

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'×5', and for the horse 10'×3', with a partition wall of 2 feet, which would give a square apartment of 10'×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 Chereesai or Seereai Diew, 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.

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*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 FÖE-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 Thsáng 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 Thsáng 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 Thsáng's Itinerary. Having fallen upon the word CHI-NA-LO-CHE-FE-LO, which Hwán Thsáng 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 *shaftálu* (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 Thsáng himself that the name bore a very different meaning. *Chini-shaftálu* 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 Thsáng's Itinerary beyond all possibility of doubt. Thus CHI-NA-LO-CHE-FE-TA-LO, is only a transcript in Chinese syllables of *China-rajá-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-shaftálu* bears only a *partial* similarity to Hwán Thsáng'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 Hwán Thsáng.

Having thus started with the erroneous idea that all the names in Hwán Thsáng'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-semangán*, of THSE-KIA, with *Shikárpur*, of PO-FA-TO, with *Bhawálpur*, of U-TO-KIA-HAN-CHA with *Attok*, and of TU-MAN with *Hazrat-Imam*, he comes to the conclusion that the work of Hwán Thsáng 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.—Hwán Thsáng particularly specifies that this place was to the *south* of FO-KIA-LANG, or *Baghalán*. Now Semengán was the ancient name of Heibuk, which lies to the North of West from Baghalán, instead of to the South. Of course Major Anderson will say that this is one of Hwán Thsáng'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 KE-LU-SI-MIN-KIAN, with *Semengán*, rests only on similarity of sound, for he had not proved that Semengán was ever called *Kilah* Semengán, 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 Drás, 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. **THESE-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 **THESE-KIA**; namely, that at 14 or 15 *li* (about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  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 **THESE-KIA** at 500 *li* (about 83 miles) stood the monastery of **THA-MO-SU-FA-NA**, (*forét 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 *Jálandhara*. The monastery must therefore have been near the present *Dakhani Serai*, on the *Káli-Véhi* river, and **THESE-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-SEE-FA-NA**, or "forét obscure," from *तमस्* *tamas*, darkness, and *वन*, *vana*, 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 *Panjáb*.

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 *Punch* 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 Jálandhara. As *Amritsar* was originally called *Chek*, it seems probable that the holy city of the Sikhs, stands in the actual position of the *Sákala* of the Mahabharata, and the *Sangala* of Arrian.

These detailed distances and directions, from two such well ascertained places as Kashmir and Jálandhara, 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 MEII-LO-SAN-PU-LO, or *Mallisthánpura*, 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. 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 (*Pushkaldvati* or *Peukelaotis*, 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 *Bhimá* must have stood close to the present town of Noshéhra, 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 Jálandhar, before alluded to; and by the recorded distances in the Kabul valley, which I will now mention.

Beyond FAN-YAN-NA, or BAMIAN 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 as 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 *Sweta-Versha*. 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 *Hupia*. 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 Kushan, كوشان, is often written كفشان, *Kafshan*, in the same way that we have both *Afghan* and *Aoghan*.

This point being established I will now proceed to examine Hwán Thsang's "distances and directions." From *Kiapishe* to the eastward at 600 *li* was LAN-PHO, or *Lamghán* (*Lambatos* of Ptolemy.) Thence to the South-East at 100 *li* and across a large river was NA-KO-LO-HO, or *Nangrihár*. 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 Pushtu 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 Thsang's accuracy. Ptolemy's name of *Dionysopolis* was still in use so late as A. D. 1000, for *Dinus* 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 *Gandhara*, and its capital, PU-LU-SHA-FU-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 Opiana* (Hupian) and *Peukelaotis* (Hashtnagar) which was 227 Roman miles, or 207½ 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 Imám* 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 *Shumán* of Abulfeda. But the itinerary of Edrisi agrees exactly with that of Hwán Thsáng. To the eastward of TAN-NI, or *Termed*, was CHI-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 *Andián* of Edrisi, and the *Alubán* of Ibn Haukal. Then to the eastward was HU-SHA, the *Waksh* 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 Imám*.

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 KIU-MI-THO, which must therefore be to the eastward of *Khutlán* near the source of the Oxus; in which position we find the *Komedæ 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 *sh*. 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 *Shakhán*, 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-THIEI-TI, or HU-MI, of which the inhabitants had green eyes. This district Major Anderson identifies with *Daghestan* 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 Thsang. 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 Thsang connected with this identification of HU-MI with *Wakhán* that in my opinion adds the last link to the chain of evidence in favor of the correctness of my identification. Hwáng Thsang 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, *Kadphises 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-SMI is no doubt the *Urasa* district of the Kashmirian history, the *Urasa regio* of Ptolemy, and the *Rash* of the present day, for the district of *Rash* lies just to the westward of Mozafarabad, and to the north-east of Kashmir; agreeing with the direction indicated by Hwán Thsang.

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 Thsang to the north-east of CHE-LAN-TSA-LO, or *Jalandhara*, and across precipitous mountains at 700 *li* (about 117 miles) was KHIU-LU-TO, the boundary of India on the north. Both distance and direction point to the district of *Kulu*, which as Hwán Thsang correctly states, is "surrounded by mountains, and close to the snowy mountains." Major Anderson iden-

tifies KHIU-LU-TO with *Keldt-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 *Hesudrus* of Pliny, now called *Satrudr* or *Satlaj*. The other large river crossed on the road from *Kulu* is of course the *Vipśa* 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 *Vipśa*, SHE-TO-THU-LO, or *Satadru*, SU-PHO-FA-SU-TO, or *Subhavastu*, with the towns PU-SE-KO-LA-FA-TI, or *Pushkalāvati*, SATHANI-SHE-FA-LO, or *Sthaneswāra*, 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 Hwáng 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 *Chitrāvāra*, 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 *Gráhilót*.

Now the period at which *Sudras* reigned over Sindh must be the date of Hwán Thsáng's visit. In the *Chach-Námeh*, 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 *Jajáwati* (read *Chacháwati*) of which the capital city was named *Kajurádhah*, there can be no doubt that the place indicated was the principality afterwards held by the Chandél Rajputs, *Kajurádhah* still exists ; and from the inscriptions yet extant, as well as from the genealogy preserved by the bard *Chand* in his *Chand Rás*, 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 Hwáng 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*, Hwáng Thsáng gives the name of five kings who reigned there previous to his visit. Their names are,

SO-KIA-LO-A-YI-TO.	or <i>Sankaraditya.</i>
FO-THO-KIU-TO.	<i>Budhagupta.</i>
THA-KA-TA-KIU-TO.	<i>Takatagupta.</i>
PHO-LO-A-YE-TO.	<i>Baladitya.</i>
FA-CHE-LO.	<i>Vajra.</i>

Of the second, fourth, and fifth of those Princes there are coins still existing to testify to the truth of the pilgrims 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 Rihán 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 Hwán Thsáng's visit.

4th. The king of PHO-LI-YE-THA-LO was of the race of FEI-SHE 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 Hwán Thsáng. Now we know from Abul Fazl's lists that prior to the conquest of Shaháb-ad-din in A. D. 1188, the throne had been occupied for 83 years by 7 *Chohan* 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 Hwán Thsáng that the period of his visit from A. D. 600 to 668 corresponds precisely with the date assigned by the Chinese authorities, 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 FOE-LI-SHI-SA-TANG-NA or *Paraskasthan*, (the present *Panjhir* or *Panjshir*) was of the race of *Thu-kiuei* or *Turk* ; therefore prior to A. D. 900, the period of the usurpation of the Brahman *Kallar*, whose descendants reigned over the Kabul valley until Mahmud Ghaznavi's conquests. This is distinctly proved by Abu Rihán. 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 Mahomedan author Hwán Thsáng could have found the *Sanskrit* names of kings and countries already noticed. I will answer the question myself. "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 Mussooree, 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 Mussooree it breeds in May, making a platform nest on tall forest trees; the eggs are 2 and pure white;—diameter  $1\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{1}{4}$  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  $\times \frac{1}{3}$ . 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  $\times \frac{1}{3}$ ; 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.)*

*Verification of the Itinerary of the Chinese Pilgrim, HWAN THSANG, through Afghanistan and India, during the first half of the seventh century of the Christian Era. By ALEX. CUNNINGHAM, Capt. Engineers.*

The numbers are those of M. Landresse, the Editor of the FOE-KUE-KI, which I retain for the purpose of easy reference. Where not otherwise specified the distances and bearings of the modern places agree with those of Hwán Thsáng. The identifications of Landresse and Lassen have their names attached to them. The other identifications have

been made by myself. My remarks are separated from the text by brackets.

No. 5—CHE-SHI or SHI, situated on the river YE. (*Túshkand* or *Shúsh*, on the Sibún or Jaxartes—Landresse.)

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

No. 6—PU-KAN, to the East of the river YE. (*Khvákan*, خواقند or *Kokán*.)

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

No. 7—SU-TU-LI-SE-NA, to the eastward of the river YE. (*Satrustah*, ستروسته, of Ibn Haukal. Landresse gives Osrushna, اسروشنه, which is the reading of Abulfeda, of Náser-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—KIEI-PU-TAN-NA or TSAO. (Probably *Kohistan*, the *Kilah Kaukán*, كوكل, of Ibn Haukal, one day's journey beyond Derbend, on the road from *Chagánián*. 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. (*Bokhúra*—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-juí on the Oxus.)

Thence at 500 *li* (83 miles) to the S. W.

No. 15—HO-LI-SI-MI-KIA or HO-TSIU. (Perhaps *Atasadda Marvi*, or *Alexandria Margiané*, 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 *Kolughá*; 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 *Tokhárestan* 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 *Waksh-su*, or Oxus river.)

Thence to the E.

No. 19—CHHI-AO-YAN-NA. (*Chagánistán*.)

Thence to the E.

No. 20—HU-LÜ-MO. (Perhaps the *Hamurán*, *هموران*, 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-YAN-NA. (Perhaps the *Andián* of Edrisi and the *Alubán* of Ibn Haukal.)

Thence to the E.

No. 23—HU-SHA. (The district of *Waksh* of the Mahomedan Geographers.)

Thence to

No. 24—KO-TU-LO. (The well known district of *Khutlán* 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 *Komedæ Montes* of Ptolemy, with the river Oxus to the S. W.)



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

To the S. W.

No. 26—FO-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—FO-KO, bounded by the river FA-TSU to the N. (Undoubt, edly *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 ΕΤΟΥΣΜΟΤ ΑΝΑΞΣΑ of Ptolemy, for which I propose to read ΕΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΤ ΑΝΑΞΣΑ.)

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 Hwán Thsang 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. (*Bámán*,—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 *Kafshán*, كفشان, or *Kushán*, كوشان, of the present day.) To the S. of the town, at 40 *li* (nearly 7 miles) was the town of SI-PI-TO-FA-LASSZ (in Sanskrit, *Sveta-varsha*, the "white district," perhaps the modern Ghorband, from the Sanskrit *gaura-vartha*, 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 *sára*, 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 *Lambata*.

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

No. 37—NA-KO-LO-HO, surrounded on all sides by hills, and possessing some lofty topes built by Asoka. (*Nangrihar*, the *Nagara* or *Dionysopolis* of Ptolemy, and the *Nysa* of Alexander's historians; most probably *Begrám* near Jallálabád. It is the NA-KIE 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 *Dime*, as being situated about midway between Kabul and Parashawar. I have a suspicion that the *Adinapur* 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. (*Parasháwara*, the *Parsháwar* of Abu Rihán and Báber, and the modern *Pesháwar*, a name given by Akbar to denote a frontier town.) To the N. E. of the monastery of King KIA-NI-SI-KIA, (*Kanishka*) and across a large stream (the Kabul river) was the town of PU-SE-KO-LA-FA-TI. (In Sanskrit, *Pushkalávati*, in Prakrit, *Pukkalaoti*, the original of the Greek Πευκελαωτις, as *Pukkala* was of the Greek Πευκαλας. It corresponds to the modern *Hashtnagar* or *Hastinagara*, which perhaps derives its name from *Astes* 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 Niçetta 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 Noshetra, 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 *Niláb*, which agrees with Hwáng Thsang'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  $\text{अर्था}$ , *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  $\text{अत्र}$ , *at*, much,  $\text{त्रि}$ , *trri*, 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 *Ujjana*, 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 Thsang. 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-FA-SU-TU, or Swát river, in Sanskrit *Sabhasvatu*, which flows to the S. W. as stated by Hwán Thsáng.) To the S. of MENG-HO-LI, at 200 *li* (33 miles) was the great forest of MA-BA-FA-NA. (This is no doubt the high jungly hill now called *Mahávan*, in Sanskrit *Maha-vana*, 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.  $71^{\circ} 30'$ , and from Akora it bears E.  $55^{\circ} 40'$ .) 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 *Lohitaka*.) 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-FO-LU-CHI-TI-SHE-FA-LO-PHU-SA, (perhaps *Aparajiteswara Bodhisatwa*.) 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*. Fa 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 *بیلور*, *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 *Sphaṭika*, *स्फटिक*, "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 *Takhasila*, and Pali *Takkasila*, the *Taxila* of the Greeks, as noticed by Lassen.—It is undoubtedly the present *Manikyála*, 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 *Ráwal-Pindi* and in the neighbouring villages are brought from *Manikyála*.) 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 *Chutyasira*, Remusat.)—The king was named CHEN-TSA-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 *Kuláta*, 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 *Vihára* 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 Tsháng as having been built by KEU-LANG-NU, the son of Asoka. There is no doubt however that it is the great Manikyála tope which was opened by General Ventura; for the small silver disc found in that tope bears a short inscription of only two lines, of which the upper line reads  $\text{𑖀𑖄𑖱𑖔}$  *Gomangasa*, in Sanskrit गोमङ्गसा, "of the abandoned body," from  $\text{𑖀𑖔}$ , *gusa*, abandoning, and  $\text{𑖀𑖱}$ , *angga*, body. The great tope was therefore built upon the spot where Buddha "abandoned his body" to a hungry tiger (abandonné son corps à un tigre affamé).—The smaller tope opened by General Court also contained an inscription which mentions "*Kanishka, Maharája of the Gushang* (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-FU-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-LA-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 Rája Taringini, a mountainous district where Sankara Varmma of Kashmir was killed by an arrow. It corresponds in position to the modern district of *Rash*, a part of Dhantáwar where there still exist two small topes, of which one is situated within a mile of Mángali, the former capital of the country. The people of *Urasa* or *Varsa*, with those of *Gilgit* or *Gilit* (as it is called by themselves) would appear to be joined together in Pliny's *Arsa-galitæ*, who are named as neighbours of the *Peukolaítæ*. 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 Alingar river.

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

No. 44—KIA-SHE-MI-LO, *Kásmira*,—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 *Pándrethán*, a corruption of *Puránadhisthána*, the "old capital," which is situated 1½ miles to the S. E. of the Takht-i-Sulimán. 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 (Cuttak), at Junagiri in Surashtra (Gujrat), and at Sháh-báz-garhi to the N. E. of Pesháwar, that the whole of India to the north of the Narbada, from the Indus to the mouths of

the Ganges, was tributary to Asoka Maurya, the Sophagasenas 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 Panjáb, as generally supposed; but *Panuck* or *Punach*, the *Punch* of the maps, a place which answers to the bearing and distance given by Hwán Thsang, 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 Rám Dás of the *Amrita Saras* 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 *Sangala* 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 remarkable

for mere accident. If there should be no mistake in the bearing I would propose the capital of *Katoch* or *Katochin* as the representative of CHI-NA-FU-TI, and the fort of *Kangra* as the domain of *Kanishka*. In fact we know from *Abu Rihán* 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-garha*, or *Kanik-garha*. According to the Mogal author *Sanang-setsen*, *Kanika* was king of *Gacha* or *Gachi* (Foe-kue-ki, 248, N.); in which name I think I can recognize the *Katoch* or *Katochin* of the present day. *Jalandhara* is particularly mentioned as being in the kingdom of *Gacha*: and an inscription now existing in the city of *Kangra* calls the kingdom *Gachché-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 *Jálandhar 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 *Jálandhara*, one of the oldest places in India. It is the *Ku* or *Zulindrine* of Ptolemy.)

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

No. 50—KHU-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 *Kulu* on the upper *Byas* river, which agrees precisely with *Hwán Thsáng'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 *Sanpu* river: in which case the bearing should be east and not north. As *Hwáng Thsáng* 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-THU-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-THU-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 Pándavas. In the Mahabharata the names are *Aristhala*, *Vrihasthala*, &c. which in the Veni-Samhára are changed to *Indraprastha*, *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 Toghkakabad, 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 दिल्लीप, *Dilipa*, a name which is symphonious with दिल्लीप. As ancient Delhi undoubtedly extended over the hills about Toghkakabad, 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—MOTHU-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 *li* (83 miles) to

No. 54—SA-THA-NI-SHE-FA-LO. (This is undoubtedly the celebrated *Sthaneswara* or *Thanesar*, to the N. W. of Delhi. I believe it to be Ptolemy's *Batan-kaisara*, for which I propose to read *Satan-aisara*. It is now known as the *Kuru-kshetra* 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 *li* (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-MEU-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 *Sadhora*, under the Siwálik hills to the westward of the *Jamna*, from whence Feroz Shah removed the well known pillar, now called Feroz Shah's *Idol*, 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-TO-LO (or *Sudra*). To the S. of the great town, at 4 or 5 *li* (about three quarters of a mile) stood the monastery of the patriarch KIA-NU-FO-LA-PHO, "lumiére de vertu," (in Sanskrit *Guna-prabha*); near which was the monastery of PI-MO-LO-MI-TO-LO, "ami sans tache," (in Sanskrit *Vimala-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 Hwán Thsáng this place must have been situated at or near the modern *Behat*, 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 (*Máhila*) where rock crystal was found. It possessed a Bráhmanical temple and a holy reservoir on the Ganges, which the Indians called "la porte du Gange," (evidently *Haridwára* or Vishnu's portal, which is also called *Ganga-dwára*, or "Ganges portal." The mention that there was but one solitary Bráhmanical temple at this now priest-swarming place in A. D. 629—645, is highly interesting. I believe that *Haridwára* is a comparatively modern name;—as in the

*Megha-duta*, Kálidás mentions only *Kankhala*. May not Ptolemy's *Μαγγα* be *Γαγγα*, 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 Garhwál, The Chinese name is perhaps intended for *Parakramapura*). To the N. of this principality, amongst the snowy mountains, was the kingdom of SU-FA-LA-NU-KIU-THA-LO, “famille d’or,” (evidently the Sanskrit *Suvarnagotra*) where excellent gold was found. (This is most probably the district about Toling 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 Thsang, has Tibet on the E. and Khoten on the N. The district of PAN-PHO-LO, on the W. is probably *Ladák* or *Mang-yul*.)

From MO-TI-PU-LO to the S. E. at 400 *li* (67 miles) was

No. 58—KIU-PI-SHWANG-NA, 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 *Uchchasthala*, which is most likely the modern *Uchchagrāma* or *Unchagaon*, called *Bulandshahr* by the Musalmáns. The bearing would however point to the neighbourhood of Anopshahr 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 *Samkissa*, this place must have been in the neighbourhood of *Karsána*, an old town near Khás-ganj. The Chinese syllables probably represent the Sanskrit *Pilustána* or “Elephant’s ear-flap,” which is a synonyme of *Karsána* or *Karistána*. It is curious that *kari* and *hastin*, names for an elephant, are derived from *Kara* (Greek *χερ*) and *hastá*, 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-SHE, 2000 *li* (333 miles) in extent. To the E. of the town at 20 *li* (about 3½ miles) was a great *Stupa*. (SENG-KIA-SHE has been identified by Remusat with the Samkassa 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 Kāli-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-KIU-CHE, *Kanyakubja* or *Kanoj*,—Landresse. This city was also called *Kusumapura* or Flower-town. The king of the race of PEI-SHE (or *Vaisya*) was named KO-LI-SHI-FA-TAN-NA, “accruca joic.” (This is a transcript of the Sanskrit कल्याणस्युतन, *Kalyāṇasphutana*, “increase of pleasure or happiness.” As this king was a *Vaisya*, Hwán Thsang 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-KIU-LO. (This agrees both in bearing and distance with the position of *Nanamow* on the Ganges. The Chinese syllables appear to be intended for *Navadhīpokara*, or *Navadhīpushkara*, 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—A-IU-THO, *Oudh*, Landresse;—5000 *li* (833 miles) in extent. To the N. of the town at 4 or 5 *li* (about ¼ 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 *Tathāgata*. 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-KIEI, 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 **अहिमूक**, *Ahimukha*, "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 *Prayāga* 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 Thsang 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, *Kausāmbi*, 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, *Kausāmbi* 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 *Kausāmbi*, as its distance from Allahabad is about a mean between Hwán Thsang'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 *Sálón* 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 or SHE-WEI; *Srāvasti*, 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.)

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

No. 69—**KIEI-PI-LO-FA-SU-TU**, *Kapila-vastu*, Landresse. (The position 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 *Jaunpur*, an ancient city possessing many Buddhist buildings, one of which, the *Uttāla Vihāra*, still exists as the *Atāla Masjid*, the cloistered stories of the Buddhistical building having been left untouched by the idol breaking Musalmāns. This identification also agrees with the position assigned to *Kapila* by Fa-Hian, who places it at somewhat more than 12 *yojans*, or 84 miles, to the S. E. of **SHE-WEI**; or only 3 miles more than Hwán Tsháng'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 Fakh-ud-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 *Himālayas*. There must therefore be some mistake in his distance.)

No. 70—**LAN-MO**, *Ramapura*, Landresse. (According to Fa-Hian this place was situated at 5 *yojans*, or 35 miles, to the E. of *Kapila* almost in the exact position of *Bhitari*, an ancient town, which still possesses an inscribed pillar of the Gupta family of about A. D. 430, just two centuries earlier than Hwán Tsháng's visit. The Chinese syllables are considered by Klaproth and others to be a transcript of *Rama*: but as we find **MA-U-LAN** used for *Maharana*, perhaps **LAN-MO** may represent *Rana*.\* Now the ruins of *Bhitari* are all ascribed to a nameless

\* *Rāmagrāma* 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 removed 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, *Lan mo* cannot be identified with *Bhetari* which is at least 40 miles too far south to correspond with the subsequent route of that traveller to *Vaisali*. Moreover *Lan mo*, as well as *Kapilavastu*, was situated westerly from *Kusinagara*, which Capt. C. identifies with *Kusia* on the high betwixt *Bettiah* and *Gorakpur*.—Eds.

*Ráni*, 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*, Klapproth 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 *Sál* trees, exactly where in Major Rennell's map I find a "Forest of *Sál* 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 Thsang. But we have a still more conclusive proof in the existence of an image of *Buddha* at this place, which is still called *Mata Kunwr*, in Sanskrit *Mrita-Kumára*, 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 Hwáng Thsang, (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 Thsang 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**; *Varánasi* 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 *Sákya 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

Immortal." In the F. K. K.—note 7. p. 307, Klaproth gives Hwán Thsáng'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 Sikror, 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 *Sárnáth* 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 MI-LE or MEI-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 *Sárnáth* which is probably a contraction of *Sarangganútha* शरङ्गनाथ 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 Thsáng'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 *Sárnáth*, 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 *Sárnáth* 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 *Sárnáth* has no name now; but it is that which was half pulled down by *Jagat Singh*, the Dewán of Cheit Singh, Raja of Benáres, 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 dharmma*, &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 *Sárnáth* tope, but without any reason, further than



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 *Jajja*; and as the distance and bearing point to *Ghâcipur* I cannot help suspecting that the Mahomedan name is only a corruption of *Chachipura* or *Jajjapura*. We know that *Jajvati* or *Chachvati* and *Chachéri* or *Chachandí* were both seats of the Chandél Rajputs. Now *Chachipura* or *Ghâcipura* 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-PI-THO-KO-LA-NU “oreille non percée,” in Sanskrit *avidhakarni*, 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 *Mâhi* river, perhaps *Mahasura* 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 Thsang 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 *Nirvâna*. (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 *Swêta-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 *Vaisâli* 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 *Faisáli*, whose citizens are called *Passalæ* 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 convocation 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 *Vriji*, वृजि, which is the well known name of a country, generally supposed to be in the neighbourhood of *Mathura*. The *Vriji* of *Hwán Thsáng* must however be the modern *Tirkut*, or *Trikutya*, 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*, *Nepál*, 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 *Vaisáli* across the Ganges to the S. to

No. 77—MI-KIEI-THO, *Magadha*, Landresse: 500 *li* (83 miles) in extent. To the S. of the Ganges is the ruined town of KEU-SU-MA-FU-LO, or *Kusumapura*, "flower town," also called PHO-THO-LI-TSU, (*Pataliputra* or *Palibothra*, 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 Pátaliputra is undoubted: but I do not believe that it occupies exactly the same position; for according to the distances of Fa Hian and Hwán Thsáng, it seems that Pátaliputra 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 *Shahjahánábád*, 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 Pátaliputra I believe that the change has been effected by the Ganges. In *approaching* *Vaisáli* Hwán Thsáng 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 *Pátaliputra* to the "small hill of the isolated rock," which is called YN-THO-LO-SHI-LO-KIU-HO, or *Indrasilagaha* by Hwán Thsáng, 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 Pátaliputra 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 Hwán Thsáng 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 MA-TWAN-LIN, that about A. D. 756 "the bank of the HO-LANG or *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 Byás at Hari-ki-patan. The new channel became a permanent one, and the junction of the Byás 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 Pátaliputra Hwán Thsáng 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 *Nilajni* 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 Rennell places "Woods" extending for more than 20 miles. After some further details Hwán Thsáng mentions the town of KO-LO-CHE-KU-LI-SSE, "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 *Rajawari*, 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-SHE-LO-KU-HO, or *Indrasilagaha*, "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. vi. 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.)

Hwán Thsang 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	<i>Lagraditya</i> .
FO-THO-KIU-TO,	,,	<i>Budha Gupta</i> .

THA-KA-TA-KIU-TO,	or	TAKATA GUPTA.
PHO-LO-A-YI-TO,	„	<i>Baladitya.</i>
FA-CHE-LO,	„	<i>Vajra.</i>

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 FOE-KUE-KI, 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 *Sâchi* tope near Bhilsa, 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 Tsháng’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 coins of Balabhi. This identification of the two eras appeared so probable that I at once adopted it. Lastly, in January 1847, on receipt of Reinaud’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

*Guptas.* This is 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 79½ is equivalent to A. D. 398½. 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 Hwán 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 Hwán 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 Kumará'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 Hwán 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 Thsang'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 *Mudga-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, *Bhágapur*, 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 *Bhágapur* was *Champapura*, and as the distance and bearing agree with those of Hwán Thsang 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 *Patharghatta*, below *Kahalgaon*.)

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

No. 80—KO-CHEU-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 कच्छवेत्, *Kachchha-vetra*, the "reedy marsh," and कच्छगुर, *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 Thsang's statement must be wrong, for I have no doubt of the correctness of my own identification of the places. A similar mistake is made by the most accurate of all travellers, Moorcroft, who says that Shah-dera is situated on the left bank of the Rávi.\* Gaur is probably the *Aganagora* of Ptolemy, situated just above the head of the Gangetic Delta. This may be the Sanskrit *अगणगौर*, *Aganya-Gaurha*, the "countless Gaurh," in allusion to the multitude of its inhabitants.)

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

No. 81—PAN-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 *पाण्यस्थान*, *Pámpasthána*, or *Pámpathán*, "river-town," and as a *great river* was afterwards crossed to the eastward, the place must have been situated somewhere 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 *Pushkalavarma*,) or perhaps rather *Pushkala-brahma*, as *Varmona* is a Kshatriya's title.) His kingdom was the ancient *Kamrup*, the country of Ptolemy's *Tameræ*, and now called *Asam*, from the conquering Raja Chu-kapha, who took the title of *Asama* or "unequaled." The distance mentioned by Hwán Thsang points to the neighbourhood of Gohati as the position of the capital, which is perhaps the *Tugma Metropolis* of Ptolemy. It is clear that *Kamrup* comprehended the whole of what is now known as *Asam*, for Hwán Thsang proceeds to state that amongst the mountains to the E. there was no great kingdom; 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 Masjid. It is no wonder therefore that Thornton was puzzled. A new edition of Moorcroft, un mutilated, would be of more value than any other single book of travels that I know.

district of *Sku* 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 Thsáng. The first half of the name of *Sunargaon* or *Sundari-grāma*, seems to be preserved in the Chinese syllables SAN-MA. The greater part of the *Sundarbans* or *Sundari-vana*, "Sundari-jangala," was formerly comprised in the Dhaka district. The town of *Sunargaon* was therefore probably so named from its being the capital of the *Sundari* district, which is no doubt the *Kirrhadia* of Ptolemy, or the country of *Kirdtas*, किरतस, 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 *Chaturgrāma*, 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 *Rakkang*, 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-PU-LO; (perhaps *Siam*, or *Syámapura*, the *Samarada* of Ptolemy.) Still more to the E. was the kingdom of MA-HO-CHEN-PHO (or *Mahachampa*, 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.)

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 *Tamluk*, 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 *rátá*, red, and *achála*, earth :) not far from which was a Stupa built by Asoka. (The Chinese syllables appear to represent either the Sanskrit *Karana-suvarna*, "the golden field," or *Karna-suvarna*, "the golden ear." The bearing and distance point to the districts of Pachet and Birbhūm on the Damuda river, where Ptolemy places his *Sabaræ*, in which name we probably have the *Suvarna* of Hwán Thsáng.)

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 *Jalasthala*, the present *Jalésvara* or *Jalésar*) 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 Thsáng. 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 FOE, &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-IU-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 Kanârak, 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, *Chicacul*, 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 Nâgpur or Berar, of which the principal ancient cities were Garha, Mandala, and Ratanpur. The last of these answers to the position recorded by Hwán Tsháng. The name of Kosala is preserved by Ptolemy as "*Kosa, in qua est adamas*.")

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 Tsháng'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 Purânas. *Andhra* is also

one of the ancient names of Telingana, or the country between the Kistna and Godáviri 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-TSE-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 *purvva-sila*, or "eastern mountain," and *apara-sila*, or "western mountain." This country, as mentioned above, corresponds with the modern Telingána, between the Godáviri 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 Rájas 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 *Uttra*. The bearing and distance point to the "neighborhood of *Karnúl* on the Tungabhadra River.")

No. 93—THA-LO-PI-CHHA, 6000 *li* (1000 miles) in extent. The capital is KIAN-CHI-PU-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-SA (in Sanskrit *Dharmma-Pála Bodhisatwa*.) To the S. of the town was a great *Stupa* built by Asoka. (The name of the country is certainly the Sanskrit द्रविडा, *Dravira* or *Dravida*, of which the most celebrated city is *Káncipura* or *Kanjeveram*. The language and letters are Tamul.)

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

No. 94—MO-LO-KIU-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 *Komári* or Cape *Comorin*. There can be no doubt that the district intended is the ancient *Madura*, and the *Madura regia*, Pandionis of Ptolemy, now called the southern Carnatic: but the distances from *Kánchiparam* and from Ceylon (next mentioned) are exactly double the actual measurements.)

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

No. 95—SENG-KIA-LO, *Ceylon*, Landresse. (The various particulars related by Hwán Thsáng agree with the details of the Mahawanso: such as the conversion of the people to Buddhism in the first century after the *Nirōdna* of Buddha, and their division, two centuries afterwards, into two sects.)

From THA-LO-PI-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 Thsáng: 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 *Tálipatra* 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 NAI-MO-THO (in Sanskrit *Narmada*, the *Namodus 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 Brahmins. 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-CHA-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

Satára, a distance of about 400 miles, would have been passed over. Satára 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 *Khachrod*, 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 merchandize from distant countries. Asoka built *Stupas* 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 (*Kanyakubja* or *Kanoj*) named TU-LU-PHO-PA-THO (or *Dhruvabhata*) 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 *Kalyánasphutana*, whereas the *Kshatriya* Raja was called *Dhruvabhata*.)

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

No. 103—A-NAN-THA-PU-LO, *Anantapura*, Landresse. 2000 *li* (333 miles) in extent. Without a king, being a dependency of Malwa. (It is 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 Anhalwárapatan 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 enterprizes. 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.—KIU-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 description. The name of the district would appear to have been *Gujara*, or *Gurjjara-rashtra*, the "country of Gujars." In Hwán Thsang's time therefore this name could not have comprized 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 Márwár, 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 Buddhism, and which he afterwards destroyed.)

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

No. 107.—CHI-CHI-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 *Kragausa 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-YI-SHE-FA-LO-PU-LO**, 3000 *li* (500 miles) in extent. Heretics who do not believe in Buddha. (The Chinese syllables represent exactly the Sanskrit *Mahewarapura*, but I know of no place of this name to the N. of Bundelkhand. Perhaps *Bhuteswara*, on the Janna, may be intended : for *Bhuteswara* and *Maheswara*, being both well known names of Siva, are of course interchangeable ; and as the distance and bearing agree with those recorded by Hwán Thsang, it is probable that my proposed identification may be correct : more especially as the Brahmanical celebrity of *Bhuteswara* agrees with the mention that the place was in the possession of "heretics" who believed not in Buddha.)

From **KIU-CHE-LO** (or *Gujara*, *Márwár*) 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 *Paspada* 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 Thsang's visit. I should prefer rendering the Chinese syllables by *Viswa-pura* ; but *Pushpa-pura* appears to be the more likely name, as it is a very common term for Indian cities. Thus both *Kanoj* and *Pátaliputra* were also called *Kusumapura*, a synonyme of *Pushpapura*, 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. Maisey 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 *Brimh*." He has apparently been misled by the vulgar pronunciation of *Barm*, which is the spoken form of *Varmma*, "armor," a name peculiar and appropriate to the *Kshatriya* class. बर्म, *Varmma*, has nothing in common with ब्रह्म, *Brahma*. If symphony alone is allowed to guide etymology, *bhram* or "black bee," may equally lay claim to a descent from *Brahma* ; but, unfortunately for the bee, its name is spelt ब्रमर, *Bhramara*. Both coins and inscriptions spell the name बर्म, *Varmma*.

No. 110.—MEU-LO-SAN-FU-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 *Mallisthampura*, or *Malthāmpur*, now *Multān*. 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 *Kachchésvara*) 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 Hwán Thsang, 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: *Kachcheswara* 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 *Múheswara*. (The bearing and distance both point to the island of *Astola*, the *Asthála* of Ptolemy, and the *Thára* of Edrisi. This name is easily

recognizable in the Chinese syllables, which are a literal transcript of *Astuleswara*, the "Lord of *Astula*," an appellation of Siva, as husband of *Astula* or *Durga*. The name of the district, LANG-KO-LO-WAS, is probably derived from *Lakorian*, an ancient town now in ruins, a little to the northward of Khozdar. The district would therefore correspond with the modern Baluchistan.)

Thence to the N. W. to

No. 114—PHO-LA-SSE, *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 *Surasthan*, no doubt the *Ram-Seristán* of Ibn Haukal, of which the ruins still exist on the Helmand, just above its junction with the *Hámún*. FE-LIN is of course Europe, or the country of the *Firingis* or *Franks*, called *Pki-ling* by the Tibetans, from whom the Chinese perhaps derived the name.)

From A-THIAN-PHO-SHI-LO (or *Kachchk*) 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-YAN-NA. (The bearing and distance point exactly to the ruins of *Nasarpur* and *Nerunkot*, close to the present Haiderábád. The Chinese syllables perhaps represent *Patala*, पाताल, the "extensive rock," or the "expanse of stone," a name of the same import as *Patala*, "the extensive abode;" the common acceptation of *Patala*, is पाताल, 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, ཕོ་ཏོ་ལཱ་, *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-PAN-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 *Brahmanábdá*, 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 Thsang 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 Thsang, 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 HUPHI-NA or *Hupian*, TSAO-KIU-THO must be the district of *Arachosia*

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. *Ghasni* 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 *HUPHINA*. The king, of the race of Thu-kiuei (or *Turk*, Landresse) is attached to the Three Precious Ones. (The Chinese syllables represent *Parashasthána*, the modern *Panjhir* or *Panjshir* valley, where Ptolemy places the *Parsii* 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 Opiané*. 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-dwipa*. 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 *Paropainsus* of the Greeks, called *Parnessus* 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 *Parrhasini* of Pliny, and in the *Parrhasii* of Strabo and Solinus. The celebrated Greek name of *Parnessus* 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. is

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 *Urwalin* 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 Télikáan, 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 Zál*. Now Ibn Haukal writes the name *Zuálin*, as well as *Wálin*. It is probable therefore that *Kilah Zál* is the identical place mentioned by all these writers. Its position on the Oxus would of course secure for it the possession of land on both sides of the river, as stated by Hwán Thsang.)

Thence to the E. is

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-SE-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*.)

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.—**SSE-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 *Tálikán* and *Faizábád*.)

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 *Faizábád*, 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 *Yawal* 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 *Firganue*, 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-THIEI-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 Thsang*; 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 *Ishkashm* 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 Thsang*. 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 *Tochhari*, whose name is still preserved in *Amu*, 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 *Shakhndn* 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 *Tochhari*; 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 *Chitral*, with the lateral vallies 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 snowy 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 *Tsing 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 kingdom 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-PHAN-TO, 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-NA-THI-PHO-KIU-TA-LO, "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 Tag-armi 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-PHAN-TO. To the W. of the town at 200 *li* (33 miles) is a great mountain. (This appears to answer to the district of Yangi-Hisar. 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-KEU-KIA, 1000 *li* (167 miles) in extent. The letters are the same as those of KIU-SA-TAN-NA, (*Ku-sthāna* or *Kotan*, Remusat,) but the language is different.

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

No. 139—KIU-SA-TAN-NA (OR *Kotan*, Remusat), commonly WAN-NA. 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 *Chauranæi* of Ptolemy.\*)

\* Dr. Taylor identifies Ptolemy's *Chauranæi* with the *Garos* of Assam, although they are placed immediately to the E. of the *Byltæ*, 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 *Chán-thán*, the district inhabited by the *Chataæ Scythæ* of Ptolemy.

*Verification of Hwán Thsang's view of Buddhism.*

It may perhaps be urged against Hwán 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 Musalman, 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 salmons 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 Sanpú river. Thus *Eldána* is *Gáldán*, *Sagoda* is *Shigatze*, *Adisags* is *U-Tsang* or *Lhasa*, and the *Daona Fluvius* is the *Dihong* River. The *Dabasæ* 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 *Vaisáli*. 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 *Tosule Metropolis*, is most probably *Tassisudon*, the capital of *Botan* ; and *Tugma Metropolis* must be the capital of *Asam* ; whilst *Mareura emporium* is *Amarapura* the capital of *Ava*. The *Seres* were certainly the *Ouigours* whose name is preserved in the *Oichardes Fluvius* and *Oichardæ*, in the *Itaguri*, *Thagurus Mons*, and *Thogara*, all of which are only various spellings of *Ouiguri* or *Ouigours*. They were called *Kian-chang* or " *Waggoners*" by the Chinese, which term we also find preserved in the *Esedones* of Ptolemy and *Ammianus*, in the *Heniocñi* 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 *Sinæ*, 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 *Paitaras fluvius* of *Pliny* is the *Su-Tarini*, or river of *Yarkand* : the *Sisyges* are the people of *Sui-Ching* :—the *Damnæ* are the people of *Manas*, the *Asmiræi* are the people of *Urumtsi* or *Bish-balig* ;—and the *Throani* or *Tharrani* are the people of *Turfán*.

Pandit, the author of the early portions of the Raja Taringini or Sanskrit history of Kashmir. According to him

In about A. D. 560, *Galúna* 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 *Lalitáditya* built a great *Vihára* and a *Stupa* in Hushkapura, and in another place he built a great *Chaitya*, 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 Bhukhára, built a *Stupa*, a *Chaitya* 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 *Srámanas*, or Bauddha mendicants. 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 BELADORY, 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 'Samanéens,' (*Srámanas* or Bauddha mendicants) 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 *Srámanas* 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 Kshema-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 *Bráhmanism* 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.

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*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 Foe 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  $\frac{1}{4}$ th to  $\frac{1}{3}$  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

kos (of which it is a multiple) to vary at the present day. Thus, Captain 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 fou* (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  $4\frac{1}{2}$  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 *Kiu i na kie*, is by protraction, 30 *yojanas* ; measured on Arrow-smith's map (Oude to the banks of the Gandak), 120 miles ;—from Patna to Giriyeck, 9 *yojanas* according to Fa hian, or 40 miles on the map ;—from Giriyeck to *Kia ye* (which by the way, is neither modern Gaya nor Bauddha Gaya, but an ancient town\* near Barábar), 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 Jamma, he remarks that "Megasthenes 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 brahmaní 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 Punjabí koss ; thus the distance from Labor to Multan is reckoned to this day 145 Punjabí, 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 ?

† *As. Res.* Vol. V. p. 274.

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 Magadhí *yojana* as the *common* does to the *Punjabt* 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.

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*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 accidentally 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,

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Pl. II.





# CHINESE MAP OF INDIA

Shewing the route of Hionanhsang



The li quoted in this Map  
Consists of 6 ting,

SOUTH



