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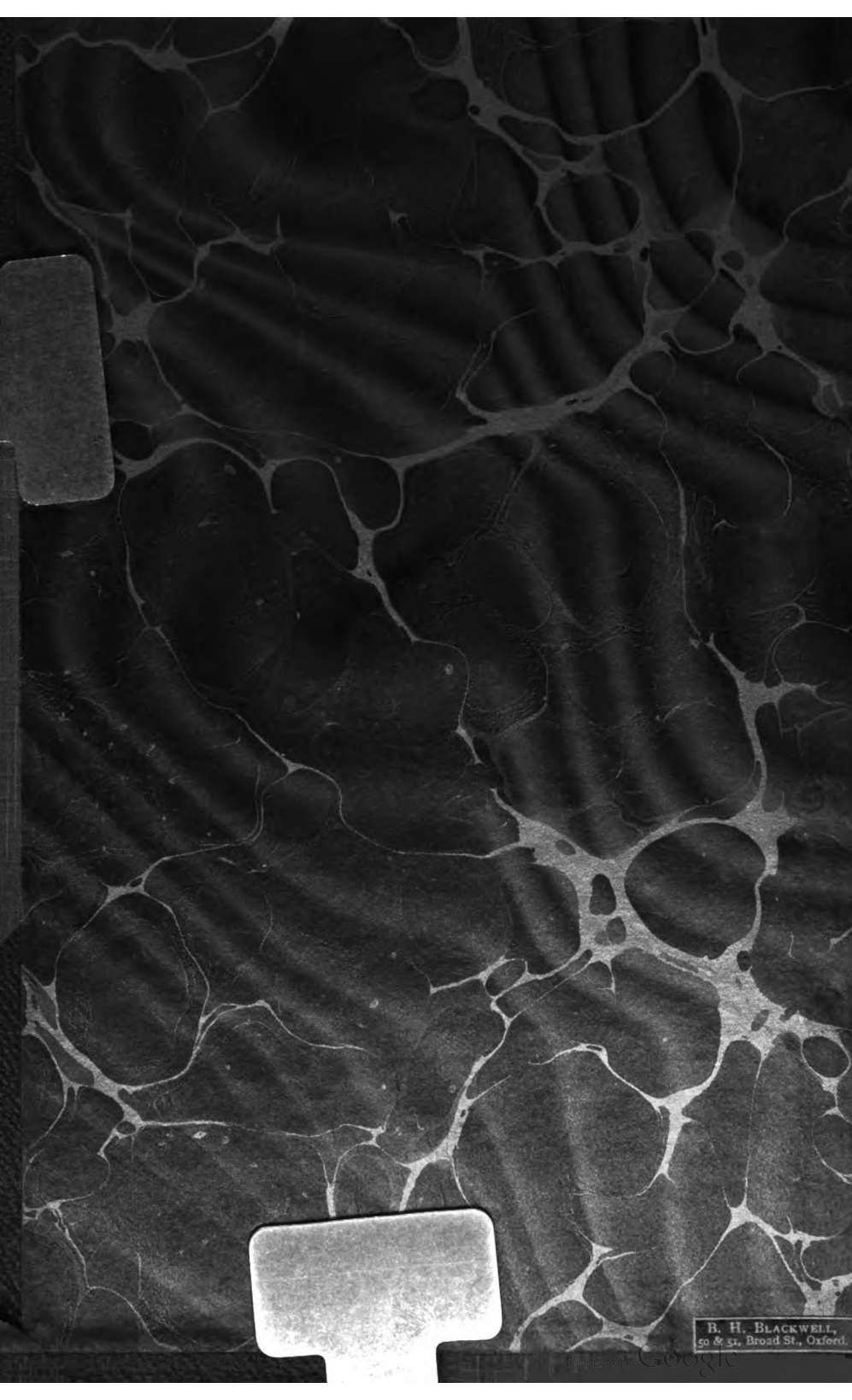
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THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

THE
HISTORY OF INDIA,
AS TOLD
BY ITS OWN HISTORIANS.

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD.

EDITED FROM THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS
OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT, K.C.B.,

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE,

BY
PROFESSOR JOHN DOWSON, M.B.A.S.,

STAFF COLLEGE, SANDHURST.

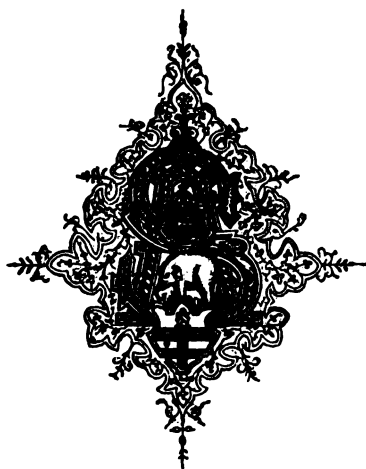
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STEPHEN AUSTIN,



PRINTER, HERTFORD.

PRELIMINARY NOTE.

[*THESE* are not the days when the public care to listen to the minor details of an author's life; but Sir H. M. Elliot's relations and the thinned number of his personal friends—while confidently leaving his posthumous works to speak for themselves—recognise the double duty of placing on record the more prominent events of his career, and of defining under what guarantee his writings are now submitted, so to say, to a new generation of readers. The former will be found in a separate note, but to explain the origin and progressive advance of the present publication, it may be stated that after Sir Henry Elliot's death, at the Cape of Good Hope, his fragmentary papers were brought to this country by his widow. And as the introductory volume of the original work had been issued under the auspices and at the cost of the Government of the North-Western Provinces of India, the MSS.—constituting the materials already prepared for the more comprehensive undertaking in thirteen volumes—were placed at the disposal of those ever liberal promoters of Oriental literature, the Directors of the East India Company, by whom they were submitted to a Committee consisting of the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, Mr. Edward Clive Bayley, of the Bengal Civil Service, and Mr. W. H. Morley, of the Inner Temple, a gentleman who had distinguished himself as an Arabic scholar, and who was reputed to be well versed in other branches of Oriental lore. On the recommendation of this Committee, the Court of Directors readily sanctioned a grant of £500 towards the purposes of the publication, and Mr. Morley was himself entrusted with

the editorship. Mr. Morley's circumstances, at this critical time, are understood to have been subject to important changes, so that, although he entered upon his task with full alacrity and zeal, his devotion soon slackened, and when the MSS. were returned four years afterwards, they were found to be in such an imperfectly advanced state as effectually to discourage any hasty selection of a new editor. For which reserve, indeed, there were other and more obvious reasons in the paucity of scholars available in this country, who could alike appreciate the versatile knowledge of the author, and do justice to the critical examination of his leading Oriental authorities, or other abstruse texts, where references still remained imperfect.

As Lady Elliot's adviser in this matter, a once official colleague of her husband's, and alike a free participator in his literary tastes, I trust that I have secured the best interests of the projected undertaking in the nomination of Professor J. Dowson, of the Staff College of Sandhurst, who has so satisfactorily completed the first volume, under the revised distribution of the work, now submitted to the public.—EDWARD THOMAS.]

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

The foregoing note has described how, sixteen years after Sir Henry Elliot's first volume was given to the world, his papers were placed in my charge for revision and publication.

My first intention was to carry out the work on the original plan, but as progress was made in the examination of the voluminous materials, the necessity of some modification became more and more apparent. The work had long been advertised under the revised title which it now bears, as contemplated by the author himself; its bibliographical character having been made subordinate to the historical. It also seemed desirable, after the lapse of so many years, to begin with new matter rather than with a reprint of the old volume. Mature consideration ended with the conviction that the book might open with fresh matter, and that it might at the same time be rendered more available as an historical record.

In the old volume, Sir H. Elliot introduced a long note upon "India as known to the Arabs during the first four centuries of the Hijri Era," and under this heading he collected nearly all the materials then within the reach of Europeans. Since that compilation was made, it has been to a great degree superseded by new and more satisfactory translations, and the work of Al Istakhri has also become available. The translation of Al Idrisi by Jaubert was not quoted by Sir H. Elliot, but an English version of the part relating to India seemed desirable. The subject had thus outgrown the limits of an already lengthy note, and a remodelling of this portion of the book became necessary. The notices of India by the early Arab geographers form a suitable introduction to the History of the Muhammadan Empire in that country. They have accordingly been placed in chronological order at the opening of the work.

Next in date after the Geographers, and next also as regards the antiquity of the subjects dealt with, come the *Mujmalu-t Tawarikh* and the *Futuhu-l Buldan*. In the latter work, Biladuri describes in one chapter the course of the Arab conquests in Sind. The *Chach-nama* deals more fully with the same subject, and the Arabic original of this work must have been written soon after the events its records, though the Persian version, which

is alone known to us, is of later date. The Arab occupation of Sind was but temporary, it was the precursor, not the commencement, of Musulmán rule in India. On the retreat of the Arabs the government of the country reverted to native princes, and notwithstanding the successes of Mahmúd of Ghazní, the land remained practically independent until its absorption into the Empire during the reign of Akbar in 1592 A.D. Priority of date and of subject thus give the right of precedence to the Historians of Sind, while the isolation of the country and the individuality of its history require that all relating to it should be kept together. The "Early Arab Geographers," and "The Historians of Sind," have therefore been taken first in order, and they are comprised in the present volume.

So far as this volume is concerned, Sir H. Elliot's plan has been followed, and the special histories of Sind form a distinct book, but for the main portion of the work his plan will be changed. In classifying his materials as "General Histories" and "Particular Histories," Sir H. Elliot adopted the example set by previous compilers of catalogues and other bibliographical works, but he sometimes found it convenient to depart from this division. Thus the *Kámilu-t Tawárikh* of Ibn Asír and the *Nizámu-t Tawárikh* of Baizáwí, are general histories, but they are classed among the particular histories, be-

cause they were written shortly after the fall of the Ghaznivides, and their notices of India are confined almost exclusively to that dynasty.

The great objection to this arrangement in an historical work is that it separates, more than necessary, materials relating to the same person and the same subject. Thus the *Tárikh-i Badáúní* of 'Abdu-l Kádir is particularly valuable for the details it gives of the reign and character of Akbar under whom the writer lived. But this is a general history, and so would be far removed from the *Akbar-náma* of Abú-l Fazl, which is a special history comprising only the reign of Akbar. A simple chronological succession, irrespective of the general or special character of the different works, seems with the single exception of the Sindian writers to be the most convenient historical arrangement, and it will therefore be adopted in the subsequent volumes. This plan will not entirely obviate the objection above noticed, but it will tend greatly to its diminution.

Upon examining the mass of materials left by Sir H. Elliot the bibliographical notices were found for the most part written or sketched out, but with many additional notes and references to be used in a final revision. The Extracts intended to be printed were, with some important exceptions, translated; and where translations had not been prepared, the passages required were generally,

though not always, indicated. The translations are in many different hands. Some few are in Sir H. Elliot's own handwriting, others were made by different English officers, but the majority of them seem to have been the work of *munshis*. With the exception of those made by Sir H. Elliot himself, which will be noted whenever they occur, I have compared the whole of them with the original texts and the errors which I have had to correct have been innumerable and extensive. But with all my care it is to be feared that some misreadings may have escaped detection, for it is very difficult for a reviser to divest himself entirely of the colour given to a text by the original translator. In some cases it would have been easier to make entirely new translations, and many might have been made more readable; but, according to Sir H. Elliot's desire, "the versions are inelegant, as, in order to show the nature of the original, they keep as close to it as possible; and no freedom has been indulged in with the object of improving the style, sentiments, connection, or metaphors of the several passages which have been quoted:" the wide difference in the tastes of Europeans and Orientals has, however, induced me to frequently substitute plain language for the turgid metaphors and allusions of the texts.

The notes and remarks of the Editor are enclosed in brackets [], but the Introductory chapter on the Arab

Geographers must be looked upon as being in the main his work. Where any of Sir H. Elliot's old materials have been used and throughout in the notes, the distinctive mark of the brackets has been maintained.

The reference made by Sir H. Elliot to the works of other authors are very numerous, especially in the articles which appeared in his printed volume. Some of these references have been checked, and the passages referred to have been found to be of very little importance. They would seem to have been made for the author's rather than for general use, but still it is difficult to determine beforehand what particular part of an article may attract attention or excite opposition. I have worked under the great disadvantage of living in the country, far away from public libraries, and have been confined in great measure to the limited resources of my own library. It has thus been impracticable for me to verify many of these references or to judge of their value. I have therefore deemed it more expedient to insert the whole than to omit any which might eventually prove serviceable.

With the advertisements published before the work came into my hands, there was put forth a scheme of spelling to be observed in the reprint of Sir H. Elliot's Glossary and in this work, by which Sanskrit and Semitic words were to be made distinguishable by dia-

critical marks attached to the Roman equivalent letters. Admitting the ingenuity of the scheme, I nevertheless declined to adopt it, and so a determination was come to, that the long vowels only should be marked. It seemed to me that this system of spelling, while it would have required a great deal of minute attention on the part of the Editor and Printer, would practically have been unheeded by the general reader, and useless to the scholar. In doubtful cases, the affiliation of a word without proofs or reasons, would have been valueless; but more than all this, the many Turanian words must have appeared with a Sanskritic or Semitic label upon them. Either too much or too little was attempted, and even if the design could be completely accomplished, a philological work like the Glossary would be a more fitting vehicle for its introduction than a book like the present.

To shorten the work as much as possible it has been determined to omit the Extracts of the original texts, but even then, it will be impossible to include the whole of the materials in the three volumes advertised.

I have throughout been anxious never to exceed my powers as Editor, but to place myself as far as possible in Sir H. Elliot's place. I have not attempted to controvert his opinions, or to advance theories of my own, but palpable errors have been corrected, and many alterations and additional notes have been introduced, which

have been rendered necessary by the advance of knowledge. With the unrevised matter, I have used greater freedom, but it has been my constant aim to complete the work in a manner that its designer might have approved.

It only remains for me to express my obligations to Mr. E. Thomas for many valuable hints and suggestions. I am also indebted to General Cunningham for several important notes, which I have been careful to acknowledge *in loco*, and for placing at my disposal his valuable Archæological Reports, which are too little known in Europe, and some extracts of which appear in the Appendix.

SIR HENRY ELLIOT'S ORIGINAL PREFACE.

A few months since, the Compiler of this Catalogue was engaged in a correspondence with the Principal of the College at Delhi on the subject of lithographing an uniform edition of the Native Historians of India. On referring the matter to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, North Western Provinces, it was replied that the Education Funds at the disposal of the Government were not sufficient to warrant the outlay of so large a sum as the scheme required, and without which it would have been impossible to complete so expensive an undertaking. At the same time it was intimated, that, as few people were acquainted with the particular works which should be selected to form such a series, it would be very desirable that an Index of them should be drawn up, in order that the manuscripts might be sought for, and deposited in one of our College Libraries, to be printed or lithographed hereafter, should circumstances render it expedient, and should the public taste, at present lamentably indifferent, show any inclination for greater familiarity with the true sources of the Muhammadan History of India.

The author willingly undertook this task, as it did not appear one of much difficulty; but in endeavouring to accomplish it, the mere Nominal Index which he was invited to compile, has insensibly expanded into several volumes; for, encouraged not only by finding that no work had ever been written specially on this matter, but also by receiving from many distinguished Orientalists, both European and Native, their confessions of entire ignorance on the subject of his enquiries, he was persuaded that it would be useful to append, as far as his knowledge would permit, a few notes to each history as it came under consideration, illustrative of the matter it comprehends, the style, position, and prejudices of the several authors, and the merits or deficiencies of their execution.

Brief extracts from the several works have been given in the

fourth volume, in order to show the style of each author. Some of these have been translated in the three first volumes; of some, where the text is of no interest, the translation has been omitted; but in most instances, the English translations exceed the Persian text. As the translation and the printing of the Persian text occurred at different periods, the translation will be found occasionally to vary from the text, having been executed probably from a different manuscript, and the preferable reading taken for the fourth volume. The versions are inelegant, as, in order to show the nature of the original, they keep as close to it as possible; and no freedom has been indulged in with the object of improving the style, sentiments, connexion, or metaphors of the several passages which have been quoted.

The author has been very particular in noticing every translation known to him, in order that students, into whose hands this Index may fall, may be saved the useless trouble, which he in his ignorance has more than once entailed upon himself, of undertaking a translation which had already been executed by others.

He had hoped to be able to append an account of the historians of the independent Muhammadan monarchies, such as of Guzerát, Bengál, Kashmír, and others; but the work, as it is, has already extended to a length beyond what either its name or the interest of the subject warrants, and sufficient information is given respecting their annals in many of the General Histories. For the same reason he must forego an intended notice of the various collections of private letters relating to the history of India, and the matters which chiefly interested the generation of the writers.

The historians of the Delhi Emperors have been noticed down to a period when new actors appear upon the stage; when a more stirring and eventful era of India's History commences; and when the full light of European truth and discernment begins to shed its beams upon the obscurity of the past, and to relieve us from the necessity of appealing to the Native Chroniclers of the time, who are, for the most part, dull, prejudiced, ignorant, and superficial.

If it be doubted whether it is worth while to trouble ourselves about collecting such works as are here noticed, it is sufficient to reply that other countries have benefited by similar labours—exem-

plified in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum*, the *Auctores Veteres Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, the *Monumenta Boica*, the *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, and a hundred other collections of the same kind—but no objection is urged against them on the ground that each chronicler, taken individually, is not of any conspicuous merit. They are universally considered as useful depositories of knowledge, from which the labour and diligence of succeeding scholars may extract materials for the erection of a better and more solid structure. This country offers some peculiar facilities for such a collection, which it would be vain to look for elsewhere; since the number of available persons, sufficiently educated for the purpose of transcribing, collating, and indexing, is very large, and they would be content with a small remuneration. Another urgent reason for undertaking such a work in this country, is the incessant depredation which insects, moths, dust, moisture, and vermin are committing upon the small store of manuscripts which is now extant. Every day is of importance in rescuing the remnant from still further damage, as was too painfully evident a short time ago, from a report presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, respecting the injury which has already been sustained by their collection.

On the other hand, it must not be concealed, that in India, independent of the want of standard books of reference, great difficulties beset the enquirer in this path of literature, arising chiefly from one of the defects in the national character, viz.: the intense desire for parade and ostentation, which induces authors to quote works they have never seen, and to lay claim to an erudition which the limited extent of their knowledge does not justify. For instance, not many years ago there was published at Agra a useful set of chronological tables of the Moghal dynasty, said to be founded on the authority of several excellent works named by the author. Having been long in search of many of these works, I requested from the author a more particular account of them. He replied that some had been once in his possession and had been given away; some he had borrowed; and some were lost or mislaid; but the parties to whom he had given, and from whom he had borrowed, denied all knowledge of the works, or even of their titles. Indeed, most of them contained nothing on the subject which they were intended to

illustrate, and they were evidently mentioned by the author for the mere object of acquiring credit for the accuracy and extent of his researches.

Again, a native gentleman furnished a catalogue of the manuscripts said to compose the historical collection of his Highness the Nizám; but on close examination I found that, from beginning to end, it was a complete fabrication, the names of the works being taken from the prefaces of standard histories, in which it is usual to quote the authorities,—the very identical sequence of names, and even the errors of the originals, being implicitly followed.

Against these impudent and interested frauds we must consequently be on our guard, not less than against the blunders arising from negligence and ignorance; the misquoting of titles, dates, and names; the ascriptions to wrong authors; the absence of beginnings and endings; the arbitrary substitution of new ones to complete a mutilated manuscript; the mistakes of copyists; the exercise of ingenuity in their corrections, and of fancy in their additions; all these, added to the ordinary sources of error attributable to the well-known difficulty of deciphering Oriental manuscripts, present many obstacles sufficient to damp even the ardour of an enthusiast. Besides which, we have to lament the entire absence of literary history and biography, which in India is devoted only to saints and poets. Where fairy tales and fictions are included under the general name of history we cannot expect to learn much respecting the character, pursuits, motives, and actions of historians, unless they are pleased to reveal them to us themselves, and to entrust us with their familiar confidences; or unless they happen to have enacted a conspicuous part in the scenes which they describe. Even in Europe this deficiency has been complained of; how much more, then, is it likely to be a subject of regret, where despotism is triumphant; where the active elements of life are few; and where individual character, trammelled by so many restraining influences, has no opportunity of development.

It must be understood, then, that this Index has not been constructed on account of any intrinsic value in the histories themselves. Indeed, it is almost a misnomer to style them histories. They can scarcely claim to rank higher than Annals. "*Erat enim historia*

nihil aliud, nisi annalium confectio. * * * * Hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui, sine ullis ornamentis, monimenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. * * * Non exornatores rerum, sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt.”¹ They comprise, for the most part nothing but a mere dry narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence, never grouped philosophically according to their relations. Without speculation on causes or effects; without a reflection or suggestion which is not of the most puerile and contemptible kind; and without any observations calculated to interrupt the monotony of successive conspiracies, revolts, intrigues, murders, and fratricides, so common in Asiatic monarchies, and to which India unhappily forms no exception. If we are somewhat relieved from the contemplation of such scenes when we come to the accounts of the earlier Moghal Emperors, we have what is little more inviting in the records of the stately magnificence and ceremonious observances of the Court, and the titles, jewels, swords, drums, standards, elephants, and horses bestowed upon the dignitaries of the Empire.

If the artificial definition of Dionysius be correct, that “History is Philosophy teaching by examples,” then there is no Native Indian Historian; and few have even approached to so high a standard. Of examples, and very bad ones, we have ample store, though even in them the radical truth is obscured by the hereditary, official, and sectarian prepossessions of the narrator; but of philosophy, which deduces conclusions calculated to benefit us by the lessons and experience of the past, which adverts on the springs and consequences of political transactions, and offers sage counsel for the future, we search in vain for any sign or symptom. Of domestic history also we have in our Indian Annalists absolutely nothing, and the same may be remarked of nearly all Muhammadan historians, except Ibn Khaldún. By them society is never contemplated, either in its conventional usages or recognized privileges; its constituent elements or mutual relations; in its established classes or popular institutions; in its private recesses or habitual intercourses. In notices of commerce, agriculture, internal police, and local judicature, they are equally deficient. A fact, an anecdote, a speech, a remark, which

¹ *De Orat.* II. 12.

would illustrate the condition of the common people, or of any rank subordinate to the highest, is considered too insignificant to be suffered to intrude upon a relation which concerns only grandees and ministers, "thrones and imperial powers."

Hence it is that these works may be said to be deficient in some of the most essential requisites of History, for "its great object," says Dr. Arnold, "is that which most nearly touches the inner life of civilized man, namely, the vicissitudes of institutions, social, political, and religious. This is the *τελειώτατον τέλος* of historical enquiry."¹ In Indian Histories there is little which enables us to penetrate below the glittering surface, and observe the practical operation of a despotic Government and rigorous and sanguinary laws, and the effect upon the great body of the nation of these injurious influences and agencies.

If, however, we turn our eyes to the present Muhammadan kingdoms of India, and examine the character of the princes, and the condition of the people subject to their sway, we may fairly draw a parallel between ancient and modern times, under circumstances and relations nearly similar. We behold kings, even of our own creation, sunk in sloth and debauchery, and emulating the vices of a Caligula or a Commodus. Under such rulers, we cannot wonder that the fountains of justice are corrupted; that the state revenues are never collected without violence and outrage; that villages are burnt, and their inhabitants mutilated or sold into slavery; that the officials, so far from affording protection, are themselves the chief robbers and usurpers; that parasites and eunuchs revel in the spoil of plundered provinces; and that the poor find no redress against the oppressor's wrong and proud man's contumely. When we witness these scenes under our own eyes, where the supremacy of the British Government, the benefit of its example, and the dread of its interference, might be expected to operate as a check upon the progress of misrule, can we be surprised that former princes, when free from such restraints, should have studied even less to preserve the people committed to their charge, in wealth, peace, and prosperity? Had the authors whom we are compelled to consult, portrayed their Cæsars with the fidelity of Suetonius, instead of the more congenial

¹ *Lectures on Mod. Hist.*, p. 123.

sycophancy of Paterculus, we should not, as now, have to extort from unwilling witnesses, testimony to the truth of these assertions. From them, nevertheless, we can gather, that the common people must have been plunged into the lowest depths of wretchedness and despondency. The few glimpses we have, even among the short Extracts in this single volume, of Hindús slain for disputing with Muhammadans, of general prohibitions against processions, worship, and ablutions, and of other intolerant measures, of idols mutilated, of temples razed, of forcible conversions and marriages, of proscriptions and confiscations, of murders and massacres, and of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them, show us that this picture is not overcharged, and it is much to be regretted that we are left to draw it for ourselves from out the mass of ordinary occurrences, recorded by writers who seem to sympathize with no virtues, and to abhor no vices. Other nations exhibit the same atrocities, but they are at least spoken of, by some, with indignation and disgust. Whenever, therefore, in the course of this Index, a work is characterized as excellent, admirable, or valuable, it must be remembered that these terms are used relatively to the narrative only; and it is but reasonable to expect that the force of these epithets will be qualified by constant advertence to the deficiencies just commented on.

These deficiencies are more to be lamented, where, as sometimes happens, a Hindú is the author. From one of that nation we might have expected to have learnt what were the feelings, hopes, faiths, fears, and yearnings, of his subject race; but, unfortunately, he rarely writes unless according to order or dictation, and every phrase is studiously and servilely turned to flatter the vanity of an imperious Muhammadan patron. There is nothing to betray his religion or his nation, except, perhaps, a certain stiffness and affectation of style, which show how ill the foreign garb befits him. With him, a Hindú is "an infidel," and a Muhammadan "one of the true faith," and of the holy saints of the calendar, he writes with all the fervour of a bigot. With him, when Hindús are killed, "their souls are despatched to hell," and when a Muhammadan suffers the same fate, "he drinks the cup of martyrdom." He is so far wedded to the set phrases and inflated language of his conquerors, that he speaks of

"the light of Islám shedding its refulgence on the world," of "the blessed Muharram," and of "the illustrious Book." He usually opens with a "Bismillah," and the ordinary profession of faith in the unity of the Godhead, followed by laudations of the holy prophet, his disciples and descendants, and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of Muhammadans. One of the Hindú authors here noticed, speaks of standing in his old age, "at the head of his bier and on the brink of his grave," though he must have been fully aware that, before long, his remains would be burnt, and his ashes cast into the Ganges. Even at a later period, when no longer "Tiberii ac Neronis res ob *metum* falsæ,"¹ there is not one of this slavish crew who treats the history of his native country subjectively, or presents us with the thoughts, emotions, and raptures which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the heart, without constraint and without adulation.

But, though the intrinsic value of these works may be small, they will still yield much that is worth observation to any one who will attentively examine them. They will serve to dispel the mists of ignorance by which the knowledge of India is too much obscured, and show that the history of the Muhammadan period remains yet to be written. They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. If instruction were sought for from them, we should be spared the rash declarations respecting Muhammadan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters now renowned only for the splendour of their achievements, and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery, and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light, and probably be held up to the execration of mankind. We should no longer hear bombastic Bábús, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism, and the degradation of their present position. If they would dive into any of the volumes mentioned

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.*, I. 1.

herein, it would take these young Brutuses and Phocians a very short time to learn, that in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended, not with silence and contempt, but with the severer discipline of molten lead or empalement. We should be compelled to listen no more to the clamours against resumption of rent-free tenures, when almost every page will show that there was no tenure, whatever its designation, which was not open to resumption in the theory of the law, and which was not repeatedly resumed in practice. Should any ambitious functionary entertain the desire of emulating the "exceedingly magnificent" structures of his Moghal predecessors,¹ it will check his aspirations to learn, that beyond palaces and porticos, temples, and tombs, there is little worthy of emulation. He will find that, if we omit only three names in the long line of Dehli Emperors, the comfort and happiness of the people were never contemplated by them; and with the exception of a few saráis² and bridges,—and these only on roads traversed by the imperial camps—he will see nothing in which purely selfish considerations did not prevail. The extreme beauty and elegance of many of their structures it is not attempted to deny; but personal vanity was the main cause of their erection, and with the small exception noted above, there is not one which subserves any purpose of general utility. His romantic sentiments may have been excited by the glowing imagery of Lalla Rookh, and he may have

¹ This was the grandiloquent declaration of a late Governor-General [Lord Ellenborough] at a farewell banquet given to him by the Court of Directors. But when his head became turned by the laurels which the victories of others placed upon his brow, these professions were forgotten; and the only monument remaining of his peaceful aspirations, is a tank under the palace walls of Dehli, which, as it remains empty during one part of the year, and exhales noxious vapours during the other, has been voted a nuisance by the inhabitants of the imperial city, who have actually petitioned that it may be filled up again.

² The present dilapidation of these buildings is sometimes adduced as a proof of our indifference to the comforts of the people. It is not considered, that where they do exist in good repair, they are but little used, and that the present system of Government no longer renders it necessary that travellers should seek protection within fortified enclosures. If they are to be considered proofs of the solicitude of former monarchs for their subjects' welfare, they are also standing memorials of the weakness and inefficiency of their administration. Add to which, that many of the extant saráis were the offspring, not of imperial, but of private liberality.

indulged himself with visions of Jahángír's broad highway from one distant capital to the other, shaded throughout the whole length by stately avenues of trees, and accommodated at short distance with saráis and tanks ; but the scale of that Emperor's munificence will probably be reduced in his eyes, when he sees it written, that the same work had already been in great measure accomplished by Sher Sháh, and that the same merit is also ascribed to a still earlier predecessor ; nor will it be an unreasonable reflection, when he finds, except a ruined milestone here and there, no vestige extant of this magnificent highway, and this "delectable alley of trees," that, after all, that can have been no very stupendous work, which the resources of three successive Emperors have failed to render a more enduring monument.¹ When he reads of the canals of Fíroz Sháh and 'Alí Mardán Khán intersecting the country, he will find on further examination, that even if the former was ever open, it was used only for the palace and hunting park of that monarch ; but when he ascertains that no mention is made of it by any of the historians of Tímúr, who are very minute in their topographical details, and that Bábar exclaims in his Memoirs, that in *none* of the Hindústání Provinces are there any canals (and both these conquerors must have passed over these canals, had they been flowing in their time), he may, perhaps, be disposed to doubt if anything was proceeded with beyond the mere excavation. With respect to 'Alí Mardán Khán, his merits will be less extolled, when it is learnt that his canals were made, not with any view to benefit the public, but for an ostentatious display of his profusion, in order that the hoards of his ill-gotten wealth might not be appropriated by the monarch to whom he betrayed his trust. When he reads that in some of the reigns of these kings, security of person and property was so great, that any traveller might go where he listed, and that a bag of gold might be exposed on the highways, and no one dare touch it,² he will learn to exercise a wise scepticism, on ascertaining

¹ Coryat speaks of the avenue, "the most incomparable I ever beheld."—*Kerr*, ix. 421.

² It is worth while to read the comment of the wayfaring European on this pet phrase. Bernier, describing his situation when he arrived at the Court of Sháhahán, speaks of "le peu d'argent qui me restoit de diverses rencontres de voleurs."—*Hist. des Etats du Grand Mogol*, p. 5.

that in one of the most vigorous reigns, in which internal tranquillity was more than ever secured, a caravan was obliged to remain six weeks at Muttra, before the parties who accompanied it thought themselves strong enough to proceed to Dehli;¹ that the walls of Agra were too weak to save the city from frequent attacks of marauders; that Kanauj was a favourite beat for tiger-shooting, and wild elephants plentiful at Karra and Kalpi;² that the depopulation of towns and cities, which many declamatory writers have ascribed to our measures of policy, had already commenced before we entered on possession; and that we found, to use the words of the Prophet, "the country desolate, the cities burnt, when the sons of strangers came to build up the walls, and their kings to minister."

If we pay attention to more general considerations, and wish to compare the relative merits of European and Asiatic Monarchies, we shall find that a perusal of these books will convey many an useful lesson, calculated to foster in us a love and admiration of our country and its venerable institutions.

When we see the withering effects of the tyranny and capriciousness of a despot, we shall learn to estimate more fully the value of a balanced constitution. When we see the miseries which are entailed on present and future generations by disputed claims to the crown, we shall more than ever value the principle of a regulated succession, subject to no challenge or controversy. In no country have these miseries been greater than in India. In no country has the recurrence been more frequent, and the claimants more numerous. From the death of Akbar to the British conquest of Dehli—a period of two hundred years—there has been only one undisputed succession to the throne of the Moghal Empire, and even that exceptional instance arose from its not being worth a contest; at that calamitous time, when the memory of the ravages committed by Nádir Sháh was fresh in the minds of men, and the active hostility of the Abdálí seemed to threaten a new visitation. Even now, as experience has shown, we should not be without claimants to the pageant throne, were it not disposed of at the sovereign will and

¹ Captain Coverte (1609–10) says that people, even on the high road from Surat to Agra, dared not travel, except in caravans of 400 or 500 men.—*Churchill*, viii. 252. See Jahángír's Autobiography, 117; *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Jan. 1860, p. 37.

² *Elphinstone's Hist.*, ii. 241.

pleasure of the British Government, expressed before the question can give rise to dispute, or encourage those hopes and expectations, which on each occasion sacrificed the lives of so many members of the Royal Family at the shrine of a vain and reckless ambition.

It is this want of a fixed rule of succession to the throne, which has contributed to maintain the kingdom in a constant ferment, and retard the progress of improvement. It was not that the reigning monarch's choice of his successor was not promulgated; but in a pure despotism, though the will of a living autocrat carries with it the force of law, the injunctions of a dead one avail little against the "lang claymore" or the "persuasive gloss" of a gallant or an intriguing competitor. The very law of primogeniture, which seems to carry with it the strongest sanctions is only more calculated to excite and foment these disturbances, where regal descent is not avowedly based on that rule, and especially in a country where polygamy prevails; for the eldest prince is he who has been longest absent from the Court, whose sympathies have been earliest withdrawn from the influence of his own home, whose position in charge of an independent government inspires most alarm and mistrust in the reigning monarch, and whose interests are the first to be sacrificed, to please some young and favorite queen, ambitious of seeing the crown on the head of her own child. In such a state of society, the princes themselves are naturally brought up, always as rivals, sometimes as adventurers and robbers; the chiefs espouse the cause of one or the other pretender, not for the maintenance of any principle or right, but with the prospect of early advantage or to gratify a personal predilection; and probably end in themselves aspiring to be usurpers on their own account; the people, thoroughly indifferent to the success of either candidate, await with anxiety the issue, which shall enable them to pursue for a short time the path of industry and peace, till it shall again be interrupted by new contests; in short, all classes, interests, and institutions are more or less affected by the general want of stability, which is the necessary result of such unceasing turmoil and agitation.

These considerations, and many more which will offer themselves to any diligent and careful peruser of the volumes here noticed, will

serve to dissipate the gorgeous illusions which are commonly entertained regarding the dynasties which have passed, and show him that, notwithstanding a civil policy and an ungenial climate, which forbid our making this country a permanent home, and deriving personal gratification or profit from its advancement, notwithstanding the many defects necessarily inherent in a system of foreign administration, in which language, colour, religion, customs, and laws preclude all natural sympathy between sovereign and subject, we have already, within the half-century of our dominion, done more for the substantial benefit of the people, than our predecessors, in the country of their own adoption, were able to accomplish in more than ten times that period;¹ and, drawing auguries from the past, he will derive hope for the future, that, inspired by the success which has hitherto attended our endeavours, we shall follow them up by continuous efforts to fulfil our high destiny as the rulers of India.

¹ I speak only with reference to my own Presidency, the North-Western Provinces. Bengal is said to be a quarter of a century behind it in every symptom of improvement, except mere English education. To the North-Western Provinces, at least, cannot be applied the taunt, that we have done nothing, compared with the Muhammadan Emperors, with respect to roads, bridges, and canals. Even here, in the very seat of their supremacy, we have hundreds of good district roads where one never existed before, besides the 400 miles of trunk-road, which is better than any mail-road of similar extent in Europe, and to which the Emperors never had anything in the remotest degree to be compared. The bridge of Jaunpúr is the only one that can enter into competition with our bridge over the Hindun, and would suffer greatly by the comparison, to say nothing of those over the Jús, the Khanaut, and the Káli-nadi. In canals we have been fifty times more effective. Instead of wasting our supply of water on the frivolities of fountains, we have fertilized whole provinces, which had been barren from time immemorial, and this even on the lines of which much was marked out by themselves, leaving out of consideration the magnificent works in progress in the Doáb and Rohilkhand. The scientific survey alone of the North-Western Provinces is sufficient to proclaim our superiority; in which every field throughout an area of 52,000 square miles is mapped, and every man's possession recorded. It altogether eclipses the boasted measurement of Akbar, and is as magnificent a monument of civilization as any country in the world can produce. Finally, be it remembered that six centuries more have to elapse before any thing like a comparison can be fairly instituted. It is to be hoped we shall not be idle during that long period.

NOTICE OF SIR HENRY M. ELLIOT.

HENRY MIERS ELLIOT was one of fifteen children of the late John Elliot, Esq., of Pimlico Lodge, Westminster, and third son of that gentleman. He was born in the year 1808. Winchester was chosen as the place of his education, and he entered the venerable College of William of Wykeham at the age of ten years. He remained at Winchester eight years, and, ere he left, was one of the senior præfects. During his residence there he devoted himself assiduously to the studies of the institution, and shared in its distinctions, having gained both the silver medals for speaking. Eight years passed at Winchester prepared him worthily for admission into that further temple of learning, which may be regarded, in fact, as an outlying portion of the Wykehamist establishment, New College, Oxford. It happened that at the very time, when his future destination was to be determined an opportunity presented itself, which was then of rare occurrence. From a deficiency of civil servants, consequent upon the consolidation of the British power in India, it became necessary to seek reinforcements, not alone from Haileybury, which was designed merely to supply a fixed contingent, but from new recruiting fields, whence volunteers might be obtained whose varied acquirements might compete with the special training advocated at the East India College : under the pressure of necessity such an exceptional measure was sanctioned by Parliament. Mr. Elliot, having been nominated as a candidate by Campbell Marjoribanks, was the first of the since celebrated list of Competition Wallahs to pass an examination for a civil appointment direct to India. The exhibition of classical and mathematical knowledge might have been anticipated, but although a year had not elapsed since he left Winchester, where he had no opportunity for pursuing such studies, his proficiency in the Oriental languages proved so remarkable, that the examiners at the India House placed him alone in an honorary class. He had

thus the good fortune to arrive in Calcutta with a reputation that his future career tended not only to maintain, but to exalt. After emerging from his noviciate as a writer (the term by which the younger civilians were then distinguished), he was appointed assistant to the magistrate, and collector of Bareilly, and successively assistant to the political agent and commissioner at Delhi, assistant to the collector and magistrate of Mooradabad, Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue for the North West Provinces, and in 1847 he became Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. While holding this office he accompanied the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, to the Punjab, upon the resources of which he drew up a most elaborate and exhaustive memoir. Later in point of time, Sir Henry Elliot filled the same important post during the more effective portion of Lord Dalhousie's administration. His distinguished services were freely recognized by the Crown as well as by the Company. He received from the former the honour of a K.C.B.-ship; his reward from the latter was hoped for by the well-wishers of India, in the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North West Provinces, or the higher office of the Government of Madras. Sir Henry died at the early age of forty-five, while seeking to restore his broken health in the equable climate of the Cape of Good Hope.

In 1846 Sir Henry Elliot printed the first volume of his "Supplement to the Glossary of Indian Terms." The Glossary itself was a pretentious work then meditated, and for which great preparation had been made by the various local governments, as it was intended to comprise the whole series of Indian terms in official use throughout the country, and if, in Professor Wilson's hands, it fell short of public expectation, this was less the fault of the Editor, than of the imperfection of the materials supplied to him; while Sir H. Elliot's "Glossary," on the other hand, received too humble a title, aiming, as it did, at far higher and more important branches of research,—the history and ethnic affinities of the hereditary tribes, with whom he, an isolated Englishman, had lived so long, in intimate official association, settling in detail the state demand upon each member of the Patriarchal Village Communities of North-Western India.

In 1849, Sir Henry Elliot published the first volume of his "Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Mohammedan India," of which the present publication is the more mature extension.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 33, in line 11, for "Khurásán," read "Sind and Khurásán," and in line 13, insert "Vol. xxi."

Page 129, line 11, for "sixty," read "seventy."

„ 158, „ 3, after "Balhár," insert "on the land of Bartúzi."

„ 214, „ 20, add, "This translation has been published as No. xii. New Series, Selections of the Records of the Government of Bombay, 1855."

„ 225, „ 20, omit "the."

„ 508, add as a note to the article on the Jats, "See Masson's Journey to Kelat, pp. 351-3 ; also Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vol. III. p. 209."

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EARLY ARAB GEOGRAPHERS.

I.

SALSILATU-T TAWÁRÍKH

OF THE

MERCHANT SULAIMÁN,

WITH ADDITIONS BY

ABU' ZAIDU-L HASAN, OF SYRÁF.

THE earliest information which Europe derived from the writings of the Arabs upon India and the lands adjacent, was that which the Abbé Renaudot published, in the year 1718, under the title "*Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine de deux voyageurs Mahométans qui y allerent dans le ix^e siècle de notre ère.*" By a curious coincidence the work so translated happened to be the earliest work extant of the Arab geographers relating to India. So novel and unexpected was the light thus thrown upon the farther East, that the translator was accused of all sorts of literary crimes. Some asserted his inaccuracy, and pointed out the discrepancies between the statements of his work and the accounts of the Jesuit missionaries in China. He had given no precise account of his manuscripts, hence some did not hesitate to accuse him of downright forgery. Time has shown the emptiness of most of these charges. From error he certainly was not exempt, but his faults and mistakes were those of a man who had to deal with a difficult subject, one which, even a century later, long deterred M. Reinaud from grappling with it.

The MS. from which Renaudot made his translation was found by him in the library formed by the minister Colbert. This collection descended to the Comte de Seignelay; and subsequently merged into the Bibliothèque Royale. Here in 1764 the celebrated scholar Deguignes found the MS., and wrote more than one article upon it.¹

In the year 1811 M. Langlès printed the text, and promised a translation; but he had made no progress with the latter at the time of his death in 1824. The text so printed remained in the stores of the Imprimerie Royale until the year 1844, when M. Reinaud published it with a translation and notes, prefacing the whole with a Preliminary Discourse on the early Geography of the East, full of valuable information and criticism. The following observations upon the work are condensed from M. Reinaud's; the translation is also taken from his.²

The title which Renaudot gave to his book is not quite accurate. He speaks of two travellers, while there was only one who wrote an account of his own travels. The basis of the work and that which bears in the text the title of Book I, is the account written by a merchant named Sulaimán, who embarked on the Persian Gulf, and made several voyages to India and China. This bears the date 237 A.H. (851 A.D.). The second part of the work was written by Abú Zaidu-l Hasan, of Siráf, a connoisseur, who, although he never travelled in India and China, as he himself expressly states, made it his business to modify and complete the work of Sulaimán, by reading, and by questioning travellers to those countries. Mas'údí met this Abú Zaid at Basra, in 303 A.H. (916 A.D.), and acknowledges to have derived information from him, some of which he reproduced in

¹ Jour. des Sav., Novembre, 1764. Notices et Extraits des MSS., Tome i. See also Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, Tome xxxvii.; Jour. Asiatique, iv serie, T. viii., 161; Asiatic Journal, vol. xxxiii., p. 234.

² "Relations des Voyages faites par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine." 2 Tom., 24mo., Paris, 1845.

his "Meadows of Gold,"¹ as a comparison of the following extracts will show. On the other hand, Abú Zaid was indebted to Mas'údí for some of his statements. He never mentions him by name, but refers to him as a "trustworthy person." The two works have much in common, but Mas'údí is generally more detailed. Abú Zaid finishes his work with these words: "Such is the most interesting matter that I have heard, among the many accounts to which maritime adventure has given birth. I have refrained from recording the false stories which sailors tell, and which the narrators themselves do not believe. A faithful account although short, is preferable to all. It is God who guides us in the right way."

EXTRACTS.

Observations on the Countries of India and China, and their Sovereigns.

The inhabitants of India and China agree that there are four great or principal kings in the world. They place the king of the Arabs (Khalif of Baghdád) at the head of these, for it is admitted without dispute that he is the greatest of kings. First in wealth, and in the splendour of his Court; but above all, as chief of that sublime religion which nothing excels. The king of China reckons himself next after the king of the Arabs. After him comes the king of the Greeks,² and lastly the Balhará, prince of the men who have their ears pierced.

The Balhará³ is the most eminent of the princes of India, and the Indians acknowledge his superiority. Every prince in India is master in his own state, but all pay homage to the supremacy of the Balhará. The representatives sent by the Balhará to other princes are received with most profound respect in order to show him honour. He gives regular pay to his troops, as the practice is among the Arabs. He has many horses and elephants, and immense wealth. The coins which pass in his country are the Tátariya dirhams,⁴ each

¹ [See Reinaud's Mem. sur l'Inde, p. 19, and Aboulféda, I., liii.]

² [Rúm.]

³ [See note A in Appendix.]

⁴ [These dirhams are mentioned by almost all these early writers. Idrisi says they were in use at Mansúra, and also current in the Malay Archipelago (Jaubert, p. 86

of which weighs a dirham and a half of the coinage of the king. They are dated from the year in which the dynasty acquired the throne. They do not, like the Arabs, use the Hijra of the prophet, but date their eras from the beginning of their kings' reigns; and their kings live long, frequently reigning for fifty years. The inhabitants of the Balhará's country say that if their kings reign and live for a long time, it is solely in consequence of the favour shown to the Arabs. In fact, among all the kings there is no one to be found who is so partial to the Arabs as the Balhará; and his subjects follow his example.

Balhará is the title borne by all the kings of this dynasty. It is similar to the Cosroes (of the Persians), and is not a proper name. The kingdom of the Balhará commences on the sea side, at the country of Komkam [Konkan], on the tongue of land which stretches to China. The Balhará has around him several kings with whom he is at war, but whom he greatly excels. Among them is the king of Jurz.² This king maintains numerous forces, and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, still he acknowledges that the king of the Arabs is the greatest of kings. Among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he. His territories form a tongue of land. He has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his states with silver (and gold) in dust, and there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers.

By the side of this kingdom lies that of Táfab, which is but a

and 162). Reinaud suggests that the term is intended to represent "statère," and that the coins were tetradrachmas. (Mem. sur l'Inde, p. 235; Rel. des Voy., ii., 16; Thomas's Prinsep, i., 86.) In the Paris edition of Mas'údi they are called "Táhi-riya," and Prof. Cowell states that the same word is used in the Oxford MS. of Ibn Khurdádba. This reading gives weight to a suggestion made by Mr. Thomas, that these dirhams were coins of the Tahirides, who were reigning in Khurásán, and exercised authority over Sistán in the time of our author Sulaimán.]

¹ [This agrees with Ibn Khurdádba and Idrisi, but differs from Ibn Haukal; see *post.*]

² Ibn Khurdádba concurs in this reading, but Mas'údi has "Jurz," a near approach to "Guzerat." Reinaud suggests Kanauj as the seat of this monarchy (Rel. des Voy., xcv.), but Mas'údi places the Bauúra or Bodha there at the same period. The question is discussed in note A in Appendix.]

small state. The women are white, and the most beautiful in India. The king lives at peace with his neighbours, because his soldiers are so few. He esteems the Arabs as highly as the Balhará does.

These three states border on a kingdom called Ruhmi,¹ which is at war with that of Jurz. The king is not held in very high estimation. He is at war with the Balhará as he is with the king of Jurz. His troops are more numerous than those of the Balhará, the king of Jurz, or the king of Táfa. It is said that when he goes out to battle he is followed by about 50,000 elephants. He takes the field only in winter, because elephants cannot endure thirst, and can only go out in the cold season. It is stated that there are from ten to fifteen thousand men in his army who are employed in fulling and washing cloths. There is a stuff made in his country which is not to be found elsewhere; so fine and delicate is this material that a dress made of it may be passed through a signet-ring. It is made of cotton, and we have seen a piece of it. Trade is carried on by means of kauris, which are the current money of the country. They have gold and silver in the country, aloes, and the stuff called *samara*, of which *madabs* are made. The striped *bushán* or *karkaddan* is found in this country. It is an animal which has a single horn in the middle of its forehead, and in this horn there is a figure like unto that of a man.² • • • • •

After this kingdom there is another situated in the interior of the country, away from the sea. It is called Káshbín. The people are white, and pierce their ears. They are handsome, and dwell in the wilds and mountains.

Afterwards comes a sea, on the shores of which there is a kingdom called Kíranj.³ Its king is poor and proud. He collects large

¹ [رُهمي]. The position of these kingdoms is discussed in note A in Appendix.]

² [Mas'údi gives these passages with a few verbal alterations. The translation of the Paris edition says, "They export from this country the hair called Samara, from which fly-whisks are made, with handles of ivory and silver. These are held over the heads of princes when they give audience. It is in this country that the animal called *an nishán*, 'the marked,' or vulgarly *karkaddan*, is found. It has one horn in the middle of its forehead." Maçoudi, vol. i., 385.]

³ [Mas'údi writes "Fíranj," see *post*, page 25. Reinaud says "the coast of Coromandel;" perhaps it is the country of Kalinga on that coast.]

quantities of amber, and is equally well provided with elephants' teeth. They eat pepper green in this country because it is scarce.

* * * *

When the king of Sarandfb dies, his corpse is carried on a low carriage very near the ground, with the head so attached to the back of the vehicle that the occiput touches the ground, and the hair drags in the dust. A woman follows with a broom, who sweeps the dust on to the face of the corpse, and cries out, "O men, behold! This man yesterday was your king; he reigned over you and you obeyed his orders. See now to what he is brought; he has bid farewell to the world, and the angel of death has carried off his soul. Do not allow yourselves to be led astray by the pleasures of this life," and such like words. The ceremony lasts for three days, after which the body is burnt with sandal, camphor and saffron, and the ashes scattered to the winds.¹ All the Indians burn their dead. Sarandfb is the last of the islands dependent on India. Sometimes when the corpse of a king is burnt, his wives cast themselves upon the pile and burn with it; but it is for them to choose whether they will do so or not.

In India there are persons who, in accordance with their profession, wander in the woods and mountains, and rarely communicate with the rest of mankind. Sometimes they have nothing to eat but herbs and the fruits of the forest. * * * * Some of them go about naked. Others stand naked with the face turned to the sun, having nothing on but a panther's skin. In my travels I saw a man in the position I have described; sixteen years afterwards I returned to that country and found him in the same posture. What astonished me was that he was not melted by the heat of the sun.

In all these kingdoms the nobility is considered to form but one family. Power resides in it alone. The princes name their own successors. It is the same with learned men and physicians. They form a distinct caste, and the profession never goes out of the caste.

The princes of India do not recognise the supremacy of any one

¹ [Mas'ûdî and Idrîsî gave the same account. The former says he had witnessed the ceremony himself. Idrîsî refers the custom to the kings of India. Maçoudî, Tome i., 69. Idrîsî, *post.*]

sovereign. Each one is his own master. Still the Balhará has the title of "king of kings."

The Chinese are men of pleasure; but the Indians condemn pleasure, and abstain from it. They do not take wine, nor do they take vinegar which is made of wine. This does not arise from religious scruples, but from their disdain of it. They say "The prince who drinks wine is no true king." The Indians are surrounded by enemies, who war against them, and they say "How can a man who inebriates himself conduct the business of a kingdom?"

The Indians sometimes go to war for conquest, but the occasions are rare. I have never seen the people of one country submit to the authority of another, except in the case of that country which comes next to the country of pepper.¹ When a king subdues a neighbouring state, he places over it a man belonging to the family of the fallen prince, who carries on the government in the name of the conqueror. The inhabitants would not suffer it to be otherwise.

The principles of the religion of China were derived from India. The Chinese say that the Indians brought buddhas into the country, and that they have been the real masters in matters of religion. In both countries they believe in the metempsychosis, but there are some differences upon matters of detail.

The troops of the kings of India are numerous, but they do not receive pay. The king assembles them only in case of a religious war. They then come out, and maintain themselves without receiving anything from the king.²

BOOK II.—*The words of Abú Zaidu-l Hasan, of Stráf.*—I have carefully read this book, that is to say the first book, having resolved to examine it and to add to it such observations as I have gathered in the course of my reading about voyages and the kings of the maritime countries, and their peculiarities, collecting all the information I could upon those matters about which the author has not spoken.

Among the stories³ which are current in the country (of Zábaj)

¹ [Malabar.]

² [It has been previously remarked that the Balhará paid his troops.]

³ [Mas'údi relates this story also. Maçoudi, Tome i., 62.]

about ancient times, there is one concerning a king of Kumár,¹ the country which produces the aloes called kumárf. This country is not an island, but is situated (on the continent of India) on that side which faces the country of the Arabs. There is no kingdom which has a more dense population than Kumár. Here every one walks on foot. The inhabitants abstain from licentiousness, and from all sorts of wine. Nothing indecent is to be seen in this country. Kumár is in the direction of the kingdom of the Maharája, of the island of Zábaj. There is about ten days' sailing between the two kingdoms, * * * * but when the wind is light the journey takes as much as twenty days. It is said that in years gone by the country of Kumár came into the hands of a young prince of very hasty temper. This prince was one day seated in his palace, situated on the banks of a river, the water of which was sweet like that of the Tigris of 'Irák. There was the distance of a day's journey between the palace and the sea. The wazír was near the king, and the conversation turned upon the empire of the Maharája, of its splendour, the number of its subjects, and of the islands subordinate to it. All at once the king said to the wazír, "I have taken a fancy into my head which I should much like to gratify. * * * I should like to see before me the head of the king of Zábaj in a dish." * * * * These words passed from mouth to mouth, and so spread that they at length reached the ears of the Maharája. * * * * That king ordered his wazír to have a thousand vessels of medium size prepared, with their engines of war, and to put on board of each vessel as many arms and soldiers as it could carry. * * * * When the preparations were ended, and everything was ready, the king went on board his fleet, and proceeded with his troops to Kumár. The king and his warriors all carried tooth-brushes, and every man cleaned his teeth several times a day. Each one carried his own brush on his person, and never parted from it, unless he entrusted it to his servant. The king of Kumár knew nothing of the impending danger until the fleet had entered the river which led to his capital, and the troops of the Maharája had landed. The Maharája thus took the king of Kumár unawares, and seized

¹ [The country about Cape Kumárf, or Comorin.]

upon his palace, for the officers had taken flight. He then made a proclamation assuring safety to every one, and seated himself on the throne of Kumár. He had the king brought forth, * * * and had his head cut off. The Mahárája then addressed the wazír, "I know that you have borne yourself like a true minister; receive now the recompense of your conduct. I know that you have given good advice to your master if he would but have heeded it. Seek out a man fit to occupy the throne, and seat him thereon instead of this foolish fellow." The Mahárája returned immediately to his country, and neither he nor any of his men touched anything belonging to the king of Kumár. * * * Afterwards the Mahárája had the head washed and embalmed, then putting it in a vase, he sent it to the prince who then occupied the throne of Kumár, with a letter. * * * When the news of these events spread among the kings of India and China the Mahárája rose greatly in their estimation. From this time the kings of Kumár, when they rise in the morning, always turn towards the country of Zábaj, and bow themselves to the ground as a mark of respect to the Mahárája.

In the states of the Balhará, and in other provinces of India, one may see men burn themselves on a pile. This arises from the faith of the Indians in the metempsychosis, a faith which is rooted in their hearts, and about which they have not the slightest doubt.

Some of the kings of India, when they ascend the throne, have a quantity of rice cooked and served on banana leaves. Attached to the king's person are three or four hundred companions, who have joined him of their own free will without compulsion. When the king has eaten some of the rice, he gives it to his companions. Each in his turn approaches, takes a small quantity and eats it. All those who so eat the rice are obliged, when the king dies, or is slain, to burn themselves to the very last man on the very day of the king's decease. This is a duty which admits of no delay, and not a vestige of these men ought to be left.¹

When a person, either woman or man, becomes old, and the senses are enfeebled, he begs some one of his family to throw him into the

¹ [Reinaudot and Reinaud refer this to the Nairs of Malabar.]

fire, or to drown him in the water; so firmly are the Indians persuaded that they shall return to (life upon) the earth. In India they burn the dead.

The island of Sarandib contains the mountain of precious stones, the pearl fisheries, etc. * * * * Precious stones, red, green, and yellow, are obtained from the mountain which rises over the island of Sarandib. The greater part of the stones that are found are brought up by the tide. The water carries them into caverns and grottoes, and into the places where torrents descend. There are men appointed to watch the gathering of these stones on behalf of the king. Sometimes precious stones are dug from the depths of the earth, as in mines; these stones are accompanied by earthy matter, which has to be separated from them.

The kingdom of Sarandib has a law, and its doctors assemble from time to time like as among us the men assemble who collect the traditions of the Prophet. The Indians go to the doctors, and write from their dictation the lives of the prophets, and the precepts of the law. There is in the island a great idol of pure gold, the size of which has been exaggerated by travellers. There are also temples which must have cost considerable sums of money. There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandib, and people of other religions, especially Manicheans. The king allows each sect to follow its own religion.¹ Great licentiousness prevails in this country among the women as well as the men. Sometimes a newly arrived merchant will make advances to the daughter of a king, and she, with the knowledge of her father, will go to meet him in some woody place. The more serious of the merchants of Síráf avoid sending their ships here, especially if there are young men on board.

Among the Indians there are men who are devoted to religion and men of science, whom they call Brahmins. They have also their poets who live at the courts of their kings, astronomers, philosophers, diviners, and those who draw omens from the flight of crows, etc. Among them are diviners and jugglers, who perform most astonishing feats. These observations are especially applicable to Kanauj, a large country forming the empire of Jurz.

¹ [See Jaubert's *Idrisi*, p. 71.]

[*Then follows an account of the Baikarjis or Bairágis, of the inns for travellers, and of the courtezans attached to the temples.*]

The idol called Multán is situated in the environs of Mansúra, and people come on pilgrimages to it from many months distance. They bring thither the Indian aloes called *al kámrúni*, from Kámrún, the name of the country in which it grows. These aloes are of the finest quality. They are given to the ministers of the temple for use as incense. These aloes are sometimes worth as much as two hundred dinars a *mana*. The aloes are so soft that they will receive the impression of a seal. Merchants buy them of the ministers of the temple.

• • • •

The kings of India are accustomed to wear earrings of precious stones, mounted in gold. They also wear necklaces of great value, formed of the most precious red and green stones. Pearls, however, are held in the highest esteem, and are greatly sought after. • • •

Formerly the dinars of Sind, each of which is worth three and a fraction of the ordinary dinars, were brought into India. Emeralds also were imported from Egypt, mounted as seals, and enclosed in boxes. Coral and the stone *dahnaj*¹ were also imported. This trade has now ceased.

Most of the princes of India, when they hold a court, allow their women to be seen by the men who attend it, whether they be natives or foreigners. No veil conceals them from the eyes of the visitors.

¹ [A stone resembling the emerald.]

II.

KITÁBU-L MASÁLIK WA-L MAMÁLIK

OF

IBN KHURDADBA.

Abú-l Kásim 'Ubaidu-llah bin 'Abdu-llah bin Khurdád̄ba is better known as Ibn Khurdád̄ba, a name derived from his grandfather, who was a fire worshipper, as the name shows, but who subsequently became a convert to the Muhammadan faith. Ibn Khurdád̄ba attained high office under the Khalifs, and employed his leisure in topographical and geographical researches, the result of which was his "Book of Roads and Kingdoms." He died in 300 A.H., or 912 A.D.¹ Up to a recent date the separate individuality of Ibn Khurdád̄ba was disputed, and it was argued by some that he was the same person as Abú Is,hák Istakhrí, and the real author of the "Oriental Geography" translated by Sir W. Ouseley. This question was set at rest by the publication of Istakhrí's work, and by the extracts from Ibn Khurdád̄ba, which appeared in Sir H. Elliot's first volume.

The text of Ibn Khurdád̄ba has lately been published with a translation by M. Barbier de Meynard, in the *Journal Asiatique* (1865) from a copy of the MS. in the Bodleian Library, collated with another from Constantinople. Advantage has been taken of this publication to amend the translation which originally appeared in the original specimen of this work. The texts differ occasionally, and the leaves of one or both of the MSS. must have been

¹ [See Reinaud's *Aboulfeda* I., p. 57, and *Journ. Asiatique*, Jan., 1865.]

misplaced. The notes marked P give the Paris readings, where the differences are such as to preclude an alteration of the Indian version. The passages in brackets have been taken from the Paris translation in addition to those published in the first edition.

EXTRACTS.

[The greatest king of India is the Balhará, or "king of kings." The other sovereigns of this country are those of Jába, Táfan, Juzr [Guzerat], Ghánah, Rahmí, and Kámrún. The king of Zábaj is called Alfíkat,¹ * * * and the king of the isle of the eastern sea Mahárája * * *].

The kings and people of Hind regard fornication as lawful, and wine as unlawful. This opinion prevails throughout Hind, but the king of Kumár² holds both fornication and the use of wine as unlawful. The king of Sarandíp conveys wine from 'Irák for his consumption.

The kings of Hind take great delight in maintaining elephants, and pay largely for them in gold. The elephants are, generally, about nine cubits high, except those of 'Anáb,³ which are ten and eleven cubits.

The greatest king of India is the Balhará, whose name imports "king of kings." He wears a ring in which is inscribed the following sentence: "What is begun with resolution ends with success."

The next eminent king is he of Táfan; the third is king of Jába; the fourth is he of Juzr: the Tátariya dirhams are in use in his dominions. The fifth is king of 'Ana;⁴ the sixth is the Rahmí,⁵

¹ [In a subsequent passage he says, "The king of Zábaj is called Mahárája," and this agrees with Mas'údí.]

² [Kumár is the country about Cape Comorin, Travancore, etc. Kazwíní makes the same statement respecting Kumár but he refers to Ibn Fakiyah as his authority. He adds that wine-drinkers were punished by having a hot iron placed on their bodies, and kept there till it got cold. Many died under the infliction.]

³ [So says Sir H. Elliot's text. The Paris translation reads, "*aghððb, vallées spacieuses et étendues qui s'avancent dans la mer.*" Sulaimán and Mas'údí place these valleys near Ceylon, *post*, page 22. *Rel. des Voy. i.*, 128.]

⁴ [The Paris version here reads "'Anah," but in the first paragraph the name is given as "Ghanah," Sir H. Elliot's text has "'Aba."]

⁵ ["Rahma" in the Paris translation; *alif-i maksúra*.]

and between him and the other kings a communication is kept up by ships.¹ It is stated that he has in his possession five thousand² elephants; that his country produces cotton cloths and aloe wood. The seventh is the king of Kámrún, which is contiguous to China. There is plenty of gold in this country.

[From the frontier of Kirmán to Mansúra, eighty parasangs; this route passes through the country of the Zats [Jats], who keep watch over it. From Záranj, capital of Sijistán, to Multán, two months' journey. Multán is called "the *farj* of the house of gold," because Muhammad, son of Kásim, lieutenant of Al Hajjáj, found forty *bahárs* of gold in one house of that city, which was henceforth called "House of Gold." *Farj* (split) has here the sense of "frontier," A *bahár* is worth 333 *mans*, and each *man* two *ritls*.]³

[COUNTRIES OF SIND.—Al Káirúnya [Kírbún ?], Makrán, Al Mand (or rather, country of the Meds), Kandahár, Kasrán,⁴ Núkán,⁵ Kandábil, Kinnazbún, Armábil, Kanbalí, Sahbán, Sadúsán, Debal, Rásak, Al Daur [Alor], Vandán, Multán, Sindán, Mandal, Salmán, Sairash, Karaj, Rúmla, Kúli, Kanauj, Barúh [Broach].⁷]

There is a road through the city of Karkúz, leading to the eastern countries from Persia.⁸

The island of Kháarak lies fifty parasangs from Obolla. It is a parasang in length and breadth, and produces wheat, palm trees, and vines. The island of Láfat⁹ is at a distance of eighty parasangs from that of Kháarak, and has cultivated lands and trees. It is two para-

¹ [The Paris version reads *مسيرة سنة* instead of *مسيرة سقينة* and translates "Les Etats de ce dernier sont distants de tous les autres d'une année de marche."]

² ["Cinquante mille." P.]

³ [A *ritl* is one pound Troy.]

⁴ [A large town in Makrán. Marásidu-l Ittilá'.]

⁵ [A city in Sind. Marásid.]

⁶ [A town of Tús, near Nishapúr. Marásid; Abú-l Fidá; Sprenger's Routes, Map 4.]

⁷ [The locality of several of these countries is discussed in a note. Appx. A.]

⁸ [I do not find this passage in the Paris version. Quatremère proposed to read Hormuz for Karkúz. Jour. des Sav. Sep. 1850.]

⁹ [Sir H. Elliot's text has "Labin," but the Paris version reads Lafet: "it is the 'Labet' of Idrisi, and the 'Lafet' of Istakhrí, probably the Isle of Kenn." Quatremère, in Jour. des Sav. Sep. 1850. Sprenger's Routes, 79.]

sangs in length and breadth. From Láfat to the island of Abrún are seven parasangs; it produces palm trees and wheat, and is a parasang in length and breadth. From Abrún to the island of Khín¹ are seven parasangs; this island is only half a parasang in extent, and is uninhabited. From Khín to the island of Kís,² seven parasangs; the island is four parasangs in extent. In it are produced wheat, palm trees, and the like; the inhabitants dive for pearls, which are here of excellent quality. From Kís to Ibn Káwán³ are eighteen parasangs. It is three parasangs in extent. The inhabitants are heretics, of the sect of the Ibázites. From Ibn Káwán to Armún,⁴ seven parasangs. From Armún to Nármasírá⁵ is seven days' journey, and the latter is the boundary between Persia and Sind. From Nármasírá to Debal is eight days' journey, and from Debal to the junction of the river Mihrán with the sea is two parasangs.

From Sind are brought the costus, canes, and bamboos. From the Mihrán to Bakar,⁶ which is the first place on the borders of Hind, is four days' journey. The country abounds with canes in the hilly tracts, but in the plains wheat is cultivated. The people are wanderers and robbers. From this place to the Meds are two parasangs; they also are robbers. From the Meds to Kol⁷ are two parasangs, and from Kol to Sindán is eighteen parasangs. In the latter grow the teak tree and canes. From Sindán to Mali [Malabar] is five days' journey; in the latter pepper is to be found, also the bamboo. From Mali to Balbun,⁸ is two days' journey, and from Balbun to the great sea,⁹ is two days' journey. At Balbun the route divides; fol-

¹ [Sir H. Elliot's text and translation reads "Chin."]

² [Sir H. Elliot's text and translation had Kasír. Quatremère suggested Kísh, and the Paris version gives Kís for Kísh.]

³ [Or "Benou Káwán." P. Sir. H. Elliot's text had "Abarkáwán."]

⁴ ["Ormuz." P.]

⁵ [Or Narmáshíra, the "Narmásír" of Sprenger's Routes, and "Nurmanshur" of the Maps of Kirman.]

⁶ [Illegible in the Paris copies.]

⁷ This is the first indication we have of the Coles in this neighbourhood, if we except the *Koalis* of Dionysius (*Perieg.*: 1148), which must be looked for in another direction.

⁸ ["Balín," in the Paris version.]

⁹ ["Lajjat," middle of the sea, gulf, great deep.]

lowing the shore it takes two days to reach Bās, which is a large place where you can take passage to Sarandīp. From Bās to Sajī¹ and 'Askán, is two days' journey, in which latter place rice is cultivated. From 'Askán to Kúra three and a half parasangs, where several rivers discharge. From Kúra to Kilakán, Lúár and Kanja,² is two days' journey, in all which wheat and rice are cultivated, and into which the wood of aloes is imported from Kámúl and other neighbouring places, by the fresh-water route³ in fifteen days. From Samundar to Urasír⁴ is twelve parasangs; this is a great country, where are elephants, buffaloes, and other cattle, and various merchantable commodities. The king of this country is very powerful. From Urasír to Ainá is four days' journey, where also elephants and asses are met with. [From Hubalin(?) to Sarandīp, two days.]

[After this follows the description of Pic d' Adam. In another place the author continues his account of India in these words :—]

There are seven classes of Hindus, viz., 1st, Sábkufría,⁵ among whom are men of high caste, and from among whom kings are chosen. The people of the other six classes do the mén of this class homage, and them only. 2nd, Brahma, who totally abstain from wine and fermented liquors. 3rd, Kataría, who drink not more than three cups of wine; the daughters of the class of Brahma are not given in marriage to the sons of this class, but the Brahmas take their daughters. 4th, Súdariá, who are by profession husbandmen. The 5th, Baisurá, are artificers and domestics. The 6th, Sandália, who perform menial offices. 7th, Lahúd;⁶ their women are fond of adorn-

¹ ["Sandy." P.]

² [Sir H. Elliot's text and translation had "Kankan, Malwa and Kanja," but Idrisi reproduces the names as "Kilkáyán, Lulu and Kanja." There can therefore be no doubt that the Paris version now given is most correct. Kúra (Kaikasar in Idrisi) would seem to be near the mouths of the Coleroon. Kánchezi is the old name of Konjeveram.]

³ [Sprenger suggests the Godavery (Post-und Reiserouten, 80), but this cannot be if Kanja is Kánchezi.]

⁴ ["Urtasír" in the Paris version, for which the editor suggests Kashmir; but Ur-desa [Orissa] is surely intended. The following name "Aina" may possibly be meant for Andhra [Telingana]. Sprenger says "Palmiras" ?]

⁵ [Elliot's text made the first syllable "Sám." The Paris version says "Sabakferya (B. les Sabiens; Ed. Sakrya)."]

⁶ ["Les *Zenya* musiciens et jongleurs." P.]

ing themselves, and the men are fond of amusements and games of skill.¹ In Hind there are forty-two religious sects;² part of them believe in a Creator and Prophet (the blessing of God be upon them!); part deny the mission of a Prophet, and part are atheists.

¹ None of the early Arabian Geographers notice this division into tribes or classes, [but they appear to have known it, see pp. 6, 10, 19; and Idrisi reproduces this passage, see *post.*] The Grecian Authors, on the authority of Megasthenes, divide the tribes into seven, and attribute the following offices to them, which are very different from those assigned by Ibn Khurdādba.

	<i>Strabo.</i>	<i>Diodorus.</i>	<i>Arrian.</i>
1st Class.	Philosophers	Philosophers	Sophists
2nd „	Husbandmen	Husbandmen	Husbandmen
3rd „	Shepherds and hunters	Cowherds and shepherds	Cowherds and shepherds
4th „	Artificers and merchants	Artificers	Artificers, merchants, and boatmen
5th „	Warriors	Warriors	Warriors
6th „	Inspectors	Inspectors	Inspectors
7th „	Counsellors and assessors	Counsellors and assessors.	Assessors

Vid. *Strab. Geogr.* : lib. xv. 703-707. *Arrian : Indica* 11. 12. *Diodor : Sic.* : lib. ii. 40, 41. and *Megasthenis Fragmenta*. E. A. Schwanbeck, pp. 42, 121, 127. It is not easy to identify the names given by Ibn Khurdādba. The first is unintelligible—the 2nd is evident—the 3rd seems to indicate the Kshatriyas—the 4th the Sūdras—the 5th the Vaisya—the 6th the Chandālas—the 7th the Bāzigars and itinerant jugglers.

² This is the number ascribed by the indignant Frenchman to England—"Forty-two religions! and only one sauce!!" The *Jāmi'u-l Hikāyāt* increases the number of religions in India to forty-eight, and the *Bahjat-u-l Tawārikh*, in the Paris Library, sets them down as 948. See Kasimirski, 214, and *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 49.

III.

MURÚJU-L ZAHAB

OF

AL MAS'ÚDÍ.

ABÚ-l Hasan 'Abí, son of Husain, was a native of Baghdád, and received the surname of Al Mas'údí after an ancestor named Mas'úd, whose eldest son accompanied the prophet in his flight from Mecca to Medina.¹ The greater part of Mas'údí's life was spent in travelling, and his wanderings extended over nearly all the countries subject to Muhammadan sway, and others besides. He says of himself that he travelled so far to the west (Morocco and Spain) that he forgot the east, and so far to the east (China) that he forgot the west. He was an acute observer, and deservedly continues to be one of the most admired writers in the Arabic language. The fruits of his travels and observations were embodied in his work called "Murúju-l Zahab" (Meadows of Gold), of which Ibn Khaldún, as quoted by Sprenger, says, "Al Mas'údí in his book describes the state of the nations and countries of the east and west, as they were in his age—that is to say, in 330 (332) A.H. He gives an account of the genius and usages of the nations; a description of the countries, mountains, seas, kingdoms and dynasties; and he distinguishes the Arabian race from the barbarians. Al Mas'údí became, through this work, the prototype of all historians: to whom they refer, and on whose authority they rely in the critical estimate of many facts

¹ [See Reinaud's *Aboulfeda* Introd. p. lxiv.]

which form the subject of their labours.”¹ The date of his birth is not known, but he died in Egypt in 345 A.H. (956 A.D.)

The first part of the “Meadows of Gold” was translated into English by Dr. Sprenger (London, 1841), and the complete text, with a translation into French, has since been published by MM. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1851). Both these works have been used in the preparation of the following extracts :—

EXTRACTS.

CHAPTER VII.—*Mas'udí begins this chapter by stating it to be the general opinion that India was the portion of the earth in which order and wisdom prevailed in distant ages. The Indians gave themselves a king, Brahma the Great, who reigned 366 years, and in whose times the book Sindhind [Siddhánta] and Arjabahad [Aryabhatta] were composed. His descendants have retained to our days the name of Brahmans. They are honoured by Indians as forming the most noble and illustrious caste. They do not eat the flesh of any animal, and both men and women wear yellow threads suspended round their necks, like a baldrick, to distinguish them from the other castes of India. He was succeeded by his eldest son Bahbúd, who reigned 100 years. After him came Zámán [Ráma?], who reigned nearly 50 years. He was succeeded by Por [Porus], who gave battle to Alexander, and was killed by that prince in single combat, after reigning 140 years. After him came Dabshalim, the author of “Kalila wa Dimna,” who reigned 110 years. Balhit, the next king, reigned 80 years, but according to other manuscripts, 130 years. He was succeeded by Koresh [Harsha?], who abandoned the doctrines of the past, and introduced into India new religious ideas more suited to the requirements of the time, and more in consonance with the tendencies of his contemporaries * * * He died after a reign of 120 years. At his death discord arose among the Indians, and they broke up into divers nations and tribes, each country having a chief of its own. Thus were formed the kingdoms of Sind, Kanauj, and Kashmir. The city of Mánkir, which was the great centre of India, submitted*

¹ [Sprenger's Mas'udí, Preface.]

to a king called the Balhará, and the name of this prince continues to his successors who reign in that capital until the present time (332 A.H.)

India is a vast country, extending over sea, and land, and mountains; it borders on the country of Zábaj [Java], which is the kingdom of the Maharáj, the king of the islands, whose dominions separate India and China, but are considered as part of India. India extends on the side of the mountains to Khurásán and Sind, as far as Tibet. There prevails a great difference of language and religion in these kingdoms, and they are frequently at war with each other. The most of them believe in the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul. The Hindús are distinct from all other black people, as the Zanjis, the Damádams, and others, in point of intellect, government, philosophy, strength of constitution, and purity of colour.

* * * * *

No king can succeed to the throne in India before he is forty years of age; nor does their sovereign ever appear before the public, except at certain distant intervals, and then only for the inspection of state affairs. In their opinion, the kings lose their dignity and bring contempt on their privileges if the public gazes at them frequently. Government is only maintained by good feeling and by respect for the various dignities of the state.¹ * * * * *

Royalty is limited to the descendants of one family, and never goes to another. The same is the case with the families of the wazírs, kázís, and other high officers. They are all (hereditary and) never changed or altered.

The Hindús abstain from drinking wine, and censure those who consume it; not because their religion forbids it, but in the dread of its clouding their reason and depriving them of its powers. If it can be proved of one of their kings, that he has drunk (wine), he forfeits the crown; for he is (not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire) if his mind is affected.

* * * * *

¹ [The Paris translation says, "Le pouvoir ne se maintient chez eux que par le despotisme et le respect de la hiérarchie politique." Sprenger's version is "The measures of government must be carried by mildness in India, and by degradation from a higher rank."]

The greatest of the kings of India in our time is the Balhará, sovereign of the city of Mánkír. Many of the kings of India turn their faces towards him in their prayers, and they make supplications to his ambassadors, who come to visit them. The kingdom of Balhará is bordered by many other countries of India. Some kings have their territory in the mountains away from the sea, like the Rái, King of Kashmír, the King of Táfan, and others. There are other kings who possess both land and sea. The capital of the Balhará is eighty Sindí parasangs from the sea, and the parasang is equal to eight miles. His troops and elephants are innumerable, but his troops are mostly infantry, because the seat of his government is among the mountains. One of the neighbouring kings of India, who is far from the sea, is the Bauüra, who is lord of the city of Kanauj. This is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has large armies in garrisons on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west, for he is surrounded on all sides by warlike kings.

CHAPTER IX.—Al-Jáhiz supposes that the river Mihrán in Sind comes from the Nile, alleging as a proof that crocodiles live in it. I cannot understand how he advanced this as a proof. He states it in his book, "*Kitábu-l' Amsár wa 'ajaibu-l buldán*" ("On great cities and the wonders of the countries.") It is an excellent work, but as the author has never made a voyage and but few journeys and travels through kingdoms and cities, he did not know that the Mihrán of Sind comes from well-known sources in the highlands of Sind, from the country belonging to Kanauj in the kingdom of Bauüra, and from Kashmír, Kandahár, and Táfan; and at length, running into Múltán, it receives the name of the Mihrán of gold, just as Múltán means boundary of gold. The king of Múltán is a Kuraishite, and of the children of Usámah bin Lawí bin Ghálib. The caravans for Khurásán assemble here. The lord who rules over the kingdom of Mansúra is a Kuraishite, who is descended from Habbár bin al-Aswad. The crown of Múltán has been hereditary in the family which rules at present, since ancient times, from the beginning of Islám.

The river Mihrán takes its course through the country of Mansúra, and falls near Debal into the Indian ocean. In the bays of this sea there are many crocodiles, as in the bay of Sindábúr in the kingdom

of Bághara,¹ in India; the bay of Zábaj, in the dominions of the Maharáj, and the gulfs of the aghyáb [aghbáb], which extend towards the island of Sarandib [Ceylon]. Crocodiles live more particularly in sweet water, and, as we have said, in the estuaries of India, the water of which is for the most part sweet, because the streams which form them are derived from the rains.

CHAPTER XVI.—The king of India is the Balhará; the king of Kanauj, who is one of the kings of Sind, is Bauüra;² this is a title common to all kings of Kanauj. There is also a city called Bauüra, after its princes, which is now in the territories of Islám, and is one of the dependencies of Múltán. Through this town passes one of the (five) rivers, which form together the river Mihrán in Sind, which is considered by al-Jáhiz as derived from the Nile, and by others from the Jaihún of Khurásán. This Bauüra, who is the king of Kanauj, is an enemy of the Balhará, the king of India. The king of Kandahár, who is one of the kings of Sind and its mountains, is called Hahaj; this name is common to all sovereigns of that country. From his dominions comes the river Raíd, one of the five rivers which form the Mihrán of Sind. Kandahár is called the country of the Rabbút [Rájput?]. Another river of the five is called Bahátíl, it comes also from the mountains of Sind, and runs through

¹ [This must be intended for "Balhará," in whose kingdom Sindábúr seems to have been situated.]

² [بوءرا] This name is so given in the Paris edition, but Sprenger reads it "Búdah;" and the reference immediately afterwards to a place of the same name among the dependencies of Múltán, can hardly refer to any other than the country commonly called Budha. General Cunningham says this name "is said by Gildemeister to be written *Bovara* in the original, for which he proposes to read *Tovara* for the well-known *Paurava*. From the King of Oudh's Dictionary two different spellings are quoted, as *Porán* and *Forán*; while in Ferishta the name is either *Korrah*, as written by Dow, or *Kuwar*, as written by Briggs. In Abu 'l Feda the name is *Noda*. Now as the name, of which so many readings have just been given, was that of the king's family or tribe, I believe we may almost certainly adopt *Tovara* as the true reading according to one spelling, and *Torah* according to the other. In the Sanskrit Inscriptions of the Gwalior dynasty the word is invariably spelt *Tomara*. Kharg Rai writes *Tomár* [*To'ar*?], which is much the same as Col. Tod's *Tudr*, and the *Tudr* of the Kumaon and Garhwál MSS. Lastly, in Gladwin's *Ayín Akbari*, I find *Tenore* and *Toonoor*, for which I presume the original has *Tunwar* and *Tanwar*. From a comparison of all these various readings, I conclude that the family name of the Raja of Kanauj in A.D. 915, when Mas'údí visited India, was, in all probability, *Torar* or *Tomar*." Genl. Cunningham's *Archæological Report*, Journ. As. Soc., Bengal, 1864.]

the country of the Rāhbút, which is the country of Kandahár : the fourth river comes from the country of Kábul, and its mountains on the frontier of Sind towards Bust, Ghaznin, Zara'un, ar-Rukhaj, and the country of Dáwar, which is the frontier of Sijistán. The last of the five rivers comes from the country of Kashmír. The king of Kashmír has the name of Rái, which is a general title for all the kings. Kashmír forms part of Sind.

* * * * *

The kingdom of the Bauūra, king of Kanauj, extends about one hundred and twenty square parasangs of Sind, each parasang being equal to eight miles of this country. This king has four armies, according to the four quarters of the wind. Each of them numbers 700,000 or 900,000 men. The army of the north wars against the prince of Múltán, and with the Musulmans, his subjects, on the frontier. The army of the south fights against the Balhará, king of Mánkir. The other two armies march to meet enemies in every direction.

* * * * *

Múltán is one of the strongest frontier places of the Musalmans, and around it there are one hundred and twenty thousand towns and villages. In it is the idol also known by the name of Múltán. The inhabitants of Sind and India perform pilgrimages to it from the most distant places : they carry money, precious stones, aloe-wood, and all sorts of perfumes there to fulfil their vows. The greatest part of the revenue of the king of Múltán is derived from the rich presents brought to the idol of the pure aloe-wood of Kumár, which is of the finest quality, and one *man* of which is worth 200 dinárs * * * * * When the unbelievers march against Múltán, and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol, and their enemies immediately withdraw.

When all the rivers which we have enumerated have passed the "boundary of the house of gold," which is the meaning of the name of Múltán, they unite at about three days' journey below this city and above Mansúra, at a place called Dúsháb,¹ into one stream, which proceeds to the town of Al Rúr [Alor], which lies on its western

¹ [Dúáb ? referring either to the country between the Ghara and the Chináb, or to that between the Panj-nad and the Indus.]

bank and belongs to Mansúra, where it receives the name of Mihrán. There it divides into two branches, both of which fall at the town of Shákira,¹ which belongs also to one of the districts of Mansúra, into the Indian sea, under the name of Mihrán of Sind, about two days' journey from the town of Debal.

Múltán is seventy-five Sindian parasangs from Mansúra. Each parasang is eight miles, as stated above. The estates and villages dependent on Mansúra amount to three hundred thousand. The whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields. It is constantly at war with a nation called the Meds, who are a race of Sind, and also with other races on the frontiers of Sind. Like Múltán it is on the frontier of Sind, and so are the towns and villages belonging to it. Mansúra has its name from Mansúr bin Jamhúr, governor of the 'Ummayyides. The king of Mansúra has eighty war elephants, every one of which is supported by five hundred infantry in battle, as we have already remarked; and these elephants oppose thousands of horses.

* * * * *

Let us now resume our short account of the kings of Sind and India. The language of Sind is different from that of India. Sind is the country which is nearer the dominions of the Moslims, India is farther from them. The inhabitants of Mánkir, which is the capital of the Balhará, speak the Kíriya language, which has this name from Kira, the place where it is spoken. On the coast, as in Saimúr, Súbára, Tána, and other towns, a language called Láriya² is spoken which has its name from the sea which washes these countries; and this is the Lárawi sea, which has been described above. On this coast there are great rivers, which run from the south, whilst all other rivers of the world flow from north to south, excepting the Nile of Egypt, and the Mihrán of Sind, and a few others.

* * * Of all the kings of Sind and India, there is no one who pays greater respect to the Musulmans than the Balhará. In his kingdom Islám is honoured and protected * * * The money consists of dirhams, called Táhiriya,³ each weighing a dirham and a half. They

¹ [The Sanskrit "Ságara." See Mem. sur l'Inde, p. 215.]

² [Sanskrit "Láta," the country about the mouth of the Nerbudda.]

³ [Sprenger reads this Talatawiya, as does another Paris MS. See note page 3.]

are impressed with the date of the reign. The Balhará possesses many war elephants. This country is also called Kamkar. On one side it is exposed to the attacks of the king of Juzr [Guzerat]; a king who is rich in horses and camels, and has a large army.

Next comes the country of Táfan. The king is on friendly terms with the neighbouring sovereigns and with the Moslims; his military forces are less considerable than those of the kings whom we have named.

Beyond this kingdom is that of Rahma, which is the title for their kings, and generally at the same time their name. His dominions border on those of the king of Juzr [Guzerat], and, on one side, on those of the Balhará, with both of whom he is frequently at war. The Rahma has more troops, elephants, and horses, than the Balhará, the king of Juzr and of Táfan. When he takes the field, he has no less than fifty thousand elephants. He never goes to war but in winter, because elephants cannot bear thirst. His forces are generally exaggerated; some assert that the number of fullers and washers in his camp is from ten to fifteen thousand. The kingdom of Rahma extends both along the sea and the continent. It is bounded by an inland state called the kingdom of Káman. The inhabitants are fair, and have their ears pierced. They have elephants, camels, and horses. Both sexes are generally handsome.

Afterwards comes the kingdom of Firanj,¹ which has power both on land and sea. It is situated on a tongue of land which stretches into the sea, from whence large quantities of amber are obtained. The country produces only little pepper, but large numbers of elephants are found here. The king is brave, haughty, and proud, but to tell the truth he has more haughtiness than power, and more pride than courage.

¹ [Sulaiman writes this name "Kíranj." See note *ante*, p. 5.]]

IV.

KITÁBU-L AKÁLÝM,

OF

ABU' IS,HAK, AL ISTAKHRÍ.

SHAIKH ABÚ IS,HAK received the cognomen of Istakhrí from his native city of Istakhr or Persepolis, and he is also called Al Fársí, from the province of Fárs in which that city is situated. His travels extended through all the Muhammadan countries, from India to the Atlantic ocean, from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea. The time of his journies and the date of his work have not been precisely determined, but it is certain that he wrote about the middle of the tenth century (340 A.H., 951 A.D.). He was a little anterior in point of time to Ibn Haukal, but these two travellers met in the valley of the Indus, and exchanged observations. A comparison of the following extracts will show how Ibn Haukal availed himself of his cotemporary's writings, and made them the basis of his own work. The text of Istakhrí's "Book of Climates" was published in lithography by Dr. Moeller, at Gotha, in 1839, under the title "*Liber Climates*." It is a facsimile of the MS. in the Gotha Library, which is the only one in Europe; but, although the lithography has evidently been executed with great care, the work is unsatisfactory, for the MS. is very faulty in the spelling of proper names. A translation from the same into German was printed at Hamburg in 1845, by Dr. Mordtmann, as "*Das Buch der Länder*." The portion relating

to Sijistán was translated into Italian by Signor Madini, and published at Milan in 1842.¹

EXTRACTS.

The country of Sind and the bordering lands are inserted in one map, which thus contains the country of Sind and portions of Hind, Kirmán, Túrán, and Budha.

CITIES OF SIND.—Mansúra, Debal, Nírúr² [Nírún], Kálwi [Kallari], Annarí, Balwí [Ballarí], Maswáhí, Nahraj, Bániya, Manhánarí [Manjábari], Sadúsán, and Al Rúz [Alor].

CITIES OF HIND.—Amhal,³ Kambáya, Súbára, Sindán, Saimúr, Multán, Jandrúd, and Basmand.

From Kambáya to Saimúr is the land of the Balhará, and in it there are several Indian kings. It is a land of infidels, but there are Musalmáns in its cities, and none but Musalmáns rule over them on the part of the Balhará. There are Jama' masjids in them. The city in which the Balhará dwells is Mánkír, which has an extensive territory.

Mansúra is about a mile long and a mile broad, and is surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán. The inhabitants are Musalmáns. The date tree and the sugar cane grow here. The land of Mansúra also produces a fruit of the size of the apple, which is called Laimún, and is exceedingly sour. The land also produces a fruit called Ambaj (mango), which is like the peach. The price of them is low, and they are plentiful. The dress of the people is like that of the people of 'Irák, but the dress of their kings resembles that of the kings of India in respect of the hair⁴ and the tunic.

Multán is a city about half the size of Mansúra. There is an idol there held in great veneration by the Hindus, and every year people from the most distant parts undertake pilgrimages to it, and bring to it vast sums of money, which they expend upon the temple and on

¹ [See Reinaud's *Aboulféda*, Introd. p. lxxxi., and the prefaces to Moeller and Mordtmann's works.]

² [السرور.]

³ ["Fámhal" and "Kámhal" below.]

⁴ [الشعور, for this we have سراويل (trowsers) in the same passage as quoted by Ibn Haukal. See *post*, page 34.]

those who lead there a life of devotion. The temple of the idol is a strong edifice, situated in the most populous part of the city, in the market of Multán, between the bazar of the ivory dealers and the shops of the copper-smiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the midst of the building, and the ministers of the idol and those devoted to its service dwell around the cupola. In Multán there are no men either of Hind or Sind who worship idols except those who worship this idol and in this temple. The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body is made of wood, some deny this; but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide the point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knees, with the fingers closed, so that only four can be counted. When the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, the inhabitants bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it. Upon this the Indians retire, otherwise they would destroy Multán. Mansúra is more fertile. At half a parasang from Multán there is a large cantonment,¹ which is the abode of the chief, who never enters Multán except on Fridays, when he goes on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the prayers of that day. The governor is of the tribe of Kuraish, and is not subject to the ruler of Mansúra, but reads the khutba in the name of the khalífa.

Samand² is a small city situated like Multán, on the east of the river Mihrán; between each of these places and the river the distance is two parasangs. The water is obtained from wells.

The city of Al Rúr approaches Multán in size. It has two walls, is situated near the Mihrán, and is on the borders of Mansúra.

Nírúr³ is half way between Debal and Mansúra.

From Saimúr to Fámhal, in Hind, and from Fámhal to Makrán

¹ [معسكر camp.]

² ["Basmand" above and below.]

³ [نرور. See note A in Appx.]

and Budha, and beyond that as far as the boundaries of Multán, all belong to Sind. Budha is there a desert.

The people of Multán wear trousers, and most of them speak Persian and Sindí, as in Mansúra.

Makrán is a large territory, for the most part desert and barren. The largest city in Mákrán is Kannazbún.¹

Kandábil is a great city. The palm tree does not grow there. It is in the desert, and within the confines of Budha. The cultivated fields are mostly irrigated. Vines grow there, and cattle are pastured. The vicinity is fruitful. Abil is the name of the man who subdued this town, which is named after him.

DISTANCES.—From Tíz² to Tír [Kíz] about five days. From Kíz³ to Kannazbún two days. Going from Kannazbún to Tíz, in Makrán, the road passes by Kíz. From Kannazbún to Darak three days. From Rásak to Fahalfahúh⁴ three days. From thence to Asghafa⁵ two days. From thence to Band one day. From Band to Bah⁶ one day. From thence to Kasrkand⁷ one day. From Kíz to Armábil⁸ six days. From Armábil to Kambalí⁹ two days. From thence to Debal four days. From Mansúra to Debal six days. From Mansúra to Multán twelve days. From Mansúra to Túrán fifteen days. From Mansúra to the nearest frontier of Budha five days. From Budha to Tíz about fifteen days. The length of Makrán from Tíz to Kasdán is about fifteen days. From Multán to the nearest border of the tongue (of land) known as Biyálas¹⁰ about ten days. Here the Mihrán must be crossed to get into the land of Budha.

¹ [فريون] Mordtmann reads "Firiun," but see note A in Appx.]

² [The port of that name.]

³ ["Kedge" of the maps.]

⁴ [The other authorities agree in reading this Fahalfahara except the Marásidu-l-Itt., which makes it "Fahafahrat," and calls it "a well known town in Makrán." See Idrisi.]

⁵ [Ibn Hunkal and Idrisi have "Asfaka." The "Esfaka" of the maps north of Geh, in Makrán.]

⁶ [The modern Geh.]

⁷ [This is still a place of some note.]

⁸ [See note A in Appx.]

⁹ [This must have been on the coast of Lus. See Idrisi.]

¹⁰ [بالس]

From Kandábil to Mansúra eight days. From Kandábil to Multán, by the desert, about ten days. Between Mansúra and Kámhal¹ eight days. From Kámhal to Kambáya four days. From Kambáya to the sea about two parasangs. From Kambáya to Súrabáya about four days, and Súrabáya is about half a parasang from the sea. Between Súrabáya and Sindán about five days. From Sindán to Saimúr five days. Between Saimúr and Sarandib fifteen days. Between Multán and Basmand about two days. From Basmand to Al Rúz three days. From Al Rúz to Annarí four days. From Annarí to Kallari two days. From thence to Mansúra one day. From Debal to Tíz four days. From thence to Manjábari two days. From Kálwí² [Kállari] to Maldán [Multán?] about four days. Baband³ lies between Mansúra and Kámhal at one day's journey from Mansúra.

There is a river in Sind called the Mihrán.⁴ It is said that it springs from the summit of a mountain from which many affluents of the Jihún rise.⁵ The Mihrán passes by the borders of Samand⁶ and Al Rúz (Alor) to the neighbourhood of Multán; from thence to Mansúra, and onwards until it joins the sea to the east of Debal. Its water is very sweet. It is said that there are crocodiles in it as large as those of the Nile. It rises like as the Nile rises, and inundates the land, which on the subsidence of the water is sown in the manner we have described in the land of Egypt. The Sind Rúd is about three stages from Multán. Its water is very sweet, even before it joins the Mihrán. Makrán is mostly desert, and has very few rivers. Their waters flow into the Mihrán on both sides of Mansúra.

¹ [The text has Káhal, but there can be no doubt that Kámhal is meant.]

² [بالوي.]

³ [باند in the text, which can only be rendered by guess. Ibn Haukal and Idrisi have "Bániya."]

⁴ [The Marásidu-l Ittilá' quotes this with some variations in the names.]

⁵ [بعض انهار جيڪون.]

⁶ [Kazwini in quoting this passage calls the place "Samandúr."]

V.

ASHKĀLU-L BILĀD

OR THE

KITĀBU-L MASĀLIK WA-L MAMĀLIK.

OF

IBN HAUKAL.

IN one of the Royal Libraries of Lucknow there is a very old Arabic manuscript, written A.H. 589 (1193 A.D.). The title, "Ash-kālu-l Bilād," Diagrams of the countries (of Islām), is given in the Postscript. It contains maps and a geographical description of several countries. The first leaf is wanting. It contained in folio *recto* in all probability the beginning of the preface, and in folio *verso* the map of the world; apparently the greater portion of the preface is preserved. The plan of the work is thus stated—"Then (after having given a map of the world) I have devoted a separate diagram to every country of Islām, in which I show its frontiers, the shape of the country, the principal towns, and in fact everything necessary to know. The diagrams are accompanied by a text. I have divided the dominions of Islām into twenty countries. I begin with Arabia, for this peninsula contains the Kābah and Mecca, which is unquestionably the most important city and the centre of the peninsula. After Mecca I describe the country of the Bedouins; then I proceed to the description of—2. the Persian Gulf, which surrounds the greater part of Arabia; 3. the Maghrib; 4. Egypt; 5. Syria; 6. The Mediterranean; 7. Mesopotamia; 8. 'Irāk; 9. Khúzistān; 10. Fārs; 11. Kirmān;

12. Mansúra, and the adjacent countries,¹ which are Sind, India, and part of the Muhammadan territory; 13. Āzarbaiján; 14. the district of the Jibál; 15. Dailam; 16. the sea of the Khazar (*i.e.* the Caspian); 17. the steppes between Fárs and Khurásán; 18. Sijistán and the adjacent countries; 19. Khurásán; 20. Má wáráu-n nahr." Of every one of the above countries there seems to have been originally a map, but two have been lost. (*viz.*, Nos. 6 and 10), and some have been transposed (as well as several leaves of the text) by the bookbinder. It was copied in A.H. 589, as it is stated in the postscript, from a very correct copy, and with great care. The copyist has added in a few instances marginal notes, which prove that he took an interest in what he wrote, and that he was acquainted with the subject. On comparing this work with the "Book of Roads and Kingdoms" of Ibn Haukal, I find it almost verbatim the same, so much so, as to leave no doubt that it is a copy of Ibn Haukal's work under an unusual name. As there are only two copies in Europe, one of which is very bad, this MS. is of considerable value.² The following extract is translated from the Ashkálu-l Bilád, followed by a passage from Ibn Haukal, in the part where the Lucknow manuscript was deficient, or which probably the transcriber neglected to copy. [The map is from the Ashkálu-l Bilád, and is very similar to that of Istakhrí, as published by Moeller.]

[The real name of Ibn Haukal was Muhammad Abú-l Kásim, and he was a native of Baghdád. When he was a child the power of the Khalifs had greatly declined, and Baghdád itself had fallen into the hands of the Turks. On attaining manhood he found himself despoiled of his inheritance, so he resolved to gratify a natural taste, and to seek to mend his fortunes by travelling and trading in foreign countries. He left Baghdád in 331

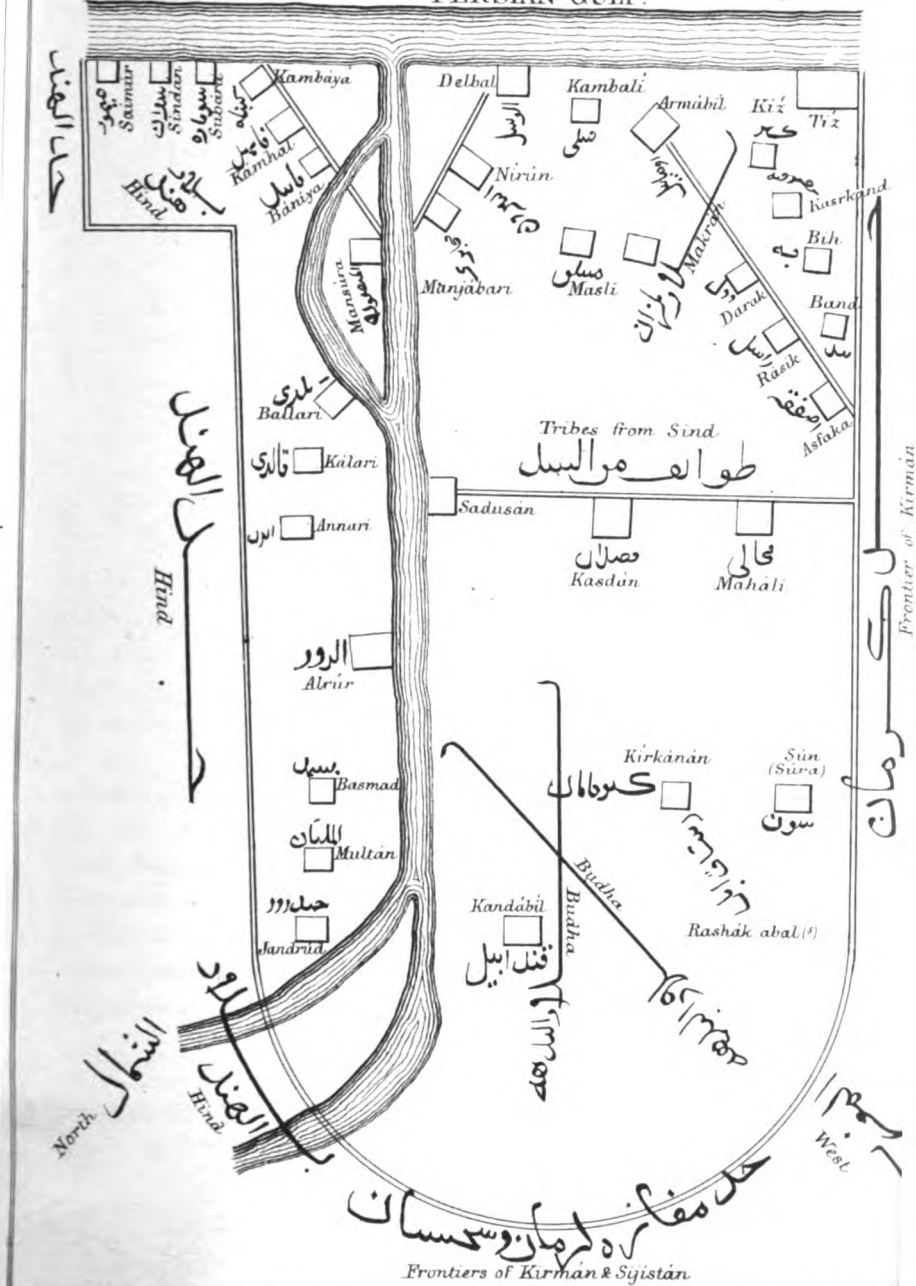
¹ Here a space of about six inches square is left blank, and in the margin are the words "This space is for the map of the world, but it is not large enough, therefore the copyist has deviated from the original from which he transcribed, and it stands in the preceding page."

² [Uri Bodl. Codd. MSS., Cat., p. 209.]

MAP OF SIND

پرس گلف
PERSIAN GULF

PERSIAN GULF



Frontiers of Kirmān & Sijistān

A.H. (943 A.D.), and after passing through the various lands under Musulmán rule, he returned to that city in 358 A.H. (968 A.D.). The following year he was in Africa, and he seems to have finished his work in 366 A.H. (976 A.D.). His book received the same title as that of Ibn Khúrdádba, or "Book of Roads and Kingdoms," and he says that his predecessor's work was his constant companion.¹ His obligations to Istakhrí have been already mentioned. M. Uylenbroek translated part of the work in his "*Iracæ persicæ descriptio*," and Gildemeister has given the "*Descriptio Sindiae*" in his "*Scriptorum Arabum de Rebus Indicis*," etc. Part of the *Ashkálu-l Bilád* relating to Khurásán has been translated by Col. Anderson, and was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. xxii.]

EXTRACTS.

From the sea to Tibet is four months' journey, and from the sea of Fárs to the country of Kanauj is three months' journey.

* * *

I have placed the country of Sind and its dependencies in one map, which exhibits the entire country of Sind, part of Hind, and Túrán and Budha.² On the entire east of this tract there lies the sea of Fárs, and on the west, Kirmán and the desert of Sijistán, and the countries subject to it. To the north are the countries of Hind, and to the south is the desert lying between Makrán and Kufs,³ beyond which is the sea of Fárs. This sea is to the east of the above-mentioned territories, and to the south of the said desert, for it extends from Saimúr on the east to Tiz,⁴ of Makrán; it then bends round the desert, and encircles Kirmán and Fárs.

The chief cities of this tract are the following: In Makrán,—

¹ [Reinaud's *Aboulfêda*, Introd., p. lxxxii.]

² Gildemeister, in his edition of Ibn Haukal, reads this *Bodha*. See note A in the Appx.

³ [Mountains in Kirmán, near the coast.]

⁴ [This name is not to be found in Sir H. Elliot's text, but it was given in the translation, and it is also in Ibn Haukal, so that it is right without doubt.]

Tiz,¹ Kabar [Kiz], Kabryún [Kannazbún], Darak, Rásak the city of schismatics, Bih, Nand [Band], Kasrkand, Asfaka, Fahalfahara, Musli, Yusli [Kambali], Armáil [Armábil]. In Túrán,—Maháli Kanikánán, Súra and Kasdár. In Budha,—Kandábil. In Sind,—Mansúra, which, in the Sind language, is called Bámiwán,² Debal, Nirun,³ Fálid [Kallari], Abri [Annari], Balzi [Ballari], Maswáhi, Harúj, Bania, Manjábari, Sadúsán, Aldúr. In Hind,—Fámhal, Kambáya, Súrbarah, Sindán, Saimúr, Multán, Hadravur [Jadráwar, or Jandrúd], and Basmat. These are the cities of these countries which are known to me.⁴ From Kambáya to Saimúr is the land of the Balhará, and in it there are several Indian kings.⁵ It is a land of infidels, but there are Musulmán in its cities, and none but Musulmán rule over them on the part of the Balhará. There are many mosques in these places, where Muhammadans assemble to pray. The city in which the Balhará resides is Mánkír, which has an extensive territory.⁶

Mansúra is about a mile long and a mile broad, and is surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán. It is like an island, and the inhabitants are Musulmán. The king of the country is one of the tribe of

¹ Gildemeister's version of Ibn Haukal gives the names as follows:—"In Mekran there are Taiz, Kannazbúr, Darek, Rásek, Neh, Kasrfand, Adhafa, Fahalfahara, Mashká, Kambala, Armáil. In Thúrán,—Majak, Kizkánán, Shura, Kasdár. In Bodha,—Kandábil. In Sind,—Mansúra, Daibal, Birún, Valará, Ayará, Balrá, Masváhi, Fahraj, Bania, Manhatara, Sadústán, Rút, Jandarúz. In Hind,—Kámuhul, Kambáya, Subára, Asávil, Hanávil, Sindán, Saimur, Báni Battan, Jandarúz, Sandarúz. (*De rebus Indicis*, p. 164.)—Ouseley gives them thus: Alis, Kusar, Fermoun, Derek, Rasek, Kesrbend, Kelaahereh, Meski, Meil, Armaiel, Mehali, Kibrkaman, Sureh, Kandábil, Mansourah or Sindiah, Danbul, Meroui, Manoui, Airi, Baloui, Mesouahi, Beherje, Maseh, Meshari, Sedousan. (*Oriental Geography*, p. 147.)

² ["Mámiwan" in Sir H. Elliot's text, which is very badly printed]

³ In the Ashkálu-l Bilád this is plainly either Birún, or Nirún, as suggested by M. Gildemeister. The original text which he has given of Ibn Haukal has no resemblance to either name.

⁴ [Ibn Haukal adds that there are other more distant places such as Farzán and Kanauj in the deserts, to which only merchants go.]

⁵ [Gildemeister's translation of Ibn Haukal here adds, "Cui fabularum liber scriptus est. Nomen habet a regno, eodem modo quo Ghána et Kaughá et alia regionis simul et regis nomina sunt." There is no mention of this in the Ashkálu-l Bilád.]

⁶ There is nothing like this in Gildemeister's version, but the assertion corresponds with the statement of Mas'údf. [Instead of this passage Gildemeister says, "In iis omnibus preces fiunt, non omnia publica per solitas formulas indictione. Regnum hoc late patet."]

Kuraish, and is said to be a descendant of Hubád, the son of Aswad. He and his ancestors ruled over this country, but the Khutba is read in the name of the Khalifa. The climate is hot, and the date tree grows here; but there is neither grape, nor apple, nor ripe date (tamr), nor walnut in it. The sugar cane grows here. The land also produces a fruit of the size of the apple, which is called Laimún, and is exceedingly acid. The place also yields a fruit called Ambaj (mangoe), resembling the peach in appearance and flavour. It is plentiful and cheap.¹ Prices are low and there is an abundance of food.

The current coin of the country is stamped at Kandahár; one of the pieces is equivalent to five dirhams. The Tátari coin also is current, each being in weight equal to a dirham and a third.² They likewise use dinars. The dress of the people of the place is the same as that worn by the inhabitants of 'Irák, except that the dress of the sovereigns of the country resembles in the trousers³ and tunic that worn by the kings of Hind.

Multán is about half the size of Mansúra, and is called "the boundary⁴ of the house of gold." There is an idol there held in great veneration by the Hindús, and every year people from the most distant parts undertake pilgrimages to it, and bring vast sums of money, which they expend upon the temple and on those who lead there a life of devotion. Multán derives its name from this idol. The temple of the idol is a strong edifice, situated in the most populous part of the city, in the market of Multán, between the bazar of the ivory dealers and the shops of the coppersmiths. The idol is placed under a cupola in the centre of the building, and the ministers of the idol and those

¹ [Here there must have been a line omitted from the text as printed by Sir H. Elliot.]

² ["Drachmam cum octava parte valentes." Gildemeister.]

³ [السراويل والقراطين] Gildemeister has "in crinibus et tunicis." See Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, 237.]

⁴ The Ashkálun-l Bilád says "burj," or bastion, which at first sight would seem a more probable reading; but the reasons assigned for reading the word "farj" are so strong, as set forth by M. Hamaker, in his note to the *Descriptio Iracæ Persicæ* (p. 67), that we are not entitled to consider "burj" as the correct reading. [Quatremère concurs in reading "farj." *Jour. des Sav.* See also Ibn Khurdádha and the account given in the Chach-náma.]

devoted to its service dwell around the cupola. In Multán there are no men, either of Hind or of Sind, who worship idols, except those who worship this idol and in this temple. The idol has a human shape, and is seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture,¹ on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body of the idol is made of wood; some deny this; but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide this point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. The hands rest upon the knees, with the fingers all closed,² so that only four can be counted.³ The sums collected from the offerings of the pilgrims at the shrine are taken by the Amír of Multán, and distributed amongst the servants of the temple. As often as the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, they⁴ bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it. Upon which the assailants retire, otherwise they would destroy Multán. There is a strong fort in Multán. Prices are low, but Mansúra is more fertile and populous. The reason why Multán is designated "the boundary of the house of gold" is, that the Muhammadans, though poor at the time they conquered the place, enriched themselves by the gold which they found in it. About half a parasang from Multán are several edifices called Chandráwár,⁵ the cantonment of the chief, who never enters Multán, except on Fridays, and then on the back of an elephant, in order to join in the prayers of that day. The Governor is of the tribe of Kuraish, of the sons of Samáh, the son of Lawí, who first occupied the place. He owes no allegiance to the chief of Mansúra. He, however, always reads the Khutba in the name of the Khalífa.

¹ [متربع.]

² Ibn Haukal says, "with expanded fingers." Zakariyá Kazwíní, following Istakhrí, says "closed hands." The Ashkálu-l Bilád concurs with Istakhrí, as quoted by M. Kosegarten *De Mohammede Ibn Batuta*, p. 27. Idrísí speaks of four hands, instead of four fingers, and a very slight change in the original would authorize that reading. See *post*.

³ [Sir H. Elliot's printed text terminates here, and so the remainder of the translation has not been revised.]

⁴ [According to Kazwíní it is the Musulmán who do this.]

⁵ This most resembles the word in the Ashkálu-l Bilád. See Note A. in Appx.

Basmad is a small city, situated like Multán and Chandráwár, on the east of the river Mihrán. This river is at the distance of a parasang from each of the places mentioned. The inhabitants use well water for drink. Basmad has a fort.

The country [city] of Alrúr¹ is as extensive as Multán. It has two walls, is situated near the Mihrán, and is on the borders of Mansúra.

The city of Debal is to the west² of the Mihrán, towards the sea. It is a large mart, and the port not only of this but neighbouring regions. Debal is remarkable for the richness of its grain cultivation, but it is not over-abundant in large trees or the date tree. It is famous for the manufacture of swords.³ The inhabitants generally maintain themselves by their commerce.

The country of Nírún is between Debal and Mansúra, but rather nearer to the latter. Manjábarí is to the west of the Mihrán, and there any one who proceeds from Debal to Mansúra will have to pass the river, the latter place being opposite to Manjábarí.

Maswáhi, Harj, and Sadúsán,⁴ are also situated to the west of the Mihrán.⁵

On the road between Mansúra and Multán, and on the east of the Mihrán, but distant from it, are two places called Ibri and Labí [Annarí and Kállarí].⁶

Máildi [Ballarí] is also near the Mihrán, and on the western bank, near the branch which issues from the river and encircles Mansúra.

Bilha [Bánia] is a small city, the residence of 'Umar, the son of 'Abdu-l 'Aziz Habbári, of the tribe of Kuraish, and the ancestor of those who reduced Mansúra.

¹ [Alor. See Note A. in Appx.]

² Ibn Haukal says to the east. The text of the Ashkálu-l Bilád is plain on this point, and the Map also represents Debal to the west.

³ M. Gildemeister translates this "*locus sterilis est*," which is scarcely consistent with the previous assertion about the cultivation, in which also his copy does not concur—"Agros non habet irriguos."

⁴ [See Note A. in Appx.]

⁵ [Ibn Haukal adds, "These cities are about equal to each other."]

⁶ [Abú-l Fidá refers to this passage (p. 347 Text), in speaking of Annarí and Kállarí.

The city of Fámhal¹ is on the borders of Hind, towards Saimúr, and the country between those two places belongs to Hind. The countries between Fámhal and Makrán, and Budha, and beyond it as far as the borders of Multán, are all dependencies of Sind. The infidels who inhabit Sind are called Budha² and Mand. They reside in the tract between Túrán, Multán, and Mansúra, to the west of the Mihrán. They breed camels, which are sought after in Khurásán and elsewhere, for the purpose of having crosses from those of Bactria.

The city where the Budhites carry on their trade is Kandábil, and they resemble men of the desert. They live in houses made of reeds and grass. The Mands dwell on the banks of the Mihrán, from the boundary of Multán to the sea, and in the desert between Makrán and Fámhal. They have many cattle sheds and pasturages, and form a large population.

There are Jám'a Masjids at Fámhal, Sindán, Saimúr, and Kam-báya, all which are strong and great cities, and the Muhammadan precepts are openly observed. They produce mangoes, cocoa-nuts, lemons, and rice in great abundance, also great quantities of honey, but there are no date trees to be found in them.

The villages of Dahúk³ and Kalwán are contiguous to each other, situated between Labí⁴ and Armábil. Kalwán is a dependency of Makrán, and Dahúk that of Mansúra. In these last mentioned places fruit is scarce, but crops grow without irrigation, and cattle are abundant.

Túrán⁵ is a town.

Kasdár is a city with dependent towns and villages. The governor is Muín bin Ahmad, but the Khutba is read in the name

¹ [See Note A. in Appx.]

² The passage is difficult. Gildmeister says, "*Gentiles, qui in Sindia degunt, sunt Bodhitæ, et gens quæ Mund vocatur. Bodha nomen est variarum tribuum,*" etc. (p. 172), where see also the note in which he adduces a passage from Ibn Haukal, showing that there was a class of Jats known by the name of Nodha, in the neighbourhood of Multán, and therefore the passage may be translated "Nodhites and Mands." [See Note A. in Appx.]

³ [Ibn Haukal has "Rahuk," and Idrisi "Ráhún and Kalwán."]

⁴ ["Kiz" in Ibn Haukal and Idrisi.]

⁵ The printed text says, "Túrán is a valley, with a city of the same name, in the centre of which is a citadel."

of the Khalífa only, and the place of his residence is at the city of Kabá-Kánán.¹ This is a cheap place, where pomegranates, grapes, and other pleasant fruits are met with in abundance; but there are no date trees in this district.

[Here ends the extract from the Ashkálu-l Bilád; that which follows is from Ibn Haukal, as translated into Latin by M. Gildemeister.]

There is a desert between Bania, Kámuhul, and Kambáya. From Kambáya to Saimúr the villages lie close to one another, and there is much land under cultivation. The Moslims and infidels in this tract wear the same dresses, and let their beards grow in the same fashion. They use fine muslin garments on account of the extreme heat. The men of Multán dress in the same way. The language of Mansúra, Multán, and those parts is Arabic and Sindian. In Makrán they use Persian and Makránic. All wear short tunics except the merchants, who wear shirts and cloaks of cotton, like the men of Irák and Persia.

* * * * *

From Mansúra to Debal is six days' journey; from Mansúra to Multán, twelve; from Mansúra to Túrán, about fifteen; from Kasdár, the chief city of Túrán, to Multán, twenty; from Mansúra to the nearest boundary of Budha, fifteen. The whole length of the jurisdiction of Makrán, from Taiz to Kasdár, is about fifteen. From Multán to the nearest border of Túrán is about ten. He who travels from Mansúra to Budha must go along the banks of the Míhrán, as far as the city of Sadústán. From Kandábil to Mansúra is about eight days' journey; from Kandábil to Multán, by the desert, ten; from Mansúra to Kámuhul, eight; from Kámuhul to Kambáya, four. Kambáya is one parasang distant from the sea, and about four from Súbára, which is about half a parasang from the sea. From Súbára to Sindán, which is the same distance from the sea, is about ten² days' journey; from Sindán to Saimúr about five; from Saimúr to Sarandíp, about fifteen; from Multán to Basmad, two; from Basmad to Alrúz [Alor], three; from Alrúz to Ayara [Annari],

¹ ["Kizkánán," Gildemeister. See Note A. in Appx.]

² [So according to Gildemeister; but "five" seems to be the right number. See Istakhri and Idrisi.]

four; from Ayara [Annarí] to Valara [Ballarí], two; from Valara to Mansúra, one; from Debal to Kannazbúr, fourteen: from Debal to Manhátara [Manjábarí] two, and that is on the road from Debal to Kannazbúr; from Vallara [Ballarí] to Ayara [Annarí], four parasangs; Kámuhul from Mansúra is two days' journey,¹ and Bánia intervenes at one stage distance. The Mihrán is the chief river of those parts. Its source is in a mountain, from which also some of the feeders of the Jíhún flow. Many great rivers increase its volume, and it appears like the sea in the neighbourhood of Multán. It then flows by Basmad, Alrúz, and Mansúra, and falls into the sea, to the east of Debal. Its water is very sweet, and there are said to be crocodiles in it like those of Egypt. It equals the Nile in volume and strength of current. It inundates the land during the summer rains, and on its subsidence the seed is sown, as in Egypt.

The river Sandarúz [Sind-rúd] is about three days' distant from Multán. Its waters are abundant and sweet. I was told that its confluence with the Mihrán is above Basmad, but below Multán.

Jandarúz [Jand-rúd] is also a great and sweet river, on whose bank is the city of Jandarúz.² It falls into the Mihrán below the Sandarúz [Sind-rúd] towards the country of Mansúra.

Makrán contains chiefly pasturages and fields, which cannot be irrigated on account of the deficiency of water. Between Mansúra and Makrán the waters from the Mihrán form lakes, and the inhabitants of the country are the Indian races called Zat. Those who are near the river dwell in houses formed of reeds, like the Berbers, and eat fish and aquatic birds. * * * * Another clan of them, who live remote from the banks, are like the Kurds, and feed on milk, cheese, and bread made of millet.

We have now reached the extreme eastern border of the dominions of Islám. The revenue of the kings and governors is small, and not more than to satisfy their actual needs. Some, no doubt, have less than they wish.

¹ He has just said, only a few lines before, that the distance between these two towns is eight days' journey; and that is, doubtless, the correct distance; otherwise, we should have only six days' journey between Mansúra and Kambáya, which is obviously incorrect. Abú-l Fidá, moreover, gives the distance as eight days' journey.

² [See Note in Appx.]

VI.

SURU-L BULDÁN.

THE "Oriental Geography" of Sir W. Ouseley is a translation of a Persian work called *Sûru-l Buldán*, "Pictures of Countries," compiled from the works of Istakhri and Ibn Haukal. It contains little or nothing that is not to be found in these writers. Ouseley's MS., moreover, was very faulty. The work is of small value now that its original sources are available, and it seems quite unnecessary to quote it here. The authorship of this work was at one time a subject of great dispute, but a passing allusion to the discussion is all that is needed now that the question is set at rest.

VII.

JÁMI'U-T TAWÁRIKH

OF

RASHÍDU-D DÍN.

THE extract which follows is taken from the Jámi'ū-t Tawárikh of Rashídu-d Dín, which was completed in A.H. 710, or A.D. 1310. This date, but for another more cogent reason, would require the insertion of the extract in a later part of the book, or the entire omission of it, as beyond the scope of the present work. But though appearing in the history of Rashídu-d Dín, the passage is not his own; it is really and confessedly the work of the celebrated Abú Rihán al Bírúní, who wrote about four centuries earlier, his life having extended from A.H. 360 to 430, or A.D. 970 to 1039. This chapter of Al Bírúní's work has been translated and published by M. Reinaud, in his "Fragments;" and a comparison of the two will show how very little has been added by Rashídu-d Dín. For all practical purposes it may be considered as presenting a picture of the Musulman knowledge of India at the end of the 10th century.

Copies of the work of Al Bírúní are exceedingly rare, for two only are known to be extant, and the portions published were translated from the single copy in the Imperial Library in Paris. The reproductions by Rashídu-d Dín are therefore of high value, and the importance of the following extract for a correct appreciation of the progress of the Muhammadan knowledge of India cannot be over-rated.

Extended notices of these two authors—Abú Ríhán and Rashídu-d Dín—with other extracts from their works, appeared in the volume published by Sir H. Elliot, and will again appear in the second volume of this work. It is here only necessary to state that the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh* was written in Persian, and is a rare work. There is a copy in the Library of the East India Office and another in the British Museum. Two distinct portions of the work have been found in India, and of these there are copies among Sir H. Elliot's MSS.¹ There is also in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society an incomplete Arabic translation.

The following translation differs considerably from that published in Sir H. Elliot's first edition, but every care has been taken to make it as accurate as possible. The MS. of the East India Library has been mainly relied upon; this will be referred to as MS. *A*. Occasional reference for doubtful passages and proper names has been made to the British Museum MS., referred to as MS. *B*. The Arabic version will be called MS. *C*.; and Sir H. Elliot's new copy of the Lucknow MS. *D*. MSS. *A* and *B* are not good copies. The scribes were careless and ignorant, and the texts abound with errors, particularly in the spelling of the names of persons and places. Nor are the errors confined to obscure and doubtful names. MS. *A* almost always represents the name of the Ganges by *كل*, with no dot to the second letter. The Arabic version *C* is well and boldly written. The dots are more frequently, though by no means invariably, supplied, and the proper names are generally more distinct. It differs occasionally from the Persian MSS., and has often been of service. Still it is not reliable authority for the proper names, as these occasionally present some curious proofs of the work having been translated from the Persian. Prepositions like *tá* and *ba*, and the Persian words of number, as *sih* (3) and *nuh* (9), have sometimes been taken as part of the names, and incorporated with them. Some instances will be pointed out in the Notes.

¹ [The Calcutta copy has been mislaid, and has not been used for this article.]

EXTRACTS.

SECTION III.—*On the Hills and Rivers of Hindustán and Súdán (sic), which according to Abú Rihán extend twelve thousand parasangs.*

Philosophers and Geometricians have divided the land of Hind into nine unequal¹ parts, giving to each part a separate name, as appears from the book called Bátankal.² Its shape resembles the back of a crab on the surface of the water.³ The mountains and plains in these nine parts of India are extensive, and occur one after the other in successive order. The mountains appear to stand near each other, like the joints of the spine, and extend through the inhabited world from the east to the midst of the west, i.e., from the beginning of China through Tibet, and the country of the Turks, to Kábul, Badakhshán, Tukháristán, Bámián, Ghúr, Khurásán, Gílán, Azarbáiján, Ármenia, Rúm, to the country of the Franks and Galicia on the west. In their course they spread out widely from the deserts and inhabited places of that part. Rivers flow at their base. One which comes from the south from India is very large and

¹ [The different MSS. are strangely discordant as to the division of India. The original translation from the Indian MS. made the division to be "three equal parts," and "three parts" are again mentioned at the beginning of the next section. The E. I. Library copy, in the first line of this section, says "three equal parts," but in the following line it refers "to these *nine* parts;" at the beginning of the next section it again says "*three* parts. The British Museum copy says, in this place, "*nine equal* parts," and in the next section it also says "nine parts." The Arabic version is also consistent in always giving "nine" as the number, but it differs in declaring them to be "unequal." *Nine* being the number most frequently used, and *unequal* being more probable than *equal*, I have used those words in the translation. Al Bírúni makes no mention of the division in the chapter translated by Reinaud, so that Rashidu-d Dín probably derived his knowledge of it from the translation of the book "Bátankal," to which he refers. The inconsistencies have most probably arisen from a confusion of the original Sanskrit authorities. Menu makes a threefold division of Upper India, "Brahmarshá, Brahmávartha and Madhyadesa," and this last portion is accurately defined by Al Bírúni and Rashidu-d Dín. The ninefold division is that of the "nava-dwípas," or nine portions, given in the Vishnu Purána, p. 175.]

² [Bátajal or Bátanjál in the Arabic version. See a note upon this in the notice of Abú Rihán, Vol. II.]

³ [The Persian versions have the following sentence here از میان انجداب نمودہ برای صورت کہ مشکل شدہ the application of which is not clear, but as a blank space is left in one MS. immediately after these words, they probably refer to the difficulty of representing the appearance in a picture.]

broad.¹ But in other places they have their sources to the north in the lofty mountains and in the deserts. Hind is surrounded on the east by Chin and Máchin,² on the west by Sind and Kábul, and on the south by the sea.³ On the north lie Kashmír, the country of the Turks, and the mountain of Meru, which is extremely high, and stands opposite to the southern pole. The heavenly bodies perform their revolutions round it, rising and setting on each side of it. A day and a night of this place is each equal to six of our months.⁴

Opposite to this mountain stands another, not round in shape, and which is said to be composed of gold and silver. The Hima mountains lie on the north of Kanauj, and on account of snow and cold form the extreme point of the habitation of man. This range has Kashmír in its centre, and runs by Tibet, Turk, Khazar,⁵ and Sakálíba,⁶ to the sea of Jurján and Khwárasm. The rivers of the entire country of Hind, which flow from the northern mountains, amount to eleven. Those which flow from the eastern mountains amount to

¹ [The following passage from the *Aráish-i Mahfil* may perhaps throw some light upon this:—"Between Bhakar and Sewí there is a jungle over which the Simoom blows for three months in the hot season. When the river Indus, at intervals of some years, flows from the south to the north, the villages here are laid waste." See also *ante*, p. 24.]

² [This is generally written "Maháchín" in MS. C.]

³ In the original Arabic, Al Birúni says: "India is bounded on all other sides by lofty mountains," and after this follows a curious passage omitted from the *Jámi'u-t Tawárikh*. "If you examine the country of Hind, and consider well the round stones which are found below the soil, at whatever depth you may dig, you will find that they are large near the mountains where the current of water is impetuous, and smaller as you depart from the mountains, the strength of the current being also diminished, and that they become like sand, where the water is stagnant and in the vicinity of the sea. Hence you cannot but conclude that this country was once merely a sea, and that the continent has been formed by successive increments of alluvion brought down by the rivers." Strabo and Arrian have also expressed this opinion, and modern geologists are fond of indulging in the same speculation. A late writer on this subject observes: "Throughout the whole plain of India, from Bengal to the bottom of the deep wells in Jesselmere, and under the mica and hornblende schist of Ajmere, the same kind of very fine hard-grained blue granite is found in round and rolled masses." *Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal*, No. cxxxviii. p. 140.

⁴ Compare Strabo ii. 1-19. Plin. N. H. vi. 22, 6, and Solinus 52, 13.

⁵ [The country of the Khazars or Khozars, a Turkish race, on the north of the Caspian sea, about the mouths of the *Itil* or Volga. The Caspian is called Bahru-l Khazar or Bahru-l Jurján.]

⁶ [Slavonia.]

the same number. These run far to the east and the south till they fall into the ocean. Those, however, which rise in the south do not discharge themselves into the sea.

The northern mountains have connection with Mount Meru, which lies south of them. Besides this there is another lofty ridge of mountains intervening between Turkistán and Tibet and India, which is not exceeded in height by any of the mountains of Hindústán. Its ascent is eighty parasangs. From its summit India looks black through the mists beneath, and the mountains and rugged declivities below look like hillocks. Tibet and China appear red. The descent from its summit to Tibet is one parasang. This mountain is so high that Firdausí probably meant the following verse to apply to it:—"It is so low and so high, so soft and so hard, that you may see its belly from the fish (on which the earth rests), its back from the moon."

Some other mountains are called Harmakút,¹ in which the Ganges has its source. These are impassable from the side of the cold regions, and beyond them lies Máchín. To these mountains most of the rivers which lave the cities of India owe their origin. Besides these mountains there are others called Kalárchal.² They resemble crystal domes, and are always covered with snow, like those of Damáwand. They can be seen from Tákas and Laháwar.³ Then there are the mountains of Bállúr, in the direction of Turkistán, which are denominated Shamílán.⁴ In two days' journey you arrive at Turkistán, where the Bhutáwariyas⁵ dwell. Their king is called Bhut Sháh, and their countries (bilád) are Gilgit, Asúra, Salsás,⁶ etc.,

¹ [Hemakúta, the range immediately to the north of the Himálayas.]

² [The mountains of Sirmor. See a passage in page 65. Reinaud reads the name "Kelardjek," which agrees with the MS. *D.* Ibn Batúta calls them "Karáchil" (vol iii. 325). The latter part of the name is probably the Sanskrit *dehal*, mountain.]

³ [Táকাশír (Taxila ?) and Lúháwar (Lahore) in MS. *C.*]

⁴ [The Bállúr-tágh, or "crystal mountains," running north through Badakhshán. Shamílán is probably the Arabic Shamíl, "north," with a plural termination—"Mountains of the North."] ⁵ [MS. *A.* says "Maháromán."]

⁶ The upper part of the Jhailam is called Bhat, and Kunáwar appears to be called "Budh mulk" (Lond. Geog. J., iv. 54). Gilgit retains its name to the present day; Asura is the same as the Astor, or Hasora, of our maps, and Salsas or Salsahí is, perhaps, Chelás on the Indus. M. Reinaud reads Schaltas (Vigne's Kashmir, i., 548, 382). [MS. *C.* has "Shalsás." See *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 279.]

and their language¹ is Turkī. The inhabitants of Kashmīr suffer greatly from their encroachments and depredations. The mountains here mentioned are those described in the translation of Abū Rihān, and they are as manifest as a tortoise displaying (itself) from the midst of the waters.

² There are rivers and large streams which have their sources in and issue from the mountains surrounding the kingdom of Kápish³ or Kábul. One, called the Gharwarand,⁴ mixes with the stream from the mountain of Ghúrak, and passes through the country of Barwán.⁵ The waters of the Sharúhat and the Shála pass by Lamankán,⁶ which is Lamghán, and uniting near the fort of Dirúna,⁷ fall into the Núrokírat. The aggregate of these waters forms a large river opposite the city of Parsháwar,⁸ which is called "al ma'bar," or "the ferry." This town is situated on the eastern side of these rivers.⁹ All these rivers fall into the Sind near to the fort of

¹ [The MS. C. adds, "of the majority."]

² [Al Bīrūnī's original text of the following passage is given by M. Reinaud, with a translation, in the *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 276.]

³ [See St. Martin, quoted in Jour. R.A.S., xvii. 186.]

⁴ [So in MS. A. C. has غرروند. Reinaud has "Ghorband," and that river must be the one intended.]

⁵ [نروان in A. بروان in B. نروان in C. Reinaud has "Bervánah." The modern Parwán or Ferwán. See Journ. R.A.S., ix. 297, and xvii. 186.]

⁶ [لسكان in A. لمنكا in C. "Lampaga" in Reinaud. Lamghán "in the hills of Ghasni" (Abū-l fidá). The "Lughman" of the Maps.—*Mem. sur l'Inde*, 353.]

⁷ [Reinaud (p. 114) suggests "Udyanapúr" or "Adfnapúr," near Jelálabád, mentioned by Fa-hian, and in the Ayin Akbari. See his note; also Foe-koue-ki, p. 46; Masson, i. 181, 182; Journ. As. Soc. Beng., June, 1848, p. 482.]

⁸ As some interesting speculations depend upon the mode of spelling the name of this town, it may be as well to remark that all ancient authorities, even down to the historians of the sixteenth century, concur in spelling it Parsháwar. In the Zubdatu-t Tawárikh it is called "Fushúr." The Chinese divide the first syllable, and make Poo-loo-sha, the capital of the kingdom of Purusha. See the *Foe-koue-ki*, as well as the translation of *Ma-tuan-lin*, by M. Rémusat.—*Nouv. Mélanges Asiat.* Tom. I. p. 196. *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 106.

⁹ [The following is the text of this passage:—

MS. A. says, وآن ديه مهناره [نهاده] است بر شرط شرقي

C. says, قريه مهناده علي الطرف الشرقي من هذه الانهار

Bitúrashít,¹ at the city of Kandahár,² which is Waihind.³ After that, there comes from the west the river of Tibet, called the Jhailam. It and the waters of the Chandrá all combine about fifty miles above Jharáwar,⁴ and the stream flows to the west of Múltán. The Biah joins it from the east. It also receives the waters of the Iráwa (Rávi). Then the river Kaj falls into it after separating from the river Kúj, which flows from the hills of Bhátal.⁵ They all combine with the Satlader (Sutlej) below Múltán, at a place called Panjnád, or "the junction of the five rivers." They form a very wide stream, which, at the time it attains its extreme breadth, extends ten parasangs, submerging trees of the forest, and leaving its spoils upon the trees like nests of birds. This stream, after passing Audar,⁶ in the middle of Sind bears the name of Mihrán, and flows

¹ Bírúni says "Bítúr below Kandahar."

² The proper name is Gandhárá, almost always converted by Musulmán writers into Kandahár, but we must take care not to confound it with the more noted Kandahár of the west. The Gandhárás on the Indus are well known to the Sanskrit writers, and there is a learned note on them in Troyer's *Raja Tarangini*, Tom. II. pp. 316—321. It is not improbable that we have their descendants in the Gangarias of the Indus, one of the most turbulent tribes of the Hazára country. The name given to them by Dionysius, in his *Periegesis*, resembles this modern name more than the Sanskrit one. He says, *Διαρβόσου θερδαρρες Γαργαρίδας ραλουσιν*. He places them more to the east, but Salmasius and M. Lassen consider that we should read *Γανδαρίδας*. Herodotus calls them *Γανδαριοι*. The *Γοπάνδης* of Nonnus, which M. Troyer thinks points to the abode of the Gandhárás, is probably to be looked for elsewhere. See also Mannert, *Geographie der Griechen und Rómen*, Vol. V. pp. 5, 30, 107. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. Lassen, *De Pentap. Ind.* p. 15—17. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, Vol. IV. Pt. I. p. 453. *Erach and Gruber's Encyc.*: Art. *Indien*, p. 2. *Mém. sur l'Inde*, 107. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, Sec. X. para. 4.

³ [The modern Ohind on the right bank of the Indus fourteen miles above Attok. Baihaki writes it *وي هند*, and the Sikhs call it Hánd. Abú-l Fida quotes Ibn Sa'id to the effect that it was one of the cities founded by Alexander.]

⁴ [This must be the fort on the river in the vicinity of Múltán, in which the governor dwelt. The correct name would seem to be Jand-rúd. See Note A. in Appx.]

⁵ There is some confusion here, which cannot be resolved by any interpretation of the original. [I have modified the translation, but the passage is still doubtful. The Arabic differs in some points. It makes no mention of the Chandrá; but as it speaks of the waters being "collected from many places," it would seem that the name *Chandrá* has been mistaken for the word *chand*, "several." It is ambiguous about the Kaj, but it appears to say as follows: "Then the river Laj (*sic*) separates from it distinctly from the river Kút (*sic*), which is collected from the waters of the mountains of Bhátal, and it joins it where it joins the Satladar (Sutlej) as it descends from Múltán." See *ante*, p. 22.]

⁶ *Alor* is no doubt the proper reading, though it assumes various forms. [The reading in the text is from MS. A. B. has *اور* and C. *اور*. See Note A. in Appx.]

with a slower current, and widens, forming several islands, till it reaches Mansúra, which city is situated in the midst of the waters of this river. At this place the river divides into two streams, one empties itself into the sea in the neighbourhood of the city of Lúhárání,¹ and the other branches off to the east to the borders of Kach, and is known by the name of Sind Ságar, i.e., Sea of Sind. In the same way as at this place they call the collected rivers Panj-nad, "five rivers," so the rivers flowing from the northern side of these same mountains, when they unite near Turmuz and form the river of Balkh,² are called "the seven rivers," and the fire-worshippers (*majús*) of Soghd make no distinction, but call them all the "Seven rivers."

The river Sarsut [Sarsuti] falls into the sea to the east of Somnát.

The Jumna falls into the Gangá below Kanauj, which city is situated on the west of the river. After uniting, they fall into the sea near Gangá Sáyar [Ságar.] There is a river which lies between the Sarsut and Ganges. It comes from the city of Turmuz³ and the eastern hills; it has a south-westerly course, till it falls into the sea near Bahrúch,⁴ about sixty yojanas to the east of Somnát. Afterwards the waters of the Gangá,⁵ the Rahab, the Kúhí, and the Sarjú unite⁶

¹ This is the Larry Bunder of Major Rennell (*Memoir*, p. 285), Lahariah of M. Kosegarten (*De Mahommede, Comment: Acad.*), and the Láhari of Ibn Batuta, who remarks of it, "It has a large harbour into which ships from Persia, Yemen, and other places put in. At the distance of a few miles from this city are the ruins of another, in which stones, the shapes of men and beasts almost innumerable, are to be found. The people of this place think that there was a city formerly in this place, the greater part of the inhabitants of which were so base, that God transformed them, their beasts, their herbs, even to the very seeds, into stones; and, indeed, stones in the shape of seeds are here almost innumerable." See Ibn Batuta: Lee, p. 102. [French version, iii. 112; *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 278.] ² [The Jihún or Oxus.]

³ [This is distinct both in the Persian and Arabic, saving only that in the former the last letter lacks the point.]

⁴ This is spelt by various authors Barúj, Barús, Bahrúj, Barúh and Bahrúch. It is the Broach of the present day, the *Βαρύρα εμπορίον* of Ptolemy and Arrian, and the Bhrigukachchha and Bharukachchha of the Sanskrit authorities. See Ptol. *Geog. Lib.* VII. Cap. 1, Tab. 10. Mannert, *Geographie der Gr. and Rom.* Vol. V. p. 127. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Vol. IV. Pt. II. p. 626. Bohlen, *das alte Indien*, Vol. I. p. 18. Lassen, *Allerthumskunde*, Vol. I. p. 107.

⁵ [The MS. *A.* does not mention the Ganges.]

⁶ M. Reinaud (p. 100) gives the first as Rahab. A river of this name, or Rahet, is often mentioned by early Muhammadan authors, and appears generally to indicate the Rámgaugá. The union of the Sarjú with the Gomati, which M. Reinaud reads Kúbin, is a fable. There is no confluence of three rivers at Bárí, but not far off from

near the city of Bári. The Hindús believe that the Gangá has its source in paradise, and, descending to the earth, is divided into seven streams, the centre one being denominated the Gangá. The three eastern streams are the Balan, the Ládafi, and Nalin.¹ The three western streams are the Sit, the Jakash, and Sind.² When the Sit leaves the snowy mountains it flows through the countries³ of Silk, Karsib, Hír, Barbar, Híra, Sakarkalt, Mankalakúr, and Sakrít, and falls into the western ocean. On the south of it is the river

it the Jamnuári and the Kathení unite with the Gomati. The map of Oude which is given in the "Agra Guide," calls these rivers the Saraen and Perhi, names which conform pretty well with the *سرو* and *ردب* of M. Reinaud's manuscript. [General Cunningham says, "The second of these rivers is undoubtedly the *Gumti*, which in Sanskrit is the *Gomati*. The first is either the *Behta*, or else the *Rahrai* which joins the *Behta*; and the third is the *Sarain*, a good sized stream, which passes by Sitapur. Both the *Behta* and the *Sarain* join the *Gumti* near *Bári*, which still exists as a good sized village." *Arch. Rep.* for 1862-3 in *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.* page xvii.]

¹ [A. باوب. C. باوت. D. بياوت.]

² These are evidently the *Sitá* and *Chakshu* of Bháskara Achárya. Mr. Colebrooke gives us the following passage from that astronomer:—"The holy stream which escapes from the foot of Vishnu descends on mount Meru, whence it divides into four currents, and passing through the air it reaches the lakes on the summit of the mountains which sustain them. Under the name of *Sitá* this river joins the *Bhadrassa*; as the *Alakánandá* it enters *Bharatavarsha*; as the *Chakshu* it proceeds to *Retumala*, and as the *Bhadra* it goes to the *Kuru* of the north." *Siddhanta Siromani*; *Bhavana Kosha*, 37 and 38. See also *Vishnu Purána*, p. 171. Professor Wilson observes, "The Hindús say that the Ganges falls from heaven on the summit of Meru, and thence descends in four currents; the southern branch is the Ganges of India; the northern branch, which flows into Turkey, is the *Bhadrassomá*; the eastern branch is the *Sitá*; and the western is the *Chakshu* or *Oxus*." *Sanskrit Dict. Art. Meru*. But the *Rámáyana* mentions seven streams, and from that work Birdn't evidently copied his statement. The true Sanskrit names were almost identical with those given in the text. The eastern streams are *Hládani*, *Pavani* and *Nalini*; the western are *Sitá*, *Suchakshu*, and *Sindhu*. In the centre flows the *Bhágirathi*. The *Matsya* and *Padma Puránas* give the same account. See *Rámáyana*, Lib. I. XLIV. 14, 16. Ed. Schlegel. [The three western rivers ought to be the *Sir*, *Sihún*, or *Jaxartes*; the *Jihún* or *Oxus*; and the *Indus*. *Jakash* is probably a corrupt form of *Chakshu*, and bears a suspicious resemblance to the classic *Jaxartes*. Of all the countries mentioned in connection with the *Sit* and *Jakash*, *Marv* appears to be the only one that can be identified with any degree of probability.]

³ [The names of these countries are so discrepant, that Sir H. Elliot omitted those of the *Sind* and *Ganges* as being "illegible," but he printed the text as it is found in the Calcutta and Lucknow copies. These, with the three copies in England, ought to afford sufficient means for settling the names with tolerable accuracy. To facilitate comparison, the various readings are set out below in

Jakash, which flows by the countries of Marw, Kálik, Dhúlak, Nijár,

juxtaposition. Where one reading only is given, the whole of the MSS. are sufficiently concurrent.]

RIVER SYT.

1. E. I. LIBRARY.	2. BRIT. MUS.	3. CALCUTTA.	4. LUCKNOW.	5. ARABIC OF R. A. S.
سلک				
کرسیب	بکرسب	کرسب	کیوشب	کرسب
حیر	حمر	حین	حین	صین
بربر				
حیره	حمره	حیره	حیره	حیره
بسکرکلت	لشکرکلت	لنکرکلب	بشکرکلت	شکرکلت (two names?)
caret	caret	caret	منکلت کور	منکلی کو
سکریت	سکربت	سکرت	سکوننت	سکونه

RIVER JAKASH.

کلش	حکس	کلش	جکش	جلش
دمر	مرو	دمرو	مرو	مرو
کالک				
دهولک				
محار	لحارو	بحار	نچار	تچار
بربرکاج				
بکروار	نکرونا	بکرونیوار	ثلقومار	بلهونار
انجت				

RIVER SIND.

درد				
درید	رند	درندند	رندند	زندند
کابرهار	کابرها	کابرهار	کانههار	کایدها
دورس	رورس	روش	رورس	زورس
کرور				
سور	سیور	سنور	سیور	سیپور
اندر				

Barbarkáj, Bakrúbár, and Anjat, and waters the farms and fields of those places.¹

The river of Sind crosses that country² in many places of its length and breadth, and bounds it in many others. Its well-known towns are Dard, Randanand, Kándahar, Rúras, Karúr, Siyúr, Indar, Marw, Siyát, Sind, Kand, Bahímúr, Marmún, and Sakúrad.

The river Ganges passes over the central pillar of the moon to Barkandharat, Rásakín, Baládar,³ Aurkán, and many other cities and towns; it then touches the defiles of Band, where there are many elephants, and passes on to the southern ocean.

Among the eastern streams is the Ládan which flows through seven kingdoms, whose inhabitants have lips like inverted ears. Thence it flows to three other countries, of which the people are exceedingly black, and have no colour or complexion. Then it runs through several other countries to Hast Áín, where it falls into the eastern sea.

RIVER SIND (*continued*).

1. E. I. LIBRARY.	2. BRIT. MUS.	3. CALCUTTA.	4. LUCKNOW.	5. ARABIC OF E. A. S.
مرو	مرو	مرن	مرو	مرو
سات	سات	سیاب	بسات	نسات
سعید	سد	سند	سیند	سیند
کند	کیت	کند	کت	کت
بهمرور	رمنمرو	بہیمروز	بہیمروز	بہمرور
مرہور	مرمون	مرمون	مرمودز	مرموروب
سکور	سکوردت	سکور	سکور	شکور

RIVER GANGES.

برکلدھرن	برکیدھر	برکلدیرت	برکندھرت	برکنکھرت
راسکین	راسکن	راسکین	واکبش	راکشین
بلادرار	بلادر	بلاداد	برادر	بدادر
اورکان				

¹ [This last sentence is found only in the Arabic version.]

² [The words following down to the full stop are in the Arabic version only.]

³ [These names are possibly intended for Bhágirathí, Rikhikesh (Rikkee Kasee of Thornton), and Hardwár. See the Variants.]

The river Máran¹ waters the land of Kit² and flows through deserts. It passes through several countries where the people wear the bark of trees and grass instead of clothes, and are friendly to the brahmans. Then it passes through the desert and flows into the sea of Ajáj.³

The river Bakan passes through Námrán,⁴ and through several countries where the people have their habitations in the hills,—then it flows on to the Karans and the Barbarans,⁵ i.e., people whose ears hang down to their shoulders. Next it touches the country of the Ashmuks,⁶ whose faces are like the faces of animals. Then it falls into the sea.

The Lashan-barán is a river with a wide bed. It falls into the sea.

SECTION IV.—*Relating to the Countries of Hind, the Cities, some Islands, and their Inhabitants.*

It has been mentioned in the beginning of this work that the country of Hind is divided into nine⁷ parts. The Indians are of

¹ [So in MS. *A.* MS. *C.* has باون; and Elliot had Máwan.]

² [كيت in *A.* كيت in *C.*]

³ [So in *A.* *C.* has احاح, and Elliot had Jáj.]

⁴ [So in Elliot, MS. *A.* may be read as "Mámrán." *C.* has بامراب.]

⁵ These remind us of some of the tribes enumerated in the Rámáyana, the Karna-právaranas "those who wrap themselves up in their ears," Ashta-karnakas, "the eight-eared," or, as Wilson suggests, Oshtha-karnakas, "having lips extending to their ears." See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII. p. 456. Robertson, *Ancient India*, p. 34.

⁶ This is evidently meant for the Sanskrit word Aswa-mukha, the "horse-faced." They are noticed also in the sequel of the Periplus. They are the attendants of Indra and Kuvera. The tales of those demigods and other monsters, such as the Cynocephali of Ælian and Ctesias are all derived from native originals. See Ælian, *Nat. Animal.* IV. 46. *Ctesias Operum Reliquiæ*, ed: Bayer, p. 320. Wilson, *Notes on Ctesias*, p. 36. Plin: *Histor. Nat.* VII. 2. Vincent, *Comm. and Nav. of the Ancients*, Vol. II. p. 524. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VIII. p. 338, and Vol. IX. p. 68. *Megasthenes*, 8, 64, 66, 69.

⁷ [The Arabic again says "nine," and the MS. *B.* agrees. MSS. *A.* and *D.* say "three." See note, page 44.]

opinion that each part¹ is nine times larger than Irán. It is situated in three Iklíms (climes), the western portion is in the third clime, and the eastern in the first, but the chief portion of Hind is included in the second climate. Its central territory is called Madades, which means "the middle land." The Persians call it Kanauj. It is called the Madades, because it lies between the seas and mountains, between the hot and cold countries, and between the two extremities of west and east. It was the capital of the great, haughty, and proud despots of India. Sind lies on the west of this territory. If any one wishes to come from Nímroz, i.e. the country of Sijistán, or Irán to this country, he will have to pass through Kábul. The city of Kanauj stands on the western bank of the Ganges.² It was formerly a most magnificent city, but in consequence of its being deserted by its ruler, it has now fallen into neglect and ruin, and Bárf, which is three days' journey from it on the eastern side of the Ganges is now the capital. Kanauj is as celebrated for the descendants of the Pándavas as Máhúra (Mattrá) is on account of Básdeo (Krishna.) The river Jumna lies to the east of this city, and there is a distance of twenty-seven parasangs between the two rivers. The city of Thánesar is situated between the rivers, nearly seventy parasangs north of Kanauj, and fifty parasangs from Máhúra (Mattrá). The Ganges issues from its source, called Gang-dwár, and waters many of the cities of India.

Those who have not personally ascertained the relative distances of the cities of Hind from each other, must be dependent on the information derived from travellers.

In stating these distances we will begin from Kanauj. In going towards the south, between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, you arrive at a place called Jájmau,³ at a distance of twelve parasangs, each parasang being equal to four miles; eight parasangs from that

¹ [The Arabic says "each part," and the Persian has a blank where these words should come in.]

² [Binákití, who quotes portions of this chapter, adds—"which comes from the city of Turmuz, through the mountains of the east."]

³ M. Reinaud reads *Haddjamava*. There can be little doubt that Jájmau, close to Kánhpúr, (Cawnpoor) is meant. It is a town of great antiquity.

is Karwa; from Karwa to Brahmashk, eight; thence to Abhábúdi,¹ eight; thence to the tree² of Barágí (Prág,) twelve. This is at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. From the confluence to the embouchure of the Ganges, is twelve³ parasangs. From the above-mentioned tree, in directing your course towards the south, a road leads along the bank of the river to Arak Tírat,⁴ which is distant twelve parasangs; to the country of Urihár,⁵ forty; to Urdabishak,⁶ on the borders of the sea, fifty; from thence, still on the shore of the sea, on the east, there is a kingdom which is at present near Chún, and the beginning (*mabda'*) of that is Dar (or Dúr),⁷

¹ [Reinaud and Elliot read "Abhápúri," but our MSS. have "bádi." The Arabic version translates "Abhá," and says "waters of Bádi."]

² The mention of the tree is important, as showing that at that time there was no city on the site of Allahábád, but merely a tree at the confluence; which is described in a subsequent passage as being of large dimensions, with two main boughs, one withered, the other flourishing, and as the Indians are represented as mounting on the tree to enable them to precipitate themselves into the Ganges, the river must have then flowed under it. The trunk of the tree still exists, and is as holy as ever, but is almost excluded from view by being enclosed in a subterraneous dwelling, called Patálpúri, evidently of great antiquity, within the walls of the fort of Allahábád.

³ This accords with Al Birúni's original Arabic, but there is some unaccountable error. [The Arabic version of Rashidu-d din says simply "from hence to the Ganges," but this does not mend the matter.]

⁴ Perhaps the Island of Karan Tírat, now abbreviated into Kantit, near Mirzápúr.

⁵ M. Reinaud reads *Oubarhar*. [The initial letters *Ur* are clear in all the copies, the third letter is *n*, in the E. I. Library M.S., and the final *r* is also wanting in that and in the B.M. MS. The true reading is probably given in the Lucknow copy which has Urihár, meaning in all likelihood, Orissa.]

⁶ M. Reinaud reads *Ourdabyschhau* [but the final *k* is clear in all our copies]. See Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, I. 186.

⁷ This is very obscure. [Our MSS. differ in several points—the text given is a literal translation of the Persian *و از آن جا هم بر ساحل از جهت مشرق مملکتی است که در این وقت چون نزدیک است و مبداء* *ان از در حهل و تا کانجی سی*—MS. *B.* reads *حون* for *چون*, adds *ان* after *و منها الی کانجی* and for the last *در* it has *دور*. The reading of *C.* is *من جهة المشرق الی مملکة هرب من حورو مبداء* *ها درور اربعون فرسخا و منها الی کانجی ثلثون فرسخا*.] M. Reinaud translates it thus: *en suivant les bords de la mer et en se dirigeant vers l'Orient, à travers les provinces auxquelles continuent maintenant les états du roi Djour; la première de ces provinces est Dravida.*

forty. From thence to Kánjí,¹ thirty; to Malia, forty; to Kúnak,² thirty; which is the remotest point.

If you go from Bári, on the banks of the Ganges, in an easterly direction, you come to Ajodh, at the distance of twenty-five parasangs; thence to the great Benares,³ about twenty. Then, turning, and taking a south-easterly course from that, you come, at the distance of thirty-five parasangs, to Sharúár;⁴ thence to Pátaliputra,⁵ twenty; thence to Mangíri, fifteen; thence to Champa,⁶ thirty; thence to Dúkampúr, fifty; thence to the cōfluence of the Ganges with the sea at Gangá Ságar, thirty.

In going from Kanauj to the east you come to Málí Bári,⁷ at the distance of ten parasangs; thence to Dúkam, forty-five; thence to

¹ [Káncbí or Conjeveram.]

² [MSS. *A.* and *B.* apparently have "Karand;" but *C.* has Kútal. Reinaud has "Kounaka," and this is supported by MS. *D.*

³ [*A.* has بيان سي, *B.* باناسي, *C.* باري.]

⁴ [The first edition had Sarwára, but Reinaud has "Scharouâr" which is doubtless right,—MSS. *A.* and *B.* say تا بشروار where the *da* may or may not be a preposition. The Arabic makes it part of the name الالبشروار.] This may, perhaps, mean the country beyond the Sarjú, the name by which Gorakhpúr is now locally known to the people about Benares, and hence the name of one of the most populous tribes of Brahmans. Sarwár is an abbreviation of Sarjúpár, "the other side of the Sarjú." So Páradas is used in the Puranic lists to represent people who live *beyond* the Indus, just as τὰ πέρα is used in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea to signify the ports beyond the straits. In Plutarch (*Camillus*, C. 21,) an expression exactly equivalent occurs, πρὸ τῶν ποταμῶν "the other side of the river."

⁵ [So in the first edition. Reinaud has "Patalypotra." *A.* has باطل هر, *B.* has بانا سلي, and *C.* تاتلي بتن. The last is probably intended for Pátali pattan.]

⁶ [So in the first edition; Reinaud has "Djanbah;" *A.* and *B.* حه, *C.* حينه.]

⁷ This is the name by which Bári is called in this passage. As there are several other towns of the same name in the neighbourhood, this may have been a distinctive title given to the new capital. The combination is by no means improbable, for as Bári means "a garden," and Málí "a gardener," the words are frequently coupled together. The two names occur in conjunction, in a common charm for the bite of a wasp. Reinaud has simply "Bary;" *A.* تل باري, *B.* ملي باري, *C.* فالی باري.]

the kingdom of Silhet,¹ ten; thence to the city of Bhut,² twelve; thence for two hundred parasangs it is called Tilút, where the men are very black, and flat-nosed like the Turks. It extends to the mountains of Kámru,³ to the sea and to Nípál. Travellers in this direction report that going to the left hand towards the east, which is the country of Tibet, one arrives at Nípál at twenty parasangs distance, all on the ascent.⁴

From Nípál to Bhútesar⁵ is thirty days' journey, which implies a distance of about eighty parasangs. There are many ascents and descents. There, on account of the steep and rugged roads, they carry burdens on the shoulders. Bridges are built in several places, and the rivers run in deep channels a hundred yards below the surface of the hills. They say that in those places there are stags with four eyes, and very beautiful.

Bhútesar is the first city on the borders of Tibet. There the language, costume, and appearance of the people are different. Thence to the top of the highest mountain, of which we spoke at the beginning, is a distance of twenty parasangs. From the top of it Tibet looks red and Hind black.

From Kanauj, in travelling south-east, on the western side of the Ganges, you come to Jajáhotí, at a distance of thirty parasangs, of which the capital is Kajuráha.⁶ In that country are the two forts

¹ This may be the Silhet Sháhjahánpúr of the Gorakhpúr district, near the Gandak. In that case, Tilút would correspond with Tirhút.

² [So in MS. *D.*; Reinaud has Bhot; *A.* and *C.* agree in reading **نهب**, *B.* has an entirely different name **سرسب**.]

³ [The MSS. *C.* and *D.* agree with Reinaud in reading Kámru, for Kámru, which is no doubt right. *A.* and *B.* have **كوه مرو**, and the first edition had "Meru."]

⁴ [This passage is not in *A.* nor in the old version from the Indian MSS.; but it is given by Reinaud.]

⁵ M. Reinaud reads Yhoutyscher; the same reading occurs at p. 40.

⁶ This is no doubt the Kajwará of Ibn Batuta, "at which there is a lake about a mile in length, and round this are temples in which there are idols" (p. 162). Its real name is Kajrái, on the banks of the Ken, between Chatterpúr and Panna, said to have been founded by the great parent of the Chandel race. The Kingdom of which it is the capital, is evidently the Chi-chi-to of the Chinese travellers. The ruined temples at Kajrái are of great antiquity and interest. They are described in the Mahoba Sama, and there said to have been built by Hamoti, upon the occasion of her having held a Banda jag, or penitential sacrifice. She had com-

of Gwáliár and Kálinjar.¹ Thence to Dhál,² of which the capital is Bitúri to the kingdom of Kankyú³ and Kankara is twenty parasangs. Thence to Asúr; thence to Banawás⁴ on the shore of the sea.

From Kanauj, in travelling south-west, you come to Ási,⁵ at the distance of eighteen parasangs; to Sahína,⁶ seventeen; to Chandrá,⁷ eighteen; to Rajauri,⁸ fifteen; to Narána⁹ the capital of

mitted a little *faux pas* with the moon in human shape, and as a self-imposed punishment for her indiscretion, held a Banda jag, a part of which ceremony consists in sculpturing indecent representations on the walls of temples, and holding up one's foibles to the disgust and ridicule of the world. Hamotí was the daughter of Hemráj, spiritual adviser to Indrají, Gaharwár Rájá of Benares.

¹ There have been lately some speculations hazarded about the fort of Kálinjar not being older than A.D. 1205. Bírúní's mention of its strong fort in his time makes it two hundred years older, and still leaves its origin indefinite. (See *Journal A. S. B.* No. 188. p. 172.) ² [A. and B. have Dháli.]

³ [Reinaud has, "On arrive aussi à Dhál dont la capitale est Bitoura. Le prince de ce pays est maintenant Kankyou. On compte de là au royaume de Kannakara, twenty parasangs." There is no mention of a prince in our manuscripts, the name may be either personal or local:—A. says *نادهالي و قصبه آن سوري و تا* B. agrees, but gives the names

مملكت ككيو و لكرو بيست فرسنگ. C. has *الى دهال و بتوى الى مملكه ككنيو ككره*. *بدري ككيو ككى*.]

⁴ [Reinaud has "Oupsour" and "Banaouâs,"—the first edition had "Ilsúr" and "Bhawas." A. and B. have *أسور مواس*, C. has *السور بنواس*. Banavási was the name of the capital of the Kadamba dynasty in the Dekhin. Wilson's Mack. Coll. Introd.]

⁵ M. Reinaud says, without doubt this is the name of the town ordinarily written *Hasi*. If Hansi of Hariána, as it appears, is meant, it neither corresponds with the distance nor direction. The ruins of Así, or more correctly Asní, are on the banks of the Ganges. It is mentioned in the *Tárikh-i Yamín*, and is the place to which the Rájá of Kanauj sent his treasure for security when he was attacked by the Ghorian General, Kutbu-d din Ibak.

⁶ [C. has Sahalainá.]

⁷ This is evidently meant for Chanderí.

⁸ [So in Reinaud and the first edition, A. has *موري* or *هورى*, B. *اهوزى*, C. *اجورى*.]

⁹ [Elliot read the name "Naraya" and "Niraya". Reinaud has "Bazána," but he adds—"le manuscrit porte en quelques endroits *Narána*." MS. A. is tolerably consistent in reading Barána; B., C., and D. are generally without points, but C. has Narána in one place, and D. Tarána. Reinaud's translation differs,—It proceeds, "Cette ville est celle que nos compatriotes, appellent Narayana; comme elle a été détruite, les habitants se sont transportés dans un lieu plus reculé." Narána is probably a contraction of Náráyana and the right name. Sir H. Elliot considered it "one of the most interesting places in the North-Western provinces to identify in the pages of Bírúní, on account of its being so frequently mentioned" as a point of departure of several Itineraries. He thought it to be represented by the modern

Guzerát,¹ eighteen. When the capital of Guzerát was destroyed, the inhabitants removed to a town on the frontier.² The distance between Narána and Mähúra is the same as between Mähúra and Kanauj, that is twenty-eight parasangs.

In going from Mähúra to Ujain, you pass through several neighbouring villages, at no greater distances from one another than five parasangs.³ From Mähúra, at the distance of thirty-five parasangs, you come to a large town called Dúdhí; thence to Bās,húr,⁴ seven; thence to Mahábalastán,⁵ five. This is the name of the idol of that place. Thence to Ujain⁶ nine, the idol of which place is Mahákál. Thence to Dhár,⁷ six parasangs.

Narwar, and entered into details to support this view, but he was unable to account for its being called the capital of Guzerát. General Cunningham takes another view, and says, "In my fourth Report I have identified Guzerát with Bairát, or the ancient Matsya. Bairát was the capital, but it was also used for the name of the country, as for instance by Hwen Tsang, who calls it *Po-li-ye-to-lo*. Firishta gives these two names as Kariát and Nárdin, which, he says, were two hilly tracts, overrun by Mahmúd of Ghazni. Now Guzerát and Kariát are only slight corruptions of Bairát, when written in Persian characters; and Nárdin and Narána are still slighter alterations of Náráyana, which is the name of a town to the north-east of Bairát, about twelve miles. Mathura is said to be equidistant from Kanauj and from Narána, which agrees with this identification." General Cunningham proceeds: "*Asi* is on the Jumna below the junction of the Chumbul, and therefore a favourable point for crossing. *Sahina* I take to be Suhania, a very ancient town thirty miles to the north of Gwalior, and which is said to have been the capital of the country in former days. Its ruins cover several square miles. *Chandra* I take to be Hindou, and Rájáori is still known by the same name. It will be found between Hindou and Bairát, to the north of the Bān Ganga river."—Cunningham, MS. Note.]

¹ [*A.* writes this كورات, *C.* كرات.]

² [*A.* and *B.* have بلدة حدود *C.* شهر حدود, the first edition translated it, "a new town." The town of Hudúda.?

³ [So it stands in the first edition in accord with Al Bírúní, but there is an omission in *A.* and *C.*, the former makes the distance to Dúdhí five parasangs, and the latter, thirty parasangs.]

⁴ [So in *A.* Reinaud has "Bamhour;" the first edition had, "Bafhúr;" *B.* and *C.* have "Mähúra."]

⁵ ["Bhaylesan," in Reinaud; Mahabhalesán in first edition; Bahábalastán in *A.*, and *B.* has the same in the first instance, but in the second the first letter may be *m*; *C.* has Baháflasán here and Bahábalasán below. It says "Balasán" is the name of the idol (و بلسان اسم صنم هناك)—Mahábalastán has been selected as being probably intended for the Sanskrit *Mahábalasthán*.]

⁶ [The first edition had Ujain, and so has MS. *C.* Reinaud has "Ardyn." *A.* has اوحيرو, and *B.* اوحيرو]

⁷ [So in Bírúní, in first edition, and in *B.*; *A.* has قادهر, *C.* has بادهار, the Persian original of which was probably دهار.]

South from Narána at fifteen parasangs distance lies Mewar,¹ which has the lofty fortress of Chitor.¹ From the fortress to Dhár, the capital of Málwá, twenty. Ujain is to the east of Dhár, at the distance of nine parasangs. From Ujain to Mahábalastán,² which is in Málwá,³ ten. From Dhár, going south, you come to Mahúmahra,⁴ at the distance of twenty parasangs; thence to Kundakí,⁵ twenty; thence to Namáwar on the banks of the Nerbadda,⁶ ten; thence to Biswar,⁷ twenty; thence to Matdakar,⁸ on the banks of the Godavery, sixty parasangs.

From Dhár southwards to the river Nerbadda,⁹ nine; thence to Mahrat-des (the country of the Mahrattas), eighteen; thence to Konkan, of which the capital is Tána, on the sea shore, twenty-five parasangs.

¹ This would appear to be the correct reading. M. Reinaud translates: "Mycar est le nom d'un royaume où se trouve la forteresse de Djatraour." [This is a most doubtful name. *A.* has بلسعار, *B.* سلفار, *C.* منقار, *D.* ميعار. *A.* and *B.* omit the name of the fort, but *C.* has جترو, and *D.* حترو.]

² Perhaps Bhilsa is alluded to. There are many ruins in its neighbourhood well worth examination, as at Udegir, Sacheh, Kanch Kheri, and Piplea Bijoli. There are other places on the upper Betwa where extensive ruins are to be seen, as Erán Udipúr, Pathári, anciently called Bfnagar, Gheárispúr and Bhojpúr.

³ [This accords with Al Biráni. There is some confusion in the MSS. *A.* reads:— و از اوجین بهابستان و او از ولایت مالوست دو, (B. ده) فرسنگ [ومنها الي اوجين بهابلسان وهي من حملة مالوا عشرة فراسخ, *C.* says,

⁴ [مهرمهرة in *A.* and in first edition.] This may have some connection with the Matmayurpur, or Mattinagar, of the inscription found at Rannode, in which a prince is represented as "repopulating this long desolate city."—*Journal Asiatic Society Bengal*, No. 183, p. 1086. ⁵ [Reinaud has "Kondouhou."]

⁶ [So the first edition, and so Reinaud; the latter adds, "Albyrouny à écrit *Narmada* qui est la forme Sanskrite." The Nerbadda is no doubt intended, though our MSS. are very vague and discrepant: *A.* has نهړ نودوه, *B.* has نرسند, *C.* has ترمدم, and *D.* نرید.]

⁷ [So in first edition; Reinaud has "Albospour;" *A.* and *B.* have سور (Biswar), *C.* has نسبور.]

⁸ [This reading accords with Reinaud's, and with MS. *C.* MS. *A.* has no points, *D.* has "Matdakar" or "Mandkar," and the first edition had "Mundgir."]

⁹ [So in the first edition and probably right. Reinaud has "Nymyyah," *A.* and *B.* have وادي امنه, *C.* has وادي نمه, and *D.* وادي نمه.]

[Here follows the description of the Rhinoceros and Sarabha, which agrees with the original Arabic of Al Bírúní, and need not be translated in this place. The Rhinoceros is called *Karkadan* in the original, and appears to be the same as the *καρδάκωνον* of Ælian, Hist. An. XVI. 20, 21. The Sarabha is called *Shardawát* in the Persian, and *Sharaudát* in the Arabic MS.]

Abú Ríhán states that from Narána, in a south-west direction, lies Anhalwára¹, at a distance of sixty parasangs; thence to Somnát, on the sea, fifty. From Anhalwára, towards the south, to Lárdes,² of which the capitals are Bahrúj and Dhanjúr,³ forty-two. These are on the shore of the sea, to the east of Tána.

West from Narána⁴ is Múltán, at the distance of fifty parasangs; thence to Bhátí,⁵ fifteen. South-east from Bhátí is Arúr,⁶ at a distance of fifteen parasangs. Bhátí is situated between two arms of the Indus. Thence to Bahmanú Mansúra, twenty; thence to Loharání, the embouchure of the river, thirty parasangs.

From Kanauj, going north, and turning a little to the west, you come to Sharashárah,⁷ fifty parasangs. Thence to Pinjor, eighteen parasangs. That place is on a lofty hill,⁸ and opposite to it, in the

¹ [So read by Reinaud and Elliot. *A.* has نهلوار and الهوان, *B.* هلوازه, *C.* and *D.* نهلوار. Nahalwára is only another form of the name.]

² See Lassen, *Zeitschrift, f. d. K. d. Morgent.* I. 227. [Láta-desa in Sanskrit and the *Larice* of Ptolemy. We have a copper-grant made by the Rája of this country in A.D. 812. See *Jour. Beng. A. S.*, April, 1839, *Jour. R. A. S.* viii. 16.]

³ [Reinaud has "Rahanhour." *A.* and *B.* have دمنکور, and *C.* has دهکور. The letters *m* and *k* are liable to be confounded, so that Elliot's reading is probably right.]

⁴ See note 9, page 58.

⁵ [So read by Reinaud and Elliot. *A.* has بهاي and نهاي, *B.* بهانى, *C.* بهاتى, *D.* نهاتى. The "Bánia," of the other geographers?]

⁶ [*A.* has ارو, *B.* اودا, *D.* اورور. Alor?]

⁷ [Elliot reads "Sirsáwah," Reinaud "Schirscharhah," *A.* has شارهه, *B.* شرشارهه, *C.* شرشارهه, *D.* شرشار. "This is certainly Sirsáwah, an old and famous place where both Taimúr and Baber halted."—Cunningham.]

⁸ This is not correct with reference to modern Pinjore, which is in a valley on the southern side of the Hills.

plains, is the city Thánesar;¹ thence to Dahmála,² the capital of Jálándhar, and at the base of a mountain, eighteen; thence to Baláwarda, one hundred;³ thence towards the west, to Lidda, thirteen; thence to the fort of Rájgiri, eight; thence, towards the north, to Kashmír, twenty-five parasangs.

From Kanauj, towards the west, to Dyamau, is ten parasangs; thence to Gati,⁴ ten; thence to Ahár,⁵ ten; thence to Mírat, ten; thence, across the Jumna, to Pánípat, ten; thence to Kaithal,⁶ ten; thence to Sanám, ten.

In going north-west from the latter place to Arat-húr,⁷ nine parasangs; thence to Hajnár,⁸ six; thence to Mandhúkúr,⁹ the capital of Loháwar,¹⁰ on the east of the river Iráwa; eight; thence to the river

¹ [So read by Reinaud and Elliot. *A.* تانسر, *B.* بانسر, *C.* بايشر, *D.* تانسر.]

² This is doubtless Dehmári, which, as we learn from several historians, was the ancient name of Núrpúr, before it was changed by Jahángír, in honour of Núr Jahán Begam. Núrpúr is beyond the Beás; but that would not affect the identification, for the author says merely Jálándhar, not the Doáb, or Interamnia, of Jálándhar. [So according to Reinaud and Elliot. *A.* has دهما, *B.* دهماكر, *C.* says الی بادهماله. Here the Persian preposition *td* has probably been incorporated with the name as *bd*.]

³ [The number "ten," is given by Reinaud, Elliot, and MS. *D.* *A.* says "100," *B.* has حد, probably intended for صد, *C.* omits the number.]

⁴ [So read by Reinaud, and probably right. Elliot and MS. *D.* have Gahi. *A.* has كمي, *B.* and *C.* كني.] Perhaps Ráj Ghát may be meant. All the other places mentioned in this paragraph are extant to this day.

[The Arabic here adds the Persian numeral of the distance (*daḥ* = 10) to the name, making it اهازده.]

⁵ [So read by Elliot. Reinaud has "Koutayl." *A.* and *B.* have كوسك, *C.* كوتيك, and *D.* كوتيد.]

⁷ [The MSS. all agree in making two words, Arat-húr. The Arabic again adds the numeral of the distance (*nuh* = 9) to the name—making it Arat-húznah ارات هوزنه.]

⁸ [A. حجرمر, B. حمر, C. حنير, D. حنير]

⁹ [Reinaud reads "Maydahoukour." The only difference in our MSS. is that *A.* substitutes *S.* for *M.* as the first letter.] The place is mentioned in Birún's Kánún and by Baihakí who calls it "Mandkakúr."

¹⁰ [So according to Elliot. Reinaud has "Lauhaour (Lahor)." *A.* has لوهاور, and لاهور. *B.* لباور, *C.* لوهارو and لهور.]

Chandrāha (Chináb), twelve; thence to the Jailam, on the west of the Báyat,¹ eighteen; thence to Waihind, capital of Kandahár, west of the Sind, which the Moghals call Karájáng, twenty; thence to Parsháwar, fourteen; thence to Dambúr,² fifteen; thence to Kábul, twelve; thence to Ghaznin, seventeen.

Kashmír³ is a valley surrounded by lofty inaccessible hills and broad deserts; on the east and south it is bordered by Hind; on the west by kings, of whom the nearest are Takúr Shah, then Shaknan Sháh, and Wakhán⁴ Sháh, extending to the frontiers of Badakhshán; on the north, and partly on the east, by the Turks of Chín and Tibet.

From the mountain of Bhútesar to Kashmír, across the country of Tibet, is nearly 300 parasangs. The people of Kashmír do not ride on quadrupeds, but are carried on men's shoulders in a Katút, which resembles a throne. The servants of the Government are always on the alert, and watch the passes and strongholds of the country. They do not allow strangers to enter the country, except by ones and twos. This prohibition extends even to Jews and Hindús, how then can any one else gain admittance? The principal entrance is at Bíráhán,⁵ half way between the Sind and Jailam. From that place to the bridge, at the confluence with the Jailam

¹ [This is no doubt the Beyah. Reinaud had "Beyut," and Elliot "Behat." *A.* has either "Máyat" or Báyat," *C.* has "Máyat," and *D.* "Má-bayat."

² ["Dinbour," Reinaud. "Dinur," Elliot. دینور in *A.* and *B.* دینور in *C.*

³ Mention of Kashmír occurs in another part of the work, which contains little that is not noticed here. The author adds that in Kashmír there is a city called Dárabarka, in which there are 3,600,000 inhabitants, and that it was built 2,000 years ago. That the valley was formerly twelve hundred years under water; when, at the entreaties of Casip [Kasyapa], the waters found their way to the sea, and the valley became habitable.

⁴ [These names according to Reinaud and Elliot are "Bilor, Shaknán, and Dúkhán." MSS. *A.* and *B.* make the first distinctly "Tákúr," but *D.* has "Billúr." *B.* makes the second "Shakbán." The third is رحان in *A.* and *B.*, رحان in *C.*, and رحان in *D.* See Jaubert's Edrisi, pp. 479, 483, 490.]

⁵ ["Berberhan," Reinaud. "Barbhán," Elliot. *A.* and *B.* have برهان or برامان. *C.* says سرهائي. "Babar-khána, or 'tiger's house,' the name of the land on the north of the ancient Taxila, where Buddha gave his head to the starving tiger. It is on the high road to Kashmír."—Cunningham.]

of the Kusárí and Mámhari,¹ which flow from the mountains of Shamílán,² is eight parasangs. Thence you arrive, at a distance of five days' journey, at a defile through which the Jailam runs.

At the end of the defile lies Dawáru-l Marsad, on both sides of the river. There the Jailam enters the plains, and turns towards Adashtán,³ the capital of Kashmír, which it reaches at a distance of two days' journey. The city of Kashmír is four parasangs from Adashtán. It is built on both banks of the Jailam, on which there are many bridges and boats. The source of the Jailam is in the mountains of Harmakut,⁴ near the source of the Ganges. This mountain is impassable on account of the exceeding cold, for the snow never melts, even when the sun is in Cancer or Leo. On the other side of it lies Máhá Chín, i.e., great Chín. After the Jailam has left the mountains, it reaches Adashtán in two days. Four parasangs from that, it expands into a lake, a parasang square, on the borders of which there is much cultivation, and a dense population. It then leaves the lake, and enters another defile near the city of Ushkárá.⁵

The Sind rises in the mountains of Ámak,⁶ on the borders of the

¹ [So read by Elliot. Reinaud has "Kosáry et Nahry:" the first syllable of Mámhari was doubtless taken as meaning "water," a reading favoured by our Arabic MS. *C*, which says *ماكسناري ومانهري*. The MSS. *A*, *B*, and *D* have *كساري* (*B*, *كشاوي* *D*). The name must therefore be as Elliot reads it, unless Rashidu-d din mistook Al Bírúni's text.]

² [Silák in first edition. *A* has *سهلاك*.]

³ M. Reinaud reads Addashtan, and Capt. A. Cunningham identifies it with Pandritan, the local corrupt form of Puránádhisthāna, the "old chief city." *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* No. CLXXXVII. p. 97.

⁴ M. Reinaud has Hazmakout. Har-Mukut, meaning the cap of Har, or Mahá Deo, is a better reading. [Hema-kúta is the correct one. See *ante* p. 46, and Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, p. 168.]

⁵ ["This must be Hushka-pura which still exists near Barámpula—Hwen Tsang's 'Hushkara.'"—Cunningham.]

⁶ [Umah in first edition, and Onannak according to Reinaud. All our MSS. agree in reading *amak* or *amak*. "This is apparently the Tibetan or *Gya-nag*, pronounced *Ganak*, which means the 'Black Plains,' and is the name for Chinese Tartary where the Indus actually rises. Arrowsmith's map gives 'Guinnak, capital of Chinese Tartary.'"—Cunningham.]

Turkish country. Passing by the mountains of Bilúr¹ and Shamlán, it reaches in two days' journey the country of the Bhútawári² Turks, from whose encroachments and depredations the Kashmírians suffer great distress. Whoever travels along the left bank of the river will find villages and towns which are close to one another on the south of the capital and as far as the mountain Lárjal,³ which resembles Damáwand, between which and Kashmír⁴ there is a distance of two parasangs. It can always be seen from the boundaries of Kashmír and Loháwar. The fort of Rájgiri is to the south of it, and Lahúr, than which there is no stronger fort, is to the west. At a distance of three parasangs⁵ is Rájáwarí, where merchants carry on much traffic, and it forms one of the boundaries of Hind on the north. On the hills to the west of it is the tribe of Afgháns, who extend to the land of Sind.

On the south of that tribe is the sea, on the shore of which the first city is Tíz, the capital of Makrán. The coast trends to the south-east, till it reaches Debal, at the distance of forty parasangs. Between these two cities lies the gulf of Túrán.

• • • • • • •

After traversing the gulf you come to the small and big mouths of the Indus; then to the Bawárij, who are pirates, and are so called because they commit their depredations in boats called Baira.⁶ Their cities are Kach and Somnát. From Debal to Túlíshar⁷ is fifty para-

¹ [جمال البتور *a.*]

² ["Bhotyawári" in first edition. "Bhatáouryan" Reinaud. *A.* has قهباوري, *B.* بهاري, *C.* نهتاوت.]

³ ["Lárjik" in first edition and in MS. *D.* "Kelardjek" Reinaud. All the other MSS. read "Lárjal." The Kalárchal of p. 46.]

⁴ [Reinaud, Elliot, and MS. *C.* agree in reading Kashmír; but *A.* has ضكاى, and *B.* صكا.]

⁵ [*A.* says "a parasang; *B.* two or three parasangs. The others agree in reading "three."]

⁶ [*Barija*? see note on the word Barge in the Appendix.]

⁷ [Reinaud has "Touallyscher," and Elliot reads "Tálíshar." *A.* has بوليت, *B.* بوليشر, *C.* نوليشر, and *D.* توليشر.]

sangs; to Loharání, twelve; to Baka, twelve; to Kach, the country producing gum, and bádrúd¹ (river Bhader), six; to Somnát, fourteen; to Kambáya, thirty; to Asáwal,² two days' journey; to Bahrúj, thirty; to Sindán, fifty: to Sáfara, six; to Tána, five. There you enter the country of Lárán, where is Jaimúr,³ then Malia,⁴ then Kánjí, then Darúd,⁵ where there is a great gulf, in which is Sinkaldíp, or the island of Sarandíp. In its neighbourhood is Tanjáwar, which is in ruins, and the king of that country has built another city on the shore, called Padmár;⁶ then to Umalná,⁷ ten; then to Rameshar, opposite to Sarandíp, from which it is distant by water twelve parasangs. From Tanjáwar to Rameshar is forty parasangs; from Rameshar to Set Bandhái, which means the bridge of the sea, is two parasangs—and that band, or embankment, was made by Rám, son of Dasrat, as a passage to the fort of Lank.⁸ It consists of detached rock separated by the sea.

¹ [So translated by Elliot. Reinaud has "patrie du Mocl, et à Baraoua, six parasangs," and he adds a note upon the position of the "Chateau de Baraoua . . . qui se trouvait à une portée de flèche seulement de Soumenát." The text, however, says that the distance of Somnát is fourteen parasangs. MSS. *A.*, *B.*, and *D.* have

والى كج التي هي *C.* تا كج معدن مقل و باوروي (*باردوي D.* باورروي *A.*)

معدن الفيله و باوروي. The word Bāwarú must be taken with *mutal* (bdellium), and is evidently the name of some staple production. It occurs again in the next page in the observations on the trade of Guzerát. MS. *A.* says بادرو

جادرو بلدي. *B.* varies slightly, saying, بلدای همه از سواحل گزرات.

The Arabic version of *C.* is النصافي والبلدي من ساحل كوزرات. Bādrú, or balm, is perhaps intended.]

² [Ahmadábád.—Bird's *Guzerát*, 187.]

³ [Saimúr appears to be the place intended. It is noticed by all the other geographers. See Kazwíní *post*, p. 97, and note *A* in Appendix.]

⁴ [*A.* and *B.* بله, *C.* بکه, *D.* بلیه.]

⁵ [So in all the MSS. Reinaud says "Dravira," for which Darúd is probably intended.]

⁶ [Elliot reads "Díarbas." Reinaud has "Pandnar." MSS. *A.* and *B.* have بدمار. *C.* has بدمار, and *D.* بديار.]

⁷ [So according to Elliot, but "Oumalnara," according to Reinaud. Neither give any distance, but MS. *A.* says, "ten." The words are تا از ملناس, the *as* being evidently a blunder for *U*. The Arabic version varies a little, "Between this (*i.e.* Padmár) and the first (town) ten parasangs. After that is Umalnár."]

⁸ [*A.* has ككل. *C.* and *D.* كنك, confounding it with the Ganges.]

Twelve parasangs from that place, in an eastern direction, lies Kahkand, which is the mountain of monkeys.¹

[*Here follows an account of these monkeys, of some of the eastern islands, and of the rainy season.*]

Múltán² and U'ch are subject to Dehli, and the son of the Súltán of Dehli is the governor. There is a road from hence by land as well as by the shore of the sea to Guzerát, which is a large country, within which are Kambáya, Somnát, Kankan, Tána, and several other cities and towns. It is said that Guzerát comprises 80,000 flourishing cities, villages, and hamlets. The inhabitants are rich and happy, and during the four seasons no less than seventy different sorts of roses blow in this country. The crops which grow in the cold season derive their vigour from the dew. When that dries, the hot season commences, and that is succeeded by the rainy season, which makes the earth moist and verdant. Grapes are produced twice during the year, and the strength of the soil is such, that cotton plants grow like willows and plane-trees, and yield produce ten years running. The people are idolaters, and have a king of their own. Somnát, which is the name of the idol of that place, is a temple and place of worship for the people of all parts of Hind, and Hindu idolaters come to it from great distances. Many of the more deluded devotees, in performance of their vows, pass the last stage crawling along the ground upon their sides, some approach walking upon their ancles and never touch the ground with the soles of their feet,³ others go before the idol upon their heads. The men of Kambáya bring tribute from the chiefs of the island of Kís. Sugar from Malwa, bádrú (balm),⁴ and baladí are exported in ships from the coasts of Guzerát to all countries and cities. Beyond Guzerát are

¹ ["Kahankand" in MS. D.] This appears to be the Kanhar of Dr. Lee, and its description as being a mountain of monkeys shows that his conjectures about the estuary of Bázúta is correct. *Ibn Batuta*, p. 187.

² Rashídu-d Dyn here evidently leaves Abú Rihán, and writes from information obtained independently. [The remainder of this chapter is left out of MS. D., which enters abruptly on another subject; the continuation of this being lost or misplaced.]

³ [This sentence is found in the Arabic version only.]

⁴ [Jádar in B. See note in p. 66.]

Kankan and Tána; beyond them the country of Malibár, which from the boundary of Karoha¹ to Kúlam,² is 300 parasangs in length. The whole country produces the pán, in consequence of which Indians find it easy to live there, for they are ready to spend their whole wealth upon that leaf. There is much coined gold and silver there, which is not exported to any other place. Part of the territory is inland, and part on the sea shore. They speak a mixed language, like the men of Khabálik,³ in the direction of Rúm, whom they resemble in many respects. The people are all Samanís (Buddhists), and worship idols. Of the cities on the shore the first is Sindábúr, then Faknúr, then the country of Manjarúr,⁴ then the country of Hílí,⁵ then the country of Sadarsá,⁶ then Janglí, then Kúlam. The men of all these countries are Samanís. After these comes the country of Sawálak, which comprises 125,000 cities and villages. After that comes Málwála,⁷ which means 1,893,000 in number. About forty years ago the king of Málwála died, and between his son and the minister a contest arose, and after several

¹ [So in the first edition, and so in MS. *A.* MSS. *B.* and *C.* have كهور, and so has Binákitti.]

² "We next came into the country of Malabár, which is the country of black pepper. Its length is a journey of two months along the shore from the island of Sindábúr to Kúlam. The whole of the way by land lies under the shade of trees, and at the distance of every half mile there is a house made of wood, in which there are chambers fitted up for the reception of comers and goers, whether they be Moslems or infidels." *Ibn Batuta*, Lee, p. 166. French version, Vol. IV. p. 71.

³ [*A.* has, چنانك, an evident blunder. *C.* جاسك.]

⁴ [The French version of Ibn Batúta gives the names of Sindábúr, Fákánúr, Manjarúr, Hílí, Júr-fattan, Dih-fattan, and Budd-fattan (Vol. IV. p. 109). Fattan is evidently the Sanskrit *pattanam* (town), or as now written *patam* or *patnam*.] Abd-l Fida notices Sindabúr, Manjarúr, and Kúlam. Manjarúr is the Mangalore of the present day, and the *Μαγγαρον* of Cosmas Indicopleustes. (*Topograph. Chr.* p. 337.) Casiri quotes a manuscript in which it is called Mangalore as early as the beginning of the seventh century. See *Biblioth. Escurial.* Tom II. p. 6.

⁵ [This is the reading of the first edition of MSS. *B.* and *C.*, and of Binákitti. MS. *A.*, however, reads مپيل, which may possibly refer to the Mapillas, as the Musulmans of Malabár are called.]

⁶ [Such is the reading of MSS. *A.* and *B.* *C.* has فندرسا, the first edition "Tadarsa," and Binákitti قندز.]

⁷ [So in *A.* *B.* has مالوا, *C.* has مالوا as it stood in the first edition, and such appears to be the reading of Binákitti.]

battles they ended with dividing the territory between them. The consequence is that their enemies obtained a footing, and are always making their incursions from different parts of Hind, and carrying off goods and viands, sugar, wine, cotton cloths, captives, and great booty.¹ But through the great wealth of that country, no serious injury is done.

M'abar,² from Kúlam to the country of Siláwar,³ extends 300 parasangs along the shore. Its length is the same. It possesses many cities and villages, of which little is known. The king is called Dewar which means in the M'abar language, the "lord of wealth." Large ships, called in the language of China, "Junks," bring various sorts of choice merchandize and clothes from Chín and Máchín, and the countries of Hind and Sind. The merchants export from M'abar silken stuffs, aromatic roots; large pearls are brought up from the sea. The productions of this country are carried to 'Irák, Khurásán, Syria, Rum, and Europe. The country produces rubies, and aromatic grasses, and in the sea are plenty of pearls. M'abar is, as it were, the key of Hind. Within the few last years Sundar Bandi was Dewar, who, with his three brothers, obtained power in different directions, and Malik Takiu-d din bin 'Abdu-r rahmán bin Muhammadu-t Tibi, brother of Shaikh Jamálu-d dín, was his minister and adviser, to whom he assigned the government of Fatan, Mali Fatan, and Báwal;⁴ and because there are no horses in M'abar, or rather those which are there are weak, it was agreed that every year Jamálu-d dín Ibráhim should send to the Dewar 1400 strong Arab horses obtained from the island of Kís, and 10,000 horses from all the islands of Fárs, such as Katíf, Lahsa, Bahrein, Hurmúz, Kilahát, etc. Each horse is reckoned worth 220 dinárs of red gold current.

* * * * * * *

¹ It is difficult to say what countries are here meant, but it is probable that allusion is made to the Lackadives and Maldives, the names being derived from numerals, and in both instances bearing a relation to these islands.

² [The coast of Coromandel. See *Ibn Batouta*, Index.]

³ [*B.* has *سداور*, and *Binákítí* *بنداور*.]

⁴ [So printed in the first edition from the Indian MS. *A.* says *مرو ملي*. *B.* has *من و ملي من و بانك*. *C.* *نفتن و ملي فين*. *Binákítí* reads *نفتن مملي من و قايل*.]

In the year 692 A.H. (1293 A.D.) the Dewar died, and his wealth and possessions fell into the hands of his adversaries and opponents, and Shaikh Jamálu-d-dín who succeeded him, obtained, it is said, an accession of 7,000 bullock loads of jewels, gold, etc., and Takiu-d dín, according to previous agreement, became his lieutenant. * * *

The people of the country are very black by reason of their being near the equator. There is a large temple called Lútar.¹

* * * * *

There are two courses, or roads, from this place : one leads by sea to Chin and Máchín, passing by the island of Silán.² It is four parasangs long, and four wide. It is parallel to the equator.

Sarandíp is at the foot of the Júdí³ mountain, and is called in the language of Hind Samkáda-díp (Sinhala-díp), i.e. the sleeping-place of the lion, because its appearance is like a lion in repose,⁴ and as that etymology is not known to the common people, they call it Sarandíp. The whole of the country is exactly under the Line. Rubies and other precious stones are found there. In the forests there are wolves and elephants, and even the Rukh is said to be there. The men are all Buddhists, and bow to, and worship images.

The Island of Lámúrí,⁵ which lies beyond it, is very large. It has a separate king.

Beyond it lies the country of Súmútra [Sumatra],⁶ and beyond

¹ [So in first edition. *A.* has لوبرر, *B.* بوبر, *C.* بوتتر, Binákitt بوتتر.]

² [*A.* سيلان, *B.* بهلان, *C.* ميلان, Binákitt, سيلان.]

³ [All the MSS. read Júdí. Sir H. Elliot thought this a mistake for Jandbí, "southern."]

⁴ Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* I. 201.

⁵ According to the Shajrat Malayu and Marco Polo, Lambri is one of the districts of Sumatra, situated in the north-east coast—converted by the Arabs into Ramry. M. Gildemeister considers it to be the same as Ramnad (*de Reb. Ind.*, p. 59). M. Reinaud considers it to be Manar (*Fragments*, p. 123); M. Dulaurier gives several reasons why it can be no where else than in Sumatra (*Jour. Asiatique*, 4th Ser. T. VIII. 117, 200). It may be presumed that the Lámúrí of our author is the same place as is indicated by Lambri and Ramry. There is at the present day a large island, called Ramry, off the coast of Arracan, but that cannot well be the place indicated.

⁶ This is distinctly called a country (*wildyat*) in the Persian, *balad* in the Arabic. It is usually said that mediæval writers called the island of Sumatra by the name of Java, and that Sumatra was one of its towns. Java itself was called Mál Jáva. See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Series, Tom. IX. pp. 119, 124, 244.

that Darband Nias,¹ which is a dependency of Jáva. In the mountains of Jáva scented woods grow. In those islands are several cities, of which the chief are Arú, Barlak, Dalmian, Jáva, and Bar-kúdoz.² The mountains of Jáva are very high. It is the custom of the people to puncture their hands and entire body with needles, and then rub in some black substance to colour it.

Opposite Lámurí is the island of Lák-wáram,³ which produces plenty of red amber. Men and women go naked, except that the latter cover the pudenda with cocoanut leaves. They are all subject to the Ká-án [Emperor of China.]

Passing on from this you come to a continent called Jampa, also subject to the Ká-án. The people are red and white.

Beyond that is Haitam,⁴ subject also to the Ká-án.

Beyond that is Máhá Chín,⁵ then the harbour of Zaitún,⁶ on the shore of China sea,⁷ and an officer of the Ká-án, entitled

¹ [The Arabic version has Darband Manás.] This may be Pulu Nias, which M.M. Maury and Dulaurier, from independent observation, conceive to be the Al-Neyan of the early Geographers. See *Journal Asiatique*, 4th Series, Tom. VIII. 200, and *Bulletin de la Société de Geog.*, April, 1846.

² These cities, it will be observed, are not confined to one island. Parlah is no doubt Tanjung Parlah, or Diamond Point, on the north-east coast of Sumatra. Barúdoz [or Búkúdur, as the Arabic MS. gives it], without any violent metathesis, may perhaps be read Bencoolen—the Wau-Kou-Leou of the Chinese. (*Nouv. J. A.* XI. 54.) Towards Papua is a large island called Aru, but that is no doubt too distant for our author. His city may be the metropolis of Java according to Ptolemy—*ἔχειν τε μετρόπολιν ὄνομα Ἀργυρῆν ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσμικοῖς πέρασιν.* *Geog.*, VII. 2, 29.

³ As this might easily be read Nicobar, allusion may be made to the islands of that name. The early Arabian Geographers and Idrisi seem to designate this group by the term Lanjabálds.

⁴ [So in the first edition, and so in MS. *A.* *B.* has , *C.* has , and Binákiti .

⁵ Idrisi calls this Siniatu-s Sín, situated at the extremity of the empire. "No city is equal to it, whether we consider its greatness, the number of the edifices, the importance of its commerce, the variety of its merchandize, or the number of merchants which visit it from different parts of India." Ibn al Wárdi says, "It is the extreme eastern part which is inhabited, and beyond which there is nothing but the ocean."

⁶ A port in the province of Fo-Kien. See Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 561. M. Klaproth, *Mém. rel. d l'Asie*. Tom. II. p. 208, and M. Reinaud, *Relation des voyages*, Tom., II. pp. 25, 26.

⁷ [This reading of the first edition is supported by the Arabic MS. *C.*, which says, "After this is Chín the great" [الصين الأعلي] after that the harbour of Zaitun on the shore of the sea of Ching. The Persian MS. *A.* and Binákiti entirely omit the first sentence.]

Shak,¹ resides there. Beyond that is Khansái, in which the market-place² is six parasangs broad, from which it may be judged how large the place is. It is subject to the deputies of the Ká-án, who are Moghals, Musulmáns, Khitáyans, and Ghuris. Khansái³ is the capital.

Forty days journey from it lies Khánbálík,⁴ the capital of the Phoenix of the west—Káán, King of the earth.⁵

With respect to the other road which leads from M'abar by way of Khitái, it commences at the city of Kábal, then proceeds to the city of Kúnjú and Sunjú, then to Kín, then to Mali Fatan,⁶ then to Kardaráyá, then to Hawáriún,⁷ then to Daklí,⁸ then to Bijalár,⁹ which, from of old, is subject to Dehli, and at this time one of the cousins of the Sultán of Dehli has conquered it, and established himself, having revolted against the Sultán. His army consists of Turks. Beyond that is the country of Ratbán, then Arman,¹⁰ then Zar-dandán,¹¹ so called because the people cover their teeth with gold.

¹ [So in first edition, and so in MS. A. MS. C. and Binákittí have "Sank."]

² [So in the first edition. MS. A. says بارو "a fort or tower." Binákittí says دریاچہ "a lake." The Arabic version says باوودم.]

³ The original is Janksái [in all the MSS. except Binákittí, who has Khansaí], but there can be no doubt the correct word is Khansa, which Ibn Batuta declares to be the largest city he had seen. Marco Polo calls it Quinsai, and says it is without exception the most noble city in the world. It was the capital of southern China, or Mahá Chín. Its present name is Hang-tcheou-fou, capital of the province of Tche-Kiang. See M. Reinaud, *Relation des Voyages*, Tom. I. pp. cx., cxviii., and M. Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, pp. LXXVII., LXXXIX. *Ibn Batouta*, IV. 284.

⁴ The Cambalu of Marco Polo, and the Pekin of the Chinese. See Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* Tom. III. p. 2, p. 512. [Jánbálík in A. and in Binákittí.]

⁵ See *Les Oiseaux et les Fleurs*, pp. 119, 220. *Dabistán*, v. III. p. 250.

⁶ [The Arabic MS. has "from Kábal to Kín, and from thence to Mali-Katan." Binákittí reads "from Kábal-fatan to Majli-fatan," and a marginal emendation says, "from Kábal (or Kámal) patan to Majli patan," i.e., Masulipatam.]

⁷ [Hawármún in A.]

⁸ [MS. A. has "Dakal." The Arabic and Binákittí both read "Dehli."]

⁹ [So in the first edition. A. says بجال Bajalá; but C. and Binákittí have بنگالا Bengál.]

¹⁰ [MSS. A., C., and Binákittí agree in this. The first edition and MS. B. have "Uman."]

¹¹ This country is again noticed in our author's account of China, and Marco Polo speaks of it under the wrong name, Cardandon. M. Quatremère tries to fix its position. (*Hist. des Mongols*, p. xcvi.) "This island of Sumatra is the first island

They puncture their hands, and colour them with indigo. They eradicate their beards, so that they have not a sign of hair on their faces. They are all subject to the Ká-án. This country is bounded on one side by the sea, afterwards comes the country of Ráhán, the people of which eat carrion and the flesh of men,—they likewise are subject to the Ká-án.¹ Thence you arrive at the borders of Tibet, where they eat raw meat and worship images, and have no shame respecting their wives. The air is so impure that if they eat their dinner after noon they would all die. They boil tea and eat winnowed barley.

There is another country called Deogir, adjoining M'abar inland, the king of which is at constant enmity with the Dewar of M'abar. Its capital is Dúrá Samundúr [Dwára Samudra.]

Another large country is called Kandahár, which the Moghals call Karájáng. These people spring from Khitai and Hind. In the time² of Kúbilá Ká-án,³ it was subdued by the Moghals. One of its borders adjoins Tibet, another adjoins Khitá, and another adjoins Hind.

Philosophers have said that there are three countries celebrated for certain peculiarities; Hind is celebrated for its armies, Kandahár for its elephants, and the Turks for their horses.

wherein we knew man's flesh to be eaten by certain people which live in the mountains, called Bacas, who use to gild their teeth." *Ant. Galvano's Disc. of the World in Hakluyt*, IV. 422. See also *Purchas His Pilgrimage* p. 457. *Marsden's M. Polo*, p. 429, 434.]

¹ [This passage was not in the first edition, and it is not in the MS. A.; but the other MSS. and Binákitti have it.]

² [The Arabic says, "Towards the end of the reign."]

³ This is also mentioned in the Mongol work called Bodimer. See Pallas, *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten*, T. I. p. 19.

The country of Karájáng and its borders are again noticed by our author in his account of China, and its position is laid down by M. Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, p. xciv.

VIII.

NUZHATU-L MUSHTAK

OF

AL IDRÍSÍ.

ABÚ 'ABDU-LLAH MUHAMMAD was born at Ceuta, in Morocco, towards the end of the 11th century. He was member of a family which descended from an ancestor named Idrís, and so came to be known by the name of Al Idrísí. This family furnished a line of princes for Morocco in the 9th and 10th centuries, and the branch from which Idrísí sprung ruled over the city of Malaga. Idrísí travelled in Europe, and eventually settled in Sicily at the court of Roger II. It was at the instance of this prince that he wrote his book on geography. He cites in his preface the various authors whose works he had employed in the compilation of the book. Further information was derived from travellers, whose verbal statements he compared and tested; and M. Reinaud quotes the Biographical Dictionary of Khalílu-s Safadí to the effect that men of intelligence were specially commissioned to travel and collect information for his use. The full title of the work is, *Nuzhatu-l Mushták fi Ikhtiráku-l Áfák*, "The Delight of those who seek to wander through the regions of the world." A full translation of the whole work into French was published at Paris in 1836 and 1840 by M. Jaubert, and from this the following Extracts have been done into English. Idrísí's work met with very early attention. An abridgment of the text was published at Rome in 1592, and a Latin translation was printed at Paris in 1619, entitled "*Geographia Nubiensis, id est accuratissima totius orbis in septem climata divisi descriptio*"

continens, præsertim exactam universæ Asiæ et Africæ, in Latinum versa a Gabriele Sionita et Joanne Hesronita." Hartmann in 1796 published at Gottingen, from the abridgement, "*Edrisii descriptio Africæ.*" The description of Spain was translated into Spanish by Conde in 1799, and the portions relating to Africa and Spain have just been published with a translation by M.M. Dozy and de Goeje. Zenker, in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, mentions translations of other detached portions.

M. Reinaud, in his Introduction to Aboulfeda, has remarked that in M. Jaubert's translation, "*Beaucoup de noms de lieux sont altérés,*" and it is true that there are some variants, such as Túbarán for Túrán, and Bána for Táanna; but the old Latin translation presented generally the same differences; the variants therefore seemed to exist in the text, and not to be attributable to the translator. A cursory examination of the two MSS. in the Bodleian has confirmed this view, for Jaubert's translation was found to give a generally accurate reproduction of the names as they stand in these MSS. A careful comparison of the texts would, no doubt, lead to some corrections, and, indeed, a few will be noticed in the following pages; but the more important variants are fully supported by the Oxford MSS. The maps contained in Graves' MS. show some differences from the text; thus Túrán is found instead of Túbarán; but the maps are written in a more modern hand, quite different from the rest of the book. The text is continued on the backs of these maps in the ordinary hand, but it may nevertheless have been written long before the maps were filled in. At any rate the scribes were different men, and such differences as that noticed above leads to the conclusion that the maps were not derived from the text with which they are incorporated.

EXTRACTS.

FIRST CLIMATE. *Section X.*—The greatest king of India is the Balhará, which signifies "king of kings." After him comes the

Makamkam, whose country is Sáj. Next the king of Sáfan or Tában, then the king of Jába, then the king of Juzr, and then the king of Kámrún, whose states touch China.

¹The Indians are divided into seven castes. The first is that of the Sákriya, These are the most noble; from among them kings are chosen, and from no others. All the other castes pay homage to them, but they render homage to no one. Next come the Brahmans, who are the religious class. They dress in the skins of tigers and other animals. Sometimes one of them, taking a staff in his hand, will assemble a crowd around him, and will stand from morn till eve speaking to his auditors of the glory and power of God, and explaining to them the events which brought destruction upon the ancient people, that is, upon the Brahmans. They never drink wine nor fermented liquors. They worship idols (whom they consider to be) able to intercede with the Most High. The third caste is that of the Kastariya, who may drink as much as three ratls² of wine, but not more, lest they should lose their reason. This caste may marry Brahman women, but Brahmans cannot take their women to wife. Next comes the Shardúya, who are labourers and agriculturists; then the Basya, who are artizans and mechanics; then the Sabdáliya (or Sandaliya), who are singers, and whose women are noted for their beauty; and, lastly, the Zakya, who are jugglers, tumblers, and players of various instruments. Among the principal nations of India there are forty-two sects. Some recognize the existence of a Creator, but not of prophets; while others deny the existence of both. Some acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones, and others worship holy stones, on which butter and oil is poured. Some pay adoration to fire, and cast themselves into the flames. Others adore the sun, and consider it the creator and director of the world. Some worship trees; others pay adoration to serpents, which they keep in stables, and feed as well as they can, deeming this to be a meritorious work. Lastly, there are some who give themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion, and deny everything.

SECOND CLIMATE. *Section VII.*—The towns described in this

¹ [What follows is mainly derived from from Ibn Khurdádba. See *ante*, page 17.]

² [*Ratl*, one pound Troy.]

seventh section¹ are Kia, Kír, Armáyil, Kasr-band, Fírabúz, Khúr, Kambalí, Manhábári,² Debal, Nirún, Mansúra,³ Wándán, Asfaka, Darak, Másúrján, Fardán, Kírkáyán, Kadirá, Basmak, Túbarán [Túrán], Multán, Jandúr, Sandúr, Dúr, Atrí,⁴ Kálarí, Nirá, Maswám, Sharúsán,⁵ Bánia, Mámhal, Kambáya, Súbára, Sabdán, and Saimúr.⁶ In that part of the sea which is comprised in the present section, there are the isle of Sára, the two rocks of Kasair and 'Awair, that of Dardúr, the island of Debal, in which the town of Kaskihár, is situated; the isles of Aubkín, Mind, Kúlam-mali, and Sindán. All these countries are inhabited by people of different religions, customs, and manners. We will state all that we have ascertained for certain on this subject, confiding in Divine help.

The beginning of this section comprises, starting from the east, the shores of the Persian Gulf, and towards the south the town of Debal. This is a populous place, but its soil is not fertile, and it produces scarcely any trees except the date-palm. The highlands are arid and the plains sterile. Houses are built of clay and wood, but the place is inhabited only because it is a station for the vessels of Sind and other countries. Trade is carried on in a great variety of articles, and is conducted with much intelligence. Ships laden with the productions of 'Umán, and the vessels of China and India come to Debal. They bring stuffs and other goods from China, and the perfumes and aromatics of India. The inhabitants of Debal, who are generally rich, buy these goods in the bulk, and store them until the vessels are gone and they become scarce. Then they begin to sell, and go trading into the country, putting their money out on interest, or employing it as may seem best. Going towards the west there are

¹ The Nubian Geographer's list is as follows:—Kia, Kír, Ermail, Band, Casr-band, Lízabur, Haur, Cámbele, Manhábere, Dabil, Nirun, Fairuza, Mansúra, Bandan, Asfaca, Darec, Masurgian, Fardan, Kircaian, Cadira, Basmac, Tuberan, Moltan, Giandur, Sandur, Dur, Atre, Cálere, Bascera, Mesuam, Sadusan, Bania, Mámehel, Kambáia, Subára, Sandan, Saimur, Fahalfáhara, Rasec, Sarusan, Kusa, Kased, Sura, Nodha, Mehjac, Falon, Caliron, and Belin. (*Geographia Nubiensis*, pp. 56, 57).

² ["Manjábari," Bod. MS.]

³ [Generally spelt "Mansúria" by Idrisi.]

⁴ [This is the "Annari" of the other geographers; and one of the Bod. MSS. affords some warrant for so reading it here.]

⁵ ["Sadúsán," Bod. MSS.]

⁶ [Here the Bod. MSS. add the following names—"Asáwal, Falkamín, Rásak, Asursán, and Losha (or Kosha)."]

six miles between the mouth of the great Mihrán and Debal. From Debal to Nírún, on the west of the Mihrán, three days' journey. Nírún is half way between Debal and Mansúra, and people going from one town to the other here cross the river.

Nírún is a town of little importance, but it is fortified, and its inhabitants are rich. Trees are rare. From hence to Mansúra rather more than three days.

Mansúra, the city last mentioned, is surrounded by a branch of the Mihrán, although it is at a distance from the river. It is on the west of the principal branch of the river which flows from its source to Kálari, a town situated one days' journey from Mansúra. At Kálari it divides—the principal branch runs towards Mansúra, the other flows northward as far as Sharúsán [Sadúsán], it then turns westwards and rejoins the chief stream, forming henceforward only one river. The junction takes place twelve miles below Mansúra. The Mihrán passes on to Nírún, and then flows into the sea. Mansúra occupies a space of a mile square. The climate is hot. The country produces dates and sugar-canes in abundance. There are hardly any other fruits, if we except one, a sort of fruit called laimún, as big as an apple and of a very sour taste, and another which resembles the peach both in shape and taste. Mansúra was built at the beginning of the reign of Al Mansúr, of the 'Abbáside family. This prince gave his name ("the victorious") to four different cities, as a good augury that they might stand for ever. The first was Baghdad in 'Irák; the second, Mansúra in Sind; the third, Al Masísa, on the Mediterranean; the fourth, that of Mesopotamia. That of which we are now speaking is great, populous, rich, and commercial. Its environs are fertile. The buildings are constructed of bricks, tiles, and plaster. It is a place of recreation and of pleasure. Trade flourishes. The bazars are filled with people, and well stocked with goods. The lower classes wear the Persian costume, but the princes wear tunics, and allow their hair to grow long like the princes of India. The money is silver and copper. The weight of the drachma (dínár) is five times that of the (ordinary) drachma. The Tátariya coins also are current here. Fish is plentiful, meat is cheap, and foreign and native fruits abound. The name of this city in Indian is Mírmán,

It is considered one of the dependencies of Sind, like Debal, Nítrún, Bánía, Kálarí, Atri, Sharúsán, Jandaur, Manhábárf [Manjábarí], Basmak and Multán.

Bánía is a little town. The inhabitants are of mixed blood and are rich. Living here is cheap and agreeable. From Bánía to Mansúra, three days, to Mámhal six, to Debal two. From hence to Mámhal and Kambáya the country is nothing but a marine strand, without habitations and almost without water; consequently, it is impassable for travellers.

Mámhal is situated between Sind and India. Upon the confines of the desert just mentioned there dwells a hardy race called Mand [Med]. They graze their flocks to within a short distance of Mámhal. These people are numerous. They have many horses and camels, and they extend their incursions as far as Dur [Alor] upon the banks of the Mihrán, and sometimes they penetrate even as far as the frontiers of Makrán.

Dur [Alor] is situated on the banks of the Mihrán, which runs to the west of the town. It is a pleasant place, and worthy of comparison with Multán as regards size. From thence to Basmak, three days; to Atri [Annarí], four days; and from thence to Kálarí, two days.

Kálarí, upon the west bank of the Mihrán, is a pretty town, well fortified, and is a busy trading place. Near it the Mihrán separates into two branches; the largest runs towards the west as far as the vicinity of Mansúria, which is on the west bank; the other runs towards the north-west, then to the north, and then towards the west. Both again unite at the distance of about twelve miles below Mansúria. Although this town [Kálarí] is some distance out of the regular route, still it is much frequented in consequence of the profitable trade carried on with the inhabitants. From hence to Mansúra is a hard day's journey of forty miles. From Kálarí to Sharúsán, three days.

Sharúsán [Sadúsán] is remarkable for its size and for the number of its fountains and canals, for the abundance of its productions and for its rich commerce. It is much resorted to. From Sharúsán to Manhábárf [Manjábarí], a town placed in a hollow, well built, of a pleasant aspect, surrounded with gardens, fountains, and running

waters, the distance is three days. From the latter place to Fírabúz,¹ six days. From Manhábárí to Debal, two days. In going from Debal to Fírabúz the road passes by Manhábárí, and between these two places it runs through Khúr, a small but populous town.

Fírabúz¹ is a town of which the inhabitants are rich. They carry on a good trade, they are men of their word and enemies of fraud, and they are generous and charitable. It belongs to the province of Makrán, as do the towns of Kír, Darak, Rásik (inhabited by schismatics), Bah, Band, Kasr-band, Asfaka, Fahlafahra, Maskan, Tíz, and Balbak.

Makrán is a vast country, but the greater part of it is desert and poor. The largest of its towns is Kírúsí, which is nearly as large as Multán. Palm-trees are plentiful there; the land is cultivated, and a good deal of trade is carried on. On the west of it lies Tíz, a small sea-port much frequented by the vessels of Fárs, as well as by those which come from the country of 'Umán and the isle of Kísh, which is situated in the Persian Gulf at a long day's sail distance. From Tíz to Kír [Kíz], five days. From Kír to Fírabúz, two long days' journey.

Between Kír [Kíz] and Armáil there are two districts which touch each other; one called Ráhún depends on Mansúria, and the other named Kalwán is a dependency of Makrán. These two districts are tolerably fertile, and they produce a few dates, but the inhabitants rely mainly on their flocks. Whoever wishes to go from Fírabúz to Makrán must pass by Kír. From thence to Armáil, a dependency of Makrán, two days' journey.

Armáil is nearly as large as Fírabúz. It is well peopled, and its environs are pleasant. The inhabitants are rich. From Armáil to Kanbalí, two days' journey. Kanbalí competes with Armáil in respect of size, wealth, and population. It is about a mile and a half from the sea. Both these places are situated between Debal and Makrán.

Darak is a populous trading town, three days' journey from Fírabúz. South-west of Darak there is a high mountain, which is called the mountain of salt, because nearly all the water which runs from

¹ [Kannazbúr. See Note A. in Appx.]

it is saline. There are habitations here. From Darak to Rásak, three days' journey.

The inhabitants of Rásak are schismatics. Their territory is divided into two districts, one called Al Kharúj, the other Kír Káyán. The sugar-cane is much cultivated, and a considerable trade is carried on in a sweetmeat called fániz, which is made here. The cultivation of sugar and the manufacture of this sweetmeat are extensively pursued at Máskán and in the district of Kasrán. The people of Máskán, Jaurán, and Túbarán, are for the most part schismatics. The territory of Máskán joins that of Kirmán. The inhabitants have a great reputation for courage. They have date trees, camels, cereals, and the fruits of cold countries. The people of Makrán speak Persian and a dialect peculiar to the province. They wear the tunic, the gown with sleeves, the cloak, waistcloth, and the mantle embroidered with gold, like the inhabitants of 'Irák and Persia.

Fahlafahra, Asfaka, Band, and Kasri-band are dependencies of Makrán, which resemble each other very much in point of size, the nature and extent of their trade, and the state of their population. From Fahlafahra to Rasak, two days. From Fahlafahra to Asfaka, two days. From Asfaka to Band, one day towards the west. From Asfaka to Darak, three days. From Band to Kasri-band, one day. From Kasri-band to Kia, four days. From Mansúria to Túbarán, about fifteen days.

Túbaran [Túrán] is near Fahraj, which belongs to Kirmán. It is a well fortified town, and is situated on the banks of a river of the same name (Túbarán), which are cultivated and fertile. From hence to Fardán, a commercial town, the environs of which are well populated, four days. Kírkáyán lies to the west of Fardán, on the road to Túbarán. The country is well populated and is very fertile. The vine grows here and divers sorts of fruit trees, but palms are not to be found. From Túbarán to Mustah,¹ a town in the midst of the desert, where many camels and sheep are bred, three days. From Túbarán to Multán, on the borders of Sind, ten days.

Multán is close upon India; some authors, indeed, place it in that country. It equals Mansúra in size, and is called "the house of

¹ ["Maska," Bod. MS.]

gold." There is an idol here, which is highly venerated by the Indians, who come on pilgrimages to visit it from the most distant parts of the country, and make offerings of valuables, ornaments, and immense quantities of perfumes. This idol is surrounded by its servants and slaves, who feed and dress upon the produce of these rich offerings. It is in the human form with four sides,¹ and is sitting upon a seat made of bricks and plaster. It is entirely covered with a skin like red morocco, so that the eyes only are visible. Some maintain that the interior is made of wood, but others deny this. However it may be, the body is entirely covered. The eyes are formed of precious stones, and upon its head there is a golden crown set with jewels. It is, as we have said, square, and its arms, below the elbows, seem to be four in number. The temple of this idol is situated in the middle of Multán, in the most frequented bazar. It is a dome-shaped building. The upper part of the dome is gilded, and the dome and the gates are of great solidity. The columns are very lofty and the walls coloured. Around the dome are the dwellings of the attendants of the idol, and of those who live upon the produce of that worship of which it is the object. There is no idol in India or in Sind which is more highly venerated. The people make it the object of a pious pilgrimage, and to obey it is a law. So far is this carried, that, when neighbouring princes make war against the country of Multán, either for the purpose of plunder or for carrying off the idol, the priests have only to meet, threaten the aggressors with its anger and predict their destruction, and the assailants at once renounce their design. Without this fear the town of Multán would be destroyed. It is not surprising, then, that the inhabitants adore the idol, exalt its power, and maintain that its presence secures divine protection. Being ignorant of the name of the man who set it up, they content themselves with saying that it is a wonder. Multán is a large city commanded by a citadel which has four gates and is surrounded by a moat. Provisions are abundant, and the taxes are light, so that the people are in easy circumstances. It bears the name of "the house of gold Farkh," because Muhammad bin Yúsuf, brother of Hajjáj, found forty bahárs of gold (a

¹ ["Elle est de forme humaine et à quatre côtés."—*Jaubert.*]

bahár weighs 333 minas¹) concealed there in a house. Farkh and Bahár have the same signification. The environs of this city are watered by a little river which falls into the Mihrán of Sind.

At one mile from Multán is Jandúr [Jand-rúd]—a collection of forts strongly built, very high, and well supplied with fresh water. The governor passes the spring time and his holidays here. Ibn Haukal states that in his time the governor used to go every Friday from these castles to Multán mounted upon an elephant, according to an ancient usage. The greater part of the population is Musulmán, so also is the judicial authority and the civil administration.

Sandúr is situated three days' journey south of Multán. It is famous for its trade, wealth, sumptuous apparel, and the abundance which prevails on the tables of the inhabitants. It is considered to form part of India, and is situated on the banks of a river which falls into the Mihrán above Samand. Going from Multán towards the north there is a desert which extends as far as the eastern boundary of Túbarán. From Multán to the vicinity of Mansúra the country is occupied by a warlike race, called Nadha. It consists of a number of tribes scattered about between Túbarán Makrán, Multán, and Mansúra, like the Berber nomads. The Nadhas have peculiar dwellings, and marshes in which they take refuge, on the west of the Mihrán. They possess excellent camels, and, particularly, a sort which they breed, called Karah. This is held in high esteem in Khúrasán and the rest of Persia. It resembles the camel of Balkh and the female camel of Samarkand, for it is of good temper and has two humps; not like the camels of our countries, which have only one. From Mansúra to the confines of Nadha six days. From the confines of Nadha to the city of Kír [Kíz] about ten days. From Nadha to Tíz, at the extremity of Makrán, sixteen days. The town which the Nadhas most frequent for buying, selling, and other matters, is Kandáíl. Kír Káyán is a district known by the name of Aíl,² inhabited by Musulmans and other people dependant on the Nadhas of whom

¹ ["The mina is a weight of about two pounds. Our author in order to explain the meaning of farkh, employs the term bahár, the value of which it is unfortunately difficult to determine."—*Jaubert.*]

² ["Not Abil. Our two MSS. agree in the orthography of this name, which seems to be of Turkish origin."—*Jaubert.*]

we have just spoken. The country produces corn, raisins, fruits, camels, oxen, and sheep. It bears the name of Ail, because a man of that name conquered it (in ancient times), and laid the foundation of its prosperity. From Kandáil to Mansúra about ten days.

The towns of Khúr Kakhliá, Kúsa, and Kadírá belong to Sind. The last two are about equal in size, and carry on some trade with the Nadhas. On Túbarán there are dependent—Mahyak, Kír Káyán, Súra, Fardán, Kashrán, and Másúrján. Between Túbarán and Mansúra there are vast deserts, and on the north, towards Sijistán, there are countries which are equally barren, and which are difficult of access.

Masúrján is a well-peopled commercial town, surrounded with villages, and built upon the banks of the river of Túbarán, from which town it is forty-two miles distant. From Masúrján to Darak-yámúna, 141 miles is the computed distance. From Darak-yámúna to Fírabúz or Fírabús, 175 miles.

The countries of India which touch upon Sind are—Mámhal, Kambáya, Súbára, Khábirún, Sindán, Masúya, Saimúr, and the maritime isles of Aubkín, Mand, Kulam-Malí, and Sindán. The towns of India are very numerous; among them may be mentioned Mámhal, Kambáya, Súbára, Asáwal, Janáwal, Sindán, Saimúr, Jándúr, Sandúr, Rúmala; in the desert: Kalbata, Aughasht, Nahrwára, and Laháwar.

Mámhal is by some numbered among the cities of India; by others among those of Sind. It is situated at the extremity of the desert which stretches between Kambáya, Debal, and Bánía. It is a town of moderate importance on the route of travellers passing from Sind to India. But little trade is carried on here. The environs are peopled, and produce small quantities of fruit; but there are numerous flocks. From hence to Mansúra, through Bánía, is considered nine days. From Mámhal to Kambáya, five days.

Kambáya stands three miles from the sea, and is very pretty. It is well known as a naval station. Merchandise from every country is found here, and is sent on from hence to other countries. It is placed at the extremity of a bay, where vessels can enter and cast anchor. It is well supplied with water, and there is a fine fortress erected by the government of India to prevent the inroads of the inhabitants of

the island of Kísh. From Kambáya to the isle of Aubkín, two-and-a-half days' sail. From Aubkin to Debal, two days. Kambáya is fertile in wheat and rice. Its mountains produce the Indian kaná. The inhabitants are idolaters (Buddhists). From hence to the island of Mand, the inhabitants of which are thieves, the passage is six miles. To Kúlí on the shore, also six miles ; and to Súbára, about five days.

Súbára is situated one-and-a-half mile from the sea. It is a populous, busy town, and is considered one of the entrepôts of India. They fish for pearls here. It is in the vicinity of Bára, a small island, on which some cocoa-nut trees and the costus grow. From Súbára to Sindán is considered five days.

Sindán is a mile-and-a-half from the sea. It is populous, and the people are noted for their industry and intelligence. They are rich and of a warlike temper. The town is large, and has an extensive commerce both in exports and imports. East of Sindán there is an island bearing the same name and dependent on India. It is large and well cultivated, and the cocoa-nut palm, kaná, and rattan grow there.

Saimúr, five days from Sindán, is a large well-built town. Cocoa-nut trees grow here in abundance ; henna also grows here, and the mountains produce many aromatic plants, which are exported.

Five miles by sea (from Kúlam Málí) lies the island of Málí, which is large and pretty. It is an elevated plateau, but not very hilly, and is covered with vegetation. The pepper vine grows in this island, as in Kandarína and Jirbatan, but it is found nowhere else but in these three places. It is a shrub, having a trunk like that of the vine ; the leaf is like the convolvulus, but longer ; it bears grapes like those of the Shabúka, each bunch of which is sheltered by a leaf which curls over when the fruit is ripe. White pepper is what is gathered as it begins to ripen, or even before. Ibn Khurdádba states that the leaves curl over the bunches to protect them from the rain, and that they return to their natural position when the rain is over—a surprising fact !

Kambáya, Súbára, Sindán, and Saimúr form part of India. The last named belongs to a country whose king is called Balhára : his kingdom is vast, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile. It pays

heavy taxes, so that the king is immensely rich. Many aromatics and perfumes are produced in this country.

The name (or rather the title) of Balhárá means king of kings. It is hereditary here as in other parts of the country, where, when a king ascends a throne he takes the name of his predecessor and transmits it to his heir. This is a regular custom from which these people never depart. There is the same rule with the kings of Nubia, Zanj, Ghána, Persia, and in the Roman empire, in respect of the hereditary descent of names. The work of 'Ubaidu-llah Ibn Khurdádba contains a passage concerning this which is worth quotation:—"Kings," he says, "generally bear hereditary titles,—thus those of China have been called Bághbúgh (or Bághbún) for centuries, and the title descends in regular order. Among the kings of India there are the Balhárá, Jába, Táfir, Hazr [Juzr] 'Ábat, Dumi [Rahmí] and Kámrun. These names are taken only by the prince who reigns over the province or country, no other has any right to assume them, but whoever reigns takes the name. Among the Turks, the Tibetans, and the Khazars, the king is called Khákán, but among the Khizlij he takes the title of Khai Khúya which is hereditary. In the Ránah the kings are called Fanjab. In the Roman empire they take the title of Cæsar, which descends upon all those who wield the supreme power. Among the Aghzaz they are called Shái Shá, or king of kings, a title hereditary like the rest. Finally, among the Persians they are called Kásra [Chosroes]. Among the people who dwell in the Súdán the names of the kings are derived from their countries,—thus the ruler of Ghána is called Ghána, the king of Kaughá is called Kaughá. But enough upon this subject."

Among the towns of India comprised in the present section are Khábírún and Asáwal, both of them populous, commercial, rich, industrious, and productive of useful articles. At the time we write, the Musulmans have made their way into the greater part of these countries and have conquered them. Please God we will hereafter describe those which are on their frontiers and some others.

EIGHTH SECTION.—The present section contains a description of part of the coast of India, comprising Barúh [Barúch], Sindápúr, Bána [Tánna], Kandarína, Jirbatán, Kalkáyán, Lúluwá, Kanja, Samandírún,—and in the interior of the country, Dúlaka, Janáwal,

Nahrwára, Kandahár, Rúmala, Kalbata and Aghushta, on the borders of the deserts ; Kábul, Khawás, Hasak, Murídas, Mádiyár, Tatta, Dadah [Darh], Manibár [Malabar], Malwa, Niyásat, Atrásá, Nija, Kashmír the Lower, Maidara, Kármút, Kashmír the Upper, Kanauj, Rástána, and the islands of the Indian Sea, Mallan, Balbak, Tarwáklij, Masnaha and Samandár. We shall describe all these countries without omitting anything remarkable or curious that they may afford.

Barúh [Barúch, Broach] is a large handsome town, well-built of bricks and plaster. The inhabitants are rich and engaged in trade, and they freely enter upon speculations and distant expeditions. It is a port for the vessels coming from China, as it is also for those of Sind. From hence to Saimúr is considered two days' journey, and to Nahrwára eight days through a flat country where they travel in carriages on wheels. In all Nahrwára and its environs there is no other mode of travelling except in chariots drawn by oxen under the control of a driver. These carriages are fitted with harness and traces, and are used for the carriage of goods.

Between Barúh and Nahrwára there are two towns, one called Hanáwal (or Janáwal), the other Dúlaka. They are about equal in size, and are somewhat less than a day's journey distant from each other. Dúlaka is on the banks of a river which flows into the sea, forming an estuary, on the west of which stands the town of Barúh, (the name of which is also pronounced Barús), Both these towns stand at the foot of a chain of mountains which lie to the north, and which are called Undaran,¹ they are of a white colour approaching to yellow. The kaná grows here as well as a few cocoa nut trees. In the vicinity of Hanáwal (or Janáwal) stands the town of Asáwal,² which is very much like the other two both in size and in the condition of its population. A good trade is carried on in all three.

Nahrwára is governed by a great prince who bears the title of Balhará. He has troops and elephants ; he worships the idol Buddha ; wears a crown of gold upon his head, and dresses in rich stuffs. He rides a good deal on horseback, but especially once a week when he goes out attended only by women, one hundred in

¹ [Vindhya ?]

² "Yessáwal" is the old name of Ahmadabad. Bird's Guzerat, 187.

number, richly clad, wearing rings of gold and silver upon their feet and hands, and their hair in curls. They engage in various games and in sham fights, while their king marches at their head. The ministers and the commanders of the troops never accompany the king except when he marches against rebels, or to repulse encroachments made upon his territories by neighbouring kings. He has numerous elephants, and these constitute the chief strength of his army. His power is hereditary, so also is his title Balhará, which signifies *king of kings*. The town of Nahrwára is frequented by large numbers of Musulman traders who go there on business. They are honourably received by the king and his ministers, and find protection and safety.

The Indians are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well known, and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side; hence the country is flourishing and their condition prosperous. Among other characteristic marks of their love of truth and horror of vice, the following is related:—When a man has a right to demand anything of another, and he happens to meet him, he has only to draw a circular line upon the ground and to make his debtor enter it, which the latter never fails to do, and the debtor cannot leave this circle without satisfying his creditor, or obtaining the remission of the debt.

The inhabitants of Nahrwára live upon rice, peas, beans, haricots, lentils, másh, fish, and animals that have died a natural death, for they never kill winged or other animals. They have a great veneration for oxen, and by a privilege confined to the species, they inter them after death. When these animals are enfeebled by age, and are unable to work, they free them from all labour and provide them with food without exacting any return.

The people of India burn their dead and do not raise tombs for them. When the king dies they construct a vehicle of an appropriate size, and raised about two palms above the ground. On this they place the bier surmounted by the crown, and the corpse, clad in all its funeral ornaments, being laid upon the bier, it is dragged by slaves all round the city. The head is uncovered and the hair

drags upon the ground. This is done that every one may see (the corpse), and a herald goes before uttering, in the Indian language, words of which the following is the sense,—“People! behold your king, so and so by name, son of so and so. He lived happily and mightily for so many years. He is no more, and all that he possessed has escaped from his hands. Nothing now remains to him and he will feel no more pain. Remember, he has shown you the way which you must follow.” This being said, when all the ceremonies are concluded, they take the corpse to the place where the bodies of kings are burnt, and commit it to the flames. These people do not grieve and lament very much on these occasions. In all the countries of Hind and Sind there are Musulmans and they bury their dead secretly by night in their houses, but like the Indians they do not give way to long lamentations.

In the country of the Balhará concubinage is permitted with all persons except married women. Thus a man may have intercourse with his daughter, his sister, or his aunts, provided they be unmarried.

Opposite the sea-port town of Barúh lies the island of Mullan, which produces pepper in large quantities, and is two days' journey from Sindán. From Sindán to Balbak is also two days. Balbak produces cocoa nuts, figs, bananas, and rice. It is here that vessels change their courses for the different islands of India. From hence to the place called *Great Abyss* they reckon two days. From the island of Balbak to that of Sarandfb is one day or more.

From the town of Barúh, along the coast, to Sindábúr four days. Sindábúr is situated on a great gulf where ships cast anchor. It is a commercial town, and contains fine buildings and rich bazars. From hence to Bána [Tánna] upon the coast four days.

Bána [Tánna] is a pretty town upon a great gulf where vessels anchor and from whence they set sail. In the neighbouring mountains the kaná and tabáshír grow. The roots of the kaná which are gathered here are transported to the east and to the west. The tabáshír is adulterated by mixing it with ivory cinders, but the real article is extracted from the roots of the reed called *sharkí*, as we have already said. From Bána [Tánna] to Fandarína¹ is four days'

¹ [“Kandarína” in p. 86.]

journey. Fandarína is a town built at the mouth of a river which comes from Manibar [Malabar] where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor. The inhabitants are rich, the markets well supplied, and trade flourishing. North of this town there is a very high mountain covered with trees, villages, and flocks. The cardamom grows here, and forms the staple of a considerable trade. It grows like the grains of hemp, and the grains are enclosed in pods. From Fandarína to Jirbatan, a populous town on a little river, is five days. It is fertile in rice and grain, and supplies provisions to the markets of Sarandíb. Pepper grows in the neighbouring mountains. From Jirbatan to Sanji and Kaikasár two days. These are maritime towns near to each other; the neighbourhood produces rice and corn. From hence to Kilkáyán one day. From Kilkáyán to Lulu and to Kanja one day. The vicinity is fertile in rice and wheat, and produces sapan wood abundantly. The growth of this tree resembles that of the oleander. Cocoa nut trees abound. From Kanja to Samandár thirty miles.

Samandár is a large town, commercial, and rich, where there are good profits to be made. It is a port dependant upon Kanauj, king of this country. It stands upon a river which comes from the country of Kashmír. Rice and various grains, especially excellent wheat, are to be obtained here. Aloe wood is brought hither from the country of Kármút [Kamrúp?] 15 days' distance, by a river of which the waters are sweet. The aloe wood which comes from this country is of a superior quality and of a delicious perfume. It grows in the mountains of Káran. One day's sail from this city there is a large island well peopled and frequented by merchants of all countries. It is four days distant from the island of Sarandíb. To the north, at seven days' distance from Samandár, is the city of Kashmír the inner, celebrated throughout India, which is under the rule of Kanauj. From Kashmír to Kármút four days. From Kashmír to Kanauj about seven days. This is a fine commercial city which gives its name to the king of the country. It is built upon the banks of a large river which falls into the Musala.³

This river Musala is called by the author of the Book of Marvels, the River of Perfumes. It rises in the mountains of Káran, washes

مسلي¹

the walls of the town of Asnánd, passes the foot of the mountain of Lúniya, then by the town of Kilkayán, and at length falls into the sea. Many aromatics are produced upon its banks, as its name indicates. Between Rasnánd and Kashmír the outer, there are four days journey. Kashmír is reckoned among the number of the most celebrated cities. Its inhabitants war with the infidel Turks, and they often suffer injury from the Khizilji Turks. Atrásá, which stands upon the banks of the Indian Ganges,¹ is four days journey from Kashmír the outer. It is large, well-built, well watered, and one of the strongest places of Kanauj, the limits of which extend as far as Kábul and Laháwar. The Kanauj is a king who has numerous armies under his command, a vast empire and a great number of elephants; no king in India has so many. His power and his wealth are great, and his armies formidable. From Atrásá to Yánásat [Benares?], a large city, also on the bank of the Ganges, five days. From thence to Madiar on the Ganges seven days. This is a rich commercial town, populous, and surrounded by numerous villages. From thence to Nahrwára on the west bank of the Ganges, and of which we have already spoken, seven days. From Madiar to the city of Malwa five days.

Malwa is a pleasant town, and much frequented. It is surrounded with many villages, buildings, and farms. Among the number of its dependencies are Dadh (Darh) and Tata. From Malwa to Dadh four days. From Dadh to Tata two days. Lahor is a country which joins² the latter. From Morídas to Tata three days.

Morídas, a commercial town, is a very strong place, garrisoned by the troops of Kábul. It is situated on the declivity of a very high mountain, on which grow the kaná and khaizuran.

Kandahár is a city built in the mountains of which we have just spoken, eight days' journey from Morídas, and the road from one place to the other passes over the mountains. It is a considerable town, and well-peopled. The inhabitants are remarkable for the manner in which they allow their beards to grow. Their beards are large and very thick, and hang down to their knees. This has

¹ [جنبه الهند]

² ["Translated conjecturally, for the word is wanting."—*Jaubert.*]

given rise to a proverbial saying. They are stout in person, and wear the Turkish costume. The country produces wheat, rice, various grains, sheep, and oxen. They eat sheep which have died a natural death, but not oxen, as we have already observed. From Kandahár to Nahrwára is five days' journey in carriages. The people of Kandahár are often at war with those of Kábul, which is an Indian city, large and well built, bordering upon Tukháristán. The mountains produce excellent aloe wood, and the neighbourhood supplies cocoa nuts and myrobolans, which grow in the hills, and of that sort which is called Kábuli, from this town. In the lowlands saffron is largely cultivated, and is the object of a large export trade. It is a hazardous crop, depending upon the state of the atmosphere. The city of Kandahár is defended by a very strong citadel built upon a scarp'd rock, and is accessible by one road only. It is inhabited by Musulmáns, and there is a quarter in which the infidel Jews dwell. No king can take the title of Sháh until he has been inaugurated at Kábul. According to an ancient law, the assumption of power must be made in that city, hence it is resorted to from foreign and very distant countries. In the fertile lands of Kábul a good deal of indigo is cultivated of the very best quality, it has a great repute, and is the object of a great trade. Cotton cloths are also made here, and are exported to China, Khurásán, and Sind. There are some well-known iron mines in the mountains of Kábul. The metal is of a grey colour, and veined—it becomes very sharp.

Arzalán, Khawás, and Khibar are dependencies of Kábul, with divers villages and fortified places. From Kábul to Khawás four days. From Khawás to Hasak five days. From Hasak to Kábul, through a tolerably level country, three days. From Kábul to Kalbata four days. Kalbata and Rúmala are on the borders of the desert which separates Multán from Sijistán. They are both towns of middling size, inhabited by Sindians, Indians, and a few natives of Sijistán. They produce wheat, rice, and fruits in small quantities. The drinking water is obtained from fountains and wells. Cotton cloths are made here, and sold in the country round. At the east of Multán is the town of Aughasht, four days' journey from Kandahár, and the same from Multán. A small quantity of

kaná grows in the environs. The inhabitants are few but rich. From Aughasht to Rúmala ten days. From Rúmala to Kalbata three days. From Aughasht to Sandúr three days.

This is the sum of what we had to say about the country comprised in the present Section. As to the maritime portion, what we have already said about the islands seems sufficient. Nevertheless, it is well to know that, starting from the island of Sarandíb, of which we have spoken under the first climate, with the intention of gaining the continent by the shortest course, Jirbatán¹ is the place to land at, for this is but little more than half a day's sail. If it is necessary to go towards the east, the landing must be made at Kaikasár, or at the foot of the mountain of Umri, which is very high, stretches towards the north, and forms a large reef in the sea. From this reef to Sarandíb is about four days. All this well-known mountain is covered with sapan wood, which is exported. The root of the sapan quickly soothes the pain caused by the bite of serpents.

¹ [This name is written "Jirbatán," and "Jirbatan" previously.]

IX.

ASÁRU-L BILÁD

OF

ZAKARÍYA AL KAZWÍNÍ.

Zakariya son of Muhammad son of Mahmúd is surnamed Kazwíní, from the town of Kazwín or Kasbín in Persia, where he was born. He was not a traveller, but compiled his works from the writings of Istakhrí, Ibn Haukal, and others, whom he regularly cites as his authorities. His works were written just after the middle of the thirteenth century, about 661 A.H. (1263 A.D.) according to Casiri, or 674 (1275 A.D.) according to Hajj Khalfa. He has been called the Pliny of the East. He was author of the work called '*Ajáibu-l Makhlúkát wa Gharáibu-l Maujudát*, "Wonders of things created, and marvels of things existing," also of the '*Ásáru-l Bilád wa Akhbáru-l 'Ibád*, "Monuments of countries, and memoirs of men." A few extracts have been taken from the last work, containing matter derived from other sources than the books previously quoted.

M. Reinaud, in his introduction to Aboulfeda, ascribes to Kazwíní the authorship of the work called '*Ajáibu-l buldán*, "Wonders of Countries." He found the contents of this work to be in the main identical with those of the *Ásáru-l bilád*, but containing more biographical notices. This opinion is confirmed by a short Persian account of a work called "*Bahru-l buldán*," which is among Sir H. Elliot's MSS., and seems to have been written expressly for him. There is no copy of the work itself among the MSS.,

though Sir H. Elliot must once have had one in his possession. The notice says, "The Bahru-l buldán is not a distinct work, but is a Persian translation of the *Āsáru-l Bilád wa Akhbáru-l 'Ibád*, well known in the world by the name '*Ajaibu-l buldán*, written in Arabic by Zakariya bin Muhammad Kazwini." It is curious, however, that the '*Ajaibu-l buldán*¹ is frequently quoted by Kazwini in the *Āsáru-l bilad*, as being the work of Mis'ar bin Muhallil,—a traveller who went to China and India about 331 A.H. (942 A.D.). Several instances of this will be found in the following extracts. It is hard to believe that Kazwini thus quoted his own work, or that he would refer the authorship of his own book to another person. If then, Kazwini is really the author of a work called '*Ajaibu-l buldán*, it is only reasonable to conclude that he adopted the title of his predecessor's work. Mis'ar bin Muhallil is quoted by Yákút in his great Dictionary, and the fragments which he and Kazwini preserved have been selected and published with a Latin translation by M. Kurd de Schläezer.² There is another Persian translation of the *Āsáru-l bilád* among Sir H. Elliot's MSS., bearing the title "*Sairu-l bilád*." This MS. is called an "abstract," and was copied, and perhaps "abstracted," expressly for Sir H. Elliot, from a copy in the possession of Mr. J. Bardoe Elliott. The articles relating to India are given in full, but the others are greatly abbreviated. This work is said to be very scarce.

EXTRACTS.

KŪLAM.—A large city in India. Mis'ar bin Muhallil, who visited the place, says that he did not see either a temple or an idol there. When their king dies the people of the place choose another from China. There is no physician in India except in this city. The buildings are curious, for the pillars are (covered with) shells from

¹ The title is a favourite one. Mas'udi cites the work of Al Jāhiz, "*Kitābu-l amsār wa 'Ajaibu-l buldán*" (Book ix.) *ante* page 21.

² Reinaud : *Aboulfeda*, CXLIII. *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 23.

the backs of fishes. The inhabitants do not eat fish, nor do they slaughter animals, but they eat carrion. They manufacture clay vessels, which are sold in our cities like those of China, but they are not the same, because the clay of China is harder than that of Kúlam, and bears the fire better. The vessels of Kúlam are blackish, but those of China are whiter than all others. There are places here where the teak tree grows to a very great height, exceeding even a hundred cubits. Brazil wood, ratans, and kaná also grow here in abundance. Rhubarb grows here, the leaves of which are the Sáza-ju-l Hindí, Indian leaf, and are held in high esteem as a medicine for the eyes. They bring here various sorts of aloe wood, camphor, and frankincense. Aloe wood is also brought hither from the islands beyond the equator, where no one has ever gone and seen the tree. Water comes into it from the north. There is a mine of yellow sulphur here, and a mine of copper, the condensed smoke of which makes excellent vitriol.

MULTÁN.—[*Kazwíní quotes Istakhrí at some length, but gives additional particulars from other writers.*] Mis'ar bin Muhalhíl says that it is the last city of India bordering on China.¹ It is a large fortified and impregnable city, and is held in high esteem by the Hindus and Chinese, for it contains a temple which is for them a place of worship and pilgrimage, as Mecca is for the Muham-madans. The inhabitants are Musulmans and infidels, but the government is in the hands of the former. The infidels have a large temple there and a great idol (budd). The chief mosque is near this temple. Islám prevails there, and its orders and interdicts are obeyed. All this is related by Mis'ar bin Muhalhíl * * * The same author says that the summit of the temple is 300 cubits [zará'], and the height of the idol is 20 cubits. The houses of the servants and devotees are around the temple, and there are no idol worshippers in Multán besides those who dwell in these precincts [kasr] * * * The ruler of Multán does not abolish this idol, because he takes the large offerings which are brought to it, and disburses certain sums

¹ [The translator in the Sairu-l bilád very rarely departs from his text, but he observes in this article that a good deal has been written in many books about Multán which is not accurate, and that Multán is not near China, unless there be some other than the well-known town of that name.]

to the attendants for their maintenance. When the Indians make an attack upon the town, the Musulmáns bring out the idol, and when the infidels see it (about to be) broken or burnt, they retire. Ibnu-l Fakih says that an Indian came to this idol, and placed upon his head a crown of cotton, daubed with pitch; he did the same with his fingers, and having set fire to it he staid before the idol until it was burnt.

Saimúr.—A city of Hind near the confines of Sind. The people are very beautiful and handsome, from being born of Turk and Indian parents. There are Musulmáns, Christians, Jews, and Fire-worshippers there. The merchandize of the Turks is conveyed hither, and the aloes called Saimúrí are named from this place. The temple of Saimúr is an idol temple, on the summit of a high eminence, under the charge of keepers. There are idols in it of turquoise and baijádak,¹ which are highly venerated. In the city there are mosques, Christian churches, synagogues, and Fire temples. The infidels do not slaughter animals, nor do they eat flesh, fish, or eggs; but there are some who will eat animals that have fallen down precipices, or that have been gored to death, but they do not eat those that have died a natural death. This information has been derived from Mis'ar bin Muhalhíl, author of the 'Ajáibu-l buldán, who travelled into various countries and recorded their wonders.

Somnát.—A celebrated city of India, situated on the shore of the sea, and washed by its waves. Among the wonders of that place was the temple in which was placed the idol called Somnát. This idol was in the middle of the temple without anything to support it from below, or to suspend it from above. It was held in the highest honour among the Hindus, and whoever beheld it floating in the air was struck with amazement, whether he was a Musulman or an infidel. The Hindus used to go on pilgrimage to it whenever there was an eclipse of the moon, and would then assemble there to the number of more than a hundred thousand. They believed that the souls of men used to meet there after separation from the body, and that the idol used to incorporate them at its pleasure in other bodies, in accordance with their doctrine of transmigration. The ebb and

¹ [A stone like a ruby.]

flow of the tide was considered to be the worship paid to the idol by the sea. Everything of the most precious was brought there as offerings, and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages. There is a river (the Ganges) which is held sacred, between which and Somnât the distance is 200 parasangs. They used to bring the water of this river to Somnât every day, and wash the temple with it. A thousand brahmans were employed in worshipping the idol and attending on the visitors, and 500 damsels sung and danced at the door—all these were maintained upon the endowments of the temple. The edifice was built upon fifty-six pillars of teak, covered with lead. The shrine of the idol was dark, but was lighted by jewelled chandeliers of great value. Near it was a chain of gold weighing 200 mans. When a portion (watch) of the night closed, this chain used to be shaken like bells to rouse a fresh lot of brahmans to perform worship. When the Sultán Yamínu-d Daula Mahmúd bin Subuktigín went to wage religious war against India, he made great efforts to capture and destroy Somnât, in the hope that the Hindus would then become Muhammadans. He arrived there in the middle of Zí-l k'ada, 416 A.H. (December, 1025 A.D.). The Indians made a desperate resistance. They would go weeping and crying for help into the temple, and then issue forth to battle and fight till all were killed. The number of the slain exceeded 50,000. The king looked upon the idol with wonder, and gave orders for the seizing of the spoil, and the appropriation of the treasures. There were many idols of gold and silver and vessels set with jewels, all of which had been sent there by the greatest personages in India. The value of the things found in the temples of the idols exceeded twenty thousand thousand dínars.¹ When the king asked his companions what they had to say about the marvel of the idol, and of its staying in the air without prop or support, several maintained that it was upheld by some hidden support. The king directed a person to go and feel all around and above and below it with a spear, which he did, but met with no obstacle. One of the atten-

¹ [The words as given in Wüstenfeld's edition are اكثر من عشرين الف دينار, as translated in the Sairu-l Bilâd هزار و بیست هزار, and Gildemeister's Latin version has "vicies millena millia." The enormous treasures found at Somnât have been a theme of wonder for all who have written on that conquest.]

dants then stated his opinion that the canopy was made of loadstone, and the idol of iron, and that the ingenious builder had skilfully contrived that the magnet should not exercise a greater force on any one side—hence the idol was suspended in the middle. Some coincided, others differed. Permission was obtained from the Sultán to remove some stones from the top of the canopy to settle the point. When two stones were removed from the summit the idol swerved on one side, when more were taken away it inclined still further, until at last it rested on the ground.

TAIFAND.—An impregnable fortress upon the summit of a mountain in India, to which there is only one way of access. On the top of this mountain there is water, cultivated land, and all necessary food. Yamínu-d daula Mahmud bin Subuktigín in the year 414 A.H. (1023 A.D.) besieged it for a long time, but at length reduced its garrison to extremities. There were 500 elephants on the mountain. The garrison asked quarter, and it was granted, and the fortress was confirmed to its master on payment of tribute. The lord of the fortress presented many gifts to the Sultán, among which was a bird in the form of a dove. When food containing poison was presented to this bird, tears would fall from its eyes, and the tear drops were converted into stone, which stone being broken and placed upon a wound, it would heal up. This bird is found only in this place, and does not thrive elsewhere.

HISTORIANS OF SIND.



I.

MUJMALU-T TAWĀRIKH.

[A PORTION of this most interesting unique work was published by M. Reinaud, in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatif à l'Inde*, from the MS. numbered 62 in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris. The MS. has been described in the *Journal Asiatique* at different times, by M. Quatremère and M. Muhl, and it had been previously drawn upon by Anquetil Duperron and Silvestre de Sacy.]

[The chapter published by M. Reinaud, with which we are here concerned, was not written by the author of the *Mujmal* himself, but was borrowed by him from an older work, of which he thus speaks,—“I have seen an ancient book of the Hindus which Abú Sálîh bin Shu'aib bin Jâmi' translated into Arabic from the Hindwâní language (Sanskrit). This work was translated into Persian in 417 A.H. (1026 A.D.) by Abú-l Hasan 'Ali bin Muhammad al Jílî,¹ keeper of the library at Jurján for a chief of the Dîlamites. The book I saw was in the handwriting of the author, and bore the date above given. It is the

¹ [Reinaud's printed text had “al Jabalti,” but Quatremère, corrected it to “al Jílî,” (*Jour. des Sav.*, Jan. 1851), that is native of Jílân or Gílan, S.W., of the Caspian. Júrján is to the east of the same sea.]

custom of the Hindu writers on philosophy to put speeches into the mouths of beasts and birds, as in the book *Kalila wa Dimna*, and accordingly many such speeches are introduced into this book. I have here introduced the (account of the) origin of the kings and a short history of them, and I have copied it because it is not to be found anywhere else—but God knows.”]

[The date of the original Arabic translation does not appear; it may or may not have been written before the work of Biláduri, but the “extracts” relate to an ancient period, and more especially to Sind, so that they come in most appropriately here at the beginning of the historical writings. The date of the ~~Arabic~~ translation, and still more that of the *Mujmal*, would carry them onward to a later and less suitable position.]

M. Reinaud is of opinion that the translated Sanskrit work was composed about the commencement of the Christian era, certainly long previous to the Rája Taranginí, and probably to the Mahá-bhárata; and that the subsequent reputation of that poem threw the translated work into the shade. If so, it would go far to show that the Mahá-bhárata is, as Wolfe and Heyne say of the *Iliad*, a collection of older poems already current; for there are many passages in *Mujmalu-t Tawárikh* which are almost verbatim the same as they are at present preserved in the Mahá-bhárata. Indeed, it might be said that the Mahá-bhárata was itself the work translated by the Arab, had not animals been represented as the speakers.

The learned Editor also thinks he has discovered in this extract indications of the Bráhmanical influence being established over the Kshatriyas, at an epoch subsequent to the war between the Pándavas and Kauravas. The inference, however, rests upon very questionable grounds, so questionable, indeed, that we are tempted to exclaim, as the pious Persian translator does at the end of each Indian fable recorded by him, “God only knows the truth!”

The author of the “*Mujmalu-t Tawárikh*,” says that his

father was the compiler of an historical work, and that he himself had written a history of the Barmekides from their origin to their extinction. M. Quatremère and M. Mohl say that his name is unknown, and give his pedigree as grandson of Muhallib bin Muhammad bin Shádí. He was a traveller; for he tells us that he had visited the tombs of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Jonas, and certain ancient buildings in Persia and Babylonia. He informs us that he commenced his book A.H. 520 (A.D. 1126), during the reign of Sanjar, son of Malik Sháh, Sultán of the Saljúkís, but he must have lived long after this, for he records an event of A.H. 589 (A.D. 1193.)

His work is a chronological abridgment of universal history to the sixth century of the Híjrí. He quotes several rare authorities and makes a critical use of them. The topic on which he appears to have exercised most of his researches is the history of Persia, on which subject he promises to write hereafter a more detailed account. He gives many curious and circumstantial details on geography, derived not only from books, but from his own personal observation.

The Persian translation, which he quotes from Abú-l Hasan, is badly executed, being much too literal, and without any pretensions to style; and the same neglect of the most ordinary grace and embellishment has been observed in the author's own composition, in the portions which are original.

The authorities he quotes are the history of Tabarí, the Sháh-náma, Garshasp-náma, Farámarz-náma, Bahman-náma, Kúsh-píl-dandán, Abú-l Muayyid Balkhí, Hamza Isfahání, and some others. He says that he quotes these in original, although they will be found to agree but little with one another, in order that his readers may know all that has been said upon the subjects he discusses; that he abridges their prolixities, and discards their quotations in verse; that if ever he quotes poetry, it is on account of its intrinsic excellence, or its peculiar adaptation to the subject he had to illustrate.

“The transactions of the kings of Persia,” he continues, “are

the only ones which I propose to recount at length, because that country is placed in the centre of the universe, because it forms one quarter of the habitable globe, because it is the cradle of the human race, because it is the residence of the kings of the fourth climate, because other portions of the globe, such as China, India, Zanj, Arabia, Greece, and Turkistán are not to be compared to Irán, nor is any other country, whether east, west, north, or south,—because, moreover, in reading the history of Persia, any one can at the same time instruct himself respecting the state, position, peculiarities and marvels of other countries.”

This work, therefore, as far as it goes, may be considered an introduction to the History of Persia, and that the author completed the entire work cannot be doubted, because he constantly alludes to the details which he has given in the subsequent part. The discovery of the complete work would be a matter of congratulation. It was at one time the intention of M.M. Saint Martin and J. Mohl to publish the Mujmal with a commentary, and there is great cause to regret that the death of the former interrupted the project.

The work, as at present preserved, consists of twenty-five chapters, of which many comprise merely chronological tables, such as those of the Prophets, kings of Rûm, Arabs, Sámánides, Buwaihides, Ghaznivides, Saljúkians, and Greeks, but enters into more particulars respecting the Hindú kings of India, the ancient kings of Persia, Muhammad, and the Khalifs, celebrated tombs, and Muhammadan cities. Without the last chapter, which is missing, the Manuscript contains 305 folios.¹

EXTRACTS.

HISTORY OF THE JATS AND MEDS.—As an account of the Jats and Meds is given in the first part of the original work, I shall commence mine by making them the subject of it.

¹ See *Journal Asiatique*, trois. sér. Tom. VII. pp. 246-286. Tom. XI. pp. 136-178, 258-301, 320-361. *Le Livre des Rois*, Tom. I. pp. l.-lx. Anquetil du Perron, *Zendavesta*, Tom. II. pp. 352, et seq. Reinaud's *Mém. sur l'Inde*, p. 14. Quatre-mère, in *Jour. des Savants*, Jan. 1851.

The Jats and Meds¹ are, it is said, descendants of Ham. They dwelt in Sind and (on the banks of) the river which is called Bahar. By the Arabs the Hindús are called Jats. The Meds held the ascendancy over the Jats, and put them to great distress, which compelled them to take refuge on the other side of the river Pahan, but being accustomed to the use of boats, they used to cross the river and make attacks on the Meds, who were owners of sheep. It so came to pass that the Jats enfeebled the Meds, killed many of them, and plundered their country. The Meds then became subject to the Jats.

One of the Jat chiefs (seeing the sad state to which the Meds were reduced) made the people of his tribe understand that success was not constant; that there was a time when the Meds attacked the Jats, and harassed them, and that the Jats had in their turn done the same with the Meds. He impressed upon their minds the utility of both tribes living in peace, and then advised the Jats and Meds to send a few chiefs to wait on king Dajúshan [Duryodhana], son of Dahrát [Dhritaráshtra], and beg of him to appoint a king, to whose authority both tribes might submit. The result of this was satisfactory, and his proposition was adopted. After some discussion they agreed to act upon it, and the emperor Dajúshan nominated his sister Dassál [Duhsalá], wife of king Jandrát [Jayadratha], a powerful prince, to rule over the Jats and Meds. Dassal went and took charge of the country and cities, the particulars of which and of the wisdom of the princess, are detailed in the original work. But for all its greatness, and riches and dignity, there was no bráhmaṇ or wise man in the country. She therefore wrote a long letter to her brother for assistance, who collected 30,000 bráhmans from all Hindústán, and sent them, with all their goods and dependents, to his sister. There are several discussions and stories about these bráhmans in the original work.

A long time passed before Sind became flourishing. The original work gives a long description of the country, its rivers and wonders, and mentions the foundation of cities. The city which the queen made the capital, is called Askaland.² A small portion of the

¹ [See note in Appendix on "the Meds."]

² This is no doubt the Ashkandra of Pottinger and others. See note in Appendix.

country she made over to the Jats, and appointed one of them as their chief; his name was Júdrat. Similar arrangements were also made for the Meds. This government continued for twenty and some¹ years, after which the Bhárats lost possession of the country.

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ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF THE PÁNDAVAS AND HISTORY OF BRAHMÍN.²—Injustice was the cause of the fall of the dynasty of the Pándavas. Fortune had grown indifferent towards them, and they ended by becoming tyrants. One day they carried off the cow of a brahman, and were about to kill him, when the brahman warned them, and said, "I have read in books that the prosperity of the Pándavas will fall when they shall kill a brahman for the sake of a cow—do not kill me." They did not heed him, but killed both him and the cow. That brahman had a son named Brahmín, a strong and tall man, who dwelt upon a mountain. When he heard of this nefarious business he arose, and said to himself, I will go and take away the sovereignty from the Pándavas, for they have killed a cow, (and) a brahman: the words of the sages cannot prove false, so the time of the fall of their dominion is come. Men laughed at him, but a party assembled round him. He took a city, and his power increased day by day, until he had a large army; and he went on capturing cities until at length he reached the city of Hatná,³ which was the capital. Kúyáhúrat marched out to the battle, but was slain, and Brahmín assumed the sovereignty. Wherever he found any one of the race of the Pándavas he slew him. But a few escaped, who concealed their extraction, and employed themselves as butchers and bakers, or in similar crafts. Brahmín acquired the whole of Hindústán. They say that a daughter of Bol [Nakula], son of Pandu, went to him, and gave him such counsels as induced him to desist from slaying the Pándavas. But he put them all in prison until a large number was collected, when as a condition of

¹ [بيست واند سال.] An *and* is a period of 16,000 years, or any number between three and ten.]

² [This history is explained by the legend of Parasuráma, son of Jamadagni, called here Brahmín. Kúyáhúrat is Kártavírya; Fásaf, Kasyapa; Sunágh, the Muni Sunaka; and the cow, Kámadhenu.—*Reinaud*.]

³ [Hastinapur.]

their deliverance¹ he made them follow certain trades, so that no one would give their daughters to them, or take theirs, or associate with them. He proclaimed this throughout his dominions. Their position was lowered to such a degree, that they took to the occupation of musicians. It is said that the Hindu lute players belong to this family ; but God knows.

HISTORY OF SUNÁGH.—They say that Brahmin felt remorse for the slaughter of so many persons, and said, I substitute worship on the summit of a mountain for the slaughter of men. One day a brahman named Fásaf [Kasyapa] came to him and admonished him. Brahmin said, It is even so ; I myself repent, and I will now give this kingdom to thee. Fásaf said, It is no business of mine ; but Brahmin replied, Do thou receive it from me, and appoint some one over it by thy own authority. There was a servant named Sunágh, and him Fásaf seated on the throne. Brahmin then returned to the scene of his devotions. Sunágh practised justice and equity, and pursued a worthy course. The sovereignty remained in his family until fifteen kings had sat upon the throne. Then they became tyrants, and the sovereignty departed from them. This was in the reign of Gustásf, king of Persia. It is said that in the life-time of this Gustásf, Bahman led an army to Hindústán and took a portion of it ; as to the other parts every one (that could) seized a corner. No one of the family (of Sunágh) retained any power. Bahman founded a city between the confines of the Hindús and the Turks, to which he gave the name of Kandábl, and in another place, which they call Budha, he founded a city which he called Bahman-ábád. According to one account this is Mansúra ; but God knows. At this time he returned to Persia, when he received the news of the death of Gustásf, and assumed the crown. This account I found in this book, but I have not read it elsewhere. The mother of Bahman is said to have been of Turk extraction ; but God knows.

HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF KASHMÍR AND HÁL.—It is said that Hál was the descendant of Sanjwára, son of Jandrat and of the

¹ [I have generally followed M. Quatremère in his ingenious and critical emendations of the version published by Reinaud, but it hardly seems necessary to change the verb *jastan* to *zistan*, as he proposed in this passage. His version is "Il leur assigna, pour vivre, différents métiers."—*Jour. des Sav.*, Jan. 1851.]

daughter of King Dahrát. He inherited in Hindústán the dominion which had been occupied by Jandrat and Dassal and their descendants. He became a very important personage, and built a fine capital and several cities. His country was remarkable for the superior quality of the cloth that was manufactured there. The exportation of this fabric, without the stamp of the king, was prohibited. This stamp was an impression of his foot with saffron.¹

It happened that the wife of the king of Kashmír bought some of that cloth, and having made up a dress of the same, she appeared before her husband, who at the sight of the stamp got jealous, and asked her whence she got the cloth, and what stamp was on it. His wife replied that she had bought it from a merchant. The merchant was sent for, and the king made enquiries about it. The merchant said that the stamp on the cloth was an impression of king Hál's foot.² On hearing this the king of Kashmír swore he would go and cut off the foot of king Hál. His Wazír observed,—“that place is the land of the brahmans, you will gain no victory there.” The king of Kashmír did not heed this advice, but marched out with his army. When Hál heard of the king of Kashmír's intentions, he was alarmed ; he sent information to the bráhmans and told them the king of Kashmír's threat, and said it behoved them therefore to throw obstacles in his way. The bráhmans offered up their prayers, and counselled him to have an elephant made of clay, and to have it placed in front of the battle-field. Hál did so, and when the king of Kashmír's soldiers advanced under their commander-in-chief, flames burst from the elephant and burnt many of them.

The king of Kashmír was then compelled to sue for peace, (at the conclusion of which,) Hál sent many presents to him. And the king of Kashmír, in order to fulfil his oath, cut off the leg of an image made of wax, and returned by the river.³ He was advised

¹ Vigne's *Kashmir*, I. 134.

² This is the same legend as that of Mihirakula in the Rája Taranginí (II. 32) ; and the foot plays an important part in several other Indian stories. See Sprenger's *Mas'ûdî*, p. 318. Edwardes's *Panjab*, I. 394. Reinaud's *Mém.* 62. *Ind. Alterth.* II. 853.

³ Todd, II. 239, 264. Irving's *Successors of Mahomet*, 61. [The word translated “river” is *darya*, which Quatremère says ought to be read “sea.” It bears both

not to proceed by water on account of its turbulence. In compliance with this advice he travelled along the bank (sáhil) until he reached a stage some parasangs distant from the country of Kashmír, when the waters subsided.¹ In that place he built many houses and villages. The sea in Hindí is called Sávandar² (Samudra). Hence that place was called Sávandí, and it exists to this day. He also built temples and superb cities in many places. At length, intelligence of an enemy came to him from Kashmír, he then returned to his country, and suppressed his foes. The Government remained for a length of time in the hands of his descendants, and all the Hindús were obedient to them. In the country of Sind there were three kings, until at length the territory of the Hindús came under the authority of King Kafand, after he had by his valour subdued them. A bráhmaṇ had blessed him and said that the whole sovereignty should devolve upon him.

HISTORY OF KING KAFAND.³—This Kafand was not a Hindú, but through his kindly disposition and equity all became obedient to him. He made fine speeches and praised the Hindús and their country. He raised their hopes by his virtues, and realised them by his deeds. He was cotemporary⁴ with Alexander the Greek. He had visions, of which he asked the interpretation from a brahmaṇ, and he sought peace from Alexander, to whom he sent his daughter, a skilful physician, a philosopher, and a glass vase.⁵ In the Sháh-náma he is called Kaid the Hindú. This story will also be related

meanings, and the latter view is supported by the use of the word *adhi*, coast; but it is difficult to conceive that the author supposed it possible to return to Kashmír by sea.]

¹ [Sir H. Elliot introduced some slight emendations into the the text of this passage, which seem preferable to the words printed by Reinaud, and have been followed in the translation. The original words are بر ساحل بیامد هرمزلی
اب کمتر گشت چند فرسنگ از عرض و ملک کشمیر آنجا یگانه
[.برموزلی که آب کمتر گشت. Elliot reads عمارتها کرد و دیوها]

² This appears to be an allusion to the Sumundúr, mentioned in the 'Ajáibu-l Makhluqát, fol. 197, v. Mihrán. [See Biláduri and Chach-náma, *post.*]

³ [See Thomas in *Jour. R.A.S.*, 1865. Vol. I. p. 453.]

⁴ [Quatremère's emendation of بعهد for بعد is essential.]

⁵ [See Mas'udi. Chap. xxvi.]

in the life of Alexander. When the information of the brahman reached the Hindús,¹ Kafand sent a person to Sámíd, his brother, directing him to go to Mansúra with the brahman, and expel Mahra² the Persian from those places which Bahman had conquered, and to erect idol temples in place of fire-temples. Sámíd called (to his assistance) Hál, king of Hindústán, and they marched against Mahra the Persian, and warred with him until he fled into the city. For three years Mahra remained in the fortress, but when no prospect of success was left he ordered a tunnel to be dug, and they carried this (subterraneous passage) to a place called Kiyátasa. He then ordered posts to be fixed in the ground on the top of the fortress, and arms and helmets to be placed upon them, so that they looked like sentries. He then retired with the whole of his force through the tunnel, and marched towards the Turks, whose king gave him refuge. After some days crows perched upon the helmets, and the soldiers of Sámíd perceiving this the truth was made known. The gates were then opened, and the people of the city described the departure of Mahra the Persian. So after the lapse of some years Sámíd returned victorious to his own country. Alexander came to India after this transaction.

After Kafand had departed his son Ayand ascended the throne, and he divided the country of Sind into four parts. One king he established at 'Askalandúsa.³ Upon another he bestowed the country of Zor to which Anj [Uch?] is attached. Three other countries of the kingdom of Sámíd [Sámíd] he bestowed upon another.⁴ Fourthly,

¹ چون خبر برهمن بهندوان رسید . Should not brahman be read Bahman? "When intelligence of (the conquests of) Bahman reached the Hindús."]

² [According to the Sháh-náma the name of the bráhman, who interpreted Kaid's dream, was "Máhran."—Reinaud.]

³ ملکی را بعسقلندوسه بنشاند . I have followed Reinaud in reading "Askalandúsa," but the name is generally accepted as "'Askaland," or "'Askalandra," and the termination úsa has not been found elsewhere. May not the passage be read, "He established one king at 'Askaland and Sah?" or may not even the last word signify "and three" (dependencies).]

⁴ [The whole of this passage is ambiguous. The word مسدیگرولایت, which is here rendered "three other countries," is rendered as "un troisième principauté" by Reinaud.]

he consigned the countries of Hindústán, Nadama, and Lohána separately upon another. This was after the time of Hál.¹ When the life of Ayand reached its limit, his son Rásal became king. He reigned for some time, until one rose up against him and expelled him from the kingdom. Rásal (then) went southwards, and established himself there. He had two sons, one named Rawwál, and the younger Barkamárís.

HISTORY OF RAWWÁL AND BARKAMÁRÍS.—When Rásal died his eldest son Rawwál assumed the sovereignty. It happened that a certain king had a daughter of great intelligence. Wise and learned men had declared that the man who should marry this girl should become king of the four climes.² All the kings and princes of the Hindus sought her, but no one pleased her except Barkamárís, who was very handsome. When Barkamárís brought her home his brother said, as she pleased you so does she please me. Then he took the girl with her handmaids. Barkamárís said to himself “The damsel chose me for my wisdom and there is nothing better than wisdom.” So he gave himself up to study, and associated with the learned and the brahmans, till he reached such perfection that he had no equal.

When the rebel who had expelled their father (Rásal) heard the story of the damsel, he said “Can they who do such things occupy such a position?” So he led an army and put Rawwál to flight. Rawwál with his brothers and nobles all went to the top of a mountain where a strong fortress had been built. Then they set guards on the summit and felt secure. But the enemy got possession of the mountain by stratagem, and besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it. Rawwál then sent to sue for peace, and his enemy said—“Send me the girl, and let every one of your chiefs send a girl. I will give these girls to my officers,—then I will withdraw.” Rawwál was dejected, but he had a wazír, blind of both eyes, named Safar, of whom he enquired what was to be done. He advised him to give up the women and save his life. He might then take measures against his enemy, but if he lost his life what would be the good of

¹ [See the account of the division of Sind into four kingdoms as described in the first chapter of the Chach-náma, *post.*]

² [The four quarters of the world.]

children and wife, and riches. They resolved upon this course, but just at this juncture, Barkamárís came in, and after making his salutation, said, "I and the king are sons of the same father; if he will acquaint me with his opinion, it may be that I may be able to suggest something,—do not take my youth into consideration." So they informed him of the facts. He then said, "It seems proper that I should stake my life for the king: let an order be given for me to be dressed like a woman, and let all the officers dress their sons in like manner as damsels, and let us each conceal a knife in our hair, and carry a trumpet also concealed; then send us to the king. When we are brought before the king they will tell him that I am the damsel, he will keep me for himself and give the others to his officers. When the king retires with me I will rip up his belly with the knife and sound the trumpet. When the other youths hear this they will know that I have done my work, and they must also do theirs. All the officers of the army will thus be slain. You must be prepared, and when you hear the trumpet, you must sally forth with your soldiers and we will exterminate the foe." Rawwál was delighted and did as was proposed. It succeeded, not one of the enemy's horsemen escaped, all were slain and cast down from the mountain. Rawwál's power increased.

[The Wazír excites the king's suspicions against Barkamárís, who feigns madness.]

One day in the hot season, Barkamárís was wandering barefoot about the city, and came to the gate of the king's palace. Meeting no hindrance he entered, and found his brother and the damsel sitting on a throne sucking sugar cane. When Rawwál saw him he observed that there could be no porters at the gate, otherwise the poor mendicant would never have got in. Taking pity on him, he gave him a bit of sugar cane. The mendicant took it, and picked up a piece of the shell of the cane to scrape and clean it with. When the king saw that he wanted to clean the cane, he told the damsel to give him a knife. She rose and gave the knife to Barkamárís, who cleaned the sugar cane with it, and craftily watched until the king was off his guard. Then he sprung upon him, and plunging the knife into his navel, ripped him up. After that he seized his feet

and dragged him from the throne. He next called the wazír and the people, and seated himself on the throne amid the plaudits of the people. He burnt the body of the king, took back the damsel and married her, and restored order.

Then he called the wazír and said "I know that it was you who counselled my brother in his dealings with me, but this was no fault nor is it blameable. It was God's will that I should be king, so continue to govern the kingdom as you did for my brother." Safar replied, "You have spoken the truth, all that I did was for the good and advantage of your brother, not out of enmity to you. But I have now resolved upon burning myself, and cannot do as you desire. I was with your brother in life, and I will be with him in death." Barkamárís told him that he wanted him to write a book on the duties of kings, on government and justice. Safar consented, and wrote the book, which is called "*Adabu-l Mulúk*," "Instruction of Kings." I have¹ transcribed it in this book, for I have written an abstract of it. When it was finished he took it to Barkamárís and read it, and all the nobles admired and praised it. Then he burnt himself. The power of Barkamárís and his kingdom spread, until at length all India submitted to him. Such was Barkamárís. I have related all the facts just as I found them.

¹ [Quatremère reasonably proposes to insert a negative here.]

II.

FUTÚHU-L BULDÁN.

OF

AHMAD IBN YAHYA IBN JÁBIR.

AL BILÁDURÍ.

THIS work is in the Leyden University Library, and has been described by Hamaker, at pp. 7 and 239 of his "*Specimen Catalogi, Codd MSS. Orientalium*," An abstract of it is given in an appendix contained in the third volume of Dr. Gustave Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, and the entire chapter on the conquest of Sind, has been edited by M. Reinaud in the *Journal Asiatique* for February 1845, reprinted with additional notes in his valuable "*Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde*." [There is also a copy in the British Museum. The complete text has lately been admirably printed at Leyden, under the editorship of M. de Goeje.]

The author is Ahmad bin Yahya, bin Jábir, surnamed also Abú Ja'far and Abú-l Hasan, but more usually known as Biládurí, who lived towards the middle of the ninth century of our era, at the court of the Khalif Al Mutawakkal, where he was engaged as instructor to one of the princes of his family. He died A.H. 279, A.D. 892-3 This is according to Reinaud's statement—Pascual de Gayangos while he gives the same year of his death, on the authority of Abú-l Mahásin, says he lived at Baghdád in the Khalifat of Al-Mu'tamad. He left a large as well as a small edition of the Futúhu-l Buldán.

This work contains as its name implies, an account of the first conquests of the Arabs in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Armenia, Transoxiana, Africa, Spain and Sind. It is one of the earliest Arabic chronicles; for Tabarí, though he wrote at Baghdád, and did not compose his work till afterwards, was evidently not acquainted with this author, since he omits much that Biláduri has mentioned. It brings down the history of events to the close of the reign of Mu'tasim, A.H. 227, A.D. 842. Wákidi, who is quoted by Biláduri, also wrote a book of "Conquests," and amongst them a "Conquest of Sind," which Dr. Sprenger mentions that he has seen quoted by Nuwairí at folio 103 of the large copy of Leyden. Copies of his other *Futúh* are very common; and much passes under his name which was never written by him, as in the instance of the work translated by Ockley; but his *Futúhu-s Sind* is rare. Nuwairí mentions also another author of Indian history, folio 795,—Al Husain bin Yazíd us Siráfí. We find also other authors on Sindian invasions quoted as existing at the early period of the Arabian conquests.

Biláduri does not himself appear to have visited Sind, but quotes the authors on whom he relied for information. Thus we have mention of Abú-l Hassan 'Ali bin Muhammad Al Madáiní, with whom he had verbal communication. This author, who died A.H. 840 (1436 A.D.), at the advanced age of ninety-three, composed, amongst other works, Al Mughází wau-s Siyár, "Wars and Marches," which contained a detailed account of the expeditions of the Musulmán's in Khurásán and on the Indus. Mansúr bin Hátim is also mentioned as an author on Sindian History, with whom, as well as with Al Madáiní, Biláduri had held personal intercourse. Another author quoted by Biláduri is Ibnu-l Kalbí.

Besides the *Futúhu-l buldán*, our author wrote another work on cosmography, with a description of the inhabited earth entitled *Kitábu-l buldán*, the "Book of Countries," which is in the Library of the British Museum. (*Bibl. Rich.* No. 7496). He

also wrote a work on the genealogy of the Arabian tribes, the title of which is not known, and he translated several works from the Persian. He also has the credit of being a good poet. He is cited frequently by Ibn Haukal, Al-Mas'údí, and other ancient geographers, but his history is rarely quoted. Kudáma, who wrote at Baghdád, towards the end of the ninth century, gives an extract from it, and Ibn Asír also quotes it under the years 89 and 95 H.

He was called Biládurí or Bilázurí, from his addiction to the use of an intoxicating electuary made from the Balázar, or Malacca bean, which, from its resemblance in shape and colour to a heart, is called anacardium.¹ [The name is written optionally with either *و* or *ز*. Goeje transcribes the name as "Beládsorí." The author, however, is better known as Biládurí or Beladori, and that form has therefore been retained. The Leyden MS., like other old MSS., prefers the *ز* to the *و*, even when the latter is manifestly correct—thus it gives Brahmanábáz for Brahmanábád, and Rúzbár for Rúdbár.²]

EXTRACTS.

Conquests of Sind.

'Alí, son of Muhammad, son of 'Abdu-llah, son of Abú Saif, has related that the Khalif 'Umar, son of Al Khattáb appointed 'Usman, son of Abú-l 'Así of the tribe of Sakif to Bahrain and 'Umán in the year 15 H. (636 A.D.) 'Usmán sent his brother Hakam to Bahrain, and he himself went to 'Umán, and despatched an army to Tána. When the army returned he wrote to the Khalif 'Umar to inform

¹ F. R. Dietz, *Analecta Medica*, p. 101. Compare Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Vol. III. Anhang, Vol. I. p. i-x. *Journal des Savants*, April, 1847. *Journal Asiatique*, IV Serie, Vol. VIII. Hamaker, *Specimen Catalogi*, pp. 7, 12, 239. A. Sprenger's *Meadows of Gold*, pp. 15, 16. Fraehn, *Indications Bibliographiques*, No. 39. Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, pp. xviii, xix. *Mémoire sur l'Inde*, p. 16. *Aboufédá* II. 57. *Biographical Dict.* L. U. K., "Ahmed al-Beládhori." Uylenbroek *Iraca Persica Descriptio*, p. 67.

² Morley's *Catalogue*, p. 20. Müller's *Essai sur la Langue Pehlivi*. Lumsden's *Grammar*. *Borhan-i Kdti*, p. 4. *Dubeux Tabari*, XXX. Spiegel, *Parsi Grammar*.

him of it. 'Umar wrote in reply—"O brother of Sakíf, thou has placed the worm in the wood, but I swear by God, that if our men had been killed I would have taken (slain) an equal number from your tribe." Hakam despatched a force to Barauz [Broach]; he also sent to the bay of Debal his brother Mughíra, who met and defeated the enemy.

When 'Usmán, son of 'Akkán became Khalif, he appointed 'Abdu-llah son of 'Ámar, son of Kuraiz, to (the government of) 'Irák, and wrote to him an order to send a person to the confines of Hind in order to acquire knowledge and bring back information. He accordingly deputed Hakim, son of Jaballa al 'Abdí. When this man returned he was sent on to the Khalif, who questioned him about the state of those regions. He replied that he knew them because he had examined them. The Khalif then told him to describe them. He said "Water is scarce, the fruits are poor, and the robbers are bold; if few troops are sent there they will be slain, if many, they will starve." 'Usmán asked him whether he spoke accurately or hyperbolically [*Lit.* in rhyme]. He said that he spoke according to his knowlege, The Khalif abstained from sending any expedition there.

At the end of the year 38, or the beginning of the year 39 H. (659 A.D.) in the Khalifat of 'Alí son of Abú Sálíb, Haras the son of Marra-l 'Abdí went with the sanction of the Khalif to the same frontier, as a volunteer. He was victorious, got plunder, made captives, and distributed in one day a thousand heads. He and those who were with him, saving a few, were slain in the land of Kíkán¹ in the year 42 H. (662 A.D.) Kíkán is in Sind near the frontiers of Khurásán.

In the year 44 H. (664 A.D.), and in the days of the Khalif Mu'áwiya, Muhallab son of Abú Safra made war upon the same frontier, and advanced as far as Banna and Alahwár,² which lie between Multán and Kábul. The enemy opposed him and killed him and his followers. In the land of Kíkán, Muhallab encountered eighteen Turkí horsemen, riding crop-tailed horses. They fought well but were all slain. Muhallab said, "How much more

¹ [قیقان]

² [Lahore.]

active than we those barbarians were." So he docked the tails of his horses, and was the first among the Musulmáns who did so.

In the reign of Mu'áwiya, son of Abú Sufain, the Amír 'Abdu-llah, son of 'Ámir, or according to some, Mu'áwiya himself sent 'Abdu-llah, son of Suar al 'Abdi, to the frontier of Hind. He fought in Kíkán and captured booty. Then he came to Mu'áwiya and presented to him some Kíkán horses. He staid near the Khalif some time and then returned to Kíkán, when the Turks called their forces together and slew him.



In the reign of the same Mu'áwiya, the Chief Ziyád, son of Abú Sufian, appointed Sinán, son of Salama, son of al Muhabbik the Huzailí (to the command). He was a good and godly man, and was the first who made his troops take an oath of divorce. He proceeded to the frontier and having subdued Makrán and its cities by force, he staid there and established his power in the country. According to Ibn al Kalbí, it was Hakím bin Jabala al 'Abdí who conquered Makrán.

Ziyád then appointed Ráshid son of 'Umrú-l Judaidí of the tribe of Azd, to the frontier. He proceeded to Makrán and was victorious in warring against Kíkán, but he was slain fighting against the Meds. Sinán, son of Salama, then succeeded to the command and was confirmed therein by Ziyád. He remained there two years.

'Abbád, son of Ziyád, then made war on the frontier of Hind by way of Sijistán. He went to Sanárúz, from whence he proceeded by way of Kház to Ruzbár¹ in Sijistán on the banks of the Hind-mand. Then he descended to Kish, and crossing the desert came to Kandahár.² He fought the inhabitants, routed them, put them to flight and subdued the country; but many Musulmáns perished. 'Abbád observed the high caps of the people of that country, and had some made like them, which he called 'Abbádiya.

Ziyád next appointed Al Manzar, son of Al Jarúd al 'Abdí, to the frontiers of India. He was known by the name of Abú-l Ash'as. He attacked and conquered Núkán³ and Kíkán. The Musulmáns

¹ [Rúdbár on the Helmand.]

² ["Kunduhár" in the text.]

³ [The original has simply نوكان.]

obtained great plunder, and their forces spread over all the country. He captured Kuzdár and took prisoners there. Sinán had previously taken it, but its inhabitants had been guilty of defection. He died there (in Kuzdár).

The governor 'Ubaidu-llah, son of Ziyád, then appointed Ibn Harri al Báhalí. God, by his hands, subdued these countries, for he waged fierce war in them and conquered and plundered them. Some writers say that it was Sinán, son of Salama, who was appointed to the (chief) command by 'Ubaidu-llah and that Harri led the forces.

The people of Núkán are now Muhammadans. 'Amrán, son of Músa, son of Yahya, son of Khálid the Barmakide, built a city there in the Khalifat of M'utasim bi-llah which he called Al Baizá (the white). When al Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf, son of al Hakim, son of Abú 'Akail al Sakifí, was governor of Irak, Sa'id, son of Aslam, son of Zura'a al Kalábi was appointed to Makrán and its frontiers. He was opposed and slain there by Mu'áwiya and Muhammad, sons of al Haras al 'Aláfi.

Hajjáj then appointed Mujjá', son of S'ir al Tamímí to the frontier. He made war upon, plundered and defeated the tribes about Kandá-bíl, and this conquest was subsequently completed by Muhammad, son of al Kásim. Mujjá' died in Makrán after being there a year.

After the death of Mujjá', Hajjáj appointed in his place Muhammad, son of Hárún, son of Zará' al Namarí. Under the government of Muhammad, the king of the Isle of Rubies¹ sent as a present to Hajjáj, certain Muhammadan girls who had been born in his country, the orphan daughters of merchants who had died there. The king hoped by this measure to ingratiate himself with Hajjáj; but the ship in which he had embarked these girls was attacked and taken by some barks (*bawárij*) belonging to the Meds of Debal. One of the women of the tribe of Yarbú exclaimed, "Oh Hajjáj!" When this news reached Hajjáj, he replied, "I am here."² He

¹ [Ceylon.]

² Mir Ma'súm differs from the *Futúhu-l buldán* and the *Chach-náma* and *Firishta*. He says that the Khalif 'Abdu-l malik sent some people to buy female slaves and other things of Hindustán, and were joined on the road by some Syrian merchants. Having completed their purchases, they were preparing to return by the sea route, when they were assailed by robbers at Debal, plundered, and slain, with the exception of a few who escaped to tell the Khalif of the outrage.—*Tarikh-i Sind*, p. 5.

then sent an ambassador to Dáhir to demand their release, but Dáhir replied, "They are pirates who have captured these women, and over them I have no authority." Then Hajjáj sent 'Ubaidu-llah, son of Nabhán, against Debal. 'Ubaidu-llah being killed, Hajjáj wrote to Budail, son of Tahfa, of the tribe of Bajalí, who was at 'Umán, directing him to proceed to Debal. When he arrived there his horse took fright (and threw him), and the enemy surrounded him and killed him. Some authors say he was killed by the Jats of Budha.

The Isle of Rubies is so denominated because of the beauty of the women.

Afterwards, Hajjáj, during the Khiláfat of Walíd, son of 'Abdu-l malik, appointed Muhammad, son of Kásim, son of Muhammad, son of Hakim, son of Abú 'Ukail to command on the Sindian frontier. Muhammad was in Fárs when the order arrived, and had previously received instructions to go to Rai.¹ Abú-l Aswad Jahm, son of Zahru-l Ju'fi, was at the head of the advanced guard, and he was ordered to return to Muhammad, and he joined him on the borders of Sind. Hajjáj ordered six thousand Syrian warriors to attend Muhammad, and others besides. He was provided with all he could require, without omitting even thread and needles. He had leave to remain at Shíráz until all the men who were to accompany him had assembled, and all the preparations had been duly made. Hajjáj had some dressed cotton saturated with strong vinegar, and then dried it in the shade, and said, "When you arrive in Sind, if you find the vinegar scarce, soak the cotton in water, and with the water you can cook your food and season your dishes as you wish." Some authors say, that when Muhammad arrived on the frontiers, he wrote to complain of the scarcity of vinegar, and this was the reason which induced Hajjáj to send cotton soaked in vinegar.

Then Muhammad, son of Kásim went to Makrán, and remained there some time. He then went to Kannazbúr and took it, and then to Armáil, which he also took. Muhammad, son of Hárún, son of Zará', went to meet him, and joined him, but he died near Armáil at Kásim's side, and was buried at Kambal.²

¹ [South of the Caspian sea.]

² [Kambali (?) كمل.]

Conquest of Debal.

Muhammad, son of Kásim, left Armáíl, accompanied by Jahm, the son of Zahru-l Ju'fi, and arrived at Debal on Friday, where ships brought to him a supply of men, arms, and warlike machines. He dug an entrenchment which he defended with spearmen, and unfurled his standards; each body of warriors was arrayed under its own banner, and he fixed the manjaník, which was called "the bride," and required five hundred men to work it. There was at Debal a lofty temple (*budd*) surmounted by a long pole, and on the pole was fixed a red flag, which when the breeze blew was unfurled over the city. The budd is a high steeple, below which the idol or idols are deposited, as in this instance. The Indians give in general the name of budd to anything connected with their worship or which forms the object of their veneration. So, an idol is called budd.

In the correspondence which ensued, Muhammad informed Hajjáj of what he had done, and solicited advice respecting the future. Letters were written every three days. One day a reply was received to this effect:—"Fix the manjaník and shorten its foot, and place it on the east; you will then call the manjaník-master, and tell him to aim at the flag-staff, of which you have given a description." So he brought down the flagstaff, and it was broken; at which the infidels were sore afflicted. The idolaters advanced to the combat, but were put to flight; ladders were then brought and the Musulmáns escalated the wall. The first who gained the summit was a man of Kúfa, of the tribe of Murád. The town was thus taken by assault, and the carnage endured for three days. The governor of the town, appointed by Dáhir, fled, and the priests of the temple were massacred. Muhammad marked out a place for the Musulmáns to dwell in, built a mosque, and left four thousand Musulmáns to garrison the place.

Muhammad, son of Yahya, says that Mansúr, the son of Hátim, the grammarian, a freeman of the family of Khálid, son of Assaid, relates that he had seen the pole broken into fragments which had been placed on the steeple of the temple. 'Ambissa son of Ishak Az Zabbí, the governor of Sind, in the Khalífat of Mu'tasim billah,

knocked down the upper part of the minaret of the temple and converted it into a prison. At the same time he began to repair the ruined town with the stones of the minaret; but before he had completed his labours, he was deprived of his employment, and was succeeded by Hárán, son of Abí Khálid-al Marúrúzi, and he was slain there.

Muhammad, son of Kásim then went to Nírún,¹ the inhabitants of which place had already sent two Samanís, or priests, of their town to Hajjáj to treat for peace. They furnished Muhammad with supplies, and admitting him to enter the town, they were allowed to capitulate. Muhammad conquered all the towns successively which he met on his route, until he had crossed a river which runs on this side of the Mihrán [Indus]. He then saw approaching towards him Sarbídas, the Samaní, who came to demand peace in the name of the inhabitants. Muhammad imposed tribute upon them, and then went towards Sahbán, and took it. Then he went to the banks of the Mihrán, and there remained. When this news reached Dáhir, he prepared for battle. Muhammad, son of Kásim, had sent Muhammad, son of Mus'ab, son of 'Abdu-r Rahmán as Sakiff, to Sadúsán, with men mounted on horses and asses, at whose approach the inhabitants solicited quarter and peace, the terms of which were negotiated by the Samaní. Muhammad granted them peace, but he imposed tribute on the place, and took pledges from them, and then returned to his master. He brought with him four thousand Jats, and left at Sadúsán an officer in command.

Muhammad sought the means of crossing the Mihrán, and effected the passage in a place which adjoined the dominions of Rásil, chief of Kassa, in Hind, upon a bridge which he had caused to be constructed. Dáhir had neglected every precaution, not believing that the Musulmán's would dare to advance so far. Muhammad and his Musulmán's encountered Dáhir mounted on his elephant, and surrounded by many of these animals, and his Takákaras [Thákurs] were near his person. A dreadful conflict ensued, such as had never been heard of. Dáhir dismounted and fought valiantly, but he was killed towards the evening, when the idolaters fled, and the

¹ [Goeje's text has "Birún," but he says the MS. had برون.]

Musulmáns glutted themselves with massacre, According to Al Madáiní, the slayer of Dáhir was a man of the tribe of Kaláb, who composed some verses upon the occasion. * * * *

Various authors concur in saying that Muhammad took the village of Ráwar¹ by assault, in which city there was a wife of Dáhir, who, afraid of being captured, burned herself along with her handmaids and all that she possessed.

Then Muhammad, son of Kásim, went to old Brahmanábád, two parasangs from Mansúra, which town indeed did not then exist, its site being a forest. The remnant of the army of Dáhir rallied at Brahmanábád and resistance being made, Muhammad was obliged to resort to force, when eight, or as some say, twenty-six thousand men were put to the sword. He left a prefect there. The place is now in ruins.

Muhammad then marched towards Alrúr² and Baghrúr. The people of Sávandarí came out to meet him and sued for peace, which was granted them, on the condition that they should entertain the Muhammadans and furnish guides. At this time they profess the Muhammadan creed. After that he went to Basmad, where the inhabitants obtained peace on the same terms as those accorded to the Sávandrians. At last he reached Alrúr, one of the cities of Sind. It is situated on a hill. Muhammad besieged it for several months, and compelled it to surrender promising to spare the lives of the inhabitants and not touch the temples (*budd*). "The temples," he said, "shall be unto us, like as the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the fire temples of the Magians." He imposed, however, the tribute upon the inhabitants, and built a mosque in the city.

Muhammad advanced to Alsaka,³ a town on this side of the Biyás, which was captured by him, and is now in ruins. He then crossed the Biyás, and went towards Multán, where, in the action which ensued, Záida, the son of 'Umur, of the tribe of Táí, covered himself with glory. The infidels retreated in disorder into the town, and Muhammad commenced the siege, but the provisions being exhausted, the Musulmáns were reduced to eat asses. Then came there

¹ [See Elphinstone, I. p. 506.]

² [Alrúd in one MS. Alor is the place intended.]

³ [السكة.]

forward a man who sued for quarter, and pointed out to them an aqueduct, by which the inhabitants were supplied with drinking water from the river of Basmad. It flowed within the city into a reservoir like a well, which they call *taláh*.¹ Muhammad destroyed the water-course; upon which the inhabitants, oppressed with thirst, surrendered at discretion. He massacred the men capable of bearing arms, but the children were taken captive, as well as the ministers of the temple, to the number of six thousand. The Musulmáns found there much gold in a chamber ten cubits long by eight broad, and there was an aperture above, through which the gold was poured into the chamber. Hence they call Multán "the Frontier of the House of Gold," for *farj* means "a frontier."² The temple (*budd*) of Multán received rich presents and offerings, and to it the people of Sind resorted as a place of pilgrimage. They circumambulated it, and shaved their heads and beards. They conceived that the image was that of the prophet Job,—God's peace be on him!

We are told that Hajjáj caused a calculation to be made of the sums expended in fitting out this expedition of Muhammad Kásim, and the riches which resulted from it. He had spent sixty millions (of dirhams) and that which had been sent to him amounted to one hundred and twenty millions. He said:—"We have appeased our anger, and avenged our injuries, and we have gained sixty millions of dirhams, as well as the head of Dáhir. Hajjáj then died."³ Upon learning this, Muhammad left Multán and returned to Alrúr and Baghrúr, which had been previously captured. He made donations to his men, and sent an army towards al-Bailamán, the inhabitants of which place surrendered without any resistance. He made peace with the inhabitants of Surast, with whom the men of Basea⁴ are

¹ M. Reinaud observes that the pronoun does not indicate whether this native word applies to the canal or the reservoir. He conjectures, with some probability, that the word may be *ndid*, "stream," but that word is not so pronounced at Multán. I prefer, therefore, *taláh*, *taldo*, "a tank, or reservoir." [In Goeje's edition the word is تال.]

² When the Musulmáns arms extended to the mountains parallel with the course of the Indus, the kingdoms of Kábul and Sind were called Farján "the two frontiers"—Uylenbroek, *Itacæ Persicæ Descriptio*, p. 67.

³ [In the year 95 H., 714 A.D.]

⁴ [Budha.]

now at war. They are Meds, seafarers, and pirates. Then he went against the town of Kíraj. Dúhar advanced to oppose him, but the enemy was put to flight. Dúhar fled, but some say he was killed. The inhabitants surrendered. Muhammad slew (all those capable of bearing arms) and reduced the rest to slavery. * * *

Meanwhile, Walid, son of 'Abdu-l malik, died, and was succeeded by (his brother) Sulaimán, who appointed Sálíh, son of 'Abdu-r-Rahmán, to collect the tribute of 'Irák. Yazíd, son of Abú kabsha as-Saksakí, was made governor of Sind, and Muhammad, son of Kásim, was sent back a prisoner with Mu'áwiya, son of Muhallab. The people of Hind wept for Muhammad, and preserved his likeness at Kíraj. He was imprisoned by Sálíh at Wásit. Sálíh put him to torture, together with other persons of the family of Abú 'Ukail, until they expired: for Hajjáj¹ (Muhammad's cousin) had put to death Adam, Sálíh's brother, who professed the creed of the Khárijís. Hamza, the son of Baiz Hanafi, says :—

" Verily, courage, and generosity, and liberality,
Belonged to Muhammad, son of Kásim, son of Muhammad,
He led armies at the age of seventeen years,
He seemed destined for command from the day of his birth."

Yazíd, son of Abú Kabsha, died eighteen days after his arrival in Sind. Sulaimán then appointed Habíb, son of al Muhallab, to carry on the war in Sind, and he departed for that purpose. Meanwhile the princes of Hind had returned to their states, and Jaishiya,² son of Dáhir, had come back to Brahmanábád. Habíb proceeded to the banks of the Mihrán, where the people of Alrúr made their submission ; but he warred against a certain tribe and reduced them.

When the Khalif Sulaimán, son of 'Abdu-l Malik, died, he was succeeded by 'Umar son of 'Abdu-l 'Aziz.³ He wrote to the princes (of Hind) inviting them to become Musulmán's and submit to his authority, upon which they would be treated like all other Musul-

¹ That sanguinary wretch is said to have slaughtered by his arbitrary mandates 120,000 persons, and after his death there were found in his different prisons, 30,000 men and 20,000 women. This is drawn from Persian sources. The Sunní writers represent him as just and impartial, notwithstanding his unflinching severity.—Pascual de Gayangos, *Biographical Dictionary*, Art. "Al Hajjáj."

² [This reading is from Kudáma, and is confirmed by the Chach-náma. Our text is doubtful حشہ Reinaud gives "Hullysah" *Mém. sur l'Inde* 191. The true name was Jai Sinha. See *Chach-náma*, *post.*]

³ [717 A.D.]

máns. These princes had already heard of his promises, character, and creed, so Jaishiya and other princes turned Musulmán, and took Arab names. 'Amrú, son of Muslim al Bahálí was lieutenant of 'Umar on this frontier. He invaded several places in Hind and subdued them.

In the days of Yazíd, son of 'Abdu-l Malik,¹ the sons of Al Muhallib fled to Sind, and Hilál, son of Ahwaz al Tamímí was sent after them. He fell in with them and killed Mudrak, son of Muhallab, at Kandábil. He also slew Mufazzal, 'Abdu-l Malik, Ziyád, Marún, and Mu'áwiya, sons of Muhallab; last of all he killed Mu'áwiya, son of Yazíd.

Junaid, son of 'Abdu-r Rahmán al Marrí was appointed to the frontier of Sind, under the authority of 'Umar, son of Hubaira al Fazárí, and was confirmed in the government by (the Khalif) Hashám, son of 'Abdu-l Malik.² When Khálid, son of 'Abdu-llah Al Kasrí was sent to 'Irák (as governor) Hashám wrote to Junaid directing him to keep up a correspondence with Khálid. Junaid went to Debal and from thence to the banks of the Mihrán, but Jaishiya (son of Dáhir) forbade him to cross, and sent to him, saying, "I have become a Musulmán, and an excellent man confirmed me in my states, but I have no faith in thee." But (Junaid) gave him pledges and took pledges from him, together with the tribute due from his territories. They thus exchanged guarantees, but Jaishiya acted like an infidel and took up arms. But some say, on the contrary, that he did not begin the attack, but that Junaid dealt unjustly with him. Jaishiya assembled his troops, fitted out ships and prepared for war. Junaid proceeded against him in ships and they fought in the lake of Ash Sharkí. Jaishiya's ship was destroyed, and he himself was taken prisoner and slain. Sasa³ son of Dáhir fled and proceeded towards 'Irák to complain of the treachery of Junaid, but the latter did not cease to conciliate him until they had shaken hands, and then he slew him. Junaid made war against Kíraj, the people of which had rebelled. He made use of battering-rams, and battered the walls of the town with them until they were breached, and then he stormed the place, slaying, plundering, and making

¹ [Yazíd II. reigned 720 to 724 A.D.]

² [Began to reign 724 A.D.]

³ [ساسة]

captives. He then sent his officers to Marmad Mandal, Dahnaj, and Barús [Broach]. Junaid used to say, "It is better to die with bravado than with resignation." He sent a force against Uzain¹ and he also sent Habíd, son of Marra, with an army against the country of Máliba.² They made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharímad³ and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered al Bailamán and Jurz,⁴ and he received at his abode, in addition to what his visitors presented to him, forty millions, and he himself carried off a similar sum.

The successor of Junaid was Tamím, son of Zaid al 'Utbi. He was feeble and imbecile, and died near Debal in a water called the "Buffalo-water." This water was so called because buffalos took refuge there from the bears which infested the banks of the Mihrán. Tamím was one of the most generous of Arabs, he found in the treasury of Sind eighteen million Tátariya dirhams, which he soon spent. * * * * * In the days of Tamím, the Musulmán retired from several parts of India and left some of their positions, nor have they up to the present time advanced so far as in days gone by.

Hakim, son of 'Awána al Kalbí, succeeded Tamím. The people of India had returned to idolatry excepting those of Kassa, and the Musulmán had no place of security in which they could take refuge, so he built a town on the other side of the lake facing India, and called it Al Mahfúza, "the secure," and this he made a place of refuge and security for them, and their chief town. He asked the elders of the tribe of Kalb, who were of Syrian descent, what name he should give the town. Some said Dimashk [Damascus], others, Hims [Emessa], and others Tadmúr [Palmyra]. Hakim said (to the latter), "May God destroy⁵ you, O fool." He gave it the name of Al Mahfúza, and dwelt there.

'Amrú, son of Muhammad son of Kásim was with Hakim, and the latter advised with him, trusted him with many important matters, and sent him out of Al Mahfúza on a warlike expedition. He was victorious in his commission, and was made an amír. He founded

¹ [Ujjain.]

² [Málwa or Malabar.]

³ [بهرمد.]

⁴ [Guzerat. See Note A in Appendix.]

⁵ [There is a pun here on the root of the word Tadmúr.]

a city on this side of the lake, which he called Mansúra, in which city the governors now dwell. Hakim recovered from the hands of the enemy those places which they had subjugated, and gave satisfaction to the people in his country. Khálid said, "It is very surprising,—I gave the charge of the country to the most generous of Arabs, that is, to Tamím, and they were disgusted. I gave it to the most niggardly of men and they were satisfied." Hakim was killed there.

The governors who succeeded continued to kill the enemy, taking whatever they could acquire and subduing the people who rebelled. When the fortunate dynasty (that of the 'Abbásides) was established, Abú Muslim appointed 'Abdu-r Rahmán, son of Abú Muslim Mughallisá-l 'Abdí, to the frontier of Sind. 'Abdu-r Rahmán went by way of Tukháristán, and proceeded against Mansúr, son of Jamhúr al Kalbí, who was in Sind. But he was met by Mansúr and slain, and his forces were put to flight. When Muslim heard this he appointed Músa, son of Ka'bu-t Tamímí, and sent him to Sind. When he arrived, the river Míhrán lay between him and Mansúr, son of Jamhúr.¹ Still he came up with Mansúr, put him and his forces to flight, and slew his brother Manzúr. Mansúr fled in wretched plight to the sands, where he died of thirst. Músa ruled in Sind, repaired the city of Mansúra, and enlarged its mosque. He was victorious in his campaigns.

The Khalif al Mansúr sent to Sind Hashám, son of 'Amrú al Taghlabí, and he reduced those places which still held out. He sent 'Amrú, son of Jamal, in boats to Nárand.² He also sent (a force) to the territories of Hind, subdued Kashmír, and took many prisoners and slaves. Multán was reduced, and he overpowered a body of Arabs who were in Kandábil, and drove them out. He then went to Kandahár in boats, and conquered it. He destroyed the *budd* there, and built in its place a mosque. There was abundance in the country under his rule, and the people blessed him—he extended the frontier, and enforced his decrees.

'Umar, son of Hafs, son of 'Usmán Hazármard, was then appointed

¹ [Coins of this Mansúr and of other Sind rulers have been found in the ruins of a city supposed to be Brahmanábád.—Thomas' *Prinsep*, II., 119.]

² [نارند.]

governor of Sind, and after him Dáúd, son of Yazíd, son of Hátim. There was with him Abú-l Samma, who had been a slave of the tribe of Kanda, and who is now governor. The affairs of the frontier went on prosperously until Bashar, son of Dáúd, was appointed under the Khalifat of Mámún.¹ He rebelled, and set up in opposition. Ghassán, son of 'Abbad, who was a native of the neighbourhood of Kúfa, was sent against him. Bashar proceeded to meet Ghassán under a safe conduct, and they both proceeded to the Muhammadan capital (Baghdád). Ghassán deputed Músa, son of Yahya, son of Khálid, son of Barmak, to the charge of the frontier. Músa killed Bála, king of Ash-sharkí, although the latter had given him five hundred thousand dirhams to preserve his life. Bála was faithful to Ghassán, and wrote to him in the presence of his army, through the princes who were with him, but his request was rejected. Músa died in 221² A.H. (836 A.D.), leaving a high reputation, and he appointed his son 'Amrán as his successor. The Khalif M'utasim bi-llah wrote to him confirming him in the government of the frontier. He marched to Kíkán against the Jats, whom he defeated and subjugated. He built a city there, which he called Al Baizá, "the white,"³ and he posted a military force there. Then he proceeded to Multán, and from thence to Kandábl, which city stands upon a hill. Muhammad, son of Khalil, was reigning there, but 'Amrán slew him, conquered the town, and carried away its inhabitants to Kusdár. Then he made war upon the Meds, and killed three thousand of them. There he constructed a *band*, which is called "Sakru-l Med," *Band of the Meds*. He encamped on the river at Alrúr.⁴ There he summoned the Jats, who came to his presence, when he sealed⁵ their hands, took from them the *jizya* (capitation tax), and he ordered that every man of them should bring a dog with him when he came to wait upon him,—hence the price of a dog rose to fifty dirhams. He again attacked the Meds, having with him the chief men of the Jats. He dug a canal from the sea to their tank, so their water became salt; and he sent out several marauding expeditions against them.

¹ [Began to reign in 813 A.D.]

² [The text says 21, but this is a manifest error.]

⁴ علي نهر الرور *iii*. "On the river of Rúr.]

³ [See *ante*, p. 118.]

⁵ [ختم ايديهم.]

Dissensions then arose between the Nizárians¹ and Yamánians, and 'Amrán joined with the latter. 'Umar, son of 'Abu-l Azíz al Habbári, consequently went to him and killed him unawares. The ancestor of this 'Umar had come into Sind with Hakim, son of 'Awána al Kalbí.²

Mansúr, son of Hatím, related to me that Fazl, son of Máhán, formerly a slave of the sons of Sáma, got into Sindán and subdued it. He then sent an elephant to the Khalif Mámún, and wrote to him and offered up prayers for him in the Jámí' masjid, which he built there. When he died he was succeeded by Muhammad son of Fazl son of Máhán. He proceeded with sixty vessels against the Meds of Hind. He killed a great number of them, captured Kállarí³ (?) and then returned towards Sindán. But his brother, named Máhán, had made himself master of Sindán, and wrote to the Khalif Mu'tasim bi-llah, and had sent to him as a present the largest and longest *sáj*,⁴ that had been seen. But the Indians were under the control of his brother whom they liked, so they slew Máhán and crucified him. The Indians afterwards made themselves masters of Sindán, but they spared the mosque, and the Muhammadans used to meet in it on the Friday and pray for the Khalif.

Abú Bakr, who had been a slave of the Karízís, related to me that the country called Al 'Usaifán between Kashmír and Multán and Kábul, was governed by a wise king. The people of this country worshipped an idol for which they had built a temple. The son of the king fell sick, and he desired the ministers of the temple to pray to the idol for the recovery of his son. They retired for a short time, and then returned and said, "We have prayed and our supplications have been accepted." But no long time passed before the youth died. Then the king attacked the temple, destroyed and broke in pieces the idol, and slew its ministers. He afterwards invited a

¹ [The Nizárians are the descendants of Nizár, an ancestor of Muhammad, and the Yamánians are the tribes of Yaman (Yemen). See note in Reinaud's *Fragments*, also his *Invasions des Sarrasins en France*, p. 72, *et seq.*]

² See a note upon the Amírs Músa and Amran, in Reinaud's *Fragments*, p. 215.]

³ [The text has *فالى*.]

⁴ [*Sáj*, a green or black sash rolled round the head and hanging down behind. It is also the name of the teak tree.]

party of Muhammadan traders who made known to him the unity of God. Hereupon he believed in the unity and became a Musulmán. This happened in the Khalifat of Mu'tasim bi-llah,—may God have mercy on him.

CHACH-NÁMA,

OR

TARÍKH-I HIND WA SIND.

CHACH-NÁMA is the name now universally given to the work which details the usurpation of the Brahman Chach and the Arab conquest of Sind ; but the history itself gives us no authority for this name, on the contrary it is spoken of in the preface and conclusion merely as *Fath-náma*, "a despatch announcing victory." It is sometimes styled, as by Elphinstone, *Táríkh-i Hind o Sind*. It is quoted by Núru-l Hakk in the *Zubdatu-t Tawáríkh*, and by Nizámu-d dín Ahmad in the *Tabakát-i Akbarí*, as the *Minháju-l Masálik*, which the latter tells us is more commonly known as the *Chach-náma*.

This work was translated from the Arabic by Muhammad 'Alí bin Hámid bin Abú Bakr Kúfí, in the time of Násiru-d dín Kabácha, who is styled, amongst many other titles, *Amíru-l Múminín Abú-l Fath Kabáchau-s Salátín*,¹ "the tents of whose glory were pitched with the ropes of his authority, and with the mallet of the strictness of his commands." He is said to adorn the throne lately occupied by the blessed martyr Abú-l Muzaffar Muhammad bin Sám Násir *Amíru-l Múminín*.

The translator informs us that, after having spent much of his life in the enjoyment of great comfort and happiness, he was reduced to distress, and compelled by the vicissitudes of the time to leave his native land and take up his abode in U'ch. He says that

¹ This is a new mode of using the term in combination, and would show that some meaning must be ascribed to Kabácha. The dictionaries translate it only as a "small tunic." [It is frequently written "Kabája," but the Nágari legends on the coins make it "Kubáchahá." See Thomas' *Prinsep*, I. 305. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate XX., No. 19.]

in the 58th year of his age, and the 613th of the Hijrī (1216 A.D.), he withdrew his hand from all the concerns which had previously occupied his mind, and made a few delightful books his sole companions. He considered within himself that learned persons of every age had, by the assistance of their masters and patrons, compiled histories and books, and established a reputation for themselves by their literary attainments; that, for instance, the conquests of Khurásán, 'Irák, Persia, Rúm, and Shám had been celebrated at large in poetry and prose by authors of past ages; and that a victory had been achieved, and the country of Hindústán conquered, by Muhammad Kásim and other nobles of Arabia and Syria, and mosques and pulpits had been raised throughout the country, from the sea-shore to the boundaries of Kashmír and Kanauj, and Rái Dáhir, son of Chach, the king of Alor, had been slain by the great noble, the best man of the State and Religion, Muhammad bin Kásim bin 'Akíl Sakifi, may God's mercy be on him! and the Rái's territory with all its dependencies had been taken possession of by that conqueror. The translator, therefore, wished to be acquainted with an account of the country and its inhabitants, and also with the history of Dáhir's defeat and death, in order that he might be able to compile a book upon that interesting subject.

In the endeavour to obtain this information, he left the sacred city of U'ch, and went to Alor and Bhakar; the Imáms of which places were the descendants of the Arab conquerors. On his arrival there, he met with the Maulána Kází, Isma'il bin 'Alí bin Muhammad bin Músá bin Táí bin Ya'kúb bin Táí bin Músá bin Muhammad bin Shaibán bin 'Usmán Sakifi. He was a mine of learning and the soul of wisdom, and there was no one equal to him in science, piety, and eloquence. On being consulted on the subject of the Arabian conquest, he informed the translator that an account of it was written by one of his ancestors, in a book composed in the Arabic language, which had descended from one generation to the other, till it reached his hands by course of inheritance. But as it was dressed in the language of

Hijáz, it had obtained no currency among the people, to whom that language was foreign.

When the translator read the book, he found it adorned with jewels of wisdom and pearls of precepts. It related various feats of chivalry and heroism on the part of the Arabs and Syrians. It treated of the capture of those forts which had never before been taken, and showed the morning of the night of infidelity and barbarism. It recounted what places in those days were honoured by the arrival of the Muhammadans, and having been conquered by them, were adorned by religious edifices, and exalted by being the residence of devotees and saints. Up to this day, the translator continues, the country is improving in Islám faith and knowledge, and at all periods since the conquest the throne of royalty has been occupied by one of the slaves of the house of Muhammad, who removed the rust of Paganism from the face of Islám.

He proceeds to tell us that he dedicates his translation to the minister of Násiru-d dín Kabácha, whom he designates among other titles, the Defender of the State and Religion, the greatest of all Wazírs, the master of the sword and pen, Sadr-i Jahán Dastúr-i Sáhíb-Kirán 'Ainu-l Mulk Husain bin Abí Bakr bin Muhammad al Asha'rí.

He states as his reason for the dedication, that not only might he advance his own interests by the minister's favour and influence, but that the selection was peculiarly appropriate in consequence of the minister's ancestors, Abú Músá al Asha'rí, having obtained many victories in Khurásán and 'Ajám. To him therefore might be most fitly dedicated an account of the early conquest of Sind.

At the close of the work, he again says that as the work was written in the Hijází (Arabic) language, and was not clothed in a Pehlvi garb, it was little known to the inhabitants of 'Ajám (foreign countries or Persia), and repeats the name of the person to whom it was dedicated, as 'Ainu-l Mulk.

There can, therefore, be little doubt that this is the same minister to whom Muhammad Aufi has dedicated his *Lubbu-l Lubáb*, respecting whose identity some doubt has been entertained, in consequence of the title 'Ainu-l Mulk not being commonly ascribed to any minister of that period. The repetition of the name by the translator of the *Chach-náma* leaves no doubt that Husain bin Abí Bakr bin Muhammad al Asha'rí is the person indicated.

As this translation was made at so early a period of the Muhammadan dominion in India, it is greatly to be regretted that the translator did not attempt to identify the many unknown places of which mention is made in the course of the narrative. As he had himself visited U'ch, Alor, and Bhakar, and probably other places lower down the Indus, he might have cleared up the many doubts which our ignorance of the localities entails upon us.

It is difficult to fix the precise period of the composition of the original Arabic. It is not said to have been *composed* by an ancestor of the person from whom the translator obtained it at Bhakar, but merely to have been written in the handwriting (*khat*) of one of his ancestors. This may be applied either to composition or transcription, but the use of the term renders the precise meaning doubtful—most probably composition is referred to. In either case, we have a guarantee for the authenticity of the narrative, in the fact that the ancestor of Isma'il, the possessor of the manuscript, was himself a participator in the scenes and the advantages of the conquest; for we find it distinctly mentioned, that the Kází appointed by Muhammad Kásim, after the conquest of Alor, was Músá bin Ya'kúb bin Táí bin Muhammad bin Shaibán bin 'Usmán. Now if we look at the name of the person from whom the translator obtained the Arabic original, we shall find it mentioned as Isma'il bin 'Alí bin Muhammad bin Músá bin Táí bin Ya'kúb bin Táí bin Músá bin Muhammad bin Shaibán bin 'Usman. In both in-

stances 'Usmán is mentioned as Sakifi, that is, of the same tribe as the conqueror himself.¹ The genealogies do not tally in every respect, and it is evident that in the later one some intermediate generations, as is frequently the case, are omitted; but still there is quite sufficient similarity to show descent from the same ancestor. The titles also of ancestor and descendant resemble each other most closely. The first Kází appointed to Alor is called Sadr al Imámia al Ajall al 'Álim Burhánu-l Millat wau-d dín. The contemporary of the translation is called Mauláná Kází al Imám al Ajall al 'Álim al Bári' Kamálu-l Millat wau-d dín. It is very strange that the translator takes no notice of this identity of pedigree, by which the value and authenticity of the work are so much increased; but it is probable that it did not occur to him, or such a circumstance could scarcely have escaped mention.

Notwithstanding that Elphinstone uses the expression "professes to be a translation," which would imply a suspicion of the fact, there is no reason to doubt that the work is a translation of a genuine Arab history, written not very long after the conquest. There appears in it very little modern interpolation, and it is probable that those passages which contain anachronisms were the work of the original writer, and not of the translator. The placing a sentence of the Kurán in Ládí's mouth—the Bismillah at the beginning of the letters of Sindian princes, the praises of Islám ascribed to Hindús, the use of the foreign names of Brahmanábád, which is explained to be a version of the native Bámanwáh, are all evidently the work of the original author.

It is to be regretted that there is no hope of recovering the Arabic work; for although the very meagre accounts of this important conquest by Abú-l Fida, Abú-l Faraj, Ibn Kutaiba, and Almakín lead us to expect little information from Arabic authorities; yet it might possibly contain other interesting matter

¹ The Sakif tribes (Thakif) were of great importance. They had their head quarters at Tayif, and were the guardians of the upper road to Yemen.—Sprenger's *Life of Muhammad*, p. 7.

respecting the communication between Arabia and Sind, which the translator did not think worthy of special notice.

An air of truth pervades the whole, and though it reads more like a romance than a history, yet this is occasioned more by the intrinsic interest of the subject, than by any fictions proceeding from the imagination of the author. The two stories which appear the most fictitious, are the accusation of Jaisiya by the sister of Darohar, and the revenge of the two daughters of Dáhir upon Muhammad Kásim. The former is evidently manufactured on the model of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, a story familiar throughout the East; but the latter is novel, and not beyond the bounds of probability, when we consider the blind obedience which at that time was paid to the mandates of the Prophet's successor, of which, at a later period, we have so many instances in the history of the Assassins, all inspired by the same feeling, and executed in the same hope.

The narrative is unambitious, and tropes and figures are rarely indulged in, except in describing the approach of night and morning; [but the construction is often involved, and the language is occasionally ungrammatical. Besides these defects, the events recorded do not always appear to follow in their proper chronological sequence.]

The antiquity of the original Arabic work is manifest, not only from the internal evidence of the narrative, but from some omissions which are remarkable, such as the name of Mansúra, which must have been mentioned had it been in existence at that time. Now Mansúra was built in the beginning of the reign of the Khalif Al Mansúr, who succeeded in 136 A.H. (A.D. 753). It is evident that the work must have been written before that time. Then, again, we have nowhere any mention of Maswáhi, Manjábari, Annari, or Al-Baiza, all important towns noticed by Biláduri and Ibn Haukal, and other early writers on Sind, and the work must therefore have been composed before their time. Again, it is plain that the mass of the people were Buddhists, which no author, especially a foreign one, would have

described them as being, had he lived after the extinction of that religion in India. We read of Samanís, monks, and a royal white elephant, which are no longer heard of at the later invasion of Mahmúd of Ghazní. Again, some portions of the history are derived from oral testimony received at second, third, or fourth hand, from those who were participators in the transactions recorded, just in the same way as Tabarí, who wrote in the third century of the Hijrí, probably later than our author, traces all his traditions to eye or ear-witnesses.

Elphinstone's estimate of the work is that, "though loaded with tedious speeches, and letters ascribed to the principal actors, it contains a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Muhammad Kásim's invasion, and some of the preceding Hindú reigns. It is full of names of places, and would throw much light on the geography of that period, if examined by any person capable of ascertaining the ancient Sanskrit names, so as to remove the corruptions of the original Arab writer and the translator, besides the innumerable errors of the copyist." He states that he did not see this work until his narrative of Kásim's military transactions had been completed.

The Chach-náma is the original from which Nizámu-d dín Ahmad, Núru-l Hakk, Firishta, Mír Ma'súm, and others, have drawn their account of the conquest of Sind. They have, however, left much interesting matter unnoticed, and even the later professed translations by Lieutenant Postans, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No. LXXIV., 1838, and No. CXI., 1841) give merely an abridged account of the transactions, which is moreover unfortunately disfigured by many misprints.

The headings of the sections throughout the work have been translated, in order to show the connection of the whole; those only being omitted which are inappropriate or evidently misplaced: and nearly every passage has been translated which can be useful for the illustration of the geography, religion, and manners of the time. The Chach-náma is common in India. There is a copy in the E. I. Library, and the Bibliothèque Impériale has two.

EXTRACTS.

[The MS. referred to as *A.* is Sir H. M. Elliot's copy. *B.* is that belonging to the East India Library, which has been referred to in obscure passages and for doubtful names.]

Commencement of the book upon the history of Rai Dáhir, son of Chach, son of Siláij, and of his death at the hands of Muhammad Kásim Sakifi.

Chroniclers and historians have related that the city of Alor, the capital of Hind and Sind, was a large city adorned with all kinds of palaces and villas, gardens and groves, reservoirs and streams, parterres and flowers. It was situated on the banks of the Sfhún, which they call Mihrán. This delightful city had a king, whose name was Siharas, son of Sáhásí Rái Sháhí.¹ He possessed great wealth and treasures. His justice was diffused over the earth, and his generosity was renowned in the world. The boundaries of his dominions extended on the east to Kashmír, on the west to Makrán, on the south to the shores of the ocean and to Debal, and on the north to the mountains of Kardán² and to Kaikánán.³ He had established four maliks, or governors, in his territories. The first at Brahmanábád and the forts of Nírún, Debal, Lohána, Lakha, and Samma, down to the sea (daryá), were placed in his charge. The second at the town of Siwistán: under him were placed Búdhpúr,⁴ Jankán, and the skirts of the hills of Rújhán to the borders of Makrán.⁵ The third at the fort of Askalanda and Pábiya,⁶ which are called Talwára and Chachpúr; under him were placed their dependencies to the frontier of Búdhpúr.

¹ [This is an error—Sáhási was son of Siharas—his father was called Diwájí. See *post* page 140.]

² [Or "Karwán,"]

³ [از شمالي تا كوه كردان و از كيكانان و در ممالك خود چهار ملك را] etc., etc.]

⁴ [This is the reading of MS. *A.*, but *B.* generally has "Búdhya:" two different forms of the same name.]

⁵ [This is a doubtful passage,

MS. *A.* says بودهيپور و جنگان و كوه پايه روجهان تا حد مكران

B. has بودهيه جنگال و كوه پايه دونجان تا حد مكران]

⁶ [مابير in *A.* and بابيه in *B.* This name is written Páya and Báya, Bábíya and Pábíya: the last seems the preferable form.]

The fourth at the great city of Multán and Sikka, and Brahmapúr¹ and Karúr, and Ashahár and Kumba, as far as the borders of Kashmir, were under his government. He (the king) himself dwelt at the capital, Alor, and kept under his own rule Kardán,² and Kaikánán and Banarhás.³ He enjoined upon every one of his princes the necessity of being prepared for war, by keeping the implements of warfare, arms, and horses ready. He also ordered them to attend to the security of the country, the conciliation of the subjects, and the reparation of the buildings, so that they might keep their districts and dependencies safe. Throughout his dominions there was no disaffected person who could make any pretensions against the specification of his frontiers. Suddenly, by the decree of God, the army of the king of Nímroz marched from Fárs to Makrán.⁴ When Síharas heard this he went forth from the fort of Alor,⁵ haughty in mind and careless in heart, with the main part of his army to encounter him. They joined battle, and when many brave men and tried warriors, on both sides, had been slain, the Persian army, placing their whole trust in the Almighty, made an assault, and broke and put to flight the army of Rái Síharas. He himself stood firm, fighting for his name and honour, until he was killed. The king of Fárs then returned to Nímroz, and Rái Sáhasí, son of Síharas, sat upon the throne of his father. He established his authority in the country, and the four princes who had been appointed by his father submitted and assented to him, exhibiting every mark of obedience, placing their wealth at his disposal, and supporting him with honesty and energy. The whole country was thus safely secured in the power of Rái Sáhasí; and the people lived happily under his just and equitable rule. He had a chamberlain named Rám, son of Abi (?), a man of science and wisdom.⁶ This man had full and general authority over all parts of the dominions of Rái Sáhasí; no person could enter or leave the king's service but through him. The duties of chief secretary were entrusted to him, and Rái Sáhasí had faith in his eloquent pen, and never doubted his rectitude.

¹ [So in MS. B, but Budhpúr in A.]

² [Or Karwán.]

³ [Or Barhás.]

⁴ [The Text adds *برسم تلاوت تازی* in Arab fashion?]

⁵ [MS. B. says "Ráwar."]

⁶ [Some words including the name are omitted in MS. A.]

Chach, son of Silátj, goes to the Chamberlain Rám.

The office of Chamberlain is conferred on Chach, son of Silátj.

The Ránt falls in love with Chach, and Chach refuses compliance.

Sáhasi Rát dies and goes to hell.

Chach ascends the throne of Malik Sáhasi Rát.

Chach fights with Mahrát (Chief of Jaipúr¹) and kills him by stratagem.

Chach marries Ránt Súbhan Deo.

Chach sends for his brother Chandar and establishes him in Alor.

Chach issues orders appointing Chandar his deputy.

Chach asks Budhíman, the minister, questions concerning the government.

* * * * *

Budhíman, the minister, bowed his head to the ground, and said, "May Rát Chach live for ever, and may it be known to him, that this government was under the dominion of a sole king, and his chiefs were always obedient to him. When the country was ruled by Síharas, son of Díwátj, and when he was conquered by the army of Fárs, Sáhasi succeeded to the empire. He similarly appointed all the four rulers to their territories, expecting them to exert themselves in the collection of the revenue and the protection of the country.

* * * * *

Chach proceeds to visit and mark the boundaries of Alor.

When Chach heard these words from Budhíman, the minister, they made an impression upon him. He was very happy. He praised the minister very much, and took it as a good omen. He sent far-máns to the authorities in all parts of the kingdom and called (for aid from) the governors of the different divisions. He then prepared an army declaring that he would go to the boundary of Hindústán which adjoined the (kingdom of the) Turk. The astrologers fixed an auspicious time, at which he departed, and after he had gone many marches he reached the fort of Pábiya, on the southern bank of the Bíás. The Chief of the place gave battle, but after great fighting

¹ [Both MSS. here agree in reading *Jítúr*, but the explanation in page 169 shows that the name must be *Jaipúr*. Mir Ma'súm couples it with Jodhpur and writes the name "*Chítúr*," or "*Japúr*." The Tuhfatul Kirám has "*Chítúr*."]]

and bloodshed, the king of Pábiya fled and entered the fort. Rái Chach was victorious, and encamped in the field of battle for a time. When the store of provisions was exhausted, and grass, and wood, and fuel, were all consumed, the enemy being in distress left the fort at the time when the world had covered itself with the blanket of darkness, and the king of the stars concealed himself in the gloom of night. He fled towards the fort of Askalanda and encamped in the vicinity of that city. This fort was stronger than the first, and when he reached the fields of this city he sent his spies to obtain information, and when they came back they reported that Chach had entered the fort of Pábiya, and was staying there.

Chach proceeds to the fort of Askalanda.¹

When Chach was informed that the enemy had gone to Askalanda, he placed one of his officers in charge of the fort (of Pábiya) and proceeded to that city. He pitched his tents in its vicinity. There was a great and brave man in the fort of Askalanda, who was in the interest of Chach, and had influence over the people in the fort. All the chief inhabitants always took his advice and never acted contrary to his opinion. Chach sent a man to him and promised to make him governor of that fort. He also ordered a farmán to be prepared, granting him the governorship of the fort, on the condition that he would kill Chatera,² the chief (malik) of Pábiya, or take him prisoner. Pábiya was also to be made over to him. He agreed to these terms and conditions. He sent his son to Chach, and by occasionally visiting Chatera, gained his confidence, so that he was never prevented from going into his Court either by day or by night. When he found an opportunity, he suddenly killed Chatera and sent his head to Chach. Rái Chach showed him great favour and honour, granted him a reward in token of his pleasure, and made him the independent chief of that fort. The great and noble men of the city attended on him, and made him presents. He treated them all with honour and respect, and kept them faithful to their

¹ [MS. B. writes the name "Asal-Kanda."]

² [This name is written thus, and also as "Chatar," in MS. A. MS. B. makes it "Jatrá."]

allegiance. Chach gave him some prohibitions and admonitions, so that he continued faithful in obedience and never disobeyed his orders.

Chach marches towards Sikka and Multán.

Having completed the expedition to Askalanda, Chach proceeded towards Sikka and Multán. In Multán there was a chief (malik) whose name was Bajhrá. He was a relation of Sáhasí. When he received the news of the arrival of Chach, he came to the banks of the Ráví. He had large dominions and possessed great abilities. Suhewal, his nephew, governed the fort of Sikka opposite Multán, towards the east, and along with Ajín, the cousin of Bajhrá came with a large force to meet him¹ (Chach), and he¹ (Chach) encamped at a ford on the Biás² for three months. When the water decreased, they selected a place at a village a little above the encampment, where the water did not prevent a passage, and he (Chach) crossed over. He came to Sikka, and fought a battle with Suhewal. He besieged the fort for some days, and the enemy was much pressed. Some men were slain on Chach's side, and on the side of the infidels many were despatched to hell. Suhewal then fled, and went to the fort of Multán. They entered the fort, and stood on the banks of the Ráví³ prepared with all the implements of war. Chach then took possession of the fort of Sikka, and killed five thousand soldiers, and made the inhabitants slaves and prisoners of war. Chach placed Amír 'Alfu-d Daula in the fort of Sikka, and himself passed over to Multán. Both armies confronted each other. Malik Bajhrá, with a formidable army, fighting elephants, and men of war, came out and opposed Chach. Sharp encounters ensued, with great slaughter on both sides. Bajhrá took refuge in the fort, and wrote letters to the ruler of Kashmír stating that Chach, son of Silá'j, a Brahman, had become chief of Alor, the capital. He had come with

¹ [The text is ambiguous; and the appropriation of the personal pronoun is a matter of inference.]

² [برگذر بیاس بنشست] "Biás" may possibly here be the name of the ford, but the old bed of the Bias is still traceable between Multán and the Ghárá to where it joined the Chináb thirty miles S.W. of Multán.]

³ ["The Ráví formerly surrounded the fortress of Multán, and its bed is still traceable. In seasons of heavy rain the waters flow to Multán. This agrees with the statement that Alexander circumnavigated the fortress."—Cunningham.]

a numerous army, and had conquered all the strongholds, great and small, and fortified them. That he (Bajhrá) was not able to cope with him, and no chief was victorious over him in battle. He had reached Multán, and it was expedient that the Chief of Kashmír should assist him (Bajhrá) and send reinforcements.

The unsuccessful return of the messenger from Kashmír.

Before the messenger reached Kashmír, the Rái of that place had died, and his son, who was only a boy, had succeeded him. The ministers, counsellors, attendants, and guards, as well as the nobles and chief men of the state, consulted with each other and answered the letter in a proper manner. They stated that the Rái of Kashmír had departed to the next world, and his son was a mere boy of tender age. The different divisions of the army had raised their heads in rebellion and revolt. It was necessary that the affairs of these parts should be set straight, and therefore it was not at this time in their power to provide the means of assistance, and that Bajhrá must rely upon his own resources. When the messengers came back and communicated this, Bajhrá, despairing of assistance from the king of Kashmír, sued Rái Chach for peace, and made promises and assurances. He said he would leave the fort if assured of his safety, in writing, and that nobody should molest him until he reached a place of security with all his followers and dependants. Chach agreed to these terms, and promised him protection. He came out of the fort, and, with his people, went towards the mountains of Kashmír. Chach entered the fort, and the province was brought under his dominion.

Chach leaves his deputy in the fort of Multán and proceeds onward.

When he took the fort of Multán he appointed there a thákur as his deputy. He went into the temple, prostrated himself before the idols, and offered sacrifices. He then prepared to march forward. The rulers of Brahmapúr, Karúr and Ashahár, acknowledged submission to him. From these places he proceeded to the boundaries of Kumba¹ and Kashmír. No king offered any resistance.

¹ [In page 139, both MSS. write this name *Kumba*. In this place, MS. *A.* has *Mákir* or *Máksir*, and a few lines farther on, *Kina* or *Kaniya*. MS. *B.* has *Kisa* here, and *Kumba* afterwards.]

“When the Almighty makes a man great he renders all his enterprises easy and gives him all his desires.”

Every place to which he went fell into his possession. At last he reached the fort of Shákalhá, an elevated place which is called Kumba¹ on the borders of Kashmír, and stopped there for one month. He punished some of the chiefs of the surrounding places, and collected an army under his command. Then he made firm treaties with the chiefs and rulers of that part of the country, and securely established his dominion. He sent for two trees, one of which was a *maisfr*, that is white poplar, and the other a *deodár*, that is a fir.² He planted them both on the the boundary of Kashmír, upon the banks of a stream, which is called the five waters,³ and near the Kashmír hills, from which numerous fountains flow. He stayed there till the branches of each of the trees ran into those of the other. Then he marked them, and said it was the boundary mark between him and the Rái of Kashmír, and beyond it he would not go.

Return of Chach after fixing his boundary with Kashmír.

The narrator of this conquest has thus said, that when the boundary towards Kashmír was defined, Chach returned to the capital city Alor. He stopped there a year to take rest from the fatigues of the journey; and his chiefs got ready the provisions and materials of war. He then said, “O minister! I have no fear from the east, now I must take care of the west and the south.” The minister replied, “Indeed, it is most praiseworthy for kings to be acquainted with the affairs of their countries. It is also to be apprehended that from your absence in the upper provinces the nobles and the governors of the different parts may have presumed

¹ [و آن موضع بالاتر کینه (کنه) B. گویند]

² This implies considerable altitude.

³ The word in the original is Arabic (بنج ماهیات) not the Persian Panjáb.

The upper course of the Jailam, just after it debouches into the plains, seems to be alluded to here. A curious coincidence of expression is used by a late traveller with reference to the same locality. “We passed five branches of this beautiful river Jelam which at this place forms a little Panjáb of its own.” Serjeant-Major Brixham's *Raid to the Khyber*, p. 43.

that since Rái Sáhási there is nobody to demand from them the revenue of the country. Truly mismanagement and disorder have taken place." On this, Chach, in an auspicious hour, marched towards the forts of Budápúr¹ and Siwistán. There was a chief in Siwistán, called Matta, and Chach crossed the Mihrán at a village called Diháyat, which formed the boundary between Samma and Alor. From this place he proceeded to Búdhiya, the chief of which was the son of Kotal bin Bhandargú Bhagú. His capital was Nánáráj,² and the inhabitants of the place called it Sawís. Chach attacked and took the fort of Sawís. Kaba, son of Káka, came forth to ask quarter for the prince and his followers. They laid upon themselves a tribute to pay him, and made their submission.

The army marches to Siwistán.

From that place he went to Siwistán, and when he approached it, Matta, its chief, came forth with great alarm and a large retinue to meet him. A battle was fought, Chach was victorious, and Matta, with his army, fled and took refuge in the fort. Chach besieged it, and after a week the garrison was obliged to sue for peace. The terms being agreed to, they came out the fort, and surrendered the keys to the officers of Chach, who gave them protection and showed them much kindness. He gave the chiefship of the place to Matta, and also placed one of his confidential officers there. He stopped there for a few days, during which time the affairs of the territory and the city were put in order.

Chach sends a messenger to Akham Lohána, chief of Brahmanábád.

When the invasion of Siwistán was over, Chach sent a letter to Akham Lohána, the governor of Brahmanábád, who was Chief also of Lákha, Samma and Sihta, and called upon him to acknowledge submission. When he was a few days' journey from Makrán, the footmen whom he had placed on the roads, caught a person with letters from Akham, which he had written to Matta, the governor of Siwistán, to the following effect. "I have always behaved towards you with great cordiality and friendship, and have never

¹ [Búdhiya in MS. B. No doubt the Budhpur or Búdhiya of p. 160, where it is also connected with Siwistán.]

² ["Kákáráj" in MS. B.]

shown you opposition or quarrelled with you. The letter which you sent by way of friendship was received, and I was much exalted by it. Our friendship shall remain confirmed for ever, and no animosity shall arise. I will comply with all your orders. You are a king, and the son of a king. Unity exists between you and me. Circumstances like this have occurred to many persons, and have obliged them to seek protection. You are at liberty to reside at any place you like within the territory of Brahmanábád, that is to say, up to the sea of Debal. If you have resolved to go in any other direction, there is nobody to prevent or molest you. Wherever you like to go I will assist you. I possess such power and influence that I can render you aid." Matta found it expedient to repair to the country of Hind, to Malik Ramal, who was also called Bhattí.

Chach sends a letter to Akham Lohána.

Rái Chach sent a letter to Akham Lohána, saying, "You from your power, and pomp, and family descent, consider yourself the ruler of the time. Although this kingdom and sovereignty, wealth, riches, dignity, and power have not descended to me by inheritance, yet these distinguished favours and this exalted position have been given to me by God. It was not by my army that I gained them; but God, the single, the incomparable, the creator of the world, in favour to Siláj, has given me this dominion, and this most glorious position. In all circumstances I obtain assistance from him, and I have no hope of aid from any other. He enables me to accomplish all my undertakings, and assists me in all my acts. He has given me victory in all battles, and over all my enemies. He has bestowed on me the blessings of both worlds. Although you think you have possessed yourself of all this power and circumstance by your courage and audacity, promptitude, and glory, you shall surely lose it, and to take your life is lawful."

Chach arrives at Brahmanábád, and fights with Akham Lohána.

Chach then marched against Akham Lohána, who had gone from Brahmanábád into the interior of the country. When he received the intelligence of the arrival of Chach, he came to the capital, and made preparation for war. When Rái Chach arrived at the city of Brahmanábád, Akham stood ready to oppose him. After a great

slaughter of warriors on both sides, the army of Akham took to flight, and he entered his fort. Chach laid siege to it, and the siege lasted for the period of one year.

In those days the king of Hindustán, that is, Kanauj, was Satbán,¹ son of Rásal, and Akham sent letters to him asking for assistance. But Akham died before the answer was returned, and his son succeeded him. Akham had a friend, an infidel Samaní, named Buddh-rakú,² i.e., "Protected by the idol." He had a temple which was called Budh Nau-vihár,³ and the idol Dilhá (?)⁴ He was a devotee thereof, and famous for his piety, and all the people of the surrounding places were obedient to him. Akham was his disciple, and he regarded the Samaní as his pole-star. When Akham had taken refuge in the fort, the Samaní assisted him; he did not fight, but he read his books in his chamber of worship. When Akham died, and his son⁵ succeeded him in the government, the Samaní was disaffected and troubled, for he did not think it right that the kingdoms and the property and estates should depart from his hands. In his perplexity he looked about, and he arrived at the conclusion that the country must fall to Chach, whether he would be friendly to him or not. Then the (late king's) son being sore pressed, his army and his forces gave up fighting, and the fort was surrendered to Chach, who firmly established his power in it. When Chach heard of the Samaní, and knew that he had made a compact with Akham and his son, and that the war had lasted for one year through his enchantments and magical power, he swore that if he ever captured the fort, he would seize him and flay him, and order drums to be covered with his skin, and have his body torn to pieces. This oath was reported to the Samaní, who laughed and said, "Chach will not have the power to kill me." When after a time, the people of the fort, after much fighting

¹ ["Siyár" in MS. B.]

² ["Buddhúgúti" in MS. A.: *raku* or *rakhu* means "protected," from the Sanskrit *rakshita*. *Gúti* probably represents the Sanskrit *gupta*, which also signifies "protected."]

³ [See note in the next page.]

⁴ [اورا نووهار گفنتند وبت دلہاء E. I. Lib.]

⁵ [MS. A. leaves out the word "son," and so makes the passage unintelligible.]

and great slaughter, gave up the contest, and solicited protection, by the intervention of nobles and chiefs, a treaty was made between both parties, and the fort was surrendered. Chach entered it, and told them that if they liked they might go away ; there was no one to interfere with them, and if they wished to remain they might. The son and the dependants of Akham seeing him kindly disposed towards them, chose to remain. Chach stayed for a time in that city, and made himself acquainted with their disposition.

Chach takes the wife of Akham to himself, and gives the daughter of his nephew to Akham's son Sarband.

Chach sent a man to the mother of Sarband and requested her hand. The son brought her. Chach gave Dharsiya, the daughter of his nephew to the son, and decked him in apparel of many colours. He stopped there for a year, and appointed officers on his part to collect the revenues. He subjugated the other surrounding chiefs. At last, he enquired where the enchanter Samaní was, that he might see him. He was told that he was a great devotee, and that he would be found with the devotees, and that he was one of the philosophers of Hind. He was the keeper of the temple of Kan-vihár,¹ and amongst the other devotees he was the greatest, and had reached to perfection. He was so skilled in magic and enchantments, that he had made a world obedient and submissive to him. He had provided himself with all the requisites by means of his talismans, and for some time he had become friendly to Sarband because he had been friendly with his father. Through his power and protection the army of Brahmanábád had protracted the war for so long time.

Chach visits the Samant, and enquires about his circumstances.

Chach ordered his body guards and soldiers to mount their horses, and went towards the temples of Budh and Kan-vihár² with the

¹ [کنوهار in both copies.]

² [بدہ و کنہار A. بدہ و کینہار B.] This seems to be called indiscriminately Nuhár, and Kanúhár, and Kínúhar. The copulative conjunction in the text is incomprehensible. It occurs again a little below. [These names may be, as Sir H. Elliot conceived, mere varieties in spelling of the same name,—or they may be two different names of the same establishment or collection of buildings. There can be

intention of killing the Samaní. He called his armed men and instructed them that when during the interview he should stand up and look towards them, they should draw their swords and sever the Samaní's head from his body. When he reached the temple, he saw the Samaní sitting on a chair, engaged in worship, and having some clay in his hand¹ with which he was making idols, he had something like a stamp with which the figure of the buddh was made on the clay, and when it was finished he placed it on one side.² Chach stood by him, but received no attention from him. After a short time, when he had finished his idols, he raised his head and said, "Is the son of the monk Síláj come?" Chach replied, "Yes, O devotee." The Samaní said, "For what purpose have you come?" Chach answered that he wished to see him, and therefore he had come. The devotee bid him to sit down. Chach sat. The devotee spread a fine cloth, and made him sit on it. He asked, "O Chach! what do you want?" Chach replied, "I wish you would become my friend and return to Brahmanábád, that I might turn your thoughts to secular pursuits, and entrust you with great offices. You may live with Sarband, and give him advice and assistance." The devotee said, "I have nothing to do with your country, and have no wish to engage in public business. I do not like worldly concerns." Chach asked him, "Why did you side with the people of the fort of Brahmanábád?" He replied, "When Akham Lohána died, and his son was grieved, I admonished him to cease lamenting for the departure of his father, and prayed the Almighty God to cause peace and friendship between the contending parties. It is better for me to serve Budh, and seek salvation in the next world, than all the offices and greatness of this. But as thou art the king of this country, at thy supreme command I will go with my family to the neighbourhood of the fort, although I fear

no doubt that the last word of the compound represents *vihár*. *Nau*, or in Sanskrit *Nava*, signifies "New," and *Kan* may be the Hindi *Kān*, from the Sanskrit *Krishna*, a word which is found in the names Kānpur and Kānhari. These names would therefore signify "New monastery," and "Black monastery."]

¹ [About a page of matter is here omitted from B.]

² [This process of stamping the clay figures of Buddha is still practised. General Cunningham possesses several old Indian as well as recent Indian and Burmese specimens.]

that the people of the fort will do despite to the cultivation of Budh. You are to-day a fortunate and a great man." Chach said, "The worship of Budh is most righteous, and ever to hold it in honour is most proper. But if you are in want of anything, tell me, for I shall consider it a privilege and a duty to provide for it." The devotee answered, "I do not want anything of this world from you. May God incline you to the affairs of the next." Chach said, "I also wish that my salvation may be the result. Direct me so that I may see where assistance is required, and I will help you." He exclaimed, "As you seem to be desirous of performing charitable and virtuous deeds, there is an old temple (called) Budh and Nau-vihár (at) Sáwandasí¹ which has suffered much injury from the hand of time—it requires repair. You should spend some money in renewing its foundation, and I shall be thus benefited by you." Chach said, "By all means ; I thank you, farewell."

Chach returns to Brahmanábád.

Chach rode back from that place. The minister asked him, "O king, I have seen a wonder." "What is it?" said Chach. He remarked, "When you started you had resolved that I should order the soldiers to kill the devotee ; but when you went before him you showed every wish to please him, and accepted all his prayers." Chach said, "Very true ; I saw something which was no magic or charm, for when I looked at him, something came before my vision, and as I sat before him, I beheld a dreadful and horrible phantom standing at his head. Its eyes blazed like fire, and were full of anger, and its lips were long and thick, and its teeth resembled pikes. He had a spear in his hand, which shone like diamonds, and it appeared as if he was going to strike some one with it. When I saw him I was much afraid, and could not utter a word to him which you might hear. I wished to save my own life, so I observed him carefully and departed."

Chach stays at Brahmanábád, and determines the amount of the revenue.

Chach stopped in the fort of Brahmanábád till all ministerial

¹ [A. says بده و نوهار سابدہ تعبد گاه قدیم است
B. says بده نوهار ساوندسی تعبدہ گاه]

affairs were settled, taxes were fixed, and the subjects re-assured. He humiliated the Jats and the Lohánas, and punished their chiefs. He took a hostage from these chiefs, and kept him in the fort of Brahmanábád. He obliged them to agree to the following terms : That they should never wear any swords but sham ones : That they should never wear under-garments of shawl, velvet, or silk, but they might wear their outer-garments of silk, provided they were of a red or black colour : That they should put no saddles on their horses, and should keep their heads and feet uncovered : That when they went out they should take their dogs with them : That they should carry firewood for the kitchen of the chief of Brahmanábád. They were to furnish guides and spies, and were to be faithful when employed in such offices. They were to live in amity with Sarband, son of Akham, and if any enemy came to invade the territory, or fight with Sarband, they were to consider it incumbent on them to assist him, and steadily adhere to his cause. He thus finished his labours, and established his rule. If any person showed rebellion or hostility, he took a hostage and exacted penalties until he should amend his conduct.

Chach marches to Kirmán and defines the boundary of Makrán.

When Chach had settled these matters, he made up his mind to determine the boundary of Kirmán, which was adjacent to the possessions of the chiefs of Hind. At this time two years had elapsed since the Hijra of the Prophet of God,—may peace be to him. After the death of Kisra bin Hurmaz bin Fárs, and the disruption of his dominions, the management of the affairs of the kingdom devolved upon a woman. When Chach was informed of this, he determined to go to Kirmán with a considerable force. At an auspicious time, which was fixed by the astrologers, he marched towards Armábél, and when he arrived there the chief of the place came to receive him. He was a Buddhist priest, and had descended from the representatives of Rái Ssharas, king of Hind, whom the Rái had raised up with great kindness and favour. From change of time he had become refractory, and had revolted from his allegiance. He came forth to meet Chach, when a treaty was made, and cordiality and friendship was established between them. Chach proceeded from thence to Makrán. Every chief that was met offered

his submission. When he had crossed the province of Makrán and the hills, he entered another district. There was an old fort here called Kanarpúr.¹ He ordered it to be rebuilt; and according to the Hindú custom a naubat of five musical instruments, was ordered to be played every evening and morning in the fort. He collected all the people of the surrounding villages, and completed the building. He marched from this place towards Kirmán; and halted on the banks of a river which runs between that country and Makrán. There he fixed the eastern boundary, that is, the boundary between Makrán and Kirmán, and planted numerous date trees there upon the banks of the stream, and he set up a mark, saying, "this was the boundary of Hind in the time of Chach bin Síláj bin Basábas."² Now that boundary has come into our possession.

Chach proceeds to Armábél³ and fixes the revenue.

From that place he returned to Armábél, and having passed through the country of Túrán, he came out in the desert. No body arose to fight with him. He arrived in the country of Kandhábél, that is, Kandahár;⁴ and having traversed that desert also, he advanced to the fort. The people took refuge in it. When he arrived at the banks of the Síní,⁵ he pitched his tents there. The people of the place being much pressed agreed to pay him an annual tribute of one hundred thousand dirams, and one hundred hill horses. A treaty was made, and Chach returned to his capital Alor, and remained there till he died and went to hell. He reigned forty years.

Chandar son of Síláj succeeds to the Government of Alor.

After the death of Chach, his brother Chandar,⁶ son of Síláj, sat upon the throne of Alor. He patronized the religion of the

¹ [A. کنرپور. B. کینرپور. Kannazbúr; see Note A. in Appendix.]

² ["Sabás" in B.]

³ [A. ارماييل. B. ارمانيل.]

⁴ [This explanation is not in MS. B.]

⁵ [A. سپی. B. سینى.]

⁶ [Mír Ma'súm takes no notice of Chandar, but the Tuhfatul Kirám says that he succeeded as Káim-makám and occupied the throne eight years. According to the former, Chach left two sons, Dáhir and Dhar-sen, and a daughter Báí Rání. The Tuhfatul Kirám agrees in writing the name "Dhar-sen," but both MSS. of the Chach-náma have "Dharsiya."]

násiks (Buddhists) and monks and promulgated their doctrines. He brought many people together with the sword, and made them return to his religion. He received several letters from the Chiefs of Hind.

Journey of Matta, Chief of Siwistán.

When Matta, chief of Siwistán, went to the king of Kanauj, the country of Hindustán was in a flourishing condition. Kanauj was under the rule of Síharas, son of Rásal.¹ Matta went to him and represented thus: "Chach, son of Síláj, is dead, and his brother Chandar, a monk (*ráhīb*), has succeeded him. He is a devotee (*násik*), and his whole day is occupied in the study of his faith with other religious persons in the temple. It is easy to wrest the kingdom from him. If you take his territories and place them under my charge, I will pay a tribute, and send it to your treasury."

The answer of Síharas.

Síharas said to Matta, "Chach was a great king, and had an extensive territory under his sway. As he is dead, I will bring his possessions under my own rule, if I take them. They will form a great addition to my kingdom, and I will appoint you over one of their divisions." Síharas then sent his brother Barhás, son of Kasáts. The son of the daughter of the great Chach, who ruled over Kashmír and Ramal, also agreed to join him, and they proceeded with their armies till they reached the banks of the Hási,² where they encamped. The agents and offices of Chandar, who were still in the fort of Deo, fled. The invaders took the place, and advanced on their journey till they arrived at Band Káhúya, where they halted for one month, and performed the worship of Budh. They sent a messenger with a letter to Chandar to induce him to come, make his submission, and sue for protection.

¹ [There are no names corresponding with these in the Genealogical tables of the Kanauj dynasty (Thomas' Prinsep II. 258.) General Cunningham is of opinion "that Síharas is probably the same as the Bhím Sen mentioned by the Chinese as *Ti-mo-si-no*, King of Central India, in A.D. 692, and that the two names Síharas and Bhím Sen might easily be confounded when written in Persian letters." This, however, is very hypothetical. It is not unlikely that the prince of some other and nearer place than the great Kanauj is really intended, especially as his army is represented as joining those of Kashmír and Ramal.]

² ["Hási" in *B.*]

Chandar refuses, strengthens himself in the fort, and prepares to fight.

Siharas sends an embassy to Dáhir, son of Chach.

Chandar sits on the throne of Chach.

Chandar succeeded to the government, and his subjects enjoyed comfort, and the country was governed firmly during his reign, which lasted for seven years. He died in the eighth year, and Dáhir sat on the throne of Alor. Ráj, son of Chandar, established himself at Brahmanábád, but did not maintain his government for more than one year. After that, Dharsiya, son of Chach, took possession of Brahmanábád and his sister Báj¹ was friendly and obedient to him. Dharsiya asked the daughter of Akham in marriage. He remained at Brahmanábád five years, and issued his orders to the neighbouring chiefs, who acknowledged his authority. Dharsiya resided for some time at the fort of Ráwar,² of which Chach had laid the foundation, but did not live to see completed. When Dharsiya had finished the works, and collected inhabitants for the town from the places in the neighbourhood, and when it was well populated, he called it Ráwar, and returned to Brahmanábád, and firmly established himself in the Government.

Báj (Máin) is sent to Alor for the purpose of being given in marriage to the king of Bática.

When Dharsiya was reflecting one day that his sister had arrived at a marriageable age, messengers arrived from Súban,³ king of Bática, in the country of Ramal, to demand her in marriage. Dharsiya although he⁴ was the elder brother, gave her a princely dowry, and sent her with seven hundred horse and five hundred foot to Dáhir, recommending him by letter to marry her to the king of Bhátia,⁵ who had stipulated that he should receive a fort as her marriage portion. The messengers went to Alor, and remained there one month. (*Here follows an account of Dáhir marrying his sister because it was prognosticated that her husband would be king of Hind and Sind, and the contests between the brothers in consequence.*)

¹ [Máin in MS. A., Báj signifies "lady," and is much used as a respectful term instead of the name. "Máin" is probably an error for "Báj," but it may possibly have been the real name of the princess.]

² [Alor in A., but Ráwar in B.]

³ [Súrin in B.]

⁴ [Dáhir?]

⁵ So written here, but elsewhere Bática.

Rái Dáhir receives information.

Rái Dáhir goes to an astrologer to ascertain the fate of his sister.

The predictions of the astrologers.

Consultation of Budhíman, the minister, with Rái Dáhir.

Ingenuity of Budhíman, the minister.

Dáhir sends a letter to Dharsiya.

Dharsiya receives the letter.

Dáhir sends another letter to Dharsiya.

Dharsiya marches to Alor to seize Dáhir.

Endeavours of Dharsiya to take Dáhir prisoner.

Dáhir asks advice from his minister.

Dharsiya enters the fort of Alor on an elephant

Dáhir is informed of the death of Dharsiya.

The burning of Dharsiya's body.

Dáhir goes to Bráhmaṇábád.

Dáhir remained one year in Brahmanábád, in order to reduce the neighbouring chiefs. He sent for the son of Dharsiya, and treated him kindly. He then went to Siwistán, and thence to the fort Ráwar,¹ of which his father Chach had laid the foundations, but the works were not completed when he died. He remained there for some time, and ordered that the fort should be finished. He remained there during the four hot months, for it is a pleasant place and has an agreeable climate, and he used to remain during the four cold and dark months at Brahmanábád. He passed his time in this manner for eight years, during which time he became confirmed and generally recognized in his dominions in Sind and Hind. The chiefs of Ramal became aware of his wealth both in treasure and elephants.

The chiefs of Ramal come to fight with Rái Dáhir.

The chiefs advanced with a large and powerful army of horse and foot and war-elephants. They came, by way of Búdhiya, to the town (*rostd*) of Ráwar, and conquered it, and passed on from thence to Alor.

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¹ Here, again, it is doubtful if Alor or Ráwar be meant, nor does it appear how Dharsiya and Dáhir could both at different times be said to have completed the fort. [*A.* says Alor, but *B.* has Ráwar.]

*Muhammad 'Alláfi*¹ (an Arab mercenary,) goes against the chiefs of Ramal.

Muhammad 'Alláfi, an Arab of the Bani Asámat, who had killed 'Abdu-r Rahmán son of Ash'ab, for having run away from battle, came to join Dáhir with five hundred Arabs.

* * * * *

The 'Alláfi made a night attack on the Ramal troops with his five hundred Arabs and warriors of Hind, and fell upon them on all four sides with a great shout, and killed and captured 80,000 warriors and fifty elephants, besides horses and arms innumerable fell into their hands.

* * * * *

Dáhir then told his good and judicious minister to ask a favour. The minister replied: "I have no son who will carry down my name to posterity. I request, therefore, that orders may be given to have my name stamped on the silver coin of the realm, so that my name being on one face, and the king's on the other, it will not then be forgotten in Hind and Sind." Dáhir ordered that the minister's wish should be complied with.

The history of the four first Khalifas.

Mu'awia bin Abú Sufián.

Sannán bin Salma bin Ghúru-l Hindí.

Ráshid bin 'Umaru-l Khizrí.

Sannán bin Salma recovers the Government.

Munzir bin Hárúd bin Báshar.

Hakkam bin Munzir.

'Abdu-l Malik bin Marwán.

The 'Alláfis, etc.

Mujá'a bin Safar bin Yazid bin Husaika.

Walid bin 'Abdu-l Malik bin Marwán

Account of the presents sent to the Khalífa from Sarandíp.

Hajjáj sends a messenger to Dáhir, the Infidel.

Hajjáj obtains permission to leave the Capital.

Budail suffers martyrdom.

¹ [This is the spelling of B. MS. A. always has "'Alláni."]

'Imádu-d dīn Muhammad Kásim bin Abi 'Akil Sakifi.

Hajjáj writes letters to the Capital and Syria.

Hajjáj reads the Khutba on Friday.

Departure of Muhammad Kásim.

The army arrives at Shiráz.

Muhammad Kásim arrives at Makrán.

Hárún proceeds with Muhammad Kásim.

The army marches from Armábel.

The orders of Hajjáj reach Muhammad Kásim.

The Arab army makes preparations, and Hajjáj's orders arrive.

The flag-staff of the temple of Debal is knocked down by a mangonel.

Budhiman comes to Muhammad Kásim, and receives a promise of protection.

A fifth portion of the booty in slaves and coins is set aside.

The capture of Debal is reported to Rái Dáhir.

The letter of Rái Dahir.

The reply of Muhammad Kásim to Rái Dáhir.

Muhammad Kásim proceeds to Nírún after the conquest of Debal.

Historians have related, upon the authority of Banána bin Han-zala Kalábi, that after the conquest of Debal, where great plunder was taken, Muhammad Kásim ordered the mangonels to be placed on boats, and went towards the fort of Nírún. The boats went up the stream which they call Sindh Ságar;¹ but he himself took the road of Sísam, and when he arrived there, he received Hajjáj's answer to the announcement of the victory.

The answer of Hajjáj to Muhammad Kásim.

An account of the inhabitants of Nírún obtaining a passport from Hajjáj.

Historians relate that Abú Láis Tamímí says, on the authority of Ja'úba bin 'Akaba Salamí, who accompanied Muhammad Kásim, that after the capture of Debal, Muhammad Kásim proceeded to the fort of Nírún, the inhabitants of which had provided themselves with an order of security from Hajjáj at the time that the army of the Arabs had been defeated, and Budail had been killed, and they had agreed

¹ [So in B. MS. A. has "Wahind ságara."]

to pay a tribute. He arrived at Nírún, which is twenty-five parasangs from Debal, in six days. On the seventh day he encamped on a meadow near Nírún, which is called Balhár,¹ and the waters of the Sîhún² Mihrán had not yet reached it. The army was parched with thirst, and Muhammad prayed to heaven for rain, and it fell, and filled all the streams and lakes near the city.

* * * * *

Muhammad Kásim sends confidential messengers to Nírún.

* * * * *

The Samaní, the Governor of Nírún, comes to pay his respects to Muhammad Kásim, and brings presents.

* * * * *

Muhammad Kásim built at Nírún a mosque on the site of the temple of Budh, and ordered prayers to be proclaimed in the Muhammadan fashion, and appointed an Imám. After remaining there some days, he prepared to go to Siwistán, which is situated on an eminence to the west of the Mihrán. He determined to conquer the whole country, and after the capture of Siwistán, to recross the river, and proceed against Dáhir. God grant that his resolution may be fulfilled !

The expedition to Siwistán.

After Muhammad Kásim had settled affairs at Nírún, he equipped his army, and under the guidance of the Samaní took it towards Siwistán. He arrived by regular stages at a place called Bahraj,³ thirty parasangs from Nírún. There also was a Samaní, who was chief of the rest of the inhabitants. In the fort the nephew of Dáhir was governor ; his name was Bajhrá, the son of Chandar. All the Samaní assembled and sent a message to Bajhrá, saying, we are *násik* devotees. Our religion is one of peace and quiet, and fighting and slaying is prohibited, as well as all kinds of shedding of blood. You are secure in a lofty place, while we are open to the

¹ ["Baláhár" in B.]

² [Sîhún from the root *sih*, to flow is the proper name of the Jaxartes. It is used here and in page 138 as a common noun for *river*. The early Muhammadan writers frequently apply the term to the Indus, that river being to them *the river of India*.]

³ [So in A., but MS. B. has Mauj مَوْج.]

invasions of the enemy, and liable to be slain and plundered as your subjects. We know that Muhammad Kásim holds a farmán from Hajjáj, to grant protection to every one who demands it. We trust, therefore, that you will consider it fit and reasonable that we make terms with him, for the Arabs are faithful, and keep their agreements. Bajhrá refused to listen to them. Muhammad Kásim sent spies to ascertain whether the citizens were unanimous or inimical. They reported that some armed men were outside the fort, and prepared to fight. Muhammad Kásim encamped opposite the gate leading to the sandy desert, because there was no opportunity to attack him there, as the inundation had risen on account of the rains, and the river Sindhu Ráwal¹ flowed to the north of the selected ground.

Battle fought at Sivistán.

Muhammad Kásim ordered the mangonels to be prepared, and the fight was commenced. The Samanís prevented their chief from fighting, and told him that the Muhammadan army was not to be overcome by him, and he would not be able to oppose it. He would be merely placing his life and property in danger. When he would not listen to the advice of his subjects, the Samanís sent this message to Muhammad Kásim :—"All the subjects, farmers, and tradesmen, merchants, and the lower classes hate Bajhrá, and do not yield him allegiance. He does not possess any force with which he can oppose you, or give battle." The Muhammadan army were inspired with great courage on receiving the message, and fought day and night on the side of Muhammad Kásim. About a week after, the besieged stopped fighting, and when Bajhrá knew that the fort was about to fall, he came out from the northern gate, at the time when the world was veiled in darkness, crossed the river, and fled. He continued his flight till he reached the boundary of Búdhiya. In those days the ruler of the Búdhiya territory was Káka son of Kotal, a Samaní. His stronghold was Sísam, on the banks of the Kumbh. The people of Búdhiya and the chiefs of the surrounding places came to receive Bajhrá, and allowed him to encamp under the fort.

¹ [A. says جوي سند دراول. B. جوي سندھ و راول روان شد.]

Siwistán is taken and Bajhrá flies.

When Bajhrá went away, and the Samanís made submission, Muhammad Kásim entered the fort of Siwistán and gave quarter. He appointed his functionaries to discharge the civil duties of the territory, and brought the neighbouring places under his rule. He took the gold and silver wherever he found it, and appropriated all the silver, jewels, and cash. But he did not take anything from the Samanís, who had made terms with him. He gave the army their due, and having deducted a fifth part of the whole, delivered it to the treasurer of Hajjáj, and wrote a report of the victory to Hajjáj. He appointed Ráwats there. He also sent the plunder and the slaves to him, and he himself stopped at Siwistán. Two or three days after he had separated the fifth part, and distributed to the army their shares, he proceeded to the fort of Sísam, and the people of Búdhya and the chief of Siwistán rose up to fight. Muhammad Kásim marched with all his force, except the garrison, which was placed under the officer left in Siwistán, and alighted at a place called Nílhán,¹ on the banks of the Kumbh. The inhabitants of the vicinity were all infidels, who assembled together as soon as they saw the Muhammadan army, and determined to make a night attack on it, and disperse it.

The interview of the chiefs with Káka.

The chiefs of Budh went to Káka Kotal. The ránas of Búdhya are descended from Áú. They had originally come from the banks of the Ganges, from a place called Áúndhár.² They consulted with him, and said that they had determined to make a night attack on the army.

The reply of Káka.

Káka said—"If you can accomplish it, well and good; but the bah-

¹ ["Nídhán" in MS. B.

² Possibly Audhia on the Ghágra may be alluded to. [A. says *ک اودندھار کویند* B. has *ک اودندھار کویند* The *او* is probably the pronoun, and the name Dandhár or Dandahár, is possibly Dand-vihár. General Cunningham suggests that "Daundiakera or Daundhára may perhaps be the place intended. It is on the Ganges, and was the capital of the Bais Rájputs. Trilok Chand was the founder of this branch of the family, and the fourth in descent from him is Audhara Chand, who may be the *Au* mentioned in the text." See also Thomas' *Prinsep*, Table xxxii.]

liks and monks have told me, according to their astrological books, that this country will be conquered by the Muhammadan army." He placed a chief, whose name was Pahan, at their head, and made gifts to the soldiers. There were one thousand brave fighting men under the command of this chief. They were all armed with swords, shields, javelins, spears, and daggers. When the army of the day fled for fear of the black legions of the night, they marched with the intention of making their night attack. As they approached the army of the Arabs, they missed the road, and were wandering about perplexed all the night from evening till daybreak. They were divided into four bodies, the one most advanced did not keep up a communication with that which was in the rear, nor did the left wing come in sight of the right, but they kept roving about in the desert. When they lifted up their heads they found themselves round the fort of Sísam.¹ When the darkness of night was expelled by the light of the king of the stars, they entered the fort, and told the whole to Káka Kotal, saying that this their treacherous plan had not proved successful. Káka said, "You know full well that I am famous for my determination and courage. I have achieved many enterprises at your head; but in the books of the Budhs it is predicted, upon astrological calculations, that Hindústan shall be taken by the Muhammadans, and I also believe that this will come to pass."

Káka Kotal goes to Muhammad Kásim with Banána, son of Hanzala, and submits to him.

Káka with his followers and friends went to the army of the Arabs. When he had gone a little distance, Banána, son of Hanzala, whom Muhammad Kásim had sent to reconnoitre the enemy, met him and took him to Muhammad Kásim. When he obtained the honour of coming before Muhammad Kásim, this general expressed his satisfaction, and gave him some good counsel. Káka told him all about the Jats coming against him with the intention of making a night attack, and of their treacherous schemes. He also said that the Almighty God misled them in their way, so that they were wandering about the whole night in darkness and chagrin; and that

¹ [Probably the village now called "Seisan" on Lake Manchar. May not the latter be the "Kumb" of p. 160? The word signifies "a waterpot," but its analogue *Kund* means "a lake."]

the astrologers and credible persons of his country had found out by their calculations of the stars that this country would be taken by the Muhammadan army. He had already seen this miracle, and he was sure that it was the will of God, and that no device or fraud would enable them to withstand the Muhammadans. "Be firm under all circumstances," said he, "and set your mind at ease. You will overcome them. I make my submission to you, and I will be your counsellor, and assist you to the extent of my power. I will be your guide in overpowering and subduing your enemies." When Muhammad Kásim had heard all he had to say, he praised the great God, and in giving thanks placed his head upon the earth. He comforted Káka and his dependants and followers, and promised him protection. He then asked him, "O chief of Hind, what is your mode of bestowing honour?" Káka said, "Granting a seat, and investing with a garment of silk, and tying a turban round the head. It is the custom of our ancestors, and of the Jat Samanís." When Káka had invested him with the dress, all the chiefs and head men of the surrounding places wished to submit to him. He dispelled the fear of the Arab army from the minds of those who offered allegiance, and brought those to submission who were inimically disposed. 'Abdu-l Malik, son of Kaisu-d Dammáni,¹ was appointed his lieutenant to punish all enemies and revolters. Káka plundered a people who were wealthy, and took much booty in cash, cloths, cattle, slaves, and grain, so that cow's flesh was plentiful in the camp. Muhammad Kásim, having marched from that place, came to the fort of Sisam. There he fought for two days, and God granted him victory. The infidels fled, and Bajhrá bin Chandar, uncle of Dáhir,² and many of the officers and nobles who were under his command, lost their precious lives. Of the rest some ran away far beyond the territory of Búdiya, and some to the fort of Bahítlúr, between Sálúj and Kandhábel, and from that place solicited a written promise of protection. Those chiefs were enemies of Dáhir, and some of them had been slain—hence they revolted from him, and sent ambassadors, and agreed to pay a tribute of one thousand dirams weight of silver, and also sent hostages to Siwistán.

¹ [This name is doubtful in *A.*, and quite unintelligible in *B.*]

² [*A.* says "Chandar bin Dáhir." *B.* has "son of the uncle of Dáhir."]

Orders are received from Hajjáj son of Yúsuf to cross the Mihrán, and a battle is fought with Dáhir.

When Muhammad Kásim had fixed the several tributes of those chiefs, he gave them fresh written agreements for their satisfaction. He appointed there Hamíd, son of Widá'u-n Najdí and 'Abdu-l Kais, of the family of Járúd, and as they were confidential persons he entrusted to them all the business of that place.

When he had settled the affairs of Sísam, he received orders from Hajjáj to proceed to some other place; to return to Nirún, take measures to cross the Mihrán, and fight with Dáhir. He was directed to ask Almighty God for assistance in obtaining success and conquest; and after having obtained the objects of his expedition, he was to strengthen all the forts and places throughout the country, and leave none in an unprovided state. When Muhammad Kásim read the farmán, and understood its contents, he came to Nirún and transmitted his despatches.

Arrival of the Army of the Arabs at Nirún.

After travelling over many stages, he halted at a fort which stands on the hill of Nirún. In the vicinity of it there is a reservoir, the water of which is purer than the eyes of lovers, and the meadows of it are more delightful than the gardens of Iram. He alighted there, and wrote a letter to Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf.

Muhammad Kásim's letter to Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf, stating particulars.

In the name of the most merciful God, to the most exalted court of the noblest of the world, the crown of religion, and protector of 'Ajam and Hind, Hajjáj, son of Yúsuf—from the humble servant Muhammad Kásim greeting. After compliments, he represents that this friend, with all his officers, equipage, servants, and divisions of the Musulmán army, is quite well, affairs are going on well, and a continuance of happiness is attained. Be it known to your bright wisdom that, after traversing deserts and making dangerous marches, I arrived in the territory of Sind, on the banks of the Sfhún, which is called Mihrán. That part of the territory which is around Búdiyya, and is opposite the fort of Baghrúr (Nirún), on the Mihrán,

is taken. This fort is in the country of Alor, which belonged to Dáhir Rái. Some of the people who resisted have been taken prisoners, and the rest through fear have fled away. As the imperative orders of Amír Hajjáj were received, directing me to return, we have returned to the fort on the hill of Nírún, which is very near to the capital. It is hoped that with the Divine assistance, the royal favour, and the good fortune of the exalted prince, the strongest forts of the infidels will be conquered, the cities taken, and our treasures replenished. The forts of Siwistán and Sísam have been already taken. The nephew of Dáhir, his warriors, and principal officers have been despatched, and the infidels converted to Islám or destroyed. Instead of idol temples, mosques and other places of worship have been built, pulpits have been erected, the Khutba is read, the call to prayers is raised, so that devotions are performed at the stated hours. The takbír and praise to the Almighty God are offered every morning and evening.

° ° ° ° °

The reply of Hajjáj is received by Muhammad Kásim.

Muhammad Kásim hears that Dáhir Rái had proceeded to Nirún.

Muhammad Kásim does honour to the Nirún Samant.

Muhammad Kásim fights on the banks of the Míhrán.

Moka bin Bisáya enters into terms with Muhammad Kásim.

Banána bin Hanzala is sent to Moka bin Bisáya, and seizes him and his attendants.

Then Banána bin Hanzala went with his tribe and an interpreter to the place indicated, and seized Moka bin Bisáya,¹ together with his family and twenty well-known Takars.² When Banána brought him before Muhammad Kásim, he was treated with kindness and respect, and the country of Bait was made over to him, and a grant

¹ [Chief of a large district, from the Sanskrit *Viśaya*. The term is still used in Orissa and Nágpúr.]

² I am doubtful if this is meant for *Thákur*, or for *takra*, a word used in the West for a strong man. A little above, where Dharsiya sends his sister to Alor, the word is used apparently as a foot soldier, in opposition to a horseman. In other places it is used in conjunction with governors and nobles [and so corresponds exactly with *thákur*.]

was written to that effect, and a hundred thousand dirams were given to him as a reward. A green umbrella surmounted by a peacock, a chair, and a robe of honour were bestowed upon him. All his Takars were favoured with robes and saddled horses. Historians relate that the first umbrella of *Ránagi*, or chiefship, which he gave, was this to Moka. At Moka's request, he gave the land and all the towns, fields, and dependencies within the borders of Bait, to him and his descendants; and having entered into a firm treaty with him, directed him to collect boats.

Muhammad Kásim sends a Syrian Ambassador and Mauláná Islámí to Dáhir.

The ambassadors reach Dáhir.

When they came to Dáhir, Mauláná Islámí, of Debal, did not bow his head, or make any signs of reverence. Dáhir recognized him, and asked him why he failed in the usual respectful salutation, and enquired if any one had thrown obstacles in his way. The Mauláná of Debal replied, "When I was your subject it was right of me to observe the rules of obedience; but now that I am converted, and am subject to the king of Islám, it cannot be expected that I should bow my head to an infidel." Dáhir said, "If you were not an ambassador, I would punish you with death." The Mauláná replied, "If you kill me it will be no great loss to the Arabs; but they will avenge my death, and exact the penalty from you."

The Syrian declares the object of his mission.

Dáhir consults with Sísákar,¹ the minister.

'Alláfi offers advice to Dáhir.

The ambassadors return to Muhammad Kásim with the answer of Dáhir Rái.

Muhammad Kásim receives an order from Hajjáj.

Muhammad Kásim informs his friends of Hajjáj's orders.

Rái Dáhir arrives at the banks of the Míhrán.

A Syrian is slain.

¹ [Sísákar, or Siyákar in B.]

Mus'ab goes to Siwistán.

Jaisiya son of Dáhir arrives at the fort of Bait.

Rái Dáhir the infidel sends a message to Muhammad Sakifí.

Tiyár returns to Hajjáj from Muhammad Kásim.

Hajjáj sends two thousand horses to Muhammad Kásim.

Muhammad Kásim reads the orders of Hajjáj.

Hajjáj sends some vinegar to Muhammad Kásim.

The orders of Hajjáj reach Muhammad Kásim on the western bank of the Mihrán.

Rái Dáhir confers with the Samaní, his minister, on Muhammad Kásim's preparations for crossing the river.

Muhammad Kásim prepares to cross to the eastern bank with his army.

Muhammad Kásim had determined to cross, and was apprehensive lest Rái Dáhir might come to the banks of the Mihrán with his army, and oppose the transit. He ordered Sulaimán bin Tihán Kuraishí to advance boldly with his troops against the fort,¹ in order that Fúfí² son of Dáhir, should not be able to join his father. Sulaimán accordingly went with 600 horsemen. He ordered also the son of 'Atiya Tifí to watch the road with 500 men, by which Akham might be expected to advance, in order to cover Gandáva³ and he ordered the Samaní, who was chief of Nírún, to keep open the road for the supply of food and fodder to the camp. Mus'ab bin 'Abu-r rahmán was ordered to command the advance guard, and keep the roads clear. He placed Namáma⁴ bin Hanzala Kalábi in the centre with a thousand men; and ordered Zakwán bin 'Ulwán al Bikrí with 1500 men to attend on Moka Bisáya, chief of Bait; and

¹ [MS. *A.* is faulty, but seems to say "the fort of Aror,"—

فرمود که ترا با لشکر خود بغرور او در مقابل حصار ارور بايست

B.'s version is [تو با لشکر خود بغرور رو و در مقابل حصار رود بايست]

² [MS. *A.* writes the name "Kúfí," but *B.* has "Fúfí," and so has the *Tuhfatu-l Kirám*. In this, as generally in other variants, each MS. maintains its own spelling throughout. See *Mem. sur l'Inde*, 191.]

³ [کندادهمه in *A.* کندهاره in *B.*]

⁴ [So in both MSS.]

the Bhetí Thakurs and the Jats of Ghazní, who had made submission and entered the Arab service, were told to remain at Ságara and the island of Bait.

• • • • •
Muhammad Kásim examines the fords.

Dáhir hears that Moka Bisáya had collected boats.

Dáhir gives the government of Bait to Rásil.
• • • • •

When Muhammad Kásim had collected his boats and began to join them together, Rásil with his officers and chiefs came to the opposite bank and prevented the completion of the bridge and the passage of the river. Muhammad Kásim thereupon ordered that the boats should all be brought to the western bank, and be there joined together, to a distance equal to the estimated breadth of the Mihrán. He then placed his warriors fully armed upon the boats and let the head of the bridge, which was full of archers, float down to the eastern bank. The archers drove off the infidels who were posted to guard the passage. So the Arabs passed over to the other side, and driving pegs into the earth, made the bridge fast. The horse and foot then crossed and, giving battle, put the infidels to flight, and pursued them as far as the gates of Jham.

Dáhir awakes and kills his chamberlain for bringing him news of the flight of the infidels and the victory of Islám.

The Arab army advances.

The Arab army marched on till it reached the fort of Bait, and all the horsemen were clad in iron armour. Pickets were posted in all directions, and orders were given to dig an entrenchment round the camp, and to deposit the baggage there. Muhammad Kásim then advanced from the fort of Bait towards Ráwar, till he arrived at a place called Jewár¹ (Jaipúr). Between Ráwar and Jewar (Jaipúr) there was a lake,² on which Dáhir had stationed a select body of troops to reconnoitre.

¹ [In MS. *A.* this is written جیور in the first instance, and in the second چیتور Chítúr. *B.* has جیور in both cases. See page 169.]

² ["*Khuluj*." It is subsequently called an "*ab-gir*."]

Dáhir makes a request of Muhammad 'Alláfi.¹

The answer of 'Alláfi, and his dismissal by Dáhir.

Muhammad Kásim grants 'Alláfi a safe passage.

Dáhir confers with 'Alláfi.

Letters pass between Muhammad Kásim and Hajjáj.

Dáhir sends Jaisiya to reconnoitre.

First fight with the accursed Dáhir.

Treaty of Rásil with Muhammad Kásim.

Rásil, after showing marks of respect and offering promises of fidelity, said, "No one can oppose the will of the Almighty God. As you have bound me by your obligations, I shall after this be at your service, and will never contravene your wishes. I shall obey whatever may be your orders." After a short time Rásil lost his position, and the management of the country devolved upon Moka. Rásil and Moka agreed in opinion, and advised Muhammad Kásim to march. He accordingly set out from that place and reached a village which is called Nárání, Dáhir was at Kájiját.² They saw that between them and Dáhir's camp there was a large lake, which was very difficult to cross. Rásil said,—“May the most just and religious noble live long. It is necessary to cross this lake.” Rásil obtained a boat, and sent three men across at a time, till the whole army crossed over, and took post on a bay. Rásil said, “If you will advance one stage more, you will arrive at Jewar (Jaipúr), on the banks of the Wadháwáh.³ This is a village suitable for your encampment and is the same distance from the camp of Dáhir as it is from here. There you may attack him both in front and rear, and successfully enter into his position and occupy it.” Muhammad Kásim approved of the advice, and reached Jewar (Jaipúr) and the Wadháwáh.

Arrival of Muhammad Kásim at Jewar (Jaipúr).

Intelligence was brought to Rái Dáhir that Muhammad Kásim with the Arab army had reached Jewar (Jaipúr), and when his minister Sísákar⁴ heard of it, he said, “Alas! we are lost. That

¹ [This name is always written “'Allání” in MS. A.]

² [B. “Kájiják.”]

³ [“Dadháwáh” B.]

⁴ [“Siyákar” B.]

place is called Jaipúr,¹ or the town of victory, and as the army has reached that place, it will be successful and victorious." Dáhir Rái took offence at these words. The fire of indignation blazed out in his mind, and he said with anger, "He has arrived at Hindbári,² for it is a place where his bones shall lie." Dáhir left the place, and with precipitation went into the fort of Ráwar. He placed his dependants and baggage in the fort, and himself went out to a place which was a parasang's distance from the Arabs. Dáhir then said to an astrologer, "I must fight to-day; tell me in what part of the heavens the planet Venus is, and calculate which of the two armies shall be successful, and what will be the result."

Prediction of the Astrologer.

After the computation, the astrologer replied,—“According to the calculation, the victory shall be to the Arab army, because Venus is behind him and in front of you.” Rái Dáhir was angry on hearing this. The astrologer then said, “Be not angered, but order an image of Venus to be prepared of gold.” It was made, and fastened to his saddle-straps, in order that Venus might be behind him, and he be victorious. Muhammad Kásim drew nearer, and the interval between both armies was only half a parasang.

Fight of the second day.

Dáhir fights the third day with the Arab army.

Fight of the fourth day.

Fight of the fifth day.

The array of the army of Islám.

Muhammad Kásim Sakifl reads the Khutba.

Muhammad Kásim exhorts his soldiers.

The Arab army charges the Infidels.

Shujá' Habshi becomes a martyr.

Muhammad Kásim charges in the name of God.

¹ It is generally Jewar; [but here we have چتر Chitúr in A.] This explanation shows it must be Jaipúr.

² [*Hadbári* from *haddi*, a bone? MS. B. leaves a blank for the first syllable.]

The accursed Dáhir is slain.

Historians have related that Dáhir was slain at the fort of Ráwar at sunset, on Thursday, the 10th of Ramazán, in the year 93 (June, 712 A.D.). Abú-l Hasan relates upon the authority Abú-l Laís Híndi, who heard it from his father, that when the army of Islám made the attack, and most of the infidels were slain, a noise arose upon the left, and Dáhir thought it came from his own forces. He cried out, "Come hither; I am here." The women then raised their voices, and said, "O king, we are your women, who have fallen into the hands of the Arabs, and are captives." Dáhir said, "I live as yet, who captured you?"¹ So saying, he urged his elephant against the Musulmán army. Muhammad Kásim told the naphtha throwers that the opportunity was theirs, and a powerful man, in obedience to this direction, shot his naphtha arrow into Dáhir's howda, and set it on fire. Dáhir ordered his elephant driver to turn back, for the elephant was thirsty, and the howda was on fire. The elephant heeded not his driver, but dashed into the water, and in spite of all the efforts of the man, refused to turn back. Dáhir and the driver were carried into the rolling waves. Some of the infidels went into the water with them, and some stood upon the banks; but when the Arab horsemen came up, they fled. After the elephant had drunk water, he wanted to return to the fort. The Muhammadan archers plied their weapons, and a rain of arrows fell around. A skilful bowman aimed an arrow, which struck Dáhir in the breast (*bar dil*), and he fell down in the howda upon his face. The elephant then came out of the water and charged. Some of the infidels who remained were trampled under foot, and the others were dispersed. Dáhir got off his elephant, and confronted an Arab; but this brave fellow struck him with a sword on the very centre of his head, and cleft it to his neck. The Muhammadans and infidels closed and maintained a deadly fight, until they reached the fort of Ráwar. When the Brahmans who had gone into the water found the place of Dáhir's fall deserted, they came out and hid the body of Dáhir under the bank. The white elephant turned towards the army of the infidels, and no trace was left.

¹ [Such is the reading of *B.* شمارا كه گرفت *A.* says, بشما كه بكرفت]

Proclamation issued by Muhammad Kásim.

How Ládi the wife of Dáhir was taken.

Muhammad Kásim writes an account of the death of Dáhir to Hajjáj.

The head of Dáhir is sent to 'Irák.

Hajjáj gives his daughter in marriage to Muhammad Kásim.

Hajjáj reads the Khutba in the Masjid Jámi' of Kúfa.

Hajjáj sends an answer to Muhammad Kásim's account of his victory.

The relatives of Dáhir Rái who were carried away captives.

Jaisiya enters the fort of Ráwar and prepares to fight.

The historians concur in the narration that when Dáhir was killed, his son and Rání Báí¹ (who was Dáhir's sister, but whom he had made his wife,) went into the fort of Ráwar with his army, relations, and nobles, and took refuge in it. Jaisiya, who was proud of his courage, power, and dignity, prepared to fight. Muhammad 'Alláfi was also with him. When the news of the death of Dáhir arrived, and that the white elephant was hamstrung, Jaisiya son of Dáhir said that he would go to oppose the enemy, and strike a blow to save his honour and name, for it would be no loss if he were to be slain. Sísákar, the minister, observed that the resolve of the prince was not good, the king had been killed, the army defeated and dispersed, and their hearts were averse to battle through fear of the enemy's sword. How could he go to fight with the Arabs? His dominions still existed, and the strongest forts were garrisoned with brave warriors and subjects. It was, therefore, advisable that they should go to the fort of Brahmanábád, which was the inheritance of his father and ancestors. It was the chief residence of Dáhir. The treasures and stores were full, and the inhabitants of the place were friends and well wishers of the family of Chach, and would all assist in fighting against the enemy. Then the 'Alláfi was also asked what he considered proper. He replied that he concurred in this opinion. So Jaisiya assented, and with all their dependants and trusty servants, they went to Brahmanábád. Báí

¹ [MS. A. still reads Máin.]

(Máin), the wife of Dáhir, together with some of the generals, prepared for battle. She reviewed the army in the fort, and fifteen thousand warriors were counted. They had all resolved to die. Next morning, when it was learnt that Dáhir had been killed between the Mihrán and the stream called Wadháwáh,¹ all the chiefs (Ráwats) and officers who were attached to the Ránf entered the fort. Muhammad Kásim, on receiving the intelligence, marched in that direction, and encamped under the walls. The garrison began to beat drums and sound clarions, and threw down from the ramparts and bastions stones from mangonels and balistas as well as arrows and javelins.

The fort is taken and Bái (Máin), the sister of Dáhir, burns herself.

Muhammad Kásim disposed his army, and ordered the miners to dig and undermine the walls. He divided his army into two divisions; one was to fight during the day with mangonels, arrows, and javelins, and the other to throw naphtha, fardáj (?), and stones during the night. Thus the bastions were thrown down. Bái (Máin), the sister of Dáhir, assembled all her women, and said, "Jaisiya is separated from us, and Muhammad Kásim is come. God forbid that we should owe our liberty to these outcast cow-eaters! Our honour would be lost! Our respite is at an end,² and there is nowhere any hope of escape; let us collect wood, cotton, and oil, for I think that we should burn ourselves and go to meet our husbands. If any wish to save herself she may." So they went into a house, set it on fire, and burnt themselves. Muhammad took the fort, and stayed there for two or three days. He put six thousand fighting men, who were in the fort, to the sword, and shot some with arrows. The other dependants and servants were taken prisoners, with their wives and children.

Detail of the slaves, cash, and stuffs, which were taken.

It is said that when the fort was captured, all the treasures, property, and arms, except those which were taken away by Jaisiya, fell into the hands of the victors, and they were all brought before Muhammad Kásim. When the number of the prisoners was calcu-

¹ ["Dadháwáh" B.]

² [This passage is taken from B. MS. A. is unintelligible.]

lated, it was found to amount to thirty thousand persons, amongst whom thirty were the daughters of chiefs, and one of them was Rái Dáhir's sister's daughter, whose name was Jaisiya.¹ They were sent to Hajjáj. The head of Dáhir and the fifth part of the prisoners were forwarded in charge of K'ab, son of Maháarak. When the head of Dáhir, the women, and the property all reached Hajjáj, he prostrated himself before God, offered thanksgivings and praises, for, he said, he had in reality obtained all the wealth and treasures and dominions of the world.

Hajjáj sends the head of Dáhir, and some of his standards, to the Capital.

Hajjáj then forwarded the head, the umbrellas, and wealth, and the prisoners to Walíd the Khalífa. When the Khalífa of the time had read the letter, he praised Almighty God. He sold some of those daughters of the chiefs, and some he granted as rewards. When he saw the daughter of Rái Dáhir's sister, he was much struck with her beauty and charms, and began to bite his finger with astonishment. 'Abdu-lláh bin 'Abbás desired to take her, but the Khalífa said, "O my nephew! I exceedingly admire this girl, and am so enamoured of her, that I wish to keep her for myself. Nevertheless, it is better that you should take her to be the mother of your children." By his permission, therefore, 'Abdu-lláh took her. She lived a long time with him, but no child was born from her. Afterwards, another letter was received about the capture of the fort of Ráwar. It is said that after the conquest was effected, and the affairs of the country were settled and the report of the conquest had reached Hajjáj, he sent a reply to the following effect. "O my cousin; I received your life-inspiring letter. I was much pleased and overjoyed when it reached me. The events were recounted in an excellent and beautiful style, and I learnt that the ways and rules you follow are conformable to the Law. Except that you give protection to all, great and small alike, and make no difference between enemy and friend. God says,—Give no quarter to Infidels, but cut their throats." "Then know that this is the command of the great God. You should not be too ready to grant protection, because it

¹ [MS. B. has "Hasna."]

will prolong your work. After this, give no quarter to any enemy except to those who are of rank. This is a worthy resolve, and want of dignity will not be imputed to you.¹ Peace be with you!"—Written at Náfa', A.H. 73.

Jaisiya sends letters from Brañmanábád to Alor,² Bātiya, and other places.

Some historians from amongst the religious Brahmans have narrated respecting the death of Dáhir and adventures of Muhammad Kásim, that when the accursed Rái Dáhir went to hell, Jaisiya took refuge in the fort of Brahmanábád, and Ráwar was taken, Jaisiya made preparations for war and sent letters in all directions; viz.: One to his brother Fúfi,³ son of Dáhir, who was in the fort of the capital of Aror; the other to his nephew Chach, son of Dharsiya, in the fort of Bātiya; and the third to his cousin, Dhawal, son of Chandar, who was in the direction of Budhiya and Kaikánán. He informed them of Dáhir's death and consoled them. He himself was in Brahmanábád with his warriors ready to fight.

Battle of Bahrúr and Dhalíla.

Muhammad Kásim now determined to march to Brahmanábád. Between Ráwar and that city there were two fortresses called Bahrúr⁴ and Dhalíla which contained about sixteen thousand fighting men. When Muhammad Kásim reached Bahrúr he besieged it for two months. After the war had been protracted so long, Muhammad Kásim ordered that part of his army should fight by day and part by night. They threw naphtha and plied their mangonels so that all the warriors of the adverse party were slain, and the walls of the fort thrown down. Many slaves and great plunder were taken. They put the fifth part of it into the public treasury. When the news of the capture of Ráwar and Bahrúr reached Dhalíla, the inhabitants knew that Muhammad Kásim possessed great perseverance, and that they should be on their guard against him. The merchants fled to

هیچ دشمن را امان مده الا همکنان را بزرگ است رای و فتور¹
 شوکت حمل کنند A negative seems to be required.]

² [ارور]

³ ["Kúfi" always in A.]

⁴ [See p. 122.]

Hind, and the men of war prepared to defend their country. At last, Muhammad Kásim came to Dhalíla, and encamped there for two months, more or less. When the besieged were much distressed, and they knew that from no quarter could they receive reinforcements, they put on the garments of death, and anointed themselves with perfumes. They sent out their families into the fort which faces the bridge, and they crossed over the stream of the Naljak,¹ without the Musulmáns being aware of it.

The flight of the chief of Dhalíla.

When the day dawned through the veil of darkness Muhammad Kásim learnt that they had fled, so he sent some men of his army after them, who overtook part of them as they were passing over the river and put them to the edge of the sword. Those who had crossed previously fled to Hindustán through the country of Ramal and the sandy desert to the country (*bílad*) of Sír, the chief of which country was named Deoráj. He was the son of the uncle of Dáhir Rái.

Dhalíla conquered, and a fifth part of its booty sent to the capital of the Khalífa.

When Muhammad Kásim had fought the battle of Dhalíla and conquered, the fifth part of the plunder was deposited in the treasury to be sent to the capital, and he sent a report of the conquest of Bahrúr and Dhalíla to Hajjáj, with all the particulars.

Arrival of Sisákar, the minister, to seek protection.

Muhammad Kásim sent letters to the chiefs of the different parts of Hind, and invited them to make submission, and embrace Islám. When Sisákar, minister of Dáhir, heard of this, he sent some confidential servants, and sued for protection. He brought the Muhammadan women who were in his possession, and said that they were those women who cried out for help to Hajjáj.²

Sisákar appointed Minister.

Muhammad Kásim showed him much respect, and sent his chief officers to receive him. He paid him great honour, and treated him

¹ ["Manjhal" in B.]

² [See p. 118.]

with much kindness, and conferred upon him the office of Wazir. Sísákar now became the counsellor of the Muhammadans. Muhammad Kásim told him all his secrets, always took his advice, and consulted him on all the civil affairs of the government, his political measures, and the means of prolonging his success. He used to say to Muhammad Kásim that the regulations and ordinances which the just Amír had introduced would confirm his authority in all the countries of Hind. They would enable him to punish and overcome all his enemies; for he comforts all the subjects and málguzárs, takes the revenue according to the old laws and regulations, never burthens any one with new and additional exactions, and instructs all his functionaries and officers.

*The government of Dhalíla conferred on Núba, son of Dháran son of Dhalíla.*¹

It is said by some people that when Dhalíla was conquered, Muhammad Kásim called Núba, son of Dháran, and having made a compact with him, invested him with honours, and conferred on him the entire governorship of the fort, and its dependencies from the eastern to the western boundaries. From that place to Brahmanábád there was distance of one parasang. Jaisiya, son of Dáhir, received intelligence that the Muhammadan army was coming.

The Arab army arrives at the banks of the lake of Jalwálí, and an ambassador is sent to invite the people to embrace Islám.

Muhammad Kásim marched from Dhalíla, and encamped on the banks of the stream of the Jalwálí² to the east of Brahmanábád. He sent some confidential messengers to Brahmanábád to invite its people to submission and to the Muhammadan faith, to preach to them Islám, to demand the Jizya, or poll-tax, and also to inform them that if they would not submit, they must prepare to fight. Jaisiya, son of Dáhir, before the arrival of the messengers, had gone to Chanír.³ He had chosen sixteen men from among the chiefs of that city, and had placed four of these men as wardens at each of

¹ [This last name is not in MS. A.]

² [The "Falaili"?]

³ ["Janír" in B.] He appears ubiquitous, and his proceedings do not appear to be related in chronological order. This place may be also read Chanír, and it seems to be the same as the Chanesar which follows in page 179.

the four gates of the city, with a part of his army. One of these gates was called Jawetari, and four men were stationed at it. One of them was Bhárand, the other Sātiyá, the third Máliya,¹ and the fourth Sálha.

Muhammad Kásim arrives there in the beginning of the month of Rajab.

When Muhammad Kásim reached there, he ordered entrenchments to be dug. The battle commenced on Saturday, the first of Rajab. The infidels came out every day, and engaged and beat their drums. There were about forty thousand fighting men. From the dawn of day till sunset the battle was fought with great fury on both sides. When the king of the stars disappeared they also returned. The Muhammadans entered their entrenchments, and the infidels went into their fort. Six months passed in this manner. Kásim despaired of taking the fort, and became very pensive. On Sunday, in the end of the Zi-l Hijja, A.H. 93 (October, 712 A.D.), Jaisiya, who had fled to the country of Ramal, which is called Bātiya, came back from that place, infested the roads, and distressed the Muhammadan army.

A messenger sent to Moka.

Muhammad Kásim despatched one of his confidential servants to Moka Bisáya, and informed him that he was perpetually harassed by Jaisiya, who prevented the supply of fodder, and put him to great trouble. He enquired the remedy. Moka said that as Jaisiya was very near, there was no alternative but that he should be made to depart. So he sent from his own force a large body of trusty men to drive him off.

Jaisiya goes to Jaipúr.²

Banána, son of Hanzala Kalábí, 'Atíyá Sa'lbí, Sáram son of Abú Saram Hamadání, and 'Abdu-l Malik Madanní, with their horsemen, and Moka Bisáya at their head, and also Jazím, son of 'Umar Wáladihí were sent with an army and supplies of provisions.

¹ ["Manúra" in B.]

² [Both MSS. here have "Jatrúr." A few lines further on A. has "Chitor," but B. keeps to "Jatrúr." See note in p. 169.]

Jaisiya was informed of the march of the Arab army. He therefore left his place with all his property and family, and went by way of the sandy desert to the places called Jankan, 'Awará, and Káyá, in the territory of Jaipúr. The 'Alláfi deserted him. He thence proceeded to the territory of Tákiya, and went away and determined to do homage to the king of Kashmír, which is towards Rostá on the boundary of Royam. This territory is all waste and desert. From that place he wrote to the Rái, whose capital lay amidst the hills. He stated that of his own free will, and with a sincere heart, he had come to wait upon him.

Jaisiya son of Dáhir goes to the Ráná.

The letter was read before the Rái of Kashmír, who issued orders that, from among the dependencies of Kashmír, a place called Shákalhá¹ should be assigned to Jaisiya.

The Rái of Kashmír gives presents to Jaisiya son of Dáhir.

The day on which they met, the Rái of Kashmír gave fifty horses with saddles, and two hundred valuable suits of apparel to his officers. Hamím, son of Sába the Syrian, was sent to the fief of Shákalhá. When he went a second time to see the Rái of Kashmír, he was again received with great respect and honour, and an umbrella, a chair, and other presents were given to him. These are honours which are bestowed upon great kings. With great respect and ostentation he was re-conducted to his tenure in the plains. After staying there some time he expired in Shákalhá, and was succeeded by Hamím, son of Sába, whose descendants remain there to this day. He founded masjids there, and obtained great honour and regard. He was much respected by the king of Kashmír. When Jaisiya² went to Jaipúr, and stayed there, he wrote letters to Fúfi, son of Dáhir, at Alor. He informed him of the cause of his

¹ [See also p. 144. Gen. Cunningham thinks that this may possibly be "Kuller-Kabar," in the Salt range which at this time belonged to Kashmír.]

² [It is difficult to say who is meant in the preceding passages. Jaisiya is mentioned by name in the heading of the chapter, but his name does not occur again until this place. This passage begins—

پس جیسے ببلاد چتور (چترور. B.) رفت و مقام کرد

leaving the country, and advised him to hold out in that part. Fúfi, son of Dáhir, received much encouragement on reading the letter, and on learning that he had gone away to Jaipúr.

When Muhammad Kásim had fought for six months at Brahman-ábád, and war was protracted for a long time, and the news of Jaisiya was received from Chanesar,¹ four of the chief merchants of the city consulted together at the gate of the fort, which is called Jawetari.² They said the Arabs have conquered the whole territory, Dáhir has been killed, Jaisiya is king, and the fort has been besieged for a space of six months; we have neither power nor wealth to enable us to fight with the enemy, nor can we make peace with him. If he stay a few days more, he will at last be victorious, and we have no ground on which to ask protection from him. We are not able to stand any more before that army; we should, therefore, now join together, and sallying out attack Kásim, or be slain in the attempt; for if peace be made, all those found in arms will be slain, but all the rest of the people, the merchants, the handicraftsmen, and the cultivators, will find protection. And if they could get any assurance, it was better, they said, to make terms and surrender the fort to him. He would take them under his protection, and they would find him their supporter if they would follow rules of allegiance. To this opinion they all agreed. They sent their messengers, and craved for themselves and their families exemption from death and captivity.

Protection granted to them on their faithful promises of allegiance.

Muhammad Kásim granted them protection on their faithful promises, but put the soldiers to death, and took all their followers and dependants prisoners. All the captives, up to about thirty years of age, who were able to work, he made slaves, and put a price upon them.³ Muhammad Kásim called all the chief officers of Hajjáj together, and related the message to them, saying that

¹ [جنيسر A. چنيسر B.]

² ["Jaretari" B.]

³ [وهر برده كه از صفيت تا قرب سي سال در قيد و اغلال كشند و مال بر ايشان معين كردند]

ambassadors had come from Brahmanábád, and it should be heard what they had to say, and a proper answer should be carefully prepared and given to them.

Opinion of Moka Bisáya.

Moka Bisáya said, "O noble man! this fort is the chief of all the cities of Hind. It is the seat of the sovereign. If this be taken, the whole of Sind will come into your possession. The strongest forts will fall, and the dread of our power will increase. The people will sever themselves from the descendants of Dáhir, some will run away, and others submit to your rule."

Muhammad Kásim's communication to Hajjáj.

Muhammad Kásim informed Hajjáj of all the circumstances, and furnished those people with his written orders. He fixed the time with them, and they said that on the day named he should come to the Jawetarí¹ gate, from which they would sally out to fight; but when they should come near him, and the Arab army should attack them, they would fly away in the midst of the battle, go into the fort, and leave the gate open. After an answer was received from Hajjáj, to the effect that Kásim should give them protection, and faithfully execute the compact made with them, the people of the fort fought for a short time, and when the Arabs attacked them, and engaged, they fled and entered the fort, leaving the gate open.² The Arabs thus got possession of it, and the whole army followed and mounted the walls. The Muhammadans then loudly shouted "Alláh Akbar," and the people of the fort, seeing the Musulmans victorious, opened the eastern gate, and fled with precipitation. The Muhammadans thus gained the victory, but Muhammad Kásim ordered them to kill none but those who showed fight. They seized all who had arms, and brought them prisoners before Muhammad Kásim, with all their arms and property, dependants, and families. Everyone who bowed down his head and sued for protection was released, and allowed to occupy his own house.

¹ ["Jaretari," B.]

² This is not clear, but it appears that the citizens betrayed the garrison.

Resistance made by Jaisiya¹ and the wife of Dáhir.

It is said, on the authority of the old men of Brahmanábád, that when the fort of Brahmanábád was taken, Ládí, the wife of Dáhir Rái, who since Dáhir's death had staid in the fort with his son,² rose up and said, "How can I leave this strong fort and my family. It is necessary that we should stop here, overcome the enemy, and preserve our homes and dwellings. If the army of the Arabs should be successful, I must pursue some other course. She then brought out all her wealth and treasures, and distributing them among the warriors of the army, she thus encouraged her brave soldiers while the fight was carried on at one of the gates. She had determined that if the fort should be lost, she would burn herself alive with all her relations and children. Suddenly the fort was taken, and the nobles came to the gate of Dáhir's palace and brought out his dependants. Ládí was taken prisoner.

Ládí, the wife of Dáhir is taken, with his two maiden daughters.

When the plunder and the prisoners of war were brought before Kásim, and enquiries were made about every captive, it was found that Ládí, the wife of Dáhir, was in the fort with two daughters of his by his other wives. Veils were put on their faces, and they were delivered to a servant to keep them apart. One-fifth of all the prisoners were chosen and set aside; they were counted as amounting to twenty thousand in number, and the rest were given to the soldiers.

Protection is given to the artificers.

Protection was given to the artificers, the merchants, and the common people, and those who had been seized from those classes were all liberated. But he (Kásim) sat on the seat of cruelty, and put all those who had fought to the sword. It is said that about six thousand fighting men were slain, but, according to some, sixteen thousand were killed, and the rest were pardoned.

The relations of Dáhir are betrayed by the Brahmans.

It is related that when none of the relations of Dáhir were found

¹ [Sic in both MSS.]

² با پسر رایی "son of the Rái."

among the prisoners, the inhabitants of the city were questioned respecting them, but no one gave any information or hint about them. But the next day nearly one thousand Brahmans, with shaven heads and beards, were brought before Kásim.

The Brahmans come to Muhammad Kásim.

When Muhammad Kásim saw them, he asked to what army they belonged, and why they had come in that manner. They replied, "O faithful noble! our king was a Brahman. You have killed him, and have taken his country; but some of us have faithfully adhered to his cause, and have laid down our lives for him; and the rest, mourning for him, have dressed themselves in yellow clothes, and have shaved their heads and beards. As now the Almighty God has given this country into your possession, we have come submissively to you, just Lord, to know what may be your orders for us." Muhammad Kásim began to think, and said, "By my soul and head, they are good, faithful people. I give them protection, but on this condition, that they bring hither the dependents of Dáhir, wherever they may be." Thereupon they brought out Ládí. Muhammad Kásim fixed a tax upon all the subjects, according to the laws of the Prophet. Those who embraced the Muhammadan faith were exempted from slavery, the tribute, and the poll-tax;¹ and from those who did not change their creed a tax was exacted according to three grades. The first grade was of great men, and each of these was to pay silver, equal to forty-eight dirams in weight, the second grade twenty-four dirams, and the lowest grade twelve dirams. It was ordered that all who should become Musulmans at once should be exempted from the payment, but those who were desirous of adhering to their old persuasion must pay the tribute and poll-tax. Some showed an inclination to abide by their creed, and some having resolved upon paying tribute, held by the faith of their forefathers,² but their lands and property were not taken from them.

¹ ["*Bandagi wa mál wa gazid*," or "*gazand*," as *A.* has it.]

² بعضی از ایشان بر اقامت معاودت نمودند و بعضی دل بر کرید [The word *mu'dawadat* is found only in *B.*]

Brahmanábdd is given into the charge of the prefects of the country.

Muhammad Kásim then allotted to each of the prefects an amount of revenue suited to his ability and claims. He stationed a force at each of the four gates of the fort, and gave the charge of them (to the prefects). He also gave them as tokens of his satisfaction saddled horses, and ornaments for their hands and feet, according to the custom of the kings of Hind. And he assigned to each of them a seat in the great public assemblies.

Division of the people into three classes—artizans, merchants, and agriculturists.

All people, the merchants, artists, and agriculturists were divided separately into their respective classes, and ten thousand men, high and low, were counted. Muhammad Kásim then ordered twelve diram's weight of silver to be assigned to each man, because all their property had been plundered. He appointed people from among the villagers and the chief citizens to collect the fixed taxes from the cities and villages, that there might be a feeling of strength and protection. When the Brahmans saw this, they represented their case, and the nobles and principal inhabitants of the city gave evidence as to the superiority of the Brahmans. Muhammad Kásim maintained their dignity, and passed orders confirming their pre-eminence. They were protected against opposition and violence. Each of them was entrusted with an office, for Kásim was confident that they would not be inclined to dishonesty. Like Rái Chach, he also appointed each one to a duty. He ordered all the Brahmans to be brought before him, and reminded them that they had held great offices in the time of Dáhir, and that they must be well acquainted with the city and the suburbs. If they knew any excellent character worthy of his consideration and kindness they should bring him to notice, that favours and rewards might be bestowed on him. As he had entire confidence in their honesty and virtue, he had entrusted them with these offices, and all the affairs of the country would be placed under their charge. These offices were granted to them and their descendants, and would never be resumed or transferred.

The Brahmans go with great confidence into the villages.

Then the Brahmans and the government officers went into the districts, and said, "Oh chiefs and leaders of the people, you know for certain that Dáhir is slain, and that the power of infidels is at an end. In all parts of Sind and Hind the rule of the Arabs is firmly established, and all the people of this country, great and small, have become as equals, both in town and country. The great Sultán has shown favour to us humble individuals, and ye must know that he has sent us to you, to hold out great inducements. If we do not obey the Arabs we shall neither have property nor means of living. But we have made our submission in hope that the favour and kindness of our masters may be increased to us. At present we are not driven from our homes; but if you cannot endure this tribute which is fixed on you, nor submit to the heavy burden, then let us retire at a suitable opportunity to some other place of Hind or Sind, with all your families and children, where you may find your lives secure. Life is the greatest of all blessings. But if we can escape from this dreadful whirlpool, and can save our lives from the power of this army, our property and children will be safe.

Taxes are fixed upon the inhabitants of the city.

Then all the inhabitants of the city attended and agreed to pay the taxes. They ascertained the amount from Muhammad Kásim. And in respect of the Brahmans whom he had appointed revenue managers over them, he said, "Deal honestly between the people and the Sultán, and if distribution is required make it with equity, and fix the revenue according to the ability to pay. Be in concord among yourselves, and oppose not each other, so that the country may not be distressed."

Muhammad Kásim admonishes the people.

Muhammad Kásim admonished every man separately, and said, "Be happy in every respect, and have no anxiety, for you will not be blamed for anything. I do not take any agreement or bond from you. Whatever sum is fixed and we have settled you must pay. Moreover, care and leniency shall be shown you. And whatever

may be your requests, they should be represented to me so that they may be heard, a proper reply be given, and the wishes of each man be satisfied."

Muhammad Kásim gives an order in favour of the people of Brahmanábád.

The Brahmans did not receive the alms which were given to them according to the old custom, by the merchants, the infidels, and thákurs, who took delight in worshipping the idols. The attendants of the temples were likewise in distress. For fear of the army, the alms and bread were not regularly given to them, and therefore they were reduced to poverty. They came to the gate of his palace, and lifted up their hands in prayer. They said, "May you live long, oh just lord! We people obtain our livelihood and maintenance by keeping the temple of Budh. You showed mercy upon the merchants and the infidels, confirmed them in their property, and made them zimmís (tolerated subjects). Hence we, your slaves, relying upon your bounty, hope permission may be given for them to worship their gods, and repair the temple of Budh." Muhammad Kásim replied, "The seat of government is Alor, and all these other places are dependencies of it." The Hindús said, "The edifice (temple) of this city is under the Brahmans. They are our sages and physicians, and our nuptial and funeral ceremonies are performed by them. We have agreed to pay the taxes in the expectation that every one would be left to follow his own persuasion. This our temple of Budh is ruined, and we cannot worship our idols. If our just lord will permit us, we will repair it, and worship our gods. Our Brahmans will then receive the means of living from us."

Muhammad Kásim writes to Hajjáj, and receives an answer.

Muhammad Kásim wrote to Hajjáj, and after some days received a reply to the following effect. The letter of my dear nephew Muhammad Kásim has been received, and the facts understood. It appears that the chief inhabitants of Brahmanábád had petitioned to be allowed to repair the temple of Budh and pursue their religion. As they have made submission, and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khálffa, nothing more can be properly required from them. They

have been taken under our protection, and we cannot in any way stretch out our hands upon their lives or property. Permission is given them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like.¹

Arrival of Hajjáj's orders.

When the orders of Hajjáj reached Muhammad Kásim, he had left the city, and had gone a march. He directed the nobles, the principal inhabitants, and the Brahmans to build their temple, traffic with the Muhammadans, live without any fear, and strive to better themselves. He also enjoined them to maintain the indigent Brahmans with kindness and consideration, observe the rites and customs of their ancestors, and give oblations and alms to the Brahmans, according to former practice. They were to allot three dirams out of every hundred dirams capital, and to give them as much of this as should be necessary—the remainder was to be paid into the treasury and accounted for; it would be safe in the keeping of Government.² They were also to settle allowances upon the officers and the nobles. They all fully agreed to these conditions before Tamám bin Zaidú-l Kaisí and Hukm bin 'Awána Kalbí. It was ordained that the Brahmans should, like beggars, take a copper basin in their hands, go to the doors of the houses, and take whatever grain or other thing that might be offered to them, so that they might not remain unprovided for. This practice has got a peculiar name among the infidels.

Muhammad Kásim grants the request of the people of Brahmanábád.

Muhammad Kásim granted the request which the people of Brahmanábád had made to him, and permitted them to retain their position like the Jews, the Christians,³ and fire worshippers of 'Irák

¹ [تا بخانهها خود برای خود زندگانی کنند]

² [و از صد درم سه درم بر اصل مال بنکردند چند واجب باشد بدایشان رسانند باقی در وجه خزانه در قلم اصحاب و حضور ثواب در حفظ می باشد]

³ [See p. 122.] قایم بودن چنانکه جهود و ترسا و نصرانی و مجوس]

and Shám. He then dismissed them, and gave to their head men the appellation of Ráná.¹

Muhammad Kásim calls for Sísákar, the minister.

He then called the minister Sísákar and Moka Bisáya, and asked them what was the position of the Jats of Lohána² in the time of Chach and Dáhir, and how were they dealt with? Sísákar, the minister, replied in the presence of Moka Bisáya that in the reign of Rái Chach, the Lohánas, viz. Lákha and Samma, were not allowed to wear soft clothes, or cover their heads with velvet; but they used to wear a black blanket beneath, and throw a sheet of coarse cloth over their shoulders. They kept their heads and feet naked. Whenever they put on soft clothes they were fined. They used to take their dogs with them when they went out of doors, so that they might by this means be recognized. No chief was permitted to ride on a horse. Wherever guides were required by the kings they had to perform the duty, and it was their business to supply escorts and conduct parties from one tribe to another. If any of their chiefs or ránas rode upon a horse, he had no saddle or bridle, but threw a blanket on its back, and then mounted. If an injury befel a person on the road, these tribes had to answer for it; and if any person of their tribe committed a theft, it was the duty of their head men to burn him and his family and children. The caravans used to travel day and night under their guidance. There is no distinction among them of great and small. They have the disposition of savages, and always rebelled against their sovereign. They plunder on the roads, and within the territory of Debal all join with them in their highway robberies. It is their duty to send fire-wood for the kitchen of the kings, and to serve them as menials and guards." On hearing this, Muhammad Kásim said, "What disgusting people they are. They are just like the savages of Persia and the mountains."³ Muhammad Kásim maintained the same rules regarding them. As the Commander of the faithful, 'Umar, son of Khitáb, had ordered respecting the people of Shám,

¹ [MS. B.]

² [کار جتان لوهانه]

³ [همچنان بلاد فارس و کوه بایه [کوه بلزومه] مردمان دشتی باشند]

so did Muhammad Kásim also make a rule that every guest should be entertained for one day and night, but if he fell sick then for three days and nights.

Muhammad Kásim sends a letter to Hajjáj bin Yúsuf.

When Muhammad Kásim had settled the affairs of Brahmanábád and the Lohána territory, and had fixed the tribute of the Jats, he sent a report of all these particulars to Hajjáj. It was written at a place on the river Jalwál,¹ above Brahmanábád. The account of taking the territory of Sind was communicated and stated in full detail.

Reply of Hajjáj.

Hajjáj wrote in reply, "My nephew Muhammad Kásim, you deserve praise and commendation for your military conduct, and for the pains you have taken in protecting the people, ameliorating their condition, and managing the affairs of the Government. The fixing of the revenue upon each village, and the encouragement you have given to all classes of people to observe the laws, and their agreements, have brought much vigour to the Government, and have tended to the good administration of the country. Now you should not stay any longer in this city. The pillars of the countries of Hind and Sind are Alor and Multán. They are the capitals and royal residences. There must be great riches and treasures of kings hidden in these two places. If you stop anywhere, you should choose the most delightful place, so that your authority may be confirmed in the whole country of Hind and Sind. If any one refuses to submit to Muhammadan power slay him. May you be victorious under the decree of the Almighty God, so that you may subdue the country of Hind to the boundary of China. Amir Kutaiba, son of Muslimu-l Kuraishí is sent; you should make over all the hostages to him, and an army is also placed under him. You should act in such a manner, O son of your uncle, and son of the mother of Jaisiya,² that the name of Kásim may become celebrated through you, and your enemies be humbled and confounded. May it please God."

¹ [A. has Jalwání. See page 176.]

² Alluding probably to her being destined for Hajjáj. A few pages before we find Ládi was taken by Muhammad Kásim.

The arrival of the letter of Hajjāj.

When the letter of Hajjāj reached Muhammad Kásim, he read it. It was also written in it, "You, O Muhammad, consult me in your letters, for it is prudent. The excessive distance is an obstacle. But show kindness that your enemies may desire to be submissive; comfort them."

Appointment of four of the chief men of the city as officers for the management of the country.

Muhammad Kásim then called Widá', son of Hamídu-n Najdí, for the management of the city of Brahmanábád, that is, Báfn-wáh,¹ and appointed overseers and assistants. He entrusted four persons from among the merchants of the city with all matters concerning property. He strictly ordered that they should inform him fully and particularly of all matters, and that nothing should be decided without consulting him. He placed Núba, son of Dáras, in the fort of Ráwar, and directed him to hold the place fast, and keep the boats ready. If any boat coming up or down the stream was loaded with men or arms of war, he was to take them and bring them to the fort of Ráwar. He placed the boats on the upper part of the river under the charge of the son of Ziyádu-l 'Abdí, and appointed Handíl, son of Sulaimánu-l Azdi, to the districts which belonged to the territory of Kíraj,² Hanzala, son of Akhí Banáná Kalbí, was made governor of Dahlíla, and they were all ordered to inquire into and investigate the affairs of the surrounding places, and report to him thereon every month. He also directed them to assist each other so that they might be secure from attacks of the enemy's forces, and from the opposition of rebellious subjects, and they were to punish disturbers of the peace. He stationed two thousand foot soldiers with Kais bin 'Abdu-l Malik bin Kaisu-d Damani and Khálid Ansári in Siwistán, and sent Mas'úd Tamímí son of Shítaba Jadídí, Firásatí 'Atkí, Sábir Lashkarí, and 'Abdu-l Malik son of 'Abdulláh, Al Khazá'í, Mahram son of 'Akká, and

¹ [This is the spelling of MS. A. The name is not given in B. The real name was *Bahmanú* or *Bahmanud*. See *ante* pp. 34 and 61. Birúni's *Kánún* quoted in Thomas' Prinsep, Vol. II. p. 120; Reinaud's *Fragments*, pp. 41, 113.]

² [So in MS. A. MS. B. has "Kúraj." See *ante*, p. 124.]

Alúfá son of 'Abdu-r Rahmán, to Debal and Níruṇ, in order to maintain possession of those places. Amongst the companions of his exploits there was a man named Malíkh, who was a Maulá; him he appointed ruler of Karwál. 'Alwán Bakkarí and Kais, son of S'alibá, with three hundred men, also remained in that place, and there they had their wives and families. Thus the whole territory of the Jats was kept under subjection.

Muhammad Kásim proceeds to Sáwandi Samma.

It is related that when Muhammad Kásim had attended to the affairs of the district of Brahmanábád, and of the eastern and western parts of the territory, he marched from that place on Thursday, the third of Muharram A.H. 94 (9 Oct., 712 A.D.) He stopped at a village called Manhal,¹ in the vicinity of Sáwandi.² There was a beautiful lake and a delightful meadow there, which were called Danda and Karbahá. He pitched his tents on the banks of the Danda. The inhabitants of the country were Samaní. The chiefs and merchants all came and made submission to Muhammad Kásim, and he gave them protection, according to the orders of Hajjáj. He said that they might live in their country with comfort and content, and pay the revenue at the proper season. He fixed revenue upon them and appointed a person from each tribe as the head of his tribe. One was a Samaní, whose name was Bawádu, and the other, Budehí Bamman Dhawal. The agriculturists in this part of the country were Jats, and they made their submission and were granted protection. When all these circumstances were communicated to Hajjáj, he sent an emphatic answer, ordering that those who showed fight should be destroyed, or that their sons and daughters should be taken as hostages and kept. Those who chose to submit, and in whose throats the water of sincerity flowed, were to be treated with mercy, and their property secured to them. The artisans and merchants were not to be heavily taxed. Whosoever took great pains in his work or cultivation was to be encouraged and supported. From those who espoused the dignity of Islám, only a tenth part of their wealth and the produce of the land was to be required; but those who followed their own religion were to pay from the produce of their

¹ [Mathal in MS. B.]

² See *ante* pp. 122 and 150.

manual industry, or from the land, the usual sums, according to the established custom of the country, and bring it to the Government collectors. Muhammad Kásim then marched from that place and arrived at Bahráwar. There he called Sulaiman son of Pathán and Abá Fazzatu-l Kasha'ri and made them swear by the Omnipotent, He gave them strict orders, and sent them with a body of men belonging to Haidar son of 'Amrú and Baní Tamím towards the territory of the people of Bahraj.¹ They took up their residence there; and 'Umar son of Hajjáz-u-l Akbari Hanafi was appointed their chief, and a body of famous warriors were placed under him.

The Sammas come to receive him.

Muhammad Kásim then moved towards the tribes of the Samma. When he came near, they advanced to receive him, ringing bells, and beating drums and dancing. Muhammad Kásim said, "What noise is this?" The people told him that it was with them a customary ceremony, that when a new king comes among them they rejoice and receive him with frolics and merriment. Then Kharim, son of 'Umar, came to Muhammad Kásim and said, "It is proper for us to adore and praise the Almighty God, because He has made these people submissive and obedient to us, and our injunctions and inhibitions are obeyed in this country. Kharim was an intelligent and ingenious man, faithful and honest. Muhammad Kásim laughed at his words, and said, "You shall be made their chief," and he ordered them to dance and play before him. Kharim rewarded them with twenty dínárs of African gold, and said—It is a regal privilege that joyful demonstrations should be made by them on the arrival of their prince, and gratitude thus be shown to the Almighty—may this blessing be long preserved to them.

Muhammad Kásim marches towards Lohána and Sihta.

The historians say, upon the authority of 'Alí bin Muhammad bin

¹ These passages are doubtful and have no meaning as they stand. [The following is the text:—و ابجا نیز سليمان بن پتهان و ابا فضته القشعري مولی كند و اورا بخواند و ایشان را سوگندها داد بخدای عز و جل و باولاد كند برناكید و ایشان را و آنجماعت را از حیدر بن عمرو و بني تمیم داد و بحد اهل بهرج فرستاد MS. B. omits the second *eshdnrd*.]

Abdu-r Rahmán bin 'Abdu-lláh us Salíti, that when Muhammad Kásim had settled the affairs of Lohána, he came to Sihta. The chiefs and peasants advanced bare-headed and bare-footed to receive him, and sued for mercy. He granted them all protection, fixed the revenue they were to pay, and took hostages. He asked them to guide him through the various stages to Alor. Their guides were sent forward to Alor, which was the capital of Hind and the greatest city in all Sind. The inhabitants were chiefly merchants, artisans, and agriculturists. The governor of its fort was Fúfi, son of Rái Dáhir, and before him nobody dared say that Dáhir was slain. He maintained that Rái Dáhir was yet alive, and had gone to bring an army from Hind, that with its support and assistance he might fight with the Arabs. Muhammad Kásim encamped for one month before the fort, at the distance of one mile. He built there a mosque, in which he read the Khutba every Friday.

Battle with the people of Alor.

War was then waged with the people of Alor, who believed that Dáhir was bringing men to their aid. They cried aloud from the ramparts to the besiegers, "You must abandon all hope of life, for Dáhir, with a formidable army of numberless elephants, horse and foot, is advancing in your rear, and we shall sally out from the fort and defeat your army. Abandon your wealth and baggage, take care of your lives, and run away, that you may not be killed. Hear this advice."

Muhammad Kásim purchases Ládí, the wife of Dáhir, from a woman.¹

When Muhammad Kásim saw their resolution and perseverance in maintaining hostilities, and found that they persisted in denying that Dáhir was slain, he put Ládí, the wife of Dáhir, whom he had purchased from a woman and made his wife, on the black camel on which the wife of Dáhir used to ride, and sent her with trusty persons to the fort. She cried out, "O people of the fort, I have some matters of importance to tell you; come near that I may speak." A body of the principal men ascended the ramparts. Ládí

¹ [Such are the words of the text. See however, page 181.]

then uncovered her face, and said, "I am Ládí, the wife of Dáhir. Our king is killed, and his head has been sent to 'Irák; the royal flags and umbrella have also been forwarded to the capital of the Khalifa. Do not you destroy yourselves. God says (in the Kurán) 'Seek not destruction by your own hands,' " She then shrieked out, wept bitterly, and sang a funeral song. They replied from the fort,¹ "You are false; you have joined these *Chandáls* and Cow-eaters, and have become one of them. Our king is alive, and is coming with a mighty army and war elephants to repel the enemy. Thou hast polluted thyself with these Arabs, and prefer their government to our kings." Thus and still more did they abuse her. When Muhammad Kásim heard this, he called Ládí back, and said, "Fortune has turned away her face from the family of Siláij."

A sorceress tries to ascertain the death of Dáhir.

It is related by the historians that in the fort of Alor there was a sorceress, which in Hindí is called Joginí. Fúfi, son of Dáhir, and the nobles of the city, went to her and said, "It is expected that you will tell us by your science where Dáhir is." She replied that she would give them information, after making experiments, if they would allow her one day for the purpose. She then went to her house, and after three watches of the day she brought a branch of the pepper and the nutmeg tree from Sarandíp (Ceylon), with their blossoms and berries all green and perfect in her hand, and said, "I have traversed the whole world from Káf to Káf, but have found no trace of him anywhere in Hind or Sind, nor have I heard anything of him. Now settle your plans, for if he were alive he could not remain hidden and concealed from me. To verify my words, I have brought these green branches from Sarandíp that you may have no delusions. I am sure that your king is not alive on the face of the earth."

Capitulation of the fort of Alor.

When this became known, the people of the city, great and small, said they had heard of the honesty, prudence, justice, equity, and

¹ ایشان را از بالا می گفتند] This is an instance of the frequent misuse of in MS. A. The other MS. B. omits it]

generosity of Muhammad Kásim, and his faithful observance of his words and promises, and they had witnessed the same. They would send him a message by some trustworthy person, pray for mercy, and surrender the fort. When Fúfi was assured of Dáhir's death, and of the wavering of the people, he came out of the fort with all his relations and dependants, at the time when the king of the stars had passed behind the black curtain of night, and went towards Chitor (Jaipúr).¹ His brother Jaisiya and other sons of Dáhir were there, and had taken up their residence at a village called Nuzúl-Sandal.² There was a man of the tribe of 'Alláfi in Alor, who had made friendship with Fúfi; he wrote information of Fúfi's retirement and flight, and having fastened the paper to an arrow shot it (into the camp, informing the Arabs) that Fúfi, son of Dáhir had abdicated the chiefship of Alor, and had departed. Muhammad Kásim then sent his brave warriors to fight, and they ascended the ramparts of the fort and made the assault.

The citizens crave protection.

All the merchants, artisans, and tradesmen, sent a message saying, "We have cast off our allegiance to the Brahmans. We have lost Rái Dáhir, our chief, and his son Fúfi has deserted us. We were not satisfied until to-day; but as it was destined by God that all this should happen, no creature can oppose His will and power, nor can anything be done against him by force or fraud. The dominion of this world is no one's property. When the army of God's destiny comes forth from behind the veil of secrecy, it deprives some kings of their thrones and crowns, and drives others to despair and flight, by change of circumstances and the occurrence of calamities. No dependance can be placed upon either old sovereignty or new authority, which are fleeting possessions. We now come submissively to you, confiding in your just equity, we put ourselves under your yoke. We surrender the fort to the officers of the just Amír. Grant us protection and remove the fear

¹ ["Jatrúr," in *B.*]

² [و جيسيه دوكيه (ووكيه. *B.*) انبا داهر همانجا بود: و موضعي است
ك آنرا نزول صندل (واليه هدل. *B.*) كويند آن جا ساكن شده بودند]

of your army from our minds. This ancient dominion and extensive territory were entrusted to us by Rái Dáhir, and as long as he was alive we observed our allegiance to him. But as he is slain, and his son Fúfi has run away, it is now better for us to obey you." Muhammad Kásim replied, "I sent you no message, nor ambassador; of your own accord you sue for peace, and make promises and engagements. If you are truly inclined to obey me, stop fighting, and with sincerity and confidence come down; if not, I will hear no excuses after this, nor make any promises. I will not spare you, nor can you be saved from my army."

The Garrison capitulates.

Then they came down from the ramparts and agreed with each other that on these terms they would open the gate and stand at it till Muhammad Kásim should come. They said that if he would act according to his promise, and would treat them generously, they would submit to him and serve him, without any excuse. Then they took the keys of the fort in their hands and stood before the gate, and the officers of Hajjáj, who had been selected, came forward; the garrison opened the gate and made their submission.

Muhammad Kásim enters the fort.

Muhammad Kásim then entered the gate. All the citizens had come to the temple of Nau-vihár,¹ and were prostrating themselves and worshipping the idol. Muhammad Kásim asked what house it was, that all the great men and the nobles were kneeling before it, and making prostrations. He was told that it was a temple called Nau-vihár. Muhammad Kásim ordered the door of the temple to be opened, and he saw an image mounted on a horse. He went in with his officers, and found that it was made of hard stone, and that golden bracelets, ornamented with rubies and other precious stones, were on its hands. Muhammad Kásim stretched out his hand and took off one of the bracelets. He then called the keeper of the temple of Budh Nau-vihár, and said, "Is that your idol?" He replied, "Yes; but it had two bracelets, and now it has only one."

¹ [The title would appear to have been a common one, for there was a temple of the same name at Brahmanábád, see p. 149.]

Muhammad Kásim said, "Does not your god know who has got his bracelet?" The keeper hung down his head. Muhammad Kásim laughed, and gave back the bracelet to him, and they replaced it on the hand of the idol.

Muhammad Kásim orders the soldiers to be killed.¹

Muhammad Kásim ordered that if the military bowed their heads in submission they should not be killed. Ládí said "the people of this country are chiefly workmen, but some are merchants. The city is inhabited and its land cultivated by them, and the amount of the taxes will be realized from their earnings and tillage if the tribute is fixed on each person." Muhammad Kásim said, "Rání Ládí has ordered this," and he gave protection to all.

A person comes forward and craves mercy.

It is related by the historians, that from amongst the people who were given up to the executioners to be put to death, a person came forward and said, "I have a wonderful thing to show." The executioner said, "Let me see it." He said, "No, I will not show it to you, but to the commander." This was reported to Muhammad Kásim, and he ordered him to be brought before him. When he came, he asked him what wonder he had to show. The man said it was a thing which nobody had yet seen. Muhammad Kásim said, "Bring it." The Brahman replied, "If you grant my life, and that of all and every of my relations, family, and children." Muhammad Kásim said, "I grant it." He then asked him for a written and express promise under his gracious signature. Muhammad Kásim thought that he would produce some precious gem or ornament. When a strict promise was made, and the written order was in his hand, he pulled his beard and whiskers, and spread out the hairs; then he placed his toes at the back of his head and began to dance, repeating this saying, "Nobody has seen this wonder of mine. The hairs of my beard serve me for curls." Muhammad Kásim was surprised at this. The people who were present said, "What wonder is this for which he wishes to be

¹ The contents of the chapter do not agree with the heading, nor with the execution which appears to have been ordered in the next chapter.

pardoned? He has deceived us." Muhammad Kásim replied, "'A word is a word, and a promise is a promise.' 'To belie oneself is not the act of a great man.' 'Know that he who retracts is a treacherous man.' 'See how a (true) man observes his promise.' 'If a person fulfil his words, he is more exalted than you can conceive.' We must not kill him, but we will send him to prison, and report the case to Hajjáj for his decision." Accordingly the execution of that man and of twenty-two of his relations and dependants was postponed, and a report of the case was written to Hajjáj, who asked the learned men of Kúfa and Basra to pronounce their opinions. A report was also sent to 'Abdu-l Malik, the Khalífa of the time. The answer which came from the Khalífa and the learned men was, that such a case had already occurred among the friends of the Prophet—may peace be to him. God says, "He is a true man who fulfils his promise in God's name." When the answer to this effect came, the man was liberated with all his dependants and relations.

Jaisiya goes to Kúraj.

It is related by the great and principal men, that when Jaisiya, with seven hundred men, foot and horse, reached the fort of Kúraj,¹ the chief of that place came forth to receive him. He showed him much attention, and inspired his hopes by great promises. He told him that he would assist him against the Muhammadans. It was customary with Darohar² Rái to take one day's holiday in every six months, drink wine with women, hear songs, and see dancing. No stranger was admitted to be one of the company. It happened that on the day Jaisiya arrived Darohar Rái was celebrating this festival. He sent a person to Jaisiya to say that on that day he was in privacy, and no stranger could come to his chamber; but as he (Jaisiya) was a very dear guest, and was regarded by him as his son, he might attend. Jaisiya bent down his head, and drawing lines on the earth did not look at the women. Darohar told him that they might be regarded as his (Jaisiya's) mother and sisters; he might lift up his head and look. Jaisiya said, "I am originally a monk, and I do not look at any woman who is

¹ [See pp. 124 and 189.]

² [The "Dáhar" of "Biládurf, p. 124.]

a stranger. Darohar then excused him from looking, and praised his self-restraint and modesty. It is narrated, that when the women came round him, there was among them the sister of Darohar, whose name was Jankí, that is, beautiful, and she was lovely. She was a woman of royal descent, and possessed of great charms. She was elegant in stature as the juniper tree, generous in disposition, her words were like a string of pearls, her eyes handsome, and her cheeks like tulips or rubies. When she saw him, love for Jaisiya took hold of her heart. She looked at him every moment, and made love to him by her gestures. When Jaisiya went away, Jankí, the sister of Darohar, arose and went to her house. She had a litter prepared, in which she seated herself, and ordering her maid-servants to carry it, she proceeded to Jaisiya's dwelling. There she alighted from the litter and went in. Jaisiya had gone to sleep, but when the smell of wine, which proceeded from Jankí, penetrated his brain, he awoke, and saw Jankí sitting beside him. He rose up and said, "Princess, what has brought you here? What time is this for you to come here?" She replied, "Foolish fellow; there is no necessity to ask me about this. Would a young and beautiful woman come in the very dark of the night to visit a prince like you; would she rouse him from sweet slumber, and wish to sleep with him, but for one purpose; particularly a beauty like me, who has seduced a world with her blandishments and coquetry, and made princes mad with desire? You must know well and fully my object, for how can it remain concealed from you? Take advantage of this success till morning." Jaisiya said, "Princess, I cannot consort with any other woman than my own lawful and wedded wife; nor ought such a thing to be done by me, because I am a Brahman, a monk, and a continent person, and this act is not worthy of great, learned, and pious men. Beware lest you defile me with so great a crime." Although she importuned him much, he would not accede to her wishes, and struck the hand of denial on the tablet of her breast.

Jankí is disappointed by Jaisiya.

When Jankí was disappointed, she said, "Jaisiya, you have deprived me of the delights and raptures I anticipated. Now have I determined to destroy you, and to make myself the food of fire."

She then retired to her house, and covered herself with her clothes. Having closed the door, she tossed about on her bed till day-break, and was uttering these couplets :—"Your love and your charms have burnt my heart." "The light of your beauty has illumined my soul." "Give me justice or I will weep." "I will burn myself, you, and the city together." The next day, although the king of the stars had raised his head from the bastions of the heavens, and tore up the coverlid of darkness, Jankí was still asleep. The fumes of wine and the effects of separation mingled together, and she remained lying till late, with her head covered with her bedclothes. King Darohar would take no breakfast, and drink no wine, till his sister Jankí showed her face. He always paid her much honour and respect. So he rose and went to his sister's apartments, and found her overwhelmed with care and melancholy. He said, "O, sister! O princess, what has come over thee, that thy tulip-coloured face is changed and turned pale?" Jankí replied, "Prince, what stronger reason can there be than this—That fool of Sind surely saw me in the gay assembly. Last night he came to my house, and called me to him. He wanted to stain the skirt of my continence and purity, which has never been polluted with the dirt of vice, and to contaminate my pious mind and pure person with the foulness of his debauchery, and so bring my virgin modesty to shame. The king must exact justice for me from him, so that no reckless fellow may hereafter attempt such perfidy and violence." The fire of anger blazed out in Darohar, but he told his sister that Jaisiya was their guest, and moreover a monk and a Brahman, who was connected with them. He had come to ask assistance; and was accompanied by one thousand warriors. He could not be killed. He was not to be destroyed by force; "but," said he, "I will contrive some plot to slay him. Arise and take your morning meal. As no crime has been committed no open threats can be made."

Darohar contemplates treacherous measures against Jaisiya.

Darohar came to his palace, called two armed blacks, one of whom was named Kabír Bhadr,¹ and the other Bhaiú, and thus

¹ ["Sahal" in B.]

addressed them, "I will invite Jaisiya to-day after breakfast, and entertain him; after taking dinner, I will drink wine in a private apartment, and play chess with him. You must both be ready with your arms. When I say *shah mdt* (check-mate), do you draw your swords and kill him." A man of Sind, who had been one of the servants of Dáhir and was on terms of friendship with an attendant of Darohar, became acquainted with this scheme, and informed Jaisiya of it. When at the time of dinner, an officer of Darohar came to call Jaisiya, he said to his thákurs who were in command of his soldiers, "Oh Gúrsia¹ and Súrsia, I am going to dine with King Darohar. So you prepare your arms and go in with me. When I am playing chess with Darohar do you stand close behind him, and be careful that no evil eye may fall on me, or any treacherous act be done or contrived.

Jaisiya comes with his two armed men.

Accordingly they went to the court, and as Darohar had omitted to order that no other person except Jaisiya should be allowed to come in, both the attendants went in and stood behind Darohar without his observing them. When they had finished the game of chess, Darohar raised his head, in order to make the signal to his men, but he saw that two armed men were standing ready near him. He was disappointed, and said, "It is not checkmate, that sheep must not be slain." Jaisiya knew that this was the signal, so he arose and went to his house and ordered his horses to be prepared. He bathed, put on his arms, got his troops ready, and ordered them to mount. Darohar sent an officer to see what Jaisiya was doing. He returned, and said, "May God's blessing be upon that man. His nature is adorned with the ornaments of temperance. He is of noble extraction, and his works are not evil. He always strives to preserve his purity and holiness in the fear of God." It is narrated that when Jaisiya had bathed, taken food, and put on his arms, he loaded the baggage on camels, and passing under the palace of Darohar, left him without paying him a visit and saying farewell; but he sent to inform him of his departure, and marched away with all his relations and dependants. He

¹ ["Társiya," MS. B.]

travelled till he reached the land of Kassa,¹ on the borders of Jalandhar. The Chief of it was named Balhará, and the women of the country called him Astán Sháh.² He remained there till the succession of the Khiláfat devolved upon 'Umar 'Abdu-l Azíz, when 'Amrú, son of Musallam, by the orders of the government, went to that country and subjugated it.

An account of the courage of Jaisiya, and the reason why he was so called.

It was related by some Brahmans of Alor that Jaisiya, son of Dáhir, was unequalled in bravery and wisdom. The story of his birth runs, that one day Dáhir Rái went hunting with all the animals and all the equipments of the chase. When the dogs and leopards and lynxes were set free to chase the deer, and the falcons and hawks were flying in the air, a roaring lion (*sher*) came forth, and terror and alarm broke out among the people and the hunters. Dáhir alighted from his horse, and went on foot to oppose the lion, which also prepared for fight. Dáhir wrapped a sheet round his hand which he put into the beast's mouth, then raised his sword, and cut off two of his legs. He then drew out his hand and thrust his sword into the belly and ripped up the animal so that it fell down. Those men who had fled for fear came home, and told the Rái that Dáhir Rái was fighting with a lion. The wife of Dáhir was big with child when she heard this news, and from the great love she bore her husband she fell and swooned away. Before Dáhir had returned, the soul of his wife had departed from her body through fright. Dáhir came and found her dead, but the child was moving in the womb, so he ordered her to be cut open, and the child was taken out alive, and given over to the charge of a nurse. The child was therefore called Jaisiya, that is, "*al muzaffar bi-l asad*," or in Persian, *sher-firoz*, "lion-conqueror."³

¹ [So in MS. A. "Kasar" in B. See Biládurí, p. 121.]

² [MS. A. says: *وَأَن مَلِكًا رَا بَلَهْرَ نَامَ بُوْدَ النِّسَةِ كَسَهَ آسْتَان شَاه كَفْتَنَد*
MS. B. says, *وَأَن مَلِكًا رَا بَلَهْرَا نَامَ اِسَه كِهَان (?) شَاه كَفْتَنَدِي*]

³ The real name therefore would seem to be Jai Sing.



Appointment of Rawáh, son of Asad, who was the issue of the daughter of Ahnak, son of Kais.

The dressers of this bride, and the embellishers of this garden have thus heard from 'Alí bin Muhammad bin Salmá bin Muhárib and 'Abdu-r Rahmán, son of 'Abdaru-s Salíti, that when Muhammad Kásim had subjugated the proud people of Alor, the seat of government, and all the people had submitted to him and obeyed his rule, he appointed Rawáh, son of Asad, who on his mother's side was one of the grandsons of Ahnak, son of Kais, to the chiefship of Alor and entrusted the matters connected with the law and religion to Sadru-l Imám al Ajall al 'Alim Burhánu-l Millat wau-d Dín Saifu-s Sunnat wa Najmu-sh Sharí'at, that is, to Músá bin Ya'kúb bin Táí bin Muhammad bin Shaibán bin 'Usmán Sakifi. He ordered them to comfort the subjects, and leave not the words "Inculcate good works and prohibit bad ones," to become a dead letter. He gave them both advice as to their treatment of the people, and leaving them entire power, he then marched from that place and journeyed till he arrived at the fort of Yábíba,¹ on the south bank of the Bías. It was an old fort, and the chief of it was Kaksa.

Kaksa is vanquished and comes to Muhammad Kásim.¹

Kaksa, son of Chandar, son of Siláij, was cousin of Dáhir, son of Chach, and was present in the battle which Dáhir fought; but having fled he had come to this fort in wretched plight, and had taken up his abode in it. When the Muhammadan army arrived, a contribution and hostages were sent, and the chiefs and nobles went forth and made submission. Muhammad Kásim showed them kindness, and granted them suitable rich khil'ats, and asked them whether Kaksa belonged to the family (*ahl*) of Alor, "for they are all wise, learned, trustworthy, and honest. They are famous for their integrity and honesty." He added, "Protection is given him, so that he may come with hearty confidence and hopes of future favour: for he shall be made counsellor

¹ [MS. A. has يابيه B. has بايه]

² [This heading is not given in MS. B. The full reading of MS. A. is "*Subjugation of Kaksa and the coming of Sildij to M. Kásim.*" The genealogy which follows is taken from MS. B. The other MS. begins "Siláij, cousin of Dáhir," which is an evident blunder, the heading and the text having probably been jumbled together.]

in all affairs, and I will entrust him with the duties of the Wazárat." The minister Kaksa was a learned man and a philosopher of Hind. When he came to transact business, Muhammad Kásim used to make him sit before the throne and then consulted him, and Kaksa took precedence in the army before all the nobles and commanders. He collected the revenue of the country, and the treasure was placed under his seal. He assisted Muhammad Kásim in all his undertakings, and was called by the title of Mubárák Mushír, "prosperous counsellor."

Conquest of Sikka Multán¹ by Muhammad Kasim.

When he had settled affairs with Kaksa, he left the fort, crossed the Bías, and reached the stronghold of Askalanda,² the people of which, being informed of the arrival of the Arab army, came out to fight. Ráwa,³ son of 'Amíratu-t Táfi, and Kaksa headed the advanced army and commenced battle. Very obstinate engagements ensued, so that on both sides streams of blood flowed. The Arabs at the time of their prayers repeated "Glorious God" with a loud voice, and renewed the attack. The idolaters were defeated, and threw themselves into the fort. They began to shoot arrows and fling stones from the mangonels on the walls. The battle continued for seven days, and the nephew of the chief of Multán, who was in the fort of that city, made such attacks that the army began to be distressed for provisions; but at last the chief of Askalanda⁴ came out in the night time, and threw himself into the fort of Sikka, which is a large fort on the south bank of the Ráví. When their chief had gone away, all the people, the artizans, and merchants sent a message to say that they were subjects, and now that their chief had fled, they solicited protection from Muhammad Kásim. He granted this request of the merchants, artizans, and agriculturists; but he went into the fort, killed four thousand fighting men with his bloody sword, and sent their families into slavery,

¹ [It is here invariably called **سکه ملتان** in both MSS. The Alsaka of Biláduri, page 122.]

² [**عكسلندة** A. **عكه كنده** B.]

³ [Ránda in B.]

⁴ [**اسكلندة** A. **اعدكندة** B.]

He appointed as governor of the fort 'Atbá son of Salma Tamími and himself with the army proceeded towards Sikka Multán. It was a fort on the south bank of the Rávi, and Bajhrá Táki, grandson of Bajhrá (daughter's son), was in it.¹ When he received the intelligence he commenced operations. Every day, when the army of the Arabs advanced towards the fort, the enemy came out and fought, and for seventeen days they maintained a fierce conflict. From among the most distinguished officers (of Muhammad Kásim) twenty-five were killed, and two hundred and fifteen other warriors of Islám were slain. Bajhrá passed over the Rávi and went into Multán. In consequence of the death of his friends, Muhammad Kásim had sworn to destroy the fort, so he ordered his men to pillage² the whole city. He then crossed over towards Multán, at the ferry below the city,³ and Bajhrá came out to take the field.

Muhammad Kásim fights with the ferry-men.

That day the battle raged from morning till sun-set, and when the world, like a day labourer, covered itself with the blanket of darkness, and the king of the heavenly host covered himself with the veil of concealment, all retired to their tents. The next day, when the morning dawned from the horizon, and the earth was illumined, fighting again commenced, and many men were slain on both sides; but the victory remained still undecided. For a space of two months mangonels and ghazraks⁴ were used, and stones and arrows were thrown from the walls of the fort. At last provisions became exceedingly scarce in the camp, and the price even of an ass's head was raised to five hundred dirams. When the chief Gúrsiya, son of Chandar, nephew of Dáhir, saw that the Arabs were noway disheartened, but on the contrary were confident, and that he had no prospect of relief, he went to wait on the king of Kashmir. The next day, when the Arabs reached the fort, and the fight com-

¹ [بجھرا نام نواسہ کہ بجھرا طاکی در آن حصار بود]

² [خراب کردند] ³ [گذارای ملتان یعنی زیر ملتان]

⁴ Translated "a breastplate," "warlike instrument" in Richardson's Dictionary. The Haft Kulzum says it also bears the meaning of offensive weapons, as "javelins," "daggers."

mented, no place was found suitable for digging a mine until a person came out of the fort, and sued for mercy. Muhammad Kásim gave him protection, and he pointed out a place towards the north on the banks of a river.¹ A mine was dug, and in two or three days the walls fell down, and the fort was taken. Six thousand warriors were put to death, and all their relations and dependants were taken as slaves. Protection was given to the merchants, artizans, and the agriculturists. Muhammad Kásim said the booty ought to be sent to the treasury of the Khalifa; but as the soldiers have taken so much pains, have suffered so many hardships, have hazarded their lives, and have been so long a time employed in digging the mine and carrying on the war, and as the fort is now taken, it is proper that the booty should be divided, and their dues given to the soldiers.

Division of Plunder.

Then all the great and principal inhabitants of the city assembled together, and silver to the weight of sixty thousand dirams was distributed, and every horseman got a share of four hundred dirams weight. After this, Muhammad Kásim said that some plan should be devised for realizing the money to be sent to the Khalifa. He was pondering upon this, and was discoursing on the subject, when suddenly a Brahman came and said, "Heathenism is now at an end, the temples are thrown down, the world has received the light of Islám, and mosques are built instead of idol temples. I have heard from the elders of Multán that in ancient times there was a chief in this city whose name was Jsbawín,² and who was a descendant of the Rái of Kashmir. He was a Brahman and a monk, he strictly followed his religion, and always occupied his time in worshipping idols. When his treasure exceeded all limit and computation, he made a reservoir on the eastern side of Multán, which was a hundred yards square. In the middle of it he built a temple fifty yards square, and he made there a chamber in which he concealed forty copper jars each of

¹ [آب جوي This can hardly mean the main river.]

² [جمور in MS. A. and جموين in MS. B. The second letter may be *z*, making the name Jasúr or Jaswín.]

which was filled with African gold dust. A treasure of three hundred and thirty *mans* of gold was buried there. Over it there is a temple in which there is an idol made of red gold, and trees are planted round the reservoir." It is related by historians, on the authority of 'Alī bin Muhammad who had heard it from Abū Muhammad Hindūf that Muhammad Kásim arose and with his counselors, guards and attendants, went to the temple. He saw there an idol made of gold, and its two eyes were bright red rubies.

Reflection of Muhammad Kásim.

Muhammad Kásim thought it might perhaps be a man, so he drew his sword to strike it; but the Brahman said, "O just commander, this is the image which was made by Jībawīn,¹ king of Multán, who concealed the treasure here and departed. Muhammad Kásim ordered the idol to be taken up. Two hundred and thirty *mans* of gold were obtained, and forty jars filled with gold dust. They were weighed and the sum of thirteen thousand and two hundred *mans* weight of gold was taken out. This gold and the image were brought to the treasury together with the gems and pearls and treasure which were obtained from the plunder of the city of Multán.

It is said by Ábú-l Hasan Hamadání, who had heard it from Kharím son of 'Umar, that the same day on which the temple was dug up and the treasure taken out, a letter came from Hajjáj Yúsuf to this effect:—"My nephew, I had agreed and pledged myself, at the time you marched with the army, to repay the whole expense incurred by the public treasury in fitting out the expedition, to the Khalífa Walíd bin 'Abdu-l Malik bin Marwán, and it is incumbent on me to do so. Now the accounts of the money due have been examined and checked, and it is found that sixty thousand dirams in pure silver have been expended for Muhammad Kásim, and up to this date there has been received in cash, goods, and stuffs, altogether one hundred and twenty thousand dirams weight.² Wherever there is an ancient

¹ [جيويون in MS. A. حليور in MS. B.]

² [This passage is not clear in the original, nor do the MSS. quite agree, but see page 123.]

place or famous town or city, mosques and pulpits should be erected there; and the khutba should be read, and the coin struck in the name of this government. And as you have accomplished so much with this army by your good fortune, and by seizing fitting opportunities, so be assured that to whatever place of the infidels you proceed it shall be conquered."

Muhammad Kásim makes terms with the people of Multán.

When Muhammad Kásim had settled terms with the principal inhabitants of the city of Multán he erected a Jama' masjid and minarets, and he appointed Amír Dáúd Nasr son of Walíd 'Ummání its governor. He left Kharím son of 'Abdu-l Malik Tamím in the fort of Bramhapúr, on the banks of the Jhailam, which was called Sobúr (Shore?).¹ Akrama, son of Rihán Shámí was appointed governor of the territory around Multán, and Ahmad son of Haríma son of 'Atba Madaní was appointed governor of the forts of Ajtahád and Karúr.² He despatched the treasure in boats to be carried to Debál³ and paid into the treasury of the capital. He himself stayed in Multán, and about fifty thousand horsemen, with munitions of war, were under his command.

Abu Hakím is sent at the head of ten thousand horse towards Kanauj.

He then sent Abú Hakím Shaibání at the head of ten thousand horse towards Kanauj, to convey a letter from the Khalífa, and with instructions to invite the Chief to embrace Muhammadanism, to send tribute, and make his submission. He himself went with the army to the boundary of Kashmír, which was called the five rivers,⁴ where Chach, son of Siláj, the father of Dáhir, had planted the fir and the poplar trees, and had marked the boundary. When he arrived there he renewed the mark of the boundary.

¹ [MS. A has سوربور B has سوربدر]

² [Karúd in B.]

³ [از راه كشتي روان كرد تا از ديبل در بوزي (B. بوزي) نهند و بخزانة دار الخلافت رسانند]

⁴ [See p. 144.]

The army and Abú Hakím arrive at Údháfar.¹

At this time the chief of Kanauj was the son of Jahtal Rái. When the army reached as far as Údháfar, Abú Hakím Shaibání ordered Zaid, son of 'Amrú Kallábí, to be brought before him. He said, "Zaid, you must go on a mission to Rái Har Chandar, son of Jahtal, and deliver the mandate for his submission to Islám, and say that from the ocean to the boundary of Kashmír all kings and chiefs have acknowledged the power and authority of the Muhammadans, and have made their submission to Amir 'Imádu-d Dín, general of the Arab army, and persecutor of the infidels. That some have embraced Islám, and others have agreed to send tribute to the treasury of the Khalífa."

Answer of Rái Har Chandar of Kanauj.

Rái Har Chandar replied, "This country for about one thousand six hundred years has been under our rule and governance. During our sovereignty no enemy has ever dared to encroach upon our boundary, nor has any one ventured to oppose us, or to lay hands upon our territory. What fear have I of you that you should revolve such propositions and absurdities in your mind. It is not proper to send an envoy to prison, otherwise, for this speech and for this impossible claim you would deserve such treatment. Other enemies and princes may listen to you, but not I.² Now go back to your master, and tell him that we must fight against each other in order that our strength and might may be tried, and that either I may conquer or be conquered by you. When the superiority of one side or the other in warfare and courage shall be seen, then peace or war shall be determined on." When the message and letter of Rái Har Chandar was delivered to Muhammad Kásim, he took the advice of all the chiefs, nobles, commanders, and warriors, and said, "Up to this time, by the favour of God, and the assistance of the heavens, the Ráis of Hind have been defeated and frustrated, and victory has declared in favour of Islám. To day we have come to encounter this cursed infidel who is puffed up with his army and elephants

¹ اوردها فر in A. اوردها بر in B.]

² [Such is Sir H. Elliot's own rendering of what seems to be an imperfect sentence in the original.]

With the power and assistance of God, it behoves you to exert yourselves that we may subdue him, and be victorious and successful over him." All were ready to fight against Rái Har Chandar,¹ and united together, and urged Muhammad Kásim to declare war.

Orders from the Capital to Muhammad Kásim.

The next day, when the king of the heavenly host showed his face to the world from behind the veil of night, a dromedary rider with orders from the seat of government arrived. Muhammad, son of 'Alí Abú-l Hasan Hamadání says, that when Rái Dáhir was killed, his two virgin daughters were seized in his palace, and Muhammad Kásim had sent them to Baghdád under the care of his negro slaves. The Khalífa of the time sent them into his harem to be taken care of for a few days till they were fit to be presented to him. After some time, the remembrance of them recurred to the noble mind of the Khalífa, and he ordered them both to be brought before him at night. Walíd 'Abdu-l Malik told the interpreter to inquire from them which of them was the eldest, that he might retain her by him, and call the other sister at another time. The interpreter first asked their names. The eldest said, "My name is Suryádeo," and the youngest replied, "my name is Parmaldeo." He called the eldest to him, and the youngest he sent back to be taken care of. When he had made the former sit down, and she uncovered her face, the Khalífa of the time looked at her, and was enamoured of her surpassing beauty and charms. Her powerful glances robbed his heart of patience. He laid his hand upon Suryádeo and drew her towards him. But Suryádeo stood up, and said, "Long live the king! I am not worthy the king's bed, because the just Commander 'Imádu-d-Dín Muhammad Kásim kept us three days near himself before he sent us to the royal residence. Perhaps it is a custom among you; but such ignominy should not be suffered by kings." The Khalífa was overwhelmed with love, and the reins of patience had fallen from his hand. Through indignation he could not stop to scrutinize the matter. He asked for ink and paper, and commenced to write a letter with his own hand, commanding that at whatever place Muhammad Kásim had arrived, he should suffer himself to be sewed up in a hide and sent to the capital.

¹ [See *Ayín Akbarí* II. 219. Abú-l Fazl gives the same name.]

Muhammad Kásim reaches Údháfar, and receives the order from the Khalífa's capital.

When Muhammad Kásim received the letter at Údháfar, he gave the order to his people and they sewed him up in a hide, put him in a chest, and sent him back. Muhammad Kásim thus delivered his soul to God. The officers who were appointed to the different places remained at their stations, while he was taken in the chest to the Khalífa of the time. The private chamberlain reported to Walid 'Abdu-l-Malik, son of Marwán, that Muhammad Kásim Sakifí had been brought to the capital. The Khalífa asked whether he was alive or dead. It was replied, "May the Khalífa's life, prosperity, and honour be prolonged to eternity. When the royal mandates were received in the city of Údhápúr,¹ Muhammad Kásim immediately, according to the orders, had himself sewed up in a raw hide, and after two days delivered his soul to God and went to the eternal world. The authorities whom he had placed at different stations maintain the country in their possession, the Khutba continues to be read in the name of the Khalífa, and they use their best endeavours to establish their supremacy."

The Khalífa opens the chest.

The Khalífa then opened the chest and called the girls into his presence. He had a green bunch of myrtle in his hand, and pointing with it towards the face of the corpse, said, "See, my daughters, how my commands which are sent to my agents are observed and obeyed by all. When these my orders reached Kanauj, he sacrificed his precious life at my command."

The address of Jankí,² daughter of Dáhir, to Khalífa 'Abdu-l-Malik, son of Marwán.

Then the virtuous Jankí put off the veil from her face, placed her head on the ground, and said, "May the king live long, may his prosperity and glory increase for many years; and may he be

¹ [This is the reading of MS. A. in this passage; the other MS. still keeps to its reading "Údhábar." Mir M'asúm says "Údhápúr" and the Tuhfatu-l Kirám writes it with points "Údaipur." There is a place of this name in the desert north of Bikanír.]

² This is a different name from that which she gave herself, when first asked.

adorned with perfect wisdom. It is proper that a king should test with the touchstone of reason and weigh in his mind whatever he hears from friend or foe, and when it is found to be true and indubitable, then orders compatible with justice should be given. By so doing he will not fall under the wrath of God, nor be contemned by the tongue of man. Your orders have been obeyed, but your gracious mind is wanting in reason and judgment. Muhammad Kásim respected our honour, and behaved like a brother or son to us, and he never touched us, your slaves, with a licentious hand. But he had killed the king of Hind and Sind, he had destroyed the dominion of our forefathers, and he had degraded us from the dignity of royalty to a state of slavery, therefore, to retaliate and to revenge these injuries, we uttered a falsehood before the Khalífa, and our object has been fulfilled. Through this fabrication and deceit have we taken our revenge. Had the Khalífa not passed such peremptory orders; had he not lost his reason through the violence of his passion, and had he considered it proper to investigate the matter, he would not have subjected himself to this repentance and reproach; and had Muhammad Kásim, assisted by his wisdom, come to within one day's journey from this place, and then have put himself into a hide, he would have been liberated after inquiry, and not have died." The Khalífa was very sorry at this explanation, and from excess of regret he bit the back of his hand.

Jankí again addresses the Khalífa.

Jankí again opened her lips and looked at the Khalífa. She perceived that his anger was much excited, and she said, "The king has committed a very grievous mistake, for he ought not, on account of two slave girls, to have destroyed a person who had taken captive a hundred thousand modest women like us, who had brought down seventy chiefs who ruled over Hind and Sind from their thrones to their coffins; and who instead of temples had erected mosques, pulpits, and minarets. If Muhammad Kásim had been guilty of any little neglect or impropriety, he ought not to have been destroyed on the mere word of a designing person." The Khalífa ordered both the sisters to be enclosed between walls. From that time to this day the flags of Islám have been more and more exalted every day, and are still advancing.

IV.

TĀRÍKHU-S SIND.

BY

MĪR MUHAMMAD M'ASŪM, OF BHAKKAR.

THIS is the most copious history of Sind which we possess, inasmuch, as besides containing an account of the Arabian conquest, it brings the annals of this country down to the time of its incorporation into the Moghul empire in the time of Akbar.

The work, which is sometimes called Tārīkh-i M'asúmi, is divided into four chapters.

The first chapter contains an account of the events which led to the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, and closes with the death of Rájá Dáhir, though it professes to carry the history down to the Khalífa Hárún.

The second chapter, after omitting all notice of the two centuries which elapsed between Hárún and Mahmúd of Ghazní, gives an account of Sind under the Emperors of Dehli, and of the Súmra and Samma dynasties, after the invasion of Tímúr. The author mentions at the close of the chapter that he was induced to give an account of the Súmras and Sammas in detail, because it was to be found nowhere else. But his own is much confused from his inattention to dates.

The third chapter is devoted to the history of the Arghúnia dynasty, including an account of Síwí, Kandahár, &c. ; of some celebrated holy men, judges, and Saiyids, and of the kings of

Multán. It also contains an account, in more than usual detail, of the Emperor Humáyún's operations in Sind and the desert, after his flight from Ágra.

The fourth chapter contains a tedious relation of the mode in which Sind fell under the power of Akbar upon the capitulation of Mirzá Jání Beg of Thatta, in A.D. 1592. We have also occasional notices of the interference of the Firingís in the affairs of Thatta. As the author was contemporary with this event, he enters into very minute particulars, which are, however, for the most part, uninteresting. Amongst his own personal experiences, he describes an interview he had with the Emperor Akbar, who bestowed on him three villages in Jágír, in the district of Bhakkar.

Muhammad M'asúm, who gave himself the poetical title of Námí, was born at Bhakkar, in Sind, and was the son of Safá'í Husainí, an inhabitant of Kirmán. [He was a man of considerable attainments, and he rose to some distinction in the service of Akbar and Jahángír. His knowledge of history was highly esteemed in his own day. He was also a poet of some repute, and an excellent calligraphist.¹] His history of Sind was written in A.D. 1600, for the instruction and improvement of his son, named Mír Buzurg, in order that, "by reading it he might learn what good men of old did; that he might discriminate between right and wrong; between that which is useful and the reverse, and might learn to follow the paths of virtuous men."

The only work quoted by him as an authority is the Chach-náma, which he abridges in his first chapter, relating to the Arab conquest of Sind. He is credulous and delights in recounting miracles of saints, but he gives no legendary lore like the Tuhfatu-l Kíráam. Mír M'asúm and his work have been noticed by several writers: by Badáúní (under article "Námí") by Haidar Rázi, the Ma-ásíru-l Umrá, the Tuhfatu-l Kíráam, Bágh-Mání and Mirát-i Daulat 'Abbási.²

¹ Journal As. Soc. Beng. Feb. 1838, Sprenger's Bibliog. p. 37. De Tassy's Bibl. I. 356. Morley's Catalogue p. 72.

² See also Bird's Guzerat.

[Copies of this history are common.¹ There are two in the British Museum, one of which was transcribed from a copy made from the author's own autograph. There is another in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, which has been fully described by Morley in his Catalogue; a fourth in the Library of the East India Office, and there is a copy in Sir H. Elliot's Library which was written for him in 1852. This copy and that of the R. As. Soc. have been used for the following translations, and are referred to as MSS. *A.* and *B.*]

[At the end of Sir H. Elliot's copy, there is a brief history of Sind in "three distinct chapters." It is written in the same hand and bears the same date as the rest of the MS. Though occupying only nineteen pages, it gives a summary of the history of Sind, to the end of the last century—from Rái Siharas, down to Ahmad Sháh Dúrání. The author's name is not given, but the contents are generally in accordance with the history of M'asúm.]

This work has been translated by Capt. G. Malet, late British Resident at Khairpúr, but so literally, as not to be fit for publication in its present shape. [There is a copy of this translation in Sir H. Elliot's library, which, on examination, is found to contain matter that is entirely absent from all the five MSS. above specified. One long passage quoted hereafter, relates to the Súmra dynasty, the history of which is involved in considerable obscurity. The additional names it supplies, receive some support from the "Tuhfatu-l Kirám," but nothing corroborative has been found in the other Sindian histories. There is some apparent similarity between the general style of the history and that of the additional matter. Like Mír M'asúm, the writer always employs some figurative expression for the death of a prince, but this is a practice very common among historians, and the style may have been

¹ [Wilson refers to the work in his Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection (II. p. 129), and Capt. Mac Murdo in his Paper on Sind (Journal R. A. S., Vol. I. p. 223.)]

designedly imitated, so that the resemblance affords no evidence of authenticity. The general concurrence of the MSS. and the authority of the British Museum MS. is sufficient to stamp the passage as an interpolation—though there appears to be some authority for its statements. Morley, in his Catalogue, notices an interpolation in the MS. of the Royal Asiatic Society, which comes in abruptly within a few lines of the end of the history. He says, "After this, in the present MS. there is an account of Dúda, who was ruler of Thattha in the time of Násiru-d dín Mahmúd, King of Dehli, occupying six pages. In the East India House MS. (No. 43) this is omitted; the history ending immediately after the capitulation of Jání Beg, and stating in four lines that he died in A.H. 1011 (A.D. 1602), and was succeeded in his government by his son Mírza 'Ásí. The MS. in the British Museum (Addit. No. 16,700), agrees with that of the East India House in this respect," and with Sir H. Elliot's. Dúda is the name of one of the princes given in Malet's additional passage, but the matter of these pages differs from his.]

Sir H. Elliot's copy contains 290 folios of fourteen lines each, and of these about forty-five have been translated.

BOOK II.

Account of the Samma dynasty.

It has been already related how Sultán Mahmúd came from Ghazní, and after capturing the fort of Multán, brought the country of Sind under his authority, and sent his officers to govern it. After the death of Mahmúd, the sovereignty passed to his offspring, and the government (of Sind) devolved upon 'Abdu-r Rashíd Sultan Mas'úd. This prince gave himself up to the pursuit of pleasure, and heeded not the duties of government; so the people on the distant borders began to reject his authority and throw off the yoke of obedience. At that time the men of Súmra assembled in the

vicinity of Tharí¹ and raised a man named Súmra² to the throne. He had passed a long time as the head of the tribe of Súmra, and he cleared the country of disaffection. This man formed a connection with Sád, a powerful Zamíndár in those parts, and married his daughter. She bore him a son named Bhúngar, who on the death of his father succeeded to the hereditary states, and died after an active reign.

His son named Dúdá then inherited the throne, and reigned for some years. He extended his authority to Nasrúpúr, but died in the flower of his age. He left an infant son named Singhár and a daughter named Tári, who for a time carried on the government and kept the people under her control. When Singhár came of age he himself assumed the government, and looked after the affairs of the revenue and the State, punishing all men who were disaffected and rebellious. He directed his efforts against the country of Kachh and extended his sway as far as Mánik Bai.³ Some years after this he died, leaving no son; but his wife, named Hamún, carried on the government in the fort of Dahak, and she deputed her brothers to govern Muhammad Túr and Tharí. A short time after this the brethren of Dúdá, who were hidden in that neighbourhood, came forth and opposed the brethren of Hamún. One of them, named Pitthú,⁴ a descendant of Dúdá, was supported by a body of followers. He overthrew all those who set up pretensions to the throne, and established himself in the sovereignty. After reigning some years, he died, when a man named Khairá carried on the business of the State, and made himself remarkable for his virtues. He reigned for some years to the time of his death.

[Malet's MS. translation proceeds as follows for seven pages, interpolating matter not to be found in any of the five MSS. examined, as previously stated in page 214.]

“ With the occurrence of the Amirs, Khafif succeeded him, and sat on the throne of the kingdom. Having made good arrange-

¹ [The “ Little Desert” separating Sind from Kachh.]

² [Malet's translation adds “ son of Chandar,” but this is in neither of our MSS.]

³ [So in MS. B. The other MS. omits the name. Malet calls it “ Manik Nai.” Manjábári?]

⁴ [“ Pitthán” in MS. A.]

ments for the country in his hands, he with heart at ease went and remained at Thatta. During his government the ryots and all the other people of Sind were relieved from thieves and disturbers of the peace; all were happy and contented. By chance it one day came into his mind that it was not proper for him to be always merely sitting on the throne, that it was better to spend some time in the *shikargáhs*, the jungles, and plains, which had become green from rain, and where the animals were grazing happily. After this, having collected many men, he marched against the Bulúchís, the Sodhas, and the Jharejas. On reaching their borders, Ran Mal Sodha, Rám Rái Jhareja, and Mihran Bulúch, being introduced by the Amírs and other men of weight, came and made great offerings. Khaffif, presenting them with handsome presents in return, made them very happy. He then gave them their dismissal.

"He proposed returning to Thatta the following morning, but at that time a Bulúch came complaining that the thieves of the tribe of Samma had plundered his tribe, taking everything they possessed. On hearing this Khaffif was much astonished, and at the instant mounting with those who were with him he started and quickly came against this tribe. He took all the property which had been robbed from the Bulúchís, and those men who had disobeyed orders and acted in this manner he punished with severity. His arrangements were such in all the country under him, from Kachh to Nasrpúr, that in the whole of that space no one during his reign disobeyed his orders; if they did so, he gave them to the sword. When he found that there were none to give trouble, he was at ease and came to Thatta. In his time all the people, the soldiers, the Amírs, the ryots, etc., were very happy. He lived a long while at Thatta, till from this world he journeyed to the next world.

"After the death of Khaffif, the people, the men of weight under government, and those out of employ, agreeing that it was proper, raised Dúdá, the son of Umar, and grandson of Pitthú, to the throne of the saltanat in his place. When all the affairs of the State were firm in his hands, Singhár, a zamíndár, came to pay his yearly taxes. He became acquainted with Dúdá. This

had lasted some time, when one day he spoke of Kachh in the following terms, in his presence, saying that he had heard that the Samma tribe had determined to come to Thatta to take it, and that he should be prepared for this. On hearing this, Dúdá, collecting forces out of number, marched to Kachh, and he severely twisted the ears of those people. Then a man of the Samma tribe named Lákha came as ambassador, bringing presents, and a Kachhí horse, making offering of these, and asking pardon for their sins. Dúdá, with great kindness, gave him presents in money, a horse, and a khil'at, allowing him then to depart. From thence, with heart at rest, he came to Tharí, where he spent a long time. All the people and ryots were so completely under his hands, that without orders from him they did nothing. When at Tharí, Ran Mal Sodha came, and making his salám, urged as a petition, that in the time of Khafif the Jat Bulúchís paid tribute, but that now it seemed that they, through ignorance, had taken their heads from out of the noose of submission. He added, that having heard of this he made him (Dúdá) acquainted with it, and that it seemed advisable that a force should be put under him, which he would take against them, and thus, making them pay up their arrears of tribute from the days of Khafif to the present time, he would bring it to him. The reason of his speaking in this way was, that formerly a feud existed between him (Ran Mal) and the Jharejas, when a fight had taken place between the parties, in which great numbers of Ran Mal's men had been killed and wounded, so he told as above to Dúdá to enable him to have his revenge upon them. Dúdá being of a good heart, gave him encouragement, keeping him near him. He also sent to call the men of Jhareja. When his messengers got there, and told what Ran Mal had said, they came before them with their swords suspended from round their necks, making their salám, and declaring that they and all their families were the slaves of Dúdá, and if he ordered them all to be confined they would not ask the reason why. Then taking presents for Dúdá they came to him in one week. The messengers who accompanied them having received good treatment at their hands, spoke in their favour. Dúdá said to Ran Mal, 'These men

having great confidence, have sent only two of their tribe, and these have come to make their salám ; you told me another story.' Dúdá for some time detained Ran Mal on the plea of its being the rainy season ; but in Ran Mal's breast that thorn pricked him, so one day with great earnestness he insisted upon being allowed to depart, when Dúdá gave him leave, and he went to his tribe. On getting there he became rebellious. Seeing this, Rám Rái Jhareja and Mihrán Bulúch, quickly going to Dúdá, told him of this circumstance. It came into Dúdá's mind that probably these men were doing what Ran Mal had done ; therefore he determined in the first place to send two men to Ran Mal, who, ascertaining all the facts, might come and tell him. He despatched two men, at the time of whose arrival at the tribe Ran Mal was absent, he having gone to the jungle, to collect troops. His brethren did not pay the messengers any attention, speaking improperly before them. Ran Mal hearing of the arrival of these, came and sat down with them in a friendly manner, but he shortly after spoke in an unbecoming way. When Dúdá's men said it was not right to talk in that way, that he had better cease collecting men, and go to Dúdá, when if he had anything to complain of he might do so to him. But however much they advised, it had no effect upon him ; so Dúdá's people rising, left him, and returning told all the circumstances to Dúdá. He, hearing of this, collected many troops, and went against this people. Ran Mal, having also got together a large force, came out into the plain. The two parties met and fought for six hours, at which time the men of both sides stood resolute. Many had fallen in that time of either party. Being exhausted, and night coming on, all the men sat down where they stood, spending the time in planning operations for the morrow. In the morning the two forces recommenced fighting, when by chance an arrow struck Ran Mal in the throat, and his life went to hell. Great fear then took possession of his troops, because an army without a *sardár* is like a man without a head ; so they turned their faces in the direction of flight, when Dúdá's men, pursuing them, slew great numbers, and plundered extensively. The force being put to flight, Rái Sing and Jag Mal

came as ambassadors, bringing presents to Dúdá, and they obtained forgiveness of their faults.

"Dúdá after this went to Nasrpúr, the *Zamíndárs*, chief men and *kázís* of which place brought him presents, and Dúdá, accepting these, remained there some time, during which period Sáhíba, the son of Ran Mal Sodha, brought two fine Kachhí horses as an offering and paid his respects to him. He declared that his brethren had induced Ran Mal to turn his heart from and become rebellious against him (Dúdá), so much so that these men were even now disobedient, and that if a force went from the *Sarkár* and punished them they would not do so again, but would always bring presents. Dúdá upon this left Nasrpúr and by forced marches came there, but after doing so he discovered that the brethren of Ran Mal and others would not agree to have Sáhíba as their *sardár*, so he understood that it was on this account that he had brought him there. Dúdá then summoned all the tribe, telling them to agree to have Sáhíba as their chief with all their hearts. By this order they agreed to do so when Sáhíba presented Rs.20,000 as *nazránd*. Dúdá marching thence came to Thatta, remaining there. From thence he travelled to that other world.

"On the death of Dúdá his son Umar¹ with the aid of the nobles and other men of courage sat on the throne. When his father's country came into his hands he took to drinking wine, paying no attention to the country. On hearing this the Sammas, the Sodhas, the Jats and Bulúchís left off obeying his orders, becoming rebellious. When Mullá Hámíd heard of this he told Umar of it, who collecting a large force went towards Kachh. On his approach the Sammas having collected many men, went out into the plain to meet him. There was fighting in which the men of Samma were the strongest. Seeing this, and that his affairs would be ruined, Mullá Hámíd called the *sardárs*, to whom he gave presents, saying, "Thatta is far distant, money is scarce, if you fight well and defeat the enemy, much property will come into our possession, which will be enough to enable us to return to Thatta." Hearing this the spirits of his force

¹ [This name is always spelt with "m" in this extract.]

were raised, and making an attack on the enemy they defeated them, when much plunder of every kind came into their hands. After this the men of Samma bringing Rájá Jagannáth Sodha (who had quitted his brethren in anger and had come to Kachh), as their mediator, came to Umar, making their salám and bringing presents. Umar returning from thence quickly went against the Sodhas, Jats, and Bulúchis; all of whom fearing the consequences, made their salám. He then with confidence in his heart went to Tharí, where he died.

"At this time his son Dúdá was small; therefore the men of consequence put Chanar, the son of Umar's brother, in his place. Chanar went out to make his arrangements in his country. Having done this and placed the troublesome on the edge of the sword, his heart being at ease he sat down. At that time Dúdá attained puberty, so Chanar wished, by some stratagem, to get him into his hands and to confine him. But hearing of this Dúdá turned his face towards Ghazní, and crossing the river he came to a place Daryácha Nári Sang, close under Fathpur, where he saw a man coming along with a bundle of sticks for *hukka* snakes, on his head. As this man drew near all his entrails became visible to Dúdá. At this he was much astonished; so calling the man to him, he lifted the bundle of pipes off his head, when nothing of the kind was to be seen. So being greatly amazed he put the bundle on the man's head again, when he beheld as before. He then knew that there must be some device in these sticks, and he purchased them, giving the man some money for them. Then sitting down at the river's edge, he put the sticks one by one into the water. All went down with the stream; but one from amongst them went upwards against it. So taking this one, he divided it at all the knots; he then put each knot into the water. All of them went down the stream, except one, in which the device was, and this one went up against the current. So taking this one he kept it, and went to Ghazní. At that time the king of that place, Sultán Maudúd Sháh, was ill from severe sickness, which was without cure. So on his arrival there, Dúdá gave out that he was a doctor. Historians write that Sultán Maudúd's sickness was

caused in this manner. One day he went to see a *shikargah* under some hills, when by chance an animal started from before him. It was then the custom that whoever an animal started in front of he alone pursued it. So in accordance with this custom, the Sultán rode after this animal alone for a long distance, but did not kill it. From this exertion great thirst and hunger came upon him; so searching about he found a stream of water near the foot of the hills. Having no cup or basin with him, being helpless, he put his mouth into the water and drank, when in doing so he swallowed two small young snakes, which went down into and remained in his stomach. In two years these had grown large, and began causing him much pain. All the doctors of the country had physicked him, but none of them could make him well. The Sultán was approaching to death, when at that time Dúdá arrived, saying, he was a doctor, and that he had come from Sind to cure the king with his physic. The royal physicians hearing this, laughed, saying, 'What wisdom has this Sindian, that he should say he was able to give medicine to the king?' One of the attendants told the king of the arrival of this Sindian, and how the royal doctors laughed at him. The Sultán hearing of this, called and received him with distinction, saying, he had suffered from this sickness for a long time, that many doctors had given him medicine, but all without effect: but now that he (the Sindian) had come, he was in hopes that he might get well by his physic. Then Dúdá, stripping the Sultán, placed that stick on his head, when he saw that two snakes were in his stomach. Then removing the stick, he told the Sultán he understood what was the matter with him, and that it was a very bad disease. He added that if the Sultán would give him a written document to the effect that if he died while under his care no blame should attach to him, that he would give him medicine. The Sultán at once wrote such a document, and putting his seal to it, gave it to Dúdá. Then Dúdá did not give the Sultán anything to eat for two days. On the third day, tying up his eyes, he placed the stick on his head, and having got two small fine iron hooks he tied a silken line to them, and wrapping them up in bread, he gave one to the Sultán, who,

having swallowed it, he (Dúdá) saw a snake take it. When he saw that it was well in the mouth of one of the snakes, he pulled it up and brought it out. Then again he did the same, and in like manner he took the other from out of the royal stomach. In about an hour the Sultán felt much relieved, so untying his eyes, Dúdá showed him the two snakes, when being very happy the Sultán said, 'Ask from me what you wish.' Then Dúdá said, 'I am a chief, but by his superior strength Chanar has taken away my father's country, and on this account I have come here. If the king will give me a force, I will take my revenge on him.' On hearing this the Sultán gave orders to collect a force, and when it was ready he gave it to him. When this army approached Thatta, being unable to meet it, Chanar sat down in the fort, which being surrounded on all sides by the royal troops, they took into their hands the implements for breaking down forts, and fighting commenced. For twelve days they fought together in this manner, after which the wind of victory struck the standards of the royal troops, and Chanar and many of his men were given to the sword. Those who escaped the sword ran away and dispersed. By taking this fort much wealth and property fell into the hands of those people.

"When Dúdá, the son of Umar, sat on the throne of his father, this force returned to Ghazní. He reigned many years with strength and wisdom. Afterwards, by this order, 'Every life will drink the sherbet of death,' Dúdá drank the sherbet of mortality at the hands of the cup-bearer of Death. He took the apparatus of his life to the living world."

[End of the interpolated passages.]

After him a person named Armíl ascended the throne. He was a tyrant and an oppressor, and the people, disgusted with his violence, resolved to dethrone and slay him. Some men of the tribe of Samma had previously come from Kachh and had settled in Sind, where they formed alliances with the people of the country. In this tribe there was a man named Unar distinguished for intelligence. The chief men of the country brought him secretly into the city, and in the morning a party of them entered into the house of Armíl,

slew him, and placed his head over the gate of the city. The assembled people then placed Unar on the throne.

Jám Unar,¹ son of Bábiniya.

Jám Unar with the assent of the nobles thus became King, and the great body of the people supported him. He led an expedition against Siwistán, then governed by Malik, the representative of the Turk kings.¹ Reaching the vicinity of Siwistán he drew up his army in battle array; Malik Ratan also came out of the fort with his force, and the battle began. In the first contest Jám Unar was defeated, but his brothers came up to his assistance, and he renewed the fight. Malik Ratan, in galloping his horse, was thrown to the ground, and Jám Unar cut off his head. The fort of Siwistán then fell into Unar's power. Malik Fíroz and 'Alí Sháh Turk were at this time in the vicinity of Bhakkar, and they wrote a letter to Jám Unar to the following effect. "This boldness is unbecoming, so now prepare to meet the royal army, and make a brave stand." These words took effect upon him, and he proceeded to Tharí.² He then fell ill and died after reigning three years and six months. Some writers relate that after Jam Unar returned from the conquest of Siwistán, he was one night engaged drinking wine in a convivial party, when news was brought of a party of rebels having risen against him. He instantly sent against them Gáhar, son of Tamáchí, who was his *vakil*. Gáhar was drunk when he encountered them and was made prisoner. The enemy held him captive, and Jám Unar kept up his carouse without heeding the captivity of his officer. This rankled in the breast of Gáhar, and when he escaped, by a well-contrived stratagem, from the clutches of his captors, he turned away from Jám Unar and went to the fort of Bhakkar. There he had an interview with 'Alí Sháh Turk, who in concert with Malik Fíroz, raised a force and slew Jám Unar in the fort of Bahrámpúr. Malik Fíroz was left in command of the fort, and 'Alí Sháh returned home. Three days afterwards Jám Unar's followers

¹ [Morley has a note upon the varied spelling of this name, but Sir H. Elliot's MS. specifies how the name is pointed, making it "Unar," which is the spelling most generally accepted.]

² [از عمال سلاطین ترک]

³ [شهری in A. شهری in B.]

managed by craft and stratagem to kill both Gáhar son of Tamáchi and Malik Fíroz.

Jám Júna son of Bábiniya.

After the death of Jám Unar, Júna, of the tribe of Samma, received the title of Jám. He conceived the design of subduing all Sind. Showing great kindness and attention to his brethren and other relatives, he appointed them to further his designs upon the country. These men crossed (the river) at the village of Talahti, and began to kill the people and lay waste the villages and towns of Bhakkar. Two or three desperate fights ensued between the Sammas and the chiefs of Bhakkar, but as the Turks were unable to withstand the Sammas they withdrew from the fort of Bhakkar and retired to Uch. When Jám Júna heard of their retreat, he proceeded to Bhakkar, and for some years reigned supreme over Sind. But at length Sultán 'Aláu-d dín appointed his brother, Ulugh Khán to the district of Multán. Ulugh Khán then sent Táj Káfuri and Tátár Khán to oppose Jám Júna in Sind, but before their arrival the Jám died of quinsy. He had reigned thirteen years. The forces of 'Aláu-d dín took possession of the Bhakkar and then directed their efforts against Siwistán.

Jám Tamáchi (and Jám Khairu-d dín).

This prince ascended his hereditary throne with the assent of the nobles. The army of 'Aláu-d dín after some fighting, took him prisoner, and carried him with his family prisoners to Dehli. There he had children.¹ But the Samma tribe brought them to Thari, and keeping them prisoners took the business of government into their own hands, and exerted themselves in carrying on the affairs of the State. After the lapse of some time and the death of Jám Tamáchi, his son Malik Khairu-d dín, who, in infancy, had gone to Dehli with his father, returned to Sind and assumed the government. Shortly afterwards, Sultán Muhammad Sháh proceeded to Guzerát by way of Sind, and summoned Jám Khairu-d dín to his presence. But

¹ [There appears to be some confusion here: MS. A. says, *اورا در اینجا فرزندان شدند*. B. omits the word *ord*, but agrees in other respects. Malet's translation says, "where he remained in confinement." The copyists have perhaps confounded the words *ferzandán*, children, and *zindán*, prison.]

the Jám had endured the hardships of prison, and resolutely refused to comply. Sultán Muhammad Sháh, son of Tughlik Sháh, died in the neighbourhood of Bhakkar. After his death, Sultán Fíroz Sháh succeeded under the will of the late king, and by hereditary right.¹ He departed from Sin, a dependency of Siwistán, for his capital, Dehli; and Jám Khairu-d dín, after following him some stages from that place, turned back. The Sultán kept this fact in mind. After the departure of the Sultán, Khairu-d dín exerted himself in administering justice and in improving the condition of the people. The following story is told of one of the remarkable incidents in the life of this benevolent prince. One day he went out for exercise with a party of attendants and servants, and by chance discovered a quantity of human bones in a hole. He drew rein, and looking at those decaying relics, asked his followers if they knew what the bones told him. On their hanging their heads and keeping silence, he said, "These are the remains of injured men, and they cry for justice." He immediately directed his attention to an investigation of the facts. So he called to his presence an old man to whom the land belonged, and questioned him about the bones. The old man said, "Seven years ago, a caravan which had come from Guzerát, was plundered and the travellers killed by such and such a tribe, who still hold a good deal of the spoil." As soon as he heard this the Jám directed the property to be gathered together; and when this was done he sent it to the ruler of Guzerát requesting that it might be distributed among the heirs of the slain. He then inflicted punishment on the murderers. Some years after this he died.

Jám Báhaniya.

Jám Báhaniya succeeded after the death of his father, and ascended the throne with the assent of the nobles and chiefs. At this time Sultán Fíroz Sháh having set his mind at rest about Hindustán and Guzerát, turned his attention to the conquest of Sind. Jám Báhaniya drew up his forces to resist him, but when the Sultán had been in the country three months, inundation, adverse winds, and swarms of mosquitos, compelled him, at the beginning of the rains, to retire to Pattan in Guzerát. After the rains he returned to

¹ [رائت] There is no mention of this in MS. B. nor in Malet's translation.]

Sind with a numerous army. A battle ensued, in which Jám Báhaniya was taken prisoner, and the whole country of Sind became subject to Sultán Fíroz. The Jám was carried off in the retinue of the Sultán, and after remaining for some time in attendance, he became the object of the royal favour, a royal robe was given to him and he was reinstated in the government of Sind. There he reigned in peace for fifteen years and then departed this life.

Jám Tamáchí

Succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother,¹ and carried on the government. He was fond of ease and enjoyment, and passed his days in indulgence and pleasure. After reigning thirteen years he died of the plague.

Jám Saláhu-d dín.

After the death of Jám Tamáchí, Saláhu-d dín carried on the business of government. His first act was a rectification of the frontier, which had been encroached upon by refractory subjects. He accordingly sent a force to punish them, and after inflicting salutary chastisement, he marched against Kachh. Some obstinate fighting ensued, but in every encounter he was victorious, and he returned home in triumph with the spoils, to look after the affairs of his army and people. He died after reigning eleven years and some months.

Jám Nizámu-d dín.

Nizámu-d dín succeeded his father Saláhu-d dín, with the concurrence of the nobles. He released his uncles² Malik Sikandar, Karan, Baháu-d dín, and Amar, who were in confinement for reasons of State policy, and sent each one to his district. He then left the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of the officials, and gave himself up night and day to pleasure and enjoyment. This neglect of his duty induced his uncles to raise a force, and to enter the city with the intention of seizing him. But he received information of this design, and left the city at midnight with some troops, and went off towards Guzerát. In the morning, when the fact be-

¹ [MS. A. says, he "succeeded on the death of his father, with the consent of his brother."]

² [اركان MS. A. however, says, عمانكان]

came known, the uncles started in pursuit ; but at this juncture, the chief men of the city, seeing the strife and commotion, brought forth Jám 'Alí Sher from his concealment, and raised him to the throne. Jám Nizámu-d dín died about this time, and his uncles turned back with shame and loss, and passed into the desert.

Jám 'Alí Sher.

Jám 'Alí Sher mounted the throne with the consent of the great men and nobles, and opened wide the gates of justice and kindness. He was wise and brave, and he immediately devoted himself to the duties of government. The country of Sind was brought into a due state of order, all the people passed their days in security and ease under his rule. After a time he devoted himself more to pleasure, and he used to roam about in moonlight nights. Sikandar, Karan, and Fath Khán, sons of Tamáchí, who were living in sorry plight in the desert, became acquainted with Jám 'Alí Sher's mode of recreation. So they set forth, and travelling by night and hiding themselves by day, they reached the outskirts of the city. Here they won over a party of the people of the city. On the night of Friday, the 13th day of the month, 'Alí Sher, according to his custom, went out with a party of companions and followers, and embarked in a boat for an excursion on the river. At midnight he was about to return into his house, when a party of men with drawn swords made an attack on him. The people who were with him strove without avail to divert them from their purpose, and the Jám was instantly despatched. The murderers then entered the palace, when a noise and outcry arose, and the fact became known. The people assembled, but they perceived that matters were beyond their control, and accordingly they submitted. Jám 'Alí Sher had reigned seven years.

Jám Karan.

After the murder of Jám 'Alí Sher, the brethren assented to the elevation of Jám Karan. He was displeased with the nobles and great men of the city, and in his aversion to them he sought to take them prisoners, and then to slay some and confine the rest. On the very day that he ascended the throne, or the day after, he held a public court, and summoned all men great and small to

attend. He addressed them in conciliatory terms. Dinner was served, and after its conclusion he arose to retire to his chamber, when a party of men, who had been employed for the purpose, met him at the door of his room and cut him in pieces. Fath Khán, son of Sikandar, had been the prime mover in this murder, and so, with the assent of the soldiers and people, he ascended the throne.

Jám Fath Khán.

Jám Fath Khán, on his accession to the throne, confirmed all the rules and orders of government, and was very attentive and watchful over all affairs of State. At that time Mírzá Pír Muhammad, grandson of Sáhib-kirán Amír Tímúr Gurgán, had been sent to Multán and had taken that town and the town of Uch also. He stayed there for awhile and many of his horses died. The Mírzá's soldiers were thus dismounted and in distress. When Tímúr heard of this, he sent 3000 horses from the royal stables for the service of the Mírzá. Being thus reinforced, he made an attack upon the people of Bhattí and Ahan,¹ who had rebelled, and gave them and their families to the winds of destruction. He then sent a person to Bhakkar and summoned all the chief men to his presence. The officers of the king of Dehli being unable to withstand him, fled by way of Jesalmír. One of the inhabitants of Bhakkar, Saiyid Abú-l L'áís by name, a man of piety and purity, hastened to meet the Mírzá, and offering his devotions to the Chief of the prophets, he besought his intercession in his midnight prayers. It is said that one night the Chief of the prophets appeared to Mírzá Pír Muhammad in a dream and spoke to him of Saiyid Abú-l L'áís, saying, "This is my son, show him honour and respect, and abstain from molesting him." The Mírzá awoke, and remained for eleven days in expectation of seeing the friend of his dream. The Saiyid then arrived while the Mírzá was seated in his court with the nobles around him. When his eye fell upon the Saiyid he recognized him, and arose to give him a proper reception. He embraced him and seated him by his side with great honour and reverence. The nobles then made enquiry about the Saiyid, and the Mírzá related to them his dream. On that day he gave the Saiyid a horse and some pre-

¹ ["Aman" in B.]

sents, and allowed him to depart. He also conferred upon him the *pargana* of Alor in *in'dm*. After Tímúr had captured Dehli, Mírzá Pír Muhammad departed thither. In the days of the succeeding kings of Dehli, Multán came under the authority of the Langáhs and the whole of Sind remained subject to its own kings. Jám Fath Khán was celebrated for his courage and generosity. He reigned for fifteen years and some months up to the time of his death.

Jám Tughlik, son of Sikandar.

When Jám Fath Khán was on the bed of sickness, and saw his end approaching, three days before his decease he placed his brother Tughlik Sháh upon the throne, delivering over to him the reins of government, and giving to him the title of Jám Tughlik. Soon afterwards Tughlik appointed his brothers governors of Siwistán and the fort of Bhakkar. He spent most of his time in hunting and exercise. When the Bulúchís raised disturbances in the neighbourhood of Bhakkar, he led an army there and inflicted punishment on their chiefs. He reigned twenty-eight years.

Jám Sikandar.

Jám Sikandar succeeded his father, but he was young in years; and the rulers of Siwistán and Bhakkar, attending only to their own interests, refused obedience to him, and quarrelled with each other. Jám Sikandar left Thatta and proceeded towards Bhakkar; but when he reached Nasrpúr, a person named Mubárák, who had been chamberlain in the time of Jám Tughlik, suddenly came into Thatta, and calling himself Jám Mubárák, seized upon the throne. But the people did not support him, and his authority lasted only three days; for the nobles drove him out of the city, and sent for Sikandar. When the news reached Sikandar he made terms with his opponents, and returned to Thatta. After a year and a-half he died.

Jám Rái Dan.¹

On the sixth of Jumáda-l awwal, in the year 858 A.H., (May 1454 A.D.), Jám Rái Dan came forth. During the reign of the Jám Tughlik he had lived in Kachh, and had formed connec-

¹ [The name appears to be written optionally as رایدن or رایدنہ, in both MSS.]

tions with the people of that country. He had maintained a considerable body of tried men, to whom he paid great attention, and to whom he used to give fine horses and other suitable presents. These men looked upon him as a wise and superior man, and devoted themselves to him with great sincerity. When he heard of the death of Sikandar, he proceeded with his entire force to Thatta, and there assembling the people, he addressed them to the effect, that he had not come to take the kingdom, but that he wanted to secure the property of the Musulmáns, and to accomplish their wishes. He did not consider himself worthy of the throne, but they should raise some fitting person to that dignity, when he would be the first to give him support. As they could find no one among them who had ability for the high office, they unanimously chose him and raised him to the throne. In the course of one year and a-half he brought the whole of Sind under his rule from the sea to the village of Kájárikí and Kandharak,¹ which are on the boundaries of Máthla and Ubáwar. When he had reigned eight years and a half the idea of sovereignty entered the head of Jám Sanjar, one of his attendants. He induced other of the attendants and followers to join him in his plot; and one day when Jám Rái Dan was drinking wine in private, poison was put into the bottle which a servant handed to him. Three days after drinking thereof he died.²

¹ [So in MS. B. MS. A. gives the first name as "Kájar," and omits the second. Malet's translation reads "Kajur Mullee and Khoondee."]

² [Both our MSS. finish thus, but Malet's translation adds the following:—"It is also written by some that a man, a *fakir*, one of judgment, who was considered in those days as a saint at Thatta, was in the habit of constantly coming to the Jám, who always treated him with great respect, seating him on his own seat, and whatever this *fakir* said the Jám agreed to it. One day, at an assembly, the *wazirs* and nobles said to the Jám, Ask that *fakir* to whom you give so much honour what God is like, and what is His description? When the Jám heard this, he placed it in his heart. Four days afterwards, when the *darvesh* came to the assembly, the Jám did not pay him the usual attention. The *fakir* understood that there was something in this? The Jám then asked him, What is God like, and what description does He bear? The *fakir* replied, 'The description of God is this, that three days hence He will destroy you by means of a horse, sixteen *kos* from this, and He will place Jám Sanjar on your seat.' The third day after this the Jám went to hunt, not bearing in mind what the *fakir* had said. By chance he galloped his horse, when he fell, and his foot remaining in the stirrup, at the distance of sixteen *kos* from Thatta, his life was given to God."]

Jám Sanjar.

Jám Sanjar was a handsome young man, and many persons being fascinated by his beauty, served him without stipend. It is related that before he came to the throne he was on friendly terms with an excellent *darwesh*. One night Sanjar went to visit the *darwesh*, and after the usual greeting told him that he wished to become ruler of Thatta, even if it were for only eight days. The *darwesh* replied, "Thou shalt be king for eight years." When Jám Rái Dan died, the nobles agreed in raising Jám Sanjar to the throne, and in delivering over to him the reins of government. Through the prayers of the *darwesh* he thus became king without any strife or opposition, and the people on every side submitted to his authority with willing obedience. In his reign Sind rose to a greater pitch of prosperity and splendour than it had ever attained before, and the soldiers and the people lived in great comfort and satisfaction. He was a great patron of learned and pious men and of *darweshes*. Every Friday he dispensed large sums in charity among the poor and needy, and settled pensions and stipends upon meritorious persons. It is related that before his time the rulers of Sind used to pay their judicial officers badly. When Sanjar became ruler, there was a *kázi* in Bhakkar, who had been appointed to the office by a former king, upon an insufficient salary. Finding himself underpaid, he used to exact something from the suitors in his courts. When this reached the ears of Jám Sanjar he summoned the *kázi* to his presence, and told him that he had heard of his taking money by force, both from plaintiffs and defendants. He acknowledged it, and said he should like to get something from the witnesses also, but that they always went away before he had an opportunity. The Jám could not help smiling at this, so the *kázi* went on to say that he sat all day in his court while his children at home went without breakfast and supper. The Jám made the *kázi* some handsome presents, and settled a suitable stipend upon him. He further directed that proper salaries should be appointed for all officers throughout the country, so that they might be able to maintain themselves in comfort. When he had reigned eight years he departed from this world of trouble.

Jám Nizámu-d dín, also called Jám Nanda.

Nizámu-d dín succeeded Jám Sanjar on the 25th Rabíu-l awwal, in the year 866 (December, 1461 A.D.). All men—the learned and the good, the soldiers and the peasants—agreed in his elevation, so that he raised firmly the standard of sovereignty. It is recorded that at the outset of his career he was a student, and spent much of his time in colleges and monasteries. He was modest and gentle, and had many excellent and pleasing qualities. His life was pure and religious to a high degree. It is impossible to enumerate all his virtues. In the early part of his reign, he proceeded with a force to Bhakkar and staid there for a year engaged in suppressing the highway robbers. He stored the fort of Bhakkar with all kinds of provisions, and appointed as governor one of his dependants, Dilshád by name, who had served him while at college. The frontiers were so well secured that travellers could pass along the roads in perfect safety. Having satisfied himself in respect of Bhakkar, at the end of a year he returned to Thatta. There he reigned supreme for forty-eight years, and during this period, learned men and pious men and *fakirs* passed a happy time, and the soldiery and the peasantry were in easy circumstances. Jám Nizámu-d dín was cotemporary with Sultán Husain Langáh, the ruler of Multán. They were on the most friendly terms, and were in the constant habit of sending presents to each other. Jám Nizámu-d dín used to visit his stables every week, and used to stroke the heads of his horses, and say to them, "My dear and happy steeds, I have no desire to ride you, for within my four boundaries all the rulers are Musulmán—do you also pray that I may not go out against any one without a lawful cause, and that no one may come up against me, lest the blood of innocent Musulmán should be spilled, and I should stand abashed in the presence of God." In his days Musulmán discipline was widely spread. Large congregations used to assemble in the mosques, for small and great used to resort thither to say their prayers, and were not satisfied with saying them in private. If a person omitted to attend a service, he was very sorry for it afterwards, and would occupy himself two or three days in prayer for forgiveness. Towards the end of the reign of Jám

Nizámu-d dín, the army of Sháh Beg came from Kandahár and attacked the villages of Lakrí, Chandúka and Sindícha. The Jám sent a large force to repel this attack of the Moghals, and it advanced as far as Dara-karib, commonly known by the name of Jalúgar. A battle ensued in which the brother of Sháh Beg was slain, and his army defeated. The remnant fled towards Kandahár, and no further attack was made upon Sind during the life of Nizámu-d dín. The Jám spent much of his time in discoursing and arguing upon matters of science with the learned men of the day. Mauláná Jalálu-d dín Muhammad Díwání formed the project of leaving Shíráz and going to Sind; so he sent Shamshu-d dín and Mír Mu'in, two of his disciples, to Thatta, in order to get permission for taking up his residence there. The Jám accordingly allotted some suitable houses, and provided the means for his maintenance; he further supplied the messengers with money to pay the expences of the journey, but the Mauláná died before they returned. Mír Shamshu-d dín and Mír Mu'in were so well satisfied with the attention they had received, that they came back to Thatta and settled there. Some time after this Jám Nizámu-d dín died, and after his death all the affairs of Sind fell into disorder.

Jám Fíroz.

Upon the death of Nizámu-d dín, his son Jám Fíroz was of tender age. So Jám Saláhu-d dín, one of the late Jám's relatives and the son of Jám Sanjár's daughter, advanced pretensions to the crown; but Darya Khán and Sárang Khán, the confidential slaves of Nizámu-d dín who were high in dignity and power, refused to support him, and with the consent of the nobles and head men of Thatta they placed Jám Fíroz on the throne in succession to his father. Saláhu-d dín finding that he could only succeed by fighting, lost heart, and went to Guzerát to lay his case before Sultán Muzaffar. The Sultán had married a daughter of Saláhu-d dín's uncle, and was consequently well inclined towards him. Jám Fíroz gave way to the impulses of youth, and devoted himself to the pursuit of pleasure. He spent most of his time in the harem, but went out from time to time accompanied by slaves and jesters, who practised all sorts of tricks and buffoonery. The people of the Samma tribe, and the

associates of the Jám treated the people of the city with violence, and when Daryá Khán forbade them they treated him with scorn. The Khán, therefore, retired to his *jagír* in the village of Káhán. In those days Makhdúm 'Abdu-l-'Azíz Abharí and his two sons, Mauláná Asilu-d dín and Mauláná Muhammad, all of them learned men, came to that village of Káhán and spent some years there teaching and diffusing knowledge. The cause of their coming from Hirát was the rebellion of Shah Isma'íl in the year 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.). The above-named Mauláná was well read in all the sciences, and he had excellent books upon every branch of learning. He compiled a commentary on the *Mishkát* (traditions) but did not complete it. Some portions are still extant in the library of Masúd¹ and passages are commonly written as marginal notes in books. He died in this village of Káhán, and his tomb there is still a place of pilgrimage. Jám Fíroz continued to give himself up to pleasure and dissipation, and the nobles being on the verge of ruin, a messenger was sent to Jám Saláhu-d dín to inform him how matters stood; that Fíroz was generally drunk; that Daryá Khán, the great supporter of the government, had retired to Káhán, and that the moment was opportune for his returning immediately. Saláhu-d dín showed the letter of the men of Thatta to Sultán Muzaffar, and he sent him off with an army to that place. Making forced marches he soon arrived there, and crossing the river entered the city. Jám Fíroz's followers were dismayed, and led him out of the city on the other side. Saláhu-d dín then ascended the throne. He fined and punished the associates of Jám Fíroz, and demanded their wealth. The mother of Jám Fíroz² took him to Daryá Khán, at Káhán, where he asked forgiveness for his errors; and the Khán remembering only old obligations, began to collect forces, and when the armies of Bhakkar and Siwistán were assembled, they met under the banners of Jám Fíroz. The Bulúchís and other tribes also mustered. Daryá Khán placed himself at the head of these forces, and marched against Saláhu-d dín. This prince wished to go out himself to the sanguinary meeting, but his *wazír* Hájí deemed it advisable that the

¹ [مسعود]

² [MS. B. and Malet's translation agree that the Jám was taken by his mother. MS. A. however, says that he took his mother to Daryá Khán.]

Jám should stay in the city while he led the war-elephants against the enemy; so the Jám stayed at home and the *wazir* went to the fray. When the armies met, the fire of battle raged furiously, and many were slain on both sides, but at length the troops of Daryá Khán were defeated and put to flight. Háji wazir then sat down to write a despatch to Saláhu-d dín informing him that victory had favoured his colours, and that he might deem himself secure. Night came on and the *wazir* was unable to pursue the routed army, so it happened that his messenger fell into the hands of some of Daryá Khán's men. As soon as Darya Khán had read the letter he destroyed it, and substituted another in the name of Háji wazir, to this effect:—"Your army has been defeated, and the enemy is overpowering; you must leave Thatta with your family, and make no delay,—we will meet again in the village of Cháchgán." As soon as this letter arrived, on the night of the 9th Ramzán, Saláhu-d dín departed without breaking his fast, and crossed the river. Defeat had indeed reached him. He had reigned eight months. When he met his *wazir*, the latter reproached him for running away, and asked him why he had come there. The false despatch was then produced, upon which the Háji exclaimed that he had not written it. At length they discovered that it was the crafty work of Daryá Khán, and were sorely annoyed,—but when a matter is completed repentance is useless. Daryá Khán pursued them some stages. He then brought back Jám Fíroz and entered Thatta on the day of the '*Idu-l fítr*' (at the close of the Ramzán) and going to the '*idgáh*' they offered up their prayers. After this, Jám Fíroz reigned securely for some years, until the end of the year 916¹ A.H. (1511 A.D.), when Sháh Beg Arghún invaded Sind.

The battles which followed are described in their proper places. I have never met with any written account of the history of the Súmras and Sammas, so I have composed this summary. If any one is better acquainted with the subject, he should make additions to this.

¹ [So in both MSS., but Malet's translation has "926" (1520 A.D.), which is correct.]

BOOK III.

The Wonders of Síwí.

The fort of Síwí, which is situated on a small hill, is built of round stones, of a kind which is found wherever the earth is dug in that neighbourhood.

In Kor-zamín and Chhatur, which are districts of Síwí, cotton plants grow as large as trees, insomuch that men pick the cotton mounted. On each cotton plant there are one or two hundred snakes, of a span long, so that men are obliged to brush them off with sticks and drive them away before they can pluck the boles. If any one is bitten by a snake, they immediately open the wound with a razor and suck out the poison, otherwise death would supervene.

The little river which runs by Síwí rises apparently from a sulphureous source, and any one who drinks the water of it falls sick. Many men have died from that cause, but it does not affect the inhabitants who are accustomed to it. Notwithstanding that the garrison was changed every year by Sultán Mahmúd, most of the soldiers died from its bad effects, and only a few escaped. In the time of Akbar, a flood came and purged the sources of the river from the sulphur, since which time the sickness has been less. This river runs fifty *kos* beyond Síwí, collecting at Sarwáh, where it is used in irrigation, and the water which is not expended for that purpose flows into the lake of Manchhúr, which is near Síwistán.

On that lake also there are many snakes¹, very long and thin, the bites of which few survive. The men in that neighbourhood wear long drawers to protect themselves against their bites. I myself, when I was there looking at the men irrigating their fields, saw several at every step my horse took. As it was hot, I wished to dismount on the shore of the lake, but for fear of the snakes, I was compelled to do so at a distance on the plain beyond.

In the plain of Síwí there were formerly many forts and much cultivation, but all is now waste; the hot wind (*simoom*) blows

¹ ["*Mdr.*" The description seems perhaps more applicable to *leeches*.]

there. Between Síwí, Dehra, and Kasmúr,¹ there is a tract of land called Bárgán, which breeds horses not inferior to those of 'Irák. The young colts are made to walk upon gravel for a year, by which their hoofs become as hard as a stone, and there is no occasion to shoe them, for they can go unshod even amongst the hills.

At Chhatur there is a tribe called Kaharí, so called from the tree named Kahar, on which one of their ancestors mounted, and when struck with a whip, it moved on like a horse.

Near Ganjáva, which is a district of Síwí, water springs from a hill, and covers a large extent of ground. Fishes are found in it. Amongst the hills of Ganjáva there is a lofty one from which hangs an iron cage, in which they say there is something placed, but it cannot be got at. If any one descends to it from above, by a rope, it moves away, and if they attempt to reach it from beneath, the summit rises to the stars, and the earth recedes.

The hills of Sitúr and the river Ábkashída run in a sort of semi-circle from Síwí to Ganjáva.² Between these places there is a waste, through which the road to Kandahár runs. Its length from the river to Síwí is a hundred *kos*, and its breadth sixty. In summer the hot wind blows over this track for four months.

The Wonders of Kandahár.



At the hill called Síbúda³ the rock was scarped, and a lofty arched recess called Peshták was cut by order of the Emperor Bábar. Eighty stone-masons were employed nine years in its completion. It is indeed a very pleasant place, overlooking the waters of the Arghand, gardens and cultivated fields. In spring many people resort there, but it is difficult to reach on account of its steep ascent. Within this recess are inscribed the names of Bábar Bádsháh, and of his trusty adherents, Mírzá Kámrán, Mírzá 'Askarí, and Mírzá Hindál. As his majesty Humáyún had never visited the spot, his name was not included in that inscription. Of all his dominions

¹ [This name is so written by Malet. One MS. writes it "Mastúr," the other is illegible.]

² [The MSS. differ here and the meaning is somewhat doubtful.]

³ [So in MS. A. The other MS. has "Sarmúr," and Malet "Spáza."]

Kandahár was the only place mentioned.¹ When I visited the spot it came into my head that I would inscribe his name there, as well as that of his august son (Akbar) with their thousands of tributary cities and kingdoms, like Kandahár and Kábul. I therefore sent for some stone-cutters and engravers from Bhakkar, and had the names of these kings engraved, with those of their dependent cities and provinces, from Bengal to Bandar Láharí, from Kábul and Ghazní to the Dekhin, without any omission. It took nearly four years to complete this work, which indeed excited great admiration. Below the hills there is a cavern not far off. It was from the other extremity of this, that Bába Hasan Abdál brought out the golden brick. The distance between these two ends is seven or eight kós.

On the same hill near Kandahár, *mukhlisa* is found, which is an antidote against snake bites and other poisons, and it is found nowhere else in that country. On that hill also there is a fire temple of a very ancient date. It is built of unburnt bricks, each two yards long and broad, and one span thick. The temple exists to this day, and has sustained no injury.

In Kandahár there used to be plague² and sickness every year, till Sháh Tahmásp directed Sultán Husain Mírzá, governor of that province, to plant canes on the stream which flows near the town, and the water of which the people use for drinking. Since that, the sickness has abated, but even now in some seasons plague and disease break out with great intensity; blood being passed from the belly, nostrils, ears, and mouth. When I went there, in the reign of his late majesty, Akbar, to render assistance, it was at its height, and in the year 1007 H. (1598 A.D.) nearly two hundred soldiers died of this disease.

With the Hazára tribes near Kandahár, it is not the practice to wear coloured clothes such as white, red and black, * * * * nor is there any trade in clothes and shoes of this kind. Among the saints buried near Kandahár may be mentioned * * * * Bába Hasan Abdál, a descendant of the Saiyids of Sabzawár. After a pilgrimage to the holy cities, he accompanied Mírzá Sháh Rukh, son

¹ [A negative seems to be required here. If supplied, the sentence will read, "Kandahár was not even mentioned as forming part of his dominions."]

² ["*Wabá*"; also used to designate Cholera.]

of Sáhíb-Kiráń (Tímúr) to Hindústán. On his return he spent some years in Langar Kandahár, and died there. His tomb is on an elevated spot surrounded by villages, and overlooking the Arghandáb, and to it, as to a place of pilgrimage, men and women, little and big, low and high-born, resort on Fridays in great crowds, so that the city is sometimes empty. It is certainly a charming retreat, and travellers say they have seen few spots to compare with it.

BOOK IV.

Account of the country of Sind passing into the hands of the officers of the Emperor Akbar after the death of Sultán Mahmúd Khán.

I have before related how Kísú Khán came to Bhakkar on the 12th Jumáda-l awwal 982 Hijrí (August 1574) bringing with him an imperial farmán, in which he was directed to divide Bhakkar equally between Muhib 'Alí Khán and Mujáhid Khán, and then to proceed to Thatta and make Muhammad Báki Tarkhán prisoner.

At that time Mujáhid Khán was in the country of Ganjáva, but when he heard of Kísú Khán's arrival at Bhakkar, he hastened to meet him there. But before he arrived Kísú Khán sought to clear out the fort of Sakhar.¹ Mujáhid Khán's men procrastinated, but Kísú Khán disapproving of this, sent off a force to Sakhar. Wakíl Khán who was the representative of Mujáhid Khán, fought upon the wall which Mujáhid Khán had built round Sakhar, and several persons on both sides were killed, and more were wounded. Three days after the fight, Mujáhid Khán arrived and took away his men to Loharí. Sakhar then reverted entirely into the power of Kísú Khán, but towards Loharí the *pargana* of Bhakkar was in the possession of Muhib 'Alí Khán and Mujáhid Khán.² The men who had assembled (to support them) were broken-hearted. At this juncture, some of the Arghún people deserted them and came to Bhakkar, where Kísú Khán had them put to death upon the malevolent suggestion of Sháh Bába, son of Ján Bába Turkhán. Kísú

¹ [MS. B. says "Bhakkar."]

² [So according to MS. A.; a whole line is omitted from B. by mistake of the copyist. Malet says "Muhib 'Alí and Mujáhid Khán held Rori and Tiggarr."]

Khán was a severe harsh-tempered man, and one day Barjí Tawají having been guilty of some fault, he had irons placed upon his feet in the presence of his court.

Two months afterwards, Mujáhid Khán went up against Thatta, leaving Muhib 'Alí Khán in charge of their families. He halted for a few days at the town of Ránpúr in order to outfit his force. Kísú Khán, at the instigation of the men of Bhakkar, sent an army against Loharí. On Friday, the 2nd of Ramzán 982 A.H. (December 1574), having divided his army into two parts he crossed over the river. One division he directed by way of the gardens of the city towards Loharí, and the other he embarked in *ghrábs* and boats and sent them firing and fighting towards the shrine of Khwája Khizr. Muhib 'Alí Khán's men mounted and went towards the '*id-gah*. Kísú Khán's followers arrived in their *ghrábs* and set fire to Mujáhid Khán's boats, and when the flames rose high, the horsemen fell back and went towards their homes. At this time Kísú Khán's horsemen came up and threw rockets¹ into the city and set it on fire in several places. Muhib 'Alí Khán then mounted his horse and fled. The men of Bhakkar now entered the city and pillaged until evening, capturing the standard and kettle drum of Muhib 'Alí Khán which they bore off with them to the fort. When the intelligence reached Mujáhid 'Alí Khan he returned by forced marches to Loharí, but he was greatly dispirited, and in consideration of the royal power he refrained from molesting Kísú Khán.² The latter established himself in the fort of Bhakkar and practiced great injustice. When the Emperor Akbar became acquainted with these facts he placed the country under the charge of Tarsún Khán, and in the beginning of Muharram 983 A.H. (April 1575) Muhammad Táhir Khán, son of Sháh Muhammad Saifu-l Mulk, and Muhammad Kásim Khán and Mírza Muhammad Sultán arrived at the town of Loharí, and sent to Kísú Khán a copy of the *farmán* conferring the *jágir* of Bhakkar (on Tarsún Khán). Kísú Khán was at first inclined to resist and to set these men at defiance, but when the matter came to be talked over, he went to the chief of the

¹ [*Hukkáhs dtiah.*]

² [The MSS. differ slightly here, and the text is not clear, but the meaning appears to be as rendered.]

saiyids, who sent some priests and a party of men to the three *sardárs* to give them counsel. The *sardárs* detained them all, and desired them to write a true statement of affairs and send it to the Emperor. The priests begged to be excused, but said they would write if both parties were present. The *sardárs* replied that Kísú Khán's agents were present, and that if the priests would write the truth in their presence, no further trouble would be given them. The priests then entered upon the business. As soon as Kísú Khán heard this he was alarmed, for he saw that matters were going wrong, and that the forthcoming memorial would be ruinous to him. He therefore sent to say that he would give up the fort, and that they need not write. The Kháns sent word back that the memorial was written, and that they would keep it ready. If he did not surrender the fort the letter should be sent to the Emperor—so Kísú Khán having no other remedy, conducted the Kháns into the fort.

An order had been issued by the Emperor that Kísú Khán, in concert with the brethren of Tarsún Muhammad Khán, the *saiyids*, and the chief men, should make enquiry about the treasure, houses, and effects of Sultán Mahmúd Khán, and send a detailed account thereof to the Court. In obedience to the Royal orders, the people of Sultán Mahmúd's harem were sent to the presence, and his chief wife, sister of Jahán Khán, was sent to Lahore. At the same time, Khwájá Sarái, Rai Singh Darbári, and Banwálí Das Navísinda arrived for the purpose of settling the affairs of the treasure and of the people of the harem of Sultán Mahmúd. Having afterwards looked into the matter of the treasure at Lohari, they proposed to return by way of Nágór in the beginning of Rajab of the year above-named.

When Tarsún Muhammad Khán received permission to depart from the Court, some of the nobles objected that it was impolitic to place the children of Saifu-l Mulk on the borders of the country, so he was appointed governor of Ágra and a change was made in respect of Bhakkar, for Banwálí Dás was sent there to take charge of the revenues and general affairs. Afterwards, for better security, Mír Saiyid Muhammad was dignified with the office of *Mír-i-'adl* (Chief Justice), with a *mansab* of 1000, and appointed governor of

Bhakkar. On the 11th of Ramzán of the year above-mentioned, he arrived at Bhakkar, and the ministers of religion and the chief men waited upon him to show due honour and respect. He then gave 50,000 *bighas* of land to the *saiyids*, learned men and others in portions suited to the position of each one. The ministers of religion enjoyed a happy time during his administration. In the early part of his rule he sent a force against the Mankínjas of the district of Gágri who were rebellious, and had opposed his officers. He acted oppressively towards the ryots in revenue matters, for he fixed by measurement a payment of five *mans* per *bigha* upon all lands alike, and the revenue officers, whom he appointed, dealt harshly with the cultivators. The troops of the *Mir-i 'adl* arrived at a small fort between Gambaz and Bajrán. The Mankínjas showing no respect, shot arrows at them, and several of the soldiers were killed. There was a well in the fort into which the graceless wretches threw the bodies both of Musulmans and infidels, and filled it up with earth. The *Mir-i 'adl* was enraged at this, and sent for reinforcements from Síwí, to take vengeance. After a short opposition, the Mankínjas left their home and took to flight. Saiyid Abú-l Fazl, the *Mir-i 'adl's* son, who commanded the troops, pursued them for some distance, and then returned to Bhakkar. Some time after this the *Mir-i 'adl* fell ill, he lost much blood and his weakness increased till he died on the 8th of Sh'abán, 984 A.H. (October 1576).

After his death, the Emperor appointed his son, Abú-l Fazl, to succeed him in the government of Bhakkar. In the following year Abú-l Fazl seized and confined the head men of Gágri, and afterwards caused two or three of them to be trampled to death by elephants. On the 9th of Zí-l hijja 985 A.H. (Feb. 1578) I'timád Khán, an eunuch, and one of the emperor's trusty servants, came as governor to Bhakkar. He was a man of passionate temper and did not deal kindly with the soldiers, peasants, or nobles. Some of the ministers of religion were troubled by his conduct, and resolved to carry their complaints to the Emperor. The governor thereupon sent a person to them with excuses, but they would not be satisfied, and resolutely determined to proceed. When they reached the royal presence they stated their grievances against that cruel man.

The Emperor replied that if he had oppressed the people in the way represented, he would be killed. And it turned out exactly as the royal tongue predicted, after this manner. He was an habitual jester and scoffer, and would utter vile and filthy expressions before good men; he also dealt niggardly with the troops; so on the 10th Rab'û-l awwal 986 A.H. (May, 1578) a party of soldiers conspired and slew him in his hall of audience.

After the death of I'timád Khán the Emperor granted the country of Bhakkar in *jágir* to Fath Khán Bahadúr, Raja Parmánand and Rája Todar Mal.¹ In the month of Rajab of the same year, the Khán and the other two grantees came to Bhakkar and took possession of their respective portions. Two years afterwards Parmánand proceeded to the Court in obedience to orders. The Dáríjas afterwards quarrelled with his brother Mádhu Dás, and assembled in the town of Alor with hostile intent. Two or three fights followed, and men were slain on both sides. At length some turbulent fellows joined in the attack, so Fath Khán sent his own men to put them down. The insurgents were then beaten and dispersed. Fath Khan then went to Court, where he was received with great favour. His *mansab* was increased, and the *jágir* of Parmánand was assigned to him. Fath Khán was a simple-minded man, fond of money, who paid his thanks with his tongue, but he dealt kindly with the people and provided for their subsistence. He had a *vakil* named Shaháb Khán, a *zamindár* of Samána, an inexperienced man, who knew nothing of business. At the instigation of one Faríd he attacked the people of Khán Náhar, and led a force against the fort of Kin-kot, which was in the hands of Ibráhim Náhar. A great battle followed, in which Fath Khán's fine men were slain. Shaháb Khán also fell with all his brothers. When intelligence of this reached the Emperor, he instantly resumed Fath Khán's *jágir* and assigned it to Nawwáb Muhammad Sádik Khán together with the duty of capturing Thatta. He arrived at Bhakkar on Tuesday the 12th Rab'û-l awwal 994 A.H. (Feb. 1586). The priests and others went out to meet him, and he received them all with honour and respect. For some time he stayed in Bhakkar setting its affairs in order, but in Zi-l hijja of the same year, he marched against Siwistán. Before

¹ [MS. B. makes no mention of the last, and speaks of "the two" grantees.]

going on this expedition he fought with the men of Mírzá Jání Beg, many of whom were killed. The breeze of victory thus began to blow on the banners of Muhammad Sádik. He then proceeded on his expedition. Meanwhile Subhán 'Alí Arghún, who was in command of the enemy, had constructed a fort on the banks of the river, and had furnished it with munitions of war. He had also collected many *ghrābs* and boats there. When Muhammad Sádik advanced, the Arghún came out in his *ghrābs* and gave battle; but he was defeated and taken prisoner alive, and many of his men were killed and wounded. Twelve *ghrābs* also fell into the hands of the victors. Greatly elated with these victories he laid siege to Sívistán. His operations occupied some time, but he at length sunk a large mine which carried away the gate in front of the fort. Instructions had been given that no man was to enter the fort without orders, so when the smoke and dust cleared off, the besieged set to work, closing up the breach, and maintaining a fire from their cannons and guns (*top o tufang*). The party on the top of the gateway which had been blown into the air fell to the ground uninjured. Mírzá Jání Beg had now advanced with a force as far as Mihrán, which is six kos from Síván. In consequence of this, Muhammad Sádik raised the siege and went to oppose his progress. When he came opposite the Lakki hills, the *ghrābs* of Mírzá Jání opened fire upon him. They continued fighting for several days, till an imperial *fúrman* arrived stating that Mírzá Jání Beg had sent suitable tribute to the Court, and had made humble and dutiful submission. Muhammad Sádik therefore returned to Bhakkar, and after a short interval he repaired to Court. One year afterward his *jágir* was taken from him. In the two *kharif* harvests that passed while Muhammad Sádik held Bhakkar, locusts attacked the crops and famine ensued. Many men emigrated in various directions. The Samfjas and Bulúchis plundered both sides of the river and left nothing standing.

At the end of Rabí'u-s sání, 996 A.H. (Feb. 1588), the *jágir* of Bhakkar was granted to Isma'il Khán, and his son Rahmán Kulí Beg came to the place. This young nobleman was wise, and treated the people with great kindness and consideration, so that through his gentle management they betook themselves once more to cultivation, and by their efforts the wasted land again became fruitful.

When Isma'íl Kulí Khán left Multán and went to the Court, the *jágir* was taken from him and granted to Shiroya Sultán. In the beginning of Muharram 997 A.H. (Nov. 1588), he came to Bhakkar. He was addicted to wine, and left the management of his affairs in the hands of his purchased slaves. Night and day he was engaged in riot and debauchery, and but seldom sat in public court, or allowed any one to have access to him. The pensions and allowances to the fakírs were stopped. At one period Shaikh Sángí received charge of the revenue and State business, and for a time he visited the shops and took possession of their money and business.¹ He sent his son Muhammad Husain Beg to subdue Síwí, but the Afghans assembled and fiercely opposed him. His advanced guard was composed of Bulúchís² who fled at the first attack. The main body was then assaulted. Many were slain and many taken prisoners. The rest were broken and put to flight, but the weather was hot, and large numbers died of thirst in the mirage. Those who escaped alive were a long time before they recovered. The wails occasioned by the violence and tyranny of Shiroya at length ascended to heaven, from whence the glad tidings of his removal came to the people of Bhakkar. They escaped from his malignity and once more lived in peace, for Muhammad Sádik Khán again received the *jágir*.

On the second of Rab'ü-l awwal 998 A.H. (December, 1589) Mirzá Muhammad Záhíd, son of Muhammad Sádik, came to Bhakkar. He treated the people with kindness and poured the balm of justice upon hearts wounded by tyranny. He was good-looking and good-natured, and he associated with learned and excellent men. He restored the pensions and allowances in accordance with the grants made by his father, and put a stop to oppression. Khwája Muhammad Ma'súm was Muhammad Sádik's *vakíl*. He was a man of excellent qualities, and competent in all business. The people were re-assured and went about their cultivation and building. But a heavenly visitation fell upon the spring crop of that year; notwithstanding the care of the government, evil days ensued, and it was

¹ [A doubtful passage. The two MSS. do not agree.]

² بلوچ یلدي بودند]

impossible to collect the taxes. A scarcity of food again occurred. About this time His Majesty the Emperor had to make a public example. When the Royal Court was removed to Lahore, Mírza Jání Beg, in imitation of Mírzá Sháh Husain, renounced his obedience, and pretended to independence. The Khán-i Khánán was accordingly sent to take Thatta and bring the Bulúchís under control. He reached the place in the month of Shawwál of the year aforesaid, between the autumnal and vernal harvests, and proceeded to set all things in order. At that time, I, the author of this history, proceeded from Ahmadábád in Guzerát to the Imperial Court. By good fortune my mother had sent some little curiosities, which I presented to his Majesty. Thereupon he enquired with great condescension how many years I had been absent from my mother. I replied that it was twenty years. He was graciously pleased to direct that I should go to visit my mother, and afterwards return to my duty. He further ordered the grant of a *jágír* to me. Thereupon, Muhammad Sádik came to my aid, and said that as I was going to Bhakkar, it would be very pleasant to have my *jágír* there. His Majesty said that Bhakkar had been granted in *jágír* to the Nawwáb Khán-i Khánán. The latter was present at the time and said that if His Majesty pleased to make me a grant in Bhakkar he would assign it over to me, but if so he hoped to receive an equivalent elsewhere. The Royal command was then given for a grant in Bhakkar, and the officials assigned to me the *parganas* of Durbela, Gágri and Chandúka. After this was arranged, His Majesty in his great kindness and consideration gave me a boat and one of his own fur coats, and as he dismissed me he quoted the line—

“Sit not down, but travel, for it is very sweet.”

On the 14th¹ Safar, 999 A.H. (Nov., 1590), I reached Bhakkar, where the Khán-i Khánán had arrived before me. The weather was hot and the river high, so he stayed some days there; but when the star Canopus appeared he dismissed me with Bahádur Khán, Mulla Mahmúdí, and some others. We went to Sihwán, and the Khán-i Khánán followed and overtook us there. The people of Sihwán closed the gates of their fort. The Khán-i Khánán then consulted

¹ [12th in MS. A.]

with his nobles as to whether it was better to march against Mírza Jání Beg in Thatta at once, or to stop and take Sihwán before proceeding. They all agreed that as Sihwán was in the direct road, and their men and boats must pass that way, it was desirable to secure it before going further. Having so determined, the river was crossed, batteries (*morchá*) were raised, and we began to take measures for securing a passage over the river.¹ But intelligence came that Nawwáb Jání Beg had left Thatta with a powerful force and was advancing against us. So the siege was raised and our forces turned to oppose him. Jání Beg then threw up a sort of fort² on the bank of the river at the village of Loharí above Nasrpúr, and there strengthened his position. When the Khán-i Khánán came within about six kos from this fortified post Jání Beg sent 120 armed *ghrábs* and many boats under the command of Khusrú Khán and other officers, and also two armies, one on each bank of the river, to make a simultaneous attack on the camp of the Khán-i Khánán. To meet them our forces advanced a little on the bank of the river, where we raised some sand-works covering five or six *jarábs* of ground. Muhammad Mukím Khán Bakhshí, 'Alí Mardán Khán, Muríd Khán Sarmadí, and the writer of this history, with several other noblemen, were appointed to that humble fortification.³ Our instructions were, that when the *ghrábs* came up they must necessarily pass in front of our fortified position, because just in front of it there was a large sand-bank from which they must cross over to reach our camp,⁴ In fact, when Muhammad Mukím was sent there he was told that his business was to prevent any danger to the camp on that side. In the afternoon the *ghrábs* came up, when they perceived that on one side there was water with a sandbank, and on the other side water with a fort, so they arrested their progress, and guns from both sides announced the opening of the fight. In the course of the night the Khán-i Khánán sent a party over to the opposite side. The force which Jání Beg had appointed for the

¹ [The text says پایاب شدند The word *pay-ab* commonly means "a ford."]

² [طرح قلعه انداخته]

³ [قلعچه]

⁴ [ناچار بایستی از چپله عبور نموده بارو رسید]

purpose assaulted our gate, but it had been well secured, and their efforts were vain. In the morning, the *ghrábs* came up in front of the camp. The guns in our fortification were pointed too high, so that the balls passed over the *ghrábs* and fell among our friends on the other side, killing several of them. The muzzles of the guns were then depressed, so that the balls passed through the *ghrábs* on our side of the river, and then touching the water rose again and crushed eight or nine boats (*kishti*) killing a number of men.¹ But they were prepared for this—for in each *ghráb* there were carpenters who quickly repaired the damages. The fight was carried on and the firing continued in this way for that day. On one side was the fort and army of the Khán-i Khánán, on the other the sandbank, and the *ghrábs* must pass between them against a strong current. The battle continued till after mid-day, and the enemy had many men killed by the guns. They then saw that they could not pass the fort, and that they were losing many men, so they were compelled to retreat. The Khán-i Khánán's boats followed in pursuit and the army harassed them from the shore. Khusrú Khán acted judiciously: keeping his own *ghrábs* in the rear he sent others in pursuit, and several of the enemy's vessels with soldiers and Firingí fighting men on board fell into his hands. The royal *ghráb* had accompanied the *ghráb* of Khusrú Khán and unfortunately some fire from the latter reached the magazine of the royal vessel, and all it contained was burnt. Some of the crew escaped into other vessels which happened to be near, but a large proportion was killed. Still a great victory was won.

Next day we marched against the fort of Jání Beg in which he had fortified himself. There were some little sand-hills (*chihla*²) around, and the place seemed difficult to take. When we tried to invest the place, the Khán-i Khánán and his officers found the work impracticable. One night we made a general assault upon the place on every side, but it was too strong and we gained nothing. It was then determined by the Khán-i Khánán that he would pro-

¹ [The MSS. differ, and the whole passage is not very intelligible.]

² [This is the same word, variously written, *جہیلہ*, *جہیلہ*, and *جہلہ*. In a previous passage it has been rendered "sand-bank." It is perhaps allied to the Hindustáni *chihla*, "mud."]

ceed with a force to Sīhwán and take possession of the country of Thatta,—that another force should go to Badín and Fath-bágh, and that Sháh Beg Khán should march to besiege Sháh-garh, a place that had been built by Sháh Kásim Arghún. The Khán-i Khánán accordingly proceeded to Thatta, another force went against Badín, Fath Khán and Jún, and Sháh Beg besieged Sháh-garh. Saiyid Baháu-dín, the author, and several other attendants of the Khán-i Khánán, went to Sīwán, where many of the defenders were killed. When the garrison found that matters were going hard with them they wrote to Jání Beg that unless he came to their aid, the place must be lost. Upon learning this the Mírzá marched with great alacrity to Sīwán. When he had reached a point about twenty kos from us, we received intelligence of his advance. We held a council, and determined to fight him; so we raised the siege and marched to oppose his advance. When the Khán-i Khánán heard this he sent Muhammad Khán Niyázi and some other of his officers with reinforcements for us. We were near the Lakki hills when they joined us, and our united force then amounted to 1200 horse. Jání Beg was advancing through the hills with 10,000 horse, together with a numerous body of infantry and archers, and he had *ghrábs* and cannon coming up the river. When he was six or seven kos distant, our leaders perceived that if we remained where we were, we might be attacked on every side. Jání Beg might attack us from the hills, the *ghrábs* from the river, and the men of Sīhwán from the rear, so that we should be in a critical position. We therefore resolved to march on and meet him, and our forces were accordingly set in motion. Jání Beg received intelligence of our movement through his spies, but could not credit it, for he asked what our numbers could be, and what must be our presumption to venture on such a step. But the dust of our march then became visible to him, and he instantly proceeded to set his army in array. It was noon when the contending forces met. When our van-guard became engaged, some of the men took flight and fled. The enemy pursued, and coming up with our main body the battle became general. Three or four fierce charges were made, but at length the enemy were defeated. Jání Beg stood his ground and fought desperately, but seeing that all was over, he also fled. The enemy lost many men in

killed and prisoners. Jání Beg retreated to Unarpur,¹ twenty kos from the battle-field, where he raised a small fort and strengthened his position. We besieged the place, and after some days the Khán-i Khánán arrived in person. The batteries were pushed forward, and fighting went on every day, in which many on both sides were killed. Digging approaches to the fort, we reached the edge of the ditch, and raised there a mound of earth. Jání Beg was then reduced to despair, and offered terms. His proposal was to give over to us thirty *ghrábs* and the fort of Sihwán. He himself would return to Thatta but would meet us again afterwards. The Khán-i Khánán consulted with his officers, and they all agreed that Jání Beg was reduced to extremities, and that no terms should be made with him—it was a mere question of a day or two—and if he were allowed to return to Thatta he would probably change his mind. The Khán-i Khánán observed that if we assaulted the fort, many men on both sides would be slain, and that the wives and families of the garrison would fall into our hands and might be treated with indignity, for these reasons he would accept the terms, and would further obtain a *mansab* of 5000 from the Emperor for Jání Beg. No doubt his decision was sound. The representatives of Jání Beg then came into our lines, the terms were settled, the *ghrábs* were given up, a person was sent to Sihwán to secure the surrender of the fort, and Jání Beg himself set out for Thatta. The Khán-i Khánán stayed in the village of Sann during the inundations, but in the winter he departed for Thatta. When we approached Fath-bágh Jání Beg came forward to meet us, and there was an interview and friendly intercourse between the two chiefs. Leaving Jání Beg at this place the Khán-i Khánán proceeded to Thatta, and there he distributed among his officers and soldiers all the effects (*basdt*) he had with him. He next went to Láhorí-bandar, where he gazed upon the sea (*dáryáe shor*). When he departed from this place he left Daulat Khán and Khwája Mukím in charge. A royal mandate had arrived directing him to bring Jání Beg to Court,—in consequence of this he started off, taking Jání Beg with him, and hastened by forced marches to the Imperial presence. Every kindness and consideration was bestowed upon Jání Beg through the friendly

¹ ["Amarpur" in MS. B.]

statements of the Khán-i Khánán. The country of Thatta was graciously restored to him, and he was received into the royal service with a *mansab* of 5000. Still further favour was shown him, and Khusrú Khán was named to be his son-in-law.

When His Majesty set out for the Dekhin,¹ intent upon the conquest of Ahmadnagar and the fort of Kásim, on the 25th Rajab Mírzá Jání Beg died of brain fever, and upon the solicitation of Nawwáb Allání, the country of Thatta was granted to Mírzá Ghází Beg, son of the deceased Mírzá.

¹ [It is at this point in MS. B. that there comes in abruptly the passage relating to Dúda, upon which some remarks have been made in page 215.]

V.

TARÍKH-I TAHIRÍ.

THIS work is named after the author, Mír Táhir Muhammad Nasyání, son of Saiyid Hasan, of Thatta. The author, his father, and grandfather, were intimately acquainted with the affairs of the Arghúns and Tarkháns, and were dependants of the members of the former family. Táhir Muhammad, indeed, dedicates his work to, and writes it at the instigation of, Sháh Muhammad Bég 'Ádil Khán, son of Sháh Bég 'Ádil Khán Arghún, governor of Kandahár. The *Tuhfatu-l kirám* (p. 74), styles Sháh Bég a Tarkhán, not an Arghún, and states that it was to him that the *Tárikh-i Táhirí* was dedicated.

The author, independent of what he says in his rambling preface of twenty pages, which is replete with the most fulsome adulation, gives us several incidental notices of himself and family in the course of his work.¹ We learn that in 1015 H. (1606 A.D.), when Kandahár was beleaguered by the Persians, he went to Thatta to complete his education, and that he was then twenty-five years old. He placed himself under Maulána Ishák, a celebrated teacher, who was well instructed in Sufyism by an attentive perusal of Shaikh Sa'dí, Jámí, Khákání, and Anwarí.

His maternal grandfather, 'Umar Sháh, and his son Dáúd Sehta, Chief of the Pargana of Durbela, afforded such effective aid to Humáyún, in his flight from Shír Sháh, that the Emperor wrote a document expressive of his satisfaction, and of his determination to reward their fidelity with a grant of their native district of Durbela, should he succeed in his enterprises and be

¹ See pages 63, 73, 86, 139, 167, 224, 228, of the MS.

restored to his throne. At the instigation of Mahmúd Khán, the governor of Bhakkar, they were both put to death for this injudicious zeal; one being sewn up in a hide and thrown into the river from the battlements of Bhakkar; the other flayed alive, and his skin sent, stuffed with straw, to Mirzá Sháh Hasan Arghún. The family fled to Ahmadábád in Guzerát. The document above alluded to was unfortunately destroyed, when Mirzá Jání Bég ordered Thatta to be fired on the approach of the imperial army. The author, nevertheless, hoped to meet with his reward, should it ever be his good fortune to be presented to the reigning Emperor Jahángír. In one part of his work he calls 'Umar Sháh by the title of *Jám*, from which we may presume that he was a Samma. Dáúd, 'Umar's son, is also styled *Sehta*, and, from a passage in the Extracts, it will be seen that *Jám Sehta*, one of the descendants of the Samma refugees, is spoken of as one of the Chiefs of Kach.

Táhir Muhammad informs us that, notwithstanding all the enquiries he made, he was not able to procure any work which dealt with the periods of history which he had undertaken to write. There might, perhaps, have been some written in the Hindí character, but on that point he was ignorant. This is disingenuous, for his early history must be derived from some written source, though he does not choose to declare what it was. He quotes a poem by Mír Ma'súm Bhakkarí, and is, perhaps, indebted to his prose also, but to no great extent, for in describing the same events, our author is fuller, and his credulity induces him to indulge in strange anecdotes, which the other rejects. His later history, in which he is very copious, is derived not only from his father, who was himself an actor in some of the scenes which he describes, but from other eye-witnesses, as well as his own observations. His residence seems to have been chiefly at Durbela, but we hear of his being, not only at Kanda-hár and Thatta, as previously mentioned, but at Multán and Lahore; so that, for a Sindian, we may consider him what Froissart calls a "well-travelled knight."