CHAPTER - II

Geographical Background

A

The Zone under consideration includes the regions of Kapiṣa and Gandhāra and the intervening area between these two states which formed one kingdom in the 7th century A.D.

The country of Kapiṣa has been celebrated in the foreign accounts. Indian literature preserves a few direct references to the land of Kapiṣa. References to Kapiṣa in its adjectival form Kapiṣayana has been found for the first time in Pāṇini's Ashtādhyayī and Kautilya's Arthasastra.

In the Kiskincha kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyana, Kapiṣa is mentioned along with Takṣaśilā (Taxila), Sākala (Sialkot in Punjab), Pushkaravatī (Charsadda), Aratta (Punjab), and Bālhi (Bactria). From the description of pañchanada, Kaṁsira, Gandhāra and the above-mentioned countries in the Rāmāyana one after another, it appears that the author here describes countries and towns of north-western India.

In the Ārya-mañjuśrī-Milakalpa, Kapiṣa is associated with Vakhala (i.e. Bactria) and Udyāna (i.e. Swat) and Kaṁsira. Sometimes this state is also mentioned with Kaṁsira, China and Nepāla as the countries of the north in it. Mention of Kapiṣa once with Bactria, Swat and Kaṁsira and again with Kaṁsira, China and Nepāla, in the above mentioned text may indicate its topographical position on the northern frontier of India, near about these countries, mentioned above.
Besides, another characteristic feature of Kapiśa also points to this fact. This state has been always associated with yakshas, piśāchas, gāndharvas, nāgas, etc. in the earlier as well as later Brahmanical and Buddhist literature. Yakshas, gāndharvas, and kinnaras are depicted as demi-gods in the Indian literature, while dānavas, dāityas, piśāchas, nāgas etc. represent the demons. But their continual presence noticed in different treatises describing the northern frontier of India throughout the ancient period indicates that all these might have been inhabitants of frontier countries known for their particular customs and manners which differentiated them from the people of North India proper.

Foreign accounts more explicitly describes the topographical position of Kapiśa. Among foreign author's, Pliny was the first to refer "to the districts of Capisene and its capital Capisa, which was destroyed by Cyrus" emperor of Persia. "Solinus calls it Caphusa (altered by the Delphine editors to Capissa)". The geographer Ptolemy places the city of Kapiśa among the country of Paropamisadea i.e. Hindukush region.

The country has been referred to as Ka-pi-shih in the Su-kao-seng-chuan, Kai-yuan-lu, Hsi-yü-chi, and Ta-Tang-tzu-en-ssu-san-ts'and-fa-shih-chuan and She-kia-Fang-chi. I'tsing, who visited India in the end of the 7th century (A.D. 671-695), refers to Kapiśa in his itinerary entitled Nan-Hae-ki-kwii-Niu-Fa-Chuan (Nun. Cat. 1492). According to him Kapiśa maintained
a temple named after the place of its origin in Nalanda at that time for its Brethren. Moreover, in his *Kau-fa-Sang-Chuan* (Account of Fifty Six Priests or Buddhist converts who visited India during the later half of the 7th century), he records the gradual abandonment of the Kapiśa-China road due to the disturbances caused by the Arabs. A late Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon refers to it, the form being Karpisaya or Kapiśaya (Ka-pi-she-ye).

Another name in Chinese, which shall be considered in connection with our study of the topographical position of Kia-pi-shih, is Chi-pin.

According to *Ch’ien-Han-shu*, Chi-pin was bordered on the north and the north-west by Ta-yueh-chi kingdom including Ta-hsia and on the south-west by Wu-yi-shan-li and separate from Kao-fu. It appears from the same treatise that Chi-pin could be reached by a person travelling from the direction of China by crossing Hsien-tu.

M.A. Stein demonstrated that Hsien-tu was situated along the Indus from below Darel to Mirabat "some eight miles above the side valley of Kanda belonging to the Swat." In Southern parts of Ta-hsia were Chitral and probably Kafiristan. Wu-yi-shan-li may be located in the Seistan area. Kao-fu was included within Kabul region.

These identifications suggest that Chi-pin of *Ch’ien-Han-shu* included ancient Suvastu (Swat) and at least parts of
Gandhāra and Arachoshia. "The name Chi-pin, archaic Kiad-pin, ancient Kiai-pien and middle Chinese Kiei-pyin (*Ka(t)s-pin (*Len), seems to have been based on the word *Kaspir, which can be related to Kaśmīr(a) through the intermediary form *Kasvir(a)."

This suggest the inclusion of at least a part of ancient Kaśmīra in Chi-pin. The incorporation of these different regions into one unit indicates that Chi-pin of the Chien-Han-shu denoted the political (or an administrative) jurisdiction of a country which could be reached through Hsien-tu and which had within its limits a portion of North-Western India.

The same can be said about Chi-pin of the Hou-Han-shu, which states in the 11th chapter that it could be reached by crossing Hsien-tu; and also indicates that a road extended through Chi-pin to Wu-yi-shan-li. "In the Chinese translation of the Divyavadāna, Chi-pin means the charming Kaśmīra city."

The Tang-shu, records that "the country of Zabulistan and Bamian is bordered on the east by Ki-pin." That means Bamian and Zabulistan forms the north-western and south-western frontiers of Chi-pin. It is interesting to note that this description of Chi-pin's boundary corresponds to that of the Chien-Han-Shu and also with Hsuan-tsang's Kapīṣa. Perhaps for this reason, the Chinese of the T'ang period probably had no idea of the location of Chi-pin of earlier sources. It appears that some of the Chinese texts located Chi-pin in Kapīṣa.
Early Muslim geographers (9th-10th century) do not mention it by name, but includes this state within "Khorasan" and "Khorasan and Its Marches." They refer to its mountain ranges, rivers, climate and different cities etc. The famous scholar Al-Bakrūni specifically records the name of this territory as Kayabish or Kapiṣa. He also notices its climate, mountains, river system, trade routes, and trading marts, etc.

The name Kapiṣi is equally referred to in a bilingual coin of Eukratides (2nd century B.C.), which represents the city deity of Kapiṣi ('Kaviseye nagara-devatā'). The said coin is found in large numbers in the ruins of Begram in Kohistan. The satrap of Kapiṣa is also mentioned in the Manikyala Bronze casket inscription (1st century B.C. or 2nd century A.D.). The excavation of the Begram, carried on by the French Archaeological Delegation under the supervision of M. Hakin, discovers the ruins of the city of Kapiṣi, the capital of this area during the Kushana period.

Thus from the collected evidence, we can at least presume that the names Kapiṣa and Kapiṣi are well-known to the indigenous and foreign literary sources throughout the period concerned (although, this country may be designated by some other name by the Chinese). The word Kapiṣi is used to denote both a city and a country. Indigenous literature sometimes locates Kapiṣa within Northern India, near Bactria, Swat and Kaśmīra. Foreign accounts, more specifically places the city in the country of Paropamisadae or Hindukush region.
The joint testimony of literary and archaeological data assigns Kapisa to the south of Hindukush, which included Bagram in Kohistan and is stretched up to the border of Zabulistan.

The exact territorial limits of Kapisa may be determined with the help of the evidence supplied by Hsüan-tsang's Hsi-yü-chi, 'Life', and Shi-kia-Fang-Chi. In the first half of the 7th century Hsüan-tsang visited Kapisa (Ka-pi-shih) both on his journey to India and back. The pilgrim reached this country after travelling 600 li to the south-east from the "Monastery with Sacred Relics," in the Fan-yen-na (i.e. Bemian), through the defiles of snowy mountains and over the black ridges. According to him, "this country was above 4000 li in circuit (or 666 miles) with the snow mountains on its north and having black ridges on its three other sides."

In the account of his return journey, the pilgrim calls a part of this snowy mountains as Po-lo-si-na. Cunningham identifies it with mount Paresh or Aparasin of the Zend Avesta and the Paropamisus of the Greeks which includes Indian Caucasus or Hindukush. Again, Cunningham identifies black ridges with Koh-i-Baba, Paghman and Siya-koh-ranges in Afghanistan. Thus it appears from the above account that the land of Kapisa is surrounded on all sides by Hindukush and its spurs.

Moreover, we know from the Chinese pilgrim's description that Fan-yen-na is situated to the north of Kapisa, Tsao-ku-t'a to the south-west and Fu-t'i-shisa-t'ang-na and Lan-po
forms its western and eastern borders respectively. Fan-yen- 
na has been identified with Bamian, and Fu-li-shisa-t'ang-na 
with Kabul, Tsao-ku-ta with Ghazni area and Lan-po with 
modern Lamghan.

The extent of the country, thus situated, comprised 
according to Lassen the Ghorband valley, and according to 
R.C. Bhandarkar North Afghanistan. Jullien proposed 
Panjshir and Tagao valleys in north border of Kohistan. 
Cunningham, however, on the basis of the measurement of the 
country 666 miles (4000li), referred to above, rightly 
oberved that Kapiśa included the whole of Kafiristan 
together with valleys of Ghorband and Panjshir.

Hsiian-tsang did not include Kapiśa within the geogra-
phical limits of India. As already stated above, Indian 
sources on the other hand, sometimes places this tract of 
land within North India and sometimes beyond it with Nepāla, 
China, etc. Early Arabic and Persian geographers name all 
the country as Hind, which lies to the east of the river 
Helmund and extends upto Khorasan, thus comprising Ghazni, 
Kandahar, Kabul, Kapiśa in the north-western region together 
with the rest of India excluding Sind. Anonymous author of the 
 Hudud Al Alam includes this country with Khorasan and Its 
Marches. Al-būrūnī, in course of his description of the 
rivers of India, mentions Kayabish and its river system. 
As such, it must be admitted that as a frontier kingdom, 
Kapiśa was equally open to the cultural influences of India 
and central Asia from a very early time.
During Hsüan-tsang's time Kapiśa was a very powerful state being ruled over by a Kshatriya king. The Chinese pilgrim mentions ten of the neighbouring states including Lan-po, Nagara, and Gandhāra, Varana as dependencies of Kapiśa. Tsao-ku-t'a is possibly another dependency of Kapiśa.

According to Hsüan-tsang's already stated testimony, Kapiśa's eastern frontier is formed by Lan-po, which lies 600 li or 100 miles east of Kapiśa. The district is described by Hsüan-tsang as being 1000 li or 166 miles in circuit with snowy mountains on the north and black hills on three other sides. The Chinese pilgrim describes the road to Lan-po from Kapiśa as a succession of hills and valleys, some of the hill being of great height.

Lan-po, Lambátae of Ptolemy, has been referred to again and again in the Indian literature as Lampāka, Limpāka, Lampaka. Indigenous sources assign this country to the north-west division of India, in the neighbourhood of Gandhāra. The Chinese pilgrim clearly states that North India begins from the country of Lan-po. Muslim historians belonging to the later part of the period concerned, refers to Lamghan as a part of Hind. According to Cunningham, Hsüan-tsang's account of the route agrees with all the description of the route along the north bank of the Kabul river, so far provided by the 19th century travellers. In his opinion, modern Lamghan or Laghman corresponds exactly to Hsüan-tsang's Lan-po, which is a small tract of land being
1000 li or 166 miles in circuit, lying along the north bank of the Kabul river, bounded on the west and east by Aliningar and Kunar rivers and on the north by snowy mountains. This small tract is very nearly a square of 40 miles on each side or 160 miles in circuit. Lan-po, is one of the subordinate states of Kapiša in the 7th century A.D.

From Lan-po, proceeding to the south-east above 100 li (17 or 20 miles) and after crossing a large river and a high mountain, the Chinese pilgrim reached Na-kie-lo-ho country. Both the bearing and the distance point to Nagara of Ptolemy. Ptolemy places Nagara on the south of the Kabul river in the immediate vicinity of Jelalabad.

The kingdom of Na-kie-lo-ho is variously referred to in the Chinese literature. "The Na-kie-lo-ho of Hsüan-tsang is evidently the Na-kie (Ka) of Fa-hsien who uses the name for the city and the country." One Vinaya treatise, translated in A.D. 376, calls it Na-kie (Ka). It is also Na-ka-lo-ha of Sung yun's narrative in the "Ka-lan-chi". The full transcript of the Sanskrit name has been found by Julien in the Annals of the Song dynasty.

The Sanskrit name Nagarahāra occurs in the Ghoshrawa inscription. The place is mentioned in a 19th century work as Ninhar. The tract is known in modern times by the name Nungnehar.
As already stated above, Na-kie-lo-ho or Nagarahāra has been located by Cunningham in the vicinity of Jelalabad. The country is said to be 600 li or 100 miles from east to west and 250 li or 42 miles from north to south. The natural boundaries of the district being the Jagdalak Pass on the west, the Khybar Pass on the east, with the Kabul river to the north and Safed Koh mountains to the south, well suits the measurement given by the Chinese pilgrim.

Masson noted that "the whole area from Balabagh to Darunta which corresponded to Nagarahāra of Hsüan-tsang (as already stated), was littered with ruins of topes, tumulis and caves and a city of considerable extent called Begram. As mentioned above the country of Nagarahāra was ruled by the king of Kapiša during the period of Hsüan-tsang's visit.

Next to Na-kie(ka) lo-ho, the Chinese pilgrim describes Kien-t'ō-lo, i.e. Gandhāra. This country is situated about 500 li south-east of Hilo, a city of Na-kie-lo-ha. Gandhāra has been celebrated in the Indian literature from the time of the Rigveda. The Rigveda alludes to Gandhāri, an ancient tribe, settled on the extreme north-western border of undivided India. Gandhāra is more frequently referred to in the literature of the later period. The Áhuttara Nikāya includes Gandhāra and Kāmboja within sixteen Mahājanapadas of India. One Jātaka story even includes Kaśmīra within Gandhāra.

The Rāmāyana, however, more explicitly states the
position and extent of Gandhāra. The Rāmāyana places Gandhāra on both banks of the Indus with its two royal cities Pushkalāvatī for the west and Takshaśila for the east.

Varāhamihira, however, on the authority of Parāśara, says that Takshaśila and Pushkalāvatī are separate constituent region of north-west India along with Gandhāra, Yaśovatī and Himatala. References to Gandhāra region round Indus, occur in the literature of the later period. Puranas datable to our period, refers to Gandhāra as a country of north India. Rājaśekhara notices this country but not as a part of Indian territory. The Ābhīdhāmačintāmani possibly refers to this country under the name Sākhi (Turushka), i.e. Shahis who were Turks. It is possible for this reason, Rājaśekhara does not include Gandhāra within India. But reference is made to Gandhāra (or Dihanda) in the Vaijayanti of Yādava Prakāśa as the country of Udichya (north-west) division.

On the whole, Indian literature represents Gandhāra as a country of the northern or north-west India, situating on both banks of the Indus.

Gandhāra is equally well-known to the foreigners from the time of Alexander. Alexander's historians did not mention this area by name. But Arrian referred to tribes of Astakenoi and Assakenoi who lived along the lower section of the Kophes, i.e. Kabul river. This may indicate the people settled in this region.
According to Strabo, Gandharities lay along the river Kophes, between the Khoaspes and the Indus. \(^{112}\) Ptolemy places Gandhāra between Suastos (Swat) and the Indus including both banks of Koa immediately above its junction with the Indus. \(^{113}\)

Muslim chronologists refer to it as Kandahar or al-Kandahar i.e. Gandhāra and locates it on both banks of the Indus. \(^{114}\)

Thus, there appears to be a difference of opinion between indigenous sources and classical historians, so far, as to the extent of Gandhāra is concerned. They have, no doubt, used the term to denote both the people and the territory which lies on both sides of the Kabul river up to its junction with the Indus. Whereas Indian and Muslim sources unanimously locates it on both banks of the Indus, Greek and Roman classical historians place it on the west of that river.

Indian and foreign epigraphs make mention of Gandhāra as a country and a people as early as the time of Darius. \(^{115}\) Gandhāra janapada is associated with Yonas and Kambojas in the Rock Edict V and XII of Aśoka. \(^{116}\) The name of this territory appears in the inscription of the later period as well. \(^{117}\) The data supplied by these epigraphs corroborate the evidence already collected from different sources.
Hsüan-tsang is the only author among the Chinese, who describes exactly Gandhāra's topographical situation, extent, boundary etc. He places Gandhāra 500 li to the east of Hilo, a town of Nagarā, as already stated above. In his opinion, Gandhāra's eastern border touches the Indus river. Uddyāna (Swat) and Fa-la-na forms its northern and southern border respectively. "Gandhāra is 1000 li or 166 miles from east to west and 800 li or 133 miles from north to south." Cunningham identifies Gandhāra with that part of land in north-western India, which lay between Jalalabad on the west and Indus on the east and hills of Swat and Buner and Kalabagh on the north and the south respectively, i.e. the districts of Peshawar, Und, Charsada and Rawalpindi. Gandhāra has been one of the subject state of Kapiṣā during the period of Hsüan-tsang's visit as mentioned above. Ta-cha-si-lo i.e. Taxila, stated to be the eastern capital of Gandhāra was under the rule of kings of Kaśmīr during the time of Hsüan-tsang's visit.

The Chinese pilgrim visited Fa-la-na, another dependency of Kapiṣā on his return journey. The word Fa-la-na has been rendered into Sanskrit vāraṇa and varanu. Varaṇa is about 666 miles (4000 li), in area. This tract of land has been placed to the south-east of Tsao-ku-t'a (Ghazni) by Hsüan-tsang. This state has been rightly identified with Banu, comprising the whole of the two large valleys of Kurrum and Gomal rivers against the suggestion
of St. Martin who preferred to identify the said region with Vanih. According to M.A. Stein, the Varana of Hsuan-tsang represents the ancient Varanu, modern Buner between the rivers Swat and the Indus. But Stein's suggestion proves incorrect in the view of geographical situation of Varana and Varanu as explained by S. Levi.

Among the subject state of Kapisa, we may include the name of Tsao-ku-t'a, as the visit of the king of Kapisa to Tsao-ku-t'a indicated. This state has been identified with Ghazni region as referred to above. Watters more correctly identifies the capital with the old city of Zabul.

Thus, the regions under consideration, extends from Kapisa Bagram in Kohistan in the north to a south-southeastern direction up to Peshawar including territories of Kafiristan, Langhan, Jelalabad, Charhada, Und, Peshawar, Bannu and Ghazni region respectively.

Thus, the Indian, Chinese, and Muslim sources not only describe in detail the topographical situation of all these countries, but also supply information about their mountain ranges, river system, routes, trading centres and cities as well.

Information about the physical features of the regions concerned may be gleaned from Hsuan-tsang's description and Indian and Muslim sources. According to Hsuan-tsang,
snowy mountains and black ranges encircle Kapisa on all sides. The Chinese pilgrim further locates Po-li-si-na in the snowy mountains. Another part of the snowy mountain with a lake on its summit is also referred to by Hsüan-tsang. Cunningham takes Po-li-si-na to be identical with Paropamisus, Paresh or Aparasim of Zend Avesta and identifies Paropamisus and the snowy mountain with Hindukush, as stated earlier. The black ranges i.e. the mountains not covered by perpetual snow, has been identified by Cunningham, with Koh-i-Baba, and Paghman and Siya-koh ranges.

Hsüan-tsang locates two other hills A-lu-na and Pi-lo-sho-lo in Kapisa. According to Cunningham, modern Ranighat hill represents the A-lu-na or Aruna mountain of Hsüan-tsang. However, at present, the proper location of this mountain is not possible. Pi-lo-sho-lo, another hill located in Kapisa, is named after the presiding genius of the hill who had the form of an elephant. Julien restores the word as Pilusara. The situation of the hill is recorded to the south-west of the capital of Kapisa. At present, Pilusara remains unidentified.

As stated before, Lan-po, situated on the eastern border of Kapisa, have snow covered hills on the north and black ranges on three other sides. As stated above, the Chinese pilgrim further notices that the route to Lan-po lies through very mountaineous region. The She-kia-Fang-chi adds that Lan-po's northern frontier reaches Tukharistan.
Therefore, this snowy mountain may be a part of Hindukush and the black ranges represents some of its branches.

Na-kie-lo-ha (Nagara) is also surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains, steep and difficult of passage. These ranges may be identified with the eastern and western hills on which stood Jagdalak and Khabar Pass and Safed Koh mountain to the south.

Two hill range has been located in Gandhāra. One of them is situated near Po-lu-sha, i.e., the hill of Dantaloka with a cave in which Prince Sudāna and his wife has taken refuge. This mountain has been identified with the Kashmiri Ghar hill, to the east-north-east of Palodheri. The second hill has been identified with Karamar hill by Foucher.

Hsiian-tsang states that Varāṇa is full of hills and forests. This description agrees well with the upper part of Kurram valley which is a very hilly region. Tsao-ku-t'a posses high mountain ranges.

So we find that Hsuan-tsang's description of these countries fully supports the notion expressed by the indigenous literary sources.

At least, one Muslim geographer describes this mountainous region. Although, there appears to be some mistakes in the Hudud-Al-Alam, its greater detail indicates
author's intimate knowledge of these areas. According to him, "when this mountain after having turned aside from the province of Balkh reaches the frontier of Madr belonging to Tukharistan, so many small and large branches spread out of it in those districts that God only knows their number. And from each of its branches many other spurs shoot off which spread in the region of Tukharistan, Andarab, Panjhir, Jariyana, Bamian, Bust, Rukhad, Zamindavar and Ghaznin and further stretch down to the limits of Sind."

Therefore, it appears from the above account that the Kapisa and Gandhara for the most part belong to a hilly region, and only a small portion of them forms the valleys of Peshawar and Banu. But the mountain ranges of Kapisa and Tsao-ku-t'a are of greater height than that of Lan-po, Nagara, Gandhara, Varanā, and the physical features of these countries vary accordingly.

The climatic condition of different parts of Kapisa and Tsao-ku-t'a (Ghazni) are equally dependent on their respective physical features. Kapisa has a very cold and windy weather. Tsao-ku-t'a has equally cold climate with much frost and snow. Lan-po and Nagara belongs to a milder zone with little frost and no snow. The weather of Gandhara is warm with scarcely any frost or snow. Al-biruni also takes note of this fact. He refers to Gandhara which belongs
to a warm climate and experiences tropical rains in summer for four months, beginning from Śrāvana, and spring rain for a few days for the colder zone. "At present, parts of Punjab have a rainfall of about 15-25 inches and the mountainous regions of the north-west also records the same. The valleys of Peshawar, Kohat and Bannu record about 10-15 inches of rainfall."

"The North-western regions show a climate tending to extremes of temperature and they are dry in general. The higher region of Kabul faces very cold winters and hot summers, snow-falls in January and February, followed by rains in March and April."

Indian, Chinese, and Muslim writers on geography record the river system of the regions of our study. Indian sources mention a few rivers belonging to the zone under consideration, such as Kubhā, Suvāstu, Sindhu, Krumu, and Gomatī. Vedic Kubhā, medieval Kuhu, Koa or Kophes of the Greeks, or the Kabul river is the most important among them. The Suvāstu i.e. Swat is the easternmost tributary of the Kabul river. The Krumu is the modern Kurram river and the Gomatī is modern Gomal and Sindhu is the Sind river.

The Chinese pilgrim, speaks of five 'large' rivers in connection with his description of Kapisa and its
dependencies. He locates a large river to the north-west of the capital of Kapisa. Kapisa's capital has been identified with Begram in Kohistan and therefore this river may be identified with the Panjshir, another tributary of the Kabul river, which flows to the north of Begram.

The next large river is situated to the south of Lan-po. Hsüan-tsang crossed this river on his way to Nagara. This is no other than the Kabul river itself, on whose southern bank lies ancient Nagarahāra identified with the ruins near Jelalabad, as stated before. Reference to third great river is made in connection with pilgrim's journey to Po-shi-ku-lo-fa-ti (Pushkaravati) from Purushapura (which is modern Peshawar). This 'great river' is undoubtedly the Kabul river itself. Peshawar lies to the southern bank of this stream. Again, he refers to Su-p'o-fa-su-tu and Sin-tu. Su-p'o-fa-su-tu, which runs through wu-chang-na country, has been identified with the Swat river. As mentioned earlier, the Sin or Sin-tu forms the eastern boundary of Gandhāra. The town of Wu-to-ka-han-cha stands on its bank. Modern Und represents Wu-to-ka-han-cha or Udabhāndapura and Sin-tu is obviously the modern Sind.

Masudi refers to three rivers in the country of Kandhahara, i.e. Gandhāra, which is also known by the name of country of the Rājputs. Of these the first is 'Raid'. It comes from the country of Gandhāra and is one of the rivers
which forms the 'Mihran' of Sind. 'Mihran' of Sind is the designation by which the modern Sind is known to the early Muslim geographers and historians. The 'Raid' may be identified with this river.

The Bahatil is another such stream. It issues from the mountains of Sind and flows through the country of Gandhāra. It is not possible to identify this stream at present. The description of the source of the third river near Kabul by Masudi leads us to take this stream to be identical with the Kabul river.

Other Mahommedan geographers call the Kabul river the river of Lamghan. Al-ībūrūnī for the first time describes the river system of this area more correctly than any other Muslim annalists.

According to Al-ībūrūnī "in the mountains bordering on the kingdom of Kayabish i.e. Kapiś, rises a river which is called Ghorawand, on account of its many tributaries, such as:

1. the river of the pass of Ghusak,
2. the river of the gorge of Panchir, below the town of Parwan,
3 & 4. the river Sharvat and the river Sarwa of which later flows through the town of Lanbaga, i.e. Lamghan; and joins the Ghorowand at the frontress of Druta, and
5 & 6. the Nur and the Kira.
Swelled by these affluents, the Ghorowā'hd is a great river opposite the town of Parshavar, being there called the ford, from a ford near the village of Mahanara on the eastern banks of the river, and it falls into the river Sindh near the castle of Bitur, below the capital of al Kandahar (Gandhara) i.e. Vaihand.204

Al-būrūni’s description of this river system closely tallies with modern account of the Kabul river. But he makes a mistake in placing the source of the Kabul river at the mountains bordering Kayabish i.e. the Hindukush, and equating it with the Ghorowand, i.e. the Ghorband river, which joins the Panjshir below Parwan, modern Parvan. The united stream of Ghorband and Panjshir joins the Kabul river on its north. Although he makes an error, in this regard, but his description of the whole course of the Kabul shows his close acquaintance with the zone under consideration. The Panchir is the modern Panjshir which joins the Ghorband below Parvan as stated above. The Sharvat and the Sarwa which flow through Lamghan may be identified with the united stream of Alingar and Alisang. The 'Nur and the Kira' may be represented by the Kunar and Swat, two of the Kabul’s north-eastern tributaries. The Sindh is the Sind river. The Kabul river is united with Sind near Attock.

On the whole, from the above account we can at least conclude that the Vedic Kubhā, Kuhu, Kophes, 'river
The Kabul river rises from a peak to the south of Kabul and runs to a north-easternly direction and empties itself into the Sind near Attock. As stated before, this river has several affluents on its northern and southern sides. Mention may be made of the Panjshir, the Alingar, the Kunar, the Swat and the Surkhab among them.

Thus, the countries of Kāpiśa, Lan-po, Nagara, Gandhāra are watered by the Kabul river and its tributaries, the Panjshir, the Alingar, the Kunar, the Swat, etc. The Kurram and the Gomal drains the valley of Bānā and Helmund that of Tsac-kub-t'a or Zabulistan area.

A number of cities flourished in the regions concerned. Information about them can be gleaned inter alia from Chinese, Arabic and Persian sources. Hsūan-tsang locates two large cities and ten small towns in Kāpiśa, one in Lan-po, two in Nagara and four in Gandhāra.

Among them Kāpiśa's metropolis Kāpiśi has been discovered by the exploration and excavation of Begram area in Kohistan by the French archaeological delegation under the supervision of M. Hakin. Town of Si-p'ı-to-fa-la-t'zu, Spitavaras or Śvetavaras or Śvetavat-ālaya or the abode/shrine...
of Indra still remains to be identified. One Indrapura is mentioned in the Mahāmayūrī. Ten small towns situated on the north-western fringe of Kāpīṣa cannot be identified.

Only city stated to be situated in Lan-po was its capital. The Capital, which may be designated by same name (Lan-po), has been identified with modern Langhan. Nagara’s two cities were its capital and Hilo (modern Hadda). The capital of Nagara has been placed by Cunningham at Begram, two miles west of Jelalabad. Hilo is modern Hadda.

Four cities of Gandhara were Pu-lo-sha-pu-lo, Pu-se-ka-lo-fa-ti, Po-lu-sha, Wu-to-ka-hau-t’u(ch’a). Of these, Pu-lo-sha-pu-lo, Purushapura, has been identified with Peshawar, Pu-se-ka-lo-fa-ti, i.e. Pushkharavati with Charsada, Po-lu-sha, i.e. Varusha with modern Palodhēri and Wu-to-ka-hau-t’u with Und.

Arabic and Persian Geographers and historians refer to the prosperous condition of the above-mentioned cities except Varusha and Kāpīṣa, and add a few names to this list.

Instead of Kāpīṣa, they make mention of Parvan, which is in a flourishing condition at that time. It is a pleasant town and resort of merchants. It is considered the gateway of India. Al-Ḥarūnī informs us that it is situated a little above the confluence of the Panjshir and the Ghorband rivers. Parvan is still shown in the maps to the north-east of Charikar.
Dynwur, Dunpur of Al-būrūnī, situated on the opposite of Lamghan on the bank of the Kabul, is another such town. S. Labur, Salatura of Hsüan-tsang and Lahore, of Al-būrūnī has been flourishing commercial centre of Gandhāra, besides Vaihand (Und).

The above study shows, that Kapiśa and Gandhāra roughly comprised the territories of Kafiristan and Kohistan, a part of eastern Afghanistan and North Western Frontier Province of Pakistan, and sometimes western Punjab. This area were rich in Orographical and riverine features and had good number of flourishing cities.
Notes and References


2. Kautilya, 2, 42, p.294; Kaśikā on Pānini, IV, 2, 99; Rāmāyana, IV. 44, 27 (N.W. Recension, p. 225); MMK, Pt.I, Ch. 10, p. 55, Pt. II, Ch. 30, p.325; Abhidhāna, Ch. 3, V, 568, 567, 137; Desinānamālā, Ch. 2, V. 2, 69; Halāyudha, Ch. 2, V. 330; p. 39; Vaij., p. 15.


5. Ibid.

6. MMK, Pt.I, Ch.10, p.55; Pt.II, Ch.30, p.325; Pt.II, Ch.31, p.333. "Gahāraprathitā yā vāchā dānavānam vinirdiset kāsmire iva samudbhute kāvise cha Janālaya."

7. Ibid., Pt.II, Ch.30, p. 225.
8. As on note 6.
11. MMK, Pt.I, Ch. 10, p. 55; Pt.II, Ch. 30, p. 225. Reference to Hariti and Pañchika in the Jataka stories also points to this fact.
12. Ibid.
15. Ptolemy, Book VI, Ch. 18, p. 147.
16. Su-kao-Seng-chuan, Ch. 2 (1493); Kai-yuan-lu, Ch. 7; Watters, pp. 123-30; 'Life', pp. 54-57; Bagchi, op. cit., pp. 33-35.
18. Ibid.
19. Life, Introduction, p. XXXVI.
"Ta-hsia of chang ch'ien's report was under the Yueh-chih (SC, Ch. 128, p. 5). According to Ch'ien Han-shu, Ta-hsia was divided into (or among) five hsi-hou (Yabgus), which (or who) belonged (shu) to the Ta Yueh-chih. The Yabgus concerned are stated to have been those of Hsiu-mi, Shuang-me, Kuei-shuang, Hsi-tun and Kao-fu (CHS, Ch. 96A, p.14). The Hou Han-Shu replaced Kao-fu by Tu-mi and expressly stated that the Ch'ien Han-shu was wrong in taking Kao-fu as being one of the five hsi-hou (HHS, Ch. 118, p. 9).

J. Marquart correctly identified Hsiu-mi with Wakhan and Shuang-mi with Chitral (Eranshar, p. 245). However, his identification of Hsi-tun with Parwan on the Panjshir and of Kuei-shuang with the country north of Gandhāra or Gandhāra itself (ibid., pp. 245-246), are not supported by definite data. The Pei-shih, which was completed in A.D. 659 and which covered the period ranging from A.D. 386 to 618 (H. Frankel, Catalogue of Translations from Chinese Dynastic Histories for the period 220-960, p.156), expressly equated Hsi-tun with the kingdom of Fu-ti-sha (Pei-shih, Ch. 97, p. 11). The Ancient Chinese pronunciation of the name Fu-ti-sha is known to have been Pi't-d'iek-sa (E. Zurcher, The Yueh-chih and Kanishka in
According to A. Herrmann, the pronunciation of the name Fu-ti-sha was Pi u't-tiai-sa (A. Herrmann, Historical and Commercial Atlas of China, p. 93, No.694). This information and probability of location of Fu-ti-sha not far from Hsiu-mi or Wakhan and Shuang-mi or Chitral (see The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXVI, Pl. 49, F. 2) remind us of the region of Badhaksha(n) or Badaksha(n), noted as Po-to-cha'ng-na by Hsüan-tsang (T. Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, Vol.II, p.277). These considerations lead us to accept the equation of Hsi-tun = Fu-ti-sha = Badakshan (see also TP, 1907, S.II, Vol. VIII, p.187, f.n. 2).

"The Pei-shih also stated that the capital of Ch'ien-tun, known earlier as Kuei-shuang, lay to the west of Che-hsueh-mo-sun, previously called Shuang-mi and indicated that the former (i.e. Ch'ien-tun = Kuei-shuang) was also to the east of the capital of Fu-ti-sha (= Hsi-tun) (Pei-shih, Ch. 97, p.11; Wei-shu, Ch. 102, pp. 8, 9 and 12). Thus Kuei-shuang should have been somewhere between Badakshan and Chitral.

"Tu-mi cannot be located with certainty. However, as author (or authors) of the Ch'ien-Han-shu appears (or appear) to have confused Tu-mi with Kao-fu, and as the territories concerned seem to have been situated to the north of Kabul, the region in question may have been somewhere immediately to the north of Kao-fu or the Kabul region (i.e. in Kafiristan ?)."
"Thus Ta-hsia included Wakhan, Badakshan, Chitral, Kafiristan (?) and also apparently the regions lying between them. And since the Hou-Han-shou expressly states that the Yueh-chih "divided their country (i.e. Ta-shia) into five hsì-hou (Yabgus)" (HHS, Ch. 118, p.9), meaning that the whole country was parcelled out between five hsì-hou or five yabgus, Ta-hsia could not possibly have included any territory outside those enumerated here.

"This conclusion strikes at the very root of the oft-repeated theory that Ta-hsia was the same as Bactria (JACOS, 1917, Vol. XXXVII, p. 102; CHI, Vol. I, p. 459; JIH, 1933, Vol. XII, p. 10; Scythian Period, p. 28; MAC, p. 137; Com. Hist. Ind., Vol. II, p. 228, etc.). No doubt, Ta-hsia may have embraced, among others, the eastern parts of Bactria, as it is understood from the geography of Ptolemy (Ptolemy, VI, 11,1f.; McCrindle, Ptolemy, pp. 269f.), and from this point of view the Yueh-chih could be called Bactrians from the time they began to live in the Ta-hsia region of Bactria. Nevertheless, Bactria proper, i.e., the region around Bactra, was not under the Yueh-chih till the time of Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh or Kujula Kadphises. According to the Hou Han-shu, this monarch destroyed P'u-ta, considered to have been pronounced in Ancient Chinese as B'u-ta, considered to have been pronounced in Ancient Chinese as B'uo distinguishable (tat in Canton dialect) (Karlgren, No.956; A. Herrmann, op. cit., p.101, No.2005), reminds one of Bactra, the name of a town of Bactria (see also TP, 1905, S.II, Vol.VI, p.514). contd....
"It is interesting to note that the Wei-shu refers to the five hsi-hou (into which or among whom the Ch'ien-Han-shu divides Ta-hsia) and also speaks of the country of P'o-chih, identifiable with region of Balkh (Wei-shu, Ch. 102, p. 8; J.A., 1883, S. VIII, Vol. II, p. 331; E. Chavannes, Documents sur Les Tou-Kiue (Turks) Occidentaux, p. 354), as distinct from the territories assigned to the above five Yabgus. This evidence also suggests that the region around Balkh or Bactra was not within old Ta-hsia. Again, as Chapter 96A of the Ch'ien Han-shu states that "to the east of An-hsi is the country of the Ta Yueh-chih" (CHS, Ch. 96A; JAI, 1881, Vol. X, p. 40), and as the same treatise indicates that the portions of the Ta-yueh-chih country to the south of Kuei (i.e. the Oxus) comprised Ta-hsia only (CHS, Ch. 96A, p. 14), the region of Bactra lying almost immediately to the west of Ta-hsia could well have been under the influence of An-hsi."

21a. Ibid., p. 93

"According to a notice on the kingdom of Wu-yi-shan-li, occurring in the same Chapter (CHS, Ch. 96A) its people 'are very numerous and are often under petty chieftains, subject to the An-hsi.' Thus by 33 B.C. or at least by the last quarter of the 1st century B.C. Wu-yi-shan-li, which can be located in Seistan area, had experienced the rule of some vassals of An-hsi or the Parthian empire. The fact that the Ch'ien-Han-shu treats Wu-yi-shan-li and Anhsii as separate countries implies at the time of the

contd.....
collection of its information on Wu-yi-shan-li, that
territory enjoyed autonomy or was independent of An-hsi."

21b. Ibid., p. 77.
22. Ibid.
26. Petech, L., Northern India According to the Shui-ching-chu,
p. 64; Asia Major, 1962, Vol. IX, Pt. II, p. 213; Vol. II,
p. 366, c.f. the forms Kaspiraioi and Kapeira in Ptolemy,
VII, 1, 47 and 48.
27. HHS, Ch. 118, p. 4; TP, 1907, S. II, Vol. VIII, p. 175.
28. B.N. Mukherjee, op. cit.
30. HIED, Vol. I, Exts., pp. 20-23, 32, 63-74; 87-92; JASB,
Vol. XII; Minorsky, S 23-24, pp. 109, 112.
31. HIED, Vol. I, Exts., pp. 22-23; Minorsky, S 5, 9AB, 9Bb,
pp. 63-64; S. 6, pp. 69-72.
32. Sachau, pp. 258, 259, 260.
33. Ibid.
34. Gardner, B.M.C., p. 19, Pl. VI, 8. Whitehead, P.M.C., p. 26,
35. Ibid.
p. 151; Kävisi kshatrapa G(r)anavryakashatrapa-putrasa
danamulcho. Trans: "Gift of the Kapiša Kshatrapa, the son
of kshatrapa G(r)anavryaka."
39. Ibid.
40. Watters, p. 122.
41. Ibid., pp. 122-23.
42. Ibid.; Vol. II, pp. 266.
43. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 16, 22.
44. Ibid., p. 22.
47. Ibid., pp. 266-67.
49. As on note 45.
50. As on note 40; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 28.
55. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 16-17.
56. Ibid., p. 16.
57. Watters, Vol.I, p.180; *Life*, p.57; Bagchi, op. cit., p.36:
"Then along the Dragon Lake going east, for more than 60 li, you cross the Snow Mountain and the Black Ranges reach the frontier of Northern Yin-tu (India). All the
contd ...."
cities described above belong to the Hu (i.e. barbarians) country. The central route is reached at this place. This country is called Lan-po. This is the boundary of Northern India. Leaving this place you enter into Tien-chu or the land of the Po-lo-men (Brahmanas).

56. As on note 6.
63. Ibid., pp. 123, 181, 183, 199, 262.
64. Ibid., p. 180; ‘Life’, p. 57; Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 36-37.
67. Ptolemy, Book VII, p. 151; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 36.
Vāyu, acd. Ch. 45 - vv. 109-36; Emd., Ch. 44 - vv. 44-71 — Lampakastanapasaiva; Mts., Ch. 114, vv. 34-56 — Lampaka staclagenasca / D.C.Sircar, Geo. of Anc. Med. Ind., p. 35.
69. Kāv., Ch. 17, p. 94.
71. See note 68, 69, and 70.
Hsiian-tsang's North India begins from Lan-po which supports the Indian view already expressed above. He specifically refers to all other countries as Hu i.e. barbarian. In the 'Life', the word mi-li-kiu i.e. mlechchha is used to indicate above mentioned states instead of Hu and North-India as referred to as country of the Brahmanas.

Minorsky, op. cit., § 10, 54; Sharma, Med. Ind. Hist., Ch. IV, p. 34.

Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

Ibid., p. 37.

Ibid., p. 37.

As on note 65.


Ibid.


Ptolemy, op. cit.; Cunningham, op. cit.

Fo-kuo-chi, Ch. 13; Ka-lan-chi, Ch. 5; Pi-ni-ye-chiang (the "Chie-yin-yuan-ching". Bun., No. 1130); Watters, Vol. I, p. 185.

Ibid., p. 185.

Ibid., p. 185, n. 3.

Ibid., p. 185, n. 3.


Gaudalekhamāla, Praśasti of Vīraḍeva, pp. 45ff.
88. Minorsky, op. cit., § 10, 50, pp. 91, 251-52.
93. Masson, Travels; ii, 164; Cunningham, p. 38; Ariana Antiqua, pp. 97-101.
95. Ibid., Vol.I, pp.196-224; 'Life', p. 63; Bagchi, Ch.IV.
97. R.V., i, 126, 7; AV. V.22, 14.
98. R.V., i. 126, 7.
100. Anguttara Nikāya, I. 213; IV, 252, 256, 260.
101. Jātaka No. 406; Telepatta Jātaka, No.96; Susima Jātaka, No. 163.
102. Rāmāyana, Uttarākanda, Ch. 107, V. 10, p. 6233:

"Asthī Gāndharvavishayāh phalamulopāśobhitaḥ /
Sinchorubhayataḥ pārśev āśaḥ parmasōbhanah" // 10 //

103. p. 62, 89:

"Hatvā chaiva hi tan virāṇ Bharatah kekayisutah
Nivesayāmāsa tadā sammirddhe ēve purottame
\_\_\_\_\_\_


In the north lie the mountains known as the Kailāsa,
Himālaya, Vasumat, Dhanusmat, Krauñcha and Meru, the
contd....
Kuru country (the north and south), the Kshudramenas, Kaikiyas, Vasatis, Yamunas, Bhoguprastha, the Arjumyanas, Agneedharas, Adarsas, Antardeeka, Trigartha, the Turagananas, the Svanukhas, Kesadharas, Chipitanasikas (flat-noses), Dašerakas, Vātadhānas, Saradhānas, Takshasilā, Pushkalavatī, Kailavatī, the Kandhahanas, Ambaravata, Madrakas, Mālava, Pauravas, Kachcharas, Dandapingalakas, Manahalas, Huns, Kohalas, Sutakas, Māndavyas, Bhutapura, Gandhāra, Yaśovati, Himalayas, Kshatriyas, the Kachcharas, the Gavyas, the Yaudhayas, Dasametas, Shamakas and Kshemadhurtas."

105. Mark. Pur., acd. Ch. 57, 34-59; Vāyu, Ch. 45, vv. 109-36; Bmd., 36-58; Mts., Ch. 114, vv. 34-56; Vmm., Ch. 13; vv. 36-58:

"Gandhāra yavanaschaiva Sindhu Sauvira Madraka."

106. Ibid., Mats., 114, vv. 34-36; Sircar, Geography and Medieval India, pp. 32-36.

107. Kāv., p. 28.


109. Vaij., p. 36, v. 44.


111. Ibid.; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 40.

112. Strabo, 15. 1. 27-26; 15.1.30; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 40.


114. HIED, Vol. I, Ch. IX, pp. 21-22; Sachau, Ch. XXV, p. 259.
115. Select Inscriptions, p. 5, 1. 16, p. 7, 1.18, p. 10, 11. 24-25, p. 12, 1. 25. 'Machina Arbaya Gadara Hidush', etc.


121. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 225, 265; Beal, S., 'Life', pp. 64, 192-193.


123. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 41.


129. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 72.

130. Ibid., p. 72; 'Hiouen Thsang', appendice, iii; Watters, II, pp. 282-83


133. Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 33-36; also see note 46.


137. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 266.


139. As on note 43.

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid., p. 22.


143. Ibid., p. 129.


146. Ibid.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid., pp. 180-82.

149. Ibid., also see note 74.

150. Bagchi, op. cit., Ch. IV, p. 36.


152. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 44.


153a. Ibid., p. 218.

154. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 44; Watters, op. cit., p. 221.


156. Watters, II, pp. 262-63; Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 71-73.

157. Ibid., II, pp. 264-65; Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 33-34.
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158. Minorsky, op. cit., § 9Bb. & Commentary.

159. Ibid., 9Bb.

160. Ibid.


162. Ibid., II, p. 264.

163. Ibid., I, pp. 181, 183.

164. Ibid., p. 199.

165. Sachau, Vol. I, Ch. XVIII, pp. 211.

166. Ibid.


168. Ibid.


170. R.V., v. 53, 9; X. 75, 6; Kāv., p. 94.

171. Ibid., p. 94.

172. As on note 169 (Puranic references).

173. Ibid.

174. Ibid.

175. As on note 170; Kav., p. 94; Cunningham, op. cit., p. 31.


177. Ibid., p.

178. Ibid., p.

179. Ibid., p.


181. Ibid., p. 128.
182. Hackin, *op. cit.*
185. See note 90.
188. As on note 176.
191. As on note 189.
210. Ibid., pp. 199, 214, 218, 221.

211. Hackin, op. cit.

212. Watters, I, p. 126.


215. Ibid., p. 38; Watters, I, p. 135.


217. Watters, I, pp. 199, 214, 217, 221.


219. Ibid., p. 42.

220. Ibid., p. 44.

221. Ibid., p. 45.


223. Minorsky, § 24, 22, p. 112.

224. Ibid.

225. Ibid.


227. Ibid.


232. Minorsky, op. cit., § 10, 56; see note 131.