-TO-KIA-HAN-CHA. The position of this place can be determined very nearly by Hwán Thsáng’s distances and directions. From Shang-mu-Kia-Phu-sa, which appears to have been a holy spot in or near the city of Pu-se-Ko-Lo-Fa-Ti (Pushkalávati or Penekeatois, the modern Hashtnagar) to the South-East was the town of Pa-lu-sHa; to the north-east of which at 50 li (upwards of 8 miles) stood the temple of Pi-ma, the wife of Iswara (Bhimá, one of the many names of Durga). To the south-east of this temple at 150 li (25 miles) was the town of U-To-Kia-Han-Cha. From these data I have ascertained by measurements on Walker’s and Mirza Mogal Beg’s maps that the temple of Bhímá must have stood close to the present town of Noshehra, and that U-To-Kia-Han-Cha must have been at or near the modern Niláb. Major Anderson identifies the latter with Attok, and points to the identification of Pho-Lo-Tu-Lo with the ruins of Pertór, as a simple proof of his correctness. But the ruins of Bithor lie to the South of Attok, while Pho-Lo-Thu-Lo was 20 li (or 6½ miles) to the North-West of U-To-Kia-Han-Cha, which I identify with Niláb, between which place and Attok the hills are covered with the ruins of Bithor and Messa Kot. Major Anderson is wrong in disputing Hwán Thsáng’s measurement of the Indus at this place. For the accurate pilgrim does not say that the river was one mile wide; but that it was from 3 to 4 li (as nearly as possible half a mile) in width; which it actually is in many places in this neighbourhood. The Major may therefore keep his note of admiration for the breadths of rivers recorded by Arrian. The very fact that the li of Hwán Thsáng differs so much from the li of the present day proves the antiquity of the composition of his work: for there are about 6 of his li to the British mile, whilst of the modern li there are only 3 to the British mile. This is not a mere assertion, but a point which I have ascertained by Hwán Thsáng’s recorded distances between Kashmir and Jãlandhar, before alluded to; and by the recorded distances in the Kabul valley, which I will now mention.
Beyond Fan-yan-na, or Bamiyan to the Eastward, and across the snowy mountains, or Koh-i-Baba, lies the town of Kia-pi-she, which is undoubtedly the Kapisa of Ptolemy and the Capissa of Pliny. Major Anderson identifies Kia-pi-she with Kabul; and thinks that "Si-pi-to-fa-la-sse may be Estalif." But Estalif lies to the North of Kabul, whereas Si-pi-to-fa-la-sse was to the South of Kia-pi-she. The Major is therefore unfortunate in his conjectures as in his more elaborate deductions. Si-pi-to-fa-la-sse is an exact transcript syllable for syllable, of the Sanskrit Sveta-Versa. Now Ptolemy mentions both Kapisa and Kabura, and places the former to the Northward of the latter, and in the neighbourhood of Barborana or Parwan, of Parsiana or Panjshir, and of Niphanda (read Ophiana) or Hupidan. It is highly probable therefore that we may identify it with the present Kushán, more particularly as Solinus calls the place Caphusa; for the name of Kwh, کوشا، is often written بالتنام، Kafshan, in the same way that we have both Afghan and Aoghan.

This point being established I will now proceed to examine Hwán Thśang's "distances and directions." From Kipishe to the Eastward at 600 li was Lan-pho, or Lamgán (Lambatax of Ptolemy.) Thence to the South-East at 100 li and across a large river was Na-ko-lo-ho, or Nangrihr. Major Anderson calls this district Nang-nehar, which is only another erroneous fruit of his Persian predilections, that name being the Persian corruption of Nangrihar, as the word is spelt in Pashtu works, and which is faithfully preserved in the Chinese transcript. Professor Lassen has identified it with the Nagara or Dionysopolis of Ptolemy, which was no doubt the same as the Begrám near Jalalabad, around which several topes still exist as witnesses of Hwán Thśang's accuracy. Ptolemy's name of Dionysopolis was still in use so late as A. D. 1000, for Dinús or Dinus, is mentioned by Abu Rihan as lying nearly midway between Kabul and Peshawur. Now, from Kia-pi-she to Na-ko-lo-ho being 700 li or 233 miles by Major Anderson's estimate of the li, it follows that if he is correct in his identification of the former with Kabul, the latter must be situated to the Eastward of Peshawur; but as he identifies Na-ko-lo-ho with Nangrihar, it is clear that his estimate of the li must be wrong. According to my estimate of 6 li to the British mile the distance will be 117 miles; which is only a few miles more than the distance measured upon Walk-
er's large map. Again, from Na-Ko-Lo-Ho to Kian-To-Lo, or Gandhára, and its capital, Pu-Lu-Sha-Pu-Lo, the distance is said to be 500 li, which according to Major Anderson's estimate, would place the latter somewhere to the eastward of the Jehlam. By my estimate the distance is upwards of 83 miles, which is somewhat short of the distance measured by the perambulator. But the total distance by my estimate is exactly 200 British miles, which agrees nearly with the measured distance of Alexander's surveyors between Alexandria Opiane (Hupian) and Peukelaotis (Hashtnagar) which was 227 Roman miles, or 207$\frac{1}{2}$ British miles. From these statements it is clear that it is not Hwán Thsáng's distances that are wrong, but Major Anderson's estimate of those distances.

5th. Iu-Man. This Major Anderson identifies with Hazrat Imam;—but Hwán Thsáng's statements point to a different place:—for Hazrat Imam lies to the south of the Oxus, whilst all the places to the East and West of Juman lie to the north of the Oxus. Besides which the itinerary of the Southern bank from An-Tha-Lo-FO or Anderáb to She-Khi-Ni, or Shakhnan, is detailed in another place. According to Hwán Thsáng Iu-Man was situated between Tan-Mi, or Termed, to the North of the Oxus, and Ko-Tu-Lo, or Khatlán, a district likewise to the North of the river. Now in this very position we have the Shumán and Nomán of Ibn Haukal, the Sumán of Edrisi and the Shumáh of Abulfeda. But the itinerary of Edrisi agrees exactly with that of Hwán Thsáng. To the eastward of Tan-Ni, or Termed, was Chh-Ao-Yan-Na or Chaganian; to the east of which again was Hu-Lu-Mo, the Hamúrán of Idrisi, situated at 30 miles from Chaganian. Then to the east of Hu-Lu-Mo was Iu-Man, the Sumán of Edrisi, 39 miles from Hamurán. Beyond Iu-Man was Kiu-Ho-Yan-Na, the Andía of Edrisi, and the Ayubán of Ibn Haukal. Then to the eastward was Hu-Shá, the Washghar or Washgerd of the two Musalmán geographers; beyond which again was Ko-Tu-Lo, or Khutlán, a district on the northern bank of the Oxus. This well known place the Major identifies with Kator to the south of the Hindu Kush. From these distinct details it is certain that Iu-Man cannot be identified with Hazrat Imam.

I have now examined one by one the chief positions on which Major Anderson relied for the proofs of the correctness of his system of iden-
tification. As not one of them has stood the test of a rigid examination I consider it clear that the Major's system must be wrong; in further proof of which I will examine a few more of his geographical identifications before proceeding to the historical part of the enquiry.

P. 1189, "KIU-MI-THO."—"Kunduz I suspect." Hwán Thsáng has just before been detailing the itinerary of the northern bank of the Oxus from Termed eastwards: and beyond Ko-tu-lo or Khutlán, (mentioned above) he placed the mountains of Tsung-ling and Ku-mi-tho, which must therefore be to the eastward of Khutlán near the source of the Oxus; in which position we find the Komeda Montes of Ptolemy answering to the Tsung-Ling, and the Vallis Komedorum answering to the district of KIU-MI-THO, Hwán Thsáng is therefore right again.

P. 1189.—"CHI-KHI-NI, Cherkes-Circassia," Circassia! To justify this seven-leagued saltation the Major states that he has no doubt "a leaf has here taken its wrong place." I feel bold enough to express my opinion that the leaf is certainly in its right place, and that CHI-KHI-NI is as certainly in the very position indicated by Hwán Thsáng. The origin of many of the Major's most erroneous conclusions may be noticed in his attempted identifications of this word, in which he evidently reads the French ch as an English hard ch, instead of as the English ah. After correcting this curious "misreading" we have, according to Hwán Thsáng, the river FA-TSU or Oxus to the southwest of KIU-MI-THO, and the mountains of Tsung Ling; and to the south of the Oxus, we have SHI-KHI-NI or Shakhnán, the Lakinah of Ibn Haukal, and the Sakiná of Edrisi: the district on the Shakh-Dara, one of the head waters of the Oxus.

To the south of SHI-KHI-NI, on crossing the Oxus, we come to Tha-mo-si-thei-ti, or Hu-mi, of which the inhabitants had green eyes. This district Major Anderson identifies with Daghestán on the Caspian: but from the position assigned to it by Hwán Thsáng there can be no doubt that it is the present Wákhán. The dimensions given to it agree very well with those of the narrow valley of the upper Oxus. Hu-mi was from 1500 to 1600 li (250 to 266 miles) from east to west; and only 4 or 5 li (rather more than half a mile) in width, from north to south. Now from the Sir-i-kol lake to the junction of the Shakh-dara, the Oxus is 170 miles in length, measured direct by a pair
of compasses on Wood's map, to which must be added one half more for the windings of the stream, making a total length of 255 miles. From Ish-kashn to Kundut the valley of Wakhan, according to Wood, is from "a few hundred yards to a mile in width."—The average width is therefore somewhat more than half a mile, as accurately stated by Hwáng Thásáng. This is one more proof that the distances and directions of the Chinese pilgrim are correct.

But there is another interesting point mentioned by Hwán Thásáng connected with this identification of Hu-mi with Wakhan that in my opinion adds the last link to the chain of evidence in favor of the correctness of my identification. Hwáng Thásáng says that Hu-mi was one of the ancient districts of the Tu-ho-lo, or Tochari. Now one of the five tribes of the Tochari was named Hieu-mi, and their chief town was called Ho-mi. From them I believe that the Oxus received its name of Amú. This was no insignificant clan, but a mighty tribe, whose king, Kadphyses Hoëmo (OOHMO), judging from the numbers of his coins still existing, must have ruled over Kabul, and the Panjab for a long time.

The mention of green eyes points to a mountainous country, and not to the low banks of the Caspian. For it is a well known fact that in lofty mountain-valleys the inhabitants generally have blue or grey eyes, often inclining to green, as is likewise the case with the same colored eyes in Europe.

P. 1197.—"OU-LA-CHI may be Uch." This is another instance of the French ch being misread as the hard English ch. U-la-bm is no doubt the Uraza district of the Kashmirian history, the Uraza regio of Ptolemy, and the Bash of the present day, for the district of Bash lies just to the westward of Mozafarabad, and to the north-east of Kashmir; agreeing with the direction indicated by Hwán Thásáng.

P. 1199.—"CHE-TO-THOU-LO,—Khoozdar." This is a third instance of the misreading of the French ch, and distances and directions are again mistaken. According to Hwán Thásáng to the north-east of Che-lan-tha-lo, or J Understand, and across precipitous mountains at 700 li (about 117 miles) was Khíu-lu-to, the boundary of India on the north. Both distance and direction point to the district of Kül, which as Hwán Thásáng correctly states, is "surrounded by mountains, and close to the snowy mountains." Major Anderson iden-
tifies Khiu-Lu-To with Keld-i-Ghilzi. Now from Khiu-Lu-To to the south, at 800 li (about 133 miles) across high mountains and a large river, was She-to-thu-lo, bounded to the west by a great river. This name, She-to-thu-lo is an exact transcript of the Sanskrit Satadru, the Zadadrus of Ptolemy, and the Heeradrus of Pliny, now called Satrudr or Satlaj. The other large river crossed on the road from Kulu is of course the Vipasa or Byds.

These two identifications of Khiu-Lu-To and She-to-thu-lo with Kulu and Satadru, are I think, conclusive of Hwán Thsáng's accuracy both in distances and directions, and of the erroneousness of the Major's system of identification founded upon Persian readings and etymologies. My identifications prove that Hwán Thsáng derived his names from Sanskrit originals; witness the rivers Pi-po-che, or Vipasa, She-to-thu-lo, or Satadru, Su-pho-fa-su-to, or Subha-vastu, with the towns Pu-se-ko-la-fa-ti, or Pushkalavati, Satha-ni-she-fa-lo, or Sthanenwara, and numerous others, all of which show that Hwán Thsáng could not have copied his names from the misspelt spoken names of Mahomedan authors. As Major Anderson has stated his conviction that Hwán Thsáng has derived his information from "Arabic and Persian geographical publications," it behoves him to point out the Musalmán geographer from whom the Chinese author has copied. If such a work really exists it will be invaluable. I will now proceed to an examination of some historical points mentioned by Hwán Thsáng for the establishment of the perfect correctness of the date (600 to 650 A. D.) claimed for him by Chinese authors.

1st. In his mention of the kingdom of Sin-tu or Sindh, Hwán Thsáng states that the king was of the race of Chou-to-lo (or in English characters, Shu-to-lo) an exact transcript of the Sanskrit Sudra, one of the four well known castes of Hindus. Major Anderson, using the same mispronunciation of the French ch for a fourth time, identifies the Chou-to-lo with "Chator, a celebrated tribe of Rajputs." Chitor or Chitrâwara, is the name of a celebrated fortress, as its meaning implies, and not that of a tribe. The Rajputs of Chitor are now called Sisodia, but in Hwán Thsáng's time they were known under the names of Grâhilôt.

Now the period at which Sudras reigned over Sindh must be the date of Hwán Thsáng's visit. In the Chack-Nâmek, or Persian history of
Sind, we find that Mohammed bin Kásim conquered that country from Raja Dáhir in the year A. D. 711. As Dáhir reigned 33 years, and his father Chach reigned 40 years, we obtain A. D. 638 as the date of Chach’s accession. Now as Chach and Dáhir were Brahmans, and their successors were Mahomedans it is clear that the Sudras must have reigned prior to A. D. 638; which agrees precisely with the period assigned to Hwán Thsáng’s travels from A. D. 629 to 646. I cannot positively assert that Chach’s predecessor was a Sudra; but it is certain that he was not a Brahman, for the Rana of Chitor addressing Chach says “you are a Brahman; the affairs of Government cannot be carried on by you;” thereby intimating that his predecessor was not a Brahman.

2nd. At 1000 li (about 166 miles) to the north-east of U-CHE-YAN-NA or Ujain was the kingdom of CHI-CHI-TO of which the ruler was a Brahman. Now from Abu Rihán’s description of Jajdwati (read Chachdavati) of which the capital city was named Kajuráhah, there can be no doubt that the place indicated was the principality afterwards held by the Chandel Rajputs, Kajuráha still exists; and from the inscriptions yet extent, as well as from the genealogy preserved by the bard Chand in his Chand Ráś, we know that the Chandel Rajputs held this district from about A. D. 700 down to the period of the Mahomedan conquests. The time at which a Brahman reigned there, and consequent by the date of Hwán Thsáng’s visit must therefore be anterior to the accession of the Chandel Rajputs, or prior to A. D. 700 which agrees with the time assigned to Hwán Thsáng’s travels.

3rd. In his mention of MA-KIEI-THO or Magadha, Hwán Thsáng gives the name of five kings who reigned there previous to his visit. Their names are,

SO-KIA-LO-A-YI-TO. or Sankaraditya.
FO-THO-KIU-TO. Budhagupta.
THA-KA-TA-KIU-TO. Takatagupta.
FA-CHE-LO. Vajra.

Of the second, fourth, and fifth of those Princes there are coins still existing to testify to the truth of the pilgrim’s narration. But we have yet more explicit evidence of his accuracy in the date of Budha-gupta’s inscription on the Eran Pillar. This date is 165 of the Gupta era.
which as we learn from Abu Rihan commenced in A. D. 319. The
date on the pillar is therefore equivalent to A. D. 484. Supposing that
Budha-gupta reigned until A. D. 500, and that the three following
princes occupied the throne during the 6th century we have the date
of A. D. 600 as the earliest limit of the period of Hwan Thsangs visit.

4th. The king of Pho-li-ye-tha-lo was of the race of Fei-shhe or
Vaisya. Pho-li-ye-tha-lo is a literal transcript of the Sanskrit
Vrihadhara, the "much-containing," a synonyme of Indra, and the
recorded bearing and distance of 83 miles to the westward of Mo-thu-
lo or Mathura point to Indra-prastha or Delhi, as the place visited
by Hwan Thsang. Now we know from Abul Fazls lists that prior to
the conquest of Shahabs-ad-din in A. D. 1188, the throne had been
occupied for 83 years by 7 Chohs kings, who reigned 83 years and
before them by 20 Tuar kings who reigned 437 years. From these
data, we have A. D. 1188—83—437—668 A. D. the latest date at
which a Vaisya prince could have reigned at Delhi.

I have now shown from four independent historical statements made
by Hwan Thsang that the period of his visit from A. D. 600 to 668
corresponds precisely with the date assigned by the Chinese authori-
ties, namely the first half of the 7th century. This date is moreover
fully corroborated by other internal evidence of which the principal
points are; 1st, the total silence of the pilgrim regarding the Arabs
and their conquests; 2nd, the mention that the king of Foh-li-shi-ba-tang-
na or Parakkasthan, (the present Panjshir or Panjshir) was of the race
of Thu-kieu or Turk; therefore prior to A. D. 900, the period of the
usurpation of the Brahman Kellar, whose descendants reigned over
the Kabul valley until Mahmud Ghaznavis conquests. This is distinct-
ly proved by Abu Rihan. 3rd, That all the districts along the Oxus
were in the possession of the Tu-ho-lo or Tochari; therefore prior to
the Arab conquests in the beginning of the 8th century.

In conclusion I would ask Major Anderson to state in what Maho-
medan author Hwan Thsang could have found the Sanskrit names of
kings and countries already noticed. I will answer the question my-
self. "In none:" for, to quote the words of Ibn Haukal regarding
Hind, (India) as the greater portion of the country belonged to Kafirs
and Idolaters, "a minute description of it would be unnecessary and
unprofitable."
No. 18.—"Turtur orientalis," (Latham.)
Columba meena, Sykes.
C. agricola, Tickell.
C. pulchrala, Hodg.
C. ferrago, Eversmann.

This also is a mere summer visitor at Mussoorie, where it arrives early in April, when every wood resounds with its deep-toned cooing;—it is not found lower than 6,000 feet with us,—and departs in October. At Mussoorie it breeds in May, making a platform nest on tall forest trees; the eggs are 2 and pure white;—diameter $1\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{1}{2}$ inches.

No. 19.—"Turtur suratensis," (Gm.)
T. vitticollis, Hodg.
Columba tigrina, Temm.

Abundant in the Doon, and arrives in the hills in the end of March, leaving again in the autumn. It breeds at about 5,000 feet—and lays 2 white eggs,—diameter 1 inch $\times \frac{3}{4}$. Captain Tickell says, "eggs 2 to 6;" I have never seen more than 2 in any nest.

No. 20.—Turtur senegalensis, (Linn.)
C. cambaiensis, Gm.

Arrives at 5,000 feet like the others, about March or April, departing again in Autumn;—its eggs are 2, and pure white;—diameter 1 inch $\times \frac{3}{4}$; I have observed in this, as well as in the foregoing different species of Turtur, a tendency in the eggs to become suddenly pointed, or slightly nipple-shaped.

(To be continued.)
been made by myself. My remarks are separated from the text by brackets.

No. 5—Che-shi or Shi, situated on the river Ye. (Tushkand or Shash, on the Sihún or Jaxartes—Landresse.)

Thence at 1000 li (166 miles) to the S. E.

No. 6—Pu-kan, to the East of the river Ye. (Khwâkand, خرواند or Kokân.)

Thence at 1000 li (166 miles) to the W.

No. 7—Su-tu-li-se-na, to the eastward of the river Ye. (Satrustah, سترسته, of Ibn Haukal. Landresse gives Osrushna, اسروشنة, which is the reading of Abulfeda, of Nasr-ud-din Tusi, and of Ulugh Beg.) To the north-west is the great sandy desert. (This is of course the sandy waste now called Kizil-Kum.)

Thence at 500 li (83 miles).

No. 8—So-mo-kian, Khang-kiu or Khang—(Samarkand—Landresse.)

No. 9—Mi-mo-ho, (Maimorgh,—Landresse. This place is perhaps the Indikomordana of Ptolemy.)

Thence to the N.

No. 10—Kieiu-pu-tan-na or Tsaö. (Probably Kohistan, the Kilah Kaukân, كاوكان, of Ibn Haukâl, one day’s journey beyond Derbend, on the road from Chagâniân. It seems to answer to the position of the rock of Chorienes.)

Thence at 300 li (50 miles) to the W.

No. 11—Kiu-shwang-ni-kia or Kuei-shwang-no. (Kesh or Shehr-i-Sabz. This town no doubt took its name from the Kuei-shang tribe of Yu-chi, as noticed by me some years ago in an article on the monograms found upon the Ariano-Grecian coins, which was published in the 8th volume of the Numismatic Chronicle of London.)

Thence at 200 li (33 miles) to the W.

No. 12—Ko-han, Tung-an—(Perhaps Karshi, or some place to the northward of it.)

Thence at 400 li (66 miles) to the W.

No. 13—Pu-ho, Chung-an. (Bokhâra—Landresse.)

Thence at 400 li (66 miles) to the W.

No. 14—Fa-ti, Si-an. (This I believe to be an old name for the ferry of Char-juï or the Oxus.)
Thence at 500 li (83 miles) to the S. W.

No. 15—Ho-li-si-mi-kia or Ho-tsiu. (Perhaps Alasadda Marvi, or Alexandria Margiana, the modern Merv.)

From So-mo-kian, at 300 li (50 miles) to the S. W.

No. 16—Ko-shwang-na (Kesh, as already noticed in No. 11.) At 300 li (50 miles) to the S. E. was the Iron Gate. (This is the well known Derbend-i-Ahina, commonly called Kolugha; a proof of the correctness of the identification of Kesh.)

No. 17—Tu-ho-lo, (Tochari of Ptolemy,—Landresse.) To the north of the Oxus and to the south of the Iron Gate. (It therefore corresponds exactly with the Tokharestan of the Musalmán Geographers.)

Below Tu-ho-lo lies

No. 18—Tan-mi, on the north of the Fu-sse-su. (Termed to the north of the Wakh-su, or Oxus river.)

Thence to the E.

No. 19—Chhi-a-o-yam-na. (Chagánián.)

Thence to the E.

No. 20—Hu-lu-mo. (Perhaps the Hamurán, هموري, of Edrisi, 30 miles to the eastward of Saganian.)

Thence to the E.

No. 21—Iu-man, which stretches to the Oxus on the S. W. (This must be the Shumán or Nomán of Ibn Haukal, the Shumán of Abulfeda, and the Sumán of Edrisi, which was 93 miles to the eastward of Hamurán.)

Thence to

No. 22—Kiu-ho-yam-na. (Perhaps the Andián of Edrisi and the Aluban of Ibn Haukal.)

Thence to the E.

No. 23—Hu-sha. (The district of Wakh of the Mahomedan Geographers.)

Thence to

No. 24—Ko-tu-lo. (The well known district of Khultân on the northern bank of the Upper Oxus.)

Thence to.

No. 25—Kiu-mi-tho, the mountains of Tsung-ling, and to the S. W. the river Fa-tsu. (These are clearly the Vallis Komedorum, and the Komedes Montes of Ptolemy, with the river Oxus to the S. W.)
Verification of the Itinerary of Hwan Thsang

(As the other names mentioned in this paragraph occur again, they are here omitted.)

To the S. W.
No. 26—Po-Kia-Lang. (Baghalán, to the W. N. W. of Anderáb).
Thence to the S.
No. 27—Ki-Lu-si-Min-Kian. (Perhaps Khinjan, to the W. of Anderáb.)
Thence to the N. W.
No. 28—Hu-Pin. (Probably Mazar near Balkh.)
Thence to the W.
No. 29—Po-Ko, bounded by the river Fa-tsu to the N. (Undoubtedly Baktra or Balkh, and not Badakshán as supposed by Landresse-Badakshán is called Po-Tho-Tsang-Na.)
Thence towards the snowy mountains.
No. 30—Yuei-Mi-tho. (Perhaps Maimuna, the Yehudiah of Edrisi, and the Etoyhahmot Anazza of Ptolemy, for which I propose to read Etoyhahmot Anazza.)
To the S. W.
No. 31—Hu-Shi-Kian. (Kushk, to the north of Herát, the Kasiké of Ptolemy.)
Thence to the N. W.
No. 32—Ta-La-Kian. (Tálikán.—If the last identification is correct, the bearing should be N. E.; as according to Edrisi, Tálekán stood upon the high road leading from Merv to Balkh. Landresse has identified this with the lesser Talikan, to the eastward of Balkh, a mistake into which he was led by identifying Fo-Ko with Badakshán, but Hwan Thsáng particularly notices that Ta-La-Kian stretched to Pho-Lo-sse or Persia, on the westward.)
From Fo-Ko, at 100 li (16 miles) to the S.
No. 33—Ko-Chi. (There is no map of the Balkh river in existence; this place therefore cannot be identified.)
Thence to the S. E. towards the snowy mountains.
No. 34—Fan-Yan-Na. (Bámián.—Landresse.)
Thence to the E. over a snowy chain and the black mountains.
No. 35—Kia-Pi-She, at the foot of the mountains of Tsung-Ling. (Lassen has identified this with the Kapisa of Ptolemy, and the Capissa of Pliny, which I further identify with the Caphusa of Solinus, and
with the Kafeshan, كراشان, or Kushan, كورمان, of the present day.) To the S. of the town, at 40 li (nearly 7 miles) was the town of Si-pl-to-fa-la-se (in Sanskrit, Sweta-varsha, the "white district," perhaps the modern Ghorband, from the Sanskrit gau-ra-var detta, or "white region.") Thence at 30 li (5 miles) to the S. mount A-lu-nao, (in Sanskrit, Aruna, "dark red.") To the N. W. of the capital, at 200 li (33 miles) are the great snowy mountains (the Hindu Kush) and to the S. W. of the same is mount Pi-lo-so-lo, "firm as an Elephant," (in Sanskrit, pilu, an elephant, and sōtra, strength.) To the south of Kushán there is a small isolated hill, in Walker's map, which is probably the mountain here mentioned.) Thence to the E. at 600 li (100 miles) over the difficult passes of the Black mountains, is the frontier of northern India, and

No. 36—Lam-Pho. Lamghan, Lassen—the district of Ptolemy's Lambate.

Thence to the S. E. at 100 li (17 miles) across a mountain range and a great river,

No. 37—Na-kol-ho, surrounded on all sides by hills, and possessing some lofty topes built by Asoka. (Nangrihar, the Nagara or Dionysopolis of Ptolemy, and the Nyasa of Alexander's historians; most probably Begram near Jalalabad. It is the NA-KIM of Fa-Hian, close to which was HI-lo, the present Hidda, where Masson opened several topes. The name of Dionysopolis was still existing at the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi's invasion; for Al Biruni mentions the town of Dinus or Dins, as being situated about midway between Kabul and Parashawar. I have a suspicion that the Adinahpur of Abul Fazl, Ayin Akbari, 2, 165, is only a Mahomedan alteration of the same name.)

Thence to the S. E. at 500 li (83 miles) across some mountains, to

No. 38—Kian-to-lo. Gandhara—Lassen. The capital is called Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo. (Parashawara, the Parshvar of Abu Rihn and Baber, and the modern Peshawar, a name given by Akbar to denote a frontier town.) To the N. E. of the monastery of King KIA-NI-RI-KIA, (Kaniskka) and across a large stream (the Kabul river) was the town of Pu-se-ko-la-fa-ti. (In Sanskrit, Pushkalavati, in Prakrit, Pukkalaoti, the original of the Greek Pukkltis, as Pukkala was of the Greek Pukkla. It corresponds to the modern Hashtnagar or Hastinagara, which perhaps derives its name from Aste or Hasti, the chief of Peukelaotis in the time of Alexander.) To the S. E. of this was the town
of Pa-Lu-sha (perhaps the Nicetta of General Court's map,) from which to the N. E. at 50 li (8 or 9 miles) stood the temple of Pi-Ma, the wife of Iswara (Bhimá, one of the many names of Durga, the consort of Siva. The temple must have been close to the present Noshehra.)

Thence to the S. E. at 150 li (25 miles) was the town of U-to-Kia-han-cha, resting on the Indus to the S. with the city of Pho-lo-thu-lo at 20 li (3 or 4 miles) to the N. W. (Taking the recorded distances and bearings from Noshehra, and from Pho-lo-thu-lo, the present ruins of Partháwara or Bithor, the position of U-to-Kia-han-cha, must be looked for in the neighbourhood of Nílábó, which agrees with Hwáng Thásáng's measurements in two of the best maps, those of Walker and Mirza Mogal Beg. The present Attak was built by Akbar, and it is besides to the N. of the ruins of Partháwara, instead of to the S. E. The name is usually derived from Attak, prevention; and a silly story is added that it is so named because the Hindus are forbidden to cross the Indus. But the name of Attak belongs to the town and not to the river; and I believe that the word has a very different signification. If the original name really was derived from अ, artha, prevention, it must have been given to the place from the natural obstacle which the rocks here present to the passage of the river. But a preferable derivation in my opinion would be from अ, at, much, त, trt, passing over, that is, the place of much passage, or in other words the "chief ferry." The Chinese syllables seem to point to Uttak and not to Attak, and I suggest the above as the most probable derivation of U-to-Kia-han-cha; for the modern name of Attok is, I believe, only one of Akbar's numerous alterations of names, manufactured to suit the frivolous meanings attached to them by Musalmáns.)

From thence to the N. across mountains and rivers, at 600 li (100 miles)

No. 39—U-chang-na, or "the Garden," capital Meng-ho-li.

(This has already been identified by Lassen with Udyána or Ujána, which has the same signification. The position indicated agrees with the modern valley of Swát, of which the capital for many centuries past has been Manglora; no doubt the Meng-ho-li of Hwán Thásáng. This identification is rendered quite certain by the mention immediately afterwards that at 250 or 260 li (40 to 43 miles) to the N. E. of the capital, and on a high mountain, was situated the spring of A-pho-lo-lo.
which was the source of the Su-pho-pa-su-tu, or Swat river, in Sanskrit Šubhavastu, which flows to the S. W. as stated by Hwán Thásáng.)

To the S. of Meng-ho-li, at 200 li (33 miles) was the great forest of Ma-ha-pa-na. (This is no doubt the high jungly hill now called Makóu, in Sanskrit Maha-śana, around the end of which the Indus sweeps in the neighbourhood of Derbend. From Turee, the W. peak of this well known hill bears E. 71° 30′, and from Akora it bears E. 55° 40′.)

To the W. of the capital, at 50 li (8 or 9 miles) and across the river, was a monastery built by Asoka, called Lu-yi-ta-kia, or “the red” (in Sanskrit Lokitaka.)

To the N. E. at 30 li (5 miles) was the monastery of Ko-pu-to. Thence to the W. across the river there was a statue of A-yo-lu-chi-ti-she-fa-lo-phu-sa, (perhaps Aparajitennara Bodhisattva.)

To the N. E. of Meng-ho-li, over the mountains, and ascending the Indus, at 1000 li (166 miles) and over some suspension bridges, was the brook Tha-li-lo, where once stood the capital of Udyana. (Both distance and bearing point to the Dardu district of Darél on the Indus, to the south of Gilgit. The Chinese syllables are indeed only a literal transcript of Darél. Pa Hian calls it Tho-li.)

Thence to the E. over mountains, at 500 li (83 miles) to

No. 40—Po-lu-lo, amidst the snowy mountains. (In No. 134, this kingdom is said to be to the S. of Pho-mi-lo or Pámer, and to produce “much gold.”) These two bearings from Darél and Pámer point to the kingdom of Balti or Little Tibet, which is still called Palolo by all classes of the Dardus. It is besides famed for its gold dust. As Balti likewise abounds in rock-crystal, the Persian بەلۆر, Bilor, is probably derived from the name of this district; and the Bolor mountains may perhaps mean simply the “crystal mountains.” The name of Bilor is not however confined to Persian; for the Chinese know Pho-li or Bilor as a synonyme of Se-pho-ti-kia, or Sphatika, श्वातिक, “rock crystal.”

From U-to-kia-han-cha, across the Indus to the S. was

No. 41—Tan-cha-shi-lo, the boundary of India towards the north, and a dependency of Kashmir.—(This is the Sanskrit Takakasila, and Pali Takkasila, the Taxila of the Greeks, as noticed by Lassen.—It is undoubtedly the present Manikyala, which is surrounded by ruins. One of the neighbouring villages is still called Takkála, a name of the same import as Takkasila, and most of the coins now procurable at Rawal-Pindi and in the neighbouring villages are brought from Manikyala.) To
the S. E. at 30 li (5 miles) was a monastery built by Asoka, called according to Fa Hian, CHU-sha-shi-lo, signifying "tete coupée," (in Sanskrit Chutiya-sira, Remusat.)—The king was named CHEN-tha-lo-po-la-pho, or "moonlight" (a literal transcript of the Sanskrit Chandra-prabha.) To the S. E. of the town was a Stupa built by KEU-lang-nu, the son of Asoka. (I take this name to be a Chinese rendering of Kuloka, which is a synonyme of Jaloka, the name of Asoka's son, who reigned over Kashmir. According to Wilford, one of Asoka's sons was named Kulâta, a name of precisely the same meaning as Jaloka and Kuloka. Fa Hian mentions only two topes at this place. 1st,—that of Chutyasira, where Buddha made an "offering of his head," beside which was a Vihâra or monastery of the same name—2nd, that where Buddha made an "offering of his body" to a hungry tiger. The latter is probably that which is mentioned by Hwán Thásang as having been built by KEU-lang-nu, the son of Asoka. There is no doubt however that it is the great Manikyâla tope which was opened by General Venturâ; for the small silver disc found in that tope bears a short inscription of only two lines, of which the upper line reads Gomangasa, in Sanskrit गोमन्त्रसः, "of the abandoned body," from गु, guna, abandoning, and अंग, anga, body. The great tope was therefore built upon the spot where Buddha "abandoned his body" to a hungry tiger (abandonnez son corps à un tigre affamé).—The smaller tope opened by General Court also contained an inscription which mentions "Kanishka, Maha-râja of the Guakang (tribe)."—It must therefore have been built either by him or during his reign.—It bears a date also, which I have not yet been able to read.)

Thence to the S. E. at 700 li (117 miles) across mountains (that is over the Salt range) to

No. 42—SENG-ho-pu-lo, a dependency of Kashmir, bounded on the west by the river Sindh or Indus. (Both distance and bearing bring us to the position of Sanghela, between the Chenáb and Rávi, which Wilford identified with the Sangala of Arrian. I could hear nothing of this place: but Ságara or Jángala, with a small natural jhil, or sheet of water, was well known.)

From TAN-cha-shi-lo, across the Sindh to the N. to some nameless place, to the S. E. of which at 200 li (33 miles) was a great stone gate, (probably Derbend, where the Indus breaks through the mountains.)
Here was a Stupa built by Asoka on the spot where Sakya had made an offering of his body. (Close to Derbend, at a place called Kabal, there are several topes.)

Thence to the S. E. amongst the mountains, at 500 li (83 miles) to No. 43—U-lā-shi, a dependency of Kashmir. To the S. W. of the capital, at 4 or 5 li (rather more than half a mile) was a stupa built by Asoka. (This is clearly the Varsa regio of Ptolemy, and the Urasa of the Bāja Taringini, a mountainous district where Sankara Varmma of Kashmir was killed by an arrow. It corresponds in position to the modern district of Rask, a part of Dhartāwar where there still exist two small topes, of which one is situated within a mile of Māngali, the former capital of the country. The people of Urasa or Varsa, with those of Gīgit or Gīlit (as it is called by themselves) would appear to be joined together in Pliny's Area-galītæ, who are named as neighbours of the Peukolāita. Mirza Mogal 'Beg places a tribe of Urasis on the Upper Kumar River; and Lieut. Leach locates a clan of the same name at the head of the Ailingar river.

Thence to the S. E. over mountains and iron bridges at 1000 li (166 miles) to

No. 44—Kia-shē-mi-lo, Kāsmira,—Landresse. The capital rests to the westward on a large river (the Vitasta or Behat) where are four Stupas built by Asoka. (This is the present capital called Srinagara). To the S. E. of the new, town at 10 li (1½ miles) is the ancient town. (This is the present Pāndrethàn, a corruption of Purāndhiśthāna, the "old capital," which is situated 1½ miles to the S. E. of the Takht-i-Salimán. The present town of Srinagara was built by Pravarasena between A. D. 432—462. It was therefore a new town at the period of Hwán Thsáng's visit. M. Troyer in his disquisition on the Kashmirian Chronology (Raj. Tar. Vol. II. p. 420) asks whether the Asoka of Kashmir, is the same as Asoka Maurya, the grandson of Chandra Gupta, and afterwards declares his belief that they were different persons. But the accurate Chinese pilgrim in his notice of Kashmir distinctly mentions that one of its former rulers was Asoka, king of Magadha. In fact we know from existing inscriptions, engraved with an iron pen on the rock for ever at Dhauli in Katak (Cutak), at Junagiri in Surashtra (Gujrat), and at Sháh-bāz-garhi to the N. E. of Peshávar, that the whole of India to the north of the Nabada, from the Indus to the mouths of
the Ganges, was tributary to Asoka Maurya, the Sophagasenidas of the
time of Antiochus the great; Subhaga being only a synonyme of
Asoka.)

Thence to the S. W. across the mountains at 700 li (117 miles) to
No. 45—Pan-nu-cha, a dependency of Kashmir. (This is not the
Panjab, as generally supposed; but Panuch or Punach, the Punch of
the maps, a place which answers to the bearing and distance given by
Hwán Thsáng, and which was undoubtedly a dependency of Kashmir at
the period of his visit.)

Thence to the S. E. at 400 li (67 miles) to
No. 46—Ko-lo-che-pu-lo, also a dependency of Kashmir. (The
distance and bearing point to the neighbourhood of Rajaori, on the Tohi
river. The second and third syllables, Lo-che, are a transcript of Rája,
and the last two, Pu-lo, are a transcript of pura. We thus have Raja-
pura, a name synonymous with Rajáwara, but I am unable to offer
any explanation of the prefix Ko. Rajáwar was always a dependency
of Kashmir).

Thence to the S. E. across the river at 700 li (117 miles) to
No. 47—Thse-kia—to the E. of which was the river Pi-po-che,
(the Vipása or Byás) and to the W. the river Sin-tu (the Sindhu, or
Indus.) The distance and bearing bring us to the neighbourhood of
Lahore and Amritsar. Now we know that the latter place was an old
city named Chek before its selection as the head-quarters of the Sikh
religion, and the excavation by Guru Bám Dás of the Amrita Sara or
“pool of nectar,” from which the place took its present name.) To the
S. W. of the large city was the old town of Che-ko-lo. (This answers
both in name and in position to the Sákala of the Hindus and the Sam-
gala of Arrian. The mention of a Stupa here built by Asoka proves
that Che-ko-lo was a place of note within 50 years after Alexander’s
death.)

Thence to the E. at 500 li (83 miles) to
No. 48—Chi-na-pu-ti, a place built by Chinese, where was the
ancient domain of king Kia-ni-sse-kia. (The Chinese syllables appear
to represent Chinavati, a place which still exists on the Chenáb river
due W. from Amritsar about 90 miles. It is possible therefore that
there is a mistake in the bearing of this place, “est” for “ouest.” The
perfect agreement of the two names however—is almost too remarkabl
through Afghanistan and India.

If there should be no mistake in the bearing I would propose the capital of Katoch or Katochin as the representative of Chi-na-pu-ti, and the fort of Kangra as the domain of Kanishka. In fact we know from Abu Bihán that Nagar-kot belonged to the descendants of Kanik or Kanishka; and it is possible that the name of Kangra may in this case be only a corruption of Kanishka-garka, or Kalk-garka. According to the Mogal author Sanang-šeteen, Kanika was king of Gachhù or Gachi (Foe-kue-ki, 248, N.); in which name I think I can recognize the Katoch or Katochia of the present day. Jadandhera is particularly mentioned as being in the kingdom of Gachhù; and an inscription now existing in the city of Kangra calls the kingdom Gachchhè-Raj. Perhaps the Gaj river, which flows through the Kangra district, may also have a reference to the same name.

To the S. E. of the great town (Thse-kia) at 700 li (117 miles) was the monastery of Tha-mo-su-fa-na, “forêt obscure.” (This is a transcript of the Sanskrit tamasa-vana, “dark jangal.”) The distance and bearing bring us to the neighbourhood of Sultánpur and Dakhani Serai in the Jándhara Doab; to the W. of which places the whole country is covered with a dense jangal.)

Thence to the N. E. at 140 or 150 li (23 to 25 miles) to

No. 49—Che-lan-tha-lo, formerly Brahmanical. (This is undoubtedly the well known city of Jándhara, one of the oldest places in India. It is the Ku or Zalindrine of Ptolemy.)

Thence to the N. W. across precipitous mountains at 700 li (117 miles) to

No. 50—Khù-lu-to, the boundary of India on the north, surrounded by mountains, and close to the snowy mountains. (Both distance and bearing point to the modern district of Kùlù on the upper Byas river, which agrees precisely with Hwán Thásíng’s description, as the whole district is surrounded by mountains, and the ancient capital of Nagar or Makarsa is not more than 20 miles from the perpetual snow.)

Thence to the N. over the mountains at 2000 li (333 miles) was the kingdom of Mo-lo-pho or San-pho-ho. (This is most probably the kingdom of Great Tibet on the Sanphù river: in which case the bearing should be east and not north. As Hwán Thásíng does not appear to have visited this place the error in the direction is pardonable.)
From KHIU-LU-TO to the S. at 700 li (117 miles) across high mountains and a great river to

No. 51—SHE-TO-TU-LO, on the northern frontier of India. (This is a literal transcript of the Sanskrit Satadru, the Zadadrus of Ptolemy and the Hesudrus of Pliny. The bearing and distance point to the present Lodiana as the site of this town on the Sutlaj. Lodiana derives its name from the Afghan family of Lodi, which gave several sovereigns to Delhi; but in the Rámáyana I find that the ancient town of Ilu-dhana, the patrimony of the race of Ikshwáka, was situated in this position. I believe therefore that Lodiana was only a complimentary alteration of an older name. SHE-TO-TU-LO may have been the name of the town; but it seems more likely that it was only the name of the district lying along the Satadru or Sutlaj, as Sindh is the country on the Sindhu or Indus.

Thence to the S. E. at 800 li (133 miles) to

No. 52—PHO-LI-YE-THA-LO, on the frontier of central India. (The recorded bearing and distance bring us to Delhi, the ancient Indraprastha. The Chinese syllables represent the Sanskrit Vriha-sthala, a place which is named in the Mahabharata as one of the five towns demanded as the price of peace between the Kauravas and Pândavas. In the Mahabharata the names are Aristhala, Vrihasthala, &c. which in the Veni-Samhita are changed to Indra-prastha, Tilaprastha, &c. It seems probable therefore that Vrihasthala is only another name for Tilaprastha, and Aristhala a synonyme of Indraprastha. Now Tilaprastha still exists as Tilpat, 6 miles to the S. E. of Toghlakabad, and 10 miles to the E. S. E. of the Kutb-Minár. I have a suspicion that the much disputed origin of the name of Delhi or Dilli lies in Tilaprastha. Sanskrit scholars refer the name to दिलीप, Dilipa, a name which is symphonious with दिली. As ancient Delhi undoubtedly extended over the hills about Toghlakabad, Tilprastha, if not the actual capital itself, must have formed one of the suburbs of the city. That this identification is correct is proved by the following bearing and distance.

Thence to the E, at 500 li (83 miles) to

No. 53—MOHTH-U-LO in Central India. (This is certainly Mathura as identified by M. Landresse. I believe that there are now no vestiges of the three Stupas built by Asoka.)
Thence to the N. E. at 500 里 (83 miles) to
No. 54—Sa-tha-ni-sha-fa-lo. (This is undoubtedly the celebrated Sthanesvara or Thanesar, to the N. W. of Delhi. I believe it to be Ptolemy's Bata-kaisara, for which I propose to read Satan-aisara. It is now known as the Kuru-kshestra or "battle-field of the Kurus." The recorded bearing should have been N. W. instead of N. E. and the distance should have been somewhat greater.)

Thence to the N. E. at 400 里 (66 miles) to
No. 55—Su-lu-kin-na, bounded to the E. by the Ganges, and to the N. by great mountains. To the E. of the capital is the river Yan-mu-na (Yamuna or Jamna,—Landresse) which flows through the kingdom. To the E. of the capital and to the W. of the Jamna was a Stupa built by Asoka. (This place would appear to be Sulora or Sa-dhora, under the Siwalik hills to the westward of the Jamna, from whence Feroz Shah removed the well known pillar, now called Feroz Shah's I'dt, which bears an inscription of king Asoka.)

Across the river on the E. bank was
No. 56—Mo-ti-pu-lo, the king of which was of the race of Shu-ro-lo (or Sudra). To the S. of the great town, at 4 or 5 里 (about three quarters of a mile) stood the monastery of the patriarch Kia-nu-ro-la-pho, "lumière de vertu," (in Sanskrit Guna-prabha) ; near which was the monastery of Pi-mo-lo-mi-to-lo, "ami sans tache," (in Sanskrit Vinasa-mitra.) Mo-ti-pu-lo would appear to be a literal transcript of Motipura, a very common name in India. From the position indicated by Hwan Thsang this place must have been situated at or near the modern Bekat, where Major Cautley excavated coins and relics of an ancient city at a depth of 17 feet below the present surface level of the country. The coins discovered there range from perhaps 200 B. C. to 400 or 500 A. D.

To the N. W. of this country, and on the E. bank of the Ganges, was the town of Mo-iu-lo (Mâhila) where rock crystal was found. It possessed a Brâhmanical temple and a holy reservoir on the Ganges, which the Indians called "la porte du Gange," (evidently Haridwâra or Vahnu's portal, which is also called Ganga-dwâra, or "Ganges portal."

The mention that there was but one solitary Brâhmanical temple at this now priest-swarming place in A. D. 629—645, is highly interesting. I believe that Haridwâra is a comparatively modern name;—as in the
Megha-duta, Kálidás mentions only Kankhala. May not Ptolemy's Mégas be Ganges, or Ganga-dwara?)

Thence to the N. at 300 li (50 miles) was

No. 57—Pho-lo-ki-ma-pu-lo, surrounded by mountains on all sides. (This would appear to be Srinagara, the capital of Garhwal. The Chinese name is perhaps intended for Parakramapura). To the N. of this principality, amongst the snowy mountains, was the kingdom of Su-pa-la-nu-kiu-tha-lo, "famille d'or," (evidently the Sanskrit Suvarnagotra) where excellent gold was found. (This is most probably the district about Teling and Garu between the Upper Satlaj and Upper Indus, celebrated for its gold dust, and now called Urna-desa or Un-des, "Wool-country;" which, as described by Hwán Thsång, has Tibet on the E. and Khoten on the N. The district of Pan-pho-lo, on the W. is probably Laddk or Mang-yul.

From Mo-ti-pu-lo to the S. E. at 400 li (67 miles) was

No. 58—Kiu-pi-shwang-ma, 2000 li (333 miles) in extent. (The distance and bearing point to the neighbourhood of Bijnor and the ruins of Hastinapura. I cannot even guess what may be the Sanskrit equivalent of the Chinese syllables: perhaps Kiu-pi may be Kripa.)

Thence to the S. E. at 400 li (67 miles) to

No. 59—O-yi-chi-tha-lo, 3000 li (500 miles) in extent, with a Stupa built by Asoka. (This name appears to be a transcript of the Sanskrit Uchchaśthala, which is most likely the modern Uckhagra among, called Bulandshahr by the Moslems. The bearing would however point to the neighbourhood of Anopshehr and Chandasi; but the coincidence of name is I think too strong to admit of much doubt as to the accuracy of my identification.

Thence to the S. at 260 or 270 li (43 to 45 miles) across the Ganges, and then to the S. W. to

No. 60—Pi-lo-san-nu—2000 li (333 miles) in extent. Ruins of a Stupa built by Asoka. (According to the next mentioned bearing and distance from Seng-kia-she, or Sanskisra, this place must have been in the neighbourhood of Karadána, an old town near Khäs-ganj. The Chinese syllables probably represent the Sanskrit Pilusána or "Elephant's ear-flap," which is a synonyme of Karadána or Kara. It is curious that kari and hastin, names for an elephant, are derived from Kara (Greek ropa) and hasta, both names for the hand, as well as for an elephant's trunk, on account of its being a handy member.
Thence to the S. E. at 200 li (33 miles) to

No. 61—Kiki-pi-tha, anciently Seng-kia-sha, 2000 li (333 miles) in extent. To the E. of the town at 20 li (about 3½ miles) was a great Stupa. (Seng-kia-sha has been identified by Remusat with the Samkisa of the Pali works: but the position of this old and celebrated place was first pointed out by me. Its ruins, on the E. bank of the Kiti-nadi, near Aghat-Serai, are still known by the name of Samkissa.)

Thence to the N. W. at somewhat less than 200 li (about 33 miles) to

No. 62—Ko-jo-ku-u-che, Kanyakuhja or Kanoj,—Landresse. This city was also called Kunnapura or Flower-town. The king of the race of Pei-sha (or Vaisya) was named Ko-li-shi-fa-tan-na, "accru en joie." (This is a transcript of the Sanskrit बलकायक्षत्र, Kalyana-sphatana, "increase of pleasure or happiness." As this king was a Vaisya, Hwan Tsaung must have visited Kanoj prior to the conquest of the Rathor Rajputs in about A. D. 700.) To the N. W. of the town was a Stupa built by Asoka, and to the S. E. at 100 li (16 or 17 miles), on the bank of the Ganges, was the town of Na-fo-thi-po-ku-lo. (This agrees both in bearing and distance with the position of Nanamow on the Ganges. The Chinese syllables appear to be intended for Navadhikara, or Navadhipushkara, the "new-chief-tank." In Nanamow we have perhaps the first half of the name still preserved in a corrupted form, the latter half being changed.)

From Kanoj to the S. E. at 600 li (100 miles) across the Ganges, and then to the S.

No. 63—Ai-uu-tho, Oudh, Landresse;—5000 li (833 miles) in extent. To the N. of the town at 4 or 5 li (about ¾ of a mile) was a great monastery built by Asoka; and to the W. of this was a Stupa built over the nails and hair of Tathagata. To the N. W. of the town at 40 li (nearly 7 miles) and to the N. of the Ganges, was a temple of A-seng-kia Bodhisatwa (in Sanskrit, Asankhya). (The distance and bearing bring us to the banks of the Ganges below Cawnpore, and close to Najafgarh. In this position there is the celebrated temple of Néona, a few miles from the Ganges; and on the E. bank of the river between Cawnpore and Najafgarh, there is also a much frequented place of pilgrimage, of which I have unfortunately forgotten the name.)

Thence to the E. at 300 li (50 miles) crossing to the N. bank of the Ganges, to
No. 64—A-ye-mu-kie, 2400 to 2500 li (upwards of 400 miles) in extent. The capital was situated on the Ganges; and to the S. W. of it, also upon the river, was a Stupa built by Asoka. (The Chinese syllables perhaps represent शीव ना, Akimukha, “Sun-face” or “Snake-mouth.”) The distance and bearing point to the position of Dalamow, a large town on the N. bank of the Ganges.)

Thence to the S. E. at 700 li (117 miles) to the S. of the Ganges, and to the N. of the Yan-mu-na (the Yamuna or Jamna) to

No. 65—Po-lo-na-kia, 5000 li (833 miles) in extent. The capital is situated at the confluence of two rivers. (This is clearly Prayága or Allahabad, at the junction of the Ganges and Jamna rivers.)

N. B.—The total distance from Kanoj to Allahabad is about one-third too much. I suspect therefore that Hwán Thsáang must have taken the river route, more particularly as both of the places visited were on the bank of the Ganges. Admitting this to be correct his distances will agree very well with the distances by water.

Thence to the S. W. through a great forest at 500 li (83 miles) to

No. 66—Kiao-shang-mi, Kausámbl, Landresse; 6000 li (1000 miles) in extent. Statue of Sakya by King U-tho-yan-na. (Udayana. The bearing should be N. W., for according to Profr. Wilson, Kausámbl was upon the Ganges above Allahabad: and Fa Hian states that it was 13 yojans, or about 91 miles, to the N. W. of Benares. The modern Karra, with its extensive ruins, appears to be the most likely position of Kausámbl, as its distance from Allahabad is about a mean between Hwán Thsáang’s 83 miles of river (60 miles of land) and Fa Hian’s 21 miles, that is about 40 miles from Allahabad. Close to Karra, on the E. there are two villages named Kusia and Kusia-kua.)

Thence to the N. at 170 or 180 li (28 to 30 miles) to

No. 67—Pi-so-kia, 4000 li (666 miles) in extent. (The bearing and distance point to Sálon on the Sáhi river, an old town in which a few years ago was found a copper-plate grant of Govinda Chandra of Kanoj.)

Thence to the N. E. at 500 li (83 miles) to

No. 68—She-lo-fa-si-ti of She-wei; Sravasti, Remusat and Landresse. In this capital reigned King Po-lo-si-na-chi-to. (This is the celebrated city of Ayodhya, on the Sarayu or Sarju river, the capital of King Prasenajita, the 61st Prince of the Solar race in descent from Rama.)
Through Afghanistan and India.

Thence to the S. E. at 500 li (83 miles) to
No. 69—Kie-pi-lo-fa-su-tu, Kapila-vastru, Landresse. (The pos-
ition of this celebrated city has puzzled every commentator; and yet,
as the honored birth place of Sakya Sinha, it ought to be one of the
best known places in India. The bearing and distance point to Jana-
pur, an ancient city possessing many Buddhist buildings, one of which,
the Uttala Vihara, still exists as the Atala Masjid, the cloistered
stories of the Buddhistical building having been left untouched by the
idol breaking Musalmáns. This identification also agrees with the posi-
tion assigned to Kapila by Fa-Hian, who places it at somewhat more
than 12 yojana, or 84 miles, to the S. E. of She-wei; or only 3 miles
more than Hwán Thásang’s distance, their bearings being the same. But
in addition to the agreement of both of these authorities, I will adduce
the name of the place itself, as a conclusive proof of the accuracy of my
identification. The present name of Jonapura was, we know, given to
the city by Feroz Shah in honor either of his cousin Jona, or of his
grandfather Fakhruíd-din Jona. This was only a slight alteration of
the ancient name of Janampura or Janpura “nativity city,” a name
by which the “birth place” of the holy Sakya was probably more widely
known than by the book-name of Kapila. This identification also agrees
with the statements of other Chinese authors, quoted by Klaproth, that
Kapila was to the N. of Benares. Ma-twan-lin gives 1480 li (247
miles) as the distance, which would carry us to the loftiest peaks of the
Himálayas. There must therefore be some mistake in his distance.)

No. 70—La1n-mo, Ramapura, Landresse. (According to Fa-Hian
this place was situated at 5 yojana, or 35 miles, to the E. of Kapila
almost in the exact position of Bháti, an ancient town, which still pos-
sesses an inscribed pillar of the Gupta family of about A. D. 430, just
two centuries earlier than Hwán Thásang’s visit. The Chinese syllables
are considered by Klaproth and others to be a transcript of Rama: but
as we find Ma-11 Lan used for Maharana, perhaps La1n-mo may repre-
sent Rana.* Now the ruins of Bháti are all ascribed to a nameless

* Rámagáma is no doubt the original of Lan mo;—in Pali, Ramagamo, in Siamese,
Ramakham. It was one of the eight cities or kingdoms among which the reliques (sarira)
of Buddha were originally distributed, and the only one from which these were not re-
moved to Rajagriha. Read in connection with Fa hian’s account of Lan mo, the
31st chapter of the Mahavanso which leaves no room to doubt this identification. It is
there stated to have been on the banks of the Ganges,—a name frequently applied to
any considerable affluent of that river. But without doing great violence to the bearings
and distances of Fa hian, La1n mo cannot be identified with Bháti which is at least 40
miles too far south to correspond with the subsequent route of that traveller to Vasai. 
Moreover Lan mo, as well as Kapilavastu, was situated westerly from Kusinagar, which
Capt. C. identifies with Kusia on the high betwixt Bettiah and Gorakpur.—Ees.
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Rāsa, after whom the place may once have been named. Ptolemy's Selampura would however appear to point to the name of Rama in Sri-Rampura.)

No. 71—KIU-SHI-NA-KIE-LO, Kusinagara, Klaproth and Landresse. Stupa built by Asoka. To the N. W. of the town at 3 or 4 li (about half a mile) across the A-CHI-TO-FA-TI (or Ajitavati) anciently called SHI-LAI-NU-FA-TI "rivière où il y a de l'or" (the Swarnavati or "golden") and on the W. bank was the forest of SO-LO (or Sāl trees, exactly where in Major Rennell's map I find a "Forest of Sāl trees.") Here also was a Stupa of SU-PA-TO-LO, "bon sage," (or Subhadra. The distance next recorded from Benares points to the ruins of Kusid on the Chota Gandak river, which are described by Mr. Liston in Prinsep's Journal, vi. 477. The very name is the same, and the ruined tope still existing there may be that mentioned by Hwán Thsāng. But we have a still more conclusive proof in the existence of an image of Buddha at this place, which is still called Mata Kunur, in Sanskrit Mrita-Kumbra, or the "dead Prince;" this being, according to Fa-Hian, the very place where Sakya died, on the bank of the river HI-LI-AN, in Sanskrit Hiranya, or "golden," a synonyme of Swarnavati. Besides which Hwán Thsāng, (in F. K. K. p. 237. N.) mentions that there was a sculpture at this place, in a large temple, representing the death of Sakya, which is most probably the very sculpture described by Mr. Liston, as James Prinsep states that its compartments display the various acts of Buddha's life. Hwán Thsāng also mentions a pillar at this place, which I should think might be discovered by a careful search. Kusinagara is probably the Kassidia of Ptolemy.

Thence at 500 li (83 miles) through forests to

No. 72—PAN-LO-NI-SSE; Varanasi or Benares, Landresse. A large town on the Ganges. To the N. E. of the town and to the W. of the river PO-LO-NI (the Varana or Barna-nadi to the E. of the city) was a Stupa built by Asoka. To the N. E. of the town at 10 li (about 1½ miles) was the "Deer-Park," and to the S. W. of the temple was a Stupa of Asoka. Beside it also was a Stupa where MEI-THA-LI-YE (or Maitreya) received the history of Buddha; and to the W. of this was the place where Sākya Bodhisatwa received the history of Kasyapa. (The name of Varanasi is derived from Varana and Asi, the names of the two small streams between which the city is situated. According to Fa Hian there was a temple in the midst of the "Park of the Deer of the
through Afghanistan and India.

Immortal.” In the F. K. K.—note 7. p. 307, Klaproth gives Hwán Thás’g’s details at length, from which it would appear that the temple was on the bank of the Barna river. Following the distance and bearing before mentioned the temple must have stood near the village of Secrole or Sikor, where the panch-kosa or “five-kos” route of pilgrims crosses the high road to Gházipur. In that part of the panch-kosa there are numerous fragments of Buddhist sculpture and architecture. But the ruins around Sárnâth offer a much more probable position, as the remains of three existing topes correspond with the three that were erected on spots rendered sacred by three events in Sákya’s life. These spots were 1st. That where Buddha seated himself and began to turn the wheel of the law. 2nd. That where he related his history to Mî-le or Mî-THA-LI-YE (Maitreya); and third. That where the serpent I-lo-ro asked Buddha at what period he should get rid of his serpent body. Of the three existing topes only two have names. The largest is called Sárnâth which is probably a contraction of Sáranggânâtha the “Lord of Deer” a meaning which, if correct, must refer to the “cerfs de l’Immortal” of Fa Hian. I cannot help suspecting that Hwán Thás’g’s temple was this very Stupa: for he states that the temple was more than 200 feet in height, and that the foundation was of stone and the superstructure of brick. Now this is a very accurate description of Sárnâth, of which the lower half is of stone and the upper half of brick; the height being nearly 130 feet above the country. With a gilt arrow on the top, such as the temple is said to have borne, the height would have been fully 200 feet. The second existing tope, 2500 feet due S. of Sárnâth is called Chokandi: but this name refers properly to an octagonal on its summit with four door ways, which was built in honor of the Emperor Humayun having once seated himself there. The third tope, situated 520 feet due W. of Sárnâth has no name now; but it is that which was half pulled down by Jagat Singh, the Dewân of Chêt Singh, Raja of Benâres, to furnish materials for the walls of a tank in Jagat-ganj. The relics found in it were transmitted by Mr. Duncan to the Asiatic Society: but they are no longer forthcoming, which is very much to be regretted, for as the transcript published by Wilford gives one third part of the formula of Ye dharma, &c. incorrectly, the probability is that the same proportion of the long inscription has been read incorrectly. Wilford in his usual loose manner always refers this inscription to the Sárnâth tope, but without any reason, further than
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that it was found in the neighbourhood. In like manner the inscription on the London Monument might be called a record of the building of London Bridge.)

From thence down the Ganges to the E. at 300 li (50 miles) to

No. 73—Chen-chu, 2000 li (333 miles) in extent. The capital is situated on the Ganges. (The Chinese syllables probably represent Chacha or Jaja; and as the distance and bearing point to Ghásipur I cannot help suspecting that the Mahomedan name is only a corruption of Chachipura or Jajapura. We know that Jajávati or Chachávati and Chachéri or Chachandí were both seats of the Chandí Rajputs. Now Chachipura or Ghásipur may have been another of their locations; but I have not been able to trace them beyond the Jaunpur and Azimgarh districts.) To the E. of this town at 200 li (33 miles) was the monastery of A-Pí-tho-la-nu "oreille non percée," in Sanskrit aviddhakársṇi, a name of the Cissampelos hexandra, which most probably gave its name to the monastery. Thence to the S. E. at 100 li (17 miles), and to the S. of the Ganges was the town of Ma-ha-so-lo (probably some place on the Máhi river, perhaps Mahávara although I know not whether such a place exists on that stream. This is to the N. of the present course of the Ganges: but in my remarks on No. 77 I will give my reasons for believing that the course of the river, since Hwán Thsángr wrote, has gradually advanced to the S. about 20 miles.)

Thence to the N. E. across the Ganges at 40 or 50 li (7 or 8 miles) to

No. 74—Fei-she-li, or Vaisali, Landresse. To the N. W. of the town at 5 or 6 li (about 1 mile) was the monastery where Ananda became an Arhan; to the S. E. of which was a Stupa built by king Fei-she-li (Visala of the solar race, the 27th in descent from the sun.) To the N. W. was a Stupa of king Asoka, and the dwelling of Pi-ma-lo-ki, "sans tache" (in Sanskrit, Vimalaka "the blameless.") To the N. W. of the city was the ancient town of king Chakravarti Mahadeva, and to the S. E. at 14 or 15 li (2½ miles) was a great Stupa where was held an assembly of Arhans 110 years after the Nirvána. (This was the second convocation described in the Mahawanso.) Thence to the S. at 8 or 9 li (1½ mile) was the monastery of She-fei-to-pu-lo (perhaps Sváta-pura, "white town," and to the S. E. of that at 30 li (5 miles) on the bank of the Ganges were two monasteries. (The town of Vaisáli has not yet been identified with any modern position. Formerly it was believed to be Allahabad; but since the publication of the narratives of
the Chinese pilgrims, its position has been looked for in the neighbourhood of the Gandak river. The recorded distances and bearings, but more particularly that of the capital of Magadha, which was across the Ganges to the south, point to the ruins of Bakhra and Bassar, about 20 miles to the N. of Patna. In Bassar, we still have the actual name of Vaisali, whose citizens are called Passeale by Ptolemy and Pliny. The ruins of Bassar are described by Mr. J. Stephenson (in Prinsep's Journal, iv.—128) where he expresses his belief, in accordance with the general opinion, that these ruins are the remains "of a large city, at a remote period inhabited by a numerous and civilized wealthy people." At Bassar there is a brick tope still standing 40 feet in height; and at Bakhra there is a similar brick tope with a stone pillar surmounted by a recumbent lion. The height of this pillar above the ground is only 32 feet, the circumference being 12 feet: but as the Radhia pillar is 39 feet high with a circumference of only 11 feet 2 inches, it seems probable that there must be at least 12 feet of the Bakhra pillar beneath the ground. An excavation down to the base of the column would almost certainly bring to light an ancient inscription. This might be only a repetition of those found upon other pillars: but it is quite possible that it might be a record of older date, perhaps of the second consecration which was held at this place, and which was commemorated by the erection of a Stupa.)

Thence to the N. E. at 500 li (83 miles) to

No. 75—Fe-li-chi; in the north called San-fa-chi, 2000 li (333 miles) in extent. The capital is called Chen-chu-nu. (The Chinese syllables represent faithfully the Sanskrit Vrijii, वृज़ी, which is the well known name of a country, generally supposed to be in the neighbourhood of Mathura. The Vrijii of Hwán Thsáng must however be the modern Tirhut, or Trihutya, of which one of the chief towns, situated in the position indicated, is named Jenjapura, no doubt the Chen-chu-nu of the Chinese pilgrim. The ancient name of this district was Mithila.)

Thence to the N. W. across mountains at 1400 or 1500 li (233 to 250 miles) to

No. 76—Ni-pho-lo, Nepal, Landresse; 4000 li (666 miles) in extent and surrounded by snowy mountains. (The distance is too great but the bearing is correct. As no details are given, Hwán Thsáng does not appear to have visited this country. His erroneous distance may therefore be pardoned.)
From Vaisali across the Ganges to the S. to

No. 77—Mi-kie-tho, Magadha, Landresse: 500 li (83 miles) in extent. To the S. of the Ganges is the ruined town of Keu-su-ma-pu-lo, or Kusumapura, "flower town," also called Pho-tho-li-tsu, (Pataliputra or Patilothra, tsu being a Chinese translation of putra, "son," Landresse. Following the indications of the Chinese pilgrim, Klaproth has identified this town with the modern Patna: but the great Geographer Rennell had done the same fifty years earlier, from the measurements recorded by Pliny, apparently on the authority of Megasthenes. That Patna is the modern representative of the ancient Pataliputra is undoubted: but I do not believe that it occupies exactly the same position; for according to the distances of Fa Hian and Hwan Thsang, it seems that Pataliputra must have been 18 or 20 miles to the north of the present town of Patna. As an analogous illustration I may mention that the present city of Delhi, or Shajahândabad, is 12 miles to the north of the Hindu city of only 650 years ago. But in this case the change seems to have been effected by the vanity of successive monarchs, who built palaces, forts, and bazars, in their own names to the N. of the old city until the present position was at length attained by Shah Jahán. In the case of Pataliputra I believe that the change has been effected by the Ganges. In approaching Vaisáli Hwán Thsang states that it was from 40 to 50 li (7 or 8 miles) in a N. E. direction from Ma-ha-so-lo, on the southern bank of the Ganges. Again, on leaving Vaisáli he first visits a Stupa 2½ miles to the S. E. from which he proceeds 1½ mile S. to a monastery, and thence to the Ganges, 5 miles more in a S. E. direction. From these two detailed statements it is clear that the Ganges flowed within 8 miles of Vaisáli, both to the S. W. and S. E. somewhere near the present Singhia. Now the very same position is indicated by Fa Hian's distance of 9 yojans (or 63 miles) from Pa-li-an-fu or Pataliputra to the "small hill of the isolated rock," which is called Yn-tho-lo-shi-lo-kiu-ho, or Indrasilaguba by Hwán Thsang, and is placed by him close to the small town of Kiu-li-kia, the Girik of Rennell's map, which is only 43 miles to the S. E. of Patna. The distance here is 20 miles less than the recorded one; whilst the actual distances of two different points on the Ganges from Bassar or Vaisáli are 20 miles more than the recorded ones. It seems to me therefore certain that the Ganges formerly held a more northerly
course by about 20 miles; and that the ancient Pataliputra must have stood at the same distance to the N. of the present Patna. It is only by a supposition of this kind that the recorded distances of Fa Hian and Hwan Thsang can be reconciled with the truth. The very fact that the town, which Fa Hian had seen flourishing in A. D. 399-415, was in ruins in A. D. 629-645, seems to point to its desertion from the encroachments of the river to the south. Since then 1200 years have elapsed; a period much more than sufficient for the production of the supposed change by the gradual and successive alterations of channel towards the south, a process which is still going on. I do not however attribute this change of course entirely to the gradual alteration of the channel of the Ganges; for it is probable that the mention by Mathan-Lin, that about A. D. 756 "the bank of the Ho-lang of Ganges gave way and disappeared," refers to some sudden change in the course of the river. An extraordinary flood of the Gogra river would have been sufficient to have caused the whole amount of southing here contended for; in proof of which I will only cite the much greater change in the course of the Satlaj which took place about A. D. 1790. This was caused by a cataclysm of the river, which having been dammed up by a landslip near the hot springs of Seoni, 18 miles to the N. of Simla, suddenly burst through the obstruction, and swept irresistibly over the plains until it was stopped by the high bank of the Byas at Hari-ki-patan. The new channel became a permanent one, and the junction of the Byas and Satlaj, which was formerly at Ferozpur, has since then been at Hari-ki-patan, upwards of 30 miles from the old place of confluence.

(From Pataliputra Hwan Thsang proceeds to Gaya, of which he gives many minute details, that could only be verified by personal inspection or by a very good map on a large scale. Some of them however may easily be identified: Such as the river Ni-lian-chen-na, to the E. of Gaya, which is clearly the Nilajini river of the Government lithographed map of the new road. Also the river Ma-ho to the E. of which was a great forest, is certainly the Mahona river, on the E. of which Bennell places "Woods" extending for more than 20 miles. After some further details Hwan Thsang mentions the town of Ko-loche-kui-lisse, "demeure royale," which is undoubtedly the ancient Rajagriha, or "royal residence." I remark here, as in No. 46, the occur-
rence of the prefix Ko before the syllables Lo-che or raja. As there is no doubt whatever about the correctness of the present reading of Rajagriha, my identification of Ko-lo-che-pu-lo with Rajapura or Rajāwari, must be equally correct. Not far from this was the small town of Ku-li-kia or Girik, the Giryek of Capt. Kittoe; close to which was mount Yn-tho-lo-shel-lo-ku-ho, or Indrasilagulha, "Indra's rock-cave," which must be the cave mentioned by Capt. Kittoe as existing in the immediate neighbourhood of Girik.)

To the N. E. at 150 or 160 li (25 to 27 miles) was the monastery of Kia-pu-te-kia. (The bearing points to the town of Behar, in Sanskrit Bihāra, or "the monastery," but the recorded distance is double the actual one. Now as the next recorded distance, supposing Behar to be the place intended, is just one half of the real one, I believe that there must have been an interchange of the two distances, an inadvertence of such likely occurrence that I take but little liberty in adopting it. An example of a similar kind occurs in Pliny—l. i. s. 21. where the distance between the Hydaspes and Hyphasis is stated at 29 miles and 390 paces, while the distance between the Hyphasis and Hesidrus is given at 168 miles. Here there can be no doubt of the interchange of the two distances. In adopting this correction, the monastery of Kia-pu-te-kia must have been only 70 li (about 12 miles) to the N. E. of Girik, which corresponds sufficiently well with the position of the present Behar, which in Rennell's map lies 13 miles to the N. of Girik. The name of the monastery in Sanskrit was perhaps Kapataka, "the dove-hued," or "antimony-colored," which is a good description of the dark metallic-looking stone of Gaya.)

(Thence to the N. E. at 70 li, or after correction as above, at 150 or 160 li, equivalent to 25 or 27 miles, and to the S. of the Ganges, was a large town. The bearing and distance point to Shunar on the Ganges. To the E. at 100 li (17 miles) amongst hills and woods, was the village of Lo-yin-ni-la. This would appear to be the Ruynullah of Rennell's map, perhaps for Rohinala, situated at the junction of the Dhania river with the Ganges.)

Hwān Thāsimg here mentions no less than five kings of Magadha who had reigned previous to his visit. Their names are—

Lo-kia-lo-a-yi-to, or Lagraditya.
Fo-tho-ku-to, Budha Gupta.
Two of these Princes, namely, Budha Gupta and Baladitya, are already known to us from inscriptions and coins, and a third, Vajra, is known from coins alone, but the others are mentioned nowhere else to my knowledge.

In 1842 I had already identified Chandra Gupta, or “moon-cherished,” with the Yu-gai, or “moon-beloved,” of the Chinese authors, who was reigning in A.D. 428. Afterwards in 1843, when I first procured a copy of the Fo-e-kue-kii, I extended this identification to the line of Princes mentioned above, and at the same time I arranged the whole dynasty chronologically according to the various data which were then known. Thus according to the inscription on the gateway of the Sächi tope near Bhilisa, Chandra Gupta was reigning in the year 79½ of the Gupta era—and, following the record of the Kuhaon Pillar, Skanda Gupta died in 133 of the same era: whilst, according to the Eran Pillar, Buddha Gupta was reigning in 165 of the Gupta era. Besides these three distinct dates of their own era, we have the year of Yu-gai, A.D. 428, already mentioned, and the period of Siladitya’s reign immediately preceding Hwán Thsáng’s visit. With these data to guide me the chronological arrangement of the different Princes of the Gupta dynasty already known to us from coins and inscriptions and from the faithful though brief records of the Chinese writers, was an easy task. As by this arrangement the accession of Gupta, the founder of the dynasty, appeared to have taken place in the first half of the 4th century of our era, it very soon struck me that the Gupta era was most probably the same as the Balabhi era; more particularly as it is certain that Ujain and Surashtra were subject to the Guptas, whose silver coins are of the same type, weight and fabric with those of the undoubted Balabhi. This identification of the two eras appeared so probable that I at once adopted it. Lastly, in January 1847, on receipt of Reinand’s “Fragmens Arabes et Persans, &c.” I found, to my equal wonder and delight, a decided proof that my identification of the two eras was correct. According to Abu Rihán al Biruni, who accompanied Mahmud Ghaznavi to India, the year 1088 of Vikramaditya, or the year 953 of Saké was the year 712 of the Ballaba era, and also that of the
Verification of the Itinerary of Hwan Thang

Guptas. This it not the place for the discussion of all the points bearing upon this period of history. It will be sufficient to mention here only a few of the dates established by this discovery for the further verification of the truth of the Chinese Pilgrim's narrative. As the Balabhi era began in A.D. 319, Chandra Gupta's date of 79\(\frac{1}{2}\) is equivalent to A.D. 398\(\frac{1}{2}\). Skanda Gupta's death took place in 133 + 319 = 452 A.D., and Budha Gupta was reigning in 165 + 319 = 484 A.D. Now, according to Ma-twan-lin, Siladitya died between the years 642 and 648, say in 645 A.D. and as Hwan Thsang says that he reigned 60 years, his accession must be dated in A.D. 585. We have thus a period of 101 years to be divided between the three reigns of Takata Gupta, Baladitya and Vajra, together with the latter portion of Budha Gupta's reign, that is between nearly few reigns, which yields the natural term of somewhat more than 25 years for each reign. For the period between 452 A.D. the date of Skanda's death, and 480 A.D. the probable period of Budha's accession, or for 28 years, we have the reigns of Deva Gupta, of the Asirgarh inscription, and Lagraditya of Hwan Thsang. Thus from A.D. 452 to 585 we have six Princes amongst whom to divide a period of 133 years; which gives an average of rather more than 22 years for each reign. But this average will be lessened by adding the two reigns of Kumara and Skanda: for as Chandra Gupta was reigning in A.D. 428 we may safely assume A.D. 430 as the period of Kumārā's accession. We thus have A.D. 430—585 = 155 years, to be divided between 8 Princes, which yield upwards of 19 years for each reign,—a natural term within the limits of the European averages.)

From Lo-yin-ni-la (or Rohinala) to the E. amongst great mountains and forests at 200 li (34 miles) to

No. 78, Yi-lan-nu-po-fa-to, 3000 li (500 miles) in extent. The capital is situated on the Ganges, and near it is Mount Yi-lan-nu, which vomits forth smoke so as to darken both the sun and the moon. (The bearing and distance point to the Fort of Mongir, but the Chinese syllables seem to represent the Sanskrit Hirana-parvata, or "red-hill," a name which may have been applied to it on account of the flames which must have burst forth occasionally along with the smoke mentioned by Hwan Thsang. The existence of two hot springs, the Sita-kund and the Raki-kund, within a few miles of Mongir, shows that
this part of the country was once subject to volcanic action. There cannot therefore be any good reason for doubting Hwán Thsáng's relation, more particularly as the present name of the place, Mauna-giri, or the "quiet hill," would seem to allude to a former period of volcanic noise and activity. I am aware that the Brahmans refer the name to Muda-giri, which however can scarcely be the original of the present spoken form of Mongir.)

Thence following the S. bank of the Ganges to the E. at 300 li (50 miles) to

No. 79—Chen-pho, Bhágalpur, Landresse. The capital to the N. rests on the Ganges, and to the E. of it at 40 or 50 li (6 or 8 miles) S. of the Ganges was an isolated hill surrounded by water. (The ancient name of Bhágalpur was Champapura, and as the distance and bearing agree with those of Hwán Thsáng the identification of M. Landresse is undoubtedly correct. The isolated rock surrounded by water must be one of those in the neighbourhood of Kahalgaon (Colgong), although the recorded distance is much too small. I would propose to read 140 or 150 instead of 40 or 50 li: this distance would bring us to the well known rock of Patharyhata, below Kahalgaon.)

Thence to the E. at 400 li (66 miles) to

No. 80—Ko-chu-wen-ti-lo, also named Ko-cheu-ko-lo, 2000 li (333 miles) in extent. On its northern side, not far from the Ganges, was a large brick tower. (The bearing and distance point to the ruins of Gaur, the former capital of Bengal. The Chinese syllables perhaps represent the Sanskrit कच्छ, Kachchha-vetra, the "reedy marsh," and कच्छघर, Kachchha-gurha, "surrounded by marshes," or Kachchha Gaurha, the "swampy Gaurh," to distinguish it from the hilly Gaurh near Kashmir. In the syllables Ko-lo I recognize the name of Gaurh, गौर. The only apparent objection to this identification is the fact that Gaur now stands some 10 or 12 miles from the northern bank of the Ganges; whilst Ko-cheu-ko-lo would seem to have been on the southern bank of the river. But it is well known that Gaur was originally on the bank of the Ganges, and that the gradual desertion of the river has led to the ruin of the city within the last 300 years. It seems to me however highly probable that one of the principal branches of the Ganges once flowed to the northward of Gaur, through the channel now called Kalendri, which connects the Kusi and Mahananda rivers. If this
supposition of a northern channel of the Ganges flowing between Gaur
and Malda should not be admitted, then Hwán Thsáng's statement
must be wrong, for I have no doubt of the correctness of my own iden-
tification of the places. A similar mistake is made by the most accu-
rate of all travellers, Moorcroft, who says that Shah-dera is situated on
the left bank of the Rávi.* Gaur is probably the Aganagora of Pto-
lemy, situated just above the head of the Gangetic Delta. This may be
the Sanskrit गुर्जुर, Aganya-Gaurha, the "countless Gaurh," in allu-
sion to the multitude of its inhabitants.)

Thence crossing the Ganges to the E. at 600 li (100 miles) to

No. 81—Pān-na-fa-tau-na, 400 li (166 miles) in extent. To the
W. of the town at 20 li was the monastery of Pa-shi-pho (in Sanskrit
Pushpa, "flower,") and close to the town was a Stupa of Asoka. (The
Chinese syllables would seem to represent the Sanskrit पामपार्थान, Pā-
pasthāna, or Pāmpathān, "river-town," and as a great river was after-
wards crossed to the eastward, the place must have been situated some-
where on the Brahmaputra river, at or near the present Chilmari.)

Thence to the E. at 900 li (150 miles) to

No. 82—Kia-ma-leu-pho, 10,000 li (1,666 miles) in extent. The
people of this country were unconverted, and had built no monasteries.
The King was a Brahman named Keu-ma-lo, and surnamed Pho-se-
ko-lo-fa-ma (that is, his name was Kumára, and his title was Push-
kalavarmma,) or perhaps rather Pushkala-brahma, as Varmona is a
Kshatriya's title.) His kingdom was the ancient Kamrup, the country
of Ptolemy's Tamere, and now called Asam, from the conquering Raja
Chu-kapha, who took the title of Asama or "unequalled." The dis-
tance mentioned by Hwán Thsáng points to the neighbourhood of
Gohati as the position of the capital, which is perhaps the Túgma
Metropolis of Ptolemy. It is clear that Kamrup comprehended the
whole of what is now known as Asam, for Hwán Thsáng proceeds to
state that amongst the mountains to the E. there was no great king-
dom; and that in two months the southern frontier of the Chinese

* Travels, Vol. 1. p. 107. I have a suspicion that this is a mistake of the Editor, and
not of Moorcroft himself—for Professor Wilson has certainly not done full justice to
Moorcroft, no doubt owing to the confused state of the papers. Thus the description
of the piers of the Kashmirian Bridges is transferred to the pillars of the Jama Masjed.
It is no wonder therefore that Thornton was puzzled. A new edition of Moorcroft,
unmutilated, would be of more value than any other single book of travels that I know.
district of Skh could be reached by very difficult and dangerous roads.)

Thence to the S. at 1200 or 1300 li (200 to 212 miles) to

No. 83—San-ma-tha-tho, 3000 li (500 miles) in extent: a low country on the sea-shore. Near the town was a stupa built by Asoka. (The bearing and distance point to Sunargaon, the ancient capital of the Dhaka district, which lies low and extends to the sea-shore as described by Hwán Tháng. The first half of the name of Sunargaon or Sundari-gráma, seems to be preserved in the Chinese syllables San-ma. The greater part of the Sunderbans or Sundari-vana, "Sundari-jangals," was formerly comprised in the Dhaka district. The town of Sunargaon was therefore probably so named from its being the capital of the Sunderi district, which is no doubt the Kirkadia of Ptolemy, or the country of Kiráta, जिरा, barbarians living amongst woods and mountains.)

Thence to the N. E. on the sea-shore and in the midst of mountains and vallies was the kingdom of She-li-cha-tha-lo. (Unless there is some mistake in the mention of the sea-shore, this place must, according to the bearing and distance, be identified with Silhet or Srihata. But I would prefer reading to the S. E., which would bring us to Chaturgráma, or Chittagaon, a district situated on the sea-shore, and abounding in woods and vallies. The name also seems to agree with this identification, as the Chinese syllables are probably intended for Sri-Chatura.)

Somewhat farther to the S. E. in a corner of the great sea was the kingdom of Kia-ma-lang-kia. (The bearing, and the position in an angle of the sea-coast point to the neighbourhood of Cape Negrais, and the shores of Arracan. In fact the last two Chinese syllables seem to be only a transcript of Rakhang, which is the proper name of Arracan.)

Beyond that to the E. was the kingdom of To-lo-po-ti (most probably the ancient Pegu.) Still farther to the E. was the kingdom of Shang-na-fu-lo; (perhaps Siam, or Syámapura, the Samarada of Ptolemy.) Still more to the E. was the kingdom of Ma-ho-chen-pho (or Mākachampa, most probably the present Kamboja, of which the district along the sea-coast is still called Champa.) Thence to the S. W. was the island-kingdom of Yan-ma-na. (The bearing points to Java, the Yava of Sanskrit, and the Jabadii Insula of Ptolemy.)

G
From San-ma-tha-tho to the W. at 900 li (150 miles) to

No. 84—Tan-ma-li-ti, or Tamralipti, Landresse: 1400 or 1500 li (233 to 250 miles) in extent. The capital, situated on the sea-shore, enjoys much commerce both by land and water. Near it is a Stupa built by Asoka. (The identification of M. Landresse is certainly correct; as both bearing and distance point to Tamlik, which is the modern representative of Tamralipti.)

Thence to the N. W. at 700 li (117 miles) to

No. 85—Ko-lo-nu-su-fa-la-na, from 4400 to 4500 li (733 to 750 miles) in extent. Near the town was the monastery of Lo-to-wei-chi, "argile rouge" (in Sanskrit rakta, or in Hindi råtā, red, and achāla, earth;) not far from which was a Stupa built by Asoka. (The Chinese syllables appear to represent either the Sanskrit Karanasa-varna, "the golden field," or Karna-svarna, "the golden ear." The bearing and distance point to the districts of Pachet and Birbhum on the Damuda river, where Ptolemy places his Sabarae, in which name we probably have the Swarna of Hwán Thsāng.)

Thence to the S. W. at 700 li (117 miles) to

No. 86—U-cha, 7000 li (1167 miles) in extent. Stupas built by Asoka. On its south-eastern boundary and on the sea-shore was the town of Che-li-ta-lo (in Sanskrit Jalaathala, the present Jaleswara or Jalesar) much frequented by maritime merchants. (The bearing and distance point to the districts of Midnapur and Singhbhum on the Sabanrika river, which have the town of Jaleswara to the S. E. as described by Hwán Thsāng. Perhaps the ancient name of the district is preserved in Echagarh on the Sanbanrika river, 120 miles to the N. W. of Jalesar.

To the S. at 20,000 li (3,333 miles) was the kingdom of Seng-kia-lo, where was the tooth of Foë, &c. (This is the Island of Ceylon or Sinhala-dwipa, which still possesses an elephant's grinder, that is devoutly believed to be the tooth of Buddha. The distance is much exaggerated even by the longest land route.

From U-cha through a forest to the S. W. at 1200 li (200 miles) to

No. 87—Kung-ru-tho, 1000 li (167 miles) in extent. The capital is situated on a steep part of the sea-shore. Language, peculiar: religion, not Buddhistical. Ten small towns. The bearing and distance
point to the district of Katak or Cuttack, and the neighbourhood of Kanaral, where the black Pagoda stands.)

Thence to the S. W. across a great desert and through a thick forest at 1400 or 1500 li (233 to 250 miles) to

No. 88—Ko-ling-kia. Kalinga, Landresse: 5000 li (833 miles) in extent. Few true believers (Buddhists), many heretics (Brahmanists.)

To the S. near the town was a Stupa built by Asoka. (The identification of M. Landresse is undoubtedly correct, although the distance is somewhat exaggerated. The name of the country is preserved in the Kalingum promontorium of Ptolemy; and the chief town of the district, Chicaucul, is Ptolemy's Kokala.)

Thence to the N. W. over mountains and through forests at 1800 li (300 miles) to

No. 89—Kiao-sa-lo, 6000 li (1000 miles) in extent. The king is a Kshetriya. The people are black and savage. (The bearing and distance point to the district of Gandwana, the present Nagpur or Berar, of which the principal ancient cities were Garha, Mandala, and Ratanpur. The last of these answers to the position recorded by Hwán Thásáng. The name of Kosala is preserved by Ptolemy as "Kosa, in qua est adamam." )

Thence to the S. at 900 li (150 miles) to

No. 90—An-tha-lo, Andra, Landresse; 3000 li (500 miles) in extent. The capital is called Phing-khi-lo. Language, peculiar; manners, savage. The extensive and important Buddhistical ruins of Amaravati, to the W. of Nagpur. These ruins are still undescribed, a fact which reflects no small discredit both upon the British Government, which possesses the country, and upon the Asiatic Society which possesses Col. Mackenzie's MSS. drawings and inscriptions. The latter are particularly valuable and interesting, as they refer to a period prior to the date of Hwán Thásáng's visit, when Buddhism was struggling with Brahmanism but was still predominant. The most modern of these inscriptions says that "Place is not to be given to the disputer of Buddhism." It must therefore be older than A. D. 600—while the more ancient ones, from the shape of their characters, certainly reach as high a date as the beginning of the Christian era." The Andra Indi are mentioned in the Pentingerian Tables, and the Andhras of Magadha are recorded in the Puránas. Andhra is also
one of the ancient names of Telingana, or the country between the Kistna and Godāvari rivers. This however answers to the Great Andhra of Hwán Thsáng, which is mentioned by Hwán Thsáng in the next article.

Thence to the S. at 1000 li (167 miles) to

No. 91—Ta-na-ko-thse-kia, also called Great An-tha-lo; 6000 li (1000 miles) in extent. Inhabitants, black and savage. To the E. of the town on a mountain was the monastery of We-pho-shi-lo, "montagne orientale," and on the W. was the monastery of A-fa-lo-shi-lo, "montagne accidentale." (These two names are the Sanskrit purwa-sila, or "eastern mountain," and aparasila, or "western mountain." This country, as mentioned above, corresponds with the modern Telingāna, between the Godāvari and Kistna rivers, of which Warankul was the capital for many centuries. Hamilton erroneously states that Warankul was built in A. D. 1067, for it appears to have been the capital of the Adeva Rājas in about A. D. 800; and I have little doubt that it is the Korunkula of Ptolemy.)

Thence to the S. W. at 1000 li (167 miles) to

No. 92—Chu-li-ye, from 2400 to 2500 li (400 to 417 miles) in extent. People savage, fierce and heretical. Temples of the Gods. To the S. E. of the town a Stupa built by Asoka. To the W. an ancient monastery, where lived the Arhan Wen-ta-la "superieur," (in Sanskrit Ultra. The bearing and distance point to the "neighborhood of Karnūl on the Tungabhadra River."

No. 93—Tha-lo-pi-chha, 6000 li (1000 miles) in extent. The capital is Kian-chi-fu-lo, Kanjeveram, Landresse. The language and letters are somewhat different from those of central India. The capital is the birth-place of Tha-ma-pho-lo (gardien de la loi) Phou-ba (in Sanskrit Dharmma-Pāla Bodhisatwa.) To the S. of the town was a great Stupa built by Asoka. (The name of the country is certainly the Sanskrit द्राविड़, Dravīḍa, or Dravida, of which the most celebrated city is Kānchi pura or Kanjeveram. The language and letters are Tamul.)

Thence to the S. at 3000 li (500 miles) to

No. 94—Mo-lo-miu-tho, or Chi-mo-lo, 5000 li (833 miles) in extent. The people are black and savage. On the S. this kingdom is bounded by the sea, where stands the mountain of Mo-lo-ye, to the E-
of which is Mount Pu-tha-lo-kia, from which there springs a river that, after winding round the hill falls into the sea. To the N. E. of this mountain is a town from which people embark for the southern sea and for Ceylon. (I am unable to offer any equivalent for the Chinese syllables, unless Chi-mo-lo be a transcript of Komari or Cape Comorin. There can be no doubt that the district intended is the ancient Madura, and the Madura regia, Ptolemy, now called the southern Carnatic: but the distances from Kânchipuram and from Ceylon (next mentioned) are exactly double the actual measurements.)

Thence to the E. at 3000 li (500 miles) to

No. 95—Seang-kia-lo, Ceylon, Landresse. (The various particulars related by Hwán Thâng agree with the details of the Mahawanso: such as the conversion of the people to Buddhism in the first century after the Nirvâna of Buddha, and their division, two centuries afterwards, into two sects.)

From Tha-lo-fi-chha (or Dravira) to the N. through a wild forest at 2000 li (333 miles) to

No. 96—Kung-kian-na-po-lo, Kankara, Landresse: 5000 li (833 miles) in extent. To the N. of the town is a forest of To-lo, of which the leaves are used for writing upon throughout India. To the E. of the town is a Stupa built by Asoka. (The Chinese syllables represent exactly the name of Kankanapura, the modern Concan, an extensive district on the W. coast of India. The distance from the capital of Dravira points to the position of the celebrated town of Kalbarga, which was the capital of a Hindu principality before the Mahomedan invasion. Perhaps Mudgal, which is called Modogulla by Ptolemy, may have been the capital of the Kankan in the time of Hwán Thâng; although there can be no doubt of the antiquity and celebrity of Kalbarga. The To-lo is clearly the Táli tree, the leaves of which are still used for writing upon. It is erroneously called the Talipat tree by book-makers, as Talipatra means the "leaves of the Táli," and not the tree itself.)

Thence to the N. W. through a wild forest at 2400 or 2500 li (400 to 417 miles) to

No. 97—Ma-ha-la-tho, Maharatta, Landresse: 6000 li (1000 miles) in extent. The capital to the W. rests upon a large river. (Judging from the distance the chief city of Maharashtra must have
been at or near Burhánpur on the Tapti. This town is in the very heart of the old Mahratta country, and from its vicinity to the celebrated fortress of Asirgarh, I have little doubt that it was once the capital of the country. Its present name is derived from Burhán Nizám Sháh; but the town is mentioned by Ferishta as a place of consequence during the reign of Ahmed Sháh, the father of Burhán Sháh.)

Thence to the W. at 1000 li (167 miles) across the river Nái-Mo-tho (in Sanskrit Narmada, the Namadus Fluvius of Ptolemy, and the Narbada of the present day, to

No. 98—Pa-lu-ko-chen-pho, 2400 to 2500 li (400 to 417 miles) in extent. The people live by sea-trade. (The position, on the northern bank of the Narbada, and in the vicinity of the sea, point to the seaport of Baroch, the Barygaza of Ptolemy and the Brigu gacha of the Hindus. The Chinese syllables seem to represent Brigu champa, in which the first half of the Hindu name is correctly preserved.)

Thence to the N. W. at 2000 li (333 miles) to

No. 99—Ma-lo-pho, 6000 li (1000 miles) in extent. The capital is situated to the S. E. of the river Mu-ho. (This is undoubtedly Malava or Malwa, of which the ancient capital was Dhár or Dhárana-gar, situated to the S. E. of the upper course of the Máhi river, the Mais of the Periplus, as stated by Hwán Thsáng. But both the distance and the bearing are wrong; as the latter should be N. E. and the former should be only 1000 li (or 167 miles) which is the exact distance between Baroch and Dhár.) In all the five Indies, adds Hwán Thsáng, the two chief kingdoms for study are Malwa to the S. W. and Magadha to the N. E. The history of the country mentions that a king named Shi-lo-a-ti-to (or Siladitya) reigned there for 60 years. To the N. W. of the town at 20 li (upwards of 3 miles) was a town of Brahmans. At the period of Hwán Thsáng's visit therefore Buddhism was still prevalent in Malwa.)

Thence to the S. W. embarking and then turning to the N. W. at 2400 to 2500 li (400 to 417 miles) to

No. 100—A-chá-li, or A-tho-li, 6000 li (1000 miles) in extent. (This description seems rather vague; but by first travelling from Dhár to the S. W. to Baroch, and thence sailing along the coast till opposite
Satāra, a distance of about 400 miles, would have been passed over.

Satāra may perhaps be the place designed by Hwán Thsáng, but without a second clue, it is impossible to determine this name with any precision.)

From Ma-la-pho to the N. W. at 300 li (50 miles) to

No. 101—Khi-cha, 3000 li (500 miles) in extent. Without a king, being a dependency of Malwa. (From its vicinity to the capital of Malwa, this place could only have been a very small principality, perhaps Khaekrod, 56 miles N. by W. from Dhár.)

Thence to the N. at 1000 li (167 miles) to

No. 102—Fa-la-pi, 6000 li (1000 miles) in extent. Here is much merchandise from distant countries. Asoka built Stūpas at this place.

The king is a Kshatriya of the race of Shi-lo-a-ti-to (or Siladitya) of Malwa. The king of Ko-jo-kiu-chi (Kanyakūṭja or Kanoj) named Tu-lu-pho-fa-tho (or Dhruvabhātta) is also of the race of Siladitya. (Jacquet's identification of Fa-la-pi with the celebrated Balabhi, the ancient capital of Gujrat, is undoubtedly correct. Hwán Thsáng's bearing should therefore have been S. W. instead of N. The mention that the king of Kanoj was a Kshatriya is especially valuable for the history of India, for by a reference to No. 62, we find that when Hwán Thsáng was at Kanoj, the king was a Vaisya. A change of dynasty had therefore taken place during the time occupied by Hwán Thsáng in travelling leisurely from Kanoj to Balabhi. There can be no mistake about the king's caste; for the Vaisya Raja was named Kalyanapākatana, whereas the Kshatriya Raja was called Dhruvabhātta.)

Thence to the N. W. at 700 li (117 miles) to


(If it impossible to believe that any place to the W. of Balabhi could have belonged to Malwa. The bearing should therefore most probably be either N. or N. E. instead of N. W. This would point to the neighbourhood of Anhalwārapatan and Ahmadnagar. The former place however formed part of the kingdom of Balabhi: but it may have been temporarily annexed to Malwa at the period of Hwán Thsáng's visit.)

From Fa-la-pi to the W. at 500 li (83 miles) to

No. 104.—Su-la-tho, Surat, Landresse: 4000 li (667 miles) in extent. The capital rests to the W. on the river Mu-yi. Through
this country lies the natural road towards the western sea: and the people are fond of maritime enterprises. Near the town is mount Yeu-
shen-to. The Chinese syllables represent the Sanskrit Surashtra in its spoken form of Suratha. M. Landresse is wrong in identifying this
with Surat, which is a modern town. According to Hwán Thsang the
capital must be looked for in the neighbourhood of Junagarh, a place
which we know to have been one of the chief cities of the peninsula of
Gujrat.

From Fa-la-pi to the N. at 1800 li (300 miles) to

No. 105.—Kiú-che-lo, 5000 li (833 miles.) Heretics, numerous: believers, few. The capital is named Pi-lo-ma-lo. (Both bearing and
distance point to the modern district of Jodhpur or Márwar, of which
one of the principal ancient cities is Bármér, no doubt the Pi-lo-ma-lo
of Hwán Thsang, as its position corresponds exactly with the descrip-
tion. The name of the district would appear to have been Gujara, or
Gurjara-rashtra, the "country of Gujas." In Hwán Thsang's time
therefore this name could not have comprised the peninsula, which was
then known under the name of Surashtra. It would be interesting if
we could trace the period of the extension of this name to the peninsula.
I have a suspicion that it must have taken place after the establishment
of the Rahtors in Márwar, when the original inhabitants of Gujara,
being dislodged and pushed to the south, sought refuge in Surashtra,
to which they gave their own name.)

Thence to the S. E. at 2800 li (467 miles) to

No. 106—U-che-yan-na, Ujjayini, Landresse, 6000 li (1000 miles)
in extent. Stupa: the "site of Hell," built by Asoka. (This is no
doubt the once celebrated Ujain, as identified by M. Landresse. "Hell"
was the name of a prison built by Asoka before his conversion to Bud-
dhism, and which he afterwards destroyed.)

Thence to the N. E. at 1000 li (167 miles) to

No. 107.—Chí-chí-to, 4000 li (667 miles) in extent. The king
is a Brahman, and devoutly believes in the "Three precious ones." (The distance and bearing carry us into the heart of Bundelkhand, to
the kingdom of Chachávati or Jajávati, and its capital Kajuráha, which
are both noticed by Abu Rihán al Biruni. Kajuráha is no doubt the
Kragawa Metropolis of Ptolemy. The mention that the king was a
Brahman points to a period prior to the establishment of the Chandel
Rajputs, which we know must have taken place somewhere about A.D. 700.

Thence to the N. at 900 li (150 miles) to

No. 108.—Ma-2i-shi-fa-lo-pu-lo, 3000 li (500 miles) in extent. Heretics who do not believe in Buddha. (The Chinese syllables represent exactly the Sanskrit Mahesvarapura, but I know of no place of this name to the N. of Bundelkhand. Perhaps Bhutesvara, on the Jamna, may be intended for Bhutesvara and Mahesvara, being both well known names of Siva, are of course interchangeable; and as the distance and bearing agree with those recorded by Hwán Thsáng, it is probable that my proposed identification may be correct: more especially as the Brahmanical celebrity of Bhutesvara agrees with the mention that the place was in the possession of "heretics" who believed not in Buddha.)

From Kiù-che-lo (or Gujara, Márwar) to the N. through a desert and across the Sin-tu (or Indus) to

No. 109.—Sin-tu, Sindh, Landresse, 7000 li (1167 miles) in extent. The capital is Pi-chhen-pho-pu-lo, (perhaps Pushpa-pura, or "Flower town," a very common name for Indian cities. It appears to be the Pañjeda of Ptolemy.) Asoka here built many stupas. (No distance is given, but as the city was situated on the Indus, the bearing is sufficient to indicate the town of Alor, which we know to have been the capital of Sind, within a few years after Hwán Thsáng’s visit. I should prefer rendering the Chinese syllables by Vinya-pura; but Pushapura appears to be the more likely name, as it is a very common term for Indian cities. Thus both Kanoj and Pataliputra were also called Kusmapura, a synonyme of Pushapapura, which in its Pali form of Puppha-pura, was the common name of Palibothra amongst the Buddhists.

Thence to the E. at 900 li (150 miles) passing to the E. bank of the Indus to

* Lieut. Massey in his account of Kálanjjar, (J. A. S. B.—1848—p. 188) erroneously states that the Chandel Rajas of Mahoba were of Brahmanical descent; hence, says he, “the title of Brinh.” He has apparently been misled by the vulgar pronunciation of Varma, which is the spoken form of Varmma, “armor,” a name peculiar and appropriate to the Kshatriya class. वर्म, Varmma, has nothing in common with ब्रह्म, Brahma. If sympathy alone is allowed to guide etymology, brham or “black bee,” may equally lay claim to a descent from Brahma; but, unfortunately for the bee, its name is spelt ब्रह्म, Brahmar. Both coins and inscriptions spell the name वर्म, Varmma.
No. 110.—Meu-lo-san-pu-lo, 4000 li (667 miles) in extent. Numerous worshippers of the Gods: but few Buddhists. (There can be no doubt that the Chinese syllables represent Malliṣṭhampura, or Mallṭhampur, now Mullān. The bearing should therefore have been N. E. and not E. The distance also is too little.)

Thence to the N. E. at 700 li (117 miles) to

No. 111.—Po-fa-to, 5000 li (833 miles in extent.) Four stupas of Asoka and twenty temples of heretics. (Judging from the bearing and distance the Chinese syllables may possibly be intended to represent Pak-patan, an old place also called Ajudhan, and which is perhaps the Ardone of Ptolemy. This identification is however only a guess; for both Harapa and Chichawatin agree equally well with the position indicated, and as the Chinese syllables Fa-to most probably represent the Sanskrit Vati, perhaps Chichawatin may be the true position.)

From Sin-tu to the S. W. at 1500 or 1600 li (250 to 267 miles) to

No. 112—A-thian-pho-shi-lo, 5000 li (833 miles) in extent. The walls of the capital, which is called Ko-chi-she-fa-lo (or Kachēśvara) are close to the river Sin-tu (or Indus), and also not far from the shore of the Great Sea. Without a king, being a dependency of Sind. Here Asoka built six Stupas. The recorded distance points to the modern peninsula of Kachh, of which Kotasir is one of the principal towns. Its position agrees exactly with that given by Hwan Thang, and the modern name is perhaps only a slight corruption of the ancient one, although a different meaning is now attached to it. The name of the district would appear to be Adhipasila; the "king's mountain," or the "king's rock." I have a suspicion that the two names have been interchanged: Kachchēśvara being the proper name of the country, and the original of Kachchha or Kachh, of the present day.

Thence to the N. at less than 2000 li (about 330 miles) to

No. 113—Lang-ko-lo, in Western India: many thousands of li on every side. The capital is called Su-tu-li-she-fa-lo. This country is on the shore of the Great Sea. It has no king, being a dependency of Persia. The alphabetic characters are like those of the Indians, but the language is somewhat different. In the town is a temple of Mūheśvara. (The bearing and distance both point to the island of Astola, the Aṣṭhāla of Ptolemy, and the Thāra of Edrisi. This name is easily
recognizable in the Chinese syllables, which are a literal transcript of Astulewara, the "Lord of Astula," an appellation of Siva, as husband of Astula or Durga. The name of the district, Lang-ko-lo-wab, is probably derived from Lakoria, an ancient town now in ruins, a little to the northward of Khodzdar. The district would therefore correspond with the modern Baluchistan.)

Thence to the N. W. to

No. 114—Pho-la-se, Persia, Landresse. Many tens of thousands of li in extent. The capital is called Su-la-sa-tang-na. This country on the N. W. touches Fe-lin. (The name of the capital appears to have been Srausthan, no doubt the Ram-Seristén of Ibn Haukal, of which the ruins still exist on the Helmand, just above its junction with the Hámán. Fe-lin is of course Europe, or the country of the Firingis or Franks, called Phi-ling by the Tibetans, from whom the Chinese perhaps derived the name.)

From A-thian-pho-shi-lo (or Kachchh) to the N. at 700 li (117 miles) to

No. 115—Pi-to-shi-lo, 3000 li (500 miles) in extent. Without a king, being a dependency of Sind. To the N. of the town at 15 or 16 li (2½ miles) in a great forest, is a Stupa several hundred feet in height built by Asoka; and near it to the E. is a monastery built by the Arhan Ta-kia-ta-yana. (The bearing and distance point exactly to the ruins of Naserpur and Nerunkot, close to the present Haiderábád. The Chinese syllables perhaps represent Patasila, पाटिसिला, the "extensive rock," or the "expans of stone," a name of the same import as Patala, "the extensive abode;" the common acceptation of Patala, is पाळिस, or "Hell," in allusion to its low position in the Delta of the Indus. The Tibetans however give it a much more natural etymology. They call the town, नासरपुर, Potala, the "place of boats," or the "Haven." But as Potala was also the name of a hill, Hwan Thsang's syllables may be rendered Potasila, "the Boat-hill," which when applied to the rocky Nerunkot, would be as appropriate a name as Potala or "Boat-place." There can be no doubt that it is the Patala of the Greeks. Even now it stands at the real head of the Delta, at the point of divergence of the Guni river, which must have been the eastern branch down which Alexander sailed. The determination of this point we owe chiefly to Hwan Thsang's distances.)
Thence to the N. E. at 300 li (50 miles) to
No. 116—A-fan-chha, 2400 to 2500 li (400 to 417 miles) in extent. Without a king, being a dependency of Sind. Stupa built by Asoka. (Judging by the bearing and distance the place intended must be the celebrated Brahmanabad, which was rebuilt as Mansura. It is the "Brahman city" of the historians of Alexander, and the Harmatelia of Diodorus, which I believe to be derived from the Sanskrit Brahmathala, in its spoken form of Brahmathala. The Chinese syllables would however appear to bear some resemblance to Uchha or Uch; but that town is more than 300 miles distant.)

Thence to the N. E. at 900 li (150 miles) to
No. 117—Fa-la-nu, 4000 li (667 miles) in extent. It is a dependency of Kia-pi-she (or Kapisa, now Kushán.) The language has a slight analogy with that of central India. It is said that on the westward amongst the mountains it stretches to Ki-khiang-na. (Hwán Thsáng has now crossed the frontier of Sindh, and entered the territory dependent on Kapisa or Kushán. His bearing must therefore be wrong as well as his distance; for by following them we only reach the neighborhood of Aror, the capital of Sindh. But by comparing his further progress towards Kapisa, and by taking his distances and bearings from that place, together with the name of the district itself, it seems most probable that the country around the Bolán Pass must be intended. The Chinese syllables are indeed a faithful transcript of Bolán; and although the distance is just double that recorded by Hwán Thsáng, yet the fact that the pilgrim was proceeding from Sindh to Kabul almost proves the correctness of my identification, as the Bolan Pass was the nearest route that he could have followed. But when joined to the absolute identity of name, I think there can scarcely be a doubt as to the correctness of the identification.)

Thence to the N. W. across great mountains and large streams, and past several small towns at 2000 li (333 miles) on the frontier of India, to
No. 118—Tsao-kiu-tho, 7000 li (1167 miles) in extent. Language and letters peculiar. Stupas built by Asoka. Temple of the God Tsu-na, who came from Mount A-lu-nas (Aruna, the "red," near Kapisa. (Taking the next recorded bearing and distance from Hu-phi-na or Hupian, Tsao-kiu-tho must be the district of Arachosia
through Afghanistan and India.

on the Arachotus river. The Chinese syllables indeed seem to point to this name. The old capital of Arachotus or Alexandropolis, was situated on the Arachotus river; but its distance from Hupian is much too great. Ghara-i would appear rather to have been the capital visited by Hwán Thsáng, as it lies on the high road to Kabul.)

Thence to the N. at 500 li (83 miles) to

No. 119—Foe-li-shi-sa-tang-na, 2000 li (333 miles) from E. to W., and 1000 li (167 miles) from N. to S. The capital is called Hupian. The king of the race of Thu-kiuei (or Turk, Landresse) is attached to the Three Precious Ones. (The Chinese syllables represent Parakasthánā, the modern Panjhir or Panjshir valley, where Ptolemy places the Parsei and their two towns Parsia and Parsiana. The capital is undoubtedly the present Hupian near Charikar, which was the position of the celebrated Alexandria ad Caucasum, called by Stephen of Byzantium, Alexandria Opiant. I have discussed this subject in my article upon Ariano-Grecian Monograms published in the Numismatic chronicle of London.)

Thence to the N. E. over mountains and rivers, and passing by ten small towns, to the frontier of Kapisa, one reaches the great snowy mountains, and the Pho-lo-si-na chain. This is the highest peak of Jambu-dvipa. From thence a descent of three days to

No. 120—An-tha-la-fo, the ancient country of the Tu-ho-lo (or (Tochari), 3000 li (500 miles) in extent. Without a king, being tributary to the Turks. (This place has already been identified by Professor Lassen with Anderáb to the N. of the Hindu Kush. The Pho-lo-si-na chain is clearly the Paropainus of the Greeks, called Parnassus by Dionysius Periegesis. That Hwán Thsáng's appellation is the correct one is proved by the Zend name of Mount Aprasin, which is accurately preserved in the Pārrhasīni of Pliny, and in the Pārrhasii of Strabo and Solinus. The celebrated Greek name of Parnassus appears to have been only a fond alteration of the true name by the soldiers of Alexander's army in remembrance of their own famous mountain.)

Thence to the N. W. through vallies and over hills and past many small towns at 400 li (67 miles) to

No. 121—Huo-si-to, ancient country of the Tochari, 3000 li (500 miles) in extent. Without a king, being tributary to the Turks.
(This must be some place on the Ghori river between Baghalán and Kunduz. The Chinese syllables appear to represent some name like Khosta, but as we possess no detailed maps of this part of the country it is almost impossible to identify this place, as well as several others mentioned by Hwán Thsang.)

Thence to the N. W. over hills and through vallies, and past several towns, to

No. 122.—HU-o, formerly belonging to the Tochari. Without a king, being tributary to the Turks. (This is most probably Khulm.)

Towards the E. at 100 li (17 miles) is

No. 123.—MENG-KIAN, formerly belonging to the Tochari. Without a king, being tributary to the Turks. (The bearing and distance point to the neighbourhood of Yang-Arek, near which are the ruins of an ancient town, which may probably be the MENG-KIA of Hwán Thsang.)

Thence to the N.

No. 124.—A-LI-NI, formerly belonging to the Tochari. It lies upon both banks of the FA-TSU (or Oxus) and is 300 li (50 miles) in extent. (This is undoubtedly the Walin of Ibn Haukal, the Urvalin of Edrisi, and the Welwaleg of Ulugh Beg. According to Edrisi (1. 475) it was 2 days journey to the E. of Khulm, and 2 days to the W. of Telikán, which agrees with the position assigned to it by Hwán Thsang. This would place it about the mouth of the Kunduz river, where there still exists a Fort called Kilah Zål. Now Ibn Haukal writes the name Zulin, as well as Wdlin. It is probable therefore that Kilah Zål is the identical place mentioned by all these writers. Its position on the Oxus would of course secure it the possession of land on both sides of the river, as stated by Hwán Thsang.)

Thence to the E.

No. 125.—KO-LO-HU, formerly belonging to the Tochari. It stretches to the Oxus towards the N. (I believe this to be the modern district of Kunduz Proper, which is bounded to the N. by the Oxus.)

To the E. across a chain of hills and past several districts and towns at 300 li (50 miles) to

No. 126.—KE-LI-SK-MO, formerly belonging to the Tochari, 100 li (17 miles) from E. to W., and 300 li (50 miles) from N. to S. (The bearing and distance point to Tálikán.)
through Afghanistan and India.

Thence to the N. E. is

No. 127.—Po-li-ho, formerly belonging to the Tochari; 100 li (17 miles) from E. to W. and 300 li (50 miles) from N. to S. (This is perhaps the old city of Barbara, now in ruins, at the mouth of the Kokcha river.)

From Ke-li-se-mo, across the mountains to the E. at 300 li (50 miles) to

No. 128.—Sze-mo-tha-lo, formerly belonging to the Tochari, 3000 li (500 miles) in extent. The rule of the Turks has very much changed the habits and locations of the people. (The recorded data point to the neighbourhood of Tishkán, on the high road between Talikán and Faisaláb.)

Thence to the E. at 200 li (33 miles) to

No. 129.—Po-tho-tsang-na, formerly belonging to the Tochari, 2000 li (333 miles) in extent. The king is firmly attached to the belief of the Three Precious Ones. (The bearing and distance point to Faisaláb, the capital of Badakshán, of which latter name the Chinese syllables are only a transcript.)

Thence to the S. E. at 200 li (33 miles) over mountains to

No. 130. Yiu-po-kian, formerly belonging to the Tochari, 1000 li (167 miles) in extent. The language is slightly different from that of Badakshán. (This is probably Fawad on the Wardoj river.)

Thence to the S. E. across a mountain chain by a dangerous road, at 300 li (50 miles).

No. 131. Kiu-lang-nu, formerly belonging to the Tochari, 2000 li (333 miles) in extent. Without religion, there being but few Buddhists. The people are savage and ugly. The king believes in the Three Precious Ones. (Judging from the data this must be the present Fargana, close to the mines of lapis-lazuli. In fact the Chinese syllables would seem to represent some name being similar to this one.)

Thence to the N. E. by a mountainous and difficult road at 500 li (83 miles) to

No. 132.—Tha-mo-si-thi-er-ti, or Thian-pin, or Hu-mi, formerly belonging to the Tochari. From 1500 to 1600 li (250 to 267 miles) from E. to W., and only 4 or 5 li (about three quarters of a mile) from N. to S., and situated between two mountains on the river Oxus. The people have green eyes, different from those of all other countries.
(The bearing and distance point to the Wákhán valley, which agree exactly with the description of Hwán Thsâng; for from the Sir-i-kol lake to the junction of the Shakh-dara, the Oxus is 170 miles in length, measured direct on Wood’s map; to which must be added one half more for the windings of the stream, making a total length of 255 miles. From Ishkashim to Kundut, the valley of Wákhán is from “a few hundred yards to a mile in width.” The average width is therefore some what more than half a mile, as accurately stated by Hwán Thsâng. This is one more proof that the measurements of the Chinese pilgrim are generally correct. The name of Hu-mi is no doubt derived from the Hien-mi tribe of Tochari, whose name is still preserved in Ámu, the modern appellation of the Oxus. Wákhán is mentioned by Ibn Haukal, Edrisi and Marco Polo, and it is, I believe, the Vanda-banda regio of Ptolemy.)

No. 133.—She-khi-ni, 2000 li (333 miles) in extent. The capital is called Wen-ta-to. This country is to the N. of the Great Snowy Mountains. (She-khi-ni is the Shakhán of the present day, and the Sakinah of Ibn Haukal and Edrisi.)

To the S. of Wákhán and the Great Mountains is

No. 134.—Shang-mi, 2500 to 2600 li (417 to 433 miles) in extent. The letters are the same as those of the Tochari; but the language is different. The king is of the race of She. The religion of Buddha is held in great honor. (This can only be the valley of Chital, with the lateral valleys of Kafiristan. The name was perhaps derived from the Indo-Scythian tribe of Shwang-mi.)

To the N. E. over the mountains by a dangerous road, at 700 li (117 miles) is the valley of Pho-mi-lo, (or Pamer, Landresse) which is 1000 li (167 miles) from E. to W. and 100 li (17 miles) from N. to S. and is situated between two snowly mountains. There is the great lake of serpents, which is 300 li (50 miles) from E. to W. and 50 li (upwards of 8 miles) from N. to S. It is in the midst of the Tsung Sing mountains. (This is the well known lake of Sir-i-kol, at the source of the Oxus and in the district of Pamer.)

To the S. of Pamer, across the mountains is the kingdom of the Po-he-lo (or Bolor, Landresse) which produces much gold. The S. E. part of the district is inhabited. (This is the kindom of Balti or Little Tibet, which is called Palolo by the Dardus. From this name
has been derived that of the mountain range of Bolor, and perhaps also that of belor or "rock crystal.")

Thence beyond the snowy mountains and glaciers is

No. 135.—KO-PHANTO, 2000 li (333 miles) in extent. The capital is situated on a high mountain, close to the river Si-to. The king takes the title of CHI-NATHIPHO-KIUTALO, "race du dieu du soleil de la Chine" (or China-deva-gotra.) The Si-to, or Sita, is the river of Kashgar; and the district appears to be that of Sir-i-kol, of which Tagarmi is now the largest town.)

Thence descending the Tsung Sing to the E. and crossing other mountains at 800 li (133 miles) to

No. 136.—U-SAI, 1000 li (167 miles) in extent. On the S. it stretches to the river Sita. The letters and language somewhat resemble those of Kashgar. Buddha is held in honor. Without a king being tributary to KO-PHANTO. To the W. of the town at 200 li (33 miles) is a great mountain. (This appears to answer to the district of Yangi-Hissar. It is probably the Ausakia of Ptolemy.)

Thence to the N. over lonely mountains at 500 li (83 miles) to

No. 137.—KIE-SHA, Kashgar, Landresse: 5000 li (833 miles) in extent.

Thence to the S. E. crossing the river Sita, the Great Sands, and a mountain chain, at 500 li (83 miles) to

No. 138.—CHO-KEUKIA, 1000 li (167 miles) in extent. The letters are the same as those of KIU-SA-TAN-NA, (Ku-sthana or Kotan, Remusat,) but the language is different.

Thence to the E. across a chain at 800 li (133 miles) to

No. 139.—KIUSATANNA (or Kotan, Remusat), commonly WANNA. The Hiung-nu call it IU-SIAN the other barbarians KU-TAN, and the YIN-TU, KIU-TAN. It is 4000 li (667 miles) in extent.

Thence at 400 li (67 miles) to

No. 140.—TU-HO-LO, or the ancient country of the Tochari. (This is no doubt the district of Khor in Great Tibet, for the chief tribe of the Tochari was the Kuei-shang of the Chinese writers, the Korano of the coins, and the Chauranei of Ptolemy.*

* Dr. Taylor identifies Ptolemy's Chauranei with the Garos of Assam, although they are placed immediately to the E. of the Byltz, or people of Balti, or Little Tibet. I observe with regret that Mr. B. H. Hodgson seems to admit the correctness of Dr.
Thence to the E. at 600 li (100 miles) to

No. 141—Che-ma-Tan-na, or land of Ni-mo. (Perhaps Chàntthàn, the district inhabited by the Chatae Scythae of Ptolemy.

Verification of Hwan Thsang’s view of Buddhism.

It may perhaps be urged against Hwan Thsang that, as a zealous follower of Buddha, he has exhibited altogether a much too favorable view of the state of the Buddhist religion in India at the period of his visit. But fortunately, we possess the independent testimonies of two different authors, the one a Brahman, and the other a Muselman, whose statements fully corroborate the views of the Chinese pilgrim, and vouch for the entire truthfulness of his narrative. The Brahman is Kalhana.

Taylor’s identification of Asam with the Serica of the ancients. This is a point that in my opinion is wholly without proof, or even probability. It is indeed true that Asam and Serica both produced silk; and equally true is it that there was a river in Macedon and another in Monmouth, and that there were salmon in both; but this proves nothing: for Asam was certainly apart of “India extra Gangem,” as was also Great Tibet, including the whole of the country on the Sanphú river. Thus Eldano is Galdan, Sagoda is Shigatse, Adisaga is U-Tuang or Lhasa, and the Daama Fluvis is the Dihong River. The Dabaax are the people of Dábus, or Central Tibet, that is of Lhasa, and the Damasi Montes, are the hills of Dábus. A glance at the map will show the correctness of these identifications; but we have also the fact that the kings of Great Tibet from B.C. 250 were Indians of the family of Lichchavi of Vaissali. This alone was sufficient to warrant Ptolemy in including Tibet within “India extra Gangem.” I cannot enter into any details here; but I may mention that the routes from India to Tibet appear to have remained unchanged since Ptolemy’s time: for Tousla Metropolis, is most probably Tassisudom, the capital of Botan; and Tugma Metropolis must be the capital of Asam; whilst Mareura emporium is Amarupura the capital of Ava. The Seres were certainly the Ouigours whose name is preserved in the Oichardes Fluvis and Oichardes, in the Itaguri, Thagurus Mons, and Thugura, all of which are only various spellings of Ouiguri or Ouigours. They were called Kiao-chang or “Waggoners” by the Chinese, which term we also find preserved in the Ecedones of Ptolemy and Ammianus, in the Henisch of Pliny, and in the Harmatotrophi of Pomponius Mela: all of which are only literal translations of the Chinese name. The Seres must not therefore be confounded with the Sinc, for the latter were the people of China Proper, the former of Chinese Tartary. A few minor identifications may also be mentioned, such as: the Psitaras Fluvis of Pliny is the Su-Turini, or river of Yarkand: the Sixyges are the people of Sui-Ching:—the Damnas are the people of Manas, the Asmirei are the people of Urumtsi or Bish-balig;—and the Thousni or Tharrani are the people of Turfân.
Pandit, the author of the early portions of the Raja Taringini or Sanskrit history of Kashmir. According to him

In about A. D. 560, Galána the minister of Vikramaditya built a Vihára, or Buddhist monastery. T. 3.—Sl. 476.

Between A. D. 594 and 630, Ananggalekha, the Queen of Durlabha, built a Vihára. T. 4.—Sl. 3.

Between A. D. 680 and 689, Prakása-Devi, the Queen of Chandra-pira, built a Vihára. T. 4.—Sl. 79.

Between A. D. 693 and 729, Raja Lalitaditya built a great Vihára and a Stupa in Hushkapura, and in another place he built a great Chaitiya, as well as a Vihára. T. 4.—Sl. 188-200. He likewise erected a great copper image of Buddha. T. 4.—Sl. 203. His Prime Minister also, named Chángkuna, a Turk from Bhukhrá, built a Stupa, a Chaitiya and a Vihára. T. 4.—Sl. 211-215. And the Physician Isanachandra, the Minister's brother-in-law also built a Vihára. T. 4.—Sl. 216.

Between A. D. 751 and 782, Raja Joyapira erected images of the three Buddhas (the "three precious ones" of Hwán Thsáng) as well as a very large Vihára. T. 4.—Sl. 506.

Between A. D. 854 and 883, Raja Avanti Varmma, for the space of ten years, prohibited the slaughter of every living thing. T. 5.—Sl. 64.

In A. D. 933, Raja Partha with his family took refuge in the Vihára of Sri-Chandra, where he was fed by the Srámans, or Bauddha mendiants. T. 5.—Sl. 427.

And between A. D. 950 and 958, Raja Kshema Gupta abolished the worship of Buddha and burned the Viháras. T. 6.—Sl. 72.

The Musalman Author is Beladori, who states that

"The Indians give the name of Bodd to every object of their worship, and they also call an idol Bodd." Reinaud's Fragmens, &c. pp. 193, 194.

Again, after the conquest of Nirun in A. D. 711 "Mahomed bin Kasim was met by some 'Samanées,' (Srámans or Bauddha mendiants) who came to sue for peace." Reinauds Fragmens, p. 195.

From these passages of Beladory we see that Buddha was still the chief object of worship in Sind some 60 or 70 years after Hwán Thsáng's visit; and that Srámans and not Bráhmans were employed.
by the people as mediators with the Musalman Conquerer. The statements of Kalhana are perhaps more interesting though not more decisive; for they show that Buddhism continued to be honored by kings and ministers until the middle of the 10th century, at which time the Buddhists were persecuted by Kehema-Gupta. It is true that several of the Kashmirian Princes also erected fanes to Siva and other Brahmanical deities. But this proves no more than that Brahmanism and Buddhism were both flourishing together in Kashmir at the same time. Perhaps these Princes had the same feeling upon the subject of religion as the Frenchman, immortalized by Smollet, who made his obeisance to the statue of Jupiter in St. Peter's at Rome, saying, "O Jupiter, if ever you get the upper hand again, remember that I paid my respects to you in your adversity." Even so the Kashmirian Rajas appear to have halted between two opinions, and to have erected temples and statues of both religions, in the hope that one of the two must be right.

Chinese Map of India.

As an appropriate accompaniment of Capt. Cunningham's interesting paper on the route of Hwán thsáng, the Editors insert the annexed Chinese Map of India, originally copied by M. Klaproth from the Great Japanese Encyclopedia for the illustration of the Foê koue ki. Although in some particulars it differs from the narratives of Hwán thsáng and Shy fa hian, being the compilation of some unknown Chinese geographer, who probably gathered his materials from many and conflicting accounts, it will be found both useful and interesting at a time when public attention is directed to China for the most authentic particulars of the early history of this country.

One of the principal difficulties in identifying the routes of these travellers arises from the uncertain length of their metrical standard the li, which has been variously estimated at from ¼th to ¼ a mile. Nor is this difficulty altogether removed when the Indian measure, or yojana, is employed. For though it is probable that in ancient times the principal high-roads were accurately measured, yet the length of the yojana seems to have varied in different parts of India precisely as we find the
Chinese Map of India.

Bua (of which it is a multiple) to vary at the present day. Thus, Capt. Cunningham by comparing the distances of well identified positions in the north-western parts of India, has determined the length of the yojana to be there about 7 English miles; but on applying this standard to Fa hian's distances in Magadha, it will be found by nearly half too great. For if we protract that traveller's route from She wei (Oude) to Pa lian fos (Patna), and assume 7 miles for the length of the yojana, we shall place the site of the latter town somewhere in the neighbourhood of Burdwan. But if we determine the value of the yojana in Magadha in the same way as Capt. C. has done in the north-west, that is from the actual distances of well determined positions, we shall find it not greatly to exceed 4 or 4½ miles; a value which corresponds well with all Fa hian's distances in Behar, and facilitates the identification of all his stages from Oude downwards. Thus the direct distance from She wei to Kia i na kie, is by protraction, 30 yojanas; measured on Arrowsmith's map (Oude to the banks of the Gandak), 120 miles;—from Patna to Giriyek, 9 yojanas according to Fa hian, or 40 miles on the map;—from Giriyek to Kia ye (which by the way, is neither modern Gaya nor Baudhha Gaya, but an ancient town* near Barabar), is a little less than 4 yojanas or 27 miles, bringing us exactly to the banks of the Falgo; and so on.

That this valuation of the yojana is founded upon a true and ancient Indian standard may be inferred from the following remarks of Wilford. After quoting Pliny's account of the distance of Palibothra from the confluence of the Ganges and Jamna, he remarks that "Megassthenes says the high ways in India were measured, and that at the end of a certain Indian measure (which is not named, but is said to be equal to ten stadia), there was a cippus or sort of column erected. No Indian measure answers to this but the brahmani or astronomical kos of four to a yojana. This is the Hindu statute koss, and equal to 1.227 British miles. It is used by astronomers and by the inhabitants of the Punjab; hence it is very often called the Punjabi koss; thus the distance from Lahore to Multan is reckoned to this day 145 Punjabi, or 90 common koss."† It is worthy of remark that the length of the yojana in

* Ram Gaya? may we commend the investigation of this point to Capt. Kittoe, whose intimate acquaintance with that neighbourhood points him out as best qualified for the task?

the north-west, as determined by Capt. Cunningham from Fa hian's distances, namely, within a fraction of 7 miles, bears nearly the same proportion to the Magadhi yojana as the common does to the Punjab koss. The learned Colebrooke makes the standard koss 2.25 miles, and the computed koss one half of that, or a mile and an eighth.

According to Chinese translators of Buddhist works there were three kinds of yojana employed in India; the great yojana of 80 li, used for the measurement of level countries, where the absence of mountains and rivers renders the road easy; the mean yojana of 60 li, used where rivers or mountains oppose some difficulties to the traveller; and the small yojana of 40 li, adapted to those countries where the mountains are precipitous and the rivers deep. This shows that we must not apply an invariable standard to the every portion of these pilgrims' routes; but rather seek to determine its local value, where practicable, by the distance of well identified spots in each neighbourhood.

An account of several Inscriptions found in Province Wellesley on the Peninsula of Malacca.—By Lieut.-Col. JAMES LOW M. A. S. B. and C. M. R. A. S.

(A.) Consists of a group of seven inscriptions now extant on the rather weather-worn and sloping side of a granite rock at a place named Tokoon, lying near to the center of the Province, or almost directly east of Penang town. The whole probably appertain to one period and the same subject.

The rock was pointed out several years ago to Mr. Thomson the Government Surveyor by some Malays, but he examined it hastily, as it was covered with jungle and long grass, and it was not until a considerable time had elapsed that I accidentially learned from him its existence. I had before this passed for years consecutively close to the spot, yet such was the apathy of the villagers, or their ignorance, that no hint was given to me about the rock; and this induces me to mention that owing to this indifference and to the suspicious conduct of the native chiefs,