

ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA

ANUNDORAM BOROOAH

PUBLICATION BOARD, ASSAM

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ANUNDORAM BOROOAH

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ANUNDORAM BOROOAH

PUBLICATION BOARD, ASSAM
GAUHATI-3
1971

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Reprinted and Published by
C. P. Saikia, Secretary,
Publication Board, Assam, Gauhati-3



Ref

First Published 1877
Reprint 1971

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Printed by
S. N. Guha Ray at Sree Saraswati Press Limited
32, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Road, Calcutta-9

INTRODUCTION TO THIS EDITION

Several factors have weighed with the Publication Board, Assam, in undertaking to reprint the priceless works of the great Sanskrit scholar, Anundoram Borooah, which were first published about a hundred years ago. Our prime consideration has been the fact that Anundoram Borooah belonged to that pioneering and noble band of Indian scholars who had addressed themselves to the task of rehabilitating the glory and greatness of the Sanskrit language, Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit education. Secondly, the brilliance and profundity of the commentaries and criticisms written by him on a number of important Sanskrit books are almost without parallel in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. Thirdly, by reprinting his works we aspire to rediscover for lovers of Sanskrit all over the world a fund of literary treasures which is now almost forgotten. Finally, we do hope that our endeavour will enable present generations of Indians to become acquainted with the achievements of one of the most eminent scholars of Assam and of the country as a whole who died at the early age of thirty-nine.

People of today cannot but marvel at Anundoram Borooah's stupendous creative genius which found its fulfilment within the span of a short life and which refused to be bogged down in the day-to-day problems of administration that he had to tackle in the capacity of a high official in the civil service of the British Government. The short biography included in the book would help readers to have an idea of the richness and vitality of his wonderful mind. In those days few Indians could aspire to a fame that extended beyond the frontiers of the country, and this was true especially for a man belonging to this remote corner of India. But Anundoram's deep devotion to literature and his great erudition had won for him the appreciation and admiration of scholars from all over the world. The truth of this is amply borne out by

the tributes which are included in the appendix of this book. Anundoram was the first graduate from Assam and the first and the only member of Indian Civil Service from this State.

Anundoram Borooah's entire life was dedicated to literary pursuits. In fact, the story of his brief life may be said to be a story of the love and devotion which inspired his studies of Sanskrit literature. Only a few others can rival him in the zeal that he brought to bear upon his efforts to restore Sanskrit literature to its rightful pre-eminent position. The noble faith that informed his pursuit of Sanskrit literature is clearly expressed in the following words quoted from the book, *Mahāvīracharita*: "To me, Sanskrit is dearer than any other language. Its music has charms which no words can express. Its capability of representing every form of human thought in most appropriate language is probably not rivalled, certainly not surpassed, by any other language. Most touching scenes have been drawn in heart-rending words. Most noble images have been clothed in most sublime language. Most terrific pictures have been couched in terror-producing expressions; and among the foremost to elevate the language and enrich the literature of ancient India stands the name of our poet Vāśyavāk Kāśyapa Bhavabhūti Śrikanṭha. His plays have been all translated into English, two by more than one writer, and it can be confidently predicted that before another hundred years, they will be rendered into almost every language of civilized Europe. May we hope that with the diffusion of Sanskrit, he will be as appreciated in the farthest corners of the world as he is on the banks of the Śiprā and near the ruins of Vijayanagara."

Anundoram Borooah had never published his *Ancient Geography of India* separately: it was incorporated with the third volume of his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* (1880) as its long preface. This reprint of the valuable contribution by a great Indian will, we have no doubt, promote research work in the field of our country's ancient geography and greatly inspire the lovers of Sanskrit learning.

Prof. Max Müller, the great German Orientalist, said about Anundoram's work in the *Academy* of 13 August, 1881, "Mr. Borooah had added to the third volume of his *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* a long and important contribution on the ancient geography of India, and an Appendix of geographical names rendered in Sanskrit, both of which will be gratefully received by Sanskrit scholars in Europe." Prof. Cecil Bendall had also remarked in *Trubner's Record* in 1889, "Not content with commencing such a *magnum opus* as a dictionary (*English-Sanskrit Dictionary*), he (Anundoram) added to its second and third volumes two new and original works, viz., his *Higher Sanskrit Grammar* and a list of Sanskrit geographical names illustrated by a valuable prefatory essay. Both are thoroughly original works, and rather suffer by being united with the dictionary. The latter is, I believe, still a unique contribution to Indian research."

Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, the eminent historian of Assam, wrote in his biography of Anundoram in Assamese about the book, "Along with Sir Alexander Cunningham's monumental work on the subject, Anundoram's is regarded as the most valuable; and I have seen editors and commentators of Sanskrit texts quote Sri Borooah's authority in tracing the identity of places mentioned in our ancient classics. The well-known editor of Sanskrit classics, Rai Bahadur Bibhubhusan Goswami, has inserted a summary of Sri Borooah's *Ancient Geography of India* in his excellent edition of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtam*." Dr. Bhuyan had regretted the omission of Anundoram's great work by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri in the *Indian Antiquary* of February, 1919, which was a bibliography on the ancient geography of India.

The chief object of the Publication Board, Assam, established in 1959, has been to publish and reprint the best works in different languages and thus help the enrichment of our language, literature and culture through contact with all that is best in world literature. It is this object that has inspired this Board to reprint the works of Anundoram

Borooah. We are confident that our efforts will have goodwill and support of all who sympathise with our aims.

We must acknowledge here our debt of gratitude to that famous scholar and historian of Assam, the late Dr. Surya Kumar Bhuyan, who more than anybody else, was responsible for acquainting the present generation with the genius and achievements of Anundoram Borooah. In this connection, we refer to Dr. Bhuyan's memorable biography of Anundoram written in Assamese. The biographical sketch included in this book and the note on Anundoram in the Appendix have been reproduced from Dr. Bhuyan's book. We offer our grateful thanks to Srijuta Laksheswari Bhuyan, wife of Dr. Bhuyan, and the publishers of the book, the Lawyer's Book Stall, Gauhati, for kindly permitting us to use the material.

With this national enterprise will also remain associated the names of our ex-Chief Minister, the late Sri Bimala Prasad Chaliha, and Sri Mahendra Mohan Chaudhury, the present Chief Minister and Chairman of this Board, who took a keen interest in the publication of the books by Anundoram Borooah. We owe also a debt of gratitude to the Principal, Sanskrit College of Calcutta, for lending us the third volume of Anundoram's *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* for preparing the manuscript of this work. But for his help this volume could not have been published.

Finally, a word of thanks is also due to Prof. Rajanikanta Dev Sarma, who carefully and conscientiously corrected the proofs including errors of misprint of the original.

Gauhati-3
Assam
July 1, 1971

CHANDRA PRASAD SAIKIA
Secretary
Publication Board, Assam



ANUNDORAM BOROOAH

ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA

1. It is nearly eight years since I first commenced to compile this work. Considering this long period, what is presented to the public is certainly not commensurate with the labours bestowed on it. But a whole life may be spent, nay several lives may be spent and yet the history, use, and force of words may not be thoroughly known. The more you read, the more extensive becomes the sphere of your study, the more painfully conscious you are of your ignorance and the extreme limitedness of your knowledge. The more you go over the same work, the deeper you study the same subject, the more convinced you are how shortsighted were your old views and how highly they needed the light of your further study. The more you consult the labours of your fellow-workers, the more you consider the different standpoints from which the same question may be viewed, the more glaring are your shortcomings and the defects of your work. It is needless to set up apologies which cannot cover my blunders or shield my errors. But those who know the difficulties of such task and the drudgery of publication will appreciate my hope that this—the concluding volume of my Dictionary—may be received with same friendly spirit with which the two foregoing volumes have been.

2. It is hardly needed to expose the childish whisperings of those who fancy the field of Sanskrit lexicography already fully occupied. It is sufficiently contradicted by the life-long labours of Pandit Tārānāth Tarkavāchaspāti in India and Dr. Rudolf Roth in Germany. I can name the most familiar works on which most useful days may yet be spent. The *Lilāvati* is unquestionably the best known of Sanskrit Mathematical work. It finds a place in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Its name is familiar to people who do not know a word of Sanskrit. Yet what small use has been made of it in the current Dictionaries. Its terminology is so peculiar that we may rightly expect the technical words in all big lexicons. Yet how few find a place in them. I give instances from only

one section viz., *Średhī Vyavahāra* which itself does not find a place in Wilson's work. The derivation of *Średhī* is doubtful. It is not explained in the *Upādi Sūtras*. But I believe it means "special series", as some Pandits assert. *Średhī Vyavahāra* would then mean "practice of special series" and represents Arithmetical Progression and Geometric Progression of English algebras. We have not different names for these operations and different names are not necessary. The difference consists only in the two series and this is best expressed by having different names, as in Sanskrit, for the different relations, viz., Chaya (or increase) for what is called "common difference" i.e. difference by a fixed quantity increasing or decreasing as in the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 ... and 100, 98, 96, 94 ... and Chayaḡuṇa (or multiplying increase) for what is called a "Geometric ratio" i.e. difference by a fixed number of times increasing or decreasing as in the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16 ... and 100000, 10000, 1000 etc. The first term is called Vadana or mouth, each term is called Pada or foot, and the total number of terms Gachchha or string. Hence the rule 92, "Gachchhadrite gaṇite Vadamam Vyekapadaghnachayārdhvavihīne" would mean "the sum of the series divided by the number of terms less the common difference multiplied by the number of terms less one is the first term" or in symbols—

$$a = \frac{s}{n} - \frac{n-1}{2}d$$

3. No proof is given, as usual, of this formula. But it is known to most of my readers. Let a represent the first term, d the common difference, n the number of terms, and s the sum of the series. Then

$S = a + a + d + a + 2d \dots + a + (n-1)d$ as d begins from the second term.

Reverse the series and we have

$$S = a + (n-1)d + a + n-2d + \dots + a$$

Adding together

$$2S = 2a + (n-1)d + 2a + (n-1)d + \dots + 2a(n-1)d$$

$$= n(2a + n-1d) \text{ as the number of terms is } n$$

$$\text{Hence } 2a + n-1d + \frac{2s}{n} \text{ or } a = \frac{s}{n} - \frac{n-1}{2}d$$

4. The indigenous development of this branch of mathematical science is now generally admitted. But not so with geometry. So few are known to me, that it is impossible to hazard an opinion and substantiate it by facts. But I have only to refer to the same work *Lilāvati* that its terminology is by no means borrowed, and in some places much superior to what is adopted in our school books. For instance, *Atulyalam-baka Kshetra* and *Samalamba Kshetra* of rules 160-1, which evidently mean what is known in modern geometry as trapezium and trapezoid are not simply equivalents of those words but far better representatives as they are founded on the properties of those figures and not chosen hap-hazard like the English terms from fancied resemblance to tables. "Lamba" means "a perpendicular from a point in the opposite side" and no two sides of a trapezium being parallel, no such perpendiculars are equal and two sides of a trapezoid being parallel, the perpendiculars on the parallel sides are equal. Hence the propriety of the Sanskrit names.

5. At the end of my work, I have given a list of geographical names with their Sanskrit representatives. The subject is so obscure—there is so much conflicting testimony about the identity of different places and at the same time so many words such as Saindhava are derived from geographical names which alone can explain their true sense that I shall be shirking my duty if afraid of being tedious, I were to omit the evidence on which my views are founded. The subject has no doubt been ably handled by some foreign scholars of high celebrity. It ranks among its most successful and earnest devotees our great antiquarian General Alexander Cunningham. His work is a standing monument of what a long useful life can achieve. But there are so many doubtful points that admitting my deep obligations to that accomplished scholar, I shall do best to give my own account of ancient India.

6. The word India derives its name from Sindhu corrupted into Sindh or Hind, which is said to have originally meant "flowing"¹, then a river², then some particular rivers specially the Indus, whence it was best known to all travellers whether from the west or the east. That it was not restricted to the country now known as Sind is apparent from the description of "the conquest of the quarters" by Udayana

¹ "प्रत्यायं सिन्धुमावदन्"—Rgveda, i. 11.6.

² "पिबत्यसौ पाययते न सिन्धुः", Raghuvamśa xiii. 9.

in the 19th Taranga of Kathā Sarit Sāgara, where it is expressly placed in the north.¹ Hence it was that early Greek writers meant by India nothing more than Sindhu Deśa—the country around the Indus and that Arrian, a writer of the second century, in the second chapter of his Indica, wanted to limit his India to the east of the Indus. Among our ancestors, it was always known as Bhārata Varṣa and the following is a definition of it: “The country to the north of the sea and to the south of the Himālaya is Bhārata Varṣa (or continent of Bharata)—the abode of the children of Bharata”².

7. The following di-

7. The following divisions of India are noticed in Hema-chandra Koṣa³, mostly founded on the second chapter of Manu.

(1) Northern India called Āryāvarta (Aryan Land), Janmabhūmi (home), Jina Chakrī (circle of Buddhas), Punyabhū (Holy Land), or Āchāravedī (Land of rites and customs), between the Himālayas and the Vindhya.

(2) Central India or Madhya Deśa between Prayāga (Allahabad) on the east and Vinasana⁴, (where the Sarasvati loses itself in the deserts of Bhatner) on the west.

(3) Gangetic Doab, called Antardvī⁵ (Inner Land) or Samasthālī⁶ (plains) between the Ganges and the Yamunā.

(4) *Brahmāvarta* or Divine Land between the Sarasvatī and the *Driṣadvatī* (Gagar).

(5) Kurukṣetra or Battle-field of Kurus, called also Brahmavedī (Divine Altar) and Dharmakṣetra (Holy Field),

¹ "ततः कुबेरतिलकामलकामञ्जुसंज्ञिनीम् । कैलासहासमुखमासाशामभिससार सः ॥ सिन्धुराजं वशीकृत्य
हरिसैन्यैर्नुदुतः । अपयामास च म्लेच्छान् राक्षसानिव राघवः ॥" 107. 8.
² उत्तरं यन् समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् । वर्षं तद ब्राह्मणं
purāṇa ii. 3.1.

उत्तरं यत् समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् । वर्षं तद् भारतं नाम भारती यत्र सन्ततिः ॥" Visnu-purāṇa ii. 3.1.

॥ ३.१. ॥ अथैवमिति विज्ञेयम् । येषु तद् भारतं नाम भारतीयं सन्ततिः ॥" Viṣṇu-
मंथयन्तर्वै समस्यन् । ब्रह्मावतः सरस्वत्या दुषष्ट्याश्च मध्यं विन्ध्यहिमागयोः । गङ्गायमुत्थो-
धमलेन कुरुक्षेत्रं द्वादशयोजनावधि । हिमवत्विन्ध्ययोर्मध्यं यत् प्राग्विनशनादपि । पञ्चरामहृदन्तरम्
iv. 14. 8.

parva 82. 111 ८०

instance in the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, it is given as a synonym of *Kurukṣetra*.⁶ In this scene, *Antarvedi* is used in *Rājataranginī*.⁷ *Bāla Rāmāyaṇa* seems to have been misunderstood in *Rājataranginī*.⁸

⁶ In the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, *Bhūmivarga*, this is read *Kuśasthali*.

between the five tanks of Rāma extending for 12 Yojanas or about 60 miles¹.

(6) Eastern (Provinces) i.e. South-eastern (India).

(7) Northern (Provinces) i.e. North-western (India) up to the Sarasvati (Choya) river.

(8) Mlechchha Maṇḍala or Mlechchha Deśa (Barbaric Land) i.e. countries bordering on India².

8. Southern India or Dakṣiṇāpātha is not included in this list, as it originally formed a part of Mlecchha Deśa.

9. In addition to the Himālaya, the Purāṇic writers name seven principal chains of mountains in this country, viz: Mahendra—Malaya—Sahya—Śuktimat—Rkṣa or Rkṣavat—Vindhya and Paripātra or Pāriyātra³. General Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India page 516 identifies Mahendra mountain with Mahendra Male, "which divides Ganjam from the valley of the Mahānadi". I think it included the whole of the eastern Ghāts between the Mahānadi and the Godāvāri. Kālidāsa calls the king of Kalinga "Lord of Mahendra"⁴ and Kalinga was not limited to the country about Ganjam, but extended up to the Godāvāri. So in the Kathā Sarit Sāgara⁵. The existing town of Rājā Mahendri on the Godāvāri probably originally meant nothing more than the capital of the monarch of Mahendra. The sources of the following rivers are placed in this chain: Tribhāgā; Ṛṣikulyā; Ikṣudā; Tridivā; Lāṇ-gūlinī; Mūli; Saravā; Vimalā⁶. But the accounts in our Geographies are too meagre to enable one to identify these

¹ Yojana is also = 8 miles, which will give 96 miles, the modern limit of the circle (Cunningham p. 332). It will be seen from the above that Kurukṣetra and Brahmāvarta are not identical, as General Cunningham supposes (p. 333).

In the *Gadā Parva*, *Kurukṣetra* is said to mean "Ploughing field of Kuru" evidently to account for the word 'Kṣetra'—"प्रवृण्णमेतत् कुरुणा महायुता वनः कश्यपेनितिह परये", 53.2. See also *Amara* ii. 17.

² "Such as Kāmarūpa" adds Maheśvara on Amara, ii. 1.7; *Mahābhārata*, 1.10.11; *Mahābhārata*, 5, 10-11; Matsya-

³ *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, ii. 3. 3.; *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, 5, 10-11; *Matsya-purāṇa*, 113, 17-18, etc.

iv. 38-43. Mallinātha explains: "महेन्द्रनाथस्य कलिङ्गस्य"; see also Raghu. iv. 53-54.

53-54. ⁶ अवनम्य करे दत्ते कलिज्जैरग्रैस्ततः । आरुहो महेंद्राद्रिं यशस्तस्य यशस्विनः ॥" 19.92.
Vinay P. : पितृभोमा in Mārkaṇḍeya), ऋषिकुत्सा च इत्यादि

त्रिभागा (त्रिनामा in Viṣṇu-P.; पितृसोमा in Mārkaṇḍeya), क्षयकुल्या च इत्यादि (का in Mārkaṇḍeya) त्रिदिवाचला (या in Mā.) ताम्रपर्णी (ताम्रलिनी in Mā.) तथा मूली (वंशकरी in Mā.) शरवा विमला तथा (not in Mā.) महेन्द्रतनयाः सर्वाः प्रख्याताः शुभगामिनीः ॥ Matsya-P. 113.31.

rivers. Tribhāgā is probably the northernmost of these rivers. Rśikulyā is evidently the Rishikulia river on which Ganjam is situated. Iksudā is probably the torrent on which Ichapur is situated below Ganjam. Tridivā is probably the river of Kalīngapattan. Lāngūlinī is, I believe, the Naglaudi river of Cicacole. The others are very likely the small torrents between Cicacole and Coringa.

10. The slopes of Malaya, we read in the Vīra Charita, are encircled by the river Kāverī¹ and a similar statement is found in the Raghuvamśa². In the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa, the mountain is said to teem in cardamoms and pepper and sandal and betelnut trees³, which are all abundant in most southerly India. I have, therefore, no hesitation in identifying it with the southern portion of the Ghāts⁴, running from the south of Mysore and forming the eastern boundary of Travancore.

11. Kālidāsa calls the mountains Malaya and Dardura the breasts of Southern India⁵. Daṇḍī calls southerly wind "cool with the embrace of sandals on the sides of the mountain Dardura"⁶. In the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Malaya and Dardura are spoken of in one connection⁷. I am therefore inclined to think that Dardura meant that portion of the Ghāts which form the south-eastern boundary of Mysore. The sources of four rivers are placed in this chain: Kṛitāmālā; Tāmraparṇī, Puṣpajā; Utpalāvatī⁸. Tāmraparṇī is the most celebrated of these rivers. It runs through the ancient kingdom of Pāṇḍya⁹ and is well described by Rājaśekhara¹⁰. It is evidently the Tambaravari of the present day, which rises in the eastern declivity of the western (some

¹ "कावेरीवलमितमेखलस्य शानावेकस्मिन् मलयगिरिदिवः पतामि ।" v.3.

² "स सैन्यपरिभोगेन राजदानमुगन्धिना । कावेरीं सरितां पत्युः शङ्कुनीयामिवाकरोत् ॥ बलैरध्युषितास्तस्य विजिगीर्षोर्गताध्वनः । मारोचोद्भ्रान्तहारीता मलयाद्वैरुष्यकाः ॥" R. ix. 46.

³ "गुणवति फणिबीरजद्रूपगण्डः प्रचुरमरिचवल्लीवल्गुरीकः पुरस्तात् । मलय इह महाद्रिर्नन्दनश्चन्दनानामियमधिपुष्टदेवाश्लिष्टकङ्कालयष्टिः ॥" x. 54.

⁴ In the Hemachandra Koṣa (iv. 95), it is also called Āṣāḍha and Dakṣiṇāchala or southern mountain.

⁵ "स्तनविष विशस्तस्याः शैली मलयद्वंद्वी" Raghu. iv. 51.

⁶ "ददरिगिरितटचन्दनाश्लेषशीतलानिल" Daśakumāra, vii.

⁷ "महेन्द्रमलयद्रो च ददुरे च वसन्ति ये ।" —58.21.

⁸ "कुलमाला ताम्रपर्णी पुष्पजा चोत्पलवती । मलयप्रसूता नद्यः सर्वाः शीतजलाः शुभाः ॥" Matsya, 113. 30.

⁹ "दिशि मन्दायते तेजो दक्षिणस्यां स्वरेपि । तस्यामेव रघोः पाण्ड्याः प्रतापं न विधेहिरे ॥ ताम्रपर्णी-समेतस्य मुक्तसारं महोदधेः । ते निपत्य ददुस्तस्मै यशः स्वमिव सञ्चितम् ॥" R. iv. 49-50.

¹⁰ "रत्नप्रसुरित समस्ततरङ्गिणीषु वारां निधेर्भंगवतः सुभगं कलत्रम् । अस्मिन्निरन्तरनितम्बिनि ताम्रपर्णी चतुःपथं व्रजतु मौक्तिककामधेनुः ॥" Bāla Rāmāyaṇa x, 56.

call eastern) Ghāts, runs through the district of Tinnevely and falls into the Gulf of Manar near the small town of Punakali. The others I cannot identify, as the modern names Vaiga, Vaipai, Chindinthoora, Chittaur, Amarawati, Perryaur have no resemblance with the Sanskrit names. The Bhūmikhāṇḍa of the Padma Purāṇa however omits most of these names and gives others which bear resemblance to the modern names. For instance, Chitrā or Chitropalā may be the Chittaur, Chitrarathā the Chindinthoora, Vṛṣabhā the Vaiga. But these are mere guesses.

12. The Sahya is still known as Siyadree among Hindus and is undoubtedly the western Ghāts to their junction with the Neelgiris north of the Malaya¹. The following rivers are said to take rise in it: Godāvarī, Bhīmarathī (-thā)-Kṛṣṇā, Venṇā, Vanjulā or Manjulā, Tungabhadra, Suprayogā, Bāhyā, and Cāverī². Of these, the most celebrated is the most northerly Godāvarī or colloquially Godā³ which rises near Nasik on the eastern declivity of the western Ghāts and retains its name up to the present day. Below Rāja Māhendri it divides into several channels and it was known as Sapta Godāvara or (the junction of) the seven (branches of the) Godāvarī, celebrated for a rich temple of Bharga (Śiva)⁴.

13. Bhīmarathā⁵ (or rathī as it is sometimes called) or colloquially Bhīmā⁶ is the Beema of the present day, which rises in the district of Poona and falls into the Kṛṣṇā near Goondloor. Venṇā appears to be the Warna, which rises at Tewra in the N. W. of Kolapur and falls into the Kṛṣṇā near Sanglee in lat. 16.50° long. 74.36°⁷. This is the Venṇa Sangama a place of Hindu pilgrimage⁸.

¹ The northern portion of this range to the south of Tāpi is still called Syadree, i.e. Sahyādri.

² "गोदावरी भीमरथी (या), कुण्णवेणी (कुण्णा वेण्णा) च व (म) ऊजला (तवापरा) । पुङ्गुभद्रा मुप्रयोगा बाह्या कावेर्यचापगा । सप्तपादविनिष्कान्ता इत्येताः सरिदुत्तमाः ॥" Mārkaṇḍeya-P., 57. 26-27. See also Matsya-P., 113-29.

³ "प्रसूतानुगोदं मृगयानिवृत्तस्वरङ्गावातेन विनीतवेदः" —Raghu. xiii. 35.

⁴ "सप्तगोदावरे स्नात्वा नियतो नियताशनः । महत्पुण्यमवाप्नोति देवलोकञ्च गच्छति ॥" Vana-Parva, 85.44, "(दक्षिणतो दर्शयन्) देव सप्तगोदावरीतीरे भीमो भगवान् भर्गः . . . सत्वायश्वास्तव दक्षिणेन त इमे गोदावरीश्रोतसां सप्तानामपि वानिधः प्रणयिनां द्वीपालराणि विताः" —Bāla Rāmāyaṇa x. 70.

⁵ "भीमरथायाश्च पश्चिमाश्चेत्याः" (Vārāhi-Samhitā xvi. 9).

⁶ "वेणोपवेण्णा भीमा च" Mah. iii. 222, 24.

⁷ "वेण्णा भीमरथी चोमे नद्यो पापभयापहे । मृगाहिजसमाकीर्णं तापसालयभूषिते ॥" Vana-Parva, 88.3.

⁸ "वेण्णायाः सङ्गमे स्नात्वा वाजपेयफलं लभेत्" Vana-Parva, 85.34.

14. Kṛṣṇā or more fully Kṛṣṇavenā or Venī rises at Mahābaleśvara and falls into the Bay of Bengal. The Devahrada of Vana Parva 85.37, said to be formed with its waters is, I believe, the Deverkonda of modern geography, which has given name to an extensive district on the S.E. of Hyderabad.

15. Vanjulā or Manjulā as it is more correctly called, in the Bhīṣma Parva is evidently the Manjera—a tributary of the Godāvarī. It does not however rise in the western Ghāts. We have, therefore, another reading for Manjulā viz.—Aparā which simply means another and refers probably to the Khaṭvāngī mentioned in the Harivaṁśa¹. The text says it was met after the Venṇā and as the Panchagangā appears to be the next river to the Venṇā in the district of Kolapore as Mr. Wakharkar kindly informs me, I believe it is the same river. I do not find any name resembling Khaṭvāngī in the long list sent by that gentleman.

16. Tungabhadra formed by the junction of the Tūngavenā and the Bhadrā is the Tumbarda of modern geography, which rises in lat. 14° long. 75°43' and falls into the Kṛṣṇā beyond Alampore. Suprayogā is probably the Hugry, which rises in the southwest of Mysore and falls into the Tungabhadra in the district of Bellary. It is also called the Vedavati—a name occurring in the Bhīṣma Parva list of rivers and also in some Purāṇas.

17. Cāverī² cannot be mistaken. Bāhyā I cannot identify. It is probably a misreading for Bhadrā—one of the branches of the Tungabhadra, or for Hemā (Hemanvati)—a tributary of the Cāverī.

18. The position of Śuktimat is not beyond doubt. In the Sabhā Parva, Bhīma is said to have subjugated the marshy lands near the slopes of the Himālaya—then conquered several countries including Bhallāṭa and Śuktimat mountain—and then brought under his sway the king of Kāśī³. If this description is correct, Śuktimat lies between the Himālaya

¹ "वीर्या वेण्णामिमां पुण्यां नदीमथैव सङ्गताः । विषयान्ते निवेशाय गिरि गच्छाम दुर्गमम् ॥ रम्यं यज्ञगिरि नाम सहास्य प्रच्छं गिरिम् । निवासं मांसभक्षणां चौराणां चोरकर्मणाम् ॥ नानाद्रुमलतायुक्तं चित्रं पुष्पित-पावपम् ॥ प्रोष्य सत्र निशामेकां बट्टाङ्गी नाम निम्नगाम् ॥ भद्रं ते सन्तरिष्यामो निकषोपलभ्यणाम् ॥ गङ्गा-प्रपातप्रतिमां सस्ताञ्च महतो गिरेः । तस्याः प्रपातं द्रक्ष्यामस्तापमारण्यभूषणम् ॥" 5327 to 30.

² It is also called Ardha-Jāhnavi in H.c. iv. 150.

³ "ततो हिमवतः पार्वत्यै समन्वयेन जलोद्भवम् । सर्वमल्लेन कालेन देशं चक्रे वशे वली ॥ एवं बहुविधान् देवान् विजित्यो भरतर्षभः । भल्लाट(त?)मभितो जिष्ये शुक्तिमन्तञ्च पर्वतम् ॥ स काशिराजं समरे बलेन बलिनां वरः । वशे चक्रे महाबाहुर्भामो भीमपराक्रमः ॥" 30. 4-6.

and Kāśī (Benares) and must be the Sub-Himalayan range in the south of Nepal. Bhallāṭa is the name of the marking-nut tree (*Anacardium Semecarpus*) "a native" says Dr. Roxburgh, "of all the mountainous parts of India", and was probably so named from the Bhallāṭa country, which, from this description, formed a part of Nepal. The rivers Rṣikulyā, Kumārī, Mandagā, Kṛpā, and Palāśini are said to rise in this mountain¹. I regret I cannot identify any of these. The rivers, whose sources are in the Sub-Himalayan range, are the Rapti and some of its tributaries such as the Bangarā, and a few eastern rivers, none of which names correspond with the Paurāṇik names.

19. There is a passage in the Harivaṁśa (vide para. 154) which says the old town of Māhiṣmatī stood on the banks of the Narmadā between the Vindhya and the Rkṣa mountains. As the first is the northerly of the two ranges bounding the valley of the Narmadā, Rkṣa or Rksavān must mean the southerly or Satpura mountains dividing the valley of the Tāpī from the valley of the Narmadā². According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, the rivers Tāpī, Payoṣṇī and Nirvindhya³ rise in this chain. The first is unquestionably the Tāpti. It is also called Tāpanī which like Tāpī, means heating, and Tapanātma-jā or daughter of the sun (H.c. iv. 150). The Payoṣṇī I identify with the Pūrṇā—a feeder of the Tāpti. The two rivers are spoken of together in a passage of the Vana Parva⁴ and in another place, in describing a northward journey, it is placed in Vidarbha to the south of the Narmadā. By some it is considered the holiest river in India⁵.

¹ "शुक्रिकुल्या कुमारी च मन्दगा मन्दवाहिनी । कुपा पलाशिनी चैव शुक्तिमत्प्रभवाः स्मृताः ॥" Mārkaṇḍeya-P., 57.30.

² Vana Parva 61.21. "एते गच्छन्ति ब्रह्मः पन्थानो दक्षिणापथम् । सवन्तीन् कृक्षवन्तञ्च समतिक्रम्य पर्वतम् ॥" is interesting in this respect, as it makes Rkṣa the N. boundary of S. India.

³ "तापीपयोष्णीनिविन्ध्यप्रमुखा कृक्षसम्भवाः" ii. 3.11.

⁴ "ततस्तापी महापुण्यां पयोष्णीं सरित्तां वराम् ।" 85.40. "विसृज्य कुण्डमथ धर्मराजो विदुर्मराजोपचितां सुतीर्थाम् । जगाम पुण्यां सरितं पयोष्णीं सञ्जातुमृत्युः सह लोमणेन ॥" 120.31. "त पयोष्ण्यां नरव्याघ्रः स्नात्वा वै भ्रातृभिः सहः । . . समाजगाम तेजस्वी नर्मदाञ्च महानदीम् ॥" 121.16-17.

⁵ एकतः सरितः सर्वा गङ्गाद्याः सलिलोज्ज्वलाः । पयोष्णी चैकतः पुण्या तीर्थेभ्यो हि मता मम ।" Mah. iii. 88-89. In 61.22, this river is called समुद्रगा or sea-going. It was probably applied to the bigger stream now called Tāpti. Such change of names is by no means uncommon among Indian rivers. The Brahmaputra above Goalunda now flows through the channel of Jabunā and it is accordingly called Jabunā by the people in this part of its course.

Sarayū, he first arrived at the banks of the Tamasā—the modern Tons—then passed through a fertile tract and crossing the borders of Kośala came to the Vedasmṛti or Vedaśruti river (the modern Sot or Soti: a branch of the Tons)—then crossed the rivers Gomatī (Gumti) and Sarpikā or Syandikā (Sai) and arrived at Śrngaverapura near the Bhāgirathī (Ganges)—the capital of the Niśāda king Guha. Through his assistance, he crossed the Ganges and passed the night under a banian tree. The small tract between the Ganges and Yamunā was then a forest dotted with hermitages of ascetics specially of the great Bharadvāja. Hence he crossed the Yamunā on a raft and arrived at the foot of the hill Chitrakūṭa by the river Mandākinī or Mālīnī at a distance of 24 miles from the confluence of the rivers Yamunā and Ganges¹. In the way on the right bank of the Yamunā he paid adoration to a celebrated banian tree—a representative of which is still regarded as the Akshay or undecaying tree.

24. The distance of Chitrakūṭa noted above is certainly too short, as it is 50 miles S.E. of Banda, which is 95 miles S.W. of Allahabad. More than 100 years ago, Tieffenthaler, to quote from Thornton's Gazetteer, described it "as the resort of all India, being the residence of Rāma and his wife Sītā, after they had left Ayodhyā. It is crowded with temples and shrines of Rāma and his brother Lakshmaṇa". It must, therefore, be recognized as the Chitrakūṭa of the Rāmāyaṇa. It is situated on the clear river Paisuni, which is therefore the Mandākinī or Mālīnī of old days.

25. I may now turn to the Provinces of ancient India. I have already stated that Sindhu Deśa meant the country

मासाद्य कृतनिष्पत्त्याः । तत्र वासं समुद्दिश्य ययुः शीघ्रपरिक्रमाः ॥ अचिरेण समासाद्य ततस्तच्चित्रपादपम् ।
चित्रकूटवनं रामः सीतां वचनमब्रवीत् ॥ पश्यामुन् पुण्यतान् सीते मालिनीं सरितमनु । निशिरालये दीर्घाक्षि
प्रदीप्तानिव किङ्कणान् ॥ कणिकाखनं चापि पश्य मन्दाकिनीमनु । दीपितं कचिरेः पुष्पैः प्रदीप्तैः काञ्चनैरिव ॥
... आरक्षमाणो एवं ते रम्यां मन्दाकिनीं नदीम् । चित्रकूटं समाजग्मुर्नानाकुसुमितद्रुमम् ॥ तस्य शैलस्य पादे
तु विविक्ते सन्ति लावते । आश्रमं चक्रन्तुर्वीरो भ्रातरो रामलक्ष्मणौ ॥ 43.36; 46.4-20; 47.1; 52.25,
38; 54.1-8; 55.1, 15; 56.5-19. The Bombay Edition reads मालिनीः for मालिनी;
and does not at all mention मन्दाकिनी. But we have independent testimony
of poet Bhavabhūti of the correctness of the quoted text in his statement
"अनुपममन्दाकिनीपवित्रमेखलं चित्रकूटम्" in the last paragraph of the fourth act of
Vīra Charita and मालिनी is admittedly a synonym of मन्दाकिनी. We have
further confirmation in the 67th. chapter of the Ādi-Parva, when
Dusmanta came to the Mālīnī in a hunting excursion as he reigned
most probably at Pratiṣṭhāna—certainly not at Hastināpura which was
founded by one of his descendants.

¹ इति स्त्रियोजनाग्रामनिर्व्यक्तं निवस्यति । महर्षिसेवितः पुष्पैः सर्वस्य सुखदः शिवः ॥ गोलाङ्गुलाभिनादितो
वानरर्क्षनिषेवितः । चित्रकूट इति क्वातो गन्धमादनसन्निभः ॥ Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa, 54.29-30.

of the upper Indus. This is clear from the writings of Kālidāsa. We read in the Raghuvamśa that Rāma made over this country to his brother Bharata according to the instructions of his uncle Yudhājit and Bharata conquered the Gandharvas and placed his sons Takṣa and Puṣkala in charge of towns named after them—Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati¹. Both of these places are famous in Indian History—Puṣkalāvati or Puṣkarāvati in the form Peukelaotis or Peucolaitis and its shortened form Puṣkala or Puṣkara in the form Peukelas were known to Greek writers. It was the capital of Gāndhāra in the days of Alexander and Arrian in his Indica places it not far from the river Indus. It was visited by the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang in Nov. 630², who came to Pu-se-kia-lo-fa-ti after crossing a great river and travelling 100 li. to the north-east of Pu-lu-sha-pulo (or Peshwar). General Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India page 50 comes to the conclusion on grounds described in his work that it must have stood at Hastnagar on the Suat river. I would however place it to the north-east of Hastnagar about Bashkala given in some of the maps not only because it agrees in name, but also because Hindu writers place it on the Himālaya. The 37th Taranga of the Kathā Sarit Sāgara describes the journey of a merchant of Ujjayinī or Ojeen to this town, who travels northward and passes several rivers and forests and then comes to the country inhabited chiefly by Mlechchhas specified as Tājiks and Turkomen and then crosses the river Vitastā (Behut) and goes into a hilly forest (evidently about the Salt Range) and then arrives at Puṣkarāvati, which is thrice said to be on a summit of the Himālaya range³. The special mention of Tajiks shews that the writer was fully acquainted with this part of India and makes me reluctant to reject his testimony.

26. The 27th Taranga of the Kathā Sarit Sāgara describes the position of Takṣaśilā and its former grandeur. It says "there is a town named Takṣaśilā on the banks of the Vitastā, in whose waters were reflected the images of its

¹ "युधाजितस्य सन्देशात् स देशं सिन्धुनामकम् । ददौ दत्तप्रभावाय भरताय भूतप्रजः ॥ भरतस्तत्र गन्धर्वान् युधि निजित्य केवलम् । आतोचं साहयामास समत्याजयदायुधम् ॥" xv. 87-8.

² The dates of Hiuen Tsang's visits are given from General Cunningham's calculation.

³ "अस्ति प्राज्ञेयशैलान्ते नगरो पुष्करावती," 22. "मालिमालां हिमनिरेनंगरी पुष्करावतीम्," 82. "निशीथे च हिमाद्रौ तामनुरागपरा पितुः । पुरीं विशाघरपतेः प्राप्तवान् पुष्करावतीम् ॥" 180.

edifices. It had a devoted Buddhist king named Kalingadatta and an entirely Buddhist population rich by the blessings of Tārā. The town shone with his uninterrupted rich *stupas* as if with summits of vanity that there was no place like it¹. The Greek and Chinese accounts however make it a more inland town at considerable distance from the Vitastā and I am, therefore, inclined to think that Vitastā is a misprint for Sudāmā or Suan river. General Cunningham (p. 119) identifies it with Shah-dheri and probably he is not far from truth.

27. The description of Kālidāsa is, in fact, based on an older work—the Uttara Kāṇḍa, which is interesting not only because giving full particulars, but also because distinctly laying down the country of the Gandharvas on both sides of the Indus and identifying western Gandharvas with the Gāndhāras of later literature—the Gandaræ of Ptolemy², traces of which name may probably be still found in the Gundar-bar of the Punjab and the Gandgarh mountain to the north of it. I reproduce the material passages below, as they also give some description of the towns Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvata⁴. A slight allusion to this conquest of Gandharvas is also found in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (iv. 4.66).

28. The identity of Gandharva and Sindhu-Deśa may be also seen from other considerations. It has been always famous for an excellent breed of horses. Among the presents to Bharata by the king of Kekayas, was a thousand of fire-footed horses of his country. Among the valuable presents to Yudhiṣṭhira in the great Rājasūya festival, were several horses of Gāndhāra⁵. Hence in the Amarakoṣa, we find both

1 "प्रासीत् तक्षशिला नाम वितस्तापुलिने पुरी । तदम्भसि बभौ यस्याः प्रतिमा सौधसन्तते ॥ तस्यां कलिङ्ग-दत्ताष्टो राजा परमशौगतः । अमृतं तारावरस्फोटजिनभक्ताखिलप्रजः ॥ रराज सा पुरी यस्य चैत्यरत्नैर्निरन्तरैः ॥ मत्तुल्या नाम गन्तीति मदगुह्यैरिषोदितैः ॥" 10.3.

2 Dr. Bellew identifies modern Yusufzies with these Gandaræ.

3 मातुलस्ते महाबाहो वाक्यमाह नरपंथ । युधाजित् प्रीतिसंयुक्तं श्रूयतां यदि रोचते । अयं गन्धर्वविषयः फलमूलोपशोभितः । सिन्धुसमुद्रतः पार्श्वे देशः परमशौभनः ॥ तं च रक्षन्ति गन्धर्वाः सायुधाः युद्धकोविदाः ॥ शैलमस्य सुता वीर तिलः कोटयो महाबलाः । तान् विनिजित्य काकुत्स्थ गन्धर्वनगरं शुभम् ॥ निवेशय महाबाहो स्वे पुरे सुसमाहिते ॥ 100. 9-13 ... श्रुत्वा सेनापतिं प्राप्तं भरतं केकयाधिपः । युधाजिदुर्गसहितं परो प्रीतिमुपायमम् ॥ ... श्रुत्वा तु भरतं प्राप्तं गन्धर्वास्ते समागताः । योद्धुकामा महावीर्या व्यनदस्ते समागताः ॥ ... ते बद्धाः कालपाशेन संवतनं विदारिताः । क्षणेनाभिहृतास्तेन तिलः कोटयो महात्मना ॥ ... हतेषु तेषु सर्वेषु भरतः केकयीमुतः । निवेशयामास तदा समुद्धे ह्ये पुरोत्तमे । तस्यं तक्षशिलायां तु पुष्कलं पुष्कलावते । गन्धर्वदेशे दक्षिणे गान्धारविषये च सः ॥ चनरलीषसकीणं काननैरुपशोभिते । गृहमुख्यैः सुरचिरैर्विमानैर्वह्नि-वृते ॥ गोभिते शोभनीयैश्च देवायतनविस्तारैः । तालैस्तमालैस्तिलकैर्वकुलैरुपशोभिते ॥" 101. 1 to 15.

4 "सहस्रमपि चास्वानां देशानां वातरुदसाम्" Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 72.33.

5 "हयान् गान्धारदेशजान्" Sabhā Parva, 51.10.

Saindhava and Gandharva as synonyms of horses¹. 29. The Saindhava² salt mentioned in the same book evidently refers to the rock-salt found in the Salt Range of mountains, for it does not refer to sea-salt as it is separately mentioned as Samudra salt and Māṇimantha is given as another synonym for Saindhava salt and the commentator Maheśvara explains that it means "produced in the mountain Maṇimantha"³ (which can only refer to the Salt Range). But the most convincing proof is a passage of the Raghu-varṇṣa⁴ and that Saindhava is still understood by all salt-sellers of India as rock-salt. I have, therefore, no hesitation in identifying Maṇimantha with the Salt Range and in asserting that it stands within the old Sindhu Deśa. The Greeks call this range Oromenus, which is certainly not connected with Raumaka as General Cunningham seems to think (p. 158). All Hindu authorities agree that Raumaka is the Sambher salt and Rumā is the salt mine (lake of sambher)⁵.

30. In the Mahābhārata, Gāndhāra is separately mentioned with its chief Subala, whose daughter Gāndhārī was married to Dhṛtarāṣṭra⁶ and Jayadratha figures as the head of Sindhu-Sauvīras. There can therefore be no doubt that Sindhu in later literature, meant what Arrian understood Sindhu in later literature, meant what Arrian understood by it—the country to the east of the upper Indus or the Province of Takṣaśilā. There are other considerations corroborative of this inference. Jayadratha is said to belong to the same family of Ikṣvākus to which Bharata belonged⁷ and the train of princes that followed him to Sālvas belonged

1 "वाजिवाहावैगन्धर्वहयसैन्धवसप्तयः" ii. 8.44. In the Hemachandra Koṣa, गन्धर्व is retained as a synonym (its proper meaning being forgotten), but सैन्धव is explained correctly तत्तद्देशास्तु सैन्धवाः । वनामुजाः पारसीकाः काम्बोजा बाह्लीकादयः" iv. 300.

2 "सैन्धवोऽस्त्री शीतशिवं माणिमन्थे च सिन्धुवे" ii. 9.42. "सिन्धुवे" is Saindhava is भवं माणिमन्थम्—Amara Viveka. In Hemachandra Koṣa Saindhava is explained as, नदीभवम्, but this is opposed to the above explanation and opposed to facts. Some read शितशिवं for शीतशिवं, but it is a mistake, rock-salt is not white.

3 It is, however, curious that Malamentus appears among Greek writers as a tributary of the Indus.

4 "वस्त्रोष्मणा मलिनयन्ति पुरोगतानि सेहानि सैन्धवशिलासकलानि वाहाः" v. 73.

5 "रोमकं साम्भरलीण इति ख्यातम्"—Maheśvara ; "रुमा लवणखनिः स्यात्"—Hemachandra iv. 7.

6 i. 88. Ch. "

7 "इत्वाकुराजः सुरवस्य (सुवस्य) पुत्रः"—Vana Parva 265.9

Chandrā (Chenab) as both mean the same thing. Thence through Bāhika to the north of Sudāsa, they visited Viṣṇupada—a place of ancient pilgrimage, and arrived at Giribraja after a march of seven days.

34. Bāhika or more properly Bāhika or outsider is the general name of the tribes that inhabited the Punjab. In the Karna Parva, it is distinctly said that the Bāhikas inhabited the country watered by the Indus and the five rivers of the Punjab outside Holy India¹. It is clear from this that the five rivers of Panchāpa² (Pāṇini v.4.74) viz. Śatadru (Satiej)—Vipāśā (Beas)—Irāvati—(Rāvee)—Chandrabhāgā (Chenab)—and Vitastā (Behat) do not include the Indus, as some suppose³. The combined stream of these five rivers before it falls into the Indus is still called by the name Punjab, which, in the form Panchanada, occurs in the early emendations of Pāṇini's Sūtra v.4.75. (See Vāmana's illustrations, Benares edition).

¹ "वहिकृता हिमवता गङ्गाया च वहिकृताः । सरस्वत्या यमुनया कुशलेण चापि ये ॥ पञ्चानां सिन्धु-पञ्चानां नदीनां येऽन्यत्राभिः । तान् धर्मवाहानशुचीन् बाहोकांश्चि वर्जयेत् ॥" 44.6-7.
² Also Panchanada. Hence the people were called पञ्चनदाः—“आरद्रुजान् पञ्चनदान् धिगस्तु”, 44. 38.

³ For instance, Thornton says, “as the Beas has much shorter course than the others, it seems to have been disregarded when the name of the country was bestowed.” The following verse forming the 32nd verse of the 44th chapter of the Karna Parva confirms my view: “शतद्रुजं विपाशा Airāvati, but the following line of the same chapter shews its in-admissibility: “शतद्रुजामहं तीर्त्वा ताञ्च रम्यामिरावतीम्”, 17. The Greek or rather Latin name Hydraotes has the same derivation, इरा and Hydra both meaning water. Paruṣṇi of Rgveda. x. 75.5. is, according to Nirukta another name of this river. Śatadru (=many-treed) is, also written in Nirukta ix. 26. The first is in harmony with the Greek name Zadadrus, blue (Greek Akēsines)—a name which occurs among others in the Bhīṣma Parva list of rivers. In Rk x. 75.5 the two names are separately mentioned. Vana Parva thus explains the history of the worked Vipāśā: “एतद्विष्णुर्देव नाम द्रुपते तीर्थमुत्तमम् । एषा रम्या विपाशा च नदी परमपावनी ॥ अर्द्धं पुत्रशोकैर्न विपाशो भगवान्निः । वदन्तमानं निपतितो विपाशः पुनरुत्थितः ॥” 130.8-9. For the history of the legend, see Ādi Parva, ch. 175.

Vipāśā is also called Vipāś (=unfettered) : “विपादद्रुतुदी पयसा जवेते” Rk iii. 33. 1. Ārjikiya (=gently flowing) of Rk x. 75.5 is, according to Nirukta, a name of this river. Chandrabhāgā is variously spelt: “चन्द्रभागा चन्द्रभागा चन्द्रभागी च सा मता । चन्द्रभागी च सैवोक्ता.” Dvirūpa Koṣa. Colloquially, it was called Chandrā or Chandrikā: “चन्द्रभागा तु चन्द्रिका” Hemachandra iv. 157.

35. My knowledge is too limited to give a full account of the Bāhikas. But the following tribes seem to have come under that general designation viz. Kekayas, Sauvīras, Madras, Ārattas, Pauras, Jārtikas, Takkas and Śivis or Auśīnaras. The last were a most important tribe in ancient India. They take their name Śivi from a king of that name, whose well-known anecdote constitutes the 197th chapter of the Vana Parva. The other name is derived from their country Uśīnara, which, in Pāṇini's Sūtra iv. 2.118, is distinctly included in Bāhika¹. Sūtra ii. 4.20 is also a special rule about Uśīnaras. From Vāmana's exposition of these Sūtras², we know that the following places were in this district, viz. Suśami, Āhvara, Āhvajāla, Sudarśana. I cannot identify any of these. But Āhvara is probably what is now known as Purāṇa Bhira, where General Cunningham noticed some old ruins (p. 155). Whether this be correct or not, we have independent testimony of some Greek writers that the Śivis inhabited the lower portion of the Jetch Doab. There is indeed one legend described in the 48th chapter of the Matsya Purāṇa which derives from them Sauvīras and Madras and Kekayas. But evidently it was an after invention to account for their contiguous position, for in the Mahābhārata, as will be shewn presently, Sauvīras are clearly distinguished from Śivis. In Vāmana's exposition of Pāṇini's Sūtra viii. 4. 9., we have an interesting statement that Uśīnaras, as distinguished from other Bāhikas, were milk-drinkers³. From Pāṇini's Sūtra ii.4.20 already alluded to, the district seems to have been specially noted for coarse cotton cloths. These Śivis should not, however, be confounded with another tribe of Śivis that inhabited the southern bank of the Cāverī⁴.

36. The next important tribe were the Sauvīras. From a passage of the Ādi Parva they were a branch of the Gandharvas⁵. Their land has given name of a drink which Amara in his ii.9.39, identifies with Kāñji but which Bhāva Mīśra

¹ “विभाषोऽशोनेरेषु” which comes after “बाहोकाणामेभ्यश्च”. Vāmana Says “उशीनरेषु ये बाहोकाणामाः—”
² “सौशमिकान्धम् । आह्वरकान्धम् । आह्वजालिकी । सोदरंतीया ।”
³ “सौरीपाना उशीनराः सौवीरपाना बाहोकाः ।”
⁴ “एकदा तु शिविषु कावेरीदक्षिणतीरेषु पतने. Daśakumāra, vi.
⁵ “त्रिवर्षकृतयज्ञस्तु गन्धर्वाणामुपप्लवे । अर्जुनप्रभुः पार्षः सौवीरः समरे हतः ॥ न शक्ताक-वशे कर्तुं यं पाण्डुरपि वीर्यवान् । सोऽर्जुनेन वशं नीतो राजासीद् यवनाधिपः ॥ अतीवबलसम्पन्नः सदा मानो कुर्वन् प्रति । विपुलो नाम सौवीरः शस्तः पार्षतेन धीमता ॥ दत्तामित्र इति ख्यातं समरे कृतनिश्चयम् । सुमित्रं नाम सौवीर-मर्जुनोऽदमयच्छरेः ॥” Ādi Parva 137. 19-22.

describes separately in the verse quoted below¹. Then it is the name of a sulphide of antimony or lead used as a collyrium². Lastly it is a name of the jujube fruit³. In the Mahābhārata, Saindhavas and Sauvīras are promiscuously mentioned and as its Saindhavas (see para. 24) meant the people to the east of the Indus and north of the Salt Range, the Sauvīras must have peopled the tract south of the Salt Range between the Indus and the Jhelum. I believe Sophietes of Alexander's historians was by common custom so called from the name of the Sauvīras he governed. At all events, the locality is the same and the story of the presentation of lion-fighting dog receives confirmation in the Rāmāyaṇa, according to which many tiger-like dogs were presented to Bharata by the king of Kekayas⁴. Hemachandra calls Sauvīras Kumālakas⁵. Has the river Gomāl which flows by Dera Ismail Khan any connection with this name? In illustrating Pāṇini's Sūtra iv.2.76, Vāmana mentions of a town called Dāttāmitri in Sauvīra⁶. But my knowledge is too limited to enable me to identify it with any modern place⁷. 37. The Madras are better known, as the lower portion of the Rechna Doab is still spoken of by Hindus as Madra Deśa. From Vāmana's illustration of Pāṇini iv.2.108, it seems to have been divided into two parts called respectively Pūrva Madra or eastern Madra and Aparā Madra or western Madra. Śākala was its principal town, as stated in the verse quoted below⁸ and it is easy to infer from another verse⁹ in

¹ "सौवीरज्जु यवैरामैः पवैर्वा निस्तुपैः कृतम् । गोधूमैरपि सौवीरमाचार्याः केचिद्वहिरि ॥" Part II. Sandhāna Varga.

commentators points out, medical authorities distinguishes Sauvira or Surmā from Srotonjana or safed Surmā. Dr. Uday Chand Dutt (p. 74) observes "Surmā is usually translated as sulphide of antimony, but I have not been able to procure a single specimen of the antimonial ore from the shops of Calcutta and some other towns." Sulphide of antimony is however found in the Salt Range.

ii. 72.24. पुष्टान् व्याघ्रसंहननयतीति ।

५ "सीरीयाम् कुमालका", iv. 26.
६ "सीरीरे तावत्-... शूरान् शुनश्चोपानयद्बहून् ॥"

⁷ Along with Sauvīras, Vasātibhiḥ nṛpaḥ dattamitrīḥ." *Mahābhārata* and *Śāstrāḥ*.

⁸ "शाकलं नाम मयेयु इमं नगरं पुर । कल्याणम् ।
Sāgara, 44.17. Along with Sauvīras, Vāsātis are in several places mentioned in the Mahābhārata and also in the Purāṇas.

⁹ "सङ्गमं चन्द्रभागाया इरावत्याश्च यत्र देः । ततः काकलमभ्येत्य पुराणां ॥" Kathā. S. Sāgara, 44.17. So in *Sabbhā Parva* चन्द्रप्रभाक्यस्तस्यासीद्राजाङ्गारप्रभात्मजः ॥

"सङ्गमं चन्द्रभाषाया इत्यवत्याश्च यत्न ते । स्थिताः सूर्योपप्रभस्याखे राजानो मित्रबान्धवाः ॥", 46.2.

the same story that it lay to the north of the confluence of the Chandrabhāgā with the Irāvati. There is a verse in the Kārṇa Parva¹ which seems to indicate that it was situated on the Āpagā (Ayak) river between the two rivers already named. When visited by Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century, Śākala was in ruins, but from the account he has left, General Cunningham identifies it with Sangla-wala-² Tiba to the west of the Ayak river (p. 179). There is a special rule of Pāṇini (iv.3.128) about Śākala, from the Vāmana's exposition of which³, a man of that name appears to have been a great mathematician. In illustrating Pāṇini's rule iv.2.117, he mentions after Śākala another place called Manthu, which is probably the origin of modern Munde.

38. The Jārtikas mentioned in the verse quoted above were probably the ancestors of Jats, who are still found in several parts of the Punjab and were evidently subject to the ruling race of Madras. I do not know of any passage which countenances the opinion entertained by some scholars that Jārtikas and Ārattas are mere synonyms of Madras. The Āratta country was famous for a breed of horses⁴ and horses are still bred extensively in the north-east of the Punjab. The people of Gujerat in Rawal Pindi still call their district Hairat or Airat Deś and I would identify it with the Āratta country. In Rājataranginī v.150, Takka-Deśa⁵ is mentioned as subject to the king of Gurjara (Gujerat). I do not remember meeting Takkas in old works, but latterly they appear to have become superme as Hemachandra identifies them with Bāhikas⁶. General Cunningham says (p. 152) Tāks "still exist as a numerous agricultural race in the lower hills between the Jhelum and the Rāvee". I therefore agree with him in considering Tāki their principal old seat.

39. The Ambasthas seem to have occupied the country to the east of Tāki, comprising the modern district of Lahor. The legend of the Matsya Purāṇa⁷ already alluded to connects them and Vṛśalas i.e. Śūdras (Sudraki of Greeks) with the Sauvīras and Madras I have described. In the

विश्वम् । अतिका नाम बाहोकास्तेषां वृत्तं मुनिन्दितम् ॥", 44.10.

1 "शाकलं नाम नगरमापगा नाम निम्नगा । जातिका

² "शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते शाकलाः । शाकलोऽङ्कः । उकार पदमर्धपुलायितेन", *Māgha*, v. 10.

३ "आरुदुजश्चटुलनिष्ठुरपातमुच्चैश्चित्तं चकार पदमधुपुलावित्तम् ।

4 "तस्मै दत्त्वा टष्कदेशं विनयादङ्गुलीमिव । स्वजरासमवाप्तस्य" iv. 25.

४. "बाहीकाष्टनक्तनामानो बाह्लोका" बाह्लिकास्तुतः १५.

६ "मुवतस्य तयाम्बाष्ठा कृशस्य वृषला पुरा", ५५-२०.

of this range to Ayodhyā on the Sarayū, it will be seen that Vālmiki's description is exceedingly accurate and the old towns of Hastināpura and Ahisthala will pretty nearly lie on it. Near this place (Jalalpur), there is an old fort called Girjhak, which has the same meaning as Girivraja, said to have been founded by Rājā Bharata, who is so much associated with Girivraja, and shewing unmistakable antiquity by yielding coins, I say on the authority of General Cunningham, reaching back to the times of Alexander's successors. I have therefore no hesitation in identifying it with our Girivraja.

48. The question remains 'who were the Kekayas?' The Greeks do not mention any such name, but speak of a people called Kathaci, whom they place to the east of the Chenaub and describe in terms analogous to the Sauvīras. I have already shewn that the Greek account of the present of a tiger-like dog by Sophietes harmonizes with our poet's description of the ferocious dogs of the king of the Kekayas. Strabo says they were a handsome race and we know from the Rāmāyaṇa that the king of Ayodhyā was exceedingly partial to his Kekaya wife. The modern Kattis of Kattywar are tall and robust with fair complexion and are said to have emigrated to their present abode from the banks of the Indus. I am therefore strongly inclined to believe that they are the Kekayas of Sanskrit literature. In the Mahābhārata, if I remember right, the Kekayas are never mentioned with the Saindhavas. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (iv. 14.10), one of Kṛṣṇa's aunts is said to have married a Kekaya king and in the Udyoga Parva the Kekayas are said to have fought with the Vṛṣṇis on the side of Yudhiṣṭhira (15.3.2, Roy's edition). Can it not be that Kṛṣṇa's migration to Dwārakā in Kattywar from Mathurā on the Yamunā was owing to a grant from the Kekaya ruler of Kattywar?

49. On the north of the Punjab, lies Kāśmīra or Kāśmīra¹. The name, if I remember right, does not occur in the Rāmāyaṇa. Its kings took no part in the great battles of Kurukṣetra. The allusions to it in the Mahābhārata are more like references to barbarians than to the great Aryan race. There can, therefore, be no doubt that it is a comparatively recent Hindu kingdom. In the Harivaṃśa, its king

¹ The name is derived from कञ् in Upādi Sūtra, iv. 32, but what कञ् means Ujjala Datta does not explain.

Gonarda¹ is said to have accompanied Jarāsandha to the great siege of Mathurā, but it is not said whether he was a Mlechchha or an Ārya king. In the Mudrā Rākṣasa, however, Puṣkarākṣa of Kāśmīra is said to be a Mlechchha king along with the kings of Kulūta (Kulu), Malaya, Sindhu, and Pārasika². In Trikaṇḍaśeṣa, Kira (or parrot) is given as a synonym of Kāśmīra³ and Cunningham testifies (para. 94) that he has heard the term Kīr-Mlechchhas applied to the people of Kāśmīra. Hemachandra⁴ gives another synonym Mādhumata, which is evidently derived from Madhumatī or Madhumatī Sindhu (the present Sind)⁵, which joins the Vitastā before it enters the Walur Lake. 50. However extensive the possessions of kings of Cashmere might have been from time to time, the term Kāśmīra seems to have been restricted to the valley of Cashmere between the Himālayas and the Pir Panjal range. We shall presently see that Urasa on the west was a separate province and that Rajaori, Chambā, and other adjoining places on the south were not included in Kāśmīra. On the north lay the country of the Daradas or Darads who are still found in the valley of the Gilgit (Cunningham's Geo., p. 82). In the Vana Parva, they are evidently placed on the north of the Himālayas along with Chīnas (Chinese) and Tukhāras (Tartars)⁶. We have the authority of Vāmana that the Sindhu takes its rise in their country⁷ and the testimony of the Rājatarangīnī that it bordered on Kāśmīra. It is, therefore, easy to see that they must have extended up to Ladak now under the Maharaja of Cashmere. Jambu is S.E. of Rajaori and S.W. of Chamba and could not come within Kāśmīra. The name occurs in old works. Under Pāṇini iv. 2.125, Vāmana, after mentioning Angas, Vangas, goes on to say "Dārvas, Jāmbvas", which seems to indicate that the latter were separate tribes⁸ like the former.

¹ "काश्मीरराजो गोनर्दो दर्याधिपतिर्नृपः", 4971.

² "तस्य म्लेच्छराजस्य बलस्य मध्यात् प्रधानतया पञ्च राजानः परया भक्त्या राजसमनुवर्तन्ते । तथाहि कौमुदीपिबन्धवर्मा, मलयनरपतिः सिहनादो नृसिंहः, काश्मीरो पुष्कराक्षः, शतरिपुमहिमा सैन्धवः सिन्धुपेशः ।" i. 20.

³ "कौमुदीपिबन्धवर्मा, मलयनरपतिः सिहनादो नृसिंहः, काश्मीरो पुष्कराक्षः, शतरिपुमहिमा सैन्धवः सिन्धुपेशः ।" i. 20.

⁴ "अथ काश्मीरे कीराः स्युः शास्त्रलिपिनः", Bhūmi Varga.

⁵ "काश्मीरास्तु माधुमताः" iv. 24.

⁶ "तीर्त्वा मधुमतीं सिन्धुं सैन्यैर्दुर्गमवेष्टयत्" Rājatarangīnī, vii. 1181.

⁷ "तीर्त्वा मधुमतीं सिन्धुं सैन्यैर्दुर्गमवेष्टयत्" Rājatarangīnī, vii. 1181.

⁸ "वीनास्तुषारान् दरदोऽप्य सर्वान् देशान् कजिन्दस्य च भूरिरत्रान् ।" Under Pāṇini iv. 3. 83.

⁹ "हिमवतः प्रभवति हिमवती गङ्गा । दारदी सिन्धुः । दार्वकः । जाम्बवकः ।"

¹⁰ "गङ्गाः । वङ्गाः दार्वकः । जाम्बवकः ।"

51. The valley of Kāsmīra is drained by the Vitastā and Vāmana is quite correct in placing its source in this province¹. Kāsmīra was famous for its saffron, whence it is called Kāsmīra-janman, Kāsmīraja, etc.² Bhāva Miśra describes three varieties of it and considers Kāsmīra saffron the best³. Kāsmīra is also a name of the root of the *custus speciosus*⁴ and Kāsmīra a synonym of Śrīparṇī (*Gmelina arborea*)⁵.
52. The principal old towns of Kāsmīra have been described by General Cunningham in his Ancient Geography (pp. 90 to 102). Śrīnagarī—the old capital founded by Aśoka⁶ stood near the present Śrīnagar the present capital of Kāsmīra. It is said that the latter occupies the site of the town founded by Pravaraśena. Huṣkapura⁷, Juṣkapura, and Kanīṣkapura, alluded to in Rājatarangīnī i.168, have been identified the first with Uskara two miles S.E. of Baramula, the second with Tukru four miles N. of Śrīnagar, and the third with Karṇapur 10 miles S. of it. Avantipura of v.44 founded by Avantivarmā, is said to have stood at Vantipur 17 miles S.E. of Śrīnagar on the right bank of the Vitastā. Padmapura of iv.694 has been identified with Pampur on the right bank of the same river 8 miles S.E. of Śrīnagar and Surapura of iii.227 with Sopur on its both banks on the west of the Walur Lake. Parihāsapura of iv.194 is said to have stood near Sambal on the right bank of the river⁸. It is mentioned as Parispur in the Ain Akbari. The fort of Jayapura also stood on the Vitastā⁹. General Cunningham is inclined to

¹ "काश्मीरेऽप्यो वितस्ता प्रभवति ॥" Under Pāṇini, i. 4.31.

² "कुचकाश्मीरजनिह्वमच्युतोरः", Māgha. xx. 6.

³ "काश्मीरदेशेऽप्ये कुङ्कुमं यद्भवेद्वि तत् । सूक्ष्मकेशरमारक्तं पद्मगन्धि तदुत्तमम् ॥ बाह्वीकदेशसंज्ञात् कुङ्कुमं पाण्डुरं मतम् । केतकीगन्धयुक्तं तन्मध्यमं सूक्ष्मकेशरम् ॥ कुङ्कुमं पारसीके यन्मधुगन्धि तदीरितम् । इत्येषाण्डुरवर्णं तदधमं स्पृष्टकेशरम् ॥", Part I.

⁴ "मूले पुष्करकाश्मीरपत्राणि पीण्डरे" Amara, ii. 4. 145

⁵ Hemachandra iv. 209. In the Amarakoṣa, the word is printed Kāsmārī.

⁶ "परीयसी पुरी धीमांश्चक्रे श्रीनगरी नृपः"—Rājatarangīnī, i. 104.

The temple of Vijayeha referred to in the next verse, is said to exist till this day near Bij Bahar or Vijpārā about 25 miles S.E. of Śrīnagar. Bij Bahar probably stands for Vijayavihāra.

⁷ A great monastery is said to have been erected here by Lalitāditya (iv. 188). It is probably the place where Hiuen Tsang halted in his entrance into the valley.

⁸ General Cunningham is, however, not correct in saying that the name does not occur again. It occurs several times in the seventh book, viz. in verse 13, 28, 1339, Asiatic Society's Edition.

⁹ "ततस्तोरे वितस्ताया निपण्णजस्मिन् प्रयागकः । गन्तुं जयपुरं कोट्टिमाजुहाव स नाविकाम् ॥", vii. 1636.

identify it with Antarkot on its left bank opposite Parispur. Khagi and Khuna Muṣa of i.90, he identifies with Kākpur on the left bank of the Jhelum 5 miles S. of Pāmpur and Khunomoh 4 miles N.E. of it.

53. Besides these, there are several other places mentioned in the Rājatarangīnī—which deserve of notice. Varāhamūla of vii. 1321 is evidently the modern Baramula. Champā of vii.218 is evidently Chamba on the Ravee south of the valley. Rājapuri of vii.1153 is evidently Rajaori on the Tohi, a tributary of the Chenaub. Parṇotsa of vii.1312 is probably Punch of our maps south of Baramula. In vi.318, a man of this village is called Khaśa¹. In viii.395 it is said "Khaśas inhabitants of Vilvavana"² Khaśas, therefore, seem to have inhabited, among other places, the mountains and forests on the south of Kāsmīra. Mahāpadmasaras of v.103 is, I believe, the great Walur Lake. Nāgharada near Seṣa Nāga does not seem to occur.

54. "From the earliest times," says General Cunningham, "Kashmir has been divided into the two large districts of Kamrāj and Merāj, the former being the northern half of the valley, below the junction." I believe these are the vernacular representatives of Kramarājya and Maḍavarājya so often met with in the Rājatarangīnī³. Kramāvarta (written—Vattu in v.39) of iii.227 seems to be only another way of expressing Kramarājya. From several passages of this work, it may be gathered that⁴ Phalapura and Parihāsapura at the junction of the Vitastā with the Sindhu and Surapura on the west of the Great Lake were in Kramarājya, while Huṣkapura and other towns were in Maḍavarājya, in which case it will be simpler and more correct to lay down the Vitastā as the boundary between the two divisions. It may be asked 'what is the origin of the names Krama and Maḍava?', 'who were the Dāmaras who inhabited these tracts?' But to these and similar questions, I regret I have again to plead my ignorance.

¹ "खशस्य वद्विवासाख्यपर्णोत्सधामजन्मनः । बाणस्य सुनुस्तु ज्ञाण्योऽविशन्महिषपालकः ॥"

² "खशकान् विल्ववनवान् मध्येकृत्य नृपान्तिकम् ॥", vii. 1252.

³ "खशकान् विल्ववनवान् मध्येकृत्य नृपान्तिकम् ॥", vii. 1252. See also viii. 40, 201 etc.

⁴ "एवं मडवरारज्यं स कृत्वा निर्णष्टदामरम् । अथावत् कमराज्योर्वी कर्तुं तामेव पद्धतिम् ॥", vii. 1323.

"स हृष्कपुरमुत्सृज्य कमराज्योन्मुखो गयो" i. 1323. See also viii. 40, 201 etc.

⁵ "वामेन सिन्धुस्त्रिग्राम्या वितस्ता दक्षिणेन सु । गन्तव्यौ ये समगतातां प्रायैव स्वामिनोऽन्तिके ॥....."

"वामेन सिन्धुस्त्रिग्राम्या वितस्ता दक्षिणेन सु । गन्तव्यौ ये समगतातां प्रायैव स्वामिनोऽन्तिके ॥....."

अथाप्यास्तां फलपुरपरिहासपुरस्वितौ । विष्णुस्वामी संगमस्य वेत्यस्वामी च तीरयोः ॥" v. 99. Verse

87 "कमराज्यं समं प्राप्य....." is my authority that Surapura was in this District,

vii. 1323 is my authority that Huṣkapura was in Maḍavarājya.

55. Our great grammarian Pāṇini was born at Śālātura¹—the modern Lāhor on the N.E. of Peshwar and as is to be expected, his work is full of allusions to the surrounding country. I have already made use of some of his rules. His rule iv.3.94 specially treats of his nativity Śālātura and three other villages Varmatī, Kūchavāra, Tūdi. Takṣaśilā is mentioned in iv.3.93 and Gāndhāra in iv.1.169. In his iv.2.77, he mentions Suvāsta—the modern Swat, whence as Vāmana says the Swat river is called Sauvāstavi—Greek Suastus. Varṇu of iv.2.103, is very likely Bunoo and if Vāmana's explanation is correct the Kurum river was also known by that name². Kāpiśī of iv.2.99 was celebrated for its grapes³ and is evidently the Kiapeshi of Hiuen Tsang (identified with modern Opian north of Cabul. Cunningham p. 18). Varāṇā of iv.2.82, is probably the Aornos of the Greeks. In connection with this rule, Vāmana mentions Urasā misprinted Uragā in Sabhā Parva 27.19⁴. Hiuen Tsang places this district between Takṣaśilā and Kāśmīra and General Cunningham identifies it with modern Rush to the West of Mazaffarabad (p. 103). From the account of the Rājataranginī it may be gathered that it bordered on Kāśmīra at some distance from the Indus⁵. Ābhisārī of the verse quoted above occurs as Ābhisāraka in Vāmana's exposition of Pāṇini's rule iv. 2.124. From a verse of the Rājataranginī quoted below⁶, Dārvas seem to have peopled this tract and the name occurs in the Mahābhārata among other places just before the verse already quoted⁷. The country must be comparatively warm, as, according to Rājataranginī, one of the kings of Cashmere used to pass his winter there⁸. In General Cunningham's map, it is placed between Takṣaśilā and Urasā. Kachchha of iv. 2.133 is, I believe, the great plain of Chack to the west of the Indus opposite Ohind (Cunningham, p. 54).

¹ Hence one of his descriptive names is Śālāturiya. 'पाणिनी शालातुरीयवाक्ष्ये' Hemachandra iii. 515. Hiuen Tsang visited Śālātura after Ohind and gives a curious legend about Pāṇini.

² "वर्णनं नवस्तसमीपो देशो वर्णः ।"

³ "कापिषायनी व्राक्षा" Vāmana.

⁴ "शानिसारी ततो रम्या विजिग्ये पाण्डुनन्दनः । उरसा (not वा) वासिनश्चैव रोचमानं रणेज्जयत् ॥"

⁵ विजयतस्तस्य वास्तव्यरीरसैः समम् । निकेतनेतोः सैन्यानामकस्मादुदभूत् कलिः ॥" v. 215-16.

⁶ "शरं दार्वीभिसारेणं ज्वर्यो नरवाहनम्", v. 208.

⁷ "तत्र त्रिगर्ताः कोलेयं दार्वीः कोकनदास्तथा । क्षत्रिया बहवो राजभूपावर्तन्त यवैः ॥" 27.18.

⁸ "शोते दार्वीभिसारदी पण्यासान् पापिकोज्ज्वलत् ।" i. 280.

56. This is perhaps the proper place to make a passing allusion to the other bordering tribes mentioned in Sanskrit literature. I have already spoken of Chīnas (Chinese), Tukhāras (Tartars), and Turuṣkas (Turkomen). Pārasikas cannot be mistaken¹. Bālhis² or Bālhikas as they are generally called, are evidently the people of Balkh. In speaking of the Cashmere saffron, I have already quoted the verse of the Bhāva Prakāśa describing the Bālhika variety (para. 51). Bālhika is also a name of the plant *assafoetida*³. Roxburgh says the plant is found in Persia, but nowhere in India. I think he might have added it is also found in Balkh which adjoins Persia. The Bālhika breed of horses is also much spoken of by our writers⁴.

57. Kāmbojī is a name of the Māṣaparnī⁵ (*Glycine debilis*) and if our botanists had given a fuller information, we should have had very good evidence of the habitation of the Kāmbojas. But they are satisfied with the remark that "It is a native of India but scarce". From Kālidāsa⁶, we know that their country abounded in walnut trees, which, says Dr. Roxburgh, are common in "the mountainous countries immediately to the north and north-east of Hindostan". In the Sabhā Parva, the Kāmbojas are said to have been conquered by Arjuna along with the Daradas after the subjugation of Balkh⁷. I have already said that the Daradas now inhabit the valley of the Gilgit, which is separated from Balkh by the Hindoo Koosh. The Kāmbojas must have inhabited this mountain and the adjoining country, as its Kafirs, says Elphinstone, still call themselves Kamoj. But the Kāmbojas, like the Daradas, probably extended up to

¹ "पारसीकास्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्ववल्ग्वर्मेना", Raghu. iv. 60.

² Bālhi is mentioned along with China in Sabhā Parva 51.26, as famous for woollen and silken fabrics, "प्रमाणरागस्पर्शद्विषं बाल्हीचीनसमुद्रम् । ओषधौ च राक्षसश्चैव पट्टं चोदजं तथा ॥" "बाल्हीर्गर्दपदिभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम्" occurs as an emendation to Pāṇini.

³ "सहजवेधि जतुकं बाल्हीकं हिङ्गरामठम्", Amara ii. 9.40. I believe Rāmātha was a part of Persia. (Khorasan?) as the plant is a native of that country.

⁴ Rāmāthas are mentioned with Huns in some parts of the Mahābhārata.

⁵ "तत्तद्देशास्तु सैन्धवाः । वनायुजाः पारसीकाः काम्बोजा बाल्हीकादयः ॥", Hemachandra

⁶ iv. 300-1.

⁷ "हयगुच्छी तु काम्बोजी माषपर्णी महासहा" Amara ii. 4.168.

⁸ "काम्बोजाः समरे सोढुं तस्य वीर्यमनीश्वराः । राजालानपरिजित्पट्टेरकोटेः साधमानताः ॥" Raghu. iv. 69.

⁹ "दुरासदान् ॥ गृहीत्वा तु वलं सारं फाल्गुनः पाण्डुनन्दनः । दुरदान् सह काम्बोजैरजयत् पाकवासिनिः ॥", 27.22-3.

little Thibet and Ladak. Their country was famous not only for handsome horses, but also for shawls made of "goat's wool, rat's wool, and dog's wool"¹. The wool of Cashmere shawls is obtained not only from the tame goat but also from the fleece of the wild goat and wild sheep, the Yak, the Thibet dog, and other animals and is principally supplied from the north of Cashmere. The Kāmbojas are said to have fought on the side of Duryodhana in the great battle of Kuruksetra².

58. The lake Mānasa is said to be situated in Hātaka³. Hātaka is therefore the Sanskrit name for Ladak. This is the mythological abode of Kimpuruṣas or Kinnaras and other semi-divine beings⁴. The place was celebrated for piebald horses⁵ and seems to have been peopled by the Tanganas mentioned in other parts of the Mahābhārata⁶. In the Vārāhī Samhitā the Tanganas are mentioned along with Abhisāras and Daradas, of whom I have already spoken⁷. On the north of Hātaka is placed Harivarṣa or the country of the northern Kurus, which must therefore be Chinese Tartary⁸.

59. The Śakas are evidently the Sacae (Gr. Sakai)—a Scythian tribe, to whom the modern Cossaks are traced. In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, they are said to have half-shaven heads⁹. In the Udyoga Parva (vide 51) they are said to have come with the Kāmboja prince to fight on the side of Suyodhana. In the Droṇa Parva, they are called "crow-coloured, depraved,

¹ "श्रीर्णान् वैलान् शर्पदंशान् जातरूपपरिष्कृतान् । प्रावारजिनमुख्यांश्च काम्बोजः प्रददौ बहून् ॥ अश्वो-
स्तिरिक्त्वापोस्त्रिवर्तं शुकनासिकान् । उद्वामोस्त्रिशतञ्च पुष्टाः पीलुशमोद्भूतैः ॥" Sabhā Parva
51.3-4. Vaila is, however, not a special name for rats, but a general
name for all animals living in holes. Vṛṣadamśa is usually translated as
cat but it literally means "cow-biter" and is more probably a name of
the dog.

² "सुदक्षिणञ्च काम्बोजो यवनेश्च शकैस्तथा ।" Udyoga Parva 18.21.
³ "सरो मानसमासाय हृदकानभितः प्रभुः । गन्धर्वराजितं देशमजयत् पाण्डुनन्दनः ॥", Sabhā
Parva 28.5.

⁴ "इतस्व नातिदूरे तस्यास्माद्भारतवर्षादुत्तरेणान्तरे किमरुपनामि वर्षे वर्षपर्वतो हेमकूटो नाम निवासः ।"
Kādambari. See also Sabhā Parva 28.1-4.
⁵ "तत्र तितिरिक्त्वापां मण्डूकास्थान् हयोत्तमान् । लेभे स करमत्यन्तं गन्धर्वनगरात्तदा ॥", 28.6.
⁶ "मैगमन्त्ययोर्मध्ये जैत्रादामनितो नदीम् । ये वै कीचकवेणूनां छायां रम्यामुपासते ॥ खजा एकासना ह्यर्हाः
प्रवरा दीर्घवेणवः । पारदाश्च कुलिन्दाश्च तज्जनाः परतज्जनाः ॥", Sabhā Parva 52.2-3.
⁷ "अभितारयत्तज्जनाङ्कुलतस्मिन्विवनराष्ट्राः", xiv. 29. Tanganas are probably the
more correct reading, it being a name of the borax, "originally brought
from a salt lake in Thibet", Dana's Mineralogy.

⁸ Sabhā Parva, ch. 28.
⁹ "यवनान् मुखितशिरसः, अर्धमुण्डान् शकान्, प्रलम्बकेशान् पारदान्, ५ ह्रस्वांश्च शमश्रुशरान् ।"
iv.3.21.

addicted to women and quarrelsome"¹. The Hūnas are evidently the nomadic tribe of Huns, who dwelt for some centuries in the plains of Tartary and were a great scourge to the Chinese and Roman possessions. From the Raghuvamśa (iv. 67-8), they appear to have once occupied the banks of the upper Indus². The bearded Pahlavas were probably the Parthians and the Pāradas with long hair (V. p. iv. 3. 21) some of the Paropamisadae, who dwelt in the south slopes of the Hindu Kush. They all followed the train of the celebrated Kāla or Dark Yavana (evidently a Scythian ruler), when he marched against Mathurā just before it was evacuated by Kṛṣṇa³. The Lampakas or Lampākas have been identified with Lambatae—people of Lamghān, N.W. of Jalalabad (Cunningham, p.42.3). Hemachandra calls them Murāṇḍas,⁴ one of the several geographical inaccuracies of his work. These are evidently the Marundai of Ptolemy and probably the northern Pulindas of the Mahābhārata.

60. The history of the Dark Yavana is a sufficient refutation of the opinion that the Yavanas were Ionians or Greeks as its latest advocate puts⁵. In the Mahābhārata, we have not only western Yavanas who went with the Kāmboja prince to fight on the side of Suyodhana, but also eastern Yavanas who came to the Rājasūya festival with the chief of Kāmarūpa⁶ and southern Yavanas, who were subjugated by Sahadeva⁷. Kālidāsā applies the term unmistakably to the ancient Persians⁸ and Daṇḍī a few centuries later very probably to the Arabian navigators⁹. There is therefore no doubt whatever

¹ "काकवर्णा दुराचाराः स्त्रीलोलाः कलहप्रियाः", 93.42.
² See also Kathā S. Sāgara 19.611. "हूनहानिकृतस्तस्य मुखरीकृतदिग्मुखा । कीर्तिहितीया
गङ्गेय विचचार हिमाचले ॥"

³ "शकास्तुखारा दरदाः पारदास्तज्जनाः खजाः । पङ्कवाः शतशस्त्राण्ये म्लेच्छा हेमवतास्तथा ॥ स तैः
परिवृतो राजा दस्युभिः शलभैरिव । नानावेद्यायुधैर्भीमैर्भूपुरामभ्यवर्तत । गजवाजिखरोष्ट्राणामयुतैरबुद्धैरपि ।"

⁴ "लम्पाकास्तु मुरण्डाः स्युः", iv. 26. The Chinese form Lampo is in favour of
the reading Lampaka found in the Matsya Purāṇa "लम्पाकास्तलानाञ्च", 113.43.

⁵ Kern's Brihat Samhitā, Preface.
⁶ "प्राज्योतिषाधिपः शूरः म्लेच्छानामधिपो बली । यवनेः सहितो राजा भगदत्तो महारथः ॥" Sabhā
Parva, 31.71-2.

⁷ "पाण्डुरांश्च प्रविष्टांश्चैव सहितांश्चोद्देरलैः । सन्ध्यांस्तान्बनांश्चैव कलिङ्गान्पुङ्गवकणिकान् ॥ घाट्योञ्च
पुरी रम्यां यवनानां पुरं तथा । दूतेरेव अथे चक्रे करञ्चैवान्दापयत् ॥", Sabhā Parva, 5114.

⁸ "पारसीकास्ततो जेतुं प्रतप्ते स्थलवर्त्मना । इन्द्रियाख्यानिव रिपुस्तत्त्वज्ञानेन संयमी ॥ यवनीमुखपानां
सेहे मधुमदं न सः । बालातपमिवाब्जानामकालजलदोदयः ।", Raghu. iv. 60-1.

⁹ "प्रत्युपस्यद्वयत किमपि बहिरम् । समुत्तामम् यवनाः ॥" Daśakumāra vi. Bhāva Miśra
applies the term to the Turkomen: "सिङ्गाकस्तु पुरुषः स्याद् यतो यवनदेशजः । कपित्थञ्च

that the term Yavana was never restricted to the Greeks—an opinion, which so far as I can see, rests on mere surmises and on no evidence whatever. In the Uṇādi Sūtras (ii. 74) the word is derived from Yu meaning (says Ujjvaladatta) “to mix” in which case it would mean “mixed, i.e. mixed race.” I have already explained that Mlechchha was the generic name for all bordering barbarians or aboriginal tribes. The Kirātas, the Pulindas, the Śabarās were all Mlechchhas¹. Yavana seems to be the generic name for all Mlechchhas who were advanced in civilization and from whom our ancestors had no scruples to learn. Dr. Kern quotes a verse from the Garga Samhitā which is very interesting in this respect².

61. Before turning to India proper, I may mention that we read in the Vārahī Samhitā of a division called Hārahūrā³ in Northwestern India. The common vine (*Vitis vinifera*) is called Hārahūrā from this district⁴. As the vine is not a native of the Punjab, I think it signified the modern division of Cabool or a portion of it. In this place, I may also speak of the town of Simhapura, which Arjuna is said to have conquered after Abhisāri and Urasā before he went to Bālhika⁵. This would make its position north or northwest of Urasā. But then we have the contradictory evidence of Hiuen Tsang that Simhapura was situated 700 li (about 117 miles) to the southeast of Takṣaśilā. I regret I cannot give any positive opinion on this point.

62. I have already spoken of the Jalandar Doab, called in Sanskrit Jālandharas. The word derives its name from the demon king Jalandhara, whose story is briefly narrated in the Linga Purāṇa. Hemachandra calls Jālandharas Trigartas⁶ and it has been argued that Jalandar was the Trigarta Deśa. I cannot share this opinion. “Jālandharas” mean the people

of Jalandar and the district of Jalandar and Hemachandra must have used the plural in the former sense as it is the only sense in which it is correct, as there is a tradition that the Trigartas retired into the Jalandar Doab after the fall of their chief Suśarmā at Kurukṣetra¹. This very tradition is against the supposition that Jalandar is ancient Trigarta.

63. But we have better evidences on the point. Trigarta is always described as a most arid country. Vāmana, in illustrating Pāṇini i.4.88, says “it rained except in Trigarta”². In a story given in the sixth chapter of the Daśakumāra Charita, it is said that it did not once rain in Trigarta for twelve years, when its torrents were nearly dried up³. This cannot apply to the Jalandar Doab watered by the great rivers Śatadru and Vipāśā but will well apply to the desert on the east of the Śatadru. There is a passage in the Virāta Parva⁴, that the Trigartas were constantly tormented by the chiefs of Matsya and Sālva. I infer from this that Trigarta bordered on Matsya and Sālva Deśa. Wilford has identified its capital with Tehora on the left bank of the Satlej about 25 miles west of Loodiana. I am, therefore, inclined to think that the principality of Trigarta included the tract between the Satlej and the Sarasvati containing Loodiana and Pattiala on the north and at least a portion of the desert on the south.

64. In the Drona Parva, the king of Trigarta is called chief of Prasthala or Tableland⁵. He is so called also in the Śalya Parva, Chapter 27. Prasthala is therefore identical with Trigarta Deśa and probably the original of modern Pattiala. The old town of Sirhind is 23 miles north of Pattiala and is probably Sirandhra or Sairandhra of the Vārahī Samhitā xiv. 29. In the Virāta Parva, Draupadī is said to have lived in the court of Virāta as a Sairandhrī maid⁶ which is differently explained by the commentators but evidently means “a maid from Sirandhra”, as the Pāṇḍavas went there from the country about Sirhind.

65. To the north-east of the Jalandar Doab, on the right bank

संभवतः तथा च कपिनामकः ॥” Does the Kapi of this verse represent Cophes of the Greeks? Kāpi, as the name of a river, occurs in the Bhīṣma Parva list.

¹ “येदा किरातसवस्वपुलित्वा स्तेच्छजातयः”, Amara ii. 10.20.

² “स्तेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम् । ऋषिर्वत्सेजि पूज्यते किं पुनर्देवविद्विजः ॥”,

Preface, p. 35.

³ Kern reads Hārahaura (xiv. 33.), but Hārahūrā occurs among his various readings.

⁴ “ब्राह्मणु गोस्तनी । मृद्वीका हारहूरा च”, Hemachandra, iv. 221-2. So in Bhāva Prakāśa.

⁵ “ततः सिंहपुरं रम्यं नित्रायुधपुरमितम् । प्राघमद्वलमास्वाय पाकशासनिराह्वे ॥”, Sabhā Parva, 20.27.

⁶ “जालन्धरास्त्रिगताः स्मृः”, iv. 24.

¹ Śalya Parva, ch. 27.

² “अपस्त्रिगतंभ्यो वृष्टो देवः”

³ “अस्ति त्रिगतो नाम जनपदस्तत्र . . . न वर्षं वर्षाणि द्वादश वज्रशतानि । क्षीणस्तोतसः सवत्स्यः पञ्च-शेषाणि पल्वलानि”

⁴ “अथ राजा त्रिगतां युष्मन् रथयूथपः । प्राप्तकालमिदं वाक्यमुवाच त्वरितो बली । अमकुद्रिहृतः पूर्वं मत्स्यमाल्वेयकैः प्रभो । मृतेन चैव मत्स्यस्य कीचकेन पुनः पुनः ॥”, 30.1-2.

⁵ “युष्मन् च नरव्यत्रस्त्रिगतः प्रत्यलाघिपः”, 17.19.

⁶ “नास्मि देवी न मन्धर्वी न यक्षी न च राक्षसी । सैरन्ध्री तु भुजिष्यास्मि सत्यमेतद्वचोमि ते ॥”, 9.17.

of the Śatadru lay the principality of Kulūta or modern Kulu. There is first of all strong similarity of name and then the direct evidence of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, who visited Kiulu-to in the 7th century. Its chief Chitravarmā is in the Mudrā Rākṣasa said to have joined Malayaketu in his march against Chandra Gupta, king of Magadha (Acts I and V). In the Sabhā Parva, Ch. 27, there is no mention of Kulūta in Northern India but of an Ulūka, which is either a misprint or a synonym of Kulūta.

66. To the south-east of Kulūta, beyond Trigarta, lay the district of Kurukṣetra, residents of which were styled Sārasvatas from the river Sarasvatī and misnamed Vikarṇikas or "having small ears"¹. In the limited sense, it is the tract near the holy lake still known by the same name to the south of Sthānviśvara (Thanesvar). In the larger sense it extended from the south of the Sarasvatī to the north of the Dr̥ṣadvatī². In some places, it is used indiscriminately with Samanta Panchaka³, which literally means "the tract around the five (tanks)". These are said to have been made by Paraśurāma, son of Jamadagni, with the blood of Kṣatriyas he annihilated⁴. The accounts given in our gazetteers are too brief to identify these tanks. But any one with local knowledge should feel no difficulty about it.

67. Kurukṣetra is associated with the oldest events of Indian history and contains the largest number of holy places. Here at Āditya- or Sūryatīrtha, the sun is said to have acquired his lordship over the luminaries and Viṣṇu to have killed in the earliest stage of creation the demons Madhu and Kaitabha⁵. This is probably the Sūryakuṇḍ a few miles S.E. of Thāneśvara. Here at Brahmayoni, Brahmā is said to have

¹ "सारस्वता विकर्णिका", Hemachandra, iv. 24.

² "वर्णिगेन सरस्वत्या दृषद्वत्युत्तरेण च । ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे ॥", Vana Parva, 83.4. Cunningham translates "South from Sarasvatī and north from Dr̥ṣadvatī", but the map shows its inaccuracy.

³ "कुरुक्षेत्रं परं पुण्यं पावनं स्वर्गमेव च । वैवर्तैर्हृदिभिर्जुष्टं ब्राह्मणेन महात्मनि ॥ तत्र वै योत्स्यमाना ये देहं त्यजन्ति मानवाः । तेषां स्वर्गे ध्रुवो वासः शक्रेण सह मारिष ॥ तस्मात् समन्तपञ्चकमितो याम द्रुतं नृप । प्रथितोत्तरवेदी सा देवलोके प्रजापते ॥", Śalya Parva, 55.7-9. "तस्मिन्कारुण्यकयोर्दन्तरं रामहृदयान् मयःकुस्य । एतत् कुरुक्षेत्रं समन्तपञ्चकं पितामहस्योत्तरवेदिरुच्यते ॥", Vana Parva, 83.208.

⁴ "ततो रामहृदयान् मच्छेत् तीर्थमेवो समाहितः । तत्र रामेण राजेन्द्र तरसा दीप्ततेजसा । अन्नमुत्साद्य वीरेण हृदाः पञ्च निखिन्ताः ॥", Vana Parva, 83.27.

⁵ "तस्मादादित्यतीर्थं च जगाम कमलेश्वरः ॥ यद्वेत्वा भगवान् ज्योतिर्मसिकरो राजसत्तम । ज्योतिषां माधिरस्यं च प्रमादञ्च भयपयत ॥ ... तत्र हत्वा पुरा विष्णुरसुरो मधुकैटवी", Śalya-Parva, 48.17-22.

created the worlds and Viśvāmitra and others to have acquired their Brahminity¹. From the description of Balabhadra's journey in the Śalya Parva, I have no doubt that it is near Prithūdaka, which has been identified with modern Pehoa, 1.4 miles west of Thāneśvara. There is one thing to be noted, however, the Tīrtha is on the north bank of the Sarasvatī², while the village stands on the south (Cunningham's Geo. p. 336). Here at Sthānūtīrtha, Sthānu (Śiva) adored Sarasvatī and his son Skanda (Kumāra) was elected General of the gods against the great demon Tāraka³. This, I believe, is the modern Thāneśvara, a corruption of Sthānviśvara or God Śiva. The country around this is still associated with the scenes of the great war of the Mahābhārata. Chakratīrtha is still pointed out as the spot where Kṛṣṇa took up his discus to kill the invincible Bhīṣma⁴. Chakravayūha is still pointed out as the place where Droṇa arrayed in circle the army of the Kauravas⁵. Here fell after a glorious fight the brave Abhimanyu⁶, whence the place is also called Amin. The arrow-bed of Bhīṣma—the scene of the Śānti Parva and the Anuśāsana Parva—is probably still known to the people.

68. In the Rg. Veda, Indra is said to have slain Vṛtras with the bones of the horse head of Dadhicha found in Śaryānāvāt⁷. The scholiast derives the word from Śaryānā⁸, which he says is a country, and quotes an authority that Śaryānāvāt is a lake situated on the outskirts of Kurukṣetra⁹. I have, there-

¹ "ससर्जं यत्र भगवाल्सोऽकालोऽपि तामहः ॥ यत्राष्टिपेण कोरव्य ब्राह्मणं संजितव्रतः । तपसा महता राजन् प्राप्तवानुपि सत्तमः । सिन्धुद्वीपञ्च राजपिदेवापिश्च महातपाः ॥ ब्राह्मण्यं लब्धवान् यत्र विश्वामित्रस्तथा मुनिः ॥", Śalya Parva, 39. 35-37.

² "सरस्वत्युत्तरे तीरे यस्त्यजेदात्मनस्तनुम् । पुबुदके जप्पपरो नैनं श्वो मरणं तपेत् ॥", Śalya-Parva, 44. 33-34.

³ "आश्रमो वै वशिष्ठस्य स्वाणुतीर्थेऽभवत् महान् । पूर्वतः पारवैतश्चासीद्विश्वामित्रस्य धीमतः ॥ यद्वेष्टा भगवान् स्वाणुः पूजयित्वा सरस्वतीम् । स्वापयामास ततीर्थं स्वाणुतीर्थमिति प्रभो ॥ तत्र तीर्थे सुराः स्कन्द-मन्यपिञ्चन्नराधिपः । सनापत्येन महता सुरारिबिनिवर्हणम् ॥", Śalya Parva, 42, 4-7.

⁴ Bhīṣma Parva, Ch. 106. The story of the discus does not however appear in the original Sanskrit, but in the vernacular works, e.g. Kāśīrām's Bhīṣma-Parva, 8th. day's fighting.

⁵ Droṇa Parva, ch. 34.

⁶ Droṇa Parva, ch. 48.

⁷ "हृच्छन्नवस्य यच्छिरः पर्वतेऽभिहितः । तद्विदच्छाणावति", I. 84.14. The story of Dadhicha's bone is mentioned in a slightly modified form in ch. 51 of Śalya-Parva.

⁸ Śaryāna refers to Pāṇini iv. 2. 86. Bālaśāstri in his Kāśikā, reads Sarpanā, while Tārānātha, in his Siddhānta-Kaumudī, reads Śaryāna.

⁹ "शर्याणा नाम देशः । तेषामदूरत्वं च तत्र शर्यावत् ।" "शर्याणावद्ध वै नाम कुरुक्षेत्रस्य जपनाथे सरः स्यन्दते ।" I. 84. 14 and 13.

fore, little doubt that it is the lake on the south of Thāneśvara and that the bordering people were called Śaryānas. Dadhichatirtha is mentioned in the Vana Parva¹, which is also called Sārasvata Tirtha as the birthplace of the sage Angiras². It was visited by Balabhadra after Somatirtha sacred to the Light of Night and the reputed Scene of Tāraka's fall³.

69. In the Ādi Parva, the demon kings Sunda and Upasunda are said to have reigned at Kurukṣetra⁴. The demon Namuchi whose story is alluded to in Ṛg Veda i. 53, is connected with the same place⁵. From the description in the Vana Parva, it seems to have had four gates consecrated to four Yakṣas Mankaṇa, Machakru, Taruntu and Aruntu⁶. The first I believe was also called Saptasārasvata or junction of seven streams⁷, whose names are given in the Gadā Parva but are evidently partially fancied like the Trivenī of Allahabad. Two other junctions⁸ are mentioned which are borne out by the map, viz. of the Kauśiki and the Dṛśadvatī on the west and of the Aruṇā with the Sarasvatī below Thāneśvara. Near the first is Vyāsasthali—the modern Basthali. Not far from the junction of the two combined streams (Sarasvatī and Dṛśadvatī) is the modern Kaithal, which is probably Kapiṣṭhala of the Vana Parva⁹. It is impossible within the space at my command to refer to other places of this sacred tract. My curious readers must consult the authorities I have been quoting.

70. To the south of Kurukṣetra, lies Rohtak—the Rohita or

1. "ततो गच्छेत् धर्मज्ञो दधीचस्य महारमनः । तीर्थं पुण्यतमं राजन् पावनं लोकविश्रुतम् । यत्र सारस्वतो जातः सोऽङ्गिरस्तपसो निधिः ।" 83.186-87

2. "सारस्वतस्य घर्मत्वा मुनेस्तीर्थं जगाम ह", Śalya Parva 51.2.

3. "जगाम सोमस्य महत् सुतीर्थम् । यत्रायजद्राजसूयेन सोमः साक्षात्पुरा विधिवत् पावित्र्येन्द्र । अत्रिर्धर्मान् विप्रमुखो बभूव होता यस्मिन् ऋतुमुख्ये महात्मा ॥ यस्यान्तेऽभूत् सुमहान् दानवानां दैतेयानां राक्षसानाञ्च देवैः । यस्मिन् युद्धे तारकाख्यं सुतीर्थं यत्र स्कन्दस्तारकाख्यं जघान ॥" Śalya Parva 43.46-48.

4. "एवं सर्वा दिशो दैत्यो जित्वा कुरेण कर्मणा । निःसपत्नी कुक्षेत्रे निवेशमभिचक्रुः ॥" 208-7.

5. See Kāśīrām's Mahābhārata, Śānti-Parva.

6. "ततो मञ्जुषकं नाम द्वारपालं महाबलम् । यत्नं समभिवाच्य गोसहस्रफलं लभेत् ॥ ततो गच्छेत् धर्मज्ञं द्वारपालं तल्लोकम् ॥ ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र द्वारपालमस्तुकम् । तच्च तीर्थं सारस्वत्यां यक्षेन्द्रस्य महारमनः ॥ अभिवाद्य ततो यत्नं द्वारपालं मचक्रुः । कोटितोयंमुपस्पृश्य लभेद्बहुसुवर्णकम् ॥" 83.9, 15, 52, 200.

7. "सप्तसारस्वतं तीर्थं ततो गच्छेत्त्राधिप । यत्र मञ्जुषकः सिद्धो महर्षिलोकविश्रुतः ॥" 83.116.

8. "कोभिषयाः सङ्गमे यस्तु दधद्रास्त्रात् चारत । स्नाति वै नियताहारः सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ ततो व्यासस्थली नाम यत्र व्यासेन धीमता । पुङ्गवोकाभितत्येन देहत्यागे कृता मतिः ॥" 83.95-7. "सरस्वत्यात्पायायनं सङ्गमं लोकविश्रुतम्" 151.

9. "कपिलस्तस्य वेदारं समासाद्य सुदुर्लभम् । अन्तर्धानमवाप्नोति तपसा दग्धकिल्बिजः ॥" 83.74.

Rohitaka of Sanskrit writers. In the Sabhā Parva¹, it is said to be the first place on the west of Indraprastha (Delhi) conquered by Nakula and a glance at the map will shew that it is almost due west of it². The place is also mentioned in the Rājataranginī³. It must have been woody in the time of the Mahābhārata as in one place it is called the forest of Rohitaka. To it the Rohitaka tree (*Andersonia rohitaka*) owes its name. Dr. Roxburgh says it is a tree of considerable size, but of very slow growth, "a native of the delta of the Ganges"⁴. The people are styled Mattamayūrakas, why I do not know⁵. Beyond it lay Śirīṣa, whence its king is styled Śairīṣaka. This is probably Sirsa between Hansee and Bhatnair.

71. The Pāṇḍavas, in their banishment, set out from Hastināpura towards the north, then turned to Kurukṣetra and arrived at Kāmyaka on the banks of the Sarasvatī after a journey of three whole days⁶. As Kurukṣetra is north-west of Hastināpura the forest of Kāmyaka was situated in that direction on the banks of the Sarasvatī between Nahan and Amballa. Jayadratha, while on a visit to the king of Śālvas or Śālveyas, met Draupadī in this forest⁷. The country of Śālvas, therefore, lay beyond this forest and probably included the northern tract between the Sarasvatī and the Yamunā. Srughna—modern Sug on the old bed of the Yamunā was probably included in this kingdom⁸. It was visited by Hiuen

1. "निर्याय खाण्डवप्रस्थात्प्रतीचीमभिलो दिशम् । उद्दिश्य मतिमान् प्रायान्महत्या सेनया वृतः ॥ ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गयादधं धनधान्यवत् । कातिकेमस्य दधितं रोहीतकमुपाद्रवत् ॥ ततो युद्धं महत्तमोऽङ्गिरसं तप्युरकैः । मरुभूमि च कात्स्न्येन तत्रैव बहुधान्यकम् ॥ तैरिषकं महत्पञ्च वने चके महाकृतिः ॥" 32.2-6.

2. Thornton says it is 42 miles N. W. of Delhi.

3. "रोहीतदेशजातानां निवेशाय द्विजन्मनाम् । महागुणो लोणमठं पुण्यज्येष्ठं चकार सः ॥" iv. 12.

4. "तथा रोहीतकारणं मरुभूमिच केवला" iii. 19.30.

5. They may have been the ancestors of the modern Mairs found in Mair Wara between Mewar and Marwar.

6. "वर्धमानपुरद्वारादभिनिष्कस्य पाण्डवाः । उपङ्मुखाः शस्त्रभूतः प्रययुः सह कृष्णया ॥ पाण्डवास्तु वने वासमुद्दिश्य भरतपंथं । प्रययुर्जङ्घिषीकृत् कुक्षेत्रं सहानुगाः । ततः सरस्वतीकूलं समेषु मरुधन्वसु । काम्यकं नाम ददृशुर्वनं मुनिजनप्रियम् ॥ इतः प्रयाताः राजेन्द्र पाण्डवाः क्षुत्तनितिताः । जग्मुर्निभिरहोरात्रैः काम्यकं नाम तद्वनम् ॥" Vana Parva 1. 10; 5. 113; 11. 3.

7. "तस्मिन् बहुमृगैरुष्ये षट्पातानां महारवाः । काम्यके भरतलोष्टा विजहस्तौ गयानराः ॥ द्रौपदीमात्रमे न्यस्य ययुः सर्वे चतुर्दिशम् । मृगयां पुष्यव्याघ्रा बाह्याण्यर्थं परतप्ताः ॥ ततस्तु राजा सिन्धुमां वाधेक्षत्रिमहायणाः । विवाहकामः शाल्वेयान् प्रयातः सोऽभवत्तदा । राजनिर्वहृभिः सार्धमपायात् काम्यकञ्च सः । तत्रापश्यत् प्रियां भार्यां पाण्डवानां यशस्विनीम् । तिष्ठन्तीमात्रमद्वारं द्रौपदीं विजने वने ॥" Vana Parva 265. 1-8.

8. The only objection is Varāha's mentioning the two places separately xvi. 21. But his list is not accurate. Srughna, if I remember right, is not at all mentioned in the Mahābhārata.



Tsang and is mentioned several times in Vāmana's old commentary on the Sūtras of Pāṇini¹. There is one good piece of evidence in favour of my supposition that a tributary of the Tons before it joins the Yamunā is still known as the Śālveya river.

72. To the south-east of Śālvas, lay the country of Kurus with its capital Hastināpura on the banks of the Ganges. It is said to have been founded by Hasti, one of the descendants of king Bharata², and is also called after the other synonyms of elephant³, one of its suburbs was Vṛkasthali⁴, where Kṛṣṇa passed a night before he appeared before Dhṛtarāṣṭra as an ambassador from Yudhiṣṭhira. In the Ādi Parva, the land of Kurus is distinguished from the field of Kurus and its jungles⁵. Of these Kurukṣetra or the battle-field of Kurus has been already described. The Kuru Jāngala or Jungles of Kurus evidently meant the then wild tract to the north of Kurus i.e. the division of Meerut. Kurus included the fertile tract between the Jamunā and the Ganges to the north of Mathurā.

73. Indraprastha (also called Hariprastha, Śakraprastha, and similar names) was another important town in this kingdom said to have been founded by Yudhiṣṭhira⁶ in the forest Khāṇḍavaprastha. It was situated on the left bank of the Yumunā, as Kṛṣṇa crossed the river⁷, when coming from Surāṣṭra to meet Yudhiṣṭhira in the great Rājasūya festival and at some distance from it as on one occasion Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa took a day to come back after amusing in the river⁸. After the death of Kṛṣṇa, Indraprastha was made over to

¹ "सुध्नं गच्छति सौध्नो पन्था इतो वा । सुध्नमभिनिष्क्रामति कस्यकुब्जद्वारं सौध्नम् । सुध्नो निवासोऽस्य सौध्नः" etc. iv. 3. 85, 86, 89...

३ "तस्यामस्य जने हस्ती य इदं हास्तिनपुरं स्थापयामास", Ādi Parva 93.34.

⁴ Udyoga Parva, ch. 89.

⁵ तेषु विष्णु कुमारिषु जातेषु कुरुजाङ्गलम् । कुरवोश्च कुरुक्षेत्रे तयमेतद्वर्णात् ॥ 107-1 The commentators say, "कुरुजाङ्गलो देशः"

commentators say, "कुरुक्षेत्रं त्रयमेतदवयंत ॥" 107.1. The evident mistake as Kuruksetra was not the residence of Kurus. The following passage from Vāmana's commentary confirms my view: "क्षेत्रं त्रयमेतदवयंत ॥" 107.1. The

confirm my view: "द्वेषः सर्वत्रापि । कुरवश्च कुरुक्षेत्रञ्च, कुरुक्षेत्रम् । कुरुक्षेत्राज्जलम् ।
 *Ādi Parva, ch. 206. "द्वेषः सर्वत्रापि । कुरवश्च कुरुक्षेत्रञ्च, कुरुक्षेत्रम् । कुरुक्षेत्राज्जलम् ।

महामाताः" Mah. i. 219.63. "हृद्दिग्प्रसवमव प्रतस्ये" Si. iii. 1. "उवाच नगरे रम्ये शक्यस्थे

8 "उत्पानि कृष्ण वर्तन्ते गच्छावो यमुनां प्रति । सायाह्ने एतदेव प्रवृत्तम् ॥"
Parva 220, 14-5.

Parva 220, 14-5. Pāṇini XIII, 1.
 सायान्ने पुनरेष्यावो रोजतां ते जनादन् ॥ Ādi

his grandson Vajra¹ and it probably included Mathurā, as Kṛṣṇa originally belonged to this town. Indraprastha has been identified with modern Delhi. The remains round it and the popular tradition leave no doubt that Indraprastha stood near it. But it did not occupy the same site, as modern Delhi is on the right bank of the Yamunā, while Indraprastha was on the left. It was the capital of Pṛthvīraja murdered in cold blood by the Mussulman conqueror Shahabuddin in 1193 A.D.

74. Mathurā or Madhurā as it is sometimes spelt², is said to have been built by Śatrughna, brother of Rāma, on the fall of the demon Lavaṇa, son of Madhu³. The district was afterwards called Śūrasena from Śūrasena, one of the ancestors of Kṛṣṇa⁴. The history of king Kāṁsa who was murdered by Kṛṣṇa and the consequent siege of Mathurā by Jarāsandha form important chapters in the great work Harivaṁśa. The modern town is situated on the elevated right bank of the Yamunā in the form of a crescent. "The old city", says General Cunningham, "is said to have extended from the Nobi Masjid and fort of Rājā Kāṁsa on the north to the mounds called Tilā Kāṁsa and Tilā Satrekh on the south." Mathurā was deserted by Kṛṣṇa just before it was invaded by Kālā Yavana⁵. But it seems to have remained dependent on him as among the presents at the marriage of Subhadrā, which took place long after this, we find "ten

¹ "इन्द्रप्रस्थे ददौ राज्यं ब्रह्माय परबीरहा", Muṣala Parva vii. 71. This probably accounts for non-mention of Indraprastha by Hiuen Tsang. The principalities seems to have included both Mathurā and Indraprastha and at the time of his visit.

Mathurā must have been the seat of the king at the time of his visit. Edition of the Rāmāyana

² The form *Mathurā* occurs in the Bombay Edition of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The form Mathurā occurs in the Bombay edition of the Daśakumara Charita, Wilson In a note to the sixth Uchchhvāsa of the Daśakumara Charita, Wilson observes "it is rather remarkable that all the copies read Madhurā instead of Mathurā. This form also occurs also in Greek writers—

observes "it is rather remarkable that all the copies read Mathurā." The two forms, however, occur also in Greek writers—Methorā in Pliny and Medoura in Ptolemy.

Methorā in Pliny and Medoura in Ptolemy.
 "पुतश्च मधुसूजेन दैत्येनाधिष्ठितं यतः । ततो मधुवनं नाम्ना ज्ञातमत्र महीतले ॥ हत्वा च लवणं रवी
 मधुपुत्रं सखायकम् । तद्वतो मधुरां नाम परी यत्तं चकार वै ॥" V. P. i.12.3-4. उपकृतञ्च
 Raghu. xv. 28. The

मधुपुरं महावल्लभम् । मधुपुरं मधुरां नाम पुरी यत्तु चकार वै ॥" V. P. 112-3. The
कालिन्ध्याः पुरी पौरुषभूषणः । निर्ममे निर्मनाञ्चैव मधुरां मधुराङ्गतिः ॥" Raghu. xv. 28. The
alliteration, however, shows Kālidāsa read Madhurā, not Mathurā.

alliteration, however, shows Kālidāsa read Madhura, not Madhura-
 "यथावरोहस्तनवन्तानां प्रधापनाहारि-"
 Raghu. vi. 45-48. Kālidāsa
 did not exist till Rāma's

here commits an anachronism as Mathurā did not exist till Rāma's time and Mallinātha is quite right in observing "कालिन्दीतीरे मथुरा उपरान्तमवस्थति चित्तमम्". Arrian

time and Mallinātha is quite right in observing कालव्यतिकारम् ।
 त्वणामुत्पत्तिकाले सत्त्वनेन निर्मास्यत इति वक्ष्यति तत् कथमधुना मधुदासमव इति चिन्तम्". Arrian
 speaks of the *Chersonese* in his *Indica*.

⁵ V.ṣṇu Purāṇa, v. 23. ch.

thousand milch cows of the district of Mathurā¹. It was a very flourishing town when visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 8th century A.D. Its ruthless plunder by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1017 A.D. is known to all readers of Indian History.

75. The early youth of Kṛṣṇa was passed at some distance from Mathurā at Gokula or cow-station of Nanda which was hence called also Vraja². After a few years, this was exchanged for another Vraja near Vrindāvana³ or Rādhā's wood⁴, which is now an important town few miles N. W. of Mathurā. Here in the waters of the Kālindī (Yamunā) Kṛṣṇa is said to have overcome the great serpent Kāliya, a legend still recognized by its people. From here he advised the worship of mount Govardhana⁵ which is still a place of pilgrimage and whose fancied representation still adorns the houses of some of the well-to-do Vaiṣṇavas. The town of Govardhana is 15 miles W. of Mathurā and "stands", says Sleeman, "upon a narrow ridge of sandstone hills, about ten miles long, rising suddenly out of the alluvial plain and running north-east and south-west".

76. According to the Ādi Parva, the kingdom of Panchāla, in the time of Drupada extended from the banks of the Charmanvati (Chambal) up to Gangādvāra on the north⁶. The northern portion from Bhāgīrathī (Ganges)⁷ called Uttara Panchāla or Ahichchhatra was conquered by Droṇa and taken away from him⁸. Its capital was Ahichchhatra (or - trā)⁹ the modern Ahichchhatra near the Rāmgaṅgā river

¹ "प्रवदो कृष्णो गवामयुतयेव च । श्रीमन्मायुरदेव्यानां दोध्रीणां पुण्यवचंसाम् ॥" Ādi Parva 219.46.

² "भवद्विगम्यतां नन्द तच्छीघ्रं निजगोकुलम् । . . . वसतां गोकुले तेषां पूतना बालघातिनी । सुप्तं कृष्णमुपादाय रात्रौ तस्मै वदो स्तनम् ॥" V. P. v. 5. 4-7.

³ "गोपवृद्धास्ततः सर्वे नन्दगोपपुरोगमाः । मन्त्रयामासुरद्विग्ना महोत्पातातिभीरवः । स्थानेनेह न नः कार्यं गच्छामोज्यम्मावन्म । उवाता बहवो ह्यस्य दृश्यन्ते नाणहेतवः ॥ . . . स समावासितः सर्वो ब्रजो वन्दान्वने ततः । शकटोवाटपर्यन्तस्वन्मन्त्राकारस्थितिः ॥" V. P. v. 6. 22-3, 31.

⁴ Vrindā is a Synonym of Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa's favourite mistress in his younger days: "कविमणी द्वारवत्यानु राधा वृन्दावने वने", Matsya 13. 38.

⁵ "दक्षिणांवापि पाञ्चालान् यावच्चर्मण्वती नदी । द्रोणेन चैवं द्रुपदः परिभूयाद्य पातितः ॥" 137.68.

⁶ "गङ्गाद्वारे प्रति महान् बभूव भगवानुपि । भरद्वाज इति ख्यातः सततं वसितव्रतः ॥ . . . भरद्वाजसखा कासीत् पूषतो नाम पाण्डवः । मस्यापि द्रुपदो नाम तदा समभवत् सुतः ॥ स नित्यमाश्रमं गत्वा द्रोणेन सह पाण्डवः । चिकीडाध्ययनञ्चैव चकार क्षत्रियधेयः ॥ ततो व्यतीते पूषते स राजा द्रुपदोऽभवत् । पञ्चालेषु महाबाहुस्तस्य सनेश्वरः ॥" 128. 82. 40-42.

⁷ "राजासि दक्षिणे सुते मागीरव्यास्त्वमुत्तरे । सखायं मां विजानीहि पाञ्चाल यदि मन्यसे ॥" 137.64.

⁸ "अहिच्छत्रञ्च विषयं द्रोणः समन्विष्यत" 137.70.

⁹ "एवं राजन्नहिच्छत्रा पुरी जनपदायुता । सुधि निजित्य पार्श्वेन द्रोणाय प्रतिपादिता ॥" 137.7C.

between Barrily and Budaon. The Ahisthala of the Rāmāyaṇa is evidently this place, as it is also known as Ahiksetra. As Bharata is said in the Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa to have crossed the Hiraṇvatī at Ahisthalā, Hiraṇvatī is evidently the Rāmgaṅgā river. Hiuen Tsang visited it in 636 A.D. and General Cunningham says his description of the place and the adjacent Nāga Hrada or Serpent Tank exactly coincides with Ahichchhatra¹. There is a holy tank called Droṇa-Sāgara to the north of Ahichchhatra near Kāśīpur. It probably derives its name from General Droṇa².

77. The principal towns of the southern portion or Dakṣiṇa Panchāla were Kāmpilya and Mākandī³ on the Ganges. From the name of the capital, it was also called Kāmpilya Deśa⁴ and it probably included Kānyakubja, as the girls from whom the place is said to have derived its name were according to Ādi Kāṇḍa married to a king of Kāmpilya⁵ and Kānyakubja as a separate principality is not mentioned in the Mahābhārata⁶. Kāmpil to the N.W. of Kānyakubja has been identified with the old Kāmpilya, but Mākandī's position is not yet ascertained; although there can be no doubt that it stood somewhere about Farakkabad. It is mentioned in later works e.g. Kathā Sarit Sāgara⁷.

78. In the Rāmāyaṇa, a place Sānkaśya is mentioned as situated on the banks of the Ikṣumati under the governorship of Kuśadhvaja, brother of Janaka, king of Mithilā⁸.

¹ Ancient Geography of India, p. 361.

² It will be seen that Kuru and Panchāla were not only conterminous, but in places overlapping. Hence Kuru Panchāla is often spoken of as one district. "कुस्यञ्चालेषु भवः कोरपाञ्चालः" Vāmana, on P. vii.3.20.

³ "माकन्दीमव गङ्गायास्तोरे जनपदायुताम् । सोऽध्यवसद्दीनमनाः काम्पिल्यञ्च पुरोत्तमम् ॥" Ādi Parva, 137. 67.

⁴ "अपि काम्पिल्यविषयो योजनानां शतैश्चितः । त्रिषु तकोत्तराज्यस्य मिरिस्तत्रास्ति चाश्रमः ॥", Kathā-S. Sāgara 25. 23.

⁵ "यद्वायुना च ताः कन्यास्तत्र कुञ्जीकृताः पुरा । कान्यकुब्जमिति ख्यातं ततः प्रभूतिं तत्पुरम् ॥" 35. 33. ब्रह्मवतः स राजपिः पुरीमध्यवसत्तदा । काम्पिल्यां नाम काकुत्स्थ देवराजोपमवृत्तिः ॥ तमाह्वय महोत्तमा ब्रह्मवतं महोपतिः । ददौ कन्यायां राजा सुप्रीतेनान्तरालना ॥" Bombay edition.

⁶ This must have led Elphinstone to say that Kānyakubja is not mentioned in the Mahābhārata, a mistake which remains uncorrected up to this day. I would only refer to iii. 115. 20: "कान्यकुब्जे महानासीत् पाण्डवस्तु महाव्रतः । नाधीति विभ्रुतो लोके वनवासं जगाम ह ॥"

⁷ "अस्ति माकन्दिका नाम नगरी जाल्हीकोटटे ।" 15.30.

⁸ "माता ममानुजः श्रीमान् वीर्यवानाजया मम । कुशध्वज इति ख्यातो योज्यास्ते नगरं शुभम् ॥ चवाङ्माल-कपर्यन्तं पिवन्निशुमतीनदीम् । सांकाश्यं स्वर्गसंकाशं विमानमिव पुष्पकम् ॥" i. 72. 2-3. In the next chapter, the history of the possession is given: "कस्यचिदय कालस्य सांकाश्यादागतो नृपः । सुयत्ना बलवीर्यादिव मिथिलामवरोधकः ॥ . . . निहत्य समरे बाहू सुयत्नान् महोपतिम् । सांकाशे प्रातरं चाहमभ्यसिञ्च कुशध्वजम् ॥" 15-8.

⁹ "अस्ति माकन्दिका नाम नगरी जाल्हीकोटटे ।" 15.30.

¹⁰ "माता ममानुजः श्रीमान् वीर्यवानाजया मम । कुशध्वज इति ख्यातो योज्यास्ते नगरं शुभम् ॥ चवाङ्माल-कपर्यन्तं पिवन्निशुमतीनदीम् । सांकाश्यं स्वर्गसंकाशं विमानमिव पुष्पकम् ॥" i. 72. 2-3. In the next chapter, the history of the possession is given: "कस्यचिदय कालस्य सांकाश्यादागतो नृपः । सुयत्ना बलवीर्यादिव मिथिलामवरोधकः ॥ . . . निहत्य समरे बाहू सुयत्नान् महोपतिम् । सांकाशे प्रातरं चाहमभ्यसिञ्च कुशध्वजम् ॥" 15-8.

¹¹ "अस्ति माकन्दिका नाम नगरी जाल्हीकोटटे ।" 15.30.

¹² "माता ममानुजः श्रीमान् वीर्यवानाजया मम । कुशध्वज इति ख्यातो योज्यास्ते नगरं शुभम् ॥ चवाङ्माल-कपर्यन्तं पिवन्निशुमतीनदीम् । सांकाश्यं स्वर्गसंकाशं विमानमिव पुष्पकम् ॥" i. 72. 2-3. In the next chapter, the history of the possession is given: "कस्यचिदय कालस्य सांकाश्यादागतो नृपः । सुयत्ना बलवीर्यादिव मिथिलामवरोधकः ॥ . . . निहत्य समरे बाहू सुयत्नान् महोपतिम् । सांकाशे प्रातरं चाहमभ्यसिञ्च कुशध्वजम् ॥" 15-8.

The late Professor H. H. Wilson changed Sāṅkāśya into Kāśī in his Viṣṇu Purāṇa, but we have on this point not only the unanimity of two such disagreeing books as the Bombay and Italian editions of the Rāmāyaṇa, but also of dramas founded on it¹. In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang visited a place which he calls Seng-kia-she before going to Kānyakubja. This has been identified with the modern Sāṅkesa on the Kālī river to the south of Kāmpilya and north-west of Kānyakubja. This is probably the old Sāṅkāśya, as no other place of that name is known. The only objection is its distance from Mithilā, but relations between distant places are often found in the Rāmāyaṇa, as, e.g. the marriage of the king of Ayodhyā with the daughter of the king of Kekaya and the derivation of the river Kauśikī in eastern India from the son of the king of Kānyakubja. In the Mahābhārata so far as I can remember, there is no mention of the place Sāṅkāśya². According to tradition, it has been deserted for hundreds of years. During the war of Kurukṣetra, it probably formed a part of the kingdom of south Panchāla. If my inference is correct, the Kālī is the Ikṣumatī river³.

79. The kingdom of southern Panchāla seems to have been merged in the kingdom of Hastināpura after the fall of Drupada and his sons in the battles of Kurukṣetra. In the 14th book or Aśvamedha Parva of the Mahābhārata it is not mentioned as a separate principality, and some generations later, when Hastināpura was engulfed by Gangā⁴, the capital

¹ "सूतः । सांकाश्यनाथ, एवमेतत्" Vira Charita, i.

² I say the place Sāṅkāśya as a king of that name is mentioned in Sabhā Parva, 8.10 : "सांकाश्यः सांकाक्षिर्धृवः".

³ That an Ikṣumatī river was to the west of Ahichchhatra is clear from the following verse of K.S. : "अहिच्छत्रं विवाहाय स प्रतस्थे नृपात्मजः । गच्छन्निधु-मतीतीरं प्राप्य सायं समावसत् ॥" 28.120. The verse 32. 99 may also be interesting : "अस्ति हेमामती नाम पुरी तस्याश्च पार्वतः । नदी तदभिधानैव विश्वामित्रकृते उने ॥" Cunningham calls it Kālindī probably on misinformation, as it is a synonym of the Yamunā, not of any other river. The name Kālī, however, occurs in Matsya Purāṇa, 32.20 : "यमुनादेविका काली" "आकालिकातीर" of Rāj. iv. 145, Ākālikā river", as Troyer supposes.

⁴ यो मङ्गलापहृते हस्तिनापुरे कोशाम्बी निवस्यति", Bhīṣma Parva iv. 21. 3. "अस्ति वत्स इति स्वतो देवो दपोपशान्तये । स्वर्गस्य निमित्तो घाता प्रतिमल्ल इव क्षिती ॥ कोशाम्बी नाम तत्रास्ति मध्यभागे महापुरी । लक्ष्मीविलासवसतिर्भूतलस्येव कणिका ॥ तस्यां राजा शतानीकः पाण्डवान्वयसम्भवः । जनमेजयपुत्राभूत् श्रीशो राजः परीक्षितः ॥" Kathā S. Sāgara 9. 4-6. It will be seen that the two accounts differ both as to the founder of the town and degree of descent of its great king Udayana. The scenes of the Ratnāvalī are laid at Kauśāmbī and it describes the town in several verses; from

was transferred to Kauśāmbī near modern Kosam about 30 miles above Allahabad. The name occurs in the first book of the Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa, which derives it from king Kuśāmba. The Italian edition reads Kuśāśva (35.5) and I think correctly as Kuśāmba does not sound like the name of a Hindu prince and probably does not occur anywhere else. Vāmana, under Pāṇini iv. 2. 79, speaks of two Kauśāmbīs—Kauśāmbī and Nava or new Kauśāmbī. The new Kauśāmbī probably represents the modern Kosam. In its ruins, General Cunningham found a stone pillar with an inscription containing the name Kauśāmbī. The old Kauśāmbī, from the description of the Kathā Sarit Sāgara just quoted, seems to have been further east in the heart of the province of Vatsa, whence it was also called Vatsa Pattana¹. The name Vatsa occurs in the Mahābhārata more than once² but the genuineness of those verses is more than questionable as Kauśāmbī was not founded till years after the demise of the Pāṇḍavas and the district was very likely subject to the king of southern Panchāla.

80. The capital of Purūravas, one of the oldest kings of this dynasty, lay further east at Pratiṣṭhāna opposite Prayāga (Allahabad). In one passage of the Harivaṃśa, it is distinctly said that he reigned at Pratiṣṭhāna in Prayāga on the N. Bank of the Jāhnavī (Ganges)³. Prayāga here means the district of Prayāga—not the place of pilgrimage at the confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā whose sanctity accurately described in another passage⁴ and whose sanctity is elaborately described in several chapters of the Matsya Purāṇa. The position of Pratiṣṭhāna may also be inferred from a passage of the well-known drama Vikramorvaśī⁵,

one of which (i. 11) is the following extract: "कोशाम्बी क्षातकुम्भद्रवक्षचित्तयनेवैकरीता विभाति ।"

¹ "कोशाम्बी वत्सपत्तनम्" Hemachandra iv. 41.

² "वत्सभूमिञ्च कौन्तेयो विजिग्ये बलवान् बलात्" Sabhā Parva 30.10. "पूर्वां दिशं विनिर्जित्य वत्सभूमिं तयागमत्", Vana Parva, 23.4.9.

³ "दिगे पुण्यतमे श्वेत महाभिधिरभिष्टुते । राज्यं स कारयामास प्रयागे पृथिवीपतिः । उत्तरे जाह्नवीतीरे प्रतिष्ठाने महावशाः ॥" 1411-12.

⁴ "मङ्गलायमुनयोर्मध्यं पृथिव्या जघनं स्मृतम् । प्रयागं जघनस्थानमुपत्यम्पयो विदुः ॥ प्रयागं सप्रतिष्ठानं कम्बलाश्वतरो तथा । . . . समनात्स्य तीर्थस्य नामसंकीर्तनावधि । मुक्तिकालभनाच्चापि सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥" Mah. iii. 85. 75-80. The mention of Prayāga with Pratiṣṭhāna distinctly shews that the two are synonyms as given in some lexicons.

⁵ "एवं भववदीए भाईरहीये जउणासंगमपावणेसु पुण्येसु भवलोअन्तस्स विअ वत्ताअणं पट्टुअनस्स सिहाभरणभूदं विअ तस्स राएसिणी भवणं उवगदह्ण ॥" ii.

where it is compared to be looking at its own image in the sacred waters of the Gangā at its junction with Yamunā.

81. Kānyakubja or Kanyākubja as it is sometimes written was anciently called Mahodaya (Ram. i. 35 ch.). It was also called Gādhinagara or town of king Gādhi. Hemachandra adds Kauśa and Kuśasthala or the place of Kuśa¹, on what authority I do not know. In the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit, it was the most celebrated place in Hindustan and the capital of the south-eastern kingdom. Its splendour remained undiminished till the time of the Mahammedan invasion. The principal families of Bengal Brahmins claim their descent from Kānyakubja and their great poet Śrīharṣa mentions with pride his honourable reception by its king².
82. Among the minor places of the Gangetic Doab mentioned in the Mahābhārata, I may note Vāraṇa or Vāraṇāvata where the lac-house was burnt. It was situated by the banks of the Ganges, as the Pāṇḍavas crossed the river after they left the town, and was southeast of Hastināpura, as they went towards the south away from the seat of Dhṛtarāṣṭra³. These data lead me to identify it with Buroan, a village 8 miles N. W. of Futtahgarh. Ekachakra, to which the Pāṇḍavas went after this place, is more difficult of identification. It evidently lay to the south of the capital of southern Panchāla, as their subsequent journey to it was northward⁴. It was the seat of the demon Baka⁵.
83. The geography of the country to the N.E. of Kuru Panchāla is described in the travels of the Pāṇḍavas in the

¹ कान्यकुब्जं महोदयम् । कान्यकुब्जं गाधिपुरं कीमं कुशस्थलं च तत् ।" iv. 39-40. The first three names are found together in the following passage of the Bala-Rāmāyaṇa, Act x:

"कान्यकुब्जः । इयं पुनस्ततोऽपि सन्ध्याकालोपरिस्थितं महोदयं नाम नगरं दृश्यते ।

ततः । अत्रैतत् सुखम् । अमुकामहिलं प्रियाङ्गु-
लीं मर्त्येन सन्ध्यां गाधिपुरं पुरस्तात् ।

दिव्यं चन्द्र-सन्ध्यामण्डपं यथा त-
द्विषयमिह । अत्रैतन्महोदयं नाम ।

ततः । अत्रैतन्महोदयं नाम ।

ततः । अत्रैतन्महोदयं नाम ।

² "साम्प्रतश्च महोदयं नमते यः कान्यकुब्जेश्वरात् ।" Naiṣadha, last verse.

³ "साम्प्रतश्च महोदयं नमते यः कान्यकुब्जेश्वरात् ।" Naiṣadha, last verse.

⁴ "ततः । अत्रैतन्महोदयं नाम ।" Mah. i. 183.1.

⁵ "ततः । अत्रैतन्महोदयं नाम ।" Mah. i. 183.1.

later chapters of the Vana Parva. The account in the printed edition is, however, by no means, accurate and as the names have remained almost unchanged up to the present day, I cannot do better than supplement it by the accounts in modern works. The Gangā, which is explained in the Nirukta to mean "flowing" is so called after the confluence of the Bhāgirathī with the eastern feeder Alakānandā at Deoprag (Devaprayāga). The last is formed by the junction at Biṣenprāg (Viṣnuprayāga) of the Doulee (Dhavalī) flowing from the north-east and the Biṣengangā (Viṣnugangā) flowing from the north-west. On the right bank of the last, a few miles below its source, is situated the celebrated Badarīnātha (=lord of the jujube)—the reputed abode of Nara and Nārāyaṇa. The place takes its name from an old jujube tree¹ and is now famous for its temple. Near it is a thermal spring called Tapta Kuṇḍa, probably Bindu Saras of the Vana Parva². The verses I have quoted below contain also the names of two mountains—Maināka and Hiranyaśikhara or goldcrested which are probably the lofty ranges which guard Badarīnātha on the east and west. In the Rāmāyaṇa, the Rṣabha³ is called "golden mountain" and Hiranyaśikhara of this passage is probably its descriptive name.

84. Alakānandā literally means "the joy of Alakā". According to the Kathā S. Sāgara, Alakā was the capital of Niṣadha⁴. According to the Mahābhārata, the good king Nala was the ruler of Niṣadha⁵ and from his directions to his wife Damayanti after he lost his kingdom⁶ there can be no doubt that it was in northern India. I am, therefore, inclined to think that Niṣadha formed a part of modern Kumaon, that Alakā was its capital, and that it was situated on the Alakānandā.

¹ "तस्याभ्यासे च ददुर्गुत्तरनारायणाश्रमम् । उपेतं पादपैर्विवीः सदा पुष्पफलोपमैः । ददुर्गुत्तराच्च बदरी वृत्तस्कन्धां मनोरमाम् ।" Vana Parva 145. 18-19.

² तदुपेत्य महात्मनस्ते वसन् ब्राह्मणैः सह । मुदा युक्ता महात्मानो तत्र ते रेमिरे तदा ॥ आलोकयन्तो मैनाकं नानाद्विजगतायुतम् । हिरण्यशिखरञ्चैव तच्च बिन्दुसरः शिवम् ॥" Vana Parva 145. 43-44.

There is, however, so much confusion in the accounts that I am not all sure of the soundness of this guess. In the Sabhā Parva, ch. iii Maināka is placed on the north of Kailāsa.

³ "ततः काञ्चनमत्युग्रमुषधं नाम पर्वतम्" vi. 56. 53. 34.

⁴ "अस्त्यल दूतकोविरोदिहमुञ्चो निषधामिधः । देशस्तत्रालका नाम बभूव नगरी पुरा ॥", 101. 41.

⁵ "अस्त्यल दूतकोविरोदिहमुञ्चो निषधामिधः । देशस्तत्रालका नाम बभूव नगरी पुरा ॥", 101. 41.

⁶ "निषधेषु महोपालो वीरसेन इति धृतः । तस्य पुत्रो नलो नाम्नाभूदमर्षिकोविदः ।" iii. 52. 55.

⁷ Vana Parva, ch. 61. The following verses 87. 25-26, favour my con-

tention: "केदारस्य मतङ्गस्य महानाश्रम उत्तमः । कुन्तोदः पर्वतो रम्यो बहुमूलफलोदकः ॥ नैषधस्तुषितो यत्र जलं शर्म च सञ्चवान् । यत्र देववर्गं रम्यं तापहृत्पशोपितम् ॥"

85. The Alakānandā, is joined at Roodurprāg (Rudraprayāga) on the right side by the Mandākinī which rises in the S.W. face of Kedāranātha mountain. Mandākinī is called by Amara "celestial river"¹. In the Vana Parva 142.1.11, one of the feeders—probably the Viṣṇugangā—is called by that name "Ākāśagangā", but in the Prasthāna Parva, it seems to be rightly applied to the Mandākinī. The temple of Kedāranātha is still frequented by thousands of Hindu pilgrims and near it is a deep precipice called Bhairava Jhampa from which people are still said to precipitate themselves to eternity as a preparation for heaven.

86. The Bhāgīrathī rises in the mountains of Ghurwal and after a course of about 8 miles, emerges at Gangotree (Gangādri) from under a great thick snow-bed lying between lofty mountains. "From the brow of this curious wall of snow", observes an able writer, "and immediately above the outlet of the stream, large and hoary icicles depend." These are considered by superstitious Hindus the matted hair of Śiva, through which according to the Rāmāyaṇa, it flows into earth². Seven miles below, it is joined at Bhairava-Sangama by the Jāhnavī, which rises in the southern base of the culminating range of the Himālayas. This is considered one of the grandest awe-inspiring places in the world. "The appearance that the ruins of a Gothic Cathedral" says the explorer Hodgson, "might have to a spectator within them supposing that thunderbolts and earthquakes had rifted its lofty and massive towers, spires and buttresses: the parts left standing then might, in miniature, give an idea of the rocks of Bhairogathi".

87. About 50 miles below Devaprayāga, at Haridvāra, the Gangā finally enters the plains of Hindusthan by three channels, which is probably the original source of the name Tripathagā or "going by three ways". In the Amarakoṣa, Gangā is called "Viṣṇupadī" (=flowing from the foot of Viṣṇu), Jahnutanayā (=born of Jahnu), Suranimnagā (=divine stream), Bhāgīrathī (=brought by Bhāgīratha), Tripathagā and Trisrotas which mean the same thing, and Bhīmasū (=mother of Bhīma)³. In the Hemachandra-

¹ "मन्दाकिनी विष्वङ्गा स्वर्णदी सुरदीपिका ।" 1.52.

² निपतेत्यत्रोद्गङ्गामाप्ताकाशना नदीम् । जटाकलापं विपुलं त्रिनिर्गम्यं समन्ततः । . . . तस्यापि सप्तदादङ्गामुत्सर्ज्य तदा ह्रदः । जटामेकां समाक्षिप्य शीतः संजतयन् स्वयम् ॥" I. 45 ch. According to V. P. ii. 8 ch, this distinction is shared by Alakānandā.

³ "गङ्गा विष्णुपदी जह्नुतनया सुरनिम्नगा । भागीरथी त्रिपथगा भीमसूरपि ॥" I. 10. 31.

Koṣa, in addition to similar names, it is called Rṣikulyā (=stream for sages), Haimavatī (=rising in the Himālaya), Tridaśadīrghikā or Svarvāpī (=heavenly tank), Haraśekhara (=the crest of Hara), Kumārasū (=mother of Kumāra) and Mandākinī (=gently flowing)¹. It will be seen from my description that Jāhnavī, Jahnukanyā², and similar names properly apply only to the Jāhnavī and Surāpagā, Svarnadī, Ākāśagangā³ and similar names only to the Mandākinī. Suradīrghikā⁴ and similar names are, I believe, never applied to the terrestrial Ganges. The legend of Bhīma's birth is given in the Ādi Parva, ch. 98 and Kumāra's birth in Kumārasambhava, Canto ten, but the terms Bhīmasū and Kumārasū are seldom applied absolutely to the river. Viṣṇu's foot is a name of the visible heaven⁵ and Viṣṇupadī probably means "falling from the skies"⁶. But according to the 8th chapter of the 2nd book of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, although it explains that Viṣṇupada means heaven, there is a verse that the Ganges flows from the nail of Viṣṇu's left big toe and there are people now who point out to some fancied footprints at Haridvāra in confirmation of this view. In the plains of Bengal, some miles above Moorshudabad, the Ganges divides into two channels, the bigger left branch being called Padmā or Padmāvatī⁷ and the right or western branch Bhāgīrathī which, in the lowest portion is now eclipsed by the English name of Hugli.

88. Hardwar is situated on the right bank of the Ganges at the southern base of the Sewalik mountains. This is the Gangā-dvāra of Sanskrit writers. The Ganges here rushes into the plains through a gorge of the Sewalik range and this agrees with the description of Gangādvāra in the Kathā S. Sāgara.⁸ Gangādvāra is always associated with Kanakhala a village near Hardwar. It (Kanakhala) was probably also the name

¹ गङ्गा त्रिपथगा भागीरथी त्रिदशदीपिका । त्रिशीता जह्नुवी मन्दाकिनी भीमकुमारसूः ॥ सरिद्धरा विष्णुपदी सिद्धस्वःस्वर्गापागा । ऋषिकुल्या हैमवती स्वर्वापी हर्षवेवरा ॥" iv. 147-48.

² "तीर्थे तोयव्यतिकरमये जह्नुकन्यासरस्वीः" Raghu. viii. 95.

³ "तीर्थे तोयव्यतिकरमये जह्नुकन्यासरस्वीः" Si. iii. 8.

⁴ "उभौ यदि व्योम्नि पृथक्प्रवाहावाकाशमगङ्गापयसः पतेताम्" Ku. xiii. 29.

⁵ "ननन्द शक्रश्चिरकालदृष्टो विलोक्य सद्यः सुदीपिकां ताम्" Raghu. xiii. 1. "विष्वद्विष्णुपदम्"

⁶ "सपातमनः शब्दयुग्मं गुणतः पदं विमानेन विवाहमानः" Raghu. xiii. 1. "विष्वद्विष्णुपदम्"

Amara. i. 2.2. "Vana Parva 108. 22.

⁷ "वेगन्तु मम दुर्धर्षं पतन्त्या गङ्गाऽहम्" Vana Parva 108. 22.

⁸ "अस्ति तावद्गङ्गानामा देशः यस्मिन् पारावारसदृश्यः पद्यावतीप्रभृतयस्तरङ्गिण्यः समुल्लसन्ति" Mādhavachampū iii.

⁹ "तीर्थे कनखलं नाम गङ्गाद्वारेति पावनम् ॥ यत्र काञ्चनपातेन जह्नुवी देवदन्तिना । उशीनरगिरि-प्रस्थान्तिना समवतारिता ॥" 3. 4-5.

of the surrounding mountains. In one verse of the Vana Parva, it is used in the plural¹ but generally found in the singular². Near Kanakhala was Kapilatīrtha³, which is still pointed out as Kapilasthāna, and Māyāpura⁴ which is said to have been visited by Hiuen Tsang. Hardwar is considered by Sawaites as an abbreviation of Haradvāra but though the vernacular form is not against this view there is no old authority in support of it.

89. Beyond Hardwar and therefore in Eastern Gurwal lay the kingdom of Subāhu peopled by Kirātas, Tanganas, and Pulindas⁵. Kiratas are mentioned in other parts of the Mahābhārata. In the Sabhā Parva, Bhīma is said to have conquered seven Kirāta chiefs⁶ from Videha, which, as will be shown hereafter, comprised Dārbbhāngā and part of eastern Nepal. In another passage, Kirātas are said to be ferocious bowmen clad in leather and living on roots and fruits⁷. In the Amarakoṣa, Kirātatikta or the bitter (plant) of Kirātas is given as a synonym of Cherata⁸ and modern botanists affirm this plant "is indigenous to the mountainous regions of Northern India from Simla through Kumaon to the Morung district in Eastern Nepal"⁹. There can, therefore, be no doubt the Kirātas were a tribe of mountaineers inhabiting the Sub-Himalayan regions. The modern Bhutias, who inhabit not only Bhutan but also parts of Nepal and Kumaon probably belong to this tribe. The word Bhoṭṭa occurs in the Rājataranginī more than once and probably refers to the Bhutias near Cashmere. They are comparatively a fair race which is an additional argument in favour of my view as Kirāta maids formed a part of the tribal presents to Yudhiṣṭhira¹⁰.

¹ "एते कनखला राजन् ऋषीणां दयिता नगाः" 135. 5.

² "ततः कनखले स्तात्वा त्रिरात्रोपपितो नरः" Vana Parva. 84. 30. "कनखलस्याद्रेः"—Mallinātha on Meghadūta i. 51.

³ "नगराजस्य राजेन्द्र कपिलस्य महात्मनः । तीर्थं कुरुवर्येष्ट सर्वलोकेषु विश्रुतम् ॥" Vana Parva 84. 32.

⁴ "दशार्धमेधिकं पुष्पं गङ्गाद्वारं तथैव च । नन्दाय ललिता तद्वत्तीर्थं मायापुरी गुमा ॥" Matsya 22.10.

⁵ "समागमनमाकाङ्क्षन् गङ्गाद्वारे समाहितः । वसेह द्रौपदी रजन् यावदागमनं मम ॥ . . . एवं सम्भाषमाणस्ते सुबाहुविषयं महत् । ददुर्मुदिता राजन् प्रभुतमजवाजिसत् ॥ किराततङ्गनाकीर्णं पुलिन्दशतसङ्कुलम् । हिमजलमरंजुष्टं बह्मजम्बयसमाकुलम् ॥" Vana Parva 140. 7, 24-25.

⁶ "विषेहस्वस्तु कीर्त्तेय इन्द्रपर्वतमस्तिकात् । किरातानामधिपतीनजयत् सप्त पाण्डवः ॥" 30. 15.

⁷ "फलमूलानां ये च किराताश्चर्मवाससः । कुरास्ताः कुरकृतस्तोश्च पश्यान्महं प्रभो ॥" 52.2.

⁸ "किरातविस्तो भूमिम्बोज्ञायितकः . . . ii. 4. 143.

⁹ U. C. Dut's Materia Medica, p. 200.

¹⁰ "किरातकीर्णं दासीनाममुत्तमं विशास्यते" Sabhā Parva 52. 11.

90. The word Pulinda is derived in Unādi Sūtra iv.85 from the verb "Pul" signifying greatness. Ujjvaladatta explains it by Śavara, but I am not sure whether he is correct. Śavaras or by Śavara, but I am not sure whether he is correct. Śavaras or Suars are an aboriginal tribe chiefly inhabiting Orissā, but by no means confined to it. General Cunningham rightly observes (p. 509) "these Savaras or Suars of the Eastern Ghāts are only a single branch of a widely extended tribe, which is found in large numbers to the south-west of Gwalior and Marwar, and also in Southern Rajputana". Hence in the Kathā S. Śāgara we find a Śavara chief near the Vindhya¹. The Pulindas, on the other hand, are generally applied to the Bhillas or Bheels, also, known as Lubdhakas or "Covetous"². They inhabited the Vindhya and were for a long time the scourge of travellers³. It may not, however, be improbable that Pulinda is a descriptive name applied to all big tall mountaineers.

91. From the dominions of Subāhu, the Pāṇḍavas are said to have proceeded to the Yamunādri⁴, which is evidently the general name for the Jamnotri peaks near the source of the Yamunā. There are hot springs at the western base of the most western of the peaks, which account for the expression "furnished with springs" and some of the peaks are deep in snow, which explains the expression "veiled with snow." The river is also called Kalindakanyā or Kālindī, which is explained by Mallinātha "flowing from the mountain Kalinda"⁵. I, however, find no old authority in support of this explanation⁶ and not only no modern name resembles Kalinda, but we have the Sanskrit Yamunādri exactly

¹ "पुष्टवान् प्रियाप्रवृत्तिमत्यातः श्रीदत्तः शवराधिपम् ॥" 10. 134.

² "शानाययच्च स विभ्रमिल्लराजं पुलिन्दकम् । मित्रं बलैर्ध्यातविषं प्रावृत्कालमिवाम्बुदः ॥" K. S. 19. 59. "तत्र वत्सेशमित्यस्य विन्ध्यप्रागभारवासिनः । गृहं पुलिन्दकाव्यस्य पुलिन्दाधिपतेरगात् ॥"

³ See Daśakumāra iii., Māl. v. etc. The word पुलिन्द occurs in Raghu. K. S. xii. 45.

⁴ xvi. 32 and Mallinātha gives Kirāta as its equivalent. In Amara ii. 10 20 "वेदाः किरातशवस्युलिन्दा म्लेच्छजातयः ॥" these tribes are distinguished.

⁵ "वेदाः किरातशवस्युलिन्दा म्लेच्छजातयः ॥" येदोक्तं सानुचरं विन्यस्य ततोऽभ्युपगमन-
10 20 "सुखोपितास्तत्र त एकरात्रम् सूतानुपादाय रथांश्च सर्वान् । यदोक्तं सानुचरं विन्यस्य ततोऽभ्युपगमन-
मद्विराजम् ॥ तस्मिन् गिरी प्रभवणोपपन्ने हिमोत्तरीयाद्विषणुपाण्डुमानौ । विशाखेषु समुपेत्य चक्रुस्तदा निवासं
पुरप्रवीराः ॥" Vana Parva 177. 15-16.

⁶ Raghu. vi. 48. Hence we have "कलिन्दनयनन्दिनी" and similar expressions in later literature. Naiṣadha has "कलिन्दशैलसुता" in xii. 12.

⁷ Of all the editions of the Amarakoṣa, I have seen, the one by Chintāmani Śāstri (Bombay, 1877) appears to be the best. Although it contains the word Kālindī (i. 10.32) the word Kalinda (Trikāṇḍaśeṣa) in it in any sense. I do not find it also in its supplement in the Viśva-

in the copy I have. I have searched for it in vain in the Viśva-

corresponding with the modern Jamnotri. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that the word Kālindī does not mean "flowing from the mountain Kalinda", but "rising in the territory of Kalindas", just as Dārādī means rising in the territory of Darads. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa confirms my view as it explains "flowing through Kalinda" not from Kalinda¹. The word in the form Kulinda occurs several times in the Mahābhārata² and in Arjuna's conquest of the north, the territory of the Kulindas is placed next to Hastināpura³. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt that the Kulindas dwell in Western Gurwal, the country where the Yamunā rises. Ptolemy's Kulindrine was probably the capital of this province. Among botanical names, I find Kalinda⁴ is given as a synonym of the water-melon, but our botanists do not enlighten as to which parts of India the plant is indigenous or where it is most abundant⁵.

92. About half way between Kāmpil and Ahichchhatra is Budaon—the Podanya of the Ādi Parva⁶. It is said to have been founded by king Āsmaka of Ayodhyā. To the north-east of Budaon, near Bijnour is the village of Madawar, which may be Modapura of the Sabhā Parva⁷. Both are in northern

koṣa and the Medinikoṣa, which, thanks to the Pandits of Benares, are now available to every honest student. Nor in the Hema-chandra Koṣa, which is probably the best Sanskrit lexicon we have. In Wilson's work, Kalinda is said to mean "The Sun. A mountain. Beleric myrobalan" and these meanings have been slavishly copied by Tārānātha in his Sabdastoma. The Yumunā is also called Sūryatanayā. The first two meanings seem to be simple inventions to explain the term Kalindatanayā in connection with this and irrespective of it. The third meaning is evidently evolved from the names Kalidruma and Kalirakṣa (H.c. iv. 211.) of the Vibhītaka, the last of which does not occur in Wilson. It may be a misreading but nothing more, as the tree is not common in the sub-Himalayan regions.

¹ "यमुना च नदी जज्ञे कलिन्दान्तरवाहिनी" 78.30.

² "विभर्तुराजः कमलायताक्षः क्षेमकुमारो नाम स एष वीरः । अस्मात् परस्त्वेष महाधनुष्मान् पुत्रः कुलिन्दविह-
रतिरिष्टः ॥" iii. 265.7.

³ "दिशं धनपतेरिष्टाभजयत् पाकशायनिः । पूर्वं कुलिन्दविषये वशे चक्रे महीपतीन् ॥" ii. 25.9. and 26.3.

⁴ "कालिन्दं कृष्णजीवं स्यात् कालिन्दञ्च युवतुलम्" Bhāva P. i.

⁵ The Yamunā is also called by other names signifying 'daughter of the Sun, and sister of Yama': "यमुना यमभगिनी कालिन्दी सूर्यजा यमिः" H. c. vi. 149; Amara: "कालिन्दी सूर्यतनया यमुना यमनस्वजा" i. 10.32. This legend was probably invented to account for the similarity of the words Yama and Yamunā.

⁶ "अस्मको नाम राजपिः पौदव्यं यो न्यवेणयत् ।" 175. 47. "पौदव्यं . . . पौदवमिति भाषायां प्रसिद्धम्" Com.

⁷ "मोदापुरं ज्ञानदेवं मुदामानं सुसङ्कुलम् ।" 27. 11.

India. In the same district (Bijnour) is the large town of Chandpur (lat. 29°8', long. 78°20'), which is probably Chandrapura or Chandrakāntā of the Rāmāyaṇa. We read in the Uttara Kāṇḍa¹ that the two sons of Rāma's brother Lakṣmaṇa were appointed rulers of Kārupatha (Kālidāsa read Kārāpatha)²; Angada in the west at Angadapurī and Chandraketu in the north at Chandrakāntā in Mallabhūmi. The first is modern Shāhābād in Oude, which is still known to its Hindi inhabitants as Angadpur. It is not due west of Ayodhyā, as Chandpur is not due north of it. But as in colours, so in direction, we do not find precision of language in ancient writers. There is another Chandpur in the district of Furrackabad, but it cannot be Chandrakāntā as it is in the same direction as Shahabad. I am, therefore, almost certain that Chandpur east of Shahrānpur is the town called Chandraketu and that it is situated in the land of northern Mallas³.

93. Along with Mallabhūmi, the Mahābhārata speaks of Uttara Kośala and Gopālakakṣa among the eastern conquests of Bhīma⁴. Of Uttara Kośala, I shall speak presently. Gopālakakṣa is probably the tract between Mallabhūmi and Uttarakośala, in other words the north-eastern portion of Uttarakośala, in other words the north-eastern portion of the shwang-na which may stand for Gopasthāna meaning the same "seat of cowherds". Of Bhallāta I have already spoken. It was probably beyond Uttara Kośala, i.e., the country about Goruckpur.

94. The kingdom of Koaśla, according to the Rāmāyaṇa was situated along the banks of the Sarayū (Gogra)⁵. Its

¹ "अयं कारुपथो देशो रमणीयो निरामयः । . . . तच्च कुत्वा वशे देशमङ्गदस्य न्यवेणयत् । अङ्गदीया पुरी रम्याप्यङ्गदस्य निवेशिता . . . चन्द्रकेतोश्च मल्लस्य मल्लभूम्यां निवेशिता । चन्द्रकान्तेति विख्याता दिव्या स्वर्गपुरी यथा ॥ . . . अग्निपितृ कुमारी द्वौ प्रस्थाप्य सुतमाहिता । अङ्गदं पत्तिमां भूमिं चन्द्रकेतु-
मुदङ्मुखम् ॥ . . . " 102. 5-11.

² "चक्रे कारुपथेश्वरी", Raghu. xv. 90. May not the true reading be Karipatha or the route of elephants?

³ There is one Mālābhūmi in Nepal west of Kātāmūṇḍa, but it is too far north and not directly connected with Shahabad.

⁴ "ततो गोपालकक्षञ्च सोत्तरानपि कोशलान् । मल्लानामधिपञ्चैव पारिविज्जाजयत् प्रभुः" ii.30.3.

⁵ "ततो गोपालकक्षञ्च सोत्तरानपि कोशलान् । निविष्टः सरयूतीरे पशुधान्यघनद्विमान् ॥ अयोध्या नाम तत्रासीन्नगरी लोकविश्रुता । मनुना मानवेन्द्रेण पुरैव परिनिर्मिता ॥ यावता वशं च हे च योजनानि महापुरी । श्रीमती कीणि विस्तीर्णा नवसंस्थानगोमिता ॥ . . . " Ādi Kāṇḍa, ch. v. Elphinstone says

in a foot-note to his History of India, p. 227: "Ayodhyā is not mentioned in the Mahābhārata." It is strange Professor Cowell has left this passage uncorrected. The whole Rāmāyaṇa is epitomised in Vana Parva, chs. 274 to 292. Kośala and Ayodhyā are mentioned among the eastern conquests of Bhīma in the 30th chapter of the Sabhā Parva and the fall of king

capital Ayodhyā is described in the fifth chapter of the Ādi Kāṇḍa and said to have extended 48 miles in length and 12 miles in breadth. It was also called Sāketa¹ and one of its principal suburbs was Nandigrāma, where Bharata governed the kingdom during the absence of Rāma. We know from the Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa that it lay to the east of the capital². The story of the heavenward emersion of Rāma and the whole town in Sarayū is probably nothing else than a poetical way of expressing the river's encroachments. But whatever the facts might have been, we know from the Uttara Kāṇḍa that Ayodhyā was deserted for a time and that Rāma's son Kuśa did not return to it for some time³. General Cunningham identifies Ayodhyā with Viśākha of Hiuen Tsang, but I am not satisfied that his arguments are convincing. In the Kathā S. Sāgara, Vaiśākha-pura is separately mentioned⁴. 95. The river Gomatī on the west of Ayodhyā was also known as Vāsiṣṭhī or sacred to the sage Vāsiṣṭha⁵. The country about the lower portion of this river or the modern district of Jaunpur was probably the celebrated Naimiśāranya⁶ where the great Sūta, who rose from a low caste to be a most revered teacher of the Brāhmaṇas, was murdered in cold blood by Kṛṣṇa's brother Balabhadra for not receiving the respect shewn him by other Brāhmaṇas. My opinion as to its situation is based on several passages of the Mahābhārata and the Matsya Purāṇa which shew not only that it was about the Gomatī, but also that it was about its confluence with the Gangā⁷. There is a celebrated place of pilgrimage

Bṛhadbala at Kurukṣetra on the side of Duryodhana is narrated in the 47th chapter of the Drona Parva.

¹ "सकितं स्यादयोध्यायां कोशला नन्दिनी च सा ।" Yādava. "जनस्य साकेतनिवासिनस्ती", Raghu. v. 31.

² "प्रययुः प्राङ्मुखः सर्वे नन्दिग्रामो यतोऽभवत् ॥ . . . नन्दिग्रामेऽकरोद्राज्यं पूजितो मन्त्रिभिः सह ॥" 127. 3. 13.

³ See Raghu. xvi, and Padma Purāṇa Pātālakhaṇḍa. ⁴ वैशाखाख्ये पुरे राज्ञः पुत्रावाचो द्विमातृकी ॥ 67.5.

⁵ "वासिष्ठी गोमती कुल्ये" Hemachandra iv. 151.

⁶ It is also written Naimiśāranya. The history of the first word as given in the Varāha Purāṇa and of the second word as given in the Vāyu Purāṇa are quoted by Nilakanṭha under Mah. i. I do not reproduce them as I doubt their correctness.

⁷ "तीर्थं तु नैमिषं नाम सर्वतोषफलप्रदम् ॥ गङ्गाद्वेदेस्तु गोमत्यां यवोद्भूतः सनातनः । तथा यज्ञवराहस्तु देवदेवस्य भूलभूतः ॥ यज्ञं तत् काञ्चनद्वारमण्डावशभुजो हरः । नेमिस्तु हरिचक्रस्य शीर्षा यन्नागवत् पुरा ॥ तदेतन्नैमिषारण्यं सर्वतोर्ध्वनिषेवितम् । देवदेवस्य तत्रापि वराहस्य तु दर्शनम् ॥ Matsya. 22.12. 5. "तस्यां देवविजृष्टायां नैमिषं नाम भारतः । तत्र तीर्थानि देवानां पुण्यानि च पूषक् पूषक् ॥ यत्, सा गोमती पुण्या रम्या देवविपूजिता । यज्ञभूमिश्च देवानां शान्तिवञ्च विवस्वतः ॥" Mah. iii 87.6-7. "क्रमेण पूजितोपात्तं

called Dhopapur on the right bank of this river (Cunningham p. 401) 18 miles S.E. of Sultanpur (formerly known as Kuśabhavanapura), which is probably the Rāmātīrtha of the Mahābhārata¹. From a look at the map it will appear that it lies in a line from Ayodhyā to Prayāga—the route taken by Rāma in his exile and the name signifies "where sins are washed away."

96. At the time of Rāma's death, his two sons Kuśa and Lava reigned respectively at Kuśavatī in southern Kośala in the defiles of the Vindhya and at Śrāvastī in northern Kośala². In the Matsya Purāṇa, the last province is called Gaṇḍa³. In a district still known by the same name and occurring in the Mahābhārata after Panchāla among the conquests of Bhīma⁴. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the country north of Ayodhyā comprising Gaṇḍa and Baraitch was known as Uttarakośala. The position of Śrāvastī, on the other hand, is not beyond dispute. General Cunningham identifies it with Sahet Mahet north of Ayodhyā, as he found in it "a colossal statue of Buddha with an inscription containing the name of Śrāvastī itself". There can be no doubt that it lies in the same direction as Śrāvastī, but I am not certain that it is Śrāvastī itself. Like its other utterances, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa assigns its foundation to king Śrāvasta, one of the alleged ancestors of Rāma⁵. It was also called Dharmapattana or Dharmapuri⁶ and a town of that name is, I believe, still extant further north in the Nepal territory.

97. The Rāptī runs through this district. This is the Irāvati of Sanskrit writers⁷. General Cunningham places the birth place of Buddha (Kapilavāstu) to the west of this river, identifying it with Nagar a few miles south-east of Ayodhyā.

नैमिषारण्यमागताः ॥ ततस्तीर्थेषु पुण्येषु गोमत्याः पाण्डवा नृप । कृताभिषेकाः प्रदुर्गाश्च वित्तञ्च भारत ॥" 95.1.2.

¹ "रामतीर्थे नरः स्नात्वा गोमत्यां कुसुमन्दन । अश्वमेधमवाप्नोति पुनरिति च कुलं नरः ॥" iii. 84. 74.

² "कोशलेषु कुशं वीरभूतरेषु तथा लवम् । अभिषिच्य महात्मानाबुधो रामः कुशीलवो ॥ . . . कुशस्य नगरी रम्या विजयपर्वतरोधसि । कुशावतीति नाम्ना सा कृता रामेण धीमता ॥ आबस्तीति पुरी रम्या आबिता च लवस्य ह ।" 107. 17 and 108. 4-5. It is curious the reading in Raghu. xv. 97.

³ is Śarāvati, not Śrāvastī.

⁴ "निमिता येन आबस्ती गण्डदेशे द्विजोत्तमाः" I read Gaṇḍa for the printed Gaṇḍa, first because there is only one Gaṇḍa and secondly because the people of this tract are still known as Gaṇḍas.

⁵ "पाञ्चालान् विविधोपायैः सान्त्वयामास पाण्डवः । ततः स गण्डकान् वीरो विदेहान् भरतवैभः ॥" ii. 29. 4. Videha is a mistake as it is mentioned later on in 30.13.

⁶ "तस्य आबस्तः, यः आबस्ती पुरी निषेवगामास" iv. 2.12.

⁷ "आबस्ती धर्मपत्तनम् । Trikaṇḍaśeṣa, Bhūmivarga. "हे धर्मपुर्वाः", Com.

⁸ "तथा च सरयूः पुण्या सर्वदेवनमस्तुता । इरावती नदी तद्वत् पितृतीर्थोच्चवासिनी ॥" 22.19.

But if the Buddhist accounts are correct, it must be looked for further north along the southern slope of the Sub-Himalaya, probably north of Rampoor at the north-western extremity of the modern division of Bengal. I quote below passages from Beal's 'Jñānakūta's Buddha' in support of my contention¹.
 98. In this place, I may mention of the kingdom of Nepāla. The word is of comparatively modern origin as it occurs, I believe, only once in the Mahābhārata and that verse is expressly said to be not common to all manuscripts². According to Hindu tradition, the valley was originally an immense lake, which gradually receded between the banks of its rivers. The physical aspect of the valley, says Thornton, confirms this tradition. I have already quoted a verse of the Mahābhārata which describes the country as "risen from water", and there can be no doubt that different parts of it had different names. In the time of Amara, however, the name was quite familiar as he calls a variety of realgar Naipali or found in Nepala³. The province had much more limited dimensions than at present. I have already spoken of the western kingdom and shall shew when speaking of the kingdom of Videha, that Janakapura on the south-east was its capital. Lalitapattana near Katmundo was the ancient capital of Nepāla.
 99. The town of Benares or Vārāṇasī⁴ owes its name to the

¹ Away to the north, there is a very high precipitous mountain belonging to the Himālaya range; underneath the wooded belt of that mountain there is a separate tribe of people called the Śākyas; belonging to this race is a newly-born youth. . . . If he remained in secular life, he would become a Chakravartin. . . if he became a recluse that he would be a Buddha Tathāgata. . . "Being thus banished, the exile proceeding northward, arrived at the Himātala (Himālaya?) mountains, where abiding for a short time, they crossed the Bhāgīrathī river, and there abode for a long while. . . . Then gradually going forwards, they arrived at a valley on the southern slopes of the mountains, broad and level, without any precipices or hillocks. . . . Now in the midst of this delightful vale, there was an old Rṣi living called Kapila. . . . And because they lived where Kapila had resided, their town was called Kapilavāstu." "At Kapilavāstu beneath the northern mountains. . . ." Legend of Buddha, pp. 104, 121, 191. It may be objected that there is no Bhāgīrathī in this part of the country, but there is the Trīśūlagangā of Nepal and Bhāgīrathī is only a synonym of Gangā. There is also the Sapta Gangā or Śveta Gangā (Padma Purāṇa)—the Setigangā in vernacular, a tributary of the Sarayū.

² "नेपालविषये ये च राजानस्तदवापयत्", Vana Parva 294. 7. "महावंत्रिकोजम्", Com.

³ "मनःशिला मन्दोदृता. . . नेपाली कुनटी गोला" ii. 9. 108.

⁴ Wilson says (Daśakumāra, p. 114) it is correctly Vārāṇasī, but forgets that compounds are not always formed by mere juxtaposition. N. xi. 116:

small rivers Varāṇā (Barna) and Asi¹ between which it is situated on the left bank of the Ganges. It was anciently called Kāśīpuri or Kāśī celebrated for Avimuktesvara² (a form of Śiva) and the rich steps of Maṇikarnikā³. It has now been eclipsed by the worship of Viśveśvara—another form of Śiva, but the Kṣāikhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa has preserved its name and the history of the former worship. Kāśī is considered as one of the oldest seats of medical science and its king Divodāsa as an incarnation of the celestial physician Dhanvantari⁴. The extent of the kingdom must have varied from time to time. In the glorious period, it must have extended on the east to the banks of the Gomati (near Gazipur) where a town is said to have been formed by Divodāsa and on the west Vatsa Deśa above Allahabad, which is said to derive its name from the boy king Vatsa, grandson of Divodāsa⁵. The town is said to have been twice destroyed once in the time of Divodāsa by the Rākṣasas⁶ (which probably mean the adjoining aboriginal tribes) and once by Kṛṣṇa after the fall of Kāśīrāja⁷ after whom Kāśī is said to be named. Here king Hariśchandra is said to have sold himself, his wife, his son into slavery to redeem his promise to Viśvāmitra⁸. It is the most frequented and most revered seat of Hindu pilgrimage, and Bishop Heber pertinently wrote in 1824 "besides the number of pilgrims, which is enormous from

"बाराणसी निविशते न वसुन्धरायाम्" from the form of the metre decides the correctness of this form.

¹ These names are generally misprinted: "वसामन्या वाराणसीम्", Bhīṣma Parva 9. 31. (Bombay Edition). But they are correctly given in the manuscript of the Padma Purāṇa kindly lent me by the Rājakumāra of Dinagpore: "सामान्या वरणामसिम्", Bhūmikhaṇḍa.

² Lit.: "Lord of the never-forsaken land": "नाहं वेश्म विमोक्ष्यामि अविमुक्तं हि मे गृहम्", Harivaṁśa, 1578.

³ "उपासकं कदाचित् काशीपुरी वाराणसीम्। उपसृज्य मणिमङ्गलमिदं ताम्रमणिं मणिर्गणिकायामविमुक्ते-भे गृहम्", Daśakumāra iv.

⁴ "अथ खलु भगवन्तमखरमृषिगणपरिवृतमाश्रमस्थं काशिराजं धन्वन्तरिमोघेनवैतरणीरभ्रपौष्कला-वतकरवीर्यमोपुररक्षितमुत्तमप्रभृतय ऊचुः॥" Suśruta. According to Harivaṁśa, ch. 29., Divodāsa was a descendant of Dhanvantari. See also V. P. iv. 8.

⁵ "विषयाते पुरी रम्या गोमत्या संन्यवेष्टयत्"। "दिवोदासाद् दृष्टत्वा वीरो जने प्रतर्दनः। प्रतर्दनस्य पुत्रो हौ वत्सभागी सुविश्रुतो॥ वत्सपुत्रस्त्वलकेस्तु सज्जतिस्तस्य चात्मजः। प्रतर्कः काशिराजस्तु ब्रह्मण्यः सत्यसङ्करः॥. . . वत्सस्य वत्सभूमिस्तु" 1544; 1586 to 1597.

⁶ Harivaṁśa, ch. 29.

⁷ Viṣṇu Purāṇa i. 34 ch. The son of this Kāśīrāja is called Sudakṣiṇa in Bhāgavata P. x. 66. 27, a name not found in V. P., ch. 8. Kāśīrāja, therefore, appears to be a descriptive name.

⁸ Devi Bhāgavata vii. 20 ch.



is probably a misprint for Vyāhāra. If so, it may be easily identified with Vaibhār. The Panchan river passes by the place and is clearly the Māgadhi of the Rāmāyaṇa¹.

102. The next capital of Magadha was Kusumapura or Pāṭaliputra, said to have been founded by Udayāśva, grandson of Ajātaśatru². For a long time it was the greatest town in India, as we have concurrent testimony of Sanskrit and Greek writers³. Arrian assures us that it was situated near the confluence of the great rivers Ganges and Eronaboas, which is another name for Śon⁴ and this fact is borne out by the references in the Sanskrit drama Mudrārāksasā⁵ which distinctly mentions its situation on the Ganges and also alludes to the Śon. It has been satisfactorily shewn that the Śon formerly joined the Ganges above the town of Patna⁶ and I therefore agree with those who have held that Kusumpura stood near it. Kālidāsa speaks of it in the Raghuvamśa, but makes a mistake in making it the capital of Magadha in the time of Rāma's grandfather⁷.

103. Another important town in this province was Gayā situated on the west bank of the Phalgu river. This stream was generally known as Mahānadī or great river, partly on account of its size, and probably also on account of its sanctity⁸. Thornton calls it "a vast torrent", having

¹ There is a new Rājgir outside the hill said to have been founded by Bindusāra, King of Magadha who met Buddha, while staying on the Pāṇḍava Hill.

² Vāyu Purāṇa, Pūrvabhāga. "पाटलिपुत्रं कुसुमपुरम्"—Hemachandra iv. 42. "कुसुमपुरं पाटलिपुत्रकम्"—Trikaṇḍaśeṣa.

³ "अस्ति समस्तनगरीनिकायायमाणा शक्यदण्डपण्यविस्तारितमणिगणादिवस्तुजातव्याख्यातरलाकर-माहात्म्या मगधदेशेऽश्वरीभूता पुष्पपुरी नाम नगरी"—Daśakumāra.

⁴ "The capital city of India is Pālibothrā"—Arrian's Indica, X.

⁵ "पितामहस्यापत्यं हिरण्यवाहनामानं महानदं यं जनाः शोण इति कथयन्ति ।" Śriharṣaśācharita i. 10. 34. So called on account of its broad yellow sands.

⁶ "प्रवृत्तकोमदीमहोत्सवरमणीयतरं कुसुमपुरमवलोकयितुमिच्छामि । तत् क्रियन्तामस्महर्षनयोऽप्याः सुगार्ह-प्रासादस्योपरि भूमयः ।" iii. "शोणं सिन्धूरलोणा मम गजपतयः । रोत्यन्ति वानरघटा नगरं मदीयाः ।" iv. 16-17.

⁷ Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, xiv. 137. "An effaced channel" says Thornton, "may still be traced opening on that of the Ganges to Bankipur, below Dinapur."

⁸ "नेत्रोत्सवं पुष्पपुराङ्गनानाम्" vi. 24. Hiuen Tsang says that Kusumapura was in ruins when he visited and Pāṭaliputra was the new town. This Kusumapura by Daṇḍī and others.

⁹ "गयायास्तु प्रवेशेऽपि पूर्वतोऽस्ति महानदी" Mah. iii. 95. 9. Hiuen Tsang also calls it "great river."

"enormous volume of water during the rainy season" at and below Gayā. It was also called Phalgu and such expressions as Phalgutīrtha, Phalgviśa (or lord of Phalgu), occur in the Gayāmāhātmya¹. It is formed of the two torrents Nilajan and Mohanee (which evidently stand for Nairanjanī² (=divine) and Mohanī (=charming).

104. According to the Gayāmāhātmya, Gayā owes its name to the demon king Gaya, who became so obnoxious to the gods by saving every one from perdition and thereby emptying the world of Yama that Brahmā was persuaded to ask him to lie down so that he might make a sacrifice on his body. In the older Vana Parva³, no allusion is made to this legend, but Gaya is mentioned as a virtuous king and a rational account is given of his liberal charity. Gayā is now a celebrated place of pilgrimage, especially for the performance of obsequious rites and the places in its vicinity are all considered holy. The river is holy from Bramasaras (Brahmasarwar) with its pillar and mango-tree to Uttaramānasa (Uttarmanus) near it is another tank called Dakṣiṇamānasa (Surujkund), of which the north-west corner is called Udichī and south-west Dakṣiṇa Mānasa, between which is Kanakhala, all marked by "black stone-slabs". Beyond it is Phalgutīrtha near the temple of Gayaśiras (Gayāsir) on the bank of the river. The hill to the north is called Pretakūṭa containing Pretaśilā or "stone for the dead"⁴. It rises to a height of more than 1000 feet, below which is Brahmakūṇḍa or "Brahmā's tank". To the south of it is the smaller hill Rāma-śaila with a tank at its foot called Rāmakūṇḍa⁵. About a mile south-west of the town is the Brahmajūn (Brahmajuin) or divine

¹ "पितामहोऽयं फल्गुवीशः केदारः कनकेश्वरः । फल्गुतीर्थदिहोऽयं नमाम्यादिगदाधरम्". Read also Mah. iii. 87. 12: "सा च पुष्पजला तत्र फल्गुनाम्नी महानदी".

² Dr. Rājendra Lāl Mitra reads Nairanjanā in Lalitavistara; but the feminine of Nairanjana is Nairanjanī, not Nairanjanā. Chinese translators read Nairanjanā, which is correct, if it is considered a Srotas (torrent).

³ "अमूर्तरयसः पुत्रो गयो राजविसत्तमः । पुण्यानि यस्य कर्माणि तानि मे शृणु भारत ॥ यस्य यज्ञो बभूवेह बहुभ्यो बहुवक्षिणः । यज्ञाश्च पर्वता राजन् शतशोऽप्य सहस्रशः ॥ धृतकुल्याश्च वज्रश्च तद्यो बहुशतास्तथा । व्यञ्जनानां प्रवाहश्च महार्हाणां सहस्रशः ॥ . . . " 95. 8.

⁴ This and the subsequent quotations of this para are taken from Hunter's Bengal, Vol. xii. p. 46.

⁵ "प्रेतकूटो गिरिर्धृतः . . गिरिः प्रेतजिताययः" Gayā M.

⁶ "रामो देव्या सह स्नातो रामतीर्थं ततः स्मृत . . रामे वनगते शैलमागत्य भरतः स्थितः" Gayā M. The story is evidently a modern invention, as it is not supported by the Rāmāyaṇa.

mountain, which seems to have been anciently known as Kolāhalagiri¹. On the other side of the river is Rāmagayā, to the south of which is Dharmāranya² (Dharmārun) or forest of Buddha³ and Matanga or hermitage of Matanga⁴ with a tank sacred to his memory⁵. Opposite these and on the same side as Gayā is the celebrated "undecaying" fig tree under which Buddha passed some days and which is since called "the tree of wisdom". This tree still exists but is "very much decayed". Near it is a massive brick Vihāra with extensive ruins. To these should be added the celebrated and beautiful temple of Viṣṇupada at Gayā erected by the pious queen Ahalyā Bāi in and about which are the alleged footmarks of Viṣṇu, Rudra, Brahmā, the five fires. (Sabhya, Āvasathya, Dakṣiṇa, Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya)⁶, Krauncha, and others. From Hunter's account, a pilgrim seems now to take twelve days to pay his homage to the holy places of Gayā. In the time of the Gayāmāhātmya, it used to be done in five days⁷.

105. Magadha was also called Kikaṭa in later literature⁸. The verse quoted below is interesting in this respect, as it distinctly says Gayā was situated in Kikaṭa or Magadha besides giving the Sanskrit name Punahpunā of the river

¹ नैवेदी दिग्माधिरु तदा कोलाहले गिरी । गिरः कुत्सोत्तरे दैत्यः पादो कृत्वा तु दक्षिणे । ब्रह्मयोनिं प्रविश्याय . . . " Gayā M.

² Although this name does not occur in "Beal's Legend of Buddha", there can be no doubt that it is the wood where Buddha passed six years in meditation before he went to the tree of knowledge (Vide ch. xxiv.).

³ Dharmārāja is a synonym of Buddha : "सर्वज्ञः सुगतो बुद्धो धर्मराजस्तथागतः" Amara 13.

⁴ "ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र धर्मप्रस्थं समाहितः । यत्तु धर्मो महाराज नित्यमास्ते बुध्दिष्ठिर ॥ . . . मतङ्गस्यात्रमस्तत्र महर्षिर्नाशितमनः । . . ततो राजगृहं गच्छेत् . . ." Mah. iii. 84. 99 to 104.

⁵ "मतङ्गवाप्यो यः स्नात्वा . . ." Gayā M.

⁶ See my quotation from Vṛiddhagautama Saṁhitā (Vira Charita: supplementary notes).

⁷ ततो गयां समासाद्य स्नातव्यं निर्मले जले . . . उपरेर्गङ्गा शुचिर्भूत्वा गच्छेच्च प्रेतपर्वतम् ॥ ब्रह्म कुण्डे ततः स्नात्वा देवादीस्तर्पयेच्छुधीः । . . आदौ च पञ्चतीर्थेभ्य उत्तरे मानसे विधिः । . . उत्तरान्मानसान् मोनी दायकम् । . . अथ दक्षिणमानसे तीर्थे दक्षिणमानसम् ॥ फल्गुतीर्थं ब्रजेत्तस्मात् सर्वतीर्थोत्तमोत्तमम् । . . एतद् मन्त्रमुदीरयेत् ॥ . . . धर्मो धर्मेश्वरं गत्वा महाबोधितं नम्रेत् । चलद्दलाय वृक्षाय सर्वदा स्थितिबिम्बवे ॥ राजपयफलं लभेत् । . . फल्गुतीर्थं चतुर्थेर्गङ्गा स्नानादिकमवाचरेत् । . . तत्र विष्णुपदं दिव्यं दर्शनात् पाप-कृतं आदमगवमेघफलं लभेत् ॥ आदं कृत्वा सभ्यपादे ज्योतिष्टोमफलं लभेत् । आचसध्यपादे आदौ सोमलो-कं मवाप्नुयात् ॥ पञ्चमेर्गङ्गा सदाशाले कृत्वा स्नानादि पूर्ववत् । . . " Gayā M.

⁸ "मगधाः कीकटा मताः" — Trikaṇḍaśeṣa. "कटाक्षधारास्तव कीकटाधिपः" N. xii. 88.

Punpun¹. Magadha has given name to the Māgadhi dialect described in the 11th section of Vararuchi's Prākṛtaprakāśa². According to Viśvanātha, it was the language of the attendants on royal harems³ which seems to explain that the terms Magadha and Māgadha⁴ were applied to bards (Bhāts), simply because they belonged to that country. The word Māgadhi is also applied to some plants, which, although found in Magadha, are not peculiar to it.

106. Among other places of Magadha should be noted Vihāra or Behār, near which there is a solitary hill covered with ruins which General Cunningham considers to be the ruins of the Vihāra of Avalokiteśvara (p. 474). I should also note Nālanda where Hiuen Tsang studied Sanskrit for several years and which has been identified by the English scholar with Baragaon (p. 468) about seven miles north of Rājgir. For other Buddhist places, the reader must consult his work.

107. To the north of Magadha lay the republic of Vaiśālī, the modern Besārā. It was a celebrated town in the time of Buddha⁵ and is said to have been founded by Viśālā⁶ with whose name is connected its old ruined fort 'Rajā-Biśāl-kāgar'. The position of this place may be inferred from Rāma's journey in the Rāmāyaṇa⁷, as he passed a night here after crossing the Ganges before he arrived at his destination. General Cunningham arrives at the same conclusion from the description of Hiuen Tsang's journey (p. 443). We are therefore sure that the popular tradition identifying Besārā with Vaiśālī is perfectly correct.

108. This is probably the land of Vṛjīs, who are mentioned by Pāṇini⁸. This fact is expressly mentioned in a Buddhist

¹ कैकटेयु गया पुण्या पुष्पं राजगृहं वनम् । जयवन्त्याश्रमः पुष्पो नदी पुण्या पुन-पुना ॥

² Cowell's Edition, pp. 89 to 92.

³ "अत्रोक्ता मागधी भाषा राजान्त-पुरवारिणाम् ।" Sāh. vi.

⁴ "अत्रोक्ता मागधी भाषा राजान्त-पुरवारिणाम् ।" Amara ii. 8. 97. मागधा मागवाय

Si. xi. 1.

⁵ "इयं वैशाली महानगरी कृद्धा च स्फीता च सेमा च सुविज्ञा च . . ." Lalitavistara. Some legends speak of a Monkey Tank at Vaiśālī, which is probably still extant: "where Bhagavat dwelt in the Pansal beside Monkey Tank at Vaiśālī" Beal's Buddha, p. 270.

⁶ "अलम्बुपायामुत्पन्नो विज्ञाल इति विभ्रुतः । तेनेयं निर्मिता राम वैशाली नगरी शुभा ॥" Rām. i. 48. 14.

⁷ संतरामः सरिच्छेष्टा पुण्यां विपयगं नदीम् । इत्येतद्वचनं धृत्वा रामस्यानिलच्छक्रेणः ॥ संतारं कारयामास विष्वामित्रो महामुनिः ॥ उत्तरं तीरमासाद्य ततः स मुनिपुङ्गवः । अपश्यच्च तिरतास्तापसान् नियत-वसान् ॥ स तान् संपूज्य विधिवज्जगाम सह राघवः । विज्ञालस्य पुरी रम्या दिव्या स्वर्गपुरीमिव ॥ . . . इहाय रजनी राम सुखं वत्स्यामहे वयम् । श्वः प्रभाते तु जनकं ध्रुवं ब्रह्माम राघव ॥" 46. 6, 8-10; 48. 21.

⁸ "मद्रव्यूयोः कन्" iv. 2. 131. "मद्रेषु जातः मद्रकः । वृजिकः" Vāmana.

legend quoted from Burnouf by General Cunningham (p. 444) and also in the passage quoted below, where Vajora is evidently a misprint for Vṛji¹. In the Sabhā Parva, Bhīma is said to have met the Śarmakas and Varmakas before he went to Videha². They are evidently some of the tribes who inhabited this country. It probably extended from Bagmati or Bhogavati river on the east to beyond the Gaṇḍak or Gaṇḍakī river on the west, in other words it comprised the modern districts of Mozuffurpur and Sarun. On the north-west of Vaiśālī is Kasia which General Cunningham identifies with Kuśinagara—the place of Buddha's Nirvāṇa (p. 430).

109. On the north-east of Vaiśālī, lay the kingdom of Videha with its capital Mithilā³. Janakpur in Nepal north of Madhuvānī is still identified as Mithilā, the capital of Janaka, with all its ancient associations. Sītāmārī (probably Sītāmārī “where Sītā was furrowed out”) claims the honour of giving birth to Sītā, daughter of Janaka (Ram. iii. 4 ch.). Sītākunḍa, 12 miles east of Matihari is still revered as the tank where Sītā bathed on her way to marriage. Videha, therefore, must have comprised, besides a portion of Nepal, all these places or in other words the northern part of the old district of Tirhut and the north-western portion of the district of Champaran. The country is still known as Mithilā in learned quarters. Its Brāhmaṇas are broadly distinguished from the Brahmins of Bengal and it is still governed by the Mithilā school of law, most ably represented in the Vīramitrodaya of Mitra Miśra. The people of Videha must have formerly traded a good deal, as Vaidehaka or resident of Videha is given by Amara as a synonym of merchant⁴.

¹ “This Vajora country has a city called Vaiśālī rich in every kind of produce.” Beal's Buddha, p. 28. I know of no such country as Vajora and as mistakes like Mavanti for Avantī occur in the work, I think I am right Vajora stands for Vṛji or its derivative Vārja.

² “शर्मकान् वर्मकाश्चैव व्यजयत् सान्त्वयन् वरुणं जनकं जगतीपतिम् ॥” 30. 13. Śarmaka is Śarman and Varmaka is Varman with the redundant affix Ka. Varmans are to be met with in several parts of Bengal and they say they are Kṣatriyas. Śarman is now the general title of all Brāhmaṇas. I cannot say who are meant in the passage.

³ “मुमराविदित् मिहिलं महानग्रम् । . . दण्डे सीतायै जनकस्य राजधानीम् ॥” B. r. x. In some lexicons, Videha is given as a synonym of Mithilā. But I do not remember meeting it in this sense. The following passage from Daśakumārā iii, distinguishes the country from the town: “ग्रहमस्मि पर्वतलेकदा गतो विदेहेषु । मिथिलामग्रं विदेहम् . . .”

⁴ “विदेहकः सार्वजहो नैमयो वणिजो वणिक् ।” ii. 9. 78.

110. Tirabhukti from which Tirhut is derived literally means “possessions on or along banks” and probably included the country along the Gaṇḍak river. At one time, its kings were supreme in this part of India and I understand an era is still extant commemorative of this rise. According to the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa¹ Tirabhukti is a synonym of Videha. I do not think this is correct as I have not found in any old work Tirabhukti used as a synonym of Videha and am told by Maithila Brāhmaṇas that the southern portion of Tirhut does not come within Videha. Videha was, however, very probably within the dominions of the Rājās of Tirabhukti, which might have led Puruṣottama to group them together. Nichchhavi is rarer than Tirabhukti, but General Cunningham says the kings of Thibet and Ladak trace their descent from the Nichchhavis (p. 45). The Newar kings of Nepal also belonged to this tribe. The Nichchhavis, therefore, appear to be the Newars, who are still found in Nepal. They must have dwelt further north probably about Lauria, near which there are extensive ruins.

111. On the east of Durbungah flows the river Kauśikī (Kuśī) through Northern Bhagalpur and Western Purneah. In olden times, its channel was much nearer to the civil station of Purneah than at present owing to its constant shifting towards the west. The country on its banks is described in the Mahābhārata as Kauśikī Kachchha or “Banks of the Kuśī”² and must have included parts of the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Purneah. Purāṇiyya (Purneah) signifying “of old” was probably its capital. The district abounds in old ruins and there is a tradition that it was once governed by the Virāṭa, but that he cannot be the Virāṭa of the Mahābhārata is apparent from that work (para. 163). Near the banks of the Kauśikī was the hermitage of the sage Rṣyaśṛṅga, who is said to have been brought to Champā by its king Lomapāda for the removal of natural calamities³. I am told the “horned sage's” (Śṛṅgī Rṣi) hermitage is still pointed out to travellers, but it is at considerable distance from the Kuśī.

112. On the south of Kauśikī Kachchha and evidently on the

¹ “तीरमुचितस्तु निच्छविः । विदेहा . . .” Bhūmivarga, 8.

² “ततो पुण्ड्राधिपं वीरं वासुदेवं महाबलम् । कौशिकीकच्छनिलयं राजानञ्च महोजसम् ॥ उभौ बलवतौ वीरावुभौ भीमपराक्रमौ । निजित्याजौ महाराज वज्रराजमुपादधत् ॥ ii. 30. 22-23.

³ एषा देवनदी पुण्या कौशिकी भरतपुत्र । विश्वामित्रात्मनो रम्य एष बाल प्रकाशते ॥ Mah. iii. 110. 22-23. काश्यपस्य महात्मनः । ऋष्यशृङ्गः सुतो यस्य तपस्वी संयतेन्द्रियः ॥ . . .”

right of the Ganges lay the important kingdom of Anga with its capital Champā, sometimes called Angapurī or capital of Anga¹, Lomapādapurī or capital of king Lomapāda², Karnapurī or capital of king Karṇa, and Mālinī³. Hiuen Tsang says it stood on the Ganges about 24 miles west of a rocky island. General Cunningham has shewn that this description applies to the hill opposite Pātharghātā, that it is 24 miles east of Bhagalpur, and that there are villages called Champāpur and Champānagar adjoining the last. According to Sanskrit accounts, the town was situated on the Bhāgīrathī east (properly south-east) of Mithilā and near the confluence of the Kauśikī⁴. It is, therefore, beyond doubt that Champā stood at or about Bhagalpur. Champā is the flower of the *Michelia Champaca* and the name of the town seems to have been derived from its abundance. At all events, we read in the Mahābhārata of a Champaka wood near the Kauśikī of which I have already spoken⁵. In the Raghuvamśa, there is an allusion to elephants in the dominions of the ruler of Anga⁶. As elephants are not found in the hills south and east of Bhagalpur but common in the Himalayan regions on the north, it is probable that Anga at one time included Kauśikī Kachchha. This is also apparent from the description of the journey of Rṣyaśṛṅga's father to search out his son⁷. There is a conical hill called Mandara about 25 miles S.S.E. of Champā, which Bishop Heber assures us is considered by the people to be the churning rod of gods described in the Mahābhārata. But that it cannot be the same Mandara is clear from several passages of that work.

113. Between Bhagalpur and Patna is Moongyr with the celebrated hot-springs of Sītākunḍa and Rṣikunḍa, the

¹ "अङ्गराजस्योदरणायाङ्गानभियास्यन् शरोष्ठ बलभरदत्तकम्पश्चम्पाम् ।" "अहमपि महोदयज्ञेपु मङ्गावते बहिरम्पायाः अमुतो वृक्षस्तुल्यवर्णतः तनुद्वयमयम् । आसीत्तादृशी मुनिरस्मिन्नाश्रमे । तमेकदा काममञ्जरी नामाङ्गपुत्र्यवतसस्वानीया Daśakumāra, i and ii.

² चम्पा तु मालिनी । लोमपादकर्णयोः पुः । Hemachandra, iv. 42-43. The name Mālinī is very rare.

³ अथ चम्पा सम्राट् भागोरण्यां कुतोदकः । Mah. iii. 84. 162. इयं सा मिथिला । इयं ततोऽपि पूरस्ताच्छम्पा नाम राजधानी । Anargha Rāghava vii.

⁴ कौशिकी तत्र गच्छति महापापप्रणाशिनीम् । ततो गच्छति राजेन्द्र चम्पकारण्यमुत्तमम् ॥ Mah. iii. 84. 132-33.

⁵ "जगाम चैनामयमङ्गराजः सुराङ्गनाप्रार्थितयौवनश्रीः । विनीतनागः किल सूत्रकारैर्नन्दं पदं भूमिगतोऽपि भूस्ते ॥" vi. 27.

⁶ "ततः स कोपेन विदीर्यमाणः प्राशङ्कमानो नृपतेविधानम् । जगाम चम्पां प्रति घृष्टमाणस्तमङ्गराजं सपुत्रं सराष्ट्रम् ॥ स वै श्रान्तः क्षुब्धितः काश्यपस्तान् घोषान् समासादितवान् समूढान् । Mah. iii. 113, 15-16.

first about five miles east of the town and the second about six miles from the first. The place is very seldom mentioned by Sanskrit writers and, as a rule, must have been subject to Magadha or Anga. A copper plate was found within the fort of Moongyr about the year 1780, which has been deciphered by Prinsep and others and from which it is easy to see that it was then subject to Devapāla of Pāṭaliputra. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton is said to have read Madgagiri in an old inscription found at Moongyr, but as Madgagiri does not mean anything¹, the proper reading seems to be "Modāgiri" or "Hill of Ecstasy" found in the Sabhā Parva and placed in Eastern India near the two districts described in the preceding two paragraphs². Hiuen Tsang says from this hill "issued the smoke and vapours that darkened the sun and moon". The name Modāgiri seems to indicate this volcanic action of 114. On the east of Kauśikī-kachchha lay the country of Puṇḍra, called also Gauḍa and rarely Varendra or Great. We have first of all the direct testimony of Puruṣottama that these words are synonymous³. As regards Gauḍa and Puṇḍra, we have further the testimony of the Rājatarangīṇī that Paṇḍravardhana or chief town of Puṇḍra was the capital of the king of Gauḍa⁴ and still better evidence that Puṇḍra and Gauḍa mean the same thing. It is well-known that Puṇḍra or Paṇḍra is a variety of the sugarcane vulgarly known as Pooree⁵ which, Baboo Jay Kissen Mookerjee, the rich Zemindar of Uttarpārā, assures us, is cultivated in his district from time immemorial and a greater authority calls 'a native of Bengal'⁶. It is, therefore, very probable that Puṇḍra Deśa originally meant nothing more than the land of the Pooree cane. Now Gauḍa means "yielding Guḍa or molasses" and implies the same thing. I have, therefore, no doubt that Puṇḍra Deśa and Gauḍa Deśa conveyed the same

¹ Hunter says Madga means "a kind of pulse", but he evidently confounds Madga with Mudga.

² "अथ मोदागिरी चैव राजानं बलवतरम् । पाण्डवो बाह्वीयेण निजधानं महामुधे ॥" 30. 21. "लोनि गोद्वेषस्य", Com.

³ "अथ मोदागिरी चैव राजानं बलवतरम् । पाण्डवो बाह्वीयेण निजधानं महामुधे ॥" iv. 420-21.

⁴ पुण्ड्राः स्तुर्वेदेन्द्रो मोक्षनीकृतिः । प्रविशेत् क्रमेण नगरं पोण्डुवर्धनम् ॥

⁵ गोदराजाश्रयं गुप्तं जयन्ताख्येन भुञ्जते ॥ प्रविशेत् क्रमेण नगरं पोण्डुवर्धनम् ।

⁶ "इत्युक्तं देवाः पुण्ड्रकान्तारकादयः । नैपालो दीर्घपत्रश्च नीलपोरोऽथ कोशकः । इत्येता जातयस्तेषां फलान्तरस्तापसेभ्यश्च काण्डेषुः सूचिपत्रकः ॥

⁷ कथयामि गुणानि ॥ Bhāva Prakāśa.

⁸ Simmond's Tropical Agriculture, page 153. Puṇḍraka is also the name of Mādhavi or spring flower (*Gartnera racemosa*), but it does not assist us much as it is found in various parts of India: "माधवी स्यात् नासन्ती पुण्ड्रको मण्डकस्तथा" 4. Bhāva Prakāśa.

thing, which in all likelihood accounts for the omission of the more recent name of Gauḍa in the ancient divisions of India¹. Gauḍa, however, occurs in the old rhetorical work of Vāmana, Gauḍi being the name of grandiloquent style².

115. The word Varendra meaning Gauḍa is not usually found in Sanskrit literature. But the Vārendri Brāhmaṇas are well-known to be of Varendra or Northern Bengal. There is also a Vārendra caste—neither Brāhmaṇas nor Kāyasthas, one of whom lately appeared before me to register a document, from whom I learnt that he originally belonged to Malda, where there is still a large number of his caste³. To these should be added that in a copper plate found in this district by a labourer under my friend Hari Mohan Chandra, now Assistant to the Commissioner of this division, the word Vārendra occurs with Paṇḍravardhana in a passage not altogether free from doubt, but which seems to indicate that Vārendra and Puṇḍra are identical⁴.

116. I am, therefore, convinced that Puruṣottama is right and that the names Puṇḍra, Gauḍa, and Varendra were at one time truly synonymous. The capital of this kingdom was for a long time at Gauḍapurī or Lakṣmaṇavati, extensive remains of which are still found at Gauḍ on the Chhota Bhāgirathī a few miles below Malda⁵. But the older capital was probably at Paṇḍravardhana, which is often mentioned in the Kathā S. Sāgara⁶ and whose king Paṇḍraka

¹ "प्रज्ञो वङ्गः कलिङ्गश्च पुण्ड्रः मुह्यश्च ते सुताः । तेषां देवाः समाख्याताः स्वनामप्रविता मुवि ॥" Mah. i. 102. 53.

² The work of Vāmana is still extant, but I quote his name on the authority of Mammāṭa: "एतास्तिष्ठो वृत्तयो वामनादीनां मते वैदर्भीगौडीपाञ्चाल्याख्या रीतयो मताः ॥"—Kāvya Prakāśa ix. 4. "समासबहुला गौडी"—Sāhitya Darpaṇa ix.

³ It is curious that the name does not occur in Hunter's list of Hindu castes of Malda (Bengal, vii. pp. 44-46). His list, however, contains Puṇḍari or Puṇḍra caste numbering more than 10,000.

⁴ See line 6, Plate II attached to Edward Veasy Westmacott's communication on the subject in Part I, Vol. XLIV of Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal. A copy of a similar Plate is given at pp. 371-73 of Rāmgati Nyāyaratna's discourse on 'Bengali Language and Literature', but this part is not found there.

⁵ See Hunter's Bengal, Vol. VII. I say Gauḍapurī instead of Gauḍa, as the word being masculine cannot be the name of a town, which must be feminine or neuter. Gauḍānām Rājadhāni occurs in the 7th Act of the Anargha Rāghava.

⁶ "बभूव देवदासाख्यः पुरे पाटलिपुत्रके । ग्रामवत्स्य भाषां च नगरात् पौण्ड्रवर्धनात् । मूल्यार्षो देवदासस्तं श्वशुरं याचितुं गतो ॥ प्राप्तवच्च सन्ध्यासमये तत्पुरं पौण्ड्रवर्धनम् । " xix. 16 to 21. "गच्छन्महर्षः प्राच्यां दिशि प्राप स च क्रमात् । मध्ये मार्गवजायातं नगरं पौण्ड्रवर्धनम् ॥" xviii. 254.

surnamed Vāsudeva figures prominently in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa for sending a challenge to his celebrated namesake Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa¹. In the accounts of this town I have seen, there is no mention of any river. We may infer, therefore, it was an inland town. Now Pāṇḍua in Malda is an inland town, being some miles from the Mahānandā. It corresponds with Paṇḍravardhana in name with the last half omitted as in the case of Gauḍ and is traditionally of Hindu origin, Pāṇḍu² (Puṇḍra ?) being its alleged founder. Besides, although in its flourishing period the kingdom of Gauḍ extended to the Jaboona (Yamunā), which is now the main channel of the Brahmaputra, and beyond it as we read in inscriptions of "victorious encampment at Vikramapura in Vanga", it was generally confined to the Karatoyā river on the east and in old times did not extend even to Southern Dinājpur, as it was the kingdom of the demon Bāṇa, who is said to have lived about the same time as Paṇḍraka Vāsudeva³. The remains of the city of this king Bāṇa are still pointed out at Bān Rājār Gar near Devikoṭ a few miles south of Dinājpur. This is the Devikoṭa of Sanskrit, which occurs among the synonyms of Bānapura⁴. We cannot, therefore, look for Paṇḍravardhana beyond the district of Malda and I am perhaps right in identifying it with Pāṇḍua. The only objection is that the distance between Champā and Paṇḍravardhana is much less than what Hiuen Tsang has noted. But I am not sure that Paṇḍravardhana is the correct reading of the Chinese syllables. Then General Cunningham has shewn in several places that the Chinese traveller is not always correct both in noting direction and in giving distance and it cannot be assumed that he is correct in this case. Thirdly, Hiuen Tsang, if he speaks of the kingdom of Paṇḍravardhana at about 100 miles east of the place where he crossed the Ganges, is palpably wrong as he must have crossed the Ganges about Rājmaḥal and

¹ Book V. ch. 34.

² Dr. B. Hamilton referred to in Hunter's Bengal, Vol. VIII. p. 64.

³ Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Book V, ch. 32-33.

⁴ "देवीकोट उपावनम् । कोटीवर्षं बाणपुरं स्याच्छोणितपुरं च तत्"—Hemachandra iv. 43. The same names occur also in the Trikaṇḍaśeṣa. Uṣāvana means the park of Uṣā, daughter of Bāṇa. Koṭi was, I believe, the mother of Uṣā, Sonitapura means "the city of blood" alluding perhaps to the bloody contest with Kṛṣṇa, whose grand-son Aniruddha or "Not to be restrained" was imprisoned by Bāṇa for being found with Uṣā. Villages called Uṣāpura and Aniruddhapura are found in this district (Dinājpur).

Pundra Deśa extended up to the Ganges, from which even now Gauḍ is only a few miles off¹.

117. To the north-east of Pundra Deśa lay the important kingdom of Kāmarūpa, which is said to have extended from the banks of the Karatoyā² to the extremities of Assam. Its king Bhagadatta is an important character in the Mahābhārata. In the Sabhā Parva, he is said to have fought with Arjuna for eight days with "Kirātas, Chīnas, and dwellers on the sea-coast"³. In the Udyoga Parva he is said to have assisted Suyodhana with an army of "Kirātas and Chīnas"⁴. It is, therefore, clear that his territories extended up to the Himālaya on the north and the borders of China on the east. This may also be inferred from his presents to Yudhiṣṭhira in the great Rājasūya festival, viz. fine horses, jewelled ornaments and swords with hilts of pure ivory⁵. Horses are not indigenous to Assam, but a fine breed of ponies is found in Bhootan. Elephants also are not common in Lower Assam, but still caught in the Dooars and the jungles of Upper Assam⁶. In speaking of this province, Kālidāsa speaks of black aloe-wood⁷ and we learn from Dr. Roxburgh that it is a tree of the eastern frontier.

118. The ancient capital of Kāmarūpa was at Prāgjyotiṣa or Prāgjyotiṣapura on the Lauhitya, by which the Brahmaputra is generally known to the people of Upper Assam. Local tradition identifies it with modern Gauhati, latterly the seat of the Lieutenant of the Assam-kings. The hill of Aśvakraṇta on the other side of the river is still pointed out as the place where the demon Naraka fell and the marks of his great

¹ Ātreya (Atrai) a few miles east of Dinajpur is the holiest river in this province. It occurs in Sabhā Parva 9. 22: कर्तोया तवाक्षेयी लोहित्यश्च महानदः".
² Glazier's Rungpoor, p. 8. Karatoyā is also called Sadānīra or 'Never dry', Hemachandra iv. 151.

³ "तेरेव सहितैः सर्वैः प्राग्ज्योतिषमुपाश्रितः ॥ तत्र राजा महानासीद् भगदत्तो विजाम्पते । तेनासीत् सुमहद्व-युद्धं पाण्डवस्य महात्मनः ॥ स किरातैश्च चीनैश्च वृत्तः प्राग्ज्योतिषोऽभवत् । अन्यैश्च बहुभिर्योधैः सागरानूप-वासिभिः ॥" 26. 7-9.

⁴ "भगदत्तो महोपालः सेनामक्षोहिणो ददौ । तस्य चीनैः किरातैश्च काञ्चनैरिव संवृतम् ॥ यमो बलमना-ध्वं काञ्चनैरिव संवृतम् ॥" 18. 15-16.

⁵ "प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपः शूरो स्नेच्छानामधिपो बभौ । यवनैः सहितो राजा भगदत्तो महारथः ॥ आजानेयान् हयान् गोघानादायनिरहंसः । बलिञ्च कृत्स्नमादाय द्वारि तिष्ठति वारितः ॥ अयमसारमयं भाण्डं शुद्धं दत्तत्सकृन्सीन् । प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपो दत्त्वा भगदत्तोऽग्रजन्तदा ॥" Sabhā P. 51. 13-16.

⁶ Kāmarūpa is celebrated for its elephants from the earliest ages. Kālidāsa says, "तस्यैव कामरूपानामत्याखण्डलविक्रमम् । भेजे मितकटैर्नगिरस्यानुपकरोद्य वै ॥" Raghu. iv. 83.

⁷ "चक्रमे सोमं लोहित्ये तस्मिन् प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरः । तद्गजालानतां प्रापैः सह काल-गुरुदुमैः ॥" Raghu. iv. 81.

opponent Kṛṣṇa's horse's hoofs are still shewn to the credulous devotees who flock its temple or bathe in the sacred waters of the river. The town, says Robinson, "enclosed within its fortifications a vast extent of country on both banks of the great stream; the hills on either side forming a spacious amphitheatre, equally well-fortified by nature and by art.... The remains of the extensive fortifications may to this day be traced for miles in the mounds and ditches that now serve only¹ to mark the extent of the ancient capital...." About two miles west of the town rises the hill of Nilāchala with its celebrated temple of Kāmākhyā, which is visited by crowds of pilgrims from different parts of India².

119. Among other towns of this kingdom was Rungpoor or Rangapura (=Town of Amusement), which is said to have been a country residence of king Bhagadatta. This should not be confounded with Rangpur in Assam with its noble tank of Sivasāgara, which has now usurped the real name. A few miles south of it are the ruins of Jayapura with an excellent tank like the one at Sibsāgar. The ruins of some of their buildings are still extant, but seldom visited and not yet fully described³. But their ancient capital was at Gargaon or "fortified town" some miles S.E. of Sibsāgar. Outside Assam, the principal towns of antiquarian interest are Dharmapura south of Dimlā, said to have been founded by Dharma Pāla in the 12th century, and Kamatāpura in Kuch Behar said to have been founded by king Niladhvaja after the fall of the Pal dynasty⁴. General Cunningham thinks this was the capital of Kāmarūpa during the time of Hiuen Tsang. But it cannot be as he visited India in the 7th century. His account is, however, interesting as giving the name of the king Bhāskaravarmā with the title of Kumāra, a fact borne out by Daṇḍi, a writer of about the same age⁵.

¹ Account of Assam, p. 286.

² See Devī Bhāgavata, Book VII. ch. 38.

³ There is a *talātala* house with stories above, as well as, underground, which is one of the accompaniments of ancient Hindu Rājās. There is Ranghar or Hall of Amusement before which seats were exhibited. There are some other houses. But all removed from human habitation covered more or less with jungle.

⁴ Galzier's Rungpoor, p. 11.

⁵ "उक्तञ्च तथा कुशरकामरूपेश्वरस्य कलिन्दवर्मनाम्नः कन्या कल्पमुन्दरी कलासु रूपे चाप्सरसोऽतिकान्ती पतिमभिभूय वर्तते ।" Daśakumāra iii. There can be no doubt, therefore,

120. On the south of Assam lie the districts of Sylhet (Śrīhaṭṭa) and Cachar (Cāchchhāra?), of whose early history very little is known. The Cachārī Rājās claim descent from Ghaṭotkacha of the Mahābhārata¹. But this is after-invention of the Brāhmaṇas, as his mother Hiḍimbā dwelt in a wood near Vāraṇāvata on the Ganges². Beyond Kachar is the territory of the Manipur Rājās, who claim descent from Arjuna, the hero of the Mahābhārata. His marriage with Chitrāṅgadā, daughter of the king of Manipura, is described in the 213th chapter of the Ādi Parva, but the description of its position is extremely vague. Their son Babhruvāhana figures in the Āśvamedha Parva (ch.s 79-81), but even there there is nothing to find out its true position. But as I do not know of any other place claiming these distinctions, we may conclude that Manipur beyond Cachar is the Manipura of the Mahābhārata.

121. South-west of Manipur is Tipperah, which at one time included Chittagong (Chattagrāma)³. Tipperah is sometimes identified with Tripura burnt by Śiva. But it will be shewn hereafter that Tripura was in Central India. It is said that the king of Tipperah figures in the Mahābhārata⁴. I believe this statement is incorrect, as I do not remember meeting it not only in the Sanskrit Mahābhārata but also in the Bengali version of Kāśīrāma.

122. West of Tipperah lay Vanga⁵ or Eastern Bengal. It is often mistaken for Gauḍa or Northern Bengal. The existence of such different castes as Gauḍadeśīya Shāhā and Vangadeśīya Shāhā is a convincing proof that the two names do not convey the same province. In so late a work as Mādhava Champū, the two countries are clearly distinguished and Vanga is described to be the country through which the Padmā and the Brahmaputra flow⁶. To understand this passage clearly, we should remember that the main channel of the Brahmaputra originally flowed through Maymensing,

that Varmans once reigned over Kāmarūpa. But they were Kṣatriyas, not Brāhmaṇas as Hiuen Tsang writes.

¹ See the list given in Hunter's Assam, Vol. II., p. 403.

² Ādi Parva, ch. 149 to 153. Ghaṭotkacha, according to the commentator, means "bald-headed".

³ Hunter's Bengal, Vol. VI., p. 110.

⁴ Hunter's Bengal, Vol. VI., p. 434.

⁵ Hemachandra gives Harikeliya ("वङ्गास्तु हरिकेलीयाः", iv. 23) as its synonym, but I have not met the word elsewhere.

⁶ "अस्ति तावद्वङ्गनामा देशः, यस्मिन् पाराशरसदृशः पञ्चावतीप्रभृतयस्तरङ्गिण्यः समुल्लसन्ति । यत्र च

where it is still known by that name. The passage is interesting for the introduction of the word Vāṅgāla from which Bengal is derived and which is now applied by Calcutta people as a nickname for the people of Eastern Bengal. In connection with Vanga, Kālidāsa speaks of the estuaries of the Ganges¹. It, therefore, included the sea-coast of Bengal. In the Bhīṣma Parva, ch. 90, the king of Vanga is said to have fought with big elephants. As elephants are not found in the plains, but in Tipperah and Garo hills, it is probable that Vanga at one time extended to these limits.

123. Vanga is a name of tin², which is not found in Bengal, but "in Malaya, Pegu, China, and especially the island of Banca in the East Indies"³. It is probably so called because it was known to the Indians from Vanga or Eastern Bengal, in which case, it must have had a considerable coasting trade from the earliest times, as the word in the sense of tin is mentioned by so early a writer as Suśruta.

124. Vanga was probably also called "Samatata" or "Plains". The word occurs in Vārāhī Samhitā xiv. 6 along with Odra (Orissa) and Prāgjyotiṣa (Kamroop), but without any indication of its position. Hiuen Tsang does not speak of Vanga, but in its place we find Samatata south of Kāmarūpa. I have already shewn that the Gangetic Doab (Kuru Pāṇchāla) was known by a similar name Samatata. I have, therefore, little doubt that Samatata was Vanga. The principal old towns of this province are the early Mahomedan capital Suvarṇagrāma (Soṇārgāon) or the golden village near Painam⁴ and Vikramapura or the capital of Vikrama, which is now the name of a Purgunah, in which the residence of Hindu kings is still pointed out at Rampal south of Dacca. This (Bikrampur) was the place to which the kings of Gauḍa, as we know from copper grants, carried their victorious arms and this fact is confirmed by local tradition that when the Sens were reigning at Bikrampur, Pāls were reigning north of the Burī Gangā, the remains

पावनी ब्रह्मपुत्रनामा महानदी मञ्जुजन्तुन् पावयति । तस्माद्यमोक्षरः प्रभूतसेनात्मजो वीरसेनाह्वयः

वाङ्गावधोनिपाजस्त्रिभुवनजनतामीतकीतिप्ररोहः ॥२६॥

..... iii.

अथ गौडराजमुपस्थिता कलावती प्रति वाग्भारती सावरं कथयति स्म । . . . iv. 36.

¹ "वङ्गानुल्भाय तरसा नेता नौसाधनोद्यतान् । निचवान जयस्सम्भान् गङ्गाश्रोतोऽन्तरेषु सः ॥" iv. 36.

² "वङ्गपङ्के" Amara ii. 9. 106.

³ Dana's Mineralogy.

⁴ Hunter's Bengal, Vol. V., p. 71.

of whose fort Darduriya near Eksdālā¹ exist till this day. Jessor (Yaśohara) on the Bhairab (Bhairava) is said to have been founded by another Vikrama in the beginning of the 16th century². In that case, it cannot be the town visited by Hiuen Tsang. On the north-eastern frontier of Maymensing is Durgāpura on the Someśvari river—the seat of the Mahārājā of Susang, who is considered to be of a very old family and who is now so well-known for his action against Government for his rights over the Garo Hills.

125. West of Vanga, was Suhma Deśa with its capital Tāmralipta, called also Tāmalipta, Dāmalipta, Tāmralipti, Tamālini³. In the time of the Mahābhārata, Suhma Deśa seems to have included Western Midnapoor only, as it is separately mentioned after Tāmralipta⁴, but there can be no doubt that in after-times its extent was greater, as Tāmralipta is distinctly mentioned by several writers as the capital of Suhma Deśa⁵. The commentator, in explaining the text of the Mahābhārata in one place calls the Suhmas Rādhas⁶ and we know that Rādha is the name of Western Bengal from which the Rādhi Brāhmaṇas take their name. It is impossible to describe accurately the limits of this Province. It did not extend to the left bank of the Bhāgīrathī, as Nadiyā (Navadvīpa) was the residence of the later kings of Gauḍa⁷. But it probably included Burdwan (Vardhamāna), Bankoora (Mallabhūmi), Beerbhoom (Virabhūmi), as no separate mention is made of these districts in early works. The Vardhamāna of the Kathā S. Sāgara was evidently a town in Central India north of the Vindhya. This is clear from the description of a journey in the 25th Taranga⁸, and confirmed by a copper plate found at Ujjayini⁹.

¹ Hunter's Bengal, Vol. V., p. 73.

² Hunter's Bengal, Vol. II., p. 202.

³ तामलिप्तं दामलिप्तं ताम्रलिप्ती तमालिनी—Hemachandra, iv. 45.

⁴ ताम्रलिप्तञ्च राजानं कर्तव्यमिति तथा मुह्यन्तानामधिपञ्चैव ये च सागरवासिनः ॥ ii. 30. 24-25.

⁵ "सुहमं दामलिप्ताह्वयस्य नगरस्य बाह्योद्याने महान्तमुत्सवसमाजमालोकयन्"—Daśakumāra, vi. People, with the surname Som, are common in Western Bengal. Are these Soms the Suhmas, who gave their name to this province?

⁶ सुहमा राधा: on Mah. ii. 30. 16.

⁷ Hunter's Bengal, Vol. II., p. 142.

⁸ "एवं कृतप्रतिज्ञः सन् वर्धमानपुरात् ततः । दक्षिणां दिशमालम्ब्य स प्रतस्थे तदा द्विजः ॥ क्रमेण गच्छन् संप्राप सोम्य विन्ध्यमहादधीम् । विवेकं च निजं वाञ्छामिव तां गृह्णायताम् ॥" 5 and 6.

⁹ "वीरधर्मानपुरसमावासात् . . . Colebrook's Essays, Vol. II, p. 271. In the Mahābhārata also, we find Vardhamānapuradvāra or Gate facing the town of Vardhamāna, through which the Pāṇḍavas went out in exile.

126. Tāmralipta has been long identified with modern Tumlook on the right bank of the Cossye here called Rūpānārāyaṇa. This is the Kapiśā of Kālidāsa¹. It is celebrated for a temple of Kālī, which is spoken of even by Dāṇḍī². In former days, it was situated closer to the sea than at present and was a place of considerable maritime trade³. Its people were known as Tāmraliptakas⁴.

127. The country to the north-west of Tumlook or Chota Nagpoor was little known to the Hindus. The Mahābhārata disposes of it by one word "mountaineers"⁵. There is little of antiquarian interest in this Province. The ruins described by Colonel Dalton are, I believe, not older than the temples of Barakar, which from an inscription, as I shewed in the Englishman in October 1877, is not even five hundred years old.

128. To the south of Tāmralipta lay Odra or Utkala⁶ (Orissa) which from the verse of Kālidāsa already quoted (para. 126) extended up to the Kapiśā. Odra is probably the older name, representing the aboriginal tribes of the country. It occurs in the Mahābhārata in the list of Indian Provinces along with Videha and Tāmralipta and in the list of southern conquests of Sahadeva⁷. The chief town of this Province—Cuttack (Katakā—encampment) is said to have been founded by Nripa Keśari in the tenth century⁸. It was probably better known as Padmāvati, as according to the Mādhava

As they first went towards the north-west from Hastināpura, it was probably the western gate.

¹ "स तीर्त्वा कपिशां सैन्यैर्वेदद्विदसेषुभिः । उत्कलादक्षिणतः कलिङ्गान्निमुखो गच्छी ॥" Raghu. iv. 38.

² "प्रमुष्मिप्रायतने विस्मृतविन्ध्यवातरागं वसन्त्या विन्ध्यवासिन्याः . . ." Daśakumāra iv.

³ "पूर्वाम्बुधेरदूरस्थां नगरीं ताम्रलिप्तिकाम् ॥ तत्र चक्रे च केनापि षण्णिजा सह संवतिम् । स्कन्ददामाभि- धानेन पादसन्धेयिमासता ॥" Kathā Sarit Sāgara xviii. 291-92. Hunter says,

⁴ "Hiuen Tsang found the city washed by the ocean". I believe the Chinese traveller spoke of the country, not of the town.

⁵ See Mārkaṇḍeya P. 57. 44.; Matsya 113. 45; etc.

⁶ "स कर्णं युधि निजित्य वशे कृत्वा च भारत । ततो विजिजे वनवान् रतः पर्वतवासिनः ॥" ii. 30. 20.

⁷ Puruṣottama, among others, is an authority for this identification: "श्रीकृष्ण उत्कलनामागो मगधाः कीकटा मताः ।" Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Bhūmivarga.

⁸ "किराता बवेराः निद्रा विदेहास्ताम्रलिप्तकाः । शोड्डा म्लेच्छाः सत्तैरिन्द्राः पार्वतीयाश्च मारिच ॥" Bhīṣma Parva 9. 57. "पाण्डवाश्च इन्द्रिन्द्राश्चैव सहितान्शौक्यैरतैः । शम्भुस्तान्पराजित्वैव कलिङ्गान्मुकुण्डिषन् ॥" Sabhā Parva 31. 71.

⁹ Hunter's Bengal, Vol. XVIII, p. 184. According to Hemachandra (ii. 3. 16) one of the meanings assigned to Katakā is "metropolis", but I doubt whether it was ever employed in that sense.

Champū, this was the capital of Mukunda Sena Deva¹, who, according to the Āini-Ākbari, built a palace with nine courts within the fort of Cuttack. Jājpur (Yajñapura) on the borders of the Bālāsor (Bāleśvara) district and the city of the celebrated temple of Bhuvaneśvara in the Puri District are said to be the older capitals of the Province. In the Kathā S. Sāgara, there is mention of a town Karkoṭaka² on the coast of the eastern ocean, by which it meant the Bay of Bengal, as it also places Tāmralipta or Tumlook near it. It is said that the hill Udayagiri was near this town and that it took more than seven days to reach it from Tumlook. I believe by Udayagiri, it meant the hill of that name in the District of Cuttack, whose foot, according to local tradition, used to be washed by the ocean. It has a reservoir cut in the rock³, which is probably meant by the Dirghikā of the text. But I regret, want of local knowledge prevents me to identify the town.

129. But the most important place from a Hindu point of view is Puri (=the city) on the south of Katakā with its widely known temple of Jagannātha. Its celebrity, however, dates from comparatively recent times, as no notice of it is found in the Mahābhārata or the earlier Purāṇas. Its great exponent is the Utkala Khaṇḍa of the Scanda Purāṇa⁴, which is probably not more than five hundred years old.

130. Odra⁵ has given name to the *Hibiscus Rosa-sinensis*, which is of several varieties and "the single sort", says Dr. Roxburgh, "is found wild in the interior parts of Hindostan".

131. To the south of Odra lay Kalinga, which extended to the mouths of the Godāvarī. In the time of the Mahābhārata,

¹ "अस्ति तावदुत्कलाधिराजो मुकुन्दसेननामा नृपतिर्कुलमुकुटमणिस्तस्य तनुजा त्रिभुवनकमनीयमूर्तिः कलावतीति विख्याता । सा चेह विद्येश्वरनामानं शिवं पूजयितुं काननमनुप्रविष्टा सम्प्रति पुनः पद्मावती नगरीं प्राप्नवती ॥", II. "ततो माधवः सह नृपपुरोधसा सत्वरः प्रस्थितः पद्मावतीम्", iii.

² "अस्ति पूर्वाम्बुः पारे पुरं कर्कोटकाभिधम् । तदतिक्रम्य च नदी शीतोदा ताम् पावनी ॥ तीर्त्वा तामुदया-क्ष्यस्य सिद्धेश्वरं महागिरिः" xviii. 233-34. "अयं स पर्वतः श्रीमानुदयाक्ष्यः पुरस्ततः । अत्रोपरि च नास्त्येव सिद्धधाम्नि गतिमम् ॥ इत्युक्त्वा राजसे तस्मिन् प्राप्तानुजे तिरोहिते । दीपिकां स ददर्शकां रम्यां तत्र विदुषकः ॥", 351-52.

³ Hunter's Bengal, Vol. XVIII, p. 92.

⁴ "श्रीपुराणे इति ख्यातो वर्षे भारतसंज्ञके । दक्षिणस्योदधेस्तोरे क्षेत्रे श्रीपुरोत्तमम् ॥ तत्र नीलनिर्मितां समस्ताकाननावृतः । . . तस्य पञ्चाहिनि ख्यातं कुण्डं रोहिणिसंज्ञितम् । . . तस्य प्राकृतमास्थाय नीलेन्द्र-मणिनिर्मिता । तनुः श्रीवासुदेवस्य साक्षात्प्रदायिनी ॥ . . यत्रास्ते आश्रमः श्रेष्ठः ख्यातः शबरदीपनः । पश्चिमायां दिशि विभो वेष्टितः शबरालयः । . . " Ch. 7. I quote from the manuscript kindly lent me by the Rājākumār of Dinājpur.

⁵ "श्रीशुण्डे जवाणुषम्", Amara ii. 4. 76.

it included Odra, for the river Vaitaraṇī, which runs by Jājpur, is expressly mentioned in one place to be in Kalinga¹. It did not generally extend beyond the Godāvarī, as its mouths in a verse already quoted (para. 12) are said to have been in the possession of the Andhras. In the days of Daṇḍī, its capital Kalinganagara was at some distance from the sea-side, as he says the king of Kalinga went out to pass some days at the sea-side, when he was taken captive with his daughter by the neighbouring king of Andhra². The capital was, therefore, not at Kalingapattana, on the north nor probably at Vizigapattan (Vijayapattana), but at Rājā Māhendri on the south, as it is at some distance from sea-side and at the same time bordered on Andhra Deśa. 132. The sequel to the story alluded to is equally interesting. The capture of the king of Kalinga was avenged. The king of Andhra was murdered and his territory was annexed to Kalinga³. It is said that near Andhranagara was a forest on the banks of a lake "like the ocean and crested with Indian cranes"⁴. This can only refer to the lake Colair, which covers an area of about 160 miles. A few miles west of it is the old town of Vengi or Vegi—the capital of the kings of the Andhra. It is evidently what our author calls Andhranagara. The limits of this country were probably confined to the Ghāts on the west and the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛṣṇā on the north and south. The extent of the Telugu language is greater, but there is no evidence whatever to shew that Andhra Deśa covered its whole extent. General Cunningham makes an interesting remark from the statement of Hiuen Tsang that Telugu characters had not come into vogue when that traveller visited India.

133. The celebrated mount Śrīparvata or Śrīśaila stands, I believe, in this country. From the description in the Vana Parva⁵, it appears to lie between the mountain Mahendra

¹ "एते कलिङ्गाः कोत्तेय यत्र वैतरणी नदी ।" iii. 114. 4.

² "कलिङ्गनगरस्य नात्यासन्नः . . . "सहकारश्चञ्चलकलिके . . . काले कलिङ्गराजः सहाङ्गनाजनेन सह तनयया . . . दश स्त्रीणि दिनानि . . . सागरतीरकानने फीडाक्षयजातासक्तिरासीत् । अथ . . . तत्र रन्ध्रेऽधनावेन जयसिंहिन सलिलतरणसाधनानीतेनानेकसंख्येनानीकेन श्रमागत्यामुत्त सकलतः ।" Daśakumāra vii.

³ "ततश्चैतया दयितया निरर्गलीकृतातिसकृत्कलिङ्गनामव्यापदसया सङ्गत्यान्ध्रकलिङ्गराज्यं कलिङ्गनाये ग्वासम् . . . Daśakumāra vii.

⁴ "अयासिपञ्च दिनेः कैश्चिदन्ध्रनगरं तस्य नात्यासन्ने सलिलराजिसदृशस्य . . . सारसश्रेणिशेषरस्य सरसस्तीरकानने कुतनिकेतनः स्थितः ।" Daśakumāra vii. As regards these Indian cranes, consult also Raghu. xiii. 33. "गोदावरीसारसपक्षयस्त्वाम्" . . . शीपवंतं लभेत् ॥ . . . शीपवंतं समासाधु नदीतीरमुपस्पृशेत् . . . तत्र देवहूदे स्तात्वा कुचिः प्रयतमानतः । . . " 55. 16 to 20.

and the lake Devahrada, of which I have already spoken. Wilson¹ says it "is a place of sanctity in the Deccan near the Kṛṣṇā river. It still retains its sanctity, but has lost the splendour it formerly seems to have possessed by the extensive remains of sculptures on the mountain, and the great labour and cost bestowed on the causeways by which it is approached. It is described by Col. Mackenzie in the 6th Vol. of the Asiatic Researches".

134. The wilds and mountains of the sea-coast between the Kṛṣṇā and the Polār seem to have been peopled by barbarians, who for a long time retained their independence. This is clear from a passage of the Kathā S. Sāgara quoted below². The southern Yavanas of the Mahābhārata already alluded to appear to have been the general name of these tribes or of some of them³. In the Purāṇas⁴, other names occur. But I regret I cannot identify them.

135. The country to the south of this wild tract was known as Draviḍa with its capital Kāñchī or Kāñchipurī(ra)⁵. This is what is called in the vernacular Conjeverām on the Vegavati river, 42 miles S.W. of Madras still revered for its pagodas. The scene of the Vasanta Tilaka Bhāna is laid at this town and a popular verse gives it the first place among the cities of India⁶. Draviḍa, in the larger sense, included the whole of the Coromendal (Cholamaṇḍala?) coast to the south of the Godāvāri, as the Pāṇḍavas in the Mahābhārata are said to have entered into it after crossing the Godāvāri⁷, and as the whole coast defined is still popularly known by that name. In one sense, therefore, it extends beyond the limits of the Tamil language. In the strict sense, however, it did not extend much beyond the Cāverī, as there

¹ Hindu Theatre, Vol. II, p. 16.

² "महेन्द्राभिषेकाद्वैतविष्णुकुटेरिवागतैः राज्ञां स ययौ दक्षिणां दिशम् ॥ तत्र चक्रे स निःसारपाण्डुरालपगजितान् । पर्वताथविणः शतान् शस्त्रकाल इवान्मुदान् ॥ 19.2324.

³ It should be noted that the word Yavana occurs in an inscription found at Karle (Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, V. 156) quoted by Cunningham (Geography, p. 531). Hiuen Tsang also described this tract as forest and desert plains.

⁴ Consult e.g. Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 113.

⁵ इविडमण्डलमोजिमामिष्यस्तवकमिदञ्च काञ्चीपुरनामधेयमायतनं गीतकेतनस्य, Anargha Rāghava vii. "अस्ति इविडेय काञ्ची नाम नगरी", Daśakumāra vi.

⁶ "नारीयु रम्भा नगरेषु काञ्ची काञ्चेय माघः कविकालिदासः ।"

⁷ "सोदावरी सागरमामगच्छन् । ततो विप्राणां इविडेयु राजन् समुद्रमासाद्य च लोक दुष्पम् । अगस्त्यतीर्थञ्च महापवित्रं नारीतीर्थान्यथ वीरो ददर्श ॥" iii. 118, 3-4.

was the Pāṇḍya kingdom on the south and the Chola kingdom on the south-west¹.

136. The Cholas occupied the middle valley of the Cāverī or the southern portion of the Province of Mysore. The Cholas are mentioned in the Bhīṣma Parva among the peoples of Southern India and also in some of the Purāṇas². In the Sabhā Parva, the rulers of these people and their neighbouring Pāṇḍyas are said to have brought to Yudhiṣṭhira sandal and agallochum from the mountains Malaya and Dardura, precious gems, and gold and muslin³. But the verse quoted below from the Kathā S. Sāgara is still more interesting as it fixes the position of Chola Deśa with absolute certainty on the banks of the Cāverī⁴. This country was latterly better known as Kāñḍā, which has given name to the Canarese language. In the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa, there is no mention of Chola, but in its place, we have an indirect allusion to Kāñḍā as the waters of the Cāverī are said to be ruffled by the immersion of its women⁵. It is difficult to ascertain what was its old capital. But Seringapatam (Śrīrangapattana) was a place of great celebrity in Medieval India. It was visited by the great Bengal reformer Chaitanya in the fifteenth century⁶ and the author of the Mādhava Champū has introduced its chief as an independent prince⁷. 137. On the south-west of Chola Deśa, in the extreme south of India, lay the country of Pāṇḍyas. The mountain Malaya

¹ The identity of Kāñchī and Conjeverām has lately been questioned. (Ferguson's History of Architecture, p. 369). My conclusion is based on the following grounds: (1) Similarity of name; (2) the coincidence of the temples of Conjeverām and the temples of Kāma (A.R.) and Śiva (Bāla Rāmāyaṇa, act. iii) associated with Kāñḍā or Mysore. Negapattam lies in Draviḍa as distinguished from Kāñḍā proper.

² "तेषां परे जनपदा दक्षिणापथवासिनः । पाण्ड्याश्च केरलाक्ष्वेय चोलाः कुल्यास्तथैव च ॥" Matsya. 113. 46.

³ "मलयादुद्वेराञ्चैव चन्दनामुस्तञ्चयान् । मणिरत्नानि भास्वन्ति काञ्चनं सूक्ष्मवस्त्रकम् ॥ चोल-पाण्ड्याश्च द्वारो न लेभाते ह्य पश्चिमतौ ।" 52. 34-35.

⁴ "उल्लङ्घयमाना कावेरी तेन समदंकारिणा । चोलकेयवकोतिश्च कावुषो यमदुःसम् ॥" 19. 95.

⁵ "कावेरी कवेरीय भामिनि भवो देव्याः पुरो दुष्पतां पूनीमिलताश्चैरुपदिशतास्तेष्विष्टानि । कर्णटी-जनमञ्जनेषु जघनैर्यस्याः पयः प्लावितं पीत्वा नाभिमुद्गामिरत्नकचमिः प्राची दिशं नीयते ॥" x. 72.

⁶ "कावेरी कवेरीय भामिनि भवो देव्याः पुरो दुष्पतां पूनीमिलताश्चैरुपदिशतास्तेष्विष्टानि । कर्णटी-जनमञ्जनेषु जघनैर्यस्याः पयः प्लावितं पीत्वा नाभिमुद्गामिरत्नकचमिः प्राची दिशं नीयते ॥" Chaitanya Charitāmṛta, Book II. The account of the journey is, however, very confusing. The date now given of Chaitanya's birth is 1485 A.D.; but it appears to me to be wrong.

⁷ "असौ युवा दक्षिणदेशनाथः श्रीरङ्गनाथो जितवैरिवीरः । धर्मेषु वेदेषु कुलानुरागस्तमालमालाधिकशोभि-मानः ॥" iii. 45.

the south of Konkana. The principal rivers in this tract are the Netravati on which Mangalore is situated, the Sāravati on which Hunawar is situated, and the Kālī Nadī on which Sadāśivagar is situated. As the first two rivers have distinctive names, I believe the last is the Muralā of our poets. Kālī-dāśa speaks of punnāga trees (*Rottleria tinctoria*) in this country (Kerala)¹. Dr. Roxburg says it is a native of the Coromendal coast. I believe it is also a native of the opposite coast. In the Hemachandra Koṣa, Ugra is given as a synonym of Kerala².

141. Konkana (Concan) is still the name of the sea-coast from Daman on the north to a few miles north of Goa, comprising the districts of Tanna and Ratnagiri. The Madguras of the Harivaṃśa, chapter 95 may have been the general name of the inhabitants of this tract.

142. On the east of northern Konkana lay the kingdom of Nāsikya which I identify with Nasik. The word occurs in the Vārāhi Samhitā xiv.13 along with Karnāṭa and Chola and its inhabitants are distinctly mentioned in some of the Purāṇas. It probably included Devagiri (Dowlatabad), celebrated for its great minister Hemādri in the time of king Mahādeva³. Rkṣa Deśa was probably another name of this country, as the mountain Rkṣa is partially situated in it and the Harivaṃśa, in the passage already quoted, introduces its chief as Ārkṣa or king of Rkṣa.

143. Soopa, south-east of Nasik appears to me to be the holy Sūrpāraka of the Mahābhārata. It agrees in name and being an inland town also agrees in position⁴. It is said to have been founded by Jāmadagnya⁵, one of the descendants of Ṛchika, with whose name it is always associated. The country of Sūrpāraka was, therefore, the land of the Ṛchikas

¹ "कटेषु करिणां पेतुः पुष्पावेभ्यः शिलीमुखाः ।" R. iv. 57.

² "उग्राः केरलपर्वताः," iv. 27.

³ "अस्ति शब्दमुद्रस्तोमः सोमवंशविभूषणम् । महादेव इति ख्यातो राजराजेश्वर भूतले ॥... तस्यास्ति नाम हेमाद्रिः सर्वस्वीकरणप्रभुः ।...," Hemādri. This was, I believe just before its final subjugation by the Mahomedans in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

⁴ "स तानि तीर्थानि च तामरस्य पुष्पाणि चान्यानि बहूनि राजन् । क्रमेण गच्छन् परिपूर्णकामः सुपारिकं पुष्पतमं ददर्श ॥ तत्रोदधेः किञ्चिदतीत्य देशं ख्यातं पृथिव्यां वनमाससाद । तप्तं सुरैरत्र तपः पुरस्तादिष्टं तथा पुष्पपरिनिरेन्द्रे ॥ स तत्र तामर्युग्धनुर्धरस्य वेदीं ददर्शयितपीनबाहुः । ऋचीकपुत्रस्य तपस्विंसर्वः समावृता पुष्पकुदधनीयाम् ॥," Vana Parva 118. 8-10. "ततः सुपरिकश्चैव तालीकटमथापि च ।" Sabhā P. 31. 65

⁵ "शुभ्रातेन नगरं कृतं सुपरिकं त्वया । धनुः पञ्चशतयामनिषु पञ्चशतोत्तमम् ॥ सप्तस्य च निकुञ्जेषु स्फीतो जनपदो महान् । अतिक्रम्योदधेर्वेलापराजन्ते निवेष्टितः ॥" Harivaṃśa 5300-1. The last refers to Kerala.

or descendants of Ṛchika and probably included the modern districts of Poona and Sattara.

144. On the south of Sūrpāraka was Padmāvata with its capital Karavira. The position of this country is beyond dispute as the Harivaṃśa distinctly places it on the banks of the Venṇā (Warna)¹. I am informed that Karwar is another name of Kolapore, in which case it is the old Karavira. The only objection is that it is not situated on the Venṇā but on one of its small tributaries. The name Kolā-pura occurs in the Devī Bhāgavata².

145. On the south of Padmāvata lay Vanavāsi or Vānavāsi³. The ruins of the town of Vanavāsi were discovered by Colonel Mackenzie in the Soonda District. Soonda itself is also said to be a place of great antiquity and its people identify it with Saudhapura, which figures conspicuously in some of the chapters of the Vana Parva⁴.

146. Kuntala was the name of the country to the east of Vanavāsi and north of Chola. In an inscription found at Kurugade north of Bellary, it is distinctly mentioned as the capital of Kuntala, the foe of Chola⁵. From this and other inscriptions, Kalyāṇa appears to have been its former capital. This is Calian Doorg south of Kurugade. The kingdom of Vijayanagara (properly Vidyānagara)⁶ seems to have been founded on the ruins of the former dynasty. It extended up to the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, where the great battle of Tālikata was fought. Harihara (Hurryhar) on the Tunga-bhadrā was also a celebrated town. The celebrated Hemakūṭa is said to be near it⁷. It is evidently the Hemakūṭa

¹ "पद्मवर्णाद्रि राजपिः सहस्रपुष्टे पुरोत्तमम् ॥ चकार नद्या वेण्णायास्तीरे तल्लताकुले । विषयस्याल्पतां तात्वा सम्पूर्णं राष्ट्रमेव च ॥ निवेशयामास नृपः सुवप्रप्रायमुत्तमम् । पपातत जनपदं करवीरञ्च तल्लुरम् ॥" 5228-30.

² "कोलापुरं महास्थानं वल्ल लक्ष्मीः सदा स्थिता ।," vii. 38. 5.

³ "सौरसेनापि विहितं रम्यं क्रौञ्चपुरं महत् ॥ सम्मकानां कवहुलं विपुलं ताम्रवृत्तिकम् । वनवासीति स्फीतो जनपदो महान् ॥" Harivaṃśa, 5231-32.

⁴ Ch. 14 to 22. The adopted reading is Saubhapura, but Devanāgarī

म and घ are so similar that I feel little doubt that the correct reading is Saudhapura.

⁵ See translation given in Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. II., p. 241.

⁶ "श्रीविद्यानगरी विषयविजयोदयशान्तिनी । राजा विजयिना येन राजधानी कृता स्थिरा ॥," Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. II., p. 233. In the Chaitanya Charitāmṛta also,

"There is perhaps no other city in all India," says Ferguson (Indian A., p. 374), in which ruins exist in such profusion or in such variety as in Vijayanagar.

⁷ "तुङ्गभद्रानदीतीरे हेमकुटोपकोषिते । प्रतिनाम्ना समाख्यातं पुरं हरिहराभिधम् ॥...,"

Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. II., p. 234.

river near a great mountain¹. This evidently refers to the Narmadā. It was in this forest that he came to a tank called Panchāpsara or five nymphs², which is probably situated within the Central Provinces. It was in this forest that he passed some time at Panchavaṭī near the Godāvarī and mount Prasravaṇa³. This part of Daṇḍakā was known as Janasthāna or Human Habitation. It is impossible to identify Panchavaṭī and Prasravaṇa. I am inclined to place them near Palaveram, where the Godāvarī rushes from the mountains, as Rāma is said to have afterwards travelled westward in search of Sītā⁴, but I am informed local tradition connects them with Nasik on the west. Daṇḍaka appears among later writers as the name of a people apparently on the south of Vidarbha proper, i.e. on the south of the Kṛṣṇā.

152. Mysore was the reputed seat of the monkey chiefs who assisted Rāma. Pampā is identified with the Pennair, but there is fatal objection that the Rāmāyaṇa calls Pampā a lake⁵, while the Pennair is a river. The mount Rṣyamūka is said to be near this lake⁷. I do not know with what Droog it is identified. The position of Kiṣkindhā is not certain from the description in the Rāmāyaṇa.

153. The Narmadā was also known as Revā or "roaring"⁸,

¹ "स गत्वा दूरमध्वानं नदीं तीर्त्वा महाजवाम् । ददर्श विपुलं नीलं जलमाश्रित्य काननम् ॥" Aranya Kāṇḍa xi. 2.

² "ते गत्वा दूरमध्वानं लम्बमाने दिवाकरे । ददृशुः सहिता रम्यं तडागं योजनायतम् ॥ इदं पञ्चापसरो नाम सरः पौराणमुच्यते" Ch. 15.

³ Aranya Kāṇḍa, chs 19, 50 and 55. "अयं गोदावरीमुखरकन्दरो जनस्थानमध्यगो गिरिः प्रस्रवणो नाम । एषा पञ्चवटयो जृषणखा ।" Uttara Charita i.

⁴ "ततः शून्यं जनस्थानं परित्यज्य महाबलौ । शन्वेयमाणी तौ सीतां जग्मतुः पश्चिमां दिशम् ॥" Rām. iii. 74. 8. "एष राम गतः पन्था येनैते पुष्पिता द्रुमाः । प्रतीची दिशमाश्रित्य प्रकाशन्ते मनोहराः ॥"

⁵ "विदर्भा दण्डकैः सह" Matsya Purāṇa 113.48.

⁶ To give one instance "तौ पुष्करिण्याः पम्पायाः", iii. 77. 6.

⁷ "ऋष्यमूकस्तु पम्पायाः पुरस्तात् पुष्पितद्रुमः ।" Rām. iii. 76. 27. It should be, however, remembered that both the northern and southern Pennair rise from tanks and the first from a stone tank in the centre of Chunderdroog (Chandrādurga). If this was the original Pampā, Chunderdroog is the Rṣyamūka mountain. In the Vana Parva, Pampā is called "supplied with a tank" ("एषा पम्पा शिवाजला हंसकारणवायता । ऋष्यमूकस्य जलस्य सन्निकर्षे तडागिनी ॥" 279. 44) and it is not improbable that the name was transferred from the tank to the river.

Mysore is a corruption of Mahisura or divine mortal (the neuter for the town and masculine plural for the people and the country). But I have not met its use by the old writers.

⁸ "चकार रेवेयं महाविरावा ।" Raghu. xvi. 31.

by Indujā, Somodbhavā, and similar names meaning "Moon-born", as Purvagangā or Eastern Ganges, by Mekalakanyakā, born", as Purvagangā or Eastern Ganges, by Mekalakanyakā, Mekalādrijā, and similar names meaning "flowing from mount Mekala"¹. The last evidently refers to mount Amaramount Mekala². Its valley was the seat of kaṇṭaka the source of the river³. Its valley was the seat of two important kingdoms viz. of the Chedis and the Haihayas. The first were also called Dāhalas and Traipuras from their chief town Tripurī or Tripura³. It is clear from the Rāmāyaṇa that the Chedis occupied the banks of the Narmadā, as it calls its chief "master of the province adorned by the Narmadā" and "ruler of Mekala"⁴. From the same work⁵, I am led to think that their chief city Tripurī (or three towns) occupied the same site as old Tripura alleged to have been burnt by Śiva⁶. General Cunningham identifies it with Tewar (p. 488) six miles from Jabbalpur. But I believe it lay further west somewhere about Hoshungabad as Tewar is too near Māhiṣmatī, which, according to the Mahābhārata, was the seat of Nala in Southern India⁷ whereas the Chedis with the Daśārṇas are placed in Eastern India, i.e. I believe north of the Narmadā⁸. The Chedis are also mentioned in the story of Nala, where Damayanti is said to have taken refuge with their queen—her aunt⁹.

154. The Upper Narmadā was the seat of the great Haihaya kings Kritavīrya and his son Arjuna. According to the Harivaṁśa, its capital Māhiṣmatī was founded by Muchukunda¹⁰. Whether this be correct or not, the extract given

¹ "रेवेनुजा पूर्वज्ज्ञा नमंदा मेकलाद्रिजा ।" Hemachandra iv. 149. "रेवा तु नमंदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका ।" Amara i. 10. 32.

² The position of the mount was well-known to our poets. Rājaśekhara calls the river in one place "born of mount Mekala (मेकलजलकन्या, B.r. iii. 35) and in another place assigns its source in the Vindhya (विन्ध्यमहीधरधाम, B.r. x. 75. (a)—the verse is not marked in Govinda Deva Śāstri's edition).

³ "त्रिपुरास्तु डाहलाः स्युर्ध्वच्छास्ते वेदयन्त्र ते", "त्रिपुरी वेदिनगरी" Hemachandra iv. 22 and 41.

⁴ "जो सो शम्भुदालकुदमण्डलाहिपई", "ग्रहो मेकलपतेः स्वपरिच्छेदवेदयो", x. after verse 39.

⁵ "सीतास्वयंवरनिदानधनुर्धरेण दध्यात्पुत्रविलयतो विभुना भवेन । बण्डं निपत्य भुवि या नगरी बभूव तामेव वैद्यतिलकस्त्रिपुरीं प्रशस्ति ॥", iii. 38.

⁶ Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 139.

⁷ "ततो रत्नानुपादाय पुरीं माहिषमतीं ययौ । तत्र नीलेन राज्ञा स चक्रे युद्धं तरपंभ ॥" Mah. ii. 31. 21. This in speaking of the southern conquest of Sahadeva.

⁸ Sabhā Parva, ch. 29. 1, 10-72.

⁹ मच्छन्तो सा चिराद्वाला पुरमासादयन्महत् । सायाहो वेदिराजस्य मुबाहोः सत्यवर्जिनः ॥"

¹⁰ "मुचुकुन्दश्च राजर्षिर्विन्ध्यमध्ये व्यरोक्षत । स्वस्थानं नमंदातीरे दाक्षणीयसङ्घटे ॥ स तु तं शोभयामास विविक्तवृक्ष चकार ह । सेतुञ्चैव समं चक्रे परिव्यापचान्तिवकाः ॥ स्वायामास भामेषु देवतायतनान्भि ।"

below is exceedingly interesting as shewing its precise position between the Vindhya and Rkṣa mountains, i.e. about Bhera Ghar below Jabbalpur, where the channel of the Narmadā "is contracted between two high perpendicular cliffs of magnesian limestone, white as snow"¹. Popular tradition connects it with Mundla (Maṇḍala), but it does not agree with this description. Kālidāsa also speaks of it but not so specifically². At one time the Kalachuris—a branch of the Chedis—ruled this kingdom³. Hence I believe a modern writer calls Māhiṣmati the capital of the Chedis⁴.

155. In coming from Simhala to Ayodhyā, one of Rāma's companions is made to point out Lāṭa Deśa to the left of the Narmadā⁵. It apparently included Baroach (Bharukachchha or Marukachchha)⁶. Barodā (Varadā), Kaira (Khetakapura), and probably Pattun (Pattana). For the first, we have the positive testimony of Ptolemy, who places Barygaza in the kingdom of Larike. The Lāṭas do not figure in the Mahābhārata, at least so far as I remember, but formed a prominent nation in Medieval India, as the Lāṭi style⁷ and Lāṭānuprāsa⁸ are discussed in rhetorical works and Lāṭāchārya is mentioned by Varāha Mihira⁹. According to the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa, they were Chulukya Brāhmaṇas¹⁰.

156. The Peninsula of Kattywar was known as Ānarta or

रत्नावलीयुक्तं मागधैश्चत्वारिण वनानि च ॥ स तां पुरी धनवतीं पुरस्कृतपुरीप्रभाम् । नातिदीर्घेण कालेन चकार नृपसत्तमः ॥ गोविन्देन धान्येन सम्पूणां ध्वजमालिनीम् । नाम चास्याः शुभं चक्रे निमित्तं स्वेन तेजसा ॥ माहिष्मती नाम पुरी प्रकाशमुपयास्यति । उभयोर्विक्रयार्थोः पादे नगयोस्तां महापुरीम् ॥ मध्ये निवेशयामास त्रिया परमया युताम् ॥ 5218-25.

¹ Thornton's Gazetteer.

² "माहिष्मतीवप्रतिमत्वाच्चोम् । प्रासादजालैर्जलवेणीरम्यां रेवां यदि प्रेक्षितुमस्ति कामः ॥" Raghu. vi. 43.

³ "गन्धेखला भवति मेकलशैलकन्या वीतेघनो यत्र च वसति चित्रभानुः । तामेव पाति कृतवीर्ययज्ञोवर्ततां माहिष्मती कलचुरैः कुलराजधानीम् ॥" B.R.

⁴ "माहिष्मती नाम चेदिमण्डलमण्डमाला नगरी" Anargha Rāghava vii.

⁵ "(कामतो दर्शयन्) अयमसौ विश्वम्भराग्निरःशखर इव लाटवेणः" Bāla Rāmāyaṇa x. after 77. Its contiguity to Avantī is clear from the Kathā S. Sāgara, Taranga 19 verses 103-4 and Daśakumāra Somadatta Charita.

⁶ Marukachchha is found in the Mahābhārata. Kern prefers the other reading. I have not sufficient materials to form a decisive opinion.

⁷ "लाटी तु रीतिर्वेदमोपाख्यायोरन्तरा स्वता", Sāhitya Darpaṇa ix.

⁸ Repetition of word or words in different senses, Kāvya-prakāśa ix. 4-5.

⁹ Kern's Brihat Samhitā, Preface, p. 53.

¹⁰ "देवाकुशेयमवो भुवनैकवन्द्योः सख्याविधौ कलयतश्चतुर्लोकं जलस्य । यो ज्ञातवान् प्रतिमया स मुनिश्चतुर्लोकस्तस्यान्वयैकतिलको नृप एव लाटः ॥", iii. 57.

Surāstra¹. Hence Dvārakā is called in the Mahābhārata Ānartanagarī or capital of Ānarta². It was also called Vṛṣṇī-pura from the family of Vṛṣṇis, to which Kṛṣṇa belonged³. Puruṣottama gives as its synonym Dvāravatī, Vanamālinī, and Abdhinagarī or sea-town⁴. It must not be confounded with modern Dwarka. The old Dvārakā was swept away by the sea⁵. According to local tradition, it stood near Madhupura 95 miles S.E. of Dvārakā. According to Sanskrit writers, Dvārakā stood near Mount Raivataka called also Ujjayanta⁶. This Ujjayanta from inscriptions and tradition appears to be the Girīnar hill near Junagarh. The local tradition about Dvārakā is therefore correct, as Madhupura is near the Girīnar hill. This Madhupura appears to be the Madhupura mentioned in the Harivaṃśa—the old capital of Ānarta and probably derives its name from the Madhus, who, from the verse quoted below⁷ appear to have been a tribe that inhabited the peninsula.

157 Balabhi appears to have been the next capital of the province⁸. It seems to derive its name from Kṛṣṇa's brother Balabhadra, as Baladeva Pattana occurs in the Vārāhi Samhitā xiv.16. Col. Tod discovered its ruins at Balbi 10 miles N.W. of Bhowanagar. In some of the inscriptions, kings of Balabhi are styled 'Lāṭeśvara', from which I gather

¹ "हृदयेश्वर महातेजा दिव्ये गिरिवरोत्तमे ॥ निवेशयामास पुरं वासायममरोपमः ॥ आनर्तं नाम तद्राष्ट्रं सुराष्ट्रं गोघनयुतम् ॥" Harivaṃśa 5168-69.

² "आनर्तनगरी रम्या जगामासु धनञ्जयः ॥ तौ यात्रा पुरुषज्याघ्रो द्वारकां कुरुनन्दनौ । सुप्तं ददुस्तु कृष्णं शयानं चाभिजग्मतुः ॥" Udyoga Parva vii. 6-7.

³ "आनर्तमेवाभिमुखाः शिवेन गत्वा धनुर्वेदरतिप्रधानाः । तत्रात्मजा वृष्णिपुरं प्रविश्य न दैवतेभ्यः स्मृहयन्ति कृष्णे ॥" Vana Parva 183. 26.

⁴ "द्वारका वनमालिनी । द्वारवत्यब्धिनगरी ।" Trikāṇḍaśeṣa. Dvārakā is also written as Dvārikā, Hemachandra Koṣa.

⁵ "प्लावयामास तौ शून्यां द्वारकाञ्च महोदधिः ।" Viṣṇu Purāṇa v. 38-9.

⁶ "प्लावयामास तौ शून्यां द्वारकाञ्च महोदधिः ।" Viṣṇu Purāṇa v. 38-9.

⁷ "उज्जयन्तो रैवतकः", Hemachandra iv. 97. "निश्वातधूमं सह रत्नभाभिभित्तवोत्थितं भूमिनिर्वाणाम् । नीलोत्पलस्यूतचित्रघातुमसौ गिरि रैवतकं ददुर्जं ॥" Māgha. iv. 1.

This after leaving Dvārakā is described in the third canto. Girīnar is described "an immense bare and isolated granite rock, presenting all the gigantic masses peculiar to that formation" and it agrees with the poet's description.

⁸ "मधुभोजवशाद्दहिकुङ्कुरधकवृष्णिभिः । आत्मनुत्पन्नैर्गुप्तं नार्गभोगवर्तमानम् ॥" Bhāgavata i. 11. 11. Besides these we read of Sātvaṭas and Śrñjayas—all different families in the time of Kṛṣṇa.

⁹ "अस्ति तीराण्येषु बलभी नाम नगरी । तस्यां गृहयुतनाम्नो गुह्यकेन्द्रतुल्यविभवस्य नाविकपतेर्देहिता रत्नवती नाम । तां किल मधुमत्याः समुपागम्य बलभद्रो नाम सार्वभौहपुत्रः पर्वण्येषु । . . . रत्नवती तु मार्ग काञ्चित्पण्यदासीं संगृह्य तयोह्यमानपावैवाधुपस्करा खेटकपुरमगमत् ।" Daśakumāra vi. Madhupura appears to be Madhupura and like Balabhi was a place of considerable maritime trade.

that Lāta was a dependency of Surāṣṭra. This may be also gathered from the passage quoted from the Daśakumāra Charita, as I identify Khetakapura with modern Kaira.

158. Among other places, I must not omit Prabhāsa, the celebrated place of pilgrimage. From the passage quoted below, it is clear that it was in Surāṣṭra and stood on the sea-coast¹. In the Gadā Parva², a legend is given explaining the name that Soma (the moon) got rid of his consumption by bathing at Prabhāsa. I quote this legend to shew its possible connexion with Somanātha Pattana, which is also a sea-side town in the S.W. of Surāṣṭra and a great place of pilgrimage. Here the Yādavas are said to have killed one another in a drinking carousal³.

159. On the north of the Narmadā lay Avanti with its capital Ujjayinī, called from the province also Avantipurī or Avanti and Viśālā "the great (city)"⁴. Its position on the Śiprā⁵ and similarity of name at once identify it with Oojeen. Its temple of Mahākālā was widely known all over India⁶. Hemachandra gives Mālava as a synonym of Avanti⁷. This is not, however, quite correct as Mālava (Malwa), as at present, covered a greater area than Avanti and Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa applies it to a neighbouring kingdom on the east, whose capital was Vidiśā on the Vetravatī (Betwa) river⁸. We know from Kālidāsa that Daśārṇa was the name of this country⁹, through which the Daśārṇā (Dasan) flows. I identify this town with Bhilsa which agrees in name and position, four miles from which there is a detached hill with

¹ "सुराष्ट्रेष्वपि वरुणमि पुण्यान्यायतनानि च । . . . प्रभासञ्चोदधौ तोयं त्रिदशानां मुष्टिष्ठिर । . . . " Vana Parva 88. 19 and 20; "प्रभासतीर्थं संग्राह्य पुण्यतीर्थं महोदधेः । वृष्णयः पाण्डवान् वीराः परिवार्योपतस्थिरे ॥", 119. 3.

² "पुण्यं प्रभासं समुपाजगाम यत्रोदुराह यस्मिन्ना क्लिश्यमानः । विमुक्तश्चापः पुनराप्य तेजः सर्वं जगद्भासयते नरेन्द्र । एवं तु तीर्थप्रवरं पृथिव्यां प्रभासनामस्य ततः प्रभासः ॥" 3541 42.

³ Muṣala Parva, ch. 3.

⁴ "उज्जयिनी स्याद्विशालावन्ती पुण्यकरिञ्चनी" Hemachandra iv. 42. The last name I have not met with. Viśālā occurs in Daśakumāra (विशालोपमन्त्र्ये) and in Meghadūta, 31 (प्राप्यावन्तीनुदयनकथाकोविदग्रामबुद्धान्, पूर्वोद्दिष्टामनुसर पुरी श्रीविशाला विशालाम्) Avanti and Avantipurī are common, e.g., in Mr. i. 6.

⁵ "मिथ्या परिशिष्टा . . . विजितामरलोक्तुतिरन्तिपूजयिनी नाम नगरी", Kādambari.

⁶ "अस्तोहो जयिनी नाम नगरी भूपणं भुवः । हसन्तीव सुग्राधौतः प्रासादैरमरावतीम् ॥ सस्या वसति विश्वेशो महाकालवतुः स्वयम् । जियिनीकृतकैलासनिवासव्यसनो हरिः ॥ Kathā S. Sāgara ii. 31-32.

⁷ "मालवाः स्युरन्त्यः", iv. 22.

⁸ "तस्य . . . मज्जन्मालवविशालासिनीकुचतटास्फालनजर्जरलोमिमालया . . . वेदवत्या परिगता विवि-
शाभिधाना नगरी राजधान्यासीत् ॥", Kādambari.

⁹ "सम्पत्स्यन्ते कतिपयदिनस्थाभिहता दशार्णाः ॥ तेषां दिक्षु प्रथितविदिनालक्षणां राजधानीं गत्वा . . . " पयो वेत्रवत्यावन्तीम् ॥", Meghadūta 24-25.

vast remains of antiquity. This is probably the "low hill" of Kālidāsa¹. According to the Uttara Kāṇḍa, it was made over to the second son of Śatrughna about the time of Rāma's death².

160. The province of Avanti in the time of the Mahābhārata extended on the south to the banks of the Narmadā³ and on the west probably to the banks of the Myhe (Mahi)⁴. On the north of Avanti, there was another principality with its capital Daśapura on the Charmanvatī river⁵. This may be the modern Dholpur. This was the capital of Rantideva, whose hospitality is twice described in the Mahābhārata⁶. On the south-west of this kingdom there was another small principality, whose position is fixed by the Parnāsā (Punass) river⁷.

161. On the east of the Daśārṇa is the hill of Kālanjara (Calenjar) celebrated for a form of Śiva called Hiranya-bindu⁸. South-west of it is Panna, which I identify with Vāmana's Pannāgāra⁹. On the east of it was the ancient kingdom of Dakṣiṇa Kośala. Rāma's mother Kauśalyā takes her name from this province¹⁰. Kuśasthali was its capital in the defiles of the Vindhya, said to be named after his son Kuśa¹¹ or more probably from the Kuśa grass which grows luxuriantly in dry barren soil. Kuśa is, however, said to have returned to Ayodhyā after some years' reign, making it over by one account to the great physician Suśruta, son of Rāma's adviser Viśvāmitra¹². The return journey is des-

¹ "नीचैराख्यं गिरिमधिवसेस्तत्र विद्यामहोतः" Meghadūta 26.

² "सुबाहुमैवुरो लेभे शत्रुघाती च वैदिशम्", 171.10.

³ "ततस्तनैव सहितो नर्मदागमिषो ययौ । विन्दानुविन्दावाकन्त्यौ सैन्येन महता वृत्ते ॥ जिगाय समरे वीरा-
नारिवनेयः प्रतापवान् । ततो रत्नानुपादाम पुरं भोजकटं ययौ ॥", ii. 31. 10-11.

⁴ The name of this river occurs in the Vana Parva 222. 23. "चमण्वती महो-
चैव मेघ्या मेघातिविस्तथा ।"

⁵ "ततश्चमण्वतीकुले जम्भकस्यात्मजं नृपम् । ददर्श वासुदेवेन शेषितं पूर्ववैरिणा ॥" Mah. ii. 31. 7.

⁶ "पानीकुर्वन्द्वापुरवधनेत्रकोतुहलानाम्", Meghadūta 48.

⁷ "राजो महानसे पूर्व रन्तिदेवस्य वै द्विज । द्वे सहस्रे तु वध्यते पशूनामन्वहं तदा ॥ बह्व्यहनि वध्यते द्वे सहस्रे
पशो तथा । . . .", Vana Parva, 208. 8-9. See also Drona Parva, ch. 67.

⁸ "पणाशा जननी यस्य शीततोया महानदी . . .", Drona Parva 92. 45.

⁹ "पणाशा जननी यस्य शीततोया महानदी . . .", Mah. iii. 87. 21.

¹⁰ "हिरण्यविन्दुः कथितो गिरी कालज्वरे महान्" Mah. iii. 87. 21.

¹¹ Pāṇini iv. 2. 43.

¹² "तद्वयमपि वत्सप्रवासदुर्गनायमानां दक्षिणकोशलेश्वरसुतां देवीमुपेत्य सत्त्वयामः" Anargha

Rāghava ii.

¹³ "कुशस्य नगरी रम्या विन्ध्यपर्वतरोधनि । कुशावतीति सा नाम्ना कृता रमेण धीमता ॥" Uttara

Kāṇḍa 161. 4.

¹⁴ "कथमयं कुशवलीनाथः ! (प्रकाशम्)

विश्वामित्रमुनेर्यदजनि ब्राह्मण्यलाभात्पुरा

cribed in the Pātāla Khanda of the Padma Purāṇa and the 16th canto of the Raghu Varṇa¹. It distinctly mentions the crossing of the Vindhya but only distantly alluded by name to the river Narmadā. Kuśasthali was, therefore, north of the Narmadā but south of the Vindhya. We must, therefore, look for it somewhere about Jabbalpur or somewhere about Ramnagar in Bundelkhand. We have seen that Jabbalpur was a different principality. Besides it was a forest during the time of Rāma. I would, therefore, identify Kuśavati with Ramnagar or some place near it. Its contiguity to both Ayodhyā and Benares favours my conclusion. I say "and Benares", because Suśruta is said to have learnt medicine there. The only objection is the erroneous distance given by Hiuen Tsang. But Vidarbha, as General Cunningham supposes cannot possibly be Dakṣiṇa Kośalā as the two kingdoms are always separately mentioned in Sanskrit works as, for instance, in the 3rd act of the Bāla Rāmāyaṇa. From the passage quoted from the Raghu Varṇa, we learn that the Pulindas were the inhabitants of this province. Cannot they be the Bundelas, from which Bundelkhand derives its name? The confluence of the Sona with the Jyotirathi (Johila) was a celebrated place of pilgrimage².

162. There is another important town in Bundelkhand viz. Mahoba or Mahotsavapura 36 miles S.E. of Banda. It was celebrated in Mediaeval India, but not mentioned by early writers. General Cunningham gives a full description of it³.

163. On the west of Dholpur lay Matsya Deśa, where the Pāṇḍavas passed one year's incognito life. In the Virāṭa Parva, they are said to have entered it from the banks of the Yamunā through the land of the Yakrillomas and Śūrasenas towards the north of Daśārṇa and south of Panchāla⁴. The

शालं गोत्रमयं तदादिनृपतिविश्रुतः सुश्रुतः ।
प्रोक्तं येन नृपा महाकण्ठया चित्रं चिकित्सामृतं

कीर्तिस्तस्मै विभूषणाय ककुभो यद्वाहिनीयैः कृताः ॥
..... मत्स्यदेशपरिचिन्तो एतौ", Bāla Rāmāyaṇa 18.

¹ मार्गशीर्षी सा कटकान्तरेषु वैश्वेषु सेना बहुधा विभिक्षा । चकार रेवे महाविरावा वदप्रतिश्रुति सेना-
मुत्तमोऽयं राजान् । अयत्नवान् यजनीव भवद्वेषा नमोस्तु नलोपकाः ॥ तीर्थे तदीये गजसेतुबन्धात्प्रतीपगा-
मिरन्ते कुलं समासाद्य कुलः सरस्वाः । वेदिप्रतिष्ठान् विदताध्वराणां यूपान्तपश्यन्तश्चो रघूनाम् ॥", 35.
² "शाण्डिल्य ज्योतिर्व्याख्य सङ्गमे निवसन् शुचिः । तर्पयित्वा पितृन् देवानग्निष्टोमफलं लभेत् ॥" Vana
Parva 85.8.

³ Geography, pp. 485-88. Thornton also gives a long account.

⁴ "ते त्रीरा वदन्ति त्वनास्तथा वदन्तः । वदन्तो धातुनिवाणाः कालिन्दीमभितो गयी ॥

Śūrasenas are well-known. Yakrilloma literally means "having liver-coloured hair". It occurs also in the Bhīṣma Parva and is evidently a nickname for the foresters of Rohitaka. The statement "north of Daśārṇa and south of Panchāla" is not quite correct but defensible as Gangādvāra is in Panchāla and Vidiśā in Daśārṇa. Vairāṭa or capital of king Virāṭa still exists at Bairat, 41 miles north of Jayapura (Jaipoor). There is a low rocky hill about a mile north of the town, where caves are still pointed out as the residences of Bhīma and his brothers¹. Upaplavya² was a frontier town where the Pāṇḍavas concentrated their forces before going to Kurukṣetra.

165. Śākambharī (Sambar) was probably its second capital. It figures in mediaeval inscriptions³. The history of the word is given in the Vana Parva⁴. I have already alluded to its salt-lake. A correspondent to the Englishman of the 8th June writes "after a heavy rain-fall, when the lake contains water up to the high water-level, it occupies a space nearly 20 miles in length, with a breadth varying from a mile and a half to seven and a half miles". Ajmere was known as Ājamīdhā or town of Ājamīdhā (Yudhiṣṭhira). Ājamīdhā and Ājamīdhā are mentioned by Vāmana⁵. Mount Aboo was known as Arbuda⁶ or dwarf Himalaya.

165. The district of Ajmere contains the holy tirth of Puṣkara⁷ (Pokur) with its most conspicuous temple of Brahmā. It is five miles N.W. of Ajmere. It has a sacred lake, which is, however, said to be artificial. Its redundant waters are carried off by the rivers Sarasvatī and Lavaṇā (Looni)⁸.

उत्तरेण दशार्णास्ते पञ्चालान्दक्षिणेन तु ॥ अन्तरेण यकुल्लोमान् शूरसेनायाम् पाण्डवाः । लुब्धा वृषाभा मत्स्यस्य
विषयं प्राविशन् वनात् ॥", v. 1-4.

¹ Cunningham's Geography, p. 341.

² "उपप्लव्यं विराटस्य समपद्यन्त सर्वतः", Virāṭa Parva 72. 14. It is mentioned several times in the Udyoga Parva.

³ "आविन्ध्यादाहिमाग्नेर्विरचितविजयस्तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गादुद्ग्रीवेषु प्रहर्ता नृपतिषु विनमलचन्द्रेषु प्रसन्नः ।
आयवर्तं ययार्थं पुनरपि कृतवान् म्लेच्छविच्छेदनाभिदेवः शाकम्भरीन्द्रो जगति विजयते वीरस्यः क्षीणिपानः ॥"

Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. II., p. 208.

⁴ "ततो गच्छेत् राजेन्द्र देव्याः स्थानमनुत्तमम् । शाकम्भरोति विख्याता त्रिषु सोकेषु विभुता ॥ दिव्यं
वर्षसहस्रं हि शाकेन किल सुव्रता । आहारं सा कृतवती मासि मासि नराधिप ॥ 84. 13-14.

⁵ "ततो गच्छेत्
Papini iv. 2.125.

⁶ "वर्मण्यतो समासाद्य नियतो नियताशनः । रन्तिदेवाभ्यनुज्ञात् अग्निष्टोमफलं लभेत् ॥ ततो गच्छेत्
वर्मणं हिमवत्पुत्रमर्चयेत् ॥ Vana Parva 82.54-55.

⁷ "नृलोके देवदेवस्य तीर्थं वैलोक्ष्यविश्रुतम् । पुष्करं नाम विख्यातं महाशनः समाविशेत् ॥ Vana Parva 82. 20-2.

⁸ In the Mālatī Mādhava, we read, "सैवा विनाति तवणा ललितोनिपक्षितः", ix. 2., but it is not clear what Lavaṇā the poet refers to.

166. The Great Desert was known as Maru, Marubhūmi, Marudhanva¹. Hemachandra gives Daścraka as a synonym of Maru². Its northern part was at one time peopled by the Niśādas (note 4. p.4). The Vāṭadhāna of the Mahābhārata appears to be the Sanskrit name of Bhatner³ and is probably derived from the Vāṭas or modern Bhattas. The southern portion or southwestern Rajpootana comprising Marwar and Jessulmeer was the seat of the Gurjaras, who figure so prominently in mediaeval accounts⁴. They are evidently Gujars, who are now chiefly settled in the Punjab. Gujerat (Gurjara-rāṣṭra) was applied to the peninsula of Kattywar and the adjoining country. But I do not remember a single passage in Sanskrit where Gurjara-rāṣṭra is identified with Surāṣṭra. On the contrary, in a copper plate inscription found at Varadā (Baroda)⁵ Gurjara is mentioned as a separate kingdom. In the time of Hiuen Tsang, its capital was at Pilomilo 300 miles north of Balabhī, in other words, at Balamira (Balmer) S.W. of Yodhapura (Joudpoor). General Cunningham is therefore right in placing these people in Western Rajpootana⁶. We read in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa⁷ that Arjuna was discomfited by the Abhīras, while he was bringing Kṛṣṇa's wives to Hastināpura. These Abhīras are the Ahirs of Guzerat.

167. Although Sindhu and Kachchha occur in Sanskrit writers, they were never applied to modern Sind and Cutch, at least so far as I am aware. I have already shewn that the first meant the country of the Upper Indus. By Kachchha,

¹ "मरुधन्वमतिक्रम्य सोवीराभीरयोः परान् । आतर्तान् भार्गवोऽगामाच्छान्तवाहो मनान् विभुः ॥" Bhāgavata x. 35. The author has not observed Geography accurately and in the preceding verse, the commentator observes: "क्रमोज्ज्वलं न विषक्षितः".

² "मरुवस्तु दशेरकाः", iv. 23. The word is derived in Uṇādi i.59. from दंश, to bite. दशेर meaning a camel is probably derived from it.

³ "वारणं वाटघानञ्च यामुनश्चैव पर्वतः । एष देशः सुविस्तीर्णः प्रभूतघनधान्यवान् ॥ बभूव कौरवेयाणां बलेनातीव संवृतः ॥" Udyoga Parva 19. 31-32. "तथा मध्यमकेयाञ्च वाटघानान् द्विजानप । पुनश्च परिवृत्याय पुष्करारण्यवासिनः ॥" Sabhā Parva 32.8.

⁴ "मैत्रीमज्ज्य गुर्जरं श्रजं परां नेपालपाल क्षमामाज्ञां पालय मालवेश्वर भयं नीरुध्रमन्त्र स्मर । सप्तद्वीपमही-पर्वीनिति द्वितीयमध्यापयन्ति धियं यत्कीर्तिः सुखदायिनी रिपुकुले मानुष्यदा मन्यते ॥" Hemādri, D. 8. "वपश्च गुणकास्तुल्यका भयभरमरितः कोङ्कणः शङ्कितायः । अन्ध्रा रुध्राणि घावन्त्यध्रममततया गुर्जरा जर्जराङ्गाः कान्धोजाः खिलधर्म्याः सपदि समभवन् प्राप्तमङ्गाः कलिङ्गाः ॥" Colebrooke's Essays, Vol. II., p. 233. The allusion to low opinion (अध्रममततया) shows they were not Hindus.

⁵ Bengal Asiatic Society's journal, 300.

⁶ Geography, p. 312.

⁷ Book V., ch. 38.

Pāṇini understood a portion of the coast of the Indus (para. 55) and Māgha applies it to the sea-coast of Kattywar¹. 168. Professor Lassen identifies Cutch with Audumbara. Uḍumbaras are mentioned by Vāmana, but their habitation is uncertain. On the western frontier of Cutch is Kotesar (Kotiśvara)², a celebrated place of Hindu pilgrimage. Its Runn is said to be derived from Sanskrit Irina³.

169. The Geography of Sind is fully described by General Cunningham. I can throw no light on the subject except perhaps in one point viz. that Sambus of Greek writers is probably our Sām̐ba⁴. Schwan may be Vajrapura of Sanskrit writers. But there are writers who identify Multan with it. This name is derived either from Mallasthāna or Place of wrestlers (Mallas—the Malli of Greeks) or from Mulasthāna meaning original seat. These Mallas are I believe the Yaudheyas or Johiya Rajpoots mentioned by Vāmana under Pāṇini iv.1.178. In the same connection, he speaks of Śaukreyas and Śaubhreyas, probably the Sogdi of Greek writers. Their Musikani are, I believe, our Mūsikās. General Cunningham identifies Haiderabad with Pitaśilā of Hiuen Tsang. Buston mentions its old name of Pātālapura.

170. It was my intention to discuss the true import of other words on which antiquarian discussions hinge. But the preface is already long, perhaps too long for a small work of this nature. I must therefore conclude. The difficulties in the way of such works are great. A poet has said

“प्रारम्भ्यते न खलु विघ्नभयेन नीचैः
प्रारम्भ्य विघ्ननिहता विरमन्ति मध्याः ।
विघ्नैः पुनः पुनरपि प्रतिहन्यमानाः
प्रारब्धमुत्तमगुणास्त्वमिवोद्वहन्ति ॥”

I cannot say this is quite correct, but it must be admitted that the sentiment is good. It is a pleasure to encounter and get over such difficulties. It is still more gratifying that my

¹ "आसेदिरे लावणसेन्धवीनां चमूचरैः कच्छभुवां प्रदेशाः", iii. 80.

² Kotiśvara and Kōṭīrtha occur in the Mahābhārata, but it is not certain whether Kotesar is meant.

³ But all that Ujjvaladatta explains under Uṇādi ii. 51. is "इरिणं शून्यमुषरमित्यमरः".

⁴ Harivaṁśa, ch. 150.

unpretentious labours are thoroughly appreciated by European fellow-workers and my views have already received a French exponent in the veteran scholar M. Felix Neve, Emeritus Professor in the University of Louvain, whose services to Sanskrit literature, although little known in conservative India, date from 1842 long before I was born. Before laying down my pen I should, however, again thank the chief encouragers of my work and not the least my friend Dr. Umes Chandra Mukerjee Vidyaratna, who has assisted me with valuable suggestions from time to time.

Dinagepoor
6th June, 1880

A.B.

APPENDIX I

SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF ANUNDORAM BOROOAH

Introductory: The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed a glorious band of workers in the field of Sanskrit research in India. This gifted brotherhood included among its members the late R. C. Dutta, Raja Rajendralal Mitra, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, Pandit Indrajī Bhavani, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar and Anundoram Borooah. The last, by dint of his earnestness of purpose and his life-long devotion to the cause of Sanskrit scholarship, has won an imperishable name in the annals of Indian Sanskrit research. Thirty-five or forty years ago, no Indian *savant's* name had excited greater admiration and applause than Borooah's and this feeling was rightly echoed in the *Lahore Tribune* of those days,—“Sri Borooah's Sanskrit scholarship is as profound and accurate as it is extensive. We are proud of him as a nation, and we earnestly hope that our brightest youths may follow his noble though very arduous path.”

Borooah was a member of the Indian Civil Service, and was for some years in charge of a heavy district in Bengal. The scope of his work and the range of his scholastic investigations which he strenuously carried on in the midst of his busy official duties show him, to quote Prof. Cecil Bendall's words in the *Trubner's Record*, 1889, “to have been a kindred spirit with administrators like Colebrooke and Burnell among the illustrious dead, and the small band of living workers like Grierson, Fleet and R. C. Temple.”

Borooah is a fine flower of western culture. The profound erudition of the oriental scholar combined with the critical spirit of the West, imparted to Borooah's works a peculiar value and lustre. As the greatest intellectual representative of the “benighted province of Assam”, Borooah is the glory of the Assamese; and Assam has not produced a greater man during the space of ninety-five years that she has come under British rule. His name has been an example and an inspiration to thousands of the youths of Assam.

Life: Anundoram Borooah, B.A., I.C.S., Barrister-at-Law, was born in May, 1850, at North Gauhati in the district of Kamrup, Assam. This Kamrup forms at present only a fragment of the greater Kamrupa Empire of yore, hallowed by the names of Narakasur, Bhagadatta, Bana, Bhaskaravarma, Naranarayan, Pratap Singha Swargadeo and Rudra Singha Swargadeo among her kings; Jongal Balahu, Gilarai and Lachit Phukon among her heroes and soldiers; Usha, Rukmini, Behula, Joymati and Phuleswari Barkuanri among her women; Dak, Sankar Deva, Madhava Deva, Purusottam Vidyabagis and Anundoram Dhekial Phukon among her saints and litterateurs; and Momai Tamooli Barborooah and Rajmantri Purnananda Buragohain among her ministers and statesmen. Anundoram belonged to the well-known Majindar Borooah family of Assam. His father, an Assamese gentleman of the older type, was for some years a *Sadar Amin*, a post equivalent to a modern Deputy Magistrateship.

Through the efforts of his learned father, Anundoram was initiated into the vast potentialities of the *Deva Bhasha* even during his childhood. With the help of an erudite Sanskrit Pandit who was appointed to teach him Sanskrit, Anundoram mastered and got by heart the whole of the immortal lexicon *Amarakosha* before he was fourteen, at which age he also passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. He read for the First Arts Examination in the Presidency College of Calcutta, and there he had as his teachers the great educationists, Mahamahopadhyaya Mohesh Chandra Nyayaratna, C.I.E. in Sanskrit, and Sir (then Sri) Gurudas Banerji in Mathematics. Borooah had as his class-mates the late R. C. Dutt, I.C.S., B. L. Gupta, I.C.S., and Kartick Chandra Mitra, M.A., P.R.S. and as his contemporary college friends the Right Honourable Syed Amir Ali, P. C., Sir Surendranath Banerji, Kt., and the poet Babu Nabin Chandra Sen. Sir Gurudas Banerji has once fittingly remarked,—“The First-year Class of the Presidency College of 1865 was a splendid one containing many very brilliant students,...and Mr. Borooah was unquestionably the brightest of this bright band of young students.”

Anundoram stood sixth in the First Class in the F. A. Examination held in December 18, 1866, securing the Duff scholarship in Mathematics, and in January, 1869, he stood third in the First Class in the B.A. Examination of the Calcutta University. Emulating the noble example of the glorious trio, Surendranath Banerji, Beharilal Gupta and Ramesh Chandra Dutt, who had left for England a few months earlier Borooah made up his mind to proceed to England, and sat in the competitive examination for the State Scholarship tenable in England. The Syndicate of the Calcutta University in their sitting of the 29th January, 1869, elected Borooah to the scholarship. Besides the State scholarship, Sri Borooah won by open competition the Gilchrist Scholarship as well, and the total value of these stipends amounted to £300 a year.

Borooah proceeded to England in the spring of 1869 with H. Woodrow, M.A., sometime D.P.I. of Bengal, who had taken a kindly interest in this young prodigy from Assam, and had introduced him to Lord Mayo, the then Viceroy and Governor-General of India. Borooah joined one of the Civil Service coaching institutions in London, studied Science in the London University and Law in the Middle Temple. His aptitude for scientific study was so great that Dr. Carpenter, Professor of Zoology in the London University and Principal of the University College, London, once remarked,—“Mr. Borooah was the most inquisitive student that I have ever come across.” Borooah passed the I.C.S. Examination in 1870, was called to the Bar in the subsequent year, and is said to have passed also the B.Sc. Examination of the London University. He stood high in Mathematics in the Civil Service Examination. During his stay in England Borooah contracted intimacy with the late Taraknath Palit, Kt., D.L. (then Mr.) and it ceased only with the death of Borooah. It may be noted here that Borooah was the first Assamese graduate, the first Assamese Barrister and the first Assamese Civilian, and that up to the present time no other Assamese has been successful in the open competition for the I.C.S.

Borooah returned to India in the autumn of 1872, and was appointed Assistant Commissioner of the Sibsaigar District in his own province, Assam. After a year of service in Assam, Borooah secured transfer to

Bengal where he passed the remaining years of his life. His short stay in Sibsaigar was marked by his scholastic habits, and his independence of attitude for which he had occasional misunderstanding with his superiors. His usual dress was the old-fashioned aristocratic *chouga* and *chapkan* and he used to have by his side, even in the court, a book which he read in the intervals of his magisterial functions.

Borooah served as an Assistant Magistrate in several places in Berisal; and when after a prolonged agitation, which had as its great patron and supporter, Sir William Hunter, Indian Civilian were first entrusted with the charge of districts, Borooah and R. C. Dutt were eventually appointed District Magistrates and Collectors. And as it is always the case, when Indians are given fair opportunities to prove their mettle they respond magnificently, Borooah and Dutt discharged their duties without any hitch or trouble and thereby paved the path for the Indians in securing the highest responsible posts under the Government.

Borooah did not allow his literary zeal to be damped by the heavy responsibilities of a Magistrate's duties; there issued forth from his pen every year books after books, lexicons, grammars, editions of old Sanskrit texts, and compilations from old Sanskrit authors. In 1881, Borooah projected the compilation of a comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language in twelve volumes, of one thousand pages each, and, to be able to consult the oriental books and manuscripts of the British Museum, London, he took two years' furlough from November 1881, and sailed for England. He carried on his investigations in England, and in this undertaking his great helpers were Prof. Cecil Bendall, the Keeper of Oriental Books in the British Museum, Nicholson, the Bodleian Librarian at Oxford, and Dr. Reinhold Rost, the learned Librarian of the India Office. After collecting sufficient materials Borooah returned to India in October 1883.

In 1885, Borooah was appointed Fellow of the Calcutta University, and was attached to the Faculty of Arts. Two years after he was placed for the second time in charge of the Noakhali District in Bengal; and there by his learning, benevolence, sympathetic treatment of the people, and various acts of public utility, Borooah won the heart of the people. Schools and markets were established in Borooah's name, and tanks were dug in the interior parts of Bengal and named after him. The learned *Barra Saheb* of Noakhali used to place at his gate always a man with a few baskets of rice, and any beggar would have his share at any hour of the day. When Borooah went out to the *Mofussil* he had with him an additional cart loaded with provisions and food which he distributed among the needy folks as they clustered round to catch a glimpse of the Indian magistrate. All these sounds romantic and legendary, but it was for this reason that Borooah's name had spread an irresistible charm over the hearts of the people of Bengal. Borooah helped many poor students with books and money, and educated a meritorious Bengali student even in England. He had a staff of erudite Sanskrit *Pundits* whom he paid handsomely. This learned *congerie* of orthodox *Pundits* helped Borooah in the mechanical portions of his literary endeavours. As an official too he won the trust and confidence of the Government.

In the winter of 1888, Borooah became ill. A sudden attack of paralysis, aggravated by an ill-advised sea-bath, disabled him, and he took

leave for three months. He went to Calcutta, lived at the Ballygunge residence of his old friend, Sir Taraknath Palit, and placed himself under treatment of the best allopathic, homeopathic, and *Ayurvedic* physicians of the day. But even their united efforts failed to cure that fell disease. Borooah passed away in the afternoon of the 19th January, 1889.

Literary Works: Borooah's literary career spread over a period of twelve years only; and considering the shortness of the period, the character of his productions, both in their qualitative and quantitative aspects, was simply marvellous. His *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* appeared in three volumes between 1877 and 1880, and for many years it was the only work of its kind written by an Indian. On the completion of this *magnum opus*, Borooah was congratulated from all quarters, including among them the illustrious names of Lord Northbrooke, Governor-General of India, and Prof. F. Max Müller. To the second and third volumes of his Dictionary, Borooah prefixed two other original and useful works, viz., his *Higher Sanskrit Grammar* and *Ancient Geography of India*.

This was followed by an edition of Bhavabhuti's *Mahāvīracaritam* with Borooah's lucid commentary in Sanskrit called *Janakiramabhasya*, after his beloved brother Janakiram Borooah. Borooah's next literary ventures were, first, a critical dissertation named *Bhavabhuti and his place in Sanskrit literature*, which contained an exhaustive treatment of the *Ramāic* drama, besides Bhavabhuti and his age; and, secondly, *A Companion to the Sanskrit-reading under-graduates of the Calcutta University*, being a few notes on the Sanskrit texts selected for the F. A. and B. A. Examinations. Small though in bulk, the latter books are an important contribution to Sanskrit scholarship. Borooah's comments were suggestive rather than detailed.

The next literary enterprise of Borooah was, to quote Mr. R. C. Dutt's words, "a Sanskrit grammar of formidable size and erudition." In 1881, Borooah projected the compilation of *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language: Critical, Analytical and Historical*, in twelve volumes of one thousand pages each. Its object, as described by Borooah in a prospectus which was circulated among his friends, and lovers and promoters of Sanskrit culture—"was to simplify the rules of grammar as far as possible, to examine their historical growth, and illustrate them fully from the existing literature, both ancient and modern, and to offer a complete commentary on all the Vedas." The first volume of the series, which was on Sanskrit Prosody, came out in 1882 under the somewhat eccentric title of Volume X. The next volume was on Letters and their changes, *Nanartha-Samgraha*, which came out in 1884 as Volume III of the series. The learned world was startled at the encyclopædic character of Borooah's great undertaking. Professor Max Müller wrote to Borooah from Oxford,—"I confess I felt almost overwhelmed by the grandeur of it, but if only you carry out some portion of it, you will have done a very useful work. . . . It is a great undertaking and will require for its completion a long life, a long purse and long patience."

Borooah did not live to complete this great literary project. The remaining years of his life were spent in publishing scholarly editions of *Sarasvatikanthabharanam*, Amara's *Namalinganusasanam* with the commentary of Khiraswami, *Dhatukosh* and *Dhatuvrittisara*.

Besides these Sanskrit works, Borooah had arranged to compile a *Dialectal Dictionary* of the Bengali language, and had for this purpose

negotiated with the Government of Bengal for its help and co-operation. Borooah was a Sanskrit poet of no mean order. In his edition of *Mahāvīra-charitam* he had added towards the end of each Act a few autobiographical verses in Sanskrit. These scattered lines, and his *Invocation* to the Sanskrit Muse prefixed to the second volume of his Dictionary, show how this eminent Indian Sanskritist had assimilated the rhythm and melody of the language of his forefathers.

Conclusion: Borooah's useful career was cut short by his untimely death; but his indefatigable exertions on behalf of Sanskrit learning will always be an example to the rising generations of India. His earnestness of purpose is best manifested in his confirmed bachelorhood. As a member of the Indian Civil Service, enjoying the highest emoluments and honour open to an Indian, Borooah could have lived a life of ease and comfort. But Borooah, whose love of Sanskrit did not allow him to share his heart with any earthly object preferred to remain a bachelor; and when he was pressed by any friend to marry he would simply point to the vast array of books in his magnificent library and say,—"This is the darling of my life demanding from me my best energy and attention."

To Borooah, "Sanskrit is dearer than any other language. Its music has charms which no words can express. Its capability of representing every form of human thought in most appropriate language is probably not rivalled, certainly not surpassed by any other language". Borooah always regretted that "Sanskrit research seemed yet to attract very few scholars," and he hoped "that the day is not distant when our countrymen will care more for our home literature than they do now for Shakespeare and Bacon, for Addison and Johnson."

Borooah's broader outlook, his intense love of Sanskrit, and his realisation of the glorious past and the present decadence of the *Devā Bhasha* led him to neglect the more immediate demand of his own mother language and literature, viz. Assamese, which could not well afford to spare a man of genius of Sri Borooah's calibre from its service; but on the other hand, it freed him from the provincial patriotism which sometimes forces people to lose sight of the greater demands of our common mother India. Borooah used to say when any of his zealous countrymen tried to impress upon his mind the necessity of diverting his literary activities towards the cause of Assamese language and literature,—"whatever I do for our common mother India will be shared in due course by my own Assamese fellow countrymen who form an essential factor of the greater Indian brotherhood."

Borooah's passionate devotion to the cause of Sanskrit learning displaced all other ties from his mind. He was extremely reserved and uncommunicative, and did not like to court ephemeral glory and reputation by playing to the gallery, or by making speeches at the slightest provocation. As a silent and unpretentious worker, who maintained the lofty tenure of his mind and the steadfastness of his purpose in the midst of the career, Borooah occupies a place of honour in the rank of the selfless servants of India. What he could do had he not died at the age of thirty-nine reminds us of the measureless potentialities of the glorious "might-have-beens" of the world of which Borooah is a remarkable example.

Here we cannot resist the temptation of quoting the beautiful words of Borooah's great contemporary, Bolinārayan Borāh—one of the pioneer

Indian Civil Engineers from Cooper's Hill, England,—“Sri Borooah's singleness of purpose was his great characteristic. The industry and application which it demanded made him lead a too sedentary life. He sought little recreation, relief, change and variety. He burnt his candle at both ends, had naturally to pay the inevitable penalty. His life was a meteoric flash and blaze, which burnt up the substance in its lightning course, dazzling mankind for a moment and disappearing for ever from view.”

APPENDIX II

APPRECIATIONS OF ANUNDORAM BOROOAH

1. *Sir Gurudas Banerjee*, Kt., M.A., D.L., PH.D., formerly Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, sometime Puisne Judge of the Calcutta High Court, in a letter to Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, dated Narikeldanga, Calcutta, January 24, 1912, said:

“In compliance with your verbal request made to me yesterday, I have much pleasure in sending you the following note embodying my reminiscences regarding the late Mr. Anundoram Borooah as a first-year student of the Presidency College in 1865, when I was temporarily appointed as an Assistant Lecturer on Mathematics in that College. I came into contact with him almost everyday for a period of one year and the impression he left on my mind was a very favourable one. He was very modest and unassuming, and he did his work in the class remarkably well. There was no problem in Mathematics, simple or difficult, set by me in the class, which Sri Borooah failed to solve. He was quick in arriving at his solutions and they were generally simple and ingenious. The first-year class in the Presidency College that year was a splendid class, containing many very brilliant students, such as the late Sri R. C. Dutt, the late Babu Kartick Chandra Mitra (who afterwards obtained the Premchand Roychand studentship and was for many years a leader of the of Midnapur), Babu Trailokyanath Bose, for many years a leader of the Dacca Bar, Sri B. L. Gupta, and Babu Umakali Mukherji, one of the leading Vakils of the High Court. Of these Babu Kartikchandra Mitra, Trailokyanath Bose and Umakali Mukherji were exceedingly good in my subject; and Sri Borooah was unquestionably the brightest of this bright band of young students. It is worthy of note that his class-fellows never grudged to admit his superior merit. It is a matter of deep regret that his brilliant career of public service was cut off so early.”

2. *Sri Bolinarayan Borah*, C.E. (Retd.), formerly Executive Engineer, Assam, in a letter to Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, dated Rothiemay, Darjeeling, November 19, 1919, said:

“I am in receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, in which you ask me to contribute whatever reminiscences I have of the late Sri A. Borooah, towards the compilation of his biography that you have undertaken, as you are under the impression that I was a close friend of his, and that, therefore, I was in a position to tell you many things about him. Excuse me saying that you are mistaken in both these respects. I was no personal friend of Sri A. Borooah, indeed I hardly ever came in contact with him; and consequently I can tell you very little about him that is not well-known to anybody else. He was too great a genius and a too sedentary worker to be a close friend of any man.

“I met him in school days in Assam for two or three years, but we hardly exchanged a word, as he had the habit of being rather reserved, exclusive, and too attentive to his books, which unfortunately I was not.

Since he left Assam after passing the Entrance Examination in 1864, we never met again. I was not in Calcutta when he was there, I was not in England when he was there. His service was mostly in Bengal, and mine in Assam. So, except for a little correspondence on business matters, I had never come across him. But I knew that he had a great aptitude for Sanskrit studies, for he was known to have been able to recite from memory the whole of Amarkosha even at the early age of 12 or 14. He showed an aptitude for Mathematics in 1866 at the First Arts Examination of the Calcutta University, and I believe first too in the Indian Civil Service Examination in 1870. In 1869 he won the State Scholarship of £200 a year tenable for 3 years, and the Gilchrist Scholarship of £100 a year tenable for 5 years in England, having stood first in the respective competitive examinations.

"Sri Borooah continued his Sanskrit studies even after he had entered Government Service, and his monumental work, the Sanskrit Dictionary, besides other Sanskrit works on Grammar, will for all time remain as standing evidence of his genius and industry in the philological line. It was in his contemplation to take in hand a Comprehensive Dictionary of all the Dialects of Bengal when his career was cut short by an all-too-early and sudden death.

"He never married. Being wedded to literature alone, he devoted to it all his talents, all his capacity for work, all his energy and all his leisure. But let it not be supposed that he never meant to marry. For even so early as the age of 24, on his return from England he was said to have shown to a friend the portrait of what he called his "intended bride". But literature, his second love, seems to have displaced all other ties from his mind. This singleness of purpose was the great characteristic of Borooah. The industry and application which it demanded made him lead a too sedentary life. He sought little recreation, relief, change and variety. He burnt his candle at both ends, and had naturally to pay the inevitable penalty. His life was a meteoric flash and blaze, which burnt up the substance in its lightning course, dazzling mankind for a moment, and disappearing for ever from view.

"From the above it may perhaps appear to many that this great man was a mere machine, that cannot be credited as having a soul and human sympathy, a mere word-making and figure-calculating machine. But it is not so. His work in the cause of learned humanity is the best proof of his human feeling. His solitude was only the necessary condition of his work. He did not live as an ascetic away from mankind. He lived and worked among men, with men, and came in daily contact with them while discharging his official duties. At home in his private work, he was constantly in company of learned Pandits, and in correspondence with Indian and European scholars. He had a few intimate friends too, though they must necessarily be few, for he did not seek cheap popularity by playing to the gallery, or by showing himself all over the shop, or by making speeches at the slightest provocation. As Emerson said,—"It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion: it is easy in solitude to live after your own, but the great man is he, who, in midst of the crowd, keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude,"—and I think Sri Anundoram Borooah was just such a great man.

"Sri Borooah was an Assamese by birth. He has been an exemplar to Assamese youths for the last half century, and even as such he has done

great good to Assam. But it would be too provincial to call him Assamese and claim him for the little region of Assam. He really belonged to the region of literature. He is claimed by all scholars as belonging to their own class. He is claimed by all India as the enricher of her literature. He is claimed by Bengal, where he did his life work. He is even claimed by the little town of Berhampur, where he possessed a local habitation, and where he intended to live and work after retirement from service. After satisfying all these claims, the little village of North Gauhati, where he had his parental home, will not have left much for her share. Nevertheless he was first an Assamese, and next all else, and it is an Assamese gentleman at last that has now first undertaken to write his biography, in spite of all the claims of all the scholars from London to Berhampore.

"Thanking you, Sri Bhuyan, for your courtesy in referring to me for any information I could possibly give you towards the compilation of your biography, and regretting very much that, not having ever come in personal contact with its subject, my contribution is necessarily poor and futile."

3. Prof. Cecil Bendall, M.A., Keeper of Oriental Books, British Museum, London, in *The Trubner's Record* No. 245, 1889, recorded:

"I have been asked to contribute a notice of the life of Anundoram Vaduya (Borooah). His death is announced in the *Indian Magazine* for March, as having been caused by fever and paralysis, but I cannot hear of any obituary notices by his friends, such as might have been expected to appear in the *Indian Press*. I understand that he died as long ago as the beginning of January last. Pending fuller information from such quarters, I venture to subjoin the few facts of his life that I have been able to ascertain together with some notice of the useful works by which his name will be long remembered among Sanskritists.

"The deceased scholar was born in 1850, being the second son of Gangaram Vaduya and his wife Durlabheswari, of Gauhati (Gawhatty) in Assam. Of his family and caste I have no means at hand of ascertaining any further facts, though I think that his caste-name is not uncommon in Assam. I may here note in passing that my transcription of his name is taken from the Nagari title-page of his edition of the *Mahaviracharita*, where his name appears as बडुया।

"I have never heard the name pronounced by an Assami, but probably 'Borooah' is as misleading as 'Oude' and the other popular spellings to which the average resident in India clings with such tenacity. He was educated at Presidency College, Calcutta, and graduated B.A. at the Calcutta University in 1869.

"Proceeding to England as a candidate for the Civil Service, for which he was selected in 1870, he matriculated at the London University in the same year, and entered as a student of the Middle Temple, and in 1872 was called to the Bar. He revisited England at least once, for I met him in London about 1884. His manner with strangers at least was very reserved and retiring.

"Of his career as a civilian, which he commenced in Bengal in 1872, I have little or nothing to say. At the time of his death he was Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Jessore.* But I cannot forbear to remark that

*Mr. Borooah was at the time of his death Offg. District Magistrate and Collector, Noakali. He had then completed 16 years of service.

his life gives us all an example, whether in government service or out of it, to show that a mass of routine work need not crush out literary activity when a man is really in earnest. As a rule the Civil Service of India has done little for the literature and science of the country, the exceptions to this being chiefly men in the Educational Department. But certainly, Anundoram Vaduya's twelve well-spent years of service show him to have been a kindred spirit with administrators like Colebrooke and Burnell among the illustrious dead, and the small band of living workers like Grierson, Fleet and R. C. Temple. Vaduya's first work appeared in May, 1877, and from its Preface we find that it was commenced about 1873 and announced in March 1876. This was his 'Practical English-Sanskrit Dictionary', a most original and truly practical work. Not content with commencing with such a *magnum opus* as a dictionary, he added to its second and third volumes two new and original works, viz. his "Higher Sanskrit Grammar" and a list of Sanskrit geographical names, illustrated by a valuable prefatory essay. Both are thoroughly original works, and rather suffer by being united with the Dictionary; the latter is I believe still a unique contribution to Indian research, though only a small one, the great value of the former (now published separately) may be seen from the frequent references to it in Dr. J. S. Speijer's recent work on the same subject.

"In the same year, 1877, appeared the edition of Bhababhuti's Mahaviracharita already referred to in passing, which was followed in 1878 by the essay on Bhababhuti intended to have formed a part of the same book. A third work was completed by Vaduya in 1877, and appeared in 1878, viz. his "Companion to the Sanskrit-reading Undergraduates of the Calcutta University". This consists of criticisms on the commentaries of the two set portions of Kavyas in the University curriculum for 1878; and forms with the works last mentioned, Vaduya's sole contribution to the criticism of Kavya literature. But small in bulk though it is, I cannot but consider it an important contribution to Sanskrit scholarship. European editions of Sanskrit classics generally consist of text with, occasionally, a few original explanatory notes, and at best more or less meagre extracts from the great native commentators. Indian editors, on the other hand, do not really elucidate either text or commentary, but compose a learned super-commentary, which is often, as in the case of Taranatha on the 'Siddhanta-Kaumudi' obscurer than the work professed to be explained. Vaduya takes a most useful middle-course, and without being carried away by the authority of Mallinatha or even by that of Amarsingha or Panini, explains both commentary and text. This is most useful to the European student. There are plenty of helps for Kalidasa and Manu themselves; but for the due understanding of Mallinatha, Govindaraja or Kulluka, to what work can one refer a pupil? My own acquaintance, such as it is, with these important scholiasts was first derived, in orthodox fashion, from the mouth of my 'acharya' (Vaduya's teacher too, at Presidency College by the by), who himself was instructed by duly qualified Brahmins; but I question whether the average European student is in a position to study these writers as they deserve. Here, then, was a good and new departure worthy of imitation by Sanskritists, in all lands, and especially in India.

"Vaduya's remaining works are devoted to the sides of Sanskrit study in which he evidently felt most interested, lexicography, grammar and *ars*

Poetica. To the first mentioned class belongs the work which he was publishing at the time of his death, a new edition of the Amarkosha, with several unpublished commentaries, while with the second and third we may rank his 'Dhatu-Vritti-Sara' published in 1885, his collections of and the his extensive work on Prosody which he published in 1882, under the somewhat eccentric title of Volume the Tenth of a projected Comprehensive Sanskrit Grammar. These substantial volumes each carefully planned and worked out might well have occupied the leisure of even a far less busy man for a good twenty years.

"But it is not only on the extent of this good scholar's work that I would insist. There is something also in its method and spirit that demand our attention. We often hear complaints of the effect of Western education in India; that the old learning is passing away giving place to an ungodly and bastard veneer of European instruction (I fear I must proudly call it education), tending to replace the grand old figure of the Pandit of old, by that terrible production of the nineteenth century known as the Babu, the butt of satire both European and native as well. Yet Anundoram Vaduya, born of a near, and educated in Bengal, the hotbed of 'Babu-dom', a seeker and a successful seeker of Government employ, the chief prize of this curious educational compromise, never lost his interest in the problems of Sanskrit scholarship.

"Evidently well-grounded in Panini (and where, I would ask the advocates of English education for India, can we find a finer educational instrument than the great Indian Grammar studied in the light of modern research?) Vaduya brought to bear on the criticism of Sanskrit texts, something of the spirit of what we understand by classical scholarship. He neither discusses the old scholiasts and grammarians with the slavish obsequiousness of a mere follower of tradition nor yet ignores them like the uninitiated foreign critic, but rather weighs one with another and adjusts the results by the standard of modern research.

"Such seems to me the character of Vaduya's work, and it is because I so strongly feel the value of his example to all of us oriental students, whether European or native, that I have ventured to draw out this notice to greater length than I had at first intended."

APPENDIX III

OBITUARY NOTICES ON BOROOAH

1. Sri Ramesh Chandra Dutta, I.C.S., C.I.E., in the Preface to his *Civilisation of Ancient India*, 1888, writes:

"Amongst my countrymen the great reformer Raja Rammohan Ray and Dayananda Saraswati turned their attention to Sanskrit Literature. . . and lastly my learned friend Sri Anundoram Borooah of the Bengal Civil Service has published a handy and excellent English-Sanskrit Dictionary, and is now engaged in a Sanskrit Grammar of formidable size and erudition."

Sri Dutt adds in a footnote to this passage: "Since the above lines were written, the author has received the sad intelligence of the death of the talented scholar. His untimely death is a loss to Sanskrit scholarship in this country which will not be easily remedied. To the present writer the sorrow is of a personal nature, as he enjoyed the friendship of the deceased for twenty years, and more—since the old College days in this country and in England."

2. Dr. Gurudas Banerjee, M.A., D.L., as Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, in his Convocation Speech, 1890, said:

"During the year under review we lost by death or retirement eleven of our colleagues in the Senate and the brief retrospect of the past would be incomplete if I were not to record our deep sense of regret for that loss. (Then follow references to the death of Reynolds and Kabiruddin Ahmed)."

"Sri Anundoram Borooah was a distinguished graduate of this University, and a no less distinguished member of the Civil Service. Amidst the engrossing duties of his office, he could find time to plan and partly execute literary works of profound scholarship, and it is matter of no small regret that untimely death prevented him from completing them."

3. *The Hindu Patriot*, January 21, 1889, wrote:

"We deeply regret to announce the death of Sri Anundoram Borooah, c.s., on Friday last from fever and paralysis. He was a highly cultured man and his scholastic attainments were well-known through the country. His Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary were worthy of a scholar, who had made this branch of knowledge a special study. As a distinguished public officer he enjoyed the confidence of Government and the good opinion of the people, and gave satisfaction wherever he went. He rose to be a District Magistrate when his career was unfortunately cut short. His early death is a loss to this country in general and to his service."

4. *The Indian Mirror*, January 22, 1889, wrote:

"We deeply regret to hear of the death of Mr. A. Borooah, c.s., on Friday last in Calcutta. The number of covenanted civilians among our countrymen is not very large, and Sri Borooah's loss is a great one indeed. He was a distinguished Sanskrit scholar, and did much to further the cause of Sanskrit learning. His premature death is mourned by the whole native community."

5. Sir Surendranath Banerjee, in his autobiography '*A Nation in Making*', 1931, writes:

"Among the Indian candidates who competed with us for the Indian Civil Service in 1869 was another remarkable man whose early death deprived the world of a Sanskrit scholar of great promise—I mean Anundoram Borooah. In regard to him also there was the difficulty about the age to which I have referred; but, the point having been settled in my case, it was no longer raised in his. He came from Assam and distinguished himself at the examinations of the Calcutta University. Having obtained a state scholarship, he went to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service. He secured a place for himself among the successful candidates in 1870. As a member of the Indian Civil Service he combined the duties of an administrator with extraordinary devotion to literature, and at the time of his death, I understand, he was engaged in preparing a dictionary (grammar) of the Sanskrit language which, alas, never saw the light. His was a case of blighted promise which in its fruition would have enriched the world of letters."

INDEX

GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

A

Aboo : अर्बुदः.
Adam's bridge : नलसेतुः, सेतुबन्धः.
Adam's peak : रोहणः, -गिरिः.
Afghanistan (eastern) : गान्धाराः (m. pl.).
Ahmedabad (the district) : आदाः (m. pl.).
Ahichhatter : अहिच्छत्रं (त्रा).
Ajmere : आजमोडम्.
Alaknunda : नन्दा; अलकानन्दा.
Allahabad : प्रयागम्. The province of A
वत्सदेशः.
Asi (a river) : अग्निः.
Atrac (a river) : आत्रेयी.
Ayak (river) : आपगा.

B

Badaon : बौ(पौ)दन्मः.
Bagmati : भोगवती.
Baibhargiri : बराहः, (ब्याहारः, -गिरिः).
Bairat : बैराटम्; विराटनगरम्.
Baitarinee : बैतरणी.
Balasar : बालेश्वरम्.
Balkh : बाल्खीकाः.
Balvi : बलवी.
Bancoora : मल्लम्, -मिः.
Banganga : वनगङ्गा.
Baniwassee : बा(व)नवासी.
Barna (a river) : वरणा.
Barmula : बराहमूलम्.
Baroach : ब(म)रकच्छः.
Boroda : बरदा.
Batnair : बाटघानम्.
Beema : भीमरथा(सी); भीमा.
Behar (southern) : मगधः (m. pl.);
कीकटाः (m. pl.).
Behar (the town) : बिहारः.
Bengal (Eastern) : बङ्गाः (m. pl.);
हर्किलीयाः (m. pl.).
Bengal (Northern) : पुण्ड्राः (m. pl.);
बरेङ्गाः (m. pl.); गौडाः (m. pl.).
Bengal (Western) : मुद्गाः (m. pl.);
राडाः (m. pl.).

Bengal, Bay of : पूर्वाम्बुधिः.
Beas : विपाशा(म्).
Benares वाराणसी; काशी; काशीपुरी.
Betwa : वेतवती; वेता (?).
Besara : बैशावी.
Bhagirathi : भागीरथी.
Bhagalpur (the district) : बङ्गाः
(m. pl.). -देशः.
Bhagalpur (the town) : चम्पा; बङ्गपुरी;
मालिनी; कर्णपुरम्.
Bheragur : माहिष्मती (?).
Bhilsa : विदिशा.
Bhira (Purāna) : अश्वमेधम् (?).
Bidar : विदर्भा (?); कुण्डिनम् (?).
Bijonagar : विजयनगरम्, -री.
Bikrampur : विक्रमपुरम्, -री.
Bipulgiri : विपुलः, -गिरिः.
Birbhum : बीरभूमः, -मिः.
Brahmajuin (a hill) : ब्रह्मयोनिः; कोलाहलः;
-गिरिः.
Brahmaputra : ब्रह्मपुत्रः; लौहित्यः.
Brahmasarus : ब्रह्मसरः.
Brindābun : सुन्दारवनम्.
Burdwan : बर्धमानम्.
Badra : भद्रा.
Buraon : वारणावतम्.
Bunnoo : वार्णवः.

C

Caberi : कावेरी; अश्वजाङ्गवी.
Cabul (river) : कापी.
Cachar : कच्छारः (?).
Cagar : दुष्यती; धर्षरा.
Calian : कल्याणम्.
Calinjar : कालञ्जरः.
Canara : केरलाः (m. pl.); उप्पा.
Cashmere : का(क)श्मीराः (m. pl.).
Ceylon : सिंहलाः (m. pl.); लङ्का (f.);
regarded as the capital of Rāvaṇa).
Chamba : चम्पा.
Chandpur : चन्द्रपुरम्; चन्द्रकान्ता.
Chashak (the plain) : कच्छः.
Cherus (people) : कारुषाः (m. pl.).

Chenaub : चन्द्रभागा; चन्द्रा; चान्द्रिका; इन्दु-
मती (?); चा(ब)न्द्रभागी(गा); दुष्पारा.
China : चीनाः (m. pl.); -देशः.
Chindinthura : चित्ररथ्या (?).
Chittagong : चट्टग्रामः.
Chittaur : चित्ता or चित्तोपला (?).
Chitrakut : चित्रकूटः.
Choya Chittang : शरदण्डा; शरावती.
Chumbul : चम्बवती.
Colapore : करवीरम्; कोलापुरम्.
Comorin : कुमारिका.
Concan : कोंकणाः (m. pl.).
Conzeverum : काञ्ची, -पुरी.
Coosi : कौशिकी.
Coromendal : कोरमण्डलम्.
Cossy (a river in Midnapore) :
कपिशा.
Cutch : उडुम्बरा (m. pl.).
Cuttack : कटकः; पद्मावती (?).

D

Dakshinamanus : दक्षिणमानसम्; मूर्धकुण्डम्.
Dard (the country) : दरदाः (m. pl.)
or दरदः.
Dasan : दशार्णा (the river); दशार्णाः
(m. pl.; the country).
Delhi (the province) : कुरवः (m. pl.).
Delhi (the town) : इन्द्रप्रस्थम्; हरिप्रस्थम्;
शक्रप्रस्थम्; etc.
Deogir or Dowlatabad : देवगिरिः.
Desert (The great) : मरवः (m. pl.);
दशेरकाः (m. pl.); महभूमिः.
Deverkunda : देवहृदः.
Dhar : धारा.
Dharmpur : धर्मपुरम्, -री.
Dharmrun : धर्मरथ्यम्.
Dholpore : दशपुरम् (?).
Dinajpore (southern) : देवीकोटम्.
Dwaraka (the old) : द्वारि(र)का; द्वारवती;
वृष्णिपुरम्; अश्विननगरी; वनमालिनी; धानतननगरी.

G

Ganda (the district) : गण्डाः, -काः
(m. pl.).
Gandak : गण्डकी.
Ganges : गङ्गा; भागीरथी; जाङ्गवी, बल्लुकन्या
etc.; विपयगा; त्रिकोताः; विष्णुपदी; हैमवती;
etc.
Gangetic doab : अन्तर्वेदी; समस्वली.

Gangotree : गङ्गाद्रिः.
Gargaon : गडग्रामः.
Gaur : गौडपुरी; लक्ष्मणावती.
Gauhati : प्राग्ज्योतिषम्, -पुरम्.
Gaya : गया.
Ghats (Eastern) : महेन्द्रः, -पर्वतः; etc.
Ghats (Western) : सहायः, -पर्वतः; etc.
Ghats (Southern) : मलयः, -अचलः;
दक्षिणाचलः; प्राषाडः; etc.
Ghats (South-eastern) : ददुरः, -गिरिः etc.
Girinar : रैवतकः; उज्जयन्तः.
Girjhak : गिरिबज्रम्.
Gobardhan : गोवर्धनः.
Godaveree : गोदावरी, गोदा Mouths of-
सप्तगोदावरम्.
Gomul : (a river) कुमाला (?).
Gujerat (in Punjab) : the province
of-गुजराः (m. pl.); आरट्टाः (m. pl.);
-देशः, etc.
Gujerat (Kattywar) : सु(सौ) राष्ट्राः
(m. pl.); आनतः or आनती (m. pl.).
Gumti : गोमती.

H

Hema : हेमन्व(व)ती; हेमा.
Hyderabad (Western) : विदर्भाः; कपकै-
शिकाः (m. pl.); महाराष्ट्रम्.
Hyderabad (South-western) : कुन्तलाः
(m. pl.); उपहानकाः (m. pl.).
Hydreabad (Eastern) : ति(त्रि) लिङ्गाः
(m. pl.).
Hyderabad (in Sind) : सीतगिरी (?).
Hoogly (the river) : भागीरथी, गङ्गा.
Hugra : सुप्रयोगा.
Hurdwar : गङ्गाद्वारम्; हरि(र)द्वारम्.

I

India : भारतम्, -वर्षम्.
India (Northern) : आर्यावर्तः; जम्भूभूमिः;
विजयको; गुण्यभूः -मिः; आचारवेदी.
India (Central) : मध्यदेशः.
India (Upper) : ब्रह्मावर्तः; कुण्डलेश्वरम्.
India (Southern) : दक्षिणापथः; दक्षिणात्यः.
Indus : सिन्धुः (m.) -नदः.

J

Jaipore : जयपुरम्, -री.
Jaipore (the district) : मत्स्यदेशः.

Jajpore : यज्ञ (याग)पुरम्, -री.
 Jessore : यशोहरम्.
 Jetch Doab (lower) उशीनरा: (m. pl.);
 निचयः (m. pl.); (Upper) सीरीरा: (m. pl.).
 Jhelum : वितस्ता; ह्यादिनी.
 Johila : ज्योतिरश्वी.
 Jullunder Doab : जालन्धरा: (m. pl.).
 Jumna : यमुना; कालिन्दी; कालिन्दकन्या जमनस्वता;
 सूर्यतनया; etc.
 Jammu : जम्मु (n.). the district of J.
 जाम्बुवा: (m. pl.); जाम्बुका: (m. pl.).
 Jumunatri (peaks) : यामुनाद्रिः.

K

Kaira : खेटकपुरम्.
 Kaithal : कपिष्ठलम्.
 Kakpur : काकि.
 Kaleenudee (Eastern) : इन्दुमती; (West-
 ern) वागणी.
 Kalianee : कल्याणी.
 Kalinadee : मुरला.
 Kamroop कामरूपा: (m. pl.); प्राग्ज्योतिषा:
 (m. pl.).
 Kampil : काम्पिल्यम्.
 Kamraj : कामराज्यम्.
 Kankhal : कनखलम् (the village); कनखलः
 (the mountain).
 Kanouj : कान्यकुब्जम्; कन्याकुब्जम्; महोदयम्;
 गङ्गानगरम्; कुशस्थलम्.
 Kattywar : सुराष्ट्रम् or सौराष्ट्रम्; आनन्तम् or
 आनन्ता: (m. pl.).
 Karnapur : कलिन्दपुरम्.
 Kosam : कौशाम्बी; कल्पपत्तनम्.
 Kosi : कौशी; महाकौशी.
 Krishna : कृष्णदेशी (या); कृष्णा.
 Kulu (the district of) : कुलूता: (m. pl.);
 also उलूका: (?).
 Kurukshetra (the lake) : कुरुक्षेत्रह्रदः;
 रामह्रदः (?); शय्यणावतु (?).
 Kurum (the river) : कुरुः (m.).

L

Ladak (the province) : लाटका: (m. pl.).
 Lahor : लोहरम्. The district of L. लम्हला:
 (m. pl. : ?).
 Lalitputtum : ललितपत्तनम्.
 Lamghah : लम्पाका: (m. pl.).

Lavor : ला (ज) लातूरः.
 Looni : लवणा.

M

Madawar : मोदापुरम् (?).
 Madhupur : मधुपुरम्.
 Madura : मधुरा.
 Mahobia : महोत्सवपुरम्.
 Malabar : मलयवारः (?).
 Malinee : मालिनी.
 Malwa : मालवा: (m. pl.).
 Malwa (Western) : अरवन्तयः (m. pl.).
 Mandakinee : मन्दाकिनी; आकाशगङ्गा;
 स्वर्णदी etc.
 Manipore (the town) : मणिपुरम्.
 Manjira : मञ्जुला (वञ्जुला).
 Mayapur : मायापुरम्, -री.
 Mehane : मोहनी.
 Meerut (the division) : कुरुवाङ्गलम्.
 Moongyr : मोदागिरिः.
 Multan : मल्ल- (मूल)स्वानम् (?).
 Muttra : मथुरा. The Province of M.
 मुरसेना: (m. pl.).
 Myhe : मही.
 Mysore (the country) : कर्णाटा:; महोन्नूरा:
 (m. pl.).
 Mysore (northern) : चोला: (m. pl.); -देशः.

N

Naglaudi : नाङ्गलिनी (?).
 Nasik : नासिका: (m. pl.).
 Negapattum : etc. नामपत्तनम्; नागपुरम्.
 Nepal : नेपाला: (m. pl.).
 Nilajan (a torrent) : नैरञ्जनी.
 Nilachal (a hill) : नीलाचलः.
 Nuddea : नवद्वीपः.
 Nerbudda : नर्मदा; रेवा; सोमोद्भवा; मेकला-
 द्विजा; इन्दुजा; मेकलकन्यका; पूर्वगङ्गा.

O

Omerakantak (the mount) : मेकलः;
 -मद्रि, etc.
 Omerakantak (the place) : अमरकण्टकम्.
 Oojeen : उज्जयिनी; अरवती; अरवतिपुरी.
 Opian कापिशी. विशाला.
 Orissa : उत्कला; -देशः; उडा, -देशः.
 Oude (the province) कोशला: (m. pl.).
 कोशलदेशः; etc.

Oude (the town) : अयोध्या; साकेतम्;
 कोशला; नन्दिनी.

P

Paitan : प्रतिष्ठानम्; मन्दाकिनी.
 Paisunee : मन्दाकिनी; मालिनी.
 Pampur : पपपुरम्.
 Pandua : पुण्ड्रवर्धनम् (?).
 Panna : पन्नागरम्.
 Panchagunga : खट्वाङ्गी (?).
 Panchan : पागधरी; पञ्चमी (?).
 Panjab : बाहोका: (m. pl.); पञ्चनदा:
 (m. pl.). पञ्चापम्.
 Panjnad : पञ्चनदम्.
 Panjaub (north-western) : सिन्धुदेशः;
 सिन्धवः (m. pl.).
 Punch : पर्णाक्षः; -ग्रामः.
 Parvati (western) : निर्विन्ध्या.
 Patna : पाटलीपुत्रम्; कुसुमपुरम्, -पुरी; पुण्यपुरम्,
 -री.
 Pattala : प्रस्थलम्.
 Pattum : पत्तनम्.
 Pehoa : पृथ्वीकम्.
 Persia : पारसीकाः.
 Phalgu : महानदी; फल्गुः.
 Pennair : पम्पा (?).
 Pokur : पुष्करम्.
 Pretakuta : प्रेतकूटः (in Gaya).
 Pudma : पद्मा; -वती.
 Punnass : पर्णाशा.
 Punpun : पुनःपुना.
 Puri : पुरी; श्रीक्षेत्रम् (district).
 Purnea (district) : कौशिकीकण्ठः.
 Purnea (the town) : पुराणीया.
 Puttun (Somnath) : प्रभासम् (?).

R

Rajgir : राजगृहम्; गिरिव्रजम्.
 Rajmahendri : कलिङ्गनगरम् (?); राजमहेन्द्री.
 Rajoari : राजपुरी.
 Ramganga : हिरण्यती; रामगङ्गा.
 Ramnagar : कुशावती (?); कुशावती (?).
 Rameshwarum : गोकर्णः; रामेश्वरः (?).
 Raptec : इरावती.
 Ratnagiri : चैत्यकः; -गिरिः.

Ravee : इ (ऐ) रावती; तिर्यकुसोता (?).
 Rechna Doab (lower) : मद्रा: (m. pl.);
 मद्रदेशः.
 Risikulia : श्रुषिकुल्या.
 Rohtak : रोहितम्, -कम्.
 Rungpur : रङ्गपुरम्, -री.
 Rush : उरला.

S

Sahet Mahet : श्रावस्ती (?) धर्मपत्तनम् (?);
 धर्मपुरी (?).
 Sai : सपिका; स्यन्दिना.
 Salt Range : मणिमन्वः.
 Samber : शाकम्भरी. The lake of S. : हमा.
 Sanglee : वेण्णामङ्गलम्.
 Sankesa : सांकाश्यम्.
 Sangla (in Panjaub) : शाकलम्.
 Sarju : सरयुः.
 Satlej : ज (शि) तद्गः; -का.
 Satpura Mountain : शृङ्गाः; शृङ्गवान्;
 शृङ्गापर्वतः; etc.
 Sot, Suti : वेदसु (स्मृतिः).
 Seringapattan : श्रीरङ्गपत्तनम्.
 Shahabad (in Oude) : शङ्खपुरी; शङ्ख-
 दीया.
 Shahabad (the district in Bengal) :
 मलदा: (वा: m. pl.); क (का) ह (रा) पाः.
 Siadree : सहाद्री.
 Sind (in Cashmere) : a river) सिन्धुः
 (f.); मधुमती.
 Silagiri : गोरखः; -गिरिः.
 Sitakund (near Moongir) : सीताकुण्डम्.
 Sircars : कलिङ्गा: (m. pl.).
 Son : शोणः, हिरण्यवाहः or -वाहुः (m.).
 Soonda (the district) : व (वा) नवासो;
 सोणदेशः (?).
 Soonda (the town) : सोधपुरम् (?).
 Supa : सूपरिकम्.
 Sopur : सुरपुरम्.
 Sarhind : सि (सै) रन्धा: (m. pl.).
 Sirisa : शिरीषम्.
 Sug : सङ्गुः.
 Swat : सोवास्तवी (the river); सोवास्तवम्
 (the town); सुवास्तु: (the district).
 Sunargaon : सुवर्णग्रामः.



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ANUNDORAM BOROOAH (1850-1889)

"Among my countrymen the great reformer I and Dayananda Saraswati turned their attention to and lastly my learned friend Mr. Anundoram Borooh Service has published a handy and excellent English and is now engaged in a Sanskrit Grammar of formi

"His untimely death is a loss to Sanskrit scholarship which will not be easily remedied. To the present personal nature, as he enjoyed the friendship of the years, and more,—since the old college days in England."

—Sri Romesh Chandra Dutta, I.C.S., C.I.E.,
in the preface to his "Civilisation of Ancient India", 1888.

"Mr. Anundoram Borooh was a distinguished graduate of this University, and a no less distinguished member of the Civil Service. Amidst the engrossing duties of this office, he could find time to plan and partly execute literary works of profound scholarship, and it is a matter of no small regret that untimely death prevented him from completing them."

—Dr. Gurudas Banerjee, M.A., D.L.,
Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, in his Convocation Speech, 1890.

"We deeply regret to announce the death of Mr. Anundoram Borooh, C.S., on Friday last from fever and paralysis. He was a highly cultured man and his scholastic attainments were well-known throughout the country. His Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary were worthy of a scholar, who had made this branch of knowledge a special study. His early death is a loss to this country in general and to his service."

—The Hindu Patriot, January 21, 1889.

"We deeply regret to hear of the death of Mr. A. Borooh, C.S., on Friday last in Calcutta. He was a distinguished Sanskrit scholar, and did much to further the cause of Sanskrit learning. His premature death is mourned by the whole native community."

—The Indian Mirror, January 22, 1889.

"Among the Indian candidates who competed with us for the Indian Civil Service in 1869 was another remarkable man whose early death deprived the world of a Sanskrit scholar of great promise—I mean Anundoram Borooh. In regard to him also, there was the difficulty about the age to which I have referred; but, the point having been settled in my case, it was no longer raised in his. He came from Assam and distinguished himself at the examinations of the Calcutta University. As a member of the Indian Civil Service he combined the duties of an administrator with extraordinary devotion to literature, and at the time of his death, I understand, he was engaged in preparing a dictionary (grammar) of the Sanskrit language which, alas, never saw the light. His was a case of blighted promise which in its fruition would have enriched the world of letters."

—Sir Surendranath Banerjee,
in his autobiography "A Nation in Making," 1931.