PREFACE

In the early days of my return from abroad I was singularly fortunate to come in direct contact of the ennobling and inspiring personality of the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal. In his inspiring talks to us he always made it a point to enthuse us about ancient Indian geography without a knowledge of which Indian history in his opinion looked like an open-air drama in which members of the audience are required to do their own guessing about the scenic arrangements. I listened to him with rapt attention, but with my limited knowledge of Indian history and literature I could do little to solve the tangles of Indian historical geography. But there were others who took the cue, and among them foremost stands the name of Prof. Jaya Chandra Vidyalankar. His researches are embodied in an interesting book in Hindi entitled Bhārat bhumi aur uske Nivāsī (India and her peoples), in which he has focussed brilliantly the problems of Indian historical geography. It will not be an exaggeration to say that we have yet to see a book of this type in other Indian languages or as a matter of fact even in European languages. But I stayed where I was, my attention being riveted to problems of art and archaeology, and my professional duties as the curator of a museum left me little time to devote to other subjects.

It was therefore a pleasant surprise when my friend Dr. Vasudeva Sharana Agrawala asked me to write an article on the chapters 17 and 18 of the Sabha-parva which describe in detail the representatives of the tribes and republics who attended the Rajasūya ceremony of Yudhiṣṭhira and brought with them various products of their countries as gifts to the great king. I had misgivings about my ability to cope with such a difficult, although fascinating, subject. But I remembered Dr. Jayaswal's inspiring words and not minding my limitations enthu-
siastically took up the work. The deeper I went the greater my fascination grew, and a mere article I proposed to write for Dr. Radha Kumud Presentation Volume swelled into a small book which is before my readers.

I purposely chose for my thesis the title of Upāyana-parva, although this name does not occur in any of the lists of the sub-parvans of the Mahābhārata. The subject-matter of the chapters 47-48 of the Sabbā-parva deals with the presents brought by various peoples, and I think the title Upāyana-parva appropriately expresses the idea of such gifts. For this liberty I crave the indulgence of scholars.

A word about the geographical information in the Mahābhārata should not be out of place here. Before tackling the problems of epic geography utmost caution is necessary to be observed to avoid pitfalls and to gain a straight path in the bewildering forest of names about which we know so little. Mutilated readings found at every step lead us astray, and force us to seek names in the directions in which as the correct readings show they do not exist. Then there are contradictions and repetitions which by the nature of various strata in epic text are inevitable. In these circumstances every piece of evidence has to be weighed carefully before reaching any conclusion. External evidences from Buddhist and Jain sources are also sometimes of utmost value. I must here express my admiration for the critical edition of the Mahābhārata in which invariably, except in a very few cases, the choice of the readings by the editor has been correct.

I, however, cannot claim that my identifications have always been correct. My modest claim, however, is that I have tried to probe into a difficult subject with my limited knowledge and I am certainly open to corrections which would be welcome. This is just a beginning; the subject of epic geography is far from exhausted. There yet awaits the geography of the Dīgvijaya-parva and the tangled mass of geographical information in the opening chapters of the
Bhīṣma-parvan with hopelessly corrupt text. If everything goes on well I propose to go further into the subject.

The critical study of the Upāyana-parva text, however, would have remained an empty dream if the editors of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata had not allowed me to consult the text of chapters 47 and 48, while the second part of the Sabhā-parvan was still in the Press and which, so far I am aware, has not yet been issued to the subscribers.* I am very grateful for all the assistance given to me in this connection by Dr. R. N. Dandekar. The authorities of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, also gave me an opportunity to express my views about the geography of the Upāyana-parva in a lecture at one of their annual functions. All this encouragement shows how greatly the cooperative spirit has grown among Indian scholars.

In conclusion, I may point out that in spite of my vigilance minor inaccuracies in proof correction have remained in printing; for this I crave the indulgence of the scholars. I also offer my sincerest thanks to Dr. Vasudeva Sharana Agrawala and my young artist friend Ram Subhedar without whose cooperation I could not have successfully accomplished my task.

Moti Chandra

* This is now published (26-10-1945).—Moti Chandra.
FOREWORD

The geographical material relating to ancient India is extremely vast and varied. Its principal sources are the following:

1. Vedic literature,
2. Epic literature, viz., Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata,
3. Buddhist and Jaina sacred texts,
4. Grammatical literature,
5. Foreign writers (Classical and Chinese),
6. Purāṇas,
7. Early and mediaeval inscriptions and

This material requires to be studied systematically with the same scientific outlook and precision as have been applied to other kinds of historical material. Geography has been the bed-rock of history in a very real sense and an understanding of the geographical background supplies the clue to the historical expansion of the Indian people and their inter-relations with other races in each period. The investigation of geographical problems in respect of almost all the major sources outlined above is still a gap in our historical studies. It is therefore essential that this line of study be developed in the same intensive manner as other branches of ancient Indian history have been.

Geographical studies apart from their vital relationship to a true estimate of the historical evolution, are of distinct value for chronological considerations also. Geographical references like so many of the social, political and economic institutions are likely to be of great value in deciding questions of relative chronology. The critical apparatus from this source has yet to be formulated. For example, a minute study of the application of the name
Malava to different regions in the Panjab, Rajputana and ultimately to present Malwa in Central India from epigraphic and literary sources would reveal the course and the time of migration of the Malava tribe and be helpful in checking the time of the works in which Malava is applied to present Malwa. Besides, a critical estimate of the different geographical concepts of the ancient Indians, e.g., the determining of the exact significance of the term Bhārata, Airavata and other Varshas with their Janapada divisions and river names is sure to prove a study of the utmost value. The time now seems to be ripe for laying the foundations of a full and comprehensive expository scheme of the science of ancient Indian geography supported by numerous detailed maps of various descriptions.

The geographical material from the Mahābhārata is of more than ordinary importance for providing a critical and archaic standard of reference, in respect of place-names in the successive stages of Indian history. This material consists mainly of (1) the Bhuvanakosha chapters (Bhīshma-parva, ch. 9), Digvijaya parvans (Sabhā-parva chs. 25–32), the so-called Upāyanaparva (Sabhā-parva, chs. 47–48 of the critical edition) and the Tirthayatraparva (Aranyakaparva, chs. 80–153 of the critical edition). It is important that this material should be critically examined in the light of comparative sources. Important results must follow such research. For example, Prof. Shejwalkar while subjecting the material of the Tirthayatrā-parva to critical analysis has shown not only that the material of the Dhamiya set of narration of holy places (chs. 85–88, containing only 92 verses) is considerably earlier than the Pulastya-Tirthayatrā material (chs. 80–83, containing 598 verses), but also arrived at certain broad deductions, viz. that the Aryans had before going to the east, crossed over into the Deccan, that the southern land route lay along the east coast and through the centre of the Peninsula, that the sand tracts of Rajputana were early colonised and that a great Trans-
Himalayan route was in constant use from these early times.*

The material from the Digvijaya-parva was partially examined by Prof. Jayachandra in the course of his Hindi article भारतीय अनुशीलन, G. H. Ojha Comm. Vol., (नकुल का परिच्छेद—विविधता pp.3—9.)

The Bhuvanakosha chapter in the Mahābhārata seems to represent an archaic textual tradition as its material is also found incorporated in several of the Purāṇas, viz., Vāyu, Matsya and Mārkaṇḍeya. Some valuable work on it had been done by Dr. Pargiter in his edition of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and by Dr. B.C. Law in his Geographical Essays, but there is yet scope for much intensive work and the need for producing a collated critical text of the Bhuvanakosha chapters on the basis of as many good manuscripts of the Purāṇas and the Mahabharata (Bhīshma-parva) as available, similar to the text of the Parvasangraha-parva prepared by Dr. Sukthankar, is very great. It is expected that the critical edition of the Bhīshmaparva now under preparation by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar will clarify and settle the readings of a good many names of the Janapadas and rivers in this chapter. Indeed, the presentation of the entire geographical material from the Mahābhārata in the form of a single dissertation would be very handy and useful to advance the cause of historical research in this direction.

I had suggested to my friend Dr. Moti Chandra the material of the Upāyana-parva for a paper to be published in the Radha Kumud Mookerji Presentation Volume. He took up the subject with his characteristic zeal and thoroughness. Fortunately the critical text of the chapters relating to the Upāyana-parva were made available to Dr. Moti Chandra through the courtesy of the editor of the critical edition of the Mahābhārata being published from the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona. After several months

of intensive work he produced the present study of the geographical and economic data in the Upāpana-parva. But in its present extended form it could no longer be accommodated in the Radha Kumud Mookerji Presentation Volume for which it was intended by the author as his tribute for Dr. Mookerji. I therefore suggested its publication through the Journal of the U.P. Historical Society and subsequently as an independent memoir.

A number of brilliant geographical identifications are suggested or established for the first time in these pages. Perhaps the most important of all is the location of Kamboja in the region of the Upper Oxus, i.e., the land of the great Pamirs directly north of the Darad country and north-east of ancient Kapisa. Pt. Jayā Chandra Vidyālaṅkāra had first of all made this suggestion, but convincing proof was still lacking. Dr. Rhys’ Davids had long ago pointed out on the basis of a reference in Buddhist literature the intimate connection between Kamboja and Dwārkā (Buddhist India, p. 184). Following this clue Dr. Moti Chandra looked for Dwarkā in the Ghalcha-speaking regions of the Upper Oxus and finally hit upon the identification of Dwārkā with modern Darwaz which establishes the identity of Kamboja on a solid basis and beyond the possibility of any doubt. Further attention may be invited to the identification of Devakṣa with Badakshan and of Lalatāksha with Ladakh. Pāṇini also juxtaposes Devākṣāyaṇa and Tryākṣāyaṇa in the Gaṇapāṭha of sutra IV, 2.54, and these appear but other forms of Dvyakṣa and Tryakṣa mentioned together in the Epic. Pāṇini’s Devākṣāyaṇa is from the phonetical point of view much closer to Badakshan.

Similarly plausible are the suggestions to identify Vaiyāmaka with the Aimakas of Central Afghanistan; Vasati (Ossadioi of the Greeks) with the region north of the Mūlā pass in the Sibi district in Baluchistan; Mauleya with the people on the banks of the Mūlā river and the Mūlā Pass; Hamskayanāsa with Humza Chitrakas
with Chitrak; Vārisha with Barisal on the sea coast and the Pāmsurāśtra with the kingdom of the Pāns tribe who exist to this day in considerable numbers in several of the tributary Orissa States (Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XIX. p. 257). The suggested identification of Sālva with Subhūta or Sophytes of the Salt range and of the Vastrapas with Vastrāpatha in Western India may not be beyond doubt. The location of the Sālvas especially still remains a puzzle.

Dr. Moti Chandra’s discussions on the economic data throw a flood of light on the true nature and significance of the various names of economic products brought as presents from each region. They help us to visualise the whole country as forming part of a well-knit system of commercial exchanges and intercourse. The picture embraces even the distant regions of the whole of Afghanistan and the Pamir region in Central Asia. Politically such unity became possible to conceive after the Mauryan emperor’s conquests of Arachosia, Aria and Paropanisdi, but it appears that economically these regions were linked to the heart of India from much earlier times. The Jātakas and Pāṇini give evidence of the economic unity envisaged in the Upāyana-parva. The two maps have been prepared by Mr. Ram Subedar, who deserves our thanks. A word of explanation is necessary for the title Upāyana-parva which does not occur in the colophons of Mahābhārata text. On the basis of their subject matter, viz., bringing of presents (विद्याधर्ग्र) to king Yudhishṭhira by kings of different regions, Chapters 47 and 48 are designated for the sake of convenience by the title ‘Upāyana-parva.’

V. S. AGRAWALA.
INTRODUCTORY

I

The Mahābhārata is rightfully regarded by the Hindus as the encyclopaedia of ancient lores. It contains the precepts of the great ṛṣīs ordaining the rightful conduct and the deeds of the mighty heroes whose names are still cherished by the Hindus. The Mahābhārata was not composed with a view to give in any detail the social aspects of Hindu life, neither it was written to give us the geographical knowledge of the Hindus, and therefore whatever geographical knowledge we are able to glean from the Mahābhārata, specially from the Adīparaśa, Sabhāparaśa, Aranyapaśa and Bhīṣmaparaśa are incidental and not a connected whole. The names of the countries, mountains, rivers, etc., are mentioned in passing without any topographical details, very often even neglecting the direction in which a country or a mountain or a river lay, assuming their knowledge by the contemporary Indians as a matter of course. This attitude towards the geography of the country has created serious difficulties for the students of the historical geography of India and the information supplied by the Mahābhārata has to be supplemented with the Grecians, Chinese, and often by the medieval Arab sources which unfortunately lose much of their utility on account of their peculiar methods of transcribing Indian place names. The pioneers
in the modern topographical researches concerning India such as Masson, Burnes, Wood, St.-Martin, Cunningham, Holdich and Stein have done much to increase our knowledge of ancient Indian geography but much remains to be done. The archaeology and its sister sciences have also given their helping hand in the solution of certain knotty problems concerning the location of ancient tribal republics, specially in the Panjáb. Unfortunately the texts of Purāṇas which should have served as a base for our knowledge of ancient Indian geography are so thoroughly corrupted that any attempt to identify the majority of place names in the Purānic list is bound to meet with failure. Their utility is further lessened by their adherence to the stereotyped description of the Indian geography bodily lifted from some common original source and just fitted in the shape of Bhuvana-Kośas in different Purāṇas. The Pāli Buddhist sources are somewhat better in their knowledge of Indian geography, but as the field of activity of early Buddhism was confined to Bihār and Eastern U.P., their knowledge of North-Western India is often hazy. This defect was later on greatly remedied when Buddhism penetrated from Gandhāra to Afgānīstān, Central Asia and China. The literature of Sanskrit Buddhism and the Chinese Tripiṭaka have preserved for us some place names from the North-west India and the Panjáb, but these sources also suffer from obscurity which characterises the Purānic sources. Such being the condition of the sources of historical geography of India at our disposal the task of a research student is unenviable. He has to conform to the strictly scientific methods of modern researches with a limited material at hand. Philology, a hand-maid of all Indian studies, tries to over-reach herself in the matter of geographical studies. The phonetic similarities of the place names are so great that one is at once tempted to identify a certain modern place name with its ancient equivalent and then with the help of philology justify the identification. The works of Lassen,
St.-Martin and Cunningham suffer from this defect. Philology is a good guide and at times a very successful one, but its results in the sphere of topographical researches must be checked by other sources.

In this article I have confined myself to the geographical allusions of the Sabhāpārva, and that too with the identifications of the names of various tribal republics and monarchies which appeared at the time of the Rājasūya sacrifice to pay tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira. The importance of the Upāyanapārva as it is a sub-section of the Sabhāpārva is further increased by the mention of the products of the individual countries whose representatives came to pay their tributes to the all-conquering Pāṇḍava brothers. After the Arthasastra of Kauṭilya the Upāyanapārva is only somewhat fuller source of information of the economic resources of India as she was then comprehended. Fortunately in the course of my studies I had the opportunity of consulting the critical edition of the Sabhāpārva published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, while it was still at the press, through the courtesy of Dr. P. M. Joshi and Dr. R. N. Dandekar to whom my thanks are due. It must be said that this critical edition of the Sabhāpārva has greatly improved upon the previous texts, and at several places restituted the correct ancient forms. At places, however, I have differed from the readings suggested by the learned editors, and I have adopted the variants suggested in the footnotes. In doing so I have, to the best of my ability, given reasons for adopting the variant readings. As far as possible I have given cross references in the Mahābhārata from the critically edited Parvas which have appeared (Aḍī-, Sabhā-, Aranya-, Virāṭ- and Udyoga-parvās), but occasionally I have also referred to the 1836 Calcutta edition of the Mahābhārata.

While making an intensive study of those parts of the Sabhāpārva which deal exclusively with the geographical matters such as Dīvījaya-parvā (Chapters 23—29) and the Upāyanapārva (Chapters 47—48), and in this con-
nection the *Aranyaparva*, certain impressions have been left on my mind which I lay down for the consideration of the scholars. Throughout the *Mahābhārata* there is always apparent a sort of derisive attitude wherever a Panjāb or specially a North-Western tribal republic is concerned, and one often meets in season and out of season, the terms, mleccha, yavana, barbara and dasyu applied to them in order to remind the faithful of the middle country to be beware of the Panjābīs and the north-westerners lest they might be taken unawares and their so-called Aryan way of life and thought be disturbed by their malpractices.

In one breath the *mleccha* kings including Andhras, Sakas, Pulindas, Yavanas, Aurnikas, Kambojas, Sudras and Abhiras⁴ are dubbed as false rulers (mithyānuśāsinah), sinners (*pāpāḥ*) and liars (*mṛśācādāparāyānāḥ*). This hatred towards the Panjāb and north-western tribes is reflected in the contemptuous way in which their land is described as the land of donkeys and camels, and even if we do not believe in the theory of M. Lévi that Kharaṇtra denoted a geographical boundary⁵ there is little doubt that the word Kharaṇtra as evident from the Chinese interpretation of the word by Houe Yuan is contemptuous. M. Lévi to prove his point says that in diverse texts the ass and camel are connected. He quotes examples from Fan Yu ts'a Ming of Yitsing. He also quotes from the Ganāpāṭha of Panini⁶ to show that in the neuter *devandvas* the compound *uṣṭra-kharam* is found⁷ perhaps expressive of some geographical connection. It is quite reasonable to suppose that Kharaṇtra became a sort of symbol which denoted a country where these animals were to be found in large numbers. The south-eastern limit of the distribution of the camels is an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of the Indus towards the upper Satlaj and

---

2. BEFEO, IV, 566.
3. II, 4, II.
4. BEFEO, IV, p. 567.
for the donkeys the line of demarcation nearly passes from the north to the south leaving the eastern India altogether. The true country of the asses (Equus hemippus, Equus Onager, Equus hemonius) is Syria, Gobi desert and Baluchistan and western India. The donkey and camel are the animals of Iranian world. According to Spiegel the camel in Iran is only a little less important than horse and the two-humped Bactrian camel which carries heavy load and is able to live on very little. The ass whose two species are found in Iran is also an important animal. Avesta gives great importance to camel.

The derogatory sense in which the land of the Khara and Uṣṭra was used is amply illustrated in the Karna-parva when Karna deeply incensed at the disgraceful behaviour of Salya burst out in rage. His scathing indictment of the people of the Panjab specially the Madra country reflects in true sense the Brahmanical point of view about the land of the five rivers. It would not be out of place here to quote from Karna's speech certain relevant portions which in their ringing condemnation are unequalled in India literature. "The Madraka is treacherous to his friends. Those whom we hate is Madraka. There is no attachment in Madraka. His language is uncount."

(M.B. VIII, 40, 20). "Their womenfolk under the influence of drink throw away their garments and begin to dance; they indulge in sexual intercourse without reserve and follow their fanciful designs to an extreme. The Madarakas in the legal terminology are the sons of those women who piss like camels and asses." A couple of hundred verses later (M.B., VIII, 44, 3) Karna continuing with his invectives quotes the opinion of a Brahmana which he had heard in the court of Dhṛtarāṣtra about Vāhikas and Madras. "I have lived for a secret reason with the Vāhikas and I know of their practices, having lived with them. Their women dance and sing all

---

6Iranische Alterthumskunde, I, p. 260.
6Vendidad, VII, 42; IX, 37.
naked in the open places of houses and cities casting away garlands and paints, singing lewd songs in drunkenness which resemble braying of ass and grumbling of a camel. They do not observe privacy while cohabiting and follow the whims of their fancy. One of these miserable Vāhikas who lived in the Kurujāṅgala unable to have good time used to sing, "The tall fair women wearing fine clothes of linen who followed me in the bed, the poor Vahika of the Kurujāṅgala. When it will be when I shall cross over the Śatadru and Irāvatī on my way to my country to meet the beautiful girls of the olden times. When will I return with the beat of tambourine and drum and the conch-shell blowing with the asses, camels and mules (Kharoṣṭrāścatavaraiḥ) in the forest of samī, pīlu and karīra whose fragrance is so pleasing." Another song of the Vāhikas, which the Brāhmaṇa reported is as follows, "When shall I be able to sing in Śākalā the song of the Vāhikas, devour the beef, drink the Gauḍa wine, and the mutton with bunches of onions, the flesh of wild boar, fowls, beef and the ass and the camel and enjoy the tall elegant women in perfect toilet (VIII, 2051). These Vāhikas about whom we have been hearing some of the most unpalatable things lived as Mahābhārata defines (VIII, 2029-30, 2041, 2055, 2064), "Apart from the Himālayas and Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī and Kurukṣetra, established in the centre of the five rivers with the Indus as the sixth live the Vāhikas, unaware of the practices of the Smṛtis."

Now a pertinent question which may be asked in this connection is as to what were the reasons which actuated the Brāhmaṇas of the middle country to indulge in the whole-sale condemnation of the people of the Panjāb, the North-west Frontier, and the lands beyond? It is a well known fact which requires no repetition that the Vedie culture was nurtured in the Panjāb, and the very foundations
of the later Brahmnic culture were laid in the land of the Five Rivers. In the Vedic period the land whose glory is sung in the \textit{prthivasūkta} certainly included the Panjab and the Himalayas. Even contrary to the expectation, in the \textit{Bhīṣmaparva}, Chap. IX, in the impressive lists of the Cakravartis is included Sibi Ausīnara from the Panjab, then why this hostility towards Panjab? History supplies us the reasons. The culture which the Panjab fostered had gradually shifted towards the Madhyadeśa, till Gangeśic plains and a part of Rajputāna became a sort of haven of the ancient doctrines and Aryan philosophy, and this heritage the people under the guidance of the Brāhmaṇas wanted to preserve intact from the outside influences, the fresh beliefs, and the fresh modes of life brought over by the many races which had migrated to India since the Vedic religion had crystallised itself. This abhorrence of foreigners and the aboriginals whose beliefs were antagonistic to the Brāhmaṇical thoughts became a sort of mania. An example may be cited. The cause of the Sarasvatī's disappearance is attributed to the horror in which Sarasvatī held the Niśādas; she disappeared at the very gate of the Niśāda kingdom (M.B. III, 130, 3-4). Nothing could be more unreasonable or absurd, but herein we see the creation of legends worked up by the clever ingenuity of the priestly mind to serve a particular end that is to save the flock from the contaminating influence of the barbarians. Even in the description of the \textit{tirthas} in the \textit{Aranyakaparva} our attention is again and again diverted to the sacred Kurukṣetra, Gangaśvāra, and other pretty \textit{tirthas} in Kāthiwar and all over the Madhyadeśa to prove that all the sanctity which a Brāhmaṇa could conceive was attached to the middle country. The story of the gradual development of this psychology might form an interesting study in itself. This process of drawing within oneself is fully developed in the \textit{Mahābhārata}, the \textit{Purāṇas}, and the \textit{Smṛtis}. To this psychological working of the mind
generating hate in place of love, may be attributed the division of the country into innumerable small states—the new-comers forming their own tribal states, and thus dividing the country in almost innumerable smaller units. This instinct of self preservation was still aggravated with the advent of Buddhism and to a lesser to Jainism. A direct challenge was thrown to the almost uncontested supremacy of the Brāhmīns. The dharma of the Buddha simple in its conception and direct in its appeal spread quickly to the Panjāb and the frontier and in the early centuries of the Christian era spread to the Central Asia. The Buddhist church was not bound by the Brahmanical principles of castes, etc. Whosoever came to the Buddha, irrespective of caste, creed, community or race, was allowed to join the Buddhist brotherhood. To escape from this peril the Brahmanic hierarchy created stricter laws to ensure the purity of the society but mere laws without public sanction behind them are just like the body without the spirit. The invectives of the Brāhmaṇas against the spirited Panjābis do not seem to have been of much avail.

Another subject which should interest the student of Indian geography is a plethora of digvijayus found in the Mahābhārata. Among these the four most important ones are the expeditions of Arjuna to the north, of Bhima to the east, of Sahadeva to the south and of Nakula to the west described in the Digvijayaparva, a sub-section of Sabha-parva. There are certain broad points in connection of these expeditions with which we must acquaint ourselves. The first thing which we should bear in mind is that these expeditions from the geographical point of view are of great importance. They not only tell us of the place names which are often of first rate importance, but their directions also throw light on the ancient Indian highways. Secondly, these expeditions echo the expeditions of the contemporary kings whether Yavana, Saka or Hindu whose doings have been cleverly transferred to the
Pândava brothers. The iterneries allocated to each of the Pândavas seems to have been made up by a clever stringing of more than one iternery. This is more palpable in the conquests of Arjuna and Sahadeva. As we shall see while discussing the date of the Sabha-parva these expeditions supply us with the informations of utmost importance, and when they are read in the light of the modern researches on Indian history they tell us much about the date of the Sabha-parva. Lastly these expeditions need not represent that such long expeditions were taken by the Indian kings at a time; there is an element of wishful thinking in these expeditions to exhibit the prowess of the champions of the Brahminical cause. This story of the Dīkjājayas was supplemented copiously by the contemporary events which have been connected with the exploits of those heroes.

Much more interesting is a long list of tribal republics mostly from the Panjáb, North-Western Frontier, Eastern Afghanistán and the countries on the Oxus and even beyond it. The references to these geographical names are very interesting. They are not a collected whole with any idea of putting the names of the republics in proper geographical order which might indicate their situation and direction. Sometime the direction is pointed out but in the majority of cases it is entirely left out. As usual the geographical names seem to have been drawn from the various contemporary lists and iterneries. Fortunately some of these disjointed lists have maintained some order in which the countries were situated and also their connection with the neighbouring states is often slightly indicated; this is all very helpful in the proper identification of the places. The various presents brought by the representatives from each country also give an indication as to which part of the world their land could be assigned. We need not dilate here on this point here as we will have ample opportunity to discuss it later on.
One very important point which requires our attention before we take up the geographical allusions in the *Sabha-parva* is that the boundary of India at that period was not as it is to-day. The whole of eastern Afghanistan was included in India, and the geographical knowledge of the Hindus extended to Oxus and sometimes the trans-Oxus countries. If we only keep this point in view much of the confusion which is bound to occur if we try to identify all the places within the modern boundaries of India as it is constituted to-day would be avoided. Indian culture at least in the second century B.C. had travelled beyond the limits of India, and during the course of its extension met in Afghanistan and the Oxus countries two other cultures Greek and Iranian whose natural actions and reaction gave birth to a new colonial culture in which the Indian and Greek elements preponderate.

II

The date of the *Mahabharata* remains still a matter of contention; Dahlmann’s theory placed the *Mahabharata* in the fifth or sixth century before Christ. His contention that it was the work of a single man has long been given up. The *Mahabharata* is not the work of a single hand and as pointed out by Professor Hopkins the crystallisation of its present form may be put between the 4th century B.C. and 4th century A.D., though the latter limit seems to be too late. We are not concerned in our present study with the external and internal evidences which have been impressively marshalled to prove the date of the *Mahabharata* or more correctly a particular part of the *Mahabharata*;

---

*Das Mahabharata als Epos und Rechtbuch*, (1895) and *Genesis des Mahabharata* (1899).

neither we are concerned here with the revival of Brahminism apparent from the *Mahābhārata* with its insistence on the worship of Viṣṇu. The only purpose of this section is to show by the internal evidences from the *Sabhāparva* or to narrow it down still from the *Dīvījaya* and the *Upāyana-parvas* which give a mass of geographical informations useful to determine the probable date of the composition of the *Sabhāparva*. Every piece of evidence will be taken up separately and discussed on its own merits, and then we shall try to reach a certain conclusion. The chronology has always been rather a controversial point in Indian history before the pre-Christian era and no theory or conclusion has escaped criticism. Whatever views I propose to place before the scholars are certainly far from dogmatic and I would certainly welcome corrections and criticisms.

The most important evidence which throws a considerable light on the date of the *Sabhāparva* comes from Arjuna's expedition (MB, II, 23-25). His campaign as we shall see later on could be divided into two parts or may be three parts. We are only concerned here with that section where Arjuna having conquered the Daradas with the Kāmbojas (II, 24.22) proceeded towards the north and having conquered the robber tribes, subdued the Lohas, Parama-Kāmbojas, the Rṣikas and Paramṛṣikas. I give the full text below noting the variant readings where necessary

The variants for *parśvakāmōsājan* are:—lokaṇau, mānīkau, ṛṣiṣṭa, lahanarṣakāmōsājanau, parśabhravarmakāmōsājanau, laṅkakāmōsājanau etc. The variants for ओष्ठि are ओष्ठि or ओष्ठी।

F. 3
In these verses we get some very important information about the situation of the Rṣikas and Paramārṣikas. To locate them properly we should try to follow the route taken by Arjuna. After having conquered the Bāhlikas (M.B. II, 23, 21) or the Bactrians in Northern Afghānīs-tān, he subdued the combined Darada and Kamboja forces (M.B., II, 23, 22). The crux of the problem is the proper identification of Kamboja to which we shall come later on. It is not the Chhīhhal country or Kabul but as proposed by Pandit Jayachandra Vidyalankāra Badakshān and the Galcha speaking part of the Parmirs. Now what route Arjuna took from the Bāhlikā country? The key to this problem lies in the proper identification of Vālgu. This may be identified with the river Baghlan. In their explorations of the Oxus countries Wood and Lord investigated the route which lay directly south from Kunduz by the river of that name to its junction with the Baghlan. Thence following Baghlan to its head they crossed by the Murgh Pass into the Valley of the Andarab and diverging eastward they adopted the Khawak Pass to reach the Panjishir Valley and so to Kabul. No great difficulties were encountered on the route, involving only two passes between the Oxus and the Kabul, the Murgh (7,400 ft.) and Khawak (11,650 ft.) and it undoubtedly possesses many advantages as the modern popular route between Kabul and Badakšān.\(^{10}\) Arjuna probably followed this route on his return journey to the Śvetaparvata which may be identified with the Safid-koh whose rugged ilex-covered spurs centre on the

\(^{10}\) Holdich, The Gates of India, pp. 434-35.
giant peaks of Pirghal and Shuidar, overlooking the plains of Afghanistān towards Ghazni. Arjuna however in his march towards the Paramakāmbojas and the Rṣikas left the Baghlan route which might have led him to Kabul and proceeded towards the north, and in the ensuing battle defeated the Kambojas and the Daradas, who probably came to help their allies through the Dora Pass, which is the chief pass over the Hindukush, directly connecting India (through Chitrāl) with Badakshān.

The next stage in his campaign took him to the north-easterly direction (prāguttarām dīsam) (M.B., II, 24, 23) where the robber tribes (dasyavah) having obtained asylum (āśṛtya) lived, and also the tribes living in the forest. These were conquered. Apparently these robber tribes were the descendants of the Eastern Iranian speaking ancestors of the Wakhānis, Shighnis, Roshanis and the Sarikolis of the Pāmīr plateau. Then comes the most important section of the campaign—the conquest of the allied forces (sahitān) of the Lohas, Paramakāmbojas and the Rṣikas of the north or the Great Rṣikas (M.B., II, 24). The Paramakāmbojas have been identified by Prof. Jayachandra Vidyālamkāra with the Galcha speaking Yāghnobis who live in the Valley of Yaghmob at the head water of the Zarafshān river, a tract of country considerably to the north of the Pāmīrs and separated from them by the hill states subordinate to Bokhārā, though he has not stated his reasons for this identification. The same writer has suggested the identification of the Yūe-Chi’s with the Rṣikas.

The problem of identifying the Rṣikas with the Yūe-Chi is not a new one and is closely connected with the problem of Ārṣī the language of the Sakas in the

---

12 Holdich, loc. cit., p. 427.
Central Asian texts, the Ārśi Kanta, i.e., Ārśi tongue. It has been also suggested to connect Yue-chi with Ārśi on certain phonetic peculiarities in the Chinese which used ń to understand ri, ür and o in the transliteration of Indian words. Klaproth derived the Yue-chi from Yetes. Franke takes them to be the people of Yet or Get; Baron von Stael Holstein infers a pronunciation Kurshi or Gurshi, and F. W. K. Müller maintains that Yue-chi is probably a rendering of the same word which we have learned to know as Ārśi as a designation of the language of the Tocharians the view to which Franke has subsequently agreed. The battle royal over Ārśi has not yet finished. H. W. Bailey derives Ārśi from the Sanskrit Araya. Pelliot rejects the derivation of Ārśi from Rśika as Pandit's etymology and the same author finds the rejection of Ārśi as convincing.

Before we advance our own views about the Rśikas it would be better to state briefly the facts already known about the migration of the Yue-chi, and then try to reconcile it if possible with the information supplied by the Mahābhārata about the Rśikas.

The Yue-chi first appear in history in Kansu province in the north-west of China, where they had apparently been living for some time. According to Chang Ki'en before they were defeated by the Hiungnu they lived between Tun-huang (now Sha-Chou) and K'i-lien (a hill south-west of Kan-chou-fu). A struggle between the Yue-Chi and the Hiung-nu, the progenitors of the later Huns, culminated in 176 or 174 B.C. in the complete

15 Sieg, SBAW, 1918, pp. 560 ff. quoted by Sten Konow (CII, II, p. viii, fn. 3).
17 CII, II, p. lix.
18 Tiangara, BSOS, VIII, 1936, pp. 883, 905 sqq.
19 JA, 1934, p. 23.
20 To'ung-Pao, XXXII, 1936, p. 265.
21 Hirth, JAOS, 1917, pp. 96-97.
defeat of the Yüe-chi. They were compelled to quit Kan-su and set out on their long journey westward. Part of the horde called by the Chinese Siao-Yüe-Chi, in contrast to the larger body the Ta Yüe-Chi unwilling to hazard and the long journey turned southward and settled into the Tarim Valley.\textsuperscript{22} The main horde going westward fell on the Wu-sun, killed the king, occupied their grazing ground and were again driven away by the Hiungnu. Still going westward they attacked Sai-Wang some time before 160 B.C., about the lake Issyk-Kul and the plain northward of the Alexandrovsky range and the Sai-Wang fled southward. Their subsequent movement will be examined later on. But in or just before 160 B.C. the Yüe-Chi were again attacked by the son of Wusun King with the help of the Hiung-nu and were driven out of the Sai-Wang country. The main body of the Yüe-Chi again went westward. After 160 B.C. the Yüe-Chi disappear for a generation reappearing shortly before 128 B.C.

What ultimately turned them southward is unknown. It seems that the intervening years between 160—128 B.C. were spent in fighting to settle down somewhere. Between 141—128 B.C. they crossed Jaxartes westward of Ferghana went southward and finished off the Greek Kingdom of Bactria. They were living north of the Oxus\textsuperscript{23} when Chang K’ien visited them not having yet moved across the Oxus into Bactria though they had conquered it. The chronological sequence in the great movement of Yüe-Chi has been arranged by Hirth.\textsuperscript{24} In the following sequence: In 176 the Yüe-Chi were defeated by the Hiung-nu for the second time; in 165 B.C. Lan Shang, Man-tun’s successor annihilated the Yüe-Chi and the Yüe-Chi fled westward; in 164 B.C. they settled down

\textsuperscript{22} Ib. 1917, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{23} Hirth, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{24} Ib. pp. 133-34.
near Issyk-kul driving away Sai-Wang who migrated southward and became the rulers of Kipin; in 160 B.C. the Wusun drove away the Yüe-Chi and occupied their territory near Issyk-kul. It is necessary to remember these dates and the Yüe-Chi settlement near Issyk-kul to which we will have to return presently.

Now let us return for a moment to the nomad conquest of Bactria. It has been a practice with the older writers to attribute the fall of Bactria to Sakas, though the statement of Chang K'ien who attributes the conquest to Ta Yüe-Chi should have been taken as final. This mistake according to W. W. Tarn who has made the latest contribution to the problem of the nomad conquest of Bactria, arose from a simple passage of Strabo (XI, 511) in which he says that the Sakas occupied Bactria. But as the context proves he is talking of the Achaemenid times or probably the 7th century B.C., when the great Saka invasion well-known from the Assyrian sources which had played its part in the fall of Ninevah and had penetrated as far as Cappadocian Pontus.

Apollodorus attributes the conquest of Bactria to four nomad peoples namely Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and Sacarafuli (Strabo. XI, 511). The 'Trogus Source' (Trogus Prot. XLI) formally attributes it to two—Asiani and Sarancas, though subsequently he mentions Tochari. Taking the Trogus source first one of the two names must represent Chang K'ien’s Yüe-Chi and as Sarancas are out of the question the Asiani should represent the Yüe-Chi (Tarn, loc. cit., p. 284). The form Asiani is an Iranian adjectival form of Apollodorus’ Asii which is the substantival form; the Asii are therefore Yüe-Chi. This identification of Yüe-Chi with Asii lead to the great controversy. From 1918—36 it was further believed that

26 Stem Konow, CII., II, pp. iviii Sq; T. Pelliot, JA, 224, 1934, p. 25, n2.
the Ārṣi of the Central Asian texts was the language spoken by the Tocharians; its very existence was also denied. It has, however, been shown (Tarn, *Loc. cit.*, p. 285) that the Hellenistic world knew of a people called Ārṣi even if Central Asia did not. The name occurs in a curious list of people in Pliny.\(^{27}\) This only proves that Pliny was acquainted with the original name of the Asii but not knowing where to place them put them in the refuge list.

Another name which must be considered, as it has definite connection with the Paramaṛṣika of Arjuna’s campaign (M.B., II, 24, 25) is Pasiani. In the conquest of Bactria Apollodorus speaks of a Saka tribe Pasiani. As Asiani is the adjectival form of Asii so Pasiani should be a similar adjectival form of a name Pasii or Pasi; and there is no doubt that this name is Parsii of Greek geographers.

Tarn locates the Pasii west of the Arius, Tapuria and Traxiane\(^{28}\) and tries to identify them with Paras-Parsua—the Persian tribes who played an important rôle in the history of Iran. As the house of the ancient Persians was Eranvez identified with Khawarizm Tarn suggests that the Parsii-Parsua stayed behind in Eranvez, which their kinsmen migrated south and later on played their part in the eviction of the Greeks from Bactria. This argument is rather speculative.

Now let us examine at some length as to what the *Mahābhārata* has to say about the Rṣikas, though unfortunately its information is rather meagre. In the *Ādi-parva* (M.B., I. 61. 30) the homage of the eponymous Rṣika King is traced from Candra and Diti. In this connection it is interesting to note Prof. Charpentier’s\(^{29}\) suggestion that the word Yüe-Chi could be translated as ‘the moon clan.’ It is difficult to trace the connection of

---

\(^{27}\) VI, 16, 48, sqq.

\(^{28}\) *Tarn, loc. cit.*, p. 292.

\(^{29}\) *ZDMG*, 71, 1917, p. 375.
the Rṣikas with the Moon God, except the Mahābhārata. The Rṣikas again appear in the Udyogaparvā (V. 4. 15) where they are mentioned in the company of the Śakas, Pahlavas, Daradas, Kāmbojas, and Paścima-anūpakas. It is worthy to note that here as well they are placed side by side with the Kambojas. In the variant text of Kāmboja (D'jā) ṛṣika-rājīnaca the adjectival form of ṛṣika is also found. We shall discuss its import later on. Then we meet the Rṣikas in the north-easterly direction of Kamboja country (M.B., II, 24, 24-23) or Badakshān. In the Bhāndarkar Oriental Research Institute's edition of the Sabhāparva the Prākṛt form of the ṛṣika namely Isī and Iṣī have been noted among the variants. These forms are very important as we shall presently see that the Greek historians were acquainted with both the Sanskrit and Prākṛt forms of the ṛṣika. In another couplet (M.B., II. 24, 25) describing a battle between Paramāṛṣika and Arjuna, the adjectival form of the substantival form Paramāṛṣika is found. Thus we find that the Mahābhārata knew of the ṛṣika, its adjectival form Āṛṣika, its Prākṛt forms Iṣika and Iṣīka, and the adjectival form of Paramāṛṣika—Paramāṛṣika.

Now coming to the Greek forms of one of the nomad tribes who conquered Bactria and who have been identified with the Yue-Chī by Tarn, we meet Asii in Apollodorus.30 Asiani in the Trogus Source31 is the adjectival form of the Asii of Apollodorus. Tarn has also hunted out the original Arsi from pliny (VI, 16, 48 Sqq). It is not difficult now to see that the Greek Asii is from Sanskrit Isi or Isi, and probably the Greek Arsi may be derived from Sanskrit Āṛṣika.

Now we come to Pasiani, another tribe who invaded Bactria according to Apollodoros. Tarn as we have already shown by a long winded argument tries to prove that

30 Strābo, XI, 511.
31 Trogus Prod. XLI.
they were Parsa—Parsua who played such an important part in the history of Iran. The Pasiani according to him were the remnant of these of tribes in the Eranvej. But we have in the Sabhāparva a tribe of the Paramārṣikas whose adjectival form Paramārṣika (II,24,25) has been mentioned. Could we not identify the Pasiani of Apollodoros with them? Apparently they were a separate tribe being the member of the Yūe-Chī clan with whom they fought against Arjuna.

Now reverting to the campaign of Arjuna we find that the first part of his campaign was devoted to the reduction of the Kāmbojas of Badakhšān. Then he proceeded in the north-easterly direction and reduced the robber tribes (M. B. II, 24, 23) and the Lohas, Paramakāmbojas and finally the Rṣikas (II. 24, 24). A glance at the map of eastern Afghānistān and adjacent countries should convince us that the Lohas and Kambojas and the robber tribes must have been settled in the country which is represented now by the Tadzhik Soviet Social Republic which till recently was divided in the Russian Wakhan, Shighnān, Roshan and Darwānz etc. It is known that the Yūe-Chī were in 160 B.C. or thereabout in the region of the Lake Issyk-Kul from where they were driven out by the Hīung-nu and Wu-sung. It seems probable that the author or authors of the Sabhāparva have very cleverly transposed the doing of the Hīung-nu to Arjuna. The union of the Yūe-chī and the Eastern Iranian speaking republics on the Oxus was natural in the face of common danger; moreover there were close ethnic relation between Tajiks and the Yūe-chī both of whom came from the common Iranian stock; this must have further cemented the bond of friendship.

Another very important point which should not escape our attention is the adjective Uttara used in connection with the Rṣikas (Uttarān-rṣikān, II, 24, 24), which denotes here the sense of superiority or greatness and which is an exact equivalence of the Ta Yūe-Chī as oppos-
ed to the Sieou Yüe-Chi or little Yüe-Chi. After all the Sanskrit geographers were not so fantastic or ignorant as it is generally supposed.

In the Upāyanaparva (Sabhāparva, Chapters 47 & 48) the allusions to the Śakas, Tukhāras, Kaṅkas, Cinas, Hūnas and the order in which they are described, and their relative positions determinable by the Chinese sources also throw considerable light on the date of the Sabhāparva. In a couplet (M.B., II, 47, 19) the following order is given:—Cina, Hūna Śaka Odra, the inhabitants of the mountainous country (parvātāntara-rāvasinah); at another place Śaka, Tukhāra, Kaṅka (M.B., II 47, 26) in their respective order are mentioned; at a third place Śanḍikā, Kukkura and Śaka (M.B., II 48, 15) appear. But before we take up the discussion any further it would be better to know something about the history of the Śakas and other tribes mentioned above.

We need not bother ourselves with the earlier references to Śakas in Herodotus pointing their home in the plains east of the Caspian and north of Jaxartes in the Pamir country, to the north of Hindūkush and east of Bactria and Sogdiana and later on Seistan, and the allusions to the Śaka Tigrakhauda, Haumavarka and Tardarya the last living on the east of the Caspian Sea as mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius as these Śakas lived at a time with which we are not concerned.

In the Chinese annals they are known as Sai and in the oldest sources they are spoken of as Sai-wang. Sometimes before 160 B.C. they were driven off from their own home by the Yüe-Chi who were in their turn driven out by Wu-sun whose settlements according to Prof. Franke, extended from Urumchi to the west of Issik-Kul, from the Dzungarian desert and down towards Tarim. The Ts’ien Han Shu speaks of several Sai states. It seems

---

\(^{32}\) Konow, CH. II, pp. XVII—XVIII.
\(^{33}\) ibid., p. XIX.
\(^{34}\) A. Wylie, Notes on the Western Regions, J. R. Anthro So., Vol. X, p. 34.
that they were greatly affected by the great nomadic movement in the second century B.C.

A laconic statement in Ts’ien Han Shu states that the Sai-wangs after their defeat by the Yüe-Chi went southwards and made themselves masters of Kipin. The routes over which they passed was the Hien-fu (the hanging passage) which according to M. Chavannes is the Bolar route through the Yasin Valley by which the travellers went to Wakhan, then to Indus and further to Kashmir or Udyāna. According to Sten Konow however, the Kipin country comprised the Swat valley and it extended westward towards Arachosia; whether it extended to Kabul is uncertain. The Saka occupation of Kipin is further supported by the description of Sha—mi, the present Mastuj by Yuan Chwang which mentions that the king of that country was of Sākya race. Sten Konow also quotes Abhidhānacintāmani (V. 960) of Hemacandra in which the Lampākās are said to be murundus which shows that even at a comparatively late period the memory of the rule of the Saka Murundas had been preserved. This theory of the Saka occupation of Kipin has been rejected. Their main movement, impeded by the Yavana power in Kabul, according to the Cambridge History, would naturally be westwards in the direction of Herat and thence southwards to Seistan.

A novel suggestion has been put forward by Tarn which deserves our consideration. According to him the Sai-wang flight southward, which more correctly should mean south-west, would take them across Jaxartes to Ferghana. At this stage, they must have ceased to be a hoard as the Chinese literature does not mention them. It is probable that some joined Ka'ng-kuu whose grazing ground was the Tashkant plain, but those who went to

35 Wylie, loc. cit., p. 34.
36 CII, II, p. XXIII.
38 Tarn, loc. cit., p. 278.
Ki-pin probably joined the Sacaraucae, who occupied Khojend and the Steppes west of it, for it does not appear how otherwise they could have reached India. The remainder of the Sai-wang horde settled in the Greek provinces of Ferghana—their name mixing up with the name of the Province which in Chinese was Ta-yuan. There they set up the Saka or rather nomad government which Chang K’ien found in 128 B.C.; they are represented as distinct from the Kang-kiu, but on good terms with them.

The Tocharians have also received much attention. The scholars have generally occupied Marquart’s identification of Ta-hia with Tu-ho-lo a designation met in the history of Northern Wei39 (A.D. 386-556). But many scholars from Richtofen to Herzfeld have held that the Tochari were the Yüe-Chi. The word has been identified with the Thagouroi of Ptolemy (VI, 16, 5) on the silk route; the Chinese knew of remnants of the Togara in Kan-su in the second century B.C.; the name occurs in or about Kan-su in Tibetan texts; and the same name taugara for a town in Kan-su is found in a document in the Khotan Saka with date equivalent to as late as 800 A.D.40 It follows that the Tochari in Bactria as mentioned by Apollodorus came from Kan-su, but the Chinese historians say that Yüe-chi came to Bactria at that time. Again we know from Apollodorus and Pliny that while there were no Tocharis in the Tarim basin in the reign of Euthydemus (died 190 B.C.) there were Tochari there later at the date of some source of Pliny (VI. 55), and here again we learn from the Chinese sources that the little Yüe-Chi came and settled there sometime not long after 174 B.C.; and the Indian writers called them by the same name Tokhāra.41 Finally Ptolemy unknowingly locates Tochari at several places where the Yüe-Chi are known to have been on their

39 Cin, II, Ivii.
journey. Thagourai in Kan-su, Takoraioi north of Imaos, Tagouraioi near lake Issyk-Kul, Tachoroi in Sogdiana and Tocharoi in Bactria which alone should be conclusive.\textsuperscript{42} The Yüe-Chî hoard therefore was composed of two different peoples who appear in the Greek sources as Asii or Tochari. The Trogus source gives out the relationship where he says that the Asii are lords of the Tochari.\textsuperscript{43}

The race and the language of the Tochari is a difficult problem. It was once supposed that they brought it from Europe and spoke the Centum language with the Italo-Celtic affinities discovered in Chinese Turkestan. Today two dialects said to be A and B the languages of two states in northern part of Chinese Turkestan A of Agni-Karachar (Turfan) and B of Kucha are known, and that none of these languages could be the language of historical Tochari, who invaded Bactria as their name is aspirated while dialect A and B have no aspirates.

The Kaṅkas (M.B. II, 47, 26) may probably be identified with the Ka’ng-Kiu\textsuperscript{44}—the inhabitants of Sogdiana, placed in the company of Śakas and Tukhāras. The Ka’ng-kiu according to Chang-kien were under the political influence of Yüe-Chî\textsuperscript{45} on the south and on the east under that of Hiung-nu.

The relative position of the Śakas, if we take them to be settled in Ta-yan, and the Kankas is settled as their country was conterminus.\textsuperscript{46} The Tokhāras who were probably a component tribe of the Great Yüe-Chî were perhaps encamped further to the south. It is therefore clear that the arrangement followed in the Sahhāparra in placing the Śakas, Tukhāras and Kaṅkas gives their relative position in the second century B.C. It is significant

\textsuperscript{42} Tarn, \textit{loc. cit.}, 286.
\textsuperscript{43} Trogus \textit{Pro. XLII}, Tarn, \textit{loc. cit.}, 286.
\textsuperscript{44} Hirth, \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 96.
\textsuperscript{45} Ib. \textit{loc. cit.} p. 96.
\textsuperscript{46} Ib.
that the Rṣikas are missing in the list. The only conclusion which could be drawn from this is that after their defeat in 160 B.C. when they had moved towards the west, the Tukhāras were sent as vanguards and the information contained in this particular passage could be dated between 160 B.C. and 128 B.C. the year in which Yue-Chi defeated the Greek power of Bactria. A provisional date of 150 B.C. may be assigned to this state of affairs.

Another passage which is quoted below also confirms our view that the Subhāpārea was probably composed in the second century B.C. The couplet in question is from the Dīgavijayapārea in which Sahadeva having conquered the Pāṇḍyas, the Dravidas, the Coḍras, Kerlas, Andhras, Lavaṇas, Kaliṅgas and the Uṣṭrakarnikas (M.B., II, 28, 48) subdued Antākhi and Romā by the despatch of the political missions only.

अन्ताक्षी बैत रोमेन्त बवनानं पुरं तथा
हृदोरेर्व बशे चके कर चैतावदापयत् म.ब., II, 28, 49

Here Antākhi is substituted by the editor as correct text, and probably he is right.

Before coming to Sahadeva’s embassy to Antioch it is better for us to know certain broad facts in the history of the Seleucid kings. Alexander died in 323 B.C. and Selæucus I assumed the satrapy of his eastern empire. It was not till 311 B.C. that he was free to deal with his distant provinces. The date of his Indian expedition is stated to be 304 or 305.⁴⁷ He was defeated by Candragupta Maurya and had to transfer to his adversary the Satrapiies of Arachosia (Kandhar) and the Paropanisadae (Kabul), with at least some portion of Gedrosia (Baluchistān) and Aria (Herat). In 293 he became joint king with his son Antiochus.⁴⁸ He was assassinated in 283 B.C. Seleucus was the founder.

⁴⁸ Ib, p. 432.
of the city of Antioch—a city in Syria described as Epidaphnes or as "on the Orantes" to distinguish it from the fifteen other Greek towns which like itself owed their foundation to Seleucus Nicator, and their names to his father Antiochus. The probable date of the foundation of the city is 300 B.C.

In the time of Antiochus I (283—261) and even earlier the friendly relation with the Mauryas continued. Athenaeus (1, 32, 18 D) has preserved the story of certain drugs sent as present by Candragupta I to Seleucus I and it is to the same writer (XIV, 67, 652 I and 653A) that we an anecdote of how Chandra-gupta's son Bindusāra wrote to Antiochus I requesting him to buy and send him some wine, figs and a sophist to teach him to argue. Antiochus replied sending the figs and wine but not the sophist who, he wrote, were not saleable. The intercourse was not only confined to these civilities. We know of Megasthenes' missions to the court of Chandragupta, and Daimachus of Plataea also went on mission or missions from Antiochus to Bindusāra. Pliny (His Nat., VI, 58) also speaks of a mission of certain Dionysius sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus (285—246 B.C.), which was sent probably to Bindusāra or Asoka.

On the Indian side Asoka (274—237—6 B.C.) as mentioned in the Thirteenth Rock Edict sent embassies to Antiochus II (261 B.C.), Ptolemy (Philadelphus of Egypt (285—247 B.C.), Antigonus (Gonatas of Macedon 278—239), Magas (of Cyrene, died 258) and Alexander (of Epirus 278—258?) probably in 238 B.C. Later on the contact was renewed when Antiochus III (221—187 B.C.) in 206 B.C. in his short campaign in India met the Mauryan Sophagasenus or Subhāgasena who presented

50 JAO, 58, p. 265.
52 Ib., p. 502.
53 Ib., p. 512.
him elephants. Antiochus IV (175—163 B.C.), though
his direct contact with India is not mentioned, was
the moving spirit behind Eucratides who overthrew
Demetrios. 54

Now coming to the embassies sent by Sahadeva, we
are faced with a dilemma as to the period in which the
embassy to Antioch was sent. Antioch was probably
founded in about 300 B.C. and since then it had continu-
ous friendly relation with the Mauryas which we have
already described. The embassy was peaceful and not
in connection with any war. Does it therefore reflect the
embassy of Asoka to Antiochus II in 258? But the date
is too early on the strength of the evidences which we
have already produced about the probable date of the
Sahhāparra, though of course it is possible that in this
couplet reference is being made to some previous event.
Another point which should be marked is that at the time
of the embassy the independent states of Antioch as the
capital of free Seleucid state was recognised. This inde-
pendence was greatly reduced after the battle of Magnesia
in 187 B.C. when the Romans won over the forces of
Antiochus III. Antiochus IV, though he was pulled
sharply from time to time by the Romans to remind him of
his allegiance to Roman State tried to reassert the waning
power of the Seleucids. After his death in 163 B.C.
Seleucid power declined rapidly. Antiochus VII (138
B.C.—129) the last strong representative of the old
royal house fell fighting with the Parthians 55 in 129. After
him follow a long line of rival kings fighting over what
remained of the Seleucid Kingdom. The possibility is
therefore that the embassy referred to may be dated
either in the reign of Antiochus III (221—187 B.C.) or
Antiochus IV (171—163 B.C.)

The reference to Rome or its exact Latin feminine

54 Tarn, loc. cit., Chap. V.
form Româ is somewhat difficult to explain in the 2nd century B.C. as no Indian embassy reached the Romans until Augustus in the 1st century B.C. It seems however possible that the Indians who had frequent intercourse with the Seleucids of Syria were acquainted with the name of Rome and perhaps also with its growing power, and the author of the Mahâbhârata could not restrain himself from adding the name of Rome in the conquests of the Pândavas. But this is a pure suggestion and must be treated as such.

Another allusion which is of some importance in determining the date of the Sabhâpârva refers to the conquest of the Vâtadhâna Brâhmaṇas in Madhyamikâ by Nakula in his expedition to the west (M.B., II, 29, 7). The first line of the verse (Ib.) says, तथा मध्यमिकायं गात्र धानानि निद्रानाथ 'and in Madhyamikâ he conquered the Vâtadhâna Brâhmaṇas'. The statement looks quite simple but its import is of considerable importance. The siege of Madhyamikâ by the Yavanas was such a famous event in the second century B.C., in the reign of Puṣyamitra Šûṅga, as to merit its being cited as a grammatical example by Patañjali. We shall return to the events presently. In this connection a few words about the Šûṅgas would not be out of place here.

The origin of the Šûṅgas is obscure; the word Šûṅga which denotes fig tree may perhaps be tribal. According to Pâñini (IV, I, 117) they claimed to be the descendants of Bharadvâja, the Purolita of Divodâsa, the king of Tîtsus. They probably lived in the countries which under the Mauryan Empire were included in the viceroyalty of Ujjiain.

We are not concerned here with the various events of Puṣyamitra Šûṅga's life. We are only concerned here

---

56 The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India, pp. 35—38.
57 The Cambridge History of India, I, p. 518.
F. 5
with the invasion of India by Demetrius with his generals Apollodotus and Menander and the siege of Madhyamikā by the Yavanas in his time.

This siege of Madhyamikā is supported to some extent by the grammarian Patañjali (a contemporary of the Śūṅga King, Puṣyamitra) who to illustrate the use of the imperfect tense (to denote an event which had recently happened) quotes the example.\textsuperscript{59} 'The Yavana was besieging Sāketa: The Yavana was besieging Madhyamikā.' The siege of Madhyamikā is attributed to Apollodotus by Tarn\textsuperscript{59} who concludes that the country was conquered and the Śibis\textsuperscript{60} whose coins have been found at Nagari near Chittor and whose original country was about Jhang in the Southern Panjāb were brought and settled there by Apollodotus.\textsuperscript{61} This is however a pure speculation. The possibility is that the turmoil which must have followed in the wake of the Greek invasion compelled the Śibis to seek refuge elsewhere and their settlement at Madhyamikā probably was affected after the retirement of the Greeks. All these events must have happened by 175 B.C.\textsuperscript{62}

Now let us examine the information we get in the conquest of Madhyamikā by Nakula. The first important point is that the city must have been defended by the Vāṭadhāna Brāhmaṇas and that they were conquered. There is every possibility that the event here points to the siege of Madhyamikā, a town which has been identified with Nagari near Chittor in Southern Rajputānā—\textsuperscript{63}—the action being cleverly transferred from the Yavanas to Nakula. The probability is that the Śuṅgas were the

\textsuperscript{58} Kielhorn, \textit{Ind. Ant.} VII, p. 266.
\textsuperscript{59} Tarn, \textit{loc. cit.}, p. 150.
\textsuperscript{60} Ib. p. 151.
\textsuperscript{61} Tarn, p. 151.
\textsuperscript{62} Ib. p. 156.
\textsuperscript{63} For references, Allan, \textit{Coins of Ancient India}, pp. cxxii-cxxv.
Vāṇadāna Brāhmaṇas as Vaṭa and Śuṅga both in Sanskrit mean Banyan tree. It is curious to note, however, that according to the Manu-Smṛti the Vāṇadānas were the offspring of an outcaste Brāhmaṇa by a Brāhmaṇa mother (X, 21).

Lastly there is another list (M.B., II, 47, 19) in which the names of the Cinas, Hūṇas, Śakas and Oḍras appear in a descending order. The appearance of the Hūṇas may at once make us jump to the conclusion that the text must be of the 5th century or later when the Indians to their cost came to know of the Hūns. But these are not the Hūṇas of the 5th century and neither their presence within the boundaries of India should be sought for. They probably represent the Hiung-nu settled on the borders of China, who drove away the Yüe-Chí and whose depredations caused the Han kings to build the Great Wall as a protection against their inroads. The order in which the tribes are mentioned here is quite appropriate. First come the great Chinese people then the Hūnas or Hiung-nu from the Mongolian side, then the Saka tribes settled near Issyk-kul in the beginning of the second century B.C.64 and then finally the Oḍras or the inhabitants of Swat about whom we shall have to say something later on. The mention of the Oḍras immediately after the Śakas probably points to the route which a section of the Śakas took after their defeat by the Yüe-Chí which landed them in Swat and thence to Ki-pin. In this list the author of the Sabhāparva seems to emphasise the ethnic importance of the races in their proper order.

The foregoing discussion so far has tended to prove by various internal evidences to throw light on the probable date of the Sabhāparva. The geographical positions of the Ṛṣikas, Śakas, Tukhāras, Kaṅkas, Hūṇas, Cinas, etc., have been discussed already. The light which is thrown by the allusions to Antakhi and Romā (which show

64 CH, II, p. XIX.
connection with the Greek and the Roman world) on the probable date of the *Sabhāparva* has been further increased by the mention of Madhyamikā. Weighing all the evidences it may be said that the events referred to in the *Sabhāparva* range between 184 B.C. to 148 B.C., i.e., the period of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.

That was the period of the Brāhmanical revival. It is perhaps in this period that the Pāṇḍus the heroes of the Mahābhārata first appear in a *vārtika* or supplementary rule to Pāṇini (IV, I, 44) attributed to Kātyāyana (180 B.C.). It is also in the second century B.C. that we find unmistakable allusions to what we may call an epic poem in the account of the *Mahābhāṣya*, which alludes to the poetic treatment of the epic and speaks of the epic characters. It seems that this was the formative period of the epic, though nobody need have any doubt that the story existed in some form or the other long before it as mentioned in *Āśealāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (III, 3, 1) which mentions Bhārata.

### III

After the conquest of the four quarters by the Pāṇḍava brothers the proper atmosphere for the *Rājasūya* sacrifice was created. The rulers from all the quarters of India including Duryodhana were invited to attend the *Rājasūya*. One could easily conjure up the vision of such a function by witnessing the installation ceremony of a Hindu ruling chief of some standing. There are Yajñas to which the Brāhmanas throng, then there are processions in which all the wealth of the state is paraded, then there are *darbars* in which the Sardārs and Jagirdārs make presents to their overlord. This ceremony in the ancient times must have been presented with the pomp and show many times multiplied. As reported

---

by Duryodhana, the tribute payers simply thronged at the gates of Yudhishṭhira, and such was the court etiquette that even the people of standing could gain admission with difficulty. A touch of barbaric splendour was added by the presence of semi-barbaric tribes of the Himālayas, the Hindūkush and beyond. There were also the Santals, the Kirātas, and the Śbaras from the eastern and central India. Vying with them were the long established states of the Panjāb and other parts of India who had brought horses, elephants, shawls, precious stones, gold, silver, furniture etc., as gifts. As is natural Duryodhana the scion of an ancient but impoverished family was fired with jealousy at such display of wealth. The report of the Rājasūya assembly which he made to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, his father, is of great import from the point of view of the historical geography of India. In the following pages an attempt will be made to determine the locations of various states with a full description of the presents which they brought:—

Vatadvāhana (M.B., II, 45, 24). Literally the word vatā means made or consisting of the Banyan or Indian fig tree or its wood. In the Mahābhārata Aḍiparvā (I, 61, 58) the name has been derived from an eponymous king Vatadvāhana who was of the same Krodhavaśa group as the eponymous kings of Vāhlikas, Madras and Sauvīras, etc. (I, 61). In the Udyogaparvā (V, 5, 24) it is mentioned that they had assembled on the side of the Kauravas. In the Subhāparvā (II, 29, 7) their country is mentioned to be Madhyamikā which has been indentified with Nagari near Chittor in southern Rajputānā, though their presence should not conclude that they were the original inhabitants of the place. At another place (M.B., II, 45, 24) the Vatadvāhana Brāhmaṇas (Brāhmaṇā Vatadvāhā) said to be engaged in the profession of rearing cattle (gomantāḥ) had assembled collectively in hundreds (katasanghāḥ) with innumerable gifts at the palace of Yudhishṭhira. The word katasangha is probably significant pointing to the existence of more than one Vatadvāhana
up the question of Kambojas.\textsuperscript{72} He quotes a gāthā from a Jātaka (Fausboll, VI, 210) which establishes beyond reasonable doubt that the Kambojas were of Iranian extraction. The gāthā is quoted below with the commentary:—

कौशल पतनहा उरया च मेका, इन्तया किंमि सुम्भवित मविखां च एतो हि

भम्मा भन्निर्युस्मा कंवीजवां विलथा भुव्याम।

"मध्यु सुम्भविति एतेस्यि कंवीजवां विनफामी वधुम्म भन्निर्युस्मां भम्मा।"

"Those men are counted pure who kill frogs, worms, bees, snakes or insects as they will,—

These are your savage customs which I hate,—

Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate."\textsuperscript{74}

With the Iranians the destruction of Ahramanic creatures was a duty. Mr. Nariman on the strength of Nepalese tradition\textsuperscript{75} identifies Tibet with Kamboja.\textsuperscript{76}

In the \textit{Aṅguttara Nikāya} (I, p. 213; IV, 222, 256, 261) Kamboja is mentioned with Gandhāra as one of the sixteen Janapadas. In the \textit{Paramathadipani} on the \textit{Petavatthu} (P. T. S. ed. p. 113) Dvārakā occurs with Kamboja. This a very important reference to which we shall revert in connection with the proper identification of Kamboja.

In Asoka’s inscription Kamboja is placed with Yona, Gandhāra, Lāthika and Pitanaka (Dhauli, V, 4—

योकंकडेख्य संपालेसु लिंडमितिकेमेसु एवा हि त्र्यने श्रचर्य भाष्मवेसु,

II, p. 87) Kamboja also appears at Girnar (V, 5. योक कंभोजवांचर्य), at Mansera, the Yonas and Kambojas (XIII, 10 योकक्षिपेसु) are coupled. In the Mathurā

\textsuperscript{72} Das \textit{Volker Kamboja bei Yaska}, p. 213, in the \textquoteleft \textquoteleft \textit{Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies} in honour of the late Shems-ul-Ulama Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana, Strasbourg & Leipzig, 1904. This article has been summarised by Mr. G. K. Nariman in J.R.A.S. 1912 pp. 255-257.

\textsuperscript{74} Jāśalla, Tr. VI, p. 110.

\textsuperscript{75} Fouche, \textit{Iconographie bouddhique}, p. 134.

\textsuperscript{76} J.R.A.S., pp. 256-257.

\textsuperscript{77} Hultsinge, CH, I, p. 87.
Lion Capital inscription of the chief queen of Mahākṣṭrapa Rajula (early 1st century A.D.) Sten Konow reads the local name of the queen as Kamuija meaning the Kambojan.⁷⁸

In the Mahābhārata (Sabhāpāra, 24, 22) they are placed with the Daradas, and in the Udyogpārva (III, 186, 30) they are found in the company of the Śakas, Pulindas and the Yavanas, and in the Bhīṣmapārva (IX 373) they are found with the Činas. According to Manu, they were Kṣatriyas who became degraded through the extinct of sacred rites (Manusmṛti, X, 43-44); their evil customs are referred to in the Santipārva (CCVII, 7560-61). In the Harivamśa (XIII, 763-64; 775-83) it is said that they were degraded by Sagara and ordered to shave their whole head after the fashion of the Yavanas:—

布拉 showing निश्चर्ता मुखविला निजवैयतं—यन्नानिं निधि: सवे ब्रह्मणानां नगरानां च—परदा मुखवेशादात् भस्वान्: सम्भूचारे: निन्ति:स्वायणवद्वरकाराः: कुलास्तेन महासमना।

It is obvious that the Hindus who by religion were ordained to have Śikhā or a top-knot looked askance towards those who had all their hair shaved; ‘shaved like Yavanas (Yavunamundo), shaved like Kamboja (Kambojamundo)’ were contemptuous terms in vogue since the days of Pāṇini (Ganpātha on Mayūravyanisakādi II, 1, 72).

Another distinguishing feature of the Kamboja country is its horses. In the Sabhōpārva (II, 45, 20; 47, 4) the Kamboja horses are mentioned. The horses which the people of Kamboja brought as presentation to Yudhiṣṭhira (M.B. II, 47, 4) numbered three hundred, they were varigated, spotted or speckled with black (kalmāsuih) or of Tittira breed (Tittira is the name of a country as well, M.B., VI, 2084, 3975) which were fattened on the fruits of Salvadora Persica (pīlu) and the nuts of Terminala Catappa (Ingudaih). Their snouts are compared with the parrot’s beak (sukanāsikaih).

⁷⁸ CII, II, p. 36.
F. 6
In the Jātaka stories the Kamboj mules (Kambojaka assatara, J. IV, 654, G. 242) are mentioned. In the Mahāvastu (ii, 185) the superb horses of Kamboja (Kambojaka asavara) are praised. In the Sumangalavilāsini (Vol. I, p. 124) Kamboja is spoken as the home of horses (Kambojo assānam āyatanam). In the Jain Uttarādhyāna Sūtra it is said that a trained Kamboja horse excelled all horses in speed and no noise could frighten it (Jain Sūtras, S. B. E., Part II, p. 47). The importance of the Kamboja horse was also recognised in the Arthaśāstra (Arthaśāstra, tr. p. 148, 3rd. ed.).

Besides the mares, the Kamboja people sent as presents to Yudhiṣṭhira cows and chariots (rathayosidgacāsvasya) (M. B., II 45, 20) in good number and three hundred camels (II, 45, 20; 47, 4). They also sent as presents clothes made of sheep’s wool and lynx furs decorated with gold (aṅgānculānārśadarśanājātārūpaparīṣkṛtān) (M. B., II, 47, 3), shawls and skins (prānārūjinamukhyānśca (Ib.). At another place the Kambojas are said to have presented very valuable blankets (parārgyāṇānopikambalān) and the black, grey and red skins of the Kadali deer (Kadali-Mṛgakāṇi) (M.B., II, 45, 19). The Kadali skin is described in the Arthaśāstra (pp. 80-81) as of rough quality and two ft. long; its another quality the Candrottara Kadali which was only one third of its length had variegated moon-like spots. The smallness of the skin indicates that the Kadali skins were probably of a species of very small deer or some rodent.

By the foregoing details it must have been evident by this time that the Kambojas were important people, but strange as it may look the Indologists are not at all unanimous in the location of this country. Lassen doubtfully places Kamboja in the south of Kāshgar and east of modern Kāfīristān. (Ind. Alt., Map). According to Rhys Davids\textsuperscript{70} it was a country in the extreme north-west of India with

\textsuperscript{70} Buddhist India, p. 184.
Dvāraka as its capital. Vincent Smith\(^{30}\) seems to place it among the mountains of Tibet and Hindūkush perhaps in agreement with the view of Mr. Foucher who quotes for his identification the Nepalese tradition.\(^{31}\) Sylvain Levi as we shall see later on identifies it with Kaḥristān (J. A. 1923), Prof. H. C. Rāychowdhury,\(^{32}\) on the strength of a passage from the Karnaparva (VIII. 4, 5) places Rājapura as contiguous to Kamboja. He identifies Rājapura of the Karnaparva with the Rājapura of Yuan Chwang\(^{33}\) placed in the south or south-east of Kashmir. Thus we can see that willow-the-wisp Kamboja has been shifting grounds from Tibet to Afghānistān and even south of Kashmir. Prof. Jayacandra\(^{34}\) however has discussed the question afresh and he has on the basis of very strong evidences identified Kamboja with Badakšān and the Pāmirs. He takes up the theory of Pro. Raychowdhury first and shows that the Kamboja country which according to Prof. Raychowdhury was the ancient name of the present Chibhāl country in the south or south-east of Kashmir and also Hazara District reaching to the western confines of Kaḥristān, could not represent Kamboja as the ancient names for this joint tract was Uragā or Urašā (the Arasces of the Alexandrian historians) for Hazara and Abbi-sāra for the modern Chibhāl. He then takes up the references from Yāska which assigns savati in the sense ‘to go’ to the language of the Kambojas and shows that the Ghalcha language of the Pamirs and the countries on the head waters of the Oxus mostly contain the root savati in the sense ‘to go’. He also quotes the Mahābhārata to show that Kamboja and Vāhlika were often used as Deandea compound and therefore their countries

\(^{30}\) Early History of India, p. 134.  
\(^{31}\) Political History of India, pp. 94-95.  
\(^{32}\) L’ Iconographic bouddhique, p. 134.  
\(^{33}\) Watters, I, p. 284.  
\(^{34}\) Bhārat bhūmi aur uske nivāsi, pp. 297-305 Samvat 1987.
were contumacious. As in our opinion Prof. Jayacandra has hit at the right identification his arguments need a little more elucidation and support.

We have already seen that most of the Indologists are convinced of the Iranian connections of the Kambojas, that leaves out Chibhāl country out of consideration. The consensus of opinion also seems to be in favour of locating Kamboja in the north-west of India. That the country was situated in the north even as late as the early seventh century is evident from the campaign of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir (605-732 A.D.). After conquering Avanti Lalitāditya entered the region of north (Rājatarangini, IV. 163). After defeating the Kambojas he deprived them of their horses (Ib., IV. 165). The Tukhāras also abandoned their horses and fled (Ib., IV. 166). Immediately after them the Bhauṭtas and Daradas are mentioned and as the location of the Bhauṭtas of Baltistān and Bolor and Dardistan is practically certain, the Kambojas could only be placed in Kāfhiristān, Balkh-Badakshān and the Pamirs. There is another very important reference in Buddhist literature which should settle the location of Kamboja. As already mentioned in the Parmatthadīpini (P. T. S., p. 113) a commentary on the Petacaatthu the name of Dvāraka occurs with Kamboja. Naturally our mind is diverted to the famous Dvārakā in Kāthiawār and we begin feeling the absurdity of the reference. But there is very little doubt that the Dvārakā of the Parmatthadīpini could be identified with the country of Darwaz—the exact Persian translation of Dvārakā in the north of Badakshān. Rhys Davids very nearly hits the nail when he describes Dvārakā as the capital of Kamboja, this is however not definite. The Tambyzoi (Ptolemy, VI. 11, 6) which Ptolemy places south of the Oxus is explained by M. Lévi as Kamboja only the initials going alteration—a distinguishing feature of the Austro-Asiatic languages. He has shown the exact parallel of the same phenomena occurring in the far east
in the same words as Kemboja and Semboja85. Another very important reference in this connection is found in Īdrisī, a medieval Arab geographer. After describing the beauties of Badakshān, the fertility of its soil, its fruits, its good breed of horses and mules and its richly coloured precious stones and the musk brought from Wakhān he mentions that Badakshān bordered on Qanauj (قنوج) a dependency of India.86 There cannot be any doubt that the Qanauj of Īdrisī is a mistake for Qabauj-Kamboj. The misplacing of the dots in the manuscripts of Īdrisī's Geography is a common occurrence. Thus Bāmian is invariably written as Nāmian87 and also Kāshān is written as Nāshān.88 Apparently in the time of Īdrisī the extent of the territory of the Kambojas had much decreased as Badakshān is mentioned as a separate state. Now the problem rises where to place the Kamboja of Īdrisī: The pointer is towards Kafristan—its Indian relationship pointing to the suzerainty of the Shāhis of Kābul.

The extent of the Kamboja country in ancient times could be fixed up perhaps by the countries which now speak Galchah languages—the speakers of Wakhi Shighni, Sarikoli, Zebaki, Sanglichi or Ishkāshmi, Munjāni, Yūdghā and Yaghnobi perhaps represent the ancient Kambojas and Paramakambojas. In this connection it should be remembered that the members of the Galchah speaking group of languages are mainly confined to the Pāmīr country about the head-waters of the Oxus and are bounded on the west by Badakshān which probably in former times89 also spoke Eastern-Iranian.

As mentioned in the Raṇhuvamśa (IV. 70) jewels were among the renowned products of the country.

85 J.A., 1923, p. 54.
87 Ib., pp. 456, 474 etc.
88 Ib., pp. 462.
Marco Polo (1272—73) speaks of the azure and rubies of Badakshān which had become famous in the form of Balas.\textsuperscript{90} Captain Wood in his journey to the source of the Oxus heard of the ruby mines twenty miles off Ishkāshm in the district called Gharan on the right bank of the Oxus river\textsuperscript{92} and he personally visited the lapis lazuli mines in the Kokcha Valley.\textsuperscript{83} The silver mines of Badakshān were also famous. In the Arab times there were rich silver mines at Anderah and also mines at Wakhān\textsuperscript{94}.

It is interesting to note that there is an agricultural community in the Panjāb which is known as Kamboh, though it is difficult to say what relation they bear to the ancient Kambojians. There are various traditions current among the Kambohs about their original home; some hold that they hailed from Kashmir, some trace their origin to Garh Ghazni; some say that their ancestors sided with the Kurus in the great Mahābhārata battle, the majority with their chief Sodaksaha were killed and the remnants settled at Nābhā; some hold that the word is a compound made of Iranian Kai and Anboh and therefore the tribe has descended from the Kai dynasty of Iran etc.\textsuperscript{95} It is remarkable that most of the traditions point to the trans-Indus origin of the tribe and their Iranian connections. Perhaps they are the modern representatives of the ancient Kambojians of Pamirs.

Kārpāsika (M.B. II, 47, 7). It is a very rare word and as far as my information goes only appears once in the Mahābhārata. The historicity of the place however is fully established by its reference in an inscription at Sānchi. In the inscription No. 143, the gift of one Araha

\textsuperscript{90} Ib., p. 456.
\textsuperscript{91} Wood, \textit{loc. cit.}, p. XXXIII.
\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Ib.}, p. 206.
\textsuperscript{93} \textit{Ib.}, p. 171.
\textsuperscript{94} W. Barthold, \textit{Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion}, pp. 65, 67. 1928.
\textsuperscript{95} Rose, \textit{A Glossary of the tribes and castes of the Panjāb and N.W.F.}, Vol. II, pp. 443-44.
from Kārpāśi-grāma is mentioned. The rarity of the word which is not repeated in Sānchi inscriptions perhaps points to the great distance of the Kārpāśika country and the difficulties of communication between India and that country.

As the Mahābhārata is silent as regards the direction and situation of this country let us examine in detail whether any other source speaks about the country. Happily the author of Fan yu tsa ming, a Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon of Li-yen (713, died between 789-95) comes to our rescue. For Kip-in or Kapiṣa, the modern Kāfiristan Li-yen gives the Sanskrit equivalent Karpiṣaya, the correct form of which according to Bagchi should be Kapiṣaya, no reasons, however, have been assigned by him for correcting this reading which in our view is correct—the Karpiṣaya and Kapiṣa being two different spellings of the same word. A fuller account of Ki-pin is needed to determine its identification with Kārpāśika.

It was a belief of the older Sinologists that Ki-pin in the time of Han and Wei period denoted Kashmir, and in T'ang period it was identified with Kapiṣa or the country drained by the northern tributaries of the Kabul river. In the T'ang period there can be no doubt that Ki-pin and Kapiṣa denoted the same locality. Sten Konow has examined in detail the identification of Ki-pin in Han and Wei periods specially by Lévi who bases his argument on certain Chinese works which identify Ki-pin with Kashmir. His argument may be summed up as follows: In the old annals which distin-

98 Ib., p. 347.
99 Sten Konow; for reference, see Ep. Ind., XIV, p. 90, 91.
100 Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-Kie ((Turcs) occidentaux, p. 52, 1903. St. Petersburg.
guish Ki-pin from Kao-fu or Kabul could be a rendering of the Indian word Kapira comparable with Ptolemy’s Kaspeiria (VII, 1, 42) and Kaspeiraioi which may represent Kaspira—Kashmir. After producing impressive arguments based on old Chinese documents and the examination of Fahien’s route to India which refers Ki-pin as lying towards the west of Kashmir, Sten Konow comes to the conclusion that Ki-pin did not imply different geographical designations at two different periods but only denoted Kāfiristān.103 If as M. Lévi believed the original Indian word for Ki-pin was Kapira then it has some connection with Kārpāsika which did not indicate Kashmir as it is mentioned elsewhere as a separate geographical entity in the Upāyanaparca (M.R., II, 48.13).

Another interesting point brought out by M. Lévi103 is the equation of Kapiśa-Kamboja. Kapiśa104 is changed to Ka-bu-śa by the Tibetan translator of the Mahāmāyuri.105 This change of Kapiśa to Kahuśa raised the question which M. Lévi has discussed, whether Kapiśa and Kamboja are not the same. In Kapiśa and Kamboja he finds an effort to render the spelling of a strange word which he analyses as \( \frac{Ka}{Kam} = \frac{3}{b} : \frac{p}{b} = \frac{s}{j} \). In both the cases there seems to have been an aspirate in the middle \( f \) and \( z \) which has been left out in Sanskrit. In the Greek name of Kambyses—Ka (m) bujiya the aspirate is changed to sibilant. But Solinus, the copyist of Pliny106, calls the Capisa of Pliny as Caphusa, which the Delphine editors have altered to Capissa. Here two points should be marked, firstly the change of \( i \) to \( u \) as in the Tibetan transcription already described and the maintenance of the aspirate \( ph \) which disappears in the Greek spelling of

---

102 Ib. IX, VI, p. 91.
103 J.A. II, 1923.
104 Capisa quam divitit Cyrus, Pliny VI, 92.
105 J.A. II, p. 52. 1923.
106 Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India, p. 22.
Ka (m) bujiya-Cambyses. Is it an effort on the part of Solinus to render the spelling of a word with infix ph which has disappeared by the Sanskritisation of Kapiša, Kamboja and also Karpasa (ika)? The form Kaphusa for Kapiša which seems to be equivalent to Karpasa could be explained. Karpasa is equal to Kāpus as in Marathi with the disappearance of ancient pha from both the forms substituted by the labial p; the Greek form however, maintains the ancient aspirate pha. The two aspirates appear clearly in the title of Kadphizes when progress brought the Kušānas from Kuei-Chuang to the district of Kao-fu (Kabul) in Chinese transcription. The title of Kadphizes is symmetrical to the title of Taksiles under which the king of Takšasila was known to the historians of Alexander. Both are tadrāja. The name of Kadphizes in Kharosthi is spelt as Kaphasa or Kapasa on his coins found at Taxila and Lévi's interpretation of his belonging to Kapiša is quite sound.

Another alteration of Kapiša Kamboja M. Lévi quotes from the Rāmāyana. In the Kashmir recension the reading is Arattam Kapišam Bālhim (IV, 44, 27) which in Kṣemendrā's Rāmāyanamaṇjari (IV, 252) become Aratṭa, Bālhi, Kamboja.

In connection with M. Lévi's theory that the Kamboja and Kapiša are the same one may offer by the way of suggestion only the occurrence of the initials Kam in Kāmdesh, Kamah a river etc. Kamdesh in Kafir language is called Kāmbrom. The upper region of the Bashgol Valley is Katirgol (Lutdeh in Chitrāli and Kamtoz in Pushtu), the middle portion is Mumān (Madugāl in Chitrāli) and the lower part Kām (Kamdesh in Chitrāli

108 Pāṇini, IV, 1, 174.
110 For other spelling of the name see C.I. p. LXVI.
111 Weber, Rāmāyana, p. 25 note.
and Kamoz in Pushtu\textsuperscript{113}). Kām in Bashgolī and Kamoz in Pushtu seem to point to the connection of Kāfrīstān with ancient Kamboja.

Thus before us is placed a suggestion that Kapiṣ- Kamboja denoted the same geographical unit. To this may also be added Kārpaśika which on account of its rare appearance seems to be clinging to some original form phonetically very near to the Sanskritised form Kārpaśika when more common form as Kapiṣa and Kamboja were being commonly used. One thing which has been made clear in the Mahābhārata is that though Kāfrīstān might have formed a part of Kamboja republic, its separate geographical name as Kārpaśika is maintained. Later on however there was no difference between Kamboja and Kapiṣa, as Idrisi’s Qanauj, a dependency of the Hindu Kings of Kabul could not be anything else but Kāfrīstān. There is another thing which deserves our attention. Does the word Kāfr in Kāfrīstān denote the usual contemptuous term in Arabic for the non-believers or does it signify the land of the Kapiars or some such original form from which the word Kārpaśika originated? Or is it possible that as Kaniṣka has become Kanerka so Kapiṣa has changed to Kāfr\textsuperscript{114} (Walters, \textit{loc. cit.}, Vol. I, p. 124)? If Ki-pin transcribes some original name as Kapir as suggested by Lévi, then it is probably Kāfrīstān and not Kaspeiro which is nearer to it philologically.

The gift of the Kāfr country to Yudhīṣṭhira at the time of the Rājasūya were also in keeping with the tradition of their country (M. B., II, 47, 7). They are addressed as Sudras who brought with them hundred thousand of slave girls, resident of the Kārpaśika country, who were brown-eyed, slender-waisted (Śyāmāstaneyo), whose hair grew luxuriantly and who were bedecked in golden ornaments. They also brought the goat-skins, and deer-skins worthy of even the Brāhmaṇas. It is no wonder

\textsuperscript{113} \textit{Ib.}, p. 71.
that the Kāfirs are introduced as bringing slaves. Slavery till very recently was very common among the Kāfirs in whose country the women were regularly sold as chattels. The gift of the goat-skins throws light on the produce of the land. Even till recently, and there is no reason to believe, that the things have changed for the better, the boys and poor men of Kāfiristān only wore goat-skins. It was used by the great majority while raiding or hunting or when herding or watching their flocks. The goat-skin is a shapeless wrapper girdled at the waist by a leather strap. It only partially covers the neck and the chest and reaches half down the thighs.\textsuperscript{114}

No description of the Kapiša country without the Kapiśayanī Surā\textsuperscript{115} to which Panini has devoted a whole Sūtra is complete though it is not mentioned among the gifts to Yudhīśthira. Till very recently wine was prepared in Kāfiristan out of grapes. The grape juice was obtained by an extremely simple press. It was then allowed to ferment in a goat-skin. The new wine was extremely uninviting, but when kept two or three years it was clear and strong.\textsuperscript{116}

Citraka (M.B. II, 46, 21). No direction is given. From the Buddhist literature (Aṭṭhasālīnī, p. 350) we find a Cittala mountain which is also mentioned in the Viśuddhamagga (p. 292).\textsuperscript{117} It may be identified with the modern Chitral State in Dir, Swat, and Chitral Agency with an area of 4500 sq. miles. It comprises the whole of Kashkār-bala or Upper Kashkār, i.e., the Tirich Valley, which runs northwards from Tirich-mir for 60 miles until it joins the Turikho Valley; thence the combined stream runs south for 40 miles through the Mulkho Valley and joins the Kho Valley below Mastuj. On the north stands Hindukush range, on the west Badakshān and Kāfiristān,

\textsuperscript{114} Robertson, loc. cit., pp. 508-9.
\textsuperscript{115} Pāṇini, IV, 2, 99.
\textsuperscript{116} Robertson, loc. cit., pp. 558-59.
\textsuperscript{117} B. C. Law, Early Geography . . . . p. 41.
on the south Dir, and on east the Gilgit Agency, Mastuj and Yasin.\(^{118}\)

Kukura M.B., II, 46, 21; 48, 14, 15. At one place (M.B. II, 48, 14) they appear with the Ambašthas, Türkysas, Vastrapas, Pahlavas and at the other (II, 48, 15) with the Sauṇḍikas and Sakas.

Kukuras were a very ancient tribe forming a component of the great Vṛṣṇi confederation. In Megasthenes\(^ {119}\) a very uncommon description of the tribe is given. They are described as a tribe living in the mountains and having heads like dogs, they were clothed in the skins of wild beasts, whose speech was barking; and who being armed with claws, lived by hunting and fowling. Apparently the story has been fabricated from the word Kukura meaning "dog". Pliny (VII, ii, 14-22) also repeats the same story. They are also mentioned in the inscription of Vāśiśṭhiputra Pulumāyi issued in his 19th regnal year\(^ {120}\) where they are placed with Aparānta.

Probably they could be identified with the great Kho-khar or Khokhur tribe of the Panjab. They are found between the Jāts, Rājputs, Aṇās, and Cuhās. They are most numerous along the valley of Jhelum and Chenab and specially in Jhang and Shāhpur districts. They are also found, though in smaller number on the lower Indus and Satlaj, especially in Lahore, also along the foot of the hills from the Jhelum to the Satlaj. The Khokhars of Gujarāt and Siālkot have a tradition that they were at first settled at Gaṅgh Kharāna of which they were dispossessed by Timur. In Akbar’s time they were the principal tribe in Dasūya Paragana in Hoshiyārpur, and they now give their name to the Khokharain to a tract which contains some fifty villages in all but three of which

\(^ {118}\) *Imp. Gaz.*, X, p. 301.

\(^ {119}\) *Ancient India*, p. 79.

are in Kapūrthalā State on the border of Dasūya Tahsil.\footnote{121}

The origin of the Khokhars is obscure. In the Jhelum district they claim Rājpūt descent from Bharat and Jasrat.\footnote{122} Some other Khokhars connect themselves with Persian Kings, specially Dahak whose descendants according to the Khokhar tradition were called Nāgbansis. They also give their traditional history and mention a long list of kings as their ancestors.\footnote{123} What was their exact situation in the second century B.C. cannot be said. But if their traditional relationship with the Vṛṣṇis is taken for granted then they may perhaps be placed in Hoshiārpur district which is the probable findspot of a solitary bilingual coin of the Vṛṣṇi republic. In the first century B.C. or even earlier they seem to have moved to the Lower Sīnd and Kach and Kāthiāwād.

Kāraskara. M.B. II, 46, 21. They are also mentioned in the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra (I, 2, 14). Baudhāyana prescribes expiation after a visit to the countries of the Araṭṭas, the Kāraskaras, the Puṇḍras, the Sauvīras, the Vaṅgas, the Kaliṅgas and the Prāṇīnas. They also appear in the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra (XX, 13 (14), Āpastamba (XXII, 6, 18) and the Hiranyakeśi Sūtras (XVII, 6). Pāṇini was also acquainted with their existence. Kāraskaro Vṛkṣah (VI, 1, 156) means a tree growing in the country of the Kāraskaras. The Kāraskaras may probably be identified as a section of the Chitrālīs living in Kashqār Valley. As Citrakas probably represent Chitrālīs, we have to assume the existence of two states within the boundaries of modern Chitral in ancient times.

Lohajaṅgha: M.B., II, 46, 21. Again no information is available with regard to their provenance.

\footnote{121}{Rose, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 539.}
\footnote{122}{Ib., pp. 539-40.}
\footnote{123}{Ib., pp. 541-543.}
Apparently they are distinguished from the Lohas who are mentioned with the Paramakāmbojas and the Raśikas (M.B., II, 24, 24). They also seem to be different from the Lohitas with their ten Manḍalas whose country Arjuna conquered after Kashmir (M.B., II, 24, 16) and which probably was ancient Leh as pointed out by Stein. They may be identified with the people living in the Logar Valley in the south of Kabul whose principal city Locharna is mentioned by Ptolemy. The word Roh was applied to some Afghan tribes who migrated to India and gave Rohilkhand or Bareilly district this name.

Bharukaccha: M.B., II, 47, 8. The people of Broach brought for presentation the Gandhāra horses. Apparently they must have been dealing in them. Bharukaccha the modern Broach in Gujarāt situated on the estuary of the Narbada was famous since the days of the Indo-Greek commerce, and is the same as Barygaza of the Greek navigators. Gandhāra is of course the region about Peshawar.

The Trans-Indus people. M.B. II, 47, 9-10. In this couplet a very crisp and to the point description of the states of Lāsbelā and Kalāt in southern Baluchistān is given. "And the Vairāmas, Pāradas and Vaṅgas (variant Ābhīrāh) with the Kitavas, they who lived on the crops that depended on the occasional rainfall or the rain, they who lived in the trans-Indus country and were born in the land of sea-shore gardens" brought to Yudhiṣṭhira presents which will be described later on.

Stein who explored the wilderness of Makrān in recent years stands testimony to the truthfulness of the climatic conditions of the country as mentioned in the Mahābhārata. He explored Kalāt that once formed the

124 Rājatarangini, III, 10; Stein, Ib., Vol. II, p. 523.
125 Cunningham, Anc. Geo., p. 44.
126 Stein, An Archaeological tour in Gedrosia, Arch. Sur. of India, Memoir No. 48, Calcutta, 1931.
part of ancient Gedrosia, now under the control of Baluchistān administration. It was the scene of Alexander's march through the torrid wastes of Gedrosia. The major part of the Kalāt State is occupied by the barren mountain ranges stretching from north-east to west in parallel arcs, and gradually decreasing in height; "The southernmost of them conveniently designated as Makrān coast range overlooks the desolate shores of the Arabian sea. There are scattered small settlements of fishing folks, supported here and there by little patches of precarious cultivation making their living in ways not essentially very different from the primitive Ikhthypoagoi, whom Alexander's troops met on their passage through these arid wastes. The valleys formed by the numerous torrents beds which break up this range offered nowhere chance for even semipermanent occupation except in Kulānch to the north of the road to Pasni where small villages carry on agriculture wholly dependent on the capricious rainfall of the coast."127 To the north this coastal range is flanked by the long stretched valley of Kej river continued westward by the Nihing valley and to the north-east the open drainless basin of Kolwa, it forms the economic back-bone of Makrān. There are strings of oases along the banks of the Kej with feeds and date groves, irrigation is made by Kārēzes or subterraneous canals and by cuts (Kaur-jo) taking off from large pools in the river bed. These retain water, even after the rain floods from the mountains, always heavy but very uncertain.128 The Dasht valley or the tract where the waters of Kej and Nihing find their way to meet the sea at the bay of Gwātār is important as wide stretches of alluvial soil are to be found on both sides of the river where it breaks through Gokprosh hill chain. Here the cultivation is carried out by rain water collected by embankment. The Central Makran range and

127 Stein, of Ib., p. 8.
128 Ib.
Rakshashān Valley likewise offer a little place for cultivation.\textsuperscript{129}

Jhalawan contains the mountainous regions stretching from the north to the south which divides the lower Indus Valley from Khāran and Makrān. In the valleys dividing the ranges there gather rivers which all carry their drainage either into the sea like Hingol, Porāli and Hab or else to Indus. But it is only at the time of rainfloods these rivers contain water along their whole course and these, too, only for very brief periods.\textsuperscript{130}

The climate is arid and the majority of the population leads a nomadic life. The springs and Kārēzes are more widely distributed than in Makrān, yet only less than one fourth of the total cultivated area receives irrigation. The rest is entirely dependent on the chance of adequate water being secured from the rare floods which in favourable years descend in the torrents and river beds are being caught by the poorly constructed embankments from the slopes above the fields.\textsuperscript{131} In Sarawan the physical features are akin to Jhalawan.

The State of Lāsbelā on the southern coast of Baluchistān is bounded on the north by the Jhalawan division of Kalāt State; on the south by the Arabian Sea; on the east by Kīrthār range, which separates it from Sindh and on the west by the Hālā offshore of the Pab range. Its eastern part is mountainous, the centre consists of a triangular level plain with its base on the sea; on the west the State has a strip of coast stretching from port Ormāra. The Porāli carries a small permanent supply of water. The Hingol is another river which falls into the sea within the State limit. The coast line extends for about 250 miles and possesses two road-steads in Sonmiani and Ormāra.\textsuperscript{132} Its climate is like Makrān.

\textsuperscript{129} Ib., pp. 9-10.
\textsuperscript{130} Stein, of Ib., p. 12.
\textsuperscript{131} Ib., p. 13.
\textsuperscript{132} Imp. Gaz., Vol. XVI, pp. 144-45.
It was in such physical conditions that the races already mentioned inhabited.

The first tribe inhabiting these waste-lands were Vairāmakas (M.B., II, 47, 10) who are also mentioned in the Mahāmāyūrī123 (48, 1). But beyond the fact that they were a trans-Indus people and that their home was in the land where the rainfall was very scanty (M.B. II, 47,9) nothing is known about them in Indian literature. Fortunately enough in the identification of the Vairāmakas the Greek sources come to our help. For this we must get ourselves acquainted with Alexander's homeward march to Carmania through southern Baluchistān and his campaign against the country of Oroetēi (Arrian. Anab. VI, 21-22). On crossing the river Arabios Alexander marched throughout the night in a desert country, and then after being joined by the main body of the troops he penetrated the country further and came to the capital of the Oroetēi named Rambakia, which was the largest village in their domain, and as usual defeated the barbarians, and pleased with the situation of the village decided to colonise it and for that purpose left Hēphaistion behind. Now all the classical authors place the two barbarian races called Arabīi or Arabitoe and Oroetēi, Oritoe, Oraitai, Horaitai as they are variously spelt to the west of the Indus. Arrian (Indika, 22) calls the country of Arabīi as the last part of India towards the west and Strabo (XV, 21) calls it a part of India, but both exclude Oroetēi, though Curtius (Vita. Alex. IX, 10, 33) includes it in India. These Oroetēi, whose capital was Rambakia, have been identified by Holdich as the Hots of Makrān with their head-quarters at Tump, and by McKay with the utii of the army of Xerxes.134 The home of the Arabīi is located on the river Arabios, the modern Porālī, which flows through the district of Las into the bay of Sommiani,

134 Baluchistan Gaz., VII, 94.
F. S
50 miles from Karâchî. Cunningham derives the name Oroëitei from the river Aghor and Râmbâgh on the Aghor river a place of Hindu pilgrimage with the association of Rama, with Rambakia, the capital of the Oroëitei in the time of Alexander. The western boundary of the Oroëitei is placed by Nearchus at a place called Malana which Cunningham identifies with the bay of Malan, to the east of Ras Malân of the present day. Holdich locates the sight of the ancient Rambakia at Khairkot situated the north-west of Liari commanding the Hala pass. Whatever may be the exact position of Oroëitei in all probability they lived in that part of Baluchistán which is known as Lasbela State, perhaps between Porâli and Hingol.

Rambakia also lay on an important trade route. A route from the south of Kandhâr passed through Rambakia and thence by road or river Porâli to Oraea (in Sonmiani Bay), whence India could be reached by sea or through low mountains. Leaving aside the previous identifications it seems probable that Rambakia is the Greek form of the Sanskrit Vairâmaka, a race living to the west of the Indus. The substantival form of the Vairâmaka must have been Vîrâma. The Greek spelling of the word simply resulted by the simple transposition of the initial vi in the Sanskrit spelling into the middle of the Greek spelling. In Sanskrit literature the Oroëitei seem to have been only known by the name of their capital which is quite correct in view of Pânini’s tadrâja rule. The Oroëitei according to the Cambridge History of India were of the Dravidian stock.

135 Cunningham, loc. cit., pp. 349-50.
136 Ib., pp. 353-354.
137 Ib., 354-355.
Pārada. M.B., II, 47, 61, 10, 48, 12. The Pāradas are mentioned twice in the Upāyana-parva. Once they are placed to the west of the Indus (M.B., II, 47, 9) and the second time their connection with the Bāhlikas or Bactrians is indicated. They are also mentioned by the Mahāmāyūri 141 (95, 2). Varāhamihira (Brhat-samhītā, XIV, 21) places them with the Vokkānas and Rāmaṭhas among the peoples of the west. In the Rāmāyaṇa (IV, 44, 13) they are placed with the Yavanas and Šakas before the Bāhlikas. They are also mentioned in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (LVII, 37). In the Hari-vamsa (XIII, 763-64; XIV, 775-83) they are said to have been degraded by the king Sagara who made them wear long hair and that they were Mlecchas and Dasyus (Ib., CXV, 6440-42). Manu (X, 43-44) says that they were Kṣatriyas who became degraded because of the extinction of sacred rite. Ptolemy’s Paradēnā (VI, 21, 4) which signified all the interior country in Gedrosia could be equated with the Pāradas mentioned in the Upāyana-parva (M.B., II, 47, 9). Nearly all the trace of the Pāradas has however disappeared from Makrān. In the centre of Panjgur oasis however a little above Chitkān is situated the Pardān-dambh, the remains of which proved to consist of three successive stone embankments solidly constructed of large unhewn. The name Pardān and its ancient archaeological remains may perhaps connect the place with the ancient Pāradas.142

Their association with Bāhlikas or Bactrians shows (M.B., II, 48, 12) that here probably they could be identified with the Parthians, a Šaka tribe, the forerunners of the Saka migration of 130 B.C., who after nomadizing first in the plains south-east of Caspian, invaded and conquered Parthava, the modern Khurāsān (Herzfeld, The Archaeological History of Iran, pp. 58-4). If the Pāra-

141 J.A. II, 1915, pp. 103-104.
142 Stein, An Archaeological tour in Gedrosia, p. 45.
das are the Parthians then their presence in Gedrosia could be explained by the long association of the country with the ancient Iran of Darius\textsuperscript{142} (522–486 B.C.) and Xerxes (486–465).

Vaṅga (M.B., II, 47, 10). The variant readings are Tuṅgāśca and Ābhīrāh. At first it seems that Vangaśca, the reading taken as correct by the editors is wrong, and the correct reading should have been Ābhīrāh, as the Ābhīras living in the mountainous regions and subsisting on fish (M.B., II, 29, 9), the equivalent of the Greek Ichthyophagoi of the Makrān coast, are known. But on maturer consideration the reading Vaṅga seems to be right. In the seventh century according to Yuan Chwang\textsuperscript{144} the Lang–Kie (ka)—Lo whose Sanskrit form Langar has been found by Julien and Lankar by Watters\textsuperscript{145} lived on the Makrān coast. The country according to Yuan Chwang was very rich in precious substances, and naturally therefore its people brought jewels for presentation to Yudhīśṭhira (M.B., 47, 10). Nothing is known about its precious wealth to-day for the country has never been surveyed for its possible mineral wealth. In the typical Meds who live between Gwāṭar and Sonmiani, there are Meds proper who are fishermen, the Koras seafaring men and a third section of unknown descent called Lāṅga.\textsuperscript{146} The alteration of the initials in Lāṅ and Vaṅga, can be explained on the well known principle of Munda Khmer languages. As the initials Āṅga and Vaṅga were alternating in Eastern India, and Kēmboj and Semboj in Cambodia in French Indo-China and Java the same thing was happening on another extreme corner of India—the Makran coast. This could be explained on the basis of the existence of a substratum of Austroic language in Bengal and also in as far a country as Makran.

\textsuperscript{142} Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 334.
\textsuperscript{143} Watters, II, pp. 257-58.
\textsuperscript{144} Ib. p. 257.
\textsuperscript{145} Baluchistan Gaz., VII, p. 106.
Kitava (M.B. II. 47, 10). They seem to have been a very important tribe of Makrān, and if their identification with the Kej be correct, then their importance may be gauged by the fact that in the medieval period their name became a synonym for the whole of Makrān—Kej-Makrān. The Kej Valley lies between Kolwa and Mand and the valley of Buleda. This is the Kej Makrān of the Arab geographers. It is hemmed in all sides by high ridges. In the central portion there is a large irrigated area and but in the eastern and western portions dry cultivation is carried out.

Mockler (J.A.S.B., 1895, pp. 30-36) has quoted a number of authorities, both Arab and Persian, to show that a people named Kufs or Kufij inhabited the mountains to the south of Kirman, to the south-east of which the low-lying country was inhabited by Baluchis. He has identified an aboriginal tribe in South Kirman who call themselves Kufish with the ancient Kufs of Bilādhuri, Tabari and Ibn-Haukal. It is yet to be decided whether Kofish, Köfic, Kufij, Kūs, Kūj, or Koj, Kūi, Kec, Koc, Kij, Kej, Kiz, Kesh, Kash and Kush, the son of Ham, are similarly the variations of the same name or not (ib. p. 35). To this list may also be added the Kitava of the Mahābhārata. Kitava or Kaitavya are invariably mentioned with the Ulūkas (M.B., I, 177, 20; 56, 23) who no doubt represented the Kulūtas or the people of modern Kulu Valley—the form Kulūta occurring in the Sabhāpara (II, 24, 4) in which the learned editor has noted the variants Ulūta, Ulūka, and Kaulūta. Here as well the change of the initial occurs on the well-known principles of the Munda-Khmer languages. Their companions the Kitavas or Kaitavyas therefore should represent the people of modern Suket. What relation they bore to the Kitavas of

147 In the Arthaśāstra (p. 101) however the honey as well as the juice extracted from the grapes are called madhu.
Makrān it is difficult to say, probably they represented the same ethnic group.

Their gifts to Yudhisṭhira (M.B. 41, 10-11) represented fully the products of the trans-Indus country. They brought goats and sheep (ajāvikam), cattle and gold (gohiranyam), camels and asses (kharosṭram) wine manufactured from fruits (phalajam madhu), and the various kinds of jewels.

Camels and donkeys and sheep and goats are reared in Makrān which enjoys a considerable reputation as a camel breeding country. Camel breeding is passion with the Baluchis. Kulanch is one of the best breeding grounds in Makrān. Dasht is famous for its riding camels.148 The Kharan camel has also a great reputation in Baluchistān. It is bigger than the Makrān camel and is particularly good over the rocky country. There are fewer varieties the best and the commonest being dastal which has its forelegs white from the foot to a little below the shoulder.149

The wine from Makrān which came to Yudhisṭhira's court was manufactured from the fruits, probably from the dates,150 though Panjgur grapes are famous and very cheap at the height of the season.151 The trans-Indus people also brought woollen blankets and shawls which probably included nāmdas or felt for which Kharan is famous.152 The rugs of Makrān however are of inferior quality.153

150 Ib., p. 165.
151 Baluchistan Gaz., VII, p. 165.
Prāgjyotisa: M.B., II, 47, 12–14. In some passages Prāgjyotisa is called a Mleccha Kingdom (M.B., II, 47, 12) ruled over by Bhagadatta who is spoken with respect. Prāgjyotisa was placed in the north (M.B., II, 23, 19–19), but was also considered to be in the east (Markandeya Purāṇa VII, 44). There must have been mountains near his kingdom as it is called Šailālaya (Śrī-parva, XXIII, 644). Bhagadatta recruited his troops (M.B., II, 23, 19) from the Kirātas, Cīnas and the soldiers who dwelt on the sea-coast. He is said to have lived with the confederacy of the kings on the Bay of Bengal (M.B., V, 4, 11). The country of Prāgjyotisa is represented by Assam, and probably some part of Northern Bengal.

Bhagadatta, the King of Assam presented to Yudhiṣṭhira fleet horses (M.B., II, 47, 13), and the vessel made of aṃśasāra (M.B., II, 47, 14) which is probably amethyst and is probably the same as aṃśagarbhā which with musūragalva is mentioned as a semi-precious stone in the Divyāvadāna (II, p. 51, 11., 24-25). In modern times the Indian sources of amethyst is Ceylon, though the rivers of India sometimes yield amethyst in the form of pebbles. In Pliny's time India, however, was the most renowned source producing four kinds of amethyst, purple, inferior sapphire-coloured, very pale and wine red.154 The claim of jadeite as aṃśasāra also cannot be excluded. Jade is known as musūragalva with its Sanskrit form masūragarbha (other forms musūragalla, musūragalva; Pāli ma(u) sūragalā) and Burma, in the neighbourhood of Assam which represents the ancient Prāgjyotisa, is the chief source of the supply of jadeite.

In the Ratna Samgraha,155 (S. 18) the Masārgarbhā is accredited with the property to separate milk and

154 Warmington, loc. cit., p. 245.
water. It is said to be dark blue or green in colour. In Chinese it is called Kan-che-yü or violet stone which connects it with amethyst. The uncertain word śyāma used to indicate its colour may mean both green and blue and the stone therefore may be amethyst or jade.

Bhagadatta’s other presents were made of swords with the handles made of pure ivory (suddhadantatara-ūnasīn) (M.B., II, 47, 14). Sword handles (tsaravah) made of the horns of rhinoceros, buffalos, the elephant tusks and bamboo roots or wood were common in Kautilya’s time (Arthaśāstra, p. 111). Prāgjyotisā could well afford to present as many ivory handles as it liked as the kingdom was the home of elephants in ancient times as to-day.

In the above description of the presents of King Bhagadatta of Prāgjyotisā we are given a glimpse of the products of that part of the country about whose history our knowledge remained obscure till comparatively recent times. As we have pointed out, probably the Assamese were acquainted with jadeite, which, though its sources did not exist within the natural boundaries of Assam, must have been brought from Burma either in natural state or in worked form. If the jadeite came in the shape of vessels, then their manufacture should be attributed to the Chinese as we are not yet aware whether the Burmese at such a remote period were adept in the art of cutting hard-stone. There is, however, every reason to believe that hard-stone objects were cut locally as India since time immemorial has been famous for its hard-stone cutting industry. Ivory handles of the sword probably show that the ivory-carver’s art was highly developed in Assam at least two thousand years back.

Dvyakṣa (M.B., II, 47, 15). The land of the Dvyakṣas can probably be identified with modern Badakhshan on the ground that the word Badakshān is nothing but the Persianised form of Dvyakṣa, both meanings ‘two-eyed’. If this identification is correct then the home of
the Kamboja should be placed in Tajekestan and the Pamirs only, and not in Badakshan as well.\(^{156}\)

Tryakṣa (M.B., II, 47, 15). Not much is known about the tribe. They are placed in the north-east foot of the Tortoise in the *Mārkandeya Purāṇa*\(^{157}\) and are known there as Trinetras. But the arrangement of the countries with India taken in the shape of a tortoise is purely arbitrary. Is it upper Chitral called Turikho?\(^{158}\)

Lalatākṣa (M.B., II, 47, 15). Again the information is very meagre. Could it be Ladākh? Of course the identification is a pure suggestion and depends on Ladākh being the original name of the country, its Tibetan name being Mar-yul.

Auṣṇiṣa (M.B., II, 47, 15). The epithet without home (*ānivāsān*) may suggest a wandering tribe. They cannot be identified.

Romaka (M.B., II, 47, 15). The editor has chosen Bāhukān. I however prefer the variant Romakān. Rumā was the name of the salt mines (*Hemacandra, Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 941) and may be identified with the Salt Range in the Panjāb. The Salt Range itself is named Oremenus by Pliny\(^{159}\) who notes that the kings of the country derived greater revenue from the rock-salt than from either gold or pearls. H. H. Wilson identifies Rumā (*Sanskrit-Eng. Dictionary*) with the Sāmbhar lake. In this connection it is also interesting to note that the Shins of Baltistān also call themselves Boms.\(^{160}\) Probably the Romakas here denote the people of the Salt Range.

Ekapāda (M.B., II, 47, 16). Again the information is meagre. Some indication about their provenance is

\(^{156}\) be, two and aksa, eyes.


\(^{158}\) Biddulph, *The Tribes of Hindukush*, p. 60.

\(^{159}\) *Hist. Nat.*, XXI, 39.

\(^{160}\) Biddulph, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.
found in the *Dīgavijayaparāca*. In Sahadeva's expedition to the south the Ekapādas are mentioned (M.B., II, 28, 47) just after the Tāmradvipa and Rāmakā mountains (M.B., II, 28, 46). Now this Tāmradvipa could be located somewhere in Cambay on the strength of a reference in the *Pañca-dandachatra-Prabhanda*. The cities which Sahadeva conquered in association with the country of the Ekapādas are Śūrpāraka (M.B., II, 28, 43-45) the modern Soparā and Sañjayanti (M.B., II, 47) the modern Sanjān also point to the direction of the home of the Ekapādas as Gujarāt, Kach and Kāthiāwār. They are specified as living in the forest (*kṛvalāvanaravāsinah*) (M.B., II, 28, 47), which proves that they were probably the ancestors of the Bhils of Gujarāt. Megasthenes tells us an interesting story about them. The Indian philosophers told him of the Ōkupedes, who in running could leave a horse behind. The Ekapādas, which literally means 'one legged' of which the exact Greek transcription is Ōkupedes, have been relegated to the realm of fiction, but there is nothing to suggest in the information available from the Mahābhārata that they were not a real people.

The above mentioned people presented to Yudhiṣṭhira gold and silver (M.B., II, 47, 16). But the Ekapādakas presented the fleet horses of multiple colours captured from the forests (*aṇekavārṇān āranyān gṛhitvāśvān manojaśān*), II, 47, 18). Apparently Kach bred as good horses in ancient times as to-day.

The Cīnas, Hūnas, Śakas and Odras (M.B., II, 47, 19) are mentioned in a geographical order which has been discussed in a former section; below is given whatever information is available about them.

Cīnas, (M.B.; II, 47, 19). Cīna in Indian literature seems rather to be an ethnic term, than a geographical designation. As the Chinese proper they appear in the *Sabhāparāca* (II, 47, 19). They are also mentioned as

---

162 Meg. *Fragment*, XXIX; Strabo XV, 1, 5.
forming the retinue of Bhagadatta, the king of Assam (M.B., II, 23, 19), and here they could be taken as a people of Southern China or the Chins of Upper Burma. Manu says that formerly they were Kṣatriyas (X, 43, 44) who had lost caste.

Hūṇas: (M.B., II, 47, 19). Here they are not to be confused with the later Hūṇas of the Gupta age. They should be identified with the Hiumg-nu who lived in Mongolia and who in 176 B.C. drove away the Ta Yüe-Chi from their country on the northern foot of Nan-Shan mountain.

Śakas: (M.B., II, 47, 19). In the Aranyaka parva (M.B., III, 186, 29-30) the Śakas with the Andhras, Pulindas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Aurnikas, Śūdra-Ābhīras, are called Mlecchas, liars and false rulers. They are generally classed with the Pahlavas, Daradas, Kāmbojas, Rṣikas and the Pāścima-anūpakas (M.B., V, 4, 15). They also appear in the company of the Pahlavas, Daradas, Kirātas and the Yavanas. (M.B., III, 48, 20). They are placed in the company of the Tukhāras and the Kaṅkas (M.B., II, 47, 26), the Sauṇḍikas and the Kukkurās (M.B., II, 48, 15). The Śakas may be identified with the Sai-Wangs of the Chinese historians, and the Śaka-Muruṇḍas of Indian literature. Their movements have been described in a previous section.

Odra: (M.B., II, 47, 19). The country of the Odras in the north-west could be located in Swat or the ancient Uddiyyāna. Stein in his explorations of the Upper Swat discovered a fortress on the rugged hill range rising above the village of Udegram which is pleasantly situated at the foot of the hills at a point where the fertile and well irrigated riverine plain attains its widest in Upper Swat. The fortress is known among the local Pathāns as Rāja Gira’s Castle. Stein’s explorations yielded from the fortress walls and other signs of human habitation.
Stein recognized in Udégrām the probable location of the Ora of Alexander's historians. He advances tangible arguments to prove his identification. "In Udégrām, a compound, in which the second part grāma 'village' is well recognizable, the first part Ude-(also heard as Udī-) is pronounced with that distinctly cerebral medial which to European ears always sounds like r, and often undergoes that change to r also in modern Indoiryan as well as in Dardic languages. The temptation is great to recognize in Arrian's ORA the Greek rendering of an earlier form of this name Udē-, and to derive the latter itself from that ancient name of Swāt which in its varying Sanskrit form Uddivāna, Oddyāna, has been recovered by Professor F. W. Thomas and M. Sylvain Lévi's critical scholarship from a number of Buddhist texts. The simplification of the double consonant ṣḍ, the complementary lengthening of the preceding vowel ā (o) which would explain the long initial vowel in O R A and the subsequent shortening of the vowel in modern Udē-(when becoming an ante-penultimate in the compound Udagram), all these can be fully accounted for by well known rules affecting the transition of Sanskrit words into Prākrit and thence into modern Indo-Aryans. Nevertheless, it will be well to bear in mind that the nexus of names here described must remain conjectural until epigraphical or other evidence helps to establish it." No epigraphical evidence has so far been available which could give us the ancient name of Swāt. But in the Mahābhārata the name of this country Odra is found from which the Greek O R A could probably be derived. This Odra also appears in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bengali edition). M. Lévi discusses the other reading Paundra (western recension) and Paṇḍu (unpublished MSS in Paris and Germany) and

165 Arrian, Anab. IV, 27.
166 Stein, An Archaeological tour in Upper Swat and adjacent hills, p. 39.
167 Ib., pp. 40-41.
takes Puṇḍra as correct reading. There is no use in changing the reading of the Bengali recension of the Rāmāyaṇa, as Odra also appears in the Mahābhārata as a place name in North-Western India. Odra therefore, according to the evidences at our disposal, was the ancient name of Swāt.

The Oḍs of Panjāb might have been emigrants from Swāt country in ancient times, though now they hail from Western India and Rajputāna to Panjāb. They are vagrants and are always in search of employment on earth-work. In the Salt Range they quarry and carry stone. They have speech of their own called Oḍki. They are outcastes. They wear woollen clothes or at least one woollen garment. Though Hindu they bury their dead. They are distributed pretty generally throughout the province, but are more numerous in Lahore and along the Lower Indus and Chenab, and least numerous in the hills, and sub-mountain districts.

Vṛṣṇi: (M.B., II, 47, 19). According to the ancient traditions the Vṛṣnis should be situated somewhere in Kāṭhiāwār probably in the region of Dvārakā. But in the Upāyana-parv the they are linked with the Hārahūras and the Haimavatas (ib.). It is interesting to note in this connection a coin of Rāja Vṛṣṇi published by Cunningham along with the coins of the Audumbaras without comment. This is a coin unique in every way. The obverse is a pillar mounted by an animal half-lion and half—elephant, above which is a Nandipada. The reverse is an elaborate wheel. The legend in Brāhmi on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse is the same on both the sides with slight dialectic differences. According to Mon. A. Bergny the legends read as follows:

171 Coins of ancient India, p. 70, Pl. IV, 15.
Brāhmī: Vṛṣṇi (-r) r (ā) jajñāgaṇasya tratarasya.
Kharoṣṭhī: Vṛṣṇirajāṇa (ga)—tra . . . .

Mr. Allan reads the inscription as Vṛṣṇī-r(ā) jajñō-
gāṇasya tratarasya. His suggestion is that rājāno or
rājajñā may be an engraver's mistake for rājanyo\footnote{Allan, loc. cit., pp. clv—vii.} in
that case the legend means 'the protector of the tribe
Vṛṣṇirājanya' or 'of the protector of Rājanya (or warrior)
tribe of Vṛṣṇis. The coin belongs to the first century
B.C. and presumably it may be assigned to northern
Panjāb. It is very difficult to point out the location
of the Vṛṣṇi tribe on the basis of a single coin which
also shows that the republic at least in the first
century B.C. was not such an important force. It
is a well known fact that Kukuras were one of the
members of the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi confederation, and if the
Khokharain in Dasūya Tahsil in Hoshiārpur Dis-
trict be the home of the ancient Kukuras then their con-
federate Vṛṣṇis should be located somewhere in Hoshiār-
pur District or near about. In this connection it is
interesting to take note of a subsect of the Vaiśyas known
as Bārah-seni which term according to the popular ety-
ymology means bārah 'twelve', and sena 'an army'. They
are found chiefly in the western districts of U. P. They
state that their original home was in Agrohā.\footnote{Crookes, The tribes and castes of the North-Western Pro-
vince and Oudh, Vol. I, p. 177.} In the
Panjāb they are found in Gurgāon. Curiously enough
they are described by Rose\footnote{Rose, loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 60.} as descended from the
Chamārs as their boys at the marriage ceremony wear a
Mukut\textsuperscript{a} of dhāk leaves into which a piece of leather is
fixed. The modernised BārahSENIS youths write Vārṣṇeya
after their names. Naturally our attention is drawn to
the possibility of the Barah-seni representing the ancient
Vṛṣṇis. Their modern profession need not stand in the
way of identification with the ancient Vṛṣṇis, a warrior

\footnote{172 Allan, loc. cit., pp. clv—vii.}
\footnote{174 Crookes, The tribes and castes of the North-Western Pro-
vince and Oudh, Vol. I, p. 177.}
\footnote{175 Rose, loc. cit., Vol. II, p. 60.}
class. As remarked by Dr. Jayaswal, it is a common phenomena in the career of Indian republics that when the republicans lost their political power they still retained their commercial intelligence and thereby turned into traders. As examples he has quoted the Khatri of Sindh and Panjáb and the Aroḍās who were the members of warrior class in ancient times, but turned traders after the loss of their political power.  

Hāraḥūra: (M.B., II, 47, 19; III, 48, 21; Śāntiparca, 65, 2430). It is included among the countries of the West. Among the variants given is Hāraḥūra which is probably correct, as it is supported by other evidences. In the Arthaśāstra (p. 133) the grape wine called madhu, and its varieties Kāpiśāyana and Hāraḥūraka, both expressing geographical denominations, are praised. Hemacandra (Abhidhāna-cintāmani, V, 1155) gives the synonyms for grapes as drākṣā, mrdevikā and Hāraḥūrā. In these synonyms Gostani and Hāra-hūrā are toponymous. Grape is not an Indian fruit, and formerly it was sold in small boxes by the Afghan vendors from Kābul. When India was culturally connected with Khotan, the raisins of Khotan could be exported to the south of the Himalayas. The grapes of Khotan, specially of Boghazlangar near Kēria, are famous even to-day. According to Grenard the Turfan grapes are best in the world.  

Likewise the word Hāraḥūrā classed as synonymous of Gostani by Hemcandra and Halāyundra (II, 38) denotes the place of its origin. In the Dīgavijayaparca (M.B., II, 29, 11) the Hārhrūs are taken as a western nation and are coupled with the Rāmaṭhas. Varāhamihira (Br. Sam. XIV, 33) places the Hāraḥūra country as contiguous with the country of the people of the Indus basin (Sindhu-Sauvira) and Madra. Now Ramaṭha with which Hāraḥūra is coupled also means in Sanskrit asafotida, the product

---

177 Grenard, Le Turkestan et le Tibet, p. 176, in Mission Scientifique (Dutreuil de Rhins) dans la Haut Asia.
adopter the name of the country, and as asafetida is produced in South Persia, Baluchistán, Afghánistán, Bokhára and as far south as the Chenab Valley, the Ramaṭha country should be located somewhere in these regions. M. Lévi gives its situation between Ghazni and Wakhan, though he has not adduced arguments in favour of this location. Yuan Chhwang mentions asafetida as a product of the Helmand Valley which flowed through Tsan-ku-t’a or ancient Arachosia, but this country could not be Ramaṭha, as the original Sanskrit name of Arachosia was Jāguḍa, which has also been mentioned with Ramatha in the Mahābhārata (III, 48 21). The Ramaṭha country therefore may be identified with Kharā District of Kalát State, which grows asafetida and is also contiguous with ancient Aria (Herat) and Arachosia (Kandhār). If these identifications be correct then Hārahūras may be located in Herat which produces grapes of the best quality. Herat is famous for its grapes. The fruit gardens of Herat, at least in the 10th century were famous. These gardens were situated at a day’s journey on the route to Seistan. On three days’ journey from Herat there was a city named Karūj also famous for its fruit gardens. The famous Kishmish vine was grown there, and the far famed raisins of Herat were the dried grapes of these gardens which were sent to Iraq and other places. There was yet another garden at Malin, a day’s journey from Herat which produced grapes in very great quantities.

Now kara in the compound Hārahūra meaning mountain in ancient Iranian (Old Persian, ara; Zend. kara, Pahlvi, ḫar) may be expressive of the mountainous nature of the country. In the sculptures of Sargon’s palace at

---

179 Watters, loc. cit., p. 264.
180 Ib., Vol. II, p. 266.
182 Ib., p. 462.
Khorsabad, now in the Louvre Museum, certain Iranian cities are sculptured one of which is named as Harhār, which recalls modern Khalkhāl.\textsuperscript{184} It was situated in the lake Urmia region in the extreme north-west of Iran. Was the name of this city transferred at some later date to a city in west Afghānīstān-Herat, Haraiva of the ancient Iranians and Aria of the classical authors? The origin of Herat must be traced from the ancient Iranian literature, before it could be finally identified with Hārahūra.

Haimavatas: M. B., II, 47, 19. They are called the bronzed Haimavatas (krṣṇāḥhaimavatān). Himavanta is quite a famous place in the Buddhist literature. Majjima propagated Buddhism in the Himavantapadesa (Mahāvamsa, Chap. XII). It has been identified with some as Tibet; Fergusson identified it with Nepal. In the Sāsanaṃsā (p. 13) it is stated to be Cīnaraṭṭha. Prof. Rhys Davids places it in the Central Himālayas. Its extent (Papañcasūdanī, II, p. 6) is given as 3000 yojanas.\textsuperscript{185} In the relic caskets from Sonāri and Sānchī the inscriptions of the 2nd century B. C. mention the Saint Kāsapagota who is described as sava-Hemavatācariya—the epithet which has been taken by scholars as a reference to the Buddhist saint being sent to the Himālayas (Mahāvamsa, p. XIX). But according to Majumdar quoting Kern\textsuperscript{186} Haimavata was also a religious order of the Buddhists.\textsuperscript{187} In the classical literature one of the spurs of Emodos, Imaus, meaning in the native language snowy\textsuperscript{188} is mentioned. In a footnote McCrindle gives the variants of Emodos, as Emoda, Emodon and Hemodes. Lassen derived the name from Haimavata. If this be so

\textsuperscript{184} Herzfeld, Arch. History of Iran, p. 14, Fig. 4.
\textsuperscript{185} B. C. Law, Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 27, London, 1932.
\textsuperscript{186} Manual of Buddhism, p. 111.
\textsuperscript{188} Meg. Frag. Ivi, Pliny, Nat. His. VI, 21, 8–23, 11; McCrindle Ancient India, pp. 131-132.
Hemodos would be the correct form. Imaus represents the Sanskrit Himavata. The name was applied at first by the Greeks to the Hindukush, and the Himalayas, but in the course of time transferred to Bolor Range. This chain, which runs north and south was regarded by the ancients as dividing northern Asia into Skythia extra Imaus and it has formed for ages the boundary between China and Turkestan.

The representatives of the countries mentioned above brought with them the products natural to their countries. The first item on the list is ten thousand black-necked heavily built donkeys (M.B., II, 47, 21) (krṣṇa-grīvānmahākāyān), which could cover a distance of hundred krośas (satapātinaḥ) and whose breed was famous all over the world (dikṣu vīṣrutān) and who were also well trained (vīṇītān). That no stigma was attached to the donkeys in those days is shown by the fact that the maternal uncle of Bharata, at the time of the departure of his nephew to Ayodhyā presented to him fast going donkeys (Rāmāyana, II, 70, 23, Bombay Ed.).

The second item on their list of presents consisted of fabrics manufactured in Vāhlīka and Cīna (pāṭhīcīna-samudbhavām) (M.B., II, 47, 22), which were of appropriate measurements, of good colours, and pleasant to touch (pramāṇarāgasparśādhyām). The fabrics made of wool (aurnām), of the raṅku goat’s hair (raṅkavam) of silk (kīṭajam) and of fibre (paṭṭajam), all made their appearance in the presents. Here the adjective raṅkava needs some explanation. The word raṅku is usually explained in the dictionaries as 'a deer' (raṅkavam mṛgaṃmājam, Amarakośa, II, 6, 111). But the raṅku explained as a deer is not correct as no fine cloth was ever woven out of deer’s wool. It should be identified with the Rang goat which flourishes in the steppes of the high Pamir plateau. It affords a very fine shawl-wool.189

Map of Panjab and adjacent countries showing geographical names of the Upayana Parva. Ancient names are printed in red.
From the rāṇku goat's wool rāṅkava kaṭu or felts were also prepared (M.B., III, 225, 9). It should also be noted that the Indians in this period were also acquainted with the Chinese silk which came to India through Bactria. The appearance of Chinese silk even at such early period in the Indian market need not cause any surprise. A piece of Chinese silk with a trader’s memorandum written on it in Brāhmī, which was discovered at a ruined watch-station on the old Chinese Limes, is a strong argument in favour of the view that traders from India coming for silk, had already reached the limes in the latter part of the first century B.C.\(^{190}\)

The third item on the list of presentations consisted of felts (kuttākṛtam) (M.B., II, 47, 23), thousands of lotus-coloured woollen garments (kamalābham sahasraśak), and other textile pieces of smooth texture not manufactured from cotton (ślakṣṇam vastramakārpaśam) which probably shows that they were made of wool or silk, lamb pelts (āvikam) for which Eastern Afghanistān is famous even to-day and other soft skins. The high quality of the Chinese hides and furs were maintained even as late as the first century A.D. The Periplus says that the Chinese hides and furs were exported from Babritcon\(^1\) on the Indus. Pliny\(^1\) says that the dyed skins obtained from the Chinese were most valuable of the coverings furnished by animals. In the opinion of Warmingon they were partly of Indian and Tibetan and partly of Chinese origin.\(^1\) The presents probably included as the adjective kamalābhaiḥ implies the gaily coloured rugs of Upper Swāt. The Mahāvaṇījajātaka (Jāt. 493) (IV, 352, 1. 15) mentions among the articles of great value such as gold, silver, pearls, beryls, the cloths from Kāśi

\(^{190}\) Sir A. Stein, Asia Major, Hirth Anniversary Volume, 1923, pp. 367-72.

\(^1\) Schoff, The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, 39, 6.

\(^1\) Pliny, Nat., Hist., XII, 31; XXXIV, 145.

\(^1\) Warmingon, loc. cit., pp. 157-159.

F. 4
and Udādyāna kambala. At Torwāl even to this day are produced all the closely woven and gaily but tastefully coloured woollen blankets that India knows as Swātī rugs. They are made by the womenfolk in the side valleys of Chilli-dara, which descends to Churrai from the high snowy peaks towards Kāna and Duber on the east and to some extent also in other small valleys of Torwāl. 104

In the fourth item of the list of presentations are included various weapons produced in the Aparānta country (M.B., II, 47, 24). Aparānta here should not be understood as Konkan country mentioned in the Nāsik inscription, 105 and in Jūnāgadh inscription of Rudradāman 106 which according to Bhagwanlal Indrajīt could be identified with Sopārā in the Thānā District, the most important port of Aparānta. 107 Here Aparānta has the same geographical import as mentioned in Asoka’s inscriptions. In V Rock Edict at Gīrnrā the Aparāntas are placed by the side of the Yonas, Kāmbojas, Gandhāras and the Rṣṭikas. These were the states outside the empire of Asoka 108 and were counted as the north-western tribes. In the description of the Aparānta country given in the Divyāvadāna (p. 19, ll. 19—25) the products of Aparānta are generally felts and skins. In the same passage we are told that there were many tribal republics in the Aparānta country which goes very well with the identification of Aparānta country in Asoka’s inscription with the various tribes living in the north-western frontier of India. In the Mahābhārata (Bhaiśmaparva, IX, 255) a people of this name are mentioned. Aparānta also appears in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa (LVII, 36) as the

104 Stein, On Alexander's track to the Indus, Lond., 1929, p. 89.
105 Arch. Sur. of Western India, IV, p. 109.
108 CII, I, p. 10.
name of a people living on the western border. Cunningham was inclined to place them in northern Sind and part of western Rajputānā.\(^{199}\)

Now coming to the weapons of the Aparānta country they consisted of sharp and long swords, scimitars and short spears (nīśītānścaiva dirghās行李śīsaktiparaseadhān) and sharp edged battle-axes (paraśūnśitān). It is a well known fact that even today the tribal people of the North-West Frontier are expert black-smiths, and even with the most crude instruments at their disposal they are able to forge guns which are notable for their accuracy of construction. It seems they were equally famous in ancient times in the manufacture of good weapons.

In the fifth item on the list of presentations (M.B., II, 47, 25) thousand and one kinds of precious stones (ratnāni ca sahasrasānā), wines (rasūn) and perfumes (gandhān) are included. In the absence of any detail we are unable to say what kinds of jewels are intended. But the mention of perfumes at once points to the musk, though it has not been specified. The musk-deer inhabits the Himālayas above 8000 ft, from Gilgit eastwards extending to Tibet, North-Western China and Siberia. There are three grades of musk, the most valued coming from China, the second grade from Assam and Nepal and the least-valued from Central Asia.\(^{200}\) Apparently the best Chinese musk is implied here.

In the Mahābhārata (II, 47, 26) the Śakas, Tukhāras and Kaṅkas as well as hairy (lomasāh) and horned men (śṛṇgīṇonarāh) are mentioned. Much has been said about the Śakas and the Tukhāras previously and the information need not be repeated here.

Kaṅka (M.B., II, 47, 26). They may be identified with the Kang-kū of the Chinese historians. After escaping the captivity of the Hiung-nu Chang K’ien


\(^{200}\) Watts, Dictionary of the Economic products of India, S. V. Deer.
reached Ta Yüan who gave him safe conduct on postal roads to Kang Kū, and Kang Kū sent him on to Ta Yüe-Chi. The Kang-Kū or Soghdiana (Bokhara and Samarkand) is placed by Chang Kien to the north-west of Ta Yüan (Ferghana) at an approximate distance of two thousand lis. "It is also a country of nomads with manners and customs very much the same as those of Yüe Chi. They have eighty or ninety thousand archers. The country is co-terminus with Ta Yüan. It is small. In the south it is under the political influence of the Yüe-Chi; in the east under that of Hiung-nu."

There is also a tribe of Jāts in the Panjāb called Kang. This tribe is chiefly located in the angle between the Beas and Satlaj, though they have crossed the latter river into Ambala and Ferozpur and are found in small numbers all along its banks and even on the Lower Indus. Their tradition is that they came from Garh Ghazni. The Kangs are said to claim descent from the Solar Rājpūts of Ayodhyā through their ancestor Jogra father of Kang. What exact connection they bear to the ancient Kaṅkas, a Scythian tribe, it is difficult to say. Perhaps, they migrated to India after the Šakas had established themselves there.

Lomasāḥ Śrīgīno narāḥ: (M.B., II, 47, 26). No fabulous beings are intended. Apparently they are some Šaka tribes in absolute state of barbarism wearing skins with the hair turned upwards and horned-head-dresses—a costume adopted by the Tibetan dancers even in present days. The primitive mode of living of Šaka tribes is impressed by Ptolemy (VI, 14).

The Šakas, Tukhāras and Kaṅkas presented fast-going horses (mahāgamāḥ) which could cover great distances (dūragamāṇ). There are innumerable references to the superior quality of the horses bred in the north of the

201 JAOS, 1917, p. 94.
202 Ib., p. 96.
203 Ibbetson, loc. cit., p. 233.
Map of India showing Geographical Designations as mentioned in the Upayana Tarva. The ancient names are put in red.
Oxus. Emperor Wu-ti of China wanted to possess Ferghana horses, the most famous being from the city of Ir-shi. The Emperor’s request was however disregarded by Ta Yuan people. The ambassador who was sent to bring the horses was also killed. Incensed at this, the Emperor sent Likuang-li with the title Ir-Shi-Tsiang-Kün (General Ir-Shi) in 104 B.C. This campaign ended in failure. The second campaign was, however, successful and Yuan had to give the horses. The Chinese army took away several dozens of superior horses, besides more than three hundred stallions and mares of inferior quality. Burnes in his travels to Bukhara praises the horses of Turkestan and the countries north of the Hindukush. The Turkoman horse is a large and bony animal, but its lack of beauty is compensated by its strength and endurance. In Bakh the tradition was current that these horses had descended from Raksh, the famous horse of Rustam. A detailed description about their manners of rearing, prices, methods of training may be found in the chapter ‘Horses of Turkestan,’ in Burnes’ work.

The gifts brought by the kings of Eastern region of India: (M.B., II, 47, 28-30).

In the first category may be placed various kinds of furniture and carriages (M.B., II, 47, 28). There were valuable chairs (āṣanāṇī mahārāṇī), sedan chairs (yānāṇī) and beds (śayanāṇī) inlaid with jewels, gold and ivory (maṇi-kāṇcana-citrāṇi gajadantamayāṇi ca). Then there were various kinds of chariots (M.B., II, 47, 29) (rathāṃścu vividhākārān), furnished with gold fittings (jātarūpariṣkṛtān) and covered with tiger-skins (vaiyāgṛharpaṇivaritān), and

204 JAOS, 1917, pp. 111—113.
206 Jātaka, Vol. V, p. 302, Gāthā, 37; VI, p. 223, G. 964. The ivory inlays in the royal chariots are mentioned even by Jātakas.
yoked with well trained horses. In the second category of gifts are mentioned the nārāca and the ardhanārāca arrows and many varieties of weapons, variegated elephant coverings (vicitrāṁśca paristomān), innumerable kinds of precious stones (M.B., II, 47, 30) whose names however are not enumerated. By the foregoing details it is easy to form an idea of the high craftsmanship of the artisans of the eastern U.P., Bihār and Orissā so often alluded to in the Buddhist literature. Ivory which has been mentioned as an inlay of the furniture and the carriages was exported to Rome for ornament and decoration from the earliest times, and in the historical times Indian and African ivory satisfied the Roman demand. The region about Dorsarene (Orissā) produced the best ivory.

UPAYANAPARVAN (Chapter 48)

The tribes described in the M.B., II, 48, 2-3 lived on the river Šailodā (M.B., II, 48, 2) which is represented as flowing between the Mt. Meru and Mandara. The kicaka bamboos growing on her banks as poetically expressed afforded shelter to those tribes. The location of Šailodā is of great importance for the identification of various tribes living on its banks. It is also mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa (Kiśkindhākāṇḍa XLIV, 75–79). Šailodā or Šailodakā according to the Matsya Purāṇa (CXX, 19–13) rises at Mt. Aruṇa which is situated to the west of Kailasha, and which flows into the Western Sea. In the Mārkandaeya Purāṇa (LV, 3) Šitodā (Šailodā) is placed on the west of the Mt. Meru. The situation of Meru-Mandara is however uncertain Pargiter has placed Šailodā in western Tibet (Mārkandaeya Purāṇa, p. 351). The bearing however takes us to the north and to the Karakoram or Mustagh skirting to the north of which is the Chinese Turkestan. At the point

---

²⁰⁷ Jataka, V, p. 259, Gāthas 49–50. It is interesting to note that even in the Jataka stories the chariots with tiger-skins are mentioned.

²⁰⁸ Warmington, loc. cit., p. 164.
ERRATA

For
prthvisukta, p. 7
would, p. 10
Paramṛṣikas, p. 11
Valgu, p. 12
Darwanz, 19
Sieou Yüe-Chi, 20
occupied, 22
Titsus, 27
vața, 31
Pātalā, 32
Paramatthadipani, 34
Jatalla, 34, fn 74
Iconographic, 34, fn 75
Hultsinch, 34, fn. 77
Mayuravyanisakādi, 35
variegated, 35
contuminous, 38
Kapiś, 44
Walters, 44
uttī, 51
Vaiyāmaka, 87
avaroğharam

Read
Prthvisukta
could
Paramarśikas
Phalgu
Darwāz
Siao Yüe-Chī
tducted
Tritsuas
vața
Pātalā
Paramatthadipini
Jātaka
Iconography
Hultsch
Mayuravyanisakādi
variegated
contuminous
Kapiśa
Watters
Utii
Vaiyamaka
avaroaram
where Shyok River descends to the south, facing it towards the north the Raskam or Yarkand flows through the same mountain. The Yarkand River which is also called Zarafshan and which is called Sito by the Chinese, flows closely at the northern foot of the Karakoram dividing it from the Kun-lun mountains. To the east of Yarkand River is Tibet and to the west Pamirs. Perhaps, though one can never be sure this Si-to represents the Šailodā of the Mahābhārata. If our identification be correct than Meru becomes Karakoram and Mandara the Kun-lun ranges.

Khaśa: (M.B., 48, 3.) The Khaśas are well known to the student of Sanskrit literature. In Nepal the Gurkhas are designated as Khasa and their language is Khaśa or Parbatīyā. In the south and west of Kashmir the hill regions are occupied by Khaśas. Their settlement extended as shown by numerous passages of the Rājataranginī in a wide semi-circle from Kaśṭawār in south-east to the Vitastā Valley in the west. The hill states of Rājapuri and Lohāra were held by the Khasa families. The Khasas are identical with the present Khakha tribe to which most of the petty chief in the Vitastā Valley below Kashmir and in the neighbouring hills belong. According to M. Sylvain Lévi Khaśa or Khaśa does not indicate any particular tribe, but a number of semi-Hinduised tribes inhabiting the Himālayas. But in Central Asia the name has a special significance. The Lalitavistara mentions Khaśa writing which was in vogue between the countries of Dardistan and China on the upper course of the Indus, and the

209 According to Cosmos, the Sitā is the modern Jaxartes (JASB, 1839, p. 282). It rises in the plateau south of Issyk-kul lake in the Thatan-Shan. Jaxartes is also called Sir-Daria, and Sir is evidently a corruption of Sitā according to Dev. Sitā is also identified with the river Yarkand or Zarafshan. They, however, prefer Sitā's identification with Jaxartes (Nuno Ial Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 187, 2nd ed. Lond., 1927).


211 BEFEEO, Vol. IV, p. 556.
frontiers of China proper. Jñānagupta who translated the life of Buddha between 589–618 glosses the word Khasa with Chou-le, i.e., Kashgar. In the Tang period the equivalence of Khaśa and Chou-le is uniformly admitted. 212 Khasa in the Upāyanaparva are qualified by the adjective ekāśana (variant ekāśana) which probably means that they were settled as opposed to other wandering tribes.

Jyoha: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) Nothing is known about the Jyohas who were equally well settled in the same region as Khaśas. However it is interesting to note that a large pargana in Almora Tahsil with its northern boundary as Tibet is named Johar and is chiefly inhabited by the Bhoṭias. 213 Nothing is known about the origin of the name Johar, perhaps it was from very early times occupied by the migrating Jyohas who gave their name to the Tahsil, but this cannot be said with any certainty in the absence of other proofs.

Dirghavenu: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) The Dirghavenus as opposed to the Khaśas and Jyohas lived in a dispersed condition as the adjective pradarāh suggests. Perhaps they were a wandering tribe. Nothing further is known about them.

Paśupa: M.B., II, 48, 3. They were possibly a wandering tribe of herdsman, akin to the modern Kirghiz.

Kuninda: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) Apparently they were a very widely diffused tribe as they are also mentioned in the Tarai forests near Haradwār (M.B., III, 141, 25) where they lived in hundreds of groups (Kuṇindā-sata-saṁkulam). Apparently the forest country of Subāhu abounding in elephants and horses was a veritable haven of the aboriginal tribes because here rubbing shoulders with the Kuṇindas also lived Kirātas and the Tanganas (Ib, III, 141, 25). The Kuṇindas, also Kulindas are referred to several times in the epics and the Purāṇas.

212 Ib., p. 657, also see J. A., Jan.-Feb., 1915, p. 102.
213 Almora District Gaz., p. 249.
(Mārkandeya Purāṇa, Pargiter, p. 316). In Arjuna’s expedition to the north the first power which he met and defeated (M.B., 23, 13-14) were the Kūnindas. Vāgbhaṭṭa in his Kāvyānusāsana, which is copied by Hemacandra (Kāvyānusāsana, 127) gives the name of a mountain as Kalindendra (Himalaya-Jālandhara-Kalindendra-Kīla . . . parvatāḥ). It is curious to note that the form given by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 42) Kulindri (nē), presents the same alteration between Kūninda and Kulinda. He places the Kulindrinē above the source of Beas, Satlaj and Yamunā and the Gangā. Brhatṣamhitā (XIV) gives variations of the same name. Kern has adopted the reading Kauṇindra in preference to Kaulinda and Kaulindra. In the newly edited parvans of the Mahābhārata from the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, though the editors have adopted Kūninda as the correct text Kulinda as a variant has always been noted down (M.B., II, 23, 13; 48, 3; III, 141, 25). At another place in the Dīgavijayaparva (M.B., II, 23, 14) the alteration between Kulinda and Pulinda are noted. Kulinda, Pulinda—an ethnic pair, are differentiated by the initial K and P. This process is unknown to Indo-European or Dravidian but a characteristic of Austric languages.214

Pulindas are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 18) as a class outside the influence of the Aryans and placed with the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śābras and Mūtibas. They are also found in the Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka as a people on the frontier. Pulindas occupied the middle portion of the Deccan (Mārkandeyā Purāṇa, VII, 47), where apparently they had a city named Pulindanagara which was conquered by Bhima (M.B., II, 26, 4). Their kingdom was situated in the massif of the Vindhya (Brhatkathā Slokasamgraha, IV, 22). In the Buddhist literature they were considered as low people (nīcakula), barbarous (mleccha) and a frontier tribe (pratyantajaranapada) (Mahāvyutpatti, 188,

15. In the Arthashastra (3rd Ed., p. 45) the Pulindas with Vāgurikas (trappers), Sabaras, Cāṇḍālas and other wild tribes were expected to keep watch over the state. Ptolemy (VII, 1, 64) describes the Poulandai by the epithet agriphogai "those who lived on wild fruits". Their location is well defined. They lived in the interior of Lāṭa, in Bharukaccha, in Ujjain and the source of Godawari, i.e., on the high land of Satpura, Vindhya and Aravalli.

There is as yet another alteration of Kulinda-Pulinda in Bhūlinga. Pliny (VI, 20) names the latter as Bolingae among the people living far from Indus. Ptolemy (VII, 1, 69) places the Bolingai to the east of the Vindhya on the right bank of the Son River. Pāṇini's gaṇapāṭha takes notice of Bhauligī several times (II, 4, 59; IV, 1, 41; IV, 1, 173). They formed one of the components of the Śālva federation (Candraśvetti, II, 4, 103). Śālvas according to Pargiter (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p. 349) lived in the neighbourhood of Kuru and Trigarta at the western foot of the Aravallis.

So far we have studied the Kuninda (Kulinda), Pulinda, and Bhuliinga trimuvarate who belonged to the same ethnic stock. The Kuṇindas, however, have left us coins. On these coins only the form Kuṇinda appears. Their coins may be divided into two groups one about the first century B.C. and the second three centuries later. The first variety bears the legend rājñah (raṇa) Kuṇindasa or (sya) Amogahabhtisa; the second type gives the title Siva only. The Kuṇinda coins have been found in the district Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana and Jwālamukhī in the Panjab, and Saharanpur in the United Provinces. The distribution of these coins shows that the Kuṇindas occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwālik Hills between the Jamuna and the Satlaj and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and the Satlaj.

Taṅgaṇa: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) The Taṅgaṇas are mentioned with the Kirātas and Kunḍandas as inhabiting the Tarai region in the kingdom of Subāhu (M.B., III, 141, 24-25) in the mid-Himalayas. They are mentioned at another place (M.B., III, 48, 21) as a western people and linked with the Jāguḍa, Ramaṭha, Strīrajaya and Munḍa. In the Mārkandeya Purāṇa (LVII, 41) they are named as Tuṅgaṇas, though the Vāyupurāṇa (XLV, 120) knows them as Taṅgaṇas. Like other hill tribes they fought with stones and were skilled in slinging stones (Dronaparva, CXXI, 4835-47). Ptolemy (VII, 11, 13) speaks of the domain of the G (T) angnoi as lying over along the Ganges on its eastern side and further to the north and through whose domain flowed the river Sarabas. The reading has been changed to Tanganoi by St. Martin (Etudes . . pp. 327-328), and this correction is probably based on the authority of the Mahābhārata mentioning the Tangaṇas in the mid-Himalayan region. They perhaps occupied the regions along the eastern bank of the Upper Ganges. Their territory probably stretched from the Ramganga River to the Upper Saryu which is the Sarabas of Ptolemy. Their situation cannot be precisely defined in this region, as none of their cities Sapalos, Heorta and Rhappha has been identified. But there cannot be any doubt that the Tangaṇas also occupied the Kashgar area in Central Asia if our identification of the Sailoda River is correct. The Tungans of Central Asia came to limelight when their rebellion in Sin-Kiang Province of China was suppressed by the Chinese Government. It seems that they are the descendants of the ancient Taṅgaṇas mentioned in this area.

Parataṅgaṇa: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) It seems that ethnically the Parataṅgaṇas or Further-Taṅgaṇas were connected with the Taṅgaṇas. Some very pertinent clues about their location are found in the Anabasis of Arrian (IV, 22). After capturing the rock of Choriene Alexander went himself to Bactria, but despatched Krateros
with 600 of the companion cavalry, and a force of infantry consisting of his own brigade and that of Polysperchon and Attalos and that of Alketas against Kataxes and Austanes the only chief left in the country of Paraitakenai, the other forms of the name Paraitakai is also noted (Arrian III, 19; Strabo, XVI, 836). In a footnote McCrindle explains that the country of Paraitakenai was located in a part of the mountainous country between the upper course of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. Parai in Paraitakenai as a Greek effort to pronounce the Sanskrit parvata is not convincing. The people are clearly the Parataṅgaṇas of the Mahābhārata. It is interesting to note that a tribe of the same name occupied a part of Media (Herodotus, I, 10). The lower Helmand Valley was also known as Paraitakene before it became Sacastene. Kippert's 'Asia' identifies Karategin with Paraitakenai though Yule is not sure of the identification. Henry Yule proved that the great silk route to China from the Oxus to the Alai which passed through the valley of Komedai through which ascent towards Imaos is said to have led—could be no other than Karategin, the valley of Surkhab. The Kara tegin and the Surkhab Valley and its eastern continuation, the triangle of the Alai offer in fact the easiest line of communication from the Oxus to the Tarim basin. Kara tegin is inhabited by the people of Türkish stock since early times, though they were being slowly ousted out by the Tajiks from Darwāz and from tracts to the west when Stein visited them.

Pipilika gold: (M.B., II, 48, 4.) The Khaṣas, Jyohas, Dirghavenus, Paṣupās, Kuṇindas, Taṅgaṇas and

---

216 McCrindle, The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, p. 57.
217 Tarn, loc. cit., p. 95.
218 J. Wood, loc. cit., pp. LXX-I.XXI.
219 Stein, On the Ancient Central Asian Tracks, p. 293.
220 "Ib., 327."
the Paratañganas (M.B., II, 48, 3) presented to Yudhiśthira heaps of pipilika gold measured by dronas (jars)—the gold which was presented (varadattam) to them by the Pipilikas. Another variant uddhritam yat may mean that the gold was dug from the earth by the Pipilikas. The mention of pipilika gold at once brings the recollection of the ant-gold of the Greeks, Romans, Turks and Arabs, etc. Herodotus (III, 102—105) says that the gold-digging ants belonged to Kashmir and Afghanistán. Megasthenes (Fragment, XXXIX) places them on the eastern border of Derdai or the Darada country. Strabo (XV, 1, 44) and Pliny (VI, 22; XI, 36), mention the Daradas despoiling gold from ants; Aelian (de Nat. An., III, 4) makes the river Kampylinus the limit of the ant country. Pipilika gold has been defined as Tibetan gold. The gold district in Tibetan history was known as Sarthol, and Thok Jalung, Rudok, Thok Nianmo and Thok Sarlung, etc., the chief gold producing centres are situated in the same district. One view holds that probably the Tibetan gold miners could be identified with the gold ants. According to Herodotus (III, 102—105) the ant-gold country was a desert; Strabo (XV, 1, 44) makes them live on mountain plateaus. This is true of the country where gold is mined in Tibet. It is only in fact in the country north-east of the branch of Indus called Singh-gi-Khamba that the gold fields mentioned above are found. And in this respect Singh-gi-Khamba reminds the way in which the river Kampylinus is mentioned by Aelian (de Nat. An., III, 4).

The Tibetan mines are situated at 16,330 ft., and as the cold is intense the miner at Thok-Jalung wear fur. They not only work underground, but their small black tents made of a felt-like material manufactured from the hair of the Yak are set in a series of pits, seven or eight feet below the ground surface with steps leading down into them. Megasthenes (Strabo XV, 1) mentions that

the ants excavated the earth in winter which they heaped at the mouth of the pits like moles. The same statement is repeated in Pliny (XI, 36). It is a remarkable fact observed at Thok-Jalung that in spite of the severity of cold and snowy blizzards the miners preferred to work in winter as the frozen soil then stands well.222 The Tibetans often wear Yak-skin with the horns intact,223 this explains the presence of ants born in the temple of Hercules at Erythrae (Pliny XI, 36).

It has also been suggested that the name of ant-gold arose from a confusion of the name of a Mongolian tribe with the Mongolian word for ant-Shirai-ghol and Shirgol.224 The name ‘ant-gold’ came with the gold and the name is known to the Mongolian and Tibetan sagas, and that it was the Siberian gold.225 According to Tarn226 the name of the ant-gold was derived from the folk-tales in which the ant-king and his subjects to help the hero collect for him a mass of little grains of something he cannot collect himself and in support of his argument he quotes two ant stories.227 This mythical name was given by the middleman to conceal the true origin of gold. His strong opinion228 that the Indians did not know gold mining is however entirely unwarranted by facts, as the Arthaśāstra (pp. 89, ff) not only mentions the various sources of gold, but prescribes elaborate formulas for its refinement.

It is difficult to say whether the ant-gold came from Tibet or Siberia, as the argument on both sides are quite strong. The gold measured by jars (M. B., II, 48, 4) however proves that it was in the form of dust and not

223 Ib., p. 231.  
225 Ib., p. 429.  
228 Tarn, loc. cit., p. 108.
bars. It also proves that it was probably obtained from the river washings or from the pits dug in the soil containing gold dust. In any case the Khaṇas and other tribes seem to have been the middlemen in selling the gold to India.

The other mountain tribes, besides Khaṇas etc., brought black and white Yak tails (M.B., II, 48, 5). Mirza Muhammad Haidar in his Tūrikh-i-Rashādī (16th century) while describing Tibet says that the Tibetan traders along with other merchandise consisting of Chinese goods, musk, borax, porcelain, gold and shawls, also brought Yak-tails (qūfās).

Those mountaineers (pārceṭeyāḥ) (M.B., II, 48, 7) also brought honey (ksaudra) obtained from the Himalayan flowers which was very tasteful (bahū svādu) (M.B., II, 48, 5) and the garland made of Ambu flowers (a kind of Andropogon) from the Uttara Kuru country (Ib., 48, 6) and the powerful herbs from the north of Kailāsa.

The Uttara Kuru who play a somewhat mythical part in the Mahābhārata and later literature, are still a historical people in the Vedic period. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 141) they are located beyond the Himalayas (pārena Himavantaṃ). Zimmer places the Uttara Kuru in the Northern Kashmir the view with which Keith and Macdonell agree. In the Bhīṣmaparva (VII, 1.14) the Uttara Kuru country is said to be inhabited by the Siddhas. The trees bear sweet fruits and are always laden with fragrant flowers. They also yield milk, food, clothes and ornaments. The ground is covered with precious stones and golden sand. All the seasons are charming. The tanks are always brimming with the

---

229 Ind. Ant. XXXI, pp. 443-444.
230 Raverty, Tibbat three hundred years ago, JASB, 1985, p. 9.
231 Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 84.

The Caurī made from the Yak tail was one of the five emblems of the royalty (rāja kakudāṃ) the other being sword, umbrella, crown and shoes.
crystal-clear water. The men and women are of pure birth and exceedingly handsome. They are free from diseases and live for eleven thousand years. The Uttara Kurus are also mentioned by the Greek historians (Meg. Frag. XXIX; Strabo, XV, 1, 57). Ptolemy (VI, 16 2 and 5) seems to have believed in its actual existence. The description of the Uttra Kuru country, 'the Paradise on Earth' perhaps created the Hyperboreans of the Greeks. It is difficult, however, to point out the location of the Uttara Kurus, even if they were historical, as their idealistic situation created by mythology has wiped out their histrocity.

Kirātas: (M.B., II, 48, 8). The word Kirāta is connected with the name Kirāti, Kirati and Kirānti which imply a native of Kirantdes on the mountainous country lying between Dudkosi and Karkī rivers in Nepal. The term includes the Khambu, Līmbu, and Yakhā tribes, and the Danūr, Hayu and Thami also claim to be Kiranti. It is perhaps this section of the Kirātas, whom Bhāma conquered, basing his operations from the Videha country or the modern Tirhut division, of Bihār (M.B., II, 26, 13). A very interesting description of the Kirātas and their territories is given in the Upāyanaparā (M. B., II, 48, 8). They are mentioned as living on the northern slopes of the Himalayas (ye parārdhe himavatāh) from where the sun rises (sūryodaya virau); they lived by the side of Vāriśa bordering on the sea coast (vāriśena samudrānte) and who were also supposed to be the Lauhityas (Lauhityamabhītāśca ye). From the above description it is clear that the members of the kirāta tribe lived on the slopes of the Himalayas in the north, this abode of theirs being also mentioned in the Aranyaparā (III, 141, 25). In the second instance they are represented as living in a mountainous region in Eastern India; they are the Kirātas of Nepal. In the third instance they are shown living in the Vāriśa region border-

ing on sea. Vārīśa could probably be identified with the modern Bārisāl, a sub-division of Backergunj District in Eastern Bengal. It is situated on the south-east corner of Bengal with an area of 1,110 miles and is a tract intersected by numerous rivers and water-channels. It is not far from the sea board. In the fourth instance they are represented living on the Lohita i.e., that the modern Brahmaputra in Bengal and Assam. A better description of the distribution of Tibeto-Burman race it would be difficult to find in the works of a modern ethnologist.

The Kīrātas are represented as wearing skins (carmavāsasah) (M. B., II, 48, 8), they lived on the tubers and fruits (phalamaśanā); the Rāmāyaṇa represents them (Kiṣkindha-kāṇḍa, XI, 30) as wearing thick topknots.

The Kīrāta's presents to Yudhiśthira fully represented the products of their country. They brought skins, precious stones and gold (carmarāta-svarṇānām) (M. B., II, 48, 9)—the gold which was picked from the mountains (nicitum parvatebhyaśca) (Ib., II, 48, 11)—the sandalwood, aloewoold, loads of zeodary (candana-guru kāśṭhānām bhārūn kāliya-sasya-ca (Ib., II, 48, 9), and heaps of aromatics (gandhānāmcaiva rāṣayāḥ). Assam was the home of aromatic woods as pointed out by the Arthāśāstra, and this fact is fully supported by the Mahābhārata. The gold and the precious stones must have come from Lower Burma, the Khryse Khora or 'Golden land' of Ptolemy identified with the hinterland of the Lower Burma.

The Kīrātas brought the slave girls of their own race (Kairātikānām dāsinām) (M. B., II, 48, 10) and the birds and animals from the far-off lands (dūrajā mrgapakṣiṇāh) to serve as pets—an Indian form of amusement mentioned in the Jātakas as well.

235 Gerini, Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia, pp. 64-65.
236 Jātaka, I, pp. 140; 175; II, p. 132; III, p. 97, 429 etc.

F. 6
Kāyavya: M.B., II, 48, 12. The variant Kāvakhya is also noted. The Kāyavyas or more correctly the Kāvakhyas were probably the race who gave Khāwak Pass its name. Probably the race inhabited the Panjshir and Ghorband valleys which pass edging the foot of the Hindu-kush and take us right to the Khāwak pass towards the east.

Darada: M.B., II, 48, 12. They are the people of modern Dardistān a term which was coined first by Leitner. In Dardistan he includes all the country lying between Hindukush and Kaghan. Leitner not only included in the term the Daradas, the race inhabiting the mountainous country of Shinaki, but also Chilasis, Astorias, Hunza and Nagar people, Chitralis and the Kaffirs. In ancient Sanskrit literature, however, the term seems to have been restricted, as the names of the countries of the Chitralis, Kaffirs, Hunza are mentioned separately. The term was restricted probably to the Darad speaking people—the Shina speaking people of Gilgit, Gurez, Chilas and the Indus and Swāt Kohistan. According to Biddulph, the word Darad has originated from Persian ḏūzd ‘a beast of prey or from ḏarīndah fierce’. The name may have come to be used as an ethnological term in the same way as dahyu ‘a robber’ gave its name to Dahistān and Dahae tribe and as Kaffir, Cossack and Kirghiz are now applied to different Asiatic tribes. The term Darad is not known in Chitral.

In the Mahābhārata (Dronaparva, CXXI, 4835—37 and 4846-7) the Darads are mentioned as a hill people the neighbours of the Kāśmiras (Ib., LXX, 2435) and of the Kambojas (M.B., II, 24, 22); they fought with stones and were skilled in sling stones (Dronaparva, CXXI, 4835—47). According to Mann (X, 43-44) they had lost their

---

237 The languages and races of Dardistan. Part II, pp. 45-48 Lahore, 1877.
238 Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VIII, Part II, p. 3.
Kṣatriya caste due to the extinction of sacred rites. Like Pāradas and others, they were condemned as Mlecchas (Harivamśa CXV, 6440–42). The proximity of the Dara-das and Kāmbojas as mentioned above may also be seen in certain common customs, even to-day. A curious custom in this respect is recorded by Biddulph. This ceremony is called Kobah and takes place on the arrival of a visitor in the person of some chief. He is conducted to the Shavaran or guest-house after which a bull is produced before the guest, who draws the sword and tries his best to cut its head off at a single blow or deputes one of his followers to do so; afterwards the carcass is given away to his retinue. The custom exists in Shīghnān, Badakshān, Wakhān, Chitral, Yāsin, Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar.

Dārva: (M.B., II, 48, 12). The Dārva country has been identified with the district of Jammu and Ballāvar (Ballāpur) between the Chenab and Rāvi.

Sūra: (M.B., II, 48, 12). They may be identified with the famous Sūr tribe, whose worthy member Sher Shāh played such an important part in the mediaeval history of India. Perhaps in early days the Sūrs lived in the Ghūr country. After being dispossessed of their land, they became the wandering tribe in the land of Aimāks.

Vaiyamaka: (M.B., II, 48, 12). They could be easily identified with the Aimāks of central Afghānistān. The Aimāks are the descendants of the ancient conquerors of Paropamisus and speak Persian. The Hazāras, one of their constituents speak Turkish and are probably the descendants of the Mongols settled in Afghānistān by Chinghiz Khān. They are semi-nomads, good soldiers and distinguished specially as cavalrymen. They use camel-wool tents and Ferrier was surprised to see the great number of camels which they reared and which were kept specially for wool. The mineral riches of the

240 Biddulph, loc. cit., p. 75.
241 Jayacandra, Bharatbhuṣmi sur ukṣe nivāsī, p. 146,
district are gold, silver, iron, lead, sulphur, rubies and emeralds.\textsuperscript{242}

The four tribes which make up the Chāhār Aimāk are Jamshedis, Hazaras, Firozkohis, and Taimanis. The land where they live, around Herat, is made up of a huge tableland, or uplift which is deeply eroded by centuries of river action.\textsuperscript{243}

Audumbara: (M.B., II, 48, 12). The coins of the Audumbaras have been found and may be divided in three classes; a series of square copper coins bearing the name of the republic, a few rare silver pieces and a group of round copper billon pieces. The square copper coins are the earliest and very well known from the Irippal hoard, found at Irippal in Kāngrā District.\textsuperscript{244} The type was already known from Cunningham's excavation at Pathānkot.\textsuperscript{245} The name of four kings namely Śivadāsa, Rundradāsa, Mahādea, and Dharaghoṣa are available. One of the coins of Dharaghoṣa bears the effigy of Viśpamitra (Viśvāmitra). Viśvāmitra's connection with the Audumbaras is otherwise unknown.\textsuperscript{246}

On the bases of the finds of Audumbaras coins at Iwalāmukhi, Paṭhānkot, Irippal and Hoshipur the Audumbaras should be located in the area formed by the eastern part of the modern Kāngrā district, that is to say the valley of Beas, or perhaps the wider region between the upper Satlaj and Rāvi.\textsuperscript{247}

It is impossible to be precise in what period the Audumbaras entered in the realm of history though they are mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini (IV, 2, 53) near the Jalandharāyaṇas. In the Viṇaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins Jivaka is represented as taking a journey

\begin{footnotes}
\item[244] J.A.S.B., XXIII, p. 247 ff.
\item[245] Allan, loc. cit., p. lxxixi.
\item[246] Ib., p. lxxxiv.
\item[247] Ib., p. lxxvii.
\end{footnotes}
from Taxila to Bhadraṁkara, Udumbara, Rohitaka and Mathurā. The Udumbaras were established on the ancient highway which passing through Śākala, Agrodaka, and Rohitaka carried the trade of the Gangetic valley to Taxila.

The material prosperity of the Audumbaras which is proved by the abundant find of their coins may be attributed to their advantageous position on the highway from Magadha to Kashmir. Besides they were conveniently situated at the point where several Himalayan valleys opened out. On account of their geographical position therefore the Audumbaras became the intermediaries between the people of the mountains and the plains. Even to this day Pathāṅkoṭ being the railway terminus joins the commercial routes from Chambā, Nūrpur and Kāṅgrā.

The local industries also helped towards the prosperity of the Audumbara country. The cloth manufactured therein was sold in the markets of Śākala when Menender was reigning (Kāśika-Koṭumbarakādi nānācidha-vatthāpaṇa-sampannam, Milindapāṇha, ed. by Treckner, p. 2). It is also mentioned in the Jātakas. The commentator glosses the last passage Koṭumbaranīti Koṭumbara-ratthe Uṭṭhitavatthāni. In the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (pp. 82, verse 87), Kern gives the reading of a word expressive of certain variety of cloth Koccairabakha-humsalaksānaiḥ translated as ‘choice carpets showing the images of cranes and swans’. On consulting the variant readings Przyłuski has proposed to restore the reading Koṭambakair hamsalaksānair ‘the Koṭambaka cloth ornamented with the figures of geese.’

M. Przyłuski after producing various evidences philological, phonetical and ethnographical has reached the

---

248 Przyłuski, J. A. 1921, p. 3.
249 Ibid., pp. 17-18.
250 Fausbøll, Jātakas, VI. no 547, verse 117; VI p. 47, verse 166.
conclusion that Koṭumbara and Oдумbara are the same—the alterations of the initials being due to the words belonging to Austric family of languages. His conclusions are amply supported by the variants given in the Sahāparva published by the Bhandarkar Research Institute (II. 48, 12). Here the variants of Audumbarāh are Auḍumbarā, Auḍambarā and Kuṭumbarā. This is a further proof that the initials in Oдумbara and Koṭumbara alternated on the well known principal of Munda-Khmer languages.

The adjective durvibhāgā (M.B., II, 48, 12) qualifying Audumbarāh needs some explanation. Durvibhāga taken in the sense of disunited may point to the Audumbara connections with the Sālya federation of which the Udumbaras, with the Tilakhalas, Madrakāras, Yugandharas, Bhulīngas and Saradaṇḍas were a member (Candravepti, II, 4, 103). Or may it indicate their being a component of the Odeonbares (Nat. Hist. V, 17) who lived in Kach? Only more information about the history of the Audumaras could solve this problem.

Vahlīka: (M.B., II, 48, 12). They are mentioned as one of the Northern peoples. Sālya (M.B., I, 61, 6) is mentioned as Vahlīka-punγa; there is another eponymous Vahlīka king (Ib., 61, 25) mentioned. The Vahlīkas are connected with the Daradas (Bhīṣma-parva, CXVIII, 5484) and other ultra-Panjāb tribes (Drona-parvan, CXXI, 4318). According to Pargiter there were two Vahlīka tribes one situated in the plains of Panjāb along side Madrādeṣa or possibly south of it, i.e., between the Chenab and Sātalāj, and another among the lower slopes of the Himalayas between the Chenab and Beas. The name Vahlīka seems to have been altered in later times to Bāhika seemingly by a punning resemblance to Vahis "outside" because they were shut out by the Sarasvatī, Kurukṣetra and other natural features from the Madhyadeṣa which

remained true to Brāhmaṇas, and they and all the tribes beyond were stigmatised as impure by the Brāhmaṇas (Karṇaparva, XLIV, 2026; A.S.R., Vol. II, pp. 6, 14, 17, 195, etc.). Properly speaking however the Vāhlika country, the modern Balkh in northern Afghanīstān represents the ancient Vāhlika for a long time governed by the Greeks. Starting from the regions north of Hindūkush the Graeco-Bactrian empire extended first towards the east over central Asia and the Kābul region, then over the North-Western Provinces of India and the Panjāb, later it became dispossessed of its northern parts, became confined to its Indian dominions and finally disappeared in the 1st century B.C.

Balkh was the traditional home of Zoroastrianism and its other name was Zariaspa (Eratosthenes, Strabo XI, 514) which may represent its great fire temple Azar-i-asp.²³³ Strabo (I, 516) says that it stood on both sides of the river Bactrus, the united streams of the Bandi-Amīr and Darrah which then reached Oxus; it is possible that the second name Zariasp was the name of one definite part of Bactria. Ptolemy (VI, II. 1—9) calls it Bactrianē. According to Strabo (VII. 50) it was the principal part of Ariana and separated from Sogdiana on the east and north-east by Oxus, from Aria on the south by the chain of Paropamisus, and on the west from Margiana by a desert region.


Kundamāna: (M.B., II, 48, 13). This country seems to be the same as Kuṭṭāparānta or Kundāparānta.²³⁴ The Kundamāna country may be identified with Kuṭhār a pargana of Kashmir. The valley of the Arapatha or Harṣa which opens to the east of İslāmābād forms the pargana of Kuṭhār. Stein thought that the

name could be probably derived from the ancient tīrtha of Kapāṭeśvara situated on the southern side of the valley close to the village of Köṭʰēr whose name has been derived from Kapoteśvara. It is possible that the name Kuṭ (hār) has been derived from Kunda (māna), as Kundamāna has been linked with the Kāśmiras (M.B., II, 48, 13).

Pauraka: (M.B., II, 48, 13). The Paurakās are linked with Hāṁsakāyanaś. Their country may be identified with the Yāsin country in the Chitrāl Agency as the people of both Yāsin and Chitrāl are sometimes called by their eastern neighbours as Poré and their country Poriaki, from pūr 'the west'.

The variant Ghorakāh is also given; this reading may also be correct. The Ghorakās may be identified with the Gouraios of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 42) which must have been the province between the Gouraios (lower Swāt river) and the Kunar, the modern Bajaur. Berthelot would derive the name from Ptolemy's town Gourya, the Gorys of Strabo (XV, 697) which he places on the Kunar. Tarn however does not agree with this view as Strabo's description here is obscure and it is impossible to be sure of the Choaspes' identification with Kunar. Gouraios was a Greek Province in the 2nd century B.C. in Menander's (165 B.C.—died between 150—145 B.C.) occupation.

Hāṁsakāyana: M.B., II, 48, 13. The Hāṁsakāyana people are linked with the Paurakās, the people of Yāsin and there should be no difficulty in identifying the country of the Hāṁsakāyanaś with Hunza and Nagar. They are mentioned in the Mārkandeya Purāṇa (LVII, 41) as Hāṁsamārgas 'the Duck-fowlers'. They are mentioned in

256 Biddulph, loc. cit., p. 56.
257 Tarn, loc. cit., p. 237.
258 Ib., loc. cit., p. 237, fn. 2.
259 Ib., p. 226.
the *Bhistma-parva* list (IX, 377) and seem to be the same as Harśapādas (*Dronapārva*, XX, 798).

The two small Chiefships of Hunza and Nagar lie in the extreme north-west of Kashmir, on the banks of the Hunza river. Towards the north they extend into mountain range which adjoins the junction of the Hindūkush and Muztāgh ranges; in the south they border on Gilgit; on the west Hunza is separated from Ashkuman and Yāsin by a range of mountains; while the Muztāgh range divides Nagar from Bālīstān on the east.  

*Sibi*: (M.B., II, 48, 13.) An Asura king named Druma who is called a descendant of Diti ruled over the Sibis (M.B., I, 61, 8). Vārāhamihira (*Br. Samh.*, XVI, 26) places the Sibis in the north with the Mālavas and the people of Takṣaśilā, and the Ārjunāyanaś and Yauḍheyas (Ib. XVII, 19). Sibipur is mentioned in the Sherkoṭ Inscription of the year 83 (403 A.D.). The mound of Sherkoṭ marks the site of the capital of the Sibis. According to Curtius (IX, 41) they were not far from the confluences of Jehlum and Chenab, a fact also supported by Diodorus (XVII, 96). This agrees very well with the position of Sherkoṭ. They are mentioned by the Greek historians as clad in skins and armed with clubs. This fact gave rise to the origin of the legends that the Sibis were descended from Herakles. The extent of their country in ancient times might have been equivalent to the district of Jhang in Southern Panjab.

The coins of the Sibis bear the legend *Majhimikāya Sibi-janapadasa*, ‘of the tribe of the Sibis of Madhyaṃikā.’ The coins were exclusively obtained from Nagari, Chittor. Dr. Bhandarkar excavated them from the Hāṭhībāḍa site at Nagari.  

The country of the Sibis was famous for its shawls and the *Sīveyyaka dussa* is praised in the *Mahāvagga*  

---

F. 7
(VIII, 1, 29). It is also mentioned in the Sivi Jātaka\(^{203}\) where the king of Kosala is said to have presented one Dasabala with a cloth-piece from Sivi costing hundred thousand pieces of money.

Trigartta: (M.B., II, 48, 13.) The ancient Trigartta country was located between Rāvi and Satlaj with its centre round Jalandhar. It represented modern Kāngrā in ancient days. In the 7th century its dimensions, 167 miles from east to west and 133 miles from north to south, show that at that time it must have included Chambā on the north, with Mandī and Suket on the east and Šatadru on the south-east.\(^{204}\)

Yaudheya: (M.B., 48, 12.) The limit of the Yaudheya country may be determined by the findspots of their coins. The coins have been found plentifully in the country to the west of Jamuna, also to the west of Satlaj in Depalpur, Satgarha, Ajudhan, Kahror, and Multān and to the eastward in Bhatner, Ahhor, Sirsa, Hānsī, Pānipat and Sonpat. The evidences of findspots show that the Yaudheyas occupied an area which may be roughly described as the Eastern Panjāb.\(^{205}\)

In Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (150 A.D.) the Yaudheyas are described as 'who would not submit because they were proud of their title of heroes among Ksatriyas'.\(^{206}\) They are identified with the modern Johiyas who occupy the banks of Satlaj along Bahāwalpur State.\(^{207}\)

Rājanya: (M.B., II, 48, 13.) The existence of the tribal republic of the Rājanyas is proved by their coins. There are two varieties of coins, one with Brāhmī and the other with Kharoṣṭhī legends, those with Kharoṣṭhī legends belong to 2nd century B.C., and those with Brāhmī to first

\(^{203}\) Jātaka, Vol. IV, p. 401.
\(^{205}\) Allan, *loc. cit.*, p. cli.
\(^{206}\) *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 47.
\(^{207}\) *A.S.R.*, XIV, p. 140.
Most of the coins came from Hoshiärpur and the Râjanya country may be located there.

Madra: (M.B., II, 48, 13.) The Madras held a high position among the Vedic people. We find that the sages of Northern India repaired to Madra country to receive instruction in Vedic learning. In the Brhadâraṇyaka Upanisad (III, 7, 1) Uddālaka Aruṇi told Yaññyāvalkya, "We dwelt among Madras in the house of Patañcalaka Kāpya, studying the sacrifice." In the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa (VIII, 14, 3) a section of the Madra people, Uttara Madra, are mentioned. They lived beyond the Himālayas close to the Uttarakuras. Uttara Madra is located in Kashmir.

The capital of the Madras was at Śākala which has been identified with modern Sialkot. The Madras play an important role in the Mahâbhârata, and their chief Śalya, though fighting on the side of the Kurus, had his sympathies towards the Pândavas. He had promised Yudhiṣṭhira to belittle and discourage Karnâ in the thick of the fight (M. B., V, 8, 28). He kept to his promise which extorted from Karnâ the wholesale condemnation of the Madra people already mentioned. Incidentally the morals of the Madras seem to have fallen off considerably since the Vedic days.

As mentioned in the Candra-vr̥tti (II, 4, 103) Madras or Madrakāras were one of the components of the great Śalva federation. Incidentally the word Madrakāra probably indicates the Iranian element in Śalva confederacy as Madrakāra in ancient Iranian denotes a warrior. The head of the Madras Śalya (M.B., I, 61, 6) is spoken off as a Vâhlikā with probable connection with the Bactrians of northern Afgânistân, who were of Iranian origin. It

268 Allan, loc. cit., p. exxiii.
269 Vedic Index, II, p. 123.
270 Zimmer, Altindische leben, p. 102.
is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (I, 27; V 4695 etc., quoted by M. Pryziuski) that Vyusitāśva from his spouse Bhadrā Kāksīvatī had seven children, three Sālva and four Madra. The word Vyusitāśva also seems to be of Iranian origin and may be the Sanskritised form of Viṣṭāspa, the father of Darius.\textsuperscript{273} The Iranian origin of the Bhadra, Madra, and Malla may also be explained from the many names of the capital of the Madras. The well-known is Sākala or derived from Saka. The name was current during Alexander's times and hence the first Saka invasion perhaps predated the Macedonian conquest.\textsuperscript{274}

The same city is called Bhadrapur and Bhadraṁkara or the capital city of the Bhadrakāras. Bhadrasāila mentioned in the Mahāmāyūri\textsuperscript{275} is placed by M. Sylvain Lévi in Taxila but Pryziuski rejects this location and places it in Bhadrapura and Sākala.\textsuperscript{276}

Even the costumes and personal equipments of the Madras were quite out of the ordinary which a contemporary-Indian was accustomed to see. In the Udyogaparva (8, 3-4) the Madra warriors are represented using strange outlandish armours (vicitra kavacāh), strange banners and bows (vicitradheaja-kārmukāh); their ornaments were strange (vicitrā bhavanāh) and so were their chariots and other conveyances (vicitra rathavāhanāh). Their costumes and ornaments are described as befitting to the country from where they came (svadeśaṁvesābhavanāh). Perhaps their equipment was akin to those of the Iranians or Bactrians.

So far we have met three components of the Sālva confederacy-Audumbaras, Madrakāras and Bhuliṅgas. In this connection one is tempted to determine the location of Sālva country itself. In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (I, 2, 9) the Sālvas are coupled with the Matsyas. Sālva is the name of a people mentioned in a passage in the Satapatha
Brāhmaṇa (X, 4, 1, 10) which records a boast by Śyāparṇa Śayakāyana that if a certain rite of his were completed his race would have been the nobles, the Brāhmaṇas and peasants of the Sālavas, and even as it were his race would surpass Sālavas. This people are mentioned in the Mantrapāṭha (II, 11, 12) as Sālviḥ, where they are said to have declared that their king was Yaugandhari when they stayed their chariots on the banks of Yamunā. There is later evidence to indicate that the Sālavas were closely connected with the Kuru Paṇcālas, that apparently some of them, at least, were victorious near the banks of Yamunā.\textsuperscript{277} It is interesting to note the early connection of the Sālavas and the Yaugandharas as later on the Yaugandharas formed a component of the Sālva confederacy. The Sālavas are mentioned thrice in Pāṇini: Sālva (IV, 2, 135), Salvāvayaava (IV, 1, 173) and Sālveya (IV, 1, 169). Sālva (Pāṇini, IV, 3, 166; Vārttika 2; Patañjali, V, 50) means the fruit of Sālva plant; this perhaps shows the totemic origin of the Sālavas. In the Mahābhārata (III, 13, 29) the Sālva King is called Saubhapatīḥ and Saubhārūḍ (Ib. 17, 32); the capital of king Sālva is called Saubha (Sālavasya-nagaraṃ Saubham, M. B., III, 15, 2) and the people as Saubha (M.B. III, 13, 29). It may be that Sopiethes of the Greek historians whose original form Sobbhūta, or Saubha has been restored by M. Lévi,\textsuperscript{278} was probably a Sālva King. Among the names mentioned in the ganapāṭha on Saṃkala (Pāṇini, IV, 11, 75) Subbhūta (No. II) is given which by the virtue of the rule gives Saubhūta the name of a people. The prince of the country was named after the name of his kingdom and therefore Sophytes or Sopiethes King of the country of Saubhūta. The Mahābhārata makes it clear that besides Subbhūta, there was another form Subha, and that Saubha an epithet of King Sālva was derived from the latter. Another point which also becomes clear is that Saubha or

\textsuperscript{277} Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 440.

Sopieithes of the Greek historians was a Sālva and that the Audumbars, Tilakhilas, Śaradaṇḍas, Yaugandharas and Bhuniṅgas—the components of the Sālva confederacy, were probably under the influence of Sopieithes or Saubha country. The theory of M. Pryzluski that as the Sālva confederation had Madras, and Audumbaras, an aboriginal tribe, Sālva is another name for Ksudraka-Mālava confederacy on the basis of the equivalence of Madra with Mālava and Kṣudraka or small which according to him indicated the lesser status of an aboriginal partner, does not appear to be correct.²²⁷

Now let us examine at some length the information about Sopieithes gained from the Greek sources. (Arrian, Anab, VI, 11; Didorus XVII, 91-92; Curtius, IX, 1; McCrindle, The invasion, . . . pp. 219-221). They place the dominion of Sopieithes between the upper Rāvi and the Hyphasis (Beas), but in the account of Arrian²²⁸ it is transferred to a more western position. Strabo was unable to decide where that kingdom lay. “Some writers place Kathaia and the country of Sopieithes one of the monarchs between the rivers Hydaspes and Akesines, some on the other side of Akesines and Hyarotis on the confines of the territory of the other Poros, the nephew of Poros who was taken prisoner by Alexander and call the country subject to him Gandarīs. It is said that in the territory of Sopieithes there is a mountain composed of fossil salt sufficient to whole of India. Valuable mines, also, both of gold and silver are situated it is said, not far off among other mountains, according to the testimony of Gorgos the miner.²²¹ Curtius that the government of the dominions of Sopieithes was good. He mentions a curious custom by which deformed children were put to death.²²² He also describes the tall and handsome person-

²²⁷ J.A., April-June 1929, p. 314; see also J.A. 1926, pp. 9-1.
²²⁸ McCrindle, loc. cit., p. 133.
²²¹ McCrindle, loc. cit., p. 133, fn. 2.
²²² Ib., loc. cit., p. 219.
ality of the king and mentions the noble breed of dogs which the country possessed and how they could kill even lions. Diodorus mentions the cities that were subject to the sway of Sopieithes, and the salutary laws and the praiseworthy political system of the country. Beauty was held among them in high estimation. They selected their brides for their looks. He also mentions the breed of dogs.

Now let us examine the positions of the components of Sálva confederacy and show what light they throw on the location of the Saubha or the Sálva country. The Audumbaras may be located in Pathánkot region. Yangandhara which is also called a gateway to Kurukṣetra (dvāra-metaddhi kaunteya kurukṣetrasya bharata, M.B., III, 129, 9) may be identified either with the Jhind State, or the southern Panjab States lying to the north-west of Delhi. The position of Tilakhala is un-determined. Bhulinga (Rāmāyaṇa bengali ed. II, 70, 15) fell in the way of the messengers sent by Vasiṣṭha to bring back Bharata from the Kekaya country, after they had crossed the river Sarasvatī and the river Saradaṇḍa, and although the city cannot be identified their country perhaps lay on the upper courses of the Beas and Satlaj. Madrakāras of course lived in the district of Sialkot. The country of Saradaṇḍas may be identified with the district of Sirhind, and included a considerable portion of hill states to the west and south of Simla, together with Sirhind proper and Ludhiana in the plains.

Now where were the Sálvas located? Cunningham places their capital at Bhírā to the west of Jhelum. This seems to be improbable as all the Greek historians seem to place it to the east of Jhelum. The Sálvas according to Pargiter (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p. 349) lived in the neighbourhood of the Kurus and Trigartas on the western

228 Ib., p. 220.
229 Ib., pp. 277-81.
231 Ib., p. 178.
foot of the Aravalli hills. This could be true in the Vedic period as already mentioned when the Śālvas are coupled with the Matsyas, but in comparatively latter historical times they seem to have moved further north if the Mahābhārata and other Greek sources are to be believed. The latest view places Sangala, the capital of Kaṭhas, the neighbour of Saubhūtās287 in Gurudaspur district (Lahore Division), and if this conjecture be correct that the Saubha country may be placed near Amritsar. If beauty be the distinguishing feature of the Saubhas as mentioned by the Greek writers then inhabitants of Amritsar division could easily claim to be the descendants of the ancient Saubhas.

Kekaya: (M.B., II, 48, 13.) The Kekeyans are linked with the Madras. Their country has been identified with the present district of Shāhpur and Jhelum in Panjab. Cunningham (A.S.R., II, p. 14) identifies Girzak on the Jhelum with Girivraja (the ancient name of Jalālpur) the ancient capital of the Kekayans. This agrees with the reference to Girivraja in the Rāmāyana (Ayodhyākāṇḍa, IXX, 16, 19. Bengal ed.). It is interesting to note that among the gifts which Bharata received from his maternal uncle at the time of his departure to Ayodhya there were dogs bred in the palace (antahpura-tisaṃvarddhan) comparable to lions in strength (vyāghra-vīryabalopamān) and possessed of strong teeth and big bodies (damśrāyuktān mahākāyān, Rāmāyana, II, 70, 20. Bombay ed.). This reminds us of the gifts of dogs to Alexander by Sopiethes who is also called the king of the Salt Range.288 The possibility is that the Kekayan country

---

287 Imp. Gaz., XII, p. 396.
288 The Romans supplemented their breeds of dogs by importation of Indian and Tibetan hounds. According to Herodotus (1, 1, 92) the Persians of his time kept four large villages in the plains of Babylon to feed Indian dogs. Ktesias (Merrinle, Ktesias, r. 9) also notices the Indian hounds of the Persians and similar dogs wereshown in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos. We have also a papyrus of the 3rd century B.C., in which there are two separate epitaph poems written by Zenon in honour of the Indian hunting hound Tarunon who had saved his life in a fight with a wild boar. (Warmington, loc. cit., p. 149.)

289 Ed. by Dr. Thomas, p. 21.
conterminous with that of the Madras was also within the political influence of the ancient Salvas.

Ambaśṭha : (M.B., II, 48, 14.) They are very ancient people and Ambaśṭhya, a king of the Ambaśṭhas has been mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 21). Arrian (VI, 15) designates them as Abastanoi, and Diodorus (XVII, 102) calls them Sambastai. The Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra280 mentions them with the Kāśmīras, Hūnas and Sindhus. The Dialogues of the Buddha (Part I, p. 109) states an Ambaśṭha to be a Brāhmaṇa. It is evident from the Greek sources that they were settled on the lower Chenab.296

Tārksya : (M.B. II, 48, 14.) Tārksya in the Rgveda (1, 89, 6; X, 178) is mentioned as a divine steed, apparently the sun conceived as a horse. But Foy, judging by the name, apparently a patronymic of Trṣṣi, who is known from the Rgveda onwards as a descendant of Trasadasyu, thinks that a real steed, the property of Trṣṣi, is meant, but Keith and Macdonell do not seem to agree with this view.291 In Khila (II, 4) Tārksya is represented as a bird. In the Vājasaneyī Samhitā (XV, 8) he is mentioned with Ariṣṭanemi, originally an epithet of his (R.V.I., 89, 6; X, 178, 1), as a person, and in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 4, 3, 13) he appears as a Vaipaśyata the king of birds.292 Tārksya in the Mahābhārata (I, 59, 39) is identified with Garuda. With Ariṣṭanemi, Garuda, Aruṇa and Aruni, he is described as the offspring of Kaśyapa and Vinitā.

In the Agastīya Ratnaparīkṣā293 Tārksya is mentioned as a synonym of emerald. It is interesting to note that Hemcandra in the Abhidhānacintāmani (V, 1064) gives among the synonyms of emerald parutmaṇa the other being marakata, aśmagarbha, and haridmaṇi. This con-

280 McGrindle, loc. cit., p. fn. 2.
292 Ib., p. 308, fn. 5.
293 Finot, Les lapidaires Indians, p. 188.
294 Ib., p. XLIV.
F. 8
nection between Garuda and emerald seems to have originated from the belief that the emerald was created when Garuda let fall the bile of Asura Bala on the earth. The location of emerald mines in the Sanskrit texts on jewels is rather vague. Buddhabhāṭṭa in his *Ratnaparikṣa* places the emerald mines in the country of Barbara on the confines of the desert, near the sea-shore. According to the Agastimata the mines are situated in the country of the Turuṣkas near the sea-shore; the *Agastīya Ratnaparikṣa* distinguishes two mines, one in the country of the Turuṣkas and the other in Magadha. The information about the Turuṣka mines leads us to the 'Mountain of the Emeralds' of the Classical Geographers i.e. Gebel Zabarah which is situated on the Red Sea in the neighbourhood of the Nubian desert. To quote the description of Al-Idrisī about these mines: 'Not far from Aswan on the Central Nile is a mountain on whose foot is situated an emerald mine. It is situated in a desert far off from the human habitation. There is no emerald mine in the world which could compare this. A large number of people work this mine to their advantage and export the emeralds outside.' In this connection it is interesting to note the city of Markatan situated at a distance of thirty days journey from Aswan, with a large population, where the merchants of Zalegh, a city situated on the Red Sea coast in Abyssinia, came to stay. It seems probable that the Sanskrit name *Marakata* for emerald is derived from this city, which must have carried on emerald export business in ancient times with India.

Another mine has been placed in the Magadha country; this seems to be true, as emerald mine in Hazāribāgh, Bihār, has been recorded.

---

295 Finot, *loc. cit.*, p. 34, s. 150.
296 *Ib.*, p. 124, s. 287.
297 *Ib.*, p. 188, ss. 76-77.
298 *Ib.*, p. XLIV.
300 *Ib.*
From the above descriptions we have seen that the word tārksya, denotes a horse, a bird, a man and a jewel. But what could be the location of the people bearing the epithet of Tārksya—as there should be no doubt that they were a real people mentioned by the Mahābhārata and not animals or birds. The equation of tārksya with the emeralds takes us to the Red Sea, and the Magadha country, but there is little possibility that these places represent the home of the Tārksyas.

Now we know from Yuan Chwang\textsuperscript{302} that to the north-west of Hu-shi-kan (Juskan of the Persians) between Balkh and Merv-al-Rud was situated the country of Ta-la-kan. The country was about five hundred lī long and 60 lī wide and its capital was ten lī in circuit; on the west it joined Po-la-ssu (Persia). M. Saint-Martin thought that Ta-la-kan could be identified with Talekan of Gharzestan, a city situated at the distance of three short journeys above Merv-al-Rud in the direction of Herat. Watters in this connection observes that the name which St. Martin has transcribed may have been Talakan or Tarkan (Ib.). Al-Idrisī however pronounces the word as Tālqān which he calls a city of great importance equal to Merv-al-Rūd. It was situated at the foot of a mountain which was the part of the mountain chain al-Jurqān. Its felt making industry was renowned. It was situated on the route which went from Merv to Balkh.\textsuperscript{303} This region also yielded emeralds as observed by Ferrier.\textsuperscript{304} Pliny's\textsuperscript{305} best Bactrian emeralds probably came from the same area. We have already seen the close connection which the word tārksya had with horses, and in the Hazara district not far from Heart excellent horses are produced.\textsuperscript{306}

\textsuperscript{301} Mallist, Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind., VII, p. 43.
\textsuperscript{302} Watters, Vol. I, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{304} Ferrier, loc. cit., pp. 51—53.
\textsuperscript{305} Pliny, XXXVII, 62—65, especially 65, 69, 71, 79.
\textsuperscript{306} Ferrier, Ib., p. 192.
siderations into account the Tārksya country could be identified with the Ta-la-Kan of Yuan Chwang.

The modern representatives of the ancient Tārksyas seem to be Tarakki—³⁰⁷—a tribe of Afghan Pavindas, largely nomad who winter about Kandhar or Tarakzaí a clan of upper Bār Mohmand settled in the dvāra ṭapā of Peshāwar (Ib.), but nothing definite could be said about this identification.

Vastrapā: M.B., II, 48, 14. The people are mentioned with the Pahlavas. No clue is given as regards their location. Their country, however, may be identified with the Vastrāpada of the Mahābhārata (III, 80, 108) in which the Pāṇḍavas after resting on the river Maladā in the Pañcanada country—³⁰⁸ entered. Vastrāpada or Vastrāpatha as it is called in the Prabhāsakhaṇḍa and to which thirty chapters are devoted, is used as a second name for Gīrṇār region in Junāgadh State in Kathiāwād.³⁰⁹ A curious legend is related in this connection. It is said that one day while Śiva and Pārvatī were seated on Mt. Kailāsa, Viṣṇu accompanied by other gods approached him and complained about his granting boons to the dāityas. At this complaint Śiva decided to disappear altogether from the scene and was followed by Pārvatī and other gods. In the meanwhile Śiva having reached Vastrāpatha cast off his garments, divested himself of his bodily form and decided to live there. The gods and Pārvatī also arrived there and took their seats on different hills—Pārvatī taking her seat on Ujjayantā (Gīrṇār). In the end Śiva was propitiated by her songs in his praise and agreed to return to Kailāsa.

Pahlava: (M.B., II, 48, 14.) They are linked with Vastrapās. If our identification of Vastrapās be correct then we should search for some ancient Iranian colony in the vicinity of Junagadh State. As observed by

³⁰⁸ Ib., III, 80, 105.
³⁰⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, pp. 238—244.
Campbell the trade connection between Persian Gulf and the Western Indian sea-board must have led to the settlement from very early times of the Pahlvas\(^{310}\) in Gujarāt and Kathiāwad. Curiously enough the Sudarsan lake in Junāgadh whose construction was ordered by Candragupta was completed by a Yavana Rājā Tusāspa on behalf of Aśoka.\(^{311}\) Tusāspa as his name indicates must have been an Iranian. The case of minister Sviśākha the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who was the Governor of Ānarta and Surāstra in the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman (150 A.D.) and was personally responsible for stopping the beach in the Sudarśana Tank shows that the Pahlava community wielded considerable influence in Kathiāwād. It is interesting to note further the connection of the officials of Iranian extraction with Kathiāwād even in the Gupta age. Prof. Jarl Charpentier of the Upsala University\(^{313}\) has shown that Parnādatta mentioned in the Girnār inscription (453-456 A.D.) was the Governor of Junāgadh in Skandagupta’s time. The inscription glorifies the deeds of Parnādatta and his son Čakrapālita\(^{314}\) when once again the embankments of the Sudarśana lake gave way. Prof. Charpentier advances argument to prove that Parnādatta was simply an Indianisation of the Iranian word Farnadāta. The name of Čakrapālita is restored to Chakharapāta. To prove the existence of ancient Iranian colony in India Mr. Hodiwala gives a novel explanation of Raghu’s conquest of the Parsis (Raghuvaṁśa, IV, 61 ff). According to him the conquest in question was of Ānarta and Saurāstra where the Parsi colony in Western India\(^{315}\) was situated.

Vāsāti: (M.B., 48, 14.) They are linked with the Mauleyas who perhaps lived in the Mula valley in Jhalawan.

\(^{311}\) Ep. Ind., VIII, pp. 46-7.
\(^{312}\) Ib.
\(^{314}\) Fleet, CII, pp. 56-65.
The Vasātis have been identified with the Ossadioi of Arrian (*Anab.* VI, 15,) who came to offer their submission while Alexander was encamped at the confluence of the Chenab and Jhelum. M. Saint-Martin places the Vasātis on the strength of Hemecandra’s *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, between the Jhelum and the Indus on the plateau of which the Salt Range forms the southern escarpment. To this identification McCrindle raises an objection that had they been situated between the Indus and Jhelum they could scarcely be supposed to have offered their submission to Alexander who had already passed the country∗∗∗ Cunningham’s efforts to identify the Ossadioi with the Yaudheyas and Johiyas lacks conviction. As we have already said the Vasātis have been linked with the Mauleyas, and if our identification of the Mauleyas be correct then the country of the Vasātis may be either situated to the north of the Mála Pass or in Sibi (Sivi) district in Baluchistan, and if they were situated to the south then the Vasātis could be located somewhere in Makran. The Sibi district is bounded on the north by Loralai district; on the south by the upper Sind Frontier District, on the east by the Dera Ghazi Khan and on the west by the Kacchi, the Bolan Pass and Quetta-Pishin.∗∗∗ Upto the end of the 15th century the district was always a dependency of Multan. It is also known to have been a part of the Ghaznavid empire.∗∗∗ This fact of Sibi being a dependency of Multan is of importance as it was near Multan that Alexander received the submission of Ossadioi and that too after the fall of the Kṣudraka-Mālavas (*Anab.* VI, 14-15). It could be said therefore that the Sibi country which was probably inhabited by the Vasātis submitted after the fall of their overlords. In this connection the inter-relation of the Vasātis, Mauleyas and the Kṣudraka-Mālavas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*...

---


218 *Ib.*, p. 338.
(Vasātayaḥ samauleyāḥ saha Kṣudraka-Mūlavaiḥ, M.B., II, 48, 14) should also be borne in mind. But in the south of the Mula pass as well there are traces of the Vasātis. Judging the course which Alexander took in his march in Gedrosia Bunbury observes that he appears to have kept along a kind of valley or plain which is found to run nearly parallel to the coast between the interior range of Mushti (or Washati) hills and the lower rugged hills that bound the immediate neighbourhood of the sea-coast. This Washati hill may have something to do with the Vasātis, but it is not certain. The modern representatives of the ancient Vasātis are probably the Sootis, a sub-caste among the Khatris of Panjāb who trace their origin to Ghazni.

Mauleya: (M.B., II, 48, 14). The home of the Mauleya people could be located on Mūla river in Balūchistān, rising in the Harboi hills and having a total length of 180 miles. As far as Kotra in Kacchi it passes with a rapid fall through the central Brahui range; in its lower reaches many flats lie along its course. The upper course is known as Soind; a little lower it is called Mushkbel and from Pāshtha Khan downwards it becomes Mūla. The Mūla drains the whole of the Jhalavan country and also the south-west of the Kacchi. The Mūla Pass out of the Jhalawan country lies along it. High among the mountains Kalāt also commands the approach of an important pass to the plain, i.e., the Mūla. Through his pass passed a commercial high road in olden days but which has long been superseded by the Quetta passes f Harnai and Bolan.

In the Arthaśāstra (p. 77) the gems found in the Mauleya mountains are termed Mauleyaka. Baluchistān and Kalāt State in modern times do not seem to produce any gem.

319 Bunbury, History of Ancient Geography, pp. 519-20.
Kṣudraka-Mālava: (M.B., II, 48, 14.) They are linked with the Vasātis and the Mauleyas. In Sanskrit texts the Kṣudraka-Mālavas are taken as a compound which confirms the Greek tradition. The Mahābhāṣya (IV, 2, 45) cites the dvandva Kṣudraka-Mālava, and the same text relates the opinion of the grammarian kātvāvāna giving Kṣudraka-Mālavi, "the army of the Kṣudraka-Mālavas." It is also known that at certain times the Kṣudrakas were victorious without aid (ekākibhibḥ Kṣudrakairjītam, Mahābhāṣya, I, 1, 24; 21; V, 3, 52) which perhaps indicates that they fought without the aid of the Mālavas. They are also mentioned along with the Mālavas as an āyudhajīvī-saṅgha (Ib., V, 3, 114).

The most powerful republic which Alexander met in his retreat from the Panjab were the Kṣudraka-Mālavas spelt by the Greek as Oxydrakai and Malloi respectively. They were living on the Hydaspes after its confluence with Akesines and were considered to be the most warlike of all the India tribes (Arrian, Anab. VI, 4). The Malloi are called independent Indians (Ib., VI, 6) and their cities were situated along the Chenab and the capital along the Rāvi. Arrian places the Oxydraki (Indika, C. IV) on the Hydaspes above its confluence with the Akesines. Bunbury is inclined to think that they lived on the east or left bank of the Satlaj (the State of Bahawalpur) and may have extended as far as the junction of the Satlaj with the Indus. The territory of the Malloi was of great extent comprehending a part of the Doab formed by the Akesines and Hydraotis and extending, according to Arrian (Indika, C. IV), to the confluence of the Akesines and the Indus. Their capital has been identified with Multan, and their territory with the district of Multan.332

M. Prytzlski has started a new theory about the Kṣudraka-Mālavas.333 According to him Kṣudraka means

---

small and Mālava inseparable from Malla and Madra\textsuperscript{324} mean fighter and wrestler; the Mallas in the Kṣudraka-Mālava group were of Iranian origin and the Kṣudrakas were the aborigines and hence the epithet small in comparison with the great and powerful Iranians.\textsuperscript{325} We have already discussed the Iranian element in Madras previously. It is doubtful however to designate the Kṣudrakas as aborigines on a flimsy ground that the word in Sanskrit means small and therefore used in a derogatory sense.

Saundika: (M.B., II, 48, 15.) Saunḍika in Sanskrit means a dealer in wines (Hemacandra, Abhīdhānācin-tāmāṇī, 90). Nothing is known about their location. Perhaps they may be connected with the Sondhis, a sub-caste among the Khatris of the Panjāb.

Āṅga and Vaṅga: (M.B., II, 48, 15.) The Āṅgas lived in the area which is now represented by Bhagalpur district in Bihār. The country of the Vaṅgas, however in ancient times did not include the whole of Bengal. In ancient records and epigraphs it is distinguished from Rāḍha which included Suhma and Gauḍa all making Western Bengal but also from Pundra and Pundra-Vardhana which included Varendra making up northern Bengal. Vaṅga thus in ancient times stood for what is known in modern times as Eastern Bengal, comprising the modern Dacca and Chittagong divisions.\textsuperscript{326}

Pundra: (M.B., II, 48, 15.) They are connected with the Tāmraliaptas (MB., II, 48, 17). On the basis of various Pauranic allusions Pargiter identifies the Pundra country as modern Chotā Nāgpur with the exception of southern portions (Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p. 329), \textit{i.e.}, the modern district of Santal-parganas, Birbhum and the

\textsuperscript{323} J.A., April—June, 1929, pp. 313-14.
\textsuperscript{324} J.A., 1926, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{325} J.A., 1929, April—June, pp. 313-14.
\textsuperscript{326} Indian Culture, Vol. I, p. 57.
northern portion of Hazaribagh. Mr. Sāstri\textsuperscript{327} identifies the Pundra country with Maldah, portions of Purnea east of the Kosi, a part of Dinajpur and Rajshahi.\textsuperscript{328}

Śānativya: (M.B., II, 48, 15.) They are coupled with the Gayas or the people of modern Gaya district. There should be no difficulty in identifying them with the modern Santāls. The Santal parganas in the southern Bhagalpur Division have an area of 5470 sq. miles. The area is bounded on the north by the district of Bhagalpur and Purnea, on the east by Malda, Murshidābād and Birbhum, on the south by Burdwan and Mānbhum and on the west by Hazaribāgh, Monghyr and Bhagalpur.\textsuperscript{329}

The Santals are a typical race of aboriginal stock and are akin to Bhūmiyās, Hos and Munḍās. Their original home is not known, but in comparatively remote period they were settled in Hazaribāgh plateau, and it is noticeable that the Damodar river by which its southern face is drained, is the territorial object most venerated by them. Within the last few centuries they have worked eastwards and are numerous in the eastern half of the Chotā Nagpur plateau and in Midnapur; and they are now emigrating to north Bengal and Assam.\textsuperscript{330} It seems that in the age of the Mahābhārata they lived in the area which is now known as Hazaribagh district which is conterminous with the Gaya district.

Gaya: (M.B., II, 48, 15.) They may be located with the modern district of Gaya comprising two tracts—that to the north being a level plain dotted with the isolated hills and containing some long hill ranges, and the country to south undulating with the several hills forming the northern fringe of the Chotā Nagpur plateau.

Kaliṅga: (M.B., II, 48, 17.) The proximity of the

\textsuperscript{327} Cunningham, Ancient Geography, notes, pp. 723–725.
\textsuperscript{328} Ib., p. 724.
\textsuperscript{329} Imp. Gaz., XXII, pp. 60-61.
\textsuperscript{330} Ib., p. 67.
Kalinga country with the Vaitaranī river is emphasised in the Mahābhārata (ete Kalingāḥ Kaunteya yatra Vaitaranī nadi, M.B., III, 114, 4). The river Vaitaranī was its northern boundary. Thus the ancient Kalinga comprised modern Orissa to the south of the Vaitaranī and the sea-coast southward as far as Vizagapatam. The plural use of Kalingapatyāḥ shows that there were many Kalinga chiefs.

Tamralipta: M.B., II, 48, 17. The Tamralipti from the very beginning has been a very important port on the Bay of Bengal. From this port the mission of Asoka started for Ceylon (Mahāsamsa, XI, 38; XIX, 6). The Jaina Prajināpana mentions Tamralipti with Vaṅga (Ind. Studien, XVI, 397). The Daśakumāracarita (p. 205, 1936 ed. Bombay) cites Dāmlipta (Tamralipti) as a city of Suhma. It commanded the entrance to the mouth of the Ganges. The modern town of Tamluk is situated on the Rupantarayan not far from its junction with Hughli. It is the eastern sub-division of Midnapur District.

The spelling of Tamralipti was never constant. Hemicandra (Abhikidhānakintāmaṇi, V, 979) gives four forms Tamalipta, Dāmlipta, Tamalipti, and Tamālini. The forms Tāmra and Tama occur in all manuscripts. The Chinese transcribe it as To-mo-li-ti- (Fa-hien), and Tamo-li-ti (Yuan Chwang). Ptolemy (VII, 1, 76) gives Tamalites. The name Tamralipti was also transported to Cambay. The Pañcadasaṇḍacaturaprābandha (ed. by Weber, p. 3) mentions Tamralipti in Cambay. An island named Tāmra also appears in the expedition of Sahadeva in Western India (M.B., II, 28, 46). The efforts to derive its name from Sanskrit, however, has been useless as the initials kam and tam in both the words are of Munḍa-khmer origin.

---


Dukūla (B.B. II, 48, 17). A kind of very fine cloth made from the fibres obtained from the inner bark of the dukūla plant. The dukūla cloth is also mentioned in the Arthaśāstra (pp. 113-14). Perhaps it was byssos of the Roman writers.\footnote{333}

Kauśika: (M.B., II, 48, 17). It seems that Bengal had already become famous for its silk. In the Kashmir version of the Rāmāyana Kīśkindhā Kāṇḍa the country of the Kośakāras is mentioned.\footnote{334} The commentator Rāma glosses it as the country of the 'cocoons-makers', i.e., the country where the cocoon were available in great abundance. The city of the Kośakāras is mentioned in the Bengali version just after the river Lauhitya and its situation may thus be either in Bengal or Assam.

Patrona: (M.B., II, 48, 17.) Calosanthes Indica. In the dictionary its meaning is given as wove-silk or silk garment, or perhaps also cotton.\footnote{335} The finest muslin in the Periplus is mentioned as the Ganges and was manufactured perhaps in Dacca district.\footnote{336} The Nāgas of Kaliṅga country were so famous in the art of weaving that the word Kaliṅga in Tamil came to signify cloth.\footnote{337}

Prāvara: (M.B., II, 48, 17). Prāvara or Prāvara has been described as an outer garment or cloak.\footnote{338} In the Amarakośa (II, 6, 117) prāvara is uttarāsaṅga, i.e., dupatā, or cādar. It was also used in the sense of mantle in Buddhist literature (Kauseyaprāvāra, Mahāvagga, VIII, 1, 36.). It seems that some cloth-merchants

\footnote{333}{Warmington, loc. cit., p. 212.}
\footnote{334}{Lévi, J.A., 1918, Jan.-Feb., pp. 73-74.}
\footnote{335}{Monier Williams, Sanskrit English Dictionary.}
\footnote{336}{Schoff, Periplus of the Erythrean sea, p. 46.}
\footnote{337}{Kanakasahhā, The Tamils eighteen hundred years ago, p 45.}
\footnote{338}{Monier William, Sanskrit English Dictionary.}
specialised in dealing exclusively in the duṇḍhas and cāḍars. Thus in the Ins. No. 131 at Sānciṣṭī a cāḍar seller (pāvārika) is mentioned. The existence of this class of merchants should not be doubted as there were hundreds of varieties in the cāḍars which only a specialist could stock. In the Mānasollāsa of Someśvara (1127—1138 A.D.) (Mānasollāsa, Vol. II, p. 89, s. 33, Baroda, 1939) it is mentioned that the hankerers after fashion loved to show off the prāvāras of various measurements (prāvāra vividhākāra daśita vastra-dhāribhiḥ); they were made of various coloured materials and silk (vicitra-varṇasastraṇī-paṭṭasātraṇayāṇi ca).

Elephants: (M.B., II, 48, 19-20.) There are several points to be considered. Firstly the elephants came from Kāmyakasara (abhitak Kāmyakah Saram) (M.B., II, 48, 19). This may suggest at once the Kamarūpa country or Assam, but there is no reference in the Mahābhārata which even suggests that Kāmarūpa had come into being as Assam is usually known as Prāgjyotisa. In the Arthaśāstra (p. 49) the elephants bred in Kaliṅga, Anūga, Kāruṣa and Eastern India are mentioned to be the best; those of Daśārṇa and middle country are of middle quality and of Saurāstra and Pañcajana country of low quality. In this list the elephants of the east may mean Assam elephants. In the Mahābhārata however we know of a Kāmyaka forest (M.B., III, 84, 16). Lomaśa gives warning to Yudhiṣṭhira (M.B., III, 90) of the dangers lurking in the unknown places and finally accompanies him on his pilgrimage. He first goes to Nāgapura (M.B., III, 90, 22) and lives for three days in the Kāmyaka forest (Ib., 90, 24). Here they were joined by a further party of the Brāhmins who describe the wild nature of the country infested with wild beasts and covered with impenetrable jungle (Ib., III, 91, 4). No further information about the tīrthas in this region is given, and abruptly we find the Pāṇḍavas returning to Naimiśāranya (Ib., III, 93, 1).

Nāgapura in this description could be identified with the Choṭā Nāgpur area, and the Kāmyaka forest on the fringes of that area. The so called Choṭā Nāgpur plateau extends beyond the limits of the division into the tributary states of Choṭā Nāgpur and Orissa on the south-west and south and through the Santāl Parganas to the Ganges on the north-east, while its outlying fringes stretch out into the south of the Patnā and Bhāgalpur divisions on the east. There are three plateaus in the stricter application of the term, one in Rānchi and two in Hazāribāgh. Elsewhere this is often very broken and numerous ranges or groups of steep hills are intersected by deep ravines and occasionally by valleys.  

The division is the home of the non-Arayn tribes who were never properly subjugated by the early Aryan invaders. It may be seen from the above description, how truly the Mahābhārata has described the nature of the country where Kāmyaka forest was situated. There is however one hitch, the elephants came from the Kāmyaka Lake, and there is no lake in Chota Nāgpur proper. But looking towards the extended area of Choṭā Nāgpur beyond its modern administrative division in the Orissa tributary states on the south west and south, one could identify the Kāmyakasara with the Chilka Lake, a shallow inland gulf situated in the south east corner of Puri district, Orissa and in the extreme south extending into Ganjam district.  

This identification should also support the superiority of Kaliṅga elephants as mentioned in the Arthaśāstra.

The elephants for presentation had powerful tusks (iṣādaṇṭān), begirt with golden girdles (hemakākṣān), and fitted with lotus coloured elephant-cloths (padmavarnakaṭhāṛṭān) (M.B., II, 48, 19); they were mountain high (śailābhāḥ) and always in ruts (niṣṭaṇa mottamāca). Further

341 Ib., Vol. X., p. 224.
342 Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p. 753.
these elephants were fitted with armours (*kavačavṛtān*) and were of even temper (*ksamāvcataḥ*) and of good breed (*kālināmśca*) (Ib., II, 48, 20).

Gandharva: (M.B., II, 48, 22-23.) The Gandharva country has been identified by Mr. S. M. Sastri on the basis of reference from the *Ramāyana Uttarakāṇḍa* (CXIII, 10-11) with the Gandhāra country. The Gandharva country in the *Ramāyana* is said to be situated on both banks of the Indus. Bharata installed his son Takṣa at Takṣasīlā and his other son Puṣkala at Puṣkalāvyati (*Uttarakāṇḍa*, CXIV, 11). The Gandharva Kings Citraratha and Tumburu made presents of horses for which the Gandharva country was famous, to Yudhishṭhira.

Śūkara: (M.B., II, 48, 24). The name is very rare in Sanskrit literature and no references are available to indicate the direction in which the Śūkaras lived. In the Chinese version of the *Candragarbhasūtra* (Section LV of *Mahāsarvanipāta*) among the ten kingdoms under Śvāti *naksatra* there is one named as Chou-kia-lo whose original Sanskrit form Śūkara has been restored by M. Lévi.

The word in Sanskrit means 'one who makes a snorting sound,' and hence the pig. It may be surmised therefore that the Śūkaras were some non-Aryan tribe whose speech was not understandable by the Indo-Aryan speaking world. They may be identified with the Sabaras known as Saur, Sar, Sayar, Suir, and Suiri. It may be noticed that the Prākrit forms Saur etc., are traceable from Śūkara. The Sabaras mainly live in Orissa, Chotā Nagpur and western Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces. They speak a language of Mundarian group. They perhaps represent the main body of an ancient race, an isolated fragment of which survives in the Rajmahal Hills. The Sabaras are usually identified with the

---

Sabarai of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 81). A number of ancient monuments in Shahabad District in Bihar are ascribed to Sabars or Suirs.

Pāṁṣu or Paṁsu Rāṣṭra: (M.B., II, 48, 26.) Vikṣarādya one of the sons of Anāyus (M.B I, 61, 39) became the king of Pāṁṣuraṣṭra. The Pāṁsuses were invited to join the Pāṇḍava side in the Great War (M.B., V, 4, 17) and are mentioned just before the Audras (Ib., 4, 18). This unity of Audras and Pāṁsuses is also supported by the Oṛh-Pāṅ, one of the five subcastes of the Pāṅs who were probably sprung from Oriya fathers and Pāṅ mothers.346 The connection with the Oriya people locates them somewhere in Orissa or Chotā Nāgpur. There is every possibility that they were the ancestors of modern Pāṅ tribe, also known as Pāṅva, Pāṅr, Pānika etc.,—a low weaving, basket-making servile caste scattered under various names throughout the north of Orissa and the southern and western part of Chotā Nāgpur. According to Dalton whose opinion about the origin of the Pāṅs is somewhat confused these people are Aryans,347 and probably the remnants of the Aryan colonies subjugated by the Hos;348 at another place they are said to be indistinguishable from the Ho community.349 Risley however does not agree with the Aryan origin of the Pāṅs350 as according to him they claim their descent from the serpents and their caste has a very numerous set of totems.

Simāhala: (M.B., II, 48, 30, 31.) Simāhala or Ceylon is well known. The presentation which the Sinhalese people made, however, to Yudhiṣṭhira are of interest. They are described below.

Samudrasāra: (M.B., II, 48, 30.) In the dictionary it has been described ‘quintessence of the sea’ or pearls.351

347 Dalton, Ethnology of Bengal, p. 325.
348 Ib., 185.
349 Ib., pp. 196, 325.
351 Monier Williams, loc. cit., p. 1167, Col. 1.
It could not be pearl as the pearls are mentioned separately in the lists of the gifts—perhaps the samudrasāra is the same as samudraphena, the cuttle-fish bone, but this is not certain.

Vaiḍūrya: (M.B., II, 48, 30). Originally the Vaiḍūrya was generally identified with the beryl, but the researches of R. Garbe (Die Indischen Mineralien, p 85, n. 2) and S.M. Tagore (Manimālā, p. 252, s qq) have proved that the vaiḍūrya was the cat’s-eye—the principal argument supporting this view is that in the description of the vaiḍūrya in the Sanskrit literature on jewellery it has often the resemblance of cat’s-eye. In India the mountain Vidūra from which Vaiḍūrya was found has been mentioned by Buddha Bhaṭṭā as situated on the frontier of two countries—the first is Koṅga corresponding to the modern district of Salem and Coimbtore with some parts of Tinnevelly and Travancore. The correct text of Valika which follows Koṅga in Buddha Bhaṭṭa is Colaka who inhabited the Coromandal coast and therefore the Vidūra mountains should be searched in the south of the Eastern Ghats. The massif of Shivarai corresponds perfectly to these conditions, and it is known that the District of Salem is very rich in mineral resources particularly quartz and corundum of different species. Ceylon and Ratanpur also produced quartz and cat’s eye. The Romans also knew of the corundum cat’s-eye which occurs in Ceylon. Perhaps both the qualities of the cat’s-eye are referred to under vaiḍūrya from Ceylon.

Pearls: The chief locality for pearl fishery was the Gulf of Manaar with the result that Ceylon is always mentioned as a source of pearl in Buddhist and Sanskrit literature. In the Arthaśāstra (pp. 75-76) the Ceylon or

---

332 Finot, loc. cit., p. 43, s. 199.
333 Wilson, Mackenzie Collection, 2nd ed., p. 209.
334 Finot, loc. cit., pp. XLVI—VII.
335 Watts, Dict. of Ec. Pro. S. V. Carnelian.
336 Warmington, loc. cit., p. 249.
kauleya pearls are enumerated along the pearls from Pāṇḍya kingdom and other places. Varāhamihira (LXXXI, 2) includes Simhala as one of the eight places where there were pearl fisheries. The Agastimata\(^{357}\) also includes Simhala as a premier place for pearl fishery—the others being Ārvāṭi, Barbara and Pārasīka.

**Saṃkha**: (M.B., II, 48, 30.) As late as the 6th century conch-shells were being exported from India and Ceylon to Italy. The sacred chank (a gastropod, Turbenella rapa) of the Gulf of Manaar still provides vessels, musical instruments etc. We learn of old chank-cutters working in Korkai and Kāveripaṭṭīnām.\(^{358}\)

**Kutha**: (M.B., II, 48, 30.) A printed or variegated cloth serving as an elephant’s housing. It seems that Ceylon specialised in such sort of cloth.

All the gifts mentioned above were brought by the Simhalese men with the corners of their eyes somewhat red (Śyāmāśāmrāṅtaloṣaṅaḥ), clothed in fine garments and jewels (M.B. II, 48, 31).

---


APPENDIX I

SANSKRIT TEXT

Sabhāparva. 45-24.

श्रावण: वातवामासः गोमलः अरसंपथः।
शैवेश्व विलमादाय ह्यारि तिथिनि वारितः॥

Sabhāparva. 46-21.

आर्यजिते इवामाललो विच्छालेवः बिकोऽकुः।
कार्तकेः लोहुलः प्रायूविडिरतिनिवेषाऽ॥

Sabhāparva. 45, 19-20.

कलिमुग्मोक्ति वृष्णामामालानि व
कामाज्ञाति: प्राहितं मस्म पराध्यतीति कामवानः।॥१॥
रघुविद्वादशक्ष शतशोष भ्रमणः:
विषालं ब्रोजनामीनां शतानि विचरस्वपुर्॥२॥

Sabhāparva. 47.

ययुमया पाषाणवालं तदुपर्तु तलखः
भारत आह्नु मूर्मितैशि वसु सूक्ष्माय तत्सत्तः॥१॥
न विद्ये हुस्मानां हुस्मानां वतरेवनामः
फलो भूमिती वापि शतश्च स्वर्यः भारत॥२॥

variants: K1, प्रवागः, प्रवागः K. 2, 3; S1, N3, V1, B1, 2 Dn. Dn
206 od. n. कैलान्द्र

119
यहाँ के स्त्रोतों द्वारा स्मरण मिलता:
मृत्यु विश्वसनीय है। राष्ट्रीयविज्ञान जी.
बांध द इल्लामाधव गणक एसमिनिसिन;
उपनिवेश द्वारा इमामान्यार्यादेवाजुल ॥
उच्छस्त्रोतींसम्पूर्ण पाली-तत्त्वस्मृति ने
समुद्रिकुल्टिब जाता: प्रभुसमुद्र व मानव। ॥
ने बैँकमा: पार्वतीश्वर ब्रजसमुद्र ३३६ लिखव: सहि
विविध बलिदानार न्यायविधिमान स् ॥ १५०॥
अजायविन गोहर्वव श्रीराव फलम मनु
कपालिनिविधास्मूति द्वारा लिखनय वारित: ॥ १५१॥
प्रामाण्योपाधिप: भुगुर्व जेल्मानामध्य्यकी
गयो: सहिते राजा भागवती महाराज ॥ १५२॥
अंतर्वर्त्त्युवाच्यीक्षानालेखनं निर्देशः।
बांध द इल्लामाधव द्वारा लिखित वारित: ॥ १५३॥
वश्वासर्वस्मार्कान्याय भापुरुः गणकवाज ॥
प्रामाण्योपाधिप तद्युत्त भागवती गुरु ॥
विश्वस्त्रोतोऽक्षया-लक्ष्यादानात्मविधि: नमोनामुः
श्रीमान्यानन्दसान्तनाव साहित्यम् ३३१ पृष्ठाकारः ॥ १५६॥
एकाशदिश तथा विवरणार द्वारा पालितम्
स्त्रयो: द्वारकामये हिमान्य रथव दो ॥ १५४॥
इत्यादिकण्ठवीर्यमपुष्करस्यात्ममहारा
लोकावर्त्त्युवाच्यीक्षानालेखनं निर्देशः ॥ १५७॥
अंतर्वर्त्त्युवाच्यीक्षानालेखनं निर्देशः
साहित्यमानः ॥: देहुरस्त्रोतींसम्पूर्ण ॥ १५८॥
विनयवाच्यीक्षानालेखनं निर्देशः
साहित्यमानः राधार्णोपाधिपः ॥ १५९॥
न परवर्त्त्युवाच्यीक्षानालेखनं निर्देशः
प्रामाण्योपाधिप: द्वारकामये हिमान्य रथव ॥ १५०॥
कृष्णवाच्यीक्षानालेखनं निर्देशः
गाहर्वव-देहुरस्त्रोतींसम्पूर्ण रिद्वपुरुः ॥ १५१॥
प्रामाण्योपाधिप: द्वारकामये हिमान्य रथव ॥ १५२॥
कृष्णवाच्यीक्षानालेखनं निर्देशः
प्रामाण्योपाधिप: द्वारकामये हिमान्य रथव ॥ १५३॥

336 D° आमीं: B 1.4-5 D1. 5 गुरुमान
337 N, B4, DN (!) D° एक्षां
338 S1 हारकांह; K1 हार (m°री) हुरकांह.
339 कृष्णवाच्यीक्षानालेखनं निर्देशः

निषिद्धतावें दीर्घस्वस्ती: नृपित्वित्वक्षित्वें परस्परवंशान् ।
श्रावंस्वस्ती: मृदुस्वस्ती: परस्परवंशान् ॥१२४॥
रसामाणस्वस्ती: निषिद्धपूर्वनि: स महस्मयः।
जय च हुल्मस्वस्ती: जय च तिष्ठलनी वारिता: ॥१२५॥
शकालसुबारा:। ३३६। काशी: ३३८। रोमणा:। श्रव्यातो नर:।
महामातृस्वस्ती:नमस्तिवंशानूँ हयान: ॥१२६॥
कोदिश्वेभो वहुः। सुवर्णं परस्परसितम्।
विश्रामाय निषिद्धं जयारी निषिद्धत: वारिता: ॥१२७॥
आतनानि महाहरि: यातानि यातानि च।
माणिक्यनितेषु जगद्वितमानि च ॥१२८॥
रवाणसिन्धुवंशारणा: जयारपरितुष्टानु।
हृदिनीनी:। संग्रामानिवासपरिहारणश। ॥१२९॥
विश्रामाय: जयारामानुरत्नानि: सहस्वः।
जयारामानुरत्नानि: सहस्वः। ॥१३०॥
एवंहु: महादृवं पुरेराविविधो नृपः।
प्रविष्टो यथसवं पानवस्व महामान: ॥१३१॥

Chapter 48.

यास्य तृतैः तिष्ठति सुवर्णां मेयावो जयारापे।
युज्याराजग्रहदार्जेन महानान् धनस्तिवंशानु ॥१२२॥
संग्रामस्थरवंशाय: शोकोवादाय: संग्रामोऽहुः।
ये ते कीक्षेत्राणि कामो विल्लयात्मानान्तः ॥१२३॥
वा४५५। एकाकाना ज्वोहं:। प्रवरा कीक्षेत्रः।
पपुस्तावं कुणिन्दास्त तिष्ठतः:। परस्यात: ॥१३३॥
ते ते पितृपितृ नाम वरदः ३३७। पितृपितृः।
जाताय:।। श्रुतेन सध्याय:।। पुष्कराणी गृहः। ॥१३४॥
क्रुङ्गकलामं नाग्राण्डनकलामकास्मिनयः।
हिममुकुन्दाल्लादारण्डनकलामकास्मिनयः।
हिममकुन्दाल्लादः जैव व्याहु ज्वोह तथा ज्वोहः ॥१३५॥
उत्तरवेष्ट्ट:। कुणिन्दास्तावश्चाय:। माल्यसन्तः।
उत्तराधिकान्तास्तोऽस्वः।। सुमहावलः। ॥१३६॥
परस्यक्ष्मा बिन्द श्रावमाह्स्य प्रणता:। सिद्धः।
अजाताय:।। नृपेश्चाति:। तिष्ठतां वारिता: ॥१३७॥

334 श्रव्यः; S₁ श्रव्यः; N₁ श्रव्यः; ।
335 J₁ G₁ 3-6 M कृष्ण (G₄ कृष्ण) for कुणिन्द
336 N₁ V₁ B 2-6 D क्रुङ्गक (B 3-6 D 2-5 व) ना क्रुङ्गक (D 3-5 कुङ्गक); D₆ श्रोहः (3 पाला K Dn D₆ for पुष्करा. (4) N₁ V₁ BD except D₆ कुङ्गक). ।
337 Dn (l) D₆ ज्वोहः नृपः,।
338 J₁ G 3-6 मुः,।
वे त्राभि रूपमे प्रस्तुत: सुप्रतीति विशेषतःः
वारिष्ट्यसमग्राते: जोहितमभित्तिः जो
फलमलावनम् वे च किरातार्क्यमभागातः;
वन्तायानुकृताओऽशरतोऽप्रकृताः च
चर्यरतसमस्वरूपानां गतानां चौभ राजामः;
कौरायक्तानयुक्त दारियोऽ च विद्यान्ते
आहुतय रमणीयापापनुरराजामुपपक्षाः;
निपुर्त परिभयवर्ण हिरण्य भूरीवृक्षाम्
बलि च नृत्तमाध्यम द्वारि विनिविवर्तित बारिता;
कायथा: दरवा दि शुरा वैमकामकात्या
पोल्लः 271 कृति भाषाम: पारवा वाल्लः: तह
काश्मीरः: कुलमानारः 272 पेरोऽः 273 इकायत्याः
शिविर्गवङ्गपेठीयारा राजस्य मात्रकः कः;
बब्बः: कौकुर्मरः वथः: प्रजः: सह
वसाय: समुऽः: सहः: इकायत्याः
श्रीनिवः 274 कुलुदु रार्तेव वा कालक्षेत्र विनायं
अन्वो वृक्षः पुष्कराण शालवना गायास्तः
सुनातः: ओषिनमः: वेयाः: चलमायणः
अहारः: कृति विविषि चतुरोपीतावलः;
वृक्षः: करिन्दर्जापतान्त्रामासः: सापुः
कुलुदु कोषिकः चौभ पत्रोऽः वाल्लः
तस्य तस्य द्वारपालीते रोहिनयोऽः राजस्यमाताः
हुतः च: सुलभासातोऽः द्वारमातः
ईशादताम्बोधकांशद्वादशस्यकुचवातान्
श्रीमान्मतित्वमपातान्त्र अमितः
कामकः सचः 275 दर्श्याकु: देशावातानुणु:-
करतातः: पुलिनाश्च द्रारेण प्रार्विव स्ततः
एते चात्व महावो गणा विविषाः: समायातः
अन्वेषोपाहुतान्त्र रत्नानीह महालम्बाः;
राजा विनायकाः नाम गन्धेऽः वाप्स्वानुः
शालिनि बत्त्वायीद्यमानाः बालरथस्याः

270 N₁ V₁ B 2-6 D₄ D 3-5 कार्यः (D₄ D 3 D₃ B)
270 K 1-3 कोशीनं; K₄ N₁ V₁ BD 1-5 कर्मणां D₄ (!) कार्याः; M₂ कार्यः;
271 B 1-4 श्रीका (B 2 थं) तथा; D₁ उद्भवः
272 K₄ D₄ (!) D₆ कुरुमाराणः
273 K₄ N₁ V₁ D₄, D₆ श्रीका instead of पीरका
274 K₄ श्रीका; K₄ D₄ (!) D₆ श्रीका;
तुञ्चस्तु प्रमुद्तीं मंडलां वाजिना शतं
आसपितस्वर्णामदद्वेमालिनाम॥२३॥
कुतैं च राजा कौर्य शुकराणां विशापते
अददृकवर्णानां वतानि शुचूवस्यपि॥२४॥
पांशुरार्जायुशमानो राजा पवित्रबशि गजान्
अस्वाना च सहसे व्र राजनकालमालिनाम॥२५॥
बयस्त्रोपप्रशानां क्योक्षानां नरसिंह्
बल च वृत्तमादाय पाण्डवेश्यो यवेदयत्॥२६॥
बज्जेन्नेन दासीनां सहस्याणि बघुदेश
वासानामपूतं वैम सवाराणि विशापते॥२८॥
गजुस्तिा महाराज रथा: पवित्रादितशाना
राज्य च हुलन पार्थेयो पञ्चार्य वै निविदिषम॥२९॥
समुद्सार बदृङ्क्म मुक्तान: वासमालवे च
शतवाण्डु नवासास्व विहला: सम्पाश्यत॥३०॥
मंडलां मणिस्तैरस्तु श्यामासामालकोलोकना
गायहितिका नरसतव इति निख्याति शाहिता॥३१॥
APPENDIX II

Taṅgaṇas. In the Pūrabhāga of the Āraśyaakaṭūrṇi (Ratlam, 1928) a very interesting account of the method of transacting business by the Taṅgaṇas is given. I quote the text with its translation:

उत्तराखंट नाम म्लेच्छिः। ते सुवद्यक्षेत्रहीर्द
वस्तिना वहृमाइ मण्डलाय गैण्डित। ते य अवराहर
मार्गे न जापित, म्लेच्छा पुरुषे करति हृद्यमेष
अण्डेविन्ति, जाव इच्छा ण पूरिति ताव न अवर्णित। (p. 120).

"In the northern regions live the mleccha Taṅkaṇas. They with gold, ivory and other commodities, exchange the commodities of Dakṣināpatha. As they do not understand the language of each other they arrange their goods in a heap and cover it with their hand which they do not remove till their demand is fulfilled".

In the same description of the trade method of the Taṅkaṇas quoted by Haribhadra in his Āraśyaka Ṭikā (I, pp. 99 & 100a, Bombay, 1916) the Taṅkaṇas are said to have bought the commodities of the southern regions with gold only. There is no mention of ivory.

It is remarkable that even in present day the people from Kashgar side who are known as Taṅgaṇs bring gold-dust and semi-precious stones including jade to the markets of Srinagar in Kashmir. They do not visit however the Deccan as in the former days.
INDEX

A
Abhisāra, identified with Chi-bhāl, 37.
Afghanistān, 2, 9, 10, 12, 13, 19, 37, 66, 67, 81, 87, 91.
Agrodaka, identified with Agrohā; on trade route from Takṣaśilā to Mathurā, 89.
Agrohā, 64.
aidān, woollen-cloth, 36.
Aimāks, wandering tribes of Central Afghanistān, 88. See also Vaiyamakas
ajina, deer-skin, 36.
akārāpasa vastram, not cotton-cloth, 69
Alai Range, 80
Alexander of Epirus, a mission sent to him by Aśoka, 25
Alexandrovsky Range, 15.
Al-Jurqan, a mountain chain, 103
Alketas, 80
Ambaśṭhas, an eponymous king mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa; identified with Abastonoi or Sambastai; in the Bṛhaspatya Arthaśāstra, mentioned with Kāśmīrīras, Ḥuṇas and Sīndhus; probably settled on Lower Chenāb, 101
Amethyst, its sources, 57
Amoghbhuṭi, a Kuninda king, 78
Andarāb, a river in Afghanistān, 12
Ānartta, 105
Amboh, 40
Andhras, dubbed as false rulers, 4, 24, 77
Anāga, located in Bhāgalpur District, Bhāṛ, 109, 113
Antākhi, identified with Antioch, 24
Antigonus, a mission sent to him by Aśoka, 25
Antioch, 24; a city founded by Seleucus in Syria, 25. See Antākhi.
Antiochus I, friendly relations with the Mauryas, 25
Antiochus II, a mission sent to him by Aśoka, 25
Antiochus III, meets the Mauryan Prince Sophagase-nus, 25
Antiochus IV, no direct connection with India, 26
Aparānta, not Konkan but north-western tribal-land, 70-71; products; felts, skins and good weapons, 70
Apollodotus, laid siege to Madhyamikā, 28
Arabī, their country a part of India; their home on river Porāli in Baluchistān, 51
Arabios River, identified with modern Porāli, 51. See Arabī.
Arachosia (Kandhār), 21; ceded by Seleucus to Chandragupta Maurya, 24, 66
Araśces, 37
Arattas, 47
artha, a kind of, arrow forming present from the people of Eastern India, 74
Aria (Herat), a part ceded to Chandragupta Maurya, 24, 66, 91
Ariana, 91
Arian, 17
Arjuna, his conquest of north, 8, 9; his conquest divisible in several parts, 11; 12, 13, 19, 48, 77
Arodaś, 65
Aromatic woods, Assam their source, 85. See also Kiratas.
Ārāśi kānta, the language of the Sakas, 14
Arvāṭī, a pearl exporting country, 118
āsana, chairs, 73
Ashkuman, 93
Asiani, equal to Yue-chi according to Tarn, 16
Asii, a component of the Yue-chi, 16; lords of Tochari, 23
asmagarbha, a semi-precious stone, 57
asmasara, amethyst, 57; may be jadeite, 58
Asoka, sent missions to foreign kings, 25, 70, 105
Assam, 57, 58, 71, 85, 112, 113
Asses, their distribution in Syria, Gobi, Baluchistan and Western India, 5
Astorias, 87
Aswan, 102
Atari, identified by Cunningham as a city of the Brahmanas, 32
Athenaeus, gives an account of drugs and presents sent to Seleucus; also an account of Bindusara's embassy to Antiochus I, 25
Attalos, 80
Audambara, 90. See Audumbaras.
Audras, the Oriyas
Audumbara, 90. See Audumbaras.
Audumbaras, their coins; their kings; their location; mentioned in Ganapatya, 88; the Vinaya of the Mulasarmastivadins mentions a trade-route through their country, 89; their prosperity; intermediaries of trade between the hills and the plains; special variety of cloth produced in their country, 10; Kotumbara and Audumbara, 90; durvihaga denoting probable connection with the Salvas, 106; 96, 98; located in Pathankot region, 99
Aupamanyava, 33
aurum, woolen-cloth, 68
Aurukkas, dubbed as false rulers, 4
Ausniyas, a wandering tribe, 59
Avastanes, 80
Avanti, 38
Avikan, lamb pelts, 69; Eastern Afghanistân famous for lamb pelts, 1d.
Ayodhya, 68, 72
Azar-i-asp, a fire temple at Balkh, 91

B

Babri, a port from which Chinese hides and furs were exported, 69
Bactria, 15; its conquest by Sakas erroneous; the conquest attributed to four tribes, 16; 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 75; Greek geographers on Bactria, 91; principal part of Ariana, 1d.
Bactriane, 91. See Bactria.
Bactrus, a river in Bactria which is now the united stream of Band-i-Amir and Darrah, 91
Badakhshan, 12, 13, 18, 36; its natural products, 39; its azure and ruby mines, 40; 45, 58, 59, 87
Baghlan, a river in Afghanis-tan; the route taken by Wood and Lord between the Oxus and Kabul passed along this river, 12, 13.
Also see Phalgu.
Bahlkas, identified by Pargitar with Vakhlikas, 90
Bahllikas, their country identified with Bactria, the modern Balkh, 12. See also Vahllikas.
Bakhkhan, alternative reading for Romakhan, 59.
Bajaur, 92. See Ghorakas.
Balkh, 38, 90, 103. See also Bactria, Bahlkika and Vahl-
Ika.
Ballavar, 87. See Dârvas.
Band-i-Amir, 91. See Bactrus.
Bârahsena, 64
Barbara, 4; the pearls imported from, 118
Baroq, 48
Bhadra, 96. See Sâkala.
Bhadrapur, 96. See Sâkala.
Bangadatta, 57, 58, 61
BHARADVÁJA, 27
Bharata, 47, 68
Bharukaccha, modern Bhroach; same as Barygaza of Greek navigators, 48; 78
Bhauṭṭas, 38. See Bolor.
Bhils, 60
Bhima, his conquest of east, 8; 84
BHĪRA, 99
BHULINGA, one of the components of the Sālva Federation, 78, 80, 96; located on the upper courses of the Beas and Satlaj, 99
BHŪMIYAS, an aboriginal tribe, 110
BHUVANAKOŚAS, their geographical value, 2
BHĪR, 2, 74, 84, 102, 109
Bhogazielangar, 65
Bokhārā, 13, 66, 72
Bolingue, placed on the right bank of the Son, 78
Bolor, 21; identified with the Bhauṭṭa country of the Rājatarangini, 38, 68
BRHMAPUTRA RIVER, 85
Buddhism, its attitude towards caste ridden society, 8
Buleda, 55
Byssos, 112 See dukula.

C
Cakrapālita, 106
Cambodia, 54
Camels, their distribution; the southern limit from mouth of Indus to Upper Satlaj, 4
CANDĀLAS, 78
Candra, 17
Capisa, spelt also Caphusa and Capissa by Pliny and his editors, 42; discussion on various forms, 43. See Kapiśa.
Cappodocian Pontus, 16
Cat's-eye, its sources, 117. See vaṭārīga.
Chahār Aimāks See Aimāks and Vaiyamakas.
CHANG KIEN, the Chinese Ambassador who visited the Yüe-chi while they were living north of the Oxus, 15
Chihhāi, not Kamboja but Abhisāra, 12, 37. See Abhisāra.
Chilāś, the country of Chilāśis, 86. See Daradas.
Chilikā Lake, 114
Chillidara (Swāt), 70
China, 63, 71, 73, 76, 79
Chinese silk, early acquaintance with, 69
Chitral, 45-46, 87, 92. See Citrakas.
Choaspes. See Ghorakas.
Chorienne, 79
Chou-le, same as Kāshgar, 76. See Kāshgar.
Churrai (Swāt), centre of blanket manufacture, 70
CINAS, 20; ethnic term denoting the Chinese and Chins of upper Burma, 61; casteless Kṣatriyas according to Maṇu, ib.
CINARAṬHA, 67
Citrakas, probably the people of Chitral, 45; the boundary of their land, 45-46.
Cittala, the name of a mountain in the Viśuddhimagga, 45
Colakas, inhabiting Coromandel Coast, 117
Conch-shell, found in the Gulf of Manaar, 118; chank-shell-cutting industry of Korkai and Kāveripaṭṭinam, ib.
Cossack, 86

D
DAHA, 86
Dahistan, 86
Dahyu, an ethnographical term, 86. See Dasyus.
Dānalipta, a city of Suhma, 111. See Tāmralipti.
Danuar, a Kirāṭa tribe of Nepal, 84. See Kirātas.
Daradas, conquered along with the Kambojas by Arjuna,
dukūla, cloth made from dukūla fibre, 112; probably byssos of the Greek writers.
Dvārakā, the capital of Kamboja, 34, 35. See Darwāz.
Dvyakasas, identified with the people of Badakhshān, 58-59

E
Ekapādās, 58; mentioned in Sahadeva’s expedition to south, 60; probably the ancestors of the Bhils of Gujarāt, Kach and Kathiāwa; mythological description by Megasthenes, ib.
Ekaśanas, they lived a settled life, 76
Elephants, from Prāgīyotisa, 57; hailing from Kāmyakasara and from other parts of India, 113-114; elephant-housing manufactured in Ceylon, 118
Emerald, its synonyms, 101; its origin from the bales of Asura Bala, 102; situation of the mines in Turuksha and Magadha, ib.; identification of sources, ib.
Emodos, 67
Epidaphnes, 25
Erāνvez, modern Khwarizm, 16
Eucratides, 26

F
Ferghana, 15, 21, 22, 72, 73
Firozkohis, a constituent tribe of the Chahār Aimāks. See Vaiyamakas.
Folk-song, of the Vāhikas extolling fresh food, wine and women of Panjāb, 6

G
Galcha, the Eastern Iranian tongue of the people of Tadzhik Republic, etc., 12, 37, 39
INDEX

Gandhāra, 2, 34, 70
Gandharva, probable identification with Gandhāra, 115
Gangadhāra, 7; identified with Haradvār.
Garuda, 101, 102
Gauda wine, 6
Gayā, 110; Gayas, the ancient people living in the region of Gayā, ib.
Gebel Zebrāh, ‘Mountain of Emeralds’ situated on the Red Sea, 102; Idriši’s description of the mine, ib.
See Emerald.
Geodosia (Baluchistān), a part ceded to Candragupta Maurya by Seleucus, 24
Gharan, 40
Gharzestān, 103
Ghor, country, 87
Ghorakas, location identified with the Goraia of Ptolemy, the modern Bājaur, 92
Ghorband Valley, 86
Gilgit, 46, 71, 86, 87, 93
Girivraja, the ancient Kekeyan capital identified with Girzak, 100
Girra, dress of poor Kairirs, 45
Gokprosh, a hill chain in Kalat State, 49
Gostani, grapes from Khotan, 65
G(T)anganoi, see Taŋganas.
Gulf of Manaar, pearls found, 117-118
Gurdaspur, 100
Gorvat, 92. See Ghorakas.
Gurya, 92. See Ghorakas.
Goraia, 92. See Ghorakas.
Gouraivos, Lower Swat River, 92
Gurez, 86. See Daradas.
Gwāṭar Bay, Kalat State, 49
Haimavatas, 63; location not settled, 67; mentioned in a Sānci Inscription ib.; also a religious order of the Buddhists, ib.
Hamsakāyanas, linked with Paurakas; probable identification with the people of Ilunza and Nagar, 92; same as Hamsamārgas and Hamsapādas, 92-93
Hamsamārgas, see Hamsakāyanas.
Haraḥūras, 63; their country famous for wine, 65; coupled with Ramathas, ib.; country connected with Sindh basin, ib.; probable identification with the people of Herat, 66
Haraiva, 67
Hazārās, probably Mongols, 87; a constituent tribe of the Chahār Aimaqs, ib.; Chinghiz Khan probably settled them in Central Afghānīstān, ib.
Harsha, 91, same as Ḍharma, 93
Hayu, a Kirat tribe of Nepal, 84. See Kiratās.
Hazribāgh, emerald mine at, 102; 110, 114
Helmand Valley, 66, 80
Hemedos, 67, 68
Heoria, a city of the Taṅganas, 79
Hephaistion, 51
Hermatala, identified with Brahmanābād, 32
Hien-fu, ‘hanging pass,’ 21
Hemavata, 68
Himavanta, 12, 67
Hindukush, 13, 31, 37, 45, 73, 86, 91, 93
Hingol, a river in Kalat State, 50
Hiung-nu, their wars with Yüe-chi, 15, 19, 23
Horses, presented by Raikas, 12; good quality of Bokhāra horses; their mention in the Chinese Annals, 73; Bokhāra
horses believed to be descended from Raksh, the horse of the Iranian hero Rustam, ib.
Hos, 110; a non-Aryan tribe, 116
Huts, a tribe of Makrân, 51; the same as Utii of Xerxes' army, ib.
Hūnas, 20; identified with Hiung-nu, 29; 61
Hunza, 37; description of the country, 93
Hunza River, 93
Hu-shi-kan, 103
Hyperboreans, idea got from the Uttara Kurus, 84

Ichthyophagi, 54
Imaos, probably derived from Haimavata, 68; at first identified with Hindûkush, later on with Bolor Range, ib.; 80.
Indus Kohistân, 86. See Daradas.
Indus, river in Panjâb, 4, 21, 63, 72, 86, 106, 108
Iran, 5
Iraq, 66
Irâvâti, 6. See Râvi.
Irippal, in Kangrâ; Andumbara coins found there, 88. See Andumbaras.
Ishkâshm, 40
Išî, Išî, 18, Prâkṛta for Reîka.
Issyk-kul, a lake in the Pâmir, 15, 16, 19, 23, 75, fn., 209
Ivory, handles made of, 57

J
Jadeite, 57. See also almasāra.
Jâgûda, identified with Tsau-kû-ta (Yuan Chwang), 66
Jâlandharâyanâs, 88
Jammû, 87, see Darvas.
Jamschedis, a constituent tribe of the Chahâr Aimâks, 87-88. See Vaiyamakas.
Jamuna (Yamunâ), 77, 78, 94
Jasrat, 47
Jaxartes River, 15, 20, 21, 75 fn., 209, 80
Jhalawan, 50; its climate; cultivation dependent on occasional floods, ib.
Jhelum, 46, 47, 99, 106; Jhelum District, 100
Jîvaka, represented as taking a journey from Takšâsilâ to Mathurâ, 88-89
Johar, see Jyohas.
Johiyas, identified with the ancient Yaundheyas, 104; their identification with Ossadioi not correct, 106. See Yaundheyas.
Jûnâgâd, 104
Jyohas, probable identification with the people living in Johar Pargana, Almora, 76

K
Kâbul, 12, 13, 21, 24, 65, 91
Kâbu-sa, in the Tibetan version of the Mahâmâyâri; same as Kâpiâ, 42. See Kâpiâ, Kârpañika, etc.
Kacchî, in Baluchistân, 106, 107
Kach, 47; good breed of horses from, 60, 90
Kadali, a kind of deer or rodent, 36; candrottarâ-kadali, a variety of kadali, ib.
Kadphizes, origin of the word, 43; perhaps belonged to Kâpiâ, etc.
Kâfîristân, 37, 38, 39, 45
Kâfîrs, 86
Kaitavyas, 55. See Kitavas.
Kalât, 49; part of Gedrosia; scene of Alexander's exploits; full of barren mountain ranges; sparsely populated ib.; 107.
Kalindendra, a mountain, 78
Kalingas, 24, 47; their country situated in the region of river Vaitarani in Orissa according to the Mahabhārata, 111; the boundary of the ancient Kalinga, ib., 113.

Kām, lower part of the Bāshgol Valley, 43; called Kamoz in Pushu, ib.

Kāmāh, a river in Kāfristān, 43

Kāmarūpa, 113

kambala; blankets, 36

Kambhoj, an agricultural community in Panjab; its probable connection with the Kambhojas, 40

Kambhojas, dubbed as false rulers and liars, 4; conquest by Arjuna, 11; 12, 13, 18; references in Vedic literature, 33; Yāska on some peculiarities of their language, ib.; Grierson’s identification, ib.; Kuhn’s discussion on Kambhojas and their Iranian origin, 33, 34; in Buddhist literature, Asoka’s ins. Mahabhārata and Hari-vamsa, 34-35; Kambhoja horses, mules, cows and chariots, 35-36; furs and woollen-cloth, 36; different opinions about their location ranging from Kabul, Kāfristan, Tibet and Rājāauri, 36-37; located in the Pāmirs, Badakhshān and Tadzhik Republic, 37; proofs of the location given above, 38-39; 70, 86

Kambrom, in Kāfr language same as Kāmdesh, 43

Ka(m)bujya, 43 = Cambyses. See Kamboja.

Kāmdesh, a Kāfr tribe, 43

Kamoz, 44. See Kām.

Kamplinusa, a river, 81

Kamtoz, 43. See Kātirgol.

Kāmyaka forest, near Chotā Nagpur, 113; wild nature of the country beyond it, ib.

Kāmyaka-sara, probable identification with the Chilkā Lake, 113-114

Kāna (Swāt), 70

Kandhār, 24, 66

Kāng-khu, their grazing ground in Tashkent plains, 21, 23. See Kankas.

Kāngrā, 88, 89, 94

Kankas, 20; identified with Kang-khu, the inhabitants of Sogdiana, 23; under the political pressure of the Yue-chi and Hsiung-nu, ib.; their country described by Chang Kien, 72; their location in the region of Bokhāra and Samarkand; probable identification with Kangs, a Jat tribe of Panjab, ib.

Kansu, 13, 14, 22, 23

Kao-tu, identified with Kābul, 42

Kapiša, 41, 42

Kapiša-Kamboja, the identity of the terms, 42, 43-44; alteration suggested in the Kashmir Recension of the Rāmāyana and Kṣemendra’s Kathāmañjari, 43

Kapišyānā, a celebrated wine in ancient India, till recently manufactured in Kāfristān from grapes, 45

Kapūrthala, 47

Karakorum, 74, 75

Kāraskaras, 47; mentioned by Budhāyana and others, ib.; identified with the people living in Kāshkār Valley, 46

Karategin, 80

Karezes, subterranean canals in Kalāt State, 49

Karki, a river in Nepal, 84

Karnā, 5

Kārpaśika, probably mentioned in a Sānchi inscription, 40; Ki-pin or Kapiša called Karpasaya, 41; their gifts included slave-girls, goat-skins, deer-skins, 45

Karpasaya, according to Bagchi, the correct form Kapiša, 41. See Kārpaśika and Kapiša.

Karuj, near Herāt, 66

Karūsa, 113
Kāsapagota, 67
Kashkār Bāla, Upper Kashkār in Chitrāl, 45. See Kāras- karas.
Kashmīr, 21, 31, 33, 89, 91
Kashtawār, 60, 75
Kāsi-cloth, 69
Kāsi-mīras, 86; people living in Kashmir State, 91
Kaspeirīs, identified with Kashmir, 42
Katanās, 80
Kaitrogol, upper region of Bashgol Valley, 43; called Lātīch in Chitrāl and Kam- tos in Įshhtu, ib.
Kaulūtas, 54
Kaunīndra, 77. See Kunīndras.
kauśika, silk; Bengal famous for silk manufacture, 112
Kaverīpāṭṭinām, 118
Kāṣaya or Kāvakhyas, the race which perhaps gave Khāwak Pass its name, 86
Kej, a river in Kalāt, 49
Kekayas, linked with Madras; their country identified with the districts of Shāhpur and Jhelum; Girzak, the ancient Girirāja, their capital; good breed of dogs of the Keka-
yan country, 100
Kemboja, 39, 54
Keralas, 24
Keria, 66
Khakha, tribe, 75. See Khas-
as.
Khalkhāl, 67
Khambu, a Kirāta tribe of Nepal, 84. See Kirātas.
Kharan, part of Baluchīstān famous for camels and felts, 67
Kharoṣṭra, described as the land of donkeys and camels; contemptuous interpretation of the word, 4; Lévi’s interpre-
tation, ib.
Khasās, an ethnic term in Nepal and Kashmir from Kashtawār to Vitasta Valley; a term employed for semi-Hinduised tribes inhabiting Himālayas, 75; in Central Asia living in Kashgar region, 76
Khawak Pass, 12
Khojend, 22
Khokhārs, 46-47. See Kukuras.
Khokhārain, 46, 64
Khorsābād, 67
Khotan, 22, 65
Kho Valley, below Mastuj, 45
Khurāsān, 53
Khryse Khora, identified with Lower Burma, 85
kīcaka bamboo, grown on the banks of river Sailolā, 74
Kīrthār Range, mountain range east of Las-bela, 59
kītajam, silk, 68
Kitava, 55; an important Trans-
Indus tribe, perhaps to be identified with Kej; also mentioned with the Kaulūtas; as such to be identified with the people of Suket.
Kobah, a curious custom in Dadistan in which a bull presented to a guest was sacrificed by him, 87. See Darudas.
Ki-lien, a hill in China, 14
Ki-pin, entered by Sai-wang, 16; its extent, 21; identifi-
cd with Kashmir but later on with Kapiśa, 41-42; probably a rendering of an Indian word Kāpir, 42; identi-
fied with Kārpāsika or modern Kāfrīstān, ib. See Kārpāsika.
Kirantades, 84. See Kirātas.
Kiranti, 84. See Kirātas.
Kirātas, 31, 83-84; their country lying with Dudhkosi and Karki rivers in Nepal; include Khambu, Lambu, Yakha, Danuar and Thami tribes; their location in the Mahābhārata; their dress and presents, 85
Kirati, 84. See Kirātas.
Kirghiz, 76, 86
Kitavas, 48 also known as Kaitayas, 55; same as Kufs or Kūfī of Makrān, ib.
Komedaī, 89
Konga, corresponding to Salem, Coimbatore and parts of Tinnevelly and Travancore, 117
Kolwa, 54
Korus, 54
Korkai, 118
Kosakaras, the country of the 'cocoons-makers' probably located in Bengal or Assam, 112
Kosi, a river in Bengal, 110
Kotumbara, a special variety of cloth probably decorated with the figures of swans and geese manufactured in the Audumbaras country, 89. See Audumbaras.
Krateros, 79
Ksudraka-Malavas, 98, 106; linked with the Vasatis and Mauleyas; mentioned in the Mahabhasya; perhaps the same as the Oxydrakai and Malloi of the Greek historians; the theory of M. Przyliak about the Iranian origin of the Malavas, 108-109; their capital probably near Multan, 108
Kucha, 23
Kufts or Kufts, 55; a tribe of Baluchistan; the variants of the name. See Kitavas.
Kakuras, 20, 40; part of ancient Vrata federation; described by the Greeks; mentioned in inscriptions; identified with the Khokhrs of Panjab, 46-47; their origin, 47
Kulanch, a part of Kalat State, 49, 56
Kulinda-Pulinda, an ethnic pair, 77
Kulindas, 78. See Kunindas
Kulindine, 78. See Kunindas
Kulutas, 56
Kulu Valley, 55
Kunar, a river, 92
Kundamnas, 91, same as the people of Kutlaparanta.
Kundaparantas, their country identified with Kuthar, a
pargana in Kashmir State, 91; situation, 91-92
Kunduz River, in Afghanistân, 12
Kunindas, living in Terai region near Haradvâr, 76; their coins, 78; occupied a narrow stip at the foot of the Siwaliks, 16.
Kun-Lun, a mountain range separating Tibet from Chinese Turkistan, 75
Kurus, 49, 78
Kurujangala, 6
Kuruksetra, 6, 7, 90
Kutha, elephant housing, 118
Kut-har, a pargana in Kashmir, 91
Kutaparanta, 91. See Kundaparanta.
kutikantam, felt; 69
Kutumbara, 90. See Audumbaras and Kotumbara.

L
Lalhatkhas, probably the people of Ladakh, 59
Lampakas, 21, called Murundas or lord.
Langas, 41
Lapsa lasuli, mine in Kokcha Valley, Badakshân, 40
Laš-bela, 50; its boundaries and conditions of life.
Lâta, 78
Lathikas, 34
Lauhityas, 84
Lavanas, 24
Limbu, a Kirata tribe of Nepal, 84. See Kiratas.
Locharna, 48
Lojhan, 47, 48; identified with the people living in Logar Valley in the south of Kâbul, 48
Lomas, 11, 13, 19
Lohita, the Brahmaputra River, 85
Lohitas, with their ten mandalas; probable identification with the people of Leh, 48
INDEX

M

Madhya-deśa, 7, 90
Madhyamikā, identified with Nagari near Chittor, 27; siege by the Yavanas, 28; 93
Madrakāras, a constituent republic of Salvā federation, 90; Iranian origin of the word meaning warrior, 95, 96; located in Siālkoṭ region, 97. See Madras.
Madrakas, their low estimation by Karna, 5; the sexual morality of their women.
Madras, 5; held in esteem in Vedic literature, 25; their capital at Sākala, ib.; a component of Salvā federation; probable Iranian connections, 95-96; the characteristic costume of the Madra warriors, 96: 101
Magadha, 89, 102, 103
Mahābhārata, its encyclopaedic character, 1; the geographical information in various parvas, ib.; the range of the dates of its various strata, 10
Majjhimā, propagated Buddhism in Himalanta, 67
Makrān, climatic conditions same as described in the Upāyanaparva, 48; famous for camels, 56
Malādā, a river in Mahābhārata, 104
Malana, Malan Bay, the western boundary of the Oroseitai, 52. See Oroseitei.
Mālādha, 110
Malin, near Herāt, 66
Malloy, 108. See Kṣudraka-Malavas.
Mānabhām, 110
Mand, 59
Mandara, probable identification with Kun-Lun Mountain Range, 75
Mandi, a Hill State, 94
Margiana, 91
Markatah, a port on the Red Sea which exported emerald; perhaps Sanskrit marakata originating from this name, 102. See also Emerald.
masāragarbha, same as masāragala, 57
Mastuj, 21, 46
Mathurā, terminus of the route from Takṣaśilā, 89
Matsyas, 100
Mauleyakas, 107. See Mauleyas.
Mauleyas, their location in Mula Valley, Balūchistān, 107; mentioned in the Arthaśāstra as Mauleyakas, ib.: 108
Meds, 54
Media, 80
Menender, 89, 92
Meru, probable identification with Karakorum, 75
Merv-al-Rud, 103
Mohmands, a frontier tribe, 104
Monghir, 110
Mongolia, 61
Mula Pass, 107
Mula River, its course and different names, 107
Mulkho Valley, in Chitral, 45
Multan, 32, 94, 106, 108
Mumān, middle portion of the Bashgol Valley called Madugal in Chitrali, 43
Munda, 110. See Santāla.
Munda-Khmer, 54, 55, 90, 111
Munjānī, an Eastern Iranian tongue, 39
Murch Pass, 12
Mushhidābād, 110
Murunḍa, a Saka word meaning master, 21
musāragala, semi-precious stone, 57
Musk-deer, its distribution, 70; different grades of musk, ib.
Mustāgh Range, 74, 93
Mūtibās, 77

N

Nābhā, 40
Nāgapurā, identified with Choṭā Nāgpur, 113
Nagar, 87; description of the country, 93
Nagari, an archaeological site near Chitor, 10; identified as Madhyamikă, 28, 31
Nagās, famous weavers of Kalinga, 112
Naimisāranya, 113
Nakula, his conquest of the West, 8; 27, 28
Narbādā, 48
Nepal, 67, 71, 75, 84
Nihing, a river in Kalat, 49
Nile River, 102
Nineveh, 16
Nisāda Kingdom, 7

Odeonbares, placed by Pliny in Kach, 90. See Aoudumbaras.
Odras, 20, 24; the inhabitants of Swät, 29; the name connected with Udñiyāna whose traces remain in modern Udégrām, 61
Oḍa, a vagrant tribe of Panjāb and Rajputānā, probably connected with the ancient Odras, 63. See Odras.
Odumbara, See Aoudumbaras.
Okupedes, 60. See Ekapādas.
Ora, of Greek historians, identified with Odra, 62. See Odras.
Orh-Pān, 116. See Pāmsu Rāṣṭra.
Ornara, a port in Kalāt State, 50
Oroeitei, a tribe mentioned by the historians of Alexander inhabiting Southern Baluchistān, 51; spelt variously as Oritoce, Oraitai, Horaitai; identified with the Hots of Makran, ib.; their name derived by Cunningham from the river Aghor, 52
Oromenon, Salt Range in Panjāb, 59
Ossidioi, identified with Vasaṭis, 105. See Vasaṭis.
Oxus, a river on the boundary of Afgānīstān and Russia, 9, 10, 12, 15, 37, 73, 80, 91
Oxydrakai, 106. See Kṣudrakamāvatīs.

Pahlavas, 18; linked with Vastrapas, 104; probably some ancient Iranian colony in Kathiāwad, 105
Pāmir, 12, 13, 20, 37, 38, 39, 40, 59, 68, 75
Pāmsu Rāṣṭra, invited to join Pāndavas in the Great War; linked with Audras; identified with Orh-Pān, 116
Paṇcājanas, 114
Paṇcanada, 104
Pāndavas, 9
Pāunipat, 94
Pāṇḍyas, 24
Panjāb, 2; derisive attitude towards its population, 4; people addressed a Mlechas, Yavanas, Barbaras, Dasyus, etc., ib.; described as the land of donkeys and camels, ib.; scathing indictment by Karna, 5, 6; explanation of the attitude of Mahābhārata towards it, 7-8; 9, 63, 64, 72, 91, 107, 108, 109
Panjagur, famous for grapes, 56
Pāṇs, a non-Aryan people of Orissa, 116; variants of the name Pānv, Pānr, Pānika, ib. See Pāmsu Rāṣṭra.
Paraitakenai, also spelt as Paraitakai, 80; placed in Media and Helmand Valley, ib. See also Parataṅgasas.
Parama-Kambojas, 11; identified with Yaghnobi, 13, 19
Pārasika, pearls exported from, 118
Pāradas, 48; placed with Volkānas, Ramathas, Yavanas and Sakas, 52; Ksatriyas with extinct caste; identified with Parādēne of Ptolemy, ib.; also identified with the Parthians, 53-54

INDEX
Paratañganas, perhaps connected with the Tañganas, 79; identified with Paratañgai of Arrian; their home perhaps Karategin, 80
Pardan-damb, probably showing connection with the Pardas, 58. See Páradas, paristomán, elephant housings, 74
Paramañgikás, 11-12; equated with Pasiani.
Parpadatta, 105
Paropanisadána (Kábul), ceded by Seléncus to Chandragupta Maurya, 24
Paropanisús, 87, 91
Parúsí, 17, 19
Parusa, 17, 19
Pasiani, a component of Yucchi, 16; identified by Tarn with Páras-Parsu, a Persian tribe, 17; identified with Paramañgikás, 19
Paséíma Anúpákas, 18
Pasni, a townlet in Kalát State, 49
Paśupás, a people akin to modern Kirghiz, 70
Pañáñjali, his aphorism pointing to the siege of Sáketa and Madhyamíká, 28
Pathás, 61
Pathánkot, Andumbara coins found there, 88, 99
patváram, cloth manufactured from the fibres of Calosanthes Indica, probably also used for Dacca muslin or the muslin manufactured by the Nágas of Kalinga, 112
patvaíam, perhaps jute-cloth, 68
Paurákas, linked with Harisakáyanas, 92; identified with the people of Yasin Valley which is called Póre and the country Póriáki, ib.
Panjashir Valley, 12, 86
Pearl-fisheries, on the Gulf of Mannár in Simhala, Arváti, Barbará and Párasíka, 117-118
Phálgu, a river identified with Baghlan, 12
Puplíka gold, 81-82; presented by Khasas, etc.; mentioned by the Greek historians, 81; probably Tibetan gold, ib.; methods and life of the miners, 81-82; suggested probability of its being Siberian gold, 82
Pírgál, a peak of Sañved Koh, 13
Píshín, in Balúchistán, 106
Piñánakás, 34
Porú, a river in Kalát State, 50
Poré, 92. See Paurákas.
Porúáki, the name of Yásin Valley, 92
Po-la-ssu=Persia, 103
Polyasperchon, 80
Poulândia, living on the highlands of Vindhyá, Sapturá and Aravalli, 78. See Pulindás.
Prájyotisa, mleccha kingdom ruled by Bhagudatta; mountains in its vicinity; its troops recruited from Kíratas and Cínás; identified with Assam and some parts of Northern Bengal, 57
Práñinás, 47
právára (právāra), shawls, 36 garment or cloak; also duppátá or cedar or mantle; merchants specialised in its manufacture; its various measurements and colours, 113
Presents, received by Yudhísthíra; presents of the people of Trans-Indus countries,—goats, sheep, cattle, camels, asses and gold, wine and jewels, 56; presents of the people of mountainous countries,—black-necked donkeys, fabrics of Válhika and Chinese manufacture, felts, shawls, lamb pelts and woollen cloth, 68-69; presents from the Himalayan region,—precious stones, wines and perfumes, 70; horses as presents brought by Sakas, Tukháras and
Kaṅkas, 73; presents of the people of Eastern India,—
furniture, carriages, chairs, beds inlaid with gold and 
ivory, chariots with gold 
 fittings and furnished with 
tiger skins, arrows and pre-
cious stones, 73-74; presents 
of the mountainous tribes 
besides Khasas, etc.,—yak 
tails, honey, herbs from north 
of Kailāśa, 83; presents of 
Uttarakurus,—garland of 
Ambu flowers, ib.; presents 
of the Kiratas,—skins, 
precious stones, gold, sandal 
wood, agallochum, zeolary, 
other aromatic woods, slave 
girls, birds and animals, 85; 
presents from Vāngas, 
Kalingas and Pūndras,— 
duṅgala, silks, pātrora 
cloth, cloaks, 112-113
Ptolemy Philadelphus, mission 
sent by Asoka, 25
Pulindas, dubbed as false 
rulers, 4; 35; mentioned 
in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa; occupied 
middle portion of Deccan 
plateau, 77; described as 
low people in Buddhist 
literature; mentioned with 
Vāgirikas, Sabaras and 
Cāndālas in the Arthasastra, 
78
Pulinda-nagara, 77
Pūndras, 47, 109; connected 
with Tāmiralipitas; Pargiter 
identifies their country as 
Chotū Nāgpur, with the 
exception of the Santāl 
Par
ganas, 109-110; another 
identification of their coun-
try in Mālda, a part of Purna, 
Dinājpūr and Rajshāhī, 
110
Pūrāṇas, corrupt geographical 
text, 2; their geographical 
knowledge extended to Oxus 
countries and beyond, 10
Q
Qanauj, a mis-spelling of 
Ramboja by al-Idrīsi, 39
qūta, yak-tail, 83
R
Rādhā, a part of Bengal, 109
Rājanyas, their coins found 
from Hoshiārpur, 86
Rājapura, the modern Rājaori, 
37, 75
Rajasuya, coronation ceremony 
and its spectacular side, 30-
31; gifts brought by various 
tribal states who joined 
the ceremony, 31
Rākshashan Valley, Kalāt 
State, 50
Rāmaka, the name of a moun-
tain in the Mahābhārata, 60
Ramathas, their country loca-
ted between Ghazni and 
Wakhan, 66
Rambakia, the capital of 
Oroitei; identified with 
Rambahūgh (Cunningham), or 
Khairkot (Holdich), 52; an 
important trade route passed 
through it, ib.; a form of 
Vairāmakā, 53. See Vai-
rāmakās.
Rang, goats flourishing in the 
Pāmir, 68. See rāṅkava, 
rāṅkavam, cloth made from 
Rang goat’s hair, 68. See 
Rang,
rāṅkava-kāta, felt prepard 
from the goat’s hair.
rasāṅ, wines, 71
rātha, chariot brought as gift, 
73
Rāvi, 32, 87, 88, 94, 98, 108
Red Sea, 102, 103
Rhappha, a city of the 
Taṅgaṇas, 79
Roh, an Afghan tribe, 48
Rohitaka, modern Rohtak; a 
stage on the journey from 
Takṣasīḷa to Mathurā, 89
Romā, identified with Rome, 
27
Romakas, the people of Salt 
Range in Panjab; also identi-
fied with people of Sāmbhar 
Lake, 59; Shins of Bāltistan 
also call themselves Rom, 
19
Rom, 59
Roshan, a constituent of Tad-
zhik Republic, 19
INDEX

Roshanis, the people of Roshan, 13. See Roshan.
Rākṣas, 11; identified with Yüe-chi, 13; various theories about their race and language, *ib.*; the story of their migration from Chinese sources; their quarrels with Hiungnu resulting in their defeat, 14-15; journey to west from Kan-su, their home, 15; defeat of Wu-Sun and occupation of their country; driven away by Hiungnu, *ib.*; defeated Sai-wang at Lake Issyk-kul but again driven away by Wu-Sun, *ib.*; long trek towards west and the end of the Greek kingdom of Bactria, *ib.*; descended from Candra and Diti according to Mahābhārata, 17; connected with Sakas, Pahlavas, Daradas, Kāmbojas and Pascima-Anēpakas, 18; their relative position in 160 B.C., 23-24 Ruby Mines, in Gharan District, Badakhshan, 40 Rudok, gold producing district of Tibet, 81

S

Sabaras, 31, 77, 78
Sabhā-parva, internal evidences for its date, 11
Sacastene, 80
Sacarausae, 22
Sacarauli, a component tribe of Yüe-chi, 16
Safed Koh, 13
Sahadeva, his expedition to south, 8, 9, 24; probably representing an embassy from some Indian king to Antiochus III or IV, 26; 60
Sākals, 6; modern Sialkot, situated on trade route from Takaśila to Mathurā, 89; had shops which stocked kotumbara cloth, *ib.*; sugges-
ted derivation from Sakas, 96
Sakas (Sakas), dubbed as false rulers and liars, 4; 8, 16, 18; mentioned in Herodotus as living on the east of Caspian, north of Jaxartes in Pānir country and north of Hindu-kush and east of Bactria and Sogdiana, 20; later in Seisṭan; known as Sai in Chinese Annals, *ib.*; several Saka States according to Chinese sources, *ib.*; Saka defeated went to Kipin through Bolor route, 21; Saka movement from Herat to Seistan, *ib.*; Tarn's suggestions, 21-22; 23, 35; placed at one place with Andhras, Pulindas, Yavanas, Aurnikas and Sudrabhiras, 61; in second place with Pahlavas, Daradas, Kāmbojas, Rākṣas and Paścima Anēpakas, *ib.*; in the third place with Kirātas, Tukhāras, Kankaś, Saunādikas and Kukuras, *ib.*; identified with Sai-wang, *ib.*
Sāketa, the siege of, 28
Sai, Saka, 20
Sailodā, placed in Western Tibet by Pargiter, 74; probable identification with Yarkand River, 75
Sailodakā, see Sailodā.
Sai-wang, their wars with Yüe-chi, 15-16; probably settled in Ferghana, 22
Samarkand, 72
Sālvās (Sālvās), 73; coupled with the Mātysyas, 96; same as Sālvāh of Mantrapāthu; later evidences connecting them with Kuru-Paṅcālas; called Saubhapati and Saubharād; probable identification with Sopiethes of Greek historians, 97; same as Ksudraka Mālavas according to Przyłuski, 98; location of their country probably near Amritsār, 99-100; 101.
Salva, 5
samudrasūra, cuttle-fish bone, 117
Sānāvatyas, linked with Gayas; identified with modern Santals in Santal Parganas of Bhāgalpur, 110; their origin and distribution, ib.
Sanglichi, an Eastern Iranian tongue, 89
Sangla, the ancient capital of the Kaṭhas in Gurdāspur district, 100
Saṅjayanti, modern Sanjan, 60
Santal Parganas, 109, 114
Sapolos, a city of Taṅgaṇas, 79
Sarasvati, 6, 7, 90, 99
Sarawan, a part of Baluchistān, 50
Sarikoli, the language of the Sarikols, 39
Sarikolī, the people of Sarikol, 13
Sarthol, gold producing district of Tibet, 81
Saubha, another form of Subha, 97
Saʊndikas, dealers in wine, 20; probable identification with the Sondhis of Panjāb, 109
Saur, 115; its variant, Sar, Suir, Sayar, Siuri, ib. See Sūkaras.
Sauviras, 47
sayanā, highly decorated beds from Eastern India, 73
Seistan, 20
Seleucids, 26, 27
Semboja, 39, 54
Seres, skin exported from, 69; probably of Indian or Tibetan origin, ib.
Shawaran, a guest house in Dardistān, 87
Shighnān, 19, 87
Shighni, the language of the people of Shighnān, 39
Shighnās, the people of Shighnān, 13
Shinaki, the language of Shins, 87
Shiraighol, a Mongolian tribe, 82
Shūrgol, an ant in Mongolia, 82
Shorkot, the site of Sibipur, the seat of Sibis, 28
Shuidar, a peak of Safed Koh, 13
Shyok River, 75
Siaq Yüe-chi, settled in Tarim basin, 15, 20
Siberia, 82
Sibipur, identified with Shorkot, 93
Sibis, placed by Varahamihira in the north with Mālavas, people of Taksasālā, Arjunāyanas and Yaudheyas, 93; Greek historians place them near the confluen of Jhelum and Chenab, ib.; primitive ways of their life ib., located in Jhang District; also found at Madhyamikā near Chittor, 9, 28, 93; their country famous for shawls, 93-94
Sibi (Sīvi), a district in Baluchistān, 106
Simhala, Ceylon, 116, 118
Silver mines at Andarāb and Wakhun, 40
Sin-kiang, Chinese Turkestān, 79
Si-to, Chinese name of the Yarkand River, 75. See Sailodā
Sitodā, See Sailoda
Sobtis, 107, probably ancient Vasātis. See Vasātis.
Sogdiana, 20, 23, 72, 91
Soind, upper course of Mula, 107
Sonnīān, a port of Kalāt State, 50
Sopārā, 70
Sopieithes, probably a Sālva, 98; different views of Greek historians about the probable location of his Kingdom; good government; salt mines in his dominion, ib.; handsomely populous of the kingdom; salutary laws; brides selected for their
looks; good breed of dogs, 99
Sophagsenus, Maurya king
Subhagasena, 25
Srîningonarâ, horned-men, probably of Saka origin, 72
Subhûta, name of a people in Pāñmi, 97
Sudarśana Lake, constructed by Candragupta Maurya, 105
Sûdrabhîras, dubbed as false rulers and liars, 4
Sûtras, dubbed as false rulers and liars, 4
Suhma, 109
Sukkaras, probably Choukia-lo of Candragarha-sûtra; probable identification with Sabaros, 115-116
Suket, 94. See Kitavas
Sungas, their origin, 27-28
Sûras, identified with Surs, an Afghan tribe, 87
Sûrparâka, modern Sopâra, 60
Svetaparvata, 12; identified with Safed Koh overlooking the plain of Afghanistân towards Ghazni, 13
Syria, 5, 27
Swât Kohistan, 86
Swât, 61, 62, 63; upper Swât, famous for red blankets, 69; present centres of manufacture, 70. See Uddiyâna.

T
Tachoroi, placed in Sogdiana, 23. See Tukharas
Tadzhik Republic (Soviet Russia), the place of the Lehas and Kambojas, 19
Tagouraiou, placed near Issyk-kul, 22. See Tukharas.
Taimanis, a constituent tribe of the Chahâr Aimâks, 87. See Vaiyamakas
Tâjîks, people of Iranian descent, 80
Takoraiou, placed in the north of Imaos, 23. See Tukharas

Takṣaśilā, from here a trade route started for Mathurā, 80
Ta-la-kan, 103. See Târksyas. Tamâlin, 111. See Tâmrâlpî. Tamyrozî, same as Kâmbojas, 38
Tâmluk, 111. See Tâmrâlpî. Tâmlûra, an island in Western India; probable identification with Cambay, 111
Tâmrâdvîpa, perhaps Cambay, 60
Tâmrâlpî, variously spelt; a port on the Bay of Bengal; identified with modern Tâmluk, 111
Tâmrâlpî, 111. See Tâmrâlpî
Tângannas, mentioned with Kirâtas and Kunindas; also mentioned as western people and linked with Jâgudas, Ramathas and Strirâjya; skilled in sling-stones, 79; occupied the regions along the eastern bank of the Upper Ganges and Upper Saryu, ib.; trade methods, Appendix II.
Tan-mo-li-tî, the Chinese transcription of Tâmrâlpî, 111
Tapuria, 17
Tarakais, 104. See Târksyas. Târksyas, in Vedic literature meaning horse or bird; in epic identified as Garuda, 101; synonym of emerald, 102; their country identified with Ta-la-kan of Yuan-chwang; other identifications, 103; modern representatives Tarakki or Tarakais, a class of Mohmâds, 104
Tarim basin, 15, 22, 80
Tashkent, 21
Ta-Yuan (Ferghana), 22; refused to send horses to China, 73; forced by a Chinese general to do so, ib.
Ta Yüe-chî, the Great Yüe-chî, 15, 20
Thagouroi, same as Tukhāra, 22, 23. See Tukhāras.
Thami, a branch of the Kirātas of Nepāl, 83, 84. See Kirātas.
Thok-Jalung, gold producing district of Tibet, 81
Thok Nianmo, gold producing district of Tibet, 81
Tigrakhaudā Sakas, living east of Caspian Sea, 20
Tilakhilas, a constituent tribe of Sālva Federation, 99; their position undetermined, 99
Tirich Valley, in Chitral, 45
Tochari, a component tribe of the Yūe-chi, 16
Tocharians, component of Yūe-chi, 22. See Tukhāras.
Tochari, race and language, 23. See Tukhāras.
Tocharoi, placed in Bactria, 23. See Tukhāras.
Togara, located in Kansu; same as Tukhāra, 22. See Tukhāras.
To-mo-li-ti, Chinese transcription of Tāmrālīpti (Fa-hien)
Torwal, 70
Trade routes, 21
Trans-Indus country, geographical and climatic conditions, 48 ff
Traxiane, 17
Tribal states (Upāyanaparva) in Panjāb, N.W.F., Eastern Afghanistan and Oxus country, 9; lists probably given from the itineraries of travellers; facility of identification afforded by the enumeration of their economic products, 18.
Trīgattas, located between Kāvī and Satlaj, with their centre round Jalandhara; in 7th century its boundary extended, 94, 99
Trasadasyu, 101
Trinetra, 59. See Tryakṣas.
Tryakṣas, perhaps same as Trinetras; doubtful identification of their location, 59
Tukhāras (Tokhara), 20; placed by Ptolemy at several places along Yū-e-chi, 22-23; 24, 38
Tulamba, 33
Tungānas. See Taṅganas
Turfan, 65
Turikho Valley, in Chitral, 45
Turkestān, 65, 73
Turūskas, 103
Tushāspa, 106

U
Uddiyāna, 61. See Odras and Udyāna.
Uddiyāna Kambala, famous in Jātakas, 70
Udegrām, 62
Udumbara, a stage on journey from Tukṣaśilā, 89. See Audumbaras.
Udumbaras, a constituent of Sālva federation, 90. See Audumbaras.
Udyāna, 21. Correct form Uddiyāna, see Uddiyāna.
Ujjayanta, Girnar Hills, 104
Ulūkas, 55
United Provinces, 64, 74
Upāyana-parva (Sabhā-parva): the information on the geography and products of various tribal states, 3
Urasā or Uragā, identified with Hazara District, 37
Urmia, 67
Urunachi, Chinese Turkestan, 20
Uṣṭra-karnikas, 24
Uttara-kurṣas, sent garlands of ambu flowers, 83; historical people in Vedic literature; placed in northern Kashmir, 10; their mythological character in the epics, 83-84; 95
Uttara-Madras, 33; located in Kashmir, 95
Uttara-Risikas, equivalent to Ta Yū-e-chi, 19

V
Vāgurikās, 78
Vahikas, their mode of life, 5-6; their country in the land of five rivers or Panjab, 6

Vahlikas, connected with Daradas; two Vahlika tribes according to Pargiter; their location, 90; stigmatised as impure, 91; identified with Bactrians, ib., 95

Vaidurya, cat"s-eye; found from Vidura in Eastern Ghats, 117

Vairamas, 48; mentioned in Mahâmâyûri; the nature of their country; identified with Rambakia of Alexander's campaign, 51. See Rambakia.

Vaiyamakas, identified with Aimâks of Central Afghanistân, 87; semi-nomads but good soldiers; rear camels; country rich in minerals; the tribes constituting the Aimak, 88

Vaṅgas (in Baluchistân), 47, 48; Trans-Indus tribe; their identification, 54

Vaṅgas, located in Bengal; their country identified with Dacca and Chittagong Divisions, 109

Varía, 54; identified with Bārisal in Bengal, 85

Vârṣadânda, lynx fur, 36

Vasâṭis, linked with the Mauleyana, 106; identified with Ossadoi; St. Martin places them between Jhelum and Indus, 106; MacGrindle's objection to the identification; their location; relation between Kusadraka-Malavas and Vasâṭis, 107; Sobtis perhaps their modern representatives, ib.; 108

Vastrāpad, 104. See Vastrapāda

Vastrapāda, 104. See Vastrapās

Vātādhānas, of Madhyamikâ, 27; same as Sûngas, 28; besieged by Nakula at Madhyamikâ, ib.; their caste according to the Manusmṛti, 29; belonging to Krodhavasa group; partisans of the Kauravas; cattle rearers; more than one Vātādhâna republic, 31; the probable identification of their settlements, 32; placed east of Satlaj down from Firozpur, ib.

Vidura, identified with Shivarni in Salem District; the source of cat"s-eye, 117

Vrēnis, linked with Hārahūras and Haimavatūs, 63; coin of Vrēni Republic, 63-64; probably lived in Hooshirpur, 64; probable identity with Bārah Senis, a sub-caste of Agrawals, 64

W

Wakhân, 19, 21, 87

Wakhânis, the people of Wakhân, 13

Wakhî, the Eastern Iranian language of the people of Wakhân, 39

Washt, Hills, in Baluchistân, 107

Weapons, product of Aparânta country consisting of long swords, scimitars, short spears and battle-axes, 70. See Aparânta.

Wusun, 15, 16, 19; their settlement extended from Urumchi to the west of Issyk-kul, and from Dzungarian desert down towards Tarim, 20

X

Xerxes, 51, 54
INDEX

Y

Yağhnob, a river, 13
Yağhnobi, the Eastern Iranian language of the Yağhnobs, 39
Yağhnobis, an Eastern Iranian speaking people, 13
Yağhnob Valley, situated at the headwaters of the Zarafshān River, 13
Yak, 81, 83
Yakhair, a branch of the Kirātas of Nepāl, 83-84
yāna, sedan chair, 73
Yārī Kand River, 75
Yāsin, 21, 46, 87, 92, 93
Yaudheyas, the limit of their country determined by the find-spot of their coins; probably they occupied the whole Eastern Panjāb; probably identical with modern Johiyās, 94, 106
Yāaugaudharas, 97, 98; located in Jhind or Southern Panjāb States, 99
Vavanas, dubbed as false rulers and liars, 4; 8, 27, 28, 34, 85

Yetes, the suggested derivation of Yue-chi, 14
Yudgha, an Eastern Iranian language, 39
Yudhisthira, 31, 36, 44, 48, 54, 58, 113
Yue-chi, 13, 14; the chronological sequence of their movement arranged by Hirth, 15; derived from Yetes by Klaproth, from Get by Franke and from Kurshi by Von Stael Holstein, and from Arsī by Müller, 14; translated by Charpentier as ‘Moon Clan,’ 17
Yugandharas, a constituent of Sālva Republic, 90

Z

Zarafshān, 13; same as Yārī Kand River, 75
Zariaspa, probably same as Bactria, 91
Zebaki, an Eastern Iranian language, 39
Zoroastrianism, Balkh, an important seat, 9