



poet, say about 1000 B.C. We then hear nothing of India till we come to the days of Alexander, and when we look at the names of the Indian rivers represented by Alexander's companions in India, we recognize without much difficulty nearly all of the old Vedic names. In this respect the names of rivers have a great advantage over the names of towns in India. I do not wonder so much at the names of the Indus and the Ganges being the same. The Indus was known to early traders, whether by sea or land. Skylax sailed from the country of the Paktys, *i.e.* the Pushtus, as the Afghans still call themselves, down to the mouth of the Indus. That was under Darius Hy-staspês (B.C. 521-486). Even before that time India and the Indians were known by their name, which was derived from Sindhu, the name of their frontier river. The neighbouring tribes who spoke Iranic languages all pronounced, like the Persian, the *s* as an *h* (Pliny, lib. VI, c.xx, 7) '*Indus incolis Sindus appellatus*.' Thus *Sindhu* became *Hindhu* (*Hidhu*) and as *h*'s were dropped, even at that early time, *Hindhu* became *Indu*. Thus the river was called Indus, the people Indoi by the Greeks, who first heard of India from the Persians. *Sindhu* probably meant originally the *divider, keeper and defender*, from *sidh* to *keep off*. No more telling name could have been given to a broad river, which guarded peaceful settlers both against the inroads of hostile tribes and the attacks of wild animals. . . . Though *Sindhu* was used as an appellative noun for river in general, it remained throughout the whole history of India, the name of its powerful guardian river,



the Indus." For a full discussion of the origin of the name I may refer the reader to Benfey's *Indien*, pp. 1—2, in the *Encyclopædia* of Ersch and Grüber.

The Indus being subject to periodic inundations, more or less violent, has from time to time undergone considerable changes. As has been already indicated it not unfrequently shifts the channels by which it enters the sea, and in the upper part of its course it would seem to be scarcely less capricious. Thus while at the time of the Macedonian invasion it bifurcated above Arôr, the capital of the Sogdi, to run for about the distance of 2 degrees in two beds which enclosed between them the large island called by Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx, 23) Prasiakê, the Prârjuna of the inscription on the Allâhâbâd column, it now runs at that part in a single stream, having forsaken the eastern bed, and left thereby the once flourishing country through which it flowed a complete desert.

In his description of the Indus, Ptolemy has fallen into error on some important points. In the first place, he represents it as rising among the mountains of the country of the Daradrae to the east of the Paropanisos, and as flowing from its sources in a southward direction. Its true birth-place is, however, in a much more southern latitude, viz., in Tibet, near the sources of the Satlaj, on the north side of Mount Kailâsa, famous in Indian mythology as the dwelling-place of Kuvêra and as the paradise of Śiva, and its initial direction is towards the north-west, till it approaches the frontiers of Badakshân, where it turns sharply southward. Ptolemy does not stand alone in making



this mistake, for Arrian places the sources in the lower spurs of the Paropanisos, and he is here at one with Mela (lib. III, c. vii, 6), Strabo (lib. XV, c. ii, 8), Curtius (lib. VIII, c. ix, 3) and other ancient writers. In fact, it was not ascertained until modern times whence the Indus actually came. His next error has reference to the length of the Indus valley as measured from the mouth of the Indus to its point of junction with the Kâbul river. This he makes to be 11 degrees, while in point of fact it is somewhat less than 10. This error is, however, trivial as compared with the next by which the junction of the Indus with the united stream of the Panjâb rivers is made to take place at the distance of only one degree below its junction with the Kâbul river, instead of at the distance of six degrees or halfway between the upper junction and the sea. This egregious error not only vitiates the whole of his delineation of the river system of the Panjâb, but as it exaggerates by more than 300 miles the distance between the lower junction and the sea, it obscures and confuses all his geography of the Indus valley, and so dislocates the positions named in his tables, that they can only in a few exceptional cases be identified.²²

²² "It is hard enough," says Major-General Haig, "to have to contend with the vagueness, inconsistencies and contradictions of the old writers; but these are as nothing compared with the obstacles which the physical characteristics of the country itself oppose to the enquirer. For ages the Indus has been pushing its bed across the valley from east to west, generally by the gradual process of erosion, which effectually wipes out every trace of town and village on its banks; but at times also by a more or less sudden shifting of its waters into



All the large tributaries of the Indus, with the exception of the Kâbul river, join it on its left or eastern side. Their number is stated by Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 33) and by Arrian (lib. V, c. vi) to be 15, but by Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx, 23) to be 19. The most of them are mentioned in one of the hymns of the *Rig Veda* (X, 75) of which the following passages are the most pertinent to our subject:—

1. "Each set of seven [*streams*] has followed a threefold course. The Sindhu surpasses the other rivers in impetuosity.

2. Varuna hollowed out the channels of thy course, O Sindhu, when thou didst rush to thy contests. Thou flowest from [*the heights of*] the earth, over a downward slope, when thou ledest the van of those streams.

4. To thee, O Sindhu, the [*other streams*] rush . . . Like a warrior king [*in the centre of his army*] thou ledest the two wings of thy host when thou strugglest forward to the van of these torrents.

5. Receive favourably this my hymn, O Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Śutudri, Parashnī; hear, O Marudvṛdhā, with the Asikni, and Vitastā, and thou Arjikiyā with the Sushômā.

entirely new channels, leaving large tracts of country to go to waste, and forcing the inhabitants of many a populous place to abandon their old homes, and follow the river in search of new settlements. . . . Perhaps the retiring stream will leave behind it vast quantities of drift-sand which is swept by the high winds over the surrounding country . . . where the explorer may search in vain for any record of the past. I have had, as an enquirer, experience of the difficulties here described." (*J. R. A. S. N. S.* vol. XVI, p. 281).



6. Unite first in thy course with the Trishtâ-mâ, the Sasartû, the Rasâ and the Śvêti; thou meetest the Gomati, and the Krumu, with the Kubhâ, and the Mehatnû, and with them are borne onward as on the same car." (See *Journ. R. A. S., N. S.*, Vol. XV, pp. 359-60).

As Ptolemy makes the Kôa join the Indus, it must be identified with the Kâbul river, the only large affluent which the Indus receives from the west. Other classical writers call it the Kôphên or Kôphês, in accordance with its Sanskrit name the Kubhâ. Ptolemy's name, it must however be noted, is not applicable to the Kâbul river throughout its whole course, but only after it has been joined by the River Kâmah, otherwise called the Kunâr. This river, which is inferior neither in size nor in length to the arm which comes from Kâbul, is regarded as the main stream by the natives of the country, who call the course of the united streams either the Kâmah or the Kunâr indifferently, as far as the entrance into the plain of Peshâwar. The Kâmah has its sources high up in the north at the foot of the plateau of Pâmîr, not far from the sources of the Oxus, and this suits Ptolemy's description of the Kôa as a river which has its sources in the eastern extremity of Paropanisos, and which joins the Indus after receiving the Souastos or the river of Swât. Kôa is very probably a curtailed form of the name. The Persians appear to have called it the Khoaspês, that being the name of the river on which Susa, their capital city, stood. Under this name it is mentioned by Aristotle (*Meteorolog.* lib. I, c. xiii) who lived long enough to enter in his



later writings some of the new knowledge which the expedition of his illustrious pupil had opened up regarding Eastern Countries. It is mentioned also by Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 26) who followed here the authority of Aristoboulos, one of the companions and one of the historians of the expedition of Alexander, and by Curtius (lib. VIII, c. x), Strabo *l. c.* states that it joins the Kôphês near Plemyrion, after passing by another city, Gorys, in its course through Bandobênê and Gandaritis. The Kôa of Ptolemy is not to be confounded with the Khôês of Arrian (lib. IV, c. xxiii, 2), which must be identified with a river joining the Kôphês higher up its course, viz. that which is formed by the junction of the Alishang and the Alingar. The Euaspla of the latter writer (lib. IV, c. xxiv, 1) is probably only an altered form of Khoaspês.

The identification of the Kôphês and its numerous affluents has been a subject that has much exercised the pens of the learned. They are now unanimous in taking the Kôphês to be the Kâbul river²³ but there are still some important points on which they differ. In the foregoing notice I have adopted as preferable the views of Saint-Martin (*Etude*, pp. 26—34): *Conf.* Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. III, pp. 127-8; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 138—188. Benfey's *Indien*, pp. 44—46, Cunningham, *Geog. of Anc. India*, pp. 37, 38.

Souastôs:—All the authorities are at one in identifying the Souastôs with the Swât river—the principal tributary of the Landai or river of Pañjkora (the Gaurî of Sanskrit), which is the

²³ Rennell identified it with the Gomul and D'Anville with the Argandâb.



last of the great affluents that the Kâbul river receives from the east before it falls into the Indus. The Souastos, though a small stream, is yet of old renown, being the Śvētī of the Vedic hymn already quoted, and the Suvâstu of the *Mahābhārata* (VI, ix, 333), where it is mentioned in conjunction with the Gaurī. Its name figures also in the list of Indian rivers which Arrian (*Indika*, sec. 4) has preserved from the lost work of Megasthenēs. Here it is mentioned in conjunction with the Malamantos and the Garoia, which latter is of course the Gaurī. Arrian thus makes the Souastos and the Gouraios to be different rivers, but in another passage of his works (*Anab.* lib. IV, c. xxv) he seems to have fallen into the mistake of making them identical. It is surprising, as Lassen has remarked, that Ptolemy should notice the Souastos, and yet say nothing about the Garoia, especially as he mentions the district of Goryaia, which is called after it, and as he must have known of its existence from the historians of Alexander. He has also, it may be noted, placed the sources of the Souastos too far north.

The five great rivers which watered the region of the Panjâb bear the following names in Ptolemy: Bidaspēs, Sandabal, Adris or Rhonadis, Bibasis and Zaradros. This region in early times was called the country of the seven rivers—*Sapta Sindhu*, a name which, as Sir H. Rawlinson has pointed out, belonged primarily to the seven head streams of the Oxus. As there were only five large streams in the locality in India to which the name was applied, the number was made up to seven by adding smaller affluents or lower branches of combined



streams, to which new names were given. The Vedic Âryans, however, as Mr. Thomas remarks, could never satisfactorily make up the sacred seven without the aid of the comparatively insignificant Sarasvatî, a river which no longer exists. These rivers are notably erratic, having more than once changed their bed since Vedic times.

Bidaspêś:—This is now the Jhelam or river of Behat, the most western of the five rivers. It drains the whole of the valley of Kaśmîr, and empties into the Akesinês or Chenâb. Ptolemy, however, calls their united stream the *Bidaspêś*. By the natives of Kaśmîr it is called the *Bedasta*, which is but a slightly altered form of its Sanskrit name the *Vitastâ*, meaning 'wide-spread.' The classical writers, with the sole exception of our author, call it the *Hydaspêś*, which is not so close to the original as his *Bidaspêś*. It was on the left bank of this river that Alexander defeated Pôros and built (on the battle-field) the city of *Nikaia* in commemoration of his victory.

Sandabal is an evident mistake of the copyist for *Sandabaga*. The word in this corrected form is a close transliteration of *Chandrabhâgâ* (*lunae portio*), one of the Sanskrit names of the River Chenâb. In the Vedic hymn which has been quoted it is called the *Asiknî*, 'dark-coloured,' whence the name given to it by the Greeks in Alexander's time, the *Akesinês*. It is said that the followers of the great conqueror discerned an evil omen in the name of *Chandrabhâgâ* on account of its near similarity to their own word *Androphagos* or *Alexandrophagos*, 'devourer of Alexander' and hence

preferred calling it by the more ancient of its two names. It is the largest of all the streams of the Pañchanada. Vigne says that Chandra-bhâgâ is the name of a small lake from which the river issues. Pliny has distorted the form Chandabaga into Cantabra or Cantaba (lib. VI, c. xx). According to the historians of Alexander the confluence of this river with the Hydaspês produced dangerous rapids, with prodigious eddies and loud roaring waves, but according to Burnes their accounts are greatly exaggerated. In Alexander's time the Akesinês joined the Indus near Uchh, but the point of junction is now much lower down.

The Adris or Rhouadis is the Râvi, a confluent of the Akesinês, but according to Ptolemy of the Bidaspês. The name Râvi is an abridged form of the Sanskrit Airâvatî. It is called by Arrian (*Anab.* lib. VI, c. viii), the Hydraôtês, and by Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 21) the Hyarôtis. Arrian (*Indik.* sec. 4) assigns to it three tributaries—the Hyphasis, the Saranges and Neudros. This is not quite correct, as the Hyphasis joins the Akesinês below the junction of the Hydraôtês.

The Bibasis is the river now called the Beïas, the Vipâsâ of Sanskrit. This word "Vipâsâ" means 'uncorded,' and the river is said to have been so called because it *destroyed the cord* with which the sage Vasishṭha had intended to hang himself. It is called the Hyphasis by Arrian (*Anab.* lib. VI, c. viii), and Diodôros (lib. XVII, c. xciii), the Hypasis by Pliny (lib. VII, c. xvii, 20) and Curtius (lib. IX, c. i), and the Hypanis by Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 17) and some other writers.



It falls into the Śatadru. It was the river which marked the limit of Alexander's advance into India.

27. Sources of the River

Zaradros	132°	36°
Confluence of the Kôa and		
Indus	124°	31°
Confluence of the Kôa and		
Sonastos	122° 30'	31° 40'
Confluence of the Zaradros		
and Indus	124°	30°
Confluence of the Zaradros		
and Bidaspês	125°	30°
Confluence of the Zaradros		
and Bibasis	131°	34°
Confluence of the Bidaspês		
and Adris	126° 30'	31° 30'
Confluence of the Bidaspês		
and Sandabal	126° 40'	32° 40'

The Zaradros is the Satlaj, the most easterly of the five rivers. It is called in Sanskrit the Śatadru, *i.e.*, *flowing in a hundred (branches)*. Pliny (lib. VI, c. xvii) calls it the Hesydrus, Zadrades is another reading of the name in Ptolemy. The Satlaj, before joining the Indus, receives the Chenâb, and so all the waters of the Pañchanada.

With regard to the nomenclature and relative importance of the rivers of the Panjâb the following remarks of V. de Saint-Martin may be cited :—

"As regards the Hyphasis, or more correctly the Hypasis, the extended application of this name till the stream approaches the Indus, is



contrary to the notions which we draw from Sanskrit sources, according to which the Vipâśâ loses its name in the Śatadru (Satlaj), a river which is otherwise of greater importance than the Vipâśâ. Nevertheless the assertion of our author by itself points to a local notion which is confirmed by a passage in the chronicles of Sindh, where the name of the Beiah which is the form of the Sanskrit Vipâśâ in Musalmân authors and in actual use, is equally applied to the lower course of the Satlaj till it unites with the Chenâb not far from the Indus. Arrian, more exact here, or at least more circumstantial than Strabo and the other geographers, informs us that of all the group of the Indus affluents the Akesinês was the most considerable. It was the Akesinês which carried to the Indus the combined waters of the Hydaspês of the Hydraôtês and of the Hyphasis, and each of these streams lost its name in uniting with the Akesinês (Arr. *Anab.* lib. VI, c. v). This view of the general hydrography of the Panjâb is in entire agreement with facts, and with the actual nomenclature. It is correctly recognized that the Chenâb is in effect the most considerable stream of the Panjâb, and its name successively absorbs the names of the Jhelam, the Râvi, and the Gharra or lower Satlaj, before its junction with the Indus opposite Mittankôt. Ptolemy here differs from Arrian and the current ideas on the subject. With him it is not the Akesinês (or, as he calls it, the Sandabala for Sandabaga) which carries to the Indus the waters of the Panjâb. It is the Bidaspês (Vitastâ). Ptolemy departs again in another point from the nomen-



alature of the historians who preceded him in applying to the Gharra or lower Satlaj the name of Zaradros, and not, as did Arrian that of Hyphasis. Zadadros is the Śutudrī or Śatadru of the Sanskrit nomenclature, a name which common usage since the Musalmān ascendancy has strangely disfigured into Satlaj. No mention is made of this river in the memoirs relating to the expedition of Alexander, and Megasthenēs, it would appear, was the first who made its existence known. The application moreover of the two names of Zadadros and Bibasis to the united current of the Śatadru and the Vipāśā is justified by the usage equally variable of the natives along the banks, while in the ancient Sanskrit writings the Śatadru goes, as in Ptolemy, to join the Indus. It may be added that certain particularities in the texts of Arrian and Ptolemy suggest the idea that formerly several arms of the Hyphasis existed which went to join, it may be, the Hydraōtēs, or, it may be, the lower Akesinēs above the principal confluent of the Hyphasis, an idea which the actual examination of the locality appears to confirm. This point merits attention because the obscurities or apparent contradictions in the text of the two authors would here find an easy explanation" (pp. 129-131, also pp. 396-402).

Junction of the Kōa and Indus—Ptolemy fixes the point of junction in latitude 31° , but the real latitude is $33^{\circ} 54'$. Here the Indus is 872 miles distant from its source, and 942 miles from the sea. The confluence takes place amidst numerous rocks and is therefore turbulent and attended with great noise.



Junction of the Zaradros and Indus:—Ptolemy fixes this great junction in latitude 30° , the real latitude being however $28^{\circ} 55'$. It takes place about 3 miles below Miṭankôt, at a distance of about 490 miles below the junction with the Kâbul River.

Divarication of the Indus towards Mt. Vindion:—The Indus below its junction with the Kâbul river frequently throws out branches (e.g. the Nara) which join it again before reaching the sea, and to such branches Ptolemy gives the name of *ἐκτροπαί*. "It is doubtful," Saint-Martin observes, "whether Ptolemy had formed quite a clear idea of this configuration of the valley, and had always distinguished properly the affluents from the branches. Thus one does not quite precisely see what he means by the expression which he frequently employs *ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ἐκτροπῆς*. What he designates thereby must be undoubtedly the streams or currents which descend from the lateral region, and which come to lose themselves in the branches of the river. But the expression, which is familiar to him, is not the less ambiguous and altogether improper"—(p. 235 n.) The branch here mentioned, Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* vol. III, pp. 121, 129) takes to be the Lavanî river. "Ptolemy," he says, "in contradiction to fact makes a tributary flow to it from the Vindhya Mountains. His error is without doubt occasioned by this, that the Lavanî river, which has its source in the Arâvalî chain falls into the salt lake, the Rin or Iriṇa, into which also the eastern arm of the Indus discharges."

Divarication of the Indus into Arakhôsia:—



Lassen (vol. III, p. 128), takes this to be the Gomāl rather than the Korum river. These rivers are both mentioned in the Vedic hymn, where the former appears as the Gômati and the latter as the Krumu.

Branch of the Kôa towards the Paropanisadai:—This is probably the upper Kôphên, which joins the Kôa (Kunâr river) from Kâbul.

Divarication of the Indus towards the Arbita mountains:—Between the Lower Indus and the river called anciently the Arabis or Arbis, was located a tribe of Indian origin called variously the Arabii, the Arbies, the Arabitae, the Ambritaë and the Arbiti. There can be no doubt therefore that by the Arbita Mountains Ptolemy designates the range of hills in the territory of that tribe, now called the Hâla Mountains. Towards the northern extremity of this range the Indus receives a tributary called the Gandava, and this we may take to be what Ptolemy calls the divarication of the Indus towards the range. It may perhaps, however, be the Western Nara that is indicated.

Divarication of the Indus into the Paropanisadai:—To judge from the figures in the table this would appear to be a tributary of the Indus joining it from the west a little above its junction with the Kôa or Kâbul river. There is, however, no stream, even of the least note, answering to the description.

28. Divarication (ἐκτροπή) from the Indus running towards Mt. Ouindion 123° 29° 30'
The source of (tributary joining) the Divarication 127° 27°



Divarication of the Indus towards Arakhôsia	121° 30'	27° 30'
Divarication of the Kôa to- wards the Paropanisadai ...	121° 30'	33°
The source of (tributary join- ing) the Divarication	115°	24° 30'
Divarication of the Indus to- wards the Arbîta Mountains	117°	25° 10'
Divarication of the Indus towards the Paropanisadai.	124° 30'	31° 20'
Divarication of the Indus into the Sagapa mouth	113° 40'	23° 15'
From the Sagapa into the Indus	111°	21° 30'
Divarication of the Indus into the Khrysoun (or Golden) mouth	112° 30'	22°
Divarication of the Indus into the Khariphon mouth	113° 30'	22° 20'
From the Khariphon to the Sapara	112° 30'	21° 45'
Divarication of the same River Khariphon into the Sabalaessa mouth.....	113°	21° 20'
Divarication from the River Khariphon into the Lônî- bare mouth	113° 20'	21° 40'
29. Of the streams which join the Gangês the order is this :—		
Sources of the River Dia- mouna.....	134° 30'	36°



Sources of the Ganges itself...	136°	37°
Sources of the River Sarabos	140°	36°
Junction of the Diamouna and Ganges	136°	34°
Junction of the Sarabos and Ganges	136° 30'	32° 30'

Ptolemy's description of the Ganges is very meagre as compared with his description of the Indus. He mentions by name only 3 of its affluents, although Arrian (quoting from Megasthenês) enumerates no fewer than 17, and Pliny 19. The latitude of its source, Gangotri, which is in the territory of Garhwal, is 30° 54', or more than 6 degrees further south than its position as given in the table. The name of the river, the Gangâ, is supposed to be from a root *gam*, 'to go,' reduplicated, and therefore to mean the 'Go—go.' The tributaries mentioned by Arrian are these: the Kâinas, Erannoboas, Kossoanos, Sônos, Sittokatis, Solomatis, Kondokhates Sambos, Magon, Agoranis, Omalis, Kommenases, Kakouthis, Andomatis, Amystis, Oxymagis and the Errhenysis. The two added by Pliny are the Prinas and Jomanes. Regarding these names the following remarks may be quoted from Yule:—
"Among rivers, some of the most difficult names are in the list which Pliny and Arrian have taken from Megasthenês, of affluents of the Gangês. This list was got apparently at Palibothra (Patna), and if streams in the vicinity of that city occupy an undue space in the list, this is natural. Thus Magona and Errhenysis,—Mohana and Nirañjana, join to form the river flowing past Gayâ, famous



in Buddhist legend under the second name. The navigable Prinas or Pinna is perhaps Punyâ, now Pânân, one of the same cluster. Sonus instead of being a duplicate of Eramnoboas, may be a branch of the Gayâ river, still called Sonâ. Andomatis flowing from the Madiandini, i.e., "Meridionales" is perhaps the Andhela, one of the names of the Chandan river of Bhâgalpûr. Kainas, navigable, is not likely to be the Ken of Bundêlkhand, the old form of which is Karnavati, but more probably the Kayâna or Kohâna of Gorakhpûr. It is now a tributary of the lower Ghâgrâ, but the lower course of that river has shifted much, and the map suggests that both the Rapti (Solomatis of Lassen) and Kayâna may have entered the Ganges directly." For the identification of the other rivers in the list see my article in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, p. 331.

Diamouna:—In this it is easy to recognize the Yamunâ, the river which after passing Dehli, Mathurâ, Âgrâ, and other places, joins the Ganges, of which it is the largest affluent at Allâhâbâd. It rises from hot springs amid Himâlayan snows, not far westward from the sources of the Ganges. Arrian singularly enough has omitted it from his list of the Ganges affluents, but it is no doubt the river which he subsequently mentions as the J o b a r e s and which flows, he says, through the country of the Sourasenoî, an Indian tribe possessing two large cities, Methora and Kleisobara (Kṛishnapura?) Pliny (lib. VI, c. xix) calls it the Jomanes, and states that it flows into the Ganges through the Palibothri, between the towns of Methora and Chrysobara (Kṛishnapura?) The



Ganges at its junction with the Jamnâ and a third but imaginary river called the Sarasvati, which is supposed to join it underground is called the Trivêṇī, i.e., 'triple plait' from the intermingling of the three streams.

Sarabos:—This is the great river of Kôsala, that is now called the Sarayu or Sarju, and also the Gharghara or Ghogra. It rises in the Himâlayas, a little to the north-east of the sources of the Ganges, and joins that river on its left side in latitude $25^{\circ} 46'$, a little above the junction of the Sôn with their united stream. Cunningham regards the Solomatis mentioned in Arrian's list of the tributaries of the Ganges as being the Sarayu under a different name, but Lassen takes it to be the Rapti, a large affluent of the same river from Gôrâkhpur. The name, he thinks, is a transliteration or rather abbreviation of Śarāvati, the name of a city of Kôsala mentioned by Kalidâsa. The river on which the city stood is nowhere mentioned, but its name was in all probability the same as that of the city (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 671).

Mouth of the River Sôa:—This river can be no other than the Sôn (the Sônos of Arrian's list) which falls into the Ganges about 16 miles above Patna in lat. $25^{\circ} 37'$. It rises in Gôndwana in the territory of Nâgpur, on the elevated tableland of Amarakantaka, about 4 or 5 miles east of the source of the Narmadâ. It would appear that in former times it joined the Ganges in the immediate neighbourhood of Patna, the modern representative of the Palibothra or Palimbothra of the classical writers. The lat. of the source is $22^{\circ} 41'$; in Ptolemy 23° .



30. Divarication from the Ganges towards the Onindion range to the mouth of the River Sôa136° 10' 31° 30'

The sources of the river ...131° 28°

Divarication of the Ganges

towards the Onxenton range142° 28°

The sources of the divarication137° 23°

Divarication from the Ganges

into the Kambyson Mouth146° 22°

Divarication from the Ganges

into the Pseudostomos146° 30' 20°

Divarication from the Gan-

ges into the Antibolê Mouth146° 30' 21°

Divarication from the Kamby-

son River into the Mega

Mouth145° 20°

Divarication from the Mega

Mouth into the Kambéri-

khon Mouth145° 30' 19° 30'

The divarication towards the Ouxenton range:—By this unnamed river, as Lassen has pointed out (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, pp. 130, 131) Ptolemy must have meant the Dharmôdaya of the Hindus, although he has assigned far too high a latitude for its junction with the Ganges, 28° instead of only 22° 13'. It is, however, the only considerable stream which flows to the Ganges from the Bear Mountains. It passes Ramgarh and Bardhwân, and joins the Hughli not far from the sea, a little to the east of Tamluk. It is commonly called the Damuda River.

The mouths of the Ganges:—In addition to



the remarks already made regarding these mouths I may here quote a passage from Wilford on this topic: "Ptolemy's description," he says (*Asiat. Researches*, vol. XIV, pp. 464-6) "of the Delta of the Ganges is by no means a bad one, if we reject the latitudes and longitudes, which I always do, and adhere solely to his narrative, which is plain enough. He begins with the western branch of the Ganges or Bhâgirathî, and says that it sends one branch to the right or towards the west, and another towards the east, or to the left. This takes place at Trivênî, so called from three rivers parting, in three different directions, and it is a most sacred place. The branch which goes towards the right is the famous Sarasvatî; and Ptolemy says that it flows into the Kambyson mouth, or the mouth of the Jelasor river, called in Sanskrit Śaktimatî, synonymous with Kambu or Kambuj, or the river of shells. This communication does not exist, but it was believed to exist, till the country was surveyed. This branch sends another arm, says our author, which affords a passage into the great mouth, or that of the Bhâgirathî or Ganges. This supposed branch is the Rûpanârâyana, which, if the Sarasvatî ever flowed into the Kambyson mouth, must of course have sprung from it, and it was then natural to suppose that it did so. M. D'Anville has brought the Sarasvatî into the Jelasor river in his maps, and supposed that the communication took place a little above a village called Danton, and if we look into the *Bengal Atlas*, we shall perceive that during the rains, at least, it is possible to go by water, from Hughli, through



the Sarasvatī, and many other rivers, to within a few miles of Danton, and the Jelator river. The river, which according to Ptolemy branches out towards the east, or to the left, and goes into the Kambarikan mouth is the Jumnā, called in Bengal Jubunā. For the Ganges, the Jumnā and the Sarasvatī unite at the Northern Trivēṇī or Allāhābād, and part afterwards at this Trivēṇī near Hughli . . . called in the spoken dialects Terboni. Though the Jumnā falls into the Kambarikan mouth, it does by no means form it; for it obviously derives its name from the Kambādārā or Kambāraka river, as I observed before. Ptolemy says that the Ganges sends an arm towards the east or to the left, directly to the false mouth or Hariṇaghaṭṭā. From this springs another branch to Antibolē, which of course is the Dhākkā branch called the Padmā or Puddāgangā. This is a mistake, but of no great consequence, as the outlines remain the same. It is the Paddā or Dhākkā branch, which sends an arm into the Hariṇaghaṭṭā. The branching out is near Kasti and Komarkalli, and under various appellations it goes into the Hariṇaghaṭṭā mouth."

Besides the tributaries of the Ganges already mentioned, Ptolemy refers to two others which it receives from the range of Bēpyrrhos. These are not named, but one is certainly the Kauśiki and the other ought to be either the Gaṇḍakī or the Tistā.

31. And of the other rivers the positions are thus :

The sources of the River Na-

mados in the Ouindion range 27°

26° 30'



The bend of the river at		
Sérípala	116° 30'	22°
Its confluence with the River		
Môphis	115°	18° 30'
32. Sources of the River		
Nanagouna from the Ouindion		
range	132°	26° 30'
Where it bifurcates into the		
Goaris and Binda	114°	16°
33. Sources of the Pseudos-		
tomos from the Bêttigô range.	123°	21°
The point where it turns	118° 30'	17° 15'
34. Sources of the River		
Baris in the Bêttigô range ...	127°	26° 30'
Sources of the River Sôlén		
in the Bêttigô range.....	127°	20° 30'
The point where it turns.....	124°	18°
35. Sources of the River		
Khabêros in the Adeisathros		
range	132°	22°
36. Sources of the River		
Tyna in the Orondian (or		
Arouëdan) Mountains	133°	17°
37. Sources of the River		
Maisôlos in the same moun-		
tains	134° 30'	17° 30'
38. Sources of the River		
Manda in the same moun-		
tains	136° 30'	16° 30'
39. Sources of the River		
Toundis in the Ouxenton range.	137°	22° 30'



40. Sources of the River

Dôsarôn in the same range ...140° 24°

41. Sources of the River

Adamas in the same range ...142° 24°

These rivers have been all already noticed, with the exception of the Môphis. This is now the Mahî, a considerable river which flows into the Gulf of Khambât at its northern extremity at a distance of about 35 miles north from the estuary of the Narmâda. Ptolemy is in error in making the two rivers join each other. The Môphis is mentioned in the *Periplus* as the Maïs. In this list the spelling of the names of two of the rivers of Orissa has been slightly changed, the Manada into Manda and Tyndis into Toundis.

Ptolemy proceeds now (following as much as possible the order already observed) to give a list of the different territories and peoples of India classified according to the river-basins, together with the towns belonging to each territory and each people (§§42—93), and closes the chapter by mentioning the small islands that lay adjacent to the coast. He begins with the basin of the Kôphês, part of which he had already described in the 6th Book.

42. The order of the territories in this division (India intra Gangem) and of their cities or villages is as follows:—

Below the sources of the Kôa are located the Lambatai, and their mountain region extends upwards to that of the Kômêdai.



Below the sources of the Souastos is Souastênê.

Below those of the Indus are the Daradrai, in whose country the mountains are of surpassing height.

Below the sources of the Bidaspês and of the Sandabal and of the Adris is Kaspeiria.

Below the sources of the Bibasis and of the Zaradros and of the Diamouna and of the Ganges is Kylindrinê, and below the Lambatai and Souastênê is Gôryaia.

Ptolemy's description of the regions watered by the Kôphên and its tributaries given here and in the preceding book may well strike us with surprise, whether we consider the great copiousness of its details, or the way in which its parts have been connected and arranged. It is evident that he was indebted for his materials here chiefly to native sources of information and itineraries of merchants or caravans, and that he did not much consult the records, whether historical or geographical, of Alexander's expedition, else he would not have failed to mention such places as Alexandria, under Kaukasos, Massaga, Nysa, Bazira, the rock Aôrnos, and other localities made memorable by that expedition.

In describing the basin of the Kôphên he divides it into two distinct regions—the high region and the lower, a distinction which had been made by the contemporaries of Alexander. The high region formed the country of the Paropanisadaï, and this Ptolemy has described in the 18th chapter of the 6th Book. He now describes the



lower region which he regards as a part of India. (V. Saint-Martin, *Étude*, pp. 62-3).

The Lambatai were the inhabitants of the district now called Lamghân, a small territory lying along the northern bank of the Kâbul river bounded on the west by the Alingâr and Kunâr rivers, and on the north by the snowy mountains. Lamghân was visited in the middle of the 7th century by Hiuen Tsiang, who calls it Lan-po, and notes that its distance eastward from Kapisênê, to which before his time it had become subject, was 600 *li* (equal to 100 miles). The name of the people is met with in the *Mahâ-bhârata* and in the *Paurânîk* lists under the form Lampâka. Cunningham would therefore correct Ptolemy's Lambatai to Lambagai by the slight change of T for L. A minute account of this little district is given in the *Memoirs of the Emperor Baber*, who states that it was called after Lamech, the father of Noah. The *Dictionary* of Hêmachandra, which mentions the Lampâka, gives as another name of the people that of the Murânda. Their language is Pushtu in its basis. (See Cunningham's *Geog. of Anc. India*, pp. 42-3; Saint-Martin, *Étude*, pp. 74-5; also his *L'Asie Central*, p. 48; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. I, p. 422.

Souastênê designates the basin of the Souastos, which, as has already been noticed, is the river now called the river of Swât. The full form of the name is Śubhavastu, which by the usual mode of contraction becomes Subhâstu or Suvâstu. Souastênê is not the indigenous name of the district, but one evidently formed for it by the Greeks. It is the country now inhabited



by the warlike tribes of the Yuzofzaïs which appears to have been called in ancient times with reference to the rich verdure and fertility of its valleys Udyâna, that is, 'a garden' or 'park.' It was visited by Hiuen Tsiang, who calls it the kingdom of U-chang-na.

The Daradrai:—Ptolemy has somewhat disfigured the name of these mountaineers, who are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Chronicle of Kāśmīr* as the Darada. They inhabited the mountain-region which lay to the east of the Lambatai and of Souastênê, and to the north of the uppermost part of the course of the Indus along the north-west frontier of Kāśmīr. This was the region made so famous by the story of the gold-digging ants first published to the west by Hêrodotos (lib. III, c. cii), and afterwards repeated by Megasthenês, whose version of it is to be found in Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 44) and in Arrian's *Indika* (sec. 15) and also in Pliny (lib. VI, c. xxi and lib. XI, c. xxxvi). The name of the people in Strabo is Derdai, in Pliny Dardae, and in Dionys. *Periêg.* (v. 1138) Dardanoi. Their country still bears their name, being called Dardistân. The Sanskrit word *darad* among other meanings has that of 'mountain.' As the regions along the banks of the Upper Indus produced gold of a good quality, which found its way to India and Persia, and other countries farther west, it has been supposed that the Indus was one of the four rivers of Paradise mentioned in the book of *Genesis*, viz., the Pishon, "which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good." This opinion has been advocated by



scholars of high name and authority. Havilah they take to be in a much altered form, the Sanskrit *sarôvara*, 'a lake,' with reference perhaps to the lake in Tibet called *Manasarôvara*. Boscawen, however, has pointed out that there was a river called the *Pisanu*, belonging to the region between Nineveh and Babylon, where he locates paradise.

Kaspeiria:—The name and the position concur in indicating this to be the valley of *Kāśmīr*, a name which, according to Burnouf, is a contraction of *Kaśyapamīra*, which is thought with good reason to be the original whence came the *Kaspapyros* of the old Geographer Hekataios and the *Kaspatyros* of Hêrodotos (lib. III, c. cii), who tells us (lib. IV, c. xlv) that it was from the city of that name and from the *Paktyikan* land that *Skylax* the *Karyandian* started on his voyage of discovery down the *Indus* in order to ascertain for *Darius* where that river entered the sea. It cannot be determined with certainty where that city should be located, but there can be no good reason, as *Wilson* has shown (in opposition to the views of *Wilford*, *Heeren*, *Mannert*, and *Wahl*) for fixing it on any other river than the *Indus*. "We have no traces," he says, "of any such place as *Kaspatyros* west of the *Indus*. *Alexander* and his generals met with no such city, nor is there any other notice of it in this direction. On the east of the river we have some vestige of it in oriental appellations, and *Kaspatyros* is connected apparently with *Kāśmīr*. The preferable reading of the name is *Kaspa-pyros*. It was so styled by *Hecataeus*, and the alteration is probably



an error. Now Kaśyapa-pur, the city of Kaśyapa, is, according to Sanskrit writers, the original designation of Kaśmīr; not of the province of the present day, but of the kingdom in its palmy state, when it comprehended great part of the Panjāb, and extended no doubt as far as, if not beyond, the Indus."—*Ar. Antiq.*, p. 137.

In the time of Ptolemy the kingdom of Kaśmīr was the most powerful state in all India. The dominions subject to its sceptre reached as far south as the range of the Vindhya and embraced, together with the extensive mountain region wherein the great rivers of the Panjāb had their sources, a great part of the Panjāb itself, and the countries which lay along the courses of the Jamnā and the Upper Ganges. So much we learn from Ptolemy's description which is quite in harmony with what is to be found recorded in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, regarding the period which a little preceded that in which Ptolemy wrote—that the throne of Kaśmīr was then occupied by a warlike monarch called Mēghāva-hana who carried his conquests to a great distance southward (*Rājatar.* vol. III, pp. 27 sqq.) The valley proper of Kaśmīr was the region watered by the Bidaspēs (Jhelam) in the upper part of its course. Ptolemy assigns to it also the sources of the Sandabal (Chenāb) and of the Rhoadis (Rāvi) and thus includes within it the provinces of the lower Himālayan range that lay between Kaśmīr and the Satlaj.

Kylindrinê designated the region of lofty mountains wherein the Vipāśā, the Śatadru, the Jamnā and the Ganges had their sources. The



inhabitants called Kulinda are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* in a long list there given of tribes dwelling between Mēru and Mandara and upon the Śailōdā river, under the shadow of the Bambu forests, whose kings presented lumps of ant-gold at the solemnity of the inauguration of Yudhishṭhira as universal emperor. Cunningham would identify Kylinḍrinē with "the ancient kingdom of Jālandhara which since the occupation of the plains by the Muḥammadans has been confined almost entirely to its hill territories, which were generally known by the name of Kāngra, after its most celebrated fortress." Saint-Martin, however, is unable to accept this identification. A territory of the name of Kuluta, which was formed by the upper part of the basin of the Vipāśā, and which may be included in the Kylinḍrinē of Ptolemy, is mentioned in a list of the *Varāha Samhitā*. Kuluta was visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, who transcribes the name K'iu-lu-to, a name which still exists under the slightly modified form of Koluta. (See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I, p. 547; Wilson, *Ar. Antiq.* p. 135 n.; Saint-Martin, *Etude*, 217; Cunningham, *Geog.* pp. 136—138.)

Gōryaia designates the territory traversed by the Gouraios or river of Ghor, which, as has already been noticed, is the affluent of the Kābul river now called the Landāi, formed by the junction of the river of Pañjkora and the river of Swāt. Alexander on his march to India passed through Gōryaia, and having crossed the River Gouraios entered the territory of the Assakēnoi. The passage of the river is thus de-



scribed by Arrian (*Anab.* lib. IV, c. xxv): "Alexander now advanced with a view to attack the Assakênoi, and led his army through the territory of the Gouraioi. He had great difficulty in crossing the Gouraios, the eponymous river of the country, on account of the depth and impetuosity of the stream, and also because the bottom was so strewn with pebbles that the men when wading through could hardly keep their feet." It can scarcely be doubted that the Gouraios is the Gaurî mentioned in the 6th Book of the *Mahābhārata* along with the Suvāstu and the Kampanā. Arrian's notion that it gave its name to the country by which it flowed has been assented to by Lassen but has been controverted by Saint-Martin, who says (p. 33), "the name of the Gouraioi did not come, as one would be inclined to believe, and as without doubt the Greeks thought, from the river of Gur which watered their territory; the numerous and once powerful tribe of Ghorî, of which a portion occupies still to this day the same district, to the west of the Landaï, can advance a better claim to the attribution of the ancient classical name." In a note to this passage he says: "Kur, with the signification of 'river,' *courant*, is a primitive term common to most of the dialects of the Indo-Germanic family. Hence the name of Kur (Greek, *Kúpos*, *Kúppos*, Lat. *Cyrus*) common to different rivers of Asia. . . . This name (of Ghorîs or Gûrs) ought to have originally the signification of 'mountaineers.' It is at least a remarkable fact that all the mountain region adjacent to the south of the Western Hindû-kôh and its prolongation in the direction of Herât



have borne or still bear the names of Gûr, Ghôr, or Ghaur, Gurkân, Garjistân, &c. Let us add that *garayo* in Zend signifies 'mountains.' "

43. And the cities are these :—

Kaisana	120°	34° 20'
Barborana	120° 15'	33° 40'
Gôrya	122°	34° 45'
Nagara or Dionysopolis	121° 45'	33°
Drastoka	120° 30'	32° 30'

Kaisana, Barborana and Drastoka are places unknown, but as the same names occur in the list of the towns of the Paropanisadai (lib. VI, c. xviii, 4) it is not improbable, as Saint-Martin conjectures, that the repetition was not made by Ptolemy himself, but through a careless error on the part of some copyist of his works. Cunningham thinks that Drastoka may have designated a town, in one of the *darâs* or 'valleys' of the Koh-Dâman, and that Baborana may be Parwân, a place of some consequence on the left bank of the Ghorband river in the neighbourhood of Opiân or Alexandria Opiane. Kaisana he takes to be the Cartana of Pliny (lib. VI, c. xxiii) according to whom it was situated at the foot of the Caucasus and not far from Alexandria, whilst according to Ptolemy it was on the right bank of the Pânjshir river. These data, he says, point to Bêgrâm, which is situated on the right bank of the Pânjshir and Ghorband rivers immediately at the foot of the Kohistân hills, and within 6 miles of Opiân. Bêgrâm also answers the description which Pliny gives of Cartana as *Tetragonis*, or the 'square;' for Masson, in his account of the ruins especially



notices "some mounds of great magnitude, and accurately describing a square of considerable dimensions." A coin of Eukratidês has on it the legend Karisiye Nagara or city of Karisi (*Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 26-29).

Gòrya:—Saint-Martin thinks that the position of this ancient city may be indicated by the situation of Mola-gouri, a place on the right or western bank of the River Landai, as marked in one of Court's maps in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, vol. VIII, p. 34).

Nagara or Dionysopolis:—Lassen has identified this with Nanghenhar, the Nagara-hâra of Sanskrit, a place mentioned under this name in the *Paurânîk Geography*, and also in a Buddhistic inscription thought to belong to the 9th century which was found in Behar. The city was visited by Hinen Tsiang, who calls it Nakie-lo-ho. It was the capital of a kingdom of the same name, which before the time of the pilgrim had become subject to Kapiśa, a state which adjoined it on the west. Its territory consisted of a narrow strip of land which stretched along the southern bank of the Kâbul river from about Jagdalak as far westward as the Khaibar Pass. The city was called also Udyânapura, that is, 'the city of gardens,' and this name the Greeks, from some resemblance in the sound translated into Dionysopolis (a purely Greek compound, signifying 'the city of Dionysos,' the god of wine), with some reference no doubt to legends which had been brought from the regions of Paropanisos by the companions of Alexander. This name in a mutilated form is found in-



scribed on a medal of Dionysios, one of the Greek kings, who possessed the province of what is now called Afghanistan in the 2nd century B.C. Some traces of the name of Udyânapura still exist, for, as we learn from Masson, "tradition affirms that the city on the plain of Jalâlâbâd was called A j û n a," and the Emperor Baber mentions in his *Memoirs* a place called Adinapur, which, as the same author has pointed out, is now Bala-bâgh, a village distant about 13 miles westward from Jalâlâbâd near the banks of the Surkhrud, a small tributary of the Kâbul river.

As regards the site of N a g a r a h â r a, this was first indicated by Masson, and afterwards fixed with greater precision by Mr. Simpson, who having been quartered for four months at Jalâlâbâd during the late Afghân war took the opportunity of investigating the antiquities of the neighbourhood, which are chiefly of a Buddhist character. He has given an account of his researches in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society, and published in the Society's *Journal* (Vol. XIII, pp. 183—207). He there states that he found at a distance of 4 or 5 miles west from Jalâlâbâd numerous remains of what must have been an ancient city, while there was no other place in all the vicinity where he could discover such marked evidences of a city having existed. The ruins in question lay along the right bank of a stream called the Surkhâb, that rushed down from the lofty heights of the Sufaid-koh, and reached to its point of junction with the Kâbul river. The correctness of the identification he could not doubt, since the word 'Nagrak,'

'Nagarat,' or 'Nagara' was still applied to the ruins by the natives on the spot, and since the site also fulfilled all the conditions which were required to make it answer to the description of the position of the old city as given by Hiuen Tsiang. (See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. II, p. 335; Saint-Martin's *Asie Centrale*, pp. 52—56; Cunningham, *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 44—46; Masson, *Various Journeys*, vol. III, p. 164).

44. Between the Sonastos and the Indus the Gandarai and these cities:—

Proklaïs	123°	32°
Naulibi	124° 20'	33° 20'

The Gandarai:—Gandhâra is a name of high antiquity, as it occurs in one of the Vedic hymns where a wife is represented as saying with reference to her husband, "I shall always be for him a Gandhâra ewe." It is mentioned frequently in the *Mahâbhârata* and other post-Vedic works, and from these we learn that it contained the two royal cities of Takshâśilâ (Taxila) and Pushkarâvatî (Peukelaôtis) the former situated to the east and the latter to the west of the Indus. It would therefore appear that in early times the Gandhâric territory lay on both sides of that river, though in subsequent times it was confined to the western side. According to Strabo the country of the Gandarai, which he calls Gandaritis, lay between the Khoaspês and the Indus, and along the River Kôphês. The name is not mentioned by any of the historians of Alexander, but it must nevertheless have been known to the Greeks as early as the times of Hekataios, who, as we



learn from Stephanos of Byzantion, calls Kaspapyros a Gandarie city. Hérodotos mentions the Gandarioi (Book III, c. xci) who includes them in the 7th Satrapy of Darius, along with the Sattagydoi, the Dadikai and the Aparytai. In the days of Asôka and some of his immediate successors Gandhâra was one of the most flourishing seats of Buddhism. It was accordingly visited both by Fa-hian and Hsuen Tsiang, who found it to contain in a state of ruin many monuments of the past ascendancy of their faith. From data supplied by the narratives of these pilgrims Cunningham has deduced as the boundaries of Gandhâra, which they call Kien-to-lo, on the west Lamghân and Jalâlâbâd, on the north the hills of Swât and Bunir, on the east the Indus, and on the south the hills of Kâlâbâgh. "Within these limits," he observes, "stood several of the most renowned places of ancient India, some celebrated in the stirring history of Alexander's exploits, and others famous in the miraculous legends of Buddha, and in the subsequent history of Buddhism under the Indo-Scythian prince Kanishka." (*Geog. of Ind.*, p. 48.) Opinions have varied much with regard to the position of the Gandarioi. Rennell placed them on the west of Baktria in the province afterwards called Margiana, while Wilson (*Ar. Antiq.*, p. 131) took them to be the people south of the Hindû-kûsh, from about the modern Kandahâr to the Indus, and extending into the Panjâb and to Kâsmîr. There is, however, no connexion between the names of Gandaria and Kandahâr.

Prokhlâis is the ancient capital of Gandhâra,



situated to the west of the Indus, which was mentioned in the preceding remarks under its Sanskrit name *Pushkalāvati*, which means 'abounding in the lotus.' Its name is given variously by the Greek writers as *Peukelaôtis*, *Peukolaitis*, *Peukelas*, and *Proklaïs*, the last form being common to Ptolemy with the author of the *Periplus*. The first form is a transliteration of the Pâli *Pukhalaoti*; the form *Peukelas* which is used by Arrian is taken by Cunningham to be a close transcript of the Pâli *Pukkala*, and the *Proklaïs* of Ptolemy to be perhaps an attempt to give the Hindî name of *Pokhar* instead of the Sanskrit *Pushkara*. Arrian describes *Peukelas* as a very large and populous city lying near the Indus, and the capital of a prince called *Astês*. Ptolemy defines its position with more accuracy, as being on the eastern bank of the river of *Souastênê*. The *Periplus* informs us that it traded in spikenard of various kinds, and in *kostos* and *bdellium*, which it received from different adjacent countries for transmission to the coast of India. It has been identified with *Hasht-nagar* (i.e., *eight cities*) which lies at a distance of about 17 miles from *Parashâwar* (*Peshâwar*). Perhaps, as Cunningham has suggested, *Hasht-nagar* may mean not 'eight cities' but 'the city of *Astês*.'

Naulibi:—"It is probable," says Cunningham, "that *Naulibi* is *Nilâb*, an important town which gave its name to the Indus; but if so it is wrongly placed by Ptolemy, as *Nilâb* is to the South of the *Kôphês*" (*Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, p. 48).

45. Between the Indus and the *Bidaspês*



towards the Indus the Arsa territory and these cities :—

Ithagouros	125° 40'	33° 20'
Taxiala	125°	32° 15'

Arsa represents the Sanskrit Uraśa, the name of a district which, according to Cunningham, is to be identified with the modern district of Rash in Dhantāwar to the west of Muzafarābād, and which included all the hilly country between the Indus and Kāśmīr as far south as the boundary of Aṭak. It was visited by Hien Tsang, who calls it U-la-shi and places it between Taxila and Kāśmīr. Pliny, borrowing from Megasthenēs, mentions a people belonging to these parts called the Arsagalitae. The first part of the name answers letter for letter to the name in Ptolemy, and the latter part may point to the tribe Ghilet or Ghilghit, the Gahalata of Sanskrit. (V. Saint-Martin, *Étude*, pp. 59-60). Uraśa is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and once and again in the *Rājatarāṅgīnī*.

Ithagouros:—The Ithagouroi are mentioned by Ptolemy (lib. VI, c. xvi) as a people of Sérīka, neighbouring on the Issêdones and Throanoi. Saint-Martin takes them to be the Dagors or Dangors, one of the tribes of the Daradas.

Taxiala is generally written as Taxila by the classical authors. Its name in Sanskrit is Taksha-silā, a compound which means 'hewn rock' or 'hewn stone.' Wilson thinks it may have been so called from its having been built of that material instead of brick or mud, like most other cities in India, but Cunningham prefers to ascribe



to the name a legendary origin. The Pâli form of the name as found in a copper-plate inscription is *Takhasila*, which sufficiently accounts for the *Taxila* of the Greeks. The city is described by Arrian (*Anab.* lib. V, c. viii) as great and wealthy, and as the most populous that lay between the Indus and the Hydaspês. Both Strabo and Hiuen Tsiang praise the fertility of its soil, and the latter specially notices the number of its springs and watercourses. Pliny calls it a famous city, and states that it was situated on a level where the hills sunk down into the plains. It was beyond doubt one of the most ancient cities in all India, and is mentioned in both of the great national Epics. At the time of the Makedonian invasion it was ruled by a prince called *Taxilês*, who tendered a voluntary submission of himself and his kingdom to the great conqueror. About 80 years afterwards it was taken by *Aśôka*, the son of *Vindusâra*, who subsequently succeeded his father on the throne of *Magadha* and established Buddhism as the state religion throughout his wide dominions. In the early part of the 2nd century B.C. it had become a province of the Græco-Baktrian monarchy. It soon changed masters however, for in 126 B.C. the Indo-Skythian *Sus* or *Abars* acquired it by conquest, and retained it in their hands till it was wrested from them by a different tribe of the same nationality, under the celebrated *Kanishka*. Near the middle of the first century A.D. *Apollonius* of *Tyana* and his companion *Damis* are said to have visited it, and described it as being about the size of *Nineveh*, walled like a Greek city, and as



the residence of a sovereign who ruled over what of old was the kingdom of Pôros. Its streets were narrow, but well arranged, and such altogether as reminded the travellers of Athens. Outside the walls was a beautiful temple of porphyry, wherein was a shrine, round which were hung pictures on copper tablets representing the feats of Alexander and Pôros. (Priault's *Apolon.*, pp. 13 sqq.) The next visitors we hear of were the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian in 400 and Hiuen Tsiang, first in 630, and afterwards in 643. To them, as to all Buddhists, the place was especially interesting, as it was the scene of one of Buddha's most meritorious acts of alms-giving, when he bestowed his very head in charity. After this we lose sight altogether of Taxila, and do not even know how or when its ruin was accomplished. Its fate is one of the most striking instances of a peculiarity observable in Indian history, that of the rapidity with which some of its greatest capitals have perished, and the completeness with which even their very names have been obliterated from living memory. That it was destroyed long before the Muhammadan invasion may be inferred from the fact that its name has not been found to occur in any Muhammadan author who has written upon India, even though his account of it begins from the middle of the tenth century. Even Albirûnî, who was born in the valley of the Indus, and wrote so early as the time of Mahmûd of Ghazni, makes no mention of the place, though his work abounds with valuable information on points of geography. The site of Taxila has been identified by



Cunningham, who has given an account of his explorations in his *Ancient Geography of India* (pp. 104—124). The ruins, he says, cover an area of six square miles, and are more extensive, more interesting, and in much better preservation than those of any other ancient place in the Panjâb. These ruins are at a place called Shâh-dhêri, which is just one mile from Kâla-ka-serai, a town lying to the eastward of the Indus, from which it is distant a three days' journey. Pliny says only a two days' journey, but he under-estimated the distance between Peukelaôtis and Taxila, whence his error.

46. Around the Bidaspês, the country of the Pandoônoi, in which are these cities:—

Labaka	127° 30'	34° 15'
Sagala, otherwise called Euthy- mêdia	126° 20'	32°
Boukephala	125° 30'	30° 20'
Iômousa	124° 15'	30°

The Country of the Pandoônoi:—The Pândya country here indicated is that which formed the original seat of the Pândavas or Lunar race, whose war with the Kauravas or Solar race is the subject of the *Mahâbhârata*. The Pândavas figure not only in the heroic legends of India, but also in its real history,—princes of their line having obtained for themselves sovereignties in various parts of the country, in Râjputâna, in the Panjâb, on the banks of the Ganges, and the very south of the Peninsula. From a passage in the *Lalitavistara* we learn that at the time of the birth of Śâkyamuni a Pândava

dynasty reigned at Hastinâpura, a city on the Upper Ganges, about sixty miles to the north-east of Dehli. Megasthenês, as cited by Pliny, mentions a great Pâṇḍava kingdom in the region of the Jamnâ, of which Mathurâ was probably the capital. According to Râjput tradition the celebrated Vikramâditya, who reigned at Ujjain (the Ozênê of the Greeks) about half a century B. C., and whose name designates an epoch in use among the Hindûs, was a Pâṇḍava prince. From the 8th to the 12th century of our era Pâṇḍavas ruled in Indraprastha, a city which stood on or near the site of Dehli. When all this is considered it certainly seems surprising, as Saint-Martin has observed (*Étude*, 206 n.) that the name of the Pandus is not met with up to the present time on any historic monument of the north of India except in two votive inscriptions of Buddhist *stûpas* at Bhilsa. See also *Étude*, pp. 205, 206.

La b a k a :—"This is, perhaps," says the same author (p. 222), "the same place as a town of Lohkot (Lavakôṭa in Sanskrit) which makes a great figure in the Râjput annals among the cities of the Panjâb, but its position is not known for certain. Wilford, we know not on what authority, identified it with Lâhor, and Tod admits his opinion without examining it."

S a g a l a, called also E u t h y m ê d i a :—Sagala or Sangala (as Arrian less correctly gives the name) is the Sanskrit Sâkala or Sakala, which in its Prakrit form correspondsexactly to the name in Ptolemy. This city is mentioned frequently in the *Mahâbhârata*, from which we learn that it was the



capital of the Ma d r a nation, and lay to the west of the Râvî. Arrian (*Anab.* lib. V, cc. xxi, xxii) placed it to the east of the river, and this error on his part has led to a variety of erroneous identifications. Alexander, he tells us, after crossing the Hydraôtês (Râvî) at once pressed forward to Sangala on learning that the Kathaians and other warlike tribes had occupied that stronghold for the purpose of opposing his advance to the Ganges. In reality, however, Alexander on this occasion had to deal with an enemy that threatened his rear, and not with an enemy in front. He was in consequence compelled, instead of advancing eastward, to retrace his steps and recross the Hydraôtês. The error here made by Arrian was detected by General Cunningham, who, with the help of data supplied by Hiuen Tsiang discovered the exact site which Sagala had occupied. This is as nearly as possible where *Sangla-wala-hîba* or 'Sanglala hill' now stands. This Sangala is a hill with traces of buildings and with a sheet of water on one side of it. It thus answers closely to the description of the ancient Sangala in Arrian and Curtius, both of whom represent it as built on a hill and as protected on one side from attacks by a lake or marsh of considerable depth. The hill is about 60 miles distant from Lâhor, where Alexander probably was when the news about the Kathaians reached him. This distance is such as an army by rapid marching could accomplish in 3 days, and, as we learn that Alexander reached Sangala on the evening of the third after he had left the Hydraôtês, we have here a strongly confirmative proof of the correctness of the identi-



fiction. The Makedonians destroyed Sagala, but it was rebuilt by Dêmétrios, one of the Græco-Baktrian kings, who in honour of his father Euthydêmos called it Euthydêmia. From this it would appear that the reading *Euthymédia* as given in Nobbe's and other texts, is erroneous—(see Cunningham's *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 180—187) cf. Saint-Martin, pp. 103—108).

47. The regions extending thence towards the east are possessed by the Kaspeiraioi, and to them belong these cities:—

48. Salagissa	129° 30'	34° 30'
Astrassos	131° 15'	34° 15'
Labokla	128° -	33° 20'
Batanagra	130°	33° 30'
Arispara	130°	32° 50'
Amakatis	128° 15'	32° 20'
Ostobalasara	129°	32°
49. Kaspeira	127°	31° 15'
Pasikana	128° 30'	31° 15'
Daidala	128°	30° 30'
Ardonê	126° 15'	30° 10'
Indabara	127° 15'	30°
Liganeira	125° 30'	29°
Khonnamagara	128°	29° 20'

50. Modoura, the city of		
the gods	125°	27° 30'
Gagasmira	126° 40'	27° 30'
Êrarasa, a Metropolis	123°	26°
Kognandana	124°	26°

Boukephala:—Alexander, after the battle



on the western bank of the Hydaspês in which he defeated Pôros, ordered two cities to be built, one Nikaia, so called in honour of his victory (*nikê*), and the other Boukephala, so called in honour of his favourite horse, Boukephalos, that died here either of old age and fatigue, or from wounds received in the battle. From the conflicting accounts given by the Greek writers it is difficult to determine where the latter city stood. If we follow Plutarch we must place it on the eastern bank of the Hydaspês, for he states (*Vita Alexandro*) that Boukephalos was killed in the battle, and that the city was built on the place where he fell and was buried. If again we follow Strabo (lib. XV, c. i, 29) we must place it on the west bank at the point where Alexander crossed the river which in all probability was at Dilâwar. If finally we follow Arrian we must place it on the same bank, but some miles farther down the river at Jalâlpur, where Alexander had pitched his camp, and this was probably the real site. Boukephala seems to have retained its historical importance much longer than its sister city, for besides being mentioned here by Ptolemy it is noticed also in Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx) who says that it was the chief of three cities that belonged to the Asini, and in the *Periplus* (sec. 47) and elsewhere. Nikaia, on the other hand, is not mentioned by any author of the Roman period except Strabo, and that only when he is referring to the times of Alexander. The name is variously written Boukephala, Boukephalos, Boukephalia, and Boukephaleia. Some authors added to it the surname of Alexandria, and in the *Peutinger*



Tables it appears as Alexandria Bucefalos. The horse Boukephalos was so named from his 'brow' being very broad, like that of an 'ox.' For a discussion on the site of Boukephala see Cunningham's *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 159 sqq.

Iômoûsa is probably Jamma, a place of great antiquity, whose chiefs were reckoned at one time among the five great râjas of the north. It doubtless lay on the great highway that led from the Indus to Palibothra.

List of cities of the K aspeîraioi:—This long list contains but very few names that can be recognized with certainty. It was perhaps carelessly transcribed by the copyists, or Ptolemy himself may have taken it from some work the text of which had been already corrupted. Be that as it may, we may safely infer from the constancy with which the figures of latitude in the list decrease, that the towns enumerated were so many successive stages on some line of road that traversed the country from the Indus to Mathurâ on the Jamnâ. Salagissa, Arispara, Pasikana, Liganeira, Khonnamağara and Kognandaua are past all recognition; no plausible conjecture has been made as to how they are to be identified.

Astrassos:—This name resembles the Atrasa of Idrîsî, who mentions it as a great city of the Kanauj Empire (*Étude*, p. 226).

Labokla:—Lassen identified this with Lâhor, the capital of the Panjâb (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 152). Thornton and Cunningham confirm this identification. The city is said to have been founded by Lava or Lo, the son of Râma, after whom it was

named Lohāwar. The *Labo* in Labo-kla must be taken to represent the name of Lava. As for the terminal *kla*, Cunningham (*Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, p. 198) would alter it to *laka* thus, making the whole name Labolaka for Lavālaka or 'the abode of Lava.'

Batanaḡra:—Ptolemy places this 2 degrees to the east of Labokla, but Saint-Martin (p. 226) does not hesitate to identify it with Bhatnair (for Bhaṭṭanagara) 'the town of the Bhatīs' though it lies nearly three degrees south of Lāhor. Yule accepts this identification. A different reading is Katanagara.

Amakatis (v. l. Amakastis).—According to the table this place lay to the S.E. of Labokla but its place in the map is to the S.W. of it. Cunningham (pp. 195—197) locates it near Shekolpur to the south of which are two ruined mounds which are apparently the remains of ancient cities. These are called Amba and Kāpi respectively, and are said to have been called after a brother and a sister, whose names are combined in the following couplet:—

Amba-Kapa pai larai

Kalpi bahin chhurāwan ai.

When strife arose 'tween Amb and Kāp
 Their sister Kalpi made it up.

"The junction of the two names," Cunningham remarks, "is probably as old as the time of Ptolemy, who places a town named Amakatis or Amakapis to the west of the Rāvi, and in the immediate neighbourhood of Labokla or Lāhor." The distance of the mounds referred to from Lāhor is about 25 miles.



Ostobalasara (v.l. Stobolasara) Saint-Martin has identified this with Thanesar (Sthânêśvara in Sanskrit) a very ancient city, celebrated in the heroic legends of the Pāṇḍavas. Cunningham however thinks that Thanesar is Ptolemy's Batangkaisara and suggests that we should read Satan-aisara to make the name approach nearer to the Sanskrit Sthânêśvara—the Sa-ta-ni-shi-fa-lo of Hiuen Tsiang (p. 331).

Kaspeira:—"If this name," says Saint-Martin (p. 226) "is to be applied, as seems natural, to the capital of Kāśmīr, it has been badly placed in the series, having been inserted probably by the ancient Latin copyists."

Daidala:—An Indian city of this name is mentioned by Stephanos of Byzantion, but he locates it in the west. Curtius also has a Daedala (lib. VIII, c. x), a region which according to his account was traversed by Alexander before he crossed the Khoaspēs and laid siege to Mazaga. Yule in his map places it doubtfully at Dudhal on the Khaghar river to the east of Bhatneer, near the edge of the great desert.

Ardonê:—Ahroni, according to Yule, a place destroyed by Timūr on his march, situated between the Khaghar and Chitang rivers, both of which lose themselves in the great desert.

Indabara is undoubtedly the ancient Indraprastha, a name which in the common dialects is changed into Indabatta (Indopat), and which becomes almost Indabara in the cerebral pronunciation of the last syllable. The site of this city was in the neighbourhood of Dehli. It was the capital city of the Pāṇḍavas. The Prākṛit



form of the name is *Indrabatṭha*. (Lassen, vol. III, p. 151).

Modonra, the city of the gods.—There is no difficulty in identifying this with *Mathurā* (*Muttra*) one of the most sacred cities in all India, and renowned as the birthplace of *Kṛishṇa*. Its temples struck *Mahmūd of Ghaznī* with such admiration that he resolved to adorn his own capital in a similar style. The name is written by the Greeks *Methora* as well as *Modoura*. It is situated on the banks of the *Jamnā*, higher up than *Agra*, from which it is 35 miles distant. It is said to have been founded by *Śatrughna*, the younger brother of *Rāma*. As already mentioned it was a city of the *Pāṇḍavas* whose power extended far to westward.

Gagasmira.—Lassen and Saint-Martin agree in recognizing this as *Ajmir*. Yule, however, objects to this identification on the ground that the first syllable is left unaccounted for, and proposes *Jajhar* as a substitute. *Gegasius*, he argues, represents in *Plutarch* *Yayāti*, the great ancestor of the Lunar race, while *Jajhpūr* in *Orissa* was properly *Yayātipūra*. Hence probably in *Jajhar*, which is near *Dehli*, we have the representative of *Gagasmira*.

Erarasa.—Ptolemy calls this a metropolis. It appears, says Yule, to be *Girirāja*, 'royal hill,' and may be *Goverdhan* which was so called, and was a capital in legendary times (*Ind. Antiq.*, vol. I, p. 23). Saint-Martin suggests *Vārāṇasī*, now *Banāras*, which was also a capital. He thinks that this name and the next, which ends the list, were additions of the Roman copyists.



51. Still further to the east than the Kaspeiraioi are the Gymnosophistai, and after these around the Ganges further north are the Daitikhai with these towns:—

Konta	133° 30'	34° 40'
Margara	135°	34°
Batangkaissara and east of the river.....	132° 40'	33° 20'
Passala	137°	34° 15'
Orza	136°	33° 20'

Gymnosophistai:—This Greek word means 'Naked philosophers,' and did not designate any ethnic or political section of the population, but a community of religious ascetics or hermits located along the Ganges probably, as Yule thinks in the neighbourhood of Hardwâr and also according to Benfey, of Dehli, *Indien*, p. 95. For an account of the Gymnosophists see *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. VI, pp. 242—244.

Daitikhai:—This name is supposed to represent the Sanskrit *jatika*, which means 'wearing twisted or plaited hair.' The name does not occur in the lists in this form but Kern, as Yule states, has among tribes in the north-east "Demons with elf locks" which is represented in Wilford by *Jati-dhara*.

Konta, says Saint-Martin (*Étude*, p. 321) is probably Kuṇḍā on the left bank of the Jamnā to the south-east of Saharanpūr.

Margara:—Perhaps, according to the same authority, Marhāra near the Kalindī River to the north-east of Agra.



Batangkaissara:—Yule objecting to Saint-Martin's identification of this place with Bhatkashaur in Saharanpur pargana, on the ground of its being a modern combination, locates it, but doubtingly, at Kesarwa east of the Jamnâ, where the position suits fairly.

Passala:—Pliny mentions a people called Passalae, who may be recognized as the inhabitants of Pañchâla or the region that lay between the Ganges and the Jamnâ, and whose power, according to the *Mahâbhârata*, extended from the Himâlayas to the Chambal River. Passala we may assume was the capital of this important state, and may now, as Saint-Martin thinks, be represented by Bisauli. This was formerly a considerable town of Rohilkhand, 30 miles from Sambhal towards the south-east, and at a like distance from the eastern bank of the Ganges.

Orza is perhaps Sarsi situated on the Râm-gaigâ river in the lower part of its course.

52. Below these are the Anikhai with these towns:—

Persakra.....	134°	32° 40'
Sannaba.....	135°	32° 30'
Toana to the east of the river...	136° 30'	32°

53. Below these Prasiakê with these towns:—

Sambalaka.....	132° 15'	31° 50'
Adisdara	136°	31° 30'
Kanagora	135°	30° 40'
Kindia	137°	30° 20'
Sagala, and east of the river...	139°	30° 20'

Aninakha	137° 20'	31° 40'
Koangka	138° 20'	31° 30'

Anikhai (v. ll. Nanikhai, Manikhai):—
This name cannot be traced to its source. The people it designated must have been a petty tribe, as they had only 3 towns, and their territory must have lain principally on the south bank of the Jamnâ. Their towns cannot be identified. The correct reading of their name is probably *Manikhai*, as there is a town on the Ganges in the district which they must have occupied called Manikpur. There is further a tribe belonging to the Central Himâlaya region having a name slightly similar, Manga or Mangars, and the *Âin-i-Akbarî* mentions a tribe of Manneyeh which had once been powerful in the neighbourhood of Dehli (*Étude*, p. 322). The form Nanikha would suggest a people named in the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purâṇas*, the Naimishas who lived in the region of the Jamnâ.

Prasiakê.—This word transliterates the Sanskrit *Prâchyaka* which means 'eastern' and denoted generally the country along the Ganges. It was the country of the Prasii, whose capital was Palibothra, now Pâtnâ, and who in the times immediately subsequent to the Makedonian invasion had spread their empire from the mouths of the Ganges to the regions beyond the Indus. The Prasiakê of Ptolemy however was a territory of very limited dimensions, and of uncertain boundaries. Though seven of its towns are enumerated Palibothra is not among them, but is mentioned afterwards as the capital of the Mandalai and placed more than 3 degrees farther south than



the most southern of them all. Yule remarks upon this: "Where the tables detail cities that are in Prasiakê, cities among the Poruari, &c., we must not assume that the cities named were really in the territories named; whilst we see as a sure fact in various instances that they were not. Thus the Mandalae, displaced as we have mentioned, embrace Palibothra, which was notoriously the city of the Prasii; while Prasiakê is shoved up stream to make room for them. Lassen has so much faith in the uncorrected Ptolemy that he accepts this, and finds some reason why Prasiakê is not the land of the Prasii but something else."

Sambalaka is Sambhal, already mentioned as a town of Rohilkhand. Sambalaka or Sambhala is the name of several countries in India, but there is only this one town of the name that is met with in the Eastern parts. It is a very ancient town and on the same parallel as Dehli.

Adisâra:—This has been satisfactorily identified with Ahichhatra, a city of great antiquity, which figures in history so early as the 14th century B.C. At this time it was the capital of Northern Pañchâla. The form of the name in Ptolemy by a slight alteration becomes *Adisadra*, and this approximates closely to the original form. Another city so called belonged to Central India, and this appears in Ptolemy as *Adeisathra*, which he places in the country of the Bêttigoi. The meaning of the name Ahi-chhatra is 'serpent umbrella' and is explained by a local legend concerning Âdi-Râja and the serpent demon, that while the Râja was asleep a serpent formed



a canopy over him with its expanded hood. The fort is sometimes called Adikot, though the commoner name is Ahi-chhatar, sometimes written Abikhshêtra. The place was visited by Hiuen Tsiang. In modern times it was first visited by Captain Hodgson, who describes it as the ruins of an ancient fortress several miles in circumference, which appears to have had 34 bastions, and is known in the neighbourhood by the name of the Pându's Fort. It was visited afterwards by Cunningham (*Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, pp. 359—363).

Kanagora:—This, as Saint-Martin points out, may be a corruption for Kanagoza, a form of Kanyâkubja or Kanauj. This city of old renown was situated on the banks of the Kâlinadi, a branch of the Ganges, in the modern district of Farrukhâbâd. The name applies not only to the city itself but also to its dependencies and to the surrounding district. The etymology (*kanyâ*, 'a girl,' and *kubja*, 'round-shouldered' or 'crooked') refers to a legend concerning the hundred daughters of Kuśanâbha, the king of the city, who were all rendered crooked by Vâyû for non-compliance with his licentious desires (see also Beal, *Buddhist Records*, vol. I, p. 209). The ruins of the ancient city are said to occupy a site larger than that of London. The name recurs in another list of towns under the form Kanogiza, and is there far displaced.

Kindia may be identified with Kant, an ancient city of Rohilkhand, the Shâhjahânpur of the present day. Yule hesitates whether to identify it thus or with Mirzapur on the Ganges.

Sagala:—"Sagala," says Saint-Martin (*Étude*,



p. 326) "would carry us to a town of Sakula or Saghêla, of which mention is made in the Buddhist Chronicles of Ceylon among the royal cities of the North of India, and which Turnour believes to be the same town as Kuśinagara, celebrated as the place where Buddha Śākyamuni obtained *Nirvāṇa*. Such an identification would carry us to the eastern extremity of Kêśala, not far from the River Gaṇḍakī.

Koangka ought to represent the Sanskrit *kanaka*, 'gold.' Mention is made of a town called in the Buddhistic legends *Kanaka-vatī* (abounding in gold), but no indication is given as to where its locality was (*Étude*, p. 326).

54. South of this *Saurabatis* with these towns:—

Empêlathra	130°	30°
Nadoubandagar.....	138° 40'	29°
Tamasis	133°	29°
Kouraporeina	130°	29°

Saurabatis:—This division is placed below Prasiakê. The ordinary reading is *Sandrabatis*, which is a transliteration of the Sanskrit *Chandravati*. The original, Saint-Martin suggests, may have been *Chhatravati*, which is used as a synonym of *Ahikshêtra*, and applies to that part of the territory of Pañchâla, which lies to the east of the Ganges. He thinks it more than probable that *Sandrabatis*, placed as it is just after a group of towns, two of which belong to *Ahikshêtra*, does not differ from this *Chhatravati*, the only country of the name known to Sanskrit Geography in the Gangetic region. None of the

four towns can be identified. (See Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. I, p. 602; *Étude*, p. 326). Yule, however, points out that this territory is one of those which the endeavour to make Ptolemy's names cover the whole of India has greatly dislocated, transporting it from the S. W. of Râjputâna to the vicinity of Bahâr. His map locates Sandra-bitis (Chandrabati) between the River Mahi and the Ârâvali mountains.

55. And farther, all the country along the rest of the course of the Indus is called by the general name of Indo-Skythia. Of this the insular portion formed by the bifurcation of the river towards its mouth is Patalênê, and the region above this is Abiria, and the region about the mouths of the Indus and Gulf of Kanthi is Syrastrênê. The towns of Indo-Skythia are these: to the west of the river at some distance therefrom:—

56. Artoarta	121° 30'	31° 15'
Andrapana.....	121° 15'	30° 40'
Sabana	122° 20'	32°
Banagara	122° 15'	30° 40'
Kodrana.....	121° 15'	29° 20'

Ptolemy from his excursion to the Upper Ganges now reverts to the Indus and completes its geography by describing Indo-Skythia, a vast region which comprised all the countries traversed by the Indus, from where it is joined by the river of Kâbul onward to the ocean. We have already pointed out how Ptolemy's description is here vitiated by his making the combined stream of the Panjâb



rivers join the Indus only one degree below its junction with the Kābul, instead of six degrees, or half way between that point and the ocean. The egregious error he has here committed seems altogether inexcusable, for whatever may have been the sources from which he drew his information, he evidently neglected the most accurate and the most valuable of all—the records, namely, of the Makedonian invasion as transmitted in writings of unimpeachable credit. At best, however, it must be allowed the determination of sites in the Indus valley is beset with peculiar uncertainty. The towns being but very slightly built are seldom of more than ephemeral duration, and if, as often happens they are destroyed by inundations, every trace is lost of their ever having existed. The river besides frequently changes its course and leaves the towns which it abandons to sink into decay and utter oblivion.²¹ Such places again as still exist after escaping these and other casualties, are now known under names either altogether different from the ancient, or so much changed as to be hardly recognizable. This instability of the nomenclature is due to the frequency with which the valley has been conquered by foreigners. The period at

²¹ Aristoboulos as we learn from Strabo (*Geo.* XV, c. i. 19) when sent into this part of India saw a tract of land deserted which contained 1,000 cities with their dependent villages, the Indus having left its proper channel, was diverted into another, on the left hand much deeper, and precipitated itself into it like a cataract so that it no longer watered the country by the usual inundation on the right hand, from which it had receded, and this was elevated above the level, not only of the new channel of the river, but above that of the (new) inundation.



which the Skythians first appeared in the valley which was destined to bear their name for several centuries has been ascertained with precision from Chinese sources. We thence gather that a wandering horde of Tibetan extraction called Yuei-chi or Ye-tha in the 2nd century B. C. left Tangut, their native country, and, advancing westward found for themselves a new home amid the pasture-lands of Zungaria. Here they had been settled for about thirty years when the invasion of a new horde compelled them to migrate to the Steppes which lay to the north of the Jaxartes. In these new seats they halted for only two years, and in the year 128 B. C. they crossed over to the southern bank of the Jaxartes where they made themselves masters of the rich provinces between that river and the Oxus, which had lately before belonged to the Grecian kings of Baktriana. This new conquest did not long satisfy their ambition, and they continued to advance southwards till they had overrun in succession Eastern Baktriana, the basin of the Kôphês, the basin of the Etymander with Arakhôsia, and finally the valley of the Indus and Syrastrênê. This great horde of the Yetha was divided into several tribes, whereof the most powerful was that called in the Chinese annals Kwei-shwang. It acquired the supremacy over the other tribes, and gave its name to the kingdom of the Yetha. They are identical with the Kushâns. The great King Kanishka, who was converted to Buddhism and protected that faith was a Kushan. He reigned in the first century of the Christian era and ruled from Baktriana to



Kāśmir, and from the Oxus to Surāshtra. These Kushans of the Panjāb and the Indus are no others than the Indo-Skythians of the Greeks. In the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* they are called Sāka and Turushka (Turks). Their prosperity could not have been of very long duration, for the author of the *Periplus*, who wrote about half a century after Kanishka's time mentions that "Minnagar, the metropolis of Skythia, was governed by Parthian princes" and this statement is confirmed by Parthian coins being found everywhere in this part of the country. Max Müller, in noticing that the presence of Turanian tribes in India as recorded by Chinese historians is fully confirmed by coins and inscriptions and the traditional history of the country such as it is, adds that nothing attests the presence of these tribes more clearly than the blank in the Brahmanical literature of India from the first century before to the 3rd after our æra. He proposes therefore to divide Sanskrit literature into two—the one (which he would call the ancient and natural) *before*, and the other (which he would call the modern and artificial) *after* the Turanian invasion. In his Indo-Skythia Ptolemy includes Patalênê, Abiria and Syras-trênê. The name does not occur in Roman authors.

Patalênê, so called from its capital Patala, was the delta at the mouth of the Indus. It was not quite so large as the Egyptian delta with which the classical writers frequently compare it. Before its conquest by the Skythians it had been subject to the Græco-Baktrian kings. Its reduction to



their authority is attributed by Strabo (lib. XI, c. xii, 1) to Menander or to Dêmetrios, the son of Euthydêmos.

Abiria:—The country of the Abhîras (the Ahirs of common speech) lay to the east of the Indus, above where it bifurcates to form the delta. In Sanskrit works their name is employed to designate generally the pastoral tribes that inhabit the lower districts of the North-West as far as Sindh. That Abiria is the Ophir of Scripture is an opinion that has been maintained by scholars of eminence.

Syrastrênê represents the Sanskrit Surâshtra (the modern Sorath) which is the name in the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purânas* for the Peninsula of Gujarât. In after times it was called Valabhî. Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx) in his enumeration of the tribes of this part of India mentions the Horatae, who have, he says, a fine city, defended by marshes, wherein are kept man-eating crocodiles that prevent all entrance except by a single bridge. The name of this people is no doubt a corruption of Sorath. They have an inveterate propensity to sound the letter *S* as an *H*.

Ptolemy distributes into six groups the names of the 41 places which he specifies as belonging to the Indus valley and its neighbourhood. The towns of the second group indicate by their relative positions that they were successive stages on the great caravan route which ran parallel with the western bank of the river all the way from the Kôphês junction downward to the coast. The towns of the fourth group were in like manner



successive stages on another caravan route, that which on the eastern side of the river traversed the country from the great confluence with the combined rivers of the Panjâb downward to the Delta. The towns of the first group (5 in number) belonged to the upper part of the valley, and were situated near the Kôphês junction. They are mentioned in a list by themselves, as they did not lie on the great line of communication above mentioned. The third group consists of the two towns which were the chief marts of commerce in the Delta. The towns of the fifth group (7 in number) lay at distances more or less considerable from the eastern side of the Delta. The towns of the sixth group were included in the territory of the Khatriai, which extended on both sides of the river from its confluence with the Panjâb rivers as far as the Delta. None of them can now be identified (See *Étude*, pp. 234 sqq.) and of the first group—Artoarta, Sabana, Kodrana cannot be identified.

Andrapana:—Cunningham (p. 86) thinks this is probably Draband, or Derâband, near Dera-Ismail-Khân.

Banagara (for Bana-nagara):—Banna or Banu is often cited as the name of a town and a district that lay on the line of communication between Kâbul and the Indus. It was visited both by Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsiang. The former calls the country Po-na, i.e., Bana. The latter calls it Fa-la-na, whence Cunningham conjectures that the original name was Varana or Barna. It consisted of the lower half of the valley of the Kuram river, and was distant from Lamghân a

15 days' journey southward. It is one of the largest, richest and most populous districts to the west of the Indus.—(See *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 84-86).

57. And along the river :—

Embolima	124°	31°
Pentagramma	124°	30° 20'
Asigramma	123°	29° 30'
Tiausa	121° 30'	28° 50'
Aristobathra	120°	27° 30'
Azika	119° 20'	27°
58. Pardabathra	117°	23° 30'
Piska	116° 30'	25°
Pasipêda	114° 30'	24°
Sousikana	112°	22° 20'
Bônis	111°	21° 30'
Kôlaka	110° 30'	20° 40'

Embolima was situated on the Indus at a point about 60 miles above Atṭak, where the river escapes with great impetuosity from a long and narrow gorge, which the ancients mistook for its source. Here, on the western bank, rises the fort of Amb, now in ruins, crowning a position of remarkable strength, and facing the small town of Derbend, which lies on the opposite side of the river. The name of Amb suggested that it might represent the first part of the name of Emb-olima, and this supposition was raised to certitude when it was discovered that another ruin not far off, crowning a pinnacle of the same hill on which Amb is seated, preserves to this day in the tradition of the inhabitants the



name of Balimah. Embolima is mentioned by Arrian (lib. IV, c. xxvii) who represents it as situated at no great distance from the rock of Aornos—which as Abbott has shown, was Mount Mahâban, a hill abutting on the western bank of the Indus, about eight miles west from Embolima. It is called by Curtius Ecbolima (*Anab.* lib. VIII, c. xii) but he gives its position wrongly—at sixteen days' march from the Indus. Ptolemy assigns to it the same latitude and longitude which he assigns to the point where the Kâbul river and Indus unite. It was erroneously supposed that Embolima was a word of Greek origin from ἐκβολή, 'the mouth of a river' conf. Cunningham, *Geog. of Anc. Ind.*, pp. 52 ff.).

Pentagramma:—To the north of the Kôphês at a distance of about forty miles S.W. from Embolima is a place called Panjpur, which agrees closely both in its position and the signification of its name (5 towns) with the Pentagramma of Ptolemy.

Asigramma and the five towns that come after it cannot be identified.

Pasipêda:—Saint-Martin thinks this may be the Besmeid of the Arab Geographers, which, as they tell us was a town of considerable importance, lying east of the Indus on the route from Mansûra to Multân. Its name is not to be found in any existing map; but as the Arab itineraries all concur in placing it between Rond (now Roda) and Multân, at a three days' journey from the former, and a two days' journey from the latter, we may determine its situation to have been as far down the river as Mithankôt, where the great con-



fluence now takes place. If the fact that Besmeid was on the eastern side of the river staggers our faith in this identification, Saint-Martin would remind us that this part of the tables is far from presenting us with a complete or systematic treatment of the subject, and that the only way open to us of restoring some part at least of these lists is to have recourse to synonyms. He contends that when we find in the Arab itineraries (which are documents of the same nature precisely as those which Ptolemy made use of) names resembling each other placed in corresponding directions, we ought to attach more weight to such coincidences than to the contradictions real, or apparent, which present themselves in the text of our author. Analogous transpositions occur in other lists, as, for instance, in the list of places in the Narmadâ basin. Cunningham, thinking it strange that a notable place of great antiquity like Schwân, which he identifies with Sindomana, should not be mentioned by Ptolemy under any recognizable name, hazards the conjecture that it may be either his Piska or Pasipêda. "If we take," he says, "Haidarâbâd as the most probable head of the Delta in ancient times, then Ptolemy's Sydros, which is on the eastern bank of the Indus, may perhaps be identified with the old site of Mattali, 12 miles above Haidarâbâd and his Pasipêda with Sehwan. The identification of Ptolemy's Oskana with the Oxykanus or Portikanus of Alexander and with the great mound of Mahorta of the present day is I think almost certain. If so, either Piska or Pasipêda must be Schwân."

Sousikana:—It is generally agreed that this



is a corrupt reading for Musikanā, the royal city of Musikanos, who figures so conspicuously in the records of the Makedonian Invasion, and whose kingdom was described to Alexander as being the richest and most populous in all India. Cunningham (p. 257) identifies this place with Alôr, which was for many ages the capital of the powerful kingdom of Upper Sindh. Its ruins, as he informs us, are situated to the south of a gap in the low range of limestone hills which stretches southwards from Bakhar for about 20 miles until it is lost in the broad belt of sand-hills which bound the Nâra or old bed of the Indus on the west. Through this gap a branch of the Indus once flowed which protected the city on the north-west. To the north-east it was covered by a second branch of the river which flowed nearly at right angles to the other at a distance of three miles. When Alôr was deserted by the river, it was supplanted by the strong fort of Bakhar (p. 258). The same author thinks it probable that Alôr may be the Binagara of Ptolemy, as it is placed on the Indus to the eastward of Oskana, which appears to be the Oxykanus of Arrian and Curtius.

Bônîs:—The table places this at the point of bifurcation of the western mouth of the river and an interior arm of it. Arab geographers mention a town called Bania in Lower Sindh, situated at the distance of a single journey below Mansurâ. This double indication would appear to suit very well with Banna, which stands at the point where the Piniari separates from the principal arm about 25 miles above Thaptha. Its

position is however on the eastern bank of the river. (*Etude*, pp. 238, 239.)

Kôlaka or Kôlala is probably identical with the Krôkala of Arrian's *Indika* (sec. 21), which mentions it as a small sandy island where the fleet of Nearkhos remained at anchor for one day. It lay in the bay of Karâchi, which is situated in a district called Karkalla even now.

59. And in the islands formed by the river are these towns :—

Patala.....	112° 30'	21°
Barbarei.....	113° 15'	22° 30'

60. And east of the river at some distance therefrom are these towns :—

Xodrakê	116°	24°
Sarbana	116°	22° 50'
Auxoamis	115° 30'	22° 20'
Asinda	114° 15'	22°
Orbadarou or Ordabari.....	115°	22°
Theophila	114° 15'	21° 10'
Astakapra	114° 40'	20° 15'

Patala as we learn from Arrian was the greatest city in the parts of the country about the mouths of the Indus. It was situated, he expressly states, at the head of the Delta where the two great arms of the Indus dispart. This indication would of itself have sufficed for its identification, had the river continued to flow in its ancient channels. It has, however, frequently changed its course, and from time to time shifted the point of bifurcation. Hence the question regarding the site of Patala has occasioned much



controversy. Rennell and Vincent, followed by Burnes and Ritter, placed it at Thattah; Droysen, Benfey, Saint-Martin and Cunningham, at Haidarâbâd (the Nirankot of Arab writers), and McMurdo, followed by Wilson and Lassen, at a place about 90 miles to the north-east of Haidarâbâd. The last supposition is quite untenable, while the arguments in favour of Haidarâbâd, which at one time was called Pâtalapur²⁵ appear to be quite conclusive. (See Saint-Martin, pp. 180 ff., Cunningham, pp. 279—287). Patala figures conspicuously in the history of the Macedonian invasion. In its spacious docks Alexander found suitable accommodation for his fleet which had descended the Indus, and here he remained with it for a considerable time. Seeing how advantageously it was situated for strategy as well as commerce, he strengthened it with a citadel, and made it a military centre for controlling the warlike tribes in its neighbourhood. Before finally leaving India he made two excursions from it to the ocean, sailing first down the western and then down the eastern arm of the river. Pâtâla in Sanskrit mythology was the name of the lowest of the seven regions in the interior of the earth, and hence may have been applied to denote generally the parts where the sun descends into the under world, the land of the west, as in contrast to Prâchayaka, the land of the east. *Pâtâla* in Sanskrit means 'the

²⁵ "The Brahmans of Sehvn have stated to us that according to local legends recorded in their Sanskrit books Kaboul is the ancient *Chichapolapoura*; Multân, Prahlâdpur; Tattah, Déval, Haidarâbâd, Nêran, and more anciently Pâtalpuri." Dr. J. Wilson, *Journ. Bombay Asiat. Soc.*, vol. III, 1850, p. 77.



trumpet-flower," and Cunningham thinks that the Delta may have been so called from some resemblance in its shape to that of this flower. The classic writers generally spell the name as Pattala.

Barbarei.—The position of Barbarei, like that of Patala, has been the subject of much discussion. The table of Ptolemy places it to the north of that city, but erroneously, since Barbarei was a maritime port. It is mentioned in the *Periplus* under the name of Barbarikon, as situated on the middle mouth of the Indus. D'Anville in opposition to all the data placed it at Debal Sindhi, the great emporium of the Indus during the middle ages, or at Karachi, while Elliot, followed by Cunningham, placed it at an ancient city, of which some ruins are still to be found, called Bambhara, and situated almost midway between Karachi and Thatta on the old western branch of the river which Alexander reconnoitred. Burnes again, followed by Ritter, placed it at Richel, and Saint-Martin a little further still to the east at Bandar Vikkar on the Hajamari mouth, which has at several periods been the main channel of the river.

Xodrakê and Sarbana or Sardana.—As the towns in this list are given in their order from north to south, and as Astakapra, the most southern, was situated on the coast of the peninsula of Gujarât, right opposite the mouth of the river Narmadâ, the position of Xodrakê and the other places in the list must be sought for in the neighbourhood of the Raj of Kachh. Xodrakê and Sarbana have not been identified, but Yule doubt-

ingly places the latter on the Sambhar Lake. Lassen takes Xodrake to be the capital of the Xudraka, and locates it in the corner of land between the Vitastā and Chandrabhāgā (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 145).

Asinda, according to Saint-Martin, may perhaps be Sidhpur (Siddhapura), a town on the river Sarasvatī, which rising in the Âravallis empties into the Gulf of Kachh (pp. 246-247).

Auxoamis or *Axumis*:—The same authority would identify this with Sûmī, a place of importance and seat of a Muḥammadan chief, lying a little to the east of the Sarasvatī and distant about twenty-five miles from the sea. Yule however suggests that Ajmir may be its modern representation.

Orbadarou or *Ordabari*:—Yule doubtfully identifies this with Arbuda or Mount Abū, the principal summit of the Âravallis. Pliny mentions alongside of the *Horatae* (in Gujarāt) the *Odombœrae* which may perhaps be a different form of the same word. The name *Udumbara* is one well-known in Sanskrit antiquity, and designated a royal race mentioned in the *Harivaṃśa*.

Theophila:—This is a Greek compound meaning 'dear to God,' and is no doubt a translation of some indigenous name. Lassen has suggested that of Sardhur, in its Sanskrit form *Surādara*, which means 'adoration of the gods.' Sardhur is situated in a valley of the Rêvata mountains so celebrated in the legends of Kṛishṇa. Yule suggests Dewaliya, a place on the isthmus, which connects the peninsula with the mainland. Dr. Burgess, Thān, the chief town of a district



traditionally known as Deva-Pañchâl, lying a little further west than Dewaliya. Col. Watson writes:—"The only places I can think of for Theophila are—1. Gândi, the ancient Gundigaḍh, one and a half or two miles further up the Hathap river, of which city Hastakavapra was the port. This city was one of the halting-places of the Bhaunagar Brâhmanas ere they came to Gogha. It was no doubt by them considered dear to the gods. It was connected with Hastakavapra and was a city of renown and ancient. 2. Pardwa or Priyadêva, an old village, about four or five miles west of Hathap. It is said to have been contemporary with Valabhî, and there is an ancient Jain temple there, and it is said that the Jains of Gundigaḍh had their chief temple there. 3. Dêvagana, an ancient village at the foot of the west slopes of the Khôkras about 18 miles from Hâthap to the westward."

Astakapra:—This is mentioned in the *Periplus* (sec. 41), as being near a promontory on the eastern side of the peninsula which directly confronted the mouth of the Narmadâ on the opposite side of the gulf. It has been satisfactorily identified with Hastakavapra, a name which occurs in a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasêna I, of Valabhî, and which is now represented by Hathab near Bhavnagar. Bühler thinks that the Greek form is not derived immediately from the Sanskrit, but from an intermediate old Prakrit word Hastakampra. (See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, pp. 204, 314.

61. Along the river are these towns:—

Panasa	122° 30'	29°
Boudaia	121° 15'	28° 15'



Naagramma	120°	27°
Kamigara	119°	26° 20'
Binagara	118°	25° 20'
Parabali	116° 30'	24° 30'
Sydros	114°	21° 20'
Epitausea.....	113° 45'	22° 30'
Xeana.....	113° 30'	21° 30'

Panasa:—The table places Panasa one degree farther south than the confluence of the Zardros and the Indus. Ptolemy, as we have seen, egregiously misplaced this confluence, and we cannot therefore from this indication learn more than that Panasa must have been situated lower down the Indus than Pasipêda (Besmaïd) and Alexandria of the Malli which lay near the confluence. A trace of its name Saint-Martin thinks is preserved in that of Osanpur, a town on the left of the river, 21 miles below Mittankôt.

Boudaia:—According to Saint-Martin this is very probably the same place as a fort of Budhya or Bodhpur, mentioned in the Arab chronicles of the conquest of Upper Sindh and situated probably between Alôr and Mittankôt. Yule identifies it with Budhia, a place to the west of the Indus and south from the Bolan Pass.

Naagramma:—This Yule identifies with Naoshera, a place about 20 miles to the south of Besmaïd. Both words mean the same, 'new town.'

Kamigara:—The ruins of Arôr which are visible at a distance of four miles to the south-east of Kori, are still known in the neighbourhood under the name of Kaman. If to this word we add



the common Indian affix *nagar*—‘city,’ we have a near approach to the Kamigara of Ptolemy.

Binagara:—This some take to be a less correct form than *Minagara* given in the *Periplus*, where it is mentioned as the metropolis of Skythia, but under the government of Parthian princes, who were constantly at feud with each other for the supremacy. Its position is very uncertain. Cunningham would identify it with Alôr. Yule, following McMurdo, places it much further south near Brâhmanâbâd, which is some distance north from Haidarâbâd. The *Periplus* states that it lay in the interior above Barbarikon (sec. 38).

Xoana:—Yule suggests that this may be Sewana, a place in the country of the Bhaulingas, between the desert and the Arâvalis.

62. The parts east of Indo-Skythia along the coast belong to the country of *Larike*, and here in the interior to the west of the river Namados is a mart of commerce, the city of Barygaza $113^{\circ} 15'$ $17^{\circ} 20'$

63. To the east of the river:—

Agrinagara	$118^{\circ} 15'$	$22^{\circ} 30'$
Siripalla	$118^{\circ} 30'$	$21^{\circ} 30'$
Bammogoura.....	116°	$20^{\circ} 45'$
Sazantion	$115^{\circ} 30'$	$20^{\circ} 30'$
Zérogerei	$116^{\circ} 20'$	$19^{\circ} 50'$
Ozênê, the capital of Tias-		
tanés	117°	20°
Minagara	$115^{\circ} 10'$	$19^{\circ} 30'$
Tiatoura.....	$115^{\circ} 50'$	$18^{\circ} 50'$
Nasika	114°	17°



Larikê:—Lârdêsa was an early name for the territory of Gmjarât and the Northern Konkan. The name long survived, for the sea to the west of that coast was in the early Muḥammadan time called the sea of Lâr, and the language spoken on its shores was called by Mas'ûdi, Lâri (Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 353, n.). Ptolemy's Larikê was a political rather than a geographical division and as such comprehended in addition to the part of the sea-board to which the name was strictly applicable, an extensive inland territory, rich in agricultural and commercial products, and possessing large and flourishing towns, acquired no doubt by military conquest.

Barygaza, now Bharôch, which is still a large city, situated about 30 miles from the sea on the north side of the river Narmadâ, and on an elevated mound supposed to be artificial, raised about 80 feet above the level of the sea. The place is repeatedly mentioned in the *Periplus*. At the time when that work was written, it was the greatest seat of commerce in Western India, and the capital of a powerful and flourishing state. The etymology of the name is thus explained by Dr. John Wilson (*Indian Castes*, vol. II, p. 113): "The Bhârgavas derive their designation from Bhârgava, the adjective form of Bhrigu, the name of one of the ancient Rishis. Their chief habitat is the district of Bharôch, which must have got its name from a colony of the school of Bhrigu having been early established in this Kshêtra, probably granted to them by some conqueror of the district. In the name Barugaza given to it by Ptolemy, we have a



Greek corruption of Bhrigukshêtra (the territory of Bhrigu) or Bhrigukachha, 'the tongue-land' of Bhrigu." The illiterate Gujarâtis pronounce Bhrigukshêtra as Bargacha, and hence the Greek form of the name.

Agri-nagara:—This means 'the town of the Agri.' Yule places it at Âgar, about 30 miles to the N. E. of Ujjain.

Siripalla:—A place of this name (spelt Sêripala) has already been mentioned as situated where the Namados (Narmadâ) changes the direction of its course. Lassen therefore locates it in the neighbourhood of Haump, where the river turns to southward.

Bamogoura:—In Yule's map this is identified with Pavangurh, a hill to the north of the Narmadâ.

Sazantion:—This may perhaps be identical with Sajintra, a small place some distance north from the upper extremity of the Bay of Khambât.

Zêrogeri:—This is referred by Yule to Dhâr, a place S. W. of Ozênê, about one degree.

Ozênê:—This is a transliteration of Ujjayinî, the Sanskrit name of the old and famous city of Avantî, still called Ujjain. It was the capital of the celebrated Vikramâditya, who having expelled the Skythians and thereafter established his power over the greater part of India, restored the Hindû monarchy to its ancient splendour. It was one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindûs, and the first meridian of their astronomers. We learn from the *Mahavânâsa* that Aśoka, the grandson of Chandragupta (Sandrakottos) was sent by his father the king of



Pātaliputra (Patna) to be the viceroy of Ujjain, and also that about two centuries later (B.C. 95) a certain Buddhist high priest took with him 40,000 disciples from the Dakkhinagiri temple at Ujjain to Ceylon to assist there in laying the foundation stone of the great Dāgaba at Anurādhapura. Half a century later than this is the date of the expulsion of the Skythians by Vikramāditya, which forms the era in Indian Chronology called *Samvat* (57 B.C.) The next notice of Ujjain is to be found in the *Periplus* where we read (Sec. 48) "Eastward from Barygaza is a city called Ozēnē, formerly the capital where the king resided. From this place is brought down to Barygaza every commodity for local consumption or export to other parts of India, onyx-stones, porcelain, fine muslins, mallow-tinted cottons and the ordinary kinds in great quantities. It imports from the upper country through Proklais for transport to the coast, spikenard, kostos and bdellium." From this we see that about a century and a half after Vikramāditya's era Ujjain was still a flourishing city, though it had lost something of its former importance and dignity from being no longer the residence of the sovereign. The ancient city no longer exists, but its ruins can be traced at the distance of a mile from its modern successor. Ptolemy tells us that in his time Ozēnē was the capital of Tiastanēs. This name transliterates Chashtāna, one which is found on coins and the cave temple inscriptions of Western India. This prince appears probably to have been the founder of the Kshatrapa dynasty of Western India (see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. III, p. 171).



Minagara is mentioned in the *Periplus*, where its name is more correctly given as Minnagar, i.e., 'the city of the Min' or Skythians. This Minagara appears to have been the residence of the sovereign of Barygaza. Ptolemy places it about 2 degrees to the S. W. of Ozênê. Yule remarks that it is probably the Manekir of Mas'û-di, who describes it as a city lying far inland and among mountains. Benfey doubts whether there were in reality two cities of this name, and thinks that the double mention of Minnagar in the *Periplus* is quite compatible with the supposition that there was but one city so called. (*Indien*, p. 91).

Tiatoura:—This would transliterate with Chittur, which, however, lies too far north for the position assigned to Tiatoura. Yule suggests, but doubtingly, its identity with Chandur. This however lies much too far south.

Nasika has preserved its name unaltered to the present day, distant 116 miles N. E. from Bombay. Its latitude is 20° N., but in Ptolemy only 17° . It was one of the most sacred seats of Brâhmanism. It has also important Buddhistic remains, being noted for a group of rock-temples. The word *nasikâ* means in Sanskrit 'nose.'

64. The parts farther inland are possessed by the Poulindai Agriophagoi, and beyond them are the Khatriai oi, to whom belong these cities, lying some east and some west of the Indus:—

Nigranigramma.....	124°	$28^{\circ} 15'$
Antakhara	122°	$27^{\circ} 20'$
Soudasanna	123°	$26^{\circ} 50'$



Syrnisika	121°	26° 30'
Patistama	121°	25°
Tisapatinga	123°	24° 20'

The 'Poulindai' Agriophagoi are described as occupying the parts northward of those just mentioned. Pulinda is a name applied in Hindû works to a variety of aboriginal races. Agriophagoi is a Greek epithet, and indicates that the Pulinda was a tribe that subsisted on raw flesh and roots or wild fruits. In Yule's map they are located to the N. E. of the Ran of Kachh, lying between the Khatriaioi in the north and Larikê in the south. Another tribe of this name lived about the central parts of the Vindhya.

Khatriaioi:—According to Greek writers the people that held the territory comprised between the Hydraôtês (Râvi) and the Hyphasis (Biyas) were the Kathaioi, whose capital was Sangala. The *Mahâbhârata*, and the Pâli Buddhist works speak of Sangala as the capital of the Madras, a powerful people often called also the Bâhikas. Lassen, in order to explain the substitution of name, supposes that the mixture of the Madras with the inferior castes had led them to assume the name of Khattrias (Kshatriya, the warrior caste), in token of their degradation, but this is by no means probable. The name is still found spread over an immense area in the N. W. of India, from the Hindû-kôh as far as Bengal, and from Nêpâl to Gujarât, under forms slightly variant, Kathis, Kattis, Kathias, Kattris, Khattris, Khetars, Kattaour, Kattair, Kattaks, and others.

One of these tribes, the Kāthīs, issuing from the lower parts of the Panjāb, established themselves in Surāshtra, and gave the name of Kāthiāvad to the great peninsula of Gujarāt. (*Biude*, p. 104).

The six towns mentioned in section 64 can none of them be identified.

65. But again, the country between Mount Sardōnyx and Mount Bēttigō belongs to the Tabasoi, a great race, while the country beyond them as far as the Vindhya range, along the eastern bank of the Namados, belongs to the Prapiôtai, who include the Rhamnai, and whose towns are these :—

Kognabanda	120° 15'	23°
Ozoabis	120° 30'	23° 40'
Ostha	122° 30'	23° 30'
Kōsa, where are diamonds ...	121° 20'	22° 30'

Tabasoi is not an ethnic name, but designates a community of religious ascetics, and represents the Sanskrit *Tāpasās*, from *tapas* 'heat' or 'religious austerity.' The haunts of these devotees may be assigned to the valley of the Tāpti or Tāpi (the Nanagouna of Ptolemy) to the south of the more western portion of the Vindhyas that produced the sardonyx.

Prapiôtai:—Lassen locates this people, including the subject race called the Rhamnai, in the upper half of the Narmadā valley. From the circumstance that diamonds were found near Kōsa, one of their towns, he infers that their territory extended as far as the Upper Varadā, where diamond mines were known to have existed. Kōsa was probably situated in the



neighbourhood of Baital, north of the sources of the Tâpti and the Varadâ.

Rhamnai:—The name of this people is one of the oldest in Indian ethnography. Their early seat was in the land of the Ôreitai and Arabitai beyond the Indus, where they had a capital called Rhambakia. As they were connected by race with the Brahui, whose speech must be considered as belonging to the Dêkhan group of languages, we have here, says Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* vol. III, p. 174), a fresh proof confirming the view that before the arrival of the Aryans all India, together with Gedrôsia, was inhabited by the tribes of the same widely diffused aboriginal race, and that the Rhamnai, who had at one time been settled in Gedrôsia, had wandered thence as far as the Vindhya mountains. Yule conjectures that the Rhamnai may perhaps be associated with Râmagiri, now Râmték, a famous holy place near Nâgpûr. The towns of the Prapiôtai, four in number, cannot with certainty be identified.

66. About the Nanagouna are the Phyl-litai and the Bêttigoi, including the Kandaloï along the country of the Phyl-litai and the river, and the Ambastai along the country of the Bêttigoi and the mountain range, and the following towns:—

67. Agara	129° 20'	25°
Adeisathra	128° 30'	24° 30'
Soara	124° 20'	24°
Nygdosora	125°	23°
Anara	122° 30'	22° 20'



The Phyllitai occupied the banks of the Tapti lower down than the Rhamnai, and extended northward to the Sâtpura range. Lassen considers their name as a transliteration of Bhilla, with an appended Greek termination. The Bhills are a well-known wild tribe spread to this day not only on the Upper Narmadâ and the parts of the Vindhya chain adjoining, but wider still towards the south and west. In Ptolemy's time their seats appear to have been further to the east than at present. Yule thinks it not impossible that the Phyllitai and the Drilophyllitai may represent the Pulinda, a name which, as has already been stated, is given in Hindû works to a variety of aboriginal races. According to Caldwell (*Drav. Gram.*, p. 464) the name *Bhilla* (*vil, bil*) means 'a bow.'

Bêttigoi is the correct reading, and if the name denotes, as it is natural to suppose, the people living near Mount Bêttigô, then Ptolemy has altogether displaced them, for their real seats were in the country between the Koim-batur Gap and the southern extremity of the Peninsula.

Kandaloi:—Lassen suspects that the reading here should be Gondaloi, as the Gonds (who are nearly identical with the Khands) are an ancient race that belonged to the parts here indicated. Yule, however, points out that Kuntaladésa and the Kantalas appear frequently in lists and in inscriptions. The country was that, he adds, of which Kalyân was in after days the capital (Elliot, *Jour. R. As. S.* vol. IV, p. 3).

Ambastai:—These represent the Ambashtha



of Sanskrit, a people mentioned in the Epics, where it is said that they fought with the club for a weapon. In the *Laws of Manu* the name is applied to one of the mixed castes which practised the healing art. A people called Ambautai are mentioned by our author as settled in the east of the country of the Paropanisadai. Lassen thinks these may have been connected in some way with the Ambastai. Their locality is quite uncertain. In Yule's map they are placed doubtfully to the south of the sources of the Mahânadi of Orissa.

Of the four towns, Agara, Soara, Nygdosora and Anara, in section 67, nothing is known.

Adeisathra:—It would appear that there were two places in Ancient India which bore the name of Ahichhattra, the one called by Ptolemy Adisara (for Adisadra), and the other as here, Adeisathra. Adisara, as has been already shown, was a city of Rohilkhand. Adeisathra, on the other hand, lay near to the centre of India. Yule quotes authorities which seem to place it, he says, near the Vindhya or the Narmadâ. He refers also to an inscription which mentions it as on the Sindhu River, which he takes to be either the Kâli-sindh of Mâlwa, or the Little Kâli-sindh further west, which seems to be the Sindhu of the *Meghadûta*. Ptolemy, singularly enough, disjoins Adeisathra from the territory of the Adeisathroi, where we would naturally expect him to place it. Probably, as Yule remarks, he took the name of the people from some Pauranik ethnic list and the name of the city from a traveller's route, and thus failed to make them fall into proper relation to each other.



68. Between Mount Bättigô and Adeisathros are the Sôrainomads, with these towns :—

Sangamarta133° 21°

Sôra, the capital of Arkatos 130° 21°

69. Again to the east of the Vindhya range is the territory of the (Biolingaior) Bôlingai, with these towns :—

Stagabaza or Bastagaza133° 28° 30'

Bardaôtis137° 30' 28° 30'

Sôra designates the northern portion of the Tamiḷ country. The name in Sanskrit is Chôla, in Telugu Chola, but in Tamiḷ Sôra or Chôra. Sôra is called the capital of Arkatos. This must be an error, for there can be little doubt that Arkatos was not the name of a prince, but of a city, the Ârkâd of the present day. This is so suitably situated, Caldwell remarks, as to suggest at once this identification, apart even from the close agreement as far as the sound is concerned. The name is properly Âr-kâd, and means 'the six forests.' The Hindûs of the place regard it as an ancient city, although it is not mentioned by name in the *Purâṇas* (*Drav. Gram.*, Introd. pp. 95, 96). There is a tradition that the inhabitants of that part of the country between Madras and the Ghâts including Ârkâd as its centre were Kuṛumbars, or wandering shepherds, for several centuries after the Christian æra. Cunningham takes Arkatos to be the name of a prince, and inclines to identify Sôra with Zora or Jora (the Jorampur of the maps) an old town lying immediately under the walls of



Karnul. The Sôrai he takes to be the Suari (*Geog.* p. 547).

Biolingai or Bôlingai:—Ptolemy has transplanted this people from their proper seats, which lay where the Arâvali range slopes westward towards the Indus, and placed them to the east of the Vindhyas. He has left us however the means of correcting his error, for he makes them next neighbours to the Pôrvaroi, whose position can be fixed with some certainty. Pliny (lib. VI, c. xx) mentions the Bolingae and locates them properly. According to Pânini, Bhaulingi was the seat of one of the branches of the great tribe of the Śalvas or Śâlvas.

Stagabaza:—Yule conjectures this may be Bhôjapûr, which he says was a site of extreme antiquity, on the upper stream of the Bêtwa, where are remains of vast hydraulic works ascribed to a king Bhôja (*J. A. S. Beng.* vol. XVI, p. 740). To account for the first part of the name *staga* he suggests the query: Tatâka-Bhôja, the 'tank' or 'lake' of Bhoja?

Barda ôti:—This may be taken to represent the Sanskrit Bhadrâvatî, a name, says Yule, famed in the Epic legends, and claimed by many cities. Cunningham, he adds, is disposed to identify it with the remarkable remains (pre-Ptolemaic) discovered at Bharâod, west of Rêwâ.

70. Beyond these is the country of the Pôrouaroi with these towns:—

Bridama	134° 30'	27° 30'
Tholoubana	136° 20'	27°
Malaita	136° 30'	25° 50'

71. Beyond these as far as the Ouxentos range are the Adeisathroi with these towns:—

Maleiba	140°	27° 20'
Aspathis.....	138° 30'	25° 20'
Panassa	137° 40'	24° 30'
Sagêda, the Metropolis	133°	23° 30'
Balantipyrgon	136° 30'	23° 30'

Pôrouaroi (Pôrvaroï):—This is the famous race of the Pauravas, which after the time of Alexander was all predominant in Râjasthâna under the name of the Pramâras. The race figures conspicuously both in the legendary and real history of the North of India. It is mentioned in the hymns of the *Veda*, and frequently in the *Mahâbhârata*, where the first kings of the Lunar race are represented as being Pauravas that reigned over the realms included between the Upper Ganges and the Yamunâ. The later legends are silent concerning them, but they appear again in real history and with fresh distinction, for the gallant Pôros, who so intrepidly contended against Alexander on the banks of the Hydaspês, was the chief of a branch of the Paurava whose dominions lay to the west of that river, and that other Pôros who went on an embassy to Augustus and boasted himself to be the lord paramount of 600 vassal kings was also of the same exalted lineage. Even at the present day some of the noblest houses reigning in different parts of Râjasthân claim to be descended from the Pauravas, while the songs of the national bards still extol the vanished grandeur and the



power and glory of this ancient race. Saint-Martin locates the Pôrouaroi of the text in the west of Upper India, in the very heart of the Râjpât country, though the table would lead us to place them much farther to the east. In the position indicated the name even of the Pôrouaroi is found almost without alteration in the Purvar of the inscriptions, in the Pôravars of the Jain clans, as much as in the designation spread everywhere of Povars and of Pouârs, forms variously altered, but still closely approaching the classic Paurava (*Étude*, pp. 357 sqq.)

The names of the three towns assigned to the Pôrvaroi,—Bridama, Tholoubana and Malaita designate obscure localities, and their position can but be conjectured. Saint-Martin suggests that the first may be Dildana, the second Doblana, and the third Plaita, all being places in Râjputâna. Yule, however, for Bridama proposes Bardâwad, a place in a straight line from Indôr to Nimach, and for Malaita,—Maltaun; this place is in the British territory of Sagâr and Narmadâ, on the south declivity of the Naral Pass.

Adeisathroi:—It has already been pointed out that as Ptolemy has assigned the sources of the Khabêris (the Kâvêri) to his Mount Adeisathros, we must identify that range with the section of the Western Ghâts which extends immediately northward from the Koimbatur Gap. He places Adeisathros however in the central parts of India, and here accordingly we must look for the cities of the eponymous people. Five are mentioned, but Sagêda only, which was the metropolis, can be identified with some certainty. The name



represents the Sâkêta of Sanskrit. Sâkêta was another name for A y ô d h y â on the Sarayû, a city of vast extent and famous as the capital of the kings of the Solar race and as the residence for some years of Sâkyamuni, the founder of Buddhism. The Sagêda of our text was however a different city, identified by Dr. F. Hall with Têwar, near Jabalpûr, the capital of the Chêdi, a people of Bandêlakhand renowned in Epic poetry. Cunningham thinks it highly probable that the old form of the name of this people was Changêdi and may be preserved in the Sagêda of Ptolemy and in the Chi-ki-tho of Hiuen Tsiang in Central India, near the Narmadâ. He says:—
“The identification which I have proposed of Ptolemy’s Sagêda Metropolis with Chêdi appears to me to be almost certain. In the first place, Sagêda is the capital of the Adeisathroi which I take to be a Greek rendering of Hayakshêtra or the country of the Hayas or Haihayas. It adjoins the country of the Bêttigoi, whom I would identify with the people of Vakâ-
ṭaka, whose capital was Bhândak. One of the towns in their country, situated near the upper course of the Sôn, is named Balantipyrgon, or Balampyrgon. This I take to be the famous Fort of Bândogarh, which we know formed part of the Chêdi dominions. To the north-east was Panassa, which most probably preserves the name of some town on the Parnâsâ or Banâs River, a tributary which joins the Sôn to the north-east of Bândogarh. To the north of the Adeisathroi, Ptolemy places the Pôrouraroi or Parihârs, in their towns named Tholoubana, Bridama, and Malaita. The



first I would identify with Boriban (Bahuriband) by reading Oöloubana or Voloubana. The second must be Bilhâri; and the last may be Lameta, which gives its name to the Ghât on the Narmadâ, opposite Têwar, and may thus stand for Tripura itself. All these identifications hold so well together, and mutually support each other, that I have little doubt of their correctness." *Archæolog. Surv. of Ind.* vol. IX, pp. 55—57.

Panassa:—This in Yule's map is doubtfully placed at Panna, a decaying town in Bandelakhand with diamond mines in the neighbourhood. In the same map Baland is suggested as the representative of Balantipyrgon.

72. Farther east than the Adeisathroit towards the Ganges are the Mandalai with this city:—

Asthagoura	142°	25°
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73. And on the river itself these towns:—

Sambalaka	141°	29° 30'
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Sigalla	142°	28°
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Palimbothra, the Royal resi-

dence	143°	27°
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Tamalîtês	144° 30'	26° 30'
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Oreophanta	146° 30'	24° 30'
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74. In like manner the parts under Mount Bâtigô are occupied by the Brakhmanai Magoi as far as the Batai with this city:—

Brakhmê	128°	19°
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75. The parts under the range of Adeisathros as far as the Arouraioi are occupied by the Badiamaioi with this city:—

Tathilba	134°	18° 50'
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76. The parts under the Ouxentos range are occupied by the Drilophyllitai, with these cities:—

Sibrion	139°	22° 20'
Opotoura	137° 30'	21° 40'
Ozoana	138° 15'	20° 30'

Mandalai:—The territory of the Mandalai lay in that upland region where the Sôn and the Narmadâ have their sources. Here a town situated on the latter river still bears the name Mandalâ. It is about 50 miles distant from Jabalpûr to the south-east, and is of some historic note. Ptolemy has, however, assigned to the Mandalai dominions far beyond their proper limits, for to judge from the towns which he gives them they must have occupied all the right bank of the Ganges from its confluence with the Jamnâ downwards to the Bay of Bengal. But that this is improbable may be inferred from the fact that Palimbothra (Pâtṇâ) which the table makes to be one of their cities, did not belong to them, but was the capital of Prasiakê, which, as has already been remarked, is pushed far too high up the river. Tamalitês, moreover, which has been satisfactorily identified with Tamluk, a river port about 35 miles S. W. from Calcutta possessed, according to Wilford, a large territory of its own. The table also places it only half a degree more to the southward than Palimbothra, while in reality it is more than 3 or 4 deg. Cunningham inclines to identify with the Mandalai the Mundas of Chutia Nâgpur, whose language and country, he says, are called



Mundala, and also with the Malli of Pliny (lib. VI. c. xxi.)—*Anc. Geog. of Ind.*, pp. 508, 509.

Sambalaka:—A city of the same name attributed to Prasiakê (sec. 53) has been already identified with Sambhal in Rohilkhand. The Sambalaka of the Mandalai may perhaps be Sambhalpur on the Upper Mahânadî, the capital of a district which produces the finest diamonds in the world.

Sigalla:—This name has a suspicious likeness to Sagala, the name of the city to the west of Lâhor, which was besieged and taken by Alexander, and which Ptolemy has erroneously placed in Prasiakê (sec. 53).

Palimbothra:—The more usual form of the name is Palibothra, a transcription of Pâliputra, the spoken form of Pâṭaliputra, the ancient capital of Magadha, and a name still frequently applied to the city of Pâṭnâ which is its modern representative. In the times of Chandragupta (the Sandrokkottos of the Greeks) and the kings of his dynasty, Palibothra was the capital of a great empire which extended from the mouths of the Ganges to the regions beyond the Indus. Remains of the wooden wall by which the city, as we learn from Strabo, was defended, were discovered a few years ago in Pâṭnâ (by workmen engaged in digging a tank) at a depth of from 12 to 15 feet below the surface of the ground. Palimbothra, as we have noticed, did not belong to the Mandalai but to the Prasioi.

Tamalitês represents the Sanskrit Tâmlra-lîpti, the modern Tamluk, a town lying in a low



and damp situation on a broad reach or bay of the Rāpnārāyan River, 12 miles above its junction with the Hughli mouth of the Ganges. The Pāli form of the name was Tāmalitti, and this accounts for the form in Greek. Pliny mentions a people called Taluctae belonging to this part of India, and the similarity of the name leaves little doubt of their identity with the people whose capital was Tamluk. This place, in ancient times, was the great emporium of the trade between the Ganges and Ceylon. We have already pointed out how wide Ptolemy was of the mark in fixing its situation relatively to Palimbothra.

Brakḥmanai Magoi:—Mr. J. Campbell has suggested to me that by Brakḥmanai Magoi may be meant 'sons of the Brāhman,' that is, Canarese Brāhman, whose forefathers married women of the country, the word *magoi* representing the Canarese *maga*, 'a son.' The term, he says, is still in common use, added to the name of castes, as Haiga-Makalu (*makalu*—plural of *maga*) i.e. Haiga Brāhman. Lassen supposed that Ptolemy, by adding *Magoi* to the name of these Brāhman, meant to imply either that they were a colony of Persian priests settled in India, or that they were Brāhman who had adopted the tenets of the Magi, and expresses his surprise that Ptolemy should have been led into making such an unwarrantable supposition. The country occupied by these Brāhman was about the upper Kāvêri, and extended from Mount Bêttigò eastward as far as the Batai.

Brakḥmê:—"Can this," asks Caldwell, "be Brahmadêsam, an ancient town on the Tāmra-



parni, not far from the foot of the Podigei Mount (Mt. Bêttigô) which I have found referred to in several ancient inscriptions?"

Badiamaioi:—There is in the district of Belgaum a town and hill-fort on the route from Kalâdgi to Balâri, not far from the Mâlprabhâ, a tributary of the Krishnâ, called Badâmi, and here we may locate the Bâdiamai. Tathilba, their capital, cannot be recognized.

Drilophyllitai:—These are placed by Ptolemy at the foot of the Ouxentos, and probably had their seats to the south-west of that range. Their name indicates them to have been a branch of the Phyllitai, the Bhills, or perhaps Pulindas. Lassen would explain the first part of their name from the Sanskrit *dr̥idha* (strong) by the change of the *dh* into the liquid. *Ozoana*, one of their three towns is, perhaps, Seoni, a place about 60 miles N. E. from Nâgpur.

77. Further east than these towards the Ganges are the Kokkonagai with this city:—

Dôsara $142^{\circ} 30'$ $22^{\circ} 30'$

78. And on the river farther west:—

Kartinaga 146° 23°

Kartasina 146° $21^{\circ} 40'$

79. Under the Maisôloi the Salakênnoi towards the Oroudian (or Arouraian) Mountains with these cities:—

Bênagouron 140° $20^{\circ} 15'$

Kastra 138° $19^{\circ} 30'$

Magaris $137^{\circ} 30'$ $18^{\circ} 20'$



80. Towards the Ganges River the Sabarai, in whose country the diamond is found in great abundance, their towns are :—

Tasopion	140° 30'	22°
Karikardama.....	141°	20° 15'

81. All the country about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridai with this city :—

Gangô, the Royal residence...	146°	19° 15'
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Kokkonagai:—Lassen locates this tribe in Chutia Nâgpur, identifying Dôsara with Doesâ in the hill country, between the upper courses of the Vaitarani and Suvarnarêkha. He explains their name to mean the people of the mountains where the *lôka* grows,—*kôka* being the name of a kind of palm-tree. Yule suggests that the name may represent the Sanskrit Kâkamukha, which means 'crow-faced,' and was the name of a mythical race. He places them on the Upper Mahânadi and farther west than Lassen. The table gives them two towns near the Ganges.

Kartinaga and Kartasina :—The former, Yule thinks, may be Karnagarh near Bhâgalpur, perhaps an ancient site, regarding which he refers to the *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. XVIII, p. 395; Kartasina he takes to be Karnasônagarh, another ancient site near Berhampur (*J. R. A. S. N. S.*, vol. VI, p. 248 and *J. As. S. Beng.*, vol. XXII, p. 281).

Salakênôï :—This people may be located to the west of the Gôdâvarî, inland on the north-western borders of Maisôlia. Their name, Lassen



thought (*Ind. Alt.*, vol. III, p. 176) might be connected with the Sanskrit word *Sāla*, the Sāl tree. Yule suggests that it may represent the Sanskrit Saurikirṇa. None of their towns can be recognized.

Sabarai:—The Sabarai of Ptolemy Cunningham takes to be the Suari of Pliny, and he would identify both with the aboriginal Śavaras or Suars, a wild race who live in the woods and jungles without any fixed habitations, and whose country extended as far southward as the Pennār River. These Śavaras or Suars are only a single branch of a widely spread race found in large numbers to the S. W. of Gwalior and Narwar and S. Rājputāna, where they are known as Surrius. Yule places them farther north in Dōsarêṇê, towards the territory of Sambhalpur, which, as we have already remarked, produced the finest diamonds in the world. Their towns have not been identified.

Gangaridai:—This great people occupied all the country about the mouths of the Ganges. Their capital was Gangê, described in the *Periplus* as an important seat of commerce on the Ganges. They are mentioned by Virgil (*Georg.* III, l. 27), by Valerius Flaccus (*Argon.* lib. VI, l. 66), and by Curtius (lib. IX, c. ii) who places them along with the Pharrasii (Prasii) on the eastern bank of the Ganges. They are called by Pliny (lib. VI, c. lxy) the Gangaridae Calingae, and placed by him at the furthest extremity of the Ganges region, as is indicated by the expression *gens novissima*, which he applies to them. They must have been a powerful people, to judge from the military force



which Pliny reports them to have maintained, and their territory could scarcely have been restricted to the marshy jungles at the mouth of the river now known as the Sundarbans, but must have comprised a considerable portion of the province of Bengal. This is the view taken by Saint-Martin. Bengal, he says, represents, at least in a general way, the country of the Gangaridae, and the city which Pliny speaks of as their capital, Parthalis can only be Vardhana, a place which flourished in ancient times, and is now known as Bardhwan. The name of the Gangaridai has nothing in Sanskrit to correspond with it, nor can it be a word, as Lassen supposed, of purely Greek formation, for the people were mentioned under this name to Alexander by one of the princes in the North-west of India. The synonymous term which Sanskrit fails to supply is found among the aboriginal tribes belonging to the region occupied by the Gangaridai, the name being preserved almost identically in that of the Gonghris of S. Bahâr, with whom were connected the Gaugayis of North-western, and the Gangrâr of Eastern Bengal, these designations being but variations of the name which was originally common to them all.

G a n g ê :—Various sites have been proposed for Gangê. Heeren placed it near Duliapur, a village about 40 miles S. E. of Calcutta on a branch of the Isamati River; Wilford at the confluence of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, where, he says, there was a town called in Sanskrit Hastimalla, and (in the spoken dialect) Hâthimalla, from elephants being picquetted there; Murray at



Chittagong; Taylor on the site of the ancient Hindu Capital of Bauga (Bengal) which lies in the neighbourhood of Sonargâon (Suvarnagrâma), a place 12 miles to the S. E. of Dhakka; Cunningham at Jêsor; and others further west, near Calcutta, or about 30 miles higher up the Hughli, somewhere near Chinsurâ. Another Gangê is mentioned by Artemidoros above or to the N. W. of Palibothra, and this Wilford identifies with Prayâg, i.e., Allahâbâd, but Groskurd with Anupshahr.

Ptolemy now leaves the Gangetic regions and describes the inland parts of the territories along the Western Coast of the Peninsula.

82. In the parts of Ariakê which still remain to be described are the following inland cities and villages: to the west of the Bênda these cities:—

Malippala	119° 30'	20° 15'
Sarisabis	119° 30'	20°
Tagara	118°	19° 20'
Baithana (the royal seat of [Siro])		
Ptolemaios or Polemaios)...	117°	18° 30'
Deopali or Deopala	115° 40'	17° 50'
Gamaliba	115° 15'	17° 20'
Omênogara	114°	16° 20'

83. Between the Bênda and Pseudostomos:

Nagarouris (or Nagarouraris)	120°	20° 15'
Tabasô	121° 30'	20° 40'
Indê	123°	20° 45'
Tiripangalida,.....	121° 15'	19° 40'



Hippokoura, the royal seat of

Baleokouros	119° 45'	19° 10'
Souboutton.....	120° 15'	19° 10'
Sirimalaga	119° 20'	18° 30'
Kalligeris	118°	18°
Modogoulla	119°	18°
Petirgala	117° 45'	17° 15'
Banaouasei.....	116°	16° 45'

Seven cities are enumerated in *Ariakê*, as lying to the west of the *Bênda*, and regarding four of these, *Malippala*, *Sarisabis*, *Gamaliba* and *Omênogara*, nothing is known. The *Periplus* (sec. 51) notices *Tagara* and *Baithana* in a passage which may be quoted: "In *Dakhinabades* itself there are two very important seats of commerce, *Paithana* towards the south of *Barygaza*, from which it is distant a twenty days' journey, and eastward from this about a ten days' journey is another very large city, *Tagara*. From these marts goods are transported on waggons to *Barygaza* through difficult regions that have no road worth calling such. From *Paithana* great quantities of onyx-stones and from *Tagara* large supplies of common cotton-cloth, muslins of all kinds, mallow-tinted cottons and various other articles of local production imported into it from the maritime districts."

Baithana is the *Paithana* of the above extract, and the *Paithân* of the present day, a town of *Haidarâbâd*, or the territory of the *Nizam*, on the left bank of the river *Gôdâvari*, in latitude 19° 29' or about a degree further north than it is placed by *Ptolemy*. *Paithana* is the *Prâkrit* form



of the Sanskrit *Pratishṭhāna*, the name of the capital of Śālivāhana. Ptolemy calls it the capital of Siroptolemaios or Siropolemaios, a name which represents the Sanskrit Śrī-Pulômāvit, the Pulumāyi of the Nasik Cave and Amarāvati Stūpa Inscriptions, a king of the great Andhra dynasty.

Tagara :—The name is found in inscriptions under the form *Tagarapura* (*J. R. A. S.* vol. IV, p. 34). Ptolemy places it to the north-east of Baithana and the *Periplūs*, as we see from the extract, to the east of it at the distance of a ten days' journey. Wilford, Vincent, Mannert, Ritter and others take it to be Dēvagadh, now Daulatābād, which was the seat of a sovereign even in 1293, and is situated not far from Ēlura, so famous for its excavated temples. But if Baithana be Paithan, Tagara cannot be Dēvagadh, unless the distance is wrongly given. There is, moreover, nothing to show that Dēvagadh was connected with the Tagarapura of the inscriptions. Pandit Bhagvānlāl identified Tagara with Junnar, a place of considerable importance, situated to the north of Pūnā. He pointed out that the Sanskrit name of Tagara was Trigiri a compound meaning 'three hills,' and that as Junnar stood on a high site between three hills this identification was probably correct. Junnar however lies to the westward of Paithan. Yule places Tagara at Kulburga, which lies to the south-east of Paithan, at a distance of about 150 miles, which would fairly represent a ten days' journey, the distance given in the *Periplūs*. Grant Duff would identify it with a place near Bhîr on the Gôdāvarî, and Fleet with Kolhâpur. The Silahâra



princes or chiefs who formed three distinct branches of a dynasty that ruled over two parts of the Konkan and the country about Kolhâpur style themselves, 'The Lords of the excellent city of Tagara.' If, says Prof. Bhandârkar, the name of Tagara has undergone corruption, it would take the form, according to the laws of Prâkrit speech, of Târur or Têrur, and he therefore asks 'can it be the modern Dârur or Dhârur in the Nizam's dominions, 25 miles east of Grant Duff's Blîr, and 70 miles S. E. of Paithan?' (see Muller's *Geog. Græc. Minor.* vol. I, p. 294, n.; Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 223; Burgess, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.* vol. III, p. 54; and *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. XIII, pt. ii, p. 423, n.). Mr. Campbell is of opinion that the maritime districts from which local products were brought to Tagara and thence exported to Barygaza, lay on the coast of Bengal, and not on the Konkan coast, from which there was easy transit by sea to the great northern emporium in the Gulf of Khambât, while the transit by land through Tagara could not be accomplished without encountering the most formidable obstacles.

Deopali:—This name means 'the city of God,' and Deopali may therefore perhaps be Dêvagadh, the two names having the same meaning.

Tabasô:—This would seem to be a city of the Tabasoi, already mentioned as a large community, of Brâhman ascetics.

Hippokoura:—A town of this name has already been mentioned as a seaport to the south of Simylla. This Hippokoura lay inland, and was