CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY—(contd)

CONTENTS


Before considering the ethnography of the Purānas it will be well to notice here the other early records and traditions that we possess regarding this portion of the Himalaya. Although we can hardly reckon amongst them the edicts of Asoka, yet a copy of these edicts and perhaps the most interesting amongst the many that exist was found at Kālai or Khālsi in the western part of Dehra Dún. Asoka

Asoka's edicts in Dehra Dún. lived in the latter half of the third century before Christ and the existence of his edicts in the Dehra Dún would perhaps show the limit of his power in this direction and that the Dún, even at that early period, must have been of some importance, for it would manifestly be of little use to place an inscription of the kind in an uninhabited jungle. This record is inscribed on a great quartz boulder lying about a mile and a half above Kālai near the villages of Byāś and Haripūr and just above the junction of the Tons and the Jumna. It is known locally as the Chitravīla or 'ornamented stone' and was discovered in 1860 by Mr. Forrest, c.e. General Cunningham¹ considers the Kālai text to be in a more perfect state than that of any other of

¹ Arch. Rep., I., 347. A complete transcript of the whole inscription has been made and published by the same scholar in his Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum; Calcutta, 1875. Tatrésthā (J. Ind. Ant. IV., 361) states that Asoka received the town of Pāhliputra in appanage 'as a reward for his victory over the people of Nepal who dwelt in the kingdom of Kaśya.'
the similar edicts found elsewhere, especially in the portion of the thirteenth edict which contains the names of the five Greek kings Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander. There are, apparently, no ruins in the neighbourhood which should lead one to suppose that the record marks the site of an ancient city. The Chinese Buddhist traveller Hwen Thsang, who visited Srughna in the middle of the seventh century, a place identified with the ruins of Suhg on the right bank of the Jumna not far below Kálaí, is silent as to the existence of inscriptions or even of the Dún itself. We may, therefore, well accept the local statement that for some centuries after the Christian era the Dún was deserted. Mr. Williams records the tradition that Rája Rásálu once lived at Haripur near Kálaí, where his stronghold lies buried beneath a great mound (síbri). This Rásálu was, according to tradition, the son of the great Sálíváhana, from whom the Saka era takes its name and who possessed a residence also at Khairamúrtti, near Ráwal Pindi. Another tradition makes the stone boundary mark between the dominions of the Nága ruler of the hills and the Rájas of the plains.

There are a few notices in the early Greek and Roman Geographers that can be assigned to the Himalayas of these provinces, and these have been collected from the accounts given by the companions of Alexander, by Megasthenes and Daimachus and the merchants, who from a very early period held commercial intercourse with the east. The only special treatise on India that has come down to us is the Indica of Arrian, a work of very little value for our present purpose, and the fragments of those that are missing do not lead us to expect that we should gain much by their recovery. Pliny the elder and Ptolemy of Alexandria give us the best accounts of India. Pliny completed

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1 Ges. II, 245. 3 Memoir of Dehra Doon, p. 76. 4 The local legends of the country about the Tons and the Jumna are full of allusions to Rásálu. The outline story is common to all that he was son of Sálíváhana, the founder of Sálabhapur or Syilkot, and was at feud with the seven Rákshasas who lived in Gandaghat and Mandirkot. It was their custom to eat a human being every day and Rásálu delivered the people from this hateful tax. Colonel Abbe1 has given a very interesting summary of the Panjáb traditions: J. A. S. Ben. XXIII., 50, 183, and General Cunningham also refers to them, Arch. Rep. VI, 185, 485. Mr. H. Rivett-Carnac has called attention to certain archaic sculpturings on a rock near Devrás Hát in Kumuson similar to the ‘cup-marks’ found on megaliths and rocks in various parts of Europe. Other markings of a similar nature occur on megaliths near Devi Dhálra and elsewhere in eastern Kumuson. J. A. S. Ben. XLVI, i, p. 1.
his great work in 79 A.D., and had before him the records of Alexander's expedition and Megasthenes' journey in compiling his account of India from the Indus to Palibothra (Patna), the capital of the Pusad. At the close of the chapter on China, Pliny states:—

"After the Attacori we find the nations of the Phruri and Tochari and in the interior the Casiri of Indian race who look towards the Skythians and feed on human flesh. Here nomad tribes of Indians also wander. There are some who state that these nations touch on the Cicones and Brysari." Now 'Conse' and 'Chicones' are also read for 'Cicones,' and 'Conse' and can only refer to the Kunets of Kunnor, which is known to the Tibetans as Kuna. The Attacori are the Utarna Kurus of the Hindu books, probably as already suggested inhabitants of the hilly country beyond Kashmir. Near them were the Phruri, a sub-division of the Sakas at one time, in Yarkand and to be identified with the Phaunas of Indian writers, and the Tochari or Turushkas, a branch of the Yueh-ti who gave kings to Kashmir. The Casiri are one with the Khasiras, a tribe of the Khassas, who are mentioned in the Mahabharata thus:—"Abhiras, Daradas, Kasmiras with Pattis, Khasiras, Antacharas (or borderers)," clearly showing their position in the hills to the west of the Jumna. The nomad tribes may be identified with the Pattis of sPiti and the Brysari with the people of Basahr. The statement that the Casiri feed on human flesh is merely an allusion to the name Yaksha by which the Khasas were commonly known in ancient times. We know that they were numerous in the neighbourhood of Kashmir which is named from them and not from the mythical Kasypa and under the name Yakshas were employed by Asoka not only to build his great chaityas but also as mercenaries. They were found also in Kipin, to which the Kabul valley belonged and in Gandhara.

In his chapter on India, Pliny gives a general view of the position and size of India and of the sources of his information. He brings us first from the Indus to the Ganges and thence to Patna. He then adds:

"The nations whom it may not be altogether inopportune to mention after passing the Emodian mountains, a cross range of which is called 'Imeus,' a word

1 Jam Ishortum Castri, introducit ad Scythas versi, humanas corporibus vestiment. 
2 Wilson, VI., 83; the people of Kashmir are known to the present day amongst their neighbours as Kasbfus, not Kasmiras.
3 Ind. Ant. IV., 101, 161.
which in the language of the natives signifies 'snowy,' are the Isari, the Cosyri, the Izi, and upon the chain of mountains, the Chisiotosagi with numerous peoples which have the surname Brahmane, among whom are the Macocailings. There are also the rivers Prinás and Calnas, \(^1\) which last flows into the Ganges, both of them being navigable streams. The nation of the Calingas comes nearest to the sea and above them are the Mandol and the Mali. In the territory of the last-named people is a mountain called Maltas; the boundary of this region is the Ganges.' * * * The last nation situated on the Ganges is that of the Gangaridas Callinies' * * "In the Ganges there is an island of very considerable size, inhabited by a single nation: it is called Modogalinga." * * The country of the Dardes is the most productive of gold, that of the Seta of silver. * * * The mountain races between the Indus and the Jomanes are the Cesi, the Cetriboni who dwell in the forests (sylvestres), and after them the Megallae, whose king possesses 500 elephants and an army of horse and foot, the numbers of which are unknown; then the Chrysal, the Parasangae and the Asmagi, whose territory is infested by wild tigers: these people keep in arms, 30,000 foot, 300 elephants and 800 horse. They are bounded by the river Indus and encircled by a range of mountains and deserts at a distance of 325 miles. Below these deserts are the Dali and Suri.'

The arrangement here is somewhat confusing. Pliny mentions the Kalingas, apparently the people of the coast of Coromandel, then the Marundai or Mandai, the people about Benares, and then the Malli or Multánis. Imaus is derived from the Sanskrit 'Himavat' as Emodus is from 'Humhdri,' both meaning snowy. His Isari and Cosyri here can only be the Brysari and Casiri of the preceding quotation. Next to the east in the hills comes the Izi, who may be identified with a tribe in the Mahábhárata called Ijikas who are named between the Súrasenas or people of Mathura, and the Kanyakagunas, Tilabháras, Sumfras and Madvumattas, which last are one with the Kashmíras.\(^2\) These Ijikas lived close to the Chisiotosagi, also called Chirotosagi or Kirátakas along the lower course of the Ganges in Garhwal: the upper portion of the same river being occupied by Brahman colonies and Macca or Maga Kalingas, a name probably connected with the Mriga tribe of Brahmins who are recorded as the Brahmans of Sáka-dwipa in the Puránas. We have moreover in the Vardha-sanhita the name 'Mághadika-kalinga' occurring between Panchála and Avartta. Now Panchála is clearly the middle Duáb and Avartta is the same as the Hoorta of Ptolemy, a town of the Tanagani, so that Mágadika-kalinga must refer to the country on the upper course of the Jumna or of the Ganges, more correctly called Kylindrine by Ptolemy.

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1 The town below Allahabad near Prinás and the Ken.  
2 Mándásiri or Mungar.  
3 They include the Manías, who to this day are divided into Kshatriyas and Rasas.
The country of the Dardæ lay along the upper Indus—"sub-fontibus vero Indi Daradrae et horum montana supereminant"—a tract celebrated then as in the time of Hwen Thsang for its gold-washings, and the Setæ are the people of Waztri-rūpi or 'the silver country of the Wazirs' in British Kulu. Ptolemy places a city called Sæōś in his trans-Himalayan tract near Ahasia regio or the country of the Khasas. The Cesi named first amongst the mountaineers are clearly the Khasas; with them are the Cetriboni, a name of which the first part may be compared with the Chatraioi of Ptolemy, and who occupied the tract south of Shaikhávati and therefore with the Kabatriyas, a tribe (not a caste) mentioned in the Puránas. The remaining names must be assigned from the context to the lower Indus valley or its neighbourhood. The outcome of this inquiry is that according to Pliny the Khasas occupied the country far to the west of their present location in Kumaon and Nepál, and that the Kirátakas with the Tanganas held the country between the Tous and the Sárda.

It is, however, to Ptolemy that the student of ancient geography owes his greatest debt. He was born about 87 A.D. and died in 165 A.D., having completed his great work about 151 A.D. He defines cis-Gangetic India as the country to the west of the Ganges as far as its confluence with the Sarju to the south of the Gházipur district. Although he must have known many more names, he gives us only three rivers as affluents of the Ganges—viz., the Jumna, Sarju and Son, under the names Diamuna, Sarabos and Soa. At the sources of the Indus he places the Daradrae; at the sources of the Jhelam, Ravi and Chináb were the Kasperaioi, and at the sources of the Blás, Satlaj, Jumna and Ganges, the Kulindas, whose country was called Kylindre. The first are the people of Astor, Gilgit and the neighbouring countries; the second, the people of Kashmir and of the hill states between it and the Satlaj, and the third will be the people of the hills between the Satlaj and the Ganges. The Kulindas are mentioned in the Mahábhárata as inhabiting the upper valley of the Ganges within the Himálaya and they appear to have been independent of Kashmir. Between the Blás and the Chináb was the small state of the Pandavas, and on the lower course of the Indus as far as the embouchure of the Narmada below Gujrát lay Indo-

1 The two last syllables clearly refer to the Sanskrit 'vana,' 'forest.'
Skythia. The Chatriaioi held the tract south of Shaikhávati and the Gymnosophi occupied in large numbers the country near the sources of the sacred rivers. To the south in the upper Duáb were the Daticae, who possessed three towns to the west of the Ganges—Konta, Margara and Batankaissara (Batesar), and two to the east—Passala (Bisauli? and Orza. It is strange that Kanauj is not clearly indicated in any of these lists. Ptolemy mentions only two nations on the left bank of the Ganges—the Tanganoi and Marundai. The Tanganoi were the most northern of all the peoples along the Ganges and they occupied also the upper portion of the Sarabus or Sárda. They are mentioned in the Mahábhárata thus:—"Kántikas, Tanganas, Paratanganas, northern and other fierce barbarians, Yavanas, Chínas," and are placed by the Váyu Puráña and Rámáyana amongst the mountain tribes in the north. South of the Tanganoi were the Marundai, who occupied a broad belt along the Ganges from Borita to its confluence with the Tista. They appear to have been a small and warlike tribe who were able to take and hold possession of the country near the great river, but were not numerous enough to occupy the inner lands lying near the mountains nor to resist the power of Kashmir. Kassida or Káshi belonged to this nation, who are regarded by Wilford as a branch of the Indo-Skythians and in fact the same as the Húnas. Thirteen kings of this dynasty are said to have reigned in Northern India. In the Puráñas they are ranked with the Mlechchhas or foreigners and are considered to be the Maryantes of Oppian, who states that the Ganges ran through their country. To the east of the Tanganoi came the Takoraioi, Korankaloi and Parsadai, and to the south of the Marundai were the Gangařides in the delta of the Ganges.

The information given by Ptolemy shows us that in the second century of our era, Eastern India comprised the kingdom of Kashmir, which was bounded on the north by the snowy range; on the south by the kingdom of the Pandavas, and on the east the boundary line extended from Dáli to Mathura and then as far as Bhupál. In the hills the Tanganoi, a sub-division of the Kirátas, held the entire country from the Jumna to the Sárda. In the

1 Wilson, VII., 161. 2 Lassen suggests that Borita may be identified with Bái Berel. 3 Represented by the Thákuras of Nepal, hence the name of a tribe, not a caste.
copper-plate grants preserved at the temple of Pandu Keswara near Badrínath and noticed hereafter, we find that one of them is addressed to the officials of the district of Tanganapura and another to those of the districts of Tanganapura and Antarāṅga and both bestowed lands in Tanganapura on certain Brahmanas connected with Badari. Some of these lands were bounded on the south by the Ganges, so that the district lay in or about the upper course of that river. Mention is made in one grant of Buddhāchal and Ḫākāsthān, and the latter name will be the same as the Kākāchalasthān of the Kedāra-khanda which lay near the confluence of the Bhāgirathī and Alakananda, so that we may safely place the district of Tanganapura on the upper course of the Ganges and the Antarāṅga district in the duarb between the Bhāgirathī and the Alakananda. Later on we may trace the gradual eastward movement of these tribes of Kirátas to Nepál, where we find them at the present day, and perhaps the Tangani in the name Tanhan, whence come the breed of hill-ponies called Tāngan; the Thakurains amongst the Thākurs in Nepál and the Kirátas or Kirántis further east.

We shall now proceed to examine the ethnographical indications afforded by the later Hindu records.

According to the Vishnu Purāna, the Kirátas lived to the east of Bhārata, on the west the Yavanas, whilst in the centre dwelt the four castes occupied in their respective duties. The principal nations of Bhārata were the Kuruś and Pānchālas, in the middle districts; the people of Kāmarūpa in the east; the Pundras, Kalingas and Māgadhās in the south and in the extreme west, the Saurāshtras, Suras, Abbhīras, Arbudas, Kārūshas and Mālavas dwelling along the Pāripātra mountains; the Sauvīras, Saindhavas, Hūnas, Sālwas, people of Sākala, Madras, Rāmas, Ambashthas, Pārasikas and others. From other sources, however, we can add to this very meagre list of countries and tribes. The Mahābhārata gives the names of the inhabitants of the different countries in one long list commencing with the Kuruś, Pānchālas and

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1 At the time of the grants in the eighth or ninth century, Tapobhās was in the Kāṭakāśapura district.  
2 This name continually occurs in the legends regarding the dispersion of the Bājpā tribes after the Massimán invasion.  
3 Hall's Wilson, VII, 139.  
4 By this name India proper is intended, as no description is anywhere given of the other divisions.  
5 Hall's Wilson, VII, 139.
Madreyas; then follow the Jángalas, Surasenás, Kalingás, Bodhas, Málas, Matyas, ** Kárúshas, Bhojas, ** Báhikas, Vádatehánas, Abhíras, ** Vakrátapas and Sakas, Videhas, Mágadhas, ** Bhargás, Kirátas, Sudéshtas and the people on the Yamuna, Sakas, Nishádas, Nishadhás, ** Kashmirás, Sindhusauvíras, Gándháras, ** Kuruvánakás, Kirátas, Barbaras, Siddhas, ** Trigartas, Sálwaseinis, Sakas, ** Tanganas, Paratanganas, northern and other fierce barbarians (Mlechhhas), Yavanás, Chínás, Kámbojas, ferocious and uncivilised races, Sakridgrahas, Kulatthás, Húnás and Párasikás; also Romans,1 Chínás,2 Dasamálíkas, ** Sudras, Abhíras, Daradas, Kashmirás, with Pattás, Khásirás and Antáchárás or borderers, ** tribes of Kirátas, Tamásas, Hansamárgas, &c. This list3 is very unsatisfactory owing to the repetition of the same name in different quarters and with different tribes preceding and following, an arrangement that can only be explained by supposing there were colonies of the particular tribe scattered over various parts of India. If this theory be correct there were Saka colonies in Magháda, on the Jumna and in the Kangá valley. The Varáha-saúkta gives a more complete4 list and places in the north—Kailása, Himaván, Vásámán-gíri, Dhanushmán, Kraunche-meru, Utta-ra-kura, Kékaya with its capital girirajá (now Jálálpur on the Jhelam,5) Vásáti,6 Bhogaprastha (Hardwár), Arjumánya, Agnídhra, Adarasa,7 Antaradwipí (Duáb), Trigartá,8 (Kotkangra in Jalandhári), Táhóra,9 Turagáma or Asvámukha,10 Kesadhára, Chipitúsaika, Dáseraka, Vatadhána, Saradhána, Tákhasíla (Taxíla), Pushkalaváta (on the Swátt river), Kainátaka, Kantadhána, Ambára, Madráka,11 Málava,12 Paulava,13 Kachchhá,14 Dánda,15 Pingalaka, Mánahala, Kohála,16

1 Can these be represented by the Kum division of the Síyáhpoo in Wámastán or Káfristán as it is more commonly called.
2 Probably to be found in the Shína of Ator, Gígit, and Yaman.
3 There are nearly 250 names, the list strong together with little attempt at description even by epithets.
5 Between the Jhelam and the Indus, St. Martin, i.e., p. 182: Wilson, VIII, 960.
6 This and the two following are in the Panjáb. In a passage quoted by Muir (II, 400) Aryavártas is said to include the country east of Adarasa, west of Kálakvans, south of the Himavat and north of Párpátra.
8 The Panjáb. This and the five following names refer to the locality as abounding in banyan trees (ásthás) or reeds (árás) or prickly bushes (kásas) or are nicknamed, horse-face, &c.
9 Madrá-ána, the plain country between the Jhelam and the Beélu.
10 A division of the Panjáb.
11 The Panjáb.
12 Wilson, VIII, 166. 26 This and the following six names are assignable to the minor hill-states of the Panjáb—Kekhála is the country of the Kékha, a Kétu tribe; Sátaka is Sastri Slupi in Kétu, celebrated for its silver, and Mándryva is Mandi.
SATAKA, MÁNDAVYA, BHÚTAPURA, GANDHÁRA,1 YASOVATI, HEMATÁLA, RÁJANYA, KACHARA, GAVYA, YAUDHEYA,2 SAMEYA, SYÁMAKA, KSHEMADURTTA. TO THE NORTH-EAST (NORTH-WEST?) IS MERUKA, NASHTA-RÁJYA,3 PASUPALA, KIRA, KUSHMIRA, ABHISÁRA,4 DARADA,5 TANGANA,6 KULÚTA (KULU), SAURIYA, VANARÁSHTRA, BRAHMAPURA (BHÁGIRATHI VALLEY), DÁRVADA, AMARÁVÁNA, RÁJYA-KIRÁTA, CHÍNA, KAULINDA,7 PALAVA, LÓLA, JATÁDHARA, KUNÁLA (KUNAOR), KHASA, GHOSHA, KANCHIKÁ, EKAKARNA, SUVARNABHÚ, VASUDHÁNA, DIVISHTA, PAUVARA, CHÍVARA, NIVASINA, TRINETRA, MUNJÁDRI, SOMA AND Gandharva. AGAIN IT IS SAID THAT THE PRASTHALUS, MÁLAVAS, KAIKEYAS, DASÁRNAS AND USHÁNARAS DRINK OF THE WATERS OF THE RAVI, JHELAM AND CHINÁB. BETWEEN THE SINDHU AND MATHURA ON THE JUMNA IS BHÁRATA AND THE SAUVÍRAS, SUGHNA, DIVYA, SATADRU, THE COUNTRY OF RÁMATA, SÁLAVA, TRAGARTA, PAURAVA, AMBHASHTA, DHÁUNYA,8 YAUDOHEYA,9 SARESVATA, ARJUNÁYANA, MATSAYA, ARDDHAGRÁMA, HASTYÁSVAPURA, MANGALYA, PAUSHTIKÁ, SUKTA, KÁRUNYA.

THESE DRY LISTS OF NAMES ARE USEFUL, AND IF WE HAD MORE OF THEM ACCURATELY RECORDED WITHOUT ANY EMENDATIONS FROM AUTHORS OR EDITORS, WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO DRAW SOME DEFINITE CONCLUSIONS FROM AN EXAMINATION OF THEM WHICH WOULD THROW LIGHT ON MANY A DOUBTFUL POINT. THEY ARE NECESSARY HERE TO SHOW THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES AND TRIBES MENTIONED IN THE RECORDS AND THUS AFFORD SOME LITTLE AIDS TO IDENTIFICATION. WHEN WE FIND GROUPS OF COUNTRIES OR TRIBES Always ENUMERATED TOGETHER AND THE SAME OR SIMILAR EPIPHETS APPLIED TO THEM AND SOMETIMES THE LOCALITY OF ONE OR MORE INDICATED, WE MAY REASONABLY ASSUME THE POSITION OF THE REMAINDER TO LIE IN THE SAME DIRECTION. WE SHALL THEREFORE TAKE UP THESE NAMES AND ENDEavour TO IDENTIFY AS MANY AS WE CAN, OMITTING THOSE WHICH ARE ALREADY NOTED AS WELL AS THOSE WHICH DO NOT BELONG TO UPPER INDIA AND VERY BRIEFLY NOTICING THE NAMES OF PLACES AND PEOPLES OUTSIDE THE HIMÁLAYA. TAKING UP THE LISTS OF THE VISHNU PURÁNA, WE HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN ASSIGNING THE KURUS TO THE TRACT

1 Peshawar valley. 2 The Jád district on the lower course of the Jhelam. 3 Nast or Jagatsukh in the upper valley of the Bilá, the ancient seat of the Pála Rajas of Kula; we may note that Kula is still called Kulanta by the people and hence the Khisúto of Hwen Thang and Khusathas of the Purána. 4 Known to the Greeks as the country of Abisara; Wilson's Ariana, p. 190. Occurs with Dírva as Díravabhásra and lies between Marvi and the Margala pass; Cunn. Arch. Rep. II. 23. 5 Dardastán. 6 In Garhwal, p. 834. 7 The Kylindrine of Poloany. 8 Dhaní in the eastern half of the highlands between the Jhelam and the Indus. 9 South of Dhaní.
about Thanesar west of the Jumna, known to the present day as Kurukshetra. The Panchalas\(^1\) were the people of the middle Duab extending across the Jumna to the Chambal. Kamarupa\(^2\) is the north-eastern portion of Bengal and the adjoining part of Assam. The Pundras\(^3\) lived in Bengal proper and the southern part of Behar, the Jungle Mahals and adjacent tracts. Kalinga\(^4\) is the sea-coast westwards from the Ganges to some distance along the coast of Coromandel. Magadha is Behar. The Saurashtras\(^5\) held the peninsula of Gujrat. The Suras and Abhiras\(^6\) are associated together in the Mahabhara and Harivansa and appear to have been a pastoral people in the upper portion of the north-western Panjab represented by the Abiras and Gwals of the present day. They are none other than the Suses and Abars of the classical writers, and the first name is one with the subdivision of the Sakas. Ptolemy places the Abhiras on the upper Indus as a powerful tribe. These Abhiras spoke a dialect of Prakrit, for we may refer to them the rustic speech called Abhirika, which is classed by Chandideva with the Saktari, Sabori and Utkali or language of Orissa. The commentator on the Kaavyachandrika, a work on poetry, expressly cites the language of the Abhiras as an example of the rustic dialects of Prakrit. Wilson connects the Arbudas\(^7\) with Mount Abu in Rajputana, a celebrated place of pilgrimage amongst the Jainas. The Karchhas\(^8\) and Malvas occupied portions of the Panjab, for the latter are enumerated by the author of the Varaha-sanhit amongst the tribes who drank of the waters of the Ravi, Jhelam and Chinab. A colony of them may, at a subsequent date, have emigrated to Malwa and given to it their name. Next come the Sauviras\(^9\) between the Indus and the Jhelam, usually called Sindu-Sauviras and the Saindhus in Sindh. The double title occurs in the Mahabhara as the name of one of the chief tribes engaged in the great war who are placed by the Ramayana in the west and by the Puranas in the north. The Hunas are identified by some with the Huniyas of the present day in Tibet, but here there can be no

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\(^1\) Muir, II, 405.  
\(^2\) Wilson, VII, 134: Gaz., II, 63.  
\(^3\) Wilson, I, c.  
\(^4\) Muir, II, 40: Wilson, VII, 176.  
\(^7\) Goldstuck, Gana Dist., 299: Muir, II, 44.  
\(^8\) Wilson, I, c. VII, 132.  
\(^9\) So called from Karcha, a son of Manu Vaivasvata: they occupied the back of the Vindhyas range at one time and may possibly be identified with the Chrysal of Pliny. *Ibid.*, 156. They are frequently mentioned in the older records.
doubt but that the name refers to a Panjáb tribe. The Sálwaś held Rájasthán and Sákala is the Sangala\(^3\) of Alexander and the capital of Madra or the Panjáb between the Jhelam and the Indus, elsewhere known partly as Hárhaura. The Hámas\(^4\) belong to the country of Rámata, which as we have seen lay close to the Satlaj, and the Ambashthas are the Ambastai of Ptolemy and are placed by Goldstücker\(^5\) in the middle Panjáb, and all agree that the Párasíkas\(^6\) are the people to the west, of and adjoining the Indus. Thus ends the list given by the authors of the Vishnu Purána and which in Wilson’s opinion applies to the political and geographical divisions existing about the era of Christianity. It is also mentioned that the Yásvanas lived to the west and there can be little doubt that by this name the Baktrian Greeks are intended. To the east lived the Kirátas, who may undoubtedly be identified with the race of the same which governed the Nepál valley, and of whom we shall have more to say hereafter.

We shall now turn to the lists given in the Mahábhárata, omitting those names which have already been identified as well as those regarding which no indications that can be relied upon exist. The Surasenás\(^8\) were the people of Mathura, the Suraseni of Arrián, and are placed in the Mahábhárata in one place before the Kalingas and again between the Tiragrahas and Ijakas or Itikas and Kanyakágunás (Kanauj) and once more in the north. The Bodhus or Bahyas are supposed to be a tribe of Central India and the Málas\(^7\) to have been in Chhattísgarh. There appear to have been two Mastsyas, one comprising Dinájpur and Kuch-Bihár called southern Mataya, and a tribe of the same name in the north with a capital at Bairút on the Banganga some forty-six miles north of Jaipur.\(^9\) The Bhojas\(^9\) belonged to the Yádava race and had their settlements on the Vindhyan range. The Bahikas\(^11\) were a people of the Panjáb and the Vátadhanas were a northern nation, though Nakula places them in the west. Videha is Tibrút and the Bhargas are an eastern people subdued by Bhima. ‘The people on the Yámana’ would appear to bear the translation, ‘the people on or about mount Yámana,’ an eastern mountain according to the Rámáyana. Nishádhas are mountaineers or foresters.

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1 Wilson, l.c., 135.  
3 See p. 286.  
4 Sivas. Dict., p. 601.  
5 Wilson, l.c., 184.  
6 Wilson, l.c., 156.  
7 Ibid., 157.  
9 Wilson, l.c., p. 277.
in general and may here stand for the Paropanisades and the Gándháras are the people about Pesháwar. The Tanganas are the Tanganois already noticed and are here called Mlechchhus.

The Daradas are the oft-noticed people of Gilgit and Astor and the Pattis are probably the people of Piti or Spiti. The Khashíras are the Casiri of Pliny, a sub-division of the Khasas like the Kunus. Passing on to the names in the Varáha-sañhita we find after Tangana comes Kulu and Sauritya on the upper Tons, then the country of forests, a name applicable to the country about the Jumna to the present day. Then we have Hwen Thsang’s Brahmapura in the Bhágirathí valley. Next comes Darvada or the Dárú country near Almora, near which is Amaravána or the sacred groves of the ancient Jagesar, and then the country of the Rájya-Kirátas, of whom and the Khasas we reserve the notice. Wilford gives the name Sumaphala as that of the country at the source of the Ganges, considering it to be one with Cho-mapán, the Tibetan name for lake Mánasaróvara, but this identification is not clear. In one place Sumaphala is preceded by Madhura and Rassaka and is followed by Salil-maní, Lavana, Sankha, Mankti, Abja, Mandákini and Uttara Pandya or northern Pandya, which is traditionally situate in the northern hills. The Mandákini river flows from Kedárnáth, connected with which there are so many Pándava traditions. Brahmapura is also mentioned in the Márkandeya PuráNA close to Varáshtra on the one side and Ekapada, Khas and Suvarna-bhúmi on the other. Khasa is here clearly Kumaon and Suvarna-bhúmi the Suvarna-gotra of Hwen Thsang identified hereafter with the Nári-khorsum district of Tibet lying to the north of Kumaon and Garhwáál. Out of all these names, the only ones that we are justified by tradition and fact in connecting with these hills are the Khasas, Kirátas, Rájyakirátas, Sakas, Nágas and Húnas, and these we reserve for a more minute and searching investigation.

In the preceding review of the literature bearing on the early history of the Himálaya we have endeavoured to show that whilst living between

Summary.

1 The Ekas are a hill-tribe akin to the Kirátas and are now only found in Nepal.
2 The Húnas of the inscriptions are clearly a powerful tribe of the plains defeated by Daudara Gupta at the battle of Manohari. For the speculations regarding the connection between the Húnyas and the Magyars see Hyde Clarke on the Himálaya, origins and connection, of the Magyar and Ugrish in J. Anth. Inst., VII, 44.
the Indus and the Sarasvati, the Aryans had but little knowledge of the Kumaon Himalaya. As they approached the Ganges their information becomes more complete, and though we have no topographical details until we reach the period of the later Puráñas, yet we may gather from the older writings that the sources of the great rivers were at a very early period held sacred. We also learn that the hills and forests of northern India were occupied by tribes regarded more as degraded members of the Aryan stock than as aliens in race. That they had attained to a certain degree of civilisation in some respects superior to that reached by the Aryans of the Vedas; they lived in forts and walled towns and were versed in the uses of drugs and knew how to smelt ores. In the later lists we infer from the recognized position of some the probable locality to be assigned to others, and that in the northern Himálaya were found the Dáradas, Káshmiras, Kámbojas, Gándháras, Chínás, Sakas, Yavanás, Húnás, Nágas, Khasas and Kírátas. The first four have been already identified as north-western tribes and the Chínás as representing the people of Gilgit, Astor and Yassan. We next come to the Sakas, to whom local tradition points as one of the earliest ruling races in the Kumaon hills. In one of the many curious legends handed down to us by the early writers it is said that the Yavanás, Sakas and similar tribes were created from the tail of the wonder-working cow Kámadhenu, and that the Kírátas and similar tribes were formed from her sweat, excrement and urine, a subtle distinction implying grades in degradation, and further that the Sakas and Yavanás belonged to the superior class. It may also teach us that this difference was intended to distinguish between the degraded Aryan and the autochthonous tribes, or rather those of the early immigrations.

There is every reason to suppose that the Nágas, Kírátas and Khasas entered India by the same route as the Aryas, and that the Kírátas were the first to arrive, then the Nágas and then the Khasas. The earliest notices regarding the Kírátas bring them as far westward as the Jumna in the first century. Local tradition in Nepál gives them an eastern extension to Bhütán and at a very early date they held the Nepál valley. Twenty-nine names of kings of this race are

1 In the Rámayana  2 Wright's Nepál, pp. 89, 104, 3'2.
given in the local history of Nepál. We have collected the names of fourteen rulers attributed to the Khassa race in Káli Kumaon which are so similar in character that there can be little doubt of a close connection between them. Indeed, the community in manners and religion between the different divisions of the snake-worshippers would alone show a common origin and will also explain how they all insensibly blend one with the other. In the lists of peoples given in the Vishnu Purána,¹ we have already seen that the Kirátas or Kirátis are said to have occupied the country to the east of Bhárata as the Yavánas dwelt the west. In the Mahábhárata we find them to occur with the Jáñgalas (or ‘dwellers in thickets’), Kuruvarnakas (or ‘dwellers in the Kuru jungles’) and Barbaras in one place, and again we have ‘Kirátas, Tamásas’ and ‘Kirátas Sudeshtas and people near the mount called Yamuna’. All these indications² agree with the position already arrived at on the upper Jumna and Ganges. The Tamásas are the people of the Tons of ‘dark river’, so called from the effect of the forests on its banks and itself an affluent of the Yamuna or Jumna. The Kirátas are also joined with the Sakas and Savaras as Dasýus,³ and in the Rámáyana they are described as ‘with sharp-pointed hair-knots, gold-coloured and pleasant to behold.’ It was as a Kiráta that Rudra appeared to Arjuna in the valley of the Ganges. The local annals of Nepál ascribe to the Kirátas a dynasty that ruled in the valley for ten thousand years in the Dvápara Yug, where also there was a celebrated settlement of the Nágas, and after expelling an Ahir family they continued in the valley and were rulers of Nepál when Asoka visited it in the third century before Christ. We are further told that they previously lived to the east, but that they removed to Suprabha (Thákot) to the west of the valley before establishing themselves in Nepál.⁴ The Kirátas are now a short, flat-faced people, powerfully built and are Buddhists in religion. From Dr. Campbell we learn that on the frontier between Sikkim and Nepál they are regarded as generically one with the Limbús. According to him, the sub-divisions of the tracts inhabited by the Limbús are two in number:—Kiránt-des, extending from the Díd-kosi to the Arun river east and the Limbú-des from the Arun to the Konki. Using

¹Wilson, VII, 120. ²Jódi, 171, 176, 197. ³Muir, II, 365, 461. ⁴Wright’s Nepál, p. 20, 106, 110, 312: see also J. A. S. B e n g , 1849, p. 730, 766: 1855, 466.
the tribal name 'Limbu' in its extended sense, we have theHung and Rai divisions, the first of which carries us back to the Húnas and the Hing of the Márkandeya-Púrāṇa. This identification is strengthened by the marked Mongolian features of the people who owing to their isolated position have had little intercourse with Aryans or Aryanised tribes and preserve the original type intact. We cannot be wrong in assigning these Kirántas¹ to the Kirátas of whom we have recorded so much, but they have no connection in appearance, language or religion with any important section of the people now inhabitants of the tract between the Tons and the Sárda.

We have, however, in the name 'Rájya-Kiráta' possibly a living link between the Kirátas of somewhat Tibetan physique and the Khasas of equally pronounced Aryan form and habits, if we can connect them with the Rájís of Asok in Kumaon. The Várdha-sánkita places the Rájya-Kiráta between Amaravána and Chína or between Jugesar and Tibet, and the title will either mean the princely Kiráta or the Kiráta of Rájya.' It has been observed that Kumaon and Karttikeyapura are called 'Rájya' in the Pádukeswár inscriptions, meaning literally the kingdom; but this, however, is merely a coincidence and, as we shall see, no weight can be attached to it, as it belongs to a formula common to many inscriptions in the hills and plains. The important fact is their position in the list and the knowledge that Kiráta once lived to the west and east of the present settlement of the Rájís in Asok on the Káli. The Rájís have often been noticed by ethnographers whose speculations have been based on a few lines in a report of Mr. Traill.² It is there said that the Rájís "represent themselves as descendants of one of the aboriginal princes of Kumaon who with his family fled to the jungles to escape the destruction

¹ It has been attempted to connect them with the Kátyára, but the argument is not worth stating here. According to Hodgson, the alpine basin of the Sapt Kásiká or country of the seven Kásikás was the original seat of the Kirántas, who are identified by him with "the classical Cárhráta, a once dominant and powerful race, though they have long since succumbed to the political supremacy of other races—first the Makrána and then the Gorkhálás." The Kirántas are now numbered among the Limbá tribes of the central region of the Eastern Himálaya. Campbell considers the word 'Limbá' a corruption of 'Ekšúmbá,' the correct denomination of the people and generally used by foreigners to designate the whole population of the country between the Dód-kísl and the Machhí, except such as belong to the well-marked tribes of the Márúsa, Lepchas and Bhoutylas, who are Buddhists, and the Parbátyas, who are Brahmanical in religion.² First Commissioner of Kumaon, in his Statistical account of Kumaon; Report on Kumaon, pp. 10, 57; As. Mus., XVI, 150.
threatened by an usurper. Under the pretension of royal origin, the Ráwats or Rájis abetain from offering to any individual, whatever his rank, the usual eastern salutation." He also states that there is "a total dissimilitude of language" between the Rájis and Kumáonis and that the Doms may have been descended from these Rájis, "the former being, for the most part, extremely dark, almost black, with crisp curly hair inclining to wool." This is the only account that has ever been given on any authority regarding the Rájis, yet Professor Ritter found in it confirmation of the opinion that a negro race may have been among the aboriginal inhabitants of the Himálaya and Kuen-lun. There is no foundation for the statement that the Doms have curly hair inclining to wool. Out of hundreds that have come under notice not a single one can be said to have any negroid characteristic, though many are of an extremely dark complexion like the other similar servile castes in the plains. Dr. Pritchard conjectured that the Rájis would be found to resemble the other numerous aboriginal tribes found along the Himálayan border, all possessing "the physical character of the Bhotiyas in general and very unlike the Doms." Dr. Latham, too, expresses his conviction that the Rájis are the equivalents to "the Chepang of Nepál."

The only information that can here be added regarding the Rájis has been furnished by intelligent natives of Kumaon who have fallen in with the tribe during their visits to the Askot forests and the following short extract from Captain H. Strachey's journal at Garjija ghat:—"The Rajbári Karinda (agent) caught two of the Banmanus, the wild men of Chipula, for my inspection. I saw nothing very remarkable about them except an expression of alarm and stupidity in their faces and they are perhaps darker and otherwise more like lowland Hindustanis than the average Kumaon Paháris." They manufacture wooden bowls for sale and "live under temporary huts, frequently moving from place to place amidst the jungles of Chipula; their principal subsistence being certain edible sorts of wild plants and what game they can catch, and they occasionally get presents of cooked food from the villagers. They have a dialect of their own, but some of them can communicate with their civilised neighbours in Pahári Hindi." The scanty
vocabulary of the Ráji language that has been collected supports the connection with the tribes of Nepál suggested by Dr. Latham. It is a mistake to suppose that the Rájis are confined to the few families representing them in Kumaon, for there exists information which may be considered trustworthy that Rájis are numerous along the foot of the hills below the province of Doti, the most westerly district of Nepál, and this brings them to the locality assigned by Mr. Hodgson to the Chepáng, viz., the forests of Nepál west of the great valley, and therefore between the Kirántis and the Khasiyas. From their language it would appear that they are of ordinary aboriginal stock like the Kirántis, a still further reason for identifying them with the Rájya-Kirátas of the Puránas.

The Rájis themselves say that they are of Hindu origin. That when the world began there were two Ráj-pút brothers, of whom the elder was a hunter and lived in the jungles, whilst the younger cultivated the ground and had a fixed abode. The younger brother received the government of the world and said to his elder brother, “there cannot be two Rájas in one country,” and accordingly the elder brother retired to the forests and his descendants are now called Rájis, who neither cultivate the ground nor live in permanent dwellings. The Rájis are said to have their own peculiar gods, but they also worship those of the Hindús and, like the people of Kumaon, and indeed of the entire Himálaya, attribute great power to the local deities, sprites, goblins and deified men. They bury their dead and their only funeral ceremony is said to be this, that for ten days after death they every night place out in the open air vessels of rice and water for the dead. The Bodo and Dhimáls to the east also bury their dead, but the Limbús first burn their dead and then bury the ashes. The former are allied to the Kasiyás of Asám, and amongst the latter are included the Kirántis of Nepál. Honesty and chastity they hold in great honor. They hide their women from all strangers, declaring that they are of royal race and must not be seen. They seem to be almost omnivorous and are said to approve especially of the flesh of the great langür monkey. They support themselves chiefly by

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1 Traill mentioned (1823) only twenty families and Captain H. Strachey states that he was informed that there were only five or six families (1846).
2 In this peculiarity was recognized one of the marks distinguishing the Dausyas of the Vedas.
3 For many of these facts regarding the Rájis I am indebted to a note by Sir J. Strachey.
hunting and fishing and they get what grain they require from the Khasiyas, giving in return wooden implements of husbandry and vessels which they manufacture with some skill. There seems no reason for supposing with Mr. Traill that there is a connection between the Rájis and the Doms. The former are certainly very far from holding such an opinion and profess the greatest contempt for the Doms: so that if one of that class enters the dwelling of a Ráji, the place must be purified with water brought from twenty-two different places. There are twenty or thirty families of Rájis in the eastern parts of Kumaon, chiefly in pargana Askot, and a few families live near Jageswar in Chaugarkha, the ancient Amara-vana. The latter seem to be gradually becoming extinct, and they say themselves that they have never prospered since, forsaking the customs of their race, they began to cultivate the soil. The Ráwats mentioned by Mr. Traill are said to be Rájis who have settled themselves in villages and to whom are attributed the various petty dynasties of eastern Kumaon who preceded the Chands. We shall see hereafter that these Ráwats are mentioned in inscriptions as well as in tradition, and that their country is called Rájya. A class1 called Lúl inhabiting the same tract has similar traditions, and both still occupy several villages in Káli Kumaon. As they seem to be distinct from the Khasiya population, it is not improbable that the tradition may be true which declares that they were formerly Rájis and that both represent the ancient Rájya-Kirántas of the Puránas, one class preserving many of its old customs, whilst the others has almost merged in the Khasiya population. We shall now continue our notice of the other tribes in Kumaon before proceeding to the Khasiyas, who will take up considerable time and space.

We have already stated that when we pass to the north of the great snowy peaks, we get among a different people, the Bhotiyas. Bod, the native name for Tibet, corrupted by the people of India into Bhot, has given rise to the name Bhotiya for the border tribes between the two countries. Bhot has not altogether lost its proper meaning, for it is still applied generally to the tract north of the great peaks, without reference to physical or political boundaries, though in Kumaon it is now more

1 Query, people of Lob, see p. 308.
commonly used to signify the country within the snowy range south of the Tibetan frontier. It is rather an ethnographical than a geographical expression, intending the country inhabited by Bhotiyas, rather than one of which any precise boundaries can be named. It will be convenient here to use the word Bhot and Bhotiya in this restricted sense. The adjacent province of Tibet is here called Hundes, and its inhabitants Húniyas. This name was supposed by Moorcroft to be Un-des or wool-country, and by Wilson to be Hundes or snow-country, but the real name is Hundes or country of the Húnas. This name is clearly connected with the Hioung-nu of the Chinese records and the Húnas of the inscriptions. There is no reason, however, to believe that the name Húna in the Puránas or the inscriptions is intended to apply to the trans-Kumaon Húniyas, but only that they belonged to the same Tibetan race, for the Húnas of those records appear to have been a powerful tribe in the plains, and the allusions to them are too numerous and too important for us to assign them to the predecessors of the comparatively unimportant Húniyas of g-Nári in Tibet. That the Bhotiyas themselves are of Tibetan origin is sufficiently shown by the language that they speak, by their Mongolian caste of countenance, and those unmistakable peculiarities that belong to the Tibetan race, and which are as well marked in them as in the Húniyas themselves. The Bhotiyas are, however, little inclined to admit this origin in their intercourse with Hindús. In the traditional account of the colonisation of the Bhotiya valley in which Milam is situate, and which is given hereafter, they declare themselves the offspring of a Rájput immigration from beyond the snows that succeeded a Sokpa colony, but they are usually called Sokpas themselves. Tibetan annals undoubtedly mention the existence of a trans-Himalayan Kshatriya kingdom, but it was the rulers that were of Hindú origin, not the people. On the boundary line between the Khasiyas and the Bhotiyas we find a mixed population, but no particular account of them need be given here, nor of the Hindu immigrants from the plains who have for so long a time monopolised all important offices in the country and who, at the present day, constitute what we may call the upper grades of hill society.

1 Travels, I., p. 4.
Much has been written regarding the Doms, the servile race of the hills and correctly enough supposed to be remnants of the original inhabitants. As we have noted they are of exceedingly dark complexion, as a rule, but not more so than the tribe of the same name in the plains and many Chamars. They have for ages been the slaves of the Khasiyas and been thought less of than the cattle and with them changed hands from master to master. It was death for a Dom to infringe the distinctions of caste laid down by the Hindu laws, such as knowingly making use of a hukka or any other utensil belonging to a Rajput or Brahman. Even the wild Raji, as we have seen, considered the presence of a Dom a source of defilement. The Doms are divided into a number of classes, chiefly according to occupation, like the Chamars of the plains, and which will be noticed hereafter. In the extreme west we find them on the right bank of the Indus, living in villages apart from the people and filling the same servile avocations. In Yasan, Nagar and Chilas they are very numerous and are "of very dark complexion, coarse features and inferior physique." They are found again in the same position amongst the Aryans of Kashmir and amongst the Dogras of Jammu. Here again they are noticed for their dark complexion, which unmistakably marks them out from the light-complexioned Aryans. They are smaller in limb, stout, square built, and less bearded and altogether exhibit a much lower type of face which centuries of servitude and oppression have not tended to modify. The Dhiyatras or ore-smelters of Jammu, corresponding to the Agraris of these hills and the Batalas of the Kashmir valley, who are curriers and musicians and correspond to the Harkiyas of Kumaun, should be assigned to the same class. The Bems of Ladak occupy a similar position and are blacksmiths and musicians. In Kunar and Kulu we have them again following the same trades classified with a tribe of similar occupation called Kohlis by the people of the lower hills, Chamars about Rampur on the Satlaj and by themselves and the Kunoria, Chamang. The same remark is made about them here also that they are usually darker than the Kunets around them. The smiths are called Domang in Kunoria and the carpenters

2 Drew's Northern Barrier, p. 29, 170.  
3 Ridgway's Tribes of the Hindu Koosh, p. 89.  
4 Ibid., p. 344; Cunningham's Ladak, p. 291.  
5 J. D. Cunningham's notes on Kunawar, p. 11.
are termed Oras and both are equally with the Kohlis considered of impure castes. In Nepal these helot craftsmen are represented by the Newars. Sufficient has been said to show that these Doms in the hills are not a local race peculiar to Kumaon, but the remains of an aboriginal tribe conquered and enslaved by the immigrants Khasas. In the plains we have them in the Gorakhpur district and with Khasas in Kattak and indeed over all the eastern districts of these Provinces, Oudh and Tirhut, but with these localities we have no concern here.1

In the country lying along the foot of the Kumaon hills from the Kosi eastwards we have a tribe known as Tharus which may be traced further east to the Bagmati river. They are dwellers in swamps and great rice cultivators and are proof against malaria. They even dread visiting the plains, where they say that they suffer severely from fever. To the east they are neighbours of the Mechis, a tribe of similar character living in the thickest part of the Tarai forest lying below eastern Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.

The Bhukas, a tribe somewhat similar to the Tharus, are found in the Tarai and Bhadar from the Pilibhit district on the east to Chandpur on the Ganges on the west, and a few scattered colonies also occur in the Dehra Dun. "They claim," according to Elliot, "to be Panwar Rajputs and assert that their chief, Udayajit, was driven from house and home in a quarrel that he had with his brother Jagatdeo, the Raja of Dharanagar and came to dwell with a few dependants at Banbasa on the Sarda. Udayajit had not been there long before his aid was solicited by the Raja of Kumaon, whose territories

1 See, however, Wilson, I., 60, 181: Beanes’ Elliot, II., 34: Notice of Gorakhpur district, Gaz. VI. 2 Stewart describes the Bhukas of Bijnor thus:—"The members of the tribe are of short stature and very sparse in habit, in both respects somewhat exceeding the ordinary Hindu peasant of the district, from whom, however, they do not differ much in general build or in complexion. The eyes are small; the opening of the eyelids being narrow, linear and horizontal (the inner angle not inclining downwards so far as observed); the face is very broad across the cheekbones and the nose is depressed, thus increasing the apparent flatness of the face; the jaw is prognathous and the lower lip thick and the moustache and beard are very scanty." Some of these peculiarities are more marked in some individuals than in others, but one Bhuka will always recognise another, though a Kumaoni says he only recognises them when they speak. The features of the women are similar to those of the men. J. A. S. Bengal., XXXIV., II., 150. Beanes’ Elliot, I., 50. Stewart shows that the tradition communicated to Elliot is certainly unknown to one great section of the tribe.
required defence against some of the neighbouring powers. Success attended the efforts of the Panwár, and the gratitude of the Rája induced him to offer his defenders an asylum in his territories. Upon this they are represented to have left Banbasa and to have taken up their residence in their present abodes.” We cannot accept this tradition, no more than that of the Khágí Chauháns, who assert a descent from the true Chauháns. The Bhukssas are nothing more than an outlying Hinduised branch of the great non-Aryan family. In physique and habits they are allied to the Thárus and have nothing in common with the immigrant plains’ tribes in Kumaon. There is no doubt that their settlement in the Tarái is of ancient date, for in the Ain-i-Akbari the name Bhukssár was given to the tract occupied by them up to a recent date. They are now in every respect in their habits and customs Hindus of the ordinary low caste type and employ Gaur Brahman purohits in their marriage and funeral ceremonies. Some are Sikhs and the wife follows the religion or path of her husband and the children that of their father. One of the Tarái parganas is called Nánakmatha after the great Sikh guru, and there is a Sikh shrine there as well as in Dehra and Srinagar. The Bhukssas bear an excellent moral character; they are inoffensive and peaceable as well as intensely indolent and ignorant. They have no arts or manufactures and live on the chase and a scanty cultivation. They are particularly fond of wild pig, and this may be one of the reasons why they change the site of their villages every couple of years. In some places they collect the wild forest produce, but in no systematic way. They also engage in gold-washing, extracting gold-dust to the value of a few hundred rupees a year from the auriferous sands of the Sona Nadi. They are slowly but surely dying out and now number only a few thousands. We shall now proceed with our examination of the remaining tribes in the records which we have quoted.

In the list of the Mahábhárata¹ we find the Sakas in one place between the Vakrátupas and Videchas or people of Tirhúta; again between the people of Mount Jamuna and the Nishádas or foresters of the Puropanisadas, who lived west of the Indus; again between the Sátvases, a

¹ Wilson, VII., 165, 171, 179, 186.
people of the north-west Panjáb and the Kokarakas and once more in the Váyu Puráña at Tusháras between the Patti or people of Piti and the Antacháras or borderers. We may gather from these statements that there were several colonies of this tribe in existence in the Pauránik times. They are the Sače of classical writers and the Indo-Skythians of Ptolemy. The language which they spoke was known as Sákári and in one enumeration follows the language of Berar and precedes that of Váhlíka. Again it is called a víhdha or dialect of Prákrit with the synonym Chandálíka and ranks with the Sábari, Abhirika, Drávira and Utkali or the language of the people of Orissa. The Váhlíka elsewhere is said to be a language fit for celestial personages in the drama, the Sákári for Sa-káras, Sakas and the like, the Sábari and Abhirika for wood-cutters and leaf-gatherers, and the Paisáchi for charcoal-burners and by others for barbarous hill tribes. The grammarian Lakshmídhara enumerates the following as Pisácha countries where the two dialects of Paisáchi are spoken:—Pandya, Kekaya, Váhlíka, Sahya, Nepála, Kuntula, Sudhesha, Bhotá, Gándhára, Haiva and Kanojana. Of these Pandya may refer either to the hill kingdom of the Pándavas or that in the Panjáb and the remaining names to the Himálaya and adjacent countries. A later writer gives as a generic epithet for the provincial dialects the term “according to the manner of those who speak like Nágas.” This designation appears to have been derived from the writers on rhetoric who assign Sanskrit to the gods, Prákrit to men, and for the wild barbarous tribes scarcely deserving the name of men, such as the Chandálás, Abhirás, &c., the tongue of Nágas or serpents.

Though the use of the term ‘Nága’ in the extract quoted in the preceding paragraph may be strictly conventional, there can be no doubt that a race called Nágas existed to whom the hooded-snake was sacred. The Nágas were found in the plains and the hills, and in addition to the account of the Nága city already quoted we may mention their assembling with their king Takshák under the auspices of Indra to oppose the building of Indraprastha. The Nágas appear to have been a race of trans-Himálayan origin who adopted the snake as

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1 Muir, II., 46, 50.  3 Lessons in íd., 82.
their national emblem and hence gave their name to the cobra. Mr. Wheeler writes of them:

"The seats of these Nāgas were not confined to India, for they have left traces of their belief in almost every religious system, as well as in almost every country in the ancient world. They appear to have entered India at some remote period, and to have pushed their way towards the east and south; but whether they preceded the Aryans or whether they followed the Aryans is a point which has not yet been decided. In process of time these Nāgas became identified with serpents, and the result has been a strange confusion in the ancient myths between serpents and human beings; between the deity emblem of the Nāgas and the Nāgas themselves.

The great historic fact in connection with the Nāgas, which stands prominently forward in Hindu myths, is the fierce persecution which they suffered at the hands of the Brahmans: the destruction of serpents at the burning of the forest of Khandava, the terrible sacrifice of serpents which forms one of the opening scenes in the Mahābhārata, and the supernatural exploits of the youthful Krishna against the serpents sent to destroy him, are all expressions of Brahmanical hatred towards the Nāgas. Ultimately this antagonism merged into that deadly conflict between the Brahman and the Buddhist which after a lengthened period of religious warfare terminated in the triumph of the Brahman. From these data it would appear that the Nāgas were originally a race distinct from the Aryans and wholly without the pale of Brahmanism; that those who became Buddhists were either crushed or driven out of India during the age of Brahmanical revival; and that the remainder have become converts to Brahmanism and appear to be regarded as an inferior order of Kshatriyas. But there is a vitality in certain religious ideas which seems to render them immortal; and whilst the Nāgas as a people have almost disappeared from the Indian continent, the worship of serpents, or a reverential fear or serpents as divine beings, is still to be found deeply rooted in the mind of the Hindu. The general question perhaps properly belongs to the history of the Hindu religion; but it should be distinctly borne in mind while considering every legend which seems to point to the Nāgas."

The earliest tradition regarding Nepāl gives the name Nāg Hrad or 'tank of the serpent' to the valley in which Kathmānda and Kumaon is situate and makes it the residence of Karkotak, Baja of the Nāgas, whose memory is still kept alive by an annual meeting for bathing and worship at the Tau-dah tank. Takshak also is said to have taken up his abode in the valley for a time, and here it was that he became reconciled to Vishnu through the good offices of the Bodhisatwa Aryavākāiteswara. This legend apparently implies a compromise

1 History of India, I, 147, 411; II, 650. 2 See Ferguson's 'Trees and Serpent Worship,' London, 1872. General Cunningham makes the epigraphic inscriptions of the Punjab a branch of the Nāga race. See also J. B. R. A. S., No. 7 p. 185, IX, 238 Ind. Ant. IV. 5. 3 Wright's Nepal, pp. 77, 86, 95. There are similar legends about Keshō. 
between the followers of Buddha, the Brahmans and the snake-worshippers which curiously enough exists to the present day.\(^1\) In Garbwal we have traces of the Nágas in the names of pattís Nágpur and Urgam and the universal tradition of their residence in the valley of the Alaknanda. At the present day Seshnág is honored at Pandukeshwar, Bhekal Nág at Ratgaon, Sangal Nág at Talor, Bánpa Nág at Margao, Lobande Nág at Jelam in the Níti valley and Pushkara Nág at Nágnāth in Nágpur. In the Dún, also, the Nágsiddh or Nágáchal hill is sacred to Báman Nág and in Kumaon we have the great Nág at Bastir in Mahar; Kedár Káli-nág in Pungaraun; Bíni Nág in Baraun; Karkotak Nág at Pandegaon in Chhakháta; Vásuki Nág in Dánpur; Nágdeo Padamgír in Sálam and numerous temples to Nágrája. The rock bearing the Asoka inscription at Kálsi in the Dún is popularly reported to mark the boundary laid down of old between the Nágas Skythians of the hills and Hindustan. The Sakas are named in the list with the Nágas and were, as we shall see, also of Skythian origin, but belonged to a very much later immigration of that race in historical times. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that a branch of the Nága race was once the ruling power in these hills. Were these lists compiled at one time and did they represent the facts of one period, there would be much difficulty in attempting any solution of the inconsistencies which they apparently present; but when the main portion of the work can be shown to be the result of various hands at different times, we may fairly assume that the lists themselves suffered at the hands of successive editors.

The name 'Khasa' like the name 'Nágá' is of far too wide significance to be that of a single tribe and its use at the present day to distinguish the cis-Himalayan people of Khas-des from the Bhotiyas is more generic than particular. In the Vishnu-Purána, Khasa is the daughter of Daksha, wife of Kasyapa and mother of the Yákhas and Hákhás.\(^3\) It is under the former name that the Khasas were known in the first century, for we find a translation of it applied to them as an epithet by Pliny. The name Khasa does not occur as the name of a people in the Vishnu Purána, but we have instead the

\(^1\) It is not to be understood that Buddhism existed in Népál at the time of the scenes represented in the Mahábhárata if they took place in the fourteenth century before Christ; Gesesteer, II., 66.

\(^3\) Wilson, VII., 75.
names of the Yakshas, who are attendants on the Adityas with the Râkshasas and Nâgâs, and are here relegated to the domain of fiction. The Yakshas were present with the Râkshasas and Nâgâs at the milking of the earth. Vaisravana or Kuvera, the god of mineral wealth, is said to be lord of the Yakshas and to dwell on Kailâs, and the Yakshas are also known as Grâmanis. In the Mahâbhârata the Khasas do not occur in the great list, but they are mentioned in the Karna-parvan as living in the Panjâb, between the Arattas and Vasâtis. The Arattas and the people of the country of the five rivers are pronounced contemptible, and 'there a Bâhika born a Brahman becomes afterwards a Kshatriya, a Vaisya or a Sudra and eventually a barber.' This statement would imply the existence of a well-known settlement of Yakshas or Khasas at an early period in the Panjâb. It was to Yaksha (Yakkha) artists that Asoka entrusted the building of his numerous Chaityas, and they were also employed by him as mercenaries in his army. In the time of Nâgârjuna, Nâga artists were employed. In the Dipavanas, the names of the Theris are given who converted 'the multitude of Yakkhas in the Himavat.'

In the Vâyu-Purâna the Khasas are one of the tribes that Sagara would have destroyed were he not restrained by Vasishtha, and in Manu they are, as we have seen, reckoned only as degraded Aryans of the warrior caste. In the Varâha-sannîta, the Khasas occur after the Kunâhas or people of Kunor, the Cone of Pliny. In the Mârkandeya-Purâna, the name Khasa is found between Ekapada and Suvarna-bhûmi, the Eka country and the golden land which we shall see hereafter is probably the g-Nâri-Khorsam district of Tibet immediately to the north of Garhwal. There is a curious confirmation of this location in the story of the gold-digging ants first mentioned by Herodotus, who tells us that:— "Besides these, there are Indians of another tribe who border on the city of Kaspatyrus and the country of Paktyka; these people dwell northward of all the rest of the Indians and from them the men are sent forth who go to procure gold." Then he describes

1 Vide, 205. 2 Ibid, VI, 122. 3 As Res., XV, 108. 4 As Ret., p. 277. 5 Ind. Ant., IV, 162. Seng Yu, the Buddhist Chinese traveller, mentions a temple sacred to Bhagwân built by Yakshas in Udyâna: Beal’s Fâh Hian, p. 196. 6 Cunningham’s translation, p. 189. 7 Wilson, VIII, 202. 8 Ibid, X, 454: ante, p. 279. 9 Schlem on the gold-digging ants, Ind. Ant., IV, 226.
how this gold was thrown up by ants from their burrows. Now in a passage of the Mahábhárata, the Khasas are expressly mentioned amongst the northern tribes who brought presents to Yudhishthira and amongst them were presents of paipítika gold so called because it was collected by ants—(*pipítita*). This can only refer to the trade in gold dust with the miners of Thok Jalung in Tibet and indicates that at that early time the Khasiyas were the chief carriers or distributors. There is evidence to show the wide diffusion through an immense breadth of Asia of names having the apparently common root ‘*khas*’ or ‘*kho*’. We find it in the names Khophene, Khas, Khaspes, given to rivers of the Kábul valley by classical writers and in the Hindu-kush and Kashkára of the country to the north. Colonel Wilford¹ in his curious paper on ‘Mount Caucasus’ attempts to trace the Khasas from Kashgár through Kashmir and Kumaon to the Khasiya hills in Assam, and without accepting his conclusion we may assume that the facts recorded by him bear out the general result of a very wide extension of a Khasa race in pre-historic times. We may connect with them Kissia mentioned by Herodotus as an old name of Susa, and Strabo² also calls the people of Susa, Kissii, whilst Diodorus³ and Quintus Curtius⁴ mention the Kossaei amongst the principal troops of Darius at Arbela. We may also connect with their name the Caucasus of Pliny and the Kasion mountains of Ptolemy as well as his Kasia regio. The Caucasus includes the mountainous country to the west of Kashmir and south of the Oxus and the Kasion range runs thence eastwards to Nepál. As noted⁵ by St. Martín:—“le nom des Khaça a été de temps immémorial une des appellations les plus répandues dans tout le massif Himâlaien.” In the Ceylon archives, the name Khasa occurs⁶ amongst the tribes who submitted to Asoka in the third century before Christ, and from Táránátha we have the Tibetan version of Asoka’s conquests in the following story⁷:—“In the Champarana kingdom which belonged to the Kuruc race there was a king called Nemita who was descended from the Solar race. He had six sons born of lawful wives and besides them he had a son by the daughter of a merchant to whom he gave in appanage

the town of Pātaliputra, as a reward for his victory over the people of Nepāl who dwelt in the kingdom of Kasya and over other mountaineers." Here Nepāl is mentioned as the Indo-Hima-
layan country best known to the writer who at the same time distinctly connects the name with the Khasas. In the 'Chronicles
of Kashmir' we find 1 Khasa tribes occupying the deserted city
of Narapur at a time 'when the country was full of Dāradas,
Bhotiyas and Mlechchhas in the reign of Mildakula, the great
anti-Buddhist ruler, who reigned about 500 A.D. In the reign
of Kshemagupta the Raja of the Khasas compelled the king of
Kashmir to give up to him thirty-six villages. A Khasa was the
favoured lover of the notorious Kashmiri queen Dhida in the
eleventh century and was probably of her own clan, for she was
sunt of her successor, the son of Udaya, Raja of Sāhi or Lohara,
a small State near Abhisāra. These Sāhi Rajas claimed descent
from Sālivāhana, who is synonymous with the Saka Raja who
founded the Saka era. St. Martin states:—"On les (Khasas)
trouve cités en plus de quarante endroits de la Chronique Kash-
mirienne, parmi les principales tribus montagnardes qui confinent
au Kashmir." The natives of Kashmir are called Kshārus by
their neighbours in the surrounding hill-states and the name
Kashmir has undoubtedly connection with the tribe of Kshārus
and not with the mythic Brahmān-made Kasypa. Wilford records
that "when Parasurāma undertook to destroy the Kshatriyas, the
Khasas who then lived in the plains fled to the mountains in con-
fusion. Many went to Jalpesia and then ascended the passes." From
the above it is clear that at a very early period the Khasas
were the principal inhabitants of the regions to the west of
Kashmir, of Kashmir itself and of the hill country as far as Nepāl
and of a considerable part of the plains. They formed an im-
portant section of the Indian population found in these tracts
by successive invaders, and though now possessing a national
existence in Kumaon alone can still be traced from the sources of the
Kābul river to the Tista. The Khasas of the plains were driven
to the hills, the Vindhyas on the south and the Himalayas on the

1 Ac. Rea., XIV., 79, 70, 79: T. B. B. A. S., No. 54. The introduction regarding the creation of Kashmir, Jalodhava is represented as
"devastating the neighbouring countries Dārābhidrā, Jahundar, Gandhara and the territories occupied by the Sakas, Khasas, Tungaras and Māthavas."
north, and it is precisely in these places that we find them at the present day. We now find Khasas in the Kashkára country at the head of the Kunar valley and in the tracts adjacent to Kashmir. The Kunets of Kulu are still divided into two classes called Khasiyas and Raos, and we have the Khasiyas again in Garhwál, Kumaon and Nepál. Away from the Himálaya, we probably have them along the Vindhyán range and in the Bikaner desert as nomadic tribes under the name Khosa, most of whom are now Muhammads. Tod¹ makes these Khosas a branch of the Sehrás. They occur again as Musalmáns in the desert around Thar and Párkar in Sind and in Biluchistán under the same name Khosas,² and are particularly numerous between Bakhar and Shikápur. The local tradition is that they entered Sind with the Kalhorns and after the fall of that dynasty they settled about the desert between Márwár and the valley of the Indus. That these Khosas belong to the same race as the Khasiyas of Kumaon is not a mere suggestion, but is corroborated by the fact that the dialect of Hindi now current in Kumaon has its closest affinity with the dialect spoken in Márwár and the adjoining parts of western Rájpután³ and not with that spoken in the Gangetic plains and Rohilkhand. We have also sporadic colonies of Khasas and Doms in Orissa and Chutiya Nágpur.

We need not give evidence of the kind that we have collected more importance than it deserves, but there seems no reason for doubting that the Khasas were a very powerful race like the Nágás who came at a very early period from that officina gentium Central Asia and have left their name in Kashgar, Kashkára, the Hindu-kush, Kashmir and recognizable colonies at the present day in the hills from Kashmir to Nepál and in various parts of the plains and that the Khasiyas of Kumaon are of the same race. The account that the Khasiyas of Kumaon give of themselves tallies in all respects with the indications from other sources. They always profess to be Rajputs who have fallen from their once honorable position by the necessity of living in a country and in a climate where the strict observance of the ceremonial usages of their religion is

impossible, and undoubtedly this statement is supported by all the facts, so far as we are acquainted with them, which have any bearing on the question. It has been sometimes but hastily assumed, apparently from analogous circumstances in Nepal, that the Kumaon Khasiyas are a people of mixed Tibetan and Indian race. The Khasiyas of Nepal may have been less exposed to Aryan influences throughout their successive wanderings or may have been modified by admixture with Tibetan tribes. For as we proceed eastwards from the Káli we find, as has already been noticed, conditions of climate which however unlike those of Tibet must still be less antagonistic than those of the western Himalaya to the diffusion of a Mongolian race. But this admission does not affect the Khasiyas of Kumaon, who in physiognomy and form are as purely an Aryan race as any in the plains of northern India. The language of the Khasiyas, as will be shown hereafter, is a purely Hindi dialect both in its vocabularies and in its grammatical structure, and no signs of foreign admixture have hitherto been discovered in it. Supposed resemblances in feature between the Khasiyas and the neighbouring Tibetan tribes have helped to lead some to a conclusion different from that now given, but this resemblance has no real foundation in fact. The people of the plains no doubt differ greatly in appearance from those of the hills, but not more so than might be expected when we consider the great difference in the physical conditions of the countries that they respectively inhabit; nor more than the Aryan races of the plains owing to similar causes differ amongst themselves. The moist climate of lower Bengal, the comparatively dry climate of the North-Western Provinces and the still drier climate of the Panjáb with its great extremes of heat and cold cause those physical changes in the inhabitants that are so remarkable and clearly recognisable by the most casual observer. If to the effects of climate we add the influence of the various races who have from time to time invaded India we shall have reason to believe that much of the variation observed in the plains is due to circumstances which have been wanting in the hills. However this may be, this much at least is certain that, at the present time, the Khasiyas of Kumaon and Garhwal are in all respects Hindus. They are so in language, religion and customs.

3 Mr. Emerson's derivation of the name from the Arabic 'Hido' is entirely unassailable, J. R. A. S., IV., 172.
and all their feelings and prejudices are so strongly imbued with the peculiar spirit of Hinduism that although their social habits and religious belief are often repugnant to the orthodox of that faith, it is impossible for any one who knows them to consider them other than Hindu. Year by year with increasing communication with the plains, the hill Hindu is more and more assimilating his practice with that of his co-religionists in the plains, whilst to the north, the Tibetan Bhotiyas are becoming more observant of Hindu customs.

Kashkára occurs amongst the countries to which the ancient Khasa race has given a name. It is properly the name given to the States in the upper Kunar valley known now as Chitrál, Yassan and Mastúj from their principal towns. The ruling princes of these States still belong to the Kator family, the Kashwaktiya branch in upper Chitrál including Yassan and Mastúj and the Sháh Kator branch in Chitrál proper. The people there now speak a dialect in which there are many Persian vocables, but we have not sufficient evidence before us to show what the real nature of their language may be. If, as is probable, it be one with Dárd spoken by the adjoining races in Gilgit and Astor it is an Aryan language. From the inscriptions noticed hereafter we find a dynasty known by tradition as Katyúri in the Katyúr valley of Kumaon, certainly from the eighth to the sixteenth century and forming the stock of numerous petty principalities in these hills, and possibly we may look to the Khasiya Katuras of the trans-Indus highlands for the origin of these Kumaon Khasiya Katyúris. Mr. Thom's¹ and Sir H. Elliot² have suggested a connection between the Kators of the mountainous region beyond the Indus and the Kumaon Katyúris. There is certainly a striking similarity in sound between the two names, but, as we have often had occasion to remark, a coincidence of this kind is frequently merely accidental and more commonly delusive. There is a marked difference observed in the Pauránik records between the Sakas and the Yavana and the tribes classed as Nágás, Khasas and Khiráta, still they are all reckoned as Vrishulas, beyond the pale of Aryan concern, though some are recognised as of Aryan race. We have also shown that a race once occupied Garhwál

¹J. R. A. S., IX, 177. ²Dowson's Elliot, II., 408.
who were connected in religion and perhaps in race with the Nágás, and we may also notice the name Naora Somtou, in d'Anville's reproduction of the native map of China, for the tract between the Karnáli and the Ganges and Sanke Somtou for that lying to the west of the bend of the Satlaj. Tradition certainly assigns the Katyúris to the solar division of the Kshatriya race, but we know the assimilating influences of Hinduism as they work before us, frequently manufacture the four castes out of the existing material found in such wild countries as Kumaon and assign to sun-worshipping tribes the attributes of the Kshatriyas of the solar race. Even at the present day the proselytising of the non-Brahmanical tribes is going on and the wealthier amongst the converts are received into and intermarry with the so-called Rajpút tribes of the hills. There is therefore no insuperable obstacle to the reception of the suggestion of Mr. Thomas and Sir H. M. Elliot, and proceeding from such distinguished scholars it certainly merits some investigation at our hands.

The passage referred to in Elliot is as follows:—"The identity of the name and the period of the establishment of the Kators (sic) in Kumaon appears to render it possible that we have in them the descendants of those Kators who fought under the banners of the first Muhammadan conquerors." Kanak or Kank was the last of the Katorman kings of Kábul according to the Musalmán historians, and the same name heads the list of local kings in Garhwal according to several authorities. Elliot cites the following passage from a copy of the Jámí'un-tawdikh:—"After Básdeo from among their rulers (i.e. of the Indians) one was Kanak, and he was the last of the Kayormán kings," and Básdeo is also the eponymous founder of the Katyúri house of Joshimath in Garhwal. Kanak of Kábul had a Brahman minister named Kalar who slew his master and founded a new dynasty of which the names of many members survive. Abu Rihán Al Birúni makes the Kábul dynasty to be of Turkish extraction and states that before the death of the last of the line some sixty generations had sat on the throne of Kábul.

We may assume, with Elliot, that the statement does not imply that the supreme power during this period remains in the same
family, but rather that the dynasty belonged to the same stock, whether Bactrian, Saka, Yueh-ti or Parthian. If we allow fifteen years for each of the sixty reigns preceding the murder of Kank we arrive at the middle of the first century before Christ for the establishment of the dynasty, or about the time of the rise to power of the Yueh-ti branch of the great Skythian race. We have to show that besides the Skythian immigrants to whom the princely power belonged there was an indigenous Indian population in the Kábul highlands, and that this people can be reasonably connected with the people inhabiting the upper valley of the Kunar river at the present day, and that there are grounds for considering that both the subject Indians and the ruling Skythians moved eastwards, and that the former may be one with the Khasiyas and the latter one with the Katyúris of Kumaon. With regard to the Khasiyas we have nothing to add to the arguments already adduced to show that they belong to the great Khasa race.

The name 'Saka' is given to a race of Skythian origin, for whom more accurate information is obtainable from Greek, Roman and Chinese writers and the researches of numismatists. Still in the Indian records there are so many allusions to them that we cannot pass them over in silence. So much had they influenced Hindu writers that in the Pauránik cosmogony they are given a 'dvarpa' or island to themselves, situate between Krauncha and Pushkara in the Víshnú Puráña, and by other records placed in a somewhat different relation which it is unnecessary to discuss here. Bhavya became king of Saka-dwípa and its divisions were named after his sons Jalada, Kumára, Sukumára, Manívaka, Kusumoda, Mandákí and Mahádruma. The mountains and rivers 'that wash away all sin' are mentioned and the castes of the different classes, the Mriga of the Brahman, the Mágadh of the Káshtriya, the Mánasa of the Vaisya and the Mandaga of the Súdra and 'by these Víshnú is devoutly worshipped as the sun.' Is it only a coincidence that the name 'Kumara' (Komaro) occurs on the coins of the Indo-Skythian rulers of Kashmir, and in other early Indo-Skythian inscriptions and that the sun-god was the favourite deity of many of them? We have

1 Wilson, VII. 199. 2 Cf. the great emigration of Marga Brahmanas from the trans-Indus, region to India and the Maccor-Kalinga-Brahmans of Ptolemy in the valley of the upper Ganges.
shown how the name ‘Saka’ occurs in the Paurānik records,¹ the Mahābhārata² and Manus,³ and add the following texts not before cited. The Brahma-Purāna and Hari-namsa make the descendants of Narishyanta, son of the Manu of the present period, Saka.⁴ In the Bhavishya chapter of the Vīyu-Purāna the Saka are mentioned as among the royal races,⁵ and in the Vishnu-Purāna it is recorded that “after these (Andhrabhṛitiya kings) various races will reign; as seven Abhiras, ten Gandhabhillas, sixteen Saka, eight Yavanas, fourteen Tushāras, thirteen Mundas, eleven Maunas, who will be sovereigns of the earth 1,399 years and then eleven Pauras will be kings for 300 years. When they are destroyed the Yavanas will be kings, the chief of whom will be Vindhyākṣita; his son will be Puranjaya; his son will be Rāmechandra; his son will be Dharma, from whom will be Varāṅga and others (five) who will rule for 106 years. From them will proceed thirteen sons: then three Bāhillas and Pushpamitra and others to the number of thirteen will rule over Mekula.” This remarkable passage shows us the Abhiras and Gandhabhillas as predecessors of the Saka. The Abhiras, as we have seen,⁷ lived near the Indus associated with the Baktrian Greeks and Indo-Skythian inhabitants of the same quarter. The Matya-Purāna reads ‘Hūnas’ for ‘Maunas’ and Wilford⁸ considers the Maunas or Mundas to be the same as the Mandai of Pliny and Marun-lai of Ptolemy and to be also reckoned with the Hūnas. In a Juina legend⁹ referred to hereafter Gandhabhilla is made sovereign of Ujain and was deposed by a Sāhi or Saka noble and the Kaišakila Yavanas are identified with a Grecian dynasty that ruled in Vākātaka, to the south of Haidarabad. These statements are so comprehensive that there is no necessity for further extending them by collecting the numerous similar references in other works, and we shall now proceed to examine some of the notices regarding the Baktrian Greeks and Indo-Skythians, recorded by Greek, Roman and Chinese writers.

We have now to examine more closely the history of the region
to the west of the Indus and show the links in the chain of evidence that connects it with

the history of Kumaon. The Greek and Roman geographers give us the materials from which we can judge of the condition of the Indus region in the time of Alexander, and the coins of Alexander's successors afford us means by which we may fill up many details for which other records are wanting. On the death of Alexander in Babylon in B.C. 323, India comprised the three satrapies of the Paropamisades, the Panjâb and Sind. The first lay to the west of the Indus and extended to the highlands in the neighbourhood of the Kabul valley. Its name recalls to our memory the Nishadha mountains of the Paurânik geographers, and refers not only to the Hindu-kush, but also to the western prolongation in the Koh-i-Bâba and Paghmân ranges. The inhabitants of the valleys of the Kabul, Panjshir, Nijrao, Tagao, Alining Kunar and Swât streams to the confluence of the Kabul river with the Indus were all known as Paropamisades or Paropamisades. Commenting on the statements of the geographers in this respect Lassen remarks that:

"We meet between the Paropamisades and the Indus a series of independent, warlike mountaineers, under their chieftains, separated into many smaller tribes, rich in flocks and herds; they are always called Indians, though no mention is made of either institutions characteristic of India or of Brahmans. This is doubtless correct, for they are the inhabitants of the Indian frontier, not exactly regulated by Indian customs, outcasts of the soldier caste, as the Indians might term them." Ptolemy makes the Koas or Kunar stream the principal river of the Kabul valley and does not mention the Kabul or Kophen river at all. The Koas joins the Indus and the Swât river or Suastus, from which the adjoining

1 See Further points in the history of the Greek and Indo-Scythian Kings in Bactria, Cabul and India, by Professor Lassen; ed. Roer, Calcutta, 1840. Cunningham Arch. Rep., II., 61. References in Dowson's Elliott, II., 403. Gazetter, N.W. P., II., 185, s. v. 'Sahâranpur district.'
3 The chief cities were (1) Orotopana or Kabura or Kabul, the people of which were called Kaboltis by Ptolemy; (2) Alexandria ad Caucum or Alexandria Opiane identified with Opian, 36 miles to the north of Kabul; (3) Cartana or Karana also known as Tetragonta and identified with Begrâm, 27 miles to the north of Kabul; (4) Nagra or Dilmopolis, the Begrâm near Jalalabad; (5) Pukelakotis or Penkelas (Pashkala), Hasitanagar on the lower Swât river; (6) Embolium or Ohind on the Indus at its junction with the Kabul river, the Utrakhanda of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims; and (7) Aornos, the ruined hill-fort of Râñigat above Nagra. 4 For a good map see Ptole. R. G. S. L., 110; also Cunn. Anc. Geog., 17.
district was called Suastene, joins the Koas. Under the sources at the Koas lived the Lambage (Lampatæ), the people of modern Lamghán. As we shall see, the Káfir, to the present day, extend from Lamghán through Káfiristán to the Kashkára mountains. A recent traveller who saw the Musalmán Kashkáras and the pagan Káfirs together in Chitrál could observe no such marked distinction between them as to justify us in believing that they belonged to different races. The Káfirs, however, speak a language based on Sanskrit, whilst their Musalmán neighbours, of necessity, have admitted a number of Persian vocables. For the latter, Persian is the language of civilisation and commerce, and in the same manner as a similar influence in India has added to the Hindi vocabulary there, Persian has materially influenced the original speech of Kashkára. According to Ptolemy, the Kunar was the most westerly river of India proper, but he does not make it the western boundary, for the Lambage who occupied the country for a whole degree to the west of that river are still reckoned as Indians. The district of Gandhára lay between the Swát river and the Indus and below the Lambage and Suastene lay Gorusia, which may be identified with the tract known as Gugiana on the lower course of the Kunar river and Bajaur, including Jandúl and Talásh at the junction of the Landái and Swát rivers. From the above summary we may fairly assume that the country now known as Kash-kára and inhabited by a distinct race was in the time of Alexander regarded as a part of India and was then inhabited by Aryan races however heterodox they may have been.

It is unnecessary for our purpose to notice the Indian satrapies of the Panjáb (Pentapotamia) and Sind. The other provinces of the eastern empire were Ariana and Baktriana. The former comprised Aria and Drangiana under one satrap and Gedrosia and Arachosia under a second satrap. Baktria under one satrap. On the death of Alexander, his officers distributed the older territories and the new conquests amongst the most powerful of their number. Alexander’s half-brother Arrhidæus and his expected son by Roxana were declared joint sovereigns. It is worthy of remark that amongst the kings of Baktria whose coins have been discovered some twenty-eight
names occur that are also found amongst the names of the companions of Alexander and the Diadochi that have been handed down to us by the Greek historians, so that we may regard the Baktrian kings as descendants of the chiefs who accompanied Alexander in his eastern campaign. At the conference of the chiefs, Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, was appointed satrap of the Paropamisadae. Eudemus was already military governor of the Panjâb and the civil rule was left in the hands of the native chiefs. Pithon, the son of Agenor, became satrap of the delta of the Indus: Stasanor and Siburtius held Ariana and Baktriana was committed to Philip. An empire not yet consolidated and now broken up into so many petty satrapies soon fell into disorder. In B.C. 317 we find Eudemus, Oxyartes and Stasander, who had succeeded Stasanor in Ariia, assisting Eumenes in his war with the Syrian king Antigonus, whilst Siburtius and Pithon espoused the opposite side. Antigonus was successful and from B.C. 316 to the defeat\(^1\) of his son Demetrius by Seleukus Nikator in B.C. 312 his sway was acknowledged through Ariana and Baktriana. In India, Chandragupta of Patna had taken advantage of the departure of Eudemus to make himself master of the Panjâb and perhaps also of the Kâbul valley. After Seleukus had firmly established himself at Babylon, he took the first opportunity that presented itself to reconquer Ariana and Baktriana and was preparing to wrest the Indian province from Chandragupta when disturbances elsewhere led him to believe that it would be more prudent to secure the Indian prince as an ally. Accordingly Seleukus surrendered the province of India to the Palibothran prince and appointed Megasthenes to reside at Patna as his ambassador. These friendly relations continued under the sons of both kings Amritajata (Amitrochates) and Antiochus Soter, who also sent Daimachus as his representative to the court of Patna. Antiochus Soter succeeded his father in B.C. 280 and died in B.C. 261. Antiochus II. surnamed Theos succeeded and died by poison in B.C. 246, when his son Seleukus Kallinikos became titular ruler of the east. Two years previously the Parthians had revolted and established a kingdom and an era of their own, and at the same time Diodotus proclaimed his independence in Baktria. Diodotus I. was succeeded by his son

\(^1\) Whence the era of the Seleukids.
Diodotus II., who reduced Agathokles, satrap of Arachosia, and Antimachus, satrap of the Paropamisades, to subjection and they acknowledged fealty to him by placing his name on their coins. These changes must all have taken place subsequent to the death of Asoka, whose edicts contain the names of Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas (of Cyrene), and Alexander (of Epirus), but make no allusion to the rebel leaders. The faction of Diodotus did not long enjoy their accession to power, for in a short time a Magnesian leader by name Euthydemus succeeded in expelling Diodotus from Baktria. We know nothing more of Baktria until we come to the eastern campaign of Antiochus III. (B.C. 212-205). After reconquering Media, Parthia and Hyrkania, Antiochus made peace with the Parthian Arsakes and proceeded to the invasion of Baktria. Euthydemus, however, was able to place himself in a position which obliged his antagonist to come to terms. He then urged that Antiochus had no reason for attempting to deprive him of his kingdom since he had never rebelled against Antiochus, but had only obtained possession of Baktriana by destroying the descendants of those who had before revolted. His son Demetrius carried further messages, and the result was that Antiochus accepted the peace that was offered and cemented the friendly relations with Baktria by betrothing his daughter to the son of Euthydemus. Antiochus then left Euthydemus in possession of Baktria (B.C. 208) and proceeded in person southwards to India. There he concluded a treaty with Sophagasesenus, the king of India, and in return for a number of elephants confirmed the Indian in the possession of the Paropamisades and the other Indian satrapies. Antiochus had hardly reached his head-quarters when Euthydemus, deeming it to be a favourable opportunity, marched southwards and annexed the cis-Himalayan districts to Baktria. This conquest was consolidated by his son Demetrius, who is styled "king of the Indians" by Justin, and whose authority extended from the sources of the Oxus to the delta of the Indus and from the Caspian Sea to the Satlaj and along the coast from the Indus as far as Gujrát. This statement is corroborated by the number and find-spots of the coins of his father and of himself. The variations in the portrait of Euthydemus on his coins show that he must have had a long reign, not less than thirty years
according to General Cunningham.¹ Up to the time of Euthydemos, the Greek princes used Greek legends only on their coins, but from the accession of his son Demetrius all the Greek princes of India and Ariana, over thirty in number, used the Indian language and a character, happily termed Arian, on the reverse of their coins. This character is, according to Mr. Thomas, akin to the Phenician and is written from right to left, like all other alphabets of Semitic origin.² If Mr. Thomas' suggestion³ be correct that in certain letters on a coin of Eukratides he has discovered the Seleukidian year 173, or B.C. 138, and on one of Plato Sel. 147 or B.C. 165, and on one of Heliokles Sel. 183 or B.C. 128, we shall have much to alter in the present arrangement of the Graeco-Baktrian princes known from their coins alone.

We know that Demetrius was old enough in B.C. 208-7 to have been employed as his father's agent in the negotiations with Antiochus, and allowing him forty years, we have the year B.C. 167 for his death and the accession of Eukratides, who according to Mr. Thomas' discovery minted coins in B.C. 138. There is no doubt that Eukratides succeeded Demetrius in Baktria, but may have left his rival in possession for a time of the Indian provinces. Justin tells us that:—"codem ferme tempore sicuti in Parthis Mithridates ita in Bactris Eukratides magni uterque viri regnum inuent;" referring to the rise at the same time of Arsaces VI., better known as Mithridates I., king of Parthia and Eukratides. Mithridates reigned⁴ from 173 to 136 B.C. and is represented as the avenger of the murder of Eukratides. Even granting that the coin of Eukratides bearing the supposed date B.C. 138 was the last issued in his reign, for which numismatic evidence based on a comparison of the portraiture and devices is wanting, the remaining events of Mithridates' reign, including the expedition to India and his war with the Syrian king Demetrius, can hardly be brought into two years. According to Clinton⁵ Demetrius made his preparations in B.C. 140 and entered Parthia in July, 139, and was captured at the beginning of 138, or according to General Cunningham⁶ in B.C. 139. In either case the

¹ Num-Chron., n.s., IX., 139. ² Ibid., III., 229. ³ J. R. A. S., IX., 1; see also Dr. Horsley's paper in Ind. Ant., VIII., 196. ⁴ Lassen, Bactrian coins, &c., p. 185, and 'A view of the history and coinage of the Parthians by J. Lindsay, p. 7: Cork, 1852. ⁵ Fast. Hist., III., 331. ⁶ Num. Chron., X., 238.
death of Eukratides took place at least two years previously, for we must allow that time to have elapsed in preparation for the Indian expedition, the stay in India and return of Mithridates to Parthia. We must place, therefore, the death of Eukratides in B.C. 141-40, and consequently either the date on the coin is wrongly read or the mints went on coining after the death of Eukratides in his name, or the dates given as those of Demetrius’ war with Mithridates are incorrect or the initial year of the Selenkidan era is wrongly placed. These are points that cannot be discussed here. During his expedition to India Mithridates is said to have subdued the country between the Indus and the Hypanis and was stopped in his onward march by news of the preparations made by the Syrian king. He returned to Parthia, annexing the old Bactrian satrapies west of Arachosia on his way, and probably left the Bactrian satrapies in the Indian region to those in whose hands he found them. Both Mithridates and Eukratides in the earlier years of their reigns were much harassed by the incursions of the Skythians and Sogdians, and it was only when he had rest from them that Eukratides was able to turn his attention to India. Whilst returning from an expedition in which he penetrated India as far as the Satlaj he was murdered by his son, ‘who had been associated with him in the sovereignty.’

The name of the parricide is nowhere given, but General Cunningham considers that he must be one with Apollodotus, who is named in several passages of importance in connection with Menander in terms that would imply that they had much to do with the extension of Greek influence in India. Indeed the coins which from numismatic evidence alone are assigned to a date following close on or contemporary with the coins of Eukratides indicate a marked departure from those that preceded them. The coins of the predecessors of Eukratides and even of Eukratides himself were minted by Bactrian kings, though in many cases giving bi-lingual inscriptions; but we now come to a series of kings of whom there is evidence to show that their home was in India and that any extension of their power was made westwards from India up the Kábul valley and who were more Indian than Greek in their habits. General Cunningham would include in this category the names of Antimachus
Nikephoros, Philoxenus Aniketos, Nikias Soter, Lysias Aniketos, Antialkidas Nikephoros, Theophilus Dikaioi, and Epander Nikephoros, who are known to us solely from their medals. Undoubtedly the death of Eukratides was the signal for disorder and his lieutenants everywhere hastened to carve out kingdoms for themselves. Those in Baktria were overcome by the Sakas, but for some time the cis-Himalayan satrapies remained in the hands of the Greeks. We must place the great expeditions of Apollodotus and Menander after the death of Eukratides (i.e., after B. C. 140)\(^1\), the former through Gujrât and Ajmere perhaps as far as Ujain and the latter through the Panjáb to the Jumna and thence through Oudh to the city of Patna. The number of the coins of Eukratides and the variety in their find-spots shows that he must have been one of the most powerful of the Baktrian kings; and the coins of Apollodotus and Menander, his successors, on numismatic evidence are comparatively as common. Strabo states that Menander crossed the Hypanis and penetrated eastwards as far as the Isamus,\(^2\) and the author of the "Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" notes that "even in his time" ancient drachmas were current at Barygaza (Broach) bearing in Greek characters the stamp of the kings Apollodotus and Menander who reigned after Alexander." In the epitome of Trajus Pompeius, also, the exploits of the Indian kings Apollodotus and Menander are referred to, so that it is probably to their expeditions that much of the local knowledge of the Yavanas proper is due.

The coins bearing Greek inscriptions belonging to this time illustrate the state of the country. Most are of such a character as to indicate their common origin in time and type. The number of names show that there were several petty states and that after the death of Eukratides there was no single ruling family to whom all acknowledged allegiance. There are few indications to show the relation of these princes towards each other or the order of succession. We may perhaps, however, assign the Apollo series to Apollodotus, as we find the standing Apollo with a tripod on the reverse on his coins, which are closely imitated by Straton, Dionysius, Hippostratus and Zoilus,

\(^1\) Apollodotus is supposed to be Bhagadatta, sovereign of Márvār. Weber, Hist. Ind. Lit., p. 181.
\(^2\) Not identified; Lassen agrees that Jumna (Jumna) may have to be read: Wilford suggests the Hāmganga under the name Buvāma.
\(^3\) 290 A.D. according to Reinsaud.
who may either be successors or lieutenants of Apollodotus: all bore the title 'Soter.' We now come to a class of coins consisting of degraded imitations of the pure Bactrian type with barbarous names of Indian and Parthian origin, of which those of Maues may be taken as the type. We have seen that the Parthians had occupied the country to the west of Arachosia, and they now seem to have advanced eastwards to India, for several of the earlier of these barbarian names may legitimately be referred to them. The type of the legends and figures on the coins of Maues at first approaches that of the coins of Demetrius, then we have imitations of the Apollo series and again the purely barbarian style. On some there are imitations of the horse and bow and quiver of the Parthian coinage.1 Connected with the medals of Maues are those of Azes, which closely imitate the former, and from their number and the localities in which they are found show that he must have attained to considerable influence. We have coins of Azes with the names of his generals Aspapati and Asvavarma: a Vonones with Spalabara and with Spalagdama, also a Pakores and Abdagases, all of which indicate a Parthian origin.

It is difficult to decide when the use of the Greek language ceased in upper India, for we learn that the Indian embassy2 to Augustus (B.C. 22-20) brought with them a document in Greek, written on parchment and purporting to be a communication from Porus or

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1 General Cunningham suggests that Maues was a leader of a tribe of Dahae Skythians called Meda and represented by the Mers of the present day: Arch. Rep., II, 59. The Meda are mentioned by Ibn Khurdadhbah as robbers at the end of the 7th century: Dowson's Elliot, I, 15. There is much to be said in favour of an early Parthian settlement in the Indus delta. Taranatha in a curious passage (La Comme's Vassilieff, p. 51) tells us that in the time of the Magadha King Darmachandra, the Turushka King was ruling in Kashmir and at Multan and Lahore the Persian (Parthian) King Hunimanta, who attacked Darmachandra and subdued Magadha and demolished its temples. The priests fled and Darmachandra died and was succeeded by his son Kanakchandra; who found himself a tributary of the Turushka. His cousin Buddhapatsha, who reigned in Benares, slew Hunimanta in battle and restored the law of Buddha, and under this king the Nalanda temple was destroyed and with it the records of the Mahayana school. Although there is no evidence to show that Nahapana of Gujrât was a Parthian as supposed by some (J.B.B.R.A.S., VIII, 288; IV, 1, 139), Gotamiputra takes credit for his victories over Sakas, Yavanas and Parthas or Parthians (Parthavas), and amongst them the successor of Nahapana. The author of the 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea' distinctly remarks of the Indus delta that the Indus had seven months, on the principal of which was Barbarikon, a trading seaport. Before this town lies a small islet and behind it in the interior is Minnagar, the metropolis of Skythia, which is governed however by Parthian princes who are perpetually at strife among themselves, expelling each other (Ind. Ant., VIII, 189). Arrian (150 A.D.) places the Astakenoi and Assakenoi to the west of the Indus as far up as the Kabul river, and these were formerly subject to Assyria and thence after a period of Median rule submitted to the Parthians (Ibid., IV, 85). J. K. A. S., XVII, 309.
Phor as he is called in the local records. We know that writing on parchment was not an Indian custom, though it is reported of the people of An-sik (Parthia) as early as B.C. 120 by a Chinese author, and therefore we may reasonably identify Porus with one of these barbarian Parthian kings. Again, according to Apollonius of Tyana, Greek was spoken in the Panjáb even by villagers up to the middle of the first century after Christ. Our estimate of the state of the country west of the Indus is further confirmed by the statement of the Chinese author regarding Sarangia that the inhabitants were very numerous and were continually electing petty sovereigns, and that therefore Parthia took the country under its protection. There is nothing to show that at this time (first century before Christ) there was one paramount power in upper India, but that on the other hand there were numerous petty principalities of Baktrian or Parthian origin is abundantly proved from the coins. These gradually show less and less of Greek influence until we come to the Kadphises series, but here we may conclude our researches into the history of the Yavanas pure and simple, for we can identify the author of the Kadphises group with the immigrant Skythians and Turks. We shall, however, add the references to the Yavanas in the local records to complete the subject.

In the Vishnu Purāña the Yavanas are said to be sprung from Turvasu and, as we have seen, are placed to the west of Bháráta. They occur between the Mlechchhas and Chinas in the list of the Mahábhárata, and are also one of the nations that Sagara was about to destroy when prevented by Vasishtha. In the chapter Yavanas in the Hindu Puráña, eight kings of the Yavanas are placed between the Sakas and Tusháras and the Váyu gives them a reign of 82 years, and there was also a dynasty of Kilakila Yavanas. Some records call them Yavanas in religion, manners and polity, and the Bhágavata mentions the names of five of their princes Bhútananda, Vangiri, Sisunandi, Yasonandi and Praviraka. The Váyu makes Pravíra, a son of Vidhyásakti, who reigned in

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1 Íbid., X., N. S., 898. 2 Íbid., XVII., 78. 3 Íbid., page 357. 4 Antica, page 358. 5 Antica, p. 386. 6 Identified by Mr. Bhum Dājī from the Ajanta inscriptions with a dynasty ruling in Vákutaka, a province between the Bay of Bengal and the Sri Sails hills south of Nalbari, and who ruled in eastern India shortly after the Sálas. J.B.B.R.A.S., VII., 53: VIII., 248.
Kāchhanspuri. The founder of the Sunga dynasty in Magadha is said to have engaged in conflict with the Yavanas on the Indus. In a passage of the Mahābhārata translated by Wilson it is stated that “all countries have their laws and their gods; the Yavanas are wise and pre-eminently brave.” They are mentioned in the edicts of Asoka and in the Allahabad inscription of the Guptas. Pānini refers to ‘the writing of the Yavanas’ in illustration of one of his grammatical rules, but we are not in a position to fix his date. But it is from their influence on the writings of the Hindus, and especially on the works devoted to astronomy, that the extent of their relations with India may be gathered. The Indian astronomers write of the Yavanas as their teachers. Varāha-mihira, who lived in 504 A. D., gives not only the entire list of the Greek names of the zodiacal signs and planets, but he also directly employs several of the latter side by side with the Indian names as well as translations from the Greek of technical terms. It is unnecessary to continue our search after the allusions to the Yavanas in the Hindu records, and we shall merely add the following references collected by General Cunningham. In the Milinda-prasna, or ‘Questions of Milinda,’ there is a long disputation between Nāgārjuna and the Yavana Milinda, raja of Sāgal. The time and place lead us to identify this prince with the Greek Menander, raja of Sākala or Sangala in the Panjāb between the Chināb and the Ravi. Dr. Kern quotes a fragment of the Gārgi-sankhya of the astronomer Garga written about B.C. 50, in which after mentioning Sālisuka, one of the Maurya princes who died in B.C. 200, Garga says:—“Then the viciously valiant Yavanas, after reducing Sāketa, Panchāla, Mathura, will reach (or take) Kusumadhwaja (Pali bothra), Pushpapura (Pali bothra) being reached (or taken), all provinces will be in disorder assuredly.” Sāketa is Oudh, Panchāla we have already explained; Muthra was the chief city of the Surasenas and Pali bothra is Patna, the city of Chandragupta, Asoka and Sophagasenus, with whom the Baktrian kings had held friendly relations. Another passage, referring to the Greeks in India, is taken from Patanjali’s commentary on Pāniydi by Dr.

Goldstücker, where he says:—"The Yavana besieged Ayodhya; the Yavana besieged the Madhyamikas." Here Ayodhya is the sacred Ajudhya in Oudh and the Madhyamikas are the people of the middle-country (Madhyadesa) including the Gangetic districts south of Panchāla and north of the delta. Patanjali gives the word 'besieged' in the imperfect tense as an illustration of the rule that this tense should be used "when the fact related is out of sight, notorious, but could be seen by the person who uses the verb;" so that, as observed by Dr. Goldstücker, it may be considered Patanjali was contemporary with the event. Now Patanjali lived towards the middle of the second century before Christ, a date which will correspond very well with that to be assigned to Menander on other grounds. In the lists of the kings of Magadha we have the name Pushpamitra, who lived between B.C. 178 and 142. In the Mālavikāyānīmitra of Bhavabhūti, Pushpamitra, prince of Vidīsa, a kingdom lying north of the Vindhyas (Blīsa), before performing the great Asvamedha rite, is said to have let loose a horse that it might wander free over the earth for twelve months. The horse was attended by a guard under the command of his grandson Vasumitra and the party was attacked by some Yavana horsemen on the south side of the Sindhu river, which is identified by General Cunningham with the Sindhu river in Narwar. Tūrānāth, the Tibetan Buddhist historian, also states that the first invasion of India by foreigners took place during the reign of Pushpamitra and five years before his death, so that the great expedition of Menander in which he overran Oudh and the Gangetic valley as far as Patna cannot have been earlier than B.C. 147. From all these indications we cannot assign to the Yavanas any direct connection with the Kumaun Himālaya, notwithstanding the statements of respectable authorities to the contrary.

We have now to return once more to Baktria and to the accounts that have survived of the tribes inhabiting the countries in its neighbourhood.

1 Pāṇini, p. 230.  2 Wilson’s Works.  3 See further Dr. Rajendra-rala Mitra’s essay.  4 On the supposed identity of the Greeks with the Yavanas of the Sanskrit writers in J. A. S. Ben., XI.: III., 4., 246, in which he considers the term ‘Yavana’ was the name of a country and of its people to the west of Kandahār which may have been Arabia, Persia, Media or Assyria, probably the last; subsequently it became the name of all those places and again of all trans-Indus casulicious races, including the Baktrian Greeks of Kābul, but at no time referred exclusively to the Greeks of Ionia; and with it read Weber’s article in Ind. Ant., IV., 246.
Euthydemus in his negotiations with the Syrian king Anti-
ochus III. (B.C. 208) urged amongst other matters that “those
wandering tribes who were spread in great numbers along the
borders of the province were alike dangerous to them both, and
that if ever they should gain admittance into it, the whole country
must inevitably fall into barbarism.” Sixty years previously the
Parthians had won their independence and were steadily preparing
for the encroachments which Mithridates afterwards made on the
southern provinces of Baktria, though they too had to contend with
barbarous foes from the east. We fortunately have several allusions to
the inroads of the Skythians in the classical authors. Pliny writes:—

“Beyond this river (the Oxus) are the peoples of Scythia. The Persians
have called them by the general name of Saces, which properly belongs to only
the nearest nation of them. The more ancient writers give them the name of
Aramii. ** The multitude of these Scythian nations is quite innumerable:
in their life and habits they much resemble the people of Parthia. The tribes
amongst them that are better known are the Saces, the Massagetae, Dahae, &c.
(19 names). Indeed upon no subject that I know of are there greater discrep-
cancies among writers from the circumstances, I suppose, of these nations being
so extremely numerous and of such migratory habits.”

In the epitome of Trogus Pompeius it is stated that the
Saranae and the Asiani, Skythian tribes, took possession of Sog-
diana and Baktria, and as this statement comes immediately before
the allusion to the Indian exploits of Apollodorus and Menander, we
may consider it as occurring immediately before their time. He
further informs us that the Tochari received their kings from the
Asiani, so that the two names must refer to one tribe. Curtius
states that the Skythians and Dahae were the first to invade India.
Strabo writes that:—

“** The Macedonians gave the name of Caucasus to all the mountains which
follow after Aruana, but among the barbarians, the heights and the northern
parts of the Paropamisus were called Emoda and mount Imaus; and other names
of this kind were assigned to each portion of this range. On the left hand oppo-
site to these parts are situate the Skythian and nomade nations occupying the
whole of the northern side. Most of the Skythians, beginning from the Caspian
Sea, are called Dahae Skythae, and those situated more to the east Massagetae and
Saces: the rest have the common appellation Skythians, but each separate tribe
has its peculiar name. All or the greatest part of them are nomads. The
best known tribes are those who deprived the Greeks of Baktria: the Asii,
Pastai (Asiani?), Tochari and Sakarunni, who came from the country on the

1 Num. Chron., IX, 134: Rawlinson’s Herodotus, IV, 205.  2 Book
5 Book XI., Ch. 2.
other side of the Jaxartes opposite the Sakas and Bogdian, and which country was also occupied by Sakas; some tribes of the Dahae are surnamed Aparni, some Xanthili, others Pissuri."

Arrian⁸ identifies the Skythians to the north of the Jaxartes with the Sakas. Amongst these names we may refer the Asii and Pasiani to the same tribe as the Asiani of Trogus, and as this tribe belonged to the Tochari, there remains only the Sarancæ of Trogus, Sagaraukæ of Ptolemy, and Sakarauli of Strabo—all synonymous with the Sakas or Sús. The Chinese annals clearly show that the Yueh-ti or Tochari and the Sús were the only two barbarian tribes in this neighbourhood at this time.

During the reigns of Mithridates I. of Parthia and Demetrius of Baktria, the Skythians were continually making incursions from the east and were with difficulty repelled. Phrahates, the successor of Mithridates, called in their aid against the Syrians, but the Skythians arrived too late to take part in the war and the Parthian king refused to pay them or lead them against some other foe. They accordingly commenced to ravage Parthia itself and Phrahates fell in battle against them (in B.C. 126), in which his Greek mercenaries joined the enemy.⁸ These Skythians can be none other than the Sakarauli branch of the Sús and the last of them to leave Ta-hia for the south, for we find that Artabanus II., uncle and successor of Phrahates, died a few years afterwards in a fight⁴ with the Tochari, who must have been a branch of the Yueh-ti, the successors of the Sús in Baktria. The Sakas are further mentioned as giving the name Sakastone to the Paraitakene district in Drangia (or the valley of the Helmand), and their capital city was Sigal, now identified with Sekuha, one of the principal towns of Seistán.⁵ From the above we learn that the Sakas were the principal tribe in the earlier immigrations of the Skythians and that to many Skuthæ and Sakæ were synonymous terms; at the same time they were divided into a number of clans, each having its own name, sometimes allied and sometimes at war with each

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⁸ See Cunningham, Arch. Rep., II., 47, for his speculation as to the modern representatives of these tribes. He connects the Aparni with the Ahara (p. 39-49); the Xanthili with the Jata (p. 54), and the Pissuri with the Paraitæ (p. 51).
⁹ Bk. IV., 1, 4. ⁶ Lindsey's Parthia, p. 13; Rawlinson's Sixth Monarchy, p. 109.
⁴ "Scythæ demopulata Parthia, in partiam revertuntur. Sed Artabamus bello Thogarïa illato, &c." Here the Skythians are distinguished from the Tochari, who are the Tushâras or Tukhâras of the Parânas.
⁸ J. B. A. B., IX., 19.
other, and that wave after wave of these clans poured across the Altai, pushing forward those that had preceded them. Our further illustrations are from Chinese sources.

In the Chinese works T’ien Han-shu, and S’hi-ki or ‘Historical record,’ we possess most valuable information on the state of the countries adjoining Baktria from the third century before Christ. Mr. Kingsmill informs us that according to the unanimous tradition of the Chinese, the tribes of the founders of the Chinese power under the name Chows were driven from their original seats in the land of Ban by barbarous tribes known as Diks, later on called Hinyuk or Hündjuk. Allied with these were the Himwans, the Hien-yun of modern Chinese. Both of these tribes are by the earlier writers of the Han dynasty connected with the Jung of the Chow authors, a name which by the time of the Hans had become changed to Nú in the title of the Hiung-nú. From other sources we learn that a race called Yueh-ti occupied the provinces of Kansuh and the Tangut country to the east of the desert of Gobi in the third century before Christ, and that they were harassed by the Hiung-nú and fled before them westwards. The T’ien Han-shu records that in B.C. 221, ‘the Tung-hú had become a formidable power and the Yueh-ti were in a flourishing condition. The Shen-yu of the Hiung-nú was named Tow-man. The latter meeting with a reverse in his contest with Tsin moved northward.’ Here mention is made of only three nations the Tung-hu, Hiung-nú and Yueh-ti. In B.C. 206, Maoulun, the Shen-yu of the Hiung-nú, engaged in hostilities with the Yueh-ti, whom he defeated. In B.C. 176, in consequence of reprisals on the part of the Chinese, the Hiung-nú invaded and occupied the country of the Yueh-ti, while Laulan, Wásun, Háki and twenty-six neighbouring states submitted to them. The king of the Yueh-ti was taken prisoner and his barbarous conquerors made a drinking-cup from his skull.

From the Shi-ki of Szema Tsien we learn that in B.C. 138 Djang-kien, Marquis of Po-wang, was sent as an envoy from China.
to the Yueh-ti, to induce them to make cause against the common enemy, the Hiung-nú. Being compelled to pass through the Hiung-nú settlements along the northern face of the Kuen-lun, Kien was recognized and taken prisoner and detained there for ten years. When he succeeded in making his escape he travelled westwards for ten days and arrived at Da-wan, then occupied by the Yueh-ti, but not progressing in his negotiations, was sent on by the high road to Gang-gu. This latter country adjoined the territory occupied by the greater Yueh-ti, whose king Sze had been killed by the Hiung-nú and they had set up his heirs in his stead. The Yueh-ti had overcome Ta-hia and taken up their residence in that country, which was rich and fertile, and it is recorded that "they would rather be exterminated than submit to the Hiung-nú." From the Yueh-ti, Kien went on to Ta-hia and remained a year at Bingnan-shan. He was desirous of returning by Tibet, but was again captured by the Hiung-nú and detained until the death of their Shen-yu in B.C. 126, when he escaped to China and in B.C. 123 gave this interesting account of his travels. From this record we know that in B.C. 128 the greater Yueh-ti had already occupied Ta-hia or Bakhtria. From other sources we learn that the Yueh-ti had found another named tribe named Su already settled in those countries and drove them to occupy the country to the north-east of Fergana and the Jaxartes.

In these Sus we recognise the Sahas of the Puranas and the Sakasauli, Sagaraucar, Saruncæ and Sacœ of classical authors. From the Marquis Po-wang we learn that they had been driven out of Kashgar as early as B.C. 138 and out of Ta-hia before B.C. 128. The Sus pushed onwards and occupied Kipin, a country which is often named in the Chinese annals and is also incidentally noticed by the traveller Fa-hian. From a comparison of all the accounts, Kipin lay along the upper part of the sources of the

2 Cunningham derives this name from the Sagar, or iron-headed mace, which was their national weapon. Arch. Jour., II. 23, 43. We read that Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, who certainly lived in the first half of the second century before Christ, carried his arms into the country of the Susas (Seres) and Phurul (Phauni, Phrumi). Some refer the Phrumi to the Græce Skythians of Ptolemy, who held Yarkand, and identify the Susas with the people of Su-le, an old name of Kashgar. According to Ptolemy the Sacœ lived to the south of the Græce Skythians, and this allocation of the tribes agrees well with the Chinese accounts. These Sacœ and Phrumi are mentioned elsewhere with the Tochari and V. de St. Martin connects the Phrumi with the Phaunas of the Indian records: see Nova Chron., I. 2, 168.
Kábul river and is the Hu-phi-na of Hwen Thang (Yuen-chwang). It appears to have varied so much in its extent as to represent an ethnographical rather than a geographical term. The Yueh-ti were in turn pressed by the Ausuns or Ouusuns, probably the people of Wu-sun1 to the north-east of Du-wan described hereafter, and who following in the wake of Sús, occupied Tahia.

That the Yueh-ti were of the same race (not the same tribe) as the Sús may be considered probable from the fact that we have no record of there being other than three well-known nations of Skythians in this neighbourhood at this time: that the Yueh-ti tribes occur with the Sakarauli, a presumably distinct Saka name in the enumeration of Strabo, and that they are included with the Sús under the name Sace by most classical authors. Tahia, on its conquest by the Yueh-ti, was distributed into five governments or provinces, viz., Hieou-mi, Chouang-mo, Kouei-chouang, Hy-tun and Ton-mi. So soon as the Yueh-ti had settled down in Baktria, one branch crossed into Kipin or Ariana and drove the Sús from the Kábul valley into the valley of the Helmand. The portion of Kipin annexed by the Yueh-ti was called Kao-fu2 (Kábul) and its people are described as like the Indians in their habits and character. They were more merchants than soldiers, and before the conquest of the Yueh ti, one part belonged to Parthia, due to the kings of India and one to the kings of Kipin. The conquest of Kipin was effected by Khiu-tsi-hi, the chief of the Kouei-chouang or Gu Shan tribe, a name of which we have traces in the city of Gu-szo near the great salt marsh to the west of Tangut. Khiu-tsi-hi reduced the leaders of the other four tribes3 to submission, declared himself king and imposed the name of his own tribe on the entire nation.4 The conquest of Kipin took place about B.C. 38, for we

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1 Kong-kuu was the Chinese name for Shihgüm or Sogdiana, which appears to have been by Sakas (here Yueh-ti) as late as B.C. 40, and who were then at feud with the Wu-sun: Jour. Anth. Inst., V., 46.
2 Ma-tian-lin notes:—
3 The kingdom of Kao fu was known in the time of the Ilians. It is situated in the south east of the great Yu-che. It is likewise a considerable state. Their manners resemble those of the inhabitants of India and they are gentle and humane. They carry on much commerce with India. India, Kopome (Kábul) and the country of the VI. are three kingdoms which are conquered by force and lost by weakness;" Ind Ant., IX., 16.
4 De Gugnacs has the names Hieou-mi, Chouan-mi, Kuei-chouan, Ilie-tun and Kao-fu, which last was established on the conquest of Kipin. Kinproth gives the names in the text.

5 Kinproth's Tableaux historiques de l'Avie, p. 153: Paris, 1825: Lasser's Baktian Coins, p. 164. Other names for the Gu-shan tribe are Kuei-chouan Kwai-chung Gaul-chang. 'The earlier coins of Kouang-khiplhas bear the name of the Greek king Herennus on the obverse which would lead us to suppose that he enshrined a Greek ruler in Kábul at least.'
read that it occurred a century after the deputation of Djang-kien to the Yuen-ti, who were then in Kasbgar. Khieu-tsi-hi died at the age of eighty and was succeeded by his son Yen-kao-chang, who may be identified with the Hima-kadphises of the coins. Before examining these coins we shall give the geographical notices of the Chinese annals, which in every respect confirm the results arrived at independently from our examination of western records.

Saema Tsien, the Chinese author to whom we are indebted for Geography according the account of the embassy of Kien, furnish us in his Shi-ki with further geographical indications which shed much light on the political relations of this period. According to him Da-wan¹ lay to the south-west of the Hiung-nú territory and due west from China some 10,000 li. It had seventy subordinate towns and a population of about 100,000. "The soldiers use the bow and spear and shoot from horse-back. To the north lies Gang-gu; west, the country of the Yuen-ti; south-west, that of the Tochari²; north-east, Wu-sun; east, Han-mow and Yu-tien.³ Wu-sun lies north-east of Da-wan about 2,000 li. Its people are herdsmen and of similar manners to the Hiung-nú. Its bowmen are 10,000 in number and they are daring and quarrelsome. Formerly they were subject to the Hiung-nú, but now they are in a prosperous condition. They marry their near relations and refuse to pay homage at court.

Gang-gu⁴ lies to the north-west of Da-wan. It is not so large as Da-wan, but is as large as the country of the Yuen-ti and the manners and customs of the people are similar. It can muster 80,000 to 90,000 bowmen. On the south it has relations with the Yuen-ti and on the east with the Hiung-nú. Im-tsaï⁵ (or Im-tsaï ar-gun) lies to the north-west of Gang-gu some 2,000 li; it is as large and its customs are alike. It can muster 100,000 bowmen; it overlooks the great shoreless marsh reaching to the northern sea. Da-yue-ti⁶ (or the country of the great Yuen-ti) lies west of Da-wan 2,000 or 3,000 li. The Yuen-ti dwell north of the Gwai-shui.⁷ To their south is Dahia⁸; west, An-sih; north, Gang-gu. They are herdsmen and nomads with customs similar to those of the Hiung-nú. They can muster 100,000 to 200,000 bowmen. In former times

¹ Yarkand ² On the upper affluents of the Oxus. ³ Khoten. ⁴ Part of Ferghana. ⁵ On the Syr-darya. ⁶ The Dahan north of the Oxus. ⁷ Oxus. ⁸ Balkh.
they were rash and under-rated the power of the Hiung-nú and rejected all accommodation. The Hiung-nú attacked and routed them; Shen-yü the Lao-shang killed their king and made a drinking cup out of his skull. Formerly the Yueh-ti dwelt between Dun-bwang¹ and Ki-hin, when they were invaded by the Hiung-nú, they were compelled to emigrate to a distance. They passed Da-wan, invaded Da-hia on the west and overcame it. Following the course of the Dú-gwai-shui they fixed their royal residence on its north bank. A smaller portion of the tribe which was unable to accompany them sought the protection of the Giangs² of Nan-shan: this branch is known as the smaller Yueh-ti."

"An-sik³ lies west of the Yueh-ti about 1,000 li. The country is open, the land tilled. It produces both rice and wheat. Distilled liquors are used. Its cities are like those of Da-wan; those dependent on it, large and small, are about one hundred in number. The extent of the country is about 1,000 li square. It is a very powerful state. It overlooks the Gwai. There are marts where the people and merchants meet to buy and sell. Carriages and ships are used for the transport of merchandise to neighbouring countries perhaps 1,000 li off. Silver is used in coins and the coins bear the likeness of their kings. When the king dies, the image is immediately changed for that of the new ruler. They write on skins of parchment and make books of it. To the west of An-sik is Tiou-chi⁴: north, In-tsai-ar-gan. Tiou-chi lies about 1,000 li to the west of An-sik. It overlooks the western sea and is an agricultural country producing rice. There are great birds there producing eggs like water-jars.⁵ The inhabitants are very numerous. They are continually electing petty sovereigns. In consequence An-sik has taken it under its protection, but treats it as a foreign country. The country is good but disorderly. Da-hia lies upwards of 2,000 li south-west of Da-wan, to the south of the Gwai-shu.⁶ Generally speaking the country is open. It has cities and dwellings similar to Da-wan. It has no supreme sovereign; each city and town elects its own petty ruler. Its soldiers are weak and cowards in fight. The people are good as merchants. The Yueh-ti attacked it from the west and completely

¹ Now She shan in Kansu. ² Tibetans. ³ Parthia. ⁴ Sarragia. ⁵ The turtle's egg. Yule's Meto Po, 112, 362. ⁶ Gwai.
subdued it. The population is numerous, probably over a million. Its capital is called Lam-shi-ching. There are marts for the purchase and sale of merchandise. To its east lies Shin-duh. Djang-kieu said that when he was in Da-hia he saw keang bamboo staves and shih (Sze-chuen) clothes. He asked whence they were obtained. The people of Da-hia said their traders went to the Indian markets. India is distant from Da-hia to the southeast about (several) 1,000 li. Generally speaking, the country is settled and resembles Da-hia. Its climate is damp and hot. Its people use elephants in war." Thus ends this valuable succinct record.

Returning to the coins we find amongst those imitating apparently Arsacidan models an unique one bearing on the reverse the legend—

\[\text{\textit{tuganxonvtoq Hagau Saka koggavov}}\]—of the Saka king Heraus.

The last word 'koggavov' is by some translated 'ruler' and is connected by them with the Homeric Greek kolgavos, but besides the great improbability of a Homeric title being revived for the first time by a barbarian king, we have evidence to show that the word is to be connected with the tribal name of the king. On the coins of Kadaphes and Kadphises, we have the forms 'choranu,' 'kornu,' and 'korsea' in Greek, instead of 'korvanou' and 'kushan,' 'khushan' and 'gushan' in Arian; and on those of Kanerki, Oerkeri and Basdeo it occurs as 'korno' on coins and as 'gushan' in inscriptions. In the Manikyala inscription of Kanishka so often quoted in these discussions, Kanishka or Kanerki is styled "The increaser of the dominion of the Gushans" (Maharaja Kanishka Gushanavasa e-mvardhaka), and in the Panjtar inscription we have a second reference to a Gushan prince (Maharayasa Gushanasa). It is also worthy of remark that the word 'korano' occurs only on those coins where the Greek 'basileus basileon' or 'king of kings' of the

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1 Demapra, Zarasp. 2 Shin-tnh in the Han annals; T'en-chah in Ma Tsaolin. 3 Also called Ch'ien-Kien, the Tobang kiao of de Guignes. 4 The name of a hill in Sze-chuen producing bamboo with long joints and solid hearts known as male bamboo in India. 5 Thomas in J. R. A. S., IX., 20. 6 Some connect the 'Sa' in 'Su-Hermusa' and in 'Chora-asa' with the 'Sa' of Sakas and the name Hermusa with Herana. 7 Thomas' P. Insep., I, p. 46. 8 J. R. A. S., XX., 226. 9 Arch., Rep., V., 57. 10 The legend on the coin of Herana may appear to be an exception, but his coin does not bear a title equivalent to 'king of kings,' but merely that of satrap or sarasas.
Greek legends is rendered by the Skythic equivalent 'rao nano rao.' We have traces of the latter still in the old Indo-Skythic province of Gujutt in the title 'Ra of Junagard'; in Gilgit, where the old rulers had the title 'Ra' and the old name of which is 'Sargin'; throughout Rajputana and the Dakhin in the title 'Rao'; in most Rajput clans in the titles 'Rao' and 'Rawat,' whilst the head man of Spiti is still called 'Nana,' and the honorific title 'Nana' is common amongst the Marathas. It is not clear whether we are to regard the word 'korano' as purely the name of a tribe or a ruling family and the equivalent of 'Gushan' in the inscriptions or the name current in the tribe for a king or ruler and added on in the same way as 'Soter,' 'Dikaios,' 'Theos' and the like. In any case it was a title characteristic of the Yueh-ti tribe and may possibly be still found in the name 'Reno' applied to the most honoured clan in the Hindu-kush. If the conjecture that Hima (Ooemo) Kadhphieses is one with Yen-kiao-chang be accepted we may assign to his father and the founder of the dynasty, Khiu-tsi-hi, the coins bearing the legend kozola-kadaphes chorano sathou, and on the reverse the legend—'kushanga yathaasa kujula-kaphasea sachcha dharma-pidasa,' 'the coin of the Kushang king Kujula-kaphosa, the crown of the true dharma.' Have we here the Kushang clan of the Yatha or Ye-tha, a name by which the Yueh-ti were known later on? On a coin of Ooemo Kadaphises we have the Baktro-Pali legend—Maharajasa Rajadhirajasa sarva-lingua-satwasa Muhiswarasa Koth-pisa—'Of the Maharaja, supreme king, lord over all people, the great lord, Kathpisa.' In Kujula-kaphosa or Kozola-kadaphesa we have the representative of the Kushang tribe; and if 'korano' be taken to have the same meaning as 'kushang' we have further members of the same family in the Turushkas of Kashmir—'Rao nano rao Kaneri korano,' 'Rao nano rao Oeeki korano,' and 'Rao nano rao Bazdeo korano.' Heraus the Sakas also bears the title 'korano' and he was certainly not of the Gushan clan of the

1 Ind. Ant., III., 193. 2 Jessamer, Buddi, Kachh, &c. 3 Bidulph's 'Tribes of the Hindoo-kosh,' p. 24. 4 Thomas' Princes, II., 190 and J. A. S. Bisc. 5 M. Klaproth in his 'Tableaux historiques' writes (p. 138):—'Un autre Chineux me raconte que Ye-tha etait originellement de nom de la famille de leurs rois et qu'il est devenu plus tard celui de toute la nation; on le prononce aussi Yida. Leur empire s'étendait dans le septéme siècle et les Ye-tha deviennent tributaires des Turcs.' 6 We have also a Kozola-kadaphesa who may be identified with this Kozola-kadaphesa, but both names are read distinctly.