STUDIES IN
THE GEOGRAPHY OF
ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

By
D. C. SIRCAR,
M.A., Ph.D., F.A.

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
DELHI :: PATNA :: VARANASI
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

1960

Rs. 15/-

Copies available at:

1. Motilal Banarsidass, Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar,
   Post Box 1586, Delhi-6.
2. Motilal Banarsidass, Nepali Khapra, Post Box 75,
   Varanasi.
Dedicated to
the Memory of my Teacher
the Late Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri
to whom I owe my interest in the
study of Ancient Indian Geography
FOREWORD

Out of the papers I have published in various periodicals, a fairly large number deal with problems relating to the geography of ancient and medieval India. Since some of these were prescribed by a few Universities for the post-graduate students in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, my friends were pressing me for a long time to publish the important among my geographical studies in the form of a monograph so that they might be easily available to the students of the subject. The present volume is the outcome of the request. My thanks are due to the celebrated publishers, Messrs. Motilal Banarsidass, who kindly offered to publish the book.

A few of my geographical studies have been excluded from the volume for particular reasons. A notable omission is the Śākta Pithas which is a religio-geographical study originally published in the Journal of the [Royal] Asiatic Society [of Bengal], Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 1-108. It has been excluded because it is a rather lengthy dissertation and also because copies are available in the market.

Many of the chapters of the present volume were published as independent discussions of particular topics. But, in some of them, more than one article have been brought together. This is particularly the case when different aspects of a problem were discussed on different occasions, especially in the course of controversies. In a few cases, discussions on more problems than one have also been clubbed together for the sake of the facility of presentation. Thus about 30 articles, published during the period of about quarter of a century since 1935, have been presented in the book in the twenty-two Chapters and two Appendices. The sources of the papers
incorporated in the different Chapters of the book and the Appendices are indicated below:


XII—P. V. Kane Presentation Volume, Poona Oriental Series, Poona, 1941, pp. 469 ff.


In presenting this work to the students of early Indian geography, I am painfully conscious of a few of its shortcomings. The foremost of these is that the book does not contain any map. This is partly due to my pre-occupations and partly to certain practical difficulties. I also feel that, extremely busy as I am, I may have failed to make the work as free from errors and blemishes as I very much liked to do. For such defects, I only crave the indulgence and sympathy of the readers. If my attention is drawn to serious errors, I shall no doubt try to correct them in the next edition. Some such mistakes have already been corrected in the Addenda et Corrigenda.
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Chakravarti-kṣetra</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Puranic List of Peoples</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Puranic List of Rivers</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Account of Fifty-six Countries</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Gauḍa</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Bengal</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. Orissa</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Daśārṇa, Aśmaka and Kuntala</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Gūjara and Kuśa-dvīpa</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. Sākṣāt-Sākṣāt-Sākhāt</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. Gaṅgā</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. Vāhlika and Vāhika</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIII. Malaya and Mahiṣa</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV. Kṛmilā</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV. Caurāśī</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI. Gonarda</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII. Kokāmukha</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII. Gayā</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIX. Udabhāṇḍa</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX. Dacca</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXI. Kālapriya and Brahmaśilā</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXII. Cartography</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix I—Kandhārapura</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix II—Kākandinagarī</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addenda et Corrigenda</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CAKRAVARTI-ΚΣΕΤΡΑ

1. A Hyperbolic and Conventional Element in the Description of Indian Rulers.

It is well known that the poets at the courts of medieval Indian rulers often grossly exaggerated the achievements and status of their patrons. Sometimes even a small landlord enjoying the right of collecting taxes from a few villages only was endowed with epithets befitting an emperor. Thus several manuscripts copied about the beginning of the 18th century for Rājānārāyaṇa, the insignificant zamindar of Kāśijorā in the Midnapur District, West Bengal, represent the landlord as दोर्दशा-प्रवर्तक-प्रताप-परम, प्रवर्तकप्रतापजनितराजाधिराज and महाराजाधिराज.¹

To illustrate the tendency to exaggerate in the court poets of the early-medieval kings of India, one may refer to the description of Candella Dhaṅga (c. 950-1002 A. D.) in an inscription from Khajuraho.²

It is implied that the Candella king crushed the rulers of Kānci, Andhra, Rādhā and Aṅga and had the queens of the defeated monarchs imprisoned in his capital. The claim is, however, absurd on the face of it. In the first place, it is extremely doubtful whether Dhaṅga at all came into conflict with the four kings mentioned, even if we take the rulers of Aṅga and Rādhā to have been merely viceroys of the mighty Pāla emperor of Eastern India. Secondly, if Dhaṅga actually came into con-


² Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 145, verse 46:

का तथा कांचीनपतिनिता का लवणप्राप्ति
का तथा राजायप्रवर्तकविधु: का लवणप्रतिती ।
इत्यादाप्रायम: समरभवानी यथा सैनिप्रियांतो
कारागारे रजलनायनदीवरणां बमु: ॥
flict with the above-mentioned kings, it is more doubtful that he came off victorious in all the four cases. Thirdly, even if he may have succeeded in defeating the four kings, it is really impossible to think that he succeeded also in carrying off their wives. Fourthly, supposing that he actually captured the queens of Kãñcã, Andhra, Râdhâ and Aûga, he would have naturally placed them in his own harem instead of his prison.

It may, however, be admitted that such hopeless exaggeration is less noticeable in the description of the Indian rulers of the earlier period of history. For this reason, the earlier the king is, the greater is our reliance in his claims, in spite of the obvious fact that there is always a considerable amount of exaggeration in the royal pralastis composed by the court poets of Indian monarchs. But definite statements such as the mention of the personal names of adversaries are generally more trustworthy than vague claims. Whatever be the nature of exaggeration, there is certainly an amount of truth in the claims put forward in such records as the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Tirumalai inscription of Râjendrachola I.

Although exaggeration with reference to the achievements of Indian kings is a remarkable feature of royal pralastis of the medieval period, it is by no means absent even in the earliest records, both literary and epigraphic. There are the following two gãthãs in the Satapatha-Brahmana, XIII, 5, 4. 11 and 13:

(1) अदिकृतस्तविति भरती दीपविनयमुनानु गस्त्राया वृंगमेधवधात्
प्रमुखायानात् हृदानु हृदि ।

(2) परसहस्रानिनिन्त्रायहक्तानु मेधानाथ य
बाहुरु विजित्य पृथिवीं सर्वभिषिति ।

According to the first gãthã, Bharata, son of Dusyanta, performed seventy-eight Ashvamedhas on the Yamuna and fiftyfive on the Ganga, i.e. one hundred and thirtyfive horse-sacrifices in all. But according to the second gãthã, Bharata celebrated more than one thousand Ashvamedhas after having conquered the whole earth. Critics can hardly fail to note the difference between the definite nature of the statements in the first gãthã and the vagueness of the number.

2. Dusyanta is an older form of Dusyanta.
more than one thousand’ and of the expression ‘after having conquered the whole earth’ in the second gāihā.

In connection with the tradition regarding Bharata’s conquest of the whole earth, attention may be drawn to the Purānic legends according to which the dominions of Bharata and his descendants, the Bhāratas, extended over that tract in the south of Jambudvīpa, which later came to be called Bhāratavarṣa after that monarch.1 Again, the great Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.) claims in the Dhauli version of his Fifth Rock Edict to have employed the Superintendents of the Religious Department, called Dharma-mahāmātra, throughout the earth (sava-pathaviyam), although all the other versions of the above Rock Edict read sarvatra vijīte (i.e. everywhere in the dominions of Aśoka) in that context.2 It is interesting to note in this connection that Aśoka’s Minor Rock Edict I seems to refer to his empire as Jambudvīpa while he is described in Buddhist tradition as a Deva-cakravartin, i.e. the ruler of the entire Jambudvīpa.3 As is well known, Aśoka’s empire included India with the exception of Assam and certain small kingdoms to the south of Mysore but together with parts of Afghanistan, and was no doubt only a small portion of the earth. In the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., the Gupta emperors, who held sway over the major part of Northern India but succeeded in extend-

1. Cf. Mahābhārata, I, ch. 73, 131; Vaiś., ch. 45, 76; Vaiś., II, 3, 1. There are diverse traditions regarding the origin of the name Bhāratavarṣa. According to many of the Purāṇas, it was derived from Bharata, son of Raabha and grandson of Nābhi who was a descendant of Vaivasvata Manu (Bhāgavata, XI, 2, 15 ff.; Brahmāṇḍa, 34, 44; etc.). In certain Purānic passages (Malviya, 114, 5; Brahmāṇḍa, 49, 10), however, the name Bhāratavarṣa is said to have been derived from Bharata which was just a second name of Manu himself. But the Bhārata-paṇḍu, Bhārata-santra, etc., of the Purānic passages appear to refer to the Bhārata people (probably the Bharatas of the Vedic literature; cf. Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, p. 79) represented clearly as the descendants of Bharata Dausyanti in the Mahābhārata. Traditions, moreover, represent Bharata Dausyanti as a cakravartin or stārabhauma, i.e. a universal monarch or emperor (Mahābhārata, I, 73, 129; cf. Bhāgavata, IX, 20, 33).
3. Ibid., p. 50; Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, s.v. Aśoka.
ing their political influence over parts of Southern India as well claimed to have either conquered or ruled over 'the whole earth'. Thus the prosperity of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) is mentioned as sarva-prthivi-vijaya-janita; they them insister of Candragupta II (c. 376-414 A.D.), who accompanied his master in the latter's campaign against the Sakas of Malwa, describes the monarch as having the aim of krtsa-prthivi-jaya; Kumāragupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.) is said to have ruled over the prthivi that was encircled by the four seas; Skandagupta (c. 455-67 A.D.) is described as the conqueror of the whole earth (prthiviin sama- grām); and Budhagupta (c. 576-95 A.D.) is represented as the ruler of the earth.

Although often the word 'earth' was used to indicate the dominions even of a petty ruler, the expression 'whole earth' was used to signify the kingdom of an imperial, or at least an independent, monarch.

2. Imperial Rulers of India and their Sphere of Influence.

The word sākra-vaartin means an imperial ruler, often also called samrāt (literally 'paramount ruler'), eka-chahira (literally, 'one who alone enjoys the umbrella or the insignia of sovereignty'), or sarvabhauma which literally means 'the ruler of all land (i.e. the whole earth)' but actually indicates a paramount ruler of a territory without owing allegiance to any overlord. The literal meaning of sākra-vaartin is likewise 'one rolling everywhere without obstruction' or 'a ruler, the wheels of who sechariot roll everywhere without obstruction'. Two types of this class of rulers are indicated by the words diśām-pati, i.e. 'the ruler of the quarters', and dig-vijayin, i.e. 'the conqueror of the quarters', the word diś being used to signify the territories lying in all the four sides of the capital or original kingdom of the monarch in question. The distinction between the dig-vijayin, i.e. the ruler who acquired an empire by means of conquest, and the

2. Ibid., p. 272.
3. Ibid., p. 293.
4. Ibid., p. 301.
5. Ibid., p. 323.
diśam-pati, i.e. one who inherited an empire from his forefathers is, however, not clearly maintained in literature. According to the Kautūliya Arthaśāstra ‘the land which extends north to south from the Himālaya to the sea and measures east to west a thousand yojanas is the kṣetra (i.e. the sphere of influence) of a cakravartin (i.e. an imperial ruler of India)’. Rājaśekhara’s Kāvyamimāṁsā says that a samrāṭ (practically the same as a cakravartin) is one who conquers the whole land from the southern sea (the Indian Ocean) to the Himavat (Himālaya). In the same breath, Rājaśekhara also says that the sphere of influence of a cakravartin is the land measuring one thousand yojanas and lying between Kumāripura (Cape Comorin) and Bindusaras (in the Himālayas according to the Purāṇas) and that the conqueror of the above kṣetra is a cakravartin. Thus the sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler was the Purāṇic Bhāratavarṣa which is described as lying between the Himālaya and the sea (Himālayādā samudram) or as ‘bounded in the south, west and east by the sea and in the north by the Himavat resembling the string of a bow’. This land

1. Three classes of the cakravartins are mentioned in Pali literature, viz. (1) cakravāla-cakravartin, (2) dhīpa-cakravartin and (3) pradella-cakravartin. The first is the ruler of all the four doṣas or continents constituting the earth according to the Buddhists, the second of only one of the doṣas and the third merely of a portion of a doṣa. The classification is, however, apparently theoretical.

2. IX, 1: देश: पूर्विक। तस्यां हिमवत्समुदान्तरसङ्कीर्तिनः योजनसहस्रपरिमाणमितियत्क चक्रवर्तिनः

3. G. O. S. ed., p. 92: ततेवं भारतं वर्षम्। अस्य च नव भेदं। इन्द्रियप: कसायम्, ताक्षरणिः गम्भिरिमान् नागाधीपि सौम्य गन्धवर्षा वषाः। कुमारीभद्रवार्य नवम:। भूचक्षतानि जलं पञ्च स्थलमिति विभागैः प्रत्येकं योजनसहस्राध्यो दक्षिणात्मकाध्यादिराजं हिमवत्त याब्दपरस्परमयप्पलाते। तत्तथेतानि यो जयति स समारहितस्य यतैः।

4. Loc. cit.: कुमारसमुपरान्तमृति बिन्दसरोज्जविषत्य योजनानं दशाभी चक्रवर्तिः स भवति।

5. Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 77-79. Märkandeya Purāṇa, LIV, 59:

| दक्षिणार्धतं हृदय पूर्वः स महोदय:। |
| हिमवत्समुदान्तरसः कामुक्कस्य भय: गुन:। |

Cf. Vāyu, XLV, 75-76:

| उत्तरं यस्मिन्दित्य हिमवद्धिशिणां च युध:। |
| वय्र तद्वरातरं नाम यज्ञेऽभारती प्रजा।।
is sometimes referred to as the country extending 'from the Himalaya to Rama's bridge' or 'from the Himalaya to the seashore'. In some Puranic passages, e.g., in Karna, I, 35, 41, as well as records like some versions of Minor Rock Edict I of Asoka, the same land seems to be called Jambudvipa, although according to other popular conceptions Bharatavarsha was merely a part of Jambudvipa.

That the sphere of influence of an Indian imperial ruler did not extend beyond the limits of Bharatavarsha, seems to be supported by a statement of Arrian that 'a sense of justice, they say, prevented a king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.'

The conception of a mighty king or his generals performing *dig-vijaya*, that is to say, conquering 'the whole earth', permeates the entire body of the epic and Puranic literature. Epic heroes like Karna and the brothers of Yudhishthira are described as conquering the quarters or the whole earth. Karna completed his *dig-vijaya* by conquering all the countries in the north, east, south and west and is described as returned to Nagasahyaya (Hastinapura, capital of his patron Duryodhana) 'after having subdued the whole earth'. It is, however, interesting to note that the lists of countries lying in the four different directions and conquered by the epic *dig-vijayins* are practically the same as the lists of countries and peoples of Bharatavarsha as found in the geographical sections of the epics, Puranas and other works. Stories of the epic *dig-vijayins* were no doubt very popular in the age of the Gupta emperors. This is proved not only by the references to epic heroes in records dating from the second century A.D. but also by epigraphic and literary records of the Gupta period. Epigraphic references to the Gupta monarchs either as rulers or as conquerors of 'the whole earth' have already been indicated above. Raghú's conquest of all the quarters in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (Canto IV) of Kalidasa who lived

---

in the fourth-fifth century A.D. is obviously modelled on the epic description of the dig-vijayas of Karṇa, the Pāṇḍava brothers and others. Mallanātha in his commentary on the Rāghuvansha, IV, 85, rightly explains the conquest of quarters as indicating ekachatratva or universal sovereignty. Rāghu began his conquest in the eastern countries on the eastern sea or the Bay of Bengal. Thence he marched towards the south and conquered the Pāṇḍya king. He moved then towards the west and subdued the Pārashkas or Persians. Then he reached the north where he conquered the Hūṇas on the Vaṅkšhu or Oxus and the lord of Prāgjyotisā or Kāmarūpa (modern Assam, in the Himalayas). The description of Rāghu's dig-vijaya in the Rāghuvansha was imitated by a Praśastikāra at the Paramāra court, who describes the Paramāra king Lakṣmmadeva as having defeated Aniga and Kaliṅga in the east, Cōla and Pāṇḍya as far as the Tāmrapārṇi river in the south, and the Turuṣkas on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu in the north. The substitution of the Hūṇas by the Turuṣkas is interesting to note. The 'whole earth' in such cases, it may be pointed out again, does not mean the entire land between the North Pole and the South Pole. It simply refers to Bhāratavarṣa regarded as the sphere of influence of an imperial monarch. But even that is also in a conventional sense.

Although the cakravarti-kṣetra comprised the whole of Bhāratavarṣa, the claim of the conquest or rule over it on behalf of a historical monarch must naturally be regarded as conventional. Numerous Indian rulers are actually known to have made the claim; but, in none of the cases, the king in question can be taken as the lord of the whole of Bhāratavarṣa extending from the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean. These kings were rulers directly of only a part of India, although they conventionally claimed suzerainty over the whole of the country. Sometimes contemporary monarchs are found to make similar claims. There is, therefore, no doubt that the kings claiming conquest of or rule over the whole earth or all the quarters were merely imperial rulers as opposed to those of the subordinate rank. It is also to be remembered that a ruler was often regarded as
a dig-vijayin type of cakrayatin even if he succeeded in conquering a petty rival. The frequent representation of a prince inheriting his father’s kingdom as one who conquered the kingdom by the prowess of his own arms is a convention of the same type. By way of illustration, it may be pointed out that, in the O mgodu grant of Skandavarman II, his grandfather Skandavarman I, son and successor of Kumāravīṣṇu described as the performer of an Aśvamedha sacrifice, is called sae-vīrya-ādhigata-rājya probably owing to the fact that Skandavarman I succeeded in overcoming an obstacle that stood in his way to his paternal throne.


We have seen above that the kṣetra (sphere of influence) of a cakravartin (an imperial ruler of India), often mentioned as ‘the whole earth’, was regarded as bounded by the Himālaya or Bindusaras (in the Himālayas) in the north and by the Indian Ocean, Cape Comorin or Rāma’s bridge in the south. It has also been shown that sometimes it was described as bounded by four seas on all the four sides. The conception of the catuḥ-saṃvīdra is no doubt conventional, as Bhāratavarṣa is bounded only on the east, south and west by seas (viz. the ‘Bay’ of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea respectively). There is no sea in the north of this land. Prof. Raychaudhuri suggests that any lake or lakes to the north of India in Central Asia may have been wrongly conceived as a sea and this fact may have been responsible for the conception of India having four seas in four directions. The northern sea, however, may have actually been the deserts of Central Asia often represented in literature as ‘the sea of sand’. The conception of the catuḥ-saṃvīdra is also found in the Vedic literature where the expression is usually explained by the word antarikṣa, i.e. sky in the four directions. According to the Purāṇas, the world consists of seven concentric deśas or islands each of which is encircled by a sea, the central island called Jambudvīpa being surrounded

2. The suggestion is supported by the *Adiśaṃkhaṇi*, IV, 172, 279, 294; VIII, 2703. See also Stein’s trans., Vol. I, p. 75.
by the salt sea.\textsuperscript{1} Bhāratavarṣa was the southernmost part of this Jambudvīpa, although, as we have seen, sometimes the two names are used almost synonymously. The mythical conception of the seven seas may have owed its origin to the Vedic saptasindhu, i.e. the seven rivers of north-western Bhāratavarṣa. Whatever that may be, the Purānic conception of the earth being encircled by the sea coupled with the Vedic idea of the cauṭuk-samudra may have been responsible for the later conception of the cakravarti-kṣetra (called ‘the whole earth’) bounded by the seas on all the four directions. In the literary and epigraphic records, often definite localities (which are mythical in some cases) are mentioned in the north, east, south and west of ‘the whole earth’ or cakravarti-kṣetra and, as expected, they practically correspond to the boundaries of ancient Bhāratavarṣa.

Bāna’s Kādambari\textsuperscript{2} gives the following boundaries of the kingdom of an imaginary emperor named Candrāpiḍa: Gandhamādana (on which Badarikāsrāma in the Himalayas is situated) in the north, Setubandha in the south, the mythical Udaya or Sun-rise mountain in the east and the mythical Mandara (apparently located here in the western or Arabian sea just as the mythical Sun-set mountain in a similar context in the Hṛṣaḥacarita) in the west. In the Hṛṣaḥacarita\textsuperscript{3} of the same author, the boundaries given in connection with king Harṣavardhana’s attempt to conquer the quarters are: Gandhamādana in the north, Suvela (the hill on which the city of Lāṅkā was believed to have been situated) in the south, the mythical...

\textsuperscript{1} There is another Purānic conception according to which the earth consists of four great dvipa resembling four petals of a lotus. The pericarp of this earth-lotus is the Meru or Sumeru mountain. Similar is the conception of the Buddhists as found in the Pāli literature: ‘In each cakranāla, between the cakranāla-parata and the outermost of the rocky circles which environ Meru, lies a vast ocean. In this ocean are situated, equidistant from each other, four mahā-dvipa, ‘great islands’ or continents. On the north is Uttarakuru, on the south Jambudvīpa, on the east Purvavideha and on the west Aparagoyāna. Of these, Jambudvīpa is larger than the rest, being a hundred thousand pojana in diameter, and includes Índia.’ Cf. Vēyu Purāṇa, ch. 34; Childers’ Dictionary, s.v. mahādīpa.

\textsuperscript{2} Ed. Śiddhāntavāgīśa, Calcutta, pp. 194-195.

\textsuperscript{3} N. S. Press ed., p. 217.
Sun-rise mountain in the east and the mythical Sun-set mountain in the west.

Similarly, in the colophon of Vijñānēśvara’s *Mitākṣarā*, commentary on the *Yājñavalkyaṃśṭi*, the dominions of the author’s patron, the later Cālukya monarch Vikramāditya VI (c. 1076-1127 A.D.) of Kalyāṇa, are described as bounded by Rāma’s bridge in the south, Himālaya in the north, western sea (Arabian Sea) in the west and the eastern sea (Bay of Bengal) in the east.¹

We have also a large number of inscriptions supporting the same traditions. The Meharauli inscription² of Candra, who is apparently no other than the Imperial Gupta monarch Candragupta II (c. 376-414 A.D.), describes the king as having conquered the Vaṅgas (of Southern Bengal) in the east, crossed the seven mouths of the Sindhu (or Indus, all of which fall into the Arabian Sea) in the west, defeated the Bālḥikas (inhabiting the Balkh region on the Oxus) in the north and subdued certain people on the shores of the southern sea (Indian Ocean). A Mandasar inscription³ describes king Yasodharman (532 A.D.) of Malwa as having subdued the whole land bounded by the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) in the east, the Mahendra (i.e. Mahendragiri in the Trivilveli District) in the south, the Himālaya in the north and the western sea (Arabian Sea) in the west.


3. *Ind.,* p. 5.
Both the above records belong to the age of the Imperial Guptas when the convention of the cakrävarti and his kṣetra appears to have developed its popularity. There are numerous similar references in later records.

King Devapāla (c. 810-50 A.D.) is described in his records as the only lord of the whole land bounded by the source of the Gaṅgā (Himālaya) in the north, Rāma’s bridge in the south, Varuṇa’s abode (western sea) in the west and Lakṣmi’s abode (eastern sea) in the east. A similar list of the boundaries of the cakrävarti-kṣetra seems to be quoted in connection with the victories of the army of Devapāla’s father Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.) where mention is made of Kedāra (in the Himālayas) in the north, the Gaṅgā-sāgara confluence in the east and Gokarṇa (in the North Kanara District of Mysore) and other holy places in the south and west. The Karhad plates of the Rāṣṭra-kūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (c. 939-67 A.D.) of Mānyakeṭa (Malkhed in the former Hyderabad state) say that he subdued the rulers of the whole land bounded by the eastern sea in the east, the western sea in the west, the Himāśaila (Himālaya) in the north and Siṁhaladvīpa (i.e. Ceylon) in the south. In the records of the Paramāra kings of Malwa, king Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) is said to have enjoyed the earth extending from the Kailāsa (in the Himālaya) in the north, the Malaya mountain (Travancore hills) in the south, the mythical Sun-set mountain in the west and the mythical Sun-rise mountain in the east. In the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara rulers, Vīraṇarasiṁha (c. 1506-09 A.D.),

1. Gauḍalakhamāla, p. 38:
   आ ग्रृहकामधीतालपतनहृदयामयो
   आ सेतोः प्रभुवतदशायकैःकृतीः ।
   उवर्मात्रा वहस्निविवेतनाश्च हिन्याद्वृतः
   आ लक्ष्मीमंदलवाचाय यो ब्रम्हाजय ।

2. Ibid., p. 36, verse 7.

3. Ed. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 284-85:
   अनंतमना पूर्ववतकर्मः विभिन्नमहाशिलासिद्धिपालीः
   यमं अनन्तशापवाचमिः महाशिलासिद्धिपालिः

4. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 235:
   आ भूतानामान्त्यग्रिहस्तोऽद्यहिमादिपादि
   मुक्ता पुष्पी पृक्तंत्वस्तुलाकृष्णयोनि

1. Gauḍalakhamāla, p. 38:
2. Ibid., p. 36, verse 7.
3. Ed. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 284-85:
4. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 235:
elder brother of the celebrated Krṣṇadevarāya (1509-29 A.D.), is described as having ruled over a kingdom bounded by the Setu (i.e. Rāma’s bridge) in the south, the mythical Sumeru mountain (to the north of Bhāratavarṣa) in the north, the mythical Sun-rise mountain in the east and the western mountain (the mythical Sun-set mountain) in the west. The boundaries of the cakravarti-kṣetra given in connection with the achievements of Krṣṇadevarāya himself, often in the same inscription, are: the eastern mountain (i.e. the mythical Sun-rise mountain) in the east, the mythical Sun-set mountain in the west, the Himācalam in the north and the Setu in the south.

It should be remembered that, whenever a king is described as the ruler or conqueror of a territory indicated by four boundaries that may by placed about the borders of Bhāratavarṣa, the claim has to be regarded as merely conventional. There is usually no truth in the claim beyond that the king in question regarded himself as an imperial, or at least an independent, ruler. The conventional nature of such claims is further demonstrated clearly by a verse describing the victories of the Pāla army in the whole area bounded by the eastern land in the east, the valley of the Malaya (Travancore hills) in the south, in the Maru country (Matwar or the Rajaputana Desert) in the west and the Prāleyādi (Himālaya) in the north, as found in the records of different monarchs of the Pāla family of Bengal and Bihar.

1. Mys. Arch. Surv., Am. Rep., 1941, pp. 185-86:

2. Ibid., p. 187:

3. Govt. Archaeol., p. 95:


5. संभवतः नात्र हिमवं यवन्तमस्मि, प्रागम्मो तु तदाननि संभवतः:
Now exactly the same verse is found to have been employed by the Pāla court poets in describing the achievements of no less than four monarchs, viz. Gopāla II (middle of the tenth century), his son Vigrahapāla II (end of the tenth century); and the latter’s son Mahīpāla I (beginning of the eleventh century) and great-grandson Vigrahapāla III (middle of the eleventh century).

It will be seen that the following boundaries of the cakravartī-kṣetra are indicated by the epigraphic and literary records discussed above: (1) north— Himālaya, Bindusaras, Gandhamādāna, Kailāsa, Kedāra, the mythical Sumeru mountain, Prāgjyotisha or Kāmarūpa, Vaṅku or Oxus and Bālhika; (2) south—Indian Ocean, Cape Comorin, Mahendragiri, Setubandha- Rāmeśvara, Suvela, Simhala dvīpa and Malaya; (3) east— Vaṅga, Lauhitya, the mythical eastern or Sun-rise mountain, Bengal, the eastern country and Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama; (4) west—the mouths of the Sindhu, Arabian Sea, the mythical Mandara, western or Sun-set mountain, the Rajaputana Desert and Pārasīka (Persia). As already pointed out above, these were the traditional boundaries of Bhāratavarṣa, conceived as the sphere of influence of an imperial ruler of India, and they had really nothing to do with the actual territories of the king who is described as the lord or conqueror of the land within the above boundaries.


Besides the above cakravartī-kṣetra comprising the whole of Bhāratavarṣa, sometimes North India and South India were regarded as separate spheres of influence of the imperial monarchs respectively of Northern and Southern India. In view of the conventional nature of the claim of the status of a cakravartin, it is interesting to note that sometimes the same king is represented as the lord of the whole of the cakravartī-kṣetra in one case but of the partial cakravartī-kṣetra comprising either North or South India in another. We have referred above to the description of the Pāla king Devapāla of Bengal and Bihar as the only lord of the whole land bounded by the Himālaya, Rāma’s bridge, the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian
Sea. Elsewhere, however, the same monarch is said to have subdued the whole land bounded by the father of the Revā (Narmadā), i.e. the Vindhya, in the south; the father of Gautri, i.e. the Himālaya, in the north; and the two seas (eastern and western, i.e. the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea) in the east and west. These boundaries of North India are no doubt based on Manu’s celebrated definition of Āryāvarta. Similar claims are known to have been made on behalf of many other imperial rulers of Northern India. Thus Visala or Vigrahārāja IV (c. 1053-64 A.D.) of the Cāmana dynasty of Ajmer and Śākambhari is described as having subdued Āryāvarta lying between the Vindhya and the Himādri.

The Sātavāhana kings of the Deccan claimed to have been the lords of Dakṣiṇāpatha, a name often applied to the whole of South India lying beyond the Vindhyaas and the Narmadā. The great Sātavāhana monarch Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) actually ruled over the western part of South India from the Kṛṣṇa in the south to Ākara and Avanti in Malwa in the north. But he claims at the same time to have been the lord of the Vindhya, Rkṣavat, Pāriyātra, Mahendra and Malaya mountains which covered practically the whole of the Vindhyan range as well as the Eastern and Western Ghats. That Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi claimed a sort of vague suzerainty over the whole of South India is further indicated by the claim that his chargers drank the waters of the three seas, no doubt meaning the eastern, southern and western seas, i.e. the Bay of Bengal, the Indian Ocean and the Arbian sea. A Sātavāhana king is mentioned in Bāna’s Harṣacarita as the ‘lord of the three seas’.

1. Gaudalekhānāla, p. 72:


South India conceived as a separate cakravarti-kṣetra is mentioned as bounded by the three seas also in the inscriptions of a later date. The Cāłukyas of Badami claimed to be lords of the land lying within the three seas: वि-समुद्र-मध्यवती-सुबन-मण्डलावतीस्वर.\(^1\) The Mulgund inscription of Pañcāla similarly represents him as the lord of the whole country bounded by the eastern, western and southern seas.\(^2\) The inscriptions of the Eastern Cāłukyas, however, refer to the southern cakravarti-kṣetra as the land between the Narmadā and the Setu.\(^3\)

Among other epigraphic references to South India as the special sphere of influence of South Indian monarchs, mention may be made of a Kadamba inscription\(^4\), in which the Kadamba king Ravivarman (c. 490-538 A.D.) is represented as the lord of the earth as far as the Narmadā in the north.

5. The two Cakravarti-kṣetras mentioned together.

We have seen above that the Paramāra king Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) is sometimes represented as the lord of the land bounded by the Kaiḷasā, the Malaya and the mythical Sun-rise and Sun-rise mountains. There is another tradition which says that the same Paramāra king ruled for a little over fiftyfive years over ‘Daksināpatha together with Gauḍa’.\(^5\) There is no doubt that Dakṣināpatha has been mentioned here in the sense of the whole of South India, often conceived as a separate cakravarti-kṣetra. That the claim is merely conventional is shown by the fact that Bhoja’s dominions did not include any considerable part of South India. But scholars have so long failed to grasp the correct significance of the word Gauḍa mentioned in relation to Dakṣināpatha in the above context.

I have little doubt that Gauḍa has been mentioned here to indicate the northern cakravarti-kṣetra or Āryāvarta, so that Bhoja is represented as the lord of the entire Cakravarti-kṣetra

---

1. Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, pp. 64, etc.
5. Ray, op. cit., p. 858.
comprising both Dakshinapatha and North India. Thus both the partial cakravarti-kṣetras are mentioned here side by side to signify the whole of Bharatavarṣa conceived as the main cakravarti-kṣetra. It is interesting to note in this connection that there is some evidence in support of the name Gauḍa being sometimes applied to indicate the whole of Northern India. The Brāhmaṇical society of South India is usually divided into five classes called the Paścha-Drāviḍa. These classes are: (1) Drāviḍa (Tamil), (2) Kāraṇa (Kannāda), (3) Gūjara (Gujarati), (4) Mahārāṣṭra, and (5) Tailaṅga (Telugu). This classification is based on a linguistic division of the South Indian Brāhmaṇas. Although the population of North India can hardly be divided into five linguistic groups with propriety, an attempt was made in imitation of the South Indian classification to classify the Brāhmaṇa society of Northern India into the same number of subdivisions. Strangely, however, the common name applied to the five classes of North Indian Brāhmaṇas was Gauḍa as Drāviḍa is the general name of southern Brāhmaṇas. The divisions of the Northern Brāhmaṇas are: (1) Sarasvata (associated with the valley of the Sarasvati in the Punjab), (2) Kānyakubja (in Uttar Pradesh), (3) Gauḍa (in Bengal), (4) Maithila (in North Bihar) and Utkal (in Orissa). In these cases, therefore, the name Drāviḍa indicates South India, while Gauḍa signifies North India. We know that the name Gauḍa, originally the name of a part of Bengal, was often used to indicate all the countries of Eastern India. Thus the East Indian style of Sanskrit composition as well as the medieval East Indian alphabet came to be called after Gauḍa. A further expansion of the connotation of the name to indicate the whole of North India is suggested by the classification of Brāhmaṇas referred to above.¹

¹ Some of the points discussed here were raised by me first in J.R.A.S.B., Letters, Vol. V. 1929, pp. 407ff. As regards the last paragraph, cf. the section on Gauḍa below.
Puranic List of Peoples

F.E. Pargiter made some interesting remarks in regard to the historical sections common to several of the Puranás. His views may be summarised as follows:

1. Special abbreviations for this Section and the next one:
   
   * Ae—Abhidhānacintāmaṇi.
   * Bgut—Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Bangabāsi Office, Calcutta.
   * Bhv—Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.
   * Bmd—Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa, Bangabāsi Office, Calcutta.
   * Bmk—Brahma Purāṇa, Bangabāsi Office, Calcutta.
   * Bś—Bṛhatsāhitī—a Bangabāsi Office, Calcutta; b Restored text of the Ms consulted by Al-Birūnī (c. 1030 A.D.).
   * Grd—Garuḍa Purāṇa, Bangabāsi Office, Calcutta.
   * Ḣ-os—Harivamsa.
   * Mbh—Mahābhārata, Bangabāsi Office, Calcutta.
   * Mś—Matsya Purāṇa—a Bangabāsi Office, Calcutta; b Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay; c Anandāśrama Press, Poona; d Restored text of the Ms consulted by Al-Birūnī (c. 1030 A.D.).
   * Pdm—Padma Purāṇa.
   * Tkṣ—Puruṣottama’s Trikaṇḍaṇī.
   * Vīj—Yādavaprakāśa’s Vaiṣṇavīnti.
   * Vy—Vyāyu Purāṇa—a Bangabāsi Office, Calcutta; b Restored text of the Ms consulted by Al-Birūnī (c. 1030 A.D.); c Bibliotheca Indica, RASB, Calcutta; d Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay; e Anandāśrama Press, Poona.

The *Bhu* was the first Purāṇa to give an account of the dynasties of the Kali age and the *Mts*, *Vy* and *Bmd* got their accounts from it, though they as well as some other Purāṇas existed before the *Bhu*. Metrical accounts of the dynasties of North India grew up gradually, composed in Ślokas in a literary Prakrit and recited by bards and minstrels. After the introduction of writing about the 7th century B.C., the accounts were composed, and written down in or near Magadha in Māgadhī or Pāli. The *Bhu* appropriated the Prakrit metrical accounts and converted the Prakrit Ślokas into Sanskrit in the form of a prophecy uttered by Vyāsa. This reshaping was carried through generally but not yet completely, and revisions of the text with new inclusions were taking place from time to time. The account of the Andhras (Śātavāhanas) originally composed in North India and written in Kharoṣṭhī was incorporated into the text about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. The *Mts* borrowed the accounts from the *Bhu* during the last quarter of the 3rd century. These *Bhu* accounts, which were still in Kharoṣṭhī and cannot now be traced in the extant text of the Purāṇa, were revised during the first quarter of the 4th century and the revised text was borrowed by the *Vy* now represented by a *Ms* (ś Vāyu of Pargiter) in the India Office Library. The text was revised again about the beginning of the second quarter of the 4th century and this version was adopted by the *Vy* and soon after by the *Bmd* (which may have copied from the *Vy*) and now constitutes their general versions. The *Vṣn* next utilised the accounts about the end of the 4th century and condensed it in Sanskrit prose. About the 8th or 9th century, the *Bṛg* (which in the main condensed the matter in new Ślokas) drew its materials from the *Bmd* and more particularly from the *Vṣn*. The *Gṛd*, whose date is uncertain, utilised the same materials but has a bald list of the kings in new Sanskrit Ślokas. Since those times a quiet process of small emendations in details has been at work in these Purāṇas.

Some of the theories of Pargiter have been criticised. If we believe that the Brāhmī alphabet evolved out of the prehistoric Indus valley script, we should only speak of the growth
of the popularity of writing and not of the introduction of writing about the 7th century B.C. The Andhras (Sātavāhanas) of the Deccan had nothing to do with the north-western region of India where the Kharoṣṭhī script was prevalent; it is, therefore, difficult to believe that the historical accounts of this royal family were originally composed in northern (north-western?) India and written in Kharoṣṭhī. The definite epochs suggested by Pargiter for the composition, revision or transmission of the particular texts are again no better than tentative. But from a study of the sections on cosmography and geography which are common to several of the Purāṇas, it appears that Pargiter is probably right as regards the chronological sequence of at least some of the Purāṇas with which he deals. As to the suggestion that the original of the historical sections of the Purāṇas was composed in Prakrit, we know that the theory has been contested by Keith,1 though Winteritz2 seems to be inclined to agree with Pargiter. It is interesting to note that the geographical sections exhibits Prakrit influence in such forms of names as भारक्षण, वेदम, नाथयवत्त, शुपितमली, etc. It may be pointed out that the geographical sections, especially the list of āṇapadas, found in the Bmd, Mk, Mts, Vmn and Vy practically follow the same draft. The original draft seems to have been compiled for Mts. The Vy text appears to be the earliest copy from that of the Mts. The Mk probably copied the text from the Vy at a slightly later date, but a little independence of the copyist in the arrangement of names in a few cases is noticed in this text. The Bmd furnishes us with a still later copy of the Vy text. The date of this copy is possibly not far removed from the time of Al-Bīrūnī (c. 1030 A.D.) who is known to have consulted a Ms of the Vy in giving a list of peoples after the Purāṇas. The Krm, which like some other Purāṇas, copies the smaller draft of the āṇapada list from the Vsn, has a fuller list of rivers probably after the Vy. The smaller drafts both of the list of peoples and of rivers appear to have been compiled from the bigger drafts in the Mts and Vy for the first time for the Vsn.

seem to be far removed in point of time from the date of Al-Būrūnī. The \textit{Vmns} appears, however, to be the latest copy of the modified draft as found in the other texts. But in several cases the compiler of the \textit{Vmns} shows a tendency to arrange the names rather independently, although in many cases he does not go much beyond the originals before him. The new readings introduced by later copyists of the original draft or its modifications appear to have been, in some cases, offered by way of improvement or correction, and it is sometimes difficult to determine the reading of the original draft. The fact, however, that even the late \textit{Vmns} often leaves the mistakes of the other copies as they are probably points to the absence of any determined and persistent effort on the part of the copyists to deviate from the texts before them. It should be remembered that numerous mistakes had already crept into the \textit{Vṛ} text as early as \textit{c. 1030 A.D.} when Al-Būrūnī consulted a \textit{Vṛ} Ms. The geographical section of the \textit{Grd} exhibits considerable freedom, though it seems to have utilised the \textit{Mk} section known as the \textit{Kūrma-vibhāga}. The date of the \textit{Grd} section seems to be close to that of the \textit{Vmns}, as both add to the old description of the Kumārīdvipa as चौथेके किराता वस्यास्ते परिवर्तये यवनास्तिथा, a new line placing the Turuṣkās in the north and the Andhras in the south. As these Turuṣkās and Andhras appear to be no other than the Turkish Musalmans and the Kākatiyas respectively, the \textit{Vmns} and \textit{Grd} sections on geography could not possibly have been compiled much earlier than the 13th century. The \textit{Sv} also contains the same reference,
Puranic List of Peoples

TEXT

Mk, ch. 57 (ch. 54 in some versions), vv. 34-35; Vy, ch. 45, vv. 109-136; cf. Sachau, Alb. Ind., I, pp. 299-300; Bmd, ch. 49, vv. 44-71; Mts, ch. 114, vv. 34-56; Vmn, ch. 13, vv. 36-58.

1. The following two lines are omitted in Mks. Mbh (VI,9, 39-40), however, has—তথাকথিতঃ—কুরুপালনঃ: শাল্মারণঃ—কুরুপালনঃ:। শূরসনা:—পুলিন্দাষ্টমঃ: বৌদ্ধ: মালাস্বচ্ছেদ: চ। মত্যঃ:—কুরুশাল্মা: তীব্রতা: কুরুশাল্মা: রাণি—কোলাশ্যঃ। চেতি—

2. Mts—তথাকথিতঃ—কুরুপালনঃ:। Vy, Bmd—তথাকথিতঃ—কুরুপালনঃ:।

For the Kuru country proper with its capitals at Hastinapura in the present Meerut District and Indraprastha in the Delhi region, see Raychaudhuri, PHAI, 1938, pp. 19-20, 113. For the Pañcāla with their capitals at modern Rāmmangar (ancient Ahicchatra) in the Barelly District and Kampil (ancient Kāmpilya) in Farrukhābād, see ibid., pp. 114 f.

3. Vy, Bmd, Mts—শাল্মারণঃ—কুরুপালনঃ। Mbh—শাল্মারণঃ—কুরুপালনঃ। For the six branches of the Śālva tribe, cf. Vj, 1.3.1. 38-39—

4. Vy, Bmd, Mts—শূরসনা: মাত্রকার। Mbh—শূরসনা: পুলিন্দাষ্টমঃ। The Bhadrakārās are apparently the same as the Madrakārās who were a branch of the Śālva tribe (supra, note 3) and inhabited the north-eastern part of the Punjab or the adjoining regions. The Śārascenas were a branch of the Yādavas and lived about Mathurā. See Raychaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 117 f.

5. Vy acce, Bmd—বৌদ্ধ: মালাস্বচ্ছেদঃ। Vy b—বৌদ্ধ: সহৃদ্যাপ্তজ্জ্বরঃ। Mts—বাণঃ: সহৃদ্যাপ্তজ্জ্বরঃ। Mbh—বৌদ্ধ: মালাস্বচ্ছেদঃ। The Pañcaccaras are
known from Grd, I, 55, 11—पत्निकाला: कुल्लू मत्स्या योगीयाः: सुपत्रचारा:।
कुल्लू: शूरसनात्च मद्यपदोत्तानाः समूना:। For the Yodheya or Yaudheya
tribe of Grd, see Raychaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 457-58. The territories of the
Yaudheyas included the Bayana region of Bharatpur and Johiyabar on the
Satlaj. The Patāccaras are believed to have occupied parts of the Allahabad
and Banda Districts.

1. Vy a—वत्सा: किलवल्या: कुल्यार्चा, b—वत्सा: किलवल्या: कुल्यार्चा,
c—(v.l.) d—(v.l.)—वत्सा: किलवल्या: कुल्यार्चा,
e (v.l.) वत्सा: किलवल्या: कुल्यार्चा; Bmd—वत्सा: कुल्यार्चा; Mk—
मल्याचकूट्टा: कुल्यार्चा; Mts—मल्याचा: किलवल्या: कुल्यार्चा। The first
name is either Matysa (Jaipur-Alwar region) or Vatsa (Allahabad region).
cf. the name of the Kirantīs who once reigned over a large portion of Nepal.
The Kulyas were probably the people of the present Kulait region on the
upper Ravi.

2. Vy, Mk, Bmd, Mts—कुल्लू: कालिकोलाला:। Mts e (v.l.)—कुल्लू: कालिकोलाला:।
काशिकोलाला:। Mbb—कुल्लू: कालिकोलाला:। The reading कुल्लू: is supported
by Grd, I, 55, 11, quoted at p. 21 n. 5. The Kuntos were a branch of the
Yādava tribe living apparently not far from the Mathurā region. The Kāśis
lived about Vārāṇasi (Benaras). This Kośala is Uttara-Kośala with its capital

3. Mts—अव्यनाच कल्याचार; Mk a c (v.l.)—अव्यनाच कल्याचार,
b—अव्यनाचकल्याचार; c—अव्यनाचकल्याचार, d—अव्यनाचकल्याचार; Bmd—अव्यनाच कल्याचार;
Vy ae—अव्यनाच विल्याचार, ede (v.l.)—अव्यनाच विल्याचार: (sic. अव्यनाच विल्याचार).
The Bhulīgas were a branch of the Śālīva tribe; cf. p. 21 note 3. The
Avantas are apparently the same as the Avantis who lived in West, Malwa

4. Mk—मल्याचार वृक्कः सह; Bmd, Vy aede—मल्याचार वृक्कः सह; b—
मल्याचार वृक्कः सह; Mts—मल्याचार वृक्कः सह; Markaśa—Patna and Gaya
Districts of Bihar; cf. Raychaudhuri, op. cit. p. 94 ff. The Andhakas were
a branch of the Yādava tribe and possibly lived originally not far from
Mathurā. Later they appear to have migrated towards Kathiawar.

5. Mk—मल्याचार जनपदः। Vy, Bmd, Mts—मल्याचार जनपदः।

6. Mk, Vy, Bmd—प्रायोगी कुल्लू:। Mts—प्रायोगी: परिकृतिततः।
The following lines including those referring to Govardhana are omitted in some of the Vy Mss. The verse is quoted in Km.

2. Vy a—सहस्त्र उत्तरां तु, cde—सहस्त्र चोतरां तु, e (v.l.)—सहस्त्र चोतरां तु; Mk a—सहस्त्र चोतरे यस्तु, bed—सहस्त्र चोतरे पाल्तु; Bmd—सहस्त्र उत्तरां तु. Sahya the Western Ghats excluding the Tranchcore hills.


4. Vy, Bmd—पुष्यवामिष्ठ द्रष्टान्यां; Mk, Mts—पुष्यवामिष्ठ द्रष्टान्यां.

5. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—सब्रेदशो मनोरम: 


7. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—अभिराम: काल्पोत्स्वा; Vmn a—अभिराम: काल्पोत्स्वा. Valhika. For the Ābhīras who lived to the north of the Rajputana desert, see Sircar, Sur. Sāit. pp. 242 f. We may also think of Abiravan between Herat and Kandahar which may have been the original home of the Ābhīras. In the 3rd century A.D., there was an Ābhīra kingdom in the north-western Deccan. Kālātayaka = Kalāt in Baluchistan.

8. Mk—अपरान्ताराच शुद्दस्त्र; Vy odc, Bmd—अपरान्ताराच शुद्दस्त्र; Vy b omits शुद्द; Mts a—पुराणाश्च शुद्दस्त्र, bc—पुराणाश्च शुद्दस्त्र, e (v.l.)—पुराणाश्च शुद्दस्त्र; Vmn—अपरान्ताराच शुद्दाच. The Śūdras lived near the Ābhīras; cf. Sircar, op. cit., p. 242. Aparanta = Aparita = Purandhara may be Greek Paraitakene in the lower Helmund valley. As the Śūdras are mentioned below separately (p. 25, n. 2), we may possibly suggest Kṣudra or Kṣudraka (Greek Oxydrakai) living about the Montgomery Dist. See Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 205.

9. Mk ad, Vy b (v.l.)—पश्चवास्त्रमेंसिधिका; Vy odc—पश्चवास्त्रमेंसिधिका; Mk bc, Bmd—पश्चवास्त्रमेंसिधिका; Mts—पश्चवास्त्रमेंसिधिका.
GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

Vma—समारकदास लोकचक्र: । Pahlava=the Pahlavis or Persians (Sasanians?). Carmack =people of Samarkand.

1. Mk a, Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn=गान्धार मद्रासव; Mk b—गान्धार मद्रासव। Gandhāra=the Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts. Cf. Raychaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 144 f. The ancient capitals of the country were Takṣašilā in the Rawalpindi Dist. and Puṣkalavati (Charisarā near Peshawar), and Udabhaṅgāpurā (Und near Attock) in the early medieval period. Yavāna=Indo-Greek settlements in the north-western part of India and adjoining lands. Cf. Sircar, op. cit., p. 31.

2. Mk, Bmd, Mts abide—सिम्भूसीबिरमद्रासव; Vy abide, Mts e (v.l.), Vmn—सिम्भूसीबिरमद्रासव। Vy abide—सिम्भूसीबिरमद्रासव। According to Alb. Ind., I, pp. 239-60, 300, Sauvitra included Mūltān and Jahārvār which latter lay about fifty miles below the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenab. Sindhu lay to the west and Sauvitra to the east of the lower Indus. Madra=district round Sialkot (ancient Śākala).

3. Mk—हास्यद्रासव: कृतित्वातः; Vy abide—सकारात्मक: कृतित्वातः; e (v.l.)—हास्यद्रासव: कृतित्वातः; Bmd—हास्यद्रासव: कृतित्वातः; Mts—हास्यद्रासव: पूर्वित्वातः; c (v.l.)—हास्यद्रासव: पूर्वित्वातः; Vy abide—शाकरित्वातः। The ancient Kūnindas are supposed to be represented by the modern Kunets of Kālā and the Simla region; but they formerly appear to have extended atop the Shanharangur and Ambala Districts where their coins have been discovered in large numbers. See Smith, Cat., p. 161. Satadriva=people of the Satlaj valley.

4. Bmd—पारद दशमण्डकासव; Mk—पारद दशमण्डकासव; Vy abide—पारद दशमण्डकासव; Mts—पारद दशमण्डकासव; e (v.l.)—पारद दशमण्डकासव. Omitted in Vy b. The reading दशमण्डक is supported by Mbh, II, 32, 12, while Bū, XIV, 53 suggests दशमण्डक which is also supported by Km. The Pāradas were the Parthians who lived in the Khurasan region. The Hārahūpas or Hārahūras were probably a branch of the Huns who subjugated the whole land from Central Asia to Central India about the end of the 5th century A.D. Motichandra locates the Hārahūras in the Herat region (op. cit., p. 66).

5. Mk—पारद दशमण्डकासव, Vy a—रामच दशमण्डकासव; e—रामच दशमण्डकासव; Bmd—रामच दशमण्डकासव; Mts—रामच दशमण्डकासव; Vmn—रामच दशमण्डकासव. Omitted in Vy b. Lēvi locates the Ramathas between Ghazni and Wakhan. (J.A., 1918, p. 126). The Ruddhakaṭakas may have lived in the gold-producing Rudok area of Tibet.

6. Mk—कृष्णद दशमण्डकासव; Bmd—कृष्णद दशमण्डकासव; Vy abide—कृष्णद दशमण्डकासव; e—कृष्णद दशमण्डकासव; Mts a—कृष्णद दशमण्डकासव;
Puranic List of Peoples

कृष्णपिनिवेशावस्था¹ तथा शूद्रक्लानिन् च²।
काम्बोजः दरदार्षेव⁴ वर्षरा अञ्चलपिनिवेशकः।
चीनाश्रेष्ठ तुपाराशः भूल्ला बाहुल्यो नरः।³

1. Mk. Vṛ c, Bṛd.—कृष्णपिनिवेशास्था; Mts.—कृष्णपिनिवेशास्था; Vṛn—कृष्णपिनिवेशास्था, b.—कृष्णपिनिवेशास्था; Vṛ e (v.l.)—कृष्णपिनिवेशास्था। Omitted in Vṛ b. For the Kṣatřis (Greek Xathroi) living near the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, see Raychaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 52 ff. They lived between the Jhelam and the Beas and had their capital at Girivraja (Girjāk or Jalālpur on the Jhelam). The Daśamānakas may have lived in the Daśata valley in Kalāt. ²

2. Mk., Vṛ c, Bṛd.—वृष्णपिनिवेशास्था; Mts.—वृष्णपिनिवेशास्था; Vṛn—तथा शूद्रक्लानिन् च। Omitted in Vṛ b. See p. 23, note 8 above. ³

3. The following two lines are omitted in Mts and partly in Vṛ b.

4. Mk., Vṛ c, Bṛd., Vṛn—काम्बोजः दरदार्षेव। The Kāmbojas probably lived in the land extending from the Rajauri valley in Kashmir to the Hindu Kush. The Daradas lived round Darapuri in the upper valley of the Kishenganga in northern Kashmir. Some scholars locate the Kāmbojas near Badakhshan beyond the Hindu Kush. See Chapter IV. below.

5. Mk abc—वर्षरा हृद्यदशः; Vṛ c—वर्षरा; Vṛ d—वर्षरा; Vṛn—वर्षरा; b.—वर्षरा। Aṅgaloka is also mentioned elsewhere in the Purāṇas; cf. below, p. 60, note 9. Varvara reminds one of Barbaricum, a port on the principal mouth of the Indus in the early centuries of the Christian era. But apparently the same people is also mentioned elsewhere; cf. loc. cit., note 7. Aṅgaloka may be the land of the Agalasso of the Greeks. But they lived in the land between the Jhelam and the Chenab.

6. Mk ad, Bṛd., Vṛ e (v.l.)—चीनाष्ठेव तुपाराष्ठर्; Vṛ c—चीनाष्ठेव तुपाराष्ठर्; Vṛn—चीनाष्ठेव तुपाराष्ठर्; b.—चीनाष्ठेव तुपाराष्ठर्। The Tibet-Chinese peoples. चीन— the Tibeto-Chinese peoples. तुपाराष्ठर—Tukhāristan of the Arabs which included the old Bactria and indicated the mountainous country on both sides of the middle Oxtus as far as Badakhshan though the country to the south of the river was usually understood by the name (Wellhausen, The Arab Kingdom and its Fall, tr. p. 430). For the Chinas, see Jarret, Ain-i-Akkbar, pp. 118-19; also below, p. 60, n. 6; p. 61, n. 1; Chapter IV. ⁴

7. Mk abc—भूल्ला बाहुल्यो नरः; Vṛ c, Mk d—प्रजावप बाहुल्यो देवर; Bṛd.—प्रजावप शक्तिदार; Vṛn—प्रजावप शक्तिदार; Vṛ b—मलकोदर। (?) e (v.l.)—रलदार; शक्तिदार।
GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

1. Mk, Vy acs, Bmd—Aṣṭvāyasya Mahādāva; Mts a—सत्यव्य भरद्वाजः; b—अर्जुनयो महादावः; Vmn—आश्रेयम् सामर्कं; Vy b—आश्रेयाय भरद्वा/काश्मीरायस्तम्भातया.

2. Mk acs—पुष्कलवास काशेकारः; b—पुष्कलवास कुशीकारः; Vy acs Bmd—पुष्कलवास कनिष्ठः; Mts—पुष्कलवास सदस्यः; c (v.l.)—पुष्कलवास सहस्रकारः.

Both Prasthala and Puṣkālāvataka are mentioned in the list of Bs, 16, 26. Rām, IV.43, 11 locates Prasthala in the north. Puṣkālā=people of Puṣkālāvati, modern Prang-Charadda-Mir Ziyarat region near Peshawar. Daseraka=Maru, i.e. the Marwar region in Rajputana.

3. Mk—लम्बकारः शुचिकाराशि; Vy acs, Bmd—लम्बकास्तन्तपचेि; Mts a—लम्बकास्तन्तम्भारचि b—लम्बकास्तन्तम्भाराचि, c (v.l.)—लम्बकास्तन्तम्भाराचि; Vy e (v.l.)—लम्बकास्तन्तपचेि, लम्बकास्तन्तपचेि, लम्बकास्तन्तपचेि, लम्बकास्तन्तपचेि. Lampāka=modern Laghman in Afghanistan. The Āvagānas or Afghans are mentioned in Bs.

4. Mk—चूंडिका जागुः; सह; Vy acs, Bmd—चूंडिका जागुः; सह; Vy b—चूंडिका जागुः; सह; Mts—चूंडिका जागुः; सह; Vmn—चूंडिकास्तम्भाणि; सह। Jāguḍa=South Afghanistan with its capital at Ghazni. The Cūlikas were the Sogdians living to the north of the Oxus. See Bagchi in JDL, XXI.

5. The following three lines are omitted in Mts and Vy b.

6. Mk a—औपखवास्तलिप्रमाशि; b—औपखवास्तलिप्रमाशि, c—औपखवास्तलिप्रमाशि; Vy a औपखवास्तलिप्रमाशि; Bmd, Vy acs—औपखवास्तलिप्रमाशि; Vmn—औपखवास्तलिप्रमाशि. Aurasa=people of Urasā, modern Hazara District. See below, p. 61, note 8.


8. Mk—तास्सा हुमामारिशि; Vy acs, Bmd—तास्सा हुमामारिशि; Vmn—तास्सा हुमामारिशि. See p. 36, note 5. Hathaśārāga=Humza in North-West Kashmir.

9. Mk ac, Vy acs, Bmd—काश्मीरस्तुलिप्रमाशि; Mk b—काश्मीरस्तुलिप्रमाशि; Vmn—सुपारिशि गणाशि. Kāśmira=people of the upper Vītāśa valley. The land of the Taṅgaṇa or Taṅgana people probably had its headquarters at Taṅgaṇapāra near Joshimath in the Garhwal District, U.P. (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXI, p. 286).
PURNIC LIST OF PEOPLES

कुलूतासाङ्ग (बाही?) कारवङ्गु ऊर्ज (हृणा?) दावासित्रेषण च।

एवेदेशा उदीच्यास्तु प्राच्यान्न देशान् निबोधतं॥

III

अध्या बज्जा मुद्गरका अन्तगंगिरिवहिङ्गिरी॥

1. Mk—शुभिका: कुलेकास्त्रय; Vy a, Bmd—चुलिकास्त्राहुकास्त्रय; Vy ce—चुलिकास्त्राहुकास्त्रय; Vmn a—कुलूतो कुलिकाशूरणि; b—कुलूता: कुलिकाशूरणि; Vy e (v.l.)—चुलिका बाहुकास्त्रय। For the Kullatas of Kullu in the Kangra Dist., see Allan, Cat. C.A.I., p. e.; for the Bähikas of the Punjab, see Sircar, Sel. Ins., I, p. 276 n.

2. Mk ae—जणं दावासित्रेषण च, d—ऊर्जा दावासित्रेषण च; Bmd, Mk b—जणं दावासित्रेषण च; Vmn—तूर्णादा: सुकृतकुटा; Vy aede—पूण्यदावासित्रेषण च.

The reading suggested by another passage (p. 36, note 8) is हृणा दार्वाण्। The Harpaccorita places the हृणास in the Uttarakatha apparently somewhere about the Western Panjab. Dārva—people of Dārvābhīṣāra which roughly comprised the Punch and Narahera regions between the Jhelam and the Chenab.

3. Mk abc—एते देशा हु कृत्यास्तु; d—एते देशा हु द्रीयास्तु; Vy aede, Bmd—एते देशाहु कृत्यास्तु; Mts—एते देशा उदीच्यास्तु। Vmn has rather freely—पान्तीसाय उत्तारशास्त्रयम्: Cf. p. 37, n. 5.

4. Vy aede, Bmd, Mts—प्राच्यान् देशान् निबोधत; Mk—प्राच्यान् देशान् निबोध मे। Cf. p. 37, n. 6.

5. Mk abc—अधाराका मुद्गरका; d—अभ्य बका मुद्गरका; c (v.l.)—अन्तगंगिरिवहिङ्गिरी॥ Vy aede, Bmd—अधाराका: सुजरका; Vy b—अधाराका मुद्गरका; Mts ab—अध्या वज्जा मुद्गरका; c—अध्या वज्जा मुद्गरका; v.l.—अध्या वज्जा मुद्गरका; अध्या वज्जा मुद्गरका; Vmn—अध्या वज्जा मुद्गरका।

Aṅga and Vaṅga appear to have been separated from Āṅgeya and Vaṅgeya through confusion (cf. below). Mudgaraka (modern Monghyr) is the same as Mudgea of Km and Muddagiri of inscriptions. Aṅga—East Bihar and Vaṅga—South-East Bengal. For the Aṅga capital Campā near Lakhsarai in the Monghyr Dist., see JBRIS, Vol. XLII, p. 150. For the Vaṅga capital near the mouth fo the Bhīhariṇī, see below.

6. Mk abc—अन्तगंगिरिवहिङ्गिरी; c (v.l.)—अन्तगंगिरिवहिङ्गिरी॥ Vy aede, Bmd, Mk d—अन्तगंगिरिवहिङ्गिरी; Mts—अन्तगंगिरिवहिङ्गिरी; Vmn—स्वान्तगंगिरिवहिङ्गिरी; Vy b—प्राच्यारिबहिङ्गिरी॥ Antargiri and Bahirgiri may be located towards the north of Prāgyjotisa (Assam) on the strength of Mbh, II, 27, 1-3.
1. The line is omitted in Mts ab.

2. Mk ac—यथा प्रवश्या रक्ष्या; 6—यथा प्रवश्या रक्ष्या; 6 (v.l.) तथा प्रवश्या रक्ष्या; Vy acde—तथा प्रवश्या रक्ष्या; 6—तथा प्रवश्या रक्ष्या; Bmd—तथा प्रवश्या रक्ष्या; Vmn—तथा प्रवश्या रक्ष्या; Mts c—तथा प्रवश्या रक्ष्या. The correct reading of the names and their identification are doubtful.

3. Mk abc—मानवा मालवतिका; 6 (v.l.)—मालवा मालवतिका; 6—मालवा मालवतिका; Vy acde—मालवा मालवतिका; 6 (v.l.)—मालवा मालवतिका; मालवा मालवतिका; 6 मालवा मालवतिका; Mts c—यथा मालवा मालवतिका; Bmd—मालवा मालवतिका; Vmn—मालवा मालवतिका. The Maladas and Mallavartakas are also known from Km. Cf. p. 33, note 8 below.

4. This line is omitted in Vy b.

5. Mk acd—श्रीहोतरा: प्रविा; Vy acde, Bmd, Vmn c, Mk b—श्रीहोतरा: प्रविा; Vmn b—श्रीहोतरा: प्रविा; Mts abc—श्रीहोतरा: प्रविा; 6 (v.l.)—श्रीहोतरा: प्रविा. The reading श्रीहोतर is not supported by Km which reads श्रीहोतर (the ancient name of Rādha in South-West Bengal) and श्री or श्रीहोतर side by side. Brahmrrottara may be associated with the name of Burma which is derived from the Mrama, one of the three tribes that migrated into Burma and ultimately lent their name as a national designation to all Burmese. Cf. below, p. 64 note 1. But for a Barhmrattar in Sarkar Satgnaon, see Jarret, op. cit., p. 141. Srivijaya (modern Palembang in Sumatra) was the capital of the Sailendras emperors in the early medieval period.

6. Mk abc—मालवा गेमलंका; 6 मालवा गेमलंका; Vy acde, Bmd—मालवा गेमलंका; Mts abc—मालवा गेमलंका; 6 (v.l.)—मालवा गेमलंका; मालवा गेमलंका; गेमलंका गेमलंका; Vmn a—मालवा गेमलंका; 6 मालवा गेमलंका. The correct reading of the names and their location are doubtful.

7. Mk—प्रायोतिसार सदस्य; Vy—प्रायोतिसार सुम्हनख्च; Bmd—प्रायोतिसार सुम्हनख्च; Mts—प्रायोतिसार सुम्हनख्च Vmn—प्रायोतिसार Sūtra. Prāgyojitā=modern Gauhati area of Assam and the adjoining region. Paunḍra=people of North Bengal with their city called Pūrṇa (later Pūrṇavṛtta), modern Mahāsthāna in the Bogra District.

8. Mk, Vy acde, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—विदेशीतता प्रवित्तका; Vy b—विदेशीतता प्रवित्तका. Videka=a people living in North Bihar and the adjoining region, with their capital at Mithila, modern Janakpur in the
Nepalese Tarai. Tamraliptaka = people of the district round modern Tamluk in South-West Bengal.

1. Mk ab—Malla Magadhagomanta; d—Malla Magadhagomeda; Vy—Malla Magadhagombi; Bmd—Malla Magadhagomnda; Mts a—Shalvamagadgorni; b—Shalvamagadgorni; Vmn—Malla Mahagomnda. For the Mallas of the district round Kusinagara (Kasia in the Gorakhpur District), see Raychaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 106 f. Note that Magadha was sometimes located in Madhyadeva (p.22, note 4) and sometimes in Pracya. Vj which locates the Andhras and Sivas (cf. p. 27, note 5,) in East India apparently relied on these erroneous texts of the Puranas. For Gonarda which belonged to East India only theoretically, see JAHRS, Vol. IX, part i, p. 1 ff, and below.

2. Mk, Vy a, Bmd, Mts—Prachya Jnandya; Vmn—Prachya Jnandya-tirikame; Vy cde—Prachya Jnandya; Smota; Vmn—Prachya Jnandya.

3. The following line is omitted in Vmn.


6. Mk ab, Vmn—Pratap Chakroshchandra; Mk b—Pratap Chakroshchandra; Vy, Bmd, Mts, Mk d—Pratap Chakroshchandra. The Pundyas and Keralas lived about the Madurai-Ramanathapuram-Tirunelveli region and the Malayalam-speaking area respectively.

7. Mk ab—Golapu Shastreschandra, b—Golapu Shastreschandra, c—Chalna: Kulapusteschandra; Vmn—Chalna: Kulapusteschandra. For the reading Golapu which seems to be a later emendation, see Bsl, 16, 3. The Colas lived about the Tanjavur and Tiruchirappalli Districts of Madras State.

8. Mk—Shantika Shastreschandra; Vy, Bmd—Setuka Shastreschandra; Mts—Setuka—Sutikashchandra; Vmn—Januka Shastreschandra. Setuka = people of Setubandiha-Rameswara. Musika = probably the people living on the banks of the Musi now running by the town of Hyderabad (Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 80). Another river of this name runs through the Nellore and Guntur Districts.

9. Mk abe—Kumuda Naam Bhasha; c—Kumarava Varnasaka; Vy cde—Kumuda Varnasaka; Bmd—Kumuda Varnasaka; Mts—Kumdra Varnasaka.
GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

महाराष्ट्र माहिषिका: कलिष्कास्वच सवर्णकाल:। कावेरा: सहज पौरिका आदि: शारदाचक: ये। पुलिन्द्र विश्वासभीका (या) विद्वानो दंडके: सह। पौरिका माहिषिका (मोहत्तका?) सवर्ण आदिका भोगवद्भुत:।

¢ (v.l.)—कुपुषा वाणिज्य: शाका; कुपुषा वाणिज्याख्या: ; Vmn—कुमाराद्व महाराष्ट्र:। Vy b—समाना बनवासिका:। The Vanavāsakas were the inhabitants of modern Banavasi in the North Kanara District. Kumāra=people of Cape Comorin called Kumārādvipa.

1. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Vmn a—महाराष्ट्र माहिषिका; Mts a—नवराष्ट्र माहिषिका; b—नवराष्ट्र माहिषिका; Mkd, Vmn b—महाराष्ट्र माहिषिका। Mahārāṣṭra=modern Marāṭhā country. Māhiṣaka=people of the ancient Mahiṣaviṣaya in Mysore or of Mahismati on the Narmadā.

2. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—कलिष्कास्वच सवर्णकाल:। Mts e (v.l.)—कलिष्कास्वच सवर्णकाल:। The Kalinga country originally comprised the present Puri and Ganjam Districts of Orissa and the adjoining regions.

3. Mk—आभीरा: सहवेश्वरीका; Vy a(e) (v.l.), Bmd—आभीरा: सहवेश्वरीका; Vy red—आभीरा: सहवेश्वरीका; Mts—कांवाश्च सहवेश्वरीका:। e (v.l.) कावेराचक: सहवेश्वरीका:। Vmn—आभीरा: सहवेश्वरीका:। Kāvera=people living on the Kāveri.


5. Mk a(e)—पुलिन्द्र विश्वासभीका; b—पुलिन्द्र विश्वासभीका; Vy ace, Bmd—पुलिन्द्र विश्वासभीका; Vy ad—पुलिन्द्र विश्वासभीका; Mts—पुलिन्द्र विश्वासभीका; Vmn—पुलिन्द्र विश्वासभीका:। The reference is to the Pulindas of the Vindhyān region.

6. Mk, Vy b(e), Mts b(e), Vmn b—विद्वानो दंडके: सह; Vy a, Bmd, Mts a—विद्वानो दंडके: सह। Vmn a—विद्वानो दंडके: सह। The Prakritism in the form 'वेदभो' is interesting to note. Vidarbha=modern Berar and the adjoining regions. Dandaka is the old name of parts of the Marāṭhā country including especially the Nasik District.

7. The following lines together with the first line of the next Section are omitted in Mts.

8. Mk—पौरिका मोहत्तका; Vy a—पौरिका मोहत्तका; cde—पाणिका मोहत्तका। b recognises मूलिक only; Bmd—मूलिक मोहत्तका। Paurika=people of Puri in the Konkan. Maulika=people of Mūlaka, the district round Paithan on the Godavari in the Aurangabad District, Bombay.

9. Mk, Vy ak, Bmd, Vy a—अध्वका भोगवद्भुत। Vy cde—अध्वका
PURNIC LIST OF PEOPLES

मै(क्र?)पिका: कुट्टला अन्थ्रा¹ उद्भूता नलकालिका:(ोलुपा:?)² दागिण्यायास्य च देशा³ अपरांत्दानी निबोधत़⁴ II

V

"सूपरिका: कोलवना⁶ दुग्गससोलीकट्ट: सह⁷।"

भोगवन्दः; Vmn a-लक्षा भोगवन्दः: Aśmaka was contiguous to Mūlaka and had its capital at Paudanya, identified by Raychaudhuri with Bodhan in the Nizamabad District of Andhra Pradesh. Bhogavardhana reminds us of the Bhokardan Taluk of the Aurangabad District, Bombay.

1. Mk as—नेतिका: कुट्टला अन्थ्रा, द—नेतिका: कुट्टला अन्थ्रा, d—नेतिका: कुट्टला अन्थ्रा, Vy ace-नेतिका: कुट्टला अन्थ्रा, द—नेतिका: कुट्टला अन्थ्रा; Vmn—नेतिका: कुट्टला अन्थ्रा. Kuntala=people of the region around the North Kanara District. The Andhra people lived in Andhrapatha about the mouths of the Krishna and the Godavari. Originally they appear to have spread over large parts of the Central and Northern Deccan. For the Rājikas on the Krishna, see Sircar, St. Inst., 1, p. 198 n.


3. Mk—दागिण्यायास्य वै देशा: Vy, Bmd—दागिण्यायास्य वै देशा: Vmn has rather freely—दागिण्यायास्य जनपदास्त्वमें शालकटकट (द—कटकट) Al—Bīrūni wrongly recognizes दागिण्यायत and वैदिश (sic. वै देशा:) as two janapadas of the South and refers to the following countries of the West as those belonging to the South.

4. Mk abc—अपरांत्दानी निबोधत़ मे; d—अपरांत्दानी निबोधत़ मे; Vy, Bmd—अपरांत्दानी निबोधत़। Cf. p. 37, n. 10.

5. The following line is omitted in Mts.


7. Mk abc—दुग्गससोलीकट्ट: सह, d—दुग्गससोलीकट्ट: सह; Vy ace—दुग्गससोलीकट्ट: सह; कालिकट्ट: सह; Bmd—दुग्गससोलीकट्ट: सह; Vmn—दुग्गससोलीकट्ट: सह. The reading तालाकट is supported by Br, XIV, 11 and Mbh, II, 31, 65 (where तालाकट is a mistake for तालिकट). Tālikata=Talakāṭ,
the Western Ganga capital which was really in the south. Durga=people of the valley of the Durga, a tributary of the Sāharmati.

1. Mk—पुलिन्दाच तुरुक(पुरु) कालाच; Vy aude, Bmd—पुलिन्दाच तुरुकाच; Vy b—पुलिन्दाच करालाच (?) ; Mts—कुर्कीच सिराळाच; Vmn—पुलिन्दाच सिराळाच. For a river called मुरला in which the अमराना elephants sported, see Sel. Inst., p. 433a. The Murala people is known to have come into contact with Pratihāra Mahipāla I according to Rājaśekhara's Bālabhadrata or Prasodapāṇḍara (N. S. P. ed., I. 7) and with Kalacuri Karna according to the Bharaghat inscription (Ep. Ind., II, p. 11). Paramāśa Sindhūrāja (c.995-1010 A.D.) is represented in the Nanasāhāstākāśastra (X, 14-20) as having defeated the Muralas. The reading of the other names and their location are uncertain.

2. Mk—कुमारा; स्थापत्य: सह; Vy aude, Bmd—कुमारातपस: सह; Vmn—स्थापत्यातास्तापत्य; Vy b—कर्काशात: सह. The reading of the names and their location are uncertain.

3. Vmn has for the following two lines—कर्काशा लक्ष्मी नासिकानाथा: सुन्नबेहा:  
4. Mk—नववसीखचाच; Vy aude, Bmd—नववसीखचाच; Mts—नववसीखचाच; Vy b—नववसीखचाच, e (v. l.)—नववसीखचाच Tumbhavana=Tumain in the Guna Dist. of M. P.

5. Mk—सार्वे चैव कालार; Vy b, Mts, Mk e (v. 1.)—सार्वे कालारास्ताया; Vy aude—सार्वे चैव पराकार; e (v. 1.)—सार्वे चैव पराकार; Bmd—सार्वे बैवापाराह; cf. Vmn—कालारास्ताया. Mk d has, after this, the following additional lines—कार्कार तोहुवबुहुस नासिकाया जाताभमकः। दीयाला: कोलाराचव बूपूरा विद्वात्सावम् । तुरारारामारास्ताया सार्वे चैव कालार: कालारास्ताया। The second of the three lines is taken out of the following Section. The Kāraskaras are known from Bhāṣa. Dā. S., I, 2, 14—आरादने कालारास्ताया पृष्ठानु वाचीरानु योगकल्पानु प्राचीननिति च गलया पुनर्मौनम् यज्ञ सार्वपुष्पया वा। Dey's Geog. Dkt. identifies Kāraskara with Karkal near Mangalore. But it is doubtful.

6. Mk—नासिकायायच यें चायन; Vy, Bmd—नासिकायायच यें चायन; Vy e (v. 1.)—नासिकायाच यें चायने, नासिकायाच यें चायने; Mts a—बासिकायच यें चायने, b—बासिकायाच्छवे यें चायने. Nāṣikya=people of Nasik in Bombay State.

7. Mk, Vy b—यें चैवाचर्चागद्वारा; Bmd, Mts, Vy aude (v. 1.)—यें चैवाचर्चागद्वारा, Uttarā-Narmada=people living on the northern bank of the Narmada.
PURAGIC LIST OF THE PEOPLES

भास्यंकरते अण्वंकरते ।
समाहिता ।

क्षणिक वाणिज्य सुराज्याभास ।
आनन्तम्बाद्रिदः साह ।

इस्येते अरपरातासः ग्रहणः विद्यासिनः ।

VI

7 मल्लदास कर्ययाचार्येऽऽकलालोऽपकालः सदः ।

1. Mk—भास्यम्बाद्रिदः समाहिता ।
Mts, Vm—भास्यम्बाद्रिदः समाहिता ।
Vy ॥—भास्यम्बाद्रिदः समाहिता ।

Mts, Vyy ॥—भास्यम्बाद्रिदः समाहिता ।
Vy be—भास्यम्बाद्रिदः समाहिता ।

The Prakritism in the form भास्यम्बाद्रिदः (Pāli भास्यम्बाद्रिदः) for the Sanskritic भास्यम्बाद्रिदः is interesting to note. Bhrgukaccha = Broach. Māheya = people of the Mahi valley. Both the tracts are in Gujarath.

2. Mk, Vm, Vy b—सदासः सारस्वतेऽपि ।
Mts—सदासः सारस्वतेऽपि ।
Vy aede, Bmd—सारस्वतेऽपि ।

3. Mk—कामीरासः सुराज्याभास ।
Vy, Bmd—क्षणिक वाणिज्य सुराज्याभास ।
Mts a—क्षणिकाकृतवासं साराण्डिः ।
Vy—क्षणिकाकृतवासं साराण्डिः ।

Kacchiya = people of Kutch. Surāṣṭra = South Kathiawar.

4. Mk aede, Vm—वैवधारावान्दणः सहः
Mk b—वैवधारावान्दणः सहः
Vy aede (v.l.)—वैवधारावान्दणः सहः

Mts—वैवधारावान्दणः सहः
Vy b—वैवधारावान्दणः (sic) सहः

Anarta = district round Dvārakā. Arboda = Mount Abu in Rajasthan.

5. Mk, Vy e (v.l.)—इले अपरान्तासः
Vy aede, Bmd—इले अपरान्तासः
Mts—इले अपरान्तासः

Vuhas has rather freely—इले पश्चिमामाशा विस्तार आपपदा जाना।

6. Mk aede—सुङ्गु विद्यासिनः

b—सुङ्गु विद्यासिनः

Mts—सुङ्गु में विद्यासिनः.

7. Vy b omits several lines and makes the janañadas mentioned in the following two Sections as those belonging to the West. See p. 31, note 3.

8. Mk a—सर्वासः कर्ययाचार्येऽऽकलालोऽपकालः सर्वासः कर्ययाचार्येऽऽकलालोऽपकालः
Vy aede, Bmd, Mts—

मल्लदास कर्ययाचार्येऽऽकलालोऽपकालः सर्वासः कर्ययाचार्येऽऽकलालोऽपकालः

See p. 28, note 3. The Mālavas (Māloī of the Greeks) lived on the lower Ikāvatī (Rāvi) in the Punjab in the fourth century B.C. Later they are found settled in Rajputana and ultimately they gave their name to modern Malwa in Central India. Kārūṣa, which is also-called Brhadgrha, is the same as the present Shahabad District of Bihār. The Maladas probably lived to the west of the Kārūṣas and to the east of Prayāga (Allahabad). Lama Tāranātha who locates a Māla country near Prayāga seems to have confused the Maladas with the Mālavas of Western India on the strength of erroneous Puranic passages quoted in the present note. Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1068.

9. Mk—कर्ययाचार्येऽऽकलालोऽपकालः सदः
Vy ae—रोकलालोऽपकालः सदः

Bmd,
1. The following line is wrongly placed in Section V in Mk d.

2. Mk, Bmd, Vmn, Vy d—उत्तमणि दशाणाविश; Vy août—उत्तमणि दशाणाविश, ो—उत्तमणि विश; Mts—एकपुरा वेदिशास्त्र; Dašārğa formed parts of modern East Malwa (cf. the river of the same name at p.47, n.4) and the adjoining regions. It was also known as Ākara and had its capital at Vidiśā. The Uttamākas may be the Uttamabhadras of the Pushkar region.

3. Mk—भोजा: फिनियस्कः; सह; Vy, Bmd, Mts—भोजा: फिनियस्कः; सह; Vmn—गोप्ता फिनियस्कः; सह. The Bhojas originally lived in Berar but later founded a kingdom in the Gaṇa region. The Kiśkindhakas may be the people of Kekind in Jodhpur (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 199, 208, 109) or of the Ramayanic Kiśkindhya identified with the Raichur-Bellary area of Mysore and the adjoining regions. In any case, Vindhyā is used in a wide sense.

4. Mk, Vmn ो—तोशला: कोशलाश्च; Vy aoe—तोशला कोशलाश्च; Bmd—लोशना: कोशलाश्च; Vmn o—लोश्चला लोश्चला; Mts o—स्तोला कोशलाश्च, ो—स्तोला कोशलाश्च; Vy ो—रूस्चला रूस्चला. Both the names could be spelt either with the dental or with the palatal sibilant. Tośala was no doubt the district round the city of Tośali (modern Dhauli, near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District, Orissa). In the early medieval period, the Tośala jātapadā is known to have been divided into Uttar-Tośala and Daṅśapa-Tośala. Kośala here is no doubt Daṅśapa-Kośala, identified with the modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region of M. P. and Orissa. See Raychaudhuri, PHAI, pp. 292, 452.

5. Mk ो—जूपुरा बैदिशास्त्र; Vy—जूपुरा बैदिशास्त्र; Bmd, Mts—जूपुरा बैदिशास्त्र; Vmn—जूपुरा बैदिशास्त्र. The Traipuras were the people of Tripura or Tripuri, modern Tewar in the Jabalpur District. The Vaidißas were the people of Vidiśā, modern Bsnagar near Bhilsa in M. P.
Puranic List of Peoples

1. Mk abcd—tumurastra-mularamccha, d—tumurastra-mularamccha; Vy ace, Bmd—tumurastra-mularamccha; Mts a—tumurastra-mularamccha, be—tumurastra-mularamccha, Vmn—tumurastra-mularamccha. One of the names appears to be a mistake for tumamban, modern Tumain in the Guna Dist., M. P. The other locality may be Tummāna (=Tumān), 45 miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur Dist., M. P.

2. Mk a—pattvā niṣṭhā: sah, bc—pattvā niṣṭhā: sah, d—pattvā niṣṭhā: sah; Vy ace, Bmd—pattvā niṣṭhā: sah; Vy e (v.l.)—pattvā niṣṭhā: sah; Mts ab—patvā niṣṭhā: sah, c—patvā niṣṭhā: sah; Vmn a—behola niṣṭhā: sah, b—behola niṣṭhā: sah; Vy b—pattvāna: patvā: sah. The Nisadhās are associated with the Pāriyātra. They probably lived about Nal pura, modern Narwar in the Shivapuri Dist., M. P. The other people’s name and location are uncertain.

3. The following four lines are omitted in Vy b.

4. Mk abed—abjārasthāntikāraśc, e (v.l.)—ānupusthāntikāraśc; Vy ace, Bmd, Vmn—ānupusthāntikāraśc; Vy e (v.l.)—ānupusthāntikāraśc; Mts—ānupusthāntikāraśc. Omitted in Vy b. Anūpa was on the Narmada with the city of Māhismati (modern Māndhātā in the Nūrār District, M. P.) as its capital. The Haihayā king Arjuna, son of Kṛtavrīya, ruled at Māhismati. Like the Bhojas, Vititrohas and Avantis mentioned in the Section, the Tūṇḍikeras were a branch of the Haihayas. According to the Purāṇas (Mts, 43, 48-49; Vy, 94, 51-52; Bmh, 13, 205-04; Pdm, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, 12, 35-36; Hv, I, 33, 51-52), the Haihayas were subdivided into five clans, viz., Vititroha (wrongly called vīrāhā in some texts), Bhoja, Avanti, Tūṇḍikera (called kṣatriya, vīrāhā and tūṇḍikera in some texts) and tālajāp. Pargiter (AIHT, p. 98, etc.) refers to the name of the Haihayā clan read in some texts as suktā, sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, etc. The Haihayas were themselves a branch of the Yādavas. See, e. g., Van, IV, Ch. II, Sections i ff.

5. Vy ace, Bmd—vīritihotra śāmbavatya; Mk—vīritihotra śāmbavatya; Mts—vīritihotra śāmbavatya; Vmn—vīritihotra śāmbavatya. Omitted in Vy b. The Avantis, people lived in West Malwa and the Vititrohas probably on the Narmada to the south of the Avantis.
GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

एते जनपदा: सवैः विद्यापुरस्तिवासिनः।

VII

अतो देशान्तः प्रवक्तांमिः पब्बतांयविविधः मे।

निराक्षरा हंसामागः। कुलसाताजः: खसा:।

कर्णासाप्रवायाभ्येचं ्हुना दावाः: सुहुत्तिकः।

1. Mk, Vy, Bmd—एते जनपदा: सवैः; Mts—एते जनपदा: स्थातः। Vmн has rather freely—सुहुत्तिकाः विद्यामूलस्तिवारस्मै जनपदास्य शिवः (ल—स्तू) तः:

2. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—विद्यापुरस्तिवासिनः।

3. Mk, Vy aदे, Bmd, Mts—अतो देशान्तः प्रवक्तांमिः; Vmн—आधारः देशान्तः प्रवक्तांमिः। The reference below is to the Himalayan peoples.

4. Mk, Vy aदे, Bmd, Mts—पब्बतांयविविधः मे; Vmн—पब्बतांयविविधः मे।

5. Mk—निराक्षरा हंसामागः; Vy aदे, Bmd—निराक्षरा हंसामागः; Mts—

निराक्षरा: सवैः अभ्येचं; Vmн a—निराक्षराः हंसामागः; b—निराक्षराः हंसामागः। The Harshasamārgas of the Himalayan region are also known from other passages; cf. below, Chapter III, Section VIII; also above, p. 26, note 8. They lived in North-West Kashmir. The name and location of the other people are uncertain.

6. Mk—कुरुसः गुर्जः: खसा:; Vy aदे—सुपारस्ताजः: खसा:; e (v.l.)—

कुरुसः गुर्जः: खसा:; सुपारस्ताजः: खसा:; कुरुसः गुर्जः: खसा:; Bmd—

कुरुसः गुर्जः: खसा:; Mts—कुरुसः गुर्जः: खसा:; Vmн—कुरुसः गुर्जः: खसा:।

These Kuras are doubtless the celebrated Uttarakurus living in the Himalayan region. The Khasas (identified with the modern Khakkas) lived about Kashmir. Mts, Vy and Bmd refer to a Himalayan locality called कुरु or अभ्य (cf. Chapter III, Section X, a). For the Taṅgaṇas, see above, p. 26, note 9.

7. Mk—कुर्णासाप्रवायाभ्येचं; Vy aदे—कुर्णासाप्रवायाभ्येचं; Bmd, Vy b—

कुर्णासाप्रवायाभ्येचं; Mts, Vmн, Vy e (v.l.)—कुर्णासाप्रवायाभ्येचं। Both कुर्णासाप्रवाय and कुर्णासाप्रवाय situated in the Himalayan region are elsewhere mentioned in Mts, Vy and Bmd (cf. Chapter III, Section X, г and д). Rām, IV, 40, 25 locates कुर्णासाप्रवाय in the eastern direction, probably in the eastern Himalayas.

8. Mk a—उण्डा दावाः सुहुत्तिकः; bद—उण्डा दावाः सफुत्तिकः; Vy aदे—

हुणा दावाः सुहुत्तिकः; Bmd—हुणादावाः सफुत्तिकः; Mts a—उण्डा दावाः समुददुधः; bद—उण्डा दावाः समुददुधः; Vmн—उण्डा: सुहुत्तिकः; Vy b—हुणा दावाः

सफुत्तिकः; e (v.l.)—हुणा दावाः सुहुत्तिकः; त्रुणा दावाः सफुत्तिकः। For the हुनास and Dārvas, see p. 27, note 2 above. For the भुट्टिकास of the Himalayan region, see Chapter III, Section X, ह।
VIII
Condensed List

Vsn, II, ch. 3, vv. 14-17; Krm, I, ch. 46 (47 in some texts), vv. 41-44; Bmnh, 21, 15-17.

2. Tāṭikāṃ kṛṇa-śāntiśayaḥ māṃḍyaśādāyaḥ jāna.¹

3. Purvāṇaśāntiśahāpanaḥ kāmānubhavāḥ.²

Vṛṣṇi: (Paṇḍava): kālīṇa māṇḍya (Māhīya): Vaiśānava Māraśa (Kṛṣṇa).³

Tathāpapānta: Sūryāṇaṭha:⁴ Śūdrakṣaṇaṛāṣṭramāṇa.⁵

1. Mk ac, Vṛṣṇi—Vṛṣṇi kṛṇa-śāntiśayaḥ; Mk d—Vṛṣṇi kṛṇa-śāntiśayaḥ; Bmnd—Vṛṣṇi Māṇḍyaśādāyaḥ; Mts—Vṛṣṇi Māṇḍyaśādāyaḥ. Vmn has rather freely—Vṛṣṇi kṛṇa-śāntiśayaḥ. Tāṭikāṃ: Trīgarta=modern Jalandhar region. For the Saptā-mālas or seven localities called Mālava, see Raychaudhuri, PHAL, p. 492 n. Mālava in our text may be the same as the country of that name identified with the cis-Satlaj districts of the Punjab together with some Himalayan territory.

2. Mk, Vṛṣṇi acdr, Bmnd—Kārataśāntamāyaḥ: Suh; Vṛṣṇi b—Kārataśāntamāyaḥ: Suh; Mts—Kārataśāntamāyaḥ: Suh. Kīrātas=Himalayan mountaineers : cf. the name of modern Kirāntī, etc. See p. 22, note 1. The reading tomar (for tamar) is supported by some passages; cf. Chapter III, Section X, H. See also p. 26, n. 8 above.

3. This later list is very carelessly compiled and probably had some mistakes even in the original draft.


6. Vṛṣṇi, Krm, Bmnh—Purvāṇaśāntiśahāpanaḥ. Originally Prācha or Purvadesa included the lands lying to the east of Eastern U.P.


9. Vṛṣṇi, Krm—Vaiśānavaśāntiśa (Kṛṣṇa): Bmnh—Vaiśānavaśāntiśa. Dākṣiṇārāyaṇa or Dākṣiṇārāyanapatha lay to the south of the Vindhya or the Narmada.


11. Vṛṣṇi, Bmnh, Krm 46 (v.l.)—Bhūdrāraśāntamāṇaḥ; Krm ac—Bhūdrāraśāntamāṇaḥ.
1. Vsn—काक्या मालवांबेव; Krm a—मालका मालवांबेव, b—मालका मालवांबेव, v.l.—मालका मालवांबेव; Bmh—मालका मालवांबेव. Maruka=Maru or Marwar. See above, p. 26, note 2.

2. Vsn, Krm a—पारिवार्शिनिवासिन; Krm b—पारिवार्शिनिवासिन; Krm c, Bmh—पारिवार्शिनिवासिन.


4. Vsn, Bmh—शाल्ब: शाल्बासिन; Krm a—शाल्ब: कान्याविवाहिनी; b—शाल्ब: कान्याविवाहिनी, v.l., c (v.l.)—शाल्ब: कान्याविवाहिनी. See above, p. 21, note 3; p. 24, note 2.

5. Vsn, Bmh—मद्रामालमास्थभास्त्र; Krm a—मद्रामालस्थविवाहाण्या, b—मद्रामालस्थविवाहाण्या. See above, p. 21, note 4. For the Ambaṣṭhas living on the lower Chenab, see Raychaudhuri, PHAI, pp. 206-07.

6. Krm—पारसीकालबेव ब; Vsn, Bmh—पारसीकादयस्त्र. The Pārashukas (Persians) are not mentioned in the bigger list or in any work earlier than Mbh, VI, 9, 65-66, and Kālidāsa’s Rāghuvamsa, IV, 60. They are also mentioned in the Pāḍātālakā-bhāṣa (3rd century), the Muṇḍarakāṇḍa (c. 7th century) and the Gaudāyana (8th century). See: S. Sāt, p. 326; JRAS, 1946, p. 51.
III

PURANIC LIST OF RIVERS

For Introductory remarks and list of abbreviations, see above, pp. 17 ff.

TEXT

[Bmd, ch. 49, vv. 28-42; Krm, I, ch. 46 (ch. 47 in some versions), vv. 28-39; Mk, ch. 57 (ch. 54 in some versions), vv. 17-30; Mts, ch. 114, vv. 20-32; Vmn, ch. 13, vv. 20-33; Vy, ch. 45 (of Book I according to some versions; cf. also Sachau, Alb. Ind., I, pp. 357-39), vv. 94-107.]

1. The following line is omitted in Krm. A little independence as regards the order of enumeration of the rivers issuing from the Himavat (Himālaya) is noticed in Mk and, to a greater degree with deliberate omissions and commissions, in Vmn. Mk has गंगा सरस्वती सिन्धुक्ता नदीं। यमुना च शतदुर्घच विलत्तेवतः नदीं। गोमती घूम्यापति (०-०४) च बाहुव (०-०३) सदुशुद्धादि (०-०३) विलत्तेवतां (०-०३) रद्धरानिष्णौ गण्डकी नदीं। कौशली च चांगा विश्व हिमवत्पुरिनः बृहतः। वमन हस—सरस्वती पण्डिव्या काशिक्ये च हिरण्ये। शतदुर्घचत्वारी नीला विलत्तेवतां नदीं। मथुरा हारारंवी च उपीरा पातुक (०-०३) रस। गोमती घूम्यापति च बाहुव सा दुपुर्ण नदीं। निश्चल गण्डकी चिन्ता कौशली तु बहुतुरा। श्रीघुराख सजोशिव्या (०-०३०) हिमवत्पुरिनः। बृहतः। Most of the Himalayan rivers are noticed by Al-Birrūnī. Vide infra, p. 43, note 2. Though he speaks of both Vy and Mts, possibly the names were quoted by him from the latter work with an amount of misunderstanding and confusion.

2. Vy, Bmd—[तैविद्मनि जनपदा भार्यलेच्छाशः (Vy ०-०५०) मिन्यः।] यीपन्ते योगिना नदः। Mts—[तैविद्मनि जनपदा (०५-०४) मायाय मेच्छाशः सबकं।] पिंपलित बहुतुरा नदः। Cf. p. 60, n. 2; p. 64, n. 3.

3. Vy. Bmd, Mts—गंगा सिन्धु: सरस्वती। Mk—गंगा सरस्वती सिन्धु। Omitted in Krm. Some Mts versions read the names of the rivers in the second case-ending. It is well known that the Gangā
is the Ganges and the Sindhu the Indus. The Sarasvati rises in the Sirmur hills of the Siwalik range in the Himalayas and emerges into the plains at Ād-Badrī in the Ambala District, Punjab. It disappears once at Chalaur but reappears at Bhavani-pur; then it disappears at Balchappar but again appears at Bara Khera; next it is joined by the Mārkandā at Urnai near Pehoa and the united stream, still called Sarasvati, ultimately falls into the Ghaggar which is believed to have borne the name Sarasvati in ancient times. In the early Vedic period, the Sarasvati probably flowed into the Arabian Sea. Later literature speaks of its disappearance at Vinaśana (near modern Sirsa) in Kurukṣetra or Brāhmāvarta (in the Eastern Punjab) which is described as the land between the Sarasvati and the Dṛḍadvatī. Cf. दक्षिण तथ्यात उत्तरेष दुध्वलीम्। वेसमति कृष्णेन ते वस्माति तिब्रिहः॥ (Mbh, III, 83, 204-05); सरस्वतिदुध्वलोद्वग- न्योयेन्द्वः। तं देवतिनिमित्त वेशं ब्रह्मावर्त्र भर्नेल्वे॥ (Manu, II, 17). Vide infra, p. 41, note 4.

1. Vy, Bmd, Krm, Mts—सतदुश्चन्द्रभागा च; cf. Vmn—सतदूर- श्चन्द्रभागा नीला. The Šatadru is the modern Satlaj. It is the Vedic Študri and the Zarodros or Hesydrus of the Classical writers. The Chandrabhāgā is the modern Chenab which is the same as Āsiknī of the Vedic literature and the Acesines of the Classical authors. Ptolemy calls it Sandabala or Šandabal. The Nilā referred to by Vmn reminds us of the name Nilāb applied by the early Muslim writers to the part of the river Indus (cf. Ray, DHNI, I, p. 84).

2. Vy a, Mts a—मयुन्ना तरुनूत्त्वा; Bmd, Vy ode, Mts b—मयुन्ना सर्मूलत्वा; Krm d—सर्मूल यूमुना तर्ना; bō—सर्मूलं मुन्ना तर्ना; Mts c, Vy e (v.l.)—यमुना तरुस्सालया. The Yāmūnā is the modern Jumnā (Yamunā) joining the Ganges near Allahabad. The Sarayū is the modern Ghagra or Gogra on which the ancient city of Ayodhyā (near Fyzābād) is situated. It rises in the Kumaon hills and is called Sarayū, Ghagra or Devā (after its junction with the Kālīnādī).
PURANIC LIST OF RIVERS

1. Vy, Bmd, Krm, Mts a—हरावती विलस्तरा ॥ विपाशा देविका कुहुः॥
   गोमती घूटपापा च बाहुदा च दुपदत्ती॥

   1. Vy, Bmd, Krm, Mts a—हरावती विलस्तरा ॥ विपाशा देविका कुहुः॥
   गोमती घूटपापा च बाहुदा च दुपदत्ती॥

   2. Vy a, Bmd—विपाशा देविका कुहुः; Krm, Mts a, Vy cde—
   विपाशा देविका कुहुः; Krm b (v. l.) विपाशा देविका कुहुः; Mts bc—
   विशाला देविका कुहुः. The Vipāśā is the modern Beas, called the
   Vipāś in earlier literature and the Hyphasis or Bipasis in the
   works of the Classical writers. The Devikā is the modern Deog,
   a tributary of the Rāvī. Another identification suggested by some
   writers is that with the Devā, a name applied to the lower
   course of the Sarayū. The Kuhū has been identified with the
   modern Kabul river, called Kubhā in the Rgveda and Kophen,
   Kophes or Koa by the Classical writers.

   3. Mk abd, Vy abc, Bmd, Krm, Vmn—गोमती घूटपापा च; Vy
de—गोमती घूटपापा च; Mts—गोमती घूटपापा च; Mk c—गोमती घूटपापा च.
   The river Gomati has to be identified with the Rgvedic Gomati
   which is the modern Gomal a western tributary of the Indus,
   or with the modern Gomti which joins the Ganges below Benares.
   There is another river of this name in the Kangra District,
   Punjab. The Dhubtāpāpā was a tributary of the Ganges in the
   Banaras region. The name has been associated with Ahopāp
   on the Gomti, 18 miles south-west of Sultanpur in U.P.

   4. Mk abc—बाहुदा सदृशत्ती; d—बहुदा च दुपदत्ती; Vy, Bmd, Krm,
   Mts—बाहुदा च दुपदत्ती; Krm b (v. l.) Vy e (v. l.)—बहुदा च दुपदत्ती;
   Vmn—बाहुदा सा दुपदत्ती. The Bāhudā has been identified by some
   with the Dhavalā (modern Dhumela or Burhi-Rāpti), a tributary
   of the Rāpti, and by others with the Rāmgaṅgā that joins the
   Ganges near Kanauj. The river Drṣadvati is usually identified
   with the Citang, Citrang or Cautang which runs parallel to the
   Sarasvati; but some writers prefer its identification with the
Rakshi that flows by the south-east of Thanesvar. The view of certain earlier writers identifying the Drṣadvatī with the Ghaggar seems to be unjustifiable.

1. The following two lines are contracted into one in Krñ—कौशिकी कौशिकी (b [v.l.], c [v. l.]—कौशिका) भेति हिमवत्त-पादमिसुता:। Vmn and Mk arrange the names rather independently.

2. Vy, Bmd—कौशिकी च तुतीया हु; Mts—कौशिकी तु तृतीया च। Parpiger suggests the emendation—कौशिकी करतोया हु or कौशिकी च निसेटान्तु। The Kauśikī is no doubt, the modern Kosi which runs through Nepal and Tirhut and joins the Ganges below Patna; but originally the river seems to have passed through North Bengal to join the Brahmaputra. There is another Kosi (Kauśikī) which flows by Almora and Ramnagar in North-Western U. P. Trīyā may be a mistake for Karatoṇā the celebrated river of North Bengal. Niśirā seems also to be a mistake for Trisrotas, the Sanskrit name of the Teestā in North Bengal. Agn (ch. 116, 7) seems to locate the rivers Trīyā and Niśirā in the Gayā region; but the evidence is doubtful, and, moreover, in that case, they cannot be associated with the Himalayas. Cf. infra, note 3.

3. Mk, Vy, Bmd—निस्वरा गण्डकी तथा; Mts—निस्वरा गण्डकी तथा; Vmn—निस्बरा गण्डकी विष्ण्व। For Niśirā, see remarks above, note 2. The Gaṇdāki (modern Gaṇḍakā) is the famous tributary of the Ganges and joins the river near Sonepur (Hariharakṣetra) in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar.

4. Vy, Bmd—इस्लोहिल्ल इत्यतः। Mts a—इस्लोहिल्लमिलितेष्ये; b—इस्लोहिल्लममिलितेष्ये; c (v. l.)—चन्दकू लोहितलिल्लमिलितेष्ये। The name Ikṣu may indicate the Ikṣumati (modern Kālinādi, a tributary of the Ganges); but the form Caṅku as well as Raṅku (or Vaṅku) in Mk probably suggests that it is no other than the Vakṣu or Oxus (Amu Darya); cf. Kālidāsa’s Rāghuvanśa, IV, 67, in Vallabha’s commentary. The Lohitya or Lauhitya is the same as the Brahmaputra.
1. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Krn, Vmn—हिमद्वंशविद्धूतादि; Mts—हिमद्वंशविद्धूतणिय: सृष्टि। c (v. 1.)—विवाहान्वित या स्मरत्।

2. The following rivers are mentioned by Al-Birūnī (Sachau, Alb. Ind., I, Ch. 25) as issuing from the Himavat: 1. Sindh (Sindhu or Indus) or the river of Vaihand (ancient Udabhāṇḍa or Udahāṇḍa, modern Und near Attock), 2. Biyatta (Vitastā) or Jailam (Jhelam), 3. Candrabhāgā or Candrāhā, 4. Biyāha (Vipāsā) to the west (sic. east) of Lahore, 5. Irāvatī to the east (sic. west) of Lahore, 6. Satarudra or Sataldar (Satadru or Satlaj), 7. Sarsat (Sarasvatī) flowing to the country of Sarsat (Sārasvata), 8. Jaun (Yamunā), 9. Gaṅgā, 10. Sarayū or Sarwa, 11. Devikā, 12. Kuhū, 13. Gomati, 14. Dhūtapāpā, 15. Viśālā (cf. Mts c, supra, p. 41, note 2), 16. Bāhudāsa (sic. Bāhudā, with sa prefixed to the next name in the text consulted; cf. supra, p. 41, note 4), 17. Kauśikī, 18. Niścīrā, 19. Gaṅḍakī, 20. Lohitā, 21. Dr̥ṣadvatī. Other names of this list appear to have been wrongly taken mostly from that of the rivers issuing from the Pāriyātra (vide pp. 45-46). They are: 22. Tāmrā Arunā (Tāmravārnā ?), 23. Parṇāśā, 24. Vedasmṛti, 25. Vedāśini or Vidāśini (cf. infra, p. 45, note 1), 26. Candanā, 27. Kāwanā (same as Kawini, tributary of the Sarwa ?), 28. Parā, 29. Carmaṇvati, 30. Vidiśā, 31. Vepumati, 32. Śiprā that rises in the Pāriyātra and passes by Ujain (Ujjayini), 33. Karatoyā, 34. Shmāhina (cf. infra, p. 45, note 4). Al-Birūnī further says (op. cit., pp. 259 ff.), "In the mountains bordering on the kingdom of Kāyabish (Kāpiša), i.e. Kābul, rises a river which is called the Ghōrnand on account of its many branches. It is joined by several affluents: 1. the river of the pass of Ghūzak; 2. the river of the gorge of Panchīr (Panjshir falling into the Ghovand), below the town of Parvān (about 8 miles to the north of Chārikar) ; 3-4. the river Shavat and the river Sāva, which latter flows through the town of Lambagā (Lampāka), i.e. Lamghan; they join the Ghovand at the fortress of Drūta; 5-6. the rivers Nūr and Kīrāt.—Swelled by these affluents, the Ghovand (Kābul) is a great river opposite the town of Purshā-
var (modern Peshawar) being there called the ford, from a ford near the village of Mahanāra on the eastern bank of the river, and it falls into the river Sindh (Indus) near the castle of Bītūr, below the capital of al-Kandahār (Gandhāra), i.e. Vaihand (Und near Attok).—The river Biyatta (Vitastā), known as Jailam (Jhelam), from the city of this name on its western bank, and the river Candarāha (Candrabhāgā) join each other nearly fifty miles above Jāhrāvār (which together with Mūltān comprised the ancient Sauvīra country; cf. loc. cit., pp. 300, 302), and pass along west of Mūltān (which was originally known as Kaśyapapura, next as Hāṁsapura, then as Vegapura, afterwards as Śambapura and ultimately as Mūlāsthāna; cf. the views of Utpala; loc. cit., p. 298).—The river Biyāh (Vipāśā) flows east of Mūltān, and joins afterwards the Biyatta (Vitastā) and Candarāha (Candrabhāgā).—The river Īrāva (Īrāvatī) is joined by the river Kaj which rises in Nagarkot in the mountains of Bhātul. Thereupon follows as the fifth, the river Śatlagar (Śatadru).—After these five rivers have united below Mūltān at a place called Paṅcanada, i.e. the meeting place of the five rivers, they form an enormous watercourse. The Muslims call the river, after it has passed the Sindhi city Aror, as a united stream, the river of Mihran. Thus it extends...enclosing in its course places like islands until it reaches al-Mansūra, situated between several of its arms, and flows into the ocean at two places, near the city of Loharānī, and more eastward in the province of Kacch at a place called Sindhusāgara, i.e. the Sindh Sea.—As the name union of five rivers (Paṅcanada) occurs in this part of the world (the Punjab), we observe that a similar name is used also to the north of the above-mentioned mountain chains (i.e. the mountain bordering on the kingdom of Kāyabish), for the rivers which flow thence towards the north after having united near Tirmidh and having formed the river of Balkh, are called the union of seven rivers (cf. hapta-hindu of the ancient Iranians). The Zoroastrians of Sogdiana (Bukhara region) have confounded these two things; for they say that the whole of the seven rivers is Sindh, and its upper course Barīdīsh..........The river Sarsati (Prabhāsa-Sarasvati, mod. Raunakshi) falls into the sea at the distance of
a bow-shot east of Somnãth.—The river Jaun (Yamunã) joins the Ganges below Kanoj, which lies west of it. The united stream falls into the great ocean near Gãngãsãgara.—Between the mouths of the rivers Sarsati and Ganges is the mouth of the river Narmadã which descends from the eastern mountains, takes its course in a south-western direction and falls into the sea near the town of Bahroj (Broach) nearly sixty yojana east of Somnãth.—Behind the Ganges flow the rivers Rahab (modern Rãmanga) and Kavînî which join the river Sarhab near the city of Bãri (to the cast of the Ganges at a distance of three to four days' marches from Kanoj; cf. p. 199).”

1. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Krm—वैदस्मृतिवैद्विती; Krm b (v.l.), c (v.l.)—वैदस्मृतिवैद्विती; Mts—वैदस्मृतिवैद्विती. The Vedasmitã has been identified with the modern Besulã in Malwa. For the Vetravatã, vide infra, p. 46, note 3.

2. Mk, Vy acde, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—वृन्धâ तिथिभुवे ज ; Krm—वटाभी तिथिभुवे तथा; Vy b recognises Vrtragnhî (cf. Vãrtagnhî in Km.; modern Vãtrak, a tributary of the Sabarmatî in Gujarãt) only. The Sindhu is no doubt the modern Kâlisindh, a tributary of the Jumna between the Chambal and the Betwa.

3. Mk. abe—ब्रह्मा सा नदना जैव, d—ब्रह्मा सा नदना जैव; Vy a, Krm ab (v.l.) c (v. l.)—पराणâ जन्मा जैव; Bmd, Vy acde, Krm bc—वर्णासा जन्मा जैव; Mts—पराणâ नदना जैव; Vmn a—पराणâ नदना जैव, b—पराणâ नदना जैव; Vy b—पराणâ जन्मा जैव; Krm b (v.l.), c(v.l.)—पराणâ जन्मा जैव, b (v.l.)—पराणâ जन्मा जैव. The Parnâsâ is no other than the modern Banâs, a tributary of the Chambal, in Rajasthan. Candanã is believed to have been another name of the Sâbarmatî.

4. Mk, Bmd, Vy d (v.l.)—सदानिरा मही तथा; Vy acde—सदानिरा मही तथा, b—सदानिरा मही तथा (sic), c (v.l.)—सदा तीरा मही तथा; Krm ab (v.l.)—सदानिरा नमारा, bc—सुमस्मृतिती सुरा ; Mts—कावरे मही तथा; Vmn—पावनी ज मही तथा. The Mahi is no doubt the river of that name rising in Malwa and draining itself in the Gulf of Cambay. Sadânirâ cannot be satisfactorily identified.
1. The following two lines have been contracted into one in Krm bc—विदिशा बेंगलवल्लयः पारिवारधर्मः स्मृतः; b (v. l.)—चम्बावती तथा सूर्यं विदिशा बेंगलवल्लयः.

2. Mk ac—पारा चर्मवती तापी, bd—पारा चर्मवती नृपी; Bmd, Vy acde—पारा चर्मवती नाम; Vy b—पारा चर्मवती लूपा (?) ; Krm—चर्मवती तथा दूरयाः, b (v. l.)—चर्मवती तथा सूर्याः; Mts—पारा च वनवती रूपम्, c (v. l.)—पारा चर्मवती रूपम्. The Pārā may be the same as the Pārvatī which rises in Bhopal and is a tributary of the Chambal, while Charmanvati is no other than the Chambal itself. The Chambal is a well-known tributary of the Jumna. The reading of the third name and its identification are uncertain.

3. Mk, Vy acde, Bmd, Krm—विदिशा बेंगलवल्लयः; Mts—विदिशा बेंगलवल्लयः; Vmn—विदिशा बेंगलवल्लयः; Vy b recognises Vidiśā only. The river Vidiśā is the modern Bes or Balsali which falls into the Betwa near Besnagar (ancient Vidiśānagari). The Vetravati is the modern Betwa which is a tributary of the Jumna.

4. This line is omitted in Krm a and Vy b.

5. Mk abc—विदिशा हवनी च तथा; Vy acde, Bmd—विदिशा हवनी च तथा; Vy c (v. l.), Mk d—विदिशा हवनी च तथा; Mts—विदिशा हवनी कुली च; Vmn—विदिशा होच्चवती रस्मा. The Śipra is mentioned in literature as the river on which the celebrated city of Ujjainī (modern Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh) was situated. The river Avanti rises near Mhow and flows into the Chambal. The Kuntī, otherwise called Aśvanadi or Aśvarathanaadi, is a small tributary of the Chambal (see Dey, Geog. Dict., s.v. Kunti-Bhoja).

6. Mk abc, Bmd—पारिवारधर्मः स्मृतः; Vy, Mk d—पारिवारधर्मः स्मृतः; Mts—पारिवारधर्मः स्मृतः; Vmn—पारिवारधर्मः स्मृतः. Pāriyātra or Pāripātra was the name applied to the Western Vindhayas together with the Aravelly range.
III

1. This line is omitted in Mts ab. For the first three lines, Krn reads rather freely—नम्बा सुरसा शोणी दशार्ण च महानदी।

2. Vy, Bmd, Mts c—शोणी महानदी जैव।

The Sone is the celebrated Sone which rises in the Amarkantak range and drains itself into the Ganges not far from Patna. The ancient city of Pataliputra stood at the junction of the Sone and the Ganges. The Mahanadi also rises from the same range and flows through Orissa into the Bay of Bengal.

3. Mk—नम्बा सुरसा श्रीविष्णू; Vy acde—नम्बा सुरसा हुमा, b—नम्बा सुरसा श्रीविष्णू (sic, किर्णा), c (v. l.), d (v. l.)—नम्बा सुरसा हुमा; Bmd—नम्बा सुरसा हुमा; Vmn—नम्बा सुरसा किर्णा; Mts c—नन्दना सुरसा किर्णा; cf. सुरसा श्रीविष्णू in Grd, I, 55, 8. The Narmada is the famous Narbadā (Neruddha) which rises in the Amarkantak range and falls into the Arabian Sea. The reading of the other names and their identification are uncertain.

4. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—मन्दकिनी दशार्ण च। The Mandakini (now called Mandakini) flows into the Paisuni near the Citrakūṭa hill, while the Daśārṇa is the modern Dhasan flowing past Saugor between the Betwa and the Ken.

5. Mk—चिरकृत्ता तथापरा; Vy, Bmd, Mts—चिरकृत्ता तथापर; Vmn—चिरकृत्ता हि श्रविष्णु। The Citrakūṭa was either the same as the Mandakini or a part of it.

6. This line is omitted in Krn. A little freedom is noticed in some texts as regards the order of the names in the following two lines. Mk has—चिरोद्भुत्ता सतमसा कर्मोदा पिशाचिका। तथावता पिप्पली किर्णि विकार्या (d—पिप्पलो) कवन्गुला नदी। Mts has—तमसा पिप्पली श्रीविष्णू तथा चिरोद्भुत्ता च। तिमला कवन्गुला जैव तथा च वृत्तविष्णू। Vmn has—चिरोद्भुत्ता च तमसा कर्मोदा (b—रोही), पिशाचिका। तथावता पिप्पलश्रीविष्णू विकार्या कवन्गुलावती।

7. Vy acde, Bmd—तमसा पिप्पला श्रीविष्णू; Mts—तमसा पिप्पली हरणी; Vy be—तमसा पिप्पला श्रीविष्णू। The Tamasā is the modern Tons flowing into the Ganges below Allahabad. The Pippalasrōṇi may be the modern Paisuni or Parsarṇi which is a tributary of the Jumna running between the Ken and the Tons.

8. Mk—कर्मोदा पिशाचिका; Vy acde, Bmd, Vmn—कर्मोदा
GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

चिन्होतुपला विपाशा च¹ मध्यज्ञुला बालुवाहिनी² ॥
3शुणी लज्जा शुक्तिमति³ शकुली ब्रिदिवा क्रमः⁵ ॥

पिशाचिका; Vy b—कर्मोदा पिशाचिका (sic.पिशाचिका). Pargiter suggests the identification of the Karamodā with the modern Karamnāsā flowing into the Ganges above the Sone. The Piśāchikā cannot be identified.

1. Vy acde, Bmd—नीलोतुपला विपाशा च; Krm, चिन्होतुपला विपाशा च, b (v.l.), c (v.l.)—चिन्होतुपला विपाशा च; Vy b—विश्वपला (sic. चिन्होतुपला) महावेणा, c (v.l.)—चिन्होतुपला विपाशा च. The Citrotpalā is a branch of the Mahānadi in Orissa or the Mahānadi itself below its junction with the Pyri. The other river cannot be identified.

2. Vy acde—मध्यज्ञुला बालुवाहिनी, bc (v.l.)—ब्यज्ञुला बालुवाहिनी; Bmd—मध्यज्ञुला बालुवाहिनी; Krm—मध्यज्ञुला बालुवाहिनी, b (v.l.) c (v.l.) —मध्यज्ञुला रत्नवााहिनी.

3. The following line is omitted in Krm.

4. Mk—सुमेघजा शुक्तिमति; Vy acde, Bmd—सितेरजा शुक्तिमति; Vy b has Śuktimati only, c(v.l.)—सितेरजा मुक्तिमति; Mts a—शुक्तिमति शुणी लज्जा, bc—शुष्किमति शुणी लज्जा; Vmn—सत्तुस्तज्ञा शुक्तिमति. The Śuktimati is the modern Ken, a tributary of the Jumna, flowing through Bundelkhand. On its bank stood a city of the same name (Pali Sotthi ca) which was the ancient capital of the Cedi people. The reading of the other name and its identification are uncertain.

5. Mk ab—शकुली ब्रिदिवा क्रमः; c—शकुली ब्रिदिवा क्रमः; d—शकुली ब्रिदिवा क्रमः; Vy acde—मध्यज्ञुला ब्रिदिवा क्रमः, c (v.l.)—मध्यज्ञुला ब्रिदिवा क्रमः; Bmd—मध्यज्ञुला ब्रिदिवा क्रमः; Mts ab—पुकुटा हृदिकारण च, c—पुकुटा हृदिकारण च; Vmn—चकिर्मी ब्रिदिवा चसः; Vy b—शकुला ब्रिदिवा क्रमः. The Śakuli (Śakruli ?) may be the Sakri which flows into the Seonath, a tributary of the Mahānadi. The reading of the other names and their identification are uncertain.
1. Mk ac (v. 1.) d—कृष्णपादग्रुः सुता व; bc—कृष्णपादग्रुः सुता व; Vy, Bmd—कृष्णपादग्रुः सुता; Krn—कृष्णग्रुः सुता न; Mts ac—कृष्णवन्तग्रुः सुता; b—कृष्णवन्तग्रुः सुता; Vmn—कृष्णपादग्रुः च.
For the Rksavat, see below, note 3.

2. Mk—तथाया नर्मद हिन्नी; Vy, Bmd—नर्मद हिन्नी; Krn—सर्वपारया नृणाम्; Mts—नदोमङ्गला हुमा; Vmn a—तथाया बलवाहिनी, b—तथाया बलुवाहिनी (फलुं?).

3. It is to be noted that the short list in Section IX below (pp. 55-57) wrongly speaks of some of these rivers as flowing not from the Rksavat but from the Vindhyā. The name Rksavat was applied to a particular section of the range that was in a general sense called the Vindhyā. While the name Vindhyā was loosely applied to the whole chain of hills running from Gujarat to the Gayā region and lying on both sides of the Narmadā, that of the Rksavat, when especially mentioned in literature, is always associated with the central part of the Narmadā valley, of which Māhīśmati (Māndhātā in the Nimār District of Madhya Pradesh, Mahēśvar in the former Indore State according to some) was the most important city and Daśārnā (see p. 47, n. 4) a notable river. The Vindhyā, when distinguished from the Rksavat, denotes the chain lying to the south of the Narmadā as suggested by Nilkanṭha who explains the passage Vindhyā- Arksavantāv=abhītā (i.e., ‘lying between the Vindhyā and the Rksavat’) in the Ho, II, 38, 7 as Vindhyāy=ottarata Rksavato dokiṇata ity=arthaḥ (i.e., ‘lying to the north of the Vindhyā and to the south of the Rksavat’). Cf. Raychaudhuri, Stud. Ind. Ant., p. 128. The Puranic texts quoted above (cf. pp. 47 ff.) would also suggest that the Rksavat was that part of the Vindhyān range which lies to the north of the Narmadā and runs from the Malwa region right up to the sources of that river as well as of the Mahānādi.
1. In some texts slight independence is noticed in the order of the names contained in this line. Mk has—शिम्रा (d—शिम्रा) पवयोणी निबिन्ध्या तापी सनिप्पावती (d—च निपावती); Vmn has—शिवा पवयोणी निबिन्ध्या तापी सनिप्पावती.

2. Vy abde (v.l.), Bmd, Krm, Mts—तापी पवयोणी निबिन्ध्या; Vy ce—तापी पवयोणी निबिन्ध्या. The Tāpī, otherwise called Tāpī, is the celebrated river that flows into the Arabian Sea. The Paycoṣṭi has been identified by some scholars with the Pain or Paingangā which is a tributary of the Godāvari. The Nirvindhyā is the modern Newuj, a tributary of the Chambal flowing between the Betwa and the Kālīsindh.

3. Vy aces, Bmd—मदरा च निपावता नदी; Vy b—सिवाव (sic.सिम्रा) च निपावता नदी; Krm—शीवोवा च महानदी; Mts a—किस्ता च खूप्पा नदी, bc—शिम्रा च खूप्पा नदी. Mk has Śiprā (d—Kṣiprā) and Vmn Śiṣva for Madrā (Bmd and Vy with the exception of b), Śighrodā (Krm) and Kṣipī or Kṣiprā (Mts). The Śiprā passed by the ancient city of Ujjayinī. The reading of the other name and its identification are uncertain.

4. Mk ae, Vy abce (v.l.), Bmd, Krm a—वेंश्वा बैतरणी चेव; Vy de—वेंश्वा बैतरणी चेव; Krm bc—शिम्रा बैतरणी चेव, b (v.l.) c (v.l.)—वेंश्वा बैतरणी चेव, किस्ता बैतरणी चेव; Mts, Vmn b—वेंश्वा बैतरणी चेव; Vmn a—वेंश्वा (sic. वेंश्वा) बैतरणी चेव; Mk bd—वेंश्वा बैतरणी चेव. The Vēnvā may be the Waingangā, a tributary of the Godāvari. Pargiter thinks that Vēnvā is the Waingangā together with the Prāphitā. The Vaitaranyā seems to be the celebrated river of that name flowing through Orissa into the Bay of Bengal.

5. Mk abc—सिनिवाली कुमुदती, d—सिनिवाली कुमुदती; Vy aces, Bmd—शिविराहु कुमुदती; Krm—वलाका च कुमुदती; Mts—विषवाला कुमुदती; Vmn—शिविराहु: कुमुदती; Vy b—सिनिवाहु: कुमुदती, c (v.l.)—शिविराहु: कुमुदती. The identification of the Kumudvatī and the reading of the other name are uncertain.
ब्रह्माणि च महागौरी । दुर्गा चालत्सिला तथा ।
विन्ध्यपादप्रसूताला । नाम: पुष्यजला: शुभा ।

V
गोदावरी भीमरथी कृण्णा बेन्धा च बन्धुला ।

1. Mk—करतोया महागौरी; Vy a—तोया चैरमहागौरी; Vy cde, Bmd, Krm a, Mts—तोया च महागौरी; Vy b—तोया (sic. तोया) चैव महागौरी; Krm bc—तथा चैव महागौरी; Vmn—तोया रेवा महागौरी; cf. ब्रह्माणि च महागौरी दुग्मिनिः च भारत in Mbh, VI, 9.33. The Brahmāṇi seems to be the same as the Brāhmaṇi river flowing through Orissa. The other river cannot be identified.

2. Mk abc—दुर्गा चालत्सिला तथा, d—दुर्गा चालत्सिला तथा; Vy, Bmd, Krm—दुर्गा चालत्सिला तथा; Mts—दुर्गा चालत्सिला तथा; Vmn—दुर्गा चालत्सिला तथा; cf. दुर्गा चालत्सिला चैव in Mbh, VI, 9.30. It is to be noted that Mbh mentions Durgā once in relation to Mahāgaurī (cf. note 1 above) and again in connection with Citraśilā (sic. c = Antahūlā) probably due to confusion. The rivers cannot be identified.

3. Mk, Krm a, Mts—विन्ध्यपादप्रसूताला; Vy, Bmd, Vmn—विन्ध्यपादप्रसूताच्च; Krm bc—विन्ध्यपादप्रसूतास्तु. For the Vindhyā, cf. note 1 above and p. 49, note 3.


5. Note that the short list in Section IX below(pp. 55-57) wrongly speaks of some of these rivers as flowing from the Rkṣavat and not from the Vindhyā. Vide p. 49, note 3 above.

6. Mk abc—गोदावरी भीमरथी; Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn, Mk d, Krm c—गोदावरी भीमरथी; Krm ab—गोदावरी भीमरथी. The Godāvari, still known by its ancient name, rises in the Western Ghats and flows through the Deccan into the Bay of Bengal. The Bhimarathī or Bhimarathā is the modern Bhīmā which is a tributary of the Krṣṇā.

7. Mk ac—कृण्णावेष्या तथा परा, bd—कृण्णा बेन्धा तथा परा; Vy acde, Bmd—कृण्णा वैष्णव बन्धुला; Krm a—कृण्णा बेन्धा च वैष्णव, bc—कृण्णा बेन्धा च बन्धुला, b (v. l.)—कृण्णा बेन्धा च पातली; Mts—कृण्णावेष्या च बन्धुला; Vmn a—कृण्णावेष्या सरिदृशि, b—कृण्णा बेन्धा सरिदृशि; Vy b—
GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

The Kṛṣṇā is still known by its ancient name and flows from the Western Ghats through the Deccan into the Bay of Bengal. The Venā is the modern Veṇā which is a tributary of the Kṛṣṇā, the combined stream of the two rivers being often mentioned as KṛṣṇaVenā or KṛṣṇaVenī. The Vañjulā is no other than the modern Mañjirā which is a southern tributary of the Godāvari.

1. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—Tūṣṇaḍīa Tūṣṇayoga; Vmn—विवादमी तुष्योगः. The Tuṅgabhadrā is a well-known tributary of the Kṛṣṇā; but the Suprayogā cannot be identified.

2. Mk—वास्मा वास्मे स्वप्नम्; Vy ascē, Bmd—कावरी च स्वप्नम्; Kṛm—कावरी च स्वप्नम्; Mts—स्वप्नम् कावरी च स्वप्नम्; Vmn—वास्मा वास्मे स्वप्नम्. The Kāverī is the celebrated holy river of the southernmost part of India. It is mentioned by the Greek geographer Ptolemy as Khaberos rising from the Adesathron mountain range. The other river cannot be identified.

3. Mk abc—विवादमी (sic. लार्म) पादविविन्नाता; dh (v. 1.)—पादविविन्नाता; Vy, Bmd, Mts a, Kṛm—विवादमीवाचस्तु; Mts bc—विवादमीवाचस्तु; Vmn—एतासापात महान; b—दुःखोदा नलिनी चैव वारलिन्यो कलस्तना । एतासापात महान; Sahya is the name applied to that part of the Western Ghats which lies to the north of the Travnacore hills. For the spurious addition of a line in Vmn b, cf. JREAS, Letters, Vol. XIV, p. 44, note 3; p. 45, note 5, etc.

4. Mk—हवेयो: सहस्रुतस्म; Vy, Bmd, Mts, Kṛm bc—सहस्रपादविविन्नसुत; Kṛm a—सहस्रपादविविन्नसुत; Vmn—सहस्रपादविविन्नसुत.

5. Mk, Vy a, Kṛm a, Mts, Vmn—कठमला तात्रच्छन्नया; Kṛm bc—नवमला तात्रच्छन्नया; Bmd, Vy bede (v.1.)—कठमला तात्रच्छन्नया; Vy e—कठमला तात्रच्छन्नया. The Kṛtamalā is no other than the modern Vaigai running past Madurai (cf. Caitanyacaritāmṛta, Ch. IX). The Tāmraparī is now known as Tāmbravari which combines its stream with the Chittar in the Tirunelveli District of Madras.

6. Mk—पुष्पामुन्तालावती; Vy, Bmd, Kṛm a—पुष्पामुन्तालावती.
PURANIC LIST OF RIVERS

1. मलयाभिजाता नदः; सर्वः शीतजला; शुभः।

VII

4. विसामा छपिकुल्या च इजुला निदिवा च या।

लकाबति; Mts—पुष्पजा छल्लालावती; Vmn—बघुला छल्लालावती; Krm. b—पुष्पवस्तुलावती, c—पुष्पवस्तुलावती। These rivers cannot be identified.

1. The following line is omitted in Vmn together with the two lines in Section VII following. Thus the Vmn text would make the rivers mentioned in Section VI flow from the Suktimat mountain (cf. Section VIII below) apparently through mistake.

2. Mk—मलयादिसमुद्दूता; Vy—मलयाभिजातास्त्रता नदः; Bmd—मलयाभिजाता नदः; Krm—मलयासिसुता नदः; Mts a—मलयप्रसूता नदः; bc—मलयप्रसूता नदः। Malaya (derived from the Dravidian word malai meaning ‘hill’) was the name applied to the Travancore hills and the southernmost part of the Western Ghats.

3. Mk—नदः शीतजलास्तितमा; Vy, Bmd, Mts—सर्वः शीतजला; शुभः; Krm—सर्वः शीतजलः; स्मृतः।

4. The following two lines, as already indicated above (note 1), are omitted in Vmn and are represented in Krm by one line reading छपिकुल्या विसामा च नग्मादनगमिनी without any reference to the range from which the rivers spring. Thus the Krm text would wrongly represent the rivers mentioned in Section VII as issuing from the Suktimat (see Section VIII).

5. Mk—पिलुदोमिनिलुल्या च; Vy acd—विसामा छलुकुल्या च, b—विसामा छलुकुल्या च, e—विसामा छलुकुल्या च; Bmd—विसामा छपिकुल्या च; Krm—छपिकुल्या विसामा च; Mts—विभागा छपिकुल्या च। The Rṣikulyā, still bearing its ancient name, flows into the Bay of Bengal near Berhampur on the South-Eastern Railway in the Ganjani District of Orissa: The other river cannot be satisfactorily identified.

6. Mk—इजुला निदिवा च या; Vy acd, Bmd—इजुला निदिवा च या; Mts—इजुला निदिवा च; Vy b—इजुला निदिवा यन्त्र। Cf. निदिवामिलुल्या क्रिमिन् in Mbh, VI; 9, 17.
1. Mts reads for this line rather freely—तां सुधर्मी तथा मूकी शबरा (c—शबरा) विभाल तथा। महेंद्रतनया: सबि: प्रस्थाता: शुभोगामिनी। ॥
It may be noted that subha-gāminī does not suit the context. Cf. Pargiter, op. cit., pp. 78 ff.

2. Mk ac—लाङ्गुलिनी वंशकरा, bd—लाङ्गुलिनी वंशकरा; Vy abd, Bmd—लाङ्गुलिनी वंशकरा; Vy ce—लाङ्गुलिनी वंशकरा: The Lāṅgulīnī is the modern Lāṅguliya running past Chicaco (Srīkākulam) in the District of that name in Andhra Pradesh. The Varisadharā (धारा), which is still known by the old name, runs past Kalingapatam near Chicaco.

3. Mk—महेंद्रमया: स्मृता:; Vy, Bmd—महेंद्रतनया: स्मृता: Mahendra was the name applied to the Eastern Ghats. A small river passing by Parlakimedi is called Mahendraratanayā, though the said expression in our text describes the rivers as sprung from the Mahendra.

4. Vmn contracts the two following lines into one—चौथी चैव सुदामा च शुभतिमत्रयास्तित्वम्: (b—चैत्यकुट), while Krm reads rather freely—सिंह्र a (v. 1.—रघु) पलासिनी चैव उणीका वंशवारिणी (b v.l., c v.l.—शतकारिणी, रसकारिणी)। श्रुतितत्त्ववादश्रुत्ताता: सर्ववाचप्रहर तृणाम्॥

5. Mk—श्रुतिकुल्या कुमारी च; Vy acde—उणीका सुकुमारी च, bd—उणीका सुकुमारी च; Bmd—श्रुतिकुल्या सुकुमारी च; Mts—कालिका सुकुमारी च. Cf. कुमारीश्रुतिकुल्यायण in MBH, VI, 9, 36, and note that in this case at least Mk seems to preserve the original reading (cf. p. 57, note 3 below). Raychaudhuri’s identification of Kumārī with the river of the same name in the Mānhūm District in South Bihar seems to be quite probable in view of the plausibility of his identification of the kula-parvata called Śuktimat with the hills of Eastern India extending from Chhattisgarh to the Santal Parganas (see p. 55, note 2 below). The Rṣikulyā may be no other than the Koel in Chhota Nagpur. Another Rṣikulyā is no doubt the Kiul, a tributary of the Ganges.

6. Mk. Vy acde, Bmd, Mts—संस्का मन्द्वालिनी; Vy b—बालुका मन्द्वालिनी; cf. Krm—स्वयमानगामिनी and MBH, VI, 9, 33—मन्द्वालिनी। The rivers cannot be identified.
PURANIC LIST OF RIVERS

कूपा पला|शि्|स्थतमतन्त्रभवः समुभावः।

IX

[Vsn, II, ch. 3, vv. 9-13; Bmh, ch. 19, vv. 10-14; cf. Sv, Dharmasarthi, ch. 34. vv. 9-12; Agn, ch. 118, vv. 6-8]

3. शतद्रुष|चन्द्रभागवा| हिमवत्सादिनीतः।
वेदस्मृतमुखाल्वः पारियाणोऽधुः मुने॥

1. Mk abc, Vy e (v. I.)—कूपा पला|शि्|स्थतमतन्त्रभवः समुभावः।
Mk e (v. I.)—कूपा पला|शि्|स्थतमतन्त्रभवः समुभावः।
Vy acde—कूपा पला|शि्|स्थतमतन्त्रभवः समुभावः।
Bmd—कूपा पला|शि्|स्थतमतन्त्रभवः समुभावः।
Krm—कूपा पला|शि्|स्थतमतन्त्रभवः समुभावः।
Mts—कूपा पला|शि्|स्थतमतन्त्रभवः समुभावः।
Raychaudhuri identifies the Kūpā with the modern Kopā, a tributary of the Bāblā in Eastern India, and the Palāsini with the modern Parās, a tributary of the Koel in Chota Nagpur. The other river cannot be identified.

2. Mk abc, Vy, Bmd—शुक्तिमद्वेष्ठवः समुभावः।
Mk b—शुक्तिमद्वेष्ठवः समुभावः।
Mts—शुक्तिमद्वेष्ठवः समुभावः।
The name of the Śuktimat is preserved in that of the Śakti hills in Raigarh, Madhya Pradesh, and possibly in that of the Suktel river which joins the Mahānadi near Sonepur in Orissa. The name Śuktimat was probably applied to the chain of hills that extends from Sakti in Riagarh, M. P., to the Dalma hills in Mānhēmūn drained by the Kumārī and perhaps even to the hills in the Santal Parganas washed by the affluents of the Bāblā (Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 120).

3. This line is omitted in Sv. and Agn.

4. Vsn, Bmh—शतद्रुष|चन्द्रभागवा| (see p. 40, note 1 above).

5. Vsn—हिमवत्सादिनीतः; Bmh—हिमवत्सादिनीसुतः (see p. 43, note 1 above).

6. Vsn—वेदस्मृतमुखाल्वः; Bmh—वेदस्मृतमुखाल्वः; Sv, Agn—वेदस्मृतमुखाल्वः (see p. 45, note 1 above).

7. Vsn—पारियाणोऽधुः मुने; Bmh, Sv—पारियाणोऽधुः मुने; Agn—पारियाणोऽधुः मुने (see p. 46, note 6 above).
1. For the following line, Sv has—नर्मदासुरसाधार्ष सत्यवाच सहस्त्र: । बिन्योद्वला महानाथ: सर्वपापहर्ष: शूमा:।। Agn has—विन्याच्य नर्मदाध्या: स्थः स्तावलु (sic. अष्टालु) तापी पपोणिन्यका।

2. Vsn—नर्मदासुरसाधार्ष: । Bmh—नर्मदासुरमाधार्ष (see p. 47, note 3 above).

3. Vsn—नर्मदासुरसाधार्ष: । Bmh—नर्मदासुरमाधार्ष: Note that the source of the Narmadā group of rivers is actually the Ṛksavat and not the Vindhya; vide p.49, note 3 above.

4. For the following line, Bmh has—तापीपयोज्ञीनिविन्यामथा कावेरीप्रमुख नदी:। ऋषिपादोद्वला श्रेष्ठ:। श्रेष्ठ: पार्व हरित या।। For the wrong vibhakti in nadiḥ, see p. 54, note 1 above. Note that the Tāpi and Kāverī are wrongly grouped together as rivers issuing from the Ṛksavat (see p.50, note 2; p. 51, note 3; p. 52, note 4 above). This line is omitted in Sv.

5. Vsn—तापीपयोज्ञीनिविन्यामथा ऋषसाधार्ष:। Note that these rivers actually flow from the Vindhya and not from the Ṛksavat. See p. 49, note 3; p. 51, note 5 above.

6. For the following two lines, Sv has—गोदावरीभीमरबीरीप्रमुखायोगिय:। विन्यामथिन्यकर्ता: पुष्ठा:। स्तावालु पापम्यायहा।। सहरापादोद्वला।। सहरापादोद्वला।। ऋषिप्रमुख विन्यादिकास्तः।।

7. Vsn, Bmh—गोदावरी भीमरबीरी कृष्णवेव्यादिकास्तः।। Agn—गोदावरी भीमरबी कृष्णवेव्यादिकास्तः。

8. Vsn, Bmh—सहरापादोद्वला।। श्रृवता:। पापम्यायहा।।

9. Agn has rather freely—राजराज सहरापादोद्वला।। कुमाराय:। शूलितमतो शिमाश्रेष्ठंभागिका।।

10. Vsn, Bmh—राजराज सहरापादोद्वला।। कुमाराय:।
1. Vsn—विसामा चार्यकुलाया; ; Bmh—विसाम्य श्रृंविकुलाया; ; Sv—वियामा श्रृंविकुलाया; (see p.53, note 5 above).
2. Vsn, Bmh, Sv—महेन्द्रभ्रम्भा; स्मृता; (see p. 54, note 3 above).
3. Vsn, Sv—श्रृंविकुलायामायाया; ; Bmh—श्रृंविकुलायामाराया; (see p. 54, note 5 above).
4. Vsn, Sv, Bmd—श्रृंविमल्यावदभ्रम्भा; (see p. 55, note 2 above).
5. Grd (I, ch. 56, 8-10) reads rather freely—बेदस्मृतिनःमेवा वर्धा सूरसा चित्रा। तापी पपोषी सर्युः काबेरी भोमति तथा।। गोदारी भीमरथी कृण्णेयी महानदी।। केञ性ाला तांत्रिपरी चतुरभ्रमा सरस्वती।। श्रृंविकुलाया च काबेरी मच्चिङ्जः पपोषी नी।। विद्व्यां च शतदृशः नवः पापहरा। शुभम्।। Bgvt (V, ch. 19, section 17) has in prose—गुणचारा तांत्रिपरा अभद्रवेदा कुर्तलाया वेिहाली काबेरी वेष्णा पपोषी नारकावत तुजोभ्रमा कृण्णेया भीमरथी गोदारी निर्विन्या पपोषी तापी रेवा सूरसा नरमेवा चार्यक्षीती अन्यः।। शोणिश नवः महानदी बेदस्मृति श्रृंविकुलाया। विसामा कौशिकी मन्नाकिनी यमुना सरस्वती दूराली गोमती सरयोगोऽवस्थातः पथवती सुपुरवती सुषोभा शतदृशः चतुर्भ्रमाय मच्चिङ्जः स्तितात सविस्ती अविसपी सविसेति महानथः।। Cf. Km. (pp. 93-94): (a) पुरवेशद्—शोणीहिंसः नवः ग्राहुक्रोतोपाविशास्यान्तः नन्तः।। (b) दक्षिणार्थ—नर्मदातापीपोपोदायकाबेरीपौर्णान्तेऽवायुःवेिहालाय मच्चिङ्जः चतुर्भ्रमाय अंगुलिष्ठसवतीर्वचनतायः नन्तः।। (c) पत्थयादेश—सरस्वतीहेवित्तीस्यौपाविशास्यान्तः नन्तः।। (d) उत्तरार्थ—ग्राहुसिन्धुः।। सरस्वतीसातुजुःभ्रमायमुनेपतिविवाहायःवेदिकायः नन्तः।। The Kapiśā is the modern Kāsāi running through the Midnapur Dist., West Bengal. Śvabhavatī—mod. Sābarmati. For longer lists of rivers, see Mbh, VI, ch. 9, 14-36; Varāha Purāṇa, ch. 85, etc.
GEOPGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

A

नद्यः: सेतस्वतु ग्रज्ञायाः। प्रवयचत सप्तथा५।
लिलिनी ज्ञािनि चेव३ पावनी चेव प्रारम्भतः।
सीता चर्कुर्क चिन्न्युक्तः। प्रतीची दिवसामाणितः८।
सप्ताम ल्यात्तुगा तासाः। दिवशणेन भगीरथम८।
तस्मानायां आये या ता९।

1. Vy *ade*, Bmd—नद्यः: सेतस्वतु ग्रज्ञायाः; e—नद्यः: सेतस्वतु ग्रज्ञायाः। Mts—सेतास्ति विपायायस्तु। Note that Al-Bīrūnī utilised, in regard to this section, the text of Mts; therefore here we shall have to speak of Mts d instead of Vy b. Thus Vy, when unspecified, would indicate here all the versions excepting Vy b.

2. Vy, Bmd—प्रवयचत सप्तथा; Mts—प्रवयचत सप्तथा।

3. Vy, Bmd, Mts d—नलिनी ज्ञािनिः चेव; Mts abc—नलिनी ज्ञािनि चेव।

4. Vy a—पावनी चेव प्रारम्भता; Vy ade—पावनी चेव प्रारम्भता; Mts—पावनी चेव प्रारम्भता।

5. Vy, Mts, Bmd—सीता चर्कुर्क चिन्न्युक्तः।

6. Vy, Bmd—प्रतीची विशामाणितः। Mts—विशामाणिता व प्रतीच्यायः।

7. Vy, Mts—सप्ताम ल्यात्तुगा तासाः; Bmd—सप्ताम ल्यात्तु तासाः।

8. Vy arc—दिवशणेन भगीरथिः; Vy e, Mts—दिवशणेन भगीरथम८; Bmd भगीरथमहालमना।

9. Vy a—सतमाण भगीरथिः या सा, ade, Bmd—सतमाण भगीरथिः या सा; Mts—सतमाण भगीरथिः या सा। For these seven rivers, cf. Rāmāyāna (I, 43, 11–14; 44, 6): विसर्जयती ततो ग्रज्ञाः हरे विन्दुसः। रति। तस्यां विपुर्वयज्ञायां सप्तसौतासिः जसिरे। ज्ञािनिः पावनी चेव नलिनी च तासाः। तिस: प्राणी दिशं जमुग्रजः। सिवजालः: शुमा। सुप्तसूचिः सीता च सिन्न्युक्ताः महानिः। विसर्वेशा दिशं जमु:। प्रतीचीन्तु दिशं शुमा। सप्ताम चाविगतासां भगीरथर्वन्त्व।... जीयु पवो भास्ताताति तस्यमूले नपणया स्मृता॥

Of the seven streams, there is no difficulty about the identification of the Gaṅga, or Bhāgirathī which is no other than the Ganges and of the Sindhu which is the Indus. The western stream Caksu is also apparently...
the same as Vâkṣu or Vânâkṣu, i.e. the Oxus or Amu Darya, while the second western river called Sitâ may be no other than the Jaxartes or Syr Darya. As the eastern stream Hlădinit or Hrâdinit is said to have run through the country of the Kirâtas, who were hill-men inhabiting the eastern Himalayas, this river may be tentatively identified with the upper Brahmaputra. Indrâdvipa, through which the other eastern river called Pâvanî passed, is identified by some scholars with Burma. Cf. subsection o below. See also the note in the same subsection on Vetrapatha and Śaṅkupatha (in Suvarṇabhûmi) through which the Pâvanî is said to have passed. This river may thus be tentatively identified with the Irawadi. The third eastern stream called Nalini cannot be identified; but it is said to have entered into the sea in the Śaimi maṇḍala which reminds us of Siam. The name of Siam (Syāma-raṭṭha), which is unconnected with Sanskrit Syāma, is derived from that of a tribe called in Chinese Siên, Burmese Shan, Malayan Syâm, Annamite Xien and Cham Syâni. The Nalini may thus be tentatively identified with the Salween or the Mekong. It must be remembered that the theory attributing the origin of all the seven rivers to the same lake in the Himalayas has to be regarded as a mere flight of fancy. The lists of countries washed by the rivers do not appear to be always accurate.

1. Vy, Mts a, Bmd—Prâvishâ labhôdichim; Mts be—Prâvishâ labhôdichim.
2. Vy, Bmd—Saṅketa bhavasyâh; Mts—Sapt trîta phâvayatî.
3. Vy, Bmd—Hima bevarâmbe tu; Mts a—Varâmâ vibhôsâhôm, be—Varâmâ tu vibhôsâhôm... The Hima varṣa was otherwise called the Haîmavata or Bhârata varṣa (Bmd, I, 33, 55, etc.) lying between the Himalayas and the sea.
5. Vy, Bmd, Mts—Sûma vibhûsarmôkṣa.
GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

नानादेशानुभावयन्ती१ महेंद्रवांबंधकं सर्वशः२ ।
उपगच्चितं तत: सवा४ यतो वर्षंति वासवं।५ ॥

B
सिरीन्द्रानु कुकुरांवस्तीनां० क्षरानु यवनानु शाकाँ ॥
स्वारणांश कुणिण्दांश८ अज्जूलोकवरस्त यानु९ ॥
कुल्ल द्विद्वा हिमवस्ति१० सातानां परिचयोरविम्११ ॥

1. Vy a—नानादेशानु भाववल्लो, d—नानादेशानु भाववल्लो।
Bmd, Vy ce—नानादेशानु भाववल्लो। Mts—तानु देशानु चाववल्लि शम.


3. The following line is omitted in Mts.

4. Vy, Bmd—उपगच्चितं तत: सवा।

5. Vy, Bmd—यतो वर्षंति वासव॥

6. Vy—सिरीन्द्रानु कुकुरांवस्तीनान्; Mts abc—सधालानु कुकुरानु
सिरीन्द्रान्; Bmd—सिरीन्द्रानु कुकुरांवस्तीनान्; Mts d—सधालानु कर्तुष्
बांवस्तीनान्। For the Cinas, see above p. 25, note 6; below, p. 61;

7. Vy—क्षरानु यवनानु दुहान्; Bmd—क्षरानु यवनानु दुहान्।
Mts ab—क्षरानु यवनानु खसान्; c—क्षरानु यवनानु खसान्, v. l.—
क्षरानु यवनानु खसान्, d—क्षरानु यवनानु खसान्। For the Varvaras and
Yavanas, see above p. 24, note 1, p. 25, note 5. The original
home of the Śakas was the valleys of the Jaxartes and Oxus.

8. Vy, Bmd—स्वारणांश कुणिण्दांश; Mts abc—पुलिकांश
कुल्लोंश, पुक्करांश कुल्लोंश। For the Kuṇindas, see above p. 24,
note 3, although the people indicated here must have lived in
Central Asia. The Ruṣāṇas were the people of Roshan in the
Tadzhik Republic.

9. Vy, Bmd—अज्जूलोकवरस्त येः; Mts abc—अज्जूलोक्यान्
बरांश यान्, d—अज्जूलोकवरस्त यान्। See above p. 25, note 5.

10. Vy—कुल्ल द्विद्वा हिमवस्ति; Bmd—कुल्ल द्विद्वा हिमवस्ति; Mts
abc—कुल्ल द्विद्वा हिमवस्ति, d—कुल्ल द्विद्वा हिमवस्ति।

11. Vy, Bmd, Mts d—सातानां परिचयोरविम्; Mts abc—
प्रविष्टा दक्षिणोरविम्।
C

अथ चीनमकंघचैव¹ तज्ज्ञानू सर्वंशूलिकानू²।
साम्रांसुवरारानू लम्पाकानू³ पञ्जवानू परदानू शकानू⁴।
एतानू जनपदंशवकच⁵ चादायती गतोदयिष्य⁶।

D

dरवदंश सकामीरानू⁷ गाभारानू औरसानू कुहूँ⁸।
सिववरीरानू इत्रमक्षनू⁹ वसातीश विसर्जयानू¹⁰।

1. Vy, Bmd, Mts ad—अथ चीनमकंघचैव;  Mts bc—अथ बीर-

2. Vy ac, Bmd—तज्ज्ञानू सर्वंशूलिकानू, cd—तज्ज्ञानू सर्वंशूलिकानू;  e (v.I.)—तज्ज्ञानू सर्वंशूलिकानू;  Mts a—कालिकांशैव चूलकानू, be—

3. Vy ace—साम्रांसुवरारांस्थम्बकानू, d—साम्रांसुवरारांस्थम्बकानू;  Mts abc—पञ्जवानू वर्बारकारानू, d—पञ्जवानू वर्बारकारानू;  Bmd—

4. Vy a—पञ्जवानू वर्बारानू शकानू;  Bmd, Vy cde—पञ्जवानू वर्बारानू शकानू;  Mts abc—पञ्जवानू परदानू शकानू, d—बारवाध्वतानू (sic. पारदाता-

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts—एतानू जनपदंशवकेऽः।

6. Vy ac (v. I.) e—चादायती गतोदयिष्य;  cde (v. I.), Bmd—

7. Vy, Bmd—दरवदंश सकामीरानू;  Vy e (v. I.)—

8. Vy, Bmd—गाभारानू वर्बारानू हुहानू;  Mts abc—गाभारानू औरसानू कुहूँ, d—गाभारानू हुहानू (sic. औरसानू) कुहूँ।  See above, p. 24, note 1: p. 26, note 6. The Kuhus appear to have been the people inhabiting the valley of the Kuhu or Kabul river.

9. Vy, Bmd—सिववरीरानू इत्रमक्षानू;  Mts—सिववरीरानू इत्रमक्षानू।

10. Vy—वसातीश विसर्जयानू;  Bmd—वसातीश विसर्जयानू;  Mts abc—वसातीश समतेजस्मू d—वसातीश (sic. वसातीश) ... The Vasātis
(Ossadioi of the Greeks) appear to have occupied parts of the
territory drained by the lower Chenab and situated between the
confluence of that river respectively with the Rāvī and the Indus.

1. Vy, Bmd—सैन्यवान् राजसत्कारानु; Vy a (v. l.)—सैन्यवान्
राजसत्कारानु; Mts abc—सैन्यवान्वसान् वर्णो, d—सैन्यवान् कुबतान् (sic.
कुबतान्)... Other names in Alb. Ind. are Bahimarvar; Mara,
Mrūṇa and Supurda which are apparently due to mistakes in
the Arabic manuscript of Al-Bīrūnī's work consulted by
Sachau. For the Saindhavas, see above, p. 24, note 2, and for
the variant readings of the other name, p. 24, note 5.

2. Vy—अभयराक्षरोहकान्, e (v. l.)—अभयमालारोहकान्;
Bmd—अभयराक्षरोहकान्; Mts abc—कुपातान् भीमरोहकान्. Above,
p. 23, note 7 would suggest आभीरान् कल्योककान्. But the Romakas
may be the people of Rūmā lying probably near the Salt Range.

3. Vy, Bmd—शुनामुलांश्चोद्विषादन; Mts abc—शुनामुलांश्चोद्वि-
सन।

4. Vy—सिद्धचारणसेवितान्, e (v. l.), Mts abc, Bmd—
सिद्धचारणसेवितान्.

5. Vy, Mts, Bmd—गम्यवान् किन्जरान् यवान्. Al-Bīrūnī explains
the Gandharvas as musicians. These names originally indicated
certain tribal peoples, although later they came to imply classes of
mythical beings. The Kinnaras and Yaḵṣas were probably names
applied to some Himalayan tribes, while Gandharva appears
to have been the original name of the people later called Gand-
hāra (cf. Rām., VII, 101, 11 : ततो तस्विरायं तु पुष्कल पुष्कलावते।
गव्यबेरेङ्गे राजिरेन नाम्यार्थविषे च स्त:॥ etc.). The names however seem
to have been used in the present context in the sense of
mythical tribes.

6. Vy, Bmd, Mts—रक्षोविवाहरोगान्. Al-Bīrūnī explains
the Uragas as those who creep on their breasts, i.e. the serpents.
These three names, like those mentioned, above, note 5 (p. 62),
originally indicated certain non-Aryan tribal peoples but were
later used to indicate mythical tribes. They appear to be used
in the present context in the mythical sense.

1. Vy, Bmd, Mts—कलापाग्रामकारक्रेष्वत्रि. Al-Biruni explains
Kalāpagrāma as the city of the most virtuous people.

2. Vy, Bmd—पारदानु सीमानानु बसानु, e (v. 1.)—पारदानु,
कारक्रेष्वत्रि कारक्रेष्वत्रि; Mts abc—तथा किसुखानु राजानु, d—तथा किसुखानु राजानु.
Al-Biruni explains the Khasas as mountaineers. The name
Kimpuruṣa was originally applied to a Himalayan people but
was later used to indicate a mythical tribe. The Khasas were
a Himalayan tribe now represented by the Khakas Kashmir.
See above p. 36, note 6.

3. Vy, Bmd, Mts—किरातास्र गुलिन्दांश्र. Al-Biruni explains
the Pulindas as hunters of the plains or robbers. For the Kirātas,
see above, p. 22, note 1. The Pulindas were an aboriginal people
inhabiting the Vindhyan region; but the name was later applied
to Vindhyan mountaineers in general and still later to any abori-
ginal people. The meaning of Kirāta, originally a Himalayan
tribe, was also similarly modified. Cf. p. 30, n. 5.

4. Vy, Bmd—कुरुन्त समराताना; Mts—कुरुन्त वे समराताना.
According to the epic and Puranic traditions, the Kurus and the
Bharatas belonged to the same clan. For the Kurus, see above,
p. 21, note 2.

5. Vy, Bmd—पञ्चाबालकाशिमत्स्वाध्र; Mts abc—पञ्चाबालकाशिमत्स्वाध्र;
कारक्रेष्वत्रि कारक्रेष्वत्रि मल्लग्यान्, be—पञ्चाबालकाशिमत्स्वाध्र मल्लग्यान्, d—पञ्चाबालकाशिमत्स्वाध्र मल्लग्यान्.
See above, p. 21, note 2: p. 22, notes 1 and 2. But Matya may
be a mistake for Vatsa which was the name of the people inhabi-
ting the Allahabad region.

See above, p. 27, note 5; p. 29, note 1.
1. Vy, Bmd, Mts abc—श्रमोत्तरांश्च वक्तुः। Mts d omits Vaiga. See above, p. 27, note 5; p. 28, note 5.

2. Vy, Bmd, Mts—तार्किकाः सत्त्ववेश च। See above, p. 28, note 8.

3. Vy, Bmd, Mts—एतत्तु जनपदानां आयामवऽ। Cf. the reference here to ārya with mleccha-prāyāniḥ = cha sarvātah at p. 60, note 2 above.

4. Vy, Bmd—गुः भावते शुभाः; Mts, Vy e (v. l.)—गुः सावपते शुभाः.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts—ततः प्रतिहता विन्यमः.


7. Vy—ततपत्रम् वादिनी पुष्पाः; Bmd—ततस्य वादिनी पुष्पाः; Mts—ततलुकता वादिनी पुष्पाः.

8. Vy ac—प्राचीनाभिमुखः ययो; Mts bc, Vy de—प्राचीनाभिमुखः ययो; Vy e (v. l.), Mts a—प्राचीनाभिमुखः ययो; Bmd—प्राचीनाभिमुखः ययो.

9. Vy, Bmd—प्राचीनाभिमुखः ययो; Mts abc—प्राचीनाभिमुखः प्रविष्टम्, d—प्राचीनाभिमुखः प्रविष्टम्.

10. Vy, Bmd—निसवदनाराम जातयः; Mts abc—निसवदनाराम प्रविष्टम्; d—निसवदनाराम (sic.) प्रविष्टम्:

11. Vy, Mts abc—प्राचीनाभिमुखः प्रविष्टम्; Bmd—प्राचीनाभिमुखः प्रविष्टम्; Mts d—प्राचीनाभिमुखः प्रविष्टम्.

12. Vy, Bmd, Mts—तथा नीलमुखान्यः.
Puranic List of Rivers

1. Vy, Bmd—केरलानुर्ध्वकण्ठिक; Vy e (v. 1.)—केरलानोट्टुकण्ठच; Mts abc—केरलानु एककण्ठिक. Al-Biruni explains Uṣṭakarṇa as a people whose lips are turned like their ears possibly through a confusion of the word uṣṭra with oṣṭha.

2. Vy, Bmd, Mts—केरलानुपौर्णिम. Vy, Bmd—फ़ालोरानु पौर्णिम; Mts abc—कालम्बंद्रानु पौर्णिम. Al-Biruni explains Visarṇa as the colourless people so called on account of their intensely dark complexion.

3. Vy, Bmd—कुमारानु स्वर्गसम्पूर्ण; Vy e (v. 1.)—कुमारी-स्वर्गसम्पूर्ण; Mts abc—कुशिकान स्वर्गमुन्नकान; c (v. 1.)—कुशिकान स्वर्गमुन्नकान. Al-Biruni explains Svargabhūmi as a country resembling paradise.

4. Vy, Bmd—कुपारानु स्वर्गसम्पूर्ण; Vy e (v. 1.)—कुपारानु स्वर्गसम्पूर्ण; Mts abc—कुपारानु स्वर्गसम्पूर्ण. Al-Biruni explains Kupatha as a people who are far from sin. For names ending in patha or mārga, cf. Siddha-patha (Rājatar., VIII, 557), the old name of the Sidaun or Budil pass (14000 ft.) in Kashmir. See also p. 66, note 2 below. Cf. p. 26, note 8; p. 36, note 5; p. 67, note 4.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts—सा मण्डल सभुजप. Vy, Bmd—तिरोमूर्तानुपौर्ण: ; Mts abc—तीरे मूर्ता तु सभुज: : c (v. 1.)—तीरे मूर्ता तु सभुज़: .

6. Vy, Bmd—तिरोमूर्तानुपौर्ण: ; Mts abc—तीरे मूर्ता तु सभुज़: .

7. Vy, Bmd, Mts d—ततस्तु पावनी बैव; Mts abc—ततस्तु नलिनी नायि. Note that there is difference between the extant versions of Vy and Bmd, but that the Mts manuscript consulted by Al-Biruni supports Vy and Bmd. See also above, p. 58, notes 3, 4 and 9.

8. Vy, Bmd—प्राणीमें दिशष गता; Mts—प्राणिमें दिशष यति.

9. Vy acde (v. 1.), Bmd—अपाणानु भावयतीह; Vy e—अपाणानु भावयतीह; Mts—कुपारानु भावयतीह. Al-Biruni explains Kupatha as a people who are far from sin. For names ending in patha or mārga, cf. Siddha-patha (Rājatar., VIII, 557), the old name of the Sidaun or Budil pass (14000 ft.) in Kashmir. See also p. 66, note 2 below. Cf. p. 26, note 8; p. 36, note 5; p. 67, note 4.

10. Vy, Bmd—इन्द्रयुमसरिप; Mts—इन्द्रयुमसरिप. Al-Biruni explains the passage as ‘the cisterns of king Indryumna’.
1. Vy, Bmd—तथा लरपमातैंचे; Mts—तथा लरपवान्दे पेशान्
Kharapatha reminds us of Ajapatha and Verāpatha, mentioned
in the Buddhist Niddesa commentary, the latter also by Ptolemy
as Berabai which was not far from Takkola about the present
Ismus of Kra (cf. Majumdar, Swarnathopa, I, pp. 56-60; Levi,

2. Vy, Bmd—इन्द्रीपसमुद्रे तु; Mts—इन्द्रीपसमुद्रेष्वरः. Saṅkupatha
is mentioned in the Niddesa commentary (cf. note 1 above)
along with Verāpatha, Jaññupatha, Ajapatha, Menḍhapatha,
Chatrapatha, Vāṁśapatha, Saṅkupapatha, Muṣikapatha and
Daripatha. Vetrāpatha (possibly called Vettādhāra or
Vettācāra in the Niddesa) is mentioned in connection with
Suvarṇabhūmi (the land beyond the eastern sea or the Bay
of Bengal) in the Brhatkathālokaśanāgraha. These extraordinary
routes (passes?) are also referred to in other early Indian
works such as the Vimānavatthu, the Tittara Jātaka, the Milindapañha,
Patañjali's comment on Pāṇini, V, 1, 77, and the Gaṇapāṭha. It
has been suggested that the knowledge of the Far East exhibited
by the Niddesa did not exist in India before the first century A.D.,
but that it is earlier than the third century A.D. The Niddesa
list, with which the Purānic section under discussion may be
contemporaneous, has been assigned to a date between the end
of the first and the beginning of the third century A.D. Inci-
dentally it may be pointed out that the knowledge of the Far
East exhibited by the Mahābhāṣya points to a late date of the work
in its present form as suggested in I.H.Q., Vol. XV, pp. 933ff.

3. Vy, a—मध्येनोधारकमरानु, cde (v. l.), Bmd—मध्येनोधारक-
मकारान्; Vy e—मध्येनोधारकमकारान्; Mts abc—मध्येनोधारकमकारान्,
d—मध्येनोधारकमकारान्.

4. Vy, Bmd, Mts abc—कुष्मावरणान्य ययो; Mts d—कुष्मावरणान्य ययो. See above; p. 36, note 7.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts a—इन्द्रीपसमुद्रे तु; Mts bc—इन्द्रीपसमुद्रे तु,
e (v. l.)—इन्द्रीपसमुद्रे. For the identification of Indradvipa
with Burma, see Cunningham, Anc. Geog. Ind., ed. by Majumdar
Sastri, pp. 751-52.

H

1. Vy, Bmd, Mts d—तत्त्वण नलिनी चागात्वः प्रभ्मात्माः ज्ञेये तुः।
   तत्त्वण भाष्ययतीहैं हृस्माणाः सहदुकानः।
   पृव्वतः देवांश्रेण संवत्ती भिन्नवा सा बहुथ गिरीन्।
   कष्ट्रां भागार्जणांचेहैं प्राय चाहवमुलानपि।
   सिक्लवा पर्वतमहनु सा गलव विजारानानिः।
   शैमीण्डलकोष्ठेव तु हृवन्न प्रविष्ट्टा सा महाविधिः।

2. Vy, Bmd, Mts—प्रभ्मात्माः ज्ञेये तुः।

3. Vy acde (v. l.), Bmd—तस्मान भाष्ययतीहैं। Vy e—तस्मान प्लाण्ययतीहैं।
   Mts abc—तस्मान प्लाण्ययती च, d—तस्मान प्लाण्ययती च।
   See above, p. 26, note 8; p. 37, note 2.

4. Vy acd—हृस्माणाः सहदुकानः, c (v. l.), Bmd—हृस्माणाः सहदुकानः बहुवकानः।
   Vy e—हृस्माणाः सहदुकानः (sic.), Mts abc—हृस्माणाः समुहकानः, d—हृस्माणाः समुहकानः।
   See above, p. 26, note 8; p. 36, note 5.

5. Vy, Bmd, Mts abc—पृव्वतः देवांश्रेण संवत्ती। Mts d—षािना देवांश्रेण संवत्ती।

6. Vy, Bmd, Mts d—भिन्नवा सा बहुथ गिरीन्। Mts abc—भिन्नवा सा बहुथ गिरिम्।

7. Vy, Bmd—कष्ट्रां भागार्जणांचेहैं। Mts—कष्ट्रां भागार्जणाः प्रायः।
   Al-Biruní explains Karnapaśaaraṇa as a people whose ears used to fall down on their shoulders.
   Cf. above, p. 36, note 7.

8. Vy, Bmd—प्रायः चाहवमुलानपि। Mts—गला चाहवमुलानपि।
   Al-Biruní explains Aṣavamukha as a people with horse's face.

9. Vy, Bmd—सिक्लवा पर्वतमहनु। Mts abc—सिक्लवा पर्वतमहनु सा,
   d—सिक्लवा पर्वतमहनु सा। Al-Biruní explains parvata-maruv as mountainous steppes.

10. Vy, Bmd—गला विजारानाः ययो। Mts—गला विजारानानिः.

11. Vy—नेमिमण्डलकोष्ठेव तु। Bmd—नेमिमण्डलमद्येन। Mts ac—
    शैमीण्डलकोष्ठेव तु, b—शैमीण्डलकोष्ठेव तु, d—हृस्माणाः सहदुकानः।
    Kes the may be a mistake for kacche. See above, p. 58, note 9.

12. Vy, Bmd, Mts d—प्रविष्ट्टा सा महाविधिः। Mts abc—सा प्रविष्ट्टा महृत्तरः.
IV
ACCOUNT OF FIFTY-SIX COUNTRIES

There is the manuscript of a small work entitled Satpanca taddeśavibhāga (G. 9660; foll. 1B-3B) in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. While entering it in the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,¹ Pandit H. P. Sastri remarked that it may be part of some Tantra; but he did not try to find out the Tantra to which it belongs. The Satpanca taddeśavibhāga is, however, actually the seventh Paṭala of Book III of the Šaktisaṅgama Tantra. There are four fragmentary manuscripts of this Tantra in the Society’s library; but only one of them² contains the section in question. A few years ago, Book I (Kāli-khaṇḍa) of the Šaktisaṅgama Tantra, edited by B. Bhattacharyya, was published in the Gaekwad Oriental Series; but the remaining Books are still in manuscripts. Bhattacharyya, formerly Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, kindly sent me, at my request, a copy of the Šaktisaṅgama Tantra, Book III, Paṭala vii. His letter to me dated the 2nd April, 1941, reads: “This reading is based on four manuscripts. . . . . . . We have in our library only one manuscript of the Šaktisaṅgama Tantra; but the readings found in it contain omissions and errors which are corrected with the help of other manuscripts. I feel that the accompanying reading is fuller and free from errors as far as the manuscript material permits.” In my edition of the Satpanca taddeśavibhāga published here, I have therefore utilised the following three manuscripts:

A—Manuscript of the Satpanca taddeśavibhāga in the library of the Asiatic Society (No. 9660).

B—Manuscript of the Šaktisaṅgama Tantra in the library of the Asiatic Society (No. 323).

C—Copy of the manuscript of the Šaktisaṅgama Tantra, Book III, Paṭala vii, kindly supplied by B. Bhattacharya.

2. 323/5524, foll. 209a-212a.
The Śaktisaṅgama Tantra, to which the Śatpaṅcāśaddesāvibhāga belongs, is a late work that is roughly assignable to the seventeenth century. In his introduction to the Kālikhanḍa (Book I of the Śaktisaṅgama Tantra), B. Bhattacharya assigns the work to the period between 1555 and 1607 A.D. or roughly to circa 1581 A.D. This date is, however, based on the supposition that 'in the Tantrasāra by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa (written sometime after 1577 A.D.),’ the Śaktisaṅgama Tantra is largely quoted. As a matter of fact, there is not a single quotation from the Śaktisaṅgama in the Tantrasāra. The Śatpaṅcāśaddesāvibhāga (verse 11), on the other hand, refers to the inclusion of Ujjayinī in the country of Mahārāṣṭra and this seems to point to the Marāṭhā occupation of Malwa under Bajī Rāo I (1720-40 A.D.). V. 16 again speaks of Karnaṭa in the sense of 'the Carnatic' and not of the Kannada-speaking country. We know that the successors of Veṅkata II (1630-42) of the Āraviḍu dynasty of Vijayanagara kings, even though they ruled a small tract in the east coast and had little or no authority over the Kannada country, still called themselves 'Lords of Karnaṭaka'. The verse seems to point to a date when the name Karṇaṭaka had become stereotyped as the designation of a part of the east coast. This was done possibly about the time when Zulfiqār Ali Khān (1692-1703 A.D.) was created the 'Nawab of the Karṇaṭaka' by the Mughal emperor Aurangzīb. If these suggestions are correct, the Śatpaṅcāśaddesāvibhāga cannot be assigned to a period earlier than the first quarter of the 18th century. The manuscript of the Tantra, here marked B, contains the date Śaka 1674 = 1752 A.D. when apparently the manuscript was copied. But that the Śaktisaṅgama Tantra was composed sometime before 1744 A.D. is indicated by the fact that two of its stanzas are quoted by

1. Ibid., p. vii.
2. As we have shown elsewhere, the Tantrasāra was composed in the first half of the seventeenth century. See The Śākti Pīthas, p. 80. Reference has been made to a manuscript of this work bearing the date ‘Sāvāvat 1586’ (Gode, Studies, Vol. I, pp. 154 ff., Poleman, Census of Indic Manuscripts in U. S. A., etc.). But Sāvāvat in this case seems to be a misreading for Śaka.
4. See infra.
Harikṛṣṇa Miśra in his Vaidikavaiśnavasaddācāra composed between 1713 and 1744 A.D.¹

The Satpañcāśaddelāvbhāga belongs to that class of works which is called the gazetteer literature in Sanskrit and on which Pandit H.J.P. Sastri wrote an interesting but short paper in J.B.O.R.S., Vol. IV, pp. 14–25. The work gives an account of fifty-six countries lying in and on the borders of India. The list is drawn from the pilgrim’s point of view and most of the localities mentioned are holy places. The majority of the localities are again Śaiva and Śākta Tīrthas and this fact indicates Tantric influence. The importance of the number 56 is, however, not determinable. This number is found adhered to in some other works of the class. The earliest work containing a list of fifty-six countries seems to be the Candragarbhasūtra or Candragabhavatulya (translated into Chinese by Narendrayatamas in 566 A.D.)² mentioning them in connection with the Buddha’s manifestations in Jambudvīpa. All of them cannot be identified; but ‘apparently less than half are within India proper’.³ It has been suggested that the Sūtra was composed or re-edited in Central Asia; it is therefore possible that the importance attached to the number fifty-six is essentially foreign. Similar lists are found in some other medieval Tantric texts; e.g., the Sammoha Tantra (composed before 1450 A.D. according to Gode)⁴ gives two lists of fifty-six countries. These two lists are quoted below since they can be compared fruitfully with the list of the Satpañcāśaddelāvbhāga under study.

I

कादी पद्यवाचाश्वशाश्च (है) हादावैष्ठ तथा प्रिे ।
तद्वेशशक्तियोगस्त्त (लत्तू र् गाल्लू) राज्यमिति कौरंनम् ॥१
तत्त्वमातृपैत्य (नै) व तद्वेशराज्यमातात् (?) ।
तवादि कादिविदाशाश्च (हत) कुष्ठते (लो) परमेववि ॥२

2. See Bagchi, Le Canon Bouddhique, Tome I, p. 270.
वंगयंगी कालिनार न गः केरलस्तथा।
कालीरेण(रः) कालिनार महाराष्ट्रेण एव च। २
सौराष्ट्रे विविधशैव(वः) तेजमल्लवादः(हिः)की।
कालिनार तावस्त्वंदनं सुभाषी(पता) भौरेण(रः) समाधानं(वः)। ३
वौ(घः)स्वात्तर्पणं(पां) चालाकंवङ्गं(वाः) वैराजं(ठः) पांड्यं(ढः) विशेषः।
वालाखंव शिरास्वथ कैक्त्रा(कूटव्य) वस्त्रकः(?) तथा। ५
एक्काशो ताजभी(तः) महाभी नस्त्वचं च।
नेपाल(तः) शीतल्मुख गौडकोलाम(मः) गाध(वाः)। ६
बनो(उः) तल्का। शुल्कस्त्राना(घः) कोकण: कोकस्त्रा।
शून्यन: कान्हिकार दिल्लिवासन पुलिसकः(कः)। ७
कालिनार तावस्त्वं गोविश्वराधन गोविश्वराधन।
मल्ल्या(स्या: सेवाय इस्तेत(ले) पद्मस्वास(शतु) प्रकृतितः(तः)। ८

II
कालिदेशः समावस्थात हृदिदेशः(शान्) शुण्यैः निषयः।
अंगवंगकालिनः(गाः) स्यात कालिनः स्यात सु(सी) कीर्तकः(कः)। १
कालिनार चालाकं वै चालाकं मगास्तः।
महाराष्ट्रे मालवस्तु नेपाल: केरलस्तथा। २
वौ(घः) स्वात्तर्पणः मल्ल्यातः(याः) चिहः।
बनो(उः) शीतल्मुख गौडकोलाम(मः) गाधः। ३
सौराष्ट्रे विविधशैव(वः) तेजमल्लवादः(हिः) की।
हृ(हः) भौरेण(रः) समाधानं(वः)। ५
बनो(उः) तल्का। शुल्कस्त्राना(घः) कोकण: कोकस्त्रा।
मल्ल्यातः(स्या: सेवाय इस्तेत(ले) पद्मस्वासन(शतु) प्रकृतितः(तः)।

1 Quoted by P. C. Bagchi, Studies in the Tantras, pp. 97-99, from a late Newari manuscript in the Durbar Library, Nepal. The text is faulty; but it can be partially corrected with the help of other materials and may also be used in correcting the latter. It is, however, possible that some of the mistakes belong to the original. The Kādi and Hādi sets of Tantric groupings are given 9 subdivisions each. There is also a fourfold division: 1. Kerala extending influence from Aīga to Mālava, 2. Kāmīra from Madra-desa to Nepal, 3. Guḍa from Silahāṭṭa to Saindhava, and 4. Viḷāna prevalent everywhere.
The geographical informations derived from the Ṣaṭṭāṅga-śaddeśavīḍūga are very interesting, and in many cases they throw welcome light on some problems. But the difficulties in dealing with the text are also numerous. The sources of the author’s informations are works like the epics, the Purāṇas and the Tantras and above all travellers’ or pilgrims’ tales. The author might have himself visited some of the places on pilgrimage. The manuscripts he relied on may have misled him in some cases with their wrong readings and many such mistakes may be also due to the copyists of his work. Moreover the author, like many of the Tantric writers of his time, seems to have only an insufficient knowledge of Sanskrit. Partly due to this fact and partly to the inadvertence of the copyists, a great confusion has been created with reference to the actual position of many countries and others bordering on them. As will be indicated below in the notes on the countries, many of these mistakes can be quite easily corrected. It must, however, be admitted that we cannot expect in all cases accurate geographical knowledge from our author who had to depend on a pilgrim’s knowledge and had no opportunity of consulting any scientifically compiled text on geography or a scientifically prepared map. In some cases therefore, we find that the position of one country given in relation to another is only partially true or even wrong. Owing to the same reason, some countries are given as abutting on each other, though they are actually separated by other countries. The author generally mentions places, usually those sacred to Śiva and Pārvatī, as boundaries of the countries. Some of these places are difficult to identify, and in many cases the name of a god or god dessin a particular temple actually indicates the whole district round the shrine. This difficulty is enhanced by the fact that, while in some cases the boundary mentioned is to be included in the country, in others

1. See notes on verses 3, 21, 39, 46, 49, etc.
2. Cf. verses 5, 43, 47, etc.
3. Cf. verses 19, 23, 47, 48, etc.
4. E.g., verse 18 wherein ‘east’ seems to be used for ‘south-east.’
5. Cf. verses 19, 25, 33, 57, etc.
6. Cf. verses 12, 36, 39, etc.
it is to be excluded from it.¹ In many cases again, more than one country are mentioned in the same area and they overlap one another.² In view of the above observations, it will be seen that the Șatparaścāladdelavibhağa only attempts a rough estimate of the extents of countries, and sometimes the extents recorded are wider or narrower than they are actually.

The 8th Paṭala of the Saktisaṅgama Tantra, Book III, is also very interesting to the students of early Indian geography. It gives an account of a fivefold division of India. The Chinese authors generally refer to the Five Indies, viz., the Northern, Western, Central, Eastern and Southern, and the Bhuvanakota section of the Purāṇas divide the country into Madhyadeśa, Udīcya, Prācya, Dakṣināpatha and Aparānta, although sometimes the Himalayan and Vindhyān regions are added to them. The Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara also refers to this fivefold division when it speaks of Pārva-deśa beyond Vārāṇasi, Dakṣiṇāpatha beyond Māhiśmati, Paścād-deśa beyond Devasabhā and Uttarāpatha beyond Pṛthūdaka. The five divisions of India as given in the Saktisaṅgama Tantra from the Tantric point of view are different. They are Indra-prastha, Yama-prastha, Varuṇa-prastha, Kūrma-prastha and Deva-prastha. We have appended this interesting section as a supplement to the text of the Șatparaścāladdelavibhağa.

बद्भन्नावहृश्वशिवारा:
(Saktisaṅgama Tantra, Book III,
Chapter VII)

²²  श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ३

शंकर उद्वच ¹⁴

रहस्यातिविश्वय बिन्दुः प्रलयः देवि तत्वायः ॥ ६

देश्विवस्या देवेष्वा कथ्यते भूण्य यत्नः ॥ ७

¹. Cf. verses 9, 11, 14, etc.
². Cf. verses 4, 12, 14, 42, etc.
³. Not found in B and C.
⁴. Not found in B and C.
⁵. C—च.
⁶. Not found in A.
⁷. B—तत्त्वस्या.
GEography OF AncIenT AND MeDievAL I ndIA

बैशाखावं समारंभ्य मुख्येशालात्तं (ग:) शिवे Wasser
तावसंगमिच्छो कै देशो यात्रायं नहि हुप्तितः इ II ॥ २ ॥
रतनकरं न समारंभ्य ब्रह्मपुनालत्तं (ग:) शिवे Wasser
वंगदेशो मया प्रोक्तं सर्वसिद्धिविषयकः इ II ॥ ३ ॥
जगमयावत् पूर्वमण्डल्यः कृष्णातीर्थालत्तं (ग:) शिवे Wasser
कमिकदेशः संग्रेशको वाममार्गपरीर्थः इ II ॥ ४ ॥
कमिकदेशामयम् पंचायश्योजनं शिवे Wasser
दक्षिणयं महेश्वरिनि कालिंग: परिक्रितितः इ II ॥
मुख्येशालात्तं समारंभ्य यावद्वे अनावनं इ Wasser
तावकोलकरेशां स्थानमयम् सन्धिकेशरः इ II ॥ ६ ॥
रामेशवरो बैंकेश्वरः हंसकोलकरेश: इ II ॥
अन्तःचालामयम् यावल्लाहदुर्गः पुरुषः Wasser
तावल्लाहदुर्गानां तु एकं परिक्रितितः इ II ॥
शारदामङ्गमयम् कुंकुममार्दितान्तकः इ Wasser
तावकाल्कीशालाएः स्थानमयचालाश्रोणानां इ II ॥ ९ ॥
कालेशवरसेतुंगिरी विपुरायशीलपारम्भम् Wasser
कामकान्धियोऽदि गणेशगिरिमुद्रिनि इ II ॥ १० ॥
शब्दकत्तं समारंभ्ये चोज्जनिनी शिवे Wasser

1. ब—“बिषोऽ”
2. C—“चुप्पिंतोऽ”
3. A—“वज्राकरान्तो च—वज्राकरान्तो च”
4. C—“परे”
5. AB—“प्रदर्शकः”
6. Read जाग्नवाहपूर्वः
7. B—“रामः”
8. —A विधीः
9. —A विकुन्धोऽ; B—“बैंकेश्वरः” रेडः “रामेशवराहेडः”
10. AB—“परे”
11. —सवे शमनातस्तुः
12. B—“भांधिः”
13. BC—“त्तकः”
14. B—“कोलेक्शवरः; C—कोलेक्षवरः” रेडः “द्वारवत्तूः”
15. BC—“निवंचकः” due possibly to the wrong spelling निवंचकः. Better read निवंचकः.
ACCOUNT OF FIFTY-SIX COUNTRIES

भारतवर्षः राजेश्वरः कोलापुरनिवासिनी।

तथाश्च महाराष्ट्रः कण्ठिरस्माभिमोतः।

जगन्नाथादृशः वभागः अर्थात् स्रीभक्षणरामार्थिकः।

तथावतः भारतः सरोराष्ट्रः गद्धु साम्राज्यः।

कोरणालाभिचरः तीर्थी समुद्रसाम्राज्यः।

हिन्दुस्तानः अधिव्यवस्थानः।

सरोरघो देशौ देभिषिः नाम्न दु् दुर्गरामिषः।

प्राच्यदेशो देभिषिः ध्यामान्यन्तरः।

मूर्त्तिकां सामर्थ्य महाद्वीपस्थः निधवेत।

महाराष्ट्राभिषो देशो मंदिरविभागः।

राणानां सामर्थ्य श्रीचर्मान्तरः वदेवस्वरः।

कण्ठिरस्माभिः देभिषिः साम्राज्यभोगादयः।

ताम्रपत्री सामर्थ्य श्रीलांकरात्मकः।

अवश्यो देशः कालिकः तत्र तिष्ठति।

भारतवर्षः महातीतः रामदुर्गः विभवः।

प्राच्यदेशाभिः देशो अविभी तत्र तिष्ठति।

1. ब—तौर।
2. ब—बाड़ह; ग—राजेश्वरः।
3. ब—मनःस्वाभिः।
4. ब—जगन्नाथादृशः।
5. अ.स—सादरः।
6. अ—कोरणालाभिः।
7. तौर।
8. ब—जकल्युजिनाने शरः; ग—जल्युजिने जन्तुस्मातः।
9. अ—मन्दिरविभागः।
10. ब—मन्दिरविभागः।
11. ब—मलपालः।
12. ब—बङ्केश्वरः।
13. ब—माईः।
14. ब—सामसारः।
15. ब—श्रीलांकरात्मकः; ग—श्रीलांकरात्मकः।
16. अपूर्वः अवश्यः।
17. अ—भारतवर्षः।
18. अ—कुच्छः।
19. ब—ब्रह्मसः; अ—ब्रह्मसः।
1. Read गुजरातूर्वभागातुः.
2. Read द्वारका यथा.
3. A—श्रीकृष्ण, Read श्रीकृष्णस्वर्णबोधयां.
4. A B—पत्रिचमें ब्रे, Read तापी च पत्रिचमोतरे.
5. A—पत्रिचमेंहि.
6. B—पिलाईः, Read तैंगासविवृत्तभिः. Note that the rules of metre are often disregarded.
7. B—परासरतेरे.
8. Read भ्रोले.
10. A—योजनानांहि; B—योजनांहि. Read योजनानांहि.
11. Read योजनानांहि.
13. A—मोलि, Note that the word daksīs is used in our text as well as in many other Tantra works in the sense of daksīs.
15. B—पाण्ड्यदेशाः; C—साम्प्रदेशो correction to पाण्ड्यदेशाः.
ACCOUNT OF FIFTY-SIX COUNTRIES

शंकौतीर्मारम्यं  विमारणयान्तकं शिवे।
बिदेहु:पु: समाहयाता तैरमुक्तमिभिः  ॥ २७
काम्बोज्येश्वरमारम्यं महामेच्छातु: पूर्वके।
बाह्रीकेशोऽदेवेशि अवसोपतिप्रारणणं।  ॥ २८
तत्तुकु:  ॥ समारम्यं रामकेशान्तकं शिवे।
किरातेशोऽदेवेशि विभ्यंबैसे च तिष्ठति।  ॥ २९
कर्त्तोयं समारम्यं हिगुलाजान्तकं शिवे।
बकान्तेशोऽदेवेशि महामेच्छायारणणं।  ॥ ३०
हिगुपुः: समारम्यं मकौशालं महेश्वरि।
खुराक्षानामिभोऽदेशो मोक्षमार्गयारणणं।  ॥ ३१
तमध्ये चोतरे देवि ऐराकः परिकीति।  ॥ ३२
काव्यभूतं समारम्यं कामपूवच चक्षुमै।
भोक्तनानेशोऽदेवेशि हानेशान्त विकृते।  ॥ ३३
काव्योपी(केंद्र) हृस्पूवच चिनेदेशि क्रीतिति।  ॥ ३४
कैलासगिरिमारम्यं सर्पुयोगिति। परे।
आमोनान्तं महेश्वरिनि महाचीनामिभो।  ॥ ३५
जटेशः समारम्यं यशन्यान्तं महेश्वरि।
नेपालेशोऽदेवेशि शिलहुँ: श्रुवाणः श्रवे।  ॥ ३६
गोणेशः समारम्यं महोदयमानं (गः) शिवे।
शिलहुँ: दानिभोऽदेशिपरेन्तेन्तस्मिति श्रवे।  ॥ ३७

1. B—नीत्रोऽ।
2. B—सितमभुक्ता। Read शिवाधि सा।
3. A—वाहिक; B—बाह्रीक।
4. B C—सतसकुण्डः
5. B—वम्भक्तान (ववाश्याम: ? )
6. A—मकोशान्त; B—मक्कोशान्त। Read मकौशान्तं।
7. B—पुरासना२; C—पुरासना। A reads मकोशान्तं महेश्वरि। after कर्त्तोयं समारम्यं and thus omits the stanza referring to Vakrānta-deśa.
8. B—ऐकीरः
9. B—कैलासरं समारम्यं; C—कैलाससतीरमारम्यं।
10. A—आमोरंग; B—आमारागं।
11. B—बीनालिपि।
12. B—योगिनिन्त।
13. Not found in A.
बंगाल प्राचीन मुख्यांतर्गत (G.) हिन्दूкра ।
गोदेश: समाधाय: सुविबाहिक शासक: ॥३८
गोक्षेसालूर भार्य विभागो: ॥ ॥
तारामुक्ता पक्षियो: तु महापुरस्वास परवर्त: ॥
महाकालिक देश: ॥ ॥
कोत्त्वर: समाधम तपकुं दानत के: ॥ ॥
मुगलालो: महादेश वाही तिह तु दुहयति ॥
दशोंप्रभम भव: कमलकिताम (म) गदी ॥ ॥
चरित्र: समाधम गुणाकुटालक: ॥ ॥
तापलकित: स्यारुतरो: मा (म) गदी मत: ॥ ॥
जग्नाप्राप्त देश: ॥ ॥
कामगिर: समाधम धारणात् महेशवरि ॥
वीकुलस्थानो देशो हुणो भुषु महेशवरि ॥
कामगिरेश्वर: महेशदानके: ॥
हुण्डेश: समाधाय: शूराशृत वसन्त हि ॥
अर्घुः: भुषु: समाधम कोटीस्वर तु मध्यम: ॥
समुद्राप्राप्त देशो हि कौंक्ष: ॥
हुण्डेश: मध्यमस्तांत भण्मध्यभाग: ॥ ॥

1. A-भुषुनेश महेशत्रि; B-मुख्यांतर्गत महेशत्रि.
2. Read गोक्षेसालूर भार्य विभागो.
3. A-तारामुक्ता.
5. C-देश: स्यात.
6. AC-श्यातवर.
7. B-मध्यमा.
8. B C-स्तुग.
9. A-स्यातवरः; B-स्यातवरः वस्तु.
10. B-प्रोतेश; C-प्रोतेश
11. C-स्वितकह.
14. B-कोटीस्वास वसन्त; C-मध्यम.
15. A-कौंक्ष:.
16. B-गहुः.
ACCOUNT OF FIFTY-SIX COUNTRIES

2. Usually शूर or शीर.
3. A—पाल्मात्ता. Read पाल्मात: पूर्वभागे तु or पाल्मात्ता पूर्वभागसतु.
4. A—सिलातू evidently for सिलातू.
5. A—पुलिहतो; B—पुलिहतो.
5a. See below, p. 105 and note 1.
7. A—मात्रकस्त; C—मात्रकलाज. Read मात्रकलाज, मात्रकस्त or मात्रकस्त तत.
8. Read शूरसेन.
9. AB—कठकातू. Should we read कठकातू?
10. A—देवा: सर्वोत्तमोत्तम; C—ोधमोधम.
11. Read पशिचन्दोतरे.
GEOPGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

बर्बाराष्ट्री महादेवो सैन्यवं श्रृणु सादरस्मू न।१५६
लक्षाप्रदेशमार्गम मयकान्तः परसेवतः।
सैन्यवाष्ट्री महादेवः पर्वतेन्त्रितश्च यिमः १५७
एते शतपंचशाहेश्वर मया प्रोक्ता तत्र यिमः।
एतत्वमन्इदेवेशिः देशभेदोदिकः।
कोठिनः सन्नितिः देवेशिः एते मुखमः प्रकीर्तितः १५८
रहस्यातिरहस्यमः च गोपावः पप्पुसंक्तः।
इति संस्केतः प्रोक्तः किमत्वच्छोदितमाच्छितः। १५९

SUPPLEMENTA
( Saktisananga Tantra, Book III,
Chapter VIII )
श्रीदेवेश्वरः।

देवेश आदित्यमाच्छिन्न पंच प्रस्थानः साधत्रमः।
इत्यप्रस्थं यमप्रस्थं वर्णप्रस्थेव च।
कौमप्रस्थं महादेवं देवप्रस्थं च पश्चाकमः।
"इत्यप्रस्थं महेशानि श्रृणु वक्षे॥ यशाकमः।
इत्यप्रस्थं महेशानि योगिनीसंयुतमः।
महुरागुकुलं पूर्वं भागे तस्यं भविस्यतमः।
वुडवरं कोलदेशो हस्तिनापुरसुलारे।

1. A — मण्डल्यातः।
2. C—हेशामया प्रोक्तात्वम भवितः। In the place of this stanza, A has a concluding verse which reads as follows after minor corrections:

पर्वतपारासिन्नमेवा देवता मया प्रोक्ता तत्वाऽन्यतः।
लेवः शास्त्रम भवेषों वे चक्रवर्तीं से उच्चते।

3. B—गोपालः।
4. From B only.
5. Read प्रशान्तः।
6. Read श्रीभगवानुवाज before this stanza. Better read पंच श्यानि देवेशिः in place of इत्यप्रस्थं महेशानि।
7. Read वहः।
8. Read योगिनीसंयुतमः।
9. Read पूर्वः।
ACCOUNT OF FIFTY-SIX COUNTRIES

1. The intended reading may be वाराही°.
2. Possibly we have to suggest सप्ताण्ग गुल्लु पूर्वके\.°
3. Read °कीर्तितम्.
4. Read °प्रतिमेवेव, Kasi-pati may be an error for kari-pati, i.e. gaaja-pati.
5. Read "ह्वरः.
6. Read तावज्जूः. But the rules of sandhi and metre are often disregarded.
7. Read गोकणेऽ.
8. Read °गोचरा.
9. Possibly विल्लुभार्तस्तः हि.
10. Possibly बजूःश्रीः.
पर्वताचार्याकाळी चामुंडाग्यांना विंतु तः तत्त्वात् ॥ १४ ।
पूर्वेऽ वै धर्मानाथस्तूलरेळयमरकण्ठकम् ॥
कांचीपुर मध्यभागे मोहनावर्ते भेः (ए)व च ॥ १५ ।
ललिताय सुखं तन्न विशालावसिष्यं ॥
कामाक्ष्यां रमं महामन्थविविष्यं ॥ १६ ॥
नवलक्षमहाविया संगणे परिमूलणेः ॥
पंच प्रत्याित्व देवेश रक्षितानि मया तव ॥ १७ ॥

1. Possibly पर्वताचार्याकाळी स्थानाग्यांना विंतुतः
2. Possibly पूर्वेऽ वै धर्मानाथस्तूलरेळयमरकण्ठकम् उत्तरे ओर पूर्वेऽ वै धर्मानाथस्तूलरेळयमरकण्ठकम् उत्तरे
3. Possibly महावियां: स्वगणे: परिमूलणेः
Fifty-six Countries

1. Āṅga (v. 2).

Āṅga is said to have extended from Vaidyanātha up to Bhuvanesa. Vaidyanātha is no doubt the same as Baidyanāthdhām in the Santal Parganas District, very near the southern frontiers of the Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts, in Bihār. Bhuvanesa reminds us of the celebrated Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa.

The ancient Āṅga country is supposed to have comprised the present Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts of Bihar excluding the parts lying to the north of the Ganges. Its capital Campā is believed to have been situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Campā (modern Cāndan) and the two villages Campānagar and Campāpur, near Bhāgalpur, are supposed to represent the actual site of the ancient capital of Āṅga. Epigraphic evidence, however, seems to suggest the location of the ancient city near the Lakhisarai station on the Eastern Railway, in the western fringe of the Monghyr District.¹ There are traditions regarding the expansion of the boundary of the Āṅga country especially in the south. The Kāthāsarītasāgara,² e.g., refers to the Āṅga city called Viṭāṅkapura which was situated on the seashore. The commentary on Vātsyāyana’s Kāmasūtra (VI, 6) places Āṅga to the east of the Mahānadi.

It will be seen that Baidyanāthdhām is situated near the southern limits of the original Āṅga country; but Vaidyanātha may here indicate the district round the holy place, and the reference to Bhubaneswar may point to the country’s extension towards the Bay of Bengal. The verse appears to place Āṅga to the south of the Ganges, and it must be admitted that there is no definite evidence indicating the extension of the Āṅga country to the north of that river. According to some manuscripts of the

². 25, 35; 26, 116; 82, 3-16.
Bhaviṣṭa Purāṇa (see No. 37 below), Vaidyanātha-Mahādeva lay in the Jāṅgala-Jhārikhaṇḍa country which was situated to the north of the Dārukeśvara river and to the west of the Bhāgrathī, between Paścikūṭa (the former Paścikakoṭ State in the Manbhum District) and Kīkaṭa (the Gayā region in South Bihar).

2. Vaṅga (v. 3).

The country of Vaṅga is described as extending from the sea as far as the BrahmaPuretra. The sea is no doubt the Bay of Bengal in the south and BrahmaPuretra, the northern boundary, seems to indicate that portion of the river which bifurcates from the Jumna. Vaṅga therefore included the eastern part of the Sundarbans in the south and half of the Mymensingh District in the north. The verse seems to exclude the region to the east of the BrahmaPuretra and the Meghnā (cf. v. 37) and agrees with medieval epigraphic evidence which places the heart of Vaṅga in the Vikramapura-bhāga comprising the Munshiganj and Madaripur Subdivisions of the Dacca and Faridpur Districts of East Pakistan. The original habitat of the Vaṅga people has been discussed in a separate chapter (Ch. XI) below.

3-4. Kaliṅga (v. 4) and Kāliṅga (v. 5).

Kaliṅga extended from the east of Jagannātha as far as the banks of the Krṣṇā. Jagannātha here evidently refers to the celebrated deity in the shrine of Purī in the Puri District of Orissa. It is interesting to note that the Tantric texts recognise Purī as one of the Pīṭha-sthānas where the Bhairava is Jagannātha and the Bhairavī Vimalā. That the Purī region was also called Utkala is known from v. 42.

The name Kaliṅga has been used here in a wide sense. The Mahābhārata (III, 114, 4) recognises the Vaitaraṇī river as the north-eastern boundary of Kaliṅga, and at the time of Aśoka and Khāravela it certainly comprised the Purī-Cuttack region in the east. At the time of the Eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, the Kaliṅga kingdom extended from the Ganges to the Godāvari. The statement in the commentary on the
Kāmasūtra (VI, 6) that Kaliṅga lies to the south of Gauḍa-viṣaya appears to indicate the extension of ancient Kaliṅga as far as the Ganges. The expansion of Kaliṅga from the Mahānadi to the river Kṛṣṇā in the south seems to be referred to in an inscription of the fifth century A.D.\(^1\) The reference in our text may, however, be to the dominions of the Sūryavamśi Gajapatis of Orissa. Their empire originally included certain tracts lying to the south of the Kṛṣṇā, though they were later ousted from those areas by the kings of Vijayanagara.

On the southern confines of Kaliṅga was a country called Kāliṅga according to our text. But we do not know of any country of this name to the south of the Kṛṣṇā from any other source. The author probably refers to the Nellore-Guntur region which once formed parts of the dominions of the Sūryavamśi Gajapatis of Orissa.

5. **Keralas** including Siddhikeralas (v. 6).

The Kerala country is said to have extended from Subrahmanya up to Janārdana and Siddhikeralas to have formed a part of it. Roughly speaking, Kerala comprised the coastal region inhabited by the Malayāḷam-speaking people. But our text makes separate mention not only of two other Keralas called Haṁsa (v. 7) and Sarveśa (v. 8), but also of Malayāḷa (v. 15).

There are many temples of Subrahmanya (Kāṛttikeya) in South India and it is difficult to determine which of them is meant. The same is the case with Janārdana, as we can trace several Janārdana temples in the area in question. It is, however, possible that Subrahmanya here indicates the village of that name in the South Kanara District, which is famous for its temple and cattle fair, and that Janārdana is the temple at Varkala or Varkkalai between Quilon and Trivandrum.

6. **Haṁsa-Keralas** (v. 7).

The territory including Rāmeśvara and Veṇkaṭeśa is called Haṁsa-Keralas, a name otherwise unknown. The shrine of

---
\(^1\) Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXX, p. 114. Some alluded topics have been discussed in a separate chapter (Ch. VII).
Rāmeśvara and the celebrated Veṅkaṭeśvara temple at Tirupatī are quite well known; but it is difficult to determine whether they are actually intended. If, however, the verse refers to the country from Rāmeśvara to Tirupatī, the name Harisa-Keralas would appear to indicate the same territory as the old Drāviḍa.

7. Sarveśa-Kera’ā (v. 8).

The Kerala country designated by the name Sarveśa extended from the Ananta-saila up to the city called Udupa. The Ananta hill may refer to Trivandrum which is known as Ananta-rayana or Anantapura. It is possible that the place is referred to by Varadarāja (17th century) whose Samāskṛta-maṇjarī speaks of the southern Tirthas called Janārdana-kṣetra, Gokarna-kṣetra (in the North Kanara District), Anantasena (śayana ?)-kṣetra, and Subrahmaṇya-kṣetra. Udupa-pura is possibly Udipi, headquarters of the Udipi Taluk in the South Kanara District. The celebrated Vaiṣṇava saint Madhva was born at Kalyāṇapura near Udipi.

8. Kāśmira (v. 9).

Kāśmira (Kashmir) is described as the country lying between the Śāradā-maṭha and the Kuṅkum-ādri and extending over 50 yojanas. The Kuṅkuma hill cannot be satisfactorily identified; but it may refer to the Kuṅkuma (saffron)-growing plateau above Pampur near Srinagar, capital of Kashmir.1 Śāradā-maṭha is evidently modern Sardi near the confluence of the Kishenganga and Kankatori rivers in Kashmir. The shrine of the goddess Śāradā is mentioned in Kalhaṇa’s Rājatarangini (VIII, 2556, 2706). According to Stein, the old shrine is in complete ruins and it is substituted by the late Śāradā temple at Guṣa (ancient Ghoṣa) which is now visited by the pilgrims.2


The country of Kāmarūpa is said to have extended from Kāleśvara to the Śveta-giri and from Tripura to the Nila-parvata,

The 'Blue Mountain' seems to be the Nil-ādri or Nilakūṭa, the name of the Kāmakhyā hill according to the Kālikā Purāṇa (Ch. 79, v. 74). The Gaṅesa-giri seems to be referred to as lying in the heart of Kāmarūpa. Tripura can be quite satisfactorily identified with Tripurā (Tipperah) which is now partly in East Pakistan. The heart of ancient Kāmarūpa was the Gauhati region of Assam. The celebrated temple of Kāmakhyā, called the Yonipiṇḍha, lies not far from the city of Gauhati. According to Hiuen-tsang, Kāmarūpa lay to the east of the Kāratoṇya, while the Yogini Tantra includes in the country the Brahmaputra valley together with Rangpur and Chobhihar.

10. Mahārāṣtra (v. 11).

Mahārāṣtra (i.e. the Marāṭhi-speaking area) extended from Tryambaka to Karṇāṭa, and comprised Ujjayini, Mārjārā-tirtha and Kolāpura-nivāsini. Tryambaka is certainly the celebrated Tryambakesvara Śiva-linga near Nāsik and here indicates the whole of the Nasik area. Ujjain and Kolhāpur are also well-known localities. Kolāpura-nivāsini appears to be the goddess Mahālakṣmi of the great shrine at Kolhāpur. As has already been pointed out, the inclusion of Ujjain appears to refer to the Marāṭha conquest of Malwa during the rule of Peshwā Bājī Rāo I (1720-40 A.D.); and in that case we have to assume that the Śaktisaṅgama Tantra, or at least the Deśavibhāga section of it, was composed not earlier than the first quarter of the 18th century. Karṇāṭa of this verse seems to be different from that of v. 16 and to indicate the original Karṇāṭa, i.e. the Kannada-speaking area. It is interesting to note that the Kāmasūtra (VI, 5, 29) commentary (middle of the thirteenth century) locates Mahārāṣtra between the Narmadā and Karṇāṭa:

11. Andhra (v. 12).

Andhra is said to have been the country which has Jagannātha above and Bhramarāmbikā below. Jagannātha is the celebrated god of Puri; but here the district round the shrine seems to be indicated. Bhramarāmbikā is no doubt the famous Bhramarāmbā who is one of the 18 Śaktis in India and is enshrined
on the Śrīśaila with the god Mallikārjuna, one of the 12 Jyotirlingas. It has to be noted that our author separates Andhra from Tailaṅga (v. 14) and also from Kaliṅga (vv. 4-5).

12. Saurāṣṭra or Gurjara (v. 13).

From Koṅkaṇa up to Hiṅgulāja in the west lies, according to the verse, the Saurāṣṭra country covering a hundred yojanas on the coast. This country has also been called Gurjara. Koṅkaṇa is the strip of land between the Western Ghāts and the Arabian Sea, and Hiṅgulāja is the famous Tīrtha of Hiṅglāj near the Arabian Sea (between lat. 25° and 26° and long. 65° and 66°), more than 100 miles to the west of Karachi.

Surāṣṭra originally indicated the southern part of Kathiawar; but in the later period the name Gujarāt is found to be used in a wide sense to comprise the whole of Kathiawar and the adjoining regions. The verse in question gives a wide extent of the country. It must, however, be remembered that from a pilgrim’s point of view Gujarāt may be roughly placed between the Northern Koṅkan (comprising the modern Thana District of Bombay State) and the district round Hiṅglāj. Pilgrims seem to have reached Somanātha in Kathiawar by boat from the Northern Koṅkan and then proceeded to Hiṅglāj again by boat.¹


From the Śrī-śaila up to the middle of the distance between the same and Coleśa lies the Tailaṅga country. Coleśa may indicate the god of the celebrated Bṛhadeśvara temple at Taṅjāvūr. Tailaṅga is the same as the name Telengana and is related to Telugu. But the origin of this geographical name is unknown. The author’s separation of Tailaṅga from Andhra (v. 11) is comparable to that of Kāliṅga from Kaliṅga (vv. 4-5). Really Tailaṅga means the Telugu-speaking area which is the same as Andhra.² An inscription³ of 1358 A. D. gives the following

¹. Cf. v. 57.
². The description does not suit the present Telengana area of Andhra Pradesh.
boundaries of the Tiliṅga or Tailaṅga country:

पञ्चायतरस्तताश्च देशोऽहराष्ट्रकीर्णस्य ॥
অবায়বস্তু পাঞ্চাযতকায়কুশী দেশায় তৃতীয়তি তিলিঙ্গনাম।

that is, the Telugu country is bounded by Mahārāṣṭra in the west, Kaliṅga in the east, Pāṇḍya in the south and Kānyakubja in the north. There is reference here to the old empire of the Kākaṭiyas. Of course, in this age, the Kānyakubja country was no longer a political unit; but the reference may be to the empire of the Turkish Sultāns of Delhi.

14. Malayāla (v. 15).

The Malayāla country, which is separated from the tracts called Kerala (vv. 6-8), is described as lying between Mūkāmbikā and the Malay-ādri. The Malay-ādri or Malaya range has been identified with the Travancore hills. The goddess is no doubt one of the same name worshipped at Kollūr or Barkalūr in the northern part of the South Kanara District, formerly in Madras but now in Mysore. This goddess is mentioned in inscriptions like C.P. Nos. 3-6A of AR.Ep., 1927-28, and in stone inscription No.403 of the same year. See also the Śivatattva-ratnākara, Kallola V, Ch. I, vv. 27ff.

15. Karṇāṭa (v. 16).

The Karṇāṭa country is said to have extended from Rāmanātha upto Śrīraṅga. Śrīraṅga is either Śrīraṅgam opposite Taḷḷjāvūr on the other side of the Kāverī or Śrīraṅgapattana (Seringapatam) near Mysore. Rāmanātha seems to be either the Rāmanāthapuram (former Ramnad) District, or the Rāmanātha Maṭha in the Madurai District, or the Rāmeśvara Tīrtha near the junction of the rivers Tuṅga and Bhadra.1 The possible reference to Śrīraṅgam or Ramnad as a boundary of Karṇāṭa suggests that it is not the ancient Karṇāṭa country, the heart of which was in the Kannāḍa-speaking land, Kannāḍa being the same as Sanskrit Karṇāṭa. With the expansion of the empire of the Kanarese kings of Vijayanagara, the name Karṇāṭa.

1. See Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 377, 397. This was however a very small place which has not yet been identified.
extended over a large part of the Deccan. After the battle of Talikoṭa in 1665 A.D., the Vijayanagara kings withdrew first to Candragiri (Chittoor District) and then to Vellore (North Arcot District). But, as has already been indicated, even when their kingdom became confined to a very small area far away from ancient Karkaṭa, they were known as the Rāyas of Karkaṭaka. About the end of the seventeenth century, Zulfiqār Ali Khān (circa 1692-1703 A.D.), the progenitor of the Nawābs of Arcot, was created the ‘Nawāb of the Carnatic (Karkaṭaka).’ It is not impossible that the verse actually refers to the kingdom of these Nawābs of the Carnatic.


Avanti is described as extending from the Tāmraparna as far as the northern side of some hills and as the place of the goddess Kālikā. This Tāmraparna is an unknown river and not the celebrated rivulet of that name in the extreme south of India. The hills referred to may be the Western Vindhya.

Avanti is generally identified with the district round Ujjain (in the former Gwalior State) which was its capital. Kālikā mentioned in the verse is evidently the Śakti of the celebrated Mahākāla of Ujjain.

17. Vidarbha (v. 18).

The country of Vidarbha is said to have been situated to the east of Bhadrakālī and to the west of Rāmadurga or with Rāmadurgā to its west. This Bhadrakālī appears to be the same goddess as Kālikā [of Ujjain] mentioned in the preceding verse. Rāmadurga reminds us of the former State of this name in the South Marāṭhā country lying between Belgaum and Bijapur, although it is far from Vidarbha, i.e. modern Berar. The Ujjain region lies to the north or north-west of Berar. Even if we accept an old tradition according to which Avanti included the Māhiṣmati (modern Māndhātā in the Nimar District or Maheswar in the former Indore State) region on the Narmadā,
FIFTY-SIX COUNTRIES

18. Maru (v. 19).

The Maru country seems to be described as lying to the north-west of the Gujarāt region and to the north of Dvārakā and also as famous for its camels. It is the great Indian desert called the Thar or Rājputānā desert. The land no doubt also includes the Mārwār (i.e. Maru) or Jodhpur area.

19. Ābhira (v. 20).

The Ābhira country appears to be placed on the Vindhya between the Koṅkaṇa in the south and the Tāpī or Tāptī in the north-west.

The Ābhirās originally lived in the desert; but they gradually pushed towards the south. In the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., Aberia or the Ābhira country lay not far from Surāṣṭra or Southern Kathiawar. In the 3rd century A.D., the Ābhirās founded a kingdom comprising parts of the Northern Koṅkan and the Nāsik region. But it is difficult to believe that this area was called Ābhira in the late medieval period. The reference seems to be to the Ahirwas fort in the former Indore State, lying at lat. 22° 31', long. 76° 31'. But, in that case, we have to read śrī-Koṅkaṇaṭṭa purva-bhāge, since the area in question does not lie to the south of the Koṅkaṇ. The Kāmasūtra (VI, 4, 24) commentary applies the name Ābhira to the tracts including Śrīkaṇṭha (Thanesar) and Kūru-kṣetra.

20. Mālava (v. 21)

The great country of Mālava is described as lying to the east of Avanti and to the north of the Godāvari. The verse evidently indicates Eastern Malwa, the ancient name of which was Ākara or Daśārṇa having its capital at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa in the former Gwalior State). It has to be noticed that the Kāmasūtra (VI, 5, 22 and 24) mentions Avanti and Mālava separately and its commentary identifies Mālava with Pūrva-Mālava and gives the name Avanti to the Ujjain region. Bāṇa's

1. See The Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 221 ff.
Kādambarī supports the same tradition when it associates Mālava ladies with the Vetravatī (modern Betwa) surrounding Vidiśā and speaks of Ujjayinī as a city of the Avanti country in the present West Malwa.¹


The Cola country is said to have been situated between Drāviḍa and Tailaṅga (v. 14), and the three countries, which were very similar to one another, were also known generally as the [land of the] Lambakarṇas.

The Cola country proper was the Tañjāvūr-Tirucirāppalli region. The verse, however, appears to refer to the country of the Telugu Coṇḍas of the Anantapur-Cuddappa area.

22. Pāṅcāla (v. 23).

Pāṅcāla appears to have been described as lying at 13 or 30 yojanas from Indraprastha with Kuru-kṣetra both in the west and the north. Indraprastha is the modern Delhi region and Kuru-kṣetra was the country to the south of the Sarasvatī and to the north of the Drśadvatī, in the Karnal-Ambala region of the Eastern Punjab.

Ancient Pāṅcāla was divided into two divisions, viz., the northern and the southern, and the former comprised roughly the modern Rohilkhand Division of U. P. Ahicchatrā, capital of North Pāṅcāla, has been identified with modern Rāmnagar in the Bareily District, while Kāmpilya, which was the capital of South Pāṅcāla, has been located at modern Kāmpil in the Farrukhabad District to the south of the Ganges.

23. Kāmboja (v. 24).

The Kāmboja country is described as extending from Pāṅcāla and lying to the south-east of the Mleccha country. This Mleccha is apparently the same as Mahā-Mleccha of v. 28 and indicates the Muslim countries on the north-western borders of medieval India.²

². Cf. Nos. 25 and 27 below.
The ancient Kāmbojas may be supposed to have lived in various settlements in the wide area between the Punjab and Balkh (cf. No. 27). From a pilgrim’s standpoint therefore the country may have been described as having Pāncāla in the south-east and the Muhammadan countries in the north-west. The horses of the Kāmboja country are often found mentioned in literature and inscriptions. The Kāmbojas living in Aśoka’s empire are mentioned in his inscriptions along with the Yavanas or Greeks of the Kabul valley and Kandahar where an edict in two versions meant for these two peoples has been discovered.

24. Vīrāṭa (v. 25).

The country called Vīrāṭa or Vairāṭa is placed to the north of Vidarbha, to the south of Indraprastha and to the east of Maru-deśa.

Of course Vidarbha is far to the south; but the ancient Vīrāṭa or Matsya country actually lay in the Alwar-Bharatpur-Jaipur region to the south of the Delhi area and to the east of the desert. Vidarbha was never its southern boundary; but it may have been mentioned as a country lying in the south—whatever be the distance—of the Vīrāṭa country. One of the Śākta Pīthās is said to be in Vīrāṭa where the Devī is Ambikā and the Bhairava Amṛta. There was a Vīrāṭa country in Northern Bengal, according to some manuscripts of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.¹ The Nivṛti country (comprising Vardhanakūṭa=Bardhankoṭ, Kacchapa=Cochbihār or, more probably, Kachhar, and Rangpur) has there been described as:

निवृति: सा च यत्रेव जनिष्यति तुषादिकम् ।
वरेद्युत्रतरमाणे च विराटस्य च समिधी ।
बंगस्य पतिकोत्तरे निवृतिपिप्पो मतः ॥

This Vīrāṭa is apparently connected with the ‘Birāṭ-rājār Gārh’ in the Rangpur District, or Bairāṭṭā in the Dinajpur District, in the northern part of Bengal and has nothing to do with the country of the same name mentioned in our text.

¹ See No. 37 below.

The Pāṇḍu or Pāṇḍya country is placed to the south of Kāmboja and to the west of Indraprastha or the Delhi region.

It is interesting to note that there is evidence of the existence of an ancient Pāṇḍu country in the Punjab. Ptolemy's Geography places the country of Pandouoi (i.e. Pāṇḍava) about the Bidaspes=Vitastā=Jhelam and includes in it Sagala=Sākala=Siālkot. Poros (i.e. Puru or Paurava), contemporary of Alexander, evidently belonged to this Pāṇḍu country. The *Vedic Index* suggests that either the Jhelam region was the early home of the Purus where some remained while others migrated to the east, or that region was later conquered by the Purus who had been settled in the east. But it is difficult to determine how this ancient tradition finds an echo in the late medieval text before us.

26. *Videha* or *Tairabhukti* (v. 27).

The Videha country, also called Tīrabhukta or Tairabhukti, is described as extending from the banks of the Gaṇḍakī as far as the Camp-āraṇya. Gaṇḍakī-tīra here appears to indicate the southern boundary of the country and the place where the modern Gaṇḍak falls into the Ganges. Camp-āraṇya is the modern Campāraṇ which seems to be the northern boundary. The name Tīrabhukti still survives in the modern form *Tirhut*. It is the same as the Darbhanga-Muzaffarpur region of Upper Bihar to the north of the Ganges.

27. *Bāhlika* (v. 28).

The Bāhlika country is said to be bordering on Kāmbojā and situated to the east of Mahā-Mleccha. Bāhlika was Bactria (modern Balkh) in the north of Afghanistān; but Vāhīka was an old name of the Punjab. The reading Bāhlika is better as the country is placed between Kāmboja and the great Mleccha world of the west. It is interesting to note that the Kāmbojas, elsewhere associated with Pāñcāla (v. 24), are here connected with the northern part of Afghanistān.

1. VII, i, 46.

The Kirāta country is described as extending from Taptakunḍa as far as Rāma-kṣetra and as lying on the Vindhya. Taptakunḍa may indicate the hot springs at Rājgir in the Patna District, Bihar, or those near Monghyr. Rāma-kṣetra may be Rāma-giri or Rāmtake. Kirāta here seems to indicate some Vindhyan hill tribes, though in old literature they are usually connected with the Himalayan region. The fact is that such names as Pulinda and Kirāta really indicated particular hill tribes; but later their meaning expanded so as to signify any hill tribe.

29. *Vakrānta* (v. 30).

The Vakrānta country is said to have extended from the Karatoya as far as Hiṅgulāja and abounded in a large number of Mlecchas. The Karatoya river mentioned here is not easy to identify; but the reference to the Hiṅgulāja area as one of the bordering regions suggests that Vakrānta-deśa is possibly not Wakhan, but very probably Makran between Baluchistan and Persia. Pargiter\(^1\) notices three Karatoyaś; the first a tributary of the Brahmaputra in North Bengal, the second belonging to the Himalayan region in North India and the third rising from the Vindhyan range. The second seems to be indicated in the verse; but the plurality of the name may have been caused by wrong readings.

30. *Khurāśana* (v. 31).

The country called Khurāśana (Khorashan) is described as extending from the Hiṅgu-piṭha, i.e. Hiṅgulāja, upto Makkeśa. Makkeśa, ‘lord of Mecca,’ is an imaginary Śiva-linga at Mecca, the most sacred of the Muslim holy places. According to a popular Bengali tradition, apparently influenced by the Tantras, in an underground room underneath the floor of the Kaaba at Mecca there lies Śiva in deep sleep; pious Hindus are never allowed to approach him; if, however, a devout Hindu could place on his

---

head a *bilva-patra* only once, the god would at once rise up and destroy all the Muhammadans of the world.

Khorashan is the north-eastern province of Persia, to the west of Afghanistan; but the name here seems to be employed to indicate the kingdom of Persia as known in the late medieval period.

31. *Airāka* (v 31).

In the northern part of the country of Khurāsana, i.e. the Persian kingdom or Western Asia, is placed Airāka, i.e. Iraq.

32. *Bhoṭānta* (v. 33).

The Bhoṭānta country is said to have extended from Kāśmīra and lay to the west of Kāmarūpa and to the south of Mānaseśa. Bhoṭānta is evidently Bhoṭān and Mānaseśa refers to the god Śiva at the Mānasa lake (Mān sarovar) in the Himalayas, Modern Bhoṭān in a small state to the north of Bengal; but the Tibetan people are also known as Bhauṭṭa or Bhoṭa. Taken in this wider sense, Bhoṭānta may actually be placed between Kāśmīra in the west and Kāmarūpa in the east.

33. *Cīna* (v. 34).

Cīna-deśa is described as lying to the south-east of Mānaseśa. The country to the south-east of the Mānasa-sarovara is Tibet which appears to be indicated by the name Cīna in the verse. Tibet formed a part of the dominions of the Chinese emperors. Abul Fazl’s *Ain-i-Akbari* refers to ‘Pegu which former writers called Cheen, accounting this to be the capital city’, and seems to include Burma in the Cīna country.¹ According to Pargiter, Cīna comprised the country of Tibet ‘along the whole range of the Himalayas’.² The Cīnas are sometimes linked in the *Mahābhārata* with the Kāmbojas of the north-west³ and often mentioned among the retinue of the king of Prāgijyotīṣa or Assam in

3. VI, 9, 66.
the east and are also sometimes placed near the source of the Ganges in the country lying midway between the two regions.

34. Mahā-Cīna (v. 35)

The Mahācīna country is said to have extended from the Kailāsa-giri and from the place of origin of the Sarayū as far as Moṅga. Mount Kailāsa is that part of the Himalayan range which lies to the north of the Mānasa-sarovara and the origin of the Sarayū (Ghogra) is not far off. Moṅga and its variations appear to refer to Mongolia to the north of China. Mahācīna therefore refers to China proper. The suggestion is supported by the fact that in the seventh century A.D. the Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang described his native country as 'the Mahācīna of the Indians'.

35. Nepāla (v. 35).

The country of Nepāla is placed between Jaṭēśvara and Yogini which seems to refer to Yoginīpura or Delhi. The Nepāla country to the north of Bihār and U.P. is well-known; but Jaṭēśvara cannot be satisfactorily identified. It is possible that the original reading was Jalpeśvara, the famous Śiva of the Jalpaiguri District in North Bengal, sometimes referred to in the later Puranic literature.

36. Śilahaṭṭa (v. 36).

The country called Śilahaṭṭa is described as extending from Gaṇeśvara as far as the sea. Gaṇeśvara appears to be identical with Gaṇeśa-giri placed in the heart of the country of Kāmarūpa (v. 10). Śilahaṭṭa is no doubt modern Sylhet which however does not now extend up to the Bay of Bengal. The land lying to the east of the Meghna in South-East Bengal (now mostly in East Pakistan) seems to be included in Śilahaṭṭa.

1. V, 19, 15.
2. III, 177, 12.
Gauḍa is said to have extended from the Vaṅga country upto Bhuvañeśa (i.e. Bhubaneswar in Orissa). In modern times, Gauḍa implies the whole area inhabited by the Bengali-speaking people. Originally, however, the country seems to have comprised the present Murshidabad District with the exclusion of its southernmost part. The Chinese traveller Huien-tsang describes Kārṇasuvāraṇa as the name of both the kingdom and capital of Śaśāṅka who has been called ‘the lord of Gauḍa’ in the Harṣa-carita. According to the Chinese pilgrim, the Raktamṛttikā-vihāra lay in the suburbs of the Karṇasuvāraṇa city and the country was about 730 or 750 miles in circuit. As the monastery referred to has been located at modern Rāṅgāmāṭi (Sanskrit Rakta-mṛttikā), the identification of the Karṇasuvāraṇa or Gauḍa country with the Murshidabad District is plausible. This identification is again supported by an interpolated section of the Bhavisya Purāṇa, which says:

पुष्पदेशे सप्तदेशालं नामानि वेण भृणु ।
गौडः वरेश्वरी निवृति: सुहुदेश: प्रकृतितः ॥
जौगलो शारिरंहंस स्रवाह्यमूर्तिवेव च ।
वर्धमानो विध्यपाश्रयं सप्तेन परिकृतिततः ॥
पपान्या दक्ष्यभोगे वर्धमानस्य शोतेरे ।
गौडेदेश: स विशेषेऽगौडेशि यज्ञ तिष्ठति ॥

It is said that Gauḍa (comprising Navadvīpa, Śāntipura, Maulapattana and Kaṇṭakapattana) lies between the river Padmā and the Vardhamāna district and forms a part of Puṇḍra, a name here used to indicate Bengal without its south-eastern part, but with some parts of Bihār and Orissa. The southern part of the Malda District comprising the site of the city of Gauḍa (Gaड़) seems to have been to the south of the Ganges and included in the Gauḍa country in the early medieval period, and the capitals of some of the Pāla and Sena kings in Gauḍa were situated near the modern site of Gaur. Our work divides Bengal in two broad divisions, viz. East Bengal (Vaṅga) and West Bengal.

1. MS. No. 3582 of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
It is interesting in this connection to note that Muslim historians sometimes called this country ‘Gaur-Bangāl.’ Gauḍa offers one of the numerous instances of the expansion of the connotation of a geographical term.¹

38. Mahā-Kośala (v. 38).

The Mahā-Kośala country is placed to the south of Gokarṇesā, to the north of Āryāvarta, to the west of Tairabhukti and to the east of Mahāpurī. Gokarna is the name of a village on the Bāgamati in Nepāl. Āryāvarta is not the same as that (=North India) defined by Manu, but the Tantric Āryāvarta defined as विप्लोतरमलेनैव मगधाच्यापरेण तु।
हिमालयेक्षिणे मागे पार्श्वालाल्प हर्मस्त्या।
अयोध्यार्वत्र हिति स्थायः।............²

Mahāpurī appears to refer to Delhi which was the capital of the Mughal emperors at the time of the composition of the work to which the verse belongs. Mahā-Kośala is no doubt the same as old Kośala ruled by the Sūrya-vaṃśi kings from their capital at Ayodhyā, near modern Fyzābād in Oudh (Ayodhyā). The name Mahā-Kośala thus appears to be wrongly applied now to indicate South Kośala, i.e. the Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.³ If we prefer the reading sarvatah to pūrvatah, Mahāpurī would possibly indicate Ayodhyā, the ancient capital of the Kośala janapada.


The great country of Magadhā is described as extending from Kālēśvara or Vyāśeśvara as far as the Tapta-kūḍā. Kālēśvara is evidently the celebrated Kāla-Bhairava of Banāras and Vyāśeśvara reminds us of Vyāsa-Kāśī. Tapta-kūḍā seems to refer to the hot springs (e.g., Sītākūḍā) near Monghyr. The Magadhā desa is therefore placed between the Benares region and the Monghyr District. The ancient Magadhā country comprised the present Patna and Gaya Districts of South Bihar.

and had its capital originally at Rājakṛṣṇa (Rājgir) and then at Pāṭaliputra (near Pāṭnā), both in the present Patna District.

40. Kīkaṭa (v. 40).

The Kīkaṭa country is placed in the southern part of Magadha, the northern half of which is called Magadha proper. Kīkaṭa is described as extending from the Caran-ādri up to Gṛidhrakūṭa. The celebrated Gṛidhrakūṭa or 'Vulture Peak' (modern Śaila-giri) was situated near Rājakṛṣṇa, modern Rājgir in the Patna District. Caran-ādri appears to indicate either the Viṣṇupada hill at Gayā, or Chūṅār. In the Purāṇic literature, Kīkaṭa is essentially connected with the Gayā region. But the traditional indentifications of Kīkaṭa with Gayā-pradeśa and with Magadha appear to be both right. The verse under study indicates that originally the Gayā region was called Kīkaṭa and the Pāṭnā region Magadha; but soon the former became a part of the latter.

41. Utkala (v. 41).

The country which had Jagannātha (the god in the shrine at Puri on the sea) on the boundary is described as Utkala. The original connotation of the name and its later expansion have been discussed in the separate chapter below, pp. 134 ff.

42. Śrikuntala (v. 43).

The country called Śrikuntala is placed between the Kāma-giri and Dvāarakā. V. 44 shows that the Kāma-giri was far to the north of the desert. In this connection, it is interesting to note that an inscription of 1176 A.D. represents a ruler of the Kāma-country as a tributary to the king of the Sapādalakṣa Mountain (i.e. the Siwalik range). It is also not impossible that the name Kāma has something to do with that of Kumaon. The Śrikuntala country thus appears to be placed between the Siwalik-Kumaon region in the north and Dvāarakā in the south. Śrīkuntala is, however, otherwise unknown and the well-known Kuntala lies in the Kanarese area. Is Śrīkuntala a mistake

for Śrikaṇṭha or the Thānesar region? The wide extent of the Śrikaṇṭha country can, however, only be accepted if we refer to the time of Harṣavardhana (606–47 A.D.), king of Thānesar and Kanauj.

Pargiter¹ notices three Kuntalas, one in the Deccan, the second near Chūnār to the south of Banāras and the third ‘in the west’. This third Kuntala may be indicated in the verse. It is, however, probable that this plurality of Kuntala as accepted by Pargiter is due to wrong readings which might have misled even the author of the verse in question.

43. Hūṇa (v. 44)

Hūṇa-deśa is placed to the south of the Kāma-giri (see No. 42) and to the north of Maru-deśa, i.e. the Desert, and is called the land of heroes. The Hūṇas had a place in Indian politics even long after the disintegration of the extensive empire of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula. The Harṣacarita places the Hūṇa country in the Punjab region practically suggesting the same area as the verse under study. Hūṇa royal houses are mentioned in the records of the Pratihāras, Kalacuris and others. The Hūṇas are ultimately known to have been regarded as one of the 36 clans of the Rajputs.

44. Koṅkaṇa (v. 45).

Koṅkaṇa has been described as lying on the sea-coast. It seems to have extended from the Ghaṭṭa as far as the middle of the district round Koṭiśa. The Koṅkan, as we know, is the strip of land between the Western Ghaṭṭa and the Arabian Sea. Ghaṭṭa therefore appears to indicate the Western Ghaṭṭa, while Koṭiśa reminds us of the famous Koṭeśvara Mahādeva near the sea, not far from Bhuj, the headquarters of Kutch. But this Koṭeśvara is far away from the Koṅkaṇ. Our Koṭiśa may be the same as Saptakoṭiśvara of the inscriptions, and coins of the Kadambas of Goa.²

¹. Markandeya Purāṇa, trans., p. 308.
45. Kaikaya (v. 46).

Kaikaya is placed between the Brahmaputra and Kāmarūpa. The ancient Kekaya country lay in the Punjab to the east of Gandhāra (the Peshawar-Rāwalpindi region). But a Kekaya kingdom is known to have existed in the northern part of Mysore in the fifth century A.D. The Kaikaya country mentioned in our verse seems to be a place in North-East Bengal, which was possibly connected by local traditions with the ancient Kekayas of the Punjab. Kaikaya here may even indicate the land of the Kukis in Assam and Maipur. If this identification is accepted, it shows how such tribal names were given a classical colour in the late medieval works.

46. Saurasena (v. 47).

The Śaurasena country seems to be described as extending from Magadha in the south-east up to the territory to the west of the Vindhya. The ancient Śūrasena people lived in the Mathurā region. Greek writers refer to the Saurasonoi and to their cities Methora (Mathurā) and Kleisobora (possibly Kṛṣṇapura = Gokula). This old Śūrasena or Saurasena country therefore had nothing to do with Magadha, the ancient name of South Bihār. It must, however, be remembered that our author extends Magadha as far as the Banāras district in the west. He possibly believed that the Saurasena country extended from the Banāras region up to the Mathurā district which is to the west (actually to the north-west) of the Vindhyan range. It may also be suggested that the text requires emendation and that the intention was to say ‘to the north of the Vindhya.’ It is interesting to note in this connection that the Kāmasūtra (VI, 9, 28) commentary locates Śaurasena Kaulāmbīyāḥ daksīṇataḥ (sic. pācimataḥ) kūle [Yamunāyāḥ].

47. Kuru (v. 48).

The Kuru country appears to be described as extending from the Hastināpura region and as lying to the south of the Kurukṣetra tract, with Pāncāla lying in the east. Hastināpura, capital

1. See Sw. Śīr., pp. 313 ff.
of the Kuru country, has been identified with a locality in the Meerut District, U. P. According to the Mahābhārata,¹
dakṣaṁeṇa sarasvatya dvīpadvulūreṇa  
yevavastita kṛṣṇatreṇa eva vasantī trivibhāge. ²

that is to say, the land called Kuru-kṣetra lay between the rivers Sarasvatī and Drṣadvatī in the Eastern Punjab. This land has been called Brahmāvarta in the Manuśmyiti.³ The verse placing the Kuru country practically between Kuru-kṣetra on the Drṣadvatī and Pāñcāla says nothing against the epic tradition.

48. Simhala (v. 49).

The great country called Simhala, the best of all countries, is placed to the east of Maru-desa and to the south of the Kām-ādri. This Simhala cannot be identified with Ceylon. It is evidently in the Punjab-Rajasthan region and reminds us of the kingdom of Simhapura mentioned by Hiuen-tsang. The capital of this kingdom has been identified with Khetas or Katas in the Jhelum District, which is, next to Jvālāmukhi, the most frequented place of pilgrimage in the Punjab. Tantric literature locates Sambhala (probably, Simhala) and Laṅkāpurī in the Swat-Kashmir region.⁴

49. Pulinda (v. 50).

The country of Pulinda is placed to the east of Śilahatṭa and possibly to the south of Kāmarūpa. The text reads ‘to the north of Kāmarūpa’; but no locality to the north of Kāmarūpa, the heart of which was the Gauhati region in Assam, could have anything to do with Śilahatṭa, i.e. modern Sylhet. The Pulindas were a hill tribe usually connected with the Vindhyan range. Pargiter⁵ notices several branches of the Pulinda tribe, viz. (1) a western branch, (2) a Himalayan branch related to the Kirātas and the Taṅgas, and (3) a southern branch.

1. III, 83, 4 and 205.
2. II, 17.
The second branch may be intended here, though the plurality of the name may be due either to misreadings in the manuscripts or to the fact that the term was sometimes used to indicate any hill tribe. Pulinda of our text may possibly refer to tribes of the hills of Assam, but more probably to the land of the Paliyās or Rājbarāṇīs of North Bengal.

50. Kaccha (v. 51).

The Kaccha country is placed to the east of Gaṇeśvara and to the north of the sea, and is possibly also called Sevana. If Gaṇeśvara is the same as Gaṇeṣa-giri in the heart of Kāmarūpa, Kaccha may be identified with Kacchapa (possibly Kacchar Cochbihār) placed by the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa in the north-eastern region of Vaṅga. But the expression ‘to the north of the sea’ seems to indicate Kutch. The identification of Kaccha and Sevana, possibly suggested in the verse, offers another difficulty. Sevana, i.e. Seuna-deśa, was the name of modern Khandesh. It indicated the kingdom of the Yādavas who had their capital first at Sinnar near Nasik and then at Devagiri, modern Daulatābād in the Aurangabad District of the former Hyderabad State. The Seuna country may therefore have been the Nasik-Daulatabad region or even the vast kingdom conquered by the powerful kings of the Yādava dynasty. But it is doubtful if the memory of the Yādava age lingered down to the late medieval period. Kaccha may possibly also indicate the district round Bhrigu-kaccha, modern Broach near the mouth of the Narmada. The meaning of the word kaccha appears to be ‘a region on the sea-coast,’ and it is possible that different Kacchas (including Kutch and Kacchapa), referred to above, have been confused in the verse. As to Kacchapa, a medieval tradition refers to the expansion of the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal) in the heart of Bengal as far north as Devikotṭa or Bāngāṛh in the Dinajpur District, now in East Pakistan. Long ago the sea no doubt touched the central areas of Bengal at least through the mouths of the big rivers falling in it. But the medieval tradition referred

1. See No. 24; cf. No. 37.
to above is no doubt due to the existence of big lakes called bils, like the Chalan, in the Rajshahi-Bogra-Mymensing area.

The language of the verse may suggest that Sevana was different from Kaccha, the description of the former having been omitted through oversight. But in that case, the number of countries would be more than fifty-six.¹

51. *Matsya* (v. 52).

The Matsya country is placed to the north of Pulinda and to the east of Kaccha. This country is described as abounding in fish. If Pulinda of this verse is the same as that in verse 50, and Kaccha is the same as Kacchapa (Kacchar or Cochbhihār), this Matsya-deśa may be identified with Virāṭa placed to the north-east of Bengal in a verse of the *Bhavisya Purāṇa*.² Virāṭa was the celebrated epic king of the Matsya country which has been located in the Alwar-Jaipur-Bharatpur region and its capital Virāṭa-nagara has been identified with modern Bairāṭ in the former Jaipur State. But this ancient Matsya country seems to be mentioned in our text as Virāṭa (verse 25). It is difficult to say whether the author’s intention was to distinguish between Matsya and Virāṭa, both located in the same area or whether he has made a confusion between the actual Matsya country in Eastern Rajasthan and a tract of land in Bengal.

52. *Madra* (v. 53).

The Madra country is located south-eastwise between Vairāṭa and Pāṇḍya. Vairāṭa is evidently the same as Virāṭa (No. 24) and Pāṇḍya the same as Pāṇḍu (No. 25). The ancient Madra people lived about the modern Sialkot District of the Punjab. Their capital Śākala has been identified with Sialkot. Madra however has been used here in a wider sense, as Virāṭa or Matsya lay far to the south of the ancient Madra country.

53. *Sauvīra* (v. 54).

The Sauvīra country seems to be placed to the west of Śaurasena and to the east of Kaṇṭhaka and is called the worst

¹. Cf. however p. 71, verse 8 of Group I and verse 5 of Group II.
². See No. 24 (above, p. 93).
of all countries. Ancient Sauvīra was situated to the east of the Lower Indus and included Multan in the north, haurasena, i.e. the Mathurā region, was far to the east. Kaṇṭhāka cannot be satisfactorily identified; but it reminds us of the Kathaioi tribe located by the classical authors between the Jhelam and the Chinab. This Kaṇṭhāka does not appear to be identical with Śrīkaṇṭha in the eastern part of the Punjab. Or, can the intended reading be Kaṭhakāt paścime, 'to the west of Kutch?'

54. Lāṭa (v. 55).

The Lāṭa country seems to be placed to the west of Avanti and to the north-west of Vaidarbha (Berar). The ancient Lāṭa country was the district between the Lower Mahī and the Tāptī; but sometimes it also extended beyond the Mahī. Bhīrgukachcha (Broach) and Navasārikā (Nausāri) belonged to this country. The Kāmasūtra (VI, 5, 26) commentary also locates Lāṭa to the west of Apara-Mālava, i.e. Western Malwa.

55. Varvara (v. 56).

The great country called Varvara is described as extending from Māyāpura and as lying to the north of Sapta-śrīga. Varvara reminds us of Barbaricum of the Periplos, which lay on the sea at the mouth of the Indus and belonged to the country of Scythia (Indo-Scythia of Ptolemy), i.e. the Śaka country, about the beginning of the Christian era. It is tempting to identify Māyāpura with the place of that name near Hardwār; but it is far away from the ancient Barbaricum. Sapta-śrīga is again a famous place to the north of Nasik. The image of the eighteen-armed goddess of this place is 12 feet high.¹ A verse of the Supplement also mentions both Māyāpura and Sapta-śrīga; but it is difficult to determine their position with reference to the country of Varvara. Can Māyāpura be the Mayapur Pass in the Jhansi District, U. P.?

56. Saindhava (v. 57).

The great country called Saindhava, i.e. Sindhu, is described

---

as extending from Laṅkā-pradeśa as far as Makkā. Makkā may indicate here the Muslim lands of Western Asia in general. But Laṅkā is not easy to identify. It is difficult to determine whether the country called Simhala = Simhapura of the Punjab is intended by the author. Of course it is possible, in consideration of the travellers’ point of view, to identify it with Ceylon. They might have reached Sind from Ceylon which was on the way to Mecca. The ancient Sindhu-deśa lay to the west of the Lower Indus and was not exactly the same as modern Sindh.

Supplement

The Five Prasthas (v. 2).

The Prasthas or Tantrik territorial divisions of ‘India’ are enumerated as five, viz. (1) Indra-prastha, (2) Yama-prastha, (3) Varuṇa-prastha, (4) Kūrma-prastha, and (5) Deva-prastha. The word prastha means ‘a level expanse’, ‘level plain’, ‘table-land on the top of a mountain’, ‘the top of a mountain’, etc. The word also indicates ‘going on a journey’ and hence possibly, ‘pilgrimage’. This fivefold division of India may therefore have been made from a Tantric pilgrim’s point of view. The association of Āśvapati and Naraṭati with Indra-prastha and Yama-prastha respectively reminds us of the medieval imperial title Āśvapati-Gajapati-Naraṇapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati.¹

1. Indra-prastha (vv. 3-6).

Indraprastha, the name used in ancient literature to indicate a city in the suburbs of Delhi (see v. 4), appears to have been connected with Yoginīpura which is another name of Delhi. In the eastern district of our Indra-prastha lay Mathurā and Gokula, the famous pilgrim-spots of North India. Vṛndāvana, which is near Mathurā, is placed at the kola-deśa, i.e. side, of Indra-prastha while Hastināpura in the Meerut District lay in its north. Dvārakā is placed to the west and Gadāvarta to the south. Dvārakā is the famous Tirtha in Kathiawad. Gadāvarta, quite well-known from the Harivaṃśa as the place where the Gadā ¹: Cf. C. I. I., Vol. IV, pp. c-ci.
or club thrown by Jarāsandha against Kṛṣṇa at Mathurā fell, is also to be placed not very far from Mathurā. This Indraprastha is therefore bounded by Delhi and Meerut in the north, Gaddāvarta in the south, Mathurā in the east, and Dvārakā in the west. Roughly speaking it included the Meerut region in the north-east and parts of Kathiawad in the south-west with its centre at the city of Indraprastha (Delhi). It is stated to have been the land of the Aśvapati or the lord of horses or cavalry.

2. Yama-prastha (vv. 7-9).

Yama-prastha seems to be placed in the south (i.e., to the south of Indra-prastha) with Someśvara in the west, Sapta-śṛṅga in the east, Māya-pura in the north and Vyankaṭeṣa in the south. Someśvara and Vyankaṭeṣa are evidently the gods at the celebrated temples at Somanātha in Kathiawad and at Tirupati in the Chittur District of Andhra Pradesh. Māya-pura and Sapta-śṛṅga are no doubt the places of these names mentioned in connection with Varvāra (No. 55). There is reference to another locality called Śaṅkhavārta which is possibly also called Māya-kṣetra. Roughly speaking, Yama-prastha or the southern prastha comprised parts of Kathiawad in the north-west and the district round Tirupati in the south. This was the seat of the Narapati or the lord of men or foot-soldiers.

3. Varuṇa-prastha (vv. 10-13).

Varuṇa-prastha or Vāruṇa-prastha is said to have Jagannātha (in the Puri District, Orissa) in the east, Makkeśvara (at Mecca) in the west, Ḥiṅgulā (in Sind) in the north and Trai-loke Vijayā in the south. The seven Sāgaras and Samudras (seas and oceans?) are placed beyond or near this prastha. Trai-loke Vijayā appears to indicate some deity or pilgrim-spot in Ceylon. There is reference also to a place called Rājāvarta. Thus Varuṇa-prastha was evidently connected with the sea and comprised most of the districts on the coast of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. This was probably the seat of the Gajapati or the lord of elephants (cf. the Gajapatis of Orissa).


Kūrma-prastha is placed to the north of Gokarṇeṣa,
to the west of Kāmākhyā, to the south of Mānseṣa and to the east of Śāradā. Gokarṇa in Nepāl, Kāmākhyā in Assam, the Mānasa-sarovara in the Northern Himalayas and the Śāradā-maṭha in Kāśmīra are all well known and have already been referred to.¹ This is the Himalayan prastha and comprised the northernmost areas of India. This Gokarṇa is not to be confused with the town of this name having a famous Śiva temple in the North Kanara District.

5. Deva-prastha (vv. 17-19).

Deva-prastha seems to be placed to the west of Vairajanātha (or Candranātha), and to the south (east?) of the Amarakaṭṭaka, and Kāṇcīpura and Mohanāvarta are located in this prastha which had possibly something to do also with Kāmākhyā. Vairajanātha may be connected with the Virajā-kṣetra or Jāipur; but Candranātha, the celebrated god in the Chittagong District in Bengal, seems to be actually indicated. Kāṇcīpura of the verse does not appear to mean the famous Kāṇcīpuram near Madras. It is better to identify it with the Kāṇcī-pīṭha on the Kopāi river near Bolpur in the Birbhum District of West Bengal. Deva-prastha therefore comprised the south-eastern and eastern regions of India. Bengal and Assam which had the greatest centres of medieval Tantricism were included in this prastha which is possibly called Deva-prastha significantly.

¹ See above, pp. 86-87 (Nos. 8-9), pp. 96-97 (Nos. 32-33).
GAUḌA

1. Gauḍa as the Name of a City

Gauḍa (usually written Gaur in English) was the residence of several dynasties of the Muslim rulers of Bengal for many centuries from the establishment of Muhammadan rule in the country about the close of the twelfth century A.D. The ruins of the city lie in lat. 24° 52', long. 88° 10' to the north or left bank of the Ganges and south of the modern town of Malda, headquarters of the District of that name in West Bengal. The traces of the ruined city with some buildings of Muhammadan times extend over an immense area now chiefly covered with jungle. As late as the middle of the sixteenth century, a European traveller gives the following account of the city of Gauḍa: "It is situated on the banks of the Ganges and is said to be three of our leagues in length and to contain 200000 inhabitants. On the one side it has the river for its defence and on the landward faces a wall of great height......the streets are thronged with the concourse and traffic of people......that they cannot force their way past......a great part of the houses of this city are stately and well-wrought buildings."1 In 1683, another European traveller who visited the old city in ruins says, "We spent 3 hours in seeing the ruins especially of the palace which has been......in my judgment considerably bigger and more beautiful than the Grand Seignor's seraglio at Constantinople or any other palace that I have seen in Europe."1

In Muslim times, the city of Gauḍa was also known by the name Lakhnauti no doubt a corruption of Sanskrit Lakṣmāṇavatī. This name was apparently coined after that of king Lakṣmaṇa-sena (circa 1189-1206 A.D.) of the Sena dynasty, who was ousted from the western and northern districts of Bengal by the Muhammadans. The Senas thus appear to have had at least one

1. See Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Gour.
of their secondary capitals at Gauḍa. The city of Rāmāvatī (called Rāmautī by the Muslim writers), named after the Pāla king Rāmapāla (circa 1077-1120 A.D.) and the capital or a secondary capital of the Later Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, was probably also situated in the vicinity of the present site of Gauḍa. Thus Gauḍa flourished as an important city of Eastern India for a considerable period of time before the establishment of Muslim rule, and pre-Muslim rulers of the country often built new cities named after them in the vicinity of the site of the old city.

The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini who flourished in North-Western India about the fifth century B.C. speaks of a city called Gauḍapura. But the rule pure prācām (6, 2, 99) which immediately precedes the rule ariṣṭa-gauḍa-pūrve ca (6,2,100) suggests that both the cities, viz., Ariṣṭapura and Gauḍapura referred to in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, were situated outside the eastern part of India in a region which was more or less fully Aryanised before the composition of the grammatical work in question. There is again no reason to believe that the Aryanisation of Western Bengal (in which the Gauḍa country was situated) made any appreciable progress in the age of Pāṇini. Thus the identification of Pāṇini’s Gauḍapura with the city of Gauḍa in Bengal is highly improbable. The name Gauḍa is supposed to be derived from the word guḍa meaning ‘sugar’. The country, of which Gauḍa was the chief city, was also known by the same name possibly because it was famous in ancient times for its production of sugar. But whether the name of the city was applied to the country or that of the country to its chief city cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The fact however that, in the seventh century A.D., the capital of the Gauḍa country was called Karṇasuvāra (modern Rāṅgāmāṭi, about eleven miles to the south of Murshidabad, headquarters of the District of that name to the south of the Ganges and Malda) seems to suggest that the city was named after the country. This fact also indicates that the

city of Gauḍa was built in its present site to the south of Malda some time after the seventh century probably in the age of the Pālas. It is interesting to note in this connection that all the jaya-skandhāvāras (i.e. residences or temporary capitals) of the Pāla kings, including Rāmāvatī-nagara (in the vicinity of the site of Gauḍa) were situated on the Ganges. Urged by their preference for a city on the main course of the river, the Pāla kings may have transferred the headquarters of the Gauḍa country from Karṇāsvarṇa to the present site of Gauḍa in the Malda District. This seems to have been done after the main current of the river had begun to pass through the Padmā and the Bhāgirathī (the original Ganges), on which Karṇāsvarṇa was situated, had begun to be gradually less important as a watercourse. There is moreover reason to believe that originally the Ganges flowed by a route through the middle of the present District of Malda so that the city of Gauḍa lay on its southern or right bank.¹

About the ancient course of the Ganges, a distinguished writer says, "The tract between Malda and Murshidabad was the ancient Ganges delta where the river split up into numerous spill channels, the most important of which appear to be the Sarasvatī, the Bhāgirathī and the Bhairab. Leaving the hills of Rajmahal, the Ganges seems to have passed northwards through the modern Kalindri, and then southwards into the lower course of the Mahānandā, east of the ruins of ancient Gaur. There was also the south-eastern branch of the Ganges (modern Padmā), the bifurcation being pretty old and shown in Ptolemy's map. In the oldest of modern maps, De Barros' (1550) and Gastaldi's (1561), Gaur is shown on the west of the Ganges. Leaving Gaur, the main waters of the Ganges turned southward and flowed through the channel of the Bhairab (as Kṛttivāsa, the reputed author who flourished in the fourteenth century, indicated) and, from at least the twelfth to the sixteenth century, through the Sarasvatī into the Bay, while the ancient eastern branch of the Ganges is traceable in the jhils and morasses which extend from Purnea to the sea. The Ganges thus forsook this course in favour

of the channel through, which the Bhāgirathī now passes."¹
The situation of the Gauḍa capital Karṇasuvanā on its banks seems to suggest that the present Bhāgirathī carried the main current of the Ganges as late as the seventh century A.D.

2. Gauḍa as the Name of a Country.

In modern times, the name Gauḍa is often used in Bengali literature to indicate the whole area inhabited by the Bengali-speaking people. Originally however the Gauḍa country seems to have comprised, in a narrow sense, the present District of Murshidabad together with the southernmost areas of the Malda District of Bengal. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang who visited India in the first half of the seventh century A.D. speaks of Karṇasuvanā as the name of both the capital and the kingdom of king Śaśāṅka who killed king Īrāyavardhana of Thānesar about 605 A.D. The king responsible for the death of Rājyavardhana is however described in the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa, who flourished at the court of Rājyavardhana’s younger brother and successor Harṣa, as ‘the lord of Gauḍa’. There is thus no doubt that Gauḍa was the usual name of Hiuen-tsang’s kingdom of Karṇasuvanā apparently so named by the Chinese traveller after the name of the capital of that kingdom. According to the Chinese account, the celebrated Buddhist monastery called Raktamārttikā-vihāra stood on the suburbs of the city of Karṇasuvanā and the country of that name was about 730 or 750 miles in circuit. As the monastery in question has been located at modern Rāṅgā-māṭi (literally, ‘the red earth’, the same as Sanskrit Rakta-mṛttikā) about eleven miles to the south of Murshidabad, the Karṇasuvanā or Gauḍa country has to be located about the present Murshidabad District, although the dominions of the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka is known to have actually comprised wide regions of Eastern India.

The above location of Gauḍa in a narrow sense is remarkably supported by a late Purāṇic tradition. An interpolated section in some manuscripts of the Bhavīṣya Purāṇa locates Gauḍa-deśa,

inhabited by the deity Gauḍeśa or Gauḍeśī, in the land between the river Padmā and Vardhamāna. Thus the Gauḍa country is placed exactly about the Murshidabad District bounded in the north by the Padmā and in the south by the Burdwan or Vardhamāna District. The same authority regards Gauḍa as only one of the seven deśas forming Puṇḍra-deśa, viz. (1) Gauḍa, (2) Vareṇḍra (Malda-Rajshahi-Bogra region), (3) Nīvīti, (4) Suḥma-deśa (i.e., Rāḍha), (5) Jhārikhanḍa (Santal Parganas District) called jāṅgala apparently meaning ‘jungly’, (6) Varāhabhumi (Barābhūm in the Manbhum District), and (7) Vardhamāna (Burdwan).¹ The localities forming the Gauḍa country according to the same tradition are: (1) Navadvīpa (in the Nadia District), (2) Sāntipura (in the Nadia District), (3) Maulapattana (Mollāī in the Hooghly District), and (4) Kaṃṭakapattana (Katwa in the Burdwan District). The tradition would thus comprise in the Gauḍa country the present Murshidabad District together with parts of the Nadia, Burdwan and Hooghly Districts of West Bengal. It may be pointed out in this connection that the Puṇḍra country in this tradition comprised Western and Northern Bengal together with some eastern districts of Bihar. Nīvīti is said to have included Bardhankaṭ in the Rangpur District. It is sometimes believed that the same name is found in the Trikāṇḍaśaṇa. But the Trikāṇḍaśaṇa passage Puṇḍraḥ svur= Varendri Gauḍa-nīvīti seems to mean that the Puṇḍra country was the same as Varendri lying in the realm (nīvīt) of Gauḍa. The name Gauḍa is here used in a wider sense. It is however not improbable that the Bhavisya Purāṇa tradition is based on a misunderstanding of the Trikāṇḍaśaṇa passage.

The late medieval work entitled Sātipaṁcāśaddelavibhāga which is incorporated in the Śaktisaṅgama Tantra describes the Gauḍa country as lying between the country of Vaṅga and Bhuvanesa, i.e. Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa.¹ The same work describes Vaṅga as the land extending from the sea to the Brahmaputra.² The sea is apparently the Bay of Bengal in the south of Vaṅga, while Brahmaputra placed on the northern boundary

¹. See above, p. 92.
². Cf. above, p. 84.
of Vaṅga seems to indicate that portion of the river which bifurcates from the Jumna. Thus the eastern half of Bengal has been called Vaṅga and its western half together with parts of Orissa has been designated Gauḍa in the work in question. This broad division of the Bengali-speaking area into two halves, viz. Eastern Bengal called Vaṅga and Western Bengal called Gauḍa, is echoed by some Muslim historians who spoke of the country as Gaur-Bangāl, i.e. Gauḍa-Vaṅga. Vaṅgāla (Bangāl) was originally the name of the Buckerunj region of the Vaṅga country; but later the name came to be applied to the whole of Vaṅga or East Bengal and still later to the whole of the Bengali-speaking area. At present, Gauḍa, Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are indiscriminately used to indicate the wide area of East India where the Bengali language is spoken. The major part of the country lies in West Bengal in the Indian Union and East Bengal in Pakistan; but parts of it belong to the other neighbouring states like Bihar.

We have seen that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang describes Karṇāsuvarṇa or Gauḍa as a small tract. It is to be noticed that he distinguishes the above country from Puṇyavardhana or Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal, Samatā in South-East Bengal and Tāmralipti in South-West Bengal. In Indian literature also Gauḍa is likewise separated from other tracts of Bengal. The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra (Chs."32-33) mentions the textile products of Vaṅga and Puṇḍra and the silver of Gauḍa. Varāhamihira's Brhatasamhitā(XIV) mentions side by side Suhma, Samatā, Lauhitya (the Brahmaputra valley), Gauḍaka (i.e. Gauḍa), Puṇḍra (i.e. Puṇḍravardhana), Tāmralipti (i.e. Tāmralipta) and Vardhamāna. There is reason to believe that the northern and south-eastern parts of Bengal were Aryanised considerably earlier than the western part of the country including Gauḍa. The mention of Gauḍa in the Arthaśāstra, which in its present form has to be assigned to about the third century A.D., points to the growing importance of the country in the economic life of Eastern India. In the fourth century A. D., the Gauḍa region became an integral part of the Gupta empire; but, with the decline of the Imperial power-
of the Guptas, the Gauḍas established an independent monarchy in the sixth century. The importance of Gauḍa became established in the social and cultural life of India during the days of these independent monarchs of Gauḍa. We have already referred to king Śaśaṅka of Gauḍa, who flourished about the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. and ruled over extensive territories in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. An earlier king of Karṇasuvṛṭa was Jayanāga. Three other kings of Gauḍa appear to have been Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācārādeva who ruled in sixth century A.D. Under the vigorous rule of these monarchs, Gauḍa appears to have extended its power over the neighbouring territories. One of the above kings of Gauḍa fought with the Maukhari king Iśānavarman about the middle of the sixth century and another conquered and annexed Kāmarūpa to his empire about the close of that century.

The Maukhari court-poet, while referring to the struggle between the Maukhari and the Gauḍas, speaks of the latter as having been compelled to be samudr-āśraya, i.e., a people whose shelter is the sea, owing to their defeat at the hands of the Maukhari king. This shows that in the sixth century A.D. the Gauḍa had already become famous as a sea-faring people. That the Gauḍa country about this time produced many sea-faring merchants is suggested by the discovery of an inscription of Mahānāvika (i.e. Captain) Buddhagupta of Raktamṛtikā (near the Gauḍa capital) in the Wellesley District of the Malay Peninsula. The Dubi inscription of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa seems to refer to the Gauḍa army as specially strong in naval warfare.

It may be mentioned in this connection that, besides Gauḍa in Bengal, some other tracts in different parts of India were also known by this name. One such Gauḍa was the modern Gonda District of Uttar Pradesh, in which the celebrated city of Śrāvasti was situated. It is, however, possible to think that

Gauḍa as the name of Goṇḍā was a later modification of the older name of the area in imitation of the famous land of East India. The name of the Goṇḍ people of Central India was often Sanskritized as Gauḍa and the land inhabited by the Goṇḍs came also to be known by this name. Kannaḍa Gauḍa or Gauḍa meaning ‘a village headman’ has nothing to do with Bengal. The same is the case with Oriya Gauḍa meaning ‘a milkman’ and written as Gokuṭa in some inscriptions.

3. Gauḍa as the Collective Name of the Eastern Countries of India

About a century after the establishment of the powerful kingdom of Gauḍa, its name began to be used in a general sense to indicate the countries of Eastern India. In Daṇḍin’s Kāvya-daśa (seventh century) one of the two principal styles of Sanskrit composition is described as Gauḍa or prācyā, i.e. eastern.

Daṇḍin draws a distinction between the Gauḍa or eastern and the Vaidarbha or southern styles. Among the characteristics of the former is the love of long compounds not only in prose, in which they were also used by the southerners, but also in poetry. The easterners also favoured alliteration and harsh sound effects, recondite etymologizing phraseology and strength often resulting in bombast and affectation. Jacobi believed that Sanskrit poetry in the east had developed the evil effects of old age before the art became current in the western and southern parts of India. But it should be noticed that in Bharata’s Nāṭyaśāstra, which is a few centuries earlier than the Kāvya-daśa, the qualities which Daṇḍin ascribes to the Vaidarbha style is assigned to the Kāvya style in general. Keith is no doubt right when he says, “This is a strong suggestion that at the time of the Nāṭyaśāstra there had not developed the characteristics of the Gauḍa style and that they emerged gradually with the development of poetry at the courts of princes of Bengal.”¹ These ‘princes of Bengal’ appear to have been no other than the kings of Gauḍa who flourished in the sixth century and the earlier part of the seventh, to whom reference has been made above. But the fact that the Gauḍa

¹. A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 60.
style came to be ascribed to the whole of Eastern India may suggest that poets at other East Indian courts were imitating those at the Gauḍa court. This led ultimately to the application of the name Gauḍa to East India generally.

Like the literary style of Eastern India named after Gauḍa, the East Indian alphabet was named after the same country. Bühler says, “Towards the end of the 11th century, the Nāgarī inscriptions of Eastern India shew such distinct traces of changes leading up to the modern Bengali writing and these changes become so numerous in the 12th century that it is possible to class their alphabets as Proto-Bengali. Only a few among the Proto-Bengali letters are new local formations. The great majority occur already in other older scripts, be it in exactly the same or in similar shape.”” Bendall and Bühler also noticed the influence of this script on the alphabet used in the Nepalese manuscripts of the period between the 12th and 15th centuries. Now, in coining the name Proto-Bengali for the script in question, Bühler seems to have ignored several factors. In the first place, ‘the eastern variety of the Nāgarī alphabet’ found in ‘the Nāgarī inscriptions of Eastern India’, out of which Proto-Bengali developed in the twelfth century, should better have been distinguished from the ‘Nāgarī’ found in the inscriptions discovered in other parts of India by applying a more specific name to it. Secondly, when, even earlier than the eleventh century A.D., the same script was used in Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa and when even now Bengal and Assam use practically the same alphabet while the Maithili and Oriya alphabets are nearly the same, the name Proto-Bengali can hardly be regarded as quite appropriate, in spite of the fact that, along with its literature, Bengal’s alphabet has come to occupy a more important position. Thirdly, as early as the first half of the eleventh century, the same East Indian script was named after Gauḍa. Al-Birūnī,

3. Ojha (*Prācīnalīpīmālā*, p. 77) has traced letters like ṣ and kh of the Bengali type in the inscriptions of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 854-908 A. D.), that is to say, in records belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries. Bühler himself does not deny such facts.
who wrote his work on India about 1030 A.D., speaks of the following alphabets: (1) Siddhamātrkā used in the Kashmir, Banāras and Kanauj regions, (2) Nāgara used in Mālava (3-5) Ardhanāgarī, Malwārī and Saindhava, used in Sindh, (6-9) Karnāṭa, Āndhrī, Drāviḍī and Lārī used respectively in the Kannāḍa, Andhra, Drāviḍa and Lāṭa countries, (10) Gauḍī used in Pūrva-deśa, i.e. the eastern country, and (11) Bhaikṣukī which was the writing of the Buddha (i.e. the Buddhists) used in Udunpur (possibly Uddāṇḍapura, i.e. modern Bihārshaṇī in the Patna District) in Pūrva-deśa. This shows that the East Indian script, called Proto-Bengali by Bühler, was named after Gauḍa at least by the beginning of the eleventh century. Many of the names found in the list of sixty-four alphabets in the Lalitavistara (translated into Chinese in 308 A.D.) are apparently imaginary and doubtful; but the separate mention of the Aṅga-liṉi, Vaṅga-liṉi, Magadha-liṉi, Drāviḍa-liṉi, Kanāri-liṉi, Dakṣiṇa-liṉi, Apara-Gauḍ-ādi-liṉi, etc., seems to suggest that the tendency towards the growth of special characteristics in the alphabets of Southern and Eastern India was noticed even in an earlier age.

What has been said above would show that the name Gauḍa was specially applied to the literary style and script of Eastern India and that Gauḍa in these cases indicates the East Indian countries generally. In this connection, attention may be invited to the language of the caryā songs assigned by linguists to the period between the tenth and twelfth centuries A.D. They no doubt offer the earliest stage of the East Indian dialect just emerged from the Apabhraṃśa stage. But there is a great controversy among scholars as regards the closeness of the language of the caryās with the different dialects now spoken in Eastern India such as Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Maithili and Eastern Hindi. Linguisticians whose mother-tongue is any of the above languages have tried to prove the special affinity of the caryā dialect with their mother-tongue. Thus H. P. Sastri, S. K. Chatterji, P. C. Bagchi, S. K. Sen and other Bengali scholars

believe that the caryās are written in old Bengali. K. L. Barua and other Assamese writers regard the language of the caryās as old Assamese which they call Kāmarūpī. J. K. Misra and others from Mithila take the caryā language to be old Maithili. There are also similar claims on behalf of Oriya and Eastern Hindi. We are however inclined to believe that the characteristics of the caryā language may be easily traced in all the languages now spoken in Eastern India because it was the language of Eastern India generally. The authors of the songs may be attributed to particular areas and their compositions may exhibit in some cases certain regional peculiarities; but it will hardly be correct for the matter of that to regard the language of the songs to be any one of those later developed in the areas in question especially in view of the fact that the modern languages of Eastern India have a good deal in common amongst them. It is very probable that, in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D., the difference among these languages was not as remarkable as in modern times and that the literary language of the caryās was easily understood in different parts of Eastern India. The proper name for the caryā language should therefore be Gauḍī or East Indian and not old Bengali, Assamese, Maithili, Oriya or Eastern Hindi. We may then have a Gauḍa language besides a Gauḍa style of Sanskrit composition and a Gauḍa alphabet. East Indian linguists of particular areas may successfully trace affinities of their mother-tongue with the caryā language; but they should better not regard it as the origin exclusively of their mother-tongue.

4. Gauḍa as the Name of Āryavarta or Northern India.

The South Indian Brāhmaṇas are usually divided into five sections, viz., Drāviḍa (Tamil), Karpāṭa, Gurjara, Mahārāṣṭra and Tailāṅga. These are collectively called the Paṇca-Drāviḍa.


3. See Apte, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, s. v. Drāviḍa. The Šabdakalpa-prakrama, s. v., quotes a faulty stanza from the Śkaunda Purāṇa in support of the list of the five classes of Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas:

कण्टोत्स्वेच सिर्गि (द्राविडा) गुर्जर रास्त्रवासिनि: ।
आङ्ग्राश्च द्राविडः पंच विभवसिष्यवासिनि: ॥
An inscription of 1425 A.D. speaks of four out of the five classes of Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas as Kannadiga, Tamila, Teluṅga and Iļa (i.e. Lāṭa=Gurjara).¹ Now these social groups of the Brāhmaṇas were developed out of the principal linguistic subdivisions of the people of South India. On the analogy of the above divisions, the North Indian Brāhmaṇas were also divided into five groups under the general name of Gauḍa. The Śabdakalpadruma, s. v. Gauḍa, quotes the following verse from the Skanda Purāṇa:

The five classes of the Gauḍa or North Indian Brāhmaṇas were thus the Sārasvata (associated with the Sarasvati valley in the Eastern Punjab), Kānyakubja, Gauḍa, Maithila and Utkala.² Although this seems to be a rather arbitrary classification, there is no doubt that the name Gauḍa has been applied in this case to North India generally. That the said classification is not very late is suggested by the mention of the Pañca-Gauḍiya community is an inscription of 926 A.D.³

The application of the name Gauḍa in the general sense of Āryāvarta or North India can also be traced elsewhere in literature. There is a tradition regarding king Bhoja (circa 1010-55 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa recorded in the following verse:

². Wilson’s Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms gives an account of the Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas under the entries Brāhmaṇ and Gauḍ. Under Gauṛ-Brāhmaṇ, Wilson says, “The Brāhmaṇ of the Gauṛ tribe or caste; one of the five Gauṛs, but located in the upper provinces through the Subah of Delhi to the hills. There are many sub-divisions of these Gauṛ-Brāhmaṇs of Hindustān, who are apparently unknown in Bengal, as the Adh-Gauṛ, Kaithal-Gauṛ, Gujar-Gauṛ, Sīdh-Gauṛ, etc., amounting in all to forty-two.” He also speaks of the Gauṛ Kāyath said to be settled from Bengal in the upper provinces by Nāṣir-ud-din (son of Balbān) in the thirteenth century, Gauṛ-Rājpūṭ numerous in the North-Western Province (U.P.), Gauṛ-Tagā a tribe of Brāhmanical descent in the north-west of India, and Gauṛ-Thākur a tribe of Rājpūt settled in the Farrukhabad District. The Gauṛ-Tagās claim that they were originally invited from Bengal by Rājā Janamejaya, the Kaurava king of Hastināpura, for the purpose of exterminating the Takṣakas or snakes.
According to this tradition, Bhoja ruled over both Gauḍa and Dakṣiṇāpatha for a little over 55 years. The real implication of the verse has so long been misunderstood by scholars. There is no doubt that it speaks of Bhoja’s lordship over Gauḍa in the sense of North India and over Dakṣiṇāpatha or South India; that is to say, Bhoja claimed to have ruled over the whole of India including both Northern and Southern India. This was merely the conventional way of saying that Bhoja was a cakravartin, i.e. an imperial ruler. The Indian cakravartins were conventionally represented as the ruler of the ‘whole earth’ which only meant the cakravarti-kṣetra bounded by the Himalayas and the sea. Sometimes Āryāvarta or North India was conceived as an independent cakravarti-kṣetra for North Indian rulers and South India bounded by the three seas (the Indian Ocean, the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea) for the rulers of the Deccan.¹ In the verse quoted above, Bhoja is represented as the lord of both the cakravarti-kṣetras of the north and the south of India. Like similar claims of other monarchs, the claim on Bhoja’s behalf does not mean that the Paramāra king actually ruled over any part of South India or over Gauḍa in Bengal in the narrow sense of the term. Here Bhoja merely claims to have been a cakravartin which means nothing more than an imperial ruler of any part of India.

VI

BENGAL

European (mainly Portuguese) writers of the 16th and 17th centuries place a certain City of Bengal near the Meghnā estuary, i.e. the joint mouth of the Padmā and the Meghnā. This estuary extends over the wide area between the Districts of Buckergunge and Chittagong in East Pakistan. As Bengala (like the modern name Bengal) is a foreign corruption of Vaṅgāla, a celebrated historian has suggested\(^1\) that this late medieval City of Bengala (which he locates near modern Chittagong) was the capital of the ancient Vaṅgāla-deśa and 'gave its name to the kingdom, or vice versa, and, in either case, the old kingdom of Vaṅgāla must be located in the region round the city'.\(^2\) He also suggests that the celebrated Pāla and Candra dynasties of Bengal originally ruled in the Chittagong region.\(^3\)

The above theories appear to be unwarranted. The City of Bengala, mentioned by foreign travellers in the late medieval period,\(^4\) seems to have nothing to do with the early medieval kingdom of Vaṅgāla, which originally denoted a smaller area, but whose geographical sense gradually expanded so as to include ultimately the whole of the land of the Bengali-speaking people.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 229; cf. p. 232, ① "......this orginal kingdom must be in this region [of Chittagong and Dianga]."
4. On the strength of Ibn Battītā’s reference to ‘Sudkawan (Sātgāon) and Bengala’ and to ‘Lakhnauti and Bengala’, it has been suggested that in these two early cases Bengala refers to the city and not to the country. There can be no doubt however that the names refer to provinces. According to Muslim authors both Rāl (Rādha) and Barīnd (Varendra) formed parts of Lakhnauti (Raychaudhuri, *Stud. Ind. Ant.*, p. 191). Similarly Bengala no doubt means the province of South-Eastern Bengal, sometimes also called Sonārgāon after its chief city. Orissa was usually called Jājnagar by Muslim authors. Such reference to Bihār, Lakhnauti, Bang and Jājnagar (I. H. Q., *op. cit.*, p. 235) would, if we follow the said line of argument, suggest the existence also of a city called Bang. But this was never the case. Some later Muslim writers refer to East Bengal as Bang and to the whole of Bengal as Bangāl.
In this connection, we have to trace the gradual expansion of the geographical connotation of the name Vaṅgāla. This name is often found in records and works of the period later than the 10th century A.D. Reference to Vaṅgāla is found in the Tirumalai inscription (1024 A.D.) of Rājendra Cola,\(^1\) which speaks of king Govindacandra as the lord of Vaṅgāla-deśa. The Ablr inscription of Kalacurya Vijjala\(^2\) (1157-67 A.D.) mentions Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla separately. This differentiation seems to be supported by a work called Ḍākāṛṇava which makes separate mention of Vaṅgāla and Harikela (=Vaṅga, according to the Abhidhānaçintāmasī of the 12th century lexicographer Hemacandra),\(^3\) and by the Hammirañahākāvya of Nayacandra Sūri (15th century), which mentions Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla side by side.\(^4\) In the 16th century, however, Abul Fazl says, “The original name of Bangā (=Vaṅgāla) was Bang (=Vaṅga). Its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth, throughout the province, which were called āl. From this suffix the name (i.e. Bangā) took its rise and currency.”\(^5\) This identification of Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla has to be reconciled with the evidence referring to them as two different countries.

The Raghunāṁśa reference to the defeat of the Vaṅga people in the land watered by the lower streams of the Ganges\(^6\) and

---

1. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 229 ff. The earliest reference to Vaṅgāla has been recently traced in the Nesari plates (805 A.D.) of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, which speak of Dharma (i.e., Dharmañ) as the king of Vaṅgāla (J.A.S. Letters, Vol. XXII, 1956, pp. 133-34). This shows that the name Vaṅgāla was not unknown in earlier times and that the Pālas originally ruled in the tract called by that name. It is interesting to note that Dharmañ was apparently called ‘lord of Vaṅga’ in the Sāgar Tāl inscription of Bhoja and ‘king of Gauḍa’ in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavasā. With the expansion of their territories, the Pālas preferred to style themselves as ‘lords of Gauḍa’. This seems to be the reason why Vaṅgāla did not become popular in the sense of the Pāla empire.
5. Jarrett, Ani-i-Akkari, trans., II, p. 120.
6. वचानुक्ताय तरसा नेता नौसाथनीद्वातानि।

निन्ज्याता ज्येष्ठेन्नागसाहसीत्तरुष सः॥ (Raghunāṁśa IV, 36)

Mallināṭha explains Gaṅgā-rote-ntaṇu as Gaṅgāyāḥ srotaṇām pravāhādānanteṇaṁ antaṇuṇu dolpeṣu; cf. gli-antaṇuṇu, ‘in the intervals of singing’, vāspa-salil-antaṇeṣu, ‘in the interval of weeping’; na mṛpta-sūtraṁ rācitāṁ stav-antaṇe, ‘......in the space between the breasts’, etc. See below, pp. 139-40; Ch. XI (p. 172 ff.).
epigraphic references to Vaṅga comprising the Vikrampur region of Dacca and Faridpur and to the Nāya region of Vaṅga very probably in the Faridpur and Buckergunge Districts, leave hardly any doubt that Vaṅga certainly included at least parts of the present Dacca, Faridpur and Buckergunge Districts. In the lower part of this region very high roads or earthen-embankments are constructed even today in order to prevent the tide of floods and to facilitate communications during the rainy season. It may therefore be suggested that the southern part of old Vaṅga thus at first came to be known as Vaṅgā. It is interesting to note that this view is supported by other evidences.

As said above, the Tirumalai inscription refers to Govindacandra as the lord of Vaṅgā-deśa. The inscriptions of the Candra dynasty of East Bengal, to which Govindacandra belonged, however say that Trailokyacandra, the first king of the family, became lord of Candra-dvīpa and flourished as the mainstay of the fortune (i.e. as a feudatory) of the king of Harikela (=Vaṅga according to Hemacandra’s Abhidhānacintāmāni). Thus the Candra kingdom is called Candra-dvīpa according to one evidence and Vaṅgā-deśa according to another. Candra-dvīpa and Vaṅgā-deśa thus appear to be more or less identical. As Candra-dvīpa is no other than the celebrated Bāklā-Candra-dvīp (i.e. parts of the Buckergunge District and the adjoining region), the Buckergunge area was apparently included in Vaṅgā-deśa.


2. Cf. Vaṅga Nāya Rāmasiddhi-pālaka, etc., Nāya Vinayatilaka-grāme pūrva samudraḥ simā, etc. (ibid., p.146). Nāya means a region accessible by boats. That this region was then not far from the sea (samudra), i.e. the estuary, is also clear. The word means apparently the same thing as Bengali bhātī, ‘with the tide, the region towards the sea’ (from bhātā, floods of the tide running towards the sea). Cf. also East Bengali bhaer, low region. In the Muslim period, the district called Bhātī sometimes indicated the coastal strip between the estuaries of the Hooghly and the Meghā. The late work called Saktisanagama Tantra places Vaṅga-deśa between the rataśkara (sea) and the Brahmaputra (above, p. 84).

3. Ind. Cult., VII, p. 411. According to Keśava’s Kalpadrukaṭa, Hari-kela or Harikel was the name of the Sylhet (Śrīhaṭṭa) region. Cf.

श्रीहट्टे हरिकेलि: स्याच्छ्रश्रुतोषि कविचु भोजे ।

This name came to be applied to Vaṅga apparently due to the temporary annexation of Vaṅga to the Harikel kingdom. Cf. Ejp. Ind., Vol.XXXVIII, pp. 338-39.
The suggestion is further supported by the identification of Vaṅgālavāda-bhū in the Rāmasiddhi-pāṭaka of the Nāya region of Vaṅga, mentioned in the Sāhitya Parisad plate of Viśvarūpa-sena, with modern Bāṅgorā in the region of Rāmsiddhi in the Gaurnadi region of the Buckergunge District. Vaṅgāla thus appears to have been popularly mentioned as a separate political unit, after the Candras had established a kingdom in Vaṅgāla, i.e. the southern part of Vaṅga. Śrīcandra, son of Trailokyacandra, conquered the Dacca and Faridpur Districts, as the findspots of his records would show. Laḍahacandra, grandson of Śrīcandra, apparently ruled also over the Tipperah District. Thus Vaṅga proper was now included in the new kingdom of Vaṅgāla. As a result of this, the name Vaṅgāla could be optionally used in an expanded sense to indicate a large area in East Bengal that formed part of the kingdom of Śrīcandra and his successors. By this time, Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla apparently signified more or less the same territory.

Early Muslim authors refer to the Muhammadan kingdom of Bengal first as Lakhnautī or Gaur, as their first settlement did not include East Bengal. The kingdom of East Bengal was sometimes referred to as Bang, Bangāl or Sonārgāon; and sometimes the whole of Bengal was mentioned as Gaur-Bangāl. Sātgaon was often recognised as a separate political unit. But, as early as the reign of Ghiyāsuddīn Tughluq Shāh (1320-25 A.D.), some Muslim authors are known to speak of Bangāl in a wide sense so as to include Lakhnautī, Sonārgāon and Sātgaon. In the 16th century, the name Bangāl loosely indicated a wider area. It may or may not have geographically included the Chittagong region which was included in the Mughal Subah of Bangāl only during the reign of Aurangzīb in the 17th century. There is no proof at all

2. The Saktissāgama Tantra divides Bengal into two halves, viz. Vaṅga and Gauḍa (lying between Vaṅga-deśa and Bhuvaṇedāra or Bhubaneswar). See above, pp. 84, 96.
3. Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 191; Raverty, Tahēqat-i-Nāzirī, p. 590. Muslim authors popularised the use of Bangāl in preference to other names to denote the whole of Bengal. A Nepal inscription of 1346 A.D. refers to the army of Sultān Shamsuddīn Ilyās as Vaṅgāla-bahula bala (J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXII, p. 81; I.H.Q., op. cit., p. 227).
that the Chittagong area formed part of the old kingdom of the Candras and the Pālas. It must be noted that not a single inscription of those dynasties has so far been discovered in the Chittagong District.¹

We now come to the City of Bengala mentioned by the European (mainly Portuguese) writers of the 16th and 17th centuries A.D. Duarte de Barbosa, Barthez (1510 A.D.), Ovington (1639 A.D.) and several other writers refer to the city. Some authorities identify the city with modern Chittagong or locate it near about that place. It is shown in a map drawn by Gastaldi in 1651 and in another in the Travels of Cornelius le Bruyen (published in 1701). In these maps and works as well as in those of Blaev, Sausson, Purchas and others, the City of Bengala is indicated in the Chittagong region.² But Barbosa, one of the earliest Portuguese writers on Indian geography,

¹. The Arab merchant Sulaiman (851 A.D.) refers to the powerful kingdom of Rahma which has been identified with the kingdom of the Pālas and the identification of Rahmi, Rahmi and Ruhi of the Arabs with Rāmu, a few miles east of Cox’s Bazaar, has been upheld (I.H.Q., op. cit., pp.232-34). Apart from the fact that there is absolutely no proof of Pāla occupation of Rāmu, it seems unconvincing that the Bihar-Bengal empire of the Pālas (even if it included Rāmu), with the emperors often residing at jayavandhāras in Bihar, would be named after Rāmu which probably formed a part of Arakan. That the said theory is unjustifiable is proved by Ibn al Fakih (902 A.D.) who says, "In India lies a realm called Rahma bordering on the sea. Its ruler is a woman. It is ravaged by the plague and any man who comes from elsewhere in Indīla and enters the country (Rahma) dies there. Yet many come by reason of great profits to be made." (Harvey, Hist. Burma., p. 10 ). In 902 A.D., the Pāla empire is definitely known to have been under Nārāyana-pāla (c. 857-911 A.D.) and not under a woman. Rahma may be the kingdom of Thaton called Ramaññá-desa (Lower Burma). Marco Polo who placed Bangala ‘tolerably close to India’ and under the rule of the king of Mien (Burma), and Fakir Muhammad who placed Bangal to the east of Bhāṭī apparently made some confusion. The Bengali ballad called Mānikandra-rajār Gāō, which says Bhāṭī haite aila Vāṅgālī lambā lambā dāri, ‘the Vāṅgāls (people of Vāṅgāla proper) with their long beards came from Bhāṭī (the southern country)’, proves that the people of East Bengal, who were responsible for the original composition of the ballad, knew Vāṅgāla to be identical with Bhāṭī (see C. C. Banerji, Cāṇḍālaṅgala-bodhiṇī, II, p. 765 ). Mukundārāma (16th century) in his Cāṇḍālaṅgala (C. U. ed., p. 655) speaks of the Vāṅgāls as good sailors. As the Chittagong people are reputed sailors, it may be suggested that Mukundārāma identifies the land of the Vāṅgāls with Chittagong. But Mukundārāma was a man of West Bengal and to the people of his part of the country, the inhabitants of any District of East Bengal are Vāṅgāls even today. Moreover, the passages in question are certainly interpolated in the Cāṇḍālaṅgala. The Mānikandra-rajār Gāō, an East Bengal production, is therefore more important in this connection. There in we see that the people of Bhāṭī were known even to the people of East Bengal as Vāṅgāls, i.e. inhabitants of Vāṅgāla.

says that the Bay of Bengal is ‘a gulf which enters towards the north and at its inner extremity there is a great city inhabited by Moors (Muhammadans), which is called Bengal, with a very good harbour.’ The expression ‘at the inner extremity’ may point to a locality far to the north of Chittagong, and Moreland suggests that the Portuguese meant Sonārgāon by the City of Bengala. But the city apparently belonged to what the Portuguese called the Porto Grande = Portus Magnus = Great Port, and we have to determine the location of the latter.

Portuguese writers, when they speak of a voyage to Bengal, usually refer to the Great Port as well as the Porto Pequeno = Portus Parvus = Little Port. Portuguese *porto* is usually understood in the sense of English *port*, and the Little Port is identified with Hooghly or Sātgāon while the Great port is located near Chittagong. Moreland has however shown that the word *porto* in the mouth of the sea-faring Portuguese at the period referred primarily to a gap in the coast line and not, as landmen are apt to assume, a town on the sea-shore; in other words, *porto* might signify a gulf or estuary which might contain several sea ports. He has pointed out that sometimes the Little Port indicated the Hooghly estuary, and the Great Port meant the Meghnā estuary and included both Chittagong and Śripur (in the Dacca District). The location of the Great Port therefore does not help us materially in locating the City of Bengal.

2. *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 309.
3. *Ibid.*, 307-08. Father F. Fernandus, the Jesuit missionary who was sent to Bengal in 1598, speaks of the danger when his ship ran aground in the Portus Parvus; but it was afloat and, after sailing for eight days within the Portus, it reached the Portuguese station of Hooghly. By *Petrus Parsus* therefore Fernandus meant the Hooghly river and not any port. He next went to the Portus Magnus and first reached Śripur which he describes as a station in the Portus Magnus. Śripur was an important port on the Padmā about 18 miles from Sonārgāon, the eastern capital of Bengal. The Father then arrived at Chittagong which was also a station belonging to the Portus Magnus. According to Fernandus therefore the Great Port extended from the Karnaphuli river to the immediate neighbourhood of Dacca. By the word *porto* some writers however actually meant a port; Fitch, *e. g.*, identifies Porto Pequeno with Sātgāon. According to Moreland, the change in the meaning may be attributed to the fact that the Portuguese did not to any great extent trade directly with Śripur; their communications were with either Hooghly or Chittagong, that is, with only one *Statio* in each *Porta*, and, in these circumstances, the transfer of the name from the *Porto* to the *Station* might easily take place, just as the Mersey has become a synonym for ‘Liverpool’ (*op. cit.*, p. 309).
The chief points of interest in this problem are two. Firstly, there is not a single reference to this City of Bengala, so famous to the Portuguese, in the whole range of medieval Bengali literature, not even in the Bengali history of the Tripūrā royal family which often mentions Chittagong. The Bengalis therefore did not know any place of that name, or knew it by a different name, i.e. a name of their own. Secondly, while some European writers like Rennell could not trace the city or its site, others denied the very existence of the city called Bengala. In 1689, Ovington remarked, ‘A late French geographer (Baudrand) has put Bengala into his Catalogue of imaginary cities, and such as have no real existence in the world.’ It therefore seems quite clear that even Europeans other than the Portuguese sometimes considered the name of the City of Bengala as a misnomer and had no memory of it after the collapse of the Portuguese power in Bengal. The City of Bengala thus appears to be a name given by the Portuguese to a city which was usually known to others by its Bengali name. As however there is absolutely no proof (in the Bengali literature and Bengal records of any period) of the existence of any city called Vaṅgāla in the south-eastern part of Bengal, the Portuguese name City of Bengala seems to have originally indicated the city par excellence (i.e. the chief city) of the country of Vaṅgāla, i.e. East Bengal. Names like Andhrapura, Magadhapura or Māgadhapura, etc., are known to have been alternative names of the chief cities derived from the names of countries, and we have seen that the south-eastern, north-western and south-western provinces of Bengal were also known to the Muslim writers as Sonārgāon (Vaṅgāla), Lakhnauti (Gauḍa) and Sātgaon (Rāḍha) respectively after the chief cities of those provinces. As the chief city of East Bengal lay not far from the Meghnā estuary, it might have been called the City of Bengal by the Portuguese.

2. Sonārgāon was the capital of East Bengal during early Muslim days. Dacca was made the capital of the Bengal Subah early in the 17th century. The remark of Purchas that ‘Gau[r] (Gaur or Lakhnauti), the seat royal, and Bengala are fair cities’ (I.H.Q., op. cit, p.230) apparently refers to the fact that Bengala was the chief city of East Bengal and was looked upon as a secondary capital of Bengal.
that name was used by foreigners (chiefly Portuguese); and the Bengalis continued to use the local or Bengali name. That is why the name could not be traced after the Portuguese collapse in Bengal.¹

It must however be admitted that some authorities locate the City of Bengal near about Chittagong.² It seems that originally the chief city of East Bengal was known to the Portuguese as the City of Bengal; but after the Portuguese port in the Chittagong region had become the most flourishing centre of trade in Bengal, they began to call it the City of Bengal. This again seems to have been done when Sonārgāon passed out of the picture due to the transference of the provincial capital first to Rājmahal and then to Dacca. The fact that Portuguese sailors came by sea and first reached this flourishing port after days of hardship in the sea may also have emphasized its importance to them as the city **par excellence** of the country of Bengal.

Whatever however the location of the City of Bengal may be, there is no doubt that it had nothing to do with the old country of Vāṅgāla known to have been the kingdom of the Candra kings of East Bengal.³

There has been some discussion on the derivation of the

¹. Quite different is the case with Meghnā (pronounced Māgnā in East Bengal, with the first vowel sounding like a in man) apparently derived from the Latin word meaning ‘great’, which has supplanted the older name of the river.

². It has been pointed out that Ortelius places Bengal in the same place where Homannus places Chittagam or Chittagong. Yule refers to a chart of 1743 and concludes that Chittagong is probably identical with the City of Bengal. Campos also identifies Chittagong and Bengal. Ovington places Bengal to the south of Chittagong. In Blaeu’s map and Sausson’s chart the city is located on the southern bank of the Karnaphuli near about the place where Broucke places Dianga. This location is supported by Vignola’s map of 1683. But in an old map in Thevenot, the city is placed above Xatigan or Chittagong. Hosten and Majumdar think that Dianga, opposite Chittagong, represents the site of Bengal. It is also suggested that originally both Dianga and Chittagong were included in the city. Hosten identifies Dianga with a place now called Bandar on the left bank and near the mouth of the Karnaphuli river. He also takes Dianga to have been the Porto Grande. Blochman identifies Dianga with Dakhip-dāṅgā or Brāhmaṇ-dāṅgā both on the Sāṅgū river to the south of Chittagong (J.H.Q., *op. cit.*, pp. 231-32 and notes). Blochman may be right, as the foreign name seems to correspond to the Bengali word dāṅgā which is pronounced in East Bengal as ńāṅgā, with the first vowel sounding like the English a in man.

name Bengal. But the conclusions are not satisfactory. Since the emergence of modern Hindi from its Apabhramśa stage, the speakers of Hindi and other languages have been calling the Bengali-speaking area by the name Vanīgāl (without the final ō in the last consonant), which has been transliterated by the English in their script as Bengal. The Muslims first came to India when the final ō in the last consonant of Sanskritic words in North Indian dialects was pronounced. The earlier pronunciation of Vanīgāl, as is well known, was Vanīgāla which was naturally transliterated by the Muslims in their script as Bangālah (pronouncing Bangāla). This Muslim pronunciation of the name is directly responsible for the name Bāṅgāla now applied by the Bengalis to their country. The first ā in the name is comparable to the first ā in Bengali words like hājār (thousand) derived from Persian hazār. The change of ō into ā is due to the fact that ō pronounced outside East India resembles ā as pronounced by the Bengalis. The last ā in the name is again comparable to Bengali words like khānā deriving from khānāh.2 The people of Bengal is known elsewhere in India as Vanīgāli which the English transliterated as Bengali or Bengalee and which the Bengalis have made Bāṅgāli in their language. This word is also influenced by such Muslim words as Kābuli.3 It is interesting to note in this connection that, according to a general ethnological principle, the specific name of a tribe often

2. Cf. also bandah (slave)=Bengali bāndā, khajānah (revenue)=Bengali khājānā, etc. Just as the word originally spelt and pronounced in Bengali as khajānā has now been modified to khāj̣ānā (with the elision of the central ā), the earlier Bengali spelling and pronunciation of the name Bāṅgālā have now given way to the modified form Bāṅglā (sometimes softened into Bāālā). That, during Muslim rule, the Bengalis adopted the Muslim pronunciation of the name of their country is probably indicated by the fact that today Bengalis of any education speak, in their common speech, usually of the English India, Bengal and Calcutta in preference respectively to the names Bāhratavarṣa, Bāṅglā (or Bāṅglā or Bāālā) and Kalikātā. Cf. also the popularity of the Anglicised surnames Banerji, Mukherji, etc. The introduction of a large number of Persian and Arabic words in the vocabulary during Muslim rule has further to be compared with the later adoption of numerous English words during the British period.

3. Cf. the yā-yī nisbatī in Persian and the corresponding Arabic suffix to from relatives (D. C. Phillott, Higher Persian Grammar, pp. 400 and 714-17).
originates among neighbouring tribes and is eventually adopted by the tribe to which it is applied.

To sum up the discussion, the Candra kings of South-East Bengal are sometimes represented as lords of Candra-dvīpa (Bāklā-Candravīp in the Buckergunge region) and sometimes as lords of Vaṅgāla-deśa. This fact points to the location of Vaṅgāla in its original geographical sense in the coastal region of Southern Bengal. The connotation of the name began to expand with the expansion of the Candra kingdom of Vaṅgāla over wide areas of South-East Bengal. The name was popularised in the sense first of East Bengal, and then in that of the whole of Bengal, by the Muslims. The location of Vaṅgāla proper in the Buckergunge region near the Bay of Bengal, that is to say, in the southern part of the ancient Vaṅga country, seems to be supported by Abul Fazl’s identification of Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla and his derivation of the latter name from Vaṅga-āḷ (Sanskrit āḷi) on the grounds that ‘its former rulers raised mounds measuring ten yards in height and twenty in breadth throughout the province, which were called āḷ.’ Although the derivation may be wrong and Vaṅgāla may have sprung from Vaṅga-āḷ Prakrit suffix āḷa in the sense of a notable district belonging to Vaṅga, we have seen that the interesting mention of the earthen mounds, primarily meant for keeping off the encroachment of sea-water from the corn-fields, refers to a condition prevailing in the Buckergunge region of the coastal area of Bengal even to-day. The name Vaṅgāla is very rarely found in records earlier than the rise of the Candras in the tenth century A.D. The mention of the name in the Goharwa inscription of Karṇa (1041-71 A.D.) in the description of the exploits of his predecessor Lakṣmaṇarāja proves its importance in the eleventh century. Of course Lakṣmaṇarāja, who is represented in the Goharwa inscription as having defeated the Vaṅgāla country or people, ruled about the middle of the tenth century when the Candra power had already been established in Vaṅgāla.²

2. As has already been indicated above, the Nāsari plates of 805 A. D. suggest that the name Vaṅgāla (apparently indicating the original territory
As we have seen, the most important point in regard to the supposed existence of a 'city of Bengala' is that no such name of a great city is found in any of the numerous works of medieval Bengali literature. This question, usually ignored, has to be answered. Our answer to this question fully tallies with that of Hodivala who reached the same conclusion after thoroughly ransacking the available Muslim sources. In an attempt to locate the Mughal mint-town of Bangāla in Akbar's empire, he says, 'Briefly, there would appear to be fairly good grounds for thinking that Bangāla was not the real or fixed name of any town or city, but an alternative or honorific designation by which the capital of the province at the time being was known. Thus the Bangāla of Mun'im Khān's time might have been Gaur, and it is not impossible that during the subsequent twenty years the name was sometimes applied to Tānda. The Bangāla of the coins of the 39th and following years of Akbar's reign would, by parity of reasoning, be Akbarnagar.'

of the Pālas in the Buckergunge region) was known even in earlier times, though it does not appear to have been popular in the sense of the eastern part or the whole of Bengal before the rise of the Candras.

1. See Hodivala, op. cit., p. 211. It will be seen that the mint-town of Bangāla, whence Akbar's coins were issued, could not have been situated in the Chittagong region (where the 'city of Bengala' is usually located), as that area lay outside the Mughal empire during Akbar's rule. See also A. Cortesão in J.R.A.S.B., Letters, Vol. XI, pp. 10-14; cf. A.B.M. Habibullah, ibid., pp. 33 ff.
VII

ORISSA

Orissa is spelt Oḍīśā in the language of the Oriyas. This name seems to be derived from an earlier form like Aucrīya-vishaya through forms like Oḍī-visāa and Oḍī-visā. The Tibetan author Tāranātha mentions the name as Oḍī-viśā.¹ The tribal name Udra or Odra lies at the root of all these forms. But Udra, Odra or Audra cannot be regarded as the earliest name of Orissa.

In ancient times a powerful people called the Kaliṅgas lived in the present Orissa region. In the third century B.C., the Maurya emperor Aśoka (circa 369-332 B.C.) conquered the Kaliṅgas and annexed the Kaliṅga country to his empire. The province of Kaliṅga in the Maurya empire was divided into two administrative units. The north-eastern part of the country had its headquarters at Tosali (although the land around the city was later often called Tosala) which is the modern Dhauuli near Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa. In a later age, kings of the Ārya-Mahāmeghavāhana family of the Chedi clan, which is represented by Khāravela, described as 'the supreme lord of Kaliṅga', appear to have had their capital at the same place. In Maurya times, South-Western Kaliṅga had its headquarters at the city of Samāpā near modern Jaugāḍa in the Ganjam District. Indian literature intimately associates Kaliṅga with the Mahendra-giri now standing on the borders of the Ganjam District of Orissa near those of the Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. But there is no doubt that the Godāvari or the Kṛṣṇā was often regarded as the south-western boundary of the Kaliṅga country. This is indicated by the fact that, about the fifth century A.D., some rulers, enjoying the title Kaliṅga-ādhikārya, not only had their capital at Piśapura, modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District, but sometimes even claimed lordship over

the whole coast land between the Kṛṣṇā and the Mahānadi.\(^1\) Actually, however, the north-eastern boundary of the ancient Kaliṅga country lay even beyond the Mahānadi, although Kaliṅga did not include the whole of modern Orissa. The north-eastern part of coastal Orissa was included in early times in the land of the Utkalas while the Patna-Sonpur region in the upper valley of the Mahānadi formed the eastern part of the country named Dakṣiṇa-Kosala till the early medieval period. But the Utkalas and some of their neighbours may have been ethnically related to the Kaliṅgas. Indeed, an ancient tradition recorded in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas\(^2\) regards the progenitors of the Aṅgas of East Bihar, the Vaṅgas of South Bengal, the Kaliṅgas, the Puṇḍras of North Bengal and the Suhmas of West Bengal as co-uterine brothers. Early European writers sometimes represent the people of South Bengal (Gangaridæ) as a branch of the Kaliṅga people.\(^3\)

We have seen how the river Kṛṣṇā was sometimes regarded as the south-western boundary of the ancient Kaliṅga country. But in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., the Śālaṅkāyanas ruling over the coast land between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvari with their capital at the city of Veṅgi (modern Peddavegi near Elūru in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) did not claim to be lords of Kaliṅga. In the sixth and seventh centuries the Viṣṇukunuḍins were ruling over the same area. They also did not claim to be rulers of the Kaliṅga country. If the identification of the Andhr-ādhipati, mentioned in the Haraha inscription\(^4\) of the time of Maukharī Ṣānavarman, dated V. S. 611=553-54 A.D., with a Viṣṇukunuḍin monarch is accepted, the kingdom of the Viṣṇukunuḍins was probably known as Andhra. During the second-quarter of the seventh century, the Eastern Cālukyas established themselves at Piṣṭapura (Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) and ruled over the entire coast country from the Visakhapatnam District in the north-east to the Guntur District

---

in the south-west for many centuries. But their kingdom became famous under the name of Veṅgi. During this period, the major portion of the Visakhapatnam District formed a part of Veṅgi, although the Yelamanichili Taluk of that District was called Elamañci-Kaliṅgadeśa. The Early Eastern Gaṅgas were ruling over the area about the Śrīkakulam District (Andhra Pradesh) with their capital at Kaliṅganagara, which has been identified with modern Mukhaliṅgam near Śrīkākulam, from the close of the fifth century A.D. They also enjoyed the title Kaliṅgā-ādhipati or lord of Kaliṅga. In the early medieval period, it is only the kingdom of these Early Eastern Gaṅgas that was exclusively known as Kaliṅga, because, as will be seen below, the kingdoms in the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region assumed different names such as Koṅgoda, Tosali, Udra, etc., since the latter part of the sixth century A.D. With the rise of the Imperial Branch of the Eastern Gaṅgas, and especially with the conquest of the coast land between the Godāvari and the Ganges (Bhāgīrathī) by the Imperial Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Coḍaṅgaṇa (1078-1147 A.D.) about the beginning of the twelfth century, the major part of ancient Kaliṅga came under the Kaliṅga king. But the old name did not get time enough to become popular again as the successors of Anantavarman Coḍaṅgaṇa soon transferred their capital to the Cuttack District (Orissa) far away from the Śrīkākulam region that had become famous under the name Kaliṅga during the many centuries’ rule of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas.¹ The Eastern Gaṅgas originally lived in the present Kannaḍa-speaking area of Mysore, whence they migrated to and settled in the present Telugu-speaking area of Śrīkākulam. The Kannaḍa origin of the Eastern Gaṅgas is not only supported by the copper-plate grants of Anantavarman Coḍaṅgaṇa and his successors² but also by the following statement in the description of Coḍaṅgaṇa in the Mādalā Pāñjī³:

¹ The tradition recorded in Yaśodhara’s commentary on the Kāmaśūtra (VI, 6), composed about the middle of the thirteenth century (cf. Kieth, Hist. Sans. Lit., p. 469), that Kaliṅga lay to the south of Gauḍa seems to be based on the Imperial Gaṅga occupation of parts of South-West Bengal.

² Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, p. 239.

³ Ed. Mahanti, p. 23. The statement is however anachronistic.
Cuḍaṇṭa Karṇāṭa-desaru āsi, etc. The mother tongue of the Imperial Gaṅgas was originally Telugu. This is clearly indicated not only by the great part Telugu plays even in their later documents but also by the popularity of names like Anivaṃkabhimā which was later Sanskritised as Anaṅgabhīma through the intermediate form Aanaṅkabhimā. After the transference of their capital to the heart of Orissa, the Imperial Gaṅgas began to become Oriyas; but most of their matrimonial alliances were still contracted with South Indian royal families and a large number of their officials and protégés were South Indians.

With reference to the geography of Kaliṅga, mention has to be made of the views of certain scholars based on the repeated reference to the country in the Ceylonese chronicles. Chapter 59 of the Cūlavāmśa says how king Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110 A.D.) of Laṅkā married the Kaliṅga princess Trilokasundarī and offered befitting maintenances to her relations Madhukārṇava (Madhukārṇava?), Bhīmarāja and Balātkāra of Siṃhapura, capital of Kaliṅga, for settling them in his kingdom. The younger sister of the Kaliṅga princes, Sundarī by name, was given in marriage to Vijayabāhu’s son Vikramabāhu. In this connection, Geiger observes, “Siṃhapura (Siṃhapura) is the town which according to the legend (cf. Mhūs, 6.35) was founded in Lāla (Rāḍha) by Vijaya’s father Siḥabāhu. Lāla borders in the north of the Kaliṅga kingdom, the home of Tilokasundarī, as must be inferred from Mhūs, 6.1-5. The south-eastern district of Chutea Nagpur to the west of Bengal is still called Singbhum.” It has however to be noticed that, in the age of Vijayabāhu (actually from about the end of the sixth to at least about the beginning of the twelfth century), the name Kaliṅga was exclusively applied to the kingdom of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara near Śrīkākulam, who styled themselves as Kaliṅ-gaṅdhīpatis. Siṃhapura (modern Singupuram in the same neighbourhood) was, however, the capital of the Kaliṅ-gaṅdhīpatis in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and was no longer the capital of Kaliṅga although it may have been the residence of some scions.

of the Gaṅga family. Rāḍha and Kāliṅga do not appear to have had contiguous boundaries in any period of history. Sinhapura in Rāḍha (probably modern Singur in the Hooghly District of West Bengal) cannot be regarded as the same as the Kaliṅga capital of that name, identified with modern Singupuram near Śrīkākulam. The representation of Sinhapura as the capital of Kaliṅga in the Mahāvaṃsa tradition seems to be due to the fact that the chronicle was composed about the fifth century while the Cūlavaṃsa appears merely to have continued the same tradition even though the later capital of the country was at Kaliṅga-nagara (modern Mukhaliṅgam near Śrīkākulam) and not at Sinhapura.

As regards the north-eastern limit of ancient Kaliṅga, a well-known passage in the Tīrtha-yāṭrā section of the Vanaparvan (114, 3) of the Mahābhārata has eṣa Kaliṅgaḥ Kaunteya yatra Vaitaraṇi nadi. This shows that the river Vaitaraṇi forming the eastern border of the Cuttack District of Orissa was regarded in ancient times as the boundary of the Kaliṅga country. Kālidāsa's Raghavaṃśa (IV, 38) speaks of the Utkala country lying between the land of the Kaliṅgas and that of the Vaṅgas. The eastern boundary of Utkala can be determined only when we know the exact area inhabited by the Vaṅga people.

Early Greco-Roman writers represent the emperors of the Nanda and Maurya dynasties of Magadha as the rulers of the Prasii and the Gangaridae and speak of Palibothra (i.e. Pāṭali-putra, near modern Pāṭnā, Bihar) as the capital of the country of the Prasii. There is little doubt that the Prasii represented the Prācyas (i.e. the people of the Eastern Division of ancient Bhāratavārṣa) of Indian literature. But there is some confusion about the Gangaridae, their name being often Indianised as Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra, Gaṅgā-rādha and Gaṅgā-hṛdaya. Greek Gangaridae is however the plural form of Gangarid from a base like Gange or Ganges; cf. Sasan—Sasanid—Sasanidae; Akhamenes—Akhamenid—Akhamenidae. The word Gangaridae therefore means 'the Gangetic people'. The land inhabited by this people is clearly indicated by the author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (circa 80 A.D.) and the Geography of Ptolemy (circa 140 A.D.).
Ptolemy mentions the five estuaries of the river Ganges and says, "All the region about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridae with the following city—Gange, the royal city (i.e. the capital of the country)." It is clear from this that the Gangaridae or Gangetic people received their name from their chief city called Gange, apparently named after the river Ganges. The Periplus (para. 63) however applies the name Ganges not only to the river and a city standing on the bank of its principal mouth but also to the country, of which the city was apparently the capital. This book says about the country called Ganges that 'there is a river near it called the Ganges' and that 'on its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river Ganges'. The principal product of this country is stated to have been the Gangetic muslin which reminds us not only of the world-wide celebrity of the Dacca muslin in the medieval age but also of the dukula, kausika, patonna and prawara mentioned in the Sabháparvan of the Mahábhárata as presents made to Yudhiṣṭhira by the Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Tāmaliptas and Puṇḍras of Eastern India. But a people called Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya inhabiting Lower Bengal and having their capital at a city called Gāṅgā (Greek Gange or Ganges) is not known from ancient Indian literature. This powerful people, known to foreign writers from the fourth century B.C. to the second century A.D., were apparently known to the Indians by a different name. Curiously enough Kālidāsa, who flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., locates the Vaṅga people, well-known in ancient Indian literature, exactly in the same region where the Gangaridae or Gangetic people are placed by the early European writers. Canto IV (verses 36-37) of his Raghuvamśa describes how Raghu defeated the Vaṅgas in a naval battle and raised pillars of victory in what is called Gaṅgā-srot-a-ntara no doubt in the land of the defeated people. The expression Gaṅgā-srot-antareshu has been explained by the celebrated commentator Mallinātha as Gaṅgāyāḥ srotasāḥ pravāhānām—antaresu dvīpesu. Thus the country of the Vaṅgas is located by Kālidāsa in the

1. Geog., VII, 1. 18 and 81.
3. See above, p. 124, note 6; below, Ch. XI (p. 172 ff.).
deltaic region of Southern Bengal, which is intersected by the mouths of the river Ganges. This further proves that the Vaṅga people were identical with the Gangaridae who, according to the Greco-Roman writers, lived in the region about the mouths of the Ganges and had their chief city about the confluence of the Ganges and the Bay of Bengal. The modern representative of this ancient city seems to be the holy place at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the Sāgara, called Sāgara or Gaṅgā-sāgara. The name Gaṅgā, suggested by the early Greco-Roman writers, may be regarded as an eka-deśa of the name Gaṅgā-sāgara.¹ The name Vaṅga, originally applied to the wide areas of Southern Bengal, came in the medieval age to be confined to the eastern parts of that region together with the adjoining areas. But later the name came to be used to indicate the whole of Bengal.

The above discussion will show that in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Vaṅgas lived in the deltaic region of Southern Bengal watered by the mouths of the Ganges and had their capital at the city of Gaṅgā near the junction of the Bhāgi-rathī and the Bay of Bengal and that Gaṅgā-sāgar is the modern representative of the ancient capital of the Vaṅgas. After the name of the capital, the country was also often called Gaṅgā. Early European writers mention the Vaṅgas as the Gaṅgaridae, i.e. the Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya people. The Greek name of the Vaṅgas seems to be the result of a confusion the foreigners made between the sounds of the two names Vaṅgāḥ and Gaṅgā. The identification of the Vaṅgas and the Gangaridae and the location of their habitat are clearly indicated by the evidence supplied by Kālidāsa’s Rāghuvaṃśa, the Geography of Ptolemy and the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Ptolemy and Kālidāsa place the Cambysron or Kapiśā river, identified with the present Kaśāi running through the Midnapur District (West Bengal), about the western border of the country of the Gangaridae or Vaṅga people. This is supported by the Jain Prajñāpanā, according to which Tāmrālipti in the present Tamuluk region of Midnapur once formed a part of the Vaṅga country.²

¹. See Proc. I.H.C., Bombay, 1947, pp. 91 ff., and below, Ch. XI, (p. 172 ff.).
It appears therefore that the Cambyson or Kapišā, i.e., the modern Kašāi, roughly formed the boundary between the land of the Vaṅgas and that of the Utkalas. Thus it may be said that the Utkala country lay between the Kašāi and the Vaitara-ṇī rivers. Roughly speaking therefore, Utkala comprised the present Balasore District of Orissa together with parts of the Cuttack District of that State and of the Midnapur District of West Bengal. The Puri, Ganjam and Cuttack Districts of Orissa then formed parts of the north-eastern area of the Kaliṅga country.

A copper-plate inscription¹ was discovered at Sumandala near Khallikot in the Ganjam District. It records the grant of a piece of land in the Khallikot area by a chief named Dharmarāja in 569 A.D. The said chief acknowledged the suzerainty of a king named Pṛthivivigraha who is stated to have been ruling the Kaliṅga rāja as a nominal feudatory of the Gupta emperors. This inscription shows beyond doubt that the southwestern part of coastal Orissa enjoyed the ancient name of Kaliṅga as late as the second half of the sixth century A.D. Soon however the name of the kingdom of the Vigraha dynasty, to which Pṛthivivigraha belonged, had to be changed.

Another copper-plate inscription² of the Vigraha dynasty has been discovered in a locality in the Puri District. The inscription records the gift of a village situated in Dakṣiṇa-Tosali in 599 A.D. by an independent monarch named Lokavigraha who was apparently one of the successors of Pṛthivivigraha of the Sumandala plates. By this time, all vestiges of Gupta suzerainty in Orissa were a thing of the past. But what is more important is that Lokavigraha's kingdom has been mentioned in the epigraph as Tosali and not as Kaliṅga while he is represented as granting a village in South Tosali. This shows that Lokavigraha was not only holding sway over Dakṣiṇa-Tosali but that he also claimed the lordship of Uttara-Tosali, i.e., North Tosali. The inscriptions of the Bhauma-Karas of a later age make it clear that the ancient Utkala country in the

¹ Eph. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-85.
² Ibid., pp. 328 ff.
Balasore region was roughly known as Uttara-Tosali, while Daksīṇa-Tosali comprised the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area. We have to determine the reason leading to the introduction of these names about the second half of the sixth century. This however does not appear to be entirely unintelligible from what we know of the history of Orissa in the period in question.

As already indicated above, shortly before 500 A.D. the Gaṅgas founded a kingdom about the present Srikakulam District of Andhra Pradesh. They assumed the title of Kaliṅga-ādhikāra, 'lord of Kaliṅga', and had their capital at the city of Kaliṅganagara situated in the vicinity of modern Śrīkākulam. The Vīgarahās were holding sway over the Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack area lying immediately to the north-east of the Gaṅga kingdom. Naturally they wanted a new name for their own kingdom to avoid confusion. The new name of their kingdom, viz., Tosali, seems to have been coined after the name of their capital city. That is to say, the Vīgarahās probably had their capital at the ancient city of Tosali i.e. the modern Dhauli in the Puri District. The name Tosali was also extended to the ancient Utkala country probably due to the expansion of Vīgarahā power over that area. These facts appear to supply the reason underlying the renaming of the south-western part of coastal Orissa as Daksīṇa-Tosali and the application of the alternative name Uttara-Tosali to the country of the Utkalas. The names Uttara-Tosali and Daksīṇa-Tosali were popular in the age of the Bhaumakaras who flourished between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Later however the name Tosali lost its popularity and the names Utkala and Uḍra, Oḍra or Aṇḍra gradually came to be applied to the whole of coastal Orissa and ultimately to the entire Oriya-speaking area.

We have seen how the Utkalas lived in the present Balasore District and its neighbourhood. But the original habitat of the Uḍras cannot be determined. They are not mentioned in very early works. Some manuscripts of the Manusmṛti (about the third century A.D.; cf. X, 44) no doubt mention the Uḍras; but many manuscripts of the work read in its place the name of
ORISSA

the Aṅgas or Cholas,¹ and either of these two may have been the original reading. The Nātyasāstra ascribed to Bharata-muni mentions the people or land called Udra; but the work in its present form does not appear to be much earlier than the sixth century A.D.² Whatever the antiquity of the name Udra may be, it is sometimes used to indicate the whole of coastal Orissa from the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Probably the Udras originally lived in the land lying to the north of the ancient Utkala country. The conquest of Utkala by a king of the Udra country may have led to the use of Udra as a synonym of Utkala and the extension of the power of a king of this Udra-Utkala region over the southwestern part of coastal Orissa at a later date may have been at the root of the use of both the names to indicate the whole of coastal Orissa. The known facts of early Orissan history appear to support this conjecture.

According to a copper-plate inscription³ discovered at Soro in the Balasore District, in 579 A.D. Uttara-Tosali, i.e. ancient Utkala, was under the rule of a Mahārāja named Śambhuyaśas, who belonged to the Mudgala or Maudgalya gotra. Another inscription⁴ of the same monarch, viz. Paramabhaṭṭāraka Śambhuyaśas, which was found at Patiakella in the Cuttack District, says that in 602 A.D. his feudatory, Mahārāja Śivarāja, was ruling in Dakṣiṇa-Tosali. This record suggests further that the king Śambhuyaśas, ruler of both Uttara⁵ and Dakṣiṇa-Tosali, i.e. the entire coastal region of Orissa, was born in the Māna family. The name of the present Mānbhūm or Mānabhūmi seems to have been derived from the rulers of this Māna family, also known from a few other records. The Bhauma-Kara monarch Śāntikara II (middle of the tenth century) is known to have married Hirāmahādevī who was the daughter of king Simhamāna probably belonging to the same family as Śambhuyaśas. The Mānas

¹ Jha, Manusmṛiti—Notes, Part I, p. 465.
² Varāhamihira's Brīhatsamhitā (XIV), composed about the first quarter of the 6th century, mentions the Udra people.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 287 ff.
appear to have been ruling over the present Mānbhūm-Singbhūm region together with the adjacent areas of Orissa.1

We have seen how in 569 A.D. Pṛthivīvigraha was ruling over Kaliṅga, i.e. the north-eastern areas of Kaliṅga roughly identical with the later Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī, and how in 599 A.D. Lokavigraha, another monarch of the same family, not only ruled over South Tosali but also claimed lordship over North Tosali. It has also been shown how Paramabhaṭṭāraka Śaṁbhuyaśas belonging to the Mudgala gotra and the Māna family ruled over Uttara-Tosalī in 579 A.D. and over Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī in 602 A.D. It is clear from these facts that in the latter half of the sixth century there was a struggle between the Vigrahas and the Mānas for the sovereignty of coastal Orissa and that the Vigrahas, who were at first ruling over the whole of Tosali, both Uttara and Dakṣiṇa, were gradually ousted by the Mānas, first from Uttara-Tosalī and then from Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī. In this way, the whole of coastal Orissa came under the suzerainty of the Mānas about the beginning of the seventh century. If these Mānas may be regarded as belonging to the Uḍra clan, we can explain the popularity of the name Uḍra in the sense of the whole of coastal Orissa from the sixth or seventh century. The fact that they conquered Utkala or Uttara-Tosalī sometime before the expansion of their power over Dakṣiṇa-Tosalī may be the reason underlying the use of Uḍra as a synonym of Utkala first in the sense of the Balasore region and then to indicate of the Cuttack-Puri-Ganjam area. If the Māna family belonged to the Uḍra clan, it may be supposed

1. It is not impossible that they had their capital at the city of Khiļjiṅga, modern Khiching in the northern part of the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa (cf. Indō-Asiān Cultūre, Vol.VIII, 1958, pp. 429-30). R.P. Chanda was inclined to assign the earliest antiquities discovered at Khiching to the age of the Ādi-Bhaṭṭajas who began to rule from about the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. J. N. Banerjea assigns some of these sculptures to the tenth century and others vaguely to the early medieval period. There is little doubt that some Khiching sculptures are earlier than the eleventh century and this fact shows that Khiching was the seat of some pre-Ādi-Bhaṭṭaja rulers, since the excellent art of Khiching could have scarcely flourished without royal patronage. We have now inscriptions of the pre-Ādi-Bhaṭṭaja rulers, Dhruvarāja and Kumāravarman, who ruled in the area in the tenth century A. D. Cf. Ėp. Ind., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 82 ff.
that the Uḍras originally lived in the Mānbhūm-Singhbhūm region and the adjoining parts of Orissa.

In the first quarter of the seventh century, the greatest monarch in Eastern India was Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa, who had his capital at Karṇaśuvarṇa, near modern Murshidabad in West Bengal. He ousted Māna rule from Orissa and extended his suzerainty as far as Koṅgoda about the borders between the Districts of Puri and Ganjam. In the second quarter of the seventh century, the king of Gauḍa, probably a successor of Śaśāṅka, was disastrously defeated by Harśavardhana of Kanauj and his ally, Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. As a result of this humiliation of the Gauḍa king, his Sailodbhava feudatories in Koṅgoda declared their independence while his Datta feudatories in the Balasore-Cuttack region began to rule semi-independently. Some inscriptions of Somadatta and Bhāṇudatta of this Datta dynasty have been discovered. It seems that the dominions of these Dattas have been described as Uḍra by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang who visited Orissa about 638 A.D. His accounts appear to suggest that the pilgrim applied the name Uḍra to the Balasore-Cuttack-Puri region. King Harśavardhana, who now probably regarded the Gauḍa king as his subordinate ally, invaded Koṅgoda in 643 A.D. in order to punish the Sailodbhavas on behalf of the Gauḍa monarch.

During the eighth century A.D., the Sailodbhavas continued their independent rule in Koṅgoda in the Puri-Ganjam region. But the political condition of the Balasore-Cuttack area in this age is not quite clear. According to Chinese evidence, a Buddhist king having a name like Śuhaṇkarasimha ruled over the Uḍra country in 795 A.D. He seems to have been a contemporary of the Later Sailodbhavas of the Ganjam-Puri area and ruled over the Cuttack-Balasore region. In 831 A.D., the Bhauma-Karas established their capital at the ancient city of Virajā which is the modern Jājurū (Yāyapura or Yājapura). They founded a new city called Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka in the suburbs of Jājurū and this remained the Bhauma-Kara capital till the end of Bhauma-Kara rule in the eleventh century. It
was apparently the Bhauma-Karas who overthrew Sailodbhava
rule from Koṅgoda which now formed a part of Dakṣiṇa-Tosali.

The Somavarmśis established their power in the Patna-
Sonpur region in the upper Mahānadi valley in the tenth century.
The Somavarmśi king Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya (circa 935-70
A.D.) issued most of his charters from Suvarṇapura (Sonpur).
His son and successor, Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (circa 970-1000
A.D.) transferred his capital to the new city of Yayātinagara
(modern Binka) built by and named after himself. In the second
quarter of the eleventh century, the Somavarmśi king Mahāśiva-
gupta Yayāti III Caṇḍihara (circa 1025-60 A.D.) extended his
power over the coastal regions of Orissa. The story of the trans-
ference of the lordship of that region from the Bhauma-Karas
to the Somavarmśis is not clearly known. But there is little doubt
that Yayāti III built a city, named Yayātinagara after himself,
in the erstwhile Bhauma-Kara kingdom. This city is mentioned
in the Mādalā Pāṇji as Abhinava-Yayātinagara (i.e. the new
Yayātinagara) in its description of the Gaṅga kings who conquered
coastal Orissa from the Somavarmśis but had originally little to
do with the upper valley of the Mahānadi. The Gaṅga king
Anaṅgabhīma III seems to be described in this work2 as Abhi-
nava-Yayātinagara-Viṣṇu. The Muslim authors of the thirteenth
and fourteenth centuries mentioned the Gaṅga kingdom as Jājnagar (no
doubt a corruption of the name Yayātinagara) apparently after the Abhinava-Yayātinagara of the Mādalā
Pāṇji, which seems to have continued to remain the capital of
coastal Orissa under the Gaṅgas for some time.

About the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., the Gaṅga
king Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) of Kaliṅga-
nagara conquered the Puri-Cuttack-Balasore region from the
Somavarmśis. There is evidence to show that his descendants
later transferred the Gaṅga capital to Cuttack. According to
the Nagari plates3 of Anaṅgabhīma III (circa 1211-38 A.D.),
great-grandson of Anantavarman Coḍagaṅga, that king had

2. Ed. Mahanti, p. 28.
his headquarters at Abhinava-Vārāṇasi-kaṭaka, i.e. the present Barabati area of Cuttack. The Mādalā Pāṇji seems to suggest that Anāṅgabhīma III at first had been residing at Chaudvāra-kaṭaka and later transferred his capital to Vārāṇasi-kaṭaka built by himself on the site of the village of Barabati on the opposite bank of the Mahānadi. As the Mādalā Pāṇji uses the name Abhinava-Yayātinagara in the description of this king, it may be supposed that it was the earlier name of Cuttack, which was therefore the source of the name Jājnagar used by the Muslim writers of the early medieval period to indicate the Gaṅga kingdom covering coastal Orissa. But it seems to us that Abhinava-Yayātinagara or Jājnagar should better be identified with modern Jāipur. This is because Jāipur seems to be a corruption of the name Yayātipura which is again practically the same as Yayātinagara, both meaning 'the city of Yayāti'. That Jāipur was once the headquarters of the Imperial Gaṅgas seems to be supported by the following tradition in the description of Anāṅgabhīma in some manuscripts of the Mādalā Pāṇji: rājā Tājaṇpuranagara chaudvāre Kaṭake vije kari thānti. In the description of the occupation of the Kesari (i.e. Somavarmi) kingdom by Ananta-varman Coḍagaṅga also we have the passage: Tājaṇpura Kaṭake pravela hoilā.

We have seen that the Bhauma-Kara emperors had their capital at Virajā, i.e. the modern Jāipur, in the suburbs of which they built their new capital named Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka. In the rule of coastal Orissa, these Bhauma-Karas were succeeded by the Somavarmi king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti III Čaṇḍihara. It is possible to think that Yayāti III retained the headquarters of this newly acquired territory at its old capital and that it was he who renamed Guheśvarapāṭaka or Guhadevapāṭaka after himself as Yayātinagara or Yayātipura. The very name of modern Jāipur (Yayātipura > Yayātipura > Yayātipura > Yayātipura > Jāipur) appears to support this conjecture. It seems that the capital of coastal Orissa was retained at the same city for:

1. Mahanti, op. cit., p. 34.
2. Ibid., p. 22.
some time even after the overthrow of Somavarnasi rule from that area by the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅganagara. If the Gaṅga conquerors of coastal Orissa ruled the country from Yayātinagara or Yayātipura, i.e. modern Jājpur, before the transference of its headquar-
ters to the Cuttack region, we can easily explain why the Muslim writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries men-
tioned the kingdom of the Gaṅgas in Orissa as Jājnagar (Yayāti-
nagara).

About 1360 A.D., during the reign of the Gaṅga king Bhānu III (circa 1352-78 A.D.), Sultān Firūz Shāh of the Tughluk dynasty of Delhi led an expedition against the Gaṅga capital. An account of this expedition is found in the Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Asif. In this work, the kingdom of the Gaṅga monarch has been called Jājnagar but his capital has been mentioned as Vārāṇasi, i.e. Vārāṇasi-kaṭaka which is the present Barabati area of Cuttack. It seems that, if the earlier name of Cuttack was Yayātinagara and if that was the reason for the early Muslim writers applying the name Jājnagar to the Gaṅga kingdom, Shams-i-Sirāj would not have used two different names to indicate the capital and kingdom of the Gaṅga king without any comment. Indeed it becomes rather difficult in that case to understand why he uses the new name for the city but its old name to indicate the kingdom of which it was the capital. The description of the Gaṅga capital and kingdom in the Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī seems to suggest that Jājnagar as the name of the Gaṅga kingdom had nothing to do with Vārāṇasi or Cuttack which was then its capital.

Muslim rule was established in the western and northern parts of Bengal about the beginning of the thirteenth century. From that time, the Muslim rulers of Bengal often led expeditions against the Gaṅga kingdom. This may have been the cause underlying the transference of the Gaṅga capital from Jājnagar or Jājpur, which was nearer the borders of the Muslim territories of Bengal, to Cuttack which lay further away. But the Muslim writers appear to have

continued the use of the name Jāñnagar to indicate the Gaṅga kingdom for some time even after the transference of the Gaṅga headquarters from the city of that name. The name Kaţaka or Cuttack suggests that it was originally a camping ground of the Gaṅga king’s forces. It is not impossible that the story of the Gaṅga king’s attempt to check Muslim aggression from the east is hidden under this name of the new capital of his kingdom.  

1. At p. 145 above, we have referred to a king of Wu-ch’a ( Udra ) whom the Chinese called ‘the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion’ ( Ep. Ind., Vol XV, p. 363 ). A king of Orissa named Subhakarasimha, who became a Buddhist monk, is said to have left India in 715 A.D. and reached China the following year when he was eighty years of age ( A. Getty, Ganēsa, pp. 73-74 ).
Our attention has been drawn to a verse contained in Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtyakalpataru, which refers to a pious lady named Vasundharā who was the daughter of a certain Vikrama and was an inhabitant of Daśārṇa.¹ In this connection, several suggestions have been offered; but none of them is supported by any evidence or argument of any kind. Vikrama has been identified with Candragupta II Vikramāditya and Vasundharā with Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Candragupta II and queen of Vākṣṭaka Rudrasena II. We wonder why the daughter of any person of the name of Vikrama has to be identified with the only known daughter of only one of the numerous Vikramas known to history.

The suggestion that the Vākṣṭaka territory was known as Daśārṇa which is identified with the Chattisgarh division of M.P. as well as the reference to 'Vijaya-Daśanapura in the Andhra country mentioned in some inscriptions as the capital of a Vākṣṭaka principality' in Jayaswal's History of India, p. 136, is also untenable. Here is a clear case of the andha-paramhparā-nyāya, as Daśanapura, mentioned as a seat of government of the Early Pallavas (who, it should be noted, ruled contemporaneously with the Vākṣṭakas) and identified by scholars with modern Darsi in the Nellore District, had absolutely nothing to do with the Vākṣṭakas. As a matter of fact, there is not the slightest evidence of Vākṣṭaka rule in the Chattisgarh region of M. P., the ancient name of which was, moreover, Kosala (South Kosala) and never Daśārṇa. From numerous references to Daśārṇa in Indian literature,² it is clear that it was one of the old names of East Malwa and the adjoining region, with its capi-

². Cf., e.g., Meghadūta, 24-25.
at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar near Bhilsa, Madhya Pradesh) and with the rivers Daśāṛṇā (modern Dhasan) and Vetravati (modern Betwa) running through it.

In this connection, the attention of scholars may be drawn to another almost equally unjustifiable theory that the Vākāṭaka territory was known as Kuntala.\(^1\) It is easy to show that the heart of the Vākāṭaka kingdom corresponded to the ancient \textit{janapada} of Vidarbha (modern Berar and the adjoining regions) where most of the records of the family have been discovered. The founder of the Vākāṭaka family seems to have had something to do with East Malwa and the Vindhyan region and a few other early members of the main branch of the family probably held sway over parts of Central India (especially Bundelkhand) before the extension of Gupta power in that area.\(^2\) But the capital of a branch of the Vākāṭaka line was at the city of Vatsagulma, modern Basim in the Akola District, while the main branch of the family ruled from a place not very far away from modern Nāgpur.\(^3\) The Vākāṭaka kings reigned in Vidarbha from the second half of the third century to the first half of the sixth. They were not only responsible for some of the magnificent caves at Ajanṭā; but it was apparently at their court that the celebrated Vaidarbhī \textit{riti} or the Berar style of Sanskrit composition originated and flourished and was recognised by the author of the \textit{Kāvyādarśa} as the best style as early as the seventh century A.D. We have elsewhere suggested that the other important style known as the Gaudī \textit{riti} has to be associated with the court of the dynasty of Gauḍa kings represented by Gopacandra and Saśāṇka.\(^4\)

In connection with the name Daśāṛṇa, it is interesting to note that the \textit{Periplus of the Erythraean Sea}\(^5\) places the region of Dosarene yielding the ivory known as Dosarenic towards the east of Masalia (i.e. the country around Masulipatam in Andhra).

---

5. See Scholz's trans., p. 47.
Ptolemy mentions the city of Dosara¹ apparently as the metropolis of this land. He locates Dosara in the land of the Kokkonagai who lived to the west of the country watered by the mouths of the Ganges. Some scholars trace the Indian name Daśārṇa in Dosarene.² But it is impossible to locate the places mentioned by the Greek authors outside modern Orissa. It seems that Dosara is a modification of the Indian name Tosala (the same as Tosali or Tosalā), identified with modern Dhauli in the Puri District. The early times, Tosali was the capital of the Kaliṅga country.

B

A Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler named Māṇāṅka (who seems to have originally been a rāṣṭrakūṭa or provincial governor) is known from the Undikavatika grant³ of his great-grandson Abhimanyu who resided at Mānapura. He has been identified with king Māṇāṅka, grandfather of Avidheya who issued the Pandurangapalli grant discovered in the neighbourhood of Kolhapur. There is reason to believe that the territories over which these rulers held away lay in the Kolhapur region and the adjoining area of the South Marāṭhā country, and Prof. Mirashi may be right in identifying their capital with Man in the Satara District. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Bibhurāja of the Hingniberdi plates, Dejjā-mahārāja of the Gokak plates, Govindarāja, son of Śivarāja, who is known from the Naravana grant of 743 A.D. of the time of Vikramāditya II and seems to have been the subordinate ruler of a territory in the Satara-Ratnagiri region, may have been scions of this family.⁴ The land ruled by this family seems to have been known as ‘Māna’s territory.’⁵

The Pandurangapalli charter⁶ appears to describe Māṇāṅka,

¹ Geography, VIII, 1, 77.
⁵ See below, p. 159.
who probably flourished in the latter half of the fifth century, as the conqueror of Vidarbha and Aśmaka and also as the chastiser (praśisitā) of the Kuntalas. The Kuntala people under reference were no doubt the Kadambas of Vanavāsi (Banavāsi), whose territories comprised the North Karnara District and parts of Mysore, Belgaum and Dharwar. In the inscriptions of the Later Kadambas, the progenitor of the Kadamba family (sometimes called Mayūravarman, but in some cases Mūkkanā or Trilocana Kadamba) is represented as the ruler of the Kuntala country which is described as the land round the capital city of Banavāsi in the North Kanara District. The country of Vidarbha lay on both sides of the river Varadā (modern Wardha, a tributary of the Godāvari) according to the Mālavikāgnimitra, and roughly corresponded to the major part of Berar and the western part of M. P. Its ancient capital was at the city of Kuṇḍina which has been identified with modern Kauṇḍinyapura on the Wardha in the Chandur Taluk of the Amraoti District of Berar. The city of Padmapura which was the birth-place of the poet Bhavabhūti and was situated in the Vidarbha country in Dakṣiṇāpatha, has been rightly identified with modern Padampur near the Amgaon railway station in the Bhandara District of M. P. Vidarbha therefore included at least the Amraoti region in the west and the Bhandara area in the east. Epigraphic evidence shows that, about the time of Mānāṅka, the above land was entirely in the possession of kings belonging to the main branch of the Vākāṭaka family that had its headquarters near modern Nāgpur. Thus it will be seen that the Pandurangapalli grant seems to represent Mānāṅka of the south Marāṭhā country as having fought successfully with the Kadambas of Kuntala and the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha.

But who were the Aśmakas, also mentioned in connection with the victorious campaigns of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler? It appears to us that the Aśmakas under reference are no other than the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma which is mentioned separately from Vidarbha in the Kāmasūtra (V, 5,33-34). The capital city of this branch of the Vākāṭaka family has been identified with modern Basim in the Akola District about the southern fringe of Berar;
but their dominions certainly included the Ajanta region in the Aurangabad District and very probably also Nándikaṭa, identified with the Nander District, both in the northern part of the old Hyderabad State. The Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma therefore ruled over the southernmost region of Berar and the northern part of old Hyderabad, and the ancient Āśmaka country has been located by scholars precisely in this region.¹

The Pārāyaṇa, incorporated in the Suttanipāta, speaks of a sage named Bāvari who was an inhabitant of Śrāvasti but settled 'in the country of Āśmaka, in the vicinity of Mūlaka, on the bank of the Godāvari'.² While describing the journey of Bāvari's disciples from the sage's hermitage in Āśmaka to a locality in Northern India, the same work says that the first place reached was Pratiṣṭhāna (modern Paiṭhan on the Godāvari in the Aurangabad District) which was the capital of the Mūlaka country; the men are said to have next reached Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā, and then Ujjayinī outside the limits of Dakṣināpatha. This shows that the Āśmaka country lay immediately to the south of Mūlaka which is the Paiṭhan region of the Aurangabad District. The ancient capital of the Āśmaka country was, according to the Mahābhārata, at the city of Paudanyā which is known as Potana (< Paudana < Paudanya) in the Pali literature. A variant of the form Potana is Potali which seems to be a mistake for Potana or Potani (cf. the striking similarity between the forms of the two letters l and n at some stages of development), the latter being a possible corruption of Paudanya through another intermediate form Podaniya.³ Raychaudhuri identifies Paudanya with modern Bodhan near the Godāvari in the Nizamabad District abutting on the Nander District in the old Hyderabad State. In a narrow sense therefore the Āśmaka country may be identified with the Nander-Nizamabad region of Andhra Pradesh and the adjoining area. In ancient

² See the Chapter on Gonaṛda (Ch. XVI) below, pp. 206 ff.
³ Cf. tākiya > tākiya > taki; māliya > māliya > mali; sṛoga > sṛogyā > srogi, etc. in my Gram. Frak. Lang., p. 23.
literature, however, Āśmaka is often represented as including Mūlaka, i.e. the Paithan area of the Aurangabad District, and as abutting on Kaliṅga (roughly speaking, the coastal land between the Mahānadi and the Godāvari), Vidarbha, Aparānta (the Northern Konkan) and Avanti, doubtless the celebrated Avanti-Dakṣiṇāpatha with its capital at Māhiṣmati on the Narmadā, identified with Mandhata in the Nimar District or Maheswar in the former Indore State. This wider sense must have been in the mind of Bhaṭṭasvāmin when he identified Āśmaka with Mahārāṣṭra, i.e. the Marāṭhā country. But the heart of this land appears to have been the northern districts of old Hyderabad including naturally the southernmost region of Berar. The heart of the ancient Āśmaka country thus seems to have corresponded to the dominions of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Mānāṅka therefore claimed victory not only over the Kadambas of Kuntala and the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha, but also over the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty of Āśmaka.

There have been some comments on our views regarding the identification of the Kuntala and Āśmaka countries. An attempt has been made to prove that ‘Kuntala in ancient times did not comprise only the North Kanara District and parts of Mysore, Belgaon and Dharwar Districts as stated by Dr. Sirca but that it extended much further to the north so as to include what we now call the Southern Marāṭhā Country.’ Unfortunately it has not been noticed that practically the same view has been expressed by many other writers including Fleet and ourselves. The fact is that where other scholars would locate, according to evidence, the Kuntala country proper in the heart of the Kanarese area and distinguish between that land and the later empire (often called Kuntala) of the imperial Kuntala or Karṇāṭa (i.e. Kanarese) dynasties, our critic would place Kuntala proper.

in the Marāṭhā country and would not distinguish the essential Kuntala country from the gigantic Kuntala or Kanarese empire of later times. If, in the days of Warren Hastings, the Banaras District formed a part of Bengal, would it justify any one to identify Bengal with Banaras or to locate Bengal in Banaras? The name Vaṅgāla (Bengal) originally indicated a small district in Southern Bengal; it was later used to signify the whole country comprising such ancient lands as Vaṅga, Samataṭa, Suhma, Tāmralipta, Gauḍa and Pundravardhana. Can we locate the ancient Vaṅgāla country in any part of later Vaṅgāla (Bengal)? It will be clear we like?

Most of the questions raised in this connection were already answered in our Successors of the Sātavāhanas referred to above. from the following quotations from that work:

"Cf. a record of A.D. 1077......... : 'In the centre of that middle world is the golden mountain to the south of which is the Bhārata land in which, like the curls of the lady earth, shines the Kuntala country to which an ornament.........is Banavāsi.' Some other inscriptions also prove that Kuntala was the district round Banavāsi."\(^1\)

"Kuntala and Karṇāṭa are used as synonymous in the Vikramaṅkadevacarita by Bilhana.² Vikramādiyā VI has been called both Kuntalendu (or, Kuntalendra) and Karṇāṭendu...... Vaijayantī, identified with Banavāsi, has been described as a tilaka (that is to say, the capital) of the Karṇāṭa country in the Birur grant of Viṣṇuvarman......Karṇāṭa therefore signified the same territory as Kuntala or the country of which Kuntala formed a part...... The separate mention of Kuntala, Karṇāṭa.

1. The tradition about Banavāsi having been the capital of the Kuntala country was remembered even after the foundation of the Kuntala-Karṇāṭa (Kanarese) empire. For a tenth century record mentioning the Kuntala king residing at Vaṅgaṇa, indicating the city as well as 'exile', see Ep. Ind., Vol. XXII, p.192. It has to be remembered that, in the age in question, the capital of the said empire was at Mālkhej in the old Hyderabad State.

2. Note that the Cālukyas of Badami (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, p.88, etc.) and Kalyāṇa (ibid., Vol. V, p.16, etc.) were regarded as kings of Kuntala, while the Cālukya army was called the Karṇāṭaka bala (Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 112, etc.). In Cola records like the Kanyākumāri inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XVIII, p.27; vv. 69, 76), the Cālukya enemies of Rājendra I are mentioned as lords of the Kuntalas, while the inscriptions of Viṇaṇṭendra mention them as kings of the Karṇāṭa family.
Banavâsi, Mâhiśaka (cf. Mahiśa-vaśaya in a Kadamba grant), etc., in some of the traditional lists may possibly refer to the fact that these names originally signified separate geographical units abutting on one another. Sometimes however one of them may have formed the part of another; cf. the case of Tamralipta which is mentioned in literature as an independent state, as a part of Suhma and also as a part of Vaṅga; also the case of Taxila (Raychaudhuri, Stud. Ind. Ant., pp. 186 f.). With the rise of Kanarese powers like the Câlukyas and the Râśtrakûtas, the name Kârṇâta (sometimes also the name Kuntala) extended over a large part of the Western and Southern Deccan. In the Kaliṅgattu-paraṇi, the Câlukyas have been described as the Kuntalar, 'lords of Kuntala' (literally, 'the Kuntalas,' indicating their Kanarese origin). An inscription of Harihara II dated in Śaka 1307 says that Vijayanagara (modern Hampi in the Bellary District) belonged to the Kuntala vīyāya of the Kârṇâta country."

Only a few words are required now to be added to the above. As Vidarbha and Vatsagulma are separately mentioned in the Kâmasûtra, our critic thinks that the former included the latter and that they are separately mentioned according to the Mâthara-Kauṇḍinya nyāya. It will be clear from the extracts quoted from our book that we would partially apply the same nyāya to explain the separate mention of Vanavâsî and Kuntala in the Mahâbhârata and the Vâyu Purâṇa on which the critic takes his stand. The Dâsakumârâcarita and the Kâvyamîmâṁsâ were composed in an age when the name Kuntala was often applied to the Kanarese empire of the Câlukyas and their successors, which usually included the Kuntala country proper. The separate mention of Banavâsî indicating Kuntala proper and Kuntala signifying the Kanarese empire in these works has nothing to do with the critic's location of the Kuntala country proper in the South Marâṭhâ country.

The critic suggests that the root śās or prasadās means governing when the object is a territory and chastising when the object

1. See Sue. Śat., p. 216, note 1.
is a living being and that, in the passage śrīmat-Kuntalānām praśāsitā, the word praśāsitā means a ruler because the object of praśas in this case is not a living being but the Kuntala country. Unfortunately, he does not notice that even if the distinction in the meaning of the verb is conceded, there is absolutely no reason why Kuntala (like Surāṣṭra in verse 11 of the Junagadh inscription of Skandagupta) should be taken in the sense of the Kuntala country (an inanimate object) and not in that of the Kuntala people. There can certainly be no objection if śrīmat-Kuntalānām praśāsitā is translated as 'the chastiser of the illustrious Kuntala people'.

We do not subscribe to the critic's identification of the Rṣika country with Khandesh. Sylvain Lévi rightly regards Rṣika as the southernmost country in Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi's empire, to the south of Aśmaka. According to the reading of the Hathigumpha inscription preferred by Barua and ourselves, the city of Rṣikanagara (capital of the Rṣika country) was situated on the Krṣṇa-benā (Krṣṇā). As regards the critic's identification of Aśmaka with the Ahmadabad and Bhir Districts, it is really impossible for us to understand why the Nander-Nizamabad region lying immediately to the east of that area could not be included. We consider Raychaudhuri's identification of Paudanya, the Aśmaka capital, with Bodhan in the Nizamabad District as exceptionally satisfactory and suggest that even the Ahmadabad-Bhir area or parts of it may have been included in the Aśmaka country and in the dominions of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma. Nothing more can be said in the present state of our knowledge. As however the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma are known to have ruled over the northern part of the old Hyderabad State, which is the ancient Aśmaka country proper according to many writers including Raychaudhuri and ourselves, they may have been regarded as the lords of Aśmaka. As regards the inclusion of Vatsagulma in Vidarbha, suggested by writers like Rājaśekhara (about the beginning of the tenth century), we may draw the critic's attention

to what has been said about Tāmrālipta and Takṣaśilā in the extracts quoted from our book. Vastsagulma, like those localities, appears to have been sometimes a separate state, sometimes a part of Aśmaka and sometimes a part of Vidarbha. It is well-known that Mūlaka or the land round Paiṭhan in the Aurangabad District was sometimes a separate country but was often regarded as a part of Aśmaka.

D

The country round the city of Mānapura, founded by Mānān-ka, appears to have been known in the early medieval period as Māna-desā which included modern Velāpur about eleven kos to the west of Pandharpur (possibly the same as Pāṇḍuraṅgapalli mentioned in the record of Mānānka's grandson Avidheya) in the Sholapur District of the South Marāṭhā country. Cf. Māṇadeśa-saṁbaddha-Velāpura,Māṇadeśa-saṁbaddha-sarvādhiκārī Brahmadeva-rāpā, etc., in the three Velāpur inscriptions (1300 and 1305 A.D.) of the Yādava king Rāmacandra of Devagiri in G. H. Khare’s Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan, Vol. I, pp. 78-80; Vol. II, p. 9. In that case, the dominions of the Rāṣṭra-kūṭas of Mānapura comprised parts of the Ratanagiri, Satara and Sholapur Districts of Bombay.

The name of this land reminds us of the well-known District of Mānbhum (i.e. Mānabhūmi) in the south-western border of Bihar. As we have elsewhere suggested, the Mānas who gave their name to this area probably ruled over a big kingdom covering parts of the Manbhum and Singhbhum Districts of Bihar and of the Mayurbhanj District of Orissa and having its headquarters at Khijjiṅga (moder Khiching) in the northern part of the Mayurbhanj District.

1. See above, pp. 143-45.
IX

GURJARA¹ AND KUṢA-DVĪPA

A

Furdoonjee D. J. Paruck refers to a drachm which he originally attributed² to the Sasanian emperor Hormazd II (303-10 A.D.), but was later inclined, after further study, to assign to Hormazd I (272-73 A.D.).³ In the legend of the coin in question, Paruck reads the names of three territories forming parts of the Sasanian empire as Inde, Iradate and Harezi, which he identifies respectively with Sindh, Mūltān and Rājputānā. Whatever, however, be the value of the reading and interpretation of the words Inde and Iradate, there is absolutely no doubt that the suggestion regarding the third name is wrong.

Paruck says, “The reading of the word in the second line on the upper part of the reverse remained for a long time completely illusive; but now I am able to propose the reading HREZI. According to all the early Arab geographers, the old name of Rājputānā was Haraz. It is probable that the original form of this name was Harez, as on this drachm.”⁴ He refers to Cunningham’s Ancient Geography of India, Calcutta, 1924, p. 358, and quotes the following passage in support of the identification of Harez and Rājaputānā: “The name of the country is somewhat doubtful as the unpointed Arabic characters may be read as Haraz or Hazar and Kharaz or Khazar as well as Jurz or Juzr. But fortunately there is no uncertainty about its position which is determined to be Rājputānā by several concurring circumstances,.........”

It is a matter of regret, however, that Cunningham’s views have not been quoted faithfully and completely. For, immediately

¹. In South Indian inscriptions, the name is generally spelt Gûjara.
before the above passage, he says, "All the early Arab geographers speak of a kingdom named Jurz or Juwr which from its position would appear to be the same as the Kiu-che-lo of Hwen Thsang." Cunningham further says, "Edrisi, quoting Ibn Khordádbeh, states that Juwr or Huzr was the hereditary title of the king as well as the name of the country. This statement confirms my identification of Juwr with Guzr or Gujar, which is a very numerous tribe whose name is attached to many important places in North-West India and the Punjab and more especially to the great peninsula of Gujarāt."

It will be seen that, according to Cunningham, the ancient name of Rājaputānā was Gujar or Gurjara (Gūrjara) and not Harez as stated by Paruck. It is a matter of satisfaction that the suggestion of the great Indologist, made on insufficient data as early as 1871 A.D., has later been proved definitely by unquestionable epigraphic evidence. The editor of the Calcutta edition of Cunningham's work, consulted by Paruck, remarks, "The inscriptions of the 9th century also applied the name Gurjara rāṣṭra to the country north of Ajmer and the Sambhar Lake. Its capital Pi-lo-mo-lo is modern Bhimāl, 25° N. and 76° 16' E., a town in the Jaswantpur District of Jodhpur. Bhimāl or Bhīllamāla, the plateau of the Bhils, was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratiharas who transferred their headquarters to Kanauj." The statement, although it confuses the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire with the Gurjara country and is not strictly accurate, is sufficient to disprove Paruck's contention.

That Hiuen-tsang's Kiu-che-lo and its capital Pi-lo-mo-lo stand respectively for Gurjara and Bhīllamāla is supported by the Daulatpura inscription of 849 A.D., according to which the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor Vatsarāja (circa 775-815 A.D.) granted the village of Śivā in the Deṇḍavānaka viṣaya (modern Didwana in the former Jodhpur State, Rajasthan) of the Gurjaratrā bhūmi. In the days of the early Arab travellers, therefore,
the name of the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan was Gurjaratrā or Gujarāt, a name derived from that of the Gurjara people. That, however, this country included the former Alwar and Bharatpur States in Eastern Rajasthan is suggested by the celebrated Arab writer Al-Bīrūnī who composed his work on India about 1030 A.D. Al-Bīrūnī refers to ‘Bazānā, the capital of Guzarāt’ and places it 25 farsakh (about 92 miles) to the north of the kingdom of Mewār (capital Jattaraur, i.e. Chitrakūṭa or Chitor) and 15 farsakh (about 55 miles) from Rājaurī lying on the route towards the south-west from Kanoj.¹ Rājaurī (i.e. Rājya-purī) is no doubt identical with Rājyapura (modern Rājor-gaḍ in the former Alwar State of Rajasthan) which was the capital of Mahārājādhirāj Mathanadeva of the Gurjara-Pratihāra lineage according to an inscription of 960 A.D.² Al-Bīrūnī further says, "The distance between Mathurā and Kanoj is the same as that between Kanoj and Bazānā, viz. 28 farsakh (about 103 miles)."³ The above indications show almost beyond doubt that Bazānā is no other than the modern Bayānā in the former Bharatpur State of Rajasthan. It may be pointed out that Bazānā seems to have ceased to be the capital of Gujarāt in the days of Al-Bīrūnī, as he says, "This town is called Nārāyan by our people. After it had fallen into decay the inhabitants migrated to another place called Jadūra."⁴ The name Nārāyaṇa was apparently derived from a celebrated temple of that god at Bayānā. As regards Jadūra, Sachau says, "This reading is uncertain. Perhaps all the signs of the Arabic text are the name of a place."⁵ It, however, seems that the reading intended is Rājaurī, i.e. Rājyapuri or Rājyapura which is the same as the modern Rājor. It may further be pointed out that Al-Bīrūnī’s Canon Masudicus gives the latitudes and longitudes of both Bazānā (or Nārāyan) and Bhillamāla, longitudes being reckoned from the coast of the Atlantic and Bagdad.

⁴ Ibid., loc. cit.
being located at $70^\circ$.\textsuperscript{1} As, however, the longitude recorded for Bazāna is palpably wrong, it hardly helps us in locating the city.

The above discussion will show that Harez was never the name of Rājputānā. According to the combined testimony of inscriptions and of Huien-tsang (7th century) and Al-Bīrūnī (11th century), the capital of Gurjaratrā or the Gurjara country in Rājputānā was at first at Bhīnmāl in the former Jodhpur State, next it was at Bayānā in the former Bharatpur State, and afterwards at Rājorgaḍh in the former Alwar State. The Arab geographers, therefore, speak of Gurjara and not of Harez.

B

One of the dvīpas (literally, ‘an island’ or ‘a land lying between two rivers’) constituting the Puranic saptā-dvīpā Vasumatī (i.e. the earth consisting of seven dvīpas) is called by the name Śaka-dvīpa or Śāka-dvīpa.\textsuperscript{2} This land is generally identified with the country inhabited by the Śaka people, which was called Scythia by the Greeks, the Greek name for the people being ‘Scythian’. Three different settlements of the Śakas are mentioned in the old Persian inscriptions, one of which lay in the plains of the rivers Jaxartes or Sury Darya and Oxus or Amu Darya in Central Asia and these Śakas are believed by some scholars to have settled later in the valley of the Helmund in the eastern part of Iran.\textsuperscript{3} Both these old and new homelands of the Śaka people were called Scythia, while East Iran is known to have been called Sakastān (modern Seistān, medieval Sijistān) by the Persians and Śaka-dvīpa or Śāka-dvīpa by the Indians. But Śaka-dvīpa or Śāka-dvīpa in the original Puranic conception of the saptā-dvīpā Vasumatī may have indicated the Śaka

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid., p. 319.

\textsuperscript{2} Cf. Agni Purāṇa, Chapter 108, verses 1-3:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{जैझुष्काल्यांपूर्व:} द्वीपो शाल्मलिस्चापरो महान्।
  \item \textit{कुशा:} कोशस्या शाकः पुष्करक्षेति सप्तम:।
  \item \textit{एते} द्वीप: समुद्रस्तु सध सप्तभिरामति:।
  \item \textit{लबन्धुकुशुरासङ्गीविष्विणुधिङ्ङले:} समब्।
\end{itemize}

The conception of the \textit{saptā-dvīpā} Vasumatī occurs in \textit{Patañjali}'s \textit{Mahābhārata}.

\textsuperscript{3} See The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 120; Dey, Geographical Dictionary, s.v.
settlement in the Oxus and Jaxartes valleys in Central Asia. There is another name in the list of the seven dvīpas, viz. Kuśa-dvīpa, which also seems to be mentioned in the old Persian inscriptions.

The name of a country called Kush and a people called Kushiya (i.e. the people of Kush) are found in several old Persian inscriptions. The Hamadan inscription of Darius (c. 522-486 B.C.), for instance, gives the following boundaries of the empire of that great monarch: ‘from the Scythians that are beyond Sogdiana (i.e. the Bukhara region between the Oxus and the Jaxartes) — from there—as far as Kush, from Hindu (i.e. Sindhu or India meaning the land on the river Indus) —therefrom—as far as Sparda (i.e. Sardis in Asia Minor).’ Some scholars identify Kush with Ethiopia while others place it in Central Egypt. As Mudrāya (i.e. Egypt) and Kush are both mentioned in the list of satrapies of the ancient Persian emperors, the identification of Kush with Ethiopia seems to be more reasonable. There is no doubt that the country called Kush was situated somewhere in North-Eastern Africa beyond Mudrāya or Egypt. It is possible to connect this country with Kuśa-dvīpa which is, like Śaka-dvīpa or Śaka-dvīpa, one of the seven dvīpas constituting the Puranic sapta-dvīpā Vasumatī.
SAKNĀT-SANKĀT-SANKNĀT

There is a confusion regarding the identification of the geographical name variously given as Saknāt, Sankāt and Sanknāt in the manuscripts of the Tabaqāt-i-Nāşirī by Minhājuddin of Sirāj in his account of Muḥammad Bakhtyār’s conquest of Nūdīa (Nava-dvīpa, i.e. Nadiā on the Bhāgirathī in South-West Bengal) in the dominions of the Sena king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal. The text of Minhājuddin’s work was published in Calcutta in 1864 and was translated by Raverty in 1881. A translation of parts of the Tabaqāt-i-Nāşirī was also incorporated in Elliot’s and Dowson’s History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. II, pp. 259 ff.

Minhājuddin says that, on the eve of Bakhtyār’s invasion, many people of Nūdīa ‘went away to the country of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt, and to the cities of Bang and Kāmrūp; but Rāi Lakhmanā did not like to leave his territory’. In Raverty’s translation, the passage in question runs as follows: ‘Most of the Brāhmaṇas and inhabitants of that place retired into the province of Sankanāt-Saknāt, the cities and towns of Bang, and towards Kāmrūd; but to begin to abandon his country was not agreeable to Lakhmanā.’ On the fall of Nūdīa, ‘Rāi Lakhmanā went towards Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt and Bang, where he died. His sons are to this day rulers of the territory of Bang.’ In Raverty’s translation we have, ‘Lakhmanā got away towards Sankanāt-Saknāt and Bang, and there the period of his reign shortly came to a termination. His descendants up to this time are rulers in the country of Bang.’

Stewart in his History of Bengal took Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt to be identical with Jagannāth (Jagannātha-pūrī), i.e. modern

1. Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 308.
3. Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 309.
Puri in Orissa, and Dowson drew the attention of scholars to this view. But Minhâjuddin makes it clear that Saknât-Sankât-Sankât was the name of a country or province and not a city like Puri and that it was adjacent to Bang (Vaṅga having in this age its headquarters at Vikramapura in the Dacca District of East Bengal) or at least lay in the direction of Bang from the Nadiā side. It appears moreover that, with the loss of the Nadiā-Lakhnauti (Gaur) region, i.e. the western part of the Sena kingdom, Lakṣmaṇasena took shelter in the eastern part of his dominions. It is impossible to infer from Minhâjuddin’s evidence that the Sena king left his dominions and took shelter at the court of the contemporary Gaṅga king of Orissa, who was one of his enemies.

Commenting on the passages quoted from Elliot’s and Dowson’s work in his Studies in Indo-Muslim History, Hodivala says, "Dowson notes that Sanknât is also written Sankât and Saknât and he asks if it is not Jagannâth. But Minhâj states a few lines lower down that Lakhmania himself fled to Sanknât and Bang and that ‘his sons are to this day rulers in the territory of Bang’. Now Vaṅga or Baṅga is the specific name of Eastern Bengal and we possess epigraphic evidence of Lakṣmaṇasena’s descendants having ruled for at least three generations (sic.) at Vikrampur near Sonârgāon in Dacca. Sanknât may be a mistake for Sonârgâon or Songâon. A still nearer phonetic approach (sic.) would be Satgâon (sic. Sātgâon) and it is possible that Minhâj who knew little or nothing of Bengal geography has confused the two names. Hooghly district in which Satgâon (sic.) lay was under Hindu rule for long after the Muhammadan conquest of Lakhnautī."

Unfortunately these suggestions about the location of Saknât-Sankât-Sanknât of the Tabaqât-i-Nâṣirî are equally untenable, although Hodivala is right in his criticism of the Jagannâth theory. Minhâjuddin stayed at Lakhnauti for over two years in 1242-45 A.D. and could hardly have been as ignorant of the geography of Bengal as Hodivala takes him to

2. Cf. Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 260.
have been. Sonārgāon was not a country and, since it was a city in Bang, it is certainly absurd to speak of one’s flight towards Sonārgāon and Bang. The arguments against the identification of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt with Jagannāth or Puri, offered by Hodivala himself, are equally applicable against its identification with Sātgāon which lay to the south of Nadiā unlike the Vikramapura region lying to its east.

The History of Bengal, recently published by the Dacca University, offers conflicting suggestions regarding the identification of Minhājuddin’s Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt. In Volume I of this work, R.C. Majumdar refers to Saṅkāṭa-grāma, mentioned in Sandhyākaranandin’s Rāmacarita as the territory of one of Rāmapāla’s feudatories named Čaṇḍārjuna, and observes, “Ain-i-Akbarī refers to pargana Sakot in Sarkār Sātgāon. The name Sakot resembles Saṅkāṭa...........Saṅkāṭa-grāma is probably the same as Saṅka-koṭa referred to in Vallaḷacarita and Sankanāt referred to in Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī.” [It will be seen that the identification of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt with a locality near Sātgāon is as untenable as its location at Sātgāon itself.

In Volume II of the above work, K. R. Qanungo says, “The region to which Rāi Lakhmania fled from Nadiā is named in the T.N. as Bang wa S-n-k-nāṭ. Bang means East Bengal and the second place-name is a copyist’s error for Sil-hāṭ, i.e. Sylhet. The invariable practice of Persian writers is to designate a district by joining together two well-known places in it, which might be even 50 miles apart; e.g. Sultanpur-Nandurbar, Vani-Dindori, Trimbak-Nasik, Dholpur-Bari, Kora-Jahanabad, Kara-Manikpur.” Of all the identifications of Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt of the Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī proposed by scholars and discussed above, Qanungo’s suggestion appears to be the least objectionable, as Sylhet may be regarded as a district adjacent to Bang. But the statement that Bang and Saknāt-Sankāt-Sanknāt have been mentioned jointly to indicate a district like Sultanpur-Nandurbar is clearly wrong. The passage to the country of Saṅnāt-Sankāt-

---

Sanknāt and to the cities of Bang and Kāmrūp' quoted above from Elliot's and Dowson's translation of the Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī shows beyond doubt that Saknāt-Sanknāt-Sanknāt did not form an integral part of Bang. The other passage quoted from the same work, however, suggests that this territory lay adjacent to Bang, and the Sylhet District no doubt suits this position. As regards the possibility of scribal errors in the transliteration of Sil-hāṭ (actually Silhaṭ from Śrīhaṭṭa or Śrīhaṭa) as Saknāt, Sanknāt or Sanknāt in the Perso-Arabic script, we may cite many other instances of the type.¹

It should, however, be pointed out that Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet as the name of an important territory is not usually found in early records, while the district round Sylhet is mentioned in the Chittagong plate (about the ninth century A.D.) of King Kāntideva as the Harikela (sometimes called Harikelī or Harikelā) maṇḍala (province). Moreover, both Bang and Saknāt-Sanknāt-Sanknāt appear to have formed a part of the dominions of Lakṣmaṇasena while there is hardly any evidence in favour of the inclusion of Sylhet in the Sena kingdom. Viewed from this angle, the identification of Saknāt-Sanknāt-Sanknāt with Sylhet does not appear to be entirely beyond doubt. On the other hand, there was another territory near Bang (Vaṅga), which was not only well-known in Indian literature between the fourth and the thirteenth century A.D. but also probably formed a part of Lakṣmaṇasena's kingdom. Its name again may be regarded as the origin of Saknāt-Sanknāt-Sanknāt of the Perso-Arabic script with equal plausibility as Silhaṭ (Sylhet) if not with more justification. This is the country of Samataṭa which was the name of the Tippera-Noakhali region of South-East Bengal as late as the thirteenth century when the Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī was composed. It has to be remembered that Samataṭa as a territory near Vaṅga was considerably more important than Śrīhaṭṭa or Sylhet. The intended reading for Minhājuddīn's Saknāt-Sanknāt-Sanknāt thus appears to have been Samataṭ or Sānataṭ.

¹. Cf. Ray, D.H.N.I., pp. 59ff, 698, etc. Cf. 'Kenesj and futuh, when pelt without diacritical points, assume the same form: a good illustration of the difficulty of reading accurately oriental names—here two words of the same form have not a letter in common' (Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 45).
The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) mentions the Samatāta country while Varāhamihira’s Bṛhatāsthānītā (sixth century A.D.) distinguishes it from Vaṅga. The country is mentioned in the seventh century in the accounts of the celebrated Chinese pilgrims Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing as well as in the Kailān plate of king Śrīdharaṇa of the Rāta dynasty, who is described as the lord of Samatāta. The same country is further mentioned in the Bāghāurā inscription of Mahipāla I (c. 988-1038 A.D.) and in the Mehār plate of Dāmodara. The Mehār plate mentions Samatāta as a maṇḍala or province. The name Samatāta disappeared from Indian geography after the thirteenth century A.D.

King Lakṣmaṇasena ruled from his headquarters at Vikramapura in the Dacca District in Vaṅga at least up to 1205-06 A.D. when Śrīdharadāsa compiled his Sāduktikarṇāmaṇya. King Viśvarūpasena, son and successor of Lakṣmaṇasena, ruled after his father at least for fourteen years as known from the Madanpāḍā plate. The Tabagūt-i-Nāsirī speaks of Sena rule in Bang as late at least as 1242-45 A.D. when Minhājuddin was staying at Lakhnautī. But about this time the erstwhile feudatories of the Senas in the Samatāta or Tippera-Noakhali region asserted their independence. A king named Harikāladeva Raṇavaṅkamalla was ruling over the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā in the Tippera District in 1221 A.D. while another king named Dāmodara is known to have established his suzerainty in the Tippera-Noakhali-Chittagong region and to have been ruling from 1231 A.D. at least up to 1243 A.D. Dāmodara belonged to the Deva family and was preceded on the throne by his father Vāsudeva, grandfather Madhusūdana and great-grandfather Puruṣottama. It seems that the earlier members of this family acknowledged the supremacy of the Senas of Vikramapura. Some of Dāmodara’s

epithets as found in his inscriptions are clearly imitated from those of the Later Senas, used in the copper-plate grants of king Viśvarūpasena. This shows that even if the Senas were continuing their precarious existence at Vikramapura as late as the fifth decade of the thirteenth century (as indicated by the Tabagat-i-Nāsirī), they were no better than subordinate allies of the Deva king. Dāmodara’s son, Daśaratha, issued his charters from Vikramapura which had been previously the capital of the Senas in Vaṅga. This points to the complete overthrow of the Senas. Daśaratha’s title Arirāja-danuja-mādhava suggests that he is identical with Danuj Rāi, Rājā of Sonārgāon (near Vikramapura) close to Dacca, who, according to Ziauddin Barani, entered into an agreement with Sulṭān Ghīyāsuddīn Balban of Delhi about 1281 A.D. that he should guard against the escape of the rebellious Sulṭān Mughisuddīn Tughril Khān of Lakhnautī by water.¹ Thus the Devas of Samatāṭa were the successors of the Senas at Vikramapura in Vaṅga.

Earlier expeditions of the Muslim rulers of Lakhnautī against the country of Bang do not appear to have been successful. But Sulṭān Tughril Khān, who began to rule in 1268 A.D., is doubtfully said to have built a fort at Loricol about 25 miles due south of Dacca and to have invaded the kingdom of Hill Tippera.² In course of his Bengal campaign, Sulṭān Ghīyāsuddīn Balban claimed to have subdued Iqlim-i-Lakhnautī and ‘Arsah-i-Bangāla while he advised his son Nāṣiruddīn Bughra Khān, whom he left as the governor of Muslim Bengal, to exert for the conquest of Diyār-i-Bangāla.³ It is probable that the dominions of Daśaratha or Danuj Rāi of Sonārgāon in Bang were included in this Diyār-i-Bangāla.⁴ When exactly the Deva dynasty

². Ibid., p. 59.
³. Ibid., p. 67.
⁴. About this time, the lower portion of South-West Bengal seems to have formed a part of the dominions of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa. From the twelfth to the sixteenth century, the Bhūgrāthī was claimed to have been the eastern boundary of the kingdom of Orissa. The upper part of that area, called Rāj (Rājha), formed one wing of the Muslim territory of Lakhnautī, its other wing being Barind (Varendra), according to Minhājuddīn.
of Sonārgāon was overthrown by the Muslims is not known. Jalāluddīn, a son of Sultān Shamsuddīn Firūz Shāh (1301-22 A.D.) is known to have issued coins from the Lakhnautī mint ‘from the spoils of Bang’ while a coin of Shamsuddīn Firūz Shāh issued from his mint at Sonārgāon itself bears the date 710 A.H. = 1310-11 A.D.1 Thus the Deva dynasty of Sonārgāon seems to have been extirpated by the Muhammadans shortly after the reign of Daśaratha. A copper-plate grant issued by a ruler named Vīradharadeva in his 15th regnal year has been recently discovered at Maināmatī in the Tippera District of East Pakistan.2 He seems to have been the successor of Daśarathadeva.

XI
GAĞA

Classical writers represent the Nanda and Maurya kings of Magadha primarily as rulers of the peoples known to them as the Gangařidæ and the Prasii. The second of the two names is rightly taken to be the Greek plural form of the Indian word Prācya meaning the inhabitants of the Eastern Division of India. ¹ It is well known that Bhāratavarṣa (India) was traditionally divided into five countries, viz. Prācya or Eastern India, Pāścātya or Western India, Uttarāpatha or North-Western India and the adjoining region of Central Asia, Madhyadeśa or the central part of Northern India, and Dākṣīṇātya or the peninsula of the Deccan. ² The Prācya country or the land of the Prācya people comprised Bihar and Bengal together with the eastern part of the U. P. and the eastern fringe of Orissa. The western limit of this land was the Kālaka-vana (probably near Allahabad) according to the authors of the Sūtra works, ³ Prayāga or

¹. See above, p. 29, note 2.

². Ibid., pp. 21 ff. The Himalayan and Vindhyan regions were sometimes added to these. See above, pp. 33-37 (Sections VI-VII.) Dākṣīṇātya was also called Dākṣīṇāpatha and Pāścātya also Aparānta.

³. Cf. Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra, II, 2, 16:

प्रागवर्तनात्तत्त्वकालकालाविकी विद्धिः
हिमवत्मुदश्च परिवर्तदेशदेशर्तां
लक्षमिन य आचार: स प्रमाणम ।
गंगाकुम्भ योस्तरित्वयोः ।
अध्रू भालाविनी
गाष्ठूपुराहरिति—

पञ्चाबिन्विती सूयस्वत्वयादि पुरं ।
यावक्षणो विचारवित्ता तावदे ब्रह्मवर्तम ।

But according to Saṅkhalīkhitā: प्राक् सिन्धुलीकालाविकी विद्धिः
पञ्चाबिन्विती सूयस्वत्वयादि पुरं
हिमवत्त्वयोः सिन्धुकुम्भवतीन विचारिति
तत्र विनित्वपुराहरिति सूयस्वत्वयादि पुरः।
यावक्षणा विचारवित्ताय तत्र विनित्वपुराहरिति

See Rangaswami Aiyangar, Rājadharma ⁴ p. 60. It should be noticed that what was originally called Āryāvarta was later named Madhyadeśa while in later times Āryāvarta included the whole of Northern India. This is related to the gradual spread of Aryanism.
Allahabad according to the *Manusmṛti* and Vārānasī or Banāras according to the *Kāvyamimāṃsā* composed by Rājaśekhara about the beginning of the tenth century A.D. Prājyotisa or Assam, often regarded by ancient writers as a Himalayan country, formed no part of the dominions of the Nandas and Mauryas of Magadha. In the seventh century A.D., the Chinese pilgrim Huen-tsang noticed *Stūpas* attributed to the Maurya king Aśoka (who is said to have built 84000 *Stūpas* throughout his empire) in all parts of Bengal but not a single one of them anywhere in the dominions of Bhāskaravarman, king of Assam. The country of Kalinga comprising wide areas of Orissa was usually regarded in early times as a land belonging to Dākṣiṇātya or the Southern Division of India.

The people called Gangaridae is usually located in Bengal. They therefore represented one of the various tribal elements constituting the so-called Prācya people. The separate mention of the Gangaridae and the Prasii (who apparently included the Gangaridae) indicates the importance of the former among different elements of the Prācya people under the Nandas and Mauryas (who may have belonged to that tribe) in the fourth and third centuries B.C. The name *Gangaridae* is sometimes taken as a Greek corruption of Sanskrit *Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra, Gaṅgā-rāḍha* or *Gaṅgā-hydaya*. The unsoundness of these suggestions is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the word *Gangaridae* in the plural is derived from the base *Gange* or *Ganges* as Achaemenidae (the Achaemenians) from *Achaemenes* and *Sasanidae* (the Sasanians) from *Sasan*. The name of the people is therefore

1. See II, 22-23:

   आ तथा समुद्राचु वै पूर्वादासमुद्रातु पश्चिमातू।
   तवेदस्त्वल्ल गिर्योरानावतं बिवर्धमः: ॥
   हिमस्वतिः व्यायामद्ये यत्रापूर्वविनयादपि।
   प्रत्येक प्रयागाच्छ मद्यवेशः प्रकृतिति: ॥

2. G.O.S. ed., pp. 93-94: तत्र बाराणसी: प्रत: पूर्वदेशः...माहिमतमः: परतो दक्षिणापथः...देवसमायः परत: पश्चादेशः...पूर्वदक्षिणापथ उत्तरापथः।

3. See above, p. 28, note 2.
4. The letter *r* in the plural form is an augment.
5. See above, pp. 198 ff.
actually Gange or Ganges and not Gangaridae which simply means the Ganges or Gangian people. That the correct form of the name of this people was Ganges is certain since, as will be shown below, it is found in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea as the name of its habitat. The particular area of Bengal that was inhabited by the Gangaridae (Ganges people or Gangians) is indicated not only by the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (circa 80 A.D.) but very definitely also by the Geography of Ptolemy (circa 140 A. D.).

Ptolemy¹ refers to the five estuaries of the river Ganges as (1) the westernmost mouth called Kambyson (144° 30’, 18° 15’), (2) the second mouth called Mega (145° 45’, 18° 30’), (3) the third mouth called Kamberikon (146° 20’, 18° 40’), (4) the fourth mouth called Pseudostomon (147° 40’, 18° 30’), and (5) the fifth mouth called Antebole (148° 30’, 18° 15’). Although owing to the changes in their courses, the identification of these mouths of the Ganges with her present estuaries may not be beyond doubt, Ptolemy’s estimate of the distance between the easternmost and westernmost of them to be four degrees of latitude seems to suggest that the area washed by the estuaries of the Ganges in the second century A.D. was practically the same as it is today, that is to say, the land between the Bhāgirathī or Hooghly river in the west and the Padmā-Meghnā estuary in the east. Elsewhere in his work,² the Greek geographer says, “All the region about the mouths of the Ganges is occupied by the Gangaridae with the following city—Gange, the royal city (i.e. capital of the country)—146°, 19° 15’.” It is clear from the above account that the people called Gangian or Ganges received their name from Gange, the chief city of their country, just as the people of Attika were known as Athenian from the capital city of Athens. In India, names of cities like Puṇḍravardhana, Karṇasuvanra or Īmralipta usually also indicated the districts round them and, moreover, the names of country and its people were almost always the same. Thus, according to Ptolemy, the Ganges people or Gangians inhabited the delta of Southern Bengal watered by

¹. *Geog.*, VII, i, 18.
². VII, i, 81.
the lower spurs of the river Ganges. In the second century A.D., they appear to have been an autonomous people with their capital at the city of Gange which, as its name indicates, was situated on the river Ganges. The latitude and longitude of the city as given by the geographer, although they can hardly be relied on, would suggest its location not far from the confluence of the Ganges and the sea. It is not improbable that the Marounda of Ptolemy¹ whose country abutted on that of the Gangaridae and lay to the east of the Ganges, were the Puṇḍras who had their headquarters at the city of Puṇḍravardhana, modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District.

It is very interesting to note that the Periplus² applies the name Ganges not only to a river but also to a country and its capital both located about the principal mouth of the river. The author, who was a Greek navigator and merchant, says that ‘while sailing towards the east in the Bay of Bengal ‘with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left’ the country called Ganges comes into view: ‘there is a river near it called the Ganges... On its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river, Ganges. Through this place are brought mala-bathrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls, and muslins of the finest sort which are called Gangetic. It is said that there are gold mines near these places and there is a gold coin which is called kallis.’ The reference to the Gangetic muslin no doubt reminds us of the worldwide celebrity of the muslin manufactured at Dacca in the medieval period and also of the dukūla, kauṣika, patrona and pravara, mentioned in the Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata as presents made to Yudhiṣṭhira by the Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Tāmraliptas and Puṇḍras of Eastern India.³ It is also interesting that the city of Ganges, situated on the river of that name (apparently indicating the principal mouth of the Ganges) has been called a market-town; but the fact that the town bore the same name as the country round it shows

1. VII, ii, 14.
2. Para. 63.
that, although it was a market-town in the eyes of a foreign merchant, the city of Ganges was the metropolis of the country called Ganges. It is probable that, soon after the dissolution of the Maurya empire, the Gangian people of Lower Bengal formed a powerful state with their headquarters at the city of Gange or Ganges. As, however, the name of the people was apparently derived from their chief city, the Gangian city seems to have existed as early as the days of the Nandas and Mauryas of Magadha.

But a people called Gaṅgā, Gāṅga or Gāṅgeya inhabiting Lower Bengal and having their capital at a city called Gaṅgā (Greek Gange or Ganges) is not known from ancient Indian literature. This powerful people, known to the foreign writers from the fourth century B.C. down at least to the second century A.D., was apparently known to the Indians by a different name. Curiously enough Kālidāsa, who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., locates, in connection with the mythological dig-vijaya of Raghu, the celebrated Vaṅga people, known from ancient Indian literature, exactly in the same region where the Ganga or Gangian people are placed by the Classical writers. In Canto IV of Kālidāsa’s Rāghuvaṁśa, Raghu is said to have reached the shores of the Bay of Bengal (verse 34) and to have accepted the submission of the Suhmas (verse 35) and subdued the Vaṅgas (verses 36-37). The Suhma country, later called Rādha, lay on both banks of the Ajay river in the modern Burdwan region in South-West Bengal. The Rāghuvaṁśa further says that, after having conquered the Vaṅgas, the Ikṣvāku hero crossed the Kapiśā (the modern Kaśāi river in the Midnapur District, identified by Raychaudhuri with Ptolemy's Kambyson, the westernmost mouth of the Ganges) and, through the country of the Utkalas (inhabiting parts of the Midnapur and Balasore Districts), reached Kaliṅga in the Cuttack-Puri-Ganjam region (verse 38). It seems that the Kaśāi river in the Midnapur District was once regarded as the demarcating line between the Vaṅga and Utkala countries and that the Vaṅgas occupied the delta of Lower Bengal as far as the Kaśāi in the west.
This is possibly supported by Ptolemy’s Geography (if Raychaudhuri’s identification of Kambyson is accepted) and certainly by the Jain Prajñāpanā which speaks of Tāmralipti or Tāmralipta (modern Tamluk in the Midnapur District) as a locality belonging to the land of the Vaṅgas. But far more important in determining the home of the Vaṅga people is verse 36 of Kālidāsa’s text describing Raghu’s victory over the Vaṅgas:

बंगानुल्लाय तरसा नेता नौसापनोखतान्।
निर्वचनः जयस्तम्भानु गांगात्रोतोतरेय सः॥

The mouths of the Ganges, referred to as Gaṅgā-srotas, were near about the Bay of Bengal mentioned earlier in verse 34. The passage Gaṅgā-srototntareṣu reminds us of stan-āntare (i.e. in the space between the breasts) in the passage na mṛgāla-sūtram racitam stan-āntare. Millinaṭha rightly explains Gaṅgā-srototntareṣu as Gaṅgāyāḥ srotasāṁ pravahāpām=antarēṣu dōpeṣu. The verse therefore means to say that, after having totally routed the Vaṅga people who were fighting from their boats, Raghu established columns of victory in the land intersected by the mouths of the Ganges, which was apparently the country inhabited by that people. This shows beyond doubt that, in the age of Kālidāsa (i.e. the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.), the Vaṅgas inhabited the deltaic region of Southern Bengal and that they were no other than the Gangaridae or Gangians who, according to the Classical writers of the first and second centuries A.D., lived in the region about the mouths of the Ganges and had their chief city near about the confluence of the Ganges and the sea.

The location of the city of Gaṅgā, capital of the Gangians or Vaṅgas, in the vicinity of the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Sāgara (sea) suggests that it was no other than the celebrated holy city of Gaṅgāśāgara or Gaṅgāśāgarasāṅgama mentioned in Indian literature. As a personal name like Satyabhāma is known to have been abbreviated into both Satyā and Bhāma, a locality like Puruṣottamapurī could be and has actually been

2. These points have also been discussed above, pp. 139-40.
celebrated both as Puruṣottama and as Puri. The city of Gaṅgāsāgara likewise seems to have been known both as Gaṅgā (at least to foreigners of the early period) and as Sāgara (still preserved in the name of the Sāgar or Gaṅgāsāgar Island).

The ancient city of Gaṅgāsāgara at the eastern extremity of the Cakravartī-kṣetra and of Bhāratavarṣa, Kumāridvīpa and Āryāvarta became one of the famous all-India tīrthas at least before the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D., if not in much earlier times. The popularity of pilgrimage to holy places is noticed in the records of Asoka (circa 269-232 B.C.) who visited several Buddhist tīrthas including Sambodhi (Mahābodhi or Bodhigayā, modern Bodhgaya) and of the Hinduised Śaka king Rṣabhadatta (119-23 A.D.) who visited Puṣkara in Rājputānā and made arrangements in various tīrthas in Western India for the benefit of the pilgrims. The Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra (circa 5th century B.C.) discouraged travels in the lands of the Āraṭṭas, Kāraskaras, Puṅḍras, Sauvīras, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Prāṇūnas, as it prescribed purification of the travellers by the performance of the Punastoma or the Sarvapṛṣṭhā. But later authorities allowed travels in the Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Surāśṭra and Magadha countries if they were undertaken for the purpose of pilgrimage. The Tirthayātra section of the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata, composed earlier than the Gupta

1. Since pilgrimage to holy places is a non-Aryan institution later adopted by the Aryans, the antiquity of Gaṅgāsāgara may be pre-Aryan.
4. II, 2, 16:

अवन्त्योः पुराणायः सुराष्ट्रा दलिताण्यस्य: ||
उपवृत्तिः चुसोवृत्ती एवे संकीर्णायोपयोः ||
आरुत्ताकारस्य राजस्वसन्त: तस्य मार्गमाधिमान्यानान्यानातीति च गत्वा पुनस्सोमेन
यज्ञे सर्वपूर्वयास्य बा । अवाप्युपप्रहण्तिः—
पद्धतया स कुश्ते पापे: कलिंगार्पयथे ।
अध्ययो निष्कृतिः तत्स्य प्राहवश्वानारं हुविः ||

5. Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. 74:

ओषधाकलिमेव सौराष्ट्रमागेश्वु च ||
लीलियाणां सिमा गच्छन्ति पुनःसंस्कारसहः ||

age, refers to Gaṅgāsāgara as a very great tīrtha.\(^1\) The Śabdakalpadruma quotes the following verses from the Kūrma Purāṇa, one of the older Purāṇas known to Al-Bīrūnī:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{गंगायां ज्ञातो मृत्या मुक्तिमानोति मानवः} & : \\
\text{अश्वनादू ब्रह्माण्डोके च याति मास्त्यां संस्कारः} & :: \\
\text{गंगायां च जले मोक्षो वाराणस्वाम जले स्वये} & : \\
\text{अन्तरिलेच गंगायां गंगासागरसंगमे} & ::
\end{align*}
\]

It is said that a person dying in the waters of any part of the Ganges gets salvation; at Banāras salvation reaches him even if he dies on the banks of the river; but at Gaṅgāsāgara salvation is guaranteed whether one dies in the waters or on the land or in the air. The Viṣṇusamhitā, a post-Gupta work in its present form, recognises the importance of this tīrtha in regard to the performance of funerary rites.\(^2\) That Gaṅgāsāgara was well known in North-Western India in the eleventh century A.D. is suggested by the reference in Al-Bīrūnī’s work on India (circa 1030 A.D.) to this city ‘where the Ganges flows into the sea’.\(^3\)

Due to several factors, the chief amongst them being the change of the main course of the Gaṅgā through the Padmā as well as the impotence of the descendants of the valiant Vāṅgas of old as guardians of the sacred place, the all-India importance of the Gaṅgāsāgara tīrtha gradually waned and its enviable position as the greatest tīrtha in Eastern India was unlimately usurped by the medieval Purī tīrtha in Orissa. As a local tīrtha, however, it preserved its popularity in Eastern India throughout the medieval period in spite of the depredations of

1. III, 85, 4-5 :

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{गंगायास्तब्र राजयेन्द्र सागयस्य च संगमे} & : \\
\text{अश्वमेच दशगुण प्रवदित मनीषिन:} & :: \\
\text{गंगायास्तवृपर पारं प्राप्य यस्मात मानवः} & : \\
\text{विराजस्यपलो राजनू सर्वसंपत् स्मुष्यते} & ::
\end{align*}
\]

2. Chapter 85, 28 :

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{गंगाहरे प्रवासी च गंगासागरसंगमे} & : \\
\text{सतरं नैमिथारणये वाराणसस्य विशेषत:} & ::
\end{align*}
\]

Magh and Portuguese pirates in Lower Bengal. The practice of dedicating children to the goddess Gaṅgā in the waters of the confluence at Gaṅgāsāgara prevalent in that age in South-West Bengal and the neighbourhood is well known to all students of Indian history. Medieval Bengali literature refers to the belief that a person offering to die in the waters of Gaṅgāsāgara with a solemn desire is sure to get it fulfilled in his next life. Caṇḍidāsa’s Śrīkṛṣṇakirtana (14th or 15th century) has the passage:

```
सागरसंगम पिया ग येँक माता कारिया
आपना मंगर मोज दिया।
सागरसंगमजले श्यलिब मो कलेबरे
... ...
```

In the sixteenth century Jayānanda, a poet of the Burdwan region, wrote in his Caitanyamaṅgala:

आर रमणी बलें गंगासागरे मरिब

In the same century, Kavikahkṣa Mukundarāma put the following words in the mouth of Śrīmanta, one of the heroes of his Caṇḍimāṅgala:

```
खण्डिया विभर याम्य सागरे कारिब काम्य
पूजा कारि सब्जुतमाषव।
मुष्टिया संसारसुख देशिब बापेर मुख
पुनरुपि हृदया मानव॥
```

Śrīmanta is also represented as saying:

यदि वे चितार सड़ने नहे दर्शन।
कामना करिया मोर सागरे मरण॥

Elsewhere in the same work, one of the jealous ladies, who were comparing their own husbands unfavourably with Gāuri’s bridegroom (Śiva), is found saying:

आर युवती बलें आयि मन्दार या।
कामना करिया गिया सागरे मरिब॥

A number of medieval Sanskrit works such as the Gaṅgā-वाक्यवृद्धि, attributed to the Maithila writer Vidyāpati (circa

1. Vide C. C. Banerji, Caṇḍimahayabodhi, pp. 822, 857 Sāgara has been used to mean Gaṅgāsāgara.
1375-1450), and the Tirthacintāmaṇi of Maithila Vācaspatimīśra (circa 1425-80), which is divided into five Prakāśas, viz. Prayāga, Puruṣottama (Puri), Gaṅga, Gayā and Vārāņasī and deals with topics like the purpose of pilgrimage, its preliminaries, rites to be performed at the tirthas, subsidiary holy places at the principal tirthas, etc., make prominent mention of the Gaṅgāsāgara tirtha. The most valuable information about the religious and monastic establishment at Gaṅgāsāgara, one of the greatest and oldest Indian tirtha, is however found in the Tirthasāra composed by the Bengali writer Bhavadeva Nyāyālaṅkāra in Śaka 1651 (1729 A.D.). This work shows that, as late as the first half of the eighteenth century, considerable parts of the old city existed and that people flocked to the tirtha with a desire to touch the feet of Pitāhamaha (Brahman), to have a bath in the waters of the Mandākini (Gaṅga on her way to Pātāla) and to worship the images of Mādhava (Viṣṇu) named after an ancient local king of that name, Amaraśaṅkara (Śiva), Kapila (founder of the Saṅkhya system of Indian philosophy, mythologically represented as a sage indirectly responsible for the digging up of the beds of the oceans by the sons of Sagara as well as for the descent of the Gaṅga on the earth and regarded as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu), Skanda-Kārttikeya and Hari (Viṣṇu).¹

The city of Gaṅgāsāgara seems to have been often encroached upon by the sea and affected by the occasional changes in the surface of the land caused by the silting up of one or other of the

¹ Cf. I.H.Q., Vol. XXII, p. 128: माधवनामा नृप आशीतस्य देवस्य। तेन स्पर्शितो माधवनामा विष्णुस्तत्तत्त्वितम | तत्तथविष्णुनिहरुत तीर्थस्य परिष्य: क्रु:।

...तन कपिलनाममूलप्रितिमात्रिति।... तन मन्दाकिनी पातालम्य गंगा तिष्ठति।

... कांतिकेशप्रितितम का धातिति।... हरिप्रतिमा तिष्ठति।...

शंकर: कपिलशैव स्वेतदुर्गपतितस्य।

हीपे साधारण: स्कन्द: पंचमवं महोदयः।

इति स्कारदे। शंकर: अमरशंकर:। स्वेतदुर्गपतिमिव:।

कपिलस्य मुखं दुर्गस्य स्पृष्टवा पैतामहं पदम्।

तराङ्गोदकं पीवा पुनर्ज्वलं न विशते।
mouths of the Ganges and by the creation of new mouths. The same reason seems to have been at the root of the rise, in different ages in the neighbourhood, of such market-town towns as the ancient Tāmralipta, the medieval Saptagrāma and Hooghly and the modern Calcutta. But some of the old temples and images at Gaṅgāsāgara survived as late as 1842 A.D. when the remaining part of the ancient city was finally and completely washed away by the waves of the sea.\(^1\) Just a year before the remnants of the last temple were swallowed up, a very interesting account of the ‘Mela at Ganga Saugor’ appeared in the *Friend of India*, Vol. VII, 1841, p. 70: "...a mere sandbank, about a mile in length and about a quarter mile broad, of a crescent form with the wide sea opening in front and the back covered by a dense jungle. At one corner stands the solitary temple of the celebrated Sanyasi Cupil Mani (Kapilamuni)....The temple is the last remnant of what has evidently been a large monastic institution for devotees, the ruins of which may be walked over at low water. These ruins show that the buildings must have been very extensive as well as massy..." The Kapila temple is said to have been ‘built of Concha stone brought from Orissa’ and was in a precarious condition ‘soon to moulder away’. It was inhabited by a number of mendicants, some of whom owed allegiance to a pontiff of distant Jaipur in Rajasthan. There were two stone images in the temple, one of Kapilamuni and the other of ‘Mahdeb’ (either Mādhava, i.e. Viṣṇu, or probably Mahādeva, i.e. Śiva). The correspondent of the *Friend of India* noticed an inscription in the temple, about the letters of which he remarks, "...yet are they like neither to things in heaven above or in the earth beneath, nor could the Sanyasis themselves decipher the hieroglyphics." The epigraph was supposed to contain a date which was believed to correspond to 430 or 437 A.D.\(^2\) The above shows

\(^1\) *J.A.S.B.*, 1850, p. 338; *I.H.Q.*, loc. cit.

\(^2\) *J.A.S.B.*, loc. cit.; *I.H.Q.* op. cit., p. 129. Yule and Burnell, in the *Hibson-Johnson*, s.v. Saugor, *Saugor, Saugor Island*, observe, ‘It is said once to have been populous, but in 1668 (the date is clearly wrong) to have been swept by a cyclone-wave. It is now a dense jungle haunted by tigers.’ Amongst the quotations in this work from earlier European authors, Hedges speaks of his visit in 1683 to the 'Pagodas at Saugor'. He further says, ‘James Price assured
clearly that the sea washed away the most important sacred place in Eastern India, associated with the names of an ancient Vaṅga king called Mādhava and the sage Kapila, just as Dvārakā, a West Indian tīrtha of all-India reputation, had been swallowed up by the waves of the Arabian Sea. But whereas an entirely new city, founded in the neighbourhood, was endowed by the people of the Pāśchātya division of India with the name and sanctity of ancient Dvārakā, the inhabitants of the Bengal delta did practically nothing to preserve the sacred memory of Gaṅgāsāgara. The real purpose of pilgrimage to holy places in all the four extremities of India was to travel over the length and breadth of the whole land in order to know her properly and to feel the fundamental unity of the various elements in the Indian population. With the absence of Gaṅgāsāgara, there is no ancient tīrtha of all-India recognition in the eastern border of the country to attract pilgrims from other parts of India. This seems to be detrimental to the cause of the unity of the Indian people. The East Indians should think of rebuilding the great tīrtha at the junction of the Gaṅga and the Sāgara in all its ancient glory.

me that about 40 years since, when the Island called Gongga Sagur was in-
habited, the Raja of the Island gathered yearly rent out of it to the amount of
2 lacks of rupees." In 1705, Luillier spoke of the temple at 'Sagore' and of
two famous ascetics residing there, while in 1727 Hamilton says, "...among
the Pagans, the Island Sagor is accounted holy, and great number of Jougies
(asectics) go yearly thither in the months of November and December to
worship and wash in salt water, though many of them fall sacrifices to the
hungry tigers." The account o' Hedges suggests that the Island was once
severe'y hit by a cyclone about the middle of the seventeenth century.
VĀHLIKA AND VĀHIKA

Elsewhere we have tried to show that very often in inscriptions and literary works we get, in connection with the description of a powerful king’s dig-vijaya (conquest of the four quarters, or of ‘the whole earth’), the traditional boundaries of the conventional cakravarti-kṣetra. These boundaries are generally: (1) The Himālaya, Badarikāśrama on the Gandhāmādana, the country near the Vaṁkṣu (Oxus), or the like, in the north; (2) the Udaya mountain (mythical), the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal), the Lauhitya, Vaṅga, or the like, in the east; (3) the Malaya mountain, the Mahendra mountain, the Southern Sea (Indian Ocean), Ceylon, or the like, in the south; and (4) the Asta mountain (mythical), the Mandara mountain (mythical), the Western Sea (Arabian Sea), the Pārasika country, or the like, in the west. In that connection we have also tried to prove that the Meharauli pillar inscription describing the dig-vijaya of a king named Candra (i.e. Candragupta II) in the verses:

यस्योद्दर्त्तयतः प्रतीयमुभसा शब্দृतंस्मेत्यावगतान्
बजेष्वाहुवंशनांस्मितिसिद्धं खयेन कीतिमुच्चे ।
तीव्रा सत्त मुक्तीनि येन समरे सित्योधिर्मात्र वाचिक्का
यस्याभाषायिन्यास्य जलनिधिवर्त्तेयायान्मैदानिकनिश्चितः: II²

gives the following boundaries of the Cakravarti-kṣetra: (1) Vāhlika (spelt also with b for v and i for i) in the north; (2) Vaṅga in the east; (3) Southern Sea in the south and (4) the seven mouths of the Indus (all falling into the Western or Arabian Sea) in the west. The Vāhlika-Bāhlika-Vāhlīka-Bāhlīka country is certainly the modern Bakh region on the Oxus in the northern part of Afghanistan.³

1. See above, pp. 8 ff.
According to a celebrated historian, the country of the Vāhlikas mentioned in the Meharauli pillar inscription, which speaks of the pillar being raised on the Viṣṇupada, has to be placed on the Beas (Vipāsā) on the strength of a verse found in the Rāmāyaṇa as follows:

ययुःमध्येन बाह्लीकान्तादानां च पवित्रम्।
विष्णोऽपि प्रायमणा विपासा बाह्लीकान्तां च।

"They went through the Vāhlika country to Mount Sudāman, viewing Viṣṇupada and also the Vipāsā and the Śālmali."

And the following conclusion has been drawn on the basis of it: "It will be seen from this verse that Viṣṇupada, Vipāsā and Śālmali, if not even Sudāman, were all in the Vāhlika country and close to one another...... these places were in the close proximity of the Vipāsā which, we know, is the modern Beas, where it is joined by another river, the Śālmali."

The suggestion that the country watered by the Beas was called Vāhlika or Bāhlika is however certainly wrong. Numerous passages can be quoted from the epic, Puranic and classical Sanskrit literature to prove that the Punjab=Pañcanada, ‘the land of the Five Rivers’ (one of the five being the Beas), was in ancient times called the Vāhlika country, and there is absolutely no doubt that the reading Vāhīkān in the passage quoted from the Rāmāyaṇa is a mistake for Vāhīkān. A flood of light on the the ancient Vāhlika country and its people is thrown by several chapters of the Karpaparvan of the Mahābhārata. We have therein (Ch. 44) the following verses regarding the geography of this country:

पञ्चानां सिन्धुस्यद्धा नदीनां येन्त्यत्र सिद्धिता:।
तान्त्रयं बाहीकान्तादानां वाहीकान्तापि वर्ज्येत्॥ ७

* * *

साकंक नाम नगरमापाया नाम निम्नम्।
जातिका नाम बाहीकास्तेष्यां बृहत्त सुनिन्दितम्॥ १०

GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

पञ्च नंदो वहन्येतया यथा पीलुबनाम्युतः
शतदुर्गो विपाधा च तृतीयरावली तथा || ३१ ||
चन्द्रमागा विसतता च सिन्धुवचा बहिनिगेरः ||
आद्यु नाम ते देशा नष्टशरणा न तान्नतेत || ३२ ||
* * *
पञ्चमन्दो वहन्येतया यथा निसृंहृ नर्ततातः
आद्यु नाम वाणिका न तेषवार्यो वचदहु बसेतु || ४०

The above verses and several others from the Karṇaparvan (Chs. 44-45) prove that the kingdom (or the people) over which Śalya ruled was generally referred to as Pañcanada or Vāhika and specifically as Madraka, Jārtika and Āraṭṭa. In other words, the Madrakas, Jārtikas and Āraṭṭas were generally designated as Pañcanada and Vāhika. There is however one verse which suggests that Vāhika was originally the name of a country or people on the Beas (Vipāśā):

वहिनिग्रास्मान्नाम हीरकास्मान्नाम पिवाशायां विपाशायां ||
तत्तोपर्यं बाणिकाः नैशा सूचि: प्रजायते: || १ ||

"In the Vipāśā, there were two Piśācas named Vahi and Hika; their descendants are called the Vāhikas who are not the creation of Prajāpati."

The geography of this well-known Vāhika country has been discussed by a number of scholars. Reference may be made to Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 247, 686-87, and V. S. Agrawala's 'Patañjali and the Vāhika-grāmas' in the Indian Culture, Vol. VI 1939, pp. 129 ff. In view of the voluminous evidence regarding the existence of a Vāhika country near the Vipāśā, no Vāhlīka (which is no doubt a mispronunciation for Vāhika) can be located in the same region on the strength of a solitary passage of the Rāmāyana.

If the Vāhikas were originally a people living on the Beas, we have to explain how the sense of the word Vāhika expanded so as to indicate all the tribes living in Pañcanada, i.e. the Punjab. It is interesting in this connection to note that the Mahābhārata sometimes uses the terms Vāhika, Madra, Jārtika,

1. Mahābhārata, Karṇaparvan, Ch. 44. verse 10. The Madrakas lived in the Sialkot region. The Jārtikas are the modern Jāts.
Āraṭṭa and Pañcanada synonymously. It therefore appears that the lands of the tribes which lived close to one another in the Punjab became in course of time moulded into a big kingdom under the powerful kings of Śākala (Sialkot). As Vāhika was beyond Kuru-kṣetra and therefore say outside the boundary of Brahmāvarta, its analogical connection with the word bahis may have been another cause of the expansion of its geographical sense.

1. Ibid., VII, 41, 6.
MALAYA AND MAHIṢA

There has been some criticism of the view that 'Malaya is the southern end of the Western Ghats'. The critic says, "The Purāṇas do not help us in locating the Malaya mountain."1 But his views appear to go against the evidence supplied by the Puranic sections on Indian geography.

It is well known that the Mārkandeya, Vāyu, Kūrma, Matsya, Vāmana and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas contain a long list and the Viṣṇu, Brahma and Śiva Purāṇas a short list of the Indian rivers. According to both these lists, the rivers Kṛtamālā and Tāmraparṇī issue from the Malaya mountain.2 Even the shortest list of rivers found in the Agni Purāṇa speaks of the Kṛtamālā as rising from the Malaya. Of the two rivers mentioned above, Tāmraparṇī, still known by practically that name, flows from the southern part of the Western Ghats to the Bay of Bengal. The celebrated ports of Korkai and Kayal stood on its banks. The identification of the Kṛtamālā with the modern Vaigai running by Madurai or Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā is corroborated by the Caitanyacaritāmṛta, an old biography of the Bengali Vaiṣṇava saint Caitanya (1485-1534 A.D.). It is clearly stated in this work that Caitanya took his bath in the waters of the holy Kṛtamālā at Dakṣiṇa-Mathurā in the course of his tours of pilgrimage in South India.3

The evidence of the Purāṇas definitely locates the Kul-ācala or Kula-parvata (literally, a mountain associated with certain tribes) called Malaya, which was the source of the Tāmraparṇī and Kṛtamālā (Vaigai) rivers running through the Pāṇḍya

2. See above, p. 52, note 5; p. 56, note 10.
country, at the extreme southern end of the Western Ghats. The name of this mountain no doubt lies at the root of the names Malayāḷam and Malabar; but reference has been made to certain ‘conflicting evidences’ that would suggest the location of the Malaya elsewhere.¹

As a matter of fact however the Kula or tribal mountain called Malaya cannot be located in any other place excepting the southern end of the Western Ghats although there were probably other hills called Malaya which may have given rise to the ‘conflicting evidences’. We know that the hilly region of Central Ceylon was known by the name Malaya and one of the heirs of the Ceylonese kings was often styled Malaya-rāja. A Viṣṇukunḍin inscription speaks of Prince Mādhavavarman II, who had his headquarters at Amarapura (i.e. Amarāvatī near Vijayavāda), as Trikūṭa-Malaya-ādhipati, probably indicating ‘governor of the provinces of Trikūṭa and Malaya.’ Since the name Malaya is derived from the Dravidian word malai meaning ‘hill,’ it is not improbable that this word affixed to the end of the names of certain South Indian hills was often Sanskritised as malayā and thus gave rise to a confusion. The tendency to Sanskritisation is still noticed in the name Madra-maṇḍala applied to the Madras State (in spite of the fact that the ancient Madra people lived in the Punjab with their capital at Sākala, i.e. modern Sialkot), and we can understand the working of the mind of a Sanskritist if he would refer to Tiru-malai and Anna-malai respectively as Śrī-malaya (or Tri-malaya) and Anna-malaya. But there is absolutely no doubt as to the location of the celebrated Malaya Kul-ācal (Kula-parvata) at the southern end of the Western Ghats.

B

A famous historian has recently discovered the existence of several hitherto unknown kings and ruling families of ancient India such as Mahiṣa² (or Mahiṣya)³ and Sebaka.⁴ These

dynastic names, derived according to him from those of the progenitors of the families in question, are said to have been found on certain coins of about the second or third century A.D. Without a proper examination of the coins, nothing can be said for or against the existence of the above dynasties. But a word may be said about the location of the country associated with a ruling family or a people called Mahiṣa.

The historian has quoted passages from the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas to show that the Mahiṣa country was situated in [the] Southern Deccan. He further says, "The royal name Mahiṣa (or Mahiṣya) was probably derived from the country of Māhiṣaka or Mahiṣa-mandala where this family was ruling. In my previous article on this Śaka king Māna, I followed Rapson in supporting that Māhiṣaka was the country round Māhiṣmati, modern Oṅkār Māndhātā in the Nemāḍ District of the Central Provinces. Since then the provenance of these coins has become known. As stated before, they were found in the excavations at Kondapur and Maski in the Hyderabad State. The country under the rule of the Mahiṣa dynasty seems therefore to have been the southern portion of the Hyderabad State." It may be pointed out in this connection that there is definite epigraphic evidence regarding the existence of a tract of land associated with a people or a royal family called Mahiṣa in the Mysore State which is not very far from 'the southern portion of the Hyderabad State'.

An inscription of the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvavarman I (about the end of the fifth century) was found in a village in the Tumkur Taluk of the Tumkur District in the northern part of the Mysore State. This is the Hebbata grant published in the Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1925. The grant was issued by Kadamba Viṣṇuvavarman I in his fifth regnal year, when the king was staying at the adhiṣṭhāna (mean-

2. Loc. cit.
4. See op. cit., p. 98, Plate X.
ing ‘a city’) of Kuḍalūr. By this grant, Viṣṇuvarman I created an agrahāra of the village called Herbbāṭa situated in the Sāṭṭhipalli-Jāripāṭa division of the Mahiṣa vīṣāya (district) and offered it with daksīṇā and libation of water, in accordance with the brahmadeya-nyāya, to a Yajurvediya Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Badira family or clan and to the Gautama gotra. It seems clear from this inscription that the present Tumkur area in the Mysore State was known in the fifth century A.D. as the Mahiṣa territory which formed a part of the dominions of the Early Kadamba kings. While discussing the evidence of this interesting inscription, we observed elsewhere, “The name of the Mahiṣa vīṣāya (cf. Mahiṣaka of the Puranic lists) is evidently the source from which the present Mysore (Mahiṣūr) has derived its name.” It seems to us that the original name of Mysore was derived from the words Mahiṣa and ār and signified ‘the city of the Mahiṣas’. Whatever however be the value of this suggestion, the Herbbata grant of the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarman leaves no room for doubt that the northern part of the present Mysore State was known in ancient times as the Mahiṣa country. Whether this country included, towards the north, the present Kondapur and Maski areas of Southern Hyderabad, at least in a particular period of history, can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But it is by no means improbable. We know that, in ancient records, the extent of a country is often differently indicated. Thus Tāmraprāpta is mentioned in literature sometimes as an independent state, sometimes as a part of Suhma and sometimes as a part of Vaṅga. Similarly, Taxila (Taksasālā) is sometimes represented as an independent kingdom, sometimes as a part of Gandhāra and sometimes as a part of Uraśā (roughly the modern Hazara District of the North-West Frontier region of West Pakistan). This is no doubt due to the fact, also supported by modern history, that a small kingdom

2. See ibid., p. 216, note; also H. G. Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, pp. 186 f. Raychaudhuri further points out how the city of Uragapura sometimes belonged to the Cola but sometimes to the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Similarly Koṭijīravā (the modern Dinajpur District) was sometimes included in the Purīravardhana bhūtī but sometimes in Rādhā. See also above, p. 157.
retained its old name even when it was expanded to cover wide areas. It may be recalled in this connection that with the rise of Kanarese powers like the Cālūkyaśa, Rāṣṭrakūṭaśa and the houses of Vijayanagara, the name Kārṇaṭaka and Kuntala extended over wide regions outside the Kannāda-speaking area. Since the English East India Company extended its power over extensive areas of Northern India from their base in Bengal, the Company’s dominions in North India, including the present Bihar and the major part of Uttar Pradesh, were for a long time known as the Presidency of Bengal.

Sometimes, however, it is seen that a tract of land, later annexed to a kingdom, retains the name of the latter even when the heart of the kingdom itself comes in a later epoch to be known by a different name. We have referred above to the more recent case of Kārṇaṭaka in the Tamil land, which owes its origin to the expansion of the Vijayanagara empire outside the original Kārṇaṭa country. The ancient names Andhrāpatha near the mouths of the Kṛṣṇa, Sātavāhaniya-rāṣṭra or Sātavāhanīy-āhāra in the present Bellary District and Nalavāḍi in the present Bellary-Anantapur region may possibly offer older instances of the same type, as the hearts of the Sātavāhana (Andhra) and Nala countries probably lay elsewhere. But, in the absence of any clear evidence to the contrary, it is possibly better, in the present state of our knowledge, to believe that the heart of the ancient Mahiśa country lay in the present Mysore State.

The name Mahiśa, applied to a people and their land, must have originally derived from the totem of the said people. It is thus possible to think that there were more settlements of the Mahiśa people in different parts of the country than one. Māhiṣamātī on the Narmadā seems also to owe its name to the Mahiśas. But there is as yet no genuine evidence (excepting doubtfully read legends of a few coins) to show that the southern part of the former Hyderabad State was known as the Mahiśa country.

1. Note how the name Kārṇaṭaka (Carnatic) came to be applied to the dominions of the Nawabs of Arcoti in the Tamil country. See above, pp. 155 ff.; cf. pp. 60, 89-90 Cf. also the case of Gandhāra (Raychaudhuri, P. H.A.I., p. 202).
XIV

KR̄MILĀ


The grant was issued by the Paramasauvata-Paramesvara-Parambhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja Devapāladeva in the 33rd year of his reign from his jaya-skandhāvara at Mudga-giri, i.e. modern Monghyr, the headquarters of a District of that name in Bihar. By this charter, the Pāla king granted the village called Meṣikā-grāma in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Vihekarāta-miśra. The village was situated in the viṣaya or district of Kr̄milā which formed a part of the bhukti or province of Śrīnagara. From the inscriptions of the Pālas, we come to know of the existence of two bhuktis or provinces in Bihar, viz., Śrīnagara-bhukti and Tira-bhukti.¹ The word sira refers to the banks of the Ganges. Tira-bhukti is the same as the modern Tirhut Division and apparently indicated parts of Bihar lying to the north of that river. The expression Śrī-nagara meaning 'the illustrious city,' i.e., the city par excellence, referred to the celebrated ancient city of Pātaliputra (of which the modern representative is Pāṭnā derived from Sanskrit pattana or township) and the Śrīnagara bhukti no doubt included the districts of South Bihar having their administrative headquarters at the above city.² Of the viṣayas or districts forming the Tira bhukti in the age of the Pālas, we know only of the Kakṣa viṣaya, and, of those forming the Śrīnagara

². Cf. the commentary on Vatsyāyana's Kāmasūtra, VI, 5, 30: Nāgarikā iti Pātaliputrikōḥ, etc.
bhukti, such districts as Gayā-vaśaya, Rājagṛha-vaśaya and Kṛmilā-vaśaya are known from inscriptions. Of these vaśayas, those of Gayā and Rājagṛha can be easily identified as the tracts of land round respectively the modern towns of Gayā and Rājgir (i.e., Rājagṛha), the latter being now situated in the administrative division known as the Patna District of Bihar. But the exact situation of Kakṣa vaśaya in the Tīra bhukti and the Kṛmilā-vaśaya in the Sṛṅagara bhukti could not be satisfactorily determined. Recently we discovered certain new inscriptions of the Pāla period, which throw interesting light on the location of the Kṛmilā vaśaya.

About the beginning of January 1950, I visited, in course of a search for inscriptions, certain villages in the neighbourhood of the Kiul and Luckeesarai railway stations on the former East Indian Railway (now Eastern Railway) about the western fringe of the Monghyr District of Bihar. Long ago, Alexander Cunningham made an epigraphical survey of many villages of South Bihar and the interesting results of that survey are recorded in his celebrated Reports. But it is doubtful if it was possible for him to visit all the villages. Moreover, images both inscribed and uninscribed, are being discovered every year in various villages of that area at the point of the cultivator’s ploughshare and the workman’s spade and a large number of them, discovered after Cunningham’s survey, have accumulated in many villages. There is no doubt that many of such images have often been carried away from the find-spots by interested persons; but the epigraphic survey conducted by me only in a few villages convinced me fully that very good results may still be obtained if the images (unfortunately broken in most cases), scattered over almost all old villages in South Bihar, are made the object of a careful search in the line initiated by Cunningham more than eighty years back but not seriously continued afterwards.

There is a village called Valgūdar (often said to be Vargūjar), near Rajauna and Chauki, on the side of the railway line between the Luckeesarai and Mankatha railway stations.

I visited the village on the 9th of January and discovered no less than three interesting inscriptions. A stone pedestal of a lost image in a locality, called Saṅgat owing to its being a Sikh religious establishment in the village, was found to bear a very important inscription dated both in the 18th regnal year of king Madanapāla of the Pāla dynasty and in the Śaka year 1083. The importance of the date of this record has been discussed elsewhere; but the fact it records is no less interesting. It says that two Vaiṣṇava brothers of a Brāhmaṇa family established an image of the god Nārāyaṇa at Kṛmilā. The second inscription discovered and examined by me at Valgūdar was found on a broken image of a goddess with a child on her lap and with a lion as her emblem, lying in the veranda of the Kutchery of Babu Dalipnarayan Sinha who is a zamindar of Bhagalpur. It may be mentioned here that images representing the Devī with a child seem to have been very popular in all parts of South Bihar. We have noticed such images in many villages. One such image is now in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art of the University of Calcutta and it bears an inscription of the time of Rāmapāla. The find-spot of this image also seems to us to be some village of South Bihar. A similar image at Rajauna near Valgūdar is known, from the inscription on it, to have been called Puṇḍeṣvāri. It is possible that this rural deity, apparently not unconnected with the conception of Pārvatī with Skanda on her lap as indicated by the theme of Kālidāsa’s Kumārasambhava, and of the Buddhist Hārīti, was worshipped under different local names in various localities. The inscription on the Valgūdar image of the Devī with a child says that it was installed by a person named Nṛkaṭṭa at the adhisṭhāna or city of Kṛmilā. It may be

1. A similar image, but with four arms and without the lion emblem, was found near Dacca and has been tentatively identified by Bhattasali (Iconography, pp. 63 ff.; Plate XX) with Hārīti. Another form of the same primitive Mother-goddess with a child on her lap was conceived with a snake-canopy over her head and was worshipped both in Bihar and Bengal. I found one such image on the bank of the Sainisārpokhari at Luckesaratī. In Bengal, this deity later came to be identified with the snake-goddess Mansā (cf. ibid., pp. 212 ff.; Ht. Bh. Beng., op. cit., pp. 460 ff.); but that she was originally worshipped under different local names is suggested by the Marālī (Dinajpur District) image of the goddess known to have been called Bhāṣṭaṇi Maṭṭuvā. 
noticed that the spelling of the name in this record is the same as in the Monghyr inscription of Devapāla, although in the Valgūdar inscription of Madanaṇapāla’s time it is written slightly differently. The word kṛmilā means a ‘fruitful woman’ or ‘a place full of worms’ and the word kṛmi forming its first part is sometimes also written as kṛmi. Our second inscription does not refer to the reigning monarch. Its palaeography however seems to suggest a date earlier than the days of Madanaṇapāla. The third inscription that I discovered at the same village was on a stone pedestal of a lost image now being used by people as a platform for washing feet in the compound of the house of Babu Kesav Sinha. The inscription it bears says that the image in question was installed at the adhiṣṭhāna or city of Kṛmilā during the rule of Dharmapāla whose reign is now assigned to circa 770-810 A.D.¹ The regnal year is not referred to.²

Now the above three inscriptions, all discovered in the small village of Valgūdar, show beyond doubt that the city of Kṛmilā or Krimilā, headquarters of the viṣaya or district of that name forming a part of the Śrīnagara bhukti within the dominions of the Pālas, stood either on the very site of that village or on a site, parts of which are now occupied by the village. There is a stone slab representing the twelve Ādityas and containing an inscription dated in the fifth regnal year of the Pāla king Śūrapāla, probably the first king of that name who reigned about the middle of the ninth century, at the neighbouring village of Rajauna. This inscription also says that the slab was installed at Kṛmilā, and it appears that the slab had been originally found at Valgūdar but was later carried to Rajauna. It is however not improbable that the site of the modern village of Rajauna was also within the bounds of the ancient city of Kṛmilā, although we are not quite sure about that. In any case, if the ancient city of Kṛmilā has to be identified with the present village of Valgūdar near Luckeesarai in the western fringe of the Monghyr District, there is no difficulty in locating the viṣaya or district of that name.

¹. History of Bengal, op. cit., p. 177.
². The inscriptions have been published in Ep. Ind., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 197 ff.
in the tract of land around that village, that is to say, roughly in
the western part of the Monghyr District to the south of the Ganges
between the land round Pāṭnā and that round Monghyr. It is
quite probable that these two regions centering round Pāṭnā
(i.e. ancient Śrīnagara) and Monghyr (ancient Mudga-giri)
formed separate viṣayas within the Śrīnagara bhūkta and were
known as the Śrīnagara viṣaya and the Mudgagiri viṣaya in the
age of the Pālas. But on this point nothing can be said definitely
until further evidence is forthcoming.

The viṣaya of Kṛmilā or Krimilā is also mentioned in the
Nālandā plate\(^1\) of Samudragupta who flourished in the fourth
century A.D. As however the charter is spurious and seems
to have been forged a few centuries after Samudragupta’s time,
it may or may not prove the existence of a viṣaya and therefore
of a city of the above name in the fourth century. But that both
existed before the Pāla occupation of Bihar may be suggested by
the mention of the viṣaya on certain old seals found at Nālandā.\(^2\)
The village of Kavāla in the Krimilā viṣaya known from one
such seal appears to be no other than the present Kawāli not far
from Valgūdar.

1. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 263.
CAURĀSĪ

Caurāsī as a geographical unit indicating a group of 84 villages is known from different parts of India. There is a group of villages called Bhināikī Caurāsī near Ajmer in Rajasthan and it is probably mentioned as Caturaśiti in the fragmentary Barli inscription\(^1\) of the first century B.C. Caurāsī is also a Pargana in the Mirzapur District of U.P., while Corāsī (Caurāsī) is a Subdivision of the Surat District of Bombay. There is a village called Caurāsī in the Sadar Subdivision of the Puri District of Orissa. This village likewise seems to have been originally the headquarters of a geographical and administrative unit consisting of 84 villages. That it had some importance in the past is possibly indicated by its yielding of a copper-plate inscription of the Bhauma-Kara monarch Sivakara II who flourished about the end of the ninth century A.D.\(^2\) It seems that there are other areas similarly called Caurāsī in different parts of the country. Caturaśiti, the Sanskrit form of Caurāsī, is found in a number of ancient Indian records.

A copper-plate inscription, dated Śaka 734 (812-13 A.D.), of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief Kakka II Suvarṇavarṣa of Lāṭa or Gujarāt was published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff. It records the grant of the village of Vāḍapadraka in the Ankoṭṭaka eighty-four, *(Ankoṭṭaka-caturaśiti-antaraggata-Vāḍapadraka-ābhidhāna-grāma)*. Ankoṭṭaka is modern Akoṭa, a suburb of Baroda (Vāḍapadraka). The Set-Mahet plate\(^3\) of the Gahaḍavāla king Govindracandra, dated Vikrama Sārvat 1186 (1130 A.D.), records the grant of certain villages in the Pattālā or district called Vāḍā (or, Vājā) *Caturaśiti*. Another grant\(^4\) of Madanapāla dated V.S. 1164 (1108 A.D.), similarly speaks

---

of the gift of a village in Mānighapura-Caturāsikā, in which Caturāsikā is no doubt the same as Caturaśītikā or Caurāśī. It should, however, not be supposed that only the word 'eighty-four' is associated with the names of districts. We have numerous other numbers similarly associated with geographical units. A Pratiṣṭāraṇaka or Parganā within the dominions of the Paramāra kings of Malwa is called Saptāśītī-pratiṣṭāraṇaka (i.e. Parganā consisting of eighty-seven villages) in an inscription of V.S. 1331. But such numbers as 87 were not as popular as 84 in the context of geographical names.

In the inscriptions of the Kannaḍa-speaking area, territorial units are often mentioned along with a number exactly as in Bhīnākīi Caurāśī and Aṇkoṭṭaka-caturaśītī; e.g., Gaṅγavāḍi ninety-six thousands, Raṭṭappāḍi seven and a half lakhs, Banavāśi twelve thousands, Alande one thousand, Purīgere three hundreds, etc., etc. Similar instances are sometimes found also in the records of other parts of the country. Although there is possibly some exaggeration in some of these cases speaking of very big numbers, there is no doubt that the reference in such cases is to villages which may have been in many cases very small or even nominal. As regards territorial units with smaller numbers, we may mention Nirugundagi twelve, Puriddha ten, Tamba six, Koṇḍavati two, etc., etc.

Considering the abnormally high numbers mentioned with some of the names and the fact that it is palpably impossible to believe that the small district of Gaṅgavāḍi could actually claim more than only a fraction of 96000 'villages' if a village is understood in its modern sense, we were formerly reluctant to

1. Cf. e.g., the Patatala named Rudamauna-bayālāli in Govindaśandra's Kanałī plate of V. S. 1190 (1133 A.D.), published in Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, pp. 111-12. In this name bayaḷaḷi means 'forty-two'. An inscription (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 344 ff.) of Paramāra Udayāditya, dated V. S. 1229 (1171 A.D.), mentions the area around Bhilsa in the former Gwalior State as Bhīllasvāmi-mahāvādāsakā-maṇḍala (i.e. the district called Bhīllasvāmin consisting of twelve subdivisions). It also mentions a subdivision consisting of sixty-four villages as the Bhīṅgāricā-catubhaṣṭī pahika (cf. Ep. Ind Vol., XXX, pp. 210-11). A grant of the Somavānhi king Mahāśīvagupta Yāyāti I (c. 970-1000 A.D.) of Orissa mentions a district called Īnāvāṭi, i.e. ninety-six (No. 27 of A.R. Ep., 1052-53, App. A).

2. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, p. 140,
take the word grāma, even when specifically mentioned in such cases, in the sense of 'a village'; cf. the passage trayāṇāṃ Mahārāṣ-
trakāṇaṃ navanavati-sahasra-grāma-bhājām occurring in the cele-
brated Aihoine inscription¹ of Pulakesin II and referring to the
three Mahārāṣṭras as having no less than 99000 grāmas. Thus
in the name Veṅgipura-viśaya-grāma-sahasra, sometimes called
Veṅgi-sahasra, we were inclined to interpret the word grāma as
'what is the subject of an assessment'.² This appeared to be
justified by the fact that the Malkapuram inscription³ of Śaka
1183 (1261 A.D.) refers to a grant of no less than three lakhs
of grāmas in Dāhala-maṇḍala (the modern Jubbulpur
area) lying between the Ganges and the Narmadā by the Kalachuri
king Yuvarāja (I or II, probably the latter) in favour of a Śaiva
saint named Sadbhāvaśambhu,⁴ as it is impossible to believe that
even the whole kingdom of the Kalachuri king had nearly 50000
villages in the modern sense of the term. There is, however,
some evidence to show that the word grāma was used in such
cases in the sense of a village whatever its size and nature may
have been.

In the Aland (ancient Alande) inscription of Yuvarāja Mal-
likārjuna, published in the Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXVIII,
pp. 31 ff., Alande itself is mentioned as the modala-vāda or 'fore-
mest village' of Alande-sāsira or 'Alande one thousand.' This
makes it clear that the geographical and administrative unit
of Alande consisted of one thousand vādas or villages, of which
the village of Alande was the foremost; that is to say, it was
the headquarters of the district in question. It has been report-
ed to us that the people of Kuknūr even now quote an old
list, traditionally handed down, of the thirty villages which
formed the ancient administrative unit called 'Kuknūr thirty'
and that all these villages can be traced in the area around
Kuknūr even to-day. It is also interesting to note that an

2. Cf. The Successors of the Śātavāhanas, p. 400.
4. Cf. मानीरशीखेपशेचाच्या बाहुबलिकामुळे तत्सने निस्फूर्तहेततले कुल-
        पुरिकामपालवृक्षामिरामणां नृपतिर्मित्सां तिलक्षी ददैः
inscription mentions Kuknūr as the foremost (i.e. headquarters) of thirty grāmas.¹

The conclusion seems to be supported by a section of the Skanda Purāṇa² apparently interpolated into the original work sometime in the medieval period.³ This section says how the nava-khaṇḍa Bhārata, i.e. Bhārata-varṣa consisting of nine divisions, was subdivided into seventy-two vibhedas or subdivisions, and quotes a list of the seventy-two (actually, seventy-five) countries together with the number of grāmas contained in each one of them. The list is introduced by the verse:

तेषां नामां ग्रामांश्र पत्नां नि ।
बेलाकूलानि संख्यां । वक्यामि तव तरवतः ॥

and ends with the following passage:

इस्तन्तिर्मी देशा ग्रामसंख्या प्रकीर्तिता ।

The second of the two passages is followed by the statement that the entire Bhārata-khaṇḍa had 967200000 pāttanas (towns) and 360000 velākūlas (harbours). It can hardly be doubted that the word grāma has been used in this context in the sense of 'a village.' But the fact that the list speaks only of grāmas and not of pāttanas, etc., seems to suggest that for the purpose of enumeration the latter also were counted as grāmas. The list further shows that the traditional or conventional number of grāmas in a country as given in it could hardly have been true if the word grāma is taken exactly in its modern sense.

We quote below the list of countries together with the number of villages in each one of them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name of Country</th>
<th>Number of Grāmas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nivṛt maṇḍala</td>
<td>4 crores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bālāka desa</td>
<td>2½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Purasāhaṇaka</td>
<td>1½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Amīḍhala or Amala (sic. Andhra)</td>
<td>4 lakhs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nepāla</td>
<td>1 lakh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kāṇyakubja</td>
<td>36 lakhs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹. जिन्होंने ग्रामविस्तारविषयी उक्तकृत्त (J.B.R.A.S., Vol. XII, 1876, p. 43).
². Māheśvara-khaṇḍa, Kumārikā-khaṇḍa, Ch. 39, verses 127 ff.
7. Gājaṇaka or Mājaṇaka (i.e. Ghazni or Ghazna) 72
8. Gauḍa déśa 18
9. Kāmarūpa 9
10. Ṛāhala or Veda (sic. Cedi) 9
11. Kāntipura 9
12. Mācīpura (sic. Kāmiscīpura) 9
13. Oḍḍiyyāna déśa (in the Swat valley) 9 or 7 lakhs
14. Jālāmūḍhara 9
15. Lohapura (i.e. Lahore) 9
16. Pāmbīpurā 7
17. Raṭṭarāja (i.e. Raṭṭa-rājya, the Rāṣṭra-kūṭa kingdom) 7
18. Hariyāṇa (sic. Hariyāna, the Delhi region) 5
19. Draḍḍa or Draḍḍasya (sic. Draviḍa) viṣaya 3½
20. Vambhāṇavāhaka (i.e. Brāhmaṇavāhā or Bahmanābād in the Hyderabad region of Sind) 3½
21. Nilapura 21 thousands
22. Amala or Mala viṣaya (redundant; see No. 4) 1 lakh
23. Naremdu (sic. Varendra) déśa (see No. 72 below) 1½ lakhs
25. Mālava 118092
26. Sayambhara (Śākambhara) déśa 1½ lakhs
27. Mevāḍa (Medapāṭa) 1½
28. Vāguri 80 thousands
29. Gujarātra (sic. Gurjaratrā, probably modern Gujarāt) 70
30. Pāṁḍu (Pāṇḍya) viṣaya 70
31. Jahāḥuti (Jejābhukti, the Khajurāho region of Bundelkhand) 42
32. Kāśmīra 68
33. Kaumkaṇa (Konkan) 63
34. Laghu-Kaumkaṇa (Smaller Konkan) 1422
35. Sindhu 20 thousands
36. Kaccha mandala
37. Saurashtra (Kathiawar)
38. Lāḍa (Lāṭa, the Nausari-Bharoch region of Gujarāt)
39. Atisindhū
40. Āśvamukha
41. Ekapāda
42. Sūryamukha or Śūrpanakha (sic. Sūrpāraka, the Sopara region in the Thana District, Bombay)
43. Ekaśāhu deśa
44. Samājīyu deśa (Sañījan in the Thana District?)
45. Śīva (Śibi) deśa
46. Kālahayamājaya (Kālaṇjara?)
47. Liṅgodbhava deśa
48. Bhadra
49. Devabhadra
50. Cāṭa
51. Virāṭa (the Jaipur-Alwar-Bharatpur region of Rājasthān)
52. Yamakoṭi (mythical city placed 90° east of the meridian of Laṅkā)
53. Rāmaka (Romaka?) deśa
54. Tomara
55. Karnaṭa
56. Yugala or Puṅgala
57. Strī-rājya
58. Pulastya or Mulastya viṣaya
59. Kāmboba
60. Kośala (North or South Kosala, possibly the latter in the Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa)
61. Bāhlika
62. Laṅkā deśa
63. Kuru deśa

1422
55 thousands
21 „
10 „
10 „
10 „
10 „
10 „
10 „
10 „
10 „
10 „
10 „
10 „
10 „
36 „
36 „
36 „
18 crores
1½ lakhs
1½ „
5 „
10 „
10 lakhs
10 „
4 „
36 thousands
46 thousands
64. Kirāta-vijayojaya (sic. Kirāta desa) 1½ lakhs
65. Vidarbhā (Vidarbha) 5 ,, 
66. Vardhamāna 14 thousands 
67. Simhala dvipa 10 ,, 
68. Pāndu desa (probably in the Punjab; see No. 30 above) 36 ,, 
69. Bhayānaka 1 lakh 
70. Māgadha (Magadha) desa 66 thousands 
71. Pāṅgu or Pāndu desa (redundant; see Nos. 30 and 68) 60 ,, 
72. Varenḍu (redundant; see No. 23 above) 30 ,, 
73. Mūlasṭhāna (i.e. Mūltān) 25 ,, 
74. Yāvana (Yavana) 40 ,, 
75. Pakṣabāhu or Yakṣabāhu 4 ,, 

It may be pointed out that the text of the above Puranic section is not free from errors.¹ Some of the names show considerable Prakrit influence² while many of them are doubtful. There is however epigraphic support in favour of some of the traditional numbers of grāmas quoted in the list. Thus the Śākambhara or Śākambhari country is actually known to have been otherwise called Sapādalakṣa or ‘one and a quarter lakhs’.³ 

The traditional numbers of villages in particular countries are also referred to in some other works. Vinayacandra’s Kāyaśikṣa, e.g., mentions Surāṣṭra 9 thousands, Lāṭa-desa 21 thousands, Gurjaradesa 70 thousands, Pārata 70 thousands, Dāhala 9 lakhs, Mālava 9 lakhs and 92, Kānyakubja 46 lakhs, etc.⁴ 

It should be pointed out that sometimes numbers mentioned with the name of a tract do not refer to villages but groups of them, although a distinction is made in such cases. The Udaypur

¹. Nos. 22, 71 and 72 are redundant. The list also omits many well-known tracts.

². E.g., Nos. 20, 26, 27, 38

³. Cf. No. 26 above and Bhandarker’s List, Nos. 279, 356. For another Sapādalakṣa country in the Nizamabad-Karimnagar region of Andhra Pradesh, see Jour. Or. Res., Vol. XVIII, Part I, p. 40. There was similarly a Pādonalakṣa (i.e. ‘one lakh minus one quarter’) country about the Shivapuri District in the former Gwallor State (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIII, p. 68).

(former Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh) inscription of 1173 A.D. speaks of a village in Bhṛṅgārikā-catuḥśaṣṭi-pathaka which formed a part of Bhāilasvāmi-mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala. It appears that the pathaka or subdistrict called ‘Bhṛṅgārikā 64’ consisted of sixty-four villages while the maṇḍala or district called ‘Bhailasvāmin great-12’ consisted of twelve subdistricts. The speciality of the second case has been indicated in the record by the introduction of the word mahān (great) prefixed to the number.

Geographical names of this kind were the most popular in the Kannada-speaking are a than elsewhere in India. There is evidence to show that, in the said region, the idea of coining similar names was not unknown even in the fourth century A.D. 2

2. Gf. *The Successors of the Sātanākanas*, p. 250 (Sahalāṭavi-grāmābāra probably consisting of twelve villages), and p. 305 (Tagare-mahāgrāma consisting of twenty-four Palli) referring to certain inscriptions of the Early Kadambas.
The Pārāyaṇa incorporated in the Pali Suttanipāta is one of the most ancient Buddhist works. The parallel writings, attested by frequent mention, have disappeared. But the Pali text, guaranteed as it is by two commentaries, viz. the Mahāniddesa and the Cullaniddesa which too are very ancient, has an incontestable value. In the account which sets forth the introduction to the collection, the Brāhmaṇa Bāvari, emigrated from the ‘charming city of the Kosalas’ (i.e. Śrāvasti), comes to settle himself ‘in the country of Assaka, in the vicinity of Mulaka, on the banks of the Godhāvari’. He sends his disciples in a mission to the Buddha at his place of birth, i.e. Sāvatthi of the Kosalas. The poet sums up in three verses (1011-1013) the steps in their route: “Patiṭṭhāna of Mulaka; then the city of Māhissatī; also Ujjēṇī and Gonaddha; Vedisā; Vana-savhaya; Kosambī; and also Sāketa; and the big city of Sāvatthi, Setavya, Kapilavatthu; and the city of Kuśinārā; and Pāvā; Bhoga-nagara; the Magadhan city of Vesālī and the Pāsāṅaka Cetiya.”

The itinerary deserves the honour of a careful study. Here, however, I shall only occupy myself with the intermediate step between Ujjēṇī and Vedisā, two perfectly definite localities. The one is still now Ujjain to the north of Indore, lat. 23° 11' 10" N., and long. 75° 51' 45" E.; the other is Besnagar very near Bhilsa, lat. 23° 31' 35" N., and long. 77° 55' 39" E. The Pārāyaṇa places the city of Gonaddha between these two points.

The catalogue of the Yakṣas in the Mahāmāyūrī follows an exactly identical order: “at Avanti the Yakṣa is Priyadarśana; at Gonardana Śikhaṇḍin; at Vaidiṣa Aṅjaliṣṭoṇa.” Avanti

1. [This is a translation of an article in French, entitled Gonarda, le berceau du Gonardiya, by Sylvain Lévi, which was published in the Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes, Vol. III (Orientalia), Part ii, pp. 197-205.]
2. [The name may also be spelt as Mulaka.]
is another name of Ujjayinī; Vaidīśa is the Sanskrit form of Pali Vedīsa. The name of the intermediate locality is fluctuating in the tradition of the manuscripts. I have reproduced the reading of the Mss O and H in the text; but D reads Gonardane. Of the three Chinese versions, S transcribes Kiū-kia-t'o-na, which supposes an original Gogardana; Y translates You-hi, 'Bull-joy', which restores Gonandana; A translates You-ts'oel, 'Bull-compress', that is, Gomardana. The Tibetan translator has followed the same text (Ba-laṅ 'joms, 'Bull-compress'). The evidence of the Suttānīpāta comes to confirm the reading Gonardana, because it is evident that, in both cases, the question is of the same locality. The Pali Gonaddha may be restored, without difficulty, to Sanskrit Gonarda. The aspiration, introduced subsidiarily in the Pali form, is a phenomenon which is nothing exceptional. In that very introduction to the Pārāṣāṇa, we have already also met with the Sanskrit name of the Godāvari, modified by aspiration of the dental in the interior of the word Godhāvari. A list of analogous cases will be found, e.g., in the Pali by Geiger, § 40 and § 62, and, for the Prakrits in general, in the Grammatik der Prakrit Schprüchen by Pischel, § 207–209. In proper names, the phenomenon seems due generally to an erroneous interpretation; e.g., Khanda, 'the god Skanda', owes its aspiration to a confusion with skandha, 'the shoulder'; Erāpathā = Airāvata, 'the divine elephant', has suffered the contamination of patha, 'way' (as, in Sanskrit also, it has later suffered the contamination of patra, 'leaf', in becoming Elāpatra). One would have believed to recognise the word godhā, 'big lizard', in the first syllables of the name of the Godāvari. Sanskrit go-narda (or go-nardana by developed suffixation) clearly signifies 'the lowing of the cow'. Passed to Prakrit under the form gonadda (or go-naddana), the word becomes unintelligible. The root nard seems to have submitted in Prakrit to the root nad from which it hardly differentiates itself. Moreover, the word go quite naturally suggested the word naddha, 'attached, bound'.

Whatever be the explanation, the equivalence Gonarda = Gonaddha is certain. The name of Gonarda is indissolubly
connected with the memory of Patañjali, ‘the Gonardian’, Gonardiya. A constant tradition attested by Kaiyāta, by the author of the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, and by Hemacandra, identifies the personage designated by the name of Gonardiya in the Mahābhāṣya with the author of the Mahābhāṣya. Kielhorn, it is true, vigourously contested the value of that tradition¹ and maintained that the Gonardiya was the author of the Kārikā in verse, utilised and cited by Patañjali. The authority of Kielhorn in questions concerning the Mahābhāṣya surely deserves the highest consideration. But his interpretation is not in requisite contradiction of the Indian tradition. Patañjali might refer in the Mahābhāṣya to an anterior work which he had composed, designating himself with an appellation of impersonal character, derived from his place of birth. The geographical situation of Gonardaa Iways agrees marvellously with the rare indications, which may be deduced from the Mahābhāṣya, for fixing the date of Patañjali. The two essential facts are: (1) the mention of Puṣyamitra, of his court (sāvīṣa), and of his sacrifice (iha Puṣyamitrāṃ yāja-yaṁaḥ); (2) the mention of the Greek conquests in India (arunad=Yavanaḥ Śāktaṁ, arunad=Yavana Madhyamikāṁ). Now, Gonarda is the nearest step to Vidiśā. Vidiśā, according to the evidence of the accounts followed by Kālidāsa in the Mālavikāgnimitra, was the capital where the son of Puṣyamitra resided in the capacity of a viceroy. And Vidiśā was also in close connections with Greek politics. The column of Besnagar, on the site of the ancient Vidiśā, preserves the memory of a Greek ambassador (Yona-dūta), Heliodorus, sent by the Greek king Antialkidas, to the Indian king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra. Moreover, the geographical horizon of the Mahābhāṣya sets itself harmoniously around the Gonarda-Vidiśā region as the centre. Excepting some general designations of territories, e.g. Vidarbha, Videha, Cola, Kerala, etc., which do not implicate any direct and personal knowledge, the names of localities, cities or towns form themselves in a sort of triangle, of which the base goes from Pāṭaliputra

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XV, pp. 81-83.
to the Punjab, and of which the apex reaches the lower Narmadā about Māhīsmatī. Māhīsmatī figures in the itinerary of the Pārāyaṇa as an intermediate step which the disciples of Bāvari, who started from Pratiṣṭhāna, reached on their way to Ujjayini. Likewise the Mahābhāṣya has:

उज्जयिनिया: प्रति जिते माहीव्यां शूर्यवन्द्रगमयति।

A difficulty seems to oppose directly the location of Gonarda that I propose. The name of Gonarda is cited as that of a place ‘in the land of the Orientals’ in the Candravṛtti and in the Kāśikāvṛtti on Pāṇini, I, 1, 75, just for explaining the formation of the derivative Gonardīya without vyḍḍhī. Pāṇini says that, by exception, the diphthongs e and o should be considered as in the degree of vyḍḍhī (which is normally ai and au) in the names of places of the land of the Orientals (en prācāṁ delā). Candragomin reproduces this sutra adapting it in his system (III, 2, 25: eṇ-ādy-acaḥ prāg-delā). We are evidently surprised, and even shocked, to see Gonarda, which is in the heart of Mālava, here placed in ‘the East’ of India. We have not, however, the right to call the assertion of Candragomin and the Kāśikā in question. It is not the question of following a blind confidence in the geographical knowledge of these commentaries; but the reasoning, from the grammatical order, is unquestionable. Gonardīya is a derivative formed by means of the suffix cha (=īya). The suffix cha joins a stem having vyḍḍhī. Gonardīya is treated as a stem of vyḍḍhī, though it has ₋, and not au, in the first syllable. The thing then is that it enters into the exception anticipated by Pāṇini. So Gonarda, from which it derived, is a name of locality of the Orientals.

But what should we mean by ‘the Orientals’, prāṇcaḥ? The grammar, since Pāṇini, knows only two groupings as regards the cardinal points, viz., the Northerners (udāṇcaḥ) and the Easterners (prāṇcaḥ). A traditional verse quoted by the Kāśikā

2. On Candragomin, III, 2, 25, etc.
3. Vyḍḍhācchaḥ (Pāṇini, IV 2, 114).
4. I, 1, 75.
5. On Pāṇini, I, 1, 75.
and Kṣīrasvāmin estabishes that division:

Prāmatanta bhājate hūṃ: kṣīrodeke yāya

viṇṇaṃ śābdanisāparāṃ sa n: pātū śaravathī

"She separates the East and the North, as the swan separates
the milk and the water, for fixing well the usage of the classical
language. May the Śaravatī protect us!"

And the Dictionary of Amara, in describing the earth, stands
also on that double division which it completes by the secondary
association of the two other directions:

.............. śaravatāstā yojayate

dēṣā: prārañjita: prācy vedi: pāścaṁśatā: 1

'In starting from the Śaravatī, the country, which is to the south-
east, is the East; that, which is to the north-west, is the North.'

Thus, to Amara, the South is expressly connected with the
East, and the North with the West. The glossologist Vandyag-
ghatīya [Sarvānanda] writes on the passage that 'the Śaravatī is
a river of India that runs from the north-east towards the
Western Ocean.' (Ervāntëbhārastā rṣey Śaravatā tām navadi ādīṣānām dīsa:
saṅkṣāraḥ pāścaṁśatā mūdramāgānaṃ bhrīt). The indication seems plain and
clear. Unfortunately real geography does not confirm it.
Vandyaghatīya, a veritable glossologist, has deduced from
the text itself the indication which he appears to have added
here. He has borrowed it neither from the modern geography,
nor from the ancient, nor from the consecrated nomenclatures
of the rivers in the epics and the Purāṇas. The pretended
Śaravatī of Vandyaghatīya will be searched in vain.
In fact, the tradition has perpetuated, this time also, an
appellation that had no more any relation, for a long time,
with reality.

There had been a time, when the name Śaravatī,
'[the river] with reeds,' was applied to a course of water,
which separated the whole of Aryan India into two parts.
Pāṇini expressly teaches the formation of the name. The memory
of a frontier indicated by the river Śaravatī is curiously preserv-

1. On Amara, II, 1, 6-7.
2. II, 1, 6-7.
3. Śar-āṇiṁ ca (VI, 3, 120).
d in a celebrated episode of the Buddhist tradition. When Koṭi-karna goes to consult the Buddha on the limits of the country of strict observance, the Lord fixes the southern limit at Śarāvatī: “In the South there is a city named Śarāvatī, and beyond that is a river named Śarāvatī. There is the boundary (शसित्रिेन शरावती नाम नगरी, तत्त्वा: परेण शरावती नाम नदी, होन्ता:).” Such is at least the tradition of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school in the original text gathered by the compilers of the Dīvyāvadāna.¹ The editors of the text, Cowell and Neil, cite two variants of the name, furnished by some manuscripts of inferior value: Sarvāvatī (Ms. A) and Savārāvatī (Ms. B). It is this last reading which has been followed by Yi-tsing, the author (responsible, if not actual) of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya. He has rendered the name of the city and the river as Che-pa(or fo-)lo-fa-ti which supposes an original Savaravati.² Yi-tsing reproduces the same form of the name in another treatise of the same Vinaya, viz. the Mūlasarvāstivāda Ekaśatakarma,³ wherein the same episode is repeated in an abridged form. The reading Savaravati is undoubtedly due to an attempt at correction to substitute for the unknown Saravati a name which evoked the idea of the savage tribes of the Savaras who inhabited the central plateau on the southern border of the basin of the Ganges. The corresponding passage of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins is known to us only from the Chinese version due to Puṇyatara, which appears, owing to the fault of the translator or of the original, in a state of inextricable confusion. After having given Mount Uśīra (Yeou-chi-lo) as the northern limit, it adds: ‘beyond that mountain, and not far off, there is the tree So-lo by the source with rushes’.⁴ The ‘source with rushes’ seems to be the equivalent of Saravati, ‘[the water] which has some reeds,’ and the tree So-lo=Sāra or Sālā seems to go back to the same original. Through and through, this Vinaya gives ‘the river of the Bamboos’, as the limit in the North-East which too evokes the Saravati. Such as it is, the passage:

3. Tok., XVII, 5, 57-b, 2.
4. Tok., XVI, 4, 59-a, 17.
is not then utilisable. The Pali *Vinaya* of the Sthavira school
substitutes *Salalavatī* (with the variants *Sallavatī* and *Salilavatī*,
though the evidence of *Jātaka*, I, 49, and the *Sumangalavilāsini*, I,
173, confirms the reading *Salala*) for *Śrāvati*. It makes that river
the boundary in the south-east: *puratthima-dakkhināya disāya
Salalavati nāma nadi*. The direction of the south-east in the
Pali work partly agrees with the direction of the south in the
*Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. It is in absolute contradiction
of the Brāhmanical conception of the Śrāvati which, separating
the North and the East, must flow to the north-west of the country
of the Middle, *i.e.* Madhya-desa, which is the land of strict
observance.

The city of Śrāvati (Śrāvati-nagarī), which the *Vinaya* of
the Mūlasarvāstivādins place just on this side of the river Śrāvati,
is no better known than the river itself. A city of the same name,
it is true, appears in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, XV, 97, as the capital
of Lava, son of Rāma, while the latter’s other son reigned at
Kuśāvatī:

स निवेश्य कुषावत्या रिपुनागांकुण्यं कुषम्।
शरावत्यां सतां सूक्ततैनितास्वल्बं लब्धम्।

This is at least the text adopted by Mallinātha and generally
accepted on the authority of that commentator. But the commen-
tators Vallabha, Vijayananda-sūri and Caritravardhana read:
Śrātastyāṁ ca, and Hemādri and Sumativijaya have: Śrāvatyāṁ ca.
And in fact, the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which Kālidāsa
follows, calls the capital of Lava Śrāvastī in the text of Bombay
CVIII, 5, as in the text of Calcutta, CXXI, 4 (श्रवस्तीति
पूरी रम्या आविष्ठा च तवस्य च). Actually, according to all the
texts of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Lava reigned over Uttara-Kośala while
Kuśa ruled over Kośala proper (कोशलेश्वर कुशां वीरमूच्छितेषु तथा तवस्ये च).
Śrāvasti was the capital of Uttara-Kośala. The city and the

2. Gorresio’s edition, CXIII, 24 has Śrāvasti :
लब्धम् तु पूरी रम्या आविष्ठा लक्षितविश्वासाः।
3. [The *Raghuvaṁśa* (XVI, 31 ff.) suggests that Kuśāvatī lay in a
territory to the south of the Vindhyas, apparently in the present Raipur-
Bilaspur-Sambalpur region which was called Kośala at least before the middle
of the fourth century when the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta
was composed. This country was regarded as Kośala proper while the
Ayodhya region was known as Uttara-Kośala. Cf. Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s. v.]
river of Saravati on the confines of the North and the East have nothing to do here.

A precise location of the site of Gonarda with reference to Saravati, which is not to be found, must then be given up. But one fact subsists. In the traditional division of Aryavarta into two regions, viz. North and East, Gonarda, treated grammatically as a locality of the ‘Orientals’, is not in the North, however may have come its secondary orientation. It is then not to be surprised if Varahamihira, the only known author who mentions Gonarda after the texts already cited, places Gonarda among the countries of the south in his astrological chart of India (Brhat Samhita, XIV, 12: अथ दक्षिणेन लंका ... महकुच्छा ... वनवासी ... कोंकणामीरा: आ करवे नाथव (sic. न) तंक दक्षिणसरस्वतेवरलका: कुणांत ... नातिसंय ... तुंबवनकार्यणे यका:) The name of Gonarda appears twice more in the Brhat Samhita, in the texts of two purely astrological groupings: IX, 13: अन्वेषनात्तरात मन्देशाविशालजीवियोगमतान्।

And XXXII, 22: गोनधीवेदेनानुत्तरात मन्देशाविशालजीवियोगमतान् हृदित॥

In his geographical nomenclature, Varahamihira seems to throw the names at the hazard of the metre, so that nothing about their relative position can be inferred from a stand on the order of classification. Among these names of the southern regions, there is one, however, which deserves detaining attention. This is the name of Tumbavana. But the locality is, as far as I know, completely unknown in literatures. Nevertheless, in the Paramatthajotikā, his commentary on the Suttanipāta, Buddhaghoṣa remarks on some verses of the Pārāyana, wherein Gonarda is mentioned: Ujjeni=c=āpi Gonaddham Vedisam Vana-savhayaḥ, that ‘Vana-savhaya (literally, ‘which bears the name of a forest’) designates Tumbavana-nagara, others maintaining that this is Vanasāvatthi’ (Vana-savhaya=ti Tumbavana-(na*)garam vuccati, Vanasāvatthin=ti pi eke). The gloss is quoted by Andersen-Smith’s

1. [The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa mentions Gonarda along with the countries of the southern and western parts of India. See chapter LVIII, verses 20-29, though the stanzas appear to be an adaptation from those of the Brhat Samhita. But the Purāṇas generally mention Gonarda along with the eastern countries (cf. above, p.29, note 2).]
edition of the *Suttanipāta*. Thus, according to the statement of Buddhaghosa, Tumbavana would be the step between Vidiśā and Kauśāmbi, on the route from Gonaddha-Gonarda towards the Yamunā. In fact, in the *Stūpa* of Sanchi near the site of Vidiśā (lat. 23° 28’ N.; long. 77° 48’ E.), five inscriptions commemorate the donations made by some inhabitants of Tumbavana. Among the benefactors of the *Stūpa*, are represented the inhabitants of Māhiśmati, Ujjayinī and Vidiśā. It is astonishing not to meet some people of Gonarda.

The authenticity of the geographical nomenclature in the introduction of the *Pārāyaṇa* is confirmed by a decisive trait. Bāvari is here represented as settled on the bank of the Godāvari, in the region of Aḷaka:

So Assakassa visaye Aḷakassa samāsane
vasi Godhāvari-kule utchenena ca phalena ca 11 (verse 2)

When his disciples leave him, their first step towards the North is the city of ‘Patiṭṭāna of Aḷaka’ (*Aḷakassa Patiṭṭhānaḥ*, v. 36). Such is at least the text adopted by the editors, Fausboell and Andersen-Smith. But the material furnished by the latter shows that, in the two passages, the Burmese manuscripts have Mulaka instead of Aḷaka. The inscription of Śri-Puḷumāyi at Nasik, enumerating the provinces annexed by Gautamiputra to his empire, names the country of Mulaka which it puts together with the country of Asaka (Assaka) exactly as the *Pārāyaṇa* does: *Asiko-Asaka-Mulaka-Surātha-Kakur-Āparanta-Anūpa-Vidabha-Ākar-Āvati*. The latest editor of the inscription, M. Senart, wrote about the name Mulaka: “The Mulakas remain shrouded in obscurity. Bhagwanlal adduced the dynasty of the Muṇḍakas, known from the Viṣṇu *Purāṇa*; and the way in which they are here mentioned together with the Sakas and Tukhāras is such as to commend the hint. But I am doubtful about the change of $i$ into $a$.”

Thanks to the text of the *Pārāyaṇa* the mystery is

2. [Tumbavana is modern Tumain in the Guna District of the former Gwalior State. See the Tumain inscription of the Gupta year 116, which mentions Tumbavana, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 115ff.]
3. Lüders’ List, Nos. 201, 202, 449, 450, 520.
solved. The site of Mulajaka may also be determined with enough precision, since it is between Asaka (Assaka, Ásmaka) where exists the city of Pratiśhāna (Patīthāna), now-a-days Paithan on the upper Godāvari, near its source, and Suraśha (Surāśṭra) which is the modern peninsula of Kathiawar. Mulajaka should then indicate the portion of the coast with the rear-country lying to the north of Bombay, i. e. Gujarāt.¹

I shall perhaps be accused of attaching an excessive importance to the order of succession in which the names of provinces are enumerated in the inscription of Pulumāyi. But the inscription of Rudradāman at Girnar, which goes up to the same epoch, also contains a list of provinces subdued by Rudradāman, the adversary of the Sātakarni dynasty, to which Gautamiputra and Pulumāyi belonged. His domain is partly formed of the territories conquered from the Sātakarnis. The following are found in this list: Ákar-Ávanti, Anūpa, Surāśṭra, Kukur-Áparānta, etc. (पूर्वपराकरावत्यनुपनिवद्यानसुराश्ट्रस्वभाषक्षियानुपनिवृत्तियानुपनिवृत्तियानुपनिवृत्ति). But here the order of succession is the reverse, since Rudradāman extended his conquests from the north to the south, starting from the region of Ujjayanī, his capital, whereas Gautamiputra, starting from the banks of the Godāvari, marched conquering from the south to the north.

The memory of the country of Mulajaka is perhaps not entirely effaced from the Purānic tradition. In the genealogy of the race of Ikṣvāku, the Vīṣṇu Purāṇa (IV, 4) assigns a son named Ásmaka to Kalmāsapāda. Ásmaka's son and successor was Mulajaka, surnamed Nārikavaca, because some women hid and saved him at the time of the general massacre of the Kṣatriyas. Ásmaka is clearly an eponymous hero, the eponym of the country of Ásmaka, the 'Stony' territory (asi[m]a= 'stone'), situated to the south of Avanti and closely connected with it. Cf. Avantya-Ásmakā in the Gaṇapātha under the Kārta-Kaujap-ādayah Gaṇa and Ásmak-Ávanti in the Sarvāstivādin Vinaya episode of Koṭikarna. The Mūlasarvastivādin Vinaya has Aśm-Áparāntaka which Cowell and Neil wrongly

¹. [Mulajaka was situated close to Ásmaka and the Godāvari and the city of Pratiśhāna lay in it. Paithan lies in the Aurangabad District of the former Hyderabad State. Mulajaka was therefore the area around that District which was sometimes included in Ásmaka. See above, pp. 154-55.]
read: *asmāt parāntaka.* The relation between Āśmaka and Mulaka so clearly expressed in the *Pārāyaṇa* (so Assakassa visaye Mulakassa samāsane, v. 2) suggests that the filiation indicated in the *Purāṇa* between king Āśmaka and king Mulaka interprets a geographical relation by the genealogy.

It will be less astonishing to meet in a section of the *Sutta-nipāta* with some details, so precise, of the geography of the regions that encircle the Gulf of Cambay, if it is remembered that one of the pearls of the Collection, viz. the admirable *Dhaniyasutta,* has the bank of the Mahī for its scene. The shepherd Dhaniya is settled here (*anūṭīre Mahīyā samāna-vāso*). The Buddha passes a night on the bank of the river (*anūṭīre Mahīy=eka-ratti-vāso*). The audacity of a poet and a local inspiration must have been necessary for bringing the Buddha in these exotic quarters so far from his real activity, in close contact of the sea frequented by the barbarians.  

3. [See above, p. 215, note 1. For the situation of the Āśmaka country, see above, pp. 154-55. Only some of the provinces of the kingdoms of Gautami-putra Sātakarni and Rudradāman can be regarded as new annexations.]
Some years ago, no less than five copper-plate charters of the time of three emperors of the Gupta dynasty were discovered at a place called Dāmodarpur near the Phulbari Police Station in the Balurghat Sub-Division of the Dinajpur District, North Bengal. One of these records refers to the Gupta emperor Budhagupta (477-95 A.D.), the uparika Mahārāja Jayadatta, viceroy of the Purṇḍravardhana bhukti, and the āyukta Gaṇḍaka (or Śaṇḍaka) who was in charge of the Koṭivarṣa viṣaya. Gaṇḍaka is said to have been helped in the administration of the Koṭivarṣa district by the nagarāṣṭhīṁ Rbhpāla, sārthavāha Vasumitra, prathama-kulika Varadatta and prathama-kāyastha Viprapāla. The sṛṇṭhīṁ Rbhpāla one day approached the adhiṣṭhān-ādhikaraṇa, i.e. the office of administration at the headquarters of the district, with the following petition: हिमवनिघरे कोकामुखवामिनि: बालारः कुलवाघा: स्वेतवराहस्वामिनोपि सत्ता कुलवासा: अस्मत्सत्तांसति दुष्यामिनिदये होक्ताप्रामो पूर्व मया भव्यदा अतिसूक्तका:।

[The petition continues with a request for assistance.]

After having examined Rbhpāla's application, the āstvālas Viṣṇudatta, Vijayanandin and Sthāpu- nandin reported that some Kulyaṇās of land at the rate of three Dināras per Kulyaṇāpa might be sold to the sṛṇṭhīṁ, because: अनेन हिमवनिघरे तयोः कोकामुखस्वामित्वराहस्वामिनो: अभवदा क्षेत्रकुलवासा एकादश दत्तका:। तदर्भव महा देवकुलवक्षयकारणे युक्तमेतदु विख्यर्मये तद्वेत्तासामिपुष्मूि मासतु दातुःसमिति:।

It should be pointed out that we have quoted above the epigraphic texts with the elimination of minor grammatical errors.1

The expression *Himavac-chikhara* in the passages quoted above literally means ‘a peak of the Himalayas’. But the village called Ḍoṅgā-grāma, where the donated lands were situated and where further lands were applied for, does not appear to have been far from Dāmodarpur, the findspot of the charter in question. The village is also mentioned in another Dāmodarpur record that was issued in the Gupta year 124 during the reign of Kumāragupta I. A second Dāmodarpur grant of the time of Budhagupta, dated in the year 163, mentions Vāyi-grāmaka which is no other than the modern Bāigrām in the Bogra District, not far away from the findspot of the record. The Dāmodarpur inscription of the Gupta year 224 refers to the purchase of five Kulyavāpas of land by the *Kulaputra* Amṛtadeva hailing from Ayodhyā for the following purpose: 

अन्तःराशये भगवतः: श्वेतवराहस्वामिनो देवकुषे 
कण्डकृतप्रतिष्ठानकारकर्णाय 
विभवहस्तस्वरलर्समास्थिरां 
दीपाद्योपणाय 
च अप्रदायम्मेण 
ताम्रपट्टीकन्यक्षेत्रस्तोत्कं 

datiṣṭhitītātmani. 

In connection with the grant of land to the god Śvetavarāhasvāmin in this case, mention has been made of Svacchanda-pāṭaka, Lavaṅgasikā, Sāṭuṇvan-āśramaka, Paraspatikā, the Jambu-nādi and Pūraṇavṛndikahari. Of these, Pūraṇavṛndikahari has been identified by some scholars with modern Brindakoori, 14 miles to the north of Dāmodarpur. It is therefore almost certain that the lands granted by Ṛbhupāla to the gods Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin lay in the Dāmodarpur region in the southern part of the Dinajpur District. But the temples of the two gods in question were situated in the Himalayan region far away from Dāmodarpur. It has therefore been suggested by some scholars that the mountainous region about the northern fringe of the modern territory of Bengal formed parts of the Koṭi- 

varaṇa viṣaya (Dinajpur area) or the Puṅḍravardhana bhūkti (North Bengal).¹ This hypothesis is apparently due to the fact that nobody has so far been able to determine the exact location of the temples of Kokāmukha and Śvetavarāha in the Himalayas.

A tīrtha called Kokāmukha or Varāha-kṣetra is known from the *Mahābhārata*² and the *Purāṇas*. Chapters 219 and 229 of the

---

². See III, 48, 158; XIII, 25, 52.
Brahma Purāṇa locate the holy place of pilgrimage in the Himalayas. The Brahma Purāṇa not only refers to the Kokāmukha tirtha in the Himalayas but also to the Varāha form of Viṣṇu installed there and to the river called Kokā which runs through the place. Cf. कोकेषितः प्रविष्टाः लोके शिशरादिष्टसाधिताः II (११९०१७)
कोकामुखी निवासित विश्वास गिरिराजसाधिताः ।
तीर्थकोटिग्रहणयोः महूपरिपालिता II (११९०१६)
वराहद्वैप्रासलनाः पितरः कनकोज्वलकाः ।
कोकामुखे गतमया क्रुता देवभेन विणुगण । II (११९०१९)
एवं महोक्तं वरदस्य विष्णुः कोकामुखे विवर्षवराहमुः (११९०१६), etc.
But the Brahma Purāṇa does not help us at all in determining the exact location of the temple of Varāha at Kokāmukha in the Himalayas. For this, we have to examine other Purānic texts. In this connection, attention of scholars may be drawn to the Varāha Purāṇa.

Chapter 140 of the Varāha Purāṇa is styled Kokāmukha-māhātmya-varṇana. Here Varāha (Viṣṇu in the Boar form) declares to the goddess Earth:

तव कोकामुखे नाम यन्मया पूर्वभागितम् ।
बदरीति च विष्णुम गिरिराजविलासलम् II
स्वानं लोकांगतं नाम म्लेच्छराजसाधितम्।
क्षणवचारं म मुख्यामिएवेंसत्संस्तयः II (१४००१६-५)

According to this passage, only three places on the earth are the abodes of Viṣṇu and they are: (१) Kokāmukha, (२) Badaṛ or Badarikāśrama, and (३) Lohārgala, all in the Himalayas. Chapter 141 of the Purāṇa, styled Badarikāśrama-māhātmya-varṇana, refers to a number of holy spots in the region of the tirtha now known as Badarinārāyaṇa. They are Brahma-kुंḍa, Agnisatya-pada, Indraloka, Pañcasikha, Catuḥ-srotah, Vedadhāra, Dvādāśāditya-kुंḍa, Lokapāla, Sthala-kुंḍa amongst hills, Meruvara, Mānasodbheda, Pañca-saraḥ, Somābhiseka, Soma-giri, Urvāsī-kuṇḍa, etc. Chapter 151 of the Varāha Purāṇa, styled the Lohārgala-māhātmya-varṇana, refers to the holy spots belonging to
the Lohârgala tîrtha in the land of the Mlecchas in the Himalayas.  

The holy spots in Lohârgala are Pañca-sara, Nârada-kunda, Vasîtha-kunda (where five streams are falling from the Himakûta), Saptarshi-kunda (where seven streams fall from the Himavat-parvata), Sarabhaniga-kunda (where the stream falls from the Himavat-parvata), Agnisaraha-kunda, Bṛhaspati-kunda (where falls a stream which is Himakûta-samârita), Vaîśvânara-kunda (where fifteen streams fall from the Himavat-parvata), Umâ-kunda, Mahêsvara-kunda (where three streams fall from the Himavat-parvata), Brahma-kunda (where four streams fall from the Himâlaya), etc.


1. Cf.
as—पञ्चयोजनविस्तारं क्षेत्रं कोकामुखः मम, तत्सिन्नं कोकामुखं रम्यं तिथ्यमि\n\daksināmuḥ, \bhārahaśyaṃdāya tīṣṭhām dibhūtuḥ, \pasyaśātyo tīṣṭhām pūryākṣītāḥ, \vāmōtāsātmam kuṭaḥ \bhāmaḥṣṭānām\n\sāmānām, etc. It is quite clear from the description of the \kokāmukha tīrtha in the \varāha purāṇa that two rivers named \kokā and \kausikī as well as their confluence were intimately \associated with the holy region.

There are several rivers of the name \kausikī in different \parts of India. But the only \kausikī that can be associated with a \kṣetra of \varāha as well as with a river called \kokā is the \kausikī, modern Kośi, running from Nepal by the western \borders of the Purnea District of Bihar. The river is known in \Nepal as the Sun-Kośi (probably Svarṇa-Kausikī) and some of \its tributaries have names like Arun-Kośi, Duddh-Kośi, etc. The ancient \kokāmukha tīrtha or \varāha-kṣetra is situated on the bank of the Sun-Kośi in Nepal and is now popularly \known as \bārāh-chatra. \Chatra is the common corrupt form \derived from Sanskrit \kṣetra.

It is unfortunate that in most maps of Nepal no locality \called \varāha-kṣetra or \bārāh-chatra is indicated. Of course \Dhankuta a little to the north and Bijapur to the east of the holy \region are found even in ordinary maps. E. Thornton’s \Gazetteer of India (London, 1886, s.v.) spells the name wrongly as \vārdhachattra instead of \varāhachattra (with d wrongly printed for a) and \says, “Town in Nepal State; situated on the left bank of the \San-Kuśi river, 124 miles east-south-east of Khatmandu. \Lat. 26° 57’, long. 87° 4’.” The \Gupta Press Directory \pañjikā (in Bengali) observes, “\varāhachattra.—The image of \varāhadeva, the third incarnation of Lord Viśṇu, is placed on the \Dhavalāgiri near the kingdom of Bhūṭān forming part of the kingdom \of Nepal. A fair is held at the place every year during the full- \moon day of the month of Kārttika. From Calcutta to Jogbani \(\kāśțhār-Jogbani branch, B. & A. Ry.), the distance is 331 \miles \((via \rāṇāghāṭ and \lālgolāghāṭ). The foot of the \Dhavalāgirī peak is 20 miles from that place by a road along the Kuśi river; the \temple of \varāhadeva lies 20 miles above.” Although Bhutan \and the celebrated \Dhavalāgiri in Nepal are far away from the
Varāha-kṣetra or Barāh-chatra, the location of the holy place indicated above is fairly correct. The Barāh-chatra and the Kokā river have been placed in the same region in an old book entitled *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal* (being the substance of observations made during a Mission to that country in the year 1793) by Colonel Kirkpatrick, London, 1811. They are also indicated in the map inserted in the book. While describing the route from Khatmandu to Bijapur, the author says (pp. 324-25): From Ohdhang ghaut "To the conflux of the Arun and Soan-Kousi—7 [ghurries]; To Ukkhurria ghaut (the 2nd)—5 [ghurries]; To the Thumboor, i.e. the confluence of the Tumboor and Soan-Kousi at Tambraphede—26 [ghurries]; To Koka-Kola (which falls into the Soan-Kousi according to the map)—28 [ghurries]; To Barah-chatra—28 [ghurries]; To Chattraghaut (on the Kousi)—5 [ghurries]; To Bejapur—16 [ghurries]." The distance between the localities has been indicated by time, a ghurry being equal to 22½ minutes. But the estimates are only approximate as the time required in travelling in a hilly region can hardly be uniform. The word *kola* (probably from Sanskrit *kulyā*) means a stream and Kokākolā means the small river called Kokā. Thus we have here not only a Varāha-kṣetra but also the junction of the rivers Kauśikī (Sun-Kuśi) and the Kokā (Kokā-kolā). There is therefore no doubt that the Barāh-chatra in Nepal has to be identified with the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* and that the temples of the gods Kokāmukha and Śvetavarāhā, associated in the Dāmodarpur inscription with *Himavac-chikara*, were situated at this place.

The distance of the ancient Kokāmukha *tīrtha* or Barāh-chatra in Nepal from the Dāmodarpur region in the southern part of the Dinajpur District is about 150 miles by air. The inclusion of the above part of Nepal within the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* or the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* in the Gupta period seems to be quite out of question at the present state of our knowledge.

People of North Bihar have great regard for the Varāha-kṣetra even to-day. There is again no doubt that the culture of North Bengal was intimately associated with that of
North Bihar before the former territory was flooded by Mongolian migrations. It was therefore quite natural for the people of the Dinajpur region to visit the Kokâmukha tirtha even in the Gupta age. The śreṣṭhin Rbhopâla apparently went to the Varâhaksetra-Kokâmukha on pilgrimage and after having returned home dedicated a large area of land in his native district in honour of the two gods enshrined at the holy place. But it was not quite easy for him to send the income accruing regularly to distant Nepal. The pious Rbhopâla therefore made two temples of the same gods, near the lands originally granted, together with two storehouses.\(^1\) He appears to have installed in these temples two imitation-gods of the same names. That is why the gods in the Himavac-chikhara have been styled ādyâ, i.e. 'original'. This is further suggested by the distinction of the places indicated by the two expressions Himavac-chikhara and īka occurring in the second passage quoted above from Rbhupâla's record. About half a century after Rbhupâla, Amṛtadeva granted lands in favour of the temple of Śvetavarāha. This is no doubt one of the temples founded by Rbhupâla in the Dāmodarpur region and not that of the original god in the Himalayas. We have to take note of the fact that the expression Himavac-chikhara is conspicuous by its absence in the record of Amṛtadeva. Instead of any reference to the Himalayas, we find here the temple located in \(aṁra-yârya\), i.e., 'here in this forest,' which no doubt formed a part of the Koṭivarṣa viṣaya.

\(^1\) Cf. तलङ्कसामीपयुम्मोऽत्योरायकोशोकामुखस्वामिश्वेतवा- राहस्वामिनो-नीमलिमेवे देवकुल्लुभेतकोषित्कां तव, 'these two temples marked by the names of the said original gods, Kokâmukhasvâmin and Śvetavarāhasvâmin, as well as these two store-houses in the vicinity of that [land granted originally at Dośā-grâma in Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya].
XVIII

GAYĀ

The antiquity of the Gayā-tirtha has been the subject of a controversy for a long time. Recently a paper entitled 'Bihar' in the Agni-Purāṇa' has been published in the Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Vol.XL, Part i, 1954, pp. 1-7, where the problem has been discussed without reference to the views of earlier writers. In the concluding part of the said paper, the author draws our attention to the well-known stanza:

अयोध्या मकुरा माया काशी कांची अवतिका।
पुरी द्वारकाती चैव सत्तैता भोक्ताविका:॥

and observes, "This couplet was composed probably in the eighth century A.D., and, from the absence of any mention of Gayā, it appears that any importance it may have had then was only local and that it did not acquire a pan-Indian celebrity before this time. This is strengthened by the fact that while in (of?) the Gupta period there is only one inscription found at Gayā, in (of?) the Pāla period (c. 750—c. 1200) no less than six inscriptions are found here. These things evidently point to the growing importance of Gayā in the period subsequent to 750 A.D., i.e., in the period of the Agni-Purāṇa." We are sorry that we cannot agree with the author's contentions.

In the first place, it is not possible to assign the text of a Purāṇa as a whole, in all cases, to a definite date because it usually contains matter interpolated by various redactors in different ages. Moreover, the incorporation of a tradition in a work at a particular date does not prove that it was non-existent in an earlier age. It is therefore impossible to determine the antiquity of Gayā from its mention in the Agni Purāṇa alone.

Secondly, the date of the composition of the stanza, Ayodhya, etc., quoted above, is uncertain. But a theory based on the absence of Gayā in it seems to be merely a case of argumentum ex silenio. It is certainly impossible to believe that Prabhāsa, Puṣkara and Prayāga, which are not mentioned in the verse, attained all-India importance after the seventh century. The pilgrimage of a ruler of the North Marāṭhā country to Prabhāsa and Puṣkara is mentioned in an inscription of the second century A.D., while Prayāga is not only referred to in a Khila verse placed in the Rgveda, X, 75, but is also mentioned in an inscription as a holy place where a sixth century king of East Malwa committed religious suicide according to the injunction of the Dharmaśāstra writers. There is absolutely no doubt that these three tirthas, not represented in the stanza relied on by our author, became widely known many hundred years before the eighth century when the said verse is supposed to have been composed. The verse is found with some modifications once in the Brahmāṇḍa (IV, 40, 91) and Garuḍa (Pretakaṇḍa, 38, 5-6) Purāṇas and twice in the Kāśi-khaṇḍa (6, 68 and 23, 7) section of the Skanda Purāṇa. There is hardly any doubt that the date of its composition is later than that of a traditional stanza regarding the sanctity of Gayā, which is found in the epics as well as in most of the Purāṇas and Dharmaśāstra works. But this is not the only evidence to show that Gayā was already one of the most famous Indian tirthas long before the rise of the Pālas about the middle of the eighth century.

The Mahābhārata is believed to have assumed its present form between the fourth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D., while the Rāmāyaṇa is supposed to have had its present extent and contents as early as the second century A.D. The Tirtha-yātṛā section of the Vana-parvan of the Mahābhārata contains two

subsections on Gayā,¹ which point to the place as a great tīrtha. But what is more important is that both these subsections have one stanza in common, which is introduced in one case by the passage kūrtayanti purātanah² showing that it was an old gāthā handed down by tradition. The stanza runs as follows:

एष्ट्थम्या बहुव: पुनः वदवपेको गयाया व्रजेतु।

वजेत वासमेंघेन नीलं वा वृषभमुल्लेजु॥

That it was an old traditional gāthā is also clearly demonstrated by the fact that the same verse is quoted, sometimes with slight modifications (not affecting the reference to Gayā), again in the Anusāsanika-parvan³ and in the Rāmāyana⁴ as well as in numerous Purāṇas⁵ and Dharmāśatra works⁶. In many of these works, the verse is introduced as a gāthā sung by the Pitṛs or Rṣis. There cannot be any doubt that this gāthā was composed many centuries before the Pāla age and probably even before the rise of the Gupta in the fourth century A.D.

The Mahābhārata (III, 95) describes how, at Brahma-saras (within Gayā), Rājārti Gaya, son of Anūrtarayas, performed many sacrifices distinguished by ‘hundreds of mountains of food and thousands of lakes of clarified butter, many hundred rivers of curds, and streams of curries in thousands’ and how people in all lands used to sing gāthās on the subject. Elsewhere the same work (VII, 64) speaks of Gayā’s sacrificial altar of solid gold that was 30 yojanas long, 26 yojanas broad and 24 yojanas high and how, upon the completion of the sacrifice, 25 hills of food remained over together with many lakes and rivulets of savoury drinks. In consequence of this glorious performance, Brahma-saras and the ‘eternal-making banyan-tree’ (i.e. the Akṣaya-vāṭa) at the place are stated to have become famous throughout the three worlds.⁷ The same saintly king named Gaya is also known

¹. Calcutta ed., Ch. 84, verses 82-98; Ch. 87, verses 8-12.
³. Ch. 88, 14.
⁵. Cf. Matsya, 22, 6; Viṣṇu, 105, 10; Kārma, II, 34, 13; Brahma, 220, 32; Padma, Sṛṣṭi-kāṇḍa, 11, 65 or 68 and Ādi-kāṇḍa, 38, 17; Nārada, Uttara-kāṇḍa, 44, 5-6; etc.
⁶. Cf. Viṣṇu, 85, 63; Atri, verse 55; Bṛhaspati, verse 21; Likhita, verse 10; etc. (Chandāśītanāhītā, Calcutta, pp. 4, 113, 347, 426).
⁷. See also S. Sorenson, An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata, pp. 302-03.
from the *Rāmāyaṇa,* Bhāgavata Purāṇa, *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa,* Agni Purāṇa, *Vīru Purāṇa,* Vāmana Purāṇa, etc., although his parentage is sometimes given differently. The antiquity of the tradition is definitely proved by Asvaghosa’s *Buddhacarita* composed in the first or second century A.D., during the age of the Kuśānas. This work speaks of the Buddha’s visit to the hermitage called ‘the city of the royal sage Gaya’. The same person was later conceived as a great giant. The demon’s body is said to have been 125 yojanas in height and 60 yojanas in girth. It will be seen that, while the 25 hills of the *Mahābhārata* story were imagined to explain the existence of sacred hills in the Gaya area, the huge body of the demon was conceived as the hilly region, studded with holy spots, extending from Gaya to the coastal areas of the Bay of Bengal. Gaya’s head was believed to be represented by Gaya-sīras or Gaya-sīrsha (Gaya-sīras or Gaya-sīrṣa) at Gaya while Virajā or Jāipur in the Cuttack District of Orissa and Pithapuram in the Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh were taken to represent respectively his navel and feet. The frequent mention of the shaking of the earth in this connection in the Vāyu Purāṇa (Ch. 106) possibly hints at earthquakes that occasionally depopulated Gaya.

It may be noticed in this connection that the *Yājñavalkya-saṃhitā,* which does not specially deal with *tīrtha-māhātmya,* also recognises the greatness and sanctity of Gaya (Ācār-ādhyāya, verse 261):

बहुवाति गयस्तवसः सर्वमानन्त्यमहतुः।
तथा वर्ष्णयोदयां मथासु च विशेषतः।

The code of Yājñavalkya has to be assigned to the fourth century

1. Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, Ch. 107.
2. V, Ch. 15.
3. Ch. 34.
5. IV, Ch. 11.
6. Ch. 76.
7. XII, 87-88.
8. Cf. Vāyu Purāṇa, Ch. 105 ff., etc.
10. Cf. the deserted appearance of the holy place referred to by the Chinese pilgrims.
A.D.¹ although some scholars are inclined to ascribe it to 'the first two centuries of the Christian era or even a little earlier'.²

That Gaya was a famous place of pI pilgrimage during the Gupta age is also clear from the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. Fa-hien visited the place about the beginning of the fifth century when the locality offered a rather deserted appearance.³ According to Hiuen-tsang, who visited Gaya about 637 A.D., "This city was strongly situated but had few inhabitants; there were about 1000 Brahman families, descendants of the original Rṣi, and these were not subject to the king, and were treated by all with reverence... From ancient times, sovereigns who have spread their good government to distant peoples and in merit have excelled previous dynasties, all ascend this mountain (the Gaya mountain to the south-west of the city) and solemnly announce what they have done. On the top of the mountain was a stone Tope (Stupa) above 100 feet high built by Ashoka at the place where Buddha uttered the Pao-yun and other Śūtras."⁴ The Pao-yun has been taken to be the Ratnagarbhasūtra said to have been communicated to the disciples of the Buddha, assembled on the Gaya-śiras or Gaya-śīrṣa (Gaya-śiras or Gaya-śīrṣa) hill, identified by many scholars with the modern Brahmayoni hill near Gaya. The objections to this identification and to the location of ancient Gaya at the site of the present city of that name are not quite convincing. Moreover, those who object do not say that the ancient Gaya tirtha lay far away from present Gaya in a region outside Bihar. The Brāhmaṇas of Gaya referred to in the Chinese account are no doubt the ancestors of the celebrated Gayāla Brāhmaṇas of today. These Brāhmaṇas are mentioned in the Saktipur copper-plate inscription⁵ of king Laksmanaśena (circa 1179-1206 A.D.) of Bengal. They appear to have claimed descent from Rājarṣi Gaya. Hiuen-tsang's observations show beyond doubt that Gaya was already a famous holy place long

before the seventh century if not actually in the age of the Maurya emperor Asoka (circa 269-232 B.C.). But there is evidence to show that Gayā is a much older tirtha even earlier than the age of the Buddha.

Gayā as a personal name, with which the holy place called Gayā or Gaya (cf. Gaya-siras or Gayā° and Gaya-sirṣa or Gayā°) is intimately associated, is well known from the Rgveda¹ and Atharvaveda.² The unanimous testimony of the Puranic writers and medieval lexicographers suggests that the Gayā region was known to the Rigvedic seers as Kikaṭa.³ Although pilgrimage to holy places for the sake of merit seems to be a non-Aryan religious institution which took some time in being fully approved by the Brahmanical society, the importance of the holy hill called Gaya-siras at Gayā appears to have been recognised in very early times. This is suggested by Yāska's Nīrukta (12; 19) which, while explaining the Vedic passage tredhā nidadhe padam,⁴ quotes the view of an earlier authority named Aurnavābha saying that Viṣṇu plants his foot at Samārohaṇa, Viṣṇu-pada and Gaya-siras. These were evidently three holy spots. Since in the whole of India, there is only one Gaya-siras or Gaya-sirṣa (Gayā-siras or Gayā-sirṣa) near Gayā in Bihar, the tradition, attributed to Aurnavābha by Yāska who is believed by scholars to have flourished between 700 and 500 B.C.⁵, certainly points to the antiquity of Gayā as a recognised holy place of antiquity. The conclusion is supported by the frequent mention of the holy spots at Gayā and its neighbourhood in early Buddhist literature.

The earliest literary works of the Buddhists very often mention Gayā (also Gayā-tirtha, Gayā-sirṣa, Gayā-nadī and Gayā-puṣkariṇī) as well as a festival held there and called Gayā-phalgu or Gayā-phalgunī. See the Vinayapitaka,⁶ Samyutānākāya,⁷

---

¹ V. 9 1; X 63, 1 and 64, 1.
² I, 14, 4.
⁴ Rgveda, I, 22, 17.
Agnitattaranikāya, Suttanipāta, etc. All these works are to be assigned to dates before the beginning of the Christian era. The Buddha is stated to have stayed at Gayā on several occasions. It was at Gayā-sīrṣa that the well-known Gayāsūtra was preached by him. The evidence of the Buddhist works of the Gupta age supports what has already been said above on the strength of Brahmanical literature. Buddhaghoṣa (5th century) applies the name Gayā both to a locality and a bathing place near it; but Dharmapāla (circa 6th century) in his Udāna commentary mentions Gayā-nadi and Gayā-puṣkariṇī as two distinct bathing places, both known as Gayā-tīrtha and supposed to possess the power to wash away sins: “People went there, offered sacrifices to the gods, recited the Vedas, and immersed themselves in the water.” In Buddhist literature, Gayā is sometimes called Brahma-Gayā (cf. the name of old Brahma-saras and of modern Brahma-yoni at Gayā) to avoid its confusion with the Buddha’s Gayā.

The facts discussed above do not appear to support the contention that Gayā became an all-India tīrtha during the age of the Pālas (circa 750-1200 A.D.).

2. P. T. S., p. 47.
UDABHĀNDA

In the Vaijayanāţi,1 composed by Yādavaprakāśa in the 11th century A.D., there is a passage which runs: Gandhārās = tu Dihauḍas = sūṭh, ‘the Gandhāras are also known as the Dihauḍas’. The name Gandhāra signifying a people and their territory lying in Uttarāpatha, i.e. the North-Western Division of India, is well known to all students of Indian history. According to some late lexicons,2 Gandhāra has to be identified with Kāndhāhāra, i.e. Kandahār in Southern Afghanistan. But this is a mistake due to the similar sounds of the two names. Although it may be tempting to conjecture that modern Kandahār owes its name to the Gandhāra occupation of Southern Afghanistan in the early period of Indian history, it is certainly more probable that the name is a corruption of that of the city of Alexandria founded by Alexander the Great (Persian Iskandar or Sīkandar) in the land of the Arachośians near the site of modern Kandahār. There is definite evidence as regards the location of the Gandhāra janapada about the present Rawalpindi District of the Punjab and the Peshawar District of the North-Western Frontier in Pakistan.3 According to epic and Puranic traditions, the Gandhāra viṣṇya, which lay on both sides of the Indus, contained two great cities called Takṣasīlā and Puṣkalāvati. The remains of Takṣasīlā lie immediately to the east and north-east of the Saraikala Railway Junction, 20 miles north-west of Rawalpindi, in the valley of the river Haro. There are remains of three distinct cities, of which the southernmost and oldest occupied the site of an elevated plateau now known as the Bhir Mound. The ancient city of Puṣkalāvati or Puṣkarāvati, ‘the city of lotuses’, was situated on the Swat in the modern Prang-Charsaṭṭā-Mir Ziyārat region, about 17 miles north-east of Peshawar.

2. Cf. Šabdakalpaḍrama, s. v.
It is however really curious that Dihaṇḍa, as the name of the famous Gandhāra people, is known from no other source excepting the VaJayantī. This name seems therefore to have been actually based on a wrong reading of the manuscripts of Yādavaprakāśa’s work, whose geographical section is full of mistakes. A people is known not only after the land occupied by them, but very often also after their capital city, and we have to see if the form Dihaṇḍa may be associated with the name of the early medieval capital of the Gandhāra country.

Al-Birūnī, who was a contemporary of Yādavaprakāśa and wrote his celebrated work on India about 1030 A.D., refers to the ‘capital of Al-Kandahār (Gandhāra), i.e. Vaihānd’. Elsewhere he speaks of ‘Waihind, the capital of Kandhāra (Gandhāra), west of the river Sindh’, which is said to have been situated 14 farsakh (about 52 miles) to the south-east of Purshāwar (Peshawar). Both here and in another context, Al-Birūnī locates Vaihānd (Waihind) between Peshawar and the river Jhelam. There is no doubt that Vaihānd has to be identified with modern Und near Attock on the Indus. As Raychaudhuri points out, an Arabic work called Hudud-ul ‘Alam (982-83 A.D.) speaks of Waihind as a big city, with some Muslim population, under king Jayapūla who was a feudatory of the Ray of Kanauj, probably Pratihaṇḍa Vijayapūla. The Sanskrit form of the name is Udabhāṇḍapura (or Udakabhāṇḍapura) which was the capital of the great Śāhi king Lalliya (c. 875-90 A.D.) and his successors according to the Rājaṛaṅgini of Kalhana. According to Firishta, the dominions of the Śāhi king Jayapūla (c. 965-1001 A.D.), son of Ishtpāl (probably the same as Aṣṭapāladeva known from his coins), extended in length from Sirhind to Lamghan and in breadth from the kingdom of Kashmir to Mūltān. This ruler is further said to have resided in a fort, the correct reading of whose name is apparently Vaihānd, although some writers wrongly

1. Thus Yawāndā = tu Huruṣkakāh (sic. Turuṣkakāh); Śākhaya (sic. Sākhaya); Sūryārak-ādeyaḥ (sic. Sūrprakāš); Traiparās = tu Hahālā (sic. Daḥhālā); etc.
3. Ibid., p. 206.
4. Ibid., p. 317.
take it to be Bhatinda in the Patiala State. Firishta frequently refers to Jayapāla as the Rājā of Lahore and, as the king resided in the Vaihand fort 'for the convenience of taking steps for opposing the Muhammedans', it is hardly possible that the historian could have referred to a locality in the Eastern Punjab. It seems that, when the Śāhi possessions lying West of the Indus were threatened by the Turkish Musalmans of Ghazni, Jayapāla transferred his capital from ancient Udabhāṇḍapura to Lahore. But even then he himself resided at the old capital which now became the advance base of his operations against the Muhammedans. It is thus possible that the passage Gandhārās = tu Dīhanḍās = syuh is actually a mistake for Gandhārās = t = Udabhāṇḍās = syuh, 'the Gandhāras are also known as the Udabhāṇḍas'. But Udabhāṇḍa was probably another form of the name.

According to traditions, the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniska, who ruled over extensive regions in India and Central Asia, had his capital at the city of Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar) in the Gandhāra country. Al-Biruni says that Kanik (i.e. Kaniska) belonged to a dynasty of Hindu kings called Śāhis who were Turks of Tibetan origin and at first began to reign in Kabul. The last king of this house was Laga Tūrmān (i.e. Toramana) who was overthrown by his Brahmana minister Kallar, a predecessor of Jayapāla. Scholars have suggested the identification of Al-Biruni's Kallar with the great Lalliya Śāhi mentioned in the Rājatarangini. It is, however, interesting to note that Kalhaṇa represents the Śāhis as Kṣatriyas. It has also to be remembered that the Kashmirian author does not make any distinction between the early Śāhis and the Brāhmaṇa Śāhis who, according to Al-Biruni, succeeded them. We are told that, even before the

2. Cf. Rājataraṅgini IV, 140-43:
reign of king Lalitāditya (c. 730-66 A.D.), the Śāhi-mukhyas, or chiefs belonging to the Śāhi family, were employed in the Kashmir administration as Mahāpratihāra, Mahāsāndhivigrahika, Mahāśvalālika, Mahābhārīgārīka and Mahāśādhanika, the pañca-mahāśabda later conferred by king Lalitāditya on a single official named Mitraśarman whom he seems to have made his viceroy at Kanauj after having subdued king Yaśovarman. Of the Later Śāhis, described as Brāhmaṇa by Al-Bīrūnī, Kalhana mentions Lalliya’s successor and his son Kamaluka Toramāṇa (no doubt the same as Kamlū of Al-Bīrūnī, and Kamlū Rāy of Hindustan mentioned by other Arab writers), a contemporary of ‘Amr ibn Layth who ruled in the Khorassān-Kabul region about the last two decades of the ninth century A.D. Kamaluka is said to have been raised to the throne about 902-04 A.D. by a Kashmirian general. Kalhana also speaks of the Śāhi kings Bhīma and Thakkana. The former, who was the maternal grandfather of Diddā, queen of the Kashmirian king Kṣemagupta (950-58 A.D.), built a temple of Viṣṇu in Kashmir during Kṣemagupta’s rule. A general of the Kashmirian king Abhimanyu (958-72 A.D.) is said to have defeated the Śāhi king Thakkana who may have been the grandfather of Jayapāla. The latest Śāhi king mentioned by Kalhana is Trilocanapāla (1013-21 A.D.) whose struggle with the Hammīra, i.e. Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, is also described. Then, after having referred to the final collapse of Śāhi rule in another context, the Kashmirian author says that even in his days, i.e. in the middle of the 12th century A.D., ‘the appellation Śāhi throws its lustre on a numberless host of Kṣatriyas abroad, who trace their origin to that royal family’.1

It will be seen that the Kashmirians, who knew the Śāhis from before the middle of the eighth century down at least to the twelfth, regarded them as Kṣatriyas, although Al-Bīrūnī refers to the Hindu Śāhis of Turko-Tibetan origin and their successors of Brāhmaṇa origin. That the early Śāhis were regarded, in

UDABHĀNDA 235

Despite of their foreign origin, as Kṣatriyas in India is also indicated by another evidence. In the second quarter of the 7th century A.D., when the Chinese pilgrim Huien-tsang was passing through Uttarakhaṇḍa, Udakahānḍa or Udabhāṇḍapura was the place of residence or a secondary capital of the emperor of Kāpiṣa which then dominated over ten neighbouring States and comprised Lampāka (Laghman), Nagara or Nagarāhāra (Jalalabad), Gandhāra and Vārna (Bannu) and probably also Jāguḍā (Southern Afghanistan with Ghaznī as the chief city). About Gandhāra, the pilgrim says that its capital was Puruṣapura; ‘the royal family was extinct and the country was subject to Kāpiṣa; the towns and villages were desolate and the inhabitants were very few’. It seems that, under pressure of the Turks from the north and the Arabs from the south and west, the kings of Kāpiṣa left their western possessions in the hands of viceroy, and made Udabhāṇḍa their principal seat of residence. The reason why Udabhāṇḍapura was selected in preference to the older capital Peshawar is at present unknown. But it is possible that the new city was built by the Kāpiṣa kings for strategic reasons.

The facts that Kalhaṇa speaks of the Śahis with reference to the period earlier than that of Lalitāditya (c. 730-66 A.D.) and of Udabhāṇḍa as the capital of the Śahis at least from the time of Lalliya (c. 875-90 A.D.) and that Chinese evidence refers to the city as the residence of the emperor of Kāpiṣa about 645 A.D. would suggest that Huien-tsang’s king of Kāpiṣa was a Śahi ruler. It is interesting to note that this king has been described by Huien-tsang as a Kṣatriya.

1. This seems to be the Indian form that was at the root of the Chinese Wu-to-kia-han-chha. Cf. Watters, On Tun Choung’s Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 221.


3. Watters, op. cit., p. 199.

4. These viceroy seem to have been mentioned as the Satraps of Zaranj, capital of Seistan, and as Zambil or Rubil (probably Sanskrit Pratistambha) or Zambil (probably Sanskrit Janapāda) ruling over Southern Afghanistan. Whether the Kabul-Śahi was a viceroy or ‘the Śahi of Kabul’ indicating the paramount ruler cannot be determined. Cf. Ray, op. cit., pp. 165 ff.

5. Watters, op. cit., p. 123.
DACCA

Dacca is the Anglicised form of the name of the capital of East Pakistan (East Bengal). It is written in Bengali as Dhākā (cf. the same word literally meaning ‘covered’). The principal deity worshipped there is called Dhākeśvara. The name Dacca is also applied to a District and a Division of the Province. The real meaning of the name Dhākā (Dacca) has not been satisfactorily determined, although ‘Dacca Muslin’ was famous in the medieval world and Dhākā (apparently derived from the name in question) was the name applied to all muslins, imported through Kābul, throughout Central Asia. Prior to 1801, the annual advances for the Dacca muslin are said to have amounted to £250,000. According to the Hobson-Jobson by Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, the name is derived from the tree called Dhāk or Palās, and means ‘the wood of Dhāk trees.’ But nobody has taken the explanation seriously. According to some writers, Dacca is a corruption of the name of the ancient state of Davāka mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as a pratyanta, i.e. a state-bordering on the Gupta empire, about the middle of the fourth century A.D. Unfortunately the theory was always viewed at with a considerable amount of doubt and recent writers on the subject believe that the ancient kingdom of Davāka lay actually about the Dabokā region in the valley of the Kapilī river running through the Nowgong District of Assam.

It is usually believed that the fame and prosperity of Dacca are not older than the days of the Great Mughals. We know that the city is not mentioned in any record of the pre-Muslim period of Indian history. For a few centuries before and after the Muslim conquest of West Bengal in the beginning of the thirteenth century,

the celebrated city of Vikramapura was the administrative headquarters of East Bengal. There is difference of opinion as regards the location of this city; but some authors appear to be right in holding that it was washed away in the early medieval period by the waters of the Padmā whose erosive activities in the neighbourhood of Dacca have earned for her the name Kirtinālā, literally meaning ‘destroyer of fame (i.e., the fame-producing works of men)’. Nothing is known about the existence of the city of Dacca even long after the expansion of Muslim rule over East Bengal. During this period the neighbouring city of Suvarṇagrāma or Sonārgāon became the political centre of East Bengal. In the early years of the seventeenth century, during the reign of the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr, Sheikh 'Alāuddin Islām Khān (1608-13 A.D.) was appointed governor of the Subah of Bengal. Islām Khān transferred the provincial capital from Rājmahal to Dacca where he built a brick fort and a palace. It has been said that Islām Khān’s desire to subdue the Portuguese and Arakanese pirates, who were ravaging South-East Bengal about that time, was the main cause of the transference of the provincial headquarters to Dacca. The new capital of the province was styled Jahāngīr-nagar after the reigning Mughal emperor. The fame and prosperity of Dacca began from this time.

Although Dacca thus seems to have become a great city only in the early years of the seventeenth century, there is reason to believe that it enjoyed some amount of political importance even in the early Muslim and pre-Muslim periods. This is not only indicated by Islām Khān’s choice of the place as the provincial capital, but also by the very name of Dacca itself.

Stewart regards Dacca as a modern town since he could not trace its name in Abul Fazl’s Ain-i-Akbarī which gives an exhaustive account of Akbar’s dominions; but H. Blochman pointed out that the Mahall to which it belonged is actually mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbarī as Dhakkā Bāzū, although in Gladwin’s

translation of the work the name is spelt as *Dukha Bazoo.*

Blochman further points out that Ḡākā also occurs in Abul Fazl’s *Akbarnāmak* composed in 1584 A.D. and that A. Phayre refers it to 1400 A.D.2

The name Ḡākā (Dacca) is apparently a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit धाक्का (or possibly धाक्ककाका). As a matter of fact, this form of the name (together with the variant धाक्कात) is found in a large number of records belonging to the late medieval period. The word धाक्का is no doubt derived from Sanskrit धाक्का, meaning ‘a drum’, and it is interesting to note that the celebrated Kashmir chronicle, the *Rājatarāṅgini* composed by Kalhaṇa about the middle of the twelfth century, uses the word in the technical sense of a ‘drum-station’ or ‘watch-station’.

The *Rājatarāṅgini* (III, 227) has the following verse:

कुमर्वतीभिषने स प्रदेशे प्राप्तवांतलः।

ि कांस्य बांधुवनामां दोष शूरपुरे रिष्यतः॥

“Then he (poet Mātrgupta) reached, in the province of Kramavarta, the धाक्का called Kāmbuva, which is at present stationed at Śūrapura.” The same धाक्का is mentioned elsewhere (V, 39) in the following verse:

स्वातः पतनवरे तेन शूरपुरामिशे।

कुमर्वतश्र्यदेशस्यो दक्कोमृत्तिनिवेष्तिः॥

“In the excellent town of Śūrapura, founded by him (i.e. Śūra who was a minister of king Avantivarman, 858-83 A.D.), was lodged the धाक्का of the province of Kramavarta.”

In the same section of the *Rājatarāṅgini*, we have a third verse (V, 306) that runs as follows:

भृत्यीद्वयन्माध्य निधि शीक्षकवासिनः।

एकदा खमरागर्भं संग्रामस्यविशद्य गृहम्॥

“Then on one occasion Cakravarman (king of Kashmir, 923-37 A.D.), stripped of splendour, entered in the night in the house of Saṃgrāma who was the chief of the छामरास (landlords) and was living at the beautiful धाक्का.”


Scholars have suggested that there was in ancient Kashmir a famous watch-station at the village of Šūrapura (modern Hurpor). Drums must have been at the watch-station and were sounded to announce to the people things like the advent of enemies or any imminent danger. It is therefore clear that ‘the Dhakka called Kāmbuva’ really means ‘the watch-station that was situated at the locality called Kāmbuva’. This Dhakka, originally stationed at Kāmbuva in the province of Kramavarta, was transferred in the ninth century to the village of Šūrapura in the same province. The expression Kramavarta-pradesa-sthā seems to suggest that different pradesas of the ancient kingdom of Kashmir were endowed each with a Dhakka.

It seems to us that Dhākā (Dacca) was a similar watch-station during the days of the pre-Muslim rulers of East Bengal and thus had some political importance even in the early period. This suggestion appears to be supported by a passage in the Prākṛt-ānusāsana by Puruṣottama who is said to have adorned the court of king Lakṣmaṇasena (circa 1179-1206 A.D.) of Bengal. The only manuscript of this work so far discovered is known to have been copied in the year 385 of the Newari era of Nepal, which started from 879 A.D. The date of the copy is therefore 1264 A.D. The Prākṛt-ānusāsana describes several Prakrit dialects called Vībhāṣā, one of which is given the name Dhakka-bhāṣā, i.e. the dialect spoken in the region known as Dhakka. It may, however, be argued that Dhakka in this case does not really refer to Dacca in Eastern Bengal but is a corruption of the name of another land called Ṭakka which was situated in the Punjab. This view can hardly be accepted since the Ṭakka-devīya-vībhāṣā, i.e. the dialect spoken in the Ṭakka country, has been separately mentioned in Puruṣottama’s Prākṛt-ānusāsana.1 As a matter of fact, we have no knowledge of any other locality called Dhakka excepting the place of that name, now called Dhākā (Dacca), in Eastern Bengal (East Pakistan).

It may also be argued that Dacca could have hardly enjoyed so much cultural influence in the twelfth and thirteenth

centuries, when the political centre of the country was not at this place but at the neighbouring city of Vikramapura, (and later at Suvarṇagrāma in the same neighbourhood) to stamp its name on the dialect spoken in the locality. In our opinion, however, such a possibility is not altogether out of question.
XXI

KĀLAPRIYA AND BRAHMAŚILĀ

There is an interesting passage in Rājaśekhara’s Kāvyamāṇiśūdrā1 which refers to the Antarvedi tract bounded by the Ganges in the north, the Jumna in the south, Vīnaśana (the same as Kurukṣetra according to the Trikāṇḍaśēṣa2) in the west and Prayāga (Allahabad) in the east. Thereafter the passage runs—

तद्वेषवा दिशो विभेदज इत्याचाया। ततापि महोदयं मूलमधिकल्य हृति
यायावरीयः। अनिवतल्लाहीवाननिश्चितो दिनिबाधाः इत्येके। तथा हि यो
वामनस्वामिनः पूर्वः। स ब्रह्मास्तिलामः पारिभ: यो गाजिपुरस्य दलिण:। स काल-
क्रियस्योत्तर हृति। अविधिनिर्भयतिनिनिनियतमेव हृति यायावलीयः।
The reference to the four localities—Vāmanasvāmin in the west, Brahmaśilā in the east, Gādhipura in the north and Kālapiya in the south—is very interesting to the student of the historical, geography of ancient India, especially when we know that the author of the Kāvyamāṇiśūdrā lived for long at Kanauj, the capital of his Pratīhāra patrons. In the notes appended to the G. O. S. edition of the above work (pp. 243-44), it has been suggested that the said four localities were situated respectively in the western, eastern, northern and southern suburbs of the city of Kanauj.

It has been pointed out that, according to the Padma Purāṇa,3 Rāma built a temple for the god Vāmana at Mahodaya, i.e. Kanauj. The author of the notes, referred to above, conjectures that the temple of Vāmana was probably situated at the western end of the city. He admits that Rājaśekhara’s own Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa (X, 88) applies the name Gādhipura to Kanauj itself, and indeed this identification is supported by a number of authori-

2. III, 14—कृश्वेदेवं विनधानम्.
3. Dey, Geographical Dictionary, p. 87; Padma Purāṇa, Sṛṣṣi-khaṇḍa, Chapter 35 (Vaṅgāvāṇī edition, Ch. 38, 186-87); Uttarakaṇḍa, Ch. 53.
ties including Hemacandra. Still, however, he concludes that Gādhipura was a locality in the northern suburbs of Kanauj, while Kālapriya was at its southern end. It has been rightly pointed out that the dramas of Bhavabhūti, who lived at the court of king Yasovarman of Kanauj (c. 725-52 A. D.), were staged before the audience assembled in connection with the festivities held in honour of the god Kālapriyanātha, the presiding deity of the locality called Kālapriya. The views of the commentators on Bhavabhūti’s works identifying Kālapriyanātha with the god Mahākālesvara of Ujjain or with the presiding deity of Padmapura, Bhavabhūti’s birthplace, have, again, been rightly rejected. It has then been suggested that Kālapriyanātha was probably the presiding deity of the city of Kanauj which was the capital of Bhavabhūti’s patron and that possibly the god’s temple was situated in the southern suburbs of the city. The position of Brahmasīlā at the eastern end of Kanauj has been conjecturally determined on the strength of the identification of the other three localities.

It will be seen that the location of the four places in the suburbs of Kanauj is actually based on mere conjecture. It must be admitted that Gādhipura was either another name of Kanauj or at least the name of a part of the city. We should therefore search for a locality called Kālapriya to the south of Kanauj. According to Bhavabhūti’s works, the poet’s ancestral home was at Padmapura which lay in the Deccan, i.e. to the south with reference to the shrine of the god Kālapriyanātha. It is strange that some scholars have identified this Padmapura with Padam Pawaya (ancient Padmāvatī) near Narwar (ancient Nalapura) in the former Gwalior State. The prelude to Bhavabhūti’s Vīrācarita places Padmapura in Dakṣināpatha or the Deccan, while the Mañalimādhava, with more definiteness, locates it in Vidarbha (modern Berar) in Dakṣināpatha. The identification of Bhavabhūti’s birthplace with modern Padampur in the Bhāndara Dis-
trict, near the Amgaon Railway Station, seems to be reasonable. The village of Padampur, it may be pointed out, lies directly to the south of Kanauj. It is very interesting to note that the only Kālapriya known to history and situated, like both Kanauj and Padampur, to the west of long. 80, appears to be modern Kālpī on the Jumna in the Jalaon District of U. P., about 75 miles directly to the south of Kanauj. It was an important station between the Ganges-Jumna Doab and the South not only during the Muslim period, but also in the early medieval age. In the first quarter of the tenth century A.D., when Indra III (915-28 A.D.), the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the Deccan, was advancing against Kanauj, the capital of his Pratihāra enemies, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army was for a time encamped at Kālpī where it crossed the Jumna. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV give the story in the following verse:

यमाणविधिपदलभातिविषम कालिप्रदायाः
तीर्था यल्लुर्गोराभयमुन। श्रीतप्रतिपिनाः
रेवेदिह रहोहयारिगर निर्मलमुनुलिं
नामामापि कुंशसनमिति स्मारति परा नीयते ॥

1. The date of his northern expedition is usually supposed to be 916 A.D. as Indra III is believed to have died in 917 A.D. Both the dates are, however, wrong since the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king is known to have ruled till 928 A.D. Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXII, pp. 49-50.

2. Cf. Altekar The Rāṣṭrakūtās and their Times, p. 102. There is a pun on the word Kūlakshala which indicates the city of Kanauj as well as a field covered with kusa grass. According to the much exaggerated claim put forward in the verse, Indra III totally destroyed the city of Kanauj which from that time became a field of kusa grass. There is however no reason to believe that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were successful in razing Kanauj to the ground or to paralyse Pratihāra power in the Doab even for a short period. That Malwa was occupied by Indra III is concluded from the wrong identification of Kālapriyanātha with Mahākāleśvara of Ujjain. For Pratihāra possession of Malwa, cf. the Partabgarh inscriptions of Mahendrapāla II, dated 946 A.D. The verse—

यथ स पप्रेसि तिष्ठित्व सिद्धिपुरुसजयमयाः
गिति गूर्जरहूदासात् कालेजरमिच्चकूटायात

in the Deoli (940 A.D.) and Karshad (959 A.D.) plates of Kṛṣṇa III does not imply that the Pratihāra fortresses of Kālanjara and Citrākūṭa (Chitor) were captured by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas who, however, merely threatened them. The claim of Govinda IV having been served by the Ganges and the Jumna does not, again, prove his mastery over the Doab, but simply refers to the artificial representation of Gaṅgā and Yamunā at his palace gate. The prāṣāti of the Cālukya chief Narasimha, probably a feudatory of Indra III to have defeated Pratihāra Mahipāla I and to have bathed his horses at the junction of the Gaṅgā-sārdaiṣṭa as found in the Panṭha-Bhāsaṇa appears to be a hopeless
The identity of Kālapriya with Kālpī is proved by epigraphic evidence. In the Khaḍāvadā inscription (1484 A.D.) of king Ghiyās Khaljī of Manḍū, Husangā Gori (Hushang Alp Khān Ghūrī) is represented as having defeated Kādira Sāhi (Abdul Qādir), ruler of Kālapriya-pattana, and having made the latter’s son, Salaha, a Khān at Manḍū. This Kālapriya-pattana is apparently different from Ujjain and Kanauj and is no doubt the same as Kālpī. The name Kālapriya applied to Kālpī can thus be traced to a date as late as the fifteenth century A.D.¹ At Kālpī, there still exists a temple of Kālapriya. Kālpī must have formed a part of the Kanauj kingdom under Yasovarman. The annual fair and festivities held in honour of Kāliprianātha were no doubt the most famous in the whole kingdom. It was, therefore, not at all unnatural that Bhavabhūti’s dramanās were staged on such occasions at Kālpī.

If the Padma Purāṇa is to be believed, the temple of Vāmanasvāmin was situated somewhere in the city of Kanauj. We should, therefore, search for a locality called Brahmasilā to the east of Kanauj. This Brahmasilā seems to be no other than Barhamshil mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī who says, “A man marching from Kanoj to the south between the two rivers Jaun and Ganges passes the following well-known places:—Jajjamaun, 12 farsakh from Kanoj, each farsakh being equal to four miles or one Kuroh; Abhāpurī, 8 farsakh; Kuraha, 8 farsakh; Barhamshil, 8 farsakh; the Tree of Prayāga, 12 farsakh, the place where the waters of the Jaun join the Ganges, where the Hindus torment themselves with various kinds of tortures which are described in the books about religious sects.”² As regards the measure of distance, Al-Bīrūnī says that the Krośa is equal to ‘our mile,’ yojana is equal to 8 miles or to 32,000 yards, and ‘1 Kuroh = ¼ yojana’.³

exaggeration. The decline of the Gurjara Pratihāras had nothing especially to do with the northern expedition of Indra III. It was hastened by constant warfare on all fronts and especially by the protracted struggle for the throne (after the death of Mahīpāla I) about the middle of the tenth century A.D. Cf. Ray, D.H.N.D., Vol. I, pp. 580-90.

³. Ibid., p. 167.
One *farsakh* was therefore equal to 4 Arabic miles and to $3\frac{3}{8}$ English miles.¹

Al-Bīrūnī thus gives the distance from Kanauj to Jajjamaau as about 45 miles; from Jajjamaau to Abhāpurī as about 30 miles; from Abhāpurī to Kuraha as about 30 miles; from Kuraha to Brahmasīlā as about 30 miles; and from Brahmasīlā to Prayāga or Allāhābad as about 45 miles. Brahmasīlā thus lay about 45 miles to the west or north-west of Allāhābād and was situated in the Doab between Kanauj and Allāhābād. It was therefore to the east or south-east of Kanauj.

---

CARTOGRAPHY

There is no special word in Sanskrit for ‘a map’. The word nakshā (from Arabic nagshah) has been adopted in most modern Indian languages in this sense, although it also signifies ‘a picture, a plan, a general description, an official report.’ In Eastern India, the word māna-citra has been coined to indicate the English word ‘map’. The absence of any special Sanskrit word raises the question whether map-drawing was at all known to the Indians of old. There is, however, reason to believe that in ancient India a map or chart was regarded as a citra or ālekhyā, i.e. ‘a painting, a picture, a delineation’. It will be seen that the Sanskrit word citra and its synonyms have practically the same meaning as the Arabic word nagshah.

That maps were made in ancient India seems to be quite clear from the evidence of the New History of the T’ang Dynasty1 which gives an account of the Chinese general Wang Huien-tse’s exploits in India in the year 648 A.D., as to how with the help of 1000 Tibetan soldiers and 7000 Nepalese horsemen he defeated and captured Na-fu-ti O-lo-na-shuen, who had usurped Chi-lo-i-to’s (i.e. Śilāditya-Harṣavardhana’s) throne, in a battle near the town of Cha-puo-ho-lo, and received the submission of 580 walled towns as well as the offer of friendship of Chi-kieu-mo (i.e. Śrī-Kumāra alias Bhāskara-varman), king of Eastern India. King Chi-kieu-mo’s presents to the Chinese general is stated to have included 30000 oxen and horses and considerable war material and it is further said in this connection that the said king of Kia-mu-lu (i.e. Kāmarūpa) presented to the Chinese emperor some curious articles including ‘a map of the country’. This map of Kāmarūpa appears to have been prepared by the artists at king Bhāskaravarman’s court.

Act I of the Uttararāmacarita by Bhavabhūti, who flourished in the eighth century A.D., is styled 'the inspection of the painting'. It is said that a painter (citrakaṭa) painted along a walk (vīthikā) the experiences (carita) of the Ikṣvāku king Rāma of Ayodhyā in Daṇḍak-āraṇyā, Kiśkindhyā, Laṅkā and other places, according to the instructions of the king's brother Lakṣmaṇa who had accompanied Rāma to the forests. These paintings included some which are said to have depicted particular regions and may be regarded as a sort of maps. One of the paintings seems to have been conceived as showing the Prasravāṇa hill as 'extending to the heart of Janasthāna whose darkness is deepened by perpetually pouring clouds and whose caves ring with the flow of the Godāvāri which is embraced by the forests at the skirts that are of a uniformly mild blue colour because of the dense rows of trees.'

The reference to forests painted in mild blue colour is interesting. Another picture of the nature of a map in the same context is introduced by Lakṣmaṇa to Rāma and Sītā in the following words: "Here is the tract (bhāga) of the Daṇḍaka forest, known as Citrakūṭāyat, to the west of Janasathāna, haunted by the headless giant Danu; this is the site (pāda) of the hermitage of Mataṅga on the Rṣyamūka hill; this again is the emaciated Śavara woman named Śramaṇā; this is the celebrated lake calle Pampā.'

The above references to map-like paintings in an eighth-century Sanskrit drama remind us of the following remarks of Wilford made about a century and a half ago: "Besides geographical tracts, the Hindus have also maps of the world both according to the system of the Pauranics and of the astronomers; the latter are very common. They have also maps of India and of particular districts, in which latitudes and longitudes are entirely out of question, and they never make use of a scale of equal parts. The sea shores, rivers and ranges of mountains are represented by straight lines. The best map of this sort I ever saw was one of the kingdom of Nepal presented to Mr. Hastings.

2. Ibid., p. 121.
It was about four feet long and two and a half broad, of pasteboard, and the mountains raised about an inch above the surface, with trees painted all round. The roads were represented by a red line and the rivers by a blue one. The various ranges were very distinct with the narrow passes through them: in short, it wanted but a scale. The valley of Nepal was accurately delineated; but towards the borders of the map everything was crowded and in confusion. The map of Nepal noticed by Wilford appears to have been of the same type as the painting the Citrakunjavat region of Dāṇḍak-āraṇya conceived by Bhavabhūti. The Indian maps mentioned by Wilford were probably un influenced by foreigners, as otherwise he would have added a note on the point. Unfortunately, Wilford does not say anything about the antiquity of the Indian maps noticed by him. The one of Nepal, of which he has given some details, could not have been very early.

A good deal of information on early Indian cartography under Hindu and Muslim inspiration is given by Francesco I. Pullé in his interesting work in Italian, entitled La Cartografia Antica dell’ India, Parte I. In section II of the work dealing with Indian sources, there are reproductions of three maps, drawn by ancient Indian cartographers according to the Puranic ideas of cosmography and geography. As is well known, the world was regarded as consisting of seven concentric islands, each one of them encircled by a sea. The island at the centre was called Jambu-dvīpa, the southern division of which was called Bhārata-varṣa, bounded by the Himalayas in the north and the waters of the sea in the other directions. Two of the three maps have been reproduced from a manuscript of the Lokaprajāpañña which seems to have been originally composed by the celebrated Kashmirian polymath Kṣemendra in the eleventh century A.D. but contains a good deal of much later interpolation, while.

3. See op. cit., pp. 8-44.
4. Figure 2 at p. 16 and Figure 8 at p. 33.
the third from a manuscript of another work entitled Sanāgrahanī. Figure 2 represents the concentric islands and the encircling seas, while Figures 8 and 9 are representations of Jambu-dvīpa. The map of Jambu-dvīpa published in Gladwyn’s translation of the Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, was no doubt copied from an original like those found in the manuscripts of the Lokapraхаsā and Sanāgrahanī, noticed by Pullé. Similar maps were found by Wilford in a manuscript of a work entitled Kṣetrasamāsā and were characterised by him as ‘several fanciful delineations of the world’. The cosmographical map from a Tibetan Buddhist source reproduced in Figure 4 at p. 23 of Pullé’s work is also interesting in this connection as its origin is certainly Indian. It is, however, difficult to say whether other Tibetan drawings such as the sketch of the Cathedral of Lhāsa published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXIV, Part i, 1895, Plate XXVI, were similarly of Indian inspiration.

Figure 5 at p. 25 in Pullé’s book is a Hindu map of Jambu-dvīpa and its surroundings. This is of a slightly different kind. In it, the egg-shaped island is surrounded by nine circles in a row, each representing a graha. In another row, encircling the grahas, are given the twelve rāsis each in an oval. Figure 6 (at p. 29) is the representation of the nava-khaṇḍa or the nine subdivisions of India. In Figures 10 (at p. 36) and 11 (at p. 37), Pullé has copied two maps of Jambu-dvīpa from Wilford. These are drawn after two slightly different cosmographic conceptions of the ancient Indians. On the authority of Rennel and Sañtarem, Pullé also speaks of an old geographical map incised on a copper plate which was discovered at Monghyr.

In section VII (pp.139-58) of Pullé’s work, dealing with Indian cartography from Persian and Arabic sources, we have several interesting maps. Figure 35 at p. 142 represents India according to an old Persian map of the earth. A map, after that of Ibn

1. Figure 9 at p. 34.
Haukal (975 A.D.), is given in Figure 36 at p. 147 and another from Edrisi (1154 A.D.) in Figure 37 at p. 156.

With reference to the knowledge of map-making among the people of India, especially the Dravidians of the South, the following remarks in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica (14th ed., Vol. XIV, pp. 840-41) are also interesting: "The charts in use by the medieval navigators of the Indian Ocean—Arabs, Persians or Dravidas—were equal in value, if not superior, to the charts of the Mediterranean. Marco Polo (thirteenth century) mentions such charts; Vasco da Gama (1498) found them in the hands of his Indian pilot, and their nature is fully explained in the Mohit or 'the Encyclopaedia of the Sea,' compiled from ancient sources by the Turkish admiral, Sidi 'Ali Ben Hosein, in 1584. These charts are covered with a close network of lines intersecting each other at right angles. The horizontal lines are parallels, depending upon the altitude of the Pole Star, the Calves of the Little Bear and the Barrow of the Great Bear above the horizon. This altitude was expressed in isbas or inches, each equivalent to $1^\circ 42'\ 50''$. Each isba was divided into zams or eighths. The intervals between two parallels thus only amounted to $12'\ 51''$. These intervals were mistaken by the Portuguese occasionally for degrees, which accounts for Malacca, which is in Latitude $2'\ 13''\ N.$, being placed in Cantino's chart (1502) in latitude $14'\ S.$ It may have been a map of this kind which accounts for Ptolemy's moderate exaggerations (in the second century A.D.) of the size of Taprobane (Ceylon). The first meridian, separating a leeward from a windward region, passed through Ras Kumhari (Comorin) and was thus nearly identical with the first meridian of the Indian astronomer, which passed through the sacred city of Ujjain (Ozenâ of Ptolemy) or the meridian of Azin of the Arabs. Additional meridians were drawn at intervals of zams, supposed to be equal to three hour's sail."

The suggestion seems to be that the Indians had the knowledge of making maps as early as the beginning of the Christian era and that the Arabs and Greeks were indebted to them for the charts of the Indian Ocean together with the islands in and the lands bordering on it.
APPENDIX I

KANDHĀRAPURA

The Sanskrit name Krṣṇa was often modified in South India as Kandara, Kandāra, Kandhara, Kandhāra, Kanhara, Kanhāra, Kannara and Kannāra.1 Sometimes the same name is found in the joint form Krṣṇa-Kandhara or Krṣṇa-Kandhāra.2 The Prakrit name Kannara was also sometimes re-Sanskritised as Karṇa.3 The earliest use of such a Prakrit form of the name is to be found in that of Kandara who was the founder of the Ānanda dynasty of Kandarapura in the Guntur District of Andhra Pradesh and flourished in the fourth century A.D.4

The founder of the Raṭṭa dynasty of Saundatti in the Belgaum District is stated to have been raised to the position of a feudatory chieftain by a king named Krṣṇa who has been identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Krṣṇa III (939-67 A.D.).5 An inscription of 1218 A.D. represents the said Raṭṭas as the descendants of the same Krṣṇa, called Krṣṇa-Kandhāra, while another record of 1209 A.D. (?) from Hanṇikeri near Sampgaon in the Belgaum District of Mysore mentions the same king as Krṣṇa-Kandhara and represents him as Kandhāra-pura-var-ādhā-śvara, 'the supreme lord of Kandhārpura, the best of the cities'.6

The Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas had their capital at Mānyakheṭa, modern Mālkheḍ in the Gulbarga District of the former Hyderabad State, now in Mysore. But they did not represent themselves as the lord of 'Mānyakheṭa, the best of cities.' Like the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas, were sometimes repre-

2. A similar form of the name was Kāhmura (cf. Ray, DHNI, pp. 340, 365).
sented as the lords of the city of Lattalūra, Lattalūr or Lattanūr, which was claimed to have been the original home of the family and has been indentified with modern Lātūr in the Osmanabad District of the former Hyderabad State. The representation of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III, who had his capital at Mānyakheṭa, as the lord of Kandhārapura in the Haṃnikeri inscription, without reference either to his capital or to the orginal home of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, is interesting to note. It appears that Kṛṣṇa III had a secondary capital at Kandhārapura, built by and named after himself or either of his two predecessors who bore the same name.

Fleet was not inclined to attach any importance to the mention of Kṛṣṇa III in the said epigraph as the lord of Kandhārapura. He draws our attention to the fact that it is an isolated instance and says, “I know of no place that can be identified with an ancient Kandhārapura or Kṛṣṇapura. The name may possibly have been invented from an imaginary Kṛṣṇapura derived from some passage similar to that in which the Eastern Cālukya king Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III is said to have effected the burning of the city of Kṛṣṇa II (Kṛṣṇa-pūra-dahana; see Ind. Ant., Vol. XX, p. 102, note 26).” But this attitude appears to be rather hypercritical. Since the Raṭtas of Saundatti, who were used to represent themselves as the lords of the city of Lattalūra, could have represented their ancestor as Mānyakheṭa-pura-var-āḍhīśvara if they wanted to avoid Lattalūra-pura-var-āḍhīśvara, it is difficult to understand why they should have preferred to bring in the name of an imaginary city. In our opinion, the specific mention of Kṛṣṇa III as the lord of Kandhārapura scarcely raises any reasonable doubt about the existence of a city called Kandhārapura apparently built by and named after a Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch named Kṛṣṇa.

Fleet’s attitude seems to have been influenced by the fact that he had no knowledge of the existence of a city called Kan-

KANDHARAPURA

253

dhāra which could be ascribed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period. It therefore appears that he would have modified his opinion on the subject if he had any knowledge of the town of Kandhār (also spelt Qandhār and Kandahār), the headquarters of the Qandharsharif Taluk of the Nander District of the former Hyderabad State, now in Bombay, and of the remains therein of numerous sculptures ascribable to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa age. This place, which appears to be none other than the city of Kandhāra of the Hanḍikeri inscription, lies about twenty-five miles to the south of Nāndeḍ and a hundred miles to the north of Mālkheḍ.

Sometime ago we came across a fragmentary Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription engraved on a broken pillar lying in the locality called Bahādurpur in the suburbs of the town of Kandhār. The inscription is written in the North Indian alphabet of about the tenth century A.D. The extant parts of the record contain only the beginning of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa genealogy down to Kṛṣṇa I (756-75 A.D.) and mention a number of shrines that existed at the place when the inscription was set up about the tenth century, probably during the reign of Kṛṣṇa III. It is interesting to note that two of the deities mentioned in the inscription are Kālapriya and Kṛṣṇēśvara while the same two gods are also mentioned in the Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III.¹

One of the deities worshipped at Kandhār about the tenth century A.D. bore the name Gojjiga-Somanātha. Since Gojjiga is a well-known name of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV (929-33 A.D.), the deity may have been named after that monarch. If such was the case, the city of Kandhāra seems to have existed before the days of Kṛṣṇa III. But whether Kṛṣṇapūra burnt by Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III is same as this Kandhārapura is difficult to say without further evidence.

¹ Ep. Ind., Vo IV, p. 281.
APPENDIX II

KĀKANDĪNAGARĪ

A place called Kakandi or Kākandinagarī is famous in both the Jain and Buddhist traditions. The Jains regarded the locality as the birthplace of the Tīrthankara Suvidhinātha, while the Buddhists regarded it as the home of an ancient sage named Kākanda. But this place does not appear to have so far been satisfactorily identified.

B. C. Bhattacharya suggested its indentification with the city of Kiśkindhā celebrated in the story of the Rāmāyana. But the equation of Kākandī and Kiśkindhā appears to be philologically unsound. Moreover, Kiśkindhā in the neighbourhood of Pampā (modern Hampi in the Bellary District of Mysore State) is far away from the sphere of activities of the early Buddhists and Jains. B. C. Law, who has ignored Bhattacharya's suggestion, regards the place as unidentifiable in the present state of our knowledge. But there is epigraphical evidence to prove that Kākandi, the traditional birth place of Suvidhinātha, was regarded in the medieval period as identical with a place now called Kākan which lies within the jurisdiction of the Sekandra Police Station in the Jamui Sub-Division of the Monghyr District of Bihar.

About the beginning of the year 1951, I copied three epigraphs in the Jain temple at Kākan. The earliest of the three records is engraved on the pedestal of an image of Pārśva-nātha and is dated in V. S. 1504 Phālguna-sudi 9 (February, 1448 A.D.) while the latest is incised on the back of an āyāgaraṇa and is dated in V. S. 1933 (1876-77 A.D.). The third inscrip-

3. Loc. cit.
4. Historical Geography of Ancient India, s.v.
tion, dated V. S. 1822 Vaisākha-sudi 6 (April 1765 A.D.), is engraved around two foot-marks fixed in front of the image of Pārśvanātha and records the installation of the said foot-marks. It clearly states that they represent the foot-marks of the Tirthaṅkara Suvidhinātha and that they were installed at Kākandī or Kākandinagarī which was a holy place and was the birth place of the said Tirthaṅkara. Some repairs are also stated to have been carried out apparently in the temple wherein the foot-marks were installed and one of the inscriptions seems to point to the existence of the temple before the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. Thus the tradition that modern Kākan, where the inscription has been found, is the same as Kākandī or Kākandinagarī, regarded by the Jains as the birth place of the Tirthaṅkara Suvidhinātha, can be referred at least to the late medieval period.

The text of the inscription runs as follows:

\[85\] नमः || संवतः (संवत्त) १८२२ वर्षं वैशाखः (व) मासे शुक्लपक्षे पद्मीतियो श्रीसुविनायतिज्ञवरणः (च) रणकमले शुक्रे स्वाति || श्रीकाकंदीनगरीजनम- कल्याणकत्वाने श्रीतंबे || जीोदार (च*) करारित (कारितम्) || १
चिरं नंदु तीयों काकंदीनामको वर: (॥*)
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 1, footnote 1, line 3.—Read: *upada*
,, footnote 2, line 3.—Read: *m=Amgendra-patnī*
,, footnote 2, line 4.—Read: *vairi-priyāgām*
,, line 19.—Read: Rājendracola.
,, line 4.—Read: the minister of
,, line 25.—Read: of whose chariot
,, footnote 2, line 1.—Read: *samudr-āntara*°
,, ,, ,, line 2.—Read: Chakravarti°
,, ,, ,, 4, line 1.—Read: *sara-vadhi*
,, ,, ,, line 2.—Read: Chakravarti°
,, 7, line 10.—Read: Vaṅkṣu
,, footnote 1, line 1.—Read: *kirti-rāle*°
,, ,, ,, line 3.—Read: bhā-bhāṣu°
,, footnote 2, line 3.—Read: *kirtir=bhuje*
,, ,, ,, line 4.—Read: yena samare
,, 11, footnote 1, line 5.—Read: *kula-bhadvanac=ca*
,, line 7.—Read: the achievements
,, line 14.—Read: Bhāratavarṣa
,, 14, line 10.—Read: Cāhamāna dynasty
,, line 27.—Read: Arabian
,, 15, line 4.—Read: madhyavartii°
,, line 16.—Read: 1000
,, 16, line 8.—Read: Paṅca
,, 17, footnote 1.—Add: Agn—Agni Purāṇa; So—Śiva Purāṇa; Vsn.—Viṣṇu Purāṇa
,, 19, line 18.—Read: exhibit
,, 20, line 1.—Read: Al-Bīrunī
,, line 8.—Read: improvement
,, 23 footnote 2.—Add: Mts (a)—Sahyaṣya =ānantare c=aite
,, footnote 3.—Add: Vy (a) reads after the above: Tatra Gowardhano nāma Surarājena nirmitaḥ |
Rāma-priy-ārtham svargo=yan vykṣa oṣadha- yār=tatha || Bhāratawājena muninā tat-pry-
ārthē=vatāritāḥ  | antahpura- jan-oddeśaṁ=
tena jajñe manorāmaḥ  || Bmd has practically
the same reading and Mts only slight
variation. This tradition regarding the
creation of a pleasure garden by Bharad-
vāja for Rāma’s wife seems to refer to
the stay of Dāsarathī Rāma and his wife
Sitā in the Nasik region and to support
the location of Janasthāna and Pañcavaṭī
in the same area. The modified text of
Mk(a) has a half verse in place of the
said two stanzas, which speaks of Govard-
ghana as the city of Bhārgava (i.e. Para-
śurāma) apparently through confusion.

Page 27, footnote 5, lines 9-10.—Read: capital near the mouth
of the Bhāgīrathī, see below, pp. 172 ff.

footnote 6, line 1.—Read: Antargira-Bahirgirāḥ

footnote 7, line 2.—Read: Antargiri-Bahirgiri

29, footnote 1, line 9.—Read: part iii

31, footnote 1, line 3.—Read: Nairīkāṇa

footnote 7, line 1.—Read: Durgāḥ

37, footnote 7.—Add: Kāmarūpa (also called Prāggyotīṣa)

=Assam

39, footnote 1, line 7.—Read: b—ōsā

40, footnote 1, line 4.—Read: Candrabhāgā

44, line 12.—Read: Mūlasthāna

50, footnote 1, line 3.—Read: Nirvindhyā

51, footnote 1, line 2.—Read: Tōyā c=aiva

52, footnote, line 3.—Read: modern Varṣā (running be-

between the Satara and Kolhapur
Districts)

footnote 3, line 1.—Read: d (v.l.)

footnote 5, line 6.—Read: Tirunvelveli

61, footnote 2, line 1.—Read: Vy cd—Naṅganān

63, footnote 2, line 6.—Read: Khakkas of Kashmir

65, line 3.—Read: manḍale

67, footnote 5, line 1.—Read: Mts d—Pūrṇān
Page 68, lines 13-14.—Add footnote: Volumes II (Tārā-khaṇḍa) and III (Sundari-khaṇḍa) have since been published respectively in 1944 and 1947. For the Śaṭṭapāñcāśāddetavibhāga, see Vol. III, pp. 66 ff.

70, line 1.—Read: Harikṛṣṇa

71, footnote 1, line 7.—Read: Madra-desa

72, line 2.—Read: sadḍetavibhāga

73, line 29.—Read: or goddess in

74, line 30.—Read: the shrine

75, line 13.—Read: parikṣiritaḥ

76, footnote 15, line 1.—Omit: wrong

77, line 9.—Read: dhīyaṇ-ādhīyayana

78, footnote 10.—Read: or őntakaṁ

100, line 21.—Read: in a separate

101, line 31.—Read: inscriptions and coins

103, line 27.—Read: Śilahaṭṭa

104, line 12.—Read: or Cochbihar

105, line 1.—Read: is apparently due

106, line 2.—Read: Śaurasena

116, line 15.—Read: that century

118, footnote 3, line 1.—Read: Bhāratiya Prācīnālipīmālā

121, line 21.—Read: circa 1000-55

125, lines 10-11.—Read: interesting

127, footnote 2.—Read: 2. Raychaudhuri

128, footnote 3, line 10.—Read: from the mouth of the Karnaphuli

130, footnote 1, line 2.—Read: like a

137, line 6.—Read: Anantākābhima

143, footnote 2.—Add: The Mahābhārata also mentions them.
Page 144, line 26.—Read: to indicate also the
149, footnote 1, line 6.—Read: Gaṇeśa
150, line 22.—Read: Vibhūraṇa.
151, line 20.—Read: identification
152, line 11.—Omit: It will be clear
153, line 14.—Add at the beginning: It will be clear
154, line 5.—Read: Tāmrālipīta
155, line 20.—Read: Ratnagiri.
156, line 28.—Read: modern Khiching
157, footnote 2, line 3.—Read: Krauṇcas = tathā
158, line 4.—Read: samudraīs = tu
159, last line.—Add:—The Harṣācarita (Parab, p. 185)
refers to āstādaśa-dvāpā medini.
160, last line.—Read: Jagannātha-puri
161, footnote 1, line 2.—Read: spelt without
162, line 3.—Read: the difficulty
163, line 4.—Read: same form
164, line 3.—Read: show that
165, footnote 2, line 2.—Read: Dāksīṇātya
166, line 20.—Read: may have belonged
167, line 33.—Read: of a country
168, 175, 177, 179, 181, 183, head line.—Read: Gaṅgā
169, lines 7, 11, 14.—Read: tīrtha
170, footnote 5, line 4.—Read: saṁskāra
171, line 13.—Read: tīrtha
172, last line.—vākyāvalī
1939, pp. 407 ff.
174, line 5.—Read: therefore lay outside.
175, line 15.—Read: Malay-ādhipati
176, line 31.—Read: Māhiṃṣati
177, last two lines.—Add note: Another viṣaya in Tirabhukti
was Hodreya (Ep. Ind., Vol.
XXIX, p. 50).

178, line 22.—Read: ploughshare
179, footnote 1, line 5.—Read: Bihar and Bengal
180, line 6.—Read: Luckeeseraile. In
Page 200, footnote 4, last line.—Read: *tri-lakśīnīh dadau*
201, footnote 1.—Read: *J. B. B. R. A. S.*
205, line 11.—Read: area than
footnote 2.—Add.—On the whole question, see Fleet in *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, pp. 707 ff. and V. S. Agrawala in *Jadunath Sārkar Cem. Vol.*, II, pp. 14 ff. Our original interpretation of *grāma* as a unit of revenue assessment (elaborated by Agrawala as ‘one plough measure of land assessed at 1 silver Kārṣāpaṇa’) cannot be true in respect of many of the cases specified. But the number of such revenue units or income in coins may of course have been confused with that of the villages of a territory in the cases quoting very big numbers.

206, last line.—Read: Gomardana
208, line 14.—Read: Gonarda always
213, lines 12-13.—Read: *Konkan-Abrhirāh Akara-Vēṇ-Arana*rtaka

last line.—Read: quoted in
footnote 1, line 3.—Read: *Bṛhatamsāhiṭā*
215, line 3.—Read: Patiṭṭhān
217, line 7.—Read: 477-94 A.D.
217, line 8.—Read: Puṇḍravardhana
line 11.—Read: *nagaraśreṣṭhin*
218, last line.—Read: the *Mahābhārata*
228, line 3.—Read: pilgrimage
230, line 1.—Read: *Aṅguttaranikāya*
233, line 1.—Read: the former Patiala
234, line 27.—Read: Śāhi
238, line 29.—Read: *dāmar-āgryasya*
239. line.—Read: (East Pakistan)

2.—Add: Recently my attention has been drawn to some other places of the same name; e.g. Dhakka on the Kabul near the eastern border of Afghanis-

Page 241, line 10.—Read: Yāyāvariyaḥ
footnote 3, line 2.—Read: Baṅgabāsi
245, line 7.—Read: Allāhābād
INDEX

A
Abdul Qadir, ruler of Kalpi, 244
Aberia, Greek form of Abhra, country, 91
Abhāpurī, locality, 244-45
Abhadhanacintāmaṇi, work, 17, 124-25, 242 note
Abhimanyu, king of Kashmir, 234
Abhimanyu, Rāstrakāta king, 152
Abhinava-Vārāṇasi-kājaka, same as Cuttack, 147
Abhinava-Yayātinagara, identified with Jāipur, 146-47
Abhinava-Yayātinagara-Viṣṇu, epithet of Gaṅga Anangabhūma III, 145
Abhīra, people and country, 21 note, 23 and note, 30 note, 91 note, 27 and note, 62 and note, 76, 91, 213
Abhīra, mistake for Abhīra, 21 note
Abhūra, people, 27 note
Abīka, people, 28 note
Abiravān, locality, 23 note
Abīr, locality, 124
Abul Fazal, author, 96, 124, 132, 237-38
Acālā, river, 53 note
Acēsines, Greek form of Asikī, river, 40 note
Achaemenes, poenitor of the Achaemenidae, 138, 173
Achaemenidae, descendants of Achaemenes, 138, 173
Achaemenians, same as Achaemenidae, 173
Adarāsana, same as Vinaśana, locality, 172 note
Ad-Badri, locality, 40 note
Adesathron, mountain range, 52 note
Adhakya, people, 30 note
Adh-Gaur, a section of the Gauḍa-Brahmaparg, 121 note
Adhipātana, 'chief city', 190, 195-96
Adhipātana-adhipakaraṇa, 'administrative office of the chief city', 217
Adhirākara, people, 27 note
Adi-Bhaṭṭa, dynasty, 144 note
Adi Purāṇa, work, 178 note
Adityas, deities, 196
Adīrīha, people, 24 note
Adīrīja, river, 47 note
Adīya, 'original', 233
Afghan, people, 26 note
Afghanistan, country, 3, 23 note, 26
note, 94, 96, 184, 231, 261
Africa, country, 164
Agalassoi, people, 25 note
Agastyapada, holy spot, 219
Agni Purāṇa, work, 42 note, 55 and note, 56 note, 163 note, 188, 224, 227
Agnisarāh, holy spot, 220
Agnisarāh-kunḍa, holy pool, 220
Ahićchatra, city, 21 note, 92
Ahiṃvas, fort, 91
Ahmadabad District, 158
Ahopāp, locality, 41 note
Ahīhole inscription, 200
'Aīn-i-Akbarī, work, 96, 97 note, 167, 237, 249
AIRāka, same as Iraq, country, 71, 77, 96
AIRākata, mythic elephant, 207
AIRāvati, same as IRāvati, river, 41 note, 186
Ajanī, locality, 151, 154
Akapatha, pass or locality, 66 note
Ajay, river, 176
Ajmer, locality, 14, 161, 198
Ākara, same as Dālārṇa, country, 14, 34 note, 91, 213-15
Akbar, Mughal emperor, 133 and note, 237
Akbarānagar, locality, 133
Akbarānāgh, work, 238
Akola District, 151, 153
Akoṭā, locality, 198
Akrṣa, people, 38 note
Aksaya-vata, holy tree, 226
Akaṇa, people, 38 note
Ala, people, 31 note
Alakā, people, same for Mālakā, country, 214
Alandi, locality, 200
Alandā-tekitar, same as Alandā-1000, district, 199
Alandā-śāikara, same as Alandā-1000, district, 200
Alasa, people, 26 note
'Alluddīn Islām Khān, Muslim ruler, 237
Allāṛūni, author, 17, 19-20, 31 note, 58 note, 62 note, 63 note, 65 note, 118, 162-63, 179, 232-34, 244-45
Alexander, Greek emperor, 94, 231
Aḷibhādara, people, 26 note
Aḷika, Alaka, people, 31 and note
Al-Kandahār, Arabic form of Gandhāra, country, 44, 232
Allahabad, city, 2, 33 note, 40 note,
Andhravā, people, 27 note
Andhravāka, people, 27 note
Andhrapura, city, 129
Andhrī script, 119
Andha, country, 1 and note 2, 7, 27 and note, 71 and note, 74, 89, 178
Andha, people and country, 21 note, 27 and note, 32 note, 63 and note, 195, 143, 178 note
Andgaliukika, people, 25 and note
Andga-lipi, script, 119
Andgalka, Andgaloka, country and people, 25 note, 60 and note
Andgeya, people, 27 note, 28 and note
Andgutaranki, work, 290 and note
Andi, people, 213
Andishadra, people, 26 and note
Andika, people, 31 note
Andimadra, people, 26 note
Andiyakababila, same as Andangabila, i.e. Anāgabila III, Eastern Gaṅga king, 137
Andjaliyira, Taksā, 206
Andkoṭaka, same as Akoṭa, locality, 198
Andkoṭakacha-mahātat, Andkoṭaka-84, district, 198-199
Angleja, people, 35 note
Angleman, Anglemalaya, hill, 189
Anantbhal, river, 51 and note
Anantbhalā, river, 51 note
Anantara-Narmada, people, 32 note
Antargiri, people or country, 27 and note
Antarveśali country, 241
Antebol, Greek name of a mouth of the Gaṅga, 174
Antialkidas, Greek king, 208
Anda, people, 35 note
Andōp, country and people, 35 and note, 214-15
Apabhṛṣṭhā, language, 119, 131
Apaga, people, 26 note
Apagā, river from the Hun-marun running through the Punjab, 39 note, 185
Apagā, river in South India, 52 note
Apar-Gauḍā-liipi, script, 119
Aparagāva, Western Mahāaviṇa, 9 note
Aparākṣara, people, 32 note
Aparā-Mahāva, same as West Mahva, district, 106
Aparānta, people or country, 23 and note, 33 and note, 37 and note, 73, 155, 172 note, 214-15
Aparita, people, 23 note
Apathe, people and locality, 26 note, 36 note, 38 note, 65 note
Arab, people, 25 note, 127, 160-61, 163, 235, 250
Arabian Sea, 101, 108, 122, 183-84
INDEX

Arabic script, 160
Arabic language, 131 note
Arachosis, territory, 231
Araka, people, 31 note
Arakan, territory, 127 note
Arakanese pirates, 237
Aranyà, people, 30 note
Aratta, people and country, 32 note, 178, 186-87
Aravelly range, 46 note
Aravidu, dynasty, 69
Arbuda, country and people, 33 and note, 37 and note
Arcoit District, 90, 192 note
Ardishânârî, script, 119
Arînajâ-dânajâ-madâhâna, title, 170
Arjuna, Haïhayà king, 35 note
Arîstapatra, locality, 111
Arkalâîgra, people, 22 note
Aror, city, 44
Arriam, author, 6
‘Arasâb-i-Bangâla, district, 170
Arthape, people, 22 note
Arthâvâstra, work, 5, 115
Arûn, river, 222
Arûn-Kośi, river, 221
Arûpa, people, 35 note
Arvuda, same as Arbuda, people or territory, 22 note
Arya, people, 64 and note
Aryagâlavâ, peoples, 28 note
Aryâ-Mâmâmghâvâhana, dynasty, 134
Aryan India, 210
Aryanism, 172 note
Asakâ, Assaka, same as Aṣmâkâ, country, 214-15
Asurkhâyâta, mistake for Śâryâta, a clan of the Haïhayas, 35 note
Asia, Central, 24 note
Asia Minor, 164
Asia, Western, 96, 107
Asika, same as Râška, country, 214
Asiknâ, Vedic name for the Chenab, river, 40 note, 57 note
Asinâlî, peoples, 32 note
Aṣmâkâ, Assam, people and country, 30 and note, 31 note, 150, 153-55, 158-59, 215-16
Asoka, Mauryâ emperor, 3 and note, 84, 92, 134, 178, 228-29
Assaka, same as Aṣmâkâ, country, 206
Assam State, 3, 7, 27 note, 28 note, 87, 96, 102-04, 109, 118, 173, 236
Assamese language, 119-20
Ast, mythical mountain, 184
Atasâdyâg, work, 111
Aṣva, people and country, 215
Aṣvâghôsa, author, 227

Aṣvajîvin, people and country, 213
Aṣvâkûta, people, 22 note
Aṣvâmedha, sacrifice, 2, 8, 226
Aṣvamukha, people and country, 203
Aṣvânî, same as Kunti, river, 46 note
Aṣvaphâti, title, 81, 107-08
Aṣvaphâti-Gajaphâti-Naraphâti-râjâ-tray-adhikâ, title, 107
Aṣvârathanândî, same as Kunti, river, 46 note
Aṭavika, people and country, 213
Aṭâvaya, people, 30 and note
Atharva, people, 22 note
Atharvanâda, work, 229
Athenian, people, 174
Athens, city, 174
Aṭilâgâlâ-dâsâ, mistake for Jângâlâ-dâsâ, country, 202
Aṭiśindhu, country, 203
Atlantic coast, 162
Aṭreyâ, people, 26 note
Atri, people, 26 note
Atrismâti, work, 226 note
Aṭṭika, territory, 174
Attock, locality, 24 note, 43 note, 44, 232
Aûdra, same as Orissa, 134, 142-43
Aûrîâva-sîsâvaya, same as Orissa, 134
Aûrîdra, people, 34 note
Aûpadha, people, 26 and note
Aûrangabad District, 30 note, 31 note, 104, 154-55, 159, 215
Aûrangîbâ, Mughal emperor, 69, 126
Aûrâsa, people, 26 and note, 61 and note
Aûrânavâbhâ, author, 229
Aûsadha, people, 26 note
Aûvâghanâ, same as Afghan, people, 26 and note
Aûvantâ, same as Avanti, people, 22 and note
Aûvantâka, same as Avanti, country, 71
Aûvanti, same as Ujjayini, city, 14, 206
Aûvanti, a clan of the Haïhayas, people, 35 note
Aûvanti, Avanti, country, 75-76, 79, 90-92, 106, 155, 214-15
Aûvanti, same as Avanta, people, 22 note, 35 and note, 178 note
Aûvanti, river, 46 and note
Aûvankâ, same as Avanti, city, 224
Aûvântivarmân, king, 238
Aûvantabha, Auvanti, same as Avanti, country, 71
Aûvantâya, people, 33 note
Aûvâryâ, river, 46 note
Aûvâpôâ, river, 57 note
Aûvîabhâya, Rdîpâyâkâ king, 150
Aûnâ, river, 53 note
Aûodhâvâ, city, 22 note, 40 note, 99, 212, 217-18, 224-23, 247
Aûñ, same as Ujjîvin, city, 250
B

Bahlā, ricer, 55 note
Bactria, country, 25 note
Badakhshan, country, 25 note
Badami, same as Vattāpi, city, 15, 156 note
Badari, locality, 219
Badarikāsrāma, holy place, 9, 184, 219
Badarināṟyāpsa, holy place, 219
Badira, family, 191
Bāgmati, river, 99
Bāghāūrā, locality, 169
Bagdad, city, 162
Bāhīkā, Vāhika, people, 27 and note
Bahirgiri, people or country, 27 and note
Bāhīkā, Bāhīka, same as Bactria or Balkh, wrongly identified with Vāhīka (Punjab), country, 94, 184-85, 203
Bahmanābād, city, 202
Bahroj, same as Broach, locality, 45
Bahubhadra, people, 24 note
Bāhūdā, Bahudā, river, 39 note, 41 and note, 43 note
Bahutdaka, people, 36 note, 67 note
Bāhūdāsā, wrong name of a river, 43 note
Bāhūka, people, 27 note
Bāhyā, people, 21 note
Bāhyā, ricer, 52 and note
Bāhyatodara, people, 25 note
Bāigrām, Vāyī-ɡrāmaka, village, 218
Bairāti, same as Virāṭanagara, locality, 105
Bairāttā, locality, 93
Baji Rao I, Peshwā, 69, 87
Bākla-Candradvip, district, 132
Bāla-Bhrata, work, 32 note
Bālalakādesa, country, 201
Balakācin, ricer, 54 note
Be-la- λ'�υς, 'bull-compress', 207
Bāla-Rēmāyana, work, 241
Balasore, town and district, 141-43, 145-46, 176
Balākāra, Kaliṅga prince, 137
Balavāhin, ricer, 49 note
Balban, Sultan of Delhi, 121 note
Beḷchappar, locality, 40 note
Bāhīkā, same as Bāhīka or Balkh, country, 10, 13
Balkh, district, 10, 23 note, 44, 93-94, 184
Baluchistan, country, 23 note, 95
Balurghat, district, 217
Bāluvāhin, ricer, 48 and note
Bāra, author, 9, 14, 91, 113, 151 note
Bāparas, city and district, 22 note, 41 note, 99, 101-02, 119, 156, 173, 179
Bārs, same as Parṇṇā, river, 45 note
Bansā, locality, 30 note, 153, 156-57
Banavasi, 12000, district, 199
Banda District, 22 note
Bang, country, 123 note, 124, 126, 165-70
Bangāl, Bangāla, country, 115, 123 note, 126, 127 note
Bāṅgāḷā, Bāṅgāḷā, Bāṅīḷā, Bengal name of Bengal, 131 and note
Bāṅgāḷā, identified with Akbarnagar, 133
Bāṅgāḷā, identified with Gaur, 133
Bāṅgāḷā, mint town of Akbar, 133 and note
Bāṅgāḷah, same as Vāṅgāḷā, 131
Bāṅgāḷā same as Bengalī, 131
Bāṅgārū, locality, 104
Bāṅgāḷā, same as Bāṅgāḷā, 131 note
Bāṅgārū, locality, 126
Bāṅḷā, same as Bāṅgāḷā, 131 note
Barabati, locality, 147-48
Barabhum, district, 114
Barah-chatra, same as Varāḥkṣetrā, holy place, 221-22
Barakhera, locality, 40 note
Barbaricum, fort, 25 note, 106, 114
Baradankot, locality, 93
Bareilly District, 21 note, 92
Barhaṃsil, same as Brahmāsilā, locality, 244
Bāri, city, 45
Baridash, ricer, 44
Barind, same as Varendra, district, 123 note, 170 note
Barkaliūr, same as Kollūr, locality, 89
Barli inscription, 198
Barmhartar, same as Brahmottara, locality, 28 note
Beroda, same as Vaḍupadarka, locality, 198
Bartheba, Portuguese author, 127
Baṣārā, people, 34 note
Basim, locality, 151, 153
Bauḍāyana Dharmaśāstra, work, 172 note, 178
Baudrand, French geographer, 129
Bāvari, sage, 154, 206, 209, 214
Bay of Bengal, 97, 104, 108, 114, 122, 128, 132, 140, 175-77, 184, 188, 227
Bayānā, locality, 22 note, 162-63
Bazana, identified with Bayānā, locality, 162-63
Beas, same as Vipāśa, ricer, 25 note, 41 note, 185-86
Bejaour, locality, 222
Bellary District, 34 note, 157, 192
Belgaon, Belgaum, town and district, 90, 153, 155
Benares, same as Banaras or Vārānasī, city, 41 note
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, Eastern, 28, 115, 125, 129, and note, 130 and note, 132, 166-67, 237, 239</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, Lower, 176</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, Northern, 28 note, 42 note, 93, 95, 97, 114-15, 135</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, North-Eastern, 102, 105</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, South-Eastern, 27 note, 115, 122, 168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, Southern, 10, 132, 135, 140, 156, 174, 177</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, South-Western, 29 note, 115, 136, 165, 170 note, 176, 180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, derived form Vaṅgāla, 123 and note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, identified with Chittagong, 130 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, city, 123, 127-28, 129 and note, 130 and note, 133 and note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal, language, 115-15, 119-20, 123, 127 note, 131</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali script, 118 and note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali literature, 129, 133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali people, 130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berahai, same as Verāpatha, pass or locality, 66 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berar, district, 30 note, 34 note, 90, 106, 151, 153-55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berar style, 151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berhampur, locality, 53 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bes, Besali, same as Vidiśā, rīver, 46 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Besnagar, same as Vidiśā, locality, 34 note, 91, 151, 206, 208</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Besulā, same as Vedasmiśri, rīver, 45 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betwa, rīver, 45 note, 46 note, 47 note, 50 note, 151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadguraka, people, 27 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadra, country, 203</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrā, rīver, 89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadraka, people, 24 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrakālī, goddess, 75, 90-91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadrakāra, same as Madrakāra, a branch of the Śālās, 21 and note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadravaka, people, 27 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāgabhadrā, king, 208</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāgāpur, town and district, 83, 195</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāgāvata Purāṇa, work, 3 note, 17, 57 note, 135 note, 227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāgfrathī, rīver, 27 note, 58 and note, 84, 112-13, 136, 140, 165, 170 note, 174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaiṣajy script, 119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāilūṣvāmin great-12, district, 199 note, 204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāilūṣvāmin-mahābhāsaka-maṇḍala, district, 199 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaimarathī, rīver, 57 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhairab, rīver, 112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhairava, an aspect of Śiva, 84, 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhairavl, an aspect of Śakti, 84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāllavin, people, 172 and note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāmā, same as Satyabhamā, 177</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāmin, people, 32 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhandara District, 153, 242</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhānu III, Eastern Gaṅga king, 148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṇudattā, Ādite king, 145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṇukaccha, mistake for Bhārukačcha, people, 33 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharadvāja, people, 26 and note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharata, author, 117, 143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharata, son of Rāhva, 3 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharata, son of Duryodana, 2, 3 and note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāratas, descendants of Bharata, 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharatas, Vedā people, 3 note, 63 and note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharata land, 156</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharata-śetra, country, 178</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharatā-khaṇḍa, 201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāratavarṣa, country, 3 and note, 5 and note, 6, 9, 12-13, 16, 59 note, 131 note, 138, 172, 248</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāratavarṣa, North-Western, 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhārati-prajū, people, 3 note, 5 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhārati-saṅkati, people, 3 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharatpur, town and district, 22 note, 92, 105, 162-63, 203</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhārgava, people, 28 and note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhārukačcha, people, 33 and note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bharukaccha, same as Sāukrit Bhāgukaccha, 19, 33 note, 213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāskaravarman, Kāmapura king, 116, 145, 173, 246</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṭi, district, 127 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhatinda, locality, 233</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāṭṭasvāmin, author, 155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaṭṭinī Maṭṭuvā, deity, 195 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaṭṭul mountains 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhauṃa-Kara, dynasty, 141-43, 145-48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhāruit, Bhoṭa, same as the Tibetan people, 96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhavabhūti, author, 153, 242, 244, 247-48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhavadeva Nyāyaśākāra, author, 161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhavanipur, locality, 40 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhavāyika Purāṇa, work, 17-18, 84, 93, 98, 104-05, 113-14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhayānaka, country, 204</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bheraghat inscription, 32 note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhil, people, 161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhilsa, locality, 34 note, 91, 151, 199 note, 206</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bhima, people, 62 note
Bhima, king, 234.
Bhimā, same as Bhimarathī, river, 51 note
Bhimarāja, Kaliuga prince, 137
Bhimarakṣī, river, 51 note
Bhimarathī, Bhimarathā, river, 51 and note, 56 and note, 57 note
Bhināśī Kaurāśī, group of villages, 198-99
Bhinmāl, same as Bhilamālā, locality, 161, 163
BHīr District, 158
BHūr Mound in Taxila, 291
Bhārakaccha, same as Bhārakaccha, people, 33 note
Bhogaragāra, locality, 206
Bhogawardhāna, people and locality, 30 and note, 31 note
BHōjā, Paramāra king, 11, 15, 121-22
BHōjā, Prabhāra king, 124 note
BHōjā, a clan of the Hathayas, people, 21 note, 34 and note, 35 and note
BHōjaprabhandhā, work, 121 note
Bhukardan Taluk, 31 note
BHOPAL, locality, 46 note
BHOTĀ, same as the Tibetan people, 96
BHOTĀN, BHÒJĀNTA, country, 71, 77, 96
BHRAHMALE, abode of Brahman, 179
Bhoramarā, people, 62 and note
BHORAMARAMBIKĀ, BHORAMARAMBĪ, goddess, 87
BHĪRAMA, people, 62 note
BHĪRUKACCHA, BHARUKACCHA, locality and people, 33 and note, 104, 106
BHĪRUGĀRĪKA-CAUTISASPI, BHĪRUGĀRĪKA-64, district, 199 note, 205
BHUBANESWAR, locality, 34 note, 126 note, 134
BHULJ, city, 101
BHULJ, province, 193, 217, 222
BHULINGA, Hulunga, a branch of the Śāleś, 21 note, 22 and note
BHĀD-AM-GOUN-CARMA, APITH, 1 note
bhavannakas, a section of some of the Purāṇas, 73
BHUVANESṆA, same as BHUBANESWAR, locality, 74, 78 and note, 83, 98, 114, 126 note
BHŪṬHĀN, territory, 221
BHIDASPES, same as VITASTĀ, river, 41 note, 94
BHARSHARIF, locality, 119
BISAPUR, locality, 90, 221-22
BILASPUR District, 35 note, 99, 203
BILHĀṆA, author, 156
BILVĀ, tree, 96
BHINDASARAS, Himalaya lake, 5 and note, 8, 13, 58 note, 59 and note
BINKA, identified with Yayatinagara, locality, 146
BIPASSA, same as VIPĀṢĀ, river, 41 note
BHĪRĀJĀR GARĪ, fort, 93
BHĪRBUHM District, 109
BHĪRUR grant of Vīṣṇuvarman, 156
BHĪTU castle, 44
BHĪYA, BHĪYA, same as VIPĀṢĀ, river, 43 note, 44
BLAER, author, 127, 190
BODHA, people, 21 and note
BODHAN, locality, 31 note, 154, 158
BODHGAYA, holy place, 178
BORGRA District, 20 note, 105, 114, 175, 218
BOLPUR, locality, 109
BOMBAY, city, 31 note
BOMBAY State, 30 note, 31 note, 32 note, 88, 198, 203, 215
BRAHMADeya-nyēyā, 191
BRAHMA-KUNḍA, holy pool, 219-20
BRAHMANA classes, 120-21
BRAHMĀṇAṣ of GAYĀ, 228
BRAHMĀṇAṣ of North India, 16
BRAHMĀṇAṣ of South India, 16
BRAHMĀṇAṢā ŚāHī, dynasty, 233-34
BRAHMAṆĀĎĀ, locality, 130 note
BRAHMĀṆI, BRAHMANI, river, 51 and note
BRAHMĀṆAṬA Purāṇa, river, 10, 42 note, 59 note, 74, 78, 84, 87, 95, 102, 114-15, 125 note
BRAHMĀṆAṆ Purāṇa, work, 17, 35 note, 38 and note, 39 note, 55 and note, 56 note, 188, 219, 226
BRAHMĀṆI, locality, 241-42, 244-45
BRAHMĀVARTA, district, 40 note, 103, 172 and note, 187
BRAHMĀṆĀVĀṆA, VAMBHANDANĀṆA, same as BAHMANĀBD, locality, 202
BRAHMĀ-GAYĀ, holy place, 290
INDEX

269

Brahma-saras, holy pool, 220, 226
Brahmayoni, same as Gaya-siras, hill 288
Brāhmī script, 18
Brahmottara, people and district, 28 and note, 64 and note
Bṛhadesvara, god, 88
Bṛhadgīta, same as Kāraṇa, country, 33 note
Bṛhaspati-kunḍa, holy pool, 220
Bṛhaspatisūryā, work, 226
Bṛhatkalāhāloka-samgraha, work, 66 note
Bṛhatasamhita, work, 17, 24 note, 31 note, 115, 143, 169, 213 and note
Brindakociri, locality, 218
Broach, same as Bharoj, locality, 33 note, 45, 104, 106
Buckergunj, District, 115, 123, 125-26, 132, 133 note
Buddha, religious teacher, 119, 206, 211, 216, 227-30
Buddhacarita, work, 227
Buddhaghoṣa, author, 213-14, 230
Buddhagupta, person, 116
Buddhist religion, 113, 119
Buddhagupta, Gupta king, 4, 217-18
Budīl Pass, 66 note
Bukhara, locality, 44, 164
Bundelkhand, district, 48 note, 151, 202
Buraidwan, town and district, 114, 176, 180
Burhā-Rāpti, same as Dhaulā, river, 41 note
Burns, country, 28 note, 59 note, 66 note, 96, 127 note

C

Cāhamāna, dynasty, 14
Cāhula, people, 27 and note
Caśika, people, 30 and note
Caitanya, religious teacher, 188
Caitanyakarṇīdāsya, work, 52 and note, 188
Caitanyakamadāgala, work, 180
Caku, Sucakau, river, 58 and note, 61 and note
Cakradala-cakravartin, 'ruler of the four continents constituting earth, 5 note
Cakravālapravata, mythical mountain, 9 note
Cakravarman, king, 238
Cakravartī-kṣetra, 'sphere of influence of an Indian emperor', 5 note, 7-9, 11-13, 15-16, 122 and note, 178, 184
Cakravartin, hill, 3 note, 4, 5 and note, 8, 11, 13, 122
Cakrini, river, 44 note
Calcutta, city, 60, 131 note, 165, 182, 195, 221

Cālukya, dynasty, 10, 15, 133, 156 note, 157, 192, 234
Cāmarā, people, 37 note
Cambyzoon, a mouth of the Ganges, 140-41
Campā, city, 27 note
Campā, same as Cándran, river, 83
Campānagar, locality, 83
Campāpur, locality, 83
Campāraṇya, same as Campāraṇa, district, 77, 94
Campos, author, 130 note
Cāmūṇḍā, goddess, 82 and note
Cāṅgala, river, 47 note
Candana, river, 43 note, 45 and note
Candana, same as Sabarmati, river, 45 note
Cāṇḍārjuna, chief, 167
Candella, dynasty, 1
Cāṇḍilā, author, 180
Cāṇḍiṭhara, Somavānśī king, 146-47
Cāṇḍimārga, work, 127 note, 180 and note
Candra, dynasty, 123, 125-27, 130, 132, 133 note
Candra, same as Candragupta II, Gupta emperor, 10, 184
Candrabhāgā, river, 39 note, 40 and note, 43 note, 44, 55 and note, 77 note, 186
Candra-dvīpa, same as Bāklā-Canḍragroṣṭī, district, 125, 132
Candragarhāruṭra, Candragarhavās-puṣya, work, 70
Candra-giri, locality, 90
Candragomin, author, 209 and note
Candragupta II, Guptas emperor, 4, 10, 150, 184
Candrika, same as Candrabhāgā, river, 43 note, 44
Candranātha, god in the Chittagong District, 82 note, 109
Candrapūjda, imaginary king, 57 note
Canḍragorītī, work, 209
Canḍrikā, river, 39 note, 40 note
Caśkau, river, 42 note
Canon Manusādhu, work, 162
Cape Comorin, locality, 5, 8, 13, 30 note
Carṇāḍri, hill, 78, 100
Carita, 'experiences', 247
Caritrawardhana, author, 212
Carmakhaṇḍikā, people, 23 and note
Carmavati, river, 43 note, 46 and note, 57 note
Carmavatī, river, 45 note
Carnatic, territory, 69
carpō song, 119-20
Cātu, country, 203
Caturāsikā, same as Caturāsikā or
Cauḍātī, ‘group of 84 villages’, 199
Caturāfātī, same as Cauḍātī, ‘group of 84 villages’, 198
Caturuttara-catururāsikā, district, 198
note
Catur-srotas, holy stream, 219
Caudvāra-kāṭaka, same as Cuttack, 147
Caula, Cola, people and country, 71, 76
Caulya, people, 29 note
Cauḍātī, same as Caturāfātī, 198
Cautang, same as Cītang, river, 41 note
Cauthia system, 217 note
Cedi, people or country, 21 note, 48 note, 134, 202, 213
Central Asia, 60 note, 70, 163-64, 172, 233, 236
Central India, 151
Central Provinces, older name of Madhya Pradesh, 190
Ceylon, country, 11, 103, 107-08, 184, 189, 250
Ceylonese kings, 189
Chalan, lake, 104
Chalaur, locality, 40 note
Chambal, river, 45 note, 46 note, 50 note
Chandur Taluk, 153
Cha-puo-ho-lo, locality, 246
Chārikar, locality, 43 note
Charsadda, locality, 24 note, 26 note, 231
Chattigam, same as Chittagong, locality, 130 note
Chatra, same as kṣetra, 221
Chattisgarh, territory, 54 note, 150
Chattraghaut, locality, 222
Chattrapatha, locality, 66 note
Chauki, village, 194
Cheen, same as Pegu, territory, 96
Chenab, same as Candrabhāgā, river, 24 note, 25 note, 27 note, 38 note, 40 note, 62 note
Che-pa(fo)-lo-na-ti, Chinese form of Šavaravati, city and river, 211
Chhota Nagpur, district, 54 note, 55 note
note
Chicacoole, same as Šīrākūḷam, locality, 54 note
Chi-lo-i-to, same as Šiḷāditya-Harsavar-dhāna, king, 246
Chi-kieu-mo, same as Śrī-Kumāra, i.e. Bhāskaravarmāṇ, king, 246
China, country, 149 note
Chinab, river, 106
Chinese pilgrims, 169
Chitor, locality, 23 note, 243
Chitagong, town and district, 109, 123-29, 130 and note, 133 note, 169
Chittagong, identified with Bengal, 130 note
Chittagong plate of Kāntideva, 168
Chittar, river, 52 note
Chittoor District, 90, 108
Chūnār, locality, 100-01
Chutea Nagpur, district, 137
Cina, country and people, 25 and note, 60 and note, 71, 77, 96, 97 note
Cina-maru, ‘the Cina desert’, 61 and note
Citra, same as ēlikēya, ‘painting’, 245
Citrā, river, 39 note, 42 note
citrukāra, ‘painter’, 247
Citrakūjavat, locality, 247-48
Citrakūṭa, same as Chitor, fort, 162, 243 note
Citrakūṭa hill, 47 note
Citrakūṭa, river, 47 and note
Cītang, Citrang, Cautang, river, 41 note
Cītang, same as Cītang, river, 41 note
Cītraṇa, river, 51 note
Citrotpalā, river, 47 note, 48 and note
Cochbīhar, district, 87, 93, 164-65
Cola, people and country, 2, 7, 29 and note, 76, 92, 143, 156 note, 208
Colesa, god, 75, 88
Comorin, cape, 250
Constantinople, city, 110
Coorg, territory, 31 note
Corātī, same as Cauḍātī, 108
Cox’s Bazar, locality, 127 note
Cudagāṅga, same as Cudagāṅga, king, 136-37
Cuddappa District, 92
Cūdika, same as Cūlika, people, 26 and note, 27 and note
Cūlika, people, 61 note
Cūlavanisa, Ceylonese Chronicle, 137 and note, 138
Cūlika, Cūdika, same as the Sogdian, people, 26 and note, 27 note
Cūlāniadda, work, 206
Cupil Mani, same as Kapilamuni, 182
Cūrpa, people, 27 note
Cuttack, city and district, 84, 136, 198, 141, 143-48, 176, 227

D

Dabhāla, same as Dāhala, etc., people and country, 232 note
Dabokā, same as Dāvakā, territory, 236
Dacca, city and district, 84, 125-26, 128, 129 note, 130, 139, 166-67, 169, 170, 175, 195 note, 236-37
Dadhī-samudra, mythic sea, 163 note
Dāhāla, same as Dāhala, country, 202
Dhautapāpā, same as Dhūtapāpā, ricer, 41 note
Dhavalā, same as Dhumelā or Burti
Rāpti, ricer, 41 note
Dhavalāgirī, peak, 221
Dhenuvājā, locality, 220
Dhīvara, people, 64 and note
Dholpur, locality, 167
Dhūtapāpā, ricer, 39 note, 41 note
Dharvarājā, king, 144 note
Dūhikā, people, 61 note
Dhumelā, same as Dhavalā, ricer, 41 note
Dhūtapāpā, Dhūtapāpā, ricer, 39 note, 41 and note, 43 note
Dhūtavāhini, ricer, 47 note
Dīangā, locality, 130 note
Dīdā, Kashmir queen, 234
Dīlwana, locality, 161
dig-visya, 'conquest of the quarters', 67-7, 176
dig-visya, epīthet, 4, 6, 8
Dihāṃḍa, wrong reading for Duhāṃḍa, 232
Dinajpur District, 93, 104, 191 note, 195 note, 217-18, 222-23
Dinora, coin, 217
Dīlā-natī, epīthet, 4, 5
Dīya-dāna, work, 211, 216 note
Dīyārj-Bangāla, district, 170
Doab, territory, 243 note
Dongā-grāma, village, 217-18, 223 note
drvāḍa-śāra-prabala-pratāpa-pramaṇa, epīthet, 2
Desara, Dosarena, locality, 151-52
Drachm, coin, 160
Draḍāṣṭyāya, Draḍāṣṭyā-śīṣya, a mistake for Dravīḍa-śīṣya, country, 202
Dravīḍa, Dravīḍa, country, 71, 76 and note, 86, 92, 119
Dravīḍa, South India, 16
Dravīḍa, people, 250
Dravīḍa script, 119
Dravīḍa Brahmāṇa, 16, 120 note, 121
Dravīḍa, ricer, 41 note
Drāḍāvatī, Drāḍāvatī, ricer, 39 note 40 note, 41 and note, 42 note, 43 note, 57 note, 92, 103
Dryā, ricer, 46 note
Druha, people, 60 note
Druhyā, people, 24 note
Drumā, ricer, 47 note
Drūtā, fortres, 43 note
Duarte de Barbosa, Portuguse author, 127
Dubā, locality, 116
Dubī, Kośī, ricer, 221
Dugdhe-śāntīni, mythical sea, 153 note
Dugdhopā, ricer, 52 note
Dhūṣanta, Dusyanta, legendary king, 2 note
Dukha Bazoo, wrong reading of Dhakka Bāzū, 298
Durga, people, 31, 32 and note
Durgā, ricer, 32 note, 51 note
Durgamā, ricer, 51 note
Durgandhā, ricer, 51 note
Duryodhanna, epič king, 6
Dusyanta, legendary king, 2 and note
Dvālāsādītiya-kūndā, holy pool, 219
Dvārākā, city, 33 note, 76 and note, 78, 81, 91, 100, 107-08, 183
Dvārāvatī, same as Dvārākā, holy place, 224
dvīpa 'island', 163-64
Dvīpa-cakravarthin, epīthet of Akāla, 3, 5 note
Easterners, a people according to the classification of the grammarians, 209
Eastern Division of India, 172
Eastern Hindī, dialect, 119-20
Eastern India, 172, 175, 246
East Indian alphabet, 16
East Indian dialect, 119
East Indian hills, 54 note
East Indian script, 118-19
Edrisi, author, 167, 250
Egypt, country, 114, 164
Ekabhū-deka, country, 203
Eka-čhatra, 'universal sovereign', 4, 7
Ekalavya, people, 33 note
Ekapāda, people and country, 203
Elāpatra, same as Airāvata, mythical elephant, 207
Elōra, locality, 135
Elamānti-Kalinda-deca, same as Yelamanchili Taluk, 136
English, people and language, 131 and note
English East India Company, 192
Erāpatha, same as Airāvata, mythical elephant, 207
Ethiopia, country, 164

F

Fa-hien, Chinese traveller, 228
Fakir Muhammad, author, 127 note
Farelpur, district and town, 84, 125-26
Farrukhabad District, 21 note, 92, 121 note
Farazk, a particular measurement of distance, 162, 232, 244-45
Fernandus, Jesuit missionary, 128 note
Frishta, author, 232-33
Frīz Shāh, Tūghā Mangōtā, 148
INDEX

Five Indies, 73
Fyzabad, district and town, 22 note, 99

G
Gabhastimān, a Division of Bharatavarṣa, 5 note
gaddi, weapon of Vīṣṇu, 107
Gadāvarta, locality, 81, 107-08
Gāḍhīpura, same as Kanaūj, city, 241, 242 and note
Gāṇḍāvālā, dynasty, 198
Gājapata, same as Gajni or Gajna, territory, 202
Gajapati, title, 81 note, 108
Gajapati, dynasty, 108
Gālau, people, 37 note
Gānak, people, 26 note
Ganapathva, work, 66 note, 215
Gāndak, same as Gāṇḍakī, river, 42 note
Gāndakā, official, 217
Gāndakī, river, 39 note, 42 and note, 43 note, 77, 94
Ganḍhamādāna, pests, 9, 13, 184
Ganḍhamādana-gamini, river, 55 note, 54 note
Ganḍharā, country and people, 24 note, 44, 62 note, 102, 191, 192 note, 231, 233, 235
Ganḍhāra, people, 24 and note, 61 and note, 71
Ganḍhāra-viṣayā, same as Gandhāra, country, 62 note
Gandharva, people, 62 and note
Gandharva, a Division of Bharatavarṣa, 5 note
Gandharva-desa, same as Gandhāra, country, 62 note
Ganeṣa-giri, hill, 74, 87, 97, 104
Gauja, delay and locality, 77, 79, 97, 104
Gaugha, dynasty, 142, 146, 148-49, 166, 170 note
Gaugha, Eastern dynasty, 84, 196 and note, 197-98
Gaugha, Imperial, dynasty, 136-37
Gaugha, Western, dynasty, 31 note
Gaugha, Gaṅgā, Gaṅgēya, people, 139, 40, 176
Gaugha, goddess, 180
Gaugha, river, 2, 10 note, 11 and note, 39 and note, 43 note, 47 note, 57 note, 58 note, 64 and note, 124, 139-40, 172 and note, 173, 175-76, 179, 181, 183, 243 note
Gaugha, city, 139-40
Gaugha, same as Gaṅgāsāgara, 140
Gaṅgādvāra, irīka, 179 note
Gaṅgādāraya, Gaṅgārādha, Gaṅgārāṣṭra, wrong transliterations of Gaṅgarēda, 138, 173
Gaṅgasāgara, same as Gaṅgāsāgara, 182, 183 note
Gaṅgāsāgara, holy place, 11, 19, 45, 140, 177, 178 and note, 180 note, 179-83
Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama, same as Gaṅgāsāgara, holy place at the junction of the Gaṅga and the sea, 177, 179, note, 180
Gaṅgā-sītare, ‘mouth of the Gaṅga’, 177
Gaṅgāvāḍi, Gaṅgāvāḍi-gāmaka, district, 199
Gaṅgāvāḍi-gāmaka, work, 180
Gange, Ganges, same as Gaṅgā, city, 139, 173-76
Ganges, same as Gaṅgā, river, 40 note, 41 note, 42 note, 45, 47 note, 48 note, 54 note, 56 note, 63-85, 92, 94, 97-98, 110-13, 124 and note, 136, 138-40, 152, 174-77, 179, 182, 193, 197, 200, 211, 241, 243 note, 244
Ganges, country, 175-76
Ganges, people, 174
Gangetic products, 175-76
Gaṅgēya, people, 139-40, 176
Gangians, same as Gaṅgarēda, i.e. the Vāṅga, 174, 176-77
Gaṅgūm District, 30 note, 53 note, 134, 136, 141-42, 145
Garhwal District, 26 note
Gauḍa Purāṇa, work, 17-18, 20, 22 note, 47 note, 57 note, 225
Gastaldi, Portuguese author, 112, 127
Gaũḍa, name derived from Gaũḍa, 111
Gaũḍa, Gaur, city, 98, 110-13
Gaũḍa, country, 15-16, 71 and note, 78, 111-17, 126 note, 136 note, 145, 151, 156
Gaũḍa, same as West Bengal, 98, 115
Gaũḍa, same as North India, 15-16, 120-22
Gaũḍa, a section of North Indian Brāhmans, 16, 121 and note
Gaũḍa, Eastern India, 16, 117-20
Gaũḍa dynasty, 116
Gaũḍa language, 120 and note
Gaũḍa script, 120
Gaũḍa style, 117, 120, 151 and note
Gaũḍa, same as Lakhnauti, city, 110
Gaũḍa same as Lakhnauti, province, 129
Gaũḍa, same as Gaũḍa, 117
Gaũḍa, derived from Gaũḍa, 117
Gaũḍa, derived from Gaũḍa, 117
Gaũḍa-desa, country, 202
Gaũḍa, same as Gaũḍa, country, 115
Gaudapura, city, 111
Gondasaha, work, 38 note
Gauda-Varsha, territory, 115
Gauda-visaya, district, 85
Gaudha, Gaudesi, deities, 98, 114
Gaut, language, script and style of East India, 119, 151 and note
Gauhati, city, 28 note, 87, 103
Gaur, Gaura, same as Gauda or Lakhnauti, city, 98, 110, 112, 126, 192 note, 133, 166
Gaur, community, 121 note
Gaur-Bangal, territory, 99, 115, 126
Gaur-Brahman, same as Gaudha-Brahmana, community, 121
Gauri, same as Parvatth, goddess, 14 and note, 180
Gaur-Kayath, community, 121 note
Gaurinadi, locality, 126
Gauro, same as Gaur (Gauda) or Lakhnauti, city, 192 note
Gaur-Rajput, community, 121 note
Gaur-Taga, community, 121 note
Gaur, same as Paanca-Gauda, 121 note
Gaur-Thakur, community, 121 note
Gautama-gotra, 191
Gautamiputra Satakarni, Sataavahana king, 144, 158, 214-15, 216 note
gauja, gauja, 'village headman', 117
Gay, king, 226-29
Gay, district and town, 22 note, 42 note, 49 note, 84, 99-100, 181, 194, 224-26
Gayala Brahmana, 228
Gayad-nadi, river, 229-30
Gayad-Phalgu, Gayad-phalguni, festiv-als, 229
Gayad-paradea, district, 100
Gayad-pani, sacred pool, 229-30
Gayad-siras, Gayad-siras, same as Gayad-sira, Gayad-strha, hill, 227-29
Gayad-strha, Gayad-strha, same as Gayad-siras, Gayad-siras, hill, 227-30
Gayadstra, work, 230
Gayad-tirtha, holy place, 224, 229-30
Gayad-visaya, district, 194
Geyamalava, people, 28 note
Geyamallaka, people, 28 note
Geyamartastra, people, 28 note
Ghaggar, river, 40 note, 42 note
Ghagra, Gogra, same as Sarayu, river, 40 note
Ghata, Western, mountain, 101, 188-89
Ghata, same as Western Ghats, 101
Ghata, locality, 78
Ghazna, Ghazni, city and district, 24 note, 26 note, 292, 293
Ghivas Khalji, king, 244
Ghivasuyuddin Balban, king, 170
Ghogra, river, 97
Ghorvandi, river, 43 note
Ghot, locality, 86
Ghuzak pass, 43 note
Girik, same as Girivraja, city, 25 note
Gimhar, hill, 215
Girivraja, same as Girik or Jalalpur, city, 25 note
Goa, territory, 34 note, 101
Godavari District, 134-35, 227
Godhavari, same as Godavari, river, 207
Gogardana, mistake for Gonardana, 207
Gogra, same as Sarayu, river, 40 note
Gokharwla inscription of Karna, 132
Gokak plates of Dejja-maharaja, 152
Gokarna, holy place in South India, 11
Gokarana, holy place in Nepal, 78 and note, 99, 109
Gokarnesha, god and locality, 78 and note, 81 and note, 99, 108-09
Gokarnesha-ksetra, holy place in South India, 86
Gokula, locality, 102, 107
Gokula, same as gaula, 117
Golagnula, people, 29 note
Gomail, same as Gomati, tributary of the Indus, 41 note
Gomanta, people, 29 note, 213
Gomati, river, 39 note, 41 and note, 43 note, 57 note,
Gomeda, people, 29 note
Gonadda, same as Gonarda, locality, 201
Gonaddha, same as Gonarda, locality, 206-07, 213-14
Gonanda, people, 29 note
Gonanda, mistake for Gonarda, locality, 207
Gonarda, people and locality, 29 and note, 154 note, 206-09, 213-14
Gonardana, same as Gonarda, locality, 206
Gonardiya, Gonariyan, epithet of Pataujali, 208-09
Gond, people, 117
Gonda District, 116-17
Goomti, same as Gomati, river, 41 note
Gopacandra, Gauja king, 116, 151
Gopala II, Pala king, 13
Gopta, people, 34 note
Gorakhpur District, 29 note
Govardhana, holy place, 23 note, 257-58
Govinda, people, 29 note
Govinda III, Ratnakirta king, 124 note
Govinda IV, Rājprakūṭa king, 243 and note
Govindacandra, Candra king, 124-25
Govindacandra, Gāhādaṇḍa king, 198, 199 note
Govindarāja, chief, 152 and note
Great Port, 128 and note
Greco-Roman writers, 138, 140
Greek, people and language, 138, 152, 163, 164 note, 172, 208, 250
Grdhakūṭa, same as Śaila-giri, hill, 78, 100
Guha-devapāṭaka, same as Guheśvara-pāṭaka, city, 145, 147
Guheśvara-pāṭaka, city, 145, 147
Gujarāt, Gujarāta, country, 33 note, 45 note, 49 note, 91, 161, 198 and note, 202, 215
Gujaratā, mistake for Gujarātā, country, 202
Gujār-Gaur, a section of the Gauḍa-Bṛāhmapur, 121 note
Gulf of Cambay, 45 note, 216
Guna District, 32 note, 35 note, 214 note
Guntur District, 29 note, 85, 135
Gupta, dynasty, 2-3, 6, 10-11, 115-16, 141, 151, 178-79, 214 note, 217-18, 226
Gurugana, people, 36 note
Gurjara, Gurjara, people and country, 163 and note, 161-63, 243 note
Gurjara, same as Saurāṣṭra, country, 75, 76 and note
Gurjara, a section of the Drāḍa-Bṛāhmapur, 16, 120 and note, 121
Gurjaradela-70000, country, 204
Gurjarapadhāra, dynasty, 161-62, 244 note
Gurjara-rāstra, country, 161
Gurjarastrā, same as Gujarāt, country, 161-63
Gusā, locality, 86
Guzārat, same as Gujarāt, country, 162
Guzr, same as Gujurāt, people, 161
Gwalior, territory, 91, 199 note, 204 note, 205, 214

H
Hahāla, mistake for Ḍabha-la, people and country, 232 note
Haihaya, a branch of the Yādavas, 35 note
Haimavat-vaṁśa, same as Hīma-vaṁśa or Bhārata-vaṁśa, 59 note
Haiśika, people, 30 note
Haimadā inscription, 164
Hammara, same as Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, 234
Hammaraṇasaṅkhyāya, work, 124
Hampi, locality, 157
Harīsa-Keral, country, 74, 85-86
Harinavamsa, same as Humbha, people and country, 26 and note, 36 and note, 67 and note
Harisapura, same as Mūlaṇa, city, 44
Hapta-Hindu, Septo-Siada, 44
Hara, deity, 58 note
Hārabhūṣika, people, 24 note
Hārabhūṣaṇa, a branch of the Huns, 24 and note
Hāramūrtika, people, 24 note
Hārīmūṣika, people, 24 note
Hārapūrīka, people, 24 note
Hāraravī, river, 39 note
Haraz, a mistake for Gujar, 160
Hardwar, holy place, 106
Hāre, Harexi, mistakes for Gujar, 160-61, 163
Hari, same as Viśnu, god, 181
Harīkāla, mistake for Hariyāṇa, country, 202
Harīhara II, king, 157
Harīhara-śeṣṭra, locality, 42 note
Harikāladeva Rāṇavakamall, king, 169
Harikela, Harikelā, Harikelī, Harikelamandala, country, 124 125 and note, 168
Harikṣṣa-ṃśra, author, 70
Hārtī, goddess, 195 and note
Harivumāla, work, 17, 35 note, 49 note, 107
Hariyāṇa, country, 202
Haro, river, 231
Harṣa, Harṣavardhana, Paryabhāti king, 9, 101, 113, 135, 145
Harsaparīta, work, 9, 14, 27 note, 98, 101, 113, 151 note
Harṣavardhana, people, 25 note
Hautināpura, city, 6, 21 note, 79-80, 102, 107, 121 note
Hastings, ruler, 247
Hathigumpha inscription, 153
Hazara District, 26 note, 191
Hebbata grant, 190-91
Hellenodorus, Gres ambassador, 208
Helmund, river, 23 note, 163
Hemacandra, author, 124-25, 208, 242
Hemākri, author, 212
Herat, city and district, 23 note, 24 note
Herbata, village, 191
Hesydrus, same as Śataudr, river, 40 note
Hidimbā, river, 57 note
Hīka, demon, 186
Hill Tippera; territory, 170
Himācala, same as Himālaya, mountains, 12 and note
Himačāli, same as Himālaya, mountain, 14, 56, 99
Himakṣa, same as Himālaya, mountain, 220
Himālaya, mountain, 5-14, 39 note, 40 note, 42 note, 59 note, 95-97, 103, 109, 122, 164, 219-20, 248
Himālayas, Eastern, 36 note, 59 note
Himālayas, Western, 61 note
Himalayan region, 36 note, 37 note, 73, 172, 218
Himalayan country, 173
Himāparvata, same as Himālaya, mountain, 220
Hima-sāla, same as Himālaya, mountain, 11 and note
Hima-varṣa, same as Haimavata-varṣa or Bhārata-varṣa, 59 note
Himavat, same as Himālaya mountain, 5 and note, 12 note, 39 note, 42 note, 43 and note, 55 and note, 60 and note, 172 note, 173 note, 217-18, 220, 222-23
Hina, people, 37 note
Hindi, language, 131
Hindu land, 164
Hindu people, 247
Hindu Kush, mountain, 25 note
Hindustān, 75, 77, 83, 121 note
Hīngulā, Hīngulāja, same as Hīngalāj, deity and locality, 81, 88, 108
Hīngalāj, Hīngalāj-tirtha, locality, 89, 95
Hīngulālā, mistake for Hīngulājā, Hīngalāj, locality, 95
Hīn-gu-pītha, same as Hīngulājā, 77, 95
Hingini-berdi plates, 152
Hīrā-mahādevi, queen, 143
Hiraṇvatī, river, 39 note
Hiusen-tsiang, Chinese traveller, 87, 97-98, 103, 113, 115, 145, 161, 163, 169, 173, 228, 235
Hīldānī, river, 58 and note, 64 and note
Hommanus, author, 130 note
Hooghly, river, 125 note, 126 note, 174
Hooghly, port, 128 and note, 182
Hooghly District, 114, 138, 166
Horomz I, Sasanian emperor, 160
Hormad II, Sasanian emperor, 160
Hrada, people, 24 note, 61 note
Hradikā, Hradikā, river, 48 note
Hrādīnī, Hildānī, river, 58 and note, 59 note
Hrexī, mistake for Gujar, 160
Hūdud-ul 'Alam, work, 232
Huduvula, people, 33 note
Hūhuka, people, 36 and note, 67 and note
Hulista, Bhulista, a branch of the Šēbar, 21 note
Humza, locality, 26 note
Hūpa, people and country, 7, 24 note, 27 and note, 36 and note, 38 and note, 71, 78, 101
Huruskara, mistake for Turuskaka, people, 252 note
Husāṅga Gori, same as Hushang Alp Khan Ghūrī, ruler, 244
Hushang Alp Hīna Ghūrī, ruler, 244
Huṣir, wrong reading for Guξr, 161
Hydaspe, same as Vitastā, river, 41 note
Hyderabad, city and territory in the Decan, 11, 29 note, 104, 154-55, 156 note, 158, 190-92, 215
Hyderabad, locality in Sind, 202
Hyderabad, Southern, 191
Hydraotes, same as Iravati, river, 41 note
I
Ibn Baṭūta, Muslim traveller, 123 note
Ibn al Fakih, author, 127 note
Ibn Haukal, author, 250
Ibn Khordādheb, author, 161
Ikṣu-samudra, mythical sea, 163 note
Ikṣu, river, 42 and note
Ikṣudā, river, 53 note
Ikṣukā, river, 53 note
Ikṣulā, river, 53 and note
Ikṣumati, same as Kālīnadi, river, 42 note
Ikṣvāku, dynasty, 176, 215, 247
Iḷāla, Tamil form of Lāna, 121
Inde, country, 160
India, 115, 164 and note, 174, 208, 233
India, Central, 24 note, 33 note
India, Eastern, 1, 29 note, 55 note
India, Northern, 3, 172, and note, 192
India, North-Western, 19, 24 note, 161, 172
India, Southern, 4, 188
India, South-Western, 14
India, Western, 33 note
Indian literature, 176
Indian Ocean, 122, 184, 250
Indian people, 163
Indore, city and territory, 49 note, 90, 115, 206
Indo-Scythia, Scythia, country, 156
Indra III, Rājarṣi Ṣṭa king, 243 and note, 244 note
Indravīpa, a Division of Bhāratavarṣa, 5 note, 59 note, 66 and note
Indradyumna, king, 65 note
Indradyumna-sara, holy pool, 65 and note
Indrabhūṣa, people, 61 note
Indraloka, locality, 219
INDEX

Indramaru, people or land, 61 and note
Indraprastha, city, 21 note, 76, 81, 92-94, 107
Indraprastha, a Tantrik Division of India, 73, 80
Indrašankupatha, pass or locality, 66 note
Indus, same as Sindhu, river, 10, 24 note, 25 note, 40 note, 41 note, 43 note, 44, 58 note, 62 note, 106-07, 104 and note, 184, 231-32
Indus Valley script, 18
Iklim-i-Lakhnauti, territory, 170
Irradate, country, 160
Iran, country, 163, 164 note
Iranian people, 44
Iraq, country, 96
Irāva, same as Irāvati, river, 44
Irāvati, river, 33, note, 39 note, 41 and note, 43 note, 44, 57 note
Irawadi, river in Burma, 59 note
Išānavarman, Maukhāri king, 116, 135
fī=s, 'inch,' 250
Ithnus of Karr, 66 note
Ishátpal, identified with Aṣaṭapāladeva, king, 232
I-tsing, Chinese pilgrim, 169

J

Jabalpur District, 34 note, 200
Jaḍurā, mistake for Rajauri, city, 162
Jagannātha, god and locality, 74-75, 78, 81, 84-85, 87, 100, 108, 165-67
Jagannātha-puri, locality, 165
Jagara, people, 26 note
Jāguḍa, people or country, 26 and note, 235
Jāhāhuti, same as Jejābhukti, territory, 202
Jāhāngir, Mughal emperor, 237
Jāhānagnāra, same as Daċca, city, 237
Jāhārāvār, locality, 24 note, 44
Jailam, same as Jhelam, river, 43 note, 44
Jailam, city, 44
Jain, religious sect, 140
Jaipur, city and territory, 22 note, 93, 109, 182, 203
Jajjāmāla, locality, 244-45
Jāṅanag, city and territory, 123 note, 147
Jāṅanaga, a corruption of Yayāṭinagara, 146-48
Jāṅanagar, identified with the Ganges kingdom, 146, 148-49
Jāṅpur, locality, 109, 145-48
Jāṅpur, derived from Yaṅapura, 147
Jala-samudra, 'sea of water,' 163 note
Jalābindu, locality, 220
Jalālpur, same as Girivraja, locality, 25 note
Jalāludīla, son of Sūfīm Shamsuddin Firuz Shāh, 171
Jalandhar, Jālandhara, locality, 37 note, 202
Jālandhara, same as Jalandhar, locality, 71
Jalaon District, 243
Jalpaiguri District, 97
Jalpeśvara, god, 97
Jambu-deva, a Continent according to Purānic conception, 3, 6, 8, 9 and note, 70, 163 note, 248-49
Jambulā, Jambūla, river, 48 note
Jambu-nādi, river, 218
Jānakpur, same as Mithiā, locality, 28 note
Jannmejaya, Kaurova king, 121 note
Janārdanas-kuṣṭra, holy place, 86
Janaśpada, 'country,' 19, 21 note, 22 and note, 31 note, 33 note, 34 note, 61 and note, 64 and note, 99, 151, 231
Janaśpāla, 'governor,' 235 note
Janasthāna, locality, 247-48
Jāṅgala, people or country, 21 and note, 26 note, 93
Jāṅgala-Jaṅhār-kaṇḍa, country, 84, 114
Japuṭapatha, pass or locality, 66 note
Jāṅuka, people, 29 note
Jarāsandha, mythological king, 108
Jarā, people, 27 note
Jārtika, same as Jā, people and country, 193, 196 and note
Jaswantpur District, 161
Jāt, people, 186 note
Jātkar, toor, 212
Jaleśvara, god and locality, 77, 97
Jattāaur, mistake for Citrakūṭa (Chitor), city, 162
Jauja, locality, 134
Jauja, same as Yamuna, river, 43 note, 45, 244
Jaxartes, same as Syr Darya, river, 59 note, 60 note, 163-64
Jayaddatta, ruler, 217
Jayadeva, author, 180
Jayānāga, Geōgh king, 116
Jayapāla, Rājad of Lahore, 232-34
Jayāśrīkaṇḍārā, camp or 'residence', 127 note, 193
Jejābhukti, same as Jāhāhuti, territory, 202
Jesuit Christian Mission, 128 note
Jhang District, 61 note
Jhanga District, 106
Jhāṅrīkaṇḍa, sams: as Santal Parganas, territory, 98, 114
Jhala, same as Vītasa, river, 24 note,
Kalañjara, people, 65 note
Kalapragrama, locality, 63 note
Kalapragramaka, people, 63 and note
Kalapriya, locality, 241-44
Kalapriya, Kalapriyanatha, god, 242, 243 and note, 244
Kalapriya-pattana, same as Kālpī, locality, 244
Kalasvanā, river, 52 note
Kalāt, locality, 25 note, 25 note
Kalatoyaka, people or country, 23 and note, 62 note
Kalāvana, people, 31 note
Kālēśvarara, deity and locality, 74, 78, 86, 99
Kalhaṇa, author, 86, 232-35, 238
Kali, age, 18
Kaliḍa, people, 65 note
Kalīdāsa, poet, 6, 38 note, 42 note, 138-40, 176-77, 195, 208, 212
Kālika, people, 61 note
Kālikā, goddess, 75, 81, 90
Kālikāmukha, locality, 81
Kālikā Purāṇa, work, 87
Kālikatā, poet, 31 note
Kālikatā, Bengali name of Calculua
131 note
Kālīnadi, river, 40 note, 42 note
Kalindagatika, people, 65 note
Kalindrī, river, 39 note
Kalindrī, river, 112
Kalinga, people and country, 7, 21 note,
22 note, 30 and note, 37 and note,
71, 74, 84-85, 86-89, 134-35, 136 and note, 137-39, 141, 152, 155, 173,
175-76, 178
Kalinga, North-Eastern, 144
Kalinga, South-Eastern, 134
Kalingagāthāpati, title, 134, 136-37, 142
Kalinganganagara, city, 136-38, 142, 146, 148
Kalingapatnam, locality, 54 note
Kalīngatāṁpari, work, 157
Kalīnsch, river, 45 note, 50 note
Kalittaka, people, 31 note
Kallar, mistake for Lalliya, Sāhī king, 233
Kālmastapañca, mythical king, 215
Kālodara, people, 65 and note
Kalpa, country, 38 note
Kalpačadākṣa, work, 125 note
Kālpī, locality, 243-44
Kaltais, Greek name for a gold coin, 175
Kalyāna, city, 10, 136
Kalyāṇapura, locality, 86
Kāma, territory, 81, 100
Kāma, Kāmākhya, goddess, 82
Kāmādi, hill, 79, 103
Kāmagiri, hill, 70, 100-01
Kāmākhya, goddess, 109
Kamālamukha, locality, 81
Kāśāi, same as Kapilā, river, 57 note, 140-41, 176
Kašēruka, Kaśēruka, people, 26 note
Kaśerumata, A Division of Bhāratavarṣa, 5 note
Kashmir (Kāśmīra), country, 25 note, 36 note, 63 note, 65 note, 119, 232
Kashmir, Northern, 25 note
Kashmir, North-Western, 26 note, 36 note
Kāśī, people, 22 and note, 63 and note
Kāśī, locality, 224
Kasi, locality, 29 note
Kāśījorā, locality, 1
Kāśīkā, river, 54 note
Kāśīkāvīrti, work, 209
Kāśīpurā, metonymic of Bhāgabhadra, king, 208
Kāśmīra (Kashmir), people and country, 26 and note, 33 and note, 61 and note, 74, 77, 86, 96, 109, 202
Kaśyapapurā, same as Mūlān, city, 44
Kajaka (Cuttaek), camp and city, 149
Katas (Khetas), locality, 103
Kathaisi, people, 106
Kathākara, people, 32 note
Kathāśārītīgana, work, 83
Kathwad, territory, 22 note, 33 note, 91, 107-8, 215
Katwa, locality, 114
Kaurākana, same as Konkan, country, 202
Kauptānapurā, locality, 153
Kaureva, same as Kuru, country, 71, 79
Kaureva, people, 21 note, 121 note
Kaureva, people, 63 note
Kausa, same as Kānyakubja, city, 242 note
Kausāmbi, city, 102, 214
Kausāka, people, 21 note, 26 note, 175
Kausāki, river, 39 note, 42 and note, 43 note, 57 note, 220-22
Kautājīya, author, 115
Kautājīya Arthaśāstra, work, 5
Kavāla, village, 197
Kāvēra, people, 30 and note
Kāveri, river, 30 note, 45 note, 52 and note, 56 note, 57 note, 89
Kavikakṣa, title, 180
Kavinī, river, 45
Kāyādāra, work, 117, 151
Kāyāmānāta, work, 5, 17, 24 note, 45 note, 57 note, 73, 157, 173, 204 note, 241
Kawalī, village, 197
Kāwanā, Kāwinī, river, 43 note
Kāyabish, same as Kāpiṣa, country, 43 note, 44
Kayal, part, 188
Kāyavāh, work, 204
Kāyath-Gaur, community, 121 note
Kedāra, locality, 11, 13
Kekara, people, 65 and note
Kekaya, Kalkaya, people or country, 25 note, 71, 78, 102
Kekind, locality, 54 note
Ken, river, 47 note, 48 note
Keralam, Kerala, country and people, 29 and note, 33 note, 65 note, 71 and note, 74, 85-86, 89, 208, 213
Kesapa, people, 25 note
Kesari, same as Śomavāraḥast, dynasty, 147
Kesava, author, 125 note
Kesavasena, mistake for Viśvarūpasena, king, 169 and note
Ketumālā, river, 57 note
Kevala, people, 29 note
Kherabes, same as Kāveri, river, 52 note
Khadjavāla, locality, 244
Khararagah, locality, 34 note
Kharjuroha, locality, 1, 202
Khhakka, same as Khasa, people, 36 note, 63 note
Khallikot, locality, 141
Khanda, same as Skanda, deity, 207
Khandes, territory, 104, 158
Kharapatha, people and locality, 66 and note
Khāravela, Kaliṣa king, 84, 134
Kharoṭṭhi, script, 18-19
Khasa, people, 36, 60 note, 63 and note
Khatmandu, city, 221-22
Khellāśa, people, 34 note
Khejakara, people, 24 note
Khetas (Katas), locality, 103
Khiching, locality, 144 note, 159
Khiṣijāgā, same as Khiching, city, 144 note, 159
Khorasan, territory, 24 note, 95-96, 234
Khurādana, same as Khorasan, country, 77 and note, 95-96
Kia-mu-lu, Chinese form of Kāmarūpa, country, 246
Kikarava, people, 34 note
Kikata, territory, 84, 100, 229
Kimpuruṣa, people, 63 and note
Kinnara, people, 62 and note
Kīranti, people, 22 note, 37 note
Kirāt, river, 43 note
Kirāta, country and people, 20, 22 and note, 26 and note, 37 and note, 59 note, 63 and note, 65 and note, 71, 77, 93, 103
Kirātavija, mistake for Kirātadesa, country, 204
Kirāntī, destroyer of fame, epithet of a river, 237
Kisāḍya, people, 22 note
INDEX

Kisajya people, 22 note
Kisalva, people, 22 note
Kisapna, people, 22 note
Kisatja, people, 22 note
Kishengang, river, 25 note, 86
Kiskindhā, Kiskindhyā, locality, 34 note, 247
Kiskindhaka, people, 34 and note
Kiu-che-lo, Chinese form of Gurjara, 161
Kiu-kia-t'o-nya, wrong Chinese form of Gondara, 207
Kiul, locality, 194
Kiul, same as Rākulyā, river, 54 note
Kleisobora, same as Krṣṇapura, locality, 102
Koa, Kophen, Kophes, same as Kabul, river, 41 note
Kodagu, same as Coorg, territory, 31 note
Koei, river, 54, 55 note
Kokā, river, 22, 219-20, 222
Kokākola, river, 222
Kokāmukha, god and locality, 217-18, 222
Kokāmukhasāmin, god, 217-18, 223 note
Kokāmukhasāmin, holy place, 219-23
Kokānada, same as Kokākola, river, 219
Kokkonagai, territory, 152
Kolapura, same as Kolhapur, city, 31 note, 75
Kolāpuranivāna, identified with Mahālakṣmī, goddess, 87
Kolavana, people or country, 31 and note
Kolhapur, town and district, 31 note, 87, 152
Kollur (Barkalūr), locality, 89
Konkanā, territory, 213
Kondapura, locality, 190-91
Konadvati-2, group of villages, 199
Konigoda, identified with the Puri-Ganjam region, country, 136, 145-46
Konkan, Konkanā, country, 30 note, 31 note, 71, 75, 76 and note, 78 and note, 88, 91, 101, 155
Kousi, same as Kuṣṭi or Kauśikī, river, 222
Kopā, same as Kūpā, river, 55 note
Kopāl, river, 109
Kophen, Kophes, Koa, same as Kabul, river, 41 note
Kora-Jahanabad, territory, 167
Korkai, port, 188
Kosala, country or people, 21 note, 22 and note, 54 and note, 71, 78, 150, 203, 212
Kosala, same as Mahā-Kośala, country, 99
Kosala, South, same as the Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region, 99
Kosala, people, 202, 206
Kosambi, Kauśambī, city, 206
Kos, same as Kauśikī, river, 42 note, 221
Koṭēśvara-Mahādeva, god, 101
Koṭikarṇa, person, 211, 215
Koṭilā, god and locality, 78 and note, 101
Koṭivāra, district, 191 note, 217-18, 220, 222-23
Kramavarta, district, 258-59
Kramu, river, 48 and note
Kraunche-dvīpa, Kraunchedvīpa, a Continetal according to Puranic conception, 163 note
Krīmīllā, Krīmilā, city and district, 193, 195-97
Krīmilā-vijaya, district, 197
Krishna, Kṛṣṇa, river, 31 note, 84-85
Kriyā, river, 47 and note
Kṛnila, Kṛnilā, city, 193, 195-96
Kṛpā, river, 55 note
Kṛṣṇa, river, 55 note
Kṛṣṇa, god, 108
Kṛṣṇa III, Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, 11, 243 note, 251-53
Kṛṣṇa, river, 14, 51 and note, 52 note, 74, 134-45, 156, 192
Kṛṣṇabena, same as Kṛṣṇa, river, 156
Kṛṣṇapandara, ruler of Nadia, 1 note
Kṛṣṇadevarāya, king of Vijayanagara, 12
Kṛṣṇanandā Agamavāgīśa, author, 69
Kṛṣṇapura, locality, 102
Kṛṣṇavenu, Kṛṣṇaṇevā, Kṛṣṇavenu, same as Kṛṣṇa, river, 51 note, 52 note, 56 and note, 57 note
Kṛṣṇamallā, river, 52 and note, 56 and note, 188
Kṛṣṭakāla, river, 57 note
Kṛṣṭavīra, Haihaya king, 35 note
Kṛṣṭivīra, author, 112
Kṛṣṇakalpataru, work, 150
Kṛūra, people, 61 note
Kṣamā, river 47 note
Kṣatraciara, people, 25 note
Kṣatri, people, 25 and note, 26 and note
Kṣatriya, people, 215, 233-35
Kṣemagupta, king, 234
Kṣemendra, author, 248
Kṣetra, 'holy place', 221
Kṣetra, 'sphere of influence', 5, 8, 15
Kṣetrasamāśa, work, 249
Kṣirprā, river, 46 note, 50 note, 54 note, 55 note
Kṣirasāmin, author, 210
Kṣitarāhadevindacarita, work, 1 note
Kṣitipratī-candra-skīte, epithekt, 1 note
Kṣudra, Kṣudraka, people, 23 and note
Kuşapa, people, 36 note
Kuhā, river, 41 note
Kūdālūr, locality, 191
Kugatha, people, 62 note
Kuhaka, Kuhika, people, 27 note
Kuhu, people, 61 and note
Kuhu, Kuhū, same as Kabul, river, 39 note, 41 and note, 43 note, 57 note, 61 note
Kuki, people, 102
Kuknūr, village, 200-01
Kuknūr-30, district, 200
Kukura, people and country, 60 and note, 213-15
Kukkūṭa, people, 27 note
Kula mountain, 188-89
Kulait, territory, 22 note
Kulaphu, epíthet, 218
Kulata, Kulattha, people, 60 note
Kulinda, people, 24 note
Kuliya, people, 32 note
Kulū valley, 24 note, 27 note
Kulūta, people, 27 and note
Kulya, people, 22 and note, 29
Kulyarā, land-measur., 217 note, 218
Kumaon hills, 40 note, 100
Kumāra, people, 29 and note, 30 note, 65 note
Kumāra-dvīpa, Kumārī-dvīpa, a Divis. of Bhāratavarṣa, 178
Kumāragupta I, Gupta king, 4, 218
Kumārakamkhā, work, 195
Kumāravarmā, king, 144 note
Kumāraviṣṇu, Pallava king, 8
Kumārī, locality, 172 note
Kumārī, river, 54 and note, 55 note, 57 and note
Kumārī-dvīpa, a Division of Bhāratavarṣa, 5 note, 20, 30 note
Kumārīpura, same as Cape Comorin, locality, 5 and note
Kun-kum-ādī, locality or hill, 74, 86
Kumudvati, river, 50 and note
Kuṇa, people, 36 note
Kutalala, people, 21 note
Kundala, Kundala, people, 31 note
Kupēṇa, city, 153
Kunet, people, 24 note
Kupinda, people, 24 and note, 60 and note
Kukkum-ādī, hill or locality, 74, 86
Kantala, country, 71, 78, 101, 150-51, 153, 155, 156 and note, 157-58, 192
Kantala, same as Karpata, country, 156 and note
Kantala, people, 22 note, 31 and note, 60 note, 153, 156 note, 157-58
Kantalekha, epíthet, 156
Kantalekha, epíthet, 156
Kunta-pravāraṇa, people, 36 note
Kunti, same as Aśvamedhi, river, 46 and note
Kunti, a branch of the Tādavaś, 21 note, 22 and note
Kūpā, river, 55 and note
Kupatha, people or locality, 29 note, 30 note, 36 note, 62 note, 65 and note
Kuraha, locality, 244-45
Kūrmācala, same as Kumaon, locality, 220 note
Kūrmāprastha, a Tantrik Division of Indiā, 73, 80-81, 107
Kūrma Purāṇa, work, 6, 17, 19, 37 and note, 38 note, 39 and note, 40 note, 41 note, 42 note, 43 note, 45 note, 46 note, 47 note, 48 note, 49 note, 50 note, 51 note, 52 note, 53 note, 54 note, 55 note, 116 note, 179, 188, 226 note
Kurū, same as kurvā, 244
Kuru, people or country, 21 and note, 22 note, 37 and note, 63 and note, 79, 102-03
Kuru, same as Uttara-Kuru, people, 36 and note
Kuru-deśa, country, 203
Kuru-jāṅgala, country or people, 21 note
Kurukṣetra, locality, 40 note, 76, 79, 91-92, 102-03, 187, 241
Kurumina, people, 32 note
Kusa, Ikavaka king, 212
Kusa, territory, 164 note
Kusa-dvīpa, a Division of Bhāratavarṣa, 160-61, 163 note, 164
Kusāl, people, 21 note, 22 and note
Kusāna, dynasty, 227, 233
Kusāpravāraṇa, people, 36 note, 66 note
Kusīsthalā, same as Kānṭyakubha, city, 242 note, 243 and note
Kusanta, people, 22 note
Kusuvaṭi, city, 212 and note
Kusseruka, people, 26 note
Kush, country, 164
Kushiya, people, 164
Kusī, same as Kauṣiki, river, 221
Kusika, people, 65 and note
Kusīnagara, locality, 29 note
Kusīnārā, locality, 206
Kusūdrā, people, 21 note
Kusuma, people, 29 note
Kutch, territory, 33 note, 101, 104, 106
Kuthapraśaraṇa, people, 36 note, 66 and note
Kutya, people, 29 note

Lāḍa, Prakrit form of Lāṭa, country, 203
INDEX

Laďahacandra, Candra king, 126
Laga Tūrmān (Toramāna), Śāki king, 233
Laghmān, same as Lampāka, country, 26 note
Laghu-Kauśikāna, country, 202
Lahore, city, 43 note, 233
Lalgā, ricer, 48 and note
Lakhisarai (Luckceserai), locality, 27 note, 83
Lakhmania, same as Lakṣmaṇasena, Sena king, 166
Lakhnauti (Gauro or Gaur), city, 110, 123 note, 129, 166
Lakhnauti (Gauda), province, 126, 129, 169, 170 and note
Lakṣmaṇadeva, Paramār king, 7
Lakṣmaṇa, Ikṣvāku prince, 247
Lakṣmaṇarāja, Kalacuri king, 132
Lakṣmaṇasena, Sena king, 110, 165-66, 168-69, 228, 239
Lakṣmaṇāvatā, same as Lakhnauti, city, 110
Lakshmidhara, author, 150
Lāla, same as Rādha, territory, 137
Lalita, people, 24 note
Lallāṭiśaya, king, 234-35
Lallāṭamūkha, locality, 82
Lallavidhara, work, 119
Lalīya Śāhi, king, 232-35
Lambāga, same as Lampāka, locality, 43 note
Lambakarna, people, 92
Lampāna, locality, 43 note, 232
Lampāka, people and country, 26 and note, 43 note, 61 and note, 235
Lāṅgalarīni, Lāṅgulīni, ricer, 54 and note
Lāṅgulīya, same as Lāṅgulīni, ricer, 54 note
Lāṅkā, same as Ceylon, 137, 213, 247
Lāṅkā, city in Ceylon, 9
Lāṅkā-ḍeśa, Lāṅkā-pradeśa, territory, 80, 107, 203
Lāṅkāpurī, city in the Sout-Kashmir region, 103
Lārī (Lāṭī) script, 119
Lāṭa, country, 71, 79, 106, 119, 121, 198
Lāṭa-ḍeśa-21000, territory, 204
Latin language, 130 note
Lauhitāya, Lauhitāya, Lohityā, ricer, 10 and note, 13, 39 note, 42 and note, 57 note, 115
Lauhitāya, territory, 184
Lava, Ikvyutkā prince, 212
Lavaṇa-niśadha, see, 163 note
Lavangasikā, locality, 218
Lāhāka, city, 249
Lākhiśevi, work, 226 note
Lāṅgodhvā-ḍeśa, country, 203
Little Port (Portus Parvus), identified with Hooghly, 158 and note
Liverpool, port, 128
Lohajāṅgha, people, 32 note
Lōhāpurā, same as Lahore, city, 202
Loharāhī, locality, 44
Lōhāgala, holy place, 219-20
Lōhini, ricer, 42 note
Lōhitā, ricer, 43 note
Lōhitāya, Lauhitāya, ricer, 39 note, 42 and note
Lōkapāla, locality, 219
Lōkaprakāśa, work, 248-49
Lōkavigrahā, king, 144
Loricol, locality, 170
Luckceserai (Lakhisarai), locality, 194, 195 note, 196
Lūpā, Lūpi, ricer, 46 and note

M
Māḍāpurā, probably a mistake for Kāncheipura, country, 202
Māḍad Pālī, work, 135, 146-47
Māḍanapāla, Pāla king, 195-96, 198
Māḍanapāḍā plate, 169
Mādırup, locality, 84
Madīguraka, Madīguraka, people, 47 note
Madīgurava, people, 27 note
Māḍhava, king, 180 note, 183
Māḍhava, god Vīṇu at Gaṅgaṅgara, 181 and note, 182
Māḍhavavarman II, ruler, 189
Madhuṅkāravā, Madhuṅkāmāravā, Kaliṅga prince, 137
Madhūrī, ricer, 39 note
Madhusūdana, Deva king, 169
Madhva, religious teacher, 86
Madhyadeśa, country, 21 note, 22 note, 29 note, 37 and note, 73, 172 and note, 173 note, 212
Madhyadeśiya, Madhyadeśiya, people, 21 note, 22 and note
Madhyamikā, city, 23 note
Madhyā Pradeś, 34 note, 35 note, 46 note, 49 note, 55 note, 99, 150-51, 153, 203, 205
Madī, ricer, 45 note
Madra, Madraka, people and country, 24 and note, 28 note, 71 and note, 79, 105, 186 and note, 189
Madrā, ricer, 56 note
Madrakāra, Mahākāra, a branch of the Sālvā, 21 note, 38
Madra-maṇḍala, kriyā name for Madras State, 189
Madrākṣa, people, 38 and note
Madras State, 29 note, 52 note, 89, 109, 189
Madreyas, people, 21 note
Madurai, city and district, 29 note, 52 note, 89, 188
Maga, community, 164 note
Magadha, people or country, 18, 22 and note, 29 and note, 37 and note, 63 and note, 71, 78 and note, 79, 99, 102, 138, 172-73, 176, 178, 206
Magadha, Northern, territory, 100
Magadha, Southern, territory, 100
Magadha-deka, same as Magadhā, country, 204
Magadhā-lipi, script, 119
Magadhāpura, Māgadhāpura, city, 129
Māgadhi language, 18
Magh, people, 180
Magi, priestly class of ancient Iran, 164 note
Magna, same as Meghnā, river, 190 note
Mahākāśyapa-gāthā, official designation, 203 note, 234
Mahābhārata, epic, 3 note, 6 note, 17, 21 note, 24 note, 27 note, 31 note, 36 note, 47 note, 51 note, 53 note, 54 note, 84, 96, 103, 135 and note, 136, 139 and note, 154, 157, 175, 176 and note, 185, 186 and note, 190, 218, 222, 225-27, 259
Mahābhāṣya, work, 66 note, 163 note, 208-09
Mahābhāvagupta I Jānemaṇya, Sanskrit king, 146
Mahācāma, country, 71, 87, 97 and note
Mahādeva, same as Śiva, god, 182
Mahādīpā, Mahādīpā, 'a continent', 9 note
Mahāgauri, river, 51 and note
Mahākāla, god, 90
Mahākāra, Madarākāra, a branch of the Śābara, 21 note
Mahākosalā, same as Kosala, country 76, 99
Mahālakṣmi, goddess, 87
Mahāmleccha, same as Mleccha, 'Muslim world', 77, 94
Mahāmāyā, work, 206
Mahārāda, Mahārād, river, 47 and note, 48 note, 49 note, 55 note, 57 note, 83, 85, 112, 135, 146 and note, 147 and note, 155
Mahānāma, village, 44
Mahānīlakaṇḍa, designation, 118
Mahānīlakṣaṇa, work, 266
Mahāpuri, city, 78, 96
Mahāprāthāhāra, official designation, 233 note 234
Mahārāja, title, 143, 217
Mahārājāna, title, 1, 162
Mahārāṣṭra, country, 31 note, 69, 71, 75, 85, 89, 155, 200
Mahārāṣṭra, people, 30 and note
Mahārāṣṭra, a section of the Drāvida Brāhmaṇas, 120 and note
Mahāśādhanika, official designation, 234 and note
Mahāśāka, people, 30 note
Mahāśānavagrhasthaika, official designation, 233 note, 234
Mahāśānavagupta Yayāti I, Sanskrit king, 196, 199 note
Mahāśānavagupta Yayāti III Cānḍilhara, Sanskrit king, 146-47
Mahāśāṅkha, locality, 28 note, 175
Mahāśāṅkhaikika, official designation, 233 note, 234
Mahāśāṅkhipāgārika, official designation, 233 note, 234
Mahāśaṭṭha, river, 190 note
Mahāvagga, work, 230 note
Mahāvatsa, work, 198
Mahāvega, river, 48 note
Mahādeva, same as Mādhava or Mahādeva, god, 182
Mahendra, Eastern Ghats, 54 and note, 56 note, 57 and note
Mahendra-ratanayā, river, 54 note, 134-136
Mahendra, same as Mahendra-giri, hill, 10 and note, 13, 14
Mahendrapāla II, Pratihāra king, 243 note
Mahēsva, town, 49 note, 90, 155
Mahēsvarā-kūndā, locality, 220
Mahērya, people, 33 and note
Mahī, river, 33 note, 45 note, 57, 106, 216
Mahīpāla I, Pāla king, 13, 169
Mahīpāla I, Pratihāra king, 32 note, 243 note, 244 note
Mahīmūd, Sultan of Ghaznī, 234
Mahīṣa, people and territory, 190-92
Mahīṣa, Mahīṣyā, people, 37, 188-90
Mahīṣakā, territory, 157, 190-91
Mahīṣaka, people, 30 and note
Mahīṣa-mūrgāla, same as Mahīṣaka, country, 190
Mahīṣa-vīṣaya, territory, 30 note, 157, 191
Mahīṣmati, city, 30 note, 35 note, 49 note, 73, 90, 154-55, 173 note, 190, 192, 209, 214
Mahīṣsati same as Mahīṣmati city, 206
Mahīṣāt, same as Mysore, city, 191
Mahōdaya, same as Kanauj, city, 241-43
Maikal range, 34 note
Maindika, people, 31 note
Mainmāmati, locality, 171
Maithili, a section of the Gauḍa Brāhmaṇas, 16, 121
Maithili, author, 180-181
Maithili language, 119-20
INDEX

Mānasā, people, 28 note
Man, locality, 152
Māna, dynasty, 143-43, 159
Māna, same as Māṇāṅka, Rājārakāta king, 152
Māṇa, Sāka king, 190
māṇa-citra, 'map', 246
Māṇabhūmi (Māṇabhūm), territory, 143, 159
Mandāra, holy place, 180
Māna-deśa, territory, 152, 159
Māṇāṅka, Rājārakāta king, 152-53, 155, 159
Mānapura, city, 152, 159
Mānasa, Mānasa-sarovara (Mānasa-sarovara), lake, 96-97, 109
Mānāsa, snake goddess, 105 note
Mānādesa, daily and locality, 77, 81, 96, 109
Mānasaodhā, holy place, 219
Māṇabhūm, Māṇabhūmi, territory, 54 note, 55 note, 84, 114, 143-45, 159
Mānada, people, 28 note
Mandārā, river, 54 and note
Mandākīn, same as Mandākīnī, river, 47 and note
Mandākīnī, river at Gāndhāgāra, 161 and note
Mandākīnī, river, 57 note
Māṇḍala, people, 37 note
Meṣaghalal, 'district', 168-69, 205
Māṇḍara, mythical mountain, 9, 13, 184
Mandāsor inscription, 10
Mandāvāhini, river, 54 and note
Māṇḍāvyā, people, 27 note
Mānādāt, locality, 55 note, 49 note, 90, 155
Māṇḍī, locality, 244
Mangalakavarara, people, 60 note
Mangalore, town, 32 note
Māṇīghapura-caturāsikā, group of villages, 109
Māṇīkaanda-rājā Gān, work, 127 note
Manipur, locality, 102
Māṇījārā, same as Vaṇjulā, river, 52 note
Māṇijulā, river, 48 and note
Mānkathā, locality, 194
Manoramā, river, 45 note
Mānasa-vatara, lake, 96
Manu, law-giver, 3 note, 14, 99
Manusmṛiti, work, 103, 142, 143 note, 173
Māṇīkhaṇḍa, city, 11, 251-52
Marada, people, 61 note
Mārālī, village, 195 note
Marāṭhā country, 30 note, 87, 90, 155-56
Marāṭhā country, Northern, 225
Marāṭhā country, Southern, 152-53, 155, 157, 159

Maithili script, 118
Mājaṇaka, mistake for Gājaṇaka, country, 202
Makkṣa, Makkṣa, Makkṣa, river, 48 note
Makkṣa, Makkṣa, river, 48 note
Mālava, country or people, 28 note
Mālava, country, 33 note, 37 note, 119, 202, 209
Mālava, Eastern, country, 91-92
Mālava-g-lakhs-and-g, country, 204
Mālava-pitu, people, 28 note
Mālavartha, Mālavartha, people, 28 note
Mālāvā-kārnābād, work, 153, 208
Māla, people, 21 note
Malabar, territory, 189
Malacca, territory, 250
Malada, Mālada, people, 28 and note, 33 and note
Malai, Dravidian word for 'hill', 53 note, 189
Mālaka, people, 38 note
Malapā, people, 38 note
Māḷāṭa, country, 71
Malay Peninsula, 116
Mālaya, mountain, 11 and note, 12 and note, 18, 53 and note, 56 and note, 164, 188 and note, 189
Mālaya, district, 189
Mālaya, people, 37 note, 38 note
Malayādri, country and mountain, 71, 75, 80
Malayāla, country, 71, 75, 89
Malayālam language, 29 note, 189
Malaysia-rājya, title, 189
Mālda, city and district, 98, 110-14
Mālaka, people, 22 note
Mālkāpura inscription, 200
Malhed, same as Māṇya-kheṭa, locality, 11, 156, 251-53
Malla, people, 29 and note
Mālaka, people, 28 and note
Mālakocara, people, 25 note
Mālavarthaka, people, 28 and note
Mālakārjuna, god, 88
Mālikārjuna, prince, 200
Mālināśa, commentator, 7, 124 note, 139, 177, 212
Mallo, same as Mālava, people, 33 note
Malwa, Malāva, country, 4, 10-11, 14, 33 note, 37 note, 45 note, 49 note, 69, 71 and note, 76, 87, 121, 199, 243
Malwa, East, territory, 34 note, 151, 225
Malwa, West, territory, 22 note, 35 note, 92, 106
Malwārī script, 119

285
Marathi, language, 87
Marco Polo, European traveller, 127 note, 250
Mārgava, people, 28 note
Mārikārā-tirtha, locality, 75, 87
Mārakanda, river, 40 note
Marmaka, people, 21 note
Maroundac, people, 175
Martiyangā, river, 57 note
Maru, territory or people, 12 and note, 26 note, 38 note, 71, 75, 76-79, 91, 93, 101, 103, 215
Māruka, Māruka, people or country, 38 and note
Marudvīrdha, river, 57 note
Marwar, country, 12, 26 note
Māsā, people, 34 note
Masāka, people, 22 note
Masalā, territory, 151
Maski, village, 190-91
Masulipatam District, 151
Mataanga, sage, 247
Mātanga, people, 28 note
Mātanga, locality, 220
Mathandadeva, ruler, 162
Māṭhara, people, 24 note
Māṭhara-Kapahinā-māyā, 157
Mathurā, city and district, 21 note, 22 note, 80, 102, 106-08, 162, 224
Mātrigupta, poet, 238
Matsya, people and country, 21 note, 22 and note, 63 and note, 71, 79, 93, 105
Matsya-deśa, country, 105
Matsya-sīlā, holy place, 220
Maudgalya, Maudgala, getra, 143
Maulapattana, locality, 98, 114
Maulika, Maulaka, people, 30 and note
Maukhari, dynasty, 116, 135
Maunika, people, 30 note
Mauyya, dynasty, 5, 134, 135, 172-73, 176, 229
Māyā, holy place, 224
Māyā-kṣetra, holy place, 81, 108
Māyāpura, locality, 79, 81, 106, 108
Mayapur pass, 106
Mayurāvarman, king, 153
Mayurbanj District, 144 note, 159
Mecca, holy place, 95, 107-08
Merupāṭa, same as Mevāḍa, country, 202
Meerut, district and town, 21 note, 103, 107-08
Mega, a mouth of the Ganges, 174
Meghadūta, work, 150 note
Meghnāl, river, 84, 97, 123, 125 note, 128-29
Meher plate, 169
Mehrauli inscription, 10, 184-85
Mekala, people, 33, 34 note
Mekong, river, 59 note
Mendhakapatha, locality or pass, 66 note
Mersey, a synonym for Liverpool, 128 note
Meru, Sumcrī, mythical mountain, 9 note
Meruvara, locality, 219
Mesikā-grāma, village, 193
Methora, same as Mathurā, city, 102
Mevāḍa, Medapāṭa, country, 202
Mewār, country, 162
Mhow, locality, 46 note
Midnapur District, 1, 34 note, 57 note, 140-41, 176-77
Mien, same as Burma, 127 note
Mihirakula, Hīga king, 101
Mihīrān, river, 44
Mīndapabhika, work, 66 note
Minhāj, Minhājuddīn, Muslim historian, 165-67, 169, 170 and note
Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka, 3, 6
Mīrzāpur District, 198
Mīrīkṣārā, work, 10
Mīrirayat, locality, 26 note, 231
Mithilā, city and territory, 28 note, 120
Mitraśārman, 234
Mīlecha, same as Mahā-Mīlecha, country and people, 60 note, 64 note, 76, 94-95, 220
Modelanātha, foremost village, 200
Mohanāvarta, locality, 82, 109
Mōhīt, 'Encyclopaedia of the Sea', 250
Molī, locality, 114
Mongga, identified with Mongolia, country, 77 and note, 97
Monghyr, town and district, 27 note, 83, 99, 194-97, 249
Monghyr inscription, 193, 196
Montgomery District, 23 note
Moor (Muhammadan), people, 128
Mother-goddess, 195 note
Mount Abu, 33 note
Mount Sudāman, 185
Mount U奉a, 211
Mrama, people, 28 note
Mudakara, people, 27 note
Mudgāra-gīri, same as Monghyr, locality, 27 note 193, 197
Mudgara, Mudgaraka, same as Monghyr, people, 27 note
Mudgagiri-viṣaya, district, 197
Mudgara, same as Mudgagiri, locality, 36 note
Mudragaraka, people, 27 note
Mudgaira, Mudigalya, gotra, 143-44
Mudrārākana, work, 36 note
Mudráya, territory, 164
Mughisuddeh Tughrill Khān, Sultān, 170
Mughal, dynasty, 99, 135 and note
Muhammadan, community, 110, 126, 128, 171, 233
Muhammad Bakhtyār, ruler, 165
Mūkā, people, 22 note
Mukailingkā, deity and locality, 75, 89
Mukhalīngam, locality, 136-38
Mukkana (Tylocana) Kadamba, mythical ruler, 153
Muktimati, river, 48 note
Mukundārāma, poet, 127 note, 180
Mukutā, river, 48 note
Mūlaka, mythical king, 215-16
Mūlaka, Mājaka, country and people, 30 note, 13 note, 154-55, 159, 206, 214, 215 and note, 216
Mūlaśravāsitādā-ekalatarka, work, 211
Mūlaśravāsitādā, sect, 211-12, 215
Mūlasasthāna, Mūlān, city, 44, 204
Mūlastya-viṣaya, Pulastya-viṣaya, country, 203
Mulgund inscription, 15
Mūll, river, 54 note
Mūllika, people, 30 note
Mūlān, city and territory, 24 note, 44, 106, 160, 204, 232
Munḍaka, people, 214
Munim Khān, chief, 133
Munshiganj, territory, 84
Murala, people, 32 and note
Muralā, river, 32 note
Murshidabad, town and district, 98, 111-14, 145
Musī, river, 29 note
Mūyika, people, 29 and note
Mūyikāna, people, 29 note
Mūyikapatha, pass or locality, 66 note
Muslim, community, 110-15, 123 note, 125 note, 126 and note, 131-32, 170, 232-33, 243
Muslim authors, 146-48
Muslim Bengal, 170
muslin, a variety of fine cloth, 175
Muzaffarpur District, 42 note
Mymsingh District, 84, 105, 114
Mysore, same as Mahaśīr, city, 191
Mysore State, 3, 11, 30 note, 34 note, 89, 102, 136, 153, 155, 190-92

N
Nābbhā, mythic al king, 3 note
Nadīlī, town and district, 1 note, 114, 165-67
Na-lu-ti O-lo-na-shuen, king, 246
Nāga-clviṣṇa, a Division of Bhūratavāra, 5 note
Nagara, Nagarāhāra, same as Jālalabād, locality, 235
Nagara (Nāgari) script, 112-19
Nagaraḥrāthī, official designation, 217
Nagari plates, 146
Nakarök, locality, 44
Nagur-seṭh, official designation, 217 note
Nāgasākhvaya, same as Hastināpura city, 6
Nāgpur, town and district, 151, 153
Naimikā, people, 31 note
Naimiṣākṝṇya, holy place, 179 note
Nainikā people, 31 note
Naiṣadha, Nīsādha, people, 35 note
Naiṣika, people, 31 and note
Nakṣā, nagahā, 'map', 246
Nala, Nalaka, country and people, 31 and note, 192
Nālandā plate, 197
Nalapura, same as Narwar, city, 35 note
Naljavāḍi, territory, 192
Nalī, river, 52 note, 58 and note, 59, 65 note, 67 and note
Nanda, dynasty, 136, 172-73, 176
Nandarā, river, 47 note
Nander District, 154, 158, 253
Nāndikata, locality, 154
Nandānī, Nandānī, river, 45 note
Nannappa, ruler, 152 note
Nāradīpa Purāṇa, work, 226 note
Nārada-kundā, holy pool, 220
Nārapati, title, 81, 107-08
Naoshera, territory, 27 note
Narasīṁha, king, 243 note
Nāravana grant, 192
Narendrayaśas, author, 70
INDEX

Pañcāla, Northern, same as Rohilkhand, territory, 92
Pañcāmalabhodāra, five official designations, 293 note, 294
Pañcanada, meeting place of five rivers in the Punjab, 44
Pañcanada, country, 185-87
Pañcarūpā, river, 39 note
Pañca-sarabh, holy pool, 219-20
Pañcaśikha, holy place, 219
Pañchah, river, 43 note
Pañcāvāna, family, 7
Panḍharpur, locality, 159
Panḍou, same as Pañcāvāna, people, 94
Pañḍu, Pañḍya, country, 71, 76, 79 note, 93, 105, 204
Pañḍurangapalli, locality, 159
Pañḍurangapalli grant, 152-53
Pañḍya, people and country, 7, 29 and note, 37, 76 note, 79, 89, 186, 191 note
Pañḍya, same as Pañḍu, country and people, 105
Pañḍgudēśa, same as Pañḍgudēśa, country, 204
Paṇika, people, 30 note
Paṇini, grammarian, 66 note, 111, 209 and note, 210
Panjhir, river, 43 note
Paśu-yaś, Chinese name of the Rainagardanaśirha, 228
Pāpapramocana, holy spot, 220
Paśa, Pāśa, river, 39 note, 43 note, 46 and note
Paśāra, same as Parthian, people, 24 and note, 61 and note, 63 note
Paraitakene, same as Purandhara, people, 23 note
Parākṣara, people, 32 note
Paramahashāśaka, title, 143-44
Paramāra, dynasty, 7, 11, 15, 32 note, 121-22, 199 and note
Paramāsthānīkū, work, 213
Parās, same as Pāḷāśini, river, 55 note
Parāśika, people, 7, 13, 38 and note, 71, 164
Parakāra, people, 32 note
Paraspataikā, locality, 218
Parata-70000, territory, 204
Paśyāna, work, 154, 206-07, 209, 213-14, 216
Parā, Parā, people, 24 note
Paśupa, territorial divisions, 167
Pāśupatīra, mountain and country, 38 note, 46 note, 55 note
Parīta, Parīta, people, 24 note
Parītyāra, mountain and people, 14, 35 note, 38 and note, 43 note, 46 and note, 55 and note, 172 note
Partakmeda, locality, 54 note
Parabhumika, people, 65 note
Parashā, river, 43 note, 45 and note
Parsaruni, river, 47 note
Partabgarh inscription, 243 note
Parthian, people, 24 note
Parvān, locality, 43 note
parvata-mara, 'mountainous steppes', 67 and note
Pārvata, goddess, 72, 195
Pārvati, river, 46 note
Pācānaka-cetiya, Buddhist religious establishment, 206
Paris, river, 51 note
Pasčō-la, territory, 57 note, 73, 173 note
Pāścikya, territory, 172 and note
Pāścikya-ācala, mythical mountain, 12 and note, 13
Pāśūra, river, 55 note
Paṭaccara, people, 21 and note, 22 and note
Paṭaliputra, city, 47 note, 100, 193, 208
Paṭalījāli, grammarian, 66 note, 163 note, 208
paṭha, 'pass', 207
paṭhaka, 'sub-district', 205
Pathēvāra, people, 21 note
Pathikella, locality, 143
Pathala, territory, 233
Paṭiśūka, Pratiśūka, city, 206, 214-15
Patna, city and district, 22 note, 42 note, 47 note, 95, 99-100, 119, 138, 193-94, 197
Patna, locality in Orissa, 135, 146
paṭtāla, 'district', 198, 199 note paṭṭanā, 'town', 201
Paṭīkera, locality 169
PaJu, people, 35
Paudanya, same as Bodhan, city, 31 note, 154, 158
Paupuḍra, people, 28 and note, 37 note
Paupūravadhanā, Pupūravadhanā, district, 115
Pauṇika, people, 30 note
Paurava, Puru, same as Porus, king, 94
Paurika, people, 30 and note
Pāvā, locality, 206
Pāvani, river, 45 note, 58 and note, 59 note, 65 and note, 67 note
Payasvini, river, 57 note
Payoṣpili, river, 56 note
Peddavegi, locality, 135
Pegu, same as Cheen, territory, 96
Peho, locality, 40 note
Peripitus [of the Elysian Sea], work, 106, 136-40, 151, 152 note, 174-75
Persia, country, 95-96, 164 and note
Persian emperors, 164
Persian (old) inscriptions, 163-64
Persian language, 131 note
Persian writers, 167
Persian, same as Pārsāka or Pahlava, people, 7, 24 note, 38 note, 163, 250
Perso-Arabic script, 168
Peshawar, city and district, 24 note, 26 note, 44, 102, 231-32, 235
Peshwā, official designation, 87
Phulbari, locality, 217
Pīdana, people, 26 note
Pī-lo-mo-lo, same as Bhumāl, city, 161
Pīna, people, 25 note
Pippalā, Pipaṇī, Pipālā, Pipālā-sronti, river, 47 and note
Pīṭhikā, river, 48 note
piṅgāca, 'demons', 186
Piṅgūkā, river, 47, 48 note
Piṅgūpurā, same as Pithapuram, city, 134-35
Pitāmaha, same as god Brahman, 118
Pithapuram, locality, 134-35, 227
piṅgha-sthāna, 'holy place', 84
Pitṛsomā, river, 53 note
Plaka-svāpa, an Island Continent according to Pāṇini conception, 163 note
Plabāngka, people, 28 note
Pliny, author, 135 note
Pluṣṭa, people, 38 note
Podaniya, same as Paudanya, city, 154
Poros, same as Puru or Paurava, king, 94
Porto Grande, Great Port, 128
Porto Penguino, Little Port, 128
Portuguese, people, 123, 127, 128 and note, 129-30, 180
Portuguese pirates, 237
Portus Magnus, Great Port, 128 and note
Portus Parvus, Little Port, identified with Sātsgān, 128 and note
Potalī, Potana, Potāni, same as Pauḍanā, city, 154
Prabha-pratīṣṭha-ānisā-la-jādāññara, epīthrt, 1
Prabha, holy place, 225
Prabhāśa-Sarasvatī, same as Raunakā, river, 44
Prabhāvatīguptā, Vaiśākha queen, 150
Pracandhapāndana, work, 32 note
Prāya, same as Prani, people and territory, 172-73
Prāyayā-da, territory, 29 note, 37 note, 73
pradeśa, 'province', 239
pradeśa-saṅkarāsin, 'ruler of a portion of a Desa', 5 note
Prāgījyotisha, people or country, 7, 13, 27 note, 26 and note, 96, 173, 258
GEOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL INDIA

Rādhā, Rādžā, country, 1 and note, 2, 114, 123 note, 129, 137-38, 170 note, 176, 191 note
Raghu, king of Ayodhya, 6, 7, 10 note, 139, 176, 249
Raghunātha, 'Family of Rāghu', 13 note
Raghunātha, work, 6-7, 98 note, 42 note, 124 and note, 138-40, 176, 212 and note
Rahab, same as Rāmgaṅga, river, 45
Rahma, identified with Ramu, locality, 127 note
Rahchur District, 34 note
Raigarah, locality, 55 note
Rāi, Lakšmana, same as Lakṣmīnā-sena, king, 165
Raipur District, 34 note, 99, 203, 212
Rājahādara, people, 32 note
Rājagṛha, Rājīgir, city, 100, 194
Rājagṛha-viṣaya, district, 194
Rājanārāyaṇa, chief, 1
Rājālekhara, author, 5, 17, 32 note, 73, 158, 173, 204 note, 241
Rājasthāna, territory, 22 note, 33 note, 103, 105, 161-62, 182, 192, 203, 217 note
Rājajirāja, work, 8 note, 65 note, 68, 121 note, 232-33, 236
Rājāuna, village, 194-96
Rājaurī, territory, 25 note
Rājaurī, Rājapurī, locality, 162
Rājāvarta, locality, 81, 108
Rājbarhi, people, 104
Rājendračoḷa I, Chaḷa king, 2, 124, 125 note
Rājgir, locality, 95
Rāmabhal, locality, 112, 237
Rājor-gadh, locality, 162-63
Rājput clan, 101, 121 note
Rājputana, territory, 21 note, 33 note, 160-61, 163, 178
Rājputana desert, 23 note, 26 note
Rājahāni, District, 105, 114
Rājypūra, city, 162
Rājyavardhana Puṣyabhāti king, 113
Rākṣas, people, 2 and note
Rāktamṛtti, locality, 116
Rāktamṛtti-vihaṛa, monastery, 98, 113
Rakshi, river, 42 note
Rāl, same as Rādjha, territory, 123 note, 170 note
Rāma, epic king, 6, 141, 247, 258
Rāmacandra, Tādāva king, 159
Rāmacarita, work, 167
Rāmadurgā, locality, 75, 90
Rāmagiri, same as Rāmitak, locality, 95
Rāmakadesa mistake for Romaka-desa, 203
Rāma-kṣetra, locality, 77, 95
Rāmaṇa, people, 24 note
Rāmanātha, locality, 75, 89
Rāmanātha-maṭhā, religious establishment, 89
Rāmanathapuram (Ramanad) District, 29, note, 86
Rāmaṇīdaṇḍa, same as Lower Burma, 127 note
Rāmāpāla, Pāla king, 111, 167, 195
Rāmatētā-dhi-pataka, locality, 125 note, 126
Rāmaṭha, Rāmaṭha, people, 24 and note
Rāmaūtī, same as Rāmāvēti, city, 111
Rāmavatī, city, 111-12
Rāmīgaṇa, epic, 17, 26 note, 58 note, 62 note, 185 and note, 186, 190, 212, 225-27
Rāmēla, deity and locality, 74, 85-86
Rāmēla-ṭīrtha, locality, 89
Rāmgaṅga, river, 41 note, 45
Ramā, people, 32 note
Rāṇīkūṭa, river, 39 note, 42 note
Rāmnagar, town, 21 note, 42 note, 92
Rāmitak, same as Rāmgaṅga, locality, 95
Rāmu, locality, 127 note
Ramya, river, 46 note
Randhrakara, people, 62 and note
Randhravarka, people, 62 note
Rāṅgāmaṭi, locality, 98, 111, 113
Rāṅgeya, people, 28 note
Rangpur, town and district, 87, 93, 114, 261
Rantib, Rantib, possibly the same as Prāntipaḍa, official designation, 235 note
Rasā, river, 39 note
Rasakirinī, river, 54 note
Ras Kuhāri, same as Comorin, 250
Rasīta, people, 32 note
Rāstrā, a territorial division, 161
Rāstrakūṭa, dynasty, 11, 124 note, 152, 155, 157, 159, 192, 198, 202, 243 and note, 251-53
Rātra, dynasty, 169
Ratnapuru, locality, 35 note
Rātāraja, same as Raṭa-ṛāja, i.e. 'Rāstra-ṛāja kingdom', 202
Ratnāiharā, people, 25 note
Ratnagiri District, 152, 159
Ratnapura-caturāsīka, district, 198 note
Śakti hills, 55 note
Śakti, territory, 55 note
Śakti, goddess, 87, 90
Śaktipur, locality, 228
Śaktisāṅgama Tātra, work, 68-69, 73, 80, 87, 114, 125 note, 126 note
Śakuli, river, 48 and note
Śakunipatha, locality or pass, 66 note
Śalaha, pārśu, 244
Śalalavati, river, 212
Śalānākāyana, dynasty, 133
Śalem plates, 152 note
Śallā, people, 60 note
Śālālavati, river, 212
Śallavatī, river, 212
Śālmalī-cīvpa, a Continent according to Paranic conception, 163 note
Śālmalī, river, 185
Salt Range, 62 note
Śāliva, people, 21 and note, 22 note, 29 note, 38 and note
Śālivaka, country, 71
Śalween, river, 59 note
Śalya, mythical king, 186
Śamācārakṛdeva, Gauḍa king, 116
Śamāpā, city, 134
Śamarkand, locality, 24 note
Śamārohaṇa, holy spot, 229
Śamatāta, Samatāta-mandala, territory, 115, 156, 168-70
Śambalpur District, 99, 203
Śambāpur, sama as Mūltān, city, 44
Śambhalā, probably a mistake for Simhalā, territory, 103
Śambhar, lake, 161
Śambhūyasā, king, 143-44
Śambodhi, sama as Mahābodhi or Bodhigayā, holy place, 178
Śambhārasī, work, 249
Śamgrāma, person, 238
Śamjñāyu-deśa, territory, 203
Śamvāha Tātra, work, 70
Śamparita, people, 33 note
Śamraj, title, 4, 5 and note
Śanāṭkāparikṣiṇī, tank, 195 note
Śanāṭkāparikṣiṇī, work, 86
Śamtāt, Samatāta, territory 168
Śamudragupta, Gupta emperor, 2, 4, 169, 197, 236
Śamudhaka, people, 67 note
Śasyuttanikāya, work, 229
Śanchi, locality, 214
Śandābal, Sandābal, sama as Chandrābhāgī, river, 40 note
Śāndaka, officer, 217
Śāndhra, people, 61 and note
Śandhyākaranandin, author, 167
Śāngat, Śiṅh religious establishment, 195
Śānku, river, 130 note
Śānjān, locality, 203
Śānjān plates, 124 note
Śānjāta, mistake for Śāryāta, a clan of the Hathayas, 35 note
Śānkī-koṭa, locality, 167
Śānkūṭ, Sankanāṭ, territory, 165-67
Śāṅkṣaṭ-grāma, locality, 167
Śāṅkṣeta-Mādilava, deity at Gāṇḍāgāra-sāṅgama, 180
Śāṅkhalikhita, author, 172 note
Śāṅkhāvarta, locality, 81, 108
Śāṅkhya, system of philosophy, 181
Śāṅknāṭ, territory, 165-66, 168
Śāṅkupatha, locality or pass, 59 note, 66 note
Śan-Kusi, Sun-Koś, river, 221
Śanpavati, district, 169 note
Śanśkrit language, 16, 18
Śantal Parganas District, 54 note, 55 note, 83, 114
Śantāt, origin of Sāṅknāṭ-Sankāṭ-Sankāṭ, 168
Śāntikara II, Bhanuma-Kara king, 143
Śāntipur, locality, 98, 114
Śaora, same as Sabara, people, 30 note
Śapādakalaka, same as Siwalik range, 100
Śapādakalaka, same as Śākambhara or Śākambhari, country, 204 and note
Śapta-dolā Patnamati, 163 and note
Śaptagrāma, city, 182
Śapta-kottāvara, god, 101
Śapta-Mālava, 37 note
Śaptaśri-kupṣa, holy pool, 220
Śaptaśī-vidagdha, territory, 199
Śaptaśī-vidagdha, locality, 79, 81 and note, 106, 108
Śaptaśī-vidagdha, river, 58 note
Śārabhaṅga, river, 220
Śārabhaṅga-kupṣa, holy pool, 220
Śāradā, goddess and locality, 81, 86
Śāradā, Śāradā-maṭha, locality, 74, 86, 109
Śāradaṇḍa, a branch of the Śālvas, 21 note
Śāraikala, locality, 231
Śāraja, people, 33 note
Śārasvata, a section of North Indian Brāhmans, 16, 121
Śārasvata, country and people, 33 and note, 43 note
Śārasvata, Sarsuti, river in the Punjab, 16, 21 note, 33 note, 39 and note, 40 note, 41 note, 57 note, 92, 103, 121
Śārasvati, river in Gujārāt, 57 note
Śārasvati, river in Bengāl, 112
Śāravatī, town, 211-12
Śāravati, river, 210-13.
Śārayā, river, 39 note, 43 note, 57 note, 77, 97
INDEX

Sardis, locality, 164
Sardivat, river, 51 note
Sarkar, territorial division, 28 note, 167
Sarkarvaria, river, 57 note
Sarpabhira, Saptabhira, same as Abhira, 71, 76
Sarpaj samwara, ‘sea of clarified butter’, 163 note
Sarasvat, same as Sarasvat, river, 43 note
Sarasvat, same as Sarasvata, country, 43 note
Sarasvat, Prabhosa-Sarasvat, same as Raunakshi, river, 44, 45
Sarasvati, Sarasvat, river, 93 note
Sarsharvaka, official designation, 217
Sarvabhauma, people, 3 note, 4
Sarvakamika, holy spot, 220
Sarvambalika, people, 61 note
Sarva-prastha, river, 178
Sarvashilika, people, 61 and note
Sarvaravati, mistake for Sarkvarat, 211
Sarveca-Kerala, country, 86
Sarwa, same as Sarayu, river, 43 note,
45
Saryata, a clan of the Haihayas, 35 note
Saashila, people, 60 note
Saasan, person, 173
Saasian, dynasty, 24 note, 160, 173
Saasaindae, ‘descendants of’ Saasan, 173
Saashoka, Gouda king, 98, 113, 116, 145, 151
Saashikahraka, people, 37 note
Saashthagat, river, 57 note
Saadacandra, people, 24 note
Satadru, river, 39 note, 40 and note,
43 note, 44, 35 and note, 57 note,
186
Satadruga, people, 24 and note
Sataldar, same as Satlej, river, 43 note
Satakara, king, 215-16
Satapatha Brahmana, work, 2
Satapathavara, people, 21 note
Satara District, 152, 157
Satradura, same as Satlaj, river, 43 note
Satavahana, dynasty, 14, 18-19, 192
Satavahan-ahara, district, 192
Satvahan-ristra, district, 192
Satgaoon, city and territory, 28 note, 123
note, 126, 128 and note, 129,
166-67
Satyavahana, people, 21 note
Sattara, river, 45 note
Satladar, same as Satadr, river, 44
Satlaj, same as Satadr, river, 22 note,
24 note, 40 note, 43 note,
Satprajadatadavabha, work, 68-70,
72-73, 114
Satpura, mountain range, 34 note
Satrap, official designation, 235 note
Satsantaj, river, 48 note
Satpura, people, 35 note
Satthihali-jarpata, district, 191
Sattumana, people, 35 note
Satyanarayana, place, locality, 218
Satvara, same as Satyabhamma, female
name, 177
Saubhaka, people, 26 note
Saugor, same as Ghatga-sagara-sanga, locality, 47 note
Saullika, people, 30 note
Saumie-mappala, territory, 67 note
Saurana, a Division of Bharatavarsha, 5
note
Saulikera, people, 35 note
Saura, same as Sarsena, country
and people, 79 and note, 102, 103-06
Saurashtra, people and country, 37 and
note, 71, 75, 88, 203
Sausalya, people, 21 note
Sauson, European author, 127, 130 note
Savira, people and country, 44 and note,
38 and note, 44, 71, 79, 105-06,
178 and note, 215
Sava, river, 43 note
Savara, Sabara, people, 90 and note,
211, 247
Savar, Sabara, river, 54 note
Savarravati, Savaravati, Satravati, river,
211
Savavarat, mistake for Sarvarat, 211
Savatthi, same as Sravasti, city, 206
Sayamabhara, mistake for Sakambhara,
country, 202
Scythia, Indo-Scythia, Saka territory,
166, 163
Scythian, people, 163-64
Sea, Eastern, same as Bay of Bengal,
184
Sea, Southern, same as Indian Ocean,
1011, 184
Sea, Western, same as Arabian Sea,
1011, 184
Sebaka, dynasty, 189
Seistan, territory, 163, 235 note
Sena, dynasty, 98, 110, 163-66, 168,
169 and note, 170
Seomath, river, 48 note
Seringapatam, locality, 89
Setava, city, 206
Set-Mahet plate, 198
Setu, Setubandha, Setubandha-
Ramesvara, ‘Rama’s bridge’, locality,
9, 10 note, 11 note, 12 and note, 13,
15, 29 note
Setuka, people, 29 and note
Seupa, same as Sevapa, country, 104
Sevana, country, 71, 79, 104-05
Shahabad District, 33 note
Shaharanpur District, 24 note
Shams-1Siraj Alif, author, 148
Shamsuddin Firuz Shah, Sultan, 171
Shamsuddin Ilyas, Sultan, 126 note
Shan, people, 59 note
Sharbat, river, 43 note
Shivapuri District, 35 note, 204 note
Shmähna, wrong name of a river, 43 note
Sholapur District, 159
Shorkot, same as Sivapura, locality, 61 note
Silkot, same as Şakala, city, 24 note, 94, 105, 186 note, 187, 189
Slam, country, 55 note
Siddu Pass, 65 note
Sidhamārīkā script, 119
Siddhapatra, same as Sidan or Budih Dudd, Pass, 65 note
Siddhanvaṭa, holy tree, 220 note
Siddhi-Keral, country, 74, 85
Sidī 'Ali Ben Hosein, author, 250
Sidā-Γaur, a section of the Gavala-Brāhmaṇaparī, 121 note
Sien, people, 50 note
Sīgara, people, 63 note
Sīghrodā, river, 50 note
Sīlabāhu, Sīnhabāhu, king of Ceylon, 137
Sīhapura, Sīnhapura, city, 137
Sījistān, territory, 169
Sīkhpōn, Tenpa, 206
Sīla, river, 51 note
Slahatda, same as Sylhet, territory, 71 and note, 77, 79, 97, 103
Sīlhat, Sīl-bāl, same as Sylhet, territory, 167-68
Sīnhalal, country, 71, 70
Sīnhalala, country in the Punjab-Rajasthan region, 103, 106
Sīnhalala-dvipa, same as Ceylon, country, 11 and note, 13, 204
Sīnhanāna, king, 143
Sīnnapura, territory, 103, 107
Sīnhapura, city in Kalka, 137-38
Sīnla, locality, 24 note
Sind, Sindhi, country, 107-08, 119, 160, 202
Sindh, Sindhu, same as Indus, river, 43 note, 44, 282
Sindhu, same as Indus, river, 10 and note, 11 note, 13, 39 and note, 43 note, 57 note, 58 and note, 62 and note, 184 note 172, note, 186, 243
Sindhu, same as Kâlîsindh, river, 45 and note
Sindhu, people or country, 21 note, 24 and note, 71, 106-07, 164 and note, 176 note, 202, 215
Sindhu-maru, territory, 60 note
Sindhurāja, Paramāra king, 32 note
Sindhusāgara, confluence of the Indus and the sea, 44
Sindhu-Sauvitra, country, 172 note
Singhbhum District, 137, 144-45, 159
Singupuram, locality, 137
Singur, locality, 138
Sinibāhu, Sinibhāhu, river, 50 and note
Sinibāli, Sinibhāli, river, 50 note
Sinibāli, river, 50 note
Sinnar, old capital of the Tādavaus, 104
Śiprā, river, 43 note, 45 and note, 50 and note
Siraj, city, 165
Sirāla, people, 32 note
Sīrhind, locality, 232
Sīrindhra, people, 60 and note
Sīrmur hill, 40 note
Sīsa, locality, 40 note
Sīrvā, river, 50 note
Sīth, river, 58 and note, 59 note, 60 and note
Sītā, Kṣapākū queen, 247, 258
Sītākunda, holy pool, 99
Sītāmukha, locality, 81
Sīterājā, river, 48 note
Sīthibāhu, river, 50 note
Śiva, god, 18, 72, 95-97, 180
Śivā, river, 47 note, 50 note, 57 note
Śivā, village, 161
Śiva-deśa, same as Śibi-deśa, territory, 203
Śivakara II, Bhavane-Kara king, 198
Śīla-tīgā, 'phallic emblem of Śiva', 95
Śivapaurā, people, 61 and note
Śivapura, city, 61 note
Śvas Purbha, work, 55 and note, 56 note, 157 note, 183
Śivarāja, chief, 143, 152 and note
Śivātarsabhākriṇa, work, 89
Śivālīk range, 40 note, 100
Skanda, deity, 161 note, 195, 207
Skandagupta, Gaṇa king, 4, 158
Skanka-Kārttikeya, god, 181
Skanda Purāṇa, work, 120 note, 121, 204 note, 225
Skandavarmen I, Pallava king, 8
Skandavarmen II, Pallava king, 8
Skandha, same as Skanda, 207
Snake goddess, 195 note
Soan-Kousi, river, 222
Soetian, same as Cūlika, people, 26 note
Soetiana, country, 44, 164
Sokala, people, 34 note
Somābhiseka, holy spot, 219
Somadatta, ruler, 143
Soma-giri, hill or locality, 219
Sōmanātha, deity and locality, 88, 108
INDEX

Soma-tirtha, holy spot, 220
Somavāṣā, dynasty, 147-48, 196, 199, note
Someśvara, daily and locality, 81, 108
Somnāth, locality, 45
Śoṇa, same as Sone, river, 47 and note, 57 note
Sonārgōṇ, city and territory, 123 note, 126, 128 and note, 129 and note, 130 and note, 166-67, 170-71
Sone, same as Śoṇa, river, 47 note, 48 note
Sonepur, locality, 42 note, 55 note, 135, 145
Songlion, imagina name of Sonār-gōṇ, 166
Sopara, same as Śūrprākara, locality, 31 note, 203
Sotthivati, Sukimati, city, 48 note
Southern Division of India, 173
South India, converted as a Calaravarti-kṣetra, 15
Śpadra, territory, 164
Śrāmanjñā, female name, 247
Śrāvati, Śrāvati, city, 212 and note
Śrāvasti, Śrāvasti, city, 116, 154, 206, 212
Śrīcandra, Candra king, 126
Śrīdharaśāsana, author, 169
Śrīdhāranārāyaṇa, king, 169
Śrīhaṭṭa, same as Śrīhaṭṭa, territory, 163
Śrīhaṭṭa, same as Sylhet, territory, 125 note, 167-68
Śrīkālum, Chicacoole, same and district, 54 note, 134, 136-38, 142
Śrīkaṇṭha, territory, 91, 166
Śrīkaṇṭha, territory, 101
Śrīkāpakīrama, work, 180
Śrīkuntala, country, 100-01
Śrī-malaya, Tri-malaya, hill, 189
Śrīmanta, mera, 180
Śrīnagar, city, 86
Śrīnagar, same as Pātaliputra, 197
Śrīnagarā-bhukti, province, 193-94, 196-97
Śrīnagarā-viṣaya, district, 197
Śrīpur, port, 128 note
Śrīraṅga, locality, 75, 89
Śrīraṅgapattana, Seringapatam, locality, 89
Śrīśaila, hill, 75, 88
Śrīvijaya, city, 28 and note
Śrōni, river, 47 note
Śrāla-kundā, holy pool, 219
Śeṣa-nundanā, officer, 217
Śhavira sect, 212
Śhodala, people, 54 note
Śhīrājya, country, 203
Śubhakarasiśa, king, 149 note
Śubhakarasiśa, king, 145
Śubrahmaṇya, daily and locality, 74, 85
Śubrahmanya-kaṭṣera, holy place, 86
Śucakaś, Cakaśu, river, 58 note
Śudāmā, river, 54 note
Śudāmac, hill, 185
Śukkawā, same as Śatgāna, locality, 123 note
Śūdra, people, 23 and note, 32 note, 37 and note, 213
Śūdrakula, people, 25 and note
Śugda, country, 164 note
Śuhma, people, 28 note, 135
Śuhma, same as Śādha, territory, 98, 114, 156-57, 191
Śuhmottara, people, 28 note
Śuhūhida, people, 36 note
Śujāraka, people, 27 note
Sujāta, mistake for Sācyān, a class of the Harihara, 35 note
Śukrā, river, 47 note
Śuktel, river, 55 note
Śuktimati, mountain, 53 note, 54 note, 55 and note, 57 and note
Śuktimati, same as Śuktimati, river, 19, 48 note
Śuktimati, Suktimant, same as Kana, river, 48 and note
Śuktimati, Sotthivati, city, 48 note
Śukumārī, river, 54 note
Śulaiman, Arab merchant, 127
Śulakāra, people, 26 note
Śūlika, people, 27 note, 61 note
Śultanpur, locality, 41 note
Śultanpur-Nandurbar, district, 167
Śumāhā, river, 47 note
Śumandala plates, 141
Śamaradvalasini, work, 212
Śamativijaya, commentator, 212
Śumatra, country, 28 note
Śumeru, same as Meru, mythical mountain, 9 note, 12 and note, 13
Śumerujā, river, 48 note
Śumha, country and people, 115, 176
Śumin, people, 32 note
Śūnakahā, people, 62 and note
Śunarmada, people, 32 note
Śundarpur, territory, 84
Śundari, Kalinga princess, 137
Śūri, river, 48 and note, 54 note
Śun-Kośi, Sun-Kuṣā, same as Svarṇagā-
Śun-Kośi, Sun-Kuṣā, same as Svarṇagā-
Śun-Kośi, Sun-Kuṣā, same as Svarṇagā-
Śun-Kośi, Sun-Kuṣā, same as Svarṇagā-
śūkli, river, 221-22
Śurpāskara, people, 26 note
Śupravagā, river, 52 and note
Śūra, officer, 238
Śūra-samudra, 'sea of wine', 163 note
Śūrāla, people, 32 and note
Śurānī, river, 56 note
Śūrapāla, Pala king, 196
Śūrpanaksha, mistake for Śūpāraka, locality, 203
-Śūrapura, same as Hurpur, town, 238-39
Surasā, river, 47 and note, 56 and note, 57 note
Śūrasena, a branch of the Yādavas, people, 21 and note, 102
Śūrasena, Saurasena, country, 71, 79 and note, 102
Surāśṭra, people or country, 33 and note, 91, 158, 178 and note, 215
Surāśṭra-9000, territory, 204
Surat District, 198
Surata, mistake for Śāryāta, a branch of the Haihayas, 35 note
Surashtra, same as Surāśṭra, country, 214-15
Surathā, river, 47 note
Śūrprāra, Śūrprāra, people and country, 31 and note, 232 note
Śūrā, river, 46 note
Śūryamukha, mistake for Śūrprāra, locality, 203
Śūryārakas, mistake for Śūrprāra, locality and people, 31 note, 232 note
Śūryavahāni kings, 99
Śūryavahāni Gajapati, dynasty, 85
Śūṣomā, river, 57 note
Śūtika, people, 29 note
Śūra works, 172, 228
Sattanipāta, work, 154, 206-07, 213-14, 216, 230 and note
Śutudri, Vedic form of Śatadru, river, 40 note
Śuvahā, river, 47 note
Śuvana, variant of Suvaḥā, river, 47 note
Śuvāraghūmi, country, 59 note, 66 note
Śuvāragrama, same as Sonārgaon, towns, 237, 240
Śuvārapura, identified with Sonepur, 146
Śuvanara, title, 198
Śuvela, hill, 9, 13
Śvabhāra, country, 215
Śvabhṛavat, river, 57 note
Śvachchanda-pāta, locality 218
Śvāpada, people, 32 note
Śvarda, country, 16 note
Śvargabhāumakas, people, 65 note
Śvargabhūmi, country, 65 note
Śvargabhūmikas, people, 65 and note
Śvargabhūṣita, people, 65 note
Śvā-śrī-śūdagata-nāya, epithet, 8
Śvetadvipa-patī, same as Visuṣu, god, 181 note
Śvetagiri, hill, 74, 86
Śvetavārāha, Śvetāvarahavāmin, god, 217-18, 222, 223 and note
Śwat-Kashmir region, 103

Swat valley, 202, 231
Śyāma, Śyāma, Syam, derived from Śien, people, 59 note
Śyāma-rāṭṭha, same as Siam, country, 59 note
Śyeni, river, 47 note
Śyilhet, territory, 97, 125 note, 167-68
Śyry Dāva, same as Jaxartes, river, 59 note, 163

T
Takpaši-ī-Nišir, work, 126 note, 165-70
Tadzhik Republic, 60 note
Tagar-mahāgrāma, group of villages, 205 note
Talilāṅga, Tailiniga, country, 71, 75, 76 and note, 88 and note, 89, 92
Talilāṅga, Telugu, a class of South Indian Brāhmaṇas, 16
Taipura, people, 34 note
Tairabhukti, same as Tirabhukti, country, 78, 94, 99
Taittirika, people, 32 note
Takkola, locality, 66 note
Taksāli, city, 24 note, 62 note, 159, 191, 231
Takaśaka, Naga, 121 note
Talagaṇa, people, 26
Talanāga, a variant of Talagaṇa, people, 26 note
Talajangha, a branch of the Haihayas, 35 note
Talakūṇa, people, 26 note
Talikatā, people and locality, 31 and note
Tālikṣa, locality, 90
Tāmara, Tomara, people, 37 and note, 98 and note
Tāmara, people, 26 note, 32 and note, 37 note
Tāmāsa, Tāmast, same as Tons, river, 47 and note
Tamba-5, group of villages, 199
Tambara, people, 35 note
Tambraphedha, locality, 222
Tāmbravari, same as Tāmaraparī, river, 52 note
Tambrure, people, 32 note
Tamil land, 192
Tamil, a section of the Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇas, 121
Tamluk, locality, 29 note, 140, 177
Tampāka, Tampaka, people, 61 note
Tāmāra-Arunā, river, 43 note
Tāmarapitha, same as Tāmaraparī, city and people, 64 and note, 139, 156-57, 159, 175, 177, 181, 191
Tāmarapithaka, people, 26, 29, note
Tāmarapitikā, Tāmarapithikā, locality, 115, 140, 155, 174, 177, 191
INDEX

Tāmraparāṇi, riser, 75, 90
Tāmraparāṇi, Tāmavaruṇi, riser, 7, 52 and note, 54 note, 56 and note, 57 note, 138
Tāmraparāṇi, a Division of Bhāratavarṣa, 5 note
Tāmavaruṇi, riser, 43 note
Tanaka, Tānaka, people, 26 note
Tanapa, people, 26 note
Tanasa, people, 26 note
Tandla, city, 133
Tuänger, Tuänger, people and country, 26 and note, 36 and note, 61 and note, 63 note, 71, 103
Tūngāpura, city, 26 note
Tanjavur, town and district, 29 note, 88-89
Tasiruṇa, work, 69 and note
Tāpasa, people, 32 note
Tāpil, river, 45 note, 50 and note, 56 and note, 57 note, 76 and note, 91
Tāprobane, Tāmraparāṇi, same as Ceylon, 250
Taptakunḍa, locality, 77-78, 95, 99
Tāplotlib, same as Tāpil, riser, 59 note, 91, 106
Tāranātha, Tibetan author, 134
Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī, work, 148
Tārūdapa, people, 32 note
Tāxila, same as Takṣaśilā, city, 157, 191
Teesta, same as Trisrotas, riser, 42 note
Telugu language, 136
Telugu-Cōla, dynasty, 92
Telinga, a section of the Drāviḍa Brāhmaṇa, 121
Tewar, locality, 34 note
Thakkanā, Śāti king, 234
Thana District, 88, 203
Thaneswar, locality, 42 note, 91, 101, 113
Thor, same as Rājputāna desert, 91
Thorppura, people, 35 note
Thumboo, locality, 222
Tibet, country, 24 note, 98
Tibetan people, 56
Tilak in, a branch of the Śālvar, 21 note
Tilanga, Tilṅa, people and country, 22 note, 89
Tillikaka, people, 91 note
Tiruppārār District, 87, 136, 168-69, 171
Tirabhukti, same as Tirhut Division, 94, 193-94, 260
Tirhut, territory, 42 note, 94, 193
Timīrdh, locality, 44
Thiru, 'holy place', 86, 107, 218, 225
Thirūchinnarimari, work, 181
Thīrūchindrā, work, 181
Thiruchirappalli District, 29 note 92
Thiru-malai, hill, 2, 124-25, 189

Tirunelveli District, 10, 29 note, 52 note
Tirupati, locality, 86, 108
Tītirā Jālaka, work, 66 note
Tomara, people or country, 23, 26 and note, 37 and note, 67 and note
Tons, same as Tamásā, riser, 47 note
Tonvā, riser, 51 note
Tōpē, same as rūprés, 228
Tortamana, Hāga king, 101, 233
Tosala, people or country, 32 note, 34 and note, 136
Tosala, Tosalā, city and country, 134, 152
Tosali, city and country, 34 note, 134, 141-142, 144, 152
Toyā, riser, 51 note
Trilokya-candra, Čandra king, 125-26
Trilokya-vijaya, goddess, 81, 108
Trai pura, people, 32 note, 34 note, 293 note
Travancore hills, same as Malayā mountain, 11-12, 23, note 52, 53 note, 89
Trīhāgā, riser, 53 note
Tridīva, riser, 45 note, 48 and note, 53 and note
Tridīvicalalā, riser, 53 note
Tridīvāyānī, riser, 53 note
Trīgara, people and country, 37 and note
Trīguṇāvarta, locality, 81 and note
Trīkāṇḍa, work, 17, 114, 208, 241
Trīkūṭa, territory, 189
Trīkūṭa-Malayā-śāhīpali, title, 189
Trilocalapāla, king, 234
Trilokasundartī, Kalīṅga princess, 137
Trimbak-Nasik, district, 167
Tripura, Tripuri, same as Tewar, locality, 34 note
Tripurā, same as Tripura, locality, 74, 86-87, 199
Trisagā, riser, 53 note
Trisāmā, riser, 53 and note, 56 note, 57 and note
Trisāndhyā, riser, 57 note
Trisrotas, riser, 42 note
Trivandrum, city, 85
Trītyā, riser, 42 note
Triyāmā, riser, 57 note
Triyabhaka, deity and locality, 74 and note
Tryambaka, Trīyabhaka, deity and locality, 87
Taghluq dynasty, 148
Tughluq Shāhī, same as Ghūyāsuddīn, Sulţān, 126
Tukhār, Tūṣārā, people, 25 and note, 32 note, 61 note, 214
Tukāhrīsīnā, country, 25 note
Tumānī, locality, 32 note, 35 note, 214
Tumān, same as Tummaṇā, locality, 35 note
Tumāna, people, 26 note
Tumbānā, Tummaṇā, people and locality, 35 and note
Tumbavāna, locality and people, 32 and note, 35 and note, 213, 214 and note
Tumbavananagara, city, 213
Tumbula, people, 35 note
Tumboor, rīser, 222
Tumburu, Tumbara, people, 35
Tumkūr, locality, 190-91
Tummaṇā, same as Tumān, locality, 35 note
Tumura, people, 35
Tundikera, Tundikera, a branch of the Huṇayas, 35 and note
Tundikēsa, same as Tundikera, people, 33 note
Tunā, rīser, 89
Tunāghadhra, rīser, 52 and note, 57 note
Tunākūta, holy spot, 220
Tunagaṇa, same as Tunagaṇa, people, 26 note
Turaga, people, 35 note
Turamīna, people, 32
Turk, people, 233, 235
Turkish Musalmans, 20, 233
Turkish Sultāns of Delhi, 89
Turānpāda, people, 27 note
Turūṣka, Turūṣkaka, people, 7, 20, 232 note
Tuṣāra, Tuṣāra, people, 25 and note, 32 note, 61 and note
Tuṣīṭkāra, people, 35 note
Tvāsa, people, 36 note

U
Ucchida, people, 31 note
Udabhāṇḍa, Udabhāṇḍapura, city, 24 note, 43 note, 231, 233
Udabhāṇḍa, same as Udabhāṇḍa, city, 43 note, 233
Udai pur inscription, 204
Udakdhāra, people, 24 note
Udakādhāra, same as Udabhāṇḍa, city, 235
Udāna, work, 230
Udāya, mythicai mountain, 9, 12 and note, 13, 184
Udāyāditya, Paramāra king, 199 note
Udbhida, people, 31 and note
Udbhira, same as Udbhida, people, 31 note
Uddanḍapura, same as Biharsharif, locality, 119
Udīcyā-daśa, country, 37 note, 73, 151 and note
Udipi, locality, 86
Udāra, Oḍra, people and territory, 134, 136, 142, 143 and note, 144-45
Udumbara, a branch of the Sālavas, 21 note
Udunpur, locality, 119
Udupapura, same as Udupi, locality, 74, 86
Udyānakahara, territory and people, 66
Udyānakahara, territory and people, 66 note
Ujjain, same as Ujjayinī, city, 22 note, 43 note, 46 note, 90, 206, 242, 243 note, 244, 250
Ujjayinī, city, 43 note, 46 note, 50 note, 69, 74, 87, 91-92, 154, 207, 209, 214-15
Ujjēni, same as Ujjayinī, city, 206, 213
Ukhrūra Ėhaun, locality, 222
Ulīca, people, 31 note
Umā-kūṇḍa, holy pool, 220
Und, locality, 24 note, 43 note, 44, 232
Undikavatika grant, 152
Upakāna, people, 64 and note
Uparika, title, 217
Upāniveśa, Upanīcavāya, people, 25 and note
Upāvrī, people and territory, 178 note
Uraga, people, 62 and note
Uragapura, city, 191 note
Uraganagga, work, 216 note
Urasa, country, 26 note, 191
Urdhamanu, people, 62 note
Urdhva-maruni, people, 62 and note
Uddiṣjana, people, 61 note
Urna, Urna, people, 27 and note, 36 note
Urmāli, locality, 40 note
Urvasa, people, 62 note
Urvāśi-kūṇḍa, holy pool, 219
Uśrā, rīser, 39 note
Uśṭrakarpo, people, 65 and note
Uktaka, people and country, 33 and note, 34 note, 71, 78 and note, 84, 104, 135, 138, 141-43, 176
Uktaka, a section of North Indian Brahmans, 16, 121
Utpala, commentator, 44
Utpalāvati, rīser, 52 and note, 53 note, 57 note
Uttamabhadrā, people, 34 note
Uttamakha, people, 34 and note
Uttamarāṇa, Uttamaka, people, 34 and note
Uttara-Kośala, country, 22 note, 212 and note
INDEX

Uttarakuru, Mahá-deha, 9 note
Uttara-Narmada, people, 32 and note
Uttarapatha, country, 27 note, 57 note, 73, 172, 173 note, 231, 235
Uttaravaśāracira, work, 247
Uttar-Toṣala, Uttar Toṣali, people and territory, 34 note, 141-44
Uttar Pradesh State (U. P.), 16, 21 note, 26 note, 37 note, 41 note, 42 note, 97, 116, 172, 192, 193

V

Vācaspati-miśra, author, 181
vāgs, 'village', 210
Vādā-chaturāśī, district, 198
Vadāpadrakara, village, 198
Vadātī, people, 61 note
Vāḍhadhāna, Viṣhavāna, people, 23 note
Vadāhūsāra, river, 39 note
Vāguri, territory, 202
Vahela, people, 25 note
Vahi, town, 186
Vāhikā, Vāhika, Bāhikā, country and 184-87 people, 94
Vāhikā, Vāhika, country and people, 71, 77, 184-85
Vaiderbha, Viśarba, people, 30 note, 71, 75-76, 79, 106
Vaiderbha style, 117, 151
Vaideha, Vaidehaka, people, 213
Vaideka, people, 34 note
Vaidekasaivasaanadācāra, work, 70
Vaideśa, people, 32 note, 34 note, 207
Vaidyanātha, same as Baidyanāthāda, locality, 74, 83
Vaidyanātha-Mahādeva, god, 84
Vaiṣāk, same as Kṛttamāla, river, 52 note, 188
Vaiṣhan, same as Und, city, 43 note, 11, 22-23
Vaiṣhaṇa, river, 57 note
Vaiṣṇavānti, work, 29 note, 231 and note
Vaiṣṇavanty, city, 158
Vairajanaśā, city, and locality, 28 and note, 109
Vairāṭa, same as Virāṭa, country, 71, 76 and note, 79 and note, 93, 105
Vaiśīkya, people, 90 note
Vaiṣṇava, religious sect, 195
Vaiṣṇavārka-kundā, holy pool, 220
Vaiṣṇava, people, 25 note
Vaiṣṇavā, river, 51 note
Vaitaranī, river, 50 and note, 84, 198, 141
Vaiṣṇavasata Manu, 3 note
Vaiṣṇava, people, 32 note
Vaiṣṇika, people, 30 note
Vaiṣṇikāśika, people, 30 note
Vaiṣṭi, people, 29 note
Vaiśrābhava, locality, 220
Vaiśreṣṭikā, locality, 81 and note
Vaiśka, people, 27 note
Vaiśkāṭaka, dynasty, 140, 150-51, 153-55, 158
Vaiśkanta, country, 77 and note, 95
Vaiśku, same as Ouxus, river, 42 note, 59 note
Valadantika, people, 28 note
Valākā, river, 50 note
Valgudar, village, 194-97
Valguvahini, river, 49 note
Valīhikā, same as Balkh, territory, 23 and note, 184-85
Vallabha, commissary, 42 note, 212
Vallabhera, work, 167
Vālikā, river, 54 note
Vāliyā, locality, 38 note
Vāman, Vāmanavāmin, god, 241
Vāmanavāmin, god, 241
Vambhanavāhaka, Brahmavāhaka, same as Brahmanabād, locality, 202
Vaiñkhu, same as Ouxus, river, 184
Vaiñśadhāra, river, 54 and note
Vaiñśadhāripī, river, 54 note
Vaiñśakara, river, 54 note
Vaiñśapatha, country, 66 note
Vaiñśārāka, people, 31 note
Vaiñśavatthi, Vaiñśravnati, locality, 213
Vaiñśavvaya, Vaiñśavvaya, locality, 206, 213
Vaiñā, country, 71
Vaiñavāsā, city, 156 note
Vaiñavāsaka, people, 29, 30 and note
Vaiñavāsī, city and territory, 153, 213
Vaiñyaghaṭiṭya-Sarvananda, commissary, 210
Vaiṅga, country, 10 and note, 13, 21 note, 27 note, 32 note, 74, 78, 84, 93, 98, 104, 115, 124, 125 and note, 126 and note, 132, 140, 156-58, 166, 168-70, 176, 183-84, 191
Vaiṅga, people, 21 note, 27 and note, 32 note, 64 and note, 84, 124 and note, 135, 138-39, 140-41, 175-77
Vaiṅgala, identified with the city of Bengal, 129
Vāngāla, territory, 115, 123, 124 and note, 125, 126 and note, 129-30, 132 and note, 136
Vāngāla, Vāngāl, people, 123, 127 note, 131, 132 and note
Vāngāla-deśa, territory, 132
Vāngālavāda, locality, 126
Vāngālī, same as Bengali, people, 131
Vāṅgeya, people, 47 note, 48 and note
Vānj-Dindori, territory, 167
Vāṇjūjā, Vāṇjūjā-vatī, river, 47 note
Vāṇjūlī, same as Manaḥrā, river, 48 note, 51 and note, 52 note, 53 note
Vāṇjūrā, river, 52 note
Vāṇkṣu, same as Oξus, river, 7, 13, 14 note, 53 note
Vāra, people, 30 note
Vāradā, river, 57 note, 153
Varadatī, person, 217
Varadarāja, author, 86
Varāha, *an Aśvāṭhā Vaiṣṇu*, god, 219, 221
Varāhaḥachatra, Varāha-kṣetra, holy place, 221
Varāhadeva, god, 221
Varāha-kṣetra, same as Kākāmukha-tirtha, holy place, 218, 221, 223
Varāhamihira, author, 115, 143 note, 150, 219
Varāhabhūmi, Barābihūm, territory, 98, 114
Varāha Pūrṇa, work, 57 note, 219-21
Vārāhī, goddess, 81 note
Vāraṇa, same as Banbāras, holy place, 22 note, 73, 173 and note
Vāraṇa, Vāraṇasī-kaṭaka, Abhinavatāmaśāsana, Vāraṇasī-kaṭaka, identified with Cuttack, city, 147-48
Vāraṇāsī, same as Vāraṇa, 181
Varapa, people, 51 note
Varādhachatra, mistake for Varāhachatra, 221
Varādhāন, town and district, 98, 114-15, 203
Varādhānākṣīta, same as Bardhankot, locality, 93
Varenda, mistake for Varendra, territory, 204
Varenda, territory, 93, 98, 114, 123 note, 170 note
Varendri, same as Varendra, territory, 114
Vārṣidhāna, people, 31 note
Vārṣiṣcā, river, 52 note
Varkala, Varkalai, locality, 85
Varpa, same as Bannu, locality, 235
Varpa, river, 258
Vārtaghna, river, 45 note, 57 note
Vārtak, same as Vārtaghna, river, 45 note
Varupa, a Division of Bhāratavarṣa, 5 note
Varunapraṣtha, a Tāntrik Division of India, 73, 80-81, 107-08
Varva, people, 62 note
Varvbaru, country and people, 71, 79-80, 106, 108, 260
Varvara, people, 21 note, 25 and note, 60 and note
Vasāti, people, 61 and note
Vasco da Gama, Portuguese sailor, 250
Vāṣika, Vāṣikya, people, 32 note
Vāṣītha-kunḍa, holy pool, 220
Vasi, river, 48 note
Vasumitra, person, 217
Vāsudeva, king, 169
Vasumati, 'earth', 163
Vasundhāra, princess, 150
Vāsyaṭā, river, 51 note
Vāyadhāna, people, 23 and note
Vatsa, people, 22 note, 63 note
Vatsagulma, city, 151, 153-54
157-59
Vatsarāja, king, 161
Vāțstya, people, 33 note
Vāțstvāyana, author, 83, 193 note
Vāṭy-grāmakā, hamlet, 218
Vādē, work, 230
Vedābho, Prakrit form of Vaidarbha, people, 19, 30 note
Vedadhāra, holy spot, 219
Vedarātā, river, 45
Vedāśīni, Vedāśīni, river, 43 note
Vedasāṃṛti, river, 43 note, 45 and note, 55 and note, 57 note
Vedavati, river, 45 and note
Vedic literature, 8
Vedic period, 49 note
Vedisa, same as Vaidīśa, town, 206-07, 213
Vegapura, same as Māltān, city, 44
Veļākula, ‘harbour’, 201
Veļāpur, locality, 159
Veļlores, locality, 90
Veṇa, people and country, 213
Venā, river, 51 note
Venāṭi, identified with Pedda Veṇi, city, 135
Vicgīš, territory, 136

Verpupura—visaya—grāma—sahartra, territory, 200

Vēng-śahartra, territory, 200

Vēktāja II, king, 69

Vēktāja, god and locality, 74

Vēktāja, Vēktājasvaraja, deity, 85-86

Vēvenmaiti, river, 43 note, 46 note

Vēnya, river, 45 note, 50 and note, 51 and note, 52 note, 57 note

Vēnya, Vēnya, river, 50 note, 52 note

Vēryāpatha, locality or path, 66 note

Vēṣali, same as Vaiśali, city, 206

Vētācāra, Vētācāhāra, same as Vētārapatha, locality or path, 66 note

Vētārapatha, locality or path, 59 note

Vētraśāṅkupatha, people and locality, 66 and note

Vētravati, same as Beśvāra, river, 45 note, 46 and note, 92, 151

vihārā, 'Prakrit dialect', 239

vihāra, 'subdivision', 201

Vidarbha, people or country, 30 and note, 90, 99, 151, 153, 155, 157-59, 208, 214

Vidarbha, mistake for Vidarbha, country, 204

Vidarbha, river, 57 note

Vidāśīṁi, Vedāśīṁi, river, 43 note

Vidēca, country and people, 28 and note, 71, 77, 94, 208

Vidīśā, identified with Beśnagar, city, 34 note, 91, 151, 206, 208, 214

Vidīśa, river, 43 note, 45 and note

Vidūsha, river, 46 note

Vidyādāhara, mythical people, 62 and note, 67 and note

Vidyāpati, author, 180

Vignorla, geographer, 130 note

Vigraha, dynasty, 141-42, 144

Vigraha-pālaka II, Pāla king, 13

Vigraha-pālaka III, Pāla king, 13

Vihākara-misāra, person, 193

Vijayabāhu I, Ceylone king, 197

Vijaya-Daṇnapura, same as Daṇnapura, city, 150

Vijayanagara, city and territory, 11, 69, 85, 89-90, 157, 192

Vijayanāṇanda-śūri, commentator, 212

Vijayanandir, person, 217

Vijaya-vān, locality, 189

Vijjala, Kaṭāguna king, 124

Vijñāneśvara, commentator, 10

Vikrama, identified with Chandragupta II Vikramādiytra, king, 150

Vikramabahu, Čeylone prince, 137

Vikramādiytra II, Cēla king, 152

Vikramādiytra VI, Cēla king, 150 and note, 156

Vikramādiytra, work, 156

Vikramapura, city and territory, 84, 166-67, 169-70, 240

Vikramapura, same as Vikramapura, locality, 125 and note, 166

Vimalā, river, 47 note, 54 note

Vimalā, deity, 84

Vimānaśātakā, work, 66 note

Vinaśāna, locality, 40 note, 173 note

Vinayacandra, author, 204

Vinayapālaka, work, 211, 212 and note, 215, 229

Vinayatilaka, village, 125 note

Vindhya, mounaśā, 14, 30 note, 34 note, 37 note, 46 note, 49 note, 51 note, 52 note, 56 and note, 65 note, 64 and note, 73, 76-77, 79, 90-91, 93, 98, 99, 102, 120 note, 121 note, 151, 157, 173 note, 212 note

Vindhyaśāleśa, Vindhyaśāleśa, people, 30 note

Vindhyaśāleśika, people, 30 and note

Vindhyaśāleśika, people, 30 note

Vinnā, river, 50 note

Vipāśa, river, 39 note, 41 and note, 44, 47 note, 48 and note, 57 note, 185-86

Viprapāla, person, 217

Vīrācarita, work, 242

Vīrādharadeva, king, 171

Vīrāhotra, mistake for Vīthibhotra, people, 35 note

Vīrāja, identified with Jāpur, locality, 109, 145, 147

Vīrāja-kṣetra, same as Jāpur, locality, 109

Vīrāmaru, people and locality, 61 and note

Vīra-Narasiṁha, king of Vījayanagara, 11

Vīra-Rājendra, Cēla king, 156 note

Vīrāṭa, country, 71, 76, 203

Vīrāṭa, Vairāṭa, same as Māṭya, country, 93, 105

Vīrāṭanagara, same as Bairat, city, 105

Vīrāja, same as Jāpur, locality, 227

Vīrāmitrodgēsa, work, 178 note

Vīsakha-patham, town and district, 30 note, 135-36

Vītalā, same as Vīgahārajarāja IV, Cēnagāma king, 14

Vīšāla, river, 43 note

Vīśamadha, river, 52 note

Vīṣeṣa, 'district', 161, 193, 196, 217, 222, 231, 233

Vīgarāja, people, 61 and note

Vīṣṇu, god, 181-82, 188, 221, 229, 234

Vīṣṇudatta, person, 217

Vīṣṇudhāra, holy stream, 220
Tajurroada, work, 191
Yakṣa, mythical people, 62 and note, 286
Yakṣabāhu, Pakṣabāhu, country, 204
Yamaka, people, 28 note
Yamakōti, mythical city, 203
Yama-prastha, a Trivikramia Division of India, 73, 80-81, 107-08
Yamavayasanaka, locality, 220
Yamunā, river, 2, 39 note, 40 and note, 43 note, 45, 57 note, 102, 127 note, 214, 243 and note
Yāska, author, 229
Yāśodhara, commentator, 136 note
Yāśodharman, Auliya king, 10
Yāśovarman, king of Kauayu, 233 note, 234, 242, 244
Yatitha, people, 21 note
Yaudheyana, people, 22 note
Yavanna, people, 20, 24 and note, 60, 71, 93, 204, 232 note
Yavanna, same as Yavanna, people, 204
Yavasā, people, 60 note
Yāyapura, Yājapura, same as Jāpur, locality, 145
Yāyākūnagura, Yāṣṭipūrā, identified with Jāpur 146-48
Yāyākūrviya, author, 241
Yelamanchilli Taluk, 196
Yeou-chi-lo, same as Mount Usūra, 211
Yi-tsing, Chinese traveller, 211
Yodha, people, 21
Yodheya, Yaudheya, people, 21, 22 and note
Yoginī, locality, 77 and note
Yoginī, deity, 97
Yoginipura, city, 80 and note, 97, 107
Yogis Tautra, work, 87
Tejana, measure of distance, 5 and note, 9 note, 45, 83, 92, 226, 244
Tena-dāla, Tavana-dāla, 'Greek ambassador', 208
Tesi-pitha, 87
You-hi, 'bull-joy', 207
Yudhishthira, epic king, 6, 175
Yugala, Puhgala, country, 203
Yugandhara, a branch of the Sālvai, 21 note
Yuvravija, Kalacuri king, 200

Z

Zam, eighth', 250
Zaradros, same as Satadru, river, 40 note
Zaranji, locality, 295 note
Ziauddin Barani, Muslim historian, 170
Zoroastrians of Sophiana, 44
Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Nawab of the Carnatic, 69, 90
Zumbil, Janapâla, official designation, 235 note
"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.