V.

YUAN CHWANG'S MO-LA-P'O.

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[After I had completed the draft of this paper, Monsieur Sylvain Lévi very kindly sent me a copy of his article which appeared on pp. 534 ff. of the number of the *Journal des Savants* for October. On pp. 544 ff. he has discussed the question of Mo-la-p'o mainly from the Chinese side, and has come to the same conclusion as that arrived at by me in the following pages. As I have treated the subject from a different point of view, I offer the paper to the Society without making any alteration in the light of his remarks, save for a few footnotes to draw attention to details in which his knowledge of Chinese enabled him to give information which was beyond my reach.—G. A. G.]

YUAN CHWANG describes a country which he calls Mo-la-p'o, immediately after his account of the kingdom of Broach in the modern Bombay Presidency. Up to lately, this name has (with some hesitation) been considered as equivalent to Mālava, the modern Mālwa. Mr. Vincent Smith, on pp. 279, 280 of his *Early History of India*, and at greater length in vol. lviii of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, has attacked this interpretation, and, with a confidence somewhat strongly contrasted with the diffident opinions of his predecessors, maintains that "the learned authors who identify Mo-la-p'o with Mālava, meaning by the latter term the kingdom of Ujjayinī, are demonstrably mistaken." He insists that Yuan Chwang's Mo-la-p'o "clearly corresponds with the modern Bombay districts of Kaira and Ahmadabad, together with parts of Baroda and some adjoining territory." In other words, it roughly corresponds with a portion of what is now called North Gujarāt.

When dealing with Yuan Chwang, it appears to be the usual course to say that he makes mistakes when his evidence is not in accord with what a modern writer wishes to prove. It is very easy to say that Yuan Chwang meant 'east' when

he wrote 'west,' or that instead of a 'thousand' he meant a 'hundred.' Archæologists have been doing this kind of thing since the days of General Sir Alexander Cunningham, and the process seems to have a sort of fascinating comfort; for, once we feel at liberty to alter what Yuan Chwang says, it is only natural to alter it to agree with our theories. Mr. Vincent Smith follows the path laid down for him by his learned predecessors. I am no archæologist, but I do take an interest in Yuan Chwang's reputation for accuracy, and I must confess that some of Mr. Smith's improvements on his text have rather startled me. He alters Yuan Chwang's distance of 2,000 *li* (say 350 miles) to 200 *li* (say 35 miles), and his 2,800 *li* (or 525 miles) to about half. He also altogether ignores the pilgrim's account of the size of Mo-la-p'o. His conclusions have found acceptance; for instance, from Mr. Burn in the last number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1905, p. 837 f.). And, as none of the scholars whose opinions he attacks have as yet made any reply, I venture to put forward the following reasons for considering that the matter is not so finally settled as he appears to think.

There can be no doubt that, to most people, especially those who do not care to alter the pilgrim's text, the account of Mo-la-p'o has its difficulties, the chief of which is that countries have changed their names and their political connection. Let us first consider this. Modern Gujarāt forms part of the Bombay Presidency. That is a political accident due to British rule. It is divided into North Gujarāt and South Gujarāt by the river Mahī. In Yuan Chwang's time, South Gujarāt was not known by that name. It was called Lāṭa, and his scholiast quite properly alludes to it under that designation. The name Gujarāt was extended to it in modern times. North Gujarāt, or Gujarāt proper, did not get its name, meaning 'the kingdom of the Gurjaras,' till the time of the Cāwaḍa dynasty, which did not commence to reign till a century after his time. Mr. Vincent Smith has quite correctly pointed out that, at the period in which Yuan Chwang wrote, the Gurjaras

were far to the north, in central (or rather west-central) and northern Rājputāna. This altogether tallies with the information given by the pilgrim. So far as I can ascertain, at that time Northern Gujarāt, as a tract by itself, had no separate name. Geographically, it was included in Rājputāna. Politically, it was not connected with Lāṭa (the modern South Gujarāt) to its south, and even in Albērūnī's time (1030 A.D.), although it had then acquired its modern name, it was still looked upon as a part of Rājputāna.

The language spoken to-day in West and South Rājputāna (including Mālwa) is called Rājasthānī. That spoken in modern Gujarāt is Gujarātī. The two languages are very closely connected. In Northern Gujarāt the dialect is still nearer the adjoining Rājasthānī dialects (Mārwarī and Mālvi) —so near, indeed, that the three could be classed together as mutual dialects of a common language. In one part of North Gujarāt the Gujarātīs actually call the local dialect 'Mārwarī,' while the people of Mārwar in Rājputāna call it 'Gujarātī.'

In Yuan Chwang's time, what is now North Gujarāt had Surāṣṭra (the modern Kāthiāwād) to its west, and the ancient Mālava, also called Avanti, to its east. It was wedged in between the two, and in ancient times must have belonged to one or other of them, for the Mahābhārata (e.g. iv, 1, 12) couples the two countries just named in one compound word (*surāṣṭrāvantayāḥ*, the people of Surāṣṭra and Avanti), which it would not do if there were independent territory between them. At the time when this was written, the country was not known by the name of Mālava. As a *local* name, that did not come into use until the Mālava *tribe* settled in Central India in the first century after Christ (Bhagvanlal Indraji, in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, p. 28). In later times we find both Avanti and Mālava used as almost synonymous; but there is a tendency (as in Albērūnī) to look upon Avanti, with its capital of Ujjain, as distinct from Mālava, with its capital of Dhārā. No doubt, at various epochs these neighbouring states sometimes formed one geographical expression and sometimes two. A glance at the map will

show that the separate Mālava would lie to the west of the separate Avanti. Similarly, in the Purāṇas we more than once find Surāṣṭra, Mālava, and Avanti grouped together as neighbouring countries, with no mention of any intervening tracts, except, perhaps, the Bhīl country (including Mount Ābū), in the hills of Central India. Thus (*Bhāgavata*, xii, 1, 36) we have, catalogued together, the inhabitants of Surāṣṭra and Avanti, the Ābhīras (the tribe), the Śūdras (doubtful reading), the Arbudas (of Mount Ābū), and the Mālavas, while the older *Mārkaṇḍeya - Purāṇa* (lvii, 52), a Central-Indian work, only mentions together the people of Surāṣṭra and of Avanti, and the Arbudas. There is no mention in either of these of any tract between Surāṣṭra and Avanti or Mālava.

There is no reason for assuming that this state of affairs cannot have existed in Yuan Chwang's time too. He mentions Surāṣṭra as an independent kingdom. But, if Mo-la-p'ō is not Mālava, he never alludes to either of the two famous names Mālava and Avanti at all.

Having attempted to sketch as nearly as we can the actual state of affairs, let us see how Yuan Chwang describes the country of Mo-la-p'ō, and compare his statements with the conclusions of Mr. Vincent Smith.

(1) Yuan Chwang says, "going north-west (from Broach) for about 2,000 *li* (say 350 miles) we come to the country of Mo-la-p'ō" (Beal, ii, 260).

The exact meaning of this is not clear. But, to use Mr. Vincent Smith's language in regard to Gurjara, we may say, *mutatis mutandis*: "The exact points from and to which the distance is reckoned are not known. The distance is equivalent to 350 English miles or a little more, and a point some 350 miles to the north-west either of the town of Broach or of the approximate frontier of the Broach State falls within the limits of the Mo-la-p'ō kingdom." There is nothing in this to prevent other parts of Mo-la-p'ō lying far to the south of this point, so long as we do not have to go through them going north-west from Broach. The pilgrim describes a route taken by him—not the shortest

direct line to the nearest point in Mo-la-p'o's territory. It is evident that he means that he went north-west for 350 miles and then found himself in Mo-la-p'o, which in the very next sentence he describes as a very large country. I therefore quite freely admit—indeed, I think it certain—that other parts of Mo-la-p'o coincided with the east of North Gujarāt, say Ahmadābād and Mahi-Kāṇṭhā, but hardly with Kaira, which is too far to the west. The line north-west from Broach would take the pilgrim across the neck of Kāthiāwād, and along the east coast of the Ranns of Cutch.

Mr. Vincent Smith says: "The alleged distance of 2,000 *li* is absurd Evidently there is a clerical error in the figure, which may be conjecturally amended to 200." The use of the words "clerical error" seems to suggest that Mr. Vincent Smith assumed that Yuan Chwang employed the Arabic system of writing numbers, and wrote a cypher too many. Even if he was so far in advance of other Chinese writers, the fact is not very important. Whether it is an error of any kind or not, there is nothing inherently absurd in the pilgrim's 2,000 *li* except that they do not tally with Mr. Smith's conclusions. Assuming that there is no error, the distance would bring us to somewhere about the west of Mārwar, near the northern boundary of Mallānī. There cannot have been *much* westing, or we should have to cross the Gulf of Cambay and the Ranns of Cutch.

(2) "It is about 6,000 *li* (say 1,100 miles) in circuit" (Beal, ii, 260).

Mr. Vincent Smith does not refer to this statement. The "country of Mo-la-p'o" must have been a large one. A boundary of 1,100 miles indicates an area of from 65,000 to 75,000, or say roughly about 70,000 square miles.¹

¹ The area, of course, depends on the shape of the country. An exact square would give something over 75,000 square miles. A tract twice as long as it is broad would give about 67,000 square miles, and the smaller the area, the longer two of its sides would be. As a *reductio ad absurdum*, a tract 548 miles long and one mile wide would reach half across India, and would have an area of only 548 square miles. Under no conceivable circumstances can a country with boundaries totalling 1,100 miles be got to fit into North Gujarāt.

(3) The capital (name not given) was "defended (*or* supported) by the river Mo-ho (said to be the Mahī) on the south and east (*or* on the south-east.)"¹

Mr. Smith urges this to show that the *country*, not the capital, consisted *only* of North Gujarāt. What capital is referred to is doubtful. I purposely abstain from making guesses. I only mention that Mr. Beal's suggestion of Dōngarpur is not impossible. I may also remind the reader that Dhārā, which has been suggested by other scholars, is not once mentioned elsewhere by Yuan Chwang.

(4) "To the north-west of the capital about 200 *li* (say 35 miles), we come to the town of the Brāhmaṇs (*or* Brāhmaṇapura)" (Beal, ii, 262).

At present we do not know where this was, so that the clue is of little use; but it is worth nothing for future consideration. Mr. Smith does not refer to it.

(5) The country of K'ie-ch'a is 300 *li*, or three days' journey (say 55 miles), to the north-west of the country of Mo-la-p'ŏ, of which it is an appanage (Beal, ii, 265).

So Mr. Smith. If his identification of K'ie-ch'a with Cutch is correct (a point on which Julien was doubtful), we may so far agree that the portion of Mo-la-p'ŏ from which the bearing of north-west and the distance of 55 miles were taken, must have been somewhere in modern North Gujarāt. If it were to the north-west of the entire country of Mo-la-p'ŏ, K'ie-ch'a cannot have been Cutch, but must have been somewhere in eastern Sindh, north-west of Mallānī, which does not seem probable. On the other hand, if K'ie-ch'a is Khēṭa, and if that is the modern Kaira, as suggested by General Cunningham, the point from which the measurement was taken must have been some place in the modern Rēwā-Kāṇṭhā, so that part of Mo-la-p'ŏ must

¹ Since writing the above, I see that Monsieur Sylvain Lévi (*Journal des Savants*, October, 1905, p. 546) interprets the passage as meaning that the capital lay to the south-east of the Mahī. Dhārā complies with this condition, but is a long way from the river. That 'Mahī-Kāṇṭhā' means 'bank of the Mahī' is probably only a coincidence with Yuan Chwang's expression.

have been in the east of Lāṭa.¹ The greater part of Lāṭa must have belonged to Broach, which was a fairly large state, 2,400 *li*, say 450 miles, in circuit.

(6) The country of 'O-nan-to-pu-lo was an appanage of Mo-la-p'o. This country was 2,000 *li* (say 375 miles) in circuit, and therefore had an area of something about 9,000 square miles. It is no doubt identified correctly with Ānandapura (the modern Vaḍnagar in North Gujarāt), and a kingdom of that size would leave very little for Mo-la-p'o, if Mo-la-p'o was confined to that part of the country. If, however, Mo-la-p'o reached as far north as Mallānī, 'O-nan-to-pu-lo would be a semi-independent state, bounded by it on the north and east. If K'ie-ch'a was Khēṭa,² and = Kaira, then it lay directly to the south of 'O-nan-to-pu-lo, and the two semi-independent states together occupied between them all the western part of North Gujarāt.

(7) Mr. Vincent Smith quotes with approval the remark of a Chinese scholiast³ that Mo-la-p'o is the same as the Southern Lo-lo (Lāṭa) country. This cannot be true if Mo-la-p'o is Northern Gujarāt. It may well be true if K'ie-ch'a is Khēṭa (Kaira), not Cutch. In that case, the east and south-east of Lāṭa (Rēwā-Kāṇṭhā and the Ḍāṅgs) could well form a part of the large kingdom of Mo-la-p'o.

In all this there are two facts, which, if we refrain from altering Yuan Chwang's text, are fairly certain. One point in Mo-la-p'o was near Mallānī, 350 miles north-west of Broach, and the area of Mo-la-p'o must have been something like 70,000 square miles. We may also assume with some confidence that another point in it lay in the east of the Lāṭa country, in South Gujarāt, i.e. to the east of Broach. Combining

¹ Since this was written, I see that Monsieur Sylvain Lévi, in his article in the *Journal des Savants* already referred to, p. 546, shows that the phonetic equivalent of K'ie-ch'a is Khēṭa.

² See note above.

³ Beal, ii, 260, note 57. The Northern Lo-lo country was, according to a similar authority, Valabhī (*ib.* 266-71). But this would imply that Valabhī lay south of the Mahī, which does not seem to have been likely in Yuan Chwang's time.

these data, and using a pair of compasses, a measure, and a map, we find that such a tract would cover not only the east of modern North Gujarāt, but also South-West Rājputāna, the east of Lāṭa, or modern South Gujarāt, and the modern West Mālwa. The approximate eastern boundary would coincide with the present railway-line running from Indore to Ajmere, but it would not run so far north as the latter town. If we add to this territory of Mo-la-p'o the independent country of Surāṣṭra (including Valabhī), we get almost exactly the tract inhabited by the Surāṣṭras, Avantis, Ābhīras, Śūdras, Arbudas, and Mālavas, of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.

Finally, in this connection, we can consider Yuan Chwang's account of the kingdom of Ujjain. It is, he says, 6,000 *li* (say 1,100 miles) in circuit, i.e. its size was the same as that of Mo-la-p'o. If Mo-la-p'o = Mālava, then the country of Ujjain, or Avanti, was in his time considered to be distinct from Mālava, as was also the opinion of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa and other Sanskrit works quoted above. It would therefore correspond to Eastern Mālwa and that part of Rājputāna which lies south of Bundēlkhaṇḍ and Gwālīor, a tract otherwise left unprovided for by Yuan Chwang. This extension to the east will account for the distance given by the pilgrim from the Gurjara country (2,800 *li*, Beal, ii, 270), which Mr. Vincent Smith reduces by one half. Yuan Chwang does not talk of the *city* but of the *country* of Ujjain, i.e. of Avanti.

Mr. Vincent Smith would confine Mo-la-p'o to Northern Gujarāt alone. He defines it as the modern Bombay districts of Kaira (Khēḍā, i.e. Khēṭa) and Ahmadābād, together with parts of Baroda and some adjoining territory. Unfortunately, the greater part of this area is already (according to Yuan Chwang as explained by Mr. Smith) occupied by Ānandapura. The area of Kaira is 1,600 and of Ahmadābād 3,854 square miles. Add to this, as a very liberal allowance, 3,500 square miles for "parts of Baroda and some adjoining territory," and we get a total of 8,954, or say 9,000, square miles. Deduct from this 9,000 square

miles for Ānandapura (not to speak of the area of Kaira, if that is what is meant by K'ie-ch'a), and poor Mo-la-p'o, this rich, prosperous, and intelligent country, with two important towns thirty-five miles apart, is left with no area at all.

On the other hand, if we accept Yuan Chwang's own indications, the area of Mo-la-p'o was about 70,000 square miles, which even if we deduct 9,000 square miles for Ānandapura and 7,000 for Khēṭa from the entire area of North Gujarāt—a process which is not strictly required—leaves an ample area for the inclusion of the various tracts mentioned by me above.

As for the Sanskrit equivalent of Mo-la-p'o, I believe that I am right in saying that, phonetically, it *can* be 'Mālava.' It is also difficult to see what name could have been given to the whole of Mo-la-p'o other than the Mālava country, with which, if we accept Yuan Chwang's figures, it closely coincided. Mālava was a large and powerful kingdom, not elsewhere mentioned by the pilgrim, and we should expect him to mention it. The portion of that kingdom which adjoined Valabhī and Surāṣṭra had no separate name in the age of Sanskrit literature, and was part of the Mālava or Avanti country then, as it was in Yuan Chwang's time. The east of North Gujarāt was a part of Mālava, and was as naturally called by that name as the East End, or any other part of the Metropolis, is called London.

I have deliberately refrained, in the course of the above remarks, from discussing two points. One is the question of the identity of the king Śīlāditya,¹ regarding whose recognition by Dr. Hoernle and Dr. Stein Mr. Vincent Smith has made such severe remarks. These gentlemen are perfectly well able to take care of themselves, and, as I have already stated, I am no archæologist. My object has been to ascertain what Yuan Chwang could have meant by his geographical information, which was of some importance to

¹ See, however, M. Lévi's remarks on pp. 546-8 of his article.

me while dealing with the Gujarātī language in the Linguistic Survey of India. The pilgrim may have been right, or may have been wrong, in this information. Dr. Stein and Dr. Hoernle or Mr. Vincent Smith may have been right, or may have been wrong, in what they say about Śīlāditya. But, for my immediate purpose, that is not of interest to me. All that I wish to ascertain is what, without starting with any preconceived opinions, Yuan Chwang wished, right or wrong, to convey to his readers. I hope that I have succeeded in doing so.

I had another object, and that is one over which I have ruminated ever since, some twenty years ago, I followed on the spot Yuan Chwang's footsteps at Bōdh-Gayā and Rājagṛha, and compared his account with the distortion of it put forward by General Cunningham. That object was to seize the first opportunity that presented itself of protesting against the treatment of the great pilgrim as a person to be followed when fancy dictates, and to be abandoned when fancy dictates. Only the extremest necessity and the most positive proof should allow us to 'correct' his information so as to make it agree with other views on the same subject. To my mind it is absolutely inadmissible to alter his 'east' to 'west' or his '2,000' to '200,' and *then* to found a theory upon the altered text. To do this is to throw back truth into the region of the imagination. It is to act like the old equity-draftsman in *Iolanthe*, who found it difficult to repeal a law, but easy to read and interpret it as if the word 'not' had been inserted in each section.

The other point which I have refrained from considering is the position of Yuan Chwang's 'Fa-la-pi,' usually restored as 'Valabhī.' If, as Mr. Vincent Smith maintains, 'K'ie-ch'a' represents 'Cutch,' it appears to me that this question is infinitely more difficult than he seems to think. Assuming, as I believe to be the fact, that Fa-la-pi does represent Valabhī, there are, in that case, not one but several difficulties to be dealt with, which no one has as yet attempted to explain. As these have nothing to do with the position of Mo-la-p'ŏ, I leave them untouched. It is

sufficient to mention that I think that, if we identify K'ie-ch'a with Khēṭa, Khēḍā, Kaira, all these difficulties, except that due to the Chinese scholiast mentioned above, will be found to disappear.

One word more. If I have assumed the honour of breaking a friendly lance with Mr. Vincent Smith on a question of detail, it should be understood that I in no way claim the right or the learning to criticise his *History* as a whole. As for that, a humble pedestrian amidst the tangled undergrowth of roots and words may claim permission to admire from below its Olympian heights, and to congratulate him upon the success which it has achieved.