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APPENDIX

TO

THE ARABS IN SIND,

Vol. III, Part 1,

OF THE

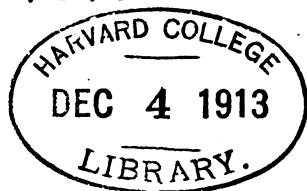
HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

BY
M. E. L.
SIR HENRY ELLIOT, K.C.B.,
Foreign Secretary to the Government of India.

CAPE TOWN :
SAUL SOLOMON & Co., 50, ST. GEORGE'S-STREET.

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THE HISTORIANS OF INDIA.

[The unexpected favour with which the first Volume of this work has been reviewed by the Orientalists of Europe, has induced the author to extend his original plan, so as to admit of its embracing not only a Bibliography of Historians, but a complete History of Muhammedan India, according to the following scheme.]

VOL. I. } GENERAL HISTORIES OF MUHAMMEDAN INDIA.
AND II. } *Guzerát.—Málwa.—Deccan, &c. &c.*

VOL. III. ARABS.—GHAZNEVIDES.

VOL. IV. GHORIANS.—KHILJIS.—TUGHLAKS.

VOL. V. TIMUR.—SAYYIDS.—AFGHANS.

VOL. VI. } GENERAL HISTORIES OF THE TIMURIAN DYNASTY.
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Báber.—Humáiyún.—Akber.

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Jehángítr.—Sháhjehán.—Aurangzéb.

VOL. X. TIMURIANS IN THEIR DECLINE.

Bahádúr Sháh to Ahmed Sháh.

VOL. XI. TIMURIANS IN THEIR FALL.

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APPENDIX I.—P.

The advances of the Arabs towards Sind.

Scarcely had the false prophet expired, when his followers and disciples, issuing from their naked deserts, where they had hitherto robbed their neighbours and quarrelled amongst themselves, hastened to convert their hereditary feuds into the spirit of unanimity and brotherly love. Their energies, at all times impetuous, were now solely concentrated upon executing the injunctions of the “king of fierce countenance, understanding dark sentences,”¹ that they should enforce belief at the point of the sword, which was emphatically declared to be “the key of heaven and of hell.”² Terror and devastation, murder and rapine, accompanied their progress, in fulfilment of the prophetic denunciation of Daniel, that this descendant of Ishmael³ “shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper,

¹ *Daniel*, ch. viii, 23.

² Compare Chapters ii, iv, viii, ix, xxii, xlvii, lxi, &c., of the *Kurán*. See also SALE, *Kurán*, Prelim. Disc., p. 194.—LANE, *Selections from the Kurán*, p. 70.—RELAND, *De Jure Militari Moham.*, p. 5, et seq.

³ Gibbon's gratuitous scepticism respecting the Ishmaelitish origin of the Arabians has been well exposed in App. I to FORSTER's *Mahometanism Unveiled*. See also FABER's *Calendar of Prophecy*, and FRY's *Second Advent of Christ*. Occasionally, however, they carry the argument too far. Brucker has also arraigned the Bible genealogy of the Arabs,—*Hist. Crit. Philosoph.*, Vol. i, p. 214.—Mohammed's own Ishmaelitish descent may admit of doubt; but that does not affect the question respecting the Arabs in the northern part of the peninsula. See SPRENGER, *Life of Muhammed*, p. 18.—SALE, *ubi supr.* p. 11.

and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people; and through his policy also shall he cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and stand up against the Prince of Princes.”¹

And so it was, that, within twenty years, they made themselves masters of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia. The conquest of Persia was a mere prelude to further extension in the east; and though a more difficult and inhospitable country, as well as internal dissensions, checked their progress for some years afterwards, yet it was not in the nature of things to be expected, that they should long delay their attacks upon the rich and idolatrous country of India, which offered so tempting a bait to their cupidity and zeal. Accordingly, attention was early directed to this quarter, and it will be our business now, in collecting some of the incidental and scattered notices which betray the settled purpose of the Arabs to obtain a footing in India, to trace the slow but certain progress of their arms, until it issued in the final conquest of Sind by Muhammed Kásim.

Abú-bakr, A.H. 11-13. A.D. 632-634.

'Omar, A.H. 13-23. A.D. 634-643.

Under the Khiláfat of 'Omar,—A.H. 15 or 16,—a military expedition set out from 'Omán, to pillage the coasts of India. It appears to have proceeded as far as Tána, in Bombay. As 'Omar had not been consulted on the expedition, he forbid that any more should be undertaken to such distant parts; and to 'Othmán-bin-'A's Thakiff, governor of Bahrein and 'Omán, under whose orders the piratical vessels had been despatched, he signified his displeasure in very marked terms:—"Had our party," he wrote, "been defeated, be assured that I would

¹ *Daniel*, ch. viii, 24, 25.

have taken from your own tribe as many men as had been killed, and put them all to death."

About the same time, Hakkam, the brother of 'Othmán, who had been placed in charge of Bahrein, sent an expedition against Baróch, and despatched his brother, Mughaira Abú-l-'A's, to the bay of Débal; where he encountered and defeated his opponents, according to the *Futúhu-l-buldán*; but the *Chach-náma* represents that he was slain. That work also mentions that the naval squadron was accompanied by troops, that Débal was occupied by merchants, and that the governor, Sámbla, son of Diwáij, had been nominated to that post by Chach, who at that time had ruled thirty-five years in Sind.¹

Shortly after, Abú Músà Asha'ri, who had been one of the companions of the prophet, and was otherwise conspicuous in the history of that period, was appointed governor of 'Irák (Basra), when Rabí'-bin-Ziyád Hárithí, one of his officers, was sent to Mekrán and Kirmán. Orders were also despatched to Abú Músà from the capital of the empire, directing him to afford all the information in his power respecting Hind, and the countries leading to it. As he had lately learnt the disastrous result of Mughaira's expedition, he wrote in reply to say, that "the king of Hind and Sind was powerful and contumacious, following the path of unrighteousness, and that sin dwelt in his heart." Upon which, he received peremptory orders not by any means to enter upon a holy war with that country.²

It is notorious that 'Omar had always a particular horror

¹ BELÁDORÍ, ap. M. REINAUD, *Journal Asiatique*, Fév. 1845, p. 156; and *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 182; and *Mémoires de l'Académie Nationale*, Tom. XVIII, p. 168, separately printed under the title of *Mémoire sur l'Inde*.—*Chach-náma*, MS. p. 70.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 9.—GLADWIN'S *Ayreen Akberee*, Vol. II, p. 118.

² *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 70.

of naval expeditions, and it is probable that it arose from this untoward defeat. This repugnance is usually attributed to a later period, when upon the conquest of Egypt by 'Amrú-bin-'A's, the Khalif wrote to his lieutenant for a description of the sea; who replied:—"The sea is a great pool, which some senseless people furrow, looking like worms upon logs of wood." On receipt of this answer, it is said, 'Omar forbad all navigation amongst the Musulmán's, and transgressors were severely punished. Mu'aviya was the first Khalif under whom this prohibition was relaxed, and who despatched maritime expeditions against the enemies of his empire. The original cause of the restriction was probably that which has been already indicated, and its continuance may perhaps be ascribed to the unskilfulness of the Arabs upon the element to which the subjects of the Greek empire were accustomed from their birth. Had the Musulmán's along the shores of the Mediterranean been as expert as the Arab navigators of the Indian ocean, there would have been no need to feel alarm at the result of actions upon the high seas.¹

In the year 22 H., 'Abd-ulla-bin-'A'mar-bin-Rabí' invaded Kirmán, and took the capital, Kuwáshír, so that the aid of "the men of Kúj and Balúj"² was solicited in vain by the Kirmánís. He then penetrated to Sístán, or Sejestán, and besieged the governor in his capital, who sued for peace when he found that "his city was as a tent without ropes." After this, he advanced towards Mekrán. In vain, also, did the chief

¹ A passage in PROCOPIUS, *Bell. Pers.*, i, 19, 20, seems to show that, in the time of Justinian, the Homerites of the Erythræan sea were no great navigators. The question has been examined in another note.

² The Arabic and Persian Lexicons say, they were barbarous tribes, inhabiting the mountainous borders of Mekrán, and descended from the Arabs of Hejáz. In the latter are of course to be recognised the modern Bilóch.

of that country obtain the aid of the ruler of Sind, for their united armies were surprised and defeated in a night-attack. With an ardour augmented by his success, 'Abd-ulla requested leave to cross the Indus; but the Khalif, true to his cautious policy, which restrained his lieutenants both on the northern and western frontiers, opposed this still more distant adventure.¹

The invasions of this year are confirmed by Hasan-bin-Muhammed Shírází, who is a careful writer; but the names of the generals are differently represented. "In the year 22 H, Sejistán was conquered by 'Amrú-bin-al-Temímí and 'Abd-ulla-bin-'Omar Khattáb. In this year also, Mekrán was conquered by 'Abd-ulla-bin-'Abd-ulla-bin-'Onán, who had moved against that place from Kirmán. The ruler, who in the native language was styled Zانبíl, and was also king of Sind, was killed."²

The names are otherwise given in the *Habíbu-s-siyar*. Kirmán was conquered by Sohail-bin-U'dí and 'Abd-ulla-bin-Autibán, Sejestán by 'A'sim-bin-'Amrú Temímí, and Mekrán by Hakkam bin-'A'mar Saulbí. The conquests are also ascribed to a year later. Shohrug, the lieutenant of Fárs, was forced to yield his province to the victorious Musulmáns; upon which, Mujáshia-bin-Mas'aúd took possession of the cities of Sirján and Jíruft, while 'Othmán-bin-Abú-l-'A's advanced to Istakhar. In the same quarter, Sauria-bin-Zanním, employed with a separate division on the route from Istakhar to Kirmán, experienced a more determined resistance. In besieging one of the strongholds into which the natives had thrown themselves, he was suddenly attacked by a sally from the garrison, as well as by a numerous body of Kurds who had

¹ *Tárikh-i-Guzida*, quoted in *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 171.

² *Muntakhabu-t-tawárikh*, under the Khalifate of 'Omar. The name of Zانبíl will be treated of under the History of the Ghaznevîdes.

advanced to their relief, and was only saved through the aid of a miracle. In the end, however, the Musulmán's were victorious. These are evidently all the same transactions, disguised by change of names,—the “Kurds” of the *Habibu-s-siyar* being the “Kúj” of the *Guzida*.¹

Dr. Weil, following Tabarí, gives other variations, and remarks upon Abú-l-fedá's and Elmacin's omission of the conquest of the Persian provinces in the south. The general's name is 'Abd-ulla-bin-Attah. “Kufej,” or “Kufess,” is given instead of “Kúj.” The invasion of Mekrán is ascribed to 23 H., in which same year, it is said, the conquest of Fárs was brought to a conclusion. The capture of Shíráz is also mentioned, although it is ordinarily supposed not to have been built till seventy years afterwards by Muhammed Kásim.²

'Othmán, A.H. 23–35. A.D. 643–655.

'Othmán-bin-Abú-l-'A's was not very rapid in his conquest of the province of Fárs, for he was repulsed before Istakhar, and it is not till the year 26 H., that we find him taking Kázerún and the still famous Kila'-i-suféd, or white fort, between Istakhar and the Persian Gulph.³ The whole province does not seem to have been reduced till 28 H.

In A.H. 30, a formidable insurrection took place at Istakhar, when the Musulmán governor fell a victim to the fury of the people. The fugitive king of Persia, Yezdijird, hastened to the scene, in the hope of retrieving his miserable fortunes; but, after being nearly surprised among the ruined columns of the ancient palace, he was defeated with great loss by 'Abd-ulla-bin-'Omar

¹ *Habibu-s-siyar*, Book , Ch. .

² *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. 1, pp. 95–98.

³ *Rauzat-u-s-safá*, Book , Ch. .—FERISHTA, Vol. 1, p. 2.

and 'Othmán, near that capital, and compelled to fly to Kirmán, and afterwards to Sejestán and Khurásán. The citadel of Istakhar was carried by assault, and many of the ancient Persian nobility, who had sought an asylum within that fortress, were put to the sword.¹

During the next year, the pursuit of Yezdijird was followed into Khurásán under 'Abd-ulla-bin-'A'mar, then governor of Basra, after obtaining the permission of the Khalif to advance into that country. The southern provinces of the Caspian not having yet been finally conquered, it was considered the more feasible route to march by way of Fárs and the borders of Kirmán, and so advance through the desert. A rebellion which then existed in the latter province was quelled by a detachment of one thousand horse under Mujásbia. Rabí'-bin-Ziyád Háritihî was, at the same time, despatched to secure the obedience of Sejestán, in which province he received the submission of Zaranj; and 'Abd-ulla himself, having compelled the city of Tabbas to surrender on capitulation, entered the Kohistán, where he met with a sturdy resistance; but ultimately, with the assistance of Abnaf bin Kais, took Herát, Sarakhs, Tálíkán, Balkh, Tukháristán, and Naishábúr, and brought the whole province of Khurásán under subjection.²

Ferishta attributes to the following year a proselyting expedition to the eastward, which is said to have been despatched from Baghdád; but as that town was not built for more than a century afterwards, no great value can attach to his sources of information. Baghdád did not

¹ ABULPHARAGII *Dynast.*, p. 116.—*Habibu-s-siyar*, Book , Ch. . —WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. i. p. 163; but compare also the Appendix, p. vii, in Vol. III, where the circumstances are stated differently, after Beládori.

² FERISHTA, Vol. i, p. 3.—PRICE, *Retrospect of Mahommedan History*, Vol. i, p. 161.—BELÁDORI, in *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. i, Anhang, pp. ix, x.

become the seat of the Khalifate till the time of Abú Ja'far Al-Mansúr, in 148 A.H. The three first Khalifs established themselves at Medína. 'Ali, in 36 H., chose Kúfa as his metropolis; and in 41 H., the Umayyides constituted Damascus as their capital: and so it continued during the whole period of their dynasty, which expired in 132 H., when Abú-l-'Abbás seated himself at Anbár, on the Euphrates,¹ and his successor, Al-Mansúr, after remaining a few years at Háshimíya, in the same neighbourhood, finally established himself at Baghdád, where the seat of the Khalifate continued, with occasional transfers to Sámarrá, till its extinction by Halákú in 656 H.—1258 A.D.

The same kind of error frequently occurs in Persian authors respecting the government of 'Irák, or of the two 'Iráks, 'Arabí and Ajamí, in writing of the period treated of in this note. It was rarely that the government of the two 'Iráks, and rarely even that the whole of even 'Irák-i-'Arabí, was centered in the same individual. This province, which may be considered to correspond with Babylonia, contained the two chief military cantonments of Kúfa and Basra. The former town was of some antiquity, and the seat of an Arabian prince before the time of Muhammed; but the latter was founded in A.H. 15, chiefly with the view of interrupting the communication with the Persian Gulph, and preventing the flight of the royal family of Persia by the sea route to India.²

¹ This was the original capital of the kings of Híra, before they removed to the latter town. It was destroyed by the soldiers of Julian. Respecting its position, see Dr. Gustav Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. i, p. 35. Its successive ruins at various periods are to be seen near the Castle of Felugia.—See also D'ANVILLE, *L'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 71.—D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient*, v. "Coufah."

² Compare WEIL, *Gesch. der Chal.*, Vol. i, pp. 39, 72, 75, 84, and Anhang, p. ix.—RITTER, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. x, p. —RENOUARD, Art. "Persia," in *Encyclop. Metropolitana*.—PRESTON, *Makámát of Al-Hariri*, p. 37.

It was not till the time of Mua'viya, that these two important places were entrusted to the charge of one person. By him their government was bestowed upon his bastard brother, Ziyád, of whom we shall find frequent mention in the following paragraphs. By the succeeding Khalif they were, after some interval, again conferred upon 'Obaid-ulla-bin-Ziyád.¹ In the person of Hajjáj the two governments were once more combined; and he was invested with still greater power than any of his predecessors.²

To revert to the eastern conquests—Dárábgard, which together with Fasá was taken in 23 H., subsequently revolted, and was again taken in 28 H.³

'Abd-ulla 'A'mar, who was a cousin of the Khalif, and had succeeded the popular Abú Músà Asha'rí in the government of Basra, thinking the opportunity favourable for extending the Muhammedan conquests in the east, obtained permission to detach Hakím-bin-Jabala al-'Abdí to explore Sejestán and Mekrán, as well as the countries bordering on the valley of the Indus; but it appears that Hakím reported so unfavourably of the sterility of the vast regions which he examined, that all idea of conquest in that direction was again abandoned.—“ Water “ in that country is of a dark colour, flowing only drop by “ drop, the fruits are sour and unwholesome, rocks abound,

¹ OCKLEY, *History of the Saracens*, pp. 369, 387, 391.

² The succession to these governments may be traced in the following passages of the first Volume of PRICE's *Mohammedan History*: KÚFA, pp. 128, 137, 152, 153, 168, 184, 191, 192, 262, 379, 383–9, 392, 426, 445, 524, 536, 543; BASRA, pp. 123, 146, 159, 164, 184, 191, 192, 230, 349, 379, 381, 385, 389, 392, 429, 439, 446, 451, 460, 529, 543, 548. And in the first Volume of WEIL's *Geschichte der Chalifen*: KÚFA, pp. 85, 135, 171–2, 176, 195, 369, 411, 428, Anh. p. vi.; BASRA, pp. 72, 173, 195, 269, 277, 353, 366, 411, 611.

³ BELÁDORT, ap. WEIL, *Gesch. der Chal.*, Vol. i, Anhang, p. ix.

“and the soil is brackish. The thieves are intrepid warriors, and the bulk of the population dishonest and treacherous. If the troops sent there are few in number, they will be exterminated; if they are numerous, they will perish of hunger.” The discord which prevailed among the Musulmáns after the death of 'Othmán, was an additional reason for not prosecuting any adventures in so remote a region; but private adventure does not seem to have been debarred, and was, no doubt, prosecuted under the tacit consent of the Khalif.¹

'Ali, A.H. 35-40. A.D. 655-660.

Hasan, A.H. 40-41. A.D. 660-661.

Under the succeeding reign of 'Ali, it is related, on the authority of 'A'mar-bin-Háarith-bin-'Abdu-l-Kais, that Tághar-bin-Dá'ir was appointed to the charge of the frontier of Hind, and an army was placed under his command, comprising a select body of nobles and chiefs. Towards the close of the year 38 H., they marched by way of Bahraj and Koh-Páya, obtaining on the road great booty and many slaves, until they reached the mountains of Kaikán, or Kaikánán, where they met with a stout resistance from the inhabitants, of whom no less than twenty thousand had assembled to intercept their progress through the passes. But when the Arabs shouted out “Alláho akber,” and their voices re-echoed from the hills to the right and left, the infidels, hearing these shouts of triumph, were confounded and alarmed. Some came forward and embraced Islám, and the rest took precipitately to flight. From that time to the present, says the credulous author, voices proclaiming that God is great,

¹ BELÁDORT, *Journ. As.*, Fév. 1845, p. 157; *Fragments*, pp. xx, 183; *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 172.—*Chack-náma*, MS. p. 72.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 9.

“Alláho akber,” are heard at the same season throughout these mountains. It was upon this occasion that Hárith-bin-Marra, distinguished himself by his bravery. “They were engaged in this victory when they were informed of the martyrdom of ‘Ali; and on their return, when they arrived at Mekrán, they learnt that Mua’viya-bin-Abí Sufyán, was king.”¹

This is, no doubt, the same expedition which Beládorí attributes to Harab-bin-Marra al-‘Abdí,—that is, a man of the ancient and powerful tribe of ‘*Abdu-l-Kais*’ (the *Abucæi* of Ptolemy), which was established in Bahrein, and devoted itself chiefly to piracies on the high seas. The same country has always been prolific of such enterprises, until they were effectually repressed by the British Government in India. The name of al-‘Abdí shows that the preceding narrative is founded on the authority of a member of that tribe, and ‘A’mar, being perhaps a son of the very Hárith, the hero of the story, family pride may have suppressed all notice of the defeat. Harab’s adventure commenced and ended at the same times which are mentioned in the preceding paragraph, but the result is represented very differently. At the opening of the campaign, he was so successful, that in a single day he divided one thousand captives amongst his adherents. Nevertheless, he was in the end completely defeated in the country of Kaikán, and only a few Arabs survived to tell the tale of their disasters.²

Col. Tod mentions that the generals of ‘Ali made conquests within the kingdom of Sind itself, which were abandoned at that Khalif’s death; but he does not give his authority for this improbable statement.³

¹ *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 73.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 9.

² BELÁDORÍ, *Journal As.*, Fév. 1845, p. 157; *Fragments Ar.*, p. 184; *Mémoire sur l’Inde*, p. 175.

³ *Annals of Rájast’hán*, Vol. i, p. 242.

DYNASTY OF THE UMAIYIDES.

A.H. 41-132. A.D. 661-750.

1. *Mua'viya*, A.H. 41-60. A.D. 661-679.

Under the Khiláfat of *Mua'viya*, the first of the Umayyides, we are informed by a respectable authority, that 'Abdu-r-rahman conquered Sind in the year 42 H.¹ It seems, however, probable that the expedition here alluded to is the one which occurred two years later, under *Muhallab*, one of 'Abdu-r-rahman's officers, and which is more fully recorded in a subsequent Note upon the advances of the Arabs on the Kábul frontier.

In A.H. 46, 'Abd-ulla-bin-Sowár, who was about that time entrusted with the command of the Indian frontier on the side of Kaikán, and "who was so generous and hospitable that no other fire but his own was ever lighted in his camp," enriched himself with the spoil taken from the eastern borders; and when he returned to *Mua'viya*, presented that Khalif with some of the horses of Kaikán. He remained some time with *Mua'viya*, and then returned to Kaikán, where, being attacked by the Turks with all their forces, he was slain in the conflict.²

The *Chach-náma* adds, amongst other details of this expedition, which need not be here given, that *Mua'viya* appointed 'Abd-ulla-bin-Sawáriya, at the head of four thousand cavalry, "to the government of Sind," and said, "in the country of Sind there is a mountain which they call Kaikánán. There the horses stand very high, and are well made in all their proportions. They have before this time been received among the spoils taken from that tract. The inhabitants are treacherous, and are protected

¹ *Tárikh-i-Yáfi'i*, sub ann. 42 H.

² BELÁDORÍ, *Journ. As.*, Fév. 1845, p. 158; *Frag. Arab.*, p. 185.—
WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. 1, p. 291.

“by their mountain fastnesses from the effects of their rebellion and enmity.” He sent also ‘Amar-bin-’Abd-ulla-bin-’Amar to conquer Armáel. After sustaining a complete defeat from the Kaikánís (called Turks by Beládorí), who swarmed around, and closed their egress by the passes, the remnant of the Arab army returned to Mekrán.

This is related on the authority of “Mohlat, who heard it from Hindalí, who reported it on the authority of Kásim, who said, ‘I heard it from Nasr-bin-Sufyán.’” This Hindalí is frequently mentioned in the *Chach-náma* as a transmitter of these traditions.¹

The statement of the next incursion is somewhat confused.

Upon the death of ‘Abd-ulla, Sanán-bin-Salma was appointed to succeed him, but Mua’viya wrote to Ziyád, the powerful governor of ‘Irák, who also held the lieutenancy of Khurásán, Sejestán, Bahrein, and ‘Omán, besides Kúfa and Basra, directing him to select a man better suited to command on the marches of India. Accordingly, Sanán was superseded by Ahnaf Kais, “the ablest among the true believers,” who went to Mekrán, but was removed after a period of two years and one month. Hindalí is again one of the authorities for this account.²

By Beládorí this is otherwise represented. Ziyád-bin-Abú Sufyán raised Saná-bin-Salha to the command of the Indian frontier. He was a man of merit, and feared God, and was the first who obliged soldiers to affix to their oath the penalty of divorce from their wives. On proceeding to assume charge of his functions, he reduced Mekrán, and founded cities in that country. He established his residence there, and exacted a rigorous account of the revenues of the province. By Ibn-al-Kalbí this conquest is attributed to Hakím, above mentioned.

¹ *Chach-nama*, MS. pp. 74, 75.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 9.

² *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 76.

Ziyád then raised Asad-bin-'Amrú, of the tribe of Azd, to the command. Asad went to Mekrán, and thence made a successful inroad upon Kaikán; but was subsequently slain in an attack upon the Méds. He is said to have been succeeded by the Sanán, before noticed, who exercised his functions for two years.¹

At last, we are carried beyond the limits of Kaikán, or Kaikánán, which have detained our ardent apostles so long.

“Abú-l-hasan heard from Hindalí, who had heard from Bin-i-Aswad,” that when Ziyád had suspended the son of Salma from his functions, Ráshid-bin-'Omar-al-Khizri, a man of good birth and of noted courage, was summoned to the presence of Mua'viya, who seated him by the side of his throne, and entered into long and familiar discourse with him. He pointed out to his officers that Ráshid was an excellent man, to whom their obedience was due, and that they should aid him in the battle, and not leave him alone in the field.

When Ráshid arrived at Mekrán, he had an interview with Sanán, respecting whom he asseverated with an oath that he was a great man, well worthy to head an army in the day of battle. Sanán had received orders from Mua'viya to meet Ráshid on the road, and to communicate to him all that he knew respecting the state of Hind and Sind, which when his successor had duly learnt, he determined on prosecuting his route towards the frontier; and having received the revenue which had been assessed upon Koh-Páya, went on to Kaikánán, where he collected the tribute due for the current and preceding years, and brought away much plunder and many slaves.

After a stay of one year, he returned by way of Sewastán, and reached the hills of Mandar and Bahraj, where

¹ BELÁDORI, *loc. cit.* — WEIL, *Gesch. der Chal.*, Vol. 1, p. 291.

the inhabitants had assembled to the number of fifty thousand to obstruct his passage. The contest raged from morning till evening, when Ráshid was martyred.

Ziyád appointed Sanán to take his place, and bestowed great honours upon him, notwithstanding he had so lately been disgraced, because, as our author says, he had been blessed at the time of his birth by the prophet, who had himself bestowed the name of Sanán upon him. After advancing to Kaikánán, he met with great success, and established his rule in several countries, and at last reached Búda, where he was by some treachery put to death.¹

Ziyád then conferred the command of the Indian frontier upon Almundar-bin-al-Jarúd-al-'Abdí, who was surnamed Al-Asba'ath. He invaded Núfan (Búda?) and Kaikán; and the Arabs were enriched with booty,—for the whole country became a prey to their devastations. They seized upon KUSDÁR, where they made many captives. Almundar died in that town.²

2. *Yezíd I*, A.H. 60–64. A.D. 679–683.

3. *Mua'viya II*, A.H. 64. A.D. 683.

In the year 61 H., we find mention of another governor of the Indian frontier, of the name of Almundar, or Almunzir; but as the one before mentioned had been appointed by Ziyád, who died in 53 H., and as the second Almundar, or Almunzir, was appointed by 'Obaid-ulla-bin-Ziyád, who succeeded his father, after a short interval, in the government of 'Irák, including both Kúfa and Basra, and as, moreover, the parentage is represented as entirely different, we must needs conclude that they are

¹ *Chach-náma*, MS pp. 77, 78.—*Tohfatu-L-kirám*, MS. p. 9.

² BELÁDORT, *Journ. As.*, Fév. 1845, p. 161; *Fragm. Ar.*, p. 188.—WEIL, *Geschichte der Chal.*, Vol. i, p. 292.

different personages. The one with whom we now have to deal was son of Hár, son of Bashar, who "put on the vesture of government under evil auspices," for, as he was journeying, his mantle caught in a splinter of wood, and was rent; and 'Obaid-ulla-bin-Ziyád, who had nominated him, predicted, on that account, that he would not return alive from the journey he had undertaken;¹ but he had selected him, as no one was his equal in constancy and courage. And true it was, that no sooner had Almunzir arrived within the borders of Búrání, than he fell sick and died.²

His son, Hakkam, was in Kirmán, when his father died. He was treated with kindness by 'Obaid-ulla, who presented him with three hundred thousand dirhems, and appointed him to succeed his father for six months, during which period he is represented to have conducted himself with energy and boldness.³

One of the commanders appointed to the Indian frontier by 'Obaid-ulla, was Hawwa al-Bahalí. He engaged with great fervour and success in the border warfare, and acquired immense booty.⁴

4. *Marwán I*, A.H. 64-65. A.D. 683-684.

5. *'Abdu-l-malik*, A.H. 65-86. A.D. 684-705.

To the year 65 H. Colonel Tod attributes a Muhammedan invasion of Rájpútána, by way of Sind, in which Mánika Rái, the prince of Ajmér, and his only son were killed. But the whole story is puerile and fictitious;

¹ And as Samuel turned about to go away, Saul laid hold upon the skirt of his mantle, and it rent. And Samuel said unto him, "The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day."—

1 *Sam.* xv, 27, 28.

² *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 79.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 9.

³ *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 80.

⁴ BELÁDORÍ, and WEIL, *loc. cit.*

independent of which, the Arabs had quite enough to do nearer home.¹

When 'Abdu-l-malik, the son of Marwán, ascended the throne, his dominions were circumscribed within the limits of Syria and Palestine, rebellion being rife in the various provinces. The east was especially affected by these internal commotions. Kúfa was in the hands of Mukhtár and the Shí'ites, who had taken up arms to avenge the death of Husain, the son of 'Ali. The Azrakians, or followers of Náfi'-ibn-Azrak, had established themselves in the provinces of Fárs, Kirmán, and Ahwáz, and Arabia and Khurásán obeyed 'Abd-ulla-ibn-Zubair, the rival Khalif of Mecca. Within eight years after ascending the throne, 'Abdu-l-malik triumphed successively over all his enemies, re-established the authority of the Umayyides over the Muhammedan Empire, and began to restore the foreign relations of Islám, which had greatly declined during the early vicissitudes of his reign.

'Obaid-ulla-bin-Ziyád, one of the ablest of his generals, invaded the territory of Kúfa, but was defeated and slain, in 67 H., by the army which advanced against him under Mukhtár. He had contended for the Khalifate upon the death of Yezíd, and was unsuccessful.

This disaster was not retrieved till four years afterwards, by 'Abdu-l-malik's obtaining possession of Kúfa. Meanwhile, Muballab had defeated the Azrakians, whom he had pursued into the very heart of Kirmán, and deprived them of their conquests in Fárs and Ahwáz. He then deserted 'Abd-ulla's cause, and submitted to 'Abdu-l-malik. Khurásán was obtained by similar corruption and treachery, and 'Abd-ulla was slain at Mecca by the army commanded by Hajjáj-bin-Yúsuf Thakifí. Thenceforward, 'Abdu-l-malik had leisure to attend to the extension of the empire towards the east.

¹ *Annals of Rájast'hán*, Vol. II, p. 441.

To this especial object was directed his nomination of his successful general, Hajjáj, to be governor of 'Irák, who commenced his rule by conferring the charge of Mekrán upon Sa'id-bin-Aslam Kalábí. Sa'id, however, had unfortunately to encounter the rivalry of Mua'viya and Muhammed, the sons of Harath, surnamed the 'Alláfí, from the title of 'Alláf which was borne by one of their ancestors.¹

As the 'Alláfís, or 'Allánís, as they are styled in the *Chach-náma*, are conspicuous in the subsequent history of Sind, that work dwells more particularly upon their history. It appears that upon Sa'id's arrival at Mekrán, he put to death a man of the name of Safhúí-bin-Lám al-Hamámí. This man was claimed as a relative and fellow-countryman of the 'Alláfís, who came from 'Omán, and they determined to seek satisfaction for his death. Accordingly, they attacked Sa'id, who was then on his return from collecting the revenues of his jurisdiction, killed him in the fray, and took possession of Mekrán. Hajjáj then ordered Sulaimán 'Alláfí, one of the leading men of that tribe, to be seized, and sent his head to the family of Sa'id. At the same time, more vigorous measures were taken to assert the authority of the government, and Mujáa' was directed to proceed to Kirmán. He sent forward 'Abdu-r-rahman-bin-Asha'th to lead the advance, but he was waylaid by the 'Alláfís, and slain. They did not, however, think proper to engage in further collisions with the government, but fled to Sind in 85 H., where they sought the protection of Dáhir, who received them kindly, and entertained them in his service.²

The 'Alláfís remained in Sind till the arrival of Muhammed Kásim, when they came forward and sued for

¹ BELÁDORÍ, *loc. cit.*

² *Chach-náma*, MS. pp. 80, 81; and *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. pp. 7, 9.

forgiveness, which was accorded to them, as will be seen in the translated Extracts from the *Chach-náma*.

Sa'id was succeeded by Mujáa', the son of the Sa'r Temímí, most probably the same Mujáa' above mentioned, who is called in the *Chach-náma* and the *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, the son of Sa'id, as well as the son of Safar in the former, apparently by error of the transcriber. He despoiled the border districts, and took many prisoners from the territory of Kandábél, the entire conquest of which was not effected till some years afterwards by Muhammed Kásim. Mujáa', after holding his office for the period of only one year, died in Mekrán, about the same time as the Khalif 'Abdu-l-malik.¹

6. *Walid I*, A.H. 86-96. A.D. 705-715.

Under this powerful prince, the Khalifate attained the greatest extent of dominion to which it ever reached. A little previous to the accession of Walid, Muhammed, son of Hárún, was appointed to the Indian frontier, where he was invested with full powers to conduct operations as he thought best.²

He was directed to search out the 'Alláfis, and to seize them by every means within his power, in order that the blood of Sa'id might be avenged by their death and destruction. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 86,³ he secured one of the 'Alláfis, who was put to death by direct orders of the Khalif, and his head was despatched to Hajjáj, with a letter, in which the governor promised, "if his life were spared to him, and his fortune propitious, he would seize all the rest of that obnoxious tribe." He was

¹ BELÁDORÍ, *loc. cit.*—*Chach-náma*, MS. p. 82. *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 7, 9.—WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. 1, p. 504.

² *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 82.—BELÁDORÍ, *loc. cit.*

³ Ferishta says he was not appointed till 87 H.—*History of Sind*.

engaged, according to one author, for five years, according to another, for five months, in the important occupation of "conquering the rivers and forests."¹

Under the auspices of the cruel tyrant, Hajjáj, who, though nominally governor only of 'Irák, was in fact ruler over all the countries which constituted the former Persian kingdom, the spirit of more extended conquest arose, which had hitherto, during the civil wars, and before the re-establishment of political unity under 'Abdul-malik and his son Walíd, confined itself to mere partial efforts on the eastern frontiers of the empire. By his orders, one army under Kutaiba, after the complete subjugation of Khawárazm, crossed the Oxus, and reduced, but not without great difficulty, Bukhára, Khojand, Shásh, Samarcand, and Farghána—some of which places had been visited, though not thoroughly subjected, at previous periods, by the Muhammedan arms. Kutaiba penetrated even to Káshgár, at which place Chinese ambassadors entered into a compact with the marauders.² Another army had, by Hajjáj's directions, already operated against the king of Kábul, and a third advanced towards the lower course of the Indus, through Mekrán.

The cause of this latter expedition was the exaction of vengeance for the plunder, by some pirates of Débal, of eight vessels, which the ruler of Ceylon had despatched, filled with presents, pilgrims, Muhammedan orphans, and Abyssinian slaves, to propitiate the good-will of Hajjáj and the Khalif. The pirates are differently named by the authorities whom we have to follow. The *Futúhu-l-bul-*

¹ *Chach-náma*, MS. pp. 82, 83.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, p. 10.

² HAMMER, *Gemäldesaal*, Vol. II, pp. 123, 124.—ABEL RÉMUSAT, *sur la Geog. de l'Asie centrale*, pp. 94–106. Compare also, respecting the relations between the Persians and Chinese, DE GUIGNES, *Histoire des Huns*, Tom. I, pp. 54–59.—FRERET, *Mémoires de l'Acad.*, Tom. XVI, pp. 245–255.

dán says they were “Méd.” The *Chach-náma* says they were “Tankámara.” The *Tohfatu-l-kirám* says they were “Nankámara.” ‘Abd-ulla-bin-’I’sà, who wrote a commentary upon the *Díwán* of the poet Jarír, towards the close of the fourth century of the Hijra, says they were “Kurk,” for which a marginal reading substitutes “Kurd.” Reiske states his inability to comprehend what tribe is meant by this name. Reinaud says “Kurds” are out of the question;¹ but that “Kurks” are mentioned by Ibn al-Athír, under the annals of 151 H., as having made a descent upon Jidda, and that, two years afterwards, a flotilla was despatched from Basra to make an attack upon the “Kurks,” whom he surmises to be probably natives of Coorg, to the east of Mangalore.² But they are an inland nation, and cannot possibly have been engaged in maritime expeditions. Whoever they were, they must have been inhabitants of Débal, or its immediate neighbourhood, and though the name be extinct now, the Kurk, Kerk, or Kruk, may possibly represent a tribe which flourished at one time near the mouth of the Indus.³

The Méd are familiar to us, as being frequently mentioned by Ibn Haukal and the early writers on Sind.⁴ The name of Tangámara presents great difficulties; but as there is a variation about the first letter, and as the omission of diacritical points would admit of the word being read Sangámara, it may be proper to point out, if that should be the

¹ They are, however, a very migratory race. We find them in Khurásán, Kábul, Fárs, Kirmán, the Dasht-i-be-daulat, and even in Sind, in the province of Kach’h Gandáva, where they are classed as Bráhúís. It is also worthy of remark, that Ibn Haukal speaks of some of the inland Jats as being “like unto the Kurds.”—GILDEMEISTER, *Scriptor. Arab. de rebus Indicis*, p. 181.

² *Mémoire sur l’Inde*, p. 181.

³ See further respecting the Kurk, under APPENDIX.

⁴ The Méd are also treated of in a separate APPENDIX.

correct reading, the identity of the two first syllables with those of Sangada, which Arrian tells us was the name of the mainland in the neighbourhood of Krokala.¹ How far the name extended does not appear, but it is curious that, to our time, it seems to be preserved beyond the eastern mouth of the river, in the celebrated pirate-coast of the Sanganians, or Sangárs, who for centuries have committed their ravages on the shores of Sind and Guzerát, until their total suppression under our government.² It may be remarked also, that there is a tribe called Sangúr still dwelling on the coast of Mekrán, at Malán and Batt.

It is probable, therefore, that the several authorities may be right in part, and that the different piratical tribes of the mouths of the Indus may have joined in the expedition which gave Hajjáj grounds for demanding reparation from Dáhir, the ruler of Sind.

Upon his declaring his inability to restrain their excesses, Hajjáj earnestly solicited from the Khalif permission to exact due vengeance from Dáhir and his subjects, offering to pay, from his own resources, double what would be exhausted from the public treasury. But the Khalif replied:—"The distance is great, the requisite expenditure will

¹ Εκ δὲ Κρωκάλων ἐν δεξιῇ μὲν ἔχοντες ὄρος ἐπλων. . . . ὁ δὲ χῶρος ἄπας Σάγγαδα.—*Nearchi Paraplus*, p. 5, in HUDSON'S *Geograph. Minores*, Vol. 1. It is evidently the "Sang-ko-lo" of Hiun-thsang, a Chinese traveller of the seventh century.—*Foe-Koue-Ki*, p.

² The principal station of the Sangárs is Juckow, in Kach'h. Al. Hamilton says:—"The next province to Catchnaggen (Cach-nagar) is Sangania. Their seaport is called Baet, very commodious and secure. They admit of no trade, but practice piracy."—PINKERTON, *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. VIII, p. 310. See also, OVINGTON and D'ANVILLE.—Too says the name was not that of any particular nation, but simply "Sangamdharians," the pirates of the "Sangams," or sacred embouchures of rivers.—*West. India*, p. 442. "Sank'ha," or "Sank'ha-dwár," the old name of Bét, offers an equally probable origin.

“be enormous, and I do not wish to expose the lives of “Musulmán^s to peril.”¹ In the same spirit of caution or forbearance, Músà was checked in his career of conquest in Spain; and when the remonstrance was disregarded, a second envoy, despatched with more peremptory orders, seized the bridle of his horse in the presence of the whole army, and led him away to Damascus to answer for his contumacy.²

When, at last, the repugnance of the Khalif had been overcome by the urgent remonstrances of Hajjáj, and by his generous offer of double payment, which was at a subsequent period rigorously demanded, 'Obaid-ulla-bin-Nabhán, was sent against the sea-port of Débal, where he met with defeat and death.³

Hajjáj then wrote to Budail, of the Bajalí tribe, directing him to advance against Débal. As Budail was at 'Omán, M. Reinaud considers it probable that he proceeded by sea to his destination; but the *Chach-náma*, though somewhat confused, is fuller than the *Futúhu-l-buldán*, and tells us that Budail was ordered to proceed to Mekrán, that Muhammed Hárún was directed to place three thousand men at his disposal, for the purpose of proceeding to Sind, and that 'Abd-ulla-bin-Kahtán Aslamí was ordered to join him from 'Omán, which he accordingly did at Nairún. Budail advanced at the head of three hundred men from Mekrán, and was joined on the way by the reinforcements from Muhammed Hárún. In the battle which ensued, Budail, after fighting gallantly, was thrown from his horse, surrounded by the enemy, and killed, and

¹ ABÚ-L-FEDÁ, *Annal. Mosl.*, Vol. 1, p. 107.—*Chach-náma*, MS. p. 85.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 10.

² CONDÉ, *Hist. de la Dom. de los Arabes en Esp.*, ap. De Marlès.

³ BELADORÍ, *Fragments Arabes*, p. 190.

many Musulmán's were taken captive. The *Futúhu-l-buldán* and the *Tohfatu-l-kirám* represent the action as having taken place at Débal, but the *Chach-náma* is not clear upon this point.¹

Hajjáj was sorely afflicted at this disastrous result of his expedition, and vowed that he would take ample vengeance for the various indignities which had been heaped upon him. As the people of Nairún dreaded the consequences of Hajjáj's anger, and reflected that their city stood on the very road by which the Arabs would enter Sind, their governor, named Mahzar, who was a Samaní, or Buddhist, sent privily some confidential messengers to Hajjáj, promising to remit tribute regularly, and soliciting from him some writing, under which Nairún might be secured from further annoyance at the hand of the Musulmán's. This bond was readily granted, and the Samaní was enjoined to obtain the freedom of the prisoners taken in the late action, with the threat of "putting to the sword of Islám the lives of all infidels as far as the borders of China, if this demand were not complied with."²

After this, 'Amar-bin-'Abd-ulla requested that the government of Hind might be confided to him, but he was rebuked by Hajjáj, and told that the astrologers, after being consulted, had pronounced that the conquest of that country could be effected only by the hand of Muhammed Kásim.³

¹ Briggs gives the leader's name as "Budmeen." Reinaud as "Bodayl." Lt. Postans as "Bazil." The *Chach-náma* as "Bazil," or "Buzail." As "Budail" is an old Arabic name, it is probably the correct reading in this passage. Compare FERISHTA, Vol. IV, p. 403.—*Fragments Arabes*, p. 190.—*Journal A.S.B.*, No. clviii, p. 85.—*Chach-náma*, MS. pp. 85, 86.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 8.—WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I, p. 504.—SALE, *Korán*, Vol. I, p. 138.

² *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 86; *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 8.

³ *Chach-náma* and *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, *loc. cit.*

Muhammed Kásim, as he is universally styled by the Persians—but by Beládorí, “Muhammed-bin-Kassam Thakifí,” and by Abú-l-fedá, “Muhammed-bin-al-Kásim”—was then in the bloom of youth, being only seventeen years of age, when this important command was conferred upon him. It is probable that, although he is represented to have already administered the province of Fárs with ability, he obtained his appointment, less from personal merit, than from family interest,—for he was cousin and son-in-law of Hajjáj; but the result showed the wisdom of the selection. His rapid career of conquest along the whole valley of the Indus, from the sea to the mountains, has been fully narrated in the translations from the *Futúhu-l-buldán* and *Chach-náma*. From them it is evident, that his successes, like those of his contemporary, Tárik, in Spain, were as much attributable to his temper and policy as to his courage and strategy. There was, though by no means little—as Débal and Multán bear witness—yet much less, wanton sacrifice of life than was freely indulged in by most of the ruthless bigots who have propagated the same faith elsewhere. The conquest of Sind took place at the very time in which, at the opposite extremes of the known world, the Muhammedan arms were subjugating Spain, and pressing on the southern frontier of France, while they were adding Khawárazm to their already mighty empire. In Sind, as in Spain, where submission was proffered, quarter was readily given; the people of the country were permitted the exercise of their own creeds and laws; and natives were sometimes placed in responsible situations of the government. Much of this unwonted toleration may, in both instances, have arisen from the small number of the invading force, as well as from ignorance of civil institutions; but we must still allow the leaders credit for taking the best means of sup-

plying these deficiencies, and seeking assistance from the quarters best able to afford it.¹

The two authorities above mentioned differ from each other in some particulars, and the *Chach-náma*, which is the source of the Persian accounts, furnishes a few details, wearing, especially towards the close, the appearance of embellishment: but there is no startling discrepancy in the general history of the conquest, of which the broad features are preserved with fidelity in both narratives.

The Persian authorities, following the *Chach-náma*, mention that Muhammed Kásim penetrated to Kanauj, which, as the borders of that country then extended nearly to Ajmér, is no improbable circumstance, if we do not construe the expression to signify literally that the city of Kanauj was conquered. But even the possession of that great capital would not have satisfied the ambitious aspirations of Hajjáj; for he had ordered Muhammed to penetrate to China; and, with the view of exciting emulation between him and Kutaiba, had promised, that whichever of them arrived there first should be invested with the government of the celestial empire: a fair challenge and a fair start,—for in the self-same year, one was on the Indus, the other on the Jaxartes, in the same longitude, and at the same distance from the eastern goal, which fanaticism and avarice, as well as the desire to secure a safe and remote asylum upon the death of Walíd, had designated to these rival generals as the guerdon of success and victory.

¹ Respecting Spain, see DE MARLÈS, *Histoire des Arabes en Espagne*, Tom. i, p. 14; III, 401. Tárik's moderation was by no means imitated by his early successors. The soldiery plundered the towns, devastated the country, and profaned the churches. A native historian has remarked, that the miseries of the vanquished constituted the happiness of the victors.—MARIANA, *De rebus Hispaniæ*, Lib. vi, c. 19.

The progress of the Arabs in Sind.

On the faith of Ferishta, who has been followed exclusively by our modern historians, it has been usual to consider that the conquest of Sind was effected with only six thousand warriors, who, by some misapprehension of the original, are wrongly stated to be Assyrians. The more correct statement, given by our Arab authorities, shows that, independent of an advanced guard under Abú-l-Aswad Jaham, which was ordered to join Muhammed Kásim on the borders of Sind, there were six thousand picked cavalry from Syria and 'Irák, six thousand armed camel-riders, thoroughly equipped for military operations, with a baggage train of three thousand Bactrian camels, which, however, Mír Ma'súm converts into three thousand infantry. In Mekrán, Muhammed Kásim was joined by the governor, Muhammed Hárún, with other reinforcements; and five catapults, together with the necessary ammunition, were transported by sea to Débal. The number of men conveyed by the naval squadron may be estimated by the fact, that we find one catapult alone requiring no less than five hundred men to work it. These heavy machines had been used by the Prophet in the siege of Táif, and done effective service only a few years before at Damascus and Mecca, as well as in the re-conquest of northern Africa; but they were so ponderous that they could in general be rarely used, except where the means of transport by water existed, or but a short distance by land had to be traversed. Hence Kutaiba, in his campaign beyond the Oxus, was often compelled to regret that a long and tedious land-carriage deprived him of the advantage of these implements,

which were nearly indispensable in the operations in which he was engaged.

Besides these Arab troops, we find the Jats and Méds enlisting under Muhammed Kásim's banners, which, independent of its moral effects in dividing national sympathies, and relaxing the unanimity of defence against foreign aggression, must have been of incalculable benefit to him, in his disproportionate excess of cavalry, which could be of but little service in a country intersected by rivers, swamps, and canals.

This desertion of the native princes was doubtless occasioned by the severity with which they had treated the Jats and Lohánas upon the capture of Bráhmaábád. The inhibition of riding on saddles and wearing fine clothes, the baring the head, the accompaniment of a dog, the drawing of water and hewing wood for the royal kitchen, were more suited to Musulmán intolerance than the mild sway of Hindúism; and accordingly, after the conqueror's first acquisitions, we find him so indifferent about retaining the good will of his allies, that he imposed the same conditions upon them, which he enforced with even greater stringency than his predecessors.

After the news of Muhammed Kásim's success reached Damascus, he was joined by other troops and adventurers, eager for plunder and proselytism; insomuch that when he left Multán, for the purpose of proceeding to Dípálpúr and the north, we find it stated in the *Tárikh-i-Sind* and *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, that he had no less than 50,000 men marching under his standard, besides those whom he had left in the forts and garrisons of Sind. Hence we may see, that paucity of numbers was by no means so much against the chance of Muhammed Kásim's success as has hitherto been supposed.¹

¹ ELPHINSTONE'S *History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 510.

There will be no occasion here to follow this conqueror through all the rapid stages of his successful career. These will be found fully detailed in the translations from the *Chach-náma* and *Futúhu-l-buldán*, which furnish details hitherto wanting in the authorities accessible to us. Abú-l-fedá and Abú-l-faraj tell us merely that Hind was conquered by Muhammed Kásim in the year 94 H. Ibn Kutaiba, who ascribes the conquest to 93 H., is no fuller. Elmacin merely tells us that Hind and Sind were conquered, and that King Dáhir was slain by the Musulmáns, and had his head cut off; and Weil gives the following as the sum of all that the great historian Tabarí has to say upon this theme: "In the year 90 (?) Muhammed-ibn-Kásim, whom Hajjáj had appointed to command an army, slew the king of Sind, named Dass-ibn-Sassa (p. 161). In the year 94, Muhammed-ibn-Kásim conquered India (p. 184). In the year 95, the farthest India was conquered, with exception of Kíraj and Almandal (p. 188)."¹

A like complaint has been made of the meagreness of our modern writers with respect to this interesting period of Indian history, but without just cause, for they really had no documents to appeal to.

Though Muhammed left Shíráz in the year 92 H., he does not appear to have reached Débal till the beginning of the following year. The precise date is not mentioned, yet Hajjáj replies to the announcement of its capture, on the 20th Rajab, 93; so, as news between Sind and the capital is said to have been conveyed in seven days, the fall of Débal may be dated in the beginning of that month.²

¹ *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. 1, p. 506.—*Annales Moslemici*, Vol. 1, p. 148.—*Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 201.—*Historia Saracenicæ*, p. 84.

² *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 1.

After the conquest of the capital Alór, in Ramazán of the same year, the *Futúhu-l-buldán* carries him no further than Multán, from which place he returns on hearing of Hajjáj's death; but the *Chach-náma* takes him to the very foot of the Kashmír hills, to the part where the Jelam debouches from the mountains, and forms the streams and islands which cannot fail to strike the traveller with the minute correctness of Quintus Curtius, in describing (viii. 45) the scene of Alexander's decisive victory over Porus, after passing the Hydaspes. In the *Chach-náma*, the place is called *Panj-mahiát*, or "The five Waters,"—a miniature Panjáb, in short.¹ It was here that Chach fixed the boundary of Sind and Kashmír; and the planting of fir-trees, to mark the site, shows how elevated a spot these conquerors had reached in their northern progress.

The balance of authority is perhaps in favour of Jelálpúr, as the place of Alexander's crossing the Hydaspes: argument and ocular demonstration conclusively decide in favour of the upper passage: but we need not discuss the point further. The literature of the question may be ascertained by consulting the references in the note.²

The Khalif Walíd died six months after Hajjáj, in Jamád I, A.H. 96.—A.D. January, 715; and as Muhammed Kásim's recal, was immediately consequent upon that

¹ It is curious to see the coincidence of the term *Panj-mahiát* with the description applied to this very spot by an unconscious observer during the last campaign.

BENNET, *Campaign in the Punjáb*, p.

² DROYSEN, *Geschichte Alex's*, p. 389.—BURNES, *Travels to Bokhara*, Vol. I, p. 57.—RITTER, *Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV, pt. I, pp. 452-4; VII, p. 93.—ELPHINSTONE, *Caulbul*, p. 80.—WILLIAMS, *Life of Alex.*, p. 267.—*Trans. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 148-199.—H. T. PRINSEP, *Journal A. S. Bengal*, 1843, p. 628.—J. ABBOTT, *ibid.* Vol. XVII, p. 1; XVIII, p. ; and 1852, pp. 219-231.

event, he must have remained altogether about three years and a quarter in Sind and the Panjáb.

Our authorities differ respecting the mode of Muhammed Kásim's death ; but it must be admitted that there is much more probability in the statement of the *Futúhu-l-buldán* than in that of the *Chach-náma*, which is followed by all the later writers. The former states, that he was seized, fettered, imprisoned, and tortured to death by the Khalif's sanction ; the latter, that the two daughters of Dáhir, who had been sent to the capital for the Khalif's haram, complained that they had already been violated by their father's conqueror ; upon which, the Khalif, in a fit of wrath, ordered that he should be sewn up in a raw cow-hide, and so transmitted to Damascus. When his body was exhibited to the unfortunate girls, they declared that their assertion was untrue, and that they had uttered it merely to be avenged on the destroyer of their family and country. The tale goes on to say, that the capricious tyrant, in an agony of remorse for his hasty conduct, ordered them to be immured alive. Others say, they were tied to horses' tails, and so dragged about the city. The whole story certainly savours more of romance than reality, but the reason which has been advanced against it—namely, that the sewing up in a hide was a Tatár mode of punishment, and not Arab—constitutes no valid objection ; for, though it undoubtedly was practised by the Tatárs—as when the savage Halágú murdered the last Khalif of Baghdád—yet an earlier example might have been discovered in the Arab annals. Even before the time of the Sind conquest, we find the adherents of the first Mua'viya enclosing the body of the governor of Egypt in the carcass of an ass, and burning both to ashes.¹ And as for the general tone of romance which runs through this version

¹ WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol 1, p. 242.

of Muhammed Kásim's death, we find a case somewhat parallel in contemporary history ; for, when Músà, the conqueror of Spain, was treated with similar indignity by Sulaimán—the same relentless Khalif who persecuted the conqueror of Sind—and was lingering in misery and exile at Mecca, the head of his son, who had been murdered at Cordova, was thrown down at his father's feet, while the tyrant's messenger taunted him in the midst of his agony and despair.¹

CONTINUATION OF THE UMAIYIDE DYNASTY.

7. Sulaimán, A.H. 96-99. A.D. 715-717.

Yezíd, who was appointed to succeed Muhammed Kásim, died eighteen days after his arrival in Sind. Habíb, the son of Muhallab, was then appointed to pursue the war in that country ; for, in the interval, the princes of India had revolted, and Jaisya, the son of Dáhir, had regained possession of Bráhma-nábád. The local historians, indeed, tell us that, for two years after the departure of Muhammed Kásim, the natives recovered and maintained possession of the countries which had been conquered from them. Habíb encamped on the banks of the Indus, and the inhabitants of Alór submitted to him, after he had defeated a tribe which opposed him in arms.²

'A'mar-bin-'Abd-ulla is also mentioned as one of the Sindian governors during this reign.³

8. 'Omar II, A.H. 99-101. A.D. 717-720.

The Khalif Sulaimán, who died A.H. 99—A.D. 717, was succeeded by 'Omar-bin-'Abdu-l-'azíz. 'Omar ad-

¹ CARDONNE, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domin. des Arabes*. Tom. i, p. 98.

² *Tárikh-i-Sind*, MS. p. 37.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 18.—*Fragments Arabes*, p. 204.—*Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. i, p. 571.

³ *Tárikh-i-Sind* and *Tohfatu-l-kirám*,—*ibid*.

dressed letters to the native princes, inviting them to embrace Islám and to swear allegiance; proposing, as the reward of their acquiescence, that they should be allowed participation in the rights and privileges of other Musulmán's. The son of Dáhir, and many princes, assented to these proposals, and took Arab names. 'Amrú bin-Muslim al-Bahalí was the Khalif's lieutenant on this frontier, and he was successful in the invasion of several Indian provinces.¹

9. *Yezid II*, A.H. 101-105. A.D. 720-724.

Under the reign of Yezíd-bin-'Abdu-l-malik, the sons of Muhallab fled to Sind with their families. 'Amrú sent Halál-al-Temímí in pursuit of them, and on his encountering the fugitives at Kandábél, he slew Madrak, Mufuzzal, Ziyád, and all the sons of Muhallab, including Mua'via, who had placed Muhammed Kásim in chains. This happened in the year 101 or 102 H, and forms an episode of some interest in the civil warfares of the Umayyides, which is fully recounted by the Arabic historians of that dynasty.

When Yezid, the son of Muhallab, had fairly committed himself to a contest with his namesake, the reigning Khalif, he had, in order to extend his power, and procure an asylum in the event of defeat, despatched his agents to obtain possession of the several provinces of Ahwáz, Fárs, Kirmán, and Mekrán, as far as the banks of the Indus. Kandábél, "on the remotest frontiers of the empire," he had especially consigned to the charge of Wadda-ibn-Hamíd-al-Azdí, in order that he might ensure a safe refuge for his family in the event of any disaster. His defeat and death shortly ensued;—upon which, Mufuzzal

¹ BELÁDORÍ ap. REINAUD, *Journ. Asiatique*, Fév. 1845, p. 176, *et seq.*; *Fragments Arabes*, p. 205, *et seq.*; *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 191.—*Tohfatu-l-kirán*, MS. p. 18.

and his other brothers, having equipped at Basra a sufficient number of vessels for the conveyance of themselves and all the surviving members of the Muhallabí family, embarked for the coast of Kirmán, whence they proceeded, as originally designed, to Kandábel. There Wadda proved treacherous to his charge, and the whole family, it is commonly said, were extirpated in the action which took place under its walls; but some members, at least, must have survived; for, besides others of the same family, we read of one Yezíd Muhallabí, fifty years afterwards, as governor of Africa, and his son, Dáúd, as governor of Sind.¹ The women and children were sold into slavery, from which they were only redeemed by the humanity of a generous individual, named Jarráh, the son of 'Abd-ulla.²

10. *Hishám*, A.H. 105-125. A.D. 724-743.

14. *Marwán II*, A.H. 127-132. A.D. 744-750.

'Amrú was succeeded in the command of the Indian frontier by Junaid, son of 'Abdu-l-rahman-al-Marri, in which appointment, originally made by 'Omar, the governor of 'Irák, he was confirmed by the Khalif Hishám, son of 'Abdu-l-malik.

From the mention of the "Sindian frontier," it would appear that the Arabs were still excluded from the province itself; and it is, indeed, said in the passage from the native historian, quoted above, that the new converts again apostatized, and revolted against the government. Junaid proceeded to Débal, but upon his reaching the banks of the Indus, the son of Dáhir opposed his passage, on the ground of his, himself, having been invested by

¹ IBN-KHALDÚN, in *Histoire de l'Afrique*, by M. Noël Desvergers, quoted in *Mém.*, p. 194.

² ABÚ-L-FEDÁ, *Ann. Mos.*, Vol. I, p. 442, and note 207.—EXPENII ELMACIN, *Hist. Sarac.*, p. 78.—PRICE, *Muham. Hist.*, Vol. I, pp. 531-543.—WEIL, *Geschichte der Chal.*, Vol. I, p. 603.

the Khalif 'Omar with the government of his own country, in consequence of having become a Muhammedan. A contest took place between them on the lake of As-sharkî, when, the vessel of the son of Dâhir being quite disabled, he was made prisoner, and subsequently put to death. Sissa, his brother, fled towards 'Irâk, to complain of Junaid's conduct; but he also, having been cajoled by the perfidious promises of Junaid, was killed by that Amîr.

Junaid sent an expedition against Kîrej, which had revolted. The walls having been demolished by battering rams, the town was taken by assault, and pillaged. He despatched his officers also to various other places, of which it is difficult to decipher the names. They may be mentioned, conjecturally, as Márwâr,¹ Mandal,² Ch'hotan,³ B'haróch,⁴ the Ran,⁵ Mália,⁶ Harand,⁷ the Sulaimání Mountains,⁸ and Khazar:⁹ but the absence of diacritical

¹ Arabic.—Had not B'haróch been subsequently mentioned, I should have conceived this word to be meant for the river Nerbudda (Narmada). It may be a mere repetition of the syllable which forms the root of Márúst'hálí, "or great sandy desert," itself the origin of Márwâr.

² Arabic.—See separate APPENDIX upon Mandal.

³ Arabic.—Ch'hótan was the ancient capital of the Haupa dynasty, about fifty miles east of Amar-kót. At K'herálú, in its neighbourhood, tradition celebrates a bloody action between Hindús and Muhammedans, in which many thousand Sódhas are said to have perished.

⁴ Arabic.—This is the only unquestionable name out of the nine.

⁵ Arabic.—See separate APPENDIX upon Arín.

⁶ Arabic.—See separate APPENDIX upon Mália.

⁷ Arabic.—Harand, north-west of Mittankót, is of sufficient antiquity and importance to merit this early notice.

⁸ Arabic.—M. Reinaud reads Al-Bayleman, which bears no resemblance to any extant name. If we could be sure of the antiquity of the name of Sulaimání, I should have less hesitation about the reading I have adopted.

⁹ Arabic.—It is difficult to hazard even a guess upon this name.

marks in the Arabic, renders it almost impossible to identify them, in most instances, with any approach to certainty.¹ It is sufficient to observe, that these several expeditions are represented to have been rewarded with immense booty, and that about this period, the extension of the Arab conquests, both by sea and land, seems to be confirmed by passages in the Hindú, as well as the Chinese, chronicles.²

Junaid was succeeded, about 107 A.H., by Temím-bin-Zaid-al-'Otbi, who had been previously sent to Sind by Hajjáj. He was found to be feeble and incompetent, but generous and profuse withal; having lavished no less than eighteen millions of *tátariya*³ dirhems, which he found in the public treasury of Sind. He died near Débal, "at a place called Buffalo Water, because herdsmen drove their cattle into it, to protect them against the wolves which infested the banks of the Mihrán." Under his government the Musulmán's evacuated some Indian provinces, and, "up to this period," says Beládori, "they have not recovered them all, and their settlements are not so far in advance as they had been previously."

After Temím, the government was entrusted by Khalad, governor of 'Irák, to Hakam-al-Kalabí. The inhabitants of Hind had relapsed into idolatry, except those of Lassa. Had they also followed the pernicious example, the Arabs

¹ BELÁDORI, ap. *Journ. A. S.* Fév. 1845, p. 185; *Fragm. Ar.*, p. 207; *Mém.*, p. 192.

² TOD, *Annals of Rajast'han*, Vol 1, pp. 231, 242-250, 781.—MATWAN-LIN, in *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom. 1, p. 196.

³ This word is supposed to be corrupted from the "Stater" of the Greeks.—See *Relation des voyages des Arabes dans l'Inde et à la Chine*, Tom. 1, p. 25; 11, 16.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 236.—*Ancient Univ. Hist.*, Vol. iv, p. 25.

would have been deprived of all retreat in case of danger.¹ Hakam built a city on the eastern borders of a lake, which he named Mahfúza, "the guarded." He made this a place of refuge for the Musulmáns, established it as the capital, and resided in it. Hakam entrusted 'Amrú-bin-Muhammed-bin-Kassam² with an expedition beyond Mahfúza, from which he returned victorious; and when 'Amrú was, in his turn, nominated governor, he founded a city "on this side the lake, which he called Mansúra, 'the victorious,' and which is now," adds Beládorí, "the capital, where the governors reside."

Hakam recovered from the enemy some of the territories which had been lost; but, though the people were content with his government, he was murdered during his administration. The governors who succeeded continued the war against the enemy, and reduced to obedience many of the provinces which had revolted. The names of these governors are not mentioned by Beládorí; but the *Tohfatu-l-kirám* says, respecting this period, "Sulaimán, the son of the Khalif Hishám, on being put to flight in his action with Marwán, was appointed to Sind, which he ruled well, and remained there till the accession of the 'Abbásides, when he hastened to pay his respects to Saffáh. Abú-l-Khattáb also was appointed to Sind by Marwán."³

The *Tárikh-i-Sind* also mentions this latter appointment. This may have been the same Abú-l-Khattáb who was governor of Spain in Marwán's time. There was also a contemporary Zendic leader of this name.⁴

¹ Arabic.—The province of Las, above Sonmeání Bay, answers well to this safe position of retreat, in the event of Arab discomfiture.

² From this parentage we may consider him to be a son of the conqueror of Sind.

³ BELÁDORÍ, *ubi suprà*.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 18.

⁴ M. QUATREMÈRE, *Journal Asiatique*, Aug. 1836, p. 131.

DYNASTY OF THE 'ABBÁSIDES.

1. *Abú-l-'Abbás-as-Saffâh.* A.H. 132-136.
A.D. 750-754.

When the 'Abbásides succeeded to the Khiláfat, Abú Muslim entrusted the government of Sind to 'Abdu-rahman, who went to Sind by way of Tukháristán, and met on the frontier Mansúr-bin-Jamhúr, the governor on the part of the late Umaiyyide Khalif.¹ 'Abdu-rahman was totally defeated, his army put to flight, and he himself slain.

Abú Muslim then conferred the governorship upon Músà-bin-K'ab-al-Temímí, who, on his arrival in Sind, found the Indus placed between him and Mansúr. The rivals, however, managed to encounter each other, and Mansúr and all his troops, though far superior to their opponents in numbers, were compelled to fly; his brother was slain, and he himself perished of thirst in the sandy desert.²

Músà, when he became master of Sind, repaired Mansúra, enlarged the mosque, and directed several successful expeditions against the infidels. According to the *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, it was Dáúd-bin-'Alí who expelled the Umaiyyide governor.

2. *Abú Ja'far-al-Mansúr,* A.H. 136-158. A.D. 754-775.

About the year 140 H., the Khalif Al-Mansúr appointed Hishám to Sind, who conquered countries which had hitherto resisted the progress of the Muhammedan arms. He despatched 'Amrú-bin-Hamal with a fleet of

¹ Ibn Khaldún and Elmacin wrongly assert that he was appointed by Saffâh.—See WEIL, *Geschichte der Chal.*, Vol II, p. 15.

² HAMMER, *Gemäldeaal der Lebensbeschreibungen*, Vol. II, p. 158. WEIL, *Geschichte der Chal.* ubi *suprà*.

barks to the coast of Barada,¹ against which point, we are informed by Tabarí and Ibn Athír, another expedition was despatched in 160 H., in which, though the Arabs succeeded in taking the town, sickness swept away a great portion of the troops, while they were stationed in an Indian port, and the rest, on their return, were shipwrecked on the coast of Persia ; so that the Khalif Mahdí was deterred from any further attempts upon India.²

A body of troops, at the time when 'Amrú was employed against Barada, penetrated into "the kingdom of Hind, conquered the country of Kashmír, and took many women and children captive."³ The whole province of Multán was also reduced. At Kandábél, there was a party of Arabs, whom Hishám expelled the country.

¹ Arabic.—MM. Reinaud and Weil despair about identifying this name. I believe it to be Barada, or Jétwár, on the coast of Guzerát, and the Bárúd, or Bárúa, of Birúní. Perhaps also, it may have some connection with the Bar-ace of Ptolemy, and the Periplus. Barada stretches along the south-western shore of the Peninsula of Guzerát, between the divisions of Hálár and Sórat'h. The port of Púrbandar, in Barada, is the great emporium of this and the neighbouring coasts, on account of its favourable position. The town, which was captured in 160 H., and which is represented to have been a large one, was probably G'húmtí, of which the ruins attract the curiosity of the traveller, and still continue to excite the devotion of the Hindús. Tradition says it stood a siege of seven or eight years, but the precise era of its destruction is not known.

² *Frag. Arabes*, pp. 3, 120, 212.—*Gesch. der Chal.*, Vol. II, p. 115.

³ This does not mean the present province of Kashmír. Hiun-thsang speaks of the Panjáb, about A.D. 640, as being a dependency of Kashmír, and the upper portion of the plain-country was frequently attached to that kingdom. The Kashmírian annals ignore these Sindian victories, and even interpose the glorious reign of Lalitáditya. See GILDEMEISTER, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 10-14.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 188-191.

They are suspected, with some reason, to have been adherents of 'Alí.¹

About this time, the Sindian Arabs engaged in a naval expedition against K'handadár, at which place, the idol-temple was destroyed, and a mosque raised upon its ruins. Here, again, we have greatly to reduce the distance within which these operations are supposed to have been conducted. M. Reinaud, in his earlier publication,² in which he is followed by Dr. Weil,³ considered the place here indicated to be Kandhár, near the gulf of Cambay; but, in his subsequent one,⁴ he inclines to the opinion that Gandhára, on the Upper Indus, is meant, of which Waihand was the capital. There is little probability of either being correct, and we need not look any further than the peninsula of Kát'híwár, on the north-west angle of which is situated K'handadár, one of the objects of our attack in 1809, when, unlike its neighbour, Mália, it surrendered to Col. Walker's detachment without resistance.

Under Hishám, the supreme authority was enforced with vigour throughout the whole country, and the people are represented to have lived in abundance and content.

The government of Sind was then bestowed upon 'Omar-bin-Hafs-bin-'Othmán, a Sáfrian, commonly called Hazarmard.⁵ This must have been previous to 151 H., for in that year we find him transferred to the government

¹ [Corrig. ex Tabarí, ap. KOSEGARTEN, *Chrestomathia*, pp. 98-104. Conf. *Fragments*, 212; *Mém.*, 193; GILDEMEISTER, 23; WEIL, II, 56; ABÚ-L-FEDÁ, II, 28.]

² *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 212.

³ *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II, p. 56.

⁴ *Mémoire sur l' Inde*, p. 196.

⁵ TABARÍ and ABÚ-L-FEDÁ place the government of Hishám subsequent to that of 'Omar.

of Africa, where he was killed in the year 154 H. He was succeeded in the African government by Yezíd-bin-Hátim, or bin-Mazíd, Muhallabí, while Rúh, the brother of Yezíd, became governor of Sind in 154 and 155 H. At the time of Rúh's departure for the valley of the Indus, some one observed to the Khalif Mansúr, that the two brothers had little chance of being enclosed in the same tomb. Nevertheless, upon the death of Yezíd, he was succeeded in Africa by his brother Rúh, and the two brothers were actually interred by the side of one another at Kairoán.¹

5. *Hárúnu-r-rashíd*, A.H. 170-193. A.D. 786-809.

We have, during this prosperous period, another instance of transfer between Africa and Sind; for Dáúd-bin-Yezíd Muhallabí, who had provisionally succeeded his father in the former province, was appointed to the latter about the year 184 H., and died there while holding the office of governor.² These transfers no doubt were designed to prevent governors becoming too powerful and independent, by maturing intrigues, and courting popularity with the inhabitants of any particular province; but they must have also been attended with the salutary effect upon the governors themselves, of removing prejudices, suggesting comparisons, imparting knowledge, and enlarging the general sphere of their observation.

The native historians mention other governors during this reign. One, a celebrated Sheikh, called Abú Turáb, or Hájí Turábí. He took the strong fort of T'harra, in the district of Sákúra, the city of Bagár, Bhambúr, and

¹ IBN-ATHÍR, *Kámilu-t-tawárikh*, anno. 171, ap. *Mém.*, p. 194. The years of Rúh's Sindian administration are differently given in *Fragments*, p. 213.

² ABÚ-L-FEDÁ, *Annales Moslem.*, Vol. II, p. 78.

some other places in western Sind. His tomb, which bears on its dome the early date of 171 H., is to be seen about eight miles south-west of T'hatta, between Gúja and Kóri, and is visited by pilgrims.¹

Abú-l-'Abbás was also a governor of Sind during Hárún's Khiláfat, and remained in that post for a long time. This is all the information which we derive from Mír Ma'súm respecting the Arab governors, though he professes to give us a chapter specially devoted to this subject.²

The vigour which marked this period of the Sindian government may, perhaps, be judged of by the impression which the advances of the Arabs were making upon the native princes on the northern frontier of India. Even the Khákán of Tibet was inspired with alarm at the steady progress of their dominion.³

One interesting synchronism connected with the reign of Hárún should not be omitted in this place. Tabarí mentions that this Khalif despatched, by the Arabian sea, an envoy, accompanied with numerous presents, to some king of India, representing that he was sore afflicted with a cruel malady, and requesting, as he was on the point of travelling on a distant journey into Khurásán, that the famous Indian physician, Manka, might be sent to attend him on his tour in that province; promising, on the honour of a prince, that he should be permitted to return to his country immediately on the Khalif's arrival at Balkh. The physician, who was sent in compliance with this request, was so successful in his treatment, that his imperial patient was in a short time sufficiently recovered to proceed to his destination, through the passes of Halwán. Nevertheless, the Khalif died at Tús, before he had accomplished all the

¹ *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. pp. 19, 234.

² *Tárikh-i-Sind*, MS. p. 38, and *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 19.

³ WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II, pp. 163, 180.

purposes of his journey; but, in due time, the Indian physician, according to promise, was allowed to proceed to Balkh, whence he returned in safety to his native country; which, if not Sind itself, was probably no great distance from it, as the embassy of invitation had proceeded by sea. Some authorities, however, represent that the physician, in the first instance, crossed over the Hindú-kush, and returned home by the Persian gulf.¹

7. *Al-Mámún*, A.H. 198-218. A.D. 813-833.

During this Khiláfat, Bashar-bin-Dáúd, who was invested with the chief authority in Sind, raised the standard of revolt, withheld payment of the revenues, and prepared to resist the Khalif with open force. Ghassán-bin-'Abbád, an inhabitant of Kúfa, and a near relative of the Khalif, who had about ten years previous been governor of Khurásán, Sejestán, and Kirmán, was sent, in 213 H., against the insurgent, who surrendered himself to Ghassán under promise of safe conduct, and accompanied him to Baghdád, where he obtained pardon from the Khalif.²

Ghassán then appointed "to the government of the frontier," Músà, son of the famous Yahyà, the Barmekide, and younger brother of Fazl and Ja'far, the ministers of Hárúnu-r-rashíd. Músà captured and slew Bála, king of As-Sharkí (the east), though five hundred thousand dirhems were offered as a ransom.³

In another work, Músà's appointment is ascribed to Hárún's reign. He was removed, because he squandered

¹ IBN-ABÚ-USAIBIAH, in *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. VI, p. 110.—PRICE, *Muhammedan History*, Vol. II, p. 88.—A. SPRENGER, *Biographical Dict. L. U. K.*, Vol. II, p. 300.

² ABÚ-L-FEDÁ, *Annales Moslem.*, Vol. II, p. 150.

³ BELÁDORI, *ubi supra*.

the revenues, and was succeeded by 'Alī-bin-'Iṣā-bin-Hámán.¹

There appears some difficulty about this period, with respect to the succession to the government of Sind. It is asserted that, previous to the arrival of Ghassán, Tábir-bin-Husain, who had been the main cause of the elevation of Mámún to the Khalifate, received Sind as a portion of his eastern government, when he was appointed to Khurásán in 205 A.H., in which province he died before he had held it two years. Others, again, say that 'Abd-ullā-bin-Táhir (the Obaid-ulla of Eutychius)² received the province of Sind, when he succeeded to his father's government in Khurásán. Ferishta also tells us, that the Sámánis extended their incursions to Sind and T'hatta; but it may reasonably be doubted if either they, or the Táhiris, exercised any power in the valley of Indus, any more than did the Suffárides (except perhaps Ya'kúb), or the Búyides, whose seats of government were much nearer, and who had many more facilities for establishing their power in that direction. There is a confusion, also, respecting the precise date of the Barmekide governor above alluded to.³

8. *Al-Mu'tasim-b-illah*, A.H. 218-227. A.D. 833-841.

Músà, the Barmekide, after acquiring a good reputation, died, in the year 221 H., leaving a son, named 'Amrán, who was nominated governor of Sind by Mu'tasim-b-illah, then Khalif. 'Amrán betook himself to the country of Kaikán, which was in the occupation of the Jats, vanquished them, and founded a city, which he called Al-baizá,

¹ *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 18.

² EUTYCHII *Annales*, Vol. II, p. 430.

³ Compare M. DE SACY, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, Tom. III, p. 496.—M. DE SLANE, *Dict. d'Ibn-Khalkán*, Tom. I, p. 542.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 198.—*Fragm. Arabes*, p. 215.—GILDEMEISTER, *de reb. Indicis*, p. 24.—WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II, p. 228.

“the white,” where he established a military colony. He then returned to Mansúra, and thence went to Kandábél, which was in the possession of Muhámmed-bin-Khalíl. The town was taken, and the principal inhabitants were transferred to KUSDÁR. After that, he sent an expedition against the Méds, killed three thousand of them, and constructed a causeway, which bore the name of the “Méd’s causeway.” Upon encamping near the river Aral,¹ he summoned the Jats, who were dependent on his government. “When they obeyed the call, he stamped a seal upon their hands,² and received from them the capitation tax, directing that when they presented themselves to him, they should each be accompanied by a dog, so that the price of a dog rose as high as fifty dirhems.”

The meaning of this strange provision is not very evident, but we have seen above, that it originated with the Bráhmaṇ dynasty, and was approved by Muhammed Kásim. It does not appear whether the tribute-dogs were taken away by the Arabs, or whether it was intended to encourage the breed, by making it necessary that every man should have his dog. It is only for one of these two reasons that the price could have been enhanced. In the former case, they must have been taken, either for the purpose of being slaughtered³ by the Arabs, in order to diminish their number, which might have amounted to a

¹ *Arabic*. This river, by some considered an artificial canal, runs from the lake Manch’har, and falls into the Indus, near Sehván.

² This means, most probably, a permanent brand, which at that time was a favourite mode of marking a distinction between Christians, or Jews, and Muhammedans.—*Mod. Universal Hist.*, Vol. xi, p. 16.

³ This is improbable, because, however unclean they may be in the eyes of the faithful, the killing of them is considered unlawful, “since they have souls!” This decision was gravely pronounced by a Turkish muftí, on the occasion of a plague in Constantinople, when they were transported to a desert isle.—*Ibid.* Vol. x, p. 196.

nuisance, or they were taken and kept to be used by themselves, as by the Tālpūr princes of later times, in hunting, —or in watching flocks, as we see them employed to this day in the Delta, where they allow no stranger to approach a village. For the same reasons they are held in high repute in Belóchistán.

Had any people but Saracens been rulers in Syria and Mesopotamia, we might have even surmised that these animals were an article of export, for the celebrity of Indian dogs was great among the ancient occupants of the same country, and by them they were largely imported, as they were considered the best for hunting wild beasts, and even lions were readily attacked by them.¹ Xerxes, as Herodotus tells us, was followed in his expedition to Greece by Indian dogs, of which “none could mention the number, they were so many” (vii, 187); and Tritæchmes, the satrap of Babylon, kept “such a number of Indian dogs, that four considerable towns in the plains were exempted from all other taxes, and devoted to their maintenance” (i, 192). But, as dogs are held in abomination by Muhammedans, we cannot conceive that these tribute-dogs were disposed of in this fashion. Whatever may have been the cause of this article of the engagement, it is a curious fact, that the effect seems to have survived in the very scene of these operations; for it is notorious, that the rare crime of dog-stealing is practised to the west of the Aral and Manch’har, and travellers are obliged to adopt especial precautions, in passing through that district.²

¹ These were perhaps from the countries of the upper, rather than the lower, Indus. The Sind hound is described by Vigne, in his *Travels in Kashmtr*, Vol. II, p. 411. Respecting the ancient estimation of these Indian dogs, see the passages from Strabo, Diodorus, Ælian, Plutarch, and Gratius, cited by R. GEIER, *Alexandri M. Hist. Scriptores*, p. 378.

² MASSON'S *Travels in Afghanistan*, &c., Vol. II, p. 141.

After this triumphant affair with the Jats, 'Amrán again attacked the Méds at several different points, having many Jat chiefs under his banners; and he dug a canal, by which the sea-water flowed into their lake, so that the only water which they had to drink became salt.

The spirit of faction which prevailed between the Nizárian and Yemenian Arabs, was the cause of 'Amrán's death, he having been appointed by 'Omar-bin-'Abdul-'aziz-al-Habbári, who espoused the Nizárian cause, and whose family, in Ibn Haukal's time, was supreme in Mansúra. It was during 'Amrán's government, that the Indians of Sindán¹ declared themselves independent; but they respected the mosque, which the Musulmáns of the town visited every Friday, for the purpose of reading the usual offices, and praying for the Khalif. Sindán had been originally captured by Fazl-bin-Máhán, once a slave of the family of Sáma,—the same probably that afterwards made itself master of Multán. He sent an elephant to the Khalif Mámún, and prayed for him in the Jámí' Masjid, which he erected in Sindán. At his death, he was succeeded by his son Muhammed, who fitted out a flotilla of seventy barks against the Méds of Hind, put many of them to the sword, and took Mália. In his absence, one of his brothers, named Máhán, treacherously usurped the government of Sindán, and wrote to propitiate the goodwill of Mu'tasim; but the Indians declared against him, and crucified him, and subsequently, as before stated, proclaimed their independence, by renouncing allegiance to the Muhammedans.

¹ There was a Sindán fifty parasangs south of B'haróh, and eleven north of Tána, which is spoken of by the old Arabic geographers. But the town here spoken of is more probably the Sindán, or Sandán, in Abrása, the southern district of Kach'h. See GILDEMEISTER, *de rebus Indiciis*, pp. 46, 47.

It was in 'Amrán's time, also, that the country of Al-U-saifán,¹ situated between Kashmír, Kábul, and Multán, was governed by a certain prince of good understanding. His son falling ill, the prince asked the priests of one of the idols, worshipped by the inhabitants, to beseech the idol to heal his son. The priests, after absenting themselves a short time, returned, and said the idol had heard their prayers, yet the son died notwithstanding. The prince, exasperated at their fraudulent pretensions, demolished the temple, broke the idol in pieces, and massacred the ministers. He then called before him some Musulmán merchants, who developed to him the proofs of the unity of God, upon which he readily became a convert to the faith.²

Among the notices of Mu'tasim's reign, we find it mentioned that, in order to reward Ikshín, the Turk, for his seizure of the notorious fanatic Bábec, who had spread great consternation by the effects of his first successes, the Khalif bestowed upon him twenty millions of dirhems from the province of Sind—which was equal to two years' revenue; but it does not appear that Ikshín ever went there to collect it, and it was probably a mere assignment upon the general revenues, which might be paid when convenient, or altogether repudiated. The mention of a particular

¹ Arabic. If the Yúsufzies had not been declared to have occupied their present tracts at a much later period, we might have conceived them to be here alluded to. We might even trace the earlier and extinct Assacani in this name, as written in Arabic characters,—which, without discriminative points, might be read, "Assaican." See MÜTZELL'S note to QUINTUS CURTIUS, viii, 37.—ARRIAN, *Indica*, i.—C. MÜLLER, *Scriptores rerum Alex.*, p. 102.

² BELÁDORÍ, in *Fragments Arab. et Pers.*, pp. 214-217; *Journ. Asiatique*, Févr. 1845, pp. 192-196.

province is strange, under the circumstances of the time, and would seem to show that but little was received into the general treasury from that source. Ikshín, in short, was entitled to collect that amount, *if he could*, by rigid extortions in the province itself; just as, at a later period of Indian history, the miserable *jágirdár* was put off by assignments upon turbulent and rebellious provinces.¹ The value of such drafts, even upon the general treasury, may be estimated by an amusing anecdote related of the Khalif Al-Hadí. An eminent Arab poet having once presented to him some of his lucubrations, the prince, who was a good judge of such performances, discovered such beauties in them, that he was extremely pleased, and said to him:—"Choose for your recompense, either to receive 30,000 dirhems *immediately*, or 100,000 after you have gone through the delays and formalities of the Exchequer." The poet replied with great readiness:—"Give me, I pray, the 30,000 now, and the 100,000 hereafter;" which repartee, we are told, was so pleasing to the Khalif, that he ordered the entire sum of 130,000 dirhems to be paid down to him on the spot, without any deduction.²

¹ "I represented to Abdul Hasan, that it was His Majesty's (Jehángir's) pleasure and none of my request, and being His Majesty's gift, I saw no reason for being deprived of my right." * * * "I could not get a living that would yield me anything, the Vizier giving me always assignments on places that were in the hands of outlaws or insurgents; except once that I had an assignment on Lahor by special command of the king, but of which I was soon deprived." * * * "The nobles had their assignments either upon barren places or such as were in rebellion; Abul Hasan having retained all the good districts to himself."—CAPT. HAWKINS' *Narrative*, in KERR'S *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. , p. . Yet the writer, according to a compatriot who visited Agra in 1610, was "in great credit with the king, entitled by the name of a *can*, which is a knight, and keepeth company with the greatest noblemen."—CAPT. R. COVERTE, in CHURCHILL'S *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. VIII, p. 256.

² *Modern Universal History*, Vol. II, p. 152.

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15. *Al-Mu'tamad-'alà-illah*, A.H. 256-279.

A.D. 870-892.

18. *Al-Muktadar-b-illah*, A.H. 295-320.

A.D. 908-932.

During the nine reigns which occupied the period between Al-Mu'tasim and Al-Muktadar, the power of the Khalifs had been gradually on the decline. The Turkish guard had become more and more outrageous and arbitrary; independent dynasties, such as the Táherides and Suffárides, after having shorn the kingdom of some of its fairest provinces, had themselves expired; eunuchs, and even women, had sat upon the judgment seat and dispensed patronage, while corruption and venality openly prevailed; and now, at a later period—notwithstanding that literature flourished, and the personal dignity of the Khalif was maintained in the highest splendour and dignity—yet, not only had the Sámánís conquered the whole of Máwaráa-n-nahr and Khurásán, not only had the Dailemites penetrated to the borders of 'Irák, and all northern Africa, except Egypt, had been lost for ever to the Khalifate, but, as if to crown the measure of its misfortunes, the Karmatian heretics, having plundered Kúfa, Basra, and Sámarra, had possessed themselves of Mecca during the very time of pilgrimage, had massacred the pilgrims, and even carried off the sacred black stone itself, the principal and universal object of Muhammedan veneration.

Under such circumstances, the most distant provinces necessarily partook of the decline from which the heart of the empire was suffering; and Sind, neglected by the imperial government, came to be divided among several petty princes, who, though they transmitted no revenue, and rendered no political allegiance to the Khalif, were, like other more powerful chiefs who had assumed independence, glad to fortify their position by acknowledging his

spiritual supremacy, and flattering him by the occasional presentation of some rarity from the kingdoms which they had usurped. Among these ostentatious displays of empty fealty in which revolted governors were wont to indulge, —comprising, in the words of Gibbon, “an elephant, a cast of hawks, a suit of silk-hangings, or some pounds of musk and amber,”¹ we may specially mention two loyal and characteristic offerings from India,—“a cart-load of four-armed idols,”² and “the largest and longest teak-tree which had ever been seen.”³

The virtual renunciation of political control in Sind may be dated from the year 257 H., when the Khalif Mu'tamad, in order to divert the Suffarides from their hostile designs against 'Irák, conferred upon Ya'kúb-ibn-Laith the government of Sind, as well as of Balkh and Tukháristán, in addition to that of Sejestán and Kirmán, with which he had been already invested.⁴

The two principal kingdoms which were established in Sind a few years after this event, were those of Multán

¹ *Decline and Fall*, Chap. LI.

² *Biographical Dictionary*, L.U.K., Vol. II, p. 287.

³ *Fragments Ar. et Pers.*, p. 216. M. Reinaud contends that the word *sáj* here means a species of dress, which had belonged to some man of extraordinary stature. This is by no means probable,—whereas a teak-tree from Sind, where so many were imported from Malabar, would have been natural and appropriate. Teak is the ξύλα σαγαλίνα of Arrian's *Periplus*, which Vincent conceives to be an error for *σανδαλίνα*. He wrongly attributes another error to the reading of *σησαμίνα*—which has proved equally puzzling to Salmasius, as well as to Heeren and his Oxford translator. Both words are perfectly correct, and are derived from two native terms, *ság* and *sisam*, in use at the present day.—VINCENT, *Commerce and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. II, pp. 378, 379.—HEEREN, *Asiatic Nations*, Talboys, Vol. III, pp. 439.—S. DE SACY, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, Tom. III, pp. 473, 474.

⁴ WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II, p. 438.

and Mansúra, both of which attained a high degree of power and prosperity. It is probable that the independence of those states commenced upon Ya'kúb-ibn-Laith's death in 265 H., for his successors were comparatively powerless, and the Sámánis, at the commencement of their rule, had little leisure to attend to so remote a province as Sind.

Mas'údí, who visited the valley of the Indus in the year 303-4 H.—915-6 A.D., and completed his "*Meadows of Gold*" in 932 H., furnishes a brilliant account of the state of Islám in that country. The Amír of Multán was an Arab of the noble tribe of Kuraish,¹ named Abú-l-Dalbat-al-Munabba, son of Assad-as-Sámí, and the kingdom of Multán is represented to have been hereditary in his family for a long time, "nearly from the beginning of Islám,"—meaning, probably, its introduction into Sind; and Kanauj, he asserts, was then a province of Multán, "the greatest of the countries which form a frontier against unbelieving nations."

He was descended from Sâma, son of Lawí, son of Ghálib, who had established himself on the shores of 'Omán before the birth of Muhammed. The Amír had an army in his pay, and there were reckoned to be 120,000 hamlets around the capital. His dominion extended to the frontier of Khurásán. The temple of the Sun was still an object of native pilgrimage, to which people resorted from the most distant parts of the continent, to make their offerings of money, pearls, aloë-wood, and other perfumes. It was from this source that the greater part of the revenue of the Amír was derived. Mas'údí's remarks, as does Ibn Haukal, that the threat of injuring

¹ The Kuraishis still muster very strong in the neighbourhood of Multán.

or mutilating the idol, was sufficient to deter the native princes from engaging in hostilities with the Amír.

Mansúra was governed by another Kuraishí, whose name was Abú-l-Mundar-'Omar-bin-'Abd-ulla. He was descended from Habbár-bin-Aswad, who was celebrated for his opposition to Muhammed, and on the return of the prophet to Mecca in triumph, was among the few who were excepted from the terms of the amnesty which was at that time proclaimed. He subsequently became a convert, and towards the year 111 A.H., one of his descendants came to the valley of the Indus to seek his fortune. Some time after, his family, taking advantage of the anarchy which prevailed in the country, made themselves masters of the lower Indus, and established themselves at Mansúra. Our voyager states, that he was kindly received by the Amír, as well as his minister. While he was there, he found some descendants of the Khalif 'Alí, whom persecution had compelled to seek a refuge in that distant country.

The principality of Mansúra extended from the sea to Alór, where that of Multán commenced. It was said to contain 300,000 villages, which is, of course, a ridiculous exaggeration; but the whole country was well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields. Nevertheless, the inhabitants were obliged continually to protect themselves against the aggressions of the Méds and other savage tribes of the desert.

The chief of Mansúra had eighty elephants of war. Their trunks were armed with a kind of curved sword, called *kartal*, and were covered with armour to protect them in fight.¹ The entire body of the animal was similarly pro-

¹ KAZVÍNÍ mentions a ridiculous story of a man, named Hárún, who wrote a poem, in which he boasted of having contended with an elephant so armed, and having put it and its attendant host to flight, by eradicating its tusks. *'Ajáibu-l-Makhlúkát*, v. "Multán."

tected, and each was attended by a detachment of five hundred infantry. Other elephants, not used in war service, were employed to carry burdens and draw chariots.¹

23. *Al-Mutî'-l-illah*, A.H. 334-363. A.D. 945-974.

25. *Al-Kâdir-b-illah*, A.H. 381-422. A.D. 991-1031.

A few years after Mas'ûdí, the valley of the Indus was visited by Istakhrí, and by Ibn Haukal, who has included nearly the whole of Istakhrí's relation in his own, and has entered into some further detail.

The account of Sind by Ibn Haukal, who wrote his work after the year 366 H., when he was for a second time in India, has been given in the first volume, and need not be repeated here. With respect to the condition of the country at the time of his visit, he observes that Multán was not so large as Mansúra, and was defended by a citadel; that the territory was fertile and produce cheap, but that its fertility was inferior to that of Mansúra, and its soil was not cultivated with the same care. The Amír² lived outside the town, and never entered it, except for the purpose of going to the mosque, on Fridays, mounted on an elephant. There appears to have been no native coinage, but the money in circulation was chiefly Gandharian and Tataríyan dirhems. The dress of the Sindians was like that of the people of 'Irák, but the Amírs habited themselves like the native princes. Some persons wore their hair long, and their dresses loose, with waistbands, on account of the heat, and there was no difference between the garb of the faithful and idolaters.

¹*Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 213-217.—*Meadows of Gold*, pp.

² Istakhrí speaks of him as *Málik*. Ibn Haukal calls him *Amír*; but the chief of Mansúra he designates as *Málik*; so that it is evident he uses the terms in the same signification.

The Amírs of Multán and Mansúra were independent of one another; but both deferred to the spiritual authority of the Khalif of Baghdád. The former was still a descendant of Sâma-bin-Lawí, and the latter a descendant of the Habbárí family.

Alór, the ancient Hindú capital, was nearly as large as Multán, surrounded by a double wall, and was a dependency of Mansúra. Its territory was fertile and rich, and it was the seat of considerable commerce. Ráhúk, also, on the borders of Mekrán and to the west of the Hála range, was included in Mansúra.

There were other principalities to the west, besides these two in the valley of the Indus:—such as Túrán; which was under the authority of a native of Basra, named Abú-l-Kassam, “tax-gatherer, administrator, judge, and general, who could not tell three from ten:”—and Kusdár; which was governed by an Arab, residing in Kaikánán, named Mu’in-bin-Ahmed, who admitted the name of the ‘Abbáside Khalif into the public prayers:—and Mekrán; the ruler of which was ‘I’sà-bin-Ma’dán, who had established his residence in the city of Kaiz, about the size of half of Multán:—and Mushkí, on the borders of Kirmán; which was presided over by Matahar-bin-Rijá, who had an independent jurisdiction extending through three days’ journey, but inserted the Khalif’s name in the public services of religion.

Ibn Haukal observes, that at Mansúra and Multán, and in the rest of the province, the people spoke the Arabic and Sindian languages. In Mekrán, Mekránian and Persian. To this day, a few Arab words are in use among the common people of Multán and Sind,—as *Khamis* for “Thursday,” *Jammo* “Friday,” *Arba’* “Wednesday,” *kull* “all,” *jabal* “a hill,” *abbo* “a father,” *káso* “a pot,” *sát* “an hour,” *tám* “food,” *mayyit* “a corpse,” &c.; but the general result of the introduction of this foreign element

has only been very slightly felt, and has not in the least affected the construction of the language, which retains fewer words of Semitic origin than that of any other country once subject to the Arabs. From this we may judge that, not only was the state of isolation between victors and vanquished greater than elsewhere, but that the soil, climate, and productions offered as few inducements as they do now for foreigners to emigrate to that uninviting land.

With respect to those other parts of India to which the Musulmáns resorted, such as the maritime towns in the jurisdiction of the Balhára, between Cambay and Saimúr, Ibn Haukal observes, that they were covered with towns and villages. The inhabitants were idolaters, but the Musulmáns were treated with great consideration by the native princes. They were governed by men of their own faith, as the traveller informs us was the case with Musulmáns in other infidel dominions, as among the Khazars of the Volga, the Alans of the Caucasus, and in Ghána and Kaugha in Central Africa. They had the privilege of living under their own laws, and no one could give testimony against them, unless he professed the Muhammedan faith. "I have seen," says Ibn Haukal, "Musulmáns of this country invoke against other Musulmáns the testimony of natives of probity who did not profess the Muhammedan creed; but it was necessary that the adverse party should first give his consent." They had erected their mosques in these infidel cities, and were allowed to summon their congregations by the usual mode of proclaiming the times of prayer.

Such privileges could only have been conceded to men whose favour was worth gaining, and it is to be regretted that they were indisposed to show others in similar circumstances the indulgences so readily allowed to themselves. In the middle ages, it was only the power and political influence of the Amalfitans, Venetians, Pisans, and

Genoese, that were sometimes able to extort from the reluctant Musulmáns those immunities, which were willingly granted by the more easy and indifferent Crusaders and Greeks,—comprising the security of their changes, magazines, and churches, the recognition of their Bailos, the privilege of being tried by their own laws, and by judges of their own appointment. These republics must then have occupied in Egypt and Constantinople the same kind of position as the Arabs on the coast of India, excepting that the tenure of the former was more precarious, and more subject to the caprices of despotism, the fluctuations of trade, and the ascending or waning influence of the principal carriers.

The commercial establishments in the peninsula of India do not seem to have excited any religious scruples in the breast of the Khalifs, or even of those casuistical divines who guided the conscience of these ‘Vicars of God’ and their subjects. Trade was openly prosecuted in that land of infidels by Arab merchants, without any fulminations from these spiritual authorities, and probably with their encouragement. In this respect, there was a singular contrast between the sentiments that animated Muhammedans and Christians: for to Christians, on the contrary, whether merchants or princes, the permission of their ‘Vicar of God’ was necessary, before they could traffic with infidels; as only he, in his infallibility, could authorize a departure from the most sacred injunctions of Holy Writ. Even as late as the year 1454, the dispensing power to trade with Muhammedans was exercised in favour of Prince Henry of Portugal by Pope Nicholas V, in a famous Bull, which refers to similar concessions from his immediate predecessors, Martin V and Eugenius IV, to Kings of that country.

This intercourse with the Saracens was not merely subject to these formal, and perhaps interested, restrictions, but was strongly and honestly reprobated by many

sincere believers: and not without reason, when we reflect, that some of these traders, especially the Venetians, disgraced their honour and their faith by supplying the Egyptian market with Circassian slaves, and even rendered their mercenary assistance in driving the Crusaders from Acre, the last and only stronghold left to them in Palestine:—

*E non con Saracin, nè con Giudei,
Che ciascun suo nemico era Cristiano,
E nessuno era stato a vincere Acri,
Nè mercantante in terra di Soldano.*¹

The revenues, which the Arab princes of Sind derived from their several provinces, are pronounced to have been very small,—barely more than sufficient to provide food and clothing, and the means of maintaining their position with credit and decency; and, as a necessary consequence, only a few years elapsed, before they were driven from their kingdoms, and compelled to yield their power to more enterprising and energetic assailants.

The Karmatians of India are no where alluded to by Ibn Haukal; but it could not have been long after his visit, that these heretics, who probably contained within their ranks many converted natives and foreigners as well as Arabs, began to spread in the valley of the Indus. Abú-l-fedá dates the commencement of their decline from 326 H. This was accelerated by two ignominious defeats in Egypt in 360 and 363, and their overthrow was completed in 'Irák in 375. It must have been about this latter year that, finding their power expiring in the ori-

¹ DANTE, *Inferno*, Cant. xxvii. See also *Parad.*, Cant. ix and xv. The sentiment was common, and Petrarch exclaims against this venality, with equal indignation, in his *Trionfo della Fama*.

On the general subject, compare MURATORI, *Antiquit. Ital. med. ævi*, Vol. II, p. 906, *et seq.*—*Gesta Dei pcr Francos*, p. 934.—ROBERTSON, *Disquis. on Ancient India*, Notes xlv and xlvii.—HEEREN, *Essai sur l'Influence des Croisades*, pt. ii, sec. 1.

ginal seat of their conquests, they sought new settlements in a distant land, and tried their success in Sind. There, the weakness of the petty local governments favoured their progress, and led to their early occupation both of Mansúra and Multán,—from which latter place history records their expulsion by the overwhelming power of Mahmúd the Ghaznevide.

It appears from local histories, as well as the *Kámilu-t-tawárikh*, that Mahmúd also effected conquests in Sind. Though this matter is not commonly recorded by his historians, there is every likelihood of its truth; for, being in possession of Kusdár and Multán, the country was at all times open to his invasions. As it is well established that, after the fall of Somnát, he marched for some days along the course of the Indus, we can readily concur with the *Kámilu-t-tawárikh* in ascribing his capture of Mansúra to the year 416 H., on his return from that expedition: and, as it is expressly stated that he then placed a *Muhammedan* prince on the throne, we may safely infer that the previous occupant had rejected that faith, and was therefore a Karimatian, who, having usurped the government from the Habbári dynasty, had thus, after a duration of three centuries, effected the extinction of the Arab dominion in Sind.¹

¹ Compare MORDTMANN, *das Buch der Länder*, pp. —
GILDEMEISTER, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 163-182.—OUSELEY, *Oriental Geography*, pp. —*Modern Universal Hist.*, Vol. II. pp. 383, 387, 398, 415.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 233-242.—*Fragm. Arabes*, p. xxiv.—D'HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orientale*, v. "Carmath"—WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. II, p. 675; III, 11, 33, 65.—DE GUIGNES, *Hist. des Huns*, Vol. , pp. —*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 21.—HAMZA ISFÁHÁNI, ed. Gottwaldt, Vol. II, p. 156, *et seq.*—BÚLFEDÁ, *Annal. Mosl.*, Vol. II, p. 406.

APPENDIX III.—P.

Sind under the Arabs.

Having in the previous Note exhausted all the scanty materials which history has left us respecting the political progress of the Arabs in Sind, we may now proceed to consider some of the questions connected with the maintenance of their power in that province.

The internal administration of the country was necessarily left in the hand of the natives, as the Arabs, upon their first acquisition of territory, had brought with them no men capable of exercising civil functions. Indeed, wherever we follow the steps of these fanatics, we find them ignorant of the first principles of public economy, and compelled, by the exigencies of their position, to rely upon native assistance in the management of the finances and accounts of their subject provinces. So, indeed, in a certain measure, do the English in India; but with this essential difference, that they direct and control the ministerial officers, both of collection and record, introduce their own systems, modify or abrogate the old ones as occasion arises, and initiate all proceedings connected with the several departments of the Exchequer: but the Arabs, either through indolence, pride, or ignorance, left themselves at the mercy of their subordinates, and were unable to fathom the depths of the chaotic accounts kept by their native financiers, who practised the most ingenious devices of flattery, falsehood, cajolery, and self-interest—rendered more acute by religious hatred—in order to blind their credulous dupes as to the actual resources of the countries which they governed. The rack and the threat of circumcision would

sometimes extort the illicit accumulations of past years; but, in the long run, the pliant and plausible officials were the gainers; and compromises, in a little ready cash, were gladly accepted, in lieu of closer scrutiny and more accurately balanced ledgers.

Hence those charges so readily brought, and so eagerly listened to, by Khalifs as well as Amírs, of defalcations and embezzlements: hence those demands for indefinite sums from refractory servants: hence those extortionate fines, levied according to mere surmises and conjectures, since no means existed of ascertaining the real amount of revenue and expenditure. Brought up in their native deserts, with no greater knowledge of schemes of administration than was to be obtained by studying the phylarchies of the Bedouins, and invested suddenly with dominions which they were not competent to manage, however easily they might overrun and subdue them, the Arabs were compelled to seek in the political institutions of their subjects the means of realizing the exactions which, as victors, they felt it their right to demand. The maintenance, therefore, of native officials (who were styled Bráhmans in the case of Sind) was a matter of necessity rather than choice, at least at this early period of their sway;—for the guide-books mentioned by Ibn Haukal, which indicate some knowledge of statistics and finance, were the products of a much later age.

The first show of independence of such aid, even at the capital itself, was not exhibited till the reign of 'Abdu-l-malik, when he adopted an Arab currency, in supersession of the Greek and Persian money, with which trade had been hitherto carried on: though the old denominations of *denarius* and *drachma* were still retained, under the slight metamorphose of *dínár* and *dirhem*. Walíd next abolished the Greek language and character from the public offices of finance, and substituted

the Arabic,—thus still further freeing the Arabs from the trammels which these foreign systems had interposed. The land-tenures and personal taxes, being based upon principles introduced by the victorious Moslems, retained their Arab nomenclature.¹

The original conquerors of Sind received there, as elsewhere under similar circumstances, large possessions in land (*iktá'át* or *katáya'*) which, as beneficiary grants for public services, were exempt from all taxes, except the alms (*sadaka*) defined by law. They were, of course, held on the condition of continued military service, and as long as this was rendered, they never reverted to the fisc. According to the regulations promulgated by 'Omar, soldiers were not allowed to devote themselves to agriculture or any other profession, and therefore the lands of these grantees continued to be cultivated by the former possessors, now reduced to the condition of villeins and serfs. Other soldiers, not so beneficed, received stipends from the public revenue, to which they themselves contributed nothing in the shape of taxes. Four-fifths of the prize-money was invariably distributed among them, and indeed, at first, formed their sole remuneration, insomuch that a man who received pay was entitled neither to plunder nor the honour of martyrdom. One-fifth of the spoil was reserved to the Khalif for religious and charitable purposes, according the injunctions of the Kurán. The man "who went down to the battle, and he who tarried by the stuff," received equal shares, and the horseman was entitled to a double portion. Had the Khalif attempted to augment his share, the hardy warriors would have resisted his claim, with the same freedom as the fierce and sturdy Gaul, when he raised his battle-axe, and

¹ ELMACIN, *Historia Saracenicæ*, p. 77.

reminded Clovis that the famous vase of Soissons was public spoil.¹

Much also of the conquered land was, during the whole course of Arab occupation, liberally bestowed upon sacred edifices and institutions, as *wakf*, or mortmain; of which some remnant, dating from that early period, is to be found even to this day in Sind, which notoriously swarms with sanctified beggars and impostors, and contains, according to the current saying, no less than 100,000 tombs of saints and martyrs; besides ecclesiastical establishments, which, under the Tálpúrs, absorbed one-third of the entire revenue of the State.

That the whole valley, however, was not occupied, or assigned, by the victors is evident, not only from the large amount of the land-tax, which, had that been the case, would have yielded no revenue to the government, but from the fact of many native chiefs being able to maintain their independence, amidst all the wars and turmoils which raged around them. This is manifest from the story of 'Abd-ulla-bin-Muhammed, the 'Alite, which has been related in the preceding Note. There we find a native potentate, "only one amongst other Sindian kings," possessing much land and many subjects, to whom 'Abd-ulla was recommended to fly for protection, and who was represented as holding the name of the prophet in respect, though he continued to worship his own idols.

The conquerors, taking up their abode chiefly in cities of their own construction, cultivated no friendly intercourse with the natives, whom they contemned as a subject race,

¹ GREGORY of Tours, *Historia Francorum*, Lib. ii, c. 27. On the subject of the Muhammedan law of booty, compare *Hedáya*, B. ix, c. 2, 4.—*Mishcát ul 'Uusábih*, Vol. II, p. 244.—DEFRÉMERY, *Hist. des Samanides*, p. 226.—SALE, *Korán*, Prel. Disc., pp. 198-201; and Vol. I, pp. 200, 207, II, 424.—RELAND, *De Jure Militari Muhammedorum*, Sect. 19-27.

and abhorred as idolaters. They remained, therefore, isolated from their neighbours, and when their turn came to be driven out from their possessions, they left a void which was soon filled up, and their expulsion, or extermination, was easily accomplished, and nowhere regretted.

In no place do we find any allusion to Arab women accompanying Sindian camps, or—as often occurred in other fields—stimulating the soldiers to action, when they evinced any disposition to yield to their enemy. The battle of the Yermouk, which decided the fate of Syria, was gained as much by the exhortations, reproaches, and even blows of the women, as by the valour of the men; for thrice were the faithful repulsed by the steady advance of the Grecian phalanx; thrice were they checked in their retreat, and driven back to battle by the women,—Abú Sufyán himself being struck over the face with a tent-pole by one of those viragos, as he fled before the enemy. In the remotest east, again, we find, as early as the time of 'Obaid-ulla, his brother's wife mentioned as the first Arabian woman who crossed the Oxus,—on which occasion, unfortunately, she disgraced the credit of her sex, no less than her exalted rank, by stealing the jewels and crown of the queen of the Sogdians. Not many years after, the sanguinary battle of Bukhára, fought in the year 90 H., between Ibn Kutaiba and the Tatárs, was, in like manner with that of the Yermouk, restored by the tears and reproaches of the women who accompanied the Arab camp.¹ These soldiers, therefore, were prepared for immediate colonization and settlement, and must have consisted of the surplus emigrant

¹ So, with respect to the Germans, Tacitus says:—*Memoriæ proditur quasdam acies inclinatæ jam et labantes a feminis restitutas, constantiâ preceum, et objectu pectorum, et immonstratâ cominus captivitate, quam longè impatientius feminarum suarum nomine timent.*—Germania, c. 8.

population already settled in Khurásán. Accordingly, we find in this instance, that Baikand was converted into a fortress, and that part of the army was located in its neighbourhood, and composed several hundred military stations,

Sind, on the contrary, on account of the distance and difficulty of communication, and the absence of intermediate Arab colonies, was invaded by men prepared for military operations alone; and who could not possess the means of carrying their families with them, when only one baggage-camel was allowed to every four men, for the transport of their food, tents, and other necessary equipments, and when supplies ran short even before the Indus was crossed.

Subsequently, when the road was more open and free, these agreeable additions to their society may have poured in, along with the later adventurers who flocked to the new conquest; but we nowhere meet with even any incidental allusion to the circumstance, and much that militates against its probability: so that there was perhaps, among the descendants of the Sindian colonists, less infusion of the real blood of Arabs than in any other province subjected to their dominion.

When Muhammed Kásim, upon passing the Indus, gave to any of his soldiers so disposed leave to retire to their homes, only three men came forward to claim their discharge; and of these, two did so, because they had to provide for the female members of their family, who had, with the rest, been left behind in their native country with no one to protect them. Nor were the consolations of a speedy restoration to their deserted homes held out to the first conquerors. To them, the return was even more difficult than the advance, as we may learn from a passage in Tabarí, where he tells that, on the accession of the Khalif Sulaimán, he wrote to those ill-used men—the companions of the gallant hero whom he had tortured to

death—in these harsh and cruel terms:—"Sow and sweat, " wherever you may find yourselves on receipt of this mandate, for there is no more Syria for you." Here, then, these exiles must have remained during the ten years of his reign at least; and as they were not likely to have returned in any numbers after his death, we may conceive them congregated into several military colonies, seeking solace for their lost homes in the arms of the native women of the country, and leaving their lands and plunder to be inherited by their Sindo-Arab descendants.

These military colonies, which formed a peculiar feature of Arab settlement, were styled *junúd* and *amsár*,—‘armies’ and ‘Egypt,’—the latter appellation implying settled abodes, contrasted with the previous migrations to which the tribes had been habituated. In many instances they rose into important cities, as in the case of Basra, Kúfa, and Damascus, and early became the principal centres of Arab learning, law, grammar, and theology, as well as of tumult, violence, perfidy, and intrigue. The principal seats of these cantonments in Sind appear to have been Mansúra, KUSDár, Kandábél, Baizá, Mahfúza, and Multán; and indeed, the military camp near the latter town,—whether the real name be ‘Jandaram’ or ‘Jundrúr’ (*Gildemeister*), ‘Jundráwár’ (*Ashkála-l-bilád*), ‘Jundáwar’ (*Abú-l-fedá*), or ‘Jandúr’ (*Nubian Geographer*),—seems to derive its first syllable from *jund*, the singular number of *junúd*, above mentioned.¹

The local troops, which were enlisted in the country, dispersed to their own homes as soon as the necessity was satisfied for which they were raised; but there were some which assumed a more permanent character, and were employed on foreign service, with little chance of return.

¹ Possibly the Jandáwal, or Chandoul, of Kábul—the separate quarter occupied by the military colony of the Kazalbásh—may have a similar origin.

That Sindian troops were levied, and sent to fight the battles of the Arabs in distant quarters, we have undoubted proof. I speak not here of the numerous Jats of 'Irák, Syria, and Mesopotamia, who—as I hope to be able to show in another place—were, ere long, transformed into the Jatano, or Gitano,—the Gypsies of modern Europe. These had been too long in their settlements to be called 'Sindians by a contemporary historian, like Dionysius Telmarenensis, to whom the terms 'Jat,' 'Asáwira,' and 'Sabábija,' were more familiar. This author, in his *Syrian Chronicle*, distinctly mentions 'Sindian' cohorts as forming a portion of the motley army of Alans, Khazars, Medes, Persians, Turks, Arabs, &c., which made an irruption into the Byzantine territory in 150 A.H.—767 A.D.¹ Four years afterwards, we find a body of Sindians and Khazars—said to be slaves—attempting to seize upon the imperial treasury in Harrán. Most probably, they also composed part of these foreign levies.

In admitting these provincials into their armies, the Arabs merely imitated the policy of the Romans, who did the same from motives of expediency—hoping to find employment for turbulent spirits, and to neutralize the elements of rebellion, by sending foreign mercenaries into provinces remote from their native soil.² Thus we find Slavones and Berbers, Syrians and Copts, Babylonians and Persians, and even Christians and Jews, Magians and Idolaters, in the early period of Khalifate, extending the Arab conquests among distant nations; just as, in the days of its decline, the Khalifs had Mugháriba, Ferghánians, Turks, Alans, &c., acting as their Prætorian guards,

¹ JOS. SIM. ASSEMANI, *Biblioth. Orient. Clementino-Vat.*, Vol. II, p. 103.—RAMFOLDI, *Annali Musulmani*, Tom. IV, p. 89.

² In the Roman occupation of Britain, we find even Indian cavalry stationed at Cirencester.—WRIGHT, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 252.

both in protecting them against their own subjects, and deposing their employers at their own will and pleasure :—the difference only consisted in this, that the former constituted auxiliary corps, into which, when any foreigner was enlisted, he was adopted by some Arab tribe as a member, and being called *maulá*, or client, of that tribe, he had the same rights and privileges as if he had been born in it; whereas, Mu'tasim, when he enrolled his foreign body-guard, made the Arabian troops subordinate to his mercenaries, whom, in order to elude the law, he called his own clients—an evasive practice which was continued by his successors.¹

When the profession of faith in God and his Prophet was no longer the symbol which united these furious zealots; when literature, science, philosophy, poetry, and other objects of intellectual culture, ceased to be regarded as criminal pursuits; ² when opulence, luxury, and the arts which refine and embellish social life, had converted roaming and rugged soldiers into indolent and effeminate voluptuaries,—the necessity of recruiting their ranks from extraneous sources, led to the abandonment of those exclusive sentiments, which had hitherto bound the Arabs by a common tie of fraternity in rapine and propagandism. Some of these foreign recruits were, no doubt, obtained by the hopes of ready participation in the spoils, which were the invariable concomitant of Arab conquests; but most of them were very unwilling soldiers, raised by an arbitrary conscription, and only reconciled to their fate, after long experience of their new profession, and when their distant homes had been forgotten. That the power of levying troops for foreign service was generally felt as a sore grievance by the unfortunate provincials, is evidenced

¹ *Biographical Dictionary, L.U.K.*, Vol. II, pp. 294, 372.

² G. O. FLUEGELII, *Dissert. de Arab. Script. Gr. Interpret.* p. 5.

by the terms for which the people of Tabaristán held out, when they capitulated to their victors; for while they agreed to become tributary in the annual sum of five hundred thousand dirhems, they stipulated that the Moslems should at no time levy any troops in their country.¹

Commercial activity, also, succeeded to the zeal for war, which offered no longer the same inducements of honour and profit, that had been realized by the early conquerors. A new stimulus was thus found for the spirit of adventure which still survived, in the perils and adventures of trading speculations, both by land and sea,—prosecuted at a distance and duration, which at that time it is surprising to contemplate. Sind was not backward in this season of enterprise, for she appears to have kept up a regular commercial communication with the rest of the Muhammedan empire. Caravans were often passing and repassing between that country and Khurásán, most commonly by the route of Kâbul and Bamián. She also held communication with Zábulistán and Sejestán, by way of Ghazní and Kandahár. Zábulistán was, at the period of Mas'údí's visit, a large country, known by the name of the kingdom of Fíróz,² and contained fortresses of great strength. The people were of divers languages and races, and different opinions were even then entertained respecting their origin. In Sejestán, which has greatly deteriorated since that period, the banks of the Hendmand were studded with gardens and cultivated fields; its stream was

¹ WASHINGTON IRVING'S *Successors of Mahomet*, pp. 141 and 255; from HAMMER-PURGSTALL'S *Gemäldeaal*, Vol. , p. . It is worthy of remark, that the Tapyri, whose name is preserved in Tabaristán, are not included, in the copious catalogue of Herodotus, among those joining in the armament of Xerxes.

² Arabic.—The various readings are worth noting.

covered with boats; and irrigation was carried on extensively by means of windmills.¹

With respect to the routes from the North to India, BIRÚNÍ observes:—"We reach Sind from our country (Turkistán), by going through the country of NÍMRÓZ, that is to say Sejestán, and we reach Hind through KÁBUL. I do not mean to say that is the only route, for one can arrive there from all directions when the passes are open."

We learn from notices in other authors, that there was commercial traffic by sea-board also. Much of the merchandize which was carried through Sind to Turkistán and Khurásán,—and thence even as far as Constantinople,² by the resumption of a route which had been much frequented at an earlier period³—was the product of China and the ports of Ceylon, 'Omán, and Malábár; from which latter province was derived, as at the present day, all the timber used in the construction of the boats which plied on the river. From Arabia, horses were frequently imported into Sind; and armies and munitions of war were sent up the mouths of the Indus, as we have already noticed with respect to the expeditions of Muhammed Kásim and some of his predecessors.⁴ The whole coast of Kirmán and

¹ This is nearly the earliest mention we have of them, even in the east. Our knowledge of these contrivances in Europe ascends no higher than 1105 of our era. In Muhaimmedan countries we have allusions to them as early as 645.—PRICE, *Retrospect of Muh. History*, Vol. I, p. 140.—DU CANGE, *Glossarium med. et inf. Latinitatis*, v.

² RAMUSIO, *Raccolta di Nav.*, Tom. I, p. 374. B.—ROBERTSON, *India*, pp. 42, 77, 106, 121.—MACPHERSON, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I, pp. 141, 194, 370.

³ STRABO, *Geog.*, lib. xi, c. 7, Vol. II, p. 427, ed. Tauchnitz.—PLINY, *Nat. Hist.* lib. vi, c. 17, 23.—HEEREN, *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. I, p. 38.

⁴ COSMAS INDICOPL. ap. MONTFAUCON, *Coll. nov. Patrum*, Tom. II, p. 334.—ELMACIN, *Hist. Sarac.*, Ann. 101.—ROSEGARTEN, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, p. 99.

Mekrán was, doubtless, studded with Arab settlements of the Azdis, who were the chief mercantile carriers from Obolla and 'Omán, and who had many brethren settled in Sind: and so it has remained, indeed, from the time of Alexander to the present Imám of Maskát,—for the names of Arabis, Arabius, Arabitæ, &c., of Nearchus and the ancient geographers, were most probably derived from the opposite peninsula in the west, and are still represented by the Arabú of the coast of Mekrán, like as the neighbouring Oritæ, or Horitæ, seem to survive in the modern Hor-mára and Haur.¹

The toleration which the native Sindians enjoyed in the practice of their religion, was greater than what was usually conceded in other countries; but it was dictated less by any principle of justice or humanity, than the impossibility of suppressing the native religion by the small number of Arab invaders. When time had fully shown the necessity of some relaxation in the stern code of Moslem conquest, it was directed, that the natives might rebuild their temples and perform their worship, and that the three per cent., which had been allowed to the priests under the former government, should not be withheld by the laity for whom they officiated. Dáhir's prime minister was also retained in office, in order to protect the rights of the people, and to maintain the native institutions; while Bráhmans were distributed throughout the provinces, to collect the taxes which had been fixed. But, where power had, for a short time, enabled the Moslems to usurp the mastery, the usual bigotry and cruelty were displayed. At Débal,

¹ See GEIER, *Alexandri M. Hist. Scriptores*, p. 128.—MÜTZELL'S *Notes to Q. CURTIUS*, pp. 873-4; DROYSEN, *Geschichte Alex.'s*, pp. 467-9.; VINCENT, *Voyage of Nearchus*, pp. 181-211.; BARROS, *Decadas da Asia*, Dec. iv, p. 290.—HEEREN, *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. i, pp. 279, 297.

the temples were demolished, and mosques founded; a general massacre endured for three whole days; prisoners were taken captive; plunder was amassed; and an apostate was left in charge of the government, exercising co-ordinate jurisdiction with an Arab chief. At Nairún, the idols were broken, and mosques founded, notwithstanding its voluntary surrender. At Alór, though the lives of the inhabitants were spared, a heavy tribute was imposed; and though the temples were treated like "churches of the Christians, or synagogues of the Jews," yet that was no great indulgence, if we may judge from the proceedings at Jerusalem and Damascus—where the ringing of bells and building of chapels were prohibited; where the free admission of Musulmáns was at all times compulsory; where the forcible conversion of churches into mosques was insisted on, without the offer of compensation; and where they were sometimes devoted to the meaner uses of cow-houses and stables. At Ráwar, and Askalanda, all the men in arms were put to the sword, and the women and children carried away captive. At Multán, all men capable of bearing arms were massacred; six thousand ministers of the temple were made captive, besides all the women and children; and a mosque was erected in the town.

Among the chief objects of idolatry at Multán, the Bhavishia Purána and Hioun-thsang mention a golden statue of the Sun; but the Arabic writers speak of the principal idol as being composed of no other more valuable substance than wood, representing that it was covered with a red skin, and adorned with two rubies for eyes. Muhammed Kásim, ascertaining that large offerings were made to this idol, and wishing to add to his resources by those means, left it uninjured; but in order to show his horror of Indian superstition, he attached a piece of cow's flesh to its neck, by which he was able to gratify his avarice and malignity at the same time. Beládoorí says it

was considered to represent the prophet Job, which appears an Arab misreading of Aditya, as it is correctly styled by Birúni—for, without the vowel points, there is no great difference in the original, viz., — for —.

This idol was allowed to maintain its position during the whole period of the supremacy of the Khalifs; but Birúni informs us, that when the Karmatians became masters of Multán, they did not show themselves equally tolerant, or provident respecting the valuable resources of the shrine; for their leader, Jalam, the son of Shaibán, had the idol broken in pieces, and the attendant priests massacred; and the temple, which was situated on an eminence, was converted into the Jámi' Masjid, in lieu of the one which existed before. That was closed, in order to evince their hatred of the Umaiyyide Khalifs, under whom it had been constructed; but when Sultán Mahmúd took Multán, and subdued the Karmatians, he re-opened the ancient mosque—upon which, the new one was abandoned, and became “as a plain destined to vulgar uses.”

The same idol was subsequently set up, and received the offerings of the people. How long it maintained its ancient credit is not known for certain; but at Multán, the Sun is no longer the object of worship, having yielded to the temple of Prahládpúri, now itself in ruins, but occupying, doubtless, the same lofty eminence in the citadel which was formerly consecrated to Aditya.

On counting up the cost of the Sindian expedition, Hajjáj found that he had expended 60,000,000, and had received 120,000,000 dirhems.¹ As that could

¹ This is from the *Futúhu-l-buldán*, and is taken as being the most exact statement. That in the *Chach-náma* differs considerably, and affords no means of comparison between actual receipt and expenditure. There is no reason to apprehend error in the transcription of these numbers, because the Arabic original does not express them in ciphers, but words.

only have been the Khalif's usual share of one-fifth, the total value of the plunder obtained must have been 600,000,000 dirhems. Now, as one million of dirhems, at fivepence-halfpenny each, is equivalent to about £23,000 of our money, and as the relative value of money was ten times greater then than now, we may conceive the amount to be largely exaggerated; since the country could not by any possibility have yielded such a booty, even with the exercise of the utmost Arab violence and extortion to enforce its collection. Even if we take Hajjáj's calculation to represent the whole sum, and not merely one fifth, we should still find it difficult to believe, either that Sind and Multán together could at that time have yielded two millions and three-quarters sterling, or that one-half of that sum could have been expended in their conquest by such a frugal and abstemious race as the Arabs, who had no need of a modern commissariat, at once extravagant and cumbersome, to follow their agile movements.¹

The consideration of this question naturally introduces the subject of the public revenue of Sind. From the statements of Ibn Khurdádba, Ibn Khaldún, and Ibn Haukal, we derive some valuable notices of the revenue of the 'Abbásides—with more especial reference to the period of Mámún's reign. Ibn Khaldún's table has been given by Von Hammer, in his *Länderverwaltung*, and to this, additions have been made by Dr. Sprenger, from the very rare manuscripts of the other authors, both preserved in the Bodleian library. From these authorities combined,

¹ All the calculations of Saracen booty in Egypt and Syria are even more extravagant, and justify the suspicions of Gibbon; though he had no right to arraign the accuracy of Elmacin's translator, Erpenius, —"*felicissimus ille Arabicarum literarum instaurator*,"—as he is styled by Hottinger. I conceive that we have not yet got the proper equivalent of the early *dínár* and *dirhem*.

we are able to deduce some useful inferences respecting the comparative revenue of the different provinces of the Khalifate. Thus, we find that the province of Sind yielded annually a sum of 11,500,000 dirhems, and 150 pounds of aloë-wood—Multán being, most probably, included, as it is not mentioned among the other provinces. Of the neighbouring provinces, Mekrán is set down at 400,000 dirhems—Sejestán at 4,600,000 dirhems, 300 variegated robes, and 20,000 pounds of sweetmeats¹—Kirmán at 4,200,000 dirhems, 500 precious garments, 20,000 pounds of dates, and 1,000 pounds of carraway seed²—Tukháristán at 106,000 dirhems—Kábul at 1,500,000 dirhems, and 1,000 head of cattle, amounting to the value of 700,000 dirhems more—Fárs at 27,000,000 dirhems, 30,000 bottles of rose-water, and 20,000 bottles of black currants³—Khutlán, in Hyátíla, bordering on Balkh, at 1,733,000 dirhems—Bamián at 5,000 dirhems—and Bust at 90,000 dirhems.

These amounts are to be considered merely approximate, because the revenues, unless where they were assessed at a fixed sum, varied every year according to the abundance, or scarcity, of the crop.

It may, at first, admit of doubt, whether these sums represent land-tax merely, or all the taxes in the aggregate. Ibn Khurdádba and Ibn Haukal specially say 'land-tax.' Ibn Khaldún uses the term 'revenue.' This is the more remarkable, as it will be observed from the notes, that his statements contain the lowest sums. The two accounts, of course, refer to different epochs, and frequently to different

¹ Ibn Khurdádba says 6,776,000 dirhems.

² Ibn Khurdádba says 5,000,000 dirhems, and under the Khusrús 60,000,000—the limits of the province being, of course, different. The amounts entered in the text rest on the authority of Ibn Khaldún.

³ Ibn Khurdádba says 30,000 dirhems; but I suspect error.

limits, which were arbitrary and fluctuating—just as our Domesday Book, having been compiled by different sets of commissioners, represents a different status in different passages, though the names of places, classes, and tenures may be in every other respect identical. As an instance; in our Arabic record, of these variations—we find it stated, under Fárs, that “’Amrán-bin-Músà, the Barmekide, added Sind to this province, so the revenue amounted, after defraying all expenses, to 10,000,000 dirhems.” The remark in itself is not particularly intelligible, but its very obscurity makes it serve the better as an illustration. It is probable that, in so large an empire, the limits of the provinces were frequently subject to alteration, to suit the views and interests of favoured governors; and that they were also, without any such personal bias, sometimes fixed on an ethnical, sometimes on a geographical, basis. Another cause of variation has been suggested—namely, that the greatest part of what had been delivered in kind in the time of Márwán, to which Ibn Khaldún refers, was paid in money in the time of Ibn Khurdádba. This is probable, and is the natural course of fiscal transition all over the world.

But, after giving due weight to all these considerations, the sums set down against the some of the provinces are so large—whether we take the higher or lower amount, or the earlier or later date—that we must conceive them to embrace the entire collections of every kind, and must be allowed the liberty of construing *kharáj* in its enlarged sense of ‘tribute,’ rather than its limited one of ‘land-tax’—just, indeed, as it is so considered at the present day in Turkey.¹ The assessment upon Sind and Multán, —being 11,500,000 dirhems, or about £270,000,—must

¹ *Des Osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung*, Vol. p. —CANTEMIR, *Hist. of the Othman Empire*, p. 366.

be considered moderate, if it is intended to comprise the land-tax, the poll-tax, the customs duties, and all miscellaneous items into the bargain ; but it is not an improbable amount, when we contemplate the liberal alienations and reserves, which have been alluded to at the commencement of this Note, as well as the change in the value of money. Under the Tálpúrs, notwithstanding that many large and productive tracts were afforested by them, Sind is said to have occasionally yielded £400,000 ; and under the Kalhóras, tradition represents the revenue at the exaggerated amount of £800,000. At present, with security on all its borders, and tranquillity within them, it does not pay to the British government more than £300,000, and the expenses have been hitherto more than double that sum. This deficiency, however, cannot last long, for its cultivation and commerce are rapidly on the increase.

The Arab governors may be considered in the light of farmers-general, for they usually bound themselves to pay to the Khalif the sums at which the various provinces,—after allowance made for ordinary expenses,—were set down in the public register. Where the disbursements were left to their discretion, and where the revenues were not fixed, but dependent upon the seasons, we may presume that, on the plea of frontier wars, local services, and internal tumults, very little was ever remitted to the capital from the remote provinces of the empire ; for the governors themselves were the judges of these necessities—the declaration of peace or war being left to their arbitrary determination and pleasure.

The ordinary revenue, which they were entitled to collect from the provinces committed to them, was derived from the land-tax, and from the capitation-tax upon those who had not embraced the Muhammedan religion ; but there were many miscellaneous cesses besides, which, in

the aggregate, yielded large returns, and contributed to swell their profits.

The land-tax was usually rated at two-fifths of the produce of wheat and barley, if the fields were watered by public canals; three-tenths, if irrigated by wheels or other artificial means; and one-fourth, if altogether unirrigated. If arable land were left uncultivated, it seems to have paid one *dirhem* per *jarib*, and one-tenth of the probable produce—but the statement is not clear upon this point. Of dates, grapes, and garden produce, one-third was taken, either in kind or money; and one-fifth (*khums*) of the yield of wines, fishing, pearls, and generally of any product not derived from cultivation, was to be delivered in kind, or paid in value, even before the expenses had been defrayed. One-fifth of the value of slaves and booty was reserved for the Khalif. The customs and transit dues, for which unbelievers had to pay a double rate, and the taxes on trades, manufactures, and handicrafts, were also important sources of public revenue.¹

These taxes were according to the original institutes of 'Omar, when he assessed the Sawád, or cultivated lands of 'Irák; but, in course of time, they were everywhere greatly enhanced, even to one-half of the produce of the land, or rather according to the ability of the people to pay. In short, the rates above mentioned were merely a nominal value put upon the land; for the collection of the revenues was, in many instances, left to rapacious

¹ See *Biog. Dict.*, *L.U.K.* v. "Al-Mámún," where the revenue table is given at length. It is also in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. vi, p. 362, *et seq.*; and in HAMMER-PURGSTALL's, *die Länderverwaltung unter dem Chalifate*, p. 39; and in the *Penny Cyclopædia*, v. "Caliph." The *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. xxx, p. 52, contains the most comprehensive of all these tables, with very useful remarks appended, to which the foregoing paragraphs are indebted.

farmers, who covered their contracts and benefited themselves besides, at the expense of the cultivators. The same course of proceeding was observed by the agents of the Tálpúrs to the latest period of their rule in Sind, and was one of the chief causes which contributed to the impoverishment of the country.¹

Moreover, the absence of an accurate measurement must have rendered all such assessments nugatory and fictitious; for it was only in the Sawád, above referred to, which was the small tract lying immediately around the future capital of the Khalifs, that there was anything like a detailed survey; and of that the merits were more due to their predecessors than themselves. Gibbon says, "the administration of Persia was regulated by an actual survey of the people, the cattle, and the fruits of the earth; and this monument, which attests the vigour of the caliphs, might have instructed the philosophers of every age." In this, he is by no means borne out by the passage which he quotes as his authority from the *Chorographia* of Theophanes; and, moreover, an extended sense has been given to "Persia," which really applies only to a remote corner of that large empire.²

Besides this ordinary land-tax, we read, in the *Chach-náma*, of other burdens laid upon Sindian cultivators, which seem to have been independent of the former;—

¹ The little confidence to be placed in the apparent moderation of recorded rates, may be exemplified by modern practice in Sind, where we are told that "it was not uncommon for the government to collect vast quantities of grain for the supply of troops, when any military expedition was on foot; in which case, the rulers made no scruple of seizing a half of the produce of the whole country, leaving the farmer to settle with the cultivator the best way he could."—CAPT. MCMURDO, *Journal R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 240.

² *Decline and Fall*, chap. LI, note 32. On the Sawád of 'Irák and Baghdád, see ABÚ-L-FEDÁ, *Geogr.*, pp. 52, 307.—*Marásidu-l-ittilá'*, ed. Juynboll, Vol. II, p. 63.

such as the *báj*, and the '*usharí*.¹ Other extraordinary conditions were occasionally imposed on some of the tribes. We have seen above, under Mu'tasim, that the Jats dwelling beyond the river Aral were compelled to bring a dog on each occasion of paying their respects, besides being branded upon the hand. The Bhatea, Lohána, Sehta, Jandar, Máchí, and Gorécha tribes had also peculiar duties devolving upon them.

Sumptuary laws, moreover, were established, and enforced with great stringency. Certain tribes were prohibited from wearing fine linen, from riding on horses, and from covering their heads and feet. If they committed theft, their women and children were burnt to death. Others had to protect caravans, and to furnish guides to Muhammedans.²

¹ Literally, "tithe-lands"—like the *Decumates Agri* of the Romans. —See TACITUS, *Germania*, cap. 29. Respecting the law of '*usharí*', see HAMILTON's *Hedaya*, Vol. , p. .—HARINGTON's *Analysis*, Vol. 1, p. .—GALLOWAY's *Law and Constit. of India*, p. .—N. B. E. BAILLIE's *Land-tax of India, according to Muh. law*, p. .

Legally, no land was subject both to *khardj* and '*usharí*'; but it may be questioned whether the Sindian '*usharí*', though it was confessedly considered as an indulgence, is to be construed in its strict legal application. The parties from whom it was taken were the people of Nairún, and the Channas, west of the Indus, of whom we still find a remnant not far from Manch'har lake, and from whom the Kalhóras are in reality descended, notwithstanding their various attempts to disguise the humiliating fact. Mr. Renouard conceives that Kalhóras are Kurds, because the *Jehán-numá* mentions that name among the Kurdish clans. There may possibly have been some connection between them and the converted Channas, for we know that Kurds are to be found as far eastward as Gandáva.

² So Abú-'Obaida, on the conquest of Emesa, imposed upon such as chose to remain in infidelity a ransom of five gold-pieces a head, besides an annual tribute; and caused their names to be registered in a book, giving them back their wives and children, on condition that they should act as guides and interpreters to the Moslems in case of need.—W. IRVING, *Successors of Mahomet*, pp. 60, 261.

The natives were also enjoined, in conformity with an old law of 'Omar's, to feed every Muhammedan traveller for three days and nights. It must be confessed, however, that many of these laws were already established under the Bráhmaṇ rulers; unless, as seems not improbable, the Muhammedan aspect about these ancient institutions derives its hue from the prejudices of the historian who records them.

But whatever were the peculiar features of some of the local imposts, all the unconverted tribes were, without exception, liable to the capitation-tax (*jazyā*), which, as it was a religious as well as political duty to collect, was always exacted with rigour and punctuality, and frequently with insult.¹

The levy of this impost in Sind from those who had not embraced Islām, was considered so important at the very earliest period, that we find Hajjāj sending another person into the province to collect it, even during Muhammed Kásim's government. "Abú-Khufas-Kutaiba-bin-Muslim came on the part of Hajjāj and returned to Khurásán, after leaving his agents to collect the poll-tax from the infidels; and, after a time, Temím-bin-Zaid came from Hajjāj on the same errand."²

According the original ordinance of 'Omar, those persons who were of any persuasion non-Muhammedan, called *Zimmís*, or those under protection, were assessed with a toleration-, or poll-tax, at the following rates. A person in easy circumstances had to pay 48 dirhems a year, one of moderate means 24 dirhems, and one in an inferior station, or who derived his subsistence from manual labour, 12 dirhems. Women, children, and persons unable to

¹ PRICE, *Retrospect of Muhammedan History*, Vol. 1, p. 109.

² *Tahfatu-L-kirám*, MS. p. 18.

work paid nothing. But a century had not elapsed, when 'Omar the second, considering these rates too moderate, calculated what a man could gain during the year and what he could subsist on, and claimed all the rest, amounting to four or five *dinárs*, about two pounds, a year.

As this tax ceased upon any one's becoming a Moslem—when he was enfranchised from his dependence, and was invested with the privileges of a citizen and companion—its severe enforcement was often found more efficacious than argument or persuasion, in inducing the victims to offer themselves as converts to the faith. For the professing Muhammedan had but to pay the tithe for alms, and the import and export duties of one in forty, or two and a half per cent.,¹ and he was free from all other imposts: but, when the original principles of the government began to be departed from; when the once vigorous administration became feeble and degenerate, and the Khalifs appropriated to themselves a large proportion of the revenues which the Kurán had assigned to God, the Prophet, and his relations—then the Muhammedans themselves also became subject, as well as the protected people, to new tallages and cesses; insomuch that the severity of the pressure occasioned general discontent, and often resulted in revolution and bloodshed.

Hence we find Ibn Khaldún, the most philosophic of all the Arabian writers upon history and social economy, thus speaking of the effect of these exactions upon the government which introduced them:—"with the progress of luxury the wants of government and its servants increased, and their zeal diminished; so that it became requisite to employ more people, and to give them higher

¹ In Muhammedan Spain this duty was as high as twelve and a half per cent. on small commodities.

pay. Consequently, the taxes were gradually increased, till the proprietors and working classes were unable to pay them, which led to continual changes in the government."

This increased employment of officials had no reference to those maintained for the distribution of justice to the people. In a country like Sind, where the mass of the nation professed their ancient religion, there were no tribunals for the purpose of adjudicating suits between members of that despised and depressed race. The power of life and death was exercised by every chief who could maintain the slightest show of independence, as well as by the Amírs; but under the latter, legal formalities were more rigorously, if not justly, observed. The Kází, who was appointed to the judgement-seat by their orders, professed, in controversies arising between Muhammedans, to decide according to the precepts of the Kurán,—while even between Hindús and Muhammedans, the same unerring guide was appealed to—under which, of course, the former obtained a very small modicum of justice. Public and political offences, whether by one party or the other, were tried by the same standard; but in all suits for debts, contracts, adultery, inheritance, the rights of property, and the like, the Hindús—being left without any form of law or any established judicatory to appeal to—had to accommodate their own differences, and, therefore, maintained their *pancháyets*, or arbitration committees, in full efficiency. It was fortunate, under these circumstances, that the public opinion of the caste, as expressed in these domestic and self-constituted *fora*, operated more strongly upon their minds, sentiments, and actions, than rewards and punishments derived from higher and holier sanctions.

To the Hindús, indeed, the public tribunals were only the means of extortion and forcible conversion, as they

have proved themselves to be to the very latest period of Muhammedan dominion in Sind—under which, there were judicial penalties for riding on horseback, especially with a saddle; under which, the wearing of beards and the adoption of Muhammedan costume were compulsory; and under which, religious processions, and even music, were altogether prohibited.¹ Hence there was, and could be, no sympathy between the conquerors and the conquered, arising from confidence in the purity of justice,—for the primary obligations, inseparably connected with the institution of political society, were utterly ignored by the Arab rulers of Sind, and no regard was had to that, which Milton calls—

The solid rule of civil government;

* * * * *

In which is plainest taught, and earliest learnt
What makes a nation happy and keeps it so,
What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat.

It is expedient that these matters should be often brought back to remembrance and pondered on; for the inhabitants of modern India, as well as our clamorous demagogues at home, are very apt to forget the depth of degradation from which the great mass of the people have been raised under the protection of British supremacy.

In reflecting on the causes which accelerated the downfall of the Khalif's dominion in Sind, one of the most obvious and powerful accessories which offers itself to our view, as conspiring towards that end, is the diversity of interests and feelings among the several tribes which

¹ DR. BURNES, *Visit to the Court of Sind*, pp. 72-75.—CAPTAIN McMURDO, *Journal R. As. Soc.*, Vol. 1, pp. 249-252.—LIEUT. BURTON, *Sindh*, p. 358,—and *Unhappy Valley*, Vol. 1, pp. 225-229.—CAPT. POSTANS, *Perdhal Observations on Sindh*, pp. 159, 228.—SIR A. BURNES, *Cabool*, p. 15.

achieved and confirmed the conquest. No long time elapsed, after the first glow of enthusiasm had died away, and given place to more sober sentiments, when the Arabs showed themselves as utterly incapable, as the shifting sands of their own deserts, of coalescing into a system of concord and subordination. The passions which agitated these hordes in their ancient abodes, the hereditary feuds and blood-revenges, which had even formed the dates of eras among their Bedouin ancestors, and which could be revived in all their bitterness by the recital of a ballad, a lampoon, or a proverb, were not allayed, but fostered, by transplantation from their original soil.¹ And so it was in Spain;—crowds of adventurers poured in who preferred a distant fortune to poverty at home. Emigrants from Damascus occupied Granada and Cordova; Seville and Malaga were planted by settlers from Eunesa and Palestine; the natives of Yemen and Persia were scattered about Toledo; and the fertile valleys of the South were partitioned among 10,000 horsemen from Syria and 'Irák. These, as in Sind, all became so many rival factions, eager in the pursuit of power, mutually rancorous and hostile, and cherishing, in the pride and petulance of their hearts, the most invidious distinctions of races and precedence.²

Even as early as the deposition and recall of Muhammed Kásim, we find him alluding to the clannish feud between the Thakifis and Sakásacs. “Had he chosen to appeal to

¹ Pocock, *Specimen Histor. Arab.*, pp. 43, 178.—Sale, *Koran*, Vol. I, p. 233.—Foster, *Mahom. Unveiled*, Vol. I, p. 6.

² Crichton, *Arabia and its People*, p. 339.—Dunham, *History of Spain*, Vol. IV, p. 2.—Procter, *Encyclopædia Metrop.*, Vol. XI, p. 294. All of whom are indebted, more or less, originally to Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. LI, *ad finem*; and he, with his usual honesty of acknowledgment, to Casiri, *Biblioth. Arab-Hispan.*, Tom. II, pp. 32, 252.

the sword," he exclaims, "no cavaliers of the tribes of Sakásak or 'Akk could have wrested from him the country he had conquered, or laid violent hands upon his person." These were both Yemenian tribes; the first was descended from Saksak-bin-Ashrab, and the second was an offshoot of the great tribe of Azd, which, under Muhallab, was the first to carry the Arab arms into India, and which rendered itself so conspicuous in the conquest of Khurásán. The Thakifi tribe, to which Muhammed Kásim belonged, was originally from Táif, about 50 miles south-east of Mecca. It continues a powerful people to this day, possessing the same fertile region on the eastern declivity of the Hejáz chain of mountains. In the wars of the 'Wabábís, they defended their ancient strong-hold of Táif with a spirit worthy of their ancestors.

We have seen above, under the Khalifate of Mu'tasim, that the rancour, which prevailed between the Yemenian and Nazarian tribes, again broke out into open hostility in Sind. It was not, however, in Sind only, but wherever the Muhammedan standard was displayed, that these two great divisions were arrayed against each other; and as this feeling operated as one of the main causes of the success of the 'Abbásides against the Umayyides, its original malignity could not fail to be aggravated in every Moslem country, as long as the remembrance of that change of dynasty survived. •

What imparted additional acerbity to these domestic feuds in Sind, was the persecution of the adherents of 'Ali, which, though with some intermissions, especially about Mámún's time, was maintained with considerable rigour during the period of Arab occupation. We have in the preceding Note seen some instances of these religious quarrels, and they must have been of frequent occurrence in Sind; for its position on the remote eastern

frontier of the Empire, and the difficulty of access to it over mountains and barren sands, must have offered a promising asylum to political refugees, of which we have ample evidence that they readily availed themselves. Hence heterodoxy, during the period of the Khalifate, flourished with unusual vigour in Sind and Mekrán; and hence such schismatics as Khárijis, Zendiks, Khwájas, Shariites, and the like, as well as Maláhida, or atheists of various denominations, thrived, and propagated;—more especially the Karmatians, who, after being first introduced through this kingdom, maintained their hold in Western and Northern India long after they were suppressed in other provinces of the Empire.

The 'Alite refugees have preserved many traces of their resort to Sind,—to which we may refer the unusual proportion of Saiyid families to this day resident in that country—the names of such places as Lakk-'alaví and Mut-'alaví,¹ founded and still inhabited by 'Alites—and the many Saiyids of even Eastern India, who trace their first settlements to T'hatta, Bhakkar, and other places in the valley of the Indus.

These vague reminiscences, indeed, may be considered to comprise one of the most enduring monuments of Arab dominion in Sind. They were almost the only legacy the Arabs left behind them: affording a peculiar contrast in this respect to the Romans, after they had held Britain for the same period of three centuries. Notwithstanding that their possession was partial and unstable, our native soil teems with their buildings, camps, roads, coins, and utensils, in a manner to show how completely they were the

¹ The latter is now better known as Matárf. The two great families of Lakkýárf and Matárf Saiyids constitute the Majáwars, or attendants at the shrine, of the celebrated Saint, La'l Sháh-báz of Sehván.

master-spirits of that remote province. But with regard to the Arab dominion in Sind, it is impossible for the traveller to wander through that land, without being struck with the absence of all record of their occupation. In language, architecture, arts, traditions, customs, and manners, they have left but little impress upon the country or the people. We trace them, like the savage Sîk'hs, only in the ruins of their predecessors; and while Mahfûza, Baizâ, and Mansûra have so utterly vanished, that 'etiam periëre ruinæ,' the older sites of Bhambôra, Alôr, Multân, and Sehwan still survive to proclaim the barbarism and cruelty of their destroyers. It has, indeed, been observed, as a circumstance worthy of remark, that no people ever constructed so many edifices as the Arabs, who extracted fewer materials from the quarry—the buildings of the first settlers being everywhere raised from the wrecks of cities, castles and fortresses, which they had themselves destroyed.¹

With respect to the descendants of the early Arab conquerors, we find it stated, by two local historians,—that when 'Abdu-r-razzâk, Wazîr of Sultân Mahmûd, and the first Ghaznevide governor of Sind, was in the year 415 H. directed to proceed to that country from Multân²—and that when, after having captured Bhakkar, and established his power upon a firm basis, he proceeded in 417 to Séwastân and T'hatta,—he found in those places, among the descendants of old Arab settlers, "only a very few, who had remained bound, as it were, to the country by

¹ CRICHTON'S *Arabia and its People*, p. 426.

² The period of his departure from Multân is not clearly stated by either authority. One seems to say 414, the other 416. Now, as Mahmûd was, during Ramazân 415, in Multân, on his way to Sômnât, that appears to be a more probable year, than either of the other two.

family ties and encumbrances; and who, being men of learning and ability, were at that time holding posts of honour, and in the enjoyment of certain religious endowments."¹

Eighteen Sindian families, or tribes, are said to have sprung from these ancestors:—the Thakifí²—Temím—Mughairide—'Abbási—Sadíki—Fárúki—'Othmání—Pahanwár³—Mankí⁴—Chabria—Bini-Asad—'Utba—Bini-Abí-Sufyán⁵—Bájaride⁶—and the Bini-Jaríma Ansári, who were the progenitors of the tribe of Sapyá, the lords of Séwastán. To these are to be added the Jats and Belóches—descendants of Hárún Mekráni. It will be observed that, although the families are said to be eighteen, the enumeration extends to only seventeen,—unless the Sapyá and the descendants of Jaríma Ansári are reckoned as two.

The same authority mentions, that some of the tribes now in Sind, and who appear from their names and occupations to have been originally Hindú, are in reality descendants of the Arabs. Thus, the T'hím were originally Temím; the Morya are pronounced to be descended from Mughaira;

¹ *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 21. Mír Ma'súm says that the Wazír turned the Arabs out of these places; but that "some who had families, and were respectable and learned men, had high situations conferred upon them according to law,"—i.e. they were appointed to judicial offices.—*Tárikh-i-Sind*, MS. p. 38.

² The original Kázis of Alór and Bhakkar. From this family was descended the author of the *Chach-náma*.

³ The descendants of Hárith.

⁴ A branch of the Temím.

⁵ Of this tribe are many of the *darvéshes* of Rail, on the right bank of the Indus, opposite to Haidarábád. Among these celebrated saints are to be included the ancestors of Sheikh Abú-l-fazl, as shown in his work, styled the *Kachkúl*.

⁶ Occupants of Jángár, about ten miles west from Sehván.

and the Súmra are likewise held to be the offspring of adventurers from Sámarra, who accompanied the Temím in great numbers. All these affiliations are gratuitous guesses, and about as probable as the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph, of the descent of the Jats and Belóches from Hárún Mekrání. But that some of the inferior tribes are descendants of the Arabs is by no means opposed to reason or probability, and this more especially among those now classed as Belóches. The Rind, for instance, when they assert that they came originally from Aleppo and Damascus, may have truth on their side; but we should be cautious in admitting nominal resemblances or ambitious genealogies; especially where—as in the case of the Súmras, Sammas, Dáúdputras, and Kalhóras—there has been a political purpose to serve, and sycophants ready at all times to pander to a despot's aspirations.

APPENDIX .—P. .

Buddhists in Sind.

Beláadori calls the temple of the sun at Multán by the name of *budd*, and he informs us, that not only temples, but idols, were called by the same name. As the Buddhist religion was evidently the prevalent one in Sind, when the Musulmáns first came in contact with Indian superstitions, it follows that to Buddha must be attributed the origin of this name, and not to the Persian *but*, 'an idol,' which is itself most probably derived from the same source.

With regard to the *budd* of Débal,¹ M. Reinaud has observed, that the word not only is made applicable to a Buddhist temple, but seems also to indicate a Buddhist *stupa*,² or tower, which was frequently the companion of the temple; and he traces the word *budd* in the *feou-thou*, or rather *foth*, which we find mentioned in the Chinese relations, as serving at the same time to designate a Buddha, and the edifice which contains his image. 'Feou-thou,' says Klaproth, "is the name which they give to pyramids, or obelisks, containing the relics of Shákya, or other holy personages. Chapels, likewise, are so called, in which these images are placed."³

¹ The temple of Débal is described as being one hundred and twenty feet high, surmounted by a dome, also of equal height.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 10.

² The origin of our English 'tope.' It is curious that, in Islandic also, *stupa* signifies 'a tower.' See further, respecting this word, HAMMER-PURGSTALL, in *Wien Jahrbücher*, No. cvii, p. 17.—BURNOUR, *Budd. Ind.*, Vol. i, p. 349.—FERGUSSON, *Illustr. to anc. Archit. of Hindústán*, p. 14.

³ *Fragments Arabes*, pp. 193, 200.—*Fes-koue-ki*, pp. 19, 41, 50, 91, 355.—*Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 90, 177, 290.

Although Chach, who usurped the throne about the beginning of the Hijrī era, was a Bráhmaṇ, there is no reason to suppose that he attempted to interfere with the then popular religion of Buddhism. Bráhmaṇism is, indeed, so accommodating to any thing that partakes of idol-worship, that Chach and Dáhir might have made their offerings in a Buddhist temple, without any greater sacrifice of consistency, than a Roman was guilty of in worshipping Isis and Osiris,—or than we witness every day in a Hindú presenting his butter and flowers at the shrine of Sheikh Saddú, Ghází Mfán, Sháh Madár, or any other of the apotheosized Muhammedan impostors of Hindústán. There is even no incompatibility in supposing that Chach, though a Bráhmaṇ by birth, still continued a Buddhist in his persuasion;¹ for the divisions of caste were at that time secular, not religious,—the four classes existing, in former times, equally amongst the Buddhists and amongst the Hindús of continental India, as they do at this day amongst the Buddhists of Ceylon, and amongst the Jains of the Peninsula, where even Bráhmaṇ priests may be found officiating in their temples.

There are several indications of the Buddhist religion prevailing at that period in the valley of the Indus, not only from the specific announcement of the Chinese travellers, and the declaration of Ibn Khurdádba to that effect, but from certain incidental allusions of the Arabic writers, made without any particular reference to the opposite factions of Bráhmaṇs and Buddhists—between which the distinctions, especially of worship, oblations, mythology, and cosmography, were generally too nice to attract the observations, or excite the enquiries of such ignorant and supercilious foreigners. Thus, when priests are mentioned, they are usually

¹ There seems, indeed, reason to believe that his brother and successor, Chandar, was actually a Buddhist ascetic.—*V. sup.*, p.

called *Samani*;¹—the state-elephant is white—a very significant fact;²—the thousand Bráhmans, as they are styled, who wished to be allowed to retain the practices of their ancient faith, were ordered by Muhammed Kásim, with the permission of the Khalif, to carry in their hands a small vessel as mendicants, and beg their bread from door to door every morning—a prominent ceremony observed by the Buddhist priesthood;³—and, finally, the sculpturing, or otherwise perpetuating, the personal representations of their conquerors;⁴—all these indicate a Buddhist rather than Bráhmanical habit. To this may be added the negative evidence afforded by the absence of any mention of priestcraft, or other pontifical assumption, of widow-burning, of sacerdotal threads, of burnt-sacrifices, of cow-worship, of ablutions, of penances, or of other observances and ceremonies, peculiar to the tenets of the Bráhmanical faith.

¹ V. translations of the *Futúhu-l-buldán* and the *Chach-náma*, pp.

These are the Sarmanes, Sarinanæ, Garmanæ, Samanæi, and Semnoi, of Cleinens of Alexandria, Strabo, and other Greek writers. The name is derived from the Sanscrit, *Sramana*, 'a religious mendicant, an ascetic, especially one of the Buddhist faith.' More information can be had respecting the various disguises and applications of this word, by consulting SCHWANBECK, *Megasthenis Fragmenta*, pp. 45-50.—C. MÜLLER, *Fragm. Histor. Græc.*, Vol. II, pp. 435-7.—LASSEN, *Rhein. Mus.*, Vol. I, pp. 171-190; *Ind. Alterth.*, Vol. , p. —GILDEMEISTER, *de reb. Ind.*, p. 114.—HUMBOLDT, *Cosmos*, Vol. II, p. 59.—THIRLWALL, *Hist. Greece*, Vol. VII, p. 15.—*Journal A. S. Bombay*, No. viii, p. 91; No. , p. —DR. WILSON, *Antiq. of Western India*, p. 63.—*Journal R. A. S.*, No. xii, 378-402.—BURNOURF, *Budd. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 275.—RITTER, *Asien*, Vol. IV, pt. I, p. 491.—BOHLEN, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I, pp. 319-322.

² Translation of the *Chach-náma*, pp.

³ Translation of the *Chach-náma*, p.

⁴ Translation of the *Futúhu-l-buldán*, p.

The manifest confusion which prevailed amongst the Arabs regarding the respective objects of Bráhma and Buddhist worship, prepares us, therefore, to find, as remarked at the commencement of this Note, that the temple of the sun at Multán is, by Beládori, styled a *budd*.¹ Even in the time of Mas'údí, the kings of Kanauj, which he asserts to have then been under Multán, are all styled *Búdh*, or *Búdah*,—doubtless from the worship which the Arabs had heard to prevail in that capital ;² and in this he is followed by Edrisí,³ who wrote as late as the middle of the twelfth century : so that the use of *budd* is very indefinite; and whether applied to man, temple, or statue, it by no means determines the application to anything positively and necessarily connected with Buddhism, any more than the absence of that word denotes the contrary, when incidental notices and negative testimonies—such as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph—can be adduced to support the probability of its prevalence.

¹ Translation of the *Futúhu-l-buldán*, p. .

² *Meadows of Gold*, p.

³ M. JAUBERT, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Tom. 1, p.

APPENDIX .—P. .

Bhambóra.—Barbarike.

Bhambóra, or Bhambúr, is not named in our oldest works on Sind; but it is mentioned in a modern native historian as having been captured during the Khalifate of Hárúnu-r-rashíd. It is the scene of many legendary stories of Sind; and, according to one of them, owes its destruction in a single night to the divine wrath which its ruler's sins drew down upon it. Its ruins skirt the water's edge for about a quarter of a mile, and cover a low hill almost surrounded by a plain of sand, a little to the right of the road from Karáchí to G'hára, and about two miles from the latter place. There are evident marks of its having been at one time flourishing and populous; and even now, after heavy rains, coins, ornaments, and broken vessels are found among the debris of the fort.

Coupling these manifest signs of antiquity with the fact that the natives commonly consider Bhambóra as the oldest port in Sind, and that the legend at p. proves its connection with the main stream of the Indus, we may assume that it represents the Barbarik Emporium of the Periplus, and the Barbari of Ptolemy;—the easy conversion from the native Bhambóra into the more familiar Barbari being a highly probable result of the wanton mispronunciation to which the Greeks were so much addicted.

It is somewhat opposed to this, that Arrian declares Barbarike to have been on the centre stream of the Delta; but there may, perhaps, in his time, have been direct communication between that channel and Bhambóra.¹

¹ ARRIAN, *Periplus maris Eryth.*, pp. 22, 24.—PTOLEMY, *Geogr.* lib. vii, c. .—CAPT. McMURDO, *Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. I, p. 25.—LT. BURTON, *Sindh*, p. 389.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. pp. 19, 166, 234.

Askalanda.—U'ch'h.—Alexandria.

The Askalanda and 'Askalandra of the *Chach-náma* is the same as the 'Askaland and 'Askaland-U'sa of the *Mujmalu-t tawárikh*, and the Askandra of the *Tohfatu-l-kiráam*. The close correspondence of name, especially in the last instance, induces us at once to recognise it as identical with the Alexandria built at the confluence of the Acesines with the Indus; but a little examination will show this resemblance to be more specious than real.¹

The ancient kingdom of Sind was divided into four Satrapies, of which the third (v. *suprà* p.) comprised the fort of Askalanda and Máibar, "which was also called Talwára and Chachpúr." It is evident, from the description of the other Satrapies, that this one contained the whole tract north-east of Alór and south-east of the Punjnad and G'hara, almost precisely the same, in short, as the present Dáúdputra country. Now, Máibar and Chachpúr still exist, under the modernised names of Mírbar and Cháchar, close together at the very junction of the Acesines and Indus, on the eastern side of the river, opposite to Mittankót; and in them, therefore, we should have to look for Alexandria, if, which is not probable, it was on the left bank of the Indus. Consequently, Askalanda must have been higher up the river, as subsequent passages will show.

In the time of Chach (p.), the governor of Bátea, "south of the river Beás," fled to Askalanda, which, therefore, was not likely to have been far from, or across, that river. Again, some years after (p.), we find

¹ That Askaland also is a corruption of Alexandria, seems probable from the peculiar position in Balkh and Tukháristán assigned to the Askalkand, Sikilkand, and Saklakand of the Arabian geographers.—ABU-L-FEDA, *Geog*, p. 473.—JUYNBOLL, *Marásidu-l-ittild'*, Vol. II, p. 40.

Muhammed Kásim breaking up his camp at Bátea, “on the southern bank of the Beás,” to go to Askalanda. It is not expressly mentioned that he crossed that river, and we may presume, therefore, that he did not. No where else do we find any indication of its position; but, as will be seen in the note upon the Méds, it was the capital when Jayadrat'ha and Dassal ruled in Sind.

Its proximity to the Beás and its name of Askaland-U'sa lead us to regard it as the U'ch'h of more modern times. That place bears marks of the most undoubted antiquity, and the absence of all mention of it in the *Chach-náma*, where we are, both in the time of Chach and Muhammed Kásim, introduced to many transactions in its neighbourhood, can only be accounted for on the supposition that it is disguised under some other appellation.

It has been supposed, indeed, that the name of the Oxydracæ is derived from this old town of U'ch'h, but their position, according to Strabo and Arrian, appears rather to have been on the western side of the Acesines; and it is a curious coincidence that, in that direction also, there is another ancient U'ch'h, now in ruins, near the junction of the Hydaspes with that river, which offers a far more probable identification, and allows us, moreover, to assign to the Ossadii, instead of the Oxydracæ, the U'ch'h, or Askaland-U'sa, near the junction of the Hyphasis with the Acesines. The name of the Oxydracæ assumes various forms in different authors.—*Hydracæ* in Strabo, *Syracousæ* in Diodorus, *Scydroi*, *Scothroi*, and *Scythroi* in Dionysius, *Sydraci* in Pliny, *Sygambri* in Justin, and *Oxydracæ* in Arrian, Strabo, Curtius, Stephanus, and others: but in no author are they confounded with the *Ossadii*, which constituted a separate tribe, acting entirely independent of the *Oxydracæ*.

It is certain that neither the upper, nor lower, Alexandria was built near the present U'ch'h. So cursorily, in-

deed, does Arrian notice the confluence near that spot, that Major Rennell and Dr. Vincent carry the Hyphasis direct into the Indus, without bringing it first into the Acesines. Nevertheless, although Alexander may himself have raised no city there, we might still be disposed to admit that the celebrity of his power and conquests may have given rise to the name of Askaland, or Askandra, did we not reflect that, if we are to put any trust in the chronology of the *Mujmalu-t-tawúrikh*, the name must have preceded the invasion of the Grecian conqueror, and cannot therefore, independent of the other reasons above mentioned, be connected with it.¹

¹ DIOD. SIC., *Biblioth. Hist.* xvii, 102.—ARRIAN, *Anab.* vi, 14, 15.—STRABO, *Geog.* xv, 701.—Q. CURTIUS, *De gest. Al.* ix, 16, 31.—*Fragments Arabes et Persans*, pp. 27, 47.—*Tahfatu-L-kiram*, MS. pp. 16, 17.—*Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 31.—VINCENT, *Voyage of Nearchus*, pp. 133–135.—DROYSSEN, *Geschichte Alex.*, p. 446.—RITTER, *Asien*, Vol. iv, pt. i, p. 471.—MANNERT, *Geog. der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. v, p. —LASSEN, *Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, Vol. III, p. 199; and *Ind. Alterth.*, Vol. I, p. —MULLER, *Fragmenta Hist. Græc.*, Vol. II, p. 415.—SCHWANBECK, *Megasthenis Fragmenta*, p. 33.

Ag'ham.—The Lohánas.

A'gham, or Ag'ham-kót, lies about thirty miles south-east from Haidarábád, and though now almost forgotten, it was formerly a place of some consequence. Its position is not very easily identified, and the name is rarely introduced into the maps. In Lt. Burton's, it seems to be entered under the name of "Angoomanoo," and in the Quarter-Master-General's map of 1850, under that of "Aghamama."

The *Béglár-náma* says it is on the Rain. The *Tohfatu-l-kiráń* mentions it among the towns on the Sánkra. Capt. McMurdo says it is on the Lohána Daryá; but he strangely fixes its site at Kalákót, seven miles to the west of T'hatta, observing erroneously that it is not mentioned till long after the Arab conquest. Its position may be indicated at present as lying between the Gúńi and the Rain; but it does not follow that it will answer to that description next year, as the course of these streams is constantly shifting.

It is also called Ag'ham Lohána. In the *Chach-náma*, we find frequent mention of a chief under that name, who was governor of Brahmanábád in the time of Chach. Lohána is the designation of a powerful tribe, which at that period, under an apparent confusion of terms, is said to have included both the Samma and Lák'ha clans. It can merely mean that they were then in a position of comparative subordination. Under all the vicissitudes the Lohánas have undergone, they still retain their credit, as well as their religion, and constitute the most influential tribe in Sind, whether regarded as merchants or officials. But not confined within that narrow province, they have spread their ramifications beyond the western borders of India, and are found dispersed throughout Afghánistán, Belóchistán, and Arabia, exposed to inconveniences, insults, and

dangers of no ordinary kind, in pursuit of their darling object of wealth, and final return to their native soil to enjoy the fruits of their industry.

The Lohánas derive their name and origin from Lohan-púr in Multán. The date of their emigration must have been very early, and even their own traditions do not attempt to fix it. Their subdivisions are said to amount at the least to fifty, the chief of them being the Khudábádí and Sehvání. They all of them wear the Janéo, or Brahmanical thread. Though, for the most part, they worship the Hindú deities, a few have adopted the faith of Bába Nának. They are described by an accurate observer as eating meat, addicted to spirituous liquors, not objecting to fish and onions, drinking water from the hand of their inferiors as well as superiors in caste, and being neither frequent nor regular in their devotions.

As the town of Ag'ham is mentioned as early as the time of Muhammed Kásim, we may presume that it derived its name from the Lohána chieftain above mentioned, who was the contemporary and opponent of Chach.¹

¹ Compare, *Chach-náma*, MS. pp. 39, 41, 49, 66, 144, 195, 200.—*Béglár-náma*, MS. p. 73.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 143.—CAPTAIN McMURDO, *Journal of the Royal As. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 24, 30, 247.—LIEUT. BURTON, *Sindh*, pp. 314–317, 338–342.

The Wairsí and Sódha Tribes.

Wairsí, we are told in the *Béglár-náma* (MS. p. 55), was a chief among the Sódhas. It would have been more correct to say that Wairsí was the chief clan among the Sódhas; for Wairsí was not a personal designation, as is evident from many passages of that work. It is written indiscriminately Wairsí and Wairsa, and a cognate, but then hostile, clan bore the closely similar name of Waisa (MS. pp. 190, 191). The Samécha tribe, often mentioned in the same work, is also a branch of the Sódhas.

An exact translation of the text to which this note refers would represent Rájia as the daughter of the Ráná (which, by the way, is spelt throughout in the original as Ra'ná); but at p. 61 we learn that she was his sister's son, and so she is also styled in the *Tohfatu-l-kiráam* (MS. p. 73). Indeed, had she been his own daughter, we should not have found Abú-l-kásim Khán-i-zamán, who was the issue of this marriage with Mír Kásim Béglár, passing his childhood among the Bhattís of Jésalmér after his father's death, but rather among the Sódhas of Umarkót.

The Sódá, or Sódha, tribe (spelt Soda by Col. Tod, and Sódá by the Rev. Mr. Renouard) is an offshoot of the Pramára, and has been for many centuries an occupant of the desert tracts of Western India; into which they have receded, like their predecessors, when driven forward by more powerful neighbours from the banks of the Indus. Col. Tod contends that they are the descendants of the Sogdi of Alexander's time, in which there is greater probability than in most of his speculations. Sogdi may be a corruption, derived from the greater familiarity of historians with the northern nation of that name. The Sodraë of Diodorus offer an equal resemblance of name and position.

It is not plain which bank of the river the Sodræ, or Sogdi, then occupied. They are not mentioned by Q. Curtius, and Arrian's use of "right" and "left," as applied to the banks of the Indus, is so opposed to the modern practice of tracing a river from its source downwards, that it adds to the confusion.

The transaction mentioned in the text shows the early period at which the Hindús began to disgrace themselves by their intermarriages with Muhammedans; and the high repute of the beauty of the Sódha women has served to maintain that practice in full vigour to the present time.

At the period treated of, we find the Sódhas in possession of Umarkót, of which the name and consequence have been subsequently much increased, independent of its importance as a border fortress, by being the birth-place of the renowned Akber.

The Ráná of the Sódhas was expelled from Umarkót by the Tálpúrs of Sind; and the present representative of the family, who still retains his title of Ráná, resides at Chór, a few miles north-east of his former capital, shorn of all power, and hard pressed for the means of subsistence.¹

¹ MANNERT, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. v, p. .—RITTER, *Die Erdkunde von As*: Vol. iv, pt. i, p. 471.—TOD, *Annals of Rájast'hán*, Vol. i, p. 93; II, 310-319.—*Encyc. Metrop.*, Vol. xxiii, p. 781.—*Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. i, p. 33.—MITFORD, *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. x, pp. 231, 232, notes 15 to 17.—DR. BURNES, *Visit to the Court of Sind*, p. 105.—*Journ. R. Geog. Soc.*, Vol. iv, p. 93.—VINCENT, *Comm. & Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. i, pp. 137-145.—ARRIAN, *Anab.* vi, 15.—DIOD. SIC., *Biblioth. Hist.*, xvii, 102.

Túr.—Muhatampúr.—Dirak.—Vijeh-kót.

Túr was the ancient capital of the Súmra dynasty, called also by the name of Mehmetúr, and written by the local historians as Muhatampúr and Muhammed-Túr. It was situated in the Pargana of Dirak, and its fabulous destruction has been related in the Extracts from the *Tárikh-i-Táhirí*. But its real ruin dates only from 'Aláu-d-dín's invasion of Sind.

The ancient Pargana of Dirak is represented by the modern divisions of Cháchagám and Badban on the borders of the T'harr, or sandy desert between Parkar and Wanga Bázár. There is a Pargana of Dirak still included in T'hatta, which may be a portion of the older district of that name.

Another capital of the Súmras is said to have been Vijeh-kót, Wageh-kót, or Vigo-gad (for it is spelt in these various forms), five miles to the east of the Purán river, above the Allah-band.

The site of Túr has been considered to be occupied by the modern T'harrí, near Budína, on the Gúngrú river. There are, to be sure, the remains of an old town to the west of that place; nevertheless, the real position of Túr is not to be looked for there, but at Shákapúr, a populous village about ten miles south of Mírpúr. Near that village, the fort and palace of the last of the Súmras is pointed out, whence bricks are still extracted of very large dimensions, measuring no less than twenty inches by eight.¹ Other fine ruins are scattered about the neighbourhood, and carved tomb-stones are very numerous.

¹ *Béglár-náma*, MS. p. 8.—*Tárikh-i-Táhirí*, MS. p. 20.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. pp. 162, 166.—DR. BURNES, *Visit to the Court of Sind*, p. 134.—CAPT. McMURDO, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 24, 226, 233.

Fragments of pearls and other precious stones are occasionally picked up, which have all apparently been exposed to the action of fire. The people themselves call this ruined site by the name of Mehmetúr, so that both the name and position serve to verify it, beyond all doubt, as the ancient capital of the Súmras.

The curious combination of Muhammed-Túr, is an infallible indication that “Mehmet” and “Muhatam” are merely corruptions of “Muhammed,” for his name is wretchedly pronounced in Sînd. The present mode is *Mammet*—our own old English word for an image, or puppet, when in our ignorance we believed *Mawmetrie*, or the religion of the false prophet, to be synonymous with idolatry, and *Mahound* with the Devil. So Shakspeare, in *Romeo and Juliet*, says,—

A whining *mammet*, in her fortune's tender.

And Spenser, in his *Faerie Queene*,—

And oftentimes by Termagant and *Mahound* swore.

The still grosser corruption of Muhammed into “Baphomet,” or “Baffomet,” is not to be laid to the charge of our nation. This was the name of the idol, or head, which the Templars are falsely alleged to have worshipped,—*quoddam caput cum barbâ quod adorant et vocant salvatorem suum*. Raynouard argues that this word originates from a misprint, or mispronunciation, of Muhammed; but Von Hammer and Michelet lean to a Gnostic origin, which we need not stay to consider, being satisfied that “Baffomet” is only another, and still more extravagant, disguise, under which Europeans have exhibited the name of Muhammed.¹

¹ RAYNOUARD, *Monuments hist. rel. à la condamnation des Templiers*, pp. 261–302; and in MICHAUD's *Hist. des Croisades*, Tom. v, p. 572; and in *J. des Savans* for March and April, 1819.—VON HAMMER, *Mysterium Baphometi revelatum*, in *Fundgruben des Or.*, Vol. vi, pt. i.—MICHELET, *Histoire de France*, Tom. iii, p. 145.

Sámói.—Tughlakábád.—Kalá-kót.

Sámói deserves notice from the attempt which has been made to establish it as the celebrated Minnagara of the ancient geographers. It was the capital of the Jáms of the Samma dynasty, and was founded by Jám Panya, under the Makáli hills, about three miles north-west of T'hatta.

Subsequently, the fort of Tughlakábád was built by Jám Tughlak, on the site of the older Kalá-kót, about two miles south of T'hatta; but that, as well as its predecessor, was left unfinished by its founder. By a strange vicissitude, the name of Tughlakábád is now comparatively forgotten, and that of Kalá-kót, erroneously called Kalán-kót (the great fort), though for a time superseded, has restored the just claims of Rájá Kalá, and still attracts the attention of the traveller. Lt. Burton calls it Kullián-kót. I fear to differ from so good a local authority, but believe Kalá-kót to be more strictly correct.

The ruins of Sámói, Samúiya, or Samma-nagar, "the city of the Sammas," are to be traced near T'hatta; and, under the wrong and deceptive spelling of Sa-minagar, have induced Col. Tod, Sir A. Burnes, and many who have too readily followed them—including even Ritter, who considers the question settled "incontestably,"—to recognise in that name the more ancient and more famous Minnagara. The easy, but totally unwarrantable, elision of the first, and only important, syllable has led to this fanciful identification.¹

¹ Tod, *Rájast'hán*, Vol. i, p. 86; II, 220, 256, 312; and *W. India*, pp. 466, 481.—BURNES, *Travels*, Vol. III, pp. 31, 79; and *Cabool*, pp. 16-18.—LT. BURTON, *Sindh*, p. 388, and *Unhappy Valley*, Vol. i, p. 105.—*T. kirám*, MS. pp. 38-41, 162-166.—RITTER, *Asien*, Vol. IV, pt. i, p. 475.—*Tárthkh-i-Táhirt*, MS. p. 42.

Sháh Bég's capture of T'hatta.

The *Tarkhán-náma* states, that when Sháh Bég advanced to the capture of T'hatta, the river, meaning the main stream of the Indus, ran to the north of that city. If this statement be correct, it shows that a most important deviation must have occurred since that period in the course of the river. But I believe that the assertion arises from a mere mistranslation of the *Tárikh-i-Sind* of Mír Ma'súm, which is generally followed *verbatim* in the *Tarkhán-náma*.

Mír Ma'súm says (p. 138) that "Sháh Bég advanced by daily marches towards T'hatta by way of the Lakkí pass, and encamped on the banks of the Khánwáh, from which T'hatta lies three coss to the south. At that time the river generally flowed by T'hatta: therefore he was in doubt how he should cross." Now, this is not very plain, and we should even more correctly interpret the original, if we were to say that, "T'hatta lies three coss to the *north* of the Khánwáh."

We know that this could not have been meant; but the statement, as it stands, is puzzling, and the author of the *Tarkhán-náma*, in the endeavour to be exact, has complicated matters still further.

The *Tohfatu-l-kirám* (p. 41) says that the subsequent action took place "on the stream called 'Alján, which flows below T'hatta," but does not mention whether this was the same stream near which Sháh Bég encamped: though from the context we may be allowed to presume that it was. The *Tárikh-i-Táhirí* is more specific, and states (p. 48) that "he encamped on the bank of Khánwáh, that is, the canal of water which Daryá Khán had dug, for the purpose of populating the Pargana of Sámkúrá

and other lands at the foot of the hills, and the environs of the city."

It is evident, therefore, that Sháh Bég pitched his camp, not on the main stream, but on one of the canals, or little effluents, from the Indus. The Ghizrí, or Ghara, creek is too far to the westward; though it is represented in some maps as running up as far as the Indus itself, and joining it above T'hatta. Indeed, there still exist traces of its having been met by a stream from the river at no very remote period, and, during the inundations, the city is even now sometimes insulated from this cause. In the absence of any more precise identification, we may safely look to this deserted bed as corresponding with the ancient 'Alján, and suiting best the position indicated.

Authorities differ about the date of Sháh Bég's crossing this river and capturing T'hatta, by which an end was put to the dynasty of the Jáms, or Sammas. The *Tárikh-i-Sind* says it occurred in the month of Mubarram, 926. The *Tárikh-i-Táhirí* is silent. The *Tarkhán-náma* says, Mubarram, 927—corresponding with December, 1520; differing only in the day of the month from the *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, where the correctness of this latter date is established by an appropriate chronogram:—

Kharábí Sind.

THE DOWNFALL OF SIND.

The *Tárikh-i-Táhirí* (p. 51) refers this chronogram to the period when Sháh Husain plundered T'hatta, on the ground of extravagant joy having been evinced by its inhabitants upon the death of his father, Sháh Bég; but this is evidently a mistake, and is adopted merely to accommodate his false chronology.

The death of Sháh Bég Arghún.

Authorities differ greatly respecting the time and place of Sháh Bég's death. The *Tarkhán-náma* states that it occurred in Sha'bán 926 H., not far from Chandúka, said in the *Tárikh-i-Sind* (MS. p. 196) to be thirty coss west of Bhakkar, and that the accession of Mirzá Sháh Husain was celebrated where Sháh Bég died.

Ferishta says, he died in 930 H., but mentions no place.

Mir Ma'súm (MS. p. 154) says, he died after leaving Bhakkar, on his way to Gujarát—in the same page Ag'ham is the particular spot implied,—and that “the month of Sha'bán”—

represents the date of his death, *i.e.*, 928 H. That very night, he adds, Sháh Husain was proclaimed his successor, and, three years afterwards, Sháh Bég's coffin was conveyed to Mecca, where a lofty tomb was erected over it. He mentions (MS. p. 171) that Sháh Husain's succession took place at Nasrpúr, though he has previously led us to suppose it was Ag'ham.

The *Tárikh-i-Táhirí* (MS. p. 49) says his death took place in 924 H.,—“some say it occurred in Multán, some in Kandahár.”

The *Tohfatu-l-kirám* (MS. p. 42) states that he died at Ag'ham on the 23d of Sha'bán, 928 H. It is mentioned in that work also, that this month represents the date of his death. The author gives satisfactory reasons why the reports just quoted from the *Tárikh-i-Táhirí* must necessarily be both incorrect.

Under these conflicting evidences, we may rest assured that the chronogram is correct, and that Sháh Bég Arghún, the conqueror of Sind, died at Ag'ham on the 23rd of the month Sha'bán, 928 A.H.—18th July, 1522, A.D.

The terrors of the Moghul helmet.

The reader of the history of the Crusades will recognise a similar anecdote, relating to a hero more familiar to him than Daryá Khán. The chivalrous Sire de Joinville tells us, that Richard's name acted as a powerful sedative upon the children of the Saracens; and that even their very horses were presumed to start at his shadow :—

“ Le roy Richart fist tant d'armes outremer a celle foyz que il y fu, que quant les chevaus aus Sarrasins avoient pouour d'aucun bisson, leur mestres leur disoient :—‘ *Cuides tu,*’ fesoient ils à leurs chevaus, ‘*que ce soit le roy Richart d’Angleterre ?*’ Et quant les enfans aus Sarrasins bréoiient, elles leur disoient :—‘ *Tay-toy ! tay-toy ! ou je irai querre le roy Richart qui te tuera.*’ ”¹

It is curious that we should learn this from a Frenchman only. Our English chroniclers, who exhaust the language of panegyric in speaking of Richard, omit this anecdote, which appears to be derived from a mere eastern mode of expressing terror.

In the passage taken from the *T. Táhirí* we have not only children taking fright, but women even bringing forth prematurely, at the name of Daryá Khán. The same effect is ascribed in that work (pp. 48, 52) to the Moghul cap :—

“ Such fear of the Moghuls fell upon both men and women, that the men lost all courage, and the women miscarried at the very sight of the Moghuls with their terrific head-pieces.”

And again, in another passage—

are the expressions used; but the shape and feature of this alarming helmet, or *Tákí*, are not described. The *Tohfatu-*

¹ *Hist. du roy St. Loys*, ix, p. 116.—See also MATT. WESTM., p. 304.

l-kirám (p. 42) tells us that even horses started at it, as those of the Saracens at Richard of England.

We might, from the expressions used, conceive that their helmets, like those of Ulysses and some of the barbarous nations of antiquity, were covered with alarming devices of open jaws and fiery dragons, and that the Moghul in Sind stalked about,—

—*tegmen torquens immane leonis*
Terribili imperum setâ cum dentibus albis
Indutus.

—VIRG. *Æn.*, vii, 666.

but had this been the case, we should have most probably had more frequent mention of the circumstance, especially by Khusrú, who was their prisoner, and delighted to record their hideous faces and fashions.

But neither in Khusrú, nor in any other author, do we find notice of such an helmet, or *chapelle de fer*, as would give rise to the fears here depicted. A good European observer of their manners merely remarks that the upper part of their casque was of iron or steel.¹ The tail of hair, if it was worn according to its present dimensions, might, notwithstanding its being honoured as a royalty,² have excited surprise, and perhaps ridicule, but no alarm. From an early period, ever since the Moghul tribes were known to Europe, this appendage has naturally excited observation, just as it does now, where they border on European nations.³

¹ *Galea autem est superius ferrea vel de chalybe, sed illud quod protegit in circuitu collum et gulam de corio est.*—J. DE PLANO-CARPINI, in *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, Tom. iv, p. 687.

² “A Mongol is amenable to punishment if he pluck another by his tuft of hair, not on account of the assault, but because the tuft is declared to be the property of the Emperor.”—PALLAS, *Mongolischen Völker*, Vol. i, p. 194.

³ M. J. DE KLAPROTH, *Voyage au Caucase*, Tom. i, p. 83.

Procopius¹ and Priscus² remark upon it as a peculiarity of the Huns.

It is probable that these Moghuls in Sind may, in their day, have worn a head-dress, such as Rubruquis, more than two centuries before, had attributed to their women. Even at present, the Tarkman female cap is no pigmy, being higher than a military chako, over which a scarf is thrown, reaching down to the waist. But this is nothing to what it was in the time of our adventurous traveller. That was indeed calculated to inspire terror, and produce the results attributed to the *Túki*. It must have been more formidable than European courts ever produced, even in the horned and steeple coiffure of the fifteenth century.

“ Their women have an ornament for their heads, which they call *Botta*, being made of the barke of a tree. . . . It hath a square sharp spire rising from the toppe thereof, being more than a cubite in length, and fashioned like unto a pinnacle. . . . Upon the midst of the sayd spire, or square toppe, they put a bunch of quills or of slender canes, another cubite long, or more. . . . Hereupon, when such gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld afar off, they seem to be souldiers with helmets on their heads, carrying their lances upright; for the sayd *Botta* appeareth like a helmet with a lance over it.”³

This is like the fantastic *fontange* of Europe, raised an ell above the head, and pointed like steeples, which caused our pious preachers infinite trouble, as well as missionary perambulations, for its suppression. So like,

¹ *Historia Arcana*, p. 31, Lugd. 1623.—He says the Massâgetæ adopt the same custom.

² *Excerpta de Legationibus*, 2.

³ RUBRUQUIS, Cap. 8, ap. HAKLUYT, *Voyages & Discoveries*, Vol. 1, p. 108.—The original Latin is given at p. 232, and a similar description by Jean de Plan-Carpin, at p. 615 of the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, above quoted.

indeed, that it would really seem to be derived direct from the eastern model, but that these comical fashions are the product of no particular age or country: for even before the decline of the Empire, the Roman lady—

“*Tot premit ordinibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput; Andromachen a fronte videbis.*”¹

Nevertheless, when we consider that, about the time of the capture of Constantinople, Turkish turbans were all the rage in Western Europe, we may perhaps admit that, had we not become acquainted with Tartar costume, the marvellous absurdity of the steeple-cap never could have been introduced amongst us. Paradin describes it as—

“Made of certain rolls of linen pointed like steeples, about an ell in height. These were called by some great butterflies, from having two large wings on each side resembling those of that insect. The high cap was covered with a fine piece of lawn, hanging down to the ground, the greater part of which was tucked under the arm.”²

This must evidently be the same as the Tartar *Botta*, and the illuminations of that period make the dimensions still more portentous, and the resemblance to the eastern original still more striking. The *paysannes* of Normandy have to this day preserved this monstrous extravagance for the gratification of modern eyes.³

If this was not the Alpine chapeau which spread such dismay in Sind, it may have been the lofty dark sheepskin *Tilpak*, which the Turkmans now wear, about a foot high. An exaggerated form of this would have been alarming enough to produce the effect described.

¹ JUVENAL, *Sat.*, vi, 501.—Ruperti's note gives other instances.

² PARADIN, *Annales de Bourgoigne*, p. 700.

³ WRIGHT, *Archæological Journal*, No. i.—ADDISON, *Spectator*, No. 98.—PLANCHÉ, *Hist. of British Costume*, pp. 146-149, 236-263.—ARGENTRÉ, *Hist. de Bretagne*, livr. x, ch. 42.—BAYLE, *Dict. Histor.*, v. “*Andromaque*,” rem. G., and v. “*Conecte*.”

Dismounting for combat.

We find that the practice of dismounting, previous to coming to close combat, is frequently alluded to in these local histories, as being of common observance among many of the border tribes between Sind and Rájputána.

Here, in the Extract from the *Béglár-náma*, at p. , it is the Sódhas and Rát'hórs who adopt it. A few pages before, we find the Jháréjas of Gujarát, who accompanied Jám Fíróz against Mirzá Sháh Husain, appealing to that custom, as established among themselves;—declaring that they always fought with their enemy on foot.

We have seen above (p.) that Rái Chach and Mahrab of Chitór contend against each other on foot; the former representing that, being a Brahmin, he was unable to fight on horseback: then, again mounting his horse unexpectedly, he slays his antagonist with the most deliberate treachery.

It is probable that the Ráná of Chitór would not have so readily been deceived by this insidious challenge, had it been at all opposed to the military practice of those times. Indeed, to the present day, we find Sindians, unlike most Asiatic nations, still somewhat repugnant to fighting on horseback, and priding themselves more on being foot soldiers than cavalry.

I allude in a subsequent note to the dismounting being followed by binding those fighting on the same side, one to the other, by their waistbands: but this seems to have been resorted to only in desperate circumstances, when there

was no chance, or intention, of escape. The mere dismounting appears not to have been attended with any vow of self-sacrifice.

In Persian history we meet with similar instances of this dismounting to engage in single combat. Thus, after the fatal battle of Kâdesiyya, the Persian general, Takharjân, dismounts to fight with the Arab champion, Zahîr. The *Rauzatu-s-safâ* says :—

The practice was very common in the middle ages in Europe, being introduced chiefly for the purpose of obviating the inconvenience of the cumbersome armour of that period. The cavalry dismounted, leaving their horses at some distance, and combated with their lances on foot. William of Tyre (xvii, 4) says of the Emperor Conrad's cavalry, in the second Crusade :—*De equis descendentes, et facti pedites; sicut mos est Teutonicis in summis necessitatibus bellica tractare negotia.* The English did the same in their engagement with the Scotch, in 1138, near North Allerton, commonly called the Battle of the Standard. Comines also (i, 3) observes upon it as a Burgundian fashion :—*Entre les Bourgignons, lors estoient les plus honorez ceux que descendoient avec les archers.*

In the wars of Edward III, dismounting was not uncommon; and Sir John Hawkwood, one of his knights, the famous partizan leader, disguised by contemporary writers under the name of Aucud or Agutus, introduced it into Italy. And it was, as we learn from Monstrelet (ii, 10, 20), practised by the English in their second wars with France, especially at the battles of Crevant and Verneuil.¹

¹ HALLAM's *Europe in the Middle Ages*, Vol. i, p. 508.

Colligation in fighting.

The extraordinary custom alluded to in the Extract from the *Béglár-náma*, of a devoted band tying themselves together by their waistbands, before fighting *à toute outrance*, is mentioned in the same terms in the *Tárikh-i-Sind* (MS. p. 173).

“ When they saw the army of the Moghuls, they *dismounted from their horses, took their turbans from off their heads, and binding the corners of their mantles, or outer garments, to one another*, they engaged in battle; for it is the custom of the people of Hind and Sind, whenever they devote themselves to death, *to descend from their horses, to make bare their heads and feet, and to bind themselves to each other by their mantles and waistbands.*”

These people appear most of them to have been Sammas; and it is among their descendants in Kach'h that we find this curious custom again alluded to (*Tárikh-i-Sind*, MS. p. 194), when Mirzá Sháh Husain attacked Rái K'hangár. Here we have a new feature added, of serrying shields together like a compact phalanx.

“ The men under K'hangár, having set themselves in battle array, *dismounted from their horses, locked their shields together, seized their spears in their hands, and bound the corners of their waistbands.*”

'The *Tarkhán-náma* omits all mention of the proceedings between Rái K'hangár¹ and Mirzá Sháh Husain, but they are noticed in the *Tohfatu-l-kirám* (MS. p. 194); and the observance of this strange practice is also there alluded to, in words similar to those quoted from the *Tárikh-i-Sind*.

'The dismounting from horseback, prior to actual contact in the field of battle, is mentioned in a previous note of this Appendix, and appears to have been a more common occurrence; but the colligation evidently implies desperation, even unto death.

Some barbarous nations of antiquity seem to have adopted the same practice, but more with the object, apparently, of keeping their ranks unbroken, than symbolising any vow of self-destruction. So, at the battle of Campi Raudii, we read of the Cimbri binding themselves together by long chains run through their belts, avowedly for the purpose of maintaining an unbroken line.² There is good reason to suppose that the Soldurii of Gaul and the Comites of Germany showed their devotion occasionally in a similar fashion.³

Even as late as the days of Chivalry, we find a resort to the same singular mode of showing a desperate resolve to die in the field. See what the heroic king of Bohemia, together with his faithful and devoted companions, did at the glorious battle of Crécy:—

"The valyant kynge of Behaygne (Bohemia), called Charles of Luzenbourge, sonne to the noble Emperour Henry of Luzenbourge, for all that he was nyghe blynde, whan he vnderstode the order of the batayle, he sayde to them about hym, "Where

¹ According to a stanza familiarly quoted in Guzerát, there have been no less than seven Jháréja chieftains of this name. We need not here show which was the opponent of Mirzá Sháh Husain.

² PLUTARCH, *Marius*, Cap. 27.

³ CÆSAR, *Bell. Gall.*, Lib. iii, Cap. 22.—TACITUS, *Germania*, Cap. 14.

is the lorde Charles, my sonne." His men sayde, "Sir, we can nat tell; we thynke he be fightynge." Than he sayde, "Sirs, ye ar my men, my companyons, and frendes in this iourney; I requyre you bring me so farre forwarde, that I may stryke one stroke with my swerde." They sayde they wolde do his commaundement; and to the intent that they shulde nat lese hym in the prease, *they tyed all their raynes of their bridelles eche to other*, and sette the kynge before to accomplysse his desyre; and so they went on their ennemyes. The lorde Charles of Behaygne, his sonne, who wrote hymselfe Kynge of Behaygne, and bare the armes, he cam in good order to the batayle; but whan he sawe that the matter wente awrie on their partie, he departed, I can nat tell you whiche waye. The kynge his father was so farre forewarde, that he strake a stroke with his swerde, ye and mo than foure, and fought valyantly, and so dyde his company; and they adventured themselfe so forewarde, that they were ther all slayne; and the next day they were founde in the place about the kynge, *and all their horses tyed eche to other.*¹

A curious instance occurred even lately, when Muhammed 'Ali gained his victory over the Wahábís at Bissel. Several bodies of the Azir Arabs, who had sworn, by the oath of divorce, not to turn their backs on the Turks, were found by the victors tied together by the legs, with the intent of preventing each other from running away, and in that unbroken and desperate line of battle were literally cut to pieces.²

¹ FROISSART'S *Chronicles*, translated by Lord Berners, Cap. 130, Vol. 1, p. 157.

² SIR H. BRYDGES, *History of the Wahauby*, p. 91.—DR. CRICHTON, *History of Arabia*, p. 602.

Native opinions on the Aborigines of Sind.

These names, which are given in the *Béglár-náma* as three—"Bína, Ták, and Nabúmea,"—amount to four in the *Tohfatu-l-kirám* (MS. p. 4.)—"Banea, Tánk, Múmíd, and Mahmír." They are given from Sindian authorities by Lt. Postans, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (No. cxi, 1841, p. 184,)—as "Nubeteh, Tak, and Moomeed;" and again, by the same author, (No. clviii, 1845, p. 78,) as "Nubuja, Jak, and Momid."

It would be a matter of great interest to restore these tribes correctly, and ascertain the course of their migrations. I can trace the mention of them to no earlier authority than the *Béglár-náma*. All their names, except one, defy positive identification, and we may put the lists of the *Vishnú Purána* and the *Asiatic Researches* through all kinds of contortions, without meeting any race that will yield a sufficient resemblance for our adoption. That single exception is 'Ták,' about which there can be no doubt. 'Bína' may possibly represent 'Mína,' the probable founders of the celebrated Minagara, and the present occupants of the upper Aravalli range. Or if 'Banea' be the correct reading, then the designation may have been applied to them, as being foresters. In 'Múmíd' we may perhaps have the 'Méd' of the Arabs; and in the 'Mahmír' we may chance to have the representatives of the 'Mhairs', or 'Mairs', of Ráj'pútána—if, indeed, they differ from the Méd. We can venture upon nothing beyond these dubious conjectures.

That we should find the 'Ták' in Sind at an early period, is by no means improbable, and if the statement

rested on somewhat better, or more ancient, authority than the *Béglár-náma*, it might be assumed as an undoubted fact, with some degree of confidence.

Tod exalts the Táks to a high and important rank amongst the tribes which emigrated from Scythia to India, making them the same as the Takshak, Nágbansí, or serpent, race, who acted a conspicuous part in the legendary annals of ancient India. His speculations, some of which are fanciful and some probable, may be found in the passages noted below.¹ One thing is certain, that the Táks are progenitors of the Musulmán Kings of Guzerát, before that province was absorbed into the Empire of Akber. This fact we learn from the *Mirát-i-Sekanderi*, in the following passage :—

It will be observed that an origin is here ascribed to the name which purely fictitious, for it is needless to say that the name of 'Ták' must have long preceded the imaginary expulsion of the obnoxious member of the tribe. The same origin is, with more probability, assigned to the Tagás of the N.W. Provinces, as being expelled (*tyági*) from the Bráhmanical tribe. Respecting these, I have written at length elsewhere.

Tod observes, that with the apostacy of the Ták, when Wajíhu-l-mulk was converted, and became the founder of the Muhammedan dynasty of Guzerát, the

¹ *Annals of Rajast'han*, Vol. i, pp. 53, 92, 95, 99, 103-6, 536, 673, 738, 739, 796, 800, and Vol. ii, pp. 225, 227, 445, 678, 735.

His ardent admirer, Mr. E. Pococke, exalts them still higher, by misspelling their name :—"The Tág is a renowned Rajpoot tribe. The Toga of the Rámas was the dress worn by this tribe! The race was the TAGA-DES (TOGA-TUS), that is, Tagland!! The GENA TAGATA, or GENS TOGATA, that is, the Tág RACE"!!!—*India in Greece*, p. 172.

name appears to have been obliterated from the tribes of Rájast'hán, and that his search had not discovered one of that race now existing:—but there are Tâks amongst the Bhangís, who, though of spurious descent, have evidently preserved the name. There are also Tánk Rájpúts in the central Doáb and lower Rohilk'hand, whose privileges of intermarriage show them to be of high lineage; and there is a tribe of nearly similar name existing near Jambhú, not far from their ancient capital Takshak-sila, or Taxila; of which the position is most probably to be sought between Mánikyála and the Súán River, notwithstanding some plausible and ingenious objections which have been raised against that opinion.¹

¹ On this interesting and much-vexed question, consult MANNERT, *Geographie der Gr. und Römer*, Vol. v, p. .—RITTER, *Asien*, Vol. iv, pt. i, p. 451.—*Asiatic Res.*, Vol. viii, pp. 346, 348.—*Modern Traveller*, "India," Vol. i, p. 119.—*Annals of Raj.*, Vol. i, pp. 92, 104, 693; ii, 227.—*Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. v, p. 118; xi, 157.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 64, 107.—LASSEN, *Indische Alterth.*, Vol. ii, p. 145.—M. STAN. JULIEN, *Hist. d' Hiouensthang*, p. 43,—and above all, J. ABBOTT, *Journal A. S. Bengal*, 1852, pp. 216-218, 254-263; in which work, Taxila has frequently formed the subject of discussion.

Armá-bél.

The name of this place frequently occurs during the early period of Arab connection with Sind; but neither its orthography nor position can be established with any certainty. The *Chach-náma*, in different passages, calls it 'Armáel,' 'Armaná-Bíl,' 'Armapilla,' and 'Armábél.'¹ The *Futúhu-l-buldán* has 'Armáníl';² which M. Reinaud reads 'Armâyl,' but considers the true reading to be 'Armâhyl,' for the reason given in the note.³ *Ibn Haukal* has 'Azmáníl,' 'Arináníl,' 'Armátél,' or something similar;⁴ but his translator reads it as 'Armâil,' and suggests 'Armâbil' as preferable.⁵ The *Nubian Geographer* has 'Armíyáel,' and 'Armáyíl'; which his translator gives as 'Ermail.'⁶ The translator of *Edrisí* has the same.⁷ *Abú-l-fedá*, with his usual pretensions to accuracy, pronounces it 'Armábil.'⁸ *Ouseley* prefers 'Armaiel.'⁹

¹ *Chach-náma*, MS. pp. 47, 74, 92, 102.

² *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 167.

³ *Candábyl* et *Armábyl* sont peut-être l'équivalent de *Cand de Abyl*, *Arm de Abyl*. Dans cette hypothèse *Abyl* serait le nom primitif de la province. En effet, *Alestakhry* et *Ibn-Haukal* s'accordent à dire que *Abyl*, ou un mot approchant, sert à désigner un personnage qui jadis régna sur le pays et lui donna son nom.—*Ibid*, p. 192.

⁴ *Arabic*. See GILDEMEISTER, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 28 and 34 of Arabic text.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 177 and 178 of translation.

⁶ *Ibid*; and *Geographia Nubiensis*, p. 56.

⁷ M. JAUBERT, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Tom. I, p. 160.

⁸ *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Texte Arabe, p.

⁹ *Oriental Geography*, p. 147.

An old and rare Persian lexicon writes it as 'Armábal.'¹ One native Sindian history reads 'Azman-béla.'² Another 'Armanbála,' 'Armanpélya,' or some similar name.³

It is not entered in any modern map which I have seen, except that in Rees' *Cyclopædia*, where it receives the name of 'Ermañil';—evidently derived from the map in the French, or Dutch, edition of Abbé Prévost's *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, Vol. xi, where it bears the same name, and is apparently set down from the statement of the Nubian Geographer. It is not in Ouseley's small map, prefixed to his *Epitome of the Ancient History of Persia*, which, however, includes some other names given only by the Arab geographers.

With respect to its locality, we read of Chach's going to it on his way from the Indus to Mekrán, and his finding there a governor on the part of the late ruler of Sind; and we read also of Muhammed Kásim's capturing it on his way from Mekrán to Débal.⁴

Istakhri and Ibn Haukal speak of it as being in the province of Mekrán, and six days' journey from Kaiz, our modern Kedge.⁵ The other Arab geographers, as usual, follow these authorities.

Combining all these several names and statements together, I am disposed to consider that 'Armá-bél' is the ancient and correct reading; and that its name is partly preserved in, while its position corresponds with, the

¹ *Farhang-i-Ibráhimsháhi*, MS. p. 56.

² *Béglár-náma*, MS. p. 18.

³ *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 10.

⁴ *Chach-náma*, *Fragm. Arabes*, and *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, ut *suprà*.

⁵ MORDTMANN, *das Buch der Länder*, p. 7.—MOELLER, *Liber Climatum*, p. 7.—GILDEMEISTER, *de reb. Ind.*, ut *suprà*; and the corresponding passages of the *Ashkálu-l-bilád*, in the first volume of this work.

modern Béla, the capital of the province of Las. It is placed on a considerable eminence—a strong and rocky site on the northern bank of the Puráli (the Arabis of the ancients); and, though it is now partly surrounded by a sorry mud wall, and contains only about 300 houses, there are old Muhammedan sepulchres and other vestiges of antiquity in its neighbourhood, especially about five miles to the westward, which seem to indicate its greater importance at some former period. Coins, trinkets, and funereal jars are occasionally found there; and in the nearest point of the contiguous hills, separating the province of Las from the old town of Jhow, numerous caves and rock-temples exist, ascribed by tradition to Ferhád and the fairies—but which have been considered by an observant traveller to be the earthly resting abodes of the former chiefs, or governors, of the province.¹

What adds much to the probability of this identification is, that Béla is mentioned in the native histories, not simply as Béla, but as Kára-Béla; showing that it has been usual to prefix another name, which is now dropped in ordinary converse.

¹ MASSON'S *Journey to Kalát*, p. 305.—See also his *Travels in Balochistan*, &c., Vol. II, p. 28.

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APPENDIX .—P.

The Kerks.

It will be seen at p. that the pirates whose insolence led to the final subjugation of Sind, are stated, by a very good authority, to be of the tribe of Kerk, Kruk, Kurk, Karak, or some name of nearly similar pronunciation. The reading is too clear to be discarded in favour of 'Kurd,' or 'Coorg,' as has been proposed; and M. Reinaud, while he suggests the latter reading—which has been shown to be highly improbable, on the ground of Coorg being not a maritime, but an inland hilly country—nevertheless informs us that, in the annals of the Arabs, the Kurk are more than once spoken of as desperate pirates, carrying their expeditions even as far as Jidda, in the Red Sea.¹ We must, therefore, necessarily be content to consider them as of Sindian origin, otherwise Rái Dáhir would not have been called to account for their proceedings.

Though the name of Kerk be now extinct, and declared to be entirely incapable of present identification, we must enquire whether we cannot find any trace of their having occupied the banks of the Indus at some remote period. And, first of all, the resemblance of the name of Krokala, which has conspicuous mention in the voyage of Nearchus, is sufficiently striking to attract our observation. Dr. Vincent and Heeren consider Krokala to be the modern Karáchí. A later authority says Chalna, a small rocky island, about four miles from Cape Monze.² Neither of

¹ *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 181.

² *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, Vol. i, p. 194.—*Asiatic Nations*, Vol. ii, p. 246.—*Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, Vol. v, p. 264.—*RITTER, Asien*, Vol. iv, part i, p. 479.

these authorities knew that there is at present a large insular tract, which bears the name of Kakrála, at the mouth of the Indus, answering exactly all the requirements of Arrian's description—"a sandy island, subject to the influence of the tides."¹ It is situated between the Wanyáni and Pittí mouths of the river; but modern travellers differ about its precise limits. Capt. Postans places it further to the west, and makes it include Karáchi.² This is no shifting, or modern, name. We can see from the *Ayín-i-Akberí*, and from some of the Extracts in this volume, that it has been known, and similarly applied, for the last three centuries, at least; and it may, without question, be regarded as the Krokala of Arrian. Its origin is easily accounted for, by conceiving it to mean the 'abode of the Krok,' or whatever their real designation may have been, before its perversion by the Greeks. The only other vestige of the name is in Karaka, a place three miles below Haidarábád.

In pointing out another possible remnant of this ancient name, I am aware I shall be treading on dangerous and very disputable ground. Nevertheless, let us at once, without further preliminary, transfer ourselves to the north-eastern shores of the Euxine sea, where we shall find, among other peoples and places recalling Indian associations, the tribe of Kerketæi or Kerketæ³—the bay of

¹ NEARCHI *Parapulus*, p. 4.—PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 21.

² *Personal Obs. on Sindh*, p. 24.—McMURDO, *Journ. R. Geog. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 212.—BURNES, *Travels to Bokhara*, Vol. III, p. 12.—*L'Univers Pittoresque*, "Inde," p. 68.

³ HELLANICUS, *Fragm.* 91.—SCYLAX CARYAND., *Periplus*; ed. Hudson, p. 31.—STRABO, *Geograph.*, xi, 2; ed. Tauchnitz, Vol. II, pp. 399, 406.—DIONYS., *Perieg.* v. 682.—Pallas and Reinegg consider that the Charkas, or Circassians, derive their name from the Kerketæ. They certainly occupy the same sites.

Kerketis¹—the river of Korax²—the mountains of Korax³.—the town of Korok-ondame⁴—the river and peninsula of Korok-ondame⁵—the sea, or lake, of Korok-ondametis⁶—the tribe of Kerketiki⁷—the city of Karkinitis⁸—the city of Karkine⁹—the bay of Karkinitis¹⁰—the city of Kirkæum¹¹—the river of Karkenites¹²—the region of Kerketos¹³—the tribe of Koraxi¹⁴—the wall of Korax¹⁵—and other similar names,—all within so narrow a compass, as to show, even

¹ PTOL., *Geogr.*, v, 8.

² PTOL., *Geogr.*, v, 9.

³ PTOL., *Geogr.*, *ib.* and iii, 6.—PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 9, 12.—POMPON. MELA, *de situ Orbis*, i, 19; iii, 5.

⁴ STRABO, *Geogr.*, *ib.*, p. 403.—PTOL., *Geogr.*, v, 9.—STEPHANUS BYZANT., *Ethnica*, s.v.

⁵ STRABO, *Geogr.*, *ib.*—POMPON. MEL., i, 19.—DIONYS. *Perieg.*, 550.

⁶ STRABO, *Geogr.*, *ib.*—STEPH. BYZ., s.v.

⁷ POMPON. MELA, i, 19.—PRISCIAN, *Perieg.*, 663.

⁸ STEPH. BYZ., v. Κακινίτις.—HEROD., iv, 99.

⁹ PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, iv, 26.—PTOL., *Geogr.*, iii, 5.

¹⁰ STRABO, *Geogr.*, vii, 3; *ib.* p. 90.—POMPON. MEL., ii, 1.—ARTEMIDORI *Fragm.*, p. 87.

¹¹ PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 4.—*Etymolog. Magnum*, v. Κίρκαιον.—APOLL. RHOD., *Argon.*, ii, 400; iii, 200.

¹² PTOL., *Geogr.*, iii, 5.

¹³ EUSTATHIUS, ad DIONYS. *Perieg.*, 682.

¹⁴ HECATÆUS, *Fragm.*, 185.—SCYLAX CARYAND., *Periplus*, p. 31.—STEPH. BYZ., s.v.

¹⁵ BAYER, *de Uuro Cauc.*—REINEGGS, *Histor.-Topograph. Beschreibung d. Kaukasus*, Tom. I, p. 16.—STEPH. BYZ., v. Κόραξοι.

The common names of Charax, and its compounds, Characene, Characoma, &c., in Syria, Asia Minor, and along the course of the Euphrates and Tigris, offer an inviting resemblance, but have no connection with these. The origin of these names is, curiously enough, both Hebrew and Greek: *Hebrew*, signifying a 'wall,' or 'fortress;' *χάραξ*, a 'fosse.' The Kerak, or Karac, which we so often read of in the history of the Crusades, is derived from the former.

allowing many to be identical, that they can have but one origin, derived from the same fundamental root—Kerk, Kurk, Karak, Korak, Kark—retaining immutably the same consonants, but admitting arbitrary transpositions, or perhaps unsettled pronunciations, of unimportant vowels.

It may be asked what connection these names can possibly have with our Sindian stock. Let us, then, carry the enquiry a little further, and many more Indian resemblances may be traced;—for, next to these wild Kerketiki, we are struck with finding the very Sindians themselves:—

KERKETIKIQUE, *ferox ea gens, SINDIQUE superbi*.¹

We have also a Sindikus portus²—a town of Sindia³—the tribe of Sindiani⁴—the town of Sindica⁵—the tract of Sindike⁶—the town of Sindis⁷—the tribe of Sindones⁸—the town of Sindos⁹—the tribe of Sinti.¹⁰ Here, again, it may be admitted, that some of these may be different names for the same tribes and the same places.

¹ ORPHEI *Argonautica*, Cribelli versio, v. 1049.—See also HEROD., iv, 28.—APOLLON. RHOD., *Argonaut.*, iv, 322.—STRABO, *Geogr.*, xi, 2, *ib.* p. 403.—VAL. FLACC., *Argon.*, vi, 86.

² SCYLAX CARYAND., *Periplus*, p. 31.—STRABO, *Geog.*, *ib.* p. 406.—PTOL., *Geogr.*, v, 9.—STEPH. BYZ., v. Σύνδικος. This is still called Sindjak, a haven near Anapa. Rennell's map makes it correspond with Anapa itself.

³ PTOL., *Geogr.*, v, 9.

⁴ LUCIAN, *Toxaris*, c. 55.

⁵ HEROD., iv, 86.—PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 5.

⁶ STRABO, *ib.* pp. 399, 403, 404.

⁷ HESYCHIUS, *Lex.*, s.v.

⁸ POMPON. MELA, i, 19.

⁹ POMPON. MELA, i, 19.

¹⁰ SCYLAX CAR., *Periplus*, *ib.*—HESYCHIUS, *Lex.* s.v.—POLYÆNUS, *Stratagem.*, viii, 55.

The old reading of the passage in Herodotus, where the Sindi are mentioned (iv. 28), was originally Indi, but commentators were so struck with the anomaly of finding Indians on the frontiers of Europe, and they considered it so necessary to reconcile the historian with geographers, that they have now unanimously agreed to read Sindi, though the reading is not authorized by any ancient manuscripts. It is impossible to say what is gained by the substitution; for Sindi must be themselves Indians, and the difficulty is in no way removed by this arbitrary conversion. Hesychius, moreover—no mean authority—says that the Sindi of the Euxine were, in reality, Indians;—nay more, though writing two centuries before our Kerks are even named or alluded to, he expressly calls the Kerketæ also ‘an Indian nation.’¹

It has been remarked, that, even if no such direct testimony had been given, the hints that remain to us concerning the character and manners of these Sindi, the peculiar object of their worship, and their dissolute religious rites and sorceries, would leave no doubt as to the country from which they were derived.

It is from this region that the Indian merchants must have sailed who were shipwrecked in the Baltic, and presented by the king of the Suevi, or of the Batavi, to L. Metellus Celer, the pro-consul of Gaul; for they could not have been carried round from the continent of India to the north of Europe by the Ocean. Various solutions of this difficulty have been attempted. It has been surmised that they might have been Greenlanders, or mariners from North America, or even painted Britons; but the fact cannot be disputed, that they are called plainly ‘Indians’ by all the authors who have recorded the

¹ Σίνδοι, Ἰνδοί 'Ινδικόν. Κερκίται, Ἰνδοί 'Ινδικόν. Conf. Interprett. HESYCH., Vol. II, p. 234.

fact, however improbable their appearance in those regions might have been.¹

Their nautical habits were no doubt acquired originally in the Indian Ocean, and were inherited by generations of descendants. It is even highly probable that their inveterate addiction to piracies, which led to the Muhammedan conquest, and has only now been eradicated by the power of the British, may have been the cause of this national dislocation,—which no sophistry, no contortion of reading, no difficulty of solution, can legitimately redargue. The very term of *ignobiles*, applied to them by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 8), and the curious expressions used by Valerius Flaccus (vi. 86),—

*Degeneresque ruunt Sindi, glomerantque, paterni
Crimine nunc etiam metuentes verbera, turmas,—*

imply a punishment and degradation, which are by no means sufficiently explained by reference to the anecdotes related by Herodotus (iv. 1-4), and Justin (ii. 5).²

Whether this degradation adheres to any of their descendants at the present time, will form the subject of a future essay; but before closing the subject of these early Indian piracies, we should not omit to notice the evident alarm with which they always inspired the Persian monarchy, even in the days of its most absolute power. Strabo and Arrian inform us, that in order to protect their cities

¹ Qui, ex Indiâ commercii causâ navigantes, tempestate essent in Germaniâ abrepti.—PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, ii. 67. Compare POMPON. MEL., *de sit. Orb.*, iii. 5. The original authority is CORNELIUS NEPOS, *Fragmenta*, p. 731; ed. A. VAN STAVEREN, Lug. Bat., 1734; where the Notes should be consulted. See also RAMUSIO, *Navigat. et Viaggi*, Tom. i, p. 373 D.

² UKERT, *alte Geographie*, Vol. III, pt. ii, pp. 494-496, 510.—W. D. COOLEY, *Maritime and Inland Discovery*, Vol. i, pp. 82-87.—*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.*, Tom. vi, p. 263; XLVI, 403.—M. VIV. DE ST MARTIN, *Etudes de Géographie ancienne*, Tom. i, p. 273.

against piratical attacks, the Persians made the Tigris entirely inaccessible for navigation. The course of the stream was obstructed by masses of stone, which Alexander, on his return from India, caused to be removed for the furtherance of commercial intercourse. Inspired by the same dread—and not from religious motives, as has been supposed—the Persians built no city of any note upon the sea-coast.¹

We may here make a passing allusion to another memorial of Indian connection with these parts. The southern neighbours of these Euxine Sindi were the Kolchians. C. Ritter, in his *Vorhalle*, quoted at the end of this Note, asserts that they came originally from the west of India. Pindar² and Herodotus³ both remark upon the darkness of their complexion. The latter also mentions that they were curly-headed. He states that he had satisfied himself, not only from the accounts of others, but from personal examination, that they were Egyptians, descended from a portion of the invading army of Sesostris, which had either been detached by that conqueror, or, being wearied with his wandering expeditions, had remained, of their own accord, near the river Phasis. He also mentions the practice of circumcision, the fabrication of fine linen, the mode of living, and resemblance of language, as confirmatory of his view of an affinity between these nations. He has been followed by Diodorus and other ancient writers, as well as many modern scholars, who have

¹ STRABO, *Geograph.*, xvi, 1. *ib.*, Vol. III, p. 338.—ARRIAN, *Expedit. Alex.*, vii, 7.—AMM. MARCELLINUS, xxiii, 6.—ROBERTSON *Ancient India*, Note x.—RITTER, *Asien*, Vol. x, pp. 24-32. Heeren and others have questioned whether these dikes were not rather maintained for the purposes of irrigation.

² Κελαινώπιοι Κόλχοισιν.—*Pyth.*, iv, 378. The Scholiast dwells on the subject.

³ *Hist.*, ii, 104.—See also EUSTATHIUS ad DIONYS., *Perieg.*, 689.

endeavoured to account for this presumed connection.¹ I will not lengthen this Note by pursuing the enquiry; but will merely remark that this Egyptian relationship probably arises from some confusion, (observable in several other passages of Herodotus), respecting the connection between the continents of India and Ethiopia,—which pervaded the minds of poets and geographers from Homer² down to Ptolemy,³—or rather down to Edrisi and Marino Sanuto;⁴ and which induced even Alexander, when he saw crocodiles in the Indus, although their existence therein had already been remarked by Herodotus, to conceive that that river was connected with the Nile, and that its navigation downwards would conduct into Egypt.⁵

¹ *Bibl. Hist.*, i, 28, 55.—*APOLLON. RHOD., Argon.*, iv, 259-271.—*STRABO, Geogr.*, xi, 2. *ib.*, p. 409.—*VAL. FLACC., Argon.*, v, 421. *FEST. AVIEN., Deser. Orbis*, 871.—*AMM. MARC.*, xxii, 8.—*UKERT, alte Geogr.*, Vol. iii, pt. ii, p. 509.—*ST. MARTIN, loc. cit.*, pp. 255-270.

² *Il.*, xxiii, 205; *Odys.*, i, 23.

³ *Geograph.*, vii, 3, 5. There had been a decided retrogression in the system of Ptolemy; for Herodotus, Strabo, and some others had a far correcter knowledge of the Southern Ocean.

⁴ *VINCENT, Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 568, 664-8.—*M. JAUBERT, Géog. d'Edrisi*, Tom. , p. — *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Vol ii, p. .

⁵ *STRABO, Geograph.*, xv, 1, Vol. iii, p. 266.—*ÆRIAN, Expedit. Alex.*, vi, 1.—*GEIER, Alex. M. Historiarum Scriptores*, p. 118.

It is fair to remark, that such ignorance is not reconcileable, either with the general arrangement of Alexander's plans, or with the real geographical knowledge which his inquisitive mind must have imbibed. Respecting the supposed geographical connection of these two countries, see *SCHAUFFELBERGER, Corpus Script. Vet. qui de India scripserunt*, 1845, p. 12.—*SIR J. STODDART, Introd. to the study of Un. Hist.*, pp. 112, 218.—*SCHWANBECK, Megasthenis Fragmenta*, pp. 1-5, 64.—*DR. SMITH's Diet. of Geogr.*, v. "Arabic Sinus"

It is admitted that grave objections may be raised, and have been urged with some force, against carrying these presumed analogies too far; and sceptics are ready to exclaim with Fluellen, "there is a river in Macedon, and there is also, moreover, a river at Monmouth: * * * and there is salmons in both." But, while some have endeavoured to trace indications of a direct Indian connection between the inhabitants of the Euxine shores and India, on the ground of such names as Acesines,¹ Hypanis,² Kophes, or Kobus,³ Typhaonia,⁴ Phasis,⁵ Caucasus, and such like, being found in both one country and the other; and while the resemblance between the worship of Odin and Buddha has been strongly urged by similar

and "Asia."—GILDEMEISTER, *Script. Arab. de rebus Indicis*, pp. 27, 145.—HUMBOLDT, *Cosmos* (Sabine), Vol. II, Note 419.—D'ANVILLE, *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 187.—COOLEY, *Mar. and Inland Discov.*, Vol. I, pp. 113, 128, 150.—VALENTIN, *Beschryving van Oost-Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 62.—ROBERTSON'S *India*, Note xxxii.—CTESIÆ *Operum Reliquiæ*, ed. BAEHE, pp. 309, 354. These quotations do not refer to the large and interesting question of their civil, religious, and ethnographical affinities, which Heeren, Bohlen, and others have treated of in learned disquisitions.

¹ A river of Sicily.—THUCYD., *Bell. Pelop.*, iv, 25.

² A western tributary of the Dneiper, according to Herodotus. Also, the name of another river which fell into the Pontus Euxinus. HEROD., iv, 17, 52.—OVID, *Pont.*, iv, 10, 47; *Metamorph.*, xv, 285.

³ A river on the eastern shore of the Euxine.—PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 4.—ARRIAN. *Perip.*, p. 10.

⁴ Rocky mountains in the Caucasus and India.—*Etymol. Magn.* s.v. *Τυφάονια*.

⁵ A river of Scythia, as well as of Kolchis and of Taprobane.—PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, x, 48.—VAL. FLACC., *Argon.*, ii, 596.—PAUSAN., iv, 44.—STEPH. BYZ., v. *Φάσις*. Respecting the Kolchis of Southern India, see DR. SMITH'S *Dict. of Geography*, v. "Colchis" and "Colchi Indiæ."

advocates;¹ it may, on the other hand, and with great reason, be asserted, that these names are not local in India, and that they have generally been grafted on some Indian stock, offering a mere partial likeness, either through the ignorance of the Greeks, or with the view of flattering the vanity of Alexander, by shifting further to the eastward the names and attributes of distant places, already removed almost beyond mortal ken and approach, and lying far far away—

extra flammantia mœnia mundi?

In the grossness of their indiscriminate adulation, they were at all times ready to ascribe to that conqueror the obscure achievements of mythical heroes, whose glory was inseparably connected with certain streams and mountains, which even they, in the plenitude of their power, had found it no easy matter to traverse and surmount. Strabo, indeed, informs us that the Argonautic monuments were industriously destroyed by Alexander's generals, from a ridiculous alarm lest the fame of Jason might surpass that of their master. Parmenio is especially mentioned both by him and Justin, as one whose jealousy was prompted to destroy several temples erected in honour of Jason. "in order that no man's name in the east might be more venerable than that of Alexander."²

¹ This Odin-Buddha-Hy̅pothesis, as the Germans call it, has been, perhaps, somewhat too readily condemned by Remusat, Klaproth, A. W. Schlegel, Ukert, and others. Compare *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. , p. .—*Fundgruben des Or.*, Vol. iv., p. 201.—*Asia Polyglotta*, p. 144.—*Introd. to Univ. Hist.*, ut sup., pp. 275-8.—FINN MAGNUSSEN, *Mythologiæ Lexicon*, Copenhagen, 1848.

² Compare on this subject, STRABO, *Geogr.*, vii, 35; xi, 2, Vol. II, p. 77, 408.—The Scholiast upon APOLLON. RHOD., *Argon.*, ii, 397, 417.—UKERT, *alte Geographie*, Vol. III, pt. ii, pp. 205, 505.

³ JUSTIN, *Hist. Phil.*, xlii, 8.—STRABO, *Geogr.*, xi, 5, Vol. II, p. 421; xi, 11, p. 441; xi, 14, p. 456; xv, 1, Vol. III, p. 253; xvi, 4, p. 412.—ARRIAN, *Indica*, ii; *Exped. Alex.*, v, 3.

Hence, it has been justly remarked, even by early writers, open to the influence of reason and philosophy, and guided by the results of an extended observation, that the Greeks have transposed these localities upon very slender foundations, and that "many of the barbaric names have been *Hellenized*."¹

We find frequent instances of the same tendency to corruption in our own Oriental nomenclature, but with even greater perversions. Thus, we have heard our ignorant European soldiery convert Shekhawatí into 'sherry and water'—Siráju-d-daula into a belted knight, 'Sir Roger Dowler'—Dalíp into 'Tulip'—Sháh Shujá'u-l-mulk into 'Cháh sugar and milk'—and other similar absurdities; under which, in like manner, "many of the barbaric names have been *Anglicized*."

But when we apply the same argument to the cases under consideration, we shall see it has no force; for here there has been no room for the corruptions and flatteries to which allusions have been made; nor did it ever occur to the Greeks to enter upon the same comparisons which are engaging our attention. When we carry these identifications yet further, we shall find names with which the Greeks were not even acquainted; and it is not between streams, towns, and mountains, that the similitudes exist, but between peoples in the one country and places in the other,—the latter known, the former unknown, to ancient historians and geographers,—who have, therefore, left the field open for moderns alone to speculate in.

Now, it is not merely in the two instances already adduced that these striking monuments of connection attract

¹ NIKANOR, in STEPH. BYZ., *Ethnica*, v. *Távaç*. Compare HESYCH., *Lex.* v. *Σανδαροφάγος*.—SCHLEGEL, *Ind. Bibliothek*, Vol. II, p. 297.—DROYSEN, *Geschichte Alex.'s*, p. 405.—WESSELIING, ad DIOD. SIC., xvii, 83.—BERNHARDT, ad DIONYS., *Perieg.*, 714.

our observation; but, when we also find the Maidi next to the Sindi and Kerketæ¹—a tribe of Arii or Arichi²—an island of Aria or Aretias³—a river Arius⁴—a tribe of Maetes or Mæotai⁵—a town of Madia⁶—a town of Matium⁷—a tribe of Matiani⁸—a town of Mateta⁹—a tribe of Kottæ¹⁰—a

¹ (PSEUDO-) ARISTOT., *de Mirabil. Auscultat.*, c. 123. The Sindi were by some authors considered to be a remnant of the Maiotæ.—STEPH. BYZ., v. Σινδοί.—STRABO, *Geogr.*, xi, 2, *ib.* Vol. II, p. 404. This extraordinary juxtaposition of Sindi and Maidi again occurs in Thrace.—See THUCYD., *Bell. Pelop.*, ii, 98. Respecting the Sindi, Sindus, Sintica, and similar names in Thrace and Macedonia, see HEROD., vii, 123.—CÆSAR, *Bell. Civ.*, iii, 79.—LIV., *Hist. Rom.*, xxvi, 25; xl, 22; xlv, 46; xlv, 29.—POLYBIUS, *Excerpt.*, x, 37.—PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, iv, 10.—STEPH. BYZ., v. Σινρία. Homer tells us also of Sintians on Lemnos, who ‘spoke a strange language.’—*Il.* i, 594; *Od.* viii, 294; and they had before his time been noticed by Hellanicus of Lesbos.—*Fragmenta*, 112, 113. From these, the Scholiast on Thucydides says, that the Thracian Sindians were derived. More Indian families might be mentioned in Lycia and other intermediate countries, but enough has been adduced on the subject to suit our present design.

² STRABO, *Geogr.*, *ibid.*—STEPH. BYZ., v. Ἀρήχοι.—PTOL., *Geogr.*, v, 9.

³ APOLLON. RHOD., *Argon.*, ii, 103.—PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, v, 13.

⁴ SCYL. CARYAND., p. 32. The connection of the Arii and Maidi will be developed in the following Note.

⁵ SCYMNUS CHIU, 870.—STRABO, ii, 5; xi, 2.—PRISCIAN. *Perieg.*, 644. As for the lake Mæotis being so called, as Herodotus (iv, 86) says, because it is the *mother* of the Pontus, it is surprising that so frivolous a reason has met favour with modern geographers. See, on this name, ZEUSS, *die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 296.

⁶ PTOL., *Geogr.*, v, 9.

⁷ PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 4.

⁸ POMPON. MEL., *de sit. Orb.*, i, 2.

⁹ PTOL., *Geogr.*, v, 8.

¹⁰ PTOL., *Geogr.*, vi, 7.

country of Kutaïs¹—a city of Kuta²—a city of Kutaia³—a tribe of Kolchi⁴—a district of Kolchis⁵—a Kolchian sea⁶—a tribe of Koli⁷—the mountains of Koli⁸—a district of Koli⁹—a province of Iberia¹⁰—a tribe of Iberes¹¹—a tribe of Bounomai¹²—a district of Minyas¹³—a city of Male¹⁴—a tribe of Baternæ¹⁵—a river of Bathys¹⁶—a port and town of Bata¹⁷;—when we find all these names in close juxtaposition, reminding us in their various forms of our own

¹ ORPHEI *Argonaut.*, 824, 1009.—APOLLON. RHOD., *Argonaut.*, ii, 399, 403; iv, 511.

² LYCOPHREON, *Cassandra*, 174.—STEPH. BYZ., v. *Κύτα*.—EUSTATH., ad. *Il.*, iv, 103.

³ VAL. FLACCUS, *Argon.*, vi, 428, 693.—*Etymol. Mag.*, p. 77.

⁴ HEROD., ii, 104.—DIOD. SIC., i, 28.—PINDAR, *Pyth.*, iv, 378.

⁵ STRABO, xi, 2, *ib.* p. 408.—PTOL., v, 10.—POMP. MELA, i, 19.

⁶ STRABO, *ib.* p. 399.

⁷ SCYL. CAR., *Periplus*, p. 31.—STEPH. BYZ., v. *Κῶλοι*.

⁸ A portion of the Caucasus.—HECATÆUS, *Fragm.*, 161, 186.—STEPH. BYZ., *ib.*

⁹ STEP. BYZ., *ib.*—PTOL., *Geogr.*, vi, 5.

¹⁰ PTOL. *Geogr.*, v, 9.—VAL. FLACC., *Argon.*, vi, 120.—PLINY, PLUTARCH, POMPONIVS MELA, &c.

¹¹ STRABO, *Geogr.*, xi, 2, p. 406; 3, p. 412.—APPIAN, *Mithridates*, 101, 116.

¹² ORPHEI *Argonautica*, v, 1036. Their relation to the bucolic Abhirs, or Ahirs as we now call them, will be obvious to any one who has resided in India.

¹³ SERVIUS ad VIRGIL., *Eclog.*, iv, 34.

¹⁴ SCYLAX CARYAND., *Periplus*, p. 32. and the note of Vossius, p. 42.

¹⁵ VALER. FLACC., *Argon.*, vi, 70.

¹⁶ PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, vi, 4.—PEUTINGER., *Tab.*, Segm. vii. This may be derived, as is usually supposed, from βαθὺς 'deep.'—Dr. Falconer's transl. of the *Periplus of the Euxine Sea*, p. 44.

¹⁷ SCYL. CARYAND., *Peripl.*, p. 31.—STRABO, *Geogr.*, *ib.* p. 406.—PTOL., *Geogr.*, v, 9.

Méds—Kát'his—Koles—Abhirs—Mínas—Mallians—and Bhatís—tribes familiar to us as being, at one time, in and near the valley of the Indus;—and when we consider, moreover, that all these different names, including the Sindi and Kerketæ, were congregated about the western region of the Caucasus, within a space scarcely larger than the province of lower Sind;—and when, again, we reflect upon the curious coincidence, that Pliny¹ calls the former province “Scythia Sendica,” while Ptolemy² calls the latter “Indo-Scythia”; that, even as late as the fifth century, the judicious ecclesiastical historian, Socrates,³ as well as the accurate geographer, Stephanus,⁴ continued to call the former by the name of “India,”—it is very difficult to resist the conviction, that these cumulative instances of combinations and affinities cannot be altogether accidental, or the mere result of diligent and ingenious exploration.

But, even allowing that all these miscellaneous instances of resemblance, brought forward in the preceding paragraph, are indeed purely fortuitous,—and it is willingly acknowledged that there is ‘ample room and verge enough’ for a sharp eye, a nice ear, and a playful fancy, in the selection of such alliterative illustrations;—even if we reject them altogether as the products of a wild

¹ PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, iv, 26.

² *Geogr.*, vii.—EUSTATHIUS, ad DIONYS., *Perieg.*, 1088.—MANNERT, *Geog. der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. v, p. 220.—ERSCH & GRUBER, *Encycl. der Wissenschaften*, s.v. “Indo-scythia.”—*Nouv. Journ. Asiatique*, 3rd Series, Tom. viii, p. 264.

³ *Eccles. Hist.*, i, 15.—See also the note by Isaac Vossius to SCYLAX CARYAND., p. 40, ap. HUDSON, *Geog. Gr. Min.*, Vol. i; and FRÉRET, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*. Tom. iv, p. 603.

⁴ *Ethnica*, vv. Ῥορύνπρια et Σύνδοκος. See also Is. Tzetzes ad LYCOPHRON, *Cassandra*, 174, where he calls the Kolchians Ἰνδοὶ Σκόθαι.

and dreamy imagination,—and, since they add little to the cogency of our argument, they may be resigned as such without a murmur:—still it is impossible to yield the Sindi, the Kerketæ, or even the Maidi, to the cavils of such an illiberal and hostile spirit of criticism: for, with respect to them, it must be confessed by all but the most obstinately sceptical, that they, at least, stand broadly and prominently forth, as undoubted evidences of actual Indian occupancy on the shores of the Euxine.

It is not the purport of this Note to show how these coincidences could possibly have arisen; how nations, separated by so many mountains, seas, forests, and wastes, could have preserved any signs whatever of original identity, much less of such close approximation in names, as has been here adduced. Ukert, the strongest opponent of this supposed connection between the Caucasus and India, mentions that the ancients are express in asserting that the Indians never sent out of their country any armies or colonies;¹ but migrations might easily have arisen from other causes, and a hint has been thrown out above that, in this particular instance, the expatriation might perhaps not have been altogether voluntary.

In another part of this work I have traced, step by step, the progress of one Indian family from the banks of the Indus to the remotest shores of Europe; and in the following Note upon the Méds, I have shown several instances of compulsory transportations to countries nearly as remote; so that this branch of the enquiry need not engage our attention further in this place;—the object of showing the probable existence of a tribe of Kerks, both on the Indus

¹ STRABO, *Geogr.*, xv, 1, *ib.*, Vol. III, p. 251.—DIOD. SIC., *Biblioth. Histor.*, ii, 38.

and Euxine, having, it is hoped, already been sufficiently proved to the satisfaction of every candid and unprejudiced mind.¹

¹ Compare also WAHL, *Asien*, Vol. i, pp. 793, *et seq.*—MALTE BRUN, *Universal Geography*, Vol. ii, pp. 27-52.—LÜNEMANN, *Descriptio Caucasi*, Gotting., 1803.—ROMMEL, *Caucas. regionum et gentium Straboniana descr.*, Lips., 1804.—RITTER, *Asien*, Vol. ii, p. 622; and *die Vorhalle der Europäischen Völker-geschichten*, pp. 51, 75, 300.—EICHWALD, *Geogr. d. Kasp. Meeres*, p. 303, *et seq.*—BOECKH, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, Vol. ii, pp. 100-110.—M. V. DE ST. MARTIN, *Mém. histor. sur la Géog. anc. du Caucase*, Sect. ii, iii. in *Etudes de Géog.*, Vol. i.—WERT, *Alle Geographie*, Vol. iii, pt. ii, pp. 282-286.—CHRISTOPH. CELLARIUS, *Notitia orbis antiqui*, Vol. ii, pp. 356-367.

The Méds.

We find the Méds frequently mentioned by the Arab authors on Sind, and, together with their rivals the Jats, they may be considered the oldest occupants of that province, who, in their names as well as persons, have survived to our own times.

The first account we have of them is in the *Mujmalu-t-tawárikh*, of which a notice is given in the first volume. That work mentions that the Jats and Méds are reputed to be descendants of Ham, the son of Noah, and that they occupied the banks of the Indus, in the province of Sind. The Méds, who devoted themselves to a pastoral life, used to invade the territories of the Jats, putting them to great distress, and compelling them to take up their abode on the opposite side of the river ; but, subsequently, the Jats, being accustomed to the use of boats, crossed over and defeated the Méds, taking several prisoners and plundering their country.

At last, these two tribes, seeing the inutility of protracting their contests any longer, agreed to send a deputation to Daryódhana, the king of Hastinápúr, begging him to nominate a king to rule over them. Daryódhana accordingly nominated his sister Dassal, the wife of Jayadrat'ha, who exercised the functions of government with great wisdom and moderation. The families and adherents of 30,000 Bráhmans, who were collected from all parts of Hindústán, were sent by Daryódhana to her court, and from that time Sind became flourishing and populous, and many cities were founded. The Jats and the Méds

had separate tracts of land assigned to them, and were governed by chiefs of their own election.

The queen and Jayadrat'ha made the city of 'Askaland their capital, the same place, apparently, which is called in a subsequent passage 'Askaland-úsa—perhaps the U'ch'h of later times, as has been shown in another Note of this Appendix.

Jayadrat'ha was killed in the fatal field of T'hanésar, and his faithful wife ascended the funeral pile, after their reign had continued for more than twenty years. On the same field was extinguished the dynasty called after the name of Bhárata, he being the most celebrated ancestor of Dhritarúshtra, the father of Daryódhana and the Kurus. On the transfer of the empire to the Pándavas, Yudhist'hira conferred Sind upon Sanjwára, the son of Jayadrat'ha and Dassal, and from him Hál was descended.¹ As the Great War, in which these heroes enacted a conspicuous part, has been supposed, on astronomical grounds, to have taken place during the twelfth century B.C.,² we must assign an equal antiquity to their contemporaries the Méds of Sind, if we put faith in this narrative; but as this early settlement is not, in Lassen's opinion, opposed to probability in the case of the Jats, we need not withhold our faith in its correctness with respect to the Méds. Indeed, admitting that the 'Jartikas' of the *Mahábhárata* and the *Puránas* represent the Jats, we cannot but consider the 'Madras' as representing the Méds—confirming

⁻¹ *Fragments Arabes*, pp. 25-27, 36, 37, 42.—See further under the following APPENDIX.

² SIR W. JONES, *Works*, Vol. III, p. 213; VII, 77. Some fix it earlier.—See PRICHARD, *Researches into the Phys. Hist. of Mankind*, Vol. IV, p. 101, *et seq.*—LASSEN, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, p. 499, *et seq.*—PROF. WILSON, *J. A. S. Bengal*, Vol. XIII, p. 81.

thereby the antiquity and synchronism of these two races on the banks of the Indus.¹

During the period of Arab occupation, Muhammed Kásim is represented as making peace with the Méds of Saurashtra, "seafarers and pirates, with whom the men of Basra were then at war." This gives a great extent to their dominion at that period towards the south-east.

In the time of Mu'tasim-b-illah, 'Amrán, the Barmekide, governor of Sind, directed an expedition against the Méds, in which he killed three thousand of them, and constructed an embankment, which he called the Méds' embankment, probably for the purpose of depriving them of the means of irrigation, as was done so effectually in 1762 and 1802 at Mora and Ali Bandar, when the Sindians ruined the prosperity of north-western Kach'h. The word *Sakar*, 'embankment,' is preserved in the town of that name opposite to Rórí—where, however, the mound is a natural limestone formation of about one hundred feet high, and not an artificial causeway.² Nevertheless, we might, if we could be sure that any Méds were then on the western side of the Indus, pronounce this to be the identical locality:—for certainly, in Beládorí, the whole transaction seems to be closely connected with 'Amrán's proceedings against Kandábél and the Jats on the Aral river, not far from Sakar; insomuch that, immediately after settling affairs with them, he returns to attack the Méds, having the chiefs of the Jats in his company. But, as on the occa-

¹ LASSEN, *de Pentapotamiâ Ind.*, p. 20,—and *Indische Alterth.*, Vol. I, pp. 97, 397, 821.—WILSON, *Vishnu Purâna*, pp. —.—*As. Researches*, Vol. VIII, p. 346.—M. VIVIEN DE ST. MARTIN, *Etudes de Géographie ancienne*, Tom. I, p. 337.

² Sakar, or Sak'har, as it now pronounced, is better known to the natives as 'Chipríbandar,' which would imply that it was, in part at least, artificial.

sion of this second attack, he dug a canal from the sea to their lake, rendering their water salt and nauseous, there can be no question of this scene, at least, being in the south-eastern portion of the province, where they were settled in the greatest numbers;—and here, therefore, we must also look for the embankment raised in the first incursion. They are said to have been attacked by 'Amrán from several different directions, and were thus, doubtless, reduced to great extremities.

During the reign of the same Khalif, we find an Arab chieftain, Muhammed-bin-Fazl, who had taken possession of Sindán, in the Abrása district of Kach'h, attacking the Méds with a squadron of seventy vessels:¹ on which occasion he took Málí, of which the position has been identified in another Note with Mália on the Machú. This powerful armament seems to have been directed against the sea-board of the tract invaded by 'Amrán, now occupied by the Ran of Kach'h; where Vígogad, Vingar, and Ballyári, on the northern, and Phangwarri, Nerona, Bitáro, &c., on the southern shore, are all known, both by concurrent native tradition, as well as by independent European observation, to have been once washed by the sea.

All these various expeditions, however, had but little permanent effect in reducing the power of the Méds, for Mas'údí informs us that, when he visited Sind, the inhabitants of Mansúra were obliged continually to protect themselves against their aggressions.²

Ibn Haukal notices them under under the name of Mand, and though, without the diacritical point, the word

¹ *Bárija* in the original. See separate APPENDIX.

² *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, &c., pp. 201, 214, 216.—*Mémoires sur l'Inde*, pp. 43, 50, 188, 215, 234.

might be read Méd, yet as all the MSS., few as they are, concur in this reading, it must be retained. He describes them as dwelling on the bank of the Indus from the borders of Multán to the sea, and in the desert between that river and Fambal, the frontier town of Hind. They had many stations which they occupied as pasture grounds, and formed a very large population, unconverted to the faith. What Abú-l-fedá says of them is taken from this passage, and we do not read of them in any subsequent author.¹

Hence we might suppose that the tribe is entirely extinct, and have left no memorial of their existence, except the passages above quoted. M. Reinaud, indeed, observes that he finds it impossible to apply the name of Méd, or Mand, to any known population, and therefore conceives that the denomination is disfigured. But he is mistaken in this supposition, for the tribe of Méd still exists, both to the east and west of the Indus;² and these on the coast, being unable now to practise piracy after the mode of their ancestors, devote themselves to the more tranquil pursuit of fishing. To the east, we find them roving on the borders of Sind and Jódhpúr, the site of their occupation during the Arab period; and to the west, they are found in the little ports of Mekrán, from Súnmiání to Charbar, divided into the clans of Gazbúr, Hormári, Jellar-zai, and Chelmar-zai.

It is possible that the Méds, or some offshoot of that stock, may have been designated as Mand, for that syllable enters into the name of several native tribes and places existing to this day,—as the Mand-ar, the Mand-hor, the Mind-bro, besides the Belóch tribe of Mond-rání, as well as the ancient towns of Mand-rá and Mand-

¹ GILDEMEISTER, *Script. Arab. de rebus Indicis*, p. 172.

² In the *Ayín-i-Akberí* also we have a tract called after their name within the Sirkár of Hájí Khán.

ropat, in Cháchagám, to the east of the Gúni, Mand-rása to the north of the Makalí hills, and Mund-ra and other similar names in Kach'h.

That the Mérs of the Aravallí mountains and Kát'híwár are descendants of the same family, is also not beyond the bounds of probability. The native pronunciation, especially in the western and north-western provinces of Hindústán, tends so much to an intermixture of the cerebral letters *r* and *d*,—the written character, indeed, being the same in both, and the diacritical marks being a mere modern innovation—that Mér and Méd may be identical; and the addition of the aspirate, which sometimes makes the former into Mhér, or as we commonly write it, Mhair, offers still no argument against identity, for that also is an optional excrescence, especially in the names of peoples and families. For the same reason, the connection of the Mahr of U'báro, and other tracts in the Upper Sind, where they are reckoned by their neighbours as the aboriginal inhabitants of the country between Bhakkar and Baháwalpúr, is equally plausible.¹

Tod pronounces the Mérs to be of Bhattí origin, and derives their name from *Méra*, 'a mountain.' But at the same time that he pronounces them to be Bhattís, he says they are a branch of the Mína, or Maina, one of the aboriginal races of India. These statements are obviously incompatible, and the Bhattí hypothesis must be rejected. During the whole period of their known history, they have been conspicuous for their lawless and predatory habits, from the time when four thousand Mér archers defended

¹ To them may perhaps be ascribed the distinction of giving name to the Mihrán, or Indus.

The old town of Mhar in Kach'h, where there is a temple of great antiquity and celebrity, dedicated to the goddess A'sapúra, may probably trace its origin to a similar source.

their passes against Pirthí-Raj,¹ down to A. D. 1821, when their excesses compelled the British government to attack them in their fastnesses, and reduce them to complete obedience. Since which period, it is gratifying to observe that they have merged from their barbarism, and, under the judicious management of European officers have learnt to cultivate the arts of peace, and set a notable example of industry to the surrounding tribes.

Taking into consideration, therefore, the fact that the Mérs of the Aravalli are but little advanced beyond the tract where the Méds are known, a thousand years ago, to have formed a numerous and thriving population,—that their brethren, the Mínas, can themselves be traced in their original seats to the banks of the Indus,—that Kát'híwár, or the Saurashtran peninsula, was the very nursery of the piratical expeditions for which the Méds were about the same period celebrated and feared, and where Mérs still reside,—we may conclude that, to declare them identical, is doing no great force to reason and probability.²

This simple permutation of a letter—not unnaturally forced, but based upon a law of common observance—introduces us to a new connexion of considerable interest; for we may make bold to claim, as an ancient representative of this race, Meris, or Moeris, the king of Pattala,

¹ With reference to the concluding paragraphs of this Note, the celebrity of Median archery—the *Medi pharetrâ decori*—should be borne in mind. HORAT., Carm. ii., Od. 16.—PROPERT., Lib. iii, Eleg. 11.

² Compare CHR. LASSEN, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1840, Tom. III, p. 189; and *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, p. 369.—TOD, *Annals of Rajast'han*, Vol. I, pp. 680-686; II, 328.—RENOUARD, *Encyclop. Métrop.*, Vol. XX, pp. 40-42.—COL. DIXON, *Report on Mhairwára*, pp. —M. VIVIEN DE SAINT-MARTIN, *Études de Géographie ancienne*, Tom. I, p. 389.

who, on the approach of Alexander, deserted his capital, and fled to the mountains. The site of this town, at the head of the Delta of the Indus, answers well to the position which we may presume the chief of the Méds to have occupied at that period ; and, that the name was not personal, but derived from his tribe, we may be satisfied, from the common practice of Alexander's historians, as exemplified in the instances of Abisares, Porus, Sambus, Musicanus, Assacanus, and Taxiles—who have these names severally attributed to them from the nations, countries, or towns over which they ruled. Dr. Vincent, in admitting, as the etymon of Moeris, the Arabic words *Mir Rais*, 'the ruling chief,' has suffered his too easy credulity to be played upon by an ambitious young orientalist. Bohlen has attempted to trace in the name of Moeris a corruption of *Mahárájá*, 'the great king,' in which he is followed by Ritter ; but, independent of the fact that his kingdom was circumscribed within very narrow limits, he is expressly noticed by Arrian, under the humble title of *ὑπαρχος*, which invariably implies subordination, not supremacy.¹ A more probable, but still unlikely, origin has been suggested, from the tribe of *Maurya*;² but they were far away in the east, remote from Sind, so that altogether locality and verbal resemblance are most favourable to the present hypothesis, that Meris is a Grecised form for the 'chief of the Mérs.'

We may even extend our views to a still more remote period, and indulge in speculations whether this tribe may not originally have been a colony of Medes. There is

¹ Q. CURT. RUF., *De gestis Alex. Mag.*, Lib. ix, ch. 34.—ARRIAN, *Anab.*, Lib. vi, ch. 17.—RITTER, *Die Erdkunde von As.*, Vol. iv, part i, p. 474.—BOHLEN, *das alte Indien*, Vol. i, p. 91.—VINCENT, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. i, p. 157.

² THEOD. BENFEY, *Indien*, p. —M. F. BAUDRY, *Encyclopédie Moderne*, Tom. xviii, coll. 140, 144.

nothing in the distance of the migration which would militate against this supposition, for Herodotus mentions the Sigynnæ as a colony of the Medes settled beyond the Danube:—"How they can have been a colony of the Medes," he observes, "I cannot comprehend; but anything may happen in course of time."¹ The Medians are also said to have accompanied the expedition of Hercules, when he crossed over from Spain into Africa.² The Sauromatæ were Median colonists beyond the Tanais, or Don.³ The Mætienoi, or Matienes,⁴ the Kharimatai,⁵ and possibly the Mares,⁶ were Caucasian colonists from Media, preserving in their names the national appellation of Mata or Maḏai.

They may either have been transplanted to the banks of the Indus when the Medo-Persian empire extended so far to the eastward; or they may have migrated thither at some indefinitely early period; or they may have sought an asylum there upon the occupation of their country by the Scythians; or during the persecution of the Magi, who constituted one of the six tribes of Medes;—just as the Pársis did in Guzerát, at a later period and on similar occasion. It is worthy of remark that Ibn Haukal places the Budhas, or Budhyas, in the same category with the Mand, representing them as comprising several tribes to the west of the Indus. Now, the Budii were also one of the six Median tribes, and the juxtaposition of these two

¹ HERODOTUS, v, 9.

² SALLUST, *Jugurtha*, 14.—*Nouv. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Tom. xii, p. 181, *et seq.*

³ DIOD. SIC., *Bibl. Hist.*, ii, 43.—PLIN., *Hist. Nat.*, vi, 7. See on this subject, ZEUSS, *die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 298.

⁴ DIONYSII *Perieg.*, 1002.—HEROD., i, 189; iii, 94; v, 49, 52.

⁵ STEPHAN. BYZANT., s.v. Χαριμάται.

⁶ HEROD., iii, 94; vii, 97.—STEPH. BYZANT., s.v.

names in the province of Sind should not escape notice; for they also may have formed a body of similar emigrants.¹

All arguments against the probability of such dispersions stand self-confuted, when we consider that Sindians were on the Euxine;² and that—besides the familiar instances of Samaritans and Jews under the Assyrians—we read over and over again in Persian history, of the deportations of entire tribes—expressively termed *ᾠανσπάστοι* by Herodotus.³ Thus, we have the removal of Pæonians to Phrygia;⁴—of Barcæans from Africa to Bactria;⁵—of Milesians to Ampe, near the Tigris;⁶—of Egyptians to Susa;⁷—of Eretrians from Eubœa to Ardericca;⁸—and to Gordyene;⁹—of Antiochians to Mahûza;¹⁰—and others which it would be tedious to specify.

There is another curious coincidence worthy of notice. It is well known, that, from below the junction of the Panjáb rivers down to Sehván, the Indus takes the name of *Sar*, *Siro*, or *Sira*, and from below Haidarábád to the sea, that of *Lár*. It is more correct, but unusual, to add an intermediate division, called Wicholo, ‘central,’ representing the district lying immediately around Haidar-

¹ HERODOTUS, i, 101.—GILDEMEISTER, *de rebus Indicis*, p. 172.

² I have entered on this subject in the preceding Note; and will here merely again remark upon the singular fact of Sindî and Maidi occupying the same tract on the Euxine,—and again the Sinti and Maidi being found in close proximity with each other, even in Thrace.

³ HERODOTUS, iv, 204.

⁴ HERODOTUS, v, 98; vii, 80.

⁵ HERODOTUS, iv, 204.

⁶ HERODOTUS, vi, 20.

⁷ CTESIAS, *Persica*, c. 9.

⁸ HERODOTUS, vi, 119.—PHILOSTRATI *Vita Apollon.*, i, 24-30.

⁹ STRABO, *Geogr.*, xvi, 1; ed. Tauchnitz, Vol. III, p. 351.

¹⁰ *Ancient Universal History*, Vol. ix, p. 305.

ábád—just as on the Nile, the Wustání, ‘midlands,’ of the Arabs represented the tract between Upper and Lower Egypt.¹ Sir A. Burnes says that *Sir* and *Lár* are two Belóch words for ‘north’ and ‘south.’ But the first is a Slavonic word also, which Gatterer and Niebuhr tell us is retained in *Sauro-matæ*, signifying ‘northern’ Medes. There were also a province of Siracene, and a tribe of Siraceni, and other similar names *north* of the Caucasus.² The Slavonic and Persian show a great similarity; thus, *spaco* signifies ‘a bitch’ in both; and the same with the first syllable of *Sauromatæ*, or *Sarmatæ*. Hence *Sar* for the ‘northern’ Indus, was more probably a remnant of Median, than Belóch, emigration,—though the Persian element could be accounted for, even on the latter supposition, seeing what a strong tincture the Belóchí language retains of its original I’ránian connection.³

Moreover, amongst the several tribes of Kshatriyas—who, having neglected to observe the holy customs and to

¹ DR. EADIE, *Early Or. History*, p. 13.—LT. BURTON, *Sindh*, p. 4.

² PLIN., *Nat. Hist.*, iv, 26.—STRABO, *Geogr.*, xi, 2, 5; ed. Tauchnitz, Vol. II, pp. 399, 419, 422.—TACITUS, *Annal.*, xiii, 15.—PTOL., *Geogr.*, v, 9.—BOECKH, *Corpus Inscript.*, Vol. II, p. 1009.

³ SIR A. BURNES, *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III, pp. 64, 268.—DR BURNES, *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, pp. xiv, 107.—*Journal R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 224.—*Journ. R. Geogr. Soc.*, Vol. III, 128, 130.—NIEBUHR, *Lectures on Ancient History*, Vol. I, p. 96.—HERODOTUS, i, 110.—*Report of British Association*, 1851, p. 145.—*Tohfatu-l-kirdm*, MS., p. 166.—GATTERER, *Comment. Soc. Scient. Gott.*, Vol. XII, pp. 160, 161.

The name of *Sar* is probably at least as old as the ‘Soriani’ of Stephanus;—a tribe which must have been on, or near, the Indus, because an Alexandria, enumerated by him as the fourteenth, was built within their territory. If the people of Sar are not meant, allusion is perhaps made to the Sódhas, who once occupied that country.—See *Ethnica*, v. ‘Αλεξάνδρεια.

visit the Bráhmans, became so degenerate that they were expelled their caste and regarded as ‘Dasyas,’ or robber tribes—Manu enumerates the ‘Pahlavas.’ “They are,” continues the holy legislator, “Dasyas, whether they speak the language of Mlechas, or that of Aryas.” *Arya* in Sanscrit, *airya* in Zend, means ‘noble,’ ‘sacred,’ ‘venerable;’—hence a portion of Upper India is called Aryavarta ‘the holy land,’ or ‘country of the Aryas.’ The Medes being also of the same original stock, were universally called Arii. The Aryas of Manu, therefore, are not necessarily, as some interpret, only degenerated natives, but may likewise have been Medes occupying the valley of the Indus. It is probable that a still earlier and more degenerate branch of the same family may be spoken of under the name of ‘Meda’ in the code of Manu, “who must live without the town, and maintain themselves by slaying beasts of the forest.” Allusion seems here to be made to the Mérs of the Aravallí.¹

These indications need not be enlarged on further in this place. Many will, of course, look upon them as fanciful and extravagant. Others, who feel so disposed, must pursue the investigation for themselves; for it is foreign to the main design of this Note, which has merely been to show that we have the Méds of the Arabs retaining their own name to this day, as well as probably under a slightly varied form, in and around the original seats of their occu-

¹ HERODOTUS, vii, 62.—*Institutes of Manu*, ii, 22, 36, 45, 48.—HEEREN, *Historical Researches—Asiatic Nations*, Talboys, Vol. III, p. 322.—LASSEN, *Ind. Alterthums.*, Vol. 1, pp. 515, *et seq.*—*Ind. Bibliothek*, Vol. III, p. 71.—ERSCH & GRUBER, *Encyclopädie*; vv. “Indo-Germanischer Sprachstamm,” pp. 1, 46, and “Indien,” pp. 4, 15, *et seq.*—*Abhandlungen der Koenig. Bayer. Acad. der Wissenschaften*, 1829, p. 146.—WILSON, *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 119-124.—POTT, *Etym. Forschungen*, pp. lxx, lxxii.—BURNOURF, *Comm. sur le Yaçna*, not. p. cv.—M. F. BAUDRY, *Encycl. Moderne*, Tom. XVIII, col. 122-130.

pation. That object has, it is hoped, been accomplished satisfactorily, and with regard to all extraneous matter, to use the words of Cicero,—*sequimur probabilia, nec ultrà quam id, quod verisimile occurrerit, progredi possumus, et refellere sine pertinaciâ et refelli sine iracundiâ parati sumus.*¹

¹ Besides the special references given above, compare,—M. VIVIEN DE SAINT-MARTIN, *Mém. Hist. sur la Géogr. anc. du Caucase*, pp. 242, 248, in *Études de Géographie*, Vol. I; and *Hist. de l'Asie Min. Ancienne*, p. 218.—БОЕЦКН, *Corpus Inscript.*, Vol. II, p. 83.—SCHAFARIK, *Slawische Alterthümer*, Vol. I, pp. 302, 333, *et seq.*—UKERT, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, Vol. III, Abth. II, pp. 119, 269, 273, 279, 284, 333, 337, 346.

APPENDIX .—P. .

Hála-kandí.—The Hellenes.—Pindus.

The ruins of old Hála, or Hála-kandí, on the Indus, thirty miles above Haidarábád, lie to the south-east of the present site. Had its name appeared in the *Chach-náma*, we might have ascribed its foundation to the Rájá Hál, mentioned in the Note upon the Méds. Tod names a later prince of the Samma family as the founder.¹

It is probable that the designation of the Hála range of mountains has a similar origin, for we nowhere find them mentioned in any early work; but such a very modern attribution would scarcely satisfy a late writer, who sees in them the cradle of the great Hellenic race:—

“The land of Hellas, a name so dear to civilization and the arts, was so called from the magnificent range of heights situated in Beloochistan, styled the ‘Hela’ mountains. * * * The chiefs of this country were called ‘Helaines,’ or the ‘chiefs of the Hela.’”²

He gives as a motto to this fanciful chapter on the Hellenes, the following lines from the Fragments of Hesiod:—

“Ἕλληνας δ’ ἐγένοντο θεμιστόπολοι βασιλῆες
Δῶρός τε, Ἰουῖός τε, καὶ Αἴολος ἱππιόχαρμος.

¹ *Travels in Western India*, p. 474. Halár in Guzerát is called after a Jharéja prince of the same name.

² E. Pococke, *India in Greece*, p. 48.—This is an unfair contortion, in order to suit the etymology: the real spelling being *Hála*, or, more correctly, *Hára*; so that we have, unfortunately, nothing but the simple initial aspirate to support the grand Hellenic hypothesis.—See the *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS., pp. 130, 164.

Chiefs of the war-car, guards of holy Right,
 Dorus and Æolus, and Zuthus' might
 From HELLEN sprang.

As ne conceives *Æolus* to represent the *Haiya* tribe of Rájpúts, it is surprising that he disregards the more obvious resemblance of *Dorus* and *Zuthus* to the mighty *Dórs* and the energetic *Zats*;—the former now nearly extinct, the latter now better known as the wide-spread Jats.

Another mountain range in the same neighbourhood is even still more unduly exalted, in a mode which sets all true relations of time, space, position, and language, at complete defiance.

"I would now direct the reader's attention to the most salient feature in the land of Hellas. The mountain chain of *PINDUS*, traversing a considerable portion of Greece, and forming the boundary between Thessaly and Epirus, takes its name from the *PIND*. Its present name is *Pind Dadu Khan* * * * * whence the *Pind* or 'Salt Range' of Afghanistan was naturally transferred to a corresponding remarkable feature in Greece. It is not a little remarkable, that in the latter country the true *Pindus* * * * should give nearly the corresponding length of the *Pind* in Afghanistan, viz., a distance of about sixty miles."¹

This elaborate superstructure is based on an utterly false assumption. The salt range is not, and never was, called the *Pind*. *Pind* is a common word in the Upper Panjáb, signifying simply 'a village,' and recurs a hundred times over in that locality—as *Pind Bhattiyán*, *Pind Malik Aulá*, *Pindí Ghaib*, *Ráwal Pindí*, &c. &c. &c.—and so, *Pind Dádan Khán* merely means the 'village of *Dádan Khán*,' and one, moreover, of modern erection. The word '*Pind*,' indeed, has only lately been introduced into the Panjáb—long even after the name of the celebrated Grecian mountain was itself converted into the modern *Agrapha*.

¹ *India in Greece*, p. 82.]

The whole of this arrogant and dogmatical work is replete with similar absurdities ; and yet the only notices it has received from our Reviewers are of a laudatory character. It is to be feared that no English publication of late years will go so far as this to damage our literary reputation in the eyes of continental scholars ; and it is therefore to be regretted that it has not yet received the castigation due to its ignorance and presumption.¹

¹ The author's credit stands on a false eminence, as being one of the Editors of the reprint of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* ; and we find one of his really able collaborateurs lamenting, in his Preface to the *Hist. of Rom. Literature*, that "*the Early History of Rome*, promised by the author of that remarkable work, *India in Greece*, should not have been available for these pages."

APPENDIX .--P. .

Barge,—an Arabic word.

The term used by Beláadorí to represent a vessel of war is *Bárija*. He uses the same word, in the plural, in speaking of the vessels which were captured by the Méds, on their voyage from Ceylon to the Persian Gulf;—an act of piracy which led to the Arab conquest of Sind.¹

Birúní says also, a century later, that the *Bawárij* are established at Kach'h and Sómnat, and are so called, because they devote themselves to the pursuit of piracy, in ships which are called *Béra*.²

This is a native word still in use for a boat, but the origin of the term *Bawárij* must be sought, not in the Indian *Béra*, but rather in the Arabic *Bárija*, which Golius, on the authority of the *Kámús*, tells us to mean a large vessel of war.³

From the same source our English *Barge* seems to be derived,—which though, at first view, it may appear rather a startling assertion, will perhaps be admitted, when we see how our best etymologists have failed in their endeavours to trace its real origin. Johnson (Todd) says it is derived from old French *Barje*, or *Barge*, and Low-Latin *Barga*. He should have ascertained whence the French

¹ *Fragments Arabes*, p. 166.

² *Ibid.*, 'p. 91. See also GILDEMEISTER, *de reb. Ind.*, p. 185.

³ *Navis magna bellica*.—*Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, s.v.

Barje is itself derived. Tooke says, *Barge* is a strong boat, and *Bark* is a stout vessel, derived from the past participle of *beorgan*, “to protect,” “to strengthen.”¹ Crabb says, from *Barca*.² Richardson, from the Gothic *bairgan*, “to fortify.” Webster, from Dutch *Bargie*. Palgrave tells us that the piratical boats of the Danes were called *Barga* and *Barka*;³ and *Barca* is used by the Monk Abbo, in his unpolished poem (A.D. 891) on the siege of Paris by the Normans.

*Barcas per flumina raptant.*⁴

But we have no occasion to look for any connexion between our words *Bark* and *Barge*. The former is confessedly an old word, the latter comparatively modern. The former is, indeed, much older than even the Danish or Norman piracies. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, who died A.D. 431, applies it thus:—

Ut mea salubri *Barca* perfugio foret
Puppis superstes obrutæ.⁵

In consequence of its use by Byzantine authors—altered into Βαλκα by Nicetas⁶—Salmasius and J. C. Scaliger have sought for a Grecian origin of the word, and the latter finds it in Βάρος, quasi, ‘a ship of burden.’⁷ Others, again, say from ‘Barca, a city of Africa;’ and Roderic of Toledo from ‘Barca, a city of Spain.’⁸

¹ *Diversions of Purley*, Vol. II, p. 181.

² *Technological Dictionary*, s.v.

³ Quoting Hincmar—“quas nostrates *Bargas* vocant.”—*History of Normandy and England*, Vol. I, p. 510.

⁴ *De bello Paris.*, Lib. II. This poem was published in Latin and French, with notes, by M. Taranne, in 1834.

⁵ *Poëmata*, 13.

⁶ *Alex.*, Lib. I, Num. 7.

⁷ *Exercitat.*, 71.

⁸ *De rebus Hispan.*, Lib. I, Cap. 5. These quotations are from HOFMANN, *Lexicon Universale*, Vol. I, p. 476. See also DUCANGE, *Glossar. Med. et Inf. Latinitatis*, vv.

Our more immediate concern, however, is with *Barge*, respecting which it is obvious to remark, that, though its present use is confined to fluvial transits and pageantries—whether for the conveyance of coals or cockneys, merchandize or Lord Mayors—it was, on its first introduction, designed for higher purposes. Our oldest writers apply it solely to sea-going craft. Thus Chaucer:—

He knew wel alle the havens, as they were,
Fro' Gotland to the Cape de Finistere,
And every creke in Bretagne and in Spaine:
His *barge* ycleped was the Magdelaine.¹

Even as late as the fifteenth century, the great Swedish ship of 1000 tons burden was called the King's *barge*;² and the largest vessel hitherto built in Scotland was called the Bishop's *barge*.³ But what is more to the purpose is, that we do not find mention of the word till the Crusades had introduced it, through the Arabic language, into our vocabulary,⁴ and then only as a large ship, used chiefly on military expeditions. So, in the very old Romance of Richard Cœur de Lion:—

Among you partes⁵ every charge.
I brought in shippes and in *barge*,
More gold and silver with me,
Than has your lord and swilke⁶ three.

¹ Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, v. 412.

² Rymer's *Fædera*, Vol. xi, p. 364.

³ MacPherson's *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. i, p. 689.

⁴ Admitting that the *g* in the Low-Latin *Barga* may have had the soft pronunciation of *j*, and that *Barge* is thence derived, we can still refer its origin to the Arabs in Spain.

⁵ Divide.

⁶ Such.

Again, a little further on :—

Against hem comen her navey,
Cogges,¹ and dromounds,² many galley,
Barges, schoutes, and trayeres fele,³
That were charged with all weal,
With armour, and with other vitail,
That nothing in the host should fail.⁴

Coupling this early and distinctive use of the term with the fact of its being first used during the Holy Wars, and with the unsatisfactory guesses of our lexicographers, we may safely conclude that the English *Barge* is no other than the Arabic *Bárija*, however much it may now be diverted from the original design of its invention.

¹ Cock-boats.

² Large vessels of burthen. This word, though a Greek etymology is assigned to it, is probably itself Arabic.—MACPHERSON, *Annals of Commerce*, Vol. I, p. 352.

³ Many long-boats.

⁴ ELLIS, *Early English Metrical Romances*, pp. 315, 324.

APPENDIX .—P. .

The Rái Dynasty.

The *Chach-náma* (MS. pp. 15-7, 32,) mentions only the three immediate predecessors of the usurper Chach, and in this it is followed by the *Tárikh-i-Sind*. It states that “ Rái Sahíras, the son of Díwáj (called also Sháhí-Sháhí) was defeated and slain by the army of king Nímróz, which entered Kirmán from the direction of Fárs; and that he was succeeded by his son Rái Sáhasí.” It will be observed from the annexed Extract, that the *Tohfátu-l-kirám* gives two additional reigns, which are not, however, referred to any specific authority of ancient date.

The dynasty of the Ráis.

Their capital was the city of Alór, and the boundaries of their country were—on the East, Kashmír and Kanauj—on the West, Mekrán and the shore of the sea of 'Omán, that is, the port of Déwal,—on the South, the port of Súrat (Saurasthra),—and on the North, Kaudabár, Sístán, the hills of Sulaimán, and Kaikánán. As the commencement of this dynasty has not been ascertained, I content myself with mentioning some of the names which are known.

Rái Díwáj. He was a powerful chief, whose absolute rule extended to the limits above mentioned. He formed alliances with most of the rulers of Hind, and throughout all his territories caravans travelled in perfect security. On his death, he was succeeded by his son,

Rái Sahras, who followed the steps of his father in maintaining his position in happiness, comfort, and splendour, during a long reign. His celebrated son was

Rái Sáhasí, who also swayed the sceptre with great pomp

and power. He followed the institutions of his ancestors, and accomplished all his desires.

Rái Sahras II was his son and successor. King Nímróz raised an army for the purpose of attacking him, and the Rái, having advanced to the borders of Kaij to meet it, selected a field of battle. The flame of war blazed from morn till mid-day, when an arrow pierced the neck of the Rái, so that he died. King Nímróz, after plundering his camp, returned to his own country. The army of Sahras assembled in a body, and seated his son Sáhásí upon the throne.

Rái Sáhásí II excelled his ancestors in estimable qualities. Having, within a short time, settled affairs within the borders of his kingdom, he enjoyed rest and peace in his capital. He remitted the taxes of his subjects, on condition that they should raise (or repair) the earthwork of six forts; viz., U'ch'h, Mátéla, Séórái, Mud, Alór, and Séwastán. He had a chamberlain named Rám, and a minister named Budhíman. One day, Chach, son of Siláij, a Brahman of high caste, came to Rám, the chamberlain, who was so pleased with his society, that he introduced him to the minister.

The names of these rulers are thus given by Capt. Postans, in two different papers in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and on the authority of the same work,—the *Tohfatu-l-kirá́m*.

No. cxi, 1841, p. 185.—“ Rahee Dewahey,—Rahee Siheersin,—Rahee Sahursee,—Rahee Siheersin the 2nd,—Rahee Sahee.”

No. clviii, 1845, p. 79.—“ Rahi Dawahij,—Sahiras,—Rahi Sahasi,—Rahi Sahiras the 2nd,—Rahi Sahasi the 2nd.”

In an earlier number of the same *Journal* (No. lxxiv, Feb., 1838, p. 93), James Prinsep observed, “ *Diwaij* seems a corruption of *dwija* ‘the Brahman’; and *Sahurs* resembles much the genitive *sáhása* of our Saurashtra coins, of whom the first is a *swámiputra*, or son of a

Brahman; but the date seems too recent. See Vol. vi, p. 385." But it appears from the passage just quoted, that it was a Bráhmaṇ dynasty which superseded the family of Díwáj, and there is no reason to suppose that Díwáj was himself a member of that caste.

The same Persian work, from which the above Extract is taken, states that the reigns of these five Ráis lasted for the long period of one hundred and thirty-seven years, and that Chach, by his victory over Mahrab, Ráná of Chitór, established himself on the throne about the first year of the Hijra. It will be seen from the following Note, that as this date must of necessity be placed too early, the year 10 H. has been preferred, as the era of Chach's accession, and the extinction of the Rái dynasty.

Pottinger, on the authority of a native work called the *Majma'-i-Wáridát*, states that the dynasty had endured for two thousand years; which, as we know from Ptolemy and the Periplus that the country was subject to frequent revolutions at the early period of our era, and at the time of Alexander was under no single ruler, must be regarded as pure fiction. If we allow that there were really five reigns, there is no great improbability in assuming 137 years, as above mentioned, for the correct period of their duration; and thus we should obtain the Christian year 495 as that in which the dynasty commenced.

It is generally assumed that Khusrú Naushírwán was the king of Persia by whom Sahras II was slain; but as Naushírwán died in 479 A.D., it would leave, at the very least, 53 years necessary for the reign of Sáhasí II—even supposing that his predecessor was killed in the very last year of Naushírwán, which we know cannot have been the case, as that potentate had been, for some time previous, employed in the western portion of his large empire. It is therefore quite evident, that king

Nímróz¹ has been wrongly interpreted to mean that great Persian monarch; and we must therefore use Nímróz in its usual application of Sejestán, and allow the opponent of Sahras to be no more formidable a personage than the governor, or ruler, of that province: or, if we must necessarily have a Persian king—notwithstanding that no one of the name of Nímróz ever sat on the throne—then Khusrú Parvéz (591-628 A.D.) an equally great conqueror, would answer all the requirements better; for we know that the eastern provinces towards the Indus revolted in the reign of Hormuz, his father and predecessor, and his recovery of them seems indicated by his having 960 elephants in his train—which could only have been procured from India.

Doubtless, Naushírwán did invade Sind or its borders,—because the fact is vouched for by unquestionable authority in the best Persian annalists, and is shewn by the relations, political, commercial, and literary, which appear then to have arisen between Persia and India: but it must have been during one of the earlier reigns of this dynasty; or if during the reign of Sahras II, it must have preceded the attack which resulted in that monarch's death. That he and Naushírwán were contemporary, during some portion of their reigns, is by no means improbable—for the latter reigned 48 years: and if we allow 40 for the reign of Sáhasí II, and 40 likewise for the reign of Sahras II—the same period which Chach enjoyed, though his first years were signalized by internal rebellions and foreign invasions—we

¹ In one passage he is styled 'Bádsháh Nímróz,' and a few lines afterwards 'Sháh Párs Nímróz.' It will be seen from a passage quoted in the succeeding Note, that Hormuz is represented as 'the son of Fárs' in the *Chach-náma*; it would appear therefore that in that work 'Fárs' is identical with 'Naushírwán.'

shall then find the 20 first years of Sahras's correspond with the 20 last years of Naushírwán's reign.¹

It would detain us too long to enter upon any speculations respecting the country and race whence this dynasty derived its origin. I will merely remark, that the Scythian barbarians from Sind, who expelled the Gehlotes from Balabhipúra in the beginning of the sixth century,—the Yue-tchi, who re-established themselves on the Indus about the same time,—the Ephthalites, or white Huns, whom Cosmas declares at that period to have ruled upon the banks of that river,—and the Sáh dynasty of Sausrashtra,—all offer points of relation, comparison, and contact, to which a separate dissertation might be devoted.²

¹ Compare FIRDÚSI, *Sháh-náma*, ed. Macan; p. 1632.—POTTINGER, *Travels in Belochistan*, p. 386.—SCHLEGEL, *Indische Biblioth.*, Vol. i, p. 203.—DE GUIGNES, *Hist. des Huns*, Tom. II, p. 469.—MALCOLM, *Hist. of Persia*, Vol. i, p. 141.—TOD, *Annals of Rajast'han*, Vol. i, pp. 232-9.—C. F. RICHTER, *über die Arsac. und Sassan. Dyn.* ap. *Erdk. v. Asien*, Vol. iv, pt. i, p. 524.—GLADWIN, *Ayeen Akbery*, Vol. II, p. 118.—*As. Res.*, Vol. ix, p. .—*Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. III, p. 385.—ELPHINSTONE, *Hist. of India*, Vol. i, p. 400.—BOHLEN, *das alte Indien*, Vol. II, p. .—*Ancient Univ. Hist.*, Vol. ix, pp. 305-9, 312, 318.—L. DUBEUX, *L'Univers Pittoresque*, 'La Perse,' pp. 327, 328.

² MELCH. THEVÉNOT, *Rec. d. Voyages curieux*, Part i, pp. 21-22.—MONTFAUCON, *Coll. nova Patrum*, Vol. II, pp. 132, 179, 337-9.—*As. Res.*, Vol. ix, p. 113.—TOD, *Ann. of Raj.*, Vol. i, pp. 216-9; II, 311-2; *Western India*, pp. 83, 147-9, 214, 268, 271.—WILSON, *Ariana antiqua*, p. 407.—T. BENFEY, *Indien*, p. .—LASSÉN, *Indische Alterthums.*, Vol. II, p. .—F. BAUDRY, *Encycl. Moderne*, Tom. XVIII, col. 153.—REINAUD, *Fragments Arabes*, p. xxx; *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 104, 124-7.—*Journal A. S. B.*, Vol. iv, pp. 480, 684; VI, 338; 1837, pp. 377, et seq.—*Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. iv, p. 398; VI, 351, 439.—E. THOMAS, *ib.*, Vol. , p. .—B. NICHOLSON, *ib.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 146-163.—V. DE ST.-MARTIN, *Etudes de Géographie ancienne*, Tom. i, p. 245.

The Bráhmaṇ Dynasty.

Though we have no reason to complain of any want of detail respecting the political transactions of this dynasty, yet we are left in considerable doubt respecting the chronological adjustment of the few reigns which it comprises, and even the very name of Chach is a subject of some uncertainty. Gladwin has 'Juj';¹ Briggs has 'Huj';² the two Manuscripts in the Bibliothèque royale have 'Hoj';³ Reinaud spells the name 'Tchotch';⁴ Renouard leans to 'Jaj,' as he considers it a corruption of Yajnya;⁵ S. de Sacy gives reasons for considering it to be 'Hijaj';⁶ Pottinger writes 'Chach';⁷ and he is followed by all English authors. This is certainly in conformity with native usage, and we have several existing instances of the same combination—as Chachpúr, Cháchar, Cháchagám, Chachí, Chachar, and similar names of places in the valley of the Indus.

It is to this usurper I am disposed to attribute the introduction of the game of chess to the western world; and this question invites us to some further considerations respecting the correct mode of writing his name. Although Firdúsi informs us, that it was an ambassador of

¹ *Ayeeṇ Akbersee*, Vol. II, p. 119.

² *Ferishta*, Vol. IV, p. 401.

³ *Fragments Arabes*, p. xxvii.

⁴ *Ibid.* and *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 125-153.

⁵ *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, v. 'Scind.'

⁶ *Journal des Savants*, 1840, p. 225.

⁷ *Travels in Belochistan*, pp. 317-9.

the king of Kanauj who introduced this game at the court of Naushírwán,¹ the statement of Ibn Khallikán seems more to be relied on, when he says that Sassa, son of Dáhir,² invented the game during the reign of the Persian king Sháhrám. It is true, that we have to notice here an error in the parentage, as well as a contradiction with himself; for, in another place, he assigns the invention to Balhít, whom he makes a contemporary of Ardeshér, son of Bábek, who reigned four centuries before Sháhrám³—but the main statement seems to be upheld by independent testimony, and it will be seen, from Tabarí's sequence of these Persian reigns, that Chach must necessarily have been contemporary with Sháhrám, or Shahr Irán, or Shahriyár, as he is otherwise called.

The name of 'Sassa' assumes the various forms of 'Sissa,' 'Sabsaba,' 'Súsá,' 'Sísá,' and 'Sa'sa.' Mr. Bland, in his learned article quoted below, says they are all obviously corruptions of Xerxes, or of a name which has served as its origin—not the Persian king, but a philosopher so named, who is said by Polydore Vergil and others to have flourished in the reign of Evil-Merodach at Babylon. I look upon this as too recondite, and consider that the transposition of the parentage above alluded to, as given by Ibn Khallikán, is more than counterbalanced by the superior authority of Tabarí; who, while he omits all

¹ *Sháh-náma*, ed. Macan; Vol. iv, pp. 1719-1734.—HYDE, *Historia Shahiludii*, pp. 69-92, reprinted in the *Syntagma dissertationum*, Vol. II.—FRERET, *Mém. de l'Acad.*, Tom. v, p. 250.—GÖRRES, *Heldenbuch von Iran*, Vol. II, p. 452.—BOHLEN, *das alte Indien*, Vol. II, pp. 67, et seq.

² Chach was the son of Siláij, son of Basábas.—*Chach-náma*, MS. p. 48.

³ DE SLANE, *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. III, p. 71, et seq.—GILDEMEISTER, *de reb. Indicis*, p. 141.—HYDE, *ut suprâ*.—N. BLAND, *Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 13, 14, 20, 26, 62.

notice of Chach, under that identical name, yet mentions Sassa, (who cannot possibly be meant for any other person than Chach,) and speaks of Dáhir, his son, as being his successor.¹ Ferishta also speaks of Dáhir as the son of Sa'sa', so that we are fully entitled to consider 'Sassa,' as the Arabic mode of representing 'Chach'—just as we have 'Shanak' for the Hindí 'Chank,' 'Satranj' for 'Chatur-anga,' 'Sín' for 'Chín,' 'Shásh' for 'Chách,' a town on the Jaihún,² and many other similar conversions in the Arabic—since, there being no palatine letter corresponding with *ch* in that language, recourse can only be had to the sibilants; as may be frequently be observed even in the Persian also, where no such necessity exists.³

Another preliminary question to settle respecting Chach, relates to his tribe and descent. There could have been no hesitation on this point, had it not been for the Chinese traveller, Hioun-thsang, who states that, at the time of his visit to Sind, the king was of the 'Chou-to-lo' race.⁴ This has been variously interpreted to mean a 'Kshattriya,'⁵ a 'Súdra,'⁶ and a Rájpút of the 'Chatur,' or 'Chitor,' tribe.⁷ This latter is on the supposition that it refers to the king who was succeeded by Chach, and who was related to the ruler of Chitór—but this is not admissible, for the Chinese Buddhist did not commence his travels till

¹ TABARÍ, in *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 176, 179.

² *Sháh-náma*, ed. Macan; pp. 982, 1659.—*Géogr. d'Aboul-jéda*, texte Arabe, p. 494.

³ See J. A. VULLEPS, *Institut. Linguae Persicæ cum Sansc. et Zend. comparatæ*, pp. 18, 26, 47.

⁴ *Foe-koue-ki*, ed. Remusat, p. 393.

⁵ "Rex e stirpe Xatrorum."—GILDEMEISTER, *de reb. Ind.*, p. 14.

⁶ "Le roi, qui, sans doute, était Tchotch, appartenait à la caste des Soudra."—REINAUD, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 153.

⁷ LT. BURTON, *Sindh*, p. 380.

628 A.D.,¹ and after traversing the whole of Chinese Tartary, Turkistán, Northern Afghánistán, Kashmír, the valley of the Ganges, the Eastern and Western Coasts of the Peninsula, and Guzerát, could not have reached Sind much before 640, when Chach was fully established upon the throne. If we could introduce the traveller into Sind before Chach's accession, I should prefer 'Kshatriya,' or the modernized 'Chattrí,' to any other interpretation of 'Chou-to-lo,'—but, seeing that not a single Chinese name within, or on the borders of, Sind admits of any positive identification, we need not trouble ourselves about the meaning of this doubtful word. Our Arab and Persian authorities leave us no room to doubt that Chach was a Bráhmaṇ—at least by descent, if not also by religious persuasion; and the present Sársut (Sáreswata) Bráhmans of Sind claim him as one of their progenitors.

With respect to the period of his reign, we learn from the *Chach-náma* (MS. p. 47) that Chach in, or about, the year 2 H.—and about the fourth year after his accession (MS. pp. 33-46)²—advanced to Kirmán, being instigated to that measure, in consequence of the Persian throne's being then occupied by a woman.

Again, we learn (MS. p. 70) that Chach had been

¹ Klaproth says he travelled between 630 and 680.—*Reise des Chinesischen Buddhistenpriesters H. T. &c.* Reinaud says, between 628 and 645.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 149.—M. Stan. Julien, in his valuable translation just published, 1853, fixes the period more accurately between and .

² It may be proper in this place to remark, that Al-Birúní mentions the establishment of a Sindian era, which commences with the winter solstice of 625 A.D.—3 A.H. As M. Reinaud justly remarks, that the commencement of a new era generally indicates a change of dynasty, he is disposed to attribute the establishment of the Bráhmaṇ dynasty to this year.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 147.

ruler of Sind for 35 years, when Mughaira attacked Débal, some time between the years 13 and 16 H.

After Chach had reigned 40 years (MS. p. 48), he was succeeded by his brother Chandar, who died in the 8th year of his reign (MS. p. 52).

Chandar was succeeded by his nephew Dáhir, who was slain in the month of Ramazán, 93 H. (MS. p. 167.)

The *Tárikh-i-Sind* (MS. pp. 14-30) has briefly abstracted the account in the *Chach-náma*, but has given no date throughout, and has carelessly omitted all notice of Chandar.

The *Tohfatu-l-kirám* gives a far better abstract of the *Chach-náma*. It represents (MS. p. 6) that Chach after killing Mahrab, the prince of Chitór, established himself on the throne in the year 1 H.—that he reigned 40 years (*ib.*)—that Chandar, who succeeded him, died in the 8th year of his reign (*ib.*)—that Dáhir was killed in the year 93 H. after having reigned 33 years (MS. p. 15)—and that the whole period of the Bráhmaṇ dynasty lasted 92 years (*ib.*)—which, however, is a manifest absurdity, because in the detail, no more than 81 years, at the most, are assigned to the three reigns.

There seems reason to believe that these discrepancies can be reconciled by two very slight corrections in the reading of the *Chach-náma*.

Instead of '35 years' in the second quotation, we should read '3 or 5 years,' as the period that Chach had reigned, when Mughaira attacked Débal. The form of expression is very common in denoting an indefinite period; and, as the disjunctive particle *or* is, in such uses of distributive numerals, always omitted, the difference in the reading becomes scarcely perceptible.

And in the first quotation, instead of 'about the year 2 H,' I would read 'about the year 10 H.'—*da* for *do*. The reading of *do* is quite out of the question, for

there certainly was no female reign at so early a period as the 2nd year of the Híjra, and none even before the 10th, if indeed so early. The confusion respecting these ephemeral reigns of the later Sassanians is notorious, and especially respecting the order of the three queens, Túrán-dukht, Azurmi-dukht, and Dukht-zanán—the last of whom is generally altogether omitted, and is perhaps identical with Azurmi-dukht;—but no author attempts to place either of them before 10 A.H. Now, since the *Chach-náma* represents that the queen mentioned by him was one of the successors of Kisrá-bin-Hormuz-bin-Fárs, who had been murdered—alluding, of course, to Khusrú Parvéz—and since we learn from a passage in Tabarí, that one of Kisrá's daughters was Dukht-zanán, who succeeded to the Persian throne for a short time in the year 13 H.;—and since the *Rauzatu-s-safá* assigns the reign of Túrán-dukht, another of his daughters, to the year 14 H.;—we may assume as certain that the expedition of Chach towards Kirmán occurred in one or other of those years.¹

These simple emendations bring us close enough to the truth, to satisfy us with respect to the general accuracy of the *Chach-náma*. Where there is so much room for doubt, and where even Tabarí is not quite consistent with himself, or in conformity with others,—even if the *Chach-náma* should be in error three or four years,—and we have no right to assume that such is the case,—there would still be no ground for impeaching the veracity of that valuable Chronicle; and we are thus enabled with considerable confidence to assign to each event of the Bráhmaṇ dynasty

¹ As all three queens—if, indeed there were three—were daughters of Khusrú Parvéz, and as all their reigns are comprised within two, or at most three, years, it matters little which we select.

of Sind its proper date according to the Hijra computation.¹

A.H.

The accession of Chach to the throne of Sind....	10
His expedition to Kirmán, in the 4th year.....	14
Mughaira's attack, in the 5th year.....	15
Chach's death, after a reign of 40 entire years...	51
Chandar's death, in the 8th year of his reign....	59
Dáhir's death, after a reign of 33 entire years....	93

¹ For the doubts which prevail respecting the proper period, sequence, and names of the Sassanian princes between Siroes and Yezdijird, see—besides MÍRKHOND, KHONDEMÍR, and the Persian authorities—J. S. ASSEMANI, *Bibliotheca Orient. Clement.-Vat.*, Tom. III, p. 419.—EUTYCHII *Annales*, Vol. II, pp. 253, 357, 408.—MALCOLM, *History of Persia*, Vol. , p. .—DUBEUX, *L'Univers Pittoresque*, "La Perse," pp. 333-6.—WEIL, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, Vol. I, pp. 63-65,—and the Tables in the *Ancient Univ. Hist.*, Vol. IX, pp. 211-277;—DR. SMITH'S *Dict. of Biog.*, v. "Sassanides;"—MORERI, *Grand Diction. Historique*, Tom. IV, p. 136, v. "Perse;"—D'HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Or.*, v. "Sassanian,"—and *Enc. Metrop.* "Early Or. Hist.," p. 414.

APPENDIX .—P. .

The Súmra Dynasty.

The assignment of this dynasty to its veritable lineage and proper period among the rulers of Sind, is one of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal in the history of Muhammedan India; and the obscurities and inconsistencies of the native accounts have by no means been cleared by the European comments which have been made upon them.

Our first informant is Mír Ma'súm, whose account has been given at length in the Extracts from his history. He tells us (supr. p.) that in the time of 'Abdu-r-rashíd—443 A.H.—1051 A.D.—the men of the Súmra tribe revolted from the rule of Ghazní, and placed on the throne of Sind a man of the name of Súmra. He closes his unsatisfactory account by saying:—"If any of my friends know more on this subject, let them publish it; I have said all I can upon the matter."

Abu-l-fazl gives us no information in the *Ayín-i-Akberí* (Vol. II, p. 120), beyond the announcement that there were thirty-six Súmra princes, who reigned 500 years.

Ferishta seems afraid of venturing on this difficult and doubtful ground. He merely observes (Vol. IV, p. 411) that, on the death of Muhammed Kásim, a tribe, tracing their origin from the Ansáris, established their government in Sind; after which, the Súmra Zemíndárs reigned for 500 years; but he adds, "neither the names nor the history of these princes are at present extant, since I have failed in my endeavour to procure them. In the course of years (though we have no account of the precise period) the dynasty was subverted by that of the

Samma, whose chief assumed the title of Jám. During the reigns of these dynasties, the Muhammedan kings of Ghazní, Ghór, and Dehlí invaded Sind, and seizing many of the towns, appointed Muhammedan governors over them."

The *Tárikh-i-Táhiri* (MS. p. 20) says their dominion lasted for only 143 years, from 700 to 843 H., that they were Hindús, that Alór was within their dominions, and that their capital was Muhammed-Túr, in the Pergana of Dirak. Dódá is made contemporary of 'Aláu-d-dín, and the popular stories relating to Dallú Rái and Umar Súmra are given at length.

The *Béglár-náma* (MS. p. 8) merely observes that, after the Muhammedan conquest, men of the Temím tribe governed Sind, and after some time, the Súmras succeeded them, occupying the seat of government for 505 years; their capital being Muhatampúr.

Muhammed Yúsuf says in his *Muntakhabu-t-tawárikh* (MS. p.), that when Sultán 'Abdu-r-rashíd, son of Sultán Mahmúd, inherited the kingdom of Ghazní, the people of Sind, finding him an indolent and weak-minded monarch, began to be refractory and contumacious, and in A.H. 445 the men of the tribe of Súmra, having assembled around T'harri, seated a man named Súmra on the cushion of government. He ruled independently for a length of time, and left as successor a son, Bhúngar, borne to him by a daughter of a Zemíndár, named Sád. Bhúngar, after ruling 15 years, departed to the world of eternity in A.H. 461, and left a son named Dódá, who after a rule of 24 years, died A.H. 485;—then Sang'har reigned for 15 years;—Hafif 33 years;—Umar 40 years;—Dódá II. 14 years;—Pahtú 33 years;—Génhra 16 years;—Muhammed Túr 15 years;—Génhra II. several years;—Dódá III. 14 years;—Tái 24 years;—Chanésar 18 years;—Bhúngar II. 15 years;—Hafif II. 18 years;

—Dódá IV. 25 years ;—Umar Súmra 35 years ;—Bhúngar III. 10 years. Then the government fell to Hamír, who was deposed by the tribe of Samma, on account of his tyranny.

The latest native authority is the *Tohfatu-l-kirám* (MS. pp. 21, 26, 126), which, in one passage, says that the Súmra tribe sprang from the Arabs of Sámira, who arrived in Sind in the second century of the Hijra, accompanying the Temím family, who became governors of Sind under the 'Abbásides ; that the whole term of their sway may be reckoned at 550 years, as they were mere nominal tributaries during the last two centuries of the 'Abbáside government, and enjoyed full independence, when the greater part of Sind was held by the officers of the Ghaznevide and Ghórí kings.

In another passage, we are informed that they were invited to Sind by Ch'hóta Amrání, who being grieved at the injustice of his brother, the famous Dallú Rái, repaired to Baghdád, and obtained from the Khalif one hundred Arabs of Sámira, whom he brought to Sind, together with Saiyid 'Alí Músaví, who married Dallú Rái's daughter, and left descendants, now inhabiting the town of Mut'alaví.

When Ghází Malik, in the year 720 H., marched towards Delhí with an army collected from Multán and Sind, overthrew Khusrú Khán, and assumed the title of Ghaiásu-d-dín Tughlak Sháh, the tribe of Súmra took advantage of his being occupied by the affairs of those distant parts, and collecting together from the neighbourhood of T'harri, choose a person named Súmra as their ruler. He established perfect tranquillity throughout the country, and married a daughter of a Zemíndár, named Sád, who made pretensions to independence. His wife bore him a son named Bhúngar, by whom he was succeeded. His son Dódá succeeded him, and acquired

possession of the country as far as Nasrpúr. He left an infant son, named Sang'hár. Tári, daughter of Dódá, assumed the reins of government till Sang'hár became of age. He, when installed in power, marched towards Kach'h, and extended his territory as far as Nángnai. As he did childless, his wife Hímú appointed her own brothers to the governorship of the cities of Túr and T'harri. A short time after this, another Dódá, a Súmra, governor of the Fort of Dhak, assembled his kinsmen from the neighbourhood, and destroyed Hímú's brothers. While this was going on, Pahtú, a son of Dódá, raised an insurrection, and held authority for a short time; after which, a man named Khaira obtained the principality. Then Armíl undertook the burden of government, but as he proved to be a tyrant, the tribe of Samma rose against him, and slew him in A.H. 752. So far the "confusion worse confounded" of the *Tohfatu-l-kirám*.

The attempts of European authors to explain these discrepancies are not successful.

Pottinger informs us that¹ * * * * *

Dr. Bird, relying on some Persian authorities, including the *Tárikh-i-Sind*, tells us that the Sumras, who became first known in the Indian history in the reign of Mahmúd of Ghazní, were originally Muhammedans descended from Aboulahil, an uncle of the Prophet, and that one of the tribe who, in the beginning of the eleventh century of our era, obtained power in Sind, married into the family of Samma, and had a son named Bhaonagar. The chief who had been thus placed at the head of the tribe, was named Hallah, the son of Chotah, a descendant of Omar Sumra, first of the family mentioned in their history. Contemporary with Chotah was Deva Rái, sometimes

¹ *Travels in Belochistan*, p .

called Dilu Rai, the ruler of Alore. "The son born to Hallab had for his descendants Dodab, Singhar, Hanif, and others, who appear to have originally possessed the Dangah pergunnah in the Registan, or sandy desert, from whence they extended themselves into the pergunnahs of Thurr, Sammawati, Rupab, and Nasirpur."

Dr. Bird adds, that nothing satisfactory regarding them is to be found in any Indian author, except the statement of their descent from the family of the Prophet, in which, therefore, he seems to concur. "They derive their name," he continues, "from the city of Saumrah, on the Tigris; and appear to have sprung from the followers of Tamim Ansari, mixed with the Arab tribes of Tamim and Kureish." * * * "In Masudi's time, many chiefs of the Arabs descended from Hamzah, the uncle of the prophet, and Ali, his cousin, were then subject (to the chief of Mansúra). To these ancestors we may trace the Saiyds of Sinde, and the family of the Sumrahs."

The difficulty of solving this question is shown by so confused a statement written by a highly intelligent and well-informed author.¹

Elphinstone observes that, "Kásim's conquests were made over to his successor Temím, in the hands of whose family they remained for thirty-six years till the downfall of the Umaiyydes, when by some insurrection, of which we do not know the particulars, they were expelled by the Súmras, and all their Indian conquests were restored to the Hindús; part of the expelled Arabs, according to Ferishta, having found a settlement among the Afghans." And, again, that "after the expulsion of the Arabs in 750 A.D., Sind from Bhak'har to the sea was ruled by the Súmra Rájput, until the end of the 12th century; that it is un-

¹ *Sketch of the History of Cutch*, Appendix vi;—*Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 10;—and again, *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. 1, p. 126.

certain when they first paid tribute to the Muhammedans, —probably the beginning of that century, under Shahábud-dín, or his immediate successor.” Here, the whole period of the ‘Abbáside governors, and the independent rulers of Multán and Mansúra, and the Karmatians, is entirely neglected. So important an omission by such a writer teaches us, as in the preceding paragraph, how obscure are the annals with which we have to deal.¹

In calling the Sûmras Rájpúts, Elphinstone is without doubt correct, for notwithstanding the assertions of the local writers, the real fact must be admitted, that the Sûmras are not of Arab descent at all, and that this fictitious genealogy was assumed by them, when the majority of the tribe were converted to Islám; and that, as the name of Sámarrá offered a sufficiently specious resemblance, that town was adopted as the probable seat of their origin, though it was not built till after the supposed period of their emigration.²

That Sûmras were not Moslems during at least the early period of their sway, seems to be proved by their names;—though this argument is not quite decisive, for down to modern times in Sind, Muhammedan converts have been occasionally allowed to retain their Hindú names. Still, reasoning generally, the retention of Hindú names points, *primâ facie*, to the probability of the retention of the native religion. Now, when we come to examine the Bhúngars and Dódás amongst the Sûmras, we find, that, even to the latest period, with one, or at most two, doubtful exceptions, they are all of native Indian

¹ *History of India*, Vol. i, pp. 228, 511.

² The various modes of writing and pronouncing the name of this town are given in the *Marásidu-l-ittild’*, ed. JUYNBOLL, II, 5, 27,—but not one admits of an *u* in the first syllable.

origin. The fact of their being called 'Hamír,' in Sindian ballads (a probable corruption of 'Amír') scarcely militates against this, as it was, both in ancient and modern times, a distinctive appellation of the rulers of Sind, and only superseded where, as in the case of the Jáms, there was a more familiar title of local origin. The ascription of so honourable an address and so high a lineage, is easily accounted for by the natural tendency to aggrandisement which has actuated all bards and minstrels, from Demodocus and Tyrtæus to the last prizeman of the Cambrian Eisteddfodd. That many of the tribe still continue Hindús, roaming as shepherds through the *t'hals* of Jéalmér and the Upper Dhat country to the east of Sind, we know from personal communication. Even if it might be admitted that, in the present day, they had forgotten their Arab origin, and lapsed into Hindúism from their former creed; still, that could not have occurred at the very earliest period of their history, within a century or two of their emigration, and before their high and holy origin could possibly have been forgotten.

The Súmras of the desert are one of the subdivisions of the Pramára Rájpúts, and, from frequently combining with their brethren the U'mars, gave name to a large tract of country, which is even still recognized as U'mra-Súmra, and within which Alór is situated. Renouard surmises that they may be "Sóm-Rái," that is, of the Lunar race, but, being without question of the Pramára stock, they are necessarily Agni-cúlas. Their successors and opponents, the Sammas, were of the Lunar race.

It is not improbable that the Lúmrís, or Númarís, of Belóchistán may be of the same stock, who, when they derive their lineage from Samar, the founder of Samar-cand, may have been originally nothing but Súmras. This, however, would not be admissible, if they really have that consanguinity with the Bhátís which they profess,

and which would throw them also into the Lunar family.¹

It is not only from passages which professedly treat of the Súmras that we know them to be Hindús, but from an incidental notice in foreign historians, such as the authors of the *Jehán-kushá* and the *Jámi'u-t-tawárikh*; where, in writing of the expedition of Jelálu-d-dín to Sind in 621 A.H.—1221 A.D.—they mention that, when he was approaching Débal, the ruler of that country, Hasrar, took to flight, and embarked on a boat, leaving the Sultán to enter the place without a contest, and erect mosques on the sites of the Hindú temples which he destroyed. This Hasrar is, in Ferishta's account of the same expedition, named Jaisí, which, if it be correctly written, is more probably a titular than personal designation; for we learn that it was the name borne by the son of Dábir, who ruled in the same province, and was so called from the Sindí word *jas*, 'victory.' It seems, however, not improbable that the name is neither Hasrar, nor Jaisí, nor Jaisar—but Chanésar, the popular hero of some of the Sindian legends respecting the Súmra family. Neither of the three other names is to be found amongst those of the Súmra rulers, and written without the diacritical points, they all vary but little from one another, as will be seen from the Note.² Admitting this to be the case, we obtain an useful synchronism in the Súmra dynasty, notwithstanding that the local ballad of Dódó and Chanésar makes them contemporaries of 'Aláu-d-dín, more familiar to native ears than Shamsu-d-dín, the actual ruler of Delhí at that period, and his predecessor by nearly a whole century.

¹ Tod, *Annals of Rajast'han*, Vol. i, pp. 92, 93; II, 310-2.—*Encycl. Metropol.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 780.—*Journ. R. Geog. Soc.*, Vol. VII, p. 14.—Masson, *Journey to Kalát*, pp. 298, 355.

² Persian, Persian, Persian.

There is, however, one very curious passage in an author, whom we should have little expected to afford any illustration to the history of Sind, which would seem to prove that before they apostatized from their ancestral faith to Islám, the Súmras had intermediately adopted the tenets of the Karmatian heresy. In the sacred books of the Druses, we find an epistle of Muktana Baháu-d-dín, the chief apostle of Hamza, and the principal compiler of the Druse writings, addressed in the year 423 H. to the *Unitarians of Multán and Hindústán in general, and to Sheikh Ibn Súmar Rájá Bal in particular*.¹ Here, the name is purely Indian, and the patronymic can be no other than our Súmra. That some of that tribe, including the chiefs, had affiliated themselves to the Karmatians is more probable than the other alternative, suggested by M. Reinaud,² that certain Arabs had adopted indigenous denominations. It seems quite evident from this curious coincidence of names, that the party particularly addressed was a Súmra; that this Súmra was a Karmatian, successor of a member of the same schism, who bore in the time of Mahmúd a Muhammedan name (Abú-l-fat'h Dáúd), and whose son was probably the younger Dáúd mentioned in the letter; and that the Karmatians of the valley of the Indus were in relation and correspondence, not only with

¹ He calls Rájá Bal the true descendant of Bothro and Houdelhala, and mentions many other members of his family, some of whom have Arab, and others Indian names, eulogising their faith and virtues. "Oh, illustrious Rájá Bal, arouse your family, the Unitarians, and bring back Dáúd, the younger, into the true religion; for Mas'aúd only delivered him from prison and bondage, that you might accomplish the ministry with which you were charged, against 'Abd-ulla, his nephew, and against all the inhabitants of Multán, so that the disciples of the doctrines of holiness, and of the unity, might be distinguished from the party of bewilderment, contradiction, ingenuity, and rebellion."

² *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 256.

those of Persia and Arabia, but with the Druses, who adored Hákim, the Fátimide Khalif of Egypt, as a God.

That the Karmatians should have obtained many converts to their infidel opinions is rendered highly probable by the difficulty of accounting for their rapid conquest of Sind by any other supposition. Being merely refugees from Bahrein and Al-Hassa after their successive defeats, mentioned in a preceding Note, and their subsequent persecution in Arabia, they could scarcely have traversed an inhospitable country, or undertaken a long sea voyage, in sufficient numbers, to appear suddenly with renovated power in Sind. Many Hindú converts doubtless readily joined them, both in the hope of expelling their present masters, and in the expectation of receiving a portion of their ancient patrimony for themselves, after the long exclusion under which they had groaned. One of the Belóch clans, indeed, still preserves the memory of its heresy, or that of its progenitor, in retaining its present title of Karmatí.

Independent of the general dissemination of Shiya' sentiments in the valley of the Indus, which favoured notions of the incorporation of the Godhead in Man, the old occupants of the soil must, from other causes, have been ready to acquiesce in the wild doctrines of the heretics, who now offered themselves for spiritual teachers, as well as political leaders. Their cursing of Muhammed—their incarnations of the deity—their types and allegories—their philosophy divided into exoteric and esoteric—their religious reticence—their regard for particular numbers, especially for seven and twelve—the various stages of initiation—their abstruse allusions—their mystical interpretations—their pantheistic theosophy—were so much in conformity with sentiments already prevalent amongst these willing disciples, that little persuasion could have been required to induce them to embrace so congenial a

system of metaphysical divinity, of which the final degree of initiation, however cautiously and gradually the development was concealed, undoubtedly introduced the disciple into the regions of the most unalloyed atheism. So susceptible, indeed, must the native mind have been of these insidious doctrines, that Hammer-Purgstall and others, who have devoted much attention to these topics, have very reasonably concluded that the doctrines of these secret societies,—such as the Karmatians, Isma'ilians, or Assassins, Druses, Batinís, and sundry others, which at various periods have devastated the Muhammedan world, and frequently threatened the extinction of that faith,—though originally based upon the errors of the Gnostics, were yet largely indebted to the mystical philosophy and theology of Eastern nations, and especially of India;—where the tenets of transmigration and of absorption into the Deity were even more familiar both to Buddhists and Bráhmans, than they were to these miserable schismatics.

The Hindú population, therefore, though they had much to dread from them, if it continued obstinately in the path of idolatry, was likely to offer a rich field of proselytism to such zealous fanatics as the Karmatians, or “people of the veil,” whose creed could not have been less attractive to an ignorant and superstitious multitude, from its eluding in many instances the grasp of human apprehension, and from its founder being announced, in profane and incomprehensible jargon, to be “the Guide! the Director!! the Invitation!!! the Word!!!! the Holy Ghost!!!!!! the Demonstration!!!!!! the Herald!!!!!! the Camel!!!!!!!!!!”

Assuming, then, that this Ibn Súmer, the ruler of Multán in 423 H., was in reality a Súmra, we must date the commencement of the Súmra dynasty at least as early as that period, and most probably even before Mahmúd's

death, in the lower course of the Indus ; for it has already been observed, on the authority of Ibn Athír, that Mahmúd, on his return from Sómnát, in 416 H., placed a *Muhammedan* chief in possession of Mansúra ; for that the incumbent had abjured Islámism. So that the expelled ruler must necessarily have been a Karmatian, or a Hindú ; and, in either case, doubtless a Súmra, who, in the distractions of the Ghaznevide Empire, would have allowed no long time to elapse before he recovered the dominions from which he had been expelled.

This re-establishment might have been delayed during the reign of Masa'úd, who is expressly mentioned by Baihakí as comprising all Sind within his dominions. The Súmras, indeed, may possibly have allowed a titular sovereignty to the Ghaznevites, even down to the time of 'Abdu-r-rashíd in 443 H. ; or paid tribute as an acknowledgment of fealty ;—but, after that time, the advance of the Seljúks on the northern frontier of the empire, and the internal disorders of the government, must have offered too favourable a conjuncture for them to profess any longer an even nominal subordination to distant monarchs unable to enforce it.

The Súmra power could at no time have been extensive and absolute in Sind ; and the passage translated above at p. from the *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, showing seven tributary chiefs in Sind in the time of Násiru-d-dín, represents perhaps the true state of the country during a great portion of the so-called Súmra period. Moreover, this unfortunate province was subject to perpetual incursions from the Ghorian, Khiljí, and Tughlak dynasties of Delhí and the Panjáb, as well as the still more ruinous devastations of the Moghuls. The retreats in their native deserts offered temporary asylums to the Sindians during these visitations, till it pleased the stronger power to retire,

after ravaging the crops and securing their plunder : but, beyond the personal security which such inhospitable tracts offered, the Súmras could have enjoyed little freedom and independence, and can only claim to rank as a dynasty, from the absence of any other predominant tribe, or power, to assert better pretensions to that distinction.¹

¹ Compare, HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *Geschichte der Assassinen*, Book i, and *Fundgruben des Orients*, Vol. vi, pp. .—*Biog. Universelle*, v. "Carmath."—RENOUARD, *Encyc. Metropolitana*, Vol. xviii, pp. 301, 308.—M. JULES DAVID, *Syrie Moderne*, pp. 195-7.—M. SILVESTRE DE SACY, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Tom. i, p. cdxci, ii, 341 ; and *Journal des Savants*, ann., 1818.—The entire work of DE SACY has been copiously abstracted in the first and second Volumes of COL. CHURCHILL'S *Mount Lebanon*, 1853.—WEIL, *Ges. der Chalifen*, Vol. ii, p. 214, iii, 65.—SALE, *Koran*, Prel. Disc., Vol. i, p. 252.—*Secret Societies of the Middle Ages*, pp. 37-44.—BOHLEN, *Das alte Indien*, Vol. i, p. 206.

APPENDIX .—P. .

The Samma Dynasty.

In considering the annals of this race, we are relieved from many of the perplexities which attend us during the preceding period. After expelling the Súmrás in 752 A.H.—1351 A.D.—the Sammas retained their power, till they were themselves displaced by the Arghúns in 927 A.H.—1520 A.D. Some authorities assign an earlier, as well as later, date for the commencement of their rule. The *Béglár-náma* says 784 A.H., making the dynasty last 193 years. The *Tárikh-i-Táhirí* says 843 A.H., giving it no more than 84 years. The *Tofahtu-l-kiráam* says 927 H., which gives 175 years.

The *T. Táhirí* is obviously wrong, because when Sultán Fíróz Tughlak invaded Sind in 762 A.H., he was opposed by a prince whose title was Jám—one borne by Sammas only, not by Súmrás,—and this we learn from a contemporary author, Shams-i-Siráj, whose father himself commanded a fleet of 1000, out of 5000, boats employed upon the expedition. The power of the Jám may be judged of, by his being able to bring a force of 40,000 Infantry and 20,000 Cavalry to oppose the Sultán of Dehlí, whom he kept at bay for two years and a half. Ten years previous, we also know from contemporary history that, upon Muhammed Tughlak's invasion, the chief of T'hatta was a Súmra, and not a Samma. We may, therefore, safely concur with the *Tohfatu-l-kiráam* in taking the year 752 H. as that of the accession of the Sammas—which was, indeed, coincident with that of Sultán Fíróz, for his reign commenced while he was yet in Sind, and this change of

dynasty was probably in some measure contingent upon his success in that province, before he advanced upon Dehlí.

All these authors concur in fixing the extinction of the Samma dynasty in 927 H.

Native writers have done their best to render the origin of this tribe obscure, in their endeavours to disguise and embellish the truth. The extracts given from the *Toh-fatu-l-kiráam* will show the propensity of the Sindian mind to wander into the region of fable and romance. Nothing can be made out of such arrant nonsense. In another passage, the author throws discredit on the Arab descent, and inclines to that from Jamshéd. The Arabic origin from Abí Jahl has been assigned, in order to do honour to the converts from Hindúism. The Jháréjas of Kach'h, who are of Samma extraction, prefer claiming the distant connexion of Shám, or Syria. The descent from Sám, the son of the prophet Núh, has been assigned, partly for the same reason of nobilitation, partly that a fit eponymos might be found for Samma; and Jamshéd, or Jám (for he is known under both forms indiscriminately), has been hit upon, in order that a suitable etymology might be obtained for the titular designation of Jám.¹

Tod derives the word Jám from Samma, but the correctness of this etymology may be doubted, for it was not the designation of the family generally, but merely of the chiefs. Indeed, Jám is a title still borne by many native rulers in these parts, such as the Jám of Béla, the Jám of Nawánagar in Saurashtra, the Jám of Kej, the Jám of the Jókya, a Samma tribe, and others—and has no necessary connection with Persian descent, much less with such

¹ *Jám* means "King," and *Shíd* or *Shéd* means "Sun."—Compare ROSENZWEIG, on *Jámí's Joseph und Zuleicha*, pp. 202, 205.—CREUZER, *Symbolik und Mythologie*, Vol. I, p. 671.—VULLERS, on MIRCHOND'S *Geschichte der Seldschuken*, p. 72.

a fabulous monarch and legislator as Jamshéd. In the same manner, it has been attempted to engraft the genealogy of Cyrus on the ancient Median stock, by detecting the identity between Achæmenes and Jamshéd;¹ but here, again, notwithstanding that the hypothesis is supported by the respectable name of Heeren, we are compelled to withhold our assent, and are sorely tempted to exclaim,—

*Alfana vient d'equus, sans doute ;
Mais il faut avouer aussi,
Qu'en venant de la jusqu' ici
Il a bien changé sur la route.*

What the Sammas really were is shown in an interesting passage of the *Chach-nâma*, where we find them, on the banks of the lower Indus, coming out with trumpets and shawms to proffer their allegiance to Muhammed Kâsim. Sâmba, the governor of Débal, on the part of Chach, may be considered the representative of the family at an earlier period.²

They were then either Buddhists or Hindús, and were received into favour in consideration of their prompt and early submission. They form a branch of the great stock of the Yádús, and their pedigree is derived from Samba, the son of Krishna, who himself is known by the epithet of 'Syâma,' indicative of his dark complexion. Samma-nagar on the Indus was their original capital, which has been supposed by some to be the Minagara of the Greek geographers, and is probably represented by the modern Sehwán. Selhwán itself, which has been subject

¹ SCHNITZLER, *Encycl. des Gens du Monde*, Tom. i., p. 144.—WAHL, *Allgemeine Beschreibung des Pers. Reichs*, p. 209.—*Zendavesta*, i, 14.—HEEREN, *Asiatic Nations*, Vol. i, p. 377.

² *Chach-nâma*, MS. pp. 70, 199.

to various changes of name, may perhaps derive that particular designation, (if it be not a corruption of Sindomana,) from the Sehta—themselves a branch of the Sammas—mentioned in the *Chach-náma*, and also noticed at a later period of Sindian history, as will appear from some of the preceding Extracts. The name is also still preserved amongst the Jháréjas of Kach'h. The more modern capital of the Sammas, during part of the period under review, and before its transfer to T'hatta,, was Sámói, mentioned in another Note. Since the Sammas became proselytes to Islám, which occurred not earlier than 793 H.—1391 A.D.—their name, though it still comprises several large erratic and, pastoral communities, is less known than that of their brethren, or descendants, the Saméchas, and the demi-Hindú Jháréjas of Kach'h, who do honour to their extraction by their martial qualities, however notoriously they may be deficient in other virtues.

It being admitted that the Sammas are unquestionably Rájpúts of the great Yádú stock, and that they have occupied the banks of the lower Indus within known historical periods, there seems nothing fanciful in the supposition that their ancestors may be traced in the Sambastæ and Sambus of Alexander's historians. The name of Sambastæ, who are represented as a republican confederacy, is doubtful, being read Abastani in Arrian, and Sabarcæ in Quintus Curtius; but Sambus, of whose subjects no less than 80,000 (let us hope Diodorus is more correct in saying 8,000) were wantonly slain by that mighty destroyer,—

That made such waste in brief mortality,

and whose capital was the Sindonalia, Sindimona, or Sindomana above named, appears under the same aspect in all three authors—with the closer variation

of Samus in some copies¹—and may fairly claim to have represented an earlier Samma dynasty in Sind than that which forms the subject of this Note.²

¹ He is *Sabbas* in Plutarch, *Sabotas* in Strabo; and under the further disguises of *Ambigarus* in Justin, and *Ambiras* in Orosius.

² Compare, *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, MS. p. 31.—*Bēglār-nāma*, MS. p. 9.—*Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī*, MS. pp. 42, 51.—*Tohfatu-l-kirām*, MS., pp. 15, 37, 166.—SHAMS-I-SINDJ, *T. Fīrōzshāhī*, MS. p. .—ZĪĀ BARĀNĪ, *T. Fīrōzshāhī*, MS. p. .—TOD, *Annals of Rujast'han*, Vol. I, p. 86; II, 220, 256, 312; and *Travels in W. India*, pp. 466-474.—DR. BURNES, *History of Cutch*, Introd. pp. xi, xiv, 1, 73.—VINCENT, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. I, pp. 151-155.—DROYSEN, *Geschichte des Alexanders des Grossen*, pp. 446-9.—RITTER, *Erdkunde von As.*, Vol. IX, pt. I, pp. 473-4.—DIOD. SICULUS, *Biblioth. Histor.*, Lib. xvii, cap. 102, 103.—ARRIAN, *Anab.*, Lib. vi, cap. 16.—Q. CURT. RUFUS, *De Gest. Alex.*, Lib. ix, cap. 32.—C. MÜLLER, *Scriptores Rerum Alex. M.* p. 71.—R. GEIER, *Alex. M. Histor. Scriptores*, p. 174.

The Arghún Dynasty.

The family of the Arghúns derive their name, as stated at p. , from Arghún Khán Tarkhán, the grandson of Halákú, the grandson of Changéz Khán. Amír Basrí is there said, in general terms, to be one of the descendants of Arghún Khán. The descent, more accurately traced, is as follows :—

Arghún Khán.

Uljáitú Sultán Muhammed Khudábanda.

Amír Elchí.

Amír Ekú Timur.

Amír Shakal Bég.

Bartak Bég.

Mír Shékhú Bég.

Mahmúd Bég.

Yár Bég.

Mír Farrukh Bég.

Míram Bég.

Ahmed Walí.

Farrukh Bég.

Amír Basrí.

The Arghún dynasty of Sind consisted of only two individuals—Shuja", or Sháh, Bég, and his son Mirzá Sháh Husain, with whom the family became extinct. The relations of the former with the Emperor Báber—when possession of the province of Kandahár was contested between them,—and of the latter with the Emperor Humáiyún—when that unfortunate monarch took refuge in Sind for nearly three years,—constitute their reigns as of

some importance in the general history of India,—especially when we consider that the memoirs of Báber are defective in the period alluded to.

The duration of their rule is variously stated at 35, 36, and 41 years. The last period is correct only if we date from 921 H., when, according to the *Tárikh-i-Táhirí*,¹ Sháh Bég invaded and occupied a portion of Upper Sind : but, as the final conquest of Lower, as well as Upper, Sind was not effected from the Sammas till 927 H., it is more correct to assume 35 years as the period.

All authorities concur in representing that the Arghún dynasty—Shán Husain having died childless—closed in 962 A.H.—1554-5—A.D.²

¹ The *Tarkhán-náma*, following the chronology of the *Tárikh-i-Sind*, says that this first invasion occurred in 924 H.

² Compare *Tárikh-i-Sind*, MS. p. 136.—*Béglár-náma*, MS. p. 30.—*Tarkhán-náma*, MS. p. 24.—*Tárikh-i-Táhirí*, MS. pp. 14, 51, 76, 81.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. pp. 42, 52.

APPENDIX .—P. .

The Tarkhán Dynasty.

When A'úng, Khán of the Keraite Mongols, and celebrated in Europe under the name of Prester John, had, at the instigation of the jealous enemies of Changéz Khán, at last resolved to destroy that obnoxious favourite,—two youths, named Ba'ta and Kashlak, who had overheard the discussion of the measures which were determined upon for execution on the following day, instantly flew to the camp of Changéz Khán, and disclosed to him the circumstances of the premeditated attack and his critical position. Being thus forwarned, he was able to defeat the scheme, and after defending himself against great disparity of numbers, escaped the danger which impended over him. Upon proceeding to reward his gallant companions in the conflict, Changéz Khán conferred upon the two youths, to whose information he was indebted for his life, the title of Tarkhán, expressly ordaining that their posterity for nine generations should be exempted from all question for their offences, that they should be free from taxes and imposts, and permitted to enjoy all the plunder they should acquire in war, without being obliged to resign any part of it to the Khán. From these are said to be descended the Tarkháns of Khurásán and Turkistán.

Another set of Tarkháns were so denominated by Tímúr. When Tuktamish Khán was advancing against that potentate, he was gallantly opposed by Ekú Timur, who fell in the unequal conflict; but his surviving relatives whose gallantry and devotion had been witnessed by Tímúr, were honoured by him with the title of Tarkhán, and it was enjoined, amongst other privileges, that

the royal servitors should at no time prohibit their access to his presence, and that no criminal offence committed by them should be subject to punishment, until nine times repeated. From these are said to be descended the Tarkháns of Sind.

Others say, Tímúr bestowed the title upon a set of men who gave him shelter in his youth, when he lost his way on an hunting expedition.

Another origin is ascribed to this name, which is evidently fanciful, namely, that it is a corrupt mode of pronouncing "tar-khún," quasi, "wet with the blood (of enemies)."

Though it is probable that the Tarkháns of Sind may, as the local histories assert, be able to trace their origin to Ekú Timur, who, as we have seen in the preceding Note, was the great grandson of Arghún Khán, and who was the member of the imperial family from whom the Arghúns also were descended,—yet the Tarkháns of Khurásán and Turkistán cannot all be descended from the family of Ba'ta and Kashlak, because Arghún Khán was himself a Tarkhán, and we find the title borne by others who could have had no connection with those favoured youths. Thus, Tarkhán, prince of Ferghána, hospitably entertained the last monarch of Persia; and thus, among the events of 105 H., Tabarí makes frequent mention of the Tarkháns, as officers under the Khágán of the Khazars, to the west of the Caspian sea. Bábu-l-abwáb was garrisoned by a thousand Tarkhánis, the flower of the Tatár tribes. One chief's name was Hazár-Tarkbání; and other instances might easily be adduced of the antiquity of the title.

We find the name descending to a late period of the annals of India, and scions of this family still reside at Nasrpúr and Thatta; but the dynasty of the Tarkháns of Sind may be considered to have expired in the year 1,000 H., when Mirzá Jání Bég resigned his independence into

the hands of Akber's general, the Khán-i-Khánán, after the kingdom had remained with the Tarkháns for a period of 38 years.

The *Tárikh-i-Táhirí* extends their rule even to 1022 H.—or rather, it should have been 1021 H.—when Ghází Bég Tarkhán died at Kandahár; but he was only an imperial officer, having no independent jurisdiction, and entitled merely a Jágírdár. Even then, it is impossible to make, as that authority does, the Tarkhán period reach to 53 years; so that, as before mentioned, we must date the extinction of Sind as an independent kingdom, from 1000 A.H.—1591-2 A.D.—and thenceforward the consideration of its affairs merges in the general history of the Tímúrian empire.¹

¹ Compare—*Modern Universal History*, Vol. III, p. 250.—D'OHSSON, *Histoire des Mongols*, Tom. I, p. 44.—*Shajrat ul Atrak*, p. 71.—*Journal R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 123; XII, 344.—PRICE, *Retrospect of Muham. Hist.*, Vol. I, p. 470; II, 483; III, 117.—D'HERBELOT, *Biblioth. Orientale*, v. "Tarkhan."—*Zafar-náma*, MS. p. —*Rauzat-u-s-safá*, MS. p. —*Habibu-s-siyar*, MS. p. —*Tárikh-i-Táhirí*, MS. pp. 14, 76.—*Tarkhán-náma*, MS. pp. 4, 23, 51, 69, 118.—*Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. pp. 52, 62.—WEIL, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. I, p. 500.

APPENDIX .—P. .

Mandal.—Arin.—Mália.—Kíraj.

It is difficult to fix the position of Mandal, one of the places to which Junaid despatched an expedition. Mabdál is a closer resemblance to the text, but the celebrity and frequency of the name of Mandal point out that as the correct reading in the present instance.

The name of Mandal, or Mandalam, being applied generally to signify 'a region' in Sanscrit, adds to our doubts upon this occasion. Thus we have Tonda-Mandalam, Pándú-Mandalam, Chola-Mandalam, and many others. The most noted Mandal of the Arab geographers was that whence Mandalí aloë-wood was derived; hence *agallochum* was frequently called 'Mandal;' but no one seems to have known where it was situated. Cazviní says, no one can penetrate to it, because it lies beyond the equinoctial line; but he calls it a city of India, taking that word in its enlarged sense of East Indies. Avicenna, in his *Kanún*, says that, according to some, it is in the middle of the land of Hind. The place here alluded to, is probably the coast of Coromandel, whence the *agallochum*, brought from the eastern islands, was distributed to the marts and countries of the west.

Avicenna's description might be made to apply to Mandala upon the Nerbada, which in the second century of our era was the seat of the Haihaya dynasty of Gondwána;¹ but this is, of course, too far for any Arab expe-

¹ LANGLOIS, *Harivansa*, Vol. i, p. 6.—*As. Res.*, Vol. ix, pp. 100, 105, 112.—*J. A. S. Bengal*, August, 1837.—*J. A. S. Bombay*, Vol. iv, p. 179.—*Mod. Traveller*, "India," Vol. i, p. 141.—SCHLEGEL'S *Ramayana*, Vol. i, pt. ii, p. 208.—*As. Ann. Reg.*, Vol. viii, Misc. Tracts, p. 19.—BAUDRY, *Encycl. Moderne*, Tom. xviii, col. 151.—LASSEN, *Ind. Altherth.*, Vol. i, Beil. iv, 4.

dition, notwithstanding that M. Reinaud considers Ujjain and Málwa to have been attacked at the same period, under the orders of Junaid. These two names, which were left blank in his *Fragments Arabes*, were restored in his *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, but in both instances, I think, erroneously; for, even they were too remote for such petty expeditions as were despatched by Junaid, and we need scarcely seek for their identity beyond the Arín, or Ran, of Kach'h, and the Mália of Guzerát. Indeed, Beláadorí says, that the Arabs had to traverse the district of Arín to go to Malia,—a pretty certain indication of the exact position of both places. Allowing that the Ran may not then have existed in its present state, the name of Arín¹ would have been equally applicable to the Tharr, which intervenes between Sind and Mália; for Mália is situated on the Machú, about two miles above the point where that stream is lost in the Ran. This fortress was taken by us in 1809, after a resolute defence from a troublesome banditti of Míání plunderers, who infested the country. We meet with it again in our notice on the Méds, and there can be little doubt of its being the place here alluded to. Even Málabár would have been a more probable object of attack than Málwa, in the heart of India. As we proceed, we shall find other expeditions almost all directed to different points in the Guzerát peninsula,—as indeed was the case, even from the time of the conquest of Sind, when the inhabitants of Basra were engaged in a warfare with the Méds of Saurashtra.

It is evident that we must seek also no very distant site for Mandal. Even Mandal-éswara (Mandlaisar), on the Nerbada, would be too remote. Mandór in Rájpútána,

¹ The word is derived from the Sanscrit *aranya*, Lat. *arena*, "a desert, a forest, a morass," the *Ἐρινός* of the *Periplus*, abbreviated into the present *Ran*. The Arabs wrote "Ujjain" as if it were "Arín," and so far they give colour to M. Reinaud's hypothesis.

the ancient capital of the Parihárs, or Mandra in Kach'h, or Mandal in Jhaláwár, would be better, or the famous Mandaví, had not its ancient site been known by another name,—Ráen. Altogether, Mandal in Guzerát, better known as Oká-Mandal, offers, from its antiquity and its position as the western district of that peninsula, the most probable site for the Mandal of Junaid.

From the expression of the historian Tabarí, quoted above at p. , that the Arabs never recovered possession of Kíraj and Mandal, there would seem to be an implication that these places lay beyond the province of Sind, and that they were at no great distance from one another. They are also mentioned together in the passage under consideration. The 'Kíraj' of Tabarí and the *Futúhu-l-buldán* seems to be the same place as the 'Kaj' of Birúní, and the 'Kúraj' of the *Chach-náma*, and was probably situated in, if not named from, Kach'h, though the exact site of the town cannot now be established.

The position of Oká-Mandal on the opposite coast is a sufficient reason why it should be mentioned in connection with Kíraj, supposing that place to have been in Kach'h; and, in the absence of more certain information, I should, for this, as well as the other reasons above given, feel disposed to consider it as the Mandal noticed by the Arab historians of the Sindian conquest.¹

¹ GILDEMEISTER, *Script. Arab. de rebus Indicis*, pp. 69, 71, 214.—REINAUD, *Journ. Asiatique*, Févr., 1845, p. 181; *Fragments Ar.*, pp. 207, 216; and *Mémoire*, p. 192.—TOD, *Rajast'han*, Vol. 1, pp. 39, 100, 725.—HAMILTON'S *Gazetteer*, 4to Vol. 1, pp. 651, 656, 661.—HUDSON, *Geog. Vet. Script. Min.*, Vol. 1,—*Periplus*, p. 23.

APPENDIX .—P. .

Kaikánán.—Kaikán.—Kákars.

This name appears under the various aspects of *Kaikánán*, *Kíkán*, *Kaikán*, *Kízkánán*, *Kabarkánán* and *Kírkáyán*,—the first being of most frequent occurrence. Though so often mentioned, we can form but a very general idea of its position.

The *Chach-náma* tells us that, under the *Rái* dynasty, the Sindian territory extended “as far to the north, as the mountain of *Girwán* and *Kaikánán*.”¹ Again, the Arabs “marched in A.H. 38 to *Kaikánán*, by way of *Bahraj* and *Koh-páya*,” where, after some partial successes, their progress was intercepted by the mountaineers in their difficult defiles, and in the end the Arabs sustained a complete defeat. One of the objects of these expeditions to *Kaikánán*, which lasted for about twenty years, was to obtain horses from that province, as they are represented to have been celebrated for their strength and proportions. The tract of *Búd’h* was reached during one of these incursions, and we find one of the Arab armies returning from another incursion by way of *Síwistán*.²

Beládorí also mentions these expeditions, with some slight variations in the details; and is the only author who adopts the spelling of the Arabic *káf*, and omits the last syllable,—representing the name as ‘*Kaikán*,’—whereas the *Chach-náma* prefers *Kaikánán*. He says “it forms a portion of *Sind* in the direction of *Khurásán*,” and he speaks of ‘*Turks*’ as its inhabitants. In an important expe-

¹ MS. p. 16.

² MS. pp. 72-78.

dition directed against a tract of country lying between Multán and Kábul, in A.H. 44, "Turks are encountered in the country of Kaikán." In another, 'Abd-ulla sends to Mua'viya the "horses of Kaikán," which he had taken amongst other spoil. In another, Asad "attacks the Méds, after traversing the country of the Kaikán."¹ In the year 221 H. Beládorí speaks of a portion of "Kaikán as occupied by Jats, whom 'Amrán defeated, and then established within their country the military colony of Baizá." On this occasion, the country was attacked from the side of Sind, not from Mekrán, which will account for the mention of the 'Jats,' instead of 'Turks.'²

It may almost be doubted if the Kaikánán, or Kabarkánán, of Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal refer to this tract,—and yet it would be more difficult to account for its total omission, if it do not. According to them, Kaikánán was in the district of Túrán, and a city in which the governor of Kúsdár resided. This apparent discrepancy can only be reconciled by supposing that there was both a province and town of that name. They give us no further indication of its position, except that the district of Atal is said to lie between Kaikánán and Kandábél,—which, of itself, attributes to it a much greater extension to the north, than if it were a mere portion of Túrán.³

The later Arab geographers follow these authorities, and add nothing further to our information.

Abul-fazl Baihakí mentions Kaikánán amongst the other provinces under the authority of Mas'úd, the Ghaznevide; and as Hind, Sind, Nímróz, Zábulistán, Kúsdár, Mekrán, and Dánistán are noticed separately, it shows

¹ *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, pp. 184-6.

² *Ibid.*, p. 214.

³ MORDTMANN, *das Buch der Länder*, pp. —. —GILDEMEISTER, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 164, 174, 177.

that Kaikáhán was then considered a distinct jurisdiction.¹

In Hiuen-thsang's travels we have mention of the country of Kikan, situated to the south of Kábul, which is evidently no other than the province of which we are treating.²

From this time forward, we lose sight of the name, and are left to conjecture where Kaikánán was. Under all the circumstances of the case, we may be justified in considering it so far to the east as to include the Sulaimání range, which had not, up to a comparatively late period, been dignified with that name. As with respect to Asia and many other names of countries, so with respect to Kaikánán, the boundaries seem to have receded with the progress of discovery; and though, on its first mention, it does not appear to have extended beyond Shál and Mastúng, yet, by the time of the Ghaznevídes, we are authorised to conclude that it reached, on the east, to the frontier of Multán, and, on the south, to the hilly tract of Síwistán, above the plains of Sind.

Under the present condition of Afghánistán it may be considered in general terms as including the whole of the country occupied by the Kákars. The expedition of A.H. 44 to the country between Multán and Kábul certainly shows that Kaikánán must have comprised the Sulaimání range to the south of the Gúmal; and the celebrity of its horses would appear to point to a tract further to the west, including Saháráwán and Múshkí, where horses, especially those used on the plain of Mangachar, are still in great demand, and whence they are often sent for shipment to the coast.

There is no place extant which recalls the name of the old province, except it be Káhán, which was perhaps included within its south-eastern frontier. It is barely possible also that there may be some connection between

¹ *Tárikh-i-Mas'údi*, MS. p. .

² *Foe-koue-ki*, p. 395.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 176.

the name of the Kákars and that of the ancient province which they occupy. It will be observed above, that Baihaki mentions a district of Dánistán, and the order in which it occurs is “Kusdár, and Mekrán, and Dánistán, and Kaikhánán.” This implies contiguity between the several places thus named, and it is therefore worthy of remark, that Dáni is entered in all the genealogical lists of the Afgháns as the eldest son of Gharghasht, the son of their great progenitor, Kais 'Abdu-r-rashíd Pat'hán; and that Kákar, from whom the powerful tribe of that name is descended, was himself the eldest son of Dáni. Names change in the course of ages, especially among people in a low stage of civilization; and it may perhaps be conceded that 'Kákarán' and 'Kaikhánán' would, under such circumstances, be no very violent and improbable metathesis.

APPENDIX .—P. .

Kandábél.—Túrán.—Budha.—Baizá.

It is essential to a right understanding of ancient Sindhian geography to ascertain where Kandábél, of which there is such frequent mention, was situated. We can only do this by implication, and by comparison of the various passages in which the name occurs.

The *Chach-náma*¹ mentions it in three different passages, at least if Kandhála in the last reference be meant, as seems probable, for that place. If we are to put faith in the first passage, there would be no need for further enquiry, as it is distinctly mentioned thus:—"Kandábél, that is, Kandahár." But it may be shown that this identification cannot possibly be admitted, for Chach reaches the place through the desert of Túrán (a province of which KUSDÁR was the capital)² on his return from Armá-bél to Alór. He straightened the garrison by encamping on the river Shabí, or Sébí, and compelled them to agree to the payment of 100 horses from the hill country, and an tribute of 100,000 dirhems. Here the name of the river, and the position, put Kandahár out of the question, and we can only regard the passage as the conjecture of some transcriber, interpolated by mistake from the margin into the text.

The real fact is, that Kandábél³ can scarcely be any

¹ MS. pp. 48, 71, 115.

² MORDTMANN, *das Buch der Länder*, p. .—*Marásidu-l-ittilá*, ed. Juynboll, Vol. II, p. 214.—*Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 176, 278.

³ It is almost uniformly spelt in this mode, with the Arabic *Káf*, the variations being very few. The final syllable is occasionally

other place than the modern Gandáva, and we shall find, with this single exception, that all the other passages where its name occurs sufficiently indicate that as the position. Indeed, it is probable that this very instance lends confirmation to this view, for the Shabí river seems to be no other than the Sébí, now called the Nári, but flowing under the town of Sébí, and, during the floods, joining the Bolán river, into which the hill-streams, which surround and insulate Gandáva, disembogue themselves. The river which runs nearest to Gandáva is now called the Bádra.

The *Mujmalu-t-tawárikh* tells us that Kandábel was founded by the Persian king, Bahman, "on the limits of India and the country of the Turks."¹ Beládoori frequently mentions it, and speaks of Kandahár as entirely separate and distinct.² He tells us, it was situated on a hill or elevated site, and that 'Amrán, after taking the town, transferred the principal inhabitants to KUSDÁR,³ from which place it was situated at the distance of five parasangs.⁴

According to Ibn Haukal and the corresponding passages in Istakhri, Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, and the *Ashkálu-l-bilád*, Kandábel was the capital of Budha,⁵ and a large place of commercial traffic,⁶ deficient in the

ñl, *bal*, and *yal*; but *bél* is most probably the correct form. We find the same termination in Armá-bél, or the modern Béla. It may possibly be connected with the Mongol, *balu* 'a city,' as in *Khán-balu*, the city of the Khán.—See *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. xv, p. 200.

¹ *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, p. 41.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 57.

² *Fragm. Arabes*, pp. 187, 189, 205.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁴ *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 176. The distance is too short to suit Gandáva, which is 80 miles north-east of KUSDÁR. Has not 'parasangs' been entered instead of 'stages'?

⁵ GILDEMEISTER, *de rebus Indicis*, p. 164.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

produce of the date-palm, and situated in a desert,¹ eight stages from Mansúra, and ten through the desert from Multán.²

All these descriptions make Kandábél correspond sufficiently with the modern Gandáva, to leave no doubt of their identity. Later historians speak of it as being on the borders of Kirmán,³ but their notions of that province were very indefinite, and any place on the eastern confines of Sind would equally answer their loose mode of delineation.

Gandáva, which is the capital of the province of Kach'h Gandáva, is surrounded by a wall, and is still one of the most important places between Kelát and Shikárpúr, though greatly declined from its former state. Indeed, Bágh is a much larger, as well as more commercial, town, but the credit of antiquity cleaves to Gandáva.

Kandábél, it will be observed, is represented as the capital of Budha, which therefore next demands our attention. This is evidently the same province as the Búdhpúr, Búdhyá, and Budápúr of the *Chach-náma*.

Under the Rái dynasty, the second satrapy of Sind comprised, besides the town of Séwastán, which was the capital,⁴ “Búdhpúr, and Jangán (Jangár), and Koh-páya, and Rójhán, as far as the borders of Mekrán.”⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 177. This alludes to the *pat* of Shikárpúr.

² *Ibid.*, p. 178.

³ ELMACIN, *Historia Saracenica*, ann. 101.

⁴ Schwán on the Indus is here alluded to; but the town of Sébí, or Siwí, and the province of Siwistán, are the constant source of confusion and mistake, whenever the name occurs; insomuch, that it is sometimes difficult, as in the passages here quoted, to determine positively which place is indicated. This perplexity is not diminished by the fact of the large province of Sístán, or Sejestán, being not very remote.

⁵ *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 16.

Again, "Chach marched towards the fortress of Budápúr and Séwastán." After crossing the Indus "he went to Búdhyā, the capital of which tract was Nátárāj (Kákárāj)and the inhabitants were called Sawís." "After taking the fort of the Sawís, he moved towards Séwastán."¹

When Séwastán was attacked by Muhammed Kásim, the governor fled to Búdh, "where was a fortress called Sím,² on the banks of the river Kabhna," whither he was pursued by the Arab general, who encamped with a portion of his army at "Anílhán on the Kambha."³ Here, the chiefs of Búdhyā determined to make a night attack upon his camp. These chiefs of Búdhyā, who were of the same family as the ruler of Sím, are subsequently shown to be Jats;⁴ "whose origin was derived from Agar on the banks of the Gang, which they call Awúnd-dhár."⁵ After failing in this expedition, they voluntarily surrendered themselves, as they had "found from the books of the Buddhists that Hindústán was destined to be conquered by the army of Islám," and then turned their arms vigorously against their former comrades. On Muhammed's advancing to Sím, "some of the idolaters fled to Búdhyā, higher up: some to the fort of Bamhtelúr,⁶ be-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

² Or Sísam in the province of Sébí (Síwistán), according to the *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. pp. 12, 119.

³ By this river we are perhaps to understand that which flows by Lárkhána, which during high floods is occasionally replenished by the Múllöh, or stream which runs through the Múl-Gandáva pass. There is a large village of that, or a similar, name, about ten miles west of Lárkhána.

⁴ Or Channas, according to the *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 12.

⁵ *Persian*. We may exercise our ingenuity in determining the correct reading.

⁶ Bahaltúr and Bahla, in the *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. pp. 12, 119.

tween Salúj and Kandhála;" and there sued for peace, and after agreeing to pay a tribute, sent their hostages to Séwastán.¹

In the *Mujmalu-t-tawárikh* we read that Bahman, the Persian king, "built in the country of Budh'h a town called Bahmanábád, which according to some is the same as Mansúra."²

Beládorí does not mention this tract, unless it be disguised under the name of Núfán, where the military colony of Baizá was founded; which, in another passage, is said to be in the country of Kaikán, occupied by the Jats.³

In Ibn Haukal it assumes the form of Budh'h, or Budha. "The infidel inhabitants within the borders of Sind are the Budha and Mand. The Budha comprise several tribes dispersed between the limits of Túrán, Mekrán, Multán, and Mansúra, on the western bank of the Mihrán. They are like the wandering Berbers, occupying huts made of reeds and grass within marshy tracts."⁴ Again, "Atal is inhabited by Musulmáns and infidel Budhas."...."From Mansúra to the first⁵ borders of Budha is fifteen stages, and any one who travels that road must go along the banks of the Mihrán, until he reaches Sadústán (Sehwán).⁶ In one passage,

¹ *Chach-náma*, MS. pp. 112-115.

² *Fragments Arabes*, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 165, 180.

⁴ GILDEMEISTER, *de reb. Ind.*, pp. 164, 171, 172.

⁵ This, if the right reading, must be understood in the sense of remotest, because the capital Kandábel is declared to be only eight stages, and Túrán, which is conterminous with Budh'h on the west, is only set down at fifteen stages. The *Ashkálu-L-bilád* gives the distance from Mansúra to the nearest point of Budh'h as only five marches. This is probably the correct reading.—See *Journal A. S. B.*, 1852, No. i, p. 73.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

not immediately relating to Sind, Ibn Haukal has Nudha —“ The lands of the Zat, who are called Nudha, adjoin Multán.”¹

This seems to be the reading preferred by Edrisí,² and Kazvíní. The latter describes the country as having a population resembling the Zat, and yielding plenty of rice and cocoanuts. It also produced camels with double humps, which being rarely found elsewhere, were in great demand in Khurásán and Persia.³ Ibn Haukal also remarks upon the excellence of its breed of camels. The *Marásidu-l-ittilá*⁴ likewise approves of the initial N, instead of B: but these later authorities are of no value, when arrayed against the repeated instances to the contrary from the *Chach-náma* and the great majority of the readings in Ibn Haukal and Istakhrí.

From a comparison of all these statements, it would appear that the old tract of Budh'h, or Búdhya, very closely corresponds with the modern province of Kach'h Gandáva, on all four sides except the northern, where it seems to have acquired a greater extension, of which it is impossible to define the precise limits. It is worthy of remark that, in the very centre of Kach'h Gandáva, there is still a place called Búdha on the Nárí river, and it is possible that the name is also preserved in the Kákar tract of Borí, or Búra, forming part of the Afghán province of Síwistán.⁵ In the *Ayín-i-Akberí* the town of

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

² *Geograph. Nubiensis*, pp. 64, 68.—M. JAUBERT, *Géog. d'E'drisi*, Tom. I, p. 169.

³ *De reb. Indiciis*, p. 216.

⁴ Ed. Juynboll, Vol. II, p. .

⁵ In the passage quoted above from the *Mujmalu-t-tawárikh*, Bahman is said to have founded a city called Bahmanábád in the country of Budh. There is a place entered as Brahiman in Burnes' map, between Shál and Borí.

Budhyán is mentioned as being on the northern frontier of Sirkár T'hatta, 100 coss from Bandar Láhórí.

It is impossible to assent to an hypothesis lately started in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, quoted above, that this tract was designated after the present Burohees, or Bráhúís. Their name itself is too modern,—besides being belied by the usual meaning ascribed to it, of “mountaineer;”—and even their partial occupation of this low eastern tract is not yet a century old. From time immemorial it has been held by the Jats, who still constitute the majority of the population, and the Bráhúís are a mere intrusive stock from the provinces of Múshkí and Jhow, and the rugged highlands of Sahárawán, which abut Kach'h Gandáva on the westward. It has been surmised also that these Budhyas were the Bhodya and Bhoja of the Puránic legends, and even the Bhotyas of Tibet. This is treading upon still more dangerous ground.¹ It is far more probable that, if the name had any significant origin at all, besides that which has been suggested at p. 155, it was derived from the possession of the Buddhist religion in its purity by the inhabitants of that remote tract, at the time when Bráhmanism was making its quiet but steady inroads by the more open and accessible course of the river Indus.

¹ V. DE SAINT-MARTIN, *Études des Géog. ancienne*, Tom. 1, pp. 328-334.—LASSEN, *Ind. Alterth.*, Vol. 1, pp. 559, 611, 727.

APPENDIX .—P. .

Débal.—Karáchi.—T'hatta.—Láhóri Bandar.

It is strange that the site of a port once so noted as Débal should now be left to vague conjecture; but amongst the fluctuating channels of the Sindian Delta we must rest content with mere surmises.

Some of the various opinions entertained upon the question of its locality may be here noticed. Native authorities seem decidedly in favour of considering T'hatta to represent Débal, following generally the text of Ferishta.¹ Mír Ma'súm ignorantly observes that Débal is T'hatta and Láhóri Bandar.² Abú-l-fazl is equally inexact, or rather more so.³ Edrisi⁴ and the Arabian geographers having determined that Débal was three stations from the mouth of the Indus, T'hatta was necessarily the only site which could be selected.

Modern authors have also for the most part inclined to T'hatta, including De la Rochette and Rennell. Capt. McMurdo, while he says that T'hatta is still known to the Arabs by the name of Débal alone, shows that the latter must have been a seaport.⁵ Sir A. Burnes says also that T'hatta is called by the Arabs Déwal Sindý,⁶ and himself assigns Kaláncót as its

¹ BRIGGS, *History*, &c., Vol. iv, p. 404.

² *Tárikh-i-Sind*, MS. pp. 2, 8.

³ *Ayeen Akberee*, Vol. ii, p. 115.

⁴ *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Vol. , p. .

⁵ *Journ. R. A. Soc.*, Vol. i, pp. 29, 234.

⁶ *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. iii, p. 31.

position.¹ Lieut. Burton says, we are certain that the modern T'hatta occupies the ground of the ancient Déwal, as the Arabs and Persians know it by no other name,—Shál-i-Débalí still being used to mean a shawl of T'hatta manufacture.²

D'Anville more correctly establishes it on one of the mouths of the Indus;³ and some others, resigning T'hatta, have assigned other localities to Débal. M. Reinand inclines to the neighbourhood of Karáchí;⁴ and so does Elphinstone.⁵ Dr. Burnes says it occupied a site between Karáchí and T'hatta,⁶ in which he follows Mr. Nathaniel Crow,⁷ one of the first of our modern enquirers in Sind, who combined much discrimination with ample opportunities of local enquiry.

But there can be no question that Débal was on, or close to, the sea-coast; with which the distant inland position of T'hatta is by no means correspondent. For my own part, I entertain little doubt that Karáchí itself represents the site of Débal. The very name of Débal, or rather Déwal, "the temple," was doubtless acquired from the conspicuous position which that object have must occupied from the sea; where it was calculated to attract the gaze and reverence of the passing mariner, like its fellow shrines of Dwáraka and Sómnát; and as there is no other so eligible and commanding a spot along the whole coast of Sind, from Cape Monze to Kotésar, it is highly probable that the promontory on which fort Manóra now stands is

¹ *Cabool*, p. 17.

² *Sindh*, p. 380.—*Unhappy Valley*, Vol. 1, p. 128.

³ *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p. 34.

⁴ *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 170.

⁵ "Déwal was probably somewhere near Karáchí."—*History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 507.

⁶ *Visit to the Court of Sinde*, p. 133.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

the identical site occupied by the celebrated temple which gave name to the port of Débal,¹ and which, as being the Palladium of its security, was the chief object of attack to the catapults which had been brought round by the sea to effect its destruction.²

The following may be mentioned amongst other reasons why Débal cannot possibly have been T'hatta, and which incline us to view Karáchí with favour.

The Serandíp vessels were in their distress driven to "the shore of Débal."³ It could not therefore have been an inland town like T'hatta, 50 miles from the nearest point of the sea, and 100 by any of the tortuous channels of the Delta.

The pirates who attacked them were "dwellers at Débal, of the tribe which they call 'Tangámara.'" Now, these Tangámara we know to have occupied the sea coast from Karáchí to Láhórí Bandar, and to be the popular heroes of several local tales—especially their Ráná Ubaid, who lived even as late as the year 1000 A.H.⁴

Beládorí also speaks of "the bay of Débal,"⁵ and of the "ships which had been despatched from the Persian Gulf" arriving at Débal with soldiers and mangonels.⁶ Elphinstone considers this latter fact as decisive against T'hatta;⁷ but too much may be built on this argument,

¹ The *budh*, or temple, was contiguous to the town of Débal, not within it.

² It is worthy of remark that Manóra is the name of one of the celebrated Buddhist patriarchs. Abel-Rémusat writes it "Manura." M. Stanislas Julien, "Manorata."—*Mélanges Asiatiques*, Tom 1, p. 115.—*Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II, Beil. II, 2.

³ *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 83.

⁴ *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. p. 134.

⁵ *Fragments Arabes*, p. 182.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁷ *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 507.

for subsequently we find these same mangonels carried by water even to Nairún.

Ibn Haukal says, *Débal* is a "large port on the shore of the sea, the emporium of this and the neighbouring regions. It lies to the west of the *Mihrán*,¹ has but little cultivation, and no large trees or date-palms. It is indeed a place of great sterility, and only occupied on account of its trade."² Nothing can be more decisive against the fertile *T'hatta*, and in favour of the barren *Karáchí*.

Again, from *Débal* to *Mansúra* is six stages,³ which, on the supposition that the latter, as elsewhere shown, is *Haidarábád*, would not suit *T'hatta* in any respect, but exactly suits *Karáchí*.

The *Marásidu-l-ittilá'* says, *Débal* is a celebrated city "on the shore of the sea of Hind, an emporium where the rivers of *Lahúr* and *Multán* discharge themselves into the salt sea."⁴

Further quotations need not be added to show that *Débal* was on the sea coast, and could not have been so far inland as *T'hatta*, or even *Láhóri Bandar*, which, however, is the next most probable site after *Karáchí*.

Láhóri Bandar, or *Lári Bandar*, succeeded *Débal* as the sea-port of the *Indus*, and is first named by *Birúni*; but *Débal* had evidently maintained its position down to the time of *Jelálu-d-dín's* incursion into *Sind*, in 1221 A.D. It will appear from the Extracts in the next Volume, taken from the *Jehán-kushái*, that the Sultán conducted himself with the great severity towards the people of that

¹ Gildemeister reads "east," but the *Ashkálu-l-bilád* and *Istakhri* must be correct in giving "west."—See *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 170.

² *De rebus Indicis*, pp. 170, 179.—MORDTMANN, *das Buch der Länder*, p. .—*Liber Climatum*, p. 78.

³ *De reb. Ind.*, p. 178.

⁴ *JUYNBOLL, Lexicon Geographicum*, Vol. 1, p. 421.

port, for he plundered the country, and as he erected a mosque opposite to a Hindú temple during his short stay there, it is evident that the place was considered then to be of sufficient consequence to be insulted in the wantonness of his fanaticism.

In Ibn Batúta's time, about a century later (1333 A.D.), we have no mention of Débal, which seems then to have been superseded entirely by Láhórí Bandar.

Láhórí has itself been taken to be Débal. The *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, indeed, distinctly asserts, that "what is now Bandar Láhórí was in former times called Bandar Débal:"—but its authority is not to be rated high in such matters,¹ and while, confessedly, there are some points slightly in favour of its being Débal, there are others which are decisive against it. It is itself fifteen miles from the shore of the sea: it has no bay: and a passage in Birúní is very conclusive:—where, after saying that the gulf of Túrán (the present bay of Sún-miání) lies between Tíz and Débal, he adds, that "Beyond the gulf of Túrán are the small and great mouths (of the Indus), the one near the town of Lohrání, the other to the east, on the borders of Kach'h. The country (between them) bears the name of Sind Ságara, or the sea of Sind."² Lohrání (Láhórí) is here mentioned as quite distinct from Débal, and was then evidently only just rising into importance.

Ibn Batúta calls the place "*Láhiríya*"³—but it generally goes now by the name of Láhórí, probably from its presumed connection with Láhore. Its ruin and abandonment have now given a greater prominence to the port of Dhárája, which lies a little to the east of Láhórí.

¹ *T.-kirám*, MS. p. 234. This may mean merely "the port connected with Débal," because at p. 1 we read, "Débal is now called T'hatta."

² *Fragments Arabes*, p. 119.—See also p. 113.

³ KOSEGARTEN, *de Mohammede ebn Batuta*, p. 17.

The original name was most likely Lárí, being so called after Lár, the local name of the southern portion of the province of Sind.

The name of Lár had once a very great extension on these southern coasts,—for Ptolemy and the *Periplus* both mention Guzerát under the name of Larice;¹ and Birúni and Abú-l-fedá place Sómnát, and even Tána, in the province of Lár.* The merchant Sulaimán also calls the gulf of Cambay and the waters which wash the Malábár coast “the seas of Lár:”³ so that, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that Lárí Bandar was the original form under which this port was first known.

¹ LASSEN, *Zeitschrift f. d. k. d. Morgenl.*, Vol. I, p. 227.—D'ANVILLE, *Eclaircissements sur la Carte de l'Inde*, pp. 69, 75.—TOD, *Western India*, pp. 187-9, 255.

* *Fragments Arabes*, p. 112.—GILDEMEISTER, *de rebus Indicis*, pp. 185, 188.

³ *Rel. des voyages des Arabes et des Persans*, Vol. I, p. .—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 200, 298.

APPENDIX .—P. .

Nairún.—Sákúra.—Jarak.

Amongst the many places of which it is difficult to establish the true position in ancient Sind, Nairún is one of the most perplexing, for several reasons. Its first syllable, even, is a controverted point, and while all the French authors uniformly write it Byroun, after Abú-l-fedá,¹ the English² equally persist in following Edrisí,² and writing it Nirún and Nérún. What imparts a presumptive correctness to the French reading is, that it is set down as the birthplace of the celebrated Abú Ribán-al-Birúní. But here, *in limine*, several strong objections may be raised,—that Abú Ribán was a Khwárizmian, and is so called by the best authorities,—that throughout his descriptive geography of India, he is more deficient in his account of Sind than in any other part,—that he nowhere mentions it as his birthplace,—and that no one ever heard of any Birún in Sind, though many local traditions speak of a Nirún, and concur in fixing its locality. Abú-l-fedá certainly writes it Birún, but there is often an assumption of accuracy about him which has been far too readily conceded by the moderns;—for he was merely a distant foreigner, who never left Syria except to go to Mecca and Egypt, and he was therefore compelled to copy and rely on the defective information of others. Istakhrí, Ibn Haukal, and the *Ashkálu-l-bilád* are not quite determinate in their reading, but the *Chach-náma* and the *Tohfatu-l-kirám* never write it in any other form.

¹ *Géographie d'Abou-l-féda*, p. 348.

² *Géographie d'Edrisi*, Tom. 1, p. 16.

than with the initial N, followed by the *yá*,—which leaves us still in doubt whether the word be Nairún, Nírún, or Nérún; but it is certainly neither Birun, nor Bírún, nor Bairún, nor Byroun.

Other considerations with respect to the name of Abú Ríhán, will be found in the Note devoted to that philosopher, in the first Volume of this work.

Under the dynasty of the Ráis, Nairún was included within the government of Bráhmaábád.¹ The inhabitants of Nairún solicited from the Arabs a cartel of protection, as their city was “on the very road of the Arabs to Sind.”² After the conquest of Débal, “Md. Kásim directed that the catapults should be sent by boat towards the fort of Nairún, and the boats were taken into the lake which is called Dhand³ Sákara, while he himself advanced by way of Samím.”⁴ When Md. Kásim went from Débal “to the fortress of Nairún, which is twenty-five parasangs distant, he marched for six days, and on the seventh arrived near Nairún, where there is a forest which they call Balhár, situated on the land of Barózi,⁵ which the inundations of the Indus had not yet reached,” and the army consequently complained of being oppressed by thirst. This drought was seasonably relieved through the efficacy of the general’s prayers,—“when all the pools and lakes which were round that city were re-

¹ *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 16

² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

³ Dhand, Dandh, or Koláb, is a tract of low land, flooded by the inundation.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 106. Beláadorí merely mentions the advance to Nairún.—*Fragments Ar.*, pp. xxii, 195.—*Mém. sur l’Inde*, p. 240.

⁵ The word again occurs—“from the camp of Barózi,” and must be the name of a place. If the reading had not been plain in both instances, I should have preferred “Nairúni.”

plenished with water.”¹ He then “moved towards Séwastán (Sehwán) by several marches, until he reached A’nhrá Bahraj, thirty parasangs from Nairún.”² After his expedition to Séwastán and Budhya, he was directed by Hajjáj to return to Nairún, and make preparations for crossing the Indus. He accordingly moved back by several difficult marches “to the fort which is on the hill of Nairún, where there was a beautiful lake and charming grove.” This fort was the nearest point to the capital of the Khalif.³ After crossing the Indus, a garrison was left at Nairún, to keep open the communications in the rear and protect the convoys.⁴

Istakhrí and Ibn Haukal tell us, that “Nairún lies between Débal and Mansúra, but nearer to the latter, and that any traveller who wishes to go to Mansúra must cross the river Indus at Manjábarí, which is on the western bank, and stands opposite to Mansúra.”⁵ The subsequent geographers copy these authors, as usual, adding little further information. Edrísí places it distinctly on the western bank.⁶ Abú-l-fedá says it is fifteen parasangs from Mansúra, and fixes it in latitude 26° 40', on the authority of the Kánún of Birúní.⁷

The name of Sákara or Ságara, which is mentioned above, requires a few words of notice. The *Chach-náma*

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁵ MORDTMANN, *das Buch der Länder*, p. .—GILDEMEISTER, *de rebus Indicis*, p. 179. He insists upon reading Bîrún. M. Reinaud considers the original to be ambiguous in this passage.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 240.

⁶ M. JAUBERT, *Géog. d'Edrisi*, Tom. I, p. 161.

⁷ *Géographie d'Abou-l-fedá*, Texte Arabe, p. .—D'ANVILLE, *Eclaircissements sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 37, et seq.

merely mentions that "the fleet of Md. Kásim came to anchor in the lake of Ságara;" but the *Tohfatu-l-kirám* says, "having placed his manjaníks on boats, he sent them to the fort of Nairún, by way of the water of Sákúra, while he himself marched by land."¹ Elsewhere we are informed in the same work, that "Déwal, now called T'hatta, was in the land of Sákúra."² Again, T'harra, which was a strong fort near T'hatta, was "in the land of Sákúra."³ Again, Déwal, Bhambúr, Bagár, and T'harra were each "excellent cities in the land of Sákúra."⁴

In the *Ayin-i-Akberí* Sákúra is entered as a Pergana in Sirkár T'hatta; and in the *Tárikh-i-Táhirí* it is also spoken of as a Pergana, lying under the Makalí hills, in which T'hatta itself was included.⁵ Masú'dí speaks of a Ságara or Shákira, two days journey from the town of Débal; and it is added that both branches of the Indus disembogue themselves into the sea at that place.⁶ It does not seem improbable that we have the same word in the Sagapa of Ptolemy and Marcianus Heracleotes, for they call it "the first and most westerly mouth of the river Indus."⁷

We may consider the stream of Sákúra to correspond with the prolongation of the Gisrí, or G'hára, creek, which at no very distant time must have communicated with the Indus above T'hatta. Indeed, Mr. N. Crow, writing in the year 1800, says,—“By a strange turn that

¹ MS. p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵ MS. pp. 20, 48.

⁶ *Meadows of Gold*, p. .—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 215.

⁷ *Geog.*, Lib. vii, c. .—*Periplus*, p. 32, in HUDSON'S *Geograph. Græci Minores*, Vol. 1.

the river has taken within these five and twenty years, just above Tatta, that city is flung out of the angle of the inferior Delta, in which it formerly stood, on the main land towards the hills of Belóchistan.”¹

The position here assigned to the Sákúra, points out the direction where we are to look for Nairún, to which, by means of that stream, there seems to have been a water communication—at least approximate, if not direct.

It is quite evident that Nairún was on the western bank of the Indus. Not only do we find Muhammed Kásim going there in order to make due preparations for “crossing” that river,—not only do we find Dáhir, on receiving the intelligence of the capture of Débal, directing Jaisya to “cross over” from Nairún to Bráhma-nábád without delay,²—but it is also so represented both in the text, and on the maps, of Istakhrí and the *Ashkálu-l-bilád*. Nevertheless, M. D’Avezac, in the map prefixed to the *Mémoire sur l’Inde*, places it on the eastern bank. His authority stands deservedly high, but can be of no value against the positive testimony here adduced to the contrary.

How then it came in modern times to be considered identical with Haidarábád it is impossible to say,—but so it is laid down unhesitatingly from the *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, down to the latest English tourist.³ Even if it could be

¹ DR. BURNES, *Visit to the Court of Sindh*, p. 162.—See also CAPT. McMURDO, *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 25.

² *Chach-náma*, MS. p. 102.

³ *T.-kirám*, MS. p. .—TOD, *Annals of Rajast’han*, Vol. I, p. 218.—McMURDO, *Journal R. As. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 30, 234.—BURNES, *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III, p. 31.—ELPHINSTONE, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 504.—BURTON, *Sindh*, pp. 131, 376. The latter says its ancient name is not only Nerun’s Fort, but Patalpúr. If so, we can be at no loss for Pattala.

accounted for by supposing that the Falaili then constituted the main stream of the Indus, we should nevertheless find that the distances assigned to Nairún from various places named would not make it correspond in position with Haidarábád.

And here it is obvious to remark, that the establishment of its locality depends chiefly upon the sites which are assigned to other disputed cities, more especially to Débal and Mansúra. I have elsewhere stated my reasons for considering Débal to be represented by Karáchí, and Mansúra by Haidarábád. Much also depends on the real value of the farsang,¹ which greatly varied in different places, even in neighbouring provinces. As it was probably modified in Sind by the local *coss*, we may ascribe to it the small standard of two miles and a half, which we know it to have had upon the Tigris, according to the latest and most accurate investigations. Or, without assigning to these roughly estimated distances an accuracy which they were never intended to bear, we may consider the Sindian parasang to vary from two to three miles, so as in no instance to be less than the one, or more than the other. It is usual, and doubtless more correct, to fix the standard at a higher value than even three English miles; but this is evidently quite inapplicable in Sind, and would be even

¹ On the Persian farsang, the Greek parasang, or Arabic farsakh, see the *Metrop. and Penny Cyclop.*, v. 'Parasang.'—AINSWORTH'S *Preface to Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand*.—GROTE'S *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. xi, pp. 19-22.—OUSELEY'S *Orient. Geog.*, p. xxii.—RENNELL'S *Geog. of Western Asia*, I, xli.—REINAUD, *Géog. d'Aboul-féda*, Tom. I, p. —FREYTAG, *Lex. Arab.*, s.v.—FORBIGER, *Handbuch der alt. Geog.*, Vol. I, p. 555. In Khúzistán it is reckoned at three miles and three quarters.—*Journ. R. Geog. Soc.*, Vol. ix, p. 31. This is also the length assigned by Ouseley and Kinneir. On the Tigris we have it given as only two miles and a half.—*Trans. Bombay Geog. Soc.*, Vol. x, p. 119.

more decisive against the identity of Débal and T'hatta, than the present hypothesis.¹

Guided by all these considerations, I am disposed to place Nairún at Helái, or Heláya, a little below Jarak, on the high road from T'hatta to Haidarábád. The correspondences in other respects appear exact, in every instance of comparison.

It has a direct communication by a road over the hills with Béla, and would be the first place in the valley of the Indus which the Arabs could reach by land, and therefore nearest to the capital of the Khiláfat.

Lakes abound in the neighbourhood, and are large enough, especially the Kinjar, to have admitted Muhammed Kásim's fleet.

The march by Samím, through which place he himself advanced, shows that he was moving through the Samma country, and probably the identical spot which subsequently became more celebrated as the capital named Sámói, or Sámínagar.

Nairún is represented as twenty-five parasangs from Débal. (The real distance is seventy British statute miles between Helái and Karáchí.)

It was thirty parasangs from A'nhrá Bahraj—which evidently corresponds with the ancient site of A'mrí on the road to Sehván. (The real distance is eighty miles.)

Nairún was situated on a hill,—which would admit of its being identified with very few other places of note near the Indus.

It lay between Débal and Mansúra, but was nearer to

¹ Mas'údí is represented as laying down the Sindian parasang at eight miles.—*Meadows of Gold*, p. .—The same passage is rendered by Reinaud as "yodjanas," which would also imply a long parasang.—*Mémoire*, p. 59.

the latter. (This position also corresponds with that of Helái.)

It was fifteen parasangs from Mansúra. (Thirty-five miles is the distance between Helái and Haidarábád.)

We need scarcely pursue the comparison farther. We may rest assured that Nairún was, if not at Helái, at least, at no great distance from it, and was certainly not Haidarábád. It is worthy of remark that Helái itself is a place of undoubted antiquity, and there are two remarkable hills in its neighbourhood covered with ruins, representing perhaps the Hyala of Diodorus.¹

Next to Helái, Jarak offers many points of probability. It is only twelve miles from Helái, and therefore the distances already laid down, with no great profession of exactness, would answer nearly equally well. Its commanding position on a ledge of rock overhanging the Indus necessarily denotes it to have been always a site of importance, and this is confirmed by the evidence afforded by several substantial remains of masonry on the banks of the river, which still arrest the observation of the traveller at that place.

¹ *Biblioth. Histor.*, Lib. xvii, cap. 104.

APPENDIX .—P. .

Bráhmaṇábád.—Mansúra.—Mahfúza.

In the time of the native dynasties which preceded the Arabs, the capital of Lower Sind was Bráhmaṇábád. Under its immediate government were included Nairún, Débal, the country of the Loháṇas, the Lák'has, and the Sammas, and the whole southern coast. Its position, therefore, was one of great importance, and as its ruin is comparatively modern, it is surprising that so much doubt should exist with respect to its locality.

Various positions have been assigned to Bráhmaṇábád. The *Ayín-i-Akberí* says the fort had 1400 bastions, and that "to this day there are considerable vestiges of this fortification;"¹ but it is not said in what direction, or on which side of the river, it lay; but the mention of the bastions would seem to point out that Kalákót was probably indicated. In a passage in the *Béglár-núma*, mention is made of "a place called Matáhila, near the fortress of Bráhmaṇábád, twenty *coss* distant from Nasrpúr."² Dr. Vincent says it was within four miles of T'hatta, and corresponded with Pattala,³ concurring in this with D'Anville and Rennell.

Capt. McMurdo fixes it on the Púrán, afterwards called Lohána Darya, but it is not quite plain what he means by the Lohána Darya. He, at any rate, altogether repudiates T'hatta and Kalákót, and we must look for his Bráhmaṇábád near Nasrpúr. "It was situated on the

¹ GLADWIN'S *Ayeen Akberce*, Vol. II, p. 115.

² MS. p. 80.

³ *Commerce and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. I, p. 168.

Lohána Darya, at a short distance from where it separates from the Púrán." Again, "On or near the Púrán river, in what was subsequently called the Shehdadpúr Pergana. Bhámána was afterwards called Díbal Kangara."¹ Dr. Burnes fixes it at Kalákót,² and so does Sir A. Burnes.³ Capt. Postans says Bhambúra,⁴ mentioning at the same time native tradition in favour of Khodábád, a little above Haidarábád.⁵

There seems no reason to conclude that the Bráhmaṇábád, or Bahmanábád, of which we are treating, was founded by the Persian king, Bahman, upon his invasion of Sind. His city is expressly said to have been built in the province of Budha,⁶ which never extended as far as the Indus. Nor is it probable that, had he built a city on the Indus, he would have done so on the eastern, rather than on the western, bank of that river.

The fact is, that Bahmanábád is a mere abbreviated form of Bráhmaṇábád; and is still a very common mode of elision throughout Western India and the Deccan, where Bráhmaṇ, in common parlance, is usually converted into Bahman.

Though the *Chach-náma* does not any where expressly point out where Bráhmaṇábád was situated, we are at any rate assured, from several passages, that it was on the eastern side of the Indus,—and this alone is sufficient to show that the speculations which have been raised, respecting the identity of Kalákót and T'hatta with that old capital, rest upon no solid foundation.

¹ *Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 23-8, 30, 38, 232.

² *Visit to the Court of Sindé*, p. 133.

³ *Travels into Bokhara*, Vol. III, p. 31,—*Journal R. A. Soc.*, Vol. I, p. 210.

⁴ *Personal Observations on Sindh*, p. 161.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁶ *Fragments Arabes*, p. xxi, p. 41.

We may fairly consider, in general terms, that Bráhmaṇábád, after being intermediately succeeded by the Arab capital Mansúra, is now represented by the modern Haidarábád; and although it may not have been upon the identical spot occupied by the modern capital, it was at least within the island, or peninsula, formed by the Faláilí and the main stream of the Indus, from which it seems to have diverged in former days at a point higher than at present. Matárí, indeed, would seem to be the most probable spot, with reference to the quotation given above from the *Béglár-náma*. To fix it higher up, as at Khodábád or Hála, would take it too far from Mansúra, which we have next to consider.

Beládoori tells us that old Bráhmaṇábád was about two parasangs distant from Mansúra, which, in the time of Muhammed Kásim, was occupied by a forest.¹ When we consider the space which is always covered by the sites of old Indian towns, from the straggling mode of their erection, we are authorized to conclude that a large portion of Bráhmaṇábád was included in Mansúra, and that, in point of fact, the two sites are identical. The position of Haidarábád, upon a ridge of limestone hills about eighty feet high, must, from the first, have pointed out that site as a commanding one for a capital, and it has probably never been otherwise occupied, by successive towns, from the first dawn of Sindian civilization. It is, indeed, on the site of Bráhmaṇábád that D'Anville would place the earlier Minagara, in which he is followed by Reinaud.²

The *'Ajáibu-l-makhlúákt* says that Nasrpúr was built on the site of Mansúra, and the same opinion is expressed

¹ *Fragments Arabes*, p. 198.—DE GUIGNES, *Notices et Extr.*, Tom. I, p. 10.—GOLIUS ad *Alfragan.*, p. 93.

² *Éclaircissements Géographiques*, p. 37; *Antiquité Géogr.*, p. 35.—*Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 61.

by D'Anville,¹ and accredited by the local information of Capt. McMurdo, Tieffenthaler,² Vincent,³ Rennell,⁴ Tod,⁵ and Gildemeister,⁶ misled by the mistake of Abú-l-fazl,⁷ fix Mansúra at Bhak'har. M. Renaud considers the testimony of Beládorí, Mas'údí, Istakhrí, Ibn Haukal, and Al-Birúní to bear out D'Anville entirely in his position of Nasrpúr; but the mere fact that all the geographers agree in representing the Indus as flowing by Mansúra, is quite sufficient to dislodge Nasrpúr, which is twelve miles from the nearest point of the river.

Beládorí tells us that, after Hakam had built Mahfúza on the Indian side of the lake,—or body of water, whatever it may have been,⁸—his successor 'Amrú built Mansúra on this (the western) side, and established it as the capital. M. Renaud says, "Mahfúza was built in the neighbourhood of the capital (Bráhmaṇábád), on the other side of a lake fed by the waters of the Indus." I do not find on what authority this is stated. Mansúra was, indeed, two parasangs from Bráhmaṇábád, and M. Renaud is right in stating that these two latter names were often used the one for the other,⁹—for they are so combined and con-

¹ *Antiq. de l'Inde*, p.

² *Geogr. Besch. von Hindostan*, Vol. i, p. 81.

³ *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. i, p. 145.

⁴ *Memoir*, p. 185.

⁵ *Annals of Rajast'han*, Vol. ii, pp. 310, 338.

⁶ *De reb. Ind.*, p. 21.

⁷ GLADWIN'S *Ayeen Akberee*, Vol. ii, p. 112.

⁸ Allusion seems to be made to the Phitto, now dry, the Falailí, and other streams, which, during the inundation, leave the main stream between Hála and Haidarábád.—*Fragm. Arabes*, pp. 209, 210.

⁹ Mas'údí ascribes Mansúra to Mansúr, son of Jamhúr; Al-Birúní, to Muhammed Kásim; but Beládorí is the best authority, and he ascribes it to 'Amrú, the son of Md. Kásim.—*Mémoire sur l'Inde*, pp. 157-60, 193.

verted both by Ibn Haukal and Birúní;¹ but beyond the announcement that Mahfúza was on the eastern side of the *bahaira* (lake, marsh, or inundation of the Indus), and Mansúra on the western, we have nothing which indicates the true position of Mahfúza.

It appears to me that Mahfúza, and not Mansúra, is represented by Nasrpúr. Indeed, independent of the position with reference to the eastern and western side of the stream abovementioned, it is worthy of remark, that the meaning of the two names is the same—both signifying “the protected, the abode of refuge.” The identity, or resemblance of name, therefore, would be as much in favour of Mahfúza as Mansúra.

Nasrpúr, which modern authorities universally spell as Násirpúr, was built, or rather re-constructed, on the river Sánkra, by Amír Nasr, who was detached by Sultán Fíróz Sháh for that purpose, with a thousand cavalry, in 751 A.H. Nasrpúr was subsequently the favourite residence of the Tarkháns, and was greatly embellished by them during their brief rule.²

It being shown above that Mansúra is nearly identical with Bráhmaṇábád, it remains to prove that both are not far distant from the modern capital of Haidarábád.

Among the reasons for considering Mansúra to be identical with Haidarábád, is the position assigned to it by Ibn Haukal, who describes it as being “a mile long and a mile broad, surrounded like an island by an arm of the Indus.” This is the mode in which it is also described by Kazviní, as well as laid down in the maps of Istakhrí

¹ *Fragments Arabes*, p. 113.—*Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 298.—Gilde-meister reads Támírámán, instead of “Bámanwás.”—*De reb. Ind.*, pp. 18, 19, 164. See also GOLIUS ad *Alfragan.*, ex Hamza, p. 93.

² *Tohfatu-l-kirám*, MS. pp. 27, 139.

and the *Ashkálu-l-bilád*.¹ The island, to be sure, is out of all proportion large, but its position necessarily identifies it with that which is formed by the Falailí and the Indus,—and the space which the town is represented to have occupied is exactly that which constitutes the limestone ridge on which Haidarábád is built.

The distances laid down also by Ibn Haukal are, with one exception, sufficiently correct. Thus, from Mansúra to Débal is six days' journey, which is exact,—on the supposition that Débal, as elsewhere shown, is Karáchí. From Mansúra to Túrán is fifteen days' journey, which also agrees well enough with Haidarábád. From Mansúra to Kandábel (Gandáva) is eight days' journey, which also agrees very well.—“He who travels from Mansúra to Budha must go along the banks of the Indus as far Sehván,”—which shows Mansúra to be close on the Indus, as indeed it is elsewhere expressly declared to be, and not so far removed as Nasrpúr. From Mansúra to Cambay is twelve days' journey.² Here the distances are long, but the desert must have made continuous travelling indispensable, as the halting places were necessarily reduced to the smallest possible number.

The widest departure from the ordinary distance is that between Mansúra and Multán, which is set down by Ibn Haukal at only twelve days' journey. This is very rapid, considering that about 400 miles separate them, requiring an average of 33 miles a day. But though the average be high, it is certainly not beyond the means of conveyance where camels are abundant, as in Sind.

Birúni lays down the distance at 15 parasangs from Multán to Bhátí, another 15 from Bhátí to Alór, and 20 from Alór to Mansúra—making the entire distance only

¹ *De rebus Indicis*, pp. 166, 215.—*Das Buch der Länder*, p. .
De rebus Indicis, pp. 178, 179.

50 parasangs from Multán to Mansúra ; while, at the same time, he gives it as 30 parasangs from Mansúra to Loh-rání Bandar.¹ There is here also a surprising abridgment of the former distance, which, may perhaps be accounted for by considering the frontier to be reckoned from in one instance, and the capital in the other. Still such an error, or inconsistency, in a space so frequently traversed, is not easily accounted for, occurring as it does in two such trustworthy authorities as Ibn Haukal and Birúní ; and it would have been satisfactory to find some more plausible solution.

Mas'údí, with a much nearer approach to correctness, gives the distance as 75 parasangs between Multán and Mansúra, and his statement may be considered a sufficient corrective of the other geographers.²

It may be proper to add, that none of these ancient places, mentioned in this and the preceding Notes, have sites assigned to them in any modern maps. Burnes, Weiland, Vivien de St. Martin, Berghaus, Zimmermann, all reject them. D'Avezac enters some, but all erroneously, except Débal,—at least, according the principles above enunciated. Even Kiepert, in his valuable *Karte von Alt-Indien*, Berlin, 1853, drawn up for the illustration of Professor Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, enters only Bráhmaṇábád ; and that he places on the right bank of the presumed ancient course of the Sindhu, which he has laid down as flowing far to the eastward of the present Indus. As he has admitted other names more modern than these, he should not have ignored them all.

¹ *Fragments Arabes*, p. 113.

² *Meadows of Gold*, p. — *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 59.

COLLECTION
OF
INDIAN VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

APPENDIX .—P. .

Indian Voyages and Travels.

It will be observed that in the course of this work references are frequently made to our old Travellers, and as it is not easy at all times to ascertain in what particular Collection their works or narratives are to be found, it will save trouble to give some information upon this point. Opportunity will at the same time be taken to offer some suggestions respecting the expediency of rendering these interesting authors more available than they are at present to the oriental student.

The English Collections of Voyages and Travels first demand our notice.

R. HAKLUYT.—*Collection of Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation.*

* This valuable work was originally published in 3 Vols., folio, in 1599-1600, and reprinted in 5 Vols., 4to, in 1809-12, with the addition of several foreign narratives, some of which were originally published by, or for, Hakluyt, but not included in his great compilation. This Collection comprises, besides travels, several curious original documents, such as Charters, Privileges, and Letters to and from various sovereigns of Asia and Europe. The portions relating to India, either directly or remotely, are the following :—

Vol. I. The long and wonderfull voyage of Frier John de Plano Carpini, Anno 1246, Latin and English.—The Journall of Frier William de Rubricis, Anno 1253, Latin and English.—Some of the proceedings of the Agents of the Muscovy Company in

Russia, Persia, and Tartary, and especially those of Anthony Jenkinson, are also of interest to the Indian reader.

Vol. II contains, amongst other matters, travels "from Goa to Cambaia, and to all the dominions of Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor, to the mighty river of Ganges, to Bengala, Aracan," &c. In these are included the Travels of Sir John Mandeville in Latin, and Friar Beatus Odoricus in Latin and English,—from which version, however, the fate of the Christians at Tana is omitted.—The voyage of Master Cesar Fredericke "into the East India and beyonde the Indies."—The voyage of Mr. Ralph Fitch, merchant of London.

Vol. III has nothing on India, being devoted to America.

Vol. IV has, in the Supplement, the voyages of Lewes Vertomannus (Barthema), "Gentelman of the citie of Rome."

Vol. V, continuation of Supplement. This volume comprises, amongst other works, the following:—"Newes from the East Indies; or a Voyage to Bengalla, one of the greatest Kingdomes under the high and mighty Prince Pedesha Shassallem, usually called the Great Mogull, with their detestable religion, mad and foppish rites, wicked sacrifices and impious customes, written by William Bruton."

The reprint, of which only 250 copies were struck off, besides 75 on imperial paper, is rarely procurable under £7.

SAMUEL PURCHAS.—*His Pilgrimmes and his Pilgrimage*, 5 Vols., folio, 1613-1625.

Vol. 1st of this celebrated work is divided into five Books, and is devoted chiefly to circumnavigations of the globe and voyages to the Western Coast of Africa, the Cape, Abyssinia, Arabia, Persia, and India. Vol. 2d also contains five Books, relating to Africa and Asia. Vol. 3rd, in five Books, relates to Tartary and China, Northern Discovery and America. Vol. 4th, in five Books, relates to America. Vols. 5th, *His Pilgrimage or Rela-*

tions of the World—"a theologicall and geographically history of the world declaring the ancient religions before the Flood, Idols, Oracles, Temples, Priestes, Fasts, Feasts, &c., with briefe descriptions of the Countries, Nations, States, Discoveries, publicke and private Customes, and the most remarkable rarities of nature or humane Industrie in the same, borrowed of above thirteen hundred authors of one or other kinde." This Volume was the first in order of publication, and in his dedication to Archbishop Abbot, whose Chaplain he was, he thus points out the difference between his *Pilgrimage* and his *Pilgrimages* :—"This (the *Pilgrimage*) being mine own in matter, though borrowed, and in form of words and method; whereas my *Pilgrimages* are the authors themselves, acting their own parts in their own words, only furnished by me with such necessities as that stage further required, and ordered according to my Rules."

The works relating to India in this Collection are the following :—

Vol. I contains some private voyages to the East Indies, and the seven first made by the East India Company, with descriptions, and an account of all those parts, their product, trade, government, religion, &c. These are in the third book.

The fourth book comprises the 8th voyage of the East India Company.—Finch to India.—The 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Voyages of the Company.—Steel to the Mogul's Coast,—Milward to India.—Peyton to India.—Extract from Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador from King James to the Mogul.—Coryate's Travels.

The fifth book continues the accounts of East India, and relates the differences between the Dutch and English; wars of the Natives; engagements of the English and Portuguese, and many other passages and occurrences to the same purpose.

Vol. II.—D. John de Castro from India to Suez.—Terry's Voyage to India.—Barthema's Travels to Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and India.—Collections of Asia out of Arabick.—Meneses, his account

of India.—Franc. Pyrard de Laval to the East Indies.—Extracts from Galvano.—Balbi's Voyage to Pegu.—Trigautius, his Voyage to India.—Fredericke's Indian Observations.—Fitz to Goa, and other parts of India.—Pimenta's Observations of India.—Linschoten's Voyages to India.—Relation of Ormuz.—Brown's Indian Voyage.

Vol. III.—W. de Rubricis' Travels into the East.—Marco Polo.—Extracts from Fernam Mendez Pinto.—Sir J. Maundeville's Travels.—Goes' Travels from Lahore to China.

His successors have not failed to do their utmost to disparage the merits of this work. Pinkerton, with his usual dogmatism, observes :—

“The instruction to be derived from such works is also violated by injudicious or unfaithful extracts ; a defect too well known in the old Collection, called Purchas's Pilgrims, in which that venerable author has exerted his utmost judgment, ability, and discernment, in selecting the most useless parts of the unhappy authors imprisoned in his jail ; leading the patient reader to consult the originals, if he wish for solid information.”

Green, in Astley's Collection, is still more unfavourable, as will be seen in the account of that work given below : but Purchas, nevertheless, continues to maintain his hold upon the public, and will never be superseded.

This valuable Collection is very scarce, and rarely procurable under £20.

CHURCHILL'S Collection of Voyages and Travels.

This work first appeared in 1704, in 4 Vols., folio. The third edition is dated 1744-46, in 6 Vols., folio. Two more were subsequently added as a Supplement, from the Library of the Earl of Oxford, 1747. These are sometimes called Thomas Osborne's, or the Harleian, Collection. The whole work was reprinted in 1752. It comprises more than three hundred maps and plates, of some merit, considering the time of their execution, and an excellent

Index. Subsequent compilers have voted the Collection useless; but the Travels of Navarette, Nieuhoff, Gemelli Careri, and Balldæus, which are not contained in any other Collection, will always render the work of use to oriental enquirers. The works of interest on India are the following:—

Vol. I. Navarette's Travels. Much relating to China and religious discussions is useless.—Sir Thomas Roe's Journal.

Vol. II. The Travels of John Nieuhoff.

Vol. III. Description of Malabar, Coromandel, and Ceylon, by Philip Balldæus, a Dutch Minister.

Vol. IV. Dr. Francis Gemelli Careri's Voyage round the World.

Vol. VI. Henry Lord's Discovery of the Banians and Parsees.—A short tract on the unhealthiness of Bombay.

Vol. VII. The Preacher's Travels, by John Cartwright, contain a short account of Persia and the Shirleys.

Vol. VIII. Bernier's Travels.—W. Bruton's News from the East.—Capt. Robert Covert's Travels.

This Collection is procurable for about 6 or 7 pounds. The first Volume contains a very useful "Catalogue and character of most Books of Voyages and Travels," and a "History of Navigation," which is attributed to Locke.

J. HARRIS'S *Collection of Voyages and Travels.*

This work appeared in 1744-8, and again in 1764, in 2 Vols., royal folio, with charts, maps, and plates. It comprises abstracts of about six hundred works, most of which had already been published by Ramusio, De Bry, Hakluyt, Purchas, Thevenot, and other compilers. It is often quoted under the title of *Bibliotheca Navigantium*.

This Collection was edited by Dr. Campbell, author of the *Hermippus redivivus*, to whom also is attributed the greatest share in the compilation of the *Modern Universal History*. It can be obtained for £3.

T. ASTLEY'S *New General Collection of Voyages and Travels.*

This Collection was published in 1745-7, in 4 Vols., 4to. It is known by the proprietor's and publisher's name; but the editor was John Green, a man of research and erudition. The chief defect of the work consists in the attempt to abbreviate the narratives of the several voyagers, and to substitute the third for the first person throughout, by which we lose all the charm which attaches to most personal narratives, conveying the recent impressions of eye-witnesses, and detailing the hair-breadth escapes and the patient endurances and privations of those bold explorers. The journal and adventures of each author are given separately from his general remarks, which are incorporated with those of other travellers to the same countries. The principle is not a bad one, and leads to the rejection of much unnecessary matter.

What has been done has been executed with zeal and industry, especially the general descriptions of the various kingdoms treated of; and the writer frequently displays considerable knowledge and discernment: so that, if the Abstracts, which are in themselves highly useful, had been shorter, and we had been favoured at the same time with the *ipsissima verba* of the narrators in some other part of the work, we should have had nothing to desire. As it is, we cannot dispense with references to the original authorities.

The editor's judgment of his predecessors is exceedingly severe. He says:—

Churchill's work "is no more than an assemblage of the Travels of about fifty particular authors to a few parts of the world, and the authors are for the most part of very little esteem, gathered without judgment or care, and chosen rather for their imperfections than merit. The foreign authors are very badly translated, their sense is mistaken most egregiously,

and castrated to their disadvantage.”—Purchas, in order to bring his authors “within the compass of his four volumes of *Pilgrims*, was under the necessity of curtailing them in such a manner as to retrench several of their most essential parts, and consequently to render his work in great measure useless.” —“The compilers of that which goes under the name of Dr. Harris (for he only wrote the Dedication and Introduction), have not only omitted a great number of the most valuable relations to be found in Hakluyt and Purchas, but have quite spoiled the rest by bad abridgements. Those which Purchas had published entire are by them miserably curtailed; and the authors which that collector had mangled before (that is, all he abridged) are mangled over again.” One of the objects therefore of Green was “to restore all the authors castrated in Harris, as well as those maimed by Purchas,” * * * “without adding fancies of his own, which alter the sense, as has been done by the compilers of Harris’s Collection.”

These strictures are particularly inconsiderate on the part of a compiler, who has himself been censured for the very offence of curtailment which he so liberally condemns in others. It is therefore by a fair retribution that Pinkerton has treated the editor with equal severity to that with which Green treated his own predecessors:—

“Green’s judgment and taste are by no means equal to his erudition. The travels into each country are introduced by a large account of that country, chiefly derived from the very travels which he is about to insert; so that there is a needless repetition, and often a dryness of discussion, and superfluous anxiety about the pretended accuracy of frivolous or false information, that unite to disgust the most patient reader; and the work of course fell into such a decline of estimation, that it stopped at the fourth volume, being alike an object of neglect with the public and with the learned.” * * * *

“From these defects the work of Green, amidst great pretensions to accuracy and solemn discussions of mere trifles, with notes replete with learned contradictions, and minute and micro-

scopic balancing of one straw against another, is yet unsatisfactory in the great object, the accurate representation of the text and ideas of the original travellers."

It is greatly to be regretted, nevertheless, that his work did cease with the fourth volume, for we are thus deprived of any account, not only of Continental India, but of Europe and America.

This depreciatory notice by Pinkerton is dishonest, and also not at all consistent with the copious use he has made of the "large Introductions" of which he complains. The valuable accounts of Tibet and Independent Tartary, two of the best features of the work, have been extracted by him entire, and if he had done the same with the equally valuable Introduction to China he would have supplied a great deficiency in his own work. Astley's Collection contains some very good maps and plates, as well as a general Index. Good copies are procurable for less than £3.

The 1st Vol. contains the Voyages of the Portuguese to the Coast of Africa and the East Indies, extracted from Faria-y-Sousa, Juan de Barros, Antonio Galvam, and Castanheda, together with an account of the Sieges of Diu.—The voyages of the English to the same countries, from several authors.

The 2nd Vol. relates solely to the European Discoveries and Settlements of the Western Coast of Africa, with general descriptions and the natural history of the countries visited.

The 3rd Vol. continues the account of Western Africa, and then describes the Hottentot Country and Eastern Coast.—The Voyages to and Travels in China, including Abstracts of Nieuhoff, Navarette, Gemelli Careri, and the Jesuits.

The 4th Vol. has a general description of China, including its civil and natural history, chiefly from Du Halde.—A description of Korea from Regis and Hamel; of Tartary, from Du Halde and the Jesuits.—History of Jenghis Khán, from Abú-l-gházi Khán and others.—Descriptions of Tibet, Khwárazm, Bukharia, and Turkistán, chiefly from the Jesuits, and Bentink's Notes to Abú-l-gházi Khán.—Abstracts of the Travels

of Carpini, Rubruquis, Marco Polo, Sháh Rukh's Ambassadors, Jenkinson, Goetz, Andrada, Grueber, Desideri, Horace della Penna, and Gerbillon.

The whole of Green's work has been translated into French and Dutch, as will be noticed more particularly in treating of the Collections in those languages.

J. KNOX's New Collection of Voyages, Discoveries, and Travels.

This work came out in 1767, in 7 Volumes, 8vo. It is a mere abstract, with quotations in the words of the original authors. The editor, as usual, censures preceding collectors. Purchas is "full of folly and credulity." Churchill, "independent of the price and size, has much lumber and rejects nothing." Dr. Harris, "besides all these faults, has many articles which are very old, delivered in bad language, and in many instances of doubtful authenticity." Hakluyt and Green are not noticed.

The 1st Vol. relates to America. The 2nd to America and the early Voyages to the East Indies, including a short abridgment of Nieuhoff. The 3rd contains the circumnavigations of Drake, Dampier, and Anson. The 4th and 5th relate to Europe. The 6th contains Abstracts of J. Thévenot, Wood, Maundrell, Shaw, Pococke, Windus, Moore, Sir J. Chandler, and John Bell, with an account of Hindústán, interspersed with the observations of Sir Thomas Roe, Holwell, and others. The 7th is devoted to Great Britain, including its naval history.

There are maps and plates in this Compilation, but it has no Index.

R. PHILLIPS' Collection of modern and contemporary Voyages and Travels.

This Collection, which appeared in 11 Volumes, 8vo., 1805-1810, is exclusively confined to travels within the last century, and is embellished with a few maps and plates.

It comprises chiefly translations of foreign travels, including Kotzebue, St. Vincent, Pouqueville, Mangourit, Durand, Du Lac, Reinbeck, Millin, Heriot, Bourgoing, Peron, &c. A few Englishmen and Americans, as Carr, Bolingbroke, Ashe, Lewis and Clarke, and some Home Tourists are also inserted. The only articles relating to the East, are a Voyage to India and China, in Vol. V ; an Abstract of Waring's Tour to Shíráz, in Vol. VI ; and a copious Analysis of Lord Valentia's Travels, occupying 288 pages of Vol. XI.

J. PINKERTON's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels.*

This Collection was published in 1808-14; in 17 Vols., 4to. It professes to comprise the only Travels worth preservation in the Collections of Churchill, Green, Harris, the Harleian, &c.—Though this is not strictly correct, it must be acknowledged that the Collection is very valuable, that the bibliographical and critical remarks contained in it are generally just, and that its merits are greatly enhanced by a “Catalogue of Books of Voyages and Travels,” and a most copious Index, both contained in the last Volume. The work is illustrated with plates, but not with maps. The first six Volumes are devoted to Europe; the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth to Asia; the eleventh to the Asiatic Islands; the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth to America; the fifteenth and sixteenth to Africa; and the seventeenth to a brief “Retrospect of the Progress of Discovery,” as well as the Catalogue and Index above noticed. The Asiatic Volumes contain the following works:—

VOL. VII.

Travels of Rabbi Benjamin (from Harris).	Hamel's Travels in Korea (from Astley).
———— Rubruquis.	A Description of Tibet (from Astley).
———— Marco Polo (chiefly from Ramusio).	The Travels of Goez from Lahore to China (do.)
———— Two Mahometans (from Harris).	Travels through Tibet by several Missionaries (do.)
Nieuhoff's Travels in China (chiefly from Thevenot).	Caron's Account of Japan.
Bell's Travels in Asia.	Diary on the Coast of Japan, 1673.
	Kämpfer's History of Japan (abridged)

VOL. VIII.

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| Journal of Sir Thomas Roe (from Churchill). | A. Hamilton's Account of the East Indies. |
| Bernier's Voyage to the East Indies (from the Harleian Collection). | Lord's Discovery of the Banians (from Churchill). |
| Extract from Tavernier's Voyages, concerning the Diamond Mines. | Buchanan's Journey through Mysore, Canara, & Malabar (details omitted). |

VOL. IX.

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| Extracts from the Travels of Pietro della Valle in Persia. | Jenkinson's Travels in Bucharia (from Astley). |
| Abstracts of Chardin's Travels in Persia (from Harris). | Balbi's Voyage to Pegu (from Purchas) |
| Description of Persia (do.) | Fitch's Voyage to the East Indies. |
| Francklin's Tour from Bengal to Persia. | Syme's Embassy to Ava (with omissions). |
| Extracts from Forster's Travels, concerning the Northern parts of Persia. | Turpin's History of Siam. |
| Accounts of Independent Tartary (from Astley). | Baron's Description of Tonquin (from Churchill). |
| | Richard's History of Tonquin. |
| | Borri's Account of Cochin China (from Churchill). |

VOL. X.

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| Niebuhr's Travels in Arabia (abridged) | Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem. |
| Blount's Voyage to the Levant (from the Harleian Collection). | Journey from Cairo to Mount Sinai. |
| Dandini's Voyage to Mount Libanus (from Harris). | Dr. Pococke's Travels in the East. |

VOL. XI.

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| Dampier's Account of the Philippines. | Pigafetta's Voyage round the World. |
| M. de Guignes' Observations on the Philippines and Isle of France. | M. Pelsart's Voyage to Australasia. |
| Beccman's Voyage to Borneo. | Tasman's Voyage of Discovery (from Harris). |
| Account of Java and Batavia (from the Voyages of Stavorinus). | Dampier's Account of New Holland. |
| — Celebes, Amboyna, &c. | Abstract of Captain Cook's three Voyages. |
| (do.) | M. Peron's Voyage of Discovery. |

The entire work is procurable for about £12.

KERR'S *General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* ; 18 Vols., 8vo. Edinburgh, 1811-24.

This may be considered the best, most convenient, and most systematic Collection in the English language. It has been carefully selected and well edited. It contains copious accounts of the Portuguese voyages and conquests in the East, from Juan de Barros, Faria-y-Sousa, Castanheda, &c.; the early English voyages; Sir T. Roe; Terry; Hawkins; Coverté; Coryate; Fitch; &c., &c. The 18th volume, which is sometimes deficient, comprises Stevenson's "Historical Sketch of the Progress of Dis-

covery, Navigation and Commerce," and a "Bibliographical Catalogue of Voyages and Travels."

Copies are occasionally advertised for 4 or 5 guineas.

There are other minor Collections in English,—such as REY'S, in 4 Vols., 4to, 1693; STEEVENS', in 2 Vols., 4to, MAJOR'S, in 28 Vols., 18mo, 1813; and others, which do not require separate notice.

✕ We now proceed to consider the foreign Compilations.

GIO. BATTISTA RAMUSIO.—*Raccolta di Navigazioni e Viaggi*; 3 Vols., fol., Venetia, 1550-9.

The materials, which were left for a fourth volume, were unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1557. This very valuable Collection is in Italian, and preceded all the English ones above noticed.

The earlier Editions are all defective in some of the pieces necessary to constitute a perfect set; but there are three which contain the entire Collection, viz.: those of 1606, 1613, and 1834—all printed at Venice, at the press of the Giunti, with copious Indexes to each of the three separate volumes which these Editions comprise.

Besides the Voyages and Travels contained in the following Table, there are several Preliminary Discourses by Ramusio, of great merit. There are also charts and figures of rare plants.

VOL. I.

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| 1. Giovan Lione Africano. | 17. Navigazione di Nearcho. |
| 2. Aluise da Ca-da-Mosto. | 18. Viaggio d'un Comito Veneziano. |
| 3. Pietro di Sintra. | 19. Navigazione di Arriano nel mar Rosso. |
| 4. Navigazione di Hannone. | 20. Odoardo Barbosa. |
| 5. Navigazione a San Thomè. | 21. Nicolo di Conti. |
| 6. Discorso sopra alcune lettere. | 22. Hieronimo di San Stefano. |
| 7. Vasco di Gama. | 23. Antonio Pigafetta. |
| 8. Pedro Alvarez. | 24. Navigazione d'un Compagno d'Odoardo Barbosa. |
| 9. Amerigo Vespucci. | 25. Viaggio descritto da Plinio. |
| 10. Thomas Lopez. | 26. Juan Gaetan, delle Moluche. |
| 11. Giovan da Empoli. | 27. Informatione del Giapan. |
| 12. Barthema. | 28. Estratto della Historia di Giovan di Barros. |
| 13. Navigazione di Iambolo. | |
| 14. Andrea Corsali. | |
| 15. Francesco Alvarez. | |
| 16. Discorso sopra il crescer del Nilo. | |

VOL. II.

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| 1. Marco Polo. | 11. Georgio Interiano. |
| 2. Hayton. | 12. Hippocrate, de gli Seithi. |
| 3. Angiolello. | 13. Piero Quirino. |
| 4. Viaggio d'un Mercante nella Persia. | 14. Navigazione di Sebastiano Cabota. |
| 5. Josafa Barbaro. | 15. Caterino Zeno, Viaggio in Persia. |
| 6. Ambrosio Contarino. | 16. Nicolo ed Antonio Zeni, scoprimento della Frislanda. |
| 7. Alberto Campense. | 17. Due Viaggi in Tartaria. |
| 8. Paolo Jovio, della Moscovia. | 18. Viaggio del Beato Odorio. |
| 9. Sigismondo Libero Barone (Herberstein), della Moscovia. | 19. Alessandro Guagnino, della Sarmatia. |
| 10. Navigazione di Arriano intorno al mar Maggiore. | 20. Matheo di Micheowo, delle due Sarmatie. |

VOL. III.

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| 1. Pietro Martire. | 10. Francesco Vasquez di Coronado. |
| 2. Gonzalo Fernando d'Oviedo, scoprimento dell' Indie Occidentali. | 11. Fernando Alarchon. |
| 3. Fernando Cortese. | 12. Discoprimento del Peru. |
| 4. Pietro d'Alvarado. | 13. Gonzalo Fernando d'Oviedo, del fiume Maragnon. |
| 5. Diego Godoi. | 14. Giovani da Verrazzano. |
| 6. Relazione della città del Temistitan. | 15. Discorso della Navigazione alla nuova Francia. |
| 7. Alvaro Nunez, Capo di Vacca. | 16. Jacques Cartier. |
| 8. Nunno di Gusman. | 17. Cesare de' Federici. |
| 9. Francesco d'Ulloa. | 18. Navigazione degli Olandesi et Zelandesi. |

A complete set may be procured for about £4.

THEODORI ET JOANNIS DE BRY ET MERIANI

Collectiones Peregrinationum in Indiam Orientalem et Occidentalem; 6 Vols. fol. Frankfort, 1590-1626.

This celebrated and most expensive Collection is in Latin, and comprises three volumes devoted to the East, and three to the West Indies. The work is also bound in seven, or even as many as fourteen volumes, according as the number of rare parts can be increased. It was originally published in twenty-five parts, of which twelve are on India, and thirteen on America; but several more are occasionally added,—such as the second editions of such parts as were re-published with alterations or additions,—and the French editions of all the parts which were printed in that language.

The first volume of the East Indian portion begins with Philip Pigafetta's account of the Kingdom of Congo, as lying

in the way to, and having been discovered before, India. Next follow five voyages of Samuel Bruno, of Basil; the three first to Congo, Ethiopia, and other parts round the Coast of Africa; the fourth to several parts in the Straits; and the fifth to Portugal and Spain, &c.: translated from the author's original in High Dutch.—Linschoten's Indian Voyages.—Three Dutch Voyages to the north-east passage.

The second begins with an account of Bantam, Banda, Ternate, and parts of India, being a voyage of eight Dutch ships into those parts in the year 1598, translated out of High Dutch.—A description of Guinea, also out of High Dutch.—Spilberg's Voyage, An. 1601.—Gasparo Balbi's Voyage, An. 1579.

In the third volume are Jacob Neck's Voyage, An. 1603.—Jo Herman de Bree, An. 1602.—Cornelius Nicolas; Cornelius Ven; and Stephen de Hagen; all to India.—Verhuff's Voyage to India, An. 1607.—Dialogues in Latin and Malay.—Hudson's Voyage to the north-east passage.—An account of Terra Australis incognita, by Capt. Peter Ferdinand de Quir.—A description of Siberia, Samoieda, and Tingoesia.—Two Voyages of Americus Vesputius to the East Indies.—Capt. Robert Coverte's Travels.—A description of Spitzbergen.

“The whole illustrated and adorned with such a vast number of maps and cuts, representing all such things as require it, that the like is not in any other Collection, nor is it likely that any will be at so excessive an expense. To be short, this Collection is a small Library, including all the Voyages and Discoveries of any note till the time it was published, when most of the remote parts began to be known, and therefore is of excellent use and great value.”—CHURCHILL'S *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. I. p. 2.

The intrinsic value of this work is not very great, yet, on account of the rarity of some of the parts, Bibliomania has run the price of a complete set up to £55.; and one instance is mentioned of a gentleman having spent £700 upon his set, without being able to complete it, after all. So complicated is the bibliographical history of

this work, as to have given rise to the *Quarto Mémoire* of Camus, published at Paris in 1802, which is devoted almost exclusively to this subject, and was issued at the expense of the members of the National Institute of France, who had appointed a special commission to examine and make a minute report of the contents of this Collection.

The name of Johann Abelin, or Gottfried, spoken of below under the Dutch Compilations, frequently appears as the compiler, or translator, of portions of the *Collections Peregrinationum*.—(Compare BRUNET'S *Manuel du Libraire*, Tom. I, p. 290.—BOHN'S *Catalogue*, p. 550.—PINKERTON'S *Collection of Voyages*, Vol. XVII, p. 254.—DIBDIN'S *Bibliographical Decameron*, Vol. III, p. 81.)

PIERRE BERGERON.—*Relation des Voyages en Tartarie, &c.*; 8vo., Paris, 1634.

This Relation is taken chiefly from Hakluyt and Purchas. It is divided into three parts. The first contains the Travels of Rubruquis, Plan de Carpin, and Ascelin. The second treats generally of the origin, country, customs, religion, and conquests of the Tartars. The third comprises an abridged history of the Saracens and Muhammedans. The entire work has been included in the Compilation of P. van der Aa, noticed below.—(LENGLET DU FRESNOY, *Méthode pour étudier l'Histoire*, Tom. IX, p. 1647.—D. CLEMENT, *Bibliothèque curieuse hist. et crit.* Tom. III, p. 164.)

MELCHISEDEC THEVENOT.—*Relations de divers Voyages curieux*; 4 Vols., folio, Paris, 1662-72; reprinted, with several additions, in 1696.

The following are the Indian works contained in this Collection. A Relation of the Court of the Mogul, by Capt. Hawkins.

—Sir T. Roe's Journal.—Rev. J. Terry's Supplement to Roe.—A Greek Description of the East Indies.—Relations of the Kingdom of Golconda, Tanassari, and Arracan; and of the Gulph of Bengala.—Boutekoe's Voyages to India.—The Sailing Course to India.—Instructions on the Trade of China and Japan.—The State of India.—The Portraiture of the Indians.—Barros's Asia.

There are plates and maps to illustrate the work. Some of the latter are generally deficient, especially that of Ethiopia. Hence, this work also affords ample means of discussion and expenditure to the determined Bibliomaniac, and is treated of in the *Mémoire* of A. G. Camus, noticed above.

Perfect copies of this work being rare, they cannot be procured under £3, at the very least.

Recueil de divers Voyages curieux faits en Tartarie, en Perse, et ailleurs; sometimes styled, *Voyages faits principalement en Asie*; Leyden, 1729; Hague, 1735; both in 2 Vols., 4to.

This work includes travels made in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, such as those of J. du Plan de Carpin, Simon de Saint-Quentin, Rubruquis, M. Polo, Hayton, Maundeville, Ascelin, &c., &c. Their narratives are given either in whole, or in part. Barbier says, that the editor of this Collection was the celebrated Dutch publisher, Pieter van der Aa. It is generally, but erroneously, attributed to P. Bergeron, who died nearly a century previous—1637, and was only the author of some of the pieces included in it, which are in this edition retrenched in style, distributed into chapters, and issued with a pompous preface.—(See BARBIER, *Examen critique et complément des diction. histor.*, Tom. 1, p. 1.)

ABBE' PRE'VOST.—*Histoire Générale des Voyages*; 20 Vols., 4to, Paris, 1746-89.

Whatever may be the defects of Astley's (Green's) Collection, it has the credit of having given rise to this French work in 20 Vols., 4to, of which the five last comprise the Supplement by De Querlon and De Surgy. Astley's four Volumes are included in the *Histoire Générale*. Green, the editor, complained of the mutilations, mistakes, perversions, and alterations in Prévost's translation, and the undue exclusion of the original editor. Prévost, in return, complained of the irreligious notes in Green's Collection, and his unfair aspersion of the Jesuits. The French Collection has very good maps and plates, to which more were added in the enlarged reprint of the work made at the Hague by M. Pieter de Hondt, in 25 vols., 4to., 1747-80, in which the mutilations complained of by Green were restored, but which did not include the last Volume of the original edition. The Dutch translation, which availed itself of the improvements both of text and illustration contained in the reprint, will be noticed hereafter. Pinkerton, while he acknowledges that Prévost's is the most esteemed of all former Collections, speaks of "the dry historical narrative and inaccurate quotations of that meretricious work, which in the French translation resembles the mistress of the Roman Poet, *infida sed pulchra*." It was published also in 80 Vols., 12mo., and La Harpe abridged it in 32 Vols., 8vo.

Besides the articles contained in Astley's Collection, we have the following additions.—The Dutch and French Voyages to the East Indies,—Travels in the Interior.—General Description of India, including Malabar, and the Carnatic.—Voyages to Arabia, Isle of France, and Bourbon.—Voyages of Magellaen, Kämpfer, and Dampier.—Account of the Philippine Islands, Oceania, New Guinea, &c.—Circumnavigations of the Globe. The details are more particularly noticed in the account of the Dutch translation, as being much more copious than the original Paris edition, especially as regards the Dutch possessions in India.

Brunet prices the Paris edition at from 100 to 140 francs, but that of the Hague is more valuable, except as respects the 20th Volume, which was not reprinted.

There are other French Collections,—such as that by Grasset Saint-Sauveur, in 5 Vols., 4to., 1795; M. le Breton, in 72 Vols., 18mo, 1802-7; Walkenaër, in 14 Vols., 8vo., 1827 and foll.; Albert, in 43 Vols., 8vo., 1830 and foll.—but no other requires further mention in this place.

The *Histoire des Découvertes Géographiques*, now in course of publication by M. Vivien, promises to be more valuable than any of the French Collections yet made.

In German there is a general Collection by John Bernoulli, 1781-5, in 16 Vols.

Pinkerton notices also the following general German Collections, in his “Catalogue of Books of Voyages”:—Bachemer, 1508; Hulsius, 1599; those of Frankfurt, 1749-1781, in 34 Vols.; Gottingen, 1750; Berlin, 1763. But the one above all others which deserves our notice, has just been completed by DR. PH. HEDW. KÜLB, under the title of—

Länder und Völkerkunde in Biographien; 4 Vols., 8vo., Berlin, 1846-1852.

It comprises abstracts of all travels since the commencement of the world to the present time, with a general outline of the lives of the travellers. The progress of Asiatic discovery receives a due share of his attention, and the work is altogether so well executed, as to deserve translation into our own tongue, in which we have nothing like it, except the incomplete work of Astley, and the brief, but valuable, compendium of W. Desborough Cooley, on the *History of Maritime and Inland Discovery*.

The Dutch compilations are numerous and good. Among the earliest appeared :—

Oost Indische en West Indische Voyagien; 1 Vol., folio, Amsterdam, 1619.

This Collection was made by Michell Colyn, who subsequently published other Dutch Voyages in 1622.

The *Begin ende Voortgang*, &c. &c., of the Voyages of the D.E.I.C. was published anonymously in two Volumes folio, in 1646. It contains travels, descriptions of men, and manners, and merchandize, and other subjects of interest connected with the East Indies, illustrated with copper-plate engravings. Each article is paged separately. The edition of 1646 is not the earliest. In Chalmot's *Biographical Dictionary of the Netherlands* it is said that Isaak Commelin was the compiler.

Naaukeurige Verzameling der gedenkwaardigste Zee en Land Reyssen na Oost en West Indien; in 28 Vols, 12mo, published by P. van der Aa, Lug. Bat., 1706-8, with two hundred incorrect maps.

It is taken chiefly from De Bry, and comprises Plan-Carpin, Ascelin, S. de St. Quentin, Rubruquis, Conti, Gasparo Balbi, B. Goetz, Mildenhall, Hawkins, Coverte, Methold, and all the best travels up to that date, and copious extracts from De Barros. It is confined to the East and West Indies, and contains translations from the Latin, Portuguese, Italian, French, and English. A Table of Contents is given in the *Acta Eruditorum* for 1708, pp 102, 179, 448, and *Suppl.* iv, 66. The real compiler is not known. In the Leyden edition above-mentioned, the celebrated bookseller, Pieter van der Aa, arrogates to himself all the credit of the Collection, and complains of the difficulty he experienced in finding translators from the various languages; but in the reprint of 1727, in eight Volumes folio, he admits that the work is

only an improvement upon a similar compilation by Johann Ludwig Gottfried, Gothofredus, or Godefroy (a pseudonyme of the voluminous German author Abelin), and the name of Gottfried only appears in the title-page. It is evident that where Pinkerton speaks of Godefroi's Collection in 30 Vols., 1707, he alludes to this work.—(JÖCHER's *Allgemeines Gelehrten Lexicon*, Vol. I, p. 19, and Vol. p. II, 1093, and ADELUNG's *Fortsetzung*, Vol. I, p. 41.—*Conversations Lexicon*, 10th ed., v. "Abelin." D. CLEMENT, *Bibliothèque curieuse*, Tom. III, p. 166).

FRANÇOIS VALENTYN.—*Beschryving van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*; 5 Vols., fol., Amsterdam, 1724-6.

This very ponderous but valuable work is especially devoted to the progress of the Dutch dominions in the East.

The 1st Vol. opens with a copious account of European connection with India, from the earliest ages, treating more especially of the establishment of the Dutch settlements in the East. Then follows a long description of the Moluccas.

The 2nd Vol. relates to Amboina solely.

The 3rd Vol. continues the account of Amboina, and proceeds to that of Banda, Timor, Solor, Celebes, Borneo, Bali, Tonquin, Cambodia, and Siam.

The 4th Vol. has a description and history of (Great) Java, of Bantam, and the city of Batavia.—Lives of the Dutch Governors-General.—History of the Church at Java.—Description of Surat, Ahmedabad, Bharóch, Baroda, and Cambay.—An account of the Parsees.—Lives of the Great Moghuls.—Description of China and Formosa, and the Dutch trade to those parts.—The author's travels.

The 5th Vol. • • •

Each Volume has a separate Index, and is enriched with plates and maps.

This work is procurable for about 3 guineas.

Historische Beschryving der Reizen; Hage, 1747-65.

This is a translation, in 20 Volumes, 4to, of the augmented edition of the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, by M. Pieter de Hondt. The maps and plates are the same as those of the French edition, reprinted in Holland, and are very well executed.

The first eleven Volumes are the same as those of Astley's Collection—the "omissions, additions, and mistranslations" of Abbé Prévost being corrected.

The 12th Volume contains the Dutch Voyages to the East Indies, and Pyrard De Laval.

The 13th, the continuation of the Dutch Voyages, with an account of the Moluccas, Amboina, and Ceylon, including Knox's Adventures; the French Voyages to Madagascar, Arracan, Malacca, Tonquin, and India, including an abstract of A. de Rhodes, De la Haye, Carré, L'Estra, and Ovington.

The 14th continues the French Voyages to Siam, Pegu, Camboja, and Sumatra; an account of Boutan, Tipera, and Asam, from Tavernier; and a very detailed account of the adventures of F. Mendez Pinto.

The 15th relates to India, containing an abstract of Delon, Methold, De Graaf, Don Pedro de Castro, Luillier, Sir T. Roe, Mandelslo, Bernier, Tavernier, and a general description of Hindústán, with a history of the Great Moghuls, an account of their Court, their power and administration, and of the manners, dress, appearance, and idolatry of the people, from Terry, Mandelslo, Bernier, &c.

The 16th, contains a description of Malabar, of Golconda, and the Carnatic; the history of the French Settlement at Pondicherry, and of the European wars in Southern India; and the French Voyages to Arabia-Felix, Isle of France, and Bourbon. In this Volume there are several additions to the Paris Collection, and the historical portion is continued to a later period.

The 17th, comprises Voyages to the East Indies by the S.W. passage, such as those of Magellaen, Van Hoort, and Le Maire; Kämpfer's account of Japan.

The 18th, Description of the Philippine Islands, Celebes, Borneo, New Guinea, &c.; Voyages of Tasman, Drake, Candish, and others to the Southern Islands.

The 19th, Circumnavigations of W. Schouten, Dampier, Gemelli Careri, Le Gentil, Anson, and D. J. Pizarro.

The 20th is additional to the original Paris edition, and contains Lives of the Governors-General of Netherlands India. There is no Index.

Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'Etablissement et aux progress de la Compagnie des Indes Or. des Hollandois; published by De Constantin, 5 Tom., 8vo., Amsterdam, 1702-6; 10 Tom. 12mo., Rouen, 1725.

This is also useful for an account of the progress of the Dutch. It contains, amongst others, the Voyages of Barentsz, Van Neck, Van Warwyk, De Weert, De Noort, Le Maire, Schouten, Spilberg, L'Hermite, Hage-naar, Bontekoe, and Van den Broeck.

The work is illustrated with plates.

There are some other smaller compilations, but it is sufficient to have noticed in detail all those General Collections of Voyages and Travels, in whatever language, which are the most celebrated and esteemed.

X It will be observed from an examination of the contents of these works, that no single Collection meets all the requirements of those who wish to inform themselves on the subject of Central and Southern Asia, and especially of India. Carpini is in only one of the English Collections; Rubruquis in three; Marco Polo in two; Nava-rette, Gemelli Careri, Nieuhoff, and Baldæus, perfect only in one; Vertomannus in three; Castanheda in one; Hawkins in one; Cæsar Fredericke in two; Coryate in two; Alexander Hamilton in one; Friar Odoricus in one; Bernier in two; and 30 forth.

It is therefore time that a new Collection were made, with special reference to India and the countries related to it. It would thus include some of the early travels in Tartary and Tibet, as the dynasties which we have superseded, as well as various unsolved geographical questions, invest those countries with peculiar interest. The following are among the works which should obtain admittance into this proposed body of, what Hakluyt calls, " Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries."

The fragments of CTESIAS (circ. 400 B.C.); the voyage of NEARCHUS (325 B.C.); the fragments of MEGASTHENES (circ. 300 B.C.); extracts from STRABO (circ. 18 A.D.); from APOLLONIUS, in Philostratus (circ. 45 A.D.); from PLINY (circ. 70 A.D.); from DIONYSIUS (circ. 100 A.D.); from ARRIAN (circ. 150 A.D.); from the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* (circ. 150 A.D.); from PTOLEMY (circ. 150 A.D.); from COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES¹ (circ. 540 A.D.); from MAS'ÚDÍ (913-5); from from ISTAKHRÍ (941); from IBN HAUKAL (941-76); from BIRÚNÍ (1031); from EDRÍSÍ (1153); from YACÚTÍ (1228); from ABÚ-L-FEDÁ (1321); from IBNU-L-WARDÍ (1350); and other Asiatic geographers.

Extracts from FAHIAN (399-414); from HIOUN-TSANG (629-45); from WANG (964); from MA-TWAN-LIN (1320); and other Chinese travellers and geographers.

The entire narratives of SULAIMÁN (851), and ABÚ-ZAID (920). These two Muhammedan travellers should be given from M. Reinaud's new and accurate edition. 1845

¹ The *Topographia Christiana* of Cosmas is contained only in the second Volume of Montfaucon's *Collectio Nova Patrum*; but the entire portion relating to India (pp. 333-8) will be found in Appendix B. of Heeren's *Histor. Recherches, Asiatic Nations*. A portion of the personal voyage of Cosmas in the Indian Seas is given, with a French translation, in the first part of Melchis. Thévenot's *Recueil de Voyages curieux*.

They were originally translated into French by Renaudot, in 1718, under the title of *Anciennes Relations*, &c., of which work an English version was made shortly afterwards.

Omitting ASCELIN (1248), and HAYTON, of Armenia, whose journey to Karakorum occurred in the year of Rubruquis' return (1254), we may take JEAN DU PLAN DE CARPIN (1246) for his interesting account of the Tatárs. M. D'Avezac's late edition should be translated, not that of Vincentius, Hakluyt, Bergeron, or Van der Aa, on which our present English versions are founded. It has appeared in the original Latin, with a valuable Preface by the Editor, in the fourth Volume of the *Recueil* noticed below.

WILLIAM RUBRUQUIS (1253-4). A much better translation of this enterprising and intelligent Friar's travels than we have in Hakluyt, P. Bergeron, or Van der Aa, can be obtained in this instance also, by availing ourselves of the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publié par la Société de Géographie*, Paris, 1839. Tom. iv. If we wish to extend our knowledge respecting the state of Central Asia in the thirteenth century, we should consult the accounts of other embassies sent to the Court of Karakorum, all ably commented upon in the same Collection by M. D'Avezac.

MARCO POLO (1271-95). This celebrated Venetian traveller, "the Herodotus of the middle ages," resided at the court of Kublai Khán from 1275 to 1292. Marsden and Hugh Murray may be safely followed. Indeed, the edition of the latter is so easily and cheaply procurable, as to render a reprint unnecessary. It is, moreover, formed upon the basis of the old French and Latin MSS. published by the Geographical Society of Paris in 1824, which are more ancient and more authentic than the edition of Ramusio, whose text was followed by Marsden. It appears probable, indeed, that these famous travels appeared first in a French garb.

FRIAR JORDAN (1322). He was a native of Séverac, and a Dominican Friar. His *Mirabilia* have been published, in the original Latin, in the fourth Volume of the *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, and are worthy of translation into English, as they are yet but little known, and have the merit of being short.

FRIAR BEATUS ODORICUS (1317-30). Oderic Mathiusi, or Oderic of Portenau, as he is generally called, visited Trebizond, Kazvin, Yezd, Kúm, Ormuz, Tána, Malabar, Ma'bar, Sumatra, Java, Mangi (China), Tibet, Kinsai, Pekin, and Ceylon. The early period at which these travels were written makes them highly valuable. They are generally quoted under the title of *De Mirabilibus Mundi*. Translations are printed in Hakluyt and Ramusio, and the original Latin is inserted, under the date of 1318, in the *Acta Sanctorum* of Bolland, and in the *Annales Minorum* of Wadding, as well as in Hakluyt. These texts, however, differ much from one another, and, as Tiraboschi has remarked (*Storia della letter. Ital.*, v, 106), the intervention of many foreign hands is to be traced. There is more truth in this adventurous traveller than he usually has credit for. Oderic is incorporated in Sir John Maundeville's "lytell Treatise or Booke" (1322-56), so as to render that amusing fabulist superfluous in our Collection, notwithstanding that the valiant "Knyht, born in Englande, and in the towne of Saint Abone," specially writes on the "Maruyles of Inde;" eking out his relation with extracts, not only from our Franciscan Friar, but from Marco Polo, as well as Pliny and Solinus. Independent of which, his work is now easily procurable in Bohn's late edition of *Early Travels in Palestine*.

IBN BATÚTA (1324-1354). He is, not excepting even Marco Polo, the greatest land-traveller that ever recorded his adventures. Dr. Lee and M. Defrémery have introduced us to this author in an Euro-

pean garb, and we may extract from them all he has written on Central and Southern Asia. The Portuguese translation does not carry us as far as India.

CLAVIJO (1403-6).—*Historia del gran Tamorlan ; e Itinerario, &c.*, fol., Seville, 1582; reprinted at Madrid, in 1782. As the work is rare in both editions, and relates to Timúr, it seems adapted to our Collection.

SCHILDTBERGER (1403-27). He was born in Germany, and became a prisoner, first of Bajazet, and subsequently of Timúr. His adventures are briefly abstracted in Foster's *Discoveries in the North*, and Murray's *History of Discoveries in Asia*.

'ABDU-R-RAZZÁK (1442-4). Mirzá Sháh Rukh's embassy to the Court of China need not be given, but the author's visit to Bījānagar should be admitted. It will be found in Vol. V of this work.

NICOLO DI CONTI (1445). This Venetian traveller's route was Baghdád, Ormuz, Cambaia, Bījānagar, the Coast of Coromandel, Ceylon, Sumatra, Tenasserim, Maurazia? on the Ganges, Arracan, Ava, China? Java, Malabar, Cambaia, Aden. It is inserted in Ramusio's *Raccolta*, Vol. I.

PEDRO DE COVILHAN (1487). He proceeded to India, viâ Aden, and after visiting Calicut, Cananore, and Goa, crossed over to Sofala, and thence into Egypt. We have no detailed account of this interesting adventure. In 1525, Rodriguez de Lima, Portuguese ambassador to Abyssinia, found him still alive, having been thirty-three years in that country.

HIERONIMO DA SANTO STEFANO (1496). The route of this Genoese was Cairo, Cosseir, Massuah, Aden, Calicut, Ceylon, Coromandel, Pegu, Sumatra, the Maldives, Cambaia, Ormuz, and Tripoli, in Syria. It will be found in Ramusio's *Raccolta*, Vol. I.

These four adventurous travellers preceded the Portu-

Markham's
translation is
in the
collection

guese voyagers by the Cape, and are therefore well worthy of particular notice.

LUDOVICO BARTHEMA (1503-6). He is styled Ver-tomannus by Osorio and Hakluyt. His course was Damas-cus, Mecca, Aden, Ormuz, Cambaia, Cananore, Bijánagar, Calicut, Quilon, Ceylon, Pulicat, Tenasserim, Bengal, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, Borneo, Java, and the Cape of Good Hope. His travels were published at Milan in 1511, and in Ramusio's 1st Vol. The first English translation appeared in Willes and Eden's *Decades*, 4to, 1555, re-printed in the *Supplement* of Hakluyt.

The voyages and exploits of VASCO DE GAMA (1498-1502); PEDRO ALVAREZ CABRAL (1500); JUAN DE NUEVA (1501); PACHECO (1503-5); ALMEYDA (1507-9); ALBUQUERQUE (1510-6); LOPEZ SOAREZ (1516-21); and other Portuguese heroes,—together with the general history of Portuguese discovery, piracy, oppression, and religious intolerance in the East,—might be given from the *Decades* of Juan de Barros and Couto; the *Historia naturale y moral de las Indias* of Joseph Acosta; the *Historia de Descubrimiento* &c. of Castanheda; the *De Rebus Emanuelis* &c. of Osorio; the *Historiarum Indicarum Libri*; the *Descubrimenti* of Antonio Galvam; and the *Asia Portuguesa* of Faria-y-Sousa. Or it would be sufficient to take the abstract, as we already find it, in the first book of Astley's *Collection*, with some additions and alterations.

The proceedings of our early English voyagers in the same parts—DAVIS (1600); LANCASTER (1600-2); the MIDDLETONS (1604-12); SHARPEY (1608-10); DOUN-TON (1610-4); and others, might be given from the second and third books of the same *Collection*.

The early voyages of the Dutch and French may be extracted from the *Histoire Générale* and the *Historische Beschryving der Reizen*, above noticed.

ODOARDO BARBOSA (1520). His work was published under title of *Dell' Indie Orientali*, and is included in Ramusio's first Vol. This very enterprising Portuguese writes of Ormuz, Guzerát, Cambay, Diu, Mangalore, Tána Maiambu, the Deccan, Chaul, Dabul, Goa, the kingdom of Narsinga, Battecala, Bījānagar, Orissa, Calicut, Malabar, Cananore, Cochin, Malepúr, Coromandel, Ceylon, Bengal, Arracan, Pegu, Ava, Malacca, Siam, and the Eastern Islands; and enters fully into the subject of native customs.

FERNAM MENDEZ PINTO (1537-58). The *Peregrinação*, &c., of this "liar of the first magnitude" contains but little upon India; but as the basis of his extravagant relations is unquestionably correct, and he sets forth unblushingly the piracies of the early Portuguese in the Indian seas, and has otherwise established for himself a name of great celebrity, a portion of his narrative should obtain admission into this Collection. Mr. MacFarlane, in his *Romance of Travel*, has endeavoured to rescue the fame of this adventurous sailor from the discredit which now attaches to it.

CÆSAR FREDERICKE (1563-81). This merchant of Venice visited Bassora, Ormuz, Diu, Cambay, Goa, Bījānagar, Cochin, Ceylon, Negapatan, St. Thomas, Malacca, Sumatra, Orissa, Piquino (Húglí), Satgáng, Tavoy, Martaban, Pegu, and Chátigáng. His travels are published in the *Collections* of Ramusio, Hakluyt, and Purchas; and part of them appeared in the first Volume of the *Asiatic Miscellany*.

RALPH FITCH (1583-91). In his "long, dangerous, and memorable voyage, begunne in the yeare 1583," he is very faithful and trustworthy, and his travels were extensive, including Syria, Ormuz, Diu, Goa, Bījápúr, Golconda, Masulipatam, Burhánpúr, Mándú, Ujjain^d, Agra, Benáres, Patna, Tánda, Cúch, Bihár, Húglí, Chátigáng,

Pegu, Malacca, Ceylon, Cochin, Calicut. His travels are in Hakluyt's, Purchas', Pinkerton's, and Kerr's *Collections*.

GASPARO BALBI (1583). His visit to Pegu, under the title of *Viaggio dell' Ind. Orientali*, was printed at Venice in 1590, 8vo, and is in De Bry and Purchas.

J. H. LINSOTEN (1594-6). His *Navigatio et Itinerarium in Or. Indiam*, &c., contains a description of the coasts and ports of India, and the manners of the natives; and has large folding maps and plates. It is in De Bry and Purchas, and the *Histoire Générale* gives a copious abstract of its contents.

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FRANÇOIS PYRARD DE LAVAL (1600-11). His *Voyage aux Indes Or.*, &c., is in high esteem for its accuracy and intelligence. The Maldives, Bengal, Cochin, Travancore, and Calicut are particularly described by him.

BENEDICT GOEZ (1603). His route was Lahore, Pesháwar, Kábul, Tálíkán, Yárkand, Khoten, Aksu, and So-chew, where he died. His narrative is in the *Claros varones*, &c., of Nieremberg, and the *De Christi-aná Expeditione apud Sinas*, 1615, of Nicholas Trigautius, translated into Latin from the Memoirs of P. Matth. Riccio, as well as in the *Regni Chinensis descriptio*, Lyons, 1700, 4to. It has also been translated into most European languages.

ANTONIO ANDRADA (1624).—*Nuevo descubrimiento do grao Catayo ou dos Reynos de Tibet*; Lisboa, 1626. This work was subsequently translated into various languages. Andrada was a Jesuit, whose route lay through Agra, Sirínagar, Bhadrínáth, and Tibet, to China. His narrative has been suspected, especially by Bentink and Green, but in the Indian portion certainly without reason. The grounds, indeed, assigned by the latter are the very ones which our better knowledge shows us to be confirmatory of its truth.

GRUEBER & DORVILLE (1661). Their journey was from a contrary direction—Pekin, Tangút, Lhassa, Kat'h-mandú, Patna, Benáres, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Multán, Thatta, and Ormuz. It is inserted in Kircher's *China Illustrata*, and in Thévenot's *Relations*.

HIPPOLITO DESIDERI (1714-6). In the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Tom. xv. His route was Goa, Surat, Debli, Kashmír, Ladák, and Lhassa. It is to be regretted that his narrative is so brief.

HORACIO DE LA PENNA (1732).—*Religione dello stato presente del gran regno de Thibet*. There is a French translation in the *Nouvelle Bibliothèque*, Tom. xiv. His statements, together with those of Goetz, Andrada, Grueber, and Desideri, have been very well abstracted in Astley's *Collection*.

These are all the travels into Tibet and Tartary which it is advisable to notice. The abstract in Astley's *Collection*, together with some additions from Theodore Ray, Gerbillon, Du Halde, and Giorgi, would be sufficient to meet our purpose.

For almost all our information on this remote country we are indebted to enterprising Jesuit missionaries, respecting whom, as well as their unobtrusive competitors, the Danes, information may be obtained from the following works.

Neue historische, &c., on the Embassies of the Jesuits. Dillingen, 8vo. (1601).

Historia de las misiones, &c., 2 Tom fol., Alcala, (1601). This history was written by Luis Guzman.

Oriente conquistado a Jesu Christo, &c., 2 Tom., 4to, (1710).

These works contain some extractable matter, amidst much that is worthless. The mission of Aquaviva, Monserrate, and Enriques, begun in 1569 and closed in 1583,

is deserving of notice . Their route lay through Daman, Surat, Mándú, Ujjain, Seronge, Narwar, and Fut'hpúr Síkrí. Other Jesuit missions succeeded these, with a like unsuccessful result. We find also in these missionary narratives descriptions of Salsette, Goa, Cochin, Coulon, Travancore, Calicut, Pegu, Ormuz, &c.

Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des Missions étrangères ; Paris, (1717-76). A new edition was issued in 1780-3, in 26 Vols., 12mo., with maps ; and other editions have appeared at Toulouse and Lyons. In 1819, there were published in Paris, *Nouvelles lettres*, in 6 Vols., 12mo. A few of these letters on India will be found well worth translation.

Historia Miss. Evang. in India Or. ; Halle, (1747). Abridged by Jo. Luc. Niecamp from a German work in 13 Vols., 4to. Some interesting information on the Danish missions is to be extracted from this work.

We may now revert to the regular order of discovery, which was particularly energetic during the seventeenth century.

PEDRO TEXEIRA (1604).—*Relacion del origen de los Reyes de Persia y Ormuz, y un Viage dende la India Oriental hasta Italia por tierra* ; Antwerp, 8vo, 1610. This work consists of three parts: the first is a history of the Kings of Persia, compiled from Mírkhond, with a brief continuation down to the time of Texeira ; the second is an abridgment of the history of Ormuz by Túrán-Sháb, one of the kings of that district, also with a continuation ; the third, the author's overland journey from India to Europe. It was translated into Italian, by Lasor, in 1610 ; into French, by Cotelendi, in 1681 ; and into English, by Capt J. Stevens, in 1715. Respecting these versions, see Vol. I, under the Article MÍRKHOND. The itinerary was partly translated by J. de Laet into Latin, and appended to his *Persia*, published at Leyden in 1633.

ANTHONY DE GOUVEA (1606). The work under the title of *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa D F. Aleino de Memeses, &c., as serras de Malabar, &c.*, which was printed at Coimbra, 1606, fol., was written by F. Anthony de Gouvea, of the order of S. Augustin, who treats of the inland parts of Malabar, and the Christians of S. Thomas. An abridgment of it appeared in French, in 1609. He had previously, in 1602, gone on an embassy to Sháh 'Abbás.

JOHN MILDENHALL (1606). His journey was through Aleppo, Kurdistán, Armenia, Persia, and Kandahár, to Agra. It is given in Purchas.

RICHARD HAWKINS (1608). He resided for some time at the Court of the Moghul. His narrative is in Purchas and Kerr.

ROBERT COVERTE (1609-10). He travelled from Surat, viâ Burhánpúr, to Agra, and thence, viâ Biána, Ajmér, Jéalmér, Sak'har, Dádar, Kandahár, and Ispahán, to Europe. He is in De Bry's and Kerr's *Collections*, and in Churchill's *Supplement*.

THOMAS CORYATE (1612-7). His route was Ispahán, Shíráz, Kandahár, Lahore, Agra, Ajmér, Mándú, and Surat, where he died in 1617. His letters from Agra and "Asmere,"—the only account left us of the eastern adventures and experiences of this quaint old traveller—are in Purchas' and Kerr's *Collections*, and were reprinted with his *Crudities*, in 1776.

SIR THOMAS ROE (1615-7). English ambassador to the Court of Jehángír. He resided for some time at Ajmér, and accompanied the camp of the Emperor. He gives an excellent account of the drunkenness, vacillation, frivolity, meanness, tawdriness, and occasional profusion and magnificence of that Prince. His highly interesting and graphic description is in many of the General *Collections*.

The REV. D. E. TERRY (1615-7). He was attached to the

embassy as Chaplain, and has furnished a full account of India, a small portion of which is in Thévenot and Kerr.

SEBASTIAN MANRIQUE (1612-25). — *Itinerario de las misiones orientales, con una sumaria relacion del imperio del gran Mogor*; Roma, 1649, 4to. The route of this enterprising Augustin Friar was novel and interesting—Ingelly, Húglí, Dacca, Chátigáng, Arracan, Goa, Malacca, Macao, Bengal, Agra, Lahore, Multán, T'hatta, Jéalmér, Kábul, and Kandahár.

PIETRO DELLA VALLE (1614-26). Styled *il Pellegrino*. He has some extractable passages on India in his *viaggi*, which have been translated into English and French. His travels, however, were chiefly in Persia.

WILLIAM METHOLD (1622). He was President of the English factory at Masulipatam, and visited the Diamond Mines of Golconda, as well as the kingdom of Pegu.

SIR THOMAS HERBERT (1626-7). Pedantic but valuable, and little known. He gives much on the history of India and Persia. He describes Agra, Lahore, Kandahár, Chitor, and many other places which he never visited, for his personal observations seem confined to the coast. In Persia his travels were more extensive.

ABRAHAM ROGER (1630-40). After his death in 1649, appeared his book entitled *Gentilismus reseratus*, better known to us under the name of *La Porte ouverte*, &c. It gives a full and accurate account of the Coromandel Coast, and the system of Hindú worship prevailing there. Charles Butler observes of it, in his *Horæ Biblicæ*, that it is "one of the most curious works which has yet appeared on the mythology of the Hindoos, and deserves to be more generally known."

J. DE LAET (1631). His work, under the title of *De Imperio magni Mogolis, sive Indiâ verâ*, is a valuable little compilation, scarce, and unnoticed by his biographers.

WILLIAM BRUTON (1632).—*Newes from the E. Indies*,

or *Voyage to Bengalla*. He visited only the Coromandel Coast and Orissa. His *Newes* was printed in London in 1638, and is reprinted in the *Supplements* of Hakluyt and Churchill (Osborne).

ALBRECHT VON MANDELSLO (1638). He was a German in the train of Olearius, ambassador to Persia from the Duke of Holstein. He visited Surat, B'haróch, Ahmedábád, Cambay, Agra, Lahore, and thence across the desert to Surat and Bijápúr. His *Morgenlandische Reise-beschreibung* was published at Schleswick in 1647, and has been translated into French and English.

BOULLAYE LE GOUX (1640-50).—*Les Voyages et Observations*, &c., Paris, 1656, 4to. His account of Bijápúr, Portuguese India, and the religion of India, is very faithful. Amongst the many countries he visited was England, where he tendered his services to Charles I, and recounts some events of the Civil Wars. Prefixed is an account of above sixty preceding travellers. After suing his mother, who denied his identity on his return, he was sent by Louis XIV as envoy to the Great Moghul; but died in Persia on his way, in 1688.

DOMINGO FERNANDEZ NAVARETTE (1646-73). His *Tratados de la monarchia di China*, &c., &c., was translated from the Spanish, and published in Churchill's *Collection*. His account of China has been abstracted in Astley. There is but little on India in his large work, but, as he visited Malacca, Madras, Ceylon, Golconda, Masulipatam, and Surat, he is worthy of extract.

JOHN BAPTIST TAVERNIER (1652-6). Extracts may be given from this shrewd and inquisitive observer. He was altogether forty years in the East. His travels are abstracted in the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, and have been translated into English.

JEAN THE'VENOT (1655). The third part of his travels relates to the East Indies.

JOHN KNOX (1657-79). He was many years in slavery in Ceylon. His *Historical Relation* appeared in 1781.

PHILIP BALDÆUS (1660-70). His *Beschryving der Oost. Ind., &c.*, has been translated in Churchill. His description of the coast from Cambay to Orissa is very full, and he does not indulge in exaggerations. He was in Malabar in 1662. He takes his Portuguese history chiefly from Maffei and Castanheda. His history of the early Dutch progress in the East is copious, and he is the first to notice at length the system of Indian idolatry, if we except Boullaye le Goux above noticed.

GIOSEPPO DI SANTA MARIA (1661).—*Prima spedizione all' Indie orientali*; 4to, Roma, 1661. This barefoot Carmelite was sent as apostolical legate by Pope Alexander VII to the Malabar Christians of S. Thomas. He gives a very particular account of the places and people he saw; of birds, beasts, and other animals; of the Hindú religion; of the empire of the Moghul; and of the pearl-fishery; and concludes with the errors of the Jacobites, Nestorians, Greeks, Armenians, and other Eastern Sects.

There are other old works relating to the Coast of Malabar, which are worth notice and extract,—such as those of F. BARETTO (1645); P. HYACINTHE DE MAGISTRIS (1663); ZIEGENBALG (1697); PHILIPS (1699); and VISCHER (1743).

JAN NIEUHOFF (1662-5).—*Zee en Land Reyze, &c.* He is very faithful in his account of the early Dutch progress in the East. He was on his travels between Brazil and China from 1640 to 1672. His accounts of these two countries are in some of the *Collections*—but his entire travels are given only in that of the Churchills.

There are several other Dutch travellers about this period, who might afford, here and there, some extractable matter,—such as SAAR (1644-59); SCHOUTEN (1658-65);

HERPORT (1669); NEWT (1672); DAPPER (1672); SCHREDER (1669-77); BURKHARD (1693); VOGEL (1716); BROEK (1717); BARCHEWITZ (1711-22); GERBERT (1752); and others, who need not be separately noticed.

JOHN FRYER (1662-81). His travels are not in any *Collection*. They were published separately in 1698, and are now rare, and repay perusal.

P. MANUEL GODINHO (1663).—*Relação de novo caminho*, &c., Lisboa, 1665. The first part relates to Basscin, Daman, Surat, and Ormuz.

FRANCIS BERNIER (1663-4). The best English translation of the works of this observant and philosophical traveller is by Irving Brock, published in 2 Vols. 8vo. in 1826. It contains both his *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, and his *History of the late Revolution*.

H. R. DE LINGEN (1664).—*Relatio rerum notabilium Regni Mogor in Asia*; Aschaffenburg, 1665, 4to.

DAVID TAPP (1667-82).—*Funfzehnjährige Ostind. Reise-beschreibung*; Hanover, 1714. Extracts may be given from these two works.

M. CARRE (1668-71). His travels were published in Paris in 1699, and are abstracted in the *Histoire Générale des Voyages* and the *Beschryving der Reizen*.

NICOLAS DE GRAAF (1669). This Dutch physician, who is very accurate in his descriptions, visited Húglí, Rájmahál, Múnghír, and Patna. His travels were published at Amsterdam in 1719, and are abstracted in the *Hist. Générale* and the *Beschryving der Reizen*.

P. ABBATE CLEMENTI TOSI (1669).—*Descrizione geogr. e hist.*; Roma, 2 Vols., 4to.

M. DELLON (1670-2). He describes Surat, Rájápúr, Balipatan, Goa, Cananore, Tellicherry, Calicut, Tanor, Mangalore, and other places on the Malabar coast. His *Voyage aux Indes Or.*, with his account of the Inquisition

at Goa, was translated into English in 1699, and is abstracted in the *Hist. Générale* and the *Beschryving*.

DE LA HAYE (1670-5).—*Journal du Voyage des grandes Indes, contenant tout ce qui s'y est fait et passé par l'escadre de Sa Majesté, &c.*, Paris, 1689. This is a voyage of the French fleet to the Indies under the command of De la Haye, which visited Surat, Goa, Ceylon, Tranquebar, and St. Thomas, or Meliাপൂර. It gives some account of those coasts, and of the hostile proceedings against the Dutch settlements. There is a full abstract of of the journal in the *Hist. Générale* and the *Beschryving*.

L'ESTRA (1671-5). His travels are also recounted in the *Histoire Générale* and the *Beschryving der Reizen*.

Relation ou journal d'un Voyage fait aux Indes orientales, contenant les affaires du pais et les établissemens, &c., 12mo.. (1671). Churchill remarks that this author "is worth reading for several observations not easily to be found in others; but most for his account of the settlements of European nations, yet all short."

DON PEDRO DE CASTRO (1673). His adventures are in the *Histoire Générale* and the *Beschryving der Reizen*.

VINCENZO MARIA (1673).—*Il viaggio all'Indie orientali*. P. F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterino da Siena was procurator-general of the barefoot Carmelites, and sent to India, viâ Turkey and Persia, by the Pope, together with F. Joseph of S. Mary, mentioned above. This author divides his work into five books. In the first and last, is a journal of all things remarkable in his travels. The second treats of the affairs of the Malabar Christians. The third and fourth, of all the nations of India, their manners, customs, wealth, government, religion, plants, animals, &c. "The whole," says Churchill, "is so faithful, exact, and learned an account of all things remarkable in those parts, that scarce any other can equal it."

B. DE D. (1677).—*Beschryving van verscheiden Oost-Ind.*, &c. Rotterdam, 1677, 4to.

A. HAMILTON (1688-1723).—*A new account of the East Indies*, &c., 1727. It is the best work of this period on India, and maintains its credit to this day. It is given in Pinkerton's *Collection*.

J. OVINGTON (1689-93). He describes Surat, Bombay, Arracan, Pegu, &c., and gives an account of the coins of India and Persia; and observations concerning silk-worms.

J. F. GEMELLI CARERI (1695). His *Giro del Mondo* was originally published in Italian, in 7 Vols., 8vo., and has been translated into French and English. This Neapolitan doctor's travels were printed in seven Parts, of which the third relates to India. His history is abstracted from Maffei, Bernier, Tavernier, Thévenot, and other eye-witnesses. He visited Turkey, Persia, Ormuz, Daman, Goa, Aurangzéb's camp at Galgala, Malacca, the Philippine Islands, N. America, Spain, France, Italy, and England. Part iii is worth republication. Part iv is abstracted in Astley, and the entire work is in Churchill.

CAPITAINE JEAN RIBEYRO (1695).—*Historie de l'isle de Ceylon*, 12mo, Trévoux, 1701. This short history of Ceylon, was originally written in the Portuguese language. The French translator, M. l'Abbé Le Grand has added to it several chapters, collected from the best authors. It is divided into three books: the first contains a description of the island, its government, religion, products, &c.; the second treats of the wars of the Portuguese with the Natives and the Dutch; and the third, of the Portuguese conquests in India, and the power of the Dutch.

M. LUILLIER (1702). His *Voyage aux Grandes Indes* is abstracted in the *Hist. Générale* and the *Beschryving*.

CORNELIUS LE BRUYN (1705). This famous Dutch traveller gives us little upon India, but that should be extracted. His travels were published in French, and translated into English.

ANTONIO ALBUQUERQUE (1718). His *Jornada* from Goa, viâ Mangalore, Seringapatam, Bangalore, Vellore, Madras, and Malacca, to Macao, was printed in Portuguese, at Lisbon, in 1732. An abstract of it is given by Hugh Murray, in his *Hist. of Discovery in Asia*, Vol. I.

Istoria naturale e politica del Regno del Gran-Mogol, &c. ; 8vo. Venice. (1738).

'ABDU-L-KARÍM (1739-43). His pilgrimage to Mecca has been translated into English by Gladwin, and into French by M. Langlès. Both translations are scarce. The passages about India should be reprinted.

With the middle of this Century we might fitly close this proposed Compilation, which, if carefully edited, would prove of essential service to all who are interested in the progress of descriptive and political Geography in India. The travels of GROSE (1759), HODGES (1780-3), TURNER (1783), KIRKPATRICK (1793), FORSTER (1793), DR. F. BUCHANAN HAMILTON (1793-1801), LORD VALENTIA (1802-6), and other Englishmen, since the establishment of British supremacy in India, are so well known and so easily procurable, that they need not enter into our consideration, or swell the Collection to an immoderate size. A few foreign travellers, however, of this period,—OTTER (1748), STAVORINUS (1768-71), SONNERAT (1774-81), and especially TIEFFENTHALER (1785),—as being less known to us, afford matter for copious Extract.



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